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MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.**

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ADDRESSES AND PAPERS DELIVERED AND READ AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

THE PASSING OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN MISSOURI.

Address by the president, JOHN G. HASKELL,* before the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Society, January 15, 1901.

THE history of Kansas is incomplete until after all conditions in western Missouri preceding and during the great civil struggle have been fully discussed. Western Missouri was strictly in the Kansas struggle from 1854 to 1861, and furnished its quota of facts to the contest which soon after became national in character. It is not the purpose of this paper to consider the institution of slavery further than to set forth such facts as thus far have not found their way into print, but which must be reckoned with in making a full history of the Kansas struggle.

More than a generation has passed since the close of the armed contest between slavery and freedom, in which Kansas bore so conspicuous a part. This part borne by Kansas can never be diminished or dimmed; but there are still large areas of facts which, as yet, have never been published. In Kansas, there is little in the memory of living men concerning the stormy times which has not found its way into print. In Missouri, the resources of living men have not been explored for testimony as to the period under consideration with anything like the enterprise and thoroughness which have characterized the explorations in Kansas. The reasons for this are manifest, viz.: The schemes of the slavery propagandists of South Carolina and other radical Southern states failed forever with the close of the civil war, and there is therefore no reason why the internal struggles of a stupendous failure should be written.

The agitation which resulted in the repeal of the "Missouri compromise" did not originate in western Missouri. So far as the former slave states are concerned, the heat of the "late unpleasantness" is not yet sufficiently abated to leave living Southern men entirely free to express themselves upon all phases of the great controversy.

How minorities were turned to majorities, and how majorities tyrannized over

*JOHN GIDEON HASKELL is the seventh in genealogical line from Roger Haskell, who came from England in 1632, and settled in Beverly, Mass. Four descendants of this family served in the revolutionary war, two of them being killed in battle. John G. Haskell was born at Milton, Chittenden county, Vermont, February 5, 1832. He was educated at the Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., and at Brown University. In 1855 he entered an architect's office in Boston. He came to Kansas in 1857, and settled at Lawrence. During the civil war Mr. Haskell was assistant quartermaster-general of Kansas. He served as quartermaster of the Third Kansas volunteers, and, later, as quartermaster of the Tenth Kansas. In June, 1862, he was made captain and assistant quartermaster, and assigned to the staff of Brig. Gen. James G. Blunt. He was chief quartermaster of the army of the frontier. In 1866 he was made architect of the state-house, and built the east wing. He has three times since, as state architect, had charge of the construction of the state-house. The state university, Snow hall, the insane asylums at Topeka and Osawatimie, the reform school at Topeka and the reformatory were all designed and largely constructed by him.

minorities, in the interest of the great propaganda which gave us the Mexican war and the annexation of Texas, followed by the repeal of the "Missouri compromise," have not yet been written so as to include the testimony of the quiet, unobtrusive, conservative men now living, who hesitate before telling us what they know.*

The time is rapidly passing when the witness of these men can be had, and since Kansas needs the testimony of this class of men in western Missouri, for the completion of her own historical work, I have undertaken to gather up a more or less imperfect outline of conditions in western Missouri from the class of men above referred to.

If it shall seem to turn out that western Missouri was less excited and believed herself more secure, during the great anti-slavery movement which culminated in the settlement of Kansas, than the people of Kansas were led to suppose was the case, it will in no wise diminish the brilliancy of the Kansas campaign, but simply demonstrate the courage of the small boy with his sling who dared face the giant in armor. The giant was slain, not because he was weak or cowardly, but because the well-directed pebble found a joint in the harness.

Western Missouri did not know, long beforehand, that she was elected to be the frontier of the slavery contest, and was not foremost in placing herself in the van. She had not been an affirmative, aggressive leader in the plans of the South for the extension of slavery into new territory, but preferred the policy of conservatively "letting well enough alone." She was not an enthusiast for the repeal of the so-called compromise of 1820; and if permitted by her fire-eating neighbors, would have been far less conspicuous in slavery-extension movements than she was. She was not by any means devoid of the radical, fervid slavery-extension element among her own people; but these were at first so conspicuously in the minority, that it took pressure from the outside to "fire her heart," and still more to keep it fired.†

* The following quotation is from the *Charleston Courier*, about July, 1856: "This community is extremely tolerant of opposing opinions, especially upon the subject of slavery. But it must be remembered that there are limits when toleration becomes weakness. Now, upon the proposition that the safety of the institution of slavery in South Carolina is dependent upon its establishment in Kansas, there can be no rational doubt. He, therefore, who does not contribute largely in money now, and largely in his efforts in the October election, proves himself criminally indifferent, if not hostile, to the institution upon which the prosperity of the South and of the state depends. Let the names, therefore, be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue; then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure this end, we will add, as a suggestion, that the finance committee of the Kansas association be also a committee of assessment, and that each individual be informed of this amount before his subscription be taken. We also suggest that the Kansas association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of the delinquents, and adopt such secret measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand. In this way the contributions will doubtless be adequate, and the cause of Kansas will prosper."

† From the *Mobile Advertiser*, April, 1854: "The South has the advantage of proximity; let it be wisely improved. The border slave states were quite anxious for the bid, and the planting states yielded to their solicitation and aided its passage; let them, the former, which are more immediately interested, are nearer to the territories, and can better spare citizens, pour into Kansas as many friendly to the South as possible, either with or without slaves; and if money is wanted for the work, let it be raised by associations, as at the North."

Extract from a speech by W. W. BOYCE, November 7, 1855, in the court-house, at Sumterville, S. C.: "Since the passage of the Kansas bill, I have at all seasons and on all occasions, preached Kansas! Kansas! Kansas! I have not language to convey my sense of the importance of this question to the South, and the necessity of aiding our friends in Kansas. The policy I would recommend is briefly this: Organize associations in every district in the state, raise men

The fact that, throughout the South, years of preparation had been made for the permanent establishment of slavery, as a national institution, had not early been discussed in Missouri. The Mexican war had occurred and Texas annexed. The supreme court had wheeled into line and the Southern radical element was clearly in the ascendancy. All these, however, did not assure western Missouri that her local interests would be greatly aided by the extreme measures proposed. Western Missouri expected some day to divide Kansas and Nebraska between the North and South, taking Kansas to herself and giving Nebraska to the North. This was to be the next step in compromise, and its prospect looked more promising than the results of the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise.

Western Missouri had more to fear from agitation in the North than to gain from agitation in the South. It was held to be a grave mistake to open an agitation which was certain to inflame the entire North, when it was easily practicable and wiser to prepare the proposed territory in advance for slaveholding occupancy; for slavery could not move as rapidly as freedom. Owners of slaves would not hazard their property on insecure conditions, such as an agitation would produce. The law, however, was clear enough and would protect the invasion, if carried forward without excitement. The territory was truly north of 36° 30', but it was adjacent to Missouri and could fairly be included under the compromise, if adroitly managed. Western Missouri believed the Eastern managers were urging the repeal of the compromise with too much haste. It will thus be seen that western Missouri rested securely in the rights she possessed, and was not anxious to open up a new and possibly dangerous controversy.*

It is not strange, therefore, that the early settlers of Kansas underestimated the difficulties in front of them when they undertook the settlement of a section held in sacred reserve for the institution of slavery.

There are men now living in western Missouri who, in looking back over the agitation which preceded the repeal of the famous compromise, with all that followed, fully believe that, if the South had been temperate and conservative, standing on undebatable rights, and willing to accept slavery as a local instead of a national institution, the war would have been avoided, slave property would have been as secure as it ought, and peace would have continued to prevail.

and money, and colonize Kansas. Let us set the South on fire, if possible, and have a universal concert of action to secure this empire for the South."

