Kansas historical collections

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This seventeen volume series is the first serial published by the Kansas State Historical Society from 1875 until 1928. The publication of the Kansas Historical Quarterly followed in 1931. Volumes 1-10 were officially titled the "Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society." The title changed to "Collections of the..." beginning with volume 11. The series contains addresses and papers delivered at the annual meetings, biographical sketches, compiled historical information, and transcriptions of select collections in the Historical Society's holdings. The first seven volumes contain biennial reports of the board of directors. Beginning with volume 8 the biennial reports were published separately. Searchable tables of contents and indexes for each volume are forthcoming.

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and clear understanding that death or punishment by the judgment of a military commission will be the penalty for the violation of this my solemn and parole of honor. And I also swear that under no consideration will I go beyond the military lines of the United States.—ARCHIBALD LOVE.

"Subscribed and sworn before me, this 26th day of March, 1864.—W. W. GREEN, Captain Second Colorado Cavalry, commanding station."

[SEAL.]

Our next call was October 10, 1864, general order No. 53, from Maj.-gen. S. R. Curtis, at Fort Leavenworth, ordering all men into the military service of the United States. At this time our regiment was given new guns, the Enfield rifle, a muzzle-loader, the best the government then had.

We were ordered to Shawnee Mission, near Westport, Mo., and from thence to Independence, and in a week active duty was on. We were east of Independence, in front of Gen. Sterling Price's army, October 21. We were compelled to retreat to the Blue river, on the Kansas City road. This crossing had been well fortified. I had been in my saddle all the night before, and I felt as though I would get a good night's rest. But at about five o'clock in the evening we were ordered into line, and given three days' rations in new haversacks, and told to take good care of these, because we might need all before we got any more.

We were now ordered to go up the Blue, south six miles, and hold Byron's ford, and not let Price cross; Colonel Ford, of the Second Colorado, in command. Our force consisted of the Second Colorado, Fourth Kansas, and two sections of a battery. Colonel Ford thought best to recross the Blue and go up on the east side, and about six o'clock we started. When we were out about three miles we ran into a squad of cavalry from the rebel army, and they were evidently moving to the right also. A halt was made, and every man was ordered to see that his gun was well capped and loaded, but not to shoot if it could be avoided. A council was held, and we cautiously advanced, stopping every little while to do some scouting. We were nine hours making these six miles. We reached the ford, recrossed, and camped on the west side.

I hitched my horse to a rail fence in a corn-field, and laid down in a furrow, with my saddle for a pillow and gun by my side, and slept soundly. We were ordered to be in fighting trim in a moment. At daybreak the bugle sounded, and we were almost instantly in line. Price had evidently started for this crossing (Byron's) and went into camp, waiting for daylight. Two government wagons came up, loaded with new axes, and these were issued about one to every three men. Our horses were sent to the edge of the timber, one man detailed to care for four horses. The axes were used in felling trees, thus blocking the road and ford, so that Price's army could not cross. About nine o'clock Price's men came up, and two pieces of Union artillery commenced firing across the Blue at them. A sharpshooter with the rebels killed a young man by the name of Cook. A squad of twenty-five men were sent further up the Blue, and these were all captured by the rebels. We were ordered to support the battery, and to the right in the timber we found a rail fence, which we rapidly improvised into a breastwork by taking the upper rails and stopping the cracks below. Here we remained until noon, tired and worn out, not caring whether dead or alive, trying to hold in check an army of 30,000. Our entire force was 7000 regular three-year men and 20,000 Kansas militia. Under a similar call, at this date, Kansas could place 250,000 men on the border. We were compelled to retreat again.

General Curtis sent his army to our relief, and regiment after regiment began to arrive, and from out near where Tobner park is we tried them again. We were now out on the open prairie. A rock fence ran right to make a breastwork for our men. The Shawnee county militia were here placed and ordered to hold it, while other regiments were engaged elsewhere. The Eleventh regiment was

fighting on the east, but the rebels continued to advance, and massed on the edge of the timber, to make a charge on the rock fence. It was far enough so that a rifle could not reach it from the timber. They moved out of the woods several columns deep, and double-quick for the fence. The Topeka militia held their fire until the rebels were within fifty yards of the fence; then they poured such a deadly fire that they mowed down nearly all of the first line. This checked the rebel line for a few moments, but they came again and again, and the Topeka boys lost twenty-two of their men killed. Night came on, and the firing ceased all along the line. Generals were busy all night, and great anxiety was felt. The night was spent in distributing ammunition, some regiments having used all their supply. The men again slept on their arms.

Sunday morning, Ootober 23, 1864, dawned clear and calm, soldiers and officers anxious to know the result of the day. At eight o'clock Price again attacked with a great deal of skill. I believe, if General Pleasanton had not come, Price would have done us up.

At about eleven o'clock we had twenty-four cannon working on the rebel lines. At this juncture General Pleasanton came up with 10,000 Missouri cavalry. At Independence he divided his army into two squads. Five thousand of them crossed at Byron's ford and attacked Price in the rear, while Pleasanton crossed the Blue on the Kansas City road, with the other 5000, and attacked Price's army on the east. Our commander at once ordered a forward movement on the rebel line. A Kansas yell went up, and all advanced. The rebel lines broke, and they were not allowed to stop. So ended the fight and Kansas City was saved.

The ground was looked over and the wounded cared for. Monday morning the dead were gathered. The rebel dead were buried on the field, and the Kansas dead were taken to Wyandotte and either buried there or sent to their friends at home. Young Cook lay where he fell at Byron's ford Saturday morning until Monday. Tuesday morning four women and two old men from Jefferson county drove into camp with a two-horse wagon loaded with canned goods, dried fruit, dried beef, and such luxuries as they could gather. They came to help care for the wounded. Jefferson was my county.

God bless the women of Kansas and of our country.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND INDIAN IMPLEMENTS IN KANSAS.

An address by W. E. RICHEY,* of Harveyville, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

KANSAS is great in her material resources—her crops, her minerals, her oils—but her crowning glory is her history. It is a record of the transformation of a desert into a garden. The best civilization of the ages is deeply rooted in the soil once trod by the buffalo and the Indian. The founding and growth of our institutions and the marvelous progress and development, marked by the vast improvements which dot our landscapes and border our streams, have wrought a story never surpassed by man. But while every Kansan should rejoice at the matchless career of the state, the first efforts in the great drama of civilization on our soil, amidst the darkness and discouragements of a past century, should not be forgotten.

Special interest attaches to the early Spanish explorations, particularly to that of Coronado and his companions, because when their armor glittered on the sands of Kansas they became the first white discoverers of what has become an empire—a star of brilliant splendor in the constellation of civilized states.* The narratives of this remarkable expedition are a part of Kansas history. They are full of interest, and vividly describe the passage over swollen rivers, rugged mountains, and boundless plains. Many have been the theories as to the territory traversed. The subject has been treated by scores of books, in various countries and languages, until it seems to be regarded as a problem of the centuries. In my researches it has been my aim to be guided by a close study and comparison of the narratives of the explorers themselves, as published in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The object of the Coronado expedition was to explore the country north of

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*See sixth volume, Collections Kansas State Historical Society, page 477; also, volume 7, pages 43, 45.

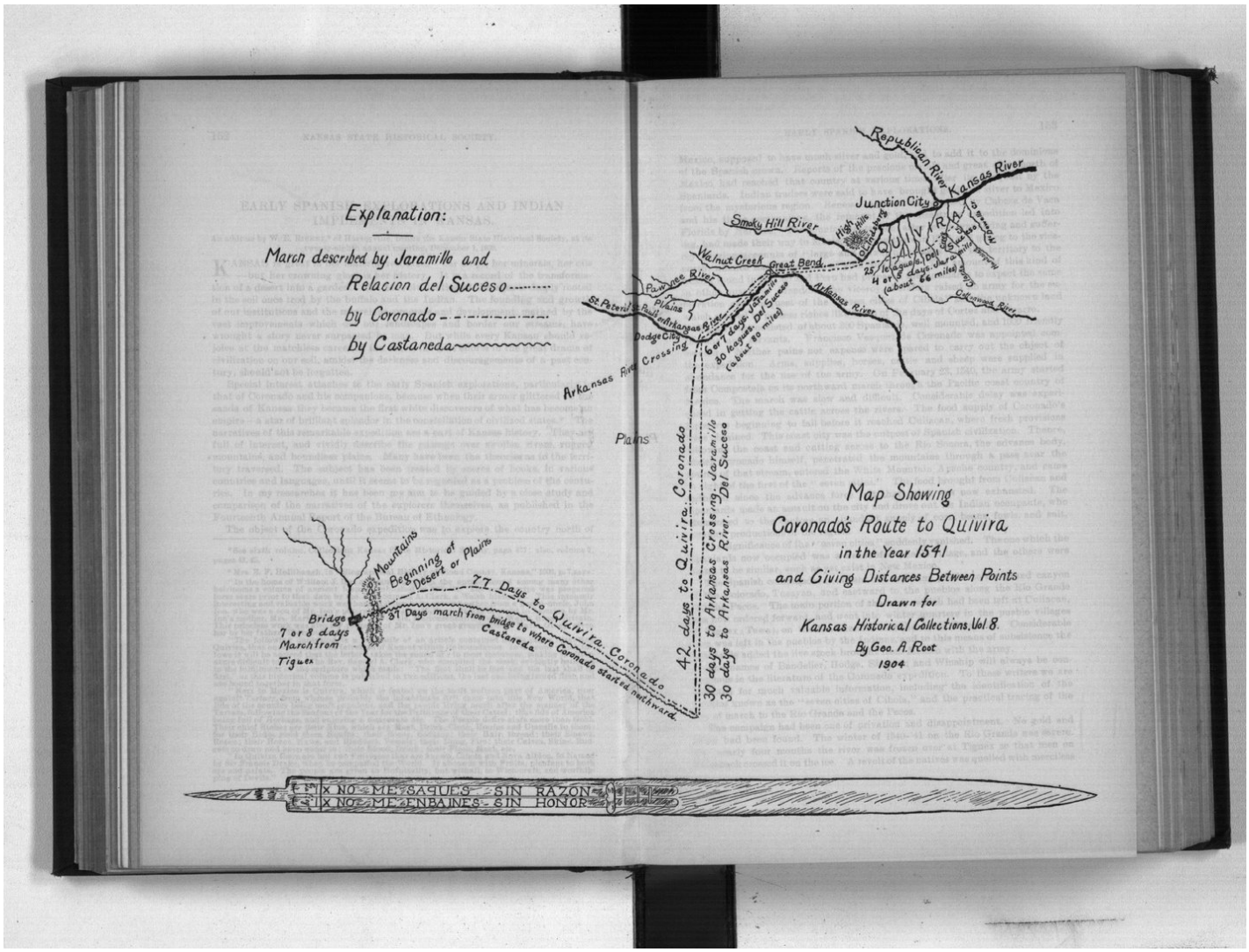
*Mrs. E. F. Hollibaugh, in "Biographical History of Cloud County, Kansas," 1903, p. 7, says:

"In the home of William J. Ion, of Grant township, the author found among many other heirlooms a volume of ancient history published in 1670-'71. The manuscript was prepared forty years prior to that date by the Rev. Samuel A. Clark, a Welsh historian. This intensely interesting and valuable work was handed down to its present owner from a grand-uncle, John Ion, who was a son of Mr. Ion's paternal great-grandfather. It was brought to America by Mr. Ion's mother, Mrs. Maria Williams, of Ebbwvale, Merionethshire, South Wales, Great Britain. This priceless work was also the property of Mr. Ion's great-grandmother, Maria Gregg, given her by her father, Thomas Gregg.

"The following quotation is a *facsimile* of an article contained on its pages regarding Quivira, that once included the fair state of Kansas within its boundaries. In the copy which follows it will be noticed that the letter f takes the sound of s in most instances, making the literature difficult to read. The Rev. Samuel A. Clark, who compiled the work, evidently believed in the fulfillment of the scripture which reads: "The first shall be last and the last shall be first," as this historical volume is published in two editions, the last one being issued first, and are bound together in that form.

"Next to Mexico is Quivira, which is feated on the moft weftern part of America, over againft Tartary, from whence probably the inhabitants firft came into this New World, that fide of the country being moft populous, and the people living much after the manner of the Tartars, following the Seafons of the Year for the Paſturage of their Cattel; that fide of America being full of Herbage, and enjoying a temperate Air. The People deſire glaſs more than Gold. Their chief Riches are their Kine, which are Meat, Drink, Cloth, Houſes and Utensils to them: for their Hides yield them Houſes; their Bones, Bodkins; their Hair, thread; their Sinews, Ropes; their Horns, Maws, and Bladders, Vessels; their Dung, Fire; their Calves, Skins, Budgets to draw and keep water in; their Blood, Drink; their Flesh, Meat, etc.

