



# CHANGING CONSENSUS *on the* EUROPEAN DISCOVERY *of the* PLATTE RIVER

— OR —

*“Figuring out which white guy  
got to the Platte first”*

BY HARLAN SEYFER

In the mid-nineteenth century, scholars were in general agreement that Coronado and his expedition were the first Europeans to reach the Platte. However, that consensus gradually disappeared as new evidence arose, old evidence was discredited, and a new consensus established. This cycle repeated as other Europeans—actually groups of Europeans, no one traveled alone—were put forward as the “first” on the Platte. In some cases remnants of abandoned consensus remain today as misconceptions. The first Europeans to reach the Platte River were also the first in the future state of Nebraska.

Over 15,000 years ago the first people in North America were likely on the Platte River.<sup>1</sup> It wasn’t until relatively recently that Europeans began arriving.

## FRANCISCO VÁZQUEZ DE CORONADO IN 1541<sup>2</sup>

The story begins with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado’s letter to King Carlos V, dated October

20, 1541. He wrote “...la proVincia de quiVira essta de mexico noVeÇientas y çinCuenta leguas por donde yo Vine essta en quarenta grados ...” (“The provincia of Quivira is nine hundred fifty leagues from [the Ciudad de] México by the route I traveled. It is at forty degrees [north latitude]”).<sup>3</sup> This would imply—since the Nebraska-Kansas boundary lies at 40° north latitude—that Coronado reached Nebraska. This was picked up by General J. H. Simpson, who asserted in the 1869 *Smithsonian Annual Report* that “Coronado, with thirty-six picked men, continued his explorations northwardly to the 40° of latitude, where he reached a province which the Indians called Quivira, ...”<sup>4</sup> After discussing his evidence, Simpson concluded, “... it [is] exceedingly probable that he reached the fortieth degree of latitude, ... well on towards the Missouri River; and in this region I have terminated his explorations north on the ... map.”<sup>5</sup> Simpson tirelessly advocated his view until his death in 1883.

In 1880, James W. Savage read a paper before the Nebraska State Historical Society (two years





after the Society was founded). Savage asserted, "Here, along the Platte river, they [the Coronado Expedition] found the long sought kingdom of Quivira."<sup>6</sup> Savage further asserted, "they had despaired of finding gold, and so, in August, Coronado, reaching as I think the Platte river, caused a cross to be erected, upon whose base was carved the inscription, 'Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, general of an expedition reached this place.' Thereupon he set his face southward."<sup>7</sup>

Both Simpson and Savage cited Albert Gallatin, President of the American Ethnological Society, who, in 1848, more cautiously wrote, "Coronado appears to have proceeded as far north as *near* the 40th degree of latitude ..." (emphasis added).<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile converging archeological and historical trends were underway which placed Quivira in Kansas, not in Nebraska.<sup>9</sup> By the 1890s evidence in both fields had accumulated against anywhere but central Kansas. Typical was the historian Adolph Bandelier in 1893:

---

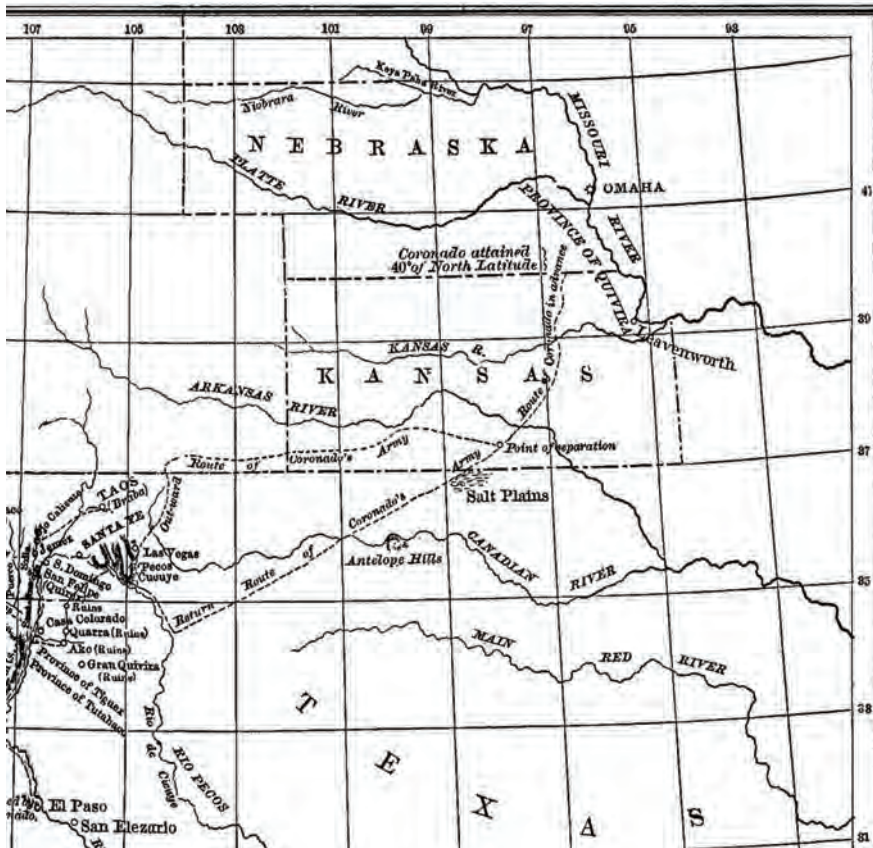
It may be remarked, by the way, that Coronado speaks of this region as situated in the 40th degree of north latitude; that is, that it was five and a half degrees north of the Gila, according to the determinations of that time. The Gila River, however, runs, not in the parallel of 34° 30', but of about 33°, while the Arkansas flows in the 38th degree, or five and a half degrees north of the Gila. Quivira should therefore be sought in the present State of Kansas, and in the central districts, about a hundred miles north of the Arkansas River.<sup>10</sup>

---

In 1907 Kansas historian John B. Dunbar was more direct than Bandelier in disputing Savage's thesis, stating that Savage "presents an insistent plea to the effect that Coronado found no Quivira till he had penetrated eastern Nebraska. ... But a repeated personal inspection of central Kansas

**Coronado Sets out  
to the North, by  
Frederick Remington.**  
Wikimedia Commons





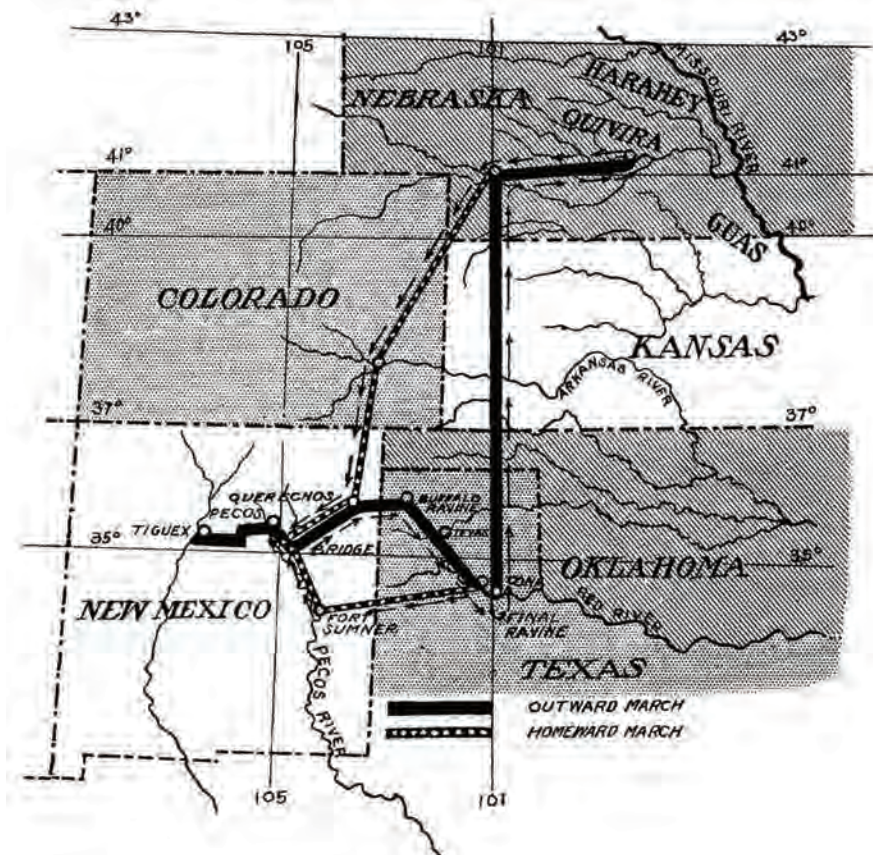
and eastern Nebraska, together with a careful study of the narratives of Coronado's movements after crossing the Arkansas, satisfied me that he did not move further north than the Kansas river."<sup>11</sup>

