Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by Louise Barry

I. Introduction

Seventy-five years have elapsed since the 1886 (and final) edition of Daniel Webster Wilder’s Annals of Kansas. For the territorial and statehood years the compiler had ample source materials at hand for the preparation of a work of lasting historical value. It is still, for the 1854–1886 period, a storehouse of information and basic reference data.

But for the pre-Kansas era (before 1854), this was not true. Of necessity, Wilder had to quote the historians of his day and rely on their works. Of the now-available records (documents, manuscripts, maps, archaeological findings) pertaining to pre-Kansas history, only a fraction were known to the writers of the 1880’s. In the perspective of present-day knowledge, the Annals entries for the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries are a curious mixture of fact, error, fiction (Penalosa’s 1662 expedition), misinterpretation (Hale’s account of Du Tisne’s 1719 expedition), and obsolescent material. For the pre-Kansas era the Annals is now of little value.

To take Coronado’s expedition as an illustration: Wilder quoted, among others, the historian H. H. Bancroft who (in an 1884 work) stated that the explorer of 1541 “... found only wigwam towns in the province of Quivira, possibly in the Kansas of to-day...”; and Bradford Prince who (in an 1883 history) wrote that Coronado “... traversed parts of the Indian Territory and Kansas, and finally stopped on the borders of Missouri...”

Today it is known that the “wigwam towns” were grass house villages; and the Quiviras have been identified as the Wichita Indians of modern times, who in 1541 had their settlements in present central Kansas (the province of Quivira).

Among the controversial issues which have been less successfully resolved to the entire satisfaction of historians, archaeologists, and others concerned, are these: the site of the Pawnee Republic village visited by Pike in 1806 (Kansas, or Nebraska?); the location of El Cuartelejo (Kansas, or Colorado, or both?); the identity of the populous Indian people known to the French in the 18th century as the Padoucas (were they Plains Apaches, or Comanches?); the location of the Panionissa villages Du Tisne visited in 1719 (Kansas, or Oklahoma?); the extent of Bourgmont’s travels in.

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1724 to the great village of the Padoucas (Saline, or Ellsworth, or Rice counties or elsewhere?).

The centennial year of Kansas statehood has seemed an appropriate time to collect and summarize the currently-known facts of pre-Kansas history into a new annals. Perhaps the bringing together of this widely-scattered information into a chronology will provide both a review, and a new view, of the now-distant past.

II. Part One, 1540-1762

1540

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (governor of a Mexican province) headed a large Spanish expedition (200 horsemen and 70 foot soldiers, well-armed; nearly 1,000 Indians and servants; perhaps 1,200 horses; pack mules; some light artillery; droves of cattle, sheep, goats, and swine) which set out from Compostela [in northwestern Mexico] late in February to search for the reportedly large and wealthy Seven Cities of Cibola. In July this great company came to the first of the Cities—a Zuñi village [on the western border of present New Mexico]. Greatly disappointed, but still hopeful of finding riches, Coronado made his headquarters among the Zuñi and sent out exploring parties. One, led by Cardenas, discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Another, under Alvarado, traveled eastward to the Rio Grande and found Indian pueblos [north of present Albuquerque] where there were food supplies. Coronado then moved to the Rio Grande valley for the winter. His next objective was the kingdom of Quivira—a land of enormous wealth, according to an Indian slave known as "Turk."

Ref: See next entry.

1541

In search of fabled rich Quivira, Coronado and a small, selected party (30 mounted men; six foot soldiers; the Franciscan father, Juan de Padilla; some attendants; extra horses and pack animals) apparently entered present Kansas in June [possibly near present Liberal], having come from the southwest across the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles of today. On June 29 these explorers reached and crossed the Arkansas [in present Ford county?]. A week later, east and north of the river's great bend, they came to a Quivira settlement. The friendly Indians were tall (some over six and a half feet), dark-skinned, tattooed, nearly-naked people [identified as the Wichitas], who lived in round, grass-covered houses and raised crops of corn, beans, and melons.

For 25 days Coronado and his men ranged the land of the
Quiviras [particularly, it is thought, in present Rice and McPherson counties], visiting the scattered Indian villages (some of which had as many as 200 houses). Nowhere did they find the sought-for wealth and civilization, and they were bitterly disappointed. But the surroundings pleased them. Quivira’s “rich and black” soil was “well watered by arroyos, springs and rivers.” Wrote Coronado’s lieutenant Juan Jaramillo: “It is not a hilly country, but has table-lands, plains, and charming rivers with fine waters. . . . I am of the belief that it will be very productive of all sorts of commodities.” They found plums, grapes, mulberries, nuts; and there were the bison (the principal source of food) in numbers “as large as any one could imagine.”

In mid-August, accompanied by six young Quivira guides, the expedition returned to the Arkansas crossing. By a route more direct than on the outward journey they marched to the Rio Grande where Coronado’s main army awaited him.

Ref: H. E. Bolton’s Coronado on the Turquoise Trail (Albuquerque, c1949); Geo. P. Hammond and Agapito Roy’s Narratives of the Coronado Expedition (Albuquerque, 1940); Geo. P. Winship’s The Coronado Expedition (in 14th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology); Paul A. Jones’ Coronado and Quivira (Lyons, 1937); W. R. Wedel’s An Introduction to Kansas Archaeology (Washington, 1959). A Kansas historical marker, “Coronado and Quivira,” is west of Lyons, Rice county.

Though the Spanish supposed it a part of the Mississippi (which Hernando De Soto discovered in May, 1541), Coronado had learned of the existence of the Missouri river during his 1541 visit among the Quiviras. Pedro de Castañeda’s account of Coronado’s expedition (written some time after the event) stated:

The great Spiritu Santo river [the Mississippi] that had been discovered by Don Fernando de Soto in the land of Florida flows from this region [Quivira]. It runs through a province called Arche [Arahey—north of Quivira], according to information which was considered reliable, though its sources were not seen, because it was said that they come from very far, from the land of the southern cordillera, where it empties into the plains and, crossing the flat lands, cuts through the northern cordillera and comes out at the place where it was sailed by Don Fernando de Soto’s men. . . .

Thus the Spanish knew about the Missouri some 130 years before the first known white explorers—the French—saw its waters. (See 1673.)

Ref: Hammond and Roy, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, p. 263.

1542 (?)

Father Juan de Padilla (outfitted by Coronado whose expedition he had accompanied), returned to the Quivira Indians in the spring of 1542 as a missionary. With him were Andres do Campo (a Portuguese), two Indian lay assistants (Lucas and Sebastian), some
servants, and six Quiviras who had guided Coronado. Their equipment included mules, one horse, a flock of sheep, and they took church ornaments and “other trifles.” After some time among the friendly Quiviras [Wichitas], at the village where Coronado had planted a cross in 1541 [said to have been near present Lyons, on Cow creek], Father Padilla determined to visit a country (the Cuas) toward the east. He set out with his companions, but had not gone far when hostile Indians approached. Campo (on the horse), Lucas, and Sebastian escaped, but Father Padilla was slain by many arrows. The Indian lay assistants returned, “buried him with the consent of the murderers,” and then fled with Campo. The place where Kansas’ first Christian martyr met his death is not known; nor is the year certain. The event probably occurred in 1542 but may have been as late as 1544.