"In Quivira there are but two Provinces that are known, Cibola and Nova Albion, ſo Named by Sir Francis Drake, when he compaſſed the World. It abounds with Fruits, pleaſant to both eye and palate. The people are given to Hoſpitality, but withall, to Wich-craft, and worſhipping of Devils."


Explanation:
March described by Jaramillo and
Relacion del Suceso
by Coronado
by Castaneda
Republican River
Kansas River
Junction City
Smoky Hill River
Walnut Creek
Great Bend
Arkansas River
Dodge City
Arkansas River Crossing
Plains
Mountains
Beginning of Desert or Plains
77 Days to Quivira. Coronado
37 Days march from bridge to where Coronado started northward
Castaneda
Bridge
7 or 8 days March from Tiguex
42 days to Quivira. Coronado
30 days to Arkansas Crossing. Jaramillo
30 days to Arkansas River. Del Suceso
Map Showing
Coronado's Route to Quivira
in the Year 1541
and Giving Distances Between Points
Drawn for
Kansas Historical Collections, Vol 8.
By Geo. A. Root
1904
SIX NO. MEZAQUES SIN RAZON
SIX NO. MEZENBAINES SIN HONOR

Mexico, supposed to have much silver and gold, and to add it to the dominions of the Spanish crown. Reports of the precious metals and great cities north of Mexico had reached that country at various times after its conquest by the Spaniards. Indian traders were said to have brought gold and silver to Mexico from the mysterious region. Renewed interest was created by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the remnant of the disastrous expedition led into Florida by Narvaez. These unfortunate men, after much wandering and suffering, had made their way to Mexico, arriving there in 1536, and giving to the viceroy glowing accounts of "large and powerful villages" in the territory to the north, whence had come tales of gold and silver. The amount of this kind of wealth found in Mexico and Peru had prepared the Spaniards to expect the same in other quarters. Mendoza, the viceroy, therefore raised an army for the exploration and conquest of the "seven cities of Cibola" and the unknown land which seemed to possess riches like those of the days of Cortez and Pizarro.

This army consisted of about 300 Spaniards, well mounted, and 1000 friendly Indians and servants. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was appointed commander. Neither pains nor expense were spared to carry out the object of the expedition. Arms, supplies, horses, cattle and sheep were supplied in abundance for the use of the army. On February 23, 1540, the army started from Compostela on its northward march through the Pacific coast country of Mexico. The march was slow and difficult. Considerable delay was experienced in getting the cattle across the rivers. The food supply of Coronado's force was beginning to fail before it reached Culiacan, where fresh provisions were obtained. This coast city was the outpost of Spanish civilization. Thence, following the coast and cutting across to the Rio Sonora, the advance body, under Coronado himself, penetrated the mountains through a pass near the source of that stream, entered the White Mountain Apache country, and came in sight of the first of the "seven cities." The food brought from Culiacan and gathered since the advance force left that point was now exhausted. The Spaniards made an assault on the city and drove out its Indian occupants, who abandoned to the captors an abundant supply of corn, beans, fowls, and salt, common productions of the region.

The significance of the "seven cities" suddenly vanished. The one which the Spaniards now occupied was a flat-roofed pueblo village, and the others were found to be similar, such as yet exist in New Mexico.

The Spanish commander next sent out exploring parties to the grand canyon of the Colorado, Tusayan, and eastward to the pueblos along the Rio Grande and the Pecos. The main portion of the army, which had been left at Culiacan, was now ordered forward, and went into winter quarters in the pueblo villages at Tiguex (Tewa), on the Rio Grande, near the site of Bernalillo. Considerable corn was left in the pueblos by the Indians, and to this means of subsistence the Spaniards added the live stock brought from Mexico with the army.

The names of Bandelier, Hodge, Simpson and Winship will always be conspicuous in the literature of the Coronado expedition. To these writers we are indebted for much valuable information, including the identification of the pueblos known as the "seven cities of Cibola," and the practical tracing of the line of march to the Rio Grande and the Pecos.

The campaign had been one of privation and disappointment. No gold and silver had been found. The winter of 1540-'41 on the Rio Grande was severe. For nearly four months the river was frozen over at Tiguex so that men on horseback crossed it on the ice. A revolt of the natives was quelled with merciless

cruelty. Indian warfare was no match for that of the Europeans with the weapons of civilization.

Indian shrewdness matured a plan to get rid of the troublesome visitors. A Quivira Indian, held as a prisoner or slave by the people of one of the pueblos, was persuaded by his Indian masters to represent Quivira to the Spaniards as a land where gold was found in abundance. This Indian was called "the Turk," because he resembled one. He at last admitted that the pueblo Indians had induced him to lead the Spaniards on the great plains, where water was scarce and corn unknown, to perish there, or be too weak to make resistance should they find their way back to the pueblo settlement.

The army was eager to go to this new land of promise. In April, 1541, the whole force, guided by "the Turk," left the Rio Grande country, and, pursuing a northeast direction, in eight days came to another river, which was bridged and crossed. The evidence seems conclusive that this river was the Pecos. From this point to Quivira we have the accounts of Coronado himself, Captain Jaramillo, Castaneda, and the "Relacion del Suceso."

THE GREAT PLAINS AS SEEN BY THE SPANISH IN 1541.

Soon after leaving the bridge the army came to the great plains, on which roamed buffaloes in such immense herds that their numbers seemed incredible. Among these herds were found two tribes of plains Indians, first the Querechos and next the Teyas. It is very interesting to study the plains tribes as found 360 years ago. The very existence of these nomads depended on the buffaloes. Their flesh was used as food; their hides as clothes, shoes, blankets, tents, and ropes; their bones as needles; their sinews and wool as strings; their dung as fuel; their stomachs and larger entrails as water-vessels; and their horns as cups.

The flesh was generally eaten raw, rarely warmed over the fire. When they killed a buffalo they cut the hide open at the back and pulled it off at the joints, using a flint knife as large as a finger tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. Seizing the flesh with the fingers, they would pull it out with one hand, and with a flint knife in the other cut off mouthfuls. The blood and the water of the stomachs were used to quench thirst. The flesh was sometimes cut thin, like a leaf, dried in the sun, and ground into a meal to keep it and to make a soup. A handful thrown into a vessel of water would increase much in size. Some poles drawn together at the top in tripod fashion and covered with hides served as tents. These Indians could make themselves very well understood by signs. In traveling they exercised discretion. In the morning they would notice where the sun rose, observe the direction they intended taking, and then shoot an arrow in this direction. Before reaching this they would shoot another arrow over it, and in this way they would go all day toward the water where they intended to camp.

When they moved their tents they carried them on poles. The ends of two poles were fastened, one on each side of a dog, the other ends dragging along on the ground. These animals, called dogs by the Spaniards, were undoubtedly tamed wolves. On these poles the Indians tied their tents and other things. There were no roads except those of the buffaloes, but the Indians wandered much among these animals over the country and knew it perfectly. They undoubtedly had trails or routes between points for long distances. Coronado was piloted to Quivira and back to the pueblos by them, but their trails were often those of the buffaloes, which ran in various directions and especially between watering-places. Many of these paths, cut deeply in the banks of streams, are yet visible. At the best crossings these beaten tracks were probably traveled by animals and Indians for hundreds of years.

In killing animals and in fighting, bows and arrows were used with skill. On one occasion a Teya was seen to shoot a buffalo bull right through both shoulders with an arrow, "which," the narrator adds, "would be a good shot for a musket." These Teyas were skilful warriors. They had destroyed one large pueblo village. The Spaniards saw many stone balls as large as twelve-quart bowls still lying about the ruins, and thought they had been thrown by engines or catapults. The contestants had become friendly, and the Teyas spent the winters under the wings of the pueblo settlements. The Indians in the pueblos, however, would not allow them to enter the buildings after night.

There was an aboriginal commerce on the plains at that early day. The Querechos and Teyas took tanned skins to the settlements, and spent the winters there, each party going to the nearest settlement; some going to the settlements on the Pecos, others toward Quivira, and others to the settlements in the direction of Florida. These hides were traded at the settlements for corn, and, likely, at times for flint weapons, bows, and arrows. Beans and melons were also raised by the Indians at the settlements, and may have been sometimes traded.

Castaneda says the country was so level that in traversing 250 leagues not a hill nor a hillock three times as high as a man was seen. The grass raised up, after being tramped, so that no tracks were left. The advance-guard found it necessary to make piles of buffalo chips to guide the army.

When the army was resting in a large ravine, a tempest came up one day, which battered the helmets, broke all the crockery of the army, and caused nearly all the horses to break away and run up the side of the ravine, so that they were gotten down with difficulty. Had this storm struck the army while it was on the plain, there would have been danger of losing all the horses.

This march, over vast and unknown regions, has had few parallels. The Spanish navigators in Coronado's time had the same daring spirit. In small, inferior and poorly supplied vessels, with crews that were nearly destroyed by scurvy, they fought their way northward, along the Pacific coast of North America, to the wildest parts of the Alaskan coast, and almost regardless of season. Prof. George Davidson, an assistant of the United States Coast Survey, who has identified many of the points visited by these navigators, as recorded in the Spanish charts, says: "There were giants in the earth in those days."

CORONADO'S MARCH FROM THE RIO GRANDE TO QUIVIRA AND HIS RETURN.

After leaving the Rio Grande, crossing the bridge mentioned and reaching the edge of the plains or desert, the army guided by "the Turk," marched over the plains in a general direction of east and southeast, without any guiding landmarks, until reaching a Teya encampment. These people told the Spaniards that Quivira was far to the north. With the army was another Indian from a neighboring tribe of the Quiviras called Harahey. This Indian, named Isopete, was returning to his country, and had stoutly maintained that "the Turk" was lying, and leading the army too much toward the east. The army was getting short of provisions, and, at a council of the officers, it was decided that the main body of the army should return to the Rio Grande, and that Coronado, with thirty picked horsemen, including Captain Jaramillo, should proceed northward to Quivira. Isopete was now believed, and he and some of the Teyas were taken with Coronado's detachment as guides. "The Turk" was taken along in chains and afterward strangled.

From this point we learn from Jaramillo and the "Relacion del Suceso" that Coronado's detachment, guided by the compass, pursued a northward direction, and, after thirty short days' march, came to a river which was given the name of the St. Peter's and St. Paul's. The explorers crossed this river, and, traveling

along it toward the northeast for thirty leagues (about eighty miles), came to the village of a supposed Quivira hunting party. This river was certainly the Arkansas, because it is the only one near the latitude mentioned along which the Spaniards could have marched eighty miles in a northeast direction. The explorers must have crossed near the bend below Dodge City in order to follow the river eighty miles in a northeast direction, which distance would have taken them to the site of Great Bend, where the river changes direction from the northeast. The village of the hunting party must, consequently, have been in the vicinity of Great Bend.

The Spanish narratives state that the approximate distance through Quivira, as marched by the explorers, was twenty-five leagues (nearly sixty-six miles). They also described the surface of Quivira as being rough, and state that mulberries, plums and grapes were found there. But the country stretching northeast, and in fact in every direction, from Great Bend is level, and at that time had no such fruit.

Many localities have been proposed for Quivira, and rejected because the Spanish line of march could not be traced to them, or because they could not be identified by the narratives of the Coronado expedition. Surely no other manner of identification is possible.

In order to locate the Quivira of Coronado, it is evident that his march to that region and its identification should be established by the narratives of the explorers themselves, and that the natural landmarks, the distances between them, the latitude and the topography of the country traversed should all be as described by these narratives. They are our only guide and proof. Nothing can be established without them, and nothing can be eliminated from them.

CORONADO'S MARCH TO THE END OF QUIVIRA.

Let us now aim to trace Coronado and his party to and through Quivira. Jaramillo says that from the point where the river was crossed to the Indian village was six or seven days' march. This, added to the thirty days' march before the river was reached, would have made about thirty-seven days' march from the point where Coronado's northward journey commenced to the first Quivira village, near the site of Great Bend.

