

# Wagon Tracks

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Volume 22

Issue 2 *Wagon Tracks* Volume 22, Issue 2 (February 2008)

Article 1

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2008

## Wagon Tracks. Volume 22, Issue 2 (February, 2008)

Santa Fe Trail Association

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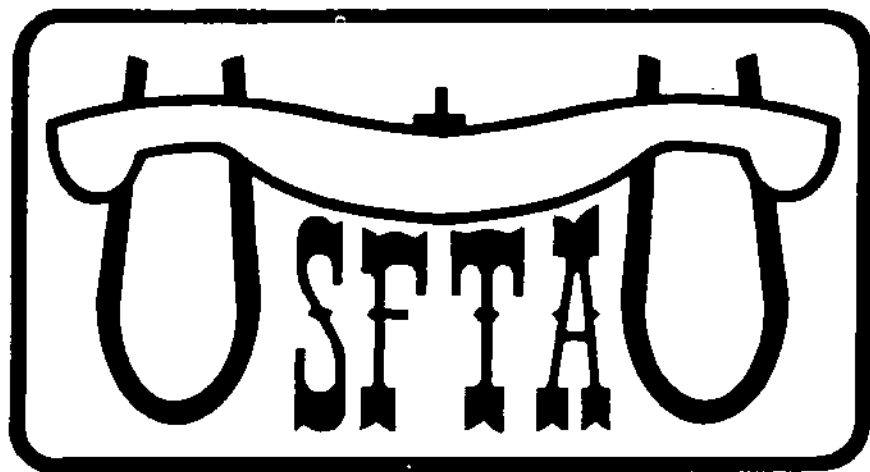
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### Recommended Citation

Santa Fe Trail Association. "Wagon Tracks. Volume 22, Issue 2 (February, 2008)." *Wagon Tracks* 22, 2 (2008).  
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# WAGON TRACKS

**SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY**

VOLUME 22

FEBRUARY 2008

NUMBER 2



Sister Patricia Jean Manion and President Catherine Mueller, Sisters of Loretto, at marker dedication.

## HISTORIC MARKER HONORING SISTERS OF LORETTO DEDICATED IN SANTA FE

by Patricia Jean Manion, SL

*[Sister Patricia Jean is a member of SFTA and the author of Beyond the Adobe Wall that covers the years of establishment of the Sisters of Loretto in New Mexico from 1852-1894. This book is available through Last Chance Store.]*

THE arrival in the Territory of New Mexico on September 26, 1852, of four Sisters of Loretto was celebrated in Santa Fe on December 1, 2007. The celebration started at 9:00 a.m. in the now-historic Loretto Chapel where letters were read about the journey and the sisters' first years in New Mexico. At 10:00 a.m. the marker by the river at E. Alameda and Old Santa Fe Trail was unveiled by Santa Fe Mayor David Coss after New Mexico First Lady Barbara Richardson cut the ribbon. Catherine Mueller, SL, current president of the Sisters of Loretto, Denver, offered the blessing.

The marker bears on the front the names of the first four Sisters to arrive in Santa Fe, Mother Magdalen Hayden, Sisters Rosanna Dant, Roberta Brown, and Catherine Mahoney. On the reverse side, it calls attention to Mother Lucia Perea who became the first native of New Mexico named as superior of Loretto Academy in 1896.

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**SFTA BOARD MEETING  
COUNCIL GROVE, KANSAS  
MARCH 28-29, 2008  
SFT RENDEZVOUS  
LARNED, KANSAS  
SEPTEMBER 18-20, 2008**

## RENDEZVOUS 2008 SEPTEMBER 18-20

by Ruth Olson Peters

*[SFTA Treasurer Ruth Peters is Director of the Santa Fe Trail Center at Larned.]*

PLANS are underway for Rendezvous 2008! It promises to be a great program, so mark your calendars now to attend, September 18-20 in Larned, Kansas. The theme for this year's Rendezvous is "The Evolution of Freighting on the Santa Fe Trail." Talks will begin with discussion of the private proprietors during the early trail years from 1821-1846. The next speakers will move on to military freighting from 1846-1848, the large freighting companies of 1848-1866, and end with discussion of the smaller companies during the last days of the trail from 1866-1880.

The opening program will be held at the Santa Fe Trail Center with a special presentation about foods eaten while traveling the Santa Fe Trail. Another program of interest will be about mule packing. There will be a special evening where clips from old Santa Fe Trail movies will be shown, with commentary. The last afternoon of the event will take place at Fort Larned National Historic Site, with demonstrations and activities related to freighting. The seminar will end with a retreat ceremony at Fort Larned and dinner in the historic Quartermaster Storehouse.

All members of the Santa Fe Trail Association will receive registration materials in the mail this summer for Rendezvous 2008. For questions regarding the seminar, contact the Santa Fe Trail Center 620-285-2054, <museum@santafetrailcenter.org>.

## THE SANTA FE TRAIL PAST AND PRESENT

by Marc Simmons

*[SFTA life member Marc Simmons, first president and "Father of the Santa Fe Trail Association," returned to the Trinidad Symposium in 2007 to deliver the keynote address, which follows. He was the keynote speaker at the first symposium in 1986. The entire membership of SFTA, past and present, extend heartfelt thanks to Simmons for his writings and constant support of the Association from its beginnings.]*

**WE are back!** Yes. After twenty-one years we have returned to the birthplace and cradle of the Santa Fe Trail Association—to the beautiful little city of Trinidad, Colorado, located at the northern entrance of Raton Pass, where the Mountain Route of the old Santa Fe Trail crosses the Purgatoire River. Yes indeed. We are back.

The title of my address this morning is "The Santa Fe Trail Past and Present." Actually, I want to begin with the present and do a bit of summing up and reminiscing about the first twenty years of this organization, noting what has been achieved in keeping alive the memory of this wonderful old Trail.

It all started with Joy Poole, now officially recognized as the Mother of the Santa Fe Trail Association. In late 1984 she persuaded the Colorado Historical Society to hold a Santa Fe Trail Symposium in Trinidad during the fall of 1986. Joy was then administrator of the Baca-Bloom Museums here in Trinidad, and they were part of the Colorado Historical Society system.

Joy also had the idea of using the occasion of the Society's Symposium to form a Santa Fe Trail organization. And so she asked to have a special session tacked on at the end of the regular program to do just that.

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## PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

**T**HE political analysts say that 1968 was a defining year for American politics and the history of the United States. It was also an important year for the nation's trails. On October 2, 1968, Congress passed the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1241-1249)—Public Law 90-543. This Act created a series of trails to provide for outdoor recreation needs, promote the enjoyment, appreciation, and preservation of open-air, outdoor areas, and historic resources, and encourage public access and citizen involvement.

In 1978, as a result of the study of trails that were most significant for their historic associations, a fourth category of trails was added: National Historic Trails. This Act is Public Law 95-625 (95 Stat. 3511). Since 1968 over 40 trail routes have been studied for inclusion in the system. Of these studied trails, 21 have been established as part of the system. In 2006 the National Trails System consisted of eight national scenic trails, sixteen national historic trails, almost 1,000 national recreation trails, and two connecting-and-side trails. Added together the lengths of all these trails totals well over 50,000 miles (80,000 km). The Santa Fe National Historic Trail was added to the system in 1987. Studies continue to be conducted for new trails to be added to this system.

As Congressionally-established long-distance trails, each of the scenic and historic trails is administered by a federal agency, including the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, or the USDA Forest Service. In some instances, these federal agencies may acquire lands to protect key sites, resources, and view sheds. Most often, however, these federal agencies work in partnership with states, local units of government, land trusts, private landowners, and organizations such as SFTA to protect the trails and enable them to be accessible to the public. To read more about the National Trails System Act go to <http://www.nps.gov/nts/legislation.html> or Google "National Trails System Act."

In 1995, the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) was established. The goals of this part-

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VISIT SFTA ON THE INTERNET

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

nership, of which SFTA is a member, are to facilitate interaction and cooperation among the various private groups and government agencies involved with the national scenic and historic trails of the National Trails System. Ross Marshall has faithfully served as SFTA's representative to PNTS. By the time you receive this issue of *Wagon Tracks*, Ross will be headed to Washington, D.C., for the next PNTS meeting. One of the events that PNTS will sponsor is a kickoff celebration for the 40th anniversary of the National Trails System Act, 1968-2008. While there, Ross and his wife Pat will make the rounds and visit our legislators and encourage them to continue their support of the National Trails System Act, especially the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. The SFTA thanks Ross and Pat for their work on our behalf—it is through this type of contact that federal funds continue to come to the SFNHT.

SFTA and our chapters are not alone in our efforts to preserve, protect, and promote the Santa Fe Trail. Our partnerships with PNTS and NPS help us to continue in our endeavors with the Santa Fe National Historic Trail.

The Smoky Hill Trail Association has officially formed and one of their goals is to try to become a National Historic Trail. Their next conference is scheduled for October 17-19, 2008, in Salina, KS. In the future, I see the Smoky Hill Trail Association as a "sister" organization to SFTA. The two trails share some of the same

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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
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historic time-period, some trail travelers used both trails to reach their destinations, and as the railroad pushed westward, trade goods were brought by the Iron Horse to various towns along the Smoky Hill Trail which served as the trailhead for goods being transported further on the Santa Fe Trail. The Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road and the Fort Harker-Fort Larned Road are just two examples of military roads that linked these two trails. As president of SFTA, I offer my full support to the Smoky Hill Trail Association in its endeavors to become a National Historic Trail.

Not only is 2008 the 40th anniversary of the National Trails System Act, it is also the year for Rendezvous. Co-hosted by the Santa Fe Trail Center, Fort Larned National Historic Site, and the SFTA, Rendezvous will be held in Larned, KS, September 18-20. The theme for this year's event is: "The Evolution of Freighting on the Santa Fe Trail." SFTA's fall board meeting will begin at 8:00 a.m. on Thursday, September 18, 2008.

Our spring board meeting will be held in Council Grove, Kansas, and will begin on March 27, 2008, with a chapter presidents' meeting at 7:00 p.m. The SFTA Board will meet on Friday, March 28, and a NPS Strategic Plan session and committee workshop is scheduled for Saturday, March 29. All meetings are open to SFTA members.

SFTA's chapters are starting a new year of events. Be sure to check the chapter reports in *Wagon Tracks*, the SFTA website at <[www.santafetrail.org](http://www.santafetrail.org)>, or contact a chapter president for information on upcoming meetings.

It is my sad duty to report the recent death of two chapter presidents, Bill Soderman of the Corazón de los Caminos Chapter and D. Ray Blakeley of the Cimarron Cutoff Chapter. On behalf of SFTA, I extend sincere sympathy to their family, friends, and respective chapters.

—Joanne VanCoevern

## MANAGER'S REPORT

SINCE October, I have had the wonderful opportunity of visiting the Heart of the Flint Hills, Bent's Fort, End of the Trail, Corazón, Wet/Dry

Routes, and Quivira chapters. Each chapter is unique and very proud and protective of its portion of the trail. And each chapter has a different flavor and feel. I encourage all members to visit a neighboring chapter or one far away. You will come away, like me, impressed and more excited about what has been done on the Trail and what is being done. I look forward to the rest of my chapter visits. If I wasn't in this position, I would be envious of myself!

On March 28 and 29 we are having a board meeting, strategic plan, and committee workshop at Council Grove, Kansas. We are inviting the board members, chapter presidents, and committee chairs to join together to assess how the association has accomplished the goals first set in 2003 in cooperation with the National Park Service. SFTA has amended those goals a couple of times, but we have not set out a new plan with new goals. We want to look into the future about five years and ask what we want to accomplish - how we see the Santa Fe Trail in that time period.

I know this sounds pretty bureaucratic, but the bottom line is, if we are not proactive in giving ourselves a vision of what the Santa Fe Trail should look like, then events are going to dictate that to us. This is the best way of protecting not only our Trail, but our communities, and our regions by defining our vision. Your input is essential. When we look at the goals and what has been accomplished since 2003 (a report on that will be given at the meeting) we can see that SFTA has taken an active role in preserving Trail ruts and remains, has continued to identify newly-located Trail remains and sites, and has made more and more people aware of the Trail and the SFTA. All of this has been accomplished by you in your chapters and by SFTA committees in cooperation with the National Park Service.

One challenge, as I see it, is that not all of what SFTA recognizes as the Santa Fe Trail is designated as national historic trail. We need to incorporate those trails and those segments into our planning and goal-setting effort and make sure they are as protected and recognized as the national historic trail portions. Some prime examples of the trails not in-

cluded are the Granada to Fort Union Road and the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road. These are just a couple of examples of several that deserve our attention and consequent protection.

Please think about your vision of the Santa Fe Trail. What should it look like in five years? What kind of developments do you want to see or not want to see along the Trail? What concerns you in your local area about what might happen to Trail remains and sites? You can pass those thoughts on to your chapter presidents, to board members and officers, or to me. We will use them at our March meeting (and you are more than welcome to attend also). And you can find the strategic plan at <[www.nps.gov/safe/parkmgmt/upload/Final%20SFNHTplan%201103.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/safe/parkmgmt/upload/Final%20SFNHTplan%201103.pdf)> so you can take a look at what was done originally.

And, finally, a Smoky Hill Trail Association has been formed. I encourage all of you with just the slightest interest to join this new association and to help get this important trail designated as a national historic trail. Just as important is your experience in the SFTA in forming chapters, in running chapters, and in the operation of the national organization. We can both learn from the formation of this new organization and through sharing can make each association stronger and better.

—Harry C. Myers

## RESEARCH GRANTS FOR 2008

RESEARCH grants up to \$1500 from SFTA are available again this year. All persons with genuine curiosity about the Trail are eligible to apply. Proposals will be judged by the research committee..

To apply, send a proposal by 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 requires a proposal summary, budget, and references. Deadline for completed applications is March 1, 2008. Awards will be announced by March 31, 2008. Funds should be expended by July 1, 2009, and a final written report will be due to the committee by October 1, 2009.

## BILL SODERMAN

William W. Soderman, Las Vegas, NM, president of the Corazón de los Caminos Chapter of SFTA, died December 16, 2007. He was 69 years old. He was formerly a staff member of the Phoenix Museum of History and more recently was a health information technician in medical records for the New Mexico Behavioral Health Institute. He was a member of the Las Vegas Opera Guild, member of the board of the Rough Riders Museum, and a member of the Las Vegas Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation. Condolences are extended to his family and friends.

## D. RAY BLAKELEY

D. Ray Blakeley, president of the Cimarron Cutoff Chapter of SFTA, died December 19, 2007. He was 62 years old. D. Ray was born and raised in Clayton, NM, and he came from a family with deep roots in Union County. He was a well-known character in Union County for many years because of his work as a newspaper reporter and a radio announcer. He was one of the founding members of the Union County Historical Society which operates the Herzstein Memorial Museum, and he served as director of the museum from 2001-2006. He was a fount of knowledge about the history Union County and the rest of New Mexico. He was active in many community organizations. He will be missed by family and numerous friends along the Trail.

## PNTS REPORT

by Ross Marshall

*[Marshall is the SFTA representative to the Partnership for the National Trails System.]*

THE Partnership's 11th Conference was held in Duluth, MN, September 7-11, hosted by the North Country Trail Association, with the theme of "Healthy Trail Partnerships-Healthy Trail Resources."

This was a scenic location on the shores of Lake Superior, and the conference was the most successful we have ever had. There were 180 par-

ticipants, more than ever before, and nearly all the 25 National Scenic and Historic Trails were represented. The individual sessions and field trips along the North Shore were outstanding.

The Partnership's new Strategic Plan is working well. New people have been elected to the board, and a dozen new committees are working well with close to a hundred people involved.

I appreciate Jeff Trotman attending and participating fully in everything that went on. Also attending were several of our National Park Service partners, including Aaron Mahr, John Conoboy, Mike Taylor, Steve Burns, and Andrea Sharon.

Congress has passed a Department of the Interior appropriations bill, and it is good news for the Santa Fe Trail. It contains a substantial increase for the National Park Service office in Santa Fe.

My thanks to the chapter presidents, committees, board, and others for sending me the totals of their volunteer hours and dollar donations for 2007. I am missing a few responses, but I have filled in a few blanks and have sent the totals to Gary Werner at the Partnership office. Congress likes these reports.

Pat and I will leave for Washington, D.C., on February 7 and spend a week in Partnership meetings, visiting congressional offices and the various agencies of our government. It is a hard week, but fun because we are always well received when we talk about trails. And Pat is good help.

The Partnership continues to pursue its mission of promoting the National Trails System, securing funding for our NPS partner, fostering federal agency collaboration, and providing support for its members like SFTA.

## NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT 40th ANNIVERSARY

by Ross Marshall

OCTOBER 2, 2008, is the 40th anniversary of the passage of the National Trails System Act by the U.S. Congress. This Act provides for the designation by Congress of individual scenic and historic trails of national significance to be admitted to a select family of national trails to

preserve cultural resources for the enjoyment of the American people.

The Partnership for the National Trails System has designated 2008 as a year of commemoration of this 40th anniversary. In fact, the plan is to initiate a "Decade of National Trails" that leads to the 50th anniversary in 2018.

The purpose of this initiative is to provide a vehicle to raise the public's awareness of the National Trails System, to promote and support events along the trails to commemorate this anniversary, support our member organizations (including SFTA) as they organize trail events, and to attract the attention of both public and private partners to enable the family of National Scenic and Historic Trails to grow.

We are very pleased that our old friend Jere Krakow, recently retired National Park Service Long Distance Trails Superintendent, is chairing the 40th Anniversary Committee. Very soon, printed materials will be circulated to trails organizations. A special video will also be available.

To kick off the 40th Anniversary commemoration, a special dinner has been scheduled on February 13 during Advocacy Week in Washington, D.C. This is an awards and fundraising dinner annually sponsored by the National Resources Council of America. This year it will be jointly sponsored by the Partnership.