Ref: Castañeda, in *ibid.;* Bolton's *Coronado ...* pp. 385-341. In Herington’s city park is a monument to Father Padilla which was dedicated in 1904; ceremonies were held for a monument at Council Grove in 1931; near Lyons is a 26-foot granite cross erected to his memory in 1950; and a Kansas historical marker, “Father Juan de Padilla and Quivira,” is south of Herington.

1593 or 1594

Captained by Francisco de Leyva y Bonilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humaña, an unauthorized expedition of Spaniards left San Ildefonso [in New Mexico] in 1593 or 1594 and entered present southern Kansas after a journey which took them east and then on a northward course in search of the “gold mines of Tindan.” Along a river [the Arkansas?] they found the friendly Quiviras in a “very large settlement in a great plain 10 leagues long” and some two leagues wide where there were grass houses and fine crops of corn, beans, and melons. Continuing northward across a plain, three days later the explorers came to a buffalo herd of amazing size. Then there occurred a quarrel between the leaders and Leyva was murdered by Humaña who took command. When the Spaniards had gone some ten days’ travel beyond the Quivira settlements they reached a large river [possibly the Smoky Hill, or the Kansas; or the Platte?] which was about a quarter of a league wide, deep, and sluggish. At this place Jusepe and five other Indians deserted. (Jusepe, the only one to make his way back—and to give an account of the expedition—was held prisoner by Apaches for a year.)

As was later learned (by Oñate, in 1601) the Spaniards were all murdered (except one?) when Indians of the region fired the grass on all sides of them as they slept one night. (The Quiviras, in 1601,
said that the massacre had occurred 18 days’ travel beyond their
csettlements.)

(The “wide, deep and sluggish” river (which Jusepe in his account said
the party had been afraid to cross) may well have been the Smoky Hill or Kansas,
in flood stage.)

Ref: Hammond and Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, pp. 416-419, 753, 838,
946; Wedel, op. cit., p. 21 (who suggests the river was the Smoky Hill or Kansas); H. E.
Bolton in his Spanish Exploration in the Southwest . . . (New York, 1916), pp. 200,
201, decided the river was the Platte.

1601

Don Juan de Oñate, governor (and colonizer, in 1598) of New
Mexico, with a large force (upwards of 70 well-equipped men; two
Franciscan friars, attendants; over 700 horses and mules; carts, arms,
and artillery) set out late in June (from San Gabriel) for the
country to the northeast where the Leyva-Humaña expedition of the
1590’s had gone. Their guide was the Indian Jusepe. After more
than 200 leagues of travel they came upon a large camp of Escan-
jaques (a roving, buffalo-hunting people). Accompanied by these
Indians (who numbered 5,000 or more), Oñate’s party traveled
three (?) days more towards the settlement where (according to the
Escanjaques) the Spaniards they sought had been slain. They
crossed an east-flowing river [the Arkansas?] with “marvelous level
banks . . . so wooded that the trees formed very dense and
extensive forests,” which had good fords but was very deep in places.
A little farther on they came to a large Indian settlement of more
than 1,200 grass houses, located on the banks of another fairly large
river [the little Arkansas at present Wichita?] which flowed into the
larger one.

These grass-house people (unnamed by Oñate) also grew crops,
and in other ways fitted the description of the Quiviras [Wichitas].
Their chief was called Catarax [the Wichitas’ word for chief is
Tatarrax]. The arrival of the large force of Escanjaques, their en-
emies, ended any possibility for friendly relations between the Qui-
viras and the Spaniards. Prudently deciding to turn back, Oñate
and his men first had to fight and defeat the Escanjaques who had
turned hostile when restrained from firing the Quiviras’ abandoned
houses.

Except for learning that the Leyva-Humaña expedition had been
massacred by people who lived beyond the Quiviras; and that there
were, in the region northward, very large settlements, Oñate’s ex-
pedition accomplished nothing. He penetrated no farther than the
other Spaniards before him and discovered nothing new. He and
his men returned safely to New Mexico, reaching San Gabriel on November 24.

Ref: George P. Hammond and Agapito Ray’s *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico* . . . (Albuquerque, 1953); Bolton’s *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 250-265; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22, who discusses Oñate’s route in Kansas in relation to streams.

1606(?)

A Quivira chief, with 600 warriors, journeyed to Santa Fe following the defeat of the Escanjaques by Oñate. He offered friendship and lands to the Spanish in return for aid against the Quiviras’ enemies, the Ayjaos [who may have been the Indians Oñate had called Escanjaques].


1670

Father Jacques Marquette, writing from his mission among the Ottawas, told of the Missouri river, as reported to the French by the Indians: “Six or seven days below the Ilois [Illinois] is another great river [Missouri], on which are prodigious nations, who use wooden canoes . . .”

Ref: J. C. Shea’s *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1853), p. livi.

1673-1674

In mid-June, 1673, Louis Jolliet, Father Jacques Marquette, and five other Frenchmen, started down the Mississippi river in two canoes. At the end of June they passed by the mouth of the Pekitanou (Missouri), and became the first known white men to see the river.

Three of the earliest existing maps based on discoveries by this expedition are noted below. They were, also, the first known which showed the Kansa Indians.

(1) A map drawn by Jolliet in 1673-1674(?)—which accompanied the *Narrative* of the expedition published in M. Thevenot’s *Recueil de Voyages* (Paris, 1681). Shown as dwelling some distance up the Missouri (unnamed on the map) were the Missouris (Oumissouri); above them were the Osages (Autrechaha) and the Kansa (Kamissi) living in the same general area; and well beyond were the Panissass. On the Arkansas river (unnamed on the map) were also the Panissass—well upstream, with other tribes living above and below them.

(2) The so-called “Marquette” manuscript map of 1673-1674(?). The “R. Pekitanou” was drawn as a large, but short river, ending abruptly. The same Indian tribes were noted, but under variant spellings for three: Ouchage, Oumissourit, Kansa, and the Paniassa.

(3) The “Jolliet map of 1674” (not drawn by Jolliet). The Missouris, Kansa, Ouchage, Pani, and Minengio(?) tribes (in that order ascending)
were shown on the south bank of a large, east-flowing stream (unnamed) emptying into the Mississippi. Far to the south, on the “Riviere Basire” (the Arkansas), the Pariassa were shown as the farthest west of eight tribes dwelling on its south bank.

Ref: F. B. Steck’s Marquette Legends (New York, c1960) discusses the authorship and date of the “Marquette” map, and presents the author’s theory that Marquette did not accompany Jolliet on the 1673 expedition; Tucker, op. cit.; Wedel, op. cit.

Before 1680

Between 1664 and 1680 Juan de Archuleta and some soldiers were sent by the New Mexican governor to bring back several Taos Indian families which had fled Spanish rule in the middle 17th century. They found them to the northeast in the “plains of Cibola” in a fortified place to which the Spanish gave the name El Cuartelejo. The Taos Indians had copper and tin articles which they said were “from the Quivira pueblos” to which they had made a journey. The Spaniards also learned that the route to the Pawnees lay by way of Quivira, and were told (or perhaps concluded) that the French already were trading with the Pawnees.

[The Pawnees referred to were probably the Southern Pawnees—the Panionassa (or, Black Pawnees) of the area that is now northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas. No direct trade was likely between the Pawnees and the French at this early date.]

Ref: Thomas, After Coronado, p. 33.

