

Wagon Tracks

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Santa Fe Trail Association

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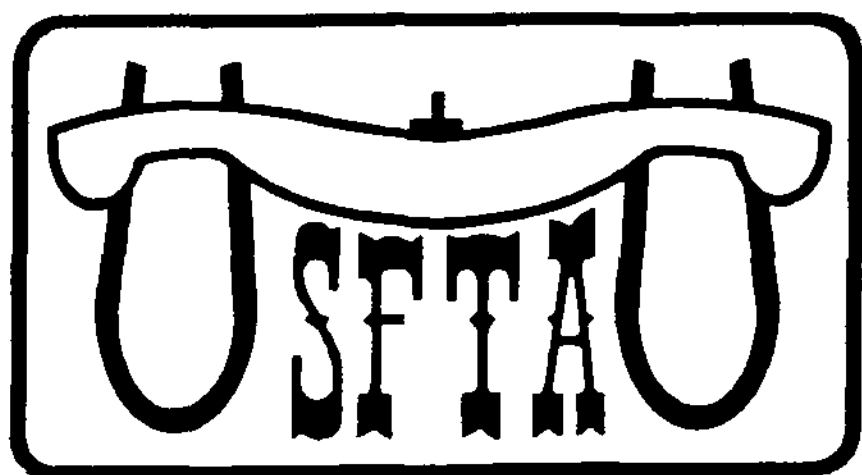


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WAGON TRACKS

SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY

VOLUME 17

MAY 2003

NUMBER 3

SYMPOSIUM, "A HIGHWAY BETWEEN NATIONS," SEPTEMBER 24-28, 2003

by Anne Mallinson

[Anne Mallinson is vice-president of SFTA and coordinator for the 2003 symposium.]

THE 2003 Symposium offers a variety of Trail experiences for those attending the Independence/Kansas City area event. In the 19th Century, Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton called the Santa Fe Trail "A Highway Between Nations" and as such the legacy continues into the 21st Century, linking cultures with commerce. From the Wednesday evening (September 24) reception at the National Frontier Trails Museum, to the Sunday morning services held overlooking the Missouri River (September 28), members will have the opportunity to tour Trail sites, visit a variety of museums and forts, attend lectures, hear the latest Trail research, participate in workshops, sample Trail cuisine, purchase books and maps, and experience time-period music. We even have ruts!

Registration material, a schedule, a list of accommodations, and a roster of speakers are included as an insert in this issue of *Wagon Tracks*. For more information, contact coordinator Anne Mallinson at (816) 230-7228 or <SFTAMRO@aol.com>. Save expenses by registering early. The tours will give registrants a comprehensive understanding of where the various Trail routes are located in western Missouri and eastern Kansas. After the registration deadline, the committee cannot guarantee a seat on a bus, as unfilled tours will be advertised locally. Additional lodging information and maps will be sent with your registration packet. Updates as they occur can be found online at www.santafe-trail.org.

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JUNE 14-15, 2003
SIX WESTERN CHAPTERS MEETING
SANTA FE

JULY 1, 2003
DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE
&
DEADLINE FOR AWARDS
NOMINATIONS

JULY 15, 2003
SFTA ELECTION BALLOTS DUE

SEPTEMBER 24-28, 2003
SFTA SYMPOSIUM

PLEASE CAST YOUR BALLOT BY JULY 15, 2003

THE nominating committee (Roger Slusher, chair, Deanne Wright, and Mike Najdowski) has completed the list of candidates for officers and board members, and the information about each nominee and a ballot for your vote are enclosed as inserts in this issue. Even though there is only one contested seat on the board, please take time to vote and show your support for the purposes and programs of SFTA.

These members who are willing to volunteer time and expense to serve a nonprofit organization deserve the encouragement provided by participation of a large number of voters. It only takes a few minutes to vote and a few cents to return the ballot.

The ballots must be returned by July 15 to Linda Revello, SFTA Headquarters, Santa Fe Trail Center, RR 3, Larned KS 67550. The results will be tallied by a special committee and announced at the symposium and in the November issue of *Wagon Tracks*. Please cast your ballot.

**EARLY COPY NEEDED FOR
NEXT ISSUE. PLEASE HAVE ALL
MATERIAL SUBMITTED NO
LATER THAN JULY 1, 2003.**

EL CAMINO REAL TRAIL ASSOCIATION FOUNDED

by John P. Bloom

[SFTA member Bloom, Las Cruces, NM, was chair of the convening committee and presided over the opening sessions of the Socorro conference.]

A new, international trail association, El Camino Real Trail Association (CARTA), has been established to promote awareness of and give support to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, in the well established style of the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA), the Oregon-California Trail Association (OCTA), and the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), among others. The culmination of more than a year's effort, started under the aegis of the Historical Society of New Mexico, more than 100 trail enthusiasts met in conference at Socorro, NM, March 14-15, 2003, to elect a first slate of officers, adopt by-laws, and start to enroll charter members. The City of Socorro and the nearly-finished Camino Real Heritage Center, as well as Socorro's

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Joy Poole, director of El Camino Real International Heritage Center, speaking at CARTA founding meeting (photo by Ross Marshall).

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

THIS is one of those reports I enjoy writing. I have only good news. The SFTA board met in Trinidad, Colorado, on Saturday, March 21. Before telling you part of what we accomplished at the board meeting I'll tell you about the workshop held the day before the meeting.

The National Park Service had given us financial support for this workshop and Sharon Brown of the NPS planned and led the meetings. Sharon, by the way, did a great job for us. We were asked to think of ways the SFTA, the chapters, and the NPS could cooperate in improving our Trail. Many chapter presidents were in attendance as well as the board and three NPS folks. Sharon and I will distill the ideas developed at the workshop and present them to you in our next *Wagon Tracks*.

The board meeting was especially well-attended as most of the chapter presidents stayed over for it. The most important issue addressed at the meeting was the report by Ramon Powers and the finance committee. They suggested several ways that our budget could better communicate what we do and how we pay for it. We also discussed ways in which we could balance our 2003 budget. They suggested that we actively seek business memberships. When I returned home from Trinidad I reviewed our list of business memberships and found that we are not doing a good job in this area.

By the time you read this message chapter presidents will have received a missive from me spelling out what must be done. Restaurants, motels, and other businesses that benefit from people in the Association or folks traveling the Trail should be strongly encouraged to join the SFTA. One new benefit of such membership will be a separate section on our web site. Those using the Trail can go to the web and locate motels, restaurants, and the like who support the SFTA by having a membership in our great organization.

You will be receiving the slate of candidates for the board and officers in this issue. Please consider the candidates carefully and then VOTE. I thank Roger Slusher and

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

Toll-free Phone: (888) 321-7341

FAX: (785) 425-6865

E-Mail: <editor@santafetrail.org>

Headquarters of the Santa Fe Trail Association are located at the office of Treasurer Ruth Olson Peters, Santa Fe Trail Center, RR 3 Box 137, Larned KS 67550; Office Manager Linda Revello.

Telephone: (620) 285-2054

FAX: (620) 285-7491

E-Mail: <trailasn@larned.net>

his committee for the fine work they did in getting people to run for office.

We have a new web master. Larry Mix has agreed to help us out in this very important area. Those of us using computers and the Internet know the power and influence a good web site can have. My thanks to Dave Webb for his web master work the last few years. I appreciate the sacrifices that Dave made to keep our site "up and running." Be sure to visit the web site often: www.santafetrail.org.

Lastly, I am really "up" right now as my wife and I just returned from a meeting of the Texas Panhandle Chapter of the SFTA. Kathy Wade and Clint Chambers invited me to drive over and visit one of their meetings and see parts of their trails. Alvin Lynch, a most knowledgeable guide, showed us many pieces of the 1840 Gregg Trail. You remember that Josiah Gregg established a route from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fe in 1839, returning east in 1840. Read, or reread, his book for a fascinating account of his opening of this southern branch of the SFT.

Bev and I greatly enjoyed our visit to Amarillo. We'd been through the area on I 40 several times but this was our first real visit. Don't put your visit off as we had. I strongly encouraged the chapter to consider hosting Six Western Chapters meeting in the near future. The treasures of the Panhandle are there to be enjoyed.

The Pike Bicentennial Commission met at Trinidad March 20, and planning continues for commemoration of that important exploring expedition of 1806-1807. Keep reading "Pike's Column" in *WT*.

—Hal Jackson

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Membership Categories

Life	\$885
Benefactor	\$1,000
Patron	\$100/year
Institutional	\$40/year
Business	\$40/year
Family	\$30/year
Individual	\$25/year
Youth (18 & under)	\$15/year

Editor: Leo E. Oliva, PO Box 31, Woodston KS 67675 (888) 321-7341, <editor@santafetrail.org>

President: Hal Jackson, 45 Calle del Norte, Placitas NM 87043 (505) 867-1742, <halitojacks@aol.com>

Vice-President: Anne Mallinson, 964 NW 600, Centerview MO 64019 (816) 230-7228, <SFTAMRO@aol.com>

Secretary: Michael Olsen, 5643 Sonnet Heights, Colorado Springs, CO 80918 (719) 559-1955, <OlsenMiguel@aol.com>

Treasurer: Ruth Olson Peters, Santa Fe Trail Center, RR 3, Larned KS 67550 (620) 285-2054, FAX (316) 285-7491, <trailasn@larned.net>

2003 Symposium Coordinator: Anne Mallinson, see above under vice-president.

Publicity Coordinator: Michael E. Pitel, PO Box 31386, Santa Fe NM 87594 (505) 982-2704, <PitelTSNM@aol.com>

Directors:

John Atkinson, MO (816) 233-3924

Helen Brown, KS (620) 697-4597
Clint Chambers, TX (806)-791-3612

Dub Couch, CO (719) 254-3000
Faye Gaines, NM (505) 485-2473
Robert Kincaid, TX (940) 684-1531
Nancy Lewis, MO (816) 229-8379
Richard Loudon, At-Large (719) 946-5513

Ramon Powers, At-Large (785) 478-9526

Mike Slater, OK (580) 327-5249
Joanne VanCoevern, KS (785) 825-8349

Stephen Whitmore, NM (505) 454-0683

Vacancy, CO
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VISIT SFTA ON THE INTERNET
<<http://www.santafetrail.org>>

DAVID S. LAVENDER

David Lavender, author of many books and featured speaker at the first Santa Fe Trail Symposium in Trinidad, CO, in 1986, died at his home in Ojai, CA, on April 26, 2003, at the age of 93. He grew upon on a Colorado ranch and became a renowned historian of the American West. Among his many books are *Bent's Fort* (1954), *The Trail to Santa Fe* (1958), and *The Santa Fe Trail* (1995). A complete list of his writings would fill this column.

Lavender became head of the English department at Thacher School for Boys near Ojai, CA, in 1943. He was nominated twice for the Pulitzer Prize and was honored in 1997 by the Center of the American West at the University of Colorado with the Wallace Stegner Award for sustained contribution to the cultural identity of the American West. He is survived by his wife Muriel. Condolences are extended to family and friends.

CARTA

(continued from page 1)

Camino Real Heritage Center Foundation lent invaluable support to the meeting.

George Torok of El Paso, Texas, was elected president; Thomas E. Chávez of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, NM, was elected vice-president; Cameron Saffell of Las Cruces is secretary; Helen Geer of Santa Fe is treasurer; and the fifth officer, the International Liaison Officer, is R. B. ³Ben² Brown, who divides his time and talents between the University of Texas-El Paso and Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Arqueología y Historia. They will see to the election of a broad-based board of directors, the startup of a newsletter and a web site, and planning for a first membership meeting, tentatively set for Saturday, September 20, 2003.

The meeting at Socorro featured an ingathering and evening reception at the historic García Opera House, with a keynote address by Oakah L. Jones, Jr. The full-day program on March 15 was kicked off by the keynote address by the distinguished Mexican scholar, José Luis Punzo Díaz, director of the Museo de las Culturas del Norte, Paquimé, México, for which an English translation was available. Later panels

featured representatives of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), of SFTA, and of the Partnership for the National Trails System. Joy Poole, "mother of SFTA" and director of El Camino Real International Heritage Center south of Socorro, told about the nearly-completed Center. Willard Lewis, former OSTA president, spoke of plans for a coalition of historic trails in New Mexico: SFTA, OSTA, US Highway 66, and of course CARTA—all of with a focus on Santa Fe, for which there may be support from state tourism interests. Marc Simmons, well known historian and "father of SFTA," presided over the session at which CARTA was formally established.

Interested persons who were unable to attend this conference can still, for a limited time, join CARTA as charter members. Individual dues are \$25, or \$30 for a joint membership. Send a check made out to CARTA to CARTA, PO Box 15162, Las Cruces NM 88004-5162. Student and institution charter memberships are also available for \$20 and \$100 respectively. See an insert in this issue with membership information and application form.

PARTNERSHIP REPORT

by Ross Marshall

[SFTA Ambassador and former President Marshall is the SFTA representative to the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS).]

I attended the Partnership's Leadership Council meeting in Washington D.C. in early March and am pleased to report that all but two of the twenty-three National Scenic and Historic Trails groups are now dues paying members, and we are working on those. In addition, after what has seemed like forever, the IRS has approved our 501(c)3 tax-exempt status.

Aside from the usual committee and financial reports and approval of the 2003 PNTS work plan, some of the issues on the agenda were the continuing implementation of Federal ADA Standards and Guidelines (FSTAG) and the proposed initiative by the federal agencies to outsource some of their scenic trail building and maintenance management responsibilities, neither of which affects the Santa Fe Trail to the same

extent as the scenic trails.

The good news from Washington is that Congress finally passed the '02-'03 appropriations bills. The bad news is that trails got very little increase, including SFNHT. In preparation for '04 and '05 budgets, the Partnership spent time working with not only Congress but also the administration side.

In addition to meeting with the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee staff and calling on our Senators and Representatives along the Santa Fe Trail, a few of us also met with a representative of the Office of Management and Budget, Assistant Director of the Department of the Interior Lynn Scarlett, and with National Park Service Director Fran Mainella. Hopefully these meetings will help strengthen their commitment to trails funding.

The Partnership is supporting the reintroduction of the Willing Seller and Trails Feasibility Study (now called the Pioneer Historic Trails Studies Act) bills which were lost in the Senate 'inactions' of last fall.

The Arizona Trail and the Pacific Northwest Trail are both seeking congressional designation as National Scenic Trails. In addition, several feasibility studies are underway including the Star Spangled Banner, the Washington Rochambeau, and the Navajo Long Walk trails.

The 9th Long Distance Trails Conference will be held in Bow, Washington, on Puget Sound, August 21-25, hosted by the Pacific Northwest Trail Association. This will be a marvelous venue and should be well attended. It would be nice to have two or three SFTA leaders attend this conference. Anyone who wants to consider attending, please contact me and I will get you a registration packet when available.

LARRY MIX NEW WEB MASTER

LARRY Mix, SFTA member from St. John, KS, was selected by the SFTA board meeting at Trinidad to serve as the new web master for the SFTA site. He replaces Dave Webb, who has handled this task for several years. Thanks to Dave for keeping this site going, and thanks to Larry for assuming the duties. Be sure to visit the SFTA web site at <www.santafetrail.org>.