Correspondence in the *Charleston Mercury*, dated Washington, January 5, 1856: "The touchstone of our political existence is Kansas—that is the question. The supineness of your state (South Carolina), and the South generally, on this subject, is absolutely astounding. I understand you are building a magnificent state-house, and cutting through mountains to increase your trade; but I have not heard that you have given a dollar to the great cause of the South in Kansas. What are you people thinking about? Have they never heard how Massachusetts and Connecticut have forwarded many boxes of Sharp's rifles to their abolition friends in Kansas? These rifles are the best of the modern inventions, and they are not sent to Kansas to kill deer or buffalo, but the men of the South who dare to go there. Why was not the contingent fund increased, so that your executive might have had the power of doing something?"

*Speaking of the turning back of the Chicago emigrants, the *Weston (Platte county, Missouri) Reporter*, June 27, 1856, said: "The treatment of these Northern men raises a grave question for the consideration of every man who has an interest in the welfare of this country. Are the citizens of other states to be deprived of their right to emigrate to Kansas? Are the principles of the Kansas bill to be nullified, and bands of men stationed along the border to demand a password before the citizens of a neighboring state can have the privilege of going into that territory? If this be the principle of the Kansas bill, we shall be the last man on the green earth to indorse it. The whole proceeding is an outrage, and cannot be defended upon any correct principle, and the consequence will be most disastrous to the whole country. Against such a course of policy we enter our protest, and appeal to the good men of all parties to rebuke this wild and blind folly of a few men, whose acts are doing more to abolitionize Kansas than even the Kansas aid societies of Boston."

I invite your attention, for a few moments, to the facts as they existed on the western border of Missouri when the free-state migration into Kansas opened, in 1854. I will confine myself to what is popularly known as the "border," meaning one, two or three counties deep along the western frontier of Missouri. Not that these only were concerned, for the whole state was involved; but these border counties will illustrate the conditions referred to.

Slavery in western Missouri was like slavery in northern Kentucky—much more a domestic than commercial institution. Family servants constituted the bulk of ownership, and few white families owned more than one family of blacks. The social habits were those of the farm and not the plantation. The white owner, with his sons, labored in the same field with the negro, both old and young. The mistress guided the industries in the house in both colors. Both colors worshiped at the same time, in the same meeting-house, ministered to by the same pastor.

These conditions cultivated between the races strong personal and reciprocal attachments. The negroes were members of the family; the blights of ownership were at a minimum. In case of good behavior on the part of the blacks, there was little or no danger of sale into a distant market; and the oldest inhabitant remembers no such thing as a market auction block. The blacks were not menaced into good behavior by threat of sale, nor provoked to bad conduct by invasions of what would be called personal rights and privileges.

On the other hand, sales of slaves were largely confined to such exchanges of members of negro families as would produce the most satisfactory negro family life; and thus a ministry to contentment would be cultivated. These conditions reduced runaways to a minimum and gave solidity and permanence to the domestic conditions. The mingled family relationships drew together in strong bonds of sympathy with each other the members of the two races.

The custom of other slaveholding communities, in raising for household service extra-skilled servants, was the universally prevailing habit among the slaveholders of western Missouri. There was, however, no classification of "domestic servants" and "field hands." All performed domestic service, and all labored in the field when necessary; all were extra skilled in all the necessary domestic arts.

The early western Missouri slaveholder was a poor man. His wealth at date of settlement consisting mainly in one small family of negro slaves, with limited equipment necessary to open up a farm in a new country. The inducements to seek a new country were then, as later, an abundance of cheap land in a country so sparsely settled as to enable several members of the same family to secure contiguous locations and supply, with a closely related family life, what ordinarily came with the community life of the larger settlement. The tardy settlements often permitted children to grow up and settle upon vacant properties around the central homestead. Under such conditions the increase of the slave population hardly kept pace with the increase of the whites; so that, instead of slaves being sent away to be sold, fresh importations were necessary.

It must not be understood that these western slaveholding communities were solid units on the right or wrong of the institution of slavery, or that the question was not debatable at home, or that the wisdom of slavery as a domestic institution was not discussed; for there was an ever-increasing number of men born, raised and trained slaveholders who never had in blood or habit a Northern anti-slavery taint, but who had become conscience bound in their own reflections upon the morals of the institution.

These men were exceedingly conservative in tone and conduct. They made few criticisms and no open attacks upon slavery. In the main, they were men of character and influence in the community. Some of them had shown their sin-

cerity of conviction by setting their slaves free; and, in addition to this, had shown by their successful business management, that slavery was neither necessary nor profitable. The presence of these men, however, was a provoking commentary upon the claims of the more radical propagandists. They were thoroughly Southern in taste and breeding, belonging to old-time slaveholding families, and therefore could not be ostracized or driven out; and yet they were a two-edged sword upon the radical expansionists—a standing demonstration that the institution over which so much fury was being expended would harmlessly crumble upon its own ground, if so permitted.

The movements of these men were met with legislation in some of the Southern states as a means of stamping out the dangerous tendency to set slaves at liberty. For some contended that it was more profitable to employ than own the labor of the negroes. (Cases in point could be cited if necessary, and if we had the time. The question of the "free negro" was not unimportant, but entered largely into the consideration of the institution, both morally and politically.)

From an economic standpoint, the early history of slavery in western Missouri was more or less of a disappointment. It was too far north for cotton, and the actual, practicable products were subjected to a sharp competition. The markets were remote and prices so low as to challenge profitableness. The added cost for food, clothing and shelter of a negro laborer in a comparatively rigorous climate was far above the Gulf states, and higher even than Kentucky or Tennessee. This extra cost was not reckoned in cash, for there was little in circulation, but in the extra time taken by the negro laborer to produce the actual necessities for his own use and that of his dependent family.

All food, clothing and shelter was of local home production, and it took a larger percentage of the products of the forest, the field and the loom to protect life and health in Missouri than in other and warmer Southern states. Not only these, but the season, the period of profitable out-of-door labor, was greatly shortened, and the products themselves possessed less earning power than the cotton fields farther south. (Exception must be made here of the hemp-producers on the river bottoms convenient to a navigable stream.)

So that it came to pass in the early days that strong, shrewd pro-slavery men, who cared nothing for the added luxuries of domestic service incident to slave owning, but only estimated the value of a slave by what he could earn over and above his living, refused all slave ownership, and employed the neighbors' negroes when wanted on the best terms practicable. There are wealthy men now living who have acted upon this principle from the start; and hence, while intensely pro-slavery in sentiment, were nevertheless anti-extensionists. In the race for wealth these men were a match for their slaveholding neighbors. Time, however, furnished remedies for the conditions just noticed. While these earliest settlements in western Missouri were going forward, the region now called Kansas was a pasture for buffalo, with few Indians to disturb the herds. The Indian tribes were mainly east of the Mississippi river. The wonderful trails and travel thoroughfares across the "Great American Desert" were unestablished. The military posts were not built, and only an occasional band of explorers disturbed the primitive solitudes.

The emigration of the Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi river to the territory west of the Missouri opened the way to a more or less permanent and growing market for the animals and field products of western Missouri. The erection of agency and mission buildings for the various tribes in the new settlements greatly enlarged the local industries, and not only gave employment to

large numbers, but furnished markets for the products of the forests and fields, and the introduction of new lines of industry. Machinery came into vogue and the Missouri river became a veritable highway. Money began to circulate, and it was possible for the residents of the Missouri frontier to realize that new markets had been established at their doors.

Following the new location of the Indian tribes came the establishment of the military posts by the United States government; and with these a greatly enlarged market for all the products of a western Missouri farm, so near at hand as to save excessive transportation charges. The extra demand for transportation—animals, oxen, horses, and mules, created almost a new industry, hastened migrations, and enlarged the area of cultivated land. The construction of buildings and furnishings at the government posts stimulated industry in all directions, and gave to slave labor a new value. Following these came the war with Mexico and the opening up of trade with the territories recently acquired, as the result of this war. Western Missouri now became the very center of a commercial activity unknown elsewhere in the West. Every farm, large or small, bristled with new activity. Every bushel of grain and every animal found a ready and profitable market with the recently developed demands. The well-drilled, industrious slave servant became a profitable investment; all the more so because raised as a member of his master's family, and both skilled and reliable beyond the incidental employment of ordinary frontier labor.

