

# Wagon Tracks

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Volume 22

Issue 1 *Wagon Tracks* Volume 22, Issue 1 (November 2007)

Article 1

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2008

## Wagon Tracks. Volume 22, Issue 1 (November, 2007)

Santa Fe Trail Association

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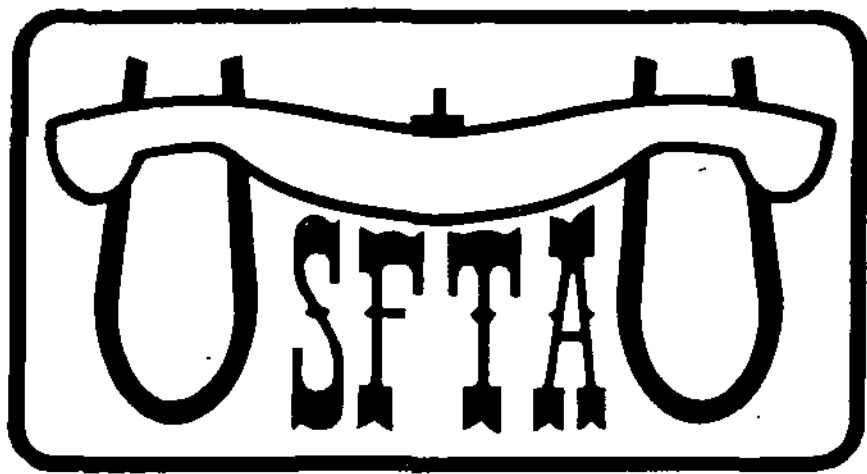
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# WAGON TRACKS

**SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY**

VOLUME 22

NOVEMBER 2007

NUMBER 1

## TRINIDAD SYMPOSIUM A GRAND MEETING

**T**HE Trinidad symposium, returning to where it all began in 1986, was a grand meeting, featuring outstanding tours, speakers, meals, and entertainment. Marc Simmons, Father of the Santa Fe Trail Association, delivered the keynote address, announcing boldly, "WE ARE BACK." He told about the founding of SFTA and summarized the achievements of the Association during the last 21 years.

LaDonna Hutton, upon whose shoulders fell much of the responsibility for the final details of this symposium, deserves special thanks for her leadership. The Bent's Fort Chapter received a SFTA Award of Merit for hosting the symposium, and LaDonna was given special recognition at the banquet. She deserves the thanks of everyone.

We hope some of the papers presented will be submitted to *Wagon Tracks* for publication. Information on the awards is reported in this issue. The following story relates an incident experienced by some symposium attendees.

## SHOOT-OUT ON THE TRAIL

by Alice Anne Thompson

[Dr. Thompson is a former SFTA board member and has just published a book about her great-great-aunt, Sister Alphonsa Thompson, who died on the Santa Fe Trail in 1867.]

**I**T was a dark and stormy night. Really! The darkness overtook us when a deep September dusk met up with storm clouds rolling into town. The members of the SFTA's 2007 Symposium had just moved from picnic tables to metal seats arranged theater-style under a huge tent erected on the very top of Kit Carson Park in Trinidad, Colorado.

John Carson had started his program, reenacting key events in the

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ANNUAL DUES  
JANUARY 1, 2008

## SFTA AWARDS

**A** highlight of every symposium is the announcement and presentation of awards to deserving individuals and organizations. Those receiving recognition in 2007 are listed below. Congratulations to all recipients.

### AWARD OF MERIT (7)

Bent's Fort Chapter for Trail preservation and protection, fighting for Piñon Canyon, and hosting the 2007 Symposium

Wet/Dry Routes Chapter for Trail preservation and protection, marking the Trail, and installation of Pike Plaza in Larned

Mary Peace Finley for her Santa Fe Trail trilogy of children's books

Hal Jackson for his book, *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*

John Conoboy for his work with the Santa Fe National Historic Trail and National Park Service support for SFTA projects

Kansas State Historical Society for the Spring 2006 issue of *Kansas History* commemorating Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Southwest Expedition, 1806-1807

Pikes Peak Library District for hosting the Pike Symposium and publishing the book, "To Spare No Pains," Zebulon Montgomery Pike and His 1806-1807 Southwest Expedition

### PAUL F. BENTRUP AMBASSADOR AWARD (4)

Richard Loudon

Faye Gaines

Chris Day

Marcia Fox

### JACK D. RITTENHOUSE MEMORIAL STAGECOACH AWARD (1)

David K. Clapsaddle for Trail publications, chapter leadership, and marking numerous Trail sites

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## HARRY MYERS IS NEW ASSOCIATION MANAGER

by Joanne VanCoevern

**H**ARRY Myers began his duties as SFTA's new Association Manager on October 1, 2007. Although Harry has been a familiar face along the Trail for years, this position will allow him to travel more extensively and interact more with chapters and communities along the Trail.

All who know Harry, know he has a keen sense of humor and a vast knowledge of Santa Fe Trail related topics. Looking back at his previous accomplishments, Harry served in the U.S. Army Security Agency as a communications specialist, 1969-1972, including time in Vietnam. He earned his B.S. degree in recreation and park administration in 1977 from Western Illinois University. His administrative experience began as director of Fort Scott National Historic Site, Fort Scott, KS. From Fort Scott, his work with the National Park Service took him to Omaha, NE, where he was the review coordinator and budget assistant for the Midwest Regional Office, 1979-1981. His next stop was as superintendent of Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial at Put-in-Bay, OH, from 1981-1988. Most of us met Harry at his next assignment, superintendent of Fort

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## PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

**SYMPOSIUM 2007** is now history, but the memories of the good times we had will long be remembered. The Bent's Fort Chapter deserves a big thank you for all their hard work in organizing and putting the four-day event together. There was something for everyone to enjoy, and it was very enjoyable indeed!

As we end one Symposium, the excitement starts to build for the next ones. In 2009 we will meet in Arrow Rock, MO, and in 2011 Dodge City, KS, will be the site. We will start considering options for the 2013 Symposium, so if you have a suggestion, or would like to be considered for the site, let us know.

A majority of the work that takes place in the Santa Fe Trail Association happens because of the hard work of some dedicated individuals who are willing to chair various committees. The SFTA bylaws dictate that there are six standing committees. Those standing committees include the following: Nominating, Awards, Budget, Mapping/Marking, Membership, Preservation, and Publications. Additional committees may be constituted by the Board as deemed necessary to carry out the purposes of the Association. Each committee is headed by a chairperson who shall be responsible to the Board. Chairpersons and members of each committee are appointed by the president in consultation with the chair of the committee. At least one member of the Board must be on each committee.

Over the years, several committees have been added as needed. At the present time, the following committees are at work for SFTA (first person listed is chair):

**Acquisitions:** Roberta Falkner, René Harris, Leo Oliva, & Tim Zwink

**Awards:** Leo Oliva, Sara Jane Richter, & Roger Slusher

**Budget:** Ruth Olson Peters, Joanne VanCoevern, Kathy Pickard, John Atkinson, & Roberta Falkner

**Education:** Marcia Fox & Chris Day (co-chairs), Nick Ard, Janet Armstead, George Bayless, Janel Cook, René Harris, Pam Najdowski, Peg Nelson, Glenda Schmidt, & Joyce Theirer

**Finance/Funding/Special Appeals:**

All matters relating to *Wagon Tracks* should be directed to SFTA Editor Leo E. Oliva, PO Box 31, Woodston KS 67675.

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VISIT SFTA ON THE INTERNET

<<http://www.santafetrail.org>>

Roberta Falkner, John Atkinson, Rich Lawson, Ruth Olson Peters & Kathy Pickard

**Mapping/Marking:** Jeff Trotman, Mike Najdowski, Steve Schmidt, & Alice Anne Thompson

**Membership:** Sara Jane Richter, Roberta Falkner, & LaDonna Hutton

**National Headquarters:** Joanne VanCoevern, Bonita Oliva, Ruth Peters, Kathy Pickard, & Tim Zwink

**Nominating:** Deanne Wright, Faye Gaines, & Mary Honeyman

**Personnel:** Joanne VanCoevern, John Atkinson, Ruth Olson Peters, Steve Schmidt, & Tim Zwink

**Policies and Procedures of the SFTA Handbook:** Joanne VanCoevern, Ruth Olson Peters, Kathy Pickard, Linda Revello, Sara Jane Richter, & Marcia Fox

**Preservation:** Faye Gaines, Jeff Trotman, Ross Marshall, Britt Colle, Joan Sudborough, Mike Najdowski, & Bill Baxter

**Publications:** George Elmore & Leo Oliva

**Santa Fe Trail Hall of Fame:** Mike Olsen, Clint Chambers, Leo Oliva, Ruth Olson Peters, & Sara Jane Richter

**Scholarly Research Grants:** Stephen Whitmore, Don Alberts, LaDonna Hutton, & Joy Poole

**Speakers Bureau:** Anne Mallinson, Inez Ross, & Mike Dickey

**Web Site:** SFTA Association Manager as webmaster, Holly Nelson as web site designer, Leo Oliva as

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### Membership Categories

Life	\$1,000
Patron	\$100/year
Business	\$50/year
Nonprofit Institution	\$40/year
Family	\$30/year
Individual	\$25/year
Youth (18 & under)	\$15/year

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*Wagon Tracks* editor and operator of Last Chance Store, as well as other advisers as needed.

At the recent board meeting in Trinidad, a new committee was authorized. The Symposium Committee was formed, thanks to the suggestion of SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson, who has also volunteered to chair the new committee. The purpose of this committee is to assist, in an advisory capacity, with the planning of the biennial symposium. The major responsibility for planning will still remain with the chapter or organization that has been selected by the SFTA Board to host the event. Members of the committee will include those who have been involved with the planning of past symposiums and those who will be involved with future symposiums.

In addition to the above committees, there are several special appointees: John Atkinson with the Gardner Project, Ross Marshall as the SFTA representative to the Partnership for National Trails System, Mike Pitel as publicity coordinator, and Leo Oliva as *Wagon Tracks* editor.

As we begin a new year for SFTA, we will be looking at these committees and making updates. If any members are interested in serving on any committees, please contact me at <jvancoevern@juno.com>.

There are many sources of information about the Santa Fe Trail on the Internet, including our own web site <www.santafetrail.org>. There is another site you should check out: Nancy Sween's Santa Fe Trail list serve at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/santafetrail/>.

Remember SFTA memberships run on the calendar year, and it will soon be time to renew. Best wishes for the coming holiday season and the new year.

—Joanne VanCoevern

## CORRECTION TO LAST PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

In the last issue of *Wagon Tracks*, I stated that Chris Day and Marcia Fox, education committee co-chairs, had successfully completed the Santa Fe Trail 2007 Education Tour. While Chris and Marcia are education committee co-chairs, it is Chris Day and Janet Armstead who

lead the tours for the students to Santa Fe. Janet, please accept my sincerest apology for this omission. I also express thanks to Chris, Janet, and Marcia for all the work they have done with education and the Santa Fe Trail through the years. Your hard work is appreciated!

—Joanne VanCoevern

## MANAGER'S REPORT

Hi, I'm Harry Myers, your new association manager. It is an honor to be selected for this position and an honor to be able to serve the chapters and the board of SFTA. I never cease to be impressed by the energy, creativity, and enthusiasm of the members. Some wonderful things are happening and planned to happen and it is my job to assist you all in your endeavors. Please let me know how I may assist or help out. Please invite me to visit your chapter and let me know the great things you are accomplishing.

Coming up this year will probably be a block grant from the NPS for signage. Please be thinking about what you want to sign, how many signs you will need, and an approximate dollar amount. Once we learn more we will pass that on to chapters. Clive and the NPS have developed some standard signs for use on county roads and there is a vendor who can produce them expeditiously. We will make sure that each chapter is informed of the design of the signs.

Please keep sending me your items and changes for the website. A website committee will be more involved in the website content this year and your suggestions for additions and improvements will be appreciated. You can send them to me or Joanne. There is a Santa Fe Trail Discussion Group that is active on the net. The address is: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/santafetrail/>. This discussion group can be used to advertise your meetings, special events, and much more but you need to use it to make it effective. The more messages posted to it the better.

I look forward to hearing from you, and most importantly I look forward to working with all of you to do some good things for SFTA, the Trail, and to have some fun doing it. Thank you all for your good wishes.

—Harry C. Myers

## BOARD CHANGES

ALONG with the Symposium comes the change of members of the SFTA governing board. Elections of officers and directors were held during the summer of 2007. Members whose terms expired in 2007 include Missouri Director Alice Anne Thompson, Kansas Director Jeff Trotman, Oklahoma Director Tim Zwink, Colorado Director Dub Couch, Texas Director Robert Kincaid, New Mexico Director Faye Gaines, and At-Large Director Vernon Lohrentz, as well as all four officers-President Joanne VanCoevern, Vice-President John Atkinson, Secretary Kathleen Pickard, and Treasurer Ruth Olson Peters.

Newly elected to the board and starting their duties after the close of the general membership meeting of SFTA are the following: Secretary Marcia Fox, Colorado Director Mike Olsen, Missouri Director Rich Lawson, and New Mexico Director Harry Myers, New Mexico director. Myers began his duties as Association Manager on October 1, 2007. To avoid a conflict of interest, Harry resigned as New Mexico director. Phyllis Morgan of Albuquerque, NM, was nominated to replace and was approved at the recent board meeting in Trinidad. The vacancy of Texas director was filled by Davy Mitchell, Lubbock, TX.

Those reelected to the board are President Joanne VanCoevern, Vice-President John Atkinson, Treasurer Ruth Olson Peters, At-Large Director Vernon Lohrentz, Kansas Director Jeff Trotman, and Oklahoma Director Tim Zwink. Those continuing on the board At-Large Director Roberta Falkner, Colorado Director LaDonna Hutton, Kansas Director Steve Schmidt, Missouri Director Mike Dickey, New Mexico Director René Harris, Oklahoma Director Sara Jane Richter, and Texas Director Clint Chambers. Four members retired from the board: Secretary Kathy Pickard, Colorado Director Dub Couch, New Mexico Director Faye Gaines, Missouri Director Alice Anne Thompson, and Texas Director Robert Kincaid.

Congratulations to all the newly elected and reelected board members and many thanks to those who have completed their term.

## THANKS CLIVE SIEGLE

by Joanne VanCoevern

**DURING** the past three years you may have seen Clive Siegle performing some of the duties of association manager of SFTA, or you may have bumped into him at a meeting, or, if you were lucky, you may have seen him giving a presentation. Some of the topics he presented to trail-related groups included "A Man to Match the Mountain: The Character of Zebulon Pike," "Spies in Our Midst: Zebulon Pike and the Infamous Conspiracy," or you may have heard him discussing "The Great Buffalo Hunt on the Plains." As SFTA's association manager, Clive took an active part as a speaker by giving entertaining and educational presentations on a variety of topics.

Clive has also been instrumental in developing both the Zebulon Pike website and the Santa Fe Trail Association website. You can view these sites at <[www.zebulonpike.org](http://www.zebulonpike.org)> or <[www.santafetrail.org](http://www.santafetrail.org)>. Each is interesting, easy to navigate, and I commend Clive for his work on them. Work continues on the SFTA site and plans are underway to expand the site, as well as to translate portions of it into Spanish.

The SFTA Association Manager is to help chapters. Most recently, Clive has been working very closely with the Cottonwood Crossing Chapter and the Quivira Chapter on their signage projects.

Perhaps the biggest undertaking during Clive's three years has been the "Rediscovery" survey of the SFNHT. According to Clive's report to the SFTA Board in Trinidad, this project involved identifying and inventorying the physical sites along the Trail. Several thousand photographs have been identified, interpreted, and digitally entered onto spreadsheets for database entry. Brooke Taralli is likewise constructing a GIS database at the NPS office in Santa Fe. The merging of these two elements and the comprehensive database for the Trail that will result will be well worth the wait required to process the mass of data for this ambitious and vital project.

Before Clive Siegle came to work for SFTA, he was a William P. Clements Fellow at Southern Methodist University. Although he holds

a Master's degree in International Affairs with a specialty in subtropical Africa from George Washington University's Elliott School, the lure of bandits, cowboys, and Indians proved too much for him, and he returned to SMU after an extended stay in the business world to complete a Ph.D. in American history, where his teaching and research centered on the 19th century American Southwest. His dissertation, "Ciboleros and Sharps Rifles: Hispanics, Anglos, and the Great Buffalo Harvest, 1775-1879," examined the activities of ciboleros (buffalo hunters) from the Southern Plains of New Mexico, Mexico, and Texas from 1775 to 1878, and focused on Rath City, Texas, during the period of 1875-1878. In addition to having taught undergraduate and graduate-level courses in anthropology and U.S. history, he has also taught for over a decade in SMU's evening and continuing education program, where his courses have explored such topics as Indian tribes of the Southern Plains, the Santa Fe Trail, the Texas Rangers, bandits, gunfighters, cattle trailing and ranching, and the Indian Wars.

On behalf of the Santa Fe Trail Association, I would like to thank Clive for all the time, effort, and work that he put into the position as our first association manager. His unique sense of humor and wit has kept many of us entertained. His departure is best summed up in Clive's own words that, "Any future projects, however, will need to be left up to another caravan lieutenant. It has been great fun to travel the Trail with all of you, but there's a rumor that we're nearing Santa Fe, and I've decided to ride on ahead and get the shadiest camping spot!"

We wish him well.

## CORRECTION TO LAST ISSUE

**A** few words were omitted in Beverly Ryan's article about John Kerr in the last issue, top paragraph, left column, page 11. I apologize for this error, which resulted in an inaccurate description of the July 1864 government supply train at Cow Creek. The paragraph should read as follows, with the proper lines included (underscored).

"The train with which Kerr traveled as an assistant wagon master

was a government supply train camped on the west side of Cow Creek, and the second, a Mexican train, was camped to the east of Bill Mathewson's Rancho on the east side of the creek. The main body of the supply train had formed at Fort Leavenworth, where it was joined by a small group of wagons organized at Westport Landing. The total of 80 to 100 wagons included four ox-drawn trains and one mule-drawn train, the latter consisting of 16 wagons drawn by 96 mules. Fifteen of the mule train wagons carried guns and ammunition for Fort Union. Kerr, 30 years old and a seasoned trail man, was in charge of the mule train and its ordnance wagons."

## RESEARCH GRANTS FOR 2008

**THE** SFTA has renewed its program of financial support for scholarly research on the Santa Fe Trail, starting in 2008. Grants up to \$1500 will be awarded on recommendation from the SFTA Scholarly Research Committee. All persons with genuine curiosity about the Trail are eligible to apply. Proposals will be judged on their merit by the committee.

Anyone interested in submitting a proposal should e-mail or write to Committee Chair Stephen Whitmore at <[whitmore5544@msn.com](mailto:whitmore5544@msn.com)> or 5544 S Orcas St, Seattle WA 98118. Application forms will be sent by surface mail, so include your mailing address. The application is not burdensome, requiring just a proposal summary, budget, and references. Deadline for completed applications is March 1, 2008. Awards will be announced by March 21, 2008. Funds should be expended by July 1, 2009, and a final written report will be due to the committee by October 1, 2009.