SYMPOSIUM

(continued from page 1)

The symposium committee invites participants to bring a photograph or picture which highlights the continuing legacy of the Santa Fe Trail. These may include ancestors who were involved in matters of the Trail, current participants and their descendants who support Trail preservation, or current members and their protégés who share a passion for the Santa Fe Trail. The theme is "From the Past to the Present, Generations on the Trail." We will create a collage of the pictures to be displayed in the lobby area. All photographs will be returned to their owners at the end of the symposium.

A Santa Fe Trail Symposium or Rendezvous is like a family reunion, but you don't have to bring a covered dish. The Missouri River Outfitters branch of the Santa Fe Trail family is looking forward to hosting this event. Join us September 24-28 for a rousing good time!

COLLEGE CREDIT AVAILABLE AT 2003 SYMPOSIUM

DR. Joyce Thierer, Emporia State University, will offer a Santa Fe Trail class in connection with the September symposium. The course is especially recommended to teachers. Course requirements include attendance at symposium and additional projects. For details, contact Dr. Thierer at Dept. of Social Sciences, Emporia State University, Emporia KS 66801-5087, phone at office (620) 341-5533 or home (620) 528, 3580, e-mail <thiererj@emporia.edu> or <ridehist@satelephone.com>.

THE SFTA ARCHIVES NEED YOU

The Santa Fe Trail Association has recently received a large donation of maps that are to be used by members for marking the Trail. Before they can be checked out, the maps need to be folded, labeled and rehoused. If you are interesting in volunteering for this task or wish further information, please contact Betsy Crawford-Gore at the Santa Fe Trail Center by phone (620) 285-2054 or e-mail at trailctr@larned.net.

REMEMBER THE SANTA FE TRAIL
ASSOCIATION IN YOUR WILL

DAR MADONNA REDEDICATION AT COUNCIL GROVE

by Shirley Coupal

[SFTA member Coupal is state historian of KSDAR.]

THE Kansas Society Daughters of the American Revolution will host a 75th anniversary and rededication celebration of the Madonna of the Trail statue in Council Grove, KS, September 7, 2003. National Society DAR President Linda Tinker Watkins and National DAR Historian Beverly Jensen will be present.

Morning events are DAR related, including 9:00 a.m. worship service at Kaw Mission and 11:00 a.m. lunch at the Country Club, and reservations are required. Nonmembers are welcome if space permits. Non-DAR participants please contact Shirley Coupal at <scoupal@juno.com> for information. DAR members contact Clarice Kennedy at <bckenn@cable.rocket.com>.

Afternoon events at Madonna Park are open to the public and everyone is invited. The rededication ceremony is at 1:00 p.m., including color guard, bands, flag raising, remarks by KSDAR State Regent Patricia Eddy Carpenter, keynote address by Bill Kurtis, and remarks by DAR President Linda Tinker Watkins.

Other plans are still be made and will be reported in the next issue of *WT*. The KSDAR hopes for a large crowd to celebrate this event. Newspaper accounts of the original dedication on September 7, 1928, estimated there were 10,000 in attendance.

SFTA MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

THOSE interested in having a current SFTA Membership Roster may order one from Last Chance Store, PO Box 3, Woodston KS 67675, for \$5 postpaid. Periodic rosters have been provided to all members in the past, but a tight budget prompted the board to change this policy. Many members may not want the roster.

The roster, printed when ordered so it will be current, is available on 3-ring notebook paper or bound with plastic comb. Please enclose payment with orders and specific format wanted. Allow at least three weeks for delivery



MITZI FRANK NEW SUPERINTENDENT AT FORT UNION NM

MITZI Frank, a 20-year veteran of the National Park Service, was recently named superintendent at Fort Union National Monument. A native of South Dakota, she has served at a number of National Parks, most recently at Sitka National Historic Park in Alaska. Welcome to the Santa Fe Trail, Mitzi.

SANTA FE TRAIL BIKE TREK

WILLARD Chilcott, director of the biennial Santa Fe Trail Bike Trek, has announced the schedule for 2003. There will be 50 riders. SFTA members living along the Trail may want to greet the bikers as they travel nearby. The schedule follows:

Sept. 13: check in at Santa Fe
 Sept. 14: Santa Fe to Las Vegas, NM
 Sept. 15: Las Vegas to Wagon Mound
 Sept. 16: Wagon Mound to Cimarron
 Sept. 17: Cimarron to Trinidad, CO
 Sept. 18: Rest day in Trinidad
 Sept. 19: Trinidad to La Junta
 Sept. 20: La Junta to Lamar
 Sept. 21: Lamar to Lakin, KS
 Sept. 22: Lakin to Dodge City
 Sept. 23: Rest day in Dodge City
 Sept. 24: Dodge City to Larned
 Sept. 25: Larned to Sterling
 Sept. 26: Sterling to Hillsboro
 Sept. 27: Hillsboro to Council Grove
 Sept. 28: Rest Day in Council Grove
 Sept. 29: Council Grove to Baldwin City
 Sept. 30: Baldwin City to Independence, MO
 Oct. 1: Independence to Lexington
 Oct. 2: Lexington to Arrow Rock
 Oct. 3: Arrow Rock to New Franklin

For more information, contact Chilcott at (505) 982-1282.

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 1807. 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) a bibliography, (2) article about Pike's route near Pueblo, CO, (3) plans of Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum for the bicentennial, and (4) the first installment of Pike's journal. Special thanks to Stephen Hyslop, Peyton Abbott, and Matt Mayberry for their contributions

A note on Pike's military rank is in order. He is often referred to as Lieutenant Pike as well as Captain Pike. When he began his Southwestern expedition in July 1806 he was a lieutenant, but his promotion to captain was dated August 12, 1806, and thus it is with the rank of captain that Pike is properly identified during the remainder of the expedition.

Roy E. Pike, president of the Pike Family Association of America, has been in contact with information about plans for a Pike family reunion at Colorado Springs in 2006. He plans to write an article for this column about the Pike family. Check out their web site at <<http://pikefamily.org>>. Keep up to date with Pike Bicentennial plans at <www.pikebicentennial.org>.]

ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE'S SOUTHWESTERN EXPEDITION: BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR A NEGLECTED CHAPTER OF OUR HISTORY

by Stephen G. Hyslop

[SFTA member Hyslop, Alexandria, VA, is a freelance historian and author of the highly-acclaimed book, Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848 (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), and a recent article about Pike, "An Explorer or a Spy?" American History 37 (August 2002): 58-64. He was also editor of the Time-Life series on American Indians. He is a volunteer consultant to the Pike Bicentennial Commission. His introductory essay to this bibliography is an invaluable introduction to the study of the Pike Expedition.]

The following bibliography is selective and does not include obscure items, ephemera, or children's books. Suggestions for additions are solicited, and relevant selections will be noted in Wagon Tracks and posted with the bibliography on the web site <www.pikebicentennial.org>.]

THOSE who would like to become experts on Zebulon Montgomery Pike without quitting their day jobs will be glad to hear that the bibliography on the explorer and his Southwestern expedition of 1806-1807 is relatively brief. The list of books and articles that follows contains fewer than three dozen items. This list is incomplete—we welcome additional entries from readers and contributors—but it will never approach the dimensions of the bibliography on the Lewis and Clark expedition, for which the catalogue of the Library of Congress (www.loc.gov) lists over 200 entries. By contrast, I have not seen a single authoritative book devoted to Pike's Southwestern expedition, other than critical editions of Pike's own journal of the reconnaissance, despite the fact that it had consequences for American expansion rivaling those of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The dearth of literature on Pike and his Southwestern venture reflects a not entirely benign neglect of the explorer by historians and the general public. Some authors have raised questions about Pike's character, credibility, and possible involvement in a conspiracy to seize Spanish territory in the Southwest with-

out the knowledge or consent of President Thomas Jefferson. The difficulty of resolving such questions (conspiracy theories are hard to disprove) has evidently discouraged scholars from taking a fresh look at Pike, while serious interest in Lewis and Clark continues to mount.

Both expeditions grew out of a momentous event whose bicentennial is upon us: the Louisiana Purchase, signed in Paris by American negotiators on April 30, 1803. That deal was rightly hailed as a masterstroke by Jefferson, but it was not as much of a bargain for the U.S. as some have claimed. For 15 million dollars, the nation acquired from France its vastly inflated claim to the province of Louisiana, which supposedly embraced everything west of the Mississippi River up to the headwaters of its tributaries, including the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red rivers. By those standards, the Louisiana Purchase more than doubled American territory for what amounted to a few cents an acre. But in truth, only settled areas along the Mississippi—including the towns of St. Louis and New Orleans, which proved great assets for the U.S.—actually changed hands as a result of the deal. Elsewhere, what the French called Louisiana was in fact Indian country, occupied by tribes that had never been subject to France or had transferred their allegiances to Britain or Spain, which contested U.S. claims under the Louisiana Purchase. It would take Americans the better part of a century to gain firm control of that immense tribal territory, at a cost in blood and treasure that dwarfed the original purchase price.

If the Louisiana Purchase was not exactly a steal for the U.S., it was indeed one of the most significant events in American history. For it greatly accelerated the pace of westward expansion. Among the consequences of the deal were several government-sponsored explorations of the newly acquired territory, beginning with the journey of the Corps of Discovery under Lewis and Clark—who reached the headwaters of the Missouri River (the limits of

the Louisiana Purchase in the Northwest) in the summer of 1805 before continuing on to the Pacific—and culminating in Captain Pike's military reconnaissance of 1806-1807, which probed the limits of the Louisiana Purchase in the Southwest and brought him up against Spanish forces in New Mexico.

To be sure, the transcontinental journey of Lewis and Clark had an epic sweep that Pike's trek to Chihuahua and back (part of it undertaken as a prisoner) could not quite match. But this was just one of the factors that helped enshrine Lewis and Clark as national icons while relegating Pike to the status of a shadowy and somewhat controversial figure in the annals of American exploration. Perhaps the greatest advantage Lewis and Clark enjoyed in the eyes of posterity was that their expedition was conceived and sponsored by that revered founding father Jefferson, whereas Pike's venture was set in motion by one of America's more disreputable authority figures, General James Wilkinson.

Not only was Wilkinson a spy in the service of Spain—a rival power that nearly went to war with the U.S. while Wilkinson was entrusted with the defense of the newly acquired Louisiana Territory—but he also conspired with former vice-president Aaron Burr to carry out a filibuster or coup of some sort in the Southwest around the time that Pike embarked on his expedition. Burr's accusers claimed he had treasonous designs on American territory, but he was acquitted of treason in federal court in 1807 after Wilkinson turned on him and testified for the prosecution. (As a cooperative witness, Wilkinson faced no charges himself, but his already blemished reputation was further tarnished.) In the same trial, Burr was also acquitted of the lesser charge of levying war against Spain, a nation with which the U.S. remained officially at peace. Yet evidence suggests that he and Wilkinson indeed had hostile designs on Spanish territory.

Disclosure of the Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy aroused suspicions in some quarters that Pike and his Southwestern expedition were part of that plot. Those suspicions were seemingly laid to rest when Secre-

tary of War Henry Dearborn declared in writing that he had been informed by Wilkinson of Pike's reconnaissance and that President Jefferson knew and approved of the expedition and its results. Pike's subsequent death in battle in 1813, while leading troops against the British as a brigadier general, confirmed his patriotism and argued against the idea that he would knowingly have accepted any assignment from Wilkinson contrary to the interests of his country and his duties as an officer. Yet charges to that effect resurfaced after his death and remain current to this day—as demonstrated by a recent book by M. R. Montgomery entitled *Jefferson and the Gun-Men*, which accuses Pike of playing "a major part in the Burr-Wilkinson plot." (The quote is from the book's cover and accurately reflects its contents.)

To say that Pike was party to the Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy is a serious charge, and the burden of proof rests with his accusers. In reviewing the literature on Pike and his Southwestern expedition, I have seen nothing that comes close to meeting that burden. The case against Pike rests on slender and ambiguous evidence, open to varying interpretations. Indeed, there is no conclusive evidence that Wilkinson had a conspiratorial motive for sending Pike on his mission. An acquaintance testified that Wilkinson told him shortly before the Southwestern expedition began that he had his own reasons for organizing it—a motive of which Pike was "as yet ignorant"—but Wilkinson made no mention of his conspiracy with Burr.¹ And in any case, he was such an accomplished liar that nothing he said can be taken at face value. Wilkinson was always seeking ways to profit personally by his official business, including selling American intelligence to his Spanish paymasters, but much of the business he conducted was in the national interest and this Southwestern venture was no exception. Conspiratorial views of Pike's expedition must contend with the indisputable fact that it served Jefferson's goal of exploring the limits of the Louisiana Purchase and asserting the nation's claim to that disputed territory.

Perhaps the strongest argument to be made in Pike's favor is that a

number of historians and editors who have carefully scrutinized the documents relating to his Southwestern expedition have concluded that his actions were entirely in keeping with Wilkinson's unobjectionable written orders—which were to seek out various Plains tribes and encourage them to remain peaceful and recognize American authority, to reach the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers (which meant probing the limits of the Louisiana Purchase in defiance of Spanish claims), and to avoid provoking Spanish forces if he encountered them. Wilkinson acknowledged that fulfilling these orders would likely bring Pike "approximate to the settlements of New Mexico,"² and he did not have to remind Pike that his duties as leader of a military reconnaissance included gathering intelligence that might be of use to the army if the territorial dispute between the U.S. and Spain led to war and American forces set out to invade New Mexico. Pike conceded as much in his journal by admitting that when Dr. John Robinson, the party's physician and an associate of Wilkinson's, left the expedition in February 1807 and traveled alone to Santa Fe on the pretense of conducting private business, he was in fact seeking to "gain a knowledge of the country."³

But did Pike himself knowingly enter Spanish territory with the intention of spying? Was he telling the truth when he said that he believed the stockade he and his men built in early February (along the Conejos River in what is now southern Colorado) was on a branch of the Red River and thus within the bounds of American territory as defined by the Louisiana Purchase? Pike's critics have long contended that he must have known he was in fact on a branch of the Rio Grande and thus within Spanish territory, and some have taken his statements to the contrary as proof of his deviousness and his complicity in the Burr-Wilkinson plot—an argument that overlooks the possibility he ventured deliberately into Spanish territory not to further any conspiracy but to gather intelligence that might be of service to his country in its relations with Spain, come war or peace. We may never know the truth of the

matter, but the evidence suggests that Pike had ample grounds for believing mistakenly that the Red River originated in the Rockies north of Santa Fe and that he was sincere in denying any intention of straying beyond the limits of American territory.

That is the conclusion of the late Donald Jackson, editor of Pike's papers, who remains our leading authority on the Southwestern expedition. Jackson's assessment that Pike's account of the journey was essentially truthful confirmed the judgments of other astute editors and historians, including Archer Butler Hulbert, Harvey L. Carter, and biographer W. Eugene Hollon. These authors might be called defenders of Pike, but they did not seek to lionize him or deny his shortcomings. Hulbert, for example, in a spirited essay published in 1932, characterizes Pike as "an ambitious, overzealous youth, itching for fame."⁴ Yet Hulbert also observes that Pike's "verbal, sophomoric flourishings *a la militaire*" were typical of "what might have been found in almost any western army officer's journal in these days of troublesome joint ownership of the Mississippi River."⁵ This was, after all, the age of Napoleon, and for a young American officer like Pike (just 27 when he embarked on his Southwestern expedition) Napoleonic dreams of glory were intensified by a brash patriotism that took for granted the right of the U.S. to assert its sweeping territorial claims at the expense of other nations.

