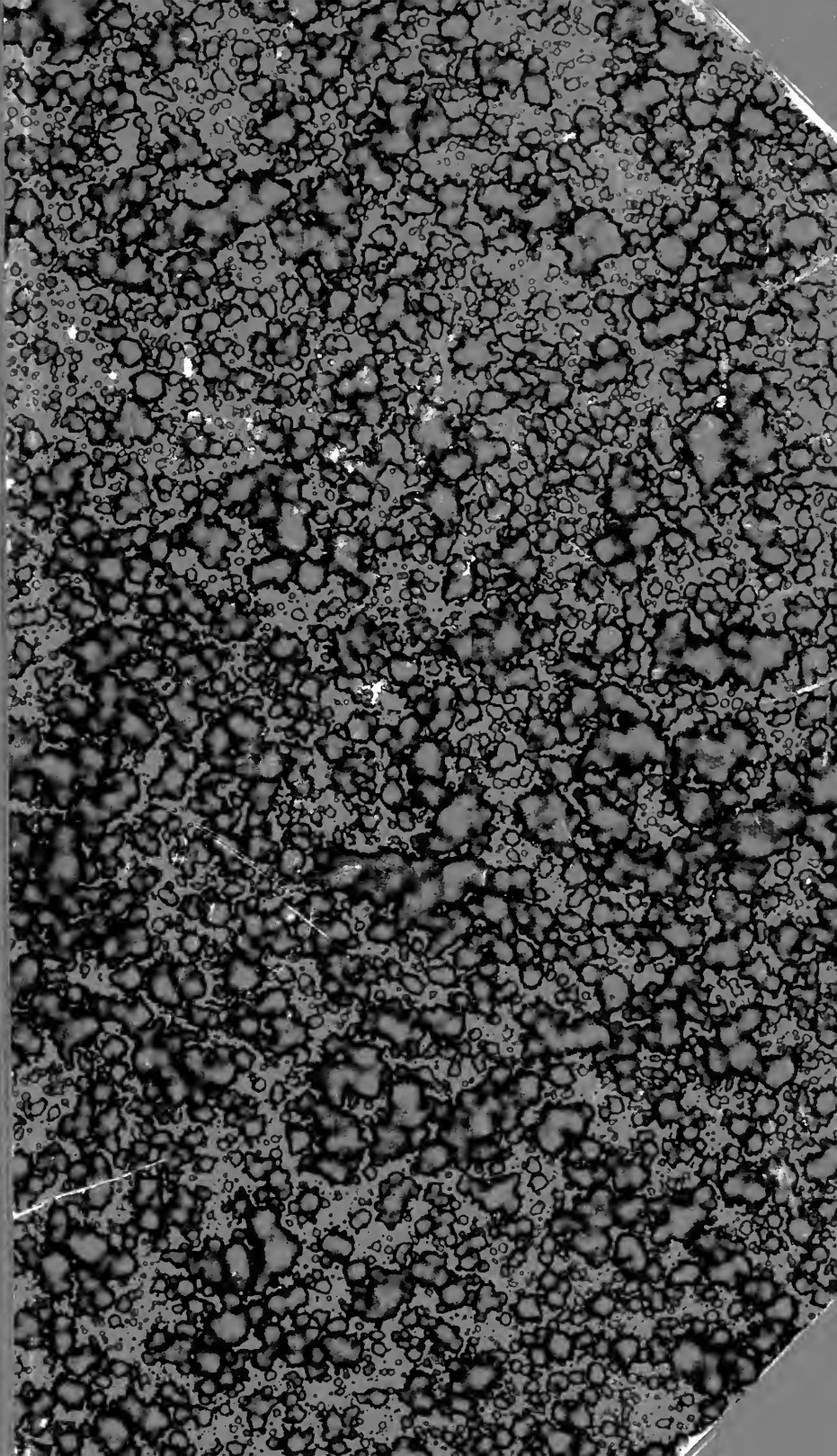
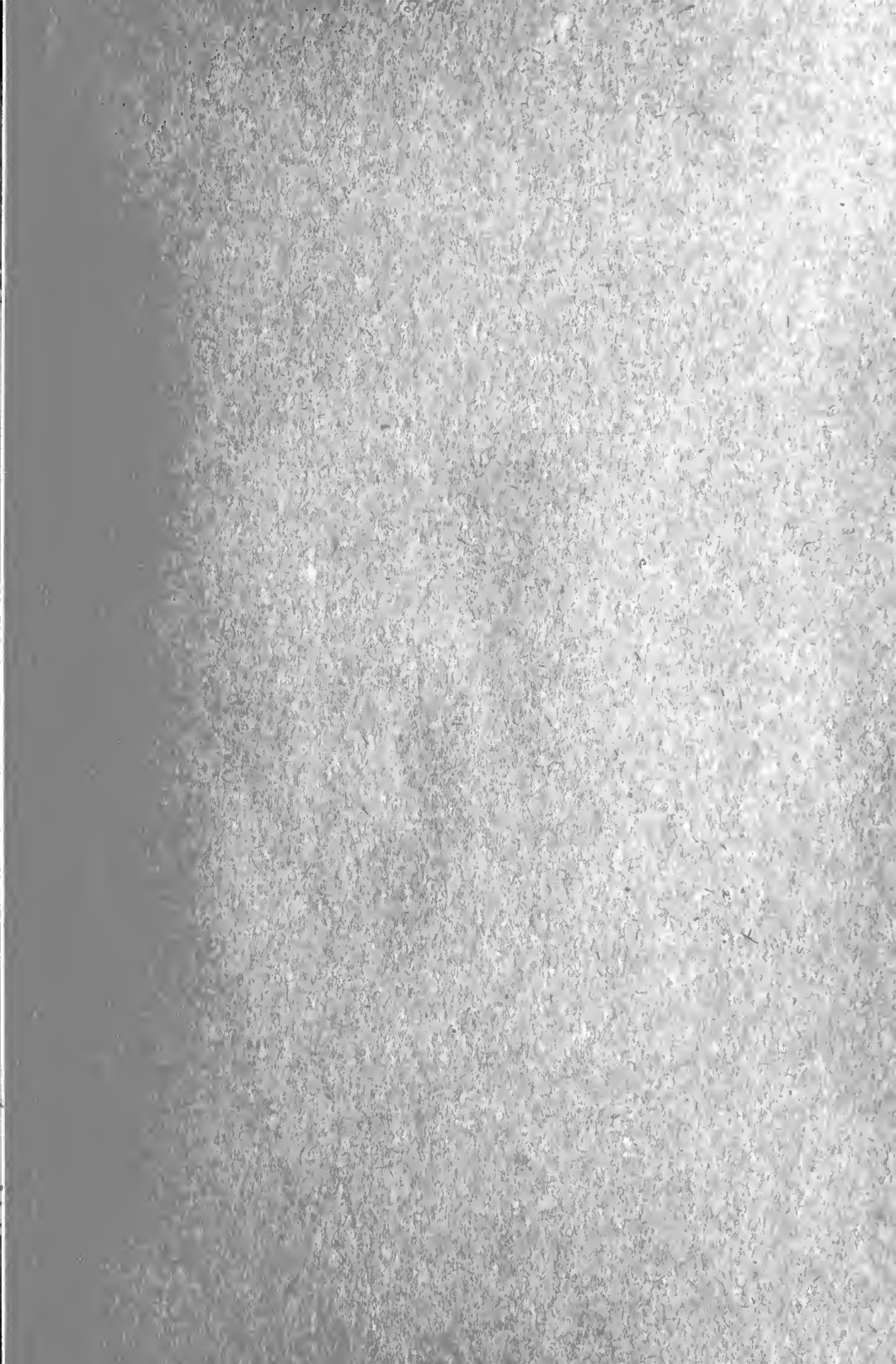