## SHOOT-OUT

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life of his great-grandfather, Kit Carson. Everyone shifted to the edge of their metal chairs so that they could see and hear the presentation. Seeing John Carson was almost impossible unless there was a flash of light from someone's camera or the streaks of lightening that were coming ominously closer and closer to the park and our tent. With every flash of light the audience had just



seconds to make out the period costume John Carson was wearing and also to see that he was holding a microphone tethered to a long electrical wire plugged into an outlet under the bandstand located on the most prominent point of the park, which is next to one of the nation's largest bronze equestrian statues, dedicated to the legendary Kit Carson. Meanwhile, some felt that they were in the same position as Benjamin Franklin's kite. After the crack of two dangerously close lightening strikes and the thunder that followed, the leaders of the Symposium calmly announced that the program would have to be ended. No one panicked. There was no stampede, but people moved at a double-quick pace as they tried to get to their cars through the torrential downpour. There was no lighting to show the path to the cars and most everyone got soaked clear through to the bone. Fear of being struck by lightening was replaced with concerns of twisted ankles or of catching double pneumonia.

Safely inside their cars, some Symposium attendees suggested that it would be a good idea to use luminaries or, in case of rain, flashlights to lead the way from future evening venues to the parking areas. We thought this was the moral of the story and the end to the evening. But the evening was only getting started.

Janel Cook from Lyons, Kansas, and Lorna Nelson from McPherson, Kansas, plus Alice Anne Thompson from Golden, Colorado, had carpooled to the Friday evening barbecue and Carson program from their motel on the east side of Highway 25. When they returned to the motel they decided to go to the restaurant for dessert and to calm down from the lightening storm. At approximately 9:00 they retired to their rooms. Janel and Lorna shared a room on the second floor and Alice Anne was on the first. Alice Anne could not sleep so she decided to go down the hall and get a soda and ice. First, she stopped to get half-way dressed, after all it was a Friday night and she was a stranger in town. It was 11:15 p.m. Just as her hand touched the door knob a loud noise that sounded like a shotgun blast was heard outside the room in the hallway. Then, there was a second loud blast that sounded like a ri-

fle even more powerful than a hunting gun. What was going on? Was it a shoot-out between two drunken cowboys? Was it a terrorist attack? Maybe it was "friendly fire" from that canyon area? On a more serious and realistic note, could the shotgun sounds have come from a lunatic running amok through the hallways shooting at people? Alice Anne moved away from the doorway and windows and cowered between the beds. Meanwhile, the motel fire alarms went off which made calm thinking difficult. With one hand she reached up and called the front desk. She received little information, just the warning to "stay in the room with the door locked." The cell phone to 911 did not work. She called the front desk again and again received little information. The front desk person mumbled something about a SWAT team and a promise that police would come and give the all clear. What SWAT team? What police? There was no information to explain the shotgun blasts. Ten minutes later, Alice Anne took a major risk and opened the door to the hallway. To the left in the lobby were five Darth Vader types standing over legs stretched out on the floor. The legs were covered in blue jeans. She looked the other way and there was another Darth Vader type person coming toward her. But his uniform read "SECURITY." During a very brief discussion the security person said there had been no shots and that the noises were from "diversionary devices." Something about "the girl was safe." And again, "close the door lady and keep it locked. We'll come back when it's safe." Meanwhile, Alice Anne wondered about the legs in the lobby and Janel and Lorna on the second floor. Lack of information was very frustrating and scary. Finally there was a knock on the door. It was the police and two paramedic persons. They asked Alice Anne, "are you okay?" "No! How could anybody be okay locked behind a door not knowing what was going on in the hallway." One paramedic brought her a soda and assured her that the "subject was gone." Gone to hell, as in dead? Or gone to the hoosegow? They explained that there had been "a situation," the SWAT team had taken care of it, and the girl was free and safe. Then the para-

medic people went up to the second floor to check on Janel and Lorna.

After a few minutes Janel and Lorna came down to Alice's room, but they were damsels in distress. The "devices" (stun and sound grenades) had been set off directly outside their room where a wing of rooms meets the main hallway. The burning carpet and walls had triggered the fire alarm. They had been sleeping and were close to being in shock. The three ladies considered calling Leo Oliva to get Dub Couch and John Carson to form a guard detail to patrol the motel's hallways for the remainder of the night. Yes, they wanted Carson's blue horse, too.

That idea seemed too nineteenth-century. The ladies decided to circle their wagons and rescue themselves. They prayed, laughed, and ate Hostess Susy Q's. Then Janel explained that her stomach had been giving her trouble all night and she knew there would be a 911 situation, but that we would be all right. Janel was quizzed about her psychic stomach, and she promised to share any new information that might present itself. Meanwhile, the ladies decided that they would not allow some crazed kidnapper to ruin the Symposium and instead of dying of fright they might sell their story to the *Enquirer* and, if time permitted, ask Janel's stomach about the stock market. But they were all too nervous. Finally, Janel's stomach signaled the "all clear" and they tried to get some sleep. This did not work. Accordingly, the brave but exhausted damsels missed much of Saturday's symposium. When they made their appearance they discovered that several people were concerned about them (wondering what had happened) and that other members of the Symposium had lived through the same experience. Some had gone home. Some asked for refunds from the motel.

Meanwhile, the full story was coming to light. Some man had kidnapped, at gun point, his ex-wife. This started in Colorado Springs and the police had tracked them south on Highway 25 to the motel. The SWAT team lured the kidnapper into the hallway where they set off their grenades, intended to disorient the suspect. He was apprehended and the ex-wife, who had been chained to the

bed, was freed.

If this scenario seems familiar, that's right. It was like a reenactment of everyday occurrences in Dodge City or some other Wild West town along the old Santa Fe Trail. Some people only read about the adventures and excitement of traveling the Santa Fe Trail. Janel, Lorna, and Alice Anne got to experience Wild West history, first hand. Yes, the Santa Fe Trail lives on!

## ASSOCIATION MANAGER

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Union National Monument from 1988-2001. In the years 2001-2007 Harry worked as a planner with the National Trails System Office in Santa Fe, where his work concentrated on El Camino Real National Historic Trail general management plan and the Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study. Most recently Harry has been working as a Historic Research Consultant for the Office of the New Mexico State Historian.

Those who read *Wagon Tracks* will recognize Myers as one of the many contributors to that publication. His most recent contribution was an update of Jack Rittenhouse's bibliography of the Santa Fe Trail, in which he added close to 500 titles of books that have been published since 1971. In addition to *Wagon Tracks*, Harry has published articles in *Kansas History* and the *Prairie Scout*, as well as other magazines. In addition to his writing, he is an active researcher as well as an entertaining and educational speaker. Harry is well-known as one of the leading authorities on the history of the Santa Fe Trail and has spoken at many of SFTA's symposiums, as well as to various other groups.

Harry has received numerous awards and honors, including the SFTA Award of Merit in 1993, Paul F. Bentrup Ambassador Award in 1995, Jack D. Rittenhouse Memorial Stagecoach Award in 1997, and the Marc Simmons Writing Award in 2007.

A longtime member of the Santa Fe Trail Association, joining in 1989, Harry served as the coordinator for the 175th Anniversary Celebration. In addition he has served on commit-

tees, including the nominating committee and the awards committee. He is currently secretary of the Corazón de los Caminos chapter.

As Harry becomes familiar with his duties as Association Manager, you will see him appearing along the Trail. On behalf of SFTA, I'd like to say "welcome aboard." You can contact Harry at <hmyers@cyber-mesa.com> or 505-466-4129.

## IT'S THAT TIME AGAIN

by Joanne VanCoevern

**Y**ES, it is that time of year again. The time when the holidays are upon us, our thoughts turn to good times spent with family and friends, and of course RENEWALS! Yes, it is membership renewal time again.

The Santa Fe Trail Association membership runs concurrent with the yearly calendar, so that means all memberships, except life members, come up for renewal on January 1, 2008. This year you will have two options when renewing. You can go online at our web site at <www.santafetrail.org> and use a credit card to renew. Or, you can use the form you will be receiving very soon in the U.S. mail and return it in the envelope provided.

It should be noted that the Santa Fe Trail Association has not had a dues increase for several years, even when the cost of postage and printing of *Wagon Tracks* has increased.

Some may ask, just what do our membership dues cover? At the present rate, it covers the cost of printing and distributing *Wagon Tracks*. It covers part of the administration fees associated with our headquarters at the Santa Fe Trail Center in Larned, including rent, salary, insurance, equipment, and other office costs. It covers one-half of the speaker bureau grants, as well as other programs offered through the marker fund, education fund, and scholarly research grants. The National Park Service provides funding to help with office & travel expenses, Association Manager expenses, assistance with several of our funds and projects, website assistance, and several Challenge Cost-Shares that are in progress with the chapters.

Several of our funds, such as education, markers, speakers bureau, and scholarly research, are

funded by transferring money from what has been called SFTA's "reserve" fund. This fund is really just membership money and donations that were accumulated during the first 10-15 years of our existence, when our expenses did not take up all of the money from membership dues and when our membership numbers were higher. Several of our projects will be in need of new funding either next year or shortly thereafter. We have basically two choices when deciding how we fund the marker grants, speakers' bureau grants, scholarly research grants, etc. We can continue to take money from the "reserve," which will eventually deplete the reserve, or we can find new sources of funding to apply to these project accounts. Many of you have been very helpful in the past few years by meeting our end-of-the-year appeal with an extra donation in addition to your membership renewal. This has been very helpful in continuing our special funds and is greatly appreciated by SFTA. As the president of SFTA, I ask that you please consider donating an extra amount again this year. Remember, we are a nonprofit organization, so any amount donated above the basic membership fee is considered tax deductible.

As the year 2007 comes to an end, please take a moment and renew your membership in SFTA and, if possible, please make an additional donation. You can avoid this annual hassle by becoming a life member, a good investment at any age.

## EL CAMINO REAL TOUR, FEBRUARY 14-25, 2008

**H**AL Jackson is offering another guided tour of El Camino Real, "Following the Footsteps of Juan de Oñate," February 14-25. He reports as follows:

I want to report to all my Santa Fe Trail friends about my recent tour to Mexico on the Camino Real. There were 38 on the tour plus Luis Urías and myself. Luis is a well-known cultural historian living in Chihuahua with whom I have collaborated for years. We left El Paso and traveled south, stopping at many locations well-known to Santa Fe Trail aficionados who have read Gregg, Magoffin, Wislizenus, and



other accounts.

We stayed in Chihuahua, Parral, Durango, and Zacatecas on our modern voyage of discovery. The Camino Real, as we know, was of great importance to our own Santa Fe trail. Becknell and the traders who followed him cleaned out all the loose change in Santa Fe in a few years and without the Camino Real leading them south to the "real" money the Santa Fe Trail would almost certainly have dried up.

My next tour will begin in El Paso on February 14 and return to that city on February 25. In addition to sites important to the Juan de Oñate story, I will also show locations mentioned by the Santa Fe traders. If you are interested in joining us on this tour, you can find information at my web site: <www.tourelcaminoreal.com>. Surplus money from these tours goes to support educators, students, and schools along the Camino Real corridor in Mexico and the United States.

## WET/DRY ROUTES CHAPTER DAY TRIPS

**T**HIRTEEN members of the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter toured the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Route, the eastern end of the Santa Fe Trail in 1867-1868. Visiting Forts Hays and Dodge, the group stopped at numerous sites: rut locations, stream crossings, and Sawlog Creek where Boyd's Rancho was visited by Richard Blinn, his wife Clara, and their son William in April 1868. Clara and Willie were later captured by the Cheyennes in the fall of 1868 and were killed during the attack on Black Kettle's Washita village by Lt. Col. George A. Custer and troops of the Seventh Cavalry.

A special tour of the DAR Santa Fe Trail Markers is scheduled for November 17. A few spaces remain open. Interested parties may contact Dr. Merlene Baird, 620-285-6070

## SFTA AWARDS

(continued from page 1)

**HERITAGE PRESERVATION AWARD**  
Rich & Debbie Lawson for preservation of Trail remnants at the Arrow Rock Crossing of the Missouri River

**EDUCATION AWARD (2)**  
Donna Goehring

Jody Schneider

**MARC SIMMONS WRITING AWARD (2)**

Michael Olsen for his outstanding article, "Dime Novels, Purple Prose, and History," in the November 2204 issue of *Wagon Tracks*

Harry Myers for his outstanding article, "Since Rittenhouse: Santa Fe Trail Bibliography," in the August 2006 issue of *Wagon Tracks*

## BOY SCOUT MARKS 100TH MERIDIAN IN DODGE CITY

by Tim Wenzl

*[Wenzl is archivist for the Catholic Diocese of Dodge City and assistant scoutmaster for Troop 162 in Dodge City.]*

**T**HE imaginary line on the earth's surface known as the 100th Meridian can now be located in Dodge City, thanks to the efforts of a local Boy Scout working on his Eagle project.

Michael Snapp with Troop 162 heard that some Dodge City visitors actually come looking for the 100th Meridian. That is when he decided to find and mark its location.

The 100th Meridian runs north and south from pole to pole. In the United States the state line between Oklahoma and Texas is actually the 100th Meridian. Follow that line up through the Oklahoma panhandle into Kansas and it passes through Dodge City. Cozad, Nebraska, has a 100th Meridian Museum and there is a highway marker in South Dakota. And now Dodge City has a 100th Meridian marker.

Snapp enlisted the expertise of Kevin Noll of A to Z Land Surveying in Jetmore to find the exact location. Noll and Vernon Bogart, retired land surveyor, used a Global Positioning System to determine the location of the 100th Meridian.

Snapp then carved a 600-pound limestone post and placed it on the south side of US Highway 50 between Avenues L and M. This marker on the site, however, was installed after he had completed extensive research to illustrate the historical and scientific significance of the 100th Meridian for a walking tour sign in downtown Dodge City. That sign is located on Central Ave-



nue near the Wyatt Earp statue.

"I wanted to bring this particular area of history to the attention of the people of Dodge City and its visitors," said Snapp. "There are many reasons why the 100th Meridian is significant to this area."

"During the day of western expansion, it was thought to be a natural line between east and west in terms of geography and climate. When Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana from France, the south and west boundaries were not defined and most of the region west of the Mississippi River was also claimed by Spain. The Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain in 1819 established the intersection of the 100th Meridian and the Arkansas River (now in south Dodge City) as a corner of the boundary between the United States and Spain. Later the 100th Meridian in this area was the west boundary of the Osage Indian Lands."

After writing the text and collecting digital photos and maps, the walking tour sign was designed by Cynthia Vierthaler of the *Spearville News*. Snapp received financial assistance for the manufacture of the sign from the Dodge City Rotary Club, the High Plains Chapter of the Kansas Society of Land Surveyors, and Landmark National Bank.

## PIKE'S FINAL COLUMN

*[This special column on Pike's Southwest Expedition has run for more than two years and ends with this issue with the article that begins on the following page.]*



# THE SPY WHO CAME IN FROM THE COLD: DR. JOHN HAMILTON ROBINSON—SECRET AGENT, FILIBUSTERER, MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY, AND PATHFINDER ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by Craig Crease

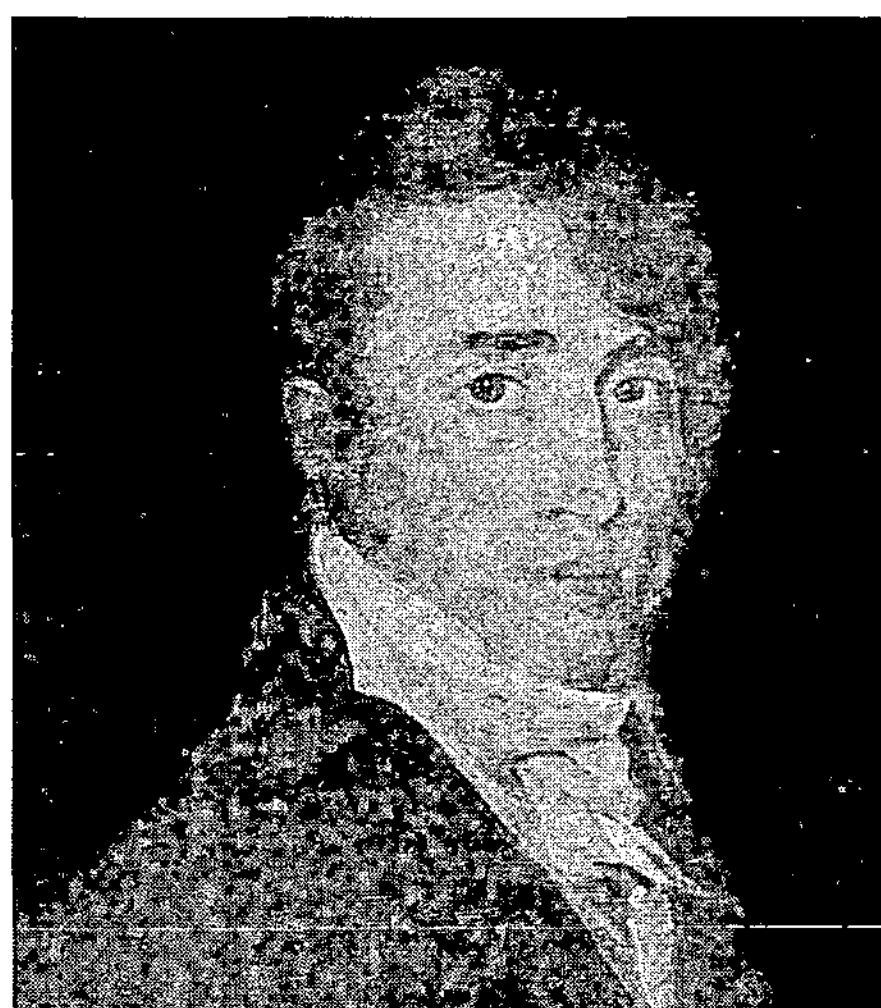
*[Crease is a longtime member of SFTA, president of the Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association, and a frequent contributor to WT. He served on the Pike Bicentennial Commission and took as his research interest the most intriguing character of Pike's Southwest Expedition, the results of which he now kindly shares with SFTA. Thanks Craig.]*

fil-i-bus-ter / fil-i-bus-ter-er – n – a military adventurer: esp. an American engaged in fomenting 19th century Latin American uprisings.

**SURELY** one of the most interesting characters spanning the critical two decades from the beginning of Thomas Jefferson's eight year presidency in 1801 to William Becknell's seminal trip on the Santa Fe Trail in 1821 was Dr. John Hamilton Robinson. Virtually unknown today, other than for his role with Zebulon Pike's Southwest Expedition, Dr. Robinson at one time held the future of Spanish and American relations in his hands, at a time when those relations were critical to the nation's future. An intriguing, driven, ambitious, yet contradictory personality, he deserves a new consideration for the multiple roles he played out some 200 years ago.

