

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 in the '60's were removed, with other tribes, to the Indian Territory. The remnant of the tribe, now numbering 633,²⁴ are on a reservation near Ponca agency. They were among the most dangerous of the tribes that infested the Western plains from 1840 to 1860.²⁵

Henri Joutel, a native of Rouen, France, and a fellow townsman of La Salle, accompanied him, in 1684, on his second expedition to Louisiana. This time La Salle sailed directly to the Gulf of Mexico from France, whither he had gone in 1683, soon after the close of his first Louisiana expedition, to secure permission and means to establish a French colony on the lower Mississippi. La Salle missed the mouth of the river but located a colony called St. Louis on the coast of Texas. Shortly after, he was cruelly murdered by one of his own men. Joutel, one of the half-dozen survivors of the ill-fated expedition, after La Salle's death, made his way up the Mississippi river to old Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois river, and thence to Quebec and France.

The following is a reference to the Missouri river made by Joutel in his journal. He says: "We continued on the 30th [August, 1687], and on the 1st of September passed by the mouth of a river called Missouri, whose water is always thick, and to which our Indians did not fail to offer sacrifice."²⁶

Among the priests in La Salle's party who accompanied Joutel was Father Anastasius Douay, a most devout missionary, from whom Father Le Clercq quotes regarding the Missouri river, which he passed in 1687 on his way to the Illinois, after La Salle's death:

"About six leagues below this mouth [Illinois] there is on the northwest the famous river of the Massourites, or Ozages, at least as large as the main river into which it empties; it is formed by a number of other known rivers everywhere navigable, and inhabited by many populous tribes: . . . They include also the Ozages, who have seventeen villages on a river of their name, which empties into that of the Massourites, to which the maps have also extended the name of Ozages. The Akansa were formerly situated on the upper part of one of these rivers, but the Iroquois²⁷ drove them out by cruel wars some years ago, so that they, with some Ozaige villages, have been obliged to descend and settle on the river which now bears their name, and of which I have spoken."²⁸

NOTE 24.—Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 25.—"Their relations with the United States have always been friendly. Instances might be catalogued, no doubt, in considerable number, in which they have committed outrages. But if against these should be set a list of the wanton provocations that they have received at the hands of irresponsible whites their offenses would be probably sufficiently counterbalanced. . . . During the last fifteen years a battalion of Pawnee scouts has been employed a large portion of the time by the government against the hostile Dakotas, and in every campaign have won high encomiums for their intrepidity and soldierly efficiency."—John B. Dunbar, *Magazine of Am. Hist.*, 1880, vol. 4, pp. 256, 257.

Mr. T. S. Huffaker, of Council Grove, says that as late as 1856 or 1857 the Pawnees made incursions into Kansas for the purpose of stealing ponies from the Kaws, then in Morris county, and, besides robbing the Indians, drove off stock from the neighboring white settlers, taking forty or fifty ponies that he was keeping for Northrup & Chick. Although an agent sent to the Pawnee villages in Nebraska identified these ponies, the Indians would not return them. The government paid for one lot of ponies some years later.

NOTE 26.—Margry, vol. 3, p. 471.

NOTE 27.—The Iroquois were a confederation of Indians occupying the Mohawk valley and lakes of western New York, embracing the five nations first known as the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and after the Tuscaroras had joined them from North Carolina, in 1712, the Six Nations. They were the most warlike of all the northern Indians, and were allies of the English in their contest with the French for supremacy in the new world. They subdued the neighboring Indian nations and extended their conquests beyond the St. Lawrence and even the Mississippi, as will be seen by the statements of Fathers Douay and Membre. The *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1904, says the census of the Six Nations still living in both the United States and Canada numbered, in 1902, about 17,000. See volume 8 of the Kansas Historical Society Collections for lands granted these "New York Indians" in Kansas.

NOTE 28.—Le Clercq's Establishment of the Faith, vol. 2, p. 271.

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The Father of Navigation on the Missouri River. (See page 257.)

In "Henri de Tonty's Memoirs," published in Paris in 1693, he makes the following reference to the Osage Indians, in his trip down the Mississippi river to bring back the men of the ill-fated expedition of La Salle. He says: "We arrived on the 17th [October, 1689] at an Illinois village at the mouth of their river. They had just come from fighting the Osages and had lost thirteen men, but they brought back 130 prisoners."²⁹

In Tonty's account of the route from the Illinois, by the Mississippi river, to the Gulf of Mexico, he says: "The rivers of the Missouri come from the west, and, after traversing 300 leagues, arrive at a lake, which I believe to be that of the Apaches. The villages of the Missounta, Otenta and Osage are near one another, and are situated on the prairies, 150 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri."³⁰

Again, he says of his downward voyage: "We descended the river [Mississippi], and found, six leagues below, on the right, a great river [Missouri], which comes from the west, on which are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth."³¹

Jean Francois de St. Cosme, a priest of the Seminary of Quebec, left Canada in the summer of 1698 and descended the Mississippi river by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin river. He went as a missionary to Cahokia and later to Natchez,³² and has left the following account of the Missouri river:

"On the 6th of December, 1699, we embarked on the Mississippi river and after making about 600 leagues [1650 miles], we found the river of the Missouri, which comes from the West and which is so muddy that it spoils the water of the Mississippi, which, down to this, is clear. It is said that up this river are a great number of Indians."

In another place he mentions meeting with the Arkansas Indians. "We told them," he says, "we were going further down the river among their neighbors and friends, and that they would see us often; that it would be well to assemble all together, so as more easily to resist their enemies. They agreed to all of this and promised to try to make the Osages join them, who had left the river of the Missouri and were now on the upper waters of their own river."

As the foregoing pages contain the first references to the Osage Indians preserved in history, the statements of the different writers may be worth a comparison.

Father Membré says that in 1682 the greater part of the seventeen Illinois villages were driven across the Mississippi by the Iroquois, who pursued them until they took refuge with the Osages. Father Douay, in 1687, says that the Osages had seventeen villages on the Osage river, and that the Arkansas Indians, who had formerly lived in that section, had been driven out by the Iroquois some years before, and with some Osages had settled on the Arkansas. Henri de Tonty states that the Osages, in 1693, were then in the prairies 150 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri. This would be about 400 miles, which is very near the distance by the river route to where the prairies on the Osage set in, or between Osceola, in St. Clair county,

NOTE 29.—Historical Collections of Louisiana, French, vol. 1, p. 71.

NOTE 30.—Id., vol. 1, p. 82.

NOTE 31.—Id., vol. 1, p. 59.

NOTE 32.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 65, p. 262, note 7.



and Papinsville, in Bates county, Missouri. This is the locality in which, as will hereafter appear, Du Tisné found them twenty-six years afterwards, 1719, and where they remained until they began their gradual removal to the Indian Territory, about 1796.³³ Father St. Cosme, in 1699, confirms the statement made by Douay, for he says the Osages had left the river of the Missourites and were on the upper waters of their own river. The map of Delisle, published in 1703, which gives the location of many of the Western tribes, lays down four villages of the Osages on their river. Three are high up on the river, apparently near Osceola; the other is located about where the town of Warsaw stands. There are none laid down nearer the mouth of the river.

From this testimony left us by the early explorers, which must be reliable, as it comes from so many different sources, it appears that the Osage Indians, at some time previous to 1682, dwelt near the mouth of the Osage river, either on the banks of that stream or on the Missouri. There is no question that about that time the lower Missouri tribes were attacked by the wild men from the East, the cruel and bloodthirsty Iroquois, who, as they were armed with British muskets, and the Missouri tribes had only the primitive bow and arrow, drove the Osages higher up their river, and the Missouris to the mouth of the Grand river. The beautiful country near the mouth of the Missouri was thus early abandoned by the red men.

In many respects the Osages were the most remarkable of all the Western tribes. They, with the Missouri, are the first of which we have any data. They were distinguished by Marquette in 1673 as the "Ouchage" and "Autrechaha," and by Penicaut in 1719 as the "Huzzau," "Ous," and "Wawha."³⁴ They were one of the largest and most powerful tribes west of the Mississippi, and they have remained longer in the same locality; they have been the most peaceable of all the Western tribes and have given the government less trouble; they are the tallest and best-proportioned Indians in America, few being less than six feet.

The tribe was evidently a numerous one when first visited by the French, for Douay says in 1687 that they occupied seventeen villages. Like all our aborigines, contact with civilization rapidly diminished their numbers, for by 1804 they had decreased to 2300 warriors.

At the time Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike visited the tribe, in 1806, it was separated into three bands. The history of this division he gives as follows:

"The Osage nation is divided into three villages, and in a few years you may say nations, viz.: The Grand Osage, the Little Osage, and those of the Arkansaw.

"The Little Osage separated from the Big Osage about 100 years since, when their chiefs, on obtaining permission to lead forth a colony from the great council of the nation, moved on to the Missouri; but after some years, finding themselves too hard pressed by their enemies, they again obtained permission to return, put themselves under the protection of the Grand village, and settled down about six miles off.

"The Arkansaw schism was effected by Mr. Pierre Choteau, ten or twelve years ago, as a revenge on Mr. Manuel De Sezei [Liza or Lisa], who had obtained from the Spanish government the exclusive trade of the Osage nation, by the way of the Osage river, after it had been in the hands of Mr. Choteau for nearly twenty years. The latter, having the trade of the Ar-

NOTE 33.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 131.

NOTE 34.—Annual Report United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 192.



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kansaw, thereby nearly rendered abortive the exclusive privilege of his rival."³⁵

The History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, says that a number of young men from both the Big and Little Osages, influenced by French traders, removed about 1796 under Casheseagra or Big Track, to the Verdegis.³⁶

While the Osages were a brave and warlike nation, and were frequently at war with the Kansas, Pawnees, Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, and other tribes, they always maintained peaceable relations with the whites. This was, no doubt, through the influence of the French traders, who, as early as 1693,³⁷ began trading with them, and, frequently intermarrying, acquired a wonderful influence over them.

The Osages, in their hunting excursions, roamed over all the vast territory from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and a good story is told by General Rozier, in his History of the Mississippi Valley, of an occurrence that took place at an early day near Ste. Genevieve, where General Rozier was born, and where he lived and died:

"In 1797 a wedding party of young people, consisting of a proposed bride and groom and a half-dozen other couples, left their home on Big river to go to Ste. Genevieve to be married, there being no priest nearer. On arriving at Terre-Beau creek, near Farmington, they encountered a roving band of Osage Indians, who were out on a prairie horse-racing. The party was soon discovered by the Indians and followed. On being captured, they were stripped of all their clothing, both men and women, and turned loose on the prairie, as naked as they came into the world. No violence was offered, as the Indians considered it only a good joke; but they kept their clothing, and the young people were compelled to return home in this terrible plight. The wedding was postponed for a year, but the young couple finally married, and their descendants are yet living in St. Francois county."

The Osages claimed all of the country lying south of the Missouri river and the Kansas as far west as the head waters of the latter stream. On November 10, 1808, a treaty was entered into by which they ceded to the government the territory lying east of a line running due south from Fort Clark (later Fort Osage, now Sibley), on the Missouri river, to the Arkansas river, and lying north of that stream, to its confluence with the Mississippi. The provisions of this treaty³⁸ especially favored those Indians "who reside at this place," Fort Osage, or who might remove to its neighborhood.