By a close study of the narratives, I have learned that Coronado, in his official report to the king, states that from the point whence he and his detachment started northward it was forty-two days' march to Quivira. This is five days more than the thirty-seven days stated by Jaramillo. Coronado confirms his statement by saying in the same official report that he journeyed across the desert seventy-seven days to reach Quivira. Castaneda says that up to the point where Coronado started northward the army had made thirty-seven days' march, evidently meaning from the bridge which the army made and crossed before entering the plains. Everything shows that this bridge was near the edge of the desert or plains; in fact, the statements of Coronado and Jaramillo make the distance just two days' march from the bridge to the beginning of the plains. Deducting these two days' from the thirty-seven, there would have been, from the beginning of the plains to the point where the northward march commenced, just thirty-five days, which, added to the forty-two days from this point to Quivira, would have made seventy-seven days of desert marching, the exact number officially reported by Coronado. Thus the double official statement of Coronado shows that from where he and his detachment started northward it was forty-two days' march to Quivira.

Castaneda says: "The country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains." These were the high hills along the Smoky Hill

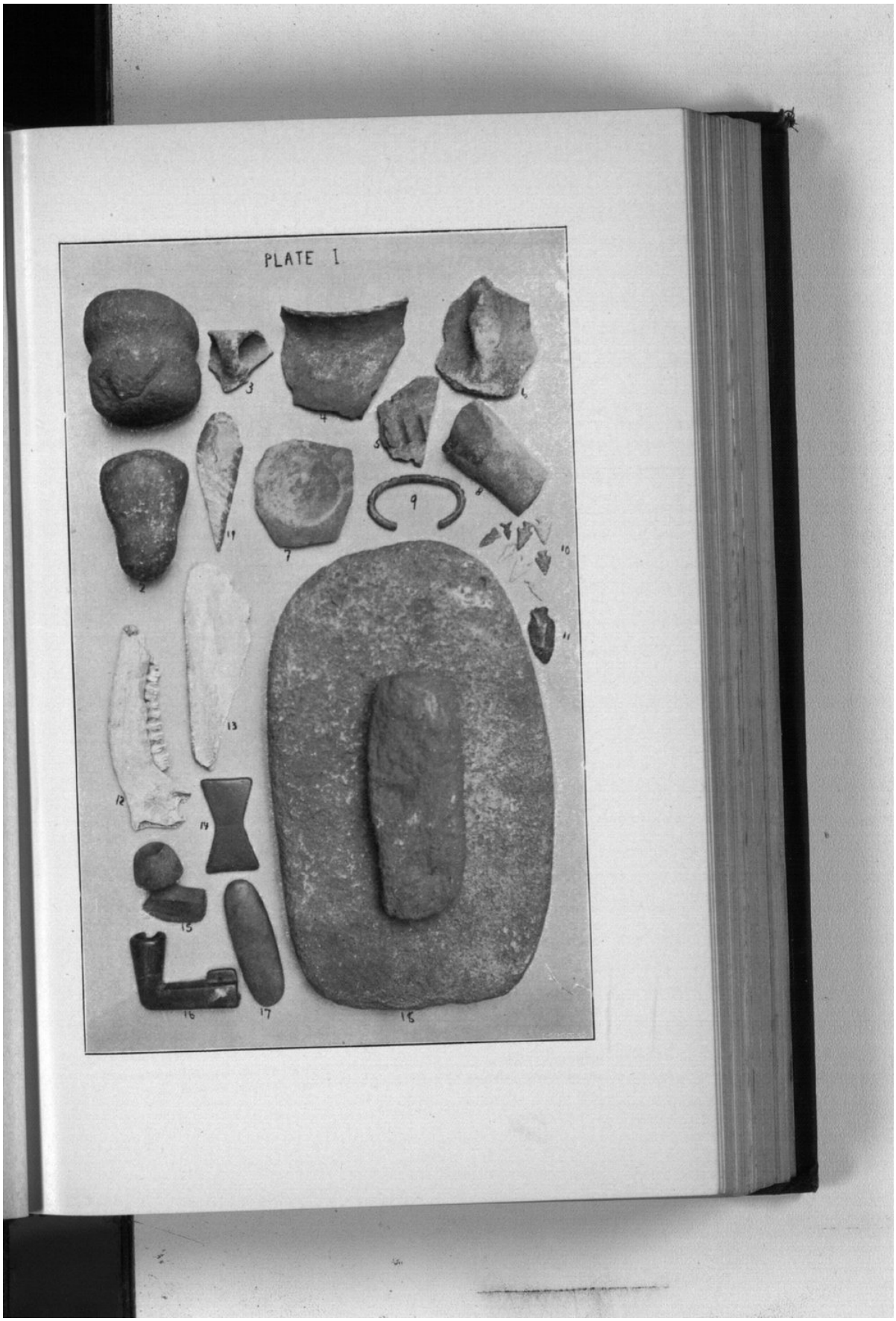


PLATE I

river, which have the appearance of low mountain chains. Jaramillo says of Quivira: "It is not a very rough country, but is made up of hills and plains and very fine appearing rivers and streams." Jaramillo also says the Quivira settlements were found (first) "along good river bottoms," and (second) "good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned."

It is evident that Jaramillo's count of thirty-seven days carried the Spanish party only to the level country near Great Bend, where the village of the Quivira hunting party was seen, while Coronado's count of forty-two days carried the Spaniards five days further, to the hills and "good river bottoms," where the first settlements were found, not far from the "mountain chains" or high hills spoken of by Castaneda.

Northeast is the only direction given of the march after the Arkansas was crossed. Five days' march in this direction from Great Bend would have taken the Spaniards to the "good river bottoms," the hills and rough country along the big bend of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg, and this five days' march added to Jaramillo's thirty-seven would have made his statement agree with the official report of Coronado as to the distance marched (forty-two days), and also with the statement of Jaramillo himself as to the hills and the "good river bottoms" at the place where Quivira was reached.

Jaramillo speaks of the abode of the hunting party as a village or "houses," and says the Spaniards proceeded until they reached the settlements, which must have taken five days, as shown by the fact that they are included in Coronado's official report of the number of days' march, and the different topography of the country reached by this five days' march.

Thus the narratives, taken together, show conclusively that the Indian village seen near the site of Great Bend was merely that of a Quivira hunting party, and that the "good river bottoms" and the hills of the Smoky Hill river near Lindsborg located the first settlements and marked the beginning of the land of Quivira.

The approximate distance through the Quivira settlements was as has been stated twenty-five leagues (nearly sixty-six miles), according to the "Relacion del Suceso." Of this part of the journey Jaramillo says: "There were, if I recall correctly, six or seven settlements, at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled for four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and the other." This indicates about the same distance as given by the "Relacion del Suceso." An approximate distance of sixty-six miles from the Smoky Hill south of Lindsborg, in a northeast direction, would have carried the line of march of Coronado and his companions through the country south of the Smoky Hill to the Kansas, several miles below where it is formed by the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican, and near McDowell's creek, ten or twelve miles northeast of Junction City. It should be remembered that the waters of the river with "good river bottoms," where the first settlements were found, and of the "good streams" on which the other settlements were found, flowed into a larger river. This was evidently the Kansas. Here was the "end of Quivira," and Jaramillo says the river had "more water and more inhabitants than the others." The tributary "good streams," where the intervening settlements were found, were the creeks which flowed into the Smoky Hill and the upper Kansas from the south side, in the section of country extending from the big bend of the Smoky Hill near Lindsborg to McDowell's creek.

The natural features of the country between the big bend of the Smoky Hill and the upper Kansas precisely answer the description of Quivira given by the

narratives of Coronado himself and the other Spanish explorers. Here are the hills, plains, springs, rivulets, "very fine-appearing rivers and streams," and even the mulberries, plums, grapes and nuts described by the narratives. At that time such fruit would not have been found west or north of the Smoky Hill.

Attention is called to the map accompanying this paper, showing the natural features of the country traversed and the distances between points. Between points, the line of march as indicated may be only approximately correct.

It will be seen that the distance was from the beginning of the plains thirty-five days' march to the point where Coronado started northward, thirty days thence to the Arkansas crossing, seven days (eighty miles) thence to the Indian hunters' village near the site of Great Bend, five days thence to the Smoky Hill south of Lindsborg, and approximately sixty-six miles (four or five days), thence to the Kansas, at the "end of Quivira," near McDowell's creek.

As indisputable evidence, I cite the fact that the beginning of the Quivira settlements, as located by the "good river bottoms" and high hills of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg, is the distance required by the narratives from the Indian village near the site of Great Bend, from the crossing of the Arkansas, from the point where Coronado started northward, from the point where he entered the desert or plains, and also from the river and settlements at the "end of Quivira."

At one of the meetings of the State Historical Society, Professor Williston stated that an old sword bearing a Spanish inscription had been found in western Kansas. In August, 1901, this sword *came into my possession. It seems that it had not previously been examined by any one posted on the Coronado expedition. When found it was partly concealed in the hard ground and roots of the buffalo-grass, and not in the roots of a tree, as dispatches stated. It was deeply covered with rust and was rubbed with brick dust until the letters appeared. No vestige of a handle remained. Not including the part which held the handle, it is a little more than twenty-six inches long, straight, double-edged, and tapers to a beveled point. From near the broad end two parallel grooves extend almost half-way toward the point, and in them are these words in capitals:

"NO ME SAQUES SIN RAZON;
NO ME ENBAINES SIN HONOR."

This, translated into English, is: "Draw me not without reason; sheath me not without honor."

This inscription was put on Spanish swords during Coronado's time and before. Between the inscription and broad end are two crosses in the grooves and four lines across the sword. Between these is the name "Gallego," in script. Opposite this, on the other side, are the letters "a" and "n" joined. To the left of the "a" are two marks, evidently a part of a capital "J" and a "u," as

*See sketch at bottom of map accompanying this article.

The following letters and affidavit give the history of the finding of the sword:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 24, 1899.

"*Mr. John T. Clark, Ellis, Kan.:* DEAR SIR—With reference to your letter of November 14, addressed to Mr. Paul Beckwith, I am informed by Mr. A. Howard Clark, custodian of the section of American history, that swords having the inscription which you have quoted date from medieval times down to the period of the revolutionary war. The one in question would seem to be a Spanish sword, as the inscription is in that language.

Yours respectfully, F. W. TRUE, *Executive Curator.*"

"GARDEN CITY, KAN., July 19, 1901.

"*Mr. W. E. Richey, Harveyville, Kan.:* DEAR SIR—The Spanish sword about which you wrote me some months ago is now about to be disposed of. An offer of five dollars has been refused, as it seems to me that the price at which I hold it (eight dollars) is little enough for such an interesting relic as this may prove to be. It is in a state of good preservation and I enclose a reference to it from the National Museum. Please let me know if you still desire to purchase this sword, and whether the above price is satisfactory. The inscription on the sword translated is, 'Draw me not without reason; Sheathe me not without honor.' Across the end are two

they appear in the word "Juan." There is also under this word a capital "G" and an "l" at the distance it would appear in the word "Gallego." The name can be no other than that of Juan Gallego, one of Coronado's officers. Each side is a duplicate of the other, except the script letters, as stated. The sword was likely made at Toledo, Spain. There is some etching. The metal is steel and exceedingly hard. This and the dry climate undoubtedly preserved it. Articles of steel have been exposed to the elements for longer periods of time and still retained letters written or stamped on them.

Double-edged swords were used for cutting armor, but when armor was done away with, about the year 1600, single-edged swords became common. The finding and authenticity of this sword are verified by affidavit. In fact, it would seem impossible to bring it to its present condition mechanically. The name, style, material and the opinions of able archæologists all tend to show that it is the sword of Capt. Juan Gallego. It is the first thing ever found that gives indisputable proof of having belonged to any of Coronado's force. I regard it as undeniable evidence of his presence in Kansas. It was found in 1886, about thirty miles north and a little west of Cimarron, on the head waters of the Pawnee. This would seem to be a little off Coronado's march, but he may have sent a detachment up the Smoky Hill, Walnut, or Pawnee. He states that he sent "captains and men in many directions." It may have been left by a scouting party, or it may have found its way into the hands of Indians and been lost. But if not left here by Coronado's men, I do not think it was carried far. Castaneda says that Coronado's detachment returned from Quivira lightly equipped, indicating that some things had been thrown away.

If the sword found its way into the hands of Indians, why should they have carried it in the direction and to the spot where it was afterward found rather

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names in script, and, as they have not been translated, must be proper names. In length this sword is about sixty-two centimeters, width at hilt about three centimeters; evidently an officer's sword, as only the point has been sharpened. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am, yours respectfully,

JOHN T. CLARK, Garden City, Kan."

"State of Kansas, Kearny county, *ss.*

"John T. Clark, of lawful age and sound mind and memory, being by me duly sworn, deposes and says, that in the year 1886 there was found on the prairie, in what was then Finney county, an old sword, partly concealed in the grass-roots and was much rusted, which, when rust was removed by scouring with brick dust, was found to bear this inscription, written in two parallel grooves running from hilt toward the point:

'NO ME SAQUES SIN RAZON;
NO ME ENBAINES SIN HONOR.'

