[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

Section 15, Pages 421 - 450

You'll find the latest in Kansas scholarship in Kansas History, issued quarterly by the Kansas Historical Society, Inc. This scholarly journal, recipient of awards from the Western History Association and the American Association for State and Local History, publishes new research on Kansas and western history and offers interesting, well-illustrated articles that appeal to both the serious student and the general reader. Searchable text is not yet available.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1978-2009

Callnumber: SP 906 K13qh

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 217226

Item Identifier: 217226

www.kansasmemory.org/item/217226

by utilizing idle manpower and capital to restore and conserve human resources and preserve democracy; "moral rearmament of the people to seek fulfillment through employment, education, and humanitarian progress"; and completion of an adequate hemispheric defense.[26] This was not a ploy to divert attention to domestic reform; Capper sincerely believed in and strove for equality and justice for all Americans.

After election to a third term Roosevelt articulated his next plan to aid the Allies; he proposed to lend armaments to Britain. During a December fireside chat, the President identified British survival with our national security and proclaimed that America should become the "great arsenal of democracy." In January, 1941, the administration had the lend-lease bill introduced. It vested sweeping powers in the President to procure any defense article for the government of any country whose defense the President deemed vital to the defense of the United States, to sell or lease or lend or otherwise dispose of any such defense article to any such government, and to repair or outfit any such defense article for any such government. The President would also have full authority to arrange terms, if any, with such governments.[27]

During the debate on the bill Capper received widespread publicity for his views. Turner Catledge of the New York *Times* quoted him as being "unalterably opposed" to the bill because it gave the President "unlimited dictatorial powers" and " 'all out' control of our foreign relations." The senator charged that the bill was an unwarranted delegation of congressional power and an act of war since the President predicated American survival on Germany's defeat. On February 7 the senator delivered an antilend-lease speech over the Columbia Broadcasting System, which was reprinted in *Scribner's Commentator* and *Vital Speeches*. Praising the tradition of strict neutrality, he rebuked the administration for following a course paralleling our involvement in World War I: "the same sophistry, the same propaganda about our duty to civilization, the same intolerance and unneutral attitude that leads toward involvement." He favored sending only those supplies to Britain that would not weaken American defense. Again Capper called for the rehabilitation of American society.[28]

The senator cooperated with other noninterventionists and participated in delaying tactics in the senate. On February 22 he spoke for 40 minutes against the lend-lease bill. He denounced it as a vast, undefined grant of power to the President; it would allow, he charged, the President to lead the country to war. The Philadelphia *News*, the Washington *News*, and the Washington *Times-Herald* used his description of the bill as a "fantastic, bombastic nightmare" for headlines in their news articles. And the Washington radio stations covered the speech. Even though he had considerable support for his position—Capper received 16,500 letters against the bill and 450 for it—congress sent the bill to the White House in March. Its passage was very discouraging for Capper. In a letter to Landon, he predicted that America would soon become involved in the war, probably within three months. The economic burden implicit in the act troubled him. But at least the President had not yet publicly sided with the all-out interventionists, and this gave Capper some small solace. The lend-lease act, Capper correctly analyzed, committed the United States to insuring the survival of the British Empire, pushing the nation to the verge of the European conflict. America would now furnish all-out nonbelligerent aid to Britain, and if an Axis victory seemed likely, the country would have to go to war to protect its investment.[29]

Capper continued to oppose Roosevelt's incremental steps inching America closer to war. On July 12 he introduced Democratic Sen. Burton K. Wheeler to an America First Committee rally at Salina. Capper execrated all programs aimed at sending Americans to fight along side of Russia and all executive prerogatives increasing the risk of involvement in war.

26. *The Progressive*, Madison, Wis., October 26, 1940, clipping in "Capper Papers"; New York *Enquirer*, December 16, 1940.

27. Kimball, *Lend-Lease*, pp. 132-153; James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York, 1970), pp. 27-29.

28. New York *Times*, January 15, 1941; speech over Columbia Broadcasting System network, February 7, 1941, "Capper Papers"; Arthur Capper, "Time to Think American," *Scribner's Commentator*, Concord, N. H., v. 9 (February, 1941), pp. 64-74; Arthur Capper, "Let Us Keep Out of Foreign Wars," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, New York, v. 7 (March 1, 1941), pp. 293-296. *See Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, New York, January 18, 1941; and Philadelphia *Record*, January 19, 1941.

29. Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 15, 23, 25, March 2, 7-9, 1941; *Congressional Record*, February 22, 1941, pp. 1271-1275; Philadelphia *News*, February 22, 1941; New York *Times*, February 23, 1941; Los Angeles *Times*, February 23, 1941; Capper to Landon, March 12, 1941, "Landon Papers"; Capper to Milton Tabor, March 13, 1941, Capper to F. J. Hall, February 26, 1941, speech WIBW, March 23, 1941, "Capper Papers."

Referring to the President's order sending troops to occupy Iceland, he labeled it an example of Roosevelt's power to get the country into an "undeclared war through the back door." During this visit Capper divined that Kansas sentiment was still overwhelmingly against intervention in the war. But William Allen White found that while a majority of Kansans supported Roosevelt's leadership, Capper had substantial support for his position.[30]

In August Capper voted against extending the enlistment period of the men who had been drafted. The next month he characterized the "shoot on sight" policy as a declaration of war; it did mean undeclared naval warfare. He deplored this unilateral action by the President, but he announced that everyone must support it because there was no way to abrogate it. In late September the senator met with Gen. Robert Wood, acting chairman of the America First Committee, and pledged to fight any proposal that would emasculate the neutrality act. For the Hearst newspaper chain, he wrote that its revision would lead to inevitable clashes on the seas which would stir the people to demand war. He would not endorse getting into a war by the subterfuge of arming merchant ships and allowing American vessels to venture into war zones. The senate easily passed a bill embodying the President's wishes in November; the house grudgingly passed it, 212 to 194. The noninterventionists still had strong support.[31]

Capper steadfastly adhered to his continentalism, calling for the rehabilitation of America. Instead of going to war in order to assure the "Four Freedoms," he espoused a program "which will guarantee to every man and woman a fair chance and an equal opportunity." The senator pleaded for the following: equal justice for all people; preservation of family-sized farms by securing agricultural parity; protection of small businessmen; and avoidance of war. He thought it would be "cowardly" to go to war in order to escape the domestic problems of the country. But he realized the seriousness of the deterioration in relations with Japan. He warned his constituents that war with Japan was close-at-hand.[32]

On December 7 Japanese military forces devastated Pearl Harbor. Capper hurriedly left Topeka for the nation's capital. Not returning in time to vote on the war resolution, he informed the senate that he would have voted for it. And he wrote the President that he and his constituents were fully united in their support of the administration.[33] Certainly the noninterventionists underestimated the fascist threat and, perhaps, slowed preparedness. The neutrality acts exemplified their specious belief that the nation could insulate itself from the international crises. After all, Roosevelt only decided upon an interventionist policy very late, and did not make the best use of his power to mold public opinion. Capper accurately pointed out the problems inherent in such circumstances—when the country had to decide between war and peace. He warned the nation of the dangers of a military-industrial complex, reminded the people of the horrors of war, and hoped to use our resources to improve the living conditions of all Americans. He prodded his fellow legislators to retain their responsibilities in the foreign policy decision-making process. So many of the noninterventionists' admonitions identified areas of concern, especially the burgeoning independence and power of the presidency, that are an innate part of modern America.

30. Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 13, 1941; R. Douglas Stuart to Capper (telegram), July 12, 1941, Capper to Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, July 25, 1941, Clyde Reed to Capper, July 22, 1941, "Capper Papers"; Emporia *Gazette*, as quoted in Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, July 18, 1941.

31. *Congressional Record*, August 6, 1941, p. 6,816, November 7, 1941, pp. 8,674, 8,675, 8,677, 8,680; Topeka *Daily Capital*, August 6-8, 1941, September 12, 14, 28, 1941, October 1, 1941; speech WIBW, September 14, 1941, Capper to J. C. Nichols, October 21, 1941, Capper to John Eby, October 25, 1941, "Capper Papers"; Milwaukee *Sentinel*, October 20, 1941; Los Angeles *Examiner*, October 20, 1941.

32. San Francisco *Examiner*, December 1, 1941; speeches WIBW, November 23, 30, 1941, "Capper Papers."

33. *Congressional Record*, December 8, 1941, p. 9,539; Capper to Roosevelt, December 9, 1941, Roosevelt to Capper, December 11, 1941, "Capper Papers."

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

BOURGMONT'S ROUTE TO CENTRAL KANSAS: A REEXAMINATION

MILTON REICHART

THE BEGINNING of the 18th century saw the French established in Illinois and the Spanish reestablished in New Mexico after putting down the Pueblo revolt. Incursions out onto the plains, principally those of Vasquez de Coronado in 1541 and of Don Juan de Oñate in 1601, had given the Spanish claim to territory including what is now the state of Kansas, but the absence of the readily exploitable resources of gold and silver had kept interest in that region at a minimum. Spanish apathy, however, was gradually replaced by apprehension when it was learned of increasing French penetrations of the lower Missouri river area, and there was general alarm when rumors (although unfounded) placed French settlement among the Pawnee Indians. Consequently, in 1720 Antonio de Valverde, governor of New Mexico, dispatched Pedro de Villasur at the head of a military force on a reconnaisance mission to determine the location of the French. Villasur contacted the Pawnee on the Platte or Loup river of present Nebraska, but was unable to learn any news of the French. The next day the Pawnee with Otoe allies overwhelmed the Spanish in a surprise attack, killing Villasur and three fourths of his command.[1]

The French interpreted the Villasur expedition as an attempt by the Spanish to fortify and colonize the lower Missouri, and they further deduced that it could only be the presence of rich mineral deposits that called forth a Spanish endeavor of this nature. The French, therefore, resolved that to control the Missouri area they must with all haste begin to establish that which they believed the Villasur expedition had attempted.[2] The French government's need for someone to direct and carry out this project brought Etienne Véniard de Bourgmont out of retirement in France and back to this area of the New World, a locale with which he had more familiarity than any other of his contemporaries.

Bourgmont as a young man had served for a short time in 1706 as temporary commander of Fort Detroit, but he deserted his post, taking with him several members of the garrison and also a woman named Tichenét whose jealous husband is thought to have made it prudent for Bourgmont to absent himself from the fort.[3] It was not until the following year that he was apprehended and court-martialed. Few officers appeared at his trial, and apparently he was acquitted and reinstated.[4] If indeed the affair with Tichenét had been the cause for his desertion, then perhaps the leniency of the court-martial may be explained in part by the Gallic understanding about such matters.

After subsequent amorous adventures, Bourgmont again deserted his post in 1712. The Missouri Indians had come to Detroit to aid the French against the Fox Indians who were besieging the fort. Bourgmont accompanied the Missouri when they returned to their home near present Miami, Mo., and married one of their women.[5] He made at least two trips up the Missouri river while living with the Missouri Indians, going as far as the mouth of the Platte in 1714 and farther than the mouth of the Niobrara on the next journey. He established a small post of short duration on the left bank of the Missouri below Council Bluffs and also prepared a detailed log of navigation from the mouth of the Missouri to that of the Platte. His book *Exact Description of Louisiana* contained much information useful to the French.[6]

Exactly when and why Bourgmont left the

1. Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 174*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1959), pp. 19-25; Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), pp.1-18.

2. Henri Folmer, "Etienne Véniard de Bourgmont in the Missouri Country," *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 36, no. 3 (1942), p. 287.

3. Henri Folmer, "French Expansion Toward New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Denver, 1939), p. 103; L. P. Kellog, "Bourgmont," *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 2 (1929), pp. 482-483.

4. Folmer, "French Expansion," p. 103.

5. A. P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1685-1804* (St. Louis, Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), v. 1, p. 12.

6. Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, pp. 12-13.

Missouri is unclear, but in 1719 he returned to France after taking part in the French siege of Pensacola in Spanish Florida. What became of his Missouri Indian wife is not recorded, but Bourgmont took with him their son who was then five years old. In France he married a rich widow. Evidently the matter of his second desertion, the one in 1712, had been cleared up, for he was honored by the Company of the Indies which nominated him captain of the troops of Louisiana and commander on the Missouri river, but he preferred retirement to actively discharging the duties of those offices.[7]

MEANWHILE, tales of the fabulous wealth of the Spaniards of New Mexico were circulating among the French in Illinois and Louisiana. While these rumors were much exaggerated, the Spaniards did have a comparative abundance of silver from mines in their area, but lacked other merchandise. By contrast the French colonials had a comparative abundance of the goods deemed necessary for a comfortable life in those days, but money was scarce.[8] If the French could take their products to New Mexico, they would bring a high price in silver, so trade with the Spanish was much desired. The attempts of Bénard de La Harpe by way of the Red and Arkansas rivers and of Claude Charles Dutisné by way of the latter stream to reach the Spanish settlements had been blocked by the Wichita Indians, who refused to allow them to go farther upstream to their mortal enemies, the Padouca. The Wichita were then living along the Arkansas near the present Kansas-Oklahoma border. They possessed horses and reported that Spanish traders came to them, but they themselves did not travel to the Spanish outposts because of the Padouca.[9] In order to bypass the Wichita, the French turned their attention toward the Missouri country in their resolve to reach the Spanish, for Bourgmont had advised in his *Exact Description of Louisiana* that one could find his way from the Missouri to trade with the Spanish.[10]

By circa 1700 the Wichita had abandoned their central Kansas location between the great bend of the Arkansas and the Smoky Hill river. A possible drought of long duration in the last quarter of the 17th century together with pressure from the Siouan tribes along the Missouri on the east and the Padouca on the west could have been factors causing their withdrawal.[11] The Indians of the Missouri had been accustomed to raiding the Pani-Noir (Black Pawnee, the name by which the French knew the Wichita) to take slaves and horses.[12] Upon the withdrawal of the Wichita from the great bend locale, the Plains Apache, or Padouca as they were known to the French, appear to have occupied the area. They then in turn became victims of the slave raids which formerly had been directed against the Wichita. If the French were to reach the Spanish, they would thus first have to make peace with the Padouca, but by so doing they would risk alienating their allies, the tribes along the Missouri.