NOTE 35.—Coe's Pike, p. 529. "When the Little Osages moved to the Missouri river, which was about 1700, they located upon Petit-sas-Plains, near the present town of Malta Bend, in Saline county, Missouri. On their return to the Great Osage, which was about 1774, they located in a separate village, at what is now Ballstown, on the Little Osage river. Coes give the relative positions of the two villages in the following note: 'The village of the Little Osage Indians was about six miles higher up, on the other (west) side of the river of the same name. Marmiton river falls in between where the two villages were. These were so well known to the traders and others in Pike's time that he does not take the trouble to say exactly where they were; nor are we favored with the precise location of Camp Independence, 'near the edge of the prairie.' But there is, of course, no question of the exact site of a village which stood for more than a century; see, for example, Holcombe's History of Vernon County. Hundreds of Osages were buried on the mound, to which their descendants used to come from Kansas to cry over them, as late at least as 1874. Among the remains rested those of old White Hair himself, until his bones were dug up and carried off by Judge C. H. Allen, of Missouri. In the vicinity of the upper village is now a place called Arthur, where the Lexington & Southern division of the Missouri Pacific railroad comes south from Rich Hill, Bates county, and continues across both Little Osage and Marmiton rivers; a mile west of its crossing of the former, on the south of that river, is the present hamlet called Little Osage [or Ballstown]. All Pike's positions of August 18-September 1 are in the present Osage township.'"—Coes' Pike, 1895, vol. 2, note 45, p. 589.

NOTE 36.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 131.

NOTE 37.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 64, p. 161.

NOTE 38.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 95.



The History of Vernon County, Missouri, says that only a few of the Osages settled near Fort Clark, the majority continuing to live at their old home in the northern part of that county.³⁹

In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a mission for the Arkansas Osages, called Union Station, on the Neosho, twenty-five miles above its junction with the Arkansas, and, in 1821, another called Harmony Mission, near Papinsville, Bates county, Missouri. At the latter place mission buildings, including a schoolhouse, were erected, and a large apple orchard set out. Nothing remains to-day to mark the site of this old village except the trunks of some gnarled apple trees, which have withstood the storms of eighty winters.⁴⁰

The Osages are one of the very few tribes which have no cause to complain of the treatment accorded them by the government. They have been well paid for their lands, and the different treaties made with them have been religiously observed. The following extract from the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1904 shows the present status of the tribe:

"A census of the Osage tribe at the close of the fiscal year shows a population of, males, 946; females, 949; total, 1895. The Osage Indians are considered about the richest people as a tribe on the face of the globe. They have an annual income of \$418,611.39, being five per cent. interest on the \$8,372,427.80 held in trust for them by the United States treasury. To this is added about \$165,000 derived from lease of grazing lands, royalty from oil-wells, etc. The amount from oil and gas royalties will greatly increase from this time, owing to increased development and facilities on account of pipe-lines for reaching the market. This makes an annual income of about \$584,000. Out of this fund well-equipped schools are maintained, salaries of employees are paid, nearly all the expenses of the agency is met, and the residue paid per capita to the members of the tribe in quarterly instalments. The division of interest money alone amounts to about fourteen dollars per month, or forty-two dollars every three months, to each man, woman, and child. To this may be added quite comfortable incomes to many individual members of the tribe, more progressive than others, from their homesteads and farms."*

But the time will soon come, under the present allotting system of the government, when the Osages will lose their lands—the fairest in the territory. It is the beginning of the end. Then, with their tribal relations sundered, and the protecting arm of the government withdrawn, their money will, under the influence of civilization, become a curse instead of a blessing.

Baron de Lahontan⁴¹ left the mouth of the Missouri river, so he says, on March 17, 1689, and reached the first village of the Missouri tribe on the 18th, and the second the next day. Three leagues from there he reached

NOTE 39.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 135.

NOTE 40.—Two sections of land at the site of the mission were reserved by the treaty of 1825, and for the improvements thereon the United States paid \$8000, the land itself reverting to the government upon the abandonment of the mission. The money went to the American Board of Foreign Missions.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 150.

"ARTICLE 10. It is furthermore agreed on, by and between the parties to these presents, that there shall be reserved two sections of land, to include the Harmony missionary establishment and their mill, on the Marais des Cygnes."—Treaty with the Osages, 1825; Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Wash., 1904, vol. 2, p. 220.

NOTE 41.—For an extended biography of the Baron de Lahontan, see J. Edmond Roy, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. 12, sec. 1, p. 68. Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography and Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America give the name as La Hontan.

*Annual Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 297.

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the mouth of the Osage⁴² river. After a skirmish with the Indians at that place he reembarked and started down stream. He landed his forces at night and destroyed a village; reembarked again, and arrived at the mouth of the river on the 25th. There he met some Arkansas Indians, and he says of them: "All that I learned from them was that the Missouris and Osages were numerous and mischievous; and their country was well watered with very great rivers, and, in a word, was entirely too good for them."⁴³

Penicaut, in his *Annals of Louisiana*, says, in writing of a voyage made in 1700 from the mouth of the Mississippi to the copper-mines of the Sioux country, on the upper part of that stream:

" . . . We ascended the Mississippi six leagues higher, where we found, on the left, the mouth of a very large river named the Missouri. This river is of a tremendous rapidity, in the spring especially, when it is high, for in passing over the islands which it overflows, it uproots and sweeps along the trees.⁴⁴ It is from this fact that in the spring, the Mississippi, into which it flows, is all covered with floating wood, and that the water of the Mississippi is then muddy from the water of the Missouri, which falls into the same. Up to the present the source of the Missouri has not been found, nor that of the Mississippi. . . . I will not speak of the manners of the inhabitants of the banks of the Missouri, because I have not yet ascended the Missouri."⁴⁵

In 1700, James Gravier, a Jesuit priest, made a voyage down the Mississippi. He says: ". . . It [the Arkansas river] runs to the north-west, and, by ascending it, one reaches the river of the Missouris, by making a portage."⁴⁶

Previous to 1705, nearly all the explorers of the Mississippi came down the river from Canada, but now the tide began to turn, and a stream came up the river from the Gulf of Mexico. These two streams met at the mouth of the Missouri, and it was during this period—1700 to 1720—that the French villages of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Fort Chartres were established.⁴⁷

In 1703 Chevalier Pierre Charles Le Sueur was sent on a mining expedition to the upper Mississippi. On returning down the river in 1705 he arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, and is said to have ascended the stream as far as the mouth of the Kaw.⁴⁸ There is some doubt whether Le Sueur ever really came up the river, but there is no question that about this time the Missouri was first explored. Le Chevalier de Beaurain, whose memoir of Louisiana contains an account of Le Sueur's explorations, makes the following allusion to the Missouri river, and the different tribes along that stream. He says: ". . . They [the Sioux] generally keep to the prairies, be-

NOTE 42.—As it is 140 miles from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage, the voyage could not have been made up stream in canoes in three days. The statement of the dates and distances made discredits the entire story, and it may be taken with a degree of allowance. If Lahontan actually came up the Missouri river, he was the first white man to ascend that stream of whom there is any account.

NOTE 43.—From *Travels of Baron de Lahontan in North America*, from 1689 to 1700, published in London in 1703.—Found in *Kansas City Review*, May, 1881, p. 19.

NOTE 44.—The writer must have passed the mouth of the river during the annual June rise, as his description indicates that he saw it during a flood.

NOTE 45.—Margry, vol. 5, p. 409.

NOTE 46.—Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 125.

NOTE 47.—Wallace's *History of Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, pp. 203, 207, 270, and 299; see, also, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, pp. 262, 264; vol. 69, p. 301; vol. 70, p. 316.

NOTE 48.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 91.



tween the upper Mississippi and the Missouri river, and live solely by hunting."⁴⁹ At another place he says: ". . . We were told that the Ayavois [Iowas] and Otocatas [Otoes] had gone to station themselves up on the side of the Missouri river, in the neighborhood of the Maha [Omahas],⁵⁰ a nation dwelling in those quarters.⁵¹ He also refers to Le Sueur's meeting with three Canadian travelers, and receiving from them a letter from Father Marest, of the mission of the Immaculate Conception, of the Illinois, dated July 10, 1700, informing him that the Peanguichas had been defeated by the Sioux and Ayavois, and had joined with the Quicapous and a part of the Mascoutins, Foxes,⁵² and Metesigamias, to avenge themselves, not upon the Sioux, for they fear them too much, possibly upon the Ayavois, or perhaps the Paoutes, or more likely on the Ozages, for these mistrust nothing, and the others are upon their guard.⁵³

The Otoes⁵⁴ were a small tribe in 1804, and did not number exceeding

NOTE 49.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 79.

NOTE 50.—Delisle's map of Louisiana and Mississippi, in the second volume of French's Louisiana, shows a village of the Mahas on the eastern bank of the Missouri, far above the mouth of the Platte, and near it three villages of the Iowas (Aiaouez), while opposite the mouth of the Platte (Riviere des Panis), and east of the Missouri river, is situated the Otoes (Ocotata) village. Another "Ioway" village is placed some distance east of the Missouri river and of the "Cansees" village, at the mouth of Independence creek. French quotes Le Sueur's spelling of these names, "Ayavois," "Ocotata," and "Maha."

"According to tribal traditions collected by Dorsey, the ancestors of the Omaha, Ponka, Kwapa, Osage and Kansas were originally one people dwelling on Ohio and Wabash rivers, but gradually working westward. The first separation took place at the mouth of the Ohio, when those who went down the Mississippi became the Kwapa or down-stream people, while those who ascended the great river became the Omaha or up-stream people. This separation must have occurred at least as early as 1500, since it preceded De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi. The Omaha group (from whom the Osage, Kansas and Ponka were not yet separated) ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, where they remained for some time, though war and hunting parties explored the country northwestward, and the body of the tribe gradually followed these pioneers, though the Osage and Kansas were successively left behind. The Omaha gathered south of the Missouri, between the mouths of the Platte and Niobrara. . . . The Omaha tribe remained within the great bend of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of the Big Sioux, until the white men came. Their hunting-ground extended westward and southwestward, chiefly north of the Platte and along the Elkhorn, to the territory of the Ponka and Pawnee." (McGee, U. S. Bu. of Eth., vol. 15, p. 191.) The Omahas now occupy a reservation in Thurston county, Nebraska, and had a population of 1232 in 1904.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 235.

NOTE 51.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 82.

NOTE 52.—The Foxes, also called Renards and Outagamies, were at that time, 1700, on or in the neighborhood of Green bay, Wisconsin. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 62, p. 205.) They had formerly lived in the country east of Lake Huron. (Cutler's Hist. of Kan., 1883, p. 73.) They were a populous tribe in 1666-'68, mustering about 1000 warriors. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 51, p. 43.) Having become reduced through wars with neighboring tribes, they united with the Sacs about 1760, the two ever afterwards being known as the Sacs and Foxes. (Encycl. Americana, 1904, vol. 7.) They claimed certain country north of the Missouri and east of the Mississippi rivers, and in 1804 made their first treaty of cession to the United States. After various subsequent treaties, and having become divided into two bands, a part of the one, known as the "Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi," was removed in 1845-'46 to a reservation in Osage and Franklin counties, Kansas, and in 1869 to the Indian Territory. (Green, in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 130.) Of this band, 491 still reside upon their reservation in Oklahoma. (Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, p. 608.) A branch of the Mississippi band, numbering 343, still holds a reservation in Tama county, Iowa. (Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, p. 211.) The other band, known as the "Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri," were granted, in 1854, a small reservation with the Kowas, between Nebraska and Brown county, Kansas. They still retain a portion of these lands and number eighty-two souls.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 91.

NOTE 53.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 70.

NOTE 54.—The Otoes were related to the Missouris, and, Dr. Elliott Coues says, occupied about 1700, the same village on Bowling Green prairie, below Grand river, in Missouri. (Coues's Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 22.) It is possible that they removed from this village to the mouth of the Platte at the time LeSueur mentions. Both the Otoes and Iowas are said to be offshoots from the Missouris. (U. S. Bu. of Eth., vol. 15, p. 195.) This would seem reasonable, as it was to the Otoes, then on the Platte, that the remnant of the Missouris fled, about 1774 (Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 23), when they were driven from Petite-sas-Plains. The original separation of these two tribes is said to have been caused by the abduction of a Missourian squaw by the chief of the Otoes. (Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 23.) When Bourgmont visited Kansas, in 1724, he brought with him a party of Missouris from their village near Fort Orleans, Missouri. He sent five of them as runners to the Otoes, whom he also desired to accompany him, and who appear to have been living in Nebraska, as they are mentioned as coming with the Pawnees and Iowas.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 42.