Monsignor Michael Shine in 1916 made what is perhaps the last assertion by a mainstream Nebraska historian that Coronado was in the state. In an article proposing a Nebraska location for Quivira, Shine stated that Coronado raised a cross "and an inscription, made with a chisel, was placed at the foot of it. I am inclined to believe that this inscription was cut on a stone that is located somewhere within a radius of fifty miles around St. Paul, Nebraska." St. Paul is about twenty-two miles north of Grand Island.<sup>12</sup> A 1931 history of the Franciscans in Nebraska cites Shine, stating cautiously, "If the Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. A. Shine has really solved the 'Puzzle of the Quivira', Coronado penetrated into Custer county [Nebraska] near Georgetown, thence north east to the Loup river near the northern boundary of Nance and Platte count[ies]."<sup>13</sup>

As late as 1938, the Federal Writers' Project tour guide of Nebraska stated, "The plains of the Middle West were soon to bear the hoofprints of the first white man's cavalcade, a company of Spanish horsemen under the gentleman adventurer, Coronado. These were, in all probability, the first Europeans to set foot in what is now Kansas and Nebraska."<sup>14</sup>

Flickering doubts about Kansas were extinguished in 1949, when Herbert Eugene Bolton published *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*.<sup>15</sup> As Waldo Wedel later observed, "Before Bolton in 1940, no one had troubled to retrace the route of the conquistadors from Compostela [in Mexico] to Quivira *on the ground*" (emphasis added).<sup>16</sup>

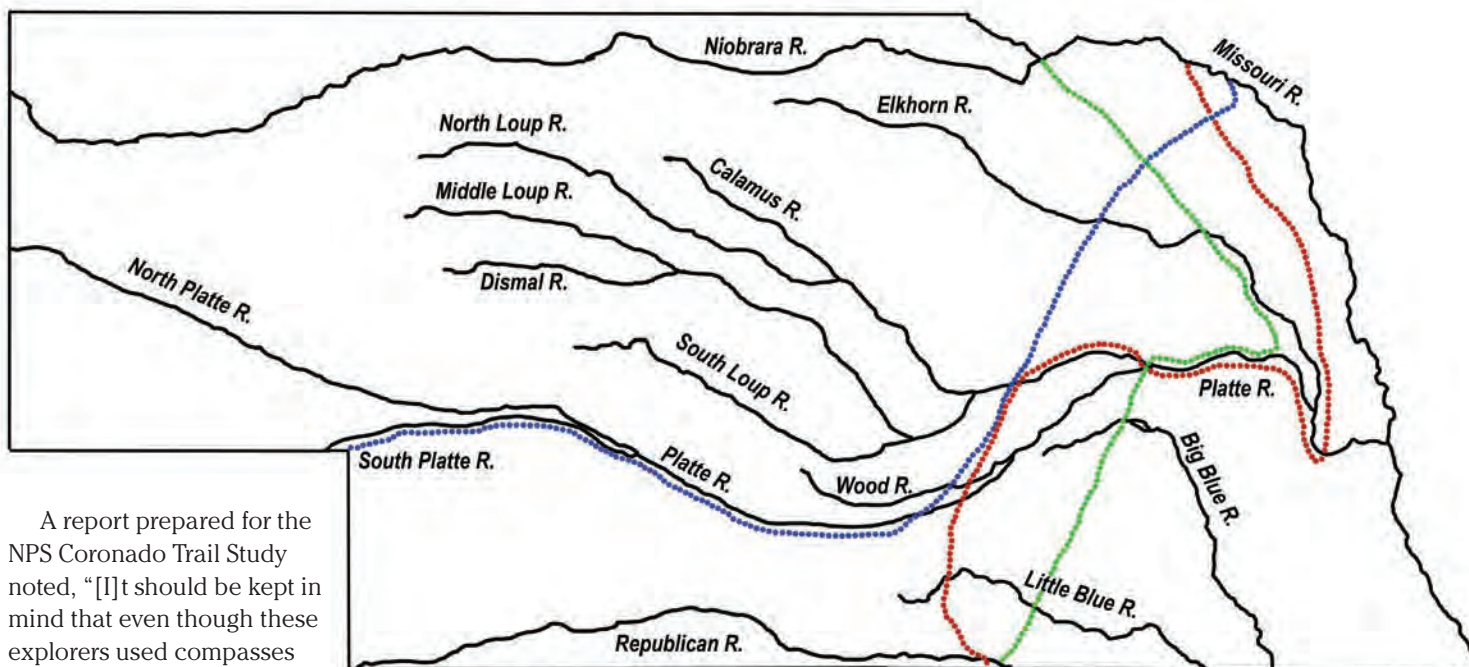
A study undertaken by the National Park Service in 1992 summarized, "As determined through the analysis ... the Coronado expedition route does not currently meet the criteria required for national historic or scenic trail designation."<sup>17</sup> In other words, not enough is known to definitively define the route taken by Coronado.



Left Above: From Gen. J. H. Simpson, *Coronado's March in Search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and Discussion of Their Probable Location* (reprint, Washington D.C., 1884) (originally in the Smithsonian Report for 1869), 1-2.

Left Below: From Monsignor Michael Shine, "The Lost Province of Quivira," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (April 1916): 4.





A report prepared for the NPS Coronado Trail Study noted, “[I]t should be kept in mind that even though these explorers used compasses and calculated latitude and longitude, their methods and instruments were crude by today’s standards.”<sup>18</sup>

Nonetheless, some myths persist. There are at least two websites today that refer to the Spanish in Nebraska during the sixteenth century. “[I]n the 1500s Spanish Conquistadors moved northward in search of the lost city of Quivera. The soldiers constructed a barracks in a location that was, 300 years later to become the east end of main street in Plattsmouth.” Plattsmouth, Nebraska, as its name indicates, lies near the Platte-Missouri River confluence at latitude 41° north.<sup>19</sup> The second website states “Francisco Vásquez de Coronado was more than likely the first European to set foot on Nebraska soil.”<sup>20</sup>

### PIERRE AND PAUL MALLET IN 1739

With Coronado eliminated, the next candidates to appear were Pierre and Paul Mallet. In 1892, the energetic Judge Savage wrote that the Mallet brothers on their journey came to “a wide and shallow river,” which they named the Platte. “So far as I know or can ascertain,” wrote Savage in 1892, “this was the first time that our [Nebraska’s] wandering stream had received an appellation in a Christian tongue.”<sup>21</sup> Savage took as his source, French historian Pierre Margry,<sup>22</sup> who discovered an abstract of the Mallet journal, the original journal having disappeared. Margry published the journal abstract in French in 1886. Quoting

Margry’s transcription of the discovery of the Platte: “Le 2 Juin, ils tombèrent sur une rivière qu’ils nommèrent la rivière Platte, et voyant qu’elle ne les écartoit point de la route qu’ils avoient en idée, ils la suivirent en la remontant à droite l’espace de 28 lieues, ....”<sup>23</sup> The abstract of the journal would have to wait fifty-three years to be translated and published in English by Henri Folmer in 1939: “On the second of June, they found a river which they called the Platte River and seeing that it did not deviate them from the direction they had in mind, they followed it by ascending it along the left bank for a distance of 28 leagues.”<sup>24</sup> The Mallets would have passed the mouth of the Platte while going up the Missouri River, but no mention of this is made in the abstract.