The dominant image of Pike that emerges from his own writings is not of a conspirator concealing his true intentions but of a transparent American expansionist who had no intention of being deflected from his duty by hostile Indians, suspicious Spaniards, or natural obstacles. One might well call Pike rash and overzealous for continuing on up the Arkansas into the Rockies in late 1806 as winter approached—an advance that exposed his lightly-clad men to fearful hardship. But aside from his hankering for fame as an explorer, Pike regarded his mission as a matter of some urgency in America's ongoing dispute with Spain. The two nations nearly came to blows along the Texas-Louisiana

border while Pike was away on his expedition. Had he returned that winter without fulfilling his orders, only to find his country at war with Spain, he might well have been considered derelict in his duty.

One unfortunate consequence of the Burr-Wilkinson controversy has been to divert attention from a larger and more important issue raised by Pike's Southwestern expedition. Pike may have been acting strictly in the national interest—and I believe he was—but how strong was the nation's claim to the country he explored? Spanish authorities had two powerful objections to American claims under the Louisiana Purchase. In the first place, they pointed out that Spain, after receiving Louisiana from France by cession in 1762, had retroceded the province to Napoleon in 1800 on condition that the territory not be transferred to a third party without Spanish consent. Napoleon had not obtained that consent before selling Louisiana to the U.S. in 1803, and Spain thus considered the deal invalid. Beyond that, Spanish authorities denied that French Louisiana had ever extended very far west of the Mississippi and the French settlements along that river.⁶ To be sure, French traders and explorers had ventured far up the Missouri and other tributaries of the Mississippi and traveled across the Plains as far as Santa Fe. But Spanish officials felt they had surpassed the French through their own explorations of the region and by forging ties with Comanches, Pawnees, and other Plains Indians. On balance, Spain's claim to the country traversed by Pike between present-day Missouri and New Mexico was stronger than the American claim acquired from France. Stronger still was the claim of the Indian nations that occupied this land and remained its rightful masters, notwithstanding their occasional willingness to recognize white men from one country or another as friends or "fathers."

Of course, Pike believed in the validity of the claim he was staking out. Even before the Louisiana Purchase, many Americans felt they had an inherent right to expand across the continent, regardless of the prior claims of other nations or peoples. And in asserting that presumed

right, Americans like Pike were little different from the Spanish *conquistadores* of old who laid claim to New Mexico and the Plains beyond—or expansive tribal groups like the Comanches who invaded the region and vied with resident Indians for territory. This was a land of relentless competition, and Anglo-Americans were simply the latest contestants to enter the arena.

That Pike was trespassing on foreign ground while claiming in all earnestness to be reconnoitering his own country in no way detracts from the significance of his expedition or the value of his account. His journal, partly reconstructed after he returned from the expedition, is not always easy to follow and has often exasperated unsympathetic readers. One critic, John Upton Terrell, has labeled his account "poorly organized, unreliable, deceptive, inaccurate, carelessly prepared, lacking in essential details, scientifically and geographically incorrect, and in many places completely dishonest."⁷

Pike's defenders, on the other hand, consider the confusion in his account to be an honest reflection of a hastily assembled expedition for which Pike and his men were ill prepared. They find it understandable that he was often unsure of his whereabouts during the grueling ordeal between his ascent into the Rockies in December 1806 and his capture by Spanish troops at his stockade near the Rio Grande in late February. And they argue that misplaced concerns about Pike's motives have blinded critics to his powers as an observer and his vital contribution to the literature of American exploration. In the words of Archer Hulbert: "Is it not important that he, first of Americans, describes the lush and beautiful Kansas lowlands—or at least as important as any hocus-pocus about General Wilkinson's relations with the British minister? . . . Is it not impressive that Pike first pictures for us the old Santa Fé trail, almost a generation before Brown and Sibley surveyed it—but who mentions this when Wilkinson's alleged 'secret instructions' to Pike can be made the subject of spinal-column-tickling gossip? . . . Is not beautiful South Park; the black grandeur of the Royal Gorge; the ineffable glory of the Sangre de Cristo Range and

the majesty of the San Luis Valley, first described for Americans in Pike's pages?"⁸

The sheer scope of this pioneering journey, undertaken by Pike and his men under forbidding circumstances, makes their expedition well worth commemorating. And that commemoration need not imply an endorsement of Anglo-American claims or accomplishments over those of Spanish Americans or Native Americans. To the contrary, Pike's journey warrants further study precisely because it marks the moment when the Spanish and tribal cultures of the Southwest began to impress themselves forcefully on the American consciousness. Pike had no diplomatic training, and he was sometimes overbearing in his dealings with those he met with on his journey, such as the Pawnees along the Republican River. But like the Santa Fe traders who followed in his wake, he found that he could not rely solely on bluster or shows of force in reckoning with rival powers. He had to negotiate with those formidable competitors, and in the process he began to appreciate their strengths and capacities.

To explore the revealing literature of Pike's Southwestern expedition is to leave behind the misleading notion that the U.S. more than doubled its territory in 1803 simply by purchasing Louisiana from France. In fact, as Pike and his men discovered, the American title to Louisiana meant little or nothing to those who inhabited the vast expanse between the Mississippi and the Rockies. Much of the ground between St. Louis and Santa Fe would have to be purchased anew by American soldiers, traders, and settlers through complex and sometimes violent exchanges with people of other nations whose claims to the region were deep and abiding.

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NOTES

1. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols, 2: 246-48.
2. *Ibid.*, 1: 286.
3. *Ibid.*, 1: 378-79.
4. Archer Butler Hulbert, *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal*, lxxx.
5. *Ibid.*, lxxv.
6. For the Spanish perspective on the Louisiana Purchase, see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 291-301.
7. John Upton Terrell, *Zebulon Pike*, 130-31.
8. Hulbert, *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal*, lxxviii-lxix.

WITH ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE THROUGH PUEBLO COUNTY, COLORADO

by Peyton O. Abbott

[Peyton Abbott, Pueblo, CO, is a charter member of SFTA. His attempt to trace Pike's route and locate campsites in Pueblo County is what the Bicentennial Commission is doing for the entire expedition. Anyone who wishes to volunteer to work on this project is welcome.]

IT was obvious from the start that the original plan was not going to work. It had been my intention to follow Pike, campsite to campsite, through Pueblo County using his map.¹ Pike had surveyed his way up the Arkansas using, among other methods, satellites to establish longitude. I thought it would be interesting to check his longitudes and latitudes by a modern use of satellites. Pike had used a different prime meridian from that used by my GPS, probably Washington D.C., as that was the prime advocated by then President Thomas Jefferson, but that could be accounted for. So at the confluence of the Arkansas and Fountain Creek I stood waiting for at least four of the 24 or so Global Positioning System (GPS) navigation satellites to lock in. These of course were not the satellites used by Pike. His were the four major satellites of Jupiter, the Galilean moons. By knowing the time of their immersion and emergence with the planet at the prime meridian and observing the time of these occurrences at his location he was able to determine the distance from the prime meridian as each hour difference is equal to exactly 15 degrees difference in longitude.

The GPS location, when checked against the USGS 7.5 minute Northeast Pueblo quad map, read 38° 15' N and 104° 35' W.² Pike's location, as near as I could estimate it, was 40° 11' N and 32° 40' W. Even allowing for the 77+° difference in longitude between the use of the Washington meridian and the Greenwich meridian, this was too much to make the GPS useful. The map shows a dotted line for the route of Pike's party and a small x for each encampment. The text of the diary often gives the mileage covered each day by the party and, though the map and the text could not always be reconciled, it

was this combination used in following Pike's party through the county.

Pike can hardly be faulted for the discrepancies in latitude and longitude. Don Nemesio Salcedo, Commandant-General of the Interior Provinces in Chihuahua, New Spain, had confiscated Pike's meteorological tables and other notes. And it was only by use of courses and distances copied by Dr. John Robinson, also of Pike's party, that Pike was able to reproduce his chart.³

On the evening of November 23, 1806, Pike and his party camped at a spot he called the "grand forks," which on the map is clearly the confluence of the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek. The party had traveled 19 miles that day. The day before, Saturday, November 22, Pike recorded 17 miles of travel. If we accept these estimates of distance traveled it would put the party's encampment on the night of the 21st somewhere just east of present-day Fowler. November 22 was chosen for the day Pike entered Pueblo County.

The party, traveling on the south side of the river, had gone about five miles from the previous night's camp and had dropped down off the prairie into the river bottoms when they encountered a band of 60 Pawnees who were returning from an unsuccessful search for their enemies, the Tetaus (Comanches).⁴ Outnumbered 60 to 16, it was a nervous time for Pike and his men. Though the Indians were not hostile, Pike was well aware that, as he put it, an "unsuccessful war party on their return home, are always ready to embrace an opportunity, of gratifying their disappointed vengeance, on the first persons they meet." Pike was able to placate the Pawnees with a few gifts, but lost many small items to theft in the process.

Though not mentioned in the diary entry for the 22nd, the map indicates that the party had passed the Second Fork, apparently the Huerfano River, and a Spanish campsite. The Spanish campsite was that of Lieutenant Facundo Melgares who, with a troop of 600 men, had been sent out from Santa Fe to explore and examine the country northeast

to the Missouri River as the Spanish did not recognize France's right to the Louisiana Territory or its sale to the Americans. They were also to meet with Indian tribes and persuade them to reject overtures from the U.S. Melgares was also to watch for Pike's party and turn them back or arrest them. The Melgares party was in present Kansas and visited a Pawnee village in present Nebraska a month ahead of Pike. They returned to Santa Fe in October. Pike had been essentially following their return route from the center of present Kansas. Pike later met Melgares in Santa Fe and, from his comments, the two developed a high mutual respect.

On November 23 the party, still on the south side of the Arkansas, crossed the Third Fork, apparently the Saint Charles River, and stopped near another deserted Spanish camp at the mouth of the north fork, Fountain Creek. Here Pike decided to put the party in a defensible situation and to go up the Fountain and climb to the high point of the blue mountain, later named Pikes Peak. He felt he could make the round trip in a day's march.

During the morning of November 24 a breastwork of 14 logs was erected. The logs formed walls five feet high on three sides with the fourth side against the river. The map shows the breastworks on the south side of the river just upstream from the confluence with the Fountain.

The four making the side trip to "high peak of the blue mountain" or "Grand Peak" as Pike termed the mountain later named for him were Captain Pike, Dr. Robinson, and privates John Brown and Theodore Miller. The trip took considerably more than the one-day allotted. The group left the breastworks on November 24 and did not return until the 29th. They reported hiking 12 miles the first day and camping beneath a lone pine on the dry prairie. On the second night out, after a hike of 22 miles, they camped at some springs in an otherwise dry stream at the foot of the mountains. Here they left their gear and on the third

day began climbing the mountain. After climbing all day they camped in a cave, and upon awakening the following day found themselves under a clear sky looking down on a blanket of clouds below. They continued climbing to the peak of this mountain only to find they were still what Pike estimated to be 15 or 16 miles south of his Grand Peak. Due to considerations of time and weather—their thermometer registered four degrees below zero—they decided to turn back. Back at the camp at the foot of the mountain they found all of the gear they had left, but ravens had destroyed all their provisions. That night they camped under a sheltering ledge and dined on a single partridge and the single deer rib the ravens had left. Pike noted that it was their first meal in 48 hours. The following day they proceeded straight down the creek. That day they shot two buffalo and enjoyed the first full meal they had eaten in three days. Pike noted that the place they picked to camp, again under a sheltering rock, was as he termed it "very rich, and covered with old Tetau camps." On Saturday, November 29, they arrived back at the camp on the Arkansas where the rest of their party awaited them.

Pike's map shows only a general loop north from the breastworks camp up toward the "highest peak." I can make out only two of the small x marks that denote encampments and can assume the top of the loop, which is indicated to be on a ridge of mountains, would be the cave where a night was spent. There should be one more x at the base of the mountains where two nights were spent. Elliot Coues (see footnote 1) gives much space in his footnotes to this side trip.⁵ He has them starting out up the Fountain but quickly abandoning that course for one on the divide between the Fountain and Turkey creeks. He identifies the dry creek where Pike found a spring as a headwater stream of Turkey Creek. He suggests that the mountain Pike actually climbed was Cheyenne Peak, and has the party traveling down Turkey Creek to rejoin the main group. Donald Jackson (see footnote 1) disputes this being the mountain, citing identification by local investigators of Black Mountain

or Blue Mountain being the one climbed. Jackson points out, however, as Pikes Peak is not visible from either of those two heights, Pike must have actually been viewing Almagre Mountain when he decided to return to camp. Coues closes his footnote by stating: "I think this was probably the route; but do not see that we have the data to establish the fact." For this reason and a couple of other reasons (the necessity of crossing Fort Carson firing range and the fact that the north part of the trip is outside Pueblo County), I decided to forego the side trip.

On Sunday, November 30, the party broke camp and by 11:00 a.m. were on their way up the river. Pike, Dr. Robinson, and the interpreter, Baronet (Baroney) Vasquez, went to view a Tetau encampment. Pike estimated it to not have been occupied for about two years and, "from the their having cut down so large a quantity of trees to support their horses" he concluded the encampment must have included at least a thousand persons. It would be great to know just where this large Comanche campsite was located. Pike did not mention on which side of the river it laid. It could have been where downtown Pueblo now stands or in the large field between the Pueblo Nature Center and the Rock Canyon Recreation Area or even in the recreation area itself where the swimming pool now exists. It really does not make much difference as Pike goes on to say that they passed several more of these abandoned campsites during the day, so any or perhaps all these areas could have contained an Indian encampment. Pike also reported passing the site of a Spanish camp on this day as well. He reported traveling 15 miles for the day.

Monday, December 1, was bad, a violent snowstorm. The party, except for one hunter who killed nothing, remained in camp. Magpies were attacking the sores on the backs of the horses. This camp was probably at the mouth of Boggs Creek or Rock Creek.⁶

On December 2 Pike's party marched two miles and found it necessary to cross to the north side of the river. Coues has them crossing at around Swallows,⁷ but that would put them above the mouth of Turkey

Creek and the map shows clearly they crossed below Turkey Creek and crossed that creek on their progress along the north side of the river. The stream shown on Pike's map is the one encountered on the side trip to the peak and is thought to be Turkey Creek. However there are only two major streams shown on the north side in this reach of the river, so Pike may have mistaken the mouth of Beaver Creek for the mouth of Turkey Creek and mapped it that way. Were they traveling on the south side of the river, as Coues believed, he might well have not noticed the passing of Turkey Creek. Why they felt they had to cross to the north side of the river I don't know; the map indicates that the Melgares party had continued west on the south side of the river. Pike on this day remarks of the extreme cold, 17° below zero, and the killing of a buffalo. They also had to send a man after a runaway horse. They traveled 13 miles. Coues believed this camp to be near Carlisle Springs.

On December 3 the party remained in the encampment awaiting the men sent to retrieve the runaway horse. While waiting, Pike and Robinson tried, with poor results it turns out, to measure the altitude of Pikes Peak. Pike reported that the weather had moderated to 3° below zero and that two buffalo were killed in order to make moccasins from their hides.