In 1718 Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, Sieur de Bienville, commander general of Louisiana, had requested that the king award Bourgmont the Cross of Saint Louis.[13] Bourgmont was now given this decoration and was promised letters of nobility if he would successfully carry out the assignment in the Missouri country which the French government had in mind for him. This assignment was three-fold: first, to build a fort on the Missouri river; second, to go to the Padouca and make peace with them; and third, to try to reach the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. Bourgmont would be required to offer proof of his achievements in the form of a certification by Pierre Duqué Boisbriant, commander of Illinois, and the council of the colony.[14] To this end a daily log known as the "Bourgmont Journal" was to be kept for the official report to the French government.[15]

7. Folmer, "French Expansion," pp. 119-120, 132.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
9. Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, pp. 14-16.
10. Folmer, "French Expansion," p. 118.
11. Waldo R. Wedel, "Some Environmental and Historical Factors of the Great Bend Aspect," in *Pleistocene and Recent Environments of the Central Great Plains*, Wakefield Dort, Jr., and J. Knox Jones, Jr., eds. (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1970), pp. 135, 139.
12. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, v. 1, p. 19.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
14. Folmer, "French Expansion," p. 127.
15. In 1886 the "Bourgmont Journal" was published in Vol. 6 of Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements Des Français Dans l'Ouest et Dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septemtrionale (1614-1754) Mémories et Documents Originaux Recueillis et Publiés. Sixiemé Partie, Exploration des Affluents du Mississipi et Découverte des Montagnes Rocheuses (1679-1754)* (Paris, Imprimerie Jouaust et Sigaux, 1886), pp. 398-427, and this document will be hereafter designated as the "Journal." The French historian Baron Marc de Villiers, in *La Découverte du Missouri et la Histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673-1728* (Paris, 1925), p. 109, believed the "Journal" was written by Renaudière, a mining engineer who accompanied the expedition. Folmer indicated in his master's thesis that this also seemed a very plausible supposition to him, and I, too, concur.

HAVING accepted the assignment, Bourgmont returned to North America, and late in 1723 built a fort on the Missouri river opposite the Missouri village.[16] This post was named Fort d'Orleans, undoubtedly in honor of the Duke d'Orleans, regent of France.

On July 3, 1724, Bourgmont began his journey to the Padouca, traveling overland from Fort d'Orleans in a northwesterly direction bound for the village of the Kansa located at present Doniphan.[17] Eight days previously, a detachment of the French, using pirogues and commanded by Saint-Ange, had been sent by way of the Missouri river bound for the same destination.

Bourgmont reached the Kansa village on July 8, and set up camp about a rifle shot away, but Saint-Ange did not arrive until several days later, because of a fever which had broken out among his men. Then the fever spread to the Indians, causing all the Osage and all but 20 of the Missouri and their big chief who had accompanied Bourgmont from Fort d'Orleans, to return home. Bourgmont was the son of a physician,[18] and he now treated the sick as best he could. He continued to trade with the Kansa and to organize the expedition.

Bourgmont brought a few horses with him from Fort d'Orleans, but even after he had purchased all that the Kansa had, he still did not have enough for his journey. Thereupon he persuaded the Kansa themselves to act as porters and carry the baggage of the expedition.

Finally, on Monday, July 24 the expedition was ready to depart. At four o'clock in the morning, the French began to load their horses, and the Kansa chief came with his young men who carried the other bundles, even including the knapsacks of the soldiers. At six o'clock they all marched to the Kansa village and departed from it in battle formation with the flag flying, the drummer drumming the march, and the big chief himself marching with them. They marched only a league and a half that day to the Kansa assembly grounds and camped there to await the rest of the Kansa. All the able-bodied members of that tribe were going along with the expedition as far as their buffalo hunting grounds, while Bourgmont would proceed farther to the Padouca.

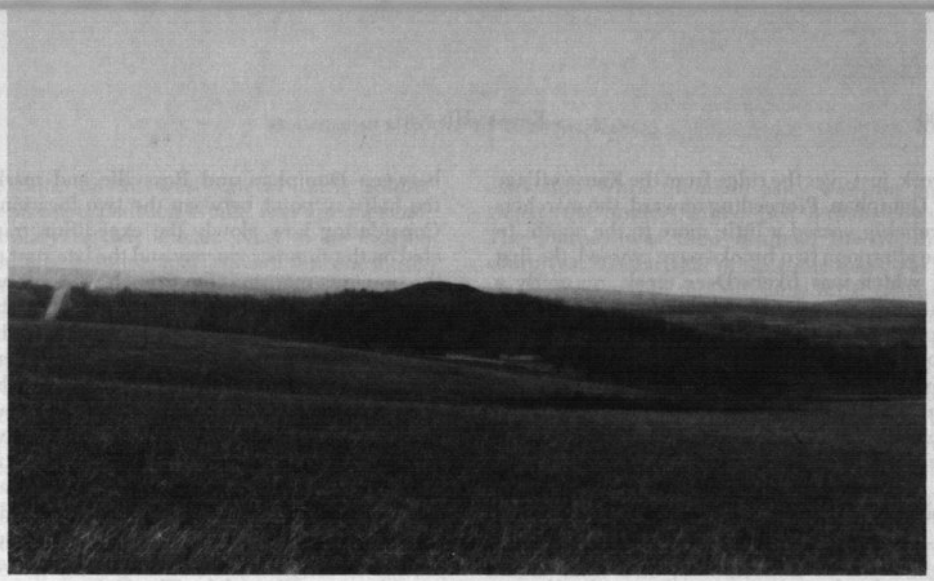
For various reasons, chief of which were the heavy bundles which the Kansa carried and the extreme July heat, the expedition traveled slowly. By the 27th all the Kansa who were going along had caught up, and La Renaudière [19] stationed himself at a point beside the route of the expedition in order to make a count. There were 300 warriors captained by two great chiefs and 14 war chiefs, about 300 women, nearly 500 young people, and at least 300 dogs drawing travois. Horses do not appear in this listing, presumedly the Kansa had traded all that they possessed to Bourgmont.

After traveling in a southwesterly direction for six days and when only about three leagues from the Kansas river, Bourgmont, who had had a touch of fever from time to time before, now became so ill that he could not continue the journey. He ordered a litter built to carry him back to the Kansa village, so that he might return from there by pirogue to Fort d'Orleans to recover. Gaillard and two Padouca slaves, the latter purchased by Bourgmont to be given their freedom and thus dispose their people favorably toward the French, were sent on to accompany the Kansa to the hunting grounds. From there Gaillard was instructed to make his way to the Padouca to inform them that Bourgmont was on the way to establish peace but had been delayed because of illness, and that he would resume the journey when he was recovered. Gaillard was given one of the two Spanish passports which Bourgmont carried in case he might encounter a Spanish force.

On September 1, Bourgmont, not yet recovered from his illness, sent Saint-Ange from Fort d'Orleans to the Kansa village at Doniphan to begin preparations for another attempt to journey to the Padouca. On September 6 a dispatch written by Sergeant Dubois informed Bourgmont that Gaillard had reached the Padouca on August 25. On September 20 Bourgmont himself departed Fort d' Orleans by pirogue for the Kansa village, and Gaillard accompanied by three Padouca chiefs and three warriors arrived there on October 2. Fi-

16. Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, p. 18.
17. W. R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, p. 29.
18. Folmer, "French Expansion," pp. 154-161.

19. Except for direct quotation of conversation, the only time that the first person singular nominative case was used in the "Journal" was two days before when it recorded: "I can not mark their number, because not all have joined us" (p. 413). If the "I" who wrote that is the same individual who actually took the count two days later, it is a convincing indication that Renaudière was indeed the author of the "Journal."



Bourgmont's expedition traveled through present-day Wabaunsee county, an area of the scenic Flint Hills which lies beyond the glaciated region of northeastern Kansas. Here the sharper irregularities of the terrain have not been smoothed over, and on top of some of the ridges and bluffs are little cone-shaped peaks like this one which seemed like castles or fortifications to the French. Photograph by the author.

nally after lengthy negotiations, preparations were complete, and on October 8, 1724, Bourgmont was ready to start on his second attempt to reach the Padouca.[20]

The "Journal" recorded the distance traveled each day in leagues. In Bourgmont's time there were 2.764 miles to the French common league.[21] That figure need not be adhered to too closely, because the Bourgmont party was estimating its distances rather than measuring or surveying them, and in tracing the journey on a map it will instead be necessary to translate estimated leagues into airline miles. After three and a half days of travel over an estimated 26 leagues, the expedition most likely crossed the Kansas river near present Rossville, utilizing the same ford used by the Oregon trail a century later.[22] The airline distance from Doniphan to Rossville is approximately 60 miles; therefore, two and one-half miles to the estimated league will be used as a working formula.

In the tall grass prairie region of the Great Plains, Indian trails, really routes and not incised paths, apparently followed ridges or highland and did not make use of the stream valleys. Moreover these Indian routes were quite straight, going directly from starting point to destination.[23] Suitable camping places were to be found along a stream where wood, water, shade, and shelter were available. As Bourgmont's route is followed, it will be noted that camp was usually made on the far side of a stream presumedly so that a crossing would not have to be made first thing in the morning.[24] It will now be determined if the "Journal's" landmarks can be found along a line from Doniphan to Rossville.

ON OCTOBER 8, 1724, at nine o'clock in the morning, the Bourgmont expedition, men, arms, baggage, and the flag to the wind, departed from the Kansa village bound for the Grand Village of the Padouca. In addition to Bourgmont and his son, 16 Frenchmen and 24 Indians, including the Padouca envoys who accompanied Gaillard on his return, comprised the roster. A compass reading for the day is given in the "Journal" as west and a quarter southwest. The expedition traveled one-half league and then crossed a small river, which may be safely identified as Independence

20. The narration beginning with the events of July 3 has been derived from Margry, *Découvertes.*

21. W. E. Connelley, "Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14 (1918), p. 454.

22. W. R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, p. 30; Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673-1728*, p. 111.

23. Dale R. Henning, "Development and Interrelationships of Oneota Culture in the Lower Missouri River Valley," *The Missouri Archaeologist*, Columbia, v. 32 (1970), p. 29; George P. Morehouse, "Along the Old Kaw Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 207.

24. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Citadel Press edition, 1968), pp. 40-41.

creek, just over the ridge from the Kansa village at Doniphan. Proceeding onward, the marchers probably veered a little more to the south. In the afternoon two brooks were crossed, the first of which was likely Deer creek, presently a tributary of Independence creek. However, in Bourgmont's time, the Missouri undoubtedly flowed against its west bluffs instead of following a course in midvalley as it now does, and both creeks would have had a separate confluence with the Missouri. The last brook to be crossed must have been Camp creek which is the only stream to the southwest of Doniphan at the estimated distance of five leagues (12½ miles) which the "Journal" supplies for this day's journey. This creek was so named at a later date because a two-mile stretch of heavy timber and good water provided a much utilized campground.[25]

Early on the morning of October 9, before the main party started, Gaillard and Quesnel with two Padouca were sent ahead to notify that tribe that Bourgmont had started the journey to their village. This day the main party traveled an estimated seven leagues, with a compass reading of west-southwest. According to the "Journal," they crossed a small river and three brooks; according to Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz [26] they crossed a "river" and only two brooks.

Apparently, Renaudière diverged here from his usual (and expected) practice of listing events chronologically. Whether du Pratz's designation of "river" or the "Journal's" "little river" is accepted, there is only one stream within the seven league estimate for the day which is of river proportions, and that is the Delaware. Moreover, this is the largest stream between Doniphan and Rossville and marks the halfway point between the two locations. Considering how slowly the expedition traveled on the summer journey and the late start of the previous morning, the French were probably somewhat elated at being halfway to the crossing of the Kansas. So, although it was the last stream of the day to be crossed, Renaudière apparently recorded it first and then added the three brooks, seemingly, almost as an afterthought. The first of these brooks would have been Stranger creek in the Farmington vicinity, and the second one Coal creek, a small Delaware tributary. If, as the "Journal" indicated, a third brook was crossed then a small tributary of either Stranger creek or Coal creek would very well qualify. The Delaware river was probably forded somewhere in the vicinity of Half Mound (*see* cover photo), with camp made on its far bank.

On October 10 with a compass reading of west-southwest, the travelers marched an estimated eight leagues in which two small rivers and three brooks were crossed. These streams can be recognized safely and sequentially as North and South Cedar creeks, the east and west forks of Muddy creek, and Little Soldier creek. The "Journal" made note of "reddish marble" stones lying upon the prairies, some of which protruded from the earth as much as three feet and had a diameter exceeding six feet; these, of course, are the Sioux quartzites of the glacial drift. Mention was also made in the "Journal" of a slate (actually shale) found along the rivers. North and South Cedar creeks flowing along steep and rocky hills still have shale detritus in their channels, although other streams in northeast Kansas do also. Yet on these and other rocky hills are found small slabs of limestones exposed on the surface of the slopes, and these limestone rocks are no doubt the ones meant by du Pratz when he wrote: "To their right and left they had several small hills on which one could observe pieces of rock, even with the ground." [27]

Renaudière began the notation for the 11th as follows: "We have departed at five o'clock in the morning. We have passed at eight o'clock two brooks, at ten o'clock a little river, at eleven a brook. Thus we have arrived at the great river of the Kansa. . . ." After leaving

25. The events of this day and the following days are derived from the "Journal" unless otherwise indicated.

26. Le Page du Pratz was a contemporary of Bourgmont. His *Histoire de la Louisiane* was published in Paris in 1758. In 1763 and 1774 editions in English were published in London. According to Nasatir in *Before Lewis and Clark*, p. 13, and Folmer in his "French Expansion," pp. 114-115 (quoting Delisle), du Pratz knew Bourgmont well. However, du Pratz generally does not enjoy a good reputation among historians. Kellogg, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 2, p. 483, advised that du Pratz's account of the Bourgmont journey is believed to be apocryphal. Andrew M. Davies in *Narrative and Critical History of America* wrote that du Pratz's *Histoire* had some value as a primary document which the manifest egoism of du Pratz and his whimsical theories cannot entirely obscure. To this M. M. Wedel responded, in "Claude-Charles Dutisné: A Review of His 1719 Journeys," in *The Great Plains Journal*, Lawton, Okla., v. 12, no. 1, p. 19, that her impression of the French edition of du Pratz is that its value exceeds that implied by Davis, and that much of what du Pratz said can be confirmed in one way or another elsewhere.