I once knew a slave owned in western Missouri whose master permitted him to seek his fortune where he chose. He attached himself to a military headquarters, and received large wages on account of his ability and trustworthiness. He accompanied the United States army in its great variety of frontier experiences, traveling to the Indian Territory, to New Mexico, and what is now Colorado. But each year he returned to his Missouri home and handed over to his master \$150 in gold, as the agreed master's share of the annual earnings. I know this to be an exceptional but not an isolated case, and it gives accurately the economic value of a first-class slave under conditions we are considering. It is not difficult to see that such enlarged business activities and opportunities might furnish strong temptations for the slaves to escape. Such, however, was not the case, for, prior to the settlement of Kansas, runaways were of rare occurrence. A wholesome dread of the Indians operated as a deterrent in some cases; and an approach to the military posts by a negro slave, unauthenticated, meant detention and investigation.

It will be noted that the profitableness of slavery had marvelously increased between 1835 and 1854. But the profitableness of all labor had similarly increased, so that on this account there was no increase of pro-slavery sentiment from economic causes. The slaveholder was getting rich and the non-slaveholder was enjoying the same privilege. Nevertheless, the obstacles of climate, remote and commonplace markets were practically removed, and under the new conditions western Missouri offered as fine a field upon which to exploit the advantages of slavery as the cotton-raising states. In less than twenty years conditions had entirely changed. The slave-owners had leaped from poverty to wealth. They were well satisfied with existing conditions and in position to deplore the agitation of the slavery question; in fact, not a few believed that only harm could come of agitation.

The opening of Kansas to settlement again enlarged market opportunities and still further increased the wealth of the western Missouri farmer. It may seem strange to the average Kansan, to be told that the western Missouri slaveholder was not concerned for the safety of his slaves on account of the rush of free-state

settlers into Kansas. It will instantly be asked, Why this furious opposition to the movement into the newly opened territory? The answer is ready. It was desired to make Kansas a slave state, and the promise was that the eastern Southern states would supply the emigrants, if only time was given to make the change.

The Northern movement was overwhelmingly sudden and strong, and threatened disaster to Southern hopes. It was a disappointment to lose a neighbor so important as Kansas; but the menace to the slave-owner, as to the security of his property, would be no greater in western Missouri than in eastern or northern Missouri, or in northern Kentucky, and in point of fact created no alarm. Run-aways did not increase to any appreciable extent. No apprehension was felt over the danger of loss of constitutional rights by the slaveholders. A few far-seeing men saw in the movements ultimate dangers. A few knew enough to believe that secession of the slave states would follow the failure of Southern squatter sovereignty and the success of Northern squatter sovereignty in Kansas. These few quietly shipped South their surplus labor and such as were liable to doubtful behavior. Negro-buyers were held in jealousy, however, and compelled to do their work with great quietness, through fear of causing alarm among the blacks. The negro-buyer was greatly dreaded, and the presence of one in the neighborhood caused a flutter of fear.

The thorough domestication of the slaves attached them to the old homes and the family friends with intense and loyal tenacity. It must not, however, be forgotten that the general state of society on the frontier, at the period referred to, was far from esthetic. Notions of obligation, conduct, citizenship, justice and wise policy were far from the modern standards. It was not rare that a man must carry his personal possessions and honor at the muzzle of a rifle or revolver; and sometimes an offensive interloper dangled on a limb by the roadside. Neighborhood sentiment, right or wrong, was law. The dictator of a black man's liberty and privileges became, by the logic of the situation, the dictator of the white man's rights.

The conditions hitherto recited would lead us to suppose that slavery in western Missouri was so thoroughly entrenched as not to be shaken or dislodged by any outside agitation, no matter how severe; and as to the rank and file of slaveholders this was true. The average possessor of negro slave labor lived on a farm, remote from centers of business or information. A weekly newspaper, if any newspaper at all, was the only means of general information.

All newspapers in circulation were proslavery, of course, and mainly were slavery extensionists, guided in expression by a secret secession propaganda. This propaganda was not an organization, as moderns term organizations, but rather a political agreement on the part of leading Southern politicians, by which it was understood that the institution of slavery required a certain line of political action. The line of action was given forth verbally from mouth to mouth, wherever safe, and withheld where unsafe. Only safe statements, accompanied with threats and intimidations, were given forth in print.*

*The Parkville *Luminary* was destroyed by a mob April 14, 1855. The Weston (Platte county, Missouri) *Reporter*, in May, 1855, said it was destroyed because of abolitionism, in the following language: "We have occupied conservative and rational ground, promptly opposing the measures and men who have brought on this crisis. Will the President meet it? Surely he cannot longer follow counsels from among abolitionists and nullifiers? The country demands that sound, firm, energetic men have the direction of public affairs—who will impress and enforce justice and law. There is virtually no law in Kansas, and no security for life and property, save in the sense of honor and justice cherished by every true pioneer. This may save the country from the bloodshed, but the government is held up to ridicule and contempt, and its

Great leaders in the nation, state, county and township were expected to guide public and private action, and these were followed with unswerving loyalty. It is doubtful if America ever possessed a political organization so powerful in its hold upon all who surrendered to its influence. The rank and file listened to directions and voted as ordered, but, with rare exceptions, were admitted to the inner circles. Campaigns were conducted along directed lines, calculated to tempt the strong and alarm the timid. The "dissolution of the Union," so often a campaign cry in the East, was neither desired nor feared in western Missouri. The people were directly interested in Indian supplies and military equipment, in great lines of travel across the plains, and in no mood to believe hastily in remote or threatened dangers to an institution constitutionally secure. Radical men on either side were not popular, and agitation was deplored.

There was no disloyalty to the institution of slavery, and no compromise with those who by word or act rendered it insecure. But peace and money-getting held larger influence with the masses than agitation of remote contingencies in public affairs. The stability of the government, and hence safety in business affairs, was uppermost in the minds of the people. The whole frontier glistened with government patronage. Every Indian agency and military post was a home market belonging to the people nearest at hand. Every possible industry, from the hand loom to the rude sawmill found a ready market for its products. Every output from the farm and herd was a strong cord binding the people to established conditions. Why then discuss the extension of slavery on the one hand, or the dissolution of the Union on the other.

It was anticipated that the admission of Missouri as a slave state moved the parallel (36° 30') to the northern boundary of Missouri, and that this parallel would continue westward with the settlements under such domination as the settler demanded. For the present, however, all available territory was occupied by the Indians, whose occupancy would probably continue for a long time to come. Agitation could only do harm, for it would excite Northern hostility, without adding to the strength or durability of the institution of slavery. It is clear then that there was normally no place for disunion sentiment in western Missouri. The strong proslavery men were neither slavery extensionists nor disunionists. The doctrines of Benton met with ready response. Agitation was harmful, extension unnecessary; and yet Benton and his adherents were forced to meet the fire-eaters in every campaign; and the border slaveholder was compelled to participate in discussions in which he had no faith and saw only harm.

Meanwhile the breach between the radical disunion fire-eater and the conservative unionist was gaining. The debates became hotter and hotter. The conservative was charged with disloyalty to slavery and being no better than the abolitionists. Every effort was made to drive him into the radical ranks. Nevertheless a large number of strong, conservative men challenged the wisdom of the slavery-extension movements, and resisted in speech and act the aggressions of the extension propagandists. The admission of Texas promised to relieve the pressure upon western Missouri, but it was early discovered by far-seeing men that the national-extension-of-slavery movement had passed beyond the bounda-

authority disregarded. Judges of elections have been displaced and others appointed—the polls have in some instances been guarded with pistols and bowie-knives—and some of those elected are going to the governor swearing that, if he does not give a certificate of election immediately, they will 'cut his throat from ear to ear.' Is the flag of our country to be no longer a protection? or are individuals or companies of men to declare we will, and it must be so, without regard to law? Is this what the authors of the Nebraska-Kansas bill meant by squatter sovereignty?"

ries of local influence, and soon there must be national recognition of slavery as a national institution, or, in case of refusal, a dissolution of the Union.