On December 4 they started out at 5:00 o'clock and marched 20 miles, which would have put them well out of Pueblo County, thus ending my self-assigned odyssey.

At no place over the past days could I stand on a spot and say for sure: "Here is the place that Zebulon Pike did such and such." There is some frustration in that. It would have been nice to know exactly where the Comanche camps were located or where Pike's breastworks stood. On the other hand, now when I look from the north part of Pueblo toward Pike's Peak I can squint my eyes, blank out any recent development in the foreground, and know I'm seeing the same sight Pike saw during that cold winter almost 200 years ago. And as I stroll through the cottonwoods lining the river bottoms between the Pueblo Nature center and Pueblo Dam it is easy to imagine the tipis of a large "Tetau" camp.

And I can almost hear the hoof beats of a large Spanish reconnaissance party wending their way west up the south side of the Arkansas River.

NOTES

1. The map, *A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana*, Plate II found in Volume II of *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, edited by Elliott Coues (1895; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1987), presently out of print, can also be found in Pike's original 1810 publication of a rather long name published under the name *Sources of the Mississippi and the Western Louisiana Territory* by Readex Microprint Corporation in 1966. It can also be found in Volume I of *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*, edited and annotated by Donald Jackson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). The map is available on the Internet from the Library of Congress at the following address: <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html>>.
2. The GPS actually reads degrees, minutes, and seconds, each second representing around 80 feet at this latitude. The location is cited only to minutes as that was the nearest I could estimate on Pike's map. Also, no care was taken to get exactly at the confluence as the course of the two streams has no doubt wandered all over the immediate area during the last two centuries. See the map in the U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 1262, *General and Engineering Geology of the Northern Part of Pueblo Colorado*, by Glenn R. Scott, for the locations of the 1870, 1921, and present Arkansas River channels through downtown Pueblo.
3. See Pike's letter of July 5, 1807, to General James Wilkinson, in the books cited in note 1 above. That Pike's astronomical observations were more precise than those indicated by the chart mentioned in note 1 above can be seen on Plate 48 of volume 1 of the *Journals* edited by Jackson, where, near present Canon City, Pike noted the latitude to be 37° 59' only an error of about 27'. In volume 2 of Jackson's publication is *A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain* by Pike, the topmost part of which shows the confluence of the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek and which is plotted at about 39° 20' N and 104° 48' W. On this map Pike used Greenwich as the principal meridian. This map was probably drafted some time after Jefferson left office.
4. Pike mentions the Tetaus in numerous places in his journal. Coues states that this is a misprint for Tetans, and that a mistake of letans or Comanches.
5. Coues's footnotes, which describe the area as he found it in the 1890s, are interesting themselves. I have been particularly intrigued by the following statement at the end of a long footnote on what is now called Fort Pueblo: "For a long time there was also an adobe tower or lookout on top of the hill, about the present intersection of Second and Summit streets; but it has entirely disappeared." I

have been seeking information on this adobe tower for some time now with no success.

6. All the major creeks entering the Arkansas from the south in this reach of the river are not shown on Pike's map. They are Boggs, Rock, Peck, Rush, and Red creeks, the latter intermittent. Only three unnamed streams are shown. There is another shown at the base of the mountains, which undoubtedly is Hardscrabble Creek.
7. The site of the community of Swallows is now usually under the waters of Pueblo Reservoir. Swallows Cemetery remains on the terrace above and slightly downstream.

COLORADO SPRINGS PIONEER MUSEUM PLANS FOR PIKE BICENTENNIAL

by Matt Mayberry

[Mayberry is director of the Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum. The Pike Bicentennial Commission plans to coordinate events with activities in Colorado Springs.]

THE Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum (CSPM) is in the process of planning activities to mark the 200th anniversary of the Zebulon Montgomery Pike Expedition in 2006. Late last year a proposal was submitted to the US Postal Service for a stamp commemorating the bicentennial. For 2006, a fine art exhibit is planned utilizing paintings from the CSPM collection, from museums around the county, and in private collections. Another exhibit will address Pike-related kitsch, such things as snow globes, medals, and similar tourist items associated with the man and the mountain.

The key element of this yearlong observance will be a scholarly exhibit that reexamines the purpose, results, and long-term impact of this expedition. The Museum's consultants for this project are the country's two premiere scholars of western exploration, James Rondo and John Loan Allen.

Professor Rondo is the H. G. Barnyard Chair in Western American History at the University of Tulsa. His numerous publications include *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, *Voyages of Discovery*, and *Jefferson's West*. Professor Allen is the chair of the Geography Department at the University of Wyoming and has published many books and essays on western exploration, including *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the*

American West. Both have consulted with museums across the country regarding exhibit design and content.

The Museum will be raising funds to help cover the costs of research and planning for this exhibition. The CSPM was recently selected for the 2003 Public Programming Award from the Charles Reed Center for Western Studies, which is based at Bright Young University.

For more information about these plans and other museum activities, please contact the CSPM at 719-385-5990 or online at <www.cspm.org>.

PIKE'S JOURNAL, PART I

Introduction

THIS begins a serial reprint of Pike's journal of "an expedition to explore the internal parts of Louisiana, 1806-1807." It should be noted that some of Pike's records were confiscated when he was under arrest in Mexico, and some portions of his journal had to be reconstructed from memory. This was originally published in 1810, with several later editions, the two most important being Elliott Coues, ed., *Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895), reissued in two volumes (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1965) and Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), both sets of which contain much additional information, records, and notes in addition to Pike's diaries.

This series contains Pike's journal of the expedition, as first published. Serious students are encouraged to see annotated editions by Coues and Jackson for supplementary material. For the identity of those who made up Pike's exploring party, see Donald Jackson, "Zebulon Pike's Damned Rascals," *Wagon Tracks* (February 2003): 5-7.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, a lieutenant in the First Infantry, led an exploring expedition in search of the source of the Mississippi River in 1805-1806. Soon after his return to St. Louis, in July 1806, General James Wilkinson sent Lieutenant Pike (promoted to captain a few weeks later) on this venture, departing from the military post of Belle

Fontaine near St. Louis. Pike followed portions of what became the Santa Fe Trail, and the publication of his journal stimulated merchants to attempt to open trade with New Mexico. Most of those who crossed the plains to New Mexico, from the ill-fated party led by Robert McKnight in 1812 to William Becknell's successful trading venture in 1821, had either read or heard about Pike's descriptions, including how to get to Santa Fe. In this reprint, corrections, additions, and identifications of persons and places appear in brackets.

Instructions

Letter, James Wilkinson to Lt. Z. M. Pike, St. Louis, June 24, 1806.

Sir,

You are to proceed without delay to the cantonment on the Missouri, where you are to embark the late Osage captives, and the deputation recently returned from Washington, with their presents and baggage, and are to transport the whole up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the town of the Grand Osage.

The safe delivery of this charge at the point of destination, constitutes the primary object of your expedition, and therefore you are to move with such caution as may prevent surprise from any hostile band, and are to repel with your utmost force any outrage which may be attempted.

Having safely deposited your passengers and their property, you are to turn your attention to the accomplishment of a permanent peace between the Kanes and Osage nations, for which purpose you must effect a meeting between the head chiefs of those nations, and are to employ such arguments, deduced from their own obvious interests, as well as the inclinations, desires, and commands of the president of the United States, as may facilitate your purpose and accomplish the end.

A third object of considerable magnitude will then claim your consideration. It is to effect an interview and establish a good understanding with the Yanctons, Tetaus, or Camaches. For this purpose you must interest White Hair, of the Grand Osage, with whom and a suitable deputation you will visit the Panis republic, where you may find interpreters,

and inform yourself of the most feasible plan, by which to bring the Camanches to a conference. Should you succeed in this attempt (and no pains must be spared to effect it), you will endeavor to make peace between that distant powerful nation, and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; and finally you will endeavor to induce eight or ten of their distinguished chiefs, to make a visit to the seat of government next September, and you may attach to this deputation four or five Panis, and the same number of Kanes chiefs. As your interview with the Camanches will probably lead you to the head branches of the Arkansaw and Red rivers, you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and there it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitring parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offence; because the affairs of Spain and the United States, appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the president, to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, and particularly our near neighbors the Spaniards.

In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the geographical structure, the natural history and population of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve specimens of every thing curious in the mineral or botanical worlds, which can be preserved and are portable. Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your distances by your watch, to be noted in a field-book, and I would advise you when circumstances permit, to protract and lay down in a separate book the march of the day at every evening's halt.

The instruments, which I have furnished you, will enable you to ascertain the variation of the magnetic needle and the latitude with exactitude; and at every remarkable point, I wish you to employ your telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, having previously regulated and adjusted your watch by your quadrant, taking care to note with great nicety the periods of immer-

sions and emersions of the eclipsed satellites. These observations may enable us after your return, by application to the appropriate tables, which I cannot now furnish you, to ascertain the longitude.

It is an object of much interest with the executive, to ascertain the direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red river, as far, therefore, as may be compatible with these instructions and practicable to the means you may command. I wish you to carry your views to those subjects, and should circumstances conspire to favor the enterprise, that you may detach a party with a few Osage to descend the Arkansaw under the orders of lieutenant Wilkinson, or sergeant Ballinger, properly instructed and equipped to take the courses and distances, to remark on the soil, timber, &c &c. and to note the tributary streams. This party will, after reaching our post on the Arkansaw, descend to fort Adams and there wait further orders; and you yourself may descend the Red river accompanied by a party of the most respectable Camanches to the post of Nachitoches, and there receive further orders.

To disburse you necessary expences and to aid your negotiations, you are herewith furnished six hundred dollars worth of goods, for the appropriation of which you are to render a strict account, vouched by documents to be attested by one of your party.

Wishing you a safe and successful expedition, I am, sir,

With much respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

James Wilkinson

Additional Instructions

Letter, Wilkinson to Pike, Cantonment, Missouri, July 12, 1806.

Sir,

The health of the Osages being now generally restored, and all hopes of the speedy recovery of their prisoners, from the hands of the Potowatomies, being at an end, they have become desirous to commence their journey for their villages, you are therefore to proceed to-morrow. In addition to the instructions given you on the 24th ultimo, I must request you to have the talks under cover delivered to White Hair and

the Grand Peste, the chief of the Osage band, which is settled on the waters of the Arkansas, together with the belts which accompany them. You will also receive herewith a small belt for the Panis and a large one for the Tataus or Camanches.

Should you find it necessary, you are to give orders to Maugraine the resident interpreter at the Grand Osage to attend you.

I beg you to take measures for the security and safe return of your boats from the Grand Osage to this place.

Doctor Robinson will accompany you as a volunteer. He will be furnished medicines, and for the accommodations which you give him, he is bound to attend your sick.

Should you discover any unlicensed traders in your route, or any person from this territory, or from the United States, without a proper licence of passport, you are to arrest such person or persons and dispose of their property as the law directs.

My confidence in your caution and discretion, has prevented my urging you to be vigilant in guarding against the stratagems and treachery of the Indians, holding yourself above alarm or surprise, the composition of your party, though it be small, will secure to you the respect of an host of untutored savages.

You are to communicate from the Grant Osage and from every other practicable point, directly to the secretary of war, transmitting your letters to this place under cover, to the commanding officer, or by any more convenient route.

I wish you health and a successful and honorable enterprise, and am,

Yours with friendship,

James Wilkinson

Pike's Journal

15th July, 1806, Tuesday.—We sailed from the landing at Belle Fontaine about 3 o'clock P.M., in two boats. Our party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, 16 privates and one interpreter [A. F. Baronet Vasquez, referred to by Pike as "Baroney"]. We had also under our charge, chiefs of the Osage and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington. These Indians had

been redeemed from captivity among the Potowatomies, and were now to be returned to their friends at the Osage towns. The whole number of Indians amounted to fifty one.

We ascended the river about six miles, and encamped on the south side behind an island. This day my boat swung around twice; once when we had a tow-rope on shore, which it snapped off in an instant. The Indians did not encamp with us at night. Distance 6 miles.

16th July, Wednesday.—We rejoined our red brethren at breakfast, after which we again separated, and with very severe labor arrived late in the evening opposite the village of St. Charles, where the Indians joined us. Distance 15 miles.

17th July, Thursday.—We crossed the river to learn if any communications had arrived from St. Louis, and if there was any news of other Indian enemies of the Osages. Called at Mr. James Morrison's and was introduced to a Mr. Henry (of New Jersey), about eight and twenty years of age: he spoke a little Spanish and French tolerably well: he wished to go with me as a volunteer. From this place I wrote letters back to Belle Fontaine, whilst the Indians were crossing the river. A man by the name of Ramsay reported to the Indians that 500 Sacs, Ioways, and Reynards, were at the mouth of Big Maniton. This gave them considerable uneasiness, and it took me some time to do away the impression made upon them; for I by no means believed it. We were about sailing when my interpreter was arrested by the sheriff, at the suit of Manuel de Liza, for a debt between three and four hundred dollars, and was obliged to return to St. Louis. This made it necessary for me to write another letter to the general. We encamped about three-fourths of a mile above the village.

18th July, Friday.—Lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson went with the Indians across the country to the village La Charette. Mr. George Henry engaged, under oath, to accompany me on my tour. Wrote to the general, and inclosed him one of Henry's engagements. After we had made our little arrangements we marched by land joined the boats (which had sailed early) at twelve o'clock. Two of the men being sick, I

steered one boat and Mr. Henry the other, by which means we were enabled to keep employed our full complement of oars, although we put the sick men on shore. Encamped on the north side. About eleven o'clock at night a tremendous thunder storm arose and it continued to blow and rain, with thunder and lightning, until day. Distance 15 miles.

19th July, Saturday.—In consequence of the rain, we did not put off until past nine o'clock; my sick men marched. I had some reason to suspect, that one of them intended never joining us again. At dinner time the sick man of my own boat came on board; I then went on board the other, and we continued to run races all day, and although this boat had hitherto kept behind; yet I arrived at the encamping ground with her, nearly half an hour before the other. The current not generally so strong as below. Distance 14 miles.

20th July, Sunday.—Embarked about sun-rise. Wishing to ascertain the temperature of the water, I discovered my large thermometer to be missing, which probably had fallen into the river. Passed one settlement on the north side, and, after turning the point to the south, saw two more houses on the south side. We encamped in a long reach, which bore north and west. The absentees had not yet joined us. Distance 15 miles.

21st July, Monday.—It commenced raining near day, and continued until 4 o'clock in the afternoon; the rain was immensely heavy, with thunder and lightning remarkably severe. This obliged me to lay by; for, if we proceeded with our boats, it necessarily exposed our baggage much more than when at rest, as the tarpauling could then cover all. We set sail at a quarter past four o'clock, and arrived at the village La Charette a little after the dusk of the evening, here we found lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson with the Indians—also Baroney (our interpreter) with letters from the general and our friends. The weather still continued cloudy, with rain. We were received in the house of a Mr. Chartron, and every accommodation in his power offered us. Distance 6 miles.

22d July, Tuesday.—We arranged our boats, dried our loading, and wrote letters for Belle Fontaine.

23d July, Wednesday.—I dispatched an express to the general, with advertisements relative to Kennerman, the soldier who had deserted. We embarked after breakfast, and made good progress: lieutenant Wilkinson steered one boat and I the other, in order to detach all the men on shore, with the Indians, that we could spare. We crossed to the south side, a little below Shepherd river. Dr. Robinson killed a deer, which was the first killed by the party. Distance 13 miles.