1682

Rene Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, and party, descending the Mississippi in 1682, arrived at the mouth of the Missouri on February 14, camped there, and proceeded next day. Father Zenobe Membre (chaplain of the small French expedition) wrote:

The Indians assure us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where it rises; that beyond this mountain is the sea where they see great ships; that on the river are a great number of large villages, of many different nations; that there are arable and prairie-lands, and abundance of cattle and beaver.

La Salle, from information received, estimated the “grand riviere des Emisourites” to be navigable for 400 leagues or more.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan’s Chapters in Frontier History (Milwaukee, 1933), pp. 54, 55; A. P. Nasatir’s Before Lewis and Clark (St. Louis, 1952), v. 1, p. 4; Shea’s Mississippi Valley, p. 167 (for quotation).

1684-1688

Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin’s Carte de la Louisiane, based on La Salle’s map and data, was first published in 1684. La Salle’s misconception of the present Platte river’s eastward course as that of the Missouri—a mistake perpetuated in Franquelin’s and some later maps of the French period—thus showed “La Grande Riviere
des Emissourittes” flowing almost due east, and influenced a long-held French belief that the route to the mines of New Mexico lay up the Missouri river. Franquelin’s 1688 map showed the same confused network of rivers sketched in his earlier work, but gave more detailed information on the Indian tribes of the West. On the Missouri he showed the Missourits and Zages (Osages); then the Cansa well above them; and on westward, two villages of Pana, and the Panososo. On northwest branches were located the Panimaha (19 villages) and the Panetoca (four villages). South-west of the Osages were 20 villages of Paneassa.


1693

In mid-May, 1693, two French traders and some Kaskaskia Indians visited the Missouris and Osages, to make an alliance with them. Two chiefs from each village and “some elders and women” accompanied them back to Kaskaskia for a visit, and annual trade relations were established. From this contact, and others in the later 1690’s, the French began to learn about other Missouri river Indians. They heard that the Pawnees traded with the Spanish “from whom they get horses of which they make use sometimes to pursue the buffalo in the hunt. . . .”

[The Pawnees acquired the Spanish horses in raids on the Padoucas (Plains Apaches), who got them from the Indians of the New Mexican frontiers. There is no record of direct trade between New Mexico and the Pawnees at this period.]

Ref: Garraghan, op. cit., p. 57; The Jesuit Relations, v. 64, pp. 161, 169, 171; Nastir, op. cit., v. 1, p. 5.

1698

Dr. Daniel Coxe outfitted two ships commanded by Captain Barr, which he sent some distance up the Mississippi river in 1698. From notes and journals of expedition members, Daniel Coxe, Jr., compiled A Description of the English Province of Carolina, by the Spaniards Called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane, in which the following appeared:

It will be one great conveyency of this country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy communication therewith and the South Sea, which lies between America and China . . . by the north branch of the great Yellow River, by the natives called the River of the Massorites [Missouri], which hath a course of 500 miles, navigable to its heads or springs, and which proceeds from a ridge of hills somewhat north of New Mexico, passable by horse, foot, or wagon in less than half a day. On the other side
are rivers which run into a great lake, that empties itself by another great navigable river into the South Sea. ... 


1699

Pierre Lemoyne, Sieur d’Iberville, with some 200 soldiers and colonists in four vessels, arrived from France in February, at a point a little east of the Mississippi’s mouth, and founded Biloxi [Miss.].

About 1700

In present Scott county (12 miles north of Scott City, and about 50 miles east of the Colorado line) on a small knoll in Ladder creek valley, are ruins of ancient stone buildings, the principal one having been a seven-room, 53 x 35-foot structure with walls 18 to 24 inches thick. Archaeologists at the turn of the 20th century identified the ruins as of Pueblo origin and suggested they represented the place named El Cuartelejo (by the Spanish some 200 years earlier). More recently (1959) Dr. Waldo R. Wedel (of the Smithsonian Institution) has stated that the Scott county ruins represent “... a Plains Apache community of circa A.D. 1700 that included a multiroomed stone structure, irrigation works, and other features clearly inspired by, if not the actual handiwork of, Pueblo Indians. ...”

On at least two occasions in the latter half of the 17th century, Pueblo Indians fled from Spanish rule into the plains northeast of New Mexico. Sometime before 1680 when the Spaniards went after the earliest of these refugees (a group of Taos Indians) they found them among the Plains Apaches, living in structures which led the white men to call the place El Cuartelejo. (The term was also applied to the Indians in the vicinity.) In 1706 Ulbarri and a Spanish-Indian force went to El Cuartelejo to get some Picurie Indians and return them to New Mexico. (See, also, Before 1680, and 1706 in this chronology.)

Ulbarri’s diary and accounts of an expedition by Valverde in 1719 (published in 1935 in A. B. Thomas’ *After Coronado* and elsewhere noted in this chronology), seem to indicate that El Cuartelejo was in present eastern Colorado. (Thomas expressed the opinion that El Cuartelejo was either in Otero or Kiowa county, Colorado.)

Discussing El Cuartelejo’s location in his *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (1959), Dr. Wedel commented on the fact that no archaeological remains have been found in eastern Colorado to substantiate the Thomas claim, and summed up his own conclusions (p. 468) as follows:
As I see it, then, the case for El Cuartelejo in eastern Colorado rests solely on the testimony of certain historical documents. That for Cuartelejo in Scott County rests on archeological evidence, including particularly the unique association of a pueblo ruin with Plains Apache cultural remains. If Scott County pueblo and its associated archeological materials is not the very Cuartelejo rancheria from which Ulbrarri rescued Don Lorenzo and his Picuris kinsmen..., then we must conclude that it was a simultaneously occupied community (Sanasesli?) [for explanation of “Sanasesli” see this chronology under 1700] in which pueblo Indians from the upper Rio Grande and Plains Apaches were residing together in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

Ref: Kansas Historical Collections, v. 6, pp. 124-130; Thomas’ After Coronado, see index under El Cuartelejo; Wedel, op. cit., see index under El Cuartelejo, and Scott county pueblo site.

1700

Father Gabriel Marest, of the Kaskaskia mission (on the Illinois) dispatched a report (dated July 10) to Iberville (at Biloxi), summing up the information he had gathered about the Missouri river and its people. For the first time, though indirectly, the Kansas river was mentioned. Marest wrote, in part:

As to the Missouri, it is a very beautiful and large-sized river extending as far as the Mississippi. It is entirely covered with different nations of Indians. . . . Its real name is the Pekitanoui and the French call it the Missouri because this people is the first you meet there. Then come the Arkansas [Kansa], who are on a little river of their own name. Then the Pana, Paniassa or rather Panis. These nations are very numerous and by way of their river, which discharges into the Pekitanoui, they carry on commerce with the Spaniards. Our warriors have brought us horses and bridles, which these nations took from the Spaniards. . . .


Pierre Le Sueur (who had lived on the Upper Mississippi since the 1650’s) made the voyage from France to Louisiana in 1699 with Iberville’s colony. In 1700 he traveled up the Mississippi (to the mining country of present Minnesota) and passed by the mouth of the Missouri on July 13. He described the river’s mouth; stated (mistakenly) that Emissourita meant “peoples of the canoe”; wrote of a tin mine 30 leagues up the river of the Osages [tributary of the Missouri]; and noted that the Aiaouez [Iowas] were enemies of the Panis [Pawnees] who lived along the Missouri. (His information on the mine came from Indians, and on the Pawnees from a Frenchman who had gone to the Iowas by way of the Des Moines river and married a woman of that nation.)

