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A HISTORY OF MISSOURI



Chas. W. Smith

A HISTORY
OF
MISSOURI

FROM THE EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS AND
SETTLEMENTS UNTIL THE ADMIS-
SION OF THE STATE INTO
THE UNION

BY
LOUIS HOUCK

VOLUME I

CHICAGO
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PREFACE

It is with misgivings that this history is submitted to the indulgent reader. During a somewhat busy and active life, by no means devoted to literary pursuits, the interesting material embodied in this work has been collected. For me it has been a labor of love, absorbing for a long time nearly all my leisure hours — diverting my mind from business cares. When I first began my studies, had no thought of writing the colonial and territorial history of Missouri, but as I progressed in my researches soon realized that this important chapter of the history of the state was unwritten, and also that owing to the great labor and extended investigations involved, as well as expense in collecting the widely scattered material, certainly no one for profit would be likely to undertake the task. As my own knowledge of the subject increased and expanded, the idea took possession of my mind, that at any rate a feeble effort should be made to write this neglected period of the history of the state. Such in brief, is the origin of this work, written at odd hours, by one professing no literary accomplishments, but nevertheless anxious to rescue from oblivion that earlier Missouri, when still a virgin land, before the forests were felled and the prairies vexed by the plow, and before the march of modern commercialism took possession of the souls of people.

In such histories as have been published a few scattered and isolated facts, usually as an introduction, are devoted to the colonial and territorial era of Missouri. The struggle in Congress, to prevent the admission of the state into the Union, with slavery, and the settlement of the question by the so-called Missouri Compromise, has apparently been considered the commencement of the history of the state. But the true history of Missouri begins long before this time. It is a story of fascinating interest. Vaguely and dimly this central region of the North American continent, now the seat of opulence, intelligence and civilization, first appears on the maps, a mere cosmographic conjecture, a realm where Spanish conquistadors expected to find the fabled Dorado. This cosmographic conjecture soon becomes a geographic certainty, with the courses of its mighty

rivers well defined; for along these rivers, and the immemorial pathways leading to them, the first explorers in search of gold traveled on their adventurous marches and bivouacked when exhausted by their fruitless toil. A few bands of roving and barbarous savages were the only dwellers in the land. Soon the enterprising Canadian *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* penetrate far up the rivers and deep into the boundless woods in search of furs. The self-sacrificing and devoted missionaries follow to give the inconstant and restless savages the word of a higher life. Here and there along the rivers, a small settlement is founded and the mining district at the headwaters of the St. Francois is exploited in a primitive manner. Then by the treaty of Fontainebleau France cedes all her possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain, and the Spanish colonial régime begins.

Now a large number of the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Phillippe and Fort de Chartres in the eastern Illinois country, cross the Mississippi to escape the dreaded English rule, and find a new home in the possessions of Spain. This emigration gives the first impetus to the growth of population in the western Illinois country — now Missouri — leading to the formation of new settlements and villages, and to trace the growth of these settlements and the business and ancestry of these settlers is a subject which must always interest us.

In the meantime, the restless American vanguard, crossing the Alleghanies, the wilderness of the Cumberland mountains, and following the Ohio, reached the Mississippi, only to find a foreign flag waving on the west bank and at the mouth of this great river. The Spanish intrigues to separate these trans-mountain settlers from the eastern states begin, and the story of Morgan's splendid scheme to found an Hispano-Anglo-American state at the mouth of the Ohio, with New Madrid as the capital, and the consequent influx of Anglo-American settlers, attracted by free land and no taxation, becomes a part of Missouri history. But this dream was destroyed by the jealousy of Wilkinson and the stupidity of Miro.

In 1793-4 Genet by his Franco-American filibustering scheme to conquer the Louisianas, greatly excited the Spanish officials, who in anticipation of the apprehended invasion, organized the militia and the Indians and established a new post at Cape Girardeau, near the mouth of the Ohio, to defend the country. The proclamation of Washington dissolved this danger. A few years afterward France becomes the ally of Spain, and French military officers visit the

Louisianas to estimate the value of the country and plan its military defense against British aggression. In 1796, Col. Don Carlos Howard an Irish officer in the Spanish service, ascends the Mississippi as far as St. Louis, with a squadron of galleys and a military force, to protect the upper country from invasion.

Yet a few years, and in 1800, the loosening Spanish grasp on this great Province is well understood and the treaty of San Ildefonso paves the way for the Louisiana purchase.

Now, the banner of Spain is lowered forever in Missouri.

Under a new government, new flag, and new institutions, as if by magic, the political, commercial and industrial aspect changes. The vivifying influence of liberty electrifies the land. As the Louisiana district, the new domain is attached to the Indiana territory, but the meek and docile subjects of Spain vigorously remonstrate, and within six months after they became American citizens, meet in convention to protest and demand self-government. Congress then organizes the Louisiana territory. Justice is now administered by courts according to well-defined principles and not in arbitrary fashion. Turbulent liberty, regulated by law, takes the place of autocratic rule. In 1812, the name of the territory is changed to Missouri territory and a larger share of self-government given the people. During this period the Indian title to much of the soil has been extinguished within the present limits of the state, and is soon occupied by the numerous emigrants pouring into the territory from the empire-building southern states — from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Then the earthquake of 1811-2, of New Madrid startles the civilized world. The war of 1812, for a time checks the frontier settlements, but after it closes an ever broadening current of emigration flows into the territory. The Spanish land titles, too, are a subject of great interest and the history of these titles and their final adjustment falls within the scope of the territorial history of the state. The growth of new settlements, the organization of new counties, the founding of new towns, the development of agriculture, trade, commerce, and manufacture, and territorial legislation during this formative era, all are recorded in this history. So also the growth of educational facilities and the development of the various religious denominations.

Finally the great struggle to secure the admission of the territory as a state into the Union begins, a struggle that for a time seems to shake the very foundation of the Federal republic, but out of this

struggle Missouri emerges victoriously, and side by side with the other states begins her glorious career.

Of the distinguished men of colonial and territorial Missouri I give many biographical sketches, and their portraits whenever able to secure them.

It has been my object to collect and embody in this work every important fact relating to the early history of Missouri. Am not vain enough to suppose that I have fully succeeded, however, can truly claim that I have not neglected to make every effort to render the work as complete as possible. Know well that the facts collected will not interest the general reader or larger public, because these facts chronicle no great historic transactions or events of world-wide significance. My endeavor has been to give in simple language, briefly and truthfully in detail, as far as I could secure such details, the annals of the humble and almost forgotten pioneers, who first came into the wilderness, established a civilized order of society and all unconscious of their work, laid the foundations of this great commonwealth. My authorities are given on every page. No important fact has been stated without making due reference to the authority upon which I rely. In addition, Sr. Don José Gonzales Verger searched for me for documents bearing on the Spanish colonial régime in upper Louisiana, in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and brought numerous documents to light heretofore unknown, and which were translated for me by Mr. James Alexander Robertson, of Madison, Wisconsin, and to these frequent references are made. I am also under great obligations to my friend, Judge Walter B. Douglas, so well versed in everything relating to the early history of Missouri, for much kind advice, and many valuable suggestions, and to him I here now extend my grateful thanks. To the late Miss Marie Louise Dalton, whose early death all friends of Missouri historical research must always lament, I owe much for bringing to my attention many of the original documents relating to the history of Missouri in possession of the Missouri Historical Society. I must here, too, mention Mr. Pierre Chouteau, one of the descendants of the founders of St. Louis, for freely and generously placing at my disposal his great collection of DeLassus papers and permitting the use of some of his pictures, illustrating the Spanish epoch of the history of the state. To the Wisconsin Historical Society of Madison, possessing an invaluable collection of American history, I hereby express my obligation

for the free use of the same. So also to the Congressional Library, of Washington, nor must I forget to thank my friend Mr. William Beers, the distinguished librarian of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, Louisiana, for laying open to me the great collection of maps relating to Louisiana, in possession of that library. And lastly, I hereby express my sincere gratitude to Miss Idress Head, now filling the position of librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, for her assistance during several years in this work, and the deep and intelligent interest she took in everything relating to its preparation.

"ELMWOOD,"

Cape Girardeau, April, 1908.

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ERRATA

On page 31, the first line, read "d'œil" for "d'oil."

On page 161, the fourth line, read "Pekitanoui" for "Pekistanoui."

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HISTORY OF THE EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF MISSOURI

CHAPTER I

Probable Origin of Name of the State—Various Spelled in Early Narratives—Present Spelling Adopted by Joutel in his Narrative in 1686—History of the Boundaries of the State—Extension to the 36th Parallel between the Mississippi and the St. Francois—Addition of the So-called Platte Purchase in 1836—Controversy with Iowa as to the Northern Boundary—Wolf Island Litigation with Kentucky—The State Geographically Described—The Hydrography of the State—Springs—The Topography of the State—The Ozarks—The Ozark Plateau—The Granites—Crystalline and Sedimentary Rocks—Caves—Mineral Wealth—Iron—Lead—Zinc—Coal—Clays—Timber and Prairies—Primitive Forest Free of Undergrowth—Park-like Appearance of Country—Soil—Beauty of Landscape—Wild Fruits—Wild Flowers—Nuts—Prairie Fires—Burning Woods—Prolific Wild Animal Life—Buffalos—Bears—Beaver—Game—Fowls—Fish—Observations of Early Travelers and Missionaries—Meat of Wild Animals Salted on the St. Francois—Shipped in “Pettyaugers” to New Orleans.

The precise meaning of the name of the state, *Missouri*, is uncertain. It would seem to be a word of Siouan linguistic origin. According to Long, the Indians known to us as “Missouries,” dwelling at the mouth of this river, were called “Ne-o-ta-cha,” or “Ne-o-ge-he,” signifying “those who build a town at the entrance of a river,”¹ and from one of these Siouan words the name may have been finally formed. McGee says, that the exact meaning of “Missouri” or “Ni-u-t’a-tci” (evidently the “Ne-o-ta-cha” of Long), is not known, but that it is supposed to refer to drowning of people in a stream, and may possibly be a corruption of the word “Ni-shu-dge,” meaning “Smoky Water.”² This is about all the information we have as to the meaning of this word.³ The word has been variously

¹ Long’s Expedition, Vol. I, p. 339.

² 15 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162.

³ Featherstonhaugh says that the Nahcotahs, or Dakotas, named the river Missouri “Minnay Shoshoh Chhray,” which is, literally, “Water Muddy Hill.” When this was first suggested, he says: “I was puzzled, but when I came to understand his description of the country, I thought it not unlikely that, as all of the Indian names we were acquainted with are corruptions from the French, the word Missouri might have its origin in these three words. By itself it is not an Indian word, and therefore, it is a fair inference that it is a corruption. My informant said that in crossing the country to the Chagndeskah you first

spelled. On Joliet's map it is spelled "Mess-8-ri" or "Mess-ou-ri," the figure "8" invariably standing in the old French manuscripts for "oo" or "ou." On Marquette's map, as published by Thevenot in 1681, it is given as "8-miss-8-ri," that is to say, "ou-miss-ou-ri," probably a corruption of the original Siouan name by the Illinois Indians adding their characteristic Algonquin prefix.⁴ On Franquelin's map the river is named "Missourits," or "Emissourettes." Joutel in his *Historical Journal*, written in 1686, it should be observed, at that early day adopted the spelling of this word as it now prevails.⁵ Being the name of an Indian tribe found dwelling at or near the mouth of a river, this name was naturally bestowed on the river. From the river it was transferred to the territory organized out of the country through which the river ran, stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from this territory it was again transferred to the first state carved out of its limits.

The boundary of Missouri, as originally suggested in the memorial of the citizens of the territory, proposed to embrace in the limits of the new state the territory situated between parallels thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes and the fortieth degree, north latitude, with

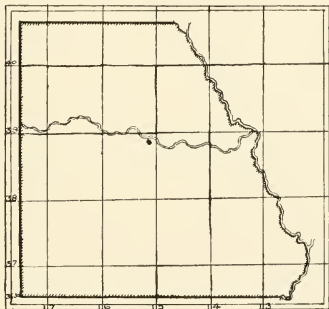
came to the Chhray-tanka (Great Hill), which is the general name for the Coteau du Prairie; that there was then a second Chhray to cross; beyond that river was a third Chhray called "Minnay Shoshoh Chhray," because you could see "Minnay Shoshoh," the "Muddy River" (which is now called Missouri), from it. By abbreviating the first word "Minnay" of its last four letters, and afterwards the others, according to the principles of the French, the word "Mi-sho-ray" is produced. It is not improbable that such is the origin of the word "Missouri."—Featherstonhaugh's *Canoe Voyage up the Minnay-Sotor*, p. 403. Marest writes to Germon in 1712 from Kaskaskia that the river is commonly called "Pekitanou," that is, "muddy water." 66 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 226.

⁴ 15 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 124

⁵ In the reports of Benard de la Harpe, Bourgmont, Du Tisne and others, early in the eighteenth century, the name is spelled "Missoury" or "Missourys" and "Missourie." (6 Margry—*Les Couriers des Bois*, pp. 309 et seq.) Also, "Missourie," in Henry's "New Light of the Northwest," vol. 1, p. 345, and again "Missouria"—"Missourite." The modern Sioux name is "Minishoshay" or "Meneshosha" or "Mississouri." See note 59, p. 346, of Vol. I, Henry's "New Light of the Northwest." On the map accompanying Charlevoix's *History of New France*, made in 1745, the word is spelled "Missouri," but also "Missouris." But see full note numbered 49 by Cous, in Vol. I, Lewis and Clark's Expedition, p. 22. In Tonty's account he gives the name as "Missourita."—*French Hist. Coll. of La.*, pt. i, p. 82. Ashe spells the name in September, 1806, "Misauri."—3 Ashe's *Travels*, p. 97; and J. F. D. Smyth, in 1784, "Missouri" and "Missoury." Coxe, in his *Carolana*, speaks of the Missouri as "The Yellow" and the "River of the Massorites," p. 31. Carver spells the word "Missorie."—*Travels*, p. 75 (London, 1779). Ulloa, in 1769, and Galvez, in 1779, spelled the name "Misuri;" and Gayosa, 1798, "Missuri." By the Spanish officials, the name was spelled generally "Misuri," and also "Missoury."

the Mississippi river as a boundary on the east and the Osage boundary on the west. These limits the memorialists thought "the most reasonable and proper that can be devised," and argued that the southern limit would be an extension of the line dividing the states of Virginia and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and that the northern line would correspond nearly with the northern limits of the territory of Illinois, and corresponding with the Indian boundary near the mouth of the Des Moines.

Continuing, the memorialists say that three and one half degrees would be left on the south to form the territory of Arkansas, with the Arkansas river traversing the center of the same; and another front of equal extent embracing the great river St. Pierre, to form another state of equal extent on the north "at some future day"; and that the boundary defined for Missouri would virtually embrace all the country to which the Indian title at that time was extinguished, with the Missouri river flowing through the center of the proposed state and including the great body of the population residing west of the Mississippi. And, evidently fearing that Congress might conclude to make the great rivers the boundary of the new State, the memorialists say that they "deprecate the idea of making the divisions of the state to correspond with the natural divisions of the country," and that "such divisions would tend to promote that tendency to separate which it is the policy of the Union to counteract."⁶ The Osage boundary on the west was a line extending from Fort Osage north and south about twenty-four miles east of the mouth of the Kansas river. If Congress had finally adopted the boundary scheme of the memorialists, the geographical appearance of the state would have been as shown on this page.



This boundary was not satisfactory to many of the residents, and

⁶ Petition in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Div.

petitions were circulated to make the Missouri river the northern boundary and give the new state an extension west⁷ for territory. Some of the people of the settlements situated south of parallel thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes also objected to being left out of the new state. One of the settlements so excluded was the village of Little Prairie, now Caruthersville, situated about thirty miles south of New Madrid and adjacent plantations. The settlements on Black and White rivers were also south of the suggested state line, and at that early day all these were important. The people were anxious to become citizens of a self-governing community and did not wish to be attached to the new territory of Arkansas, nor were they willing to be separated from the people with whom they were intimately associated by family, social and business ties. Accordingly, on March 16, 1818, about one month after the original petition was presented, another petition, signed by the citizens of the southern portion of the territory, was offered to Congress asking for a division of the territory, that the country south of the Missouri river might be formed into a separate state, and that the new state be given an extension west. To this the St. Louis Enquirer at the time objected, saying "If you get back forty or fifty miles from the Mississippi, the naked and arid plains set in and the country is uninhabitable except on the borders of creeks and rivers."

In the territorial legislature of 1818, New Madrid county was represented by Stephen Ross in the house, and by Dr. Robert D. Dawson in the legislative council; Lawrence county by Perry Magness, Joseph Harden, and John Davidson in the house; and Arkansas county by Edmund Hogan in the house and Henry Cassiday in the Council. What more natural than that the boundary question should be brought forward in the house and council by the representatives of the districts left out of the new state, and that they should make an effort to secure an extension of the limits of the proposed new state so as to embrace the principal settlements on the left bank of the White river and south of New Madrid, at least as far as the 36th parallel of latitude? In this they were undoubtedly aided by the members from the southern portion of this proposed new state, as well as by those members who were anxious to secure for it the greatest possible population and the largest territory. Accordingly on November 22, 1818, the territorial legislature adopted a memorial

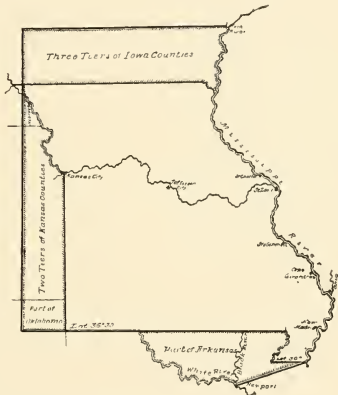
⁷ 17 Niles' Register, p. 175.

to Congress, praying for the admission of Missouri as a state with a boundary more extensive than that proposed in the petition. Not only were the lines extended on the south, but also on the west and on the north. The boundary proposed in this memorial was set out as follows: Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river at the 36th degree of north latitude and running in a direct line to the mouth of Black river, a branch of White river; thence in the middle of the main channel of White river to where the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, north latitude, crosses the same; thence with that parallel of latitude due west to a point from which a due north line will cross the Missouri river at the mouth of Wolf river;

thence due north to a point west of the mouth of Rock river; thence due east to the main channel of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of Rock river, and thence down the Mississippi, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning. Wolf river, mentioned in this description, rises in what is now Brown county, Kansas, and flows northeasterly through Doniphan county, Kansas, into the Missouri, about opposite the mouth of the Nodaway. If this

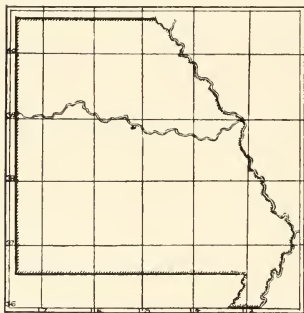
boundary had been adopted, about three tiers of counties now on the southern boundary of Iowa, and a strip thirty miles wide on the east side of the present state of Kansas, as well as a large part of northeastern Arkansas, would have been included within Missouri.

In the debate concerning the proposed boundaries, Burrill, of Rhode Island, objecting, said: "And with respect to the boundaries of the new state, I desire more definite information. Certain limits are indeed proposed by the committee in their report, but by a certain bill which has been laid on our desk by mistake, it appears that certain other boundaries have been thought of, and I wish to know the cause of this variation of boundaries. Who was it that marked



out the immense district of country proposed to be included in the new state? Who has given these metes and bounds? I do not know, and I question whether the committee which reported it can inform the Senate. The boundaries are not described and marked out in the document on which the bill was professedly founded. The boundaries proposed in the amendment before the Senate, I believe, embrace a less extent of territory than those proposed in the memorial, but enough has been said to show that the Senate is without the necessary information to enable them to act understandingly." In the debate in the House, Trimble of Ohio suggested bringing the north line of Missouri one half degree south, as originally proposed, so as to give to the state to be formed later on the north of Missouri a

part of the Des Moines valley ⁸



The boundaries of the state were at last fixed so as to extend south to parallel thirty-six degrees, north latitude, running thence west ⁹ to St. Francois river, thence up and in the middle of the main channel thereof, to parallel thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, and thence west on this parallel to a point where a meridian line extended due

north and south would intersect the mouth of the Kansas river, thus moving the boundary west about four townships. On the north the boundary line was fixed where this meridian line would be intersected by a parallel of latitude, which passed through the rapids of the river Des Moines — and thus on the north the boundary was curtailed so as to exclude a little more than one tier of counties now in Iowa. Under the Act of 1820, Missouri had this boundary on the map of the United States.

In the work of securing for the new state at least a portion of the territory on the south proposed by the territorial legislature, the services of J. Hardeman Walker ¹⁰ were no doubt of great value.

⁸ 17 Niles' Register, p. 440.

⁹ 17 Niles' Register, p. 440.

¹⁰ Born in Fayette county, Tennessee, in 1790; came to Missouri Territory

Local tradition has inseparably connected his name with the extension of the limits south to the 36th parallel between the Mississippi and St. Francois rivers. In 1818 Walker was one of the most energetic, public spirited and enterprising citizens of the territory, living on a large plantation near Little Prairie, south of the line proposed in the original petition. As soon as this boundary of the new state was made known, Walker began a vigorous and persistent agitation to secure such a change as would include the country south of New Madrid and the Little Prairie settlements and plantations. He no doubt urged the adoption of the memorial of the territorial assembly, praying for the enlarged limits; but the manner in which he succeeded in actually securing the extension which brought in the Little Prairie country is lost to history. It is, however, asserted that this change was effected principally through the personal efforts and influence of Walker. Undoubtedly he was aided by John Scott, of Ste. Genevieve, then the congressional delegate from the territory, and by the powerful influence of the leading lawyers and politicians residing at Jackson, at that time the great business and political center of the territory south of St. Louis; Alexander Buckner, afterwards United States Senator, Gen. James Evans, Judge Richard J. Thomas, and many other influential men, then living there. The influence of Dr. Dawson, of New Madrid, member of the territorial council, and brother-in-law of Walker, also, no doubt, was enlisted in this matter. However this may be, I have it from those who ought to be familiar with the facts as his contemporaries engaged in the practice of law in New Madrid and other southeastern counties, at the time the state was admitted, that to J. Hardeman Walker we owe it that the additional territory now



J. HARDEMAN WALKER

in 1810 and settled near Little Prairies, (now Caruthersville), where he continued to reside until his death in 1855. When in 1811-12, on account of the earthquakes, most of the inhabitants fled the country, he remained; was sheriff of New Madrid county in 1821-22, judge of the county court, and held many other local offices; a man of great public spirit and enterprise; owned a plantation fronting several miles on the Mississippi, a portion of which is now in the city limits of Caruthersville, a town which he laid out in 1851, near the old village of Little Prairie. In politics Colonel Walker was a Whig. His only child, a daughter, married Rev. George W. Bushy. One of his granddaughters married Captain Simms.

embraced in the limits of Pemiscot county, and most of that within the counties of Dunklin and New Madrid, was added to the new state. It is thus that the intelligent, energetic, and well-directed effort of a single individual is often made manifest.

In 1836 the state was still further enlarged by the addition of the so-called "Platte Purchase." The territory thus added is situated east of the Missouri river and west of the original meridian line run north from the mouth of the Kansas river to the parallel line of latitude passing through the rapids of the Des Moines river. The distance from the mouth of the Kansas river north to this parallel line of latitude is about one hundred miles. From this point, running on this parallel line west to the main channel of the Missouri river, the distance is about seventy miles, and then following the channel of the Missouri south and southwest to the mouth of the Kansas river, the distance is about one hundred and fifty miles. The district so added to the state contains about three thousand square miles, or approximately two million acres, and out of it have been carved successively the counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Atchison, and Nodaway. Primarily, the trouble between the settlers and the Saukees, the Foxes, and the Pottowatomies, occupying this country as their hunting grounds, led to the annexation of this territory to Missouri. As usual, the frontier people were the aggressors, going into the Indian country to hunt, and even attempting to make settlements. This gave rise to many complaints on the part of the Indians, and finally the Pottowatomies offered to exchange this territory for a district elsewhere, in order to avoid trouble with the encroaching settlers, no doubt cherishing the delusive hope that by moving farther away they would at last find a place where the white pioneers and settlers would not disturb them and their hunting grounds.¹¹

The first discoverable official action to annex the so-called Platte Purchase to the state, is a memorial of the Missouri legislature,

¹¹ Among the Pottowatomies, probably, was the celebrated Wau-bun-see, a younger brother of Black Partridge—Mu-ca-da-puck-ee. Wau-bun-see, meaning "Break of Day," from the fact that on several occasions on the frontier of Indiana he successfully made an attack at the break of day. A fine house was built for him by the government, but he would not live in it, preferring his tent and camp. He died at a very old age in 1848, at Jefferson City, on his way to Washington, according to Draper. In 1794 Wau-bun-see was in Cape Girardeau, where Lorimier was then post commandant and managed Indian affairs for the Spanish officials. By the French he was then known by the name "La Point du Jour."

adopted in January, 1831, petitioning Congress to make more certain and definite the northwestern boundary of the state. In this memorial it is said that "when this state was formed the whole country on the west and north was one continued wilderness, inhabited by none but savages, and but little known to the people or government of the United States. The geography was unwritten, and none of our citizens possessed an accurate knowledge of its localities, except a few adventurous hunters and Indian traders. The western boundary of the state, as indicated by the Act of Congress of the 5th of March, 1820, and adopted by the constitution of Missouri, is 'a meridian line passing through the middle mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river,' and extends from the parallel of latitude thirty-six degree , thirty minutes north, 'to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines.' The part of this line which lies *north of the Missouri river* has never been surveyed and established, and consequently its precise position and extent are unknown. It is believed, however, that it extends about one hundred miles north from the Missouri river, and almost parallel with the course of the stream, so as to leave between the line and the river a narrow strip of land, ranging in breadth from fifteen to twenty miles. This small strip of land was acquired by the United States from the Kansas Indians by the treaty of June 3, 1825,¹² and is now unappropriated and at the free disposal of the general government.

"These considerations seem to us sufficiently obvious to impress upon the public mind the necessity of interposing, wherever it is possible, some visible boundary and natural barrier between the Indians and whites. The Missouri river, bending as it does beyond our northern line, will afford the barrier against the Indians on the northwest side of that river, by extending the north boundary until it strikes the Missouri, so as to include within this state the small district of country between that line and the river, which we suppose is not more than sufficient to make two, or at the most three, respectable counties. In every view, then, we consider it expedient that the district of country in question should be annexed to, and incorporated with, the state of Missouri, and to that end we respectfully ask the consent of Congress.

"With these views of the present condition and future importance of that little section of country, and seeing the impossibility of con-

¹² 7 Statutes at Large, p. 244.

veniently attaching it, now or hereafter, to any other state, your memorialists consider it highly desirable, and indeed necessary, that it should be annexed to and form a part of the state of Missouri. And to the accomplishment of that desirable end we respectfully request the assent of Congress.”¹³



LEWIS F. LINN

But no action resulted from this memorial until January 27, 1835, when Senator Linn¹⁴ became greatly interested. He addressed a letter on the subject to Major John Dougherty¹⁵ of Clay county, Indian agent on the Missouri river, who was at that time in Washington on business.

Major Dougherty replied on the same day, recommending

¹³ Missouri v. Nebraska, 196 U. S., p. 23.

¹⁴ Lewis F. Linn, born near Louisville, Ky., Nov. 5, 1796, son of Asahel Linn and Nancy Hunter, daughter of Joseph Hunter of Carlisle Pa., and who from there removed to western Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War, and afterward came down the Ohio with the expedition of Gen. George Rogers Clark. Linn's father was a son of Colonel William Linn, and while a boy was captured by the Indians with two other boys named Brashears and Wells, but afterward escaped. His mother was first married to Israel Dodge, at Fort Jefferson, where her father for a time was in command, by whom she had one son, Henry Dodge, a name well known in the annals of Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Lewis F. Linn was educated at Louisville, studied medicine under the instruction of Dr. Galt; came to Ste. Genevieve in 1815, where his half-brother, Henry Dodge, then resided and began to practice medicine in partnership with Dr. Henry Lane there. Appointed commissioner to examine Spanish claims in 1832, and when Senator Alexander Buckner died in 1833 was appointed United States Senator to fill the vacancy by Governor Dunklin, and in 1834 elected unanimously by the legislature and re-elected in 1836-37 and also in 1842-43. Died in 1843, universally lamented.

¹⁵ Born in Nelson county, Kentucky, April 12, 1781; died in Clay county, Missouri, December 28, 1860. Came to St. Louis when a youth of seventeen years; entered the service of the Missouri Fur Company, Chouteau, Lisa, and others, and went to the Rocky Mountains in 1803, where he remained for eight years; became versed in the languages and dialects of the Indians and of the French; interpreter to Major O'Fallon, the Indian agent of Missouri; acted as interpreter of Major Long's expedition; was one of the earliest pioneers on the Columbia river, and returned by way of Salt Lake and Big Platte; Indian agent from 1820 to 1840, known among the Indians as "Controller of Fire-water" from the Missouri to the Columbia; assisted in making many of the Indian treaties. Catlin speaks of him as "one of the oldest and most effective agents on our frontier." (2 Catlin, p. 11.) Member of the legislature of Missouri from Clay county in 1840. One of the picturesque characters of our early history, and, in the words of Col. D. C. Allen, "a magnificent specimen of the frontiersman and Indian fighter, as well as that of the old-fashioned Missouri gentleman." (Campbell's Gazetteer, p. 155.) A notable man in the history of Northwest Missouri.

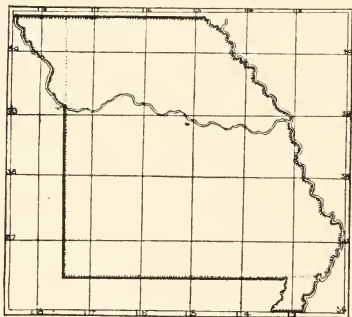
that the Indian title to this territory be extinguished and that it be added to the state of Missouri, to which, he thought, it naturally belonged by reason of its geographical position. He also suggested that the people residing on the western borders of the state were compelled to reach their shipping points on the river by a circuitous route, at great inconvenience and cost. Of course, he also dwelt on the bad character of the Indians, who were, he asserted, liable to commit great outrages. In the summer of 1835 a meeting of the people of northwestern Missouri was held near Liberty, in Clay county. At this gathering General Andrew S. Hughes¹⁶ presided, and a petition was formulated urging that this



JOHN DOUGHERTY

¹⁶ Andrew Swearer Hughes was born at Strode's Station, Montgomery county, Kentucky, February 4, 1789; settled in what is now Clay county, Missouri, in 1828; died while attending court at Plattsburg, December 14, 1843. His father was David Hughes, born in Virginia; served in the Revolutionary War, and emigrated to Kentucky about 1783. Andrew S. qualified himself for the bar at an early age; practiced in Kentucky; was twice elected to the state senate of Kentucky from the counties of Breckinridge and Nicholas; was appointed general of the state militia and thus acquired his title. On his removal to Missouri he continued to practice law, although living on a farm; was appointed Indian agent for the Saukees, Foxes, and Iowas by John Quincy Adams, although not of his political party, and held this office for nearly eleven years; originally conceived the idea of extinguishing the Indian title to what is now known as the "Platte Purchase" and attaching this territory to the state of Missouri; a man of ability and executive genius, and great force as an advocate. The stories of his witticisms, "rapier-like" thrusts, invectives and nick-names bestowed still survive in northwest Missouri, although he died over sixty years ago. In a eulogy, delivered June 5, 1872, Gen. A. M. Doniphan, alluding to the time when he (General Doniphan) settled in Clay county, gives these particulars: "Gen. Andrew S. Hughes was at that time an Indian agent for tribes on the immediate border of the state, and so continued until the annexation of the Platte Purchase, but he owned a large farm with servants in this county. When not engaged in the work of his agencies he resided with his wife and son on his farm. Mrs. Hughes was a sister of Governor Metcalf of Kentucky, and their son is Gen. Bela M. Hughes, a distinguished lawyer of Denver, Colorado. When I first knew Gen. Andrew S. Hughes he lived in Carlisle, Kentucky, and was an eminent lawyer and brilliant advocate. As early as 1824 he was a state senator in Kentucky, and during his political canvass of that year he made speeches in Augusta, where I was a college student. Though then a youth of sixteen years, I have not forgotten the telling effect of his fervid speeches on his large and appreciative audiences. Having been appointed Indian agent, when his senatorial term expired he came west. He was one of the most remarkable men of this or any other age. Kind of heart, amiable, cheerful, mirthful to hilarity on occasions, of genial manners, possessed of an inexhaustible fund of rich and rare anecdotes, his power of attraction was so great that each sought to monopolize his society in our long jaunts around the

territory be added to the state. At the next session of Congress, Senator Benton introduced a bill to that effect. The proposition involved many difficulties; for instance, that Missouri was already the largest state in the Union; that this district, north of the line of the Missouri Compromise, would be made slave territory; and that the Indians would have to be removed from a district which only a short time before had been assigned to them as a permanent home. Nevertheless, but little opposition was made to the bill, and in June, 1836, it was enacted into a law. The negotiation of a treaty with the Indians was entrusted to Governor William Clark. The terms which he arranged with them were



ratified by the Senate, February 15, 1837, and the Indians removed in the same year. In October, 1837, the legislature of Missouri passed an act accepting this additional territory, and also, on the same day, organized the county of Platte. Thus, the so-called "Platte Purchase" was added to the state. Perhaps the most

important service in the acquisition of this territory was rendered by Senator Linn; but to General David R. Atchison,¹⁷ Gen. Andrew

circuit. For myself, I appreciated his glowing conversation as much as Boswell did Dr. Johnson's. But when he chose to indulge in a less gentle and playful vein, his wit was as keen and merciless as Swift's, and his sarcasm was as quick and blighting as Randolph's. If I properly comprehend that rare gift called genius, of which so much is said and so little known, I deem him to be one of the rare few who had real genius that I ever met. The brilliant pyrotechnic flashes of true genius came fresh from their author. Elaboration is the result of man's forethought — mere art. General Hughes' flashes were genuine, without alloy, spontaneous, and came hot and flashing from the mind."

¹⁷ David R. Atchison was born in Fayette county, Kentucky, August 11, 1807; settled in Clay county in 1830; a lawyer by profession; represented Clay county in the general assembly of Missouri one term; removed to Clinton county in 1841; was appointed circuit judge; in 1843 was appointed United States Senator on the death of Senator Lewis F. Linn, and from time to time re-elected, serving until 1855; took a prominent part on the pro-slavery side in the Kansas-Nebraska agitation; encouraged Southern immigration into these territories. He was President of the Senate when the term of President Polk

S. Hughes, Maj. John Dougherty, and E. M. Samuel¹⁸ is due the credit of beginning the agitation and bringing the matter to the attention of Congress. The memorial to Congress in favor of the measure was prepared by E. M. Samuel, John Thornton,¹⁹ and General Andrew S. Hughes, all residents at that time of Clay county. According to Elliott,²⁰ it was this memorial which gave vitality to the project.

expired, on March 3, 1849, and as the next day, March 4th, was Sunday, the inauguration was postponed until March 5th, and thus by virtue of his office as President of the Senate he was Acting President of the United States for one day. A man of education, great force of character and public spirited. Atchison county was named in his honor. He died on his farm in Clinton county in 1886.

¹⁸ Edward M. Samuel was born in Henry county, Kentucky, October 11, 1807; with his father removed to the Missouri territory in 1815; settled in Clay county in 1829, but in 1865 removed to St. Louis, where he died in 1869; a merchant, and at the time of his death president of the Commercial Bank of St. Louis; a man always of delicate physical frame, but as a business man far-seeing, sagacious, and of great mental activity; a public-spirited citizen, "useful in all positions of life, a financier of high order," early conceived the idea of connecting Kansas City with the Gulf of Mexico by railway. (See note by Col. D. C. Allen of Liberty, as to his character, in Campbell's *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 154.)

¹⁹ Col. John Thornton was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1789, and with his father, William Thornton, removed to Fayette county, Kentucky, in 1793; in 1817 came from Kentucky to Missouri and located in Old Franklin, where he married Miss Elizabeth Trigg, daughter of Gen. Stephen Trigg, on February 10, 1820, and in April of that year removed to a farm four miles west of Liberty, Clay county, Missouri. In December, 1820, was appointed by Governor McNair judge of the county court of Ray county, a county which had been organized out of a portion of Howard county; August 24, 1824, was commissioned colonel of the 28th regiment of the Missouri militia. Colonel Thornton's regiment was on the frontier from 1824 to 1829, and the troops were frequently called out. In 1824-1826-1828-1830 and 1832 he was a member of the general assembly of the state of Missouri, from Clay county; in 1828 and 1830 acted as speaker; a perfect master of parliamentary law and usage, and as speaker prompt, accurate, impartial, and popular. Owing to his opposition to General Jackson's proclamation against South Carolina nullification, he failed to be elected to the legislature in 1834, but was re-elected by a large majority in 1836; a decided states' right Democrat; a man of stern and uncompromising integrity, self-reliant, honest in all things, even in politics; great public spirit, affable, courteous, and hospitable. He died on his farm near Liberty, October 24, 1847, leaving a family of seven daughters and one son. His daughters married, respectively, Gen. Alexander L. Doniphan; Col. O. P. Moss; William Morton; James H. Baldwin, and after his death, Dr. James D. McCurdy; R. L. Donnell; Col. John Doniphan of Weston, and Leonidas Moreau Lawson.

²⁰ Elliott also states that Hon. John M. Krum, "of St. Louis," and who at that time "happened to be in western Missouri on legal business," assisted General Atchinson in bringing this project of extending the Missouri boundary before Congress. This is evidently a mistake, because Krum, at the time the Platte Purchase was attached to Missouri, lived in Alton, Illinois, and did not become a resident of St. Louis or Missouri until 1842. Krum was at one time mayor of St. Louis, and otherwise a prominent citizen. Elliott's Notes, p. 170.

The northern boundary line between Missouri and Iowa was once a matter of dispute. The act defining the boundaries of Missouri provided that this line should run east from a point where the meridian line running north from the mouth of the Kansas river intersected the parallel of latitude passing through the rapids of the Des Moines river, making said line correspond with the "Indian boundary line." This Indian line, surveyed by John C. Sullivan²¹ in 1816, was intended to fix the limit on the north of the Osage cession of 1808. Sullivan ran north one hundred miles from the mouth of the Kansas river and established a corner, but by mistake varied two and one-half degrees toward the north of a due east and west line. But



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at the time Missouri came into the Union and until 1837 this line was recognized by the United States as the "Indian boundary line." Then a new line, surveyed by order of the legislature of Missouri, was run about ten miles north of the Sullivan line of 1816. This new survey was based on the description in the constitution which called for a parallel of latitude "passing through the rapids of the river Des Moines." Under this survey Missouri claimed jurisdiction over an additional strip of territory having an area of about 2,600 square miles. The line was surveyed by Joseph C. Brown,²² and it became known in the controversy as "Brown's line." Omitting the details of the controversy over this claim, it is sufficient to say that in a suit in the United States Supreme Court between the states of Missouri and Iowa, instituted in 1847 and decided in 1849, the court decreed that the Osage line run by Sullivan, in 1816, was the true northern boundary line of the state of Missouri and the true southern boundary line of the state of Iowa, and that it was this "Indian boundary line" from the

²¹ Gov. William Clark, in a letter dated August 6, 1816, addressed to G. C. Sibley at Ft. Osage, speaks of him as Major Sullivan. He was deputy U. S. surveyor-general under Rector, and a brother-in-law of James Evans, one of the leading men of Missouri at that time, residing at Jackson. Sullivan was a native of Virginia, and in 1820 elected as a delegate to the constitutional convention from St. Louis county. Was Sullivan county so named in his honor?

²² One of the early surveyors of Missouri. In 1816 he ran the southern portion of the Osage line. (See letter of Governor Clark to G. C. Sibley, dated August 6, 1816.)

northwest corner to the Des Moines river, established by Sullivan, to which the Act of Congress referred when Missouri was admitted into the Union.²³ This line was surveyed and marked, but, some of the boundary posts having disappeared, it was recently re-surveyed and re-marked.

Another controversy, of less importance as to the territorial area in dispute, but involving many interesting matters of fact, arose between Missouri and Kentucky. It related to Wolf Island, some fifteen thousand acres in area, in the Mississippi. A bill was filed in the United States Supreme Court by Missouri, in 1859, against Kentucky, to settle the question of jurisdiction, and Kentucky finally secured jurisdiction over the island by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1870. The question was whether this island was on the east or west side of the main channel of the Mississippi. It was shown on behalf of the state of Missouri, by numerous ancient maps, that the channel ran east of the island; also that, prior to 1800 Joseph Hunter had settled on, and was the only resident of, the island; that it was surveyed by the United States surveyor as a part of Missouri; that in 1820 the sheriff of New Madrid county had served process on the island; that one of the circuit judges of southeast Missouri had resided on the island; and by some witnesses, that from 1821 to 1851 there were no indications that the main channel ever was or had been on the west side of the island. On the other hand, Kentucky produced twenty-seven witnesses who testified that down to a recent period the main channel of the river ran west of the island; that in 1837 the land had been surveyed under Kentucky authority; that in 1857 a resident of the island was elected a representative to the Kentucky legislature; that the soil and sylvia of the island resembled that of Kentucky, rather than of Missouri, large poplar, oak and chinkapin growing on the island corresponding with the growth on the Kentucky side, while on the Missouri side the soil was not suited for such trees; that the island was on a level with the Kentucky bottom and five feet higher than the Missouri bottom,



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²³ For a full and exhaustive discussion of this boundary line, see case of Missouri vs. Iowa, 7 Howard, p. 660, Catron, judge.

and thus claiming that a primitive connection existed between the island and the Kentucky shore. On a full hearing the United States Supreme Court held that the island was a part of the state of Kentucky.²⁴

Geographically and broadly speaking, the territory embraced within the limits of Missouri as described is situated near the center of the United States, and in the center of the Mississippi Valley. From east to west the extreme width of the state is 348 miles, the average width being 235 miles. On the north, along the Iowa boundary line of the state, from the intersection of the Des Moines rapids, the state is 210 miles wide, and on the south, along the border of the Arkansas state line, the distance is 288 miles. The longest straight line that can be run in the state extends from the extreme northwest corner of the state to the extreme southeast corner, a distance of 450 miles; but the distance from the northeast corner to the southwest corner is only 320 miles. The average length of Missouri, north and south, is 242 miles, not including the territory south of thirty degrees thirty minutes, between the Mississippi and St. François. In area the state embraces 65,350 square miles, or 41,824,000 acres. Missouri is the largest state bordering on the Mississippi, except Minnesota. When admitted, it was territorially the largest state in the Union.

The Mississippi washes the eastern shore of the state, and for

²⁴ *Missouri vs. Kentucky*, 10 Wallace, p. 395. The circuit judge — whose name was not given in evidence in the case, nor when he acted as circuit judge, a fact noted by the Supreme court — was Judge Hough, who held that office from 1848 until 1861. During his term of office he resided on the island, and, under the final decision of the Supreme Court, a citizen of Kentucky actually filled the office of circuit judge in Missouri for a number of years. The United States Supreme Court gave no weight to the old maps which showed that the main channel of the Mississippi was east of the island, and characterized these maps as unreliable, adopting the general statement as to these ancient maps made by Captain Humphreys and Lieutenant Abbott. In another case, *St. Louis vs. Edward Rutz*, the question arose whether Arsenal Island, the corporate property of St. Louis and in the corporate limits of St. Louis, and which island began to wash away at the upper end, and extend at the south end, until finally the whole original island was washed away, and the lower end which had originally formed an extension of the island finally joined to the Illinois shore, was still the property of St. Louis, or whether by reason of this change the accretions which had attached themselves to the original island became the property of the Illinois riparian owner. It was held that these accretions belonged to the Illinois owner, and that St. Louis and its grantees had no title to them. Recently in another case, by direction of the general assembly of Missouri, the attorney-general of the state was directed to institute proceedings to settle the question whether an island in the Missouri river was within the territorial limits of Nebraska or Missouri.

nearly six hundred miles, the waters of the Missouri, the greatest tributary of the Mississippi, roll either on its western borders or from west to east almost through the center of the territory of the state. Tributary and running almost parallel with the Missouri, and emptying into it, the Great Osage, fed by many smaller streams, flows through the state from west to east for over three hundred miles. In the greater part of its course this river "has cut its way through ledges of massive magnesian limestone, which tower above the beautiful stream in domes and terraces and knobs that seem to have been designed by skilful architects."²⁵ From the south and southwest, the Big Blue, the Lamine, the Saline, the Gasconade, and innumerable other streams discharge their waters into the Missouri river; while from the north, and northeast on the left bank of the river, the Nodaway, the Tarkio, the Nish-na-bot-ta-na, the Little Platte, the Grand river, the Charitons, the Big Bonne Femme, Manitou, Cedar creek, and many other smaller streams add their tribute. North of the mouth of the Missouri, the northeast corner of the state is bordered by the Des Moines, discharging its waters into the Mississippi; farther down, coming from the west, the Wayaconda, the Fabius (or Jeffron), the Salt river, "Riviere au Sel" of the French and Oa-ha-ha of the Indians; the Dardenne, Cuivre, and other smaller streams fall into the Mississippi. South of the Missouri, eighteen miles below St. Louis, the Maramec with its numerous branches, all rising in the Ozarks, debouches into the Mississippi. Then follow the Aux Vases, the Saline, Cinque Hommes, Apple creek, and other minor creeks. Running parallel north and south with the Mississippi, though discharging its waters into the Mississippi south of the state line, the St. Francois, with its numerous tributaries, runs for several hundred miles through the state.²⁶ Farther west the Big and Little Black,²⁷ the Current and Jack's Fork, Eleven Points, and Spring rivers have cut their picturesque channels through the Ozark plateau and carry their waters through the Black into the White, and through it into the Mississippi. And farther west still, the Great North Fork, East Fork, and James Fork of the White river (the

²⁵ Smithsonian Rep., 1888, p. 589.

²⁶ This river, according to Bringier, was known among the Indians as "Cholohollay," a Choctaw word meaning "smoke," taken from "Oca-Cholohollay," meaning "smoky water." Silliman's Journal of Science, Vol. III, p. 25. (1821.)

²⁷ Called "Le Noir" in early days. Brown's Western Gazetteer, p. 175.

Rio Blanco of the Spaniards),²⁸ the James Fork being fed by Wilson, Swan (called Mehaus by the Osages), Crane, and Flat creeks, and forks of the Neosho traverse a large portion of the central and southwestern sections of the state. Countless rivulets, fed by innumerable springs, at all seasons of the year feed larger creeks and streams.

A glance at the map will show how well these waters are distributed over the entire surface of the state. Some of the springs are large beyond the conception of those who have not seen the small rivers which rise from them. Thus, we have the Big Ozark or Greer springs, in Oregon county, discharging 486,200,000 gallons of water daily;²⁹ Vail springs below Van Buren, in Carter county; Mill springs, evidently a subterranean channel of Otter creek, in Wayne county; Bryce's or Bennett's springs, on the Niangua, in Camden county, said to discharge eleven million cubic feet of water per diem; Ha-ha-tonka springs in the same county affording 148,000,000 gallons of water daily, and the Big springs at the head of the Maramec. It has been remarked that in the Ozarks many water courses vigorously cut out subterranean channels, finally bursting forth as good sized streams at the foot of some cliff.³⁰

Salt springs are abundant in many parts of the state. South of St. Louis a number discharge great quantities of briny water into adjacent larger streams. They are found on the Saline creek, in Ste. Genevieve county, and on the Maramec, in Jefferson and St. Louis counties. North of the Missouri, Salt river derives its name from saline springs along its banks. Many similar springs exist in Howard and adjacent counties, and, on the south side, in Cooper and Saline counties. Numerous springs — sulphur, chalybeate, alkaline, lithia, and others containing salutiferous waters are found in various parts of the state.

The state is nearly equally divided by the Missouri river, and in its combined topographic features are merged, in a remarkable manner, north of the river the plains and prairies of Iowa, Nebraska. and

²⁸ Indian name of this river "Niska."—Coxe's Carolana. Is not the "Nilco" of Garcilasso the same river? According to Schoolcraft, the Osage name was "Unica."

²⁹ "Without much doubt," says Dr. E. M. Shepard, "the largest cold spring in the world," a spring, to illustrate, "capable of supplying greater New York with water for many years to come." Mammoth spring, just over the state line, about twenty miles south of the Big Ozark, has a flow of 226,000,000 gallons per day.

³⁰ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 332.

Kansas; south of the river in the Ozarks,³¹ the rugged mountains of western Arkansas and Tennessee, and, finally, in the southeastern corner of the state, the flat Mississippi basin, so largely exhibited in Louisiana, Mississippi, and eastern Arkansas. "In general appearance, in surface relief, in drainage, in the character of the soils, in forestry, in lithological features, in geological structure, and in many particulars, the north and south portions of the state are strongly contrasted."³² No other similar district in the whole continental interior presents in its several parts such dissimilarity of characteristics and such striking peculiarities of features. A marked difference of climate was early observed north and south of the central divide of this high and level plateau of southern Missouri.³³ North of the Missouri there is a broad plain, with surface gently undulating and inclined slightly to the south, and the rivers flow in that direction in shallow valleys, presenting a wonderful parallelism to one another. South of the Missouri rises a high, nearly level plateau, starting gently from its central divide to the margin, which on one side is the Missouri river and on the other the low coastal plain of the Arkansas. The rivers leaving the central area flow in deep, narrow gorges. The strata is tilted moderately in the same direction as the general slope of the surface.³⁴

This district is known as the Ozark country, and includes not only southern Missouri, but also northern Arkansas and a part of Indian territory. This Ozark district (up-lift) is in many respects one of the most remarkable features of the American continent. "In its general outline it is a canoe-shaped elevation, broad and dome like medially, but dying away into the surrounding country to the east in Illinois and to the west in the Indian territory."³⁵ Its major axis, which is over five hundred miles in length, sweeps in a broad double curve west, then southwest, and again westward. Its maximum breadth is about two hundred miles and the areal extent about seventy-five thousand square miles. In elevation this cen-

³¹ It would perhaps be more accurate to say "Ozarks and St. Francois mountains," because, according to later geological observation, the mountains of southeastern Missouri represent a distinct "up-lift."

³² 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 320.

³³ Darby's Emigrant Guide, p. 149. (1819.)

³⁴ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 320.

³⁵ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep., p. 321.

tral divide is from 1,400 to 1,800 feet above the margin, and about 1,800 to 2,100 feet above mean tide.

The Ozark range, generally, through southern Missouri, has apparently been above the level of the sea from a very early period to the present time. The higher portions of the elevations do not seem to have been submerged since before the Silurian period, while broad areas on the flanks of the range have apparently been dry land since the carboniferous period. The absence of the fine and coarser detrital material due to glacial action, as well as all indications of the direct mechanical action of ice, prove that the region in question remained undisturbed by the various surface modifying agencies of the glacial epoch. The rocks of the Ozarks thus exposed to the undisturbed action of atmospheric agencies, present to us in their present condition one of the most instructive records of geological history.³⁶

Aside from the Ozark region, the Mississippi basin may be properly regarded as a wide stretch of low lands, sloping partly in all directions from the margin toward the center and southward to the Gulf.³⁷ The Ozarks extend into this Mississippi basin eastward through southern Missouri to the Ohio, and are broken into a number of well defined ridges.³⁷ The Mississippi cuts across these ridges at various points between St. Louis and Cape Girardeau. The high, perpendicular cliffs above Cape Girardeau, Cornice Rock, and Selma Cliff above Ste. Genevieve, greatly impressed early travelers and explorers.³⁸ These ridges, extending along and across the river into Illinois, were at one time designated by early travelers as the Oshawano mountains;³⁹ likely from the fact that in Missouri the Shawnee villages at the time were located on their slopes. The Ozark highlands, situated in southeast Missouri, have recently been designated by some geologists as the St. Francois mountains, just as another portion of the Ozarks in northwest Arkansas is known as the Boston mountains.⁴⁰ Among geologists it is now

³⁶ Raphael Pompelly in *Geo. of Mo.*, p. 8.

³⁷ *8 Mo. Geo. Rep.* for 1894, p. 326.

³⁸ Scene of the rocky bluffs on the west side of the Mississippi, "truly picturesque."—*An Account of Louisiana*, 1803, p. 15.

³⁹ Schoolcraft, as late as 1825, thus designated these mountains.—*Schoolcraft's Travels*, p. 194.

⁴⁰ *8 Mo. Geo. Rep.* for 1894, p. 327. Were also known as the "Masserne Ridges."—*Brown's Western Gazetteer*, p. 184.

pretty generally agreed that these St. Francois mountains represent a distinct "up-lift," and are not a part of the Ozarks.

A large part of this plateau embraced in southern Missouri rises to an altitude of 1,500 feet or more above mean tide, and, trenched by many water-courses, makes "the term 'mountainous' very applicable."⁴¹ Many of the streams of southern Missouri take their rise in this plateau, flowing in opposite directions in ever-deepening channels. "The watershed trends first westward from the granite peaks of the St. Francois, and then bends southward in a broad, sweeping curve. While the crests of deformation and of drainage doubtless originally coincided, the erosional effects on the eastern or southern side of the up-lift, owing to the steeper inclination, as well as an eating back of the old oceanic shore, whose prolonged efforts resulted in the Mississippi escarpment, were much more vigorous than on the northern flank, and finally resulted in a wide separation of the watershed and the top of the arch. In the central part of the area is a seemingly boundless plain, the surface of which is gently rolling and billowy. Away from the crest the small water-courses unite with one another, and their valleys begin to deepen as they recede from top to slope. The hills rise higher and higher, their sides becoming continuously steeper and steeper, and the gorges often pass into true canyons with nearly vertical walls, at the foot of which are talus slopes reaching down to the edge of the swiftly running waters. * * * Everywhere the landscape is mountainous, and it continues to become more so until the margin of the up-lift is reached."⁴²

This section of the state abounds in crystalline rocks and a full sequence of valuable stratified sedimentary rocks. The bulk, however, of the rocks which go to make up the Ozarks are limestone, intercalated with sandstone.⁴³ The granites and porphyritic greenstones, piercing through the limestone, sandstone, marl, and diluvium, are fully exposed in what is now generally known as the Iron Mountain country. These igneous rocks are in greater part granites, gray and red in color, fine grained to coarse textured, without stratification, with little mica. According to Humboldt, such granites are the most ancient in both hemispheres. They are by far the oldest rocks, at any rate, within the limits of Missouri, and truly

⁴¹ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. for 1894, p. 328.

⁴² Charles Rollin Keyes in 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 328.

⁴³ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 336.

igneous.⁴⁴ The St. Francois and Big rivers, running in opposite directions, have their most remote sources in these granite hills, and “by their rapid and brawling channels tend to give an effect of grandeur to many rugged and picturesque scenes” in this region.⁴⁵

The exact geological age of the limestone of Missouri is not fully known. A portion belongs to the Archæan, but by far the greater part to the Cambrian, Silurian, and Devonian ages and in the northern and western sections of the state Carboniferous limestone partly occupies the “up-lift.”⁴⁶ The distribution of these rocks and their commercial value are a subject which for many years to come will engage the attention of geologists.

The Ozark district is a region of only partially developed mineral wealth. The value of the lead and zinc deposits of the country can hardly be estimated. The deposits of copper, cobalt, and nickel are of great value. Veins of silver have been found at various places. The most valuable manganese ores in America exist on its southern slopes in Arkansas, not far from the state line of Missouri. Clays occur in exhaustless quantities, from varieties used for common constructional materials, to those from which are manufactured terra cotta, refractory products, and chinaware.⁴⁷

Deposits of iron ore, both hematite and magnetic, are found in many sections of the state, but these ores are unequally distributed.⁴⁸ Only a little iron ore is found in the state north of the 50th township line and in a range of the counties on the western border in the district covered by the coal measure. The valuable deposits are all south of the Missouri river, in Crawford, Dent, Phelps, Pulaski, Osage, Franklin, Morgan, Benton, St. Francois, Madison, Stoddard, Bollinger, Wayne, Ozark, Douglas, Christian, and Greene counties. The richest portion of the state in iron ores lies between the 30th and 40th township lines, within this zone such ores abounding in many of the counties situated between the Missouri and the upper Osage rivers.

The lead and zinc region of the state is located south of the Missouri river, in what may be divided into three separate districts,

⁴⁴ 5 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, Paleontology, Part II, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Schoolcraft's Travels, p. 262.

⁴⁶ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 336.

⁴⁷ 8 Mo. Geo. Rep. of 1894, p. 350.

⁴⁸ Geo. Survey of Mo. of 1872, p. 45.

namely, the southwestern district, embracing the extreme southwestern counties of the state; the central district, occupying the southern central counties, and the southeastern district, taking in a group of counties around St. Francois, the center of this district.⁴⁹ Indeed, on fuller exploration, it may appear that these districts constitute only one mineral zone, sweeping in a wide curve from the Mississippi, in Perry and Ste. Genevieve, to the southwest corner of the state. The geological formation of these three developed mining districts is Archæan, Algonkin, and Silurian (with possibly some Cambrian), the Devonian, the Lower Carboniferous, and the Coal measure, and above these, in places, certain unconsolidated beds of probably Tertiary age.⁵⁰

The Ozarks are almost completely enveloped by a carboniferous strata. The coal measure occupies an area of about 22,000 square miles of the state, embracing most of north Missouri and the greater portion of ten counties of western Missouri.⁵¹

In addition to the rich bottom lands along the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi, in the southeast corner of the state, the upper section of the St. Francois basin, containing over 4,000 square miles of rich alluvial land, lies within the limits of the state. This is one of the richest agricultural districts in the temperate zone.

It is certain that the greater portion of the territory now within the limits of the state was originally and for many ages prairie, with here and there comparatively narrow belts of timber, principally along the river bottoms or crowning ridges.⁵² Over these prairies the

⁴⁹ 6 Mo. Geo. Survey of 1894, p. 267. Of this district Featherstonhaugh, who traveled through it in 1835, says: "The country in the lead district, except where it is interrupted by the valleys, presents an extensive table-land, through which a few slight streams run which are used by the miners to wash the soil taken out of the shallow pits or "diggings" which were first commenced by the Spaniards when they had possession of the country. These streams in cutting their way through the superficial soil sometimes disclosed valuable deposits of the ore, and this had induced adventurers to commence diggings in other parts of the alluvial soil, sinking their pits until it became inconvenient to throw or hoist the mineral matter out and then abandoning them to excavate others . . . Everything connected with the geological phenomenon of the metallic districts of this country concurs to show that there has been in ancient times a period of great violence, accompanied with mighty aqueous action that has ended in greatly lowering the ancient surface."—Excursion Through the Slave States, vol. I, p. 312 et. seq.

⁵⁰ 4 Geo. Rep. of Mo. of 1894, p. 328.

⁵¹ Geo. Rep. of Mo. of 1872, p. 6.

⁵² Reynolds, who was a close observer, gives this account of the origin of some of the prairies in Illinois, which equally applies to Missouri. He says:

bison ranged from beyond the banks of the Platte and Missouri to the Mississippi as far as the Ohio. In the narrative of Garcilasso de la Vega we find that, after the conquest of Capaha, De Soto sent Hernando de Silvera and Pedro Moreno, accompanied by Indian guides, to visit a region forty leagues north among certain ranges of hills — evidently the Ozarks — to explore the country and to seek salt. These adventurers returned after eleven days, their Indian guides loaded with rock salt and copper, quite spent and half famished, having eaten nothing but plums and green maize, which they found in some squalid Indian wigwams. They reported that they found the country — undoubtedly the porphyritic highlands of the head-waters of the St. Francois, Saline, Castor, and Maramec — through which they had passed, sterile and thinly peopled; and further, that they were informed by the Indians that the country lying still farther north was almost uninhabited. They also reported that buffalo roamed there in such numbers that the natives could not cultivate their fields of maize, and that therefore these Indians subsisted principally on the flesh of wild animals.⁵³

In 1818, when Schoolcraft traveled over these uplands from Potosi to Carondelet, he found open woods and a growth of wild prairie grass and flowers, filling the broad spaces between the trees. Beyond Carondelet the country had the appearance of a brown heath, a bushy and uninviting tract without mature forest trees. These bushes undoubtedly grew up after the partial settlement of the country.⁵⁴ But describing the country at the head-waters of the St. Francois, Schoolcraft says: "A ride on horseback over the mine hills offers one of the most delightful prospects of picturesque sylvan beauty that can well be conceived of. The hills are, with few exceptions, not precipitous enough to make the ride irksome. They rise in long and gentle swells, resembling those of the sea, in which the vessel is, by an easy motion, alternately at the top of liquid hills or

"In the first settlement of the country hundreds of acres of timber in some seasons were all killed at the same time by fire. These trees would fall down, rot or burn, and the prairie would soon be formed. At that time the small undergrowth was burnt out, and in many places nothing but large trees were standing. In process of time those trees would also disappear and a prairie be formed where they grew."— Reynolds's *Pioneers of Illinois*, p. 195. He also says that when the fire is kept out of the prairies they will soon grow up with trees, and predicts that "Illinois in twenty years will have more timber than there is at present."

⁵³ 2 Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 127.

⁵⁴ Schoolcraft's *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 31.

at the bottom of liquid vales. From these hills the prospect extends over a surface of heath grass and prairie flowers, with an open growth of oak, giving the whole country rather the appearance of a park than a wilderness. Occasionally a ridge of pine intervenes, and wherever there is a brook the waters present the transparency of rock crystal."⁵⁵ La Hontan writes, in 1688, that the country south of the Missouri "to the westward" of the Mississippi has "meads," that is to say, "prairies," and that he hunted there for several days with the Indians.⁵⁶ But how far south of the Missouri he was when he stopped to hunt, he does not tell us. He, however, states that when he came to the mouth of the "Ouabach" (Ohio) he took care to watch the crocodiles, of which the Indians had told "incredible stories."⁵⁷ Of course he saw no crocodile, but he must have hoped that this would add interest to his narrative. Thus by interjecting what now all know to be untrue he throws discredit on his whole narrative, according to the legal maxim, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*; yet if we applied this rule in every case nearly every early narrative would stand discredited.

On his trip from Potosi to the north fork of White river, in 1819, Schoolcraft found timber only in the small valleys; the plateaus were uniformly bare of timber. The ridges and the mountain chain of the Ozarks, a wild and illimitable tract, he says, are "nearly destitute of forest, often perfectly so." The soil, too, looked more sterile than it was from the effects of autumnal fires. These fires, continued for ages by the Indians to clear the ground for hunting, had the effect not only of curtailing and destroying large vegetation, but of burning all the carbonaceous particles of the top soil, leaving the surface, in autumn, rough, red, dry, and hard. As Schoolcraft proceeded farther to the southwest he found scarcely an object deserving the name of tree, except now and then the solitary trunk of a dead pine which had been scathed by lightning. He discovered a high, waving table-land presenting a magnificent vista; sometimes clusters of sap-

⁵⁵ Schoolcraft's Personal Reminiscences, p. 38. "Occasionally small prairies, or rather natural glades, intervene, and all the hay collected by the inhabitants for their winter's stock is cut either in the open woods or in the glades. This renders these elevated open tracts, which in other respects may be considered unfavorable for agriculture, extremely advantageous for raising cattle." — Schoolcraft's Travels, p. 239.

⁵⁶ La Hontan's Voyages, vol. i, p. 133. (London, 1703.)

⁵⁷ Maybe the Indians only tried to describe the enormous catfish found in this river, and out of which La Hontan made "crocodiles."

lings crowning the summit of a sloping hill; rarely he passed a stunted oak. This unvaried prospect produced satiety; the land was dry and barren. But when the plow comes to be put into such a surface it throws up quite a different soil; the effect of light and the sun's heat "produced a dark and comparatively rich soil."⁵⁸ Only in the creek valleys he found briers and grape-vines and trees, and when he left the valley he was in open and naked plains, a country nearly level. But he notes that the purest springs gush from these hills; that the atmosphere is fine and healthful, and predicts in future years it will be the theater of Alpine attractions, "the resort of lovers of mountain scenery, and valetudinarians."⁵⁹ On the north fork of White river he found a wide, open oak forest extending along the bank of the river.

All the forests were free from undergrowth, and open and park-like in appearance. Speaking of the country on the Mississippi, Captain Foucher, Spanish commandant at New Madrid in 1790, told General Forman he could drive a coach-and-four through the open woods from New Madrid to St. Louis.⁶⁰ But long prior, Father Membre, who accompanied La Salle down the Mississippi on his voyage of discovery, said that the groves were so open and unobstructed that you could ride through them on horseback.⁶¹ Father Vivier, in 1750, thus describes the country: "Both banks of the Mississippi are bordered throughout the whole of its course by two strips of dense forests, the depth of which varies, more or less, from half a league to four leagues. Behind these forests the country is more elevated, and is intersected by plains and groves, wherein trees are almost as thinly scattered as in our public promenades. This is partly due to the fact that the savages set fire to the prairies toward the end of autumn, when the grass is dry; the fire spreads everywhere and destroys most of the young trees. This does not happen in places nearer the river, because, the land being lower and consequently more watery, the grass remains green longer and

⁵⁸ Schoolcraft's *Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mts.*, p. 48.

⁵⁹ Schoolcraft's *Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mts.*, p. 48.

The general assembly of Missouri has appropriated \$50,000 to establish a sanitarium for consumptives in this semi-mountainous region. The exact location was determined in the summer of 1906, thus verifying Schoolcraft's prediction.

⁶⁰ Forman's *Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi*, 1789, p. 49 (Draper's edition).

⁶¹ Shea's *Discoveries and Explorations of the Mississippi*, p. 183.

less susceptible to the attack of fire."⁶² Where, however, the lands bordering on the rivers were high uplands, the woods were open and park-like.

Afterwards, in 1810, Brackenridge writes of this region, that he passed through woods of astonishing, luxuriant growth, and over a plain of loose, rich soil where there was nothing to give beauty to the scene but the different kinds of the vegetation. He says: "Just as the sun was sinking below the horizon I entered one of those beautiful glades or natural meadows which are so often seen in this part of the New World, and never without producing an agreeable feeling . . . The prairie spread out before me all its enchanting beauties, and, fearful of passing too rapidly, I reined my horse. I gazed with delight on the smooth, soft grass, on the numerous flowers, on the scattered shrubberies of sumac, with their scarlet berries which preserve their hues until renewed by summer, and on the close embowering woods, by which this garden of the Dryads and Hamadryads was enclosed as by a wall. How serene the heavenly vault above my head! How rich and varied underneath my feet the hues and textures of the carpet woven by the fantastic hand of nature! Cold is the heart that does not harmonize with a universal Mother when her features wear an expression like this." "Some day," he further on says, "this alluvial district will be the Flanders of America." He then describes the level country, alternately prairie and beautiful woods of tall oak walnut, mulberry, honey-locust, "perfectly open" as though, "planted by art." The shrubbery type were usually apart from the groves of larger trees; they were the plum, catalpa, dogwood, spicewood, and different species of sumac. The prairies, or natural meadows, were covered with grass and a profusion of flowers. Big Prairie, about twenty-five miles from New Madrid, was a delightful spot, interspersed with beautiful groves resembling small islands in a lake. It was not surpassed in beauty by the richest meadows improved by the greatest care. In the Mississippi bottoms the trees were of "towering height, thick underwood, the vines enormous, binding, as it were, these sturdy giants to the earth and to each other."⁶³ It may be said with truth that, "for fertility of soil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Mississippi."⁶⁴ He also notices the

⁶² 69 Jes. Relations, p. 209.

⁶³ Brackenridge's Views of La., p. 191 et seq.

⁶⁴ An Account of Louisiana, 1819, p. 15.

park-like aspect of the country at the head-waters of the St. Francois, Saline, and Big river.⁶⁵ "In places," he says, "the country is exceedingly wild and romantic. Ledges of limestone rock frequently show themselves on the sides of the hills, and have much the appearance of regular and artificial walls. What is somewhat singular is that they are generally near the top of the hill, which gradually slopes down to the vale of some rivulet; a view of great extent and magnificence is presented to the eye — rocks, woods, distant hills, and a sloping lawn of many miles. Near Colonel Hammond's farm there is a natural curiosity worth noticing. A hill commanding a most extensive prospect, embracing a scope of fifteen or twenty miles, and in some directions more, is completely surrounded by a precipice of the sort described. It is called Rock Fort, and might answer the purpose of fortification." Speaking of the country near Florissant, he further says: "No description can do justice to the beauty of this tract."

North Missouri was mostly a prairie. But along the Missouri river a belt of land about thirty miles wide was covered with timber.⁶⁶ From La Mamelles, two mounds bearing the appearance of art, projecting from the bluff some distance into the plain, and situated near St. Charles, you behold the prairies extending northwest almost indefinitely. Brackenridge, who saw these prairies before they had been vexed by the plow, thus describes this landscape: "To those who have never seen any of these prairies, it is very difficult to convey any just idea of them. Perhaps the comparison to a smooth, green sea is the best. Ascending the mounds, I was elevated about one hundred feet above the plain; I had a view of an immense plain below, and a distant prospect of hills. Every sense was delighted and every faculty awakened. After gazing for an hour, I still continued to experience an unsatiated delight in contemplating the rich and magnificent scene. To the right, the Missouri is concealed by a wood of no great width, extending to the Mississippi, a distance of ten miles. Before me I could mark the course of the latter river, its banks without even a fringe of wood; on the other side, the hills

⁶⁵ La Harpe describes the country in 1719, as follows: "L'on commence sa route à l'Ouest, l'on trouve beaucoup de montagnes, de roches couvertes de bosquets de chesnes, où l'on passe plusieurs petites rivières, dont les eaux tombent à l'Est jusqu'au Mississipy." Margry's *Coueurs de Bois*, vol. vi, p. 311.

⁶⁶ Brackenridge's *Views of La.*, p. 205.

of Illinois, faced with limestone in bold masses of various hues, and the summits crowned with trees; pursuing these hills to the north, we see, at a distance of twenty miles, where the Illinois separates them in its course to the Mississippi. To the left, we behold the ocean of prairie, with islets at intervals. The whole extent perfectly level, covered with long, waving grass, and at every moment changing color from the shadows cast by the passing clouds. In some places there stands a solitary tree, of cottonwood or walnut, of enormous size, but, from the distance, diminished to a shrub. A hundred thousand acres of the finest land are under the eye at once, and yet in all this space there is but one little cultivated spot to be seen." And, says Flint, in 1816, "I have not seen, before or since, a landscape which united in an equal degree, the grand, the beautiful, and the fertile."⁶⁷ Nor, says he, "is it necessary in seeing it to be very young or romantic, in order to have dreams steal over the mind of spending an Arcadian life in these remote plains, far removed from the haunts of wealth and fashion, in the midst of rustic plenty, and of this beautiful nature."

On the Missouri, near Côte sans Dessein, the prairie first extended to the river, but it was "handsomely mixed with woodland."⁶⁸ From the Osage, on either side, according to Brackenridge, the prairie then stretched westward into the boundless distance. On the Bonne Femme, he says, "the hills rise with a most delightful ascent from the water's edge to the height of forty feet; the woods open and handsome."⁶⁹

All along the Missouri river as far as Grand river, in 1811, the upland woods were clean and open, the soil covered with blue-grass, and the growth, oak, elm, hickory, etc. Beyond and west of Grand river, the prairies extended, at many places, up to the waters edge. Near where "Fort Osage" was located, about three hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the river, the bottoms of the river were covered with white and black oak, cottonwood, hickory, black walnut, linn, ash, mulberry, and other varieties of timber.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Recollections of ten years in Miss. Valley, p. 123.

⁶⁸ Brackenridge's Journal, p. 30.

⁶⁹ And Duden observes, in 1824, that in the night "the air, filled with lightning-bugs, gives the woods an appearance of magic." — Duden's Bericht ueber Nord Amerika, p. 147 (2 Ed.).

⁷⁰ See letter of George C. Sibley, dated Sept. 16, 1808. (Mo. Hist. Society Archives.) Long says: "Out of one walnut-tree on Loutre Island 200 fence

And everywhere these forests, in the spring of the year, were embellished by the blossoming dogwood, the redbud, the locust, the plum-tree, cherry, and persimmon; and the air was fragrant with the blooming vine—a wilderness more beautiful than Germania, as described by Tacitus.⁷¹

Grand river was the western boundary of the timber-belt along the Missouri river on the north side; and the Osage, in a general way, limited the timber-belt on the south side of the river. West of these rivers the prairie stretched away to the head-waters of the Missouri and its tributaries, and to the Shining mountains, by which name the Rocky mountains were then designated by the French-Canadian hunters and voyageurs. According to Brown, there were only about one hundred sections of “tolerably good woodland” in this part of the state when he surveyed the boundary line between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers.⁷² The prairies on the north side enveloped the timber-belt along the Missouri river, as heretofore described, and north of this timber-belt which was about two hundred miles long and thirty miles wide, they extended from the Missouri across to the Mississippi and beyond.

Distant undulating prairie lawns of immense extent, clothed in nature’s richest dress, continually presented themselves to the eye of the traveler through these regions. Many of these wide-extending prairies beguiled the solitary wanderer by an alternation of open forest islands and promontories, apparently arranged in perfect order, as if by the labor and skill of the landscape gardener, and ever and anon his eye involuntarily would seek for some human dwelling—for some village or stately mansion embosomed in a little copse of trees, or in the edge of the woods that fringed the streams and rivulets in the distance.⁷³ Says Atwater: “The bottoms, covered with tall grass, begin on the very brink of the river, above high-water mark, and they gradually ascend, from one to three miles back, intersected every mile or two by never-failing rivulets originating in the hills; and the ground between the springs is rounded as if by art, and fitted for a mansion-house and all its attendant buildings. Princes might

rails were made, 11 feet long and from 4 to 6 inches in thickness and a cottonwood produced 30,000 shingles.” Long’s Expedition, vol. i, p. 78.

⁷¹ Duden’s Bericht ueber Nord Amerika, p. 110 (2d Ed.).

⁷² Brown’s Western Gazetteer, p. 189.

⁷³ Long’s Ex. vol., 1, p. 104. “Trees in such groups as if made or created by art of man.”—Duden’s Bericht, etc., p. 101.

dwelt here, once within a mile or two of each other, fronting the Mississippi and along it, and possess handsomer seats than any one of them can boast of in the Old World. We could hardly persuade ourselves, many times, when we first saw any one of these beautiful spots, that all the art that man possessed and wealth could employ had not been used to fit the place for some gentleman's country-seat; and every moment, as we passed along, we expected to see some princely mansion, erected on the rising ground. Vain illusion! Nature had done all to adorn and beautify the scenery before our eyes."⁷⁴

The earliest adventurers uniformly record that the woods and the margins of the prairies were full of wild grapes, wild plums, red and black haws, mulberries and pawpaws; that the pecan-tree, hickory and walnut were of enormous size in the river bottoms; that the sweet chinkapin and hazel grew in abundance in the open woods and prairies, as well as the wild strawberry and blackberry.

Bourgmont, who marched along the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas river, gives us in a few words a picture of the appearance, in 1724, of the country now within the limits of Saline, Lafayette, and Jackson counties, as follows: "*Nous avons passé trois petites rivières beaux chemins, grandes prairies, costaux, quantité de noisillers chargés de noisettes le long des rousseaux et vallons; les chevreuils y estoient en tropeaux.*"⁷⁵

Speaking of the country along the Missouri river, Sieur Hubert, in 1717, says: "The country along the banks of this river surpasses in beauty and fertility the rest of the colony, possessing a happy climate which, without fail, produces everything in abundance."⁷⁶

Missouri is a land of beauty now, but, in a state of nature, before touched, and too often defaced, by the work of man, Missouri was a terrestrial paradise. Indeed, nature had done everything to make the landscape one of ravishing beauty. Nowhere else on the continent did she lavish more prodigally her charms, excelling all that the highest art of man could create, on a scale magnificent and stupendous—soaring knobs in high, grassy plateaus, through which, in deep ravines, ran crystal rivers mirroring the varied sky, lined with odorous flowers and trees, forming a natural arch, and often an enchanting

⁷⁴ Atwater's *Tour in Western Antiquities*, p. 236.

⁷⁵ 6 Margry, *Coueurs de Bois*, p. 399.

⁷⁶ 6 Margry, *Coueurs de Bois*, p. 190.

coup-d'oil, characterized the Ozark country! The broad alluvial bottoms along the great rivers, within the limits of the state were covered then with immense and towering open forests. Here wild fruits were abundant, "the grape, the plum, the persimmon, the pawpaw, and cherry attained a size unknown in less favored regions." Early in February, on the slope of the hills, the maple yielded its sugar. In autumn the walnut, the hickory-nut, the pecan and hazel strewed the ground.

But the extensive prairies of what is now north and west Missouri, by their vast extent and luxuriance, mocked human labor and dwarfed it into insignificance. It is difficult for us now to imagine the natural beauty of this virgin landscape. The outline remains—the swelling hills, the valleys, the rocks and streams; but the picturesque clumps of trees, the narrow line of woodlands here and there along the creeks, or on the isolated hill-tops, far away, are gone; then, too, bordering these prairies, the immense thickets of wild plum and the varieties of crab-apples, and copses matted with grape-vines have disappeared. From the open oak woods, crowning here and there a hill-top, the emerald prairie then gleamed to the far-away horizon. There was nothing to disturb the serene repose of the scene or divert the mind. In the summer, a green carpet covered the whole landscape. The high wild grass undulated in the breeze like the billows of a southern sea. Here the various prairie flowers, some in purple, some with creamy spikes, some in golden yellow; lilies, some in white, and others tossing and swaying their red cups in the breeze; the gorgeous sunflowers; lobelias, some purple, some blue, and some scarlet, made fragrant, when in full blossom in the summer sun, these "gardens of the desert, these unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful." Here the wild rose bloomed and blossomed. "When the summer was past, autumn followed with its mellow sunshine stealing through the hazy atmosphere, with trees and woods panoplied with a thousand varied colors, and with a golden glory unparalleled at any other season of the year in any other land. After a few killing frosts had completed their work, blasting the long grass of the prairies and rendering it combustible as tinder, came the prairie fires, sometimes filling the air with a filmy cloud for days, and at night fringing the horizon with pale-red tints, at length growing into forked flames, encroaching nearer and nearer until the last tuft of withered grass disappeared in the lambent blaze. If a very sharp

wind arose, these fires would spread with marvelous rapidity over the landscape, darkening the sun with smoke and filling the air with ashes and flying sparks — a blizzard of flame!” Before such a storm, no living creature could stand, and, led by wondrous instinct, all animals then fled to the banks of streams for cover. Such a fire Featherstonhaugh witnessed, not in the prairie, but in the forests of southeast Missouri, and describes thus: “Night having fallen, we could see a fiery horizon through the forest in every direction, and hear the crackling of the advancing conflagration. It was a most interesting spectacle, and, notwithstanding my indisposition, I was out until a late hour observing it. We were upon an elevated table-land, covered with dry autumnal leaves, grass, and sticks, upon which stood numerous dead and dry trees, killed by previous fires. Not a quarter of a mile from the house was a narrow edging of bright, crackling fire, sometimes not more than two inches broad, but much wider when it met with large quantities of combustible matter. On it came in a waving line, consuming everything before it, and setting fire to the dead trees that, like so many burning masts, illuminated the scorched and gloomy background behind, and over which the wind — against which the fire was advancing — drove the smoke. Every now and then one of the flaming trees would come to the ground, and the noise thus produced, the constant crackling of the devouring element, the brilliancy of the conflagration, and the great extent of the spectacle formed a picture that neither description nor painting could do justice to. The wild turn our minds had caught from the scenes we were daily passing through was singularly increased by this adventure, and amidst many exclamations of admiration we retired late in the night to the house. I measured the progress of the fire, and found that it advanced at the rate of about a foot a minute, leaving everything incinerated behind it, and casting a beautiful, warm light into the forest in front where we stood. To “fight the fire” means to beat this edging of flame out with sticks, which it is not difficult to do when it first begins; but when it has extended itself several hundred yards, it is generally beyond the power of a very few individuals to accomplish. Upon this occasion, the line of fire in front of the buildings was extinguished, but not without great exertions.”⁷⁷

In this favored and park-like land, all animal life flourished. The

⁷⁷ Excursion in the Slave States, Featherstonhaugh, vol. 1, p. 353.

clear and limpid waters were alive with fish, the air full of birds,⁷⁸ the woods and prairies were the haunt of wild and ferocious animals. The lordly bison roamed in great herds through the prairies.⁷⁹ The first voyageurs and travelers who came into the limits of what is now Missouri never tire recounting the wonders of this prolific animal life. Nor could it be otherwise. Practically no one disturbed its increase. It is hardly probable that, at the period named, the total aboriginal population, scattered from the northern borders of the state to the present state-line on the south and west, exceeded in number the population of the smallest county of the present state. Nor was this population familiar with firearms or engaged in the pursuit or slaughter of wild animals to gain their furs for commerce. It was only for actual subsistence that the aborigines of Missouri enticed the fish, snared the birds, or with the silent and deadly arrow laid low the deer, or elk, or buffalo. Father Membre, in 1681, writes that "The fields are full of all kinds of game, wild cattle, stags, does, deer, bears, turkeys, partridges, parrots, quails, woodcock, wild pigeons, and ring-doves. There are also beaver and martens, for a hundred leagues below Maroa, especially in the river of the Missouri, the Ouabache," but that there "are no wild beasts formidable to man," and he concludes by saying that "Our hunters, French and Indian, are delighted with the country."⁸⁰ And before this time, while in the upper Illinois country, Father d'Ablon, in 1672, remarked that "stags, does, and deer are almost everywhere;" that "turkeys strut about on all sides," and that "parroquets fly in flocks of ten or twelve, and quails rise on the prairies every moment."⁸¹ La Honton, in 1688, went up the Missouri, where he procured "a hundred turkeys" with which that people, he says, "are wonderfully well stocked."⁸² The Jesuit missionaries, in 1697, noted particularly that near the mouth of the Ohio the number of wood pigeons to be seen was so great that "the sky was quite hidden by them."⁸³

⁷⁸ Duden says, in 1824, the woods were filled with wild bees, bluebirds, redbirds, humming-birds, mocking-birds, whippoorwills, partridges, doves; and that after a hail-storm at St. Charles over 300 wild ducks were picked up in an overflowed meadow (Duden's Bericht, etc., p. 147); that "the woods were full of life, of gobbling turkeys and woodcocks." *Ibid*

⁷⁹ Prairies filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game. —An Account of Louisiana, 1819, p. 15.

⁸⁰ Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 183.

⁸¹ 58 Jesuit Rel., p. 99.

⁸² La Honton's Voyage to North America, vol. 1, p. 130 (London Ed., 1703).

⁸³ 65 Jesuit Rel, p. 111.

In autumn great flocks of wild geese filled the air with their harsh trumpeting. Prodigious quantities of wild water-fowl disported themselves on the streams and pools of the interior and along the great river, where the sand-bars were filled with the whirring and croaking of tens of thousands of cranes.⁸⁴ Father Gravier, one of the earliest travelers along the borders of the Mississippi, records that on his trip down the river, in 1700, he killed two bears on an island opposite what is now known as Gray's Point, in Scott county, and that between that island and the mouth of the Ohio he saw fifty bears in one day crossing the Mississippi river.⁸⁵ He also records that wild oxen abounded along the river all the way from the mouth of the Illinois. Many of them were killed by his companions, "almost all of which were left to be eaten by the wolves;" "but one," he says, "so well defended his life that he cost ten or twelve gunshots."⁸⁶ According to Father Allouez, the Indians of the Illinois country—and at that time the term "Illinois Country" included the whole upper valley of the Mississippi—"catch twenty-five sorts of fish in the waters of the country, among them the eel; hunt the roebuck, the bison, the turkey, the wildcat, a species of tiger," and other animals, and that they "reckon up twenty-two kinds of fish and some forty kinds of game and birds."⁸⁷ Father Binneteau says that game is plentiful, "such as ducks, geese, bustards, swans, cranes, and turkeys," and that "the ox, bear, and deer furnish the substantial meats of the country."⁸⁸ He also mentions other animals, such as wildcats, lynxes, and "tree-rats," and that "the female of the latter carries her young in a sort of pocket under her belly," describing the opossum. Father Membre, too, notes the opossum.⁸⁹ "All the plains and prairies," says Father Marest in 1702, "are overspread with oxen, roebucks, hinds, stags, and other wild beasts. There is still greater abundance of small game. We find here, especially, multitudes of swans, cranes, bustards, and ducks. The wild oats which grow freely on the plains fatten them to such a degree that they will very often die, their fat suffocating them. Turkeys are likewise found here in

⁸⁴ Smythe's *Tour in America*. London, 1784, p. 337.

⁸⁵ 65 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 107.

⁸⁶ 65 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 105.

⁸⁷ 60 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 163.

⁸⁸ 65 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 73.

⁸⁹ Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. 184.

abundance, and they are as good as those of France.”⁹⁰ “Sometimes 5,000 in a flock,” says Smythe in 1784.⁹¹ Father Membre also states that he has seen herds of oxen and bear feed along the bank of the “Ou-a-bache,” that is to say, the Ohio; and since he immediately after this refers to “swamps filled with roots, some of which are excellent,” and to trees which are “very tall and very fine,” to one of which he gave the name “Cedar of Lebanon”—evidently referring to the cypress—growing to an immense size in southeast Missouri near the mouth of the Ohio, and also mentions another tree, which he considers the “copal,” because from it issues gum, it is certain that these “herds of oxen and bear” were noted by Father Marest near the mouth of the Ohio and in the adjacent bottoms on the west bank of the Mississippi. On the same subject Father Marest tells us that the “flesh of young bears is a most delicious food.”⁹² *Sieur de Mandeville*, an ensign of the “Compagnie de Voulezard,” in 1709, reports that on the Missouri, “une grande abundance de boeufs et de vaches qui passel’imagination.”⁹³ *Sieur Hubert*, in his *Memoir upon the Colony of Louisiana*, addressed to the Council of the Marine, in 1717, says that “the prairies are covered with wild buffalos, deer, and every other species of wild animals.”⁹⁴ In 1710 Father Vivier thus describes the country: “The plains and forests contain wild cattle, which are found in herds; deer, elk, and bear; a few tigers; numbers of wolves, which are much smaller than those of Europe and much less daring; wildcats; wild turkeys, and other animals less known and smaller in size.” He also says that the rivers, as well as the lakes, are “the abode of beavers; of a prodigious number of ducks; of three kinds of bustards, geese, swans, snipe, and of some other aquatic birds, whose names are unknown in Europe—to say nothing of the fish of many kinds in which they abound.”⁹⁵ And that “Nowhere is game more abundant; from mid-October to the end of March the people live almost entirely on game, especially on wild ox and deer.”⁹⁶ Du Pratz hunted with the Indians on the upper stretch of the St. Francois river, perhaps as early

⁹⁰ 66 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 225.

⁹¹ *Smythe's Tour in America*. London, 1784, p. 337.

⁹² 66 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 227.

⁹³ 6 *Margry Coureurs de Bois*, p. 184.

⁹⁴ 6 *Margry Coureurs de Bois*, p. 190.

⁹⁵ 69 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 209.

⁹⁶ 69 *Jes. Rel.*, p. 219.



AN INDIAN HUNTING SCENE
FROM BOSSU'S NOUVEAUX VOYAGES — PUBLISHED IN AMSTERDAM, 1777

as 1750. At that time game was already becoming scarce in lower Louisiana, near the river. But on the St. Francois, he says, not a day passed on which he did not see several herds of buffalo, averaging from one hundred to one hundred and fifty in number. In traveling from the head waters of the St. Francois to the Mississippi, he notes that, "Through every place we passed nothing but herds of buffaloes, elk, deer, and other animals of every kind were to be seen, especially near the rivers and brooks. Bears, on the other hand, kept in the thick woods, where they found their proper food."⁹⁷ He says, in the winter the banks of the Mississippi were lined with bear. In going down the Mississippi for eighty leagues Father Dablon noted that he did not pass a quarter of an hour without seeing game. On the banks of the St. Francois the early French and Canadians made their salt provisions for the inhabitants of New Orleans, in this work being assisted by the Indians. Here the country was covered every winter with herds of buffalo, notwithstanding they were hunted every season. The meat of wild animals was there salted down in the center of "pettyaugers," that is to say, large canoes hollowed out of cottonwood trees, and so loaded with this meat as to leave room for a man at each end. In this manner it was carried to New Orleans.⁹⁸ These canoes, made of a single cottonwood-tree, were sometimes fifty feet in length, three to five feet in width, and large enough to carry thirty men with their baggage.⁹⁹

In 1764, when Bossu was in upper Louisiana, the game was so abundant in the neighborhood of the St. Francois river that when he and his companions went on shore there it was impossible for them to sleep on account of the noise of the multitude of swans, cranes, geese, bustards, and ducks that were continually going up and down on those watery places. "On approaching the country of the Illinois," he writes, "you see in the day time whole clouds of turtle-doves or wood-pigeons. A circumstance that will, perhaps, be incredible is that they often eclipse the sun, these birds living merely upon acorns and the seeds of the beech-trees, so excellent in the autumn. Sometimes eighty of them are killed at one shot."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Du Pratz's History of La., vol. i, p. 245 (London Ed., 1763).

⁹⁸ Du Pratz's History of La., p. 293 (London Ed., 1763).

⁹⁹ 58 Jes. Rel., p. 97.

¹⁰⁰ Bossu's Travels, vol. i, p. 112. Fifty years ago such scenes could still be seen, and were seen by the writer. Featherstonhaugh describes such an event in southeast Missouri, as follows: "A new and very interesting spectacle

Bradbury says that these pigeons "associate in prodigious flocks," covering several acres in extent, and are so close to each other that the "ground can scarcely be seen." "This phalanx," he says, "moves through the woods with considerable celerity, picking up, as it passes along, everything that will serve for food. It is evident that the foremost ranks must be the most successful, and nothing will remain for the hindermost. But that all may have an equal chance, the instant that any rank becomes the last, it rises and, flying over the whole flock, alights exactly ahead of the foremost. They succeed each other with so much rapidity that there is a continued stream of them in the air; and a side view of them exhibits the appearance of the segment of a large circle, moving through the woods."¹⁰¹

In 1784 Smyth says that "Game of all kinds is also exceedingly plenty; a man may kill six or eight deer every day, which many do merely for their skins, to the great injury and destruction of the species."¹⁰² On the Mississippi he saw thousands of water-fowl. Nor was game as shy as it became afterward.¹⁰³ The wild

now presented itself, in the incredible quantities of wild pigeons that were abroad; flocks of them, say miles long, came across the country, one flight succeeding to another, obscuring the daylight, and in their swift motion creating a wind, and producing a rushing and startling sound that cataracts of the first class might be proud of. These flights of wild pigeons constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena of the western country. I remember once, when amongst the Indians, seeing the woods loaded from top to bottom with their nests for a great number of miles, the heaviest branches of the trees broken and fallen to the ground, which was strewn, with young birds, dead and alive, that the Indians in great numbers were picking up to carry away with their horses; many of their dogs were said to be gone mad with feeding upon their putrefied remains. A forest thus loaded and half-destroyed by these birds presents an extraordinary spectacle, which cannot be rivalled; but when such myriads of timid birds as the wild pigeon are on the wing, often wheeling and performing evolutions almost as complicated as pyrotechnic movements, and creating whirlwinds as they move, they present an image of the most fearful power. Our horse, Missouri, at such times, has been so cowed by them that he would stand still and tremble in his harness, whilst we ourselves were glad when their flight was directed from us.—Featherstonhaugh's *Excursion in the Slave States*, vol. ii, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Bradbury's *Travels*, p. 52.

¹⁰² Smyth's *Tour in America*, p. 337 (London Ed., 1874).

¹⁰³ The birds were so tame on Galapagos Island that they could easily be caught.—Darwin's *Journal of Researches*, p. 298. Featherstonhaugh says that, in 1834, in St. Francois county, on his trip from the Iron mountain to Farmington, he saw a flock of wild turkeys moving about so unconcerned as to his presence that he got off his horse and attempted to catch one of the birds, but failed in the race that ensued.—*Excursion in the Slave States*, vol. I, p. 319.

animals did not precipitately flee at the sight of man. "The animals, freed from ferocious man, fearless and undisturbed, had securely propagated and filled the wilderness with their numberless broods."¹⁰⁴ Wild turkeys were so many and gentle, Radison tells us, that "the boys threw stones at them for their recreation."¹⁰⁵ Another observer says that clouds of swans, bustards, and ducks filled the air, and that the savages "set snares for them, and catch as many as fifty in one net."¹⁰⁶ Father d'Ablon remarked when he was in Illinois country in 1672, that "the wild cattle (buffalo) never flee."

As yet the serene quietude of nature had not been disturbed by the sharp and startling crack of the carabine.

¹⁰⁴ Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ Minnesota Historical Collection, vol. viii, p. 314.

¹⁰⁶ 54 Jes. Rel., p. 218.

CHAPTER II

Extent of Pre-historic Remains—Mound-builders—Mounds Located by Lewis M. Bean and D. L. Hoffman—Mound Area of Missouri—About 28,000 Located—Antiquity of Pre-historic Works—Opinion of Stoddard and Others—Various Opinions Concerning Race of Mound-builders—Evidence Discovered in Mississippi County Tending to Show They Belonged to Nahua Race—Pottery Balls—Remains Discovered not Necessarily of Same Period—Center of Mississippi Valley Seat of Distinct Development—A Distinct Sub-group in Southeast Missouri—No Systematic Exploration of Southeast Missouri Mounds—Many Ceramic Remains Destroyed by Plowshare—Primitive Inhabitants of the Central Mississippi Valley Advanced in the Potter's Art—Description of Some of the Ware Discovered—Brick and Tiles—Pemiscot Mound Covered with Brick or Burnt Clay—Bottle-shaped Carafe, Marked Feature of Ceramic ware of Southeast Missouri—A Unique Head of Woman of Grecian Type—Carved Sandstone Pipes—Extent of Pre-historic Population—Agricultural People—Sedentary—Habitat of Mound-builders on Good and Fertile Soil—Extent of Pre-historic Remains in Southeast Missouri—Where Located—In St. Francois Basin and on Slopes of the Ozarks—Large Mound of Pemiscot County—Description of Various Mounds in Southeast Counties—Mounds in the Ozark Counties—In the Western Prairie Counties—On the Missouri River—In Northeast Missouri—In the Counties of Northwest Missouri.—Pre-historic Population Numerous.

In almost every section of Missouri silent memorials of a pre-historic people—the so-called mound-builders—are found. This history of the state manifestly would be incomplete without, at least, an attempt to record where this pre-historic race, or it may be different races dwelling in the land at different times or epochs, apparently had their habitat. Nor will it digress too far to make some observations in a general way, on the character of such remains and relics as have been discovered and have escaped the wreck and storm of ages, the more ruthless plowshare, and the ignorance of destroying man. My main object, however, has been to accurately and definitely locate every mound and settlement of these pre-historic denizens of the state, and to that end every county has been visited during the last two years, at my instance, by Mr. Lewis M. Bean and Mr. D. L. Hoffman. It is not asserted that they found every existing mound, or discovered every pre-historic settlement, but it is reasonably certain that all the most conspicuous and remarkable mounds have been by them definitely located. As they made progress with the work they found that the field was constantly expanding in possi-

bilities, and now they feel fully satisfied that, had they been able to give more time with deeper and more particular study to many localities, they would have greatly enlarged the extent of what may be called the "Mound area" of Missouri. No attempt was made to locate mounds leveled by the plow, although very many instances of this came to their knowledge. In most unexpected places they also found indubitable evidence that the Mound-builders had lived there, that they had worked the soil; they found, or others had found, pre-historic spades and hoes, celts, arrow-heads, and broken pottery. Such places, however, are not particularly specified in the notes or indicated on the accompanying maps, prepared by Major James F. Brooks from the field notes furnished him. From them everything purely speculative has been excluded. But mounds located by early explorers, although now obliterated — such as the mounds at St. Louis, located by Major Long, mound located by Nuttall at New Madrid, the mound north of New Madrid along the St. John's bayou described by Brackenridge, others surveyed by the employees of the Bureau of Ethnology, pre-historic structures and stone sepulchres described by Giddings, by Peck, Broadhead, and others — are all noted, so that the student interested in the archæology of Missouri may learn the extent of the work and settlements of these pre-historic inhabitants of the state. Of course, it is out of the question to describe the 28,000 mounds, large or small, which have now been definitely located. At best, only the most conspicuous and noteworthy mounds, together with what would appear to be mound-settlements and mound-builders' fortifications, can be described, and these not with the pen of a professed archæologist, but of a layman. In appropriate notes, however, the reader of this chapter will find as he progresses, in addition to maps of some of the counties showing the topographical location of the mounds, also the precise section, township, and range in each county where the mounds, settlements, and apparent fortifications discovered by my explorers are situated.

The pre-historic works of Missouri attracted attention from the earliest settlement of the country. Stoddard says: "It is admitted on all hands that they have endured for centuries. The trees on their ramparts, from the number of their annulæ, or radii, indicate an age of more than four hundred years."¹ Holmes says that the manufacture of the pottery-ware found in the mounds "began many

¹ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 346.

centuries before the advent of the white race.”² The Indians found by the first white explorers did not recognize these mounds as belonging to them either by occupying or using them, or by their traditions,³ although the surprising number of such mounds in some sections of the country, many of them very large, singular in form, and conspicuous in the landscape, must have attracted the attention of the most thoughtless amongst them. Marquis de Nadaillac says that these “mounds in North America are among the most remarkable known.”⁴ Featherstonhaugh was so impressed by these pre-historic remains in Missouri that he concluded that they were to the people that built them what the pyramids were to the ancient Egyptians.⁵

To what particular race the mound-builders belonged has been a subject of much discussion. Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg declares that the pre-Aztec Mexicans and Toltecs were a people identical with the mound-builder.⁶ It is also said that the mound-builders were of the same cranial type as the ancient Mexicans, Peruvians, and the natives of the Pacific slope as far north as Sitka; that is to say, brachycephalic; and Winchell thinks that “the identity of the race of mound-builders with the races of Anahuac and Peru will become generally recognized.”⁷ Squier supposes that they belonged to an “extinct race.” Atwater gives it as his opinion that the “lofty mounds” — ancient fortifications and tumuli — “which cost so much labor in their structure,” owe their “origin to a people much more civilized than our Indian”⁸; and Atwater was familiar with the capabilities and characteristics of the American Indian. Others, again, suppose that they were the same people who afterward came from the northeast into Mexico. Bancroft says that the “claims in behalf of the Nahua traces in the Mississippi region are much better founded than those which have been urged in other parts of the country.”⁹ He asserts that the remains in the Mississippi valley “are not the work of the Indian tribes found in the country, nor of

² 4th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 371.

³ Traditions of De-coo-dah, p. 17.

⁴ Nadaillac's Pre-historic America, p. 179.

⁵ Featherstonhaugh's Excursion in the Slave States, vol. i, p. 270.

⁶ Baldwin's Ancient America, p. 201.

⁷ Winchell, p. 340.

⁸ Atwater's American Antiquities, p. 18.

⁹ Bancroft's Native Races of America, vol. iv, p. 752.

any tribes resembling them in their institutions,"¹⁰ and that the "best authorities deem it impossible that the mound-builders were even the remote ancestors of the Indian tribes." In his opinion, there was an actual connection, either through origin, war, or commerce, between the mound-builders and the Nahuas.¹¹ This he infers from the so-called temple-mounds, strongly resembling the pyramids of Mexico, implying a similarity of religious ideas; the use of obsidian implements; the Nahua tradition of the arrival of civilized strangers from the northeast. And Baldwin, in reviewing the various traditions recorded by many of the earliest Spanish chroniclers of Mexico, concludes by saying that it seems not improbable that the Huehue, or "Old Tlapalan" of their tradition, was "the country of our mound-builders" on the Mississippi.¹² Albert Gallatin thinks that the works erected indicate "a dense agricultural population," a population "eminently agricultural," a state essentially different from that of the Iroquois or Algonquin Indians. Yet, he also expressed the opinion that the earthworks discovered might have been executed by "a savage people."¹³ Brinton also thinks that these earthworks were not the production "of some mythical tribe of high civilization in remote antiquity, but of the identical nations found by the whites residing in these regions."¹⁴ Schoolcraft says that the Indian predecessors of the existing race "could have executed" these works.¹⁵ Lewis Cass believed that the forefathers of the present Indian "no doubt" erected these works as places of refuge and security.¹⁶ Jones is of the opinion that the old idea that the mound-builders were a people distinct from the Indians is "unfounded in fact, and fanciful." Lucian Carr in an elaborate article says that there is no reason "why the red Indians of the Mississippi valley, judging from what we know historically of their development, could not have thrown up these works."¹⁷ Dr. C. A. Peterson, in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society in 1902, concludes that "there never was an iota of evidence in existence tending to establish the contention

¹⁰ Bancroft's *Native Races of America*, vol. iv, p. 787.

¹¹ Bancroft's *Native Races of America*, vol. iv, p. 788.

¹² Baldwin's *Ancient America*, p. 202.

¹³ *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii, p. 149.

¹⁴ *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 179.

¹⁵ *Indian Tribes of North America*, vol. i, p. 62.

¹⁶ *North American Review*, January, 1826.

¹⁷ *Smithsonian Report*, 1881, p. 505.

that some people, other than the American Indian, erected the mounds and earthworks found in connection with them; and the physical condition does not justify the belief that any of them were erected more than one thousand years ago." In support of his view he says, "an immense memorial earthwork over the body of a popular Osage chief" was erected by this]_tribe, citing Beck's *Gazetteer*.¹⁸ But Dr. J. F. Snyder asserts that the Osages "built no earthen mounds," and that the mound mentioned by Dr. Beck as having been built by them near the head-waters of the Osage was the result of glacial action.¹⁹ Snyder also quotes Holcomb, who states that "the mysterious race of beings, termed mound-builders never dwelt in Vernon county," and that no fragments of pottery have been found there, nor noteworthy archæological specimens, and few if any flint arrow-heads, lance-heads, stone-heads, etc.,²⁰ although he admits that the Osages erected stone heaps occasionally over the bodies of their dead to preserve them from the ravages of wild beasts.

One remarkable discovery made by Mr. Thomas Beckwith, who has devoted many years



POTTERY BALLS

to the careful and intelligent exploration of the mounds of Mississippi county, would seem to tend to support the contention that the more ancient mound-builders of the Mississippi valley, at least, belonged to the Nahuatl race of Mexico. It should be observed that in making his explorations Mr. Beckwith always proceeds with the greatest circumspection, not, like so many others, hastily digging and burrowing into mounds, looking only for perfect pottery-ware, carelessly overlooking and throwing everything else away; on the contrary, nothing is too small for his notice, and it is his invariable practice to gather up and preserve every fragment, small and insignificant though it may appear. The exploration of

¹⁸ Page 308 (1824).

¹⁹ Smithsonian Report for 1888, p. 591.

²⁰ History of Vernon County, pp. 87, 88.

the mound merely does not always satisfy him. In some instances where the surrounding country seems to warrant it, he also explores the soil for several feet below the surface at present surrounding the mound. In making such sub-surface explorations Mr. Beckwith, at a depth of three feet below the present surface, in a number of instances, found pottery balls imbedded in the clay, near mounds explored by him. During his various explorations of mounds, he has collected in this way perhaps half a bushel of such pottery balls of various forms, some ovoids, others round, about the size of a walnut, others again lenticular; the ovoids being in the form of Roman glandes, as described by Evans — that is, fusiform, or pointed.²¹ Such pottery balls of various shapes were in use as sling-stones among the Charrus of South America. The Marquis de Nadaillac says that the Chichimecs,²² who were of the Nahuatl race, in their wars used bows and arrows and “slings with which they flung little pottery balls which caused dangerous wounds.”²³ Such artificial pottery sling-stones, being uniform in size and weight, gave a greater certainty and precision of aim an advantage which is recognized by the barbarous tribes of New Caledonia to-day, where sling-stones made out of steatite are used by the natives.²⁴ The sling was an offensive weapon of the Aztecs,²⁵ and the stones were thrown with great force and accuracy. Among the Mayas of Yucatan slings were also extensively used.²⁶ But as an offensive weapon it was unknown among the North American Indians.

Another singular discovery was made some years ago on the Saline in Ste. Genevieve county, tending to show that the remarkable salt springs on that stream known and worked by the earliest white explorers and settlers were used by people inhabiting the land before the red Indian. It is well known that the Indians generally did not use salt when they first came in contact with Europeans excepting, however, the Arkansas Indians, who were found to use salt by Father

²¹ Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 373.

²² An ancient tribe called “Chetimashas,” now extinct, radically distinct in language from the aborigines of lower Louisiana, and, according to Du Pratz, a branch of the Natchez, once lived at Ouma Point, 70 miles from New Orleans. Nuttall's *Arkansas*, pp. 127, 241.

²³ Nadaillac's *Prehistoric America*, p. 279.

²⁴ Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 373.

²⁵ Bancroft's *Native Races*, vol. ii, p. 408, and also *Among the Wild Tribes of Mexico*. H. H. Bancroft's *Native Races*, vol. i., p. 627.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 743.

Du Poisson, when he lived among them from 1716 to 1726.²⁷ The Nahuas also used salt, and a special religious celebration took place annually by the salt-makers (who were females) in honor of the Goddess Huixtocihuatl, supposed to have invented the art of making salt, this festival being held for ten days in her temple.²⁸ Among all sorts of primitive vessels used in the manufacture of salt found on the Saline buried in the ground and scattered over and near the surface, near these ancient salt springs and salt wells, very ancient stone and concrete vessels were also unearthed, evidently of Nahua origin, which had been employed in the manufacture of salt,²⁹ adding additional evidence to the conjecture that the Nahuas once dwelt in the Mississippi valley. The circumstance that salt was employed among the Arkansas in historic times occupying the same region from the Maramec to the St. Francois, where it may be supposed the Nahuas once had their habitat, would indicate that they learned its use in some way from them.

Without expressing an opinion on a subject requiring so much more knowledge than I possess, this, however, can be said, that it would be a mistake to suppose that the prehistoric remains found even in the same section or region in this state or elsewhere in the Mississippi valley must necessarily have originated at the same time or from the same tribe or race. Great and wide lines of demarcation are clearly traced by the archæologists among the prehistoric remains and relics uncovered by the explorer, these remains and relics clearly showing periods of different development and great ethnical divisions.³⁰

It is admitted that the center of the Mississippi valley was the seat of a great and striking development of a distinct prehistoric activity, a large section of the territory now within the limits of Missouri being within the limits of this region of activity, as well as portions of Arkansas, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Although even in this district well-marked peculiarities in the remains and relics show that various sub-groups or centers of distinct ethnical development existed. One of those sub-groups or centers is apparently found in southeast Missouri. From the mounds and ceramic remains in

²⁷ 67 Jesuit Relations, p. 257 (Burrows Ed.).

²⁸ H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of America, vol. ii, p. 325.

²⁹ See report of Phillips, Geologist, dated 1886, in possession of John Tlappek, Esq., of St. Marys, Mo.

³⁰ 4th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 371.

this section it is said that a connection with Mexico is clearly apparent.³¹ Nor need this surprise us when we know that within twenty days, or less, a journey could be made on foot from the valley of Anahuac to the valley of the Mississippi.

No systematic exploration of the mounds of southeast Missouri has ever been undertaken. Some of the mounds, because conspicuous land-marks, have been explored, often by ignorant and greedy speculators, dreaming that they might find, hidden in these dumb memorials of the past, gold or jewels. They found only earthen-ware and vessels, perhaps priceless on account of form, or because showing an intimate relation with the people of Mexico or Central America, but nevertheless ruthlessly cast aside as worthless. How much has been destroyed by the plow of the pioneer settlers of this section it is impossible to tell. Often the ancient sites of villages and cemeteries, overgrown with timber, were cleared and turned into corn-fields, and for years, in many instances, fragments of the potter's art of these oldest inhabitants of Missouri were turned up, annually, in the furrow. Occasionally a polished stone or curious image or jar might even arrest the attention of a negro plowman, and thus be rescued for a time, as an ornament for his cabin home, only to be again cast aside, destroyed or lost. There is hardly a neighborhood in southeast Missouri where some farmer does not note the fact that in his fields are found such relics of the past.

In American archæology this one fact has been slowly established, in spite of the neglect of this interesting field, that in the potter's art the primitive inhabitants of the middle Mississippi valley were far in advance of the ancient potters of the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona as to the variety and refinement of the form and work of their wares.³² From these remains it is also evident that the prehistoric inhabitants of this state, at least, were far in advance in civilization of any of the historic tribes which first came in contact with the white man.

It would lead too far afield to enter into a discussion of the precise uses for which the various articles and relics found in the mounds of our state were intended. Some were undoubtedly intended for domestic purposes; others decorative, ornamented, and carefully and delicately finished, of unusual shape and without any marks of usage,

³¹ 20th Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 81.

³² 20th Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 83.

were no doubt intended for mortuary, sacerdotal, or ornamental purposes. In color this ware ranges from a rich black to all shades of brown and gray, and in some instances white and terra cotta tones. In the opinion of Holmes, in pleasing outline and form, this ware, found in the middle Mississippi district, is superior to that found in the eastern part of the United States, more varied in shape than that found in the Pueblo country, but not as diversified as that of Mexico, Central America, or Peru, and "of higher rank than the prehistoric wares of northern Europe."³³ Much of the ware was artistically embellished, and the higher types of linear and plastic designs prevail to a greater extent in this district than elsewhere. It represents many animal forms easily recognizable. So, also, rectilinear forms, lozenges, quillochs, zigzags, checkers, and crosses, stellar forms, and curved lines of great variety.³⁴ But with the rectangular linked meander, which was a favorite device of the people of Mexico and Peru, they were not familiar, perhaps because they "had not felt the influence of advanced architecture as had the Mexicans."³⁵ It has been assumed that the ancient people of this district were not familiar with the use of burned bricks or tiles, but this is an error. The investigations of Mr. Bean, on the ground, show that bricks were made and used among them. The sides of one mound in Pemiscot county appeared to him to have been covered with brick or burned clay.

The slender, bottle-shaped carafe, or decanter bottle, found in the mounds of southeast Missouri is a marked feature of the primitive ceramic ware of America. With the possible exception of Peru,³⁶ in the range of its shape and in several features, it is "strikingly unique." One specimen described by Mr. Hilder in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society deserves more than a passing notice. This unique carafe, taken from a mound in Mississippi county, and made of much finer material than others found in southeast Missouri, was composed of a light-colored, fine-grained yellow clay, well baked; it was 8½ inches high and 6 inches in diameter at its widest part, and very symmetrical in form, with a bottom just sufficiently flattened to stand firmly; but "the beautiful

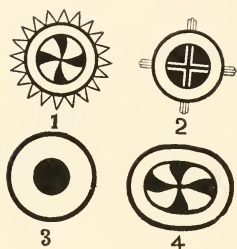
³³ 20th Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 85.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 86.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 86.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 87.

and artistic decoration of this unique and interesting vessel," says Hilder, gives it "an especial value to the student of archæology." Describing it more particularly, he then says that on the bottom, extending $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches upward, the color was red, above that line it was originally painted white but only a portion of its surface retained that color, the remainder having disappeared, leaving the yellow color of the material out of which it was composed to form the background for the decoration, which consisted of the following figures: Numbers one and two are repeated twice, and numbers three and four four times on the vessel. These decorations retained a brilliant red color in spite of the great antiquity of the relic. Mr. Hilder's



conclusion is that these devices are symbolic, and as such "form an important item in the evidence to establish the fact" that "solar worship," so prominent "in all primitive religions of the world, prevailed among these mound-builders"; that this "symbolism employed by the ancient inhabitants of this region was far too refined and abstract to have been the outgrowth of the religious ideas" of the nomadic

historic tribes of savage hunters and warriors found in this region, and that it bore a close analogy to, if it was not absolutely identical with, that in use among the nations of the central part of the continent when invaded by the Spaniards.³⁷ Mr. Beckwith secured a similar carafe, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, bowl, 6 inches in diameter, decorated with three suns, painted with a bright red color, the lower part black. This vessel was found on the main shore, back of Wolf Island, washed out of the banks of the river by the overflow. He found another similar carafe, also in Mississippi county, glazed in black, decorated with four suns in bright red on the bowl, the rays of the sun being indicated in the shape of four acorns; the whole beautiful and artistic in design. Many effigies of remarkable character, representing hunchbacked human beings, heads of men, or beasts on cups and vases, and "grotesque nondescript creatures and conceptions," have also been found in southeast Missouri mounds—so many, indeed, in some mounds,

³⁷ Missouri Historical Society, Publication No. 7, Archæology of Mo., p. 8.

as to have equipped a museum if they had not been destroyed. But shortly after the completion of the Cairo and Poplar Bluff railroad, what was without doubt the most remarkable discovery was made in one of the mounds near Sikeston, a region rich in mound-builders' relics, and evidently once the seat of a great population. Here was unearthed, with a vast amount of other pottery, much of which was cast aside and carelessly destroyed, the head of a woman of Grecian type, reminding us in features, and the manner in which the hair was dressed and bound, of the Venus of Milo. The nose of this remarkable relic or bust was about half eaten away by moisture or water, but otherwise the image was almost perfect, although the white color had been somewhat tinged and dimmed by the sandy earth. The figure was not more than 8 inches high. Being engaged in the practice of the law, I was on a visit to Charleston, and while there saw this remarkable relic in the hands of a Mr. Price, a farmer, who found it in one of the mounds near Sikeston and brought it to



STONE IMAGE. (HOUCK)

Charleston, offering it with other relics for sale. Although then not interested in American archaeology I carefully examined this unique specimen, as well as a sandstone pipe with a carved face on it, found in the same mound. On account of the damaged condition of the bust I did not buy it, but purchased the sandstone effigy. But the impression made on my mind by the fact that this image with Grecian features should have been found in a southeast-Missouri mound never left me; and when afterward, in 1880, in the September number of the *North American Review*, I read an account of the excavation made by Charnay at Teotihuacan, and that among other singular specimens, he discovered "the face of a woman rather disfigured by a broken nose, but plainly of European or Grecian type, and reminding us, by its features, of a Venus of Milo," as can well be imagined, deeply regretted that I did not secure this remarkable Sikeston relic. I never saw Mr. Price afterward, nor have I been able to find out what became of this dis-

covery historically so unique; but no doubt this highly interesting specimen has long since been destroyed, for Mr. Price was but a simple farmer who, owing to the damaged character of the figure, would probably find no local buyer, while professed archæologists were giving at that time no attention to the archæological remains in southeast Missouri. I have endeavored to state the precise circumstances, although they may cause a smile of incredulity. The sandstone pipe which I purchased I still have in my possession. It interested me because I had never seen any sculpture attempted by the mound-builders in stone. It seemed to indicate that they were



VIEW OF PIPE HEAD.
(BECKWITH)

in possession of tools with which they were able to work this yellow soft sandstone, found not many miles north from where this relic was excavated. Mr. Beckwith also has in his collection a part of a pipe found in Mississippi county, made of this same material, more carefully executed and made apparently at a later date, showing a great advance in the art of working stone.

No doubt a large population at some prehistoric period dwelt in what is now Missouri, and especially in eastern and southeastern Missouri. It is the opinion of Brackenridge that "an immense population" was once supported by this country. Indeed, it would appear from the vestiges yet remaining of these prehistoric people that during the era of their occupancy of the land the population of the country was greater, at least in those localities of the state where the mounds are most numerous, than even now. It is impossible to estimate the number of these prehistoric people. Large as the number may appear, I am certain that the 28,000 mounds which have been discovered within the limits of the state, mostly in the eastern portion, only indicate approximately the prehistoric population.

As a deeper interest in Missouri archæology grows up among all classes of the people we may expect many additional discoveries. Even now fragments of pottery, agricultural implements of stone,



ANOTHER VIEW OF PIPE
HEAD. (BECKWITH)

village sites and prehistoric habitations are uncovered at most unexpected places. How much more by close observation will yet be revealed it is impossible to tell.

