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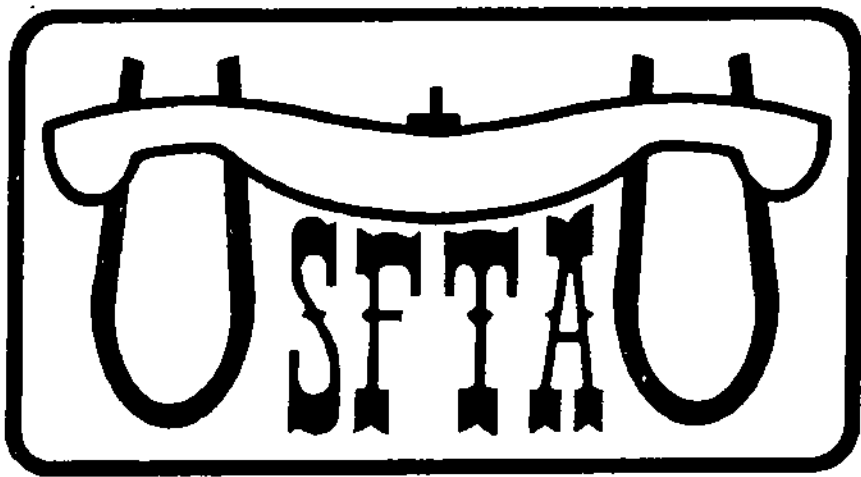


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WAGON TRACKS

SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY

VOLUME 18

NOVEMBER 2003

NUMBER 1

NOTICE

A SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE IS INCLUDED IN THIS ISSUE. PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN AS DIRECTED.

SYMPOSIUM REPORT

by Anne Mallinson & John Atkinson
[SFTA Vice-President Anne Mallinson served as Symposium Coordinator and Missouri River Outfitters Chapter President John Atkinson was Symposium Finance Chair.]

SYMPOSIUM 2003 was held September 24-28 in the Independence and east Kansas City areas. Headquarters was located at the theater in Bannister Mall, within yards of the Trail itself. Symposium records and photographs will join the archives housed at the SFTA Headquarters in Larned. According to all reports, the symposium was an unqualified success.

Over 200 SFTA members and friends took part by going on one or more of the four excellent tours, listening to the fifteen topnotch speakers, enjoying food and fellowship, participating in various workshops, and/or visiting the bookstores and vendor area. Music and a bonfire followed the picnic on Thursday evening, stagecoach rides greeted diners at Benjamin Stables on Friday evening, and a hayride followed Saturday evening's speaker. Without a doubt the ultimate success of this symposium hinged largely upon the outstanding quality of the tours and speakers. Comments emerged consistently positive on all of these essential aspects.

Our hats are off and heartfelt thanks go to those who worked so hard to ensure that attendees heard the best available research presentations and saw the many Trail sites in the immediate area. Mary Conrad worked diligently in choosing the speakers and arranging the morning schedules. For the program book she also wrote and arranged the bio-

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TRAIL MONUMENT DEDICATION HONORED MANY

by Inez Ross

THE dedication ceremony for the Santa Fe Trail Monument was held in Santa Fe on September 13, 2003, at the Monument site. The 65-foot installation depicts a wagon train entering Santa Fe in the 19th century. Six mules are pulling a loaded freight wagon up an incline out of the mud. Four life-size human figures are included: the muleteer who leans to grab the chain of one stumbling mule, a mounted rider shouting directions to the caravan, a little boy with a dog, waving his hat in welcome, and an Indian woman who turns to look at the group.

Sabrina Pratt, Director of the Santa Fe Arts Commission, introduced speakers Santa Fe Mayor Larry Delgado; Lieutenant Governor Diane Denish; San Ildefonso Pueblo Governor John Gonzales, Chairman of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council; Margaret Sears, past President of the Santa Fe Trail Association; and Reynaldo "Sonny" Rivera, the sculptor.

Mayor Delgado, who names previous family members as having come by the Santa Fe Trail, stated how fitting it was that the monument sits on the Trail itself, on the corner of Old Santa Fe Trail and Camino Lejo, in the Museum Hill section of the city.

Sculptor Rivera has studied at art institutes in Chicago, Illinois; Florence, Italy; and San Miguel de Allende in Mexico. The selection of his design was a unanimous vote. Margaret Sears expressed admiration for his thorough research. Everyone agreed that the masterpiece embodies the romantic drama, as well as the difficulties and tragedies of the travel between the Midwest and Southwest that linked our three cultures and celebrates the history of the Santa Fe Trail.

A standing ovation was given to Sculptor Rivera, who proceeded to bestow mementos on everyone who had assisted in creating the monument, from the individuals who posed as models for the human figures, the landscape architect of the site, the National Park Service, the forge employees, the crane operators and haulers of 4-ton boulders, down to the welder who had forged the mule chains.

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PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

SYMPOSIUM 2003 was a resounding success, and I hope you were in Kansas City to enjoy it. My hat is off to all the Missouri River Outfitters Chapter members who worked so hard to make the gathering the success it was. Presentations and field trips were first class as were the fine meals at every turn. These gatherings are always a great time to renew old friendships and tell stories.

Our board met on Wednesday, before the symposium began, and I can give you a brief report. We are still wrestling with our budget. We have been adding expenses over the years without enough income to support the projects added. Not helping of course is the fact that our investments are receiving virtually no interest. Dues for business memberships were raised to \$80 per year.

On the positive side John Schumacher, our mapping guru, reported progress on our trail-mapping front. With NPS help we plan to have the first pass on the NPS web site by next summer. This would mean one could go to the site and find the SFT locations. Next would be that folks would confirm that we have the correct locations for the Trail.

As reported earlier, Marcia Fox and Chris Day have received NPS support for three teacher workshops next summer. These will be held in June at Council Grove, Lamar, and Santa Fe. Keep watching *Wagon Tracks* for details about these workshops. Education is one of the main missions of SFTA.

The board also accepted the offer from Bent's Old Fort Chapter to host the 2007 Symposium. They plan to hold the meeting in Trinidad, Colorado. This will be the 20th anniversary of SFTA and a fitting location as the very first meeting was held in Trinidad. I also remind you that the 2005 Symposium will be in McPherson, Kansas. Janel Cook and her crew were watching everything at Kansas City to get ideas for 2005. The 2004 Rendezvous will be held in Larned next September. David Clapsaddle is hard at work developing field trips north out of Larned. These will be sites we have not had the chance to see before.

At the general membership meet-

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

ing I thanked retiring board members Mike Slater and Helen Brown for their service to SFTA. We also welcomed newly-elected board members Sara Richter (OK), Tim Zwink (OK), Emery Murray (CO), and Jeff Trotman (KS). We look forward to working with the new members in the future.

Our attendance was not as great at Kansas City as we had hoped. The board wants to know what was behind the decline and directed me to develop a questionnaire that might help provide some insight. Since the SFTA had not queried its members in such a way before, we have added several other categories with questions. This questionnaire is included as an insert in this issue of *Wagon Tracks*. Please read it over and respond. It is a good opportunity to let us know what you think about a lot of things. I'll tabulate your responses and report on the results in the February *Wagon Tracks*. Thanks for your help.

Lastly, Bev and I just returned from Lakin, Kansas. The old road to Santa Fe has lost one of its staunchest supporters in Paul Bentrup. Paul died on October 5 and services were held October 11 in Lakin. Paul was unquestionably a character. He donated a plot of land on the Bentrup family farm containing "Charlie's Ruts" near Deerfield, accessible from U.S. Highway 50, and Paul watched over these Trail ruts. He maintained a mailbox at the site with SFT information for the public. Not just local information but stories from the entire Trail. He was a wonderful guy, and I'll miss him a lot.

—Hal Jackson

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Life	\$885
Benefactor	\$1,000
Patron	\$100/year
Business	\$80/year
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PAUL F. BENTRUP

SFTA Ambassador Paul F. Bentrup, founding member of SFTA and longtime Trail enthusiast, died October 5 at Lakin, KS. He was 86 years old. He lived most of his life on a farm near Deerfield, KS, and described himself as a sheep herder. He donated a plot of land on the family farm containing Trail ruts for a roadside park, known as "Charlie's Ruts" to honor his father, located along Highway 50 west of Deerfield.

Paul was one of the best friends the Trail ever had, and he was relentless in his search for information and helpful to numerous students of the route. He was the first person to register for the first symposium at Trinidad, CO, in 1986. There he received one of the first Awards of Merit. Later he was named the first SFTA Ambassador, and now that award (presented to two people at each symposium) is known as the Paul F. Bentrup SFTA Ambassador Award. For many years Bentrup was active along the Trail, recruiting new members for SFTA and encouraging travelers to visit historic sites.

Health problems slowed him down and he spent his last years in the High Plains Retirement Village in Lakin. To the end he enjoyed visitors and remembering his good times with them and the Trail. He was a loyal supporter of public radio.

Paul loved history, read widely, and had the vocabulary of a classical scholar. His penmanship was atrocious, and everyone privileged to receive one of his missives (often scribbled on whatever piece of used paper was handy) enjoyed the time it took to decipher the message. Paul had a wonderful sense of humor, and over the years was given a number of descriptive monikers, including "Bulldog Bentrup," "Dirty Shirt Bentrup," and "Fastest Tongue in the West." He was a wonderful friend and a great man with whom to ride the Trail. We miss him but remember him fondly.

Condolences are extended to his family and friends. Memorials may be made to SFTA or the Kearny County Historical Society in Lakin. When you pass "Charlie's Ruts," pull off for a while and remember Paul Bentrup, a true ambassador for the Trail and SFTA.

LAWRENCE (LARRY) LYONS

by Marc Simmons

Larry Lyons, 85, died at Santa Fe, NM, on June 17, 2003. He and his late wife Doris were longtime dedicated members of the End of the Trail and Corazón de los Caminos chapters of SFTA.

The Lyons traveled the Trail a number of times and attended several symposiums. Larry developed one slide show covering the entire SFT and another one focusing on Trail forts. These were presented at chapter meetings and public gatherings, delighting audiences with his historical insights and wry humor. Doris Lyons served as treasurer of the End of the Trail Chapter.

Born in Queens, NY, Larry was a graduate of MIT and spent his professional career as an electrical engineer. Upon retirement, he and Doris moved to Santa Fe in 1978 where they passed the next two decades involved in history and archaeology activities. Larry's collection of thousands of 35mm color slides relating to those subjects will become part of the Museum of New Mexico's photo archives.

In the death of Larry Lyons, the Santa Fe Trail lost a true friend.

DONOR HONOR ROLL

A form for donations to SFTA is included in each issue of *WT*, and donors are recognized in each issue. Special thanks is extended to the following for recent donations, all memorials to Paul Bentrup:

Michael & Betsy Crawford Gore
Leo E. & Bonita M. Oliva
Reed & Ruth Olson Peters

SFTA RESEARCH GRANT APPLICATIONS DUE MARCH 1

SFTA invites applications for a limited number of grants to be awarded from its Scholarly Research Fund early in 2004. The grants, in amounts up to \$1500, may be used for supplies and materials, research services (literature searches, computer use, clerical and/or technical assistance, copy fees) and travel.

The purpose of the Fund is to stimulate significant scholarly research on the Trail suitable for publication. Because SFTA is sponsoring the bicentennial celebration of the

Zebulon Pike Expedition, we shall also consider applications on that subject. Consideration for the grants is open to anyone whose application fulfills the procedures required. All applications are reviewed by the SFTA Scholarly Research Committee, whose members currently are Leo Oliva, Mike Olsen, and Steve Whitmore.

Applications are due to the Committee by March 1, 2004. Grants will be awarded by March 31, 2004. Awards are for one year. A report is required from the grantee at the end of the year. Recipients may receive as many as two consecutive awards. Last year the Association granted four awards, totaling \$5000.

For an application form and further instructions, please contact the Committee Chairman, Stephen Whitmore, 120 Gabaldon Rte, Las Vegas NM 87701, (505) 454-0683, or <whitmore@newmexico.com>.

SFTA AWARDS, 2003

A highlight of each symposium is the presentation of awards to recognize individuals and organizations that have made significant contributions to the Trail and SFTA. Congratulations to the following:

Award of Merit

Stephen Hyslop, author of *Bound for Santa Fe* (2002)

Missouri River Outfitters Chapter
Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association

Kaw Mission State Historic Site,
Council Grove, KS

John Atkinson, St. Joseph, MO
National Park Service, Rocky Mountain District, Branch of Long Distance Trails

Pam Najdowski, Santa Fe, NM
Helen Brown, Elkhart, KS

Paul F. Bentrup Ambassador Award

Margaret Sears, Santa Fe, NM
Jeff Trotman, Ulysses, KS

Jack D. Rittenhouse Memorial Stagecoach Award

Mike Olsen, Colorado Springs, CO

Heritage Preservation Award

Colorado Interstate Gas Company,
Colorado Springs, CO

Ralph Hathaway, Chase, KS

Marc Simmons Writing Award

Mary Jean Cook, Santa Fe, NM
Alma Gregory, Sapello, NM

MUSTANGS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, PART I

by Phyllis Morgan

[This is sixth in a series about wild-life on the Trail by SFTA member Morgan. This article will appear in two parts, to be concluded next issue. Special thanks to Joyce Fay, animal photographer of Corrales, New Mexico, for the use of her photograph.]

THE Golden Age of the Trail, the 40-year period (1821 to 1861) before the Civil War, was described by Robert L. Duffus in his popular history, *The Santa Fe Trail*, published in 1930. It was a time when "the wild mustangs sometimes came in droves of a hundred or more, 'gamboling and curvetting within a short distance of the caravans.'" ¹ Duffus and others borrowed these words from Josiah Gregg, who had seen those magnificent droves during his four round-trips over the Trail a hundred years earlier. In the early 1830s, the Trail was still young, the land was pristine, and the animals roamed the grassy plains in overwhelming numbers.

The mustang, or wild horse (*Equus caballus*), member of the family *Equidae*, was among the most preeminent animals seen on the prairies by the travelers following the routes of the Trail. This was the first animal Gregg chose to write about in his treatise on animals, included in his book *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). He explained at the beginning of the essay why he wrote about the mustang first: "By far the most noble of these [animals], and therefore the best entitled to precedence in the brief notice I am able to present of the animals of those regions, is the mustang or wild horse of the Prairies." ² Profoundly impressed by the sight of mustangs, Gregg's precise statement provides a clearer impression of their numbers: "Large droves are very frequently seen upon the Prairies, sometimes of hundreds together, gamboling and curvetting within a short distance of the caravans." ³

In the autumn of 1831, the same year Gregg set out on his first journey over the Trail, Albert Pike, a young, well-educated Bostonian (a distant relative of explorer Zebulon M. Pike) left from Independence, Missouri, in a caravan headed for



Photo courtesy of Joyce Fay.

Taos and captained by Charles Bent, well-known trader and partner in the later Bent's Fort. Albert's journals, filled with poetry and prose, were published in 1834, placing him among the first to have Trail reminiscences published in a book. He agreed with Gregg in regard to the mustangs' beauty: "Hardly a day passed without our seeing a herd of them, either quietly feeding, or careering off wildly in the distance. They are the most beautiful sight to be met with in the prairie. Of all colors, but more commonly of a bay, and with their manes floating in the wind, they present a beautiful contrast to the heavy, unwieldy herds of buffalo, which seem, even at their best speed, to be moved by some kind of clumsy machinery." ⁴

Also in agreement with Gregg's decision to give precedence to the mustang, J. Frank Dobie described the wild horse a century later as "the most picturesque wild species of the land." ⁵ A celebrated author and Southwestern folklorist, Dobie was born in 1888 in Texas, where he "began to learn to ride before he finished learning to walk." Although he "came after the day of the mustang had passed," ⁶ Dobie observed wild horses in various locales where some still lived. For several decades, he collected hundreds of accounts of

those bygone days from old settlers, cowboys, and mustangers. Dobie probably wrote more about wild horses than any other writer, past or present.

Mustangs have gone by a variety of names: buffalo horse, Indian pony or Indian horse, Spanish pony, cow pony, saddle horse, and Cayuse (a name borrowed from the Cayuse Indians of present eastern Oregon and Washington, who had so many horses and traded them with other tribes and travelers on the Oregon Trail that their name became popularly used in the West for cow ponies or range horses). The name mustang is an English corruption of the Spanish word *mesteño* (feminine *mesteña*), a word with a long history in Spain before it came into use in the New World. *Mesteñeros*, or mustangers, were the men who hunted, captured, and killed mustangs for profit.

This hardy hybrid was well-built and tough with excellent feet (hard hoofs) and sturdy legs. Mustangs generally lacked the size of stable-bred horses, because the hardships of their wild lives and the severe weather on the plains stunted and changed them over time. Their height ranged from 13 to 16 hands, averaging 14 hands. "Hand" is a measure that is equivalent to four inches (14 hands = 4 feet 8 inches). Technically, any horse up to 14.2 hands, or 4 feet 10 inches at the shoulder, is considered a pony; one measuring over 14.2 hands is considered a horse. Their weight was generally from 700 to 1,000 pounds, although some horses weighed more or less. ⁷ The basic social unit is comprised of a dominant stallion, several mares, and juveniles.

All the pretty wild horses on the vast grassy plains made an eye-catching, unforgettable sight. In addition to considerable variety in conformation, the mustangs came in all colors of the equine spectrum: bay, black, brown, buckskin, chestnut, dun, gray, grullo, palomino, roan, sorrel, and white. ⁸ Many had coats of solid color or a shade of a specific color, while others had beautiful markings and patterns of one color or shade on white coats, such as the

Paints and Pintos. The Indians of the Plains particularly prized the Paints for their color, as well as hardiness, loyalty, and intelligence.