One of the unique features of the Act is that it contemplates each of the designated national trails, currently twenty-five in number, to be managed by a public-private partnership involving an administering federal agency such as the National Park Service along with a private-side nonprofit group such as the SFTA. This experiment, which permits federal funding to be used with private management, has worked exceptionally well and Congress continues to be more pleased with the results as the years go by.

Our country's National Trails System is unique. Commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Act is not only appropriate but will open doors of opportunity for all our trails that we have not yet imagined. More information will be available soon as plans and materials are developed.

**YOUR MEMORY CAN LIVE ON**  
REMEMBER THE SANTA FE TRAIL  
ASSOCIATION IN YOUR WILL



## A RECENT VENTURE ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by Martha Hammonds

*[Martha Hammonds, Peoria, AZ, is a new member of SFTA and offered to share these experiences which led her to join the Association. Even today, there is nothing better than a trip on the Santa Fe Trail.]*

OK, so there is no proof anywhere in our line that we are descendants of gypsies. Given to wanderlust as we are, however, I cannot help but believe that one of those olive-skinned exotic types is not hidden somewhere under a branch of the family tree. My family loves road trips. I suppose it is not that my parents actually chose road trips as a preferred manner of travel. I suspect it was the fact that both my parents were public school teachers supporting a family of six, and it was the cheapest way to go.

Regardless of the economics, the trips were an adventure to us. I am not sure that homemade sandwiches and potato salad have ever tasted as good as when eaten in the back seat of a 1960 Ford somewhere between Tucumcari, New Mexico, and Amarillo, Texas. Pink Hostess snowballs, somewhat disgusting in any other venue, became the required road-trip fare. And then of course there was the whole issue of driving style. While my father "just wanted to get there," my mom was terrific about allowing us to stop to buy junk at truck stops (you couldn't beat a genuine leather Indian beaded wallet), see dinosaur bones, petrified wood, and the world's largest prairie dog town.

Several years ago, looking for adventure of course, my mother Jo and I decided to follow the old Santa Fe Trail by car. Starting at the National Trails Museum in Independence, Missouri, our destination was the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. Following a book and a map, we traveled the old West, sometimes following the ruts of wagons from almost 200 years ago through places like Council Grove, Cimarron, and Bent's Old Fort. We traveled through small-town America where main streets were lined with little white houses proudly displaying American flags. We passed historical markers that still showed the way west as we marveled at what our pioneers must

have endured to reach a new life. We stopped at the stump of the "Council Oak" where, in 1825, a treaty was signed between the Osage Indians and the U. S. Government, and for \$800.00 the U.S. obtained the right of way for a public highway, the Santa Fe Trail.

Pawnee Rock in Kansas is the place where hundreds of pioneers stopped to write their names in the soft sandstone as they traveled toward an unknown future. In 1848, James Birch, a soldier on his way to the Mexican War, wrote: "Pawnee Rock was covered with names carved by the men who had passed it. It was so full that I could find no place for mine." Choosing the Mountain Route, we followed the Trail through Colorado, and at 2:00 a.m., in the pouring rain, located the mail box in Timpas that held the little book put there so modern-day Trail travelers can leave their mark.

My mom and I had taken this trip to spend some time together, but also to remember all trips we had taken as a family, the trips when my dad was still alive. We talked about how, when I was two, my parents had packed up what we had and left a little town on the Mississippi River named Caruthersville (part way between Cooter and Bragadoccia) and headed for better jobs in Phoenix, Arizona. We talked about the trips when we got lost and the times my dad would sleep while mom drove, taking us on routes off the freeway because she wanted to see something different. We also talked about the trip when I was six when we placed my grandmother's body on a plane and made the sad trip back to Missouri to bury her in a little cemetery in Fillmore, next to her husband and six of her eleven children.

The pioneers had come a long way. They set out on a trip to a far away place, not knowing if they would even make it. On their way out west they got married, birthed babies, and buried loved ones. They sat under the stars and talked about their dreams. They left their marks in the ruts of the prairie and on the face of Pawnee Rock.

And so it was at 2:00 a.m. in pouring rain I left the dry cab of the jeep and raced across the highway to the little metal mail box. I reached inside and picked up the worn spiral

notebook. Running back to the jeep I jumped in next to my mom and showed her the record of people with the same spirit that had made the way West. We hunted for a pen. As we opened that little notebook and read the names from around the world, we looked for a blank space and proudly added our own.

## KAW MISSION COUNCILS PROGRAMS 2008

by Mary Honeyman

*[SFTA member Honeyman is administrator of Kaw Mission State Historic Site in Council Grove.]*

THE Kaw Mission Councils 2008 educational program series, "Our Fabulous Flint Hills: The Hills Are Alive!" will be presented at the Kaw Mission State Historic Site in Council Grove, Kansas. In 2008 we celebrate the seventeenth anniversary of our series by highlighting the Kansas Flint Hills—alive with cultural, natural, and historic resources

### Program Schedule

Thursday, February 7, 7 p.m.: "Lucy Tayiah Eads: Only Female Chief of the Kaw," Pauline Sharp, Granddaughter of Eads.

Saturday, March 15, 3:30 & 7 p.m.: "Simply Sublime Statistics: The Flora And Vegetation of the Flint Hills," Craig Freeman, Curator, R. L. McGregor Herbarium, Kansas Biological Survey.

Saturday, April 19, 3:30 & 7 p.m.: "Birds and Mammals of the Flint Hills," Bob Gress, Director, Great Plains Nature Center.

Saturday, May 17, 3:30 & 7 p.m.: "Snake Stories," Joe Collins, Herpetologist, Kansas Biological Survey & Suzanne Collins, Wildlife Photographer.

Saturday, October 18, 3:30 & 7 p.m.: "Ghosts in the Grass: In Search of Forgotten Voices," Marva Weigelt, Homestead Ranch, Chase County.

The Friends of Kaw Heritage, Inc. and the Kansas Historical Society sponsor the Kaw Mission Councils 2008 educational program series. Free refreshments compliments of FKH. For additional information, contact the Kaw Mission State Historic Site, 620-767-5410 or <kawmission@kshs.org>. Group reservations recommended. Kaw Mission Council 2008 programs are free and open to the public.

## OLD DAN AND HIS TRAVELING COMPANIONS: OXEN ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by David K. Clapsaddle

*[SFTA Ambassador Clapsaddle is president of the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter and a frequent contributor to WT. Additional information about oxen may be found on the Internet at <www.prairieoxdrovers.com>.]*

SOME two centuries prior to the advent of the Santa Fe Trail, English settlers moved to the mountains of New Hampshire. They brought with them from the Boston-Salem area large red oxen imported from Denmark. Later, other breeds such as Galloways and Durhams were introduced from Ireland; and in the late 17th century, Yankee traders brought to New England black Andalusia cattle which Spaniards had shipped to Cuba. These breeds became the progenitors of the big, broad shouldered oxen used extensively in agriculture and logging throughout New England and later in the Northwest Territory.<sup>1</sup>

On the trans-Mississippi frontier, oxen were not so well defined by pedigree. Horace Greeley wrote of oxen owned by the Russell, Majors and Waddell Company as "lean, wild looking oxen, mainly of the long horned stripe, which indicated Texas their native land, and which had probably felt the yoke within the past week."<sup>2</sup> Earlier, the oxen had come from Missouri and other nearby states. Oxen were often referred to as steers or cattle. Sometimes, they were called working cattle to distinguish them from bovines used for dairy and beef production. Ironically, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, ox trains were known as bull trains, even though oxen were castrated.<sup>3</sup>

American oxen in the Santa Fe trade weighed 1,800 to 2,000 pounds. One yoke of oxen in 1864 "weighed 4,300 pounds each, but were not fat, were a full eighteen hands (six feet) tall, five feet, ten inches long, and eight feet around the girth."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Mexican oxen were smaller than the American steers. Thomas Burns, a settler in early territorial Kansas, described them "as small Mexican cattle, many of them black or black and tan in color and they all had short horns."<sup>5</sup>

Oxen were notorious for their

tender feet. Josiah Gregg wrote that, in the early days of the Santa Fe trade, oxen were shod with what he called moccasins made of raw buffalo hide. This invention worked rather well until the rawhide became wet and soon wore through.<sup>6</sup> In time, oxen were shod with iron shoes, the split hoof requiring two shoes. In almost every frontier settlement was a farrier who maintained a contraption used to secure oxen while they were being shod. It is very difficult for cattle to stand on three legs for any length of time. By means of a belly band and a windlass, the ox was elevated and his feet extended one at a time. The shoes were nailed to hooves in the same manner as equines were shod. These contraptions were variously called an ox press, ox sling, or shoeing stall.<sup>7</sup> If an ox press was not available, the ox was "cast," to use a modern term from veterinarian practice. That is, ropes were attached to the ox's feet, and by pulling the ropes, the ox was put off balance and laid on his side. Thus, the animal could be restrained while the shoes were attached.<sup>8</sup>

As to the oxen equipage, (known contemporarily as furniture), there were but two components, the yoke and the chain.<sup>9</sup> The American yoke was fashioned from a block of wood four feet in length, flat on the top and arched on the underside at each end to accommodate the curvature of the ox's neck. Two holes were bored at each end of the yoke, spaced apart about the width of an ox's head to receive the bow which encircled the ox's neck. Most often made of hickory, the bow, bent in the configuration of the letter U by soaking it in hot water, was placed in a jig for drying. Holes were drilled in the ends of the bows (usually one hole on the inside member of the bow). Through these holes, pegs (called "pins") were inserted to hold the bow in place.<sup>10</sup> Later in the period, manufactured iron "keys" were introduced for the same purpose.<sup>11</sup> Another hole was drilled in the middle of the yoke and fitted with a piece of hardware from which was suspended an iron ring.

The Mexican traders used yokes without bows which were lashed to animals' horns. As Gregg explained,

"Thus the head is maintained in a fixed position, and they pull or rather push by the force of the neck, which of course, is kept constantly strained upward."<sup>12</sup> The American yoke with its bows allowed the ox to put the full measure of his strength into the pull, far more efficient than the Mexican method.

The chain, nine-ten feet long, had links four inches wide. Attached to each end of the chain was a sturdy hook. Once the wheelers were yoked and stationed next to the wagon, one on each side of the tongue, the ring of the yoke was suspended through a curved iron device at the end of the tongue called a gooseneck. From the gooseneck, a chain extended to the next yoke and hooked to the ring. Each additional yoke had its own ring from which a chain was hooked to the ring of the yoke behind it.<sup>13</sup>

As to the driver's accoutrements, he had but two, his whip and his voice. The whip had a stock ten feet in length made of a hickory sapling with a lash of the same length made of rawhide. Attached to the end of the lash was a strip of soft leather five-six inches long, called a popper or cracker.<sup>14</sup> A similar whip was used by men capturing wild Spanish cattle in the everglades. The term "cracker" evolved into the language of the deep South to designate an unsophisticated person. When the whip was cracked, it produced a sound as pronounced as a gun shot. U.S. Army scientists in 1959 measured the speed of a cracker as it was snapped. The conclusion was that the cracker exceeded the speed of sound, and the loud noise resulted from breaking the sound barrier.<sup>15</sup> Thus there was one item traveling the Santa Fe Trail that exceeded the speed of sound.

Regardless of conventional wisdom, drivers were often encouraged to spare the whip, especially during the latter part of the period when American traffic on the Santa Fe Trail was monopolized by huge freighting firms. The handling of oxen was stipulated in great detail by written regulations issued to personnel employed by the various firms. Tom Cranmer compiled a set of such regulations and wrote, "I would therefore, most emphatically



denounce the practice of beating oxen under all circumstances."<sup>16</sup> However, such was not the case with the Mexican drivers. James Mead recalled, "The drivers were known as 'bull whackers' or 'mule skimmers,' mostly semi-Indian half civilized, faithful, brown skinned, with hair of jet hanging on their shoulders, wielding lashes with such skill as to cut a rattlesnake's head off at 20 feet, or cut through the hide of an refractory ox."<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps more effective than the whip were the voice commands of the driver. Walking near the head of the wheelers (yoke closest to the wagon), he spoke well recognized commands the oxen learned quickly to obey.<sup>18</sup> Originally, gee-up meant to move up. In time, the command became gid-dap. Gregg wrote that a simple hep was the command to move forward. Gee was the command to turn right; haw was the command to turn left. Whoa, originally ho, was the command to stop.<sup>19</sup> With regard to other voice commands, Cranmer wrote, "No loud cursing, swearing, or frightening of cattle should ever be allowed in the corral."<sup>20</sup>

In the settled part of the country, calves at an early age would be yoked together and exercised daily. Small training yokes were used and sometimes sliding (adjustable) yokes were employed to accommodate the animals' growth. The calves were allowed to grow to full maturity at age three before being castrated. This allowed the animal to mature into a strong animal before the neutering process rendered him more docile.<sup>21</sup>

Freighters on the frontier did not have the luxury of time to train oxen. Rather, they often purchased mature but unbroken (green) steers at the trailheads and immediately put them into service. Unbroken oxen would be yoked and stationed between pairs of experienced oxen. There they had no choice in spite of their protestation by means of backing and bawling but to proceed in step with their broken brothers.<sup>22</sup>

As the caravan proceeded, the green oxen remained yoked together day and night for some two weeks. Thus, they were forced not only to work together but to eat and sleep together on a 24-hour basis. Subsequently, they performed as broke oxen in an amicable manner.<sup>23</sup> The

author in recent years had the opportunity to talk with a Flint Hills rancher who imported cattle from Mexico. He observed, from time to time, a pair of steers which appeared to be inseparable; they were together constantly. Upon closer inspection, he found that the animals were shod, a sure sign of their draft animal status in Mexico. Thus, it would appear that the yoking of oxen produced a reciprocation by which the animals maintained a steadfast relationship, working or not.

Tom Cranmer's regulations stipulated, "See that all hands temporarily mark their cattle the first time they unyoke, so they may be able to recognize them afterwards."<sup>24</sup> Robert Howard recalled, "One driver tied bits of black cloth to the tails of his team."<sup>25</sup> Another scheme employed by the freighters was "coloring" the cattle. James Meline remarked on ox trains he observed in Leavenworth in 1866, "Each wagon team consisting of ten yokes of fine oxen, selected and arranged not only for drawing but for pictorial effect, in sets of twenty, either all black, all white, all spotted or otherwise marked uniformly."<sup>26</sup> Mark Gardner opined that this "was likely the bullwhackers' system for quickly identifying their oxen in a train's large herd at yoking."<sup>27</sup>

As previously noted, the large freighting firms issued explicit directions as to handling of oxen. In tedious detail, Cranmer set forth the procedures for yoking. "The moment the cattle are all in the corral, the command should be given by the Wagon Master or Asst., 'Yoke up!' Every teamster should immediately enter the corral with his wheel yoke under his left arm, or on his left shoulder, and in as good a humor as possible, holding the bow belonging on the off wheeler in his right hand, the key in his left. As soon as he finds his off wheeler he should approach him gently, put the bow on him, and yoke him; the key in properly, drop the end of the yoke, and go for the near wheeler in like manner, put the bow on him and lead him up; when his wheelers are yoked, he should drive them out at the most convenient gap, and hitch them to his tongue, and then go for his off leader in like manner, yoke him, take out the other bow, tap him lightly if nec-

essary, never letting the end of the yoke drop till he gets him to his inside hind wheel, to which he should always have his fourth chain attached, and chain him up; then drop the end of the yoke and 'go for' the near leader, with the bow in his right hand, key in his left, put the bow on his neck gently, and lead him up to the off leader and yoke him; hitch his lead chain in the staple, laying the other end of it over the near leader's back, by which to hitch his off second ox, and then for the rest as the leaders, till he gets back to his pointers, which is the yoke next to his wheelers. Yoke them together anywhere in the corral, as he did his wheelers. For this reason, his fifth, or point chain by which his pointers pull is on his gap, and the fourth chain, which is next in front of them, his leaders are chained by, so then drive his pointers up to their proper place, stop them gently, and go for his fourth chain, hitch them to his team, and drive out at the rear gap, if he is farther from the front than the two third wagons. When he gets his team to its proper place, go for his fifth chain and hitch on."<sup>28</sup>

Once all the teams were yoked, the wagon master would call out the well recognized command of "stretch out." The oxen slowly began the day's work as the loaded wagons creaked under their heavy loads. At this point, mention needs to be made of the phenomenon called "cold collars."<sup>29</sup> For whatever reason, oxen were reluctant to enter a stream early in the morning. Consequently, they would only do so after being driven around the camp grounds for a mile or so. For this reason, among others, the caravan would always cross a stream in the evening before making camp.