All the evidence tends to show that these so-called mound-builders were a homogeneous race and an agricultural people; nothing indicates that they were either ferocious or warlike; no weapons whatever have been found in their burial mounds.³⁸ But spear, arrow, and lance heads are found in every variety on and near other mounds, and also in greater abundance apparently near points where probably shops or factories existed and where such arrow, or lance heads were made. As already stated, clay pottery sling-balls or bullets were unearthed several feet below the surface near some mounds. That these mound-builders were a sedentary, semi-civilized people is certain. The immense works which still attract our attention were not built by a migratory people, but "by a race that lived long in the land," and Bancroft thinks that some of the works "could not have been accomplished in less than four or five centuries," of course taking into account their methods and facilities.³⁹

This also has been noted, that the mound-builders always had their settlements on good and fertile soil. Brackenridge, in 1810, noticed that the prehistoric mounds "invariably occupy the most eligible situations for towns and settlements," that there is "not a rising town or a farm of an eligible situation in whose vicinity some of them may not be found," and further says that "a surveyor of public lands" told him "wherever any of these remains were met with he was sure to find an extensive body of fertile soil."⁴⁰ This observation has been found to be generally correct.

Returning now to my simple purpose to enumerate the most conspicuous monuments of the mound-builders in Missouri, it may be observed that the St. Francois basin at one time appears to have been the center of the greatest prehistoric population. The largest portion of this alluvial district, embracing the counties of Pemiscot, New Madrid, Dunklin, Scott, Stoddard, Mississippi, and portions of Cape

³⁸ Bancroft's *Native Races of America*, vol. iv, p. 781.

³⁹ It is well to remember that, according to the various narratives of his expedition, De Soto found a large and sedentary Indian population within the limits of Missouri, and that the agriculture practiced at that time by these Indians may have been destroyed by the gradual encroachment of the buffalo, and thus the sedentary Indians of that period converted into nomadic hunters, as suggested by Prof. N. S. Shaler.

⁴⁰ Brackenridge's *Louisiana*, p. 170 (Baltimore, 1817).

Girardeau, Bollinger, Wayne, Butler, and Ripley, lies within this state. In these counties the most remarkable remains of the mound-builders are found. The greatest number of mounds, and the largest ones, are found not far from the last out-runners of the Ozarks on the alluvial flat lands, beginning at Cape Girardeau, thence going southwest in the direction of Poplar Bluff to the state-line of Arkansas, in a district from six to ten miles wide, as a glance on the maps of the counties on the southeast slope of the Ozarks will show. As naturally to be expected, we also find numerous mounds along the valleys of the creeks emptying their waters into the St. Francois and its tributaries, as well as on the Mississippi hills above Cape Girardeau and the high plateau between Apple creek and the Maramec. It is very probable that the prehistoric people of northeast Arkansas, embracing the lower section of the St. Francois basin, and those that lived in the upper section of this basin and near the flanks of the Ozarks, and on the Mississippi as far north as the Missouri, belonged to the same race.

In Pemiscot county we find the largest existing mound in the state. This immense monument of prehistoric times is 400 feet long, 250 feet wide, and 35 feet high, with an approach from the south end leading up to the top of the mound. On the north end it is 15 feet higher than at the south end. Upon this mound a residence has been erected. The sides apparently were covered with burnt clay three or four inches thick, with split cane originally laid between the layers. Two miles south of this large mound is another, in form resembling a crooked gourd-handle, 250 feet long, the larger part 150 by 75 feet in size, and the handle 70 feet in length and 10 feet wide. In section 20, township 17, north of range 11, Mr. Bean found a large mound 250 feet in diameter and about 15 feet high; and immediately south of this mound he discovered what appeared to be the foundation of a large building. Here several pillars just below the surface, made out of material like soft brick attracted his attention. In the same township and in section 18 he found another mound, 600 feet long and 200 wide, but only 8 feet high. In section 16, township 18, north of range 12, near Deep Slough, is a mound formed something like a cross, 200 feet long, 80 feet wide, and 8 feet high, known as "Bull's Island;" and not far from Wardell, in the same county, two conspicuous mounds, one 250 feet long and 30 feet high, and the other 125 feet by 200 feet,

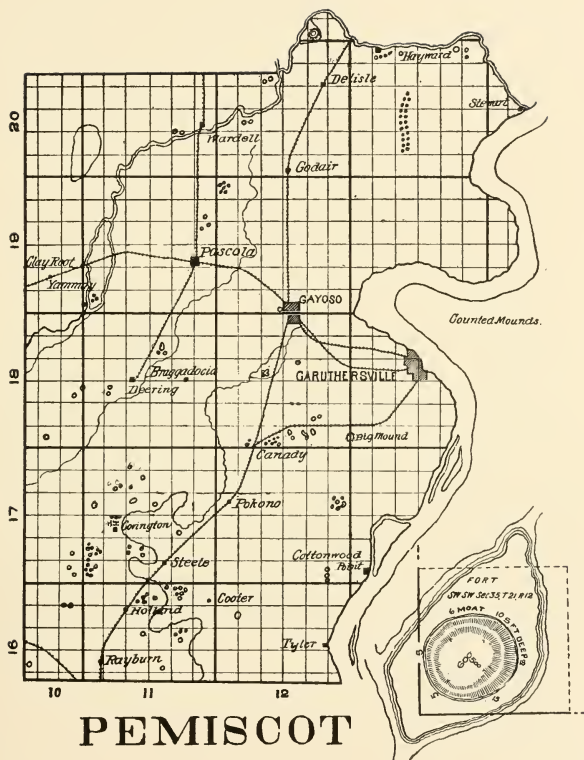


25 feet high, are situated in a short bend of Little river. About two miles southwest of Portageville, on an island in section 35, township 21, north of range 12, an earth embankment exists, apparently a fort, from 5 to 8 feet high on the east side, the base 25 to 50 feet wide, diameter of enclosure about 500 feet, surrounded by two arms of the waters of Portage Bay. The total number of mounds in Pemiscot county is seven hundred.⁴¹

In New Madrid county, a square mound at present 150 by 200 feet and 35 feet high is situated three miles west of the town of New Madrid. Excavations have been made here and much pottery secured, and more destroyed. A trench has been cut through this mound, revealing the fact that apparently some soft brick was used in the construction of it. It is claimed that a ditch once ran around this mound, but Mr. Bean found no traces of it when he made his examination in 1904. Brackenridge, speaking of the mounds in New Madrid county, says there are a number in the vicinity of the town, and, apparently describing this mound, says that "one on the bank of a lake four miles from New Madrid is at least 400 yards in circumference and surrounded by a ditch at least 10 feet wide, and at present 5 feet deep; it is about 40 feet in height and level on top,"⁴²

⁴¹ Other mounds in Pemiscot county may be noted, as follows: on a line between sections 35 and 36, t. 17, r. 12, three mounds near Skillet-handle lake; north mound 75 feet in diameter and 10 feet high; the middle mound 50 feet in diameter, 6 feet high; the south mound 25 ft. high, round and located in the woods. On a line between sections 7 and 8, t. 16, r. 12, one mound 15 ft. high, 75 by 150 ft., on Cagle lake; near center of sec. 13, t. 17, r. 12, five mounds in a field, six ft. high; s. w., s. w., s. 26, t. 18, r. 12, two mounds; n. w. corner s. 35, t. 18, r. 12, one mound; n. w. corner sec. 34, t. 18, r. 12, three mounds, one 600 ft. long, 6 or 7 ft. high, with a slough or ditch near; in secs. 32 and 33, t. 18, r. 13, thirty-two mounds (this group has been much explored); s. e., s. w., sec. 23, t. 17, r. 11, one mound (on excavating in this mound a prehistoric coffin was found); north parts secs. 2 and 3, t. 16, r. 11, nine mounds between Lost bayou and Pemiscot bayou; s. e., s. e., section 4, t. 16, r. 11, four mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 14, same township and range, four mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 22, same twp. and range, one mound; n. e. sec. 36, t. 17, r. 10, two mounds; s. e., sec. 25, t. 17, r. 10, one mound; s. w. pt. sec. 30, t. 17, r. 11, seven mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 31, same twp. and range, seven mounds; on a line between secs. 1 and 2, t. 16, r. 10, two mounds; on n. w., s. e., sec. 18, t. 17, r. 17, one mound 600 ft. long, 200 ft. wide and 8 ft. high; on s. w., n. w., sec. 16, t. 17, r. 11, one mound 200 ft. long, 100 ft. wide, 8 ft. high, on Pemiscot bayou; n. e. n. w., sec. 20, same twp. and range, four mounds, also located on Pemiscot bayou. Near these mounds are the three rows of burnt earth pillars, about 1 ft. square, level on top; on s. e. pt. sec. 8, two mounds; on s. w., s. w., sec. 4, one mound; on s. w., s. w., sec. 9, one mound; on s. e., s. e., sec. 15, one mound; all in twp. 17, range 11; on n. pt. sec. 28, t. 18, r. 11, four mounds; on s. pt. sec. 31, t. 19, r. 11, three mounds, two of these mounds on a tongue between Clay-root bayou and Little river, and one located on opposite side of Little river in the overflow; on n. e. pt. sec. 24, same twp. and range, two mounds; on s. w. pt. sec. 35, t. 18, r. 11, one mound; on n. w. sec. 20, t. 18, r. 11, two mounds; on n. w. pt. sec. 10, t. 18, r. 11, one large mound 250 ft. long, 100 ft. wide and 4 ft. high, the other two mounds are 200 ft. long by 8 ft. high; near s. corner secs. 12 and 13, t. 19, r. 11, three mounds; in center sec. 6, t. 10, r. 12, eleven mounds, an ancient ditch located near these mounds, which are still in the woods; this ditch is nearly a mile long, and leads into Little river; on n. w., n. w. sec. 26, t. 20, r. 11, two very fine mounds; on n. w. corner sec. 9, t. 20, r. 12, two mounds 10 ft. high; on s. e., n. w., sec. 34, t. 19, r. 12, one mound 150 ft. diameter, 10 ft. high; on n. e. cor. sec. 15, t. 18, r. 12, one mound; on s. w., n. w., sec. 16, t. 18, r. 12, is a mound in the form of a cross, mentioned above, and one other mound about 50 ft. in diameter, 6 ft. high; n. pt. secs. 4 and 5, t. 20, r. 13, five mounds; on secs. 16, 21, and 28, t. 20, r. 13, are ninety-one mounds of all sizes, located along a cypress slough; here much ancient pottery has been found; on n. pt. secs. 1 and 2, t. 20, r. 13, are five mounds.

⁴² Views of Louisiana, p. 175. Brackenridge undoubtedly refers to the same



located not far from the channel of an old bayou. According to tradition, a brick or tile floor once existed between this large mound and a smaller one situated about 150 feet north of it. The slope of this mound, which, as already stated, was square in shape, was about sixty degrees. Numerous remains furnish abundant evidence that a large prehistoric population resided north of New Madrid along what is now known as St. John's bayou. On this bayou near Sikeston, in 1878, Colonel Crosswell partially uncovered some earthworks, the embankment in the shape of an elongated horseshoe, the length of the enclosure being 200 feet, the greatest width 76 feet 6 inches, and the narrowest (at the outlet) 18 feet, the greatest depth within the enclosure being 9 feet 6 inches. When Colonel Crosswell made his exploration the site was covered with oak, elm, and sweet-gum trees. The largest tree, a black oak, being 10 feet 6 inches in circumference. A great deal of pottery was found at this place.⁴³ St. John's bayou is now a sluggish stream running through a low district of country filled with cypress trees, but early travelers described it as a body of clear water with a sandy bottom. Undoubtedly it was much changed by the earthquake of 1811. Along the west bank of this bayou on the margin of the slope from the high ridge, known as "Big prairie," we find the greatest number of prehistoric remains in New Madrid county. Only during late years the land along this slope to the bayou has been cleared of timber and reduced to cultivation; and just as in the prairie above in times past, so now, many large and small conical and truncated mounds have been, and are being, practically leveled down and obliterated. Conant says that one mound on this bayou, circular in form, 75 feet in diameter, and 20 feet high, "disclosed nothing but pottery."⁴⁴ He also observed that small tongues of land were "carried out into the water from 15 to 30 feet in length, by 10 to 15 feet in width, with open spaces between, which, small as they were, forcibly remind one of the wharves of a seaport town," and from this he infers that "the inhabitants were fisherman and had plenty of boats of some sort." This St. John's bayou, he conjectures, was once the bed of the Mississippi,

mound examined by Mr. Bean in 1904, because since 1811 the river has caved in for over a mile, and the town of New Madrid has been moved back as a consequence that distance toward the mound. Conant refers to it in his chapter on the Archæology of Missouri in Switzler's History, p. 31.

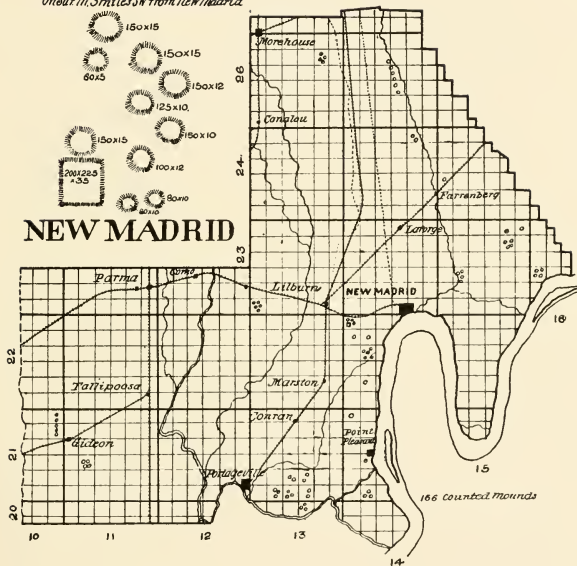
⁴³ See account in the Missouri Republican, August 26, 1878.

⁴⁴ Conant's Archæology of Missouri in Switzler's History, p. 32.

One or 71.3 miles SW from New Madrid



NEW MADRID



which, by suddenly changing its course, left a large open lake that in the course of ages has gradually filled up. Eight miles southeast from the banks of bayou St. John, on what is known as West lake, Conant found in 1876 another "prodigious" group of mounds in a heavy growth of timber. Yet what he saw and describes forms, in his opinion, only "a small part of the multitudinous works with which this whole region abounds." Mr. Potter found, thirteen miles above New Madrid on the edge of West lake, 22 feet above the present level of the water in the adjacent bottom, on the edge of a bluff, an elliptical mound 110 feet by 70 and 11 feet high,⁴⁵ and all along the edge of West lake, in township 23, evidences of prehistoric settlements. Near Lewis's prairie, at the so-called "Cyprie" or "Mound church," he also mentions a group of mounds with two walls about 4 feet high, with a circular mound at one angle 120 feet in diameter and 5 feet high, the depression around this mound being well marked. About 165 feet from this group is a mound 110 feet in diameter on top with a base of 270 feet, 21 feet high, and still another 150 by 120 feet at the base and 90 by 60 feet on top, 11 feet high. These were excavated by Prof. Swallow many years ago, and fully reported by him in the annual report of the Peabody Museum.⁴⁶ Baked clay formed an important element in the construction of one of these mounds.⁴⁷

The most conspicuous mound in Mississippi county is located on the Beckwith farm in section 29, township 24 north, of range 17 east, and forms a truncated pyramid. When Mr. Beckwith first knew this mound it was covered with heavy timber, as well as the

⁴⁵ Potter's Contributions to the Archæology of Missouri, p. 11.

⁴⁶ ²Ibid, p. 14.

⁴⁷ On e. pt. sec. 32, t. 21, r. 13, are three mounds; in same township and range, as follows: s. w. pt., sec. 33, near Open Bay, two mounds; n. e., sec. 28, two mounds; n. w., sec. 27, two mounds; n. e. pt., sec. 34, seven mounds; in the central part sec. 3, t. 20, r. 13, a group of thirty-six mounds along Open Bay; on the s. e., s. w. sec. 32, t. 21, r. 14, are eighteen excavations about ten feet square and four feet deep, lined with something like brick; s. w., n. w., sec. 6, t. 21, r. 14, one mound; s. e., n. w. sec. 20, t. 21, r. 14, one mound; n. e., n. w. sec. 20, t. 22, r. 14, one mound; n. pt. sec. 17, t. 22, r. 14, eight mounds, one 100 ft. diameter, 10 ft. high, in a group near Portage Bay not far from Mississippi river; s. e., n. e., sec. 7, t. 22, r. 14, one mound; on survey No. 711, t. 22, r. 14, are ten mounds which have been already fully described above; on sec. 19, t. 23, r. 16, three mounds; near center of sec. 31, t. 23, r. 13, twenty mounds; this group is near Paw-paw station; s. e. corner sec. 22, t. 24, r. 13, one mound; sec. 20, t. 23, r. 15, on a slough, in a row, six mounds, 50 ft. in diameter, 12 ft. high, much pottery has been found here; on secs. 1, 2, and 11, t. 23, r. 15, six mounds; in middle of sec. 2, t. 24, r. 14, two mounds; on n. e. cor. sec. 19, t. 24, r. 15, three mounds; in w. pt. sec. 20, t. 21, r. 11, five mounds; on e. pt. secs. 1 and 2, t. 21, r. 10, twelve mounds in a row; s. w. pt. sec. 11, t. 25, r. 11, three mounds; in addition a large number of mounds are found along St. John's bayou as well as on the east of Big Prairie and below Sikeston, also on the west edge of Big prairie in this county. In Potter's Contributions to the Archæology to Missouri, pages 15 and 16, are also described other smaller mounds along St. John's bayou, and which may be embraced in the foregoing list, Potter giving no section, township, and range. Nine miles north of New Madrid in township 24, Potter mentions a mound 280 feet by 270, 11 feet high, and another mound 200 feet in diameter, 6 feet high, located on the Davis farm.

MISSISSIPPI.

27

HUNTSVILLE

Lake

CAIRO

Rodney

Birds Pt

Bertrant

CHARLESTON

Wyate

Samos

Hensons

Winston

Crosno

Belmont

Welling

East Prairie

Wolford

Medley

Three States

15

24

25

18

17

23

16

NE SE 26 25 17

Excavation

200

150

350

225

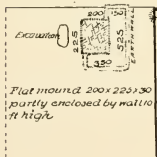
Platform 4

12 high

2005

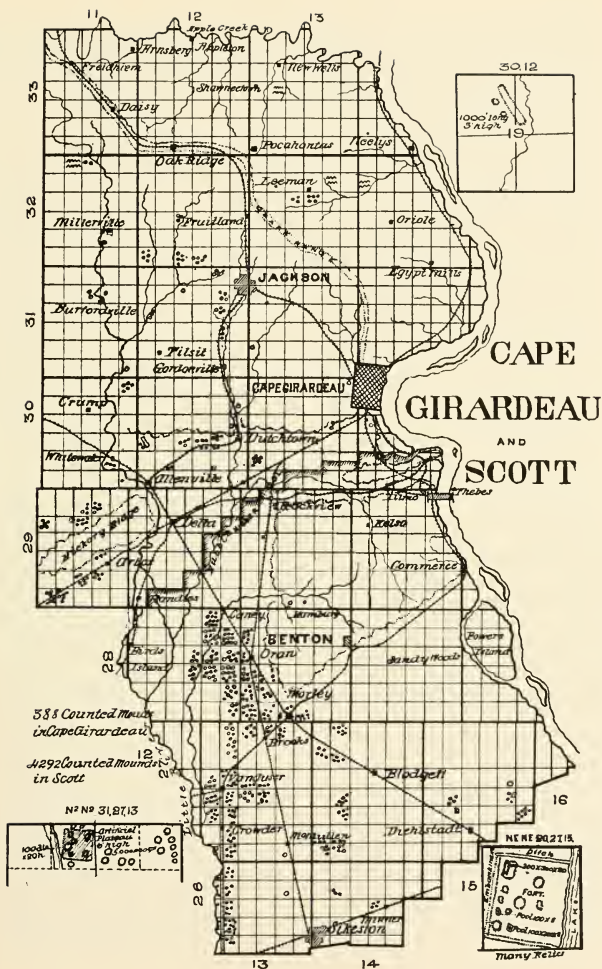
Pl 10 deep

NE SE 26 25 17



surrounding country. It is about two miles from the Mississippi river, a pond about fifty yards west of it, evidently the remnant of an old river bed, extends for miles up and down; and the place where the earth for this mound seems to have been borrowed is still visible. The mound is about 23 feet high, but on the southeast is four or five feet higher than on the northwest side. It has an approach on the southwest side, and from this side can be ascended on horse-back; on the opposite end the rise was precipitous when Mr. Beckwith first knew it some sixty years ago, and the corners were then as square as if the work had been done by an experienced builder. The width is 110 feet and the length 160. It has not been explored and no relics have been found thus far; but on the top, scattered all over the ground, about five feet in depth, Mr. Beckwith has found burned clay, as if the debris of an old fire-bed had been taken here, this burned clay apparently having been mixed with straw. Fifty yards southeast from this truncated mound there is another 7 or 8 feet high, also truncated. All around these, extending over three or four hundred acres, evidences of an extensive prehistoric settlement exist, many relics having been found. A copper awl, nearly square in form, now in the possession of Mr. Beckwith, was unearthed near one of these mounds. Three miles east of Charleston, a lump of native copper was found in the so-called "Canada mound," undoubtedly brought there from a long distance; also a sea conch-shell, which seems to have been used as an ornament. But the most important discovery here was a piece of obsidian from which flakes had been cut, clearly showing that the mound-builders of Mississippi county had trade relations at least with Cerro Gordo, Mexico, the nearest place to the mouth of the Ohio where this volcanic product is found. We owe it entirely to Mr. Beckwith that these highly interesting and important relics of the mound-builders have been preserved; and his large collection made in the course of many years, principally in Mississippi and neighboring counties, must ever interest the student of the archæology of Missouri.⁴⁸ In one of

⁴⁸ In addition to the mounds mentioned, there is a group of six mounds in s. e. corner of sec. 8, t. 26, r. 16; there are eighteen mounds on James' bayou in the central part of sec. 6, t. 25, r. 17; here the first arrow-heads, as you come north from the St. Francois basin, have been found, also some pottery; on east bank of James' bayou Mr. Albert Johnson found an ancient Spanish coin; in center of sec. 32, t. 26, r. 17, one mound; in n. w. corner sec. 33, same twp. and range, one mound; eighteen mounds are found along James' bayou in secs. 27 and 28, t. 25, r. 17, these mounds have been plowed over and many arrow-heads found, also pieces of stone or flint from which arrow-heads were made; some of these mounds are from 10 to 15 feet high, one is 300 ft. long and 200 ft. wide, another 250 by 200 and 8 ft. high, and another 150 by 80 ft., 15 ft. high; in s. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 23, r. 17, one mound; in sec. 26, t. 25, r. 17, one mile south of Crossno post-office are four mounds, one very large called a fort, 225 ft. by 200 ft. and 30 ft.



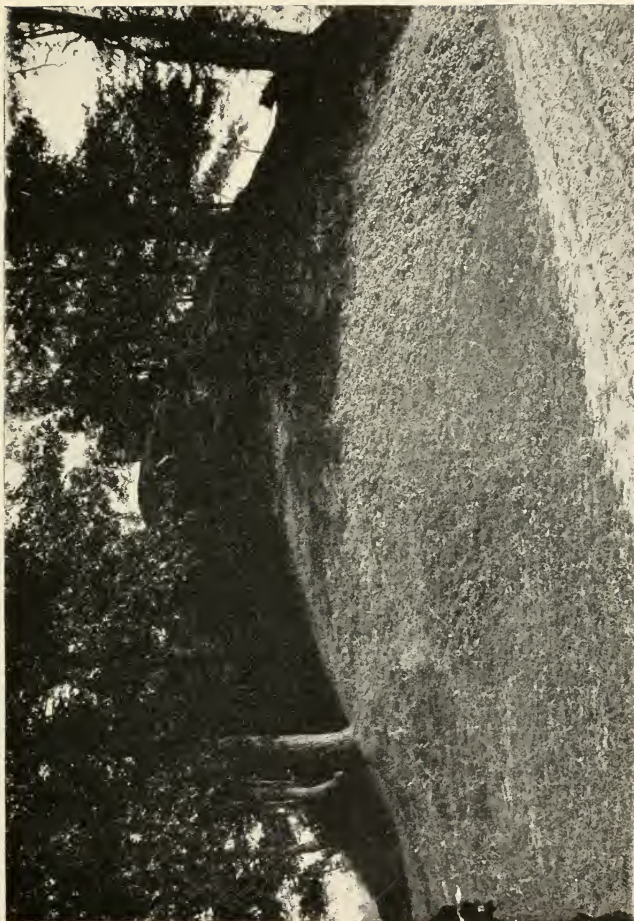
the mounds Mr. Beckwith found the image already noted carved out of sandstone. The Pin-hook ridge mounds, Beckwith's fort, and Baker's mound are fully described in the 12th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, and therefore are not more particularly noticed here.

In Dunklin county some very high mounds are found on the ridge between Little river and the St. Francois, and on the St. Francois river, on Two-mile island and on Cow island, where a high and lofty mound is located in the virgin woods.⁴⁹

About 4292 mounds were located by Mr. Bean in Scott county, but none of them very conspicuous in size; on the other hand the settlements were extraordinary in extent. They are found principally

high, walls very steep, flat on top; from the n. e. corner of the large mound a wall or embankment 10 ft. high at the mound runs north 150 ft., is 100 ft. wide and 10 ft. high; then the embankment runs east 150 ft., at the east end not more than 2 ft. high, then runs south 500 ft., then west 350 ft., then north 150 ft. to southwest corner of large mound. This last embankment at the south end is 2 ft. high and increases to 10 ft. high and 100 ft. wide as you approach the large mound; in sec. 25, same twp. and range are two small mounds; in secs. 9 and 10, t. 24, r. 11, are forty-five mounds, some of them twenty feet high, groups close together with bases nearly touching, very steep, much pottery found here; in s. e., n. e., sec. 1, t. 24, r. 16, and in sec. 6, t. 24, r. 17, a group of fifty-four mounds, the greater part of them well preserved, very high from the base and very steep, some of them 25 ft. high with 80 ft. base, much pottery found here and agricultural implements; in s. w., s. e., sec. 36, t. 25, r. 16, one mound; on s. w. sec. 31, t. 25, r. 17, two mounds; on n. w., s. e., sec. 18, t. 24, r. 17, five mounds; sec. 34, t. 24, r. 17, four mounds; sec. 28, t. 24, r. 17, one mound; in this mound much pottery has been found, and some agricultural implements; one mound in sec. 35, same twp. and range, much well preserved pottery has been found; on n. w., n. w., sec. 33, t. 24, r. 17, one mound; in sec. 20, t. 24, r. 17, five mounds, one very large, 300 by 200 ft. and 35 ft. high, sides very steep, top level; much pottery has been found here, also burned clay of uniform thickness but irregular in shape; this group is located near a cypress swamp; on s. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 24, r. 17, one mound; on n. pt. section 34, t. 24, r. 16, five mounds; the largest mound here is 200 by 150 ft. and 10 ft. high, located near James' bayou; near center sec. 11, t. 24, r. 15, one mound; sec. 4, t. 23, r. 16 in n. w. cor. one small mound; s. e. cor. sec. 31, t. 26, r. 18, four mounds, and in the adjacent sec. 6, t. 25, r. 18, are twenty-two mounds; in n. e. sec. 10, t. 26, r. 17, four mounds; in s. half secs. 2 and 3, t. 26, r. 17, are fourteen mounds; one of these mounds is 600 ft. square and about 4 ft. high; on this mound on the southwest part is a large mound 200 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. high, flat on top, and on the southeast corner of this flat top another small mound 25 ft. in diameter and 5 ft. high; nearly east of this large mound and about 25 feet away is a square mound 100 by 100 ft. and 10 ft. high; this group is otherwise interesting; in sec. 2 are twenty-six mounds in a group and near a slough emptying into James' bayou; one mound in s. w. of sec. 11, all in twp. 26, range 16; in sec. 3 are two mounds, and in sec. 4 are eleven mounds, both in twp. 25, range 16; eight of these mounds in sec. 4 are on the edge of a cypress; sec. 32, t. 27, r. 17, in n. w. cor., one mound; on s. w. cor. sec. 36, t. 26, r. 16, one mound; sec. 3, t. 25, r. 15, are twenty-one mounds, one of these 20 by 100 ft., 10 ft. high; on sec. 11, t. 25, r. 15, are seven mounds; on n. e., n. w., sec. 10, t. 25, r. 15, are ten mounds, and in secs. 2 and 3 and sec. 10, same township and range, are fifty-three mounds; one of these near the center of sec. 3 is 25 by 100 ft. and 10 ft. high located near a cypress; on s. w. cor. sec. 36, t. 26, r. 16, one mound; on s. e. sec. 6, t. 25, r. 16, two mounds; not a little pottery has been found here; on sec. 35 and sec. 36, t. 27, r. 17, each one mound; on sec. 36, t. 26, r. 14, one mound 150 ft. in diameter, 8 ft. high; on n. w., n. w., sec. 8, t. 26, r. 15, are six mounds; n. e. sec. 9, t. 26, r. 15, six mounds. Total number of mounds located in Mississippi county 357.

⁴⁹ Location of Dunklin county mounds, as follows: sec. 22, t. 18, r. 8, one mound 50 ft. diameter, 20 ft. high; sec. 8, t. 16, r. 9, in central part are nine mounds; sec. 18, t. 16, r. 9, in east part, three mounds; in east part sec. 5, t. 16, r. 9, are three mounds; here 600 pieces of wampum money was found; n. w. cor. sec. 33, t. 17, r. 9, one mound near Little river swamp; e. pt. sec. 28, t. 17, r. 9, five mounds, near Little river swamp, much pottery found here; sec. 26, t. 17, r. 9, in s. w. pt. seven mounds, six mounds in a row between Little river and Elk chute, 10 to 12 ft. high, 25 to 30 ft. diameter; w. pt. sec. 8, t. 17, r. 9, ten mounds, one mound 180 by 150 ft., 8 ft. high, another 150 ft. diameter, 10 ft. high, located near Buffalo creek; s. w., n. e., sec. 18, t. 17, r. 9, one mound; this mound is remarkable because located in Buffalo creek or slough; s. pt. sec. 22, t. 16, r. 7, three mounds; n. e. sec. 8, t. 16, r. 7, one mound; n. e. sec. 11, t. 20, r. 9, one mound, 150 ft. by 250, 20 ft. high; s. w. cor. sec. 7, t. 20, r. 10, one mound; s. w. sec. 9, t. 20, r. 10, one mound; n. e. sec. 11, t. 22, r. 9, four mounds, on Crowley's ridge on edge of bluff; lot of pottery and stone implements found here; n. e. sec. 16, t. 21, r. 9, one mound. 52 mounds were counted in Dunklin county.



VIEW OF SCOTT COUNTY MOUND

on the head-waters of St. John's bayou where these waters are nearest to Little (or White-water) river. But on the road from Charleston to the Mississippi river fronting on a cypress swamp there are two mounds, one of which is oval, 73 feet long by 50 feet in width and 10 feet high; the other 25 feet high, pyramidal in form, 50 feet square on top, with a level terrace 63 feet long by 50 feet in width extending northward, this terrace being 10 feet lower. One hundred yards east of this mound an ancient cemetery has been uncovered, embracing several acres, and where much pottery has been found and, of course, much more destroyed.⁵⁰ South of Commerce between North-cut cypress on the east and the Staked-glade, an offshoot of St. John's bayou on the west, on a ridge half a mile long and about one eighth of a mile wide Mr. Potter located a group of nine mounds enclosed in a wall forming a rude parallelogram.⁵¹ The Scott county mounds are mostly located on the west side of the county near Little river, and on Caney creek.⁵²

⁵⁰ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 193.

⁵¹ Potter's Contribution to the Archæology of Missouri, p. 8 and map.

⁵² On n. w., s. e., sec. 33, t. 29, r. 13, are two mounds; on e. pt. sec. 22, t. 28, r. 12, are one hundred and thirty mounds, one mound 500 by 300 ft., 8 ft. high, near a cypress; s. e., s. w., sec. 15, t. 28, r. 12, eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 23, t. 28, r. 12, two hundred and eighty-five mounds, almost covering this part of the section with mounds; all sec. 24, t. 28, r. 12, four hundred and seventeen mounds; the greater part of this section is covered with mounds, in size generally 40 ft. diameter, 4 to 5 ft. high; sec. 14, t. 28, r. 12, in s. pt. of section, nineteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 13, t. 28, r. 12, seventy mounds, almost covering this part of the section; s. w. pt. sec. 18, t. 28, r. 13, thirty-one mounds; w. pt. sec. 12, t. 28, r. 12, two hundred and eighty-six mounds, covering almost the entire west part of the section, a mound about every five feet, varying from 20 to 50 ft. in diameter and 2 to 4 ft. high; w. pt. sec. 11, t. 28, r. 12, two hundred and seventy-four mounds, near the foot-hills covering nearly half the section; s. e. pt. sec. 2, t. 28, r. 12, three hundred and seven mounds, covering most of the s. e. part of section; s. w. pt. sec. 7, t. 28, r. 13, two hundred and sixteen mounds, covering nearly the west part of the section; n. e. pt. sec. 36, t. 28, r. 12, eleven mounds; all sec. 19, t. 28, r. 13, three hundred and twenty-four mounds, vicinity of Oran, covering entire center of this section, near a slough; all sec. 30, t. 28, r. 13, one hundred and fifteen mounds; all sec. 31, t. 28, r. 13, one hundred and five mounds, mounds in two last sections average 50 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; in R. R. cut in this vicinity five feet deep, quantities of broken pottery found where no mounds were visible; s. w., s. w., sec. 32, t. 28, r. 13, nine mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 3, t. 27, r. 13, five mounds, one mound 300 by 40 ft. may be a "sand-blow" caused by earthquake as it is composed of nearly pure sand; n. pt. sec. 4, t. 27, r. 13, nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 25, t. 28, r. 12, one hundred and two mounds; this group is in the woods, one group resembling the antlers of a deer inverted; in center of sec. 20, t. 28, r. 13, four holes 20 ft. apart, 20 inches diameter, are found cut in sand-stone 15 to 20 inches deep; w. pt. sec. 20, t. 28, r. 13, are seventeen mounds; e. pt. sec. 29, t. 28, r. 13, sixteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 2, t. 27, r. 13, forty-eight mounds, one mound in middle of Beaver-dam slough; e. pt. sec. 3, t. 27, r. 13, ten mounds, near Brook's junction; n. pt. sec. 4, t. 27, r. 13, sixty mounds; all sec. 5, t. 27, r. 13, one hundred and fifty-six mounds, some of these mounds 60 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; sec. 8, t. 27, r. 13, one hundred mounds, mostly in s. w. pt., some 80 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; n. w. pt. sec. 15, t. 27, r. 13, six mounds and an excavation 150 ft. by 100, 10 ft. deep, some mounds 200 by 100 ft., 22 ft. high, many relics, images, and flint rock found here; s. w., s. w., sec. 10, t. 27, r. 13, three mounds; w. pt. sec. 17, t. 27, r. 13, forty-six mounds, some mounds 100 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; s. e. pt. sec. 9, t. 27, r. 13, fifteen mounds, n. e. pt. sec. 16, t. 27, r. 13, ten mounds, near a slough; all sec. 18, t. 27, r. 13, one hundred and thirty mounds, several large ones, two 100 by 75 feet, 5 and 6 ft. high; s. e. pt. sec. 7, t. 27, r. 13, thirty mounds, small; e. pt. sec. 19, t. 27, r. 13, fifty-one mounds; all sec. 20, t. 27, r. 13, seventy mounds; all sec. 30, t. 27, r. 13, one hundred mounds, a few of these large in w. pt. sec. 29, and e. pt. sec. 30, 250 by 100 ft., 6 ft. high; w. pt. sec. 29, t. 27, r. 13, one hundred and two mounds; all sec. 32, t. 27, r. 13, thirty-four mounds; sec. 31, t. 27, r. 13, nineteen mounds in this section on east bank of Little river upon an artificial elevation of earth 6 ft. high, 300 by 600 ft. are five mounds, one nearest river 100 ft. diameter, 20 ft. high, quantities of bones, broken pottery and arrow-heads found here 6 ft. below surface of mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 35, t. 27, r. 13, one mound 150 ft. diameter, 20 ft. high; s. pt. sec. 34, t. 28, r. 13, seventeen mounds;

In Cape Girardeau county, in the creek bottoms, the number of mounds is large, especially near the city of Cape Girardeau. Here large mounds are found near Cape LaCruz creek and near Ramsay creek. On the edge and top of the river hills north of Cape Girardeau there are also, occasionally, mounds. Farmers have found, at most unexpected places, prehistoric agricultural implements in their fields. On the old Byrd farm on Byrd creek, notably, many evidences of early occupancy have been discovered, although no mounds exist there. Indeed it would seem, from these agricultural implements being found in many fields that not all prehistoric residents built mounds in the locality where they appear to have dwelt. Granite hatchets and agricultural stone implements are, according to Mr. Bean, found in nearly all parts of the county. In section 23, township 30 north, of range 11, a triangular mound surrounded on all sides by a depression, evidently a ditch at one time, is a conspicuous object of interest. The Whiting mound on the dividing ridge between Byrd and Caney creeks, and the Proffer mounds near the forks of Byrd creek and White-water are fully described by the Bureau of Ethnology.⁵³ Near Cape Girardeau are found two low circular elevations, perhaps two or three hundred feet in diameter, two or three feet above the level of the natural surface, sloping gently towards the edges, composed of a black sandy alluvial soil; but thus far they have not revealed any implements or relics of any sort. They seem to be of artificial origin, and may be what Prof. Conant names "garden mounds."⁵⁴

s. e. pt. sec. 33, t. 28, r. 13, thirty-nine mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 32, t. 28, r. 13, four mounds; w. pt. sec. 5, t. 26, r. 13, eleven mounds; w. pt. sec. 8, t. 26, r. 13, thirty-two mounds; w. pt. sec. 17, t. 26, r. 13, sixty-one mounds; w. pt. sec. 20, t. 26, r. 13, one hundred and fifty-six mounds, some 75 ft. diameter, 10 to 12 ft. high; w. pt. sec. 29, t. 26, r. 13, three mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 11, t. 26, r. 13, one mound; central pt. sec. 6, t. 27, r. 14, four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 5, t. 27, r. 14, three mounds; s. w. sec. 17, t. 27, r. 14, eleven mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 15, t. 26, r. 14, four mounds; central pt. sec. 20, twp. 27, r. 14, nine mounds; s. pt. sec. 29, t. 27, r. 14, nine mounds; n. pt. sec. 32, t. 27, r. 14, twelve mounds; n. pt. sec. 5, t. 27, r. 14, thirty-six mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 8, t. 26, r. 14, three mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 31, t. 27, r. 14, three mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 30, t. 27, r. 14, one mound; n. e., n. e., sec. 24, t. 27, r. 15, about 20 holes about 15 ft. square 3 ft. deep, 6 ft. between each hole; n. e., n. e., sec. 20, t. 27, r. 15, eight mounds, a fort, on east a lake, on north a ditch, on west and south an embankment, much pottery found here; s. e., sec. 17, t. 27, r. 15, six mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 11, t. 27, r. 15, one mound; n. e., n. e., sec. 14, t. 27, r. 15, four mounds, one mound here 250 ft. by 150, 35 ft. high; n. e., s. w., sec. 5, t. 28, r. 13, five mounds, near Rockview on the bluffs

⁵³ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 168.

⁵⁴ Other mounds in Cape Girardeau county are located in the following section: n. w., n. w., sec. 3, t. 32, r. 11, two mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 10, t. 31, r. 11, two mounds, on White water; s. e., n. w., sec. 2, t. 31, r. 12, seven mounds, on a little branch; middle pt. sec. 30, t. 30, r. 13, forty-four mounds, in the woods; s. w., s. w., sec. 7, t. 32, r. 14, site of Shawnee Indian village, many implements found here; n. w., n. w., sec. 18, t. 30, r. 14, one mound; s. half n. e. sec. 9, t. 32, r. 13, site of Shawnee village; n. e., n. e., sec. 6, t. 30, r. 14, two mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 15, t. 29, r. 13, nine mounds; s. w. sec. 8, t. 29, r. 11, fourteen mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 16, t. 32, r. 13, four mounds; e. pt. sec. 32, t. 29, r. 11, thirty-three mounds; w. pt. sec. 33, t. 29, r. 11, twenty-one mounds; n. e., qr. sec. 27, t. 29, r. 11, twenty-four mounds; n. w. qr. sec. 26, t. 29, r. 11, eleven mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 23, t. 29, r. 11, six mounds, on

Stoddard county closely follows Scott in number of mounds, as may be observed on the maps. The mounds are mainly on the waters of Little river (or White-water) and Castor river. Those in the prairie near Bernie deserve notice. The so-called Lakeville mounds, and mounds in the Richwoods near Bernie have been fully described in the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.⁵⁵ The 3211 mounds as counted in Stoddard county will be found in the sections below.⁵⁶

bluff 100 ft. high; n. pt. sec. 10, t. 20, r. 11, nine mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 26, t. 30, r. 11, one mound; s. w. sec. 2, t. 20, r. 11, sixteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 3, t. 20, r. 11, nine mounds; s. pt. sec. 26, t. 30, r. 11, three mounds; n. pt. sec. 10, t. 30, r. 12, three mounds, embankment 1000 ft. long, 3 ft. high; n. w., n. w., sec. 23, t. 30, r. 12, six mounds, on hill 150 ft. high; s. e., n. e., sec. 21, t. 30, r. 12, twelve mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 11, t. 31, r. 11, one mound; s. w., s. e., sec. 20, t. 30, r. 12, five mounds; s. e. qr. sec. 22, t. 30, r. 12, thirty mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 23, t. 30, r. 12, five mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 13, t. 30, r. 12, one mound; n. e., s. w., sec. 12, t. 30, r. 12, one mound; middle pt. sec. 1, t. 30, r. 11, four mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 9, t. 31, r. 12, one mound; w. pt. sec. 14, t. 31, r. 12, four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 31, t. 32, r. 12, seven mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 30, t. 31, r. 13, one mound; s. e., sec. 33, t. 32, r. 12, twenty-five mounds; w. half s. w., sec. 34, t. 32, r. 12, fifteen mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 17, t. 33, r. 13, site of Indian village; e. half n. e. sec. 11, t. 31, r. 12, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 18, t. 31, r. 12, ten mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 14, t. 31, r. 12, ten mounds; w. pt. sec. 23, t. 31, r. 12, eleven mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 21, t. 32, r. 12, five mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 1, t. 30, r. 13, two mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 14, t. 30, r. 13, two mounds. Total number of mounds counted in Cape Girardeau county, 388.

⁵⁵ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 172.

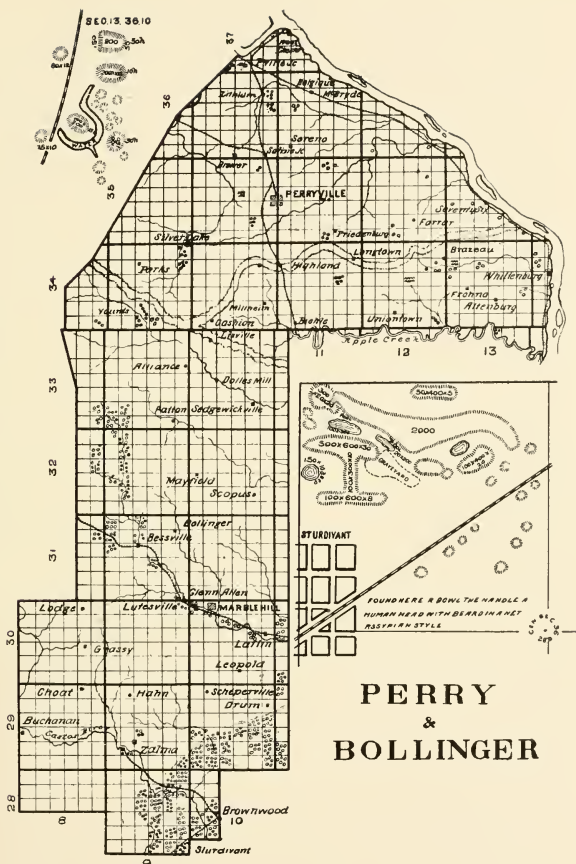
⁵⁶ In township 28, range 10, as follows: sec. 1, thirty-nine mounds; s. pt. sec. 2, thirty-three mounds; s. pt. sec. 3, twenty-four mounds; e. pt. sec. 9, one hundred and sixty-five mounds, in the woods, original excavation made to build one large mound 80 ft. diameter, 8 ft. high, now about 12 inches deep and filled with water; all sec. 10, two hundred and twenty-four mounds, a fine group, one mound on s. w., n. w. 300 ft. long, 55 wide, 8 high, and has three mounds on top, one at each end, one in middle; all section 11, one hundred and ninety-two mounds, some large, much pottery found here; s. pt. sec. 12, fifty-eight mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 13, fourteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 14, three mounds and grave-yard with vaults made of limestone, s. w. corner covered with 86 mounds; all sec. 15, three hundred and sixteen mounds, several large mounds; in this township and range (28-10) in sections 9, 10, 15, 16, 21, 22, 27, 28, and 33 the mounds almost cover the sections, ranging in size from 100 ft. diameter and 10 ft. high to 20 ft. diameter and 2 ft. high, stone hammers, pottery, and arrow-heads found here in quantities, the town of Advance is located in this group which is interesting in many respects; sec. 23 n. e. pt., seven mounds, one mound here 100 by 200 ft., 10 ft. high, contained a pottery furnace or kiln, rock vaults made of limestone, nearest stone 6 miles off; n. w., n. w. sec. 24, two mounds; sec. 27, seventy mounds, one 300 ft. in diameter, 7 ft. high; all sec. 28, two hundred and fifty-eight mounds, one 100 by 200 ft., 10 ft. high; n. w. pt. section 33, one hundred and fourteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 11, t. 27, r. 8, twenty-two mounds; also the following in township 27, range 8: s. pt. sec. 12, thirty-two mounds; sec. 13, twenty-two mounds, most of the mounds in sections 12 and 13 average 200 by 100 ft., 10 ft. high; sec. 33 e. pt., one hundred and twenty-one mounds, n. e. of Mingo; sec. 34, s. e., n. e. pt., seven mounds in shape of letter "L," in n. e., s. w. qr. is Indian grave-yard with vault made of flat stones with top near surface of the earth; n. w. sec. 35, thirty-two mounds; in township 27, range 9, as follows: sec. 1, six mounds; sec. 2, n. pt., eighty-nine mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 3, one mound, pottery and pipes found, Indian grave-yard; all sec. 7, twenty mounds, three large ones, one in center of section 150 ft. diameter 15 ft. high, two others 150 ft. diameter each, and 8 and 10 ft. high; central pt. sec. 8, seventeen mounds; s. pt. sec. 16, ten mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 18, one mound. In township 27, range 10, as follows: e. pt. sec. 1, thirty-three mounds, the old Shawnee trail passes over w. part of section; central pt. sec. 2, sixty-six mounds, mostly on Wolf creek; s. w. pt. sec. 3, sixty-three mounds; n. e. sec. 4, seventy-two mounds, several 100 ft. in diameter, 6 and 7 ft. high; s. w., s. e., sec. 7, sixteen mounds, in two rows north and south about 50 ft. apart each way; w. half sec. 15, eighty-seven mounds, site of old Indian camp, quantities of arrow-heads, granite hammers and one iron hammer found here; these mounds in bottom near hills; n. e., s. e., sec. 16, fourteen mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 17, forty mounds, on west side Castor river a large mound 200 by 75 ft., 4 ft. high, west of this one another 150 by 75 ft., 4 ft. high; n. e. cor. sec. 22, sixteen mounds; diagonally through sec. 23, fifty-eight mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 26, eight mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 2, t. 27, r. 11, three mounds; in township 26, range 8, as follows: n. half n. w. sec. 4, twelve mounds; n. half sec. 7, sixty mounds; central pt. sec. 8, fifty-two mounds; n. w. sec. 20, thirty mounds; in sec. 2, e. half n. w., t. 26, r. 11, three mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 11, t. 25, r. 11, three mounds each 100 ft. diameter, 20 ft. high, a large pool at these mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 17, t. 25, r. 11, one mound; in township 25, range 12, as follows: section 21, s. e., s. e., and s. e., n. w., three mounds, on Castor river; s. e., n. w., sec. 28, one mound; s. e., s. e., sec. 32, one mound. In township 24, range 10, as follows: s. e., s. e., sec. 4, one mound 150 by 80 ft., 6 ft. high; near line of secs. 10 and 15, two mounds, one 80 ft. diameter, 7 ft. high used as grave-yard by pioneer settlers, some grave-stones erected in 1811, one marked "Andrew

Bollinger county has three thousand and ninety-seven mounds. The largest number are found on Castor river near the Stoddard county line. A very extensive pre-historic settlement seems to have existed here. On Castor river near the railroad bridge a space of 12 acres was inclosed. Here a box-shaped stone cist was found, pottery, and a gourd-shaped vessel filled with pure lead.⁵⁷ Another group of mounds near Sturdivant, almost four miles southwest of those just mentioned, must have been at least 30 feet high at one time. In this region much broken pottery, stone implements, and arrow-heads have been discovered. Crooked creek, a branch of White-water (Little river) is lined with mounds.⁵⁸

Neal, Born Nov. 5, 1785"; e. pt. sec. 22, twenty nine mounds, this is the largest group of large mounds in the state, one is 400 by 200 ft., 25 ft. high, located near Bernie, three miles south of these mounds pottery has been found and jugs and vases being plowed up where there was no sign of mounds; in n. e., n. w. sec. 3, t. 24, r. 11, one mound; s. w., s. w., sec. 20, t. 24, r. 12, one mound, 300 ft. diameter, 3 ft. high; s. w. pt. sec. 20, t. 24, r. 12, seventeen mounds; s. e., n. e. sec. 32, t. 24, r. 12, one mound; s. e., n. w. sec. 9, t. 23, r. 10, two mounds; n. half s. e. sec. 15, t. 23, r. 10, seven mounds; w. half sec. 3, t. 23, r. 11, two excavations 50 ft. in diameter, one always dry, one always full of water which seems to be lined with material impervious to water; n. e., s. e., sec. 9, t. 23, r. 11, one mound; w. half sec. 11, t. 23, r. 11, two mounds s. e., n. w., sec. 17, t. 23, r. 11, one mound; s. w., s. w. sec. 21, t. 23, r. 11, one mound.

⁵⁷ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 171.

⁵⁸ Bollinger county has 3097 counted mounds, mostly located in the southeast part of the county in what is known as Mingo bottom along the foot-hills of the Ozarks, these mounds forming, with the mounds in township 28, range 10, in Stoddard county, around Advance, perhaps the most extensive group of mounds in the United States. A large number of mounds are also found in this county along Crooked creek, a branch of White-water. In s. w., n. w., sec. 14, t. 30, r. 10, ten mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 7, t. 29, r. 11, eleven mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 10, t. 30, r. 10, two mounds; n. half s. w. sec. 18, t. 29, r. 11, twenty-six mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 9, t. 30, r. 10, four mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 5, t. 30, r. 10, six mounds; e. pt. sec. 20, t. 28, r. 10, sixty mounds, vicinity of Brownwood; all sec. 20, t. 28, r. 10, twelve mounds, large; n. w. pt. sec. 30, t. 28, r. 10, eighty-two mounds; s. and e. pts. sec. 10, t. 28, r. 10, forty-eight mounds, on south bank Castor river is "Stepp" mound 250 ft. diameter, 15 ft. high, quantity pottery and arrow-heads found here, just east of this another mound 150 by 80 ft., 12 ft. high, a pottery jar containing corn found here about 1876; e. pt. sec. 26, t. 28, r. 9, one hundred and twenty-eight mounds; all sec. 25, t. 28, r. 9, one hundred and twenty-three mounds, generally small with some large mounds; e. pt. sec. 35, t. 28, r. 9, twenty-nine mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 36, t. 29, r. 9, twenty-five mounds, near Sturdivant, a remarkable group of 8 or 10 very large and irregular mounds and ponds, broken pottery, hammers, and arrow-heads found here; w. pt. sec. 34, t. 28, r. 9, twenty-six mounds, in three rows; central pt. sec. 14, t. 28, r. 9, sixty-one mounds, in 4 or 5 rows running north and south; s. w. pt. sec. 22, t. 28, r. 9, fifteen mounds, nearly in line; all sec. 15, t. 28, r. 9, ninety-five mounds, in n. pt. very thick; s. pt. sec. 10, t. 28, r. 9, forty-one mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 7, t. 28, r. 9, seven mounds; all sec. 11, t. 28, r. 9, thirty-one mounds; n. w. sec. 12, t. 28, r. 9, forty-seven mounds; e. pt. sec. 16, t. 28, r. 9, seventy-four mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 21, t. 28, r. 9, sixteen mounds; s. e. sec. 27, t. 28, r. 9, eleven mounds; n. w. sec. 34, t. 28, r. 9, twenty-five mounds; e. pt. sec. 28, t. 28, r. 9, twenty-eight mounds, in two rows through the section; s. e. cor. sec. 17, t. 28, r. 10, thirteen mounds; all sec. 13, t. 32, r. 8, fifty-eight mounds; s. pt. sec. 12, t. 32, r. 8, thirty-two mounds; in township 32, range 9, as follows; w. pt. sec. 20, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 20, sixteen mounds, one 200 by 100 ft., 8 ft. high, one 150 by 100, 6 ft. high, pottery found here; n. w. sec. 17, six mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 10, nine mounds; w. pt. sec. 8, nineteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 5, forty-six mounds, one near center 150 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; n. e. pt. sec. 6, eight mounds; in township 33, range 9, as follows: central pt. sec. 31, thirty mounds; w. pt. sec. 32, fifty-four mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 20, sixteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 30, t. 32, r. 9, eleven mounds; s. e. sec. 25, t. 32, r. 8, three mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 36, t. 32, r. 8, three mounds, one 125 ft. diameter, 15 ft. high; s. pt. sec. 7, t. 31, r. 9, thirty-eight mounds; s. pt. sec. 6, t. 31, r. 9, thirty mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 18, t. 31, r. 9, nineteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 4, t. 31, r. 9, seven mounds, at fork of Indian creek in bed of limestone were 75 pits 1 to 3 ft. diameter about 1 ft. deep; e. pt. sec. 9, t. 31, r. 9, four mounds; n. e. sec. 22, t. 31, r. 9, fifty-four mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 36, t. 31, r. 9, seventeen mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 1, t. 30, r. 9, four mounds; n. w. sec. 6, t. 30, r. 10, four mounds, near Lutesville; n. w. pt. sec. 31, t. 29, r. 11, thirty mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 36, t. 29, r. 10, fifty-one mounds; s. pt. sec. 30, t. 29, r. 11, twenty-four mounds; In township 29, range 10, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 25, forty-six mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 26, six mounds; e. pt. sec. 24, twenty-three mounds; all sec. 13, three hundred and fifty-one mounds, s. e. pt. very thickly covered, mounds larger than ordinary; s. pt. sec. 14, one hundred and two mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 23, thirty mounds; central



PERRY & BOLLINGER

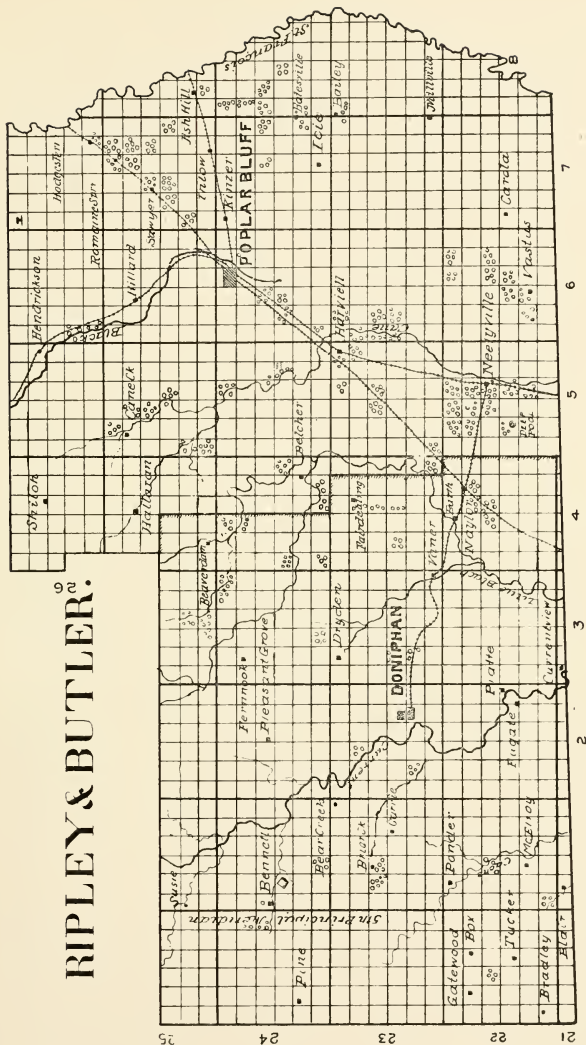
In Perry county there are a number of mounds situated on high bluffs overlooking the Mississippi river, extending from the southern boundary line of the county to the Ste. Genevieve county line. Near Lithium a peculiar group of fifteen mounds is located. One is square on the west end and 150 feet wide at that end, but only 50 feet wide on the east end. It is 200 feet long, and 30 feet high at the east end. South of this is an egg-shaped mound 200 feet long by 100 feet wide, and 10 feet high; and to the south of this are seven small ones, then another egg-shaped one 200 feet long, 100 feet wide, and 30 feet high. East of these is an elevation somewhat in the shape of a tuning fork, 200 feet long by 100 feet in width, and 15 feet high, with a handle 150 feet long. East of this embankment are located two smaller mounds. The whole group appears to be very irregular. A ditch leading from the embankment was dug for some purpose not now apparent. Pottery and arrow-heads were found here in abundance. Near St. Mary's a number of mounds containing graves walled in with rock were uncovered inside of mounds, on property belonging to Mr. John Tlappek, and others.⁵⁹ These are all located on top of high bluffs and seem in some way connected with the high mounds found in the "Big Field" of Ste. Genevieve, and these again with similar high mounds on the opposite side of the river in the American bottom and extending north to Cahokia.⁶⁰

pt. sec. 22, fifty-two mounds; e. and s. pt. sec. 21, forty-seven mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 20, six mounds, near Dongola; w. pt. sec. 28, one hundred and nine mounds; central sec. 32, 100 mounds; central pt. sec. 33, thirty mounds, in rows north and south; central pt. sec. 20, one hundred and nineteen mounds, a fine group in n. e. corner; s. e. pt. sec. 30, ninety-six mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 31, seventy-seven mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 36, t. 20, r. 9, fifty mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 21, t. 20, r. 9, fifteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 20, t. 20, r. 9, twelve mounds, near Zalma; central pt. sec. 24, t. 28, r. 9, fourteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 13, t. 28, r. 9, thirty-three mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 14, t. 20, r. 9, twenty mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 6, t. 20, r. 11, thirty-five mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 10, t. 20, r. 10, thirty-eight mounds; w. pt. sec. 20, t. 20, r. 10, fourteen mounds.

⁵⁹ Such graves walled in with rock inside of mounds have also recently been uncovered by Mr. Gerard Fowke for the Archæological Institute in Osage and Boone counties.

⁶⁰ Other Perry county mounds in the following places, total counted mounds one hundred and forty-nine; n. w. pt. sec. 7, t. 34, r. 14, three mounds, on a hill 100 ft. high; n. w. cor. sec. 6, t. 34, r. 14, one mound, pottery found; n. e. cor. sec. 3, t. 35, r. 11, three mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 2, t. 35, r. 10, two mounds; s. e. n. e. sec. 31, t. 36, r. 12, one mound on bluff 150 ft. high; n. w. cor. sec. 2, t. 35, r. 11, one mound, on bluff 200 ft. high; n. w. cor. sec. 34, t. 34, r. 9, three mounds; all sec. 33, t. 34, r. 9, fourteen mounds; s. w. n. w. sec. 12, t. 34, r. 9 five mounds; center sec. 28, t. 34, r. 9, four mounds, in a row; center sec. 36, t. 34, r. 8, three mounds, in a row; n. w. cor. sec. 26, t. 35, r. 10, four mounds, in a row; w. pt. sec. 13, t. 36, r. 10, seventeen mounds, mounds large and irregular, noted above; n. e., n. w. sec. 12, t. 36, r. 10, one mound, prehistoric graves on bluff 60 ft. high, one mound 100 ft. diameter 12 ft. high, pottery and arrow-heads found here; n. e. sec. 17, t. 36, r. 11, three mounds; center sec. 33, t. 37, r. 10, seven mounds, south of St. Mary's on bluffs 200 ft. high overlooking Mississippi river, tombs of flat stones in a mound 40 ft. diameter, 15 ft. high, in which was burned dirt to a depth of three feet; n. e. sec. 34, t. 37, r. 10, two mounds, on bluff 250 ft. high; n. e. cor. sec. 24, t. 34, r. 13, three mounds, a granite ball found here about the size of 6 lb. cannon ball; n. w., sec. 9, t. 34, r. 13, three mounds, on bluff 75 ft. high; w. pt. sec. 7, t. 34, r. 13, two mounds, site of Indian village on bluff, and trail to Apple creek; n. e. pt., sec. 12, t. 34, r. 12, four mounds, traces of Indian

2 3 4 5 6 7 25 24 23 22 21 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 POPLAR BLUFF DONIPHAN St. Principal Meridian RIPLEY & BUTLER.



Butler and Ripley counties are also full of mounds. On the county line between Butler and Ripley a square rectangular inclosure called "Power's Fort" from the fact that this embankment is located on land owned by Mr. Powers, encloses an area of about seven hundred and fifty feet square. A ditch runs outside of this fort, 3 to 5 feet deep with four mounds inside of the embankments.⁶¹ Mounds in the counties of Butler⁶² and Ripley⁶³ will be found as noted below.

trail existing; s. e., sec. 11, t. 34, r. 12, one mound; n. w., s. w., sec. 15, t. 34, r. 12, site of large Shawnee Indian village on branch of Apple creek; middle pt. sec. 33, t. 35, r. 12, two mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 18, t. 34, r. 13, one mound, on high ridge; s. e., s. w., sec. 28, t. 35, r. 12, one mound; w. pt., sec. 15, t. 35, r. 11, seven mounds; central pt. sec. 34, t. 35, r. 11, thirteen mounds, in two groups; central pt. sec. 14, t. 34, r. 11, twenty-six mounds; s. w., sec. 15, t. 35, r. 10, evidences of four furnaces, pottery and arrow-heads found; s. w. cor. sec. 35, t. 36, r. 12 one mound, on bluff 150 ft. high; s. e., s. w., sec. 11, t. 35, r. 12, one mound; n. e., n. e., sec. 10, t. 35, r. 13, one mound, on bluff 125 ft. high; n. e., s. e., sec. 27, t. 35, r. 13, one mound, on bluff 150 ft. high; s. e., n. w., sec. 36, t. 35, r. 13, one mound, on bluff 150 feet high; n. e., n. e., sec. 6, t. 34, r. 14, one mound, on a bluff; n. w. cor. sec. 3, t. 33, r. 13, three mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 36, t. 34, r. 12, three mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 20, t. 35, r. 14, one mound, on bluff 150 ft. high, near Seventy-Six station.

⁶¹ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 195.

⁶² Butler county contains 1817 counted mounds. In s. w., s. e., sec. 26, t. 26, r. 7, three mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 35, t. 26, r. 7, sixty-five mounds; in township 25, range 7, as follows: n. w. pt. sec. 2, sixty-seven mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 3, fifty-three mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 30, thirty-nine mounds; central pt. sec. 10, twenty-eight mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 16, sixty-one mounds, arrow-heads found; all sec. 11, one hundred and five mounds; s. w. sec. 14, ninety-five mounds; n. w. sec. 21, forty-six mounds; n. w. sec. 20, thirty-five mounds, arrow-heads found; n. e., n. e., sec. 11, t. 24, r. 6, one mound, pottery found; n. pt. sec. 21, t. 24, r. 8, twenty-one mounds, pottery found; n. w., s. w., sec. 32, t. 25, r. 8, three mounds, pottery and spikes found; e. pt. sec. 6, t. 24, r. 8, seventeen mounds; e. pt. sec. 7, t. 24, r. 8, eighteen mounds; central pt. sec. 17, t. 24, r. 8, fifteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 15, t. 24, r. 7, three mounds, on Caledonia ridge south of Blue-spring; w. pt. sec. 12, t. 24, r. 7, seven mounds, pottery found; e. pt. sec. 24, t. 25, r. 7, twenty-one mounds; central pt. sec. 13, t. 24, r. 7, eighteen mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 1, t. 23, r. 7, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 6, t. 23, r. 8, four mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 25, t. 24, r. 7, five mounds; n. w. sec. 30, t. 24, r. 8 nine mounds; w. pt. sec. 18, t. 24, r. 8, eleven mounds; all sec. 15, t. 22, r. 5, ninety-six mounds, pottery and arrows found; In township 22, range 5, as follows: sec. 3, e. pt., thirty-one mounds; sec. 10, e. pt., forty mounds, pottery and arrows found; central pt. sec. 22, thirty-three mounds; all sec. 27, thirty-four mounds, some large mounds, pottery found; all sec. 9, forty-four mounds, nearly all large, average 75 to 100 ft. diameter, 8 to 10 ft. high, one 200 diameter, 10 ft. high, pottery and arrow-heads found; n. e. sec. 16, ten mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 8, thirty mounds, nearly all large mounds, pottery found; s. w. sec. 14, nineteen mounds; s. e. sec. 5, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 36, t. 23, r. 5, twenty-four mounds, mound in s. e. cor. 150 ft. diameter, 35 ft. high, near Indian burial ground, quantity pottery found; s. e. pt. sec. 20, t. 22, r. 5, ten mounds, in s. e. cor. is "deep-sink" or pool, 300 ft. diameter, 75 ft. deep, on plateau 10 ft. above common level, always contains water; s. w. sec. 31, t. 23, r. 5, six mounds, on s. w., s. w., in a slough is a circle of rocks, no other rocks nearer than 3 miles; in township 23, range 5, as follows: sec. 16, s. e. cor. eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 15, twenty mounds; s. pt. sec. 11, sixty-two mounds; all sec. 12, fifty-nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 7, twenty-one mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 6, t. 24, r. 6, one hundred and four mounds; w. pt. sec. 18, t. 23, r. 6, ten mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 10, t. 23, r. 6, ten mounds; all sec. 23, t. 23, r. 6, eighteen mounds central pt. sec. 17, t. 23, r. 6, fifteen mounds, one mound 300 ft. diameter, 8 ft. high, pottery found; in township 22, range 6, as follows: n. pt. sec. 3, thirteen mounds; central pt. sec. 2, thirty mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 15, thirteen mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 22, sixteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 21, twelve mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 28, fourteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 29, fourteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, six mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 23, r. 6, eighteen mounds; n. w. sec. 24, t. 24, r. 4, five mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 3, t. 25, r. 5, four mounds; in township 25, range 5, as follows: sec. 31, s. pt., six mounds; middle pt. sec. 5, seven mounds; w. pt. sec. 9, twelve mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 16, ten mounds; w. pt. sec. 22, six mounds; s. e. sec. 3, t. 24, r. 5, four mounds; n. w. sec. 23, t. 24, r. 5, five mounds, Indian grave-yard on n. e., n. w.; s. e. sec. 30, t. 26, r. 6, twenty mounds; n. e. sec. 31, t. 26, r. 6, fourteen mounds; s. e. sec. 3, t. 23, r. 5, ten mounds; s. e. sec. 34, t. 24, r. 4, four mounds.

In sec. 7, t. 26, r. 7, e., standing upright on solid rock is a rock 18 inches square, 2 feet high on top of this lies a flat rock about six feet square, 6 inches thick, dressed smooth on top; two and a half miles south of Wappapello.

⁶³ In Ripley county five hundred and six mounds were counted, generally located along creeks and water-courses. In all sec. 11, t. 22, r. 4, e., fifteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 10, t. 22, r. 4, e., thirty-eight mounds, this is a fine group of large mounds, pottery and arrow-heads found; n. w. sec. 15, t. 22, r. 4, e., twenty-four mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 16, t. 24, r. 4, e., thirty mounds; s. w. sec. 16, t. 23, r. 1, e., eight mounds; n. w. sec. 0, t. 23, r. 1, e., four mounds; n. e. sec. 33,

In Wayne county most of the mounds, as might be expected, are found along the St. Francois river. A large mound-builders' settlement existed in section 27, township 27 north, of range 6 east. Another such settlement also seems to have been located on the farm of Captain Leeper near Mills springs. On Otter, Bear, Big, Clark, McKenzie, Peachtree and other creeks discharging their waters into the St. Francois and Black rivers the mound-builders also left evidences of their residence.⁶⁴

In Madison county two miles northeast of Fredericktown are a large number of mounds about three feet high and rather remarkable because of the unusual circumstance that they are built in

t. 24, r. 1, e., twelve mounds, on 29-24-1 w., a granite wheel 7½ in. in diameter, 2½ in. thick, concave 1 in. on outer edge, was found; n. e. sec. 20, t. 24, r. 1, e., twelve mounds; n. e. sec. 20, t. 24, r. 1, e., about 200 mounds, laid out with remarkable uniformity in a square, stone implements found; n. e. and s. w. pts. sec. 13, t. 24, r. 1, w., seventeen mounds; n. w., cor. sec. 24, t. 24, r. 1, w., four mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 17, t. 23, r. 1, e., twenty-four mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 29, t. 23, r. 2, e., seven mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 31, t. 22, r. 1, e., twelve mounds; e. pt. sec. 16, t. 22, r. 1, e., eight mounds; n. e., cor. sec. 16, t. 23, r. 1, w., five mounds; n. e., cor. sec. 29, t. 23, r. 3, e., thirteen mounds; s. w., cor. sec. 33, t. 24, r. 3, e., fourteen mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 20, t. 23, r. 4, e., six mounds; middle pt. sec. 20, t. 23, r. 3, e., twenty-four mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, t. 23, r. 4, e., twenty mounds; sec. 23, t. 23, r. 4, e., twenty-three mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 19, t. 24, r. 4, e., fifty Indian tombs on bluff overlooking river, made of square flat socks; s. pt. sec. 10, t. 23, r. 4, e., eighteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 9, t. 24, r. 4, e., six mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 4, t. 24, r. 4, e., fourteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 1, t. 24, r. 3, e., seven mounds; n. e., pt. sec. 2, t. 24, r. 3, e., six mounds; s. pt. sec. 33, t. 25, r. 3, e., six mounds; n. e., pt. sec. 34, t. 25, r. 3, e., nine mounds; central pt. sec. 27, t. 25, r. 4, e., eleven mounds.

⁶⁴ The mounds in Wayne county are found principally along the St. Francois river above Wappapello, and on Black river, being apparently a continuation of the mound settlements found on Black river in Butler county. Total number of mounds counted in Wayne county, 1,180. In central pt. sec. 35, t. 27, r. 7, an Indian burial ground; n. e., s. e., sec. 27, t. 27, r. 7, one mound, 300 ft. in diameter, 20 ft. high; n. w., n. w., sec. 2, t. 26, r. 7, one mound, vicinity of Wappapello; n. w. sec. 28, t. 27, r. 7, twenty-eight mounds; w. half n. w. sec. 33, t. 27, r. 7, four mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 32, t. 27, r. 7, five mounds; w. half s. w. sec. 19, t. 27, r. 6, seventeen mounds; s. w. sec. 31, t. 27, r. 7, eight mounds; central pt. sec. 6, t. 26, r. 7, five mounds; s. half sec. 30, t. 27, r. 7, fifty-three mounds, larger than average, arrow-heads found; s. half sec. 24, t. 27, r. 6, six mounds, Indian burial ground; n. half sec. 25, t. 27, r. 6, eleven mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 21, t. 27, r. 6, four mounds; s. e. sec. 20, t. 27, r. 6, fourteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 27, t. 27, r. 6, eighty mounds, a fine group in s. e. pt. of sec.; s. w., n. w., sec. 20, t. 27, r. 6, seven mounds near a pond on higher level; e. half s. e. sec. 17, t. 27, r. 6, forty-seven mounds, in s. e. pt. a fine group, some large; n. half s. w. sec. 16, t. 27, r. 6, nineteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 18, t. 27, r. 6, fourteen mounds, near Taska; w. pt. sec. 7, t. 27, r. 6, nine mounds; s. e. sec. 1, t. 27, r. 5, six mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 12, t. 27, r. 5, eleven mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 11, t. 27, r. 5, fifty-seven mounds; w. pt. sec. 13, t. 27, r. 5, thirty-seven mounds; all sec. 6, t. 27, r. 7, twenty-seven mounds; w. pt. sec. 4, t. 27, r. 7, twenty-eight mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 18, t. 27, r. 7, fourteen mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 23, t. 27, r. 6, ten mounds; w. pt. sec. 26, t. 27, r. 7, fifty-three mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 27, r. 5, forty-nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 6, t. 27, r. 6, thirty-one mounds; w. half n. e. sec. 31, t. 27, r. 5, eighteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 22, t. 27, r. 4, five mounds; n. pt. sec. 27, t. 27, r. 4, seven mounds; central pt. sec. 33, t. 27, r. 4, fifty-four mounds; e. pt. sec. 32, t. 27, r. 4, twenty-eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 4, t. 26, r. 4, twenty-five mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 34, t. 28, r. 3, forty-two mounds, a fine group on farm of Capt. Leeper; s. w., n. w., sec. 9, t. 27, r. 4, thirty mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 2, t. 28, r. 3, thirteen mounds; central sec. 4, t. 27, r. 4, three mounds; central pt. sec. 15, t. 27, r. 4, ten mounds, stone hammers and many arrow-heads found, Indian burial ground; s. e. pt. sec. 24, t. 29, r. 3, fifty-one mounds, a group of fair size in 5 rows 5 miles n. e. of Piedmont, pottery and arrow-heads found; s. e. pt. sec. 24, t. 29, r. 4, seventeen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 25, t. 29, r. 4, sixteen mounds; n. e. qr. sec. 26, t. 29, r. 4, fifteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 19, t. 29, r. 5, seven mounds; n. pt. sec. 14, t. 29, r. 4, thirteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 6, t. 29, r. 4, seven mounds; s. w., s. e. sec. 13, t. 29, r. 3, six mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 9, t. 29, r. 4, five mounds; central pt. sec. 10, t. 29, r. 5, seven mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 32, t. 29, r. 5, twelve mounds; s. half n. w. sec. 33, t. 29, r. 5, fourteen mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 31, t. 29, r. 5, nine mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 34, t. 29, r. 5, nine mounds; n. e., n. w. sec. 13, t. 29, r. 4, thirteen mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 27, t. 29, r. 7, nine mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 26, t. 29, r. 7, eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 24, t. 27, r. 7, sixteen mounds, south St. Francois river Indian burial ground; n. half sec. 23, t. 29, r. 3, thirty mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 29, t. 27, r. 5, eleven mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 30, t. 27, r. 5, sixteen mounds.

straight rows. In this county the Little St. Francois and the neighborhood known as the "Creek Nation" seems to have been the center of a considerable prehistoric settlement. Here the mounds are larger than others in this county.⁶⁵

In St. Francois county mounds are numerous on Flat river, on Wolf creek, the Terre Blue, and on and along the upper reaches of the St. Francois and Big rivers.⁶⁶

The most conspicuous object in the ancient "Big-Field" of Ste. Genevieve is a group of mounds situated about two miles south of the town; one of these must be at least 25 feet high, and is surrounded by a number of smaller ones. For nearly two hundred years this "Big-Field" has been cultivated, and the work of the plow has greatly reduced these mounds in size. Undoubtedly they were originally much higher and more conspicuous as landmarks. This group of mounds manifestly was connected in some way with those in the American bottom on the opposite side of the river. The mounds

⁶⁵ A total of 687 mounds are found in this county, principally around Fredericktown and Mine la Motte on Little St. Francois river, and streams emptying into the St. Francois. In e. pt. sec. 5, t. 32, r. 7, sixteen mounds; n. e., qr. sec. 30, t. 34, r. 7, eleven mounds; w. pt. sec. 8, t. 33, r. 7, twenty-one mounds, pottery found; In township 33, range 7 as follows: n. w. cor. sec. 17, three mounds; n. e. qr. sec. 2, two hundred and twenty-nine mounds n. e. Fredericktown; n. w. cor. sec. 7, eleven mounds, one mound 100 ft. diameter, 10 ft. high, pottery found; n. e. cor. sec. 6, thirty-three mounds, arrow heads found; in township 33, range 6, as follows: all of sec. 2, forty-three mounds, near St. Catherine mines; n. w., n. e., sec. 1, three mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 24, three mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 14, one hundred and fifty mounds, larger than the average mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 23, forty three mounds, larger than average; e. pt. sec. 21, thirteen mounds; central pt. sec. 22, thirty-nine mounds; in township 34, range 6, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 22, twenty mounds; w. pt. sec. 23, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 26, two mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 25, site of Indian village north of Mine la Motte; s. w., n. e., sec. 21, t. 33, r. 8, four mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 28, t. 33, r. 8, one mound on high bluff, great quantity arrow heads found; n. half n. w. qr. sec. 2, t. 32, r. 7, four mounds; e. half s. e. sec. 15, t. 32, r. 7, twelve mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, t. 33, r. 7, twelve mounds; e. pt. sec. 15, t. 33, r. 7, eight mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 16, t. 31, r. 8, seven mounds; n. w. sec. 36, t. 31, r. 7, ten mounds.

⁶⁶ St. Francois county has 652 counted mounds along the headwaters of the St. Francois and the south slope of the crest of the Ozark range, some mounds are also on the north side of the crest on the headwaters of Big river. In township 35, range 4, as follows: w. pt. sec. 28, thirty-six mounds, in a row, arrow-heads found; n. w. sec. 23, eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 18, twenty-six mounds, in two straight rows; s. e. sec. 7, ten mounds; s. w. sec. 6, seven mounds; central pt. sec. 28, t. 36, r. 6, twenty-seven mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 27, t. 36, r. 6, three mounds; n. w. sec. 33, t. 36, r. 6, seven mounds; s. e. sec. 34, t. 36, r. 6, fifteen mounds; in township 35 range 6, as follows: central pt. sec. 4, twenty-seven mounds; s. pt. sec. 8, eighteen mounds; s. e. sec. 5, sixteen mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 17, five mounds; e. pt. sec. 7, twelve mounds; in township 35, range 5, as follows: s. w., s. w., sec. 11, six mounds; s. pt. sec. 12, forty-three mounds; n. e. sec. 13, thirty-seven mounds; s. w. sec. 18, t. 35, r. 6, forty-seven mounds; n. w. sec. 29, t. 35, r. 6, fourteen mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 16, t. 34, r. 5, three rocks, base 4 ft., top, 8 ft., 15 ft. high, known as "The candles"; w. pt. sec. 20, t. 35, r. 6; one hundred and thirty-one mounds, some as large as 60 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; s. e., n. w., sec. 36, t. 36, r. 5, five mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 15, t. 37, r. 5, one mound, several Indian graves with flat stones; in township 36, range 5, as follows: n. w., n. w., sec. 11, twenty-two graves; n. half n. w. sec. 9, eleven mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 16, three mounds; central pt. sec. 32, t. 37, r. 4, eight mounds, on Big river, some large mounds, one 350 ft. diameter, 12 ft. high, pottery and arrow-heads found; s. pt. sec. 16, t. 36, r. 4, twenty-five mounds; s. pt. sec. 36, t. 37, r. 4, four mounds, near Desloge; central pt. sec. 4, t. 36, r. 4, six mounds; s. w. sec. 21, t. 36, r. 4, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 35, t. 37, r. 5, five mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 33, t. 37, r. 4, skeleton of mastodon found at depth of 14 ft.; in township 35, range 5, as follows: central pt. sec. 4, thirty mounds; central pt. sec. 6, twenty-seven mounds; central pt. sec. 5, seven mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 5, t. 37, r. 4, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 16, t. 36, r. 4, thirteen mounds; in township 37, range 5, as follows: n. w., n. e., sec. 7, ten mounds; n. pt. sec. 9, twenty-six mounds; s. w., n. e. sec. 10, one mound; in township 35, range 4 as follows: sec. 6, twelve mounds; central pt. sec. 8, fourteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 9, thirteen mounds.

on some of the high bluffs commanding a wide view of the country along the west bank of the Mississippi river may have been partly intended to be used in conveying, by signal, information from one to another of the various settlements of the mound-builders.⁶⁷

A number of mounds in Jefferson county are located on the Joachim and Big river.⁶⁸ In Washington county the most conspicuous one is found in section 31, township 40 north, of range 2 east, near Little Indian creek. This mound is about 150 feet in diameter and 25 feet high. All along Cedar creek in this county⁶⁹ as well as in Iron,⁷⁰ the mound-builders seem to have had settlements. West of Iron in Reynolds,⁷¹ on the middle fork of Black river, a large group

⁶⁷ In Ste. Genevieve county have only been found thus far thirty-eight mounds, although a closer investigation will undoubtedly locate many more. The "Big-Field" south of Ste. Genevieve contains four mounds, one 200 ft. long, 25 ft. high; s. e., s. e., sec. 10, t. 37, r. 10, one mound on bluff; n. e., n. e., sec. 32, t. 37, r. 10, one mound on bluff, salt spring here; s. e., s. e., sec. 12, t. 37, r. 9, one mound, pottery found; s. w., s. w., sec. 15, t. 35, r. 7, three mounds, pottery found; s. e., n. e., sec. 12, t. 36, r. 6, four mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 30, t. 36, r. 8, three mounds, stone axes found; s. w., s. w., sec. 36, t. 37, r. 5, eight mounds in circle, one in center; s. e., n. e., sec. 21, t. 38, r. 9, three mounds on bluff; s. w., n. e., sec. 11, t. 36, r. 9, six mounds in circle; s. e., n. w., sec. 28, t. 36, r. 9, four mounds. I am satisfied that many hundred mounds are located in the Saline valley and tributary creeks and not visited by Mr. Bean.

⁶⁸ In Jefferson county mounds are as follows, a total as counted of 64: s. e., s. e., sec. 35, t. 30, r. 4, one mound; in township 40, range 5, as follows: n. e. sec. 10, three mounds; s. half s. e., sec. 18, eighteen mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 17, one mound, 50 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; e. pt. sec. 9, eleven mounds, on Joachim creek; n. w., n. e., sec. 18, t. 41, r. 4, one mound, on Big river, pottery found; n. e., s. e., sec. 11, t. 42, r. 3, one mound, on Big river; e. half s. e. sec. 26, t. 41, r. 5, twelve mounds, on Joachim creek; n. e., n. e., sec. 13, t. 41, r. 3, one mound, on Big river; in township 40, range 5, as follows: w. pt. sec. 29, seventeen mounds; e. pt. sec. 30, eight mounds, on Joachim creek; s. e. sec. 35, six mounds.

⁶⁹ The 307 mounds of Washington county are on the headwaters of Big river mostly, near Caledonia and around Potosi. In sec. 1, t. 35, r. 1, sixteen mounds on Brock creek, pottery and arrow-heads found; e. half n. e. sec. 2, t. 35, r. 1, ten mounds, on Brock creek; in township 35, range 2, as follows: sec. 12, e. half s. e., eighteen mounds; central pt. sec. 13, forty mounds, on Cedar creek, stone hatchets and arrow-heads found; in township 35, range 3, as follows: all sec. 6, sixty-three mounds, on Cedar and Goose creeks, stone hatchets and arrow-heads found; central pt. sec. 7, fifteen mounds, on Cedar creek; n. w. sec. 18, thirty-one mounds, on Cedar creek; s. e. sec. 24, t. 36, r. 2, ten mounds, on Big river; in township 36, range 3, as follows: w. pt. sec. 18, fifteen mounds; s. half sec. 19, thirteen mounds, on Big river; s. e., n. e., sec. 28, five mounds, on Hughes creek; w. pt. sec. 29, seventeen mounds on Cedar creek, some mounds 50 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high, stone hatchets and arrow-heads found; s. half sec. 31, nineteen mounds, on Cedar creek; n. w., n. w., sec. 32, seven mounds, on Cedar creek, stone hatchets and arrow-heads found; n. w. sec. 4, t. 37, r. 3, six mounds, on Mill creek; in township 37, range 3, s. e. pt. sec. 8, eighteen mounds, on Mill creek; e. pt. sec. 17, twenty-one mounds; central pt. sec. 10, thirty-three mounds; central pt. sec. 33, t. 38, r. 3, fifteen mounds; n. w. sec. 34, t. 38, r. 3, six mounds; n. w. sec. 31, t. 40, r. 2, one mound, on Little Indian creek, 150 ft. diameter, 25 ft. high.

⁷⁰ The 336 mounds counted in Iron county as follows: in township 31, range 4, as follows: s. w. pt. sec. 3, twelve mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 10, eighteen mounds, on Crane creek; n. e. pt. sec. 15, seven mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 14, fifteen mounds; central pt. sec. 26, t. 35, r. 2, e., twenty-eight mounds, on Cedar creek; e. pt. sec. 30, t. 35, r. 3, twenty-three mounds; in township 32, range 3, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 34, seven mounds, on Big creek; e. pt. sec. 27, twenty-nine mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 22, nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 15, sixteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, eighteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 11, seventeen mounds; w. pt. sec. 2, twenty-one mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 22, t. 33, r. 3, ten mounds; n. pt. sec. 23, t. 33, r. 4, twenty-two mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 33, r. 4, eighteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 32, t. 34, r. 4, six mounds; in township 34, range 3, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 32, six mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 13, fourteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 24 thirteen mounds n. e. pt. sec. 12, seven mounds; e. pt. sec. 1, twenty-six mounds.

⁷¹ 340 mounds counted in Reynolds county, as follows: In township 32, range 2, e., as follows: e. half n. w. sec. 22, nine mounds, on e. fork of Black river; w. pt. sec. 15, fifteen mounds, on e. fork Black river; central pt. sec. 16, sixteen mounds, on e. fork Black river; s. w. pt. sec. 17, seventeen mounds, on middle fork Black river; s. e. pt. sec. 18, forty mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 13, t. 32, r. 1, e., fourteen mounds; in township 32, range 1, east, as follows: e. half sec. 23, thirty-five mounds, on w. fork Black river; e. pt. sec. 19, thirty-six mounds, on w. fork Black river; w. pt. sec. 20, fifteen mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 29, twelve mounds, vicinity Centerville,

is found, evidently the remains of a large settlement. Another group is located on the west fork of this river in the same county. In one of the mounds near the center of section 31, township 31 north, of range 2 east, on the east fork of Black river, a stone vault was uncovered in which skeletons, two stone hammers, and a quantity of wampum was found. In this county we first meet with a mound the surface of which is covered with small stones. It is found in section 10, township 31, north, of range 2 east, being thirty feet long and fifteen feet high, and situated on a bluff about 100 feet high.

The great mound near St. Louis has been a subject of much discussion. The precise location of this and others, long since obliterated by the great city are fully given in various publications, and it is not necessary therefore to mention them more particularly here. Near Fenton on the Maramec prehistoric stone graves, or cists, were found in mounds which at the time caused some controversy.⁷² Ashe also mentions "a valley of bones" near St. Louis.⁷³ A number of mounds are located near Florissant. In Franklin county many prehistoric relics have been discovered, although there are not many mounds in this county. A few are found on St. John's creek and some on Big creek. In a hole which afterwards proved to be an iron mine, on the Bourbeuse, section 15, township 42 north, of range 3 west, thirteen hundred hammers made of iron, stone, or flint, and many arrow-heads were discovered ten feet below the surface. What seemed remarkable to Mr. Bean was the fact that these hammers after having been placed in this hole were covered with stone which seemed to have been carried to the place for a distance of half a mile.⁷⁴

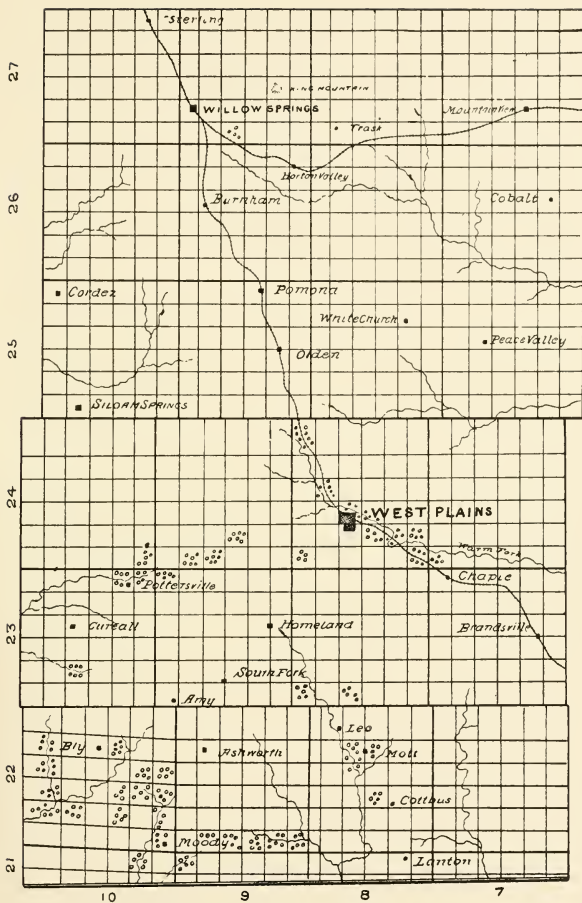
In the Ozark region, Oregon and Howell counties appear to have

arrow-heads found; s. w., s. w., sec. 6, t. 32, r. 2 e., fifteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 1, t. 32, r. 1 e., thirty-two mounds; s. pt. sec. 29, t. 33, r. 2 w., twenty-seven mounds; w. pt. sec. 25, t. 33, r. 3 w., twenty-six mounds; central pt. sec. 7, t. 33, r. 3 w., thirty-five mounds, arrow-heads found; n. w., n. w. sec. 29, t. 30, r. 1 e., one mound, 60 ft. diameter, 9 ft. high; n. e. sec. 1, t. 30, r. 1 e., twenty mounds, on Sinking creek; middle pt. sec. 31, t. 33, r. 3 e., three mounds, on e. fork of Black river, one mound contained stone vault, stone hammers and wampum; s. w., s. e., sec. 10, t. 31, r. 2 e., one mound on bluff of Black river, 30 by 15 ft., 5 ft. high, covered with small stones.

⁷² Missouri Gazette, Nov. 6, 1818. And other articles in Schoolcraft's "A View of the Lead Mines of Mo.," pp. 284 et seq., (N. Y. 1819). Long's Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 59 et seq.

⁷³ Ashe's Travels, vol. iii. p. 123.

⁷⁴ The 67 mounds counted in Franklin county are situated as follows: in n. w., n. e., sec. 4, t. 42, r. 1 w., one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 5, t. 43, r. 1 e., one mound; w. pt. sec. 35, t. 43, r. 1 w., two mounds; central pt. sec. 27, t. 42, r. 2 w., one mound; s. e., n. e., sec. 22, t. 43, r. 2 w., two mounds; central pt. sec. 4, t. 42, r. 2 w., 10 mounds; in township 43, range 3 w., as follows: s. e. cor. sec. 27, six mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 26, three mounds; central pt. sec. 34, six mounds; in township 42, range 3 w. as follows: s. pt. sec. 8, six mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 9, five mounds; n. e. sec. 16, five mounds; central pt. sec. 15, t. 42, r. 3 w., iron mine contained quantity stone hammers, etc.; all sec. 23, t. 42, r. 3 w., eighteen mounds; near central pt. sec. 23, t. 43, r. 4 w., one mound



HOWELL.

been the centers of large settlements of mound-builders. The mounds are principally located in the bottoms of small streams and creeks in these counties. They are found on Dry French creek and on Eleven Points river in Oregon county,⁷⁵ on Jack's Fork in Shannon county,⁷⁶ and on Bennett's bayou, and on the Warm fork of Spring river in Howell county.⁷⁷

The precise location of mounds in Jasper, Newton, McDonald, Cedar, Dade, Barry, Benton, Polk, Greene, Morgan, Christian, Taney, Miller, Lawrence, Laclede, Webster, Dallas, Douglass, Ozark, Osage, Maries, Pulaski, Phelps, Texas, Gasconade, Crawford, Dent, and Carter I give in a note below.⁷⁸ In these Ozark

⁷⁵ The 830 counted mounds in Oregon county are located as follows: In sec. 2, t. 22, r. 4, s. e., s. w., part of section, one mound 35 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high, pottery found; in s. w. cor. same sec. twenty-five mounds; in township 24, range 4, as follows: n. e., s. e., sec. 33 eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 35, sixty-four mounds; central pt. sec. 28, sixty-three mounds; n. w. sec. 20, six mounds; s. w. sec. 3, t. 22, r. 2 w., one mound, 250 ft. diameter, 25 ft. high; n. e. sec. 30, t. 22, r. 2, eight mounds; in township 22, range 3, as follows: n. pt. sec. 12, twelve mounds; n. pt. sec. 2, sixteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 3, ten mounds; middle pt. sec. 4, eleven mounds; e. pt. sec. 17, t. 23, r. 2, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 16, t. 23, r. 2, eleven mounds; in township 25, range 2, as follows: w. pt. sec. 27, nineteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 22, fourteen mounds; in township 23, range 3, as follows: center of sec. 14, twenty-seven mounds; n. w. sec. 26, fourteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 27, twenty-one mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 28, eight mounds; central pt. sec. 21, twenty-two mounds; central pt. sec. 6, one mound, arrow-heads found; in township 24, range 3, as follows: s. w. cor. sec. 30, six mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 31, five mounds; in township 24, range 4, as follows: diagonally, twenty-four mounds over sec. 25; s. w. cor. sec. 24, fifteen mounds; s. e. sec. 23, sixteen mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 13, thirteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 14, twenty-three mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 3, seventeen mounds; in township 25, range 3, as follows: central pt. sec. 34, sixteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 28, twenty-two mounds; e. pt. sec. 21, fourteen mounds; in township 25, range 4, as follows: n. pt. sec. 3, thirty-six mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 4, nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 35, t. 24, r. 5, twenty-one mounds; central pt. sec. 3, t. 22, r. 2, twelve mounds; n. w. sec. 5, t. 24, r. 5, thirty-three mounds; central pt. sec. 31, t. 25, r. 4, forty-one mounds, arrow-heads found; s. w. pt. sec. 32, t. 25, r. 5, twenty-nine mounds, stone hammers and arrow-heads found; central pt. sec. 6, t. 24, r. 5, thirty-five mounds; w. pt. sec. 35, t. 25, r. 6, fifty-eight mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 22, t. 25, r. 6, Indian burial ground, pottery found central pt. sec. 25, t. 25, r. 6, thirty-five mounds; s. pt. sec. 22, t. 23, r. 6, six mounds.

⁷⁶ The 81 mounds counted in Shannon county are located as follows: s. pt. sec. 29, t. 27, r. 4, twelve mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 31, t. 27, r. 4, twenty-two mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 9, t. 29, r. 2, eight mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 28, t. 31, r. 4, ten mounds; s. w. sec. 8, t. 28, r. 4, ten mounds; n. w. sec. 17, t. 28, r. 4, ten mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 9, t. 28, r. 5, one mound, pottery found; w. pt. sec. 12, t. 27, r. 5, eight mounds; w. pt. sec. 10, t. 31, r. 6, two bushels of arrow-heads found in one hole.

⁷⁷ In Howell county 1,182 mounds were counted, located as follows: In center sec. 6, t. 24, r. 8, forty-four mounds; n. e. sec. 26, t. 23, r. 10, fourteen mounds; in township 24, range 8, as follows: s. e. sec. 21, twenty-eight mounds, pottery found; all sec. 26, one hundred and forty-nine mounds; all sec. 27, one hundred and four mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 25, eighteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 36, twenty-five mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 31, t. 24, r. 7, eleven mounds; in township 24, range 9, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 27, twenty-mounds; s. pt. sec. 33, forty-seven mounds; some 50 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; s. pt. sec. 32, thirty-two mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 6, t. 23, r. 9, forty-five mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 1, t. 23, r. 10, twenty-three mounds; s. pt. sec. 36, t. 24, r. 10, sixty mounds; central pt. sec. 2, t. 23, r. 10, forty mounds; w. pt. sec. 10, t. 22, r. 10, twenty-seven mounds, some 60 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; in township 22, range 10, as follows: e. pt. sec. 10, twenty-three mounds; e. pt. sec. 18, twenty-three mounds; middle pt. sec. 7, twenty-seven mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 30, twenty-four mounds; middle pt. sec. 29, twenty-one mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 14, eighteen mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 23, twenty-five mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 22, fifteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 27, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 24, thirty-two mounds; central pt. sec. 36, twenty mounds; central pt. sec. 2, t. 21, r. 10, sixteen mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 6, t. 21, r. 10, eleven mounds; in township 22 range 9, as follows: e. pt. sec. 32, nine mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 33, thirteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 35, sixteen mounds; central pt. sec. 36, eighteen mounds; central pt. sec. 34, t. 22, r. 8, thirteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 22, t. 22, r. 8, thirteen mounds; central pt. sec. 9, t. 22, r. 8, twenty-four mounds; n. pt. sec. 31, t. 23, r. 8, eight mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 31, t. 24, r. 8, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 33, t. 23, r. 9, eighteen mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 10, t. 22, r. 9, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 17, t. 24, r. 8, thirty-seven mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 33, t. 27, r. 9, four mounds.

⁷⁸ Jasper county, 20 counted mounds, as follows: In s. w. cor. sec. 1, t. 28, r. 30, ten mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 28, t. 30, r. 31, three mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 15, t. 30, r. 32, seven mounds.

counties the mounds are generally located in creek or river bottoms, just as in the other Ozark counties named. At the junction of Cow-skin and Casto creeks, in Douglass county, there is a group of

Newton county, 82 counted mounds, as follows: In n. w. cor. sec. 35, t. 27, r. 33, three mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 31, t. 27, r. 32, one mound; s. w., s. e., sec. 4, t. 26, r. 31, two mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 27, t. 27, r. 31, six mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 22, t. 27, r. 31, fifteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 30, t. 26, r. 29, twenty-one mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 34, t. 27, r. 33, ten mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 34, t. 24, r. 34, eight mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 35, t. 24, r. 34, seven mounds; s. w. cor., sec. 36, t. 27, r. 33, nine mounds.

McDonald county, 220 counted mounds, as follows: In township 21, range 34, as follows: all sec. 9, twenty-one mounds; all sec. 10, twenty-six mounds; all sec. 11, seventeen mounds; all sec. 14, nineteen mounds; all sec. 15, sixteen mounds; all sec. 16, twenty-three mounds; all sec. 21, nineteen mounds; all sec. 22, thirty-three mounds; all sec. 23, thirty-one mounds; n. w. sec. 34, t. 23, r. 32, twenty-one mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 1, t. 21, r. 32, one mound; n. e., s. w. sec. 34, t. 22, r. 34, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 12, t. 22, r. 34, one mound.

Cedar county, 98 counted mounds, as follows: s. pt. sec. 12, t. 35, r. 27, twenty-six mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 17, t. 36, r. 27, eight mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 18, t. 36, r. 27, five mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 20, t. 36, r. 28, fifteen mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 19, t. 36, r. 28, eleven mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 24, t. 36, r. 28, nine mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 35, t. 36, r. 28, nine mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 10, t. 36, r. 26, fifteen mounds, one 50 ft. high covers 3 or 4 acres.

Dade county, 17 counted mounds, as follows: In s. e., s. e., sec. 1, t. 30, r. 27, one mound; a rock here with Indian and bow and arrow cut on it; s. w., s. e., sec. 29, t. 32, r. 27, two mounds, evidently an Indian fort; w. half of e. half sec. 32, t. 32, r. 25, seven small mounds, pottery found; n. w., n. e., sec. 29, t. 32, r. 25, three mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 30, t. 31, r. 25, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 3, t. 32, r. 26, three mounds; pottery found in last three sections.

Barry county, 101 counted mounds, as follows: In township 26, range 27, as follows: s. pt. sec. 33, twelve mounds; all sec. 34, sixteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 35, eleven mounds; all sec. 36, eighteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 1, t. 25, r. 27, six mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 3, t. 25, r. 27, eight mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 20, t. 25, r. 27, seven mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 12, t. 24, r. 27, twenty mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 20, t. 23, r. 27, one mound.

Benton county, 11 counted mounds, as follows: n. w., n. e., sec. 2, t. 39, r. 23, site of Kickapoo trading post; n. e., n. w., sec. 12, t. 39, r. 23, five mounds, on bluff; s. e., s. w., sec. 13, t. 42, r. 22, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 42, r. 22, three mounds.

Polk county, 148 counted mounds, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 14, t. 33, r. 23, eight mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 36, t. 34, r. 23, one mound, 200 ft. diameter, 30 ft. high; in township 35, range 21, as follows: s. w. sec. 36, seven mounds; s. pt. sec. 35, twelve mounds; central pt. sec. 34, eighteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 20, sixteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 28, ten mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 27, fourteen mounds; s. w. sec. 26, t. 33, r. 23, eleven mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 26, t. 32, r. 24, seventeen mounds, great quantity arrow-heads found; s. e. pt. sec. 29, t. 32, r. 24, twenty-three mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 32, r. 23, eleven mounds.

Greene county, 354 counted mounds, as follows: n. pt. sec. 3, t. 29, r. 20, seven mounds; middle pt. sec. 5, t. 29, r. 20, nineteen mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 22, t. 29, r. 22, site of Kickapoo village; s. w. sec. 29, t. 29, r. 21, eleven mounds; w. pt. secs. 6 and 7, t. 28, r. 21, forty-three mounds, arrow-heads found; e. pt. secs. 1 and 12, t. 28, r. 22, forty-eight mounds, arrow-heads found; n. w. sec. 6, t. 29, r. 22, twelve mounds, arrow-heads found; s. w. pt. sec. 18, t. 29, r. 22, fifteen mounds, arrow-heads found; central pt. secs. 13 and 14, t. 29, r. 23, fifty-five mounds; secs. 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, and 36, t. 28, r. 23, battle-field of Wilson's creek; e. pt. sec. 34, t. 31, r. 20, twenty-two mounds; all sec. 35, t. 31, r. 20, fifty-three mounds; s. w. sec. 2, t. 28, r. 23, four mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 1, t. 29, r. 21, eight mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 5, t. 29, r. 21, eight mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 33, t. 30, r. 21, seventeen mounds; s. pt. sec. 35, t. 30, r. 20, ten mounds; n. pt. sec. 20, t. 30, r. 20, thirteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 31, t. 29, r. 23, nine mounds.

Morgan county, 67 counted mounds, as follows: In central pt. sec. 4, t. 42, r. 19, thirty-two mounds, in circle; s. e., n. w., sec. 20, t. 44, r. 19, lignite mines; in township 44, range 18, as follows: s. pt. sec. 9, fourteen mounds; s. pt. sec. 12, seven mounds; central pt. sec. 15, six mounds; e. pt. sec. 4, four mounds; central pt. sec. 8, four mounds.

Christian county, 108 counted mounds, as follows: s. e., n. e., sec. 12, t. 27, r. 20, Indian burial ground; n. half n. e. sec. 9, t. 27, r. 20, Indian burial ground on bluff 100 ft. high; n. e., n. e., sec. 25, t. 27, r. 21, cave seems to have been inhabited from great quantities of ashes; in township 27, range 22, as follows: s. w., n. w., sec. 18, site of Delaware trading post; n. e., n. w., sec. 10, five mounds; s. e. sec. 9, six mounds; e. pt. sec. 16, seven mounds; n. w. sec. 15, eight mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 7, t. 27, r. 23, nine mounds; w. pt. sec. 7, t. 27, r. 23, eleven mounds; in township 27, range 24, as follows: n. e. sec. 22, twelve mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 28, fourteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 32, fifteen mounds; n. e. sec. 3, twenty-seven mounds; central pt. sec. 19, thirty-four mounds.

Taney county has 82 counted mounds, as follows: s. half s. e., sec. 24, two mounds; n. e. sec. 15, twenty-one mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 10, nine mounds; s. w. sec. 2, twelve mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 4, twelve mounds—all in township 24, range 20; s. w., n. e., sec. 26, t. 24, r. 21, one mound; n. e., s. w., sec. 3, t. 23, r. 20, sixteen mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 21, r. 19, seven mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 26, t. 24, r. 17, two mounds.

Miller county has 15 counted mounds in s. half n. w. sec. 6, t. 41, r. 15,

Lawrence county has 240 counted mounds, as follows: In s. pt. sec. 3, t. 26, r. 25, eighteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 4, t. 26, r. 25, nineteen mounds; n. e. sec. 6, t. 26, r. 26, twelve mounds; s. w. sec. 2, t. 27, r. 27, eleven mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 12, t. 27, r. 27, nine mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 13, t. 28, r. 29, sixteen mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 12, t. 28, r. 29, eighteen mounds; s. w. cor.

one hundred. In Dade county the so-called Indian fort in section 29, township 32 north, of range 27 west, deserves notice. It consists of two semicircular earth embankments about 150 feet in diameter

sec. 12, t. 27, r. 27, ten mounds; s. pt. sec. 13, t. 27, r. 27, fourteen mounds, on n. w., n. e., ancient triangular fort, lines 500 ft. 3 ft. high, w. pt. sec. 18, t. 28, r. 28, sixteen mounds; in township 28, range 27, as follows: middle sec. 18, fourteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 20, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 28, seven mounds; s. w. sec. 34, eleven mounds; n. w. sec. 3, t. 27, r. 27, nine mounds; s. e. sec. 4, t. 27, r. 27, eleven mounds; n. pt. sec. 3, t. 20, r. 26, nine mounds; n. e. sec. 12, t. 29, r. 26, fifteen mounds; n. w. sec. 25, t. 28, r. 27, eight mounds.

Laclede county has 134 counted mounds, as follows: e. pt. sec. 2, t. 34, r. 16, twenty-two mounds, in rows; s. w. pt. sec. 10, t. 34, r. 17, one mound, magnetic well 900 ft. deep; s. e. cor. sec. 1, t. 32, r. 14, two mounds; central pt. sec. 6, t. 32, r. 13, six mounds; n. e. sec. 1, t. 32, r. 15, five mounds, in row; central pt. sec. 12, t. 32, r. 15, six mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 8, t. 32, r. 17, twenty-three mounds; central pt. sec. 27, t. 33, r. 17, sixteen mounds; central pt. sec. 36, t. 33, r. 15, two mounds; central pt. sec. 9, t. 32, r. 17, eleven mounds; s. pt. sec. 17, t. 32, r. 17, twenty-two mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 8, t. 32, r. 17, nineteen mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 3, t. 35, r. 17, one mound.

Webster county has 520 counted mounds, located mostly on prairie, and up-land, very few in valleys, as follows: in central pt. sec. 23, t. 30, r. 16, eleven mounds; in township 31, range 16, as follows: central pt. sec. 21, ten mounds; central pt. sec. 17, ten mounds; central pt. sec. 16, eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 7, t. 30, r. 16, ten mounds; central pt. sec. 6, t. 30, r. 16, nine mounds; n. pt. sec. 5, t. 20, r. 16, seventeen mounds; all sec. 4, t. 20, r. 16, ten mounds; all sec. 32, t. 32, r. 19, seventeen mounds; middle pt. sec. 9, t. 30, r. 17, eight mounds; in township 32, range 19, as follows: sec. 28, e. pt., eleven mounds; n. pt. sec. 36, ten mounds; e. pt. sec. 25, eleven mounds; in township 32, range 19, as follows: e. pt. sec. 28, eleven mounds; n. pt. sec. 36, ten mounds; e. pt. sec. 25, eleven mounds; in township 31, range 17, as follows: e. pt. sec. 7, eleven mounds; all sec. 8, eleven mounds; n. pt. sec. 17, seven mounds; w. pt. sec. 12, nine mounds; e. pt. sec. 13, eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 14, eight mounds; all sec. 22, ten mounds; all sec. 26, ten mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 27, eight mounds; middle pt. sec. 34, nine mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 31, r. 19, ten mounds; middle pt. sec. 6, t. 31, r. 19, six mounds; w. pt. sec. 8, t. 31, r. 19, four mounds; e. pt. sec. 15, t. 31, r. 19, four mounds; w. pt. sec. 23, t. 32, r. 18, four mounds; middle pt. sec. 16, t. 31, r. 19, nine mounds; in township 32, range 18, as follows: n. pt. sec. 23, six mounds; central pt. sec. 21, eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 22, seven mounds; central pt. sec. 20, eight mounds; central pt. sec. 30, ten mounds; e. pt. sec. 20, t. 32, r. 16, six mounds; central pt. sec. 32, t. 32, r. 18, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 20, t. 32, r. 18, six mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 3, t. 32, r. 17, eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 4, t. 31, r. 16, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 17, t. 31, r. 16, nine mounds; n. pt. sec. 3, t. 20, r. 17, fourteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 10, t. 29, r. 17, six mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 35, t. 32, r. 17, ten mounds; central pt. sec. 16, t. 31, r. 17, nine mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 5, t. 30, r. 17, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 16, t. 30, r. 17, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 5, t. 30, r. 18, six mounds; in township 30, range 18, as follows: e. pt. sec. 6, six mounds; s. pt. sec. 10, eighteen mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 11, five mounds; central pt. sec. 16, ten mounds; n. e. sec. 3, t. 28, r. 19, six mounds; on this section is Devil's Den lake, said to be bottomless; in township 28, range 19, as follows: central pt. sec. 7, nine mounds; central sec. 3, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 4, nine mounds; middle pt. sec. 28, t. 28, r. 18, six mounds; middle pt. sec. 29, t. 28, r. 18, six mounds; e. pt. sec. 1, t. 30, r. 19, six mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 1, t. 29, r. 18, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 2, t. 29, r. 18, nine mounds.

Dallas county has 49 counted mounds, as follows: in n. w., s. e., sec. 9, t. 34, r. 18, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 10, t. 34, r. 18, one mound; s. e., n. e., sec. 23, t. 35, r. 18, one mound, on bluff 100 ft. high; n. e., s. e., sec. 13, t. 32, r. 18, three mounds; w. pt. sec. 31, t. 32, r. 18, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 22, t. 35, r. 18, one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 27, t. 33, r. 18, eleven mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 22, t. 33, r. 18, seven mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 34, t. 34, r. 19, two mounds; in township 35, range 18, as follows: s. e., n. w., sec. 20, three mounds; central pt. sec. 17, seven mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 8, four mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 5, four mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 36, t. 36, r. 19, one mound.

Douglas county has 602 counted mounds, as follows: in township 26, range 16, as follows: n. e. sec. 15, twenty mounds; central pt. sec. 10, fifty-three mounds, in three rows; central pt. sec. 11, ninety-three mounds, vicinity of Ava, gas-well on this section, arrow-heads found; s. w. sec. 34, eleven mounds; in township 25, range 16, as follows: e. pt. sec. 3, twelve mounds; e. pt. sec. 11, eight mounds; central pt. sec. 24, eight mounds; s. pt. sec. 20, eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 22, eight mounds; n. pt. sec. 21, eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 18, six mounds; s. pt. sec. 7, nine mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 12, t. 25, r. 17, Indian burial ground; in township 26, range 17, central pt. sec. 28, fifteen mounds; central pt. sec. 27, eight mounds; s. pt. sec. 26, twelve mounds; e. pt. sec. 10, four mounds; in township 27, range 18, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 24, four mounds; n. w. sec. 25, five mounds; central pt. sec. 26, twelve mounds; in township 26, range 17, as follows: w. pt. sec. 7, eight mounds; w. pt. sec. 18, six mounds; in township 25, range 18, as follows: n. w. pt. sec. 14, three mounds; central pt. sec. 11, five mounds; e. pt. sec. 2, six mounds; in township 26, range 18, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 35, sixteen mounds; central pt. sec. 26, eleven mounds; w. pt. sec. 23, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 25, thirteen mounds; s. e. sec. 24, five mounds; in township 26, range 16, as follows: s. e. sec. 16, nineteen mounds; central pt. sec. 4, forty-four mounds; on east side Big creek on bluff 300 ft. high, Indian burial ground, and site of Indian village; n. e. sec. 5, eight mounds; w. pt. sec. 33, t. 27, r. 16, forty-one mounds; in township 27, range 16, as follows: s. e. cor. sec. 32, three mounds; w. pt. sec. 28, twenty mounds; central pt. sec. 21, nineteen mounds; central pt. sec. 27, sixteen mounds; s. e. sec. 22, ten mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 23, eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 14, forty-five mounds; s. e. sec. 11, forty-

on the inside, outside of these two semicircular embankments, and 100 feet away, are two other semicircles 600 feet long and now about 2 feet high, with a ditch clearly noticeable one foot deep, on

one mounds; s. w. sec. 12, twenty-seven mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 10, t. 27, r. 15, eight mounds, traces of old Indian trail; s. half sec. 11, t. 25, r. 14, mouth of Brown's cave which extends for six miles.

Ozark county, 246 counted mounds, as follows: in s. e. cor. sec. 8, t. 24, r. 13, ten mounds; n. e. sec. 12, t. 21, r. 11, twenty-eight mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 9, t. 22, r. 15, four mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 1, t. 21, r. 11, twelve mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 13, t. 21, r. 11, eight mounds; in township 22, range 11, as follows: n. e. sec. 14, sixteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 2, thirteen mounds; n. w. sec. 13, six mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 12, six mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 11, twelve mounds; in township 22, range 12, as follows: n. w. cor. sec. 21, six mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 10, five mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 9, twelve mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 33, t. 22, r. 13, six mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 10, t. 22, r. 13, six mounds; in township 22, range 11, as follows: s. pt. sec. 16, eight mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 17, four mounds; n. e., n. w. sec. 20, three mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 22, thirteen mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 36, six mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 4, t. 21, r. 12, eight mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 34, t. 23, r. 14, eight mounds; n. e. n. w., sec. 2, t. 22, r. 14, seven mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 18, t. 22, r. 13, six mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 20, t. 22, r. 16, seven mounds; n. e. sec. 4, t. 22, r. 16, fourteen mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 3, t. 22, r. 16, eight mounds.

Osage county has 28 counted mounds, as follows: w. pt. sec. 13, t. 41, r. 10, ten mounds, on right bank of Maries river; w. pt. sec. 3, t. 42, r. 10, three mounds, on bluff on banks Maries river; middle pt. sec. 1, t. 42, r. 9, fourteen mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 16, t. 42, r. 8, one mound. In this county Mr. Gerard Fowka has made some explorations which no doubt will add much to our knowledge of the mounds of this county.

In Maries county 8 mounds were counted, as follows: s. e., s. w., sec. 14, t. 40, r. 11 w., one mound 10 ft. diameter, 4 ft. high; n. e. sec. 30, t. 40, r. 9 w., seven mounds, small and plowed over.

In Pulaski county 112 mounds were counted, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 14, t. 36, r. 12, three mounds, 25 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high, on bluff of Gasconade river 275 ft. high, also Indian village site; s. w. pt. sec. 13, t. 36, r. 12, six mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 24, t. 36, r. 12, eleven mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 25, t. 36, r. 12, one mound; central pt. sec. 3, t. 34, r. 12, three mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 35, t. 35, r. 13, three mounds covered with small stones; n. e., n. e., sec. 6, t. 34, r. 10, one mound 25 ft. diameter, 8 ft. high, on bluff 200 ft. high, agricultural implements found; s. e., n. e., sec. 25, t. 36, r. 11, one mound, 100 ft. diameter, 40 feet high, known as "Lost Hill," many prehistoric relics found; n. e., s. e., sec. 9, t. 35, r. 10, five mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 6, t. 36, r. 11, four mounds in a row, covered with small stones, arrowheads found; s. w., s. w., sec. 25, t. 37, r. 11, three mounds in a row on bluff 250 ft., high, covered with small stones; s. w. pt. sec. 34, t. 38, r. 11, nine mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 27, t. 38, r. 11, six mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 8, t. 36, r. 12, three mounds in a row covered with small stones on a bluff 200 ft. high; s. w., n. w., sec. 24, t. 34, r. 12, site of old Osage village, arrow-heads and hatchets found; central pt. sec. 8, t. 35, r. 11, one mound; n. w. cor. sec. 21, t. 36, r. 12, two mounds on bluff 200 ft. high; n. w., s. e., sec. 5, t. 36, r. 12, two mounds covered with small stones, on bluff 200 ft. high; n. e. cor. sec. 6, t. 36, r. 10, four mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 7, t. 35, r. 11, one mound; central pt. sec. 6, t. 36, r. 13, twenty-seven mounds; s. w., cor. sec. 5, t. 36, r. 13, seven mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 8, t. 36, r. 13, nine mounds.