Ref: Villiers du Terrage, op. cit., pp. 31, 32.
1702

Seventeen Frenchmen set out in March from Tamaroa [opposite present St. Louis] to ascend the Missouri, build a trading fort in the Pawnee-Iowa country, and explore from there towards New Mexico. This earliest (?) organized trading expedition up the Missouri failed when hostile Indians, at some place not recorded, forced the French to take refuge on an island. They apparently returned safely to Tamaroa.

Ref: Garraghan, op. cit., p. 62.

In a memoire of June 20, the Louisiana colony’s Iberville listed some Indian nations who lived on the Missouri and estimated their population in families. The Kansa were given as 1,500, the Panmahas as 1,200, and the Panas near Arkansas as 2,000. The Missouri were numbered at 1,500 families, but the Osages were not mentioned. Other upper river Indians in the tabulation were the Otoes, Iowas, and the Sioux.

On August 6 another Frenchman (Remonville) wrote that 14 large Indian tribes lived along the Missouri, which was a larger river than the [upper?] Mississippi.

Ref: Nastiri, op. cit., v. 1, p. 8; Pierre Margry, Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français, v. 6 (1888), p. 179.

1703

Guillaume Delisle’s Carte du Mexique et de la Floride, published in 1703, contained data on the Missouri river country incorporated from his manuscript maps (1701 and 1702) of the Mississippi valley—data gained from Iberville and Le Sueur. Notably, the Missouri’s course was sketched as from the northwest. (See 1684-1688.) The Osages were shown as living on the Osage river (“R. des Osages”), a tributary of the Missouri; and the Kansa (“Cansa”) were placed on another branch of the Missouri some distance above, which Delisle designated as the “Metchigamiki” [the Kansas]. Farther up the Missouri, and on east-flowing tributaries, were the Pawnees (“Apana,” “Panis,” “Panimaha”). On the headwaters of a river north of, and paralleling the Kansas, he showed the Paniassa. Far to the south, on a tributary of the Arkansas river (“R. des Acansa”) were also “2 grands Villages” of Panis; and on another branch downstream, the Paniassa.

See reproduction of a portion of Delisle’s 1703 map between pp. 80, 81.

1706

Juan de Ulibarri with a force of Spaniards and Indian allies set out from Santa Fe in mid-July to ransom some Picuries who, fleeing Spanish rule in 1696, had become slaves of the Apaches of El Cuartelejo. On July 29 they reached the river “which all the tribes call the Napestle” [the Arkansas]. (Ulibarri named it the Rio Grande de San Francisco.) Crossing, and turning eastward they arrived in the El Cuartelejo settlements on August 4. Ulibarri claimed the new country traversed for Spain. Among these friendly Apaches, he found the Picuries chief and some of his people. Next day, he dispatched men to three other Apache rancheras. In the one named Sanasesli (described as “forty leagues distant from the other two”) were the son of a former chief, and 18 other Picuries. They were turned over to Ulibarri’s scout, Jose de Naranjo, after he and his men had been entertained and given “excellent quarters” by the Sanasesli (a numerous and friendly people).

Meantime Ulibarri established relations with his Apache hosts, and gathered information. The El Cuartelejo Indians said that their enemies were the Pawnees and Jumanos. These Pawnees [i.e., the Paniquas (Black Pawnees) of present southern Kansas or northern Oklahoma] lived in two large villages on the “Sitı-scahe” river “seven days’ journey across level land with sufficient water.” The Apaches had a gun of French make and told of killing a white man and woman (but later said the gun had been taken from a Pawnee). Ulibarri got it in exchange for a Spanish gun. The Apaches said that all the tribes on the five large rivers they knew about were hostile to each other, but had trade with white people to the east. Asked about the “seas” to the north and east, they said they had heard that the one on the north was three long days’ journey beyond a tribe called the Pelones [Palomas? See 1719 under Valverde] over a road which was all sand dunes of very fine sand without grass.

On August 11, having gathered together all the Picuries, Ulibarri’s expedition left El Cuartelejo for New Mexico. The Arkansas river was reached on the 18th; and the company arrived in Santa Fe on September 2.

Ref: Thomas, After Coronado, pp. 16-22, 59-60, 262-265.

1706 or 1707

A party of Frenchmen under Derbanne went up the Missouri “nearly 400 leagues” from its mouth in 1706 or 1707. They were (according to Derbanne’s 1724 report) “the first of the French to
have been so far into the interior," and they met Indians who directly, or indirectly, had been in contact with the Spaniards.

Ref: Carraghan, op. cit., p. 63; Nasatir, op. cit., v. 1, p. 9.

1712

Antoine Crozet, a wealthy French merchant, was given a 15-year monopoly of trade in the country south of the Illinois river and between the colonies of Spain and England, in exchange for his agreement to bring two shiploads of immigrants into the Louisiana colony each year. (In 1717, the venture having been unsuccessful financially, Crozet gave up his patent.)

1712-1717

Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont (a young French officer, ex-commandant at Detroit) accompanied some Missouris (who had gone north to aid the French against the Fox Indians) to their village in 1712, and lived among them for several years. He made at least two trips far up the Missouri. In 1714 he ascended to the mouth of the Pawnee [Platte] river and kept an accurate log of the "Route to Follow to Mount the Missouri." On another journey he went beyond the mouth of the Niobrara, to the Aricara villages—farther, perhaps, than any white man had ascended before him.

In an account (1717?) of the Missouri and its people, Bourgmont wrote:

There are the Missouris, a nation of savages, bearing the name of the river, who are allies of the French. There are also the Auzages [Osages], another savage nation, allies and friends of the French. Their entire commerce is in furs; they are not numerous; they are a splendid race, and more alert than any other nation. All Missouri furnishes fine skins of all kinds, the climate there being very cold. Upstream is a smaller river which flows into the Missouri, called the "Rivière d'Ecanzo [Kansas] and a nation of the same name, ally and friend of the French; their trade is in furs. This is the finest country and the most beautiful land in the world; the prairies are like the seas, and filled with wild animals; especially oxen, cattle, hide and stag, in such quantities as to surpass the imagination. They hunt almost entirely with the arrow; they have splendid horses and are fine riders. Farther up is the Rivière Large, called by the French and the Indians Nibraskier [i.e., the Platte?]. . . .

Ref: Ibid, pp. 60, 61; Missouri Historical Review, Columbia, v. 35, p. 374; v. 36, pp. 282-284; Nasatir, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 12, 13. (Some sources spell the name "Bourgmond.")

1714

Indians reported in Santa Fe that the Jumanos and some allied French traders had attacked El Cuartelejo.

Ref: Thomas, After Coronado, p. 264.
1717

The Company of the West (or, the Mississippi Company) secured control of Louisiana and its trade for 25 years. Though the speculative schemes of John Law, its head, quickly failed, the company continued in power for 14 years. (In 1732 it failed and surrendered its charter.) Upper Louisiana (the Illinois country) came under the supervision of lower Louisiana’s government in 1717.

1718

New Orleans was founded by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, Sieur de Bienville, who had recently become governor of Louisiana. (In 1723 New Orleans became the seat of government.)

Guillaume Delisle’s *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Missisipi* (1718) was much more detailed in its information on the Mississippi, the tributaries, and the Indians, than his map of 15 years earlier. The new data had come from Bourgmont.