Once underway, the wagons had to halt early in the morning after traveling a half hour or so for some ten minutes to allow the cattle to urinate and take a "breather." Without the halt, the oxen could not perform well for the rest of the day.<sup>30</sup>

Another stop called "nooning" was made at 10:00. Cranmer mandates four hours for the stop. This allowed the oxen time to graze, rest, and fortify their strength after the morning's pull. It was also the recommended time for breakfast. Cranmer cautioned: "Never get breakfast be-



fore the morning drive; corral about 10 o'clock, and lay by about four hours; here you rest during the heat of the day, but if you get breakfast before the morning drive, you will be in the dust and the heat of the day." Other regulations called for two-three hours.<sup>31</sup>

Following the nooning, the caravan would resume the trip until evening. Cranmer wrote the following instructions, "Corral in the evening about sunset, giving yourselves time to water your cattle and get them on the grass before dark, but in the autumn, you should drive a little later in the evening, as the days are getting short. Never hurry your cattle to water in hot weather—they drink better after they graze and cool a half hour or so."<sup>32</sup> Josiah Gregg reported that in the early days of the Santa Fe trade, the oxen were tethered at night. "Of later years the tethering of oxen has also been resorted to with advantage. It was thought at first that animals thus confined by ropes could not procure a sufficient supply of food; but experience has allayed all apprehension on the subject. In fact, as the camp is always pitched in the most luxuriantly clothed patches of prairie that can be selected, a mule is seldom able to dispatch in the course of one night, all the grass within his reach. Again, when animals are permitted to range at liberty, they are apt to mince and nibble at the tenderest blades and spend their time in roaming from point to point, in search of what is most agreeable to their 'epicurean palates'; whereas if they are restricted by a rope, they will at once fall to with earnestness and clip the pasturage as it comes."<sup>33</sup>

Oxen had a number of liabilities, not the least of which was "spooking." They, like horses and mules, were sometimes caught up in the excitement of a buffalo stampede and ran away with their wild cousins.<sup>34</sup> Distractions of less magnitude were likewise alarming. Robert Wright tells of one such incident. "I was driving the *cavayado* (cave-yard—that is, the loose cattle). The Mexicans always drove their *cavayado* in front of their trains, while the Americans invariably drove theirs behind. I had on a heavy linsey-woolsey coat, manufactured from the loom in Missouri, lined with yellow stuff, and the

sleeves lined with red; and, as I said, it was very warm; so I pulled off my jacket, or coat, and in pulling it off turned it inside out. We had an old ox named Dan, a big, old fellow with rather large horns, and so gentle we used him as a horse in crossing streams, when the boys often mounted him and rode across. Dan was always lagging behind, and this day more than usual, on account of the heat. The idea struck me to make him carry the coat. I caught him and by dint of a little stretching placed the sleeves over his horns and let the coat flap down in front.

"I hardly realized what I had done until I took a front view of him. He presented a ludicrous appearance, with his great horns covered with red and the yellow coat flapping down over his face. He trudged along unconscious of the appearance he presented. I hurried him along by repeated punches with my *carajo* pole, for in dressing him up he had gotten behind. I could not but laugh at the ludicrous sight, but my laughter was soon turned to regret, for no sooner did old Dan make his appearance among the other cattle than a young steer bawled out in the steer language, as plain as good English, 'Great Scott! what monstrosity is this coming among us to destroy us?' and, with one long, loud, beseeching bawl, put all the distance possible between himself and the terror behind him. All his brothers followed his example, each one seeing how much louder he could bawl than his neighbor, and each one trying to outrun the rest. I thought to myself, 'Great guns! what have I done now!' I quickly and quietly stepped up to old Dan, fearing that he too might get away, and with the evidence of my guilt, took from his horns and head what had created one of the greatest stampedes ever seen on the plains, and placed it on my back, where it belonged. In the meantime the loose cattle had caught up with the wagons, and those attached to the vehicles took fright and tried to keep up with the *cavayado*. In spite of all the drivers could do, they lost control of them, and away they went, making a thundering noise. One could see nothing but a big cloud of dust. The ground seemed to tremble."<sup>35</sup>

Storms were another threat. Janet Lecompte repeated the story of

one such occurrence. "Late in November, 1846 the twenty-eight-wagon train of Bullard, Hook & Co. carrying merchandise to Santa Fe, crossed the Arkansas at Cimarron Crossing and camped in the sand hills on the south side of the river. During the night a blizzard blew in from the northwest so quickly and violently that the oxen panicked, broke through the guard and scattered out in the darkness over snowy, wind-swept plains. Three mules died, and twenty oxen disappeared in the storm. The teamsters cached their goods, abandoned half their wagons and made for Bent's Fort, 150 miles west, with the goods they could carry in the thirteen wagons for which they had oxen."<sup>36</sup>

A final liability of oxen was their susceptibility to disease. At times all the oxen in a caravan would succumb to murrain, a catchall term for any number of infectious diseases. Such was the case with a caravan belonging to the Irwin, Jackson and Company in 1863, when every animal was lost.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of the previously mentioned liabilities, the oxen had a number of advantages, the chief asset being cost. James Josiah Webb purchased oxen at \$28 per yoke from C. S. Owen in 1844. In 1866, oxen sold for \$75 to \$145 per yoke, unbroken steers, \$110 to \$120 per yoke; mules, \$200-\$400 per span.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the initial cost, oxen had the advantage over mules because their keep was much cheaper. Their finely-tuned digestive system could convert the rough forage of the Southwest into nutritional value at no cost to the traders. On the other hand, mules were grain dependent and the price of corn was high on the frontier. In 1849, according to Donald Chaput, the annual cost of keeping a mule, including grain, medicine, wages for the wagon master, and farrier services was \$275.<sup>39</sup> Add to that amount the pounds of freight displaced by the grain needed to feed the mules and the costs rose. Finally, the costs incurred in outfitting oxen were slight, \$5.00 for a chain and \$5.00 for a yoke. Compare those figures with the price of mule harness. In 1859, harness for a ten-mule team cost \$300-\$600.<sup>40</sup>

Beyond the advantages of oxen related to cost, the record is replete

with references to other variables. Thomas Forsyth wrote, "oxen will answer for provisions,"<sup>41</sup> and Henry Walker stated, "In mud or sand, the cloven hoof of the ox gave a better purchase for heavy pulling than the small hoof of the mule."<sup>42</sup>

Such assets made the ox the most popular draft animal on the Trail. However, the popularity was not concomitant with the genesis of the Santa Fe trade. Rather, the popularity came on the heels of horses and mules, a full decade after William Becknell's first trip to Santa Fe.

On his inaugural trip to Santa Fe, William Becknell set forth from Franklin, Missouri, on September 1, 1821, with five companions and a string of pack horses carrying \$300 worth of trade goods. On his return trip, he arrived back at Franklin in January 1822 with specie, mules, asses, and Spanish blankets.<sup>43</sup>

In early May 1822, another Santa Fe-bound expedition headed by Benjamin Cooper and his nephew Stephen Cooper left Franklin with pack horses laden with merchandise valued at \$4,000-\$5,000.<sup>44</sup> Later in the same month, Becknell departed Fort Osage on his second trip to Santa Fe, this time with three wagons loaded with trade goods and drawn by horses.<sup>45</sup> In May of the following year, Stephen Cooper led a party of 31 men from Missouri, each man with one or two pack horses carrying goods for the Santa Fe trade. Returning to Missouri in November of the same year, the traders brought back jacks, jennets, and mules, a quantity of beaver pelts, and a considerable sum of specie.<sup>46</sup> As reflected in the above citations, Alphonso Wetmore stated in 1826 that the merchandise destined for Santa Fe was "transported by means of horses raised here [Missouri]."<sup>47</sup>

However, the horse soon proved to be less than adequate for long distance travel. Such was demonstrated by the failure of horses used in the 1825 survey of the Santa Fe Trail. Leaving Fort Osage on July 17, the survey team made its way to Mulberry Creek on September 6, a distance of 314 miles. George Sibley, one of three men appointed to oversee the survey, recorded, "our Horses tired and poor and Several of them actually give out." When the survey team broke camp on the 9th, Sibley

wrote, "We were obliged to leave one of our Horses this morning, some tired, poor, and sick." The horses had an opportunity to rest for the next eleven days as the survey team waited for a courier with news that the party had permission to enter Mexican Territory. The courier did not come, and part of the team returned to Missouri while Sibley resumed the survey with the remaining men. Sibley's party reached Taos Gap on October 19. There, the commissioner gave thought to his next course of action. Confiding to his journal, he wrote, "If I had attempted to reach S[an]ta fee, by way [of] San Miguel, my Horses must nearly all have failed, and many of them been lost. If I attempt to haul the Waggon over the Mountains loaded as they are, the Horses must necessarily fail. If I leave the Waggon & Pack the Horses, still the Horses must fail, & probably the Waggon be lost entirely. If I hire Mules to pack my Baggage &c. over to Taos, I believe I shall be able to get the empty Waggon over the Mountains, and thus at a small expense save all my Horses and Waggon, & prove the existence of a Waggon route over the Mountains into the Valley of Taos: And I determined, upon all these considerations, to adopt the latter plan." On the following day, he dispatched John Walker and Singleton Vaughan to Taos to bring back mules to pack the baggage over the mountains. On the 24th, Walker and Vaughan returned with the mules, and by the 30th, the party, safe and sound, arrived at Taos.<sup>48</sup>

In reviewing the evolution of draft animals used in the Santa Fe trade, Josiah Gregg wrote, "As soon as the means for procuring these animals [mules] increased, the horse was gradually and finally discarded, except for occasionally riding and the chase."<sup>49</sup> Gregg, of course, was referring to the animals taken in trade by the Missouri merchants with their Mexican counterparts.

Regardless, the mule's claim to fame began to fade with the introduction of oxen in 1829 by Brevet Major Bennet Riley during the first military escort on the Santa Fe Trail. Departing Cantonment Leavenworth on June 3, Riley's battalion made a circuitous trip to Round

Grove by way of a ferry near Kaw's mouth where the column crossed the Missouri. From there the command marched 25 miles to the Grove where they met with the trade caravan moving southwest from Independence. Remarking on the last leg of the trip, Otis Young concluded that the "twenty five miles was a respectable figure, and nearly twice as far as oxen were thought capable of going."<sup>50</sup>

Leaving Round Grove on June 12, the escort preceded the caravan captained by Charles Bent. Without incident, the entourage arrived at the Upper Crossing of the Arkansas River on July 9. There, the escort remained in camp as the caravan crossed the Arkansas and proceeded south into Mexican territory. With the caravan was a yoke of oxen loaned to Bent. Bent observed that the oxen performed better than horses or mules in the absence of water. Young stated, "Bent simply was interested in learning whether he could not replace his expensive horses and mules with cheaper oxen."

The caravan returned to the Arkansas on October 12, and two days later the caravan and escort began the return trip to Missouri. En route, the traders complained that the escort was moving too far in a single day and they had trouble keeping pace. At the Little Arkansas River, the traders split into small groups and proceeded on without escort. Riley's command continued on the Santa Fe Trail to a point east of 110 Mile Creek where they turned northeast to cross the Kansas River and marched on to Leavenworth, arriving at the cantonment on November 8.<sup>51</sup> The performance of the oxen was earlier assessed by an unidentified officer of Riley's battalion, "Since we have traveled upon the prairie, we have made good progress for our ox teams—some days twenty-five miles. . . many officers of the command thought the ox teams could not perform the trip; but I had great confidence in them, and we now find some days, it troubles the traders with their mule teams to keep up with us."<sup>52</sup>

Charles Bent was equally impressed. In 1831, he conducted a caravan to Santa Fe, all of the wagons drawn by oxen.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently,



the number of oxen employed in the Santa Fe trade grew in great numbers. As Josiah Gregg reported, "Since that time, upon an average about half the wagons in the expeditions have been drawn by oxen."<sup>54</sup> In his 1839 expedition, Gregg wrote that the caravan was made up of "fourteen road-wagons, half drawn by mules, the others by oxen."<sup>55</sup> Such a pattern would extend through the genesis of the Mexican War in 1846. Prior to that date, caravans were, in the main, composed of several proprietors, each of which opted for the draft animals of his choice.

The war with Mexico produced a decided change in Santa Fe Trail traffic. The tons upon tons of supplies needed for troops in the Southwest were transported via the Santa Fe Trail by the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department with miserable results. The army had little experience with overland freighting and thus their teams and teamsters performed in a most unacceptable manner. Realizing that the military was ill-equipped for such freighting, the army began to contract with large freighting companies for the transportation of materiel and supplies. These companies chose to use oxen or mules exclusively; but soon, most of the animals employed by the huge firms were oxen.<sup>56</sup>

Half of the civilian trade on the Santa Fe Trail by the early 1840s had come under the control of Mexican merchants.<sup>58</sup> Mexican domination of the civilian trade continued through the 1860s and 1870s when the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division (later Kansas Pacific Railway) and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad rendered obsolete the huge freighting firms such as Russell, Majors and Waddell. In their place, forwarding companies such as Ortero, Sellar and Company contracted with freighters of less magnitude to deliver merchandise from the various railheads to Santa Fe and other points in the Southwest. In turn, the same freighters delivered Santa Fe goods to the railheads. By way of example, Morris Taylor reported that from West Las Animas, Colorado Territory, "In one week of July 1874, 182,863 pounds of wool were shipped from there, and the average shipment of hides was given as 87,000 pounds."<sup>58</sup> Like the

Americans, the Mexicans had come to prefer the ox as their primary beast of burden. Though accounts of Mexican oxen do not frequently appear in American records, William Bell in 1867 reported one such narrative. "From Salina to Fort Harker our course took us along the traveled road to Denver and New Mexico, and plenty of company we had on the way. At every mile or so we would pass long ox-trains heavily laden with goods (I have counted as many as eighty wagons in a train), and if we found the bad roads difficult, how much worse was the traveling for them! Each wagon carrying from 6,000 lbs. to 8,000 lbs., would be drawn by eight, sometimes ten, yoke of oxen, which number would require about three 'bull-whackers' (generally swarthy Mexicans) 'to help them along,' with their heavy leather thongs. When one of these wagons stuck fast in a gulley, it was amusing to see the enormous amount of brute force which was applied to pull it out. The oxen from two of the wagons which had passed safely across would be attached to the one in difficulties, making a continuous string of from eighteen to twenty yoke. To accomplish even this, usually required an amount of swearing and torturing on the part of the drivers which would be startling to the nerves of most men not reared on the plains. When all was ready, and a dozen 'bull-whackers' had taken their places along each side of the line of oxen, a frightful shout would fill the air, followed by the fierce cracking of whips on the devoted hides, and the usual chorus of endearing terms. The poor oxen, thus goaded on to madness, would give one tremendous tug, the usual finale of which used to be, not in the least to move the wagon, but to break the thick iron chain which fastened all together. As we retired out of sight over the brow of the next undulation of the plain, we would usually leave our Mexican friends trying in vain to stop the loosened string of oxen (who could not be persuaded they were not dragging something), preparatory to going through the whole process again."<sup>59</sup>

A similar story was told by P. G. Scott, who secured passage with Dolore Pathea's caravan from Kit Carson to Trinidad, Colorado, in

1870. Scott's diary entry of Saturday, August 30 reads as follows. "Started from Carson at 7 o'clock, and in one half hour came to a sandy bottom where there were several mule teams stuck, but by dint of whipping and shouting they got through. In our train, they put nine yoke of oxen to one wagon, but it took a great deal of shouting in their own Mexican lingo, and a great deal of cracking of these terrible bullock whips before we got through. The 'lash' of their whips is about 12 to 14 feet long and the handle about two feet with a buckskin cracker and the crack of them is like a pistol going off. These fellows can swing their whips round their heads and strike a terrible blow."<sup>60</sup>

Without question, by the time of Scott's journey, most Mexican freighters and their American counterparts had come to view the ox as their preferred draft animal. As early as 1860, the Seth M. Hays Company recorded that from May 24 to October 1 the numbers of oxen and mules "passing west" through Council Grove were as follows: mules, 5,819; oxen 22,738.<sup>61</sup> Five years later, Charles Withington reported that from May 21 to November 25, 1865, 38,281 oxen as compared to 6,452 mules crossed his toll bridge at 142 Mile Creek in present Lyon County, Kansas.<sup>62</sup> Thus, at that date, oxen outnumbered mules at the rate of more than six to one. Such is testimony to the persistent plodding beasts, without which the story of the Santa Fe Trail might well be told from a different perspective.

#### Notes

1. Robert West Howard, *The Wagonmen* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1964), 23-24, 147.
2. Henry Pickering Walker, *The Wagonmaster* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 107.
3. Winifred Blevins (comp.), *The Wordsworth Dictionary of the American West* (Hertfordshire, England: Wordsworth Editions Ltd. Cumberland House, 1995), 163.
4. Walker, *Wagonmasters*, 107.
5. Thomas F. Burns, "The Town of Wilmington and the Santa Fe Trail," *Kansas State Historical Society Transactions*, 6 (1900): 599.
6. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 25.
7. David Clapsaddle, "Did You Know?," *Traces*, 6 (Summer 1993): 3.
8. From a conversation with Michael Burdett, DVM, August 10, 2007, Larned, Kan-

sas.

9. Furniture in this context is an archaic term for a set of fittings or necessary equipment.
10. Eliot Wiggins (ed.), "Making an Ox Yoke," *Foxfire 2* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), 112-117.
11. Tom C. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations By Which To Conduct Wagon Trains Drawn By Oxen On The Plains* (Kansas City: Commercial Advertised Job Rooms, 1866), 9; Eggenhoffen, *Wagons, Mules, and Men* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1961), 109, has a sketch of three different types of keys.
12. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 147. The dimensions for the chain were taken from one in the author's personal collection.
13. Mark L. Gardner, *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 10.
14. *Ibid.*, 144.
15. Howard, *Wagonmen*, 32-33.
16. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 11.
17. James R. Mead, *Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains 1859-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 46-47.
18. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 12.
19. Howard, *Wagonmen*, 26; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 36.
20. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 10.
21. Eggenhoffen, *Wagons, Mules, and Men*, 109, has a nice sketch of an adjustable yoke.
22. Walker, *Wagonmasters*, 110-111. Walker has a different take on breaking a green ox. He has him yoked with "an already broken steer."
23. *Ibid.*, 111.
24. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 26.
25. Walker, *Wagonmasters*, 111.
26. James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1966), 3. Coloring was also a practice of the U.S. Dragoons. Per company, the horses were variously colored roan, bay, black, etc. During the 1868-1869 winter campaign against the southern plains tribes, Lt. Col. George A. Custer revived the practice. Capt. Albert Barnitz reported that all company commanders were ordered "to exchange horses so as to secure a uniformity of colors in each company." Robert M. Utley (ed.), *Life in Custer's Cavalry* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 204.
27. Gardner, *Wagons*, 9.
28. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 9-10.
29. The phenomenon was also called "cold hitch-hot-hitch."
30. Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1966), 175.
31. Cranmer, *Rules and Regulations*, 25.
32. *Ibid.*, 26.
33. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 44.
34. *Ibid.*, 45.
35. R. M. Wright, "Personal Reminiscences of Frontier Life in Southwest Kansas," *KSHS Transactions*, 7, (1902): 48.
36. Jane Leconte, *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, and Greenhorn* (Norman: University of

Oklahoma Press, 1978), 192.