In Phelps county 180 mounds were counted, as follows: in township 36, range 7, s. pt. sec. 10, four mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, five mounds; n. pt. sec. 15, six mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 22, two mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 23, five mounds; central pt. sec. 26, seven mounds; in township 38, range 9, the mounds are located on high bluffs of the Gasconade river, some as high as 250 feet, and are covered with small stones, stone hatchets and arrow-heads were found; in this township and range mounds are located as follows: n. e., n. e., sec. 7, two mounds, 100 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; n. w., n. w., sec. 8, one mound, 50 ft. diameter, 4 ft. high; n. e. pt. sec. 9, three mounds; s. e. sec. 30, two mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 31, one mound, 50 ft. diameter, 4 ft. high; in township 37, range 10, as follows: n. w., sec. 34, two mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 12, one mound; n. pt. sec. 14, five mounds; in township 37, range 9, as follows: s. pt. sec. 25, two mounds; central pt. sec. 36, two mounds; in township 37, range 8, s. e., s. e., sec. 2, five mounds; s. w., sec. 11, five mounds; in township 37, range 7, as follows: n. e. sec. 9, four mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 10, five mounds; n. pt. sec. 14, eleven mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 13, four mounds; in township 37, range 6, as follows: n. pt. sec. 18, seven mounds; n. pt. secs. 16 and 17, twenty-one mounds; in township 37, range 7, as follows: central pt. sec. 35, six mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 27, six mounds; in township 38, range 7, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 2, five mounds; central pt. sec. 14, four mounds; w. pt. sec. 5, t. 28, r. 6, five mounds; w. pt. sec. 12, t. 38, r. 7, ten mounds; n. pt. secs. 15 and 16, t. 39, r. 6, eleven mounds; in township 39, range 6, as follows: central pt. sec. 14, eleven mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 4, seven mounds; e. pt. sec. 5, three mounds.

In Texas county 793 mounds were counted, as follows: n. w. pt. sec. 6, t. 32, r. 8, sixty-two mounds; in township 32, range 9, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 1, twenty-five mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 2, forty-two mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 11, nineteen mounds; n. w. sec. 12, twenty-six mounds; e. pt. sec. 23, t. 31, r. 9, thirty-two mounds; central pt. sec. 9, t. 29, r. 7, sixty-five mounds; central pt. sec. 16, t. 29, r. 11, forty-nine mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 7, t. 29, r. 7, forty-seven mounds; n. pt. sec. 18, t. 29, r. 7, thirty-three mounds; s. pt. sec. 12, t. 29, r. 8, twenty-six mounds; n. pt. sec. 13, t. 29, r. 8, twenty-nine mounds; in township 29, range 8, as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 11, twenty-three mounds; n. pt. sec. 14, twenty-three mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 9, fourteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 16, nineteen mounds; n. pt. sec. 7, seventeen mounds; n. pt. sec. 12, t. 29, r. 9, nineteen mounds; in township 29, range 10, as follows: central pt. sec. 7, thirty-one mounds; n. e. pt.

the outside of these semicircles. Between the ends of the inner semicircle are located two mounds 10 feet in diameter and 2 feet high. From this place to the nearest creek the distance is about half a mile, but there is a spring 300 feet from this earthwork. Numerous arrowheads have been found here, but no pottery. In Lawrence county, between Honey creek and the south fork of Honey creek is a triangular fort or embankment which is known in the neighborhood as the old Spanish fort. The lines of this fort are 500 feet long, protected by a ditch on the outside, which is still $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. Here some pottery-ware has been found. On the whole, however, very little pottery has been discovered in the Ozark district, but many arrow-heads, hammers, and other stone implements. In Crawford county a hatchet made out of iron ore was found. In Phelps county a number of mounds on a high bluff overlooking the Gasconade are covered with small stones. Mounds located

sec. 31, twenty-four mounds, some 60 ft. diameter, 6 ft. high; diagonal across sec. 29, fifteen mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 28, t. 29, r. 11, five mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 21, t. 29, r. 10, eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 15, t. 29, r. 10, eleven mounds; diagonal across sec. 25, t. 33, r. 9, twenty mounds; diagonal across sec. 23, t. 33, r. 9, sixteen mounds; diagonal across sec. 15, t. 33, r. 9, twenty mounds; e. pt. sec. 9, t. 33, r. 9, twelve mounds; e. pt. sec. 21, t. 29, r. 9, fifteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 4, t. 33, r. 9, thirteen mounds; central pt. sec. 23, t. 29, r. 9, thirty-three mounds.

In Gasconade county 74 mounds were counted, as follows: In township 40, range 6, as follows: e. pt. sec. 35, five mounds; e. pt. sec. 15, seven mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 9, four mounds; s. pt. sec. 1, five mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 4, t. 40, r. 5, nine mounds; in township 41, range 5, as follows: s. pt. sec. 35, four mounds; e. pt. sec. 32, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 30, six mounds; central pt. sec. 29, three mounds; central pt. sec. 27, five mounds; in township 41, range 6, as follows: central pt. sec. 22, four mounds; central pt. sec. 24, three mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 13, four mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 19, t. 41, r. 5, three mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 23, t. 44, r. 6, one mound 25 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high, in w. pt. section a mound 25 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high, on a bluff 75 ft. high, a very ancient and crude stone work; s. w., s. e., sec. 29, t. 46, r. 4, one mound 30 ft. diameter, 10 ft. high, overlooking river on bluff; s. e., s. e., sec. 6, t. 45, r. 6, one mound, on bluff; s. w. s. w., sec. 5, t. 45, r. 6, one mound near Hermann.

In Crawford county 94 mounds were counted, as follows: n. e., n. e., sec. 4, t. 36, r. 4, five mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 6, t. 30, r. 2, six mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 1, t. 30, r. 3, seven mounds; s. e. sec. 7, t. 37, r. 5, eight mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 32, t. 37, r. 4, eight mounds; central pt. sec. 36, t. 37, r. 4, ten mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 11, t. 36, r. 5, eight mounds; n. e. sec. 23, t. 36, r. 5, nine mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 26, t. 36, r. 5, ten mounds; s. w. sec. 33, t. 39, r. 5, three mounds; s. e., s. w. sec. 15, t. 38, r. 5, one mound, pottery and iron ore hatchet found; n. e., n. e., sec. 28, t. 38, r. 5, one mound; n. w., sec. 24, t. 39, r. 3, eighteen mounds.

In Dent county 257 mounds were counted, as follows: n. e. sec. 30, t. 34, r. 5, twenty-four mounds, some 50 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; central pt. sec. 19, t. 34, r. 5, fourteen mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 18, t. 34, r. 5, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 24, t. 34, r. 6, eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 23, t. 34, r. 6, nine mounds; n. pt. sec. 7, t. 34, r. 5, sixteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 12, t. 34, r. 6, thirty-three mounds; e. pt. sec. 13, t. 34, r. 6, eighteen mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 6, t. 34, r. 5, twenty-four mounds; in township 35, range 5, as follows: s. w. pt. sec. 30, nine mounds; w. pt. sec. 18, thirteen mounds; w. pt. sec. 19, thirteen mounds; in township 35, range 6, as follows: w. pt. sec. 13, ten mounds; w. pt. sec. 14, nine mounds; n. e. sec. 15, ten mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 23, eight mounds; n. e. pt. sec. 24, fourteen mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 25, eight mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 26, twelve mounds; n. w. pt. sec. 11, seven mounds.

In Carter county 180 mounds were counted, as follows: In central pt. sec. 2, t. 25, r. 2, fourteen mounds; on secs. 2, 11, 13, and 6, pipe-iron ore is found, in township 26, range 1; in sec. 6, same township and range, Bigspring is located, creating a stream 150 ft. wide, 4 ft. deep; n. e. sec. 35, t. 26, r. 2, ten mounds; central pt. sec. 4, t. 26, r. 3, twenty-eight mounds; on sec. 11, t. 26, r. 3, Indian burial vaults found, composed of flat stones 30 inches square, 4 inches thick; in township 26, range 3, as follows: n. w., n. w., sec. 14, fifteen mounds; middle sec. 28, eight mounds; s. e. sec. 29, six mounds; e. half, sec. 34, eleven mounds; central pt. sec. 35, twelve mounds; central pt. sec. 36, thirteen mounds; in township 27, range 1, as follows: n. w., n. e., sec. 5, eight mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 29, four mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 31, one mound, piles of stones supposed to be Indian graves; central pt. sec. 26, t. 27, r. 2, eight mounds; township 27, range 3, as follows: n. e. sec. 9, seven mounds; w. half sec. 16, eight mounds; n. e. sec. 17, seven mounds; n. pt. sec. 21, ten mounds; n. e. sec. 27, nineteen mounds, some 50 ft. diameter, 8 ft. high.

in Pulaski county are similarly protected. General Ashley claimed long ago to have found a stone work 25 to 50 feet square on the west side of the Gasconade river, which originally seemed to have been built "with an uncommon degree of regularity,"⁷⁹ and that from this stone work, situated on a high and commanding cliff, a path ran down the hill to the entrance of a cave commanding an eastern view. Beck says that in the saltpetre caves of Gasconade county axes and hammers were found, concerning which it was "difficult to decide whether made by the present race of Indians or by another more civilized people which preceded them."⁸⁰ In Polk county, section 31, township 34, north of range 23 west, a place was discovered where arrow-heads were apparently manufactured; in another section of this county great quantities of arrow-heads were found.

In the western prairie counties—Cass, Bates, Vernon, and Barton—very few memorials of the mound-builders exist.⁸¹ On the Missouri river, in the counties of Jackson, Lafayette, Cooper, Cole, Johnson, Saline, and Pettis, the mounds located are given in the notes.⁸² Stone

⁷⁹ Beck's Gazetteer of Missouri, p. 234.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 234.

⁸¹ In Cass county 10 mounds, as follows: n. pt. sec. 34, t. 46, r. 31, nine mounds; central pt. sec. 1, t. 46, r. 33, one mound.

In Bates county 18 mounds as follows: n. w. cor. sec. 19, t. 41, r. 30, one mound; s. w. sec. 17, t. 40, r. 33, one mound; s. pt. sec. 11, t. 40, r. 33, one mound; n. e. sec. 34, t. 42, r. 33, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 5, t. 38, r. 33, one mound; s. e. sec. 9, t. 41, r. 33, one mound; s. pt. sec. 24, t. 39, r. 32, one mound, known as "Brushy Mound"; s. e. sec. 27, t. 41, r. 33, one mound; n. w., n. w., sec. 28, t. 41, r. 33, one mound, known as "Round Mound" 75 ft. high; n. w., n. w., sec. 29, t. 41, r. 30, two mounds, known as "Lucy Mounds," 70 ft. high; e. pt. sec. 9, t. 39, r. 29, one mound 75 ft. high; n. e. sec. 30, t. 41, r. 30, two mounds 40 ft. high; s. e., s. e., sec. 7, t. 39, r. 32, one mound; s. e., n. e., sec. 2, t. 38, r. 32, three mounds. In the opinion of Mr. Hoffman these mounds are a natural formation.

In Vernon county 148 mounds, as follows: in township 35, range 31, as follows: pt. sec. 28, twenty-nine mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 21, twenty-three mounds; middle pt. sec. 17, twenty-two mounds; n. w. sec. 11, fourteen mounds; s. w. sec. 12, twelve mounds; middle pt. sec. 13, nine mounds; n. e. sec. 28, t. 35, r. 30, thirty mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 23, t. 34, r. 31, nine mounds.

In Barton county 29 mounds, as follows: s. w., s. w., sec. 6, t. 33, r. 30, fourteen mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 11, t. 30, r. 32, seven mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 22, t. 31, r. 30, one mound; n. w. sec. 24, t. 33, r. 32, one mound; s. e., s. e., sec. 16, t. 33, r. 32, one mound; n. e., n. w., sec. 7, t. 33, r. 33, one mound; s. e., n. w., sec. 17, t. 32, r. 30, one mound; n. e., n. w., sec. 22, t. 32, r. 30, one mound.

⁸² In Jackson county 13 mounds, as follows: n. w., s. e., sec. 30, t. 47, r. 20, one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 50, r. 32, three mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 13, t. 50, r. 32, three mounds; w. half n. e. sec. 32, t. 50, r. 32, six mounds.

In Lafayette county 29 mounds, as follows: n. e., s. e., sec. 22, t. 51, r. 27, three mounds; in township 50, range 27, as follows: n. e., s. e., sec. 5, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 6, two mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 5, one mound; n. e., n. w., sec. 7, three mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 12, t. 50, r. 28, three mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 24, t. 48, r. 28, four mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 23, t. 51, r. 26, five mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 24, t. 51, r. 26, two mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 32, t. 51, r. 27, mounds, near Lexington; n. w., s. e., sec. 25, t. 51, r. 27, two mounds.

In Cooper county 9 mounds, as follows: n. e. sec. 34, t. 40, r. 17, three mounds, on bluff; n. w. cor. sec. 35, t. 49, r. 17, one mound; n. w. sec. 23, t. 48, r. 16, four mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 33, t. 40, r. 16, one mound.

In Cole county 11 mounds, as follows: s. w. sec. 17, t. 44, r. 10, seven mounds; n. pt. sec. 18, t. 45, r. 12, three mounds; s. e. n. w., sec. 13, t. 45, r. 13, one mound; all these mounds on bluffs south of railroad.

In Johnson county 12 mounds were counted, located as follows: s. pt. sec. 7, t. 46, r. 25, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 8, t. 46, r. 25, four mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 2, t. 47, r. 26, three mounds; middle pt. sec. 15, t. 46, r. 24, three mounds.

implements have been found in many of these, but no prehistoric pottery. Dr. Britts says that there are some mounds in Henry county along Tebo creek and on Grand river in the east and south part of the county, generally located on the tops of bluffs overlooking these streams. Arrow-heads and stone implements, too, have been picked up.

Professor Broadhead describes a mound in Johnson county situated on a bluff on Blackwater, with a sealed stone vault, having a stone lid.⁸³ Here, also, some pottery and flint implements were found. This mound is situated 12 miles northeast of Warrensburg on what he calls the Narron farm. Mr. Bean also located in Johnson county a group of mounds built in the form of a cross, running north and south and east and west six miles, these rows of mounds crossing each other at right angles about half-way. According to Professor Broadhead, mounds are located on many bluffs along the Missouri river from St. Charles to Holt county, and Mr. Bean's investigation confirms this statement. He observed no mounds on the Osage⁸⁴ but found a number on the head-waters of the Gasconade.

North of the Missouri river the counties of Clark, Lewis, Marion, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, Scotland, Shelby, Monroe, and parts of Macon, Adair, Schuyler, Sullivan, and Putnam, as well as St. Charles, Montgomery, Warren, and Audrain, were explored by Mr. Hoffman. The location of mounds found by him in each of these counties is given in the note.⁸⁵ In Clark were found a number of groups of mounds

In Saline county 8 mounds were counted, as follows: s. w. cor. sec. 16, t. 52, r. 10, one mound; n. w. sec. 7, t. 49, r. 10, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 1, t. 51, r. 10, one mound; s. e. n. w., sec. 9, t. 52, r. 19, one mound; e. pt. sec. 13, t. 52, r. 22, three mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 5, t. 52, r. 21, one mound.

In Pettis county 9 mounds were counted, located as follows: w. pt. sec. 4, t. 44, r. 21, nine mounds.

⁸³ Smithsonian Report, 1879, p. 354.

⁸⁴ Dr. Snyder makes the same statement. Smithsonian Report, 1879, p. 354.

⁸⁵ In Clark county 264 mounds were counted, located as follows: s. w., s. w., sec. 20, t. 65, r. 6, one mound; n. e. pt. sec. 31, t. 65, r. 6, twenty mounds; in township 65, range 7, as follows: s. pt. sec. 7, twenty-two mounds; n. pt. sec. 15, four mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 24, six mounds; n. pt. sec. 5, t. 65, r. 8, thirty-six mounds; s. pt. sec. 32, t. 66, r. 9, sixteen mounds; s. w. sec. 31, t. 66, r. 8, twenty-five mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 36, t. 66, r. 9, six mounds; also in township 66, range 9, as follows: s. pt. sec. 25, sixteen mounds; e. pt. sec. 28, seven mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 31, four mounds; s. pt. sec. 5, t. 65, r. 9, eleven mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 9, t. 65, r. 9, five mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 16, t. 66, r. 9, three mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 15, t. 65, r. 9, three mounds; n. w., sec. 22, t. 65, r. 9, four mounds; n. pt. sec. 36, t. 65, r. 8, eight mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 3, t. 64, r. 9, eight mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 9, t. 63, r. 9, thirty-two mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 5, t. 63, r. 9, six mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 33, t. 64, r. 7, four mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 7, t. 64, r. 6, twelve mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 2, t. 65, r. 8, two mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 8, t. 66, r. 7, three mounds.

In Lewis county 44 mounds were counted, located as follows: s. e., s. w., sec. 5, t. 61, r. 7, one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 25, t. 60, r. 7, three mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 27, t. 62, r. 8, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 6, t. 61, r. 7, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 25, t. 61, r. 8, four mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 23, t. 61, r. 8, eight mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 6, t. 60, r. 5, eleven mounds, south of La Grange; middle pt. sec. 14, t. 61, r. 6, six mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 12, t. 61, r. 9, one mound; s. e., n. w., sec. 35, t. 62, r. 6, five mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 27, t. 63, r. 7, one mound.

from 3 to 4 feet high, three to five mounds in a group, in the bottoms of the Wyaconda. Near Dunbar bridge there are several mounds, both on the east and west banks, on the hills. A group in the bot-

In Marion county 38 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. w., n. w., sec. 7, t. 58, r. 5, one mound; n. w., n. w., sec. 17, t. 58, r. 5, three mounds; s. half s. e. sec. 12, t. 57, r. 5, five mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 2, t. 57, r. 5, one mound; e. half s. w. sec. 35, t. 58, r. 5, three mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 16, t. 59, r. 5, two mounds; s. half n. e. sec. 12, t. 59, r. 6, seven mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 1, t. 59, r. 6, four mounds; s. e., n. w. sec. 18, t. 59, r. 5, seven mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 19, t. 57, r. 4, five mounds, in Indian park, Hannibal.

In Ralls county 78 mounds were counted, located as follows: in township 55, range 6, as follows: e. pt. sec. 1, seven mounds; e. pt. sec. 2, five mounds; n. w., sec. 16, six mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 18, three mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 8, one mound; in township 55, range 7, as follows: n. w., n. e., sec. 28, two mounds; s. half n. e., sec. 21, three mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 20, three mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 17, three mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 8, t. 55, r. 7, three mounds; w. pt. sec. 15, three mounds; in township 55, range 6, as follows: s. e., s. e., sec. 35, five mounds; n. w. sec. 4, six mounds; n. w. and s. e. corners sec. 3, three mounds; n. e. and s. e. corners sec. 35, five mounds; n. w. sec. 4, t. 55, r. 4, one mound; n. w., n. e., sec. 36, t. 55, r. 6, two mounds; e. pt. sec. 1, t. 56, r. 4, 11 mounds; e. pt. sec. 25, t. 55, r. 6, one mound; n. w. pt. sec. 18, t. 56, r. 3, four mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 2, t. 56, r. 6, one mound.

In Pike county 210 mounds were counted, located as follows: in township 54, range 2 w., as follows: s. w., n. e., sec. 8, one mound; s. e., cor. sec. 5, two mounds; e. pt. sec. 9, six mounds; n. w. sec. 15, seven mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 11, four mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 4, eleven mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 20, two mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 21, eight mounds; e. pt. sec. 23, nine mounds; w. pt. sec. 28, t. 54, r. 1 w., eighteen mounds; n. w., cor. sec. 21, t. 55, r. 2 w., one mound; s. pt. sec. 19, t. 55, r. 2 w., eight mounds; in township 55, range 3 w., as follows: s. e. pt. sec. 23, eight mound; n. w., n. e., sec. 20, one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 20, two mounds; n. e. sec. 10, four mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 11, one mound; s. w. cor. sec. 7, t. 55, r. 2 w., four mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 12, t. 55, r. 3 w., two mounds; n. pt. sec. 12, t. 54, r. 2 w., nine mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 24, t. 54, r. 2 w., one mound; n. pt. sec. 24, t. 52, r. 1 e., twenty-three mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 8, t. 53, range 1 e., eleven mounds; s. pt. sec. 19, t. 52, r. 2 e., twenty-five mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 20, t. 52, r. 2 e., eighteen mounds, grouped in peculiar shape; w. pt. sec. 28, t. 52, r. 3 w., thirteen mounds; s. w., s. w., sec. 21, t. 32, r. 3 w., three mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 16, t. 53, r. 1, e., one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 23, t. 53, r. 1 e., one mound; n. w., cor. sec. 35, t. 53, r. 2 w., four mounds; s. pt. sec. 27, t. 53, r. 2 w., eight mounds; n. e. n. w., sec. 15, t. 53, r. 1 w., three mounds.

In Lincoln county 52 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. e., s. w., sec. 27, t. 51, r. 2 e., five mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 16, t. 50, r. 3 e., four mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 13, t. 49, r. 2 e., five mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 28, t. 50, r. 3 e., four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 35, t. 50, r. 2 e., three mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 8, t. 49, r. 3 e., four mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 26, t. 49, r. 2 e., two mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 35, t. 49, r. 2 e., ten mounds; s. e. pt. sec. 20, t. 48, r. 2 e., four mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 31, t. 49, r. 1 e., four mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 33, t. 50, r. 1 w., three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 7, t. 50, r. 1 w., three mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 7, t. 51, r. 1 w., one mound.

In Scotland county 56 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. e., n. w., sec. 14, t. 65, r. 10, one mound, 150 ft. by 450 ft., 30 ft. high; n. e., n. w., sec. 5, t. 65, r. 12, twenty mounds; in township 65, range 11, as follows: e. pt. sec. 18, twenty mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 19, five mounds s. e., s. w., sec. 17, five mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 13, five mounds.

In Shelby county 22 mounds were counted, located as follows: s. w., n. e., sec. 15, t. 58, r. 11, two mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 14, t. 58, r. 11, two mounds; s. e., s. e., sec. 33, t. 57, r. 9, seven mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 32, t. 37, r. 9, five mounds; n. e., n. e. sec. 5, t. 56, r. 9, three mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 8, t. 56, r. 9, three mounds.

In Monroe county 54 mounds were counted, located as follows: in township 54, range 8, n. w., n. w., sec. 17, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 16, one mound; s. e., s. w., sec. 9, one mound; w. pt. sec. 4, three mounds; in township 55, range 8, n. pt. sec. 33, three mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 34, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 36, four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 25, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 26, three mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 13, one mound; s. w., s. w., sec. 7, three mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 6, t. 55, r. 8, seven mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 22, t. 54, r. 9, three mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 28, t. 54, r. 10, three mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 20, t. 54, r. 10, three mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 14, t. 55, r. 12, one mound; s. w., s. e., sec. 21, t. 55, r. 12, three mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 6, t. 54, r. 9, one mound; n. e., s. w., sec. 5, t. 54, r. 9, one mound; n. w., n. e., sec. 7, t. 54, r. 9, one mound; n. w., n. w., sec. 18, t. 54, r. 8, two mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 30, t. 55, r. 7, three mounds.

In Macon county 103 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. w. and s. e. pts. sec. 18, t. 57, r. 4, twenty-one mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 29, t. 57, r. 14, one mound; n. w., n. e., sec. 30, t. 58, r. 13, three mounds; in township 57, range 16, as follows: central pt. sec. 32, thirteen mounds; central pt. sec. 17, two mounds; e. half n. e. sec. 8, six mounds; n. pt. sec. 27, thirty-six mounds; c. half n. e. sec. 3, five mounds; middle pt. sec. 34, two mounds, 15 ft. high; central pt. sec. 35, thirteen mounds; n. w., n. e., sec. 26, one mound; s. e., n. w., sec. 23, two mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 11, three mounds; middle pt. sec. 14, six mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 8, three mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 16, twenty-nine mounds, one square mound with stone surface or floor; n. w., n. e., sec. 17, five mounds; n. e., n. e., sec. 6, t. 60, r. 16, eight mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 5, t. 56, r. 14, five mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 19, t. 57, r. 13, three mounds; s. w. sec. 18, t. 57, r. 13, five mounds; in township 56, range 13, two mounds in s. e., s. w., sec. 9; in n. w., n. w., sec. 33, two mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 25, two mounds.

In Adair county 66 mounds were counted, located as follows: in township 62, range 16, n. w.

tom near this bridge has almost been destroyed, the ground having been cultivated for many years. Near Snider's mill, in section 2, township 65, north of range 8 west, and on Big and Little Fox rivers a large group is located in a meadow. In this are about thirty mounds, approximately 4 feet high. On Linn branch there are several small groups, extending up the stream half a mile or more, also located in the bottom. Two miles north of Kahoka, on a hill on the east branch of Fox river, there are three mounds, and on the west bank near this point another group in the bottom. Not far from this group, on top of a high hill, is a group of eight mounds.⁸⁶ The most interesting as well as the largest group in Lewis county, near the Clark county line, is known as the "Boulware Mounds," situated in the northeast part of the county in section 8, township 63,

sec. 3, fifteen mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 4, twelve mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 14, five mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 22, one mound; in township 61, range 16, n. w., s. e., sec. 34, ten mounds; w. pt. sec. 27, five mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 22, two mounds; s. pt. sec. 15, t. 62, r. 16, five mounds; n. w. s. e., sec. 16, t. 62, r. 16, one mound; n. pt. sec. 23, t. 63, r. 17, ten mounds.

In Schuyler county 40 mounds were counted, located as follows: s. w., n. w., sec. 28, t. 65, r. 13, one mound; n. w., s. w., sec. 8, t. 66, r. 14, one mound; n. e., n. w., sec. 3, t. 66, r. 16, one mound, in form of snake 600 ft. long; n. e. sec. 22, t. 66, r. 16, eight mounds, one a square formed by four mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 8, t. 64, r. 15, one mound; n. w., s. w., sec. 34, t. 67, r. 16, eight mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 4, t. 65, r. 16, five mounds; n. e., s. e., sec. 32, t. 66, r. 16, two mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 36, t. 66, r. 16, six mounds; n. w., cor. sec. 11, t. 65, r. 15, one mound; s. e., n. w., sec. 8, t. 66, r. 15, five mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 26, t. 66, r. 16, one mound.

In Sullivan county, 71 counted mounds: s. e., s. w., sec. 17, t. 63, r. 20, one mound; n. w. cor. sec. 20, t. 63, r. 20, one mound, about 25 ft. high and covering four acres; in sec. 8, t. 52, r. 20, n. w. cor., 20 mounds, in a bottom which has been plowed over, and on the opposite side of main Locust creek a row of mounds 18 in number on top of a ridge about half a mile long; in sec. 32, t. 64, r. 19, three mounds; in n. w., s. e., in sec. 3, t. 62, r. 20 w., mound in public square of Milan, noted in text; in s. w. cor. sec. 2, t. 62, r. 20, twelve mounds from 3 to 5 ft. high, running along a ridge; this row of mounds continues into sec. 11, t. 62, r. 20 w., in same direction; in sec. 12, t. 63, r. 19, one mound, located in creek bottom, 10 ft. high, 30 ft. in diameter.

In Putnam county 13 counted mounds: s. w. cor. sec. 9, t. 66, r. 17, one mound; s. e. cor. sec. 14, t. 66, r. 17, one mound; s. w., s. e., sec. 28, t. 66, r. 19, five mounds; in n. w., s. w., sec. 5, t. 65, r. 16, six mounds.

In St. Charles county 70 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. w., n. e., sec. 12, t. 46, r. 4, six mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 22, t. 46, r. 4, nine mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 36, t. 46, r. 3, six mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 7, t. 45, r. 3, twenty-eight mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 5, t. 44, r. 2, five mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 7, t. 44, r. 2, five mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 24, t. 48, r. 2, three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 25, t. 48, r. 2, four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 17, t. 47, r. 2, three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 24, t. 46, r. 3, one mound.

In Montgomery county 70 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. e., n. w., sec. 18, t. 47, r. 5, one mound; n. e., s. e., sec. 7, t. 48, r. 6, five mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 13, t. 49, r. 6, one mound; n. e., s. w., sec. 15, t. 49, r. 6, one mound; n. w., s. e., sec. 9, t. 48, r. 6, two mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 22, t. 50, r. 4, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 28, t. 48, r. 6, five mounds; e. pt. sec. 8, t. 48, r. 6, twelve mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 14, t. 46, r. 6, one mound; n. w. cor. sec. 32, t. 48, r. 6, two mounds; n. w. and s. e. cor. sec. 16, t. 47, r. 6, five mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 23, t. 46, r. 5, two mounds; n. w. cor. sec. 21, t. 46, r. 6, three mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 9, t. 47, r. 6, four mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 31, t. 46, r. 5, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 2, t. 46, r. 6, one mound, 1,200 ft. long, peculiar shape; n. w., s. e., sec. 13, t. 47, r. 6, one mound; n. e. cor. sec. 4, t. 47, r. 6, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 26, t. 47, r. 6, three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 30, t. 47, r. 5, three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 29, t. 47, r. 5, three mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 7, t. 47, r. 5, three mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 15, t. 47, r. 6, one mound; n. w. cor. sec. 24, t. 47, r. 6, two mounds; s. e. cor. sec. 19, t. 46, r. 5, two mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 28, t. 47, r. 5, two mounds.

In Warren county 7 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. e., s. w., sec. 22, t. 46, r. 1 w., three mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 21, t. 46, r. 4 w., four mounds.

In Audrain county 19 counted mounds: in n. e., n. w., sec. 11, t. 51, r. 9, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 24, t. 51, r. 9, one mound; n. w., s. w., sec. 3, t. 52, r. 8, one mound; s. w., s. w., sec. 5, t. 52, r. 9, one mound; n. w., n. e., sec. 1, t. 51, r. 10, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 17, t. 52, r. 7, one mound; n. w., n. w., sec. 25, t. 51, r. 10, one mound; n. w., n. w., sec. 23, t. 50, r. 9, two mounds; s. w. sec. 35, t. 51, r. 10, two mounds; n. pt. sec. 26, t. 51, r. 10, six mounds.

⁸⁶ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 163 et seq.

north of range 6 west, and fully described in the report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1890.⁸⁷ A noticeable mound in this county is in section 27, township 62, range 8 east, about 8 or 10 feet high, and 50 to 60 feet in diameter; another is found on Fox river in section 5, township 61, range 7 west, just east of Monticello. There are large groups, however, in this county. In Canton, on the public square, are five mounds in the form of a double triangle. North of Canton about three miles, in section 12, township 62, north of range 6 west, in the bottom between the Burlington railroad and the county road, there is a single mound about 15 feet high and 300 feet in diameter; and just west of this mound, on the bluffs, there are two others. The most beautiful and most interesting group in this county, in fact in north Missouri, is just south of La Grange upon a high bluff in section 30, township 61, north of range 6 west. These mounds run almost north and south. The north one is about 4 feet high, the next 5 feet, the third 10 feet; then, going south, they decrease until the last is only 3 feet high. The larger mound is about 90 feet in diameter. These, says Mr. Hoffman, are in perfect condition, never having been disturbed, and if a line were drawn from the north to the south mound it would not miss the top of any intervening mound three inches. Their sides are perfectly regular.

In Marion county, about a mile and a half north of Palmyra, in section 7, township 58, north of range 5 west, in a meadow, is a large egg-shaped mound, in diameter about 300 feet from east to west, and 450 feet from north to south, about 20 feet high, with a slope more gradual southward. Many arrow-heads have been picked up here. In a meadow in section 17, township 58, range 5 west, near Lazy branch, is a group, of three mounds, 4 feet high. In section 12, township 57, range 5, a short distance from Bay mill, on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi river, is yet another. In section 2, in the same township, there is what appears to be the remains of a fortification and a mound ten feet high. A peculiar group was discovered in section 12, township 59, north of range 6 west, situated on a bluff, the largest being 10 feet high. Five mounds are found in Indian park, at Hannibal, one of these being about 8 feet high.

The Ralls county mounds are found principally along Salt river, and far up this river, extending into the counties of Adair, Macon, and Monroe. Several groups in Ralls county are on the bluffs of

⁸⁷ 12th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 165.

Salt river. In section 16, township 55, north of range 6 west, are six mounds covered entirely with stone. The second from the east, in this group, has the appearance of having had a stone wall around it. Another group in this county is known as Goodwin Hill, in section 18, township 55, north of range 6 west. It consists of three mounds, and seems to have covered stone graves. North of Salt river, a short distance from Cincinnati, in section 8, township 55, north of range 6 west, in a meadow, there is a mound of singular form, being about 10 feet long and 4 feet wide, the sides and ends faced with a perpendicular stone wall about 4 feet high, and the top rounded up with earth.

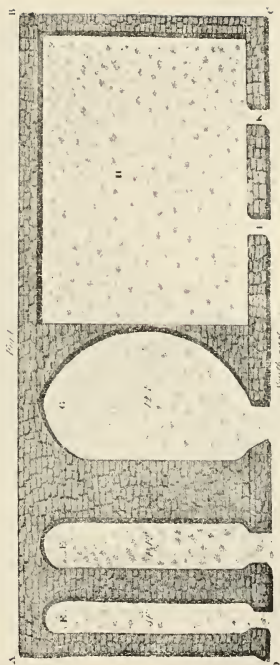
In Pike county, in section 8, township 54, range 2 west, on a hill there is a mound 180 feet long, about 8 feet high, and covered with stone. In section 9, township 54, range 2, there is another, 10 feet high, 150 feet in diameter. Two peculiar groups are found just south of Buffalo creek, in section 28, township 54, range 1 west. In section 11, township 55, north of range 3 west, on a hill in the woods is the noted stone house mentioned in Beck's Gazetteer, and fully described by Solomon Giddings. When Mr. Hoffman visited this stone house, in 1905, he found it only a heap of stones, overgrown with small brush and briars. From what he says, it appears that the original structure was about 17 feet square, that there were two walls about 2 feet thick standing about three feet apart, that he understood the walls when first seen were 16 feet high, and that a remnant of a wall could yet be seen on the east side. Concerning this structure Beck says: "Noyer creek is a trifling stream running in an easterly course in Pike county, emptying into the Mississippi river about two miles below Salt river. On the banks of this stream, about two miles southwest of the town of Louisiana, ancient works were found built out of stone with great regularity, on a high and commanding site, and from which the Rev. Solomon Giddings was led to infer that the place was intended for defense. These works are entirely distinct from the earthen fortifications and mounds found in various parts of the state, and perhaps were erected by a more civilized race and one more familiar with the rules of architecture. The engravings annexed seem to indicate as much. Fig. 1 faces to the southeast; A. B. C. D. outer wall, 18 inches in thickness, and length 56 feet, breadth 22 feet. All these walls are of rough, unhewn stone, but constructed with remarkable regularity, and when observed by Dr.

ANCIENT WORK
 ON
 NOVENA CURE

Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Giddings, although considerably decayed, the form of the wall was still distinct. A and C are two chambers without any apparent communication with B. B is a room nearly circular, with one gate or entrance. Walls are similar to the former. C is a chamber 12 feet in width, at the extremity of which are the remains of a furnace. E is a chamber 3 feet in width which was no doubt arched the whole way, as some of the arch still remained when the sketch was made. It is made in the manner represented in Fig. 3, and about 5 feet above the surface of the ground; but as it was filled with rubbish when observed in 1820, it is impossible to say what was its original height. F is a chamber 4 feet wide, and in some places the remains of a similar arch show. H is a large room, walled, with two entrances, J and K, which are covered with a thick growth of trees. The walls when the sketch was made were from 2 to 5 feet in height. One of the trees in the work was 2 feet in diameter."

Near Clarksville, in Pike county, on a bluff in section 8, township 53, range 2 west, is a group of mounds 10 or 12 feet high. In section 29, township 52, range 2 east, there is yet another peculiar group.

In Lincoln, Warren, and Montgomery, Mr. Hoffman found a number of mounds. Many mounds in these counties are located on the hills. In Montgomery county they seem to be situated generally on the middle fork of Salt river, and a serpentine mound 400 feet long was noted. In Macon county there are interesting groups on the upper forks of the Chariton, and in these mounds pottery-ware has been found. In Adair county several groups exist, the location of which is more particularly given in the note; so also, in Knox county.⁸⁸ In Sullivan county, in the northwest of the south-east quarter section 30, township 62, range 20 west, a mound 15 feet high was removed when the courthouse was built at Milan.

In St. Charles county, in section 12, township 46, range 5, are seven mounds on the bluffs overlooking the Missouri river. Nearly every bluff facing the Missouri river in this county is crowned with a mound. A mile and a half from Cottleville is a mound 25 feet high, 450 feet long, and 225 feet in diameter. It has been observed that generally those along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, on high

⁸⁸ In Knox county 71 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. w., s. e., sec. 13, t. 62, r. 13, eleven mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 11, t. 61, r. 11, three mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 27, t. 63, r. 10, three mounds; also in township 63, range 10, as follows: s. e., n. w., sec. 33, eight mounds n. w. cor. sec. 35, six mounds; s. e., n. w., sec. 31, t. 63, r. 10, six mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 5, t. 62, r. 12, seven mounds; s. e., s. w., sec. 35, t. 63, r. 10, seventeen mounds; s. w., cor. sec. 27, t. 63, r. 11, five mounds; n. e. cor. sec. 34, t. 63, r. 10, three mounds.

bluffs, are situated where there is a break in the bluff. Mr. Hoffman notes a difference between the mounds found on the bluffs of these two rivers and those of Salt river and its tributaries, in this: that he observed in the mounds on the Mississippi and Missouri only a few stones, but as he ascended Salt river, he found that greater quantities of stone were used. For instance, in Ralls county, near the Monroe line, many wagon-loads of stone were hauled away from one mound. In Monroe county he saw one in which the stones were set up one against another for about 30 feet square. On another in Gentry county, near Gallatin, even a larger space was so covered. It was surprising to note the distance from which the stones were brought to cover some of these mounds, in many instances a mile and even more. Some of these stones were heavy enough for two or three men to lift. Some, taken out of certain mounds in north Missouri, were 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 3 and 4 inches thick. The mound groups on the upper Mississippi and Missouri are usually small, two and three in a group, excepting, however, those at La Grange and Clarksville, and a group several miles south of Anita, on the Mississippi. Along the rugged bluffs and peaks of Salt river many mounds were found, but not in large groups. From New London to the west line of Ralls county an unbroken line of mounds exists, and on the east side, in Monroe, they are even more numerous. Along the Fabius there are some small groups at rare intervals. On the Chariton, from the south line of Macon county to the north line of Adair, the largest and most numerous groups in north Missouri are found, but not as many stones are found in these as on Salt river. The valley of the Chariton is about two or three miles wide, rising gradually into the uplands, but the hills bordering the Salt and Fabius rivers are steep and abrupt. A most noteworthy prehistoric memorial is the square formed by four mounds found on the Chariton, in Schuyler, with the serpentine mound two miles north of this square, now almost obliterated. Old citizens of Schuyler say that these four mounds were about 3 feet high and formed an oblong square with two openings, one on the north and one on the south, and that on each of the four corners there was a mound about 5 feet high. The serpentine mound, about two miles north and a little west of these mounds, was about 3 feet high, and in the form of a serpent, as if crawling toward the square of four mounds.

As we ascend the Missouri river we find a number of mounds in

Callaway on the bluffs of the river near the town of Steedman, also three groups of mounds south of Mokane, overlooking the river, in section 13, township 45, range 9. In the southeast of the northeast quarter section 32, township 45, range 9, one mound covered nearly two acres of ground, being about 15 feet high. On what is known as Côte sans Dessein, a chain of mounds runs along the top of this entire hill for a distance of about a mile and a quarter, having a height of about 6 feet. Mr. Robert McPheeters writes that there are three very large mounds situated in sections 32 and 33, township 45, range 9, in this county. One of these, situated on the line between sections 32 and 33, and about half-way from the northeast corner of 32, is over 250 feet across the base, and about 25 to 30 feet high. The other two are situated west, nearly as high but not so large across the base. As to these mounds, Mr. Hoffman says that they cover 'nearly two acres. Two others are found on the west half of the southwest quarter of section 23, township 45, range 10, about 50 feet in diameter and 10 to 12 feet high; in one of these a cellar has been dug. On the east half of the southwest corner of section 11, township 45, range 10, is a small mound about 40 feet in diameter and only 5 or 6 feet high now. Two in section 16, township 24, range 10, have been dug into and partly destroyed. There are also two in section 8, and two in section 9, township 44, range 10, and one in section 35, township 45, range 10. Mounds in Callaway county are found principally along the Aux Vase.⁸⁹

Many Indian mounds in Boone county are in Columbia, Cedar, and Missouri townships, on the Hinckson, Cedar, Bonne Femme, and Perchè creeks, and on the hills skirting the Missouri river. One mound in section 8, township 50, north of range 13 west, on the east of Perchè creek, is 150 feet long, 50 wide, and about 30 feet high, a conspicuous landmark. Many arrow-heads have been found here. In section 27, township 48, north of range 14, on a bluff on the Mis-

⁸⁹ In Callaway county 112 mounds were counted, located as follows: n. e., s. e., sec. 7, t. 45, r. 9, two mounds; n. w. sec. 8, t. 45, r. 9, four mounds; n. w., n. w., sec. 4, t. 45, r. 8, twelve mounds; s. w. and s. e. cor. sec. 35, t. 46, r. 8, six mounds; n. w. and s. w. cor. sec. 33, t. 46, r. 8, eight mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 34, t. 46, r. 7, two mounds; s. w., n. w., sec. 33, t. 46, r. 7, one mound; n. e. cor. sec. 8, t. 45, r. 8, five mounds; in township 45, range 9, as follows: n. e. pt. sec. 13, t. 45, r. 9, fourteen mounds; s. w. pt. sec. 23, four mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 5, two mounds; n. e., n. w., sec. 33, three mounds; s. e., n. e., sec. 32, three mounds; n. w., s. e., sec. 11, t. 44, r. 11, three mounds; middle pt. sec. 13, t. 44, r. 11, four mounds; s. w. sec. 16, t. 44, r. 10, five mounds; n. e., s. w., sec. 11, t. 45, r. 10, one mound; s. w. sec. 23, t. 45, r. 10, three mounds; s. w., s. e., sec. 25, t. 45, r. 10, one mound; s. e., s. w., sec. 30, t. 45, r. 11, five mounds; n. w., s. w., sec. 34, t. 46, r. 10, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 10, t. 44, r. 11, one mound; s. pt. sec. 13, t. 44, r. 10, nine mounds; s. pt. sec. 18, t. 44, r. 9, eight mounds; s. w. cor. sec. 29, t. 46, r. 9, one mound; s. e., n. w., sec. 3, t. 46, r. 9, three mounds; s. w., n. e., sec. 26, t. 48, r. 9, two mounds.

souri, a group of mounds is claimed to be a remnant of an ancient fort. In a cave in section 30, township 49, north of range 12 west, many arrow-heads and granite hatchets were discovered, and near McBain a copper hatchet was found. On the west side of Cedar creek, on the Missouri bluffs, there are six mounds built nearly in a line, and almost touching each other. These are about 20 to 30 feet in diameter, and 4 to 8 feet high, all circular. A mile east of these, on top of another bluff said to be 206 feet high, Mr. Broadhead found a mound 8 feet high; and five miles east of this, on top of another bluff, on the river, another 8 feet high.⁹⁰ In some mounds of this county Mr. Gerard Fowke uncovered stone graves.

In Howard county a large mound is in sight of Fayette on top of a hill in the northeast quarter section 10, township 50, range 16; also four in a row two and a half miles west of Fayette, in the northwest quarter section 16, same township and range. These mounds are on waters tributary to the Bonne Femme creek. There are two mounds in the northeast of the northwest section 34, township 50, range 17; also two mounds in the southwest quarter section 25, township 49, range 17. These last two mounds are on the waters of Sulphur creek, a stream emptying into the Bonne Femme near its mouth.

In Chariton, Carroll, Ray, Clay, Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Atchison, Nodaway, Worth, Harrison, and other counties of northwest Missouri only a cursory exploration was made and a few mounds located, as given in a note below, yet the field is most promising.⁹¹ In Clay county, in 1878, Mr. E. P. West discovered about

⁹⁰ Smithsonian Report, 1879, p. 355.

⁹¹ Mounds in these counties are found as follows: in Carroll, in sec. 9, t. 52, r. 22, east of Moss creek, a mound, arrow-heads and hammers here; sec. 17, t. 52, r. 22, south of Moss creek, a mound in the valley of the creek; in sec. 6, t. 52, r. 23, near the qr. sec. corner, on east side of section, in fork of Moss creek, four mounds; in sec. 6, t. 52, r. 22, at qr. sec. cor. on south side of same creek, a mound; in sec. 26, t. 53, r. 21, a mound known as "Mormon Hill."

In Clay county: a mound in sec. 9, t. 51, r. 32, in center of s. e. pt.

In Caldwell county: in sec. 26, t. 56, r. 28, near qr. sec. cor. on south side of section a mound 100 ft. long, 60 feet wide, 12 ft. high, on north side of creek; granite hammers and arrow-heads found here.

In Platte county: sec. 28 and 21, t. 52, r. 35, s. w. cor. of s. e., n. w., a small mound; sec. 17, t. 52, r. 35, near center, small mound; sec. 21, t. 54, r. 36, near qr. sec. cor. w. side of sec., two small mounds; sec. 17, t. 54, r. 36, in n. w. cor., a mound 40 by 12; skeletons found here and mound covered with small stones; sec. 4, t. 50, r. 32 w., in n. w. pt. of sec., three mounds in line, small size.

In Livingston county: in sec. 32, t. 57, r. 22 w., a mound 25 by 4 ft. on s. south side of Grand river; arrow-heads found here.

In Linn county: in sec. 34, t. 59, r. 21 w., at center of s. e. qr., a mound; in sec. 10, t. 58, r. 21, at center of s. e. qr. in valley of Locust creek, a mound 150 by 25; in sec. 36, t. 50, r. 21, in s. e. cor. of sec. on w. side of East Yellow creek, a mound 100 ft. diameter, 8 ft. high; arrow-heads and stone hatchets found here.

In Atchison county: in sec. 33, t. 64, r. 41, two small mounds, 20 ft. diameter, 5 ft. high; bones and stone hatchets found here; in sec. 20, t. 65, r. 41 w., near qr. cor. on e. side of sec., a mound 40 ft. in diameter, 4 ft. high. Here pottery, skeletons, and stone hatchets were found.

In Daviess county: two mounds in sec. 14, t. 50, r. 27 w.; in sec. 12, t. 58, r. 26 w., in center of sec., a mound on a hill, 4 ft. high; in sec. 35, t. 60, r. 27 w., in n. w., n. w., mound 10 ft. high.

25 mounds near the Platte county line, on the highest bluff of the Missouri river. These were afterward explored and found to contain concealed rock vaults, and are fully described by Professor Broadhead.⁹² As to Holt, Mr. Bean observes that there seem to be mounds in every section of the county, and that many of the bluffs of the Missouri are topped with them. Near Maitland, in excavating a mound, seventy spear-heads 6 to 8 inches long were found. In another mound on the river a large number of granite hammers and hatchets, hoes, pipes, bow-tighteners, stone drills, and round stone balls for slings were found; also a quantity of wampum. In Worth county, in the southeast of the northwest quarter section 9, township 66, range 30 west, in a bottom, a crescent-shaped mound is located, 30 feet high and about 500 feet long. In Gentry, on Panther creek, Mr. Hoffman found a mound 25 feet high and more than 600 feet in diameter; in section 24, township 62, range 31, another mound 20 feet high and about 400 feet in diameter.⁹³

The explorations made indubitably show that long prior to the time when the first European adventurers came into what is now Missouri, a people numerous and industrious, devoted to the arts of peace, a sedentary and agricultural people, a people venerating and honoring their dead, and in civilization far in advance of the historic nomadic Indians, dwelt within the limits of the state. The erection of many of the mounds which we have enumerated must have required much time, as calculations show that the quantity of material moved to erect some of them aggregates millions of cubic

In Grundy county: sec. 16, t. 63, r. 24 w., in s. w., n. e., four mounds on a hill, mounds 4 ft. high; in sec. 18, t. 61, r. 24 w., in s. e., n. w., on a hill, three mounds 4 ft. high; in sec. 10, t. 61, r. 25 w., in n. w., n. w., in a bottom, mound 15 ft. high; in sec. 27, t. 60, r. 24, in s. w., n. w., two mounds, one about 15 ft. high covering two or three acres of ground, and not far from it a small mound; in sec. 34, t. 60, r. 24, in n. w., n. e., an old Indian village was located at one time.

In Worth county: in sec. 33, t. 67, r. 32, in n. w., s. w., four mounds, 4 ft. high; in sec. 26, t. 66, r. 32, in n. w., n. w., small mound; in sec. 28, t. 66, r. 31, a mound in creek bottom 15 ft. high; in sec. 3, t. 66, r. 30, in s. w., n. w., on top of hill, a mound, and on the opposite side of the branch on n. w., s. e., a mound; in sec. 16, t. 66, r. 32, in n. e., s. e., a mound 30 ft. high, which has been excavated partially and pottery found; sec. 9, t. 66, r. 30, a crescent-shaped mound 30 feet high, in s. e., n. e. qr. sec.; in sec. 14, t. 65, r. 30, in s. e., n. e., a mound 4 ft. high.

In Harrison county: in sec. 19, t. 64, r. 27, a mound 20 ft. high covering several acres of ground in n. w., s. w.; in sec. 18, t. 62, r. 27, a group of four mounds 4 ft. high in n. e., n. e.; in sec. 10, t. 63, r. 28, in n. e., n. e., a mound 6 ft. high, 30 ft. diameter; in sec. 35, t. 62, r. 28, in n. e., n. w., two mounds about 4 ft. high, 40 ft. diameter.

In Mercer county: sec. 16, t. 64, r. 24, in s. e., n. e. two mounds 4 ft. high; sec. 17, t. 65, r. 24, in s. e., s. e., two mounds on a hill, 4 ft. high; in sec. 20, t. 65, r. 24, what appeared to Mr. Hoffman as an old Indian graveyard on a hill; in sec. 9, t. 63, r. 24, in s. e., s. e., three mounds on a hill, about 4 ft. high.

⁹² Smithsonian Report, 1879, p. 352.

⁹³ In Gentry county 18 mounds were counted, as follows: n. w., s. w., sec. 31, t. 64, r. 30, one mound, 20 ft. high; in township 62, range 31, as follows: n. e., s. e., sec. 2, one mound; n. e., s. w., sec. 24, one mound; s. w., n. e., sec. 26, one mound; s. w., n. w., sec. 22, t. 63, r. 30, evidence of ancient criminal Indian race-course; e. half s. w. sec. 25, t. 63, r. 32, eight mounds, on public road; n. e., n. e., sec. 10, t. 63, r. 31, five mounds; n. e., s. e. sec. 1, t. 61, r. 33, one mound.

feet. While we are left to conjecture how these prehistoric people moved so much material, it is probable, however, that it was done in a primitive fashion, in baskets; in such a case, a cubic foot of earth is a heavy load for one person. This alone, taken in connection with the size of some of the mounds, shows that in some sections of our state the prehistoric population must have been very large. As already stated, it is not assumed that all the mounds, or even the largest number of mounds, found in this state have been definitely located; only one step in that direction has been taken.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ In addition to mounds heretofore reported by Mr. Bean in Cape Girardeau County, he has located 24 mounds in U. S. Survey 488 on the waters of Byrd's Creek in this County, mounds 20 to 25 feet in diameter and two to three feet high have been plowed over for many years.

Mr. Gerard Fowke has also located a number of mounds in Boone County in addition to mounds located by Mr. Bean, viz. — nine mounds in Section 4, six mounds in Section 9, three mounds in Section 34, all in Twp. 46, range 13 E; eight mounds in Section 17, Township 46, Range 12; seventeen mounds in Section 27, six mounds in Section 33, Twp. 47 N., Range 13 E.; nine mounds in Section 16 and five mounds in Section 25, Twp. 48, Range 14. Also in Clay County — fifteen mounds in Section 11, mainly on the east side of the section and five mounds in Section 12, Twp. 45, Range 12 W., and one mound in Section 13, Twp. 45, Range 13 W. In Howard County two large mounds in Section 32, Twp. 40, Range 15 E. In Osage County in Section 10, Twp. 44, Range 10 W. three mounds in the S. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. W. and one mound in the S. W. N. E. In Section 12 two mounds, Twp. 44, Range 10 N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E.; in Section 23, Twp. 44, Range 14, three mounds.

CHAP. III.

De Soto's March—Crosses the Mississippi—Follows the River North to Crowley's Ridge—Crosses the St. Francois Near Helena—Marches North and Enters What is Now Missouri—Finds the Casquins—Accompanied by Casquins Marches North to Capaha—Crosses an Old Bed of the Mississippi—The Capahas—Where Their Habitat—Battle with the Capahas—Establishes Truce Between the Casquins and Capahas—Secures Salt from the Country North of Capaha—Returns to Casquin—Marches Southwest to Quigate—Probable Location of Quigate—Turns North to Caligoa—Probable Location of Caligoa—Moves Southwest to Palisema—Thence to Tanico—Camped on the Headwaters of White River—Marches South Across the Boston Mountains to the Arkansas River.

Undoubtedly De Soto¹ and his adventurous followers marched through territory now within the limits of the state of Missouri.

¹ Hernando De Soto was the son of a squire of Xeres of Badajos, born 1500 or 1501, died 1542; he first went to America with nothing but his sword, and by Don Pedro Aries de Arila, the governor of the West Indies, was made captain of a troop of horsemen; went with Pizarro to Peru, was third in command; participated in the capture of Atahulpa, and in the storming of Cuzco; returned to Spain rich; married Donna Isabella de Bobadilla, daughter of Pedro Aries de Arila, Earl of Punno in Rostro; was made governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, with the title of marquis of certain part of the land that he should conquer. The impulse was given to this Florida expedition by Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who was a member of the Navarez expedition, and on the failure of this enterprise, lost and abandoned, wandered across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific during seven or eight years, and at length reached the City of Mexico. On his return to Spain, de Vaca gave an account of the wonderful mineral wealth of New Mexico, Arizona, and North Mexico, which he had discovered during his travels. These accounts created a great sensation; De Soto obtained permission to organize an expedition for the conquest of the country, and many distinguished people and soldiers enlisted under his banner, evidencing plainly that, in popular opinion, he had every qualification to successfully conduct an expedition of conquest. He left Spain in 1538, with six hundred men, cavalry and infantry, in seven ships, reached the island of Cuba, first touching at Santiago, and afterward arrived at Havana, from which port he sailed for Florida May 18, 1539, with a fleet of five great ships, two caravels and two brigantines, and on the 30th day of May, landed at Tampa Bay, named by him the Bay of Espiritu Santo. Thence he began his march into the interior of the continent. The narrative of the various incidents and hardships of this march has been recorded by the veritable historian, Garcilasso de la Vega, who, although not a participant, obtained his facts from those soldiers who were fortunate enough to return. Another account by one who actually participated in the expedition was published in Europe in 1557. This is known as the "Portuguese Narrative," but was signed by the author, "A Gentleman of Elvas." Louis Fernandez de Biedma, who also was with the expedition, wrote a short account, which was published in 1544. De Soto himself died May 21, 1542, on the banks of the Mississippi, and was buried in its waters.

The route he took and the trials, hardships, and many battles he fought, from the coast of Florida until he reached the Mississippi, do not, although of absorbing interest, immediately concern us. What more particularly interests us is to trace his route into what is now Missouri, and, in order to do so intelligently, we must begin our story where he crossed the Mississippi river. But at the very threshold we will have to admit that it is impossible, from the data we have, to fix the precise point where he made his crossing. This only is clear, that a crossing was effected at some point between the Arkansas and St. Francois rivers. Some suppose that it was made at the lower Chickasaw Bluff, near the present site of Memphis, for this is said to have been an ancient crossing place of the aborigines.² There is little reason to assume that De Soto passed the river at this place; on the contrary, it is quite apparent that he must have made the passage below the mouth of the St. Francois, a stream which empties into the Mississippi some distance below the lower Chickasaw Bluff. This seems to be the generally accepted opinion. However, Bancroft thinks that the crossing was effected at "the lowest Chickasaw Bluff."³ Nuttall seems, also, to believe that it "could have been no other than one of the Chickasaw Bluffs, or ancient crossing places, and apparently the lowest,"⁴ and this is also Schoolcraft's opinion. But Martin conjectures that it was "a little below the lowest Chickasaw Bluff."⁵ So also Winsor.⁶ Ellicott, in his *Journal*, places the point of crossing at thirty-four degrees ten minutes, "at about Sunflower Landing."⁷ McCulloch alone thinks that the expedition crossed below the mouth of the Arkansas.



FERDINAND DE SOTO

The banks at the point of crossing are described in Garcilasso as "so steep that they could neither ascend nor descend them," and were "bordered by very thick forests." This shows plainly that

² Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 108.

³ Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. i, p. 44.

⁴ Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 248.

⁵ Martin's *History of Louisiana*, vol. i, p. 12.

⁶ Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 251.

⁷ Ellicott's *Journal*, p. 125. Ellicott says when he wrote it was "generally supposed" that this was the place of crossing.

De Soto crossed where the soil was alluvial, because it is certain that the Chickasaw Bluffs, at least then, were not covered with heavy forests. In order to cross, he pulled up the river with his boats about a quarter of a league, then dropped down to a point of landing on the west side opposite the camp, on a "sandy plot, very hard and clear ground," that is to say, a sand-bar.

Much has been written, and many conjectures advanced, as to the route pursued by De Soto after he crossed the river. All we know about it was written long afterward from reports gathered from those who participated in the expedition, with the exception of the narratives of the "Gentleman of Elvas" and Biedma. The narrative of Garcilasso⁸ forms a volume of about two hundred and forty-five octavo pages, is very circumstantial, and such as might naturally be expected when constructed from the verbal reports of one or more old soldiers going over the same details from time to time. The account of the "Gentleman of Elvas," otherwise known as the "Portuguese Narrative," is contained in one hundred

⁸ Garcilasso de la Vega was born in Cuzco in 1540, and died in 1616 at Cordova, Spain. His father was a Spanish adventurer, his mother Nusti, a niece of Huayna Capac, the last of the Incas, and a granddaughter of the Inca Tupac-Yuyanque. In 1560 he went to Spain, entered on a military career, reached the rank of captain under Don Juan of Austria, but in consequence of the fact that his father had embraced the cause of Gonzalo Pizarro, distrust rested on him, and, despairing of obtaining eminence in the military profession, he resigned, returned to Cordova and devoted himself to literary pursuits, translating the Dialogues of Love by Leon Hebreos, writing a History of Peru, and the Royal Commentaries on the History of the Incas. He was greatly admired as a man of virtue, piety, modesty, and as a historian. His narrative of the expedition of De Soto was principally derived from the statements of an old friend, who was with the expedition, a brave soldier of noble rank, a hidalgo, who possessed the confidence of the royal council of the Indies to such a degree that he was frequently sent for to be consulted as to the events of the expedition. In addition to the oral statements of this friend, Garcilasso had the written reports of two other soldiers, Alonzo de Carmona and Juan Coles. (Irving's Conq. of Florida, p. 283.) He finished his history of the Conquest of Florida in 1591, and at that time some of those who participated in it were still alive. It seems to be conceded that Garcilasso took advantage of all the opportunities he had to secure an accurate account of all the incidents, the trials, and triumphs of this tragic march. Undoubtedly he was misled as to the vast Indian population and their great armies, great cities, and great temples by the old soldiers from whom he derived his information, whose anxiety was to make it appear that a country vastly greater in extent than Mexico and Peru, which they had conquered, was also possessed of great population, armies and temples, and this may account for many exaggerations. Nothing, however, more conclusively demonstrates the truth of the general route of the march, as given by Garcilasso, the "Gentleman of Elvas," and Biedma, than that some of the Indian tribes they mentioned were found to have their habitat in the same regions described by subsequent voyageurs and explorers, and that many of the natural landmarks of the country described can yet be identified with reasonable certainty.

and eight octavo pages, but the account of Biedma is very short and covers only a dozen pages. As to the route pursued, these narratives in the main agree, but as to the distances given, Garcilasso expressly says that he cannot hold himself responsible for their accuracy, because unavoidably compelled to leave much to conjecture, and, because the Spaniards were principally seeking for gold and silver, they gave themselves little trouble to mark down the route and distances marched.⁹ This much, however, is certain, that after De Soto passed the river he marched for four or five days through a wilderness intersected in many places by morasses, which he was compelled to ford, and on the fifth day, "from the summit of a high ridge," his followers "descried a large village containing about four hundred dwellings." It was located "on the banks of a river, the borders of which as far as the eye could reach were covered with luxuriant fields of maize, interspersed with groves of fruit trees."¹⁰

What is now known as Crowley's Ridge, terminating on the west bank of the Mississippi near Helena, Arkansas, is the only conspicuous elevation on the west side of the river between the mouth of the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico. The description of the chroniclers can refer to no other "high ridge." This ridge, apparently an out-runner of the Ozarks of Missouri, runs in a southern direction about forty miles west of the Mississippi and parallel with it, until it strikes it, and is flanked on both sides by an alluvial district. The eastern district is now known as the St. Francois basin. The St. Francois river runs its course immediately east of this ridge and empties its waters into the Mississippi at the foot of it. On the west of Crowley's Ridge lie the Cache bottoms, about forty miles wide above the junction of the Cache and White rivers. Through the middle of this bottom runs the Cache river. On the west, this bottom is bounded in a general way by the White river, flowing along the eastern Ozark slopes. Below the junction of the Cache and the White rivers, the bottom country extends from the Mississippi west from sixty to seventy miles, and through the center of this bottom country the White river flows to its junction with the Arkansas. Crowley's Ridge separates this district on the east and northeast from the St. Francois basin, and it was through this alluvial district, below Crowley's Ridge, De Soto marched after he passed over the river.

⁹ 2 Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 285.

¹⁰ 2 Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 108.

It has been asserted, without sufficient evidence, that after crossing the river De Soto marched directly west until he reached Crowley's Ridge, and there discovered the Indian village described in the narratives. The objection to this assumption is, that it places the point of crossing north of the mouth of the St. Francois river; leaves out of view the fact that the St. Francois river flows immediately east of this ridge; ignores the fact that the narratives make no mention that another river was crossed by De Soto as he moved to the summit of the ridge, and finally, that the country east of the St. Francois is flat and level, with no high elevation or ridges. It is certain, therefore, from all that can now be gathered from the different narratives, that after De Soto crossed the Mississippi he marched along or near the river. This is confirmed by the fact that, subsequently, it is positively stated that he marched along the borders of the Mississippi,¹¹ and that the "lord of the country held his court" at some small villages "which were distant four leagues from the capitol, in ascending the river."¹² The best and highest marching ground was along the banks of the river, and no doubt an Indian trail led to the "high ridge" or "elevation" from his Mississippi river crossing, and naturally he would follow it in his march and so reach the summit whence was discovered the village of the Casquins. It should also be noted, that Garcilasso expressly says that De Soto, after he left Mauvila, kept "northward"¹³ or "marched directly to the north."¹⁴

From the summit of one of the high hills of Crowley's Ridge could well be "descried a large village" in the bottoms of the St. Francois river, even if a long distance away, especially at that time, when, as near as can be conjectured, the country was not covered with the heavy growth of timber that is found there now. No doubt the Indians living in such a large village in that fertile land had "luxuriant fields of maize," or, at least, what would appear as "luxuriant fields of maize" to the hungry and famished Spaniards, who had just fought their way through a wilderness, beset by hostile Indians.

Also, on carefully examining the topographical features of this district, the conclusion is irresistible that no other point on the west

¹¹ 2 Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 109.

¹² Shipp's De Soto, p. 408.

¹³ 2 Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 128.

¹⁴ Shipp's De Soto, p. 417.

bank of the Mississippi river answers more nearly the description, so pointedly given in the narrative of Garcilasso, of the location of the village where De Soto first rested after crossing this river, than the country in the immediate vicinity of the lower end of Crowley's Ridge. Starting from this first indubitable landmark, let us follow De Soto and his gallant army in their march into what is now Missouri.¹⁵

After resting a day in this "large village containing about four hundred dwellings," which he then learned was called "Casquin," or "Casqui," De Soto resumed his march. These Indians, called "Casquins" or "Casquis" were evidently the same as those known as the "Kaskias" or "Kaskaskias" subsequently. At the time when Joliet and Marquette made their voyage down the Mississippi, they were living in northern Illinois and along the Illinois river, and afterward on the Kaskaskia river. De Soto marched, "ascending the river," it is said in Shipp's translation, or "on the borders of the Mississippi," according to Irving's translation, "through a populous and champaign country, where the land was more elevated and the soil less alluvial than any they had yet seen on the borders of the Mississippi. The fields were overflowingly fruitful; the pecan nut and the red and gray plum were there in abundance."¹⁶ This region here described is a high alluvial, generally black, sandy ridge, extending parallel with the Mississippi river from near the mouth of the St. Francois in Arkansas, as far north as the upper end of the St. Francois basin, where the Ozark hills gradually slope into this district. It is not a continuous ridge, but here and there low depressions extend through it, and through these depressions also pass sluggish bayous and creeks, often marshy and swampy, and several miles wide. The Mississippi river, when at its flood tide, thus finds an outlet into the St. Francois river. Many remains of the original dwellers of the land are found at numerous points on this ridge, showing that at one time it was the seat of extensive aboriginal settlements. The soil is of a sandy alluvial character and easily tilled, and corn, or maize as it is called by the chroniclers, and all the various

¹⁵ In Barnard Shipp's *History of Hernando De Soto and Florida*, p. 407, the narrative of Garcilasso is translated as follows: "At the end of four days' travel through unpopulated places, they discovered on the fifth day, from the top of an eminence, a town of about four hundred houses, upon the banks of a river, larger than the Guadalquiver, which passes by Cordova. They also saw the lands about it covered with corn and a number of fruit trees."

¹⁶ Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, vol. ii, p. 109.

vegetables and fruit and nut trees of every character yield abundantly and flourish amazingly in this wonderful soil. Nuttall long ago pointed out, taking as a guide the narrative of Garcilasso, that De Soto must have marched north along this ridge.¹⁷ The ridge is well and clearly defined and bordered on both sides by a lower alluvial formation, except as stated where the land is depressed and the river passes through it in times of overflow. At some points, for instance near Osceola, in Arkansas, Caruthersville and New Madrid in Missouri, this ridge touches the river. The alluvial and sandy soil generally rests on a yellow clay foundation, showing that perhaps a prehistoric chain of clay hills (something like Crowley's Ridge) may have run along in this direction, and been washed down in the course of ages, or subsided in earthquakes, which even in historic times have characterized this district. Thus this ridge may have become subject, partially at least, to overflow.

It should also be observed that undoubtedly paths and trails led from one village of the Casquins to the other villages of the same tribe, and even from the villages of one tribe to the villages of the other tribes. Where these Indian roads were actually located it is impossible for us to tell now, but that they followed the high ground, avoided swamps and marshy grounds, is certain. The Indians thoroughly knew the topographical character of this country, the river courses, their size and depth, and the best crossings. Along such a route on this ridge, and along such trails and paths, we can confidently believe, De Soto and his forces marched.

Marching northward through this country, De Soto undoubtedly, if we are to trust the narratives, found the country well inhabited and cultivated. Nuttall seems to think that he reached the New Madrid region of this ridge, basing his opinion upon the statement of the narratives, that he reached a country "where the land was more elevated and the soil less alluvial than any he had yet seen," a statement which can now be verified in every particular by an examination of the ridge as it exists to-day in that territory. Here the cacique of the Casquins resided, "in a very fertile and populous country."¹⁸ Here De Soto and his followers were well received by the cacique, who made him a present of mantles fabricated from coarse threads of the bark of trees and coarse nettles, as well as skins and fish, and

¹⁷ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 251.

¹⁸ Irving's History of Conquest of Florida, p. 109.

invited him to lodge in his habitations. The cacique lived on a high artificial hill "on one side of the village," and his habitations "consisted of twelve or thirteen large houses for the accommodation of his numerous family of women and attendants." The adelantado, that is to say, De Soto — for by this title he is invariably described by Garcilasso — for fear of incommoding him, so it is stated in the narrative, but more likely out of caution and to prevent a surprise, declined this invitation, preferring to quarter his army in separate houses and in bowers the Indians quickly built out of green branches, in groves near by. This was in May, and the weather was oppressively warm, so "the tenants of these rustic bowers found them truly delightful." Here, in the present limits of Missouri, after many untold hardships, De Soto and his army rested in peace and enjoyed plenty for several weeks.

On the third day after his arrival, the cacique, accompanied by his principal subjects, so Garcilasso tells us, came into the presence of De Soto and, making a profound obeisance, said: "Señor, as you are superior to us in prowess and surpass us in arms, we likewise believe that your God is better than our God. Those you behold before you are chief warriors of my dominions. We supplicate you to pray to your God to send us rain, for our fields are parched for want of water." De Soto answered that, although he and his followers were but sinners, they would yet supplicate God, the Father of mercies, to show mercies unto them. He then ordered the chief carpenter, Francisco the Genoese, to hew down "the highest and largest pine-tree in the vicinity, and to construct of it a cross." As no pine grows in this region, no doubt the cypress was confounded with the pine by the informant of Garcilasso. The tree was felled, and was so large that a hundred men could not raise it from the ground, and out of this tree a perfect cross was constructed and erected on a high hill—that is to say, artificial mound, because no natural hills exist there. This hill or mound was near the river bank, and served the Indians as a watch tower. It may be observed that, when the first settlement was made near the present town of New Madrid, a high artificial mound existed near the river, but this mound has long since been washed away by the abrasions of the stream. Similar hills or mounds are yet found along the river, higher than the ordinary mounds, and were evidently used, as Garcilasso says, as "watch towers."

After the cross was erected De Soto ordered that on the next morning all should join in a solemn procession, except an armed squadron of horse and foot, who should be on the alert to protect the army. In this procession the cacique walked beside De Soto, and the Indian warriors mingled among the Spanish soldiery. The priests and friars chanted the litany and the soldiers responded. Fully a thousand persons were in the procession and arrived before the cross, where they sank on their knees, offered solemn prayers, "approached the holy emblem, bent the knee before it and worshiped and kissed it." Many thousand savages, we are told by Garcilasso, witnessed this ceremony. And "with their arms extended, and their hands raised, they watched the movements of the Spaniards. Ever and anon they raised their eyes to heaven, and made signs with their faces and hands, as if asking of God to listen to the Christian's prayers. Then would they raise a low and wailing cry, like a people in excessive grief, echoed by the plaintive murmurings of their children's voices." And, says the chronicler, De Soto and his followers "were moved to tenderness, to behold in a strange and heathen land, a savage people worshiping with such humility and tears the emblem of our redemption." The solemnities of the day were closed with a *Te Deum Laudamus*, and in the middle of the ensuing night, marvelous to relate, a plenteous rain refreshed the parching corn. When the cacique and his warriors, full of joy, repaired to De Soto to express their gratitude, he answered them, "they must give thanks to God, who created the heavens and the earth, and was the bestower of these and other far greater mercies."

And so in Missouri, over three centuries ago, "the cross, the type of our beautiful religion, was planted on the banks of the Mississippi, and its silent forests were awakened by the Christian's hymn of gratitude and praise. The effect was vivid but transitory. The 'voice cried in the wilderness' and reached and was answered by every heart, but it died away and was forgotten; and was not to be heard again in that savage region for many generations. It was as if a lightning gleam had broken for a moment upon a benighted world, startling it with sudden effulgence, only to leave it in tenfold gloom. The real dawning was yet afar off from the benighted valley of the Mississippi."¹⁹

The cacique of the Casquins, however, was a wily savage. He

¹⁹ Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 114.

fully appreciated the value of his new friends and proposed to use them to wreak signal vengeance on his ancient enemies, the Capahas, residing farther north and where the hills slope into and lose themselves in the alluvial plains. These Capahas are undoubtedly identical with the "Kapahas," who resided on the Mississippi and near the St. Francois and Arkansas when La Salle made his voyage of discovery. He records that on the 14th day of March, 1682, he took possession of the country in the name of his king, by planting a cross upon which were painted the arms of France in "said Kapaha village of the Akansas."²⁰ On Marquette's map, a village named Papikaha is noted as being situated in the same locality.²¹ The "Gentleman of Elvas" names this village Pacaha.²² By Charlevoix, these Indians are named "Kappas" and also "Ouyapes," and he says that "this nation was very numerous in the time of Hernando De Soto."²³

These Indians were subsequently known as the Quapaws. Dorsey says that they are of Siouan linguistic origin. They and their kindred, the Atotchasi, the Toyengan or Tongenga, the Toriman, and the Ossoteoz or Otsotchove, all at the time of La Salle's discovery, resided between the Arkansas and St. Francois, and, according to Nuttall, called themselves "Oyuapes" or "Kapahas," but by La Salle are called "Akansas." Originally, their habitat was on or near the mouth of the Ohio. According to Father Gravier, the Illinois Indians and other savages called the Ohio "the river of the Akansas" because the "Akansea," formerly dwelt on it,²⁴ thus confirming the statement of Dorsey.²⁵ Nuttall says that an old chief

²⁰ 11 Wisconsin Hist. Col., p. 29, for full copy of the process verbal.

²¹ According to Father Gravier, in 1702, the village of the Kapahas, where Joliet and Father Marquette were received, had been abandoned by these Indians which he calls the "Kappa Akansas." The new village was situated a half league from the river, and here Monsieur de Montigny had erected a cross on a hill, which he says "is very steep and forty feet high." (Jesuit Rel., p. 117.) And which would indicate that perhaps the noted village was located near the foot of Crowley's Ridge, and near where the city of Helena, Arkansas, is now located.

²² 2 Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 292.

²³ Charlevoix's Travels, p. 307. When Charlevoix was at their village he found it in great desolation on account of small-pox, which a passing Frenchman had communicated to some of the savages, and thus the whole village became infected. Over against their village Charlevoix saw the sad ruins of Mr. Law's grant, and where he had expected to settle nine thousand Germans from the Palatinate, and some of whom came over and after the collapse of the Mississippi scheme were settled on what is now known as the German coast of the river above New Orleans.

²⁴ 65 Jes. Rel., p. 107.

²⁵ 15th Report Bureau of Ethnology, 1893-94, pp. 157, 244.

of the Quapaws said, at the time their lands were acquired by the government, that at a very remote period his nation descended the Mississippi, and having in a body come to the mouth of a large and muddy river, evidently referring to the Missouri, they divided, one party going up the "muddy" river, and his tribe going down the Mississippi, until checked in their progress by the Kaskaskias, whose opposition they finally subdued and thus obtained possession of the banks of the Arkansas.²⁶ This account slightly differs from Dorsey.

At the period of De Soto's expedition, these Indians manifestly still resided near and above the Ohio. The "Casquins," on the other hand, probably identical with the "Kaskias" or "Kaskaskias," were of Algonquin linguistic origin,²⁷ resided farther down the Mississippi, and were at war with these Capahas, who had come down the Ohio and invaded a country which before that was in their exclusive possession. This would naturally explain the continual state of war which seemed to exist between these tribes at the time of De Soto's advent.

When De Soto gave orders to the army to prepare to march, the following morning, the cacique of the Casquins obtained permission to go with him, with a train of warriors and domestics, "the one to escort the army, the other to carry his supplies, as they had to traverse a wilderness, and also to clear the road, gather wood for the encampment, and fodder for the horses." The Capahas had kept the Casquins in subjection for long years, and for this reason the cacique of the Casquins, meditating revenge, took the field, we are told by the

²⁶ Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 82.

²⁷ If we reverse the order in which the names of these Indian tribes of the country is given in the narratives of the historians of De Soto's expedition, and substitute the name of Kapaha where the narrators give the name of Casquin, and the name of Casquin where the name of Kapaha occurs, the whole narrative would be in harmony with the subsequent habitat of these Indians, because French explorers and voyageurs found the Kappas, or Kapahas, or Quapaws, near the mouth of the St. Francois and Arkansas rivers, and the Casquins or Kaskaskias in the region between the river of that name and the Illinois river. But it is well known that the Indians from time to time changed their residence, and that the Kaskaskias moved up and down the river, so also the Kapahas, Quapaws, after they began to trade with the French. Undoubtedly Kaskaskia Indians also lived and hunted on the west side of the river and in the upper portions of the St. Francois basin, and thus came into conflict with the Kapahas, as is narrated by the chroniclers of the expedition of De Soto. The Pottowattamies, the Fox (Renard) and Saucee Indians, the Kickapoos, Peorias, and other Illinois tribes, we know definitely crossed and recrossed the river at subsequent periods.

veritable chroniclers, with three thousand Indians loaded with supplies and the baggage of the army, all well armed with bows and arrows. In addition, five thousand of his warriors, well armed, fiercely painted, and decorated in war plumes, also moved with De Soto's army. These numbers certainly are greatly exaggerated in the narrative, because, at any subsequent period, even the greatest Indian tribes of North America could not muster such numbers. But the cacique of the Casquins, no matter what may have been the number of his warriors, took the lead, under the pretense of clearing the road and preparing encampments for the Spaniards; dividing his men into squadrons, a quarter of a league in advance, he moved forward in good military array. On the third day the army came to a great swamp, miry on the borders, with a lake in the center, too deep to be forded; which formed a kind of gulf on the Mississippi, and, the narrative says was the old bed of the river. This swamp is another landmark on this march, making it certain that De Soto passed through what it now the southeastern portion of the state of Missouri. It is at the upper end of the St. Francois basin, a low alluvial district located immediately southwest of Cape Girardeau. The Mississippi evidently ran through this bottom in comparatively recent times, before the river broke through the narrow chain of rocks known as the Grand Chain, between Gray's Point and Commerce. Three hundred years ago, undoubtedly, the margin of this bottom was miry, as is stated by the narrative, nor was the bed of the old river at that time filled up with alluvium by successive river floods and by the muddy waters coming from the adjacent hills. At such a place, too, a lake would be likely to be found, a remnant of the old river too deep to be forded. This swamp, now all an alluvial bottom, extends for many miles southwest, and everywhere the evidence of its having been the former bed of the Mississippi is patent. Across this swamp, or marsh, the Casquins constructed a rude bridge out of the trunks of trees, over which the soldiers of De Soto and the Indians passed; but the horses were obliged to swim, and, on account of the miry character of the soil on the margin, were transferred with great difficulty. This swamp then separated the territory of the Casquins and Capahas.

The line of march of the combined forces north from the village of the cacique of the Casquins must have been along a continuation of the same sandy ridge on which De Soto marched north from the

first village of the Casquins, near the mouth of the St. Francois. Above the New Madrid region this ridge extends through what is now known as "Big Prairie" and "Sandy Prairie," and all along this route are found numerous remains of aboriginal settlements. Of course, on this march De Soto also crossed lakes, marshes and lagoons, which at various points cut through this ridge. He must have followed the west flanks of what we now know as the Scott county hills, and made his crossing over the Big Swamp somewhere north of the present town of Oran, a locality then perhaps a lake, a remnant of it existing near there to-day. After going over this swamp the army marched for two days more, and on the third day they came to some elevated ridges, whence they saw the principal town of the Capahas. This town was on high ground, commanding the surrounding country, and is thus described: "It was nearly encircled by a deep moat fifty paces in breadth; and where the moat did not extend, was defended by a strong wall of timber and plaster, such as has already been described. The moat was filled with water by a canal cut from the Mississippi river, which was three leagues distance. The canal was deep and sufficiently wide for two canoes to pass abreast without touching each other's paddles. This canal and moat were filled with fish, so as to supply all the wants of the village and army, without any apparent diminution of their number."²⁸ It is, of course impossible now to identify the precise point where the town of Capaha stood. This much seems certain; that it was located near the old channel of the river. The canal referred to was probably a creek that carried its waters into this old river-bed, in all likelihood encircling the town in the shape of a horseshoe, making it appear as if surrounded by a moat. Numerous high places on the edges of the Ozark slopes are thus surrounded by the meanderings of creeks. Evidence of extensive Indian settlements are found on nearly all the creeks running into the so-called Big Swamp. Notable remains of such settlements exist at a number of places southwest of Cape Girardeau, on the north edge of this bottom. On such a place, without more definitely locating the spot, the village of the Capahas stood, when De Soto and the Casquins approached. The cacique of the Capahas, when he heard that his ancient enemy approached, accompanied by a new and powerful ally, his own warriors being dispersed, escaped in a canoe through

²⁸ 2 Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 117.

the canal to the Mississippi and took refuge upon an island in that river. Such of his people as were not able to follow him escaped into the woods, and some remained in the village. When the Casquins reached the village they gave full vent to their hatred and vengeance; over one hundred and fifty were killed, the houses were sacked and plundered, and women and children made captives. Among these captives were two young and beautiful wives of the cacique of the Capahas. The Casquins not only wreaked vengeance upon the living, but their hostility also extended to the dead; they broke into the sepulchres and scattered about the bones. From these demonstrations of hostility, it is evident that the imagination of the chronicler supplied the details, especially the statement that the Indians broke open the sepulchres and scattered the bones of their enemies. The narrative then proceeds to say that the Casquins would have set fire to the whole village, but were restrained by the Spaniards and the fear of offending the adelantado. The chronicler is careful to tell us that all the outrages were committed before the Spaniards reached the place, and that De Soto was much concerned at the ravages of his allies. He sent envoys to the cacique of the Capahas, proffering his friendship, but naturally enough these advances were rejected. De Soto, finding that he could not conciliate him, determined to attack him in his stronghold. The Casquins provided canoes to cross over to the island where the cacique of the Capahas had taken refuge. Two hundred Spaniards and three thousand Indians, so we are told, invaded the island. It was covered with a dense forest of undergrowth and trees, and in this the cacique of the Capahas had entrenched himself. The Spaniards gained the first barriers by hard fighting, but the warriors of the cacique of the Capahas fought with fury, and struck such dismay into the Casquins that they abandoned their allies and fled to the canoes, and would have even carried off the canoes of the Spaniards, if these had not been guarded by Spanish soldiers. Being deserted by their allies, the Spaniards were compelled to retreat to their canoes, which they did in good order. "They would all, however, have been cut off," so says the historian, "had not the Cacique restrained the fury of his warriors, and suffered them to regain the shore and embark unmolested."

On the following day an embassy arrived from the cacique of Capaha. With great ceremony this embassy bowed to the sun, the

moon, and the adelantado, but took no notice of the cacique of the Casquins, who was present, treating him with contempt and disdain. They asked for oblivion of the past, amity for the future, and declared their chieftain was ready to come in person and do homage. De Soto received them with the utmost affability and assured them of his friendship, and sent them away well pleased with their reception. He issued orders forbidding any one to injure the natives of the province or their possessions. The cacique of the Casquins, in order to appease De Soto for the flight of his warriors, made him a present of fish, together with mantles and skins of various kinds; and also brought him one of his daughters as a handmaid. But the adelantado was not thoroughly reconciled. He allowed the cacique to remain with him with a number of vassals, but obliged him to send his warriors home. That is to say, he held the cacique and his principal men as hostages or prisoners.

The next morning, the cacique of the Capahas came, attended by a train of one hundred warriors, adorned with gay and beautiful plumes and with mantles of skins. He was about twenty-six years old, of fine person and noble demeanor. When he came to the village his first care before waiting on the adelantado was to visit the sepulchres of his ancestors, and, "gathering up the scattered bones in silence, he kissed them and returned them reverently to their coffins; and, having arranged the sepulchre," he proceeded to the quarters of De Soto. He was graciously received and offered himself as a vassal; but, took no notice of his old adversary, the cacique of the Casquins, who was present. The cacique answered the numerous questions about his territories with great clearness and intelligence, and when the governor had ceased his interrogatories he turned suddenly to his rival cacique and said: "Doubtless, Casquin, you exult in having revenged your past defeats, a thing you could never have hoped or effected through your own forces. You may thank these strangers for it. They will go; but we shall remain in our country, as we were before. Pray to the sun and moon to send us good weather, then —" De Soto interposed and endeavored to produce a reconciliation, and, in deference to him, the cacique of Capaha repressed his wrath and embraced his adversary. But it was evident from the occasional glances between them that a future storm was certain. The two wives who had been captured were also brought to be restored, but he offered them as a present to the

adelantado. De Soto declining them, he begged him to accept them and give them to some of his officers. In the Portuguese narrative, it is said that these beautiful females were sisters of the Capaha, and that one was called Macanoche and the other Machifa, both handsome and well shaped, especially the former, whose features were beautiful, countenance pleasing, and air majestic.

It is evident, from this account, that the historian attributes to these aborigines many European ideas and notions. All that can be safely taken as true, however, are the main particulars of the incidents related, without the circumstantial statements, which it is plain are the result of the narrator's imagination. Garcilasso was, we have already stated, not an actual participant of the expedition, but wrote down what a soldier of the force told him, relating the incidents in such language and interlarded with such speeches as to him seemed proper for the occasion.

In the town of Capaha the Spaniards found a great variety of skins of deer, panthers, bear and wildcats. Out of these they made garments of which they stood in great need, many of them being nearly naked. They made moccasins of deer skins, and used bear skins as cloaks. Of the Indian bucklers, made out of buffalo skins, the troops also took possession. At Capaha, too, the Spaniards first caught a spadefish. The chronicler mentions the fact that some of these fish caught in the Mississippi river weighed one hundred and one hundred and fifty pounds.²⁹

From Capaha, De Soto sent some of his soldiers northward. He learned from the Indians that in certain ranges of hills forty leagues distant there was salt, and also much of a yellowish metal. As the army was suffering for want of salt, he sent two trusty and intelligent men, Hernando de Silvera and Pedro Moreno, accompanied by Indians, to visit this region. After eleven days they returned half-famished, with their Indian companions loaded with salt in natural crystals, and one of them loaded with copper.

In his narrative, the "Gentleman of Elvas" says De Soto sent thirty horsemen and fifty footmen from Capaha to the province of

²⁹ The description of the fish, which is a very local and curious animal, according to Nuttall, affords additional evidence of the truth of the relation of La Vega, and that De Soto marched up as far as New Madrid and farther up the river. Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 254. This fish, "the most whimsical production of the streams of the west," is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition. Bancroft's *History of the U. S.*, vol. i, p. 45.

Caluca, to see if he might travel to Chisca, where the Indians said there was gold and silver, and that this expedition traveled for seven days through a desert and then returned, reporting that the country was poor in maize. In consequence of this report, De Soto asked the Indians in what direction the country was most inhabited, and that the Indians advised him that Quiquate was a great province toward the south.³⁰ Upon this information, De Soto concluded to retrace his steps to the village of the Casquins, and thence to march to the province of Quiquate, "where the Indians sowed large fields of maize." The cacique of the Casquins was ordered to repair the bridge across the lake, and De Soto marched back to his village, where he remained for five days longer, and then, according to Garcilasso, marched toward the south, but it is apparent, from the context of the narrative, that he must have marched in a southwest direction. The cacique of the Casquins supplied a guide and carriers, and after marching a day he lodged at another village of the Casquins, near a river, and was furnished there with canoes to pass over the stream. This river was only a day's march from the residence of the cacique, and as his village was on or near the Mississippi, the distance traveled by De Soto probably did not exceed twelve or fifteen miles. Going in a southwesterly direction, this would have brought his army into the district now known as the Little river overflow. In 1542 Little river was undoubtedly a good-sized stream, running parallel with the Mississippi river in a southerly direction through a country partially timbered, or perhaps altogether a prairie, or, as the "Gentleman of Elvas" says, a country "full of good meadows on the river." The vast and gloomy forests that now mark this region had not as yet grown up. Here, then, we find the river, and across this river De Soto and his army were transferred to the second ridge running parallel with the Mississippi north and south, between the Little river on the one side and the St. Francois on the other. This ridge is also marked with many aboriginal remains, giving evidence that it was at one time the center of a large population. It lies now within the limits of Dunklin county, Missouri, and Mississippi county, Arkansas. That De Soto did not march south, but southwest, is also stated in Biedma's concise account. He says: "Seeing there was no way to reach the South Sea, we returned toward the north [meaning, undoubtedly, the south], afterward we traveled in a

³⁰ Shipp's De Soto, p. 654.

southwest direction to a province called Quiquate, where we found the largest village we had yet seen in all our travels. It was situated on one of the branches of a great river." The country is level. After crossing Little river, De Soto marched through this country for four days, according to Garcilasso, but probably not at a very great speed, until he reached Quiquate; the "Gentleman of Elvas" merely says that they arrived there on the fourth day of August. Quiquate is described as a large town, and beyond it there was a lake "where horses could not pass." May it not be, that Quiquate was situated at the lower end of that peninsula of high land, extending through Dunklin county into Mississippi county, Arkansas, which is still well marked, although Little river is now filled and choked up with timber, "and the meadows of the river," which were then observed, are all grown up with heavy forests? At the lower end, in Arkansas this ridge is still surrounded by a chain of shallow lakes on the east and southeast, and on the west by the lakes of the St. Francois river, which then no doubt were very much larger and deeper, and perhaps appeared like the arm of a large river. At the lower end of this high tongue of land, or ridge, numerous remains of aboriginal inhabitants exist, and here, if we are allowed to speculate, perhaps the town which was "the largest" that had been seen in Florida may have been located. After various incidents which it is unnecessary to note, at Quiquate, De Soto moved northwest to Caligoa, because he thought he might find gold and silver in that direction, although the Indians at Quiquate advised him that the country farther south was much more populous.

The route to Caligoa led through dreary woods, and it is expressly said that no path or trail connected it with Quiquate; from this may also be inferred that heretofore De Soto generally had followed established roads or paths. A single Indian now acted as his guide. On this march he was compelled to pass through lakes and pools of very shallow water, and full of fish. He also moved his army across "vast plains and high mountains," and at last "suddenly came to Caligoa." The distance traveled from Quiquate to Caligoa was said to have been forty leagues, or about one hundred and twenty miles, if we are to trust the narrative of the "Gentleman of Elvas." Caligoa was situated on the margin of a small river. The surprised Indians, when they saw the Spaniards, fled, while some threw themselves into the stream; but nevertheless a number

were captured. A few days after this surprise, the cacique of Caligoa made his appearance and presented De Soto with mantles of deer skins and robes of buffalo, and informed him that six leagues farther north was a thinly inhabited country where vast herds of wild buffalo ranged.

Of course, it cannot now be determined how far northwest into what is now Missouri De Soto penetrated in his march to Caligoa. But that he reached some of the highlands of the St. Francois or Black is quite certain. After passing through the lowlands, swamps, and morasses (perhaps the old river-bed of the Mississippi), lying northwest of what is now known as the Dunklin county ridge, he reached the southwestern slopes of the Ozarks, and then he must have passed over some of the high plateaux of these mountains, at that time and long afterward devoid of timber, where herds of buffalo roamed. Nuttall supposed that Caligoa was situated toward the sources of the St. Francois.³¹ Schoolcraft seems to be of the same opinion, and says that "the elevated lands between the Black river and the St. Francois had evidently been the line of march of De Soto when he set forward from Quiquate on the St. Francois toward the northwest in search of Caligoa. Any other crossing between west and southwest would have involved his army in lagoons and the deep and wide channel of White river, which forms a barrier of about one hundred and fifty miles toward the south."³² And when we take into account that De Soto was in search of gold and silver, it is not at all improbable that he and his army may have passed over and bivouaced among the granite and porphyritic ridges whence the St. Francois and Black take their rise.

From Caligoa, De Soto was directed, in his search for gold, south and southwest to Palisema. When he reached Palisema, the cacique had fled, but left his cabin arranged in order. "The walls were hung with deer skins, admirably dyed and dressed," so that they "appeared to the eye like beautiful tapestry." The floor was likewise covered with fine skins.³³ Palisema was in a rough country. It was a little, scattering village, and De Soto found little maize there, and therefore he quickly departed. It took the Spaniards

³¹ Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 256 — note in which he says: "towards the source of the St. Francois on the hills of White river."

³² *Scenes and Adventures in the Ozarks*, cited in Shipp's *De Soto*, note 25 p. 658.

³³ 2 Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, p. 132.

four days to march from Caligoa to Palisema, and the distance they traveled over this rough country could not have exceeded one hundred miles within that time.³⁴

From Palisema, a march of four days more brought De Soto to the frontiers of the province of Cayas, and he "encamped on the banks of the river near the village called Tanico." De Soto now had approximately moved about one hundred and eighty miles south and southwest from Caligoa. If the Cayas are identical with the Kansas Indians, as is supposed by Schoolcraft, De Soto probably reached a territory which was inhabited by them, lying between the head-waters of the Arkansas and White and the great bend of the Missouri.³⁵ The fact that he found the waters of the stream on which he encamped were impregnated with salt, a fact which overjoyed the Spaniards, who were in great need of this article, would seem to indicate that he must have reached one of the streams heading in the salines of the western plains. The country around Tanico was well cultivated, was full of sown fields and stores of maize. Here De Soto remained for a month, fattened his horses, and rested his men.³⁶

From Tanico, De Soto marched for four days to Tulla, but in order to reach this place he was compelled to pass high mountains, which intervened between the two places. It may well be inferred from this that what we now know as the Boston mountains separated Tanico from Tulla. Tanico was situated in the plains or prairies of western Missouri; Tulla, on the other hand, in the valley of the Arkansas. But here we leave the story of De Soto, who now undoubtedly passes into the territory of the present state of Arkansas on his fateful march.

³⁴ In the account of the "Gentleman of Elvas," it is said that from Palisema the Spaniards came to another town called Tatalicoyo, where they found a large river which emptied into the Mississippi. This river was evidently a fork of the White river, or the White river itself, but most probably the north fork of this stream, and not the Arkansas, as has been supposed. If we place Caligoa at the head of the St. Francois or White, it is evident that De Soto could not have marched as far as the Arkansas river in so short a time. From Tatalicoyo, according to this last narrative, the Spaniards marched for four days through a mountainous country and finally reached Tanico.—Shipp's DeSoto, p. 556.

³⁵ "The Cayas of LaVega are the modern Kansas," says Thwaites, but upon what direct authority, he does not state.—Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 145, note 122. (Clark Ed.)

³⁶ Shipp's De Soto, p. 658.

At this time it is impossible to trace the route of De Soto with any conclusive accuracy. A few physical landmarks remain which can be approximately identified. The names of a few of the Indian tribes he encountered furnish, perhaps, the most conclusive evidence that he marched and camped in this state. Doubtless if the first settlers of upper Louisiana had been mindful of the historic interest of this heroic enterprise, and searched as diligently for evidence of this march as they did for gold and silver, they might have been rewarded by finding indubitable evidence, such as broken arms and trappings, of the transient passage through the territory of what is now Missouri, of this chivalric Spaniard and conquistador.

CHAPTER IV

Expedition of Coronado to Conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola—Grand Review of the Expeditionary Army by the Viceroy, February, 1540—Eventful and Toilsome March from Compostela to Cibola—Dream of Silver and Gold, Great Kingdoms and Royal Cities Dispelled by Reality—Reconnoitering Corps Seek Other Settlements—Alvarado Discovers the Rock of Acoma, Tiguex on the Rio Grande, and Cicuque on the Pecos—Wonderful Riches of the Land of Quivira Related by "The Turk," a Former Indian Slave—Army in Winter Quarters at Tiguex—Route Followed and Distance Traveled by Coronado's Army to Quivira, Described by Participants—Location of Quivira Disputed by Historians and Geographers—Incidents of the Expedition of Historical Value—Magnitude of the Interior of the Continent First Revealed—March from the Valley of the Rio Grande to the Valley of the Pecos—Ruins of Cicuye in Valley of the Pecos—Coronado Crosses the Canadian and Reaches the Great Plains—Marches for Days Among the Buffaloes—First Meets the Indians of the Plains, Styled "Querechos"—Marches Along the Streams in the Buffalo Country—Reaches a Country Well Inhabited—A Country of Kidney Beans and Prunes and Vines—Encamps in a Ravine a League Wide—Coronado Orders Army to Return to Tiguex—With Thirty Horsemen and Six Foot Soldiers Coronado Proceeds to Quivira—Travels Many Days by the Needle Across the Great Plains—Reaches the River of Quivira—Proceeds to the Villages of Quivira—Quivira Evidently Within the Present Limits of Missouri—Topography of the Country—The Osages Identified by Coronado, and Tribes of the Lower Missouri Valley.

Two years after De Soto with great joy, on a bright Sunday morning, had passed over the bar of San Lucar bay, the gorgeous banner of Spain unfurled at his mastheads, the trumpets sounding and the ordnance of his ships discharging farewell salutes, far away on the shores of the Pacific in New Spain, at Compostela, the chief city of the newly created kingdom of Nueva Galicia,¹ one hundred and ten leagues west of the City of Mexico, in February, 1540, the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza,² arrived to review the expedition organized by his order, which under the command of Don Francesco Vasquez de Coronado, as captain-general, was to discover and conquer the seven cities of Cibola. Knowledge of these cities had been obtained from the same Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca,³ who, by his

¹ The Kingdom of Nueva Galicia at that time comprised the undefined northwest of Mexico.

² Don Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, from 1535 to 1549, afterward viceroy of Peru, where he died July 21, 1552. A book of rules (*libro de tasas*), compiled in part from the ancient laws of the Incas, was ordered prepared by him, and promulgated while he was viceroy.

³ Born in 1490; died at Seville in 1560; came to Florida with the fated

marvelous stories of the wealth of gold and silver within the realms of Florida, had aroused De Soto to undertake his famous expedition. On the twenty-first day of February the viceroy held a grand review of the whole expeditionary army, ready and equipped for the adventurous march. The assembled forces consisted of "about two hundred and fifty Spaniards on horseback, and about three thousand Indians, more or less."⁴

On the day following the review, "after they had heard mass, captains and soldiers together, the viceroy made them a short speech, telling them of the fidelity they owed their general, and showing them clearly the benefits which the expedition might afford, from the conversion of these people, as well as in the profit of those who should conquer the territory." No expense had been spared to fully equip the army so as to make the expedition successful. Arms, horses, and supplies had been liberally furnished, and, according to Castaneda, one of the historians of the march, "there were so many men of such high quality among the Spaniards that such a noble body was never collected in the Indies, nor so many men of quality in such a small body." After enumerating many, he says, pathetically, "I have forgotten the names of many good fellows. It would be well if I could name some of them, so that it might clearly be seen what cause I had for saying that they had on this expedition the most brilliant company ever collected in the Indies to go in search of new lands."⁵

expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez in 1528, as its treasurer. Only he and three others escaped the shipwreck and savages; lived for years among them, and finally reached the northern settlements of Mexico. He returned to Spain in 1537, where his travels and adventures aroused great interest. Afterward he was appointed governor of Paraguay, where he was deposed and imprisoned by the colonists for arbitrary acts; later he was sent to Spain, tried and banished to Oran, Africa, but was recalled, pensioned and made judge of the supreme court of Seville. He wrote an account of his travels in Florida and his administration in Paraguay. A picturesque character.

⁴ The number of men who participated in this expedition is variously given in various narratives.—14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 378. H. H. Bancroft supposes that the forces consisted of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians.—Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 36.

⁵ Francesco Vasquez Coronado was a native of Salamanca, Spain, and came to America in the retinue of viceroy Mendoza. In 1537 he married Beatrice de Estrada, a cousin by blood, according to gossip, of the Emperor Charles; obtained a large grant in Mexico, so large even as to cause complaint from Cortez; enjoyed the confidence of the viceroy; was appointed governor of Nueva Galicia in 1538, and in 1540 captain-general of the expedition to conquer the seven cities of Cibola. What became of Coronado after the failure of the expedition is not known; apparently he sinks into oblivion. In 1544

From Compostela, on the twenty-third of February, 1540, accompanied by the viceroy for two days, the expedition began its eventful and toilsome march, with flying colors and buoyant with the brilliant dream of rich kingdoms to be won. After enduring many hardships and much suffering in the rugged and inhospitable regions in the north of New Spain, crossing many rivers and mountains, and the alkali plains of the present Arizona, the army finally reached the so-called seven cities of Cibola, since identified as a district or territory inhabited by the Zuni Indians.⁶ Of course, the dream of great kingdoms, of royal cities, of wealth, of silver and gold, vanished—dispelled by the naked reality.

In this district or territory of Cibola, Coronado encamped for a time. All were bitterly disappointed. Something had to be done to maintain the existence of the expeditionary force. Renewed efforts were necessary. Rumors of other settlements were current, and hence reconnoitering corps were sent out in different directions. Hernando de Alvarado⁷ was sent eastward, and found the rock of Acoma,⁸ Tiguex on the Rio Grande, and other settlements. Tiguex was not far from the present site of Bernadillo, according to Bandelier.⁹ Thence Alvarado reached another Indian town named Cicuye or "Cicuque," on the Pecos, where an Indian slave originally from the country of Florida, who acted as guide for him to see the cows (buffalo) of the plains, told him so many and such marvelous tales of the wealth in gold and silver of a country he called Quivira, that Alvarado quickly returned, to report "the rich news to the general." This Indian was called by the Spaniards the "Turk," because he "looked like one."¹⁰ Thus the drooping hopes of the adventurers were revived. Coronado then moved the army from Cibola in December, through heavy snow-storms, to pass the winter in Tiguex. The season was long and cold. So, during this winter the Spaniards lived in Tiguex, no doubt "going about in rusty helmets, battered

and in 1547, however, he was accused of holding more Indians to labor on his estate than allowed by law, but the result of this accusation is not known.—14 Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 403.

⁶ Bandelier, "The Gilded Man," p. 185, et. seq. "We may," he says, "without mistake, regard Cibola as identical with the country Zuni."

⁷ May have been a relative of Pedro de Alvarado.

⁸ A famous perpendicular rock in the plain, nearly three hundred feet high, on which was found, and is now located, a town.

⁹ Bandelier, "The Gilded Man," p. 204.

¹⁰ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, vol. i, part i, p. 402.

cuirasses, ragged doublets, and worn-out boots, but with good weapons, amongst the Indians, who wrapped themselves in thick covers made of rabbit skins.”¹¹ Here they waited impatiently for he spring, in the meantime feeding on hope and dreaming of the land of Quivira and its riches.

It is not necessary to notice here the trouble with the Indians at Tiguex, during the winter, and many other incidents which occurred. The principal interest in Coronado's expedition relates to the route pursued across the plains and the distances traveled, so as to ascertain whether or not he and his followers came east or northeast far enough to have encamped within the limits of the territory which is now Missouri. Several histories of this expedition written by participants in it, have preserved the events of the adventurous march. Thus we have the narrative of Don Pedro Castaneda¹² and of Juan Jaramillo,¹³ who were both with the expedition. In addition, two anonymous documents, the “Relacion Postrera de Sivola” and the “Relacion del Suceso,” also narrate some of its incidents. Finally, the letters of Coronado to the Viceroy Mendoza and to the king give his story of the march. Most of these documents in the original Spanish, accompanied by a translation annotated by Winship, have recently been published in the Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, and are thus made easily accessible. It would seem that, with so much documentary evidence based on what participants in the expedition saw and experienced, at least the course pursued, the route followed, and the distances traveled by Coronado and his army ought to be free from doubt. This, however, is far from being the case. On no subject does there appear to exist a greater diversity of opinion among those who have endeavored from these narratives to trace out which way Coronado marched than where he finally found Quivira. As a consequence, this mythical region has been located by geographers almost everywhere north of the thirty-sixth parallel, from the Mississippi to the Pacific. While

¹¹ Bandelier, “The Gilded Man,” p. 196.

¹² A native of the town of Najera, in Biscay. According to Winship, there were several representatives of the family of the Castanedas among the Spaniards in America, but he has discovered only one other possible mention of this Pedro in New Spain. He accompanied the expedition in some capacity, and wrote his narrative twenty years afterward. Bancroft says he was a resident of Culican. —History of New Mexico, p. 37, note 11.

¹³ Was a captain in the expeditionary force, and this is all we know personally about this valiant conquistador.

it is of little practical importance whether Coronado traversed a region now in Missouri, in 1541, nevertheless every incident in the history of the past, be it ever so insignificant, has a historical value. The student possessed of the true historic spirit will always be interested to learn how far east Coronado with his followers came, the direction or course he followed, and where he finally found Quivira. Especially will the student of the history of Missouri be interested to know whether Coronado thought that he found this realm within the borders of this state. Coronado's expedition first revealed to the world the magnitude of the interior of the North American continent, the boundless plains, "so vast," he says in his letter to the king, "that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than three hundred leagues."¹⁴

Coronado began his celebrated historic march from Tiguex to Quivira on the twenty-third of April, 1541.¹⁵ Castaneda says that he proceeded "toward the plains, which are all on the other side of the mountains." Since these plains are situated east and northeast of the Rio Grande, the course of Coronado must have been east or northeast, and the statement of Winship that he marched northeast is undoubtedly correct.¹⁶ But it should be noted here that, in the *Relacion del Suceso*, it is said that Coronado "started with his whole army" to the east and south.¹⁷ Naturally, from Tiguex Coronado would first march to Cicuye, where Alvarado had found the Indian slave, designated in all the narratives as the "Turk." In the "*Relacion de Postrera de Sivola*" it is said that it is a journey of four days from Tiguex to this village, which in this narrative is called "Cicuic."¹⁸ Castaneda makes it "twenty-five marches, which means leagues, from there," thus confirming the statement, because the army would march about six leagues a day. Jaramillo gives four days to "Cicuique."¹⁹ It took Alvarado five days to go from Tiguex to Cicuye when he first went there.²⁰ This march also

¹⁴ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 581.

¹⁵ This is the date Coronado gives in his letter to the king, but Castaneda says the army started on the fifth of May.—14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology part i, p. 883.)

¹⁶ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, pp. 395 and 504.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 577.

¹⁸ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 570.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 587.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 491.

one hundred leagues east and fifty to the south.”²⁷ Incidentally we may observe that this would be the course he naturally would follow if he believed the story of the “Turk,” and if the “Turk” was guide, he would naturally lead the army that way. Coronado, in his letter to the king, does not give the direction in which he marched with the army, but Jaramillo says that, after crossing the river, “we turned more to the left hand,” which would be more to the northeast.²⁸ After marching thus for four or five days they “began to come across [buffalo] bulls,” and, marching for two or three days among the buffalo, “began to find themselves in the midst of a very great number of [buffalo] cows, yearlings, and bulls.” And now the Spaniards first met with the Indians of the plains, named by them Querechos. Here the Spaniards noticed that the Indians did not kill the male buffalo, but only the cows, and hence found hunting where the cows and yearlings herded. Du Pratz also says that when hunting with the Arkansas Indians he killed a male buffalo on the St. Francois river, and that the Indians said to him with a smile, “You kill the males; do you intend to make tallow?”²⁹ He then remonstrated with them as to their practice of killing the females, explaining that if they killed the bulls instead of the cows, the difference in profit would be very considerable. But, as stated, these Querechos moved with the cows, following and killing them just as the Arkansas Indians were accustomed to do when Du Pratz hunted with them two hundred years afterward. Coronado moved forward, in no wise delayed by these Querechos, in the same direction, i. e., northeast, for eight or ten days “along the streams which are among the cows,” in the buffalo country. All these streams run in an east and southeast direction, and it is along these streams that we must find the route of Coronado and his army. For this reason alone, Jaramillo’s statement that the “Turk,” who acted as guide from the time the army entered the plains, led Coronado off more to the east, following the course of streams, bears the impress of truth. Thus they marched twenty days “more in this direction,” and at the end of that time found another settlement “of the same sort of Indians” as those that they found at first on the plains. Here by signs, an old Indian told them that many days before “he

²⁷ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 577.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 588.

²⁹ DuPratz, “Louisiana,” vol. i, p. 228. London Ed., 1763.

had seen four others like us." So Jaramillo presumes that Nunez de Vaca and his companions must have passed that way.

The army now went into camp, and Coronado, admonished by the difficulties and perils that seemed to encompass him, ordered his captains to assemble to discuss the situation, and "what was best for all."³⁰ According to Jaramillo, the expedition had now marched thirty-six days since crossing the river, moving northeast or east "along those streams which are among the cows."

Comparing the account of Jaramillo with Castaneda, we find that Castaneda says that "after ten days they came to some settlements of people who lived like Arabs, and who were called Querechos"; that from these people Coronado learned that "there was a very large river over where the sun came from,"³¹ and that this river "was more than a league wide, and that there were many canoes in it." Castaneda in a manner agrees with Jaramillo as to the direction in which the army moved, and that since they left the settlements of the Pecos they had "marched between north and east," and adds, "but more toward the north." From these Querechos, Castaneda records, they also learned that the settlements were "all toward the east from where they were."³² Coronado now first heard of the "Haxa" or "Haya," who, the Querechos said, lived on the great river, and obtained from them "a great deal of information about settlements all toward the east." The army, according to Castaneda, after a march of thirty-seven days, reached a country well inhabited, where they had "plenty of kidney beans and prunes, like those of Castile, and tall vineyards," and these settlements were called "Cona." They encamped in a ravine "which was a league wide from one side to the other, with a little bit of a river at the bottom, and there were many groves of mulberry trees near it, and rose bushes, with the same sort of fruit that they have in France," and out of the unripe grapes "they made verjuice." They also found walnut-trees, and the Indians had the "same kind of fowls as in New Spain," and were "very intelligent." The women were "well made and modest," wore "cloaks over their small under-petticoats" with sleeves covered up at their shoulders, all made of skins.

The army, Castaneda writes, was now two hundred and fifty

³⁰ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 589.

³¹ Ibid, p. 504

³² Ibid, p. 505.

leagues from "the settlements"—that is to say, from the Tiguex country; and here, Coronado, according to Castaneda, determined to stop. With an escort of thirty horsemen and one half-dozen foot soldiers Coronado set out from this place "in search of Quivira." The army, under command of Tristan de Arellano, he ordered to return to Tiguex. In his letter to the king, although he does not state in what direction he marched, Coronado says that he traveled over the plains "more than three hundred leagues," that he met the Querechos after a march of seventeen days, and that five days afterward he "reached some plains with no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up by the sea," and where, he says, "the Querechos strayed about." He adds that while he "was lost in the plains" some of his horsemen fell in with other Indians, who "are called Teyas," by the Querechos. From the expression "lost in the plains" it has been assumed by Bandelier that Coronado was actually lost, that is to say, did not know in what direction he traveled or was traveling, that he wandered around in a circle in these vast prairies. But the various narratives show that he steadily moved east and northeast with his forces, with the exception, however, of the "Relacion del Suceso," which states that he moved southeast. It is certain, then, that by the expression "lost in the plains" Coronado did not mean to be understood as saying that he did not know in what direction he was marching, but rather that these plains were so vast in extent that he and his army were lost in their immensity, or, as General Simpson puts it, were "getting in a measure lost."³³ This is confirmed by a statement in the "Relacion del Suceso," where it is said that Coronado, after he ordered the army to return, himself traveled for "many days by the needle," and that after a march of thirty days he reached the river of Quivira below where the settlements were. This conclusively shows that he knew the direction in which he was moving. Winship says that "there is nothing to show that the Indian guides ever really lost their reckoning."³⁴

When the Spaniards went into camp, "resting" in the ravine "a league wide," they had marched two hundred and fifty leagues, a distance General Simpson³⁵ assumed to be seven or eight hundred miles from "the settlements," that is to say, from the Tiguex country,

³³ "Coronado's March," Rep. Smithsonian Inst. for 1869, p. 337.

³⁴ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 397, note.

³⁵ "Coronado's March," Smithsonian Report for 1869, p. 387.

or, as Bandelier says, "from Pecos," i. e., "Cicuye." Nor was this guess work, because, according to Castaneda,³⁶ it had been made "the duty of one man to measure and count the steps." This gave a pretty accurate idea of the distance traveled. If Coronado marched in a northeast direction, and if we give any credence to the narratives of Castaneda and Jaramillo, we must concede that he marched in that direction; it is certain that with his whole force he came pretty near to the western limits of Missouri. On the other hand, if we adopt the east and south direction given in the "Relacion del Suceso," to which Winship³⁷ gives greater credence, because, in his opinion, less subject to objection, Coronado unquestionably came into the present limits of the state of Arkansas, although Winship does not believe he marched as far as Castaneda says, namely, two hundred and fifty leagues, but rather adopts the statement in the "Relacion del Suceso" that he marched one hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred east and fifty south. When, however, we take into consideration the enthusiasm which every man must have felt to reach the land of Quivira, where all expected great wealth, and where the soldiers imagined that the caciques of the country slept under trees on the limbs of which hung golden bells, it is certain that the army moved at a rate of from eighteen to twenty miles a day. It is hardly probable, therefore, that in thirty-seven days the army marched only four hundred and fifty miles. Every man must have been animated by the spirit of the enterprise and the wealth and fortune he thought he was certain to secure. Even if we could adopt the statement of the anonymous "Relacion del Suceso," that Coronado marched southeast, we certainly could not believe that he covered only a distance of four hundred and fifty miles in thirty-seven days, and then turned his forces back. The statements of Castaneda and Jaramillo, wherever they can be verified, are usually found to be singularly correct; why, then, should we doubt their statement as to the distance or direction in which Coronado moved, especially when the methods by which the distance marched was ascertained are so well explained? They were both intelligent and observant. Jaramillo was a captain in the army. It is not stated in what capacity Castaneda accompanied the expedition, but it is certain that he was a man of ability and education, and it is conceded that his narrative

³⁶ I4 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 508.

³⁷ I4 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 398.

is remarkably clear and satisfactory.³⁸ Yet, it has been observed that he was not very friendly to Coronado.

On the whole, it must be conceded, in the words of General Simpson,³⁹ that Coronado marched "generally in a northeast direction, over extensive plains, through countless herds of buffaloes and prairie-dog villages," and that finally, after having traveled eastward for thirty-seven days, "a distance between seven and eight hundred miles, their provisions failing them, the main body turned back to Tiguex." Then leaving the army, Coronado, as we have seen, with thirty horsemen, Captain Jaramillo among them, and six foot soldiers, continued his search for Quivira. He was accompanied by some "Teyas" as guides, but they told him that Quivira was to the north, and that they would not find a good road thither. After remaining for two weeks in the ravines, the remainder of the force marched back and "covered in twenty-five days what it had taken thirty-seven days in going."⁴⁰ On this return march they found many salt lakes, and on the banks of a river all sorts of rose-bushes, "the fruit of which tasted like muscatel grapes." Along the same river they also found unripe grapes and currants, and Castaneda⁴¹ says it was believed that this river flowed "into the mighty river of Espiritu Santo, which the men with Hernando De Soto discovered in Florida," which, of course, would describe several rivers they crossed on their way back to Cicuye. A singular fact noted by the chronicler is, that the army reached the Cicuye river thirty leagues below where they crossed it. No explanation of this singular fact is offered. It would seem, however, to confirm the route of march southeast, as given in the "Relacion del Suceso," and after marching thirty-seven days in a southeast direction, we can well imagine that by marching directly west they might reach the river in twenty-five days thirty leagues below where they crossed it.

But to return to Coronado. According to the "Relacion del Suceso," after starting with his escort, "it pleased God that after thirty days' march we found the river Quivira, which is thirty leagues below the settlements." Castaneda says that "the general followed his guides until he reached Quivira, which took forty-eight

³⁸ H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 37.

³⁹ "Coronado's March," Smithsonian Report, p. 337.

⁴⁰ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 510.