24th July, Thursday.—We embarked at half past six o'clock. Very foggy. The Indians accompanied by only three of my people. Lieutenant Wilkinson being a little indisposed, I was obliged to let Baroney steer his boat. We made an excellent day's journey, and encamped five miles from the Gasconade river. Killed three deer, one bear, and three turkies. But three or four of the Indians arrived; the others encamped a small distance below. Distance 18 miles.

25th July, Friday.—We embarked at half past 6 o'clock, and arrived at the entrance of the Gasconade river half past eight o'clock, at which place I determined to remain the day, as my Indians and foot people were yet in the rear, and they had complained to me of being without shoes, leggins, &c. One of our Pawnees did not arrive until late; the other had communicated his suspicions to me that the Oto, who was in company, had killed him: he acknowledged that he proposed to him to take out their baggage, and return to St. Louis. The real occasion of his absence, however, was his having followed a large fresh trace up the Gasconade a considerable distance; but finding it led from the Missouri, he examined it and discovered horses to have been on it, he then left it, joined our's, and came in. This being generally the route taken by the Potowatomies, when they go to war against the Osage, it occasioned some alarm. Every morning we were awoken by the mourning of the savages, who commenced crying about daylight, and continued for the space of an hour. I made enquiry of my interpreter with respect to this, who informed me that this was a custom not only with those who had recently lost their relatives, but also with others who

recalled to mind the loss of some friend, dead long since, and joined the other mourners purely from sympathy. They appeared extremely affected, tears ran down their cheeks, and they sobbed bitterly; but in a moment they dry their cheeks and they cease their cries. Their songs of grief generally run thus: "My dear father exists no long; have pity on me, O Great Spirit! you see I cry forever; dry my tears and give me comfort." The warriors' songs are thus: "Our enemies have slain my father (or mother); he is lost to me and his family; I pray to you, O Master of Life! to preserve me until I revenge his death, and then do with me as thou pleaseth." Distance 5 miles.

26th July, Saturday.—We commenced at 5 o'clock to ferry the Indians over the Gasconade, and left the entrance of this river at half past 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Met five Frenchmen, who informed us that they had just left the Osage river, and that it was so low they could not ascend it with their canoe. We wrote letters, and sent them back by them. Dr. Robinson, Baroney, Sparks, and all the Indians encamped about one league above us. Killed one bear, two deer, one otter, three turkies, and one racoon. Distance 15 miles.

27th July, Sunday.—We embarked at half past five o'clock, and arrived at the Indians' camp at 7 o'clock. They had been alarmed the day before, and in the evening sent men back in the trace, and some of the chiefs sat up all night. Breakfasted with them. About half past three o'clock encamped in sight of the Osage river. There being every appearance of rain, we halted thus early in order to give the Indians time to prepare temporary camps, and to secure our baggage. I went out to hunt, and firing at a deer, near two of the Indians who were in the woods, they knew the difference of the report of my rifle from their guns, were alarmed, and immediately retired to camp. Distance 13 miles.

28th July, Monday.—Embarked at half past 5 o'clock, and at half past 10 arrived in the Osage river, where we stopped, discharged our guns, bathed, &c. We then proceeded on about six miles, where we waited for and crossed the Indians to the west shore, and then proceeded on to the first island, and encamped on the

west side. Sans Oreille and four or five young men only, coming up, the rest encamping some distance behind. Killed one deer and one turkey. Distance 19 miles.

29th July, Tuesday.—All the Indians arrived very early and the Big Soldier, whom I had appointed the officer to regulate the march, was much displeased that Sans Oreille and the others had left him, and said for that reason he would not suffer any woman to go in the boat and by that means separate the party; but in truth it was from jealousy of the men whose women went in the boats. He began by flogging one of the young men and was about to strike Sans Oreille's wife, but was stopped by him and told that he knew he had done wrong, but the women were innocent. We then crossed them and embarked at half past eight o'clock. About twelve o'clock we found the Indians rafting the river, when the first chief of the Little Osage, called Tuttasuggy (or Wind) told me that the man whom Big Soldier stuck had not yet arrived with his wife, "but that he would throw them away." As I knew he was extremely mortified at the dissensions which appeared to reign amongst them, I told him by no means,—that one of my boats should wait for the woman and her child, but that the man might go to the devil, as punishment for his insubordination.

I then left Baroney with one boat, and proceeded with the other. We were called ashore by three young Indians, who had killed some deer, and, on putting them on board, gave them about one or two gills of whiskey, which intoxicated all of them. It commenced raining about one o'clock, and continued incessantly for three hours, which obliged us to stop and encamp. One of our men (Miller) lost himself and did not arrive until after dark. Killed five deer, one turkey, and one racoon. Distance 14 miles.

30th July, Wednesday. After the fog dispersed I left lieutenant Wilkinson with the party to dry the baggage, and went with Dr. Robinson and Bradley. About two o'clock we returned, set sail, and having passed the first rapid about three miles, encamped on the eastern shore. Killed three deer. Distance 5 miles.

(continued next issue)

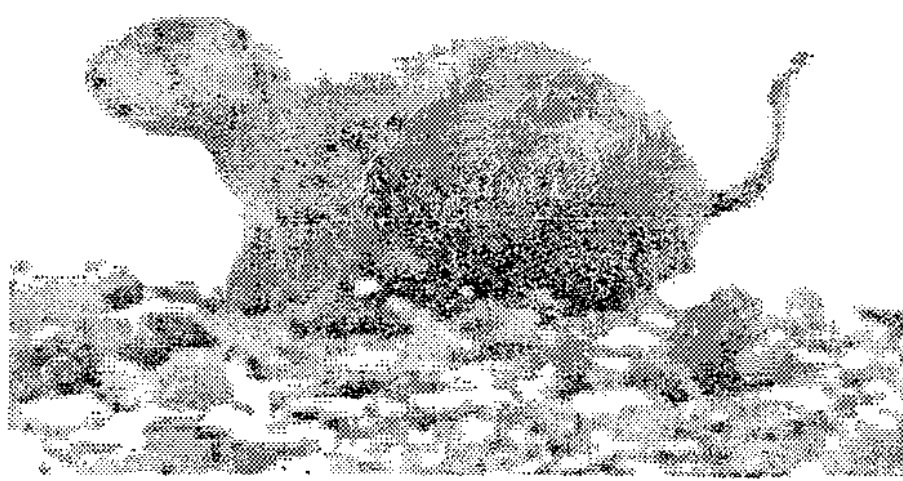
PRAIRIE DOGS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by Phyllis S. Morgan

[This is fourth in a series about wild-life on the Trail by SFTA member Phyllis Morgan, Albuquerque. It is noteworthy that Zebulon Montgomery Pike is included in this article and that his description of the prairie dog was his main contribution to the world of natural history. Next topic in this series will be wolves, coyotes, and roadrunners on the Trail.]

SANTA Fe Trail travelers were amazed and fascinated by prairie dogs. These social animals, living in family groups clustered together in large colonies, aroused the curiosity of the travelers as they followed the Trail over the grasslands and along the Arkansas River. They frequently recorded observations of prairie dogs in their journals and diaries in greater detail than for any other animal, with the exception of buffalo. Travelers wrote about prairie dogs' physical characteristics, behavior, burrows, and "towns," and about the name of this animal, which seemed a misnomer to many. Men wrote about the difficulty in shooting these quick-moving animals and that they must be shot dead, because if only wounded the prairie dogs would drop into their burrows, leaving no opportunity to retrieve them. Some observers were convinced that prairie dogs, rattlesnakes, and burrowing owls resided together in some sort of mutual arrangement in the "villages," while others questioned that opinion and some contended that snakes and owls probably occupied holes which had been abandoned by prairie dogs.

Prairie dogs did not pose the threat that many travelers felt from herds of buffalo, packs of wolves, and rattlesnakes, or cause the agony inflicted by such pests as mosquitoes and flies. The prairie dogs' amazing behavior and humorous antics provided a much-welcome diversion and some comic relief for the travel-weary sojourners. The travelers seemed to have a special feeling toward these sociable animals, frequently describing them in a variety of human terms. They wrote about the dogs' "houses" and their "towns" or "villages" with "streets." They also wrote about the dogs' neighborliness, their caring for each other,



Prairie Dog (photo by Phyllis Morgan).

their apparent conferences described as a "grand council" (also a "confab," "consultation," or "gossiping"), and their watchfulness and warnings to others of approaching danger. The tight-knit families of prairie dogs may have caused the travelers to think of their own families far away and their longing to be with loved ones, of the warmth and security of hearth and home, and of their own need to be ever vigilant of the many types of danger about them on their long journeys over the Trail. Their comments show a softness of heart for these grassland squirrels.

Josiah Gregg saw countless prairie dogs on his trips over the Santa Fe Trail from 1831 to 1840. He wrote several long paragraphs about these "curious" animals in his book *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). The first paragraph shows that he was also captivated by them: "But of all the prairie animals, by far the most curious, and by no means the least celebrated, is the little prairie dog. This singular quadruped is but little larger than a common squirrel, its body being nearly a foot long, with a tail of three or four inches. The color ranges from brown to a dirty yellow. The flesh, though often eaten by travellers, is not esteemed savory. It is denominated the 'barking squirrel,' the 'prairie ground-squirrel,' etc., by early explorers, with much more apparent propriety than the present established name. Its yelp, which resembles that of the little toy-dog, seems its only canine attribute. It rather appears to occupy a middle ground betwixt the rabbit and squirrel—like the former in feeding and burrowing—like the latter in frisking, flirting, sitting erect, and somewhat so in its barking."

Gregg's lively description of the

little prairie dogs' behavior provides a good example of observers' inclination to attribute human characteristics to these animals: "Approaching a 'village,' the little dogs may be observed frisking about the 'streets'—passing from dwelling to dwelling apparently on visits—sometimes a few clustered together as though in council—here feeding upon the tender herbage—there cleansing their 'houses,' or brushing the little hillock about the door—yet all quiet. Upon seeing a stranger, however, each streaks to its home, but is apt to stop at the entrance, and spread the general alarm by a succession of shrill yelps, usually sitting erect. Yet at the report of a gun or the too near approach of the visitor, they dart down and are seen no more till the cause of alarm seems to have disappeared."²

Lieutenant William Fairholme of the British army wrote about prairie dogs along the Trail in his "Journal of an Expedition to the Grand Prairies of the Missouri, 1840." His experience with these animals and a rattlesnake occurred near the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas River while pursuing buffalo with two companions (Jean Baptiste Tabaud and a servant known only as Pierre): "We rode on together for some distance when I perceived, on a bare sandy spot, some little animals like rabbits running to & fro, as if in a great bustle, and others sitting up on their hind legs. I got off my horse, and followed by Pierre, stole quietly up to get a shot at them, but just as I was taking aim at 3 of them, altogether a beautiful shot, I was startled by a loud cry from Pierre. The prairie dogs, as they are called, disappeared instantly, their heels twinkling for a moment in the air as they dived into their holes, and I looked round to Pierre, who screamed out, 'Le serpent! Gardez-vous du serpent!' And there, sure enough, close at my feet was a large rattlesnake advancing toward me with his head up in the air, and his eyes sparkling like diamonds. I made off immediately, and when a few paces off, waited to see what he would do. He came on in the most graceful undulations till he arrived at the mouth of one of the prairie dog

burrows, which he seemed inclined to enter. But as he had spoiled my sport, I took advantage of his pause to take a shot at him. My ball cut his head clean off, and his body remained twisting & writhing for a long time afterwards.

"I sat down with Pierre to wait till the little creatures should show themselves again, and presently one popped his head out of a hole, then another, and they seemed to hold a consultation together for a short time, when they both came out and sat up on their hind legs in the most comical way, opposite each other, till two or 3 others joined them. It was really very amusing to watch the bustling manner they all ran about from hole to hole, as if paying visits of congratulation on the danger being past, for they could not see us, we being concealed behind a thick bush of grass. I put an end to their gossiping after I watched them for a little time by firing a ball into the middle of them (having no shot with me). I was almost sorry to see that I had severely wounded one which, just like a rabbit, managed to scramble into a hole close to him, and after a fruitless attempt to get him, we remounted our horses and pursued our route.

"These prairie dogs seem to be a species of marmot. Their villages are always in bare spots, & generally on a slight eminence from which they can see around them, and it would seem that the rattlesnakes live with them, for they are invariably found together. I have several times seen a snake enter a hole into which one of the prairie dogs had gone a short time before. There is also a very diminutive species of owl which is supposed to live with them also, but we did not see any. If it is the case, it is a remarkable fact that a bird, a serpent & a quadruped sh/d inhabit the same den, more particularly as I should imagine there can be no doubt that the rattlesnake feeds on the prairie dog."³

Lewis H. Garrard was charmed by the little "dogs" as he rode through their "villages." He recalled those experiences in *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (1850), including in his account what he had "ascertained through inquiry and observation." The day after reaching "the grand Arkansas," described as "quite

broad, with two feet of water, sandy bottom, and high sand buttes on either bank, as bare & cheerless as any misanthrope could wish," Garrard's party rode through two prairie dog villages: "These villages are frequent; often we came across them several miles from water, but whether they abstain from it totally is a question not solvable by any mountain men with us. Very little or no dew falls in this region, so these strange animals do not depend upon this source to quench their thirst. . . . The grass in this region is short, early, and highly nutritious. It has a withered, brown appearance even early in the spring, and is designated as 'buffalo grass'. . . ."⁴ In fact, the grasses, forbs (broad-leaved herbaceous plants), insects, and grubs eaten by prairie dogs usually provide enough water to meet their needs.