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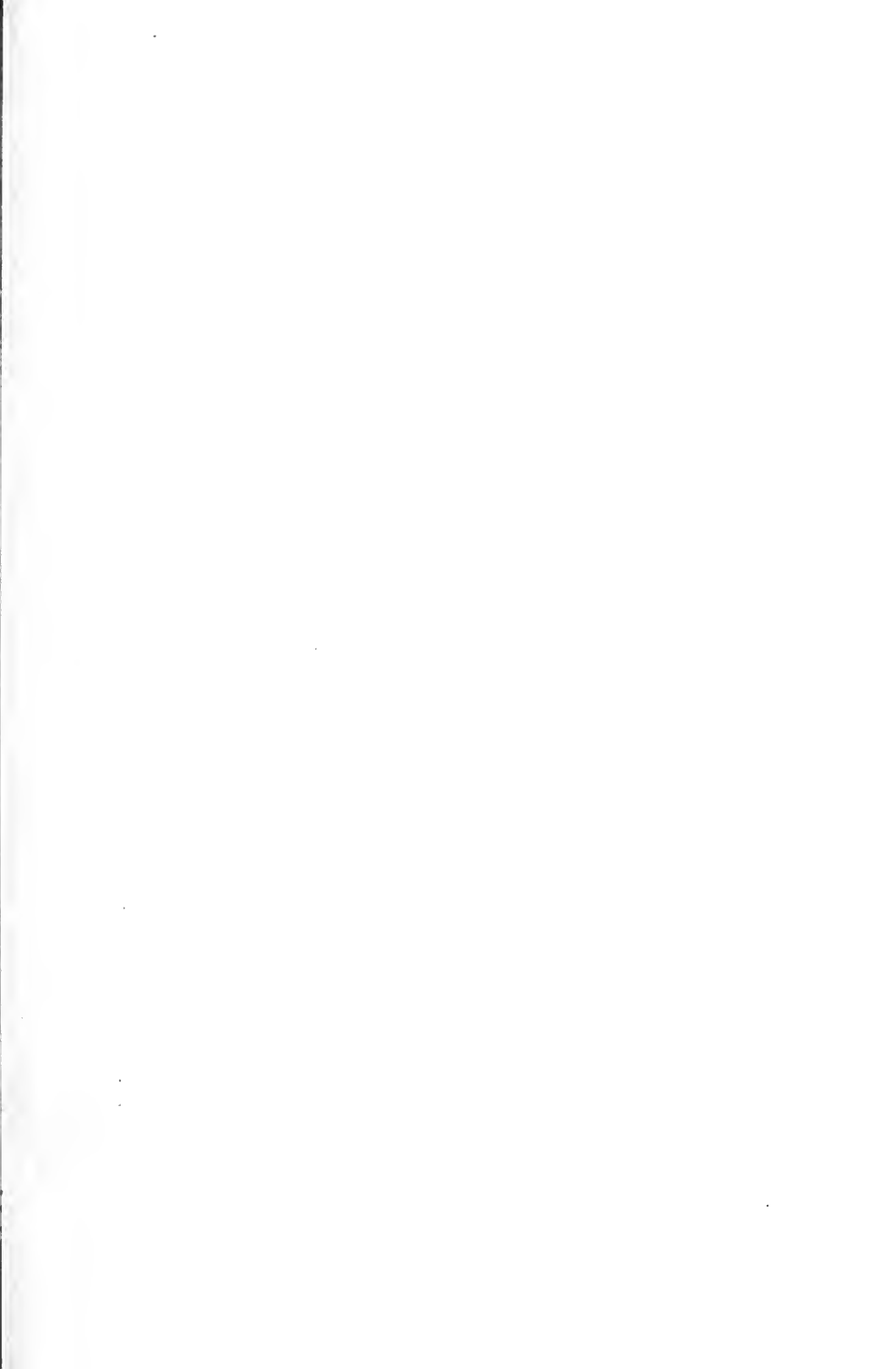




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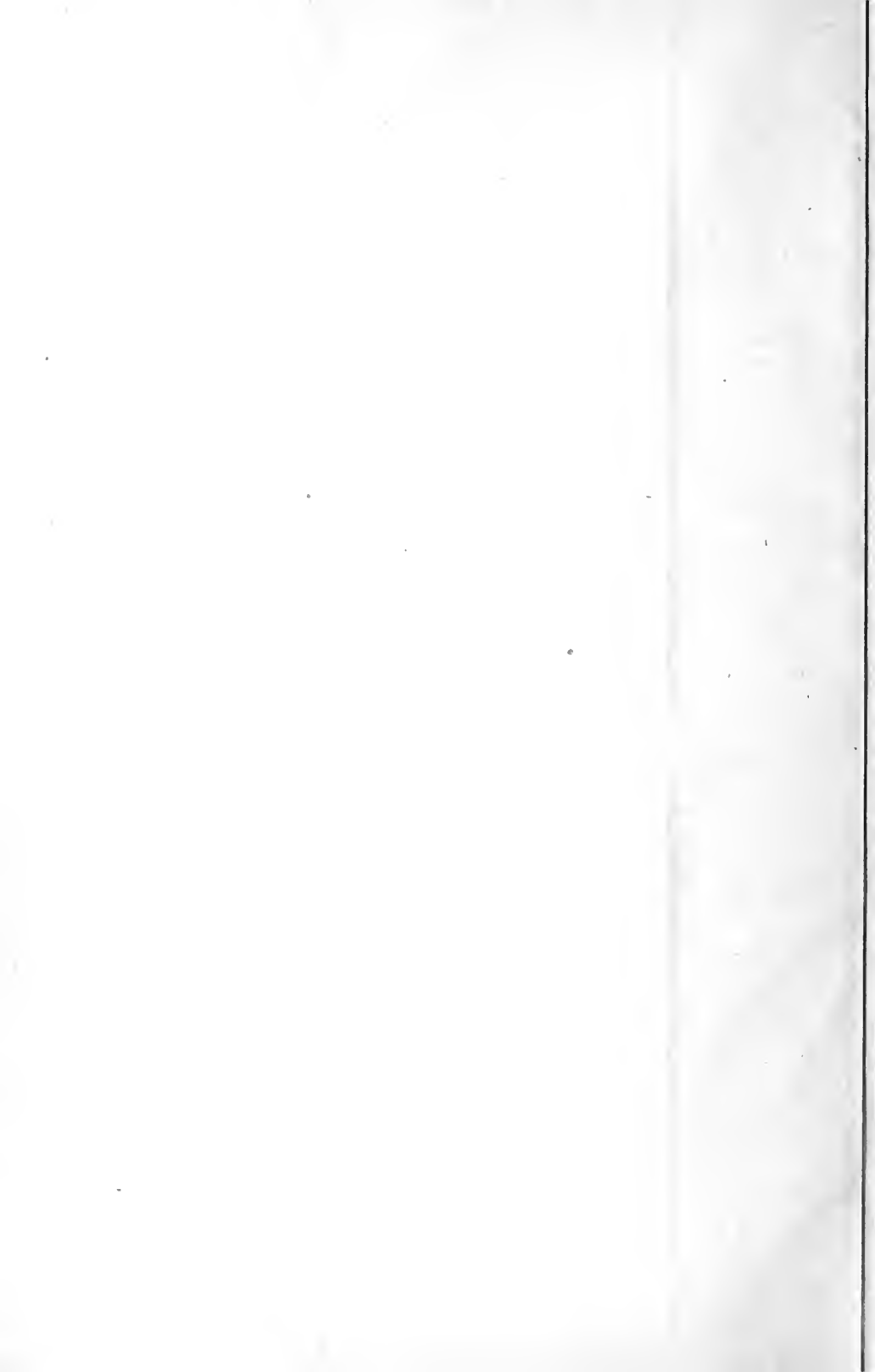
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THE REAL QUIVIRA.