The du Pratz narration is much shorter than that of the "Journal" and is related in the third person. It contains, however, some material not found in the "Journal," details which I believe could have come only from Bourgmont or some other member of the expedition.

27. Du Pratz, in A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), v. 1, p. 48.

the camp on the west side of Little Soldier creek, the expedition would first cross a small tributary of that stream. Next to be crossed would be another small stream, this one a tributary of Big Soldier creek. Then at 10 o'clock the little river, Big Soldier creek, was forded. At 11 o'clock Ensign creek, another small brook was crossed, and very soon there was the river of the Kansa (Kansas). Eight leagues comprise the estimated distance traveled for this entire day. By measuring on the map from the crossing of the Kansas back to the location on Little Soldier creek from which this day's march was likely to have started, a distance of about six leagues seems to have been covered, leaving the expedition two leagues to travel beyond the crossing before going into camp.

Bourgmont's route from Doniphan to Rossville has now been traced using two and one-half miles to the league, showing that the "Journal's" estimates may be seen to be as accurate as estimates can be expected to be. The brooks and little rivers may be seen to correspond in number and, with the exception of those recorded on the 9th, in proper sequence as the "Journal" recorded them. Therefore in tracing Bourgmont beyond Rossville, we will be guided by the "Journal's" landmarks, compass readings, and estimated distances over a route which we will also expect to continue in as direct a manner over the upland as it has to this point. Bourgmont's route and destination, the Grand Village of the Padouca somewhere in central (or western?) Kansas, has remained unknown, with not even a consensus approached among historians as to its general location.[28]

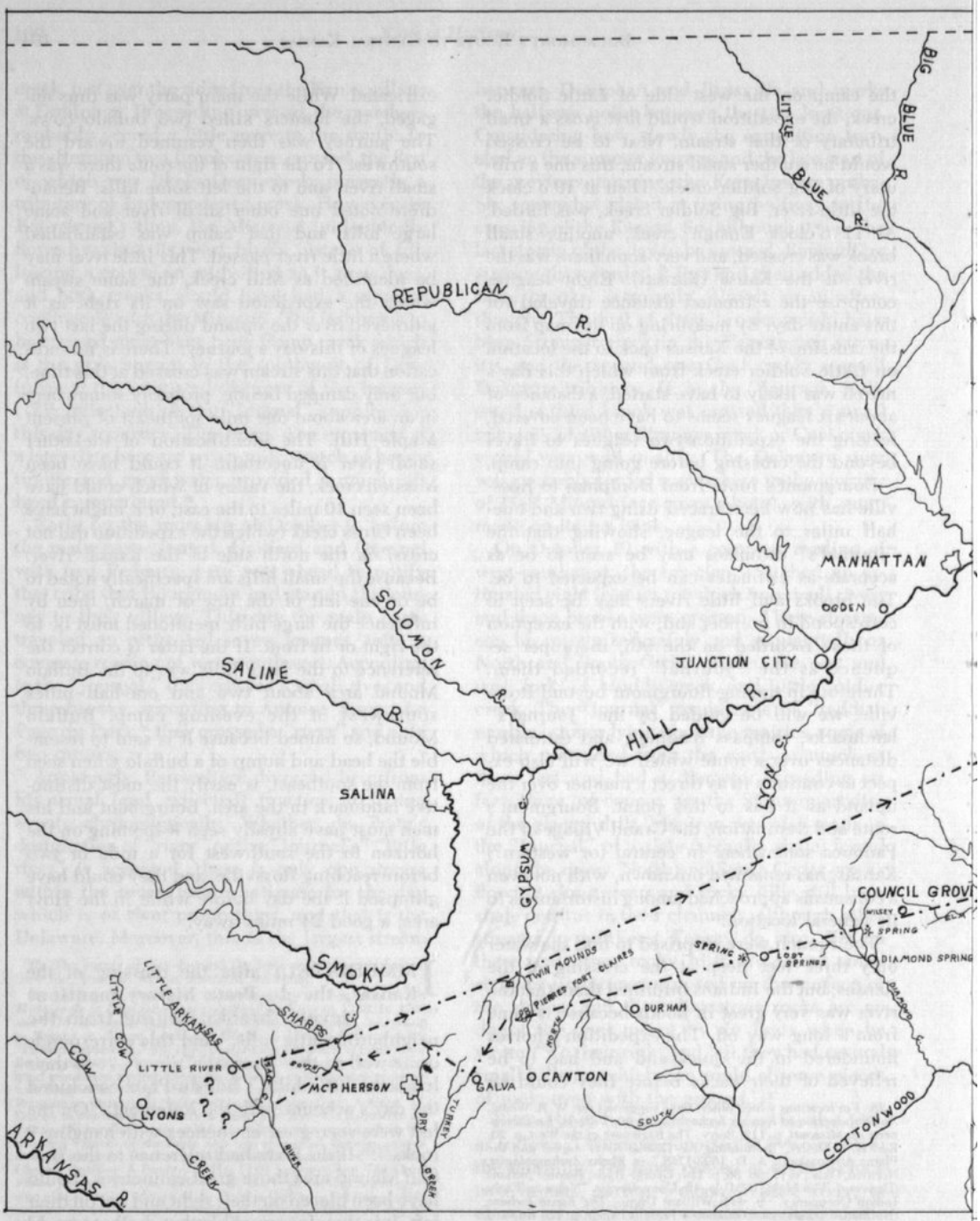
The French were surprised to find the water only three feet deep at the crossing of the Kansas, but the Indians informed them that the river was very great in floods because it came from a long way off. The expedition's horses floundered in the quicksand and had to be relieved of their packs before they could be extricated. While the main party was thus engaged, the hunters killed two buffalo cows. The journey was then resumed toward the southwest. To the right of the route there was a small river, and to the left some hills. Renaudière noted one other small river and some large hills and that camp was established where a little river passed. This little river may be identified as Mill creek, the same stream which the expedition saw on its right as it journeyed over the upland during the last two leagues of this day's journey. There is no indication that this stream was crossed at this time, but only camped beside, probably somewhere in an area about one mile southeast of present Maple Hill. The identification of the other small river is uncertain. It could have been Mission creek, the valley of which could have been seen 10 miles to the east, or it might have been Cross creek (which the expedition did not cross) on the north side of the Kansas river. Because the small hills are specifically noted to be on the left of the line of march, then by inference the large hills mentioned must be to the right or in front. If the latter is correct the reference to the large hills was to the Buffalo Mound area about two and one-half miles southwest of the evening camp. Buffalo Mound, so named because it is said to resemble the head and hump of a buffalo when seen from the southeast, is easily the most distinctive landmark in the area. Bourgmont and his men must have already seen it looming on the horizon to the southwest for a mile or two before reaching Rossville, and they could have glimpsed it the day before while in the Hoyt area, a good 24 miles away.

IMMEDIATELY after the crossing of the Kansas, the du Pratz history mentions ". . . several brooks issuing from the neighboring little hills," and this corresponds quite well to the "Journal's" ". . . to their left some little hills." But du Pratz concluded the day's account with the statement: "On the left were seen great eminences with hanging [29] rocks." [30] If du Pratz had reference to the Buffalo Mound area those great eminences should have been placed on their right and not on their left. It is therefore possible that du Pratz could

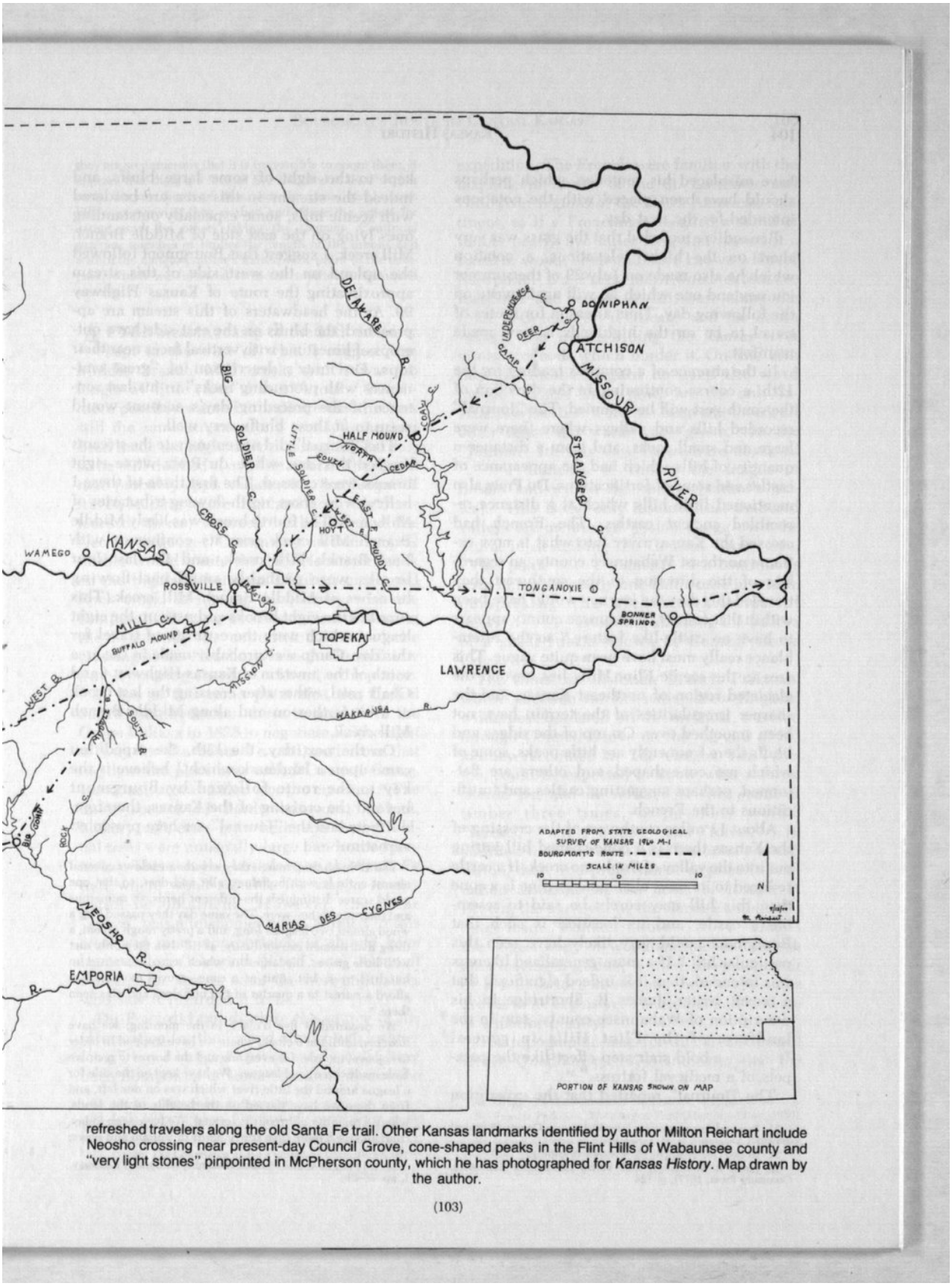
28. For locations which others have suggested *see*: W. R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, p. 30; Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, p. 112; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, p. 20; Karl H. Schlesier, "Rethinking the Dismal River Aspect and the Plains Athapaskans, A. D. 1692-1768," in *Plains Anthropologist*, Norman, Okla., v. 17, no. 56, p. 114; George Hyde, *Pawnee Indians* (Denver, J. Van Male, 1934), p. 42; Connelley, in "Notes on Early Indian Occupancy," p. 444; William Unrau, *The Kansa Indians* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1971]), p. 65; Edward Kilian, "An Early Visit to Wabaunsee Co." in the Alma *Signal*, June 10, 1904; LeRoy Hafen and Carl Rister, *Western America* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1941), p. 35; Folmer, "De Bourgmont's Expedition to the Padouca in 1724 . . ." in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 14, no. 4 (July, 1937); Randall Parrish, *The Great Plains* (Chicago, McClug & Company, 1907), pp. 55-57.

29. A better translation is "protruding."—*See* Larousse's *French-English English-French Dictionary*.

30. Du Pratz in Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. 1, p. 48.



In 1724 Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont led a French expedition to central Kansas to make peace with the Indians and establish a trade route to New Mexico. His route can be traced from Fort Orleans, a post he established in present Carroll county, Mo., to the Grand Village of the Padoucas in central Kansas, the exact location of which has not been determined. The Diamond of the Prairie and the Lost springs, where Bourgmont paused, for years also



refreshed travelers along the old Santa Fe trail. Other Kansas landmarks identified by author Milton Reichart include Neosho crossing near present-day Council Grove, cone-shaped peaks in the Flint Hills of Wabaunsee county and "very light stones" pinpointed in McPherson county, which he has photographed for *Kansas History*. Map drawn by the author.

(103)

have misplaced his sentence, which perhaps should have been placed with the notations intended for the next day.