In 1920 the standard school history book for Nebraska stated, “The earliest authenticated exploration by white men on Nebraska soil was that of two brothers, Pierre and Paul Mallett [*sic*], and six other Frenchmen in June, 1739.”<sup>25</sup> This was perhaps the last unequivocal statement that the Mallets were the first white men in the state.

Meanwhile, “storms were brewing in other men’s worlds.”<sup>26</sup>

### PEDRO DE VILLASUR IN 1720

In reaction to rumored French incursions into the Missouri-Platte region (certainly true), Don Pedro de Villasur took arguably the best troops

Three possible routes of Pierre and Paul Mallet through Nebraska in 1739. Historians agree that that the Mallets traveled south to the Platte from the Missouri River. The red line represents their route as it appears in Donald J. Blakeslee, *Along Ancient Trails: The Mallet Expedition of 1739* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 54. The blue line is their route as shown in William H. Goetzman, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*, Francis Parkman Prize Edition (New York: History Book Club, 2006), 11. The green line is from Henri Folmer, “The Mallet Expedition of 1739 through Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado to Santa Fe,” *Colorado Magazine* XVI, No. 5 (September 1939): 164. Map by History Nebraska





The Segesser II hide painting depicts the Villasur massacre of August 14, 1720, the earliest known illustration of a Nebraska event. The faded original appeared in the Spring 2018 issue of *Nebraska History*. Shown here is a detail of a replica painted by Curt Peacock of History Nebraska. Zooming in further, the detail at right shows the dying Villasur.

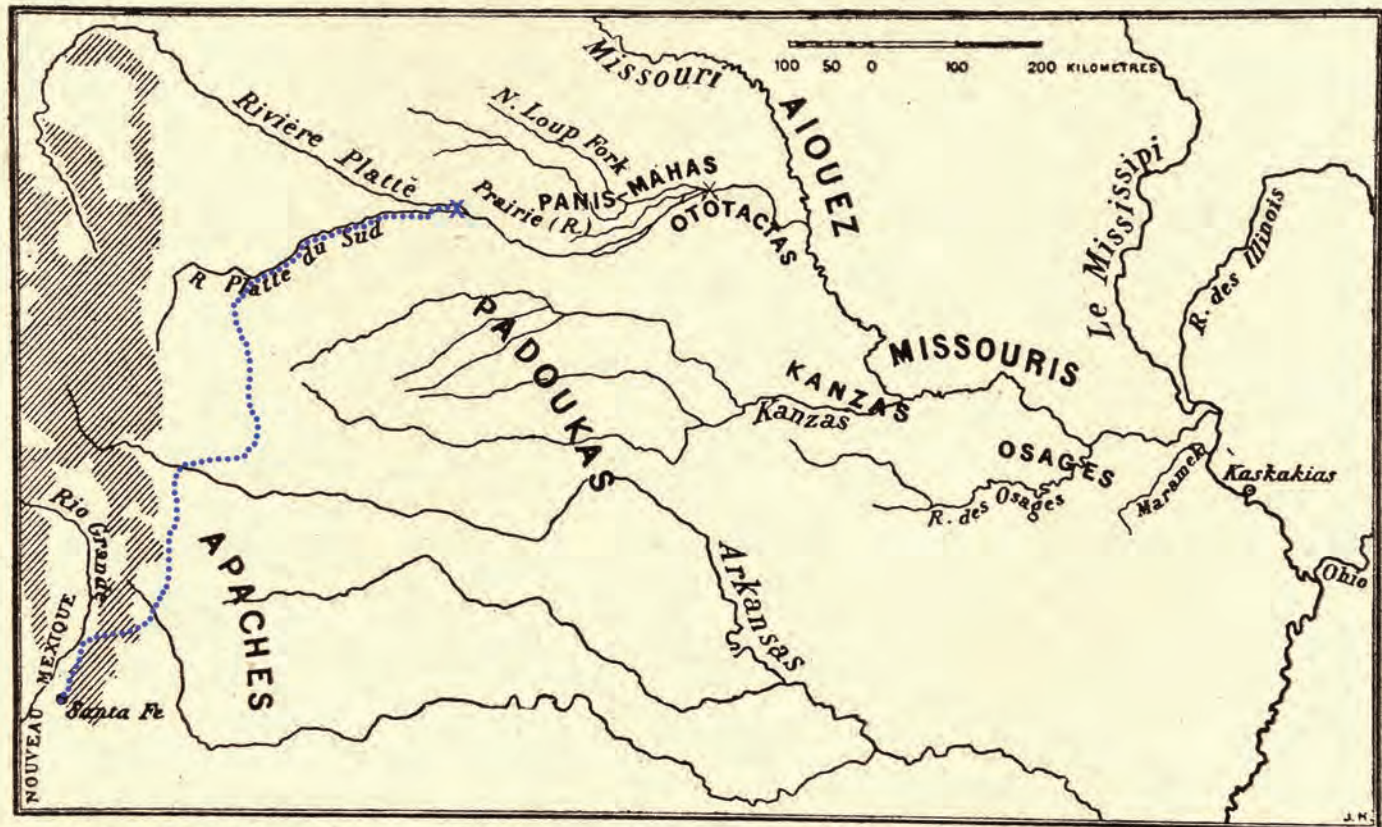


in Spanish America on a reconnaissance in force from Santa Fe to the Platte River in June 1720, where they were attacked by a combined force of Pawnee and Otoe Indians. Villasur and most of his command lost their lives. Possibly—so far there is no direct evidence—the Native Americans were accompanied by French traders.<sup>27</sup> The defeat, no surprise, discomfited the Spanish in Santa Fe.<sup>28</sup>

A Spanish investigation accompanied by a great deal of paperwork (depositions, testimonials, and administrative correspondence) was generated.<sup>29</sup> But it was up to the French to publish accounts of their foe's disaster: Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix in 1744,<sup>30</sup> Dumont de Montigny in 1753,<sup>31</sup> Le Page du Pratz in 1758,<sup>32</sup> and Jean-Bernard Bossu in 1771.<sup>33</sup> Relying on hearsay evidence, none of these are especially accurate (but make great reading).



du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle indiquent, assez exactement, leur habitat<sup>1</sup>, seulement le



Carte montrant l'emplacement exact du Massacre de l'expédition espagnole du Missouri.  
Paris Map Showing Nebraska Region in 1720 X indicates place of Spanish Massacre.

Adolph Bandelier noted in 1890, "The journal of the expedition, which Don Pedro Villazur certainly had caused to be kept, was lost with the rest of the property in camp, and there is therefore no detailed account of the journey." Bandelier added in a footnote, "It would have been almost a miracle if the journal of Villazur had escaped the destruction of the camp."<sup>34</sup>

But miracles do occasionally happen, even for historians. Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage found and, in 1921, published a fragment of a diary written by Corporal Felipe de Tamariz, which the good Baron translated from Spanish to French (Villiers found this Spanish document in French archives).<sup>35</sup> Tamariz himself survived the attack, but without his diary. The latter found its way, through Indian trade, to the Illinois French.<sup>36</sup> It is apparently the last page written just before the attack.