Garrard also found the "dogs" entertaining: "It is quite amusing to watch their movements on top of the cones [the mounds can be as tall as four feet high]; on our approach, they barked, their short tails nervously fluttering, and receiving a new impetus from the short, quick, and sharp tiny yelp which they constantly uttered; when they thought themselves in danger, with an incredibly quick motion, they threw themselves back in the holes and immediately reappeared with an impertinent, daring bark, as if to say, 'you can't get me.' Others slowly 'crawfished,' hiding by their singular way of crouching the back, until nothing but their heads and tails could be seen—these latter shaking tremulously. Succeeding a silence of a few minutes after scaring in the 'dogs,' we could see by lying flat on the ground so as to get the tops of the cones between the sky and our eyes, with the closest scrutiny, the head, here and there, of a dog almost imperceptibly moving, and with a cautious reconnoiter to see if the coast be clear, he would show himself and with a knowing yelp apprise his neighbors of his investigations."⁵

Some Trail travelers made note of their first sighting of prairie dogs; many had already read or heard about them. One was Philip Gooch Ferguson, company clerk of the First Regiment of the Missouri Mounted Volunteers in General Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West. On July

25, 1847, Ferguson wrote in camp near the "swift, muddy stream" called Pawnee Fork: "Today I saw for the first time a village of prairie dogs, an animal whose habits have excited the wonder of man and the admiration of the lovers of natural history. The prairie dog is but little larger than a full-grown fox squirrel, of a reddish brown color, like a ground hog—short tail, small ears, [with] teeth and head like a squirrel's or rat's, and very compactly shaped. Their villages are frequently several miles in area, their houses being holes running slanting in the ground, the dirt around the orifice sometimes rising several feet above the surface like a chimney. Around the outskirts of the village, sentinels are posted, who on the approach of danger, give the alarm by their peculiar bark, from which doubtless they derive their name of 'dog,' although it is more like the bark of a squirrel, there being but little resemblance between them and the dog."⁶

Ferguson noted in his diary the following night, after marching twenty-two miles and making camp on the Arkansas: "The men had been shooting at prairie dogs all day, and not killing one, they concluded that the dogs 'dodged the flash,' but I do not think this can be so. But it is said they are very hard to kill and unless struck instantly dead, will tumble over and get into their holes. It is also said that when one is killed, his companions will frequently run out and drag him into the hole before he can be secured."⁷

Susan Shelby Magoffin recorded seeing her first prairie dog town on July 2, 1846, in camp on the bank of the Arkansas River: "Prairie scenes are rather changing today. We are coming more into the buffalo regions. The grass is much shorter and finer. The plains are cut up by winding paths and every thing promises a buffalo dinner on the 4th. We left our last night's camp [Cow Creek] quite early this morning. About 9 o'clock we came upon 'Dog City.' This curiosity is well worth seeing. The Prairie dog, not much larger than a well grown rat, burrows in the ground. They generally make a regular town of it, each one making his house by digging a hole, and heaping the dirt around the mouth of this [hole]. Two are generally built together in a

neighborly way. They of course visit as regularly as man. When we got into this one, on both sides of the road occupying at least a circle of some hundred yards, the little fellows like people ran to their doors to see the passing crowd. They could be seen all around with their heads poked out, and expressing their opinions I supposed from the loud barking I heard."⁸

Another Missouri Mounted Volunteer, Frank Edwards, who marched the length of the Santa Fe Trail with Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan during the Mexican-American War in 1846, described the "towns" and their inhabitants in his book, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (1847): "We passed by and over several prairie dog towns. One of these was very extensive, being three or four miles in circumference, and the ground shook under us as we crossed it, with a hollow sound, as if we were passing over a bridge. Although the name of dog is applied to these little animals, they bear no possible resemblance to our dogs, even their cry is most like a bird's chirp. They are much smaller than generally represented, being a trifle less in size than the common rabbit, and far superior to the latter in flavor."⁹

In a series of 85 articles written about his Trail experiences in 1839 for the New Orleans *Picayune*, writer-actor Matthew C. (Matt) Field penned one titled "Dog Towns." He stated that these "towns" were "one of the most striking peculiarities which rivet attention in the buffalo regions. . . . These are spots of short grass, growing exceedingly thick and fine. . . ."¹⁰ Field explained how the animals dug out burrows and made brown earthen mounds around the entrances, "spangling the darker green of the prairie in a manner that would doubtless be exceedingly picturesque could it be viewed from a balloon."¹¹

One of the most detailed descriptions of prairie dogs by a Trail traveler was provided by W. W. H. Davis in his book, *El Gringo, New Mexico and Her People* (1857), which includes an account of his 1853 trip by stagecoach to New Mexico Territory where he served as U.S. attorney. When his party was in the present Oklahoma Panhandle on the Cimar-

ron Route, Davis recalled: "We were now traveling through the region inhabited by the 'prairie dog,' and the whole country seemed one continued village. They are a curious and interesting little animal, and deserve a passing notice. For miles the Plains are dotted with the piles of dirt before their holes, which resemble large ant-hills. They dig a deep hole in the ground, four or six inches in diameter, and carry up the dirt and place it in a heap at the mouth in the shape of a cone, and about a foot high. Their holes are unequal distances apart, and are arranged without order. It is said by some that they live on friendly terms with the owl and the rattlesnake, but, from the best information I could obtain of their manners and habits, I do not think this is the case. It is quite amusing to see the little canine citizens manœuvre when a party of strangers invade their dominions. In the first place you will observe some of the little fellows, in various parts of the settlement, putting their heads out of their holes and peeping over the sand-hills in front to see what is going on. Next they venture all the way out, and sit on their hind legs upon the top of the sand-hills in order to obtain a better view of matters and things. After having made a satisfactory reconnaissance, you will see them running in different directions as though giving intelligence through the village. They skip from hole to hole with great agility; soon the whole population is aroused, and 'heads out' seems to be the order of the day.

"Those that first discerned your approach seem to have been sentinels, stationed to sound the alarm to the main body. Now the town is aroused, and every able-bodied citizen comes out of his hole to be prepared for any emergency that may arise. As you approach nearer their activity increases, and frequent communication is held between different quarters of the town. Now you notice three or four in close conclave, as if holding council upon the affairs of the nation, at the end of which they separate, each one returning to his own home. Now you observe a single dog run across to his neighbor, hold a moment's confab with him, and then skip back again. In another part of the village you will see them assem-

bled in grand council, in considerable numbers, apparently holding a solemn debate upon the state of public affairs. They are formed in a circle, each one sitting erect upon his hind legs, and in the middle is seated a grave old patriarch, who has the required wisdom to preside over and direct their deliberations. Apparently some important question has been discussed and decided, for, when they adjourn, messengers are seen hastening to all parts of the town to announce the result. Thus the little rascals keep up their operations until you draw very near, when every fellow disappears in his hole, and you see nothing more of them while you remain in the village. In point of size they resemble a common gray squirrel, and look not unlike that animal with the ears cut off and the tail bobbed. They are seldom caught, and will not even leave their holes when water is poured in upon them."¹²

On his way over the Trail to the gold fields of Colorado, Samuel D. Raymond wrote in his diary in May 1859: "Passed a large city of Prairie Dogs—all were active in sounding the alarm and scampering to their homes. We're now encamped near another small city of them. They appear to like our society very well so long as we keep a proper distance from them."¹³

Joseph Pratt Allyn traveled the Santa Fe Trail in 1863 on his way to Arizona Territory to serve as an associate justice. He added his observations about prairie dogs. "Just imagine miles of level, barren prairie, covered with rather large ant hills without any regularity of arrangement, and you have the external appearance of a prairie-dog town. If you have good eyes or a good glass you may see some of the dogs a long way off. They are about the color of the ground, and the size of a rabbit, and somewhat the shape of a squirrel. Why they are called dogs is more than I can imagine. The owls are more easily seen, and once in a while a rattlesnake drags himself out and shakes his rattles. We thrust sabers and fired pistols into the holes and never startled anything out. Whether the owl, dog and rattlesnake live in the same hole is, I suspect, open to very grave doubt. They certainly live in the same town, but

as these are miles long it doesn't necessarily imply joint tenancy of the holes. The dog has a shrill whistle or bark that resembles the cry of a bird. He is quick in dodging into his hole. They say he can dodge a musket ball. Those I saw concluded to keep out of range."¹⁴ Allyn repeated a story, told him by a soldier, about a prairie dog that was shot and killed outside the burrow. Before the soldier could retrieve the dead animal, "another came out of the hole, and dragged the dead body of his mate into the hole."¹⁵

For thousands of years, the prairie dog, a rodent belonging to the squirrel family (*Sciuridae*), shared the prairie grasslands with millions of buffalo, antelope, deer, and other grassland creatures. These animals had long-established mutual relationships. Grazing buffalo, for example, left large areas of closed-cropped grasses, which prairie dogs prefer so they can more easily see their numerous predators. In turn, prairie dogs benefited buffalo and other grazing animals by digging up and loosening the ground, bringing up fertile subsoil and minerals, and aerating the earth. Rainwater could soak into the ground more easily. They also fertilized the soil. All of this activity encouraged the growth of stronger, healthier, and more nutritious grasses and other plant life. As prey, prairie dogs also benefited many other animals living on the grasslands, while their burrows provided shelter or habitat.

Each prairie dog has its place in the family, and each family plays a role in the life of the town, or colony. Similar to a human city, a colony is organized. It may be divided up into smaller sections called wards. Within each ward, prairie dogs live in small family groups called coterie. A coterie typically consists of one adult male, several (usually three or four) close-kin adult females, year-old offspring, and new young of the season. Each coterie shares a burrow system that covers about 0.6 to 1.0 acre. Their burrows may be as deep as 16 feet and have tunnels from 12 to 100 feet long.¹⁶ Along tunnel walls, holes for rooms, or chambers, are scooped out and used for a variety of purposes from nesting to burying trash.

Of the five species of prairie dogs

inhabiting western North America—black-tailed, white-tailed, Gunnison's, Utah, and Mexican—two have ranges which include the routes of the Santa Fe Trail. The black-tailed prairie dog (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), the most common and most social of the five species, lives on dry short- and mixed-grasslands, once stretching the length of the plains from southern Canada to northern Mexico. The tall-grass prairie, where predators can hide, limits its range to the east. Black-tailed prairie dogs ranged along the routes of the Santa Fe Trail from central Kansas through southeastern Colorado, across the Oklahoma Panhandle, and into northeastern New Mexico. This is the species that Santa Fe Trail travelers saw and wrote about during their journeys across the prairies along the Arkansas River.

As the plains turn to foothills and mountains in Colorado and New Mexico, the range of Gunnison's prairie dogs (*Cynomys gunnisoni*) begins and extends westward through the Four Corners area. It also extends south from northern New Mexico through Santa Fe to the central part of the state. Biologists estimate that at the end of the 1800s as many as 5 billion prairie dogs occupied millions of acres. Today, prairie dogs live on only about one percent of their former range.¹⁷

One of the first Americans to describe the prairie dog in an official published document was Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike. His description of the black-tailed prairie dog is considered his main contribution to the world of natural history.¹⁸ Pike's account was based on his observations of the prairie dogs and their towns scattered over the vast territory of the middle plains through which the Arkansas River coursed. These observations were made in 1806 during Pike's expedition to the Southwest, one with a long list of objectives, including ascending the Arkansas to its source, and an important factor in the opening of the Santa Fe Trail.

Pike thought these animals were more like squirrels than any other animal he had seen, and preferred the name "prairie squirrel," which he considered more appropriate than "prairie dog." Others agreed with Pike's view, but the common name

stuck. W. Eugene Hollon remarked in his book, *The Lost Pathfinder, Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (1949): "The contrast between a squirrel that climbed trees in the East and one that burrowed in the ground in the West was too much for most travelers who crossed the plains after Pike. Consequently, the prairie squirrel was made a dog!"¹⁹ Hollon added that prairie dogs were called *petit chiens* [little dogs] by the French long before the Americans arrived on the prairies. The Spaniards called them *tuza*, a name derived from Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs.

Pike wrote a lengthy account about the prairie dog in his journal on October 24, 1806, a part of which follows: "We ascended the right branch [Pawnee River] about five miles, but could not see any sign of the Spanish trace [the road that led to Santa Fe]; this is not surprising, as the river bears southwest, and they no doubt kept more to the west from the one branch to another. We returned and on our way, killed some prairie squirrels, or wishtonwishes, and nine large rattle snakes, which frequent their villages.

"The Wishtonwish of the Indians, prairie dogs to some travelers, or squirrel as I should be inclined to denominate them, reside on the prairies of Louisiana [the Louisiana Territory purchased from the French in 1803 for \$15 million] in towns and villages, having an evident police established in their communities. . . . Their residence, being underground, is burrowed out and the earth [the mound] answers the double purpose of keeping out the water and affording an elevated place in wet seasons to repose on, and to give them a further and more distinct view of the country.

"As you approach their towns, you are saluted on all sides by the cry of Wishtonwish, from which they derive their name with the Indians, uttered in a shrill and piercing manner. You then observe them all retreating to the entrance of their burrows, where they post themselves, and regard every, even the slightest movement that you make. It requires a very nice shot with a rifle to kill them, as they must be killed dead, for as long as life exists, they continue to work into their cells. It is extremely dangerous to pass

through their towns, as they abound with rattle snakes . . . and strange as it may appear, I have seen the Wish-tonwish, the rattle snake and other animals take refuge in the same home. I do not pretend to assert that it was their common place of resort, but I have witnessed the facts more than in one instance."²⁰

Physical and other characteristics of the black-tailed prairie dog were described by Pike: "They are of dark brown color, except their bellies, which are white. Their tails are not so long as those of our grey squirrels, but are shaped precisely like theirs; their teeth, head, nails, and body, are the perfect squirrel, except that they are generally fatter than that animal. Their villages sometimes extend over two and three miles square, in which there must be innumerable hosts of them, as there is generally a burrow every ten steps in which there are two or more, and you see new ones [burrows] partly excavated on all borders of the town. We killed great numbers of them with our rifles and found them excellent meat, after they were exposed a night or two to the frost, by which means the rankness acquired by their subterranean dwelling is corrected."²¹

Pike thought the prairie dogs' burrows descended in a spiral form, which he surmised was the reason he could not ascertain their depth. He wrote: "I once had 140 kettles of water poured into one of them in order to drive out the occupant, but without effect."²² Other travelers attempted, without success, to flush prairie dogs out of their tunnels with water. In July 1851 Katie Bowen, accompanying her husband, Captain Isaac Bowen, from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union via the Santa Fe Trail, wrote at their camp near Cow Creek: "For several days we have been passing through 'dog towns.' They cover acres and acres, little holes a few feet apart and deeper than anyone knows. We tried this morning to drown some out and poured many buckets full of water into their holes without any success. While running down the water sounded 20 or 30 feet below the surface. . . . We frequently see owls sitting on their holes and are told that with the rattlesnake, they form a charming society in their houses."²³

In 1804, two years before Pike's experiment, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and their Corps of Discovery had tried to flush prairie dogs out of their burrows. In fact, on September 7, 1804, the first day they encountered prairie dogs, the entire Corps, except for a guard, halted their expedition to try to dig some prairie dogs out of their burrow and capture one alive to send as a gift to President Thomas Jefferson. When that failed, they attempted to flood one of the animals from its hole. After great effort, they were able to catch one prairie dog.

In March 1805, Lewis and Clark sent President Jefferson a large collection of plant and animal specimens gathered along their way over the northern plains. The only live animals included in the cargo were the solitary prairie dog, four magpies, and one "living hen of the prairies."²⁴ The grueling journey left from Fort Mandan (located in present North Dakota), headed down the Missouri River to the Mississippi, south to the port of New Orleans, by ship around Florida and up the Atlantic coast, and finally overland to Washington, D.C., arriving on August 12, 1805. The prairie dog survived the trip, but of the five birds only one magpie was still alive. According to accounts, President Jefferson was very pleased with the prairie dog and sent it to Philadelphia to be kept on display at the natural science museum situated inside Independence Hall. In addition to being popular at the White House, the prairie dog aroused the curiosity and interest of the public. It is possible that a live prairie dog made a trip in a cage or crate over the Santa Fe Trail, but no record of such an occurrence has been found.