"This sword was about thirty inches in length and one and one-half in width at the hilt. Sides, or edges, blunt. Point sharpened to a length of perhaps three inches. No handle or other parts found. Etching on sword and some script words written across broad end of sword, apparently proper nouns. Sword is quite flexible, very resonant, and exceedingly hard. Each side of the blade is an exact duplicate of the other, including motto, etching, grooves, etc. The place of finding was near the head waters of the Pawnee, close to the north line of Finney county, and nearly due north of the town of Ingalls, on the Santa Fe railroad. This sword was found about seven miles northeast of an Indian burial-ground, known as White Mound, where several articles have been found; as beads, teeth, bracelets (brass, copper), arrow-heads, bones, etc. I further state that I have disposed of this same sword to Mr. W. E. Richey, of Harveyville, Kan.

JOHN T. CLARK."

"Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me, this 2d day of December, 1901.

E. R. SHARPE, *Notary Public.* (My comission expires January 26, 1905.)"

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 11, 1902.

"MY DEAR SIR: Pressure of official duties has prevented me from giving the attention your letter of February 5 (kindly handed to me by Mr. Miller) deserved. I am deeply interested in the discovery of the sword, and your sketch of it renders a very adequate idea of the relic. The occurrence of Gallego's name is very significant, it seems to me, and it is not at all unlikely that the sword belonged to that distinguished member of Coronado's expedition. Care should be taken, however, lest too much stress be laid on the place in which it was found, for there seems to be no evidence that it was lost or thrown away at that point *by the Spaniards.* The sword may possibly have found its way into hands of Indians and afterward lost; for I have known Indians to lose things as well as whites. Nevertheless, the relic is most interesting and important, and I hope that, after it has been fully described in print, that it may be deposited in some institution where it may be cared for for all time. Thanking you for calling my attention to it, and hoping that I may have a copy of your printed description, I am, very truly yours,

F. W. HODGE."

than any other? There seem to be a hundred probabilities that it was left there by Coronado's men to one against it.

Castaneda states that at the organization of the Coronado expedition Juan Gallego was one of the gentlemen placed under the flag of the general with other distinguished persons; but he became a captain later, and kept the way open between Coronado's army and Mexico. Castaneda credits him with feats of great bravery and skill. He evidently regards him as one of Coronado's most distinguished officers. As he equipped himself for rapid traveling he likely loaned or gave this sword to some friend, probably at Tiguex. It was quite likely carried to Quivira and thrown away when Coronado's men lightened their equipment for the return journey.

This sword is regarded by antiquarians as most interesting and important. Perhaps no one is more thoroughly qualified to judge of it than Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington. In a letter to me dated June 11, 1902, he says: "The occurrence of Gallego's name is very significant, it seems to me, and it is not at all unlikely, that the sword belonged to that distinguished member of Coronado's expedition. The relic is most interesting and important, and I hope that after it has been fully described in print it may be deposited in some institution where it may be cared for for all time."

A piece of chain armor has been unearthed at the prehistoric dwelling sites near the Smoky Hill, a few miles south of Lindsborg. About fifteen miles east of this point, near the S. E. Miller village site of Gypsum creek, the iron part of an antique Spanish bridle was unearthed, and is now in my possession. Competent antiquarians say it is as old as Coronado's time. During the first settlement of this vicinity an old weathered inscription was seen on a rock, but it has since disappeared. Mr. James T. Hanna has furnished me the following proofs found at other points in McPherson county: The plain marks of an ax near the center of an oak tree, long dead, and about five feet in diameter; the bones of a horse found in muck at the bottom of a stock well dug several years ago near a hill; a bar of lead with a Spanish brand on it. The ax marks were likely made by Coronado's men. The horse likely mired, probably in Coronado's time, where its bones were found, and the hill afterward caved in on it. The facts concerning these finds are fully established by the parties named, and by other reliable citizens in the same localities.

Last winter Mr. J. A. Johnson, a bridge contractor, in excavating for the abutment of a bridge on Clark's creek, a half-mile south of Skiddy, at a depth of fifteen feet, unearthed a fireplace, or hearth, of matched stones, nicely fitted together, on a ledge of solid rock. On this fireplace Mr. Johnson and his workmen found ashes, coals, a buffalo bone, a flint knife, and a coin-shaped piece of brass. The flint knife was of a different color from that found cropping out of the hills near, and had undoubtedly been brought from a distance. It had, very likely, been used to cut the meat from the buffalo bone. Near the fireplace a spring or vein of water was uncovered. Above the fireplace, six or seven feet under the surface, an oak tree, two feet thick, had grown. The stump was removed in excavating. There is an unmistakable trace of an ancient channel a short distance east of the fireplace, which was, apparently, at one time west of and near this ancient channel. The present channel is west of and near the fireplace. In the depression where the ancient channel was many large trees have grown. Everything shows that this fireplace was used a long time ago. Another fireplace has since been unearthed in the same vicinity.

This locality was an excellent camping-place. Good springs are near. The probabilities seem strong that this was a camping-place of Coronado's force. It is directly on the line of exploration herein indicated.