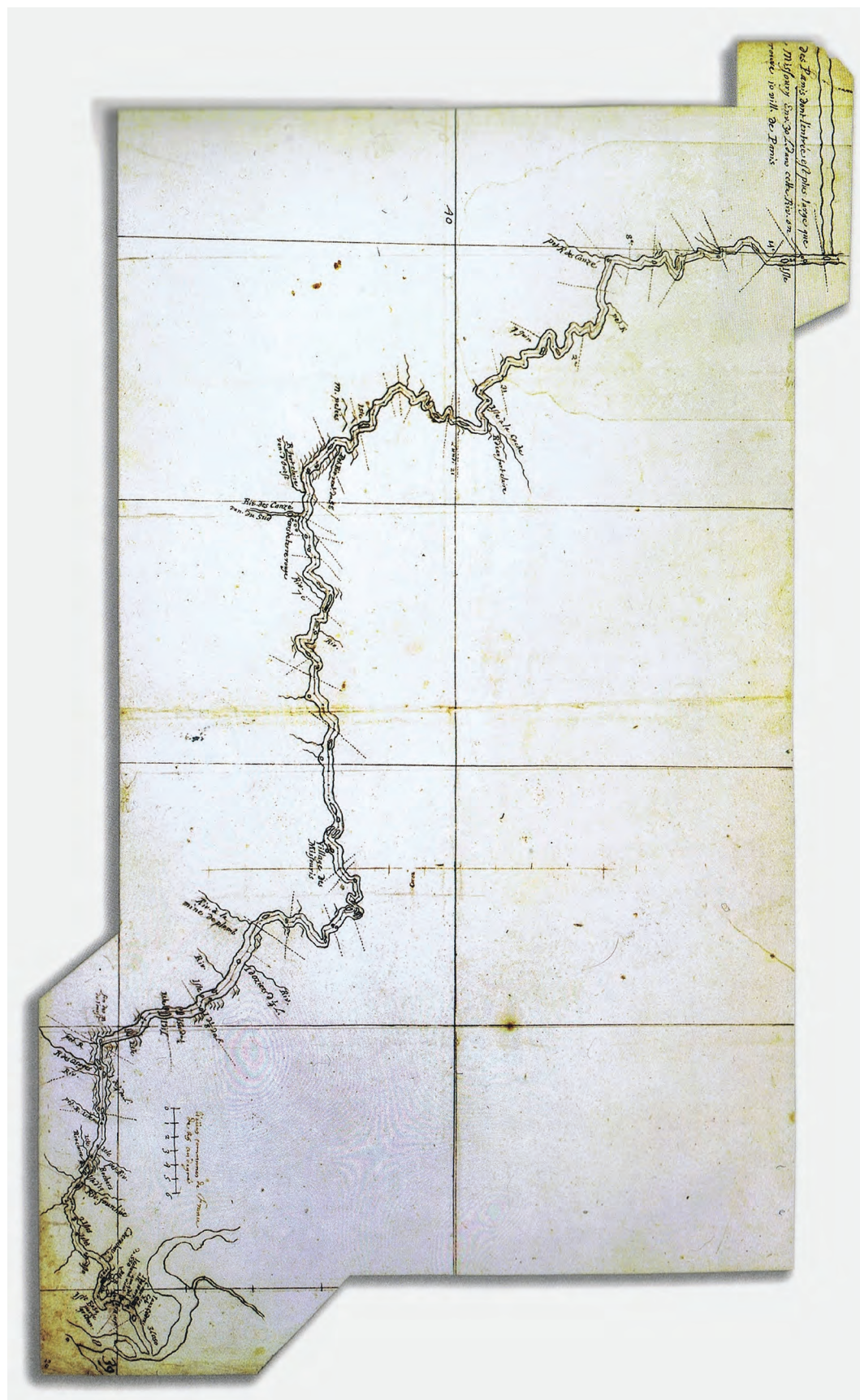
Villiers' 1921 article, published in Paris, caused quite a stir in Nebraska. The lead article in the first 1923 issue of *Nebraska History* was titled "A New Chapter in Nebraska History."<sup>37</sup> In this article, Addison E. Sheldon (then Secretary and Superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society) translated the diary fragment into English for the first time.

However, the location of the battle in 1923 was still up in the air. In that same *Nebraska History* issue, Rev. Michael Shine published an article that supported Villiers' interpretation that the battle occurred at the confluence of the Loup and Platte Rivers.<sup>38</sup> Historian Alfred B. Thomas responded a year later maintaining the site was much farther west, where the North and South Platte Rivers converge.<sup>39</sup> This was a stance he would maintain at least until 1935, when he published his monumental work *After Coronado*:

The French caption of this map translates: "Map showing the exact location of the Massacre of the Spanish expedition of Missouri." It illustrated an influential 1921 article by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage; Addison Sheldon reprinted the map in *Nebraska History* 6, no. 1 (1923): 4. A dotted blue line has been added to show an alternate route proposed by historian Alfred B. Thomas in 1924. Thomas's location has since been rejected.



Rotated clockwise, this map shows the confluence of the Platte and Missouri rivers in its upper left corner, and the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi in its lower right corner. *Rivière des Panis jusqu'a l'île aux Cèdres* (Missouri), by Guillaume De L'Isle, c. 1716. From Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009): Map 88, p. 53. Reproduced with permission



“The site of the battle from the documents in this study appears clearly to have been on the south side of the North Platte River near the town of North Platte, Nebraska.”<sup>40</sup> Later in 1924, Shine countered, this time more extensively, that the proper location was the Loup-Platte confluence.<sup>41</sup> The difference of opinion lay in the location of *El Cuartelejo*, which Thomas placed in Colorado,<sup>42</sup> while Shine and most historians since have placed in western Kansas.<sup>43</sup>

However, as late as 2014, one standard history of Nebraska stated, “The Villasur expedition was the furthest north the Spanish reached on the central plains and the *first European incursion* into what would become Nebraska” (emphasis added).<sup>44</sup>

### ETIENNE VÉNIARD, SIEUR DE BOURGMONT IN 1714<sup>45</sup>

During the summer and fall of 1724, Etienne Véniard, Sieur de Bourgmont led an expedition including Missouri, Oto, Kansa, and Osage Indians across present-day Kansas to arrange peace between those tribes and the Padoucahs (Apaches).<sup>46</sup> The first known account of this expedition was published by Le Page du Pratz in Paris in 1758.<sup>47</sup> It was not until 1879 that a transcription of Bourgmont’s expedition journal was published by Pierre Margry in Paris.<sup>48</sup> Frank Norall provides a translation in his 1988 biography of Bourgmont.<sup>49</sup>

It wasn’t long after the 1923-1924 Villasur *Nebraska History* discussion that Villiers made public another discovery, this time regarding Bourgmont on the Platte River. In 1925 Villiers published *La découverte du Missouri et l’histoire du Fort d’Orléans (1673-1728)* containing Bourgmont’s *La Route qu’il faut tenir pour monter la rivière Missouri* (The Route to be Taken to Ascend the Missouri River).<sup>50</sup> The last entry of which (to use Norall’s translation—bracketed comments are Norall’s) reads:

---

Saturday 16 (June, 1714). North one league; at the start an island of half a league (Tobacco Island); to the west a prairie of one league, at the end of which the river (Platte) of the Pani (Pawnee) is found. Its mouth is wider than the Missouri at that point. About 30 leagues up this river are ten villages of the Indians called the Panis (Pawnees).<sup>51</sup>

---

Bourgmont certainly had knowledge of the Otoe Indians and the Platte River before he decided to visit both. In 1712 Bourgmont married into the Missouri tribe.<sup>52</sup> There he learned from his in-laws that the Missouri and Otoe Indians had separated some forty years earlier in the 1670s.<sup>53</sup> The Missouri settled near the confluence of the Grand and Missouri Rivers in today’s central Missouri. The Otoe settled near the Platte-Missouri confluence in today’s eastern Nebraska.<sup>54</sup> Also Bourgmont may have earlier learned of the Otoe and the river they lived on. Historian R. David Edmunds observed, “From the Iowas and Missourias, the Otoes learned of the French occupation of Illinois and by 1700 small parties of Otoe warriors regularly were crossing the Mississippi, bartering beaver pelts for knives and other metal utensils.”<sup>55</sup> Bourgmont was not traveling into totally unknown territory.

