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THE MANCO BURRO PASS MASSACRE

JANET LECOMPTE

ON JUNE 19, 1848, a party of fourteen men and two children was attacked by Jicarilla Apaches in Manco Burro Pass in southeastern Colorado, very near the present New Mexico state line. Four of the men died and all but two of the rest were wounded; the children and all the animals were captured. Miraculously, the survivors—wounded, without food, on foot—managed to get out of the mountains without further molestation by the Indians. The account of one of them, published herewith, is more than a good description of the massacre. It is a testament to the strength of man's instinct for survival.

Manco Burro Pass (now called San Francisco Pass) is a cut through the series of high mesas that stretch at right angles from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains eastward along the Colorado-New Mexico state line. The top of the pass is in Colorado, two or three miles north of the New Mexico line and 8,250 feet above sea level. At the summit is a valley a quarter of a mile wide between two rock walls rising straight up nearly a thousand feet on either side to the top of a mesa which is called—depending upon what map you are looking at, Barilla Mesa, Raton Mesa, Chicorica Mesa, or Bartlett Mesa. The mesa slopes are abundantly wooded with pine, spruce, locust, and scrub oak, and watered by swift mountain streams, Manco Burro Creek (San Francisco Creek) on the north, and the west fork of Chicorica Creek on the south.

Since Spanish Colonial times, the most frequently traveled trail through these mesas has been over Raton Pass between Trinidad, Colorado, and Raton, New Mexico. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spanish traders to the Apache and Co-

manche, who inhabited the Arkansas valley at successive periods, came north through Raton Pass with their strings of burros packed with trade goods. In the 1830's, after the Bent brothers built their big adobe fort on the Arkansas, many Santa Fe traders brought their wagons past Bent's Fort and through Raton Pass, instead of by the Cimarron cutoff which left the Arkansas River near present Dodge City, Kansas, and made a beeline across the Cimarron desert to the valley of the Canadian River in New Mexico.

The Raton route had advantages over the Cimarron route. There was, in the early years at least, less danger from hostile Indians, and far more wood, water, and grass; but the road over the pass itself was difficult for wagons. Big boulders, fallen trees, and thick stands of timber blocked passage, and smaller rocks pried off wagon wheels and snapped axletrees. When Colonel Kearny and his Army of the West came through the pass in the summer of 1846, parts of wagons were left scattered all along the trail.¹ From that time on, most of the wagons to New Mexico took the shorter and more level road over the Cimarron desert.

Even before the accounts of Kearny's march proved officially that Raton Pass was rough for wagons, other travelers had searched for an easier passage through the mesas. At an undetermined date, some Mexican traders on their way to the northern plains took a burro pack train up the canyon of the west fork of Chicorica Creek to its headwaters. At the top, one of the burros went lame and the Mexicans named the pass and the little stream that led out of it to the north, Manco Burro (lame burro),² Years later, in the spring of 1846, Charles Bent and his wagons crossed Trinchera Pass, far to the east; at the same time, Charles Town and Pedro Luna took the Manco Burro Pass road. When the two parties met at Bent's Fort, they discussed the advantages of each route. In a letter, dated at Bent's Fort, June 11, 1846, Charles Bent wrote:

Charly Town & Pedro Luna passed some miles west between where I passed and the old Rattone Road the[y] report that, that rout is fine and nothing to be done except to cut away some oake brush to make it a perfectly easy route, a plenty of Wood, Watter, &

Grass, they reporte that to leave the Animás [Purgatory River] in the morning with Waggon, they can get onto Red River [Canadian] in the evening, this is almost too good say that it could be crossed in two days, it is fine. I shall try and have it explored this summer.³

But in the summer of 1846 Kearny's wagons scrambled over Raton Pass to conquer New Mexico and to change for all time the conditions under which the Bent brothers had operated successfully on the Arkansas for the past thirteen years. Less than a year later, Charles Bent, now governor of New Mexico, was murdered by a resentful populace. Two years later Bent, St. Vrain & Co. went out of business, partly because the new traffic between Missouri and Santa Fe used the Cimarron route almost exclusively, leaving Bent's Fort in a backwater on the Arkansas.