Renaudière recorded that the grass was very short on the higher elevations, a notation which he also made on July 29 of the summer journey and one which he will again write on the following day. Thus a reason for routes of travel to be on the highlands is now made manifest.

In the absence of a compass reading for the 12th, a course continuing in the direction of the southwest will be assumed. The "Journal" recorded hills and valleys where there were large and small rocks, and from a distance a quantity of hills which had the appearance of castles and some of fortifications. Du Pratz also mentioned little hills which at a distance resembled ancient castles. The French had crossed the Kansas river into what is now extreme northeast Wabaunsee county, so regardless of the direction to the southwest they traveled this day, the journey would have been within that county. Wabaunsee county appears to have no castle-like feature,[31] so the resemblance really must have been quite vague. This area in the scenic Flint Hills lies beyond the glaciated region of northeast Kansas, and the sharper irregularities of the terrain have not been smoothed over. On top of the ridges and bluffs there frequently are little peaks, some of which are cone-shaped and others are flat-topped, perhaps suggesting castles and fortifications to the French.

About 11 miles southwest of the crossing of the Kansas there is a cone-shaped hill jutting out into the valley of Snokomo creek. If a castle reduced to its most elemental outline is a cone then this hill may surely be said to resemble a castle, and its location is such that Bourgmont could very likely have seen this particular hill.[32] If a more generalized likeness was intended, then it is indeed significant that a recent writer, James R. Shortridge in his description of Wabaunsee county, saw in the landform of the Flint Hills in general ". . . a bold stair step effect like the parapets of a medieval fortress." [33]

The "Journal" reported that the expedition kept to the right of some large bluffs, and indeed the streams in this area are bordered with scenic hills, some especially outstanding ones lying on the east side of Middle Branch Mill creek. I suggest that Bourgmont followed the upland on the west side of this stream approximating the route of Kansas Highway 99. As the headwaters of this stream are approached, the bluffs on the east side have outcrops of limestone with vertical faces near their tops. Du Pratz's description of "great eminences with protruding rocks" in his last sentence of the preceding day's account would seem to fit these bluffs very well.

The "Journal" did not enumerate the streams crossed this day, while du Pratz wrote eight brooks were crossed. The first three of these I believe were short, north-flowing tributaries of Mill creek. The fourth brook was likely Middle Branch Mill creek near its confluence with East Branch Mill creek, and the last four brooks were probably small east-flowing branches of Middle Branch Mill creek. This supplies the eight brooks and uses up the eight leagues which were the estimate of travel for this day. Camp was probably made in the area south of the junction of Kansas Highway 4 and Chalk road, either after crossing the last brook or a bit farther on and along Middle Branch Mill creek.

On the next day, the 13th, the expedition came upon a landmark which I believe is the key to the route followed by Bourgmont beyond the crossing of the Kansas; therefore, du Pratz and the "Journal" are here presented verbatim:

> The 13th, on their march they saw the meadows covered almost entirely with buffaloes, elks and deer, so that one could scarce distinguish the different herds, so numerous and intermixed they were. The same day they passed thro a wood almost two leagues long, and a pretty rough ascent, a thing that seemed extraordinary, as till then they only met with little groves, the largest of which scarce contained an hundred trees, but strait as a cane—groves too small to afford a retreat to a quarter of the buffaloes and elks seen there.[34]
>
> We departed at five o'clock in the morning; we have marched until ten o'clock, where we have stopped in order to sojourn, in order for everyone and the horses to rest; we have made three good leagues. We have kept on the side for a league around the little river which was on our left, and from there we have passed on the heights of the lands, where a quantity of brooks is formed. We have seen today, from all sides, more than thirty herds of buffalo and cows;

31. Personal communication from Wabaunsee County Historical Society.

32. In Sec. 18, T. 12, R. 12, Wabaunsee county.

33. James R. Shortridge, *Kaw Valley Landscapes* (Lawrence, Coronado Press, 1977), p. 124.

34. Du Pratz in Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. 1, pp. 48-49.

they are so numerous that it is impossible to count them, it appears that there are four or five hundred at least within each. We saw herds of deer near the same; our hunters killed as many as they wished and chose the fattest for eating, and the others taking the tongues. Continual prairies, bunches of timber the length of the brooks and within the *valleys* [author's italics]. The point of the compass, which we followed is to the southwest. Beautiful weather.[35]

AFTER breaking camp on the 13th the party kept to the west of what I suggest was Middle Branch Mill creek, which was no longer a "little river" but a "brook." Renaudière possibly wanted to indicate that this was still the same stream along which camp had been made the night after crossing the Kansas, so he still dubbed it a "little river." The Chalk road probably approximates this first league of travel, leading to the highland or divide (hauteurs de terres) between Mill creek and the Neosho drainages. Continuing on two leagues farther would locate the 10 o'clock rest break on the highland between Munkers creek and Rock creek. Resuming the journey with the compass indicating southwest and following the highland, the expedition reached the crossing of the Neosho, where the French saw a most amazing anomaly, a forest in the prairie.

It was at this same point that the United States commissioners chose to meet with the Osage Indians in 1825 to negotiate for the right of way for the Santa Fe trail, and from that incident the place was called Council Grove. Previously it was called Neosho crossing.[36] The finest species of hardwoods—oak, walnut, hickory, ash, etc.—grew here, and the individual trees were unusually large handsome specimens. This was the last place on the Santa Fe trail where wood suitable for wagon repairs could be obtained.[37] However, the name "grove" was a misnomer when applied to this area, and more appropriately it should have been called "Council Wood" or "Council Forest," for that is what the best authorities who saw it regarded it to be.

Du Pratz did not disclose the source of his information for the "wood almost two leagues long," but I suggest that it surely must have been Bourgmont or some other member of the expedition. The French were familiar with the magnificent forests of the St. Lawrence and Ohio river regions of the North American continent, so if a Frenchman recalled a stand of timber nearly five miles long and named it a forest or wood, he should have known whereof he spoke. Du Pratz mentioned extensive meadows and woods in Missouri along the route between Fort d'Orleans and the Kansa village, and in describing the Kansas river wrote of woods which border it. On this 13th day of October, again he used the word "wood." These three times are the only instances when that word has been employed; all other times the word was "grove." In the "Journal" for this day, Renaudière observed ". . . bunches of timber the length of brooks and within the *valleys* [author's italics]." This is the only instance that timbered valleys are mentioned. Josiah Gregg used the plural in describing the Council Grove area: "This point . . . consists of a continuous strip of timber nearly one half a mile in width, comprising the richest varieties of trees; . . . extending all along the valleys of a small stream known as Council Grove Creek. . . ." [38]

The American historian Francis Parkman, whose affection for his native New England wilderness bordered on the mystical, traveled through Council Grove on the tag end of his journey recounted in *The Oregon Trail*. He, too, could be expected to know what a forest should be, and he referred to this stand of timber three times, using these words: "forests," "noble woods," and "forest." [39] In addition to that professional historian's observation, there is a professional engineer's evaluation available in the notes of Joseph P. Brown, the surveyor of the Santa Fe trail. His notes read: "Council Grove . . . This is the largest body of woodland passed through after leaving Big Blue; 'tis here about a quarter of a mile wide; above and below are some groves more extensive. The timber and land are of superior quality. . . ." [40]

The topographic map for this area (Council Grove Quadrangle, 1971) indicates that the

35. Margry, *Découvertes*, v. 6, p. 430.

36. Lalla Maloy Brigham, *The Story of Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail* (Morris County Historical Society, 1975 reprint of 1921 publication), p. 7; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, p. 122.

37. Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, v. 1, pp. 42-43; Morehouse, "Along the Old Kaw Trial," p. 141.

38. Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, v. 1, pp. 42-43.

39. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Mentor edition, 1950), p. 253.

40. Joseph C. Brown, *Field Notes, U. S. Surveying Expedition 1825-1827 (Eighteenth Biennial Report Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, 1911-1912), pp. 117-119.

valley of the Neosho from the mouth of Munkers creek to that of Fourmile creek is over five miles long and in places over a mile wide. This length could contain very well du Pratz's "wood almost two leagues long." Evidently the groves along the tributary streams in this area had expanded and coalesced with the groves of the Neosho and its abandoned channels until a good part of the floodplain was forested. Thus from the evidence presented, a forest over five miles in length and varying from one quarter to a probable three quarters of a mile in width is indicated. It is therefore well documented that the forest in the Council Grove area was large and superb. But, could there have been similar forests somewhere to the southwest of the crossing of the Kansas which the French might have seen instead of this one?

If there were such forests, Indian Agent Cummins was unable to find them in 16 days of searching for a new reservation home for the Kansa Indians in 1847. He first examined land west of the reserve which the Kansa had ceded the year before, but rejected that locality chiefly because it was lacking in timber. The next area inspected—west of the Shawnee Reserve—likewise lacked sufficient timber. Third, he examined the Council Grove area, and was satisfied that though it was a very small area for 1,500 Indians, this was the place to which the Kansa should remove.[41]

As late as 1903 in an address before the Kansas State Historical Society, George P. Morehouse (later to become president of that organization) made these claims: "Within a few rods of this ford [Neosho crossing] still stand some of the old giant oak trees, estimated to be over 200 years old, a part of the original 'council grove,' *which for ages has been, and still is, the largest body of natural timber from here to the Rocky Mountains* [author's italics]." [42]

A rather rough ascent is mentioned by du Pratz in the same sentence as the wood nearly two leagues long. While this may not prove that the two features were associated, it does indicate that a sequential association is likely. There are steep bluffs on the west side of the Neosho, especially so from just north of Main

41. Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, p. 689.
42. Morehouse, "Along the Old Kaw Trail," p. 141.

Chalk road in Wabaunsee county probably approximates the first league of travel of the French party after it broke camp on the 13th day of its trek across Kansas and pushed on to the highland or divide between Mill creek and the Neosho drainages. In Bourgmont's time there were 2.764 miles to the French common league, the unit of measure used in the "Journal" written by a mining engineer who accompanied the expedition. Photograph by the author.

street in Council Grove to the location of the water tower. These bluffs may have presented the rough ascent to which du Pratz had reference. No corresponding rough descent is mentioned, and indeed the hills on the east side of the Neosho, while quite high, do not terminate in cliffs bordering the valley. These bluffs on the west side would have afforded an excellent vantage point from which to look down upon the panorama of forest stretching the length of the valley below.

With the presence of Bourgmont at Council Grove now firmly established and in view of his hoped for ultimate destination of Santa Fe, it should be patently probable that from this point he will be following the route which in later years was called the Santa Fe trail, for at least as long as the landmarks of that trail can be correlated unmistakably with descriptions in the "Journal." These additional claims of Morehouse should now prove supportive:

> There has been much speculation as to the earliest use of this crossing [Neosho crossing], but no one knows how far back it extends. While it is true that there was no Santa Fe Trail till the white man made it [meaning no incised path], however, the old Indian traditions and other proofs clearly establish that, along parts of its very course, there was a prehistoric, well-marked and used highway to and from the Southwest. . . .[43]

Because du Pratz indicated that the wood nearly two leagues long was passed through and that a pretty rough ascent was passed over, a camp at Council Grove is not indicated. Judging by where camp was likely established the next evening after traveling the estimated distance would suggest that the expedition probably camped this evening about six miles southwest of Council Grove on Elm creek headwaters.

In his account for the 14th, du Pratz narrated: "The march was retarded by numerous ascents and descents, from which issued many springs of an extreme pure water forming several brooks, whose waters uniting make little rivers that fall into the river of the Canzas."[44] The "Journal" referred to this river by a somewhat different name, calling it "River of the Camps" (rivière des Camps) and spoke of finding "stones in quantity on the earth, some 'barriers' of stones (rideaux de pierres) resembling at a distance tumbled down hovels."[45] Du Pratz evidently interpreted the "rideaux de pierres" as formidable barriers which retarded the march, apparently missing the modifying description that they resembled the stones of only tumbled down hovels—scattered and having no pattern. The "Journal" didn't indicate that the march was slowed because of the terrain, but rather that a halt was made at 10 o'clock to let a little rain pass and a resumption of the journey at noon.

SPRINGS are not of rare occurrence in the Flint Hills, therefore, those mentioned in the "Journal" must have been extraordinary to elicit notation. A famous stopping place on the Santa Fe trail was "Diamond Spring(s)" or "The Diamond of the Prairie" as it was sometimes called. It is not to be confused with the railroad station and hamlet called Diamond Springs which is some four miles to the south. Joseph C. Brown of the Santa Fe trail survey noted that a good camping place was present near the spring with wood available for fuel. From this point the Santa Fe trail angled about one-quarter mile north and then continued nearly straight west for about three miles to avoid rough country, before resuming its southwesterly course. The topography becomes even rougher and more broken about one mile south of the spring, where numerous branches of Diamond creek flow between narrow, stony hills. The stone fences of this scenic area stand as mute testimonials that the early settlers also found "stones in quantity on the earth." The upper slopes of these hills are thickly strewn with scattered cobbles, while ribbons of larger stones closer together go curving gracefully along the slopes. The "Journal's" likening them to tumbled down hovels is aptly descriptive, but insufficient by itself to prove that this is the locality seen by Bourgmont, as the simile is applicable to other areas of the Flint Hills where the slopes are too steep for topsoil to mantle the exposed rocks. Nevertheless, the sequence with which these "rideaux de pierres" appear—after the wood nearly two leagues long and in association with

43. *Ibid.*

44. Du Pratz in Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. 1, p. 49.

45. The word "rideau" means curtain or screen.—Larousse's *French-English English-French Dictionary*. The French plant a row of trees along a river bank and call it "rideau d'arbres." —Personal communication from Anne Lacombe, Dept. of French & Italian, University of Kansas, Lawrence. There is probably no exact English equivalent to convey Renaudière's meaning.

the springs of water—does indicate very strongly that this is the probable locale.