BY

W. E. RICHEY.

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THE REAL QUIVIRA.

IN arriving at my conclusion as to the location of the real Quivira I have pursued largely an independent line of study and have been but little influenced by the opinions of others.

I shall refer mainly to the Spanish accounts of the explorers themselves, as they appear in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

Tales of gold, silver and great cities north of Mexico had reached that country at various times since its conquest by the Spaniards. Mexican Indians who had gone northward with feathers to trade had brought back gold and silver. These reports were confirmed by Cabeza de Vaca and his two companions, the remnant of the ill-fated expedition which Narvaez led into Florida. These unfortunate adventurers, suffering incredible hardships, had made their way from Florida to Mexico, arriving there in 1536, and giving to the viceroy an account of "some large and powerful villages" in the mysterious country north of Mexico. Peru and Mexico had yielded immense quantities of the precious metals to their ruthless Spanish conquerors. Consequently the imagination and avarice of the Spaniards in Mexico were greatly excited, and Mendoca, the viceroy of Mexico, raised an army for the exploration and conquest of the "seven cities of Cibola," and the unknown regions to the north.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was appointed commander of this army. It consisted of about 300 Spaniards, well armed and mounted, and nearly a thousand friendly Indians and servants. Artillery, ammunition, and subsistence, consisting in part of droves of cattle and sheep, were supplied in abundance and taken along with the army for its use.

On February 23, 1540, the army left Compostella and, proceeding northward through the Pacific coast region of Mexico, occupied the Zuni Indian villages, explored the grand canon of the Colorado, Tiguex, Cicuye, and the edge of the great buffalo plains to the east. Winter quarters were established at Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, near the site of Santa Fe.

The Spaniards were sorely disappointed. They had seen some pueblo villages, the habitations of certain tribes; but no great cities had been discovered, no gold nor silver found. They had plundered the villages and encountered the hostility of the astonished natives, who heartily wished their troublesome visitors away. To get rid of them, they shrewdly persuaded one of their prisoners, a Quivira Indian, whom the Spaniards called "the Turk," to represent Quivira as a land of fabulous wealth. The design seems to have been to get the Spaniards on the great plains, with the hope that they would get lost, die of hunger, and never return.

In April, 1541, Coronado and his army, guided by the Turk, left the Tiguex country for Quivira. Entering the great plains, on which roamed immense herds of buffalo, they met some Indians, called Querechos, among the buffalo. Pur-

suings their journey in the unknown land, they found another plains tribe, called the Teyas, who said that Quivira was far to the north. With the army was another Indian from Harahey, a neighboring tribe of the Quiviras, who was returning to his country. This Indian, named Isopete, had maintained that the Turk was lying. The army was getting short of provisions, and at a council of the officers it was decided that the main part of the army should return to the Rio Grande, and that Coronado, with thirty picked men, should proceed northward to Quivira. Captain Jaramillo was one of the thirty. Isopete had stoutly maintained that the Turk was leading the army too much toward the east. He was now believed and was taken with Coronado as guide. The Turk was taken along in chains and afterward strangled.

It seems proper to here describe briefly the manner of living of the plains Indians as they were found by the Spaniards more than 350 years ago. The very existence of these Indians depended on the buffalo. They lived among these animals and roamed with them. They killed them with their arrows. Their flesh served as food; their hides as clothing, blankets, shoes, ropes, and tents; their bones as needles; their dung as fuel; their wool as strings; their stomachs and larger entrails as water vessels; their horns as cups; and their sinews as thread, with which to sew the clothing, shoes, and tents. Some sticks drawn together and fastened at the top, their lower parts sloping outward, the lower ends resting on the ground, and the framework covered with hides, constituted their tents. Of flint they made implements, and with it they struck fire. When they moved they carried their belongings on sticks, one end of these sticks being fastened to the sides of their "dogs," the other ends dragging along on the ground. These animals described by the Spaniards as dogs were undoubtedly tamed wolves. Deer, wolves and rabbits shared the plains with the buffalo.

General Simpson and some other writers state that the point where Coronado separated from the main army was not south of the Canadian river. Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the bureau of ethnology, in his able and admirable article "Culiacan to Quivira," in Hon. J. V. Brower's masterly work "Harahey," inclines to the belief that the point of separation was as far south as the upper waters of the Colorado or even the Nueces. A close study of the direction pursued from Tiguex, the country described, and the time consumed by Coronado on his northward tour, leads me to believe that Mr. Hodge's view is the correct one.

Jaramillo (page 589) says: "We pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being north for more than thirty days' march, although not long marches. . . . So that on St. Peter and Paul's day we reached a river which we found to be there below Quivira. When we reached the said river, the Indian recognized it and said that was it, and that it was below the settlements. We crossed it there, and went up the other side, on the north, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after marching three days we found some Indians who were going hunting, killing the cows (buffaloes) to take their meat to their village, which was about three or four days still farther away from us."

The "Relacion del Suceso" (page 577), speaking of Coronado's northward journey, says: "Francisco Vasquez set out across these plains in search of Quivira, . . . and, after proceeding many days by the needle (*i. e.*, to the north), it pleased God that after thirty days' march we found the river Quivira, which is thirty leagues below the settlement. While going up the valley we found people who were going hunting who were natives of Quivira."

The Santa Fe trail is a prehistoric route, and the place where it crossed the Arkansas river was a landmark widely known. That this was where Coronado

and his companions crossed, and that this was the Arkansas river, is shown by the northeast direction of the route along the north side of the river pursued after crossing; and also by the statements of one of the officers that, on the return journey they traveled over a road—a good road—on both sides of the same crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's river. This good road was the Santa Fe trail. I shall refer to it hereafter.

When Isopete started to guide Coronado and his detachment to Quivira, his first objective point was the place where the Santa Fe trail crossed the river. A trail from the south led the guide and the Spaniards to this crossing. When they reached the river the guide "recognized" not only it, but the crossing and the Santa Fe trail, by which he identified the place and said "that was it," meaning that the Santa Fe trail crossing, his first objective point, had been reached. No other place of crossing the river was sought for. They "crossed it there." The Arkansas is the only river along which the Spaniards could have marched the distance named in a northeast direction. East of Fort Dodge this river bends towards the northeast and flows in this direction to Great Bend, about eighty miles or thirty leagues, the distance given by the "Relacion del Suceso." As the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas near the bend from which the river flowed toward the northeast, and as the distance from the crossing to the settlements was eighty miles, the first Quivira villages seen by the Spaniards must have been near the site of Great Bend.

What direction did the Spaniards pursue from the vicinity of Great Bend, or from where the river ceases to flow toward the northeast?

A correct answer to this question will solve the problem of the location of Quivira.

I shall cite some statements from the chronicles of the expedition, which, combined with known facts I will present, have not been mentioned by other writers, that I am aware of.

Jaramillo is particular in naming directions. Even in speaking of a single day's march, made after the northward journey was decided on and before it commenced, he says, "we all went *forward* one day." (Page 589.) Before meeting the hunting party, "who were natives of Quivira," he speaks of going toward the northeast along the river, after leaving the crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's. There can be no doubt about the direction pursued, because it is established by both his statement and the course of the river. With this direction still in mind, and naming no other, he says: "So the Indians went to their houses, which were at the distance mentioned, *and we also proceeded* at our rate of marching until we reached the settlements" (page 590): that is, they, and also the Indians, *went forward* in the same general direction, toward the northeast. To proceed (*pro*, forward, and *cedo*, to move) is to move forward. That this was the direction pursued is evident from the fact that, had he gone north, east, or southeast, he would have found no "very large river," nor any section of country such as he and Coronado described. Some of the descriptions might have applied, but not all of them. No other direction is mentioned of the return journey until the same crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's was reached.