Other trading posts on the Arkansas were hurt by the American occupation of New Mexico. Seventy miles upstream from Bent's Fort the inhabitants of a little trading post called Pueblo began to abandon it in the spring of 1848. Pueblo's largest exodus was led by Alexander Barclay, George Simpson, and others, who had bought land on the Mora River in northeastern New Mexico and planned to build Fort Barclay there. At the end of April they started south with a straggling caravan of wagons, cattle, horses, pigs, chickens, dogs, and children. Although they saw signs of Apaches, they crossed Raton Pass undisturbed. On the other side they met a camp of Utes, who had captured an American trader named Mundy and his six wagons. The Utes said that they were keeping the trader and his small train safe from the hostile Apache, and they released him unscathed except for some pilferage of his goods.⁴

The Americans believed neither in the Utes' peaceful intentions nor the Apaches' determined hostility, and they were probably wrong on both counts. They should have been aware of Apache hatred of Americans, which had been smouldering for the last decade. In 1832 the Apache had begun a war on the inhabitants of the Mexican state of Chihuahua. To defend the frontier settlements against their depredations, the Governor of Chihuahua hired a St. Louis Irishman named James Kirker to command a

guerrilla force to fight the Indians, offering him a bounty on Apache scalps in addition to his pay. With a band of over a hundred American adventurers, including some Shawnee and Delaware Indians, Kirker roamed Chihuahua, Sonora, and New Mexico, killing and scalping all the Indians he saw, peaceful or hostile, young or old, man, woman, or child. When the Governor began to suspect that some of the scalps he paid for were not Indian but Mexican, he set a price on Kirker's head, which was never collected.⁵

In 1846 Kirker took his last Apache scalp and joined the American forces in New Mexico. The weary and hunted Apache, who had lost many hundreds of their people to Kirker's gang, began to creep forth seeking revenge against the compatriots of the killer. In 1846 they murdered an American named Crombeck near Embudo, New Mexico, crushing his skull and slitting his belly in their fury.⁶ Shortly afterwards they offered their services against the invading Americans to the New Mexico governor.⁷ In 1847 they robbed and murdered a party of men coming from Pueblo on the Arkansas to Taos. When Indian agent Thomas Fitzpatrick reported the murders, he remarked that most of their hostilities were now aimed at Americans.⁸ And then, in 1848, who should come out from Taos to rescue Mr. Mundy from his Ute "protectors" but James Kirker himself! His appearance would not have gone unnoticed and could not have failed to quicken the animosity of his former victims.⁹

Twenty miles south of Pueblo was another little settlement on the Greenhorn River. Here a storekeeper named John Brown watched the emigration from Pueblo go past his house towards New Mexico. He, too, decided to leave the region before he withered on the vine; by June 6, he had settled his accounts, packed up his wife Luisa and their nine-month-old son, and prepared to depart.¹⁰ Among those who joined him was a trader named Archibald Charles Metcalf, employed by the Taos firm of Maxwell & Quinn. He had been buying flour and other goods from John Brown's little store since March to trade to the Utes in the Wet Mountain Valley. Metcalf's trading had produced

six hundred fine Ute-dressed deerskins, which he packed on the backs of mules and horses to take to the Taos store of Maxwell & Quinn.¹¹ Metcalf's employer, Lucien B. Maxwell, who had joined him at Greenhorn with a herd of horses he had brought from the crossing of the Arkansas and was now taking to New Mexico, made another member of Brown's party.¹² With Maxwell was his devoted servant, Indian George, who had been the servant of George Bent until Bent's death in October 1847.¹³ Charles Town, who had rediscovered Manco Burro Pass two years earlier, appeared at Greenhorn in June 1848. He had just returned from the east and, being a Ute trader, probably had an interest in some of the animals or deerskins being taken to New Mexico.¹⁴ Also along was a half-breed trader to the Utes named Pasqual Rivière, or Rives, commonly known as "Blackhawk," who had bought his trade goods from John Brown that spring and had probably been with Metcalf on his trading trips to the Wet Mountain valley.¹⁵ There were probably more traders and peons, and perhaps even some women and children besides Luisa Brown and her baby boy.