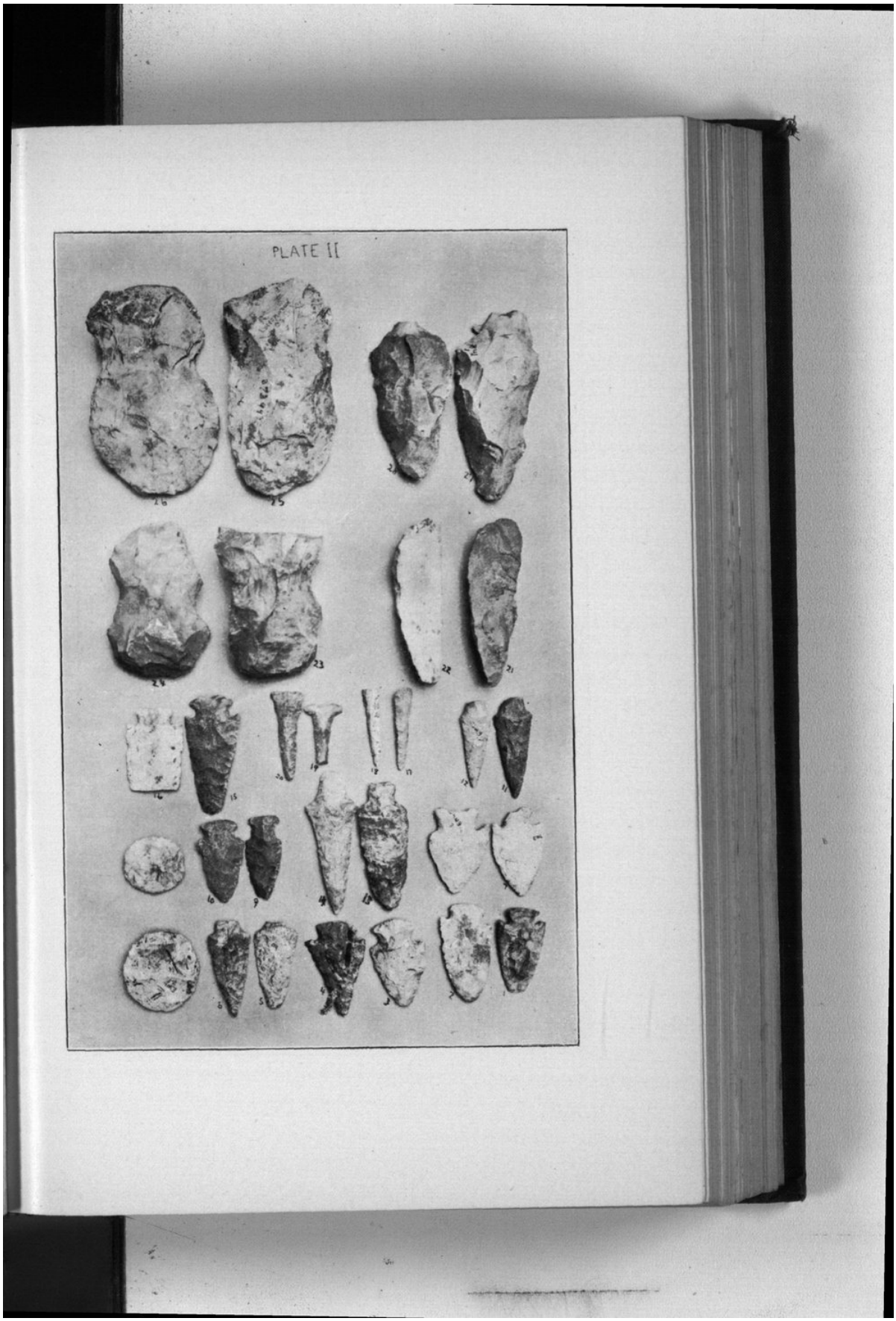


PLATE II

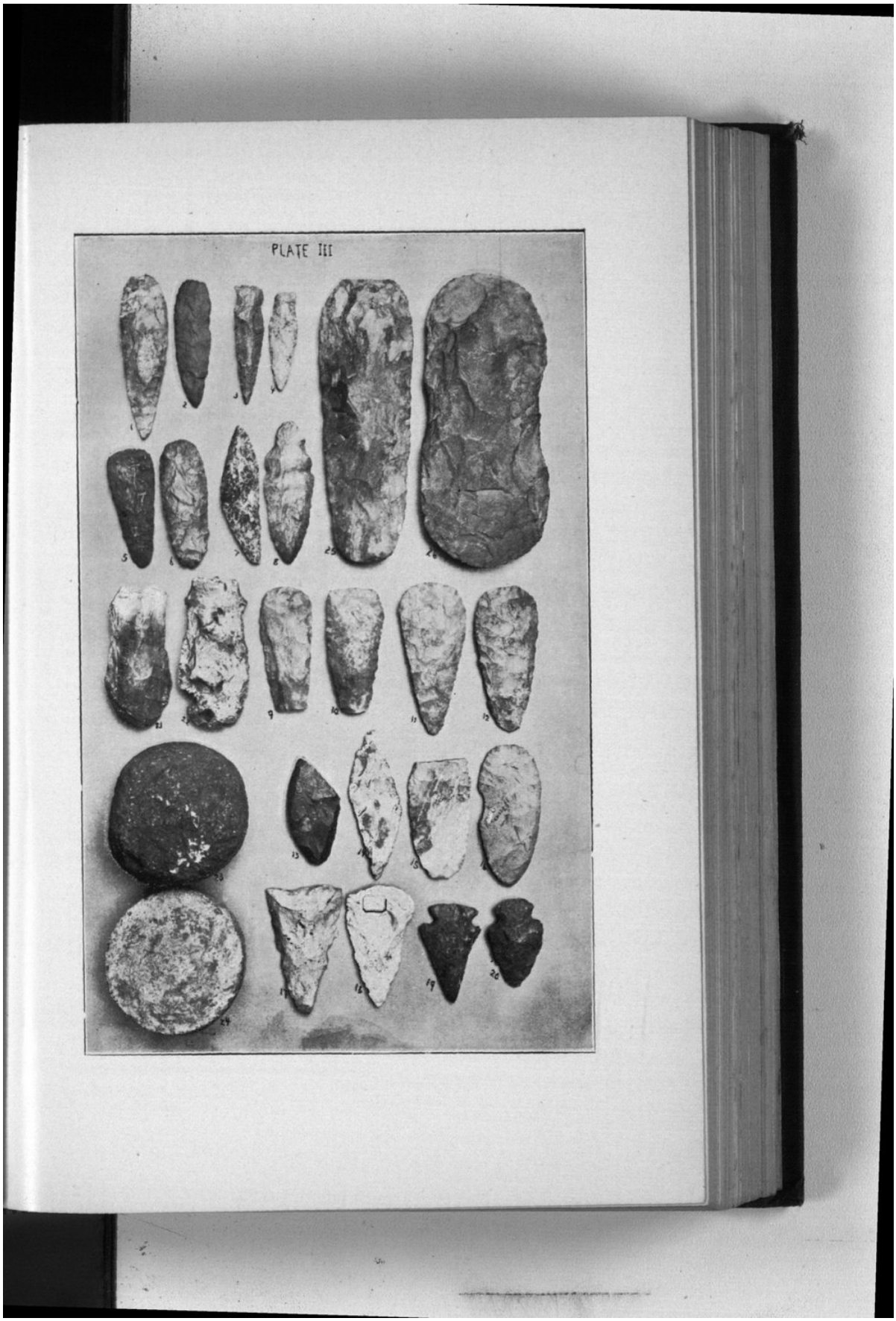
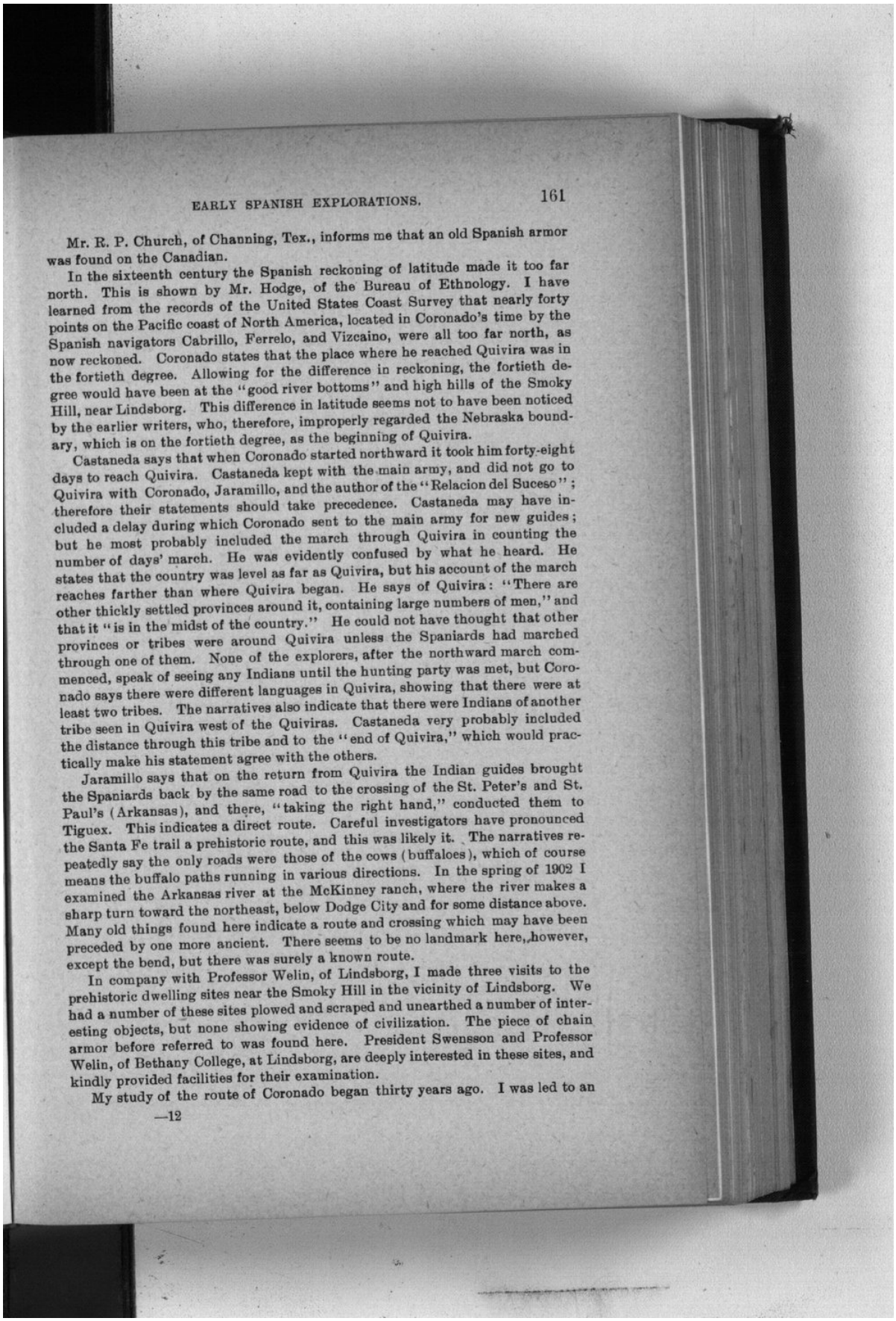


PLATE III

Kansas historical collections



Mr. R. P. Church, of Channing, Tex., informs me that an old Spanish armor was found on the Canadian.

In the sixteenth century the Spanish reckoning of latitude made it too far north. This is shown by Mr. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology. I have learned from the records of the United States Coast Survey that nearly forty points on the Pacific coast of North America, located in Coronado's time by the Spanish navigators Cabrillo, Ferrelo, and Vizcaino, were all too far north, as now reckoned. Coronado states that the place where he reached Quivira was in the fortieth degree. Allowing for the difference in reckoning, the fortieth degree would have been at the "good river bottoms" and high hills of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg. This difference in latitude seems not to have been noticed by the earlier writers, who, therefore, improperly regarded the Nebraska boundary, which is on the fortieth degree, as the beginning of Quivira.

Castaneda says that when Coronado started northward it took him forty-eight days to reach Quivira. Castaneda kept with the main army, and did not go to Quivira with Coronado, Jaramillo, and the author of the "Relacion del Suceso"; therefore their statements should take precedence. Castaneda may have included a delay during which Coronado sent to the main army for new guides; but he most probably included the march through Quivira in counting the number of days' march. He was evidently confused by what he heard. He states that the country was level as far as Quivira, but his account of the march reaches farther than where Quivira began. He says of Quivira: "There are other thickly settled provinces around it, containing large numbers of men," and that it "is in the midst of the country." He could not have thought that other provinces or tribes were around Quivira unless the Spaniards had marched through one of them. None of the explorers, after the northward march commenced, speak of seeing any Indians until the hunting party was met, but Coronado says there were different languages in Quivira, showing that there were at least two tribes. The narratives also indicate that there were Indians of another tribe seen in Quivira west of the Quiviras. Castaneda very probably included the distance through this tribe and to the "end of Quivira," which would practically make his statement agree with the others.

Jaramillo says that on the return from Quivira the Indian guides brought the Spaniards back by the same road to the crossing of the St. Peter's and St. Paul's (Arkansas), and there, "taking the right hand," conducted them to Tiguex. This indicates a direct route. Careful investigators have pronounced the Santa Fe trail a prehistoric route, and this was likely it. The narratives repeatedly say the only roads were those of the cows (buffaloes), which of course means the buffalo paths running in various directions. In the spring of 1902 I examined the Arkansas river at the McKinney ranch, where the river makes a sharp turn toward the northeast, below Dodge City and for some distance above. Many old things found here indicate a route and crossing which may have been preceded by one more ancient. There seems to be no landmark here, however, except the bend, but there was surely a known route.

In company with Professor Welin, of Lindsborg, I made three visits to the prehistoric dwelling sites near the Smoky Hill in the vicinity of Lindsborg. We had a number of these sites plowed and scraped and unearthed a number of interesting objects, but none showing evidence of civilization. The piece of chain armor before referred to was found here. President Swensson and Professor Welin, of Bethany College, at Lindsborg, are deeply interested in these sites, and kindly provided facilities for their examination.

My study of the route of Coronado began thirty years ago. I was led to an

investigation of the Smoky Hill region, about the year 1890, by Hon. W. A. Phillips, of Salina, now deceased, who told me he had seen the Spanish flag cut on stone, presumably by Coronado's Spaniards, on Big creek, a tributary of the Smoky Hill. I was prompted to renewed researches in the same region by Mr. L. R. Elliott, several years ago.

During my investigation I have been on explorations in Kansas, Nebraska, and Indian Territory, and I have also conducted, by correspondence, a number of lines of investigation with parties in Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Texas.

HUMANA'S EXPEDITION.

An expedition is attributed to Humana, in 1595, which likely reached Kansas. Bonilla was the real commander. The party was sent out on a raid against rebellious Indians, apparently in 1594–'96. Bonilla, hearing the current reports of northeastern wealth, determined to extend his operations to Quivira. The governor sent Cazorla to overtake the party and forbid the expedition. The progress of the adventurers to and through New Mexico has no record. They were next heard from far out on the plains, in search of Quivira. Here, in a quarrel, Humana killed his commander and assumed command. A little later, when the party had passed through an immense settlement and reached a broad river, which was to be crossed on balsas, three Mexican Indians deserted, one of whom, Jose, survived to tell the tale to Onate in 1598. Once more we hear of the adventurous gold-seekers. While they were encamped on the plains, at a place then called Matanza, the Indians rushed, thousands strong, upon the Spaniards just before dawn. Humana and nearly all his men were killed.

ONATE'S EXPEDITION.

Governor Onate, of New Mexico, marched with eighty men in search of Quivira in 1601. Guided by the Mexican Indian who had accompanied Humana on his expedition, he crossed the buffalo plains and, journeying an estimated distance of 200 leagues in a northeasterly direction, arrived at the territory of the tribe of Indians called the Escanjaques. These Indians were preparing to make war on their enemies, the Quiviras. A large force of the former joined Onate's troops, who entered the country of the Quiviras. The Escanjaques began to set fire to the Quivira villages. The Spanish commander tried to stop these and other outrages, the Quiviras having fled. Enraged at the Spaniards for the interference, the Escanjaques attacked them and a battle ensued, the Indians losing 1000 of their number killed. The Spanish loss was slight.

PENALOSA'S HOAX.

Don Diego Penalosa, another governor of New Mexico, becoming involved in trouble with an officer of the inquisition, went to London and Paris in 1673, and presented to the French government what purported to be an account of an expedition to Quivira made by himself in 1662, written by Padre Freitas, one of his friars, and sent to the Spanish king. He never made any such expedition or submitted any such narrative to the Spanish monarch. The researches of Bancroft have shown that the narrative was that of Onate's expedition of 1601, slightly changed to suit Penalosa's purposes in Paris.

Bancroft says that Onate's battle with the Escanjaques was near the scene of Humana's defeat. An attempt to locate these fights with the Indians would be a mere guess. Many indications lead me to believe that the country about the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill has been noted Indian ground for centuries. The name of Quivira was applied to various sections of country after Coronado's time, but future researches may show that Humana and Onate reached

the lower Republican. A river described by Padre Freitas, Penalosa's friar, corresponds with the Republican for one or two days' march above its mouth. The adjacent country corresponds in topography with that described by Freitas. Mr. Alvin Gates, of Clay Center, informs me that, near the junction of Madison creek with the Republican river, large leaden bullets have been taken from near the center of large trees. As the accounts state that these later expeditions crossed the buffalo plains to the hills, the inference seems reasonable that they reached the hilly country. It may be that the fullest narrative of Onate's expedition was the one written by Freitas for Penalosa's use.

INDIAN IMPLEMENTS IN KANSAS.

Flint hills were the gold-mines of the Indian. Knowing little of metals, he wrought flint, his best material, into various implements for his uses. These are scattered over many parts of Kansas. The typical arrow-point and spear-head are most frequently found, but pieces are also found which show that they have been used as hoes, digging implements, sledges, axes, hammers, scrapers, knives, and drills. Many of these are paleolithic or rough, but some are neolithic or smooth. Among these latter are celts and axes which have been worn smooth by rubbing or grinding. These axes commonly have a groove around them, for facility in hafting. Strings of buffalo or other hide were fitted into the groove and passed round the handle in such a way that the ax and handle were firmly bound together, thus making an effective implement or weapon. Wood being scarce in prairie countries, there were not as many axes used as where timber abounded. Materials best suited for the purposes of the Indians were eagerly sought by them, and the localities where they were obtained were known for hundreds of miles. The catlinite, a soft red stone found in Minnesota, was wrought into pipes and tablets, after having been carried long distances. Many of these pipes have been found in Kansas. The material of which they were made was highly prized, and it is said that such was the reverence for the locality where it was found that hostile tribes suspended hostilities when near it.

It is very probable that certain Indian implements found in Kansas were used for more than one purpose. A hammer or ax, besides being a formidable weapon in war, was also useful for other purposes. The same may be said of arrow-points and spear-heads. While they were useful in killing animals for subsistence and to supply other wants, they were the main weapons on the war-path. The bones of the buffalo and other animals were sometimes fashioned into implements.

The Indians of Kansas, or at least some of them, certainly had a love for the beautiful. In my collection there are pieces in which streaks of beautiful red alternate with others of white. Others have an attractive mottled appearance, while still others have the appearance of miniature rainbows. In my rambles over the state I have frequently seen intermingled many objects of flint differing in color and quality from those manufactured from the flint in the vicinity. This is an indication, if not a proof, that the Indians residing in such localities had communication with others from remote distances. It is not at all likely that all, or even half, from a distance were obtained by conquest. Near Marquette, on the Smoky Hill, and in other places, I have obtained some very small pieces of rare beauty. Some of these were likely used as ornaments, and, indeed, they would be appreciated as such at the present day. These pieces are very interesting, and the skill by which flint was wrought into such small and beautiful forms is worthy of our admiration and study.