⁴¹ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 510.

days' marching on account of the great detour they had made to Florida." Jaramillo, who ought to be a credible witness, because he was in the escort, says that after Coronado left the army, "we pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being toward the north, for more than thirty days' march, although not long marches, yet not having to go without water on any one of them; among the cows all the time, some days in larger numbers than others, according to the water which we came across, so that on St. Peter's and St. Paul's day we reached a river which we found to be below Quivira." They crossed the river and then marched northeast for three days, which would be about seventy-five miles, found some Indians hunting, "killing the cows to take the meat to their village, which is about three or four days still farther (sixty or seventy-five miles more) away from us." Coronado reached this village and there wrote a letter "to the governor of Harahey and Quibira, having understood that he was a Christian from the lost army of Florida." These villages were situated in a good river bottom and there were six or seven villages a considerable distance from each other, and "among which we traveled for four or five days," that is to say, from seventy-five to one hundred miles.⁴²

But now, perhaps chiefly on account of anxiety for the army he had left behind, and also, it may be, on account of the advance of the season, for it was the middle of August, and for fear that the winter might close up the roads with snow and ice, Coronado concluded to return. Accordingly, having provided himself with dry corn and fruit, he began his march back, and after forty days reached Cicuye. In the "Relacion del Suceso" it is said that Coronado returned by a more direct route; that in going they had traveled three hundred and thirty leagues, but in returning they traveled only two hundred leagues; that Quivira is in the fortieth degree, and the river in the thirty-sixth degree.⁴³ Coronado himself says that he reached Quivira in the fortieth degree, and that he found "prunes like those of Spain, and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries." The country,

⁴² Winsor thinks that in July and August, 1541, the expeditions of De Soto and Coronado must have been encamped so close together that in a few days an Indian runner might have carried tidings between them, and that Coronado, having actually heard of De Soto, sent this letter, but that the messenger failed to find De Soto's force.—Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. II, p. 292.

⁴³ 14 Report of Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 578.

he says,⁴⁴ is "the best I have ever seen," and "very fat and black" and "well watered by the rivulets, springs, and rivers."

Without attempting to reconcile the narratives where they differ, it is quite clear that Coronado and his escort must have found Quivira within the limits of Missouri. If Coronado followed the southeast course, as stated in the "Relacion del Suceso," for thirty-seven days, that is, traveled from seven to eight hundred miles east and south from the Pecos, which course may have carried him too far "toward Florida," as Castaneda says, a march due north of thirty days from where he left his army would pass through a country where daily he he would find water. On the contrary, if he had made a march north from a point only three hundred and fifty miles east of the Pecos, he undoubtedly would have suffered greatly for water. In the march from Pecos east the army at times suffered for water. Governor Prince, supposing that Coronado started from the canyons of the Canadian, thinks that "forty-eight days would carry Coronado to the Missouri without difficulty," and, all things considered, we can well suppose "that he traversed parts of the Indian Territory and Kansas and finally stopped on the borders of the Missouri somewhere between Kansas City and Council Bluffs."⁴⁵

If we assume that Coronado marched east, but bearing somewhat north, he must have reached a point at least one hundred miles north-east of the southwest corner of Missouri. Marching north with his escort along this route, he would find water daily, but marching north along a route one hundred and fifty miles farther west, undoubtedly he would have suffered for water.

Leaving this matter out of consideration, it is to be noted particularly that Castaneda⁴⁶ says the country "is level as far as Quivira," and that there "they began to see some mountain chains." These mountains mentioned undoubtedly refer to the Ozark ridges of Missouri and Arkansas, the first conspicuous elevation east of the plains, and separating these plains from the Mississippi valley. Comment-

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 582.

⁴⁵ "Historical Sketches of New Mexico," p. 141. The Journal of Pedro Vial, of his trip from Santa Fe to "San Luis de Ylinoa" made by order of Viceroy of Nuevo Espana, in 1792—and a copy of which I recently secured from the Archives of Spain, it seems to me throws some incidental light on this march of Coronado. Vial told Trudeau—that he could have made the journey from Santa Fe to St. Louis in twenty-five days, but for the Indians who captured and robbed him.

⁴⁶ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 528.

ing on this portion of the narrative, Judge Prince⁴⁷ says: "One thing appears distinct, however, that Quivira was on the edge of the great plains or prairie, and from it the mountains first became visible, and that it was situated on a small stream just east of the great river."

Coronado, in his letter to the king, refers to the fact that "the people here are large," and says that he "had several Indians measured, and found that they were ten palms in height." The only Indians noted and conspicuous for their size are the Osages. Their extraordinary height was noted by all the early travelers. Jaramillo says that when Coronado summoned "the lord of these parts, and the other Indians, he came with two hundred men, all naked, with bows and some sort of things on their heads," and says that this chief was a "big Indian with a large body and limbs well proportioned." The Osages shave their heads, with the exception of a scalp lock, which they adorn in a conspicuous manner, and this is the "some sort of things" that Jaramillo saw on their heads. Catlin⁴⁸ observes that all the Indians of the plains wore their hair long; and on the other hand, he says "The custom of shaving the head and ornamenting it with the crest of the deer's hair belongs to this tribe (i. e., the Kansas) and also to the Osages, the Pawnees, the Sacs and Foxes and Ioways, and to no other tribes that I know of, unless it be in some few instances where individuals have introduced it in their tribes, merely by way of imitation." The Kansas Indians are of the same stock as the Osages.⁴⁸ So, also, the Ioways belong to the same linguistic stock. When, therefore, Jaramillo observed the difference in the hair and headdress among the Indians, and recorded his observation, he gives us very distinct and unmistakable evidence that Coronado and his escort had reached a point far enough east to come in contact with the Indian tribes of the lower Missouri valley, or, at any rate, with those Indian tribes Dorsey says belonged to the linguistic Siouan stock, and who originally came down the Ohio and moved up the Missouri and thence up that river toward the plains, while another branch of this stock moved down the river. No incident related by Jaramillo is of greater significance to the student of this march of Coronado than this change in the decoration of the head, the "some sort of things on their heads" of the Indians of Quivira. The "Haxa" or "Hayas," which the Querechos said

⁴⁷ "Sketches of New Mexico," p. 141.

⁴⁸ Catlin's "New American Indians," vol. ii, p. 23.

lived on a great river, may refer to the Osages. According to Penicaut, these Osages were known as "Wahas," afterward more particularly spelled by Sibley "Washawhas," the name of this tribe being variously pronounced and written.

It may be that at that time the Osages resided on or near the Missouri, perhaps near the mouth of the Osage river, and the Kansas Indians at the mouth of the Kansas river or east of the mouth of this river. It is possible that even at that time the Osages had some of their villages on the upper Osage, where they were subsequently visited by the French explorers. The Indian tribe referred to by Castaneda as the "Guas" undoubtedly refers to the "Kaws" or "Quans," afterward known as the "Kanza," "Canze," "Kansaw," and Kansas. At any rate, a distinct resemblance can be recognized in the sound, if not the spelling, of these names. These "Guas," says Castaneda, were at war with the "Teyas," the Indians of the plains. These "Teyas" and the "Cayas" mentioned by Garcilasso de la Vega seem also to be the same people. So, also, "Cano" and "Tanico" apparently are the same name. When we take into account the unknown and barbaric sound which these Indian names must have had for the Spaniards when they first heard them, it is surprising that the difference in spelling is not greater. Coronado observes that the Indians found in Quivira had the advantage over the Indians of the plains in the houses they built and in planting corn; thus referring to the Osages, who, as far as known, always planted corn and pumpkins. The "Kaws" or "Quans" also raised corn. This was made possible by their situation. The Indians of the plains could not protect their corn from the buffalo, and corn, even now, is an uncertain crop in central and western Kansas and Nebraska. A barbarian will not engage in uncertain agriculture. If there is absolute certainty of a crop he may be induced to plant, otherwise not. The bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries yield a certain return for every planting. In addition, the hilly character of the country enabled the Indian to protect and guard his crops.

Finally, the country graphically pictured by Jaramillo certainly describes western Missouri. He says: "This country presents a very fine appearance, than which I have not seen a better in all our Spain, nor Italy, nor any part of France, nor indeed, in the other countries where I have traveled in his majesty's service; for it is

not a very rough country, but it is made up of hillocks and plains, and very fine appearing rivers and streams which certainly suit me and made me sure that it will be very fruitful in all sorts of products." The narratives all say that the country abounded in fruit, "a variety of Castilian prunes which are not all red, but some of them black and green," and that there were "grapes along some of the streams of fair flavor not to be improved upon." If this description could possibly identify the locality, Coronado certainly found Quivira in Missouri.⁴⁹ But Castaneda further says that the great river of Espiritu Santo, either meaning the Missouri or Mississippi, "flows through this country" and passes through a province called "Ara-che," perhaps the country of the Arkansas Indians, or, as spelled by the early travelers, 'Akensea,' about which he said he obtained "reliable information when at Quivira." It should be noted that the Arkansas Indians dwelt near the mouth of the Ohio river nearly four hundred years ago. Quivira, it is said in the narratives, "is well settled."⁵⁰ The only well settled Indian country east of the Pecos, measured by the Indian standard, was on the Mississippi river, and to some extent on the lower Missouri and its tributaries. Coronado was looking for a settled country where people lived in houses, raised corn and vegetables, not for roving bands of Indians, or Querechos, as he called them. It is certain that at that time the territory of Kansas and Nebraska was not a well-settled Indian country, although it is possible some Indian villages may have existed on the banks of the Missouri, where they may have raised some corn.

Our conclusion is, that in what is now central Missouri, or possibly on the Mississippi below the mouth of the Missouri, Coronado finally thought he found Quivira. Here, after so many hardships and labors, and no doubt sore disappointments, he erected a cross, says valiant Captain Jaramillo, at the foot of which these words were chiseled: "Francesco Vasquez de Coronado, General of the Army, arrived here."

⁴⁹ From this description of the fauna and flora, it has been attempted to prove that Coronado's expedition reached Nebraska.—Nebraska Historical Society, vol. i, p. 198.

⁵⁰ 14 Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i, p. 528.

CHAPTER V

Exploration a Spanish Trait of Character—Spanish Adventurers Attracted by Fabled Riches and Inaccessibility of Quivira—Illegal Expedition of Bonilla and Humana in 1594—They Quarrel, Bonilla Killed—Humana Reaches the Great Settlements and Crosses a Broad River—He and His Followers, Except Alonzo Sanchez, Massacred—Expedition of Don Juan de Onate to Quivira—Battle with Escanjaques or Arkansas Indians—Expedition of Alonzo Vaca in 1634—Expedition of Don Diego Dionisios de Penalosa y Briceno—Narrative of Padre Freytas Discredited—Interesting Career and Vicissitudes of Penalosa—Conflict with the Spanish Inquisition—Wanderer and an Exile—French Naval Expedition of La Salle Attributed to Penalosa—Account of Penalosa's Expedition to Quivira.

The Spaniards were indefatigable explorers. Failure and disappointments seem only to have stimulated them to greater endeavors. Boldly and courageously they pushed into the wilderness interior of the continent, fascinated and beguiled by the hope of discovering new and unknown realms of marvelous wealth and splendor. The failure of Pamphilo de Narvaez did not dampen their enthusiasm. The fruitless march of Coronado in search of Quivira did not destroy their glowing expectations, and the tragic fate of De Soto did not restrain their boundless enterprise. Many of these adventurers perished in their wanderings. Doubtless many tales of hardships and endurance among savage Indians have passed unknown and unsung into the abyss of oblivion, because unchronicled by any survivor. Only here and there we find a scanty record of larger and more important enterprises.

Quivira, especially on account of its great distance from the sea, its inaccessibility and supposed riches, filled the minds of the Spanish adventurers for over a century with visions of wealth. Thus we learn that Francisco Leiva Bonilla and Juan de Humana, in 1594, moved by the current reports, started from Nuevo Viscaya on an expedition to Quivira. This enterprise was denounced as illegal and traitorous, but this did not stop the adventurers. Out on the plains Bonilla and Humana quarreled. Bonilla was killed, and Humana then assumed the command of the *filibusteros*. Not long afterward he came to great settlements, and passing through these he reached a broad river which he crossed on rafts, and then on his return, so the

story goes, while encamped on the plains, "gold laden" it was supposed with spoils from that fabled land, the Indians set fire to the plains, rushed upon him, and he and his followers were massacred, except one, Alonzo Sanchez, who afterward became a great chief among the Indians. Three Mexican Indians who were with him deserted him in time to escape the disaster, and one of these, Jose, afterward related the story of the incidents of this *contra bando* enterprise. There is scarcely any doubt that Humana penetrated as far east as Coronado, perhaps farther. The statement that he found large settlements, that he traveled through these and then crossed a broad river on a raft, would seem to indicate that he reached the Indian villages on the Mississippi or Missouri.¹

The illegal enterprise of Humana seems to have stimulated Don Juan de Onate², at that time governor and captain-general of New Mexico, who had been ordered to arrest the illegal *entrada* of Bonilla and Humana, to undertake an expedition to discover the mythical Quivira. He found the Indian deserter, Jose, and from him no doubt learned many particulars as to the route Humana followed, and the countries he discovered. In June, 1602, accompanied by two priests and eighty soldiers, he began his march from San Juan de los Caballeros, then, and for several years afterward, the capital of New Mexico. It was situated at the junction of the Rio Chama and the Rio Grande, and was the center of political and military operations.³ Onate is supposed to have followed Coronado's route for two hundred leagues, but Posadas, a good authority in the opinion of Bancroft, says that Onate marched three hundred leagues in search of Quivira, but again the course in which he marched is uncertain. If Onate moved in a direction slightly northeast three hundred leagues (nine hundred miles), such a march would bring him

¹ H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 108.

² Don Juan de Onate was a rich citizen of Zacatecas, son of the *conquistador*, Don Cristobal de Onate. His wife was a granddaughter of Montezuma. In 1595 he made a contract with the viceroy of Mexico to conquer and colonize New Mexico, and was authorized to raise an army at his own expense for the purpose. In case he carried out his agreement it was agreed that he should receive a large donation of land, title of nobility and liberal *encomiendas* and many other rewards for himself and followers. He was a man of great energy, enterprise, and indomitable will, and conducted many expeditions. He was governor and captain-general of New Mexico until about 1608. Nothing definite is known as to his subsequent career, or where he died.—*Vide* Prince's "Historical Sketches of New Mexico," p. 110 *et seq.*

³ H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 131.

near the Mississippi. Among other events, it is recorded that Onate engaged in a battle with the "Escanjaques," perhaps the same Indians afterward known as the "Akansea" or Arkansas, at that time dwelling near the mouth of the Ohio. In this expedition large villages were seen by some of those marching in advance, who claimed that they found utensils of gold.⁴ Undoubtedly the most noteworthy circumstance of Onate's march, bearing on the history of Missouri, is the fact that he met in battle the "Escanjaques." For, if we are correct in assuming that these Indians can be none other than the Arkansas, or, as the name was spelled by the early French travelers and explorers, "Akansea," it would almost conclusively show that Onate traversed territory now within the limits of Missouri in the summer of 1601, three hundred years ago. The "Escanjaques" were then at war with the "Quivirans." The Indians were always engaged in war with each other. The Spaniards were always looking for gold, and they measured the value of a country solely by the gold they found in it; hence they always at least heard of gold. So the chronicler reports that not far away in the country of the "Aijados" gold is said to be plentiful. For us the name and word "Aijados" is also interesting. May not these be the Ayovois⁵ Ayoois,⁶ Pa-hojas,⁷ who had their lodges on the Missouri river? After several months Onate returned, reporting that he had found no gold, no silver, but that he had heard rumors that the precious metals were plentiful in the interior of the country farther away. Subsequently, in 1606, it is said that eight hundred Quivira Indians visited Onate at his capital in New Mexico with an "Axtaos" prisoner, and asked for aid in their war with these "Axtaos." Is not this name another form of the name "Escanjaques" we already know? It is left for us to imagine whether these tribes bearing names having a resemblance, at least in sound, to the names of Indian tribes subsequently found to have their habitat in the region traversed by other early explorers, are indeed the same tribes.

It is recorded that in 1634 another expedition from New Mexico, under Captain Alonzo Vaca, marched east three hundred leagues to the great river across which was Quivira, but no particulars are

⁴ H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 151.

⁵ Margry, "Les Couriers des Bois," vol. vi., p. 396.

⁶ Ibid. p. 423.

⁷ "Long's Expedition," vol. i, p. 339.

accessible. The fact, however, that this explorer marched three hundred leagues east of Sante Fe would lead to the conclusion that he must have entered the limits of the present state of Missouri.

In addition, we have a history of an expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Penalosa y Briceno,⁸ who was governor and captain-general of New Mexico in 1661-4, which deserves some notice here, but the narrative of Padre Freytas, one of the friars who claims that he accompanied this expedition, is much discredited. In fact, the whole story of this expedition is pronounced a fiction by Bancroft,⁹ and to sustain his conclusion he relies upon the fact that Padre Posadas, who was *custodio* during Penalosa's term of office, makes no mention whatever of it.¹⁰ Duro, a Spanish historian, several years prior to the publication of Bancroft's history, expressed a similar opinion. So Penalosa is pronounced summarily "an adventurer and embustero," i. e., impostor. Yet Penalosa was a member of a distinguished family. He had filled many important positions under the Spanish government in Peru and Mexico.

Before examining the probable causes why discredit has been thrown on the narrative of his expedition, and accepting the judgment so arbitrarily pronounced upon his career and character, it will not be uninteresting to learn something more of his descent and positions he held. In Margry¹¹ is found a short biography of Penalosa, perhaps written by himself. From this, it appears that he was born at Lima, the capital of Peru, in the year 1624. Pedro Arias de Avila, governor of the Indies when De Soto came across the sea, was one of his ancestors. Diego de Ocampo, admiral of the South Seas, and Pedro de Valdivia, who at his own cost conquered the kingdom of Chili, were his great-grandfathers. His grandfather, Diego de Penalosa, held many important offices in Peru, and his father, Don Alonzo, held the position of governor of Arequipa and Aricacas and other positions, and was a knight of Calatrava. Don Diego himself, when he was a very young man, held the office of governor of Omasuyos, was alcalde of Cuzco and finally provincial alcalde of the city of La Paz and five dependent provinces, in which office he lost fifty thousand crowns. On account of a quarrel with his brother, the

⁸ In Margry spelled "Penalossa," vol. iii., p. 39.

⁹ H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 169.

¹⁰ See note 66, H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 170.

¹¹ Margry, "Recherche des Bouches du Mississipi," vol. iii., p. 39.

Count de Salvatierra, viceroy of Peru, he abandoned the country, embarking at Calloa in the year 1652. The vessel in which he sailed foundered, and by this shipwreck he lost forty thousand crowns, saving only ten or twelve thousand crowns in pearls and jewelry. After arriving at Panama he concluded to visit his uncle, Alonzo Bricenoy Cordova, bishop of Nicaragua, but on his voyage he suffered a second shipwreck, and reached his uncle in an impoverished condition. His uncle equipped him with everything necessary. He went from Nicaragua to Mexico, where he was received with great favor by the viceroy, the duke of Albuquerque. Shortly after his arrival the duke gave him command of a company of infantry, and in 1655 made him commandant of all the infantry sent to Vera Cruz to succor the fleet assembled there under the command of the Marques de Mont-Alegre, who had taken refuge in that port to avoid Cromwell's squadron of sixty-eight vessels, that had seized the island of Jamaica. While at Vera Cruz the viceroy ordered Penalosa to Havana with his troops to guard that important place, and there he remained for eleven months. When he returned he was made alcalde-major or governor of the province of Xiquilpa and Chilchota, and lieutenant-general of Mechoacan, and during the vice-royalty of the duke of Albuquerque filled other important positions. When the Marques de Banos succeeded in the vice-royalty, owing to the many complaints made against Don Lopez de Mendizaval, the governor of New Mexico, who had become embroiled in disputes with the officers of the Inquisition and its partisans in 1660, he was appointed governor and captain-general of that province to adjust the troubles there. In 1661 he started for his government, then no inconsiderable journey, remaining two months in Zacatecas, waiting for his baggage, and one month at Parral, in New Biscay, to obtain the necessary supplies. After he arrived in New Mexico he quickly adjusted all differences existing there, made war upon the Apaches, who had annoyed the settlers, and forced them to sue for peace; established two new towns, erected many new public buildings, and explored new territories. But, like most of his predecessors, he had the misfortune to become embroiled with the officers of the Inquisition, who claimed unlimited powers and assumed to act independently in all matters. To arrest, so he claimed, their tyrannical and extravagant pretensions, he was compelled to imprison the principal commissioner in the rooms of his palace for eight days, in the hope that this lesson

would moderate his pretensions. But when, in 1664, Penalosa returned to Mexico in order to lay before the viceroy further plans of discovery and conquest, on his arrival he was promptly arrested by the officers of the Inquisition and imprisoned for thirty-two months. All his actions and everything he said had been reported. His property, valued at three hundred thousand crowns, was sold for eighty-six thousand crowns to pay a fine of fifty-one thousand crowns, and the remaining thirty thousand crowns were never paid to him. He was marched bare-headed through the streets of Mexico, carrying a green candle, for having talked against the *Santo Officio*, and said things bordering on blasphemy.¹² He was deprived of his government and declared incapable of holding any other position in New Spain. In order to secure relief from what he claimed to be persecutions, Penalosa determined to go to Spain. Leaving Mexico, he went to Vera Cruz in 1668 to sail to Havana, expecting to receive money there from Peru, but his misfortune followed him, and the terror of the Inquisition was so great that he never received any relief from Peru. In 1669, after waiting a long time in Havana, he embarked for Spain. On arriving at the Canary Islands he was detained, but finally in an English vessel reached London where he was presented to the king and the duke of York. However, here he was treated as a suspect by the Spanish ambassador, and from England went to France. In France he also received no encouragement from the Spanish government, and it is said in Margry that, owing to all these misfortunes and persecutions, he resolved to live under the protection "du plus grand Roy du monde, en attendant quelque rencontre favorable pur le retablissement de ses affaires."¹³ From this, the conclusion seems fair, at any rate, that Penalosa belonged to a distinguished Spanish-American family, and that he cannot in any proper acceptation of the term be considered an adventurer and *embustero*. According to Freytas, his wife was a granddaughter of Hernando Cortez.

Very little is known about his administration of New Mexico while he was governor and captain-general of that province. Only one order, dated Santa Fe 1664, bears his autograph, an order which provided that Indians shall not be employed in spinning and weaving without the governor's license; that friendly Indians shall be well

¹² H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 169.

¹³ Margry, "Recherche des Bouches du Mississippi," vol. iii., p. 44.

treated, but that hostile Indians coming to trade must not be admitted into the towns, but lodge outside. The fact, however, that, like his predecessor, he became involved in conflict with the *Santo Officio*, stands out prominently. Naturally enough, therefore, Padre Posadas,¹⁴ the *custodio*, would say very little, if anything, about Penalosa. His conviction ended his career in Spanish-America and Spain. In France, until his death in Paris in 1687, he was engaged in interesting the French government in organizing an enterprise for the conquest of New Biscay and New Mexico. No doubt his endeavors were very distasteful to the Spanish government, and aroused toward him great hostility. That these efforts alarmed the Spanish government is shown inferentially by two Spanish royal orders for the conquest of Quivira, one made in 1675 and another in 1678.¹⁵ His efforts and intrigues in some way were closely connected with the naval expedition of La Salle in 1682-7, ostensibly intended for the mouth of the Mississippi, but which landed on the coast of Texas, apparently bent on an invasion of New Mexico.¹⁶ It also should not be overlooked that generally it was the policy of the Spanish government to suppress the details and results of exploring expeditions, and thus may have emanated the statement that Penalosa "made no such *entrada*" and that Padre Freytas had invented the report he published afterward.

Without, however, attempting to decide as to the truthfulness of Padre Freytas' narrative of this expedition of Penalosa, we cannot well omit to give its details as recorded by him, leaving the reader to judge of the intrinsic probability of at least some of the main features of this narrative. Taking, then, the story of Padre Freytas as our guide, Don Diego Dionisio de Penalosa, in the early spring of 1662, moved with an expedition eastward to find Quivira. He was accompanied by eighty Spanish soldiers, all well armed, and one thousand Indian allies with bows and arrows, six three-pounders, eight hundred horses, and three hundred mules. Thirty-six carts carried his provisions and ammunition; and for himself, not unmindful of his

¹⁴ How long Posadas was *custodio* is not quite clear. He says that Onate marched 300 leagues (900 miles) east from Santa Fe, in 1606, in search of Quivira, reaching the country of the Aigados (Iowas?). (See note 4, H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 149). *Custodio* in 1662 and when Penalosa marched to Quivira. Bancroft says that Padre Posadas is erroneously called Paredes.

¹⁵ See note 65, H. H. Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," p. 169.

¹⁶ Margry, "Rapports de l'Abbé Bernou," vol. iii., p. 73 *et seq.*

own comfort, he had provided a coach and litter, and two portable chairs. Father Freytas says that Penalosa marched eastward for two hundred leagues. Then he describes the country through which they passed, thus: "all through pleasing, peaceful, and most fertile fields, and so level that in all of them no mountains, or range, or any hill was seen, which finally ended at a very high and insuperable ridge which is near the sea, eight leagues beyond the great city of Quivira, called Taracari; and so agreeable and fertile are they that in all the Indies and Peru and New Spain, nor in Europe have any other such been seen, so pleasant and delightful, and covered with buffaloes or cows of Cibola, which caused notable admiration." The explorers, starting from Mexico, going east, always looked for the sea, and imagined that it was to be found just beyond the Ozarks that fringed the eastern horizon of the plains, and hence the statement that the sea was only eight leagues beyond Quivira is not surprising. They had no conception of the magnitude of the Mississippi valley, and likely considered the Ozark hills merely the outrunners of the Appalachian range, which they knew faced the Atlantic.

Penalosa, as he progressed farther, found more and greater herds of buffaloes "and many very beautiful rivers, marshes, and springs, studded with luxuriant forest and fruit trees of various kinds, which produce palatable plums, large and fine grapes in great clusters, and of extremely good flavor, like those of Spain, and even better . . . abundance of roses, strawberries without end, small but savory; many Castilian partridges, quails, turkeys, sandpipers, pheasants, deer, stags, elk in very great number, and even one kind as large and developed as our horse." And so he marched on, as his chronicler says, "through these pleasant and most fertile fields, during the months of March, April, May, and the kalends of June, and arrived at a large river which they call the Mischipi, where we saw the first Indians of the Excanxaques (Arkansas) nation, who might be to the number of three thousand, most warlike, well armed and equipped in their manner, who were going to attack the first city of the Quiviras, who are their enemies, and are destroying themselves by continual wars."

With these Indians he made peace, and they marched, says Freytas, "with us that day up by the borders of that beautiful river, which is rapid, and forms in parts very delightful and beautiful prairies, so fertile that in some they gather the fruit twice a year, and great

forests in parts at distances of two, four, six, and ten leagues, and strange trees not seen until this place. From this point we turned our route northward, following the river, which drew its current from thence, leaving the east on our right, and that day the army halted in the prairies by the river, and the Excanxaques Indians lodged somewhere apart; and it is worth noting what they did that evening, which was their going to the number of six hundred to hunt cibolas (buffaloes), which they found very near, and in less than three hours they returned, each bringing one, two, and some three cows' tongues from the incredible slaughter which they made of them. The next day the army marched, and after going four leagues we discovered the great range already mentioned, which ran from east to north, covered with smokes, by which they gave notice of the arrival of the Christian army, and soon after we discovered the great settlement of the city of Quivira situated on the widespread prairies of another beautiful river, which came from the range to enter and unite with that which we had hitherto followed."

Here, Penalosa is said to have crossed the great river which served him as a guide, and in sight of a so-called city, halted in the prairie, and the Escanxaques were ordered to retire and not to enter "the city" until commanded otherwise, and they did this, much against their will, because they wanted to destroy it with the aid of the Spaniards. Freytas tells us that the people were so numerous "who appeared before the great settlement, men, women and children, that it excited wonder, and then seventy head chiefs came very well attired in their style with neat chamois and buckskin, and caps and bonnets of ermine, and they welcomed the Senor Adelantado with the greatest marks of love and respect that they could. His illustrious lordship received them with pleasure and ordered them to be entertained, and he gave them some presents with his accustomed liberality, endeavoring to quiet their minds, which were disturbed by the alarm which they had felt on seeing him and the Excanxaques, their avowed enemies, as well as to gain their good will for the furtherance of his expedition, and giving them to understand the friendly intercourse that they would maintain with them; and from the outset impressing this on them, not only by words but also by most devoted affection and example . . . and afterwards his lordship received a present of a great quantity of ermine, buckskin, chamois, marten, otter, beaver, and sable skins, and a quantity of Indian corn in grain and bread, beans

and pumpkins, sandpipers, turkeys, partridges, and rabbits, and much fresh fish which the Indians brought, giving him to understand that he should receive them as a mark of their good will till the next day, when he might enter their city, which was on the other bank of the rapid river, and that they would serve him with much love and all possible hospitality.

“With this they returned to their houses with very courteous supplies for the governor and chiefs of the city. . . . The Senor Adelantado detained two of those chiefs that evening, and that night, with fair words and better deeds; they were examined questioned as to their land and the qualities of it and its tribes. . . . The account of these caciques and the questions of Don Diego and the Father chaplains lasted till midnight, at which hour they were sent to sleep; but they, seeing themselves alone and among such strange and foreign folk and that their enemies, the Escanxaques, were so near, fled, and crossed the river to their city, which at sunrise was depopulated and without inhabitants, because their enemies, the Escanxaques, without being observed by our men, slipped off and attacked the city, killing, burning, and destroying all they could; on which surprise his lordship ordered the army to cross the river, and it was forded with difficulty, as it was night, and he encamped at the entrance of the town, which is situated on the delightful banks of another river, which runs through the midst of it, and the houses and streets are on both banks. The shape of the buildings for the most part is round, two or three and four stories, covered with straw, with wonderful skill, and the framework of coleo, curcura, or oate, which are all three names of a solid cane, strong and full of knots, of which walking-sticks are usually made, which does not grow in warm climates; and as we observed in what we saw, they plant twice a year, as some fields were ready to harvest and others were planting. We could find no Indian to act as interpreter, as all had fled, fearing the great fury of their enemies the Escanxaques, whom they supposed to be favored by and in alliance with our men, and to arrest the conflagration of the city it was necessary for the army to march in two bodies, and that the one with the Maestro de Campo should spend most of the day in keeping back the Escanxaques.

“The next morning the army marched through the town, some two leagues, and having counted thousands of houses, halted on the

bank of another river, which also entered it; and it was remarked that every quarter of a league, a little more or less, highways entered the city of sixteen paths and some more, well beaten and even, which came down from the lofty range, which was some six leagues distant from the buildings.

"From this point, the *Senor Adelantado* sent a squad of twenty-five soldiers with *Sergeant Major Francis de Madrid* to go and explore all the town, without their being able to reach the end of the streets, and when farthest on they discerned more of the town, and more smokes of the ridge, which ran along the right side of the city toward the north.

"Before arriving at this town we passed many very large rivers and most of these rivers very deep to run *asequias* for irrigation, and the soil black, strong, fertile, and covered with grass; and in conclusion all the plain from the city of *Quivira* to the ridge, which must be six or seven leagues, seemed a paradise; and *Senor Don Diego*, seeing that it was useless to follow men who fled, and as he had no orders to make new discoveries, from that part, turned back to these provinces on the eleventh of June. . . . There were on this expedition men of various nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and all unanimously declared that they had never seen so fertile, pleasant, and agreeable a country as that."

It has been supposed that the country so traversed and described was situated north of the Missouri river, but this is highly improbable. Starting from *Santa Fe* and marching in a course a little north of east, *Penalosa* must have seen the western slopes of the Ozarks, in the present state of Arkansas or southwest Missouri. There, he would find "a very high and insuperable ridge," which he supposed to be near the sea, and beyond this ridge, on the eastern slopes of the Ozarks, he found *Quivira*, so he marched ahead, finding the country "pleasant and delightful," full of beautiful rivers and springs, with marshes we now call swamps, and fruit trees of every kind, and grapes of fine flavor, "like those of Spain, and even better," and finally, after marching through this pleasant and most fruitful land "during the months of March, April, May, and the kalends of June," they found "a large river which they called the *Michipi*." So, if this march is not altogether a fiction, that *Penalosa* did find the Mississippi (or a large tributary like the White) is confirmed by the fact that he there "saw the first Indians of the Escan-

xaques nation," that is to say, the Arkansas tribe of Indians, then dwelling along the Mississippi (as well as on the White and St. Francois), between the mouth of the Ohio and Arkansas rivers, just as Joliet, and Marquette, and La Salle afterward found them in their chief village, Kapaha, and which may well be the "Taracari" of Freytas. From here the Senor Adelantado marched up the river, or as the chronicler says, "up by the borders of that beautiful river which is rapid."

As usual, a state of war existed among the Indians. The Arkansas tribe accompanied the expedition, and being now on the Mississippi, the range of hills run to the north; in other words, Penalosa had on one side the great river and on the other side the hills, "covered with smokes, by which they gave notice of the arrival of the Christian army," and soon they discovered "the great settlement of Quivira." The chronicler calls it also the "City of Quivira." But, it is evident that when he calls it a "great settlement," he gives us a correct idea of what he really means and saw. It undoubtedly was a populous Indian settlement, extending for many miles. From these settlements numerous paths led to the hunting grounds in the prairies and into the hills. Here the Indians, unharmed by the buffalo, "plant twice a year, as some fields were ready to harvest and others were planting." It is in the rich alluvial bottoms of northeast Arkansas and southeast Missouri, along the Mississippi, the St. Francois, Black, White, and other rivers, running parallel with the Mississippi and into it, and covered with many aboriginal remains, that Penalosa might have witnessed this, but certainly not north of the Missouri river, in Kansas or Nebraska, where some writers have endeavored to locate Quivira.

As Penalosa marched north, he discovered another "beautiful river, which came from the range of hills, to enter and unite with the stream which they had hitherto followed." But to what stream reference is made cannot now be determined. That it was not a large stream is shown by the fact that the army crossed by fording it. After crossing this stream, the army encamped at the entrance of the town, which it is said was situated "on the delightful banks of another river, which runs through the midst of it, and the houses and streets are on both banks." Evidently it was some creek, or stream, like the Castor, the Big river, or Maramec, in southeast Missouri. Here the Escanxaques clandestinely crossed over into the settlement of

Quivira and began their work of destruction, and after a futile attempt to enter into negotiations with the Quivirians, Penalosa marched home, "as he had no orders to make new discoveries." On his march, on this expedition, Don Diego crossed many great rivers, "very deep" and capable of being utilized for irrigation, and in conclusion, the veracious chronicler says that "all the plain from the city [settlement] of Quivira to the ridge [the Ozark hills], which must be six or seven leagues [about the distance from the Mississippi to the highlands, in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Ohio], seemed a paradise." The fact that the narrative of Freytas exaggerates and magnifies the discoveries and population of the countries through which he says Penalosa marched is in and of itself not sufficient reason for us to discredit this expedition entirely. Like all other Spanish narrators of exploring expeditions of that age, he gives a vivid, lively and exaggerated account of what he saw, or thought he saw, and experienced. The general description of the country is as accurate as can well be expected, and it remains for us to separate what may be fictitious and exaggerated from what is true.

But from these conjectures let us turn to the explorers of another nation, who are about to lift the veil that shrouded in mystery the great river and its countless tributaries.

CHAPTER VI

Gulf claimed as a "Spanish Inland Sea"—Discovery of Mississippi made from headwaters to Sea—Indefatigable French Explorers of Canada—Rumors of the "Great River"—Radisson and Groseilliers, their voyages—Navigate the "Forked River" in 1669—Mention the Osages—Jean Nicolet probably sailed on the Mississippi in 1634—Father Allouez first mentions the river by its present name—Missionaries hope to reach the Sea of Florida or that of California by following its waters—Louis XIV impressed with the importance of finding a route to the South Sea from Canada—Joliet employed to explore this river—Marquette associated with him—Start on their voyage of discovery in 1673—Find the Peorias and Mongwenas on the Des Moines—Locate their villages in what is now Missouri—Discover the mouth of the Missouri—Pass the narrows at Grand Tower—Find iron deposits in Perry County, Missouri—Mention the conglomerate caving bluffs near Apple Creek—Pass the mouth of the Ohio—Meet Indians who have intercourse with Europeans—Stop at the village of the Arkansas and then return north—Joliet loses his papers and journal in the St. Lawrence—La Salle receives a commission to explore the Mississippi—Begins his voyage of discovery December, 1681—Reaches Kapaha March 12th—Reaches the Gulf April 6th—Takes possession of the valley of the Mississippi in the name of France, under the name of Louisiana—Copy of *Procès Verbal*.

As Spain claimed exclusive dominion of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, considering it a Spanish "inland sea," it would seem, naturally, the discovery of the Mississippi, emptying its vast waters into the Gulf, ought to have been made from the mouth to its headwaters by the Spaniards. The discovery of this great river and the territory drained by it, however, was made inversely, as it were, from its headwaters to its mouth, and thus, by right of discovery, a new political power planted on the shores of this southern sea. Enterprising French explorers, with and without government sanction, starting west from the seat of French power on the St. Lawrence, were indefatigable in widening the sphere of French trade and French influence in what would now be called the "Hinterland" of Canada. Jesuit missionaries who were unremitting in their labors and full of enthusiastic hope of converting the untutored savages dwelling and roving in the wild and unknown wilderness, often, like Menard and Marquette, perished alone in forests. The story of the "great river," said to be "over three leagues in width," and offering an easy route to the "Vermillion sea," or "the Sea of Japan

and China," or "the Gulf of Mexico," fired the imagination of the people as well as that of the representatives of the French crown.

Eleven years before Marquette and Joliet, and fourteen years before La Salle, Pierre d'Espirit, Sieur Radisson¹ and his brother-in-law, Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers,² saw the Mississippi and paddled their bark canoe on its waters. Radisson and Groseilliers were bold and daring *voyageurs des bois*, and constant companions in their wanderings through the pathless and unbroken wilderness of the west, and from 1658 to 1664 were alternately in the employ of France and England, as their fancy or self-interests dictated. Radisson made notes of his individual and his joint travels with Groseilliers from 1652 to 1664, and these he copied out in 1665. They relate to four distinct voyages west from Canada. The narratives were not intended for publication, but for the perusal of Charles II. of England, whose patronage and favor these adventurers were seeking in 1684. In some way the narratives came into the possession of Samuel Pepys, the celebrated diarist, who was secretary of the admiralty, both under Charles II. and James II. The Pepys papers fell into the hands of a London shop-keeper who used some of them as waste-paper, but in 1750 Richard Rawlinson, a famous collector, rescued many of these papers from oblivion, and among them chanced to find the priceless narrative of Radisson, from 1652 to 1664. Radisson was not a scholar. He wrote in a language the grammatical forms of which he knew but indifferently; hence these narratives are unique specimens of English.³

¹ Sieur Radisson was born at St. Malo, and in 1656, at Three Rivers, married Elizabeth Hainault, and after her death a daughter of Sir John Kirk or Kerth. He and Groseilliers were engaged in many joint explorations of the west, and for some reason abandoned the interest of their country for England; in 1668 they secured a ship from Charles II. and established themselves on Hudson's Bay. They founded the Hudson Bay Company in 1670, and remained in the employ of the English until 1681, when they returned to France and took command of a French expedition to establish the French on Hudson's Bay and drive out the English they had established there. In 1683 they returned to Europe and again entered the English service. Radisson went back to the Hudson's Bay country, but Groseilliers remained in England, where he died.

² Groseilliers was born, according to Sulte ("Canadien Francaise," vol. ii., p. 144), in 1625 at St. Cyr, in Brie, France; arrived in Canada in 1641, about 16 years old, and was in the service of the Jesuits in 1645-6 in the Hudson Bay country. In 1647 he married Helene, widow of Claude Etienne, a daughter of Abraham Martin, from whom the "Plains of Abraham," famous in the annals of Canada, derive their name. Her mother was Marguerite Langlois, daughter of Noel Langlois. His wife died in 1651, and in 1653 he married Margaret Radisson, a sister of his friend and fellow explorer.

³ 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 64.

The Jesuit "Relations" refer to the departure and return of these adventurers on what may be termed their second voyage. Although not named, they are sufficiently identified. According to this narrative,⁴ "On the 6th day of August, 1654, two young Frenchmen, full of courage, having received permission from Monsieur the governor of the country to embark with some of the people who had come down to our French settlements, began a journey of more than five hundred leagues, under the guidance of these argonauts, conveyed not in great galleons or large oared barges, but in little gondolas of bark. The two pilgrims fully expected to return in the spring of 1655, but these peoples did not conduct them home until toward the end of August of this year, 1656. Their arrival caused the country universal joy, for they were accompanied by fifty canoes, laden with goods which the French come to this end of the world to procure. The fleet rode in state and in fine order along our mighty river, propelled by five hundred arms, and guided by as many eyes, most of which had never seen the great wooden canoes of the French,—that is to say, their ships." Radisson's narratives make it clearly apparent that these adventurers whose departure and arrival are thus chronicled were, a few years afterwards, the first Europeans who discovered both the waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri.

In June, 1658, Radisson and Groseilliers made their third voyage, going up the Ottawa river to Lake Huron and beyond. They started with twenty-nine Frenchmen, but, being attacked by the Iroquois, all the other Frenchmen returned, leaving them alone with their Hurons, who served them as guides to the upper country. Arrived at French river, the Indians divided their party; "seven boats went toward west-northwest and the rest south." Radisson and Groseilliers went with the south-bound canoes. They visited various Indian tribes, and, possibly, were the two Frenchmen referred to in the Jesuit "Relations"⁵ for 1669-71 by Father Allouez. They are

⁴ 42 Jesuit Relations, 1652-57, p. 219.

⁵ 54 Jesuit Relations (Burrows Bros. Ed.), p. 225. Although Father Allouez writes ten years after the voyage of Radisson and Groseilliers it ought to be remembered that these tribes were but rarely visited by white men at that time; that such a visit was an extraordinary event among them, and that therefore any unusual or fraudulent conduct would be treasured in memory. The habitat of the various tribes as related by Radisson was the same in that locality as when Father Allouez wrote. In the 44 Jes. Rel., p. 237 *et seq.* for 1666-7 reference is again made to "two Frenchmen, who have made their way far inland," and who according to Father Dreuilletes gave him information as to

mentioned in an uncomplimentary manner, as having visited the Outagamis (Foxes), then dwelling along the Fox river, in Wisconsin, as follows: "They (the Outagamis) have poor opinion of the French, ever since two traders in beaver-skins appeared among them; if these men behaved as they ought, I would have had less trouble in giving these poor people other ideas of the whole French nation." They passed the winter of 1658-9 among the Pottawottomies in what is now Wisconsin, and there they met as visitors the Mascoutins, or "Fire Nation," and in 1659 visited these Indians. Here they heard of the "Nadoneceronon" nation, or Sioux, and other Indian tribes. The Mascoutins, Radisson says, "are tall and bigg and very strong," and further explains: "We desired not to goe to the north till we had made discovery in the south, being desirous to know what they did. They (the Mascoutins) told us if we would goe with them to the great Lake of the Stinkings (Lake Michigan) the time was come of their traffick, wch was of as many knives as they could gett from the French nation. . . . We finding this opportunity would not lett it slippe, but made guifts, telling (them) that the other nations would stand in feare of them because of us."

And so they accompanied the Mascoutins into the interior southward, animated by curiosity, and it may be supposed, not unmixed with a desire to secure peltries. In their wanderings they first saw the Mississippi and Missouri, and traveled not only on and along the boundary, but also within the limits of the present state of Missouri, and unconscious of the great historic importance of the facts he relates, Radisson tells us:⁶

"We weare 4 moneths in our voyage wthout doing anything but goe from river to river. We mett several sorts of people. We conversed wth them, being long time in alliance wth them. By persuasion of som of them we went into ye great river that divides itself in 2, where the hurons wth some Otanake & the wild men that had warrs wth them had retired. There is no great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one toward the west, the other toward the south, wch we believ runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they [the prisoners] have warrs against a nation, against men that

the "Makoutensak" and "Outichakonk." These Frenchmen were undoubtedly Radisson and Groseilliers.

⁶ Radisson notes as something remarkable that "their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boanes," and in this strangely is confirmed by Coronado in his letter to Mendoza, dated August 3, 1540, in which he says that with certain bows and arrows he sends the viceroy "there are two with bone points, the like of which have never been seen, according to what these conquerors say."—14th Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part i., p. 563.

build great cabbans & have great beards & have such knives as we have had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & gilded pearls that they have had from that people, wch made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawney than they wth whom we weare. His armes and leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they doe with them that they take, & kill them with clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

"We wear informed of that nation that live in the other river. These weare men of extraordinary height and bignesse, that made us believe they had no communication wth them. They live onely upon Corne and Citrullles, wch are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout ye yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak [Elk] wch grows on vast trees wch in compasse are three armefull in compasse . . . Their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans, and other boans that they work greatly, as all other things. . . . Their dishes are made of wood. . . . They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day.

"This I have not seen, therefore you may believe as you please."

The "forked river" is undoubtedly the Mississippi, and the description of Radisson: "it is so called because it has 2 branches, the one toward the west, the other toward the south, wch we believe runns toward Mexico, by the tokens they gave us" is remarkably accurate in its conjecture. But that they reached the mouth of the Missouri and perhaps points on the Missouri, would appear from the statement, "being among those people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they [the prisoners] have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans, and have great beards, & had such knives [swords] as we have had." This passage evidently describing the Spaniards and their "great cabbans" in Mexico.

The "drink that makes them mad for a whole day" was the alcoholic distillation of pulque, a produce of the maguey plant, still a favorite beverage of the Mexicans and Indians, called mescal or aguardiente. The prisoner they saw, and that was captured in the previous year "much more tawney than they with whome we are," may have been a negro slave. It will be remembered that the Spaniards carried negroes with them in their expeditions. Thus the negro Estevan accompanied de Vaca.

That in their southward course Radisson and Groseilliers must have reached the mouth of the Missouri and met Indians that visited the tribes having their lodges on this river, and may be the plains, is also shown by the distinct reference to the Indians dwelling "in the other river?" Of these Indians our narrator heard that "They weare men of extraordinary height & bignesse," meaning, without doubt, the Osages, celebrated for their size. Corn and pumpkins

(citrules wch are mighty bigg) were cultivated by them. The Indians dwelling on the Missouri and southwest of this river, as we have seen, early came in contact with the Spanish adventurers and explorers pushing with rare energy into the vast wilderness from the southwest to the northeast. On his journey across the continent from Florida to the Pacific and to Mexico, Cabaza de Vaca and his companions, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, Andres Dorantes, and the negro named Estevan, with a single exception, the survivors of the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez, doubtless also met many Indian tribes. The fame of the expeditions of De Soto and of Coronado must have spread far and wide among them. Before these great and important efforts it is certain that many single Spaniards penetrated into the country from the south, just as many single Frenchmen penetrated from the north to the south, animated by a love of adventure or hope of rich discoveries of gems and gold. Of these early discoveries and adventures no record has been preserved. The stories of the adventures of Radisson and Groseilliers alone have not perished. And that the records of Radisson in the main are trustworthy is shown by a few incidental references to them in the Jesuit "Relations." Thus the "Relations" of 1657-58 make reference to "two Frenchmen who have made their way far inland," and among the newly discovered tribes visited by them the "Makoutensak" (Mascoutins) are named, and it is said that "the two Frenchmen who have made the journey to those regions say that these people are of a very gentle disposition." Among the tribes mentioned is one "called the Aliniouek" (Illinois), "computed at fully 20,000 men and sixty villages," dwelling along the Illinois river, these villages being seven days westward from a "Oupouteouatamik" (Pottawottomie) village, called by the Jesuits St. Michel, situated at some uncertain point along the shores of Lake Michigan. The Oumamik (Miamis) are said to live sixty leagues distant and "toward the south and southeast there are more than thirty nations, all stationary, all speaking the Abnauquois tongue," and, proceeds Father Druillettes, "that is a fine battlefield for those who intend to enter the lists and fight for Jesus Christ."⁷

But in looking into this matter critically, it is more than probable that even before the voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers the upper Mississippi was visited and navigated in a frail bark canoe by the

⁷ 44 Jesuit Relations, pp. 247 *et seq.*

celebrated Jean Nicolet. Champlain sent Nicolet west on an exploring expedition in 1634, hoping that he might discover a short passage to Asia, and also to ascertain the character and nature of the savage tribes dwelling along the shores of Lake Huron, the "Mer Douce" of the early explorers and geographers, for the purpose of laying the foundation for the extension of the fur trade. On this trip Nicolet visited Lake Michigan, Green Bay, and Fox River, and evidently the Mississippi. He made his voyage in a canoe accompanied by seven Hurons, as huntsmen and guides. As far as recorded, he was the first white man who visited the region now embraced in Wisconsin. His arrival created a great sensation in that region. Four thousand or five thousand Winnebagoes assembled to greet him, having received word of his coming. He was escorted into the village by an escort of young braves. Feasts of barbaric munificence and splendor were given in his honor, and it is said that at one feast one hundred and twenty beavers were served. From the Winnebago village he journeyed up the Fox river to the village of the Mascoutins. From them he heard of the Illinois, and continued his journey southward. On this journey he must have seen and sailed on the Mississippi, because, when he returned to Quebec, he assured Father Vimont, the Superior of the Jesuits, "that if he had sailed three days' journey farther upon a great river, which issues from this lake (and which he calls the second great lake of the Hurons, Lake Michigan) he would have found the sea."⁸ It is not likely that he mistook one of the smaller rivers of Wisconsin for "a great river." The grandeur and magnitude of the Mississippi must have instantly impressed itself on his mind, and distinguished it at once from the other numerous smaller streams as a "great river."

In his letter to his Superior, Father Marquette says⁹: "When the Illinois come to La Pointe, they cross a great river which is nearly a league in width, flows from north to south, and to such a distance that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not heard any mention of its mouth. They simply know that there are some very large nations lower down than themselves, some of whom toward the east-southeast of their country raise two crops of Indian corn a year. A nation they call Chaouanou (Shawnees) came to see them last summer. . . . They are laden with glass beads, which shows

⁸ 18 Jesuit Relations of 1640, p. 237.

⁹ 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 189.

that they have communication with Europeans. . . . Six or seven days' journey below the Illinois there is another great river, on which live some very powerful nations, who use canoes." These statements point to the fact that the Indians called by Marquette Illinois, whom he met at La Pointe, must have lived on the west bank of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri, within the limits of Missouri.

In the same year, Father Allouez,¹⁰ describing the country of the "Machkoutenk," writes: "These people are settled in a very attractive place, where beautiful plains and fields meet the eye as far as one can see. Their river leads by a six days' voyage to the great river named Messi-Sipi"—for the first time naming the river, which heretofore had always been simply referred to as the "great river." Father d'Ablon also gives expression to the thoughts of the time, saying that they will seek to verify the quite probable conjectures that have been entertained for a long time, that a passage could be made by this routé to the Japan sea; "for what has been noted in some of the preceding "Relations" concerning this matter has been confirmed more and more by the report of the savages, and the information elicited from them," namely, that some days' journey from the Mission of Saint Francois Xavier "is found a great river, more than a league in width. This, coming from the regions of the north, flows toward the south, and to such a distance that the savages who have navigated it, in going to seek for enemies to fight with, after a good many days' journey have not found its mouth, which can only be toward the sea of Florida or that of California."¹¹

Between 1665 and 1672 a number of explorers were sent out by the Canadian authorities, some to explore and take possession of the eastern country as far as possible, some to report on the copper of Lake Superior, some to look after the fur trade of Hudson's Bay, and find a new route to hyperborean oceans, some south and south-west, to reach the Gulf of Mexico or other southern sea. Talon, Intendant of Canada, in his report to the King, says that these explorers were to keep journals and make written reports, but these official reports, if made at all, have not been published or made accessible. Thus in 1669 Robert Cavelier, afterward celebrated as Sieur De La Salle, obtained permission to undertake an expedition (which led to the discovery of the Ohio), it is said, as far southwest as

¹⁰ 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 231.

¹¹ 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 137. (Burrows' Ed.)

the falls of that river. What he had in mind may perhaps be surmised from a letter written by Patoutet to Colbert, in which it is said that he had gone to examine a passage he expected to find which would connect with Japan and China. In 1671 Courcelles,¹² governor of Canada, in an official report says that, several years prior, two priests made a voyage to visit the savage nations living "along a great river that the Iroquois called the Ohio, and the Outaouacs the Mississippi," doubtless referring to two Sulpician priests, Dollier de Casson and Rene de Gallinée, who had joined La Salle but separated from him.

The magnitude of the value of the discovery of a passage to the south seas must have greatly impressed even Louis XIV., because he urged upon his minister, Colbert, the importance of the subject and desired that a large reward be offered to those who should make the discovery. Accordingly, Frontenac, in a report to Colbert dated November 2, 1672, says that "he (Chevalier de Grandfontaine, governor of Acadia and Pentagonet) has likewise judged it expedient for the service to send Sieur Joliet to the country of the Mascoutins to discover the South sea, and the great river they call Mississippi, which is supposed to empty into the sea of California. He is a man very skilful in this kind of discoveries, and has already been quite near to this great river, the mouth of which he promises to find."¹³

While it is by some supposed that Joliet owed his selection by Frontenac, to explore and discover the South sea and the Mississippi, to some intrigue against La Salle, it is much more likely that his

¹² I Margry, "Voyages des Francais," 1684, p. 115, where a full account of this voyage is given.

¹³ Louis Joliet thus selected was a native of Canada, born in Quebec, September 21, 1645. When of proper age he was placed to school in the Jesuit seminary in his native town, where he made excellent progress in his studies. In the *Journal of the Jesuit Fathers*, in the years 1666 and 1667, we find this entry: "July 2nd. The first disputations in philosophy took place in the congregation with success. All the authorities were present. Monsieur, the Intendant, among others, made a strong argument. Monsieur Joliet and Pierre Francheville replied very well, upon the whole subject of logic." (50 Jes. Rel., p. 191.) Joliet intended to adopt ecclesiastical life, but abandoned this purpose. He spent one year in France, and on his return was sent to search for the copper mines of Lake Superior, and in the following year was present when St. Luson took possession of the Lake Superior region in the name of France. In October, 1675, he married Claire Francoise Bissot; in 1679 made a voyage to Hudson's Bay, and in 1680, as a special reward for his discoveries, was granted the whole of the island of Anticosti, where he lived for many years with his family. He was also appointed hydrographer of the king in 1680. The English invasion of Canada caused him great losses, and at the time of his death, in 1700, he was said to have suffered from actual poverty.

ability and perhaps the personal friendship of Talon caused him to be selected. That he was a man of modesty and devoid of ostentation is evidenced by the fact that he made no effort apparently to gain great glory on account of the discovery of the Mississippi, by rewriting his journal or otherwise. Father Marquette, who was selected to accompany Joliet, for years had meditated a voyage to the various tribes dwelling on the Mississippi, and owed his appointment undoubtedly to his superior. No full report of the voyage of Joliet is extant, as he lost his box of papers and nearly his life in the rapids of the St. Lawrence, near Montreal, on his way home, and the copies of his "Journal," which he said he left with the Fathers of Sault Ste. Marie, appear unfortunately also to have been lost. He made merely a verbal report to Frontenac. Father Marquette never returned to Canada, but died in the wilderness, it is supposed near the mouth of the Marquette river, which perpetuates his name; but before his death he made a written report to his superior, and to this report the world has looked for the fullest account of this celebrated journey. As a result, the true hero of the enterprise, Joliet, undoubtedly has been eclipsed in the opinion of the world, by the Jesuit father who was in no wise officially connected with the exploration, and accompanied it informally.

Under orders of Frontenac, Joliet began his journey from Quebec, and on December 8, 1672, arrived at the palisaded mission house at Point St. Ignace, with instructions from Frontenac to take Father Marquette as a companion on his expedition for discovering the Mississippi. In his journal Father Marquette¹⁴ thus refers to Joliet's arrival: "The feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, whom I have always invoked since coming to this country of the Ottawas, to obtain from God the favor of being enabled to visit the nations who dwell along the river Mississippi, this very day, was precisely that on which M. Joliet (Jollyet) arrived with orders from Count de Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, our Intendant, to go with him on his discovery. I was all the more delighted at this news, because I saw my plans about to be accomplished, and found myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all those tribes, and especially the Illinois, who when I was at St. Esprit, had begged me very earnestly to bring the word of God among them." Joliet remained at St. Ignace during the winter,

¹⁴ 59 Jesuit Relations, p. 91.

making all necessary preparations for his voyage. "We took," says Marquette, "all possible precautions, that if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. For this reason we gathered all possible information from the Indians who had frequented those parts, and from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers which we were to sail; the names of the nations through which we were to pass; the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it."

On May 17, 1673, according to the Gregorian calendar, these explorers set out on their great voyage in two light bark canoes, accompanied by five Frenchmen, with a small supply of smoked meat and Indian corn. They also took with them a suitable assortment of goods for distribution among the natives on their way, as presents. After coasting their way along the shore of Lake Michigan from the mission house, they reached the village of the Folle Avoines, or Wild Rice Indians, so-called from the wild rice which grew along the river on which their village was situated and which furnished these Indians a large part of their subsistence. The Jesuits were not unknown to these Indians, and when advised by Father Marquette of the design, did all they could to dissuade them from the enterprise. In his "Journal" he says: "They represented that he would encounter those natives who were always in the field, and kill without remorse and without cause; that the great river was very dangerous when the channel is not known; that it is full of horrible monsters, who devour altogether men and canoes; that there was also a demon whom they would see from a great distance, who closed the passage of the river and destroyed those who dared to approach him; and in conclusion, that the heats were so excessive that we should meet death inevitably." But these terrible stories did not deter the explorers. They crossed over to the Mission of St. Francois Xavier, on Green Bay, founded by Father Allouez in 1669, and, leaving this missionary station early in June, proceeded to the head of Green Bay, to the mouth of Fox river and thence up Fox river to Lake Winnebago, to the village of the Miamis, Mascoutins, and Kickapoos, the farthest limit of French exploration, as was supposed at that time. The lands beyond them were shadowy, vague, and unknown. Here the voyagers assembled the old men of the village, and Marquette said to them "that he (Joliet) had been sent on the part of Monsieur, our governor, to discover new countries, and I on the part

of God to make clear to them the lights of the gospel, . . . and that we had occasion for two guides to conduct us on our route. On asking them to accord this to us, we made them a present, which made them very civil, and at the same time they voluntarily answered us by a present in return, which was a mat to serve us as a bed during our voyage. The next day, which was the 10th of June, two Miami, whom they gave us for guides, embarked with us in sight of all the inhabitants, who could not but be astonished to see seven Frenchmen, alone in two canoes, daring to undertake an expedition so extraordinary and so hazardous." Taking a southwesterly course through a labyrinth of small lakes, they reached the watershed dividing the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and, transporting their canoes and luggage across the narrow portage, their Miami guides left them to return to their village, and Joliet and his companions embarked on the Meskousing (Wisconsin), a wide stream with a sandy bottom and numerous shoals, rendering navigation difficult, a stream full of islands covered with vines and underbrush, and banks studded with oaks, walnuts, and other timber, and the landscape diversified with prairie and hill. Here they saw many deer and buffalo grazing, but no feathered game, and noticed no fish in the water. On June 17, 1673, they entered the Mississippi "with a joy that I cannot express," says Marquette. Thus they reached this so renowned river in a country where they saw only deer, cattle, bustards, swans without wings, "because they drop their plumage in this country." They glided gently down the river, passing beautiful islands, covered with pine-trees, but from time to time a monstrous catfish struck their canoe so that Marquette thought it was a great tree, "about to break the canoe to pieces." Finally, on the 25th of June, they found traces of human habitation in the shape of a little, well-beaten path on the west shore, perhaps a few miles above the mouth of the Des Moines, and following this path they came to an Indian village on the banks of this stream. The village was inhabited by the Peouareas (Peorias) and Mongwenas, belonging to the Illiniwek or Illini tribe of Indians some of these Indians then dwelling in the northern part of what is now Missouri, where indeed they are placed on the map of Marquette. The voyagers remained in this village for several days, after which, escorted to their canoes by the chief and six hundred of his tribesmen, they re-embarked on the Mississippi. Still sailing south,

they reached the mouth of the Pekitanoui, the river of the "Oumissouries," and, writes Marquette, "I never saw anything more terrific; a tangle of entire trees, of branches, of floating islands, issued from the mouth of the Pekistanoui with such impetuosity that one could not attempt to cross it without great danger. The commotion was such that the water was made muddy by it and could not clear itself." It is thus that the great river of Missouri, undoubtedly rushing south at full flood-tide at the time Marquette first saw it, impressed the lonely voyagers. Still floating on along the shores, on the right, of the future state of Missouri, all clothed in the habiliments of early summer, they reached "a place," says Marquette, "that is dreaded by the savages, because they believe that a Manitou is there, that is to say, a demon, that devours travelers; and the savages, who wished to divert us from our undertaking, warned us against it. This is the demon: there is a small cove, surrounded by rocks, twenty feet high, into which the whole current of the river rushes, and being pushed back against the waters following it, and checked by an island near by, the current is compelled to pass through a narrow channel. This is not done without a violent struggle between these waters, which force one another back; or without a great din, which inspires terror in the savages, who fear everything." It is quite evident that Marquette here refers to the stretch of river about Grand Tower, although it does not exactly describe the present condition. But two hundred and twenty-five years will effect great changes, and that the river has widened in that period and that some rocky obstacles have been washed away is also certain. Continuing, Marquette records that a short distance above Waboukigon (Ohio) "are cliffs, on which our Frenchmen noticed an iron mine, which they considered very rich. There are several veins of ore, and a bed a foot thick, and one sees large masses of it united with pebbles." Marquette here refers to the iron ores found in the southeast corner of Perry county, just north of Apple creek, where early in the last century the town of Birmingham (now only a reminiscence) was laid out, with the vague idea of building up a great iron center, the coal of Illinois being not far off on the Big Muddy river. From this statement it is also manifest that Joliet and Marquette and his followers actually camped upon the soil and perhaps partially examined this locality, now in the limits of Missouri. But Marquette goes farther, and describes the conglomerate caving bluffs of Perry

county, below Grand Tower. He says that, just above where he first saw the Missouri iron ores, "a sticky earth is found there, of three different colors—purple, violet, and red. The water in which the latter is washed assumes a bloody tinge. There is also a very heavy red sand. I placed some on a paddle, which was dyed with its color so deeply that the water could not wash it away during the fifteen days while I used it for paddling. Continuing south, their paddles still dipping the virgin waters, the canoes of the explorers reached the mouth of the Ohio,¹⁵ called by Marquette the Waboukigou, debouching from the east. Lower down the river, unexpectedly they met Indians, armed with guns, knives, and hatchets, wearing garments of cloth, and carrying gunpowder in thick glass flasks, thus, evidently, showing that they had dealings with Europeans on the Atlantic or southern coast. Here they were hospitably received, feasted on buffalo meat, bear's oil, and white plums. Still going south, they, at length, found a village of the Mitchigamea, on the west side of the river, eight or ten leagues above that of the "Akamsea," the latter being, according to their reckoning, in latitude 33° and 40'. This village was on the east side of the river and opposite the mouth of a large river, generally supposed to have been the Arkansas river, which, however, must have been a mere temporary habitation, because, both before and afterward, the Arkansas had their habitat on the west side of the Mississippi, in the country between the mouth of the river of that name and the Ohio. They were well received here, and having carefully considered that they were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, and that the great river certainly discharged its waters into that sea, they concluded to return. "After a month's navigation," says Marquette, "in descending the Mississippi from the 42nd degree to the 34th and beyond, and after having published the Gospel to all the nations I met, we left the village of the Akamsea on the 17th day of July, to retrace our steps." They went back the way they came, except that on reaching the Illinois river they ascended it instead of going up the Wisconsin. This flying voyage has become an imperishable event. By it the course of the Mississippi, north to south, to the Gulf, was first definitely ascertained and published. A little more than a century earlier, the broken and dispirited remnant of De Soto's proud array under Moscoso, at or near the point where Joliet and Marquette

¹⁵ 59 Jesuit Relations, pp. 144, 145.

halted, constructed barges to sail to the Gulf, and thus reached the sea and home.

Although the voyage of Joliet and Marquette established the fact almost incontrovertibly, that the Mississippi emptied its waters into the Gulf, the adventurous spirit of La Salle was not satisfied, and longed to trace the whole course of the great river to the sea. For several years he cherished this scheme, and in 1677 submitted his plan to Colbert, then minister of the colonies, a man who took a deep interest in everything calculated to promote French industry and commerce. His petition was favorably considered, and letters patent were accordingly issued to him by the crown "to endeavor to discover the western part of the country of New France." Returning to Canada in 1678, with his patent, he met with opposition from the beginning. His constant struggle of several years, great losses, ill fortune, many disappointments and unforeseen calamities, it is not necessary to relate in detail here, because well and graphically narrated by Parkman and others. At last, in December, 1681, accompanied by Chevalier Tonty (of the iron hand), he began his voyage to the Gulf of Mexico. Arriving at the Chicago river in January, 1682, the explorer pulled his canoes, baggage, and provisions over the frozen waters on sledges, constructed under the directions of Tonty, and moving thus over the portage to the Des Plaines, one of the headwaters of the Illinois, also covered with ice, on his wintry march south, he reached open water at the foot of Peoria lake. After securing a supply of maize from the Indians, he resumed his journey and held his course to the mouth of the Illinois river, which he reached, February 6, 1682. Here he was delayed by ice floating in the Mississippi. But after a week the river was clear of ice, and, launching his canoes on the waters of the great river, he bore southward to the Gulf. He passed the mouth of the Missouri, called the "Osage" by Father Membre, who accompanied the explorer, then noted a deserted Indian village, then reached the mouth of the Ouabache (Ohio), passed through the rich alluvial district, south of the mouth of the Ohio, for sixty leagues without stopping, then landed at the third Chickasaw bluffs, not far from the future site of Memphis. On the 12th of March he passed the village of the Mitchigameas on the right, and on the 13th, finding himself in a thick fog and hearing the beating of the war drums and war cries of the "Akansas," he crossed to the opposite side of the river and

quickly raised a rude fort. When the fog rose the surprised Indians saw the strange visitors and their work. In a short time, however, a friendly understanding was established, and La Salle and his followers entered the village, where they met with a cordial reception. While here, with much formality he took possession of the great valley of the Mississippi in the name of France. This important event was attested and celebrated with due solemnity, and the *procès verbal* detailing the particulars of the transaction is not without interest. It is dated March 13 and 14, 1682, and is as follows:

“Jacques de la Metairie, notary of the Seignior of Fort Frontenac in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function during the journey which was undertaken to make the discovery of Louisiana by M. de la Salle, Governor of said Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant in said discovery by virtue of his Majesty's commission of which said M. de la Salle is bearer, given at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 12th of May 1678.

“To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know that having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act signed by us and witnesses therein named, of that which took place on the occasion of his taking possession of the country of Louisiana at the village of Kapaha, one of those which belong to the nation of the Akansas assembled at the said village of Kapaha on the 14th day of March 1682.

“In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince Louis le Grand, fourteenth of that name, by the Grace of God, King of France, and of Navarre, and of his heirs, successors, and inheritors of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the said Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

“On the 12th day of March, M. de la Salle having come in sight of Kapaha about ten o'clock in the morning with two of his canoes, and having landed on an island opposite the said village to await the rest of the company, judged by the cries and noise and the war songs that he heard in the village, that the savages were preparing to fight, and therefore caused a fort to be built on the said island, where, after some conferences, Kapaha, chief of the village, came to him, bearing the pipe of peace and accompanied by six of his principal savages. Peace being concluded, M. de la Salle went with his men and the said savages to the said village, where he was received with all possible demonstration of joy and affection both public and individual, and in the midst of which the Akansas having asked aid from him against their enemies, he answered them, both of himself and in the language of the Illinois which was understood by some of them, and also by one of the interpreters who accompanied him, that it was not from him that they should expect protection, but from the greatest prince in the world, on the part of whom he had come to them and to all the other nations that live along the river and in its neighborhood: he had come to offer to all who would obey him, all the advantages which so many people enjoy who have had recourse to his power and many of whom were not unknown to them: and after explaining to them what they were to expect and the duties to which this obedience pledged them, all having received his speech with acclamation, the said Sieur declared to them besides that in order to give an external sign of the sincerity of their promises it was necessary to erect a column where should be painted the arms of his Majesty and their express consent to recognize him as master of their land: that in return they would be under the protection of his Majesty and in the shadow of this column which bore the signs of his dominion, and that all who should attack them would have to combat his great

might and his subjects the French, who would avenge any injury which might be done them in the persons of their brothers.

"This proposition being received by all, while the ceremonies were being continued with which these nations are accustomed to confirm their alliances, the said Sieur de la Salle sent M. de Tonty, commander of a brigade, to prepare the column, which was done in a short time. The cross was painted with the arms of France, and this inscription: Louis le Grand, roy de France et de Navarre, règne le 13 Mars 1682. M. de la Tonty with all the Frenchmen carrying arms and the savages of the suite of M. de la Salle, bore it from the camp to the public place of the village; here the Reverend Father Zenobe Membre, a Recollect missionary, intoned the O crux, ave, spes unica, and walked three times around the place, each time singing Exaudit te Dominus and crying three times Vive le Roy, after which at the discharge of musketry, they erected the column in repeating the cries Vive le Roy and near it the said Sieur de la Salle took his stand and pronounced in a loud voice in French, holding in his hand his commission:

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis le Grand, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this thirteenth day of March, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, with consent of the nation of the Akansas, assembled at the village of Kapaha and present in that place, both in their name and in that of their allies, I, in virtue of his Majesty's commission of which I am the bearer and which I hold in my hand, ready to show it to all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take possession, in the name of his majesty, his heirs and successors to his crown, of the country of Louisiana and all the lands, provinces, countries, peoples, nations, mines, ores, ports, harbors, seas, straits, and roadsteads, and of each of these comprised in the region from the mouth of the river St. Louis called Ohio, Olighinsipou and Chukagoua, along the banks of it and of all and each of the rivers which empty into it from the east to the mouth of the Riviere des Palmes from the west, along the river Colbert, called Mississippi, and all the rivers which empty into it from the east; hereby protesting against all those who may in the future undertake to gain possession to the prejudice of the right which his Majesty to-day acquires to all said nations, lands, provinces, peoples, countries, mountains, mines, roadsteads, harbors, ports and seas, and all that they comprise, of which I take to witness to these presents all the French and savages and demand such act to be delivered to me by M. Jacques de la Metairie, commissioned to perform the duties of notary on this discovery, to serve according to law."

La Salle caused this *procès verbal* to be read to the said "Akansas" in their language, and we can well imagine how well this verbiage was translated, and they consented to it, so we are told; and after cries of "Vive le Roy" and a salute of fire arms, La Salle had "the merchandise which was most highly esteemed by these people," and which they were anxiously waiting for, brought in and laid at the foot of the column, telling them that this was a pledge of the good things they might expect for the faithfulness with which they kept the promise they had just made him; that they should receive them in abundance, provided they were as steadfast in the future as they were now zealous. They received the presents with many thanks. At the end of the ceremony, which lasted all night and during the next day, La Salle's escort saw these Akansas "press their hands

against this column and then rub their bodies with them to show the joy and confidence they felt to see the French and their column erected in their village." All this was certified to by the aforesaid notary, and duly signed by La Salle, M. de Tonty, captain of a brigade, the Reverend Father Zenobe Membre, Recollect, and all witnesses present at the said taking possession, at the said Kapaha village of the Akansas on March 14, 1682. The other signers of the *proces verbal* were Francois de Boisrondet, Jean Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray, Jacques Cauchois, Gilles Mineret, Jean Dulignon, Pierre You, Jean Michel, surgeon, Jean Mas, Antoine Brassar, Nicholas de la Salle, and La Mettaivie, notary.

It will be noted that this important transaction took place in the village of Kapaha, thus incidentally showing the accuracy of at least this part of the narrative of Garcilasso de la Vega of the expedition of De Soto, heretofore mentioned. De Soto, nearly a century and a half before, in 1541, found Kapaha on the Mississippi, in south-east Missouri, north of the Casquins (supposed to be the Kaskaskias), who then dwelt on the New Madrid ridge south of them. In 1682 La Salle found Kapaha near the present Helena, at the foot of what is known as Crowley's ridge, and the Kaskaskias on the banks of the Illinois.

From Kapaha La Salle resumed his journey south, guided by two "Akansas" Indians. On March 31st he passed the mouth of Red river, and on April 6th reached the marshy shores of the Gulf, and soon beheld the boundless horizon and rolling billows of the Mexique sea. On April 9th he took formal possession of "all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, comprised in the extent of Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Olighinsipon (Allegheny) and Chickagoua, and this with the consent of the Chaouesnons (Shawanos), Chichas (Chickasaws), and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliances as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source, beyond the country of the Kious (Sioux) or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Otatantes, Matsigamea (Mitchigamias), Akansas, Natchez, and Koroas, which are the most considerable nation dwelling therein with whom we have made alliance either by ourselves or by others in our behalf, as far as the mouth of

the sea or gulf of Mexico.” This was done “upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended the river Colbert.”

Thus the territory which is now embraced in the state of Missouri became a part of the province of Louisiana and the dominion of France.

CHAPTER VII

Indian Tribes Discovered by De Soto—by Joliet and Marquette, 1673—Names and Location of Various Tribes—Indian Migrations—Tribes Found by La Salle—Origin of Missouris, Osages, Kansas, Ponkas and Iowas—Dispersion of the Missouris—The Otoes, Bravest of Native Tribes—Indian Method of Travel—Languages of Indian Tribes of Missouri—Significance of Indian Names—Corruption of Aboriginal Terms—Hunting Grounds of the Osages—Osages Noted for Sobriety and Intelligence—Location of Osages, 1820-1838—Indian Hunting and Farming Methods—Forest Products Used by Indians as Food—Philosophy of an Indian Chief—Attractions of the Savage State—Brackenridge's Impressions of the Osages—Anecdotes of Indian Chiefs—Indian Costumes—Hospitality, Manners and Customs—Method of Building Lodges, Weaving Blankets, etc.—Indian Cookery—Domestic Institutions of the Osages—Tribal Government—Noted Osage Chiefs—A Peculiar Custom of the Osages—Massacre of an Osage Band—Dexterity in Archery—Osage Indian School Established 1821—Indian Manners and Morals Depicted by Missionaries—The Saukees and Foxes—Manners and Customs—The Shawnees and Delawares—Immigration Favored by Spaniards—Rogers, White Chief of Delawares—Noted Chiefs—Manners and Customs—Early Settlements Disturbed by Marauding Indian Bands—Indians Strip a Wedding Party of Wearing Apparel—Witchcraft and Punishment—The Cherokees—Bowls' Band—Indian Traces or Trails—Indian Treaties and Cessions of Lands—Over Thirty-nine Million Acres Ceded, in Missouri, by Indians within Thirty Years.

The history of the Indians who once peopled the territory now within the limits of Missouri must always remain a subject of peculiar interest. Unfortunately, little has been preserved concerning them. Even the habitat of the various tribes is uncertain. If we adopt one interpretation of the narrative of the route pursued by De Soto in his march along the Mississippi, he encamped with the Casquins, supposed to be the Kaskaskia Indians, as heretofore suggested, in the district now embraced in the counties of Pemiscot, New Madrid, Mississippi and perhaps Scott.¹ These Indians belonged to the Algonquin family of the aboriginal stock. Among the Kaskaskias, a tradition prevailed that they destroyed the first white men they ever saw.² Farther north he found the Capahas, or Pacahas,³ the Kappas or Ouyapes of Charlevoix,⁴ the Kwapas of Dorsey, or

¹ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 251.

² I Niles' Nat. Register, p. 214.

³ Irving's History of Florida, pp. 120-203.

⁴ Charlevoix's Travels, p. 307.

Quapaws. These Indians belonged to the Siouan aboriginal stock,⁵ and, at the time of De Soto's march north, were engaged in war with the Casquins.⁶ The Capahas or Kwapas were also known as the "Akansa" or "Arkansa,"⁷ and were first so noted by La Metaire, in 1682.

When Joliet and Marquette came down the Mississippi, in 1673, they found three villages of Per-8-are-8-a,⁸ or Pe-8-area,⁹ another Algonquin tribe, near the mouth of the Des Moines. On Joliet's map, dated 1674, the wigwams of the Messouri (Missouri), Konza (Kansas), Ochage (Osages), and Pani (Pawnees) are noted in this order on the south side of the Missouri river, and between the Missouri and the Des Moines the Pe-8-areas lived nearest the Mississippi; and west of them, within and near the present state line, the Atentonta (Otoes), Pana (Ponkas), Mahas (Omahas), and Pan-8-tet (Iowas) are shown to dwell.¹⁰ The map of Thevenot, published as being that of Marquette, in 1681, shows the Pe-8-areas and Mouingwenas on or near the Des Moines river — the Indians known by these names calling themselves "Illiniwek," or "Illini," or "Illinoue," that is to say, "men" or "superior men." But on a map attributed to Marquette, found in the archives of St. Mary's college, Montreal, dated 1673, the Pe-8-area, Moing-8-ena, Oton-tanta, Pana, Maha, and Pan-8-tat are noted on the south side of the Des Moines, and in the order named; these tribes being kindred of the Kaskaskias and Maroas, or Tamaroas, who on this map are shown to live on the left bank of the Mississippi and above the mouth of the Missouri. On the Missouri the Ouchage (Schage) are shown to dwell nearer the mouth of the river than the 8-em-ess-8-rits. Afterwards we find that the Saukees and Outagamies (Renards or Foxes) occupy this territory on both sides of the Mississippi, and the Maroas or Tamaroras on Cahokia creek, also named Rivière des Tamaroas, and the Kaskaskias farther south, on the river of that name. By Marquette the Missouri river is named Pe-ki-ta-noui, a word of the Saukee language, which would indicate that perhaps

⁵ 15 Annual Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 193.

⁶ Irving's History of Florida, p. 115.

⁷ 15 Annual Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 193.

⁸ So spelled by Father Gravier in 1694. 64 Jesuit Relations p. 163.

⁹ So spelled by Father Marquette in 1677. 59 Jesuit Relations p. 163.

¹⁰ 59 Jesuit Relations p. 86. Copy of map reproduced from *Revue de Géographie*, for February, 1880.

even then these Indians claimed possession of the mouth of that river. On this map, along the Missouri, appear in the order named, the Ouchage, or Osages, 8-mess-8-rits or Oumessourits, Kansa or Kansas, and Paniassa or Pawnees.

On Franquelin's map, published in 1684, the Missourits or Missouris are shown to live near the mouth of the Osage, and on the north side of the Missouri; so also the Zages or Osages, and Cansa or Kansa near the mouth of the river of that name, on the south of the Missouri, while the villages of the Pani-ma-has and Pan-e-to-cas are placed some distance beyond the Kansas river, and the villages of the Pan-e-assas (Pawnees) appear to be located in and near what is now the western limit of the state. On this map the St. Francois river is named Rivière des Chepousseas,¹¹ and an Indian village of that name is noted on its upper course. The village of the Kappas is near the mouth of the "Acancea", and from this village a road or path is indicated as leading to Chepousseas and thence to the villages of the Osages and Missouris, near the mouth of the Osage river. The Metchigamea or Michigamies, whom Joliet and Marquette found near the mouth of the Arkansas river, according to Franquelin's map, appear to have established a village on the Missouri river as a "nation refugie," and are named on this map "Mastsagamy."

Marquette's map shows that the Casquins of De Soto, if indeed identical with the Kaskaskias¹² at the time Joliet and Marquette made their voyage of exploration, had migrated to the prairies of Illinois, north of the mouth of the Missouri, dwelling and hunting east of the Mississippi; and that the Capahas or Kwapas had moved south in the direction of the waters of the Arkansas.¹³ It should also be observed that the Ohio river, according to Father Gravier,¹⁴ was called by "the Illinois and by the Oumiamis" the "river of the Akansea because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it."

¹¹ But on Pike's map what is known as "St. John's bayou" is called "Chepousa R." and a lake noted as its source, no doubt Hunter's lake, in Scott county, into which and the surrounding low-lands White Water river occasionally discharges its waters, in case of overflow.

¹² Spelled by Father Gravier in 1694 "Kiskaskia." 64 Jesuit Relations p. 159, and "Kaskasia" by Father Marquette. 59 Jesuit Relations p. 161. In Niles' Register, vol. i., p. 214, referred to as "Quisquisque."

¹³ Nuttall's Arkansas, pp. 82-3.

¹⁴ 65 Jesuit Relations, p. 107.

The Ohio is described ¹⁵ as having three branches, one running from the northeast, on which dwell the "Oumiamis" (Miamis), and this branch the savages properly called "Ouabachi" (Wabash); one coming from the Iroquois country which they call the Ohio, and one coming from the southwest, the Cumberland, on which dwell the "Chaouanons" (Shawnees), which means "Dwellers of the South."¹⁶

What occasioned this change of habitat by the Kaskaskias, of course, can only be conjectured, but undoubtedly it was not unconnected with the hostility which existed between the Algonquin and Siouan aboriginal stock. That such migrations were not unusual is shown by the fact that La Salle found the Mitchigamias dwelling near the mouth of the Arkansas, and that afterwards this tribe came to what is now Illinois, perhaps by way of the Missouri river, as would appear from the name of such a village, shown near this river on Franquelin's map. On arriving in Illinois, the tribe became incorporated with the Kaskaskias.¹⁷ Charlevoix¹⁸ notes this fact, and says that they came from a little river on the lower Mississippi, and were adopted by the Kaskaskias. From this, it might be inferred that these Mitchigamias were a remnant of the Algonquin stock, left behind when the Kaskaskias migrated north.

The account of the migration down the Mississippi of the Capahas, or Kwapas, or Quapaws, as given by Nuttall, in its main features is confirmed by the investigations of Dorsey. He says that, according to Siouan tribal tradition, the Omahas, the Kwapas, the Ponkas, the Osages and Kansas originally dwelt along the waters of the Ohio. At that time they were one people. Gradually they moved westward, likely down the Wabash and Ohio, pressed on, no doubt, by the stress of war, until they reached the mouth of the Ohio, where Dorsey supposes they first separated, some going down the river and others going up the river. This separation took place as early as 1500 and preceded De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi. Those who remained at the mouth of

¹⁵ 65 Jesuit Relations, p. 107.

¹⁶ 59 Jesuit Relations, p. 145—note 36.

¹⁷ Wallace's Illinois and Louisiana, p. 57.

¹⁸ Charlevoix's Travels, p. 296. The little river is probably the St. Francois. Coxe, in his Carolana, says that the "Matchagamia" lived on a river called the "Matchicabe."

the Ohio became and were called the Kwapas, or Capahas, or Quapaws, which, Dorsey¹⁹ says, means "down stream people," and on the other hand, those who migrated up the river became Mahas, or Umahas, or Omahas, that is to say "up stream people."

In 1681 La Salle found the Kappas along the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio. Tonti²⁰ mentions four villages, one of which, Ukaqpaqti, the "Real Kwapa," was on the Mississippi river, and three other villages were situated inland, Toyengan, or "small village," Toriman and Osotonoy. Of these inland villages, Toriman was on the upper section of the St. Francois river, located in perhaps what is now Dunklin county. On the map published with Charlevoix's letters in 1763, in London, a translation of the original work, the village of Kappa is placed at a considerable distance above the mouth of the Arkansas, probably near the foot of the hills, now known as Crowley's ridge, at the mouth of the St. Francois

¹⁹ 15 Annual Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 191. In the American Journal of Science, vol. iii., p. 21, Louis Bringier, under date of March 20, 1818, gives us this additional information: "Nearly all the country between the Canadian and the west, the Red river and the south, the Wichita and the east, and the Arkansas and the north is claimed by a small remnant of a once formidable nation of Indians called the "Arkansaw" or "Quawpaws"—from Ogâghspâgh—floating with the current, or down stream. They pretend to have come down the Ohio about five generations ago, and at the confluence of that river, as some wanted to go up the Mississippi and others to descend the river, they divided into two parties; these came down the stream as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, which they ascended about thirty miles to the first prairies; the others ascended the Mississippi to the Missouri, and the Mawpaws settled below the river Kansas; they understand each other perfectly well. The Osages are said to have sprung from these, and their language differs very little from that of the other two. All three tribes abound with tall and well proportioned men; both in their physical and moral faculties they are much superior to all the other tribes of Indians inhabiting North America." Bringier, who traveled extensively among these tribes, was familiar with their language and customs. According to Sibley, the Osages had a tradition among them, steadily transmitted down from their ancestors, that the Osages (Whashash) had originally emigrated from the east in great numbers, the population being too dense for their hunting grounds, which he described as being on the forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and the falls of the Ohio, and where they dwelt for some time, and where the band separated and distributed themselves in the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the Ohio country followed the waters, reached St. Louis—i. e., the mouth of the Missouri—where other separations took place, some following the Mississippi up north and others advancing up the waters of the Missouri. He enumerated many existing tribes who had sprung from their stock, but mentioned the Saukees as not being related to them.—Featherstonhaugh's Excursion Through the Slave States, vol. i., p. 287.

²⁰ The name Quapaw is commonly pronounced in a strong guttural manner as if it were "Gkwhawpaw."—Featherstonhaugh's Excursion Through the Slave States, vol. ii., p. 228.

river and not far from the present site of Helena. It is more likely that the village was located there than at the mouth of the Arkansas.

The Mahas or Omahas²¹ for some time dwelt near the mouth of the Missouri river, just as we may suppose that the Kwapas or Capahas for some time dwelt near the mouth of the Ohio, in what is now Missouri. At this time the Omahas, that is to say, the "up stream people," had not separated from each other. It is not known when those who were called the Mahas or Omahas separated from their fellows and left them behind at the mouth of the Missouri, nor is it known when the Mahas took up their residence on the upper Missouri; but Bourgmont,²² when he made his journey in 1724 to the Padoucahs, mentions the Panimahas as then residing on the plains bordering on the Missouri. Although afterward found on the Missouri, these Mahas did not move directly up this river. The supposition is that they moved up the Mississippi and from the Mississippi across the country, until they finally reached the Missouri river. This seems highly probable from the circumstance that Carver met with them on the St. Peter in 1766.²³ According to La Hontan,²⁴ the Panimahas in 1688 had their lodges on the upper stretches of the Otenta, a name under which the Des Moines was then known.

From those left behind on the lower Missouri, subsequently originated the tribes known as the Missouris, Osages, Kansas, Ponkas, and Iowas.²⁵ After the migration of the Omahas, the Ponkas separated and moved up the Missouri river, then the Kansas, then the Osages, then the Iowas, all off-shoots from the same parent stock; and finally the Missouris²⁶ gradually moved from near the mouth of the Missouri river to the mouth of Grand river. Here they were found by the French early in 1700, and continued to reside for nearly one hundred years, until conquered and dispersed by the Saukees and Outagamies (Foxes) and other tribes. The destructive character of this war is shown by the fact that over two hundred

²¹ Long spells the name "Omawhaws."---Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 155 *et seq.*

²² Margry Les Coureurs des Bois, vol., vi., p. 407.

²³ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 338. Carver's Travels, p. 80. (London Ed., 1779).

²⁴ La Hontan's Voyages, vol. i., p., 161.

²⁵ 15 Annual Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 191 *et seq.*

²⁶ Spelled "Massorites" in Cox's Carolana.

Missouris were destroyed by them in one contest.²⁷ In 1777 the tribe was still composed of two hundred warriors; the principal chief was named "Kaige." At that time they sowed a little corn but not enough for their own supply. Their business was then profitable to St. Louis, as they produced from eighty to ninety packages of furs a year. They were addicted to stealing horses from the French settlers.²⁸ Five or six lodges subsequently joined the Osages, two or three took refuge with the Kansas,²⁹ and the remainder amalgamated with the Otoe or Wah-toh-ta-na, Wah-to-ta-ta or Wa-do-tan nation, a word which means, according to Long,³⁰ "those who copulate," translated by McGee³¹ euphonistically "Aphrodisian." They adopted the name, probably because their chief at the period of their separation from the Missouris, forcibly carried off a squaw of that tribe.³² The Otoes, being an off-shoot of the same stock as the Missouris, were closely allied to them in manners, habits, and language. "They are probably," says Long,³³ "the bravest of the native inhabitants of Missouri, and there are but few males, having arrived at the age of maturity, who have not fleshed their arms in battle. Indeed, many of them can strike upon individuals of almost all of the neighboring nations, not excepting the distant Indians of Mexico and the Spaniards themselves. In vain should we seek among the nations of the Missouri for an individual whose daring deeds have been more numerous than those of Mi-a-ke-ta, 'Little Soldier,' or for more brave and generous combatants than Shau-mo-ne-kus-se, Ha-she-a (Cut nose), Na-ho-jeming-ya, and Was-sa-ca-ru-ja." The Otoes joined Bourgmont in 1724, in his expedition against the Padoucahs.³⁴ In 1777, they counted about 100 warriors — and the name of the principal chief was La Bala — i. e. The Bullet. The hunting grounds of the Otoes

²⁷ Lewis and Clark's Expedition (Cous' edition), vol. i., p. 22.

²⁸ See copy of Report in the Archives of Seville in Mo. Historical Society.

²⁹ Various known as Konza, Cansa, Canzes, Kaws, and the "Quans" of Bourgmont.—15 Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 193.

³⁰ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 338.

³¹ 15 Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162.

³² This name variously spelled Otos, Ottos, Ottoes, Hotos, and by the French "Othonez;" and "Otataches" in An Account of Louisiana, p. 41.

³³ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 341.

³⁴ Margry, Coureurs des Bois, vol. vi., p. 410. In Bourgmont's Journal they are called "Othos." Also General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Report of Principal Tribes on the Missouri.

in 1819 extended from the mouth of the Little Platte up to Boyer creek, on the north side of the Missouri, and from Independence creek to about forty miles above the mouth of the Platte, on the south side of the river. On Bluewater creek in 1818, says Long,³⁵ and between the Platte and the sources of the Kansas, they hunted bison.³⁶ They traded with the merchants of St. Louis.

The Kansas and other Indians on the plains, when on their hunts, traveled with troops of dogs. According to Bourgmont,³⁷ a single dog would drag, on poles, skins to build a cabin, in which from six to twelve persons could lodge, and in addition, plates, kettles and other utensils representing a weight of three hundred pounds. Castaneda³⁸ says that the Querechos and Teyas traveled with their tents and troops of dogs loaded with poles and skins for tents, and that when the load would get disarranged, the dogs would stop and howl. Jaramillo³⁹ says that these Indians of the plains did not live in houses, but had a set of poles on which they carried cow (buffalo) skins with which they built huts, and the conjecture seems correct that the Querechos and Teyas, met by Coronado, were the Kansas Indians out on the plains on their periodical hunts.

When the French first came up the Missouri river the Kansas hunted on the south side of the Missouri, between the Little Blue and the headwaters of the Big Blue, and west along the Kansas in the prairies.⁴⁰ They had their lodges on the Missouri river. In 1777 this tribe had 350 warriors. They lived generally in friendship and amity with the Osages, intermarried with them, and their customs and manners were the same, yet at times they were engaged in war with them.⁴¹ They had no idea of the exclusive possession of any country.

The Iowas⁴² resided in a village on the lower Missouri for some

³⁵ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 187.

³⁶ Long's Expedition p. 342. In and about this locality they were found by Bourgmont. Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 414.

³⁷ Margry, *Relation de Voyage du Sieur de Bourgmont*, vol. vi., p. 414.

³⁸ 14 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, Part i., p. 527.

³⁹ 14 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, Part i., p. 588.

⁴⁰ Margry *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 400 et seq. Morse's Report, p. 203.

⁴¹ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 241.

⁴² Spelled "Ougas" in *Present State* etc. p. 19; and "Ayous" in *An Account of Louisiana*, p. 41. In a report made in 1777 to the Spanish authorities, from St. Louis, it is said: "The Hayuas—This tribe is composed of two hun-

time, and there a band separated from them, going farther up the river, and were called the Pa-ho-ja.⁴³ Subsequently the parent tribe abandoned the Missouri and removed to the Des Moines and built a village on this river, where this band, known as the Pa-ho-jas, reunited with them.⁴⁴ These Iowas hunted between the Missouri and the headwaters of Grand river and the Des Moines, and from the head of the two Charitons west to the Nodaway and Nish-nabotna.⁴⁵ Although of the same Siouan stock, they united with the Saukees and Renards (Foxes), and expelled the Missouris from the mouth of Grand river. In 1818 they had a village about seventy miles above the mouth of this river. The Iowas cultivated some corn and were, if anything, less civilized than the Saukees and Renards. Captain Anderson⁴⁶ says that they were "a vile set." Afterward, in 1824, the Saukees and Renards practically exterminated this tribe.⁴⁷

These aboriginal inhabitants of the Missouri,—the Omahas, the Osages, the Ponkas, the Kansas, Otoes, Missouris and Iowas,—each spoke a different dialect of the same language, thus confirming the theory that all sprang from the same original stock. The individuals in each of these tribes could make themselves reciprocally understood after a very little practice. The pronunciation of the Omahas and Ponkas was guttural; that of the Osages brief and vivid, but that of the Missouris nasal.⁴⁸ Nuttall⁴⁹ says that the languages of these tribes differed little from each other.

One observation as to the purity of the language of these Indians, made by Major Long⁵⁰ in 1819, is not without interest. He says: "The free and independent spirit of the Indians is carried even into their language, and may be recognized there by its absolute

dred and fifty men of arms, the name of the principal chief being El Ladron; they live distant from this town by water eighty leagues along the Mississippi river, on the river Muen (Des Moines). This tribe is in war with the tribes of the Missouri river. Their occupation is hunting, the trade of this town deriving no benefit from it, as they deal with the British on the Mississippi."

⁴³ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 339.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴⁵ Morse's Rep., p. 204.

⁴⁶ 9 Wisc. Hist. Coll. p. 131.

⁴⁷ Stevens' Black Hawk, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 342.

⁴⁹ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 82.

⁵⁰ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 343.

destitution of a single word drawn from the language of a civilized people. Thus, notwithstanding their constant familiarity with certain traders, and with various articles of manufacture of the white people, they universally, and in every instance reject the names which they originally hear for such men and things, and apply others, which they readily invent."

When Marquette and Joliet made their voyage down the Mississippi the hunting grounds of the Omahas extended east to the waters of the Grand river. Their habitat was in the Great Bend of the Missouri until the white men came.⁵¹ The Missouris then resided and followed game near the mouth of the river. The Big Osages had removed farther up the stream now known by that name. Out of the Indian name Wa-ca-se,⁵² or, according to Long,⁵³ Waw-sash-e, or Wassashsha,⁵⁴ by some occult process the modern name of these Indians has been coined. Of these Indians the Big Osages, known as "Pa-he'tsi," that is to say, "campers on the mountains," were the dwellers of the hills, and the Little Osages, the "U-tseh-ta," which means "campers in the low lands," lived in the bottom lands or low lands of the Missouri and tributary streams. The Kansas had taken up their abode on the borders of the Kaw, where the winds blow high, although the precise significance of the name is unknown. The Missouris, or Oumessourits, or 8-mess-8-rits, or Ni-u-t'a-tci, (meaning of word uncertain but according to McGee is said to refer "to drowning of people in a stream"⁵⁵) remained near the mouth of the Missouri. But Long⁵⁶ says: "Another band had seceded from the migrating nation and established a village at the mouth of the Missouri river, from which circumstance they received the name "Ne-o-ta-cha," or "Ne-o-ge-he," signifying "those who build a town at the entrance of a river." Instead of seceding, however, it appears on investigation that all the other tribes successively seceded or migrated, leaving the Missouris behind, so that they were really and truly "people of this

⁵¹ 15 Annual Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 191.

⁵² As to the origin of this appellation, see McGee in the 15th Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, p. 193.

⁵³ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 328.

⁵⁴ The Great Osages called themselves the "Wassashsha."—Brown's Western Gazetteer, p. 193.

⁵⁵ 15th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162.

⁵⁶ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 339.

place," or the people "who build a town at the entrance of a river;" but they finally also removed up the river, as already explained, perhaps to escape the warlike Saukees and Outagamies.

In discussing the significance and meaning of these names, McGee well remarks that "The aborigines were, at the time of the discovery, and indeed most of them remain to-day, in the pre-scriptorial stage of culture, i. e., the stage in which ideas are crystallized, not by means of arbitrary symbols, but by means of arbitrary associations, and in this stage names are connotive and descriptive rather than denotive as in the scriptorial stages." Thus, the Osages were without any denotive designation, merely styling themselves Wa-ca-ce, meaning "people," but being known to others as the Pa-he-tsi, "campers on the mountains," and U-tseh-ta, "campers of the low lands," the interpreters constructing out of such connotive or descriptive words, a denotive name of a particular tribe. The corruption of such aboriginal terms, modified and remodified, is almost endless. It is difficult to trace Wa-ca-ce in the word "Osage," so spelled by the French, whose orthography was adopted and mis-pronounced by the English-speaking pioneers. By Marquette the word was spelled "Ouchage" and "Autrechaha," on Franquelin's map "Zages," and by Penicaut "Huzzaus," "Ous" and "Wawhas."⁵⁷ So, also, out of the word Pa-go-tce meaning "dusty heads," or Pa-ho-ja, meaning "gray snow," or Pa-o-ja, meaning "pierced noses," and Ay-u-was the word "Iowa" was evolved.

The territory from the Great Bend of the Missouri south to the waters of the Arkansas and east toward the Mississippi was the country of the Osages for several centuries before the advent of the European. Here were their hunting grounds. Over the high plateaux of the Ozarks and in the deep valleys cut through these plateaux by water they reigned as masters. On the banks of the pellucid streams meandering through the narrow valleys, overhung by fragrant trees, with a background border of abrupt and picturesque hills or perpendicular cliffs, they raised their lodges, pitched their barbaric tents of buffalo skins. Attracted by the water, countless bison roamed in the high prairie grass in summer, and in winter found shelter in the deep valleys from the rude north winds. Here De Soto found the "Cayas" and Coronado the "Teyas," "Haxas"

⁵⁷ 15th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 192.

and "Hayas," and it may be the "Wawhas" or "Wa-ca-ce," we now know as "Osages."⁵⁸

Morse⁵⁹ says that the Osages were of remarkable height, not many being less than six feet high, and of fine figure. Some would have been perfect models for a sculptor. "They are in appearance," says Mrs. Jones, "as noble a race of people as I have ever seen". "Well-formed, athletic and robust men of noble aspect" are the words of Audubon. "The Osages" says Bradbury,⁶⁰ "are so tall and robust as almost to warrant the appellation of the term gigantic; few of them appear to be under six feet, and many are above it. Their shoulders and visages are broad, which tends to strengthen the idea of their being giants." Instances of deformity were rare among them. They were fleet in their movements. Indian runners were prodigies in respect to their continued rapidity in conveying messages to distant tribes. "The activity and agility of the Osages is scarcely credible," says Nuttall,⁶¹ "they not uncommonly walk from their villages to the trading houses, a distance of sixty miles a day." In the attack on Detroit in 1712 they were represented,

⁵⁸ A report made from St. Louis, in 1777, found in the Spanish archives of Seville, says about the Grand Osages: "This tribe is composed of eight hundred men of arms; the principal chief of this tribe is Clermont. They are at a distance from this town by water eighty leagues, and by land about one hundred and ten, located on a tributary of the Missouri river, which is one hundred and forty leagues in length. This tribe is in war with the tribes of La Republica, Hotos, the Alcanzas, Panis, Piquies, and the tribes located on the Mississippi, on the British side. The harm done by this tribe is that they steal some horses from the inhabitants of these settlements. Their occupation has always been that of hunting, which brings great advantage to the trade of this place, as every year it produces from five hundred to five hundred and fifty packages of Deer skins." And of the Little Osages this same report says: "The tribe of the Little Osages is composed, as per advices of those who know, of as high as three to four hundred armed men. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Balafre. Their village is situated at half a league from the border of the Missouri river, at a distance from this town of about eighty-five leagues. Their occupation has always been, and is now, hunting, from which results the fur trade they have, which is done in this place. This tribe is generally at war with the tribes living on the Mississippi. This year, advices have been received, that they were about to make peace, but peace has not been made yet. Even if they make peace, this being a very warlike people, for a horse that one would steal from another, they would break all the peace treaties. This peace rumor cannot be relied on, nor indeed any news given on this matter. Their work or occupation is profitable enough in the line of furs. The only harm which is experienced from this tribe in these settlements is that some horses are stolen from the inhabitants, but it is an easy matter to make them return them."

⁵⁹ Morse's Report, p. 69.

⁶⁰ Bradbury's Travels, p. 42. See, also, *An Account of Louisiana*, p. 37, where it says that they are of "gigantic stature."

⁶¹ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 182.

traveling the wilderness with confederates yet more remote, thus giving us an idea of the wild energy of these people when aroused to action. Che-to-ka, or Whetstone, a Little Osage, claimed that he was at Braddock's defeat with all the warriors that could be spared from the villages; that they were supplied with powder and ball by Chevalier Macarty, commandant of Fort De Chartres, and that in this expedition they were absent from their villages seven months.⁶²

The Osages possessed all the Indian characteristics, talked little, in conversation did not interrupt each other, and except when intoxicated, were not vociferous or noisy. They were not drunkards and were greatly and favorably distinguished from the other Indians by their general sobriety. Lieutenant Frazier,⁶³ in 1764, remarked that the Indians "in general are great drunkards," but adds, "I must except the Osages." Long⁶⁴ says that among the Osages "drunkenness is rare and is much ridiculed; a drunken man is said to be bereft of his reason, and avoided." According to Sibley, who knew them well, they were very intelligent, and in general communicative. They were acquainted with some peculiar characters and configurations of the stars; knew the Pleiades and the three stars of Orion's belt; in the planet Venus they recognized the harbinger of day, and they called the galaxy "the heavenly path or celestial road." The waxing and waning of the moon regulated their minor periods of time, and the number of moons, accompanied by the concomitant phenomena of the seasons, for them pointed out the natural duration of the year.⁶⁵ They bore sickness and pain with great fortitude, seldom uttering a complaint; and Brown says that they were most skilful in medicine.⁶⁶ Insanity was unknown among them. The blind were well taken care of by their friends, and were well dressed and fed.⁶⁷

Scarcely any Indian nation has encountered more enemies than the Osages, and Nuttall⁶⁸ says that, in 1818, they still flattered themselves by saying that they were seated in the middle of the world,

⁶² Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 531.

⁶³ Ind. Hist. Publication, vol. i., p. 415.

⁶⁴ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 125.

⁶⁵ Nuttall's Arkansas, pp. 175-6.

⁶⁶ Brown's Western Gazetteer, p. 193.

⁶⁷ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 125.

⁶⁸ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 172.

and that although surrounded by enemies, they had ever maintained their usual population and their country. To protect their settlements on the Mississippi from the attacks of the Osages, the Spaniards induced the Shawnees and Delawares to immigrate into the Spanish dominions and settle on Apple creek, and at other places near the river. A small band of thirty Peorias and Kaskaskias living at Ste. Genevieve seldom hunted because of their fear of the Osages.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Osages lived principally along the Osage river, but the commercial rivalry of the Chouteaus and De Lisa led to the establishment of a new Osage village near the Arkansas river. In 1680, according to Hennepin,⁶⁹ the Osages had seventeen villages; and Coxe⁷⁰ states that they had from seventeen to eighteen villages in 1770. They then still had villages on the Missouri, but in about 1790 they and the Missouris, who had joined them, were driven from this river by the encroachments of the Saukees and Outagamies.⁷¹ Ashe⁷² says that they could muster a thousand warriors in 1805, and this is also the statement made in "An Account of Louisiana," published in 1804.⁷³ In 1817 Sibley reports that the Great Osages had four hundred warriors, the Little Osages two hundred and fifty, the Osages of the Arkansas six hundred, and the Kansas two hundred and fifty. The hunting lodges, traces and warpaths of this tribe were found in all the territory between these two great rivers.

Up to 1820 the largest section of the Great Osages dwelt on the upper reaches of the Osage river, but greatly diminished in numbers. The principal village was located about seventy-five miles south of Fort Osage. They hunted over a great extent of country, along the waters of the Osage, Gasconade, Neosho, and numerous other streams, branches of these rivers, and also at the headwaters of the St. Francois, White, and Arkansas. Another offshoot of this tribe at that time lived on the Neosho, about one hundred and thirty miles from Fort Osage. These had separated from the other village about seven or eight years before that time but hunted in common with them. Both villages did not contain

⁶⁹ Hennepin's *New Discovery*, vol. iii., p. 143 (McClurg Ed.)

⁷⁰ Coxe's *Carolana*, p. —

⁷¹ Lewis and Clark's *Expedition* (Cous' Ed.), p. 37.

⁷² Ashe's *Travels*, vol. iii., p. 102.

⁷³ *An Account of Louisiana*, p. 37.

more than two thousand souls, of which about four hundred and fifty were warriors and hunters. The Little Osages also dwelt in three other villages on the Neosho under sub-chiefs, "Kahegas,"⁷⁴ and with them about twenty families of the Missouris lived and had intermarried. These hunted much in common with the other Osages on the headwaters of some of the branches of this stream.

"At this time these Osages were continually removing," says Mr. Sibley,⁷⁵ "from one village to another, quarreling and intermarrying, always at war, and not a year elapsed that did not show a decrease in numbers. Epidemic diseases swept away now and then whole families." Yet Catlin,⁷⁶ in 1838, estimates the total number of Osage Indians to be over five thousand, this being about the same population as when this tribe first became known to the Europeans. Nuttall⁷⁷ gives the number in 1819 as eight thousand.

The main dependence of these Indians was hunting, but they raised annually small crops of corn, beans and pumpkins, which they cultivated entirely with the hoe and in the simplest manner, planting in April. They entered upon their summer hunts in May and returned about the first of August to gather their crops, left unhoed and unfenced all summer. "Each family," says Mr. Sibley,⁷⁸ "if lucky, can save from ten to twenty bags of corn and beans, of a bushel and a half each, besides a quantity of dried pumpkins. On this they feast, with dried meat saved in the summer, until September, when what remains is *cached*, and they set out for their fall hunt, from which they return about Christmas. From that time, till some time in February or March, as the season happens to be mild or severe, they stay pretty much in their villages, making only hunting excursions occasionally, and during that time they consume the greater part of their *caches*. In February or March the spring hunt commences; first the bear, then the beaver hunt. This they pursue until planting time, when they again return to their village, pitch their crops, and in May set out for the summer hunt, taking with them the residue, if any, of their corn, etc. This is the circle of Osage life, here and there indented with war and trading expe-

⁷⁴ Southern Literary Messenger, 1842, p. 148.

⁷⁵ Morse's Report, vol. ii., p. 204-5.

⁷⁶ Catlin's North American Indian, vol. ii., p. 40

⁷⁷ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 173.

⁷⁸ Morse's Report, p. 205.

ditions. . . . I ought to have stated that these people derive a portion of their subsistence regularly from wild fruits their country abounds with. Walnuts, hazelnuts, pecans, acorns, grapes, plums, pawpaws, persimmons, hog-potatoes, and several very nutritious roots—all these they gather and preserve with care, and possess the art of preparing many of them, so that they are really good eating. I have feasted daintily on preparations of acorns (from small white-oak) and buffalo grease. I had the advantage, however, of a good appetite, well whetted by nearly two days' abstinence from food."

While not indifferent to the agricultural skill of the white settlers, and the profit arising therefrom, the Indians could not be induced to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits. "I see," said a noted Osage chief, Has-ha-ke-da-tungar, or the Big Soldier, "and admire your way of living, your good warm houses, your extensive corn-fields, your gardens, your cows, oxen, work horses, wagons and a thousand machines that you know the use of; I see that you are able to clothe yourself, even from weeds and grass. In short, you can do almost what you choose. You whites possess the power of subduing almost every animal you use. You are surrounded by slaves. Everything about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I fear if I should change my pursuit for yours, I, too, should become a slave. Talk to my sons; perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions, or at least recommend them to their sons; but for myself, I was born free, was raised free, and wish to die free." And he added, "I am perfectly contented with my condition. The forests and river supply all the calls of nature in plenty and there is no lack of white people to purchase the supplies of our industry."

A story related by Brackenridge⁷⁹ well illustrates the attractions of the savage state for white men who have lived a long time among the Indians. He says: "We had on board a Frenchman, named Charboneau,⁸⁰ with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, both of whom had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, and were of great service. The woman was a good creature, of mild and gentle disposition, greatly attached to the whites, whose

⁷⁹ Brackenridge's Journal, p. 10.

⁸⁰ May be the same Charboneau mentioned by Major Long, in 1819, as at Fort Osage. Long's Expedition, vol. i., pp. 119, 134. Also Lewis and Clark's Expedition, vol. i., pp. 189, 224 (Cous' Ed.). Name spelled "Chaboneau"; "Chaubonic" in Clark and Lewis' Journal.

manners and dress she tried to imitate; but she had become sickly and longed to revisit her native country; her husband also, who had spent years among the Indians, had become weary of civilized life. So true it is, that the attachment to the savage state, or state of Nature (with which appellation it has commonly been dignified), is much stronger than that of civilization, with all its comforts, its refinements and its security." Speaking of Daniel Boone and his love for a life in the wilderness, Long ⁸¹ says: "The charms of that mode of life, wherein the artificial wants and the uneasy restraints inseparable from a crowded population are not known, wherein we feel ourselves dependent immediately and solely on the bounty of Nature and the strength of our own arm, will not be appreciated by those to whom they are known only from description, though they never fail to make an impression upon such as have acquired a knowledge of them from experience."

On his visit to Fort Osage in 1811, Brackenridge was not very favorably impressed with the Osages he met there. He says: "On approaching the fort we were met by a number of Osage Indians of both sexes and of all ages. They kept pace with us, strung along the bank, apparently attracted by curiosity. They were objects rather disgusting; generally of a filthy, greasy appearance, the greater part with old dirty buffalo robes thrown over their shoulders; some with brawny limbs exposed and no covering but a piece of cloth girded about their loins. The women appeared, if possible, still more filthy than the men. A few were daubed with red and adorned with brooches and beads. The men carried their bows, guns or war clubs in their hands. In point of size they are larger than the whites. The curiosity which these people manifested in running after us in a crowd, gaping and staring, struck me as a characteristic very different from the Indians east of the Mississippi, who observe studied indifference as to everything strange which transpires around them." A few years afterwards, however, Major Long observed the effect on the Pawnee chief, Long-Hair, of placing a band of musicians on the road where he was to pass, and having them suddenly strike up a loud martial air, as he went by, found that the chief did not even deign to look up at instruments he had never seen or heard before, nor did he manifest by any emotion whatever that he was sensible to their presence.

⁸¹ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 105.

While at Fort Osage, Mr. Brackenridge, accompanied by Mr. Lisa and Mr. Sibley, the factor of the fort, went to deliver to the Little Osage chief, Sans Oreille, or Te-to-basi, a pipe sent him by General Clark. He was received by the chief sitting on a mat, "surrounded by a number of young men, who seemed to treat him with great respect and receive everything he said with approbation." Sans Oreille ordered his cook, or herald (for every great man among these Indians had a domestic of this description), a bushy-headed, ill-looking fellow, to bring them a dish of hominy. After having eaten of this, the pipe was sent around. Brackenridge then presented him with the pipe, which was handsomely decorated with ribbands and beads of various colors, and told him that it was given at the request of General Clark, and that it was intended as proof of the esteem and consideration in which he was held not only by the General himself, but by all Americans. He replied that he was "pleased with the proof of General Clark's good will towards him, that he was the friend of the Americans. He declared that he had done much to preserve the proper respect toward us, but that there were many foolish people amongst the Osages, who thwarted his measures, but that every man of sense approved his conduct." Though not a chief, it was evident to his visitors that he was intriguing to be at the head of his tribe, and "that at that time he possessed much influence with them. The hereditary chief, young White-Hairs, had but little in his own character to entitle him to respect, being extremely young and of a gentle disposition, supported, however, by the reputation of his father, who was a great warrior and a good man. Sans Oreille, as usual with the ambitious amongst these people, was the poorest man in the nation, for to set the heart upon goods and chattels was thought to indicate a mean and narrow soul. He, therefore, gave away everything he could get, even should he rob and beg to procure it; and this to purchase popularity. Such is ambition! Little know they of this state of society, who believe that it is free from jealousies, from envy, detraction or guilty ambition. No demagogue, no Catiline, ever used more art and finesse, or displayed more policy than this cunning savage. The arts of flattery and bribery, by which the unthinking multitude is seduced, are nearly the same everywhere, and passion for power and distinction seems inherent in human nature."⁸²

⁸² Brackenridge's Journal, p. 50. Dorsey says that he is generally "the

In 1811, sixty lodges of the Little Osages were situated within gunshot of Fort Osage, and at another time in the same year over fifteen hundred Osage warriors were encamped around the fort. While here Mr. Crooks, observing one Osage beating and kicking another who suffered it patiently, asked why he did not defend himself. Showing the handle of his tomahawk, upon which every war-like exploit is shown by a notch, an Indian being estimated rich or poor according to the number of such notches, he answered: "Oh, I am too poor; he is richer than I am."⁸³

The dress⁸⁴ of the Osages was usually composed of moccasins for the feet, leggings to cover the leg and thigh; a breech-cloth; an over-all or hunting shirt, seamed up and slipped over the head, all made of leather, softly dressed by means of fat and oily substances and often rendered more durable by the smoke with which they were purposely imbued. Perhaps this caused Brackenridge to describe them as having a filthy and dirty appearance. Long⁸⁵ says that the ordinary dress of the men was a breech-cloth of blue or red cloth, secured in its place by a girdle; a pair of leggings made of dressed deerskin, concealing the leg excepting a small portion of the upper part of the thigh; a pair of moccasins made of dressed deer, elk or bison skin, not ornamented, and a blanket to cover the upper part of the body. The dress of the women was composed of a pair of moccasins, leggings of blue or red cloth, with a broad projecting border on the outside and covering the leg to the knee or a little above; around the waist, secured by a belt, they wrapped a piece of blue cloth the sides of which met, or came nearly in contact, on the outside of the right thigh, and the whole extending downwards as far as the knee or to the midleg; and around the shoulder a similar piece of cloth was attached by two of the corners at the axilla of the right arm and extended down to the waist. This garment was often laid aside in warm weather. The women allowed their hair to grow long, hanging over the shoulders, and parted longitudinally on the top of the head. The children were generally allowed to go naked in warm weather. Many of them tattooed different parts of their bodies.

poorest man in the band"—but that he takes care "to give his property to his kindred or to the rich from whom he may draw in time of need." 15 Bureau of Ethnology, p. 224.

⁸³ Bradbury's Travels, p. 51.

⁸⁴ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 89.

⁸⁵ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 126.