On page 591 Jaramillo says of the return march: "Thus they brought us back by the *same road* as far as where I said before that we came to a river called St. Peter and Paul's, and here we left that by which we had come (that is, from the south), and, taking the right hand, they led us along by watering places and among cows (buffaloes), and by a *good road*, although there are none either one way or the other except those of the cows, as I have said."

It will be seen that Jaramillo gives the direction of the trail leading to the crossing; of the one leading from it toward Quivira and back again to the crossing; and of the one leading thence by "taking the right hand." Here are four different directions of travel described. The Spanish historians of the expedition aimed to point out the way to Quivira, and is it not probable, is it not *more* than probable, that, had there been any considerable divergence from the north-east direction, the only one named, the change of direction would have been mentioned; especially so, as other changes of direction were so clearly described, as I have shown?

The "road" which the party traveled on along the river and back again was the Santa Fe trail; the road which was described as the one "by which we had come" was the trail leading to the crossing from the south; and the "good road" leading from the crossing in the direction indicated by "the right hand" was the Santa Fe trail, over which the Spaniards returned to the Rio Grande.

Here were trails from three different directions converging at the crossing. There were probably others, but these are surely sufficient to show that this was the landmark to and from which Coronado and his men marched after the beginning of their northward exploring tour. No point on the whole route of the Coronado expedition seems more definitely identified than that where the old, prehistoric Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas river; and, this point established, the location of Quivira, long a mystery, can be no longer in doubt.

On page 590 Jaramillo says the Quivira settlements were found "*along good river bottoms,*" and "*good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned*"—that is, the St. Peter and Paul's. Had the explorers gone north and crossed the Smoky Hill and other streams of considerable size, as the Saline and Solomon, would this language have been used and the fact of their crossing been omitted? The descriptions certainly imply that, for a part of the distance at least, they went down the Smoky Hill and visited the streams which flow into it from the south. Jaramillo also says the rivers were "without much water." This would likely be true of the Smoky Hill; and the plums, mulberries, grapes and nuts of which Coronado and Jaramillo speak were very probably on the lower Smoky Hill and upper Kansas rivers. In addition to this, these two writers made statements which seem to have never been fully interpreted. On page 582 Coronado says of Quivira that it is "very well watered by the rivulets and *springs* and rivers"; and Jaramillo, adding to this description, says, on page 591, "It is not a very rough country, but is made up of hillocks and plains and very fine-appearing streams and rivers"; and again he says, on page 590, in speaking of the "end" of Quivira, "here there was a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others."

These descriptions certainly apply more aptly to the country along the south side of the lower Smoky Hill and upper Kansas than any other. Castaneda, on page 528, says, "Quivira is to the west of those ravines." There are no tributaries of the Kansas on its south side below Humboldt and McDowell's creeks to which the term *ravines* can be more fitly applied than to the heads of those streams.

On page 590 Jaramillo further states: "We reached what they said was the end of Quivira, to which they took us, saying that the things there were of great importance." This allusion to things of "great importance" was evidently lost on the Spaniards, because they viewed it from their own standpoint, and not from the standpoint of the Indians. Let us consider it from the position of the latter, and try to determine what the Quiviras meant by things of "great importance."

The country drained by Humboldt and McDowell's creeks is a land of gushing springs, of noble streams, of "good bottoms," of timber belts and "hillocks." Here, too, is chert, easily accessible and of good quality, from which the prehistoric inhabitants for ages fashioned their rude implements, as much of a necessity to them as firearms and agricultural implements were to their white brethren. Were not all these things "of great importance" to these children of nature?

There is nowhere else in Kansas a section of country of equal area that combined as many advantages and supplied as many and as varied wants as this. Why should the Quiviras prefer a less favored location rather than this? Is it surprising that its superior resources caused it to be widely known, as far, even, as the remote Teyas?

On page 577 the "Relacion del Suceso" says: "Francisco Vasquez went twenty-five leagues through these settlements, to where he obtained an account of what was beyond, and they said that the plains come to an end, and that down the river there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting."

Coronado (page 582) says, speaking of the Quiviras and this same river, "They are settled . . . on a very large river."

This river was the Kansas. No mention is made of large bodies of timber. As hillocks, ravines and plains are all spoken of together, it seems probable that the word *plains* was used to describe the grassy country, the prairies generally. On page 580 Coronado says: "I reached some plains so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went"; that is, he saw the prairies everywhere. The general appearance of the country seemed level, comparatively so at least, to those who had been used to mountains; yet there were hillocks and ravines. The word *plains* may have also been used to describe the grassy bottoms of the Kansas river.

The place where this "great river" was seen was in the "plains," and "down the river" where "the plains come to an end" the timbered country began, and the land not being cleared, there were people there who did not "plant," but lived "wholly by hunting."

This "very great river," this "river with more water and more inhabitants than the others," into which the ones "without much water" and the other "good streams" flowed, and which ran down to where "the plains come to an end," could have been no other river than the Kansas. It is much more probable that the explorers reached it by going down the south side of the Smoky Hill than the north side of that stream, which would have been a roundabout way. With high anticipations, and being anxious to reach the supposed goal the nearer they approached it, they would naturally go on the shortest route, the one down the south side of the Smoky Hill, where, as I have said, the descriptions of the country apply most aptly.

The goal to which the expectant explorers were led was the "end of Quivira," the Indians "saying that the things there were of great importance." I have mentioned these "things of great importance," as the Indians understood them. Here, at "the end of Quivira," was seen the great river, the Kansas, which has been so fully described.

This river could not have been the Missouri. The high river bluffs, the broad timber belts along that stream, and the forests that would have been visible beyond it, would have contrasted so greatly with the country seen before, that the features I have named would have been mentioned, if not described. Here would have been the limit of the plains; yet Coronado says (page 580) he never reached their limit. Whatever the narrators may have meant by the word *plains*,

it cannot correctly be said of the Missouri that down the river the plains come to an end.

When Castaneda says "Quivira is to the west of those ravines," he evidently establishes the eastern limit of Quivira by the ravines of which he speaks.

In the same sentence (page 528) he says, "The country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain-chains." These were the high hills along the Smoky Hill river, which marked the limit of the level country, over which the explorers marched after leaving the crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's. Considering the established point of crossing and the direction pursued from it, what other hills could they have been?

These hills marked what the author of the statement conceived to be the western limit of Quivira.

On page 591, Jaramillo, speaking of the beginning of the return from the "end of Quivira," says: "We turned *back* it may have been 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 there."

This was an important point on the return journey. Isopete was left here, and the final return, for which "picked fruit and dried corn" were there provided, was made from there. After some study and investigation, I feel confident that this place was near the Smoky Hill, on the route back to the site of Great Bend, where that route diverged from the line of the Smoky Hill. That it was on the Smoky Hill or a tributary there can be no doubt. When the explorers went *back* to this place, in what direction did they travel and what did they go *back from*?

The answer to this question is a very significant one, and solves the problem of the location and identity of Quivira. They went *back* from the "end of Quivira." They went *back* from a point on the great river below where the other rivers and streams flowed into it: from a point where it had "more water and more inhabitants than the others." They went *back* from "those ravines" of which Castaneda speaks when he says "Quivira is west of those ravines." As "those ravines" were at the east side of Quivira, and as the explorers went *back* from them toward the crossing on the St. Peter and Paul's, they evidently went *back* toward the southwest.

Let us take the point on the great river I have described as a starting-point. As they went *back* from it toward the St. Peter and Paul's crossing to the place where the fruit and corn were provided for the return, they surely went toward the southwest; and they continued traveling in that direction until they reached that crossing; for a little further on in his narrative Jaramillo says, on the same page (591): "*Thus* they brought us *back* by the *same road* as far as where I said before that we came to a river called St. Peter and St. Paul's."