The mustangs' appearance, however, was considered by some to be less than appealing. Gregg once remarked: "... their elegance has been much exaggerated by travelers, because they have seen them at large, abandoned to their wild and natural gaiety. Then, it is true, they appear superb indeed; but when caught and tamed, they generally dwindle down to ordinary ponies."⁹

In spite of their size and rugged appearance, Dobie insisted the mustang had as much savvy as any horse that ever lived. Stanley Vestal, a contemporary of Dobie and author of the popular history *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (1939), added: "Once broken, the mustang showed as much sense as a mule, as much endurance as the wolves that pestered him, and he had a 'hard' stomach that enabled him to stand an incredible amount of riding, and to go without grass and water for long periods. He could dodge an angry buffalo or a man's snaring rope; he would buck and kick and bite. But he could go, and go, and go."¹⁰

Joseph Pratt Allyn discovered this to be the case when he purchased a mustang in 1863. He traveled the Trail from Kansas to New Mexico via the Mountain Route and continued beyond, ending his journey in Arizona. His long, informative letters written along the way were published in the *Hartford* [Connecticut] *Evening Press*. In one written in December 1863 at Fort Wingate in New Mexico, Allyn confided that he shed a tear when he parted with his faithful, stable-bred steed Swindle, who carried him every step of the way from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe and on to Albuquerque. It was apparent that Swindle was in great need of decent forage and a rest in a good corral, which were available near Albuquerque. Allyn exchanged him for two horses, a roan horse "in no way Swindle's equal, except that he was in condition to go through," and a mustang, "a grey pony, native to the country, that keeps fat on grass, scarcely knows what corn is, a wild, frisky, treacherous little scamp, hard to saddle, stubbornly opposed to being rode and to going

fast (unless it suits his freak), and then he can run."¹¹

Vestal stressed the importance of the horse to Trail travelers: "A man's first thought on reaching a prairie port was to obtain an animal to carry him to Santa Fe. . . . As with arms and clothing, the greenhorn found that he had everything to learn when it came to buying a saddle animal. Horses bred in the States did not stand up well under prairie conditions; horses native to the Plains were a hardy breed."¹² He added: "As likely as not, his name was Paint. The greenhorn who bought him, merely because he looked western and bizarre, soon found that he had an animal with any number of good points-and a mind of his own."¹³

Self-confessed greenhorn, Hector Lewis Garrard (better known as Lewis H. Garrard), arrived in Westport, Missouri, in the summer of 1846. He waited there for the arrival of Ceran St. Vrain, partner of Charles and William Bent and leader of the company in which Garrard traveled the Trail. While waiting, Garrard and a new acquaintance rode on hired horses from their encampment into bustling Westport to see the sights and look at horses. Among those fascinating sights were "the different Indians, in fanciful dresses, riding in to trade and look around on their handsome ponies."¹⁴

When St. Vrain arrived on September 1, Garrard had to purchase a horse of his own for the long journey. Wagonmaster Frank De Lisle, called "*le maître de wagon*" by Garrard, sold him a horse for fifty dollars. Garrard described his new steed as having a "fanciful color, brown and white spots, and white eyes" and named him Paint. Garrard thought it was "a descriptive though not euphonious name."¹⁵

According to Garrard, Paint was "a noted buffalo chaser," and he "anticipated much excitement through [Paint's] new services." Whether or not Paint was a bona-fide buffalo chaser, Garrard admitted: "There was plenty of excitement-and considerable frustration. I have worked myself into a profuse perspiration, with vexation, a hundred and one times in vain attempts to trap him."¹⁶ On those occasions, Garrard ended up hanging his saddle on a wagon and walked with others along

the Trail.

It was apparent that learning how to use a *lazo* (Spanish for lasso) was a necessity on the frontier, and especially around mustangs. Luckily, there was also assistance available to the greenhorns. Garrard remarked: "The maneuvers of the Mexicans of our company are really astonishing in lassoing unruly mules and horses; dodge as they may, or run about, the lariat noose is sure to fall on the unwilling necks; a loop thrown over the nose, the gagging Spanish bit forced into the mouth, the saddle clapped on, and the rider firmly in that, with galling spurs tickles the side ribs, and flies and curvettes on the plain in less time than it can be written."¹⁷

Garrard and Paint grew accustomed to each other and were together until January 1847. Freezing weather and lack of forage had turned Paint into "a poor, old and broken down Pinto," forcing Garrard to trade him for "a raw-boned, impetuous piece of mule flesh"—with the ominous name of Diabolique.

Dobie emphasized in his telling of the mustangs' story that the prairies were natural horse country, and mustangs were prairie animals by nature. The land was perfectly suited to their needs, providing a dry climate, native grasses on which they thrived, and plenty of space to run freely and swiftly outdistance predators. Such exquisite suitability caused the mustang population to multiply rapidly. According to Dobie, the wild horse population probably reached its zenith at the end of the Mexican War in 1848, numbering at least two million. "Even after tens of thousands had been captured or killed, many remained until the land was all fenced in."¹⁸

Vestal also commented about the plains being prime habitat for mustangs: "The great weakness of the horse lies in his feet, and the chief enemy of his feet is moisture. Keep a horse dry-shod, with plenty of forage, and the world is his paradise. Such a paradise was furnished, ready-made for him on the high, grassy, semi-arid Plains of the West. There, man and horse became one. The animal was no longer a tame creature of the stall and barnyard, but the companion of his wandering master, a friend in need, indispensable

ble in war or peace—something precious that a man must risk his neck in guarding; something irresistible, worth a man's neck to steal or capture."¹⁹

Their history on the North American continent has been researched and debated for many years. Most scientists are in agreement that North America was the ancestral home of the genus *Equus*, beginning with its earliest form, the Dawn Horse or *Eohippus* (now called *Hyracotherium*). Based on the fossil record going back about 60 million years, paleontologists have named at least sixty species of the genus *Equus* from North America.²⁰ Horses roamed there for millions of years until about 10,000 years ago, when they and other larger mammals, except the pronghorn, became extinct.²¹ The horses that had ventured earlier across the Bering land bridge and spread westward across Asia to Europe and North Africa did not become extinct.

The Spaniards brought *Equus* back "home" to his roots in North America. The modern horses that accompanied the *conquistadores*, however, were domesticated and different from any North American ancestor. They had evolved over the centuries, and horses in Spain had undergone selective breeding with the Barbs of the Moors, producing the famous Andalusians that came with the Spaniards. Horses arrived on the ship carrying Hernán Cortés, conqueror of Mexico, and his soldiers in 1519. Cortés was the first to bring cavalry to the North American continent, arriving in Mexico with sixteen horses and one foal born en route. Because of the meticulous records kept by Spanish chronicler Bernal Díaz, we know the names of those horses and even their colors. Dobie called them "the guarded atom bomb of the Spaniards."²²

Shock and awe gripped the Indians when they first saw the frightening horses of the Spaniards. Cortés, and the *conquistadores* who arrived after him, understood the power of their horses to intimidate and subdue. They encouraged the Indians to believe that their horses were "monsters that devoured human flesh."²³ Indians were not allowed near their horses. One of the first ordinances passed after the Conquest of Mexico

prohibited any Indian from riding a horse. This prohibition was in effect long after Mexican *vaqueros* or cow-workers (the first cowboys) were riding horses.

When the expedition of Spanish explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado arrived in New Mexico in 1540, the Indians called the Spaniards' horses "Big Dogs." They carried the Spaniards' gear and equipment, similar to the much smaller dogs that carried or hauled the Indians' domestic and hunting gear on their backs or on travois, the carrying platform dragged behind them. As time passed and the Indians of the Plains were able to obtain horses, their lives were profoundly transformed. Horses transported them on the move or on the hunt, whereas before they had always traveled and hunted on foot. Their mode of life changed dramatically "from crop-bound camps to a boundlessness limited only by the winds of winter, the drift of buffalo, the fruiting of berries, fresh grass (which was nearly everywhere in season), and cottonwood when the grass was ice-locked."²⁴ Horses allowed them to reach impressive heights in the arts of horsemanship, hunting, and warfare.

It was long thought that the mustangs living on the plains when the Anglo-Americans arrived in the 1800s had originated from horses brought to the Southwest by Coronado. Marc Simmons, eminent historian and authority on the Santa Fe Trail, has written about this long-held belief in his "Trail Dust" column: "For years popular belief held that the huge herds of horses that ran free on the Great Plains were descended from animals that escaped from Coronado's Expedition in 1540. But since the Spaniards reported no losses and wild horses were not seen until the 1700s, that theory no longer holds water. We now think that horses escaping from north Mexican ranches in the middle colonial period found their way to the pastureland of the Llano Estacado [The Staked Plains] in eastern New Mexico and western Texas, where they rapidly multiplied."²⁵

In addition to the horse-breeding ranches of northern Mexico, there were other "seminal seedbeds of horse diffusion" in the Southwest.

An important one was the abandonment of Spanish horses following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Spaniards were forced out of New Mexico and did not return until 1692. During that period, the Indians of New Mexico began capturing horses and trading them to Plains Indians and other tribes of the Southwest. Another "seedbed" was the abandonment and escape of horses from the short-lived missions in East Texas in the 1690s.²⁶

Those horses from northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas worked their way northward throughout the Great Plains. They were joined during the ensuing years by horses that ran away or had been abandoned by their owners. Large numbers were stolen, raided, or driven away from later exploring parties, from the *caballadas* [herds of horses and mules] of caravan companies on the Santa Fe Trail and other trails, from cavalry herds, and from encampments and settlements. Horses and other livestock also fled in fright from storms and lightning, wolves and other predators, and prairie fires.

Stampeding mustang and buffalo herds carried off many animals. Gregg observed: "It is sometimes difficult to keep them [the mustangs] from dashing among the loose stock of the traveler, which would be exceedingly dangerous, for once together they are hard to separate again, particularly if the number of mustangs is much the greatest. It is a singular fact, that the gentlest wagon-horse, . . . once among a drove of mustangs, will often acquire in a few hours all the intractable wildness of his untamed companions."²⁷ Trail diaries and journals are filled with accounts of animals running away or being driven off and of the efforts expended to retrieve them, often discouragingly unsuccessful.

When Anglo-Americans arrived at the beginning of the 1800s, wild horses were present in great numbers across the Plains. During his expedition of 1806 and 1807, Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike recorded numerous times seeing them on his way up the Arkansas River and in Texas. The exploring party camped on October 28, 1806, at the mouth of the Pawnee River [Fork] where it entered the Arkansas River from the north at Larned. The following day,

Pike reported his first sighting: "... about noon discovered two horses feeding with a herd of buffalo; we attempted to surround them, but they soon cleared our fleetest coursers. One appeared to be an elegant horse; these were the first wild horses we had seen. Two or three hours before night, struck the Spanish road [the trail left by Spanish Lieutenant Facundo Melgares and some 600 troops as they traveled from the Pawnee village in present Nebraska back to Santa Fe a few weeks ahead of Pike]; and as it was snowing, halted and encamped the party at the first woods on the bank of the river."²⁸

On November 1, Pike wrote: "... upon using my glass to observe the adjacent country, I observed on the prairie a herd of horses; Doctor Robinson and Baroney accompanied me to go and view them. When within a quarter of a mile, they discovered us, and came immediately up near us, making the earth tremble under them (this brought to my recollection a charge of cavalry). They stopt and gave us an opportunity to view them; among them there were some very beautiful bays, blacks and greys, and indeed of all colours. We fired at a black horse, with an idea of creasing him, but did not succeed; they flourished round and returned again to see us, when we returned to camp."²⁹

Creasing, a practice described by Gregg as "a cruel expedient," was one method used to capture mustangs. It required expert shooting skill. The horse was shot along the crease in his upper neck (above the cervical vertebrae) where nerves are present. A clean shot knocked him unconscious or temporarily stunned him so that he could be captured. A poorly aimed shot, on the other hand, would fracture a vertebra and kill the horse instantly, paralyze him, or cause a slow, painful death. If the aim was perfect, the wound would generally heal, although a hole made by a rifle ball was sometimes evident at the root of the horse's mane.

The Anglo-Americans adopted creasing upon their arrival on the frontier, often referring to it as "nicking." They also borrowed a variety of other methods used by the Spanish, Mexicans, and Indians to capture larger numbers of wild horses. One place on the Trail where hunters

would lie in wait to try to crease, or nick, mustangs was Pretty Encampment. This was a popular campground on the Mountain Route where a stream ran through a grove of cottonwoods. It was located east of Bent's Fort, where East Bridge Creek ran into the Arkansas River (in present-day Hamilton County, Kansas, not far from the Colorado border).³⁰ Incredible numbers of mustangs were found in this region of the Plains.

On November 2, Zebulon Pike and his friends tried an "experiment": "... we equipped six of our fleetest coursers with riders and ropes, to noose the wild horses if in our power to come among the band. They stood until [the riders] came within forty yards of them, neighing and whinnowing, when the chase began, which we continued about two miles, without success. Two of our horses ran up with them; we could not take them. ... I have since laughed at our folly, for taking the wild horses, in that manner, is scarcely ever attempted. ..."³¹

Pike also observed quantities of horse dung on the ground in some locales. Mounds of freshly-topped manure were the main mustang sign, showing that mustangs were, or had been, present in the vicinity. Dobie remarked that celebrated author Washington Irving was "too elegant to mention the crudity" in his account of mustangs observed during his adventures on the Santa Fe Trail in 1832, later published in 1850 in *A Tour on the Prairies*. Irving's travel companion, Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, was not so disinclined, noting "pyramids of manure often two or three feet high."³² Horse chips sometimes served the same purpose as the commonly used "prairie coal" (buffalo and cattle chips).

Many other Trail travelers wrote in their journals, diaries, and letters of observing wild horses along their way. William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trail, saw them in September 1821 during the inaugural journey over the soon-to-be-famous Trail. George Sibley, leader of the 1825 survey of the Trail, recorded in his diary on September 3, 1825, in the vicinity of the Arkansas River and Clear Creek: "I saw six Wild Horses today on the high Prairie & shot at them, but without effect."³³

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(concluded next issue)

THE SANTA FE TRAIL AND THE MORA LAND GRANT: THE EFFECTS OF TRADE ON A TRADITIONAL ECONOMY, 1846-1880

by C. L. McDougal

[McDougal received the first SFTA Research Grant to assist with this project. He has also worked with Hal Jackson, mapping the SFT for the National Park Service. The following is a condensation of his Master's thesis.]

TODAY, a drive through the small agricultural communities that sprinkle the dramatic landscape of the Mexican-era Mora Land Grant on the eastern foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains reveals a world apart: a world of small farms, of narrow "long lots," of traditional gravity-based irrigation or *acequia* systems, of a distinct spoken-form of old Castilian Spanish, and of a strong local integrity that has remained intact in an age of splintering and dislocation. The *Moreños* like it that way. The Mora Valley has a long history of separatism, beginning with the Mora revolt of 1847 and extending to the present day. The town of Mora, for instance, remains the only unincorporated New Mexico county seat.

The demands put on this region during the mid- to late-1800s by a combination of the Santa Fe trade and eventually the U.S. military department depot at Fort Union brought about a radical shift in agricultural productivity. And for a while, Mora County (along with Taos and San Miguel counties) was known as the "Bread basket of the West," replete with then-modern roller mills nestled beside streams and rivers and grinding the flour that facilitated the U.S. Army's initial occupation of the Southwest. Then, just as suddenly, the railroad came through (1879), Fort Union closed (1891), and the region's boom drew to a close, leaving the small towns once again to their traditional ways of life.

Though the Mora Valley of today has obviously adapted its local character to incorporate many aspects of the modern American lifestyle (convenience stores, mobile home parks, gas stations, etc.), from a production point of view the Mora of today is perhaps economically more similar to the Mora of 1835 (*i.e.*, subsistence-based) than to that of the later 1800s

(*i.e.*, export-based). This article seeks to put the Mora Grant in its proper geographical and historical context and to describe many of the changes in the production patterns of the grant from 1846 to 1880 as being strongly influenced by proximity to various manifestations of the large-scale American economy, such as the Santa Fe Trail (SFT), roller mills, and Fort Union itself.

The history of the Mora Valley does not begin with Hispanic settlement. Arrowheads have been found throughout the valley, suggesting that the area was used as a hunting ground by Utes, Apaches, and Comanches. New Mexico historian F. Stanley described a contingent of Jicarilla Apaches who used the area around present-day La Cueva before its Hispanic settlement as a base camp from which they departed to the Canadian River on buffalo hunts.¹ The pass above the valley that cuts westward over the Sangre de Cristo Mountains from the Mora Valley along the trajectory of the Río Pueblo served as an avenue of passage for Tewa Indians on their way to the eastern plains to hunt buffalo or for Plains Indians on trade expeditions or raids bound for Taos and other, smaller Hispanic communities on the western slopes of the mountains.²

The first Europeans to see the Mora Valley may have been Coronado and his companions on their way back to the Río Grande from an expedition to the eastern plains in 1541.³ The earliest recorded descriptions of the Mora Valley are from Governor Don Diego de Vargas (1696) and Juan Paez Hertado (1715), both of whom stopped in the valley before continuing on their respective ways, calling their camp "*demora*"⁴ ("stop-off" or "delay" in Spanish).⁵ By the early 1800s, most of the Spanish agricultural communities on the west side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains had long been established in the heart of Pueblo Indian country, occupying fertile valleys with sufficient water to support *acequia* systems. However, the scarcity of water, as well as the ferocity of

the Plains Indians, had prevented much expansion to the east.

During the late 1700s and early 1800s tentative offshoot communities, like colonies of ancient Greek *poli*, hesitantly began to make their way east.⁶ Community land grants were awarded to settlements creeping eastward, not over the Pueblo or Taos passes but around the southernmost reaches of the Sangre de Cristos, such as San Miguel del Bado on the Pecos River, authorized in 1794.⁷ By 1835 New Mexico Governor Albino Perez had formulated a policy to encourage the founding of new settlements to the east.

The reasons for this policy may have been to create a buffer zone against the Americans from the east (and especially from hostile incursions from the Republic of Texas)⁸ or, later on, to preemptively secure as much of a New Mexican patrimony as possible for Hispanics in anticipation of the United States' annexation of the territory. Malcolm Ebright suspects, however, that the major causes for the initial eastern expansion had more to do with creating a buffer against the Comanches, Apaches, and Utes, and with finding ample water for a growing population, than with staving off American trade enterprises.⁹ Ebright's suspicion seems to be confirmed by the chronology of the Mora Grant's important dates—after all, the first settlements did not find their impetus in official policy.

In 1816 a group of Hispanic pioneers under Antonio Olguin from the San José de Gracia de las Trampas land grant (authorized in 1751) followed the Río Pueblo eastward over a pass through which Comanche Indians habitually passed in order to come swiftly on raids to Spanish settlements.¹⁰ Thus, between the Santa Fe mountains to the south and the Fernando de Taos mountains to the north, the party arrived eventually at the Río de Agua Negra (now the Mora River) valley where they made a home, calling their town San Antonio de Mora (now Cleveland) and the valley *Lo de Mora*.¹¹

The initial Mora Valley settle-

ment, while unauthorized by any legal sanction, knew some success and, by 1818, 76 inhabitants of *Lo de Mora* petitioned the government for the construction of a new church in the valley, claiming that most residents were unable to make the long trek back across the Rio Pueblo Pass to Picuris Pueblo every Sunday to the nearest church. There is no evidence that any official responded to this request,¹² demonstrating the patent lack of Spanish interest in pouring more money into colonial development of a resource-poor area that could hardly hope to make any returns on the investment. By 1832, frequent Indian raids and depredations had taken their toll on the Hispanos of *Lo de Mora*, and the valley was abandoned for three years.¹³

Meanwhile the Mexican War of Independence successfully concluded in 1821, and William Becknell's trade mission to Santa Fe, arriving in November of that year, was the first to find a warm reception by Governor Facundo Melgares. Melgares also gave Becknell an open invitation to spread the word: the Santa Fe Trail had opened.¹⁴ At first, the Cimarron or Desert Route was the only branch of the Trail to gain much currency, and though it posed numerous hazards to Missouri merchants, including scarcity of water between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and vulnerability to Indian attacks, the volume of trade on the SFT steadily increased from around \$15,000 in 1822 to an astounding \$250,000 in 1831. In fact, the number of traders increased to such an extent that by 1834 the Cimarron Route "had become a broad, well-defined highway."¹⁵

The later Mountain Route of the SFT crossed southeastern Colorado and passed by Bent's Fort, a defensive trading post built by the merchant William Bent around 1834, before turning south into New Mexico.¹⁶ The Mountain Route; especially south of the Taos turnoffs, did not know much popularity among Santa Fe traders until 1860, when the outbreak of the Civil War and attendant fears of Texan guerilla raids on trade caravans compounded the recently heightened Indian hostilities on the plains. From 1860 on, the Mountain Route attracted an increasing amount of traffic, and con-

tinued to take precedence over the Cimarron Route even after the end of the Civil War.¹⁷

The Santa Fe trade precipitated a whole host of social and economic changes in New Mexico. It provided many jobs to local Hispanics, some of whom worked for American traders, others of whom became quite successful entrepreneurial traders in their own right. It brought cheap goods to trade-starved communities. It also tended to accentuate the discrepancies between rich and poor, as there was now such demand for agricultural and other products that ricos and the landed middle classes could begin to accumulate lands and capital.¹⁸

The inhabitants of *Lo de Mora* persisted, and on 28 September 1835 the newly-appointed *alcalde*, Manuel Sanchez, received the *merced de Mora* (Mora Grant) from the territorial governor, Albino Perez. The grant (827,621 acres)¹⁹ far exceeded the traditional area apportioned, even for community grants (though, unlike what would come to be known as the Maxwell Grant, the Mora Grant was still well under its legal limit of 3,648,000 acres, or 48,000 acres per grantee, according to Mexican law),²⁰ under the new policy to extend the Mexican presence in territories claimed by Mexico.