37. Walker, *Wagonmasters*, 109.
38. *Ibid.*, 106-107.
39. Donald Chaput, Francis X. Aubry, *Trader and Trailmaker in the Southwest* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975), 71.
40. Walker, *Wagonmasters*, 103.
41. *Ibid.*, 106.
42. *Ibid.*, 107-108.
43. Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 97.
44. *Ibid.*, 105.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 110.
47. Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, *Santa Fe Trail First Reports* (Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1960), 61.
48. Kate L. Gregg (ed.), *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 34-76, 105-111.
49. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 24.
50. Otis E. Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952), 71-86.
51. *Ibid.*, 148-163.
52. Stephen G. Hyslop, *Bound for Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 113.
53. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 207.
54. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 24-25.
55. *Ibid.*, 229.
56. Gardner, *Wagons*, 7.
57. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 134.
58. Morris Taylor, *First Mail West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 164.
59. William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace Publishers, 1965), 26-27.
60. P. G. Scott, "Diary of a Freight Trip from Kit Carson to Trinidad in 1870," *Colorado Magazine*, 4 (July 1931): 146-147.
61. John D. Cruise, "Early Days on the Union Pacific," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 11 (1909-1910): 533.
62. Mamie Stine Sharp, "Homecoming Centennial Celebration at Council Grove, June 27 to July 2, 1921," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 16 (1923-1925), 554.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR WAGON TRAINS

THE 28-page booklet, Tom Cranmer's *Rules and Regulations, by which to Conduct Wagon Trains (Drawn by Oxen on the Plains)*, 1866, has been reprinted by the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter and is available from Last Chance Store, PO Box 3, Woodston KS 67675 for \$2 postpaid. This is a rare and informative item, including the duties of wagon master, his assistant, teamsters, night herders, and others.

## LORETTO MARKER DEDICATION

(continued from page 1)

The names of two other sisters who started the journey from Kentucky in 1852 should also be remembered: Mother Matilda Mills died of cholera on the riverboat Kansas near Independence, Missouri, and Monica Bailey, also suffering from cholera, had to remain in Independence for a later caravan. Before the arrival of the railroad, other Sisters of Loretto traversed the Trail in 1855, 1858, and 1867. On the 1867 journey, young Sister Alphonsa Thompson died. Her remains are still being sought by her grand niece, Dr. Alice Anne Thompson. Dr. Thompson's new book about that 1867 journey, *American Caravan*, is now available through the Last Chance Store.

The Scenic Historic Marker Program was initiated in 2006 by Pat French, Beverly Duran, and Alexis Girard of the New Mexico Women's Forum. It was through their efforts that Governor Bill Richardson and the New Mexico Legislature appropriated funds to prepare and install the markers. There are 53 additional markers honoring women still to be placed in the State. The Sisters of Loretto marker is the first.

## 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.

In "Territory," Sister Cecily Jones, SL, speaks as a persona, creating the voice of another Sister of Loretto, Mother Magdalen Hayden, who traveled the Trail in 1852 with other members of the order to establish schools in New Mexico. Sister Cecily Jones constructs a prayer and a meditation about "heading out to the territory," skillfully turning her poem on both meanings of the word "territory."

On the one hand, "territory"



means land charted, terrain under the jurisdiction of a government and thus known; so the speaker knows place as "settlements on meandered roads," the seasonable stability of "a sketch of redbud in the spring," and the "roof" of tree branches as her geography.

On the other hand, "territory" means land uncharted, a geography of indeterminate extent. So the speaker quavers before the "trackless sweep," and she prays for "some parcel not as vast as all the sky."

Of course, travelers sometimes entertain thoughts of death, when they step over the wide "horizons at the edge of the earth," embracing them as new "territory" and becoming one with "the journey till its end." In the end, the speaker prays for divine transformation. She requests the ability to measure her path, her "territory," her road, to map her journey "to scale" which she may measure in the "territory" of her heart. It is a fine tribute to those first Sisters of Loretto who traveled the Road to Santa Fe in 1852.

### Territory

by Sister Cecily Jones,  
Sisters of Loretto

(Reflections of Magdalen Hayden as she prepares to set out from Independence, Missouri, for the Territory of New Mexico, August 1, 1852)

What do I know of territory, God?  
My geography holds counties, states,  
settlements along meandered roads  
and the way a creek can carve a  
boundary.

It's not the role of leading that I dread  
but the tease of wondering  
and the fear of no cartography.

Territory troubles me  
so I seek maps and compasses  
and all the tools of certainty from you  
because the trackless sweep ahead  
almost overwhelms my heart.

Transform the territory into acreage  
that I can grasp: land or district, area,  
some parcel not as vast as all the sky.  
I know Missouri rivers, Kentucky knobs,  
a sketch of redbud in the spring,  
trees whose branches roof a road  
in atlas of dimensions I can measure.

O God, convert immensity to scale  
more the size that I can calculate,  
the way fences can be charted  
or garden plots or a stand of cedars.  
Transform the journey till its end  
when horizons at the edges of the  
earth

become the territory of my heart.

## TRAIL PAST AND PRESENT

(continued from page 1)

accommodating, agreed.

The afternoon before the Symposium opened, a few of us got together to do a little ad hoc preliminary planning for the upcoming organizational meeting. Looking back now, I see that the date for that little powwow was September 11, 1986. Of course, that date held no special significance for us then.

Besides myself and Joy Poole, Leo Oliva from Kansas was there and so was the late Merrill Mattes of the Oregon-California Trail Association and Jere Krakow of the National Park Service, along with a couple of others.

Our main point of discussion involved the steps that would be necessary to found a viable association. It so happened that Leo Oliva in a rash moment volunteered to edit and publish a quarterly newsletter. So, in that moment *Wagon Tracks* was born, I'm sure that Leo had no idea that twenty-one years hence he would be back here with twenty-one volumes of that quarterly under his belt.

I hope everyone in this hall is aware that without our superb periodical, the Association could not have survived, to these many years. For *Wagon Tracks*, much honored and often copied in content and format by other new trail organizations, our *Wagon Tracks*, is the glue that holds us together.

Besides that, its backfile—those twenty-one volumes preserved in libraries—will forever remain a major repository and contribution to the history of the Trail.

I should add, too, that in the struggle to produce *Wagon Tracks* four times a year, Leo's wife and steadfast helpmate Bonita Oliva has been there, slaving in the trenches. So, both are deserving of our heartfelt thanks.

Another person I need to mention, who dates from that first Symposium in 1986, is Ruth Olson Peters. I single her out because Ruth is the only person who became an officer then and to this day, in an unbroken term of service, is still on the job, at the moment holding down the position of treasurer. She is little short of

a phenomenon and SFTA owes a great deal to her, for which we extend her a hearty thank you.

Now I wish to acknowledge one of the premier figures in the entire modern "national trails movement" and perhaps also our most eccentric member.

That could be none other than Gregory M. Franzwa, formerly of St. Louis, then of Tucson for many years, and more recently a resident of Utah. Greg is known as the author of a number of books on western trails, and he also happens to be one of the fiercest advocates of trail preservation. And I might add that in his dedication as an activist he is not afraid to step on toes.

I first got to know Greg in 1983 when I attended the charter conference of the newly-formed Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA), which convened in Independence. Behind the scenes, Greg was a major force in launching the organization.

His influence became critical for us in the spring of 1986. At that time there was a bill pending in Congress to designate the Santa Fe Trail as a National Historic Trail under jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

The bill was meeting with some problems and there existed no citizen advocacy group to marshal support for it. Our first Santa Fe Trail Symposium here in Trinidad was still six months in the future.

Well, Greg Franzwa persuaded OCTA and his fellow Octogenarians to take up the slack and send a delegation to Washington to lobby in congressional halls on behalf of the Santa Fe Trail bill. So OCTA out of its meager treasury ponied up \$2,500 to dispatch such a delegation to lobby, not on behalf of funds for its own trail, but rather on behalf of the Santa Fe Trail. And that was mainly Greg's doing.

Initially, the whole delegation was made up of Oregon-California Trail folks, including their president. But Greg thought they needed somebody from one of the Santa Fe Trail states to lend credibility to their efforts. Therefore, he contacted me and lured me to Washington, all expenses paid, to join in winning over Congress.

In the end, we were successful, the

Santa Fe Trail bill passed and was signed by President Ronald Reagan in May 1987.

Now I can tell you as an eyewitness that Greg Franzwa had proved to be one tough bulldog of a lobbyist. By contrast, I personally found the whole experience unnerving, frustrating, and intimidating. Or to put it mildly, I was not very effective.

To this day, Greg relates anecdotes about my failures in that line. Sometimes he's been known to mention them in print, and I'll have to confess that I'm a little embarrassed when I read his words.

And yet, I cannot fault Greg because everything he says about my monumental ineptitude as a congressional lobbyist, every bit of it, is absolutely true.

Anyway, back in 1986, as acting president, I handed out our first batch of Awards of Merit to people who had benefited the Santa Fe Trail in some notable manner. One of those Awards went to Greg Franzwa, who couldn't be present. So afterward, I had to mail it to him.

He intended to be with us today, but once more circumstances intervened and he could not. I had planned to present him with a proclamation honoring his many accomplishments in the service of the Santa Fe Trail. Therefore, with history repeating itself, I'll be mailing him this award.

To wind up my narrative of SFTA's founding: Our first Symposium here in Trinidad turned out to be a resounding success. The Colorado Historical Society expected about 50 people to show up, mostly scholars and museum employees. But what happened?

Some 250 registrants were on hand opening day. What a shocker! Most of them were ordinary individuals from the five Trail states who had long nourished an interest in, and even a passion for, Trail history, but didn't have anyone in their own vicinity with whom to share that interest.

Thus when this opportunity arose, you came out of the woodwork, traveled to Trinidad, and here reveled in a program of lectures, panels, tours, and special events. Then you returned home and spread the word that something new and exciting had

burst upon the trail scene.

I know that quite a few of our charter members who were present in 1986 are back with us this morning. Could I see a show of hands, just to give us a visual idea of the numbers?

Thank you.

Unfortunately, so many of our staunch and dedicated charter members have passed on in the twenty-one years that followed our founding. But I know for a fact that the lives of nearly all of them were greatly enriched and brightened by their participation in the Santa Fe Trail Association.

I know that because they told me so. They took pride in attempting to attend every Symposium, and just as soon as we got the chapters up and running, they hurried to support them.

The real work between Symposiums, of course, goes on in the chapters. That's where the action is. They are the backbone of the Association. And I heartily commend everyone who has joined and supported their local chapters.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the past presidents, including the current one, Joanne VanCoevern, for picking up the baton and pushing the Association forward during their terms of office. From the vantage point of 2007, SFTA's future continues to look bright.

Thus far, I have been reflecting upon the first twenty-one years of our grand organization. But now I want to turn to the past and make some observations about the glorious, exciting, romantic, and sometimes tragic history of that splendid entity known as the old Santa Fe Trail. For after all, that's why we have come to Trinidad, isn't it? To get to know that Trail a little better?

For this part of my keynote, I want to take as my theme some words inscribed on a sundial that once stood at the end of the Santa Fe Trail. In fact, it was located in the center of the old plaza at Santa Fe.

As near as I can tell, only one person ever mentioned in writing the existence of that sundial, even though hundreds of people who came in over the Trail must have seen it.

The one man who wrote about it

was not even an American. He was Antonio Barreiro, a young Mexico City lawyer who was sent 1,600 miles up the Camino Real to serve as legal advisor for the Mexican provincial governor at Santa Fe.

Now, most upper-class people in Mexico City at that time thought of New Mexico as a wasteland inhabited by rough country bumpkins. Antonio Barreiro initially may have had that negative view. But not for long because he was soon becharmed by rustic Santa Fe and by the equally rustic New Mexicans.

And they seemed to like him too, perhaps because he was no stuffed shirt putting on big city airs.

One of the few things we know about his activities in Santa Fe was that he wrote and published in 1832 a descriptive account of New Mexico's land, people, and economy. It's one of the best accounts from a Mexican source we have of that era.

From Barreiro's writing, we know that he was mightily impressed by what he called "the brisk commerce with North America," by which he meant the United States. By the time he first set foot on the plaza, the international Santa Fe trade opened by William Becknell of Missouri was just a decade old. Yet, already business was humming.

As Barreiro said: "This commerce is carried on by regularly scheduled caravans which arrive at Santa Fe in July. These caravans are composed of 90 to 100 wagons loaded to capacity with merchandise."

With all that traffic, you can see why he might have been excited when viewing the entry of those enormous wagon caravans into Santa Fe.

Now, with this background let me read you Antonio Barreiro's sundial reference, which is what I've been preparing you for. "In the center of the plaza," he says, "set on an adobe base about 3 yards high is a rock sundial which is the only public clock to guide the authorities and their employees. It was constructed by Gov. Antonio Narbona (1825-1827). The following maxim or saying is inscribed upon it: *Vita fugit sicut umbra.*"

That inscription in Latin given us by the young lawyer translates as: "Life fleeth like a shadow."



Years ago when I first ran upon Barreiro's description of the sundial, I wanted to learn more about it. I thought surely it was unusual enough that some Missouri merchant, ox drover, or mule skinner coming up the Trail would have taken note of it in his journal or memoirs.

And then there were all the soldiers who marched over the Trail from Fort Leavenworth with General Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West in 1846, the first year of the Mexican War. Many of them wrote up their experiences, but as near as I can tell none of them spoke of the plaza sundial.

Actually, by 1846 I think it likely that the sundial was gone, perhaps demolished by Governor Mariano Martínez in 1844 when he redesigned and rehabilitated the plaza. In any case, what is of interest to me is the inscription: "Life fleeth like a shadow." It turns out that line comes from the Old Testament, the Book of Job to be exact.

Now I doubt that Governor Narbona who constructed the sundial knew Latin, since he was a professional soldier. Which makes me think that the priest in the large church just off the plaza was undoubtedly the one who selected the inscription right out of the Latin Bible. And certainly no more fitting words from scripture could have been placed on a town clock than these: "Life fleeth like a shadow."

From a purely religious perspective, those words remind the individual to get his spiritual house in order, for at any moment he might be summoned to face his maker.

Even apart from the religious connotation, the maxim from the sundial reminds us that in reality the years dissolve behind us like butter melting on a griddle and we should make good use of every precious moment.

Some of you may remember a popular country-and-western song of the 1970s titled "How Time Slips Away." The idea there is the same as that on the sundial. You charter members who were on this campus in 1986 and raised your hands a few minutes ago to identify yourselves are probably wondering where the last twenty-one years went and mar-

veling that our return and this anniversary came so quickly.

I know I'm wondering because that first Symposium seems to have occurred last year and even just last month. Yes, how time slips away. And life fleeth like a shadow.

At this point I'd like to call attention to a couple of people who traveled the Santa Fe Trail in the old days and in the old way. And I want to report on statements they made after their journeys were over and after the hardships, discomforts, and dangers they experienced had begun to fade from memory.

It's a curious phenomenon, and many of you have noticed this, that people in their golden years tend to look back on the past as being far rosier than it really was. That seems to be a natural human tendency.

In the case of the men and women who braved the Santa Fe Trail, I think the fond memories they often maintained late in life sprang from the excitement and joy they once felt in being part of an important chapter in western history.

To that was added their recollection of the camaraderie among travelers, the beauty of unspoiled landscape, their heightened senses necessitated by living in constant peril, or in summary, out there on the Trail those people had felt truly and completely alive.

Remembrance of that stayed with them, long after the adventure was over and they were confined to their rocking chairs.

Josiah Gregg expressed the matter eloquently in his classic account of the overland trade, *Commerce of the Prairies*, published in 1844. Writing about his first Trail trip made in 1831, he declared: "The effects of this journey begat in me a passion for prairie life I never expect to survive."

In other words, he was saying that he got hooked on the Trail or prairie life and thought he would never get over it. And he didn't. Because much later in his life, he confessed:

"Scarcely a day passes without my experiencing a pang of regret that I'm not now roving at large upon those western plains." It sounds as if he would have liked to turn back the fast-moving clock. Doesn't it sound that way to you?

Starting with Josiah Gregg, peo-

ple thereafter would cast a backward glance in their old age and express a feeling of nostalgic loss because it was all over-gone with the winds of vanished years, the Trail seemingly gone in the twinkling of an eye. Oh, how fast the time had flown by!

The person who best caught the true spirit of the Trail was Marian Sloan Russell, a figure closely identified in her later years with Trinidad.

Not long ago, the *Smithsonian Magazine* in a Santa Fe Trail article referred to Marian Sloan Russell as "the best known woman to have traveled the trail." Actually, Bonita and Leo Oliva had made that same observation as early as 1993 in an article published in *Wagon Tracks*.

Marian's name was not yet famous back in 1978 when I made my first complete trip over the Trail from Santa Fe to the original trail head at Franklin, Missouri. Then, her magnificent book of memoirs, called *Land of Enchantment*, published 1954 in a small edition, this charming book had become buried and forgotten. That was the situation I found in 1978.

But then three years later, the University of New Mexico Press (1981) brought out a new edition of *Land of Enchantment*. For it I was privileged to add an Afterword, extolling the value and virtues of the book. Its sudden availability made Marian Russell visible and led to her current celebrity status.

In print, I've described Marian's reminiscences as having a lyrical quality that serves as a tribute to the Santa Fe Trail and its era. Her entire life, as is plainly evident in the book, was clearly shaped by her early-day connection with that Trail.

After all, little Marian Sloan was only seven years old when she started out on the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth with her mother Eliza and older brother Will. That was to be the first of a number of journeys that lasted into her teens when she married Lieutenant Richard Russell at Fort Union. Afterward, the couple ran a store at Tecolote on the Trail below Las Vegas. Then they settled in the Stonewall Valley west of Trinidad, went to ranching, and raised a large family.