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500 souls, 120 of whom were warriors. They were always a peaceable tribe, probably on account of their numbers, and maintained friendly relations with the early fur-traders and voyageurs. The remnant of the tribe—which includes the Missouris—numbered, in 1904, 365 individuals. They are now on a reservation in the Indian Territory, near Ponca agency.

The Iowas⁵⁵ were never a numerous tribe, although they were good fighters, and made war on all the neighboring tribes except the ancient Missouris, from whom, it is said, they were an offshoot. In 1804 Lewis and Clark estimated them as having 300 men; allowing five to a family, there would have been a population of 1500 individuals. They were then living on the Des Moines river, near the head waters of the Chariton.⁵⁶ Geo. Sibley, in 1820, gave their number as 800,⁵⁷ and Rev. S. M. Irvin, in his school report for 1853, says, "Sixteen years ago there were 830, and now a fraction over 400."⁵⁸ The remnant now lives on two reserves; that on the Missouri river, on the line between Nebraska and Kansas, having a population of 220, while those in Oklahoma number 90.⁵⁹ They receive an annuity of \$9791.74.⁶⁰

Father Gabriel Marest, the missionary, in a letter to Father Germon, dated Cascaskias, November 9, 1712, writes:

"Seven leagues below the mouth of the Illinois river is found a large river called the Missouri—or, more commonly, Pekitanoui; that is to say, 'muddy water'—which empties into the Mississippi on the west side; it is extremely rapid, and it discolors the beautiful water of the Mississippi, which flows from this point to the sea. The Missouri comes from the northwest, not far from the mines which the Spaniards have in Mexico, and it is very serviceable to the French who travel in that country."

Again, he says: "We are only thirty leagues [eighty-three miles] from the Missouri, or Pekitanoui. This is a large river, which flows into the Mississippi, and it is said that it comes from a still greater distance than does that river. The best mines of the Spaniards are at the head of this river."⁶¹

In the spring of 1719 Claude Charles du Tisné went up the Missouri river in canoes to the village of the Missouris, near the mouth of Grand river. It was his purpose to go farther, but the Indians would not permit him to do

NOTE 55.—A good deal of latitude has always been admissible in Indian nomenclature. The name of the Siouan tribe which LeSueur calls Ayavois, and Delisle calls Aiaouez and Ioways, was variously spelled by the French "Aiaouas," "Ayoes," "Ayowois," etc. Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 72, p. 261. They were a tribe of wanderers, and their migrations extended during different periods all up and down the Missouri river. Their village was somewhere in the territory now embraced in the state of Missouri at the time of their removal, as mentioned by LeSueur; but it is nowhere shown that they were on the banks of the Missouri river, except, possibly, on Delisle's map in French's second volume. About 1750 they were seated on the Chariton river, in Missouri, near the Iowa line, having doubtless come back to Missouri—for which they cannot be blamed. Sibley mentions that they lived in more than one village in 1820. They were living on a creek near Weston, Platte county, Missouri, in 1836, when they ceded the country embraced in the Platte purchase to the government. The Kansas State Historical Society has recently come into possession of a worn and weather-stained manuscript, presented by a Spanish officer of the province of Louisiana to the Iowa nation, at New Orleans, March 25, 1784. Just what it signifies is not yet ascertained. It had been preserved by the family of Antoine Barada, whose signature was attached to the treaty between the United States and the Kansas nation, at St. Louis, in 1815.—U. S. Treaties, 1778-1837, p. 184.

NOTE 56.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. 20, 45.

NOTE 57.—Morse's Report, 1822, apx., p. 204.

NOTE 58.—Report of United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853, p. 333.

NOTE 59.—Id., 1904, pp. 598, 608.

NOTE 60.—Id., 1904, p. 538.

NOTE 61.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 66, pp. 225, 293.



so. He then returned down the river and made his way to the Illinois country, whence he soon thereafter crossed the Mississippi river and set out overland from the mouth of the Saline river, near Ste. Genevieve. He traveled westward, through what was then an unexplored wilderness, being the first French explorer of the trans-Mississippi territory.

The following letter, written by Du Tispé after his return from his last expedition, to Bienville, the commandant at New Orleans, throws much light on the different Indian tribes then inhabiting the Missouri valley. It was written at the old French village of Kaskaskia, which was located near the east bank of the Mississippi, on the Kaskaskia, about fifty miles below the present city of St. Louis:

"KASKASKIA, November 22, 1719.⁶²

"SIR— . . . You know, sir, that I have been obliged to leave the Missourys, as they did not wish me to go to the Panioussas; hence I was compelled to return to the Illinois to offer to M. de Boisbriant [commander of the post] to make the journey across the country, and he granted me permission to do so. The journey was attended with much trouble, as my men fell sick on the way; my own health keeps well. I send you with this a little account of my trip.

"I went to the Osages and was well received by them. Having explained your intentions to them, they answered me satisfactorily in regard to themselves; but when I spoke of going to the Panis [Pawnees] they all opposed it, and would not assent to the reason I gave them. When I learned they did not intend to let me take my goods I had brought, I proposed to them to let me take three guns for myself and my interpreter, telling them, with decision, if they did not consent to this I would be very angry, and you indignant; they then consented. Knowing the character of these savages I did not tarry long, but set out at once; and in four days I reached the Panis, where I was badly received, owing to the fact that the Osages made them believe that our intention was to entrap them and make slaves of them. On that account they twice raised the tomahawk above me; but when they learned the falsehood of the Osages, and saw my bravery when they threatened me, brutal as these people are, they consented to make an alliance and treated me well. I traded them my three guns, some powder, pickaxes and some knives for two horses and a mule marked with a Spanish brand.

"I proposed to them to let me pass through to the Padoucas. To this they would not consent at all, being mortal enemies to them. Seeing their opposition, I questioned them in regard to the Spanish; they said they had formerly been to their village, but now the Padoucas prevented them. They traded me a very old silver cup, and told me it would take more than a month to go to the Spanish. It seems to me that we could succeed in making peace between this tribe and the Padoucas, and thereby open a route to the Spanish [in Mexico]; it could be done by giving them back their slaves and making them presents. I have told them that you desired that they be friends. We might also attempt a passage by the Missouri, going to the Panimahas⁶³ and carrying them presents. I offered M. de Boisbriant to go there myself, and if you desire it I am ready to execute it, so as to merit your protection.

"I have written to the chief of the Cadodaquious, and have asked him to give you advice of it. A Mento chief has charge of the letters. I had seen him among the Osages and he had sold some slaves for me to the Natchitoches. It is from him that I learned of the arrival of M. de La Harpe with the large boats at the Nassonites. He tells me that in a month he will re-

NOTE 62.—This letter is found in Margry, vol. 6, pp. 313-315. Another translation will be found in an article by John P. Jones, of Coldwater, Kan., a close student of French explorations in Kansas and Missouri, on the "Discoverer of Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 4, p. 277.

NOTE 63.—Prof. John B. Dunbar considers "Panimahas" to be simply another form of the French name "Pani" for the Pawnees of the Platte. (*Magazine of Am. Hist.*, vol. 4, p. 249.) The same view is taken by Mr. J. P. Jones.



turn to the Natchitoches, and, by the direction which he has showed me, the route to the Osages is south a quarter southwest. The villages of the Mentos are seven days' journey from the Osages toward the southwest. He has promised me to come to the Illinois and bring some horses, as have also the Panis, who ought to come next spring.

"The Osages not wishing to give me a guide to return to the Illinois, I was obliged to come by means of my compass, with fourteen horses and my mule. I had the misfortune to lose six of them and a colt, which is a loss of more than 900 livres to me. I refer you to M. de Boisbriant for the many difficulties I have passed through. I hope, sir, since being one of the oldest lieutenants of the country, you will do me the favor to procure me a company. I shall try to meet your kindness by my faithfulness to the service.

I am, with profound respect, etc., DU TISNE.

"To M. de Bienville, New Orleans."

The following is an extract from La Harpe's relation of Du Tisné's journey among the Missouris, in 1719, translated from Margry's Memoirs, by Mr. E. A. Kilian, secretary of the Quivira Historical Society:⁶⁴

"From the village of Kaskaskia to the Missouri is 32 leagues [75 miles]. The Missouri is very turbid and full of obstacles from driftwood and extensive shallows and a strong current. It flows from the Missouries [the village] north-northwest, although it makes many times a complete circumvolution of the compass. It is well wooded with walnut, sycamore and oak trees. Very fine soil and some rocky hills are seen. At intervals on the west side of the stream, two fine rivers flow into it. The first is the Blue river [the Gasconade], which is not great in importance. The second is the river of the Osages, whose village is 80 leagues [about 220 miles] above, to the southwest. A pirogue can go 20 leagues [55 miles] above that village.

"The river of the Osages is 10 leagues [25 miles] above the mouth of Blue river, and 40 leagues [110 miles] above the mouth of the Missouri. In the vicinity of the Osages there are lead-mines in abundance, and it is also believed there are silver-mines.

"The distance is 80 leagues from the mouth of the river Missouri to the village of that name. The prairie begins 10 leagues [27 miles] beyond their village. This would be a good place to make an establishment; the Missourys are jealous because the French go to other nations. They are people who stay only at their village in the springtime. One league southwest of them is a village of the Osages, which is 30 leagues [82 miles] from their great village. [The writer is now referring to the village of the Little Osages, on the Missouri river, near the mouth of Grand river.] By the Missouri, one can go to the Panimahas, to other nations called Ahuach's, and from them to the Padoucas.

"The village of the Osages is situated on an elevation a league and a half [about four miles] from their river to the northwest. This village is composed of 100 lodges and 200 warriors. They stay in their village like the Missourys, and pass the winter in chasing the buffalo, which are very abundant in these parts. Horses, which they steal from the Panis, can be bought of them; also deer skins and buffalo-robos. They are a well-built people, and deceitful; they have many chiefs of bands but few have absolute authority; in general, they are treacherous and break their word easily. There is a lead-mine 12 leagues from here, but they do not know what use to make thereof.

"From the Osages to the Panis is 40 leagues [110 miles] to the southwest, and the whole route is over prairies and hills abounding in cattle. The land is fine and well wooded. There are four rivers from the Osages to the Panis, which have to be crossed. The most considerable is the Atcansas, which has its source toward the northwest a quarter north. Du Tisné crossed it. . . . This river of the Atcansas is 12 leagues [33 miles] east

NOTE 64.—The writer recognizes Mr. Kilian as one of the most scholarly, painstaking and reliable historians of the Missouri valley, and is indebted to him for assistance in the preparation of this paper, and especially for notes obtained from Margry's *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, a collection of documents and journals pertaining to the French occupancy of North America.



of the Pani's village. It is situated on the bank of a creek, on a hill, surrounded by elevated prairies. . . . One league to the northwest, on the same stream, is another village, as large as the first one. There are in these two villages 300 horses, which they value so much that they do not like to part with them. This nation is very brutal, but it would be easy to subdue them by making them presents of guns, of which they have much need; they have only six among them all. There are many other Pani's villages to the west and northwest, but they are not known to us.