For the first time, so far as known, the Kansas river (“Grande Riviere des Cansez”) appeared by that name on a map; and some tributaries (unnamed) were indicated. In the forks of two branches [the present Junction City area?], Delisle placed a large village of the Kansas (“Cansez”). To the west, on headwaters of the Kansas, he showed villages of Padoucas. The Padoucas (indicated in four other locations to the north and south), together with the Apaches, were shown as forming a barrier to all the region west and southwest.

On the Missouri river, some distance above the mouth of the Kansas, was shown another village of the “Cansez” Indians, below a tributary labeled “Petite Riv. des Canzez” [the village in the present Doniphan area presumably].

Delisle located villages of Paniassa (Black Pawnees) on south-flowing tributaries of the Arkansas (“Riviere des Akansas”).

See reproduction of a portion of Delisle’s 1718 map between pp. 80, 81.


1719

In an attempt to reach the Padoucas by an overland route, French officer Claude Charles Du Tisne set out in the spring from Kaskaskia [on the Mississippi]. His first objective was a visit to the Big Osages [in present Vernon county, Missouri]. He was well treated in their
Above (enlarged from Delisle’s map of 1703) is a scale of distances showing comparative lengths of (1) the French land league, (2) the French marine league and Spanish land league [same], (3) the Spanish marine league, and (4) the English mile.

The league as a measure of distance has varied for different times and countries from 2.4 to 4.6 miles. Historians, tracing routes of the pre-19th century Spanish and French explorers, have estimated the league, generally, as between 2.5 and 3 miles; and seldom as more than 2.6 miles for the land league.

(On verso) A section of Guillaume Delisle’s Carte du Mexique et de la Floride . . . 1703. The Cansa Indians are shown as living on the Metchigamiki river, a name apparently applied but briefly to the Kansas. It does not appear in later records.
"... Upstream is a smaller river which flows into the Missouri, called the 'Rivière d'Ecanze' [Kansas]. ... This is the finest country and the most beautiful land in the world; the prairies are like the seas, and filled with wild animals; especially oxen, cattle, hind and stag, in such quantities as to surpass the imagination. ..."

—Quoted from the 1717 account of De Bourmont, whose explorations up the Missouri supplied much new information for Delisle's 1718 map.

(On verso) A portion of Guillaume Delisle's Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi . . . 1718. Here, the Kansas river ("Grande Riviere des Cansez") appeared by that name for the first time on a map, so far as is known. As located by Delisle, the Kansa Indians were living in the early 18th century in two, far-apart villages, one, between the forks of a Kansas tributary, the other, on the Missouri, at the mouth of a stream labeled "Petite Riv. des Cansez."
villages, and spent some time trading among them. (Du Tisne was their first official French visitor.) Though they opposed his continuing onward to the Paniouassa (Black Pawnees), he was able to obtain a few horses from the Osages. But he left all his trading goods except three guns and a few other articles when he started southwest (accompanied by a guide-interpreter and perhaps one other person). He traveled over prairies and hills [in present southeast Kansas] where there were many buffalo. The country was fine and well wooded. He crossed four rivers, the largest, a branch of the Arkansas [the Neosho or Grand?] flowed from the northwest and had rapids. (The others were Osage tributaries.)

After four days and 40 leagues of travel Du Tisne came to a stream (12 leagues west of the large Arkansas branch) where there were two large villages of Paniouassa (a few miles apart), totaling at least 250 lodges and 500 warriors. [Whether they were in southeast Kansas or in northeast Oklahoma has not been determined.] There, Osage meddling nearly cost him his life, but Du Tisne was saved by his own daring and boldness. He was able to secure a peace and trade alliance with the Paniouassa, but they refused to let him proceed to the country of their mortal enemies, the Padoucas, whose great village they said was 15 days journey beyond. The Paniouassa said Spaniards had visited them, but the Padoucas were a barrier to intercourse. Du Tisne traded three guns, powder, pickaxes, and knives to the Paniouassa (who had many horses) for two horses and a mule marked with the Spanish brand.

On September 27, after placing a French flag among these Indians, Du Tisne began the homeward trip. The Osages refused him guides, and he relied on a compass to make his way back to Kaskasia. Of his 14 horses (and a mule), six (and a colt) were lost during the journey.

Ref: Benard de La Harpe's *Journal Historique de L'Etablissement des Francois a la Louisiane* (New Orleans, 1831), pp. 168-172, in which it is specifically stated that the largest stream Du Tisne crossed en route to the Paniouassa was a branch of the Arkansas (not the Arkansas itself, as given in Margry's work); Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 309-315; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 30, pp. 505-512; Nasarir, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 252-254; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 65, 66, 533. See, particularly, Wedel, p. 533, for possible location of the Paniouassa villages sites in the Neodesha area.

Antonio de Valverde, governor of New Mexico, led an expedition against the Utes and Comanches in the fall of 1719. Unsuccessful in finding them, he was ready to return home in late October when he learned that several bands of El Cuartelejo Apaches were coming
to meet him. The gathering place was on the Río Napestle [Arkansas], in southeastern Colorado of today. From the Palomas (a band never visited by the Spanish) who came from "the most remote borderlands" of the Apaches "farther in from El Cuartelejo," Valverde heard disquieting news of white men [the French] who had made recent alliance with the Cancer [Kansa], and with the Pawnees and Jumanos, to whom they had given firearms. [Presumably these were references to Bourgmont's and Du Tisne's activities.]

The Palomas told of an attack made on them earlier in the year by the Pawnees and Jumanos and said they had been forced to leave their lands. (A Paloma Indian, wounded by a bullet in the fight, in one version of his story said they had fought the Kansa Indians.) Elaborating the facts, they told of two French settlements among the Pawnees and Jumanos. [The Palomas apparently lived in present Kansas—neighbors to the Kansa and to the Black Pawnees of southern Kansas or northern Oklahoma. To the French the Paloma Apaches very likely represented a part of the people they called Padoucas.]

The Palomas spoke only of the Kansa, the Pawnees and Jumanos, and the Cadodachos Indians. When they described French settlements on a large river they were talking about lower Louisiana, but the Spaniards misinterpreted what the Apaches were telling them. Valverde's scout Naranjo, who had previously traveled as far as a large river which he named the Río Jesus Maria [i.e., the South Platte], where there were Pawnees, decided it was the river the Palomas meant.

The Spanish expedition returned to New Mexico in November. Valverde's report (of November 30) specifically stated: "... the French have their settlement on a very large river which here [Santa Fe] is known as the Jesús María. . . ."

Ref: Thomas, After Coronado, pp. 129-135, 143, 144.

1719-1722

From lower Louisiana Benard de La Harpe made explorations by way of the Red river and the Arkansas in the 1719-1722 period—explorations which first brought him to the Arkansas river in present Oklahoma in 1719. He met representatives of nine allied Indian nations most of whom lived on a tributary (probably the Canadian of today). These people raised crops, spent their winters hunting buffalo, bred fine horses. They were allied with the Paniouasssa (the Black Pawnees) who were 40 leagues to the north. With the Osages (40 leagues to the northeast) they were at peace,
but there was mutual mistrust. Other allies were some nomadic nations on the upper Red river. Their enemies were the Canecey (to the south on the Red river), the Padoucas (who had villages 15 days journey to the west-northwest), and a few villages of Panis. The “nine-nations” people ate their captives.