Sanchez distributed parcels of private land among 76 settler families all along the Rio de Agua Negra (later Rio Mora). He considered two sites in particular as being most promising for settlement, and established two plazas, calling them Santa Gertrudis de Mora (later called Mora *tout court*) and San Antonio de Mora (now Cleveland). The rest of the vast estate Sanchez initially designated as *ejidos* (communal holdings) and was logged lightly for construction timbers to the west. Grazing occurred mainly on *ejidos* above the *acequias* and the most common livestock in the area were not cows, but rather *ganados menores*, including sheep, goats, and pigs.²¹

Mora was affected by the Santa Fe trade. Almost from the Mora settlement's inception, but certainly by the official authorization in 1835, trade in the Mora Grant with merchants from the SFT played an important role in the local economy and

provided locals with merchandise they otherwise could not have obtained, including farm equipment and indeed anything made of metal at all, a material so rare that oftentimes a farmer could only afford to use it to tip his otherwise wooden plow. The *Moreños* in turn sold flour, hay, grain, and livestock to the passersby, and were engaged as teamsters and guides by wagon train leaders.²²

The services provided by the inhabitants of the Mora Grant provided a magnet for the Santa Fe traders. Many of them, after crossing the Ocaté River, would turn west toward the town of Ocaté, as did Josiah Gregg in 1835, finding himself in the small settlement of Gallinas near the grant's northern boundary.²³ The traders would then turn south, passing near Coyote and through La Cueva, and then either swing back south and east by Las Golondrinas to rejoin what was by that point the confluence of the two major routes of the SFT at La Junta, or continue south to join the Trail near Las Vegas. This longer detour was termed the "Mora Loop."²⁴

Following General Stephen W. Kearny's invasion of New Mexico in 1846 and his announcement in downtown Las Vegas that the area was now claimed by the United States, revolution erupted first in Taos on 17 January 1847²⁵ and then spread to Mora, where five transient Anglo merchants—probably operating along the SFT—were killed. The first effort to quell the insurgence failed when the force of 80 soldiers was beaten back and its leader, General Israel R. Hendley, was killed by 200 rebels. However, on 30 January, the army returned with a cannon and virtually demolished Santa Gertrudis, leveling many of its buildings. Springing out of the ashes of its demolished former self, the new Mora was reconstructed at precisely the moment when large mills were first finding purchase in the New Mexico economy.

The rebels fled to the Canadian River but continued to raid farms and ranches and attack wagon trains until they were chased into Texas.²⁶ Evidently, these Mexican patriots had brazenly attempted to perform the task appointed to them by the Mexican government with the

awarding of the grant, namely stave off the Americans, and it clearly demonstrated the association in the minds of locals between the Santa Fe commerce and American expansionism and control.

That association was confirmed in 1851 when the U.S. military appropriated lands from the Mora Grant, still unconfirmed by the American government, for a military reservation and began construction of what would come to be for a time the largest American military installation west of the Mississippi: Fort Union. Fort Union and the other New Mexico forts, after some rather risible attempts at self-sufficiency by mandating that soldiers farm their own crops, eventually created a demand for corn, barley, rye, beef, bacon, vegetables, and especially wheat that was completely unprecedented in the region. With storehouses enough for two million bushels of grain, extensive stables accommodating 1,000 horses, and 3,000 soldiers stationed there at the height of its importance, Fort Union became a freight destination rivaling Santa Fe in draw (itself a town of only around 4,000 at that time)²⁷ when, in 1861, it was designated the central depot for supplies, foodstuffs, and equipment for the military Department of New Mexico, which at that time included Arizona.²⁸ This signified that the distribution hub of the military department was now shifted from Albuquerque to Fort Union where the army could more readily acquire foodstuffs to freight overland to other forts.

So was brought about an uneasy marriage of the U.S. military and the Mora Grant. On the one hand, the money the government was willing to spend to support the army galvanized local agriculture to a level of production heretofore unheard of (see Table 1). On the other hand, some of the *ejidos* (common lands) had been seized for the military reservation on which Fort Union was constructed and *extranjeros* were overrunning the area.²⁹ Tiptonville is an example of a primarily Anglo trading town that sprang up along the Trail.³⁰ Loma Parda, while perhaps originally founded as an agricultural community shortly before the installation of Fort Union, had the dubious distinction because of

geographic proximity of providing Fort Union's soldiers with those "bodily necessities" that the refectory did not specialize in—it came to be known as "Sodom on the Mora."

During times of military crisis, Fort Union could demand the free labor of surrounding towns or the sale of all excess agricultural products, oftentimes at below-market rates, with the only alternative being that the goods be confiscated by force if need be.³¹ Moreover, oftentimes the army would only give contracts to those who could furnish large quantities of goods and supplies (50,000 pounds or more, in the case of wheat flour).³² Furthermore, one prerequisite of the awarding of a contract by Fort Union by the year 1881 was that the competing bid be accompanied by a bond of one half the value of the value of goods contracted.³³

Thus, because the Hispanic *ricos* generally had the bulk of their capital invested in livestock, in a territory with a non-Hispanic population of only around 3%, an amazing 88% of the grain contracts went to non-Hispanic millers and merchants who had the financial resources to consolidate the wheat production from many small local farms.³⁴ Vicente Romero, the owner of the Romero Mill in La Cueva, was a notable exception in the Mora Valley.

Though contracts awarded by Fort Union did influence the production in the grant, approximately 75% of the military's needs for agricultural goods were filled through transactions with individual farmers.³⁵ Furthermore, Fort Union required that any suppliers deliver their goods within 50 miles of the fort—a boon even for those small farmers living within relatively close proximity to the fort. Distance from one's farm to the closest mill thus became an issue of great importance. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesize that the distance from an individual's farm to the SFT, and hence from Fort Union, may have influenced the profitability of the farm for certain crops that require less processing, since enhanced accessibility to those crops would increase the likelihood of being bought by the army.

The display at the Cleveland Roller Mill Museum states that "the larger 'merchant mills' like the

Cleveland Roller Mill, the Gordon Mill, the Romero Mill, the Pendaries Mill,³⁶ and the St. Vrain Mill, took the place of the small *molinos*, beginning about the mid-nineteenth century." However, the *molinos*, though producing an inferior, more gritty or gravelly flour to that of the large mills, remained a central part of local life until the 1940s. They were cheaper processing facilities to use than the roller mills, and were oftentimes preferred by farmers not selling crops. By the time the last *molinos* were disappearing, the large mills were going out of business as well. It could thus be argued that the less sophisticated *molinos* had been successful.

That said, however, the large mills by far outstripped the *molinos* in terms of processing capacity. While the *molinos* probably had an absolute ceiling on their processing capacities of around one bushel per day,³⁷ and a more usual output of around five bushels per week, a large roller mill like the St. Vrain Mill in Mora produced around 500,000 pounds (227,273 Kg, or 8,930 bushels, or 3,571 *fanegas*) per year (about 24 bushels per day).³⁸ These roller mills were often frequented by locals who would trade the services of the mill for a certain percentage of the wheat they had grown.

The first wooden incarnation of the St. Vrain Mill was most probably built in 1854, shortly after the construction of St. Vrain's mill in Talpa, near Taos. It went into operation in 1855. In 1864, the mill burned and was replaced with the stone structure, *El Molino de Piedra*, standing there today.³⁹ La Cueva or Romero Mill was probably built in 1870 by Vicente Romero, who had in 1836 built La Cueva canal for the operation of a small gristmill⁴⁰ and had later obtained 32,000 acres of the *ejidos* from the grantees.⁴¹ On this land sprang up the community of La Cueva and, nearby, that of Buena Vista. Finally, the Cleveland, or Cassidy Mill, was built in 1877.⁴² Other mills built in the area that do not concern this study for reasons of distance and chronology include the Pendaries Mill, built by Jean Pendaries near Rociada in the 1860s, and the Gordon-Sanchez Mill built in the town of Mora in 1906.⁴³

The heightened demand for wheat

Production (in bushels)	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Mora County							
Wheat	NA	23,390	44,115	97,305	NA	71,147	48,258
Oats	NA	2,280	27,314	38,484	NA	75,824	160,649
Corn	NA	19,211	57,349	72,210	NA	37,989	4,690
San Miguel County							
Wheat	NA	9,661	13,321	87,041	NA	52,900	33,257
Oats	NA	0	994	18,670	NA	33,195	63,675
Corn	NA	88,492	83,145	108,490	NA	65,537	96,010
Bernalillo County							
Wheat	NA	10,212	5,491	1,533	NA	26,020	NA
Oats	NA	190	14,398	1,215	NA	4,850	NA
Corn	NA	42,149	11,000	35,185	NA	23,080	NA

Table 1. Total production of wheat, oats, and corn in Mora, San Miguel, and Bernalillo counties for the years 1850 to 1910. No agricultural information is available for 1850 or 1890. Source: U.S. Census, 1860-1910.

in the valley ultimately spurred an exponential growth in production (see Table 1). However, the real motivator behind increased agricultural growth was probably not entirely directly the demand placed by Fort Union, since the army often bid out contracts to large suppliers who in turn could make attractive offers to small farmers with excess wheat. Thus, it is likely that, as Darlis Miller claims,⁴⁴ the construction of the mills preceded increased production, though increased production then further justified the construction of more roller mills, which, by 1870, numbered 36 in New Mexico.

St. Vrain's contract with Fort Union in 1862 was for delivery of 200,000 lbs of flour, from the combined output of his two mills. The Sanborn Map of Mora in 1930 reports that the Trambley Mill (the later name of the St. Vrain Mill after purchase by the Trambley family) had a production capacity of around 40 barrels per 24 hours, a barrel weighing in at roughly 100 lbs. This is corroborated by a description in *Soldiers and Settlers* of a typical water-fed mill whose production capacity tops out at 4,000 lbs. per 24 hours.⁴⁵ Hence, St. Vrain's 1862 contract would have required at least 50

days of uninterrupted milling, or 100 12-hour days. William H. Moore's 1864 contract with Fort Union for 1.25 million pounds of flour bespeaks not only the growing demand, but the need for multiple mills.⁴⁶

Until the coming of the railroad to Las Vegas (1879) and the subsequent decommissioning of Fort Union (1891), demand continued to rise. Texan military invasions during the Civil War made it necessary for more troops to be stationed in the department. Likewise, heightened attempts to "subdue" Indian populations not only brought in more troops to feed but also resulted in incidents such as occurred when Kit Carson's forces demolished crop fields of the Navajos, and they were moved to a reservation at Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico. For the next eight years the army had to feed the 8,000 displaced Navajos who had been left without any means of acquiring their own sustenance, and contractors' business boomed all over the grain-growing region of New Mexico.⁴⁷

Although these roller mills continued to operate, producing flour and, in a few cases, electricity, well into the 20th century, the arrival of the railroad in Las Vegas in 1879 was

the death knell of their prime economic importance. The cheap transportation of large quantities of grains from the fertile Midwest ended the Southwest's reliance upon the "Breadbasket of the West" (meaning Mora, Taos, and San Miguel counties).⁴⁸ The Mora Valley's surplus agricultural production, notwithstanding a brief flurry of vitality during World War I, would collapse in the 1920s, never to recover.⁴⁹

So what effects did the SFT and the introduction of large-scale demand (via roller mills and Fort Union) have on the vernacular, agrarian economy of the Mora Land Grant of the period 1846-1880? Did they spur the construction of increasing numbers of *acequias* to accommodate the larger market? What effects, if any, did they have on the efficiency of land use (i.e. amount of grain grown per irrigable acre)? Did they alter land tenure patterns or the average size of agricultural plots? And did geographic proximity to the SFT or the roller mills dictate to any extent the assemblage of crops cultivated? A study based on geographic reconstructive models of the Mora Grant⁵⁰ leads to the following conclusions.

The location of roller mills did not spur the construction of *acequias* within the grant. Rather, other factors such as areal distribution of depositional alluvium, proximity to a running stream, and sufficient shelter from Indian raids may have played more of a role in the choice of *acequia* location. Furthermore, as David Kammer points out in his report on Mora's hydrography, 16 of the 41 *acequias* in the Mora Valley were already built prior to the installation of Fort Union in 1852.⁵¹ The Hispanic communities of the Mora Valley had long since exploited the hydrography of the eastern Sangre de Cristos, suggesting that Fort Union was tapping an existing cultural resource, and not necessarily catalyzing its formation or even *directly* stimulating its expansion.

Agricultural tracts located near mills did not use their lands more efficiently,⁵² for crop production across the board. However, over time, the production efficiency of lands in proximity to newly-installed mills increased more than that of lands farther away. This suggests that the agro-economy of the Mora Grant was already well established, having evolved according to its own criteria upon the American occupation and the establishment of Fort Union. Production figures had been set according to local custom and geographic idiosyncrasy, not according to the demands of American trade, though American influence steadily waxed over the later 1800s.

Furthermore, the relative change in proximity of the nearest mill to a tract of land was typically a better indicator of trends in agricultural productivity than the change in absolute distance. In other words, if a new mill was constructed 50% closer to an agricultural tract than the old mill had been, that fact corresponded more exactly to the boost in land-use efficiency than did the fact that the new mill was, say, five kilometers closer than the old mill. This seems to indicate that the grant did not adapt as a single, organic entity to the new economic pressures, but rather each town's reaction differed in relation to its geo-economic context.

Corroborating the theory of increasing influence of American trade is the fact that in the census year

1880, proximity to the SFT itself encouraged heightened land-use efficiency in grain production. Also notable is the positive trend in efficiency of tracts near the SFT from 1860 to 1880. Although the census data for the years 1860 and 1870 did not demonstrate a high correspondence between the fact of proximity to the SFT and efficiency of land-use, the correspondence does grow from nonexistent to moderate to high, perhaps signifying that, as time went on, proximity to the SFT (and hence from Fort Union, as well) increasingly came to dictate production efficiency.

Mora communities closer to mills did not necessarily have more agricultural lands accumulated in the hands of a wealthy few than those farther away, as might be supposed had the mills created a more unequivocally capitalist environment nearby. That said, however, when a mill was constructed nearer a particular community than the former mill had been, there would follow a noticeable increase in the accumulation of lands. So the process was at work even if it hadn't yet completely shaped the economy of the grant.

Again, this is a result of the fact that the lands had already developed prior to the installation of Fort Union, and thus the change in the distance from the nearest mill would serve as a more adequate indicator of trends than raw distances from the mill.

However, the percentage change over time in the distance of an agricultural tract to the nearest mill proved ironically not to be any sort of an indicator of accumulation at all, as it was for trends in land-use efficiency. One conceivable explanation for this disjunction lies in the fact that profitability and not necessarily land-use efficiency, as measured in kilograms of grain produced per square kilometer, encourages accumulation. Profitability may be a function not only of efficiency but also of what type of grain is being produced, what the demand for that grain might be, the distance from centers of commerce, etc.

Accumulation of lands is further complicated in a land grant by the social and legal arrangement inherent therein. New, unappropriated lands are sometimes granted from

the collective to individuals seeking to cultivate them, and, as was the case with Vicente Romero and his acquisition of La Cueva, are sometimes sold from the collective to an individual. It would presumably be easier to accumulate lands in a newly ceded area, as described above, than to do the same in a long-established area where lots have, through the years, been divided and subdivided among all the descendants of the 76 original grantees. In addition, cultural institutions and blueprints often shape land-use more profoundly than profitability. For instance, in Buena Vista, where lands were thought to have been brought under irrigation in 1851 very shortly after the establishment of Fort Union, no major land accumulation ever took place, with recorded farm acreages in 1880 ranging from three to nine. By contrast, in La Cueva, a town just next door, also to the east of the hogbacks, and also on the Mora Loop of the SFT, single farms ranged from 2.5 to 2,550 acres, presumably because La Cueva was one man's acquisition whereas Buena Vista was an extension of the Mora Valley communities.

Finally, the process of accumulation of agricultural lands was linked to proximity to the SFT. As communities' agricultural tracts expanded, the "center of gravity" of that production center would sometimes shift either toward or away from the SFT. In Mora, as production centers shifted away from the SFT, the process of land accumulation generally (with a few exceptions) slowed down, and *vice versa*.

In addition to the above changes in production efficiency and land accumulation, trade also affected the assemblage of crops produced in Mora. In general, it can be said that the presence of the roller mills stimulated wheat production, that the presence of the SFT stimulated oats production, and that corn production, though also growing to export status, was relatively speaking relegated to those areas farther from the mills and the SFT.

As distance to the nearest mill decreased with the construction of additional mills, more wheat was grown than previously. This is a logical result, since wheat is a grain that must be highly processed before it comes to its final incarnation of

flour. Only in years when Fort Union needed much more wheat than had been expected did wheat production near the SFT receive a boost. Presumably, when all the wheat producing farms near mills had been exhausted, a second-best alternative would be to obtain wheat grown on farms easily accessible to merchants. Perhaps Fort Union chose to transport the wheat to a nearby mill in Tiptonville for processing.

Oats production seems to have been almost entirely influenced by the proximity of the SFT—during the entire later-1800s, the most oats cultivation was consistently seen near the SFT. Mill presence had no effect on this production, as oats do not require processing to be used as fodder. However, the general trend from 1860-1870 saw a proportional shift in oats production away from the SFT. Presumably, this trend was the result of the introduction of oats into a traditional crop assemblage that had heretofore grown little to no oats. Therefore, oats production began near the SFT, where merchants requiring fodder for draft animals would pass often. After the establishment of the military depot at Fort Union, though, the quantities of oats required for the cavalry and draft animals required for transportation by the quartermaster department soared, and the crop made inroads into the more isolated, less accessible communities.

From 1870 to 1880, corn production, though still growing, seems to have shifted away from the mills, probably displaced by the production of wheat. Concomitantly, corn production during this time shifted away from the SFT, probably displaced primarily by oats. By 1880, then, Mora experienced the exclusion of corn from both ends: there is a preference for wheat growth near mills and for oats cultivation near the Santa Fe Trail, and for corn production, relatively speaking, far from either one. The most traditional of New Mexican crops, then, is at last relegated⁵³ to those pockets only weakly influenced by roller mills and trade routes. These shifts in proportional grain production can be summarized in one phrase: competitive exclusion. Just as a Darwinian finch might find its niche on a specific island of the Galápagos archipelago,

each of the three grains found a more favorable niche in a different locale.