A certain writer has assumed that the western limit of Quivira was on the Arkansas, near Great Bend; and, in support of that theory, he states that some flint Indian relics have been found near that point, as though that was a signifi-

cant fact. Old settlers and others have known, since the earliest settlement of the country, that such Indian relics are found in many localities in Kansas, as well as elsewhere. He has gone so far as to represent on a map that Quivira extended from the Arkansas, near Great Bend, to near the mouth of the Smoky Hill. This would be twice the distance of sixty-six miles, which the narratives plainly state was the length of the journey through Quivira. It is plain that, if the western limit of Quivira was near Great Bend, as he states, Quivira could have extended only sixty-six miles from that point. But he utterly ignores and eliminates this distance of sixty-six miles, and, stretching it about twice its extent, to some Indian-village sites, declares that the relics on these sites, like the relics near Great Bend, mark the location of Quivira.

Besides the fact that he eliminates the part of the narratives giving the sixty-six-mile limit of the journey, and, consequently, does not trace the march to these sites, they are far beyond the sixty-six-mile limit from Great Bend, his western terminal, and, consequently, he utterly fails to connect them with the Spanish line of march.

It is surely obvious that no location of Quivira can be made by ignoring or eliminating the narratives of the explorers, especially as regards distance.

The significance attached by this writer to the Indian relics found on the village sites referred to led a few people temporarily, and in a complimentary way, to give countenance to that theory. It was soon learned, however, that it had no foundation, for a personal investigation showed that flint implements, similar to those on the lower Smoky Hill, were found in Nebraska, on the Verdigris, the Cottonwood and other streams in Kansas, and in disconnected localities elsewhere. Much, therefore, as we might wish that these flint relics would throw light on the subject, their wide distribution eliminates their evidence, and renders them inconclusive, if not worthless, as factors in determining the location of the Quivira of Coronado. Besides this, the most of them may have been manufactured since Coronado's time.

In the accompanying illustrations I call attention to the similarity of flint implements found on the Smoky Hill with those found on other streams. For convenience of illustration, many of the implements illustrated are placed in groups of two, and in each group one of the implements is from the lower Smoky Hill, or the region near its mouth, and the other is from the Cottonwood, the Verdigris or some other stream. Mr. G. U. S. Hovey, of Wyandotte county, who has traveled over Kansas a great deal collecting Indian relics, has found flint implements similar to those illustrated in localities different from those named, while others have found similar implements in still other localities. Surely these facts show that a claim of locating Quivira by Indian relics has no foundation; there is no warrant or justification for such a claim. Neither Coronado nor his explorers describe or even mention the flint implements of Quivira. We do not know that any were found there, if we take the narratives of the explorers as a guide, and we have no other guide. Fragments of Indian pottery are also found in many parts of Kansas. It has been asserted that the Quiviras had no pottery, but pottery is found along the lower Smoky Hill, as well as elsewhere. On the streams flowing into the lower Smoky Hill from the south side, investigation has shown that pottery is found where it has been alleged that none existed.

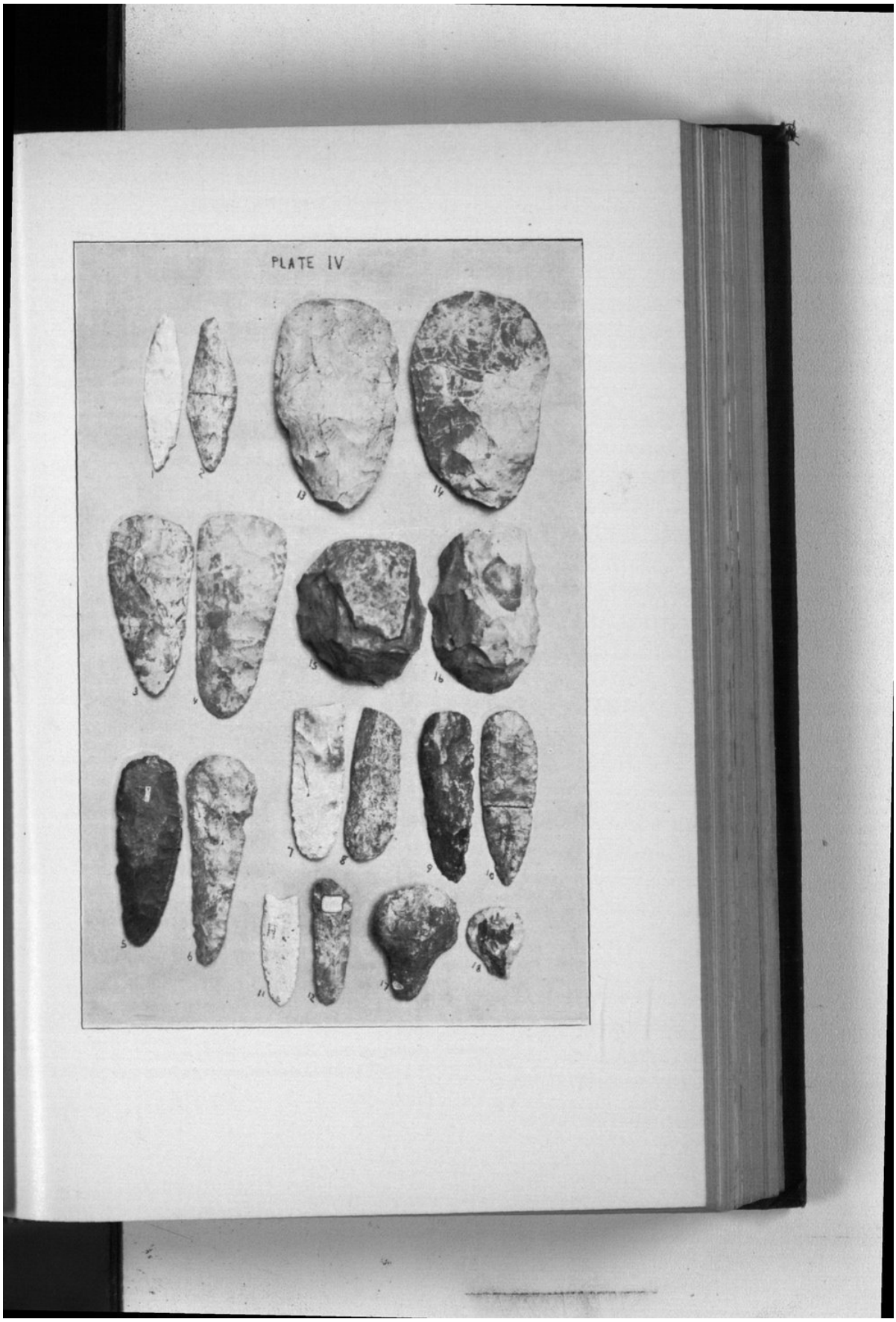


PLATE IV

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The illustrations are one-third the size of the objects illustrated. A classification according to use would be about as follows:

Plate 1.

1, 2.—Grooved hammers.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7.—Fragments of pottery from various Kansas streams.

8.—Bone showing action of fire; found on a lodge site. The Indians frequently ate buffalo and other meat raw, but sometimes warmed or roasted it. The burning of this bone was likely caused in this way.

9.—Copper wristlet.

10.—Small arrow-points from the Big Blue, the Republican, and other streams.

11.—Arrow-point, very thick.

12.—Jaw-bone found on an Indian village site two feet below the surface, the sand having drifted over the lodge site.

13.—Bone implement, sharpened at broad end and straight side. Probably used as a skinning knife.

14.—Catlinite tablet bearing Indian pictures.

15, 16.—Pipes showing excellent carving.

17.—Smoothing stone.

18.—Metate, a flat stone for grinding corn, with rubbing-stone upon it. This metate is made of Sioux quartzite, and, to bring it to its present form, must have required much labor and patience. Metates were made of other kinds of stone, and are sometimes worn through in the center.

Plate 2.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.—Arrow-points of various forms.

13, 14, 15, 16.—Spear-heads.

17, 18, 19, 20.—Drills.

21, 22.—Scrapers, probably used for scraping hides and arrow-shafts.

23, 24.—Hammers, probably used also as tomahawks.

25, 26.—Hoes. The portions near edges are worn by stirring the ground. Some of these were hafted, and others not. The depressions seen in these and the hammers were undoubtedly made for hafting. Handles were firmly bound to these implements by strong pieces of hide or tough wood, which passed around these grooves and the handles.

27, 28.—Picks or digging implements. The points are worn by digging.

Plate 3.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.—Knives of various forms. The diamond-shaped knives have generally four beveled edges, one being on each side of the diamond form. One edge could be kept sharp, while the others might remain dull, to be used in their turn. Many of these sixteen forms are thin, and show much skill in flint chipping in the process of manufacture. The diamond shapes seem to be of a later culture than the others. No. 8 seems to be a connecting-link between the diamond shapes and the others. Nos. 11 and 12 are broad and thin, and are marvels of manufacture. How such broad, thin implements of flint could be made seems a mystery.

17, 18.—Probably used as spear-heads.

19, 20.—Arrow-points.

21, 22.—General utility implements, used for various purposes.

23, 24.—Rubbing-stones, probably used at times for other purposes.

Plate 4.

1, 2.—Diamond-pointed knives.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.—Knives, many of them showing skill in chipping. Nos. 3 and 4 are broad and thin, and are fine specimens.

13, 14.—Blades, unused, probably intended for hoes.

15, 16.—Sledges (?). They are thick and heavy. One side of each is flat.

17, 18.—Scrapers (?). Probably used for scraping arrow-shafts.

As before stated, in each group of two, one is from the lower Smoky Hill, including the region near its mouth, and the other is from the Cottonwood, the Verdigris, or some other stream. Many other forms similar to these might be submitted, but the illustrations prove that the similarity of the implements near the lower Smoky Hill with those of other regions is complete.

It may seem strange, but it is a fact that this writer assumes that the Quivira Indians, a wild, barbarous tribe, had a "seat of empire," and even pretends to show where this "seat of empire" was, locating it on a stretch of upland between two creeks.

The bold assumption that this barbarous tribe had a "seat of empire," such as existed in strong Indian confederacies, or in Mexico, where history, monuments and architecture show that the people had attained to a higher level, is equaled only by the assurance as to where that supposed "seat of empire" was located.

The narratives indicate that the Quivira Indian settlements were on streams and plainly state that the country between the streams was understood to be uninhabited.

This supposed "seat of empire" is as far from Great Bend as the village sites referred to, and, like them, is not connected with the line of march pursued by the explorers.

It is proper to say that the statements and conclusions of this writer are not shared by investigators and scholars of Kansas who have studied and understand the subject.

It is to be regretted that one Kansas man, in order to assist the writer referred to, has given him hundreds, perhaps thousands, of these flint implements, which have been deposited in a museum elsewhere, instead of being kept in Kansas, as mementoes of our prehistoric people. These implements are rude and rough—genuine paleoliths—and frequently indicate the uses for which they were intended. In my own collection, deposited in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka, are many interesting pieces wrought from flint by chipping. These include hoes or digging implements, spades, sledges, axes, hammers, drills, knives, spear-heads, arrow-points, and other things. The hoes and digging implements are worn smooth at the edges, where they have been used in stirring the ground. The existence of metates or grinding stones is further proof that corn was raised and ground. The hoes, axes and hammers are frequently notched and some of them may have been hafted. Some of these objects may have been rejects but others show marks of use.

Besides these rough, thick implements, thin ones are found, but the fact that they are intermingled with the others and are also widely distributed shows that they cannot be attributed to any particular locality.

Similar Indian implements being found in so many different sections of country, it naturally follows that an attempt to locate Quivira by the implements found in one locality is an absurdity. The necessities of primitive man often produced implements of uniform shape and material in widely different regions.

For instance, flint arrow-points and other implements found in America are similar in form and material with others found in Europe.

For courtesies and encouragement extended during my researches, I tender my thanks and grateful acknowledgements to various directors and members of the Kansas State Historical Society, its very efficient librarian, and other prominent citizens of Kansas; to Hon. Eugene F. Ware, commissioner of pensions, and Prof. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.; to Profs. F. H. Hodder and F. W. Blackmar, of the University of Kansas; to President Carl Swensson,* Professor Welin, and faculty, of Bethany College, at Lindsborg, and to the Texas Historical Society.

I also thankfully express my obligations to Mr. Alvah Lowman and his brother, Mr. E. W. Lowman. These gentlemen have shown a praiseworthy zeal in collecting interesting flint Indian implements, and have submitted for examination and comparison many typical specimens of their collections, representative pieces of which are now on exhibition in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society. If there were no other evidence, these implements would prove conclusively that flint implements similar to those found on the Smoky Hill and near its mouth are found on other streams of Kansas. The Messrs. Lowman have examined with me many interesting Indian village sites and have given me information of others. Thus a flood of light has been thrown on these silent witnesses of the past and their relation to history. The Lowman brothers are entitled to much credit.