They told La Harpe that a white nation [the Spaniards] traded with the Padoucas, but that they seldom went far in that direction because of their enemies. They said they knew that the Aricaras [meaning the northern Pawnees] lived in the direction of the Canees [Kansa] on the Missourri.

Knowledge gained by La Harpe’s explorations was depicted on the Sieur de Beauvilliers’ map of 1720 (manuscript). The “nine-nations” Indians were shown well to the west on the stream labeled “Atcanka R.” [the Canadian]. The Arkansas above the junction of the Canadian was designated only as “R. decouverte en 1720.” Between the two rivers and north of the nine nations were “Villages Ascantis et Ousita.” (These were, actually, two of the nine nations as listed by La Harpe.)

[The Ousita may well have been the Wichita Indians of today, and if so, La Harpe provided an early reference to the Wichitas by the name which was later to be applied to them.]

Ref: La Harpe, op. cit., pp. 206-209, 316-325; Wheat, loc. cit., p. 50.

1720

Alarmed by reports of French settlements which, as the Spanish understood, were among the Pawnees on the present Platte river, Governor Valverde of New Mexico, sent Pedro de Villasur with a small but well-equipped force to reconnoiter the French position. Villasur, with 45 Spaniards, 60 Indian allies, a priest, a French interpreter, and attendants, set out from Santa Fe in mid-June. Arriving at the El Cuartelejo settlements they stopped to rest. There some Apaches joined them, to act as guides.

On August 6 the Spaniards and their Indian cohorts crossed the Rio Jesus Maria [South Platte]. At what point, and by what route they arrived at the river cannot be determined. (Their course had been generally northeastward.) Four days later they came to a large Pawnee village at the junction of another river with the Platte, and made a camp opposite. Though aware that the Pawnees were up to some trickery, after unsuccessful attempts to negotiate and to get news of the French, the Spaniards were ill-prepared for the surprise attack which occurred at daybreak of August 13. (The only precautions they had taken were to move their camp,
and place guards, but the El Cuartelejo Apaches had realized the danger, and departed.) The Pawnees, aided by some Otoes, mass- 
sacred a large part of the Spanish force. Villasur, more than two-
thirds of his soldiers, and many of the Indian allies were slain. 
Survivors of the disastrous defeat made their way to the El Cuarte-
lejo settlements, and then to New Mexico. Governor Valverde 
heard the bad news on September 6.

[There is disagreement as to where the massacre took place. It may have 
occcurred, as some maintain, on the south side of the North Platte, near pres-
ent North Platte, Neb.; others contend the Spaniards were killed near the 
mouth of the Loup Fork. If the Villasur massacre was in the Loup Fork vi-
cinity, the Spanish expedition may have crossed northwestern Kansas to 
arrive at that locality. The French reported that the attackers were Otoes and 
Panimahas.]

68-87; Carraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

1723

Discussing possible sites for a Missouri river fort which Bourgmont had been ordered to establish, French engineer La Renaudiere 
wrote (on August 23):

. . . At thirty leagues in ascending [the Missouri, above Grand river] 
is the river of Quans [the Kansas] a beautiful river. . . . Thirty leagues 
higher up is a little river which runs to the north, where there is a large 
village of Quans, it is composed of 150 huts which border the Missouri. One 
finds there, on the south side, many beautiful prairies, and on the west side 
many mountains. . . .

[Despite the variation in distance, this was presumably the later-designated 
"Village of 24"—that is, the Kansa village on the Missouri said to be 24 
leagues above the mouth of the Kansas—in the present Doniphan area.]

Ref: Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 893, 894.

Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont and a party of 40 Frenchmen, 
journeyed up the Missouri from Kaskaskia in the fall of 1723, 
arriving at the Missouri Indians' village [on the south bank, in present 
Saline county, Missouri] on November 9. Crossing to the north 
side, a few miles up from the mouth of the Grand [in present Car-
roll county, Missouri] they erected, during the winter, a small post 
called Fort Orleans—the first French fortification on the Missouri. 
There, Bourgmont planned and prepared for his proposed exped-
tion to the Padoucas.

Kansa chiefs apparently visited Fort Orleans either in the win-
ter, or spring of 1724, and were given a French flag which was 
displayed in the Kansa village when Bourgmont arrived there the 
following July.
Fort Orleans was used for only five years. It was probably abandoned in 1728.


1724

Bourgmont (at Fort Orleans) in June organized his expedition to the Padoucas. It was to proceed by way of the Kansa village on the Missouri. He sent a small party under Saint-Ange upriver in canoes on June 25; and set out with seven other Frenchmen, some 100 Missouris and 64 Osages on July 3, traveling overland across present Missouri. Bourgmont’s party camped, on July 7, on the Missouri opposite the Kansa village, crossing the next day. Illness among Saint-Ange’s men kept the expedition in camp for over two weeks. (The Osages returned home because of the prevalent fever.) Meantime Bourgmont traded with the Kansa, obtained furs, and bought from them two Padouca slaves.

On July 24 a great throng of people set out westward across present Kansas. Accompanying the 19 Frenchmen were the two Great Chiefs, 14 war chiefs and 300 Kansa and Missouri warriors, about 300 women and 500 young people. And there were at least 300 dogs (drawing baggage). (The Kansa villagers were headed west on a buffalo hunt.)

A week later, when about three leagues from the Kansas river, Bourgmont became so ill he had to be carried back to the Kansa village on a litter (and then was taken by boat to recuperate at Fort Orleans). Before turning eastward on July 31, he delegated one of his men, Gaillard, to conduct the Padouca slaves to their people. Fifty Kansa Indians went with Gaillard. Traveling southwest and west they reached the Grand Village of the Padoucas [perhaps in Saline county?, or Ellsworth county?] on August 25. The Padoucas treated the party well, as Bourgmont was notified on September 6.


Bourgmont left Fort Orleans again on September 20 (by way of the Missouri), arriving at the Kansa village on the 27th. On October 5 and 6 he held councils with assembled Indian chiefs and head men. Five Padoucas had returned with Gaillard to the Kansa village (and encamped not far away were great numbers of Pa-
doucas with their families who had followed them eastward). The Missouri river Indians (Kansa, Missouris, Otoes, Iowas, and Pani-mahas) reluctantly agreed to make peace with the Padoucas.

On October 8, Bourgmont, with a party totaling 40, set out across present Kansas to visit the Great Chief of the Grand Village of the Padoucas. Accompanying Bourgmont were his ten-year-old son (by a Missour woman); 14 Frenchmen; the five Padouca envoys; seven Missouris; five Kansa chiefs; four Otoe; and three Iowa chiefs. They had ten baggage-carrying horses. Proceeding west and southwest they crossed the Kansas river [near present Rossville?] on October 11; then traveled some 48 leagues farther (first southwest, and then west) during the next seven days.

On October 18 they met the Padoucas [in present Saline? or Ellsworth? county]. At the Grand Village, not far from a little river with brackish water [the Saline presumably], they were welcomed warmly. There were some 500 lodges, 800 warriors, 1,500 women, and more than 2,000 children in that village. The Padoucas had some horses, and lots of dogs. On October 19 Bourgmont presented many gifts to the Indians; then, before the assembled chiefs and head men (some 200 persons) he made a speech exhorting the Padoucas to cease warfare with the Missouri river Indians. A peace treaty was agreed to, and the Great Chief (who had been given a French flag) promised the allegiance of more than 2,000 warriors, as well as aid to Frenchmen who wished to cross to New Mexico. (The Spaniards were 12 days' travel from the village he said.) Bourgmont was presented with seven horses as a gift.