They were kind to each other, and if at any time some were more prosperous in hunting than others, their doors were open to the destitute, who were invited to partake of their abundance. They were accustomed frequently to send provisions to the lodges of the wretched, the widow, and the fatherless. It is admitted that they were hospitable and kind to strangers not their enemies, and especially that they were hospitable to white people who came among them. As soon as a white man came into one of their villages he was invited from one cabin to another to partake of their simple fare.⁸⁶ It was expected that the visitor would present himself at the lodge of the chief, who would receive him as his guest, and here he would eat first, after the old patriarchal style. Afterwards the visitor would be invited to a feast by all the great men of the village, and it was considered a great insult not to comply, at least as far as to taste of

⁸⁶ Louis Bringier, who appears to have been a trader among them, in the *North American Journal of Science*, vol. iii., p. 22, gives this interesting account of their hospitality and customs, written in 1818: "Among the Osages there are some insubordinate stragglers, who now and then commit depredations abroad, but in their villages, as in those of the other two tribes, a stranger is in more security than he would be in any civilized city. Their hospitality exceeds all bounds; they act as if nothing was their own, and the best way to please them is to refuse nothing from them. When a trader stops his boat on the Arkansas at the landing place, 45 miles from their village, they immediately send people to transport his goods to the village; they unload his boat themselves, station a guard to take care of the empty boat, sometimes for four months, disputing the privilege of lodging the people of the boat, whom they divide among them. The merchant is reserved for the principal Chief, who gives him a warrior to guard his person and his goods; besides many other attentions, which with delicate although unpolished courtesy he pays his guest, who receives every day a large wooden bowl full of provisions from every one of the principal cabins of the village. The bowls contain smoked pumpkins, cut in slices, platted together, sweet corn, which they boil when green and dry in the sun, buffaloes' dried meat, bear's meat or fresh venison and turkeys. All the other Indian tribes except the Osages eat beaver. The latter have a tradition by which they pretend to have sprung from a female beaver and a snake. They, like most of the other tribes, believe in metempsychosis. They revere a spirit-being whom they call Kay-Kay (Great Chief), to whom they always present the best piece in the dish, which they bury in the fire before they eat. They have great veneration for old people, for the use of whom the first choice of their provision is put aside. When the whole village united surrounds a herd of buffaloes by making a double fence of their own bodies, so as to encircle sometimes 40 or 50 of these animals, two or three men on horseback pursue the animals within the circle with their bows and arrows, for they never kill a buffalo with a gun, and when all are killed they first select the fattest for the old people, and the remainder is divided among all the other people. They have prophets whom they call thinkers. They prophesy many absurdities which they pretend are communicated to them by messengers of the Great Spirit with whom they can converse when they are in a profound sleep occasioned by some somniferent beverage which they know how to prepare. The Osage prophets are likewise their physicians."

their victuals. Thus Lieutenant Pike was invited to fifteen different entertainments among the Osages in one afternoon. The cooks would act as heralds and cry out "Come and eat!" and that such an one "gives a feast; come and eat of his bounty!" On such occasions their dishes were generally sweet-corn boiled in buffalo grease, or boiled meat and pumpkins. When Pike was in the village of Te-to-basi, or Sans Oreille, he was treated to tea in a wooden dish with a new horn spoon, boiled meat and crullers; but Te-to-basi had been on a trip to the United States.⁸⁷ They regarded white men as very deficient in hospitality, and when they were told by Indians who had visited the settlements that if they came to the house of a white man after dinner nothing would be offered them until night, and then but a stinted portion, they considered this despicable.⁸⁸ But among the white hunters and hunting farmers, the Osages did not bear a good reputation,⁸⁹ because they frequently insulted and chastised them when they found them hunting in their country.⁹⁰ The Americans were called No-ya-tunga, Long-knife, by the Osages.⁹¹

The lodges in which these Indians lived, says Lieutenant Pike, were generally constructed with upright posts put firmly in the ground, about twenty feet in height, with a crotch at the top and placed about twelve feet distant from each other. In the crotch of these posts they put a ridge-pole, over which they bent small poles, the ends of which were brought down and fastened to a row of sticks about five feet in height; these sticks being fastened together with three horizontal bars, forming the flank walls of the lodges; the gable-ends were broad slabs, rounded off to the ridge-pole. The whole of the building and the sides were covered with matting made of rushes two or three feet in length, and four feet in width, joined together and entirely excluding the rain. The doors were on each side of the building. The fires were made in holes in the center of the lodge, the smoke ascending through apertures left in the roof for that purpose. At one end of the dwelling was a raised platform about three feet from the ground, which was covered with bear skins,

⁸⁷ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 528.

⁸⁸ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 321.

⁸⁹ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 57.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 174.

⁹¹ Southern Literary Messenger, February, 1842, pp. 148, 149.

generally holding all the little furniture; on this reposed the honored guests. "In fact, with neatness and a pleasing companion," says Pike, "these dwellings would compose a very comfortable and attractive summer habitation." Generally in the winter these lodges were abandoned for the woods. The lodges varied in length from thirty-six to one hundred feet. "Around the walls of the interior a continued series of mats are suspended; these are of neat workmanship, composed of soft reed, united by bark cord, in straight or undulated lines, between which, lines of black paint sometimes occurred. The bedsteads are about six feet wide, and are elevated to the height of a common seat from the ground, extending in an uninterrupted line around three-fourths of the circumference of the apartment, and are formed in the simplest manner, of numerous sticks or slender pieces of wood, resting at their ends on cross pieces, each supported by short notched or forked posts driven into the ground, with bison skins thus formed a comfortable bed. Several medicine or mystic bags are carefully attached to the mats on the wall. These are cylindrical and neatly bound up; several reeds are placed upon them, and a human scalp serves for their fringe and tassels." This is Long's description of the lodge of a Grand Chief, which served as a council house of the Konza nation.⁹²

Hunter, who claims that he was a captive among the Osages, says that they manufactured blankets out of the hair of the buffalo and other animals; that in order to make these blankets they first twisted the hair by hand and then wound it into balls; they then laid the warp to answer the size of the intended blanket, crossed by three small smooth rods alternately beneath the threads and secured at each end to stronger rods supported on forks at a short distance above the ground. Thus prepared, the warp was filled in, thread by thread, and pressed closely together by means of long, flattened wooden needles. When the weaving was finished the ends of the warp and woof were tied into knots and the blanket was ready for use. In the same manner the Osages constructed mats from flags and rushes, on which in warm weather they sat and slept.⁹³

Their culinary utensils usually were very simple in kind and limited in quantity, consisting of brass kettles or iron pots, or both,

⁹² Long's Expedition, vol., i., p. 121.

⁹³ Memoirs of a Captive among the Indians of North America, John D. Hunter, pp. 289, 290.

and wooden bowls and spoons. Every person, both male and female, usually carried, in the girdle of the breech-cloth behind, a large knife, which was used at their meals, and sometimes for self-defense. No regularity existed among them as to the time of eating their meals; they would eat four or five times a day when they had food, and fast when they had exhausted this supply and were unsuccessful in the chase. A sort of soup composed of maize boiled in water, and enriched with a few slices of bison meat, grease and some beans, and generally seasoned with rocksalt procured from near the Arkansas river, was their favorite dish. "This mixture constituted an agreeable food," says Long,⁹⁴ "and was served in large wooden bowls placed on bison robes or mats on the ground, around which sat as many as could conveniently eat out of one bowl, from which in common they partook of its contents by means of large spoons made of bison horns." Another acceptable dish was made out of lyed corn of the preceding season, first shelled from the cob, then boiled for a short time in lye of wood-ashes until the hard skin of the grains were separated, and the whole was poured into a basket which was then rapidly dipped into clean water until the lye and skins were removed, when the remainder was boiled in water until so soft as to be edible. This dish was adopted by the pioneers and is called hominy by us, from the Indian word "auhumineau."⁹⁵ While Pike⁹⁶ was among them he was also regaled with boiled pumpkins, to which Radisson and Groselliers refer as "citronelles." When Bradbury⁹⁷ visited the lodge of Waubuscon, chief of the Little Osage village near Fort Osage, a wooden bowl was handed around, containing square pieces of cake, in taste resembling gingerbread. This on inquiry he found was made out of the pulp of the persimmon mixed with pounded corn, and was called "staninca." They also raised beans, muskmelons and watermelons, but the latter were generally pulled from the vine before they were completely ripe. While Long's description relates to the Kansas, it equally applies to the Osages, with whom they were intimately associated and with whom they intermarried. But this pleasing account

⁹⁴ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 122.

⁹⁵ Century Dictionary, vol. ii., Hominy.

⁹⁶ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 388.

⁹⁷ Bradbury's Travels, p. 45.

of the local habitations and homes of the Osages, which Lieutenant Pike observed in 1807, and Long in 1819, is not so satisfactory to Mr. Requa,⁹⁸ of the Missionary Society, in 1821. He says: "This unhappy people live in low huts, covered with long grass or flag, but so badly put together that they leak in a storm of rain. They have very little furniture, merely a few pots and kettles in which they boil their provisions. The art of cooking their meat in any other way than boiling is unknown among them, except roasting it on a stick before the fire. They have very little variety in their food. Wild game, corn, dried pumpkins and beans constitute about all on which they subsist. With this, however, they are contented. They have wooden bowls out of which they eat, drink, wash themselves and clean the dirt and filth about them. Neatness and cleanliness are qualities of which they are totally destitute. Their meat which they bring home from the chase is generally covered with blood and dirt; yet I never knew them to wash it before it was cooked. Their pots and kettles they rarely, if ever, clean. This is merely a specimen of their defilement and uncleanness. The half has not been told. I could give you an account of their lewd and immodest conduct. Let it suffice to say, that chastity and modesty are not known, or very little regarded by them. They have little sense of shame. All the laborious operations are performed by the women. They build the houses, cut and carry the timber and fuel; they dress all the skins, make moccasins for themselves, their husbands and children. Indeed, all the drudgery is imposed upon the female sex."

The villages were closely built together, occupying very little ground, and that laid out without any degree of regularity whatever, each building being put up in such direction and of such dimensions as suited the builder. Frequently, the several buildings were so close together that a man could hardly squeeze between them.⁹⁹ Added to their lodges, they had pens for their horses, into which they were always driven at night whenever they had reason to suspect that an enemy was lurking in the neighborhood.

The domestic institutions of the Osages were different from those of any other Indian nation met by Lieutenant Pike on his extended expedition west of the Mississippi. Among the Osages the

⁹⁸ Morse's Report, p. 233.

⁹⁹ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 528; villages destitute of any regularity — Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 120.

people were separated into classes. Some were warriors and hunters, these two terms with them being synonymous; and the remainder into two classes, that is to say, cooks and doctors. The latter also exercised the functions of priests and magicians, and had great influence in the councils of the nation by reason of their pretended divinations and interpretations of dreams, and magical performances. The cooks were either of general use or attached particularly to the family of some great man. What was most singular, men who had been great warriors and brave men, having lost all their families by disease or war, themselves becoming old and infirm, frequently would take up the profession of cook, in which it was not necessary to carry arms, and thus gain a support from the public or from some particular patron. They would also exercise the functions of town crier, calling the chiefs together to council and to feast; or if any particular person was wanted, they would go through the village crying out his name and informing him that he was wanted at a particular lodge.¹⁰⁰ The Osage young men who on their first warpath exhibited cowardice it was also their practice to condemn for life to associate with squaws and to wear the same dress and to do the same drudgery.

The government of the Osages was oligarchical, but still partook of the nature of a republic; for, although the power was nominally vested in a small number of chiefs, they never undertook any matter of importance without first assembling the warriors and proposing the subject in council, there to be discussed and decided by a majority. Their chiefs were hereditary in most instances, yet many men rose to influence among them by their activity and boldness in war. Although they had no regular code of laws, there was a tacit acknowledgment of the right which some had to command on certain occasions, while others were bound to submit even to corporal punishment. On the whole, says Pike, their government was an oligarchical republic, where the chiefs proposed and the people decided on all public acts.¹⁰¹

Ca-ha-go-tonga, or "White Hairs" (*Cheveux Blanc*), was the principal chief of the Osages when Louisiana was purchased, and July 12, 1804, he and a delegation of Osages, in charge of Pierre Chouteau, at that time agent among the Osages, visited Washington

¹⁰⁰ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 528.

¹⁰¹ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 526; Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 174.

on recommendation of Captain Meriwether Lewis. White Hairs remained chief of the Osages until his death in 1808.¹⁰² Wa-tcha-wa-ha, or Jean la Fon, a son-in-law of White Hairs, was the second chief. The next in rank was Ta-wan-ga-ha, or Fils de Canard and Iche-so-hun-gar, a son of White Hairs; Ha-pau-se, or "Pointed Horn;" Cha-po-ran-ga, or Bonnet du Boeuf; Gi-ha-gat-che; Shen-ga-was-sa, or Belle Oiseau; Wa-sa-ba-tun-ga, or "Without Nerve;" Oga-ha-wasa and Tour-man-sara, or "The Heart of the Town." Among the Little Osages, Tut-ta-suggy, or "The Wind;" Watch-ke-singar, or Soldat de Chien; Nezuma, or "The Rain that Walks," a brother of Tut-ta-suggy; Te-to-basi, or Sans Oreille, and Tare-hem, or "Yellow-skin Deer," and finally Maugraine, or Big Rogue, were the principal chiefs. In 1820 Has-ha-ke-da-tungar, or Big Soldier, having been in Washington several times representing his tribe, was one of the principal chiefs among the Grand Osages.

It was this chief who when he was in charge of the Indians under command of Pike, redeemed by the United States from the Pottowatomies, flogged a young Indian with arms in his hands, because he failed to obey orders. While Cashe-segra was the nominal chief, Clermont, or "The Builder of Towns," was the greatest warrior and most influential man among the Arkansas Osages. Nuttall,¹⁰³ describing Clermont, says that "he wore a hat ornamented with a band of silver lace, with a sort of livery or regimental coat, and appeared proud of the artificial distinction bestowed on him by the government." He was the lawful chief of the Great Osages, but his historic right was usurped by "White Hairs" while he was an infant. Both White Hairs and Cashe-segra, or Big Foot, were made

¹⁰² After his death young White Hairs was chief, but when Bradbury visited the Osages he says this boy was only six years old, and that the tribe was governed "by a regent."—Bradbury's *Travels*, p. 38. According to Flint, he derived his appellation "White Hairs" from the fact that he had taken a gray wig, or scratch, from the head of an American at the disastrous defeat of St. Clair. In the mêlée of the battle he had grasped, as he supposed, a man's hair, to hold him, but, much to his astonishment, the man fled and the wig remained in his hand. It instantly to him became a charmed thing, and he afterwards wore it securely fastened to his own scalp. He possessed great ambition, and in St. Louis said that "I felt a fire within me and it drove me to the fight of St. Clair. When his army was scattered I returned to my country, but the fire still burned, and I went over the mountains to the Western sea. I gained glory there. The fire still burns, but I must return and die in obscurity among the forests of the Osage."—Flint's *Recollections*, p. 155.

¹⁰³ Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 183. Name is perhaps more properly spelled "Clarmont" in Nuttall.

chiefs through the influence of Pierre Chouteau.¹⁰⁴ Talai, the son of the last chief of the Osages on the Arkansas, being considered too young when his father died, Clermont was selected chief, and his behavior secured the ascendancy, but he was careful not to show any pomp or distinction beyond his rank as superior chief and leader in council.¹⁰⁵ Clermont's proper name was "Iron Bird." Nuttall¹⁰⁶ says, "among the Osages the right of governing is commonly hereditary, but not directed by primogeniture."

Like most of the savage tribes, the Osages adorned their ears with pendants, slitting and cutting the cartilage of the ears.¹⁰⁷ Like the Kansas and Pawnees, they carefully cut away and shaved the hair of the head, except a lock on the crown, which they plaited and ornamented with rings, wampum and feathers;¹⁰⁸ and they decorated and painted with great care and considerable taste.¹⁰⁹ Catlin¹¹⁰ says that there is "a peculiarity about the heads of these people that is very striking to the eye of the traveler. This peculiarity is produced by artificial means in infancy, when the infants are carried around on boards slung upon the mother's back. Among the Osages, the head of the child is bound down so tight to the board as to force in the occipital bone, and create an unnatural deficiency on the back part of the head, and consequently a more than natural elevation on the top of the head." This custom, the Osages told Catlin, was practiced by them because "it pressed out a bold and manly appearance in front." It was this peculiarity, "this something on or about the head," that impressed Jaramillo.¹¹¹

Their necks were generally ornamented with a profusion of wampum and beads, and in summer their shoulders, arms and chests were generally naked and painted in a great variety of picturesque ways. They wore silver bands on their wrists and oftentimes a profusion of rings on their fingers.

The Osages were a brave and warlike nation. Before going to

¹⁰⁴ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 558. (Cous' Ed.)

¹⁰⁵ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 173.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁷ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 126.

¹⁰⁸ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 185.

¹⁰⁹ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 126.

¹¹⁰ Catlin's North American Indian, vol. ii., pp. 40, 41.

¹¹¹ See Ante, p. 133.

war they practiced rigid fasts, which they continued sometimes for three and seven days; thus they disciplined themselves for disaster and supplicated the favor of heaven.¹¹² But they could not resist the northern Indian nations using the rifle; and hence, with the nations north and east of them thus armed, the Osages were loath to engage in war, although ever ready to fight with those west of them, only armed with bows, arrows, and lances. As an instance of their forbearance, or fear of northern Indians thus equipped, Lieutenant Pike says that, in the autumn of 1808, a hunting party of Little Osages were attacked by a party of Pottowatomies who crossed the Missouri river near the mouth of the Saline, found the women and children defenseless, killed all the women and boys who made resistance, also some infants, about thirty-four in all, and led the remainder into captivity, some sixty in number. Of these, forty-six were afterward recovered by the United States, and sent under the protection of Pike to the village. The men were absent at the time of the surprise, on a hunt, and having found plenty of deer, they did not return home but camped out all night. When they returned they found their families all destroyed or taken prisoners, yet in obedience to the injunction of the government they forebore to avenge the blow. But in 1819 they formed an alliance with the Saukees and Renards (Foxes), allies of the Pottowatomies, against the Cherokees, presenting them on that occasion with one hundred horses.

While no match for the northern Indians using the rifle, their dexterity in archery and the dexterity of other tribes of the western plains, before the introduction of firearms, was wonderful, and will hardly be deemed possible now. Riding in a full run an athletic Indian at times would discharge the arrow with such certainty and force that, under favorable circumstances, it was known to pass entirely through the body of a buffalo, and actually to fly some distance, or fall to the ground on the opposite side of the animal.¹¹³ Their bows were about four feet long, of simple form, made of hickory or hop-horn beam wood or bow-wood, with the cord made of twisted buffalo and elk sinew. The hunting arrow was about two feet long, round, with an elongated triangular spear-head, made of sheet-iron, of which the shoulders were rounded and firmly affixed

¹¹² Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 184.

¹¹³ Long's *Expedition*, vol. i., p. 209

to the shank by deer sinew. Its flight was equalized by three half webs of the feathers of a turkey neatly secured near its base. The war arrow differed from the hunting arrow in this—that the spear-head was very slightly attached to the wood, so that the arrow could not be withdrawn without leaving the spear-point in the wound.¹¹⁴ The arrows were carried in a quiver made of cougar skin with the tail of the animal dangling from the upper end, and they also had a skin case for the bow.

The Osages, as we have seen, were divided into separate clans and divisions: the Grand or Big Osages, the Little Osages, and the Osages of the Arkansas. The Little Osages separated from the Big Osages about the beginning of the 18th century; the Arkansas Osages separated through the influence of Pierre Chouteau about 1795, because Manuel de Lisa had obtained from the Spanish authorities the exclusive right to trade with the Osages by way of the Osage river, after that trade had been controlled by Chouteau for twenty years. He caused some of the Osages to remove to Arkansas, where he had the trade privilege, and thus greatly injured the trade of De Lisa on the Osage river. Although Chouteau promised the Spanish authorities to cause these Osages to return to their village, they failed to do so. The hunting in the summer was much better along the Arkansas than the Osage, and hence the bold and enterprising young men daily emigrated from the village on the Osage to the village on the Arkansas.

Nor were the Osages slow to resent any invasion of their hunting grounds. Thus when in 1820 the government by treaty ceded and afterwards removed the Kickapoos living in central Illinois to a part of the Osage country, upon the Kickapoos coming to their new hunting grounds on the Pomme de Terre the Osages objected, saying that they sold their land to the United States for the whites and not to be given to other Indians who would spread over their hunting grounds and kill their game.¹¹⁵ They were greatly dissatisfied when the government removed the Cherokees to the west of the Arkansas,¹¹⁶ a country which had formerly belonged to them. This arrangement was made in 1808–9 by the President, and a portion of the Cherokee

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 291.

¹¹⁵ By treaty of 1832 the Kickapoos were assigned another tract of land, west of the Missouri river.

¹¹⁶ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 135.

nation removed westward, exchanging their lands east of the Mississippi for lands on the Arkansas river. They claimed the right of hunting indefinitely westward. "The Osages, not liking these intruders, as they regarded them, broke up their hunting lodges, and plundered them of their peltry. One depredation provoked another, until they came in collision; murders were committed; and finally the Cherokees made a formal declaration of war. They took up the line of march in the spring of 1817, with two field pieces mounted and drawn by horses, and the men armed with rifles. The Cherokees were half-civilized, and understood and kept up military discipline. Adopted into their nation were not a few "white skins," and the Shawnees and Delawares. They made a rapid march into the Osage country, surprised them in their villages, made them run, killed a dozen or so, took as many prisoners, chiefly women and children, and for a time held them as hostages."¹¹⁷

The country around the great village of the Osages, says Pike,¹¹⁸ "is one of the most beautiful the eye ever beheld. The Osage river winding round and past the village, giving advantages of wood and water, and at the same time an extensive prairie crowned with rich and luxuriant grass and flowers, gently diversified by rising swells and sloping lawns, present to the warm imagination the future site of husbandry, the numerous herds of domestic animals which are no doubt destined to crown with joy those happy plains."

In this delightful land, in 1821, the United Foreign Missionary Society established a school for the education of the Osages, on the margin of the Marais des Cygnes river, about six miles from the junction of this stream with the Osage, on land granted the society by the Indians in council, the school being situated about seventy-five miles from Fort Osage and about fifteen miles from the Great Osage village. This place was named "Harmony," and was situated within the limits of the present Bates county. Mr. Newton describes the location as follows: "Our limits embrace excellent timber in abundance; first-rate prairie for plowing, pasturing, and mowing; the only mill seat known in this vast country; stone coal on the surface of the ground and within a few rods of our buildings; and a large ridge of limestone, sufficiently near for convenience. Our river bottoms are rather low for cultivation, without draining, but our prairies

¹¹⁷ Life of Peck, p. 114.

¹¹⁸ Near the present town of Papinville, in Bates county.

are high and inclining toward the creeks, which receive and carry off all the surplus water. The soil of our prairies is a dark, rich loam, about two feet thick, beneath which we have clear clay as deep as we have yet penetrated. We shall depend on wells for water for family use. The grass of the prairies varies from two to seven feet in height, and forms an average impediment to travelling, equal to that of snow from eight to ten inches deep." Speaking of "Harmony," Flint¹¹⁹ says, "This is an interesting missionary station, has many Indians in its school, and is in a very flourishing condition." The buildings were erected near the river's bank with "a spacious and handsome green in front." On the rear a vast prairie, yielding in its uncultivated state from one to two tons of hay to the acre, on either side good timber, an excellent spring of water near at hand, and stone coal and clay of first quality for making brick, would seem to indicate that the location was ideal. In the year it was opened the school had twelve Indian children and was progressing under favorable circumstances. Miss Comstock, one of the teachers, reported that the natives visit the school daily, and Sans Neuf, one of the chiefs, expressed great satisfaction when he saw so many children among them. The children, Dr. Pixley says, "are certainly as interesting and as active as the generality of children among the whites, and I have sometimes thought they are more so." Nuttall¹²⁰ says the Osages were greatly and sincerely attached to their families. As late as 1874¹²¹ descendants of the Osages would come to Missouri from Kansas to cry over those buried here.

But the religious condition of these Osages greatly grieved the good missionaries. Says Dr. Pixley: "Previous to our coming out to this distant country, the public mind had been prepared to suppose these Osages a very different people from what they are; but however things may have been presented to our minds about the condition and desires of this people, a better knowledge of their case, from actual observation, does not less excite our pity nor make us wish we had not come out for their instruction. They pray, indeed, if it may be called prayer, as we are told; and even now as the day dawns whilst I am writing in my house I can hear their orgies, where their lodges are set up, more than a mile from me.

¹¹⁹ 2 Flint's Mississippi Valley, vol. ii., p. 94.

¹²⁰ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 183.

¹²¹ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 390,—note 45.

They begin very high in a sing-song note, as loud as they can halloo, and then run their voice, as long as they can carry breath, to the lowest key. Thus they continue the strain, until they are wrought to a pitch, wherein you will hear them sob and cry as though their hearts would break. I have not yet learned, whether it be some particular individuals, who make this their business, as mourning men and women, or whether they are all adepts in it. In such a case they put mud on their faces and heads, which as I understand they do not wash off till their desire is in some measure answered. But this is more especially the case when they are going off on an expedition to shoot game, or to fight their enemies, or when they hear some bad news, or have lost some friend or relative." It was a custom among them before going to war to practice rigid fasts, which continued from three to seven days, by which they disciplined themselves for disasters and supplicated favor from heaven.¹²² They also blackened their faces and cried, says Bradbury,¹²³ and the reason they gave him for this was, "that they were sorry for the people whom they were going to rob." According to Dorsey, one branch (the Tsicu), when on the warpath painted their faces red with mud upon the cheek below the left eye, as wide as two or more fingers; but the other branch (the Hanka), upon a painted red face placed a spot of mud upon the right cheek, below the eye, as wide as two or more fingers.¹²⁴ When making overtures of peace they use significant emblems such as the wings of the swan and wild goose, wampum and pipes, while arrows, war-clubs and black and red painting are used as declarations of war.¹²⁵

Mr. Sprague says: "It is painful to reflect on the condition of the Indians to whom we have come. The moon they call heaven, to which we are all going at death. The sun they call the Great Spirit, which governs the moon and the earth." Mr. Requa adds: "The moral darkness in which this people are involved is greater than has yet been communicated to the Christian world. It has been commonly reported that they worship God and acknowledge Him as the first great cause of all things. This, however, will, I believe, be found to be a misrepresentation. From the best infor-

¹²² Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 184.

¹²³ Bradbury's *Travels*, p. 40.

¹²⁴ 4 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, 1882-3, p. 165. But see 10 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 632-3.

¹²⁵ Hunter's *Memoirs*, pp. 319 and 323.

mation I can obtain, it appears that they are an idolatrous race and that they worship the sun, the earth, the moon, the thunder and the stars. They worship these creatures of God, as creators. If asked who made the sun, moon, earth, etc., they cannot tell. Hence, it is evident that they have no knowledge of Him who made the heavens and the earth and all things therein." "It is no uncommon thing," he further says, "to see them start immediately after their morning devotion on some mischievous and atrocious expedition; perhaps to murder some neighboring tribe, or steal their substance. I will mention the following as an instance of their readily learning that which is sinful, and their proneness to do evil. Many of them are playing cards around me while I am writing, and uttering in broken English the oaths which are so commonly uttered at the card table. Both card playing and profanity they have doubtless learned from the traders, who pass much of their time in the village." But, although in deep moral darkness, the missionaries found some things among them which "are laudable and worthy of the imitation of all men."

This moral darkness did not discourage Mr. Requa. He devoted many years of his life to civilize these Indians. He established a little village which became known as "Requa's Village," not far from the larger Osage village; and here, by the force of his pious and industrious life and that of his family, he gathered a village of Osages, who followed his noble example in their dealings and modes of life and in agricultural pursuits, which he taught them. Here he instructed them practically how they could raise the comforts and luxuries of life out of the ground, instead of depending upon the uncertainty of the chase.¹²⁶ With him in this village also lived Beatte, the hunter and guide of the party of rangers with whom Washington Irving made the excursion which he afterward so graphically described, to the borders of the Pawnee country.¹²⁷ Beatte was greatly mortified because Irving in this account erroneously or inadvertently spoke of him as a "half-breed," and when Catlin was at Requa's village he proudly introduced him to his father and mother as "two very nice and good old French people."

During the war of 1812, Sibley writes, "The Osages never forfeited by their misconduct the indulgence of the government, but

¹²⁶ Catlin's *North American Indians*, vol. ii., p. 93.

¹²⁷ Catlin's *North American Indians*, vol. ii., p. 93.

steadily adhered to it in spite of the intrigues of the hostile Indians and the British agents." Occasionally, however, they would rob hunters. Thus, one Ezekiel Williams, a hunter of the Missouri Fur Company, was robbed of all his furs by the Osages of the Arkansas on one of the forks of the White river, but afterwards the Indians restored to him his goods and furs. It ought to be noted that this Williams may be the same who had formed a settlement in the Osage country on White river in defiance of the orders of the government. This settlement was broken up by order of General Wilkinson in 1806.

Early in the 18th century the Saukees and Foxes hunted in the country west of the Mississippi, from the headwaters of the Iowa and Des Moines rivers to the Missouri.¹²⁸ It is not known when they first entered the territory between the Des Moines and Missouri and displaced the Missouris and Osages. The removal of the Missouris from the mouth of the river to Grand river and the gradual migration of the Osages up the Osage, in a south-westerly direction, is no doubt connected with this invasion of the Saukees and Foxes. The Peorias, found by Joliet and Marquette at and near the mouth of the Des Moines, were found afterward near St. Louis, living in a village adjacent to this trading post. So, also, at Ste. Genevieve thirty "Piorias, who seldom hunted for fear of the other Indians, resided among the whites." The Sacs or Saukees, variously known as Sauks, Ousaki, Sachis, Sakis, Sakkis, Saky and Satzi, were found by the French on the St. Lawrence, residing in the vicinity of Montreal, according to Black Hawk.¹²⁹ Thence they were driven by the Iroquois to Mackinac, and, still being pursued by these enemies, removed to Green Bay, where, according to Black Hawk, they first formed a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Foxes and united in a common village.

The Foxes, variously known as Outagamies, Outagamiouek, Outagemy and Ouagoussak¹³⁰ and as Musquakees, were by the French given the *nom de guerre* "Renard," translated into "Fox" by the English, and sometimes "dog" or "wolf," also came from the shores of the St. Lawrence. They, too, were driven west by the Iroquois and first established themselves at a place called Sa-gau-au,

¹²⁸ Morse's Report, p. 124 et seq.

¹²⁹ Autobiography of Black Hawk, in Pioneer Families of Missouri, p. 458.

¹³⁰ 58 Jesuit Relations, p. 41.

in the present state of Michigan, then removed to the Fox river of Green Bay and built a village there, and also one at Mil-wah-kie (good land), on the west bank of Lake Michigan, and, at a later period, one on the Fox river in Illinois. Both the Saukees and Renards belonged to the Algonquin stock.

In April 1669, Father Allouez¹³¹ found these two tribes on the Fox river of Green Bay and began a mission among them. He remarks that they were "a people of considerable note in all this region." They then claimed all the country southward to Lake Illinois, now known as Lake Michigan. They were numerous in that district in 1669.¹³² D'Ablon¹³³ says that the Outagamies were "a proud and arrogant people." The Jesuit missionaries¹³⁴ in 1666 considered the Saukees or Ousaki very "savage," and said of them that when they found a man alone and at a disadvantage they would kill him, especially if a Frenchman. At that time, this tribe was also very numerous.

When these Indians first came in contact with the Europeans, they were rude in manners and intensely warlike, depending on fishing and hunting for subsistence. They lived in rude wigwams covered with bark, skins, and matted reeds, and practiced agriculture in a primitive fashion. They were inclined to a roving disposition, and had no permanent abode, but at a later period, and in the west, they became sedentary and cultivated larger fields of corn, and even engaged in mining lead.

When Father Allouez visited them they lived in separate villages about four leagues from each other, but in 1681 the "Outagamies and Sakkis" resided in the same village.¹³⁵ They were then constantly engaged in war with their neighbors and with the French. In 1717 a French expedition was sent against them, under De Louvigny.¹³⁶ In 1728 another under De Lingery, and in 1734 still another under command of Nicholas Joseph De Noyalles. This latter expedition is remarkable, because, starting from Montreal in August of that year, it was directed to the Des Moines country, where some of these Indians had already established themselves and hunted in

¹³¹ 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 215.

¹³² 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 207.

¹³³ 55 Jesuit Relations, p. 185.

¹³⁴ 51 Jesuit Relations, p. 45.

¹³⁵ 62 Jesuit Relations, p. 198.

¹³⁶ 16 Wisconsin Hist. Coll., pp. 348 and 444.

what is now Missouri.¹³⁷ Outagamies guided La Hontan down the Des Moines and the Mississippi and up the Missouri rivers in 1688.¹³⁸ They were on Turkey river (*Rivière d'Inde*)¹³⁹ on the west bank of the Mississippi, thirty miles below *Prairie du Chien*, and on the Iowa river (*Rivière des Ayouais*) in 1714,¹⁴⁰ even before their expulsion from the Fox river valley in 1734. The whole territory north of the Des Moines along the Mississippi was then claimed by them as their hunting ground. That they claimed the west bank of the Mississippi, at least so far south as the Missouri in 1781 is shown by the fact that two of their chiefs, *Huisconsin* and *Mitasse*, were sent as messengers to *Cruzat*, then lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana, and that on that occasion they must have received a Spanish medal seems confirmed by the fact that such a medal was found in *Prairie du Chien*.¹⁴¹ In 1777 *Cruzat* wrote that they were well inclined and never did any harm to the inhabitants of the district; on the contrary, that they aided and protected the people whenever necessary, and that they did this, although they received more liberal presents from the English. In 1782 he reports that they petitioned to place themselves under the protection of Spain.¹⁴²

Before the final subjugation of these "capricious, turbulent, and enterprising Indians," they were greatly dreaded by the early settlers of the west. They alternately engaged in war with the French, English and Americans, as well as all the Indian tribes they encountered. They inhabited many places along the Great Lakes and westward, and the present names of many localities are directly traceable to their occupancy. They were especially identified with the history of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Missouri for over one hundred years.

The Foxes and Saukees were so perfectly consolidated that they could hardly be called separate tribes; they were engaged in the

¹³⁷ See Note 34, in 68 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 333, referring to Hebbard's Wisconsin under the Dominion of France, p. 142.

¹³⁸ La Hontan's *Voyages*, vol. i., p. 132 (London Ed., 1702); p. 203.—*McClurg Ed.*, 1905.

¹³⁹ *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, p. 248.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁴¹ *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, p. 123. In 1788 Julian Dubuque secured from them in full council, at *Prairie du Chien*, the right to mine lead on the west side of the Mississippi, near the present site of the city of Dubuque.—13 *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, p. 279.

¹⁴² General Archives of the Indies, Seville.—Report as to the Indian Tribes on the Upper Missouri and Mississippi.

same wars and had the same alliances, and were considered as indissoluble in war and peace.¹⁴³ Father Allouez,¹⁴⁴ in 1668, observed that their language was so nearly alike that what he said in the Outagamie (Fox) language was fully understood by the Saukees. "The Sacs and Foxes," says Dr. Cous in a learned note to his edition to Pike's Expedition, "have a curious history, perhaps not exactly paralleled by that of any other tribe whatever. Their names are linked inseparably from the earliest times to the present day. Each has always been to the other what neither of them has ever been to any other Indians, or to any whites—friend." But Pike observed, in 1805, that a schism had appeared among them, because the Foxes did not approve the insolence and ill-will which marked the conduct of the Saukees toward the United States on many occasions. It is likely, however, that this schism originated out of the treaty of 1804. Among their savage brethren these Indians were much more dreaded for their deceit and strategy than for their open courage. For many years they carried on war against the Osages and Missouris, generally assisted by the Iowas, and because armed with guns were generally successful in their forays, and thus made their hunting grounds all the territory north of the Missouri river and east of the Grand river. In 1805, almost immediately after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, a band of these Saukees invaded the Osage country, south of the Missouri, and killed the famous Osage chief, Belle Oiseau or Shengawassa, not far from the mouth of the Grand Fork. Belle Oiseau at the time was on his way to Washington with the first Osage delegation.

At the time of the acquisition of Louisiana, one of their principal villages was situated within the present state of Missouri, south of the Des Moines; another village was north of the Des Moines, near the state line, and still another at the mouth of Rock river, near Rock Island, in the present state of Illinois.

Their mode of living was substantially the same as that of the Osages. Atwater describes the dwelling of Quas-quaw-ma to be "forty feet long and twenty feet wide, that six feet on each of the sides within doors, was occupied by the place where the family slept. Their beds consisted of a platform raised four feet from the

¹⁴³ Pike's Expedition, vol. i., p. 238. Lewis and Clark's Expedition (Cous' Ed.), p. 22, note 49.

¹⁴⁴ 54 Jesuit Relations, p. 223.

earth, resting on poles, tied at that height to posts standing upright in the ground, opposite each other, and touching the roof. On these poles, so fastened to the posts, were laid barks of trees, and upon these barks were laid blankets and skins of deer, bears, bisons, etc. These were the beds. Between these beds was an open space perhaps six or eight feet in width, running the whole length of the wigwam. In this space fires were kindled in cold and wet weather, and here, at such times the cooking was carried on, the family warmed themselves, eat their food, etc. There was no chimney, and the smoke either passed through the roof or out of the end of the wigwam."¹⁴⁵ They were accustomed to leave their village as soon as their corn, beans, etc., were ripe and taken care of, and the traders arrived to extend credit for their outfits for their winter hunts, it being previously determined in council where the several parties should hunt. The old men, women and children traveled in canoes, the young men going by land with the horses. The winter hunt usually lasted for three months, the traders following and establishing themselves at points convenient for collecting amounts due them, and supplying them with additional goods. In favorable seasons they were not only able to pay the traders, but to purchase for themselves and families blankets, ammunition, etc., during the winter and leaving considerable of the proceeds of their hunt on hand, generally consisting of the most valuable peltries, such as otter, beaver, etc., which they would take home to their villages and sell for such articles as they afterwards wanted.¹⁴⁶ When the Jesuit missionaries first came in contact with them, they prepared themselves for hunting by long fasts, and also made their little children fast, so that they might dream of bear, imagining that if the little children dreamed of bear they certainly would be successful in their hunts.¹⁴⁷

They usually returned to their villages in the month of April, and after putting their lodges in order, commenced to prepare their ground for seed. They cultivated, near their principal villages on the Mississippi, over three hundred acres of land, and raised as high as eight thousand bushels of corn, besides beans, pumpkins, and melons, being much more interested in raising crops than were the

¹⁴⁵ Atwater *A Tour to Prairie du Chien*, p. 232 (Columbus, 1833).

¹⁴⁶ Morse's Report, p. 125.

¹⁴⁷ 56 Jesuit Relations, p. 129.

Osages. They even sold corn to the traders. The principal part of this crop they would bury in holes—caches—in the ground, in sacks. The agricultural work was principally performed by the women, and altogether done with the hoe.

In general, the young men would go on their summer hunts while the old men and women remained at home, collecting rushes for mats and bark to make bags for their corn. The women, in 1820, made as many as three hundred floor mats, as handsome and durable as those made by the whites. The twine used in these mats was made out of basswood bark, boiled and hammered, or out of the bark of the nettle, the women twisting or spinning it by rolling on the knee with the hands. Those of the able-bodied men who did not go on the hunts dug and smelted lead at the mines in their territory on the upper Mississippi, and in this work they were also assisted by the old men and the women.¹⁴⁸ Morse reports that they dug from four to five thousand pounds of mineral during a season. That they had absorbed from their association with the whites some ideas is shown by the fact that at one time one of the greatest chiefs of the Saukees, Mo-no-to-mack, had for many years contemplated having their land surveyed and laid off into tracts for each family or tribe.

The males of the Saukees and Foxes were separated into two grand divisions, called Kish-co-quah and Osh-kosh, and each clan had a war chief. When the first child of a family was born it was assigned to the first band, and on the birth of the second child it was assigned to the second band, and so on.¹⁴⁹ In 1820 Keokuk was the war chief of the first band among the Saukees. When this band went to war, and on all public occasions, they were painted white with pipe clay. The war chief of the other band was named Na-cala-quick, and when this band went to war they were painted black. In addition to these chiefs there were many petty war chiefs or partisans, who frequently went out in small parties as volunteers against their enemies, extending their operations south of the Missouri river into the country of the Osages, and generally following the course of the Gasconade or Saline.¹⁵⁰

An Indian, says Morse, intending to go to war will commence by blacking his face, permitting his hair to grow long, neglecting his

¹⁴⁸ 13 Wisconsin Hist. Coll., p. 282.

¹⁴⁹ Morse's Report, p. 130.

¹⁵⁰ Autobiography of Black Hawk in Pioneer Families of Missouri, p. 462.

personal appearance, and frequently fasting, sometimes two or three days. If his dreams were favorable, he thought that the Great Spirit would give him success, and then he usually would make a feast of dog-meat, to part with his favorite dog being the greatest sacrifice he could make. All those who felt inclined to join him would attend his feast. After the feast they would start on the expedition, and if successful, return to their village with great pomp and ceremony. They would halt several miles from the village and send messengers ahead to inform the village of their success, when all of their female friends would dress themselves in their best attire to meet them. On their arrival it was the privilege of the women to take from these warriors all their blankets, trinkets, etc. The whole party would then paint themselves and approach the village with the scalps stretched on small hoops and suspended on long poles or sticks, dancing, singing and beating the drum. The chiefs would then determine whether they would be allowed to dance the scalps (as they termed it) or not. If permitted, the time was fixed when the ceremony should commence and when it should end. In this dance the women joined the successful warriors, and sometimes more than one hundred would dance at once, clad in their most gaudy attire.

The territory between the Des Moines and Missouri and east of Grand river was in their undisputed possession when the United States acquired Louisiana. Before the war of 1812, while occasionally guilty of depredations, on the whole, they caused little trouble. Occasionally they would commit murder, often ignorantly and without appreciating the heinousness of the offense. Thus a Saukee Indian in 1809 was tried before the supreme court of the Territory of Louisiana for killing a man by the name of Le Page at Portage des Sioux. He had been induced to commit the crime because he was called a "squaw" by the other Indians, as he had never killed any person. In order to establish his valor and manhood, he took his gun and went out and killed Le Page, who was at the time quietly working on his barn, not suspecting any danger. The Indian was afterward pardoned by the President at the earnest solicitation of his people. Two other Saukee Indians, named Tidia and Wigam, were also indicted and tried in the United States court of Illinois, for killing some white men on the Missouri. They were convicted; but it is hardly probable that they understood either

the gravity of the crime or the mode of procedure by which they were being held accountable for what to them evidently appeared only a venial offense.

The trade of these Indians was long controlled by the English, although the Spanish traders of St. Louis secured some of it. After the acquisition of Louisiana it was all absorbed by the merchants of St. Louis.¹⁵¹

The Shawnee and Delaware Indians first settled in southeastern Missouri in about 1784. When Colonel George Morgan came down the Ohio in the fall of 1788 to take possession of the extensive grant which he thought he had secured from the Spanish government, he found a small band of about twenty Delaware Indians camped in the bottoms, in what is now Mississippi county, on the west bank of the Mississippi. In 1793 Baron de Carondelet first authorized Don Louis Lorimier to establish the "Loups et Chaouanons," in the province of Louisiana, on the Mississippi between the Missouri and Arkansas, although it appears that the Shawnees and Delawares resided on the west side of the Mississippi prior to this period, perhaps on merely an implied permission of the Spanish authorities. Also, subsequently, Lorimier was authorized by the Spanish government to visit these Indian tribes residing in the United States and induce them to make a settlement in the Spanish possessions. In 1794 the Delawares and Shawnees residing in upper Louisiana sent deputies, accompanied by Lorimier, to visit their kinsfolk residing on the Glaze, arriving at Miami Rapids June 17th of that year. It is said that this delegation encouraged their kinsmen by the prospect of war against the United States.¹⁵² The Spanish authorities were then anxious to settle the Shawnees and Delawares in upper Louisiana, not only to protect the settlements against the Osage Indians, but also to strengthen the west bank of the Mississippi against the Americans.

In a letter written at Cincinnati, under date of June 3, 1797, and addressed to Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, Sargent, secretary of the Northwestern Territory, writes: "I seize the occasion to transcribe for you some paragraphs from a western letter. The Spaniards are reinforcing their upper posts on the Mississippi. General Howard, an Irishman, in quality of commander-in-chief, with

¹⁵¹ 9 Wisconsin Hist. Coll., p. 148.

¹⁵² Stone's Life of Brant, vol. ii., p. 375. Dillon's Indiana, vol. i., p. 369.

upwards of three hundred men, is arrived at St. Louis, and employed in erecting formidable works. It likewise appears, through various channels, that they are inviting a great number of Indians of the Territory to cross the Mississippi; and for this express purpose, Mr. Lorimier, an officer in the pay of the Crown, made a tour through all this country last fall, since which time several Indians have been sent on the same errand, and generally furnished with plenty of cash to defray their expenses. A large party of Delawares passed down White river about 6th of May, on their way to the Spanish side, bearing the national flag of Spain, some of them from St. Louis. They (the Spaniards) have, about the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi, several row galleys with cannon."¹⁵³ The settlements of the Shawnees and Delawares were made principally between the mouth of Cinque Hommes creek and Flora creek, above Cape Girardeau, bounded on the east by the Mississippi and on the west by White Water. In this district, Menard says, these Indians had six villages. Other Shawnees settled on a branch of the Maramec, about thirty miles northwest of the lead mines, in what is now Jefferson county. Lewis Rogers, said by Morse¹⁵⁴ to have been "a very respectable and worthy man," was chief of this band of Shawnees, consisting of about twenty-four warriors. He said in 1819: "If a good teacher come here and stay with Shawnees, we have for him plenty of corn and plenty of hogs." At a meeting of the principal men of his village, it was agreed to pay a teacher in cattle and skins, if one could be obtained, to instruct their children in the way of the whites. When told that they must be taught to cultivate the earth, Rogers said, "Shawnees can work some, too, and build him that comes a great big house." "Who will build the house?" he was asked. "All the town will build it," said Rogers. Of Rogers and this band of Shawnees and Delawares, Peck gives an interesting account. He says that, in 1819, he met the Rev. John Ficklin, from Kentucky, in St. Louis. He had been sent from the Kentucky Mission Society to certain bands of Indians in Missouri, that he might obtain some of their children to commence an Indian school in that state. This was the beginning of the Indian school subsequently sustained by the national government, on the farm and under

¹⁵³ It is said that Don Zenon Trudeau sent emissaries to the Indians, inviting them to establish themselves in the Spanish territory. Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. Powers' Narrative, appendix.

¹⁵⁴ Morse's Report, p. 235.

the supervision of the late Hon. R. M. Johnson, at the Blue Springs, Scott county. This Mr. Ficklin, says Peck,¹⁵⁵ "was a self-sacrificing, zealous Baptist preacher, and for a long series of years was a member of Great Crossings Baptist Church, and connected with the Elkhorn Association. With Mr. Short, his traveling companion, he had made an excursion to several places in the territory, where bands of Indians resided, one of which was on the Fourche-à-Courtois, in Washington county, another was at Indian town between Bourbeuse and Maramec rivers. Here was a band of Shawnees and Delawares, called Rogers' band, from their chief or head man. Mr. Rogers was originally a white man, taken prisoner in boyhood, and so trained in Indian habits and tactics that in mind, temper, disposition and inclinations he was completely an Indian. He took for a wife a squaw who was the daughter of a chief, and through his influence and his own superior talents he held the office of commander in that band. During the series of wars between the Indians and the white people, in their early migrations to Kentucky, Rogers commanded a marauding party on the Ohio river, who displayed their prowess in plundering boats and murdering the owners when they met with resistance. The victory of General Wayne, in 1794, and the treaty of Greenville that followed, put an end to these depredations. Previous to this period, however, Captain Rogers had accumulated wealth enough to satisfy the wants of himself and band, and apprehensive lest they might be trailed out by some of the war parties of the whites, prudently migrated across the Great River, and located themselves at Village-à-Robert, afterward called Owen's Station, and now Bridgeton, in St. Louis county. Rogers had not lost all predilections for the lower grade of civilization. He had two sons, James and Lewis, who grew up to manhood, who both volunteered in the War of 1812, and two or three daughters. One daughter married Cohun, a Delaware brave, and a fine, noble specimen of humanity. He was a man of strong sense, industrious, generous, and a firm friend to his white neighbors. He used to say of his boys, Lewis would speak to the paper, but he believed the Indians would get Jim—that is, that Lewis would learn readily, but that James was a thorough Indian and averse to books. He was wealthy for one in his condition, and offered money to any white man who would marry his daughters, but after the marriage deferred payment of the

¹⁵⁵ Life of Peck, pp. 111, 112, 113.

promised dowry, saying he would see if he proved a worthy husband." When and under what circumstances Captain Rogers died Peck says he never learned. But Samuel Conway told Draper that he died five miles from Union on the Bourbeuse¹⁵⁶ about a mile above its mouth, in the forks between the Bourbeuse and Maramec.

His successor in office was Captain Fish, also a white man, who had been taken prisoner when a small boy and had acquired the Indian character so perfectly that a stranger would not have suspected his white blood, "a large, heavy-formed man." He married a daughter of Captain Rogers.

This band of Indians cultivated little farms. Captain Rogers, as we have seen, took an active part in getting up a school in the village, and in this the American settlers united with him, and "the white and Indian boys were at their books in school hours and engaged with the bow and arrow and other Indian pastimes during intermission. Amongst these scholars was the late Rev. Lewis Williams, who obtained his education in boyhood in this half-Indian seminary." Peck then continues: "About the time, or a little before the cession of Louisiana to the United States, Rogers and his band removed to the Big Springs at the head of the main Maramec. Here the water suddenly bursts from the earth into a large basin, from which flows a river more than fifty yards in width, and from two to three feet deep. It proved very sickly to the newcomers, and several died. I think probably Captain Rogers was of the number. Supposing they had intruded upon the dominion of a Matchee Monito, or Evil Spirit, they broke up their lodges, came down the country and built their cabins on the borders of Indian prairie, in Franklin county, a few miles south of Union. Captain Fish, the Rogers', and others met Mr. Ficklin in St. Louis, where, on the first day of October, we held a talk about sending their children to Kentucky. Lewis Rogers, who could read and write as well as most of the frontier settlers, offered to go, provided he could be permitted to take his wife and all his family with him. To this proposal Mr. Ficklin assented. These Indians were thrifty farmers, and brought the best cattle to the St. Louis market. Next year, in company with Elder

¹⁵⁶ Draper's Notes, vol. xxiv., pp. 151 to 204, inc. Samuel Conway was born in St. Clair district in 1799. One Joab Barton, a white man, came with the Shawnees to upper Louisiana; he married a Miss Music, but she left him and afterward married a man named Meaders. Barton lived on the Osage, about 10 miles from Jefferson City, at Lyon's ferry; he died about 1820.

Lewis Williams and Isaiah Todd, I visited these Indians at their hunting camps, some eight or ten miles above their town. We were treated with great hospitality. They heard favorable accounts from Lewis Rogers, at the school in Kentucky, and consented to send on more of their sons."

Among the Shawnees settled on Apple creek in upper Louisiana was Peter Cornstalk — Nerupenesheguah — son of the celebrated Cornstalk of the Dunmore war; he was a war chief, a fluent and powerful speaker, and, when he came to upper Louisiana, was about thirty years old. At the age of eighty years he was a conspicuous defender of the interests of the Shawnees to their lands west of the Missouri state line.¹⁵⁷ Here resided a sister of Tecumseh — Teceik-eapease — who married a Canadian Frenchman, about 1808, by the name of Francois Maisonville, residing at New Madrid.¹⁵⁸ There were here also other members of the Tecumseh family. Among the most conspicuous chiefs, according to Menard, was Pepiqua (the flea), and upon his advice the Shawnees relied greatly, believing that he communicated with the Good Spirit, that he was a rain-maker and could stop it. His adviser was Le Grande Orielles. Wappillessee (white bird) was the name of a war chief; another chief was Kiscalawa (tiger-tail), small but well proportioned, who had taken part in nearly all the border warfare in Kentucky, participated in the battle at Blue Lick, and Colonel Todd's defeat, where he commanded the Shawnees, and loved to tell of his exploits. Still another chief of the village, and a friend of Pierre Menard, was Necamee. He was half white. Pacha was the chief of another village. A full brother of Simon Girty was also among them, a perfect Indian in his habits, manners, and dress, and according to Menard, no one could tell that he could speak English, although he did not forget it. A full-blooded Shawnee, called by the white people "Colonel Louis," but by a large portion of the Shawnees "Little White Man," who sided with the Americans in the War of 1812, lived here. He died a few miles from

¹⁵⁷ Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, pp. 166, 244.

¹⁵⁸ Godfrey Lesieur's letter in St. Louis Republican, April, 1872. She died at the age of 35, in New Madrid county, and Francois Maisonville at the age of 50 years; there were no lineal descendants except a granddaughter, uneducated but intelligent, who married Edward Meate, residing near where the village of Portageville is now. Mrs. Meate died, at the age of 40 years, in 1870. A boat-builder named Francois Maisonville, who was with Governor Hamilton on his expedition to Vincennes, should not be confounded with this New Madrid Maisonville.



APPLE CREEK SHAWNEE, BY WARIN.—FROM COLLOT'S *DANS L'AMERIQUE*

Ste. Genevieve, in 1826 or 1827.¹⁵⁹ Another chief was Metipouiosa, decorated with a medal by Carondelet, in 1794.¹⁶⁰

The two largest villages of these Indians, on Apple creek, were known as the large and small "village sauvage." They were about twenty miles north of Cape Girardeau.¹⁶¹ In Spanish times a path, known as the "Shawnee path" or "trace," led from the residence of Don Louis Lorimier, commander of the post, to these villages, and from these villages to Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis; another path, still known as the "Indian road," led also up Apple creek, west. The Delawares resided in separate villages on Shawnee and Indian creeks. But the Delawares and Shawnees were accustomed to act together in important matters. Thus, in 1809, we find in the "Louisiana Gazette" this statement: "Rogers, chief of the Maramec Shawnees, tells us that he received a summons from Waubetethebe, Delaware chief, and Thathaway, Shawnee chief, to

¹⁵⁹ Menard Papers, 4 Draper Collection Wisconsin Historical Society.

¹⁶⁰ Brackenridge mentions an old chief in one of these villages of unusual intelligence, and says: "He was one of the *Nine Brothers*, a curious institution which exerted a kind of Masonic influence over the tribe." *Recollections of the West*, p. 198. At that time this order or clan was kept up by choice among the most distinguished Indians.

¹⁶¹ Lorimier, in his journal of the exciting period in 1793-4, when the Spaniards were expecting a filibustering expedition to invade upper Louisiana, makes mention of a number of these Indians by name, and who were active in watching and reporting to him, now not without interest. Thus he mentions "La Mas-kon," a Shawnee chief, Pennaoues and Chapaoutousa as runners sent out to look for the chiefs, that Savnarechika brought important information from Belle-Rivière; but that Paispamerchika contradicts him next day. Raniska is another messenger. Minnien holds a conversation with Petite Poisson, a Peoria. Rodgers, a Shawnee chief, and Vuesunen Pesse (Ouesnenperis) came to Cape Girardeau on an errand from Trudeau during this time. Aouikaniska came from the Iron-mine, La Corbeau, a Loup, and Le Point du Jour, a Pottowatomie, also visited him. Le Point du Jour, also known as Wau-bun-see, received this name because he attacked some boats on White river at break of day, and was celebrated afterward in the Indian wars. He was engaged in the Chicago massacre, also in wars with the Osages; did not agree with Tecumseh in his plans; was a man of intellect; died in 1848 at Jefferson City, when on his way to Washington. He was a brother of Black Partridge. Netompsica was a highly esteemed Shawnee; so, also, Ouapielene (likely Wahepelathy), a leader of another band of these Indians; so, too, Papikoua. Paranne, a Miami chief, also visited his post and went with Pecositais, in a canoe to Belle-Rivière. Thimouse was another Loup messenger; and another Loup, known as La Pensée, reported that La Patte d'Inde (Turkey-foot), a chief of Pottowatomies, would visit him and the Spaniards. Aukakeraukaske, a chief of the Ottawas, with his band, also came to his post; and so, too, Rakoon, a Loup chief, and it may be noted, by the way, that after the acquisition of Louisiana, one Hughes was indicted for making an assault on this Indian. At this time Paispetetmeta was chief of the Loups, and he as well as Pecanne, Jr., chief of the Miamis, came to his post to consult with him.

attend a solemn council at their town near Cape Girardeau, where three Indians and a squaw were tried. She was acquitted, and the three Indians found guilty of murder. They were led out into a thick woods and tomahawked, then placed on an immense pile of wood and burnt to ashes. Upward of one hundred were assisting at the execution." What murder these Indians committed, for which they were so summarily punished by the tribe, the "Gazette" does not say.

The largest Shawnee village contained about four hundred inhabitants and was built on the top of a hill, at the foot of which flowed Apple creek, then known as Rivière de Pomme. These Indians usually called their villages "Chillicothe" or "Chilliticaux," perhaps because the word means "A place of residence."¹⁶² Menard says they called their town "Chalacasa," after their old town on the Scioto. They lived there in log houses constructed in the French fashion, by posts set close together, the interstices filled out with clay. They were active, industrious and good hunters, and thus secured without trouble clothing and trinkets, of which they were very fond. In addition, they cultivated fields of corn, pumpkins, melons, and potatoes, and raised cattle and hogs. They owned a number of horses, and some of these always stood ready at their doors in order to pursue the Osages in case they should attempt to steal those running about loose in the woods and fields and feeding. When they first settled in the country they were in frequent wars with the Osages, on account of such thefts, but in 1802 they had measurably succeeded in inspiring them with a wholesome fear of their warlike prowess, and thus secured peace. These Shawnees were distinguished by their hatred of the Americans.¹⁶³ Nor could anything else be expected, because they emigrated from the United States, owing to their grievances and defeat. The Delawares settled in upper Louisiana at the same time as the Shawnees; they were tall, handsome, and well-made, and the women, says Du Lac, although not handsome, were far preferable to those of surrounding nations; and Volney¹⁶⁴ says that the stature of the women astonished him more than their beauty. The Shawnees were divided into four separate classes: the Piqua, meaning "A man coming out of the

¹⁶² Morse's Report, p. 97.

¹⁶³ Perrin du Lac's Travels in Louisiana, p. 40.

¹⁶⁴ Volney's Travels, p. 60.

ashes," or "made of ashes"; the Mequachake, signifying "A fat man filled" (this tribe had the priesthood); the Kiskapocoke, to which belonged Tecumseh and his brother Elsquataway, and the Chilli-cothe, having no definite meaning but signifying a place of residence.¹⁰⁵ All were attentive to dress, and the women wore their hair tied close to their heads and covered with skin. They were more careful of their children than the other Indians. Like other tribes, they cut the cartilages of their ears so as to lengthen them as much as possible, and from them were suspended silver trinkets in the form of stars. On their necks they wore crosses, and on their heads bands and crowns covered with spangles. They used great quantities of vermilion and black, with which they painted their bodies on festive days.¹⁰⁶ From one of these villages, about four miles from the Mississippi, boatmen and travelers on the river were frequently furnished with supplies. When the voyageurs desired to trade with them they landed near the mouth of Apple creek; and Schultz, who passed here with his boat in 1807, says that then "one of our Canadian sailors gave the whoop," this being the usual signal for trading; and that soon thereafter they would be visited by ten or twelve squaws with their papooses, to whom they made known their wants, and after the customary preliminaries of a glass of whiskey, some of them would go back up to the town to bring down supplies of dried venison hams, which he desired to purchase. On this occasion, when the women returned, several men accompanied them. One of them being rather better dressed than the others and distinguished by a silver band around his forehead and bracelets around his arms, Schultz took to be a chief, and soon found he could express his ideas tolerably well in broken English. Among the women Schultz noticed one more attractive than the others, but she did not understand English, except the sentence, "You lie," used as a kind of by-word among them on all occasions without comprehending its import. Schultz inquired of the one who appeared to be the chief whether she was an Indian woman or not, and was informed that she was taken prisoner when about six years old, with her mother, and that he could not tell to what country they belonged, because they spoke "No French, no English, no Indian," that she was not captured by his tribe, but

¹⁰⁵ Morse's Report, p. 97.

¹⁰⁶ Perrin du Lac's Travels in Louisiana, p. 46.

had been transferred from place to place, and that he had heard she was from Schu-che-au-naw, and in this he was confirmed by the fact that she spoke "no French, no English, no Indian;" hence, must have been the child of German settlers who had settled on the upper Susquehanna, on the Indian frontier. Schultz made some inquiry of her through the chief, but found she had lost all knowledge of her name, her country and her friends, and had only learned, from the tribe to which she now belonged, that her mother was a white woman, who had died about one year after her captivity. Schultz made use of some of the German words which were most common and first learned by children. But she was perfectly ignorant of their meaning.¹⁶⁷ While he was here he was informed by these Shawnees that they intended shortly to go to war with the Osages, because the latter had stolen some of their horses the previous fall, while they were out hunting; in this war they expected to be joined by some of their friends from the lakes.

During the Spanish occupation there was no adequate protection of the settlements along the Mississippi, and the settlers were continually exposed to the predatory raids of the Osages. Even after the settlement of the Shawnees and Delawares on the west side of the river, their insolence was very great. Brackenridge says: "Until possession was taken of the country by us, there was no safety from the robberies of the Osage Indians. That impolitic lenity, which the Spanish and even the French government have manifested toward them, instead of a firm though just course, gave rise to the most insolent deportment on their part. I have been informed by the people of Ste. Genevieve, who suffered infinitely the most, that they were on occasions left without a horse to turn a mill. The Osages were never followed to any great distance or overtaken; this impunity necessarily encouraged them. They generally entered the neighborhood of the villages, divided into small parties, and during the night stole and carried away everything they could find, frequently breaking open stables and taking out the horses. After uniting at a small distance, their place of rendezvous, they marched leisurely home, driving the stolen horses before them and without the least dread of being pursued. They have not dared to act in this manner under the present government; there have been a few solitary robberies by them within three or four years, but they are

¹⁶⁷ Schultz's Travels, vol. ii., p. 77.

sufficiently acquainted with the Americans to know that they will be instantly pursued and compelled to surrender. The following well attested fact will serve to show the insolence of the Osages under the former government. A young couple on their way from the settlement, just then formed on the Big River, to Ste. Genevieve, accompanied by a number of friends, with the intention of having the matrimonial knot tied by the priest, were met by sixty Osages, robbed of their horses and the whole party actually deprived of all their clothes, reducing them to the condition of our first parents in the garden of Eden. What serves, however, to lessen the atrocity of these outrages is the fact that they were never known to take the lives of those that fell into their hands. The insolence of other nations who came openly to the villages, the Piorias, Loups, Kickapoos, Chickasas, Cherokees, etc., is inconceivable. They were sometimes perfect masters of the villages and excited general consternation. I have seen the houses on some occasions closed up and the doors barred by the terrified inhabitants, and they were not always safe even then. It is strange how these people have entirely disappeared within a few years. There are at present scarcely a sufficient number to supply the village with game."¹⁶⁸

After the first settlement of the Shawnees and Delawares on the west side of the Mississippi, they gradually moved farther west. They successively had villages on White Water, by the French called l'Eau Blanche, then on Castor river, and also a village at the present site of Bloomfield, in Stoddard county, and another village near the present site of Kennett. While residing in this locality they principally traded at Ste. Genevieve.¹⁶⁹ In 1806 the Delawares had a

¹⁶⁸ Brackenridge's *Recollections of the West*, p. 209. He says that this outrage took place after the change of government, but this, no doubt, is an error.

¹⁶⁹ The Shawnees principally obtained goods there from Menard & Vallé on credit. From the account-book of this firm, now in the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, we copy the names of the Indians who thus obtained credit there, and which may interest some readers:

A-la-quo-oa, A-sou-a-bi-ai-chi-ca, A-pi-tou-al-en, (a Delaware) A-chaud-qua-ka, A-chaud-sais, A-to-wa, (Delaware), Aua-que-ni-man (Delaware), Ack-ai-pi, An-deil-le-con-ae, Ai-tha-thu-aca, Ambroise (Kaskaskia), Beaver Gorge (Delaware), Bercume Foiss (la femme) Beaver Little, Chikai-tawai, Chi-ca-wais, Cha-pa-is, Che-lo sa, Cash-co-cas-sa, Ca-ti-pi-ta-ca, Cha-chi-ta-no-wa, Ca-ya-quoi, Che-cami, Ca-wil-ai-chi, Co-noi chi, Che-pi-teau, Cal-ai-chai, Co-ne-chi, Co-lo-cha, Cou-pe-ment, Cho-a-mien, Che-a-louis, Co-wa-quo-i-pi, Ca-auch-i-ca, Ca-wil-ai-chi, Corn-stalk Peter, Cha-pau-tais-ca, Cha-qua-i-pi-teau, Cha-a-pa-quais, Co-ni-ha, Callico, Che-ki-ua-quois, Charlie (Weas), Calsh-ki-ni-wai, Ci-ca-cox-say, Ca-la-nat-chi, Chi-lit-cou, Chapeau, Che-pa-chi-tha, Chawae-na-ae, Chi-ti-via, Ca-te-wi-ca-cha, Cat-chem, Cho-an-ae, Daguét, Es-que-pi, E-tha-wa-chi-ca, E-quoi-chi-ka, E-quo-tho-ai-chi-ca, E-le-mes-sa-ta, E-le-mo-al-en, Capt. John, E-cou-ach-i-ca, E-le-men-pi-ea-chi-ca, Gray John, George Lewis, Hai-le-qui-coch-a-ca, Handy, He-a-la, He-le-bin-don, Hai-swa, Hais-quoi-ta-bi-ai-chi-ca, Jui-oi-pia-i-chi-ka, John, Jacob, (Kaskaskia Indian), I-tha-the-ca-ca, John Brown big nose, (Seneca), Ill-en-e-sa, Kish Ka la-wa, Ka-wai-pi-chi-ca, Ka-ki-ne-chi-mon, Kish-qui-si-pi, Ke-ta-ca-sa, Kai-chau-kai-ka-ka Kai-ta-ka-kai, Kai-tae-qui-sa, Kas-kas-kia, Le-no-wa-ka-me-chi-ka, Less-a-wi-ca-chet, Le-ca-wa,

village on White river, near Forsythe, in what is now Taney county; a village on James' Fork, in what is now Christian county, and a village on Wilson's creek, in what is now Greene county; in addition, Shawnee and Delaware villages were located on the Maramec and Current rivers, and on the headwaters of the Gasconade, and other points in the interior.¹⁷⁰ A village of allied Piankishaws was

La-to-wai, Lath-ci-ca, La-wai-chi-ca, Loa-me-chi-ca, Le-noi-quoi-pi, La-mi-ci-nouis, La-path-ka Le-mi-sa, La-pe-piais, La-puce-au-pi-pi-quais, Lais-sa-wiea-chet, fils Daguet, Le-tois-La-ge Ca-paui, La-wa-cai-chi-ca, La-pa-ne-hi-las, Louis Madline, Little Duck, Le-on-ap-pa, Me-so lo-nais, Mes-ce-pechez, Messa-quai-pi, Me-ya-wa-the-ca-ca, Mascou-Lo, Me-the-ta-ca, Me-nal, Me-qui-pia, Mou-wa, Me-tou-a-pi, Mingo, Mia-wi-ui-chi-ca, Mi-tais-cheaud, Met-cha-quai-ti Chara, Me-ya-wa-te-qua-ka, Me-chal-vui-Ma, Ma-ca-tai-pi-ai-chi-ca, Ma-chie-la-i-ni, Mascou a L. M., Mia-wi-ca-pa-wi, Marilouise, McLean John, Me-la-chi-tha (Seneca), Ne-me-chi-co-ta-wais, Ne-mat-chi-quai, Ne-chi-ta-wi, Nat-chi-quai, Ne-nicote, Na-pa-wi-ta, Ne-la-wi-chi-ca, Ne-he-pi-teau, Ni-qua-ni-cher, Na-wi-chi-ca, Ne-ca-bi-ai-chi-ca, Ne-qui-men-te, Na-ua-me-pi-te-ai, Na-no-chi-nais, (Nacanchica) Nau-me-au-chi-ca, Ne-ca-ni-pae-chi-ka, Ni-ta-wi-nau, Ne-na-hi-chi-ka, Nat-com-ming Loup, Na-pe-pas, Ne-lai-non-deu, Na-wel-chi-ca-ca, fils de Pae-chi-ca, Na-ni-quoi-the-ca-ca, fils de Na-pa-wi-ta, Ou-an-ke-to-ais, Owl John, Owl George, O-tha-war-ca-ta-yeux gris, Pe-pa-so, Pae-chi-ca, Pa-yai-pac-chi-ca, Pa-ma-la-wis, Pe-pa-mous-se, Pa-min-quoi-chi-ca, Puce-La, Pi-pi-se, Pi-lai-wa, Pac-chi-qua, Pau-tchi-qua, Pa-pa-me-tha-cou-tais, Pi-ta-toua, Pe-con-ges-si, Pie-chi-mon, Po-can-gi-pac-cau, Pied-mon-chi-nois, Pe-te-uaka, Pa-yai-chi-ca-ca, Pe-me-che-pi-teau, Pe-chi-qua-kami, Pe-lo-wi-ta-chi-mou, Pe-wa-lai-chi-ca, Pa-chi-teau, Pet-che-pak-chois, Pa-ta-thais, Pia-to-ta, Pa-pa-quoi, Paut-chi-tais, Pe-mit-sai, Pe-mi-cai-ta, Pot-jane, Pas-cal (Kaskaskia), Petit Jean (Peoria), Perry Capt., Pem-ca-wai (Kaskaskia), Paut-chi-tais, On-quai-quilchi, Pia-ta-wa-chi-ca, Pa-yai-ta-wai-chi-ca, Pe-tha-cou-chi-ca, Pi-ca-cha, Pe-lowi-chi-thais, Quai-po, Qui-no-ge-shi-mon, Quoi-chi-cane, Qua-nio-quoi, Quai-tak-sa, Que-no-mi-ta, Qui-noui-qua, Quo-quoi-qui-qui, Quoi-la-wa, Qui-qi-pieds, Que-chi-le-sa, Quoi-ke, Quai-ha-ha, fils de Relapia, Qui-man-sa, Quoi-que-nau-ou Borgne, Que-o-rou-al-ou-ai-chi-ca, Capt. Reed, Rastineer, frere de Menal, Sou-ani-ai-chi-ca, Sa-wa-ca-mi, Sa-qui-cho-laine, Sa-wai-quoi-chi-ca, S. B. Socur, Squa-biai-chi-ca, Si-pi-wois, Sally, niece de Menal, Squi-la-wais, Se-pe-chez, Squai-cami, Sandres James, Sa-wai-quai-chi-ca, Squa-nake, Ski-cke-qua, Se-ni-ca, Capt. Squirrel (Delaware), Si-co-ni-chre, Silk Humbus, Senixawi (Huron), Seneca (little son with beard), Sana-quoi, Sia-loir-ing, Ya-nio-mi-chit-a-rian, Vincenne le Petit, Wai-ho-ca-tair, Wai-tai-wai-ni-chi-ca, Wha-he-la-pis-ca-se, Wai-li-co-ho, Wapi-min-qua, We-na-ca-mi, Wa-qui-wais, Wai-ho-lai-la-mi-ai, Wai-ho-lai-la-mint, Wac-ca-no-se, Wai-ho-lo-has, Wi-ta-min-quai, Wa-wi-lai-ua, We-na-hi-neau-wai, Wi-quoi-nau-quai, Wa-chi-qui-nau, Wahn-pi-pi-cha, Wa-wi-la-quois, Wi-lo-chi, Wai-spi-ai-chi-ca, Wa-chi-ca-ten-a-ca, Wai-tai-ta-ca, Wilson William, Wa-chi-qui-uain, Wa-pa-po-ke-thi, frere de Pepamousse, Wi-a-pe-ne-chi-ca-Shaw, Wais-nau-ke, Yo-me-chi, Ya-ni-quoi-ta, Ya-pa-lou-chi-ca, Yai-tas-ka-ka, Ya-hi-chi, Ya-cou-ai-chi-ca, n v de Perry, Ya-wa-chi-ca, n v de Perry, Tha-oais, Ta-quo-qui-uis, Te-mi-chi-ca, Tai-qui-quai-ca-ca, Ta-wau-an, Ta-ta-quois, Ta-lo-wai-chi-nau, Ta-kau-key, Te-mi-chi-ca, The-wa-ca-mi-chi-ca, Tote (Petit loup qui est avec Pemit-sais), Ta-ta-oui-ta-caus-si, Te-mes-te-te on Pierre Woolf D. N. V., Troit Del, Mutake, Tote (Chawaunon Huron).

To these names may be also added the following from the account-book of Gilly & Pryor, dated 1815, now in possession of Henry L. Rozier, Esq., of Ste. Genevieve, some of these names being evidently the same:

A-la-cou-a, Beaver Little (a Loup), Beaver George, Chi-cai-tawa, Chi-ca-wais, Cha-pais, Cash-co-cap, Cate-pi-taca, Cha-chi-tanos, Caya-quois, Chi-cami, Ca-wil-aichai, Con-aichi (femme), Cho-con-awa, Chu-asa, Che-pi-teau (frere de Che-losa), Ca-lai-chi (fils de Te-cam-chi-ca), Ca-nai-chi (frere de Te-cam-chi-ca), Es-que-pi, Mai-li-qui-co-cha, Man-ha-nai (Loup), Ini-oi-pi-ai-chi-ca (fils du frere Lorimier), John (Loup), John (Shawnee village), James Sondres (Shawnee), Kau-ai-pi-chi-ca, La soeur de la femme du Lorimier, La femme du frere a Lorimier, Leno-wa-ka-me-chi-ca, Lis-ca-wi-ca-chee, Le-ca-wa, Lam-ni-si-noui, Leat-chica, La-wai-chi-ca, La-puce, Me-sa-lou-ais, Me-the-ca-ca, Me-ce-pe-ches, Mes-sa-qua-pi, Me-yau-at-te-ca-ca, Mi-qui-pi-ai (courteau), Ne-mi-chi-co-ta-wais, Ne-mo-chi-quai, Ne-chi-tau-i, Na-chi-tau-i, Na-chi-quai (frere de Ne-chi-taut-i), Na-to-wai, Ne-ni-cothe, Na-pa-wi-ta, Ne-la-wi-chi-ca, Ne-chi-pi-teau, Ni-qua-ni-chu, Ne-mi-choi-pe, Ne-ca-vi-ai-chi-ca (fils de Te-cam-chi-ca), Pa-pa-seau, Pa-ma-loo-uis (fils de Kis-ca-la-wa), Pa-min-quai-chi-ca, Pa-pa-me-sa-cure (sa Femme), Pe-mi-ta-ca-mi-chi-ca, Pe-pi-se, Pi-tai-ua, Pac-chi-ca (medecin, probably a medicine man), Pa-ut-chi-c, Pa-chi-ca (mere de Sandros), Pi-ta-lou-a (frere Te-cum-chi-ca), Pa-pa-me-tha-cou-tas, Qu-ai-po, Qui-no-ge-shi-mou (fils We-ta-min-quai), Quoi-che-cane, Quai-chou-is-pi-to, Sa-wa-ca-mi, Sa-qui-cho-lai-ne (Delaware), Squa-vi-ai-chi-ca, Squa-i-ca-mi, Tha-oi-pre, Te-mi-chi-ca, Ta-quo-qui-ne-las, Te-cam-chi-ca, Va-ni-omi-chi-a-u-an, Wai-tai-wai-ni-chi-ca, Wha-he-la-pis-ca-re (Loup), Wai-cho-ca-tais (Loup), Wapi-man-quai, Wa-qui-wais, Wai-cho-lai-ta-mint (the bear Loup), Wa-ho-lo-has, Wi-ta-min-quai.

Other Indian names in said account book, and with which said firm did business, are: Ca-ya-quoi, Ne-la-wi-chi-ca, Wi-na-ca-ni, La-te-wai, Wai-ho-lai-la-ni-cai, a cousin of Squoi-bi-ai-chi-ca, Quoi-pi-ai-chi-ca, Sa-wa-ca-mi, Na-pa-wi-ta, (fils de Na-pa-wi-ta.)

¹⁷⁰ Morse's Report, p. 366.

situated on the St. Francois, and one of the Peorias at Ste. Genevieve in 1794, under a chief named Massa-Rosanga — and another on Current river. A band of Indians also had a village near Pilot Knob in 1818, presumably Shawnees and Delawares.¹⁷¹ These Indians finally all removed beyond the borders of Missouri, and by the treaty of 1825 the Shawnees and Delawares received for the Spanish grant in southeast Missouri, a tract on the Kansas river, fourteen miles square, and in addition, fourteen thousand dollars for their improvements.¹⁷² With the Shawnees, according to Flint,¹⁷³ were also mixed some Creeks.

It was not long after the American occupation of the country and the spread of the white settlements that these Indians, then having their principal villages on Apple creek, in the north part of Cape Girardeau county, began to suffer from the encroachments of their white neighbors. Some of these, not too honest, would steal their horses and "many other things."¹⁷⁴ In 1815, when a treaty was made at St. Louis with the Indians, the Shawnees and Delawares complained of these matters to the commissioners, General Clark, Governor Ninian Edwards, and Colonel Chouteau. Wahepelathy, their principal chief, who afterwards had his village where Bloomfield now is, made this talk: "When the Spaniards told us to choose a piece of land, and when we made choice of it, we obtained from them a grant which has since been recorded by the board of commissioners, and we understand that all the concessions granted to the white people by the Spaniards were good. We live among the white people, and our behavior has been such that no honest white man can have any cause to find fault with us; and we are certain they never will have cause to complain. We have always conducted ourselves honestly and intend to continue so. Early in the spring, on my return from hunting, I found my house had been broken open and what I had left in it all gone. I then took the resolution of moving to another place on Castor river to settle myself, provided my father, General Clark, would be pleased with my doing so. He recommended to us to raise stock and cultivate our land with industry. His advice we have followed, and wish to remove to

¹⁷¹ Life of Peck, p. 109.

¹⁷² Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, p. 184.

¹⁷³ Flint's Mississippi Valley, vol. i., p. 159.

¹⁷⁴ Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, p. 162.

a new settlement, if we can be permitted to do so, and we do not care anything more for our old town; but again, lately we have been encroached upon by a bad white man, by the name Jenkins, who we hope you will remove from this country, if we are permitted to remain in it.”¹⁷⁵ In accordance with this petition, within twenty-two days all intruders were ordered by the President to remove from the land of the Shawnees and Delawares. But this was only a temporary relief, and as has already been stated, in 1825 these Indians were compelled by the encroachments of white settlers to sell their Spanish grant and leave the state for a home farther west.¹⁷⁶

According to Lesieur, in 1808-9, these Indians became possessed of the infatuation that witchcraft was being practiced among them, and no less than fifty women suffered cruel death by the torch within twelve months. The charges against these unfortunate beings were usually based upon the report of some one who imagined that he had seen an intended victim in the form of an owl or some other bird, or in the form of a panther or beast of the forest. “This was enough,” says Lesieur,¹⁷⁷ “the accused was brought forth, tried by three selected criminal judges, and nine out of ten at least were found guilty and doomed to suffer death by fire.” When the frenzy and madness of these people had reached the highest pitch, it was suddenly checked by the appearance among them of Tecumseh, who was then engaged in his scheme to form a vast confederacy of all the Indian tribes to stem the encroaching tide of the white settlers.

It is certain that bands of Cherokees at an early period crossed the Mississippi. According to an old tradition, after the first treaty

¹⁷⁵ 2 American State Papers, Indians, p. 11.

¹⁷⁶ Morse's Report, p. 107. Of these Indian villages on Apple creek, says Flint: “I saw at Jackson, in Missouri, another emigration of the Shawnees and Delawares to the country assigned them at the sources of the White river I had passed through the villages of these people when they inhabited them, and no place is more full of life and motion than an Indian village. At the upper end of the villages, under the shade of the peach trees, sat the aged chiefs on their benches, dozing, their eyes half-closed, with their ruminating and thoughtful sullenness depicted on their countenances. The middle and lower end of the villages were all bustle and life; the young warriors fixing their rifles; the women carrying water, and the children playing at ball. I passed through the same villages when every house was deserted. The deer browsed upon their fields, and the red-bird perched upon their shrubs and fruit trees. The mellow song of the bird, and the desolate contrast of what had been but a few months before, formed a scene calculated to awaken in my mind melancholy emotions.”—Flint's Recollections, pp. 149, 150.

¹⁷⁷ Lesieur's letter to the Missouri “Republican.” March 1, 1872.

with the white people, a portion of the tribe under the leadership of Yunwiusga'se'ti (dangerous man), foreseeing the final end, marched away for the unknown west.¹⁷⁸ No doubt hunting excursions were also made from time to time by some of this tribe to the country west of the river. After the Revolutionary War, some of the Cherokees who had taken up arms for the English asked permission of Governor Miro to settle in the Spanish dominions.¹⁷⁹ The Cherokees mentioned by Black Hawk in his autobiography may have been the "Bowls' Band," who in 1794, massacred the Scott party at Mussel-Shoals, on the Tennessee river, a massacre in excuse of which the Indians claim that the whites first made them drunk and then swindled them out of their annuity money, with which they were just returning from the Indian agency at Tellico; that, after they sobered up, when they asked for the return of their money the whites attacked them and killed two of them, and that they then retaliated and killed all the whites except the women and children. These, with their property and slaves, the Indians then escorted down the Mississippi as far as the St. Francois river, where they stopped. Thence they sent the women and children on in their boat farther south, where they arrived safely with their property. These Indians, under a chief named "The Bowl" (Dima'li), remained on the St. Francois, and advised the Cherokee nation of what had occurred. Their action was repudiated, and the Cherokee nation volunteered to assist in arresting and bringing to punishment all concerned in the massacre. Finally, however, Dima'li (The Bowl) and his men were exonerated, but they were greatly embittered at the conduct of their tribe in Georgia, and remained on the St. Francois, where they found a rich soil and abundant game.¹⁸⁰ Here others of their tribe joined them, and from time to time they waged war with the Osages; and these, perhaps, were the Cherokees the Saukees and Renards met in battle, as recorded by Black Hawk. Black Hawk¹⁸¹ says that after subduing the Osages the attention of the Saukees and Renards was directed "toward an ancient enemy [named by him the Cherokees] who had decoyed and murdered some of our helpless women and children," that they met them near the Maramec, and were greatly

¹⁷⁸ 19 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 99.

¹⁷⁹ Letters of March 1798 to General Wilkinson.

¹⁸⁰ 19 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 100.

¹⁸¹ Life of Black Hawk, in the Pioneer Families of Mo., p. 463.

outnumbered by them, but that a bloody action took place. He adds that his band lost three men, among them Peysa, his father, and that the Cherokees, on the other hand, lost twenty-eight men. It is more than probable that other Indians from the Gulf states also joined this band of Dima'li. According to Mooney,¹⁸² one Dima'li, in 1820, with a band of Cherokees crossed the Red river, going into Texas, then a portion of Mexico, in the vain attempt to escape the American advance, but it is doubtful whether this Dima'li is the same who was on the St. Francois in 1794, and hunted up and down that river and met the Saukees and Renards on the Maramec. Gayoso, in 1798, refused permission to some Cherokees to settle on the west side of the Mississippi in the Spanish territory; still, these Indians seem to have crossed and recrossed the river.¹⁸³

It may be that these Indians are the same whom De Lassus described as "vagabond robbers of the Mashcoux, or self-styled Talapousa Creeks, expelled from their tribe," wandering up and down the Mississippi on both sides, and from New Madrid up the St. Francois to the waters of the Maramec. These Indians, De Lassus says, were "constantly committing barbarities in stealing, killing, violating, and burning houses." One of the chiefs of these Indians was Agypousetchy, and another Kaskaloua. They were engaged in war with the Osages and Saukees and Foxes. On one occasion seven or eight of these Indians came into Ste. Genevieve and sang and danced the scalp dance, pretending they had an engagement with the Osages, when as a matter of fact they had killed one Gabriel Bolon and his two nephews, early settlers on the Grand Glaize river. This was discovered a few days afterward when they came to St. Louis, by a Delaware squaw who was with them, but who had escaped, reporting the facts to De Lassus. These "Mashcoux" Indians may be the same to whom Black Hawk also refers in his autobiography as the "Muscow" nation, and who, when he was a young man, were engaged in war with the Osages. With them and his father, Black Hawk went on his first warpath against the Osages.¹⁸⁴ It is probable that these Indians were finally absorbed or joined the Cherokee or the Shawnee and Delaware villages, afterward from time to time located in various portions of the districts

¹⁸² 19 Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 138.

¹⁸³ Letter of General Wilkinson, dated March 30, 1798.

¹⁸⁴ Life of Black Hawk, in *Pioneer Families of Missouri*, pp. 461-2.

now embraced in the counties of Stoddard, New Madrid, Pemiscot, and Dunklin, and farther southwest.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the aborigines dwelling in the territory now embraced within the present limits of Missouri did not have established and well-known traces or trails, leading from their villages in various directions to their near or distant hunting grounds, or to the villages of kindred allied or friendly tribes, or warpaths often marked with blood; or to imagine that, after the advent of the white man and the establishment of his trading places, they did not locate trails and paths to such trading posts, if such trading places were not established and located on already well-known paths or trails. In all early narratives we find distinct references to established roads. Garcilasso speaks of the roads along which De Soto moved. The chroniclers of Coronado's march make distinct mention of roads, and the absence of roads in certain directions is noted. It is erroneous to suppose that the first explorers and pioneers started out into the wilderness continent without following any path, trace, or trail. It is along these ancient warpaths or hunting trails, Nuttall ¹⁸⁵ says, that we must trace the adventurous La Salle and, after his death, Jutel and other early travelers and explorers. It was certainly along such paths that Nicollet traveled, as well as Groseillier and Radisson. But it would be an error also to confuse the roads thus mentioned, and which were nothing but paths or traces, with even the humblest roads of our time. Along such a path Bourgmont marched in 1724, when he started on his expedition from Fort Orleans westward. On July 4, 1724, he says: "Nous avons passé trois petites rivières beaux chemins, grandes prairies," and on the 7th of July he remarks in his "Journal," "les chemins mauvais pour les chevaux." After marching ninety miles through the country in five days along this road, Bourgmont came to the Missouri river "vis-a-vis le village de Canzes." This road seems to have run parallel with the Missouri some distance from it and on the north side of the river, because, when Bourgmont on his march came to the river, the Kansas village was on the opposite side, and he crossed over in canoes. When, afterwards, he started with his force and Indian allies to visit the Padoucahs, living and hunting south and west of the Kansas river,

¹⁸⁵ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 104.

it is not stated that he recrossed the Missouri river, but that he followed a smaller river coming from the northwest.¹⁸⁶

These Indian highways often followed the routes instinctively made by the buffalo and other wild animals along dividing ridges, or down the valleys of streams, to salt-licks or to natural crossing places over rivers.¹⁸⁷ It has been well observed that the routes thus instinctively made by the bison through the low passes of ranges of high hills and mountains, are the routes along which the great arteries of modern commerce run. Along these routes in single file the Indians traveled on foot with their dogs, and in later times on ponies, when going to distant places.

It would also be a mistake to suppose that these trails, traces or paths would be as visible to us as even the humblest and most indistinct of our roads.¹⁸⁸ It is no exaggeration to say that for us these roads would not be visible at all, for, blocked by fallen trees, overhung by brush and vines, winding in a tortuous course through the forests or prairies covered with tall grass, these primitive highways often baffled even the eagle eyes of the dauntless explorer, or *voyageur des bois*. Naturally, these paths or traces followed the high ground, the dividing ridges, avoiding the streams and following courses not exposed to overflow. Thus we find that from the main Indian path running northwest through the great prairies of north Missouri, a path or trace led south along a ridge to Loutre's Island.¹⁸⁹ Generally, from the river bottoms these traces or paths imperceptibly led to higher ground and into the hills, instead of making a direct rapid ascent, reaching the higher lands with the least physical exertion. These trails or traces did not all follow the high lands, but were also located in the low lands or level river bottoms, following the streams. De Soto in his march north, up the Mississippi, followed such an ancient aboriginal trail or trace. From the narrative of the chronicler of this expedition, it is clear that this road or path ran parallel with the river, generally some distance from it, but following an alluvial ridge, a clear and well-defined natural road to this day, touching the river at what is now Caruthersville and New Madrid.

¹⁸⁶ Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 398 *et seq.*

¹⁸⁷ Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 104.

¹⁸⁸ The members of Long's exploring party, for instance, following one of these "great roads" call it an "obscure path."—Thwaites, note 126—Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 147 (Clark's Ed.).

¹⁸⁹ Long's *Expedition*, vol. i., p. 75.

This road is marked with the monuments and remains of the mound-builders on every side, and, long before the advent of the Indian, was certainly traveled by that mysterious race. This oldest highway of Missouri runs through the present counties of Pemiscot, New Madrid, Scott and Cape Girardeau, crossing a bottom three miles wide between the last two counties, where we place the northern limits of De Soto's adventurous march, although two of his soldiers went farther north, probably as far at the Salines, in Ste. Genevieve county. From the narrative of Garcilasso, it would appear also that after returning to what is now New Madrid county, he marched from there in a southwest direction across what is known to-day as the Little river bottoms, into the present Dunklin county, undoubtedly following a path leading from New Madrid into what is now Arkansas.

Long after De Soto's march an Indian trail ran along the Mississippi river on the same ridge traversed by De Soto and his followers, and extending farther north, following the divide between the waters of the Mississippi and the waters of White Water, Castor and St. Francois to Ste. Genevieve, and passing up the north fork of Gabourie creek and across Establishment creek, across the Maramec to St. Louis. This trace connected the four Spanish posts, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid; and also Little Prairie, and passed through the Shawnee and Delaware Indian villages on Apple creek. Along this Indian trail or path the first public road in Missouri was located and cut out by act of the Territorial legislature in 1807. This road, we may also suppose, was to some extent opened by the military expedition, which was organized by De Lassus in 1802, and which moved from Ste. Genevieve to New Madrid.

The earliest indications of the existence of a well known, if not well established, highway in the territory of what is now Missouri, we find noted on Franquelin's map, published in 1684. On this map a trail or trace is laid down, extending from the mouth of the Arkansas river to the mouth of the Osage, where, according to this geographer, was at that time the village of the Zages (Osages). This trail or trace is then shown to run east along the south side of the Missouri river for some distance, possibly as far as the mouth of the Gasconade. Although the map shows no river emptying into the Missouri at the point where the trail is shown to cross the Missouri river, it is evident

that the crossing thus indicated is near the mouth of the Gasconade. On the north side this trace is shown to run west with the river to the villages of the "Missourits," located on this map on the north side of the Missouri and above the villages of the Osages. It is said that in 1700 the "Missourits" dwelt at the mouth of Grand river, and it may be that even at the time Franquelin compiled his map, in 1684, these Indians had located their lodges at the mouth of this stream. Evidently, they then did not live at the mouth of the Missouri, where the earliest French explorers had located them. From Grand river another trail or path led west to a point opposite, may be, to the mouth of the Big Blue or the Kansas river, and along this "beau chemin" we must trace Bourgmont. No doubt, also, a trail followed the river far beyond.

From a map published in 1720 with a work by Dr. James Smith, entitled, "Some Considerations of the Consequences of the French Settling Colonies on the Missouri," it appears that a path or trail was then known to exist across South Missouri, this path evidently being a continuation of a trail starting on the Atlantic coast in Virginia, known as the "Virginia warriors' path," leading across the Cumberland mountains, thence to the falls of the Ohio, and thence across what is now southern Indiana and Illinois to the Mississippi and west through Southern Missouri to the Rocky mountains — a veritable Indian "Appian Way" across the continent. The map indicates that this trail crossed the Mississippi at Cape St. Anthony, but the location of this point is not certain. At present, Cape St. Anthony is above Grand Tower, but the geographers of the 18th century placed it farther south, somewhere near what is now known as Gray's Point. The Mississippi river, both at Grand Tower and Gray's Point, is narrow, with shoals of rock at low water extending almost from shore to shore, and hence little doubt exists that this Indian trail, dividing east of the Mississippi, crossed at both points. Father Gravier says that in 1700 the wild animals coming up from the low lands, and those coming from Illinois going south, crossed the river at Cape la Croix, now Gray's Point, thus indicating that here was one of the instinctive routes made by wild animals, over which the Indians were accustomed to travel. The trail crossing at or near Grand Tower would, on the west side, follow Apple creek or the dividing ridge between the waters of the St. Francois and Maramec, but the lower trail would hug the edge of the great alluvial

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St. Francois basin, gradually ascending by way of Otter, Big Barren and Pike creeks to the plateaux of the Ozarks. Substantially on this route a railroad is now in operation. From a point on this ancient trace or trail thus shown by Dr. Smith's map, across Missouri, a little southwest of the mouth of the Osage river, a trail or trace is indicated (on his map) to extend north to the mouth of the Osage, agreeing with the trail or trace shown on Franquelin's map, published thirty-five years before. From the mouth of the Osage, this trace is also shown to extend across into what is now north Missouri to the mouth of the Des Moines river. Along this trail, diverging, however, on the north side of the Missouri to the mouth of the Gasconade, the Saukees and Renards had a warpath leading to the Osage village on the upper reaches of the river of this name in the beginning of the 19th century.

The Indian pathway, as shown by Smith, across southern Indiana and Illinois, passed through the present Vincennes. On the west side of the Mississippi, from the lower trace another path diverged southwest to Natchitoches, one of the ancient Spanish posts of Mexico, now in Louisiana. This Natchitoches path, at some point west of Black river, undoubtedly connected with the path running north to the mouth of the Osage. A path also led from Fort Massac to Cape Girardeau,¹⁹⁰ connecting with the pathway leading southwest through southern Illinois from Vincennes. After the settlement of the country, the Natchitoches path became the military and wagon road of the immigrants moving into Arkansas, crossing the Mississippi river at Bainbridge or Cape Girardeau, thence moving to the St. Francois river, crossing the same at the Indian ford, thence to Black river, there crossing near Poplar Bluff and Current river at what was long known as Pittman's ferry. Along this road Featherstonhaugh¹⁹¹ traveled a part of the way in 1834, and notes that many desperate

¹⁹⁰ Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 238.

¹⁹¹ "He said that the track by which we had come to his cabin from the main road was a part of the ancient Indian path or trail from Vincennes, on the Wabash, to Natchitoches, in Mexico, and had been adopted as the general road by white people moving in that direction. This was the reason why so many desperate men from all quarters — Spaniards, Frenchmen and Americans, and other outlaws — had settled near it, and that the greater part of the deserted cabins we had seen had been inhabited by them. There, under pretense of entertaining travelers, they got them in their cabins and often murdered them if they had anything to be plundered of." — Featherstonhaugh's *Excursion Through the Slave States*, vol. ii., p. 8 *et seq.* The United States cut out this military road crossing Current river and "Fourche de Thomas," also abbreviated by the French as "Fourche de Mas."

characters from all quarters had settled on it, because many people traveled that way. He says that Spanish, French, and American outlaws built cabins near it, and, under pretense of entertaining travelers, enticed them into their habitations and often murdered them, "if they had anything to be plundered of." This Indian highway running northeast from Natchitoches, is given in part as the route of Cavelier in 1687, on Homan's map, supposed to have been compiled in 1720, and on that map is shown to extend as far north as the Arkansas river.

From the Arkansas river, beginning in the neighborhood of Little Rock, there was also a trace to the mouth of the Missouri. Nuttall says that such a trail or hunting path had been opened south to Mt. Prairie and Natchitoches from the Arkansas river, and north to St. Louis, from time immemorial, by the Indians. But before the foundation of St. Louis, this trail must have extended to the mouth of the Missouri river, near which was the village of the Missouris. With this trace the path from Vincennes to Natchitoches, which crossed the river below Cape Girardeau at Gray's Point, connected. It was followed from Cape Girardeau by Major S. H. Long on his expedition to Arkansas in 1810.

On De Lisle's map, published in 1722, the northern Indian trail, either an extension of the "Great Trail" or "Nemacolin's Path," is shown to strike the Mississippi river at the mouth of the Missouri, and, crossing this river there, runs in a northwest direction apparently on the dividing ridge between the waters of the Missouri and Des Moines. So also on a map of Philip Buache, compiled in 1755. Both these maps carry this path to the Rocky mountains. This may be the trace Long¹⁹² says strikes the Missouri below the Platte. On the map of Sieur le Rouge, published with Charlevoix's "Travels" in 1746, a path or trail, after crossing the Mississippi, seems to follow the Missouri river closely for some distance, and from the mouth of the Gasconade to Grand river, agrees perhaps with the trace or path laid down on Franquelin's map.¹⁹³ This Indian trading path and warpath led to Loutre Island located near the mouth of the Gasconade. It is more than probable that this trace or path, at least in part, afterwards became the celebrated

¹⁹² Long's Expedition — vol. i., p. 421.

¹⁹³ A Trace in 1891 from "Charaton to the mouth of Grand river."—Ibid. v. 414.

Boonslick trace, and was followed by Benjamin Cooper and others in 1810.

An Indian trail or trace ran up Grand river for some distance. Long¹⁹⁴ says that it skirted the east side of this river and was sixty miles long. When he followed it in 1819, it was known as "Field's trace." At the upper end it connected with another trail running northwest, undoubtedly the continental trace or trail noted on De Lisle's map, extending northwest through the plains at the headwaters of the Little Platte and the Nishnabotna in Missouri and the almost boundless plains of the upper Missouri to the Rocky mountains. Field's trace to the headwaters of Grand river was a favorite war-path followed by the Saukees, Foxes, and Pottowatomies into the Osage country.¹⁹⁵

After the establishment of the trading post at St. Louis, traces or bridle-paths led north and northwest from there to Bon Homme,¹⁹⁶ St. Charles and, the Charette village, forty-seven miles; to Gasconade, one hundred miles; to Osage, one hundred and thirty-three miles; to Lamine, one hundred and fifty-four miles; to Moniteau creek, one hundred and sixty-one miles; to Saline, one hundred and seventy-two miles; to Moniteau river, one hundred and ninety-six miles; to Chariton, two hundred and twenty miles; to Old Fort Orleans, two hundred and thirty-five miles; to Grand Prairie, two hundred and thirty-nine miles; to Cole Bank, two hundred and thirty-four miles; to Blue River, three hundred and thirty-three miles; to the Kansas, three hundred and forty-one miles; to the Little Platte, three hundred and fifty miles; to the Nodaway, four hundred and fifty miles; to Wolf river, four hundred and sixty-four miles; to the Big Nehama, four hundred and seventy-nine miles, and thence to Nishnabotna, five hundred and four miles, no doubt in many instances, following the ancient aboriginal routes, and also connecting with the trace or trail north of the river laid down on De Lisle's map.

A path led from the Mississippi along the Cuivre to the headwaters of this stream. From the highest point among the sources of the Cuivre on the prairie between the Missouri and the Mississippi overlooking the country the extensive woods of Loutre Lick were visible in

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

¹⁹⁵ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 406.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

early days.¹⁹⁷ From this point, in addition to the trace to Loutre's Lick,¹⁹⁸ and thence across the Missouri to the mouth and up the Gasconade, also another path led west through Grand Prairie for thirty miles and thence to Thrall's settlement, now in Boone county, thirty miles farther on.¹⁹⁹

One of the warpaths of the Saukees and Foxes to the Osage villages south of the Missouri was laid across the rugged country flanking the Gasconade.²⁰⁰ The war trace of the Pottowatomies to the Osage country also followed the Gasconade.²⁰¹ An Osage trail led from their villages to Arrow Rock, on the Missouri, probably because there they made flint heads for their arrows. This trail passed near the salt springs of Lamine creek and led to the Saline, along which was a noted warpath to the Osage villages, alternately traversed on their forays by the Saukees, Foxes and Osages. From the Osage villages a horse trail also led down and along White river to the Arkansas or Mississippi.²⁰² Another Osage trace, three hundred miles long, from the so-called Arkansas-Osage villages on Verdigris river led to St. Louis, was located probably by those Indians, to go to that post in order to trade with the Chouteaus. This trace ran northeast over the high lands and ridges to St. Michael — now Fredericktown — and thence by way of the Cook and Murphy settlements to St. Louis,²⁰³ following the dividing ridge between the Maramec and the St. Francois. From this trace another led from St. Michael southwest to a ford of the St. Francois, thence to Big Black, where the trace intersected with the big trail from Vincennes to Natchitoches, already mentioned.

Du Tisne, the earliest explorer by land through what is now Missouri, must have followed a trace or trail when he visited the Osages in 1720 in their villages on the Osage river. He started from Fort de Chartres, and crossing the river went to the mouth of the Saline, and it is certain that from there he followed the trail made by

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

¹⁹⁸ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 413.

¹⁹⁹ Autobiography of Black Hawk, in *Pioneer Families of Missouri*, p. 62.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁰¹ Pike's Expedition, vol. ii., p. 367.

²⁰² Tour in the Ozarks in Missouri, and Arkansas, 1821, p. 52 (London Ed., 1821).

²⁰³ Brown's Western Gazetteer, p. 191.

the bisons coming from the Ozark hills to the salt springs of this creek. This path, instinctively made by these animals, thus opened a road into the interior of Missouri. Over this road much of the early commerce of the country from and to Kaskaskia passed. After the establishment of a post at Ste. Genevieve, trails also led from this post to the new settlements located successively on Big river, the headwaters of the St. Francois, Bellevue valley, and the lead districts of Mine la Motte and Mine à Breton; but all of these traces we can be assured followed, at least in part, aboriginal paths.

A trail or trace led down Castor river from St. Michael to the Indian villages in what is now Stoddard and Dunklin counties. These Indians traded at Ste. Genevieve, and the trail connected with the great Vincennes and Natchitoches path. In 1816 Shawnees and Delawares lived on Castor river and near Bloomfield, in what is now Stoddard county. They traveled this trail twice a year, in the spring and fall. In the spring they sold their furs and bear and winter deer skins, and in the fall their summer skins, honey and bear's oil, which they cased in deer hides tied together with rawhide tugs. They carried these products of their country on ponies and always traveled in single file. Mr. Norman,²⁰⁴ an old resident of Stoddard county, who has preserved these interesting facts for us, says that these Indians were dressed in deer skins, the men wearing leggings, a breech-cloth and hunting shirt, and a blanket in cold weather, in summer, a kind of red blouse trimmed with white and blue beads, a red handkerchief on the head and moccasins on the feet. The squaws were dressed very much the same way, except they wore silver jewels in their ears and noses. The trader residing among them was Louis Lorimier, junior (son of Don Louis Lorimier), who was graduated at West Point in 1806. Mr. Norman further says that these Indians were honest and friendly; that he never knew of their being charged with theft; that he never saw one of them intoxicated. They were peaceable and orderly, and the only instance Mr. Norman remembered of any these Indians attempting violence was an assault by one of them on the person of Nancy Taylor. For this he was arrested by the chief, stripped naked and made to sit on a hot rock in mid-summer for two consecutive days. In 1820, in Cape

²⁰⁴ Pen Sketches by W. W. Norman, published in Bloomfield "Vindicator," in about 1880.

Girardeau county, Mrs. Jane Burns was murdered by a Shawnee Indian named Little George, one and one half miles from Jackson. At the time, this caused great excitement, and the chief of the village on Apple creek was notified that the criminal must be delivered over to the authorities. The Indian, who had fled to Arkansas, was captured on Crowley's ridge, by a party of other Indians sent out by the chief, and his head cut off, brought back in a sack to Jackson and stuck on a pole near where the murder was committed, where it remained until it rotted down. The Indians claimed that this Indian had been hired to commit the crime by a white man named Boyce, which Mr. Norman thinks more than probable.

All Indians had peculiar ideas as to trade when they first came in contact with white people. It was by them considered perfectly proper to rue a bargain. Thus Long records that an Indian who had exchanged a rifle for a shotgun with Mr. Dougherty, the Indian agent, regretting his trade, came back to the camp to reverse the bargain, giving in addition a pair of moccasins. Next day he came to again reverse the trade.²⁰⁵ So also it was deemed by them perfectly proper to reclaim a present. On one occasion, Long says, an Indian, "a chief of the extinct Missouri nation," offered to trade a very valuable horse for one less valuable, with a member of his expedition, and being asked to explain why he desired to make a trade so manifestly disadvantageous, he said that the horse had been presented to him and that he feared the donor intended to reclaim him, but if he could make an exchange for another horse he would be secure from such a reclamation, as only the identical horse that had been presented to him could be so reclaimed from him.²⁰⁶

In 1819, the Indians then dwelling in Missouri were personally distinguished by a perfectly upright carriage without the swinging gait of the white people. In walking they placed the foot on the ground perfectly parallel, because they said to turn the foot outward retarded progress in the high grass or narrow pathways. Their color, Volney says, was that of smoked ham. The line of the direction of the eyes was nearly rectilinear by transverse; the nose prominent, either aquiline or Roman; lips more tumid than those of the Anglo-Saxon; lower jaw large and robust; teeth strong, chin generally well formed, cheek bones prominent, and the expression of the

²⁰⁵ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 185.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

countenance severe, austere, and often ferocious. Flint,²⁰⁷ who, when at St. Charles, first observed the Osage and other Indians of the west, remarks that the Indians he saw there, though perfectly resembling the Indians east of the Mississippi in form and countenance, on closer examination had an untamed savageness of countenance, a panther-like expression, utterly unlike the tame and subdued countenance of the northern Indians, but the women had brighter faces than the men, and were of a more vivacious and cheerful disposition. The sense of hearing of the Indians was very acute, and memory very retentive. They had little mechanical ingenuity, but the women made beautiful moccasins, handsome necklaces of beads and decorated the buffalo robes with various designs. The daughters of the chiefs and wealthy Indians were often tattooed with a small round spot on the forehead. It was early observed that a peculiar odor was diffused by the body of the Indians, not so much by the cutaneous transpiration as by the custom of rubbing themselves with odoriferous plants; and Long²⁰⁸ observes that this odor is rather agreeable than otherwise. But to the acute sense of smell of the Indians the odor of the white man was far from pleasant.²⁰⁹

Almost immediately after the cession of Louisiana a treaty was entered into, November 3, 1804, between the United States and the Saukee and Fox Indian tribes, at Portage des Sioux, whereby these tribes ceded, among other lands, the territory now in Missouri, east of a line beginning at a point on the Missouri opposite the mouth of the Gasconade, thence in a course so as to strike the river Jeffron at a distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jeffron to the Mississippi. The district so ceded now embraces the counties of Marion, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery and portions of Audrain and Monroe. This treaty was made, Black Hawk²¹⁰ claims, without any authority having been given the Indian chiefs who, in that transaction, pretended to represent the Saukee and Fox tribes. The commissioner on behalf of the United States was William H. Harrison, and Quash-quame, Pa-she-pa-ho, Layow-vois, Out-che-quaha, and Ha-she-quarhi-quah ostensibly represented the Saukees and Foxes. This treaty, as we shall see hereafter, was the principal cause of much ill feeling among the Indians.

²⁰⁷ Flint's Recollections of the Mississippi Valley, in Indian chapter, p. 93.

²⁰⁸ Long's Expedition, vol. i., p. 285.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 486.

²¹⁰ Life of Black Hawk, in Pioneer Families of Missouri, p. 466.

The first treaty with the Great and Little Osages was made in November, 1808, at Fort Osage. By this treaty the Osages agreed that the boundary between these tribes and the United States should begin at Fort Osage, on the Missouri river, five miles above Fire Prairie, and run thence due south to the Arkansas river, and thence down this river to the Mississippi. They ceded all the land east of this line and north from the Arkansas river to the Missouri river. These Indians, at the same time, relinquished all their claim to lands north of the Missouri, and also granted two square leagues west of the boundary line, to embrace Fort Osage, to be laid off in such manner as might be directed by the President of the United States. By this treaty the Osage title to the territory south of the Missouri river in the present state of Missouri was extinguished, with the exception, however, of the western tier of counties. But Governor Lewis, in 1808, did not understand that the treaty extinguished the Osage title to the country north of the Missouri. Governor Clark in his proclamation March 9, 1815, however, so construed it. Afterward, in 1815, at Portage des Sioux, he pacified all the Indians that could have had any pretensions to the country, and thus secured the country to the United States without any additional expense, a fact which his friends thought entitled him to a great deal of credit.

In 1815, at Portage des Sioux, the treaty of 1804 was confirmed and ratified by the Saukees residing on the Des Moines river, and the Fox tribe. But in that year only a few "of the most insignificant and contemptible of these tribes" offered to treat with the commissioners — Clark, Williams, Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau.²¹¹ This treaty was one of the results of the war of 1812, in which the Saukees and Foxes proved very troublesome on account of the unauthorized treaty of 1804, but in 1818 the Saukees on the Rock river and the adjacent country in a council held in St. Louis also assented to and ratified the treaty of 1804.

The Kickapoos, by a treaty they made with the United States at Edwardsville in 1819, ceded certain territory in Illinois and Indiana to the United States, and in return received a grant of land in the then Missouri territory, described as follows: Beginning at the confluence of the Pomme de Terre and Osage, thence up the Pomme de Terre to the dividing ridge that separated the waters of the Osage and White rivers, thence westerly to the Osage boundary line of 1818,

²¹¹ American State Papers, vol. ii., Indians, p. 8.

thence north to Nerve creek, thence down said creek to a point due south of White Clay or Richard creek, thence north to the Osage river, and thence down said river to the place of beginning. This land was granted to the Kickapoos and their heirs forever, provided only, that they should not sell the same without the consent of the President of the United States.²¹² In 1820 at St. Louis the title to this tract of land was confirmed, but in 1832 by a treaty made at Castor Hill, in St. Louis county, this territory, intended originally as a permanent home of the Kickapoos, was again exchanged for lands west of the Missouri state line.

At Washington in 1823 the Saukee and Fox tribes also ceded and quit-claimed all their rights within the limits of the state north of the Missouri river, and between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to a line on the west running from the mouth of the Kansas river north one hundred miles to the northwest corner of the state of Missouri, as the limits of the state were defined and fixed when admitted into the Union. The Iowas in 1824 gave up all claims to the same territory, a part of which, at least, had been their immemorial hunting ground. Under this treaty, they agreed neither to settle nor hunt in this territory.

By a treaty made at St. Louis in 1825 the Great and Little Osages gave up all their rights to the remaining land in Missouri, not embraced in the treaty of 1808, being a strip of land on the west border of the state and now within the limits of the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates, Vernon, Barton, Jasper, Newton and McDonald. At the same time, the Kansas also ceded all their lands in Missouri, located near the mouth of the Kansas river and principally embraced within the present limits of Jackson and Cass counties.

The Shawnees and Delawares who came to upper Louisiana prior to 1793, and those who settled afterwards by invitation of the Spanish government, received a grant of land from Baron de Carondelet, Governor-general, situated between St. Cosme creek and Cape Girardeau, bounded on the east by the Mississippi and west by White Water. The Osages had ceded all this territory in 1808, but the 6th Article of the Treaty of Cession of 1803 expressly stipulated that the United States should "execute such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians until by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes and nations

²¹² To this treaty the Osages objected.

other suitable articles shall have been agreed upon;" and hence, the title and right of these Shawnees and Delawares to this district granted them by Carondelet was fully protected. In 1815 some of the Delawares and Shawnees, as we have seen, removed farther west on assurance that they should receive other tracts of land for the territory they owned. Some of these Indians removed to the borders of Castor and St. Francois rivers, west of White Water, and established villages in that territory. Some of the Delawares in 1815 settled on James' Fork of White river, in southwest Missouri, and located a village about fifteen miles south of the present site of Springfield, claiming the country now within the limits of Christian, Stone, and Barry counties under this agreement. The Shawnees claimed the land east of the territory occupied by the Delawares. In 1828 the Piankeshaws and Peorias had villages and hunted on these lands of the Delawares and Shawnees. The Shawnee claim in that territory embraced most of the counties of Taney, Ozark, Douglas, Webster, and Wright. In 1825 by a treaty made in St. Louis with the Shawnees, in consideration of the cession of the lands granted them by the Spanish authorities, a tract equal to fifty square miles west of the Missouri state line was granted these Indians, and they eventually took up their residence in what is now the Indian Territory. In 1829 the Delawares, at a council held at James' Fork of White river, relinquished their title to their Cape Girardeau grant, and also to their lands on James' Fork, and removed to the Delaware reservation, in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. Finally, in 1832, the allied Delawares and Shawnees of Cape Girardeau by a treaty made at Castor Hill, in St. Louis county, again relinquished their lands and improvements in that locality, and the last remnant of these tribes removed from that district shortly afterward.

The title to the territory known as the Platte Purchase was ceded in 1830 by the treaty of Prairie du Chien by the Saukee and Fox and other Indian tribes to the United States.

Thus, within thirty years after the acquisition of Louisiana Territory, the title of the aborigines to the last foot of land held by them and their ancestors, from time immemorial, within the limits of Missouri, amounting in the aggregate to 39,119,018.89 acres, was extinguished.

CHAPTER VIII

Possibilities of the Mississippi Valley not Appreciated—First Settlers Canadians—Joutel's Notice of Salt Springs on the Saline in 1687—La Hontan on the Missouri in 1688—Hunts with the Arkansas on the West Bank of the Mississippi Below the Mouth of the Missouri—French Traders Visit the Missouris and Osages, 1694—Fathers Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme, in 1798, on Missouri Soil—St. Cosme Erects a Cross on the Right Bank of the Mississippi in 1699 Near Cape St. Antoine, Probably Within the Present Perry County—First White Settlement in the Mississippi Valley Near the Mouth of the Des Peres River—French-Canadians on the Missouri in 1705—Rumors of Mines of Precious Metals—Father Gravier Mentions a Rich Lead Mine in 1700 on the "Miaramigoua" (Maramec)—Cape St. Croix Identified—Wild Game There—Natural Crossing of the Mississippi—Le Sueur's Voyage Up the Mississippi in 1700—Distress of Party—Relieved by the Jesuit Missionaries—Penicaut Notes a French Settlement at the Mouth of the Saline—Le Sueur Arrives at Cahokia—Goes Farther Up the River—Camps at the Mouth of Buffalo—Father Marest Notes the Salt Springs on the Saline, 1712—Bienville Sends an Expedition Up the River to Explore the Missouri, 1708—The Spanish Expedition and Its Fate—Various Accounts by Bossu, Charlevoix, and Others Discussed—Du Tisne's Journey into the Interior of Missouri in 1718—Goes Up the Saline and Across the Country—Visits the Osages and Other Indians—Erects the Arms of France at the Headwaters of the Osage—Stories of Du Tisne Given by Bossu—Bourgmont's Expedition—Biography of Bourgmont—Dumont's Satirical Story—Copy of Bourgmont's Original Commission—Established Fort Orleans Near the Mouth of Grand River in 1720—Story of Bourgmont's March into the Indian Country from Fort Orleans—Bourgmont Returns to France—Fort Orleans Abandoned.

A century and a half elapsed from the time De Soto first beheld the Mississippi until La Salle finally traced its waters to the Gulf. The magnitude of the valley it drained was then but dimly known. Vaguely, it was supposed to be a vast country. Nor were the immense possibilities of these new possessions of France generally appreciated. It was hoped that mines of gold and silver would be found. Thus, a search for precious metals began. Attracted by the climate and wonderful fertility of the soil, the game of the country, and the facilities to secure furs, a number of Canadians early formed settlements at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. For a time these two villages were the sole centers of civilization in the Mississippi valley. From these vantage points the hunters and traders living there and other transient visitors from Canada began to make voyages in the territory of the present state of Missouri, following the waters of the Missouri, the Osage, and many other streams. How interesting it would be

for us now to have detailed accounts of what these adventurers saw and experienced when first they traversed the virgin realms of the state! But they, their very names, their deeds and their adventures and all they saw and experienced, have perished as if they had not been.¹ Yet, some interesting incidents and stories have come down to us, and these we propose to relate in this chapter chronologically, as near as may be, although disconnected.

One little authentic glimpse we get from Joutel's "Journal," noted down as he hurried home in 1687 with the bloody story of the tragic death of La Salle concealed in his bosom. Speaking of the salt springs of Saline creek, in what is now Ste. Genevieve county, he says: "We held our way till the 25th (August, 1687), when the Indians showed us a spring of salt water within a musket-shot of us, and made us go ashore to view it. We observed the ground about it was much beaten by bullocks' feet, and it is likely that they love that salt water." Then he gives us this charming glimpse of the landscape: "The country was full of hillocks, covered with oak and walnut-trees, abundance of plum-trees, almost all the plums red and pretty good; besides, great stores of other sorts of fruits whose names we know not, and among them one² shaped like a middling pear, with stones in it as large as a bean. When ripe, it peels like a ripe peach, taste is of indifferent good, but rather of the sweetest." And on his voyage farther up the river, Joutel³ describes the perpendicular cliffs above Ste. Genevieve, saying: "We proceeded on our journey the 28th and 29th (of August, 1687), coasting along the foot of an upright rock about sixty or eighty feet high, around which the river glides."

The history of the voyages of La Hontan is generally considered entitled to little credence. Many of the statements with which he interlarded his narrative are undoubtedly pure fiction. Yet, it would be a mistake to reject his entire narrative, because certainly he saw

¹ Joutel records that among the *Cenis* he met two Frenchmen, who had deserted La Salle when he first went down the Mississippi river, and that in a short time they had become mere savages; that they were naked and that they bedaubed "their faces like the rest," and that the libertine life they led was pleasing to them. One of them was named Ruter, from Brittany, and the other Grollet, of Rochelle.—French's Historical Collection of Louisiana, part i., p. 154. His son, named Routel-Attikaloube-Mingo, came to Fort de Chartres in 1756 as a messenger of the Arkansas, bearing the calumet.—Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages*, p. 273.

² The paw-paw.