Finally, it should be noted that although the emerging dominant force of the American economy did change the Mora Grant's agricultural life to better supply itself, we should avoid the traps of believing that economics was the sole factor at work here or that the Mora Grant was itself a passively manipulated entity. Mora's agro-economy was, like those of the small communities from which its settlers arrived, embedded in a complex web of tradition and culture. Water, for instance, was not just economically beneficial or part of the communal usufruct. It was also revered, and on the Day of San Juan Bautista, the *acequias* were literally thought to flow with holy water, in which the farmers bathed.

This sort of folk culture should not be overlooked, for it provided the very foundation on which the economic forces played out their game. The culture operated as an organic whole from which production value was never explicitly separated until the advent of large-scale economic demand. And throughout the late-1800s, never did the Mora Valley abandon its *acequias*, its small valleys, or its long lots. Indeed, the degree of land accumulation under this system was restrained by the need for the manpower of whole communities to build and maintain the *acequias*. This way of life was, evolutionarily speaking, every bit as successful as any other. In these respects, one might contend that Mora stayed true to its roots, all the while availing itself of the opportunities afforded it and adapting to the new climate.

It is appropriate to note that there is another side to the Mora story. Yes, American trade played a major role in shaping the agro-economy, but for that brief period, the U.S. military was, itself, essentially dependent upon this foreign, vernacular agricultural system, so fraught with cultural, non-economic paradigms. For all the talk of "Hispanic inefficiency" and the push toward modern methods rampant in documents such as the early reports of the Territorial Engineer, Mora's system proved invaluable to American traders and soldiers alike. And after all is said and done, the verdant

Mora Valley today relies on ancient wisdom that continues to inform its relationship with the mountains that dominate it and the water.

NOTES

1. F. Stanley, *The Jicarilla Apaches* (Pampa: Pampa Printers, 1967), 120.
2. Alice Bullock, *Mountain Villages* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1973), 54.
3. Clark S. Knowlton, "The Mora Land Grant: A New Mexican Tragedy," *Journal of the West* 27 (July 1988): 60.
4. *Overall Economic Development Program for Fourteen Communities in Mora County* (Santa Fe: New Mexico State Engineer's Office, 1968), 52.
5. The etymology of this name is dubious, and another possibility that its origin has to do with the original geography and flora of the valley: Pearce notes that the name *Lo de Mora* may have been a derivative of "*ojo de mora*," meaning "mulberry spring." Furthermore, Pearce also notes that several families with the surname of Mora came to New Mexico after the Reconquest of 1692, and so *Lo de Mora*, may mean simply "that which belongs to the Moras." To complicate the question, after the Frenchman Cérén St. Vrain found a dead body in the Río de Agua Negra in 1823, he reportedly called the valley "*lieu des morts*" or "*l'eau des morts*" ("place of the dead man" or "water of the dead," respectively). Whether this was a play on words making light of an existing name or whether St. Vrain actually coined the name is uncertain. T. M. Pearce, ed., *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 104.
6. Francis L. Fugate & Roberta B. Fugate, *Roadside History of New Mexico* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1989), 253.
7. Jerry L. Williams & Paul E. McAllister, ed., *New Mexico in Maps* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 37.
8. David Kammer & Arnold Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems of the Upper Mora," prepared for the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division (July 1992): 10.
9. Malcolm Ebright, interview, 16 April 2002.
10. William de Buys, *Enchantment and Exploitation: The Life and Hard Times of New Mexico Mountain Range* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 80.
11. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 9.
12. Fray Angelico Chavez, "Early Settlements in the Mora Valley," *El Palacio* 62 (1955): 218-232.
13. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 9-10.
14. Robert L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (1930; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 67-68.
15. Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1959), 5.
16. Chris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 24-29.

17. Utley, *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail*, 7-8.
18. Susan Calafate Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) 45-46.
19. Knowlton, "Mora Land Grant," 61.
20. Malcolm Ebright, "New Mexican Land Grants: The Legal Background," *Land, Water and Culture: New Perspectives on Hispanic Land Grants*, ed. Charles L. Briggs and John R. Van Ness (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 26.
21. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 24.
22. Knowlton, "Mora Land Grant," 60.
23. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844; reprint, Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 1926), 100.
24. Marc Simmons & Hal Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 3rd edition (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2001), 198-201.
25. Emmett, *Fort Union*, 56.
26. Lynn I. Perrigo, *Gateway to Glorieta* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1982), 13-14.
27. Utley, *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail*, 14.
28. Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 8.
29. F. Stanley, *Fort Union* (privately published), 27-57.
30. Hal Jackson, interview, 5 October 2002.
31. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 21.
32. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
33. *Ibid.*, 41.
34. *Ibid.*, 348.
35. Robert W. Frazer, *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 103.
36. The Pendaries Roller Mill was built by Jean Pendaries just south of the Mora Grant in Rociada, San Miguel County. It, like the other large mills of the area, still stands.
37. Charles F. Gritzner, "Hispano Gristmills in New Mexico," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 64 (Dec. 1974): 515.
38. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132.
39. See the National Register of Historic Places Inventory.
40. A few mills in the Mora Grant do not neatly fall into the category of either "molino" or "roller mill." These are mills of intermediate production capacity and include the earlier incarnation of Vicente Romero's mill, as well as the Ocaté mill. Photographs of the latter can be found in the Cleveland Roller Mill Museum.
41. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 47.
42. See the National Register of Historic Places Inventory.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132.
45. *Ibid.*, 30.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, 32-35.
48. *Ibid.*, 321-322.
49. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 27-28.
50. For a detailed account of the methodology of the study, please see the author's Master's thesis, entitled "The Mora Land Grant and the Santa Fé Trail: The Effects of Trade on a Traditional Agricultural Community," University of New Mexico.
51. Kammer & Valdez, "Report on the Historic Acequia Systems," 13.
52. For the purposes of this paper, efficiency of land-use is gauged within a specific grain category (i.e., wheat, corn, and oats) as kilograms of grain harvested per square kilometer.
53. It should be noted here that corn production across the board was boosted during these years, even close to the mill and the SFT. This study concerns itself with grain ratios, and so explores the idea of preferential growth, not absolute stimulation of production.

SYMPOSIUM REPORT

(continued from page 1)

graphical information on the speakers. Ross Marshall exerted superior effort in planning the tours and creating the tour guidebooks. John Atkinson handled all registration prior to the event, created the program book, and served as financial chair. Barb Atkinson handled registration during the five days of the event. Her cheerful approach and unflappable enthusiasm helped anchor the organizational flow. Nancy Lewis catered the board dinner, the board luncheon, the refreshments at the Wednesday evening reception at the National Frontier Trails Museum, and all refreshments during the symposium. She organized the picnic at Schumacher Park, booked the two banquets at Benjamin Ranch, and made arrangements for the brunch on Sunday morning.

Thanks go to Dorothy Kroh for her diligent efforts in contacting people, setting up the lobby area, and managing the many details of the display/vendor aspect of the symposium. Local historical organizations and book sellers filled the theater lobby with displays and exhibits. David and Alice Clapsaddle shared their collection of Kansas City Area Riverfront artwork. Their exhibit provided a welcome visual and educational panorama which complemented the other displays. The interpretative panels slated for the Wayne City Landing site as well as some colorful Lewis and Clark educational panels (brought by John Schumacher) were included as a part

of the format. A photographic collage highlighting Trail places and people and a mystery board of artifacts to be identified added interest. Vendors donated items for door prizes. The symposium committee thanks the National Park Service for a Challenge Cost Share Grant for the bus tours, the South Kansas City Chamber of Commerce for their hospitality, and the Three Trails Community Improvement District for a grant.

Wednesday evening found participants at a dedication ceremony at the swales on the grounds of the Bingham-Waggoner estate in Independence. Covered wagons pulled by teams of mules greeted travelers who wanted a ride. Independence dignitaries dedicated interpretive signs recently erected at the site. As the sun neared the horizon, shadows outlined parallel lines flowing diagonally across the landscape. Soft greens blended with darker hues and visitors turned in awe to face westward and view the Trail as it came alive, as it once must have seemed for 19th-century travelers. Later in the evening, attendees walked to the National Frontier Trails Museum nearby where director John Mark Lambertson gave a program about the swales. Following his talk, participants toured the museum and enjoyed refreshments. The memory of those swales at sunset lingered throughout the symposium as attendees shared with one another the emotions they felt when they caught sight of the gently undulating landscape, shades preserved from an era long past.

On Thursday morning Mike Dickey opened with "Specie, Sweat, and Survival: The Impact of the Santa Fe Trail on Missouri's Economy." Craig Crease presented "The River, The Rock, and The Road: The Santa Fe Trail in the Kansas City Area." Leo Oliva presented "Zebulon Pike and Facundo Melgares, Enemies and Friends Who Pointed the Way to the Santa Fe Trail." Mike Olsen presented "Commemorating Zebulon Pike in 1906 and 1956--Pageants! Parades! Promotions!" That evening at the picnic at Schumacher Park, Steve Allie presented his research on "Fort Leavenworth and the Santa Fe Trail." After the SFTA business meeting on Friday morning, Bert Wetherill presented

"Archaeology at Lone Elm." Charles Strom presented his findings on "A Freighter's Life after the Trail." Terry Cook presented "Santa Fe Traders: Their Role in the Conquest of New Mexico." Joseph Meany, Jr., presented "Jeremiah Stokes: A 'Galvanized Yankee' on the Santa Fe Trail." Friday evening NPS historian Pat O'Brien presented "Missouri's Road to Santa Fe—An International Enterprise." Saturday morning Jim Feagins presented "Recent Archeological Investigations at Fort Osage National Historic Landmark." Beverly Ryan presented "Under Siege at Cow Creek and Walnut Creek, July 1864." Sara Richter presented "The Cimarron Routes: Dry, Deadly, and Dangerous." Osage Indian Louis Burns presented "The Other East West Roads to Santa Fe." That evening NPS historian Bill Gwaltney presented "In Search of Furs and Freedom: African Americans on the Trail." Sunday morning events offered a time-period church service by Greg Clark at the Wayne City site overlooking the Missouri River on the Independence Road.

All research presentations and programs were held in the morning with tours scheduled in the afternoon. We appreciate the contributions of the dedicated tour guides Eva Allen, Evelyn Bartlow, Bob Boland, Arnold Cole, Mary Conrad, Shirley Coupal, Craig Crease, Pete Cuppage, Ron Doering, Richard Edwards, Nancy Henning, Jim Howk, John Mark Lambertson, Jim Lee, Jeanne McGuire, Betty Ann Miller, Mike Miller, Dick Nelson, Roger Slusher, Sandy Slusher, Pat Traffas, and Don Turrentine. The tours would not have been possible without their support and expertise. Thanks go also to Brenda Rucker and to Jeanne Maskill, the management team at Bannister Mall, for their assistance, and to Stanley Spiegel, owner of the mall, for donating the space for the symposium and for the board meeting. Prior to the event, Brenda Rucker and Lou Austin painted a covered wagon logo along the alignment where the trail crossed the Bannister Mall parking lot. Thanks go also to Lou Austin for his advice and assistance in planning activities. The board also thanks Topper Schumacher for opening her home for a pre-symposium

event.

The symposium committee added a novel component to the event this year. Workshops were offered on research and on time-period skills. On Thursday afternoon Mary Conrad led a convoy to the National Frontier Trails Museum for a class on professional research. The Museum contains a first class research library, so many of the workshop participants stayed after the session to conduct further research. On Friday participants wove their own Missouri Oak basket. On Saturday afternoon, quilt expert Helen Ericson shared her knowledge of quilts and their history. Siva Chambers demonstrated how to weave pine needle baskets, and Master Gardener Julie Daicoff gave two presentations--creating a time-period garden and weaving wagon wheel rugs. Chris Day and Marcia Fox presented a very interesting education workshop on teaching the Santa Fe Trail. Hal Jackson led a GPS workshop.

One symposium event culminated an effort initiated by MRO Preservation Officer Jane Mallinson and faithfully pursued with the involvement of National Mapping/Marking Chair John Schumacher and Three Trails West board member Lou Austin. Four limestone post markers were recently installed along the alignment of the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. As part of the symposium events, a dedication ceremony was held on Friday, involving KC Missouri City Officials, the National Park Service, the Three Trails Community Improvement District, Bannister Mall personnel, and the Missouri River Outfitters Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association.

These posts, with their informative signs, will remind future generations of the significant events in history that took place along the Trail corridor. Two posts are located at Bannister Mall, one is at Santa Fe Trail Park in Independence, and one is in front of Raytown High School on Blue Ridge Boulevard in Raytown. Perhaps the posts at the Bannister site will serve as a reminder, also, that members of the Santa Fe Trail Association gathered there in September of 2003 to learn more of the Trail and its impact on the economy and culture of an emerging American nation.



Dedication of marker, l to r: Jane Mallinson, Alvin Brooks, Lou Austin, Chuck Eddy, John Schumacher, & John Atkinson.

POST OFFICE OAK —LETTERS—

Editor:

I recently completed the bicycle trek over the Trail with Willard Chilcott, who is performing a wonderful service that deserves more attention. I know of no one on the three trips I have made that would not concur with my sentiments.

On Sept. 14 at the Santa Fe Plaza, Chilcott led 49 bicycle riders out of Santa Fe, conducting his 12th journey over the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. The ride concluded 20 days later at New Franklin, MO. Over these 13 years approximately 400 riders from all over the U.S., Canada, and England have joined the 1300-mile ride.

I am a member of the Santa Fe Trail Association, Bent's Fort Chapter, and have completed the last three rides. I want to thank Willard for making this educational adventure possible. Potential participants of future rides, this is the way to see the Trail up close and personal.

Most riders make 3-15 bike rides a year, and to begin with they only knew this was another ride. After 20 days of ruts, monuments, massacre and battle sites, forts, stage stations, river crossings, etc., they were all well aware of the history of the Santa Fe Trail and of its early commercial value.

Willard's integrity has made it possible to form a vital and involved team. One team member, Ken Levine of Albuquerque, has been on board since the beginning ride. Willard is legendary with his contacts on the Trail for meals, camping arrangements, museums, and historical lectures. After 12 years only one overnight stop has been changed.

The feeling of riders this year at the arrival in New Franklin was best summed up by a lady rider from Myrtle Beach, S.C. While high-fiving everyone in sight, she exclaimed, "I have never biked for more than 5 days in a row in my life, and today I completed the Santa Fe Trail."

Many riders join me in expressing
Accolades to Willard Chilcott.

Leo Hayward
6990 S Perry Park Rd
Larkspur CO 80118

What a wonderful tribute to a most deserving member of SFTA.

Editor

Editor:

The Kaw Mission State Historic Site sends thanks to SFTA for the Award of Merit. I know I speak for the Kansas State Historical Society, Historic Sites Division of the KSHS, the Friends of Kaw Heritage, Inc., and the Kaw Nation that we feel highly honored to be recognized by the SFTA in this way.

On October 16, SFTA board member Ramon Powers presented the award at the Kaw Mission. I accepted on behalf of the Kaw Mission and KSHS, Jim Selby represented FKH, and Betty Durkee represented the Kaw Nation. The Kaw Mission staff and volunteers are very pleased to be associated with the SFTA, and we will continue to strive to merit your recognition and generous support.

Ron Parks, administrator
Kaw Mission State Historic Site
500 N Mission
Council Grove KS 66846

Editor:

I was extremely honored to receive the Marc Simmons Writing Award for my article, "William H. and Lydia Spencer Lane on the Southwestern Frontier, 1854-1869, in the August, 2001, Wagon Tracks. I especially thank Mike Olsen, Harry Myers, Leo Oliva, and everyone else who made this possible. Research and writing-for me at least-are not solitary sports.

Alma Gregory
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Sapello NM 87745

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

INTERVIEW WITH RALPH HATHAWAY BY ANNE MALLINSON

[SFTA Vice-President Mallinson interviewed SFTA Ambassador Hathaway, keeper of Ralph's Ruts on the Trail west of Chase, Kansas, this past summer. Thanks to both for presenting this to WT. There are other treasured people along the Trail, and it would be good to have more interviews like this.]

IF you can't fix it with barbed wire or baling wire, then you have to try something else. I can use computers, but I can't figure how they work. You can't fix one of those with baling wire or a wrench."

So spoke Ralph Hathaway one evening as we sat in his library sharing tales of the Santa Fe Trail and comparing tales of our respective farm experiences. Ralph's ties with the Trail began early. He was born in 1914 on the Santa Fe Trail. Except for his service in World War II in the Pacific, he has lived on the family homestead all his life. A graduate of Kansas State University (class of 1938), Ralph earned the Farm Bureau Century Farms Award twice, once for the 1874 homestead (his mother's family) and again for the 1878 homestead (his father's family). He is the author of several works: *Memories of World War II*, or *Daddy Flew an Underwood*, *My Half-Mile of the Santa Fe Trail*, and *From the Little Arkansas to the Big Arkansas*. He is currently working on a comprehensive family history. Ralph is a charter member of the Santa Fe Trail Association. For his contributions toward preservation and promotion of the Trail and Trail heritage, SFTA honored him with the Award of Merit in 1986, the SFTA Ambassador Award in 1989, the Landowner Award in 1997, and the Heritage Preservation Award in 2003. The pristine Trail ruts on his farm, now known as Ralph's Ruts, are a site every Trail traveler should see.

Interview

Anne: I am fascinated with the system of weights and pulleys you devised for the gates on your corrals. You've always been interested in making innovations, in fixing things, in the mechanics of a problem.

Ralph: I always loved to figure out how things work, and why. For in-

stance, I had never thought about the problems of braking when a wagon traveled cross-country. I saw a wagon at Fort Larned that had the brake bar on the side, back by the rear wheels. It finally occurred to me that the brake handle was on the side because the bullwhacker walked alongside the team, goading them along in the direction he wanted to go. Of course the brake handle would have to be at the side and not on top of the wagon, where someone driving a team of horses or mules would need to get to it. The man driving the oxen was on the ground, so the brake would have to be accessible to him from that level. Puzzles like that fascinate me.

Anne: How did you come by your problem-solving approach to life?

Ralph: My dad was mechanically inclined. He built and modified machinery. He was among the first in the county to have a milking machine. Uncle Bert was a carpenter. Uncle Newt was a blacksmith. The Hathaways have always been builders. I am the tenth generation descendant of Nicholas Hathaway, who came to America in the 1650s. My father and grandfather built their homes. I built my home, the one I live in now. My grandsons, Peter and Joseph Kern, are builders. A lot of Civil War veterans settled in this area because of the Homestead Act. My grandfather John L. Hathaway was a veteran and came to this area in 1878. My great-grandfather Oscar Dexter homesteaded in this area in 1874. His son Edwin moved his family to a homestead on the Cherokee Strip in Oklahoma territory near Wynoka. He had a stallion and a jack and raised lots of mules there.

Anne: How did your parents meet?

Ralph: My mother had finished her schooling in Oklahoma and came back to Kansas to help her grandparents in their old age. As a young man, my father did the mowing for my mother's grandpa. He would make the work last long enough so that he had to stay over for lunch. He knew he would get to see the granddaughter in the family at mealtime, so he didn't mind helping at the Dexter place. He knew how to solve the problem of getting to know my mother. No matter what generation

lives on the land, farmers have always had to be clever and tough to survive.

Anne: That toughness surely comes with exposure to hard work at an early age.

Ralph: Over the years I grew up driving teams of horses pulling headers, hay equipment, and grain wagons. We never had mules. I have been driving a car or truck since I was 13. I never had to take a drivers' test, other than vision tests when I renewed my license. It was easy to handle the transition to driving my motor home because of all the farm equipment I had worked with.