Marian in her late 80s dictated her book to a daughter-in-law Winni-

fred Russell, and in recalling her youth she says: "My life as I look back seems to have been lived best in those days on the trail."

Josiah Gregg himself couldn't have said it better. And of her family, Marian adds later: "The blue sky above us was bread and meat for our souls. The trail had become our point of outlook upon the universe."

Hyperbole? Or a reflection of true and deeply felt sentiment? Take your choice, but only decide after you have read Marian's entire book.

Now here's an interesting thing. In early summer of 1932, Winnifred Russell drove Marian over the Trail from Trinidad to Santa Fe so her mother-in-law could revisit places she had known in her youth.

They stopped at the ruins of Fort Union, not yet a National Monument as it is today, and then went on to Tecolote to see the old Russell store, now a collapsed ruin.

In time the two ladies reached Trail's end and the wide-eyed Marian exclaimed: "Santa Fe has grown larger!" Much indeed had changed, especially on the plaza.

Marian Russell, however, could remember when as a child she had walked hand-in-hand there with Kit Carson. And in a corner of the plaza, she pointed and said to Winnifred: "I once saw Capt. Aubry sit in that very spot reading a large newspaper."

F. X. Aubry was the Santa Fe Trail's famous long-distance horseback rider, setting incredible records riding between Santa Fe and Independence. He also happened to have been the man in charge of the wagon train that brought Marian, her mother, and brother to Santa Fe on their first trip.

The local press in 1932 ran a notice on Marian's revisitation of Santa Fe after so long a time. It said that she had first seen the city in 1852 and suggested that she was thus one of the last living Trail travelers from the 1850s:

Marian never saw the sundial with its inscription in the center of the plaza, since it was gone by the time she came on the scene as a child. But the emotions that overcame her there on the Santa Fe plaza in 1932 were certainly in line with the Latin words: *Vita fugit sicut umbra*. Life fleeth like a shadow.

We guess that from a statement she made to Winnifred upon returning home, words that were included in her published memoirs. Reflecting back on her brief visit to the Santa Fe plaza, she declared: "Old memories drifted about me like dead leaves in an autumn wind."

Our beloved Marian Sloan Russell never got to see her life story in print. I've always thought that the manner of her death was filled with supreme irony.

On December 24, 1936, she was struck by an automobile in downtown Trinidad, right on or very close to the Santa Fe Trail that had been such a defining influence in her life. Having survived hazards innumerable on the old Trail, she fell victim at last to the motor car that more than anything else defined the NEW AGE. Marian died in the hospital on Christmas Day 1936 at age 90.

When we follow the Trail today or when we read accounts of the original travelers, the Santa Fe Trail is resurrected in our mind's eye and thereby it lives again. That can happen even at this Symposium as you listen and learn, as you compare notes with others who have been over the Trail, or it can happen on tours to historic Trail sites that are part of this program.

In doing these things, you can relive some of the thrills of the old Santa Fe Trail and help insure that its memory never dies.

On this campus and from this same podium more than two decades ago, I closed my first keynote address to you with those now familiar words that continue to echo from the fleeting past. And so it seems fitting that I close, uttering those same words once more: **THE SANTA FE TRAIL LIVES ON!**

## 2007 SYMPOSIUM REPORT

by Wyvonne Graham

*[Wyvonne Graham, Trinidad, CO, is director of the Mountain Route Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway. She is a member of Bent's Fort Chapter and served on the symposium planning committee. Thank you Wyvonne for a thorough report on an outstanding symposium.]*

ON September 27-30, 2007, near to 300 avid Trail enthusiasts, locals, and volunteers gathered on Colo-

rado's Santa Fe Trail in Trinidad for the biennial Santa Fe Trail Association Symposium, "Where the Mountain Branch Crosses the Purgatoire." Bent's Fort Chapter presented the return of the inaugural 1986 symposium to Trinidad, celebrating the first two decades of the SFTA.

The symposium was lucrative for all. The SFTA reported that this symposium brought in more money than any other in the history of their symposiums. Bent's Fort Chapter and Trinidad businesses received a very welcome boost to their economy as well. Shop keepers, museums, art galleries, restaurants, and motels reported their businesses boomed during the event and many would like to see similar events held regularly. Symposium goers were enticed to come back to the beginning where the first symposium was held in the style and grace the old Trail deserves. Partners for the event worked in perfect harmony to provide an outstanding venue and wide variety of activities which would satisfy the appetite for this elite gathering of heritage travelers from many states. The Trail is revered by all who work to protect and promote its resources.

Trinidad State Junior College provided the facilities of their beautiful historic campus as the hub of all of the symposium activities. Exhibits, lunches, and registration were conducted at the general purpose room and student cafeteria. Lectures and presentations were held in the Masari Theatre. Their parking facilities were where visitors loaded up and unloaded for the daily bus tours. An enormous thank you goes out to this institution for providing this facility to us for no charge, just as they did for the first symposium in 1986. The event would have not have been possible without TSJC contributions, and our success is rooted to their generous support.

Trinidad Chamber of Commerce had a beautiful commemorative throw created for the event and still has some available for sale. Call 719-846-9285 to order one of these lovely throws for an outstanding gift or a treasured memory. You can also purchase a symposium T-shirt or sweat shirt from A. R. Mitchell Art Museum, 719-846-4224.

The incredible booklet which sym-



posium participants received was written by Richard Loudon, and sketches were added by J.R. Gilstrap and Willard Loudon. Willard also created the striking logo which was used to brand symposium materials. The Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway (one of America's Byways and a Colorado State Scenic Byway) created the posters, ads, and layouts for symposium booklets.

Exhibits at Trinidad State Junior College were represented by SFTA's Last Chance Bookstore, Bent's Fort Chapter, End of the Trail Chapter, and Wet/Dry Routes Chapter, National Parks Service from Santa Fe and Bent's Old Fort, NPS Long Distance Trails Division, America's Byways, Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway—Mountain Branch, the Santa Fe Trail Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Trinidad Chamber of Commerce, Trinidad Las Animas County Economic Development, Raton Chamber of Commerce, Daisy of a Hat, Colorado Preservation Inc., Piñon Canyon Opposition Coalition, U.S. Postal Service, and various authors and artists of the Santa Fe Trail, including Mary Peace Finley, Mark Simmons, Sister P. J. Manion, Alice Anne Thompson, and Santa Fe Trail photographer Ronald Dulle. These exhibits and booths were the perfect complement to other educational activities. Hand-made Victorian hats added fun and flare to exhibits and social gatherings. Books and blankets, brochures and bones were displayed, including an outstanding array of authentic Santa Fe Trail artifacts and art.

Thursday activities marked the beginning of the bus tours—a very popular tour was conducted by the US Army Piñon Canyon Maneuver Containment Area. PCMCA has been the focus of attention in the media for the last year as a targeted area for expansion of the Fort Carson training program. Despite this controversy, the US Army provided tours of America's treasured past and protected sites on the Santa Fe Trail.

The tour guides were well qualified and did an outstanding job on these tours. Visitors explored traces of Santa Fe Trail ruins, stagecoach stops, historic ranches, and saw American Indian rock art and dwell-

ing sites which few have the privilege to see. We are grateful for this rare opportunity the Army provided symposium goers.

Thursday night the Trinidad History Museum (a Colorado Historical Society property) gave a welcome reception for our visitors. The reception offered visitors hors d'oeuvres with a taste of Southwestern fair and a sampling of Santa Fe Trail local culture. *Colores del Tiempo*, a children's group, performed traditional Mexican folk dancing in the Baca courtyard. Kit Carson's buckskin coat is on display at this unique museum. The complex provides a Santa Fe Trail and Scenic Byway visitors center, museum bookstore and gift shop, Santa Fe Trail Museum, Baca House, Bloom Mansion, carriage house, and lovely Victorian gardens. These landmark homes, local treasures, and lovely gardens make the museum a great place to spend the day.

Friday all day, the Trinidad History Museum presented "Harvesting History: A Santa Fe Trail Kids Camp." More than 300 children from area elementary schools harvested vegetables from the Baca Kitchen Garden and sampled hardtack, beef jerky, and hands-on adobe brick making. Living-history reenactor Jeff Trotman presented activities and shared his knowledge about traditional clothing and gear used by Trail traders. Children enjoyed Trail music and danced to the Virginia Reel to top off the day.

During the course of the event, symposium goers were provided a wide array of cultural traditions and historically-themed visitor experiences. The Gallery Crawl of museums, shops, and galleries all featured themes which reflect the Santa Fe Trail and its culture.

Participants sampled wine, hors d'oeuvres, and the Santa Fe Trail's growing artistic community in Trinidad. Special shows included the Corazon Gallery, First Street Gallery, AR Mitchell Museum, Terra Cotta Sun, Eagle Totem, John Finch Gallery, Original Townsite Fine Art Gallery, Purgatoire River Trading Co., and Lori-Lyn's.

Doug Holdread conducted a tour of the recently-completed Purgatoire Riverwalk which showcased historic

markers, rocky bluffs, nearby mountains, native plants, and wildlife. Visitors journeyed through time and revisited Kearny's Encampment under the umbrella of old cottonwoods near the end of the Riverwalk.

Some visitors took advantage of the self-guided walking tours of El Corazon de Trinidad National Historic District. The old West comes alive through the interpretive signs placed amid opulent 100-year-old buildings and 6.5 miles of winding brick streets. Many visitors took the free Trinidad Trolley Rides which left the Colorado Welcome Center hourly.

Old Fire House No. 1 Children's Museum featured Trinidad's old jail and school house and the Loudon-Henritze Archaeology Museum at TSJC highlighted the prehistoric travelers and American Indians of the Santa Fe Trail. Did you know that North America's largest Dinosaur track site is located just east of Trinidad at Picket Wire Canyonlands on Comanche National Grassland which is managed by the US Forest Service? Guided four-wheel-drive tours are available in the spring and fall each year. Tours fill up so reservations are advised: 719-384-2181.

Each Friday and Saturday morning symposium goers learned about the people and history of Santa Fe Trail's Mountain Route from a wide variety of presentations. Roberta Cordova began with the welcome and introductions to Trinidad. Marc Simmons, keynote speaker, presented a talk about "The Santa Fe Trail Past and Present." Lolly Ming presented a talk entitled "Granada and the Fort Union Military Freight Route." Paul Andrews shared his story of the Felipe Baca family. Harry Myers presented the foibles encountered by various personalities on the Mountain Route. Susan Boyle talked about the "Mexican Culture, Packing and the Santa Fe Trail, 1825-1845." Brenda Kaye Todd shared her Master's research about the stories of four men who were buried near the Santa Fe Trail at Fort Union, 1863-1872.

Diana Dunn presented a story about "Yankee Pioneer Families" who settled in Trinidad, and she followed up with a guided tour to three historic homes and two commercial

buildings affiliated with the Hatch, McCormick, Boice, Mitchell, McClure, and West families. The last stop on the tour was the Masonic Cemetery where Yankee pioneers are buried. Wrapping up the Trail Talks, Mark Gardner shared his knowledge about "Buffalo Hide Trade on the Santa Fe Trail."

The Military Freight Route tours highlighted Gray's Ranch, Bent's Ranch, the Goodnight-Loving Cattle Trail, Stockville, Emery Gap, Becknell's Route, Long's Route, the Maxwell Party Massacre, the toll gates of Metcalf, Gleason and Wootton, Ojo, Madison, Folsom site, Manco Burro Pass, and Willow Springs. Visitors had a social rest and relaxation moment at the scenic and history-soaked Loudon Ranch and visited the local Branson Gallery where the brothers show their work.

The Mountain Branch bus tours included stops at wagon ruts, stage-coach stops, watering holes, and a variety of historic sites. The Timpas stage stop highlighted a living-history presentation by staff of NPS Bent's Old Fort and featured an ox-drawn merchant wagon. Additional tour sites were Cottonwood Camping spot, Kit Carson Park, Hoehne wagon ruts, Hole in the Prairie, and Iron Spring. The final highlight of the tour was provided by Albuquerque New Mexico Archaeological Conservancy and included a tour of Hole in the Rock and the surrounding historic homesteads. We thank them and their managing site director and tour guide, Cathy Mullins, for this outstanding hospitality.

Friday's entertainment included a performance by local musician, Sam Bachicha, during the Cowboy Dinner at Kit Carson Park. We apologize for the lack of food and the flood which followed shortly after Kit Carson's g-g-grandson, John Carson, took the stage for his reenactment.

The old Trail's unpredictable fall weather showed up with a fantastic lightening and thunder display which cut everyone's fun short. As if this wasn't enough action—a shootout at a local hotel had some symposium damsels in distress well into the wee hours. They overslept and missed their Saturday tours. We are sorry for all of the uncivilized goings-on which may have affected the faint of heart—but that's life in the "Wild

West!" We thank all who helped gather everything and everyone up during the excitement. A special heartfelt thanks goes to each of you for taking care of each other during these unpredicted catastrophes. We all showed the kind of fellowship and pioneer spirit from which the Santa Fe Trail was built.

Saturday's dinner at Aultman Hall's Lucky Monkey was followed by the awards and a tearful thanks from the planning committee. (A recognition of awards presented was reported in the last *Wagon Tracks*.) Following the award presentations, Harry Myers provided a lighthearted Trail presentation. The evening was capped off by drawings and giveaways from area merchants and by period music performed by Mark Gardner and Rex Rideout.

The final tour, on Sunday, provided visitors an opportunity to explore the Stonewall area and its history. The tour started with a traditional Cowboy Dutch Oven Breakfast at the Colt Ranch. Noreen Riffe presented a heartfelt talk on her great-grandmother Marion Sloan Russell. Afterward, participants caravanned to the Stonewall Cemetery for a nondenominational graveside service at Marion (Sloan) and Richard Russell's grave. The tour was capped off with a caravan through the Russell's region and ended with heartfelt goodbyes and wishes for a safe return home for our visitors.

Additional sponsors of Symposium 2007 not already mentioned in the above story include Colorado Tourism Office, City of Trinidad Tourism Board, International State Bank, Pioneer Natural Resources, First National Bank, South Central Council of Governments, Daughters of the American Revolution-Santa Fe Trail Chapter, Black Jack's Saloon and Steak House, Trinidad/Las Animas Economic Development, Trinidad Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo Ranch, Palmer Oil Company, Roscover Realty, Graham Graphics, Hadad's Home Furnishings, KSF Strategic Services, Trinidad Historical Society, Colorado Welcome Center Ambassadors, Highway of Legends, Cedar Street Printing, and Tumbleweed Saddle-Signs & Embroidery. Their financial and moral support and volunteers

contributed to the success of this event and are greatly appreciated.

Symposium 2007 steering committee planners and volunteers listed alphabetically were Melissa Allen, Allen Bachoroski, Roy Boyd (deceased), Branson Community Church, John Carson, Larry Carnes, Richard Carrillo, Colorado Welcome Center Ambassadors, Roberta Cordova, Dub Couch, Tom Davis, Mary Ann and Roger Davis, Brad Doherty, Nancy Ellis, Faye Gaines, Wyvonne Graham, Jan and Weldon Graham, Mary Ellen Hadad, Doug Holdread, LaDonna and Charlie Hutton, Richard, Willard and Mary Ann Loudon, Paula Manini, Juliette Mondot, Cathy Mullins, Kim Pacheco, Pat Palmer, Pat Patrick, Joe Reorda III, Nancy Robertson, Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byways of Colorado and New Mexico, Stonewall Community Church, John Tarabino, Trinidad Historical Society, and Teresa Vila. We also thank the press for the public service announcements and press releases you published for us and helping us get the word out.

Additional thanks for the program funding provided in part by the National Park Service through the Challenge Cost Share Grant Program. We thank all of the above individuals and their families, nonprofit entities, and our governments. We appreciate all of your hard work, support, and sacrifices to make the return of this historic event to Trinidad a memorable one for all. Congratulations on the perfect orchestration of the return of the inaugural SFTA Symposium. The spirit of the Santa Fe Trail shines brightly on all of the above partners. We commend you for helping provide a perfect return to Trinidad for Symposium 2007! Hats off to Trinidad and its citizens for providing this ideal venue for Santa Fe Trail enthusiasts. We thank all who attended the symposium and invite them to return to "Where the Mountain Branch Crosses the Purgatoire" any old time.

## SFT BYWAY VISITOR SURVEY

by Wyvonne Graham

**T**HE Santa Fe Trail was designated a National Historic Trail in 1987. In 1992 it became a Colorado State Sce-



nic Byway and in 1998 a National Scenic Historic Byway, one of America's Byways. The Santa Fe Trail is one of 126 Byways in 44 states which are a collection of distinct and diverse roads based on their archaeological, cultural, historic, natural, recreational, and scenic qualities. America's Byways are gateways to adventures where no two experiences are the same.

The survey was conducted during the 2007 Symposium as part of a collaborative effort between Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway and Santa Fe Trail Association, funded in part by South Central Council of Governments and Colorado Tourism Office. The survey was given to 100 of the nearly 300 participants.

We are grateful to survey participants for their reviews and feedback about their visits to the Trail in Colorado. The information provided by this survey is invaluable and will be utilized by Santa Fe Trail stakeholders to support future endeavors.

The most important feature of the Santa Fe Trail visitor experience is the history. Educational interpretation of the area history is the most popular activity with Trail travelers. Visitors during the symposium felt that they were most satisfied with opportunities provided them to learn about the people. The next most satisfying experiences provided were the presence of wildlife in its natural habitat and the educational interpretation of area history. Equal in importance is availability of restrooms and safe drinking water, good roadways, clear informational and directional signs.

Most of the participants were well traveled and well educated about the five Santa Fe Trail states. We deduce that they used their knowledge to compare Colorado's Mountain Route portion of the Santa Fe Trail with other portions of the Trail in Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

Our roadways are safe and well maintained; 54% of respondents feel this is important. We will continue to work with our partners to maintain them and utilize resources in the region for biking events, special events, and tours.