Although there were differing opinions regarding the savoriness of the meat, prairie dogs would often become a substitute when other meat was scarce or not available, ending up in someone's soup pot or dressed for roasting over an open fire. J. W. Chatham of North Carolina briefly commented in his Trail journal in 1849: "Having traveled about 20 miles, camped tonight on the bank of the Arkansas, a muddy and shallow stream. One of the hunters brought in a prairie dog—a sorry looking puppy—for soup."²⁵

Such was the fate of a prairie dog when Hezekiah Brake left Minnesota and traveled the Trail in 1858 to take a job as manager of a dairy farm located west of Fort Union. Brake recounted in his diary: "We were passing through a prairie-dog village. At the door of his habitation, a fierce young dog set up a yelp of remonstrance at our interrupting their councils, and Mr. A[lexander] silenced him with a bullet. Throwing the dog into the wagon, we went on to our limit of fifteen miles, and stopped for breakfast. I had cooked 'possum, 'coon, even terrapin, in my time, and was not to be deterred by jeers from preparing fresh meat simply because there was no material at hand to cook but a prairie dog, and no fuel for a fire but buffalo chips. So I made my fire, put a vessel of water on to boil, and dressed the dog. A savory stew was soon prepared which threw fried bacon into the shade. All of us pronounced prairie dog superior to squirrel or rabbit, and declared that after this we would often have fresh meat."²⁶

Brake's admiration of prairie dog meat, however, was short-lived, and his opinion of bacon was restored when he prepared another dog the following day. The party rose early the following morning, cleaned and greased the wagon axles, and started out on their day's journey. That evening in camp near Pawnee Fork, Brake wrote: "Without breakfasting, made twenty miles. By this time we were again hungry for fresh meat. Mr. A. shot a fat young prairie dog as before, and I skinned the animal and prepared him for the pot. Being very lean myself, I have always been a great admirer of fat, and I testified to this admiration now by putting a piece of the stuff into my mouth. I had no more than masticated and swallowed that piece of fat until I was sicker than words can express. In disgust, I threw the whole dog away, and I have never since particularly cared for prairie dog meat. As to the fat, that mouthful has lasted me through all of the years that have since elapsed. It took a strong cup of coffee to cure the dog fit from which we all seemed to be suffering, and bacon and eggs tasted like ambrosia."²⁷

Prairie dog meat became a "fast food" for those who did not have time

to prepare buffalo or other large animals. James Josiah Webb, a well-known merchant on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails in the 1840s, recorded a memorable episode that happened during his early experiences as "an unmitigated greenhorn." His group was headed west toward the mountains after leaving Bent's Fort. While in camp early one afternoon, they saw three men approaching at a brisk gallop. He continued, "in a few minutes they had a fire kindled, and the coffeepot over the fire. They were soon recognized as old mountain men and acquaintances of several of the party—Kit Carson, Lucien Maxwell, and Timothy Goodale [a trapper and guide]. As soon as they got dinner cooking (coffee boiling, a prairie dog dressed and opened out on a stick before the fire), Carson and Maxwell came to our camp. This was my first interview with these three celebrities. It was very short, and I can remember nothing of the interview except that they left Pueblo that morning and expected to reach Taos that night. They soon left [our camp], ate their dinner, saddled their horses, caught their led horses, and were off."²⁸

Prairie dog meat was also eaten at festive occasions. In December 1858, Edward F. Beale and his party were headed toward winter quarters at Hatch's Ranch in New Mexico. At that time, Beale was an important figure in the American West, but is primarily remembered today for his efforts to introduce camels into the Southwest and for charting a wagon road almost due west from Fort Smith (Arkansas), following the course of the Canadian River. After entering New Mexico, the party stopped at a place called Laguna Colorado to spend Christmas Day and enjoyed a feast that included wild turkey, deer, antelope, raccoon, grouse, and prairie dog.²⁹

As settlers moved onto the plains, turning grasslands into croplands, and as cattle filled the void where buffalo once roamed, the softness of heart toward the little prairie dogs turned to a hardness of heart. No longer considered a wonder of natural history, they became unwanted, vilified vermin to be exterminated at any cost. Decades of poisoning, unregulated shooting, and habitat loss have drastically reduced the popula-

tion and range of prairie dogs. Since the 1940s, sylvatic plague, a disease that arrived in North America in 1900, has also become a significant factor in their decline, because they have little, or no, immunity to it.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, scientific research began to show the contributions of prairie dogs to a well-balanced prairie ecosystem. It was also found that the long-term programs to eradicate prairie dogs were taking a toll on dozens of other species linked to the prairie dog. The black-footed ferret, North America's most endangered mammal, is a prime example of the more than 100 species, including mammals, reptiles, amphibians, birds, and insects, that either depend on the prairie dog for food, shelter, or habitat, or benefit in one way or another from the prairie dog and its activities. In addition to black-footed ferret, other species that are most tied to prairie dogs for survival are swift fox, burrowing owl, golden eagle, mountain plover, ferruginous hawk, horned lark, grasshopper mouse, and deer mouse.³⁰ Of the species of mammals benefited by the black-tailed prairie dog, many are mainstays of the Great Plains and icons of the Old West³¹—the animals that once awed and delighted the travelers on the Santa Fe Trail.

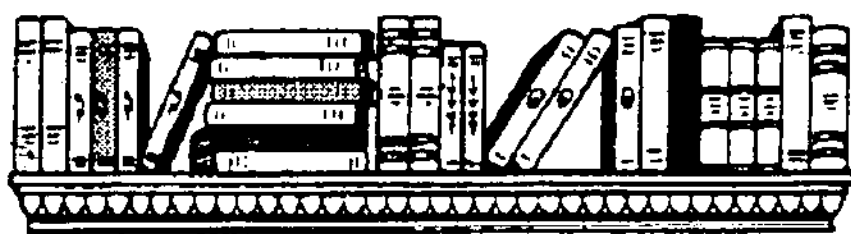
In recent years, public and private entities, alliances, and concerned citizens have been striving to find "a middle ground" and come to grips with issues surrounding prairie dogs. Their common vision is to work toward restoration of the prairie dog ecosystem in focus areas of several states of the Great Plains. For example, New Mexico completed a state management plan in November 2001 that aims to increase, over a ten-year period, the acreage on which black-tailed prairie dogs live from the current 60,000 acres to 97,000 acres. This plan involves a mix of public and private participants and emphasizes the voluntary cooperation of landowners. Several ranches in the state are now receiving prairie dogs removed from other areas, in particular from expanding urban areas, and are conducting research related to the management of prairie dogs. These concerted efforts are an important key in giving this ecosystem a chance

at regeneration and in preserving the prairie dog and other icons of the American West.

NOTES

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2. *Ibid.*, 381.
3. William Fairholme, *Journal of an Expedition to the Grand Prairies of the Missouri 1840*, ed. by Jack B. Tykal (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1996), 117-119.
4. Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (1850; reprint, Palo Alto: American West Publishing, 1968), 17.
5. *Ibid.*, 16.
6. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., "Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson, 1847-1848," *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), 305-306.
7. *Ibid.*, 307.
8. Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847* (1926; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 37-38. Buffalo was available for the 4th of July dinner, but whether Susan ate anything that day she did not say, because her terrible carriage accident happened on that day.
9. Frank S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (1847; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 15-16.
10. John E. Sunder, ed., *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 284.
11. *Ibid.*, 285.
12. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo, New Mexico and Her People* (1857; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 41-42.
13. Lloyd W. Gundy, "The Journal of Samuel D. Raymond, 1859-1862," *Wagon Tracks* 10 (November 1995): 15.
14. David K. Strate, ed., *West by Southwest: Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn, a Traveller Along the Santa Fe Trail, 1863* (Dodge City: Kansas Heritage Center, 1984), 61.
15. *Ibid.*, 80.
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17. Michael E. Long, "The Vanishing Prairie," *National Geographic* 193 (April 1998): 118-119.
18. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 339.
19. W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder: Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (1949; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 121.
20. Jackson, *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 338-339.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 338.
23. Katie Bowen Journal, July 19, 1851, Bowen Family Papers, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.
24. Dayton Duncan, *Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 84.

25. J. W. Chatham, Private Journal Commencing February 27, 1849 (Ms, University of New Mexico General Library Special Collections, Albuquerque, New Mexico), 36.
26. Marc Simmons, ed., *On the Santa Fe Trail* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 46-47.
27. Ibid., 47.
28. James Josiah Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847* (1931; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 63-65.
29. Gerald Thompson, *Edward F. Beale & The American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 113.
30. N. B. Kotliar, et al., "A Critical Review of Assumptions about the Prairie Dog as a Keystone Species," *Environmental Management* 24:2 (1999): 177-192.
31. Russell A. Graves, *The Prairie Dog: Sentinel of the Plains* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2001), 79. This well-researched, objectively-written, and beautifully-photographed book is recommended for anyone wishing to learn more about prairie dogs.



CONVERSE OF THE PRAIRIES

-BOOK NOTICES-

John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and California*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. Pp. 462. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

John Kessell is something else. University of New Mexico Professor of History Emeritus, he is best known for his work on the history of Pecos Pueblo, *Kiva*, *Cross and Crown*, and for being the founding editor of the formidable, six-volume Vargas project covering the journals of Juan Diego de Vargas, the Reconqueror of Spanish colonial New Mexico, both excellent but rather pedantic pieces of work.

This book's preface starts with these words: "In the beginning, invading Spaniards did possess impressive advantages—imperial state and militant church, long-range sailing capability, firearms, horses, immunity to smallpox and measles, and more—but they too had to urinate."

"In the beginning" might cause one to think that the next words would be "God created the earth,"

but the last few words let you know that Kessell had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote those words and that this book is not going to be pompous. Rather it is what is implied by the "Narrative History" part of the title: easy-going, easy-reading, informal writing. That it can be that, and be scholarly at the same time is testimony both to Kessell's ability to write and his remarkable knowledge of the subject matter covered by this book.

Kessell has chosen to have individuals carry the history as, floods and plagues aside, they in fact always do. Throughout, the deeds and sometimes the words of specific individuals are used to sketch the historic events and historic trends that make up the history of Spain in the Southwest. We read of soldiers, Indians, some ordinary and some extraordinary men and women, explorers, priests, and of the good and the wicked. All of these populate the Spanish southwest, which here includes the borderlands (mainly Texas, northern Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona and California, with some excursions into Louisiana, the Plains states and even Canada and Alaska). As one would expect from a narrative, and from the scope of the subject, you will not find the kind of "in-depth" history that is in some other books with less breadth, but you will find interesting coverage of the major aspects of the history of the Spanish southwest.

Kessell writes wonderfully well. Even though the author did retire to Durango, Colorado, I think his heart must still be in New Mexico. His prose rises to its highest level and his humor is the most pithy when he writes about the events that make up the colonial history of New Mexico (and maybe Arizona which then was part of New Mexico) and the men and women who were the actors in that history.

Careful readers will note that the author writes that William Becknell arrived in Santa Fe in November 1821 accompanied by some twenty companions. That is not what we read in the November 1992 issue of *Wagon Tracks*, in which Harry Myers and Mike Olsen reported that Mexican officer Pedro Gallego, in his diary reported meeting "six Americans." This probably settles the dis-

crepancies noted in Larry M. Beachum's *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade* and goes to show that Dr. Kessell should have read the aforementioned *Wagon Tracks* article. I would not mention this small point in a review for a different audience, but here, well. . . .

Kessell is a giant of New Mexico and Spanish colonial borderlands history, and this work is the latest proof of his ability.

-E. Donald Kaye

FORT LEARNED

-TEACHER'S TRADING POST-

Chris Day, Editor

Preparations and meetings are in progress as Chris Day and Janet Armstead are gearing up for the 10th Santa Fe Trail Trip with eleven and twelve year old students from North Central Kansas. The ten-day trip will be June 1-10, 2003, following the Cimarron Route to Santa Fe and the Mountain Route back to Kansas.

The students travel in chartered busses and camp out in national, state, or private campgrounds. All students are divided into work groups and help do the necessary chores it takes to keep a caravan of this size traveling down the road.

A trip of this magnitude requires adult chaperones and with each trip over the years, many have helped Chris, Janet, and former educational leader, Marcia Fox. The SFTA always seeks to reach out to teachers because they are the link in teaching children the history of the Trail.

To help the Santa Fe Trail Association reach some of their educational goals, Chris Day and Janet Armstead announce that they are making available a few adult chaperone positions on the 2003 trail trip.

These openings will be for teachers who would like to travel with the modern wagon train and learn the benefits of taking students on a historic trail adventure.

The cost of the trip for the teachers will be: (1) traveling expenses to and from Wamego, Kansas, (2) Santa Fe Trail Association membership if not currently a member, and (3) college credit

If interested, call Chris Day (785) 456-8254 or Janet Armstead (785) 456-7737.

HENRY SKILLMAN—A GRIZZLY TEXAS MAN

by David M. Seals

[Seals is an avid historian and genealogist from Alpine, Texas, where he resides with his wife, Reba. Recently retired, his research interests are primarily Southwest and Texas history, plus some research on the Civil War.]

THE year was 1842, and back East civilization was humming. Charles Dickens published A Christmas Carol, and the New York Philharmonic Society was founded. But the wild frontier of Texas was rife with resentful Indians and unmarked, unknown territory, ready for the appearance of the man who was to make his mark in the uncivilized Southwest.

Henry Skillman was a tall, blond, grizzly bear of a man who wore his hair and beard long and flowing. Skillman was born in New Jersey in late 1813 or early 1814, according to the El Paso County census of 1860. His family moved to Kentucky while Henry was a child. He came to the Southwest in 1842 on the Santa Fe Trail, perhaps as a trader or employee of a trader. By 1846 he was identified as a trader, carrying supplies and sundry merchandise to Santa Fe and Chihuahua. He apparently also sold supplies to U.S. troops during the war with Mexico, which began that same year.¹ Before his career ended he was a mail contractor, an Indian fighter, as well as a scout and a guide for United States troops, the Confederacy, and for wagon trains throughout the Southwest.

In February 1847 Skillman was with a large group of traders and scouts accompanying Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan on his expedition from El Paso to Chihuahua in the Mexican War. When Doniphan's Missouri Volunteers encountered unexpectedly-strong Mexican resistance early on the trail, Colonel Doniphan mustered into service all the traders and scouts accompanying the soldiers. He divided them into two groups, and Skillman was elected Captain of Company B of the Traders' Battalion, an early demonstration of his leadership skills.² Skillman led some of the first scouts from El Paso del Norte on the Mexican road to Chihuahua and served as a scout for the Battle of Sacramento

on February 28, 1847, and ended up fighting in the battle.³

Unscathed, and on returning to Santa Fe, he served as an interpreter and a guide for Lieutenant Colonel Richard H. Lane's detachment of U.S. troops that were ordered to El Paso. The detachment reached Fray Cristóbal on October 27, 1847, and a scouting party of 22 men commanded by Sergeant Smith, with Skillman as interpreter, marched ahead to the center of El Paso. Their mission was to enter Franklin (El Paso), master the resistance, and capture ex-Governor Manuel Amijo, if possible. The results of this endeavor were surprisingly successful, as they met easy capitulation. Amijo surrendered and was paroled.⁴

By February 1848 Skillman was back in Santa Fe, and General Sterling Price, of the U.S. army, selected him to command a group of 15 scouts on Price's trip to Chihuahua. While on this trip, Skillman fought in the Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales, which took place in Mexico between Price's command and a Mexican army.⁵ Again the intrepid fighter remained safe and unharmed.