"According to their reports, it is fifteen days' journey to the Padoucas, but they encounter them frequently in six days' journey. They have a cruel war now between them, so that they nearly eat one another up. When they go to war they harness their horses in a cuirass of tanned leather. They are clever with the bow and arrow, and also use a lance, which is like the end of a sword inserted in a handle of wood. Two days' journey to the west a quarter southwest is a salt-mine, which is very beautiful and pure. Every time they give food to a stranger the chief cuts the meat into pieces and puts them into the mouth of those they regale. Le Sieur Du Tisné planted a white flag, the 27th of September, 1719, in the middle of their village, which they received with pleasure."⁶⁵

The location of the village of the Great Osages on the Osage river, when visited by Du Tisné, is not easily determined. When Pike came up the Osage, in 1806, they were seated on the Little Osage river in the northern part of Vernon county, Missouri, a beautiful prairie country, which extends far westward. Du Tisné's description would fix the location near Osceola, in St. Clair county, which was probably the true location of the village in 1719. The Osages like all other tribes, were migratory, and may have moved their village higher up the river, or there may have been more than one village.

It is stated by Du Tisné that he traveled four days in a southwesterly direction in going from the Osage village to the Pawnees. He estimates the distance at 110 miles. He also says the Pawnee villages were twelve leagues, or thirty-three miles, west of the river he calls the Atcansas. He undoubtedly meant the Neosho, a branch of the Arkansas. The locations of these villages are unknown, but from the distance traveled, the course, and the distance from the Neosho river, they were probably situated on one of the Cabin creeks, in what is now Cherokee county, Indian Territory, near Vinita.

After Du Tisné had visited the Great Osages and the Pawnees, he returned to the Illinois country, where he arrived about the 1st of November, 1719.

Extracts from a letter written at "Kaskasquias," October 20, 1721, by Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, who was the most intelligent and reliable of all the early French explorers and historians. He says:

" . . . After we had gone five leagues on the Mississippi we arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, which is north-northwest and south-southeast. I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much of the same breadth, each about half a league; but the Missouri is by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its white waters to the opposite shore without mixing them; afterwards it gives its color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries it quite down to the sea.

"The Osages, a pretty numerous nation, settled on the side of a river that bears their name and which runs into the Missouri, about 40 leagues [110 miles] from its junction with the Mississippi, send once or twice a year to sing the calumet amongst the Kaskasquias, and are actually there at present. I have also just now seen a Missourite woman, who told me that

NOTE 65.—Margry, vol. 6, pp. 309-312.



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her nation is the first we meet with going up the Missouri, from which she has the name we have given her, for want of knowing her true name. It is situated 80 leagues [220 miles] from the confluence of that river with the Mississippi. . . . This woman has confirmed to me what I had heard from the Sioux, that the Missouri rises out of some naked mountains, very high, behind which there is a great river, which probably rises from them also, and which runs to the west. This testimony carries some weight, because of all the savages which we know none travel farther than the Missourites."⁶⁶

During the entire period of the French occupancy of the Missouri valley, 1673-1763, there was a continuous conflict between Spain and France for supremacy in the country west of the Mississippi. In 1719 a Spanish caravan was sent from Santa Fe to the Missouri river to drive back the French, who even then were becoming numerous among the different tribes along that stream. The fate of that expedition will ever be enshrouded in mystery, for with it was connected one of the darkest tragedies known in the annals of the West. By a shrewd piece of strategy the invaders were thrown off their guard by the Indians and massacred, but by what tribe the deed was done, or where, was never known.⁶⁷

The arrival of this expedition from so great a distance naturally alarmed the French. Etienne Venyard sieur de Bourgmont had already taken steps through his friends, in June, 1718,* to secure a commission for the exploration of the upper Missouri. This was granted him August 12, 1720, by the Company of the Indies, with instructions to build a fort, and to make peace with the surrounding nations for the purpose of trade. The fort, called Orleans, was completed, and friendship with the tribes upon the Missouri as far north as the Pawnee, in Nebraska, established as early as the spring of 1724. Bourgmont next turned his attention to the Paducas, a numerous nation living upon the Western plains, and who had been concerned in the recent unfortunate Spanish expedition. He had been instructed to make peace with them, and through them arrange for commerce with the Spanish of New Mexico. He appointed a rendezvous for the Indians who were to accompany him, at the village of the Kansas, located on the Missouri river where the town of Doniphan, Kan., is now situated.⁶⁸ He then divided his

NOTE 66.—Charlevoix's Letters, London, 1763, pp. 291, 294.

NOTE 67.—The following is Maj. Amos Stoddard's version of this affair: The Spanish "well knew the importance of the Missouri, and were anxious to secure a strong position on its banks. They readily perceived that such a measure, if prosecuted with success, would effectually hold in check the Illinois French, confine their territorial claims to the borders of the Mississippi, and turn the current of the Indian trade. Their first object was to attack and destroy the nation of Missouris, situated on the Missouri, at no great distance from the Kansas river, within whose jurisdiction they meditated a settlement. These Indians were the firm friends of the French, and this rendered their destruction the more necessary. At this time they were at war with the Pawnees, and the Spaniards designed to engage these as auxiliaries in their enterprise. A considerable colony, therefore, started from Santa Fe in 1720, and marched in pursuit of the Pawnee villages; but they lost their way, and unluckily arrived among the Missouris, whose ruin they meditated. Ignorant of their mistake (the Missouris speaking the Pawnee language), they communicated their sentiments without reserve, and requested their cooperation. The Indians manifested no surprise at this unexpected visit, and only requested time to assemble their warriors. At the end of forty-eight hours about 2000 of them appeared in arms. They attacked the Spaniards in the night, while reposing themselves in fatal security, and killed all of them, except the priest, who escaped the slaughter by means of his horse. Various writers assert that these colonists aimed to find the Osage villages; but the records of Santa Fe authorize the statement we have given."—Sketches of Louisiana, Phila., 1812, p. 46. See, also, Charlevoix's Letters, London, 1763, p. 204, written in July, 1721; he places the date of this expedition as "about two years ago." Also, John P. Jones's Spanish Expedition to Missouri in 1719, Kansas City Rev. of Sci. and Ind., vol. 4, p. 724.)

NOTE 68.—Mr. Geo. J. Rensburg, an acknowledged authority on the archeology of the Missouri valley, has located this old village at Doniphan, Kan.

* Margry, vol. 6, pp. 385, 388.

own force, part going up the Missouri in canoes and the remainder across the country. Bourgmont, with the latter party, arrived at the Kansas village first, and had a long negotiation with the Kansas Indians for horses with which to continue the journey.

The departure was delayed several days because of illness in the detachment coming by boat. Finally, on July 24, the motley crew, consisting of French, half-breed coureurs des bois, and Indians, among the latter being 68 Osages and 109 Missouris, who had followed Bourgmont from their village near the mouth of Grand river, set out on their journey to the Paducas. They proceeded in a southwesterly direction, the account giving minute details of the journey. Unfortunately Bourgmont fell ill of a malady caused by the excessive summer heat, and was unable to continue the journey. August 1 the whole party were obliged to return to Fort Orleans, having dispatched a messenger to the Paducas to explain the cause of delay. Bourgmont was unable to resume the journey to the Padoucas until fall. He then found, at the Kansas village, his messenger, Gaillard, with six Paducas, whom he had induced with great difficulty to return with him. Bourgmont assembled representatives of all the nations present in a circle before his tent, and gave them a friendly talk, explaining the wish of the French that they should be on good terms with one another and with the Frenchmen who would come among them for purposes of trade. There were present Paducas, Missouris, Otoes, Iowas, Pawnees, Osages, and Kansas. Two members of each tribe were requested by Bourgmont to go with him to the Paducas. These, with the Frenchmen of his suite, and his ten-year-old son, made a party of forty. They again set out from the Kansas village in the direction before taken, and crossed the "Canzas" on the 11th of October. The relation says: "This Kansas river comes straight from the west to the east, and discharges into the Missouri; it is very deep in high water, according to the report of the Paducas. It comes from a great distance." October 18.—"We found a small river where the water was briny. We found on the border of this stream an encampment of the Paducas. They had been in camp about four days, and numbered 4300." Other villages were mentioned, and as being but twelve days' journey from the Spanish. The Paducas greeted all their visitors with great cordiality, and Bourgmont was promised all he required, by all parties. October 22 Bourgmont and his command began their return journey to the Kansas village, which they reached on the 30th of October, having come seventy leagues.

The following extracts taken from Bourgmont's journal will prove interesting:

"Departure from Ft. Orleans.—Sunday, June 25, 1724. This morning the detachment has set out by water to the Canzès and from there to the Padoucas, commanded by M. de Saint-Ange, ensign of Ft. Orleans, with Dubois, sergeant; Rotisseur and Gentil, corporals; and eleven soldiers, namely, La Jeunesse, Bonneau, Saint-Lazare, Ferret, Derbet, Avignon, Sans-Chagrin, Poupard, Gaspard, Chalons, and Brasseur; five Canadians, Mercier, Quesnel, Rivet, Rolet, and Lespine, and two engaged from the Sieur Renaudiere, Toulouse and Antoine.

"Saturday, [July] 8. . . . At five P. M. a Frenchman arrived with an Indian, who had come by land, sent by M. de Saint-Ange, who commanded the convoy by water, reporting that there were many Frenchmen attacked by fever, and that they could not proceed. M. de Saint-Ange requested that M. de Bourgmont send him five Frenchmen with provisions. M. de Bourgmont sent him what he demanded, and requested him to make

haste, so as to proceed on the voyage to the Padoucas with dispatch; that besides he had 160 Indians to feed, and that he was made to treat for the provisions every day by this nation [Canz's] for their subsistence.

"Sunday, [July] 9. At eight in the morning M. de Bourgmont started the five Frenchmen in a boat with the provisions, and nine Indians, a part to row the boats and the others to hunt, and sent at the same time five Missouris to the Othos to tell them of his arrival at the Canz's.

"Sunday, [July] 16. . . . M. de Saint-Ange arrived with the boats at two in the afternoon, with a part of the men sick with fever, which had rather hindered his arrival. The Canz's came to look for our new arrivals and take them to their cabins and make a feast for them."⁶⁹

The history of the Missouri⁷⁰ nation is most pathetic, and illustrates forcibly the sad fate that befell many tribes of our aborigines. There is little doubt but that they were seated near the mouth of the Missouri river when they were first known to the French, when Marquette descended the Mississippi, in 1673, to the mouth of the Arkansas, and that they were then a numerous tribe. Henri de Tonty, who accompanied La Salle nine years later, remarks of the Missouri river, as we have seen, that "it is called Emis-sourita, and abounds in people."⁷¹

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Iroquois were active in their assaults upon the Illinois Indians, pursuing them beyond the Mississippi. It is thought that they forced the Missouris further west.⁷² Delisle's map of 1703 locates their villages on the Missouri a short distance above the mouth of the Osage, and there were evidences when that section was first settled, in 1818, of an Indian village and burial-ground on the north side of the river, directly opposite Jefferson City, and another at the mouth of Moniteau creek, near the boundary separating Cole and Moniteau counties. At the mouth of this creek stood a tall pinnacle or bluff called Painted Rock, a noted landmark to pilots in the days of steamboating. It was blasted away a few years ago by the Missouri Pacific railroad when they built the cut-off down the river to Jefferson City. On this rock, on the face fronting the river, was found painted, when first seen, a picture of a strange animal which resembled the painting found by Marquette just above Alton, on the Mississippi. Near this painted rock were found what appeared to be the remains of an old Indian village and burying-ground. The name, originally Maniteau, corrupted to Moniteau, and now given to the creek and county, doubtless originated from the picture on the rock. The writer visited these localities years ago, when a boy, and saw, in exhumed skulls and bones, and in broken pieces of pottery, arrow-heads, and other relics, the evidences of which he speaks.

When Lewis and Clark came up the river, in 1804, their half-breed guides pointed out to them the location of another old village of the Missouris on the north side of the river, on Bowling Green prairie, about five miles below

NOTE 69.—Margry, vol. 6, pp. 383-452.

NOTE 70.—Mr. John P. Jones, in his excellent article, "Early Notices of the Missouri River and Indians," in the *Kansas City Review of Science and Industry*, vol. 5, p. 111, says that "the word 'Missouri' means canoe in the Algonquin language, and it should be borne in mind that it is the name applied by Indians of that stock to our Indians, who used canoes made out of logs, while their own was made of birch bark."