Comanche National Grassland recently put a waterless toilet at Tim-

pas and it was needed. However an approaching informational sign would be helpful for travelers to inform them that it is there. There are currently no locations on the Byway between Trinidad and Timpas for restrooms. This long stretch of highway has no gas or stores either.

Stakeholders could look at utilizing Apishapa Wildlife or several other locations on the Byway in this stretch for adding another waterless toilet for travelers. Trash receptacles need to be added to our interpretational pull offs at mile marker 15 and Iron Spring.

The level of general knowledge of the Santa Fe Trail from respondents was excellent as would be expected with this particular group of visitors.

Not all visitors used the internet. The majority of people who do use the internet for trip planning used the Santa Fe Trail Association web site. Survey participant comments indicated that the information was not adequate. One third of those surveyed used the Byway web site and a smaller portion used the local Trinidad web sites, and finally an even smaller portion used the Colorado Tourism Office for trip planning.

Given the audience we have targeted, these results make sense with this group as the majority of visitors were members of the Santa Fe Trail Association.

The success or failure of the tourism industry at many destinations around the world largely depends on images held by potential travelers and the effective management of those images by the destination. The results of the present study show the efficiency of the Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway and the Santa Fe Trail Association to positively influence the perceptions which visitors have of the Santa Fe Trail. The results also prove the contribution of these organizations to enhance overall visitor experience and satisfaction.

Participants agreed that visitor services like restrooms and safe drinking water were just as important as good road ways. Clear directional and informational signs ranked fourth in importance. The Byway wasn't up to par with industry standards according to 23% of those surveyed. This is understand-

able as the entire town of Trinidad is undergoing an interstate bridge outage which redirected traffic to new detours through the back roads of Trinidad. Even locals were unaware of new closures and were at a loss when trying to redirect visitors to symposium event locations.

Byway stakeholders are working with CDOT to improve interstate access and directional and informational signs. With careful stakeholder planning over the next few years, we will be adding wayfinding signs tailored to meet our expanding heritage tourism needs.

Surveys like this will continue to assist in determining where we need improvements, help target areas for expansion and preservation, and help to guide visitors safely along the Santa Fe Trail.

Thanks to all who participated in the visitor satisfaction survey for your valued input. For more information about the survey, contact Wyvonne Graham, Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway Mountain Branch Director, <[www.santafe-trailco.org](http://www.santafe-trailco.org)>.

## SANTA FE TRAIL HALL OF FAME

**T**HE Santa Fe Trail Hall of Fame is "now open for business." The Hall of Fame Committee has developed a form for nominating individuals (insert in this issue). Currently the committee is seeking nominations for "individuals who traveled the historic Santa Fe Trail and/or made a significant contribution to the history of the Santa Fe Trail." A second category of nominees, to be developed later, will include persons who "have been significant in the study and preservation of the Santa Fe Trail." A complete report on the establishment of the Hall of Fame can be found in the May 2007 issue of *Wagon Tracks*.

The first round of those to be honored in the Hall of Fame will be inducted at the Rendezvous next September. The deadline for nominations is August 1, 2008. Additional nominations will be solicited annually. Questions can be directed to Mike Olsen, chair of the Hall of Fame Committee, at <[mpolsen1@comcast.net](mailto:mpolsen1@comcast.net)>. Mail nominations to Mike Olsen, 5643 Sonnet Heights, Colorado Springs CO 80918.

## PATROLLING THE SANTA FE TRAIL: REMINISCENCES OF JOHN S. KIRWAN

*[These reminiscences of John S. Kirwan were edited with an introduction by Merrill J. Mattes and published in the Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXI (Winter 1955): 569-587, and reprinted here with permission of the Kansas Historical Society editor. Special thanks are extended to the late Merrill Mattes, who assisted with the founding of SFTA, and to the Kansas Historical Society.]*

### Introduction

John S. Kirwan, a native of New Hampshire and son of Irish immigrants, was born in 1840. He joined the U.S. Army in 1858 and served with the First Cavalry along the Santa Fe Trail, 1859-1861. He later served as lieutenant colonel in the Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry during the Civil War and again saw service on the plains in 1865 when he established Camp Kirwan on the North Solomon River in present Phillips County, Kansas. That camp was occupied for only a few weeks. The town of Kirwin (misspelling of his name) was established near the site of the former military camp in 1871.

Kirwan apparently kept a diary during his years of military service, which he used to prepare the following memoirs for his family. Mattes obtained a copy of the reminiscences from Kirwan's granddaughter. John Kirwan died on his farm in Missouri in 1908. So far as can be determined, these reminiscences were published only once, in 1955.

### Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan

When I was a youngster, on the farm where I was raised on Lempster Mountain, Sullivan County, New Hampshire, I read a novel written by Charles Lever, called "Charles O'Malley, or the Irish Dragoon." This fixed my ambition to become a soldier, when I was old enough to be one.

My father died when I was eleven years old; my mother sold the little farm and the family moved to Manchester, N. H. I worked in the mills there for a short time, until a friend managed to place me in a Wholesale & Retail Dry Goods House in Boston, Mass. where I stayed for about a year. A member of the firm opened a store in Manchester, N. H. and I was more than glad to return there with

him and be at home again. I remained there until I was nineteen years old, when I ran away to Boston and enlisted in the Mounted Service, U. S. Army.

Lt. Ramson [Hyatt C. Ransom] of the Mounted Rifles was recruiting Officer and informed me, that he could not accept me, unless I had my mother's consent. The recruiting Sergeant noticed my disappointed looks and followed me out to the sidewalk. He told me to come back the next day late in the afternoon as by that time in the day Ransom would be so intoxicated, that he would not know how old I was and that he (the Sergeant) would put my age down as twenty two. I did not like the idea of the deception, but solaced my conscience thinking the Sergeant was doing the deceiving.

In about ten days we had about twenty recruits and started for Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. At New York and Philadelphia we received quite a number of recruits and numbered over a hundred on leaving Philadelphia. We arrived at Carlisle Barracks at about 4 P. M. as hungry a set of boys as you ever saw. As we arrived between meals there was nothing to be had but some hard tack and cabbage soup and this did not agree with me. Some of the boys were very much disappointed until the next day when they found out that the regular fare was all right. After we rested a day we were assigned to different squads and started to drill.

Carlisle Barracks at that time was the General Rendezvous for recruits of the Mounted Service. Approximately 500 men were there, divided into Companies of about 80 men each and lettered alphabetically. The post was commanded by Lt. Col. [George B.] Crittenden of the Mounted Rifles (who afterwards went with the South). Among the Officers I remember were Capt. J. B. Gordon [?], of the 1st Dragoons, 1st Lt. and Brevet Capt. McRea [Alexander McRae?] of the Mounted Rifles, 2nd Lt. Joe Wheeler, Mounted Rifles, 2nd Lt. Fitzhugh Lee of the Dragoons, and 2nd Lts. [Andrew] Jackson [Jr. ?] and [Lunsford L.] Lomax of the 1st Cavalry, and several others that I cannot remember just now.

Lee, Wheeler, and Lomax ap-

peared to be the brightest and most athletic of the lot of young officers there and were foremost in picking up handkerchiefs from the ground, their horses on the run, vaulting on and over their horses on a walk, trot, or gallop, and cutting heads placed on posts on the drill grounds. We were drilled constantly when the weather permitted during the fall and winter of 1858 and '59. At this time the Army was composed of 5 Mounted Regiments. (1st & 2nd Dragoons, the Mounted Rifles and 1st and 2nd Cavalry) 4 Regiments of Artillery, and 10 Regiments of Infantry.—Cavalry and Infantry, [comprised] 10 Companies to a Regiment. [There were] 12 Companies in a Regiment of Artillery (2 Light Batteries and 10 Companies of heavy Artillery). The heavy Artillery were drilled in infantry tactics. [I] do not remember the name of the Colonel of the 1st Dragoons; Col. Philip St. George Cook[e], commanded the 2nd Dragoons; Col. [William W.] Loring, Mounted Rifles; Lt. Col. Crittenden, 1st Cavalry (now 4th); and Col. E. V. Sumner and Lt. Col. Jos. E. Johnston, Wm. H. Emory, Senior Major and John Sedgwick, Junior Major [also with 1st cavalry]. The 2nd Cavalry (now the 5th) had Albert Sidney Johnston, Colonel; Robert E. Lee, Lt. Colonel; Earl Van Dorn, Senior [Junior?] Major and Geo. H. Thomas, Junior [Senior?] Major.

About the 1st of May 1859 about 50 recruits were assigned [to] 4 Companies of the 1st Cavalry, stationed at Ft. Riley, Kansas Territory; Lt. Ransom of H Company of that Regiment was in command of the squad, and we travelled by rail to St. Louis and from there by steamboat "War Eagle" to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. We had to foot it from Leavenworth to Fort Riley, 125 miles and arrived there very footsore and tired on the last day of May. There we were divided among the four Companies F, G, H and K. I was assigned to K. They were all ready to go on the plains and only had awaited our arrival to start, which we did the following morning, June 1st, 1859.

The different Companies of the Regiment were located as follows: F, G, H and K at Fort Riley, Kansas, E and D at Fort Smith, Arkansas, C



and I at Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory and A and B at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. The Officers of 1st Cavalry were Col. E. V. Sumner, commanding the Department of the West, Headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, detailed as Quartermaster General of the Army, Washington, D. C., Sr. Major Wm. Emory, Bvt. Lt. Col., Jr. Major John Sedgwick. The line Officers were:

Co. A	Wm. Beal [I]	Captain of Va.
" B	[Delos B.] Sacket	" North
" C	Thos Wood	" North
" D	[James M.] McIntosh	" Miss.
" E	[Samuel D.] Sturgis	" North
" F	[W. D.] Desasuer [De Saussure]	" S. C.
" G	[William S.] Walker	" Fla.
" H	[Edward W. B.] Newby	" North
" I	Eugene Carr	" North
" K	Geo. H. Stuart [Steuart]	" Maryland

The First Lieutenants that I can remember were [George?] Bell of K; D.[avid] Stanley of C; J. E. B. Stuart of G; Ransom of H; Elmer Otis of F; [Philip] Stockton of B; [Oliver H.] Fish of I. As the Regiment was never together before the war it is hard to remember all the names but I remember the following Second Lieutenants: Joe Taylor of K; [George D.] Bayard of G; [John A.] Thompson of F; Eli Long of H; [Edward] Ingraham of I; Lomax of D; Ives [Alfred Iversen?] of C; Jackson was at Ft. Arbuckle in A or B Company. Some of these names became very well known during the war.

Leaving Fort Riley we crossed the Kaw River near the Fort and marched in a Southwesterly direction until we reached the Santa Fe trail at Lost Springs; and followed this to the Big Bend of the Arkansas River. As you will remember '59 was the year of the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak. There were two routes that the Peakers followed, the Northern one from Omaha along the Platt River and the other from Independence, Mo., along the Santa Fe Trail to the Arkansas River and along the north side of that river to the Raton Crossing, thence north by way of Pueblo to the new town of Denver. We were ordered to the Arkansas Valley to protect the emigrants going that way, from any In-

dian attacks, as there were five tribes of them roaming through that country, viz: The Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Apaches. All were supposed to be at Peace or said to be, and we had very little to do during the summer, moving camp short distances as the grass was fed short, and for sanitary reasons.

We remained there until the latter part of September when we started back to Fort Riley. Everything appeared lovely and we all anticipated a nice comfortable time the following winter at the Fort. We reached the Little Arkansas River on the evening of September 30th. About 2 A. M. the 1st Sergeant laid his hand on my shoulder and whispered in my ear: "Get up quick and make no noise, the Indians have broken loose and killed Peacock and burned his ranch"; this ranch was about 30 miles back on the road we had just travelled, at the point where the Santa Fe Trail crossed Walnut Creek a short distance from the Arkansas River. Two of the Companies G and K, were started at once; the other two F and H were to start at daylight. We made the 30 miles in two hours, and found the ranch partially burned up and the contents scattered everywhere. After killing Peacock, they scalped him, and three or four men employed by him ran away. It was one of them that rode to where we were and informed us of the murder.

We found one Indian only and he was so beastly drunk he could not get away and his pony was standing near him, apparently as sound asleep as its master. Just as day was breaking that Indian seemed to raise from the ground as if by magic, jumped on his pony and started away for the Bluffs. No one waited for a command but jumped on his horse and took after him. We thought that he had gotten away from us when suddenly Lt. Bayard came through the crowd like a whirlwind on a racer, that his uncle Senator Bayard had sent him before leaving Fort Riley. Bayard gradually lessened the distance between him and the Indian until he got within range of him, when he fired two shots over his head to stop him. This however seemed to put fresh energy in the pony, who made a fresh burst

of speed. The Indian evidently thought Bayard was not a good shot; he leaned forward on his pony and slapped his back with his hand in derision. Just as he straightened up again, Bayard put a bullet in his back between the shoulders and he dropped off his pony, dead.

We immediately started back to the ranch, about 5 miles distant. We knew that an Indian war was now certain, as an Indian had been killed and from all appearances a chief of considerable prominence. Capt. Desasuer [De Saussure], who was in command, called a Council of his officers and it was decided to immediately hunt for the Indians. A guard was detailed for the wagons and we took 3 days rations in haversacks. We started over the Bluffs and after scouting for four days we were unable to overtake them and found that we were then only about 15 miles from Peacock's ranch, as the trails crossed and recrossed in every direction. After returning to the ranch we found that Major [James] Longstreet, Paymaster of New Mexico had camped there for the night with his escort, and I saw him the next morning. He was then a man of middle age, large and fine looking, and he left us the following day. [The next time Mr. Kirwan saw Major Longstreet was at the Banquet of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, at the Planters Hotel, 1892.]

It was decided that the command should return to Fort Riley as instructed. Just as we were ready to start, the monthly mail for Santa Fe and Albuquerque came up; they had a covered wagon drawn by four mules which made the distance from Independence, Mo. to Santa Fe, approximately 800 miles in an average time of 16 days. There were three men with the wagon, Larry Smith, the conductor and his brother Mike, the driver and an extra hand by the name of [Bill] Cole. They wanted to go through without an escort, but Capt. Desasuer would not allow them as he did not consider it safe and decided to send an escort with them part of the way or until Smith thought he was out of danger. A detail was made up of seven men from each Company, one commissioned officer, Lt. Otis, and two non-commissioned Officers, Sgt. Cavendish and Corporal Richmond, a total of

thirty. I was one of the detail of my Company and the next morning as the command started East towards Fort Riley, we went West with the mail. We passed Pawnee Rock (about 15 miles) at 10.30 A. M. and reached a creek called Pawnee Ford [Fork] at 2 P. M. where we made camp for the night. Smith was very impatient at the slow travelling and said he didn't believe there was an Indian in the country. Otis tried to reason with him but to no avail and at 4 P. M. the mail pulled out. That was the last time we saw Larry and Mike Smith alive.

The next morning, just as we were ready to start back, a man bare-headed and covered with blood rode into camp. We at once gathered around him and found that it was Cole, the extra hand, who was with the mail wagon the day before. He was weak from the loss of blood and suffering intense pain from wounds. His shoulder and arm were broken and the top of his head was nearly scalped. He told us, that as they crossed a dry run called Jones Dry Fork about six miles from where we were, the Indians came out of the dry creek bed and surrounded them, crying: "wano Americano." The wagon was stopped and conductor Smith ordered Cole to get out and give them whatever they wanted; he gave them a large box of sugar crackers, coffee, bacon, hams and some flour. After they had eaten what they wanted, the chief or the one acting as such, motioned for Cole to get up behind him on the pony. When Cole refused to do so, two of them jumped off their ponies, grabbed him and tried to force him to get on the pony. He jerked loose and ran around to the other side of the wagon and climbed in. In the mean time the Smiths had been turning the wagon around and got ready to start back towards our camp, but just then they opened fire, killing both brothers at the first volley. Larry was shot and killed with arrows, one going right through his heart, Mike was shot through the head.

When Cole got into the wagon, he picked up the lines from the dead man's hands and started the team. Just then he was shot and although suffering terribly, he held the lines with his right hand. The firing frightened the horses and they ran a

good gait. One Indian tried several times to run in front of them but failed in the attempt and Cole decided to shoot him the next time he tried. The mules kept up the pace until they passed the bottom of the dry creek, when they came to a walk and as they got on top of the bank, the same Indian rushed forward again, but just as he got in front of the mules Cole fired his Sharp's carbine, killing him. He rolled off his pony in front of the mules, which caused them to turn from the road and make a curve towards a large cottonwood tree standing near the creek. By this time it was getting dark and as the team turned, Cole jumped out of the wagon and laid flat on the ground. No one had seen him jump and when the Indians got up on the bank of the creek, they did not follow the curved tracks made by the wagon wheels, but went straight from the creek bed to the cottonwood tree, where the mules stopped. They undoubtedly expected to find the bodies of the Smiths and Cole in the wagon and their disappointment at not finding the latter was plainly told by their howls. Two of them started back on the trail of the wagon wheels, while the others scalped poor Smith and plundered the wagon. The two on the trail of the wagon wheels kept together until about two hundred feet from where Cole was, when one circled to the right and the other to the left, leaving him in the middle between them. They met on the road and followed it down into the creek-bed. Cole from his prone position could see them, while they on their ponies could not see an object on the ground and naturally supposed that he had hid somewhere along the bank of the creek.