About June 7th or 8th the party started south—perhaps a dozen men with a hundred animals, some of them packed with deerskins. On June 12 the party had traveled forty miles from Greenhorn to a creek later known as Apache Creek. Here a party of Jicarilla Apache attacked and drove off Maxwell's pack train of thirty mules, fifty horses, and six hundred deerskins.¹⁶ Pursuing the fleeing horsemen, the Indians began to overtake Mrs. Brown, who was astride her horse with her baby clutched to her. The men shouted to her to throw the baby away before the Indians could capture her; indignantly the mother refused. When she came to a deep arroyo, with the Indians close behind her, she put her arm tightly around the baby's neck and clasped him to her side. Spurring her horse, she forced it to jump the chasm and they raced back to Greenhorn, leaving the Indians behind.¹⁷ Meanwhile the men took cover in the arroyo and managed to defend themselves. When the Indians finally rode off, they left three dead braves behind them. The party returned to Greenhorn and regrouped,

but John Brown and his family and Archibald Metcalf wisely declined to go further. After the death of the three Indians, the travelers now faced certain vengeance.¹⁸

While the men were reorganizing at Greenhorn on June 14, Captain S. A. Boake of the Missouri Mounted Volunteers left Taos with fifty men to "operate against" the Apache, who had so worried Mr. Mundy's Ute protectors. Captain Boake found the Apache trail and followed it through the Raton Mountains to the Purgatory River in the vicinity of present Trinidad, Colorado. There he surprised an Apache camp and had a skirmish that lasted only a few minutes for the Indians retreated in haste. The troops captured thirty-two head of mules and horses—doubtless some of those taken from Maxwell at Apache Creek a few days earlier—and then, instead of following up their little victory, they turned tail and went back to Taos, on the excuse that their captain was ill.¹⁹ Typical of U.S. Army operations against Indians in this period, Captain Boake's fiasco served only to increase the hatred and contempt of the Apache for Americans, and to ensure that the next party should not pass into New Mexico unchallenged.²⁰

In the second week of June 1848, Charles Town, Lucien Maxwell, and Blackhawk left Greenhorn for Bent's Fort, to try another route to New Mexico. Somewhere along the way they added two other men to their party—Little Beaver, a Delaware Indian trapper who had lived in and around Pueblo for some years, and a man named Piles who had worked as a laborer for Alexander Barclay and others at Pueblo.²¹ They also took along Mary and James Tharp, aged six and four, whose father, trader William Tharp, had been killed by the Comanche in June 1846 on his way from Pueblo to St. Louis. These little ones were going to relatives in Taos, for their mother was unable or unwilling to care for them any longer at Pueblo.²² At Bent's Fort they were joined by Elliott Lee of St. Louis, a survivor of the massacre at Taos two years earlier that had brought death to his brother Stephen Louis Lee; and by Peter Joseph de Tevis, a wealthy merchant originally from the West Indies, known at Taos simply

as Peter Joseph. Then there were peons, those named being José Cortez, Andrés Fernández, Faustín Trujillo, and José del Carnuel (who may be the same man as José Cortez).

The party set out from Bent's Fort about the sixteenth of June, fourteen men and their horses, and the two little Tharp children. They headed straight up the Santa Fe trail towards Raton Pass, but on the Purgatory River they saw signs of Apache. They decided to avoid Raton by veering off towards the east and taking what Charles Town had called "a perfectly easy route" through Manco Burro Pass. At noon on June 19 they reached the little valley at the top of the pass. There they stopped to rest and eat their lunch under the high canyon walls, letting their horses graze a short distance away. The rest of the story is best told by Elliott Lee in a letter written a month later:

Lodo Moro, New Mexico
July 19th, 1848

On the 19th ultimo, a party of us, fourteen in number, were attacked by about 150 Indians, on the head waters of Red River, and near the Ratoan [*sic*] mountains. We had been encamped about one hour, and just in the act of eating our dinner, when we were alarmed by the yells of the Indians, while they were in the act of running off our animals, which were grazing a short distance from us. As they passed us, we fired on them; but they were so far off that our shots had no effect. In about twenty minutes they all returned, surrounded our camp, and set fire to the grass around us, with the view of driving us from our position, which we were inclined to keep, with a view of saving our baggage, or a portion of it. But in this we were foiled! We, however, defended ourselves for about four hours, firing at the enemy every opportunity we had. Our position not being a good one, they had the decided advantage of us. We defended ourselves until five of our party were slightly wounded, and one killed. We now determined to retreat to the mountains, as the last and only alternative. On retreating, I received two shots,—one in the left thigh, the ball passing through the thigh, though fortunately, not breaking the bone; the other on the middle finger of the left hand. Charles Town, who was ahead of me, received a shot in one of his legs, which broke it. He, of course, fell, and not

being able to walk, was left to the mercy of the Indians. That was the last I saw of him. There was a Spaniard who was shot in the kidneys, before we left camp, who also was left. Our number now consisted of eleven, eight of us wounded, all of whom succeeded in making our escape. Night came on; we traveled until we came to water, when we huddled ourselves as near together as possible, for the purpose of resting and trying to sleep. Having lost every thing save what we had on our backs, we suffered much from cold, and could not sleep. The next day we moved off up the mountain where we *cached* ourselves till night, being afraid to travel in the day time. On the night of the 20th we all put out for Taos, distant about 80 miles. Those of the party that were wounded, were slightly so, and generally in the arms and body, with the exception of myself and one man, whose ankle was slightly injured. My wound being in the thigh, rendered it very difficult for me to walk. Consequently the party had to wait for me to come up, frequently. We had traveled but a short distance, when they left me. I hailed them, but could receive no answer; so I was left within two miles of the battle ground, and in sight of the fires of the Indian village. I determined not to give up, but pursued my journey, keeping near the water course until I struck the Bent's Fort road, leading to Santa Fe. On the third day out, I fortunately came to an Indian camp, which, from all appearances, must have been deserted but a very short time. Their fires were still burning, and part of an antelope was left on the ground, which I helped myself to, not having eating any thing for four days. I filled my shot pouch with meat, and again pursued my journey, traveling day and night in the best way I possibly could, for I was very lame, and could not make more than a mile an hour. Some times I crawled, and in fact got along any way and every way I could. The seventh day I came to fresh wagon tracks, and, greatly to my astonishment, for I had no expectation that any of the traders would think of leaving the Santa Fe road. This so much elated me that I spurred up, and, in a short time, came in sight of the train, consisting of four wagons, a company of Miners, the Messrs. Jackson, and Mr. Thos. O. Boggs, who had left the main road with a view of going to Taos. So soon as they discovered me, they sent a horse and a man to me, who aided me to the train, when I received every attention that was in their power to bestow on me. The next day we started in the direction of Taos, but were induced to change our route, from having discovered a party of Indians, and it was thought

advisable not to attempt to cross the mountains with so small a force; whereupon, we came to this point.²³

I am happy to say to you that I am, in a manner, well, and will proceed on to Santa Fe tomorrow. The other men of our defeated party arrived in Taos in a worse condition, as I informed them, than I was when I was picked up; one of whom, a Spaniard, has since died of his wounds. They reported me as most unquestionably dead. Indeed it was very natural, for I think, in a thousand trials of the same kind, in not one could a person escape,

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

ELLIOTT LEE.

P.S. Every letter that was entrusted to my care, has been lost. The distance I traveled in the seven days, is said, by those who know, to be 80 miles.