Here is a line of travel established from the point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas river to a point on the Kansas below where the other streams described flow into it, and this point is at the "end of Quivira." This line runs through a section of country exactly described by the narratives of the explorers themselves. The point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas is the first landmark on this line of travel.

The point three days' march from this crossing toward the northeast, on the Santa Fe trail, and on the north side of the Arkansas, where the Quivira hunting party was found, was another landmark on this line. (Jaramillo, page 589.)

The present site of the town of Great Bend, where the course of the Arkansas river changed from the northeast, is another landmark on this line.

The point where the explorers first saw the high hills along the Smoky Hill river, by which Castaneda marked the western or rather southwestern limit of Quivira, is another landmark on this line.

The place where the cross was erected and where fruit and corn were provided for the return was another landmark on this line.

"Those ravines" at the east side of Quivira constituted another landmark on this line.

The "end of Quivira," where the Indians described the things as of "great importance," was another landmark on this line.

The point, below its described tributaries, where was seen the great river which flowed "down" to where "the plains come to an end," is the last landmark on this line.

The points at the two ends of this line are certainly fixed by the narratives of the explorers, and the intermediate points can be identified, at least approximately.

I claim that the points described, which are fixed by the narratives themselves, establish the line of travel pursued by Coronado and his exploring party from the crossing to the "end of Quivira"; and that this line, twice passed over, viewed in connection with all the statements and description given by the chronicles, and the natural features along and at the terminal points of the line, locates and identifies the long-lost land of Quivira.

It will be observed that I have not chosen a location for Quivira in advance, and interpreted the narratives so as to bring the Spaniards to it. I have been forced to my conclusion, rather than inclined toward it. I have not said a word about the many thousand implements found in the favored region I have described. Here are the flint knives and "razors" described by the narratives, arrow-points, spear-heads, axes, and agricultural implements, showing that agriculture was practiced, agreeably to what the narratives say of the Quiviras. These implements are rude and rough, indicating people of a very low grade of culture. Such are the descriptions given of the Quiviras. I had known of these implements, but did not consider them in evidence until the Spaniards were traced to them. When to the evidences I have given I add the testimony of these silent but unerring witnesses, it seems absolutely conclusive that here was the real Quivira.

When I received the report of the bureau of ethnology containing the narratives I could not find any river corresponding to St. Peter and Paul's except the Arkansas, and assumed that the Spaniards crossed at crossing of Santa Fe trail, as indicated by Jaramillo. I could find no river corresponding to the "very great river" mentioned by Coronado except the Kansas. I drew a line from the Santa Fe trail crossing on the Arkansas to a point on the Kansas below the Blue. This line seemed to fit the intermediate points and the descriptions like the capstone to an arch.

My conclusion is that Quivira extended from "those ravines" formed by the upper courses of Deep, Mill, Humboldt and McDowell's 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 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, Harahey, 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.

Coronado says there was no timber except along the gullies and rivers, which were few. (Page 582.) This shows that he did not go far enough east to see heavy bodies of timber. After joining his main force on the Rio Grande, the army returned thence to Mexico, the expedition being a complete failure.

While Mr. Brower's book "Harahey" was in preparation, I had the honor of contributing an article to the work. He and Mr. Hodge deserve great credit for the light they have thrown on the subject. It is a matter of much gratification to me that my views coincide so nearly with theirs. Mr. Hodge has indisputably shown that the Quiviras were the ancestors of the Wichitas and the Haraheys of the Pawnees.

The patient and intelligent researches of the late L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan, and of Judge J. T. Keagy, of Alma, are worthy of the highest commendation.

All the gentlemen named have been worthy colaborers, and to them the credit which is their due is freely accorded.

Coronado was in Quivira twenty-five days, and the country must have been pretty well explored, for he says, in his letter to the king, that he "sent captains and men in many directions." The late Colonel Phillips, of Salina, once told me that he had seen the Spanish flag cut on a rock on Big creek, in Ellis county; that, although there was some defacement from the effects of the weather, the flag could be made out. Professor Williston, of the state university, informs me that an ancient house has been discovered in Scott county. A sword bearing a Spanish inscription has been found on the Walnut, thirty-eight miles southeast of this ruin. Some of these may throw further light on the wanderings of Coronado's men.

Some students of the expedition who have read the narratives in connection with contemporaneous history seem to have become confused, and despair of reaching a solution. This should not be. If this course was always followed no conclusion would be reached in anything perplexing. The narratives of the explorers should take precedence over everything else. If we accept these as a guide we cannot ignore the northward journey of Coronado's detachment; of his coming to a river on St. Peter and Paul's day; of his crossing it "there"; of his marching toward the northeast along the river, after crossing it; of the high hills seen afterward, and the great river seen at the "end of Quivira." We must admit that the existence of the best quality of flint on McDowell's and Humboldt creeks, the "springs," "rivulets," "fine appearing streams," the plums, grapes, mulberries, and nuts, attracted the Quiviras to the region described, which "is not a very rough country, but is made up of hillocks and plains."

We must also admit that the existence, in much greater numbers than elsewhere, of the flint implements found in this section proves that here was a considerable Indian population; that the great similarity of these implements in material and manufacture shows that they were made by one tribe; and that these implements indicate the practice of agriculture, the planting of corn. Finally, we cannot escape the fact that the course of Coronado's detachment was directed to the seat of such an Indian population.

It is hardly necessary to mention other evidences, less important, except to state that they confirm the ones already given.

That the Santa Fe trail is a prehistoric route seems generally admitted, and I regard its Arkansas crossing as an important key to the solution of the problem.

After crossing the river the Spaniards marched down the stream, but the narratives say they "went up." We should remember that "the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain-chains." The attention of the explorers was directed toward Quivira more than to the direction the water ran, and, as they approached these high hills from the level ground, it seems they were impressed as going *up*. The other river, the Kansas, is correctly described as running "down" to where "there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting."

Coronado, in his letter to the king (page 582), says that the place where he reached Quivira was in the fortieth degree. Mr. Hodge has shown that, according to the manner in which the Spaniards then reckoned latitude, the fortieth degree was near Great Bend, where the first Quivira settlements were seen.

That there are some perplexing features connected with the study of the narratives is admitted; but that the great weight of authority and evidence is in favor of the views herein set forth seems undeniable. At the instance of Mr. Hodge, I sent that gentleman some manuscript giving my views on the subject. He did me the honor to send the following letter, which explains itself:

"SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 31, 1900.

"*Mr. W. E. Richey, Harveyville, Kan.:*

"MY DEAR SIR—I have delayed answering your recent note until an opportunity was afforded for having a copy made of your letter of March 1, regarding the location of Quivira. The copy has now been made, but, of course, it will not be used until your own publication appears. I would urgently recommend that your views be published, after such elaboration as you may deem fit, for I regard your exposition of the narratives one of the most common-sense views ever made on the subject. * * *