As soon as they [the Indians] disappeared down the creek bank, Cole commenced dragging himself along on the ground, by catching the Buffalo grass with his good hand. He kept this up until he fainted from pain and loss of blood. How long he laid there he does not know, but the pain of his wounds and the cold night air caused him considerable suffering. He crawled up on his feet and looked around but could not tell where he was. He had seen a campfire a long ways off and thinking it was our campfire started in that direction until after a long wearisome

tramp he got near enough to it, to hear dogs barking. He nearly fainted again, as he knew, that there were no dogs in the soldiers camp and that it must be an Indian camp. He immediately turned back to get as far away from that campfire as possible, and trudged along reaching the Santa Fe trail a little before daylight, where he was lucky enough to meet a party of returning Pike's Peakers, consisting of 15 wagons, 21 men, 16 women and 10 children, to whom he told what had happened. They dressed his wounds as well as possible and as he knew we were to start back in the morning, he insisted that they let him have a mule and rode as fast as he could to reach us.

Lt. Otis decided to proceed to Jones' Creek, bury the Smith boys and escort the Pike's Peakers back to the settlements. He picked two men with best and fastest horses to take a dispatch to Capt. Desasuer to report what had happened. These two men rode 90 miles that day and overtook the command at Cow Creek, where it went into camp to wait for us. We went on to Jones Creek and met the Peakers, who had made camp near a waterhole in that creek. We borrowed some picks and shovels from them and they helped us dig a wide deep grave and buried the Smiths. We then made another start for the command. The Peakers all had small rifles and plenty of ammunition; the women also had small rifles and were not afraid to use them, making in all over 60 carbines and rifles, besides each cavalry man had a heavy revolver and a saber, so we felt perfectly safe.

When we got to Ash Creek about 5 miles East of Pawnee Fork, we saw an Indian talking to a greaser, who was jerking Buffalo meat, but as soon as the Indian spied us he galloped off. One of our men could talk Mexican and the greaser told him the Indians were massed on the ridge or bluff running from Ash Creek to Pawnee Rock, about ten miles distant, where the road ran parallel to and about a quarter mile from the bluff. We placed the wagons in the center and moved on; the women or larger children drove, while the men walked on the side of the next bluffs and the cavalry front and rear of them. The women were



brave and even the children were plucky; poor Cole, whom we had placed in a wagon insisted that he would fight too, so we propped him up on a bed, with his Sharp's carbine which was found at the place where he jumped out of the mailwagon. This was the same kind of carbine, we were using.

Pretty soon we came in sight of the Indians scattered along the bluff as far as we could see, moving up and down the sides of the slope. They did everything possible to draw us on, and away from the wagons, but Otis gave positive orders, that we were not to fire a shot unless attacked and under no circumstances to leave the wagons. They did not attack us and we moved along as rapidly as possible, until we arrived at a crescent-shaped pond about 5 miles East of Pawnee Rock, where we made Camp for the night. The wagons were placed so as to make a barricade from one point of the crescent-shaped pond to the other, making a pretty good defensive position in case we were bothered.

The next day we reached the Big Bend of the Arkansas River and the day thereafter found our command at Cow Creek, where K Company awaited us, the other Companies having gone to Fort Riley. Lt. Otis and the men of the other Companies left us the next morning, taking Cole with them to the Hospital at the Fort where he eventually recovered, and the Peakers went on to the settlements. We remained until the 27th of November, guarding the mail between Cow Creek and Fort Union, New Mexico (600 miles), when we were relieved by Lt. Bell and a detail of 40 men, who made their headquarters at Pawnee Fork, and started to build Fort Larned.

We reached Fort Riley on the 29th and the next day I was detailed for guard duty. The guardhouse was a two-story building and like all the buildings there was built of rock, the lower story being used as a guardhouse while the upper part was an Assembly-room for the reserve guards, reached by a wide stairway. I was placed on Post number One and part of my duties were to guard a couple of soldiers, who were sentenced to walk in front of number one and carry a knapsack with 30 pounds of brick in it for 30 days. One

of them asked to be allowed to take off his knapsack and draw a bucket of water from the well at one end of the Post, and as the day was cold, I did not want to call any of the men out, so allowed him to do as he requested.

They had their drink and just as he was putting on the knapsack, the officer of the Day, Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, came in sight, so I called out: "Turn out the Guard, Officer of the day." He answered, angrily and sharply: "Never mind the Guard," so I called out: "Never mind the Guard" and came to a proper salute. He paid no attention to the salute, but walked straight up to me and asked: "How long have you been in the service, sir?"

You learn fast in the Army, and quick as a flash it occurred to me, that a batch of recruits had arrived at the Fort about two weeks before and some of them were assigned to K; so I answered: "A little over two weeks sir." He asked the Sergeant of the Guard, Lon Stokes, who belonged to K if that was true and he promptly lied like a gentleman for me and said it was. He then turned to me and said: "It is a good thing for you, that you are a recruit, or I would punish you properly, sir, for letting that prisoner take off his knapsack, sir."

This was the first time I had seen the Captain, but I knew of him well by reputation and that was, that he was the most tyrannical officer in the Army. It was reported of him, that one time a batch of recruits came to his Company and he got them in line and commenced with the man on the right as follows: "How long have you been in the service, sir?" The man would tell him. "Have you ever been punished, sir?" The man said "No." "Well, I will punish you, sir, I will punish you properly, sir." The next one told him he had been punished, and Lyon said: "You were not punished properly, sir, I will punish you properly, sir," and so on. Every one had to be punished and no one knew how to punish properly excepting Captain Lyon himself. His after career showed, that he was fitted for a large command, not a small one, and his patriotism showed bright when the opportunity offered. He never had the softening influence of a home, as he was an old bachelor and

therefor cranky. But issues raised by the War gave his brain sufficient material to work on and made him a great General. I at least had no cause for complaint, as I considered I got off easy. [General Nathaniel Lyon was the first Union general killed in the Civil War, at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, August 10, 1861.]

Lyon commanded B Company and Capt. and brevet Major [Henry W.] Wessel[ls], commanded G Company, 2nd Infantry. Lyon and his Company were sent to St. Louis Arsenal in April of 1860 and Wessels to the new Fort Larned. Colonel F. W. Schaurte was then 1st Sergeant of Wessels Company G.

Preparations were made for a general crusade against the Indians as soon as the grass started, as our horses as well as the Indians' had to subsist on it. There were two columns put in the field; our 4 Companies of the 1st Cavalry and two Companies of the 2nd Dragoons, commanded respectively by Capt. [William] Steel[e] and Lt. [Francis C.] Armstrong. 2nd Lt. Merrell [Lewis Merrill] was also with them. Major John Sedgwick, 1st Cavalry in command. The other column was composed of the six Companies of the 1st Cavalry, stationed at Fort Smith, Ancheta [Oauchita or Washita] and Cobb, under command of Capt. Sturges.

We left Fort Riley about the 1st of May 1860, marched to Fort Larned and there completed our outfitting with pack mules; we did not take any wagons, except an ammunition wagon and one ambulance. We crossed the Arkansas River near Fort Larned and struck for the North Fork of the Canadian River. We scouted through that country for some time, stopping now and then for a few minutes to allow the men to get off their horses and stretch, as is the custom. My horse had a sore back and I was riding a pet mule we had. At one place where we stopped to stretch, I dropped the reins on the mule's neck, lazily swung my carbine over my shoulder, and placed my right foot on the ground. My spur caught in the coil of the lariat rope as I drew my foot from the stirrup, and as I stooped to release it, the carbine slipped off my shoulder and struck the mule. This made her jump, which drew my foot in the coil of rope and

threw me on my back. The mule seeing me fall, became frightened and ran, dragging me behind her. The carbine was fastened to my shoulder-belt by a swivel and every now and then gave me a whack on the head. Lt. J. E. B. Stuart hollered out: "Stop that mule, or she'll drag that pack to pieces." About that time, the ring holding the lariat broke and I was released, but I never forgave Stuart for his joke.

We moved through part of New Mexico [Oklahoma?], called the Salt or Sand desert and recrossed the Arkansas River at Anberry's [Aubrey's] Crossing, Colorado Territory [Kansas]. Company G was sent scouting while the remainder stayed on the river bank to rest the horses, as they were pretty well fagged out. Company G struck the trail of a band of the Kiowas about 40 miles North of the Arkansas. Lieutenants J. E. B. Stuart and Bayard immediately charged them and had a running fight until they reached a creek, called Black Water. The Indians were hampered with their squaws and children and were compelled to make a stand. Stuart charged again, killing about twenty. The Indians broke, leaving their squaws, teepees and a hundred ponies. Lt. Bayard was hit by an arrow in the cheekbone just below the eye. Sergeant Ockleston was shot in the left arm and two privates slightly wounded. Two days later they returned to camp. About the same time Sturges caught up with their main body on the Republican River above where Concordia, Kansas, now stands and gave them battle, killing a large number. Their chiefs then sued for peace.

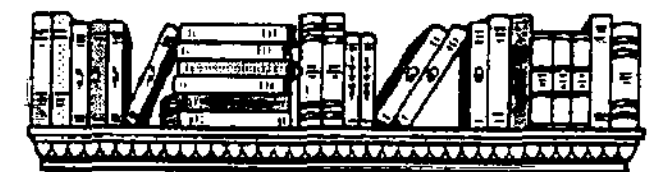
The Government appointed a commission to meet the five tribes at Bents Fort, 60 miles above Anberry's [Aubrey's] Crossing. At this point the Government decided to establish Fort Wise, named in honor of Governor Wise of Virginia. Major Sedgwick was assigned as commander and our four Companies as a garrison. We used Bents old [new] Fort as a quartermaster department and erected the officers and Company quarters, about one-half mile above. We remained there until the latter part of October 1861, when we were ordered to Fort Leavenworth. [The name of Fort Wise was changed to Fort Lyon, to honor Nathaniel Lyon.]

There was an intense political feeling, especially among the officers who were nearly all democrats; the enlisted men had little to say, but the officers talked freely, especially those from the South, who predicted that Breckenridge [Breckinridge] would surely be elected. As we received our mail only once a month and sometimes six weeks, the result of the election was not received until about the middle of December 1860, and it caused considerable consternation among the officers. The Southerners talked treason while the northern ones commenced to hedge. In the early part of 1861, several of them got leave of absence and returned to the States. Among them Major Sedgwick and Capt. Geo. H. Stuart.

In the latter part of May a large party of traitors came through from New Mexico, officers and their families from the Mounted Rifles. They had twelve ambulances and fifteen Government wagons, with an escort of 50 men from the mounted rifles, all supplied with Government provisions. They were royally received by our officers and as they marched on to the parade ground, our band was ordered to play "Dixie" for them. They remained two days to rest up and then went on to attempt to destroy the Government and Flag, they had sworn to protect, using Government troops, ambulances, wagons and provisions in doing so. J. E. B. Stuart accompanied them for which the enlisted men were not sorry. Major Sedgwick went East shortly after the election and the command devolved on Capt. Desasuer of South Carolina, an ardent rebel. Some of us were afraid, that he would start with the Companies south to Texas and surrender us. The feeling among the enlisted men was intensely loyal and some of each Company got together and organized a lodge of "Good Templars," sworn to secrecy, ostensibly for the promotion of temperance, but really to capture Desasuer, should he attempt to take us South. He must have suspected something like that for he never made the attempt, and for the honor of the old 1st Cavalry, not one of the enlisted men ever went South or left the flag to my knowledge. On leaving Fort Wise, K Company had only 36 enlisted men and of these 10 were commissioned

in the regulars or volunteers.

When the traitor, General [David E.] Twiggs, surrendered the Department of Texas, the six Companies of the 1st Cavalry in the Indian Territory were included, but the noble, loyal Captain Sturgis, who was in command, disregarded the order, gathered his scattered Companies together and marched from Fort Cobb in the Ancheta [Oauchita] Mountains, 800 miles to Leavenworth, taking over 200 six-mule wagons loaded with Commissary and quartermaster stores, 25 ambulances and \$300,000. [sic]—in gold. Of our officers who remained loyal and gained distinction were General Sedgwick, General Thomas Wood, General David Stanley, General W. H. Emory, General Eli Long and General Bayard (Gettysburg, only one killed). Of those who went South are General J. E. B. Stuart, who was killed by Sheridan's troops, General Lomax, whom Sheridan licked so badly in Virginia and Generals Jackson and Ives.



## CONVERSE OF THE PRAIRIES

### —BOOK NOTICES—

Mary Jean Straw Cook. *Doña Tules: Santa Fe's Courtesan and Gambler*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Pp. xiv + 173. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$21.95 + shipping. Available from Last Chance Store.

Mary Jean Cook has spent many years searching for the elusive details of this remarkable woman, Maria Gertrudis Barceló, the "celebrated gambler and courtesan of the 1820s and 1840s." Known as Doña Tules, this famous (or infamous) and enterprising woman was a successful entrepreneur in Santa Fe and invested in the Santa Fe trade.

She had "extraordinary perception of and power over the male psyche." and was "a genius at the art" of the "manipulation of men." An astute businesswoman, she built a fortune on gambling, prostitution, horse racing, cock fighting, and investments.



She loaned money to U.S. Army personnel, gave charity to the needy, aided Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy and the Catholic Church (upon her death in 1852 she was given a grand funeral and buried in the parish church in Santa Fe), and was accepted as one of the elite of society in Santa Fe.

Cook has provided the definitive biography of Doña Tules, a notable achievement given the paucity of personal records (Barceló's will, including her signature, is one of the few documents directly connected to her). The stories of her family, her marriage, her lovers, her businesses, her home and other properties, her talents, her charities, and her significance are all here.

Doña Tules was possibly the most influential woman associated with the Santa Fe Trail. She now joins the growing list of women connected to the Trail whose stories have been told. Her name, Cook declares, "still lingers at the intersection of Burro Alley and Palace Avenue" in Santa Fe. This finely-crafted book is highly recommended.

Alice Anne Thompson. *American Caravan*. Independence: Two Trails Publishing, 2007. Pp. 292. Maps, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$24.95 + shipping. Available from Last Chance Store.

The tragic tale of the death and burial of 19-year-old Mary Alphonsa Thompson, Sisters of Loretto, on the Santa Fe Trail in present western Kansas in the summer of 1867 is one of the great mysteries as well as one of the most touching human-interest stories in the history of the Trail. The young nun was recruited from her Kentucky mother house by Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy of Santa Fe, and she was one of 26 members of Lamy's caravan that traveled from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, during one of the most dangerous years on the Santa Fe Road. Exactly where Sister Mary Alphonsa died, the cause of her death, and the location of her grave (despite repeated attempts to locate the site) remain at the top of the list of unsolved mysteries in the long and dramatic history of the Trail.

Alice Anne Thompson, great-great-niece of Sister Mary Alphonsa

Thompson, has been the leader among those trying to find the answers and understand the circumstances which led to the untimely demise of the young nun. Dr. Thompson has spent a good portion of her adult life seeking the truth. This volume contains the results of her research, including all the details from planning to completion of Bishop Lamy's efforts to bring more priests and nuns to his diocese in 1867. Lamy led the party over the Santa Fe Trail. *American Caravan* presents the intriguing story of that fateful crossing of the Great Plains. Choosing a format similar to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Dr. Thompson has arranged the story as seen from the viewpoint of many of the participants.

What happened is the overall goal of this investigation. A combination of circumstances (including the flooded streams caused by unusually heavy rains, the Indian hostilities sparked by General Winfield S. Hancock's capture and burning of a Cheyenne and Sioux village on Pawnee Fork in April 1867, and the worst outbreak of Asiatic cholera along the Santa Fe Trail during its 60-year history) dictated the routes of travel taken by Bishop Lamy's caravan and the multiple hazards it faced along the way. The telling of the details from the various viewpoints provides the elements of drama, mystery, and tragedy that combine to make *American Caravan* a gripping and captivating book. At long last the story of Sister Alphonsa Thompson takes its rightful place among the vast literature of the Santa Fe Trail.

Gregory M. Franzwa. *The Mormon Trail Revisited*. Tooele, Utah: The Patrice Press, 2007. Pp. xxix + 254. Maps. Illustrations, index. Cloth, \$39.95; Paper, \$24.95 + shipping. Available from <www.patricepress.com>.

Gregory Franzwa, that grand old man of the overland trails, has done it again, produced another outstanding guidebook to a historic trail. With complete driving instructions, detailed maps, some 200 photographs, and descriptions of sites along the way, this book makes travel of the Mormon Trail easy and fun, whether you are driving the

route or enjoying a vicarious venture from your favorite easy chair.

SFTA has recognized Franzwa's trail work with an Award of Merit and the Rittenhouse Award for lifetime achievement. Now it would be great if he would get his *Santa Fe Trail Revisited* back in print.



## HOOF PRINTS

### —TRAIL TIDBITS—

The new Smoky Hill Trail Association invites anyone interested in this historic route to join. Membership is \$25 per year for individuals and \$30 for families. Send to SmHTA, PO Box 322, WaKeeney KS 67672.

A new Pike National Historic Trail Association is being formed. For more information, please contact Harv Hisgen, 10060 Blue Sky Tr, Conifer CO 80433.

John Conoboy has retired from his position with the NPS Long Distance Trails Office in Santa Fe, where he has worked closely with SFTA. His replacement is Sharon Brown. She looks forward to working with SFTA.

F. Eugene Barber has written a novel, *Spoon Valley: Along the Santa Fe Trail*, which may be ordered from <www.authorhouse.com>.

The Fort Larned Old Guard and the Society of Friends of Historic Fort Hays will join to offer a special program on April 26 at Fort Hays State Historic Site, with speakers looking at the Hancock Expedition of 1867, Indian reactions to the destruction of the Cheyenne and Sioux village, and the role of Indian Agent Edward Wynkoop.

## 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 June through August. To be included, send information to Paula Manini at the Trinidad History Museum (see below) by April 15, 2008. Also, please keep sending any changes regarding e-mail addresses, contact information, news, and changes of hours open.

**Arthur Roy Mitchell Memorial Museum of Western Art**  
150 East Main St  
Trinidad CO 81082  
Telephone: 719-846-4224  
E-mail: mitchellmuseum@qwest.net

- Enjoy artwork of Trinidad native A. R. Mitchell; Harvey Dunn, and other Western artists. The museum also features historic photographs, Hispanic folk art, Indian artifacts, and cowboy gear.
- The Museum and Gift Shop will open on May 1 and be open Tuesday-Sunday, 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. through the summer.
- Admission: \$3 for adults; members and children 12 and under free.