Anne: When did you first become aware of the history of the area in which you lived?

Ralph: My dad was born on this place, in the big house. I was born on this place, in a house that isn't here now. My dad was a photographer and his brothers had their own farms, so he took this place over when Grandfather Hathaway couldn't farm anymore. Dad had a photography studio on a wagon and went from town to town. He used glass slides instead of negatives. Most were 5 x 7. When he came back to the farm, he took the studio off the wagon and made the beginnings of a house out of it. I was born in that small building. Eventually he added onto it to make a larger house. This place holds a wealth of family history. I've been asked that question before, but I don't recall a time when I wasn't aware of this farm as part of the Santa Fe Trail, so the fact that it was also the farm of my grandparents gave it the category of something special, a family legacy to be treasured. The family history mixes with the Trail history to make it of extraordinary significance to us.

Anne: When were you first aware that others shared your interest in the trail?

Ralph: About 1980, I became involved with people at the Coronado Quivira Museum in Lyons. That connection gave the site a context with other historical events in the area, to put the ruts in perspective with local history. Local citizens didn't recognize the ruts as important or even know about the Santa Fe Trail until we told them. No one had pointed out to them, until then, that it was a trail

of commerce and not a trail of immigrants. Trail books emphasized that aspect.

Anne: So your studies began then?

Ralph: Early in my pursuit of information, Marc Simmons, Leo Oliva, and Joseph Snell were very helpful in identifying books and resource materials for research. It was a time in my life when the children were through college and I could turn attention to thinking about the ruts. As I worked near the pasture, I was impressed with the depth and width of the ruts; what tremendous traffic had to have passed over the land to create those impressions! Also, the fact that Coronado may have passed over this land during his exploration excited me. We know that he and about thirty men went just beyond the northeastern part of the county, as far as the Marquette area, in their quest for cities of gold. Fragments of Spanish chain mail found in the area are in the museum at Lyons.

Anne: Have any other Trail artifacts turned up?

Ralph: Forty acres of this land, where the ruts are most prominent, have never been plowed. The ground is sandy and would not have been good crop ground. Quite a bit over the years has been discovered. Grandpa and his older sons, when breaking sod along the east side of the quarter section, found a pistol, a watch, hardware from burned wagons, and fragments of ironstone dishes.

Anne: What happened that wagons were burned?

Ralph: This was evidence of a wagon train that was attacked and burned by a group of renegade Indians.

Anne: Was that the Plum Buttes massacre?

Ralph: Yes. There was knowledge of this through local legend that the wagons were attacked and the people killed. It wasn't until 1983 that Marc Simmons sent me documents located in the Colorado State Historical files that told me the facts. Information included memoirs of a trader named Franz Huning, whose wagon train was attacked by a band of Indians on September 9, 1867. Also information came from a memoir of Captain Christy who was a scout stationed at Fort Zarah, which is east of present-day Great Bend,

Kansas, on Highway 56. Christy was sent to the area to collect the bodies of the massacre victims. The attack is known as the Plum Buttes massacre.

Anne: How did you feel when you learned about that event?

Ralph: Reading this documentation was exciting information to me! I sat in that chair (Ralph pointed to a recliner) the rest of the afternoon reading and rereading the material Marc Simmons sent me. I learned Huning was a trader who had gone east early in the spring to Dayton, Ohio, with the purpose of transporting his mother-in-law and her son to his home in Albuquerque. He made up his wagon train at Junction City, the end of the railroad at that time. They traveled south to Lost Spring where they joined the Santa Fe Trail. He was concerned about the safety of his relatives and when he reached the Little Arkansas Crossing where troops were stationed, he requested a military escort. This was buffalo country. Several nomadic tribes inhabited the plains. The officer in charge refused to give him a military escort, so the wagons proceeded westward, camped overnight at the Cow Creek Crossing, and reached this area the following day. They were attacked near what is now the east edge of the Hathaway homestead. The attack came with little warning. The band of Indians far outnumbered the personnel on the wagon train. Huning managed to get off a few shots, and then his Spencer rifle jammed. He was quite frustrated because there was so little he could do. One wagon and the carriage in which his family rode were separated from the rest of the wagons. They were overwhelmed by the Indians. The passengers and drivers were killed and scalped. The Indians took what they wanted from the wagons and set the rest afire. This started a prairie fire. Huning managed to get the remainder of his wagons back in order to escape the fire. They arrived at the next campsite at the Big Bend near present day Ellinwood around midnight.

Anne: What an exciting story. You grew up here. You farmed here, and in 1983, this land opened a new chapter in your life.

Ralph: Being a charter member of the Santa Fe Trail Association

proved exciting too, as this connection led to information that cleared up some uncertainty that had existed over the years. We had never been certain of the events that had happened here until the documentation from two sources verified what I had been told as a child. Another exciting feature was that Captain Christy in his memoirs said that he and a helper went to the scene the day following the attack to recover the bodies. There were three casualties, including Huning's mother-in-law and her teenage son. Captain Christy came here, loaded the bodies, which were badly mutilated, into an army ambulance drawn by four mules. As they headed west, the same band of renegade Indians appeared and chased them for about four miles. Christy's helper was in the back of the ambulance firing his carbine at the Indians. The bodies were buried in the Fort Zarah area, and then moved the following spring to the Ellsworth area for reburial.

Anne: Did the military know who the renegades were?

Ralph: This band of Indians was a group of renegades, some Cheyenne, some Kiowa, some Arapaho. Indians called them dog soldiers. Charlie Bent, who was the son of William Bent and his Cheyenne wife, led them. It was said that Charlie Bent felt he did not fit in either world. William Bent and his brother Charles had operated a trading post along the Arkansas River near present day La Junta, Colorado. I wrote this up and it was published in *Adventure on the Santa Fe Trail*.

Anne: So, living on the Santa Fe Trail, on the land that your grandfather homesteaded, impacted on your sense of connectedness, not only with the terrain, but also with others holding similar interests.

Ralph: Certainly it has influenced my advanced years because this gives a whole new perspective to my ties with the land. My late friend, Barbara Peirce, taught history at the Hutchinson Community College and her interest helped bring attention to the historical importance of the ruts. Actually, she is the one I credit with coming up with the name for this Trail location. She called them "Ralph's Ruts" and the name stuck. Barbara began bringing her history classes out here, eventually more

students came on their own, and we wound up with approximately 300 visitors annually for the first few years. The March 1991 issue of *National Geographic* printed a story about the entire Trail, including one picture of my ruts.

Anne: Weren't you shown walking in those ruts?

Ralph: Actually, I was walking on a ridge between two ruts. There are a series of parallel ruts here. That year the visitor count rose to about 400 people.

Anne: Do many Trail enthusiasts visit and walk in the ruts?

Ralph: Yes. I feel walking in the ruts is the best way to experience them. Another good way is by horseback, the taller the horse the better. It's easier to see the impressions in the earth if you're up high. In 1991, *Kansas Magazine* printed a story, which highlighted the Trail. It also increased people's awareness of this area.

Anne: Do your children share your enthusiasm?

Ralph: Yes, I think very much so. They have had some interesting experiences because of the Trail. My daughter Marlene and her husband Jerry were sightseeing in Santa Fe. They got into a conversation with another tourist about Trail ruts. The tourist mentioned that there were some ruts on a farm in Kansas that were especially prominent, called "Ralph's Ruts." The tourist suggested to Marlene that she should see those ruts sometime.

Anne: And what did Marlene say?

Ralph: She laughed. Marlene responded that she had seen those ruts because she grew up on that farm!

Anne: What surprised you the most when you were researching?

Ralph: Two things come to mind. I learned that some Indians owned slaves at the time Coronado came through. Coronado captured a man they called The Turk, who claimed to know the way to the golden cities of Cibola. Actually, no such city existed, but his motive was to lead the conquistadors away from his tribe. The Indian who guarded The Turk had been a slave. Another fact that surprised me was that an ancestor of the Bent brothers took part in the Boston Tea Party. I guess the family line went from masquerading as In-

dian to being Indian.

Anne: Many years ago, your daughter Carolyn told me that, as a teenager, she would walk the ruts and tears came to her eyes because she understood the beauty and the majesty of the Trail ruts. She wanted them kept safe forever.

Ralph: All three of my children feel that way about the land. Martin lives in Texas but still comes home regularly. Carolyn and her family live in the homestead house, a portion of which my grandparents built in the 1880s. My grandchildren grew up walking the land, and we used to ride the Trail together. You were here in 1988 and we all rode together. The grandchildren have a very strong feeling for the place and seem to appreciate the life here. Even though some grandchildren live elsewhere, this place holds a special place in their hearts.

Anne: What advice would you like to give them?

Ralph: I would hope that everyone could appreciate the risks endured by early entrepreneurs, the traders and the hostlers, when they braved the hardships of taking wagons and goods to what was then Mexico. The Santa Fe Trail's place in the development of this nation was the road west, the road on which a young country could expand, both through business commerce and cultural exchange. We need to remember their determination in accomplishing the long journey, traveling thirteen to fifteen miles a day by ox-drawn wagon or mule-drawn wagon, the wagons weighted with loads of several tons.

Anne: With loads that heavy, it is no wonder the wagons compacted the soil so that impressions made in the 19th Century are visible in the 21st Century.

Ralph: I guess the wagons rolling across the prairie were like ships plying the seas. Now we travel by air-conditioned car. Those of us who love the Trail have to make sure future generations understand what our ancestors accomplished to move the nation forward. For 59 years, the Santa Fe Trail was an important part of the nation's economic progress.

Anne: You represent the pivotal generation. Your grandparents settled

on this land. Your grandchildren grew up on this land.

Ralph: I marvel at the constitutional strength of the people who made that trip, who created homes where none had been before. Then I remember that they were the descendants of people who got onto ships, willingly or not, and survived the journey to this land, many seeking opportunity and freedom. I hope I have instilled in my grandchildren the value of hard work, respect, and preservation, because it's up to them, to their generation, to carry forward not only the family, but also the future of our nation. We are builders of homes, barns, families. The Santa Fe Trail is part the network of trails that helped build this country.

Anne: Thank you.

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.

During a symposium field trip to the Merrill J. Mattes Research Library, housed in the National Frontier Trails Center, Independence, MO, this poetry editor located works by Ann Woodbury Hafen. *Campfire Frontier: Historical Stories and Poems of the Old West* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, n.d.) recounts stories, myths, and legends in both prose and verse.

Ann Hafen was born in Salt Lake City, and she lived and was educated in the West. She was president of two State Poetry Societies. Along with her husband, historian LeRoy R. Hafen (author and editor of many books about the West with which Mrs. Hafen assisted), she visited many of the "story spots and shrines of frontier life" (book jacket). Her poem, "Pioneer Woman's Hand" is presented here for readers' enjoyment. Of special note is the use of metaphor: the hand as a map of the

old frontier. Although women's numbers were limited on the Santa Fe Trail, readers may speculate that the "flesh geography" of human hands was available in many genders and ethnicities and that "reading" of such geography would yield various terrains.

Pioneer Woman's Hand

by Ann Woodbury Hafen

Today I looked on a map of the West—
my mother's hand,
Flesh geography of the old frontier.
In the strong blue veins that ridged the
furrowed skin,
In the eddied knuckles, weathered
nails, and gullied palm
I saw the raw West shaping a woman's
hand
As that hand shaped the West.

A picture map, deep etched—this
hand that worked a hoe,
Scythed alfalfa bribes for the evening
milk,
Carried adobes for the long dreamed
house,
Scrubbed out irrigation's mud and
sweat.
This steady hand that pressed the
danger trigger
Delivered new-born, needled shrouds,
and washed the dead.

Ninety beauty-hungry years the sure
hand moved—
A self-willed dynamo creating
Through five generations of weddings
Sixty stitches to a minute,
Twenty pieces to a quilt block,
Forty blocks to a quilt of rainbow wed-
ding rings
To warm the matings.

In an Old World garden, velvet white
this hand
Secreted seeds in a young bride's
deepest pocket,
Guarded them from hunger's blind
devouring
Through six thousand alien miles
And fed them at last to the black vol-
canic ash
Of the Rocky Mountains.

Out of a woman's bended labor,
Watered by a widow's tearful prayers,
Stirred by courage of a mother's hand
The sleeping land awoke to food and
flowers.
Flesh geography of the West I touch-
ed today.
In the seamed erosion of a weathered
palm
I saw a nation's story carved in glory—
Dynamic map of life, my mother's
hand.



Sculptor Sonny Rivera and Margaret Sears beside monument.

MONUMENT DEDICATION

(continued from page 1)

The mementoes were inscribed brass replicas of a hames knob, the decorative ball on either side of the mule-harness collar. A muleteer guiding a wagon keeps sight of the knobs to see if the animals are in sync as they pull.

The Santa Fe Concert Band, under direction of Greg Heltman, furnished preprogram entertainment, and the End of the Trail Chapter of SFTA provided reception refreshments after the program. Everyone is invited to come view this magnificent monument commemorating the heritage of the Trail.

PARTNERSHIP REPORT

by Ross Marshall

CONGRESS has passed the final 2004 federal budget appropriations, and it is awaiting the president's signature. Included is a \$40,000 increase in funding for the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. It was not all we asked for but a welcome increase.

This increase will allow further partnering between the NPS and SFTA on a number of cooperative agreements. We have not yet determined the exact dollar amounts or specific projects, but that will come soon. More of these details will be available in the next issue of WT.

PIKE'S COLUMN

[This special column will continue as a series in Wagon Tracks until the close of the Zebulon Montgomery Pike Southwestern Expedition Bicentennial activities in 2007. It features documents, articles, bibliography, and notes which tell the story of Pike, his expeditions, and related topics. Submissions are solicited for this column, and suggestions are welcome.

There are four Pike items in this issue: (1) addition to Pike Bibliography, (2) a biography of Archer Butler Hulbert, (3) an article about La Charrette village, and (4) the third installment of Pike's journal. Keep informed with the Pike Bicentennial plans at www.pikebicentennial.org.]

Pike Bibliography Addition:

Laugensen, Amada. "Celebrating Pike's Pawnee Village and the Santa Fe Trail, 1900-1918," *Kansas History* 22 (2000): 172-185.



ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, 1873-1933

by Joanne Hulbert Yeager

[SFTA member Joanne Yeager, Santa Fe, is the daughter of Archer Butler Hulbert, noted historian who wrote about the Santa Fe Trail, the Zebulon M. Pike expedition, and many other trails. Joanne writes, "I was just 6 when my father died, but I do have special memories. My half-sisters, Marian and Katherine were like aunts, as they were more my mother's age. Their children are my contemporaries, more like cousins than nephews and nieces. They were warm and loving to us, both very bright and were always interested in

the world around them. Marian married a doctor and had three doctor sons. Katherine earned a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Colorado. Both are gone now as is my mother, Dorothy, who received an LhD from Colorado College and lived to be 102. My sister Nancy, who was only one when our father died, and I live near one another and get together as often as we can. She also is a teacher and recently earned a PhD in Anthropology from the University of New Mexico. The love of learning and an inclination for involvement in academia still runs in our family. Interest in our father's books and love of the West are with us still, and we talk of 'doing the trails one day,'

"Because I knew so little about my father, I am grateful for Stephen Carter Kottsy's PhD dissertation of 1992 from the University of Cincinnati on Archer Butler Hulbert. He spent some time at the Charles L. Tutt Library of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, which holds many of his papers in its Special Collections. There are personal letters he wrote to his mother and father, and others in the family, the manuscripts for many of his books, and research papers for his planned books for the Stewart Commission. The library also holds his Crown Collection of maps, donated by his widow, Dorothy. Purchases of books for the library are supported by the Archer Butler Hulbert Endowment Fund for Western Americana, begun by his daughter Marian Hulbert Parks. He is honored also by having a building on campus named for him: The Hulbert Center for Southwestern Studies.

"Thanks to Editor Leo Oliva for his interest and for persuading me to write this paper. I have enjoyed it."

Thank you Joanne for sharing this story of one of our greatest Trail historians. A select bibliography of a few of his voluminous writings follows this article, gleaned from a bibliography that runs 17 pages.]

ARCHER Butler Hulbert's love of roads and trails began as a young man when he was attending Marietta College in Ohio. The town of Marietta is located where the Muskingham River flows into the Ohio River, and is one of the earliest settlements in the state. He began writing of that riverboat town, doing



Archer with daughters Nancy and Joanne, 1933.

"sketches" of the people who lived and worked there, and of the paddle-wheel steamers that stopped there frequently. He wrote a column three times a week for the *Marietta Register*, the local newspaper, which included the "sketches" and accounts of the Indian trails throughout the area as well as a mix of history, geography, and folklore. For this he received a little income which helped him while in college.

On graduating in 1895, he decided to pursue a career as a freelance writer and lecturer, using his knowledge of the history of the region and maps of old roads and Indian paths in the woods that he had explored. His love of the outdoors combined with a growing interest in pioneer roads was far from what his family had in mind for him. It was a great disappointment to them that he didn't choose the ministry as his father and two brothers had.

He was born into two distinguished families. Calvin Butler Hulbert, his father, was a Congregational minister in Bennington, VT, at the time of his birth, and later president of Middlebury College from 1875-1879. His mother, Mary Elizabeth Woodward, was born in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), a missionary's daughter, and a great-granddaughter of Eleazor Wheelock, the founder of Dartmouth College, New Haven, CT. She and Calvin had six children, three boys and three girls, all clergy or married to clergy—except Archer.

Henry Woodward Hulbert, his oldest brother, was Princeton Seminary's first foreign missionary to Be-

ruit, Lebanon, and later became professor of history and political science at Marietta while Archer was enrolled there. His next oldest brother, Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, ten years his senior, also a minister, went to Seoul, Korea, in 1886, one of the first three American teachers and missionaries to that country. His affection for Korea became such that he asked to be buried in Seoul and was in 1949.

Archer spent a year with him after college, and while there helped him establish the first English language newspaper. He wrote articles for the paper, and sent some home hoping some newspaper would pick them up. His one fiction book "The Queen of Quelpart" was a mystery based on a Korean event while he was there. In other of his writing, "home" seemed to be a lot on his mind, as many articles were reworked Muskingham sketches, remembering the scenes from Ohio.

Upon his return from Korea, he began to research the Indian trails and early pathways used by settlers in Ohio and Pennsylvania, looking through libraries for manuscripts and documents of the early settlers. He wrote articles and pieces for the historical societies, which he helped found, and lectured in colleges and on the Chautauqua "circuit." He joined the faculty at Marietta College as associate professor of history and almost at the same time married his college sweetheart, Mary Elizabeth Stacy. Within a few years, they had two daughters, Marian Elizabeth and Katherine Wheelock.

His friend and publisher, Arthur H. Clark, suggested he do a series on the early trails which became "Historic Highways" (1905). This 16-volume set included maps and each volume covered a separate subject, such as Braddock's Road, the Erie Canal, and the Cumberland Road. In each volume, he pointed out the connection between geography and the development of important transportation routes such as trails, rivers, and canals. It was very readable and incorporated research material along with narrative. It was said that his history books read like fiction and his fiction read like history. This series of documentary material was sorely needed by teachers to be used in schools.