On October 22 the Frenchmen and Missouri river Indians started homeward. They took a route northeast, and east to the Kansas river (which they reached and crossed on the 27th). From that place they followed eastwardly down the river valley till they came to the Missouri, near the mouth of the Kansas. On November 1 Bourgmont embarked in a canoe with some of his men (sending the rest overland with the horses) and reached Fort Orleans on November 5.

Ref: See preceding entry. Wedel discusses Bourgmont's route and the conclusions others have reached as to the locale of the Grand Village of the Padoucas.

1725

Bourgmont, returning to France in the summer of 1725, escorted a delegation of Indians—including a Missouri, an Otoe, an Osage, and a young "Princess of the Missouri" to France. They arrived in Paris on September 20, were presented at court, and entertained
by royalty. The “Princess” was baptized in Notre Dame cathedral, and married one of Bourgmont’s lieutenants. After more than a year abroad these Indian “ambassadors” were returned to their own people.

Ref: Garraghan, op. cit., p. 69; Missouri Historical Review, v. 36, p. 295; Nebraska History, v. 6, pp. 53-58; Nasatir, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 21, 22.

1739

Bound for New Mexico on a trading expedition, the brothers Paul and Peter Mallet, and six other Frenchmen, ascended the Missouri river in the late spring, at least as far as the Panimaha village [on the Niobrara? river in Nebraska] before learning they had gone far out of their way. From that place they set out overland, with pack horses, on May 29, on a route which would take them back where they could set a course for the Spanish settlements. The river which they came to on June 2 they named the “Plate” [Platte]. Following up this stream beyond the river of the Pa-doucas [the Loup Fork?], they crossed the Platte on June 13 and set out toward the southwest. As they proceeded through present Kansas they crossed several large streams. On the 20th they lost seven merchandise-laden horses in the waters [swollen by rain?] of a river they thought was the “Cances” [possibly the south fork of the Solomon]. On June 30 they reached the bank of the Arkansas [perhaps in Ford county], where they found stones with Spanish inscriptions. Following upstream, on July 5 they came to a camp of Laitan [Comanche] Indians [perhaps in the vicinity of Lamar, Colo.]. From there, an Aricara slave guided them to the Spanish settlements. They reached Santa Fe on July 22; received good treatment in friendly custody; and remained for nine months. The Mallet party was the first (of record) to reach New Mexico from the Missouri country.


1740

Seven of the eight Frenchmen of the Mallet party left Santa Fe on May 1, intending to go to New Orleans. Arriving at the Canadian river on May 10, they followed downstream for three days [reaching a point probably a little east of the New Mexico-Texas boundary]. There the party split, three men deciding to “take the route of the Pani Indians” to the Illinois country. They reached their destination safely, probably more or less retracing their route of 1739 across present Kansas. No record of their journey exists.
The Mallet brothers and two companions proceeded down the Canadian [through present Oklahoma], abandoned their horses for canoes made of bark, and continued to the Arkansas river. Not long afterwards they came to a French hunting camp. From there they proceeded to the French post on the Arkansas about 45 (?) miles upstream from the river’s mouth, and eventually made their way to New Orleans.

An attempt by the Mallet brothers, in 1741, to guide an expedition to Santa Fe by way of the Canadian river ended in failure.

Ref: Same as preceding entry.

1744

At some time between 1724 and 1744 (apparently) the Kansa Indians moved from the “Village of 24” [present Doniphan] downstream to the site later known as the “Village of 12” [12 leagues up the Missouri from the mouth of the Kansa, in the present Salt Creek valley, Leavenworth county]. Near the new town, in 1743-1744, a Canadian named Deruisseau built a trading post, and a small fortification (Fort Cavagnolle), in return for a five-year (1745-1750) monopoly of the Missouri river trade. This second French post on the Missouri (see Fort Orleans, 1723-1728) was in use as late as 1758 when Fort Cavagnolle was described as a circular palisade enclosing some poor cabins and huts, where an officer, seven or eight soldiers, and some traders lived. One commandant was the Chevalier de Villiers (described as a capable officer of good intellect and conduct). The trading post annually furnished 100 packs of furs (chiefly beaver, deer, and bear). When the Sieur de Portneuf (successor to Deruisseau) asked French authorities about renovating the post in 1752, repairs were approved only after it was ascertained that the Kansa Indians had returned to their village near by. (Portneuf had earlier complained that the post was three days march from any Indians; that voyageurs went up the Kansas river without his permission; and for both reasons wished to build the fort at a better site.) It seems likely Fort Cavagnolle was abandoned before the Spanish came into control of the area in the 1760’s.

[In 1804 the Lewis and Clark expedition camped opposite Salt Creek valley on the night of July 2. They saw no traces of the village but “About a mile in the rear . . . was a small fort, built by the French on an elevation. . . . the situation of the fort may be recognized by some remains of chimneys, and the general outline of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. . . .” Of the fort’s one-time occupants they had no information.]

1748

Pierre Satren, Luis Febre, and Joseph Riballo, deserters from the French post on the Arkansas, were members of a party of 12 which set out from a village of Zarca Indians [in eastern Arkansas] in the fall of 1748, for New Mexico. They went up the Rio de Napestle [the Arkansas] to the two villages of the Jumano or Panipiquet Indians [the Wichitas, possibly in present Kansas]; and were conducted by those Indians to a Comanche settlement of three villages. After remaining for a time, hunting, Satren, Febre, and Riballo accompanied some Comanches to Taos, and from there were taken by the Spanish to Santa Fe, arriving six months after leaving the Zarca Indians. They were allowed to remain as residents.


1749-1750

Felipe de Sandoval (native of Spain) who had been at the French post on the Arkansas, and who left that place some time in 1749 with six other persons, arrived in Santa Fe, N. M., with two Frenchmen in February, 1750. Sandoval related that he and his companions had traveled up the Rio de Napestle [Arkansas] in canoes. After 50 days they reached the Jumano [Wichita] settlements where they found a French flag flying. These settled people lived along the river [possibly in the Wichita area of today] in grass houses, in two adjoining villages surrounded by stockades and ditches. They raised crops of corn, beans, and melons. The French, with whom they carried on an extensive trade, had recently paid them a visit and left gifts—and the flag. The Jumanos, who numbered about 500 warriors, were at war with the Pananas [Apaches?] and they were “fierce cannibals” according to Sandoval, who had seen them eat two captives. They had a few horses, secured from the Comanches.

Sandoval’s party spent 20 days in the Jumano settlement, then set out with Indian guides, to find the Comanches. Unsuccessful, Sandoval and his companions separated, and he, after returning to the Jumanos for a few days, set out once more, this time following up the Arkansas with a Comanche guide. After 40 days of travel he reached a Comanche village, and remained among those Indians for some time. Then with two Frenchmen who had come there, and an Indian guide, he proceeded by way of Taos to Santa Fe. Sandoval thought the Jumanos were 20 to 25 days travel to the northeast and east of Taos; and that from the Jumanos, traveling
down the Arkansas to the French post would require about nine
days.

Ref: Bolton's French Intrusions, pp. 396-398.