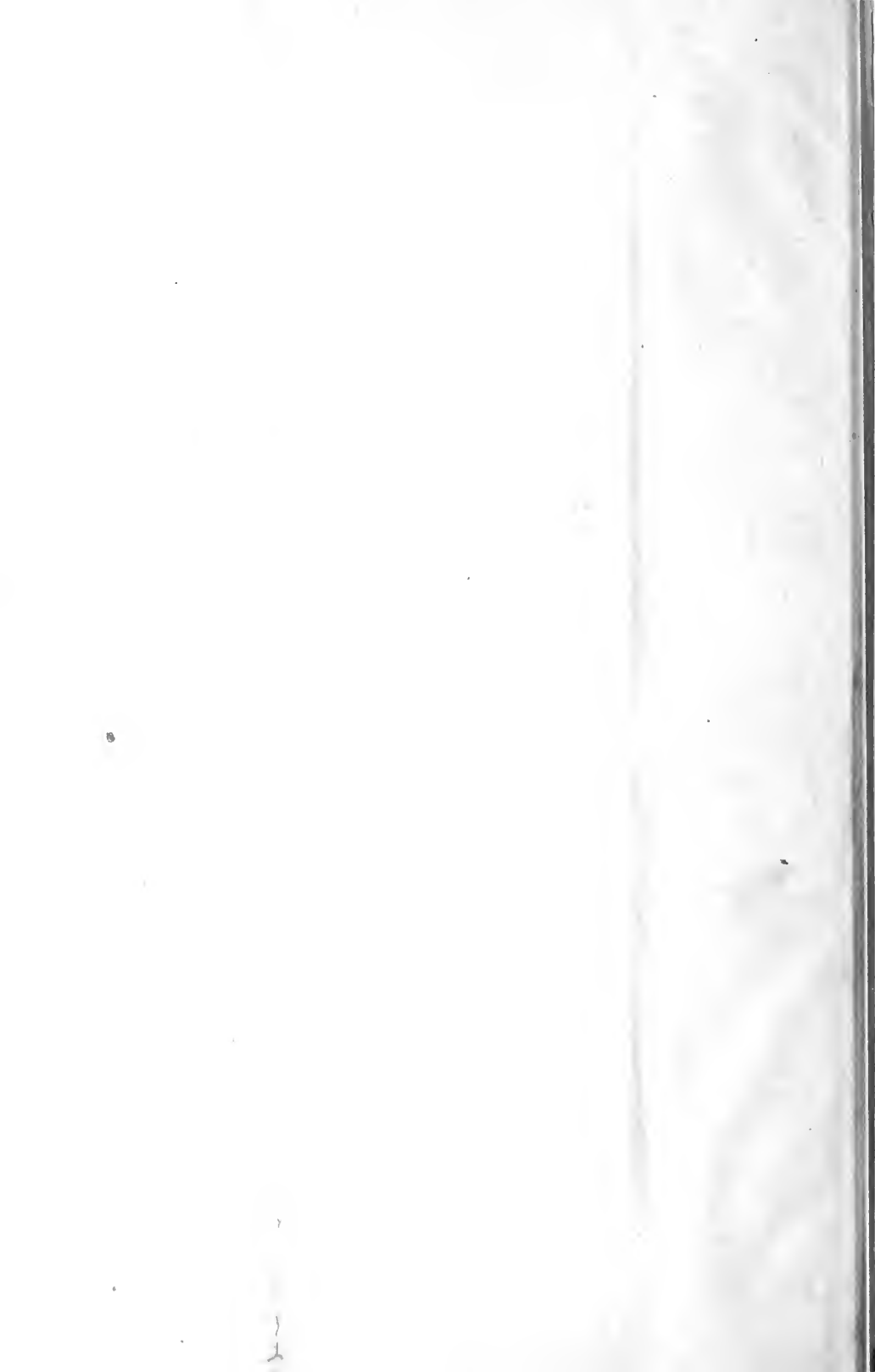
"Unless you have other plans in mind, I would suggest that you publish your Quivira paper as soon as practicable, since it is only proper that you should have all the credit due. I have no doubt that the Kansas Historical Society would be glad to publish the paper in its transactions. Yours very truly,

F. W. HODGE."

In the haste with which this article has been prepared it has been impossible to present all the points desired. Enough, however, it is hoped, has been written to show that the positions assumed are warranted by the narratives of the expedition and the natural features of the country described.

Aware that a certain school of critics seem disposed to dispute every point on which there appears to be any doubt, I have endeavored to draw all the meaning obtainable from the accounts of the explorers, and, with the aid of my associates, to make the views held by them and me so clear and reasonable that the correctness of these views will be generally admitted by those who have given the subject careful study.

Feeling justified by the approval of the eminent authority given, and hoping that this article will cause further investigation and study, I respectfully submit these pages to an impartial public.