A compass reading of west by a quarter southwest for this day compared with southwest for the previous day indicates that the route took a more westerly tack after Council Grove. About two and one-half miles north of Burdick, Sixmile creek, the last stream of the Diamond creek drainage, was probably crossed, and then the expedition was beyond the "rideaux de pierres" and upon the highland for the three leagues where the "Journal" recorded that there was no timber to be seen farther than the eye could reach. Thus the expedition arrived at another area of beautiful clear brooks, the equally famous Lost springs of the Santa Fe trail. From the starting point in the morning, probably on Elm creek, to Lost springs is at least eight leagues, the number estimated in the "Journal" for this day's trek. Topographic maps locate three springs less than a mile apart in this area. One is on Lyon creek; the other two are on Cress creek, a Lyon creek tributary. Only in this latter locality and not in that of Diamond spring is du Pratz correct in stating that the little brooks form streams that fall into the river of the Canzas (drainage), because Diamond spring is in the Neosho watershed while Lyon creek flows northward to join the Smoky Hill river near its confluence with the Kansas in the Junction City area.

It was noted that the "Journal" listed the destination of the springs as "river of the Camps." The Delisle map of 1718, a revision using information supplied by Bourgmont, placed village symbols labeled "les Cansez" at the junction of two streams that form the south fork of the Kansas river.[46] At the present time, however, there are no known Kansa village sites dating that early on either the Kansas or Smoky Hill rivers, although the Kansa did regard that region as their territory. Perhaps those village symbols could indicate frequently used locations for hunting camps. If this possibility should be correct then these Lyon creek headwaters do fall into the River of the Camps (of the Kansa), which would be the Smoky Hill.

Until this day, the 14th, Renaudière always noted timber along the length of brooks and little rivers. This day he recorded "bunches of timber the length of *some* [author's italics] brooks or the length of small rivers." This was the first time that he employed "some" to modify brooks, signifying that the little rivers were still timbered, but all brooks were not. Small streams in the area of Lost springs, particularly the south-flowing ones, are not intrenched in deep valleys but meander around with very low banks on top of the prairies, while the north-flowing ones are more deeply intrenched and are wooded to a greater extent. Joseph C. Brown noted Duck creek in the Santa Fe trail survey: ". . . about three miles south of Lost Springs, . . ., twenty links wide running southwest. Plenty of water and pretty good grass, but no wood near."[47] Duck creek is typical of these small streams and still retains its woodless characteristic. There was wood at Lost springs, and quite likely Bourgmont camped there.

On October 15 the expedition traveled in the direction of west-southwest and crossed several brooks and two small rivers. The "Journal" again made note of the scarcity of trees, recording that Bourgmont and his men sometimes marched for two leagues without encountering any timber. Indeed, for the first three leagues southwest of Lost springs, the route traversed highland where there would have been no timber. Beginning about four miles southwest of Tampa, the expedition likely crossed six short, south-flowing, unnamed tributaries of the North Cottonwood river. These small brooks are parallel to each other, almost unbranched and only about a mile apart. Measuring on the map the seven league estimate of the day's travel indicated a destination perhaps on Perry creek a short distance beyond North Cottonwood and about a quarter of a mile above the confluence of those two streams. The North Cottonwood would count as one of the two little rivers. The other one could have been Perry creek if it is large enough to have been so classified, or the expedition could have continued on a bit farther and crossed North Cottonwood again without knowing that it was the same stream describing a sharper than 90 degree turn in direction.

The Santa Fe trail, taking a more southerly course to avoid rough country ahead, crossed

46. The le Sueur map of 1701 also shows Kansa village symbols at this same location.—W. R. Wedel, *Introduction to Pawnee Archeology*, (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 112*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1936) Map 4.

47. Brown, *Field Notes*, pp. 117-119.

the North Cottonwood in the neighborhood of Durham, a good four miles downstream from where Bourgmont is likely to have made his crossing. The next day the "Journal" mentioned rough country in the form of small hills with stones upon them, and this should indicate that Bourgmont continued the same southwesterly course which he had held since Council Grove and from now on will no longer be approximating the famous old trail.

In the absence of a compass reading for the 16th, it will be assumed that the French continued the journey in the same direction that they held the day before. For the last two days locations with sequential significance have been suggested, but for this day the "Journal" records a landmark with unique enough features to enable it to stand on its own merits alone. Therefore, the "Journal's" entry is presented verbatim:

> We have departed at five o'clock in the morning, we have marched until eleven o'clock, where we have made a halt. We have departed at one o'clock, we have marched until five o'clock, we have passed two small rivers and several brooks which were dry. We have found on the small hills some grey and black stones; there are some large ones that emerge from the ground, some others which are rolling (roulantes) and which are very light (fort claires). Our guide has mistaken our road, after noon he has led us too far to the south; we have made today six leagues.[48]

LEAVING the North Cottonwood, the French would have found the country becoming rougher as they approached the several headwaters of Gypsum creek. About seven miles from the starting point of the morning, they crossed South Gypsum creek, one of the two little rivers for the day. If North Cottonwood counted for both little rivers the day before, then Battle creek was the second little river for this day. Boulders are strewn thickly over about 20 acres of hillside adjacent to the place where Bourgmont is likely to have crossed South Gypsum creek. This spot is six and one-half miles north of Canton, on the east side of Kansas Highway 86 and easily visible from it. These boulders are sedimentary "quartzite" of the Dakota formation, not to be confused with Sioux quartzite of the northeast Kansas glacial drift, the "reddish marble" mentioned by Renaudière when the expedition was north of the Kansas river. These "quartzites" do not cover all the hills throughout the rather limited range where they are to be found, and the 20-acre tract in question is one of only 12 such areas clustering around the Maxwell State Game Preserve to Roxbury locality of McPherson county.[49]

The "quartzites" in this 20-acre area vary in size and are in chunks rather than thin slabs, some of which are huge, as much as five to six feet in height and 12 to 14 feet in length. Some appear to have only a portion visible above the ground. Others appear to be simply lying upon the hillside, and although not spherical, they could be "rolling" (in the sense that dice are rolled) if someone big enough were to give them a shove.

The color of these boulders differs somewhat from rock to rock and also within the same stone, with a sedimentary derivation evidenced by narrow bands of slightly darker layers irregularly spaced. The overall color effect shades from a pale yellow buff to a pale rose. When compared with the richer colors of the northeast Kansas glacial erratics, these "quartzites" have a "washed out" appearance. A short descriptive term that most aptly applies to them individually or collectively is not to be found surpassing the "Journal's" "fort claires," very light.[50] The "quartzites" in the other locations of this northeast McPherson county area are grey to black in color. However, they are not a shining, glossy black like the color of coal, but are rather a flat dull black somewhat like pencil lead. Significantly, the "Journal" gave top billing to the grey and black stones, indicating that they were the more prevalent and leaving the "fort claires" ones as the less common, as indeed is the case.

The light colored "quartzites" of the 20-acre tract are thickly encrusted with a mottled matting of lichens. These lichens, with shades of bright and dull yellow, of light green and pale blue, impart to the stones a weird unearthly glow, quite a contrast to the white Permian limestones of the "rideaux de pierres" which from a distance gleam almost like alabaster in the sunlight. Although stones were mentioned in the "Journal" from time to time, these stones encountered this day and the Sioux quartzites north of the Kansas river which the "Journal"

48. Margry, *Découvertes*, v. 6, pp. 431-432.

49. Gerald D. Hargadine and Dale P. Mahan, *Materials Inventory of McPherson County, Kansas (Materials Inventory Report No. 9*, State Highway Commission of Kansas, 1969).

50. Claire is defined as clear; bright; light, in Larousse's *French-English English-French Dictionary*.

called a "reddish marble," are the only ones for which the color was recorded. Renaudière could have had the pale, eerie glow of the lichens in mind when he wrote "fort claires"; but given the French interest in mines, it would seem more likely that a mining engineer would have been describing the color of the rocks themselves. In any case, these stones with or without lichens are "fort claires."

In recording that the stones lay upon small hills, presumedly the "Journal" meant small in relationship to the "large hills" and "large bluffs" seen in Wabaunsee county after the crossing of the Kansas. These hills of the Maxwell State Game Preserve rise above the valleys of Gypsum creek headwaters about half the elevation that their counterparts rise above the valleys of Mill creek drainage.

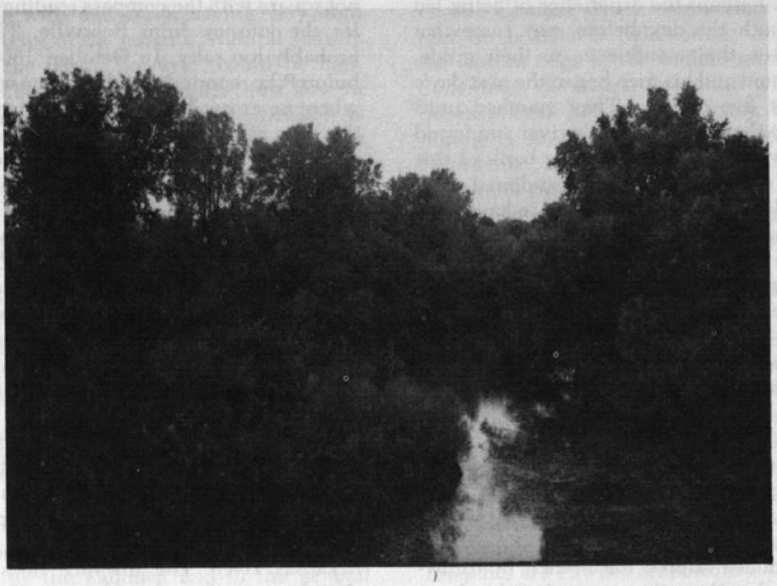
Thus, in the Maxwell State Game Preserve area are supplied all of the natural features needed to correspond to those of the "Journal," and the very light rolling stones are unique to one specific location within that area—the 20 acres of "quartzites" six and one-half miles north of Canton. By way of further confirmation, all of the landmarks which the "Journal" has indicated from Council Grove to this spot, can be found in proper sequence without veering more than one mile from a line drawn on a map between these two points.

The "Journal" reported that the expedition's guide led the travelers too far south in the afternoon, and that they marched for six hours in the morning and four hours in the afternoon in a journey of six leagues. If the same rate of speed was maintained morning and afternoon, Battle creek in the Maxwell State Game Preserve was probably reached by noon. This creek is at least nine miles from the camp departed from in the morning, leaving six miles for the afternoon journey. Leading the expedition from Battle creek, the guide must have veered too far to the left and followed the highland between Battle creek and a branch of Gypsum creek out onto the McPherson lowland, when he should have crossed the Gypsum creek branch before performing that maneuver. In hilly country there is sufficient variation in the topography to supply landmarks, while on the plains everything looks much the same. Thus the McPherson lowland is a region where it would not have been at all unlikely for the expedition, even led by an Indian guide, to have gotten off course. Traveling sharply southwest for six miles would have brought the French quite probably to the unnamed east fork of Turkey creek, about one mile north and a quarter mile west of Galva, when if the right course had been held, they would have been on Dry Turkey creek, a stream similar in size, treelessness, configuration, and in the terrain which it drains.

The "Journal" mentioned several brooks which were dry. Perhaps they were the ones out on the lowland. We now have an indication of what factor might have been predominant in the determination of how small a watercourse could have been and still qualify for the classification of "brook" in Renaudière's terminology. That factor was evidently not running water as might have been supposed but rather the presence of an incised channel.

The four o'clock departure on the morning of October 17, the earliest of the entire journey, probably was a reflection of the anxiety that Bourgmont must have experienced at being off course. A march of two leagues to the west-northwest regained the right route which I maintain was then continued in the same southwesterly direction which had been the course since Council Grove. The "Journal" stated: "Nous avons marché toute la journée du costé de l'Ouest" (We have marched all day long in some direction of west). Many, including the French historian, Villiers, have interpreted "du costé de l'Ouest" as meaning straight west or due west. If this were true, Renaudière could hardly have applied it to the entire day's journey, the first two leagues of which were plainly recorded as "du costé de l'Ouest-Nord-Ouest" (west-northwest). There is no indication that the compass was being used in the determination of these directions, and whenever it was used the "Journal" adds "l'aire du vent" (by the point of the compass) in conjunction with "à l' " plus the name of the direction, instead of "du costé de" plus the name of the direction.[51]

51. From the Kansa village to the Padouca village and back to the Missouri river, directions were stated in the "Journal" 22 separate times. On 16 of those, the direction was given "le aire du vent" (by the point of the compass). On 15 of those 16 occasions, the form in which the direction was given was "à l' " followed by the name of the direction. In only the single instance was it written "du costé de" followed by the name of the direction. But in all six of the instances when directions were stated without any indication that the compass had been employed, the form which then followed was "du costé de" followed by the name of the direction. From this internal evidence in the "Journal," it is apparent that Renaudière used "à l' " to express the precise point of the compass, and used



At Neosho crossing, later the site of Council Grove, the French saw a most amazing anomaly, a forest in the prairie. The finest species of hardwoods grew here, with magnificent specimens of individual trees. This five-mile-long stand of timber was later to be the last place on the Santa Fe trail where wood suitable for wagon repairs could be obtained. Perhaps Council Grove was a misnomer, and the area should have been called "Council Wood" or "Council Forest." Photograph by the author.

Regaining the right route and then traveling on for the remaining four leagues in this day's journey, brought the expedition to what is most likely South Sharps creek, which was only touched and not crossed. Here the French discovered signs of a Padouca camp which appeared to have been vacated but eight days before, and by these signs they knew that they had reached Padouca country. They immediately set fire to the prairie as the prearranged signal to Gaillard and Quesnel, who with two of the Padouca envoys had been sent ahead of the main group on October 9. Soon they saw an answering smoke, which indicated that the two Frenchmen had made it safely to the Padouca and all was well.