European archives are still yielding information. In 1979 Waldo and Mildred Wedel were searching the French archives in Vincennes, a suburb of Paris, for early European contact with Native Americans. They came across an odd-shaped map measuring about 24 by 14 inches showing the Missouri River from its mouth to the Platte River. Examining the map, they recognized its relevance to Bourgmont’s 1714 journey and notified Elizabeth R. P. Henning, who further confirmed that it was based upon his Route document and another report written by him. These along with other documents were sent to France soon after Bourgmont’s expedition and made their way to Guillaume Delisle, then France’s leading cartographer. The map was deposited in the archives sometime after Delisle’s death in 1726.<sup>56</sup>

This—as of today at least—is the earliest known, verified report of Europeans on the Platte River.

### OBSERVATIONS

This article has noted successive assumptions of the first Europeans at the Platte River, when those assumptions were the prevalent consensus, and when and how each assumptive consensus was replaced by another consensus.

The table on p. 110 summarizes these findings.

The thread of history sometimes runs fine: Villiers translated the Tamariz diary fragment from Spanish to French. Sheldon then translated it from French to English. Thomas again translated Villiers French version of the diary into English in 1935.<sup>57</sup> As late as 2012, it appears the diary has not

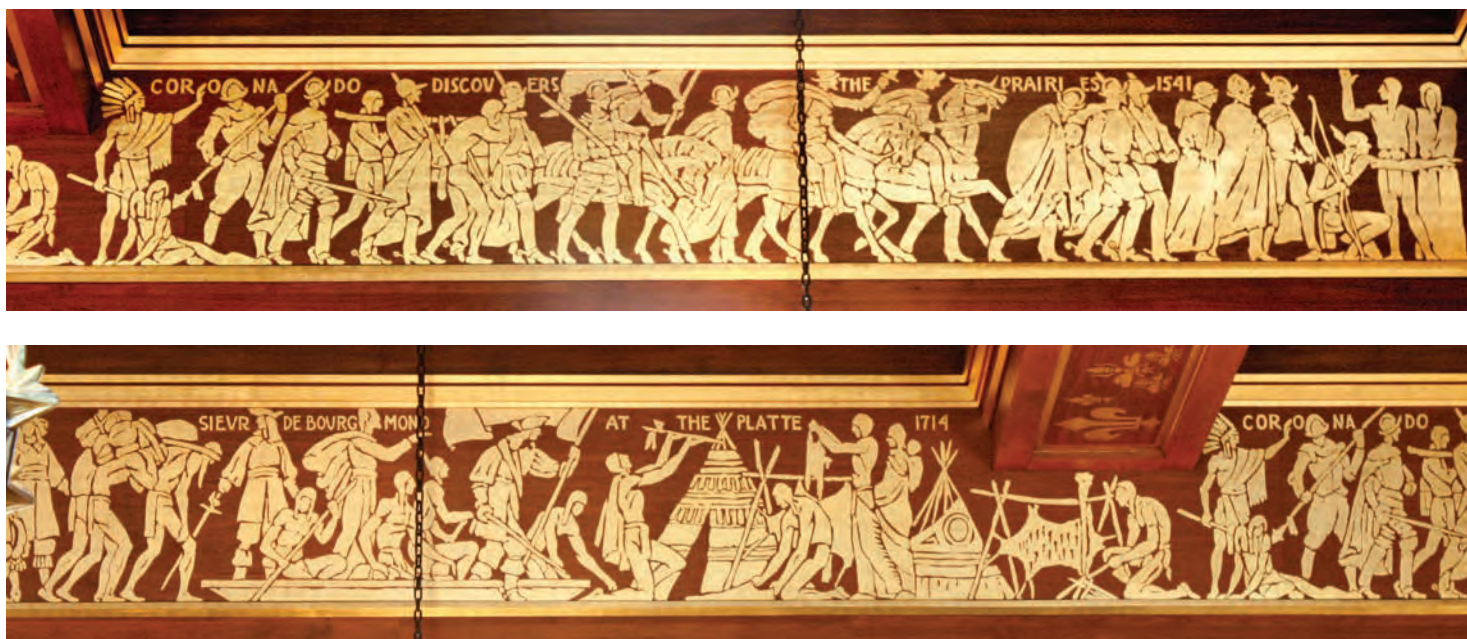


Colonial-era French soldier in North America. Michel Pétard (Parks Canada)



	Coronado	Mallets	Villasur	Bourgmont
<b>Date Reached Platte</b>	Summer 1541 (alleged)	2 June 1739 (passed mouth earlier)	6 August 1720	16 June 1714
<b>Participant Records</b>	Coronado's letter to Carlos V, dated 20 October 1541; Juan Jaramillo's Narrative, 1560s	original records lost; abstract of journal	original records lost; Tamariz diary fragment of last days leading up to battle	The "Route to be Taken to Ascend the Missouri River"
<b>Contemporary published account(s)</b>	None known (considered Spanish state secret?)	original records lost; abstract of journal exists	Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix in 1744, Dumont de Montigny in 1753, Le Page du Pratz in 1758	Le Page du Pratz in 1758
<b>Participant records shipped to Europe</b>	ca. 1540s to Spain; Jaramillo's account to Spain in 1560s	ca. 1740s sent to France	ca. 1721, material given to Illinois French by Indians sent to France	ca. 1715, "Route" document (and others) sent to France
<b>European historian who uncovered significant record(s)</b>	None, refer below	Pierre Margry in 1886: journal abstract, 147 years after the event	Baron Marc de Villiers in 1921: Tamariz diary fragment, 201 years after the event	Baron Marc de Villiers in 1925: "Route" document, 211 years later
<b>Earliest known American historian responding to European historian</b>	None: Simpson, Savage, and Gallatin based their accounts on documents available in the US	Henri Folmer in 1939, 200 years after the event	Sheldon, Thomas, & Shine in 1923, 203 years after the event	Frank Norall in 1988, 274 years after the event
<b>Archeological evidence found so far</b>	Several possible sites in central Kansas	none on Platte	none of battle site; El Cuartelejo in Kansas, but not in Colorado	none on Platte
<b>Consensus reached as to first on Platte</b>	pre-1848, less than 307 years after the event	after 1890s, about 155 years after the event	1920s, about 205 years after the event	beginning in 1950s, nearly full consensus with publication of Norall's biography
<b>Consensus abandoned</b>	in 1890s, about 350 years after the event	mid-1920s, about 185 years after the event	1950s, about 230 years after the event	Current consensus





been translated directly from the original Spanish into English.<sup>58</sup>

This article has identified three types of dated documents: 1) earliest known mention by contemporaries, 2) earliest known mention by a European historian, and 3) earliest known recognition by American historians.

Earliest known mention by contemporaries can be elusive. The Villasur battle is a good example: the Spanish investigation was kept quiet until historians began searching European archives.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile the French were quick to announce the disaster of their North-American competitor. The Spanish-language diary fragment of the Villasur expedition improbably wound up in French archives. Bourgmont's reports were sent back to France, where they apparently remained beyond the reach of American historians, until Villiers brought them to light in the 1920s.

The earliest known mention by a European historian wasn't always quickly recognized by their American colleagues. Villiers' publication in French of Bourgmont's "Route" document in 1925 was not widely known by historians on this side of the Atlantic until it was published in English by Giraud and Myers in 1958.<sup>60</sup> Folmer's 1939 translation of Bourgmont's "Route" languished in MA-thesis obscurity at the Denver University archives for years.<sup>61</sup> It should be noted that Villiers' *La découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort d'Orléans* was limited to fewer than 350 copies,<sup>62</sup> some of which were reportedly destroyed during World War Two.<sup>63</sup>

The earliest known recognition by American historians is problematic. When is consensus reached and how is concurrence defined and documented? This article has tried, sometimes arbitrarily, to indicate when the shift from one consensus to another occurred.