On his sabbaticals or time off from teaching, he attended lectures of scholars and friends he admired. Frederick Jackson Turner of Harvard was one of these. Turner began the idea of the great importance of the frontier, and how successive frontiers gradually extended the movement of settlers west. Archer agreed with Turner's interpretation regarding the significance of these frontiers, demonstrating the importance of the ways pioneers found to get there—by road, trail, or river. Two other books came out at this time, *The Ohio River* (1906) and *The Niagara River* (1907), both regional studies of the geography and the rivers. Both books show how the rivers are responsible for the way our country was settled, and the nationalities that now live in certain areas of the country. His *Washington and the West* (1905) brought an unknown story to life, and the importance of the region in Ohio that he traveled across in 1784.

One of his most important contributions to scholarly study was his "Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps," begun in 1904. While doing "Historic Highways" he had found many old maps and knew there were more to be discovered. On a trip to Europe he was appalled to find irreplaceable ones rotting away in the archives of the British Records Office. He began to form an idea of a book of maps, carefully bound that would include these archival examples. Several publishers turned him down, even the Carnegie Institution to whom he was recommended by Theodore Roosevelt.

Archer had a brief visit with Roosevelt to discuss the project and enjoyed him so much he suggested they should travel the National Road together one day. He wrote later in a letter to his family that he "resolved to vote as many ballots for R. next election as he gave me minutes."

Financing and printing this series was, in the end, absorbed by Archer, to be reimbursed by subscriptions. As news of this printing spread, subscriptions from around the country started coming in. The original title tells it all: *Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps: A Collection of Original Photographs, Carefully Mounted, of Maps Important Historically Yet Hitherto Unpub-*

lished, Contained in the British Museum and Other Foreign Archives Especially Chosen and Prepared to Illustrate the Early History of America; Selected and Edited by Archer Butler Hulbert (1909). Following the publication, the British made him a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society. Only 25 sets, bound in leather were printed, though five more sets were added later. The printing of these maps created an extremely valuable source of original material that could now be used by many scholars.

Over the course of his career he made documentary source material available for other historians to use, and made originals more widely available. His work for the Harvard Commission on Western History began in 1913 when he became their Archivist. This resulted in Harvard's library acquiring original archival materials and personal papers he talked the owners into contributing. His object was to make the Harvard Library one of the best repositories for Western expansion collections.

His work at Harvard, Marietta, and the historical associations in the Ohio Valley was cut short due to his wife's health and the entrance of the U.S. into World War I. Given leave by the college, the family tried Colorado's climate which proved better for Mary, and Archer left her there as he joined the war effort by giving lectures for the YMCA at forts in the Midwest. His lectures explained to the soldiers the recent history in Europe that led up to the war, and the position of America. After the armistice, and having resigned from Marietta, he joined the faculty at Clark University in Worcester, MA, but Mary's health became worse.

The family moved back to the higher, drier climate, and this time to Colorado Springs, CO, where in 1920 he accepted a professorship at Colorado College in the history dept. In spite of the move, Mary died in November 1920. With Mary's death, the ties were broken with her family and Ohio. Subsequently his parents' death severed more ties with the East Coast. It must have seemed to Archer that his connections with the East were slowly disappearing.

Turning back to his love of trails and maps, he started his summers with camping trips, intending to fol-

low the trails with his daughters for company. He began tracing the migration routes just as he had done in the East. Before 1921 nothing reliable was known about the Oregon, Santa Fe, Mormon, or California trails. The maps he used were ones he had discovered in Washington, DC, archived by the General Land Office of the federal government. Some were quite illegible, some done without surveying, and all were of a different size and scale.

In 1924 he discovered that the plat of each township ever surveyed in the West by our government usually showed the line of any main trail which crossed the township. He copied 3,000 township plats with topographical markings, and when put together side by side, the great trails emerged. Using this strategy, he brought to life 9,000 miles of transcontinental trails by 1929. Any part could be studied, and when combined with diaries of the travelers, the whole panorama came to be. These maps were added to the original series and became "Crown Series IV—Transcontinental Trails." He found the best way to present them was to take a blue print of the original, and make corrections and additions to it. As there was twice as much to print, the last book in this series was published in 1928.

In 1923 he met and married a Classics professor at the college, Dorothy Printup, and again within a few years had two daughters, Joanne Woodward and Nancy Printup. His classes at Colorado College were always popular, and he became head of the department. It was said that "no matter which of his courses they took, they always got a course on the American Frontier." He had fun with his students and they found him easy to approach. He had a great sense of humor and put everyone around him at ease.

His love of sports drew him to be manager of the football team. Another of his favorite sports, besides football and baseball, was golf, and during a golf game in Colorado Springs, he met Philip B. Stewart, a trustee of the college. They became good friends, and talked of the work Archer was doing with maps and tracing trails.

Stewart proposed a commission on Western history that would pro-

duce a series of books containing the story of the pioneers and migrants to the West. So the Stewart Commission on Western History was begun in 1925. This time around he had great support for his work—the college granted him leaves of absence for research on the East and West coasts, funded by giving five or six lectures on the way. He often took teaching and lecturing positions in other colleges, such as teaching a semester in Pomona College, while researching at the Huntington Library, combining two jobs in one place. Some people he met in California gave annual donations to the Stewart Commission.

His book *Frontiers* (1929) published by Little, Brown and Co. on nationalism, counteracted some popular views in the U.S. advanced by H. L. Mencken. In *Frontiers* he wrote of the American willingness to face the challenge of pioneering and confront the diversity of frontiers, whether they be geographical, intellectual, or cultural. Archer divided the book into three sections, "Be a Nation," "Be American," and "Be True to Yourselves"—each part of Washington's Farewell Address. Themes here were reworked from some of his earlier works, such as the common bond of experience and environment leading to political and commercial solidarity, the diversity of people in the U.S. making our country distinctive, and the binding together of the nation by the ways and means of transportation.

Another book, *Soil: Its Influence on the History of the United States, With Special Reference to Migration and the Scientific Study of Local History* (1930) was 50 years ahead of its time. Because it deals with relationships between soil, climate, water, vegetation, and local history, it is actually an early environmental study. For example, different types of soils drew immigrants from Europe who were familiar with those soils, thus influencing immigration patterns. He perceived America as a nation of interdependent regions and different soils that were bound together by transportation routes.

The first of the Stewart Commission series was called "Overland to the Pacific," and would be a documentary series, each book self supporting, 1/3 a government printed

document, 1/3 interpretive material by the editor, and 1/3 original material, such as diaries and letters. Originally planned to be 16 volumes, the first 8 would be on migration, and 8 would be on exploration, mining, railroads, and cattle industry. His goal in doing the series was to combine government publications on Western history that were scattered among many libraries, to add good interpretive notes to the documents, to find diaries that were rare and too costly for libraries to afford, and to only touch on those journals which had been printed too often before. These books were to span the gap between the professional historian and the public. Often it encouraged the public to be interested in their local history, finding new documents, organizing a historical society or museum, or looking for the trails themselves. The "Overland to the Pacific" series was planned to be in three parts: (1) Crusaders of the Northwest, (2) Days of the California Gold Rush 1849-1852, and (3) whatever did not fit into those two.

The first volume of the series came out in 1932, *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal: In Search of the Southern Louisiana Purchase Boundary Line*. In the introduction, Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert point out that the choice of Zebulon Pike to be the first Crusader, was due to the recent recovery of original maps, which were taken from Pike when captured by the Spaniards, but later were sent to Washington. As stated in the introduction, co-author Hart's "treatise corrects many mistakes on the questions of topography before taken as accurate and sure." The second reason for the reprint is the "incidental light thrown by Pike's maps and re-evaluation of his printed Journal which they compel, upon the long-mooted subject of his purpose in visiting the Spanish-American borderland when and as he did in 1806—a subject recently exploited again for the purpose of showing that Pike was a conscious scheming tool in the Aaron Burr-James Wilkinson 'conspiracy.'" Archer defended Pike and his purpose in the treatise "Purpose of Pike's Expedition."

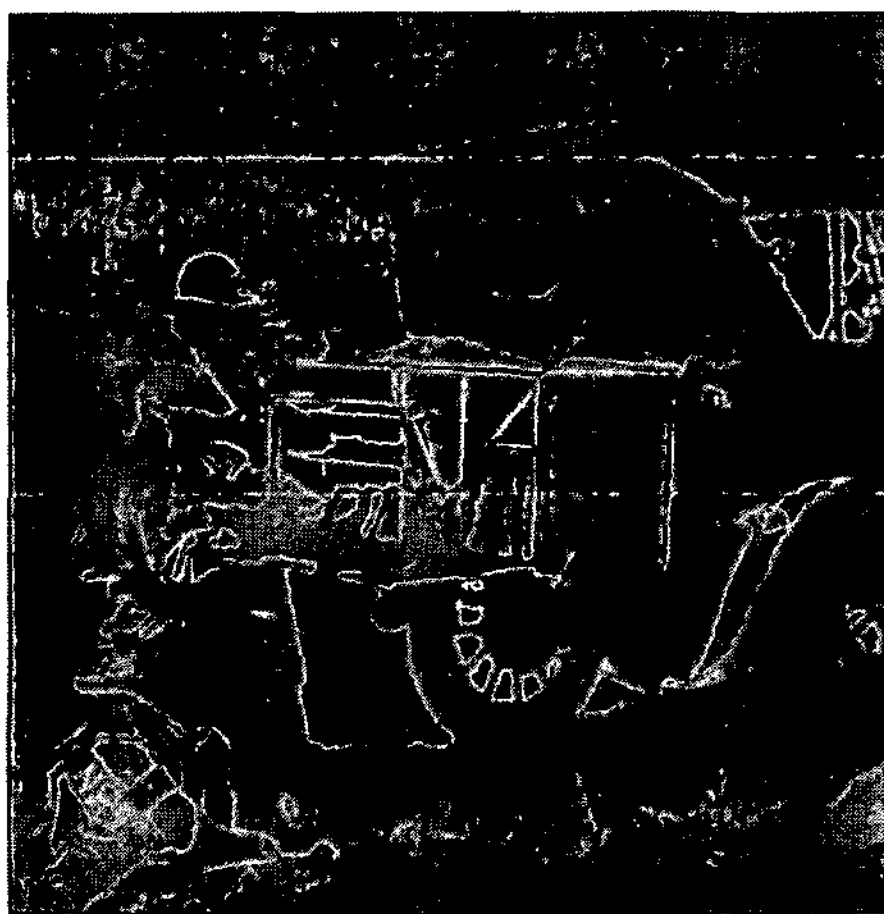
The next volume appeared in 1933, *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road*

to *Santa Fe*, which described the movement and history of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri, across Kansas and the Arkansas River and the Cimarron Desert to Taos and Santa Fe. He found there were trade extensions to other provinces in northern Mexico and to California by way of the Mohave Desert and the Salton Sea. Most of these routes he explored in his favorite car, a Buick that he called Betsy. The rear end of the car had been refashioned into a fold out camp desk, the back of which held his books and paper. At the fold down desk, he kept his own account of his journey.

Much of the material he collected for the Part II Gold Rush publication of "Overland to the Pacific" series was used instead in a historical fiction called *The Forty-Niners* (1931). He put aside the series, and did something entirely different in this diary-form book. He was able to write this quickly because he had been collecting data for years, and also was confined to the Claremont Inn in Claremont, California, with a bad case of poison oak, which he had gotten as soon as he arrived. The book follows the experiences of a young man traveling one segment of the trail to the next, incorporating the songs, accomplishments, concerns and woes of these acquaintances in the wagon train. All of the material is taken from actual diary accounts.

Based on diary accounts, he realized that the hardest part of crossing the continent was not the Indian interference but being able to cover 20 miles every day. Wagons broke down, animals died, and rabies, cholera, and distemper took their toll on the travelers. The book was awarded the Atlantic Monthly Prize that year.

Coming out in the Great Depression as it did, it sent a positive message of struggle, and of overcoming adversity through resourcefulness, dreams of a better day in a new country, problems much like the Depression presented. Archer received much notoriety, and he had offers from Harvard to revise the Harvard Commission on Western History, from Middlebury College to teach in the summer, Atlantic Monthly to write more, and other institutions across the country to give lectures and teach.



Archer seated at his traveling library and desk, with friend William Masi.

The Depression was felt everywhere. Institutions and libraries were not able to subscribe to large sets of books, benefactors were beginning to pull back, and finances were tight at all places of learning. Two volumes on Marcus Whitman were started, and material was gathered but they were not published then because of the Depression.

In 1933 the publisher, Doubleday, asked him to revise his American history textbook, *The Making of the American Republic*, which had come out in 1923. He revised some of the book from Colorado, but then was asked to come east to work with the publishers on the manuscript. While there he caught a cold, which developed into strep throat by the time he got home. Doctors did all they could at the time, but complications set in and he died on Christmas eve, 1933.

In the several years following his death, his wife, Dorothy, was able to finish what he had started and wrote volume five, *The Oregon Crusades: Across Land and Sea to Oregon* (1935), and volumes 6-8, Marcus Whitman, Crusader (1936-1941). It was decided not to do any more on the series, and the Stewart Commission was terminated.

Though there have been many writers on Western history that have come after him, all have included him in their bibliographies. He was a prolific writer with hundreds of articles written for newspapers, magazines, and periodicals as well as the several series of books described above. He wanted his books to have in them the documents needed for understanding the main episodes of the expansion of the U.S. His chal-

lenge was to find the earliest manuscripts and maps and to publish them with his notes to achieve that understanding. His love of the outdoors had originally taken him into the woods where he learned about Indian trails and early roads. In finding maps, putting them together, and following the trails and roads himself, he followed the pioneers and understood the land they crossed. He saw the differences in the land and the people that inhabited certain sections of the country, which he called "spheres of influence." Good transportation routes, roads and waterways, would increase homogeneity and decrease the differences, to the betterment of our country. The trails tied people together.

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CELEBRATING "A PRECIOUS MEMENTO" AT LA CHARRETTE

by Lowell M. Schake

[Lowell M. Schake was born and reared on a family farm on Charrette Creek in Missouri, where he farmed before his academic career as a professor of animal and food science at three universities. In retirement in Texas he has published his family genealogy and *La Charrette: Village Gateway to the American West*, reviewed in the last WT and available through Last Chance Store.]

THE national Lewis & Clark Bicentennial reenactment celebrations offer exceptional opportunities to experience history in action. But there is more to celebrate than the phenomenal success of the Corps of Discovery. Just as Lewis & Clark were gaining confidence of their return to La Charrette Village on the lower Missouri River, Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike arrived there

in July of 1806 and acquired a troublesome little map of a route across the Plains to Santa Fe in New Mexico (sometimes called the first map of the Santa Fe Trail). Today historians recognize that, since Pike's journals of his explorations were published four years before those of Lewis & Clark, the western expansionist movement into Texas, New Mexico, and beyond, across the Santa Fe Trail and elsewhere, was influenced almost as much by Pike as by the Corps of Discovery.

These momentous events of American history will be reenacted continuing well into 2007, providing unique travel and vacationing opportunities for the entire family. Both expeditions share a common crossroads at the north bank entry of Charrette Creek into the Missouri River about 60 miles above St. Louis, close to present-day Marthasville of Charrette Township, Warren County, Missouri. As the westernmost village of the Louisiana Purchase, La Charrette represented the very crossroads of exploration, culture, and history. La Charrette, once dubbed as the "advance guard of civilization," remained as THE Louisiana frontier from 1801 to 1808. Today historians equate the Corps of Discovery accomplishments to those of space age travels; 200 years ago it was La Charrette that served as the nation's launch pad for famous missions into the far away unknown.

There may be good reason if you do not recall La Charrette from your studies of American history. The first book ever about this unique frontier village was published in May 2003.¹ Previous to then, La Charrette was mostly a footnote to history. But now its extensive role in these two celebrated expeditions of the American West, as well as the detailed origins of the Santa Fe Trail's first map, are revealed as never before as part of a comprehensive village history. Ralph Gregory, president of neighboring Franklin County Historical Society, says "at last . . . Charrette Village is put in its universal, national and territorial place."²

Village origins are closely linked to Jean Marie Cardinal, Sr., and Jose Tebeau, Sr. Both were French-Canadian fur trappers residing at historic Prairie du Chien (Wiscon-

sin) possessing generations of frontier experience. Cardinal is credited with the founding of Prairie du Chien about 1754, where he and Jose were under contract with New York fur dealers. In the winter of 1762-1763 Jean and Jose became sufficiently enraged to murder Abraham and James Lansing over a dispute involving fur trading.

Soon after that they appeared with their common-law Indian wives in the District of St. Charles, well before the establishment of La Charrette Village. Both men had their families formalized by staging 1776 weddings, with the baptism of their children in a single ceremony. In 1777, when Cardinal, and possibly Tebeau, was thought to be a squatter at Charrette Creek, he was granted trading rights with the Osage Indians. His Indian slave, Nicholas Colas, accompanied him. The Cardinal and Tebeau families would remain prominent on the Missouri River frontier for several more generations. To this day there are Cardinal descendants residing on the lower Missouri River.

Paul and Jean Marie, Jr., sons of Jean Marie and Angelique Cardinal, Sr., were among the seven founding families of La Charrette Village in 1801. Of the estimated 400 District of St. Charles citizens, fully ten percent resided there. The village consisted of family residences, a modest trading post, Charrette Landing, eventually a school, and, by the War of 1812, Callaway's Fort. Others of the seven founding French-Canadian families included Joseph Chartran, the village syndic (magistrate), his Osage wife and their son plus four or five unidentified orphans. Widow "Vieuve" St. Franceway was left with only one child. Charles Tayon's family owned multi-ethnic slaves. Lewis & Clark camped at Jean Baptiste Luzon's *sleuce* near the mouth of Charrette Creek where he lived with his wife and four orphans. Less is known about landholders Joseph Arnou and Jack Amos.

Numerous preeminent frontiersmen were also strongly allied with this village, which was not subject to expansion. Included was "America's First Mountain Man" John Colter, who discovered western grandeur the likes of Yellowstone, the Grand

Tetons, Jackson's Hole Valley, and more, by wandering alone for four years after departing the Corps of Discovery. Both American pioneer Daniel Boone and his hunting companion-friend Charles "Indian" Phillips frequented the village.

After land grants were denied some of the villagers, they began to depart the little village to settle farther up the Missouri to establish Cote sans Dessein in 1808, the next westernmost frontier village. Both villages eventually failed. Next, members of the Daniel and Rebecca Boone family came to farm with more black slaves, later they were supplanted by German immigrants forming what became the heart of the Missouri German Belt.

Cote sans Dessein (the hill without design) founders included Jose Tebeau, Jr., his son James, and two nephews of Paul and Jean Marie Cardinal, Jr., among other La Charrette Village family members. Later still these adventurous frontier families traded liquor with Indians during the steamboat era, helped establish St. Joseph, Missouri, while others were placed on the Ioway Indian Reservation as a part of the Trail of Tears movement to "open" the West for even more settlement activity.

Across 200 years of neglected history, Village Charrette comes into focus as a multi-ethnic American melting pot. Most village guests described it in highly disparaging terms, conjuring up images of a disheveled-looking village. The Corps of Discovery journals reveal that "The people at this village is pore, houses Small," while the English scholar John Bradbury observed a "striking instance of the indolence of the inhabitants" during his 1811 visit. Even as late as 1816 Connecticut traveling preacher Timothy Flint stated that "the people here are not yet a reading people." Since, authors have described the village as "an outpost of seven poverty stricken families" or as "a miserable hamlet" on the Louisiana frontier. Another described it as a "thoroughly mixed village of backcountry Americans, French-speaking Creoles, emigrant and native Indians, free and enslaved African Americans, and a growing progeny of their various combinations." Yet, even with legacies such as these, the village citi-

zens contributed what they could to assist the frequent but unannounced guests who arrived at Charrette Landing. No one in any way ever recorded that they were inhospitable hosts.