Hills had been mentioned or implied in the "Journal" or in the account of du Pratz for every day of travel except for October 9, but the small hills with the "pierres fort claires" noted on October 16, the preceding day, were the last that were recorded on the journey. This evidence, while negative, is nevertheless suggestive that the remainder of the route will be likely to traverse fairly flat terrain.

South Sharps creek, where I believe Bourgmont is likely to have touched it, has a small floodplain and is intrenched in a valley, but the bordering hills are only about half the elevation of the hills with the "pierres fort claires," which the "Journal" called "small." So probably the former hills were not thought to be large enough to be recorded as such.

Finding the abandoned camp of the Padouca afforded the French much satisfaction, because they judged that they could soon find the Grand Village of the Padouca by following

"du costé de" to express the vague, general direction of travel when a compass determination was not made.

"Costé" is the archaic spelling for "côté." —Lacombe, personal communication. "Côté" is defined as side; district; aspect.—Larousse's *French-English English-French Dictionary*. "Du côté" is defined as Loc. Prép. á proximité de; dans (ou de) la direction de.—*Dictionnaire Du Français Contemporain* (Paris, Libraire Larousse, 1966). The first definition translates "in the vicinity of;" the second definition translates "in the direction of." Literally, "du coté de" is "of the direction of," but to translate into English "in" must be used. "Du" is also used by the French to express the English "some."—Charles Duff, *French for Beginners* (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1955), p. 35. Thus, Renaudière's "du costé de l'Ouest" can probably best be liberally rendered into English as "in or toward the quarter of the west," meaning within that fourth of the circle of the horizon between true northwest and true southwest.

their trail. Perhaps the experience of being led too far south the day before may somewhat have shaken their confidence in their guide.

Bourgmont and his men began the next day's journey at five o'clock. They marched until nine when they came to a little river and found that the water was salty. On the bank of this river they discovered another abandoned camp of the Padouca; this one appeared to have been vacated but four days previously. After marching along this stream for about half a league, they halted for dinner, and had barely unloaded the horses when they saw a great smoke "du costé de l'Ouest" at no great distance off. They answered the signal by setting fire to the parts of the prairie that had been untouched by a general fire.

About a half hour later, Gaillard, Quesnel, 28 Padouca, and their Great Chief arrived with their horses at full gallop and the flag of France that Gaillard had given to them on his first journey streaming in the wind.

The Padouca saluted the French by throwing their robes three times over their heads, in the characteristic gesture and sign which identified themselves as Padouca. Bourgmont in turn at the head of his troops drawn up in military formation returned their salute by three times dipping the colors.

After the ceremony in which everybody smoked the peace pipe, the Padouca provided the French and the Indians who accompanied them with mounts, some riding single and others riding double. They arrived at the Grand Village of the Padouca after a journey of three leagues and set up camp about a gunshot away.

THE GRAND SALINE river is the largest and best known salt stream in Kansas. Like a magnet it seems to have drawn the attention of most individuals who have attempted to delineate the route of Bourgmont.[52] However, there are several reasons for disqualifying the Saline as the "Journal's" "little river of salty water." First, within Renaudière's rather loose classification of streams as "brooks," "little rivers," and "rivers," the Saline is unlikely to have been designated a "little river." It is more credible as a "river." Second, its location does not square with the compass readings supplied for the journey from Rossville. Third, it is probably too salty. In October, 1806, Lt. Zebulon Pike reported that the Saline was so salty where he crossed it that it "salted sufficiently the soup of the meat which my men boiled in it." [53] Du Pratz supplied a footnote for the little river of salty water: "C'est-à-dire-que l'eau en étoit un peu salée" (It is to say that the water surprises some by being a little bit salty).[54] While it is not known how salty Pike's men liked their soup, or how much water was boiled away before the meat was cooked, this does suggest a greater concentration of salt than may be inferred from du Pratz's "little bit salty." Soup without sufficient salt is insipid, while any amount of salt sufficient to be detected at all is not desired in drinking water.

The only stream large enough to be classed as a little river to the west or southwest of South Sharps creek and within the prescribed distance of about three leagues is the Little Arkansas river. The distance does measure slightly more than three leagues on the map, using two and one-half miles to the league. But this country is quite flat without sharp ridges and high hills; therefore the airline distance should now approximate the surface distance.[55] The Little Arkansas river flows generally to the southeast, although somewhat more to the south than to the east. A small intermittent stream named Salt creek runs more or less parallel to and about one mile west of North Fork Little Arkansas river. About one mile below the confluence of Salt creek with the Little Arkansas, the latter stream meanders almost due east for more than a mile, the only locality within the general area where the stream runs so true to the east. Two creeks, Dry and Lone Tree, enter the Little Arkansas from the west within this area. Here, Bourgmont could have traveled along this river, or at least within sight of it, for nearly half a league without changing course too drastically from the general line of travel.

There is at present considerable salinity in the Little Arkansas river basin from oil field

52. Kilian, "An Early Visit," Parrish, *The Great Plains*, and Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* made no attempt to identify the little river of salty water, ignoring it completely as a landmark to aid in their respective delineations of Bourgmont's route.

53. Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. 1, p. 51.

54. Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, v. 3, p. 189.

55. M. M. Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisné," p. 13, wrote that the determination of the league in this period of history was by dead reckoning, with the estimate of league length varying from individual to individual. She further states that there was also variance in the measurement from riverine trips to overland journeys and from prairie to woods. If that is the case, then it would also seem likely for the estimate to vary from hill country to plains.

operations, with Salt creek having very high concentrations of the mineral. Natural salinity levels in the basin, however, could be high enough to be tasted at infrequent low flow in the streams.[56] Salt creek is so small that it is unnamed and sometimes unplatted on smaller maps. To make sure that it had not received its name after and from the oil field operations since the turn of the century, I consulted the *Official State Atlas of Kansas* (Everts and Company, 1887) and found it so named on the map of Rice county.

The Little Arkansas river flows closest to South Sharps creek in the area just indicated, southwest of South Sharps creek. The "Journal" stated that the direction traveled this day was "du costé de l'Ouest," and it does not indicate that this determination was made by "the point of the compass." A compass reading may not have been taken because, since discovering the abandoned camp on South Sharps creek, Bourgmont may have been following the trail left by the Padouca and in the general direction in which the smoke of the evening before had been seen. Then, too, with the goal of the journey about to be realized, events appear to have moved so rapidly that a compass reading could have been neglected.

I SUGGEST that the Grand Village of the Padouca was somewhere in the general locality of Lyons. This is somewhat farther from the Little Arkansas river than the three leagues estimated by the "Journal," but the country is still rather flat and the French were then on horseback, which could have made the journey seem shorter.

Three miles west of Lyons is the Cow creek crossing of the Santa Fe trail. Just north of this location is the Malone Archeological Site, identified as Great Bend Aspect (Protohistoric Wichita). Immediately downstream from the crossing, according to Brown of the Santa Fe trail survey, is the largest body of timber on Cow creek.[57] About three miles south of Lyons is the confluence of Little Cow creek with Cow creek. This was always the location of the Kansa hunting camp during that tribe's tenure on the Council Grove reservation. This was then the heart of buffalo country and about at the eastern edge of the buffalo grass country. Sometimes the Kansa spent the winter there because their horses would stay fat on the buffalo grass, while the bluestem grass of the Flint Hills provided very poor nourishment in the winter months.[58]

"On Cow Creek . . ., short grass commences, and the short grass bounds the burnings of the prairie." [59] In view of the smoke signals which Bourgmont and Gaillard had sent back and forth to each other by setting fire to the prairie, it should be evident that the location of the Grand Village was not likely to have been farther west than the Cow creek area. The Delisle map of 1718, referred to earlier, shows Padouca villages on the headwaters of the Kansas river branches and also on two branches of the Arkansas. This map does not plat the big bend of the Arkansas, so it is impossible to determine whether the two branches are Pawnee creek with its confluence at Larned, and Walnut creek with its confluence three miles east of Great Bend, or if they are indeed Cow creek and the Little Arkansas. Their relative position in relationship to the forks of the Kansas suggests the latter identification as the more likely.

Renaudière estimated that there were about 800 warriors, 1,500 women, and at least 2,000 children in this village and he emphasized that although these Indians were entirely dependent on the hunt for their living, they nevertheless were not a wandering people but lived in large lodges (cabanes) in large villages. Disappointingly, no hint was given as to the land formation on which this village was located, such as a floodplain, a high terrace, or upland, and neither was there notation of the spacing of the lodges, whether close together or spread out. A village of this size would have required a large supply of fuel. While the High Plains origin of these people might suggest the utilization of buffalo chips as a fuel source, the "Journal" supplies no notation to confirm this possibility. However, a reliable source of water nearby would have been an obvious essential.

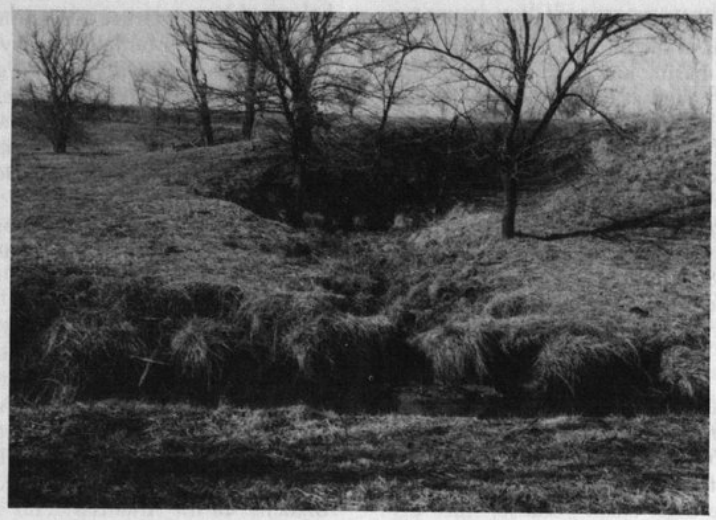
Plains Apache (Padouca) archeological sites have not been identified near Lyons, but the

56. John L. Travers, Kansas Department of Health and Environment, Division of Environment Water Quality Planning and Surveillance Section, personal communication.—*Kansas Anthropological Association Newsletter*, v. 23, nos. 4-5 (December, 1977-January, 1978), p. 70.

57. W. R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, p. 324; Brown, "Field Notes," p. 119.

58. Morehouse, "Along the Old Kaw Trail," p. 207.

59. Horace Jones, *The Story of Early Rice County* (Wichita, 1928), pp. 55-56 (quoting from Joseph C. Brown of the U.S. surveying expedition).



This photograph is of one of three springs less than a mile apart in the Lost Springs area in Marion county. A granite marker on the blacktop road about two and one-half miles west of the town of Lost Springs marks the site of the spring shown here. There was wood at Lost springs, and quite likely Bourgmont camped there. It later became a famous stopping place on the Santa Fe trail. Photograph by the author.

area of Rice county is known for its large and archeologically rich Quiviran sites, the Great Bend Aspect in archeological parlance. If a Plains Apache camp or village happened to be placed on the site of Great Bend Aspect, its meager artifacts might very well be inseparable from those of the former occupation.[60] There is a village site of the Plains Apache three miles east of Great Bend on the Walnut river, near its confluence with the Arkansas.[61] According to my calculations, this location is about one and a half days' travel distance too far to the west to qualify for the village visited by Bourgmont. Later, the great chief of the Padouca would tell Bourgmont that he had authority over 12 villages. Inferentially, the site at Great Bend might possibly have been one of these. A final determination of the exact location of the Grand Village rests upon archeology, and it can only be hoped that the evidence has not all been plowed away, silted over, or otherwise destroyed.

The last sentence in the "Journal" for this most momentous day reads, "Nous avons fait dans nostre journée 6 lieues; nous avons tojours marché du costé de l'Ouest." The first independent clause in this sentence translate, "We have made in our day's journey six leagues." "Journée" is defined as "day's journey." Other terms of similar meaning which have been employed from time to time are "aujourd'hui," meaning "today," and "toute la journée," which means "all day long." In the last independent clause in this sentence, Renaudière introduced a word, "tojours," which he had had no occasion to employ before. It means "always; ever; forever" [62] and indicates that the last clause was not intended to apply to the last two days of travel alone, as has apparently been believed by those maintaining that the last two days of travel were toward the "west." It is rather a little summary indicating the direction of travel of the entire trip from Fort d'Orleans. This direction was slightly northwest to the Kansa village, and then southwest to the Padouca village. By his own compass readings, Renaudière can not have meant "straight west" or "due west" by "du costé de l'Ouest." Thus his last clause should translate "we have always marched westward,"

60. W. R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, pp. 596, 590.

61. O. L. Graves, *14BT404 (Kansas Anthropological Association Newsletter*, v. 7, no. 2, 1961).

62. Larousse's *French-English English-French Dictionary*.

or more liberally "we have always marched toward the quarter of the west." [63]

MUCH to the pleasure of the Padouca, the merchandise of French manufacture which Bourgmont brought along involved more items of goods than were available from the Spaniards, and was of vastly superior quality. Much to their astonishment, these items were not offered in trade but presented to them as gifts from the French king. Among the items of merchandise were rifles, powder, and shot—the first that these people were to obtain, because the Spaniards would not trade firearms to the Indians. Bourgmont also gave to the great chief a French flag, which he said would be the sign and seal of peace and pledged French support if any tribe should war against him. The chief in turn offered Bourgmont 2,000 warriors if at any time he should have need of them. Moreover, he readily agreed to furnish guides whenever Bourgmont wished to go to the New Mexican settlements. In fact he begged Bourgmont to accompany his young men who in a few days would be taking buffalo robes to trade to the Spaniards for horses, but Bourgmont declined, probably because winter was so near. Then the chief implored him to send some Frenchmen to live among his people. Perhaps he thought that the presence of the French might incline the tribes along the Missouri more toward keeping the peace.