NOTE 71.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 595.

NOTE 72.—La Salle, in writing to La Barre, in April, 1683, says that the Iroquois have lately murdered some Miami families settled near Fort St. Louis, in the present La Salle county, Illinois, and he is afraid they will take flight, and so prevent the Missouris from settling at the fort, as they were about to do.—Parkman's *La Salle*, 1879, p. 300.



the mouth of Grand river. They said that the Sacs, about the year 1700, had attacked the Missouri in this village, killing 200, and that they then fled across the river, and located a village three miles above that of the Little Osages, near the present town of Malta Bend, in Saline county, Missouri. Lewis and Clark state that the western village belonged to the Missouri,⁷³ and founded their belief, possibly, upon the statements of some of the earlier writers and the maps of D'Anville and Du Lac, to which I have not had access. But the fact that Du Tisné found an Osage village one league west of the Missouri and in this locality (see page 253), and that the western village site is the larger of the two, lead me to the conclusion that it belonged to the Little Osages. For this reason, I have decided that the Little Osage village was the one north of Malta Bend one mile and a quarter, and a quarter of a mile west, on a farm now owned by Mrs. A. G. Dicus, and that the other—that of the Missouri—was situated three and a half miles north of the town and the same distance east, on a tract of land now owned by Benjamin McRoberts. There can be no question that they were here, on the Petit-sas-Plains, about eighteen miles above Grand river, when visited by Du Tisné, in 1719, and at the establishment of Fort Orleans by Bourgmont, in 1723.⁷⁴

There has always been a controversy among historians as to the exact location of old Fort Orleans, a matter of some interest, as it appears to have been the first⁷⁵ fort established west of the Mississippi. The Margry papers on this subject should settle that question. One of the documents, which appears to be a letter of instructions, dated at New Orleans, August 23, 1723, contains the following: "In ascending, there is another river that they call the Grande river, which comes from the north, from which the Indians bring quantities of copper specimens that they find near the river. From there you will go to the village of the Missouri, which is only six leagues distant from the south side. There are 100 lodges. *It is at this place that M. de Bourgmont should establish himself.*"⁷⁶ Du Pratz gives another particular as to its location: "There was a French post for some time in an island a few leagues in length, over against the Missouri; the French settled in this fort at the east point, and called it Fort Orleans."⁷⁷ This little frontier post had but a brief existence. Its fate is told in the following words by Bossu: "Baron Porneuf, who has been governor of Fort Orleans, established in that nation [Missouri], and who knows their genius perfectly well, has informed me that they were formerly very warlike and good, but that the French hunters had corrupted them by their bad conduct, and by some disunions among them; they had made themselves contemptible

NOTE 73.—Coues's Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 22; Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. 47-49. "The sites of both these Indian tribes (Little Osages and Missouri) are plainly marked on D'Anville's map of 1752, and also on Perrin du Lac's, 1805. The location is very near the present Malta Bend, in Saline county, and a little above this place is the large island of Du Pratz, where was old Fort Orleans."—Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 26.

NOTE 74.—The first fort established by the French west of the Mississippi, unless it be Fort St. Louis, by La Salle, in 1685, on Mission lake, near Espiritu Santo bay, Texas. Joutel, who was left in charge of it, gives many particulars regarding it in Margry, vol. 2, p. 209; vol. 3, pp. 179-209, 235. Le Clercq, in his Establishment of the Faith, Shen, vol. 2, p. 220, also refers to the above, with an extract from a Spanish account of Fort St. Louis. See, also, Parkman's La Salle, 1879.

NOTE 75.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 396.

NOTE 76.—History of Louisiana, London, 1763, vol. 1, p. 296. "We have also 'Fort D'Orleans abandonné' marked on D'Anville's map, published 1752, across the Missouri from his Petits Osages et Missouri. This locality is certainly at the large island which the expedition will pass June 16, above Malta Bend."—Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 24.

by frauds in trade; they seduced and carried off the Indian women, which, among these people, is a very great crime. All the irregularities of these bad Frenchmen irritated the Missouris against them; and, therefore, during M. de Bienville's government, they massacred the Sieur Dubois and the little garrison under his command; and, as no soldier escaped, we have never been able to know who was right and who was wrong." ⁷⁷

The Missouris, having rid themselves of the fort and its accompanying traders, remained in possession of their home until about 1774,⁷⁸ when they were again attacked by the Sacs and other Indians, and reduced to a few families. These scattered, according to McGee, five or six joining the Osages, two or three going with the Kansas, and the remainder amalgamating with the Otoes on the Platte below the Pawnees.⁷⁹ There is every reason to believe that the final battle fought at this village resulted in a massacre and a rout, and probably in the burning of the wigwams. The number of human skeletons found near the surface of the ground, which have been turned up by plowshares, indicates that the bodies did not receive the sacred sepulcher which even savages accorded their dead. That the lodges were burned seems evident from the condition of the many relics found, such as gun-barrels, kettles, etc., all of which bear, in their bent and broken condition, evidence of having been subjected to fire.

In 1805 General Clark mentions thirty Missouris at the Otoe village in Nebraska.⁸⁰ McGee says the only known survivors, numbering eighty, were living with the Otoes in 1829.⁸¹ The remnant of these two tribes now reside in Oklahoma, and in 1904 numbered 365.⁸²

As has been said, the Kansas nation was living in 1724 on the Missouri river in a large village just above the mouth of Independence creek, Doniphan county, Kansas. What appears to have been an older village site was found by Lewis and Clark on the Missouri just above Kickapoo island, in Leavenworth county, in 1804.⁸³ The tribe at that time was occupying a well-established village just below the mouth of the Big Blue, on the north side of the Kansas river, where, in 1819, they were visited by Prof. Thomas Say, of Long's expedition.⁸⁴ They removed from this village in 1830 to the western part of Shawnee county, where they establish themselves in three villages, one north and two south of the Kansas river.⁸⁵ About 1846 they went to the new reservation near Council Grove,⁸⁶ and in 1873⁸⁷ to the Indian Territory. During the war of 1812 the Kansas sided with the British, but renewed peace with the United States at St. Louis, October 28, 1815.⁸⁸ June

NOTE 77.—Travels through Louisiana, London, 1771, vol. 1, p. 145; Dumont's *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, vol. 2, pp. 74-78.

NOTE 78.—Allen's *Lewis and Clark*, Philadelphia, 1814, vol. 1, p. 15.

NOTE 79.—Report of United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 195.

NOTE 80.—Thwaites' *Lewis and Clark*, vol. 7, p. 314.

NOTE 81.—Report of United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 195.

NOTE 82.—Report of United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 83.—Thwaites' *Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, pp. 64, 66-68.

NOTE 84.—Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 1, 2, pp. 280-301; Long's *Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1823, vol. 1, ch. 6, 7; Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, vol. 14, ch. 6, 7.

NOTE 85.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 425.

NOTE 86.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1846, p. 285.

NOTE 87.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 211.

NOTE 88.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, vol. 2, p. 123.



3, 1825, they ceded to the government their claim to all lands in Missouri, and practically all of Kansas north of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Arkansas and Kansas, to a point thirty miles below the Kansas river on the western boundary of Missouri. From this cession they retained for themselves a strip of country thirty miles wide, running west from within sixty miles of the western boundary of Missouri.⁸⁹ Though the natural right of the Kaws to land in Kansas quite equaled if not exceeded that of the Osage, they are now, through the unequal treatment of the government, a practically destitute people when compared with the former tribe.⁹⁰

In 1724 that part of the population which accompanied Bourgmont to the plains for a summer hunt were 14 war-chiefs, 300 warriors, 300 women, 500 children, and 300 dogs (beasts of burden).⁹¹ Lewis and Clark, 1804, give their numbers as 300 warriors,⁹² the government census, in 1845, as 1607 individuals, while the agent says: "The Kansas are a stout, active lively people; I believe they have more children among them in proportion to their numbers than any other tribe known to me."⁹³ In 1904 their population was 212.⁹⁴

In regard to the characteristics of this tribe, Pike says: "In war they are yet more brave than their Osage brethren; being, although not more than one-third of their number, their most-dreaded enemies, and frequently making the Pawnees tremble"; and that the Kansas and Osages escaped the Sioux, "but fell into the hands of the Iowas, Sacs, Kickapous, Pottawatomies, Delawares, Shawanese, Cherokees," and five other southern nations, "and what astonished me extremely is that they have not been entirely destroyed by those nations."⁹⁵ Lewis and Clark represent the Kansas as "a dissolute and lawless banditti, frequently plunder their traders, and commit depredations on persons ascending and descending the Missouri river; population rather increasing."⁹⁶ Richard W. Cummins, agent in 1845, reports: "The Kansas are very poor and ignorant. I consider them the most hospitable Indians that I have any knowledge of. They never turn off hungry white or red, if they have anything to give them, and they will continue to give as long as they have anything to give."⁹⁷

The opportunities of the Kansas Indians for improvement have been less than those of any other tribe that has lived in Kansas. Prior to 1873 the only white people to set them a good example in living were the members of the missionary family for a scanty twenty-five years, while, on the other hand, their closest white associates for 150 years had been the French trapper and trader, the United States soldier, the illicit vender of fire-water, and the teamsters and guards of the Santa Fe and other trails which lay through their territory.⁹⁸

NOTE 89.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, vol. 2, p. 222.

NOTE 90.—The income of the Kansas tribe from all sources for 1904 was \$2500; of the Osages, \$595,883.91; population of latter tribe, 1895.—Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, pp. 538, 606.

NOTE 91.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 414.

NOTE 92.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 61.

NOTE 93.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 542.

NOTE 94.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 95.—Coues's Pike, vol. 2, pp. 526, 536.

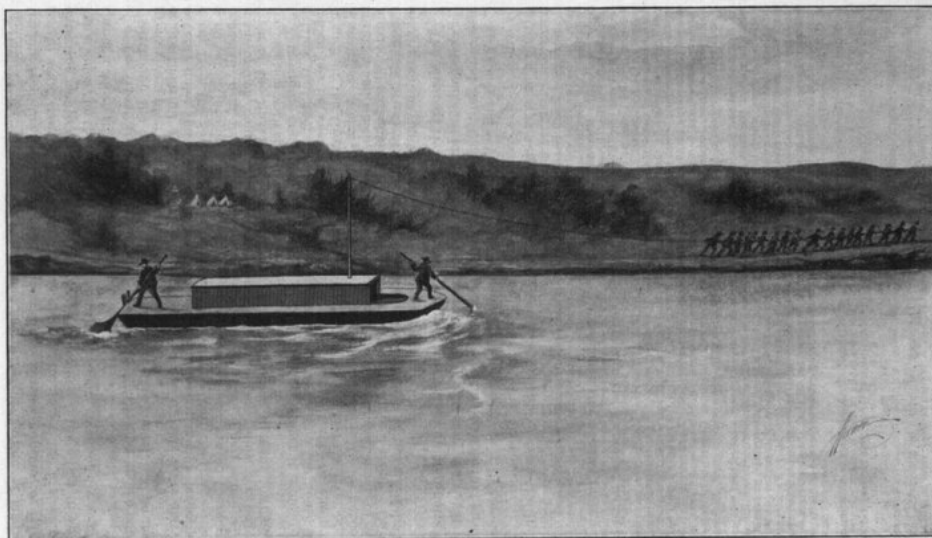
NOTE 96.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 6, p. 85; see, also, vol. 5, p. 384.

NOTE 97.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 542.

NOTE 98.—See Professor Hay's article on the name "Kansas."

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The Keel-boat in the Fur Trade. About 1810.