Will another contender before Bourgmont appear?

In July 1700, after Father Marest, in Upper Louisiana, learned from Le Sueur that Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville had established a settlement on Ile Dauphine (in today's Mobile Bay), he wrote d'Iberville about the Missouri River:

{The river's} real name is Pekitanoui, the French call it Missouri because these are the first people whom they found there. Next comes the Arkansas (Kansas) who are on a little river called by their name. Following them the Pana, Paniasse or Panis {Pawnee}. ...


After those rivers, which are to the left of the Missouri or Pekitanoui (going up river), there is the river of the Autantas (Otos). To the right, I know only one river where there are Paoute and Aiouais {Ioway<sup>64</sup>}, a numerous people who are allied with the Sioux, to whom they are neighbors. This Monsieur, is all that I know of these two rivers, but I have not yet been there, nor has any Frenchman. I have only learned this from the Indians who do not know the

Artist Hildreth Meière worked closely with Hartley Burr Alexander, the Nebraska State Capitol's "iconographer," in designing the 250-foot gold-leaf frieze that runs along the walnut beams below the ceiling in what was then the House of Representatives. While the Senate chamber emphasized Native American themes, the House chamber portrayed Euro-American exploration and settlement. Completed in 1932, "Coronado Discovers the Prairies 1541" and "Sievr de Bourgmont (*sic*) at the Platte 1714" incorporate current knowledge of Bourgmont's journey, and avoid repeating the discredited claim that Coronado reached Nebraska. Photographs by Hildreth Meière Dunn



**A retired aerospace engineer, Harlan Seyfer has been the historian for the Plattsmouth Main Street Association since 2010. He has delivered papers at several conferences on the history of the Mouth of the Platte region and is an instructor at Nebraska Southeast Community College.**

heights and would not know how to correctly tell the distance of each village<sup>65</sup> (bracketed terms are the translator's, terms within braces are the present author's; Emphasis added).

The good padre was with the Kaskaskia Indians on the Illinois River<sup>66</sup> at the time and one of the few Europeans near the Mississippi-Missouri Confluence, the two rivers he mentions.<sup>67</sup> Whether or not his assessment stands may well depend on what remains hidden in European archives. 

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See for example: William Brandon, *The Rise and Fall of North American Indians; from Prehistory through Geronimo* (Lanham, MA: Roberts Rinehart, 2003 [2013 paperback edition]), 3-4; David J. Wishart, *Great Plains Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 1; David J. Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World: Colonizing Ice Age America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 12; Michael R. Waters, et al, "Buttermilk Creek Complex and the Origins of Clovis at the Debra L. Friedkin Site, Texas," *Science* 331, Issue 6024 (March 25, 2011): 1599-1603; Heather Pringle, "The 1st Americans," *Scientific American* (November 2011): 38; Ariane Oberling Pinson, "Buttermilk Creek; Part I: A Pre-Clovis Occupation along the Margin of the Southern High Plains," *Mammoth Trumpet* 27, No. 2 (April 2012): [http://csfa.tamu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/vol\\_27num2.pdf](http://csfa.tamu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/vol_27num2.pdf) (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Similar Nebraska claims have been made for Juan de Padilla, Coronado's chaplain, who accompanied the Coronado expedition and later returned to Quivera, where he was killed ca. 1542. [See Eugene Hagedorn, *The Franciscans in Nebraska* (Humphrey, NE: The Humphrey Democrat and Norfolk, NE: The Norfolk Daily News, July 1931), 189-90; Conde B. Pallen and John J. Wynne (eds.), "Padilla," *The New Catholic Dictionary* (New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1929), 719.] Due to his close association with Coronado and Quivera, the Coronado discussion given here applies, and Padilla is not pursued on his own.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (eds.), *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005, and Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), Spanish transcription p. 324, English translation p. 321 (the transcription by the Flints is about as literal as one can get, including strange—to modern eyes at least—capitalizations). Pacheco and Cárdenas' 1865 transcription of the original document in the Spanish Royal Archives of the Indies reads, "La provincia de Quivira está de México novecientas y cincuenta leguas; por donde yo vine está en cuarenta grados." [Joaquín F. Pacheco and D. Francisco de Cárdenas, "Carta de Francisco Vázquez Coronado al Emperador, dándole cuenta de la expedición á la provincia de Quivira, y de la inexactitud de lo referido á Fr. Márcos de Niza, acerca de aquel país," *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas*

*en América y Oceanía, Sacados, en su Mayor Parte, del Real Archivo de Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel B. de Quirós, 1865), 363-69, specifically 367.] The Flint transcription of Coronado's letter to Carlos V appears to be more rigorous. George Parker Winship's 1896 translation places more emphasis on Coronado reaching forty degrees north: "The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree." [George Parker Winship, "Translation of a Letter from Coronado to the King, October 20, 1541," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93*, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 580-83, specifically 582.] The translation attributed to Winship in Hammond and Rey differs from that in the Ethnology Report ["Letter of Coronado to King" (George Parker Winship, trans.), in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 185-90, specifically 189]: "The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico by the way I came. It is at a latitude of forty degrees." The Flints trace the provenance of the Coronado letter in their introduction to their translation ["Introduction: Document 26: Vázquez de Coronado's Letter to the King, October 20, 1541," Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 318]. It should be noted that the *Relación del Suceso* also states "Quivira is in the fortieth degree ..." [Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 578.] Although the *Relación* is an anonymous work, the Flints theorize that it was written in 1541 by Hernando de Alvarado [Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (eds.), *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva; The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest* (Niwt, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 269]. George Hammond and Agapito Rey translated the *Relación* [Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, 284-94].

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Simpson [Brevet Brigadier General J. H. Simpson, Colonel of Engineers, U.S.A.], "Coronado's March in Search of the 'Seven Cities of Cibola' and Discussion of Their Probable Location," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 309-40, specifically 337. Simpson had his article reprinted: J. H. Simpson, *Coronado's March in Search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and Discussion of Their Probable Location* (reprint, Washington D.C., 1884 [originally in the Smithsonian Report for 1869]), 31. He also gave his presentation before several national organizations, e.g. The American Geographical Society of New York, December 23, 1873.

<sup>5</sup> Simpson, "Coronado's March," *Annual Report*, 339.

<sup>6</sup> James W. Savage, "The Discovery of Nebraska," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. 1, Robert W. Furnas (ed.) (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885), 194. (Paper read before the Nebraska Historical Society on April 16, 1880.)

<sup>7</sup> Savage, "Discovery of Nebraska," 200. Savage does not provide the source for his information on Coronado's cross. It most likely came from Juan de Jaramillo's journal of the Coronado Expedition (on p. 197 of his article, Savage quotes Jaramillo in English). The passage, as translated by the Flints, is: "At this campsite the general raised a cross, at the foot of which some letters were carved with a chisel. They said that Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, general of that armed force, had reached there" [Flint and Flint (eds. & trans.),



"Document 30: Juan Jaramillo's Narrative, 1560s," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 508-24, specifically 516].

Jaramillo's narrative was published in Spanish in 1857 [Buckingham Smith, "Cibola y Quivira 1542," *Colección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes*, Tomo 1 (London: Trübner, 1857), 154-63]. And, again according to the Flints (p. 511) in Spanish in 1870 [Pacheco, et al, *Colección de documentos*, Series I, specifically vol. 14, pp. 304-17]. An English translation of Jaramillo's narrative prior to Savage has not yet been identified. Hence, Savage may have been working from a transcription.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Gallatin, "Ancient Semi-Civilization of New Mexico, Rio Gila and Vicinity" in "Introduction" to "Hale's Indians of North-West America, and Vocabularies of North America," *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. II (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1848), liv-xcviii, specifically lxiv. For sources prior to 1848, refer to George Parker Winship, *A List of Works Useful to the Student of the Coronado Expedition (Reprinted in advance from the fourteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896).