³ French's Historical Collection of Louisiana, part i., pp. 181, 182.

much of the country and visited many of the Indian tribes then dwelling in the upper Mississippi valley. That he was on the Missouri river is evidenced by the fact that he mentions the various tribes that had their homes along this river when Bourgmont and other French explorers afterward visited this region. He says that in March, 1688, with some soldiers and Outagamie (Fox) Indians, he paddled down the Mississippi in canoes from the mouth of the Des Moines to the mouth of the Missouri; that then he went up the Missouri river, which he notes has a very rapid current, to a village of the Missouris, situated about a day's journey from the mouth of the river, and from this village, after another day's journey, still going up the river, he came to another village of the Missouris, and, on the third day, claims that he camped at the mouth of the Osage, where he built some huts. Here he and his party were threatened by an attack of some Indians, but the accidental discharge of a musket in the hands of one of the soldiers so terrified the Indians, who had never heard the discharge of firearms, that they precipitately fled, and that then the Outagamies who accompanied La Hontan, becoming thoroughly alarmed, insisted upon his return. So La Hontan returned, stopping on his way at one of the villages of the Missouris and there discharging his firearms, he frightened the women and children and "superannuated" men (the warriors being out on their hunt) that they all rushed out of their cabins, "calling out for mercy," all because they, too, had never heard the report of a musket. La Hontan says "that the whole crew turned out, and we set fire to the village on all sides," which proceeding he excuses by stating that the Indians who threatened to attack them on the day prior belonged to this village. After performing this heroic work, La Hontan and his escort rapidly moved down to the mouth of the Missouri and thence proceeded southward down the Mississippi. He ⁴ observes in his narrative that the right (west) bank of the river then "swarmed" with buffalo. After going some distance down the river, he saw a big band of Arkansas savages hunting, who "made a sign that we should make toward them." With some hesitation La Hontan concluded to do so, and to stop and hunt with them. He remained two days. These Arkansas Indians, La Hontan ⁵ says, claimed that the Missouris and Osages "were

⁴ La Hontan's *Voyages*, p. 132 (London Ed., 1702).

⁵ La Hontan's *Voyages in North America*, p. 204 (London Ed., 1703), (Mc Clurg Reprint, 1905).

numerous and mischievous nations, equally void both of courage and honesty; that their countries were watered with great rivers; and in a word, were too good for them;" thus perhaps again excusing, inferentially, the burning of one of their villages. Thence La Hontan went to the mouth of the "Oubach" (Ohio), where he says he took care to "watch the crocodiles very narrowly", for the Indians had told him "incredible stories of them." Returning, he asserts he "sailed up against the stream" to the Illinois and then up that river. Separating truth from fiction, it can hardly be doubted that La Hontan visited the Missouri river and camped on its banks. Though other portions of his narrative may be discredited, he was, so far as we know, the first white explorer on the Missouri river up to the mouth of the Osage, and the first white transient visitor who engaged in hunting within the borders of the state. At this time the Arkansas—or Quapaws—it would appear, still hunted north of the mouth of the Ohio.

It is next recorded⁶ that in May, 1694, two French traders, accompanied by some Kaskaskia Indians, visited the Missouris and Osages. About June 20th, the traders and Indians returned with two chiefs, one from each village, accompanied by "some elders and some women" and, observes Father Gravier, "the Osages and Missouris did not appear to be as quick-witted as the Illinois; their language does not seem very difficult; the former do not open their lips, and the latter speak more from the throat than they."

In 1698 the Seminarian priests, Fathers Montigny,⁷ Davion,⁸ and St. Cosme,⁹ left Canada to do missionary labor in the valley, and as they went down the Mississippi, tarried at a point now in Missouri on the river, leaving a memorial of their transitory presence and pas-

⁶ 64 Jesuit Relations, p. 169. (The Burrows Ed.)

⁷ Francois Joliet de Montigny came from Paris to Canada; was ordained priest at Quebec in 1793; spent two years as a missionary in Louisiana, 1698 to 1700, and returned to France. He then became a missionary to China. He died in 1725, aged 64 years, at Paris, where he was director of the Missions Étrangères.—65 Jesuit Relations, p. 62, note 7. (The Burrow's Ed.)

⁸ Ambrose Davion labored at what is now known as Fort Adams, in Mississippi; remained until 1708, then removed to Mobile and returned to France, where he died in 1726.

⁹ Jean Francois Buisson de Saint Cosme, a Canadian, was born in Quebec, February, 1667, and ordained at the age of 23. He labored in Acadia and the Illinois country (Cahokia) and in lower Louisiana (Natchez). He was killed by the Chetimacha Indians in 1702. He had a cousin of the same name, born in 1660, ordained 1683, died 1712, also a priest. — 65 Jesuit Relations, p. 262, note 7. (The Burrows Ed.)

sage.¹⁰ Father St. Cosme says, in a letter dated 1699, to the bishop of Quebec, that he ascended a rock on the right, going down the river, and erected "a beautiful cross." From the narrative of St. Cosme, it is apparent that this interesting ceremony took place on the rock known at present as Grand Tower, standing in the Mississippi below the town of Wittenberg, in Perry county. St. Cosme¹¹ describes the locality as follows: "On the 10th saw a hill which is about three arpens distant from the Mississippi river, on the right going down. After being detained a part of the 11th by rain, we arrived early on the 12th at Cape St. Antoine, where we remained that day and the next to get pitch, which we needed. There are many pines from Cape St. Antoine to a river lower down, and it is the only spot where we saw any from the Chigagou to the Acanceas. Cape St. Antoine is a rock on the left as you go down [probably meaning Fountain Bluff, in Illinois.] Some arpens below there is another rock on the right which advances into the river and forms an island, or rather a rock two hundred feet high, which, making the river turn back very rapidly and entering the channel, forms a kind of whirlpool there, where it is said a canoe was engulfed at the high waters. Fourteen Miamis were once lost there, which has rendered the spot fearful among the Indians, so that they are accustomed to make some sacrifices to this rock when they pass. We saw no figure there, as we had been told. You ascend this island and rock by a hill with considerable difficulty. On it we planted a beautiful cross, singing the *Vexilla Regis*, and our people fired three volleys of musketry. God grant that the cross, which has never been known in this region, may triumph there and our Lord pour forth abundantly on them the merits of His holy passion, that the Indians may know and serve Him." This rock upon which St. Cosme erected the cross is mentioned by Marquette in the narrative of his voyage, and was dreaded by the Indians as a "Manitou." The hill three arpens distant from the Mississippi river at a point some miles above Cape St. Antoine must refer to a

¹⁰ The Seminarians and Jesuits were to some extent rivals in the religious field of New France at that time, and more or less friction existed between them, or at least was thought to exist. The Seminary priests carried on various missions among the Indian tribes of the lower Mississippi. The school from which these priests derive their name was called "Séminaire des Missions Étrangères," founded by François de Laval of Montmorency, first bishop of Quebec, in 1663, to educate a Canadian clergy.---45 Jesuit Relations, p. 269, note 1. (The Burrows Ed.)

¹¹ See St. Cosme's Voyage and Letter to the Bishop of Quebec, 1699, in Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, p. 68.

high hill known as Cape St. Cosme. The creek running at the foot of this hill and emptying its waters into the Mississippi on the right above Cape St. Antoine has long been known as St. Cosme creek, a name which has been corrupted into "Cinque Hommes." What is now known as Cape Antoine is a promontory above the town of Wittenberg, but St. Cosme apparently bestows the name Cape St. Antoine to the isolated bluff on the left bank of the Mississippi, now known as Fountain Bluff. It may be that, at the time of this voyage of St. Cosme, a channel of the Mississippi river ran along Fountain Bluff and around and east of the isolated high hills above Grand Tower; that the present channel was not as wide as it now is, and that as it widened the channel on the east side filled up, making the bottom through which the Illinois Central railroad now runs, and on which the town of Grand Tower is built. Be this as it may, pines then grew on both sides of the river below what is now known as Cape St. Antoine on the rocky river hills. Some isolated pines are yet found in these hills on both sides of the river. The next river to which St. Cosme refers was likely the Rivière des Pommès, that is to say, Apple creek, on the right side, or the Big Muddy on the left bank of the Mississippi. The rock on the right, "about two hundred feet high," now known as Grand Tower, is situated opposite the town of that name. Father St. Cosme passed here in December, when the river was low, and therefore, if the channel is the same, the rock must have seemed high to him, but it is far from being two hundred feet high, though a conspicuous landmark in the river, possibly one hundred feet high. When the river is at a low stage, the rock is connected with the Missouri shore. Upon this rock, Father St. Cosme sang the *Vexilla Regis*, and here, as we have seen, he planted "a beautiful cross," which was saluted by salvos of musketry.

Although we have no direct evidence of the fact, it is highly probable that the first white settlement on the Mississippi, even before the foundation of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, was made on the west side of the Mississippi near the mouth of the river Des Peres. This settlement, it is supposed, was founded by Jesuit missionaries, hence the name of the river.¹² When Austin visited upper Louisiana, in 1797, he says that, from the best accounts he could gather from the most ancient inhabitants, it appeared that the first settlement of the

¹² Beck's Gazetteer of Missouri, p. 312.

country made by the French took place near the mouth of this little river, on the Mississippi, "about six miles below where the town of St. Louis now stands, and about fifty miles above the Kaskaskias." Austin undoubtedly derived his information from some of the old settlers who personally had knowledge of the fact that a French settlement was made there, or from persons who had received this information from their parents, who perhaps had been residents of this first settlement and afterward removed to the east side of the river. The supposed unhealthiness of the spot, Austin¹³ says, induced the first settlers on the Des Peres to move to a prairie in what is now Illinois, about twenty-five miles above the mouth of the Kaskaskia, and where the "Tmaroica Indians" then lived. Here they built a church dedicated to St. Joseph, and the prairie, accordingly, was named St. Joseph's prairie. On account of some disorder that prevailed among the Indians, the settlers removed to the site of old Kaskaskia, perhaps at the same time when Father Gravier located his village of Indians there. Here they built a stone church which was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Austin says that on account of the bad work, the stone church soon fell down and that then they built a large church out of wood with a spire and bell; the bell, it may be incidentally remarked, was sent to Kaskaskia from France by the king.¹⁴ Austin is confirmed to some extent in his narrative by the fact that a very rare Roman coin was found on the banks of the river Des Peres by an Indian and presented to Governor Clark in the early territorial days.

Where the Illinois prairie to which the settlers from the Des Peres moved to make a settlement was situated cannot be definitely determined, but it is certain that French Canadians were settled among the "Tamaroica" or Tamaroa Indians early in 1700, because an account is preserved of twenty-one French Canadians from Tamaroa making a voyage up the Missouri River in search of mines in 1703;¹⁵ and Governor Bienville,¹⁶ in a letter dated September 6, 1704, says that some French Canadians were at that early date settled on the Mis-

¹³ Austin's Narrative of a Journey to Upper Louisiana.—5 American Historical Review, vol. viii., p. 518.

¹⁴ Beck's Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri, p. 313.

¹⁵ Margry, Les Coureurs des Bois, vol. vi., p. 81. It is said that they found a white metal, but that it would not melt in fire like the lead near Tamaroa, "qui est du vrai plomb."—4 Margry, p. 630, Etablissements des Français.

¹⁶ Margry, Les Coureurs des Bois, vol. vi., p. 182.

souri. In 1705 we hear of a Frenchman, Laurain, who had been on the Missouri, and who on his return reported that he had visited the Indian tribes on that river and gone as far as the frontier of New Mexico.¹⁷

The extent of the voyages and explorations of these French-Canadians in search of precious mines and furs, at that time, may also be inferred from the fact that in 1705, when Bienville was at Mobile, fifty Canadians arrived there with the intention of settling, and that among these were some who had visited many Indian villages on the Missouri, traded with them and approached the neighborhood of the mines of the Spaniards. Bienville learned from them that the Spaniards were then at war with three or four of the largest Indian tribes, and writes that he learns "*ce pays est le plus beau du monde,*" that the Indians use horses and that the country abounds in "*trois sorte mines que sont de cuivre at d'un métal qu'on ne connoist point.*" When this report reached the king, he ordered, on June 30, 1707, *Sieur de Mui*, then governor of Louisiana, to have these metals assayed.¹⁸

Also, the hope of discovering a route to the southern or western sea possessed all minds during this period. It was supposed that the Missouri pointed in that direction, and Marquette¹⁹ well expressed the general feeling when he said he "*hoped to find the Pekitanoui (Missouri), according to reports made to him by the savages, leading to the southern sea, toward California.*" In order to further this discovery of the South sea, Nicholas de La Salle, in October, 1708, recommended an exploration of the Missouri, and that the same be mapped by an engineer.²⁰

Many rumors were then current among the fur hunters on the upper lakes, that across the mountain divide beyond the headwaters of the Missouri, a stream existed that would take voyagers in its course to the western and southern ocean. Many stories, too, were told in the camps of these hunters and traders among the tribes of the upper Missouri of the marvelous mines of gold and silver on a stream flowing toward the setting sun or Vermillion sea. It was said that these mines were worked by the Spaniards, who carried

¹⁷ Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 181.

¹⁸ Life of *Sieur de Bienville*, p. 143.

¹⁹ 59 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 141.

²⁰ Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 183. *Il seroit nécessaire d'envoyer un jeune ingénieur pour tirer une carte de cette rivière, pour vous en donner une idée nette, et de choisir des officiers entendus pour cette entreprise.*

their precious hoards on pack-mules to the famed and wealth-crowned Mexico.²¹

On going down the Mississippi, in 1700, Father Gravier mentions in his letter a rich lead mine situated on the river "Miaramigoua" (Maramec).²² From this it is apparent that explorations in the mineral district of the Maramec, then known as "Miaramigona," must have been made even prior to that time. During this same journey down the Mississippi, on the 14th of September, Father Gravier further writes: "We doubled Cape St. Croix." This is now known as Gray's Point, the place being identified by this description: "This is a small rock forming a little island on the north side of the Mississippi river, on which Monsieur Montigny has had a cross erected." He also casually remarks, "we killed two bears there."²³ Montigny, who erected this cross the year before, was accompanied by Fathers Davion and St. Cosme, who erected the cross on the Grand Tower rock, as already stated, on the same trip. The name of the rock where these early fathers of the church tarried and "killed two bears" has been changed, but the name of the little creek emptying its waters into the river just above "Cape St. Croix" is still known indifferently as "Cape La Croix," and "Cape La Cruz." Behind the rocky island, on the "north side of the Mississippi," and in the chute that separates it from the Illinois shore, are the inclines of the Illinois Central railroad.

But Father Gravier makes further interesting observations: "The fine weather continues. To-day we saw over fifty bears, and of all that we killed we took only four, in order to obtain some fat. Those that come down the Mississippi were lean and those that come from the direction of the river Ouabachei (Ohio) were fat. They were continually moving from the south to the north; it must be better there for them. There are a great many islands and shoals along the course of the Mississippi river from the Tam-arouha (Cahokia creek) to the Ouabachei (Ohio) river. This river keeps its course well from north to south, but at a distance of three or four leagues from the Ouabachei it begins to turn to the north-north-west and does nothing but meander."

²¹ Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, vol. vi., p. 182.

²² 65 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 105. (The Burrows Bros. Ed.)

²³ 65 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 105. (The Burrows Bros. Ed.) St. Cosme subsequently conducted a mission among the Natchez, Montigny among the Tensas, and Davion among the Tonicas.

For a distance from Gray's Point south the river is narrow, and in the month of September, the stage of the water being usually low, many rocks and shoals or sandbars and small islands are visible. During this period, as Father Gravier records, many wild animals crossed and recrossed the narrow river here, moving from and into the rich alluvial St. Francois basin (full of cane and grass during the fall and winter) and traveling on what might be called instinctive trails or paths, which often became Indian warpaths or traces of Indian commerce. Below Gray's Point a number of large and small islands are found in the river, and its course is very tortuous for some distance above the mouth of the Ohio, as Father Gravier observes.

Le Sueur, a practical miner and mineralogist, who in search of minerals had traversed the country along the great lakes, on his return from Canada to France urged the great importance of further explorations in a memorial asking for concessions. After much opposition his petition was favorably acted upon, and in 1700 he reached the mouth of the Mississippi and sailed up this river on what may be called a mineralogical expedition. He was accompanied by twenty men and by Indian guides. Among his followers was one Penicaut, a ship carpenter by trade, but a man of literary proclivities, and to him we owe a full account of this journey. In his narrative he notes events which occurred within the limits and on the borders of the territory now within Missouri. After leaving the mouth of the Ohio, Penicaut says they went up the river fifteen leagues to Cape St. Antoine, where, he remarks, the French of Illinois obtain millstones for their mills. It will be noted that Penicaut says that Cape St. Antoine is only fifteen leagues (forty-five miles) from the mouth of the Ohio. If his calculation as to the distance traveled from the mouth of the Ohio is correct, this would make what is now known as Gray's Point Cape St. Antoine. Perhaps he considered the Big Bend ten miles farther up the river and five miles above the present city of Cape Girardeau as Cape St. Antoine. It is clear, however, from the narrative that Penicaut's distances are not very reliable. Penicaut tells us Le Sueur tarried for twenty-four days at Cape St. Antoine, which he places on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, as Father St. Cosme does. Because his provisions had become exhausted, Le Sueur was in sore distress. His men roved around the woods to find game, but owing to the overflow the game had all fled into the hills back of the river bottom. So from

the east bank of the river three of the men crossed into what is now Missouri to hunt, very likely in the river hills above Cape Girardeau. After separating, one of these men — Polonois, by name, so Penicaut says — saw, in a little ravine, a bear slowly walking toward him. He quickly hid behind a tree and as the bear came nearer shot him with small shot, blinding him in both eyes. The bear, stunned by the shot, turned around, and this gave our Frenchman time to load his gun with a ball, and then with a second shot he killed the bear. Of course, the Frenchmen were greatly rejoiced, and instead of the leaves and grass and the bark of trees which they had been eating, they now had bearsteak for seven or eight days; for, says the veritable Penicaut,²⁴ “les ours du bord du Mississipi sont gros comme des vaches et très bons à manger.”

Fortunately for Le Sueur and his corps, Father de Bonteville, on his way to the coast to visit D'Iberville, stopped at the camp, and, learning from Le Sueur that D'Iberville had returned to France, concluded that his journey would be useless, and so turned back to the Illinois villages, but promised to send relief as soon as he got home. He hurried back, and a few days afterward Father Limoges, a Jesuit priest, came down in a bark canoe loaded with provisions for the starving Frenchmen. At first they did not eat much, to the great surprise of the pious Father, but “en revanche, nous beusmes assez bien du vin d'Espagne.”²⁵ After waiting three days longer for the men to regain their strength, much impaired by the long fast, Le Sueur in his “chaloupes” moved up the river. Penicaut notes that, after going six leagues (eighteen miles), they passed Cape St. Cosme, on the Missouri side of the river, situated in what is now Perry county, and that eight leagues (twenty-four miles) farther up they came to the village of the Kaskaskias, at “the mouth of a river of Illinois” (Kaskaskia river), where the Kaskaskias had established themselves two years before. He also mentions the “rivière de la Saline,” and says that the stream was named so from the two salt springs which are found there. Here they rested for several days, hunting roebucks in what is now Ste. Genevieve county. Roebucks were very numerous there, he says, because these animals loved the salt — “parce que animaux aiment fort la saline.” Still going up the river, they came to a small stream called “Maramec-sipy,” where the sav-

²⁴ 5 Margry, p. 405, “Relation de Penicaut.”

²⁵ Ibid., p. 407.

ages said there was a mine of lead fifty leagues from the river, but the savages, or Penicaut, exaggerated the distance, because these lead mines are at most thirty to forty miles from the river on the headwaters of the St. Francois. This "Maramec-sipy," now known as the Maramec, was also then called "rivière a la Barbie," on account of the great number of fish found in it.²⁸

The next place at which Le Sueur landed was at a village of the Tamaroas, not far from the present site of Cahokia, in Illinois. Here he found a number of Canadian fur traders, who, as well as the savages, were greatly rejoiced to see him and his escort. They particularly admired the weapons they had, no doubt the most improved arms then made in France. This village of the Tamaroas was hidden from view by an island and a bend of the river, so that Le Sueur landed altogether unexpected and unperceived in the village. Once at the village, a prairie spread out before him bordered by hills and "une très belle perspective." The island, covered with woods, was about one and one half miles wide and about six miles in circumference, and separated from the main shore by a channel running N.N.E. On a little channel (creek) running from the east about six miles from the mouth was this village of the "Tamaroas et des Cahokias." It seems from this general description that the island referred to must have been "Bloody Island," situated opposite the present St. Louis, and the "little channel running from the east," Cahokia creek, on which the ancient village of Cahokia is situated. This Cahokia creek was long known as the "rivière des Tamaroas."

After resting here for six days Le Sueur departed, still going up the river. Six leagues (eighteen miles) above the village Penicaut notes the Missouri, "une tres grande rivière" with "une rapidité épouvantable," then (July 12, 1700) at a high stage, overflowing its banks, uprooting and carrying trees on its swelling and rushing waters. No one, says Penicaut, knows the source of the Missouri any more than the source of the Mississippi, and he admits that he knew nothing about the inhabitants on its banks, since he had not gone up this river, but he is careful to advise us that there are mines on this river. The next river on the west bank, flowing east and through what is now Missouri, mentioned by Penicaut, is the "rivière

²⁸ The name of this Missouri river is "Maramec," and not "Merrimac" or "Merrimack," as is supposed by many. The name is not derived from the Massachusetts river.

aux Bœufs." But before mentioning this stream, speaking of the prairies in north Missouri, he says that opposite the mouth of the Illinois "est le commencement des plus belles prairies du monde et d'une très grande estendue."²⁷ He notes that at the rivière aux Bœufs "à la droite et à la gauche de son embouchure il y a deux rochers escarpés." Le Sueur went up this river half a league and camped on its borders, to rest from the arduous labors of the journey. The members of his corps were perhaps the first white men who encamped on the soil of what is now Lincoln county. Here some of the men went hunting, and within half a league of the camp killed a buffalo and buffalo cow, and from this incident it may be the stream was called "rivière aux Bœufs." Penicaut says that they enjoyed themselves here — fatigued as they were — hunting and eating, and what added greatly to their enjoyment was that they emptied "plusieurs bouteilles d'eau-de-vie."²⁸ In this locality Penicaut tells us there were many wolves, also tigers (wildcats), and many foxes of extraordinary beauty, their fur being "d'une couleur argentine."

But we now leave Penicaut on his journey north up the river for Father Gabriel Marest,²⁹ of Kaskaskia, who, writing in 1712, tells us: "We also have salt springs in the neighborhood, which are of great benefit to us," referring to the salt springs on Saline creek, already noted by Joutel and Penicaut, in what is Ste. Genevieve county, Missouri. At that time these salt springs were worked and utilized by the residents of Kaskaskia. Some of the early French habitants had then taken up their abode near these salt springs. Not long afterward others, too, may have settled to quarry stone — because it is said that some of the finer stone used in the construction of Fort de Chartres, and utilized in the gateways of this, the greatest establishment of that time in the Mississippi valley, was procured on the opposite side of the Mississippi — that is to say, within the limits of the present state of Missouri.³¹ The durable, fine-grained, and easily worked sandstone, found near the mouth of the Saline, or Aux Vases, must have been that from which this stone was procured.

Perhaps urged by the French government, at that time very

²⁷ 5 Margry, p. 409, "Relation de Penicaut."

²⁸ Ibid., p. 410.

²⁹ 66 Jesuit Relations, p. 291 (the Burrows Ed.), and 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 221, letter of Father Vivier.

³¹ Mason's Early History of Illinois, p. 228.

anxious to establish the American colonial empire of France on a firm foundation, Bienville, governor of Louisiana, in 1708 sent an expedition to explore the Missouri to its sources; but the details of this expedition have not been preserved. The names of the adventurers are unchronicled. It is more than likely that the desire to find mines of precious ores was the main incentive which caused these expeditions to be equipped and sent out, as well as to anticipate the Spaniards, who were also very active in expanding their claims to territory. At any rate, the activity of the French on the Missouri at this time so impressed the Spaniards that decided action was necessary that in 1720 they sent an expedition from Santa Fe, "for the purpose of establishing a military post in the upper Mississippi Valley as a barrier to further encroachment of the French in that direction." Bienville, according to Dumont, was advised of this contemplated expedition, and sent information to La Harpe, then on the Arkansas river, by a party of Missouris. This Spanish expedition or caravan, as it was called, consisted of upward of fifteen hundred people, if we are to believe Bossu's narrative, men, women, children, and soldiers, accompanied by horses and cattle. The idea seems to have been to form a complete and permanent settlement, self-sustaining, as far as possible, from the beginning. Perhaps, because known to be allied to the French, it was designed to destroy, or at least make war on the Missouris, and to form an alliance with the Osages. But this expedition, instead of reaching the Osages, came, without knowing it, into a village of the Missouris. The Spanish commandant presented himself to the great chief, and, offering a calumet, made him understand through an interpreter, believing himself to be speaking to the Osages, that they were the enemies of the Missouris and had come to destroy them; and, says Bossu,³² "the great chief of the Missouris concealed his thought upon this expedition, showed the Spaniards great joy and promised to execute a design with them which gave him much pleasure. To that purpose he invited them to rest for a few days, after their tiresome journey, till he



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³² Bossu's Travels in Louisiana, vol. i., pp. 150, 155.

had assembled his warriors, and held council with the old men, but the result of the council of war was that they should entertain their guests very well and affect the sincerest friendship for them. They agreed together to set out in three days. The Spanish commandant immediately distributed fifteen hundred muskets, sabers, and hatchets; but the very morning after this agreement the Missouris came by break of day into the Spanish camp and killed them all, except the Jacobine (Dominican) priest, whose singular dress did not seem to belong to a warrior; they called him "magpie" and diverted themselves in making him ride on one of the Spanish horses on their days for assembly. The priest, though he was caressed and well fed, was not without uneasiness, fearing that these jokes would end in sacrificing him to the "Manitou," or deity of the Indians; therefore one day, taking advantage of their confidence in him, he took measures to get away before their faces."

This story, given by M. Bossu, may well be doubted in many of its details. The fact that Bienville knew that this expedition was being equipped to dispute French authority on the Missouri and take possession of the country by establishing a fort or post, and that he promptly advised La Harpe of the fact, would seem to indicate that the Indians were counseled by the French how and in what manner to act, and that the whole scheme of destroying the expedition was arranged by the French. The influence of the French then was paramount among the Missouris, and the French traders could not have been indifferent to an expedition which, if successful, would have excluded them from the profitable fur trade on the upper Missouri.

Nor is the remainder of the Bossu narrative calculated to increase our confidence in its truthfulness. We are told that these Indians were ignorant of the use of horses, and that they took pleasure in making the priest, who had become their slave, mount horses and ride them, but that they themselves did not dare to do so, and that the priest finally, while riding one of the best horses for their amusement, disappeared from their sight. But Du Tisne reports that in 1719 the Osages, Missouris, and Panis traded in horses,³³ and Du Pratz³⁴ tells us that the Indians of the plains at that time generally went to war on horseback, covering their horses with dressed leather,

³³ 6 Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, p. 311.

³⁴ Du Pratz's *History of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 125. (London Ed. 1763.)

hanging down quite around them, thus securing themselves from darts. So that the statement that the Indians were afraid of horses, as given in Bossu's narrative, must be an error. It should also be remembered that, one hundred and fifty years before this time, Coronado and De Soto rode through a portion of this country on horses.

"All these transactions," says M. Bossu, "the Missouris themselves related when they brought the ornaments of the chapel hither," that is to say, to Fort du Chartres. He further says: "They were dressed out in these ornaments; the chief had on the naked skin the chasuble, with the paten suspended from his neck, having driven a nail through it and making use of it as a breast-plate; he marched gravely at the head of all others, being crowned with feathers and a pair of horns. Those that followed him had more chasubles on; after them came those who carried the stole; followed by those who had the scarfs about their necks; after them came three or four young Indians, some with albs and others with surplices on. They had hung," so he says, "not knowing the respect due to the sacred utensils, the chalice to a horse's neck, as if it had been a bell." They gave M. de Boisbriant, then in command of Fort de Chartres, the sacred ornaments, and in return received goods "more to their liking." They also presented him some fine horses. They brought, too, the map which had guided or misguided the Spaniards.

The celebrated Jesuit, Charlevoix, who traveled through the Illinois country from Quebec to New Orleans in 1721, gives another account of evidently the same affair, and perhaps containing more truth. In his letter,³⁵ dated Kaskaskia, July 21, addressed to the Duchess of Lesdiguières, he says: "About two years ago some Spaniards coming, as they say, from Mexico, intending to get into the country of Illinois, and drive the French from thence, whom they saw with extreme jealousy approached so near the Missouri, came down the river and attacked two villages of the Octotatas (Otoes), who are the allies of the Ajouez (Iowas); and from whom it is said also that they are derived. As the savages had no firearms and were surprised, the Spaniards made an easy conquest, and killed a great many of them. A third village, which was not far off from the other two, being informed of what had passed, and not doubting that these conquerors would attack them, laid an ambush into which the Spaniards

³⁵ Charlevoix's Travels, p. 204. (London Ed., 1763.)

heedlessly fell. Others say that the savages, having heard that the Spaniards were almost all drunk, and fast asleep, fell upon them in the night. However, it was, it is certain that they killed the greatest part of them. There were in this party two almoners, one of whom was killed directly and the other got away to the Missourites, who took him prisoner, but he escaped them very dextrously. He had a very fine horse, and the Missourites took pleasure in seeing him ride it, which he did very skilfully. He took advantage of this curiosity to get out of their hands. One day when he was prancing and exercising his horse before them, he got a little distance from them insensibly, then, suddenly clapping his spurs to his horse, was out of sight." But Charlevoix says that it was not certainly known from what part of New Mexico these Spaniards came or what was their design.

Martin,³⁶ says: "A large party of Spaniards from the neighboring provinces came to the Missouri, with a view of descending and attacking the French at Illinois. They fell on two towns of the Missouri Indians, and routed the inhabitants. But those at the mouth of the river, having had timely notice of the approach of the foe, collected in vast numbers, attacked and defeated it. They made a great slaughter, and tortured to death the prisoners they took, except two friars. One of these died soon after; the other remained awhile in captivity. He had a fine horse and was very skilful in the management of it. One day, as he was amusing the Indians with feats of horsemanship, he applied the spurs to the side of the animal and effected his escape." In another part of his work, Martin³⁷ says that "three hundred Spaniards had marched from Santa Fe to the upper part of the provinces," and that "they were guided by Padoucah Indians, who directed them so northerly that they reached the river of the Canseys near the Missouri, where they fell among Indians, allies of the French, who destroyed them all, except their chief, the swiftness of whose horse secured his safety."

Bienville,³⁸ under date of July 20, 1721, simply writes the council of regency that two hundred Spanish cavalry, accompanied by many savage Padoucahs of New Mexico, designing to attack the French of the Illinois country, were discovered by the Otoes, Houatocototas,

³⁶ Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. i., p. 207.

³⁷ Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. i., p. 234.

³⁸ 6 Margry, *Les Coureurs des Bois*, p. 386.

and Panimahas, allies of the French, and surprised and destroyed by them; that from one of the Spaniards whose life was saved and delivered over to De Boisbriant, commandant of the Illinois country, the route by which the Spaniards came and the distance from New Mexico to the Missouri were ascertained.

The French version of this expedition, as given by Bossu, has generally been accepted as correct, no notice being taken of Bienville's report. The Spanish account of this affair is in harmony with the report of Bienville. According to Spanish reports, in 1720 the viceroy of Mexico ordered General Don Antonio Valverde Cosio, governor of New Mexico, to prepare and send out an expedition to the northeast, in order to establish commercial relations with the prairie Indians of Kansas, as well as to make a military reconnaissance of the direction in which the French were encroaching upon what was considered Spanish territory. Don Pedro de Villazus was placed in command of a force of fifty armed men, and Jean l'Archeveque, or Archibegue, was a member of his staff. The latter was the same Frenchman, it would seem, who was implicated in the murder of La Salle and who afterward fled to New Mexico, and there obtained an honorable position. The expedition reached the Arkansas river on August 14, 1720, and there met a large force of the Panis (Pawnees), who returned an evasive answer to a peaceful message of the Spanish commander. The suspicions of Villazus were aroused, and he recrossed the river, in order to have the river between himself and his presumed enemies. But during the night, the Indians swam the river, captured the Spanish guards, and in the morning, after the Spaniards had collected their horses and were about to mount, made a sudden attack upon them out of the high grass. The horses took fright at the very first shots which were fired from a very short distance, mainly at the tent of the commander. The effect of the enemy's fire was so quick and murderous that nothing but flight was thought of, and the soldiers who succeeded in catching any of the horses used them to escape. Of the fifty armed men, only five or six escaped; the balance were all killed, among them the commander, Don Pedro de Villazus, and Jean l'Archeveque.³⁹

It will be noted that, according to the Spanish account, this expedition only came as far north as the Arkansas; but if, as reported by Bienville, the Otoes and Panimahas, who were allied with the

³⁹ Bandelier's *Gilded Man*, p. 299.

Missouri, defeated the Spaniards, it is certain that they came as far north as the Missouri. The Spanish account says that some Frenchmen were with these Indians, and that the Indians used firearms. It is believed that at that time none of the Indians residing on the Arkansas had secured possession of firearms, although the Missouris, the Kansas, Otoes, and Panimahas, all allies of the French, had been provided with some guns.⁴⁰

It is curious to note the many confused accounts that have grown out of this Spanish expedition. Evidently, the defeat of the Spanish enterprise was considered a very great victory by the Indians and the few Frenchmen that were associated with the Indians. Bossu, with more credulity than judgment, adopted the most exaggerated reports which were current at Fort de Chartres when he was there in 1755. Subsequent narratives were based on Bossu's accounts. Bienville's sober report was overlooked, and the Spanish account of the transaction has only been recently brought to light by Bandelier.

The first journey by land to explore the interior of the territory of what is now Missouri, of which we have any record, was undertaken by a Canadian named Du Tisne,⁴¹ in the summer of 1718, by order of Governor Bienville. Du Tisne first attempted to visit the Panioussas, going up the Missouri river, but was not permitted by the Missouris to go that way, and obliged to return.⁴² In his report to Bernard La Harpe, Du Tisne makes the observation that the Missouri river was a stream very difficult and troublesome to navigate, full of "d'embarras de bois et des grandes battures, avec

⁴⁰ See, also, H.H. Bancroft's *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 236, 237, Snyder's note; Prince's *Sketches of New Mexico*, p. 225.

⁴¹ Charles Claude Du Tisne, a Canadian, was one of the first officers that came to Louisiana with De Bienville. In 1714 he marched by land from Canada to Mobile through the unbroken wilderness, with a small squad of Canadians. He was frequently employed by De Bienville in making negotiations and alliances with the Indians. St. Denys, authorized to open trade with the Spanish province in 1716, placed a detachment of the French soldiers under his command at Natchitoches, and by his direction he built a fort there to establish a garrison among the Indians, and bulwark against the Spaniards. He was an officer at Fort Rosalie (Natchez) in 1723; in command of one of the ten companies that constituted the military establishment of Louisiana in that year; was placed in command of Fort de Chartres in 1725 by Du Boisbriant, and died, probably in 1730. Bossu met his son at Fort de Chartres in 1757, who also seems to have been an officer in the French service. He related the incidents of his father's life, which were preserved and published by him. Bossu spells the name Du Tissenett.

⁴² 6 Margry, p. 313. See letter of Du Tisne to De Bienville, dated November 22, 1719.

de forts courants;" that, to reach the village of the Missouris, he took a course N. N. W., and that in going up the river it took him "tour du compass par les circonvallations." He mentions the forests of walnut, sycamore, and oak, and "very beautiful country and hills of rock." On the west side, he says, he passed the mouths of two very beautiful rivers, the first "la rivière Bleue, que n'est pas d'une grande consequence," probably referring to the Gasconade, but the second he names as the "rivière des Osage." Upon this river, he tells us, are situated the villages of the Osages, eighty leagues distant in a southwest direction. Returning from this unsuccessful attempt to go up the Missouri, Du Tisne started from the French settlement at Kaskaskia, on the east bank of the Mississippi, and, crossing the river, traveled up the Saline creek, which empties its waters into the river not far from Kaskaskia. No doubt he followed a trading or warpath of the Osage Indians, which led him to the headwaters of the Osage river, going across the broken highlands of the Maramec, Gasconade, and numerous other streams tributary to the Missouri. On September 27, 1719, he arrived among the Padoucahs west of the present limits of Missouri, where he took formal possession of the country in the name of his king, and erected a column emblazoned with the arms of France. On his return, he made a report to Bienville, from which it appears that the country he traversed was well timbered. According to his reckoning, he traveled a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. He found the principal village of the Osages located on a hill and containing about one hundred cabins, with nearly double that number of warriors. He further reports that the Indians spent but a small part of the year in their villages, but during a greater portion of the year hunted at a great distance from these villages. About one hundred and twenty miles west of the Osages, in a prairie country abounding with buffalo, he found the first village of the Padoucahs (Panionkes), which he reported to have about one hundred and thirty cabins, and about two hundred and fifty warriors. About four miles farther west, he found another village about as large, of the same Indians. These Indians owned about three hundred horses, which they valued greatly. The Pawnees were four hundred and fifty miles away, and a saline of rock-salt was found in the country of the Panoussas, who resided about fifteen miles from the Padoucahs. Near the Osage village, Du Tisne says, he found lead and other ores, and this seems to indicate that these Osage villages were near the

southwest Missouri mineral region. Du Tisne also reports that the villages of the Missouris were then located about three hundred and fifty yards from the river of that name, and that some Osage villages were near the Missouri river at that time.

Bossu ⁴³ relates several incidents in the life of Du Tisne, showing his ready wit and audacity. On one occasion, being together with some Frenchmen, among unfriendly Indians, who were there to barter goods, he found that the Indians meditated a hostile attack, and understanding fully their purpose, as he wore a wig, he took it from his head and threw it defiantly on the ground, saying from time to time, "You will have my scalp; take it up if you dare to do it." The astonishment of the Indians was inexpressible, for Du Tisne had had his head shaved a little before this happened. Afterward, he told them it was very wrong in them to attempt to injure him, because he only came to make an alliance with them; but that, if they compelled him, he would burn the waters in their lakes and rivers and thus hinder them from paddling their canoes, and also set fire to their forests. To demonstrate the truth of his power, he secured a little pot, put some brandy in it and set it on fire, and the Indians, not being then acquainted with brandy, were amazed. At the same time, he took out of his pocket a convex glass and set fire to a rotten tree by means of the sun. The Indians, really believing that he had power to burn their lakes and rivers and forests, caressed and loaded him with presents and accompanied him as an escort, so that no one might do him any harm.

A copy of a speech delivered by Assakipite, a Kaskaskia chief, highly esteemed, was sent to Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, at Quebec, from Fort de Chartres, in 1725. From this it appears that shortly prior to that time Du Tisne had been sent by de Boisbriant up the Missouri to make peace with the Iowas, who then had their habitat on that stream. The Illinois Indians charged that the Renards (Foxes) were lying in wait on the Missouri to attack Du Tisne, but did not dare to do so, because he was accompanied by soldiers. They further said: "We listen only to the French chief. It is for him to decide in peace or war. Our chiefs are all absent. When they return this spring the French chief, Monsieur Du Tisne, will assemble us from all his villages. We shall listen to his word, and we shall do what he commands us." And again, "Monsieur

⁴³ Bossu, *Travels*, vol. i., p. 202.

de Boisbrant has left us Monsieur Du Tisne; we listen to his word; we deliberate only in what he tells us in Ononthyo's behalf."⁴⁴ In the fall of 1724, Du Tisne reports that his son arrived from the Missouris, and brought his convoy (of furs) safely, and without accident, to Fort de Chartes, thus showing that at that time the French traders of that place were operating on the Missouri river.

In consequence of the Spanish expedition in 1720, a French fort was established on the Missouri river near where the Missouri Indians then dwelt. The name of this fort was "Orleans," and Sieur de Bourgmont, an old French colonial officer, located it. This fort must be considered as the first European establishment in Missouri. In a memoir, Sieur La Renaudiere says that, going up the Missouri, you find on the north side, emptying into this river, the "Grande rivière," and on it, he notes, the Indians report that they find pieces of copper. On this river a village of the Missouris was located about six leagues (eighteen miles) from its mouth, the village consisting of about one hundred cabins. "This is the place," says Sieur La Renaudière, "near which M. de Bourgmont"⁴⁵ has established himself," and thirty leagues (ninety miles) above this fort on the Missouri, La Renaudière places the mouth of the "Rivière des Quans, belle rivière."⁴⁶ The location of the fort is supposed to have been on an island, long since washed away, but which then existed, according to d'Anville's map, near the mouth of Grand river and not far from present city of Brunswick.

In the "Memoires Historique sur la Louisiane," usually attributed to Butel-Dumont,⁴⁷ but really the work of Dumont de Montigny,

⁴⁴ Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. xvi., p. 453.

⁴⁵ Etienne Venyard Sieur de Bourgmont (spelled also Bourmond, Bourgmont, Bourmont, Boumont, Bormond, Boismont, Bourmion) we first find mentioned as an officer (ensign) in command at Detroit in January, 1706, where he succeeded Tonty. He was a young man then, and had been sent from Quebec to Detroit by land in the previous September. At Detroit he was guilty of irregular conduct and deserted, followed by a woman named La Chenette (or Tichenet), and, says Sieur D'Aigremont, "with whom he is living in the woods like a savage." With him there were some other deserters. Cadillac sent some soliders to break up this camp of deserters, but Bourgmont escaped and appears to have gone farther west, although at first it was thought that, with the Tichenet woman, he had gone to the English. Bourgmont was a strong and large man, and on one occasion, when his dog bit an Indian and he struck the dog, Bourgmont fell upon the Indian and beat him so severely that he died some time afterward. All of which gives us a pretty vivid idea of the character of this Bourgmont.

⁴⁶ 6 Margry, *Endroit ou doit s'établir la Sieur Bourgmont*, p. 392.

⁴⁷ George Marie Butel-Dumont, born at Paris 1725, royal auditor and secre-

edited by the Abbé de Mascrier, an amusing account of the establishment of this fort is given. Since it relates to this earliest military post in Missouri, we will first give it here, in substance, because this account has been generally accepted as correct, and afterward will examine its general accuracy, in the light of such historical documents as have since been published and are now accessible. Dumont de Montigny says, in substance, that an officer who well knew that any proposition that favored the advancement of the colony would find favor in France suggested that it would be advantageous to form a post "on the river of the Missouri," in the vicinity of the Indian tribe of that name. The project being approved, he was named commandant of the post. He repaired to New Orleans, and, producing his orders, received three boat-loads of provisions necessary for the execution of his plans, and some soldiers to act first as boatmen and then as a garrison of the fort he was to build. They sailed up the Mississippi in 1720, and, arriving they were well received by the Missouri, who gave them a suitable place for their establishment. A palisade fort was erected on this site by the French, with a cabin for the commandant and officers, and another for the soldiers' barracks. The French soldiers lived in perfect peace and harmony with the Indians. The commandant, who had lived among the Indians, spoke their language very well, and it occurred to him that it would greatly promote the interest of the French to induce some of the natives to go with him to France, where, he told them, he would show them many fine and wonderful things. By dint of presents and promises, he succeeded in getting eleven Indians to follow him, together with the great chief's daughter, who, it was said, was his mistress. The voyage being decided upon, the commandant with his twelve Indians and a sergeant named Du Bois embarked in pirogues, leaving his lieutenant in command. Descending the Mississippi, they arrived in due time in New Orleans, and thence embarked for France. Arrived in France, the commandant proceeded in all haste to court with his Indians, and presented them to

tary of the ambassador at St. Petersburg, died about the end of the 18th century. He never was in Louisiana, and it is not at all probable that he wrote anything about Louisiana. Dumont de Montigny, however, resided in Louisiana twenty-two years; was stationed on the Yazoo; accompanied La Harpe up the Arkansas, and it is said was fond of a good story, which is evident from the account he gives of Bourgmont's expedition. Boucher de la Richardiere, in his *Bibliothèque*, says that the "*Memoire Historique sur la Louisiane est un peu superflue*." These memoirs were published in Paris in 1753.

the king. Of course, they greatly pleased the court, and they were taken to the Bois de Boulogne, where they hunted stags in their way. In Paris they danced their Indian war dances at the Italian theater. The Indian chief's daughter was baptized at Notre Dame, and after this married the sergeant Du Bois, who was made an officer and commandant of the Missouris. Much benefit was expected to result from the conversion of the daughter of the great chief of the Missouris, and her marriage to a Frenchman. She received numerous presents from the ladies of the court and from the king himself. Nor were her Indian companions forgotten; they all received fine blue coats trimmed with gold, and lace hats. They were all well satisfied, and, returning to Le Orient, embarked for home. As for the commandant, Dumont de Montigny tells us that he remained in France, where he was made a knight of St. Louis, and afterward married a rich widow. The voyage of Monsieur and Madame Du Bois and their suite of Missouri Indians was very prosperous, and all arrived in good health at New Orleans. While there they were entertained at the expense of the Company of the West, and were also furnished a boat with soldiers and boatmen to carry them back to their village. "What a joy," says Dumont de Montigny, "for these Indians to see once more their countrymen, they had given up for lost, and see them return rich and loaded with presents. On their arrival, there were dances and games in all the villages. Madame Du Bois remained in the fort, but went from time to time to visit her family, either because she did not love her husband or that her own people's way of living suited her better than that of the French. The boat which had brought her had scarcely left when the Indians massacred Sieur Du Bois and butchered the whole garrison, not one escaping; after which Madame Du Bois returned to her people and to her former mode of life, so that the post no longer exists."

The satirical character of Dumont de Montigny's account is apparent, and when we compare it with the various letters and documents published by Margry,⁴⁸ we also readily perceive how easily history may be perverted. The suggestion to establish a post on the Missouri was first made by Sieur Presle, a "habitant d'isle Dauphine." In a letter dated 1718 he recommended that Sieur de Bourgmont, who, he says, had lived for fifteen years among the

⁴⁸ 6 Margry, *Relations des Francais avec diverses peuplades du Missouri*, p. 385.

the king. Of course, they greatly pleased the court, and they were taken to the Bois de Boulogne, where they hunted stags in their way. In Paris they danced their Indian war dances at the Italian theater. The Indian chief's daughter was baptized at Notre Dame, and after this married the sergeant Du Bois, who was made an officer and commandant of the Missouris. Much benefit was expected to result from the conversion of the daughter of the great chief of the Missouris, and her marriage to a Frenchman. She received numerous presents from the ladies of the court and from the king himself. Nor were her Indian companions forgotten; they all received fine blue coats trimmed with gold, and lace hats. They were all well satisfied, and, returning to Le Orient, embarked for home. As for the commandant, Dumont de Montigny tells us that he remained in France, where he was made a knight of St. Louis, and afterward married a rich widow. The voyage of Monsieur and Madame Du Bois and their suite of Missouri Indians was very prosperous, and all arrived in good health at New Orleans. While there they were entertained at the expense of the Company of the West, and were also furnished a boat with soldiers and boatmen to carry them back to their village. "What a joy," says Dumont de Montigny, "for these Indians to see once more their countrymen, they had given up for lost, and see them return rich and loaded with presents. On their arrival, there were dances and games in all the villages. Madame Du Bois remained in the fort, but went from time to time to visit her family, either because she did not love her husband or that her own people's way of living suited her better than that of the French. The boat which had brought her had scarcely left when the Indians massacred Sieur Du Bois and butchered the whole garrison, not one escaping; after which Madame Du Bois returned to her people and to her former mode of life, so that the post no longer exists."

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⁴⁸ 6 Margry, *Relations des Francais avec diverses peuplades du Missouri*, p. 385.

Missouri, that is to say, as early as 1702-3, be employed to establish commercial relations "with a nation of small men, with large eyes, dressed like Europeans, living in very good houses about six hundred leagues from the Panis," who, according to his letter, were always "occupes a de beaux ouvrages" and supposed to be Chinese. It was Sieur Presle, perhaps a stockholder in the Company of the Indies, who called attention to Bourgmont as one familiar with Indians on the upper Missouri. Very likely in consequence of the Spanish encroachments on this river, the Company of the Indies acted upon these suggestions and appointed Sieur de Bourgmont, then in France, to establish a post on the Missouri, and Bourgmont's commission, preserved by some singular accident, is now in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society.⁴⁹ De

⁴⁹ The commission is written on parchment, and translated, reads as follows: "Commission of Captain of Infantry in Louisiana, for the Sieur de Bourmont.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY OF THE INDIES TO THE SIEUR DE BOURMONT, Greeting: Taking into consideration the services which you have rendered to the King and to the Company in the country of Louisiana both by the discoveries which you have made and by your acts of war which have caused the French nation to be respected and honored amongst the savages, and wishing to show you our satisfaction in giving you among the troops which are or may afterwards be sent to the said country a rank above that which you have until the present held,

FOR THESE CAUSES, and other good considerations, we, in virtue of the power accorded by His Majesty, have named you, commissioned and established you, name, commission, and establish you to take and hold the rank of captain in the troops of infantry that the Company sends or will send in future to the colony of Louisiana, from the day and date present, (taut amsi?) (the same as if?) you held the chief command under the authority of the commandant-general of the colony and of other superior officers (of the service?). We have given and give power, commission, authority special mandamus. We give order to the Sieur de Bienville, commandant-general of the colony, and in his absence to whoever shall be in command, to receive you into service recognizing (manuscript blurred) quality of captain and to (—?) which he belongs to obey and hear all that you shall order for the glory of the name of His Majesty and the good of the service of the company and the advantage of its commerce in the said colony of Louisiana. THESE LETTERS are the (?) of the company in the faith of what you have done, sealed in presence with the seal of the company and countersigned by the Directors of the same. Done at Paris, in (the hotel?) of the Company of the Indies, the 26th day of the month of July, 1720.

(There are eight signatures, two of which cannot be entirely deciphered.

X		
Mouchard,	Fromaget (?),	Corneau, Castanies, D'Artaguette,
	Lallemant de Bet,	Remy (?)
		By the Company
		for (duplication?)
		Delaloe (?) "

Gayarre, volume i., p. 233, says: "I have already said that Law, who was

Bourgmont agreed to accept the position upon the approval of the Council of Regency, his appointment to be dated August 12, 1720, a portion of his salary to be paid prior to his departure, and on his arrival in Louisiana he further to receive "une gratification de 2000 livres au merchandise." In his memoir De Bourgmont ⁵⁰ says that he has rendered great services to the king in Canada and Louisiana, for which he has never been paid, "ne se recompensant point pas d'argent," and that he merits the Cross of St. Louis for the labors and dangers he has undergone and endured in executing various and important enterprises, and expresses the hope that, if he shall be so happy as to execute successfully the trust reposed in him by the Council of Regency, and to establish peace among the savage nations of the country between Louisiana and New Mexico, and thus open a route to the commercial enterprise of the French by building a fort on the Missouri, letters of nobility may be awarded to him.

The Council of Regency approved the commission given by the Company of the Indies to Bourgmont, and ordered him to depart on the first vessel going to Louisiana, and to establish a post on the Missouri. On arriving in the colony, he was ordered to report to Governor Bienville, and the governor and the council were instructed to facilitate his expedition up the Missouri, by promptly furnishing everything necessary for his voyage and establishment. Arrived in the Illinois country, he was further instructed to obtain orders from Monsieur De Boisbriant, first lieutenant of the king, in that portion of the colony, as to where to establish the post on the Missouri, and in what manner to conduct affairs with the Indians. It was provided that Boisbriant's reports should be in writing, in duplicate, one copy to be transmitted to the Council of Regency. The principal object of De Bourgmont's expedition was stated to be to draw near the Spanish possessions, to ascertain what trade might be established with them, and in the meantime to provide for the establishment of a fort and defense in case of rupture with Spain. It was suggested that great care must be exercised in making a selection of

director-general of the Royal Bank of France, was also appointed director-general of the Mississippi Company. The other directors were D'Artaguet, receiver-general of the finances of Auch; Duche, receiver-general of the finances of La Rochelle; Moreau, deputy representative of the merchants of St. Malo; Piou, also the commercial representative and deputy of Nantes; Castaignes and Mouchard, merchants of La Rochelle."

It will be observed that the name in this commission is spelled "Bourmont."

⁵⁰ 6 Margry, p. 388, "Demands du Sieur De Bourgmont."

a site for this establishment, as upon this would depend greatly the success of the enterprise. The importance of forming an alliance with the Padoucahs was also urged upon De Bourgmont, and De Boisbriant was ordered to encourage the visit of some of the principal chiefs of the Indians to France with De Bourgmont, in order to give them an idea of the power of France — “pour leur donner une idée de la puissance des Français.” Finally, if De Bourgmont faithfully carried out these instructions within two years the council agreed to allow him to return to France to enjoy the benefits of the “grâces que luy ont esté promises par S. A. R.,” but it was required that he must secure and bring with him a certificate from De Boisbriant and the council of the colony that he had solidly established a post on the Missouri, made peace with the Padoucahs and other savage Indians now at war with the allies of France.⁵¹

De Boisbriant on August 20, 1723, wrote Bienville that he had ordered De Bourgmont to go to the upper Missouri, and that he had furnished him twenty soldiers to establish a little post, “un petite poste,” and a small assortment of merchandise to make presents to the savages, for “you know,” he says, “these savage nations are not accustomed to receive large presents, and are content with small ones.” De Boisbriant did not believe that De Bourgmont would be able to make peace with the Padoucahs, nor did he consider this a great evil, “grande mal,” because such a peace, in his opinion, would not be of long duration, the nation of the Missouris being always in confusion and embroiled, “vos nations du Missouri se brouilleroient infailliblement après,” in order that they might receive presents to be reconciled.⁵²

In January, 1724, De Bourgmont wrote the Council of Louisiana from Fort Orleans, referring to a prior letter dated November 27, 1723, that owing to the advanced season and drifting ice he was not able to proceed up the Missouri from his establishment to visit the Padoucahs, but that he was only waiting the opening of navigation to proceed. He also informed the Council that he was much surprised to learn that the Hotos (Otoes) and Ayovois (Iowas) had made an alliance with “our enemies,” the Sioux and the Renards (Foxes); that these Hotos and Ayovois professed to be friendly, but that he declined to receive them until they made a full explanation; that he

⁵¹ 6 Margry, Instructions derniers au Sieur De Bourgmont, p. 389.

⁵² 6 Margry, p. 391, Envoi de Bourgmont sur le haut du Missouri.

reproached them and menaced them in order to impress upon them the enormity of their offense, which so impressed them that they wept, and promised to break off this alliance. He advised the Council that these two nations allied with the Mahas and Panimahas, together with the Sioux, would make it impossible to maintain a fort on the upper Missouri, and expressed doubt whether even M. De Broisbriant could maintain his post, that is to say, Fort de Chartres, against the Indian tribes thus formed into a confederacy. In this letter, also, he laments the fact that he has not sufficient merchandise to enable him to form an alliance with all these nations, who had only seen one Frenchman in their villages in the last five years, and impresses upon the Council the absolute necessity of bringing into the country sufficient merchandise to buy the beaver skins and other furs of these Indians. He further says that he has put off a meeting of all these nations in council until the end of March next, so that "apres calumet chanté" — they may go with him to meet the Padoucahs.⁵³

When De Bourgmont began his march from Fort Orleans, in June, 1724, to visit the Canzés (Kansas) and Padoucahs, he divided his expedition into two detachments. The Canzés then had their principal village on the south bank of the Missouri, not far from the mouth of the Kansas river, and the Padoucah villages were some one hundred and fifty miles southwest. De Bourgmont's report is the first detailed official document from a district now within the limits of Missouri, made by a recognized official. This report gives us some glimpses of western Missouri as it then appeared. One detachment of Bourgmont's force proceeded by bateau up the river, starting from the fort on Sunday, June 25, 1724, under command of St. Ange, ensign of the troops at the fort. Of these troops, Du Bois was sergeant, Rotisseur and Gentil corporals. The names of the eleven soldiers of this detachment, not without interest to us now, were: La Jeunesse, Bonneau, Saint Lazare, Ferret, Derbet, Avignon, Sans-Chagrin, Poupard, Gaspard, Challons, and Brassieur. With these soldiers were five Canadians, named Mercier, Quesnal, Rivet, Rolet, and Lespine, and also two engagés of Sieur La Renaudière, named Toulouse and Antoine.

On Monday, July 3d, the other detachment, under the personal command of Sieur De Bourgmont, marched by land up the river.

⁵³ 6 Margry, p. 397, Bourgmont rompt la ligue des Octotatas.

With this detachment were *Sieur La Renaudière* and *De Bellerive*, cadet with the troops, *D'Estienne*, *Roulot*, and *Derbet*, soldiers, a drummer, *D'Hamelin* by name, a Canadian, *De Gaillard*, an engagé of *Sieur La Renaudière*, and *Simon*, a servant of *De Bourgmont*, together with one hundred *Missouris* under the command of eight war chiefs, and the great chief of the nation, and sixty-four *Osages* under command of four war chiefs. In his report *De Bourgmont* states that on the first day his detachment crossed two small creeks, and after marching six leagues (eighteen miles) went into camp at four o'clock. It was a very hot day, "*grande chaleur*," he says. The next day he started at four o'clock in the morning, marched until 10 o'clock, rested until three o'clock, then started again and marched until six o'clock, making six leagues this day. It was hot again, but the air was fine and the corps, *De Bourgmont* says, passed several small rivers, "marched on beautiful roads and over beautiful prairies bordered with little hills, among nut trees full of nuts, scattered along the brooks and valleys," and he further records that he saw troops of deer, and all this on July 4, 1724. The Indians killed twenty roebucks, some bears, and quail. On the next day he marched six leagues farther, also passing many brooks, groves of trees on the right and left, the wind blowing briskly from N. and N. W. The day following he crossed another little river early in the morning, and at eight o'clock marched through the woods, and during the day came to a beautiful river, on the borders of which he made a halt. This day the party encountered some *Canzés* Indians who had been sent by their chief to advise *De Bourgmont* that he expected him on the high prairie, and after a short march he met the grand chief of this tribe, accompanied by six war chiefs and many other Indians. They received the French with great rejoicing, smoked the calumet with them, as well as with the *Osages* and *Missouris*. They remained for some hours on the prairie, then the French fired their guns and marched westward with them. On this day the detachment made five leagues, and *De Bourgmont* in his report says that the wind changed north, and that it became cool. On July 7th, *De Bourgmont*, still marching through the prairies and through woods, up and down hills (no doubt the river hills bordering the *Missouri*) where the road was bad for his horses, about noon reached the banks of the *Missouri*, where, on the opposite side, was located the village of the *Canzés*. This day he covered seven leagues.

On Saturday, July 8th, early in the morning, De Bourgmont crossed the river in pirogues, the horses swimming and the Indians going over on a raft. After the French left the boats, as they entered the village of the Canzés, they discharged their guns and were joyfully received by the great chiefs of the tribe, and all the other Indians. De Bourgmont remained in camp here until July 24th, was entertained with many speeches and great hospitality, presented with two horses, and invited to the cabins of the various chiefs. All his followers also received many marks of esteem. On the day of his arrival in the village a messenger from St. Ange reported that, owing to the fact that many of his men were attacked by fever, he was greatly delayed in his voyage up the river, and requested that provisions might be sent him. Provisions were sent, and St. Ange was urged to hasten his movements, so that the whole corps could start to visit the Padoucahs. In the meantime De Bourgmont sent word to the Otoes of his arrival among the Canzés, and a delegation of these Indians forthwith came to visit him. While in camp among the Canzés two enslaved Padoucahs, whom De Bourgmont intended to return to this tribe, died, and De Bourgmont himself was taken by the fever. The Canzés were unremitting in their hospitality, and daily asked De Bourgmont and the other French to participate in their numerous festivities. They surrendered other enslaved Padoucahs to him. In his report, De Bourgmont complains that the days were hot and the nights cool, but the pirogues of St. Ange made slow progress in coming up the river, and the Indians began to be impatient because the merchandise which was carried in these pirogues did not arrive. Many of the Indians who accompanied De Bourgmont were also attacked with intermittent fever, and Bourgmont himself was bled five times in one day. But he gave his Indian escort medicine which had a beneficial effect on them. Incidentally we are also told that these Indians made wine out of wild grapes, and that the French found it very good.

At last St. Ange arrived with his pirogues of merchandise, but many of his men were sick with the fever, "*des fièvres chaudes.*" The first day after his arrival the goods were unloaded, and some of them were divided into suitable packages as presents for the Canzés. The next day De Bourgmont distributed these presents with an appropriate speech, and also invited them to accompany him on his expedition to the Padoucahs. The Canzés, however, were not sat-

isfied with the amount of merchandise that had been given them. De Bourgmont replied firmly that this was all he had for them. Then, after much negotiation and after Bourgmont threatened to go without them, the Canzés finally agreed to accompany him, he also adding something to their presents. Having sent his sick slaves and peltry to Fort Orleans, on the 24th of July he began his march to visit the Padoucahs, leaving the Canzés village at six o'clock in the morning "tambour battant, drapeau déployé," with arms and baggage and in battle array. On this march southwest he was accompanied by three hundred Canzés under two great chiefs and fourteen war chiefs, followed by three hundred women and five hundred children and more than three hundred dogs, the latter carrying "une partie de leurs équipages." This was the actual count of *Sieur La Renaudière*, who stood on the road—"s'est posté sur la chemin." After marching in the same direction for six days, De Bourgmont became very sick, owing to the great heat, and, being unable to ride on horseback, was carried by the Indians in a kind of litter. His illness continued, and, becoming more aggravated, he was compelled to return to Fort Orleans, where he remained until September 20th. Then he returned to the Canzés village, going in a pirogue up the river. While there he called a grand council of the principal chiefs of the "Missourys, Othos, Ayoois and Canzés," to urge upon them an alliance with the Osages, Panimahs and Illinois, and having secured their assent by the distribution of liberal presents, he set out again to visit the Padoucahs. This time, after marching about twenty leagues, he reached the "grande rivière des Canzés" (Kansas river), and on his march to this river crossed a number of smaller streams, all emptying into the Missouri. Marching about one hundred miles farther southwest, he reached the village of the Padoucahs, and after great festivities, mutual rejoicings and the distribution of many presents with many speeches, it was supposed a firm peace and alliance between the Padoucah and the other Indian nations and the French was established. Bourgmont reported that these Padoucahs are very numerous, have a knowledge of silver and money, and trade with the Spaniards. Having thus accomplished his mission, he resumed his march back, and on November 5th, reached Fort Orleans, where "*le Te Deum* fut chanté en l'honneur de la paix des Padoucas," all of which is duly recorded by Bourgmont.⁵⁴

On the November 15th, St. Ange, as major; La Renaudière, as

⁵⁴ 6 Margry, p. 448. Conseil Gèneral des Nations etc.

"ingénieur pour les mines"; Du Bois, sergeant; Delachenaie, Jeanty, Ferret, La Forge, Darbes, J. Bonneau, Henri de Chateauneuf, and Quesnal de Pichard, the last two signing by their "marque ordinaire," certify that they accompanied De Bourgmont on his first and second march to the Padoucahs, and that he established and made peace with these Indians and the Indian nations allied with France. This certificate evidently was attached to the report, to comply with the stipulation made by the Council of Regency when Bourgmont received his commission, as heretofore set forth. To secure, however, a delegation of Indians from the various tribes to go to France was a more difficult task, although he also successfully accomplished it. At a grand council of the Missouris, Osages, and Otopata,⁵⁵ — a name by which the Ayoois were also known, this subject was discussed and various speeches made, all duly reported by Bourgmont. The Missouris and Osages agreed to send a delegation to France with him, but the Otopata declined to do so — "nous ne voulons risquer qu'un de nos gens." So Bourgmont secured his Indian delegation and departed from Fort Orleans for France. What reception he and his Indians received in France Dumont has told us, also that the Indians returned home. Bourgmont remained in France, where no doubt he received his promised reward and in addition, according to Dumont, married "a rich widow," although when the great chief of the Canzés offered him his thirteen-year-old daughter in marriage he excused himself, maybe diplomatically, by saying that he was already married, and that under the law of France a Frenchman could not marry more than one woman,⁵⁶ which, he tells us, "greatly astonished" the chief. Dumont's final statement that Fort Orleans was destroyed by the Indians and all the garrison massacred seems to be a mistake, for on September 30, 1726, M. Perier was instructed to abandon the fort on the "Rivière du Missouri" if the expense appeared to him useless, and to turn the place over to the missionaries there.⁵⁷ No further mention is made after this of Fort Orleans, which, instead of having been tragically destroyed by the Indians, seems simply to have been abandoned. Probably it rotted down or was washed away by the turbulent and restless river, together with the island on which it is supposed to have been erected.

⁵⁵ So spelled in 6 Margry, p. 449. The Otoes or Othos, known as the Octotatas.

⁵⁶ 6 Margry, p. 409.

⁵⁷ 6 Margry, p. 452. Réduire on Abandonner l'Établissement sur le Missouri.

CHAPTER IX

Louisiana Under Crozat's Charter, 1712—Provisions of the Charter—Officials of New Government—Scheme of Government—Crozat's Plans Thwarted by the Spaniards—Spanish Settlements Advanced Eastward—The Company of the West, 1717—Powers Conferred on the Company—The Royal Company of the Indies—First French Settlements Made in Southeastern Missouri—French Exploration of Mineral Districts of Southeastern Missouri—Petition for Mining Privilege, 1702—Early Accounts of Mineral Districts of Missouri—Early Maps—Futile Search of Governor Cadillac for Rich Mines—Ill Success of Efforts to Work Mines—A Historical Impositor—Mining Grants Made to Renault—Renault's Extensive Mining Operations—The Renault Claims—Other Mines in This District—Primitive Methods of Transporting Lead Products from Mines—Francois Azor, Discoverer of Mine à Breton—A Trade Monopoly Granted in 1745 on the Missouri—Scattered French on the Missouri—Few Settlers in the Western Illinois Country Prior to the Treaty of Paris.

The territory within Missouri was embraced in Crozat's charter.¹ This charter granted to him the province known as Louisiana, including all the settlements, posts, roads, and rivers therein, and particularly the post and road of Dauphine Island, formerly called "Massacre Island;" the river St. Louis, "previously called the Mississippi," from the sea to the Illinois; the river St. Philip, formerly called "Missouri;" the river St. Jerome, called the "Wabash," with all the lands, lakes, and rivers immediately flowing into any part of the river of St. Louis or Mississippi, as well as the exclusive commerce thereof. Louisiana was made dependent on the government of "New France" or Canada, to which it was to be subordinate. The king, however, reserved to himself the right to enlarge the province. Crozat was granted the right to export from France into Louisiana all kinds of goods, wares, and merchandise, during fifteen years, and to carry on such commerce as he might think fit, but other persons, natural or corporate, were prohibited from trading in this vast territory on pain of confiscation of their goods and ves-

¹ Antoine Crozat was born a peasant's son on the estates of one of the "great patricians of France." At 15 he was placed as clerk in a commercial house, and in the course of twenty years became a partner of his employer, whose daughter he married, and at the death of his father-in-law was one of the richest merchants in Europe. He advanced large sums of money to the government in an emergency, and for this service was ennobled and created Marquis du Chatel. He died in 1738, at the age of 83. He had several sons and one daughter, Marie Ann Crozat, who married le Comte D'Evreux.

sels, and the officers of the king were instructed to assist Crozat and his agents and factors in enforcing the exclusive rights thus given. Authority was granted by this charter to open and work mines, and all mines thus discovered and opened were granted to Crozat on condition of yielding to the king one-fourth of the gold and silver mined, to be delivered in France at the cost of the grantee, but at the risk of the king, and also the tenth part of all other metals. Crozat was authorized to search for precious stones and pearls, yielding one-fifth of them to the king in the same manner as gold and silver. Mines not worked were to be reunited to the royal domain in three years thereafter. Crozat was granted the privilege to sell goods to the French and Indians of Louisiana, to the exclusion of all others trading without his express and written order or license, and was allowed to purchase and export to France hides, skins, and peltries, except beaver skins, this exception being to favor and protect the Canadian trade. There was vested in him the absolute property, in fee simple, of all establishments and manufactories he might erect, in silk, indigo, wool and leather, as well as all land he might cultivate, with the buildings thereon, the Intendant to make grants in that behalf, but the grants were to become void if the land ceased to be improved. The laws and edicts of the realm and the customs of Paris were extended to those in the province of Louisiana. Crozat was also required, annually, to send two vessels from France, in which the king was allowed to ship, free of charge, twenty-five tons of provisions, ammunition, etc., for the use of the colony, and more on paying freight, and the king's officers to be carried at a fixed charge. Crozat was to receive one hundred quintals of powder out of the king's stores annually, and the goods imported into France from Louisiana were allowed to enter free of duty, as well as goods exported from France to Louisiana. On application, also, Crozat, by permission of the king, was allowed to import foreign goods free of duty into Louisiana, and he was given the use of the king's boats, pirogues, and canoes for loading and unloading the same, to be returned in good order on expiration of the grant. Annually Crozat was authorized to send vessels to the coast of Guinea for Negroes, and these he was given the exclusive right to sell in Louisiana. After the expiration of nine years he was required to pay the wages of the field officers and the garrisons kept in Louisiana, and all vacancies were to be filled by him, but his

appointments were to be approved by the king. All that vast region, stretching from the Gulf indefinitely north and from the confines of Canada to the Pacific, was thus made over to Crozat as his exclusive trading domain.

On the 7th day of May, 1713, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by the Marquis de la Jonquere, arrived at Dauphine Island with the officers who were to administer the new government created by the concession to Crozat. La Motte Cadillac, who had served with distinction in Canada, was the new governor; Duclos, commissary ordonnateur; Lebas, comptroller; Durignon, principal director of Crozat's stores in Louisiana, and Le Loire des Ursins, in charge of affairs on the Mississippi. Under the scheme of government, the governor and commissary ordonnateur, by edict of December 18th of the preceding year, were constituted a Superior Council, vested with the same authority as those possessed in San Domingo and Martinique. The expense for salaries for the king's officers was fixed at \$10,000, to be paid annually, in France, by Crozat, and the drafts of the commissary ordonnateur were to be paid at Crozat's stores in cash, or goods with an advance of fifty per cent; while in other cases sales of goods in those stores were allowed to be made at an advance of one hundred per cent.

Crozat's purpose was to carry on commerce principally with the Spaniards, by means of small vessels, but this plan was frustrated by their refusal to admit them into the ports of Tampico, Pensacola, Campeche, and Vera Cruz. An attempt to find an interior route into Mexico was also checkmated by the Spaniards, who advanced their settlements into the province of Texas as far east as Natchitoches, in order to create a barrier against this form of French invasion. Thus, commercially, the enterprise proved a disappointment from the very beginning.

In 1717 Crozat, unsuccessful, discouraged, and disappointed in his enterprise, surrendered his grant to the king. The charter was then transferred to a new body, the "Company of the West," and all the king's subjects, as well as corporate bodies and aliens, were allowed to take shares in it. The exclusive commerce of Louisiana was granted to this company for twenty-five years, and also the exclusive right to purchase beaver skins from the inhabitants until 1724; all other subjects of the king were prohibited from trading in Louisiana under penalty of confiscation of their merchandise and vessels.

This was not intended to prevent the inhabitants from trading among themselves or with the Indians. The lands, coasts, harbors and islands in Louisiana were granted to the Company as they were granted to Crozat; and it was authorized to make treaties with the Indians and declare and prosecute war against them. The property of all mines opened and worked was granted it without the payment of any duty whatever. The Company was given the power to grant land allodially, erect forts and to levy troops and enlist recruits even in France, first procuring the king's permission for this purpose. It was authorized to nominate governors and to appoint officers commanding the troops, the names to be presented by the directors and commissioned by the king, while the commissions were revocable by the Company. Military officers were permitted to enter the service of the Company, and authorized to go to Louisiana with the king's license to serve, and while in such service their respective ranks and grades in the land and naval forces were to be preserved, the king promising to acknowledge as rendered to himself all services rendered to the Company. The Company was given the power to fit out ships of war and to cast cannon, to appoint and remove judges and officers of justice, except judges of the Superior Council, who were to be nominated and commissioned by the king alone. Civil suits to which the Company was a party were to be determined by the Council, or jurisdiction of the City of Paris, the decree of which in matters under a fixed sum, was final. Any decree above such fixed sum was to be provisionally executed notwithstanding, but without prejudice of appeal, which could be brought before the Parliament of Paris. Criminal jurisdiction was not to carry with it jurisdiction in civil matters. The king assured the Company of the protection of his name against any foreign nation attempting to injure the Company. The Company was to employ only French vessels and crews in bringing the produce of Louisiana to the ports of France. All goods in its vessels were presumed to be its property, unless it was shown they were shipped without its license. Subjects of the king, and their children who might remove to Louisiana were to preserve their national character, and those born there of European parents, professing the Roman Catholic religion, were to be considered as natural-born subjects. During the continuance of the charter the inhabitants of Louisiana were exempt from any tax or imposition, and the Company's goods were also exempt from

duty. A gratification was to be paid on every vessel built in Louisiana on its arrival in France. Four hundred quintals of powder were to be annually delivered to the Company, at cost, out of the royal magazines. The stock of the Company was divided into shares of 400 livres each (about one hundred dollars), the number being limited; the Company was authorized to close its subscription list at discretion; the shares of aliens were exempt from confiscation in case of war. Each holder of fifty shares was entitled to a vote. The affairs of the Company for the first two years were managed by directors appointed by the king, and afterward by others appointed triennially by the stockholders. The king gave the Company all the forts, magazines, and guns, ammunition, vessels, boats, provisions, and similar supplies in Louisiana, as well as all the merchandise surrendered by Crozat. The Company was required to build churches and provide clergymen, but Louisiana was to remain a part of the diocese of Quebec. The Company further agreed that during the continuance of its charter it would bring six thousand white persons and three thousand Negroes into the province, but such persons were not allowed to be brought from another colony without the license of the governor.

Such were the salient provisions contained in the charter of this company, which afterward was united to the Company of the Indies, under the name of the "Royal Company of the Indies," and culminated in the celebrated Mississippi scheme of John Law. John Law, the director-general of the Royal Bank of France, was director-general of this new consolidated company. The other directors were: D'Artaguet, receiver-general of the finances of Auch; Duché, receiver-general of the finances of Rochelle; Moreau, deputy representative of the merchants of St. Malo; Piou, also the commercial representative of the deputy of Nantes; Castaignes and Mouchard, merchants of La Rochelle. Bienville was appointed governor of Louisiana. During his administration he laid out New Orleans; appointed his nephew, Boisbriant, commandant at Fort de Chartres, and De Bourgmont was sent to establish a fort on the Missouri river.

At this period the first settlements were made in what is now the southeastern part of Missouri. The first settlers were engaged in making salt, in mining, and in exploring for mines; incidentally they cultivated a little land, and also engaged in hunting, for subsistence.

The country at the headwaters of the St. Francois river to the Maramec, about seventy miles in length, and extending west from the Mississippi, between the Maramec and Apple creek, a distance of about forty-five or fifty miles, was known in the beginning of the 18th century as the mineral district of Louisiana. In superficial area it embraces about three thousand square miles. Lead, iron, manganese, copper, zinc, antimony, cobalt, arsenic, saltpeter, salt, nitre, steatite or soapstone, plumbago, and small quantities of silver are found within the limits of the territory described. Prior to the cession of Louisiana lead especially was found in great abundance, and many lead mines were worked within the present limits of Jefferson, St. Francois, Ste. Genevieve, Madison, and Washington counties. These lead mines were known before the grant was made to Crozat in 1712 by Louis XIV. Father Gravier says in his journal of a voyage from the country of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi: "On the 10th day (of October, 1700), after proceeding a league, we discovered the river Miaramigoua (Maramec), where the very rich lead mine is situated, twelve or thirteen leagues from its mouth. The ore from this mine yields three-fourths metal."²

D'Iberville himself must have been advised of the mineral wealth of this district, for in 1702 he asked for the exclusive privilege to work the mines on the "Rivière Maramequisipi" for a period of twenty years. His intention apparently was to have the concession cover the entire district, because in his petition he fixed the limits as beginning on the Saline, thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri and thence up the Missouri to the Osage. In order successfully to work the mines of this district, he solicited authority to go to the coast of Guinea to trade for negroes, and also asked for the exclusive right to trade for beaver skins. In order that he might control the *coureurs des bois*, and enforce order and peace in the country, he asked for a detachment of twenty-five soldiers, and finally for a place at the mouth of the Mississippi on the sea coast to establish an "entrepôt."³ This petition is the first request we have for a grant of land with trade and mining privileges within the limits of Missouri. It seems, however, that the petition was not acted upon.

Father Vivier, writing "from among the Illinois" in 1750, says: "There are mines without number, but as no one is in position to

² 65 Jesuit Relations, p. 105.

³ 4 Margry, *Etablissemens des Francais*, p. 617.

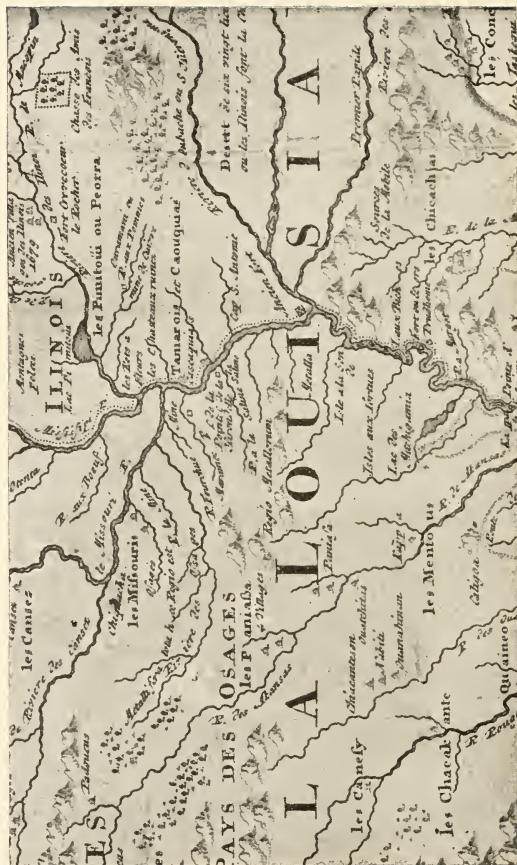
incur the expense necessary for opening and working them, they remain in their original condition. Certain individuals content themselves with obtaining lead from some of these, because it almost lies at the surface of the ground. They supply this country, all the savage nations of the Missouri and Mississippi and several parts of Canada. Two men who are here, a Spaniard and a Portuguese, who claim to know something about mines and minerals, assert that this mine is in nowise different from those of Mexico and Peru, and that if slightly deeper excavations were made, silver ore would be found under the lead ore. This much is certain: that the lead is very fine and that a little silver is obtained from it. Borax has been found in these mines, and in some places gold, but in very small quantities. Beyond a doubt there are copper mines, because from time to time large pieces are found in the streams.”⁴

Du Pratz tells us that “the land which lies between the Mississippi and the river St. Francois is full of rising grounds and mountains of middling height, which, according to ordinary indications, contain several mines; some of them have been assayed, among the rest the mine of ‘Meramieg,’ which has silver, is pretty near the confluence of the river which gives its name; which is a great advantage to those who would work it, because they might easily by that means have their goods from Europe. It is situated about five hundred leagues from the sea.”⁵ Again: “In this country there are mines, and one in particular called De La Mothe’s mine, which has silver, the assay of which has been made, as also of two lead mines so rich as to vegetate or shoot a foot and a half at least out of the earth.”⁶ Evidently referring to the lead district on the upper St. Francois, and narrating the incidents of his journey into that then remote district, he says: “Next day, after a ramble of about two leagues and a half, I had the signal-call to my right. I instantly flew thither, and when I came the scout showed me a stump sticking out of the earth knee high, and nine inches in diameter. The Indian took it at a distance for a stump of a tree, and was surprised to find wood cut in a country which appeared never to have been frequented; but when he came near enough to form a judgment about it, he saw from the figure that it was a very different thing; and this was the reason he made the

⁴ 69 *Jesuit Relations*, pp. 222–223.

⁵ Du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 294. (London Ed., 1763.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 302.



HOMAN'S MAP EMBRACING MISSOURI.

signal of call. I was highly pleased at this discovery, which was that of lead ore. I had also the satisfaction to find my perseverance recompensed; but in particular, I was ravished with admiration on seeing this wonderful production and the power of the soil of this province, constraining, as it were, the minerals to disclose themselves. I continued to search all around, and I discovered ore in several places. We returned to the lodge at our last hunt on account of the convenience of water, which is too scarce on this high ground." ⁷

Homan's Map of Louisiana, published in 1720, shows that at that time the region south of the mouth of the Missouri was supposed to be metalliferous, as the district is designated "*Regio Metallorum*." And on a map published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1763, a silver mine is still noted to exist at the mouth of the Maramec, this map presumably following the map accompanying "*Du Pratz's History of Louisiana*," published in 1753. On this map the Saline, or what is now known as the Saline creek, in Ste. Genevieve county, is located a short distance from Kaskaskia, on the west side of the river. Penicaut, in 1700, says that a French settlement existed there then—"il y présentment en cet endroit un etablissement de François." The business of these settlers, no doubt, was to make salt, and, of course, to engage in hunting, because this region was a favorite resort for game.⁸ The Saline is laid down correctly on Lieutenant Ross' map, "*Course of the Mississippi River*," published in 1775. The settlement is designated on that map as "Salt Pan's" and the river or creek named "Salt Pan's river." Also on Dumont's map of Louisiana, the country at the head of the St. Francois is designated as "*Endroit rempli de Mines*;" but the head of the river and the hills skirting these headwaters are put down as being south of the mouth of the Ohio. On Lieutenant Ross' map the LaMotte mines are also noted, and the country south of Salt Pan's river is marked as "*a country abounding in mines*." Kitchen, an English cartographer, in 1765, on his map, says, of the region west of the Mississippi river, "*this country is full of mines*."

In France great hopes were entertained that rich mines of precious metals would be discovered within the limits of the vast province. In 1714 Du Tisne brought to Mobile from the Illinois

⁷ Du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 244. (London Ed., 1763.)

⁸ 5 Margry, p. 407, *Relation de Penicaut*. But see as to probable settlement at the mouth of the Des Peres, noted elsewhere in this work.



country—that is to say, the country above the mouth of the Ohio on both sides of the Mississippi—two pieces of ore which he asserted had been dug in the neighborhood of the Kaskaskias. Governor Cadillac had them assayed and they were found to contain a great proportion of silver. Cadillac, elated at this discovery, and eager to find so rich a mine, started from his residence on Dauphine Island for the far distant Illinois country without disclosing the cause of his sudden departure to his associates. After a long and laborious journey he learned that the pieces of ore brought to Dauphine Island



KITCHEN'S MAP

by Du Tisne had come from Mexico, having been left in the Illinois country, as a curiosity, by a gentleman from whom Du Tisne had received them. Disappointed, Cadillac then visited the lead mines on the west side of the river, in Southeastern Missouri, which even then were being worked, no doubt in the hope of finding silver mines. He probably then visited the celebrated "Mine La Motte," within the present limits of Madison county, and it is possible that this mine on account of this visit received its name from him.⁹ Gayarre

⁹ Schoolcraft, however, says that the mine was discovered by a M. La Motte, who came to upper Louisiana with Renault, and in one of his earliest excursions discovered this mine. But Schoolcraft cites no authority that any person named La Motte accompanied Renault, and also overlooks what Du Pratz says. See Schoolcraft's *Mines*, p. 154 (New York, 1819).

seems to think that Du Tisne, who, as he says, "loved a joke," intentionally deceived Cadillac and persuaded him that the sample of ore which he gave him had been found near Kaskaskia.¹⁰

The mines of precious ore supposed to exist in the province still being considered of first importance by the directors, *Sieur de Lochon*, a gentleman who had been recommended to the directorate for his skill in mineralogy, was sent to the *Maramec* to explore the mineral resources of that district. At a place pointed out by the Indians he obtained some ore, a pound of which, he asserted, produced two pennyweights of silver, but when he was sent back to the mines with a number of workmen, and the smelting process was repeated on a large scale, only a few thousand pounds of very inferior lead were obtained. Thus it came to be believed that he had been guilty of a gross imposition.¹¹ The ill success attending every effort to work the mines which had been discovered in Louisiana was attributed to the want of skill in those who had been employed, rather than to the poverty of the ore, and the colonial government finally received orders to engage one *Don Antonio*, a Spaniard, who had been captured at Pensacola, and said to have worked in the mines of Mexico. He was sent up to the mines in Missouri, but his success was no greater than that of *Sieur de Lochon*.¹²

Possessed of the idea that wealth was to be found in the bowels of the earth in Louisiana, rather than gathered from its surface by the dull and steady process of tillage, French officials always listened with credulity to the tales of every impostor who came to France from America. Thus a Canadian by the name of *Mathew Sagan* furnished the *Count de Ponchartrain* with a pretended memoir in which he claimed to have ascended the Missouri and discovered mines of gold in 1701. The minister ordered his services to be secured at a great expense, and instructed Governor *Sauvole* of Louisiana to have twenty-four pirogues built and one hundred Canadians placed with them under the orders of *Sagan*, to enable him to proceed up the Missouri and work the mines. But *Sauvole*, well informed

¹⁰ Gayarre's *History of Louisiana, French Dominion*, p. 156.

¹¹ *Martin's History of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 218.

¹² *Charlevoix's Travels*, p. 292. (London Ed., 1763.) This Antonio was a slave in the galleys—and boasted that he had worked in the Mexican mines—thus attracting attention, and not only secured his liberty, but also a considerable salary to work the supposed mines in Upper Louisiana.

as to the character of the man, did not hurry the construction of the pirogues, although he gave orders to build them.¹³

Reports of the mineral wealth of the interior of Louisiana continued to attract the attention of the people and statesmen of that period. Thus it is that the first direct authority exercised over territory in Missouri is evidenced in a grant of mines made by the French officers at Fort de Chartres. On the 14th of June, 1723, Pierre Duque de Boisbriant and Marc Antoine de La Loire des Ursins,¹⁴ Intendant, granted to Philip Francois Renault "a league and a half of ground in front upon the little 'Maramieg,' and in the river 'Maramieg' at the place of the first fork, which leads to the cabins called the 'cabanage de Renaudière,' with a depth of six leagues, the river making the middle of the point of compass, and the small stream being perpendicular as far as the place where the Sieur Renault has his furnaces and thence straight to the place called the 'Great Mine.'" And again, in the same order, Renault also is granted "two leagues of ground at the mine called Mine de M. La Mothe, the front looking toward the northeast, the prairie of the said mine making the middle point of the two leagues." The grant on the Maramec was located on what was afterward called the "Negro Fork of the Maramieg," in what is now Washington county. In Renault's time, this branch of the river was called the "Grand Fork of the Maramieg." It unites with the Maramec about thirty miles above its junction with the Mississippi.

The "Cabanage de Renaudière" refers to a distinct settlement, and from the language of the grant, it is clear that Renaudière had worked mines here before the grant to Sieur Renault. Renaudière, according to Charlevoix, was first sent by the Company of the Indies to work the mines, but on account of having no skilled men to build furnaces, he abandoned the work there. This is all we know of his operations in that locality. A Sieur la Renaudière was with Bourgmont with several servants, and apparently accompanied the expedition in an independent capacity as "*ingenieur pour les mines*,"¹⁵

¹³ As to Sagan, see Margry, vol. vi., pp. 95 *et seq.* But precisely in this region gold and silver have been found. May-be Sagan was not so much an impostor, after all.

¹⁴ Marc Antoine de La Loire des Ursins came to Louisiana as early as 1713, as Intendant of Crozat's affairs on the upper Mississippi. After he left Fort de Chartres he received a concession near Natchez, where he was killed by the Natchez Indians in the terrible massacre of the French in 1729.

¹⁵ 6 Margry, Les Coureurs de Bois, p. 449. Concerning this Renaudière,

and no doubt was the same person who opened these mines granted to Sieur Renault. From the language of the grant to Renault it is also clear that the property known as Mine La Motte was known at the time by that name ¹⁶. All this tends to show that mining operations were carried on, and that settlements of adventurers were in this district before official cognizance was taken of the fact.¹⁷

Philip Francois Renault, to whom these grants were made, was a native of Picardy, France, and was appointed director-general of the mining operations of the "Royal Company of the Indies." Renault, the son of Philip Renault, a noted iron founder at Consobrey, near to Manbeuge, in France, was a man of fortune and enterprise, and a stockholder in the Royal Company. Under the patronage of the Company, another association, called the "Company of St. Philippe," was organized to prosecute the mining business in upper Louisiana and representing, more particularly, this company, Renault sailed from France with two hundred miners and laborers and everything needful to carry on mining operations — even the bricks for his furnace were made in Paris with his name on them. One of these was discovered not many years ago by the surveyor, Cozzens, when making a survey of some land on Fourche à Renault in Washington county, where one of Renault's earliest furnaces was constructed.¹⁸ On his voyage, the ship touched San Domingo, then a French colony and a way-station for all vessels sailing to Louisiana. There he purchased five hundred negroes to work the mines he expected to find. Arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, he ascended the river in canoes to the Illinois country. The negroes brought by Renault were the first introduced into Missouri, and the ancestors of the so-called French slaves of the Illinois country.¹⁹

Charlevoix says: "Neither he nor any of his company understood the construction of furnaces. 'Twas surprising to see the easiness of the company in advancing large sums and the little precaution they took to be assured of the capacity of those they employed."—Charlevoix's Travels, p. 292. (London Ed., p. 1763.)

¹⁶ But at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, a statue was erected to Renault as the discoverer of "Mine la Motte." Name spelled "La Mothe" in the French grants.

¹⁷ Recently on Coldwater—one of the forks of the Saline—in the woods a sandstone enclosure was discovered which evidently was used to smelt lead in very primitive fashion.

¹⁸ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 299.

¹⁹ Reynolds' Illinois, p. 30.

Renault, on his arrival, actively prospected the country for mineral on both sides of the Mississippi. His residence was a short distance from Kaskaskia, near Fort de Chartres, then in process of construction. Very likely, he lived in the village known as St. Ann.²⁰ This village was the home of many ancient families of French pioneers, but together with the fort, once the seat of French power on the upper Mississippi, it has long since been swept away by the river. Renault received a number of other grants of land. One concession in Illinois was situated about five miles northeast of Fort de Chartres, where a village was built, honored with his own baptismal name, St. Philippe. He carried on his mining operations until 1742, and then returned to France. It is uncertain whether he left any heirs. At any rate, the title to his great grants has never been vigorously asserted. In 1812 John Baptiste Francois Menaud and Emily Josefa, asserting themselves to be heirs of Renault, set up a claim based on the title granted by Boisbriant and Des Ursins, but when the claim, although an ancient and valid grant to Renault, was rejected by the commissioners, nothing more was heard of these alleged heirs. It is said that the Renault heirs never appeared to make a claim for the concession St. Philippe, but the commissioners appointed to adjudicate the so-called Kaskaskia claims, pronounced the Renault concession of St. Philippe, embracing several thousand acres of land, good and valid. Mine La Motte was afterward confirmed by act of Congress to persons who claimed title under Renault, however their claim, in view of the circumstances detailed, may well be doubted. It is probable that when Renault left for France, the most active and enterprising miners took possession of the mine, and that this possession may have ripened in the course of years into title. But, according to Schoolcraft,²¹ the greater part of his workmen returned with him to France.²²

Speaking of the extent of the mining operations of Renault, Austin says: "It is difficult to give any correct account of the produce of the

²⁰ Roziers' History of the Valley of the Mississippi, p. 43.

²¹ Schoolcraft's View of Mines, Minerals, etc. p. 17 (New York, 1819).

²² At the late Louisiana Exposition in St. Louis, apparently based on no other fact than a similarity in name, a collection of persons named Renaud, Chenault, Reno, Renault, etc., absurdly met in convention and imagined that they were in some way descendants of this native of Picardy, unaware that some of the greatest lawyers and land speculators of the West, for over a hundred years, have been in vain trying to find his descendants, if he had any, in order to secure a claim to his grants, now worth many millions.

different mines and 'diggings' for any given time, there being no data upon which a statement can be given. So that all that can be said on this subject is merely opinion arising from observation, and information derived from sources subject to misrepresentation; and, inasmuch as some of the mines were opened and worked by M. Renault, seventy or eighty years ago, an account of their produce is extremely problematical; but if I were to judge from the extent of Renault's old workings, great quantities of minerals must have been produced, and from the number of old furnaces, large quantities of lead made."²³

The output of the old mines at La Motte, as well as Fourche à Renault and Mine à Breton, was first taken on pack-horses to Fort de Chartres; but after the foundation of Ste. Genevieve, almost opposite Fort de Chartres, it was taken to that town, and other points on the river. When carried by pack-horses, the lead, instead of being moulded into "pigs," was moulded into the shape of a collar and hung across the neck of the horse. On the ancient road leading from Mine La Motte to the river, lead moulded in this shape was found. At a later period, this metal was moved on two-wheeled French carts called charrettes. The lead not used in the country found its way down the Mississippi in keel or flatboats to New Orleans, after the foundation of that city,²⁴ and was "from thence shipped for France."

It is certain that these mining operations at Mine La Motte on the headwaters of the St. Francois, on the Maramec at Fourche à Renault, and other ancient mining camps in that district, led to the establishment of a pioneer trace, or path, from Fort de Chartres, the seat of government, and home of Renault, to the mines in the interior of Missouri. This path developed into the wagon road leading from Ste. Genevieve west to these mines, and afterward to Mine à Breton, certainly the oldest wagon-road of Missouri. It follows a natural route, one affording the least obstacles; with little change, it has remained the public highway to the mines from the Mississippi since the settlement of the country.

Mine à Breton²⁵ was discovered about 1773, by Francois Azor,

²³ Schoolcraft's Views of the Mines, etc., p. 16.

²⁴ 2 American State Papers, Public Lands, p. 610.

²⁵ For some reason this name is often spelled "Burton," although it must be quite apparent, upon reflection that Azor was never nicknamed "Burton" but "Breton," that is, a native of "Brittany," a province in the north of France, where he was born.

alias Breton, "who, being on a hunt in that quarter, found the ore lying on the surface of the ground." Azor, alias Breton, was a native of the north of France, born in 1710. He was a soldier of the French army and under Marshal Saxe at the Battle of Fontenoy and at the storm of Bergen-op-Zoom. Afterward, he came to America, was first stationed at Fort de Chartres and participated in Braddock's defeat at Fort DuQuesne. Leaving the army, he became a hunter and miner. A man of robust and powerful constitution, he lived to the extraordinary age of 111 years, and died in 1821. When over one hundred years of age, he walked to church every Sunday²⁶ from the residence of the Micheaux family. Their home was two miles above the town of Ste. Genevieve, near what is now called "Little Rock" landing, and where at that time a ferry was maintained across the river. Breton received as compensation for his discovery a grant of only four arpens, but Moses Austin, in 1798, was granted a league square, or about seven thousand arpens of land, adjacent to Mine à Breton, embracing about one third of the mine, on condition that he erect a smelting furnace and establish a lead factory.²⁷ In 1775, when the mine was probably discovered,²⁸ miners from Mine à Renault, Old Mines, Mine La Motte, and other mining centers rushed to the new and rich discovery on Breton creek. Austin says that when he first knew the mines, in 1797, twenty French furnaces were in operation. In 1802 only one was in use; this was Austin's improved reverberatory furnace. Schoolcraft states that in 1799 the Spanish arsenals at New Orleans and Havana drew considerable of their supplies for their navy from this source.²⁹ In addition to these notable mines, a number of others were opened during the French and Spanish government, and small settlements sprung up near them.

Scattered along the Missouri, no doubt, French traders, trappers,

²⁶ Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 91; St. Louis Enquirer, October 16, 1818. The Enquirer says: "He was certainly an *old soldier* at Fort de Chartres, when some of the people of the present day were little children at that place," and again, "He is what we call a square-built man, of five feet eight inches high, full chest and forehead; his range of seeing and hearing somewhat impaired, but free from disease. Apparently able to hold out against time and worry for many years to come." Benton was at this time editorially connected with the Enquirer, and is supposed to have written this account of Breton

²⁷ 1 American State Papers, p. 188.

²⁸ Schoolcraft says: "The period of this discovery it would be difficult now to ascertain, Breton himself being unable to fix it. It has been known about forty years." Schoolcraft probably saw and talked to Breton in 1819

²⁹ Schoolcraft's Lead Mines, etc., of Missouri, p. 19. (New York, 1819.)

and hunters also resided during this period. We know that in 1745 the Marquis de Vaudreuil granted to Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert des Bruisseau the exclusive trading privilege on the Missouri and the streams falling into this river, for a period of five years, and that under this grant Des Bruisseau obligated himself to erect a fort on the Missouri, and to supply the garrison of the fort with the necessary means of subsistence, to pay the commandant an annual bounty of one hundred pistoles, and to transport free of charge the provisions and effects of this commandant. Des Bruisseau also agreed to supply the Indians with the necessary merchandise, and to maintain peace among them. De Vaudreuil gave as reason for granting this monopoly that it would cut off the colonists from all kind of trade with the Indians, and thus force them to cultivate the soil. To make these settlers industrious, he also opposed the introduction of negro slaves into the Illinois country, because this would tend to make the inhabitants indolent. After receiving his trade monopoly on the Missouri, Des Bruisseau came up to Fort de Chartres and there established himself. It is said that he built some sort of a fort or trading post and formed a settlement on the Missouri; but where this fort, trading post, or settlement was situated is not now known, possibly at the mouth of the Osage, as a vague impression prevails that a fort once existed there. That a number of French, in 1744, lived on the Missouri appears from the census of Louisiana of that year, which shows that 200 white males then resided on the Missouri, and ten negro slaves of both sexes.³⁰ In this enumeration, the residents of Ste. Genevieve were certainly not embraced, the village of Ste. Genevieve being considered a part of the Illinois country, from which the Missouri river district, both under the French and Spanish governments, always was considered politically separate, although the population of the Ste. Genevieve and adjacent country, prior to the treaty of Paris of 1762, by which the country east of the Mississippi was ceded to England, no doubt was very insignificant.

³⁰ Gayarre's Louisiana — French Domination—vol. ii., p. 28.

CHAPTER X

Louisiana Ceded by France to Spain, 1762—Opposition to Cession and Delay in Transfer of Territory—De Ulloa First Spanish Governor, 1766—Ulloa Ordered to Leave the Country—Spanish Expedition Under Rui y Morales, from New Orleans, to Build Two Forts at Mouth of the Missouri, 1767—Rui Appointed Commandant of the Missouri Country—How Spanish Military Voyage Up the Mississippi Conducted—Instructions to Commandant Concerning Building of Fort, Treatment of Indians, Relations with the English, Inducements to Married Men, Importation of Girls for Wives, Suppression of Saloons and Vice-Meetings, Rules for Indian Traders, &c.—Plan of Spanish Fort Erected at Mouth of the Missouri—Rui Succeeded by Don Pedro Piernas—Winter Journey of Piernas and His Men—Spanish Fort on Missouri Ordered Delivered to St. Ange—Spanish Government Stores Attached in "Paincourt" (St. Louis)—Alexander O'Reilly Captain-General of Louisiana, 1769—Piernas Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, 1770—Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis First Settlements in Upper Louisiana—Instructions of O'Reilly to Piernas Concerning Government of the Country, &c.—Varied Military Career of O'Reilly—Report of Piernas to O'Reilly Concerning the Country, Inhabitants, &c.

The territory west of the Mississippi was, by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, ceded by France to Spain, December 3, 1762, and in a letter dated April 21, 1764, eighteen months after the treaty had been signed, the king of France officially so advised M. D'Abbadie, who was then the director-general of the province of Louisiana. The proclamation of this change of government provoked a violent outburst of indignation, principally in lower Louisiana and New Orleans; the cession was bitterly denounced, and active opposition to the change of government was organized. The few Canadian-French residing at that time in upper Louisiana gave the subject very little consideration.¹ Spain, fearing armed resistance to her authority, resorted to amicable measures, and deferred taking possession of the new province. This delay strengthened the popular belief of the inhabitants of lower Louisiana that the cession to Spain was but a temporary political measure, and that at an early day the country would be retroceded to France. When eventually, on March

¹ But Shepard says that when the French traders and trappers, who had just settled in St. Louis, heard of the transfer of the country to Spain it "threw a shade over the prospect of the future, and a year of bitter rage disturbed the quiet of the people of St. Louis, without a foe to fight or means to change their position." (*History of St. Louis*, p. 16.) But he cites no authority for his statement.

5, 1766, after a delay exceeding three years, De Ulloa,² the first Spanish governor, appeared, although no opposition was made to his landing with his small escort of two companies, the French Superior Council declined to make him the formal transfer of the province which would be usual in such cases, and after several years, ordered him to leave the colony. Ulloa would not assume the responsibility of endeavoring "to take forcible possession," and on October 31, 1768, left Louisiana. But during this period of uncertainty, in March, 1767, he sent an expedition from New Orleans up the Mississippi under the command of Captain Don Francesco Rui y Morales, to build two forts at the mouth of the Missouri. This was the first official act, under the new Spanish government, looking to the occupation of upper Louisiana. In order that the object of the expedition might not be divulged and the success of the enterprise thus jeopardized or frustrated by the English, secret instructions for Captain Rui were transmitted by Ulloa to the commandant of the Illinois, St. Ange, under separate cover, to be delivered to Rui on his arrival. Incidentally, it is manifest from this that from the first Ulloa recognized St. Ange as the commandant of the Spanish Illinois country, holding this position by virtue of his French commission, nor did he supersede or remove him. Ulloa, however, appointed Cap-

².Don Antonio de Ulloa was born in Seville, Spain, January 12, 1716; entered the Spanish navy in 1733; was a man of scholarly attainments, and when a joint French and Spanish commission was organized to measure an arc of the meridian at the equator, to determine the configuration of the earth, scientific work undertaken at the instance of the French Academy of Science, Bouguer, La Condamine and Godin being the French members of the commission, Ulloa, then only nineteen years old, and another Spanish officer named George Juan, who had acquired celebrity as a mathematician, were appointed the Spanish members. They were employed in this work thirteen years. Quito was the scene of the arduous labors of this commission. In 1748 Ulloa as well as Juan published their observations at the expense of the king of Spain. On his return the ship in which he sailed was nearly captured by English privateers, and to avoid further danger, his ship sailed north and entered Louisbourg, in Nova Scotia, thinking that it was still in the possession of France, but the place had been captured by the English, and he was obliged to surrender, and was sent a prisoner to England. When his mission became known, the Royal Society of England, of which Martin Folkes was then president, secured his liberty and the restoration of his papers, and he was elected a member of the society. Returning to Spain, he was made captain of a frigate, afterward was advanced to the grade of commodore, and in 1762 made governor of Louisiana. As lieutenant-general of the navy in 1779, he was ordered to make a cruise in the latitude of the Azores, under sealed orders to capture eight English ships, but so absorbed was he in his astronomical studies that he forgot all about his sealed letters, and returned without accomplishing anything. Of course, he never was employed in active naval service again, but continued to be employed in naval scientific matters. He died on the island of Leon, July 3, 1795.

tain Rui commandant of the Missouri country, that is to say, the territory along the Missouri and north of this river. This Spanish expedition sent from New Orleans consisted of two boats, or bateaux, carrying one second lieutenant, Don Francisco Gomez, two sergeants, six corporals, one drummer, and thirty five men, including two cadets, all belonging to the "Spanish Company," which had accompanied Ulloa to New Orleans and then quartered there. The soldiers were equally divided in the bateaux, each also having ten oarsmen in addition to the soldiers. The men were so divided that, including the corporals and drummers, each boat had thirty-one men for rowing, and that from five to seven men could always rest; "so that continuous shifts might be made on the river." That the labor would be fatiguing the instructions recognized, but it is observed that "this is one of the labors that the troops in the colonies must always undergo." The sergeant and two cadets only were exempted from this labor, but it is suggested that they ought also to labor at the oars at times as volunteers, "in order to enliven the others." Two French officers escorted the expedition, one of these, Don Guido du Fossat, as engineer, under whose supervision the forts were to be built. Although the name is not given, it is likely that Martin Duralde was the other French officer, who also acted as interpreter. Don Juan Baptiste Valleau was the surgeon. It was provided that the married soldiers and their families should make the journey in one boat, under command of a sergeant, but not to separate on the voyage from the other boat. Detailed instructions were given by Ullao as to how this voyage, which was evidently considered an enterprise of great magnitude and of first importance, should be conducted. The workmen and laborers who accompany the troops are required to carry with them sufficient rations or funds to support themselves on the voyage, and those having boats of their own are required to keep in company with the government boats during the whole trip. It is explicitly ordered that an early start must be made every morning, that desertion must be prevented, that the English posts at the Rio de Iberville and at Natchez must not be touched, but the boats to wave their flags and gallardetes as they pass, and that above Natchez all landings must be made on the right bank of the Mississippi. Every evening rations of bread, meat, and soup are ordered to be distributed to the soldiers, and they are "not to be allowed to take provisions at their discretion, as is customary among the French." No brandy is to

be given to the marines or troops after landing, as it would "bring drunkenness and disorder," and Ulloa expressly says "this liquor is not allowed on board nor included in the rations," but sailors and soldiers accustomed to it are permitted to take it along on their own account, yet "will not be allowed to use it to excess." On Sundays and holidays mass is to be said on land before day-break, and all are required to attend, and when mass is over the *Salve* is to be sung, as "is done on the war-ships of Spain." After landing at night the rosary is to be recited and prayer said, trying, as to customs, "to keep all the good Christian practices of Spain." After dark, to prevent surprise by savages, two sentinels are ordered to be posted to guard the encampment. Extensive hunting is to be avoided, but in case hunters went out, on their return the weapons are to be examined so as to be loaded and ready for use. These weapons are to be placed near the commanders at each end of the camp, but covered up so as to be protected from the dew. It is ordered that the French officers should be consulted at all dangerous points, because they are familiar with the river and country. The officers are strictly enjoined to treat the men under them, and the settlers, with kindness, because the men, if treated harshly by the superior officers, might tire of the enterprise.³ The savages, the instructions say, should be treated with great tact.

On arrival of the expedition in the Illinois country the advice of the French commandant, St. Ange, on account of his experience, is to be taken. The engineer of the expedition, Don du Fossat, is ordered first to erect a stockade on arrival in the country, with a front of thirty to forty-five yards, and of the same width, large enough to enclose within it lodgings for the officers, the troops, and others, all to be erected at the least possible expense. The goods being sent up the river as presents for the savages are to be distributed as directed by St. Ange, and all formality observed by the French is to be followed in making these presents. Powder is to be sold, but not freely distributed, as among the French, to the hunters of the new settlements. A lot of new merchandise is also sent up to be sold to those who might desire to purchase, according to a fixed price-list. On arrival of the expedition at the place where the forts were to be

³ For the details of instructions for this expedition, see letter of Ulloa, dated January 7, 1767, in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society, being a copy of a letter found in the General Records of the Indies at Seville, among papers coming from the island of Cuba, and the correspondence of the Governors of Louisiana.

erected it is ordered that the timber should be cut down and dragged away, and soldiers who assist as laborers in this work are to be allowed extra pay at the rate of four reals per day, carpenters and masons six reals per day, payable in powder, ammunition, rifles and clothing, and even savages to be employed as laborers at four reals per day, but to be treated with "much love and forbearance." While the work of construction was going on, one sentinel is to be kept on watch day and night. After the first lodging is thus provided for this establishment, it is ordered that brick should be made and quarries opened and foundation walls started for the fort outside of the stockade, and it is estimated that, since the settlers would have nothing else to do beside this, rapid progress would be made with this work, "as one sees," says Ulloa, "that the English people have done in their two establishments newly founded at Iberville and the Natchez."

After the completion of the fort, the directions continue, a battery is to be placed in the same, and a powder magazine built. The new settlement which it is expected would spring up near this fort, Ulloa orders shall be governed by the usages and customs of Spain. It is deemed important that the laborers and mechanics should be married men, so as to secure an orderly and moral population, and therefore, it is said, "it is necessary to look with particular distinction and with marked esteem on those who are married, although they may be of low sphere and of mixed blood," and that if it should occur that some of the settlers are not able to marry on account of the fact that there are no marriageable women, this fact shall be communicated to the government so that orphan girls or some Florida girls may be imported "from Habana," where they are without means, and "are white and of good morals." Ulloa says that intoxication is a very common fault, but that among the Spaniards it is easy to overcome it, and he expressly orders that no "disorderly saloons nor vice-meetings" shall be allowed. Land is ordered to be distributed among the married settlers, and between all possessions a straight highway twelve varas (yards) wide is to be set aside.

A large part of Ulloa's instructions relate to the manner in which the Indians are to be treated, and the commander is particularly enjoined not to allow them to "have brandy, although this is the liquor they desire most." He says that the Indians on the east side of the river are not to be traded with, in order to avoid offending

the British. Peace is to be preserved among the Indians living in the Spanish possessions, as well as with those residing on the east side, in the English territory. The English officers when visiting the new forts are to be treated with the greatest civility and every courtesy is to be extended; in case these English commanders need provisions or merchandise they are to be furnished, excepting "ammunitions of war." All settlers are allowed to trade with the Indians, but all traders are to be first authorized by the commander. The first thing to which attention must be given after the location of a fort, says Ulloa, "should be the establishment of a large vegetable garden, or several small ones, one for the commandant and officers, another for the rest of the employees and office clerks, and another for the marines, another for the army which must be taken care of until the establishment has more permanency." Several savages are also to be employed to hunt, and two of the soldiers "who know best how to shoot" are to accompany them, so as to get accustomed to it and to follow that sport themselves afterward, "as the French have done and the British are now doing." Domestic animals are to be distributed among the settlers, and as soon as possible corn is to be planted and wheat to be sown, so as to put the establishment "on a solid basis" and "where no hunger will be known." Then, speaking of the soil and climate where this establishment was to be formed, he says that everything is "produced in abundance, because the climate is suitable and the soil virgin," and that it is a consolation that the climate is healthy, "which was not the case with the first Spaniards in the places where the establishments of the Indies were begun, which were the commencement of the vast dominion that Spain has in the same," and this he thinks ought to be encouraging. In order to encourage the soldiers and civilians to settle in the new establishment on the Missouri, special inducements are offered "as a suitable dowry" to officers and soldiers who should marry before going there. Thus, sergeants are allowed fifty pesos, corporals forty, and soldiers thirty, and grants of land in the new settlements, which they may cultivate, being also permitted to live with their families while in the military service, but they are to make such arrangements as they could with their fellow soldiers to perform service for them at times.

The first one of the forts to be established, and the most important of the two, Captain Rui is instructed to erect on the north side

of the Missouri river, and it is to be named "Carlos Tercero el Rey." The second is to be built on the south side of the Missouri, and named "El Principe de Asturias, Señor Don Carlos."

These instructions of Ulloa to Captain Rui were supplemented by secret instructions transmitted separately to St. Ange, to be delivered to him on his arrival in the Illinois country. In these instructions Rui was first advised that the expedition was intended for the Missouri river, in order to protect the country against the encroachments of the English. In the largest fort, on the north side of the Missouri, twenty-five men were to remain as a garrison, including two sergeants, two corporals and a drummer, under the command of Don Francesco Rui himself. The lower and smaller fort on the south side of the river was to be garrisoned by fifteen men, including two corporals, under the command of Don Francisco Gomez. Of the eight four-pound cannon taken up in the bateaux, four were to be placed in each fort. Rui was instructed that the Missouri river belonged to the domain of his majesty in its entirety, and that the English had no right to trade along it, and that, if the English could not be persuaded to leave this river, complaint must be made to the English officer to "restrain his people" from trying "to enter the territory of another monarch." He was instructed to prevent Spanish subjects from passing over to the English side, so that there might be no complaint from the English in that respect. In case the English commandant refused to co-operate, Rui was ordered to make report of the facts, but all force was to be avoided. Protest was to be made against English encroachments on every occasion, to impress upon them that the territory belonged to Spain, and in case an English force crossed, the utmost resistance was to be offered and force concentrated with artillery on the north side, and the fort defended there to the end; but if it should be impossible to resist, surrender was to be made on account of not having sufficient force with which to make greater resistance, and the whole matter reported to New Orleans.

These instructions as a whole show that the Spaniards then were very apprehensive of an English invasion of upper Louisiana. Captain Rui was especially instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians, but not to introduce the use of the musket among them, if they were not accustomed to its use; in fact, he was advised that it must be his aim "to cause the savages to forget the use of the

muskets." He was ordered to ascertain the names of the tribes on the Missouri river, together with all facts about these Indians, and to forward this information to the governor. The importance of not divulging these secret instructions was impressed upon him, and he was urged to speedily form a settlement, and advised that thirty or forty Acadian families would soon arrive to swell the population.

When Rui arrived at his destination at the mouth of the Missouri river, he discovered that it was impossible to erect a fort near the mouth on the north side; the land overflowed every spring, being submerged as much as nine feet, so that these instructions of Ulloa could not be carried out. Thereupon, the engineer, Du Fossat, Lieutenant Gomez, and Captain Rui held a council of war, at which it was resolved that the instructions of Ulloa could not be obeyed, that, instead of building a fort at the mouth of the Missouri on the north side, they would build the principal fort on the south side, and that a block-house should be erected on the north side of the river. Accordingly, the fort "El Principe de Asturias, Señor Don Carlos" was built by Captain Rui, according to the design of Du Fossat, the engineer. The plan of the fort, which was transmitted to Ulloa in February, 1769,⁴ has been preserved in the general archives of the Indies in Seville. The fort erected was a square, eighty feet each way, including the bulwarks, the latter having a front of seventeen feet, and six feet flank. It was constructed out of thick logs, in part round and in part split through the middle. There were two gates into the fort, one seven feet high and four feet broad, and the other

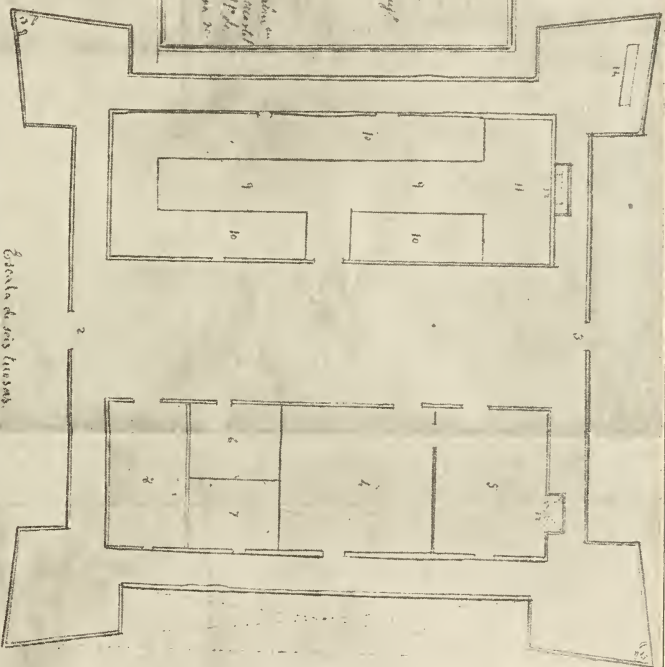
⁴ This plan was transmitted from Ste. Genevieve, by Joseph Varela, who came up the river as a cadet with Rui. In his letter he says he altered and by special order built some works designed from those represented in the original plan of the royal fort El Principe de Asturias. From this it might be inferred that this Varela built the fort or barracks at Ste. Genevieve. A translation of the letter to Ulloa accompanying the plan, dated "Santa Genoveva, February 6, 1769," will interest some readers. Varela writes:

"Sir: Because of having altered and built some works (by special orders) distinct from those represented in the original plan of the royal fort El Principe de Asturias, I take the liberty of sending Your Lordship the enclosed plan and outline, showing the condition in which it is at present. I desire exceedingly that Your Lordship is enjoying perfect health, and my lady as well, at whose feet I offer my attentive veneration. I reiterate my obedience to Your Lordship's orders, and my best desires of executing that obedience in those things most pleasing to you. I pray God to preserve your life the many years that I desire, with the most complete prosperity.

I kiss Your Lordship's hand. Your most affectionate, attentive, and grateful servant, and subject.