It will thus be seen that western Missouri was dragged into a position she had for years resisted with all her power. Her best advisers were handicapped and her best interests sacrificed. Verily she had troubles of her own, entirely removed from the contests over Kansas.

Without going further into detail than necessary to show the general status of affairs in western Missouri prior to and up to the movements into Kansas, I have aimed to show that conditions were such as to be little affected by the migrations into Kansas. And except that the civil war followed closely upon the Kansas settlements, the domestic affairs of Missouri would not have been seriously disturbed. Slavery had been woven into warp and woof of the social web. It was there by constitutional right and needed no defense. Social, economic and political conditions protected its rights and privileges. Even with Kansas a free state, the risks offered to slavery were no greater than those experienced from Iowa or Illinois. The business disturbances incident to the new settlements, were greater than the social. The loss of trade with Indian tribes and military posts threatened to inflict greater damages than the loss of slaves. The failure to make and hold a slave state of Kansas, when offered an equal opportunity by law and a more than equal opportunity by circumstances, was an exasperating disappointment and humiliation.

The conservative unionist slaveholder never expected to move over into and occupy Kansas. In the main, these men were non-extensionists, satisfied to remain where they were and allow new settlements to be made by natural processes. The men who passed the Kansas-Nebraska law promised to supply the proslavery squatters, and then utterly failed to keep the promises. Western Missouri had a right to expect the eastern slave states would take care of the new territory just opened in obedience to clamor for more slave territory, and was disgusted at the failure. Conservative slaveholders in western Missouri had a right to expect her own noisy propagandists to enter in and possess the land so opportunely opened and so convenient at hand, and were disgusted with the nerveless manner in which these prophets and patriots had marched up the hill, and then marched down again.

Conservative unionist slaveholders were disgusted with the Missouri-Kansas legislature, because elections to it had been made on the promise of members to make permanent residence in Kansas, while immediately upon adjournment of the legislative session these same members returned to Missouri with the announcement that no permanent residence was intended.*

*A correspondent of the Boston *Atlas*, writing from Lawrence in 1854, says: "The public proclamation of the governor of Kansas awakened the citizens of Independence, Mo., to the importance of holding a public meeting to take some means of raising money to pay the expenses of poor men coming into the territory, depositing their votes, and returning to their homes in Missouri; and \$1000 was raised for this purpose. Hurrah for squatter sovereignty!"

Extract from a letter dated Weston, Mo., December 14, 1855, and published in the *St. Louis Democrat*: "The recent excursion to Lawrence was gotten up chiefly by statements calculated to foster prejudice and lash the passion of anger to fury. Now the excitement has, in a measure, died away, and the smoke and mist in which the whole appeared to be enveloped are dispersed, we may hope that the people of Missouri, and the members of the proslavery party in particular, will look at this affair in its true light, and reflect coolly whether anything is to be gained by the state or party by such excursions as the last one."

The New Orleans *True Delta*, January 1, 1856, said, approved by the *St. Louis Intelligencer*: "The true mode of making Kansas a slave state, as it seems to be the almost universal wish of Missouri that it should be, is for Missouri and other Southern emigrants to remove in good faith their household goods to Kansas, there to rest, remain, and abide, as their future home. This will make Kansas a slave state—no other course will."

The so-called "bogus" legislature, composed of temporary emigrants from Missouri, was as bogus in Missouri as in Kansas. The movement was openly denounced and was undefended by the best citizens. It was at first urged and defended on the claim that the Northern movement into Kansas was stealthy and insincere, and this invasion was necessary to meet the Northern hordes. But when the participants returned to Missouri, confessing that the whole movement was a fake, they forever destroyed the opportunity to repeat the experience. The rush of Northern people into Kansas was an astonishment, but not a greater astonishment than the failure of the South to make the Southern promise good to them, and possess Kansas for slavery. Missouri did her best to stay the Northern tide, but gave it up when the South failed to keep her promises.* It will be a surprise to some that all the commotion, uproar, contest and unrest of the years from 1854 to 1861 created in western Missouri no widespread alarm for the safety of the slaves. Kansas supposed a good many slaves were escaping;

* Immediately upon the passage of the act of May 30, 1854, creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the free-soil and the slaveholding sections of the country began to agitate and organize for the colonization of Kansas. A list of the Northern societies will be found in an article by William H. Carruth, in volume 6 of the Collections of this Society, pages 90-96. The Massachusetts Emigrant Company was organized in April, 1854; while the first in the South, the Kansas Emigration Association, was formed in Charleston, S. C., March 5, 1856. The New England Emigrant Aid Society, the successor to the Massachusetts company, and which did so much business, assumed the work in the spring of 1855. Talk of organization and of work to establish proslavery settlement in Kansas was common in nearly all the Southern states, notably in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, while North Carolina and Tennessee also sent squads of men. The most noted movement in the South was that of Colonel Buford. He canvassed the states of Alabama and Georgia for several months in the winter and spring of 1856. He issued his proclamation for men and money November 26, 1855, which he said was "the cheapest and surest chance to do something for Kansas—something toward holding against the free-soil hordes that great Thermopylæ of Southern institutions." January 7, 1856, Buford sold forty plantation slaves, at an average price of \$700, and put the money into defraying the expenses of the expedition. Buford's party, about 400, started from Montgomery, Saturday, April 5, 1856, and on May 2 passed over the line into Kansas. The Northern aid societies were handled in a businesslike way, while the Southern enterprises were out of luck all the time—probably because there was more bluster and froth down there. On the boat coming up the Missouri, Buford's trunk was broken open and \$5000 of money stolen. The *St. Louis Herald* of April 28, 1856, said that one of the emigrants stole it. A letter in the *Alabama Journal* of July 2, 1856, dated Westport, June 15, says: "Nearly the last man of us is flat broke. . . . Major Buford is preparing a statement of expenditures to show to the South. He has spent his fortune on this enterprise and will not have one cent left for his children." His financial statement was: Cost of enterprise, \$24,625.06; contributions, \$13,967.90; loss, \$10,657.16. Buford died August 28, 1861, of heart disease. The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* says he met some of Buford's men on the road between Lawrence and Westport, and they were very much disgruntled—said Buford was too smart financially. The correspondent of the *New York Times*, Lawrence, May 8, 1856, said: "Buford's company, while at Kansas City, were a tax of several hundred dollars on the people; while the New Haven party, of less than one-half the number, paid out in St. Louis, for groceries, farming and culinary utensils, over \$9000; and at Kansas City, \$4000 more." The *St. Louis News*, July, 1856: "Major Buford passed through this city, not long ago, on his way to Alabama, and it is said he is so disgusted with his Kansas business that he will have nothing more to do with it. He tried to get his men to settle on pre-emption claims, become steady citizens, so as to secure him for the sums of money he had paid out for them. But the men could not be induced to do it. They preferred roaming over the country in organized bands, depending on their too hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri for the means of support. These friends are becoming tired of them, and no doubt desire their departure. They have done nothing for themselves, nothing for their commander, and nothing for the cause of the South in Kansas." Colonel Buford, a month or so later, published a stirring appeal in the *Charleston Mercury* for funds to carry more men to Kansas. He wanted a colony of 100 men, but—"I want only men who, as long as required, will abstain from liquor, and will implicitly obey orders." This last party never materialized. A pamphlet was issued from Boston March 17, 1845, urging the colonization of Texas to prevent it becoming a slave state. So the emigrant-aid business dated further back.

western Missouri noticed only a few. Kansas supposed that during these years a good many negro slaves were shipped South for safety; western Missouri missed only a few.