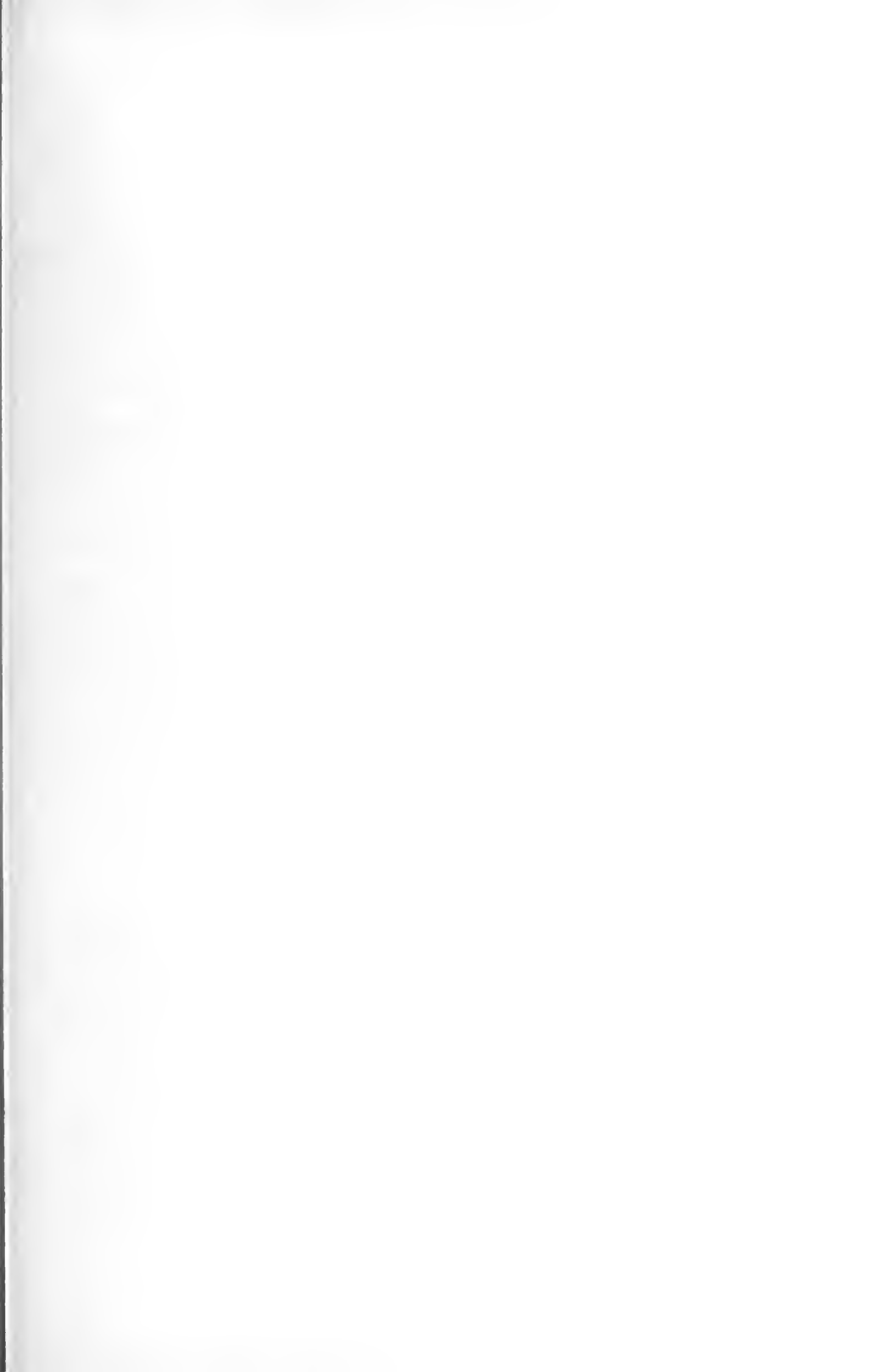


























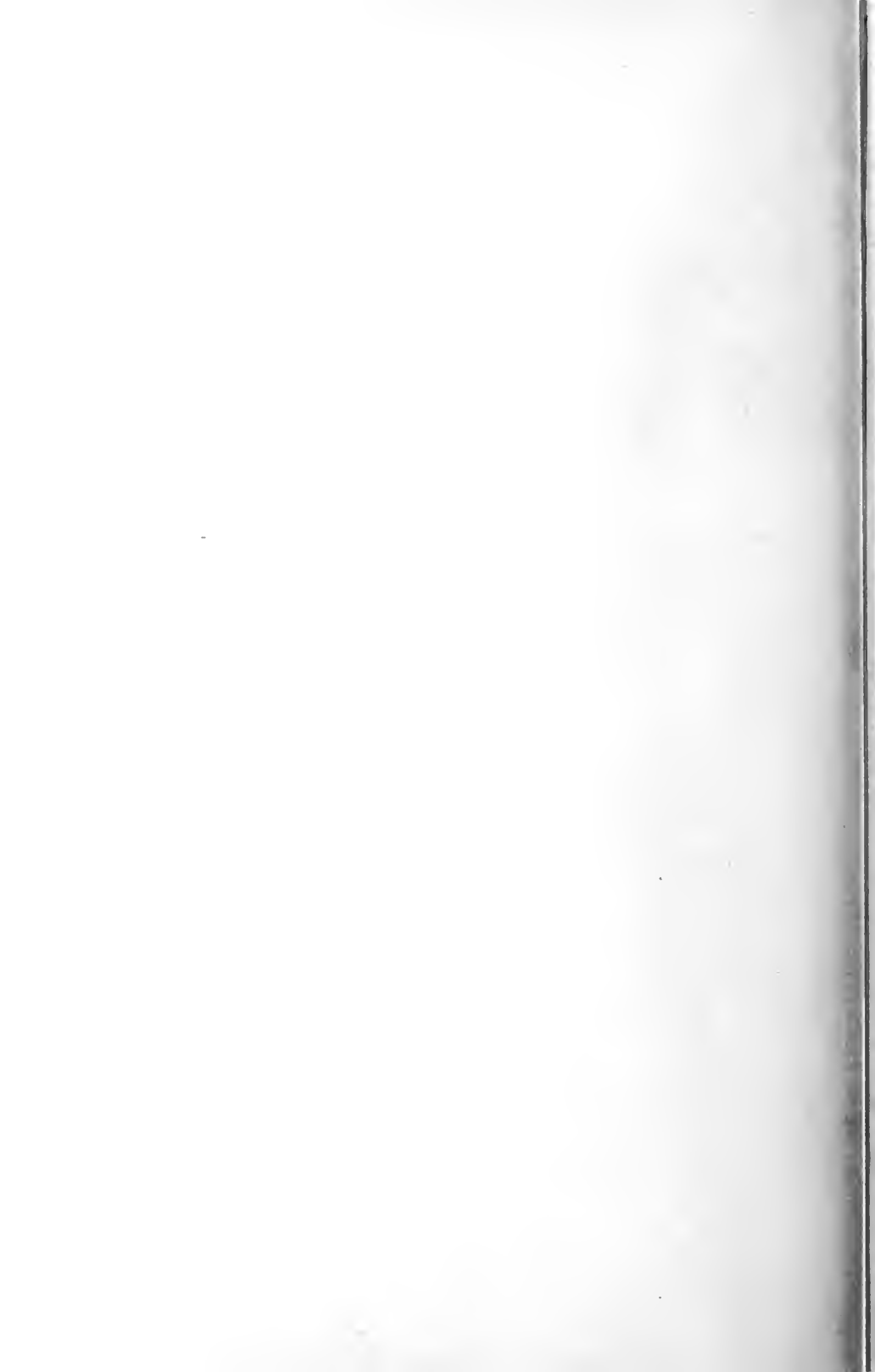












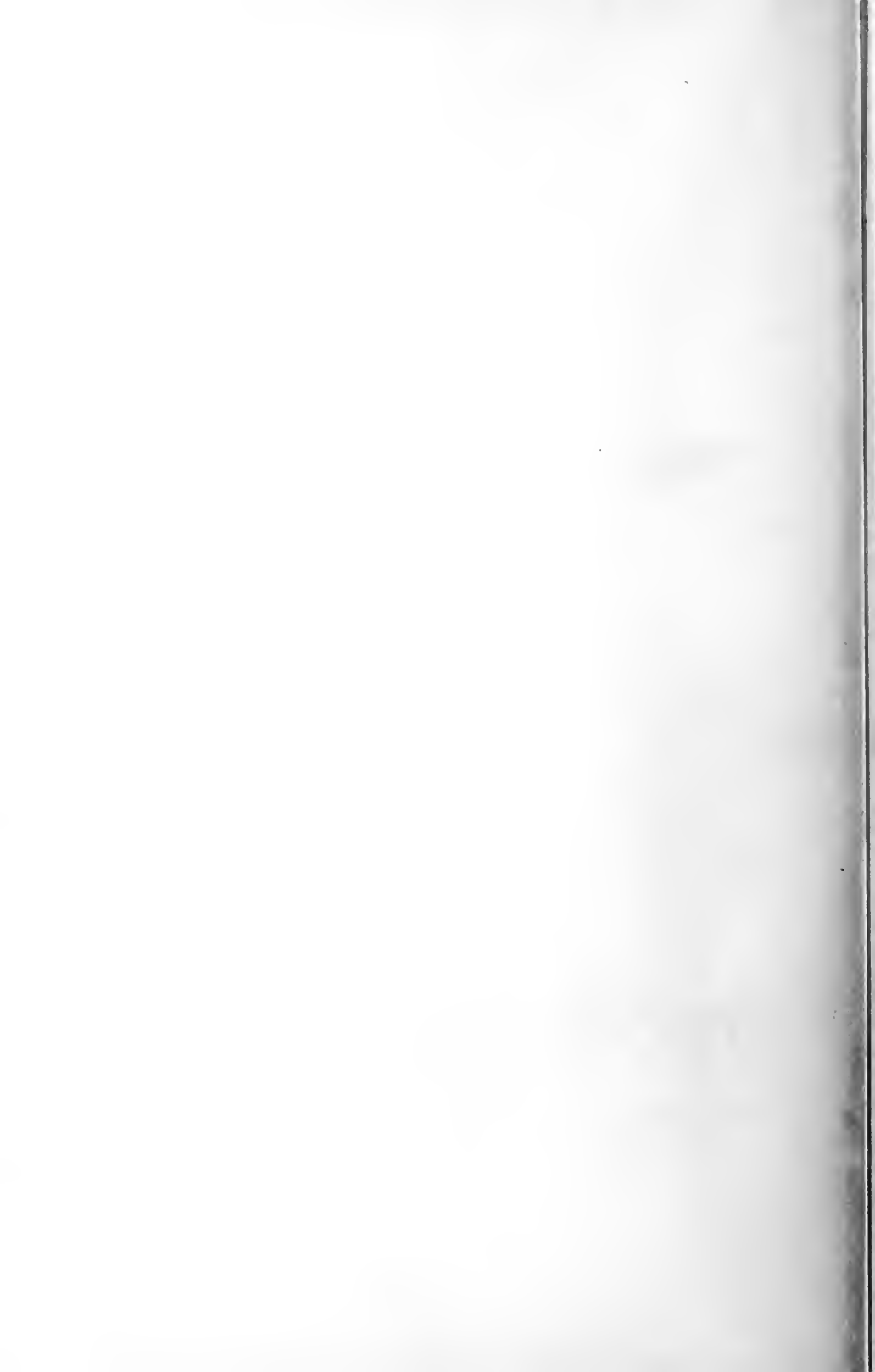