Joseph Varela."

Santa Genoveva, February 6, 1769.



Plaza del Real Fuerte.
 A Don Juan de Alarcón.
 1. Plaza.
 2. Puerta principal.
 3. Puerta que da a la capilla.
 4. Puerta que da al corral.
 5. Puerta que da al corral.
 6. Puerta que da al corral.
 7. Puerta que da al corral.
 8. Puerta que da al corral.
 9. Puerta que da al corral.
 10. Puerta que da al corral.
 11. Puerta que da al corral.
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 16. Puerta que da al corral.
 17. Puerta que da al corral.
 18. Puerta que da al corral.
 19. Puerta que da al corral.
 20. Puerta que da al corral.

PLAN OF THE ROYAL FORT "EL PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS—SEÑOR DON CARLOS"

seven feet high and three feet broad. Within the enclosure, there was one barrack fifty feet long, on one side, and on the opposite side another edifice of the same length, divided into four compartments, one room, eighteen feet square, serving as a residence for the captain in command. The fort was armed with five cannon, two six-pounders and three four-pounders, all mounted on gun-carriages.

Soon after the arrival of Captain Rui on the Missouri, dissensions broke out between him and his subaltern, Don Fernando Gomez. General insubordination and disorder prevailed; some twenty soldiers and one sergeant and the storekeeper deserted. Afterward they were captured at Natchez and taken prisoners to New Orleans. From a letter of Aubrey, dated January 4, 1768, it seems that these soldiers were also guilty of murder.⁵ Rui seems to have been conspicuously incompetent. Ulloa, although he wrote the Marquis of Grimaldi that he was unable to determine who was to blame for the disobedience and disorder, says that Rui was unfit to command, that at Havana he manifested a disposition which made him extremely unpopular, that officers as well as troops disliked him, and that the workmen under him on the Missouri were so enraged against him that they would not permit him to enter the fort, and that he consequently relieved him of his command,⁶ and ordered that he and Lieutenant Gomez return to New Orleans.

Captain Rui, while in command at the fort "El Principe de Asturias," styled himself "military and civil governor of the post of Missouri." Under his order, no trader of whatever rank was allowed to trade at any other place or post than the one at which he had express permission to trade, on penalty of confiscation of all his goods. They were not allowed to move from one place to another, nor to purchase goods from each other under any pretext whatever. Traders from the English district on the opposite side of the river were ordered expelled, and if they remained and continued to trade, their

⁵ Aubrey wrote General Haldimand at Pensacola that "Vingt soldats espagnols avec un sergent et un garde-magasin se sont révoltés aux Illinois contre leur commandant, et ont même manqué l'assassiner. Il viens d'apprendre qu'après avoir enlevé un bateau, huit milliers de farine et plusieurs autres effets appartenant à Sa Majesté Catholique, ils se sont réfugiés au poste des Natchez. Comme un crime aussi atroce ne doit point rester impuni je prie Votre Excellence d'ordonner que l'on rende au poste espagnol le plus prochain les Hommes, le bateau. — De Terrage, Les Dernieres etc., p. 247.

⁶ Letter to the Marquis de Grimaldi August 4, 1768.—General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

goods were to be seized and confiscated. Traders were especially enjoined by Rui to preserve good relations with all the Indian tribes, and, says he, "I enjoin them not to act the tyrant in their traffic and commerce with the tribes, in order not to give any ground for complaints and suspicions." This order, however, seems to have caused some dissatisfaction among the traders in St. Louis, for they met at the house of St. Ange in May following, to present an address to Captain Rui, as governor of the Missouri district, to secure permission from him to trade up the Missouri. They asserted that if the Indians were cut off from the customary trade they would certainly destroy all the French, that even now the inhabitants were not cultivating their fields for fear of Indian attacks, and that the English were encouraging dissatisfaction among the savages. This memorial was signed by Laclede Ligest, De Volsey, Dubreuil, Habert, Amable Guion, Rene Kiersereau, Francois Martigny, A. Conde, La Page, Costi, Joseph La Broun, Picar la Royer, L'Arche, Paillan, Picart, Barssalou, La Haussie, Deschenes, and Bequette, all early traders in St. Louis.

Piernas was appointed the successor of Rui by Ulloa on the 5th of August, 1768, and on November 26th, he arrived at the Race Islands (Le Isles à la Course), ninety miles below Ste. Genevieve, but was stopped there by a frozen river, which caused him to go with half his crew overland to Ste. Genevieve, after placing his boat and cargo in safety. He arrived there on the 18th of December, most of his men "disabled by frost, cold, and other discomforts occasioned by the impassable road in thirteen days' travel." From Ste. Genevieve, he sent provisions to the men left behind in charge of the boat. After the river became free of ice, these also arrived at Ste. Genevieve on the 29th of January. Here the boat was repaired, and on the 6th of February, started for St. Louis, where it arrived on the 30th of February. At length, on the 6th of March, he says: "I entered the fort 'El Principe des Asturias,' which is constructed at the entrance to the Missouri river and which was my destination." A few days afterward, on the 10th of March, the fort was delivered to him by the commandant, Captain Don Francesco Rui, "with due formalities."⁷ But while he was examining the effects of the king, the "war

⁷ When Captain Rui surrendered the fort there were eighteen soldiers, eight workmen, and two sailors in the fort, named as follows: Thomas de Covos, first sergeant; Carlos Herrero, drummer; Pedro Leon, Miguel Pineyro, Manuel Martinez, first corporals; Benito Denurrado, second corporal; Don Joseph

supplies and other things" which were in charge for the time being, of a French store-keeper, he received a letter dated October 30th, 1768, containing an order from De Ulloa, to evacuate the place and deliver it to St. Ange, to whom, when he presented himself, with due ceremonies "fitting for the occasion," he delivered the fort, making a complete inventory of the war supplies, ammunition, and other effects "inside and outside." On the 28th of March, after the inventory was concluded, Piernas "transferred" himself, with all his garrison, workmen, and other employees, "to the village of Paincourt." While in this village, the effects in his possession were attached on a suit of some three or four resident traders of the town for a debt which had been contracted by the Spanish store-keeper, who had received the supplies of food for the fort, through these traders, but had fled and deserted. This suit was brought before the local council, which then administered the affairs of the Illinois country in accordance to French law. St. Ange was president of this council. Execution was about to be levied when Piernas advised St. Ange, as first judge of the council and military superior, that he would recognize him alone in this matter, and that if he failed to protect the royal interests he would be held responsible. This, Piernas afterward reports to Governor O'Reilly, had the desired effect, and the attachment was released. Before effecting his departure for New Orleans, Piernas, however, settled from the royal treasury all the debts contracted by the store-keeper, on account of supplies furnished the troops in the fort, both during the command of his predecessor, Don Francesco Rui, as well as during his own residence. This left everybody well satisfied, and greatly strengthened the attachment of the people to the government. But he had a poor opinion of the council which issued the attachment; he says it was "composed of four useless habitans and one attorney, a notorious drunkard called La Bussiere, who is the substitute of the one who was attorney-general in the Superior Council in this colony." He remarks that, "while the common welfare ought to be the concern of

Varela, cadet; Miguel Moreno, Juan Ruperez, Antonio Lucas, Juan Minun, Gaspar de Marcos, Alexandro Pennela, Domingo Otero, Bernardo Peres, Manuel Guerra, Francisco Tienda, Juan Manuel Molina, soldiers. Workmen: Yup'l (Hippolyte) Marin, master carpenter; Francisco Petan, Francisco Cespedes, journeyman carpenters; Manuel Abreu, apprentice; Antonio Thagua, journeyman bricklayer; Pedro Peres, Jephe Seco, journeyman stone-cutters; Antonio Victorino, journeyman smith. Sailors: Francisco Sole, Guillermo Boye.

all, they only look after their own individual interests," and adds, "the good-for-nothing Monsieur St. Ange is the one who, as first judge, presides, and whatever is determined by the fancy of those counselors is authorized and executed through the good intention of the latter's respectable old age." Piernas, returning, arrived in New Orleans, October 31, 1769.

O'Reilly, on the 18th of August, 1769, took possession of Louisiana, and to him Piernas made this detailed report of the condition of affairs in upper Louisiana. Piernas was then reappointed commandant of the Illinois country by O'Reilly, and by decree of the king dated August 17, 1772, his appointment was confirmed, and the office of lieutenant-governor "of the village of San Luis, San Geneveva, the district of the Missouri river, and the part of the Ylinnesee which pertain to me" created. The salary of the lieutenant-governor was fixed at three hundred and twenty-seven pesos per annum, in case the person appointed to the office did not enjoy "any other pay from the royal treasury."⁸ Trudeau, in 1799, writes that the lieutenant-governors who preceded him had no other pay than that of captains in the regular service, and consequently, the trade with the Big Osages was conceded to them, "by which they could live decently," but that this trade had been transferred to Chouteau, and that Baron Carondelet "to give him relief, "authorized him to take twenty-five pesos from the Indian traders for passports, and that this for one year gave him an income. "To-day," he laments, "I am reduced to only 150 pesos, by reason of the various privileges of exclusive trade."⁹

Piernas returned to St. Louis May 20, 1770, and the possession of upper Louisiana was then formally surrendered by St. Ange. O'Reilly gave him voluminous instructions as to the rules to be observed in the government of the territory confided to his care, then having only two settlements, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. O'Reilly enjoined upon Piernas especially to make the domination of Spain loved and respected, to administer justice promptly, impartially, and according to law, and to foster and protect commerce; to maintain the greatest possible harmony with the English, and punish promptly all excesses committed by any subject of Spain within

⁸ General Archives of the Indies, Seville — order appointing Pedro Piernas Lieutenant-Governor — dated 1772.

⁹ Trudeau's Report — dated January 15, 1798.

English territory or any insult offered the English while navigating the Mississippi. Friendly relations were to be cultivated with the Indians, and no injustice was to be practiced in any relation with them. The lieutenant-governor was enjoined not to permit any trader among the Indians unless the commandant has good reports concerning his conduct. No permit, however, to trade with the Indians, he distinctly says, shall be refused to any one "who shall be recognized as an honest man," and for no reason shall any monopoly or right to exclusive trade be given. On the other hand, all Indian traders were required to make the lieutenant-governor exact reports of the condition of the various tribes among whom they carried on business, and "if any one be found lacking in truth he shall not be permitted to again enter among the Indians nor to trade with them again." By every means in his power Piernas was urged to disseminate among the Indians the idea of the magnanimity, piety, and justice of the Spaniards, and in proof of this he was ordered to show "the order of the king to the effect that no Indian slave shall be allowed in his states, not even those of hostile tribes." He was also ordered to see to it that the Indians at "San Luis" and "Santa Geneveva" shall receive good treatment and just prices for their furs and other articles which they bring for sale. In the distribution of presents, Piernas was ordered to make "exact investigation of the tribes whose friendship is of interest to us, and in proportion to their number, location, and other advantages he shall distribute the presents that he carried among them."

Military matters were an object of O'Reilly's special care. He ordered that the troops be kept under good discipline, but treated with justice by their officers. One lieutenant and one corporal and seven soldiers were to be stationed at Ste. Genevieve. The fort on the Missouri was to be garrisoned with one sergeant and six soldiers, and at St. Louis one first sergeant, one second sergeant, one drummer, three first corporals, two second corporals, and twenty-five soldiers were to be stationed. These soldiers were to be furnished annually two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, and one new suit of clothes. Every three months the lieutenant-governor was required to make a detailed report of the condition of his detachment, inclusive of officers, and to report vacancies caused by death or desertion. A militia company was ordered to be organized in St. Louis with Don Juan Baptiste Martinez as captain, Don Juan

Luis Lambert as lieutenant, and Don Eugenio Purrè as sub-lieutenant; another company was ordered to be organized at Ste. Genevieve with Don Francisco Vallè as captain, Don Francisco Charpentier as Lieutenant, and Don Francisco DuChouquette as sub-lieutenant. These companies were each to have one first sergeant and two second sergeants, four first corporals and four second corporals, and to include all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of fifteen and fifty years. The muster-roll of each company was to be forwarded to the governor, giving the name, age, nationality, height, and trade of each soldier. This militia service, O'Reilly says, must not be burdensome to the citizens, and they shall continue in their trade; but the men shall show "the fit respect for their officers and prompt obedience to their orders." In good weather these militia companies were to assemble on Sundays, and good sergeants and corporals of the Louisiana regiment were assigned to "drill each company, to train them in quarter-wheeling and firing." In these exercises "the wasting of the king's powder," he says, shall be avoided, and "the discipline and treatment" shall be so mild that "they will be greatly satisfied with the new formation."

Under O'Reilly's regulations, no person was allowed to establish his residence "in the territory of the Ylinnesee belonging to his majesty without having permission therefor in writing from the governor-general of this province." The lieutenant-governor was enjoined not to allow English merchants or traders to enter the Spanish territory, nor to permit the vassals of his majesty to have any communication with them—a rule, we are well satisfied, was more honored in the breach than in the observance. He was required to write the governor-general of the province on every opportune occasion, and to inform him exactly of whatever might occur at his post. "His explanations must be clear and concise and his facts very true and well investigated, so that the governor-general may take measures in regard to them that are advisable." A census was also ordered to be taken immediately, according to a form furnished, and at the beginning of each year thereafter. Don Piernas was advised to preserve the best of relations with "Monsieur de Santo Ange, whose practical knowledge of the Indians will be very useful to him; he shall do whatever he can to gain his friendship and confidence, shall listen to his opinion attentively on all matters, and shall condescend to him so far as possible without prejudice to the

service." A lieutenant was always to be maintained at St. Genevieve "for political matters by appointment of the Governor-General of the province," but subordinate to the lieutenant-governor of "the district of the Ylinnesee."¹⁰ These instructions were afterward, on August 17, 1772, expressly by royal *cédula*, approved by the king "in toto" and ordered to be punctually and effectively observed.¹¹

Piernas, after his arrival in upper Louisiana, in a letter to Governor O'Reilly, says that the distance from New Orleans to the first French settlement at Ste. Genevieve is 345 leagues at high water, but one-third more at low water. In this settlement the commandant was a French retired officer, De Rocheblave, "but little affected towards the Spanish nation, none at all to the French and hates the English for their ungovernable and turbulent nature." His post was subordinate "to the commandant and council of Paincourt." By this name Piernas means St. Louis, for by this name the village was then generally known. Nobody, however, he says, obeys this council of Paincourt or recognizes its orders. He observes that "every one lives as he pleases and does what he premeditates," and complains that license, laxity of conduct, and vice are character-

¹⁰ Alexander O'Reilly, a native of Ireland, born about 1735; sent to Spain when very young; joined the Hiberni regiment; served in Italy and received a wound which lamed him for life; in 1757 by permission served in the Austrian army under Field Marshal De Lascy, his countryman, in two campaigns against the Prussians; as a volunteer served in the armies of France under Marshal Duke de Broglie; was made lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service; served against the Portuguese; attained the rank of brigadier-general; taught the Spanish troops German maneuvers and tactics; in 1762 was raised to the rank of major-general and sent to Havana as second in command; restored the fortifications of Havana; made inspector-general of the king's infantry; in 1765 by his cool intrepidity saved the king's life in the famous Madrid insurrection, which forced the sovereign to fly to Aranjuez; was made a count; decorated with many military orders; in 1769 made captain-general of Louisiana; in 1774 in command of the great expedition against Algiers, which resulted unfortunately; afterward appointed commander-general of Andalusia and Cadiz; fell in disfavor and retired to Catalonia; in 1794, however, was appointed to the command of the army of the east Pyrenees, to oppose the French, and died suddenly at an advanced age. His descendants resided in the island of Cuba at one time and a street in Havana is named O'Reilly in his honor; immortalized in Byron's "Don Juan"—

"Is it for this, that General Count O'Reilly
Who took Algiers, declares I used him vilely?"

Pittman has a poor opinion of O'Reilly—says he made "great professions of friendship," but endeavored "to tamper with the Indians settled in our territory, and behaved with great inhospitality toward all English subjects, who had occasion to go up the Mississippi." *Mississippi Settlements*, p. 20.

¹¹ General Archives of the Indies, Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Louisiana and Florida — 1742—Estante 86 — Cajon 5 — Legajo 84.

istics of the inhabitants, that religion is given but scant respect, or "totally neglected," that the people are given over to every excess without fear of punishment imposed by the law, there being no law or justice to restrain them. They have, he says, no spiritual ministers to correct, instruct, and withdraw them from the license in which they are living, and they form a "small rabble which is in nowise different from the very savages." He also says that some of the principal inhabitants are associated with some of the inhabitants of the English district, and engaged in clandestine business to the prejudice of the legitimate native traders, and that by means of this clandestine trade this company of associated traders actually supply the English district with salt at a less cost than it is furnished the people on the Spanish side of the river, where the salt is produced. The Indians at this time, he tells us, were almost all domesticated, little to be feared, and useful because trading in flesh, oil and skins exchangeable for merchandise. "If the brandy trade," he writes, "were rigorously forbidden, then one could do with them whatever he pleased, but with the abuse of that trade the Indians are found to be importunate, insolent, and perhaps murderous, because of the intoxication to which they are inclined."

Paincourt, or St. Louis, Piernas describes as being situated on a high and pleasant place, built on rocks, and not in any danger of inundation, a higher plain behind the village dominating the town and river. To him the situation appeared suitable for the construction of a fort for defense. The troops and garrison he thought could be supported from the products of the territory, without the need of any other aid. He predicts that if the people of Paincourt will continue with the energy that they have hitherto exhibited they will "make the settlement one of the most populous, extensive, well managed and respectable of all that have been established." He notes that the trade is the same as at Ste. Genevieve, but "looseness of conduct, the abandonment of life, the dissoluteness and license" are also "without any difference at all." At this time numerous Indian tribes came to St. Louis to trade, and to receive presents from the king, "although the traders only are benefited and make profit out of them." He also reports, that a large number of settlers from the English Illinois country had moved into the Spanish territory.

LOUISIANA

Scale of Miles 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Scale of Feet 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 8000 9000 10000

Scale of Miles 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Scale of Feet 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 8000 9000 10000



II.

Cruzat, Appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Arrives at St. Louis, 1775—Spanish Aid Americans in Struggle for Independence—Liberal Spanish Policy to Secure Emigration from English Settlements, etc.—Importation of Negro Slaves Proposed for Cultivation of Hemp and Flax—Two "Missourie" Indian Slaves Ransomed by Cruzat—DeLeyba Appointed Cruzat's Successor, 1778—River Journey from New Orleans to St. Louis, 93 Days—English Invade the Illinois Country and Spanish Possessions, 1780—English and Indian Attack on St. Louis,—Second Administration of Cruzat as Lieutenant-Governor—English Machinations, 1781, to Incite Indian Warfare—Disastrous Expedition of French-Canadians Under De la Balme Against the English—Lawless Condition in Illinois Country Following American Conquest—Spaniards Fear American Invasion—Spanish-Indian Alliances, 1782—Don Manuel Perez Supersedes Cruzat—Spanish Intrigues to Separate Western American Territory from Atlantic States—Plan of Col. George Morgan to Form English-American-Spanish Republic at Mouth of the Ohio—Migration of Shawnees and Delawares Across the Mississippi to Spanish Possessions—Trudeau Succeeds Perez—Genet's Efforts to Organize Filibustering Operations Against Louisiana—Spanish Plan of Defense—Invasion of Spanish Possessions Prevented by United States Government.

In 1775 Piernas was succeeded by Don Francesco Cruzat, appointed by Governor-General Don Luis de Unzaga. Cruzat arrived in St. Louis May 20, 1775. While he was lieutenant-governor the English North American colonies declared their independence. Spain from the first gave the colonies secret assistance, through hatred of England,¹² although the triumph of the Americans, all thinking men could even then well see, was likely to give the death-blow also to Spanish colonial dominion in America.¹³ In June, 1779, this jealousy on the part of Spain impelled her statesmen to join with France in declaring war against England, in the hope of destroying her naval supremacy and of recovering Gibraltar. In the beginning of the War of Independence, money, gunpowder, and clothing secretly reached the Americans through the Spanish-American possessions, and in

¹² Colonel Rogers, in July, 1779, came to St. Louis to receive goods which had been secretly stored there for the Americans.

¹³ Count Aranda said in 1783: "This federal republic is born a pigmy, if I may be allowed so to express myself. It has required the support of two such powerful states as France and Spain to obtain its independence. The day will come when she will be a giant, a colossus formidable even to those countries. She will forget the services she received from the two powers, and will think only of her own aggrandizement. The liberty of conscience, the facility of establishing a new population upon immense territory *** will attract the agriculturists and mechanics of all nations, for men ever run after fortune, and in a few years we shall see the tyrannical existence of this very colossus of which I speak. * * * These fears are well founded; they must be realized in a few years, if some greater revolution even more fatal does not sooner take place in our Americas."

1778 the invasion and conquest of the English Illinois country by Gen. George Rogers Clark gave the Spanish commandants on the Mississippi undisguised satisfaction. Clark reports that "our friends the Spaniards (are) doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship, a correspondence immediately commenced between the governor and myself."¹⁴ Clark visited De Leyba, evidently, shortly after his arrival at Kaskaskia in 1778, and says that an intimacy commenced between them, and that the Spanish lieutenant-governor omitted nothing to prove his attachment for the Americans "with such openness as left no room for doubt."

The Spanish government had always been very anxious to increase the population of upper Louisiana, and Cruzat was instructed particularly to make every effort toward securing such an increase of population, including French-Canadian families "living among the English." To induce them to remove to the western side, such emigrants were to be supplied with agricultural tools, land grants, and given every facility to establish themselves. Forty thousand pesos were set aside by the government to increase the population, promote commerce, and secure the friendship of the Indians. The Canadians, Cruzat afterward reported, were generally very poor, and others, owing to the war, had been greatly impoverished. It was his opinion that by making small advances it would not be difficult to attract these to the west side, but others, he says, are so poor, that they "have not a shirt to wear," and many of them, he writes in December, 1777, have been "forced to bear arms against the Bostoneses." The letter of Cruzat was laid before the king, and on April 7, 1778, it was ordered that the necessary assistance should be extended to secure emigration. The settlers to be attracted to upper Louisiana were to be French Catholics, Italians, and Germans, who might desire to come into the country, or Spaniards sent from Spain. Upon the arrival of such emigrants the commandants of the several posts were advised to take great pains to settle them in suitable places as near as possible together, so that in case of emergency they might render each other assistance. It was provided that each family, i. e., man and wife, should receive a tract of land of five arpens in front, with the customary depth, and be supplied, for the first year, with a barrel of maize in the ear, for each. Also, for each member of the family above 12 years an additional barrel

¹⁴ Clark's Campaign in Illinois, p. 35. (Robert Clark & Co., 1869.)

was to be provided, and for all under the age of 12 a half-barrel. In addition, each family was to have an axe, hoe, scythe or sickle, a spade, a hen, a cock, a pig of two months, "with which they may easily found and establish a household which will provide them with a living, or may even make their fortune." For the children able to work an additional hoe was also to be provided. This decree says: "The source and origin of all empires has been the refuge and kind usage which men find in the gentleness of the laws. The good or evil administration of them is the greatest impediment to the building of a government, for not only are those who are present and who are exposed to them exasperated, but others are prevented from coming. Hence, as our laws are extremely mild, they ought not to be obscured by ambition and self-interest, as has been the case with some settlements formed for the king."¹⁵

The cultivation of hemp and flax in the Illinois country then greatly interested the Spanish government. The fact that in 1775 Laclede had succeeded in "producing a goodly quantity" of hemp, which he shipped to New Orleans, may have suggested the idea of encouraging the cultivation of these staples in upper Louisiana. At any rate, in 1777 Governor Cruzat was instructed to encourage hemp and flax culture, but he advised the authorities at New Orleans that owing to the weakness of the population in those settlements nothing could be accomplished, and suggested that if negro slaves were sent up into the colony and sold to the settlers on credit they might be able to cultivate these products. Subsequently Cruzat was informed by Galvez that "his majesty has decided to make provision for supplying them with negroes in such manner as may be practicable."

Cruzat seems to have aroused the displeasure of Galvez by sending, without first obtaining his authority, a pirogue from St. Louis to the Saukee and Renard villages established in the English Illinois country, in order to ransom two Missouries held by those Indians in slavery. This gave currency at the time to the report that the Spaniards were endeavoring to draw away the Indian tribes living in the English territory. Cruzat in a letter to Galvez regrets his "heedlessness," but says he sent his pirogue by permission of the British commandant and under his passport, and that the negotiations to secure the return of these Indian captives were conducted in the

¹⁵Decree of Governor-General Galvez, dated February 19, 1778.

presence of English merchants stationed among them. He pleads that his conduct in this matter was in exact accord with his instructions; that the five slaves he ransomed belonged to the Peoria tribe settled near Kaskaskia, and that he had sent them to that tribe in charge of Don Francesco Vallè, as well as four others belonging to the Missouries, and that they had arrived "very happily."¹⁶ Shortly after this incident, however, Cruzat was removed.

De Leyba was appointed Cruzat's successor in June, 1778, and made the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis in ninety-three days, arriving there July 10, 1778. He was received, he says, by "all the habitants with extraordinary signs of rejoicing," which he attributes to the fact that the people believe, "since this district is commanded by a person chosen by your lordship, they have whatever is necessary for their progress and happiness." The bateau upon which De Leyba came up river was armed with two swivel guns, which he sent back to New Orleans; but he retained the banner, explaining "for since I must go quite often to the village of Santa Genoveva I have no other to fly in the boat which transports me."¹⁷ De Leyba quickly ascertained that the block-house, the so-called fort "Carlos Tercero el Rey," at the mouth of the Missouri river, was useless and recommended that it be dismantled, and a new fort established on Cold Water (Aguas Frias). This recommendation was approved by Galvez.¹⁸ But Galvez could not grant his request to be allowed to establish a fort at the mouth of the Mua (Des Moines) river, to prevent the English from going into the upper Missouri river territory, because the *situado*, i. e., the money at his disposal, did not allow this expenditure. A demand, too, for an additional force of two hundred men could not be granted; yet De Leyba was instructed and charged to prevent the English from entering "our rivers," in order that they might not "entice our Indians." The Osages were at this time also very troublesome, continually committing thefts and outrages at Ste. Genevieve and elsewhere. Galvez advised De Leyba to request the respective chiefs to punish the malefactors, and if they failed to do so, to cut off all trade relations with these Indians, and to allow no one to take to their villages any merchandise. But this

¹⁶ Letter from Cruzat, to Galvez dated November 26, 1777.

¹⁷ Letter of De Leyba to Galvez, dated July 11, 1778.

¹⁸ Letter of Galvez to De Leyba, dated January 13, 1779.

seems to have been a very ineffectual method of securing peace or respect.

After the declaration of war against England by Spain in 1779, the English officers at Michillimackinac and Detroit began to make active preparations to drive out the Americans from the Illinois country; and they also deemed possible the conquest of the Spanish possessions in upper Louisiana. Rumors of English preparations to invade the Spanish country prevailed in all the settlements on both sides of the river. De Leyba, anticipating this attack, fortified St. Louis as far as its open situation permitted; he built a wooden tower at the expense of the people, at one end of the town, and in addition threw up two lines of entrenchments. When the attack was made on May 26, 1780, he successfully repelled the enemy with twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one militia. The attacking force consisted of three hundred English troops under Captain Hesse, and nine hundred Indians, according to the report made by the intendant, Martin Navarro, to the Marquis of Sonora, then minister of the Indies. When the official report of this defense reached Madrid the king was greatly pleased. His majesty conferred the rank of lieutenant-colonel upon De Leyba, and that of captain on De Cartabona, second in command, as a reward for thus repelling, as stated in the Spanish commission, the English captain "with 300 regular troops and 900 savages" from capturing "San Luis de Yllesse." Evidently, the number of English soldiers under Captain Hesse was greatly exaggerated, while no doubt more than 900 Indians participated in the assault. De Leyba died June 28, 1780, before he was advised of his promotion.

After De Leyba's death Don Silvia Francesco de Cartabona acted as lieutenant-governor until the arrival of Don Francesco Cruzat, who was reappointed by Galvez July 25, 1780. In a letter addressed to Cartabona, Governor-General Galvez thanks the inhabitants of St. Louis for their zeal and activity in defending the town from the English attack, and says that he will inform "the government of this example, worthy of a noble emulation in all the colony." Cartabona was especially authorized in the name of the sovereign to abundantly thank the special lieutenant of Ste. Genevieve, Don Francesco Vallè, and Messieurs Picote de Belestre, Don Benito Vasquez,¹⁹ and other inhabitants, "in general and particular," for

¹⁹Galvez addressed a special letter of thanks to him, and assured him that he would recommend him to the king.

the "valor and noble intrepidity with which they have been enabled to restrain the impetuous pride of the enemy in the midst of greatest want."

Cruzat was ordered to give his whole attention to the conservation of the post of St. Louis, supplying all the means possible for its defense in order to restrain and repel the raids and designs of the enemy, both of the British nation and of the Indians, who should attempt to destroy the settlements in his jurisdiction. He made the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis in fifty-nine days, a time then considered so short as to be worthy of notice. He was ordered to reserve one half of the war supplies that he took north for the defense of the post and to give the other half as presents to the Indians who might visit the village of Ste. Genevieve. These presents, consisting of 200 pounds of powder and corresponding balls, were to be delivered to Don Francesco Vallè for distribution. Cruzat was also advised to endeavor to conserve the greatest harmony with the parish priest at the post, his example to serve as a rule for the others, and to maintain friendly relations with the American commanders on the opposite side of the river.

In December, 1780, Cruzat, in order to show the English machinations among the Indians in the Spanish Illinois country, sent to New Orleans by Auguste Chouteau some English flags which had been given the Indians on the Missouri, and also some medals which they distributed. He writes that the English are continually smuggling merchandise into the Spanish territory; that the Aïas (i. e., Iowas) had been corrupted by them, and also the Hotos (i. e., Otoes) on the Missouri, and remarks that he does not doubt the truth of this report, because he knows from experience "that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does." He further says that although he distributes as many presents as he is able, yet these presents never reach the hundredth part of those which the English distribute, and that he is compelled to satisfy his Indian allies "more by astuteness than presents."²⁰

In the spring of 1781 Cruzat heard of English preparations to attack the Spanish settlements, that munitions and provisions were being collected at Green Bay (Bahia Verde) for that purpose, and that they were distributing "an enormous amount of merchandise" among the Indians, to enlist them in their contemplated campaign.

²⁰ Letter of Cruzat to Galvez, dated December 19, 1780.

To guard the village from attack by surprise Cartabona, even before the arrival of Cruzat, had seized a bateau belonging to Cerrè and placed it on sentinel duty four leagues above the town, as it was reported that Langlade, an English trader, was approaching. Cruzat began at once to put the town in a position of defense. He ordered a stockade to be built, and says that Auguste Chouteau was selected by him to direct this work, "because of his capacity, zeal, and love for the royal service." A retired French officer, Don Esteban Boucher de Monbrun, then a resident of St. Louis, who had distinguished himself when the English attacked the town, was placed in command of a detachment of thirty-two militiamen, and kept on the Mississippi river forty leagues above St. Louis among the Saukees, while "Monsieur Mays" with another detachment of twelve men observed the movement of the enemy on the "Ylinoa" (Illinois river).

Cruzat must, also, have encouraged De Balme's expedition, which had such a tragic end, in order to divert the English attack from St. Louis. This Louis Motlin de la Balme, a French officer who had served in the Revolutionary War, was brevetted lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, May 26, 1777, and no doubt was in St. Louis in 1780. Although without means, he recruited and fitted out an expedition against Detroit, among the French-Canadians at Cahokia, Captain Joseph du Placey apparently furnishing the means. The Indians who accompanied this expedition were headed by Siggenauk and Le Tourneau. De Balme with his corps got to some point beyond the Wabash and captured the stores of several Indian traders, and then started back with the spoils, finding himself too weak to prosecute his march to Detroit. He was pursued by the Miamis under their chief, Pekan,²¹ and he, Du Placey,²² and most of the members of the expedition were killed.²³ But an expedition up the Illinois

²¹ Pekan was of middle size, about 5 feet 8 inches in height; was in Ste. Genevieve in 1802 and 1803, when old St. Jemmes talked to him of the death of Captain du Placey and reproached him for killing him. Pekan shed tears of regret then. He had a nephew of the same name. In 1794 he visited Lorimier at Cape Girardeau. (See Lorimier's Journal, March 16, *et seq*)

²² Captain Joseph du Placey was a grandfather of Hon. Joseph Bogy and Hon. Louis V. Bogy, both long since dead.

²³ Draper's Notes, vol. 5., Trip 1851; also, Draper's Collection, pp. 91, 97, and 100; Goodspeed's History of Knox County, Indiana, p. 1780. La Balme made a song which they sang with characteristic French sprightliness as they marched out of Cahokia, bidding good-bye to their sweethearts, wives, and friends. "We are going to take Detroit,—huzza for Liberty!" was the burden of it.—Draper's Notes, vol. 5., Trip 1851. Also see Joseph Bogy's narrative in Draper's Edition, vol. 26 (Clark Mss.), pp. 19, 91, 97.

river to capture fort St. Joseph, under command of Captain Eugenio Purrè (Beausoliel), of which mention is made elsewhere, resulted more fortunately.

The news Cruzat received from the opposite side of the river at this time was not reassuring, for the inhabitants of Kaskaskia Cahokia, and other old French settlements were greatly dissatisfied with the lawless condition of affairs which followed the conquest of the country by General Clark. Very little attention was paid to the welfare of the people. The country had become greatly impoverished and was comparatively unprotected. It was rumored in St. Louis that the people of Kaskaskia and Cahokia had sent a courier to Detroit declaring themselves English vassals and begging for English protection, and the fact that only a small detachment of Americans was stationed at Kaskaskia and no attention paid to the country, and no succor sent, gave Cruzat "motive for many reflections," because, as he says, he thinks he knows "the inconstancy of the English, who in this case are the same as the Americans."²⁴ The only encouraging rumor current in the settlements was that the French had disembarked on the St. Lawrence. What even more greatly disturbed him, was a report which reached Kaskaskia in October, 1780, that peace had been declared between the American colonies and England, and a close offensive and defensive alliance formed between the two countries. A rumor also prevailed that General Clark was coming to the Kaskaskia settlements with six hundred men. He feared that the Americans would become enemies of Spain, descend the Ohio and continue down the Mississippi, taking all the forts and settlements along the river, and he was morally certain that if the Americans should separate from their alliance with Spain and unite with the English of Canada, they would conquer the colony.²⁵ But he assured Galvez that he would do all possible to defend the country to the last extremity with the few forces at his command. In an earlier letter he says that he observed among the Americans "a coolness and untimely inaction which shows that their ideas are not very just, and on the contrary, seem suspicious." In order to discover the motive for this indifference he endeavored to acquire some information through a certain Bentley, a merchant of Kaskaskia, an Englishman, who was always

²⁴ Letter of Cruzat to Galvez, dated September 22, 1780.

²⁵ Letter of Cruzat to Galvez, dated December 22, 1780.

suspected by the Americans, and in whose house lived the American agent, Dodge.²⁶ He, however, was soon after assured by Galvez that this rumor of peace was unfounded.

In 1782, Cruzat writes that he had made peace with one hundred and forty tribes of warlike Indians. In the same year four principal chiefs and forty Indians of the Shawnees, Delawares, Chickasaws and Cherokees came to St. Louis with four large blue and white belts of wampum and reported that they had united one hundred and thirty tribes between the Ohio and the Gulf, and between the Mississippi and the Atlantic states. They asked the protection of the king of Spain, and proposed to establish a firm and sincere peace with the Spaniards. They reported to the lieutenant-governor that they had journeyed for a year and visited the various tribes, in order to unite them among themselves, and to separate completely from all the affiliations they previously had with the English. These tribes, Cruzat said, had never before visited St. Louis. The Saukees and Renards also petitioned permission to place themselves under Spanish protection. The killing of Ballafre, chief of the Little Osages, gave Cruzat some anxiety for a short time; but the Indians were appeased by some small presents.

Upper Louisiana was not again attacked during the war, and after peace was finally established, in 1783, between England and the United States, France and Spain, Cruzat remained undisturbed until 1787, in St. Louis. Shortly before he was superseded he invited General Harmar, then in command at Kaskaskia, to visit him at St. Louis, and in August, 1787, the invitation was accepted. Harmar afterward wrote that he was "very splendidly and elegantly entertained, and on his departure from St. Louis accompanied to the landing by Cruzat's son and the principal inhabitants of the town." Of St. Louis, he says that "it is a handsome village, the best I have seen in the Louisiana country." Subsequently this general also visited Captain Peyroux at Ste. Genevieve, and was "received and entertained with the greatest politeness," but the town, he says, is "much inferior to St. Louis." At this time twenty Spanish soldiers were stationed at St. Louis, and six or eight at Ste. Genevieve.²⁷

²⁶ Letter of Cruzat to Galvez, dated September 22, 1780.

²⁷ Harmar Papers, vol. 1., p. 340, *et seq.* This trip was made by land to St. Louis in a calache, via Prairie du Rocher. Mr. Tardiveau and Mr. Charleville

In November, 1787, Cruzat was superseded by Don Manuel Perez. When Perez came to St. Louis he found that the wooden stockade which had been erected by Cruzat had practically rotted down. The stone tower of San Carlos and the bastions in the north end of the village, each armed with five cannon, and a ravelin with one cannon, was all that represented the fortification of St. Louis. He sent to Miro a plan of the town and fortifications, which has been preserved in the Spanish archives, to impress upon him the necessity of rebuilding the works. Perez thought it would require about seven or eight thousand pesos to render the fortifications useful for the preservation and security of the village.

During the administration of Perez, Col. George Morgan and his party of explorers visited St. Louis.²⁸ The rapid growth of the American settlements on the Ohio now caused the Spanish officials no little uneasiness, and the intrigues to separate the western territory from the Atlantic states began to take form, as well as the plan of Col. George Morgan to plant an English-American-Spanish state at the mouth of the Ohio.

It must have been sometime after the failure of Colonel Morgan's plan that a circular was published and circulated in the United States, which set out a scheme to establish a settlement and republic on the west shore of the Mississippi, near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi. A copy of this circular having found its way to New Orleans, and to Cuba and Madrid, it was not calculated to inspire the Spaniards with much confidence. It proposed, in order to form this settlement, to march eighteen thousand men in perfect condition for military service from the Alleghany mountains, and in order to defray the expenses in part, to raise three million pesos by giving to each person advancing ten pesos 500 acres of land in the territory to be conquered, and whoever should advance fifty pesos,

accompanied the General, and they were, he says, "hospitable and kind." Barthélemi Tardiveau, who originally suggested to the Spanish government the plan of attracting to Louisiana the emigration going from Europe to the United States, was a highly intelligent man, a native of France. During the American Revolution he was one of the first merchants of Louisville, where he furnished Gen. George Rogers Clark with much assistance; from Louisville he removed to Kaskaskia, where he exerted himself greatly to secure land donations for the settlers and a confirmation of their land titles. From Kaskaskia he removed to New Madrid, in 1792, where he died in 1799. See his letter addressed to Count de Aranda, dated Kaskaskia, July 17, 1792.

²⁸ Letter of Perez to Miro, dated March 27, 1789.

2,500 acres of land, and so on. The money thus paid on account of this projected expedition was to be deposited in the Bank of the United States until the number of citizens to form this new republic should be complete. It was also contemplated that every man paying money to promote the enterprise should become a citizen of the new state, either personally or by proxy, and that within two years after the first contingent of citizens should arrive at the destined location, every actual settler should receive 300 acres of land for himself, and 50 acres for each of his children between the ages of ten and sixteen, and 120 acres for children between sixteen and twenty years, &c., &c., but only industrious and energetic men of good character were to be admitted to this new state. That education might be promoted, land was reserved for a university or public seminary, and the legislature of the new state was empowered to set aside 500 acres in each town for a public school, and 300 acres for the first teacher and 200 for his successor. It was also proposed to civilize and incorporate the Indians who live on the shores of the Missouri, in this new republic. This scheme, wild and visionary as it now appears to us, undoubtedly then seemed practicable to many adventurers.²⁹

In 1791 Perez recommended the construction of two strong forts on the Mouis (Des Moines), and San Pedros (Iowa) rivers, to prevent the English from reaching the upper Missouri, but Las Casas, at that time captain-general of Cuba, wrote Carondelet that he was not in possession of sufficient local knowledge or maps to enable him to form a judgment of the necessity of these new establishments. In 1792, Carondelet wrote that he thought these forts entirely useless, and would "never interfere with the communications and passage of the English to the tribes living near the Missouri;" he also thought that, "being surrounded by warlike tribes," they would "arouse the resentment of those tribes as well as excite the wrath of the English."³⁰ Perhaps the fact that at this time Spain and England were in alliance against France may have influenced the opinion of Carondelet. During 1793-4 he was under much more apprehension from a combined French-American attack upon upper Louisiana than of English hostility.

While Perez was lieutenant-governor, the Shawnees and Dela-

²⁹ General Archives of the Indies — Seville — Proposition for the Establishment on the West Shore of the "Missouri" rivers.

³⁰ Letter of Carondelet to Las Casas, dated January 10, 1793.

wares in considerable numbers first crossed the Mississippi river to settle in the Spanish possessions. This was an emigration favored by the Spanish authorities, because these Indians, having long been in contact with the white settlers east of the Mississippi, were more civilized than the Osages and other Western Indians. Indeed, they were ready to protect the Spanish white settlements along the Mississippi against the Osages, if they might be themselves protected from the encroachments of the white settlers. Having been driven from their homes on the east side of the Mississippi in Ohio and Indiana, frequently defeated by the English and Americans, and treated in many instances with great harshness and inhumanity, they were also very hostile to the Americans.

Because defeated in the plan to erect an independent Indian confederacy between the Atlantic states and the Mississippi, as a protection for Louisiana, for a number of years after the treaty of 1783 was concluded, complicated and tortuous intrigues were carried on between the Spanish governors of Louisiana, General Wilkinson and others. The purpose was to separate the Western settlers from the Union in order to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. But for the adoption of the new Constitution and the formation of the federal government it is more than probable that this scheme would have been successful, and a separate and independent American state, for a time at least, under Spanish protection, established in the Mississippi valley. The growth of this separatist sentiment was checked by the hope that the new federal government would solve the question of the free navigation of the Mississippi, an expectation in which the people were often disappointed. The selfish policy of the statesmen of New England, ready to sacrifice the interests of the Western people in order to promote local interests, became manifest early after the formation of the federal government. While the intrigues looking to separate the West from the Atlantic states were in progress, a new and unexpected factor suddenly changed the thought of the people. The sentiments of the French Revolution were permeating the country. Genet appeared in the United States, and in 1792 attempted to inaugurate in the Western states extensive filibustering operations against Louisiana. He sought to involve the United States in war both with Great Britain and Spain, by holding out the hope to capture, by force of arms, the Floridas and Louisiana. Of course, he found adherents in

Kentucky, where a large portion of the people had always favored taking New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi by force. Genet began enlisting men for an expedition against the Spanish possessions, and his recruiting officers bore blank commissions for the use of American officers to enter the French service. Genet named Tardiveau as one whom it was desirable to interest in the scheme to conquer Louisiana; and he included in his plans Wilkinson, Brackenridge, and others. Lyonnet also recommended Tardiveau as able to suggest useful men in Kentucky, and recommended that "at the head of these filibusters of the woods must be placed General Clark." He adds that much money must be spent for drink, for "the Americans only talk of war when vis-a-vis with a bowl."³¹ General George Rogers Clark accepted a commission as major-general, and in the language of Carondelet, giving himself "the showy title of Mariscal de Campo of the French armies and of the Revolutionary legions on the Mississippi." In order to secure volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, it was proposed that all who took part in the expedition should have the right to 1,000 acres of land, those who enlisted for one year 2,000 acres, and those serving for two years, or during the war, 3,000 acres of any of the vacant land conquered; officers were to receive larger grants, in proportion to their rank.³² Among a people who had greatly suffered by Spanish exactions, Genet's project found much favor. Lyonnet in a letter written at the time explained the ease with which Louisiana might be invaded and taken, and states that the first post on the Mississippi, L'Anse a la Graisse (New Madrid), was defended only by a fort built of wood, situated upon low ground which was often flooded and armed only with ten little cannon and garrisoned by 18 to 20 men, commanded by a Spaniard.³³

Carondelet was greatly alarmed at this filibustering enterprise, and, in a letter to the Duke of Alcudia, says that the Americans are "drawing with incredible rapidity toward the west and the Mis-

³¹ 8th American Historical Review, p. 661.

³² Secret letters and enclosures, dated April 7, 1794, of Carondelet to Don Luis de Las Casas. General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

³³ Lyonnet was a Frenchman who lived at New Orleans. In his letter "Consideration Sur la Louisiane," 8th American Historical Review, p. 497 he says: "Je crois qu'il est facile de l'enlever sans retarder l'expédition de quatre heures. Mais l'on pourrait s'auparer de ceux du fort de l'Anse a la Graisse s'il n'était pas possible de s'en procurer convenablement. On pourrait encore detacher cent hommes qui en trouveraient aux Illinois sur sa partie Espagnole."

issippi.”³⁴ In order to protect Louisiana, he urges that the defenses of New Madrid be increased, so as to be prepared “when the American states of the West seek to profit by the opportunity offered by the present war against France to open the Mississippi.” The defensive plan suggested by him as indispensable was to protect the upper settlements now in Missouri by a full regiment. One battalion was to be stationed at “San Luis de Ilinoia,” and the second battalion at Madrid, “dividing between them the forty leagues intervening on the western bank of the Mississippi, so as to prevent by a few detachments the incursion of scattered bands that might cross the river; and maintaining at the settlement at Santa Genoveva, the center of this extension, a strong detachment from both battalions to restrain the settlement of Kaskaskia. This cordon or line supported on the right by the fort at New Madrid, and on the left by that of ‘San Luis de Ilinoia,’ and in the center by Santa Genoveva, would afford sufficient time for the militia, who are all soldiers, to come up by land to the point of attack, since the journey from New Madrid to San Luis is made on horseback in four days.” Then, too, he relies on the savage tribes, Chouanous, Abenakis, Cherokquis and Osages, who would act as a second line of defense and not allow any hostile party to pass. Finally, four galleys of light draft armed with cannon would guard the river; these galleys would also watch the mouth of the Ohio, only ten leagues from New Madrid, and, if any craft should pass New Madrid successfully then the forts lower down the river could prevent a passage to New Orleans. But such a passage he thought improbable, on account of the superior artillery carried by the boats of Spain, and on account of the fire of troops, militia, and savages on the western bank of the river. Under the circumstances, he thought it very necessary to fortify New Madrid “in the most serious fashion, because it must necessarily be the first object of attack on the part of the enemy,” and his conclusion is, that “if garrisoned with a battalion with suitable twelve-pound artillery, thirty artillerymen, two hundred militiamen, and protected by some 1,500 Indians, who can harass the enemy during the siege by occupying the vicinity, molesting their men when they go in search of fagots, wood, etc.,” it can hold out a long time, and consequently allow sufficient time for the

³⁴ 2 American Historical Register, p. 476.

gathering of the forces of upper Louisiana and attempting with their aid to raise the siege.³⁵

Zenon Trudeau was lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana during this exciting period. The fortifications of St. Louis were put in a complete state of defense, under orders of Carondelet. Many rumors prevailed that a combined force of French and American troops was on the march to the Mississippi from Vincennes; that a fort and camp had been established at the mouth of the Cumberland; that the French-American army was about to descend the Ohio to attack the Spanish posts on the Mississippi. As a result, the commandants of New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, and Cape Girardeau were constantly employed to guard against any surprise. At this time, Don Louis Lorimier, having control of the Shawnee and Delaware Indians, was especially of great service to the Spanish government. Through his influence the Delawares who had been embittered by Perez in 1791 were thoroughly pacified. Cape Girardeau was established as an independent trading post in order to give Lorimier greater authority and more influence among the Indians, and greater independence of action in treating with them. In January, 1794, he employed Louis Francois Largeau as his secretary. In this capacity Largeau kept a daily journal of the events of this time, which has been preserved in the Spanish archives. New Madrid being supposed to be the first place exposed to an attack by this Franco-American army, the Shawnee and Delaware Indians under Lorimier were vigilantly observing the movements of the filibusters on the Ohio. This threatened attack on Louisiana, however, was averted by the decided intervention of the new federal government. Washington issued a proclamation against the enterprise. Fort Massac was re-established on the Ohio to prevent the passage of any hostile force, and General Wayne by his firm and decided action prevented any invasion of the Spanish territory. The French minister, Genet, who had organized this hostile enterprise, was recalled, and the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real secured, for a time at least, the free navigation of the Mississippi and thus pacified Western discontent.³⁶

³⁵ See letters of Carondelet to Trudeau and replies 1793, in General Archives of Indies, Seville.

³⁶ American Historical Review, p. 480.

III.

Spanish-French Alliance — Military Plans and Dispositions — Society of the "Sans Culottes" at St. Louis — Expedition of Don Carlos Howard from New Orleans to St. Louis — Instructions to Howard for Protection of Upper Louisiana — Affairs of Upper Louisiana, 1796 — The Spanish Company of Discovery — Spanish Scheme to Build Flouring Mills at New Madrid and Ste. Genevieve — French Settlers of Gallipolis Attracted to Louisiana — DeLassus Succeeds Trudeau, 1799 — Rumors of English Invasion of Spanish Territory, 1800 — Questionable Land Grants Made by Spanish Officials.

Political affairs then changed rapidly in Europe. Spain and France, lately enemies, now drew together and were soon allied in a war against England. Carondelet was advised by the Marquis de Yurjo, the Spanish minister at Philadelphia that the English were preparing an expedition against the settlements of upper Louisiana, and became apprehensive of an English invasion and an attack on "San Luis de Ylinoa." He wrote that the merchants of this place "would have an immense commerce of skins with the natives of Missouri, if they were favored with the freedom of the capital and protected against the Canadian English who usurp it," and suggested that a fort garrisoned by fifty men on the river St. Peter, 120 leagues from "San Luis," would cut off this English commerce with the western tribes, "a commerce so rich that despite the enormous distance of five hundred leagues of desert which must be traveled by their merchandise and by their furs they receive in return, the London companies so engaged do not gain less than 100 per cent." Such a fort established on the St. Peter river would in a few years, he thought, create a more populous settlement there than the present "San Luis," and serve to cover that part of Louisiana above the Missouri against the usurpations of the English and Americans. He then says that since "San Luis de Ylinoa" was surrounded by savage tribes of great valor and more industry than his own people in lower Louisiana, exposed to the insults of the Americans and English in case of rupture with them, and at the same time in the center, as it were, of the commerce of upper Louisiana, it ought to be surrounded with a good stockade. This he plans should be provided with banquet and glacis, the first being defended at the two angles forming the field of the parallelogram by two good redoubts clothed with stone, and in the center by the little fort now existing. Part of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms would serve for its defense: wherefore, he says, "I think that four companies detached

from the battalion of New Madrid to St. Louis (who would provide detachment for the rivers of St. Peter and Moine), would suffice to inspire respect for the dominion of Spain throughout upper Louisiana." He also thinks that the battalions could always be kept complete, saving the great expense of transportation necessary to carry "troops by river to such remote places," if to such of the soldiers as married free rations were given, on promise to serve five additional years in the militia, after the expiration of their time of service on condition of establishing themselves in the colony and cultivating the soil.

In 1795 the French minister at Philadelphia, Adet, sent General Victor Collot and another Frenchman west to observe the military posts and country. When General Collot arrived at St. Louis, in 1796, he was treated by Trudeau with distinguished consideration, but this was attributed by Carondelet to his "sweet and peaceable character." He considered him "fully trustworthy," although he was not pleased with this "excessive indulgence" to General Collot, who was afterward detained by him in New Orleans for some days, for "having made in relief the plan of the river and most of the forts of this province."³⁷ To General Collot we owe a complete plan of St. Louis. It was made by him "pour le compte de la Republique Francais," and a copy has been preserved in the Spanish archives. In a full report, General Collot explains to the Marquis de Yrujo the utter worthlessness of the existing fortifications and the weak and defenseless condition of the country. He also submits a plan for forming at St. Louis an entrenched camp.

At this time, "a certain Papin, a systematic man who writes well, but a restless spirit, an enemy of the government, of which he spoke with acrimony and falsehood," gave the Spanish authorities at New Orleans some concern, for after the departure of Collot from St. Louis he and another Frenchman, then a resident of St. Louis, named Coignard, formed a society "under the name of Sans coulottes." This society had frequent meetings, public balls, and "during these entertainments revolutionary songs were sung, which" says Carondelet, "are susceptible of inducing the most loyal vassals to rebellion." The society even marched through the town to the houses of the

³⁷ Copy of confidential letter from Carondelet to Don Miguel Jose de Azanza, in General Archives of the Indies, Department of St. Domingo, Louisiana, and Florida, 1796.

PLAN

de St Louis des Illinois

avec la prise d'un Camp retranché tiré de
la collection des Cartes et Plans formés par le
G^{al} Collet, pour le compte de la République Française
Paris 1796. 85.



GEN. COLLOT'S PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1796

notable inhabitants, "and especially that of the curè, with music" to wish him "a happy New-Year, on the 23rd of September last, or rather on the eve of the 23rd, on which the year begins, according to the new French calendar."

It was this agitation and the rumor of English invasion that led to the expedition up the Mississippi to St. Louis under Colonel Don Carlos Howard, an event in the annals of St. Louis made memorable as the "*L'Annee des Galeres.*" This expedition, undertaken by order of Carondelet, under "the pretext of replacing at Natchez, Governor Gayoso in charge of tracing the border lines," started from New Orleans in the galley "*Phelipa*" with only twenty men, under command of a subaltern officer. On his arrival at Natchez, Howard was ordered to transfer one half of the crew and detachment to the royal galiot "*La Activa*," with the least possible delay, taking the strongest and most courageous men and paying them, "in order to satisfy them, one month's wages in advance," taking from the "*Phelipa*" two months' provisions at least, for his men. Here Governor Gayoso was to be informed in confidence that he was going to "St. Luis de Ilinoia in order to establish the peace, which had been broken by some hot-headed people since the departure of General Collot, and nothing more." But the other object of the expedition, viz., the evacuation of Fort San Fernando de Barancas, was not to be known, because if the Chickasaw Indians were advised of this, they might resent this proceeding. This fort was to be destroyed and everything in it loaded on the galleys and the smaller boats accompanying them and taken to New Madrid. At New Madrid, four cannon, each with a hundred bullets and fifty grape-shot, four swivel guns with forty shots each and powder, thirty-two artillerymen and two corporals taken from St. Fernando were to remain. The balance of the force, artillerymen and two corporals, and in addition to eight gunners, a troop of 110 men of the standing army, were to be taken to and stationed at "St. Luis de Ilinoia;" this troop also including four sergeants, eight corporals and two drummers. In order to complete his force, Colonel Howard was ordered to take "sixty-one men of the standing army at New Madrid, including the twenty of the active service, all artillerymen, the artillery and stone-slingers with their weapons and ammunition, and two galleys, two galiots, and a gunboat in case they can be carried therein." The remainder were ordered to embark in a third galley to be put in service under command of Don Juan Barno y Ferrusola, and return to the capital, leaving on the

way down ten men at the Arkansas post. If this third galley should be needed for the expedition of the remainder of the force, it was provided the men should embark in it, but the effects were to remain deposited at New Madrid until his return. In order not to surprise the "restless spirits in San Luis" Colonel Howard was directed, on his arrival at New Madrid, to spread the news that the object of the expedition was in case war should be declared, to protect St. Louis from any possible invasion of the British. If, on his arrival at New Madrid, the river should be frozen, and his arrival at St. Louis should be deemed urgent, it was expected that he "should try all possible means to get through by land, leaving orders with the commander of the galleys to meet him with his squadron as soon as the ice should permit." As it was not supposed that sufficient quarters were to be found in St. Louis for lodging the 110 men to be stationed as a garrison there, it was ordered that the residents "must give lodging in their own houses to those who could not find room at the fort," or a house must be rented at the expense of the people for that purpose, "making them understand that this troop is there for their own protection." The three officers of the command, Don Jose de Ville, Don Francesco Barras, and Don Frederico Auteman, were to be lodged in the houses of some "of the best citizens" as near "as possible to the troop." The strictest discipline was to be observed, the artillery to be cared for, and frequent drills were to take place in handling arms and cannon as well.

And enumerating the leading citizens able to give him much and truthful information, Carondelet says that DeLuziere, the Chouteau brothers, Clamorgan, Don Antonio Soulard, Cerrè, Pratte, Robideau, Don Francesco Vallè, are men deserving confidence, and are "honorable and loyal citizens" with numerous business connections, and he advises Colonel Howard to consult with them as to the condition of affairs in the country, but he adds, "it will be desirable to dismiss the captain of the regulars, Don Enrique Peyroux (of Ste. Genevieve) a suspicious, loose-tongued fellow, if plausible ground for doing so shall appear. About two years ago, he promised to leave this post, of which my predecessor had made him commandant, but he never carried out his promise." Don Louis Lorimier, he says, "may be of great use;" as for the rest, "he is a selfish man who thinks of his own advancement;" and Gratiot, he says, "has talent, and many connections in Canada."

The position of Carondelet at this period was one of no little diffi-

culty. Impressed with the importance of protecting upper Louisiana he gave Lieutenant-Colonel Howard full and detailed instructions. He ordered him, after the troop was established in St. Louis, and all the artillery unloaded, with ammunition, weapons, etc., in the neighborhood of the fort, and distributed at such points of defense as deemed necessary, to call a meeting of the most prominent residents, and tell them how disagreeable the ungratefulness shown by some of the residents toward the Spanish government had been to the governor-general. Spain had always tried, and to an especial degree in the last few years, to promote the business and prosperity of the Illinois establishments, but they had gone to excesses, not only in showing an indecent joy at the unfounded hope that they would change rulers, but they had gone so far as to form a private society called "Sans-Culottes," singing turbulent and revolutionary songs in contempt of the government. He was also instructed to inform them that, after having been well informed of the parties who had promoted such excesses, and well convinced that the rest had been drawn in inconsiderately, and involved in them on account of fear, and of bad example, the governor-general had decided that Cogniard and Papin should at once be sent to the capital, but as to the others, their conduct should first be ascertained by Don Zenon Trudeau, Don Vallè, and Don Carlos de Lassus. He also instructs Don Carlos Howard to reduce this number to the least possible level, in order to pacify the rest of the residents. "You will add at last," Carondelet says, "that I am convinced that all the people will contribute with their property and with their slaves to put the city under safeguard from the insults of the British, and for this reason, I sent them a numerous detachment." Howard was instructed to secure at once a list of the people able to take up arms, giving their ages and skill, their weapons and ammunition. After the adjournment of this meeting, the guilty were to be captured, embarked on board of a galley, and sent away under guard, but 110 men of the standing army were ordered to remain in St. Louis.

The galley "Venganza," the two galiots, and the cannon-launch with complete crews, were ordered to remain in St. Louis, under the command of the lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, and the second Lieutenant, Don Bernardo Molina, "to receive orders from lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Howard, commandant of the military forces." In case the galley should have to be equipped

for some expedition, it was ordered that Don Juan Metzinger was to command it, and the crew was to be completed with that of the two galiots, but if all these should be needed just at the same time, the crew of the galley was then to be completed by the people of the country, who were to receive the same pay as the other sailors, unless they consented to go as volunteers, and without any payment, on promise to receive a certain part of the booty taken from the enemy. The same rule was to be observed if necessary to equip the cannon-launch with men. Carondelet further expressly advised Colonel Howard that as it is not permitted to undertake work of any magnitude without the approval of the king in advance, all that could be done to carry out the plan of fortification as mapped out would be to make the city safe against surprise, and that the defensive work was to be provisional only, the total cost not to exceed five thousand pesos. To direct this work of fortification, he employed Don Luis Vandenbenden, whom he describes as a skillful engineer, at a salary of eighty pesos per month while in service, until his majesty should decide upon the rank to be bestowed upon him. As these works were to serve principally to protect the inhabitants of the city, as well as the vicinity, Carondelet directed that all were to try to encourage persons to engage in this work, but, in case of necessity, the army and fleet would be compelled to work at it, receiving two reals per day, as usual. The Spanish minister at Philadelphia had employed a French engineer, Monsieur de Finiels, at a salary of one hundred pesos, for the same purpose, but Carondelet gave it as his opinion that he could not be superior to Vandenbenden, because the latter united "with his intelligence the advantage of a knowledge of the country;" therefore, he proposed that his pay should be the same as Mons. de Finiels'. Count de Yrujo testified in a letter that De Finiels was eminent in his profession; he formerly belonged to the engineer corps of France, and was a captain in the United States army, but through a love "for the interests of his country so intimately connected with ours at the present day," offered his services as a volunteer. It may be observed that Carondelet and Vandenbenden were both from Flanders, a fact which might account for his partiality for him. Carondelet reasoned that upon the safety of the St. Louis of Illinois depended the safety of all upper Louisiana from the Missouri river as far as New Madrid, and that it would be necessary, in case the city was threatened by the British, to collect in it all the militia of the country. This body, composed of

nine companies, that is to say, three in St. Louis, three in Ste. Genevieve, one in Carondelet, one in St. Charles, and one in Florissant, would constitute a sufficient number with the regular troop "to make a brilliant defense," as "the enemy cannot attack the city with artillery, on account of the difficult and almost impossible transportation of same from Lake Michigan." Further, he pointed out that two essential objects must have the attention of Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Howard, viz., the protection of St. Louis and the destruction of the English trade on the upper Mississippi as well as on the Missouri. To accomplish this latter purpose, he ordered an expedition up the coasts of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the entry of the San Pedro river, to destroy and capture as many English trading canoes as possible. The goods thus secured were to be distributed, half to the king and half to those composing the expedition. In order to be protected from insults on the part of the savages siding with the British, he says it would be suitable to have the cannon-launch in the expedition, with the small galleys, "as the large artillery contained in the first will frighten them and make them flee." Referring to the expedition in the year 1781, when a small number of the St. Louis residents with some savages took St. Joseph, on the river of the same name, a tributary to Lake Michigan, he reminded them that what was done then "could be done now with better means and skill," for the captain of the militia, Don Carlos Tayon, who was in the earlier expedition, was still living, and "I have no doubt he can teach the way of taking and destroying that place a second time." Such an expedition, he thought, might attack, also, any other post the British had established in order to trade in furs, on the upper rivers, providing the news that Lieutenant-Governor Don Zenon Trudeau had obtained was confirmed, that the British had established a fort among the Mandan tribe. In this matter, Colonel Howard was admonished to proceed with the greatest secrecy, securing all the information he could from the traders who had gone as far as that tribe. He was to send an expedition strong enough to destroy the same, "as the orders of his majesty on this matter are positive and do not admit of any objection, nor any further delay than is necessary in the selection of the most favorable season for the success of the enterprise."

Carondelet also surmised that the French might attack Canada by way of the St. Lawrence river, and thus arouse a revolution in their favor, which would compel the governor of Canada to give

all his attention and forces to upper Canada. He advised Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Howard to try beforehand to secure information as to the force and situation of the British posts, and also of the disposition of the principal inhabitants of "Michelimakinak" and to aid this post in case of a revolution in lower Canada in favor of France. This would put upper Louisiana entirely in safety from the British during this war. Since the correspondence of the inhabitants of St. Louis with those of "Michelimakinak" is very lively, he suggested that there ought not to be much difficulty in forming secret plots with them. Weapons, ammunitions, and even support with an expedition can be promised them in case the English governor should withdraw the army from lower Canada in order to fight the French in upper Canada. The men to be used in any of these expeditions would not exceed two hundred, divided between the regular troops and the militia. It was also to be understood that not over forty men could be spared for the artillery, provided, in this expedition, some light batteries could be used with effect on the savages. From the militia might be selected as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous for each expedition, promising them a part of the booty, providing a large one was secured, and the same promise was to be given to those who would go with the expedition as volunteers, and without pay. The rest were to have the usual pay while under service, with daily rations. The principal object in strengthening the St. Louis garrison was to be in a better position to annoy the British and ruin their trade in the Spanish territory on the upper Missouri river.

Lieutenant-Governor Don Zenon Trudeau was not to be superseded in civil matters, because the inhabitants were greatly attached to him, and Don Carlos Howard was instructed to treat him with kindness and trust, so that the inhabitants would gladly execute his military orders. Concerning the merits of the several officers under him, Carondelet said that Lieutenant Don Josè de Ville de Gontin had a firm character, and could be trusted with the command of an expedition requiring courage and activity, for he would look after the comfort of the detachment, but that the second lieutenant, Don Francesco Barras, had only the courage of a grenadier, and that his conduct was not so good. In his opinion, the lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, was fearless, an excellent hunter and untiring, without any military talent, always willing, keeping good

order and discipline in the marine. He was to remain commander of all the king's ships. On the other hand, the second lieutenant, Don Bernardo Molina, was rough, coarse, untiring, courageous, and an excellent man for subduing his inferiors, but his sailors said that he had become addicted to drink since he had been at Les Ecores. Finally, in case the enemy should attack the city of St. Louis with such superior numbers as to deprive the Spanish forces of any hope of a dignified defense, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Howard was to try to destroy all the artillery and ammunitions which could not be embarked, and to withdraw to New Madrid, removing all things from there also, as soon as the enemy approached with much superior force, in such way as to be able to collect at Arkansas Post all those defending upper Louisiana. They were to fortify themselves at that post, to cover the inland settlements on the western side of the Mississippi, and to molest the ships of the enemy who might try to go down the Mississippi and to continue thus until orders are received from the commander-general of the province.³⁸

In December, 1796, Carondelet wrote Don Miguel Jose de Asansa in regard to affairs in upper Louisiana: "I shall with great secrecy and celerity organize in St. Luis de Ilinoia about one hundred and twenty men of the regular troops, one galera, two galeotas, and one gun-boat, with which I purpose to stop the clandestine commerce which the English from Canada carry on upon the Mississippi, from the river of San Pedro to 'San Luis de Ilinoia,' and from that town to the 'Nation Mandana' situated upon the Missouri four hundred leagues above St. Louis: to destroy the fort which they have built upon the river Chato (Platte), and if afterward I can gather at that point some more troops, in event of filling the 160 vacancies in this fixed regiment, or the 2d battalion of the Mexican, whose permanency is indispensable during the war in these provinces, and which I beg your Excellency to supply, I do not doubt of attacking the posts which the English occupy east of the Mississippi as far as Lake Michigan, the destruction of which would cause them a considerable loss, and would ruin the rich commerce in furs which Michelimakinak carries on north of the Missouri. In the event that the French should determine to reduce upper Canada, I will also undertake to form and maintain an understanding with the inhabitants of lower Canada, by means of which we may be able to stir up

³⁸ Instruction of Carondelet to Col. Howard, dated November 26, 1795.

an insurrection among those who are yet generally inclined to France, which would facilitate our entry as auxiliaries, and would make a diversion very favorable to the French. By means of these steps, the execution of which I entrust to the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fixed Regiment, Don Carlos Howard, an officer of much merit, military talent and prudence, I would succeed not only in quieting and securing 'San Luis de Illinoá,' but also to destroy the mentioned fort upon the river Chato, the clandestine commerce of the English, and stir up the nearest settlements. The town of San Luis, capital of upper Louisiana, being extremely important on account of its situation, for upon its holding depends that of the whole territory as far as Arkansas, a post located two hundred and fifty leagues lower down, it is very possible and even probable that the English would attempt its conquest. This, in the position in which that post is, would cost no more than to present themselves before it with six hundred men, since all its defense consists in a little fort of pallisades, garrisoned by twenty-eight men. In consequence, I have decided to place the town, at very little cost, in a regular condition of defense, availing myself of a little river of which the waters will supply a considerable overflow around the same. I will cause the stream to flow backwards by means of a dam, and will erect at its extremities two redoubts of earth and fascines, defended by some pieces (of artillery): these will keep up a cross fire with the fort which is situated in the center, on a commanding eminence, so that the enemy cannot bring up artillery without the utmost difficulty.³⁹ It is evident that San Luis with the detachment of regular troops which it will have, and with some five companies of excellent militia besides which can be raised there, will be capable of a regular defense against the small forces that can attack it."⁴⁰

In such an emergency Carondelet also placed great reliance on Don Pedro Chouteau, who, he says, could bring 500 picked savages to the defense of St. Louis, and on Don Louis Lorimier, who could bring "about 200 Chaouanous and Abenakis."⁴¹

Carondelet, in 1794, to protect the trade on the upper Missouri to the point where the English traders of Montreal and Hudson's

³⁹ This refers to the Petit Rivière (Mill Creek) where Chouteau's Pond afterward was and the great St. Louis railroads yards now are.

⁴⁰ Letter of Carondelet to Asansa, dated December 1, 1796.

⁴¹ General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Letter of Carondelet to Godoy.

Bay had penetrated, encouraged Clamorgan and others of St. Louis to organize a Spanish Commercial Company for trade on the Missouri river, and granted the company the exclusive traffic for ten years with all the Indian nations on the upper Missouri. In addition, he offered a premium of "two thousand dollars to the first person who should reach the Southern Sea," beyond the sources of the Missouri, and the attestation by the Russian commandants, who were then known to have made a settlement above California, Carondelet says, "will be the most authentic proof that can be produced" that the discovery of a route to the Pacific has been made.⁴² Don Andreas Todd, a "young and robust Irishman," to whom Carondelet, in order to exclude the traders of Montreal, granted the exclusive trade of all the upper Mississippi, afterward became interested in this company. Todd, it seems, was at first a trader at "Michelimakinak," and from there sent goods to the Spanish territory, engaging in contraband trade. But his goods were seized on the Missouri and sold for something like \$2,860, and, endeavoring to secure restoration of his goods or the proceeds thereof, he came into relations with the Spanish officials and at length secured the exclusive trading privilege on the upper Mississippi. For this he paid a duty of six per cent, provided he should "establish himself in Louisiana," and, in order "to renew" his zeal, it was also ordered to return one third of the proceeds of the goods belonging to him which had been seized and taken by order of Lieutenant-Governor Zenon Trudeau. Todd entered on this trade with great vigor, caused great quantities of goods needed in the trade to be shipped from New Orleans up the river, sending furs south for export. It was also his plan to enlist young men in Canada for his company, and at the end of their enlistment it was supposed that they would remain in the Spanish settlements, and thus an increase of the population would be secured. The superior character of the goods taken into the Indian country on the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri by the English traders greatly aided their trade, and it was with the hope that Todd would be able to supersede them that Carondelet granted him the exclusive trade of this territory.

⁴² A discovery of a route to the Pacific then seems to have greatly occupied the minds of the Spanish officials of Louisiana, and Trudeau in a letter to Carondelet says that an old man who had gone to the sources of "the Misuri," at a distance from it had seen "a large river whose current flows toward the west."—General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Letter of Trudeau to Carondelet, dated May 31, 1794.

Two years afterward, in 1796, while Todd was at New Orleans arranging his accounts with his correspondents there, and giving orders for the shipments necessary for his traffic, he was attacked by yellow fever before he was in town fifteen days, and died within five days. His death was a mortal blow to the Spanish Company, to which he had advanced some eighty thousand dollars in goods adapted to the Indian trade. This company was authorized to erect forts, to arm one hundred men, all to be under orders of the governor of Louisiana, and for this service it was to receive ten thousand dollars annually with which to pay the men enlisted to protect the forts and country on the Missouri. But when, in December, 1796, Clamorgan, director of the company, requested payment of this sum, Morales in the year following refused to pay, suggesting various objections, and the amount never was paid.

To make Louisiana independent of the supply of American flour shipped down the Ohio, Carondelet, in 1793, entered into a contract with Don Juan Baptiste Tardiveau and Don Pedro Audrain "to purchase annually from them six thousand barrels of flour and the necessary biscuit," advancing the firm nine thousand dollars to build mills at New Madrid and Ste. Genevieve. The firm also undertook to bring at once about one hundred French families from Gallipolis into upper Louisiana. To promote this emigration Carondelet also advanced the sum of \$2,500. The French royalists settled at Gallipolis, he says, in a private letter to Gardoqui, were much dissatisfied; they had been disappointed, for this settlement would have been very flourishing if the United States had afforded "all the protection which those settlers expected from the brilliant offers with which they were hallucinated," that only those who had embarked considerable sums of money there remained. He says that the poorest settlers had already abandoned the country, for they were tired of the government, the deceits and selfish conduct "of their neighbors the Americans," and disgusted at the same time with the difference of language, religion and customs, and that, having heard of the advantages of Louisiana, they had sent DeLassus as a representative to reconnoiter the country. He thought that if this emigration could be turned into Louisiana, it would "form an epoch in the annals of the province and of western America," counteracting the increasing settlements of the Americans in the west part of the United States. The mills to be erected would give a market to the

grain which these new settlers would raise, and as soon as they were in operation they would provide lower Louisiana and the capital, Havana, and the islands of the Gulf, with flour and biscuit "of superior quality and at a very low price."⁴³

Trudeau remained lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana until 1799, when Don Carlos de Lassus was transferred to St. Louis from New Madrid. Shortly before he was superseded, Trudeau wrote that the only possible means of increasing the population of the colony was from the United States, which "alone can supply a great number of families. The voyage from Nueva Orleans is too great and costly — Canada also needs population." His hope, therefore, was to attract the French and German colonists of the United States and form a settlement near the mouth of the Ohio. The Americans who have settled in the past year "have behaved well," he reports. During the administration of Trudeau the regular garrison of St. Louis never exceeded fifty men.⁴⁴

In 1799 the loyal "vassals" of upper Louisiana were asked to make a patriotic contribution to aid Spain in the war she was then prosecuting. Several thousand dollars were contributed by the people. Nouvelle Bourbon, no doubt owing to the energetic efforts of De Luziere, contributed five hundred and sixty-five and a half piastres; the Indians even sent two deputies to Nouvelle Bourbon, one called Le Corbeau (i. e., Crow) and the other Le Grande Considere (i. e., the Great One) to tender the proceeds in furs of a special hunt — Sieur Hypolite Bolon, the interpreter for the "savage tribes of this canton," having advised these Indians of the necessities "of their good and respectable father, the king of Spain." This offer was accepted with due ceremony, and "a procès-verbal drawn up" signed by said Bolon and also Sieur Louis Tonnelien and Camille de Lassus as witnesses. In looking over these contributors we find that Juan Trezay contributes two months' pay, and incidentally learn that he holds the office of "postman," presumably the only "postman" at that time in all this region. The military men of Louisiana contributed also: thus Santiago St. Vrain de Lassus gave forty dollars, Santiago Mackay, "captain of the Costa," fifty pesos

⁴³ See General Archives of Indies, Seville. Full correspondence and contracts. Estante 86. Cajon 7. Legajo 16.

⁴⁴ Trudeau's Report. General Archives of the Indies, Seville, dated January 15, 1798.

fuertes from his future pay, Eugenio Alvarez the same amount, and Nicholas Le Compte, gunsmith among the Indians, five pesos from his future pay. The people of St. Louis contributed seven hundred and sixty-two piastres to this fund.⁴⁵

At that time the Spaniards greatly feared that the Americans would seize St. Louis and New Madrid, a large American force having been concentrated on the frontiers of Louisiana. Accordingly DeLassus gave Captain McCoy, in command of the galiot "La Activa" at New Madrid, instructions to report in detail the number of United States troops which "passed down the river," also what to do in "case he should hear of a rupture between the United States and Spain," an event which seems to have been considered highly probable by the Spanish authorities. The formation of new settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi was also greatly favored by Caso-Calva, "to oppose the continual projects of the Americans."⁴⁶

In 1800 DeLassus advised the governor-general of Louisiana of a rumor prevailing that the English were organizing an expedition in Canada with the Indians under Langlade to attack upper Louisiana. To resist such an invasion, DeLassus made every preparation. In St. Louis, especially, DeLassus writes, the people made ready to resist this English attack, and great reliance was placed at New Orleans in the "valor of the lieutenant-governor, seven hundred and eighty-six good militiamen, and the many Indians who can be mustered in the eleven villages under his command."

On the upper Missouri river, where the Spanish Commercial Company then enjoyed the exclusive trade, a number of traders of St. Louis in 1799, anxious to enjoy also the privileges of that trade, but having acquired no shares in the company, presented a memorial to the governor-general, asking that this monopoly might be abrogated. They argued that "the trade in peltries, the sole and only resource which for a long time has supported the commerce of this country, being forbidden to the greater part of the citizens, must necessarily involve the ruin of the merchants, who cannot hope to make a return to the metropolis, since they are deprived of the only commodity which they could introduce there."⁴⁷ This monopoly,

⁴⁵ Letter of DeLassus to De Lemos, dated September 18, 1799 — containing list of contributors.

⁴⁶ Letter dated January 3, 1799, to the Marquis de Caso-Calva from Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

⁴⁷ This memorial was signed by Manuel Lisa, Charles Sanguinet, Gregoire

the memorialists say, has greatly diminished the fur trade and paralyzed commerce, and the petitioners urge that if this fur trade were left free there would be an abundance of business and a greater consumption of merchandise. Finally, they pray that this trade monopoly be abolished, and "general freedom of commerce" restored. In a caustic reply the petitioners are reminded that this company, from the shares of which they were not excluded, has suffered losses on the upper Missouri every year; that four complete expeditions of the company were plundered by the Indians at the instigation of the English, and that if the company should cease its operations the English would soon overrun the country again, a disaster from which the efforts of the company had delivered them; that in 1796 *Sieur Evans*, as agent of the company, "while on his expedition to find the Western Sea," caused the English to lower their flag among the "Mandanes," and expelled them from a fort they had built with the aid of the savage tribes. For these reasons the exclusive trade privilege of this fur company, on the upper Missouri, was not abrogated by the Spanish authorities.⁴⁸

But the Spanish dominion in Louisiana now rapidly drew to a close. In 1801 rumors of the cession of the country to France began to circulate in the province. These rumors evidently reached St. Louis, and *DeLassus*, in anticipation of the transfer of the country, which he no doubt knew was about to take place, made numerous and large land grants, many of which were afterward questioned and contested. The burning of the house and murder of *David Trotter*, a settler of the New Madrid district, by five *Mascoux* Indians also furnished opportunity to call out the military forces of

Sarpy, *G. F. Robideaux*, *Patrick Lee*, *F. M. Benoist*, *Andre L'Andreville*, *Jacinto Egliz*, *Antoine Reilhe*, *J. Montan*, *Emilio Yosti*, *Guillaume Herbert dit Carbonneau de Caspiche*, *Joseph Marie*, *Antoine Reynal*, *Francois Valois*, *Gabriel Proulx*, *G. R. Spencer*, *Mackey Wherry*, *W. La Croix*, — *Prieur*, *J. Baptiste Monier*, *Antoine Janis*.

⁴⁸ General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Papers Coming from Cuba. See also report of *Trudeau*, January, 1799, General Archives of the Indies, Seville. The first expedition was sent out under *Juan Bautista Trudeau* in 1794, the year in which the company was formed. He was forced to return by the *Sioux*, and wintered among the *Poncas*, who consumed most of his goods; in the spring following went up as far as the *Platte*, where he awaited reinforcements and more goods, but this second expedition was mismanaged. In 1795 the company sent out *Mackay* with more goods, but his supply, too, was mostly absorbed by presents. It was while he was waiting for reinforcements and goods that he sent *Evans* up the river when he took possession of a fort built by the English merchants of Montreal.

upper Louisiana during the last days of the Spanish domination. These Indians had been captured by a detachment of the Cape Girardeau militia, and were imprisoned at New Madrid awaiting punishment. Evidently with a view of ascertaining the efficiency of the military establishment of the upper country, the governor-general ordered this expedition organized ostensibly to punish these Indians. Accordingly, the militia companies of Ste. Genevieve, Platin creek, New Bourbon, and Cape Girardeau, as well as the three companies of New Madrid, were ordered out with great formality in November, 1802. This warlike display was the great event of the day. Almost daily, special couriers were sent from St. Louis to the different settlements with instructions. Lists of all persons in each settlement, of military age, and who possessed arms and horses, were made out and transmitted to the lieutenant-governor. All communications were written with great precision, and invariably closed with the phrase, "God have you in his holy keeping," in true Spanish manner. Under command of Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus, the expedition started, at first composed of the Ste. Genevieve and New Bourbon companies, on the march to New Madrid December 13th, arriving at Cape Girardeau December 17th, where it was joined by the Cape Girardeau company. On the 20th, the force arrived at New Madrid, where the infantry and cavalry companies of the post joined it. Don Francois Vallè was second in command of the expedition. Don Louis Lorimier was the captain of the Cape Girardeau company; Don Joseph Pratte, captain of the Ste. Genevieve company; Don Francois Vallè, Jr., captain of the Platin company; Don Camille DeLassus, captain of the New Bourbon company and aid-de-camp, and Don William Strader, standard-bearer. Every movement of this expedition was directed with as much punctiliousness as if an army corps was on the march. At a council held at New Madrid under order of the governor-general of Louisiana, to try these prisoners, one of these five Indians, Tewanayé, was duly sentenced to be executed, and this with the consent and approval and in the presence of the principal chiefs of his band, Agypousetchy and Kaskaloua. Every step was taken with great care. After the council, it was ordered that the shackles of Tewanayé be taken off by the blacksmith, and that the four other prisoners should be placed on a gallery to witness the execution; that the adjutant should "place himself at the head of the regiment of Louisiana," and march opposite the stand, where the sentence

should be read to Tewanayé by "Don Pierre Antoine Laforge, adjutant of the militia of this post, public writer, and appointed in that capacity for the instruction of the said prisoner;" that the sentence should be interpreted to him by the interpreter, and that the prisoner should be conducted to the place appointed, and shot to death by the detail from the garrison selected for that purpose. The other four prisoners were then ordered with due ceremony to have their shackles removed, and "to be restored to the chief, Agypousetchy of the Mascoux nation."⁴⁹ And this sentence, DeLassus afterward reported to Governor Stoddard, was "put in execution," with the consent of the Indians, "without bitterness," the Indian chiefs admitting "in full council that it was but an act of well merited justice." On January 6, 1803, the militia began their march home, but before DeLassus departed from New Madrid, he made provision for the better organization of the militia of that post, ordering that this militia "innovation or not," should assemble on Sunday, once every fifteen days, to be drilled; that a failure to attend should be punished with eight days' imprisonment, and that for the second offense, this punishment should be doubled, and if such a militiaman should again be derelict it was ordered that the culprit should be required "to settle up his affairs within a reasonable time and leave the country." The commandant of New Madrid was also required to administer the oath of allegiance to all new-comers before making them a concession of land. In case of alarm of an attack, the New Madrid cavalry was expected to patrol the country, and if it seemed that a premeditated irruption was made, and the enemy appeared in great numbers, a special dispatch, should be sent to Don Louis Lorimier for reinforcements. DeLassus criticized the manner in which the batteries were arranged in Fort Celeste, and ordered the cannon to be so placed as "to be enabled to fire in case of necessity on the four fronts." From all this, it is quite apparent that this military demonstration was not made simply to punish the Indians, but to more effectually organize the military forces of upper Louisiana, so as to be prepared to resist an invasion of the country.

Yet a few months, and the standard of Spain will be lowered forever in the Louisianas.

⁴⁹ Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, p. 328, for the full report.

CHAPTER XI.

Ste. Genevieve, First permanent Settlement, Located in "Big Common Field"
 —Village probably founded about 1730—Village known as "Misere"
 —Report to Virginia in 1742 refers to village—Rocheblave Commandant
 in 1766—Vallé first Spanish Commandant—Various sales and judicial
 proceedings—Salt works on the Saline—First Notaries—Cartabona second
 Spanish Commandant—Succeeded by Henry Peyroux de la Coudreniere,
 a man of literary attainments—Succeeded by Don Francesco Vallé, fils,
 and he by Jean Baptiste Vallé—Caving of river bank in front of old village
 in 1780—New town located at its present site—The great overflow of 1785
 —Louis Viviat—The estate of Louis Lambert dit Lafleur—First settlers of
 the new town—Immigration of French inhabitants after the conquest of
 Illinois by Clark—Effort of Spanish officials to attract such settlers—The
 village a military post during the Spanish government—Story of a "Graft"
 in Spanish Times—Business and Industries of the inhabitants—Austin in
 Ste. Genevieve in 1797—Indian village near town—Extent of jurisdiction
 of the Commandant of Ste. Genevieve—Foundation of Nouvelle Bourbon
 —De Luziere Commandant and extent of his jurisdiction—History of De
 Luziere—Settlers of Nouvelle Bourbon—Mine à Breton discovered by
 Azor—History of Azor—Settlers at Mine à Breton—Grant of Moses Austin
 at Mine à Breton—Story of Moses Austin's immigration to Upper Louisiana
 —De Selle Syndic at Mine à Breton—Americans settle Bellevue Valley in
 1798—Settlements on "Big River"—The Murphy settlement—The Cook
 settlement—Settlement of St. Michael, now Fredericktown—First settlers
 at "Old Mine"—Settlements on the Joachin and the Patten and names of
 settlers—Settlements in Bois Brule Bottom—Names of settlers—Settlements
 on the St. Cosme, the Aux Vasse, the Brazeau and Establishment Creeks
 and at other points—Various mines located—The Fenwick Settlement on
 Apple Creek.

The old village of Ste. Genevieve — "le vieux village de Ste. Genevieve" — was the first permanent settlement in upper Louisiana. This old village was situated some three miles below the present site of Ste. Genevieve, in what is known as the "Big Common Field" (le grand champ), near the Mississippi. The place where the village stood has long since been washed away by the restless river. What is known as the "Ste. Genevieve Common Field" or "Big Field," antedated, undoubtedly, the village. From a grant of Chevalier Makarty, Commandant of Fort de Chartres in 1752, to one Francois Rivard, it appears that one Chaponga¹ then cultivated a part of

¹ Jean Baptiste Gouier dit Champagne in 1742 in the parish of Ste. Anne, adjacent to Fort de Chartres. Residents in the Big Field of Ste. Genevieve were then doubtless also considered as living within the parish of Ste. Anne, and hence it is probable that this Chaponga may be this Jean Baptiste Gouier dit Champagne. He was a blacksmith.

what is now the "Big Field," and that this particular land must have been near the village is also evident from the fact that the petition of Rivard sets out that in case the land he asks for is granted him he will set aside a portion of it for a church at the place indicated by Mons. Saucier. In the same year, Toussaint Geneaux (Hunaud) also prays Mons. Benoist de St. Claire, captain of the marines at Kaskaskia, to make him a grant near his brother above "the Saline" and bordering on one side on Dorlac's land, evidently the name of another early settler and cultivator of the "Big Field."²

In 1881 an old stone well, standing like a chimney or tower, the last vestige of the old village, was discovered accidentally amid trees and brush, at a point where the river bank had recently caved. On one of the stones at the top of this well were found, distinctly cut, the figures "1732."³ It is certain that when this well was dug and walled up this place was on the outskirts of the old village, and that the village itself must have been established before the date carved on this stone. But no precise data are now available, and no old records of that period exist, the village of Ste. Genevieve at that early date being under the jurisdiction of the French officers residing either at Fort de Chartres or at Kaskaskia. In that peaceful time the settlers had no controversies of sufficient importance to be permanently embodied in either the judicial or military records. Trudeau, however, says in his report of 1798 that the old village was settled "for more than sixty years,"⁴ thus giving confirming evidence that the village was settled at least as early as 1732. Pittman, who wrote in 1767, says "the first settlers of this village (Ste. Genevieve) removed about 28 years ago from Cascasquias."⁵

In 1825 one Julien Ratte dit Labriere,⁶ under oath, said that he was 56 years old, that he was born in the old village, and that when he was a boy he knew a very old man living at the old village who

² See Guibourd Papers, Missouri Historical Society Archives, for copies of these petitions.

³ History of Southeast Missouri, p. 241.

⁴ Archives of the Indies, Seville. Trudeau's Report of January 15, 1798, in papers from Cuba.

⁵ Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, p. 95.

⁶ Born in old Ste. Genevieve in 1769, was on the Gabourie in 1798, and on the headwaters of the Saline he secured a concession at a place called "La Rocher à Casetourneau" for a "vacherie," but never lived there. He is the Labriere who was one of the principal witnesses before Theodore Hunt, Recorder of land titles, for the settlers and claimants of the village of Ste. Genevieve; American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 761.

was then reputed the first settler there, and that his name was Baptiste La Rose (or Jean Baptiste); but Labriere's statement really adds no certainty as to the date when the old village was established, although he rescues the name of the first settler from oblivion. According to Labriere's first recollection when a boy, there were fifty or sixty cabins in the old village, all built after La Rose settled there. La Rose afterward moved to the new village, and died at the age of one hundred and three years.⁷

A distinct reference to a French settlement on the west side of the Mississippi, in 1742, is made in a report to the government of Virginia, cited in a note of a translation of DuPratz, stating that John Howard, Sallee, and others who were sent from Virginia to view the countries on the Mississippi were made prisoners by the French, "who came from a settlement they had on an island in the Mississippi a little above the Ohio, where they made salt, lead, and went from there to New Orleans in a fleet of boats and canoes guarded by a large armed schooner."⁸

From the Catholic church register of Ste. Genevieve it appears that during the French dominion in 1759 a fort known as Fort Joachim was located at the old village. Andrew De Guire was then captain of the militia, succeeding Joseph Baron whose widow he married in that year. His son Jean Baptiste De Guire married her daughter Cecile Baron. This Jean Baptiste died in 1781.

The oldest document relating to the old village is a bill of sale for a house and lot, made by Laurent Gabourie, in December, 1754, and whereby he transferred this property to Jean Baptiste St. Jeme (Beauvais). This paper several years ago was in the possession of Mrs. Menard, since deceased,⁹ but who now has it I have not been able to ascertain. Incidentally this document makes it certain that the old village was well established at that time, and settled for some time anterior. Datchurut and Viviat were then merchant traders in the old village, and perhaps there were others.¹⁰

⁷ 2 Hunt's Minutes, p. 206, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

⁸ History of Louisiana, Du Pratz, vol. i., p. 105 (London Edition, 1763).

⁹ History of Southeast Missouri, p. 241.

¹⁰ Among other residents of the old village, in 1772, were Antonio Aubouchon, Alexandre Deselle, (Duclos) died in 1775, Nicolas Boyer, Francesco Lalumandiere, Jean Baptiste Lasource, Andres De Guire, Francesco Ronyre, (Rompre) Esteban Lalande, Luis Trudeauu, Enrique Carpentier, Francesco Joyane, (Janis),

In 1766, Phillip Rocheblave was commandant of the post of Ste. Genevieve, and remained in command until the Spanish authorities assumed jurisdiction in 1769,¹¹ when he was removed by order of O'Reilly. At this time the village had a company of militia which was commanded by a Mons. Valet (Vallè).¹² Rui, in 1769, writes Governor O'Reilly that the town was composed of fifty-five or sixty citizens, and "located on the shore of the Mississippi"¹³; and Piernas says that the site of the village, which he says was then known as "Misera," is "flat and swampy, especially during the inundation of the river," but that it is surrounded by "extensive fields and meadows suitable for all kinds of crops." Piernas estimated the population at six hundred. The houses were separated and scattered, and hence the village appeared larger than it really was.¹⁴ For a time after the treaty of 1762, Joseph Labusciere,¹⁵ "Attorney for the vacant

Luis Potier, Monsieur Ratte, Jos. Luise, Pedro Aubouchon, Juan Portier, Juan Baptiste Lalande, Hypolite Robert, Juan B. Pratte, Miguel Placit, Luis Bolduc, Auguste Chatal, Andres Vian, Juan B. Laroche, Pedro Roy, and others, whose names are, however, so misspelled in the Spanish report that I cannot identify them.—Report of Piernas, dated January 4, 1773, in General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

¹¹ Philip de Rocheblave was in command at Kaskaskia when General George Rogers Clark invaded Illinois, and conquered the Northwest; sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg, Virginia, where he broke his parol and fled to New York; he was a member of the noble Canadian family, Rocheblave de Rastel, *1 Sulte's Canadien-Francais*, p. 44. After the transfer of upper Louisiana to Spain, he seems to have returned to Kaskaskia; entered the British service and attained the rank of colonel in the British army. The mother of Rocheblave was Lady Diana Francoise Elizabeth de Dillon; his father's name was Jean Joseph de Rastel, lord of Rocheblave and Savournon. He was a descendant of Raimond du Rastel, seized of the territory of Rocheblave, for which he did homage in 1274. On May 22, 1760, Rocheblave was ordered by Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers, major commanding the province of Illinois, to take two boats to Fort Massiac (Massac) with fifty soldiers and supplies, superseding Lieutenant de Clouet at Massiac; and Major De Villiers especially orders "to have prayers offered up every evening and morning, and to put a check upon the blasphemies and oaths to which the soliders are only too much addicted." In 1773 Father Meurin, then parish priest at Ste. Genevieve, baptised his infant daughter, Rosalie, and Father Hilaire a son in 1774 named Henri. Evidently he remained a resident at least until then.

¹² Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, p. 95.

¹³ General Archives of the Indies — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, etc.

¹⁴ Letter of Pedro Piernas to Governor Count O'Reilly, dated October 31, 1769.

¹⁵ Joseph Labusciere was the successor of Jean Baptiste Bertlor Barrois at Fort de Chartres; he came from Canada; married Catherine Vifvarenne at the village St. Phillipe; was king's attorney, notary and greffier there; one of the first to move to the west side on the cession of the eastern Illinois country to England; first in Ste. Genevieve, and in St. Louis in 1766. This Joseph

localities in the Royal jurisdiction of Illinois," resided in Ste. Genevieve, but afterward removed to St. Louis. As such attorney, Labusciere on March 15, 1766, advised Joseph D'Inglebert Des Bruisseau Lefebvre, judge of this same jurisdiction, and residing in St. Louis, that the Indians had captured one Cazeau when coming up the Mississippi from New Orleans, and that Cazeau had a lot of merchandise on board a boat belonging to Jean Louis Lambert dit Lafleur, a prominent merchant at Ste. Genevieve, and that the rights of Cazeau ought to be protected. On this official notice Judge D'Inglebert Des Bruisseau at once departed to Ste. Genevieve, which, in the legal proceedings resulting from this notice, was stated to be twenty-one leagues (sixty-three miles) distant from St. Louis, accompanied by Labusciere and Louis Cabaziere, the notary and greffier of Ste. Genevieve, who appears to have gone to St. Louis to give the notice to the judge. On arrival they went to the house of Lambert, and summoned him to show "the effects, trunks and bales belonging to Cazeau," which Lambert promptly did, showing that Du Breuil, Du Rieu and Larralde (Duralde) had already attached seals to same. Then these seals were thereupon removed in the presence of Rocheblave, the commandant, Lambert, Datchurut, Vallè, Blondeau, Leclerc, and Fagot, all at that time residents and merchants of Ste. Genevieve. The goods were then carefully examined and inventoried, and the judge submitted to the merchants there assembled what it was best to do with the merchandise and things belonging to Cazeau, and upon their advice the goods were placed in custody of Lambert, he to keep the same without charge, but two negroes named Sampson and La Rose, who had also come up on the boat in charge of Lambert, were turned over to M.

Labusciere, in June, 1782, returned to Cahokia and died there April 29th 1791, but it is supposed by Billon that he died at New Madrid. There was a Joseph Labusciere in New Madrid in 1803, who was "21 years old and upwards." American State Papers, ii Public Lands, p. 577, and may have been a son or relative.—Billon's Annals, vol. i., p. 29. Name also spelled Labuxierre and Labussiere. The St. Ann Church records show that a Jos. de La Buxiere was the son of Charles Leonard de La Buxiere, of the diocese Limoges, France. Querre: Possibly name was LaBuissoniere, and a relative or descendant of Alphonse de Buissoniere, who succeeded d'Artaguiette as commandant of Fort de Chartres in 1739. It has been well observed that the orthography of the French family names of the 18th century, as spelled in America, present great difficulties. Thus the name of the Ordonnateurs d'Auberville was written "Daubreville" and the name of "Bobé des Closiaux" "Bobbe des Clozieau." This Des Closiaux was ordonnateur at De Chartres in 1760.—Villiers du Terrage's *Les Dernières Années*, p. 453.

Fagot, to be sent to M. Vaugins at New Orleans.¹⁶ What ultimately became of the goods of Cazeau is not recorded, nor whether he even escaped Indian captivity, but from these proceedings we incidentally learn who were the early merchants of Ste. Genevieve and the manner in which public business of this character was then transacted.

The first marriage contract of which we have any record in this village was made May 19, 1766, between Pierre Roy and Jeanette Lalond. At that time it seems M. Robinette also acted as a notary and greffier. In the same year a second land sale, being a conveyance by Pierre Aritfone to Henri Charpentier, was duly made and entered in record by this notary. The next conveyance was by Joseph Ledon to LeFebvre du Chouquette; another sale was made by Guillaume de Rousèlle to Francois Vallè, and finally the ancient salt works on the Saline with ten negroes, cattle, kettles, etc., were sold by Jean La Grange to Daniel Blouin. This Blouin was a merchant at Kaskaskia, but also operated largely in lead at Mine La Motte, and was a son-in-law of Joseph Chauvin dit Charleville.¹⁷ In 1767 he again sold these salt works to Jean Datchurut, and by his deed conveyed six negroes, one half interest in some negro cabins, parcels of land he had acquired from La Rose, Tossin and Moreau, some mineral, two hundred and eighty-four pigs of lead owned in partnership with M. Beauvais, ten horses and necessary tools, a house and lot in Ste. Genevieve acquired from the minors of one Linn, fifty pigs of lead at the Salines, two leaden kettles for making salt, a pump shed, one hundred and fifty cedar stakes, all of which property was sold to Datchurut for forty-nine thousand livres¹⁸ "in genuine money," not furs, which at that time passed as currency, delivering possession June 17, 1769, all except a piece of ground in dispute between Blouin and one Catalan.

¹⁶ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. i., p. 34.

¹⁷ His son, Charles Charleville, was captain of the French company, with Clark at Vincennes. Two sons of Charles Charleville, named Jean Baptiste and Charles, afterward removed to St. Genevieve. St. Gem says that Charleville was a son of Joseph Chauvin, Marquis de Charleville, who died at Kaskaskia in 1778. Charles Charleville married Marie Louisa Lionval (or Lionnois) on June 1, 1776. A Louis Chauvin lived in Ste. Genevieve at a very early day. His son, Pierre, married there in 1773. A Françoise Chauvin dit Charleville was a resident in 1782, and a Françoise Chauvin dit Joyeuse died there in 1781. He was also a native of Kaskaskia.

¹⁸ A "livre," name of an old French coin, equal or of the value of 18½ cents of our money; unit of value under the French monarchy.

This early Ste. Genevieve conveyance is recorded in the archives of St. Louis,¹⁹ and gives a tolerably good idea of the value of property at that time. In 1769 we also have a record of a sale of a negro for 1,250 livres, by Isidore Peltier, another early inhabitant of Ste. Genevieve, to Louis Blouin, probably a relative of Daniel Blouin.

A notarial register's office was established in 1766 at Ste. Genevieve. Louis Cabaziere was the first notary and greffier. Both under the French and Spanish law, a notary is a much more important officer than under our law. Under the civil law, the notary is a judicial officer, and his acts have the force and effect of judgments in many cases. In business transactions requiring the execution of a written contract, for instance where persons associate in a partnership, or make loans, or engage to render service for a certain period, or where estates of deceased persons are taken possession of or settled, or inventories taken, or public sales made, or marriage contracts, or last wills and testaments made, and in short, almost every transaction of life needing care and certainty, the services of a notary were required, and notaries were enjoined to keep a register or to record such instruments so executed before them. By a proclamation of Unzaga of November 7, 1770, it was expressly ordered, in order to prevent "frauds and malpractices," that "no person, whatever be his or her rank or condition, shall henceforth sell, alienate, buy or accept as a donation or otherwise, any negroes, plantations, houses and any kind of seacraft, except by a deed executed by a notary public."²⁰ Cabaziere, it appears, was succeeded by Robinette as notary and greffier, and at a later date Charles Augustin Fremon de Lauriere²¹ for a number of years was notary and greffier of the village.

From an entry in Cabaziere's notarial record, it interests us to find

¹⁹ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 41.

²⁰ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, p. 631, appendix.

²¹ This De Lauriere, Lord du Bouffay and des Croix, was born near Nantes, France, and driven by the storms of the French Revolution to Louisiana. He was a notary and greffier until 1802, when he gave up the position to devote himself to the manufacture of salt. In 1799, married a daughter of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil; the family adopted the name of "Fremon." He was a slave owner, and for a time acted as deputy surveyor; had a grant on the Mississippi, and in 1801, with Louis Le Beaume, operated salt works at a place on Salt river, called "La Saline Ensanglantée" (The Bloody Saline); had four or five furnaces, and De Lassus says, brought samples of salt to St. Louis, which were superior to any made in other salines. Albert Tisson testified the firm lost a great many boats on the Mississippi and on Salt river, and were in great danger from Indians, being obliged to fortify themselves, for which purpose they had a cannon.

that a controversy involving the right to dig lead at Mine La Motte arose as early as 1770. This record shows that one Chatal states that he never dug lead at Mine La Motte, and denies that he and his associate, Gaignon, ever importuned the commandant with an application to prospect for lead there. It further appears that one Menager and Fomblon certify that one Picard did not work this mine. All of which statements are duly certified by the notary and duly registered by him for the protection of the owners of the mines. Evidently Mine La Motte even then was a subject of anxious interest to parties claiming the same.

Another small international incident which occurred in the early history of Ste. Genevieve perhaps deserves notice here, and relates to a flat-boat of which one Slater was captain. He had contracted to take Andrew McDonald, Aaron Bennett, Terrence Mooney, Andrew Coil and Patrick Shone down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, but when he came to the mouth of the Ohio, instead of going up the Mississippi, kept on going south to the mouth of the St. Francois, fraudulently telling his passengers that they were still on the Ohio, intending to take his boat and passengers to Natchez. At the mouth of the St. Francois the passengers met a Spanish pirogue and were advised where they were, and then and there, on account of his treachery, these five passengers with true American spirit took the law into their own hands, seized the boat in the name of the United States, and taking aboard two Spaniards, Benito and Motard, turned back the boat up the river, intending to land at Kaskaskia, and there deliver the boat to the authorities. Not being familiar with the river, they passed the mouth of the Kaskaskia river and when they came in sight of Ste. Genevieve, Benito and Motard raised the Spanish flag, landed there and the boat then was seized by the commandant, Don Francesco de Cartabona. The Americans went over to Kaskaskia, and made complaint to Colonel Todd, who was in command there. He at once addressed Don Fernando de Leyba, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, stating the facts and demanding that the boat be delivered to the American authorities. De Leyba ordered that the value of the boat be assessed and the money paid over to Colonel Todd. The Spanish appraisers were Francois Lalumandiere and Louis Bolduc, the American appraisers, Thomas Tyler and Daniel Murray, and they met in Ste. Genevieve in 1779 before Don Francesco Vallé, then civil judge at Ste. Genevieve, in the presence of Juan Purzada, sergeant

in the stationary regiment of Louisiana, and ——— Dupre, assessed the value of the boat and thus this small international affair was adjusted. Motard, the Spanish passenger who came up on the boat, probably was the same Joseph Motard who erected the wind mill in St. Louis and died there, eighty years of age, in December, 1802. Benito may have been Benito Vasquez.

But to us the most important incident in the administration of Rocheblave seems, that one Andre Vignon, in 1767, the year after Rocheblave assumed command, appealed a case from his decision to the Supreme Council at New Orleans. This appeal shows that some citizens of Ste. Genevieve had already accumulated property, for evidently Vignon was a man of substance, because it was very expensive then to carry a case from the local commander to the Supreme Council at New Orleans, involving at that time a trip in a canoe or pirogue of a thousand miles down the river and return, and in addition, legal expenses in and about the courts of New Orleans were notoriously great. But such incidents give us a glimpse of the wealth, as well as the independent spirit, of some of the French settlers in these early settlements, and where the government was administered so autocratically.

O'Reilly appointed Vallé first civil and military commandant of Ste. Genevieve. Pittman says that he was "the richest inhabitant of the country of the Illinois," raised great quantities of corn and provisions; was the owner of one hundred negroes, and in addition "hired white people" and "kept them constantly employed."²² Vallé acted as such officer until January, 1778, and then as civil judge until September 23, 1783, when he died at the old village, aged sixty-eight years. Piernas in 1769 reported to O'Reilly that Vallé was "an habitant who abandoned his possessions in the English district" when it was ceded, and that he principally furnished all "the provisions and effects that have been asked for the sustenance of the troops and the other Spanish employees during all the time that they have remained there." At that time he also furnished the supplies to the Indians. We know little of this Don Francesco Vallé; but he seems to have been a man of liberal disposition. During the Revolution he sympathized with the Americans. On October 14, 1780, when Major McCarty, the American officer then in command of Cahokia, on his way down the river in small boats to aid in the relief of Fort

²² Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, pp. 95-6.

Jefferson, stopped at the village, he reports that he received from him a donation of twenty-two loaves of bread for his men. McCarty on this occasion left some of his sick men there, sending word to Kennedy, in charge of the Virginia stores at Kaskaskia, to take care of them. It is also recorded that twenty-two Indians then living near Ste. Genevieve joined McCarty's force as volunteers, going with him down the river, Vallé as commandant making no objection.²³

Vallé was succeeded as military commandant by Don Sylvio Francesco de Cartabona,²⁴ by order of Don Fernando de Leyba, when he came up from New Orleans in 1778, but he did not supersede him as civil judge. Cartabona was a lieutenant in the Spanish service, and stationed at Ste. Genevieve until 1784. In 1780 he went to St. Louis from Ste. Genevieve with a company to assist in the defense of that village.

Shortly after war was declared in 1779 between England and Spain, it was generally rumored that the English intended to take and reduce both "Pancour" and "Misere,"²⁵ as well as Cahokia and Kaskaskia on the east side of the river. Cahokia and St. Louis were attacked, but no attack was made on Ste. Genevieve, no doubt because the attack on St. Louis and Cahokia failed. When after the attack on St. Louis, De Leyba became seriously ill in June, 1780, he sent for Cartabona, to take charge of affairs in St. Louis. De Leyba made his will in his presence as the officer next in rank, and when De Leyba died, Cartabona acted as commandant of St. Louis *ad interim*.

In December, 1783, a case arose before Cartabona as lieutenant and acting judge of Ste. Genevieve, which shows that even at that early day ladies were personally responsible in actions *ex delicto*. It seems that Mrs. Isabel Bissette Vachard, wife of Louis Vachard dit Lardoise, of St. Louis, was complained of by Jean Datchurut, Jean Baptiste Vallé, and Louis Bolduc, who then owned the Saline salt

²³ Draper's Collection of Clark MSS., Wisconsin Historical Library.

²⁴ For some reason not explained, his name is also given as Don Sylvio Francesco de Cartabona de Oro, but he simply signs his name as witness to the will of De Leyba as "Sylvio Francesco de Cartabona." It is said that he took sixty men to St. Louis to aid in its defense, but that when the Indians, led by the English, made the attack on the town, Cartabona could not be seen, and the greater part of his men hid in garrets and concealed themselves, all of which is certainly fictitious, as many other statements palmed off as early history of St. Louis.

²⁵ 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, pp. 150 *et seq.*

works, that she came down to these works with her boat loaded with clothing and dry goods, and traded these off for salt, corn, grain and meal, to the negroes there, causing the slaves at work to steal from their masters and then run off to avoid punishment. The principal witnesses were Jean Baptiste Racine and Alexis Griffard, the latter "boss" of the salt works. In consequence of this complaint the boat was seized and sold in St. Louis, but owing, it is said, to the high standing of Mrs. Vachard there, the plaintiffs relinquished prosecution. The costs in this case amounted to 563 reals, a real being 12½ cents. This is the last proceeding in which the name of Cartabona appears in upper Louisiana.²⁶

Cartabona was succeeded April 20, 1787, by Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere, captain of infantry, who remained in charge of the affairs at Ste. Genevieve for several years. From the order of his

Peyroux de la Coudreniere

appointment, we learn in a general way the extent of the powers exercised by the subordinate commandants of upper Louisiana. The post commandant was empowered to issue passports, but had no authority to issue trading permits, this being a perquisite of the lieutenant-governor. In case they sent a *lancha*, or boat, to New Orleans they were required to give the lieutenant-governor notice of the fact, so that he could send dispatches with it. Peyroux was especially required to be on the outlook for information as to the movements of troops of the United States, and to inform the government promptly. In all matters concerning the political relations with the United States the powers of these officials appear to have been carefully limited. Before the appointment of Peyroux, when Colonel Rogers, stationed at Kaskaskia, demanded from the commandant, Vallé, in 1770, the surrender of two deserters who had taken refuge at Ste. Genevieve, or if he did not wish to do so, to return the uniforms worn by the deserters, Vallé replied that he would return the uniforms in order to

²⁶ In 1772 there was a merchant in St. Louis, an officer also of the garrison, named Antonio X. Joseph de Oro, who may have been related to him. He lived in St. Louis 13 years and rose to the rank of captain and died in Ste. Genevieve in August, 1787. It may also be that "Oro" is the name of a village in Spain, and that both Cartabona and Joseph came from this place.

preserve good relations, but that he could not surrender the deserters without express orders from the lieutenant-governor, Cruzat, and when the matter was submitted to Cruzat he advised Colonel Rogers that he could not decide the matter, and had referred it to his government.²⁷ The post commandants were also expected to preserve tranquillity with the Indians, promote increase in the population, develop agriculture, and authorized to receive at their posts all Catholics who might present themselves, advising the lieutenant-governor and the government in a proper manner. In 1789 Don Manuel Perez, lieutenant-governor, made Peyroux a concession of 7,760 arpens of land. Nouvelle Bourbon was situated near this grant. Peyroux was a man interested in scientific matters. In 1791, on his way to Europe, he met Jefferson while in Philadelphia. That Jefferson must have been impressed by his conversation appears in a letter he wrote him in 1803 from Washington, and in which he makes reference to his acquaintance with him twelve years before, and the pleasure it gives him to renew it.²⁸ After his return from France to Ste. Genevieve, from secret instructions of Carondelet in 1796 to Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Howard, in command of the Spanish forces in upper Louisiana, it appears that he was not then in good repute with the high Spanish officials at New Orleans. Brackenridge says that Peyroux "was a man of no mean literary reputation," and the author of several publications, chiefly geographical, "of considerable merit." In one of his essays he maintained the opinion with much ingenuity that the northern lakes formerly discharged themselves into the Mississippi by the Illinois, as well as by the St. Lawrence. His strongest reason is drawn from the present width of the channel of the Illinois, which appears to have contained once a much larger river, and the appearance of the naked rocks which bound the valley of the Mississippi, below the Illinois, as far down as the mouth of the Ohio, and the immense alluvion which stretches thence to the ocean.²⁹ In another "very ingenious essay," according to Brackenridge, "he ren-

²⁷ Letter of Cruzat, dated October 22, 1780, in General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

²⁸ Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, vol. vii., p. 253.

²⁹ Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 241. He predicts that "at no distant day the labor and ingenuity of man will restore the connection between the lakes and the Mississippi, by means of an artificial canal, thus affording the greatest inland navigation in the world." This now it is proposed shall be done by the general government.

dered it even probable that the ancients had been acquainted with America in very remote antiquity.”³⁰

In 1796 Peyroux³¹ was succeeded by Don Francesco Vallé, fils, as civil and military commandant. Vallé remained commandant until his death, March 6, 1804, about the time Louisiana was transferred to the United States. He was succeeded by his brother, Jean Baptiste Vallé, who was appointed commandant by Governor William H. Harrison, on the transfer of the territory to the United States. The Vallé family, it appears, was always very influential, and high in favor with the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. Jean Baptiste Vallé says that when he was in New Orleans in 1795, Baron de Carondelet, at that time governor-general of Louisiana, asked him to accept land donations for himself and family, and that he told him that he had received grants of land from the sub-delegates, and that Baron Carondelet then said to him, “If you have not enough, ask for more.”³²



J. B. Vallé

Don Francesco Vallé, junior, married Louise Charpentier in 1777, and resided in a one-story frame building with wide galleries near South Gabourie creek, and his residence still stands in the present city of Ste. Genevieve. Carondelet had great confidence in him, and said that he was “deserving of great trust.” He was buried in the old Catholic church of Ste. Genevieve, under his pew.³³ Trudeau, in 1798, said of him: “The personal qualities which this man possesses make him one of

³⁰ Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 181, note.

³¹ In 1788, Donna Margareta Susanne Jouolt, widow of Charles Peyroux, made a will at Ste. Genevieve in which she mentions as her son, Henri M. Peyroux, and this may be the same.

³² American State Papers, v Public Lands, p. 711.

³³ The Vallé family came to the Illinois country from Canada; original name La Vallée, abbreviated to simply “Vallé,” and in 1798, Trudeau says, was “the most numerous and notable family” of Ste. Genevieve. Pierre La Vallée, the ancestor, emigrated from near Rouen, Normandy, to Beauport, near Quebec, Canada, in about 1645. He was a surgeon, and an important and prominent man of Beauport in his day. His wife's name was Marie Blanc. One of his sons, Charles, married Genevieve Marcou, or Marcoux, and one of their

the most to be recommended of that country, for not only is he esteemed by those habitants, but he is their true friend and protector.”³⁴



ORIGINAL VALLÉ HOUSE BUILT 1782 — MODERNIZED

In 1780 the river bank caved very rapidly in front of the old village, and some of the residents began to think of moving, or rather were compelled to think of moving away. In 1784 some of these

sons was Don Francesco Vallé, who married Marianne Billeron, daughter of Leonard Billeron. This Francesco emigrated from Canada to Kaskaskia, and from Kaskaskia to the old village of Ste. Genevieve, where he died in 1783. His

sons were Don Francesco, Junior, intermarried with Marie Charpentier, Jean Baptiste, Charles, and Joseph Vallé, and his daughter, Marie Louise, intermarried with Louis Dubreuil de Villars. Of these sons, Don Francesco, Junior, the eldest, acted as commandant of Ste. Genevieve until his death in 1804, and was succeeded by Jean Baptiste Vallé. The daughters of Don Francesco Vallé, Junior, respectively, married Robert T. Brown, a member of the Constitutional convention of 1820; Dr. Walter Fenwick, who was killed in a duel by T. T. Crittenden; Joseph Pratte, and Captain Wilkinson. Colonel Jean Baptiste Vallé married Jane Barbeau, and attained a very old age. He was a very enterprising and prosperous business man and merchant, member of the fur-trading company, Vallé & Menard, and interested in the Iron Mountain Company. Another son of Don Francesco Vallé, père, Don Carlos Vallé, married Pelagie Charpentier, and an only daughter, Mary Louise, married Francois Leclerc in 1776.

CANE OF J. B.
VALLÉ

³⁴ General Archives of the Indies, Seville. Report of Zenon Trudeau, dated January 15, 1798, in papers from Cuba.

residents began to erect their homes on the site of the present town, and finally the great overflow of 1785 caused many of the inhabitants of the old village to abandon it. Yet it was not until 1791 that the old village was entirely abandoned.³⁵ Many Kaskaskia families also, who, during the flood, had been assisted by the commandant of Ste. Genevieve in every possible way so as to escape with their lives, and some at least of their property, concluded to remain and settle permanently on the high place where the new town was located. During this overflow the water rose so high in the old village as to cover many of the log houses, and one of Mr. Chouteau's keel-boats arriving at that time was made fast to the top of one of the stone chimneys of a house standing in the Big Field, and boatmen climbed up on the roof to the top of the house to do so. This house, Labriere says, belonged to one Andre. The water in the Big Field was in many places from twelve to fifteen feet deep.³⁶ "The inundation," Miro wrote De Galvez, "has been so extraordinary that the oldest persons of these settlements have assured me that they have never seen another one like it." The flood of 1844, from water-marks kept at Ste. Genevieve, was four feet higher than the flood of 1785.³⁷

In addition to the early merchants already mentioned, Louis Viviat, it seems, was in business in Ste. Genevieve in 1765. This Louis Viviat, was a merchant at one time at Kaskaskia and New Orleans. In 1775 together with Earl Dunmore and others, he purchased from the Piankeshaw Indians a tract of land above Vincennes, one hundred and fifty miles up and down the Wabash, and forty leagues (one hundred and twenty miles) on each side, embracing the greater central part of the present states of Illinois and Indiana, and at the same time purchased another tract below Vincennes, extending from the mouth of White River to the mouth of the Wabash, and thirty leagues (ninety miles) to the Ohio on the east, and forty leagues to the Mississippi on the west, embracing all of Southern Illinois and Indiana.³⁸ Datchurut, Francois Duchouquette, Louis Chamard, and Joseph Pouillot were all early Indian traders there. Lambert dit Lafleur was one of the most prominent merchants, and died December 26, 1771, leaving an estate of 74,000 livres, making

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Copy of Hunt's Minutes, Book ii, pp. 206-7, Missouri Historical Archives.