In December, 1858, I boarded a boat at Leavenworth for Jefferson City. I soon discovered that the boat was taking on a cargo of slaves *en route* to St. Louis and the lower Mississippi. By the time the boat reached Jefferson City there were 350 slaves on board. Men now living do not remember this exodus, or any state of alarm which would lead to so large a movement as this single cargo would indicate. The conservatism which hitherto had characterized the slaveholders of western Missouri, held them placid in the midst of exciting conditions in Kansas. The movements of John Brown on the one hand and Doc. Hamelton on the other were better advertised in Kansas than in Missouri. Both created much less alarm in Missouri than we in Kansas were led to suppose.

The clash across the border between Kansas and Missouri was the clash of two giant principles, and was not personal between the men of two states.* Kansas did little to disturb slavery in western Missouri; and western Missouri did little toward making Kansas a slave state. Kansas encountered the radical, fire-eating element from western Missouri, and saw next to nothing of the conservative, non-extension-of-slavery unionists, which constituted the bone and sinew of the population. The questions at issue were settled on the battle-fields. Missouri did not secede. A good proportion of her sons were mustered into the Union army, and those now living are honored Grand Army veterans. Most of the men who were foremost in the bitterness of forty-eight years ago are now dead or have migrated. If still remaining, the bitterness has gone.

Both Kansas and Missouri are now free states, and the people in both states are actively engaged in the cultivation of good neighborhood. It was a mistake on the part of the people of Kansas to suppose that all western Missouri was backing such men as Doc. Hamelton and Wm. Quantrill; and in like manner it was a mistake on the part of the people of Missouri to suppose that all Kansas was backing John Brown and his lieutenants. Kansas did not know how large a percentage of slaveholders in western Missouri were at heart opposed to the extension of slavery on the plans of the propaganda;† and Missouri did not

* *New York Courier and Enquirer*, June 23, 1854: "Excited public meetings have been held at Booneville, Independence, and in all the chief places in Missouri along the Kansas frontier, at which resolutions have been adopted in favor of the immediate formation of slaveholding communities in both territories (Kansas and Nebraska), and recommending companies to be organized, well armed, and fully prepared to defend their slave property, wherever it may be carried. The Northern companies will also be well armed, and it would not be surprising if during the ensuing fifteen or twenty years Kansas would be the theater of exactly such scenes as occurred between the French and English in Ohio, in the attempted joint occupation previous to the war of 1754, and between the Spaniards and French in Florida, in the early history of the peninsula. Kansas may be the Flanders of the continent."

† Letter from Crawford county, Missouri, dated March 6, 1856, in the *St. Louis Intelligencer*, signed "SOUTHWEST MISSOURI": "There are certain papers published in the state that are doing Missouri an injury by their unkind warfare upon another part of the Union. And if it was not for being met by a few such conservative papers as your *Intelligencer*, they would eventually cause Missouri to be set apart, by the world at large, as a foul spot of earth. They hail from all quarters of the state, and may be known by the course that all of them pursue in regard to Kansas affairs. (1) When they undertake to defend Missourians, they only defend Missouri mobs. (2) They labor to conceal the wrongs in Kansas, and deny their existence. (3) They name Eastern men cowards, and banter them to 'come out' and fight. When it was first known that men from Missouri went into Kansas to vote, all natives of Missouri in these parts gave in their disapproval to as great an extent as do sober men in free states. When it was known that some bad men crossed over with arms, destroyed property, and imposed upon and abused individuals, we of Missouri were the first to pronounce them 'border ruffians,' setting them down as part of a lawless class that have long been scattered throughout this state and other states,

know how large a percentage of the people of Kansas were opposed to the methods of John Brown, and were here to build a free state, and not to fight the institution of slavery in Missouri.

The people of both states have now adopted Mr. Carlyle's ethical statement as true, that "the right will assert itself if given time enough; and in like manner the wrong will disappear if granted sufficient time." Time has been granted, results are accepted; common interests are uppermost, and mutual respect is now genuine and fixed.

and who, after collecting together at a whisky shop in numbers sufficient, can do almost any crime under the head of a 'spree,' even to the mobbing of good men, disturbing worshipping assemblies, etc. But all of a sudden here come these papers applauding 'brave Missourians,' and we now must side with unprincipled men, if we would receive a part of the powerful defense. They make a display as though all Missouri was in arms and enlisted on their side, when, as a general thing, slaveholders do not require such agitation, are sick of party strife, and disapprove of the above-named outrages in Kansas and Missouri."

In an article condemning the "blue lodges," the *Weston (Platte county) Reporter*, April 21, 1856, said: "Platte county, the headquarters of the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society's operations, is the most populous in Missouri, with the exception of St. Louis, and lies on the very border of Kansas. It will strike the reader as a very singular fact that these people, who by two or three days' travel could transport themselves and all their movables into the territory of Kansas, should still require the aid of a joint-stock company to get there. There is certainly more excuse for the organization of emigrant aid societies in Massachusetts and other Eastern states to furnish those who have already determined to settle in Kansas with a cheaper means of getting there, and afterwards to aid them in developing its resources. Perhaps there is an explanation of the necessity for the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society, which transports men to Kansas upon the condition that they will vote for the introduction of slavery, in the fact that of the 16,854 inhabitants of Platte county, only 2798 are slaves, and consequently a very large majority of them must be non-slaveholders, and, at heart, indifferent to the extension of slavery. If the extension of the 'peculiar institution' depends upon such poor creatures as can settle in Kansas, by the consideration offered them by the Proslavery Aid Society, its prospects are by no means encouraging. Experience has shown that most of the emigrants from slave states have become free-state men in Kansas, and if this society should succeed in sending one-seventh of the white population of Platte county to Kansas, we suspect the stock of this sort of experience will be perceptibly increased. This county, in 1850, produced more hemp than any other county in the Union; but if 2000 of its voters should remove to Kansas, and by taking their families diminish its population by about 10,000 persons, where would it stand when the next census is taken? It is very plain that the census returns five years hence would not say that Platte county produced more hemp than any other county in the Union. In short, could anything be clearer than that the accomplishment of the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society's scheme, as announced in the *Reporter*, would involve Platte county in ruin? We therefore cannot believe that this society will prove successful, or that any considerable amount of its stock will ever be taken."

Letter from Weston, Mo., in the *Boston Traveller*, dated January, 1856: "Look at President Shannon, of the state university. Knowing that his seat was in danger, he sought to mend his failing fortunes during his college vacation by lecturing in favor of the institution of slavery. He traversed the state, giving utterance to what he thought, no doubt, were very popular doctrines. But what was the consequence? The legislature, at its late session, terminated his reign with the close of the present collegiate year. And—what is suggestive—his very course on slavery was brought forward as a conclusive reason why he ought to be considered as unworthy the office. These are but samples selected because they are the most conspicuous. But a long list of political aspirants might be named who thought to increase their popularity by taking the side of slavery and advocating its claims to confidence, every one of whom has utterly failed. The truth is, the people of Missouri do not respect the man who volunteers as a champion of slavery." The other sample was David R. Atchison. This writer said the people of Misouris despised him for his conduct toward Kansas.

Newark Daily Mercury, March 3, 1856: "A proposition being recently before the Georgia legislature to appropriate \$50,000 for the purpose of sending men from that state to settle in Kansas, and thus save it from becoming free in its institutions, a long debate ensued, in the course of which some curious facts came out. It was stated, on the authority of a gentleman from Kansas who had lately lectured in the Representative hall, that out of eighty-nine men who were transported from Tennessee to Kansas—at the expense, we suppose, of their slaveholding neighbors—eighty proved false, and voted against the South—that is, we suppose, against slavery; and further, that of nine men from the county of Groton, in the state of Georgia, eight proved false. In the face of such facts, it is scarcely necessary to say that the legislature refused to make the appropriation proposed."