<sup>9</sup> Wedel, Waldo R., "Coronado, Quivira, and Kansas: An Archeologist's View," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 10 (Summer 1990): 139-51, (Paper 501) <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/greatplainsquarterly/501> (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018); Joseph P. Sánchez, "A Historiography of the Route of the Expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: Río de Cicúye to Quivira," Flint and Flint, *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 280-301. Wedel wrote, "The better informed and more competent scholars of the late nineteenth century, such as H. H. Bancroft (1893), A. F. Bandelier (1893), George P. Winship (1895), and Frederick Webb Hodge (1899) had settled on a Kansas location as the most likely." [Wedel, "Coronado, Quivira," 140.]

<sup>10</sup> Adolph F. Bandelier, "Quivira," *The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893), 235.

<sup>11</sup> John B. Dunbar, "The White Man's Foot in Kansas; Coronado's March to Quivira," in George W. Martin (ed.) *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1907-1908* (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1908): 68-69n13.

<sup>12</sup> Michael A. Shine, "The Lost Province of Quivira," *Catholic Historical Review* 2, No. 1 (April 1916): 3-18, specifically 17.

<sup>13</sup> Hagedorn, Eugene, (O.F.M.), The Franciscans in Nebraska (Humphrey, NE: The Humphrey Democrat and Norfolk, NE: The Norfolk Daily News, July 1931), 185.

<sup>14</sup> Federal Writers Project, *Nebraska, A Guide to the Cornhusker State* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005 reprint), 44.

<sup>15</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949).

<sup>16</sup> Wedel, "Coronado, Quivira," 140.

<sup>17</sup> National Park Service, *Coronado Expedition National Trail Study and Environmental Assessment* (March 1992), iii.

<sup>18</sup> James E. Ivey, Diane Lee Rhodes, and Joseph P. Sanchez, *The Coronado Expedition of 1540-1542, A Special History Report Prepared for the Coronado Trail Study* (U.S.

Department of the Interior / National Park Service, 1991), 91. [http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/nps/g/coronado\\_expedition.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/nps/g/coronado_expedition.pdf) (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018).

<sup>19</sup> Cass County Bank, "Building Dreams for You Since 1966," *History of Cass County Bank*, <http://casscountybank.com/us/history-cass-county-bank/> (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018).

<sup>20</sup> Enter Nebraska, "Franciso Vásquez de Coronado," Nebraska Explorers, <http://enternebraska.weebly.com/nebraska-explorers.html> (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018).

<sup>21</sup> James W. Savage, "The Christening of the Platte," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* Vol. 3 (1892), 67-73, specifically 70. (Read before a meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society on Jan. 11, 1890.); Savage repeats his assertion that the Mallets were the first Europeans to sight the Platte in James W. Savage, John T. Bell, and Consul W. Butterfield, *History of the City of Omaha Nebraska and South Omaha* (New York: Munsell & Co., 1894), 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> Savage, "Christening," 67.

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Sixième Partie, Exploration des affluents du Mississipi et découverte des Montagnes Rocheuses (1679-1754)* (Paris: Imprimerie de D. Jouaust, 1886), 456. In English: *Discoveries and Settlements of the French in the West and in the South of Northern America, Sixth Part, Exploration of the tributaries of the Mississippi River, and discovery of the Rocky Mountains (1679-1754)*.

<sup>24</sup> Henri Folmer, "French Expansion toward New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," (M.A. thesis, University of Denver, 1939), 230-31; Henri Folmer, "The Mallet Expedition of 1739 through Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado to Santa Fe," *Colorado Magazine* XVI, No. 5 (September 1939): 161-73, specifically 155; Donald J. Blakeslee, *Along Ancient Trails; The Mallet Expedition of 1739* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 45-52. The abstract states that Mallets & Co. went up the right bank of the Platte. This may cause some confusion. If the party were on the right side of the river as they went upstream, that would be the north bank. If, on the other hand, they used the customary meaning of "right bank," that would be as one was facing downstream, i.e. the south bank. Blakeslee assumes the latter. [Blakeslee, *Ancient Trails*, 70; Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Mallet Expedition of 1739, Part I," *Wagon Tracks* (Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly) 5, No. 2 (February 1991): 16, <https://ejournals.unm.edu/index.php/wt/article/view/122/96> (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018)].

<sup>25</sup> J. Sterling Morton and Albert Watkins (James A. Beattie, ed.), *School History of Nebraska, Based on the History of Nebraska by J. Sterling Morton and Albert Watkins* (Lincoln: Western Publishing and Engraving, 1920), 30.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981, originally published College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975).

<sup>27</sup> James Hanson suspects strongly that Frenchmen were present [James A. Hanson, "Spain on the Plains," *Nebraska History* 74, No. 1 (Spring 1993), 20n26.

<sup>28</sup> Alfred B. Thomas (trans. & ed.), *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727; Documents*



from the Archives of Spain Mexico and New Mexico (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935); Thomas D. Phillips, "Villasur's Expedition," *Battlefields of Nebraska* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 2009), 2-13.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas, *After Coronado*.

<sup>30</sup> Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale: adresse à Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguières* (Paris: Rollin Fils, Libraire, 1744), III, 293-94. Charlevoix at Michillimakinac may also have written a letter describing the Villasur battle dated July 21, 1721 [Addison Sheldon, "New Chapter in Nebraska History," *Nebraska History* 6, No. 1 (1923), 5n4.

<sup>31</sup> Dumont de Montigny, *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane, contenant ce qui y est arrivé de plus mémorable depuis l'année 1687. jusqu'à présent; avec l'établissement de la colonie françoise dans cette province de l'Amérique Septentrionale sous la direction de la Compagnie des Indes; le climat, la nature & les productions de ce pays; l'origine & la religion des sauvages qui l'habitent; leurs mœurs & leurs coutumes, &c* (Paris: C. J. B. Bauche, 1753), II, 287.

<sup>32</sup> M. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane, Contenant la Découverte de ce vaste Pays; sa Description géographique; un Voyage dans les Terres; l'Histoire Naturelle; les Mœurs, Coutumes & Religion des Naturels, avec leurs Origines; deux Voyages dans le Nord du nouveau Mexique, don't un jusqu'à la Mer du Sud; ornée de deux Cartes & de 40 Planches en Taille d'ouche*, Tome Second (Paris: De Bure, l'aîné, 1758), 245-51.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Bernard Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales; Contenant une Relation des différents Peuples qui habitent les environs du grand Fleuve Saint-Louis, appelé vulgairement le Mississippi; leur religion; leur gouvernement; leurs mœurs; leurs guerres et leur commerce* (Paris: Le Jay, Libraire, 1768). The present writer has relied upon Bossu, Jean-Bernard, "Letter VII to the [Marquis de l'Estrade], Description of the War of the Nations of Foxes against the Illinois, of which the Author [Bossu] has been an Eye-witness. Account how the French Settled among these People," *Travels Through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana*, John Reinhold Forster, trans. (London: Printed for T. Davies in Russel-Street, 1771), 126-55, specifically 150-55.

<sup>34</sup> A. F. Bandelier, "The Expedition of Pedro de Villazur, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Banks of the Platte River, in Search of the French and the Pawnees, in the Year 1720," *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series*, Volume V, *Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890), 179-206, specifically 195 and 195n4.

<sup>35</sup> Marc de Villiers, "Le massacre de l'expédition espagnole du Missouri (11 août 1720)," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 13, No. 13-2 (1921): 239-55, diary translation 246-49, [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jsa\\_0037-9174\\_1921\\_num\\_13\\_2\\_2920](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jsa_0037-9174_1921_num_13_2_2920) (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018); Thomas, *After Coronado*, 272n89.