³⁷ 1 Billon's Annals, p. 226.

³⁸ American State Papers, vol. ii Public Lands, p. 119.

the total value of his estate \$13,700 in our currency. This estate, at that time, was considered very large, and shows how the country developed in wealth. At the time of Lambert's death, his wife, Catherine Lepine, and her six children resided in New Orleans. In 1771, one Mathew Kennedy,³⁹ evidently an Irishman, was a merchant at Ste. Genevieve, perhaps the first Irish-English merchant west of the Mississippi. In that year he shipped 12,000 pounds of flour to Arkansas post. Not much of a shipment now, but then no inconsiderable transaction.

The first settlers in the present town were Jacques Boyer and one Loiset, evidently belonging to the Kaskaskia family of that name; Francesco Vallé, fils;⁴⁰ Jean B. La Croix, Sr., who died there in 1781, leaving, what was then a large estate of 21,617 livres (\$4,323.00). It was his uncle, Francois La Croix, who came with seven daughters from Canada to St. Phillipe in 1725, and, young marriageable ladies being then in great demand, all were quickly married. From St. Phillipe, Francois La Croix moved to Kaskaskia. Before Jean B. La Croix, Jr., came to Ste. Genevieve he married Louisa Govreau, February 14, 1765, at Kaskaskia. He had three brothers, Louis, Francis, and Jenot, and one of these joined the French company that went with Clark to Vincennes. Other early settlers were Jean Baptiste, and Vital Beauvais dit St. Jeme,⁴¹ and Jean Baptiste Pratte, a mer-

³⁹ A Patrick Kennedy, no doubt a relative of this Mathew, was a resident and merchant of Kaskaskia in 1768, wrote a journal of an expedition undertaken by himself and several *coureurs des bois*, up the Illinois river in 1773, published for the first time in Hutchins' Topographical Description, reprinted by Burrows Bros., 1904. Kennedy resided at Kaskaskia when General George Rogers Clark conquered the Illinois country, joined his force, was quartermaster on the march to Vincennes, and for his services afterward was allotted land at Kaskaskia.—Draper's Collection, Clark MSS., vol. xviii, p. 117.

⁴⁰ Received a grant from Trudeau of Mine La Motte in 1796, and began to work the mines about 1800. Subsequently two leagues more were claimed by Jean Baptiste Pratte, Francois Vallé, Jean Baptiste Vallé, and St. James (St. Jeme) Beauvais, adjacent to this mine, and a grant was recommended by De Lassus, and the matter presented to the Intendant Morales at New Orleans, by James Maxwell, parish priest of Ste. Genevieve, who had a power of attorney to represent the petitioners. A survey was also made and this title and claim were afterward confirmed. But none of these petitioners resided at the mines, although they undoubtedly personally looked after their interests. These mines were not only worked by them, but undoubtedly prior to this grant by Renault and his miners, and who received a concession from the French commandant of Fort de Chartres for this property.

⁴¹ A French-Canadian family, descendants of Jacques Beauvais dit St. Jeme, came to Canada in 1653, landing at Montreal, from Perché; married Jeanne Solde, from Anjou.—3 Sulte, Canadien-Francais, p. 45. Jacques Beauvais dit Saint Jamme enlisted in a regiment of militia, organized at Montreal in 1663.

chant.⁴² The Pratte family came to Ste. Genevieve from Fort de Chartres. In 1799 Pratte claimed that he had lived in the country fifty



THE VITAL BEAUVAIS HOME, BUILT IN 1786

years. He was a man of property, owned forty-five slaves prior to 1803, and twelve houses and outhouses on a grant on Grand river, a man named Monteon being his manager. Nicolas Janis came over from

—4 Sulte, *Canadien-Francais*, p. 10. The statement usually made that Beauvais was a nickname and that the true name of the family was Saint Jeme is incorrect; the family name was Beauvais, the original nickname, Saint Jeme, corrupted into Saint Jamme and latterly into St. Gem. One Jean Baptiste Beauvais came to Kaskaskia in 1725, and married Louise Lacroix at Fort de Chartres. He had a family of five sons and two daughters, and when the property of Jesuits was confiscated, Beauvais purchased same in 1765, being reputed the wealthiest man in the western country. Two of his sons, Jean Baptiste and Vital, moved to Ste. Genevieve, each owning several arpens in common field. Vital was at Mine à Breton from 1789 to 1794, digging for mineral; in 1797 on the Gabourie, and in 1798 Vital, Raphael, and Barthélemy St. Jeme, and Baptiste Bequette cultivated a tract with their slaves on the south branch of the Saline. A Jacques Beauvais dit St. Jemme, resident of Montreal in 1654, died, 1691; a farmer; was the son of Gabriel Beauvais and Marie Crevier de St. Martin d'Ige; had ten children. His son, Raphael, had eight children.—*Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiens*, by L'Abbe Cyprian Tanguay.

⁴² In 1791 he made a trip to Canada, then an event in the life of a person; and from the New Madrid archives it appears that he received a power of attorney from Baptiste St. Aubin and Antoine Bordeleau to settle some business for them while there. In 1797 Pratte claimed a grant of 7,056 arpens on the Saline, clearing about forty arpens and putting up buildings, and had a large herd of stock. Salt works were then carried on in the neighborhood, and a grant was

Kaskaskia in 1790.⁴³ He was a member of one of the most ancient families of that ancient settlement. Janis, Nicolas Boyer, Andre, Pierre and Paul De Guire were prominent residents of the new village. Paul De Guire in 1800 lived on the St. Francois river, where he made sugar, and was one of the first settlers of St. Michael (Fredericktown). Other residents were Jean Baptiste Taumier or Taumure, Senior, who lived in the old village in 1766 and afterward resided between the forks of the Gabourie; August, Antoine, and Baptiste Aubuchon (or Oubuchon), no doubt relatives or descendants of Joseph Aubuchon, syndic of Kaskaskia in 1739; Louis Bolduc; Jacques Guibourd, who operated a tan-yard in the neighborhood of the Aux Vasse in 1799. All these and others came either from Kaskaskia or Cahokia and Fort de Chartres, driven out by the overflow, and looking out for a higher and better location. Jean Baptiste Placie, or Du Placie, son of Joseph Du Placey, the same who furnished the money to Colonel de la Balme for an expedition against Detroit in 1780, and lost his life with many others in this ill-considered scheme, also came to Ste. Genevieve at this time. Near the new village, Michael Placet dit Michau in 1787 built a mill on the spring branch running into the north fork of Gabourie, but in 1794 was also on Establishment creek, and made sugar there in 1799.⁴⁴

made for "cutting of wood to enable claimants to carry on salt works"; he also had a grant on the Mississippi. The Pratte family originally came from Montreal to the Illinois country. In 1676 Jean Baptiste Pratte married Marianna Lalumandiere.

⁴³ Jean B. Janis, born September 18, 1759, at Kaskaskia; was a son of Nicolas Janis, a native of France, who married in Kaskaskia, in 1751, a daughter of Marie B. Taumure dit La Source. At the age of 20, Jean B. was appointed ensign in the Kaskaskia company. He married Rene Julia Barbeau in 1781 at Prairie du Rocher, and died at Ste. Genevieve in 1836, at the age of seventy-eight. Clark says of him: "When the attack was made on Post Vincennes, during the heat of the action the ensign was wounded and dropped the colors, but young Janis, regardless of danger, immediately sprang forward and recovered the flag, which he bore in triumph to the end of the contest, when victory was achieved in the capture of the place and the surrender of the British forces." — *Draper's Collections*, vol. xviii., p. 183, Clark's MSS. Janis in 1776 removed to Ste. Genevieve; was father of eight children, as appears from a petition presented to the Twenty-fourth Congress, first session. — *Draper's Collection*, Clark MSS., vol. xviii., p. 93.

⁴⁴ Among other residents of the new village of Ste. Genevieve prior to the cession of Louisiana, were Don Louis Dubreuil de Villars, an early resident of Ste. Genevieve; at one time civil commandant at Ste. Genevieve and at Arkansas Post, and thirty years a lieutenant and captain in the Spanish service. His two sons, Antoine and Jean Antoine Dubreuil (infants), had a concession given them on Big river in 1790, in recognition of his services; his widow, Marie Louise, received a grant in 1796 of a league square between the Aux Vasse and Saline for a stock farm and tannery. In 1797 a Madame Marie Villars, veuve de Pierre Dorlac, lived in Ste. Genevieve; may be the same person. Gabriel Aubouchon (1765) married a daughter of Jean Baptiste Crely. Louis Aubou-

Thus the new village was founded and grew, and "le vieux village" washed away and disappeared. Some of the best-hewn stone of Fort de Chartres were taken to Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, and used in the new buildings of those villages. It is said, and is undoubtedly true, that windows and doors of the barracks of this old fort were also taken out and used in their houses by the settlers on both sides of the river. So this old fortress was made to contribute to the comfort of the people.

chon dit Yoche had a claim in Bellevue valley, on Hagle's creek, a branch of Big river, and lived at St. Ferdinand in 1800; Augustine Auguste Aubouchon (1774) son of Pierre François Aubouchon dit Morel, Morely or Morelles, had a tract in the common field of New Bourbon, also a resident of St. Louis; Charles Boyer we find at Mine à Breton in 1788. Jaduthan Kendall was a resident of Ste. Genevieve and other places in upper Louisiana; in 1798 had a tannery on Gabourie creek, and in 1796, on condition that he would enlarge the tannery by adding a manufactory for boots and shoes and a distillery and brewery, secured an additional grant from Trudeau to aid in that purpose. He also had property on the Platin, also on the Joachim (Swashon) as assignee of François Wideman, who had a ferry at the mouth of this stream. Kendall owned property in St. Louis and on Sandy creek and elsewhere. Andrew Lalande (1779) in 1791 on the Aux Vasse and Gabourie, may be a descendant of Jean Baptiste LaLande who married an Indian woman named Sabana Kie Se, at St. Ann in about 1721; Louis Lalumandiere dit Lafleur (1791); Charles Robin (Robinette) an ancient inhabitant of Ste. Genevieve, and whose widow still lived there prior to 1803; Pierre La Chapelle (1792); Andrew De Guire dit La Rose from Canada, an early settler, died in 1768, an ancient captain of militia, married Marie Labassiere, his second wife, in 1760 in parish St. Joachim, his grand son Jean Baptiste De Guire, in 1800 one of the founders of St. Michael, and on Grand river; Etienne Govreau, a resident here in 1775, a blacksmith and at New Bourbon, on the Saline in 1790 with Etienne Parent, Mine à Breton in 1802, afterward moving to Big river; Jean Baptiste Fortin; Louis Govreau (1797); Henry Govreau (1797); Joseph Govreau; William Gironard dit Giroux (1797), from Kaskaskia, also on Gabourie; Grassard dit Griffard (1797); Grinon (1797); Etienne Gaoiot (1797); Alexis Griffard (Guiffar or Griffert) (1797); Michael Griffar (1797); Barthélemi Beauvais (1797) and Jean Baptiste Beauvais, Junior; Pierre Belote (1797), an orphan, lived with Jean Baptiste Pratte, had a grant on Grand river in 1799, which he sold in 1805 to Seth Hunt of Cape Girardeau district, at public sale; Louis Bolduc (1770) Etienne Bolduc (1797), also at New Bourbon, where his widow had a claim; François Bernier (1797); Michael Butcher, Barthélemi and Bastian (Sebastian), also made "Boston" by some American scribes) Butcher, and Peter Bloom, all came to the country in 1797 and were Germans, stone-masons, and worked at their trade in and around Ste. Genevieve, putting up houses, chimneys and furnaces for smelting lead; in 1802 were six miles from Mine La Motte toward Ste. Genevieve on the St. François river; Henry Dielle, in 1792 built a house at "Le Moulin," owned property in the common field, and in 1798 on the Saline, where he established a stock farm and made sugar; slave owner; Pascal Detchemendy (1797) was on the Aux Vasse in 1799 and in this year had about twenty arpens under cultivation there, houses and outhouses built, was also on Gabourie and river Establishment and at St. Louis; Veuve Manuel (1797); François Janis (1797) had a sugar camp on the Aux Vasse; Jean Baptiste Janis (1797), from Kaskaskia, with François claimed the remnant of the common field lying on Gabourie creek under Nicolas Janis, in 1798 at New Bourbon, and in 1800 cultivated a farm on Establishment creek by his slaves. A François and Jean Baptiste Janis on Black Water fork of Little river in New Madrid district, but not known if related to same; Etienne Paggett (1797); Jean Baptiste Labreche (1790), Canadian-French, was associated with Walter Fenwick in the claim for ten thousand acres at Mine La Motte; Veuve Lalumandiere (1766) secured a grant on the Aux Vasse and settled the land by building and living there while making sugar, probably widow of François Lalumandiere dit Lafleur of Kaskaskia; Jean Baptiste and Joseph Lalumandiere, in 1797 on the Gabourie; Jean Baptiste Lacroix (1797) also at New Bourbon — probably a son of J. B. Lacroix, Senior, mentioned heretofore; Jean Baptiste Martin (1797); Jean Baptiste Pratte, Junior, in 1792 had a grant in Bois Brule bottom, where he lived for a number of years; Etienne Parent (1797), one of those who cultivated in the common field, but lived at Ste. Genevieve, in 1798 had a concession on the Saline with Etienne Govreau (Goverot) for pasturing the town cattle during the winter, and for a sugar camp, also had property at New Bourbon; Amable Parnetais (or Padenode) dit Mason in 1797 cultivated in the common field, originally from Kaskaskia, and says he was a laboring man, was assignee of different parties at Old Mine, and in 1790 owned property at Mine à Breton, which he sold in 1802 and in 1806 lived on the Colman tract on Brazeau creek; François Simoneau (1797) cultivated land in the common field; Cadet Tonnelier (1797); Joseph Tessereau (or Tisserot) dit Teporot (1797) owned land in the common field and in Grand Park or Hill field; this Tessereau maybe was related to Jean François Tisserant de Montcharveaux, Captain of Fort de Chartres in 1753; Louis Buat (or Buyatte), from Kaskaskia, where he rendered military service prior to 1790, lived between the two forks of the Gabourie adjoining Prairie à Gautier, opposite "Little Hills," in 1797; Pierre Aubouchon (1798), from Kaskaskia, made a park on his concession in the lower fields of Ste. Genevieve in 1797; François Jourrier (1798); Pierre Pratte (1798); Baptiste Placette (1798); Joseph Seraphim (1798), but it is a question whether

After the conquest of Illinois by Clark a number of French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher moved across



BOLDUC HOUSE — 1784

the river to Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Cerré, the principal merchant of Kaskaskia, for instance, moved to St. Louis, and so also, Father Ledru. Gratiot came to St. Louis from Cahokia. Among

his real name was not "Benoit," and a Toussaint Benoit dit Seraphim of St. Louis may be a relative; Dr. Aaron Elliott (1798), apparently an early American settler, bought property of Maxwell, the curé; Richard, James and Thomas Applegate (1799) at Ste. Genevieve, but in 1800 had grants of land on Flat river near the St. François; Richard and Thomas Applegate lived on the Joachim, William Null was chain carrier for this survey, James came from Kaskaskia; Jean Burk, Senior, also spelled "Birke"; was a forgeron (blacksmith) and fourreur here prior to 1799, also on Big river. Burke (Birke) was a native of Germany. His son John Burke, Jr., married Rachael Prior, daughter of Thomas Prior of Virginia in 1801. Others here prior to 1803 were François Auger; Charles Aime, from Kaskaskia, originally came from Quebec, in 1770 married an Osage woman, his son, Jean Baptiste, in 1802 married Marie Louise Belon of New Madrid, daughter of Joseph Belon dit Lavolette, of Canada; Antoine Buyette; Antoine Boyer; Louis Bellemar, or Bellemair, and Charles Bellemair; Louis Coyteaux (or Couteau), in 1804 in Bois Brule bottom; Jacques Courtois; Louis Cavalier (or Chevallier); Pierre Chevallier (1783) seems also to have lived at various other settlements; Jean B. Cahos; Louis Champaigne, may be a relative of, or the Louis Champain, one of the chiefs of a remnant of the Chetimachas tribe of Indians living in Plaquemines parish, Louisiana (American State Papers, 2 P. L., p. 392); Louis Caron; Antoine Dubreuil; Barthélemi Derocher; Joseph Dielle; John Dodge (1787); François Durant, possibly related to Joseph Monmirel dit Durant, of New Madrid, but also of Ste. Genevieve; Veuve Fortaine (or Fortin), likely came over from Kaskaskia; Pierre Govreau; Louis Guéron; Gravel; Joseph Gare; Jean B. Hubard (or Hubardeau); Henry Lalande; John Myer (1799) worked in tan-yard for Jaduthan Kendall; Richelet (or Recollet); François Langelier dit Langelievres; Henry dit Charles Lehay (Lehai); Louis La Rose; Louis Pepin Lachance; François Lalumandiere; Veuve Louis Laporte; Etienne La Marque; Longstreath (Longstreet); R. Lemelteur; Nicolas Lionnois; Pierre Mislait; Noel and Bazil Mislait; Nicolas Mercier; Jean Louis Missey (Massey); Thomas Oliver (1804), native of Virginia, first came to Kentucky, then to this district, at his death in 1825 was judge of probate and clerk of circuit court of his county, which office he had held for years; Rosemond Pratte; Joseph and Ambroise Placette (or Placide); Portorico, a nickname of some early resident of Ste. Genevieve, real name not known; Jean Portes (Portais), and may be Portel, who was at Old Mine; Pierre Robert; Paul Robert, also at Carondelet; Joseph Ranger; Pierre and Lambert Ranger;

others that removed from Kaskaskia to Ste. Genevieve at this time may also be mentioned La Plante and Dufure, who led Clark to



GUIBOURD HOUSE—1784

Kaskaskia. They were voyageurs or engagés of traders. Both died in Ste. Genevieve, the former in about 1812 and Dufure about 1835. Dr. Jean B. Lafond, who, together with Father Gibault, had

Etienne Nicolas and Veuve Roussin; Antoine and Veuve Simoneau; Pierre Torico, a soldier in the Spanish service, already mentioned; Louis Trudeau. Nicola Boilvin was also a resident trader of Ste. Genevieve at this time. In 1797 he was sent on a mission to Boston by Don Carlos Howard. American State Papers, 3 Public Lands, p. 502; was a trader at Prairie du Chien, afterward, in 1818, appointed Indian agent of the United States, a man of education, acted as justice of peace and earliest civil magistrate in Wisconsin; died on a keelboat on his way to St. Louis in the summer of 1824; furnished a list of Winnebago words to Humboldt, which was lost (10 Wisconsin Hist. Coll., page 65); married Helene St. Cyr, daughter of Hyacinthe St. Cyr.

Other names of early residents found in the Ste. Genevieve church records are: François Arcourt (1780), a Canadian; Pierre Bertrand dit Beaulieu (1765); Alexis Buette (1766); Louis Boucher (1769); François Bernier (1774); Antoine Bienvenue (1783); Joseph Couture (1768); Pierre Chauvin (1773); François Colman (1774), a German from bishopric of Wurzburg; Jean Baptiste Campeau (1780); Guillaume Clouet (1760); Jean Baptiste Bienvenu dit De Lisle (1780); François De Conaque (1783), married an Illinois Indian woman; Michel Denis (1783); Joseph Doza (1783); Joseph Delor de Tregat (1774); Nicholas Derouin (1777); François Des Roussel (1767); Phillip Dagneau (1783); Jean Gagnon (1766), from Quebec; Jacques Gaillard (1768); Louis Gravel (1780); Louis Gellie (1780); Joseph Germain (1782); Antoine Huneau (1760); Louis Jeannet (1780); Joseph Jaret (1780); Charles Auguste Le Comte (1760); Pierre Alex Leverare (1774); Jean Laplante (1781); Archange Le Beau (1782); Pierre La Grange (1782); Michel Le Mitchie (1784); Michel Lelups (1786); Charles Normand (1777); Pierre Roy, a blacksmith (1766); Pierre Rougest or Roucot dit Berger (1767); Louis Ride (1776); René Rapicaud (1770), a merchant; Pierre Rebolioso (1783), a soldier, native of Spain; Jean Baptiste Poitvin (1766); Joseph Perrodeau (1782); Pierre Parens (1782); Jean Baptiste Petit (1781); Louis Thibierge (1774); Jean Tabernier (1782), a soldier; Antoine Morin (1768); Joseph Mocque (1760); Jean Baptiste Morelle (1774); Pierre Marcou (1763); Joseph Menard (1782); Joseph Martin (1783), a Spanish soldier; Louis Conac dit Marquis (1775); Pierre Veraux (Verreau) (1777); Jean Baptiste Beauchamp (1795); Jean Bourbonnois (1760); Joseph De Blois (1800); Gaston Leopold de Volsey (1760); Pierre De Grossiers, Junior (1761); Pierre Des Moulins (1761); Patrick Fleming, a hatter, was in Ste. Genevieve prior to 1780; Joseph Jonka (1787); Nicolas Jarrott (1708);

piloted Clark to Vincennes, also settled here. Dr. Lafond died at the age of forty, in 1784, at New Madrid.⁴⁵ The lawlessness of



AMOUREUX HOUSE — 1700

many of the soldiers of Clark greatly offended the more refined and cultured French residents.

These immigrants were all cheerfully welcomed by the Spanish officials. In 1789 John Rice Jones, then a resident of Kaskaskia, wrote Major Hamtranck that "Every effort is made use of by the Spanish government to depopulate this side; one step towards it is, taking their priests from them, well knowing that the people will not remain where there are no pastors. You may rest assured that these are their intentions, for Mr. Chouteau, one of the most capital merchants on the Spanish side, informed Mr. Edgar last spring, in my

Sieur Bernard Lauthe, a merchant, from Bern, Switzerland, did business in Ste. Genevieve prior to 1781, in which year he died; Jacques Billeron dit Lafatigue, prior to 1780; Charles Macindren (1804); Joseph Marie Mercier (1778), chanter of the church; Henry Morris (1800); François Mark (1778), beadle of the church; Andre Manterot (1761); Michel Placet (1763); his son was drowned in the river on his way to New Orleans, in 1782; Joseph Perez (1788), a soldier, native of Spain; Richard Quimbre (1794), an Englishman; Thomas Rhust (1788); Jean François Regis (1760); Rompre (1763); Jean Bessie (or Bessie) (1766), died on river, while on an expedition with De Volsey; Dominique Taumure (1760), an officer of the militia in 1773; Louis Briart (1764); Jean Marie Le Febre (1765); Louis Milhomme dit Petit (1783); Joseph Petit (1761). John Burget (Burhard) a native of England, in 1797 married Nancy Protector, daughter of Joseph Protector and Siloam Kerr.

⁴⁵ Don J. B. Vallé was appointed guardian of Dr. Lafond's children. Bernard and Antoine Lafond were his sons, and he had three daughters. One of his daughters married Captain Robert McCoy, of New Madrid, another, Joseph Michel, and the third married Jean Baptiste Gobeau.

presence, that orders had been received from Orleans by the lieutenant-governor of St. Louis, for him to make every difficulty possible with the people of this side, so that thereby they might be forced to go to live on the other. Several proposals have been made Mr. Edgar, such as lands gratis, no taxes, with free permission to work at the lead mines and salt springs; all these he has refused, but if by March next no government or regulation arrives, he will remove to St. Louis, where his life and property will be in safety; and with him, take my word, will this village be effectually destroyed as a settlement."⁴⁶ About this time, too, an English lord came down the Mississippi from Michilimackinac, visiting St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, and thence went to New Orleans, and Jones has his suspicions about him; he says that this noted traveler was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a younger brother of the duke of Leinster, in Ireland, and major of the 54th regiment on foot, then in Canada; that he went up the Mississippi forty leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony, and held conference with the Indians above, as well as with the Shawnees and Delawares here; that he does not know the purport of his journey nor is able to conjecture, but that he never visited the American villages on the Mississippi, which he considers "rather extraordinary," if traveling for curiosity only.

A small detachment of the stationary regiment of Louisiana was always stationed at Ste. Genevieve during the Spanish government.⁴⁷ These soldiers were quartered in a fort which was located on an eminence, at the lower end of the town, but where this fort actually stood is now unknown. It was, however, erected at a high place, so as to enable the garrison to correspond with the fort at Kaskaskia, on the opposite side of the river, by signals. Schultz, who in 1807 visited Ste. Genevieve, was informed of a singular transaction "relative to the building of this fort," and which shows the corruption of some high Spanish officials, but at the same time testifies to the integrity of the commandant of the Ste. Genevieve district. Schultz likely obtained the story from some of the parties who were cognizant of the facts, while at Ste. Genevieve. He writes: "It seems after the fort was completed the commandant had to wait upon the governor of the province, to present his charges. They were accordingly presented and amounted to \$421. The governor, after examining

⁴⁶ Harmar Papers, vol. ii, pp. 136 *et seq.*

⁴⁷ 1 Billon's Annals, p. 72.

the account, returned it to the commandant, informing him there was some mistake. The commandant retired and examined it again, but finding it entirely correct presented it once more. The governor, on looking it over, informed him that it was still incorrect, and advised him to consult with some friend, as he had omitted a figure or two. The commandant then called upon a friend to look over his accounts with him, who no sooner saw the account than he burst into a loud laugh, and taking the pen added a 'o' to the sum already stated. The commandant presented his account a third time, when his excellency replied that it was not quite right yet. The commandant was amazed, but what was his astonishment when he related the affair to his friend, to see him add another 'o' to the last sum, making it \$42,100 instead of \$421! On presenting the account the fourth time it was graciously received, and for the discharge of the whole a very small part paid to the commandant."⁴⁸ In addition to the company of militia which existed at Ste. Genevieve in the very beginning of the Spanish government, in about 1794, a second company was organized. The commandant of the village was in command of one company.

In 1790, according to Brackenridge, the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve were all more or less engaged in trade and traffic for peltries with the Indians, and many of them were also interested in working the lead mines in the interior, but the principal pursuit of the inhabitants was agriculture, which was carried on in the great common field.⁴⁹ Only a few mechanics were residents of Ste. Genevieve at that time, and their shops were small and inconsiderable. No groceries were retailed by the merchants, because every family provided itself with the necessities of life.

Austin was at Ste. Genevieve on the 19th of January, 1797, and

⁴⁸ Schultz's Travels, vol. ii., p. 66.

⁴⁹ In 1793 Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau went to Ste. Genevieve, and the following order will give the reader an idea how this business of keeping in repair the fences around the common field was managed:

"We, Don Zenon Trudeau, Captain of the Regiment of Louisiana, and Commandant in chief of the western part of the Illinois, in conformity to the orders of Monsieur the Baron of Carondelet, Governor-General of this province, to establish a beneficial stability and assure to the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve and surroundings the crop of corn during the time that the fences of the fields should be strong and when open, certify that we repaired to said village the seventh day of the present month, where, on our arrival, we convoked a meeting of all the inhabitants and citizens of the parish and its dependencies to consider the most convenient method for the advantages of all, to establish the fences of the fields and preserve the crops from the depredations of animals.

"All the inhabitants having expressed their views, it was decided by the majority that it was important to the safety of the crops that the lands should be all enclosed, conformably to the regulations of the present year, of which a copy is in the archives of said village of Ste. Genevieve, to remain so the whole year, excepting a certain interval of time, when it is allowed to turn in cattle after the crops are gathered in, to give them pasture, and that only to the time when the Trustee will be required to order the execution, or shall himself so order, which must be executed

describing the village says that it is located about two miles from the Mississippi, on high land, "from which you have a commanding view of the country and river"; that the old town stood immediately on the banks of the river, on an extensive plain, but being sometimes overflowed by the Mississippi and river banks falling in, was removed to higher land; that the town had one hundred houses; that the inhabitants were wealthier than those of Kaskaskia, and the houses were in better repair; that the village had some Indian trade, but that the lead and salt made the town, because the lead and salt were brought there for sale. Perrin du Lac notes that in 1802 the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve were "entirely addicted to agriculture." When he visited the place, they still cultivated the common field of "wonderful fertility," but he complains that they were "without learning or the desire of learning," and that the youth of the village occupied themselves "in hunting, riding, and dancing"; that the children, brought up among the savages, contracted their manners and especially their indolence. This, no doubt, was true as to some of these isolated inhabitants, but on the other hand, many were enterprising traders, and by industry and energy had accumulated, for that time, no small amount of wealth. That Du Lac also gives a wrong impression as to the esteem in which learning was held is shown by the fact that Brackenridge attended a school, which existed at Ste. Genevieve as early as 1790, in order to learn the French language. Of course, the residents of the town, far removed from the great centers of population on the Atlantic coast, and without daily or weekly newspapers, or regular postal service, no doubt, appeared grossly ignorant to Du Lac, just from Paris, then the center of great events and transactions. Yet, such ill-considered and random opinion, expressed by passing and maybe disgruntled travelers, unable to appreciate or comprehend the local situation, are too often accepted as correct pictures of the manners and habits and social conditions of these early times. When Brackenridge was at Ste. Genevieve, it contained only about sixty houses. Du Lac says the village contained

without opposition on the part of the owners of animals, to restore the said fields for ploughing and sowing anew, under the guarantee of their fences. This we have (conformably to the orders of the Governor-General) agreed to and ratified, to remain permanent, in accordance with the wishes and intention of the large majority of the people of said village. Wherefore, we order all others to conform to this regulation in its full sense, which each year syndic will see duly enforced under the penalty of offenders being treated as refractory to good order and government.

"Done and agreed to at the village of Ste. Genevieve, before Messrs. François & Baptiste Vallé, the requisite witnesses, who with us the commandant in chief, have signed the seventh day of the month of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

François Vallé,
J. Bte. Vallé.²¹

Zenon Trudeau

three hundred inhabitants, and he states that most of these came there from the east bank of the Mississippi, after the treaty of 1763.⁵⁰

In 1797, about one quarter of a mile away from Ste. Genevieve, there was a village of Kickapoo Indians, who lived on the most friendly terms with the white people. The boys intermingled with those of the white village and practiced shooting with bow and arrow, and by this association many of the white boys obtained an elementary knowledge of the Indian language. Five or six years afterward, in 1802, when Perrin du Lac was at Ste. Genevieve, a band of Peorias lived near the village, and these he characterized as "indolent drunkards and thieves," who, in order to secure spirits, would engage in hunting, but he says that the rest of the time "they spent in eating and drinking and smoking and dancing." Duvallon says that they hunted seldom, "for fear of the other Indians."⁵¹ The women of this band were clothed nearly as the men, only instead of mitasses, a sort of pantaloons, divided into two parts, they used an apron which reached to the knees.⁵² The moccasins they wore were made out of squirrel skin, and reached to the ankles, and were fastened with pieces of skin.

The civil and military commandants of Ste. Genevieve exercised jurisdiction at first over an indefinite district of territory. The settlements, from time to time, organized as far north as the Maramec as well as south and west of the village, were considered dependencies of the post of Ste. Genevieve. In the end, the Ste. Genevieve district was bounded east by the Mississippi, north by the Maramec, south by Cinque Homme, and afterward by Apple Creek, and extended west indefinitely.

One of the dependencies of the post of Ste. Genevieve, was the village of Nouvelle Bourbon, located "on a hill which commands a low point, about one league broad, between the Mississippi and said hill." This new village was only about two and a half miles from the site of the old village of Ste. Genevieve, and was established by the order of Carondelet in 1793, and so named, he says, "to put the new settlement under the especial protection of the august sovereign who governs Spain, and also that the descendants of the new colonists may imitate the fidelity and firmness of their fathers toward their

⁵⁰ Perrin du Lac's *Travels in Louisiana*, p. 50.

⁵¹ Duvallon's *Louisiana*, translated by Davis, New York, 1806, p. 99.

⁵² Perrin du Lac's *Travels in Louisiana*, p. 45.

king." It was intended to establish at New Bourbon a number of French royalist families who had settled at Gallipolis, but became dissatisfied there. Trudeau says that the village was separated from Ste. Genevieve, including the "plantations of La Salina," in order to give command to Monsieur de Luziere, one of the French émigrés at Gallipolis, and a "Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael." Pierre De Hault DeLassus de Luziere was first interested by Barthèlemi Tardiveau, "a highly intelligent man," and Pierre Audrain, then a merchant of Pittsburg, in a scheme to induce the French settlers of Gallipolis to remove to the Spanish territory, because, in the words of Carondelet, he learned "that the government of Louisiana is now in the hands of a Flaménco," i. e., Baron de Carondelet, "with whose family" many of these settlers "were acquainted, and availing themselves of this opportunity they determined to send one of their number" and who had "known me in Flanders and whose son serves as sub-lieutenant in the Royal Walloon Guards, to reconnoiter the lands of the Spanish part of Illinois, as far as New Madrid, and from there to New Orleans," and authorized him "to treat with me for their immigration to this province in the event that the lands shall be found desirable and the reports which they had of the mildness, liberty, and special protection of the Spanish government should prove to be true."⁵³



DE LUZIERE*

At New Orleans De Lassus, Tardiveau, and Audrain met Carondelet in April, 1793, and he, of course, warmly approved their plan of removal, and as a result Audrain sailed from New Orleans to Philadelphia, and "from which city it was proposed" that he should proceed to Ohio "to gather together the families at Gallipolis and send them down the Ohio to New Madrid." De Lassus and Tardiveau went up the Mississippi to await them and conduct them to the new

⁵³ See copy of letter of Carondelet, dated April 26, 1793, to Gardoqui, General Archives of the Indies, Department of St. Domingo, in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

* The original of this picture is in the possession of Mrs. Rice, a granddaughter of Camille DeHault DeLassus DeLuziere. It is not absolutely certain that this is the picture of DeLuziere or that on the next page is the picture of his son Camille DeLassus, but it is traditional in the family that such is the case. A portrait painted on ivory brought from France, of DeLuziere, but which has been lost or misplaced, showed some resemblance to this silhouette of DeLuziere and lends support to the supposition that it is his picture.

settlement founded a short distance from Ste. Genevieve in the 37th degree of latitude, and which became known as Nouvelle Bourbon. Naturally, De Lassus de Luziere was appointed the first civil and military commandant when he arrived there in August, 1793, with his wife and some members of his family. Before the French Revolution



CAMILLE DELASSUS

De Lassus de Luziere belonged to the rich landed aristocracy of Flanders. The estates of the family were situated near Hainault, Flanders, and of Hainault the De Lassus had been hereditary mayors for many centuries. That at the time he removed to the Spanish dominions he was not without means is shown by a statement of Carondelet, who speaks of him as "a rich French emigrant living retired in Ste. Genevieve."⁵⁴ His eldest son was in Germany when he came to Louisiana, and while in Germany made mineralogy a particular study. Another son, Don

Camille De Hault De Lassus, resided with him at Nouvelle Bourbon and occupied some minor position in the Spanish colonial service, and still another son, Don Jacques Marcelin Ceran De Hault De Lassus de St. Vrain, who had been an officer in the French royal navy, was captain of militia and commandant for ten years of the Spanish galley, "La Flécha," on the Mississippi.⁵⁵

While Chevalier de Luziere was in command at NouvelleBourbon, he issued permits to settlers and exercised jurisdiction over a limited region extending west to Mine La Motte, and embracing what was

⁵⁴ De Luziere in 1798 had a grant on the south fork of the Saline, where he manufactured sugar. In his petition for a grant he says that he had found an immigrant who was an expert in making maple sugar and refining it after the methods used in the Jerseys. He was also interested in mining, and with the assistance of his sons and son-in-law engaged in this work. A grant was given him in 1793 for his honorable service to the government in assisting to put the posts of Illinois in a state of defense, he entering into a contract with the Intendancy to deliver yearly, during the term of five years, thirty thousand pounds of lead in balls or bars. Albert Tisson says he was known in France and by Baron Carondelet, under name of De Hault De Lassus, and during the French Revolution took the name of De Luziere.

⁵⁵ In 1797 he received a grant four leagues from Ste. Genevieve on the Aux Vasse, at a place called "Les Sucrieries," where he wished to establish a mill. In 1799 we find Don Santiago de St. Vrain, brother of Lieutenant-Governor De Lassus, on the Cuivre fifty miles north of St. Louis. Had nine children, and at his death was insolvent, sold John Mullanphy his tract of land at 12½ cents an arpen, which was paid for in goods at such a high price as to reduce the price of land to 2 cents per arpen.

then known as the Murphy settlement, the district where Farmington is now situated. In 1798 Trudeau says that Nouvelle Bourbon, including La Salina, had a population of 407 persons of both sexes, but in 1797, when Moses Austin visited de Luziere at Nouvelle Bourbon, he says that the village then had only about twenty houses. Likely, Trudeau included in his estimate the entire population of the dependency under the jurisdiction of De Luziere. Austin says that De Luziere was formerly a member of the Council of the King of France, and that he told him that he inherited an estate in France of the annual value of thirty thousand crowns, but that he was obliged to escape; that Madame de Luziere had an estate of one half that sum, their total annual income in France before the Revolution amounting to forty-five thousand crowns. Madame de Luziere "did not seem to support the change of situation so well as the Chevalier," and while Austin examined a large picture in her reception-room, representing the grand festival given by the citizens of Paris to the Queen, on the birth of the Dauphin, and the parade of the nobles on that occasion, she came to his side and putting her finger on the picture pointing out a coach, said, "there was I on that happy day."⁵⁶

In 1798 Lieutenant-Governor Don Zenon Trudeau made a grant of a common field to the inhabitants of Nouvelle Bourbon, and this field, in which some of the residents of Ste. Genevieve also had lots, became subsequently known as the "Grand Park or Hill field." As early as 1793 a mill was built on the creek or spring branch now known as Dodge's creek, and which flowed near the village, by Francesco Vallé, Junior. This mill he afterward sold to Israel Dodge, one of the earliest American settlers in that locality, likely following his brother, John Dodge, who had settled near there in 1787.⁵⁷ Israel Dodge came over from Kaskaskia, and in 1798 had an extensive farm on the Saline, where he built a large house in 1805, but in

⁵⁶ 5 American Historical Review, p. 518. The maiden name of Madame De Luziere was Domittille Dumont de Beaufort. She was a native of Beauchamp, bishopric of Arras, France.

⁵⁷ As to John Dodge, John Rice Jones writes Maj. Hamtranck, October 29, 1789, that John Dodge and Michael Antanya, with a party of whites and armed Piankeshaw Indians, came over from the Spanish side and attempted to carry off some slaves of Mr. John Edgar, and otherwise were guilty of "outlandish" conduct, threatening to burn the village.—Harmar Papers, vol. ii., pp. 136-142, inc. Antauya—or Antaya—or Antayat was the Indian name of the Pelletier family, because of the marriage of one of the family with an Indian woman.

1800 lived at Ste. Genevieve. Among the distinguished residents of Nouvelle Bourbon was Jean Rene Guiho, lord of Klegand, a native of Nantes, Brittany, also belonging to the fugitive nobility, and who was invited by Chevalier de Luziere to take up his residence in the village. He was given a grant of five hundred arpens on the Saline, but it seems did not remain, and in 1800 returned to France. Israel Dodge says he was married, had five children and six slaves, and had been an officer in the navy. Another early resident here was Jacques De Mun, who had been captain of dragoons on the island of San Domingo.⁵⁸ This village of Nouvelle Bourbon has long since disappeared, and is now a field. Nouvelle Bourbon was also known at that time as the "village des Petites Côtes." It does not seem that any other of the French émigrés of Gallipolis at any time settled at Nouvelle Bourbon. Among the early settlers in that locality, from Kaskaskia, were Nicolas Caillot dit Lachance, a French-Canadian, and his nine sons.⁵⁹ It is worth remembering that this Nicolas Lachance furnished supplies to General George Rogers Clark and his troops. In 1799 the inhabitants of Nouvelle Bourbon voluntarily made a patriotic war contribution to aid the king of Spain, of five hundred and sixty-five piastres. The list of contributors, with Don Pierre de Hault de Lassus de Luziere contributing fifty piastres,

⁵⁸ His son, Auguste De Mun, was killed by William McArthur, a brother-in-law of Lewis F. Linn, in 1816. De Mun and McArthur were both candidates for the territorial legislature, and De Mun had made some injurious remarks about McArthur coining counterfeit money. McArthur challenged De Mun, who declined because, he said, McArthur was not a gentleman. This added fuel to the fire, and McArthur then denounced De Mun as a coward, and each prepared to kill the other on sight; when they met on the steps of the territorial courthouse the bloody rencontre took place, and De Mun was killed. McArthur was unhurt, and never prosecuted.

⁵⁹ These sons were named Gabriel, Michael, Antoine, Francois, Nicolas, Junior, Joseph and Benjamin Caillot dit Lachance, all cultivating the common field of New Bourbon and Ste. Genevieve, but afterward had grants on the Saline at Belle Pointe, on the road to Mine La Motte, and on Big river, several of them being among the first settlers of St. Michael; other settlers in this village were Adrian Langlois (1796), in the employ of Messrs. Lorimier, Peyroux and Menard, and still thus employed when he made his petition in 1799 for a grant, "having saved considerable money and bought many cattle." He received his concession at Flint Stone Hill. Jerome Motes dit Mattis (1797), French-Canadian, in the common field; Range (1797), also in common field; Marie Louise Vallé (1798), a widow of (Auguste) Leclerc (or Leclercq), owned slaves; Marie Rompres (or Rompret) (1798), widow of Bermin (or Bermes); Jesse Evans (1797), afterward on Missouri; Michael Cresswell; Louis Courtois; Nicolas Lacombe; Joseph Le Perch; John Price (1797), at New Bourbon, but claimed four thousand arpens on Grand river, owned land at Mine à Breton in partnership with William Perry, on the Saline in 1804.

embraces all the principal residents of the dependency of Nouvelle Bourbon.⁶⁰

After the discovery of the rich lead mine near the present Potosi, by Francois Azor dit Breton, a settlement sprang up in that locality, which became known as "Mine à Breton." Of this mine Austin said in 1797, that "without doubt, Mine à Breton is richer than any in the known world," showing how impressed he was with the mineral wealth there at that time. From the time of the discovery of lead, in about 1775, a continuous settlement existed here.⁶¹ Basil Vallé, in 1792, here built a cabin on the creek, as a business house fronting on the road leading to Old Mine at La Fontaine de la Prairie. The produce of the mines was hauled to the river at Ste. Genevieve, and many of the early residents of this village were also interested in the

⁶⁰ This list, showing the amount contributed and occupation of the several residents of the village and the district or dependency, has been preserved in the Archives of the Indies — among the papers from Cuba — and is highly interesting. In addition to the amount contributed by De Luziere, the following other persons made contributions:

Antoine Lachance, carpenter, 3 piastres; Paul De Guire, armorer, 2 piastres; Joseph Tisserot, planter; Jerome Matis, planter, each one piastre; Louis Tonnelier, planter, Pierre Chevalier, planter, and Gabriel Lachance, planter, each 3 piastres; Joseph Lachance, carpenter, 2 piastres; Louis De Guire, planter, and Joseph Cuture, planter, each 1 piastre; Alexis Griffard, saltmaker, 4 piastres; Guillaume Vanburken (Vanburhelon), planter, 2 piastres, and Israel Dodge, planter, 20 piastres; — all these at the time being residents of Nouvelle Bourbon. In addition the following residents on the Saline made contributions, namely: Hypolite Bolon, interpreter among the savages Aux Saline, 2 piastres; Samuel Bridge, cooper, 10 piastres; Noel Hornbeck, saltmaker, 10 piastres; Jean Duval, saltmaker, 15 piastres; Jean Callefán, another saltmaker, 5 piastres; Guillaume Kelly, a cooper, 10 piastres; Benjamin Cox, planter, 5 piastres; Jean Donahue, planter, 10 piastres; Guillaume Strother, planter, 15 piastres; Jean Hankins (John Hawkins), saltmaker, 15 piastres; Jean Hartlor, a saltmaker, 5 piastres; Jacque Farrell, a saltmaker, 5 piastres; Jacque McLean, planter, 5 piastres; Joseph Eustin, planter, 5 piastres; Jeremiah Perrelle, another saltmaker, 10 piastres. In the Bois Brule bottom the following settlers, all planters, contributed to this fund: Joseph Donahue, 10 piastres; Jean Robert McLaughlin, 10 piastres; Michael Burns, 10 piastres; Jonas Nussam, 10 piastres; Francois Clark, 10 piastres; Louis Coyteaux, 10 piastres; Ben Walker, Jacque Burnes and Jacque Dobson, each 5 piastres; Joseph Boyce, 7 piastres; David Clark, 5 piastres; Jacque Thompson, 1 piastre; David Strickland, 7 piastres; Guillaume Moore, 5 piastres; Henry Turner, 4 piastres; Guillaume Burney, 5 piastres; Guillaume Roberts, Ben Burnes, Jacque Davis and Silas Coen, each 5 piastres; Jean Greenville, 1 peastre; Thomas Donahue, 5 piastres; Andres Cox, 10 piastres. In addition, likely at the village Aux Salines, we find the following contributors: James Sanborn, merchant, 15 piastres; Thomas Fenwick, merchant, 15 piastres; Isaac Packard, merchant, 10 piastres; Israel Denton, saltmaker, 10 piastres; Thomas Hart, cooper, 10 piastres; Ben Spencer, saltmaker, 2½ piastres; Guillaume Curry, saltmaker, 15 piastres; Jean Paul Baker, 10 piastres; Augustin Heen, saltmaker, 10 piastres; David Rother, saltmaker, 10 piastres; Jesse Healey, a planter of Nouvelle Bourbon, 5 piastres; Jos. Grimes, a planter on the Riviere aux Vasse, 10 piastres. So, also, Guillaume Grimes, 15 piastres; Guillaume Murphy, on the St. François, 5 piastres, and Guillaume, Jr., the same amount, and Hiram Gearan also 5 piastres; Solomon George and Guillaume Reed, each contributed 5 piastres; Thomas Madden, a planter on the "Grand Marais," but afterward deputy surveyor, contributed 20 piastres; and I. Flower, on the Riviere aux Vasse, 10 piastres. And, says the report, all these habitants were emigrants from Germany, England, Ireland, and the United States, and had recently settled in this colony.

⁶¹ Among the names of settlers now traceable in addition to Francis Azor dit Breton (1782), who assigned his grant in 1806 to Walter Fenwick and Andrew Henry we note Peter Boyer (1780), who says he was employed by Breton to assist him in hunting, and when out on a hunt in 1780 took him to Mine à Breton, which he said he had discovered, and that immediately afterward the place began to be settled, and that he was one of the first settlers and one of those who suffered from the Osage Indians, that he afterward moved away and in 1797 mined on the Terre Blue, and on Old Mine creek in 1802; Charles Boyer (1788) here and at Ste. Genevieve; Joseph Boyer (1788), moved to Old Mine in 1800; St. Jame Beauvais (1788). Thomas Russ, this Russ in 1786 was regularly admitted a subject of the king of Spain by John Fithial, commandant of Washita; Mathew Mullins (1797), came with Moses Austin, afterward in Bellevue valley; Lewis Ron-

mining operations. Among others, Parfait Dufour (a native of Detroit), an early resident of Ste. Genevieve, seems to have resided for a time near Mine à Breton, and afterward at Fourche à Duclos. So, also, Francois Thibeault (or Thibeau) in 1797, and Peter Martin, from Cahokia, in 1798, residents in these years of Ste. Genevieve, lived at Mine à Breton, but perhaps were only temporary residents there. Thibeault also owned property at La Fontaine de la Prairie, near Old Mine, and Peter Martin was in the St. Louis district in 1800, where he received a grant. In 1797, a league square near the discovery of Azor was granted to Moses Austin, and this grant to this enterprising American immigrant gave great impetus to the mining industry in this place. Moses Austin was a



MOSES AUSTIN

a native of Durham, Connecticut, born there in 1764. When still young he removed to Philadelphia, where he engaged in the mercantile business, and from Philadelphia he went to Richmond, Virginia, where he founded a pewter-button factory on Cary street. In Richmond he built a private residence which attracted much attention at the time, out of Philadelphia brick and marble, an elaborate and imposing structure.⁶² Here he also became acquainted with Dr. Morse, while

engaged in collecting material for the first edition of his American Geography. In Richmond, perhaps owing to the pewter manufacturing business in which he was engaged, he became interested in mineralogy, and especially in lead mining. Accordingly, from Richmond he changed his residence to Wythe county, where he operated the lead mines known during the Revolutionary War as the "Chisel

core (1797), had a crop of wheat on his place in 1800, but in May ran away and his property was sold to pay his debts. John Andrews testified Roncore was commandant at that time at Mine à Breton (1 Hunt's Minutes, p. 173); Charles McDermitt, one of Moses Austin's followers, had a grant on a spring; John Paul, came to the country in 1799, was a tenant for John T. McNeal at Mine à Breton, and in 1803 had a grant in Bellevue valley; Jacob Wise (1799); Peter Chabot (1800); Dupont & Gratiard (1800), had an ash furnace on a lot in Mine à Breton; William Perry, probably William M. Perry, who lived here in 1800 and was shot at Lambert's Diggings in 1825 by William Hill, on account of some difficulty over mineral; John Stuart (or Stewart) (1801), deputy surveyor under Souldard, and commissioned by Wilkinson in 1805; in 1802 seems to have had property at a place called New Foundland, thirty poles northeast of a large spring near Stewart's branch; Charles Bequette (1802); Madame Baldwin, probably Mary Baldwin, had a grant here in 1802; Louis Grenier (1802); James Hawkins (1802), near Mine à Breton on Mill creek; Peter Hebert (1802); Madame Leclair (1802), very likely the same as Madame Leclerc (or Leclercq); James Scott (1802), after his death Constance Scott, his widow, continued to live there. Abraham Brinker; Thomas Blakeley; Joseph Brown, probably the Brown who was a physician here; Joseph Chadbourne; John Boyer; Demun (Demers) & Depyster; Madame Descloux; Jean Lemoine; Louis Gringa, laboring man, also at Fourche à Courtois.

⁶² Richmond in *By-gone Days*, p. 267.

mines," conducting a country store in connection with his mining operations. He first brought English miners to the United States to work these mines. A considerable settlement soon gathered around his store, which became known as "Austinville." He was a man of restless activity and boundless enterprise. Many stories of the mineral wealth of upper Louisiana were then current in the Atlantic states, and accidentally meeting some one from Ste. Genevieve who had been in the mining region west of the Mississippi, he determined to visit that district. He obtained a passport from the Spanish minister, Gardoqui, and received encouragement from him to emigrate to upper Louisiana, to develop the mineral wealth of that section. At any rate, in the fall of 1796, we find him riding on horseback with a servant and pack-mule, from his home, across the country to upper Louisiana. He was then thirty-three years of age, and it was an arduous and hazardous journey, and an "extraordinary effort of hardihood," this trip through the wilderness to the settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi. Not a solitary house or farm was then opened from the Falls of the Ohio to St. Louis, except in the neighborhood of Vincennes. From there a dim path or trail led to Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Austin safely reached and crossed the Mississippi at St. Louis, and, as he afterward told Schoolcraft, thinking it necessary to enter the trading post with as much ceremony as possible, he clothed himself in a long blue mantle, lined with scarlet, and embroidered with lace, rode on his best horse, followed by his servant and guides through what was dignified by the name of a street, and where the lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana then resided. Such a cavalcade was an extraordinary event in the little fur-trading Spanish post, with its few houses scattered up and down the river, and attracted the attention of the commandant, who without delay sent his servant to inquire as to the character and rank of the foreign visitor who thus entered the town. The servant being advised of the name of the visitor, and that he carried letters to the lieutenant-governor from the Spanish minister, Gardoqui, at once returned with an invitation from the governor to take up his residence at his house, observing at the same time, in the most polite manner and with characteristic deference to the rank of his guest, that there was no other house in town that could afford him suitable accommodations. It was thus that Austin, according to his own version, entered upper Louisiana.⁶³

⁶³ Schoolcraft's *Travels*, p. 243.

After remaining in St. Louis for some time, he went from there to Ste. Genevieve, and from Ste. Genevieve with an escort of Spanish soldiers visited the mining country of southeast Missouri, finally concluding to establish himself at Mine à Breton, if his petition for a grant there should be favorably entertained. The petition for the grant was prepared by the greffier at Ste. Genevieve, and so impressed was he with the importance of Austin, that without consulting him as to the extent of the grant he desired, he made a request for Austin of a grant twelve leagues square. Actually, Austin received a grant one league square from the Intendant,



DURHAM HALL

Don Juan Ventura Morales, in 1802, the same having been recommended by Baron de Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, in a letter addressed to Don Zenon Trudeau, the lieutenant-governor, dated March 15, 1797. But this grant was made on condition that he should introduce certain improvements in mining, and manufacture some of the lead for commercial purposes. After he had received his grant, he returned to Virginia,⁶⁴ and in 1798 brought his

⁶⁴ On this trip Austin took a Frenchman by the name of Dufure from Ste. Genevieve to guide him to Ft. Massac, where he arrived safely, and, taking another French guide, he arrived at Nashville on the 17th of February, 1797, reached home March 4th, having made a journey of upward of two thousand

family, and a number of others in his employ to upper Louisiana, and taking up his residence at Mine à Breton, sank the first shaft according to European practices in upper Louisiana, erected a reverberatory furnace for smelting lead ores, began the manufacture of sheet lead and shot, and in a short time became one of the most conspicuous and important subjects of Spain in upper Louisiana. With him, among others, came Elias Bates, his nephew, who was the first American settler at Mine à Breton, and together with Kendall took actual possession of the grant. Austin with his family arrived at Mine à Breton in September, 1798, and in 1799 he had sufficient force at Mine à Breton to withstand an attack of the Osage Indians, who in that year had confined the French to Ste. Genevieve by their warlike conduct. He erected a saw-mill and a grist-mill in 1799, his furnaces being then in full blast; also a shot factory. In the same year he began the erection of his dwelling house. In 1802 he was again attacked by the Indians at Mine à Breton, but defeated them, having a three-pound cannon to assist him in the battle. Austin's house, "Durham Hall," was the nucleus of the American settlement in the country west of Ste. Genevieve at this period. He built a bridge over Mine à Breton creek adjacent to his lot and kept it in repair, also built an abutment or wharf extending from his lot to Breton creek,⁶⁵ and opened a road from Mine à Breton to Mine à

miles, nine hundred of which in the wilderness. (See Austin's Memorandum of Journey, 5 American Historical Review, pp. 518 *et seq.*)

⁶⁵ Austin's family consisted of three children, Stephen Fuller Austin, born at Austinville, Virginia; Emily M., who married James Bryan and afterward James F. Perry, and James, the youngest, born at Mine à Breton. The failure of the bank at St. Louis in 1818 ruined Austin financially. In 1819 he conceived the idea to form a colony in Texas, and the subject was discussed with his son Stephen at Durham Hall; Stephen started for Texas and opened a farm on Red river, located a New Madrid claim where Little Rock now stands; was appointed circuit judge of Arkansas by Judge Miller. In 1820 Moses Austin came from Missouri to San Antonio de Bexar; he made this trip of eight hundred miles on horseback, and when he arrived at San Antonio he received a discouraging reception by the governor, who would not listen to him, and was ordered by him to leave Texas immediately. As he was about to leave, he accidentally met Baron de Bastrop, with whom he was acquainted; they had traveled together in the States; Bastrop was poor, but a man of education and influence; Bastrop invited him to his place and reported to the governor that Austin was too sick to return home; and in a week the governor and the ayuntamiento of Bexar united in recommending Austin at Monterey to settle three hundred families from the United States. He returned, and east of the Sabine met his nephew, Elias Bates, who had started out in search of him. Moses Austin never recovered from the exposure of this trip, and died at the house of his son-in-law, James Bryan, June 10, 1821, fifty-seven years old, just after he had received the news that his plan of colonization had been

Renault. He had a force of 40 to 50 men constantly employed.⁶⁶ William Montgomery was another who came in his service, but erected a flour-mill on Grand river in 1800, and in 1802 petitioned for an additional grant where the Terre Blue empties into the Platin, on which to build a saw-mill. John, Samuel, and Jacob Neal were also with Austin, and in 1799 lived on Breton creek. In 1800 Joseph De Selle (or Decelle) Duclos was syndic at Mine à Breton.⁶⁷ Nicolas Lachance in July, 1801, was designated as "Commissaire de police à la Mine à Breton" in some official documents of that time.

Not far from Mine à Breton, in Bellevue valley, an American settlement was begun in 1798. William Reed was the first settler here; he was a slave owner, and received permission from De Luziere, commandant of Nouvelle Bourbon, to make a settlement in this district for himself, family and connections.⁶⁸ He afterward lived on the Mississippi. Joseph Reed, his nephew, from Vincennes, came to Bellevue valley about the same time, but seems to have lived in other sections in the district since 1793. Solomon George arrived in 1798 with twelve slaves, and located on a fork of the St. Francois. Elisha Baker, who in 1798 cultivated land in Bois Brule bottom, removed from there to Bellevue valley, and his son, Elijah, in 1803 settled in the "Pineries," four miles from his father, on Clear Water creek, and in his application prays for a concession "in a retired situation."⁶⁹

approved by the Spanish government of Mexico. He is buried in the Presbyterian cemetery at Potosi.

⁶⁶ Commissioner's Reports, vol. iii., pp. 288-290.

⁶⁷ Deselle, at one time an ensign in the French service, was a descendant of Alexander Deselle Duclos, of Fort de Chartres, and who in 1745 received a grant of an island in the Mississippi river opposite the fort. — American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 214. This island was granted him by Chevalier de Bertel (or Berthel), commandant of the fort, De la Loire Flancour, commissary, and Barrios being notary.

⁶⁸ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, pp. 515 and 685.

⁶⁹ Other early settlers in Bellevue valley were John Lewis (1797), in this valley on Big river; Gabriel Nicolle (1798), a French-Canadian and one of the first settlers of St. Michael in 1800. In 1811 he claimed that he purchased land on the Saline from Wapcha, chief of the Peourias (Peorias), likely chief of the small Indian village near Ste. Genevieve. Evidently a made-up claim. William Humphreys (1798); Aquilla Low (1800), in this valley on Big river; Reuben Baker (1801), and later at Bois Brule bottom; David Gallagher (1802); John James (1802); Ananias McCoy (1802); Joseph Reed, Junior (1802); Solomon Ruggles (1802), afterward on Flat river, built a saw-mill there, was a friend of Moses Austin and may have come with him; William Ashbrook (1803); Thomas Baker (1803), had a so-called Tomahawk claim in this valley; he also had a claim in 1800 on Grand (Big) river, but in 1811 Benjamin Hardin was in possession of the tract, who being alarmed by the Indians left the country, his nephew, John Hardin, taking possession, but, while he was away on a campaign against the Indians, Baker returned, broke in the house and held the claim until he sold it; William Bates (1803), one of the followers of Austin; Thomas Bear (1803), on the waters of Big river; William Boydston (1803), on the waters of Big river, but in 1804 left; James Brown (1803); John Bear (1803), and on Bon Homme; Benjamin Crow (1803), in this valley on Big river; Walter Crow, settled under the authority of Decelle; John Cooper (1803); John Corder (1803); William Davis (1803) here on Big river; Miles

Another distinctly American settlement in the Ste. Genevieve district was made on and near the waters of Big river, in what is now St. Francois county. Abraham Baker and Thomas Alley, who in 1797 discovered the mines known as "Alley's mines" in that neighborhood, were among the first settlers. In the year following they brought their families to upper Louisiana, and about the same time John Andrews, of Mine à Breton, made a settlement on the "Rio Grande," as Big river was then called by the Spanish officials. Other families followed them, and soon a large settlement grew up. Among others, Henry Fry, an American, became engaged to marry a Miss Baker, but at that time, and in that section, there were no officers authorized to perform the marriage ceremony. Marriage in upper Louisiana then was not considered a civil contract, although the commandants of the several posts would perform the marriage ceremony for American settlers, who had not as yet become members of the Catholic church. So Mr. Fry, accompanied by his bride, her two sisters, her brother Aaron Baker, and their friends, started for Ste. Genevieve, but when they arrived in the open prairie near Terre Blue creek, some nine miles north of the present town of Farmington, they encountered a roving band of Osage Indians, who followed them and robbed them of their horses, guns, and furs belonging to Mr. Fry worth about \$1,500. They then attacked and took from Fry his clothes, ordered him to run, and when he refused an Indian struck him with his ramrod violently on the bare hips. The whole party were then stripped of their clothing and ornaments, only Baker escaping owing to blotches on his face, which caused the Indians to think he had the small-pox. One of the Misses Baker resisting, she was dragged over the ground and much injured. One of the young ladies afterward married John McRay, and the other Alexander McCoy, and their descendants still reside in St. Francois county. On account of this occurrence the marriage of Fry and his fiancée was postponed for a year. According to Rozier, Fry attained "the wonderful age of one hundred and fifteen

Goforth (1803), a Revolutionary soldier; Jacob Job (1803), and on Big river; Curtis Morris (1803), made his home with William Ashbrook, but had a cabin on a grant and cultivated the land, married Polly Crow, daughter of Benjamin Crow; Joseph McMurty (1803), in this valley on Big river; Thomas Reed (1803); Abraham Rickman (1803) settled by permission of Joseph Decelle; John Rickman (1803); Martin Ruggles (1803), a friend of Moses Austin, was also at Mine à Breton, and on the Saline; John Sinclair alias Sinkler (1803), in this valley and also on the St. Francois; John Autrey, or Ottery; Thomas and James McLaughlin; Robert Reed; William Reed, Junior. In 1804, Uriah Hull; James Hewitt; Bernard Rogan; Robert Sloan; Samuel Wakely; John Little; Edward Johnson, lived here, but came to the country prior to that time; William Jones, or Janes, Senior (1805) in this valley, at crossing Big river.

years."⁷⁰ But incidents like this show the fear of offending the government which prevailed among the American settlers in upper Louisiana. On the east side of the Mississippi, in the United States, at that time, such an occurrence would have aroused the settlers to immediate and aggressive action. The Indians would have been pursued, killed or driven out of the neighborhood; but under the Spanish government, the fear of the existing authorities was such that, insignificant as was the Spanish military force, none of the settlers dared to attack or pursue the Indians without express sanction of the legal authorities.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 120.

⁷¹ In this settlement on Big river we find claims of Joseph Pratte, a resident of Ste. Genevieve, but who claimed land in various places, had three arpens in the common field of Ste. Genevieve, was interested in mining at Old Mine, and had a grant including the Iron Mountain of 20,000 arpens, on the St. Francois river. Charles McLane dit English testified that in 1799 he was sent with Lewis Carron and Stephen Deline to ascertain the quality of the iron ore on this tract, included in the fork of a creek called by the French "La Fourché du Porc," a branch of the St. Francois. Afterward Pratte, Robert T. Brown, Francois Vallé and Walter Wilkinson, with hands, went on said land to build a furnace, forge, or bloomery to wash the ore, build cabins, etc. It also was claimed that Pratte was influential with the Indians and gave much assistance in keeping peace and maintaining relations of friendship between them and the whites, and that he was considered as rendering both people and government great service; William Alley (1797); Abraham Baker (1797), a native of Kentucky married Elizabeth Maybray in 1801; William Patterson (1798), and on the Mississippi in 1800; Pierre August Pratte, Junior (1798); John Strickland (1798), evidently a relative of Titus Strickland, on Platin; was also interested in mines at Mine à Breton; Sallie Adams (1799); John Alley (1799); John Baker (1798), was one of the militiamen who went to New Madrid when Indian was executed, and claimed a tract of land on this river as a reward for his services, said that he was informed that the lieutenant-governor promised land to those who joined the expedition. A John Baker and two sons, John, Junior, and Jesse, were given grants on the Pemiscon in 1801, in New Madrid district. Jesse came in 1803 and John, Junior, in 1802; Andrew and Aaron Baker (1798); Antoine Pratte (1799); Henry Pratte (1799), his son lived in lower Louisiana in this year, was sent to Canada to complete his education as a priest, returned to upper Louisiana and discharged clerical duties until his death; Abraham Eads (1799), was engaged in the lead mines at Mine à Breton for a time; his son William Eads in 1801 married Anne Eastes, all natives of Virginia. David Bohrer (or Rohrer) (1797), a German, sold one half of his land to Claibourne Rhodes, seems also to have been in the St. Charles district, on Mississippi Bluff; John Hague (1800), on this river and on Bois Brule; Henry Pagget (1800); Samuel Harrington (1801); Priscilla Estep (1801), was abandoned by her husband in 1804 or 1805; John Stewart says she came to this country with her father, James Rogers, and that he took her cotton to spin; John Eads (or Ears) sold in 1802 to Jacob Doggett; James Rogers (1799), says he settled two or three miles above Wideman's mill, but on account of the Indians, spent the next summer in Illinois, but returned to this river; Jean Comparios, may be the soldier who came with St. Ange from Fort de Chartres or one of his descendants (1801); James Cunningham (1802), on the St. Francois river prior to 1803; Ezekiel Estes dit Eastrige (1802); John Starnater (1802) on

The vicinity where is now located the city of Farmington was known as the "Murphy settlement" during the Spanish occupancy of upper Louisiana. William Murphy, from Tennessee, came to this neighborhood in 1798, authorized to make a settlement on the St. Francois river. It is said that he was a Baptist preacher, but this is hardly probable, because before he could secure a permit to settle under the Spanish rules and ordinances, he was required to make a declaration that he was a Catholic, or that he would rear his family in the Catholic faith. The settlement of Protestant preachers especially was prohibited. Murphy, after receiving permission to settle, returned to Tennessee and died there. It was not until 1801 that the first tree was felled in this settlement by David Murphy, his son, who came out from the Gabourie, where he had settled in 1799 with his slaves. In 1802 he was joined by his brother, William, Junior, who had first settled in Illinois, but, as he was the owner of twelve slaves, crossed the Mississippi in 1798 and took up his residence on Gabourie creek, near Ste. Genevieve, and moved from there to this neighborhood. Richard also settled here in 1802, and in 1803 Mrs. Sarah Murphy, widow of William Murphy, Senior, with the remainder of the family, Isaac, Jesse, Dubart, Joseph, and one or two daughters, and some negro slaves, also moved from Tennessee to upper Louisiana. She made the journey down the Tennessee river and up the Mississippi in a flat-boat with her family and servants, and after much hardship and peril reached Ste. Genevieve; on January 10, 1804, she arrived at the home of her son, Richard, then located not far from the present site of Farmington. Manifestly Mrs. Murphy was a woman of great energy and ability. Within three years after her arrival she organized and taught the first Sunday school west of the Mississippi river. She was a sister of David Barton, elected first United States senator from Missouri. Michael the Terre Blue prior to this time; Robert Adams (1803); Elijah Benton (1803), brother-in-law of Francois Wideman, settled fifteen miles in front of the settlements on promise of Commandant Vallé, made to Wideman, that all his connections he could induce to come to upper Louisiana might settle on the frontier; Dr. Jesse Benton (1803), a physician, settled on the west branch of Big river, a brother or relative of Thomas H. Benton, afterward returned to Tennessee; George Cunningham; Isaac Doghead (1803), a German on this river opposite Pratte's Spring branch, most probably related to John Doghead who was an early settler in the St. Louis district; Elias Austin Elliott (1803); William North (1803); John Michael Rober (1803), also on the Joachim and Mill creek; Michael Rafer (1803), on this river and Joachim, may be Robert; James J. Withrow (1803); Francois Grondon (or Grondine), likely from Kaskaskia, on Mine fork of this river; Louis Self.

and Joseph Hart, who claimed to be Catholics, settled in this neighborhood in 1800, and Benjamin Petit in 1801 opened a farm on the north fork of the St. Francois river. He was a large slave owner, and he and his son, John L. Petit, traded up and down the St. Francois river. * James Campbell, it seems, worked for him, but afterward moved to Louisiana. Jonathan Dosley built a grist-mill in 1801 in this settlement, and his widow, Mary, lived here and operated this mill in 1802.⁷² Samuel Pierceall lived near there on Flat river in 1803, so also Jacob Doggett, who discovered "Doggett's Mine." Frederick Connor, afterward a resident on the Joachim, lived on the Terre Blue in this same locality prior to 1799; John Anderson, called John Crow Anderson, lived on the Terre Blue in 1798, and in Bellevue valley in 1803. Jacob Mosteller, apparently a German, lived on Hazle Run of Terre Blue in 1803, was a hatter by trade and carried on his business on his farm.⁷³

Nathaniel Cook in 1799 settled several miles southwest of the Murphy settlement, and ever since that locality has been known as the "Cook" settlement. Nathaniel Cook was a native of Kentucky, and after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, occupied a conspicuous position in the early history of Missouri. He was a

⁷² In this Murphy settlement on the St. Francois we find George Silas (1798); Christopher Anthony (1799) at Ousley or Housley's settlement; James Carnavan (1799); James Dotson (or Dodson) (1799), received a grant with James Carnavan to farm and raise cattle; in 1801 Dodson was also on the Mississippi; William Dillon (1799); Jonathan Owsley (or Housley) came to the country in 1797, and settled on the St. Francois in 1799; Thomas Ring (1799); Pierre Veriat (1800) came from Lorraine, France, married Rhoda Christy of Virginia in 1801; John Beene (Bean) (1800); Thomas P. Bedford (1800), cultivated land here awhile and then abandoned it, in 1801 or 1802 sold to pay his debts and bought by Girouard, afterward his wife married a man named Leposte; William Crawford or Crafford (1800); Joseph Frederick (1800), afterward at Pointe Coupée, in lower Louisiana; Joab Line (1800), from Tennessee, had two children and two orphan children, settled about four miles from the river on the north fork, next to the Murphy claim, and had a controversy with Murphy as to the boundary of his land which was brought up before De Luziere, the commandant of New Bourbon; Murphy secured most of his land and crop; While living here Line's wife eloped in 1802.—American State Papers, 2 Public Land, page 509. Line also on Wolf creek; John Clements (1801), a witness as to events on this river; John Kephart, or Capheart, a German, settled on the north fork of the St. Francois, he came from North Carolina. Mathew Logan (1801), at Housley's settlement; Louis Martin (1801), on this river and in St. Louis district; John Mathews, from North Carolina, settled on the north fork of this river in 1802, at that time known as Housley's settlement; John Reaves (1801), says in 1804 on account of the Osage Indians, the inhabitants were driven together for a common defense, and that they raised a common crop in that year; Peter Burns, Senior (1802), was scared off his property by Osage Indians into the settlement. John Mathews says at that time these Indians committed several depredations and forced the people for safety to the settlements, particularly the women; Patrick Estes, came with Murphy from Tennessee and settled on this river in 1802; James James, lived here but in 1803 sold out and moved to Cold Water, St. Louis district; Robert Burrus (1803), seems to have been familiar with settlements on this river; James Crawford (1803), brother of Thompson, moved to Cape Girardeau in 1805; Thompson Crawford was an early resident; Jacob Chambers (1803), at Housley's settlement, and on Callaway's Mill creek; Adam and William Johnson (1803); Robert A. Logan (1803); John Mann (1803); John Taylor (1803); Henry Burley; Charles Logan.

⁷³ On Terre Blue, a branch of Big river, we find Joseph Mosteller (1799); Robert Estes dit Eastrige (1801), lived at a spring on this branch; Abraham Parker (1801); John A. Henton (1802); John Andrews (1802); John August (1802); Jean Burk, Sr. (1799), a blacksmith (forgeron), prior to this time in Ste. Genevieve.

deputy surveyor in this district, and appointed one of the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions at Ste. Genevieve, and in 1812 was major in Dodge's regiment of Missouri rangers, and in 1820 elected a member of the Constitutional convention. During many years he was a prominent political character. John B. Cook, one of the first judges of the Supreme court of Missouri, was his brother. Daniel P. Cook, the first representative in Congress of the state of Illinois, and very conspicuous as an early leader of the anti-slavery party of that state, was another brother. Cook county, in which the city of Chicago is located, was named in honor of Daniel P. Cook.⁷⁴

The beginning of a settlement where Fredericktown is now situated was made in 1800, but that settlement was then known as St. Michael. Here a grant of four hundred arpens was made to

⁷⁴ The Cook family originally from England, came to Virginia in the early part of the 18th century. About ten years after the close of the Revolutionary War, John Dillard Cook moved to Scott county, Kentucky, where he lived as a thrifty farmer. His eldest son, Colonel Nathaniel Cook, went from Kentucky to Missouri in 1797. Before leaving his native state he was in some skirmishes with the Indians. He served in the second war for Independence, and commanded a regiment at the battle of Lundy's Lane. He was elected a member from Madison county of the Constitutional convention in 1820. At the election held August 23, 1821, Colonel Cook was a prominent candidate for lieutenant-governor, being defeated by a small plurality. He was a formidable opponent of Thomas H. Benton for the United States Senate the first time that distinguished man was elected. In 1802 he married Honore Madden, daughter of Thomas Madden, the Spanish deputy surveyor for the Ste. Genevieve district. The only surviving member of Colonel Cook's family now (1905) is Mrs. Letitia Frissell, of Oak Ridge, Missouri. Daniel P. Cook, a younger brother of Colonel Cook, after he was admitted to the bar removed from Kentucky to Illinois, and was identified with the early history of that state. He was supreme judge of the state, and at one time, probably during J. Q. Adams' administration, was bearer of dispatches to the English court. He was also a member of Congress from Illinois. His wife was the daughter of Governor Edwards of Illinois, and their only son is General John Cook, of Illinois. Daniel Cook was not yet forty when he died, in 1827, at Springfield. He led the anti-slavery party of 1824 to victory in that great and momentous contest in Illinois. John D. Cook, the youngest of the three brothers, was born in Orange county, Virginia, in 1790. He studied law under General Talbert of Frankfort, Kentucky, and in 1814 married Miss Sarah Middleton Taylor, cousin of General Zachary Taylor, and soon after moved to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. John D. Cook comes into prominent notice as a member from Ste. Genevieve county of the Constitutional convention mentioned above. He was appointed one of the supreme judges of Missouri, upon the organization of the state, August 12, 1821, which office he resigned in 1823. He was twice reappointed, but, refusing to serve, was appointed circuit judge of the tenth circuit. The circuit then included nearly all southeast Missouri. This office he continued to hold until the election of General Taylor to the presidency, when he was appointed United States district attorney for Missouri, which position he held at the time of his death, in 1852.

thirteen individuals, the grant lying between Saline creek and the Little St. Francois. It was purely a French-Canadian settlement in the beginning. The first residents of the village of St. Michael were Peter Chevalier, from the Aux Vasse; Paul, Andrew, and Baptiste De Guire, from Ste. Genevieve; Antoine, Joseph, Nicolas, and Michael Caillot dit Lachance, from near New Bourbon; Gabriel Nicolle (or Nicolee), from Grande river; Pierre Variat, who also had lived on Grande river, and in 1804 on the St. Francois, and three others. John Callaway, an American, had settled on the Saline creek here in the previous year, 1799. These settlers were all engaged more or less in lead mining at Mine La Motte, situated only a few miles from St. Michael. It is worth remembering that at Mine La Motte, on the 7th of April 1774, seven persons engaged in mining were killed by the Osage Indians, undoubtedly the bloodiest massacre in upper Louisiana during the Spanish regime. Joseph Vallé a son of Don Francesco Vallé, aged twenty years, was among those killed. The others were Jacques Parent, aged twenty years, Auguste Chatal, aged thirty-five years and Menard, aged thirty years, all Canadians, Dupont, a native of France, aged thirty years, an Englishman named Phillips, aged thirty years and a negro named Calise. From the church records of Ste. Genevieve, it appears that these victims of Indian warfare were reinterred in 1778 in the Catholic cemetery there. On the road leading from Mine La Motte, Louis Lacroix settled in 1798. He was a lead miner by profession, interested in mines at Old Mine, Mine à Breton, as well as at Mine La Motte; also claimed an interest in a concession at Belle Pointe on the Saline in 1798 with Antoine and Gabriel Caillot dit Lachance. Belle Pointe is a locality not certainly identified, but likely was a place on the road to Mine La Motte. In 1804 La Croix was at Fourche à Courtois.

At an early period a number of settlers must have resided at what was even at that time known as Old Mine on Old Mine creek, in what is now Washington county. From the church record of the parish of St. Ann, Fort de Chartres, under date of September 28, 1748, it appears that Pierre Wivarenne, of Picardy, France, and his wife, Marie Ann Rondeau, were "habitans du village des Mines", no doubt referring to this earliest mining settlement in Missouri. This Wivarenne we may be certain came from Picardy with Renault. A number of citizens of Ste. Genevieve subsequently were interested in mining

here, among others Joseph Pratte, Amable Partenais dit Mason and Baptiste Placet. About thirty-one inhabitants resided at Old Mine when the country was transferred to the United States, and made claim to four hundred arpens of land there.⁷⁵ Not far from here was the Fontaine de la Prairie, three-fourths of a mile from the New Diggings' Mine. In 1803 Gideon Treat established a tan-yard in this prairie.

Within the limits of the present county of Jefferson, along the Joachim, the Plattin, and on Big river, a number of settlements were made before the Louisiana purchase. William Null, Senior and Junior, in 1799, located on Joachim creek; James Varnum built a distillery between the Joachim and Plattin in 1801, and carried on business there until 1804. In 1798 Francois Wideman operated a ferry at the mouth of the Joachim across the Mississippi, where Herculaneum was subsequently laid out, built a bridge across the Joachim for the accommodation of carts, carriages, etc., but afterward sold out to Jeduthan Kendall.⁷⁶ Among the earliest settlers on the Plattin was John A. Sturgis, who received a grant in 1796, and built a mill on this stream in 1798, which was carried away by a freshet. The mill was afterward rebuilt, and in 1800 he sold it to Jacob Horine and Jacob Donner,⁷⁷ the consideration mentioned being fifteen hun-

⁷⁵ Living at Old Mine and interested in the mines there were Jean Baptiste Miliet (Milliette) and son, had a grant at Old Mine in 1792, but abandoned it, and in 1799 it was re-granted to Jacques Guibourd, of Ste. Genevieve, interested in the mines here with Joseph Pratte; Stephen Deline (1797); August Vallé (1799). In 1803 a number of settlers, having lived at these mines several years, made a joint petition for a grant of their lands, among them Nicholas Boilvin, who in 1802 was at Mine à Breton, then on the Mississippi at its junction with Apple creek and subsequently at Prairie du Chien, see note 44. In 1806, Joseph Blay; Louis Boyer; Pierre Baptiste Boyer; Bernard and Veuve Theresa Colman; Alexander Duclos, belonging, no doubt, to the family of Alexander Decelle Duclos, who lived at Fort de Chartres in 1745 (see claim on account of Joseph Decelle, heir of Alexander Decelle, who lived at Fort de Chartres, 2 P. L., page 214-227); Antoine Govreau; Francois Maniche; Francois Milhomme (Millum), from Kaskaskia; Baptiste (Jean Baptiste) Placet (or Placey), was near Ste. Genevieve in 1797, and also interested in the mines at Mine à Breton in 1802; Jean and Charles Robert (Robar or Robin); Charles seems also to have been at Carondelet; James and Charles Rose; Jacques Bon (1801); Louis Milhomme, also interested in Mine à Breton prior to 1803; Jean Portell (1802); Francois Robert; T. Rose; Jacques Bequette; Charles P. Colman; Alexander Colman (1803); James Winston (1803).

⁷⁶ Claiming on the Joachim we find James Lambert (1797); James Foster (1801), but afterward moved to Concordia parish, Louisiana; Walter Jewitt (1800); Benjamin Johnson (1802); Isaac Vanmetre (1801); John Atkins (1803); Philip Roberts (1803); Thomas Langley Beves (or Bevis) (1801); David Boyles (1803); also on Sandy creek; John Connor (1803), from Kaskaskia; Randolph Harmstick.

⁷⁷ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 529.

dred gallons of merchantable whiskey, to be delivered in 1803 at the mouth of the Platin, but cautiously the vendors inserted the additional clause, that they would not be responsible if the boat should sink in the river on the trip down. Sturgis was syndic in the upper part of Ste. Genevieve district, his jurisdiction extending as far as the Maramec. He was a native of Pennsylvania and had served in the Revolutionary war. Another early pioneer here was Titus Strickland, who came over from Kaskaskia in about 1796. He was a native of New York, but as a child was brought to Louisville, Kentucky. His wife was a niece of Captain Robert George. He served in the Indian wars of Tennessee and Kentucky in his youth before he came to upper Louisiana.⁷⁸ Thomas Carlin, from Kentucky, settled on Platin creek in 1801, and died here.⁷⁹ Near the head waters of the Joachim and Platin, Peter McCormick opened a farm in 1802. In 1818 he was an active Methodist, and took a deep interest in education.⁸⁰ John Durlin, in 1799, established a *vacherie* (stock farm) on this stream, but in 1807, his place was sold at public sale for debt to Thomas Fiveash Riddick.⁸¹ On Fourche à

⁷⁸ Featherstonaugh found Strickland "near a spring" on this creek, in 1834, very likely the original settler, because in 1851 he was still alive.—Excursion Through the Slave States, vol. i., p. 307. He had a lot at one time in the Ste. Genevieve "Big Field." In 1851 lived at Ste. Genevieve.

⁷⁹ After his death his widow moved to Illinois with her family, and one of his sons was elected governor of that state, and the family became distinguished in the military service of the United States. Carlinville, the county seat of Macoupin county, Illinois, was named in honor of Governor Thomas Carlin.

⁸⁰ John Mason Peck says: "Mr. McCormick, an old settler in this range, and regarded by all his neighbors as a sort of captain to whom they looked for guidance, though a backwoodsman, with very little school education, had sound common sense, and was determined to have a good school for his large family and the children of his neighbors. He enlisted some of his friends in Herculaneum to send him a rale teacher, none of those whiskey-drinking Irishmen, 'as got into our settlement last year, or, sure as I'm a Methodist, we'll lynch him.'"

⁸¹ Among the residents on the Platin we find: Thomas Comstock, from Kaskaskia, removed from there in 1784, presumably to Louisiana, and lived on the Platin in 1795; Thomas Harrod; John Violeny (1798); Titus Strickland (1798), sold his claim in 1803 to John A. Sturgis, and moved to the Saline and New Bourbon; Joab and Eli Strickland (1798), may be sons or relatives of David Strickland; John A. Sturgis, Junior, was also here; a son of John Sturges Jacques Sturges in 1799 married Phoebe Strickland; Jacob Horine (1800); Michael Ragan (1800); Joseph and Thomas Bear (1802); Joseph Jerred (1802); John Donner (1802), from the name would infer he was a German; Humphrey Gibson, Senior (1802), his son Humphrey also lived here, and was a slave owner; Robert Smith (1803); Abner Wood (1804). On the headwaters of the Platin and Indian creek a settlement was formed, known as the "Richwoods settlement," and the following persons lived there or claimed property: Pierre Lord, but afterward, in 1799, in the St. Charles district; Francois M.

Courtois, Robert Hunter dit Polite Robert settled in 1799, but sold out to Pierre Abar, a Canadian, in 1801, and cultivated land at Old Mine on Little Mine river, Manuel Blanco being his tenant. Pierre Abar was also at Mine à Breton.

South of Ste. Genevieve, fronting on the Mississippi river for some distance, lies an extensive alluvial district now in Perry county, bounded on the north by the St. Lawrence creek and south by St. Cosme creek, and which has been known since the earliest times as Bois Brule bottom. This Bois Brule bottom is separated from the American bottom on the east side by the Mississippi river, and about opposite the upper end of this bottom was situated Kaskaskia. Among the first settlers in Bois Brule was John Baptiste Barsaloux, a traveling merchant, who lived in this bottom in 1787, and applied for a concession for himself and his father Girard Barsaloux.⁸² A notable event (at least, at that time) was the killing of one John O'Connor, who settled in this bottom in 1799, by a man by the name of Stone. This is one of the earliest murders in upper Louisiana of which we have any record. In 1803 O'Connor's property was sold at public sale to satisfy a claim of Dr. Walter Fenwick, to William Lowry or Laughry, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve, but who in 1802 lived on Indian creek.⁸³

Benoist (1800); Louis Giguire (or Zeguares) (possibly De Guire) (1800); Michael, David, Jacob, and Benjamin Horine, were here about 1801, Horine station on the Iron Mountain railroad named in honor of this family; Avon Quick (1801).

⁸² Probably related to Nicholas Barsaloux, who died in St. Louis in 1776.

⁸³ Other settlers in Bois Brule bottom and up and along Bois Brule creek were: John W. McClenahan, a native of Virginia, in (1796), was on Mill (now McClenahan) creek, at the edge of this bottom, where he started a mill in 1797; he moved away afterward and settled at "Pointe Coupée," in lower Louisiana, in 1803; Christopher Barnhart, seems to have been in this bottom on the Mississippi and on the St. Laurent in 1794, near where is now located the town St. Marys in Ste. Genevieve county; Jacob Crow (1795); Lewis Dickson (1796), at the lower end of this bottom, on Cinque Homme; William Burns (1796), in 1799 was in the St. Charles district; David Clark (1796), from Kaskaskia; John Graham (1796), from Illinois; Thomas Allen (1797), in this bottom on the Mississippi, joining the settlement at Barrens, also on Negro fork of the Maramec in 1803; Barnabas (or Barney) Burns, came to the country it seems in 1784, but lived here until 1797, and on Cape St. Cosme in 1801; James Burns (1797), waived his claim in this locality, married Elizabeth Shelby, of New Madrid, daughter of David Shelby; find a James Burns afterward in St. Charles district, forty-five miles west of St. Louis, and may be the same. A James Burns on Crooked creek, in the Cape Girardeau district; Michael and Benjamin Burns were also here; Joseph Donohoe (1797), bought from Christopher Barnhart on the waters of the Mississippi and St. Laurent; Jean Jollin (1797); John Ross McLaughlin (1797); Alexander McConohoe (1797); James McLain (1797), seems to have been in the employ of other inhabitants; Benjamin Walker (1797); Samuel Bridge (1798), from Mass-

On St. Cosme, or Cinque Homme creek, which empties its waters into the Mississippi at the lower end of Bois Brule, a number of farms were opened, extending along and up the creek. At the mouth of the creek we find Levi Wiggins in 1801, and farther up John Duval in

achusetts, married a daughter of Benjamin Strother in 1799, came to New Bourbon in about 1794 and worked at his trade as a cooper, applying for land in Bois Brule in 1797, already taken by St. Jemme and Vital Beauvais. Same land was applied for by a man by the name of Samuel for Robert Brousteu or Broaster (Brewster) of Kentucky, who died before making a settlement; Elias Coen, worked for other inhabitants a number of years, and received a grant in this bottom in 1798 to establish a mill, was on Wolf creek, a fork of the St. Francois in 1800; Andrew Cox (1798), in this bottom and on the St. Laurent; Francois Clark, Senior (1798), from Kentucky, lived here on the Mississippi; Thomas Cochran (1798); Henry Clark (1798), eldest son of Francois Clark, name also spelled Clarek; James Davis (1798), sold out in 1803 to Francois Moreman of New Bourbon, lived on Negro fork in 1802, and on the St. Francois in 1803; Jonas Dutton (1798); James Dodge (1798), from Kentucky, on the Mississippi, in 1801 sold to Timothy Kelly; Joshua Dodson (1798), from Kentucky, lived on the Mississippi in Bois Brule bottom, sold to Timothy Kelly in 1801, in 1799 owned property on the St. Francois in partnership with James Connavan to farm and raise cattle, also on the Femme Osage in St. Charles district, where his property was sold in 1805 at mortgage sale to Thomas Smith; John Greenwalt (1798), also on the Saline; John Townsend (1798); James Thompson (1798), also on the Saline; William Vanburken (or Vanburkelow), a German (1798); Hypolite Bolon (1799), an Indian interpreter; Thomas Donohue (1799); in this bottom on the Mississippi and St. Laurent, had a tan-yard on the Saline; Joshua Fisher (1799) on St. Cosme creek; Absalom Kennison (1799), from Kentucky; Robert McLaughlin (1799); John dit Jonas Nusam (1799); David Strickland (1799), a Revolutionary soldier, lived in this bottom but also interested in mines at Mine à Breton; in 1803 sold out by De Lassus at public sale to John Smith a creditor of Strickland; Elisha or Elijah Belsha (1800); Isaac Devore, Devree or Deveau (1800), on the Mississippi; Alexander Dandiere (or Dondle) (1800), seems to have been in partnership with John Hague in this bottom; William Flynn (1800), and his son, William; William Fitzgibbons (1800); John Harvin (or Haervin) (1800), also in St. Louis district; John Kennison (1800); Reuben Middleton (1800); John Morgan, Junior of North Carolina (1800); Henry Hatten (1799); James Murdock (or Murdough) (1800); Elizabeth Socherd (1800), from Kentucky, lived near Kennison there; Pelagie Aime (1801) a member of the Aime family of Kaskaskia; Archibald Campster (1801), died prior to 1804, his widow here at that time; Walter Smoot (1801), on the St. Cosme creek; John Smith, Senior (1800); Thomas Tucker (1801); Archibald and Solomon Morgan (1802); Josiah Millard (1805); Alexander Murdock (1803), on the Mississippi opposite Pole island; Elizabeth Carnes (?) (1802); Francois Clark, Junior (1803); David Crips (1803); William Gritz (or Crites, Krytz or Kreutz) (1803), a German or of German descent; Richard Hawkins (1803), acquired the head right of William Morse, from Kaskaskia, where he had served in the militia; Joseph Hagan (1803); George Belsha; James Cowan (or Coen), afterward moved to St. Louis district; Elisha Crosby; George Eagen (or Egers), a German, settled here, but absconded, leaving his wife, who remained in the bottom; A Joseph Elaire, a native of Canada, in 1800 married Rachael Eagens, of North Carolina, Archibald Comster, Benjamin Cox and Peter O'Neal being witnesses, may be related; Christian Fender, a German; Jacob Reed; James Wright, lived in this bottom, but moved to Brushy bayou, Rapides parish, Louisiana.

1788 had a grant, and near him William Boyce (Boise) located, who died in Ste. Genevieve in 1793. Still farther up the creek and where the forks of St. Cosme creek and the north fork of the Saline interlock, Isadore Moore in 1801 opened a farm near the present Perryville,⁸⁴ and Barnard Layton secured a grant where now is situated the town. Near his grant on the south fork of the Saline, and where the headwaters of this stream approach nearest to the headwaters of the St. Cosme, then called "The Barrens" (because an open prairie), a large settlement of Tuckers, Moores, Haydens, and Laytons, all from Kentucky, and Catholics in religion, was established in 1800-1-2-3.⁸⁵ Near the mouth of the Saline, the ancient salt works, antedating as

⁸⁴ On this stream we also find Henry Smith (1800), who came from Saline, where he was compelled to abandon his claim; William Dunn (1801), on The Barrens, between this stream and the Saline. This Dunn, it appears, had a grant of 7.056 arpens on the rivers Cuivre and Femme Osage, in St. Charles district, in 1802, granted by De Lassus, and assigned same to Arend Rutgers. John Fisher (1801); Aquilla Hagan (1801), from Kentucky, settled near the Saline, and in 1803 asks an additional grant on this stream; James Berry (1801); Benjamin Cox (1802) and his son, Benjamin. This Benjamin Cox, most likely, is a cousin of Zachariah Cox, who, in 1799, passed down the Ohio, and afterward wrote Benjamin Cox from there, giving an account of his journey, as follows: "On the 15th of July, I set out from Smithland, Christian County, Ky., for this place, with a view of accomplishing a commercial establishment. A number of the good citizens accompanied me with a view of exploring the country west of the Mississippi, provided they could obtain the approbation of the Spanish government. With much abuse and difficulty from the officers at Fort Massac we passed that garrison and arrived at New Madrid July 25th. The commandant of that fort treated us very politely, and with much respect, but, he not being authorized to permit the company with me to pass into the country they had a desire to explore, the company all returned to Smithland; some of the men who ascended the Ohio in company with me passed Fort Massac by land, under care of Captain Samuel Hancock, by authority of Colonel Moses Shelby." James Moore, Senior (1802), no doubt came over from Kaskaskia and settled on this creek, said that he was fired on by Indians, who pursued him for several miles; his son, James Moore, also lived here; William Middleton (1802); Theopolis Williams; Bernard Smith (1803); Clement Viriat (1803); Samuel Hinks, Senior, on this stream and on Big river; Clement Knott (1803); Charles Lee.

⁸⁵ Joseph Tucker, Senior, in 1801 undertook to construct a grist-mill on the south fork of the Saline; his son, Joseph, Junior, also lived here; Michael, Peter, William, Henry and John Tucker (1801), from Kentucky, all lived near Joseph, and may have been his sons or relatives; a John Tucker in New Madrid district in 1797, on Lake St. Mary, and on the Mississippi in Cape Girardeau district; Clement Hayden (or Headen) in 1803 sold his grant to Thomas Riner; Bede Moore (1803); Simon Duval (1803); Isidore Moore (1801); John Layton, Senior (1802), and his sons, John, Junior, Bernard and Ignatius, from Kentucky, also had property on the Saline; Jonathan Preston (1803), on The Barrens, between St. Cosme and the Saline; Thomas Quick (1803), on The Barrens, also Elizabeth Quick; James and Joseph Miles, on The Barrens; John Duval from Nelson Co., Kentucky, in 1799 married Anna Donoughoe, daughter of David Donoughoe of St. Marie Co. William Cowan, John Hawkins and Leroy Elliott were witnesses, on St. Cosme.

we have seen every settlement, when Louisiana was acquired, were operated by Israel Dodge and his son, of New Bourbon. Farther up this stream, near what is now known as Coffman, Thomas Madden, slave owner and deputy surveyor under the Spanish government, had his residence and here erected a grist-mill. Job Westover, a carpenter on the Aux Vasse, was employed to build the mill in 1800, but was fired on by the Indians and left, consequently the mill was not finished until about 1803. In 1799 Madden bought the improvement of Thomas Dodge on the Aux Vasse, and built a distillery on it, which was afterward destroyed. John Hawkins had salt works on the Saline in 1800, near the Bois Brule bottom, and also worked for others; he married the daughter of "Dame Kaster."⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Others on the Saline were Ephraim Carpenter (1797), from Kentucky, first settled at Kaskaskia, came to Louisiana with the Strother party, settled on the Saline, but was driven away by the Osage Indians, and sold his property to James E. Piller, then kept a ferry on the Mississippi in 1798; married a daughter of Captain Sampson Archer, at this time resident of New Madrid. Carpenter afterward moved to Natchez, because, as his wife writes her mother from Ste. Genevieve, she found that "it would not answer for them to live among French people." Jean Marie Lagrande (1797); Samuel D. Strother (1797), with Benjamin and William Strother from Virginia; James, Samuel, and Henry Starke, all from Kentucky, had received a joint grant on this river. Samuel D. Strother in 1800 had a separate grant on which he made sugar, and in 1802 was on Randal creek, in Cape Girardeau district; was in Bellevue valley in 1799; Benjamin Strother also had another grant on condition that he should establish a mill, which he did; Philip Emdic (1798); Joseph Belcom (1798), came to the Spanish possession in this year from Kaskaskia, had a claim in the tract originally conceded to Philip Renault in the little village of St. Phillippe; Stacy McDonough (1798); Raphael St. Jeme (1798); Job Westover (1798), a carpenter and millwright, lived on this river, following his trade; Thomas Chalfal (or Chaffin) (1799), came to the county several years prior to this time; James Francois Dillon (1799), a Frenchman; James Ferrell (1799), afterward removed to Concordia parish, Louisiana; James P. Piller (or Pillows) (1799), purchased an improvement from Ephraim Carpenter, but one of the Vallés took away his improvement by having it surveyed into his claim in 1802. Vallé took one-half of his crop for rent. This man afterward bought property from Samuel D. Strother in Cape Girardeau district; James Thompson, Junior (1799); John Hawkins (1800), worked in salt works on this river in this year, had a place on the south fork; Rowland Boyd (1801), on the south fork; Jacob Boyce (Boisse) (1801), from Kaskaskia, also at Old Mine; Archibald Huddleston (or Hudaston), Hubert Fluellen, his attorney; James and Tunis Quick (1801), lived on the Saline and at other points in the Ste. Genevieve district, and Benjamin and Daniel Quick, who had grants in the St. Charles district, apparently all are members of the same family; Henry Grass (1802), on the south fork, in 1804 bought of Joseph Motley, assignee of Francois Maraman (Moreman), assignee of David Yarbrough, who settled it, and had a number of sugar troughs; Amos Rowar (or Roark) (1802), on the south fork of the Saline, afterward a pioneer in Gasconade county; Bernard Cecil (or Cissell) (1803), on the south fork; Francois Kenner (1803); Luke Matenly (or Mattingly) (1803), on the south fork; John Newman (1803), on the south fork; Thomas Riney (or Riner) (1803), near Bois Brule; Andrew Chevalier; Joshua and Benjamin Delaplane; Joseph Mating (or Mattingly), on the south fork; Rowland Meredith; Louis Robarge

The Aux Vasse is a stream running east and west through what is now Ste. Genevieve county, parallel with the Saline, and about two miles north of it. The headwaters of this stream interlink with the Saline in the granite hills of St. Francois and Madison counties. Like the Saline, it is a stream of picturesque beauty, running over gravelly beds. Some of the early Spanish grants on the Saline covered the territory between the two rivers. Thus the grant of Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere, made in 1787, was bounded by both rivers. Peyroux never lived on this grant, but undoubtedly he had some small improvements made on it, operated salt works and a stock-farm, "vacherie." It is said that when he went to Europe he left a tenant in possession of his property, but that after the cession of the Louisiana territory this tenant combined with some speculators, and making a fictitious claim against Peyroux, caused this land to be sold to pay the fraudulent claim. Thomas Dodge settled near the mouth of this stream in 1797, having acquired the claim of De Guire, who first lived there. Dodge sold to Madden, as we have seen.⁸⁷ In 1802, Vallé had a water saw-mill on the Aux Vasse at a place called the "Pineries," likely some distance up the stream.

The Brazeau bottom and creek, also known as "Obrazo" creek, is located in the southeast corner of Perry county. The creek empties into the Mississippi near the present town of Wittenberg. This place is located on a Spanish grant made to Joseph Manning. The first settler in Brazeau bottom was George A. Hamilton, a Kentucky Catholic, who opened a farm in 1797 in the bottom fronting on the river. He was a brother-in-law of Thomas Fenwick.⁸⁸ Adjoining (or Robar), in St. Louis district in 1766; Swanson Yarbrough (or Borough), on the south fork.

⁸⁷ Stephen Paggett, in 1797, built a furnace on the Aux Vasse and made sugar, was also at St. Genevieve; a French-Canadian from Kaskaskia (1781) was on this stream, had a grant near New Bourbon in the common fields of Ste. Genevieve in 1797, was also on Grand river, and in 1800 one of the first settlers of St. Michael. A Pierre Chevalier in 1800 had a concession on Lake St. Thomas; William James (1797), a slave owner from Kentucky; Antoine Dielle (1793); Jean Baptiste Datchurut (1787), between this stream and St. Laurent, at a place called "La Saline," probably the Jean Datchurut, already mentioned, who bought salt-works on the Saline in 1767; in 1799 a Baptiste Datchurut in St. Louis; John Myer (1807), bought property here of J. Guibourd, which had been cultivated since 1800, including a tan-yard, and which had been abandoned to him by Pascal Detchemendy as part of his concession, also bought another tract of J. Guibourd adjoining; Richard Madden and brother Thomas, Junior, sons of Thomas Madden, Senior, claimed large tracts on this stream, also Francois Madden.

⁸⁸ Other settlers in Brazeau bottom and at Brazeau creek were Robert

and west of Hamilton, William Hinkston, in the uplands, had a grant, and so also not far from him Gen. Ben. Harrison, who moved into this district from New Madrid. The town of Altenburg is located one-half mile north of the Harrison grant.

On Establishment creek some early settlements were made, but to what extent cannot now be definitely determined. It does not seem that many settlers lived there, although large land grants were made. Thus to Francois Coleman, a grant of twenty-five hundred arpens; Francois Vallé, 7.056 arpens, and Francois Poillevre 1.600 arpens. These grantees never made settlements, but Nicolas Laplante dit Plante in 1797 made a settlement on the Duclos fork of this river, and with him Vincent Lafois. Laplante for a time lived at Ste. Genevieve prior to 1803.⁸⁹

In addition to settlers already mentioned, we find that Joseph Loisel or Loisselle, from Kaskaskia, in 1786, lived on the river near Ste. Genevieve, but in 1788 was at Carondelet, and may be the same as one Joseph Loise who lived in St. Louis. In 1787 Louis Lasource dit Moreau had a concession on the Mississippi near Ste. Genevieve, but on account of the overflows of the river petitioned for a grant farther back from the river; also owned property at Mine à Breton, and in 1789 in St. Louis, and in 1797 at Carondelet.⁹⁰ A number of settlers also had grants and lived on and between the forks of the Gabourie northwest of Ste. Genevieve.⁹¹ Odonis creek empties into Hinckson (1800); Joseph James, in 1801, under verbal permission of De Luziere, commandant of New Bourbon; David L. Johnson (1802), on forks of the creek; William Johnson (1802), from Kentucky, a William Johnson on River St. Francois, and seems at one time to have lived at New Bourbon; Charles Duncaster, according to Henry Riley, lived here prior to 1803; Samuel Hinch.

⁸⁹ Thomas Clem in 1788 lived on this stream adjacent Colman; Francois Poillevre of St. Louis district was another claimant, but it is not certain whether he actually lived here.

⁹⁰ These settlers on and near the Mississippi were Michael MacKay (or McCoy) (1798), at a point opposite Isle Aux Chevaux (Horse Island, near Chester) who in 1803 sold to John McGee, who in the same year sold to Michael Quinn of Cape Girardeau, and he in 1805 sold to Charles Gregoire of Philadelphia, but residing in Ste. Genevieve, and he again sold to Robert McMahan of Randolph county, Indiana territory (Illinois); Noel (or Neal) Hornbeck (1798); Mark, James, and John Manning (1802) all lived on this river; Thomas Rardin (1802), on this river near the Platin; John Solomon (1802); Spencer Adams (1803); James Hutchins (1803); Michael Quinn (1803); John Patterson, probably the same person who afterward was a blacksmith in the Cape Girardeau district, and then lived between New Madrid and Little Prairie; Joseph McGee.

⁹¹ Joseph Bequette (1787) had a grant on this stream with others, and in 1788 asks for a grant on the Aux Vasse and Mississippi, was in Ste. Genevieve in 1793, also at Old Mine; Louis Carron (1790), between the forks of the Gabourie, three miles north of Ste. Genevieve; John Windle Engle (1796), probably a

the river at Wood island, and at the head of this creek, at Odonis spring, James Bradshaw and Jacob Odum had a location, which was sold successively to John McFerran and Andrew Kenney, early settlers. The "Armstrong Diggings" were claimed by Abraham Armstrong. Thomas Alley claimed the "Alley Mine" under a concession of DeLassus of 1801. Joseph Girrard dit Megar and Patrick Fleming were the original owners of "Mine à Joe," which was granted to them by Don Manuel Perez in 1790. Joel and Laurent McGagne were associated with them, but in 1793 the mine was abandoned on account of Indians. In 1800 one of the McGagne brothers died and the other disappeared.⁹²

On Apple creek, not far from the big Shawnee village (*la grand village du sauvage*), Thomas Fenwick, in 1797, received a grant of several thousand acres. Here a settlement sprang up, on Prairie Spring creek, which became known as the "Fenwick settlement." Thomas Fenwick was related to the Maryland family of that name and to the distinguished prelate of the Catholic church, Edward Fenwick, first bishop of Cincinnati.

Generally, it may be observed, that in all the outlying regions of the Ste. Genevieve district in 1800, the American and English speaking element of the population had become predominant.

German, in 1797, was at Ste. Genevieve, and in 1802 was on the Saline and at Marais des Liards; Jean Marie Pepin, in 1797 lived two miles northwest from Ste. Genevieve, on this stream; Hypolite Robert (1797), was also interested in mining at Old Mine and Little Mine river, mineral being found near his place there, in 1799 was at Fourche à Courtois.

⁹² Other residents and claimants in this district were Elijah Smith, who claimed a league square, and also nine lots in St. Louis, before the board of land commissioners; Samuel Phillips, on Prairie Spring creek — a place not identified; Gideon W. Treat, who had a tan-yard there; Larkin Walker, on the St. Francois, in the Murphy settlement; Wm. Ward, in Bellevue valley.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

I

The so-called "stone-house" near Louisiana, described by Rev. Salmon Giddings, and of which full mention is made on page 90 of this volume, but erroneously placed in section 11, township 55, range 3" west, has recently been carefully examined by Mr. Gerard Fowke, the distinguished archæologist now making a study of the pre-historic remains in Missouri. Mr. Fowke does not think that this "stone-house" in any way resembled the plan of Giddings published in Beck. In a letter addressed to me he says:

"The 'stone-house,' so-called stands on a high hill, known as the 'McMoore hill' from a former owner. Nye creek flows along the west side and north end; on the east is a deep ravine; on the south a low gap. The slope is so steep as to be quite difficult of ascent on all but the south end. The summit of the ridge is very narrow, and there is no level land on top. The 'walls' are on the south end of the ridge, probably fifty feet lower than the highest point, and are somewhat to the westward of the crest, making the natural slope within them from the northwest to the southeast corner; the south end of the structure is fully three feet lower than the north end. Bed-rock crops out below and on both sides of it. The whole place has been so thoroughly ransacked by relic hunters that no trace of a wall was visible at any part at the time of my visit in August, 1907; but many stones, from small angular fragments like gravel to slabs weighing probably 300 pounds were scattered confusedly over the surface. These covered a space 65 by 42 feet. There is enough stone to make a mound about 50 by 25 feet and 2 feet high. The south end looking west may be seen in the photograph No. 1.

"A trench was run around the outer side, to include the portion on which it seemed probable the wall was built, if any ever existed; bedrock was found within a foot of the surface everywhere, inside and out, except against the north end where the wash from the hill had covered it a little deeper. From this trench, excavations were made toward the center line from every side to see whether any stones of the wall might remain in place; but none such were found except for 12 feet south, and 15½ feet west, from the northeast corner. At



No. 1



No. 2

this corner were two large slabs, as heavy as two men could handle, one at the beginning of each wall. All except the two corner stones were small and thin, and not more than four were superposed at any point; usually there were only one or two as shown by photograph No. 2.

"Abrupt 'steps' along the bedrock in the interior indicated that the aborigines had pried off all they could of the projecting outcrop.

"When the excavating was completed, the measure from the northeast corner to the point where it seemed the northwest corner should be, was $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet; to a similar point at the southeast corner, $48\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

"The width of the east wall, at bottom, just at the junction of the two inside, was six feet; of the north wall, four feet. These measures are on stones that are still as they were originally placed.

"Col. Richard Hawkins says he first saw this place in 1867, and the wall was then two feet high in some places. On the other hand, Mr. Homer Reed, whose father formerly owned the place, says he has a distinct recollection of it since 1868, and that it was not then essentially different from what it is now — a pile of stones without any regularity, and certainly with no appearance of a 'wall' at any point. The senior Reed excavated the cairn pretty thoroughly, finding some 8 or 10 skeletons lying rather close together, but each in its own 'grave.' They were laid on the surface — a 'dug grave' would be impossible — and covered or protected by rocks set along each side of the body and inclined inward at the top.

"It is apparent that the wall, whatever its thickness, had its bottom layer on the ground, and was not laid up either vertically or longitudinally in a manner more symmetrical or accurate than is possible with rough slabs having a wide variation in size and shape. Moreover, it is said in the text that the walls were partially demolished before the sketch was made. In view of these facts it would seem clear that Mr. Giddings saw only a portion of the structure, and that his drawing, as given by Beck, is largely conjectural. Instead of separate stones being shown as they would actually appear, in form and dimensions, the drawing itself is witness that spaces to represent each rock are marked off along nearly uniform lines. Indeed, it is quite likely that his original sketch was rather crude, its present finished appearance being such as would accord with the ideas of a draughtsman who made the stones after the 'conventional' manner of text-books.

"Evidently, this whole structure is only a series of walled graves, built in conjunction and not covered over. The fact that chamber E was 'filled with rubbish,' and that 'in G human bones have recently been found' is exactly in consonance with the view that such is its purpose.

"The explicit statements of Mr. Giddings and Colonel Hawkins of Louisiana that they saw the walls can not be set aside. Walls of some sort, though not as pictured, certainly existed. There is evidence of a vertical face at the outside northeast corner. The bottom rocks here were never disturbed by relic hunters, consequently had any brace rocks been piled against the outside they would no doubt still be here. But there are none. Again, there is not now enough earth on the upper part of McMoore's hill to build a mound completely over this structure. So, only one explanation offers itself. The aborigines constructed walled burial chambers on the summit of a hill, where neither earth nor additional stones could be readily procured even in sufficient quantities to brace the outside in the usual manner. Consequently, another wall, facing outward, was built around the vaults, the two probably leaning slightly toward each other and thus affording mutual support.

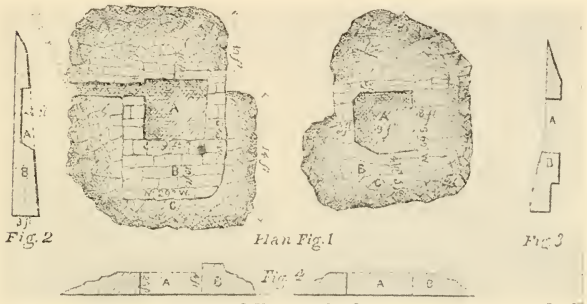
"It may be objected, and with good reason, that no example of this method is known; but neither is one like the Giddings' sketch, and the wall had to be supported in some way.

"The 'wall No. 2' of Giddings' drawing is fully half a mile in a direct line east of this work. It, also, is on a hilltop. As there are two such structures here, within a few feet of each other, it is singular that Mr. Giddings did not mention both, as he could not examine one without seeing the other. From their present appearance, they seem to have been only ordinary cairns, the interior being cleared out and the stones thrown toward the margin on every side. There is no sign of a 'wall,' and Mr. Reed says there never was. The outline of the base in each of these cairns is an irregular circle, with no indication that any part of either was ever in the form of a square as shown in the plan."

II

Of the prehistoric remains, mentioned on page 90 of this volume as being in section 11, township 55, range 3, west, found on the north side of Salt river in Pike county, Prof. Broadhead made a

sketch, which was published in the Smithsonian Report of 1879. These remains, which should not be confused with the stone-house near Louisiana, evidently ancient walled burial places are located on the summit of a ridge 250 feet high, rising abruptly from the banks of Salt river. The walls are constructed of rough limestone and enclose two vaults, each 9 feet square, and about 2 or 3 feet high. Broadhead says that he saw only a few fragments of human bones and gives the subjoined plan of the relative positions of these vaults in his report.¹



III

Mr. Gerard Fowke has also discovered a stone structure on the Osage river, near the "Painted Rock." It is a rectangular space surrounded by a stone wall about three feet high. But so far from being a well laid wall, these stones seem to have been piled along both sides of the four boundary lines, without any effort to lay them in order, and Mr. Fowke says that the result is just such as would follow the attempts of men to throw stones in a somewhat straight line in as narrow a space as possible, without having regard to the position in which any particular stone would lie.

IV

A most interesting discovery of prehistoric sheet copperplates was recently made in Dunklin county. These plates of which I

¹ Smithsonian Report of 1879, p. 351.

here insert photographic copies (kindly furnished by Mr. Wulfin, of St. Louis, owner of the plates) are very remarkable, representing eagles, double-eagles, and what looks like a man-eagle. They would seem to indicate that the so-called mound-builders of south-east Missouri had at least commercial intercourse with the people of Mexico and Central America. These plates were plowed up by a Mr. Ray Groomes, on the farm of Mrs. Baldwin, two and a half miles south of Malden, within a few yards of the county road and Cotton Belt railroad, and only a few rods from the house. Mr. Gerard Fowke, who made a careful investigation of this subject writes me as follows:

“Mr. Groomes makes the following statement as to the manner in which they were discovered: He was plowing much deeper than usual, probably sixteen or eighteen inches. His attention was attracted by something shining or glittering on the land turned over by his plow at this point, and he stopped to examine it. He found a few small scraps of copper. On looking at the bottom of the furrow whence these had come, he found that his plow had struck the upper end of these copper pieces, which lay in close contact, ‘with the heads down,’ and inclined at an angle of about forty-five degrees. He saw no evidence that they had ever been wrapped in cloth or any other substance, either separately or together. He dug around them with his pocket-knife, the loose sand and soil being easily removed, and drew them out of the earth one by one. There was something with them which looked to him like a small piece of ‘slate’ (shale) such as he had frequently noticed in this land in plowing; and some ‘white substance’ not saved or identified. Mr. Wade is inclined to believe that this is a fragment of pot or vase of sun-dried or soft-burned clay, which went to pieces in the earth, and of which, perhaps, only a fragment or two remained. Mr. Groomes, however, is positive in his statement that the specimens were in immediate contact, as he lifted them out one after another, and they lay so close together that very little earth had worked in between them.

“The specimens were brought to Malden, and lay in the show-case in the store of Mr. A. S. Davis for several months in the hope that they would be observed by some one who might be able to tell what they were. Mr. Groomes, having no use for the specimens, attempted to sell them; but no one appeared to recognize their value, and the best offer he could receive for a long time, was fifty cents. Finally Mr. Wade and Mr. Davis concluded to purchase them, not with any













idea of their value but merely to possess them as curiosities. From these gentlemen they passed to Mr. J. M. Wulfing of St. Louis.

"Mr. Groomes afterward did a little digging at the spot, but found nothing more except a few small fragments which his plow had broken from the objects. Neither he, nor any one else consulted, had ever seen or heard of any evidence of a village or settlement anywhere in the vicinity; no flints, shells, bones, or pottery, had ever been observed. Nor are there any mounds within several miles, the nearest group being at Bernie, about nine miles to the northward. From here, the land for many miles south stretches in a dead level to the east and west swamps which bound it on either side.

"It is altogether probable that the articles were simply a cache, made by some aboriginal trader who never returned for them, or was unable afterward to find them.

"Objects very similar to these, in fact almost identical, have been discovered in the Hopewell mound-group near Chillicothe, Ohio; and in the Etowah mounds of Georgia. Others, like them but not so well-made, are from Illinois; and designs of the same character are not uncommon on shells from the Tennessee river region and, sparingly, from other localities. The figures are plainly of Mexican origin, although we have no record that such plates are made there; and whether made in Mexico, or by a denizen of some point in the Mississippi valley who had learned the art in the southern country, point to a system of traffic between that country and places as remote as those mentioned. They were not made where found, nor do they have any bearing upon the artistic abilities of the mound-builders. That is to say, we can not adduce these coppers as evidence of the fact that the mound-builders as a community, had any hand in their fashioning. However, as stated, individuals may have learned the art among these people, as they and others may have learned to engrave the shells of the upper Tennessee country."

Mr. F. N. Putnam, Director of the Peabody Archæological Institute, of Boston, says, in a letter to Mr. Wulfing: "I have never seen anything like these figures in copper. They have much in common with Mexican and Central American culture, and this is to me one more fact showing connection in early times between the Mexican Central peoples and our old mound-builders of the Mississippi valley." He considered them of such great interest, that he writes that he "shall make a careful study of them in connection with Central American designs." He also says that the "symbolic

eye" is very marked and that "the wings are of exceeding interest," and that "the combination of the eagle and the human figure, and in one case evidently the tiger and the human, are of very great importance in connection with the study of Mexican symbolism."

Mr. Clarence B. Moore, of St. Louis, thinks "that the double-headed eagle is particularly interesting," because these "objects seem to be purely aboriginal."

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