John Hamilton Robinson was born on January 24, 1782, in Augusta County, Virginia. His father David Robinson was a frontiersman; it is likely that he is the same David Robinson that offered Thomas Jefferson an account of the Missouri River in 1805,<sup>1</sup> just a year before his son and a little-known young lieutenant named Pike made their amazing and controversial journey to the Southwest. John Hamilton Robinson's mother was Miriam Hamilton, sister of Alexander Hamilton; 19th-century historian Frederick L. Billon and modern historian James Holmberg both claim that John was the nephew of Alexander Hamilton.<sup>2</sup>

Little is known of Robinson's early childhood in Virginia, although growing up there in the decades immediately after the American Revolu-



tion no doubt had its unique set of challenges and opportunities. He had two brothers about whom little is known. Apparently he was a bright and quick-witted child. By the time he was a young man his parents sent him to medical school, probably in Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> Here at college, and possibly earlier from his parents, Robinson received a superb and classical education. Along with learning to be a doctor and surgeon, he became very knowledgeable and proficient in all the sciences and fluent in the French language. Zebulon Pike described Robinson's particular genius: "He has had the benefit of a liberal education, without having spent his time as too many of our gentlemen do in colleges, viz. in skimming on the surfaces of sciences, without ever endeavouring to make themselves masters of the solid foundations, but Robinson studied and reasoned; with these qualifications he possessed a liberality of mind too great ever to reject an hypothesis, because it was not agreeable to the dogmas of the schools; or adopt it, because it had all the éclat of novelty - his soul could conceive great actions, and his hand was ready to achieve them; in short, it may easily be said that nothing was above his genius, nor anything so minute that he conceived it entirely unworthy of consideration." Pike continued and summed up Robinson's toughness and courage tempered years before in the forested valleys of Virginia. "As a gentlemen

and companion in dangers, difficulties, and hardships, I in particular, and the expedition generally, owe much to his exertions."<sup>4</sup>

In 1805, at the end of his university studies, 23-year-old John Hamilton Robinson, now Dr. Robinson, moved west to frontier St. Louis.

He came at the urging of another prominent St. Louis physician, Dr. Antoine Saugrain.<sup>5</sup> Influential Dr. Saugrain introduced Robinson to General James Wilkinson, posted at St. Louis in 1805 as both Commanding General of the entire United States Army and the civil Governor of the newly-formed Louisiana Territory, an area encompassing everything from the Mississippi River to an unknown and untested boundary with Spain somewhere far in the west. Wilkinson was more than happy to see the young physician arrive. He wrote in August of that year to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, "Being utterly at a loss for a Surgeon to the Camp, I very fortunately fell in with a young Gentleman, who arrived here at the moment of my enquiry . . . his name is John H. Robinson, and as He gives great satisfaction both to officers & men, I hope you may think proper to appoint him."<sup>6</sup> Young Dr. Robinson served at Cantonment Bellefontaine, located just north of St. Louis at the mouth of the Missouri River, from July 28, 1805, until June 30, 1806.<sup>7</sup>

On Christmas Eve of 1805, Dr. Robinson married nineteen-year-old Sophie Marie Michau, who was Dr. Antoine Saugrain's sister-in-law. Soon Sophie was pregnant with the Robinson's first child, Edward Hamilton Vilamil Robinson, who would be born while his father was away in the Southwest with Pike.<sup>8</sup>

Pike himself spent the winter of 1805 on a hardscrabble mission north to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and to confirm and cement the loyalty to the United States of the northern Indian tribes living near its waters, all at the direction of General Wilkinson. British interests in the north and northwest had expanded their trading influence to these tribes recently, and

Wilkinson, characteristically, reacted to what he perceived as a threat to his country's interests, as well as his own personal pecuniary ambitions, in sending Lieutenant Pike on this foray north. Pike and his 19 men returned downriver to Fort Bellefontaine after almost nine months on this Mississippi expedition, suffering many hardships, especially from the cold. They failed to reach the actual source of the Mississippi before returning home on April 30, 1806. Perhaps the greatest attribute of this Mississippi expedition was the "toughening up" of Pike and his men, most of whom would accompany him on the even more difficult expedition to the Southwest that was soon to come.<sup>9</sup>

Lieutenant Pike had barely settled back into Fort Bellefontaine when he received orders to lead an expedition to the Southwest, an expedition that was to leave almost immediately, that was conceived initially by General Wilkinson as the general's own plan, and that would propel young Pike into both fame and controversy.

Along with most of the men who had accompanied Pike on the Mississippi expedition (17 of the soldiers from the Mississippi expedition continued on with him to the Southwest), Pike added a civilian interpreter, young fur trader Antoine Francois Vasquez, better known as Baronet Vasquez. Also, General Wilkinson ordered Pike to add two more soldiers and a civilian to the roster; one soldier was Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, the general's somewhat sickly eldest son,<sup>10</sup> the other was Joseph Ballinger, the general's somewhat devious agent, who had already figured in many of the general's schemes and intrigues over the previous two decades. Pike enlisted Ballinger as a sergeant, despite Ballinger having no prior military experience. After the expedition Pike inflated Ballinger's military service record to five years, all no doubt at the order of General Wilkinson.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the general ordered Pike to add one more civilian on board. "Doctor Robinson will accompany you as a volunteer," read Wilkinson's orders. "He will be furnished medicines, and for accommodation you give him he is bound to attend your sick."<sup>12</sup>

This order from General Wilkinson for John Hamilton Robinson to accompany Pike's Southwest Expedition marks the beginning of a mystery concerning the actual role that Robinson played in that expedition and that historians have speculated about for most years since. To put that mystery in context, however, we need to consider what General Wilkinson had been up to in the run-up to that fateful summer in 1806.

James Wilkinson was one of the most powerful men in America, rivaling even the president himself, when he was both commander of the entire United States Army and governor of the entire Louisiana Territory, as appointed by that same president, Thomas Jefferson, in 1805. Unknown by Jefferson at that time, and for that matter unknown to virtually everyone else in the young country, was a third powerful and influential role that Wilkinson had played, with varying involvement, since 1789; he was a well-paid secret agent for the country of Spain. So secret, in fact, that he was known by the Spanish authorities only as "# 13," a code name created by Wilkinson himself. That secret role on behalf of Spain, however, did not keep Wilkinson from pursuing with vigor what appears to be his longtime dream and motivation; he was the principal of, or deeply involved in, four or more filibustering expeditions directed at Mexico over two decades.<sup>13</sup> Certainly the most sensational of these filibuster plans was the one Wilkinson concocted in May of 1804 in New York City with the sitting Vice-President of the United States. "To save time of which I need much and have little, I propose to take a Bed with you this night, if it may be done without observation or intrusion – Answer me and if in the affirmative I will be with [you] at 30 after the 8th hour," wrote General Wilkinson to Vice-President Aaron Burr on May 23, 1804, and that night the sensational plan known since as the Burr Conspiracy (even though there is much evidence indicating Wilkinson was the instigator and originator of the plan) was born.<sup>14</sup>

This conspiracy, in addition to its two main protagonists Burr and Wilkinson, implicated sitting congressmen and senators, federal judges, two future presidents, and

some would say one sitting president<sup>15</sup> and other men of power and influence throughout the United States for the three years it played out, until culminating in one of the most sensational trials in American history in Richmond, Virginia, in the spring of 1807.<sup>16</sup>

The core plan of the Burr Conspiracy was an ambitious and audacious but ambiguous undertaking with two possible outcomes, either of which would apparently meet the conspirators goals; a plan to move a filibustering militia force against Mexico to annex by force all Spanish holdings between the Rio Grande and the Mississippi and south deep into Mexico, as well as Spanish Florida, or a plan to use this same militia to break Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and other states and lands bordering the southern Mississippi River away from the United States and create a new Union or, if the conspirators were wildly successful, both.

The first outcome would be a relatively innocuous violation of the Neutrality Act of 1794. The second outcome would be Treason.<sup>17</sup>

In May 1806, as General Wilkinson contemplated his plan to send Pike to the Southwest, his secret plans with Burr were coming rapidly to fruition. A war with Spain that was critical to their plans because of the chaos and uncertainty it would introduce, along with providing the perfect alibi for moving federal troops and private militia deep and rapidly into Spanish territory, appeared to be percolating to a certainty on the banks of the Sabine River in Texas.<sup>18</sup> Within four days of Pike's April 30 return from the Mississippi expedition, Wilkinson informed Pike of his next assignment.

On May 3 Pike wrote to a friend "I am bound on another voyage and may not be here 3 weeks longer."<sup>19</sup> Wilkinson's anxiousness to get Pike's expedition underway met another obstacle. The group of Osage Indians that Pike was to return to their villages on the Osage River in present southwest Missouri had been taken ill. The delay would last almost two months, until July 15.

John Hamilton Robinson's addition to the expedition at the last moment on July 12, just three days before it departed, and his actions dur-



ing and after the Southwest Expedition with Pike, have led historians to speculate about Robinson's real agenda and his secret ties, if any, to General Wilkinson and his conspiratorial schemes. Historian Thomas Abernethy pondered in his unsurpassed work, *The Burr Conspiracy*: "The Doctor was to pay for his passage by acting as surgeon to the expedition, but nobody has explained why he wished to make this long and arduous journey with no ostensible object in view except to see the country."<sup>20</sup> Unstated by Abernethy, but in the same vein, is the perplexing fact that Dr. Robinson left behind his new bride Sophie, who was six months pregnant with their child.

Historian Harold Bierck, Jr., in his 1942 article on Dr. Robinson, speculated: "Robinson may have been the link between the expedition and Burr. His last minute appointment by Wilkinson, his intense desire to reach Santa Fe, coupled with his scientific knowledge tend to show that he was working in the interest of Wilkinson, and possibly Burr. But whether he was a spy for Wilkinson and Burr, or merely a disinterested volunteer, Robinson took an active part in the expedition."<sup>21</sup>

Isaac Joslin Cox, possibly the greatest historian of early 19th century Spanish and American relations along the Texas and Louisiana frontier, weighed in this way: "... additional instructions, issued on July 12, informed Pike that Dr. John Hamilton Robinson was to join his party as a volunteer surgeon. As we shall see this new recruit was not merely to perform his ostensible medical duties but was an additional agent to insure the carrying out of Wilkinson's real object—the exploration of the trail clear to Santa Fe."<sup>22</sup>

James Ripley Jacobs, one of General Wilkinson's biographers, stated bluntly "Dr. John Hamilton Robinson, going nominally as an accompanying surgeon, really went to assume command in case Pike met with disaster."<sup>23</sup>

Elliott Coues, 19th century editor of Pike's journals, proclaimed, "That our friend Robinson was, in plain English, a spy is incontestable."<sup>24</sup>

Finally, in 1965, gifted historian and modern editor of Pike's journals, Donald Jackson, summed up the

Robinson conundrum this way: "The most mysterious person in the command, a man whose complex motives are still not entirely clear, was Dr. John H. Robinson . . . when he learned of the expedition he is said to have entreated Wilkinson repeatedly for permission to go as a volunteer." Later that same year Jackson wrote a more conclusive statement concerning Robinson. "His later career was to become a crusade to liberate Mexico from Spanish rule. . . . In view of his apparent willingness to defect from his family and friends, his lack of further contacts with Wilkinson, and his future role in Mexico, it seems evident that Robinson was less a spy than a privately motivated opportunist and revolutionary—a man who already had decided that his future lay in Mexico."<sup>25</sup>

It does appear, when the evidence is considered, that John Hamilton Robinson was indeed on a spying mission for General Wilkinson of some kind, and this mission may very well have been in line with Robinson's own plans and ambitions. However, the available evidence does not reveal to what extent, if any, that Pike was aware of any secret plans of Robinson's, and if we take Pike's statements at face value, he was not aware of any.<sup>26</sup>

However, Pike's own statements in his journals and letters do evidence that Pike treated Dr. Robinson as an equal and co-leader from the beginning of the expedition. It has often been written they were the same age. They were not. When the Southwest Expedition shoved off into the Missouri River, Robinson was 24, Pike was 27. But they were close enough in age that it undoubtedly increased their rapport. Also, the highly structured military man Pike may have felt at ease with an expedition member who was a civilian, as Robinson was. Finally, and probably the most influential factor, was Pike's unrelenting admiration for Robinson, based on the fact that Robinson had achieved much that Pike himself also longed to be recognized for. Pike waxed eloquently of Robinson after the expedition: "He is a young Gentleman of liberal education, profound erudition; Versed in the Modern Languages; and for enterprise, perseverance, or Bravery inferior to none of his age. . . . I

pledge myself that he will always do Honor to the sword, which his Country may trust to his Valor."<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the expedition Robinson was indispensable to Pike, although, ironically, never as the physician that was his reason for being along in the first place. A crack shot, frequently he went out with Pike's hunters to bag dinner. Later he saved the group from certain starvation in that critical 1806-1807 snow-bound winter in the Rockies, when he brought down a buffalo at a time most of the other men were so debilitated by cold and hunger they could not hunt.<sup>28</sup> Twice on the expedition Pike and his men were in danger of being overrun by Indians, once when leaving the Pawnee village in present Nebraska, the other when outnumbered five to one by a belligerent Pawnee war party in present Colorado. Both times Dr. Robinson showed a calm courage and nerves of steel that impressed Pike and his soldiers.<sup>29</sup> Most days on the expedition Dr. Robinson was at Pike's side, even on the misguided attempt to reach Pikes Peak, although an interesting fact unconsidered by historians seeking answers to Robinson's personal agenda on the expedition is that Robinson was sent forward unaccompanied by Pike, often many days in advance, to all four of the expedition's destinations: La Charette on the Missouri River, the Osage villages in southwest Missouri, the Pawnee village in Nebraska, and colonial Santa Fe.<sup>30</sup>

After being taken by the Spanish from their camp on the waters of the Rio Grande south to Santa Fe in February 1807, Zebulon Pike and his men were treated very well by the Spanish, especially in light of the fact that the Spanish themselves believed that Pike and his men were spies. The Spanish were particularly wary of Dr. Robinson. He had proceeded alone into Santa Fe several weeks earlier, promoting a scheme to the Spanish about collecting an old debt owed by a trader purported to be in Santa Fe to merchant William Morrison back east. Pike characterized the plan: "The demands which Dr. Robinson had on persons in New Mexico, although legitimate, were in some degree spurious in his hands. . . . When on the frontiers, the idea suggested itself to us of making this

claim a pretext for Robinson to visit Santa Fe."<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Robinson further confounded his Spanish captors by claiming that he had come to Santa Fe to check out the job prospects for physicians, "for the sake of knowing whether it were more suitable for a man of my profession than the one in which I lived," and to become "a subject of His Catholic Majesty," offering to explore the country north of Santa Fe on behalf of the Spanish. Salcedo did not buy any of Robinson's story; in fact he apparently considered these outrageous propositions as further evidence that Robinson was a spy and provocateur.<sup>32</sup>

Concerned that the Spanish would make Dr. Robinson out for a spy, Pike determined to act as if he did not know Robinson, a charade Pike kept up until he finally caught up with the doctor at a village just south of Albuquerque, both of them on their way from Santa Fe south to Chihuahua, courtesy of their Spanish hosts. Pike described their joyful reunion: "I saw a man sitting by the fire reading a book, with blooming cheeks, fine complexion, and a genius speaking eye, he arose from his seat. It was Robinson! not that Robinson who left my camp, on the head waters of the Rio del Norte, pale, emaciated, with uncombed locks and beard of eight months growth, but with fire, unsubdued enterprise and fortitude. The change was indeed surprising. I started back and exclaimed 'Robinson!' 'Yes'; 'but I do not know you'; I replied; 'but I know you,' he exclaimed 'I would not be unknown to you here, in this land of tyranny and oppression; to avoid all the pains they dare to inflict. Yet my friend, I grieve to see you here and thus, for I presume you are a prisoner.' 'I replied no! I wear my sword you see, and all my men have their arms, and the moment they dare to ill treat us we will surprise their guards in the night, carry off some horses and make our way to Apaches and then set them at defiance.' At this moment captain D'Almansa entered and I introduced Robinson to him, as Companion de Voyage and friend, he having seen him before at Santa Fe. He did not appear much surprised and received him with a significant smile, as much to say, I knew this. We then

marched out to the place where the soldiers were encamped, not one of whom would recognize him (agreeably to orders,) until I gave them the sign. Then it was a joyful meeting, as the whole party was enthusiastically fond of him."<sup>33</sup>

Pike's reunited group continued to Chihuahua and a meeting with General Nemesio Salcedo. Pike was the sole object of Salcedo's interrogation and attention, while Robinson was left cooling his heels in a guarded anteroom. Pike recalled, "Robinson all this time had been standing in the guardroom, boiling with indignation at being so long detained there, subject to the observations of the soldiery and gaping of the vulgar. He [Robinson] was now introduced, by some mistake by one of the aides-de-camp. He appeared and made a slight bow to the general, who demanded of Malgares who he was. He replied, 'A doctor who accompanied the expedition.' 'Let him retire,' said the governor; and he went out. . . . The general then invited me to return and dine with him."<sup>34</sup> An ignominious first meeting for two men, Salcedo and Robinson, whose destinies would cross again years later.

By the end of April 1807, Pike and Robinson and most of the expedition members were set on a course for home (five men were left behind).

Pike's returning group arrived at Natchitoches on the Red River in Louisiana, the United States' far-flung strategic outpost near the Sabine, on July 1, 1807. Pike proclaimed: "Language cannot express the gayety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft."<sup>35</sup>

On July 5, within a few days of his arrival, Pike wrote to General Wilkinson, responding to a letter Wilkinson had written to him from New Orleans on May 20, which the general had sent to Natchitoches in anticipation of Pike's return there. Wilkinson stated: "After having counted you among the dead, I was most agreeably surprised to find, by a letter from General Salcedo, received a few days since, that you were in his possession, and that he proposed sending you, with your party, to our frontier post. . . . You will hear of the scenes in which I have been engaged, and may be informed that the traitors whose infamous designs against the gov-

ernment and constitution of our country I have detected, exposed, and destroyed, are vainly attempting to explain their own conduct by inculpating me. Among other devices, they have asserted that your and Lieutenant Wilkinson's enterprise was a premeditated co-operation with Burr. Being on the wing for Richmond, in Virginia, to confront the arch-traitor and his host of advocates, I have not leisure to commune with you as I could desire. Let it then suffice for me to say to you, that of the information you have acquired, and the observations you have made, you must be cautious, extremely cautious, how you breathe a word; because publicity may excite a spirit of adventure adverse to the interest of our country, or injurious to the maturation of those plans which may hereafter be necessary and justifiable by the government. . . . I pray you to attend particularly to the injunctions of this hasty letter, and to believe me, whilst I am your general."<sup>36</sup>

Pike responded on July 5 from Natchitoches: "Once more I address you from the land of freedom and under the banners of our country. Your esteemed favor of the 20th of May now lies before me, in which I recognize the sentiments of my general and friend, and will endeavor, as far as my limited abilities permit, to do justice to the spirit of your instructions. . . . Dr. Robinson has accompanied me the whole route, is still with me, and I take pleasure in acknowledging I have received important services from him, as my companion in danger and hardships, counselor in difficulties, and one to whose chemical, botanical, and mineralogical knowledge the expedition is greatly indebted. . . . We heard in the Spanish dominions of the convulsions of the western country, originating in Mr. Burr's plans, and that you were implicated; sometimes that you were arrested, sometimes superseded, etc. Those reports, although I never credited them, gave me great unhappiness, as I conceived that the shafts of calumny were aimed at your fame and honor, in a foreign country where these had hitherto stood high and been revered and respected by every class. At St. Antonio Colonel Cordero informed me of the truth of the statement, which took a



load from my breast and made me feel comparatively happy; I hope ere long the villainy will be unmasked, and malignity and slander hide their heads."<sup>37</sup>

While Pike waited in Natchitoches for Wilkinson's response and new orders, Dr. Robinson was anxious to return up the Mississippi River to his home in St. Louis and his wife and a new baby son he had yet to see. So the two close companions, bonded by their yearlong shared adventure on the Southwest Expedition, parted ways. By the end of July 1807, John Hamilton Robinson was back home in St. Louis.