Daniel Coxe was an Englishman, and the owner of a grant of land extending from the coast of South Carolina to the Mississippi river, or "from sea to sea," issued by Charles I of England. He owned the first ship to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, 1699, and made a futile effort to establish a colony on that river. In describing the Missouri river and the country through which it runs, he says:

"The Great Yellow river, so named because it is yellowish, and so muddy that though the Meschacebe⁹⁹ is very clear where they meet, and so many great rivers of crystalline water below mix with the Meschacebe, yet it discolors them all even unto the sea. When you are up this river sixty or seventy miles you meet with two branches. The lesser, though large, proceeds from the South. . . . This is called the river of the Ozages, from a numerous people who have sixteen or eighteen towns seated thereupon, especially near its mixing with the Yellow river. The other, which is the main branch, comes from the northwest. . . . The Yellow is called the river of the Massorites, from a great nation inhabiting in many towns near its junction with the river of the Ozages.

"It will be one great conveniency of this country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy communication therewith and the South sea, which lies between America and China, and that two ways—by the north branch of the Great Yellow river,¹⁰⁰ by the natives called the river of the Massorites, which hath a course of 500 miles, navigable to its heads or springs, and which proceeds from a ridge of hills somewhat north of New Mexico,¹⁰¹ passable by horse, foot or wagon in less than half a day. On the other side are rivers which run into a great lake that empties itself by another great navigable river into the South sea."¹⁰²

The Missouri river, it will be remembered, was called by Marquette the "Pekitanoui,"¹⁰³ and it is so laid down on many of the early maps. It was also called the "Ozage river," being doubtless confounded with that stream. Coxe calls it the "Yellow river," although he also refers to it by the name by which it was generally known—the "river of the Massorites." The latter name was very appropriately given it by La Salle, from the Indian

NOTE 99.—It will be observed that the early French explorers made repeated efforts to give names to the two great watercourses of the West, which fortunately failed; else they would not to-day bear the beautiful and poetic Indian names which they do. Marquette—the religious zealot—called the Mississippi the "Conception." (Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 59, p. 93.) La Salle called it the "River Colbert," after the minister of marine of France. It was called by Le Page Du Pratz the "River St. Louis," after the French king, and it remained for the Englishman, Daniel Coxe, to restore the musical Indian name, "Mescha-cebe," by which it was known by the Indians on Lake Superior as early as 1670. "The river Meschacebe, so called by the inhabitants of the north; cebe being the name for a river, even as far as Hudson's bay; and mescha, great, which is the great river; and by the French, who learned it from them, corruptly, Mississippi; which name of Meschacebe it doth retain among the savages during half its course. Afterwards some call it Chucagua, others Sessagoula, and Malabanchia." (Coxe's *Carolana*, French, vol. 2, p. 224.) The name is a Chippewa word, "mishisibi," and means, in the dialect of the tribe, "large river." Chrysostom Verwyst, *Cheppewa Geographical Names*, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 12, p. 393.) It was an easy transition to the more modern name, Mississippi.

NOTE 100.—Coxe was evidently impressed with the same erroneous belief that was entertained by most of the early explorers, that there was a waterway somewhere through the western hemisphere by which the South sea and China might be reached. Marquette possessed the same idea when he first discovered the Missouri, for he said: "I hope by its means to discover the Vermillion or California sea." (Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 59, p. 141.) Frontenac had the same impression, for when he sent Joliet down the Mississippi, he wrote to his home government, in France, "that he would in all probability prove once for all that the great river flowed into the Gulf of California." The same belief is expressed in an extract from one of his letters to M. Colbert.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 255.

NOTE 101.—The description given by the writer of the Rocky Mountains is amusing, and shows how little was known, even as late as 1726, of the geography of the Western country, although both Coxe and Charlevoix must have had some conception of Great Salt Lake and the Columbia river.

NOTE 102.—Coxe's *Carolana*, French, vol. 2, pp. 230, 253.

NOTE 103.—"Pekitanoui": The Missouri river. The name here given by Marquette [meaning] "muddy water," prevailed until Marest's time (1712). A branch of Rock river is still called Pekatonica. The *Recollects* called the Missouri the river of the Ozages.—Shea's note in *Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 38; Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 59, note 31, p. 311.

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tribe which at that time dwelt near its mouth. This name was variously spelled by the early French "Oumissourites," and "Emissourittes and Missourits."¹⁰⁴ In the course of time, through the jargon of the French voyageurs, it passed through many changes, until it finally settled down to the present form—Missouri. The word simply meant, in the Indian dialect, and as applied to the stream, "dwellers at the mouth of the river," and there appears to be no foundation for the general belief that the name was characteristic of the river and meant "muddy water."¹⁰⁵

Excerpt from a letter of Father Louis Vivier, written at Kaskaskia, November 17, 1750:

"Before its junction with that river [Missouri], the Mississippi is of no great size. Its current is slight, while the Missouri is wider, deeper, more rapid, and takes its rise much farther away. Several rivers of considerable size empty into the Mississippi; but the Missouri alone seems to pour into it more water than all these rivers together. Here is the proof of it: The water of most—I might say, of all—of the rivers that fall into the Mississippi is only passably good, and that of several is positively unwholesome; that of the Mississippi itself, above its junction with the Missouri, is not the best; on the contrary, that of the Missouri is the best water in the world.¹⁰⁶ Now, that of the Mississippi, from its junction with the Missouri to the sea, becomes excellent; the water of the Missouri must, therefore, predominate."¹⁰⁷

Excerpt from the History of Louisiana, Le Page du Pratz,¹⁰⁸ published, with a map of the country, London, 1763, p. 294; first published at Paris in 1658:

"This river [the Missouri] takes its rise at eight hundred leagues distance, as is alleged, from the place where it discharges itself into the Mississippi. Its waters are muddy, thick, and charged with niter; and these are the waters that make the Mississippi muddy down to the sea, its waters being extremely clear above the confluence of the Missouri. The reason is, that the former rolls its waters over a sand and pretty firm soil; the latter, on the contrary, flows across rich and clayey lands, where little stone is to be seen; for tho' the Missouri comes out of a mountain which lies to the northwest of New Mexico, we are told, that all the lands it passes thro' are generally rich; that is, low meadows, and lands without stone.

NOTE 104.—Margry, vol. 3, Carte de la Louisiane, 1679-1682.

NOTE 105.—"Missouri, or Ni-u-t'a-tci (exact meaning uncertain; said to refer to drowning people in a stream; possibly a corruption of Ni-shu-dje, 'smoky water,' the name of Missouri river)."—W. J. McGee, in Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162. "A tribe of the Teiwere division of the Siouan stock of North American Indians. Their name for themselves is Niut'atci, 'those who reached the mouth' (of the river); called Nichudje by the Kansas, which appellation may have been corrupted into Missouri."—Century Cyclopedia of Names, p. 691.

NOTE 106.—The statement of Father Vivier as to the purity of the waters of the Missouri river and the Mississippi, after their confluence, is not in accord with the prevailing opinion, but is nevertheless true. While muddy, from the sand held in solution, the very presence of this sand serves to purify it and render it wholesome. And when clarified, by settling, it is true that there is "no better water in the world." Several years ago a test was made in Paris, France, of waters taken from streams in different parts of the world, to ascertain which would continue pure and wholesome for the longest period of time; it being important that this fact should be ascertained for the benefit of ships sailing on long voyages at sea. After a thorough test, the water taken from the lower Mississippi, which assumes its character from the Missouri, was pronounced the best.

NOTE 107.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 69, p. 207.

NOTE 108.—Du Pratz (1695-1775) lived in New Orleans, then the capital of all Louisiana. Though never up the Missouri river he was a pioneer for eight years in the Mississippi valley, and part of the time in the regions watered by the Missouri and the Arkansas. The description he gives of the river, distances, etc., information which he had doubtless obtained from the voyageurs, was approximately correct. The map which he published at the time was a valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of the West, and on it are laid down the village of the Missouris and old Fort Orleans, at the exact spot where Charlevoix had located them thirty-five years before.



"This great river, which seems ready to dispute the preeminence with the Missisipi, receives in its long course many rivers and brooks which considerably augment its waters. But except those, that have received their names from some nation of Indians, who inhabit their banks, there are very few of their names we can be well assured of, each traveler giving them different appellations. The French having penetrated up the Missouri only for about three hundred leagues¹⁰⁹ at most, and the rivers which fall into its bed being known only by the Indians, it is of little importance what names they may bear at present, being besides in a country but little frequented. The river which is the best known is that of the Osages, so called from a nation of that name dwelling on its banks. It falls into the Missouri, pretty near its confluence.

"The largest known river which falls into the Missouri is that of the Canzas, which runs for near two hundred leagues in a very fine country. According to what I have been able to learn about the course of this great river, from its source to the Canzas, it runs from west to east; and from that nation it falls down to the southward, where it receives the river of the Canzas, which comes from the west; there it forms a great elbow,¹¹⁰ which terminates in the neighborhood of the Missouri; then it resumes its course to the southeast, to lose at last both its name and waters in the Missisipi."

To La Verendrye¹¹¹ and sons belongs the honor of having been the first white men to visit the upper Missouri country, and to give to the world the first information of that vast unexplored domain. The result of their explorations was far-reaching, for it is probable that the memoir of their travels was the awakening cause which impressed on Mr. Jefferson the importance of the acquisition of that valuable territory by the United States.¹¹²

The tenacity with which Mr. Jefferson clung to that idea and the persistency with which he followed it up are matters of history. He induced John Ledyard, in 1785, to "seek the West by way of the East," and pointed out to him the road to the Pacific coast through Russia and the Bering strait.¹¹³ In 1783 Jefferson attempted a second time the exploration of the Missouri valley. This expedition, it was proposed, should be placed under the command of George Rogers Clark, the older brother of William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and again, in 1793,¹¹⁴ he made an effort, as an officer of the American Philosophical Society, to secure by private subscription a sufficient sum of money to equip and send an expedition "to cross the Mississippi and pass by land to the nearest part of the Missouri above the Spanish settlements." All of these attempts failed; but when he became president of the United States he did not lose sight of his favorite project, but hastened, with a far-seeing wisdom, to consummate with

NOTE 109.—The author says the Missouri had not then been ascended for more than 200 leagues, or about 825 miles. He probably meant to the mouth of the Platte, for that was as high as the fur-traders were accustomed to go in that day, and was considered the dividing line between the upper and lower river. The distance is about 650 miles, or about 175 miles less than Du Pratz estimated it. He estimates the length of the entire river at 800 leagues, or 2200 miles. The actual distance from its head—three forks—to its mouth is 2547 miles.—Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, p. 762.

NOTE 110.—The courses of the river, as stated, are correct. The "elbows" at the mouth of the Kaw and at the mouth of Grand river, the latter being "in the neighborhood of the Missouri," are correctly described.

NOTE 111.—In 1738 Pierre Guatier La Verendrye, commandant of northwest Canada, came down from the British possessions to the Missouri river, which he crossed at the Mandan village, near where Bismarck, N. Dak., is now located.

NOTE 112.—Journal of La Verendrye, 1738-'39, in Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1889, pp. 2-29; Margry, vol. 6, pp. 581-632; biographical sketch of La Verendrye, in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 68, p. 334.

NOTE 113.—Sparks's *Life of John Ledyard*, 2d ed., p. 157.

NOTE 114.—Thwaites' *Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, pp. xx, xxi.

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Napoleon the fortunate land deal known as the "Louisiana purchase." This masterly stroke of statesmanship fixed the destiny of this country, and resulted in placing it among the first powers of the world.