Records document that Lewis & Clark intended to train at La Charrette during the winter of 1803-1804 rather than at the Wood River Camp in Illinois Country. The idea possibly held its roots in an event near the site of the future village. For several years Charrette Creek was known as Chorette's Creek, named after Joseph Chorette who drowned there in 1795 as a member of the Missouri Trading Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri expedition led by Jean Baptiste Trudeau.

President Thomas Jefferson eventually scrutinized Trudeau's journals and learned of this site where Trudeau had traded furs with local Indians and "other Frenchmen" for days. Even the objectives outlined by Jefferson for the Corps of Discovery closely resembled those of Trudeau's mission. Trudeau, the first but intermittent St. Louis schoolteacher, knew the area well as the result of trading there since 1769. Regardless, the French denied the Captains access to enter the Louisiana Purchase until the transfer of sovereignty was completed in March 1804. Instead they trained at Camp Wood until departing there at 4:00 P.M. on May 14, 1804.

It was Friday, May 25, when the Corps of Discovery arrived at La Charrette. Lucky for them they encountered Regis Loisel who provided much needed "up-river" information unavailable in St. Louis. Loisel had just returned from Cedar Island, 1,200 miles up stream with his boat loaded with deerskins, according to Corps member Joseph Whitehouse. Captain Clark recorded the visit: "Camped at mouth of a Creek called River a Chouritte, [Charrette], above a Small french Village of 7 houses and as many families, settled at this place to be conv. to hunt, & trade with Indians, here we met with M. Louisell, imedeately down from Seeder Isl."

Upon departing the "pore" villagers at 7:00 A.M., Saturday, May 26, Sergeant Charles Floyd recorded them as "the last settlements of

whites on this river."³ It would be 848 days before his comrades would again see their launch site at this last outpost of civilization. Sadly, within a few months, Floyd would become the expeditions only fatality—the first American soldier to die west of the Mississippi River. During the ensuing weeks Corps of Discovery members would encounter other Loisel associates, including Mr. Tebeau (probably either Jose Tebeau Sr. or Jr.). All aided the mission by providing the most current assessment of what lay ahead as the expedition sought the headwaters of the Missouri, the continental divide, and the route leading to the Pacific.

The next recorded village guests included the 23 members of Zebulon Pike's Expedition plus 51 Osage, Otoe, and Pawnee Indians. Recently *Wagon Tracks* detailed the expedition's roster.⁴ Pike arrived at La Charrette on July 21, 1806, to conduct even more extensive business than had Lewis & Clark. He was to rendezvous with the expeditions private-citizen physician John H. Robinson, acquire a "Circumferenter and Bark," add interpreter A. F. "Baroney" Vasquez to his ranks, and intercept the 51 Indians there. Forty-three were Osage Indians previously ransomed from warring Pottawatomis, plus eight Otoe, Pawnee, and Osage chiefs who had just returned from their Washington, D.C., visit with President Jefferson. The safe return of these Indians to their lodges was a primary objective of the expedition, according to the president. Pike's three-day visit swelled La Charrette Village population by some 75 people, one of its largest gatherings ever. To provide greater day-by-day details of these events, *Wagon Tracks* also presented Pike's original instructions and journal entries while still on the lower Missouri in July of 1806.⁵

Pike eventually accomplished all of his "La Charrette" objectives plus an idea that had been hatched a few days previous in Eckert's Tavern in nearby St. Charles. Here, while visiting with George C. Sibley and Thomas Mathers, they discussed the notion of traveling to Santa Fe. It may well be that these gentlemen knew about some at La Charrette who had been there, but that assertion is no more certain than whether Pike in-

tended to illegally feign his way or just accidentally ended up in Spanish Mexico. Regardless, his arrest by Spanish troops in present southern Colorado, detainment at Santa Fe and Chihuahua before his release in Louisiana, earned him the title of "The Lost Pathfinder" and raised questions of his connection with the Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy. It was the little map in his possession since departing La Charrette that so disturbed New Spain officials after his arrest early in 1807. Was this possibly a military attack route via the Missouri River? How could Pike have known of this route he had only partially followed?

The little map, first described in 1908 as "a small rough drawing, on a torn sheet, of lands situated between the Misuri and Santa Fe, with information, acquired in this villa,"⁶ accompanied Pike to Chihuahua but later appeared at the Secretariat of Foreign Relations Archives in Mexico City. In 1908 Herbert E. Bolton stated that "no useful conclusions could be drawn from" the 10.25 by 6.50 inch map.⁷ But by 1958 Carl L. Wheat recognized it as "a precious memento."⁸

While at La Charrette, Pike stayed in the little *bousillage* vertical-style log cabin of Joseph Chartran, the 64-year-old village syndic. According to Pike, Joseph provided them "every accommodation in his power." Pike likely reciprocated by displaying his new Model 1803 Army rifle possessed with a 33-inch barrel designed to fire a 54-caliber bullet, the most modern military firearm of its day. Sometime during his extended stay in Chartran's cabin Pike drafted what today is recognized as "the earliest representation of the Santa Fe Trail."⁹

Who then provided Captain Pike with this troublesome but "precious memento"? It was the sons of those two early Charrette Creek squatters who had departed Prairie du Chien with bloody hands a generation before. Paul and Jean Marie Cardinal, Jr., and Jose Tebeau, Jr., were the links to the origin of Pike's little "precious memento" map. In its lower right hand corner, below the scale notation, Pike had recorded their names in his own hand. They knew the route in sufficient detail to describe it to Pike. In return, Pike af-

fixed their names to the truncated map to document its origin.¹⁰ Until now the linking of these two La Charrette families to Pike's historic map had not been fully established. The next logical step in resolving the map's origin begs the unanswered question of how Paul, Jean Marie, and Jose acquired such complete knowledge about the route, shown on the map from Pawnee villages on the Platte River to Santa Fe? The possibilities are bountiful.

Heritage may again play a role in revealing the answer. Mothers of the Cardinal and Tebeau sons were women from the Omaha and Pawnee tribes, respectively. Their ancestors had traded over an impressive network of trails across the Plains for hundreds of years.¹¹ This traveling trio also had other intimate Indian contacts by way of their wives and for the Cardinals their stepfather, Nicolas Colas, the former Osage slave of their father. All could have assisted them in various ways in crossing the Plains to New Mexico. Donald Jackson noted that, since Jean Marie, Jr., was married to a Pawnee woman and since the route to Santa Fe on Pike's little map started at the Grand Pawnee village, his extended Pawnee family was the likely helpful tribe.¹² The Pawnees made annual trading trips to New Mexico and had been visited more than once by Spanish expeditions sent from Santa Fe. It is also possible that one or more of the three had been to Santa Fe, perhaps traveling with the Pawnees. Jackson stated, "my guess is that these three men were involved in a trading venture to Santa Fe in 1797."¹³

There are other potential ways by which this adventuresome trio might have learned of the route to Santa Fe. There had been both documented and undocumented travelers crossing the Plains for years. Some would have passed Charrette Creek squatters on the lower Missouri just as did Pedro Vial. Vial crossed the Plains from Santa Fe in 1792, and again in 1794, perhaps even earlier in the mid-1770s.¹⁴ By 1799 Vial was living at Portage des Sioux north of St. Charles. He and others like him are reported to have left oral legends brimming with intrigue about traveling to Santa Fe. Any combination of these and other factors could have

prompted the young trio from La Charrette to cross the Plains to Santa Fe.

True to their extended heritage this trio of frontier fur trappers may have been seeking new markets and opportunities for trading in furs. Jose's father was recorded as "a Canadian born rower" who traveled extensively on the Missouri as a fur trapper. Jacques, the Canadian patriot of the Cardinals, was from Montreal. His adventuresome travels on the Mississippi brought him into contact with five of La Salle's survivors at Arkansas Fort in 1687. La Salle had somehow managed to mistakenly sail past the mouth of the Mississippi River in the Gulf of Mexico, but instead landed his ill-fated 1684 expedition in Matagorda Bay, Texas. The Cardinal family had been challenging North American frontiers since 1619. Seeking new frontiers and routes of trade was their very way of life, eventually extending from Montreal to Santa Fe.

La Charrette's first recorded celebration was to unfold a few months after Zebulon Pike departed with his little map. As the Corps of Discovery rounded Charrette Bend they glimpsed some cows on the north bank of the Missouri which signaled to them that civilization was nearby. "Enthusiastic shouts!" erupted late on that memorable Saturday afternoon of September 20, 1806. As they approached Charrette Landing from the west the tiny miserable French village flickered into view. "Our party requested to be permitted to fire off their guns, which was allowed, and they discharged three rounds with a hearty cheer, which was returned from the five trading boats which lay opposite the village," was how Clark recorded the initiation of festivities. Clark continued, "We landed and were politely received by two young Scotsmen from Canada—one in the employ of Mr. Arid, a Mr. [blank in MS.], and the other, Mr. Reed. Two other boats, the property of Mr. Lacombe and Mr. [blank in MS.]. All of those boats were bound to the Osage and Otos.

"Those two young Scotch gentlemen furnished us beef, flour, and some pork for our men, and gave us a very agreeable supper. As it was like to rain, we accepted of a bed in one of their tents. We purchased of a citizen

two gallons of whiskey for our party, for which we were obliged to give eight dollars in cash, an imposition on the part of the citizen.

"Every person, both French and Americans, seemed to express great pleasure at our return, and acknowledged themselves much astonished in seeing us return. They informed us that we were supposed to have been lost long since, and were entirely given out by every person, &c."

Another recorded, "In the evening, the citizens, whose homes many of the men visited, provided food and entertainment. Dancing with or watching the ladies, the first nonnative women the party had seen in more than 2 years, was a favorite pastime."

This spontaneous multinational La Charrette "welcoming committee" became the first in the world—before those in St. Louis or Washington, D.C.—to learn of the expedition's safe return, and soon to receive international fame. The villagers were unwittingly well prepared to serve as the expedition's first celebratory host. These families of French-Canadian and American-Indian heritage were universally noted for their easygoing gaiety. So much so that some thought that these hospitable people denigrated the Sabbath as a "day of hilarity."

Hospitality—dancing and singing to the music of a fiddle, food, drink, telling of tales, laughter, and excitement were all spontaneously mixed with an abundance of joy at La Charrette! One might wonder what those nine wide-eyed orphans and other children were thinking late into that eventful Saturday evening. Since La Charrette did not yet have a school, it likely was not thought of as a lesson in history. But undoubtedly they retold of this rendezvous with history many times over. Fortunately for all, enough of these happenings have survived across time to celebrate authentic reenactments at upcoming bicentennial anniversaries.

Bicentennial celebrations presently underway will continue into the early fall of 2006, concluding at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. Information at the National Council of the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial web site at <www.lewisandclark200.org/> out-

lines each day's activities, including events local to Charrette Township of Warren County, Missouri. The nearby towns of Marthasville and Washington are hosting reenactment events for the entire family to celebrate. Estimates suggest that ten percent of the U.S. population may participate in some part of the Lewis & Clark celebrations. Imagine. Some 28 million of us still enthralled, after 200 years, by the bold adventures into our American West by the Corps of Discovery members, one woman, her infant son, and one dog.

Marthasville, Missouri, was contemporary with, and within a mile of La Charrette, from 1817 until the "miserable hamlet" faded from existence soon after 1825. A recent Marthasville Chamber of Commerce ad in *Missouri Life* magazine acknowledges that "Our roots run deep." They may be contacted at PO Box 95, Marthasville, MO 63357, or 636-433-5242 for additional details. Today the old village site serves as private farmland.

The "Rendezvous at La Charrette" includes reenactments of the Corps arrival—food, drink, music—even role playing of village citizens to include the children, with La Charrette Landing depicted by artist Billyo. These joyful May 23-25, 2004, celebrations will feature an authentic replica of syndic Joseph Chartran's vertical log cabin, erected in a Marthasville City Park between the old village and today's Katy Trail.

Washington, a much larger community immediately across the Missouri River from the site of the tiny old village, has announced an even more extensive "Rendezvous at the Riverfront" scheduled from May 22-26. Here Osage Indian culture will be featured along with the arrival of the keelboat replica from St. Charles, a parade led by the Lewis & Clark Fife and Drum Corps, concerts by the Discovery Strings, concluded by a huge frontier military ball. The next morning, May 26, the keelboat departs to continue its upriver reenactment. Here artist Gary Lucy captures the moment. Visit their web site at <www.washmo.org/> or call 888-7WASHMO for details. Both towns will have an autograph party for my book about Village Charrette.

The Zebulon Montgomery Pike

Southwestern Expedition Bicentennial celebrations will overlap with Lewis & Clark celebrations, just like their expeditions. Pike bicentennial plans are still unfolding for 2006 and 2007. Your ideas and support for these events is sought at <www.pikebicentennial.org>, and the Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum has already announced a yearlong exhibit underway to reexamine the purpose, results, and long-term impact of the Pike Expedition. Others at Marthasville and Washington are less certain of any specific plans, but claim they will be ready to celebrate. Marc Houseman, Director of the Washington Missouri Historical Society Museum says, "We'll get prepared after the Riverfront Rendezvous with Lewis & Clark."

Syndic Joseph Chartran's *bousillage*-style cabin will no doubt become the center of attraction in Marthasville. Perhaps they'll even reenact Captain Pike sketching his little troublesome map of the Santa Fe Trail with Jean Marie, Paul, and Jose looking over his shoulder.

Later, it should be noted, Chartran's old cabin served as home to Daniel Boone while on extended visits with his daughter at La Charrette, following wife Rebecca's 1813 death. His 1820 funeral was one of the last recorded village events held in son-in-law Flanders Callaway's barn. He and Rebecca were buried immediately north of the old village at historic Boone Monument. By then their families owned all of the village farms, some for three generations into the future. But by the late 1800s Germans owned all of the old village farms to include the author's maternal grandparents who owned the syndic's farm and resided there.

Make plans now to participate in the bicentennial events. Launch your own private expedition at La Charrette by exploring a wide array of other options. For example, the Katy Trail State Park at <www.dnr.state.mo.us/homednr.htm> offers an exceptional array of family-oriented opportunities to follow these expeditions along the Missouri River. Hike, bike, or jog over the Katy Trail that passes over farmland once part of La Charrette Village, all within walking distance to Chartran's cabin replica in Marthasville. Stay overnight with your family at any of the Bed-and-

Breakfast homes all along this colorful route offering majestic vistas of the Missouri River that once inspired expedition members. This trail, once the MK&T railroad route to Waco, Texas, variously follows older trails dating back to Indian travels. Included is the Trail of the Village of Missouri's, Boonslick Trail, Osage Trace, the Santa Fe Trail, and Texas Trace.

Why not "Barging Through America" on the Mississippi-Missouri River networks as advertised at <www.riverbarge.com>? Experience why Cardinal, Tebeau, Lewis, Clark, Pike, Colter, Chartran, Boone, Phillips, and all the rest, became captivated by travel on these mighty river highways. And, by all means, plan to travel the Santa Fe National Historic Trail and Pike's route to the Southwest.

Today we may celebrate not one but many precious bicentennial mementos of Missouri River origin at Charrette Creek. The rural beauty of these streams passing Charrette Township only extends authenticity to the numerous ways of celebrating. Professor William H. Goetzmann would likely agree. In his 1966 Pulitzer Prize winning volume *Exploration and Empire*¹⁵ he ranked the giants of western exploration starting with "Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, John Colter, . . ."—all intimately associated with frontier missions launched from that tiny miserable village known as La Charrette.

NOTES

1. Lowell M. Schake, *La Charrette: Village Gateway to the American West* (Lincoln: iUniverse, Inc., 2003).
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4. Donald Jackson, "Zebulon Pike's Damned Rascals," *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 5-8.
5. Z. M. Pike, "Pike's Journal, Part I," *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 12-15.
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7. Herbert E. Bolton, "Material for the South-western History in the Central Archives of Mexico," *The American Historical Review* 13 (1908).
8. Carl L. Wheat, *Mapping the TransMississippi West, 1540-1861* (San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958).
9. L. Martin and C. E. LeGear, comp., *Noteworthy Maps* (Washington: Library of

Congress, Maps Division, No. 3, 1927-28), LCCN:sn 89029712.

10. This map is best viewed in Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), I, Plate 60 at the end of the volume.
11. William Brandon, *Quivira* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990).
12. Jackson, *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, I, 458-459.
13. *Ibid.*, 459.
14. E. A. H. John, *Storm's Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975); Noel M. Loomis and A. P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).
15. William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966).

PIKE'S JOURNAL, PART III

This reprint of Pike's journal of the expedition of 1806-1807 continues, starting with the September 23, 1806, entry. They were in present north-central Kansas, heading for the Pawnee village.

Pike's Journal

23d September, Tuesday.—Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kans river, which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load. Halted at ten o'clock on a branch of this fork. We marched at half past one o'clock, and encamped at sun-down, on a stream where we had a great difficulty to find water. We were over-taken by a Pawnee, who encamped with us. He offered his horse for our use. Distance 21 miles.

24th September, Wednesday.—We could not find our horses until late, when we marched. Before noon met Frank (who had accompanied Dr. Robinson to the village) and three other Pawnees, who informed us that the chief and his party had only arrived at the village yesterday, and had dispatched them out in search of us. Before three o'clock we were joined by several Pawnees: one of them wore a scarlet coat, with a small medal of general Washington, and a Spanish medal also. We encamped at sun-set on a middle sized branch, and were joined by several Pawnees in the evening, who brought us some buffalo meat. Here we saw some mules, horses, bridles and blankets, which they obtained of the Spaniards. Few only had *breech*

cloths, most being wrapped in buffalo robes, otherwise quite naked. Distance 18 miles.

25th September, Thursday.—We marched at a good hour, and in about eight miles struck a very large road on which the Spanish troops returned and on which we could yet discover the grass beaten down in the direction which they went.

When we arrived within about three miles of the village, we were requested to remain, as the ceremony of receiving the Osage into the towns was to be performed here. There was a small circular spot, clear of grass, before which the Osage sat down. We were a small distance in advance of the Indians. The Pawnees then advanced to within a mile of us, and halted, divided into two troops, and came on each flank at full charge, making all the gestures and performing the manoeuvres of a real war charge. They then encircled us around, and the chief advanced in the centre and gave us his hand: his name was *Characterish*. He was accompanied by his two sons and a chief by the name of *Iskatappe*. The Osage were still seated; but the Belle Oiseau then rose and came forward with a pipe, and presented it to the chief, who took a whiff or two from it. We then proceeded on: the chief, lieutenant Wilkinson and myself in front; my serjeant, on a white horse, next with the colors; then our horses and baggage, escorted by our men, with the Pawnees on each side, running races, &c. When we arrived on the hill over the town we were again halted, and the Osage seated in a row, when each Pawnee who intended so to do presented them with a horse, gave a pipe to smoke to the Osage to whom he had made the present. In this manner were eight horses given. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded on with the party to the river above the town, and encamped. As the chief had invited us to his lodge to eat, we thought it proper for one to go. At the lodge he have me many particulars which were interesting to us, relative to the late visit of the Spaniards. I went up to our camp in the evening, having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for my men. Distance 12 miles.