In St. Louis, away from the intrigues of the Spanish borderlands, and no longer immediately vulnerable to the intrigues of General Wilkinson (who was far away in a Richmond, Virginia, courtroom trying to save his military career, fighting charges of complicity in the Burr trial for treason),<sup>38</sup> Dr. Robinson resumed his medical practice. During that fall and winter of 1807, in spite of having returned to a placid home life in St. Louis, while making his rounds the frontier doctor undoubtedly reminisced of his recent adventures with Pike in the Southwest. He must have considered the extent to which his own ambitions had or had not been fulfilled there on the Rio Grande and farther south in Santa Fe and Chihuahua. But whether his destiny was established during the Pike expedition, or afterwards in St. Louis in that winter of 1807, the rest of John Hamilton Robinson's life was dedicated to being a revolutionary and filibusterer; a talented and driven man about whom historian Donald Jackson proclaimed that "His later career was to become a crusade to liberate Mexico from Spanish rule."<sup>39</sup>

By the spring of 1808 Robinson, ever restless, was clamoring for a position with the frontier military that might put him once again into a position to pursue his ambitions in Mexico, and by September 1808 he was appointed as acting surgeon's mate at Fort Bellefontaine near St. Louis, although it was a civil position and not an actual army commission.<sup>40</sup> Robinson brought his wife and baby son Edward to the garrison to live with him, and while there the family was helped and supported by their

friend Captain James House, whom they had known since earlier in that year, before they came to live at the fort. Captain House, in addition to his regular military duties, was an amateur portrait painter of some talent. That spring he created the only known image of Dr. Robinson, a delicate miniature portrait in the style prevalent at the time. John and Sophie Robinson's second child was born in August in St. Louis, a boy they named James House Robinson in honor of their friend.<sup>41</sup>

In spite of his assignment as acting surgeon's mate at Fort Bellefontaine, in September, the first month that he was there, he applied for a different position. Robinson wrote to Secretary of Louisiana Territory Frederick Bates, applying for a position as an Indian agent "in Indian Dept to fill vacancy caused by misunderstanding between Crawford and Campbell."<sup>42</sup> The previous winter Zebulon Pike had weighed in for his friend Dr. Robinson, writing to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, advocating an army commission for Robinson, proclaiming Dr. Robinson as "a Gentlemen who would accept of a captaincy."<sup>43</sup> No "captaincy" in the army was forthcoming for Robinson from Dearborn. However, his earlier 1808 application to Frederick Bates for a position with the Indian Department, coupled with a new friendship in 1809 with Captain Eli Clemson, the military commander of Fort Osage, facilitated his assignment as Indian subagent at this fort in the spring of 1809.

On March 31, 1809, Dr. Robinson resigned his post as surgeon's mate at Fort Bellefontaine and shortly after made his way several hundred miles west on the Missouri River to Fort Osage, the Indian trading post or "factory" run by George Sibley, with a small contingent of soldiers on hand commanded by Captain Clemson. Robinson had been sent to Fort Osage to succeed Rueben Lewis, brother of Meriwether Lewis.<sup>44</sup> Again Dr. Robinson brought his family to the fort to live with him.

Fort Osage, located on a high bluff on the Missouri River east of present Kansas City, was the nation's farthest flung western fort with a military presence at the time. The dinner conversations must have been interesting between Sibley and the Robin-

sons at Fort Osage. George Sibley, some fifteen years later, would lead the first official survey of the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Osage to Taos and Santa Fe. Robinson no doubt passed much information on to Sibley about the route to Santa Fe. For his part, George Sibley was certainly no isolationist; the year before Dr. Robinson came to Fort Osage, Sibley had written to his brother, stating that Fort Osage would be the perfect base from which to seize the rich mines near Santa Fe if an anticipated war with Spain materialized. Further, George's father was Dr. John Sibley, an Indian agent in Natchitoches and Natchez. He was also, to a large extent, Thomas Jefferson's eyes and ears, the administration's personal and secret agent in a land of intrigue along the Mississippi and Red rivers in the Louisiana Territory from 1803 on. John Sibley was a long time agitator for the annexing of Texas by the United States. "Should the western limits of Louisiana extend to the river Bravo, or Grande . . . the United States will be able to make their own coffee and chocolate," he wrote in 1806. Ironically, Dr. John Sibley would be an active supporter a decade later of his son's nightly dinner companion at Fort Osage, John Hamilton Robinson, when the latter led his own filibustering efforts against Mexico.<sup>45</sup>

Having appointed Robinson to his position at Fort Osage, William Clark, in his own recently appointed position as superintendent of Indian affairs for the Louisiana Territory, worried about his new employee's payroll. In November 1809 Clark wrote to his brother: "I have just herd that one of my Bills drawn on the Secty. of War for the quarterly pay of Doctr. Robinson a Sub Indian Agent of the Osage apt. by Govr. Lewis have been protested for \$160, which alarms me verry much. if this Should be the Only one I shall be easy, as I am convenced that explanation will cause the Secty. to pay this Bill which was drawn previous to the late arrangement. made by the Secty. in respect to those appts. . . ."<sup>46</sup>

The following spring brought a new addition to frontier Fort Osage. On April 18, 1810, Antoine Saugrain Robinson was born, joining his toddler brothers Edward and James.<sup>47</sup> Spring also brought activities by

John Hamilton Robinson with intriguing implications. It appears from the documents describing the incident that Robinson, true to his revolutionary ambitions, was working to foment discord among the soldiers of the garrison, all to gain an end unrevealed by the available evidence. His former friend and mentor, Captain Eli Clemson, forbade Robinson to enter the gates of the fort, and forbade the soldiers to meet with Robinson.

Clemson issued the written order: "Fort Osage 9 July 1810 . . . Garrison order . . . The Commanding Officer having been informed that Dr. John H. Robinson has been tampering with the soldiers of this garrison and in a clandestine manner endeavouring to prejudice them against their officers by intrigue and ungentlemanly insinuations to the public service good order and military discipline. In consequence of which all soldiers belonging to this Fort are forbid entering the enclosures or house of the said Dr. Robinson, or his being admitted into the Fort without the permission from the commanding officer."<sup>48</sup>

Further recriminations were exchanged between former friends Clemson and Robinson; there are even indications that Robinson attempted to bring a lawsuit against Captain Clemson, in response to the captain forbidding "the soldiers to purchase goods from Robinson."<sup>49</sup> By winter the situation became intolerable, and once again Dr. Robinson was on the move with his family. He resigned his position and moved to Ste. Genevieve, the old French enclave on the Mississippi River south of St. Louis.

There Dr. Robinson and Sophie again tried to settle into the placid life of a frontier doctor, although by June 1811 Robinson would be commissioned by the governor of the Illinois Territory as an aide-de-camp to the Brigadier General of Militia, notwithstanding his troubles with the military at Fort Osage the previous year.<sup>50</sup> Later in the year in Ste. Genevieve the Robinsons had their fourth child and first girl, Henrietta Sophie Robinson, born on November 21. The quiet comforts of Ste. Genevieve, however, could not hold the arching ambition of Robinson and his revolutionary impulses, and soon

an opportunity presented itself that promised to put him on the road to Mexico once more.

In the five years since Robinson had accompanied Pike into Mexico, events internally and on the world stage threatened to accomplish in New Spain what Burr and Wilkinson and a host of lesser filibusterers had failed to do.

In the summer of 1808 Napoleon's French armies invaded Spain. Eighteen months later they were at the outskirts of Spain's capital, and the collapse of the Spanish empire appeared imminent. By the spring of 1810 a few Spanish holdings in South America began to respond, Venezuela being the first to collapse and switch allegiance to France. Inside Mexico itself, creeping signs of insurrection against the Royal government began to appear. Soon revolutionary bands of Mexican "Patriots" began to move across the country. President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe had inherited from the Jefferson administration in 1809 a Spanish borderland even more unstable and unresolved than that which Thomas Jefferson had dealt with. But in the midst of this uncertainty Madison and Monroe saw an opportunity. Beginning in the summer of 1810 their administration began to dispatch secret agents to all of Spain's holdings and colonies in the western hemisphere, with particular emphasis on those colonies near or on the border of the United States: East and West Florida, Cuba, and Mexico. These agents were charged with such mundane tasks as simply gathering information and assessing the prospects for increased trade, as well as more subversive operations that would have a destabilizing effect on already unstable colonial governments, indeed undertaking clandestine operations and promoting colonial insurrection against a nation (Spain), with which the United States was publicly very much at peace, all in the hopes of adding these provinces to the United States, especially Florida and Texas (northern Mexico).<sup>51</sup>

As he had in the past, Zebulon Pike again tried to give his friend Robinson a leg up. In the spring of 1812 Pike wrote to Secretary of State James Monroe on Dr. Robinson's be-

half, gaining him an audience in Washington with Monroe in June. Undoubtedly Monroe was impressed by Robinson's credentials and potential as it applied to the existing border situation with Spain. Either as a formality or to establish a degree of separation between the State Department and the clandestine undertakings they would be asking of their new secret agent, Monroe asked Robinson to communicate his ideas on the current and future status of Mexico back to Monroe through Pike.

This Robinson did immediately, drafting on June 19th a letter that he had Pike sign. In it Robinson (writing as Pike, although we can assume that Pike approved the letter) addressed their old captor Nemesio Salcedo, the Captain General of the Internal Provinces: "Doctor Robinson mentioned to me that you had honored him with a conversation relative to the Internal Provinces of New Spain and requested him to communicate his Ideas on that subject through me to you. That government is under a Captain General (Nemesio Salcedo) . . . by this will be seen the important consequence which may result to the United States by having an understanding with the Captain General, for although I believe whenever New Spain shall declare herself an independent Nation, those Internal Provinces must become part of the same; yet, I know Salcedo well, and know him to be jealous of his authority, crafty and suspicious, and that he will hold on to his Government as long as possible. The principal part of the patriots, who have not laid down their arms, have retreated into his limits and taken refuge in the Mountains distinguished on my Map by the title of Bolson de Mapimi, and along the uninhabited part of the Rio del Norte: from whence they carry on a continual predatory war on the Loyal inhabitants, and Troops. This state of things might be a peculiar inducement for him to listen to any propositions made at this period from the U. States, as he must know that it is in their power when they deem it proper by joining those Revolutionists to overturn his Government. . . . Should an Agent be sent from our Government to that Country I should choose the Rout by Natchitoches. . . . He will be obliged



to proceed on to Chihuahua the Seat of Government of the Captain Generalcy. . . . With respect to my friend Robinsons qualifications for such an Agency. . . . I think with proper instructions he will be a person eminently calculated for this undertaking." Signed "Z.M. Pike."<sup>52</sup>

Through this letter Robinson and Pike laid out for Monroe their considered opinion, which they were uniquely qualified to give, of the border situation based on their practical knowledge and experience, a view of the situation that further validated Monroe's own perception, that the Spanish-held territories near the Louisiana Territory, even Texas, would be easily annexed into the United States should Mexican independence from Spain occur. But Salcedo, as a vigorous opponent to both Mexican independence and American expansion, might try to maintain a self-contained state in the northern part of Mexico. This possibility alarmed Monroe. If Mexico were to split into regions, each representing revolutionary or loyalist factions, the resulting chaos might tempt the British or the French to interfere in Mexico.

So Monroe dispatched his new secret agent John Hamilton Robinson to the Southwest to seek out Salcedo. Robinson's written instructions included talking to Salcedo about the suppression of "Banditti" in the territory between Natchitoches and the Spanish settlements. Robinson was to "proceed to the seat of government of the Internal Provinces." There in Chihuahua he was to assure Salcedo of the United States' intention and desire to stay on friendly terms. Further, he was to bring up the question of the boundary between the two countries, since the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 remained undefined, and propose that the United States wanted to open negotiations over the boundary issues.<sup>53</sup>

Robinson left Washington and by August 1812 was in Natchitoches. He sought out Felix Trudeau, the Spanish vice-counsel, seeking a passport. Robinson told Trudeau he was charged with investigating a group of insurgents led by former U.S. army officer Augustus Magee and Mexican citizen Bernardo Gutierrez that had recently entered

Texas. Trudeau refused the passport, but Robinson continued without it. By October he found Magee and his band of Patriots on the banks of the Trinity River. Magee attempted to block his way and ordered that Robinson give up all his papers. Soon, however, they let Robinson continue, giving him a passport of their own, after he promised to reveal nothing about their whereabouts to Spanish authorities. The Patriots reasoned that if harm should come to Robinson they risked angering another power, the United States. Sympathetic to their revolutionary cause in spite of the rough treatment, Robinson later stated. "Had I, not been in the service of my own country, I would most cheerfully have been one of the party." Nursing an injured ankle, he continued on to his planned rendezvous with Salcedo.<sup>54</sup>

Finally reaching Chihuahua in December 1812, Robinson made his way to the government house and Salcedo. The Captain General received him "with a reserved politeness," but then demanded to know if Robinson carried a letter to him from the President of the United States. Robinson shot back that he did not have such a letter, in fact that he himself was the letter. Equally belligerent, Salcedo threatened imprisonment. Robinson told Salcedo he did not fear such an action; his government would act immediately to protect him.<sup>55</sup>

This first interview was apparently so tense that Salcedo requested that future communication be done in writing. The next day Robinson wrote out for Salcedo all the points from Monroe's instructions. Suspecting Robinson as a spy, based on their experiences together in 1807, and possibly as a revolutionary, based on affairs as they now existed in 1812, Salcedo again demanded to see Robinson's credentials for negotiating on behalf of the United States. Robinson sent his passport from the State Department and his letter of instructions from James Monroe. Hearing nothing for five days, Robinson pressed the issue, outlining for Salcedo the president's anxiousness to receive Robinson's report concerning the insurgents and the boundary issues. Stubbornly, Salcedo rejected what Robinson had sent him, and

continued to insist that "without a corresponding credential, it is not a document sufficient to enable me to hear officially the propositions to which your commission directs."<sup>56</sup>

Frustrated, Robinson asked for one final meeting, which Salcedo granted. He pleaded with Salcedo that now was the time for their nations to cooperate. Salcedo, ever intransigent, again accused Robinson of having a secret agenda. Robinson took it as a personal slur, and demanded an explanation. Salcedo flew into a rage; "he burst into the most violent paroxysm of anger," shouting that the United States lacked national honor and claiming that he retained letters and documents of Robinson's from 1807 which "he wrote and circulated in this country exciting the people to revolt against the constituted authorities."<sup>57</sup> Although angry himself, Robinson realized that no more could be done. He asked for a passport to the United States and the return of his papers. Robinson gave Salcedo a three-day ultimatum to meet his demands. Within the three days Salcedo sent him a contrite and cordial letter, but he indicated that Robinson's papers and actions in 1807 still justified his current suspicions of Robinson's motives. He also included a passport for Robinson. After arguing with Salcedo over the route he would take home, Robinson at last headed home in early February 1813.<sup>58</sup>

Traveling north through Mexico, Dr. Robinson met two Mexican insurgent leaders, both of whom implored him for American arms and officers. Robinson promised he would tell President Madison of their circumstance. He further indicated to them that the United States was sympathetic to their cause. Moving through San Antonio he found the people greatly alarmed because a Patriot army was encamped a few miles outside their city. Nemesio Salcedo's nephew Manuel was in charge, with only a token force ready to protect the city. Some of the inhabitants of San Antonio implored Robinson to invoke the power of his government for their protection, but of course Robinson's authority from Monroe did not extend that far. Furthermore, his personal sympathies were with the threatening revolutionaries

outside the town. He continued homeward, arriving in Natchitoches in April 1813, only to find José Alvarez de Toledo waiting for him.<sup>59</sup>

General Toledo was a former member of the Spanish legislature who arrived in America from Spain in September 1811, and over a period of time convinced James Monroe that he was a genuine revolutionary. Monroe advanced him some funds, and soon he was on his way from Washington to the West. Apparently he was also provided with a letter of introduction to Robinson; quickly upon Dr. Robinson's arrival in Natchitoches they became friends. They formulated a plan for invading Mexico. Robinson informed fellow secret agent William Shaler that "he [Robinson] should, on his arrival at Washington, lay their plans before the government," looking for support. When he arrived in Washington in July and made his report to Monroe, Robinson detailed his frustrating dealings with Salcedo and titled his report "The Present State of the Mexican Revolution." He assured Monroe that, if European interference could be kept out of the struggle, Mexican independence would most certainly happen.<sup>60</sup>

Dr. Robinson was released from his duties as a special agent for the State Department later that summer, and he went right back to work on the plan he had concocted with Toledo. Not only did the plan envision the takeover of the Internal Provinces of Mexico, it also projected taking over Spanish-held East Florida. Robinson went to Philadelphia, second only to New Orleans at the time as a hotbed of filibusterers and intrigue, seeking like-minded persons. In September 1813 he wrote a stirring broadside that was widely distributed in Philadelphia and beyond. He even invoked his late friend, Zebulon Pike, now General Pike, who had died a hero's death just months before at the hands of an exploding powder magazine after leading a victorious battle against the British in the War of 1812. Excerpts from the inflammatory broadside include:

"Fellow Citizen

"We now witness the most momentous crisis, which the history of man has ever furnished, on the review of which, the mind is filled with

awfully solemn reflections. . . . This, then, is the moment when the patriotism, nay, the very souls of Americans are to be tried. Awake! Arise my fellow citizen! Shake you from this stupor, defend the liberties and rights of your country. . . . I have conceived it my duty, to call your attention to the Mexican revolution, as a subject peculiarly interesting to the future welfare of this republic, and the future prosperity of her citizens. . . . Such, Sir, is New Spain, she is our nearest neighbor, and may become a useful friend, or an inconvenient, even a dangerous enemy, according to the policy we pursue towards her, at this critical juncture. . . . The late gallant and brave General Pike (who would have been with us, had he lived,). . . . Arise! lead on a few of your countrymen, such as are distinguished for talents and virtues, the eyes of your country and all Europe are on you, and ere long you shall hear the plaudits of an admiring and grateful world, hailing that immortal Band, and the entrance of the Mexican Republic, into the sublime rank of civilized nations.