The Padouca had everything to gain and nothing to lose by peace, and they were extremely grateful, for it meant that the women and children of the tribe would no longer be in danger from the slave raiders. In addition they could in the future visit their former enemies and carry on commerce with them.

All members of the expedition, both French and Indian, were lavishly entertained by their hosts for the three days they tarried at the Grand Village. What seems to have been a mutual regard and genuine rapport between Bourgmont and the great chief prevailed from the very start, so much so that at one point the chief told Bourgmont that he would give two fingers of his hand to be able to converse with him without need of an interpreter. He also declared that the two freed slaves whom Gaillard had accompanied had not ceased to sing the praises of the French. When Bourgmont saw that the chief greatly admired his uniform and his two holstered pistols, he presented him a uniform like it and one of the pistols. While they were smoking, Bourgmont placed his personal tobacco box of Dutch manufacture in the chief's hand, and when the latter was unable to open it, he showed him where to press a certain spot on the box so that a secret spring would flip open the lid. This box so captivated the chief that Bourgmont made him a present of it.

The Padouca vied with each other to determine who would have the pleasure of entertaining young Bourgmont. Each morning they would come to the camp to escort him to their village, and in the evening they would bring him back to his father. The son of the great chief gave him a present of about a dozen smooth blue stones strung in the manner of rosary beads, which surely must have been turquoise.

The Padouca presented Bourgmont eight horses and some food for the return journey, and the great chief declared that the Spanish were like the earth, but Bourgmont was like the sun.

BOURGMONT and the expedition departed from the Grand Village on October 22 at six in the morning. From then on, the return journey was anticlimactic, as reflected by the "Journal's" meager entries. On all the following mornings, the time of departure is given as five o'clock. The point of the compass for the 22d and the 23d is given "à l'E.-N.-E." (east by northeast); while for all the remainder it is east.

On the 24th, herds of buffalo and elk in quantity were reported. On the 22d, they traveled five leagues; on the 23d and the three following days, they traveled in all 40 leagues.

On the 27th the French reached the Kansas river (presumedly where they had crossed it on the outward journey), and at three o'clock camped on the north side.

On the 28th traveling east, they made eight leagues. This would bring them to Muddy creek, a tributary of the Kansas river at a location four or five miles north of present Grantville.

On the 29th they traveled six leagues. The Delaware river was probably crossed between

63. Folmer, in his "French Expansion" used the term "westward" in his translation of this last clause.

the mouth of Rock creek on the west and that of Slough creek on the east. They saw numerous packs of wolves, the only time these beasts were mentioned. A likely camping place would be either on Stonehouse creek or on Buck creek, which is only about a mile and a half farther east.

On the 30th they again traveled six leagues. For about half the day there were showers. They probably camped on Stranger creek or one of its tributaries.

On the 31st there were showers again, causing them to go into camp after traveling only four leagues, which would place them on one of the small tributaries of the Kansas river a little to the east of Bonner Springs, where the Kansas river was only half a league away. On a line drawn from Rossville to the mouth of the Kansas, this Bonner Springs area is the closest approach to the Kansas since leaving Rossville, and the distance corresponds to the estimated leagues.

On the 1st of November, they arrived on the banks of the Missouri, where they halted at three o'clock. No estimate of the distance traveled this part-day was given.

The "Journal" did not indicate whether the return from the Padouca to the crossing of the Kansas was by the same route as that of the outward journey. It might seem that it was, for no descriptions of landmarks were given for the return journey. If the expedition was retracing its steps descriptions were unnecessary, because they would then have been given before. However, compass readings were supplied for the return journey, and none would have been necessary either if the same route had been followed.

These compass readings for the return as far as the crossing of the Kansas present a problem. On the outward journey from Rossville, there were five days of travel in varying degrees to the southwest, and the last two days continued that southwesterly course in all probability. I do not understand how Renaudière, a mining engineer, could believe that a seven-day journey to the southwest could be followed by a return journey of two days to the east-northeast and then four days to the east and bring the party back to the same place.

A somewhat different route for the return seems probable. I suggest that Bourgmont and his men traveled northeast from the Lyons vicinity (with a few more degrees of north in the northeast than there were of south in the southwest on the last two days of the outward journey) to the Little River location, which would be about five leagues, the estimate given for the day. From there I believe it likely that they headed for Sharps creek near its confluence with South Sharps creek. From this confluence, they probably journeyed toward the Twin Mounds area northwest of the Maxwell State Game Preserve. Early pioneers of McPherson county often saw deer carcasses (killed by Indians) hanging in the trees below Twin Mounds, a favorite campground in a heavily timbered location through which Gypsum creek flowed.[64] Conditions probably hadn't changed materially between Bourgmont's time and the first settlement of McPherson county. From this area it is likely that they traveled pretty much in a straight line to the Rossville crossing, cutting out the slightly longer route through Council Grove.

There is a strange uniformity about the distance traveled for the 23d and the three following days. No such uniformity is to be found for the outward journey; neither is it found for the Rossville to Missouri river segment of the return journey. The 10 leagues recorded for each of the four days is a great distance, much greater than the average in traveling to the Padouca. Since it was then the last of October, the days were getting shorter and shorter. To have traveled this distance must have involved breaking camp before daylight (the time is consistently given as five o'clock) and setting up camp after dark or at least at dusk. All this suggests forced marches, which I believe were not conducive to faithful journal-keeping. I suggest that Renaudière may not have touched the "Journal" from the time of the second camp until the Kansas river was crossed. On that day, camp was made at three o'clock after traveling only six leagues. I think it possible that here Renaudière brought the "Journal" up to date by averaging out the several preceding days, and although he indicated the direction marched "by the point of the compass," I question that the compass really was consulted. The readings given for the rest of the journey from Rossville to the Missouri river are to the east, and they are reasonably correct. I

64. Edna Nyquist, *Pioneer Life and Lore of McPherson County Kansas* (McPherson, 1932), pp. 13-14.

suspect Renaudière made them retroactive for the preceding days when grueling, forced marches seem evident.

Magnetic north is presently to the east of true north, varying from eight to 10 degrees in the area traversed by Bourgmont. The mouth of the Kansas is about two degrees south of true east of Rossville. Compass readings for this segment should present no difficulty, because without a highway or railroad to align with, a six to eight degrees of error in the direction of what is only a route is no more than is to be expected. However, the eight to 10 degrees of difference between true and magnetic north compound the difficulty of accepting a reading of east for the four days preceding the crossing of the Kansas. If indeed the expedition had been traveling the identical direction before reaching Rossville that it did afterward, such a route would have involved another crossing of the Kansas river in the Ogden area, halfway between Manhattan and Junction City. There is no indication in the "Journal" of more than a single crossing of the Kansas on the outward journey and a single crossing on the homeward journey.

The compass may not have played as significant a role as might be expected at first glance. Bourgmont was not depending upon it to reach the Grand Village, because he didn't even know where that village was located, so the compass was of minimal usefulness for that purpose. There was an Indian guide to show the way, and the Padouca ambassadors, who had accompanied Gaillard on his return to the Kansas village, were with the expedition and should have known the way home, more or less. I presume that the compass was more likely for the purpose of helping the French determine where they had been after they returned, and to serve as insurance to see them safely home in case their Indian friends should desert them.

Du Pratz recorded this significant information not recorded in the "Journal": "From the Padoucas to the Canzas, proceeding always east, we may now very safely reckon sixty-five leagues and a half. The river of the Canzas is parallel to this route." [65] The Kansas river begins at Junction City at the confluence of the Republican and Smoky Hill, and there are only approximately 42 leagues from this point to Bourgmont's camp in the present Bonner Springs area. It is evident that du Pratz considered the lower Smoky Hill as part of the Kansas river and not a separate stream. It was noted before that du Pratz gave the river of the Canzas as the destination of the stream which was formed by the springs of water, and further that this stream was Lyon creek, a Smoky Hill tributary.

It is popularly assumed that the Smoky Hill river takes its name from the Smoky Hills or Smoky Buttes north of Lindsborg, and they were in turn so named because they can be seen for such a distance that atmospheric haze from time to time gives them a smoky appearance. The Kansas river, of course, is named for the Kansa Indians.

The Kansa were best known as "the South Wind People," but other names for them included "Smoky," "Smoky Water People," and "Fire People." Among the Siouan people, the Kansa were "the keepers of the rites which pertain to the south wind." [66] "Smoky Water People" may simply designate them as the people who dwell along the Missouri river. In the Osage tongue, NI-SHO-DSE is the name for the Missouri river. SHO-DSE means smoke,[67] a reference no doubt to the color of the muddy water of the Missouri.

Thus it seems possible that the Smoky Hills could have received their name from the river rather than the other way around. In that case smoky would not mean that the water was turbid, but that the stream was claimed by the "Smoky" or Kansa Indians. Further credence is given this theory in the naming of the Republican fork, which signified that that stream was the branch of the Kansas along which dwelled the Republican band of Pawnee Indians.

It must be noted that du Pratz's estimate of 65½ leagues is not the distance from the Grand Village of the Padouca to the Kansa Village as has been supposed.[68] It is rather the distance from the "Padoucas," meaning the land of the Padouca or their border, to the "Canzas," meaning the Kansas river one-half league south

65. Du Pratz, in Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. 1, p. 49.

66. John Rydjord, *Kansas Place Names* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 104-105.

67. Francis La Flesche, *A Dictionary of the Osage Language (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 109*, Smithsonian, 1932).

68. Principally W. E. Connelley, "Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14, pp. 444-445.

of Bourgmont's camp in the Bonner Springs area. (Fractions are seldom if ever employed in estimates involving numbers as high as the 60's. Because Bourgmont was traveling easterly toward the Missouri river, this half league does not figure in the overall distance and will no longer be considered in the estimate.)

When Bourgmont crossed the Kansas river on the outward journey, both the "Journal" and du Pratz recorded that the Kansas river ran directly from west to east. This may have been Bourgmont's correction of misinformation on the Le Sueur map of 1701 and the Delisle map of 1718 which show the Kansas river running directly from the northwest to the southeast. While this is some improvement, it is still not absolutely correct, particularly if the lower Smoky Hill is included. The Smoky Hill runs slightly northeast from Salina to Junction City; from that point the Kansas continues slightly northeast until reaching the Wamego area east of Manhattan. If Bourgmont believed that the Smoky Hill-Kansas river followed a course due east, as the previous information affirms, and that it paralled the 65 league course of the journey, then for the sake of consistency, the compass readings for that segment of the 65 league course before reaching the crossing at Rossville would have to be made to conform to those which were supplied for the Rossville to the Bonner Springs area. Something had to be changed, either the compass readings or the direction indicated for the Kansas river. It is quite evident which of the alternatives Bourgmont chose.

Subtracting the 24 league distance between Rossville and Bourgmont's camp in the Bonner Springs area from the 65 league segment leaves 41 leagues to extend on the map from Rossville southwestward toward Sharps creek, where I believe Bourgmont may have crossed on the return trip. This distance reaches within three leagues east of that stream. On the South Sharps creek tributary was the location where I suggested the first abandoned Padouca camp was discovered on the outward journey, and this camp would establish that area as within Padouca country.

Thus, we have the route 65 leagues long from the Padouca to Bourgmont's camp, and it is parallel to the Smoky Hill-Kansas river. This river, however, does not run from west to east as Bourgmont believed; it runs northeasterly, then east. This, I believe, Bourgmont's route also did.

ON THE 2d of November, Bourgmont embarked on the Missouri river with six of the French in a skin boat. Four of his men traveled on rafts with the Indians, while the remainder, under the command of Saint-Ange, had charge of the horses and traveled overland to Fort d'Orleans.

The father of Saint-Ange had been left in command of the fort in Bourgmont's absence. Bourgmont arrived at the fort on the fifth of November at noon, where he was welcomed with a salute of cannon, the discharge of muskets, and the flag flying above the fort. Afterwards, the Te Deum was sung in gratitude for peace with the Padouca.

Ten days after the return to Fort d'Orleans, the Bourgmont "Journal" was signed by Saint-Ange, Renaudière, Sergeant Dubois, and seven other Frenchmen who could sign their names. In addition two other Frenchmen affixed only their X marks to the document.

On the 19th of November, a conference with the Missouri, Otoe, and the Osage was convened at Fort d'Orleans to select delegates to accompany Bourgmont to France to impress them with the power and wonders of that nation.

The next summer, Bourgmont returned to France with five or six delegates. More had been chosen, but in the interest of economy the Company of the Indies, which was footing the bill, reduced the size of the delegation. Bourgmont took with him a young Indian girl, a "Princess of Missouri," the French answer to Pocahontas. The "Princess" reportedly was also his mistress.[69]

During the journey, the company provided the Indians with only the rations of the sailors, a diet to which the Indians were not accustomed, so Bourgmont bought them fresh meat and wine out of his own pocket.[70]

On September 20, 1725, they arrived in Paris, where they were presented at court and entertained by royalty. The Indians performed their dances at the Opera and at the Italian Theater.[71] At the Bois de Bologne, King Louis's own private hunting preserve, Bourgmont

69. Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, p. 112.
70. Folmer, "French Expansion," p. 194 (quoting Villiers).
71. Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, p. 113.

staged the first Wild West show ever presented in Europe. The King and all the royal court came to watch the performance. The Indians stripped to their breechclouts, mounted the horses borrowed from the nobles, and with their bows and arrows shot the King's hares, deer, and peacocks, à la Missouri.[72]

The "Princess of Missouri" was baptized at Notre Dame de Paris, and Bourgmont married her off to Sergeant Dubois, who had been on the expedition to the Padouca.[73] King Louis was scandalized, for he thought it not at all proper for a princess to marry a mere sergeant. But he gallantly rose to the occasion and removed the impropriety by commissioning Dubois a captain.[74]

The French very much enjoyed the Indians, and the Indians very much enjoyed their stay in France, never tiring of telling its wonders in later years. However, they did not like the excess perfume worn by the Parisian ladies and said they smelled like alligators. A year later they were returned to their own country.[75]

Bourgmont must have returned to his rich widow, and in December, 1725, he was granted letters of nobility.[76]

72. Bliss Isley, "Another Princess From Missouri Was Royally Received in Paris in 1725," Kansas City (Mo) *Star*, June 25, 1951.
73. Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, p. 112.
74. Isley, "Another Princess From Missouri."
75. Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, pp. 12-13.
76. Folmer, "French Expansion," p. 196.