There are several English translations available: Gottfried Holtz, *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest; Two Representatives of Border Conflicts Between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Johannes Malthaner, trans.), Vol. 94, *Civilization of the American Indian Series* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,

1970), 186-90 (republished in 1991 by The Museum of New Mexico Press [Santa Fe] as *Segesser Hide Paintings, Master pieces Depicting Spanish Colonial New Mexico*); Sheldon, "New Chapter in Nebraska History," 1-31, specifically 13-19; Thomas, *After Coronado*, 133-37.

<sup>36</sup> Gottfried Holtz, *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest; Two Representatives of Border Conflicts Between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Johannes Malthaner, trans.), Vol. 94, *Civilization of the American Indian Series* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 186, 202, 203 (relevant pages).

<sup>37</sup> Sheldon, "New Chapter in Nebraska History," 1-31.

<sup>38</sup> M. A. Shine, "The Massacre of the Spanish Expedition," *Nebraska History* 6, No. 1 (1923): 32.

<sup>39</sup> Alfred B. Thomas, "The Massacre of the Villasur Expedition at the Forks of the Platte River, August 12, 1720," *Nebraska History* 7, No. 1 (1924): 68-81.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas, *After Coronado*, 278n152.

<sup>41</sup> Right Reverend Monsignor M. A. Shine, "In Favor of Loup Site," *Nebraska History* 7, No. 3 (1924): 82-87.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas, *After Coronado*, map facing 260.

<sup>43</sup> Right Reverend Monsignor M.A. Shine, "Map of Route by Father Shine," *Nebraska History* 7, No. 3 (1924): 82; Hanson, "Spain on the Plains," 20n26; Phillips, *Battlefields of Nebraska*, 2, 4; Ronald C. Naugle, John J. Montague, and James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska, Fourth Edition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 18; Benjamin J. Bilgri, "Ambushed at Dawn: An Archeological Analysis of the Catastrophic Defeat of the 1720 Villasur Expedition" (MA Thesis, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, Anthropology Department, 2012), Paper 21, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/anthrotheses/21> (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018), 66ff.

<sup>44</sup> Naugle, et al, *History of Nebraska*, Fourth Edition, 18. It is instructive to trace the evolution of that statement through the preceding editions: James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), 31; James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, Second Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 30; James C. Olson and Ronald C. Naugle, *History of Nebraska*, Third Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 30.

<sup>45</sup> The standard reference on Bourgmont is Frank Norall, *Bourgmont: Explorer of the Missouri, 1698-1725* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). Bourgmont is often spelled with a final "d" (Bourgmond), but whether "d" or "t" is used, the final consonant is silent, as is the "d" in his family name (Véniard).

<sup>46</sup> Norall, *Bourgmont*, 59-80. Norall translates the expedition journal on pp. 125-61. As to the identity of the Padoucahs (AKA Padokas, Padoucas) as Apaches or Comanches or something else, that is subject to debate. Blakeslee provides an excellent discussion of the problem [Donald J. Blakeslee, *Along Ancient Trails; The Mallet Expedition of 1739* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 34-42]. Norall refers to them as Apaches, and so the present author does the same.

<sup>47</sup> Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane, contenant la découverte de ce vaste pays, sa description géographique, deux voyages dans le nord du nouveau Mexique, etc.*, Vol. 3, chapters 9-11 (citation from Norall, *Bourgmont*, 92).



Norall provides a substantial historiographic summary of Bourgmont documentation in "Historiographical Note," 91-96.

<sup>48</sup> Pierre Margry, "Relation du Voyage du Sieur de Bourgmont," *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Volume 6, 1679-1754 (Paris: Imprimerie de d. Jouaust, 1886), pp. 398-449.

<sup>49</sup> Norall, "Journal of the Voyage of Monsieur de Bourgmont, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis, Commandant of the Missouri River above That of the Arkansas, and of the Missouri, to the Padoucas," *Bourgmont*, 125-61.

<sup>50</sup> Baron Marc de Villiers de Terrage, *La découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673-1728)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1925).

<sup>51</sup> Norall, "The Route to Be Taken to Ascend the Missouri River," *Bourgmont*, 113-23. Villiers' transcription of the same passage reads, "Samedi 16. Au Nord, une lieue ; au commencement, une île d'une demi-lieue [Tobacco I.] – A l'Ouest, une prairie d'une lieue au bout de laquelle la rivière des Panis se trouve. Son entrée est plus large que le Missouri n'est en cet endroit-là. Environ trente lieues dans cette rivière, l'on trouve dix villages de Sauvages qu'on appelle Panis." [Villiers, *La découverte du Missouri*, 59.]

<sup>52</sup> Norall, *Bourgmont: Explorer of the Missouri, 1698-1725* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988): 17.

<sup>53</sup> Chapman, Berlin Basil, *The Otoes and Missourias* (np.: Times Journal Publishing Company, 1965): x-xi; Lowie, Robert H., *Indians of the Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982): 1-3.

<sup>54</sup> Lowie, *Indians of Plains*: 2.

<sup>55</sup> Edmunds, R. David, *The Otoe-Missouri People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976): 22.

<sup>56</sup> R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, 6th Ed. (New York: Crown, 1978), 42; Elizabeth R. P. Henning, "From the Missouris to the Middle Missouri in 1714: Travels with Etienne," paper presented at the *Plains Anthropological Conference*, Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 1979; Elizabeth R. P. Henning, "Plate 1, Guillaume Delisle, c. 1714," in W. Raymond Wood, *An Atlas of Early Maps of the American Midwest* [Part I], Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers, Vol. XVIII (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1983), 1, pl. 1; Norall, *Bourgmont*, 22-23, 25; Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of the United States, With Original Maps* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 48-49.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas, *After Coronado*, 133-37.

<sup>58</sup> Bilgri, "Ambushed at Dawn," 57. Bilgri brings up the possibility that Villiers may have been working from a document previously translated into French.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas, *After Coronado*.

<sup>60</sup> Marcel Giraud, (ed.) and Mrs. Max W. Myers (trans.), "Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont's 'Exact Description of Louisiana,'" *The Bulletin* [of the Missouri Historical Society] 15 (October 1958): 3-19, American Journeys, Document Number AJ-093, [www.americanjourneys.org/aj-093/](http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-093/) (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018). Walter Wedel did reference Villiers publication in 1936, but in another context [A. T. Hill and Waldo R. Wedel, "Archeological Explorations of 1935," *Nebraska History* 17, No. 1 (1936): 2-73, specifically 66].

<sup>61</sup> Henry Folmer, *Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763* (Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark, 1953).

<sup>62</sup> Baron Marc de Villiers de Terrage, *La découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673-1728)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1925), facing p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Marc Sainte-Marie Libraire (Paris rare book dealer), email message to author, Feb. 4, 2015.

<sup>64</sup> Alternative spelling for Ioway [Martha Royce Blaine, *The Ioway Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 349].

<sup>65</sup> Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *The Discovery of the Missouri and the History of Fort Orleans, 1673-1728* (Trans.by Harriet Hopkins, from a manuscript in the archives of Robert T. Bray, University of Missouri: copy in the library of Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia), 14.

<sup>66</sup> August Reyling has identified six locations for the village of the Kaskaskia (*Historical Kaskaskia* (St. Louis: August Reyling, 1963), 13 [booklet in possession of University of Illinois-Urbana library]). In September 1700, the Kaskaskia Indians, along with Father Marest, changed locations from the second Kaskaskia to the third. The former was located on the Illinois River; the latter, about where today's southern suburbs of St. Louis are located.

<sup>67</sup> Villiers identified Father Marest by family name only. There were in fact two Jesuit missionaries of this name in North America around 1700: Pierre-Gabriel and Joseph-Jacques. They were brothers. It was Pierre-Gabriel who lived in the Illinois country. [Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. LXXI, *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1901), 264-265n12; Dan L. Thrapp, "Marest, Pierre Gabriel," *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), Vol. 2, 941-42; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, "Marest, Pierre-Gabriel," [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marest\\_pierre\\_gabriel\\_2E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marest_pierre_gabriel_2E.html) (last accessed Feb. 7, 2018).