"Health and Fraternity, John H. Robinson

"Rendezvous at Nacodoches 25th Nov. 1813"<sup>61</sup>

While Dr. Robinson was in Philadelphia he also wrote to General Toledo, stating that arms for their venture would come from New Orleans, and he hoped to join Toledo in the fall. Unknown to Robinson, however, at almost the same time Toledo, in command of the Mexican revolutionary forces, faced a crushing defeat in the Battle of Medina.<sup>62</sup> When Robinson eventually found out about the rout, he wrote Toledo that he was coming, bringing more men and hundreds of muskets. Robinson moved on to Pittsburg, apparently enjoying the tacit approval of James Monroe, who was taking no steps to stop him. He issued another proclamation; a recruiting piece which promised land grants of 640 acres, liberal financial rewards, even Mexican citizenship. Robinson soon moved on to Illinois, exercising the same recruiting efforts for his Mexican filibuster.<sup>63</sup>

By November 1813 Secretary of State James Monroe was changing his position on Robinson and the filibusterers, and by January 1814 had

done a complete about face. On January 21 Monroe wrote a remarkable letter to William Clark, now governor of the Missouri Territory:

"To Gov. Clark

"I transmit herewith two letters from Dr. John H. Robinson to Gov. Edwards tending to prove that the former has been engaged in the unlawful business of exciting the citizens of the United States to the invasion of the Spanish provinces beyond the Mississippi. If Dr. Robinson should be in the Missouri Territory I have to request that you cause such measures to be taken as the law authorizes to prevent his illegal designs. For the purpose you may employ at the expense of this Department such professional aid as may be necessary. In case Dr. Robinson should be in Illinois and not in the Missouri Territory you will be pleased to deliver his letters now forwarded to you to the order of Gov. Edwards."<sup>64</sup>

What had caused this sudden reversal, when just months before Robinson was Monroe's paid special agent clandestinely working toward the same goals? The most obvious answer is that Monroe's State Department was pushing the legitimacy of America's claim to Florida, which it hoped to receive in the coming peace negotiations (that had recently begun) which would eventually end the War of 1812. News that Monroe had been supporting filibusterers to seize that very province and others would dash any hope of that "legitimate" claim. But beyond that, the stridency of Robinson's very public call to arms with his widely distributed, highly inflammatory Philadelphia broadside of the previous September, followed up by the recruiting calls for a Mexican filibuster across the West, with complaints by leading officials, led Monroe to try to stop Robinson, at any cost, before it became obvious that the State Department had been supporting in private the very policies they rejected in public. And what they had been supporting in private was not just against policy, it was against the law; filibusterers were a direct violation of the Neutrality Act of 1794.<sup>65</sup>

Several weeks later, on February 14, 1814, Monroe drafted another anxious and threatening letter, this time to Dr. Robinson, whom he be-



lieved was in Natchez. "The measures in which you are engaged being contrary to law and wholly unauthorized," Monroe wrote with no hint of irony, "have excited no little surprise, especially as you know this to be the case from your instructions while acting under the authority of the government on the recommendation of the late general Pike . . . and I now write to inform you that if you do not immediately desist from your illegal measures and pursuits, the most decisive steps will be taken to give effect to the legal restraint applicable to them."<sup>66</sup>

So either Monroe was being disingenuous to give himself cover for any future criticisms of his support of Robinson, or Robinson perceived the letter that way and simply disregarded it, because he redoubled his efforts on behalf of the cause that was his passion—the Mexican revolution.

By the autumn of 1814 Dr. Robinson was in Natchez, in route to Natchitoches. He wrote to Toledo that 2,000 men could be expected to join Robinson and Toledo by the spring; he asked Toledo to choose a rendezvous point. General John Adair, a former senator and Burr co-conspirator, was expected to join them in the spring also. Soon Robinson reached the Patriots camp on the Sabine River. Here Toledo and Robinson uncharacteristically argued about who was to lead; both wanted full command of the forces. Eventually they compromised, but days later, west of the Sabine, they argued again over leadership and control; this time it was over what one historian described as the question of "Who shall be Emperor of the Republic?" Disgusted, Robinson parted from Toledo and took part of the force with him. While this was going on, British forces were moving on New Orleans, and Robinson decided to set aside his filibuster plans for the moment and come to the aid of his own country. He sent an offer to the Governor of Louisiana, W.C.C. Claiborne, to bring his men to New Orleans to serve under Andrew Jackson. Claiborne was compelled to reject the offer, however, because he had a warrant ordering the arrest of Robinson. Robinson was not concerned about the warrant (which was for a violation of the neutrality

laws); not only had Monroe assured him that it would not be served, but the very United States marshal that was charged with serving it was with him and his forces. He went by himself to New Orleans and volunteered as a soldier, but was instead commissioned as a surgeon and put in charge of the army hospital near New Orleans, in anticipation of the coming Battle of New Orleans.<sup>67</sup>

In 1815, after the War of 1812 had ended, Dr. Robinson once again turned to the Mexican revolution. Later he wrote of this transitional time. "When I abandoned the services of this country I did so because it was the wish of the Executive that I should join the Mexican cause as a prelude to the future plans of the Administration on that subject."<sup>68</sup> It appears that Monroe had retained an interest in his former special agent, and the actions that Robinson subsequently took were at least secretly advocated by Monroe, further evidenced by Robinson's many letters to him and President Madison.

In the fall of 1815 Dr. Robinson sailed from New Orleans for Vera Cruz. He continued overland, looking for the Mexican Congress of the Patriots. After learning of the Patriot forces defeating Royalist forces in a battle in the province of Puebla, he reported to President James Madison: "knowing the lively interest which you feel towards the glorious efforts of this brave people . . . I cannot . . . deny myself the pleasure of communication . . . information relative to the present state of the Revolution." The Patriots were winning and democracy was on the rise, he reported to Madison. All that was needed were more munitions to end the conflict soon.<sup>69</sup>

Robinson attempted to return to the United States, but his way was blocked by intrigues carried out by his former friend Toledo. False charges were trumped up by a local official influenced by Toledo. Robinson returned to the Patriots Congress to ask for help. After some intrigues, which may have included the dismantling of the Mexican Congress and a sham imprisonment for one day of Robinson by General Juan Manuel Teran, the new twenty-year-old leader of the Patriots (apparently to try to show that Robinson had nothing to do with Teran's takeover

of the Patriot leadership), Dr. Robinson accompanied Teran to the coast in the spring of 1816 in an effort to obtain arms and ammunition from another American.

In May of that year, American merchant and soldier of fortune William Davis Robinson had arrived on the Mexican coast. He was seeking the Mexican Congress to get funding to finance another filibuster in Haiti, headed by Dr. Robinson's inimitable former friend General Toledo. Finding the Mexican Congress disbanded, this newly-arrived Robinson offered to sell General Teran 4,000 muskets for twenty pesos each. But a competing Patriot officer, General Victoria, was jealous of the boy General Teran and blocked the transportation of the muskets inland. The two Robinsons devised a plan with Teran to get the muskets. In July they moved out with 400 men, seeking the little port village where the muskets were held. Bugged down in torrential rains and rough terrain, they were intercepted by Royalist forces that had learned of the plan. The two forces met at a river near Playa Vicente. The Patriot forces were outnumbered and forced to retreat. In crossing the river to escape, young General Teran's canoe capsized, and he would have drowned if Dr. Robinson, on a nearby raft, had not been able to grasp his coattails and pull him up to safety. Plans for capturing the muskets abandoned, General Teran, John Hamilton Robinson, and most of the Patriot soldiers were able to retire to safety many miles inland. William Davis Robinson, however, was captured by the Royalist forces. He recalled later that upon his capture the Royalist's exclaimed "Thank God! Doctor Robinson has at last fallen into our hands."<sup>70</sup>

Upon the expedition's return to General Teran's headquarters at Tehuacan, or some time shortly after, Dr. Robinson was commissioned as a general in the Patriot army. In February 1817, it appears that Robinson was in ill health and he set sail for Galveston. He continued on to New Orleans in March, where he was sought out by a British agent, a Mr. Gillespie, who wanted Robinson's participation in a projected British invasion of Mexico and other Spanish holdings. Racked with dysentery,

he ignored the British agent's pleadings. He did rally himself enough, however, to write a lengthy report to Monroe, again outlining the circumstances that existed in Mexico.<sup>71</sup>

Robinson finally reached his family and his home in Natchez in October 1817. When he arrived Sophie was alarmed at the toll his adventures had taken on him and was concerned about his immediate ill health. During the months that followed, while Robinson was resting and recuperating, a wave of yellow fever swept through the area, and several of the Robinsons' children became ill. Despite the family's health difficulties at the time, there was some cause for optimism. Dr. Robinson had brought back from Mexico some cash and a draft for \$20,000, apparently for his services in Mexico on behalf of the Patriots. Years later, however, the draft still remained uncashed, its value dubious, as it was apparently actually the result of a trade by Robinson for land in Mississippi or Louisiana that never materialized.<sup>72</sup>

Somewhat recovered, in March 1818 Dr. Robinson set out on a new project, one that took into account his vast and practical knowledge of the land that he had been traipsing over for the last twelve years. With typical drive, he plunged into the publishing of a map of Louisiana and Mexico.

An advance prospectus soliciting subscriptions at fifteen dollars each for the huge map (64 inches by 66¾ inches) was successful, with over 400 subscribers responding. In August the editor of the widely read and influential *Niles Register* gave Robinson's forthcoming map a glowing review. In the fall Dr. Robinson traveled to Washington to drum up further interest in his map. While there he also secured an appointment to West Point for his son Edward Hamilton V. Robinson.<sup>73</sup>

In January 1819 Dr. Robinson's "Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Missouri Territory, including also the state of Mississippi, Alabama Territory, East & West Florida, Georgia, South Carolina & part of the island of Cuba" was published in Philadelphia. The map carried this statement from Dr. Robinson: "The information on which the Author feels himself justified in the publica-

tion of this map, is from his own knowledge of the Country in his several voyages thither and also the several Manuscript maps which are now in his possession, drawn by the order of the Captain General of the Internal Provinces and the Viceroy of Mexico." As with most maps of the time, it included some outdated material from other mapmakers, joined with the empirical evidence Dr. Robinson had gained from his on-the-ground observations. But it also uniquely reflected his political interest and past intrigues. The map documented the conflicting boundary claims of the Louisiana Territory. It showed Spain's claim to the Mississippi Valley, as well as the United States claim to the Rio Grande and north. It also highlighted the projected compromise boundary that resulted from the Adams-Onís Treaty that was being negotiated as Robinson's map was going to press. The locations of several "Republican" uprisings in 1811 to 1813 in Mexico were noted. Notated near the Brazos River is written "Philip Nolan and & party killed here," a mention of one of General Wilkinson's early protégés and filibusters. And further north on his map, cementing the legacy of his beloved and departed friend, Dr. Robinson put a name for the first time to the majestic mountain that they had failed to reach on that cold winter many years before—Pikes Peak.<sup>74</sup>

Six years later, in 1825, surveyor Joseph Brown purchased Dr. Robinson's map for ten dollars, and carried it with him on the first official survey of the Santa Fe Trail, led by George Sibley, Dr. Robinson's friend and companion of fifteen years before. In Santa Fe, Sibley wrote in his journal March 2, 1826: "The day not very pleasant. Sent Robinson's Map to the Gov[ernor] as a present, having no further use for it, & and it being not worth taking home. If offered for Sale it wd not bring a Dollar here."<sup>75</sup> Today Dr. Robinson's map is considered a very rare and valuable example of early 19th-century cartography. The last known copy to surface came out on the rare map market a few years ago, and was sold by a noted Texas rare map dealer for many thousands of dollars.

Unfortunately, Dr. John Hamilton Robinson did not live long

enough to reap much benefit from his map-publishing venture. A recurrence of the ill health drove him from Washington back to his family at Natchez. Perhaps his years of travels and travails took their final toll. Apparently beyond recovery from this latest bout of illness, Dr. Robinson died on September 19, 1819, at the age of 37. A newspaper from his old hometown of St. Louis memorialized his life: "His pursuits have been constantly directed to this grand object [the liberation of Mexico] and would have succeeded had he met with men equal with himself in wisdom to plan, and courage to execute."<sup>76</sup>

Since the heyday of Dr. Robinson there have been fleeting glimpses of his legacy. To historians over the last 200 years, he has been somewhat of an enigma. He appears as the protagonist in the obviously fictionalized book by Robert Ames Bennett that was published in 1909: *A Volunteer With Pike—The True Narrative of One Dr. John Robinson and of His Love for the Fair Senorita Vallois*. In the 1930s historian LeRoy Hafen tried to track down, to no avail, intriguing reports of the existence of a journal or journals that Dr. Robinson might have kept. Finally, however, the bicentennial of Zebulon Pike's 1806-1807 expedition has generated new interest in all aspects of that expedition, prompting a new generation to consider the life and times of the remarkable Dr. John Hamilton Robinson.

## NOTES

1. Thomas Jefferson to David Robinson, Monticello, August 26, 1805, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Library of Congress: "I have read with satisfaction the account of the Missouri which you have been so kind to send me . . . Possessing, as we do now, an accurate map of the Missouri river to the Mandan towns . . . which before winter will be extended . . . by capt. Lewis . . . as the copy inclosed to me seems to be the one you intended for the press, I return it to you, for your own determination, and to do in it that you shall think best. I pray you to accept my salutations and best wishes. T. H. Jefferson." In 2006 a well known rare book dealer in Delaware offered for sale a manuscript journal of David Robinson's from this same era. See also James Holmberg, *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 233.
2. Frederick L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days-From 1804-1821* (St. Louis, 1888); Holmberg, 232.
3. Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, 3 Vols.



- (Chicago, 1908), III, 80.
4. Donald Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 Vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), I, 377-378; Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 Vols. (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1987), II, 498-499.
  5. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "Dr. John Hamilton Robinson," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 25 (July 1942): 644. Despite its limitations (especially its limited treatment of Pike and Robinson's Southwest Expedition) and despite its being published 65 years ago, Bierck's article remains the best (if not the only) treatment of Dr. Robinson's life.
  6. James Wilkinson to Henry Dearborn, August 10, 1805, in Jackson, I, 290.
  7. Ibid. This assignment for Dr. Robinson was as a civilian contractor and not as an army commission.
  8. Houck, III, 81; also typescript, "John H. Robinson," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, author unknown, circa 1900. Edward Hamilton Vilamil Robinson was born October 6, 1806. After an appointment to West Point solicited by his father in 1819, Edward served as a lieutenant in the United States Navy. He was lost at sea in 1831 at the age of 25.
  9. Coues, I, 1-215; Jackson, I, 3-223.
  10. Coues, II, 359. Lieutenant Wilkinson lived out the rest of his life in the Army in the shadow of his flamboyant, charismatic, and devious father. Apparently suffering from sporadic bouts of ill health throughout his life, he died in 1813. It has been speculated by another historian recently that Lieutenant Wilkinson may not have died of chronic ill health, but instead on the battlefield, fighting, ironically, alongside the filibusterers led by General Toledo, Robinson's sometime partner in 1813. See John M. Hutchins, "Aaron Burr, James Wilkinson, Zebulon Pike & the Great Louisiana Conspiracy: A Veteran Prosecutor & Amateur Historian Looks at the Evidence," *"To Spare No Pains": Zebulon Montgomery Pike and his 1806-1807 Southwest Expedition, A Bicentennial Commemoration* (Colorado Springs: Pikes Peak Library District, 2007), 152-153.
  11. John Upton Terrell, *Zebulon Pike, the Life and Times of an Adventurer* (New York: Wainwright and Talley, 1968), 76-77, 225-227; Jackson, II, 290, 302-303. In March 1808, after General Wilkinson had barely survived indictment in Burr's treason trial in Richmond the previous summer, but while a Congressional investigation into both his involvement with Burr and his two-decades-long involvement with Spanish officials continued to grind out, and at the same time that Pike was seeking financial remuneration from Congress for he and his men for their Southwest Expedition, Congressman John Rowan of Kentucky received a letter from Joseph Ballinger. Congressman Rowan introduced on the floor of the House Ballinger's letter; he explained that he had "received a letter from Orleans that a Mr. Joseph Ballenger, a friend of Burr, had returned from an expedition with Captain Pike, and he was incensed at Wilkinson blowing up the [Burr] expedition, as he had engaged two or three nations of Indians to join Colonel Burr." Rowan continued that he had "since spoken to Colonel Ballenger, a brother of this person, who informed me that his brother had been sent by Wilkinson for the purpose of promoting the [Burr] project." Joseph Ballinger, however, made a further mitigating statement that may vindicate Pike on this issue. Congressman John Montgomery, head of the committee considering Ballinger's charges as introduced by John Rowan, as well as considering Pike's request for compensation, reported for the record on March 10, 1808, "That they examined Colonel John Ballenger, who stated that, in a conversation which passed between his brother Joseph and himself, the said Joseph informed him that he was in company with Captain Pike in his last exploring tour; that having left Captain Pike somewhere on the head waters of the Arkansas, he returned to Louisiana; that very shortly after his return, he went into the Spanish provinces; that, during all this time, he was employed in furtherance of a Spanish project, but did not intimate that Captain Pike had any knowledge, or was at all privy to the said project, or to his being engaged therein, and spoke in high terms of Captain Pike." Interestingly, in spite of this self-admitted involvement in Wilkinson's secret plans by Ballinger, and the implied involvement of the same by Dr. Robinson, there is nothing to indicate that there was any collusion or coordination between the two of them.
  12. Wilkinson to Pike, Orders, July 12, 1806, Coues, II, 565-566; Jackson, I, 280-281.
  13. Four of General Wilkinson's intrigues against the Spanish in the Southwest are the Philip Nolan expeditions (1790-1800), the Burr Conspiracy (1804-1807), the Gutierrez-Magee filibuster (1812-1813), and the James Long filibuster (1819). Nolan was raised by Wilkinson, Burr of course was his co-conspirator, Magee was an army protégé of Wilkinson's, and James Long was married to his niece. See Dan Flores, *Southern Counterpoint to Lewis & Clark: The Freeman & Custis Expedition of 1806* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 51.
  14. James Ripley Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1938), 211.
  15. President Thomas Jefferson was so slow to react to knowledge of Wilkinson's duplicity, let alone Burr's actions, even after receiving compelling evidence, that it led a few contemporaries and some historians since to speculate that Jefferson himself may have played a role in the conspiracy.
  16. Thomas Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 3-275; esp. 227-275.
  17. The Neutrality Act of 1794 stipulated that a private citizen of the United States could not undertake to wage a war or take any kind of military action against a country that the United States was at peace with. Treason is the only crime that is defined in the United States Constitution.
  18. Abernethy, 138-164.
  19. Jackson, I, 274-275.
  20. Abernethy, 120.
  21. Bierck, 645-646.
  22. Isaac Joslin Cox, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," *Missouri Historical Review*, 25 (1930): 47-48.
  23. Jacobs, 224.
  24. Coues, II, 499.
  25. Donald Jackson, "How Lost Was Zebulon Pike?," *American Heritage*, XVI (February 1965): 13-14; Jackson, *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 206.
  26. See note 36.
  27. Jackson, II, 283.
  28. Coues, II, 488.
  29. Coues, II, 421, 449-451; Jackson, I, 348.
  30. Certainly it indicates at the very least Pike's strong confidence in Robinson and Robinson's own strong self-confidence.
  31. Jackson, I, 378; Coues, II, 499, 502.
  32. Jackson, II, 192-193, 204-205.
  33. Jackson, I, 402; Coues, II, 622.
  34. Coues, II, 658.
  35. Coues, II, 714.
  36. Coues, II, 825-828; Jackson, II, 228-229.
  37. Jackson, II, 228-244; Coues, II, 828-836. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address a wide-ranging subject that some historians have speculated on; that is the involvement or innocence of Zebulon Pike concerning Wilkinson's (and by extension Burr's) plans for the American West and the Spanish Southwest. In other words, outside of his published journals and letters and documents, was there another agenda, other motivations, at work? Recently published examples considering this issue include *Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Great Western Adventure, 1806-1807*, by the late Jack Kyle Cooper (Colorado Springs: Clausen Books, 2007) (for a book length treatment), and, as cited above in note #10, John M. Hutchins 2007 article printed in "To Spare No Pains", 139-172, (for a shorter treatment). Taking the opposite position is another work recently republished, *The Southwestern Journals of Zebulon Pike, 1806-1807* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006). Originally edited and annotated in the 1930s by Stephen Hart and Archer Hulbert, this modern edition edited by Mark L. Gardner features a vigorous defense by Archer Hulbert against anything except a literal interpretation of Pike's journals and papers, and Hulbert finds Pike innocent of any complicity in Wilkinson's secret schemes.
  38. As cited in note #11, Wilkinson barely missed being charged with treason himself in that hot courtroom in Richmond in the summer of 1807. He likely would have been charged with that grievous offense along with Burr, had he not become a turncoat on his former co-conspirator and painted himself as the savior of the nation against an evil plan that, amazingly, Wilkinson had designed and projected himself. Had General Wilkinson been charged with treason the fallout would have had far-ranging effect. Undoubtedly Pike, and probably Robinson, would have been called in to testify. We can only speculate as to whether they would have appeared on behalf of the defense or the prosecution.
  39. Jackson, II, 206.