E. L.²⁴

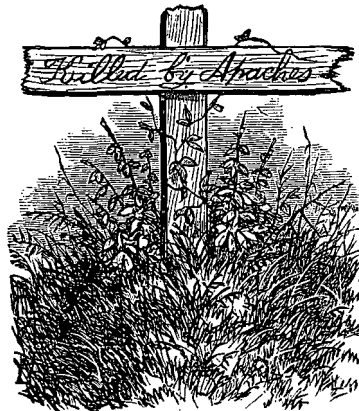
There is Elliott Lee's story. Notably, he does not blame his comrades for deserting him when he could not keep up with them, nor does he blame himself and them for leaving the wounded Charles Town to the mercy of the Indians—every man for himself. But there were little acts of heroism and devotion that Elliott Lee does not mention. When Maxwell was shot in the neck and fainted, Indian George left cover to get water in his hat for his wounded master, and later carried him out of the canyon on his back.²⁵ And when Indian George was wounded, Maxwell brought him water in the same way.²⁶

As Lee pointed out in his letter from Mora, there were many worse off than he after the fight. Charles Town, Blackhawk, José Cortez, and José del Carnuel died at Manco Burro Pass. After deserting Elliott Lee, the rest of the party stumbled on towards Taos, with Peter Joseph, who was unhurt, going in advance to get help. From Taos, Major Reynolds and forty men rode out with Dick Wootton as guide. They found the wounded survivors thirty miles away and brought them back to Taos, where Andrés Fernández soon died of his wounds.²⁷

There were other losses. The Indians captured the Tharp children early in the flight. For some reason this was not reported in

newspaper accounts. Three months later the children were redeemed by American merchants at Taos for the sum of \$160,²⁸ but the little girl died soon afterwards.²⁹ The Indians undoubtedly suffered casualties from the desperate defense of the Americans, although they later acknowledged only the death of their chief, Chino.³⁰ According to Kit Carson, who arrived at St. Louis from New Mexico in August, Maxwell had lost eighty head of horses and mules in this engagement.³¹ In 1854 Maxwell & Quinn filed a claim for \$7200 for the loss of thirty mules, fifty horses, and six hundred buckskins stolen by Jicarilla Apache Indians on June 12, 1848. Peter Joseph and Faustin Truhill (Trujillo) were witnesses. The claim was not allowed because it was filed three years after the statute limitation had run out. This was before the Jicarilla Apache signed any treaty with the United States indemnifying depredations committed by their tribe.³²

Not many years after the massacre, the odd and interesting name of "Manco Burro" was abandoned for a more commonplace one. About 1865, new settlers named their town, the creek, and the pass San Francisco,³³ and this name survived. Nevertheless old-timers in the vicinity still talk about the Manco Burro Pass massacre of 1848.



NOTES

1. Report of the Secretary of War, communicating, in answer to a resolution of the Senate, a report and map of the examination of New Mexico, made by Lieutenant J. W. Abert, of the topographical corps, *Sen. Exec. Doc. no. 23*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess. (Ser. 506), p. 25; Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Glendale, Calif., 1838), p. 205.
2. Testimony of Calvin Jones, Trinidad, Colo., Oct. 31, 1883, *Transcript of Record*, U. S. vs. Maxwell Land Grant Co. *et al.*, U. S. Supreme Court, Oct. term, 1886, no. 974, p. 176; Testimony of William A. Bransford, Trinidad, Oct. 29, 1883, *ibid.*, p. 152.
3. Bent to Manuel Alvarez, Benjamin M. Read Collection, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, N. M. Bent does not say that it was the Manco Burro Pass road that Town took, and there is another pass, via San Isidro Creek, that he might have used. But the fact that two years later, Town and his party chose Manco Burro seems to indicate that this was indeed the pass he took in 1846, for in time of distress and danger such as he faced in 1848, it is unlikely that he would have chosen an unfamiliar route.
4. Diary of Alexander Barclay, under dates of April 23 through May 9, 1848. Microfilm copy in Colorado State Archives, Denver, Colo.; Testimony of George S. Simpson, Trinidad, Colo., Oct. 29, 1883, *Transcript of Record*, U. S. vs. Maxwell Land Grant Co. *et al.*, p. 143; *Santa Fe Republican*, May 13, 1848, p. 2, and May 14, 1848, p. 2; Senex [George Simpson], "Old Time Recollections," *Trinidad Daily News*, June 8, 1881, p. 1.
5. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1848), p. 158; Ralph A. Smith, "The 'King of New Mexico' and the Doniphan Expedition," NMHR, vol. 38 (1963), pp. 29-55.
6. Bent to Alvarez, Taos, March 2 and 4, 1846, Read Collection.
7. Alfred S. Waugh, *Travels in Search of the Elephant* (St. Louis, 1951), p. 135.
8. Letter of Thos. Fitzpatrick, Bent's Fort, Dec. 18, 1847, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Upper Platte and Arkansas Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
9. *Santa Fe Republican*, May 13, 1848, p. 2.
10. John Brown's account book, George Beattie Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
11. A sketch of Metcalf's life by the present writer will appear in a future volume of LeRoy R. Hafen's *The Mountain Man and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, published at Glendale, Calif.