WARDENS OF THE MARCHES.

An address delivered by JOHN MADDEN,* of Emporia, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

“Thro’ the centuries vast and olden,
Thro’ the hazeland dim and golden,
Comes the name of Coronado, and his gallant Spanish train,
Who in search of famed Quivira
Traversed weary leagues of prairie,
Filling all the woodland vistas with the songs of sunny Spain.”

WITH the growth of English civilization, the warden was the man charged with maintaining peace and order along the marches of hostile lands and races. In a day when all men were soldiers, he was selected by the crown as the most fitted to take such a great responsibility, and his large estates and splendid family name drew to him a large body of warriors, who found pride in serving under his banners, and many a young man won his spurs of knighthood—in fight or foray—along some conquered border. In time, a scion of some ancient house, as he looked over his broad acres from his moated castle, could stand in the presence of his peers and boast,

“Who can deprive me of mine heritage?
The titles borne at Palestine and Crecy,
The seignory ancient as the throne it guards.”

The new world, rich in men and heroic deeds, has failed in some of the essentials so common to the old world, and so, many a great man has been lost in the rapidly shifting scenes of the early days of the Spanish explorations; for the Anglo-Saxon is jealous, and does not like to accord to men of other races anything that would dim the luster of his own conquests. So, as we view it, De Soto was cruel and rapacious; De Narvaez was a flat failure and unfortunate; De Vaca was a nondescript, and a wanderer; and the heroic Coronado was a sort of a Don Quixote, searching for a mythical land, known as Quivira. I shall try in this paper to give what I conceive to be a proper estimate of some of these men, who were the wardens of the early marches, and did much to open up the pathway of the great civilization that was to follow them. The cross of Spain has passed away from the western world, but it blazed the way for us to follow, and the adelantado, in armor and plume, yielded his territory at last to the American governor, who somehow has cherished the memory of the dusky-browed men of the trail, over which passed the stout hearts of an early day.

Panfilo de Narvaez, after his defeat and consequent humiliation by Cortez, whom he had been sent to supersede, was granted a patent from Charles the Fifth to explore and colonize the country on the Gulf of Mexico from Rio de Palmas to Florida. He received the title of adelantado, and was empowered to enslave all Indians who did not submit to the Spanish king and embrace the Catholic faith. He sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda on June 17, 1527, with a fleet of five ships, carrying 600 persons—mechanics and laborers, secular priests, and five

*JOHN MADDEN was born at Muncietown, Ind., in 1856. His father was a soldier in the civil war, and in 1865 moved to Kansas. Here the boy grew to manhood, educating himself in the common schools and at St. Benedict's College. He taught school and read law. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar, and four years later formed a partnership with his brother, at Cottonwood Falls. He served one term as county attorney of Chase county, and one term as superintendent of public instruction for Marion county. In 1888 he was a republican presidential elector. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the board of regents of the State Normal School. He was the democratic and populist nominee for congress in the fourth district in 1896. He has resided in Emporia since 1893.

Franciscan friars, the superior being Father Juan Xuarez. The treasurer of this expedition was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who comes in for our special attention, being claimed by some historians as the first white man to touch the present territory of the state of Kansas. After the destruction and loss of the expedition of De Narvaez, De Vaca and two companions, and a negro named Stephen, after six years of captivity among the Indians, made their escape, and after a long and adventurous journey reached San Miguel, in Sinaloa, Mexico, April 1, 1536.

In this long journey, it is claimed, though on very meager historical authority, that he traversed a portion of what was afterward known as the Santa Fé trail, crossing it where it intersects the Arkansas river, a little east of Bent's Ford, and went thence to New Mexico, as far as what is now Las Vegas. The part taken in the expedition of the unfortunate De Narvaez, must rest wholly upon the narrative of De Narvaez himself, which was published at Zamora in 1542, and of this Bancroft has said: "Cabeza has left an artless account of his recollection of the journey, but his memory sometimes called up incidents out of their place, so that his narrative is confused."

Mr. Buckingham Smith is the chief authority relied upon to trace the journey taken by De Vaca and his three companions; but the completion of the work of Mr. Smith was left to others, as he died before arranging the matter of his second edition, leaving a mass of undigested notes, not very intelligible. In three successive editions, different theories are given as to the route pursued by De Vaca in his nine-year journey. The writing of the narrative was done after, and not during the journey, and hence the statement of the wanderer of the plains is not very explicit, and admits of different interpretations of his itinerary. Mr. Smith, in his translation of 1851, has him cross the Mississippi, and so to pass along the Canadian, and then along that river to New Mexico, crossing the Rio Grande in the neighborhood of thirty-two degrees. In his second edition, he tracks the adventurous Spaniard nearer the Gulf of Mexico, and has him cross the Rio Grande near the mouth of the Conchos river, in Texas, which he follows to the mountains. Mr. Bancroft finds no ground for the northern route. Either route would have failed in reaching Kansas, and so I conclude, from my investigation, that he never even touched our southern boundary line, and we must turn to a later period, and give to another that honor.

The story told by De Vaca was soon communicated to Viceroy Mendoza, who, in turn, transmitted it to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of New Galicia. He was a gentleman of good family, of the ancient city of Salamanca, who had married a daughter of Alonza d' Estrada, former governor of the province, who was reputed to be the natural son of Ferdinand the Catholic. Coronado repaired to his province to fit out a temporary exploration of the country. He had with him the two companions of De Vaca and the negro, Stephen. He selected Friar Marcos, of Nice, who had been with the famous Alvarado in Peru, to head the expedition, which was undertaken in the spirit of humanity, and to spread the Catholic faith. The good friar took with him the black man, Stephen, to act as guide, seven natives who had come with De Vaca, and a brother of his order, Friar Honoratus, and on the 7th of March, 1539, set out from San Miguel on their mission. The negro was a great source of worry, on account of his avicious and sensual nature, but they hoped to reap some benefit from his ability to communicate with the natives. This guide, the first of his race in the new world, was killed by the natives of Cevola, because he demanded their property and women. His taking off was no doubt creditable to the sense of the Indians,

and certainly must have been a relief to the good Father Marcos, for the chronicler is silent as to the number of masses said for the repose of his black soul.

Upon the return of the expedition, Coronado, acting under the order of the viceroy, rendezvoused his army at Compostello, in New Galicia, and on February, 1540, with a force of 300 Spaniards, and 800 Indians of New Spain, set out upon one of the most memorable marches in the history of the new world—to explore, and bring into subjection to his sovereign, the territory of Cevola. Soon the difficulties and rigors of march began to tell on the soldiers, so that when they reached Chimetla they were compelled to halt for a few days to procure food. From here they proceeded to Culiacan, where the expedition was kindly received by the Spanish residents of this ancient town. Here Coronado left the main body under the command of one of his cavaliers, Tristan d'Arellano (who afterwards was one of the famous captains who, with 1500 men, in June, 1559, left Vera Cruz for the Florida expedition, and cast anchor in Pensacola bay), with orders to follow him in a given time, and on the 22d of April, 1540, with fifty horses and a few foot soldiers, and the monks, he set out on his journey northward. After more than a month he came to Chichiticulli, or the "Red House," in the valley, called by De Vaca the "Corazones," or the "Valley of Hearts." He found, instead of a great town, as reported by the romancing Friar Marcos, a single dilapidated structure, that had been at some time a strongly fortified place, constructed of red earth, by a people who were civilized, but it had been destroyed in former times by barbarous enemies. This ruined structure is now generally supposed to be the Casa Grande,* in southern Arizona, near Florence, a little south of the Gila river. Here he entered upon the desert, and traveling in a northeastern direction, in a fortnight came to a river, which he called the Vermeja, on account of its turbid waters. This, now supposed to be the Colorado Chiquito, was about twenty-four miles from Cevola, where they arrived on the following day, and almost fell into an ambushade of hostile natives.