40. Jackson, II, 381.
41. Bierck, 649.
42. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
43. Jackson, II, 380.
44. Jackson, II, 381.
45. For George Sibley, see Kate Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1995) 1-15; for Dr. John Sibley, see David A. White (ed.), *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1996), I, 25-26.
46. Holmberg, 228-229.
47. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
48. Ibid.
49. J. B. C. Lucas Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
50. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
51. J. C. A. Stagg, "The Madison Administration and Mexico: Reinterpreting the Gutierrez-Magee Raid of 1812-1813," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 59 (April 2002): 1-3.
52. Jackson, II, 379-380; Stagg, 13-14.
53. Bierck, 651; Stagg, 14.
54. Bierck, 651-652.
55. Ibid., 653.
56. Ibid., 653-655.
57. Ibid., 655.
58. Ibid., 655.
59. Ibid., 656.
60. Ibid., 656.
61. Jackson, II, 382-387; Bierck, 657-659.
62. Bierck, 659.
63. Ibid., 660.
64. State Department Letter, Bureau of Indexes and Archives in John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
65. Stagg, 18-21; Bierck, 660-661.
66. State Department, Domestic Letter in John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Bierck, 661.
67. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Bierck, 661-662.
68. Bierck, 663.
69. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Bierck, 664.
70. W. D. Robinson, *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1820).
71. Bierck, 667.
72. Sophie Marie Robinson to Mrs. Antoine (G. R.) Saugrain, October 8, 1817, and December 9, 1817 in Saugrain Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
73. John H. Robinson Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Bierck, 668; Jackson, II, 393; University of Texas Cartographic Collection, Arlington.
74. Robinson's specific map notation read "Pike's Mountain." The irony, of course, is that most Americans today remember Pike for the mountain he failed to reach, and not for the many other accomplishments of his short life. Hopefully, the activity and interest generated by the bicentennial commemoration of Pike's Southwest Expedition, 1806-1807, will broaden the knowledge and perception of Pike.
75. Gregg, 154, 268.
76. Jackson, II, 393.

## FOUR FOOT SOLDIERS ON THE TRAIL: AN ILLINOIS ODYSSEY

by David Clapsaddle

*[Clapsaddle is a frequent contributor to WT and recently received the SFTA Rittenhouse Memorial Stagecoach Award for lifetime achievement.]*

THE odyssey began with the existence of war between the United States and Mexico as announced by President James K. Polk on May 13, 1846. On the following day, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was given the command to organize at Fort Leavenworth the Army of the West, an overland expeditionary force to be composed of the First U. S. Dragoons and volunteer units from Missouri. Subsequently, between June 6 and 27, over 1300 volunteers were assembled at Fort Leavenworth to be enlisted for a twelve-month period.<sup>1</sup>

As the war wore on and spring came in 1847, Secretary of War William L. Marcy called for 6000 Missouri and Illinois volunteers to replace those whose one-year enlistment was soon to expire. Unlike the 1846 requisition, these volunteers were to serve for the duration of the war. Included in the request was one infantry regiment from Illinois. An enthusiastic response was made to Illinois Governor Augustus French's call for ten companies of infantry. No where was the enthusiasm more pronounced than at Salem, Marion County, where five companies (A, B, C, D, E) were organized in early May. Among the volunteers were Thomas Bryan Lester, 23, Co. C; James McBride Gaston, 23, Co. C; and Robert Easley, 34, Co. C, all from Marion County; also Benjamin Ladd Wiley, 26, Co. B, Williamson County.<sup>2</sup>

By some good fortune, Lester, Gaston, and Wiley, all left diaries of their adventures during the days of their enlistment: Lester's *Notes by the Wayside: From Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe N. Mexico*;<sup>3</sup> Gaston's *Journal of Travels During the Mexican War*;<sup>4</sup> and Wiley's *Mexican War Diary*.<sup>5</sup> All three diarists left accounts of Easley's death and burial at the Pawnee Fork crossing of the Santa Fe Trail on August 5-6, 1847.

These four, a few among many, marched to Alton, Illinois, with their comrades where they were joined by

other companies from throughout the state. On June 8, 1847, the ten companies were mustered into the First Illinois Volunteer infantry by Caleb C. Sibley, Fifth Regular Infantry. At that time, the volunteers elected officers of the regiment: Colonel E. W. B. Newby, Lieutenant Colonel H. P. Boyakin, and Major I. B. Donaldson.<sup>6</sup> Though common in volunteer units, such a practice would have never been allowed in the regular army. This is the first of several such irregularities to be recorded.

Leaving Alton by the steamboat *Amelia*, Companies B and C departed up the Missouri River on June 17 en route to Fort Leavenworth with all four of the protagonists aboard. Companies A, D, and E followed on the 19th.<sup>7</sup> The *Amelia* had a regular run on the Missouri with frequent stops, among which was Arrow Rock, Missouri. The lay-over there was long enough for Lester to disembark and visit his sister Agnes Lester Hall who lived within 200 yards of the landing.

The Illinois volunteers reached Fort Leavenworth before the end of June where they were joined by Missouri volunteers. In all, 2,250 officers and men were in readiness for the long march to Santa Fe.<sup>8</sup> There, on the 29th, Gaston reported that the First Illinois was issued "arms and accutaments [sic];" and on the 30th, Colonel Newby conducted a general inspection. On July 4, Lester described the celebration of Independence Day with Colonel Clifton Wharton's dragoons, a company of the Third Missouri Mounted volunteers, and the entire regiment of the First Illinois Infantry, all marching around the parade ground. The Declaration of Independence was read by the post chaplain and ten rounds were fired in quick time from three nine pounders. Almost without notice among all the festivities, an epidemic had broken out. Louise Barry devoted a single sentence to this problem, "About a dozen Illinois volunteers died—some from measles—at Fort Leavenworth."<sup>9</sup>

On the 4th, Gaston wrote that Companies B, C, and E were in preparation for the 800-mile march;



and on the 6th, Wiley reported that Co. B "bargained for the purchase of a wagon and 2 yoke of steers to haul our knapsacks." Such would have never been allowed in the regular army. Detachments were dispatched from Fort Leavenworth at various intervals to accommodate the anticipated lack of water along the way. Companies B, C, and E made up the first detachment. By a happy coincidence, all four of the protagonists were included in this unit. The detachment departed Fort Leavenworth at 2:00 p.m. on July 7. Officers were Lieutenant Colonel Boyakin and Captains John M. Cunningham, Van Trump Turner, and George Hook. Under escort was a train of 30 supply wagons commanded by a Captain Finley, a trader from Westport, Missouri.<sup>10</sup>

Marching south through present Leavenworth, the volunteers followed the route pioneered by Captain William Wickcliffe in 1833 from Fort Leavenworth to Round Grove (later called Lone Elm) and used in 1835 by Colonel Henry Dodge at the end of his 1645-mile expedition to the Rocky Mountains and return by way of the Santa Fe Trail. In 1837, the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson Military Road was established which replicated Wickcliffe's road for the first 29 miles before veering to the southeast. Subsequently in 1843, Captain Philip St. George Cooke and his First Dragoons followed Wickcliffe's route to Lone Elm in their celebrated escort of American and Mexican freighters on the Santa Fe Trail. At the onset of the Mexican War in 1846, a supply train of 100 wagons used the route from Fort Leavenworth to Lone Elm to initiate the delivery of provisions to Bent's Fort, preceding any troop movements. In June 1847, shortly before the Illinois volunteers departed Fort Leavenworth, Lieutenant Alton R. Easton's infantry battalion began their trek to Santa Fe via the Lone Elm road.<sup>11</sup>

Marching south through present Leavenworth, the volunteers crossed Three Mile Creek. Two miles further they camped at Five Mile Creek, the present site of Buffalo Bill Park. Wiley wrote, "This night sentinels were posted for the first time." This was the first of many times that the Illinoisans exhibited an irrational

fear of Indians. The Delawares in the area who had come to their reserve on the north side of the Kansas River in 1830-1832 posed no threat to the volunteers.<sup>12</sup>

On the following day, the command continued south, paralleling today's Kansas Highway 7 through present Lansing. Fording Seven Mile Creek, the men marched on to Nine Mile Creek, like all the above mentioned streams named for its distance from the flag pole at Fort Leavenworth.<sup>13</sup> Less than two miles further, the volunteers veered southeast eight miles to a campgrounds called Gum Spring. This site should not be confused with the campgrounds of the same name where the men later camped on July 10.

Along the way, Wiley observed huts and gardens cultivated by the Delawares. Long familiar with the European/American lifestyle, the Delawares by this time were beginning to emulate the subsistence farmers they had observed in the East. Such should have lessened the fear of the Indians.

On the 9th, the volunteers were forced to lay over because some wagons needed repairs. On the 10th, the volunteers resumed the march of six miles to the Kansas River. There at Grinter's (Delaware) Ferry,<sup>14</sup> they were ferried across the river and marched another four miles to the second Gum Spring which Wiley described as "one of the finest springs I ever saw." Actually, at the campgrounds, there were several springs and a meeting house, the site of present Shawnee, Kansas, formerly known as Gum Springs. Wiley reported that the morning was devoted to washing clothes. It would appear that Sundays were set aside for laundry and rest. No such luxury would have been possible for men engaged in the Santa Fe trade. They were typically on the road seven days a week wearing the same clothes through the duration of the trip. In the afternoon, Wiley attended a church service with some officers and other men of his company. He wrote, "This congregation was composed [of] the Wyandottes who reside here." Lester had a different take, "listened to a sermon from a Shawnee Indian, in his native tongue, he belonged to the Methodist." Lester was correct, the Wyandotte

reserve was north of the Kansas River, the Shawnee reserve to the south.

Lester also observed, "The Indians here seem very devotional and many of them speak English very well and seem fully civilized. The young females dress in American style and apparently are proud of it." Lester's appraisal of the Shawnees appears to echo the acculturation of the Delawares. Such should have allayed any fear of attack.

On the following day, the volunteers proceeded south to a point near 92nd and Barton in present Lenexa, Kansas. There, the Lone Elm Road merged with the Westport branch of the Santa Fe Trail. Marching west from this point four miles, the men went into camp on what Wiley called Clear Creek. Lester and Gaston called the stream Wolf Creek. Today, the stream is recognized as a tributary of Indian Creek.<sup>15</sup> Wiley put the day's march at 12 miles.

That night the men were alarmed by a stampede of their oxen which was mistaken for an Indian attack. Wiley wrote that the men were considerably amused by the incident. He reported that some of the men "sprang out in their shirts." Such was a reference to the long-tailed shirts worn in everyday dress which doubled for night shirts.

From the July 12 campgrounds,<sup>16</sup> the volunteers continued west for two and a half miles to a point near 117 Street and Orchard in present Olathe, Kansas. There, they turned south-southwest for about seven miles to strike the Independence branch of the Santa Fe Trail. From there, they veered southwest one mile to the Lone Elm campgrounds at the south edge of present Olathe.<sup>17</sup>

Lester wrote that the men hauled wood to Lone Elm from the previous campgrounds, a distance of eight miles. Lone Elm was earlier called Round Grove, a reference to its fine stand of timber. By the time of the volunteers' visit, the grove was reduced to a single elm tree. Six years later, W. H. H. Davis wrote, when the stage on which he was traveling stopped for breakfast at the site, "the stump of the Lone Elm furnished the necessary firewood."<sup>18</sup>

On a more somber note, Gaston wrote, "There buried John W. Collins

who died on the 14th at 1 o'clock A.M." Lester, who had practiced medicine in Salem before his enlistment wrote, "here we buried John W. Collins of Co. C. died of mucocentritis, the sequel to measles." Thomas B. Hall, M.D., a descendent of Lester and editor of his journal, opined that the condition was, "a recognized but rare complication of measles." Wiley's account was more lengthy.

"This morning we buried John N. Collins, a private in Captain Turner's company. His grave is situated on the right hand of the road about 150 yards east of the 'Lone Elm' the only tree to be seen on the prairie for miles around. And I could not but reflect that his lonely grave would in the course of a few years be traversed by the ploughshoar of civilization and the last resting place of the poor soldier who went out to fight for the rights of his country and to secure to those very desecrators the rights which they value so highly, should be forgotten and the rank corn should rustle above and around this spot where a few moments ago were heard the muffled drum and discharge of firearms as his comrades fired their salute over his lone grave."

Leaving death behind, the volunteers marched ten miles to Bull Creek located between present Edgerton and Gardner, Kansas. There Lester observed an Indian family with a log cabin, a small garden, and stock of various kinds. Nevertheless, he concluded that they lived by the chase. This deduction seems to contradict the family's obvious adaptation to subsistence farming.

On the following day, Lester put the miles marched to Hickory Grove at 15, "where we camped . . . found poor water, but little of it, very warm, a pint of good water would command \$2.00, hard times!!" Wiley identified the stop as Hickory Point, the same location noted by F. X. Aubry as being east of Willow Springs, a few miles east of present Baldwin City, Kansas. This location is not to be confused with the town of Hickory Point established west of present Baldwin City during the territorial days of Kansas. It was there on November 21, 1855, that Charles Dow, a free-stater was killed by pro-slavery Franklin Coleman. The inci-

dent ignited the so called Wakarusa War during the Bleeding Kansas period prior to the Civil War.<sup>19</sup>

On the 16th, the volunteers marched eight miles to Willow Spring which Lester described as an "inexhaustible supply of fine water." After a two-hour rest, the men marched on for another eight miles to the dry bed of Rock Creek. There, Lester wrote, "spades were put to active service and in 4 feet we found the best of water." Wood was in short supply. Wiley complained, "barely got wood enough to make our coffee and fry a little meat." Rock Creek crossing is situated six miles west of present Baldwin City.

The following day's march was across a waterless course which Lester wrote was made in "double quick time." By 2:00 p.m. the men completed the 15 miles to 110 Mile Creek, just west of present Overbrook, Kansas. Wiley wrote, "found plenty of clear water and fine fish." Lester wrote that the stream was named for its distance "from Independence, Mo. according to the survey of Lieut. Long." Lester was in error. The stream was named for its distance from Fort Osage as measured by the U.S. survey team dispatched to chart the Santa Fe Trail in 1825.

On the following day, being Sunday, the men did their laundry, even shaved and dressed up. Such would have been unprecedented for the men engaged in the Santa Fe trade. The single exception was on the caravan's arrival at Santa Fe. Josiah Gregg described that preparation, "they had spent the previous morning in rubbing up, and now they were prepared with clean faces, sleeked combed hair, and their choicest Sunday suit to meet the fair eyes of glistening black that was sure to stare at them as they passed."<sup>20</sup> Wiley added another interesting detail, "through the dexterity of Lieutenant Hundley we had a fine mess of fresh fish." Such a luxury would not have been available for men engaged in the Santa Fe trade. Time was not available for angling or other such pastimes.

Getting an early start on the 19th, the men arrived about 10:00 a.m. at Switzler Creek near present Burlingame, Kansas. From there, they marched on to Fishing Creek, total

distance for the day 15 miles. The stream was actually Soldier Creek, about eight miles west of present Burlingame. That evening, the volunteers were drilled in the firing of their muskets. As Lester wrote, "to meet the probable emergency of a fight with the savages before us, let them come." It seems that Lester was preoccupied with such a possibility.

The march on the 20th brought the men to Pool Creek, 18 miles west of the Fishing Creek camp. Pool Creek was actually 142 Mile Creek, 20 miles east of Council Grove. There, the detachment lost its second man. As usual, Gaston was brief, "Aaron A. Campbell of Captain Hook's Company died." Wiley was more verbose, "This evening we buried A. J. Campbell, a private of Capt. Hook's company. He came from Williamson with us and was well liked by all for his Gentlemanly and civil deportment. He was buried with military honors, and every respect which our circumstances would permit was paid to the deceased. Peace to his repose." Oddly, the good Doctor Lester made no mention of the death.

Shaking off death again, the detachment pushed on to Big John's Spring, a 16-mile march. Named for John Walker with the 1825-1827 U.S. Santa Fe Trail survey team, the water source was sometimes called a spring, sometimes a creek. By any name, it was only two miles east of Council Grove. Wiley made mention of "a good many caws who live in and about Council Grove." Wiley's reference was to the Kansa Indians who were deeded a 25 square mile reserve in 1846. However they did not occupy the reserve until 1848.<sup>21</sup>

Arriving at Council Grove at 10:00 a.m. on the 22nd, the men remained in camp through the 24th. There, a blacksmith shop was noted by Lester, where repairs were made on their wagons. The blacksmith shop was established in 1846 by the army to repair vehicles en route to the Mexican War theater. Another such facility was Mann's Fort established near present Dodge City in 1847. Lester also remarked on "a store kept by Americans." The store belonged to Albert G. Boone and James Hamilton, licensed to trade with the Kansas (Kaws). The business was



operated by Seth Hays, Boone's nephew and first cousin of Kit Carson.<sup>22</sup> Lester also made mention of "Caws and Sacs." The Sauks and Foxes came to present Kansas in 1846, occupying lands in present Osage and Franklin counties.<sup>23</sup> It is doubtful that any Sacs (as they were generally known) would have been in the Council Grove area.

Wiley reported that the evening was given over to a battalion drill and target shooting. Such was quite out of the ordinary for the regular army which did not initiate target practice until 1876 following the Battle of Little Big Horn.<sup>24</sup>

On the 23rd, Wiley wrote, "This day we lay in camp and washed our clothes while the teamsters and mechanics were busily engaged in repairing their wagons." The teamsters and mechanics were civilian employees of Captain Finley who contracted with the army to transport provisions and supplies for the regiment. Captain was not Finley's military rank; rather, it was a title of respect for the leader of a wagon train. That night Wiley reported another battalion drill being conducted. He also reported an activity not so well ordered, the robbing of a bee tree by "Capt. C...M, myself, and five others."

On the 24th, Wiley wrote, "This day we passed in camp and little else was done but write letters home." He added, "Battalion drill again this evening." That night, the whole camp was alarmed when one of the men fired his gun. A prowling wolf was mistaken for some enemy. The ingrained fear of Indians was made manifest again.