I also extend my cordial thanks to John Madden, G. U. S. Hovey, W. J. Griffing, J. R. Mead, Gen. C. C. C. Carr, commanding officer, and Capt. Granger Adams, an artillery officer, at Fort Riley, Hon. George P. Morehouse, of the Kansas senate, Ralph Sage, Lawrence Coddington, Capt. Robert Henderson, S. T. Pember, Miss Estella Doyle, Sol. Miller, G. A. Reece, James T. Hanna, Chas. C. Sorenson, G. P. Farnstrom, A. L. Evers, B. D. Fry, E. L. Falen, C. S. Everhart, Dr. E. B. Cheney, O. G. Bigford, David Martin, R. P. Church, W. M. Atkinson, Hon. J. M. Miller, Hon. Frank Nelson, ex-state superintendent of public instruction, M. D. Umbarger, Mrs. Pracht, Asa M. Breese, G. C. Atkinson, A. L. Loomis, Mr. Kershaw, W. L. Morris, A. Hill, J. M. Claypool, J. F. Hughes, Mr. Hoff-

* Rev. Carl A. Swensson, Ph. D., D. D., president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, McPherson county, died at Los Angeles, Cal., early in the morning of February 16, 1904. He left Lindsborg February 1 for San Francisco, where he dedicated a church. He was buried at Lindsborg, Tuesday, February 23. There were present 150 ministers from all parts of the country, and about 7000 people attended the obsequies. The Messiah chorus of 600 voices took part in the services. Doctor Swensson was born at Sugar Grove, Warren county, Pennsylvania, in 1857. He was the son of the Rev. Jonas J. Swensson, for fifteen years pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Andover, Ill., and who was at one time president of the Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of North America. Doctor Swensson was educated at Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., graduating in 1879. He afterwards settled at Lindsborg, in Kansas, and in 1889 became president of Bethany College. Doctor Swensson's efforts brought Bethany to a high rank among the institutions of its kind in the United States. It was by his efforts for fifteen years that "The Messiah," the yearly musical festival, was built up. King Oscar of Sweden was so impressed by Doctor Swensson's work for Swedes in America that he conferred upon him the Order of the North Star. This carries with it Swedish knighthood. It was conferred at the yearly musical festival, in November, 1901. He was a personal friend of President Roosevelt. President Francis, of the St. Louis World's Fair, had asked him recently to dedicate the fair with a prayer. He was married in 1880 to Miss Alma Lind, of Moline, Ill., who with two daughters survives him. He was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1889, and in 1890 refused to be a candidate for Congress. He was a delegate at large from Kansas to the convention which nominated McKinley in 1896. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from his *alma mater* and one or two other institutions. The Royal University of Upsala, Sweden, also conferred on him the degree of doctor of philosophy. He traveled extensively in Europe, particular in the Scandinavian countries, and at the court of King Oscar was recognized as one of the Swedish leaders in America.

hines, D. N. Myers, Geo. N. Norton, H. W. Brown, Edward Nelson, J. P. Noll, George Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, who presented the Pike Pawnee village site to the state, John Briggs, John Garenson, John Cameron, L. H. Langvardt, Bert Brown, J. R. Murie, an educated Pawnee Indian, Daniel McArthur, Alexander Smith, C. S. Martin, Mr. Engel, Charles Shane, John Miller, J. R. Ingram, J. C. Jones, C. A. Jones, the last three residing near the big bend of the Arkansas, below Fort Dodge, W. W. Graves, H. W. Brown, Rev. M. E. Fraser, Rev. J. K. Morgan, Perry Cope, J. F. Hull, John Argo, Warren Knaus, Doctor McCartney, Thomas Coon, Horace H. Day, and George A. Root.

The parties whose names appear in the last list have all extended courtesies, furnished Indian relics, or given information. A number of them are residents of other states.

Much praise and credit are due Mr. Wehe, photographer, of Topeka, for the illustrations accompanying this paper.

After Coronado's return to the Rio Grande, Father Padilla, one of his faithful priests, came back to Quivira to preach to the natives, and suffered the death of a martyr there by the Indians for whose spiritual elevation he was zealous. Thus was Christianity first carried to Kansas, and the first white man's blood shed on our soil.

Centuries have elapsed and may elapse, but as long as the Smoky Hill and Kansas bear their waters onward toward the ocean these noble streams will commemorate the marvelous journey of Coronado and his knights of sunny Spain, which led to the discovery of a land which in glory and progress has eclipsed the world's past career, and which leads the nations in all that pertains to the elevation and happiness of mankind.

REMINISCENCES OF THE YEAGER RAID, ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, IN 1863.

An address by D. HUBBARD,* of Olathe, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

AMONG the many important and exciting events of the early years of the war which have held the attention of the loyal people of Kansas by their tales of suffering and endurance, of fire and blood, there may be some interest accorded to one of the minor events which filled those trying times. The following account of the return of Dick Yeager's band to Missouri is gathered from authentic sources for the purpose of adding to the history of the making of Kansas.

The writer was then living in Marion, Douglas county, Kansas, seventeen miles southwest of Lawrence, and on the old Santa Fe trail, being engaged in

*DAVID HUBBARD was born in North Charlestown, N. H., December 3, 1833, and reared on a New Hampshire farm. Outside of the district schools, he attended Meriden Academy and Norwich University, Vermont. At twenty-one he went to Green county, Illinois, where he taught school three years. On March 10, 1857, he landed at Leavenworth, and enlisted in the cause of making Kansas a free state and the building up of a future home. He filed on and improved a claim on Deer creek, Shawnee county. During a temporary absence from the territory his claim was jumped and preempted by Ike Edwards, one of Buford's men, from Georgia, who was afterwards hung by a mob while in jail for killing an Indian without provocation, on a street in Topeka. [In the winter of 1860-'61.—Giles's Thirty Years in Topeka, page 377.] He subsequently preempted a quarter-section in Marion township, Douglas county, where he resided until September, 1863, when he was employed in the commissary department, with the thirteenth army corps, until the close of the war. On returning to Lawrence he was appointed assistant United States assessor, and moved to Olathe, where he now resides. For several years he was county surveyor of Johnson county, has also been engaged in the milling, grain and lumber business, and at the present time in the loan and brokerage business and farming.

farming and running a small store, post-office, and stage stand. His family consisted of his wife and an infant daughter less than one year old, and there was living with him Mr. Henry Waters and wife and a daughter about six years of age. Mr. Waters now resides at Iola, Kan.

The summer of 1862 had been filled with raids by Quantrill and his men upon the towns along the border, including Gardner, Olathe, and Shawnee, burning and destroying property, and killing many Union men. This had aroused the public feeling to a high pitch, and was the cause of Governor Robinson organizing a home guard of militia. In Douglas county, the three townships through which the Santa Fe trail ran, Palmyra, Willow Springs, and Marion, each organized a company. The writer was the captain of the one in Marion, Fortunatus Gleason was its first lieutenant, and William Baldwin was its second lieutenant. The latter is still living, near Overbrook, in Osage county. It was composed of about thirty men, furnished with arms and ammunition by the state, and was called out several times during the year 1862, but each time upon a false alarm.

In the month of May, 1863, as soon as the grass was sufficient for grazing their horses, a considerable number of Quantrill's men, under the command of Dick Yeager, left Missouri and went west on the Santa Fe trail, in squads of twos or threes, so as not to be observed. This was the same man who was Quantrill's lieutenant at the Lawrence raid, the following August, where he won, with his comrades, a name of undying infamy. These men congregated near Council Grove, Morris county, and there went into camp. It has never been known to history just what was the real object in making this movement. Some have suggested that it was their intention to organize a raid in New Mexico. Others believe that they were bent upon plunder and destruction among the interior towns of the state. Whatever their purpose, they were evidently foiled by the United States soldiers stationed in the vicinity.

The following is furnished by Mr. John Maloy, county attorney of Morris county, and written seventeen years ago, as a part of what he is preparing for a history of that county:

"With all of their military preparations, our people were unable to prevent guerrillas from making incursions into our neighborhood. On the 4th of May, 1863, Dick Yeager's band of Missouri guerrillas encamped on the General Custer farm, now owned by M. K. Sample, near Council Grove, and after insulting and threatening the lives of some of our best citizens, a portion of them, some ten or twelve in number, proceeded on the following day to Diamond Springs, and about ten o'clock at night three of them rode up to the store of Augustus Howell, and, without any ceremony, shot him to death. His wife was also shot, but recovered, and afterwards married a Mr. Stokes, of Chase county. During this excitement Captain Rowell, of Colorado, was stationed at Council Grove to protect the people of the county and to guard the mails and merchants, as well as the Santa Fe trains.

"Yeager rode to Dr. J. H. Bradford's office and had a tooth pulled. He was visited in his camp soon after he came by M. Conn, now a resident of Kansas City, then of Council Grove, where he remained for some time. Many criticized the visit as an act of disloyalty, without inquiring into the object of his visit. He went to prevail on Yeager not to burn the town and succeeded in his mission, which was quite up to any reasonable standard of loyalty. He had known Yeager well in the years before the war. He was a freighter on the Santa Fe route. They had been friends, which was a most lucky thing for Council Grove."

Thirteen of their number started back on the 8th of May over the trail and under the lead of Yeager. Nothing is known of their movements or doings unti they reached Rock Springs, late in the afternoon, near the line between Osage and Douglas counties. At that time there was a stage stand, formerly kept by a man by the name of Walters, but the name of the proprietor at that time I do not

remember. A soldier by the name of George N. Sabin,* of company K, Eleventh regiment of Kansas volunteer cavalry, was spending the night there. He had been visiting home on a furlough, and was then on his way to his regiment, at Fort Scott. Over a dozen bullets were his fate. The next morning he was buried by the neighbors on the open prairie.

The family of this soldier lived near Auburn, Shawnee county. The widow could learn nothing of his fate, and continued in ignorance of the circumstances of his death until two years ago, when, by a most remarkable chain of circumstances, the writer's daughter became acquainted with the soldier's daughter at Salt Lake City, Utah. The soldier's widow then for the first time learned the facts surrounding her husband's death.

It may be of interest to refer to the remarkable career of the daughter of this soldier, who was born to him while at home on his last furlough. At the tender age of eleven years, having a burning thirst for an education, she left home, her ambition being to reach the State University. After a long struggle, without any aid or encouragement from any relative, the dream of her life was accomplished. During the fourth year at the university she accepted a position in the Topeka public schools, where she remained until married to a Mr. Rose, who is now a prominent official of the Illinois Central railroad, being a foreign representative of the road, and stationed at London.

The same evening the bushwhackers shot Sabin they arrived at my home, seven miles farther east. Mr. Waters came in about dusk and said it was reported that the bushwackers were at some point west of us, committing depredations. The report was treated lightly by us all, and we sat down to supper. The daughter of Mr. Waters soon came running, and called out that a lot of horsemen were coming down the road. They came to the door, where I met them, and I was seized, searched, and questioned as to my politics and the state I came from. The answers not being satisfactory to them, Yeager gave the order to shoot. Three of them obeyed the order. One bullet went through my lungs, the other two missed—they being less than ten feet away. After going through the house and taking what they wanted, and taking a horse from the stable, they left, following the trail east. Among other things, they took Mr. Waters's pocket-book. Mrs. Waters asked the privilege of taking out some valuable papers, and they allowed her to select some of the most important ones.

They passed through Baldwin without molesting anybody. At Black Jack, four miles further east, they met the Santa Fe stage, in which, among others, was ex-Sheriff Jones (appointed the first sheriff of Douglas county by the bogus legislature, at Shawnee Mission, Johnson county), who was on his way to his home, then in New Mexico. The passengers were all relieved of their money and watches. Even the notorious Sheriff Jones they did not spare, nor stop to inquire as to his politics.

From information furnished by George W. Cramer, now of Paola, Kan., who was then living with his father, A. Cramer, who kept the Stone hotel, at Gardner, Johnson county, I learned that at some time past midnight Yeager's command reached Gardner. They first quietly took Garrett Rhue, afterwards representative to the legislature from that county, who was express agent, and made him prisoner. They took from him an express package containing $200,†

*George N. Sabin enlisted from Louisville, Pottawatomie county, September 5, 1862.