In a book entitled "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," published in London by Philip Pittman in 1770, it is said:

"The source of the river Missouri is unknown.¹¹⁵ The French traders go betwixt three and four hundred leagues up, to traffic with the Indians who inhabit near its banks. . . . From its confluence [with the Mississippi] to its source is supposed to be eight hundred leagues."¹¹⁶

In 1792-'93 that intrepid explorer, Sir Alexander Mackenzie—the first to cross the continent—blazed a path over the Rocky Mountains, floated down the Fraser river to the Pacific ocean, and gave to the world the first intimation of the magnitude and grandeur of the Northwest. In 1804 Lewis and Clark, who followed Mackenzie, traced the great river beyond Yellowstone Park, and found the spring¹¹⁷ from which it flows—the fountainhead—on the great divide. From these discoveries a correct map of the country was produced, its topography and geographical dimensions were made known, and its wonderful possibilities as a home for civilized man foretold. These reports showed that the Missouri river, including the lower Mississippi, was the longest river in the world; that the Missouri valley was the most fertile agricultural region; that it was the largest body of tillable land, and, finally, that the Louisiana purchase was the most profitable real-estate investment that had ever been made.

The purchase of Louisiana was the realization of the cherished dream of Thomas Jefferson. With the far-seeing wisdom for which he was distinguished, he probably foresaw more clearly than any man of his day the great possibilities that would result to his country from the acquisition of this immense and valuable domain. In his message to Congress, October 17, 1803, urging the speedy ratification of the treaty with France, he said: "The fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."¹¹⁸

It is not known positively in what year the first white man entered the Missouri river, but it was probably between 1700 and 1705. The account given by Lahontan¹¹⁹ of his Voyage a la Riviere Longue (1688-'89) is not worthy of credence, and it is even doubtful if Le Sueur came up in 1705. There can be no question, however, that about this time the lower part of the river, as far as the mouth of the Kaw, was first explored by the French.¹²⁰

NOTE 115.—A hundred years had passed since Marquette's discovery of the Missouri river, and yet its source was unknown. The French voyageurs had ascended the river as high up as the mouth of the Platte, or perhaps the Mandan village, but beyond nothing was known. The time had now come, however, when the searchlight of a new race, the Anglo-Saxon, was to be turned on the dark recesses of the Rocky Mountains and the Indian myths of the "South sea," the "Vermillion sea," the "southeast passage to China," the "great lakes of the West," the "Spanish mines," and the "ridge of hills, passable by horse, foot or wagon in half a day," were all to be exploded.

NOTE 116.—Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, Hodder, 1906, p. 30.

NOTE 117.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 2, p. 335.

NOTE 118.—Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 1, p. 358.

NOTE 119.—Le Baron de Lahontan, par J. Edmund Roy, in Proceedings Royal Society of Canada, vol. 12, pp. 82, 129.

NOTE 120.—One Sieur Presle mentions, in Markry, vol. 6, p. 285, under date of June 10, 1718, that Bourgmont, who had lived among the Missouris for fifteen years, could make discoveries 400 or 500 leagues further up the river if he had 2000 pounds of presents for the Indians.

In the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, published in St. Louis in 1837, on page 194, the following reference is made to the early navigation of the Missouri river:

"The French then, in 1705, ascended the Missouri as far as the Kansas river (the point where the western boundary line of Missouri now strikes the river). The Indians there cheerfully engaged in trade with them, and all the tribes on the Missouri, with the exception of the Blackfeet and the Arickaras, have since generally continued on friendly terms with the whites. It should be observed that the French traders have always been more fortunate in their intercourse with the Indians than those of any other nation."

As early as 1700 it was reported that there were not less than 100 *coureurs des bois*, or trappers, domiciled among the different tribes along the Missouri river.¹²¹ The *coureur de bois* was a type of the earliest pioneer, now long since extinct. He was a French Canadian, sometimes a half-breed, and in his habits were blended the innocent simplicity of the fun-loving Frenchman and the wild traits and woodcraft of the Indian. Born in the woods, he was accustomed from childhood to the hardships and exposures of a wild life in the wilderness, and was a skilful hunter and trapper. His free-and-easy-going manners, peaceable disposition and vivacity qualified him for association with the Indian, whose customs he adopted, and often marrying into the tribe, himself became a savage.¹²²

It was this roving vagabond who, as he wandered up and down the Missouri river, gave the poetic and musical French names to its tributaries and prominent localities which they bear to this day; such as the *Marais des Cygnes* (river of the swans), *Creve Cœur* (broken heart), *Côte sans Dessin* (a hill without a cause), *Petit-sas-Prairie* (little cradle of the prairie), *Roche Percée* (pierced rock), *Bonne Femme* (good woman), *Aux Vasse* (from *au vase*, muddy), *Gasconade* (from *gasconnade*, turbulent), *Lamine* (from *la mine*, the mine), *Pomme de Terre* (apple of the earth, potato), *Moreau* (very black), and *Niangue* (crooked).

But while the *coureur de bois*, the feather-bedecked wanderer, has forever disappeared, he will not be forgotten, for—

"He has left his names behind him,
Adding rich, barbaric grace
To the mountains, to the rivers,
To the fertile meadow-place;
Relics of the ancient hunter,
Of a past and vanished race."

It is true that many of the most beautiful of these early French names have become so corrupted in their anglicization as to have lost all semblance to their original meaning. When Lewis and Clark came up the river a hunter killed a bear at the mouth of the creek not far above St. Charles. Very naturally they called the creek "Bear creek." The French hunter called the place "L'Ours creek," "l'ours" being French for "the bear." Soon thereafter the long-haired Tennessean came along, and not knowing the meaning of "L'Ours," called it "Loose creek," and it is so laid down on the maps to-day. Another instance of the corruption of a beautiful French name occurs just below the Osage. An early French hunter, in

NOTE 121.—By the treaty of June 3, 1825, special provision was made "for each of the half-breeds of the Kansas nation," twenty-three in all.—*Laws and Treaties*, vol. II, p. 223.

NOTE 122.—See Scharf's *History of St. Louis*, vol. I, pp. 272-276; Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, vol. I, p. 56; Parkman's *La Salle*.

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passing through the country, gave the name "Bois Brule" to a certain creek. The words mean "burnt woods," and it was probably owing to the fact that the woods had recently been burned over that the name was applied. The creek is now called colloquially the "Bob Ruly." There is still a town of Bois Brule in Perry county.

During the entire eighteenth century the navigation of the Missouri river was confined to the wooden canoe, and its commerce was limited to the primitive fur trade. The trader or trapper ascended the river singly or in pairs, and, after spending the winter with some favorite tribe, returned in the spring with his pirogue well loaded with furs, which he disposed of in St. Louis. Then, after a protracted debauch, he went to the priest, was granted absolution from his sins, and returned to the wilderness.¹²³

It is not probable that these early voyageurs ascended the river higher than the Platte, for neither La Verendrye, who came over from the Hudson Bay Company's posts, in 1738, to the Missouri river, at the Mandan village, where Bismarck is now located, or the Mallet brothers, Pierre and Paul,¹²⁴ who ascended the Platte in 1739, mention having met them, though Bienville, in a letter dated April 22, 1734, mentions a Frenchman who, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman, and had found on his journey silver-mines. Two voyageurs appeared with him to verify his report.¹²⁵ It is very certain, however, that at the time St. Louis was founded, in 1764, the fur trade of the French upon the Missouri had become well established. Indeed, the charter granted Pierre Laclède Liguist¹²⁶ and his associates by the governor of Louisiana gave them the exclusive right to trade on the Missouri river. But little is known, however, of the navigation of the river during the eighteenth century. The French voyageur could neither read nor write; hence no record of his early voyages was preserved. He continued to paddle his canoe up and down the river, gradually increasing his trade, and by extending his voyages higher up became better acquainted with its tortuous channel.

To Manuel Lisa,¹²⁷ a Spaniard of St. Louis, is generally accorded the honor of being the father of navigation on the Missouri river, although tradition divides that honor with one Gregoire B. Sarpy,¹²⁸ who is said to have been the first to introduce the keel-boat. As early as 1800 Lisa became the successor of Pierre Chouteau in trading up the Osage river with the Osage Indians, who were then seated in what is now Bates and

NOTE 123.—Lewis and Clark, as they ascended the river in the spring of 1804, met a number of these half-savage adventurers coming down stream in their canoes, laden with furs.

NOTE 124.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 468.

NOTE 125.—Id., vol. 6, p. 455.

NOTE 126.—Oscar W. Collet, Magazine of Western History, vol. 2, p. 301.

NOTE 127.—Manuel Lisa was not only the father of navigation on the Missouri river, but the pioneer fur-trader on that stream. As early as 1800 he was granted the exclusive right, by the Spanish government, to trade with the Osage Indians. He made thirteen trips to the Rocky Mountains in keel-boats, traveling not less than 26,000 miles, or a greater distance than around the earth. He died in 1820, and his ashes, over which a monument was erected, rest in old Bellefontaine cemetery, in St. Louis. (Sketch of Lisa in Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 125.) R. I. Holcombe, in his History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 163, says that Pierre Chouteau, under Spanish license, had the monopoly of the fur trade with the Osages from about 1782 until he was succeeded by Manuel Lisa, about 1795, but that the latter divided his privileges with Chouteau until about 1802. Chouteau's establishment was called by the Spanish Fort Carondelet, and was situated near Halley's bluffs, in Vernon county.

NOTE 128.—Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 390.



Vernon counties, Missouri. They transported their merchandise up the Missouri in pirogues to the mouth of the Osage, and then up that stream to the Indian villages. The Chouteaus continued to trade with the Osages for many years and gained a wonderful influence over the tribe. Indeed, they intermarried with them, and there are descendants of this well-known family now living with the tribe in the Indian Territory after a period of 120 years.

For 200 years the history of the Missouri river has been the history of the country through which it flows, and its influence on its development should not now be underestimated. On its dark bosom the Indian paddled his canoe for centuries before the advent of the white man. Then came the French voyageur and his pirogue, his bateau, his keel-boat, and his mackinaw boat, without which the fur trade, the principal commerce in that day, could not have attained its great proportions. At last came the steamboat, the most wonderful invention of the nineteenth century.

For half a century the Missouri river was the great thoroughfare from the East to the West, and on it floated the travel and commerce of the trans-Mississippi section. No one can now appreciate its importance in the past. Military posts were established that supplies by the river route might be easily obtained, and settlements were made with a view to transporting the products of the farm to market on its waters. Capitals of states were located on its banks, that they might be accessible.

Perhaps there is not in the world a more difficult stream to navigate than the Missouri river. The Sieur Hubert was right when, in his report to his government in 1705, he said the birch-bark canoe could not be used to navigate its waters.

The greatest difficulty encountered in navigating the river was caused by constant changes in the shifting of the channel. From the mouth of the Platte to the Mississippi, on each side of the river are bluffs which parallel each other at an average distance of two miles. The channel, except during a flood, is confined to from one-fourth to one-half this distance, leaving the remainder bottom land. This bottom, which is alluvial soil, originally covered with a primeval forest, furnishes a leeway for the channel. It is "made land," caused from accretions, and the river has never relinquished its title to it. It may have been thousands of years in forming, but sooner or later the channel, unless restrained, will go back and claim its own. When the channel of the river changes it leaves a sand-bar, which soon becomes overgrown with willows and young cottonwoods. These catch and retain the silt of subsequent overflows, which continually raises the surface of the accretion, until, together with decaying vegetation, it becomes as high as the adjacent land. This process goes on for centuries, and in this way the bottom lands along the Missouri river are continually forming and reforming.

Surveys made along the lower river during the Spanish régime, and even during the early part of the last century, substantiate this statement; but if further evidence is required, let a hole be bored anywhere in the river bottoms, a mile or more from the present bed of the river, and it is probable that at a distance of about twenty-five feet, or when the level of the water in the river is reached, a wrack heap or an old log will be struck that has

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lain there embedded in the soil for centuries, thus proving conclusively that the channel of the river at one time flowed there.¹²⁹

The most dangerous localities on the river were the bends, and it was in them that most of the accidents occurred to the steamboats. They were formed in the following manner: The main channel of the river is disposed to follow the bluff shore, and does so until it meets with some obstruction. A trifling object, such as a wreck heap or an old steamboat wreck, will sometimes deflect the current and send it off obliquely to the opposite shore. As the land where it strikes is underlaid with a stratum of white sand, it melts before the strong current as a snow-bank before the noonday's sun. This undermining process goes on at every rise, until in the course of a few years a great bend is formed, thousands of acres of land are swept away, and the channel of the river is a mile or more away from where it formerly ran.