Sometime during the layover, Lester remarked on the arrival of 30 additional supply wagons commanded by William Elliot. He also concluded, "Council Grove derives its name from the fact that Chiefs of surrounding tribes of Indians meet here to Council and it is said they bury their Chiefs here." He was mistaken. The name was taken from the grove of trees on the east side of the Neosho River where commissioners of the 1825-1827 Santa Fe Trail Survey treated with the Osages for right-of-way through their lands.<sup>25</sup>

The 25th was Sunday, usually reserved for laundry and rest. How-

ever, the three-day layover preceded such. Rather, the volunteers marched, according to Wiley, 16 miles to Diamond Spring, named by George C. Sibley during the 1825-1827 Santa Fe Trail Survey.<sup>26</sup> While both Wiley and Lester were almost euphoric in praise of the spring, Gaston was his usual terse self, "Fine water." That night while Wiley was standing guard in a thunderstorm, he heard a bugle, and shortly thereafter, a contingency of mounted men approached the camp. The visitors were 50 men of Co. D, Third Missouri volunteers, in escort of Kit Carson. Carson was on courier duty carrying dispatches from Washington to California.<sup>27</sup> Taciturn Gaston failed to mention Carson's presence. Lester only wrote that Carson and his escort, "overtook us here." Diamond Spring is not to be confused with Diamond Springs, a little town four miles south of the historic location.

On the following morning with no further comment on Carson, Wiley complained about the difficulty of preparing breakfast, "our wood was all wet." The detachment marched that day 14 miles to Lost Spring. The water source derived its name from the phenomenon of the spring being dry at times, quite productive at other times. There, Lester, continually concerned with Indian attack, wrote, "Here the first picket guards were placed, out from the encampment  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to protect the cattle while grazing, as we are, now in the midst of danger from Indians, it is thought best to be on the lookout. The manner in which they succeed in robbing trains of oxen is to rush upon the herd while grazing, and hideous noises frightened them, when they follow in pursuit and before preparations can be made to pursue them they are out of reach the cattle becoming more and more frightened therefore running faster." That sounds as though Lester had been reading some dime novels. Lost Spring is not to be confused with the town of Lost Springs, two and a half miles east of the historic site.

On the 27th, Lester continued his expressions of fear. Marching 14 miles to Cottonwood Creek near present Durham, Kansas, he wrote, "This is the first point of any considerable danger several depredations have been made upon plains at this

place, one person scalped, this season we perceived no Indians." Wiley also commented, "It was at this place that the Indians killed and scalped a boy and also scalped but did not quite kill a Mexican who was lying in the hospital when we left." While Indian depredations this far east were more imaginary than real during 1847, attacks were common on the Santa Fe Trail much further to the west, from Pawnee Fork crossing onward. Lieutenant Colonel William Gilpin estimated that during the year, "forty-seven men were killed, 330 wagons destroyed, and sixty-five hundred head of livestock taken."<sup>28</sup>

Beyond Cottonwood Creek, the volunteers marched 18 miles to what they called Turkey Creek. The stream was Running Turkey Creek south of present Canton, Kansas. The men were resourceful in that they hauled wood from Cottonwood Creek. Good fortune, Wiley wrote, "Turkey Creek, entirely destitute of timber."

The next day's long march of 25 miles brought the volunteers to the Little Arkansas River. The Indian scare was ubiquitous. Gaston wrote, "Indians in the distance." Lester penned, "Batt. was divided, so as to move more effectively protect the trains, one company in the front, one in the centre, and one in the rear, on this part of the road, there is two & 3 well beaten tracks, running parallel, so that the teams can travel 2 & 3 abreast, which adds greatly to the safety of the trains by keeping them closed together." The detachment was approaching the short grass plains where buffalo were to be seen in abundance; and with the buffalo, the Plains Indians. Such was the reason for the wagons to travel several abreast. The Santa Fe Trail crossed the Little Arkansas near the present town of Windom.

On the 30th, Lester estimated the miles marched to Little Owl Creek at ten. This stream is best known for the 1843 slaying of Don Antonio Chávez by a group of Missourians who were serving as mercenaries for the Republic of Texas.<sup>29</sup> For a time, the stream was known as Chavez Creek following the murder, later corrupted to Jarvis Creek. The Owl Creek Crossing is located about eight miles southeast of present Lyons, Kansas.

Beyond Owl Creek, the men marched 10 miles to what Lester called Camp Dragoon, Little Cow Creek near the south edge of present Lyons, Kansas. Lester, never far from fear, wrote, "We saw no Indians or signs of them, yet this is never seen until they make their attack such is their caution & cunning, there is nothing to be seen here except extended plains." From Little Cow Creek, the detachment continued five miles to Big Cow Creek, four miles west of present Lyons, Kansas.

On August 1, the men remained in camp. Being Sunday, they did their laundry. Wiley wrote, "The day passed off pleasantly and agreeably." Not so with Lester, "at 11 o'clock P.M. a sentinel fired at an object which he said was approaching the camp, and which refused to halt and give the countersign. The Battn was paraded in quick time to meet an enemy if any there might be. The object at which he fired left, we did not ascertain what it was, perhaps an Indian spy, perhaps a wolf, we went to bed again, and slept till morning."

The next stop was the big bend of the Arkansas River near present Ellinwood, Kansas, 20 miles from Cow Creek. On the 3rd, the men made a short march of six miles to Walnut Creek, two miles east of present Great Bend, Kansas. En route, one of the teamsters mounted a horse and rode in pursuit of a buffalo sighted about a mile in the distance. Shortly after he disappeared from sight, five Indians were thought to have been seen on a ridge. It was concluded that the teamster had fallen into an "ambuscade." Immediately a rescue party of 25 men was formed; but before they could march, what was perceived as a large body of mounted Indians approached. The volunteers prepared for the attack which never came. The mounted Indians were, in reality, a herd of buffalo following the teamster in fast pursuit. He reported that the "Indians" seen on the ridge were antelope.

Crossing Walnut Creek, the men came upon the grave of William Thorpe (Tharp) who had been killed by Indians only two months previously.<sup>30</sup> Ironically, he was killed while he was buffalo hunting. The detachment continued past Walnut Creek six or seven miles and went

into camp. According to Wiley, they turned off the road and camped on the river bank. Note that Wiley mentioned the road, a common designation for what is now called the Santa Fe Trail. During the historic period, the trade route was generally known as the Santa Fe Road or the Road to Santa Fe. To wit, the Congress in 1825 allocated funds to conduct a survey of the road to Santa Fe.<sup>31</sup> Later, in 1863, the papers of incorporation for a company organized to build a toll bridge across Walnut Creek referred to the Great Santa Fe Road.<sup>32</sup> Only rarely was the road called a trail.

That night Lester wrote, "a fire appeared in the direction of Walnut Creek, supposed to be there. Objects entered between us and the fire occasionally and then disappeared. This was undoubtedly a war dance of the savages. 2 sentinel guns fired to-night. Nothing killed, more spies." Lester is the only one of three diarists to record this scene.

The next day's march of 15 miles brought the detachment to Ash Creek. En route the men passed Pawnee Rock, "a singular sight" according to Gaston. Just east of Ash Creek, the volunteers came upon what Wiley described as "a small body of water in a sink, both warm and filthy." So thirsty were the men that they drank great amounts of water and became so ill that they were hauled into camp by wagons. That night, the men did not pitch their tents, planning to get an early start in the morning. Bad judgment, a rain storm pounded the tentless men, and Lester reported that the volunteers "slept around the corral with our guns in our arms, with our accoutrements buckled on ready for a fight." He also wrote, "One of our sentinels stationed on the bank of the crk. fired at what he declared to be an Indian and so it was supposed by many as tracks were discovered next morning, if he was killed his companions bore him off as they always do, the sentinel declares he saw him fall." Neither of the other diarists mentioned the incident.

On the 5th, the men broke camp at daylight and marched six miles to Pawnee Fork. The stream, officially known as the Pawnee River, was most often called Pawnee Fork in the historic period. The designation was

in reference to its being a tributary of the Arkansas River. The Santa Fe Trail crossing was at the confluence of the Pawnee and Arkansas rivers, a few hundred yards southeast of the US Hwy 56 bridge at the south edge of present Larned, Kansas. While neither Gaston nor Wiley wrote of any graves at the crossing, Lester described the burial spots of two men killed by the Indians located close by.

Wiley wrote that the men had the good fortune to kill a buffalo that morning. At the noon meal, the entire carcass was all but consumed. This was the first fresh meat, not counting the fish at 110 Mile Creek, the volunteers had eaten since leaving Fort Leavenworth.

The afternoon did not prove so fortunate. Gaston, in his usual abbreviated prose, wrote, "Robert Easley died." Lester wrote, "At 3 o'clock today Robert Easley of Co. C died of Remittent Fever complicated with Bronchitis, the extreme heat of yesterday, together with the rain that fell at night proved most deleterious to all our sick." Expanding on Lester's diagnoses, Dr. Thomas B. Hall wrote, "Remittent Fever complicated with Bronchitis. Remittent Fever, which Lester groups with other types of fevers of malarial origin, usually responds readily to quinine. This death could be due to typhoid. Without laboratory aids the differential diagnosis would be difficult." Whatever the diagnosis, Easley's condition could not have been helped by the "warm and filthy water" consumed on the 4th. From Wiley's writing, it appears that Easley was buried on the 6th, "1 o'clock. Since writing the above I learned that one of the privates in Capt. Turner's Co. had died during the afternoon. His name was (not stated). He had been sick for some time. A few moments ago, he was buried by his companions with all military honors, on the point of land in the bend of the creek immediately on your left as you cross the ford going west. This is the third burial since our division left the fort, but happily our company has escaped and the few who are sick are fast recovering. For my own part I feel to thank a kind Providence for the excellent health I have enjoyed."

Shaking off death for the third time, the diarists marched on to Santa Fe leaving Private Easley in



the bosom of the Pawnee valley. The volunteers reached Santa Fe on September 10. Wiley recorded the following, "Making 803 miles from Ft. L. to Santa Fe. We were 68 days on the Route, during which we lay by 15 days, making traveling time 53 days and we average each day of 15½ miles with a heavy train of 85 wagons." All three diarists recorded distances between stops. However, no attempt has been made to reconcile the disparities among the accounts. Also, no attempt has been made to reconcile the differences between the mileages of the diarists and that of the tables and distances compiled at a later date.

Men from the First Illinois saw limited action in New Mexico. In October 1847, Companies B, D, F, I, and K were ordered to El Paso to secure the area; and in February 1848, Lieutenant Colonel Boyakin with Companies A, C, and I were dispatched to Albuquerque to relieve dragoons who also had been ordered to El Paso.<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere, their service was largely related to the control of Indian raids in the Las Vegas and Rio Grande Valley areas. While data on these actions are limited, one such engagement was referenced. Eighty men led by Lieutenant Colonel Boyakin marched against the Zuni Pueblo as reported by the July 24, 1848, *Santa Fe Republican*. However, no information was printed as to the results of the expedition.<sup>34</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Brigadier General Sterling Price issued orders for the Illinois regiment to convene at Las Vegas to prepare for their return march home. On August 9, the *Santa Fe Republican* published War Department orders for the First Illinois to march to Alton. By October 18, all companies of the regiment were mustered out.<sup>35</sup>

Lester, who had been appointed assistant surgeon to the regiment on October 8, 1847, returned to Salem where he reestablished his medical practice. In the following year, he again enrolled in the Missouri Medical College where he had attended for a year before initiating his practice in Salem. He was awarded the M.D. degree in 1850. Lester continued his practice in Salem until 1854, when he moved to Kansas City, Missouri. Being one of the first physicians in Kansas City, he was held in

high esteem. He was elected President of the Missouri Medical Association in 1870.

Wiley served in the Civil War as lieutenant colonel of the 5th Illinois Cavalry. In 1876, he was a candidate for Congress on the Republican ticket, losing the election by 21 votes.

Gaston also served in the Civil War as a corporal in Co. C, 22nd Illinois Infantry. He was given a disability after three years of service, resultant from a gunshot wound in his leg.

As to Private Easley, he has not been forgotten. The Wet/Dry Routes Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association has placed a white marble head stone, suitably inscribed, in the Zebulon Pike Plaza not far from his place of burial at the Pawnee Fork crossing in Larned, Kansas. His legacy lives on in other ways. Among his descendants is a great-great-great-great-grandson, Scott Altman, astronaut and pilot of Space Shuttle Columbia which spent 16 days in space during 1998.

#### NOTES

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2. Lee Myers, "Illinois Volunteers in New Mexico, 1847-1848," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 47 (1986): 6-7.
3. Thomas B. Hall, M.D., *Medicine on the Santa Fe Trail* (Arrow Rock: Friends of Arrow Rock, 1987). This volume contains Lester's "Notes by the Wayside: From Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe N. Mexico," edited by Hall.
4. James M. B. Gaston, *Journal of Travels During the Mexican War*, Fort Larned National Historic Site Archives.
5. Benjamin Todd Wiley, *Mexican War Diary*, Benjamin Wiley Papers, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
6. Myers, "Illinois Volunteers," 7.
7. Ibid.
8. Myers, "Illinois Volunteers," 9.
9. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 692.
10. Myers, "Illinois Volunteers," 9.
11. David K. Clapsaddle, "The Fort Leavenworth-Round Grove/Lone Elm Road: The Army's First Link to the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks*, 8 (November 1993): 10. A substantial amount of the information in this article was provided by Lee Kroh of Merriam, Kansas, an expert on the various frontier roads in the Kansas City area.
12. C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians, A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 371.
13. Clapsaddle, "Fort Leavenworth-Round Grove/Lone Elm Road," 10-11.
14. Ibid., 11.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

18. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 1187.
19. Captain James R. McClure, "Taking the Census and other Incidents in 1855," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 8 (1903-1904): 236.
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24. Douglas McChristian, *An Army of Marksmen* (Fort Collins: Old Army Press, 1981), 34-36.
25. Kate L. Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 58.
26. Ibid., 46.
27. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 704.
28. William Y. Chalfant, *Dangerous Passages: The Santa Fe Trail and The Mexican War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 164.
29. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 468-469.
30. Ibid., 972.
31. Gregg, *Road to Santa Fe*, 4-5.
32. Ida Ellen Rath, *The Rath Trail* (Wichita: McCormick-Armstrong Co. Inc., 1961), 3.
33. Myers, "Illinois Volunteers," 15, 16.
34. Hall, *Medicine on the Santa Fe Trail*, 54.
35. Ibid., 55.

## POST OFFICE OAK

### —LETTERS—

Dear Trail Mates and Symposium Attendees,

SFTA Webmaster Holly Nelson, and 13-year-old son, Calvin, send their thanks to all those that encouraged, prayed for, and contributed to their well-being upon having their wagon break down on the Mountain Route, their oxen dying, and the Pony Express rider die on the spot. If you would like that in modern terms, on her way to the symposium from Kansas, Holly's car threw a rod near Kim, Colorado, in the middle of the Cimarron Grasslands on Highway 160, which caused complete engine failure, and her cell phone wouldn't work to call for help.

They were unable to return home to Wichita until October 13, being stranded in Trinidad for 2.5 weeks while a used engine was installed (badly, we might mention, by M&M Auto Repair).

Of special mention: Ranchers Sam and Ginger Denton, who "gave" us their cell phone, only asking that we mail it back when we got safely to civilization, 2 hours to Trinidad in a tow truck. SFTA members and

ranchers of the Kim area, Don and Lolly Ming, who were most friendly, encouraging, and giving. SFTA V-P and wife, John and Barbara Atkinson, who immediately adopted us; drove us around to everything at the Symposium, and treated us like daughter and grandson. Clive Siegle, who picked up our registration info and delivered it to us, gave us early morning rides, and arranged for our aid and support during this tenuous time. Local SFTA members Kevin and Teresa of the Tarabino Inn Bed and Breakfast of Trinidad, who fed us extra big breakfasts and forgave one third of our bill, as we stayed in their lovely inn for 2.5 weeks. John Conaboy and many others are due our gratitude too. Also, author Inez Ross, who regaled us with song and story and encouraged me to write.

Anyone wishing to be on the list to receive the first release of "Travail in Trinidad – a Modern Day Tale of the Santa Fe Trail" can email Holly at <info@2comptuerchicks.com>. It will be available on a donation basis to those who are interested. All proceeds will go to repairs of her covered wagon and some new oxen.

Holly Nelson  
2011 S Terrace  
Wichita KS 67218

## DAR BOOKLET PUBLISHED

THE Wet/Dry Routes Chapter is pleased to announce the publication of Santa Fe Trail Daughters of the American Revolution Markers in Pawnee, Edwards and Ford counties, Kansas. The booklet speaks to the sixteen markers set in the three-county area with respect to their provenance and location.

A photograph accompanies the description of each marker. In addition to a brief history of the markers set in 1907, a brief overview of the chapter's marking project is presented. Copies of the booklet will be distributed to all the museums and libraries in the three-county area and to each DAR chapter in the state. The booklets are available to others for cost of one dollar to cover mailing. Interested parties should contact the Last Chance Store, Box 3, Woodston KS 67675, 888-321-7341, lcs@san-tafetrail.org.

## TRAIL TROUBADOUR

### —Traffic in Verse—

Sandra M. Doe, Editor

This column seeks poetry which addresses the history, realism, romance, and diversity of the Trail and demonstrates authentic emotion, original images, and skill in craftsmanship. Please submit poems for consideration to Sandra M. Doe, Dept. of English, Campus Box 32, Metropolitan State College of Denver, PO Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.

Joaquin Miller's birth date is the subject for debate: most scholars accept September 8, 1837, but several sources list his birth date as 1841. His birth name was Cincinnati Hiner Miller, and when he was eleven, the family traveled three thousand miles to Oregon in a seven-month journey "beset with cholera, tornadoes, and hostile Indians" (*Cambridge History of English and American Literature*). He adopted the name Joaquin after Joaquin Murietta, a famous California bandit.

He traveled the world: there is a Joaquin Miller cabin where poets meet in Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C.; memorials for him exist in Oregon, and his California residence, "The Hights [sic]" is preserved and open to the public. When his first publications were ignored by American poets and critics alike, Miller went to England, home to Byron and Tennyson. "To me a poem is a picture," he stated at a Rossetti dinner. . . . [He] loved the West as he loved nothing else, and his best work is a pictorial treatment of it" (*Cambridge History of English and American Literature* in 18 Volumes (1907-1921. Vol. XVII: *Later National Literature*, Part II <www.bartleby.com>). He printed his work at his own expense in England and gained success. "Miller captured entire drawing rooms of British intelligentsia, dazzling them with his velvet coat, hip boots and the bear rug he threw on the floor to comfort him as he spouted his own writings" (<www.joaquinmiller.org>).

His West is expressed in "Kit Carson's Ride": "Room! Room to turn around in, to breathe and be free/ To grow to be giant, to sail as at sea. . . ."

Every schoolchild once memorized the poem "Columbus": "Sail on! sail on! sail on! and on!" The poem below (published in 1878) demonstrates the visual quality of Miller's verse, catches the frontier spirit, and while romantic, like Byron, is persuasive. It is taken from *The American Poets: 1800-1900*, edited by Edwin H. Cady (New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968). He died in 1913.