12. Maxwell had just started his Rayado ranch in February of 1848, and the horses were probably those he had furnished Col. William Gilpin, who had camped near Rayado on the Mora River in March while outfitting his soldiers for a campaign against the Comanche. By the end of May Gilpin had returned his forces to Fort Mann at the crossing of the Arkansas, and Maxwell's trip there was probably to reclaim his animals. Letter of Lt. Col. W. Gilpin, Fort Mann, Aug. 1, 1848, *H. Exec. Doc. 1*, 30th Cong., 2d Sess., (Ser. 537), pp. 136-140. Supporting this conjecture is the account by Richens L. Wootton in H. L. Conard's "*Uncle Dick*" *Wootton* (Chicago, 1890), p. 214, which tells of Maxwell going from Taos up the Rio Grande to gather a band of horses "for government service." He struck the trail of some Ute Indians, crossed over to the Arkansas, 150 miles out of his way, to avoid them, and was attacked on his way back to Taos. Wootton's story is followed closely by Henry Inman in *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1897), p. 385—too closely, in fact, for Inman's account to have been from the lips of Maxwell himself, as Inman claims. Inman says, however, that Maxwell did not go to the Rio Grande, but to the crossing of the Arkansas for the horses.

13. Calvin Jones's Testimony, Trinidad, Colo., April 9, 1885, *Transcript of Record*, Maxwell Land Grant *et al.*, vs. Guadalupe Thompson *et al.*, N. M. Supreme Court no. 581 (July 1894). Indian George's background is controversial. He was said to have been a Cherokee named George Galvez who had been with one of Fremont's expeditions and later froze to death near Berwin, Colo. F. W. Cragin's notes of an interview with A. W. Archibald, Trinidad, Colo., Dec. 25, 1907, Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs, Colo. Or a Mexican named Jorge Gallabis, a captive of the Delaware Indians, redeemed by William Bent. Cragin's notes of an interview with Jesse Nelson, Smith Cañon Ranch, Colo., July 9, 1908, Cragin Collection. Lewis Garrard refers to him as George Bent's Indian servant "Haw-he," which is roughly the way George is pronounced in Spanish. *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail*, pp. 206-07.

14. Town had left Taos on Feb. 25, 1848, and arrived at St. Louis April 9. By the end of April he must have been on his way back to the mountains via the Arkansas River, perhaps in company with Elliott Lee and Maxwell from Fort Mann west. Louise Barry, "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 31 (1965), p. 163. A sketch of Town by the present writer appeared in Hafen, vol. 1 (Glendale, Calif., 1965), pp. 391-97.

15. F. W. Cragin's notes of an interview with Tom Autobees, Avondale, Colo., Nov. 10, 1907, Cragin Collection; *Santa Fe Republican*, June 28, 1848, p. 2.