Some of these bends are as much as twenty miles long and have been many years in forming. The land along the shore was originally covered with a dense growth of large timber—cottonwood, elm, walnut, etc. As the banks are undermined these immense trees tumble into the channel and float along the current until their roots, the heaviest part, after dragging awhile, became anchored in the bottom of the river. There they remain for years, some extending above the surface of the water and others beneath and out of sight. The former, from being continuously in motion, caused by the swift current, are called "sawyers." From the velocity of the current, and the innumerable snags, these bends were a continuous menace to steamboats, and no pilot approached one, especially at night, without trepidation and fear.

Each bend had its own name, sometimes derived from the name of a planter who lived near by, or from some steamboat which had been previously wrecked there. Among the former were "Murray's," "Howard's," "Wolf's," "Penn's," and "Pitman's bend." Among the latter were "Malta bend," "Diana," "Bertrand," "Alert," and "Sultan bend." Among the most-noted localities on the river—noted because they were the most dangerous, and contained the greatest number of wrecks—were "Brick-house bend," "Bonhomme bend," "Augusta bend," and "Osage chute." Many a magnificent steamer was wrecked in them, and with them the fortunes of their owners. There were other bends which bore euphonious names, such as "Nigger bend," and "Jackass bend," and a good story could be told as to how the latter received its name, if space permitted.

Where the current changed from one side of the river to the other were called "crossings," and it was there that the greatest difficulty was encountered by the navigator; although, as there were no snags in such places, there were no disasters. The water spreads out over a large space at these crossings, and instead of one main channel there are many chutes, none of which, in a low stage of water, were deep enough to float a boat heavily

NOTE 129.—In 1858, the town of Brunswick, Mo., was situated on the bank of the Missouri river, and was the shipping-point for all the Grand River country. It is now an inland town, and the river flows five miles away. In 1896 a farmer was digging a well in the river bottom near the town, where the river formerly ran. A Bible was found in the excavation, and on the cover was the name "Naomi." The book was sent to some of the old steamboat men in St. Louis to see if they could suggest any explanation of its strange presence where found. It was distinctly recalled by Capt. Jo La Barge, and others of the old steamboat men, that the steamer Naomi was wrecked at that identical spot in 1840. It was the custom of the missionary societies to present to each boat, when she came out, a Bible, which was attached to the table in the ladies' cabin by a small brass chain. On the back of the book was lettered the name of the boat. On Keemle Wetmore's map of Missouri, 1837, the town of Brunswick is placed on a sharp northern bend of the river.

loaded. The boats ran aground in low water in these crossings, and frequently were several days in getting over the bar. In such cases the spars were resorted to. They were two long poles, one on each side of the bow of the boat, attached to the capstan by tackle. They were thrown overboard, and by means of pushing on them the vessel was virtually lifted over the bar as with a pair of stilts. It was no unusual sight, in the palmy days of steamboating, to see as many as a half-dozen fine steamers aground on a crossing within a short distance of each other. It was push and pull, spar and warp, back and go ahead, night and day, without a moment's cessation until the boat was safely over the bar. The jingling of the bells, the hissing of steam, together with the swearing of the mate, rendered it an animated and interesting scene to the passenger as he stood on the hurricane deck and looked on, but it was terrible on the crew.

To return to the primitive river craft, it is not necessary to describe the canoe, as its universal use to-day has rendered it a familiar object. The birch-bark canoe, so often seen on the northern lakes, was not adapted to the Missouri, on account of its frail construction; and, besides, the birch tree, from which the bark was taken, is not found on the river. The craft universally used was the cottonwood canoe, or "dugout," made from a log fifteen to twenty-five feet long and three or four feet in diameter. The cottonwood grows along the river everywhere, and such logs were easily procured. This canoe possessed the requisites of strength, lightness of draft, and durability, and was not only the primitive craft of the French voyageur, but had been in use by the Indian from time immemorial.

The pirogue¹³⁰ was another craft used by the French in the fur trade, to which it was especially adapted. It was really a double canoe, built in the shape of a flat-iron, with a sharp bow and a square stern. Two canoes were securely fastened together a short distance apart, the whole being decked over with plank or puncheons. On the floor was placed the cargo, which was protected from the weather by skins. The boat was propelled up-stream by oars or a line, and steered by an oarsman, who stood on the stern. A square sail was also resorted to, going up-stream, when the wind was in the right quarter; and a distance of from ten to fifteen miles per day could be made under favorable conditions. Such boats were usually from thirty to forty feet long and from six to eight feet beam, and, being of light draft, were good carriers. They were much safer than the canoe, as from breadth of beam they could not be upset.¹³¹

The bateau, as its name indicates, was still another craft employed by the early French fur-trader. It was a flat-bottomed, clumsily constructed boat, especially adapted to transporting a cargo of furs down-stream, and did not differ materially from the flat-bottomed boat. It was usually fifty to seventy-five feet long and ten to twelve feet beam. The gunwales were hewn from cottonwood logs, and the bottom was spiked onto stringers running lengthwise of the boat. The bow and stern were square, with a sufficient rake to prevent impeding headway. The oar, the pole, the line and the sail were the appliances relied upon for motive power in ascending the

NOTE 130.—See, also, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 428.

NOTE 131.—When Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri river, in 1804, their fleet consisted of six small canoes and two large pirogues.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 284; vol. 7, p. 320. See, also, index.

stream, but in going down the boat was allowed to float with the current, being kept in the channel by the steersman.¹³²

A very unique craft in use by the fur-trader, from 1810 to 1830, on the upper tributaries of the Missouri, the Platte, the Yellowstone, and the Niobrara, was the bull-boat. It was especially adapted to the navigation of these streams on account of its extreme lightness of draft. Indeed, the excessive shallowness of the water precluded navigation by any other of the primitive craft. It was probably the lightest-draft boat ever constructed for its size, but could carry a cargo of from 5000 to 6000 pounds. The framework of the bull-boat was constructed of willow poles, twenty-five or thirty feet long, laid lengthwise, and across these other poles were laid. All were then securely fastened together with rawhide thongs. Along the tops of the vertical portions of the framework, on the inside, were then lashed stout poles, like those forming the bottom of the boat, which served as gunwales. To these gunwales were lashed cross-poles, to prevent the former from spreading. Not a nail was used in the entire structure, all fastenings being secured with rawhide thongs. The frame so constructed was then covered with buffalo hides sewed together with sinews, the seams being pitched with a cement made of buffalo tallow and ashes.¹³³

A similarly constructed boat to the one described above, although much smaller and of a different shape, was in use on the upper Missouri by the Mandan Indians when they were first visited by the Hudson Bay traders, about 1790. This boat was about the size and shape of a wash-tub, and one buffalo hide was sufficient to cover it. It could safely carry one person.¹³³

The return of Lewis and Clark from the Rocky Mountains, in September, 1806, and the wonderful account they brought back of the immense number of beaver and other fur-bearing animals found in that country, at once gave a new impetus to the fur trade. Companies were formed in St. Louis of the most enterprising merchants, who invested sufficient capital to prosecute the trade with intelligence and vigor.¹³⁴ The most skilful and experienced boatmen were employed to command the boats, which were destined for the mouth of the Yellowstone. The distance was nearly 2000 miles, against a strong current, and much of the route lay through a country inhabited by fierce and warlike tribes. The voyage was one of great labor, hardship, and danger, and only the most suitable and best-equipped craft that could be devised would answer the purpose of such a venture. The keel-boat was destined to supply this want. It was the steamboat without steam as a motive power.

The keel-boat was usually from fifty to seventy-five feet long and fifteen to twenty feet beam. The keelson extended from stem to stern, and it was a staunch vessel, well modeled, sharp bow and stern, and built by skilful workmen, after the most-approved methods of shipcraft of that day.

NOTE 132.—"The boats used by the Indian traders are of various sizes, but the most commonly preferred carry from 15,000 to 25,000 weight. Their sides are low and their oars short, so that they may be navigated near the shore, where the counter-currents or eddies accelerate their progress; their bottoms are nearly flat, so that they are enabled to pass in shoal water; they are also somewhat narrow, and their length is generally from forty-five to sixty feet."—Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana*, 1812, p. 303. See, also, Thwaites' *Lewis and Clark*, vol. 5, p. 390.

NOTE 133.—Wyeth's *Oregon*, p. 54; Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, vol. 1, p. 35. Thwaites' *Lewis and Clark* has many indexed references.

NOTE 134.—The Kansas Historical Society possesses an original record-book of the Missouri Fur Company, of St. Louis, January, 1812, to January, 1814, 134 pages, containing the autographs of many of its members.—*Collections*, vol. 3, p. 51.



Such a boat had a carrying capacity of ten to twenty tons, a draft of thirty inches light, and cost, usually, from \$2000 to \$3000. Amidship was the cabin, extending four or five feet above the hull, in which was stored the cargo of Indian merchandise. On each side of the cabin was a narrow walk, called by the French "*passe-a-vant*," on which the boatmen walked in pushing the boat along with poles. The appliances used for ascending the river were the cordelle, the pole, the oar, and the sail.¹³⁵ The cordelle was a line, sometimes 300 yards long, which was fastened to the top of the mast extending from the center of the boat. The boat was pulled along by this line by a long string of from twenty to thirty men, who walked along the shore. When an obstacle was encountered which prevented the men from walking along the bank, the line was made fast to some object on the shore, and she was pulled up by the men on the boat pulling on the line. This process was called "warping." There were shallow places along the river where it became necessary to use the poles, and in such places they were resorted to. The oars came into use when it became necessary to cross from one side of the river to the other, as it frequently did.

The crew of a keel-boat, in the fur trade called a "brigade," frequently consisted of as many as 100 men, although this number included many hunters and trappers *en route* to the mountains, who were not regular boatmen. They went well armed, and every boat carried on her bow a small cannon, called a "swivel." The captain of the boat, called the "patron," did the steering, and his assistant, called the "bosseman," stood on the bow, pole in hand, and gave directions to the men at the cordelle. It was necessary that these officers should be men of great energy, physical strength, and personal courage. The sail was seldom used, except in the upper river, where the absence of timber rendered the wind available.

It required nearly the entire boating season to make a trip to the Yellowstone, and, as may well be imagined, the labor was most arduous. If a distance of fifteen miles a day was made it was considered a good day's work. It was push and pull, through rain and storm, from daylight to dark; and it is exceedingly doubtful if men could be hired at any price at this day to perform such laborious work. The rations furnished consisted of pork and beans and lye hominy, and from this allowance the pork was cut off when game could be procured by the hunters. There was no coffee and no bread.

The boatmen employed on these voyages were French Canadians and creoles, and many of them were offshoots from the *coureurs des bois*.¹³⁶ These were in some respects different from their progenitors, for they were a hard-working, obedient, cheerful class, and were happy and contented under the most discouraging circumstances. They constituted a peculiar and interesting type of pioneer life on the Missouri river, now, like the woodsmen, entirely extinct. Many of the sons of these early river-men became pilots on the first steamboats on the river, and their sons, following the occupation of their fathers, stood their "trick at the wheel" as long as there was a steamboat on the river.

In the spring of 1811 there occurred on the Missouri river the strangest

NOTE 135.—Frederick Chouteau describes the keel-boat, and its use by him on the Kansas river, in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 8, pp. 424, 428; see, also, Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, p. 32.

NOTE 136.—Wallace's *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, pp. 118-195; Coues's *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, p. 276.