†The express package referred to belonged to Mrs. Harriet L. Waugh, and was money sent to her by her husband, Col. G. M. Waugh, who was away in the army. After a period of forty years, the last legislature made good to the widow (who now lives in California) the original amount in the package taken. See Session Laws of 1903, chapter 62, page 108.

then made him go with them to the hotel and get the hotel-keeper, A. Cramer, to open the door, saying that they were some men who wanted to stay all night. The door was opened, and they rushed in and made Mr. Cramer prisoner at the point of their revolvers, and ordered him to show them where the other men were. They were taken up-stairs into the room where G. W. Cramer and Ben Francis were sound asleep. They jerked them both out of bed and demanded their money and clothes. Francis answered that the clothes they saw there were all he had. They answered that they knew better, and that he must have better clothes, and ordered him to show them his trunk, which he did. They smashed it in with their feet, and, not finding what they expected, said they would shoot him any away. Francis replied that the clothes were good enough for bushwhackers. They acted on his suggestion and gathered up all the clothes, but did not shoot.

The men were all taken out into the street under guard, while a part of the gang took Mr. Cramer to the stables and made him get out his best horses, which they appropriated. They then marched him to the front of the house and ordered the command to fall into line. It was thought by all that he was then to be shot; but then Yeager rode up in front and asked him what his politics were. He answered that he was a Democrat, and always had been; so his life was saved, and the command were given orders to march.

This is the last that is known of the Yeager raid.

THE WICHITA INDIANS IN KANSAS.

An address by JAMES R. MEAD,* of Wichita, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

AMERICAN history has no topic comparable for its enduring interest to that of the Indian tribes. And of such history Kansas can furnish a generous share. A true record of the battles fought and tragedies enacted on Kansas soil, and the deeds of valor, endurance, daring and hardship of her sons, both white and red, would make a volume of entrancing interest.

Until recent years our brother, the Indian, has occupied Kansas since the

*JAMES RICHARD MEAD was born May 3, 1837, in New Haven, Conn. His great-grandfather, Ebenezer Mead, was a major-general in the revolutionary war, and was shot through the lungs, but recovered. His home was in Connecticut, thirty miles from New York, and included Putnam's hill, down which General Putnam made his escape on stone steps. His father, Enoch Mead, graduated at Yale, and was a prominent minister of the Presbyterian church. He emigrated to Davenport, Iowa, in 1839, and established many Presbyterian churches in that state. James R. Mead was educated at Iowa College, Davenport. He became interested in the Kansas struggle, and in 1859 settled in Saline county, and engaged largely in hunting and the fur trade with the Indians. He spent eight years on the plains as hunter, trapper, and trader. In the spring of 1863 he removed to what is now Butler county, and established a trading-post. At the close of the war he removed to the junction of the two Arkansas rivers, and in connection with others laid out Wichita. He organized the Wichita & Southwestern, was its first president, and in six months built the road. He aided in building a bridge across the Arkansas, and in establishing the First National Bank of Wichita. While a resident of Butler county he was a commissioner, and aided in locating the town of El Dorado. In 1864 he was elected to the legislature from Butler county, and aided in the election of James H. Lane to the United States senate. In 1868 he was elected to the state senate from the counties of Morris, Chase, Marion, and Butler. He was married at Burlingame, December 1, 1862, to Miss Agnes Barcome, who died April 19, 1869, leaving two sons and two daughters. At Wichita, August 23, 1872, he married Miss Lucy Inman. Mr. Mead was the companion on the plains of Kit Carson and Colonel Boone, and he had great influence with the Wichitas, who sought refuge in southern Kansas, during the war, from the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy. His home is at Wichita, where he continued his interest in everything to advance Kansas and his immediate locality.

glacial era, and perhaps for a longer time, as his remains have been found under the glacial drift by myself and others.

The first Europeans to penetrate this region found him here in thousands along the Kansas and other rivers. Within the memory of men now living, the Indian owned or occupied as hunting-grounds the entire state.

There were three indigenous tribes in eastern Kansas; perhaps others. The Osage, Pawnees and the Kansas, or "Kaws," as they were nicknamed by the French. To the west were the roving nomads of the plains, who had no particular abiding-place, whom, I believe, constituted the lost "Paducas" spoken of by De Bourgmont and other early explorers.

In 1859, when I went upon the plains, I found the Osages, and other frontier Indians who had hunted buffalo to the west, constantly speaking of the "Paducas," and, on inquiry, they described them as a fierce, savage, warlike tribe of roving horsemen, ranging the western plains, of whom they were in constant dread, and described them as being as numerous as the blades of grass on the prairie, and indifferent to cold or danger.

I believe the Paducas, visited by M. du Tisne in 1719, and M. de Bourgmont in 1724, on the head of the Smoky Hill river, to have been the Comanches. I am confirmed in this belief by information I obtained from the aged chief of the Acomas, in New Mexico, many years ago.*

Commencing about 1832, the Indian population of Kansas was increased by seventeen tribes, who were located on reservations in the eastern fourth of the state—occupying about all of that region—a greater number of tribes than had ever assembled on the same amount of territory in the history of the government. Evidently the Indians knew a good country, and all wanted to get here.

These were the remnants of once powerful nations of the Eastern and Middle states, who fought long and bravely to beat back the host of invaders from across the sea until, decimated, impoverished, the bones of their great chieftains and warriors whitening many a battle-field, the remnant submitted to the inevitable, and finally were removed to Kansas.

It may be of interest here to mention that in 1847 these Kansas reservations were valued by the government at seven cents an acre.

All of Kansas west of these reservations, comprising about three-fourths of the state, was the best hunting-ground on the continent; contained no permanent villages or settlements; was the common hunting-ground of all the Kansas Indians and the roving tribes of the plains, who outnumbered the reservation Indians and were usually at war with them.

When the Santa Fe trail was established, and there was no Santa Fe trail until the white man established it, passing through the center of the state and on across the plains with its constant stream of travel, it became the objective point of all the predatory hosts from Dakota to the Rio Grande.

To protect this route of traffic, and later the settlements, the government has at various times constructed and maintained in Kansas twelve forts and numbers of military posts, at vast expense, to keep in check our red brothers and hold this fair land of ours for those who were yet to come.

Our reservation Indians were promised, by ancient treaties, their lands "so

*"Claude Charles du Tisne, of Paris, an ensign in the French marine, was married at Quebec (1708) to Marie Anne Gautier, by whom he had three sons. La Harpe says that du Tisne went to Mobile late in 1714; and the latter's name occurs, at various times, in the early annals of Louisiana. In 1722 he wss appointed captain, as a reward for his military services. An old manuscript, published in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Athenee Louisianais*, mentions him as commandant at Natchez in 1728, and in the Illinois country in 1729; and states that he died in Illinois in 1730."—Jesuit Relations, 1900, vol. 66, p. 345.

long as grass grew or water ran," but here the tide of immigration again overtook them, and it was found necessary for them to move on, and with them went the hereditary owners of the land—and the red-handed rovers of the plains, they are gone.

About 1854 began the exodus to the Indian Territory, crowded out by the advance of a stronger race. Departing, they have left behind abundant reminders of their former occupancy in the names of our state, rivers, cities, counties, towns, and townships.

Our three greatest rivers* bear Indian names. The Missouri (meaning muddy) is the name of an Indian tribe. The Kansas, from the tribe who lived along its valleys since prehistoric times, meaning "smoky water." The Arkansas river is the Indian word "Kansas" with the French prefix of "Ark," a bow. Neosho is Osage (Dakota)—"ne," water; "osho," clear; clear water, or water you can see into.

We are indebted to the Indians for the names of our three most populous cities. And the founders of the second largest city in our neighboring state to the east came over into Kansas to find and appropriate one of our choicest Indian names.

Twelve counties of Kansas are named after Indian tribes; four others have Indian names, but one is a reminder of the noble animals upon which they subsisted, and one bears the name of a noted Indian trader.

And now I come to a tribe—the last to arrive, and the first to depart—the Wichitas and affiliated bands. They were transients; fugitives from their distant homes, driven out by the exigencies of cruel war. To them, Kansas was a haven of refuge. They asked no permission nor assistance from the government or any one else, in their coming nor in their going. They built their town of grass houses at the junction of the two rivers, Big and Little Arkansas, or "Neshutsa," and "Neshutsa Shinka" of the Osages, in whose territory it was located, which became known all over the plains as "the Wichita town," and on their village site has arisen the third largest city in the state, Wichita.

The Indians comprised in the general term of Wichitas were remnants of tribes affiliated together when first known to history, more than a century ago. They were the Wichitas, Wacos, Towakonis, and Kelchis, who speak the Wichita language, and the Caddos, Ionis, and Nadarkos, who spoke the Caddo language. The Nadarkos are practically extinct.

Each of these bands lived in separate villages and preserved their tribal identity. They had their villages of grass houses on the Brazos river, in Texas; and on the Washita river and its tributaries and other streams in the Indian Territory; and ranged in former times from Arkansas to the Wichita mountains, and from the Cimarron river to central Texas.

One tradition, narrated to me many years ago by Chief Towakoni Jim, was that the Wichitas originally came from the far Northwest, using dogs for pack animals—as all western Indians did before the arrival of the Spaniards—and tarried on the Arkansas river, near the southern border of the state, several years, cultivating gardens and hunting for subsistence, using implements of stone or bone; while the traditions of the Caddoes are that they originally came from the Hot Springs, Arkansas.

The Wichitas proper were typical barbarians, coming down from the stone age unchanged in customs, habits, or apparel. Their language and tone of voice

* W. J. McGee in his "Siouan Indians," Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162, says: "*Missouri* (tribal name), exact meaning uncertain; said to refer to drowning of people in a stream; possibly a corruption of ni-shu-dje, 'smoky water,' the name of Missouri river. *Kansa* or *Kanze* refers to winds, though precise significance is unknown."

were utterly unlike any Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, but had a marked resemblance in inflection, tone and construction to that of the Indians along the Columbia river in Oregon.

When I first saw them, in 1863, many of the older women were artistically tattooed in pink and blue zigzag circles and lines, as was their ancient custom. The Caddoes were a much milder-mannered people and of pleasant speech.

The summer of 1864 found the Wichitas in Kansas prosperous. Buffalo were abundant—close at hand; they had obtained horses. The women, with great industry, cleared grounds and planted fine gardens along the Little Arkansas, and were the first to demonstrate that the Arkansas valley was the garden spot of the state.

All took a hand in building their very comfortable and peculiar grass houses. They were usually made of forked posts about five feet high, set in the ground at intervals in a circle, and twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter. Horizontal poles were then securely fastened to the top of the posts; then smooth poles, twenty or more feet long, were set upright in the ground outside the posts, converging, cone-shape, to a common center at the top; very small poles are bound with withes crosswise, thus holding the whole structure securely together. The squaws weave the long, tough, reddish bunch-grass in and out in such an ingenious manner that each bunch of grass overlaps the bunch immediately below. When complete it is a substantial structure; does not leak; is warm. A low door opens to east and west, made of grass or skin. Arranged around the inside are raised bunks for sleeping, and underneath, storage room. In the center a fire, with opening at top for smoke. The inside and floor are sometimes plastered with gypsum, and for fifty feet on the outside the ground is kept smooth, hard, and clean. These houses are unique, comfortable, and unlike all others in America. I have seen those built twenty years and still in good condition. They are never covered with sod, as stated this summer in a prominent Eastern magazine.

Not far from these houses were their gardens, surrounded by fences made of small poles, set upright in the ground. These grew an abundance of their native corn, pumpkins, melons, and Mexican beans.

These grass houses were built in groups along the Little river for a mile, on the east bank; the water of the river was sweet, clear, and pure, full of fish; plenty of timber, and game abundant.

Owaha, chief of the Wichitas, was an ideal prehistoric man of 5000 years ago. A cartoonist could hardly exaggerate his general make-up. Yet he was not a bad fellow by any means. He would have been a howling success to illustrate Chancellor Snow's lecture on the evolution of man.

Shaddona, chief of the Caddoes, was his opposite; fine-looking, quiet, intelligent, gentlemanly.

I established a trading-post among them, and part of the time had an Indian alone in charge. Along in the summer of 1864 the government sent an old gentleman, Maj. Milo Gookin, of Indiana, to look after these Indians, with instructions to make his headquarters at my home place, known as "Mead's ranch," at Towanda, twenty miles east of the Little Arkansas, at that time consisting of a big spring and my several buildings. Major Gookin knew nothing about Indians, and had at first nothing to aid them, and the Indians nearly worried him to death. I helped him out considerably, as I had abundant supplies and much-needed experience. Later on the government furnished a small amount of food and clothing.

The Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos settled themselves along the Whitewater and Walnut rivers. Some of the wild tribes of the plains visited us occa-