**Arrow Rock State Historic Site**  
PO Box 124  
Arrow Rock MO 65320  
Telephone: 660-837-3231 or 3330  
E-mail: kborgman@iland.net  
Websites: www.arrowrock.org;  
www.mostateparks.com/arrowrock.htm

• Open 9:00-5:00 Monday-Saturday; Sunday by chance.  
**Barton County Museum & Village**  
PO Box 1091  
Great Bend KS 67530  
Telephone: 620-793-5125  
Website: 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  
Website: www.nps.gov/beol

- Open 9 a.m. To 4 p.m. daily with guided tours offered at 10:30 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. To schedule group tours, call 719-383-5026.
- May 5 - September 2: Trails and Rails Trips narrated excursions aboard Amtrak's Southwest Chief depart La Junta, CO, on Mondays and Fridays for overnight trips to Albuquerque, NM. Follow the Mountain Route of the Trail over Raton Pass while learning stories of people, plants, and animals along the way. For more information, call 719-383-5024.

- May 10: Santa Fe Trail Caravan. Take a 3-mile hike on the Trail behind an ox-driven Conestoga wagon. Call for more information.

**Boggsville Historic Site**  
PO Box 68  
Las Animas CO 81054  
Telephone: 719-456-1358  
E-mail: boggsville67@yahoo.com  
Website: 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  
Website: www.boothill.org

- Museum: Call for 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  
Website: 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  
Website: www.fs.fed.us/r2/psicc/cim

• Call for hours and activities or visit the web site.  
**Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation**  
127 Bridge Street  
PO Box 728  
Las Vegas NM 87701  
Telephone: 505-425-8802  
E-mail: historic@cybermesa.com

- Call for event information.
- Coronado Quivira Museum**  
Rice County Historical Society  
105 West Lyon  
Lyons KS 67554  
Telephone: 620-257-3941  
E-mail: 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

**Websites:** www.friendsar.org; www.arrowrock.org; www.lyceumtheatre.org

• Call for hours and events.  
**Fort Union National Monument**  
PO Box 127  
Watrous NM 87753  
Telephone: 505-425-8025  
E-mail: foun\_interpretation@nps.gov  
Website: www.nps.gov/foun

- Open Monday-Sunday except for major holidays. 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

• 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

- Call for 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

• 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

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

**Historic Trinidad, Colorado**  
City of Trinidad Tourism Board  
PO Bos 880  
Trinidad, C 81082  
Website: www.historictrinidad.com

- Founded on the Santa Fe Trail in 1861, Trinidad is on the Santa Fe National Historic Trail Auto Route and Colorado's Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway.
- In January, *True West Magazine* designated Trinidad as the nation's third best western town to visit in 2008
- Trinidad boasts four museums, an acclaimed national historic district, the Purgatoire River Walk, summer performances by the Southern Colorado Repertory



Theatre, the Trinidaddio Blues Festival, and numerous recreational activities for people of all ages.

**Jefferson Nat. Expansion Memorial**

11 N Fourth Street

St. Louis, MO 63102

Telephone: 314-655-1631

E-mail: tom\_dewey@partner.nps.gov

Website: 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

Website: www.koshare.org

- Call for hours and events..
- Trading Post: online at koshare.org.

**Las Vegas Museum**

727 Grand Ave

Las Vegas NM 87701

Telephone: 505-454-1401, ext. 248

E-mail: 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 or 4390

E-mail: mtcomuseum@elkhart.com

Website: 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: 719-384-7500

Cell phone: 719-980-3193

E-mail: oteromuseum@centurytel.net

- Call to schedule tours through May.

**Santa Fe Trail Center Museum & Library**

1349 K-156 Hwy

Larned, KS 67550

Telephone: 620-285-2054

E-mail: museum@santafetrailcenter.org

Website: www.santafetrailcenter.org

- Santa Fe Trail Center: Open Daily, 9 a.m. - 5 p.m. Closed Mondays until Memorial Day.

**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@chs.state.co.us

Website: www.coloradohistory.org

- 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 Bookstore and Information Center open Tuesday-Saturday, 10 a.m.- 4 p.m..
- Baca-Bloom Heritage Gardens open Monday-Saturday, 10 a.m.- 4 p.m. For freed self-guided walking tours.
- Baca House and Santa Fe Trail Museum may be available for groups of 12 or more with reservations. The Bloom Mansion is closed for restoration.
- May 1-September 30: The museum will be open; a detailed schedule TBA.

## CAMP TALES

### —CHAPTER REPORTS—

**Cimarron Cutoff**

President Myrna Barnes

PO Box 121

Elkhart KS 67950

(620) 697-2330

The chapter sadly reports the death of President D. Ray Blakeley in December.

**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, the chapter met at the Eldorado Community Center, with a program about the fur trade by Helmut Schmidt. On January 12 New Mexico State Historian Estevan Rael-Galvez spoke about El Camino Real. The next meeting is March 8, Eldorado Community Center, 1:30 p.m., program by David Remley, "The Journal of John Watts: *Adios Nuevo Mexico.*"

Chapter board members for 2008 are Joy Poole, La Alcadesa; Alan Wheeler, Program VP; Helen Geer, Treasurer; Mary Lundell, Secretary; and Directors Mike Najdowski and Gail Bryant.

The chapter has distributed 1.5 boxes of the Santa Fe Trail place-mats to two restaurants, Upper Crust and Maria's, and half a box were inserted into the educational school trunks.

**Corazón de los Caminos**

President Faye Gaines

HCR 60 Box 27

Springer NM 87747

(505) 485-2473

The chapter sadly reports the death of President Bill Soderman in December.

**Wet/Dry Routes**

President David Clapsaddle

215 Mann

Larned KS 67550

(620) 285-3295

<adsaddle@cox.net>

The chapter met January 20 at Kinsley, Kansas, with 77 members and guests present. Following a covered dish dinner, the Faye Anderson Award was presented to the Jerome Herrmann family on whose property some of the most profound ruts of the Santa Fe Trail remain on the Dry Route northwest of Kinsley. Also, prizes were awarded to fifth-grade students from Lewis, Kansas, who participated in the 2007 Santa Fe Trail Poster Contest sponsored by the chapter: first prize, Brad Newsom; second prize, Devon Lininger; third prize, Irving Navarro.

In the business session, reports were given on the placement of markers at Mulberry Creek; paint-

ing completed at Zebulon Pike Plaza in Larned; the field trip conducted to DAR markers in Pawnee, Edwards, and Ford Counties; and the Rules and Regulations by which to Conduct Wagon Trains handbook which has been reprinted by the chapter. In other business, a stated amount per month was approved for chapter telephone expenses. Newly-elected 2008 officers are President David Clapsaddle, Vice-President Rosetta Graff, Secretary-Treasurer Merlene Baird, and Program Director David Clapsaddle. The program was presented by SFTA Association Manager Harry Myers on "The Santa Fe Trail Before Becknell."

The spring meeting is scheduled for April 13, 1:00 p.m., at the Fort Larned National Historic Site with Ranger George Elmore presenting the program on frontier artillery.

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

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

No report.

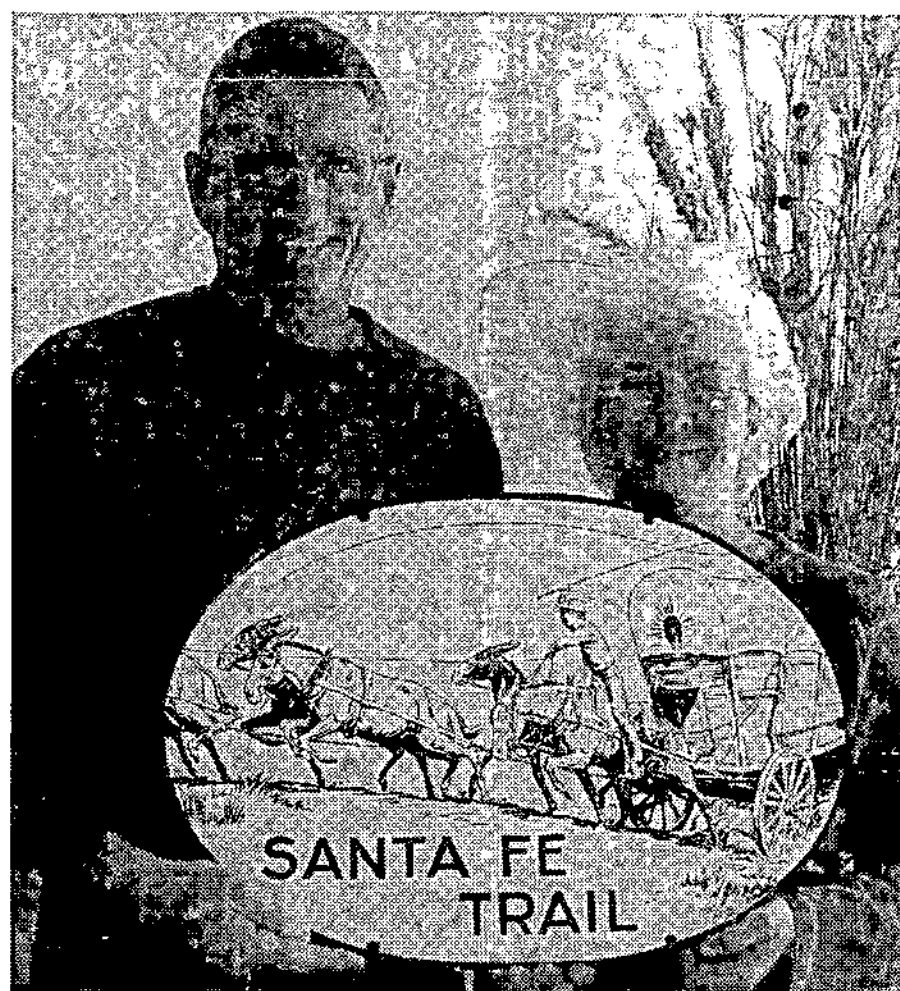
#### **Missouri River Outfitters**

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

Members of the chapter and the community met at the National Frontier Trails Museum on November 17 to award to Jane Mallinson the MRO Outstanding Achievement Award for her years of dedication and service to promotion, protection, and preservation of the trails at the state and national levels. On January 26 MRO members and others met for a presentation by Ann Birney, a first-person rendition of Santa Fe Trail traveler Julia Archibald Holmes, who climbed Pikes Peak in 1858. The chapter is planning a meeting with Association Manager Harry Myers for a program in March. Trail guide Ross Marshall announced that a bus tour is scheduled for Saturday, May 3, that will visit trail parks, sculptures, and new trail markers in the greater Kansas City area. MRO currently has 61 members.

#### **Quivira**

President Linda Colle



**Steve & Glenda Schmidt, Cottonwood Crossing Chapter, recently purchased one of the oval Trail signs placed on schools in 1948. They bought this at an auction and are seeking information about the school on which it was located.**

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

The chapter met January 21 at the Country Kitchen in McPherson. SFTA Association Manager Harry Myers presented the program about African-Americans on the Trail and discussed the National Park Service process for certification of historic sites along the Trail.

#### **Cottonwood Crossing**

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

The chapter met November 8 in Galva. We were privileged to have John Atkinson as our guest speaker. He explained the Resources Plan of the NSFTA. He also gave us insight into life of William Bent by impersonating this important trader of the western plains.

Our main project for the coming year is updating the Lost Springs site, working with the National Park Service. We plan to move the marker of the Lost Spring station across the road. It was placed by the Shields family 100 years ago. We plan to observe the anniversary date on the marker: July 4, 1908.

#### **Bent's Fort**

President Don Lowman  
1202 Park Ave  
La Junta CO 81050  
(719) 384-7406

<dlowman@centurytel.net>

Members toured the Kit Carson Museum in July and enjoyed a presentation on Miguel Otero and his connection with the Santa Fe Trail. It was interesting and informative.

August was spent preparing for the symposium, a very busy time for symposium committee members.

September was the symposium; see final report in this issue of *WT*.

In October the chapter toured the Ming Ranch, Thirty-Three Bar Ranch. American Indian items were shown from the area and members saw typical camp sites, tipi rings, stepping stones, and rocks arranged to point to nearby water sources. A fantastic tour was enjoyed by all attending. Many thanks to Lolly and Don Ming.

Charlie Hutton and Pat Palmer have done a great job in 2007. They maintained (cleaned, mowed, etc.) all the DAR Markers in Colorado. The bylaws are being reviewed for any updates or changes by a volunteer committee.

#### **HELP WANTED**

A wooden grave marker recently offered for sale contains the inscription:

IN MEMORY  
OF  
JACOB CLAY  
BORN 1826  
DIED 1849  
KILLED  
BY  
INDIANS

Attached to the marker is this note: "This grave marker was found in a barn in Council Grove, Kansas, in an estate sale in 1988. It is believed to have originally been found by an early settler on the open prairie near Council Grove."

National Frontier Trails Museum Director John Mark Lambertson has attempted to verify the death of Jacob Clay and the authenticity of this marker, without success. If anyone can shed any light on this, please contact him: 318 W Pacific, Independence MO 64050 or <JLAMBERTSON@indepmo.org>.

#### **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.

### FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Craig & Nancy Bellati, 4 New West Ct, Santa Fe NM 87506

George & Pat Blinn, 15 Cielo Tranquilo Ct, Santa Fe NM 87508

Cliff & Carol Danielson, 19 Esquina Rd, Santa Fe NM 87508

### INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Rachael Ahlers, 1221 A Webster, Chillicothe MO 64601

Quentin L. Albrecht, 449 SW 25th St, Trenton MO 64683

Mary Barnett, 405 Keyte, Brunswick MO 65236

A. J. Beretta, PO Box 71, Eagle Nest NM 87718

Brenda Block, 14329 LIV 238, Chillicothe MO 64601

Jean Bosworth, 780 SE 90th, St Joseph MO 64507

Roger Boyd, PO Box 379, Baldwin City KS 66006

Robin Dredge, 1239 W 16th St, Maryville MO 64468

Brenda Flood, 1113 S 17th St, Bethany MO 64424

Cynthia Foster, 633 Hwy K, Laredo MO 64652

Teresa Galetich-Bayless, 30062 E 240th St, Ridgeway MO 64481

Tom Gatson, 27190 Jena, Brookfield MO 64628

Elmer Gaug, RR 2 Box 198, Meadville MO 64659

Bryan Grow, 1230W Crestview, Maryville MO 64468

Karin Hall, PO Box 732, Angel Fire NM 87710

Martha Hammonds, 12837 W Desert Mirage Dr, Peoria AZ 85383

Olga Hard, 303 W Washington Ave, Rocky Ford CO 81067

Alfred Jara, 10 Maxwell, Lamar CO 81052

Zach Keith, 1425 Hale Ave, Platte City MO 64079

Lori Keller, 8802 SW Dean Rd, Clarksdale MO 64430

Erick Nordling, HC 0 Box 2AA, Hugoton KS 67951

Lynn Percell, 402 S 10th, Bethany MO 64424

Nancy Petruzzi, 250 Camino del Olmo, Santa Fe NM 87501

Wes Redfield, 1576 S Elm St, Denver CO 80222

Annette Rhinehart, 933 Fontana Ave, Platte City MO 64079

Billie F. Schneider, 806 Pine, Tarkio MO 64491

Deborah L. Sherard, 2622 Jules St, St Joseph MO 64501

Tana Snyder, 408 N Kansas, Highland KS 66035

Ken Stull, 812 Jansen St, Chillicothe MO 64601

Brian Swink, 534 Lisa Lane, Maryville MO 64468

Sondra Ussary, 16522 CR 308, Savannah MO 64485

Crystal Vainer, 140 Crescent Dr, Chillicothe MO 64601

James Wheeler, 2801 Hornet Dr, Chillicothe MO 64601

Jackie Wyant, 164 S Hwy 65, Trenton MO 64683

### TRAIL CALENDAR

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

**Mar. 8, 2008:** 1:30 p.m., End of the Trail Chapter, Eldorado Community Center, David Remley, "The Journal of John Watts: *Adios Nuevo Mexico*."

**Mar. 28-29, 2008:** SFTA board meet-

ing, Council Grove, KS.

**April 13, 2008:** 1:00 p.m., Wet/Dry Routes Chapter, Fort Larned NHS, George Elmore program on frontier artillery.

**April 26, 2008:** Fort Larned Old Guard and Society of Friends of Historic Fort Hays joint meeting, Fort Hays State Historic Site, with program on Hancock Expedition and the Cheyenne and Sioux Indians. Contact <editor@santafetrail.org>, 888-321-7341.

**May 17, 2008:** 1:30 p.m., End of the Trail Chapter, location to be announced, Hampton Sides will speak about Kit Carson.

**June 21-22, 2008:** Wah Shun Gah Days, Council Grove, KS.

**Sept. 18-20, 2008:** Santa Fe Trail Rendezvous, Larned, KS.

### FROM THE EDITOR

The two chapter presidents who died within three days in December, Bill Soderman and D. Ray Blakeley, are mourned by the many SFTA members who knew them. Their years of service were appreciated. This loss makes clear, as Marc Simmons explains in his keynote address (printed in this issue), that "Time fleeth like a shadow."

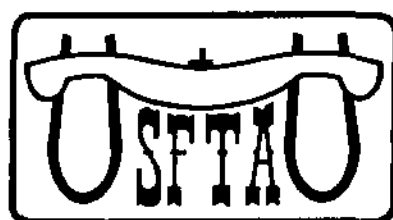
My computer went down again after the last issue was printed, and I lost material submitted for this issue. I hope no one was missed with the request to send the information again. If something you sent is missing, please let me know. Thanks to everyone who sent items.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

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

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