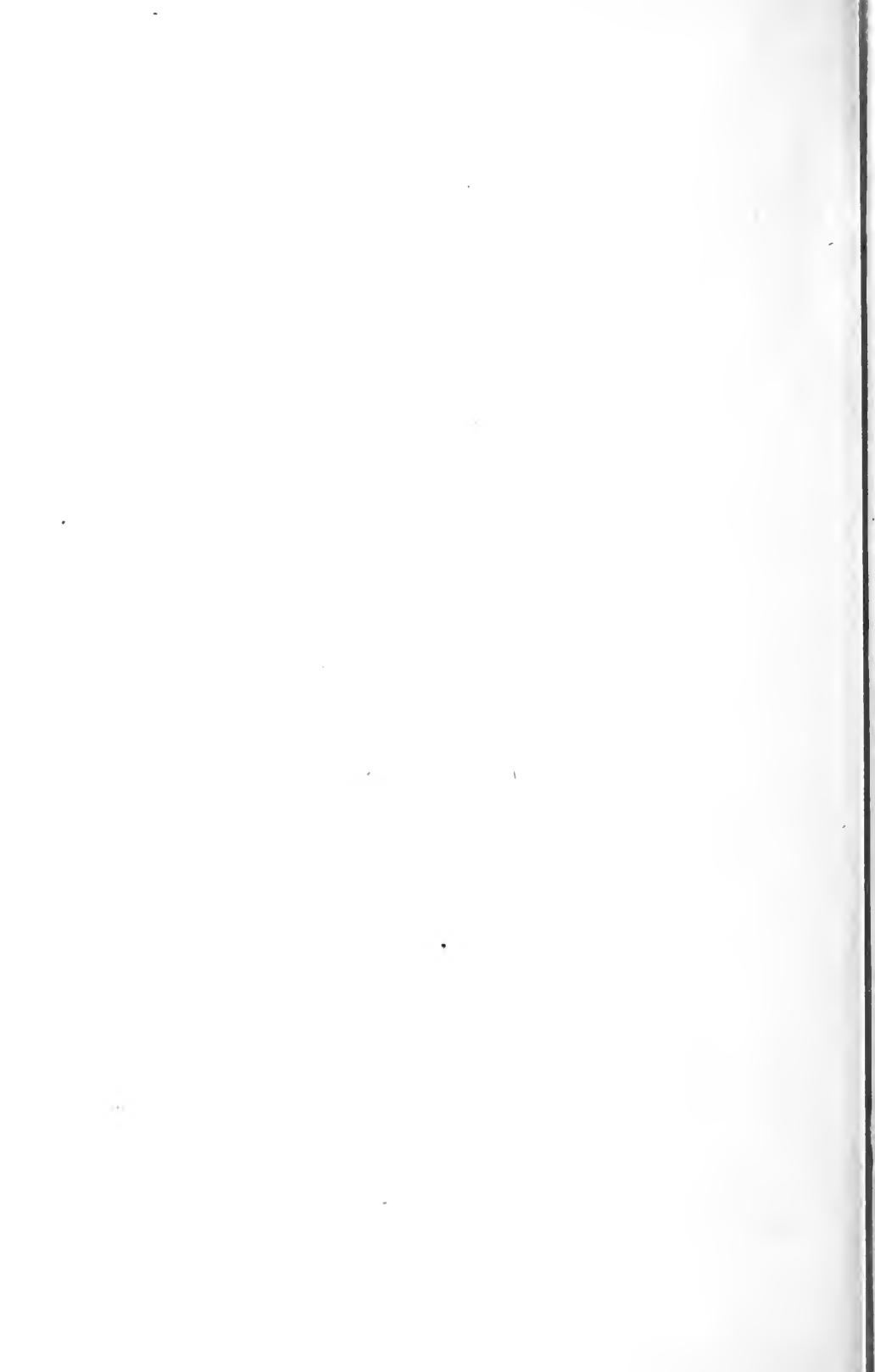


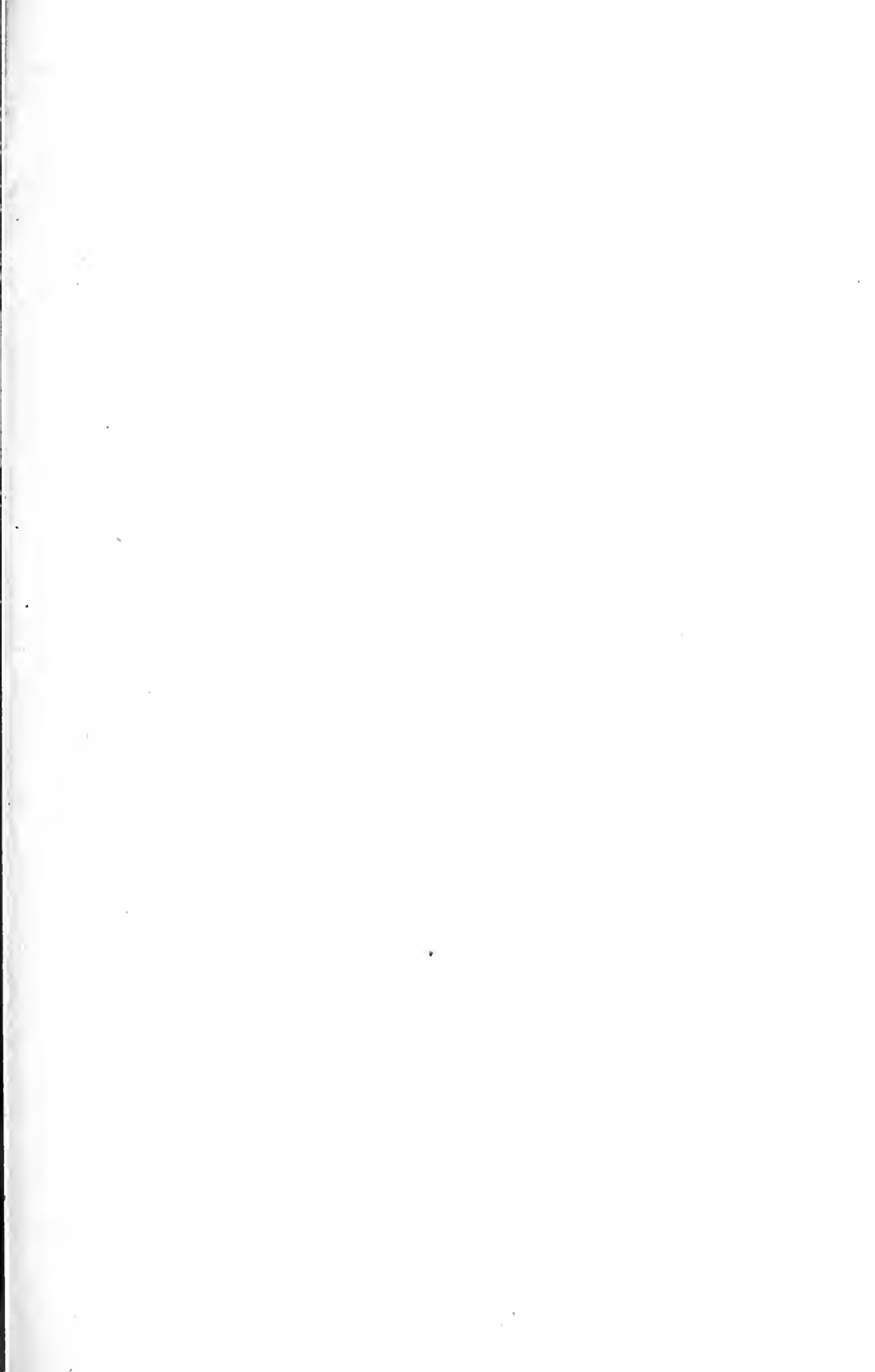
















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