EPILOGUE

BOURGMONT and his little band have come and gone. Almost unchanged along the route they traveled, the great eminences still stand. Their protruding rocks have been a coat of mail against the ravishment of the plow. And if one is in a pensive mood, the little hills will in one's reverie transform themselves into ancient castles.

The Diamond of the Prairie and the Lost springs, where Bourgmont paused, for years also refreshed the travelers along the old Santa Fe trail. They yet send their sparkling cool waters springing freely forth to form hurrying little brooks of clear water, while close at hand and from a much greater depth is pumped the thick black blood of commerce.

A few buffalo and elk, scarcely a vestige of the countless numbers seen by Bourgmont, still graze the native grasses on the little hills in the Maxwell State Game Preserve. Nearby, the very light stones, arrayed in ghostly glowing lichen robes, bespeak of antedeluvian worlds in eons past.

The Stars and Stripes fly from the flagstaffs at Lyons, not far, perhaps, from the village where once the banner with the *fleur de lis* spoke peace and friendship to a harried people.

But what of the most extraordinary thing, *the wood nearly two leagues long*, a forest in the prairie where no forest should have been? The

The Bourgmont "Journal" describes the presence of "very light stones" (Pierres fort claires), a landmark with unique enough features to be pinpointed in present-day McPherson county. This picture was taken approximately six and one-half miles north of Canton and four and one-half miles south of Roxbury. Boulders are strewn thickly over about 20 acres of hillside adjacent to where Bourgmont is likely to have crossed South Gypsum creek. Photograph by the author.

thriving city of Council Grove, steeped in history, and fertile fields lush with crops have taken the place where, on a golden October afternoon, Bourgmont saw a magnificent forest, tinted gloriously by the first frosts of autumn. But a few majestic monarchs, sylvan relics of the vanished wood, still stand sentinel in silent watch over the crossing of the Neosho. Upward they look as well as outward, for far overhead, present day travelers go hurrying by. Effortlessly and swiftly, they traverse the crossing of the Neosho. Indeed, they do not know that it is even there. Their pathways are marked by ethereal trails of vapor which spread, grow thinner, drift, linger awhile, and then they too are gone.

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

THE FIRST KANSAS COLORED —MASSACRE AT POISON SPRINGS

MIKE FISHER

IN LATE March, 1864, Union Gen. John Milton Thayer led his small Army of the Frontier, including regiments of the First and Second Kansas Colored volunteers, south from Fort Smith, Ark., heading toward the confederate supply center at Shreveport, La. After three weeks of hard marching through rugged, mountainous terrain, Thayer rendezvoused 110 miles to the south at Arkadelphia with the larger VII Corps commanded by Gen. Frederic Steele. There the combined Union force of 12,000 found itself beset by poor communications, difficult terrain, and aggressive Confederate forces led by Gen. Sterling Price. By the middle of April, the Union expedition was pinned down in the southern Arkansas town of Camden with casualties mounting and supplies diminishing. There, the story of the First Kansas Colored volunteers and the action at Poison Spring began.

THE DUST and mud of three weeks of almost continuous skirmishing and marching washed from their uniforms, the black soldiers of the First Kansas Colored volunteers rolled out of their blankets early on the morning of April 17 to learn that their regiment had been detailed as guard for a forage train that day. His supply situation now desperate, General Steele decided to risk sending a foraging party, only lightly guarded, beyond his lines to the west in order to resupply his command.[1] Following verbal orders from Steele, General Thayer, commanding the Army of the Frontier, dispatched a column of 198 wagons with an escort of 500 infantry of the First Kansas Colored volunteers and an additional 195 cavalry[2] with two James guns from the second Indiana Battery to march west from Camden on the Washington road.[3]

Commanding this foraging expedition was Col. James M. Williams. A quiet, competent leader, Williams had led the First Kansas from its inception in late 1862.[4] At Honey Springs the previous summer, the regiment had distinguished itself, although Williams had been badly wounded. But the First Kansas Colored mirrored in microcosm the problems that beset the Union black soldier in the war, now suddenly transformed, in many instances, in months from slave to soldier.

First, there was the problem of the confederate soldier, who, both officially and unofficially, often followed a policy of no-quarter, denying the black soldier the rights generally accorded white prisoners of war.[5] On May 18, 1863, the men of the First Kansas had learned this firsthand when they were ambushed during a foraging party east of Baxter Springs by confederate guerrillas led by Maj. T. R. Livingston. Of the 50 men in the Union party, 20 were killed initially in the surprise attack, and one black soldier captured by the Missourians was quickly executed shortly afterward. Colonel Williams had reacted promptly, ordering one of the confederate prisoners taken by his command shot in retribution.[6] By 1864 many of the black soldiers in the Union army fought with desperate abandon believing, as did the men of the First Kansas, that surrender or capture meant death.[7]

Nor was hatred of the black soldier peculiar only to white confederates. Even moderate Pres. Abraham Lincoln seemed reluctant to grant equality of treatment and protection to the black soldier. Acceptance of the growing role of the black man in the Union army, where eventually 180,000 served as events dictated, proved a necessity as the casualty lists grew.[8]

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891), v. 34, pt. 1, pp. 663, 743.
2. Elements of the Second, Sixth, and 14th Kansas cavalry.
3. *Official Records*, v. 34, pt. 1, p. 743.
4. Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army 1861-1865* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co. 1956), p. 78.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-177.
6. *Ibid.*, 145-146.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Most of the white federal soldiers reluctantly agreed that the black soldier had a place in the Union army. But few federals looked on their black brothers with any sense of equality. Early in the winter of 1864 an Iowa veteran had touched on the feeling many of the Union soldiers had for the Negro, generally. Speaking of a family of contrabands that cooked for his unit during the winter in Little Rock, the federal soldier described the black family as,

> Respecting us and themselves, yet knowing and understanding the differences of color and tastes, they [the black family] attended unobtrusively to their own business, and were treated as civilly as white folks would have been in the same circumstances. If all negroes were like them, the social problem need never present a problem.[9]

This feeling of inequality and hostility affected the black soldier's performance. In the summer of 1863, Williams had taken the First Kansas out of their garrison at Fort Scott, when the men had become nearly mutinous. The regiment's poor spirit seemed justified to Williams. Although they had served nearly 10 months, the black soldiers received neither pay nor bounty until late in the summer of 1863.[10]

Characteristically, with but one day's rest after the long march from Fort Smith of the past month, the First Kansas Colored was selected to guard the foraging train on April 17 even though white federal infantry regiments were better rested.[11]

The foraging party's immediate objective stood near the edge of the White Oak creek, 24 miles west of Camden, the same place that most of the VII Corps had camped on the night of April 14. Near that spot, the corps quartermaster, Capt. C. A. Henry, had learned, was a cache of 5,000 bushels of corn.[12] Aware of both the corps's need for food and the vulnerability of his own small column, Williams pushed his worn troops hard. Reaching a camping spot 18 miles west of Camden on the Washington road on the afternoon of April 17, the colonel divided his command. Maj. Richard G. Ward led six companies of the First Kansas Colored six miles farther west toward the much needed corn, a hundred wagons following in trace.[13]

Williams dispatched the remaining wagons in different directions from his headquarters, guarded by small elements of the command and seeking additional forage and supplies.[14] By midnight Ward's section of wagons returned wearily to Williams's campground, fully loaded with corn. Although the confederates had destroyed much of the corn at the approach of the federal column, some 2,500 bushels had been confiscated and loaded by hand into the wagons by the First Kansas following their long march to White Oak creek.[15]

With little sleep, Ward moved his six companies back to join the main body of Williams's column at seven the following morning.[16] Moving up the road, his men now extremely fatigued from a combination of hard marching, lack of sleep, and short rations, Ward joined Colonel Williams's party after the early morning six-mile hike back from White Oak creek.[17]

Williams growing more anxious of ambush with his small column divided and scattered, began moving the command slowly east at sunrise on April 18, loading the few remaining empty wagons as the train headed back the 18 miles toward the safety of Camden.[18] Four miles east of his campgrounds he welcomed a reinforcing column of 375 infantry of the 18th Iowa under the command of Capt. William M. Duncan, and nearly 100 additional Kansas cavalry troopers. With these reinforcements, Williams's command now numbered, theoretically, 875 infantry and 285 cavalry and, with the addition of the two mountain howitzers accompanying Duncan's column, four pieces of artillery.[19] Actually, however, his command included only about 1,000 effectives, and all of those were hungry and footsore. Over 100 of the First Kansas had fallen out on April 17, following 24 days of nearly continuous marching. Additionally, large portions of the cavalry had wandered away from the command in violation of orders.[20]

COLONEL Williams had good reason to be apprehensive as he moved his long column easterly through the rolling Arkansas

9. Andrew F. Sperry, *History of the 33rd Iowa Infantry Volunteer Regiment* (Des Moines, Mills and Co., 1866), p. 58.
10. Cornish, *The Sable Arm*, pp. 182-183.
11. The white regiments in the Third division had rested nearly a week waiting on the Army of the Frontier to come up.
12. *Official Records*, v. 34, pt. 1, p. 680.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 743, 751.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 743.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 680.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 751.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 754. Ward's men spent 66 hours out of 78 on their feet.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 743.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 743-744. *See* above footnote 17.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 744.

hills, walled in by dense underbrush and heavy pine forest. As the foraging train had moved slowly out of Camden on the previous morning, Confederate Col. Colton Greene of the Third Missouri cavalry, bivouacked before the federal position at Camden, near the junction of the upper and middle Camden roads, west of the city, observed its movement. Initially, Greene's scouts reported that a train of 20 federal wagons with a guard of only 200 cavalry was moving on the upper Washington road. Greene ordered his command immediately to strike the rear of the federals but quickly cancelled the order and placed his regiment in ambush when he learned the true state of the Union force.[21] Greene then notified his commander, Brigadier General Marmaduke at his headquarters eight miles to the south at Woodlawn, of the enemy movement, requesting instructions and support.[22]

Greene's scouts reached Marmaduke with this intelligence that same morning. The confederate general planned an immediate attack, but since his own command numbered only 500 men he requested reinforcements from General Fagan's division of cavalry camped nearby. Fagan responded by promptly dispatching two of his brigades under Colonels Crawford and Cabell to assist Marmaduke.[23] Reinforced, Marmaduke now led his three brigades of cavalry out the Prairie d'Ane road toward the federal train. Again Marmaduke received additional intelligence on the size of the federal train now overestimating the column's strength at some 2,500 men. Certain that the train would not return to Camden until the next morning, Marmaduke led his men back to their camp at Woodlawn and requested additional support from the Department of Arkansas commander, Maj. Gen. Sterling Price.[24] Price responded by directing Gen. Samuel B. Maxey to reinforce Marmaduke further with two brigades, Gano's Texans, under Col. Charles De Morse, and the Second Indian brigade under Col. Tandy Walker.[25]

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 827-828.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 828. Maj. Gen. John Sappington Marmaduke planned the trap that snapped shut on the federals at Poison Spring on April 18. A professional soldier, educated at Yale, Harvard, and West Point, Marmaduke killed Confederate Gen. Lucien M. Walker in a duel following the rebel defeat at Helena, Ark., on July 4, 1863.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 825. The confederate leaders described here are Col. William A. Crawford, Gen. James Fleming Fagan, and Gen. William Lewis Cabell, all Arkansas Division of Cavalry.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, p. 781

That night the confederate plan of attack evolved. Marmaduke's three brigades would interdict the road 10 miles from Camden, opposing the federal advance. Simultaneously, Maxey's two brigades would smash the Union column on its exposed flank and rear.[26] By seven on the morning of April 18, confederate command moved to implement the plan. Three hours later, the confederates moved into position. Facing west down the Prairie d'Ane road, Crawford's brigade held the north side of the road supported by a battery of artillery. To the south of the road, Cabell placed his brigade in a rough semicircle, on a pine ridge facing to the northwest. This gave the confederates command of the road that lay between sloping pine hills on the south falling away to the north to a deep ravine, leading into an almost impassable swamp. Behind the brigades of Cabell and Crawford, Colonel Greene held his men in reserve.[27]

On the extreme confederate right, General Marmaduke now briefed his brigade commanders on their role in the upcoming fight. Dismounted and whittling calmly on a piece of white pine, Marmaduke explained that

> When Gano [Gano's Texans under De Morse] shall be well engaged with the enemy in his rear, this line [Cabell, Crawford, and Greene's brigades] is to advance and strike him in the flank. This is the wheeling flank and should advance at doublequick.[28]

Marmaduke remained in overall command of confederate forces. He had offered the command to Maxey when he had come up at 10 that morning, but the senior confederate officer had declined the command. Maxey told Marmaduke that, "as . . . [Marmaduke] had planned the whole movement [he] should take charge and make the fight."[29]

THUS BETWEEN 10 o'clock and noon on April 18, 2,700 confederates waited in an "L" shaped ambush along the Prairie d'Ane road,[30] with both numerical and tactical superiority. As the sun burned away the morning coolness, skirmishers from the federal cavalry

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 825-826

27. Col. John M. Harrell, "Arkansas," *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, Ga., Confederate Publishing Co., 1899), v. 10, p. 249.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 249. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant assumed the same whittling pose early in the battle of the Wilderness, May 5, 1864.

29. *Official Records*, v. 34, pt. 1, p. 826.

30. An ambush where the long axis of the "L" provides flanking fire while the shorter axis provides enfilade fire.