16. So Maxwell and his partner, James Quinn of Taos, represented in a claim presented March 10, 1854. "Claims for Indian Depredations in New Mexico," *H. Exec. Doc. 122*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. (Ser. 959), p. 11. John Greiner's notes, written not earlier than 1851 when he arrived in New Mexico to serve as Indian agent, say that at the battle on June 12 Maxwell lost only 20 horses and mules, and that the pack train with the 600 deerskins was lost in Manco Burro Pass on June 20, along with a hundred animals. Maxwell's Fight with the Apaches, June 20, 1848, Ritch Collection. Greiner's notes are usually fairly accurate, but Maxwell's claim was based on a sworn affidavit by a participant.

17. F. W. Cragin's notes of an interview with Mrs. Felipe Ledoux, Las Vegas, N. M., June 17, 1908, Cragin Collection; L. A. Ingersoll, *Ingersoll's Century Annals of San Bernardino County, 1769-1904* (Los Angeles, 1904), p. 651.

18. *Ibid.* Mrs. Ledoux was the wife of Archibald Metcalf and might possibly have been along when the party was attacked, although there is no evidence of her presence other than her lucid account.

19. Report of Major W. W. Reynolds, Don Fernando de Taos, Aug. 5, 1848, RG 94, National Archives; *Santa Fe Republican*, Aug. 1, 1848.

20. See Thomas Fitzpatrick's letters dated Bent's Fort, Oct. 19 and Dec. 18, 1847, St. Louis, Oct. 6, 1848, for other craven retreats of U. S. soldiers. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Upper Platte and Arkansas Agency, RG 75, National Archives.

21. Diary of Alexander Barclay, under date of June 27, 1848.

22. Janet Lecompte, "William Tharp," in Hafen, vol. 3.

23. Tom Boggs was reported to have left Missouri on May 28 with Preston Beck, Samuel Wethered, George Estes, Henry O'Neil, Elliott Lee, Smith D. Town and Charles Town, although Charles Town obviously could not have left the Missouri border as late as May 28 and participated in the fray at Apache Creek fifteen days later. See Barry, p. 163. Jim Beckwourth claimed that he was the one who first discovered Elliott Lee and delivered him to the wagon train. Beckwourth was indeed in the vicinity, having left Santa Fe on express for Fort Leavenworth on June 26 (*ibid.*, p. 171), but his story is confused in other details (T. D. Bonner, *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, New York, 1931, pp. 338-39).

24. *Saint Louis Daily Union*, October 16, 1848. I am greatly indebted to Miss Louise Barry of the Kansas Historical Society, not only for locating this fine letter but for copying it and then encouraging me to use it in an article on the massacre.

25. Cragin, notes of an interview with A. W. Archibald.

26. Cragin, notes of an interview with Jesse Nelson.

27. *Santa Fe Republican*, June 28, 1848, p. 2; *Missouri Statesman*, Aug. 4, 1848, copied from the *St. Louis Republican*, copy in Colorado State Historical Society Library, Denver; Greiner, "Maxwell's Fight." Dick Wootton gives a good picture of the state the survivors were in when the troops reached them, Conrad, p. 216.

28. Greiner, "Maxwell's Fight." Dick Wootton set the amount of the ransom at \$250, Conrad, p. 217.

29. Cragin, notes of an interview with Pedro Sandoval, Mora, N. M., June 12, 1908.

30. Greiner, "Maxwell's Fight."

31. "Arrival of Kit Carson from California," *Missouri Statesman*, Aug. 4, 1848. If these horses and mules are in addition to the 80 animals lost on Apache Creek, then Maxwell and Quinn did not make a claim against the government for them. It is more likely that a single claim included the losses in both engagements.

32. Claims for Indian Depredations in New Mexico, *H. Exec. Doc. 122*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. (Ser. 929), p. 11. The statute was the "Act to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes," of June 30, 1834, reported in *Niles National Register*, July 26, 1834, p. 373.

33. Testimony of William R. Walker, Las Vegas Hot Springs, N. M., May 20, 1885, U. S. vs. Maxwell Land Grant Co., p. 387. For a brief period the stream and pass were named "Ahogadera," referring to the drowning of some sheep in the vicinity.