26th September, Friday.—Finding our encampment not eligible as to situation, we moved down on to the

prairie hill, about three-fourths of a mile nearer the village. We sent our interpreter to town to trade for provision. About three o'clock in the afternoon twelve Kans arrived at the village, and informed Baroney that they had come to meet us, hearing we were to be at the Pawnees village. We pitched our camp upon a beautiful eminence, from whence we had a view of the town, and all that was transacting. In the evening Baroney, with the chief, came to camp to give us the news, and returned together.

27th September, Saturday.—Baroney arrived from the village about one o'clock, with *Characterish* and three other chiefs, to all of whom we gave a dinner. I then made an appropriate present to each, after which lieutenant Wilkinson and myself accompanied them to town; where we remained a few hours, and returned. Appointed to-morrow for the interview with the Kans and Osage.

28th September, Sunday.—Held a council of the Kans and Osage, and made them smoke of the pipe of peace. Two of the Kans agreed to accompany us. We received a visit from the chief of the village. Made an observation on an emersion of one of Jupiter's satellites.

29th September, Monday.—Held our grand council with the Pawnees, at which were present not less than 400 warriors, the circumstances of which were extremely interesting. The notes I took on my grand council held with the Pawnee nation were seized by the Spanish government, together with all my speeches to the different nations. But it may be interesting to observe here (in case they should never be returned) that the Spaniards had left several of their flags in the village; one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council, and that amongst various *demands* and *charges* I gave to them, was, that the said flag should be delivered to me, and one of the United States' flags be received and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had so lately been a large force of Spanish cavalry at the village, which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, &c. which my appearance with 20 infantry was by no means calculated to remove. After the chiefs

had replied to various parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, "adding that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge their American father." After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag, and brought it and laid it at my feet, and then received the American flag and elevated it on the staff, which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom, decidedly avow themselves to be under the American protection. Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great national calamity was about to befall [sic] them, I took up the contested colors, and told them "that as they had now shewn themselves dutiful children in acknowledging their great American father, I did not wish to embarrass them with the Spaniards, for it was the wish of the Americans that their red brethren should remain peaceably around their own fires, and not embroil themselves in any disputes between the white people: and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again, I returned them their flag, but with an injunction that it should never be hoisted during our stay." At this there was a general shout of applause and the charge particularly attended to.

(continued next issue)

CONVERSE OF THE PRAIRIES

—BOOK NOTICES—

Marc Simmons, *Kit Carson & His Three Wives: A Family History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. Pp. x + 195. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$24.95 + shipping. Available from Last Chance Store.

Marc Simmons is the leading scholar of the life of Kit Carson, and this absorbing volume presents the mostly heretofore unknown stories of Carson's wives and family. This is a side of Carson's remarkable life most often neglected (or distorted) because the details are so difficult to document.

Simmons is an indefatigable researcher, and every reader will marvel at the details presented here about Arapaho wife Waa-nibe (who died after three years of marriage to Kit), Cheyenne wife Making-Out-Road (who divorced Kit), and Hispanic wife Josefa Jaramillo of Taos. In the process readers will gain new insight and understanding of Carson himself. He was a husband and father in addition to all his better known exploits.

I started reading this book the day it arrived in the mail and finished it before going to bed that night. This finely-crafted book is recommended to everyone with an interest in Carson and to anyone who has never heard of Kit Carson.

• • • • •
Marc Simmons, *José's Buffalo Hunt: A Story from History*. Illustrations by Ronald Kil. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. Pp. 64. Cloth, \$17.95 + shipping. Available from Last Chance Store.

Based on the true story of 11-year-old New Mexican José Arrellanes's first buffalo hunt in 1866, this beautiful book will appeal to readers of all ages. The story of adventure and bravery is inspiring and the artwork (21 illustrations in color and 27 black and white) is simply brilliant. This volume and Simmons and Kil's recent *Millie Cooper's Ride* will make excellent gifts this holiday season. A third volume in this "true story from history" series, about an Indian boy, is eagerly anticipated.

• • • • •
Megan McDonald, *All the Stars in the Sky: The Santa Fe Trail Diary of Florrie Mack Ryder, 1848*. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 2003. Pp. 188. Illustrations. Cloth, \$10.95 + shipping. Available from Scholastic at <www.Scholastic.com>.

This fictional diary, part of Scholastic's "Dear America" series, is carefully researched and rings true to Trail history. There is obvious (sometimes almost too obvious) use of the writings of Susan Shelby Magoffin, Marion Sloan Russell, and stories of other Trail women, such as Ernestine Huning and her canaries.

This well-written "diary" will appeal especially to young readers, for whom it is designed. Because of the thorough research and adventuresome plot, it is highly recommended.

HOOF PRINTS

—TRAIL TIDBITS—

SFTA Ambassador Ross Marshall, former president of both SFTA and OCTA, was awarded OCTA's highest honor, the Meritorious Achievement Award, at their annual conference. Congratulations Ross.

SFTA members John and Susan Howell, doing business as Kansas on the Net at Wichita, have assumed the duties of webmaster for the SFTA site. Take a look at <www.santafetrail.org>.

Cindy Ott-Jones is the new superintendent of Bent's Old Fort NHS.

Mark L. Gardner and Rex Rideout have a new CD, *Frontier Favoirties: Old Time Music of the Wild West*, available from Last Chance Store..

CAMP TALES

—CHAPTER REPORTS—

Cimarron Cutoff

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

The chapter meeting was scheduled for October 25, with a tour of Flag Spring during the afternoon, followed by the business meeting at the Cimarron Heritage Center in Boise City, OK.

Texas Panhandle

President Kathy Revett Wade
1615 Bryan Place #14
Amarillo TX 79102
(806) 371-9309
<krevett@arn.net>

No report.

Wagon Bed Spring

President Jeff Trotman
PO Box 1005
Ulysses KS 67880
(620) 356-1854
<jtkb@pld.com>

No report.

Heart of the Flint Hills

President Carol L. Retzer
4215 E 245th St
Lyndon KS 66451
785) 828-3739
<carolandrick@grapevine.net>

The chapter met at Wilmington School on July 24, 2003, with 18 present. Guests included Larry and Carolyn Mix from St. John and Mark

Smith from Eskridge who is doing the stone work on the school. Reports were given on the June Trail Ride, which had a total of 80 participants. Everyone doing volunteer work was asked to report the hours, which will be used as "in kind" match for reporting to the Partnership for the National Trails System. Plans were discussed for another Trail ride in October. After the meeting those present looked over the work that had been completed on the school by Mark Smith. The chapter continues to seek funds to complete the restoration.

End of the Trail

President Pam Najdowski
1810 Paseo de La Conquistadora
Santa Fe NM 87501
(505) 982-1172
<mikenaj@cnsf.com>

Pam Najdowski is in China for two years and can be reached at <pamnajdowski@yahoo.com>.

On July 19, 2003, Marian Meyer presented a guided tour for the chapter at Fairview Cemetery in Santa Fe. Marian had prepared informational placards for several gravesites associated with the Santa Fe Trail. The oldest grave in the cemetery has a stone that reads: "Kate Kingsbury died June 5, 1857, crossing the Arkansas River / aged 30 years." She was wife of trader John M. Kingsbury, partner of James J. Webb, and Kate died of tuberculosis while traveling westward on the Trail.

On September 20 the chapter met at Los Trigos Ranch east of Rowe near Pecos, NM. Guests present included Zoe Ann Masterman and her son George from Oklahoma. The program was dedicated to the memory of David Masterman, husband and father, who documented Trail sites in New Mexico. The ranch, a Norwegian Fjord horse farm, is owned by Bill and Virginia Cowles. The setting is beautiful wooded land on either side of the Pecos River. Max Weber, ranch manager, was the guide, showing sites including side trails from the main route to a spring and paraje. The property was part of Los Trigos Land Grant (1815).

The next meeting is November 15, 1:30 p.m., at Eldorado Community Center, with the program by SFTA President Hal Jackson on El Camiono Real de Tierra Adentro. The annual meeting will be January

17, 1:30 p.m., at Eldorado Community Center, with the program by Father of the SFTA Marc Simmons. This meeting will also include election of officers and board members for the coming year.

Corazón de los Caminos

President Mary Whitmore
120 Gabaldon Route
Las Vegas NM 87701
(505) 454-0683
<whitmore@newmexico.com>
<www.nmhu.edu/research/sftrail/corazon.htm>

Faye Gaines and Dixie Odom organized our October field trip to Round Mound. More than 40 Corazón members and guests traveled by caravan from Point of Rocks Ranch to Round Mound. We stopped at many sites where, four years ago, our chapter members had installed SFT Xing signs (purchased with a Highway Department Scenic Byways grant). Faye had earlier found some blown down so she and Marie and Richard Greene had reinstalled the signs just days earlier.

The landscape changed as we progressed NE but Point of Rocks stayed prominently on the horizon behind us—a landmark for the wagon trains. We paused at beautiful Rock Creek campground, where Faye had discovered a real surprise: "F. Lee 1859" carefully marked on a rock face.

As we progressed NE across pastures and roads, we suffered one flat tire and lots of dust. Soon we began to see Round Mound. After lunch we heard about the history of the area from Harry Myers and about the geology and vulcanology from Richard Loudon.

From where we parked at the base, we could see that Round Mound is really part of three peaks and not smooth or round when you get up close. On a modern map it is called Mt. Clayton. A dozen or so hardy souls hiked the highest part at 6600 feet; other groups settled for the middle and lower summits—all had GREAT views of surrounding territory.

Wet/Dry Routes

President Rusti Gardner
801 Vernon Dr
Larned KS 67550
(620) 285-3433
<jaxrus@larned.net>

The summer meeting was held at the Clapsaddle residence in Larned,

July 12, with more than 50 members and guests present for a covered-dish dinner enhanced by pork steak grilled by Bob Rein. A brief business meeting was conducted. The chapter voted to install interpretive markers at Parker's and Boyd's Rancho sites. They also funded brochures for the chapter's display at the SFTA Symposium in September.

Through the persuasion of chapter members, the gate at Pawnee Rock State Historic Site has been repaired. Thanks is extended to the Kansas State Historical Society for completing this work.

The fall meeting was in conjunction with the Dodge City/ Fort Dodge/Cimarron Chapter on October 12 in Dodge City. The chapter voted to install interpretive markers at the Ash Creek Crossing and Sibley's Camp, and a proposal was discussed relative to a tour of the Zebulon Pike route in 2006. Following the business session, George Elmore and David Clapsaddle presented the program, "Chronology and Artifacts of the Santa Fe Trail." The winter meeting will be at 2:00 P.M., January 11, 2004, at the Community Center, Kinsley, KS. On the docket is the Faye Anderson Award and election of officers.

Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron

President Bill Bunyan
2207 McCoy
Dodge City KS 67801
(620) 227-8203

On October 12 the chapter held a joint meeting with the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter at the Dodge City Public Library, with a program by David Clapsaddle and George Elmore on "Chronology and Artifacts." Both chapters conducted brief business meetings prior to the program.

President Bill Bunyan completed his three-year quest of eating a hamburger in every county in Kansas at Paddy's Restaurant in Sterling, KS, on August 21. His recommendations for the best places for a good hamburger are eagerly awaited.

Missouri River Outfitters

President John Atkinson
1113 Safari Dr
St Joseph MO 64506
(816) 233-3924
<atkin@mwsc.edu>

The chapter met Sunday, November 2, at the National Frontier Trails

Museum in Independence, Missouri. Rodney Staab presented a program on Cornelius Davey, a Santa Fe Trader from Independence. Davey lived just northeast of the Independence Square. Staab is in the process of transcribing Davey's business papers and is also collecting oral history from Davey's descendants in Belton. A short business meeting followed the program.

Now that the symposium is over, the chapter turns to increasing membership and marking the Trail. Four limestone posts have been set recently and plans are underway to set more at other trail sites in 2004. Of concern is the continued progress at the Wayne City Landing site in cooperation with Lafarge Corporation. At the symposium National Mapping/Marking Chair John Schumacher presented a much-appreciated check for \$1000 as a marking grant from SFTA.

The next meeting is February 8, 2004. At that time we will elect a nominating committee.

Quivira

President Janel Cook
815 S St John
Lyons KS 67554
(620) 257-2918
<cqmuseum@hotmail.com>

The chapter is making preparations for the 2005 symposium.

Cottonwood Crossing

President Gil Michel
605 Park Place
Newton KS 67114
(620) 284-0313

On September 4, 2003, 45 members and guests rode on a flatbed hay trailer in the Scully pasture land west of Durham, KS. Numerous Trail swales and a blowout area were viewed and driven through. The Scully Corporation owns a lot of land in Marion County which is managed by Doug Sharp, with an office in Marion, KS. Sharp accompanied the tour and described the land and operations of leasing the land to farmers and ranchers in the area. Members George and Sharon Schulte, who live on the Santa Fe Trail where it crosses their farm north of Lehigh, made arrangements for this fine tour. After the tour everyone went to the Durham café for an evening meal. There Sharp again talked about Scully operations and an-

swered questions.

The executive committee met September 20. Discussion centered on the erection of a kiosk and signs at the Cottonwood River Trail Crossing west of Durham. Approval has been received from the National Park Service.

The next chapter meeting is November 20 at the Kingfisher Inn at Marion Lake. Gary Schuler, Marion County Conservationist, will be the featured speaker. The annual election of officers will also be conducted.

Six chapter members attended the SFTA Symposium in Kansas City. They enjoyed the lectures and tours, and President Michel conferred with National Park Service representatives about the planned kiosk at Cottonwood River Crossing.

Bent's Fort

President Richard Carrillo
718 W. 2nd St.
La Junta CO 81050
(719) 384-8054
<cuartejejo@centurytel.net>

A marker was placed on the Otero Junior College campus in La Junta, CO, July 16, 2003, to show where the Santa Fe Trail crossed there. In addition to the stone post and bronze plaque, the site includes a rustic wagon wheel and numerous native plants and rocks. There are now 22 Trail markers in the city of La Junta and plans are to place 21 more throughout Otero County.

On August 2 Richard Loudon led a chapter tour in the Branson/Trinchera, CO, area. This also involved Loudon in an autograph party, signing his new book of "Mitchellisms" about western artist Arthur Roy Mitchell. The tour included Emery Gap at the Colorado/New Mexico border, where Loudon told of Madison Emery, for whom the gap was named. Then they visited Toll Gate Canyon and the toll station established by Basil "Missouri Bill" Metcalf in 1873. Metcalf charged 75 cents for a wagon with a team of four or more draft animals, 40 cents for buggies, and 25 cents for a wagon with a team of horses. He tossed the coins into the far corner of the toll station. Years later a Dutch oven of silver dollars was unearthed by an area rancher. Metcalf reportedly took in \$3,000 to \$4,000 before he sold the enterprise. Business de-

clined with the coming of the Colorado and Southern Railway in the 1880s and the toll station was abandoned in the early 1890s. The tour ended at Trinchera with a visit to the Mike Mock Museum.

Plans are underway for a special tour to the Sand Creek Massacre site in the spring of 2004.

NEW SFTA MEMBERS

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

BUSINESS/INSTITUTIONAL

Benjamin Ranch, 6401 E 87th St, Kansas City MO 64138
Burlingame Chamber of Commerce, PO Box 5, Burlingame KS 66413
Lexington Historical Museum, PO Box 121, Lexington MO 64067
Mennonite Heritage Museum, 200 N Poplar, Goessel KS 67053
Riley's Irish Pub, 913 Main, Lexington MO 64067
Scully Partners L.P., Doug Sharp Mgr, PO Box 119, Marion KS 66861
Susquehanna Radio Corp. Stations, 5800 Foxridge Dr, 6th Fl, Mission KS 66202

FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Laura DeBella & Kerry Taube, 1508 Nevada Ave, Trinidad CO 81082
Jess & Carol Gibson, 937 Stonewall Ave, Trinidad CO 81082
Raymond & Marcine Howey, 1313 E Republic, Salina KS 67401
Karyl Lyne & Patrick Rucker, 89 Roadrunner Rd, Las Vegas NM 87701

Lynn & Mark Voth, 2344 S Yank Cir, Lakewood CO 802286

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Peggy Basgall, RR 1 Box 157, Bison KS 67520
Ruth Beamer, 207 E Marion, Odessa MO 64076
Marian Beavers, 5104 18th Pl, Lubbock TX 79416
Melissa Bradley, PO Box 100434, Denver CO 80250
Sharon Brown, Fort Vancouver NHS, 12 E Reserve St, Vancouver WA 98661
Sally Napier Bueno, 2217 S Marian Ave, Springfield MO 65804
Ruth B. Burns, 654 Golden Rd, Fallbrook CA 92028
Gail Carbiener, 18160 Cottonwood Rd #751, Sunriver OR 97707
Greg Collins, 1810-D S Indiana Ave, Chicago IL 60616
John Conoboy, National Park Service, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504
Lisa Corn, 1024 Mary St #5, Emporia KS 66801
Tom Day, PO Box 118, Wamego KS 66547
John M. Eatwell, 8990 Brandenburger Dr, Morrison CO 80465
Karen W. Engelke, 28-30 Cornhill St, Annapolis MD 21401
Kit Farwell, 6000 Burnside Landing Dr, Burke VA 22015
Libby Hamilton, 3800 Cove Rd, Columbus IN 47203
Judy Johnson, 13 Sibley St, Buckner MO 64016
Barbara Koester, 2200 Van Buren, Great Bend KS 67530
Shirley Laursen, 3016 E Laurel St, Mesa AZ 85213
Frank W. Nation, 9207 E Oxford Dr, Denver CO 80237
Lorna M. Nelson, 1450 Eisenhower Rd, McPherson KS 67460
Jim S. Noel, PO Box 1015, Lee's Summit MO 64063

Serge Oliver, 3626 Martain Dairy Circle, Olney MD 20832
Sharon Renner, 735 Terrace Lake Dr, Columbus IN 47201
Jane Sanchez, 13301 Sunset Canyon Dr NE, Albuquerque NM 87111
Megan Schulz, 3613 W 18th Ave #623, Emporia KS 66801
Roberta Seeley, 519 Sherman, Ordway CO 81063
Kathy Smith, 1923 SE 3rd, Lee's Summit MO 64063
Ed Sobota, 9345 Hwy 285, Conifer CO 80433
William L. Strautman, 4001 Harrison St, Kansas City MO 64110
Kenneth L. Stromquist, 9005 NW 68 Terr, Parkville MO 64152
Meridith Thompson, 12836 Portulaca Apt J, St Louis MO 63146
P. Frank Webb, 2400 Scenic, Alamogordo NM 88310
Bill Worley, 3627 Locust, Kansas City MO 64109

FROM THE EDITOR

It was great to see old and new friends at the symposium. Bonita and I spent nearly a month in Spain after getting the last issue in the mail, and it is hard to settle down to work after an adventure like that.

Several items and photos were eliminated from this issue because of space limitations and computer problems.

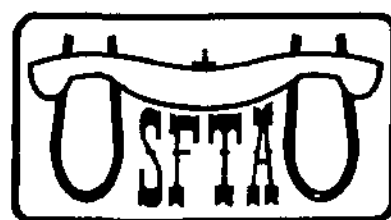
Be sure to check the expiration date on your mailing label and renew if it is time. Recruit a new member. Please take a few minutes, too, to complete the survey questionnaire. SFTA is your organization, and the officers, directors, and editor need to know what you think. Thank you.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

Santa Fe Trail Association
PO Box 31
Woodston, KS 67675

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