1750

Governor Velez of Santa Fe, in a report to his superiors, noted
that on the northwest New Mexican frontier there were the
Comanches, and the Jumanes (whom the French called Panipiques).
The alliance (in the latter 1740's) of the Comanches and Jumanes,
he wrote, had resulted in their waging war against the Carlanes
and other Apache bands of New Mexico; and had also made it easier
for their allies, the French, to advance towards the southwest.

Velez described the Rio de Napestle [the Arkansas] which had
its source in a rugged mountain range about 80 leagues from Taos.
In its upper reaches the river was shallow, he wrote, but Frenchmen
had told him that it was large at the Jumano [Wichita?] village, and
farther down where the Colorado [Canadian] joined it, was still
larger. Velez further reported that New Mexican soldiers under
Lt. Gen. Bernardo de Bustamante y Tagle, pursuing some Com-
anches, had followed down the Rio de Napestle to the vicinity of
the Jumano villages "on which expedition were acquired adequate
reports of those regions, in the summer very delectable and pleasing,
and inhabited by innumerable buffalo, which the Divine Providence
created for the support of the barbarians and the greed of French-
men." (Presumably this expedition had occurred in the late 1740's.)

Ref: Ibid., p. 398; H. E. Bolton's Athanase de Mèstres and the Louisiana Texas Front-
tier, 1768-1790 (Cleveland, 1914), v. 1, p. 48.

1751

La Jonquieres (commandant at Illinois) reported (September
25) that the Great Osages had been making continual warfare on
"Les Panis noirs et picqueus" [the black and tattooed Pawnees—
i. e., the Wichitas?] and "have completed the destruction of one of
their villages, which was begun by the measles and smallpox." They
[the Wichitas?] had "begged help of the Laytannes [Co-
manches], a tribe close to the Spaniards. This tribe . . . joined
them, and they went together against the village of the Great Osages
when a party of their people were at the Cerne [surround] killing
animals. . . . the Great Osages lost twenty-two of their
chiefs, and the others left twenty-seven of their people on the
field of battle. . . ." The Osages had then come to get the
Illinois Indians to help them avenge the defeat, but the French
reminded the Illinois that "Les Panis noirs et picquées" and the Laytannes were, like themselves, allied with the French, and induced them not to go with the Osages. La Jonquiere noted that the "Laytannes are armed with the lance like the Spaniards. They all are mounted on saddle horses, and the women go to war with them."


1752

After a winter at Fort Cavagnolle [on the Missouri, in what is now Leavenworth county] Jean Chapuis and Luis Feeulli(?), joined by eight other Frenchmen, set out about the middle of March on a trading expedition to New Mexico—a trip for which Chapuis had secured a license from French authorities. They first went upriver to the Panimaha village to obtain horses. There, or later, when in the Comanche country, eight men turned back. Chapuis and Feeulli, after paying a heavy toll to the Comanches were given directions to New Mexico. [Of their route across present Kansas there is no record.]

Forty days later, and four and a half months after setting out from Fort Cavagnolle, the two men reached Pecos mission, on August 6. They came from the north, guided by an Ae woman (a slave fleeing New Mexico) whom they had met north of the Arkansas, and persuaded to show them the way. Chapuis and Feeulli were taken into custody and sent to Mexico (and from there to Spain). The merchandise on their nine pack horses was confiscated and sold at auction.

Ref: Bolton's French Intrusions, pp. 400-404; Thomas, The Plains Indians, pp. 21, 24, 82, 83, 93, 94, 103-106; Nasatir, op. cit., v. 1, p. 42.

1753

Macarty (the commandant at Illinois) reported, on May 20, these items from the Western country:

"Four men who deserted from the Missouri post [Fort Cavagnolle] were killed by 'Les panis noir' [Black Pawnees]. . . ."

"The Laitannes [Comanches], numerous and wandering tribes between our posts and the Spaniards, have asked . . . permission to come and see me; they said they wished to have a father. . . ."

"The Spaniards have been in convoys as far as the places where they were defeated some years ago. . . ." [A reference to the Villasur massacre of 1720?]

Ref: Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. 29, pp. 820, 821.
1755

Ste. Genevieve was settled by the French. (When, in 1763, the French territory west of the Mississippi came under Spanish control, it was the only organized community in present Missouri.)

1757-1758

Antoine S. Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* was published in Paris in 1758 (and later in English translation, in London). The author (resident in the Natchez-New Orleans area from 1718 to 1734), wrote extensively, and from personal observation, of the lower Mississippi country. For upper Louisiana he had to rely on others. He devoted one chapter to an abridged version of Bourgmont's 1724 journey to the Padouca village; and he related a story [fabrication?] supposedly obtained in an interview, of a Yazoo Indian named Moncacht-ape who was said to have gone far up the Missouri before 1734.) But he apparently knew nothing of La Harpe's 1719-1721 discoveries, or of the Mallet brothers' 1739 journey to Santa Fe, or even of the existence of the great Platte river. In short, both Le Page du Pratz's writings and his map of Louisiana (dated 1757, and published in the *Histoire*) were more than 20 years out-of-date in presenting French geographical knowledge of the 1750's. (Delisle's map of 1718 contained more, and better data on the country of the Arkansas and the Missouri.) Of these rivers Le Page du Pratz wrote:

[The Arkansas] ... takes its rise in the mountains adjoining to the east of Santa Fe. It afterwards goes up a little to the north [the great bend in south-central Kansas] from whence it comes down to the south, a little lower than its source. ...  
[The Missouri] ... takes its rise at eight hundred leagues distance, as is alleged, from the place where it discharges itself into the Mississippi ... though the Missouri comes out of a mountain, which lies to the northwest of New Mexico, we are told that all the lands it passes through are generally rich. ... The French [have] ... penetrated up the Missouri only for about three hundred leagues at most. ... According to what I have been able to learn about the course of this great river, from its source to the Cansas, it runs from west to east; and from that nation it falls down to the southward, where it receives the river of the Cansas, which comes from the west; there it forms a great elbow, which terminates in the neighborhood of the Missouri. ... The largest known river which falls into the Missouri is that of the Cansas which runs for near two hundred leagues in a very fine country. ...  
[Of the Indian tribes of the Missouri country] The principal nations who inhabit upon the banks, or in the neighborhood of the Missouri, are, besides ... [the Missouris and Osages], the Cansas, the Othouses, the White
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Panis, the Black Panis, the Panimachas, the Aiouez, and the Padoucas. The most numerous of all those nations are the Padoucas, the smallest are the Aiouez, the Othoues, and the Osages; the others are pretty considerable.

Ref: Antoine S. Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane (Paris, 1758); Bernard De Voto's The Course of Empire (Boston, 1952), pp. 568-568 (for discussion of Monecacht-ape).

1758

Describing the Missouri river Indians with whom the French had dealings, the governor of Louisiana (Louis Billouart de Kerlerec), reported that the Kansa had only 250 to 300 warriors. They had once been very numerous, he wrote, but wars with the Pawnees, and smallpox had greatly weakened them. He mentioned their great friendship for the French, and noted that Fort Cavagnolle was located at their village. He stated that the Great Osages numbered 700 warriors; the Little Osages 250; the Missouris about 150; the Otoes 100; the Iowas 200; the Pani-Mahas on the Platte 600; the Mahas on the Missouri 800; and the Arikaras were thought to be more numerous than the Mahas.


1762

On November 3, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, France ceded Louisiana west of the Mississippi, plus the Isle d'Orleans, to her ally Spain.

(To Be Continued in the Summer, 1961, Issue.)