Modern antiquarians place this in the region of the present Zuni pueblos, and Mr. Frank M. Cushing has made the discovery that the Zuni Indians have the tradition among them of the visit of Friar Marcos, and the killing of the negro, Stephen, whom they called "the Black Mexican," at the ruined pueblo of Quaquima. Cevola turned out a great disappointment. Friar Marcos came in for the abuse of the tired and weary band of adventurers, and he rightly deserved their maledictions. Many, no doubt, wished he had shared the same fate as the negro, Stephen, at this place, more than a year before. Coronado gave the name of Granada to the village, and the name of Cevola to the whole territory containing the seven fabled cities, the whole being so general and undefined as to leave us in doubt as to the exact location of the district. He came near losing his life in an assault upon this miserable village, and was saved only by the devotion of one of his officers, who shielded him, when down, with his own body. At this place he waited for the arrival of the main body of the army, and, while waiting,

*"About the time of the noon halt (November 10, 1846), a large pile, which seemed the work of human hands, was seen to the left. It was the remains of a three-story mud house, sixty feet square, pierced for doors and windows. The walls were four feet thick, and formed by layers of mud two feet thick. Stanley made an elaborate sketch of every part; for it was, no doubt, built by the same race that had once so thickly peopled this territory and left behind the ruins. . . . No traces of hewn timber were discovered; on the contrary, the sleepers of the ground floor were round and unhewn. They were burnt out of their seats in the wall to the depth of six inches." Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego. Wash., 1848, p. 82. The Historical Society has recently received from N. A. Clark, formerly of Shawnee county, a fragment of one of these sleepers which he found still embedded in the adobe walls of the Casa Grande. It is twenty inches in length by four inches in diameter, of pine.

was visited by a very remarkable Indian chief, who wore a long mustache, and hence was dubbed by the Spaniards, who evidently had a fine sense of humor, "Bigoles." He was from the village of Cicuye, 210 miles east of Cevola, and was very friendly, inviting the wanderers to visit his country. He sent Alvarado, who found an Indian slave, a native of the region toward Florida, who told him marvelous stories about the gold and silver to be found in the great cities of his own country. This man Alvarado called "the Turk," and "Turk" he was, if evasion and deceit can make a "perfidious Turk."

D'Arellano, having arrived at Cevola from Sonora, Coronado entrusted him again with the command of the main body of the army, with the direction to proceed to Tiguex, he setting out to explore the province of Iutahaco, with the hardiest of his followers. For two days and a half they were without water, and were forced to seek it in a chain of snow-covered mountains. After eight days they reached this place, when they heard of more villages down the river. It will be seen that this point was on the Rio Grande, in New Mexico. Subsequently he sent one of his officers southward eighty leagues to explore the country, and this part of the expedition, no doubt, went as far as the present Socorro.

The winter of 1540 was spent at Tiguex, and in April, 1541, the army left there and entered upon its long journey across the mountains and plains of New Mexico, passed over a portion of Oklahoma, and entered the present state of Kansas, in search of Quivira, the ancient and mythical kingdom, as alluring and fleeting as the fabled "Fountain of Youth," sought by Ponce de Leon. In his letter to the king of Spain, Coronado says:

"The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree.* The country itself is the best I have ever seen for

*HON. J. V. BROWER, of St. Paul, Minn., an archaeologist and explorer of much repute, has recently published two volumes, entitled "Quivira" and "Harahey," the result of explorations in Kansas, showing that the Quivira sought for by Coronado was located along the south side of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers, from Mill creek, in Wabaunsee county, to Lyon creek, in Dickinson county. Mr. L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan, but now deceased, first called Mr. Brower's attention to some unusual indications of an extensive Indian village on the Briggs farm, on McDowell creek, in Geary county. In the autumn of 1896 Mr. Brower made a journey to investigate this field. Up to 1898 he made three trips to the neighborhood mentioned, exploring a country 150 miles from east to west and sixty miles from north to south. These investigations Mr. Brower has continued up to the spring of 1902. He arrives at the conclusion that at least three, and possibly four, races of people had successively inhabited this field.

E. E. BLACKMAN, an archaeologist in Nebraska, says: "That the question of location has been definitely and indisputably solved by Mr. Brower, does not preclude the necessity of further study and classification by other students or by himself, but it surely marks an era in the field of history, when the exact geographical location of the country explored by Coronado is definitely settled for all time, as it surely was before the close of the nineteenth century. This fact should only open the way for a better study of the archaeology of this field, and I suspect that another century will as firmly establish the identity of these people and their connection with other branches of the human family as the question of location was established at the close of the last century." Mr. Blackman, July 12, 1901, says there are many flints of the Harahey and Quivira type to be found in Nebraska.

E. A. KILIAN, of Alma, Wabaunsee county, who has been greatly interested in this study, says "that Friar Juan de Padilla, of the Franciscan order, who accompanied Coronado on his remarkable march to Quivira, was the first religious martyr whose blood was shed by Indians on the soil of the United States within the borders of the present state of Kansas. . . . Mr. J. V. Brower thinks he found his death west of Reckon Springs, in Dickinson county, Kansas."

W. E. RICHEY, of Harveyville, Wabaunsee county, an ardent and intelligent investigator along this line, in volume 6 of the Historical Collections, page 423, says: "My conclusion is that Quivira extended from 'those ravines' formed by the upper courses of Deep, Mill, Humboldt and McDowell creeks, and from a point on the Kansas river north of them toward the southwest as far as Great Bend. To the landmarks already cited, Reckon Springs and Hickory Springs might, almost with certainty, be added. The Quiviras dwelt on the smaller

producing all the fruits of Spain, for, besides the land itself being very fat and black, and being very well watered, by the rivulets, springs, and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivera both to see and to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to your majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given an account of other provinces beyond this. And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold or any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they told me are mostly but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything, and do not have any houses, except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows. So that the account they give me was false, because they wanted to get me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from lack of water they would get us where our horses and we would die of thirst. And the guides confessed this, and said they had done it by the advice of the natives of these provinces."

Juan Jaramillo, one of the expedition (who was at a later time one of the Florida army, under Tristan d'Arellano, mentioned at another place in this paper, who aided one of the Alabama tribes against the Natchez), has left an account of the journey of this great warden of the early Spanish marches, this stout heart under a coat of mail, who lighted his camp-fires on the boundless prairies of the