### Crossing the Plains

by Joaquin Miller

What great yoked brutes with briskets  
low,  
With wrinkled necks like buffalo,  
With round, brown, liquid, pleading  
eyes,  
That turn'd so slow and sad to you,  
That shone like love's eyes soft with  
tears,  
That seem'd to plead, and make re-  
plies,  
The while they bow'd their necks and  
drew  
The creaking load; and look'd at you.  
Their sable briskets swept the ground,  
Their cloven feet kept solemn sound.  
Two sullen bullocks led the line  
Their great eyes shining bright like  
wine;  
Two sullen captive kings were they,  
That had in time held herds at bay,  
And even now they crush'd the sod  
With stolid sense of majesty,  
And stately stepp'd and stately trod,  
As if 'twere something still to be  
Kings even in captivity.

## HOOF PRINTS

### —TRAIL TIDBITS—

Kermit Lopez, Albuquerque, NM, has recently published a novel, *Cibolero*, set in New Mexico in the 1800s. For more information, see <http://www.cibolero.com>.

Dr. Robert Sutton, new Chief Historian for the National Park Service, has trail roots. His great-grandparents on both sides traveled the Oregon Trail..

## THE CACHES

### —MUSEUM NEWS—

Paula Manini, editor

This column lists events and news from Trail sites, museums, and related organizations. Please send information following the format below. Be sure to include your address, phone number, and e-mail. The next column will list hours and activities scheduled for March through May. To be included, send information to Paula Manini at the Trinidad His-



tory Museum (see below). by January 15, 2008. Also, please keep sending any changes regarding e-mail addresses, contact information, news, and changes of hours open.

#### **Arrow Rock State Historic Site**

PO Box 1

Arrow Rock MO 65320

Telephone: 660-837-3231 or 3330

E-mail: [kborgman@iland.net](mailto:kborgman@iland.net)

Websites: [www.arrowrock.org](http://www.arrowrock.org);

[www.mostateparks.com/arrowrock.htm](http://www.mostateparks.com/arrowrock.htm)

- Off-Season Hours: Open 9:00-5:00 Monday-Saturday, and Sunday by chance.

- Hanging of the Greens: November 24, 1:00 p.m. On the Boardwalk.

#### **Barton County Museum & Village**

PO Box 1091

Great Bend KS 67530

Telephone: 620-793-5125

Website: [www.bartoncountymuseum.org](http://www.bartoncountymuseum.org)

- Open Wednesday-Friday, 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Saturday, 1-5 p.m. Group tours available by reservation.

#### **Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site**

35110 Highway 194 East

La Junta CO 81050

Telephone: 719-383-5010

E-mail: [rick\\_wallner@nps.gov](mailto:rick_wallner@nps.gov)

Website: [www.nps.gov.beol](http://www.nps.gov/beol)

- Winter hours: Open 9 a.m.- 4 p.m. Daily. Closed Christmas and New Years Day. Guided tours offered at 10:30 a.m. And 1:00 p.m. daily.
- December 7 - 8: "Holiday Celebration" features the joys, pleasures and pastimes at an isolated trading post in the 1840s. Call for reservations.

#### **Boggsville Historic Site**

PO Box 68

Las Animas CO 81054

Telephone: 719-456-1358

E-mail: [boggsville67@yahoo.com](mailto:boggsville67@yahoo.com)

Website: [www.bentcounty.org/site-sandcelebrations/historic/htm](http://www.bentcounty.org/site-sandcelebrations/historic/htm)

- Contact Boggsville for tours and activities.

#### **Boot Hill Museum**

Front Street

Dodge City KS 67801

Telephone: 620-227-8188

E-mail: [frontst@pld.com](mailto:frontst@pld.com)

Website: [www.boothill.org](http://www.boothill.org)

- Museum: Call for off-season hours.
- Boot Hill Cemetery, Boot Hill & Front Street: Open Monday-Saturday 9:00-5:00 and Sunday 1:00-5:00.

- Santa Fe Trail Ruts nine miles west of Dodge City on US Hwy 400; markers and observation point. Open during daylight hours.

#### **Cimarron Heritage Center Museum**

PO Box 214

#### **Boise City OK 73933**

Telephone: 580-544-3479

E-mail: [museum@ptsi.net](mailto:museum@ptsi.net)

Website: [www.ptsi.net/users/museum](http://www.ptsi.net/users/museum)

- Open Monday-Saturday, 10 a.m.-12 p.m. and 1-4 p.m., except major holidays.

#### **Cimarron Recreation Area**

Cimarron National Grassland

PO Box 300

242 E Highway 56

Elkhart KS 67950

Telephone: 620-697-4621

E-mail: [sharilbutler@fs.fed.us](mailto:sharilbutler@fs.fed.us)

Website: [www.fs.fed.us/r2/psicc/cim](http://www.fs.fed.us/r2/psicc/cim)

- Call for off-season hours and activities or visit the web site.

#### **Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation**

PO Box 728

Las Vegas NM 87701

Telephone: 505-425-8802

E-mail: [historic@cybermesa.com](mailto:historic@cybermesa.com)

- Call for off-season events.

#### **Coronado Quivira Museum**

Rice County Historical Society

105 West Lyon

Lyons KS 67554

Telephone: 620-257-3941

E-mail: [cqmuseum@hotmail.com](mailto:cqmuseum@hotmail.com)

- Open Monday-Saturday 9:00-5:00, Sunday 1:00 to 5:00, closed major holidays.

#### **Friends of Arrow Rock**

309 Main

Arrow Rock MO 65320

Telephone: 660-837-3231

E-mail: [kborgman@iland.net](mailto:kborgman@iland.net)

Websites: [www.friendsar.org](http://www.friendsar.org); [www.arrowrock.org](http://www.arrowrock.org); [www.lyceumetheatre.org](http://www.lyceumetheatre.org)

- Call for hours and events.

#### **Fort Union National Monument**

PO Box 127

Watrous NM 87753

Telephone: 505-425-8025

E-mail: [debbie\\_archuleta@nps.gov](mailto:debbie_archuleta@nps.gov)

Website: [www.nps.gov/foun](http://www.nps.gov/foun)

- Open Monday-Sunday except for major holidays. Fall and winter hours are 8:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Located 8 miles north of Interstate 25 at the end of NM Highway 161.
- Self-guided interpretive trails (1.6 mile and .5 mile) through the ruins. Guided tours by request; groups of ten or more people need advance reservations.

#### **Gas and Historical Museum**

Stevens County Historical Society

PO Box 87

Hugoton KS 67951

Telephone: 620-544-8751

E-mail: [svcomus@pld.com](mailto:svcomus@pld.com)

- Call for hours and events.

#### **Grant County Chamber of Commerce**

113-B South Main

Ulysses KS 67880

Telephone: 620-356-4700

Website: [www.ulysseschamber.org](http://www.ulysseschamber.org)

- Call for off-season hours and activities.

#### **Herzstein Memorial Museum**

Union County Historical Society

PO Box 75 (2nd & Walnut Sts.)

Clayton NM 88415

Telephone: 505-374-2977

E-mail: [uchs@plateautel.net](mailto:uchs@plateautel.net)

- Call for hours and events.

#### **Historic Adobe Museum**

PO Box 909 (300 E Oklahoma)

Ulysses, KS 67880

Telephone: 620-356-3009

E-mail: [ulyksmus@pld.com](mailto:ulyksmus@pld.com)

- Open Monday-Friday 10:00-5:00 and Saturday & Sunday 1:00-5:00. Closed holidays.

#### **Jefferson Nat. Expansion Memorial**

11 N Fourth Street

St. Louis, MO 63102

Telephone: 314-655-1631

E-mail: [tom\\_dewey@partner.nps.gov](mailto:tom_dewey@partner.nps.gov)

Website: [www.nps.gov/jeff](http://www.nps.gov/jeff)

- Visit the Gateway Arch, Museum of Westward Expansion, and the Old Courthouse. This National Park Service site commemorates St. Louis's role in westward expansion during the 1800s and honors individuals such as Dred and Harriet Scott who sued for their freedom in the Old Courthouse.
- All ranger-led and special museum programs are free of charge. Fees charged for the tram ride to the top of the Gateway Arch and films shown in the visitor center.

#### **Koshare Museum**

Otero State Junior College

115 West 18th Street

La Junta, CO 81050

Telephone: 719-385-4411

E-mail: [tina.wilcox@ojc.edu](mailto:tina.wilcox@ojc.edu)

Website: [www.koshare.org](http://www.koshare.org)

- Call for hours and events..
- Trading Post: online at [koshare.org](http://koshare.org).

#### **Las Vegas Museum**

727 Grand Ave

Las Vegas NM 87701

Telephone: 505-454-1401, ext. 248

E-mail: [lgegick@desertgate.com](mailto:lgegick@desertgate.com)

- Call for hours and events.

#### **Morton County Hist. Society Museum**

370 E Highway 56 (PO Box 1248)

Elkhart KS 67950

Telephone: 620-697-2833

E-mail: [mtcomuseum@elkhart.com](mailto:mtcomuseum@elkhart.com)

Website: [www.mtcoks.com/museum](http://www.mtcoks.com/museum)

- Open Tuesday-Friday 1:00-5:00, weekends by appointment.
- A Santa Fe National Historic Trail official interpretive facility.

#### **Otero Museum**

706 W. Third St.

La Junta, CO 81050

Telephone: 719-384-7406

**Cell phone: 719-980-3193**

**E-mail: oteromuseum@centurytel.net**

- Call to schedule tours.
- Nov. 3: Bent's Fort Chapter meeting, 10 a.m. with lunch at noon, followed by program by SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson.
- Nov. 6: Southeastern Colorado Antique Car & Tractor Club annual chili dinner, 5:30 p.m.
- Jan. 19: Bent's Fort Chapter annual meeting, election of officers, with lunch at noon, followed by program by Inez Ross..

**Santa Fe Trail Center Museum & Library  
1349 K-156**

**Larned, KS 67550**

**Telephone: 620-285-2054**

**E-mail: museum@santafetrailcenter.org**

**Website: www.santafetrailcenter.org**

- Open Daily, 9 a.m. - 5 p.m. Closed Mondays after Labor Day.
- Dec. 8: Christmas open house, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., ½ price admission to museum galleries, featuring hand-crafted Zuni, Navajo, and other American Indian jewelry until 2 pm.
- Jan. 28: Annual Kansas Day Celebration, free admission to the galleries, and a special program at 2 p.m. Birthday cake will be served.

**South Platte Valley Historical Society  
PO Box 633**

**Fort Lupton CO 80621**

**Telephone: 303-857-2123**

**Website: www.spvhs.org**

- Call ahead to visit the Donelson Homestead House, 1875 Independence School, and the Fort Lupton Museum. Call for addresses and hours.
- Visitor Center open 10:00 - 3:00 Wednesday-Sunday.

**Trinidad History Museum  
(Colorado Historical Society)  
312 E Main (PO Box 377)**

**Trinidad CO 81082**

**Telephone: 719-846-7217**

**E-mail: paula.manini@state.co.us**

**Website: www.coloradohistory.org/hist\_sites/trinidad**

- Trinidad History Museum features the Baca House, Bloom Mansion, Santa Fe Trail Museum, Baca-Bloom Gardens, Bookstore, and the Trinidad and Byways Information Center.
- Museum tours 1:00 p.m., Tuesday-Saturday.
- Museum Bookstore: 10 a.m.-2 p.m., Thursday-Saturday and between Nov. 26 & Dec. 22, open Monday-Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.
- Everything closed Sundays, Nov. 23-24, and state holidays. The

schedule is dependent on staff availability. Call for an update.

## **CAMP TALES**

### **—CHAPTER REPORTS—**

#### **Cimarron Cutoff**

President D. Ray Blakeley  
PO Box 222  
Clayton NM 88415  
(505) 374-2555

No report.

#### **Wagon Bed Spring**

President Edward Dowell  
HC 1 Box 3B  
Hugoton KS 67951  
(620) 544-2383  
<wagonbeded@netscape.com>

No report.

#### **Heart of the Flint Hills**

President Carol L. Retzer  
4215 E 245th St  
Lyndon KS 66451  
(785) 828-3739  
<carolretzer@direcway.com>

No report.

#### **End of the Trail**

La Alcaldesa Joy Poole  
125 W Lupita Rd  
Santa Fe NM 87505  
(505) 820-7828  
<amusejoy@aol.com>

On November 17, 1:30 p.m., at the Eldorado Community Center, chapter member and regional history presenter Helmut Schmidt will speak about the fur trade. Everyone is invited.

#### **Corazón de los Caminos**

President Bill Soderman  
1003 Fifth St  
Las Vegas NM 87701  
(505) 425-9435

In July seven members visited historic Cimarron, including the St. James Hotel and Aztec Mill Museum.

In August 40 people enjoyed a special, private tour of Fort Union Ranch and the Turkey Mountains, courtesy of Carol Ditmanson who is manager of the ranch.

In October a dozen of us had a picnic in Carnegie Library Park and toured the Las Vegas Museum/Rough Rider Memorial, followed by wine and cheese at the historic home of President Soderman.

On November 17, 1:15, we will meet at Charlie's Bakery and Café in Las Vegas with program by Hal Jackson about his book, *Following the Royal Road*. Our annual business meeting will follow with the election of our next Board.

#### **Wet/Dry Routes**

President David Clapsaddle  
215 Mann  
Larned KS 67550  
(620) 285-3295  
<adsaddle@cox.net>

The chapter met October 20 at Larned. Following a demonstration of Dutch Oven cooking by Alice Clapsaddle, 43 members and guests were treated to a hearty meal of beef stew, biscuits, cookies, and cowboy coffee. The business meeting included a report on the Trinidad symposium, attended by 28 chapter members.

The booklet recently published by the chapter on the DAR markers was distributed and the chapter voted to reproduce the 1866 booklet of rules and regulations for employees of freight companies. The winter meeting is scheduled for January 20, 2008, 1:15 p.m. at the Kinsley Municipal Building, with a potluck dinner. Harry Myers, SFTA manager, will present the program, "Becknell and Gallego: The Start of the Santa Fe Trail."

#### **Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron**

President Jim Sherer  
1908 La Mesa Dr  
Dodge City KS 67801  
(620) 227-7377  
<sherer@cjnetworks.com>

On August 19 the chapter met at Fort Dodge for a short meeting about the chapter's history. Then Don Wiles, chapter vice-president, led a tour to the Black Pool northeast of Ford, a significant and unusual site on the historic Trail.

#### **Missouri River Outfitters**

President Roger Slusher  
1421 South St  
Lexington MO 64067  
(660) 259-2900  
<rslusher@yahoo.com>

No report.

#### **Quivira**

President Linda Colle  
PO Box 1105  
McPherson KS 67460  
(620) 241-3800  
<blkcolle@swbell.net>

No report.

#### **Cottonwood Crossing**

President Steve Schmidt  
1120 Cobblestone Ct  
McPherson KS 67460  
(620) 245-0715  
<wfordok@yahoo.com>



A new brochure featuring the Marion County auto tour route is nearly complete. Our president Steve Schmidt has worked on this project, making use of many fine resources. It is well-done and user friendly. We hope to make copies available soon in our area and beyond.

Our next chapter meeting will be Nov. 15 in the community room in Galva, with SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson as guest speaker.

### Bent's Fort

President Don Lowman  
1202 Park Ave  
La Junta CO 81050  
(719) 384-7406  
<dlowman@centurytel.net>

The chapter is recovering from the symposium and extends thanks to all who attended. We hope you had a good experience.

The annual meeting is January 19 at the Otero Museum in La Junta.

### NEW SFTA MEMBERS

This list includes new memberships received since the last issue. If there is an error in this information, please send corrections to the editor. We thank you for your support.

### BUSINESS MEMBERSHIPS

Bar Lazy L, 3388 S Rd L, Ulysses KS 67880  
DC Art Press, 1321 S Broadway, Denver CO 80210  
Santa Fe Café, 108 E Santa Fe, Burlingame KS 66413

### FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Gregory D. & Jane Everhart, 2409 Hendola Dr NE, Albuquerque NM 87110

Michael & Sheri Gaskins, 4132 Danbury, Bel Aire KS 67220  
David & Terri Higgs, 8722 N Rd F, Ulysses KS 67880  
Nancy Humphry & Paul Andrews, 2777 W Darleen Dr, Flagstaff AZ 86001  
Kevin & Gail McMurry, 2048 E Hickory Rd, Beatrice NE 68310  
Jeff & Kathy Quigley, 400 W Skylark St, Gardner KS 66030  
Gari-Anne Patzwaki & Bill Kostlevy, PO Box 6, Hillsboro KS 67063  
Jim & Pat Shearman, PO Box 155, Satanta KS 67870

### INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Ellie Burkhardt, 2632 Knollbrook Ct, Lawrence KS 66046  
Steve Burns Chavez, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504  
David R. Cole, PO Box 175, Goodwell OK 73939  
James M. Eller, 447 Falls Creek Rd, Las Vegas NM 87701  
Donna Goehring, 5150 Pine Ln, Wamego KS 66547  
W. Otis Halfmoon, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504  
Thadd Kistler, 915 N Durham, Ulysses KS 67880  
Gary Lenderman, 5039 Ranch View Rd, Amarillo TX 79124  
Robert McCubbin, PO Box 2860, Santa Fe NM 87504  
Clyde L. Quimby, 325 Conquistador Ave, Pueblo West CO 81007  
Alexa Roberts, 35110 Hwy 194 E, La Junta CO 81050  
Andrea Sharon, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504  
Judith Sthole, 609 N Colorado, Ulysses KS 67880  
Brooke Taralli, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504

### TRAIL CALENDAR

Everyone is invited to send no-

tices for this section; provide location, date, time, and activity. This is a quarterly. The next issue should appear in February, so send information for March and later to arrive by **January 20, 2008**. Other events are listed in articles and chapter reports. Thank you.

**Nov. 12-30, 2007:** Last Chance Store closed.

**Jan. 1-10, 2008:** Last Chance Store closed.

**Feb. 12-26, 2008:** Last Chance Store closed.

**Feb. 14-25, 2008:** El Camino Real Tour, see <[www.tourelcaminoreal.com](http://www.tourelcaminoreal.com)>.

**Mar. 28, 2008:** SFTA Board Meeting, 9:00 a.m., Council Grove, KS.

**Mar. 29, 2008:** SFTA/NPS Strategic Planning Session and Committee Workshop, 9:00 a.m., Council Grove, KS.

### FROM THE EDITOR

It was great to see many members at the symposium. Special thanks to Bent's Fort Chapter and all the volunteers who made that gathering a wonderful Trail experience.

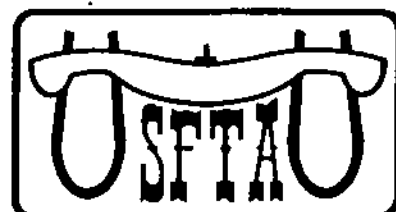
We returned home to find a dead computer. Everything was delayed while a new computer was built and files from the old one were recovered. We are now back in business. If you submitted something for this issue and it is not here, please check with me to see if it disappeared into the electricity.

There is not room in this issue for symposium photos and book reviews. Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

**Santa Fe Trail Association**  
**PO Box 31**  
**Woodston, KS 67675**

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