streams rather than on the larger ones. In my collection of flint implements of the Quiviras I have axes, hoes, picking implements, hammers, knives, drills, scrapers, arrow-points, spear-heads, sledges, and other things. These are all rough, and differ from the implements of the neighboring tribe, Harabey, those of the latter tribe being shaped and finished in a better manner. The Quivira implements are found along streams from McDowell's creek to Great Bend, and are easily distinguished from implements of other tribes." Mr. Richey has made frequent trips over the region designated in central and northern Kansas, southern Nebraska, and the Indian Territory, and other localities that might throw light on the route of Coronado, and conducted by correspondence a number of lines of investigation in Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Texas. He has searched principally for Spanish evidences and the landmarks described by the Spanish narrative of the expedition, and he considers Indian relics only as secondary evidence, because they can be found in many places. Mr. Richey has been on the trail of Coronado for thirty years, and all this time he has been a student of general history and archaeology. He has a famous numismatic collection, having coins running back 700 years before Christ, the date of the most ancient silver coinage, including more than forty coins of the Roman empire, and pieces of nearly all great rulers since. Mr. Richey was born in Lee township, Athens county, Ohio, June 1, 1841. He was educated at Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio; enlisted as a private in company A, Fifteenth Ohio infantry, August, 1861, and mustered out December 27, 1865, participating in many engagements. In June, 1863, he came to Kansas and located at Manhattan, and a few months later settled on a farm in Wabauensee, near the line of Osage. He served two terms as county superintendent of public instruction, each time receiving the support of both parties. During his service in the army he was a correspondent for several newspapers, and holds a medal of honor voted him by Congress for special heroic service between lines of battle at Chickamauga. Mr. Richey's latest researches show from the narratives of the Coronado expedition that from the point on the great plains whence Coronado, with a detachment of thirty men, left his main army, he proceeded toward the north thirty days, and then along a river toward the northeast for about eighty leagues, occupying six or seven days' march. This river could have been no other than the Arkansas, and Great Bend is eighty miles northeast of the bend below Fort Dodge, near which the Spaniards must have crossed. The thirty-seven days thus accounted for by two of the narratives would have brought the Spaniards to the vicinity of Great Bend, where the first Quivira village was seen, and where some writers locate the beginning of the Quivira settlements. But Mr. Richey shows from Coronado's official report to the king that from the point whence he left his main army it was forty-two days' march to Quivira, instead of thirty-seven. Mr. Richey also shows from the narratives that the country was level as far as Quivira, where it became rough. Great Bend is in a level country, and five days' march northeast, added to the thirty-seven, would have carried the explorers to the hills of the Smoky Hill river near Lindsborg, exactly the forty-two days officially reported by Coronado. Mr. Richey also shows that Coronado states that he marched over the desert or plains seventy-seven days to reach Quivira. The narratives show that up to the point where he started northward he had marched across the plains thirty-five days, which, added to the forty-two days from that point to Quivira, would have made seventy-seven days of desert marching, the

West seventy-eight years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Among other things, after they had reached the great river, which was the Missouri, near the Nebraska line, in Kansas, he says of "the Turk," who was the Indian that Alvarado found in New Mexico, and who acted as guide: "Since, as I said, this was the last point which we had reached, here 'the Turk' said he had lied to us, and called upon these people to attack us one night and kill us. We learned of it, and put him under guard, and strangled him that night, so that he never waked up." So perished "the Turk," within the boundary of the territory that was to furnish in after-times the brave souls and courageous hearts who, under a new and strange banner, were to drive the power of Spain from the western world. "With the plan mentioned," says the quaint Jaramillo, "we turned back, it may be two or three days, where we provided ourselves with picked fruit and dried corn for our return. The general raised a cross at this place, at the foot of which he made some letters with a chisel, which said that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, general of that army, had arrived here."

It is recorded, on what I conceive to be good authority, that Luis de Moscoso, one of De Soto's men, in 1542, followed the Arkansas river into Kansas. He failed to meet Coronado, who at that time was moving eastward. De Soto having died

exact number given in his other statement. Both statements are official. The approximate distance through the Quivira settlements is given in the narratives as twenty-five leagues (about sixty-six miles.) This distance would have carried the explorers from Lindsborg to the Kansas river near McDowell's creek. He shows from the narratives that the village found near the site of Great Bend was merely that of a Quivira hunting party, and that the hills, valleys, streams, springs, and even the varieties of timber, and the distances between Lindsborg and McDowell's creek, are precisely the same required by the narratives to definitely locate the main settlements of the long-lost land of Quivira. These evidences are strongly confirmed by the Spanish relics Mr. Richey has gathered. He has the greatest Coronado relic ever found. This is nothing less than a Spanish sword bearing the name of one of Coronado's officers. Besides this, the material, the style and the motto of this sword show it to be of Coronado's time. When found it was deeply covered with dust and partially concealed. It was afterward rubbed with brick dust until the letters appeared. The sword is double-edged. This style was used before the year 1600, about which time armor disappeared. The motto on this sword is, *No me saques sin razon, No me embates sin honor*, which, translated, is: "Draw me not without reason, Sheathe me not without honor." This motto was put on the swords of Toledo in Coronado's time. The sword is a most precious relic, and Mr. Richey has kindly promised to deposit it and his other Coronado relics in the rooms of the Kansas Historical Society. Among the proofs he has gathered bearing on this subject are the following: The plain marks of an ax near the center of an oak tree about five feet in diameter; the bones of a horse found with muck and cat-tail flags in the bottom of a stock well near a hill; a bar of lead with a Spanish brand on it. Mr. Richey is confident that the ax marks were made by Coronado's men, and that the horse mired where its bones were found, and the hill afterward caved in on it. The ax marks, bones and bar of lead were found in McPherson county, and the facts concerning them are fully established by Mr. James T. Hanna and other reliable parties in that county. Mr. S. E. Miller, of that county, has also furnished important information. Mr. Richey has recently made another exploration along Coronado's route almost to the south line of Kansas, and has gathered fresh evidence. It is but just to him to state that his latest researches herein mentioned were not published in time to give students of this subject an opportunity to judge of their importance in comparison with the statements of any other investigator. Mr. Richey also shows that the Quivira settlements were found (first), along good river bottoms, near high hills; and (second), good streams which flow into another "larger than the others." He is positive that the good river bottoms and high hills where the settlements began were the valleys and hills near the big bend of the Smoky Hill just south of Lindsborg; that the river where the settlements ended was the Kansas, near McDowell's creek; and that the intervening settlements were on the streams which flow into the Smoky Hill from the south side between Lindsborg and McDowell's creek. As indisputable proof, Mr. Richey calls attention to the fact that the beginning of the settlements as located by the river bottoms and hills of the Smoky Hill near Lindsborg is the distance required by the narratives from the site of the Indian village near Great Bend, from the crossing of the Arkansas, from the point where Coronado started northward, from the point where he entered the desert or plains, and also from the river and settlements at the end of Quivira.

in May of the previous year, Moscoso endeavored to reach Mexico with a remnant of the adelantado's force, and while he was searching for Coronado, and was near to him at one time, it is quite certain they did not meet. "His journey to the mountains," says the chronicler, "was a trail of fire and blood," and he endeavored, by almost superhuman energy, to extricate his men from the dreadful situation in which they found themselves. They evidently reached far westward, as his historian says: "They saw great chains of mountains and forests to the west, which they understood were uninhabited." He retreated down the river and found the hot springs of Arkansas. "When they saw the foaming fountain," says the historian, "they thought it was the long-searched-for 'Fountain of Youth,' reported by fame to exist somewhere in the country, but when ten of the soldiers died from excessive drinking they were soon convinced of their error." The idealistic Spaniard could hardly be brought to understand the awful realism that confronted him in a new and strange land, where romance died on the rude hunting spear of the barbarian, and where the echoes of the horn of Roland at Roncesvalles sank into faint whispers on the prairies between the mountains and the sea.

We can look back through the historic mist of 360 years, and in a blazing August sun see the little band of Spanish knights turning their backs upon Quivira. Friar Marcos, in the weather-beaten habit of St. Francis, is there; Juan Jaramillo, in armor and plume, rides beside the leader on his lean and hungry steed; the ghost of "the Turk" walks like a bronze specter at the head of the column. What account shall be given to his "Holy Catholic Cæsarian Majesty" of Spain of this fruitless expedition? What will Viceroy Mendoza say when the knights-errant of the plains stand unhelmeted in his presence in the famous capital that Cortez won? What story will the wild tribes tell, when the old men chant the weird war dance on the banks of the Kansas? What will Coronado say when he sees the halo of adelantado fall from his coronet, while the women of New Galicia mourn for their dead? What will the new men of northern stock say when they hail Quivira as a new star on their battle-flag? The answer and the finale of it all can be summed up in a few lines. The Spaniard and the Frenchman came and passed away; the tribes still hunted the buffalo on the boundless prairies; the American pioneer with gun, ax and plow crossed the rivers and settled down upon the plains. Slowly cities, beautiful villages, quiet homes and a mighty commonwealth rose to crown their labors, while history still records, and good men and women still cherish the memory of the stately Spaniard, who, in the dawn of western civilization, marched and fought and won and lost.