By April 1849, the year of the gold rush to California, the adventurer was in the small village of Franklin, present day El Paso, when Lieutenants W. H. C. Whiting and William F. Smith, of the Whiting-Smith Engineering Expedition, arrived from San Antonio on a mapping expedition. As Skillman's reputation was now well established as a dependable, daring scout, he was employed by Whiting for the difficult return trip to San Antonio. Whiting realized how fortunate he and his engineering party of 16 people had been to escape the "hostile spirit of the Apache," and wanted additional backup and another route back to San Antonio.⁶

Lieutenant Delos B. Sacket delivered supplies from Doña Ana to Whiting's party at El Paso in preparation for the hazardous trip back to San Antonio. Whiting had the idea of sending Skillman and three others, including John Spencer and a man named Gifford, by way of Fort Leaton, across from Presidio del Norte,

on the way back to San Antonio. Whiting had left some important papers, as well as several animals belonging to the United States government, there on his way through on the original trip. Skillman's little party would retrieve those items and join Whiting and the main party on the Pecos River.⁷

Whiting felt there had to be a safer, better way back to San Antonio, and depended upon Skillman to help them find it. Skillman went to Fort Leaton as instructed, with the plan to meet up with the Whiting-Smith Engineering Expedition at some predetermined point on the Pecos River, probably at Live Oak Creek, to where Whiting's party proceeded directly from El Paso.⁸ On May 10, less than a month later, the two groups did meet up, although Skillman was late. His small party, when near Presidio, had been promised safe passage through Apache land by Chief Gomez, while Whiting's larger group had evaded the Apaches and reached the Pecos River on May 8. Skillman helped the Whiting-Smith party ford the Pecos River. They then proceeded toward San Antonio, ever on the lookout for marauding Apaches.⁹ Their party reportedly ate well, as game was plentiful, namely deer and bear.

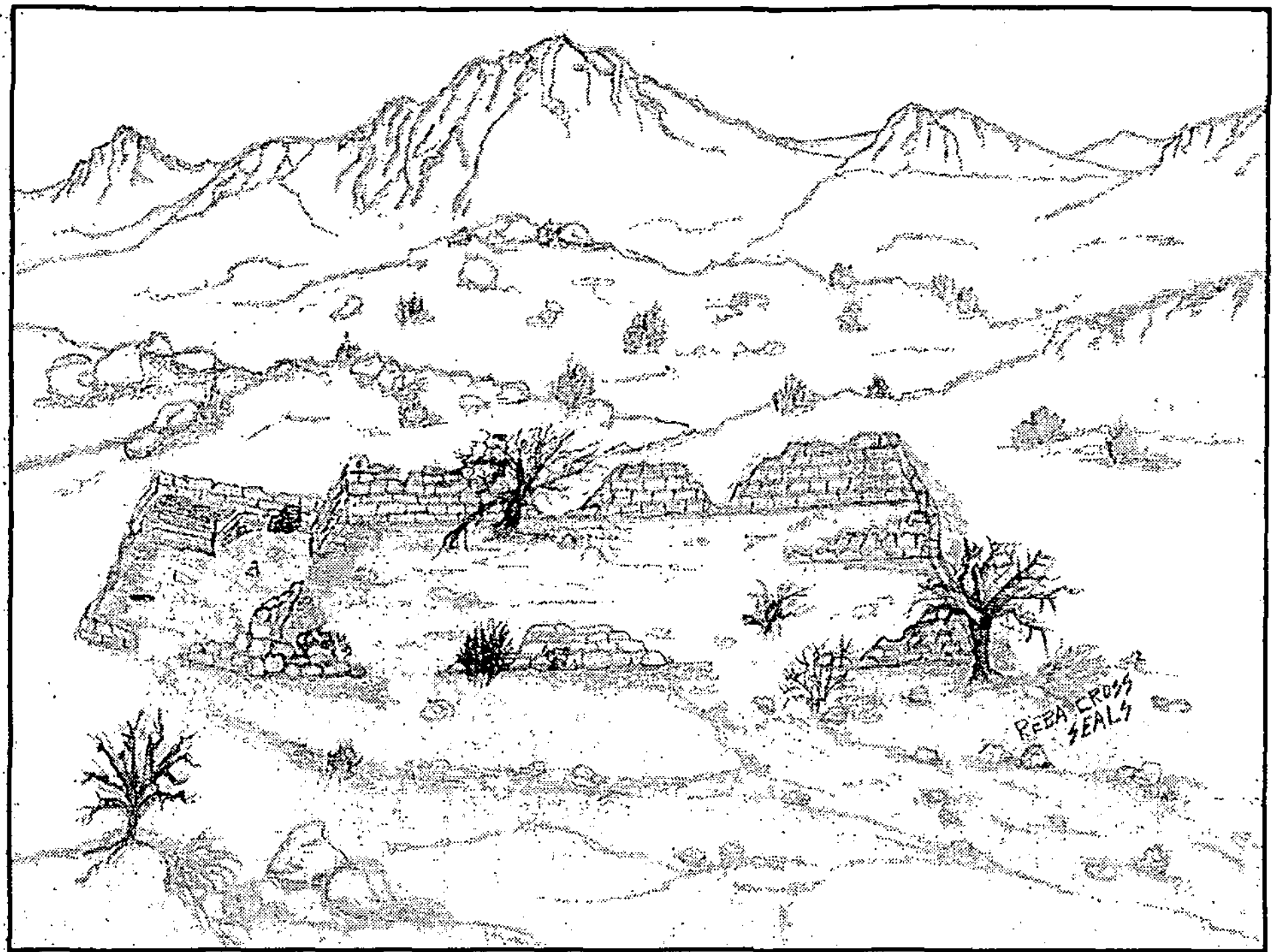
On May 16 Lieutenant Whiting sent Skillman, his partner Lieutenant Smith, and Dick Howard on ahead to San Antonio to announce their arrival. They carried a brief summary of the expedition to Brevet Major General William Worth.¹⁰ This was probably done to insure that at least one record of their surveying activities reached civilization in case of an Indian attack. Skillman and party were set upon by Apaches, but lost only their horses, not their lives. They limped into Camp Leona near present-day Uvalde. By the time they arrived in San Antonio on May 21, 1849, General Worth had died from the cholera plague that was sweeping the town.¹¹

During the remainder of 1849 and through 1850 Henry Skillman was one of the first to contract to carry the mail from San Antonio to El Paso by horse. The success of this chal-

lenging experience, along with his reputation for bravery and grit that he had earned during the war with Mexico, earned him one of the coveted pending mail routes. The San Antonio to El Paso mail route was opened in 1850, and on September 20, 1851, the Postmaster General of the United States awarded Skillman a contract from San Antonio to Santa Fe, by way of El Paso. This included the expectation that passenger service would become available in a short time. Skillman's first mail run began November 3, 1851, and since there was not much demand for passengers at that time, Skillman used his freight wagons for the mail, or sometimes traveled the route on horseback leading pack mules loaded with the mail and merchandise.¹²

By 1852 the Postmaster General was insisting on regular runs being available for passenger service. This would require stations at stated intervals along the rugged trail, with provisions being available for food and minimal comforts. The Postmaster General also insisted on comfortable spring carriages for the passengers. This presented a problem for Skillman who was not financially able to make such an investment in the mail/passenger run. As a result the Postmaster General awarded a new contract in 1854 to a David Wasson. For a while Skillman drove for Wasson until George Giddings contracted the route. Skillman and Giddings formed a good team and worked hard to keep the route running while enduring the many hardships it required, such as deer trails for roads and aggressive Indians.

During this time, on September 30, 1853, Skillman was asked to make a drive for the first Butterfield Overland Mail stage from Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos River to El Paso. His reputation of knowing the country better than any other man made him the logical choice. Skillman made history on this trip by stopping only long enough to change the mule teams, which was about every ten miles. He made this trip in ninety-six hours, or four days, without stopping to eat or sleep. Skillman made quite a show when he arrived in El Paso wearing buckskins with Bowie knives and revolvers stuck in his belt. He had his long sandy hair and a flowing beard,



Sketch of Pinery Stage Station at the base of Guadalupe Peak, by Reba Seals.

which some onlookers said made him resemble a portrait of "The Wandering Jew."¹³

At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, all the southern mail routes were discontinued as the Union Army moved into the southwest area. Skillman's political leanings were toward the Union, perhaps because he had been born in New Jersey, but he had been reared in Kentucky, and he now called Texas his home. He decided to remain loyal to his adopted state, which sided with the Confederacy.¹⁴

Skillman then used his scouting skills as a courier for the Confederacy between San Antonio and El Paso. He kept the Confederate command in San Antonio aware of the location and activities of the Union Army, while at the same time telling the Union Army of the false whereabouts of the Confederates. His reported false sightings of the gray soldiers kept the Union blues on constant alert and going on fruitless sorties. He would report a rumor that a large Confederate attack was going to occur in the Trans-Pecos area, then one supposedly to occur a hundred miles to the south. These kinds of rumors kept the Union forces on constant alert for about a year. Union patrols were sent out as far as Fort Stockton, anticipating Skillman and the Confederate troops.

Eventually the Union forces recognized the cat and mouse game and ordered the capture of Skillman. In March 1864 the Union army in El Paso received a message that Skillman was moving toward Presidio del Norte on the Rio Grande. Official reports show that Captain A. H. French, with a detachment of 25 Union soldiers, was ordered to Fort Davis, and then on to Presidio del Norte to either capture or kill Henry Skillman. French arrived with his men at Presidio del Norte on April 13, 1864, to lie in wait for Skillman.

On the same day, Skillman and his party of Confederate soldiers made camp on Spencer's Ranch on the El Fortin Road near Presidio. Early on the morning of April 15, 1864, Captain French surprised the Confederates at Spencer's Ranch. While the Confederates and Skillman were sleeping, French led his men into the dark camp, yelling for all to surrender. In typical fashion Skillman came out of his bedroll firing pistols from both hands. Captain French's first shot was fatal, and Henry Skillman was dead. His companions were allowed to wrap him in a blanket and bury him where he fell.¹⁵

Thus ended the diverse career of a remarkable man who was certainly instrumental in opening the southwest to Anglo-American civilization.

Today the rough Texan named Henry Skillman would probably be amazed to see in a large grove of live-oak trees, high in the Davis Mountains near Fort Davis, Texas, a cowboy-camp meeting site called Skillman's Grove. This favorite stage rest stop on the trail from San Antonio to El Paso is now the location of Bloy's Camp Meeting, an inter-denominational religious gathering of cowboys and their families who travel the trails once followed by Henry Skillman.

In 1964, on St. Francis Plaza in Presidio, Texas, a historical marker commemorating the life of Henry Skillman was erected. It reads: "Captain Henry Skillman, C. S. A. Renowned southwestern mail and stagecoach man. Born in Kentucky. Came to Texas before 1846. Served as a U. S. Army scout in Mexican War. About 1851 established the first mail service from San Antonio to El Paso. When the first Butterfield Overland stagecoach in 1858 made bid to establish fast service to the west coast, was selected to drive perilous Comanche Indian area from Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos to El Paso. Made it in 4 days without rest or relief, his 6-foot frame draped with revolvers and Bowie knives. A Confederate scout in the Civil War. From July 1862 when Federals seized El Paso and the Davis Mountains (to make the longest enemy occupation in Texas), served as liaison between regular Confederate troops and the C. S. A. patriots who plotted in their refugee colony in Juarez to recapture west Texas. Knowing country well, came and went at will. Spread false rumors of Confederates massing in deserts, to divert federal troops from combat. Came to be most dreaded scout known to the occupation. Was hunted by special force commissioned to take him alive. In showdown at Spencer's Ranch near here on April 3, 1864, fought to his death."¹⁶

NOTES

1. *The Houston Beacon*, August 15, 1851; Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 580, 639; Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*, Vol. VII of *Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), 311-312.
2. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 311; William Elsey Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mex-*

ico and California (Topeka: self-published, 1907), 398.

3. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 311; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 440.
4. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, vol. IV of *Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936), 335, 340.
5. W. W. Mills, *Forty Years at El Paso, 1858-1898* (El Paso: Carl Hertzog, 1962), 188-189.
6. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 311-312; J. Evetts Haley, *Fort Concho and the Texas Frontier* (San Angelo: San Angelo Standard-Times, 1952), 29.
7. Haley, *Fort Concho*, 29; Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 311-312.
8. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 312, 338.
9. *Ibid.*, 339-340; Haley, *Fort Concho*, 30.
10. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 344.
11. *Nacogdoches Times*, June 16, 1849; Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, 349.
12. Robert N. Mullin, *Stagecoach Pioneers of the Southwest* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1983), 2-5.
13. Roscoe P. Conklin and Margaret B. Conklin, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869*, vol. 2 (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1947), 61.
14. Mullin, *Stagecoach Pioneers*, 5.
15. *Ibid.*; Carl B. Raht, *Romance of Davis Mountains and Big Bend Country* (Odessa: Rahtbooks Company, 1919), 151; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 7, 1864.
16. <http://www.forttours.com/pages/big_bend.asp#hunttwentyeight>.

POST OFFICE OAK

—LETTERS—

Editor:

I just finished reading the February issue of *Wagon Tracks*. As always, I was most impressed with all the info, the content, the articles, the professionalism, and so on. I am awed by the whole publication and know what a deal we are getting. If we were to buy all this in book form, it would be way beyond \$29.95. Thanks,

Barbara Fentiman
83 Verano Loop
Santa Fe NM 87508

Editor:

Thanks so much for reprinting Don's article ("Zebulon Pike's Damned Rascals") and sending the publication, all of which I read and enjoyed. It's gratifying to have my husband's work remembered, read, and used. He would be proud of that.

Catherine Jackson

**SIX WESTERN CHAPTERS MEETING
SANTA FE, NM
SATURDAY & SUNDAY, JUNE 14-15**

SANTA FE TRAIL CROSSINGS ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER

by David K. Clapsaddle

[*SFTA Ambassador Clapsaddle, Larned, KS, is a frequent contributor to WT. This is another in his occasional series on stream crossings on the Trail.*]

THE Arkansas River has its source in the Rocky Mountains of central Colorado near Leadville and flows southeast to Pueblo before taking an easterly orientation to the Kansas line and continuing on to a point near Ford, Kansas. There, at the so-called south bend, the river makes an abrupt turn flowing northeast to Ellinwood, Kansas, the site of the celebrated big bend where the stream cuts sharply to the southeast. Passing through Wichita, Kansas, and bypassing Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Little Rock, Arkansas, the river reaches its confluence with the mighty Mississippi near the village of Arkansas Post, Arkansas.

This river was known by various names among Indian tribes and European explorers. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado's expedition called it Rio San Pedro y San Pablo (Sts. Peter and Paul River) in 1541. Later Spanish explorers knew the river as Rio Grande de San Francisco (Grand River of St. Francis) and Rio de Napestle or Napeste (Napeste River), the latter being a transliteration of an Indian name for the stream. The name for this river today came from French explorers, who gave it the Gallicized name of Riviere des Arkansa (earliest spellings were "Acansa" and "Akansas," then "Arkansa"), for the Siouan-speaking Indians who lived near the river's mouth. "Arkansa" remained the popular spelling through the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804-1806.¹

American writers Zebulon M. Pike and Jacob Fowler in the early nineteenth century identified the stream as the "Arkansaw," the pronunciation officially maintained by the State of Arkansas and the general choice of people in Colorado and Oklahoma.² Many Kansans mispronounce the word "Ar-Kansas." Such a preference may be attributed to James Mead who opined in 1903 that Arkansas "is the Indian word Kan-

sas with the French prefix of ark, a bow."³ Whatever the designation, portions of the Santa Fe Trail followed the river some 272 miles from the big bend to Bent's Old Fort, with several crossings between those points.

There may have been an early crossing near the mouth of Walnut Creek, east of present Great Bend. Most Santa Fe Trail crossings were west of the south bend, where the Trail forded the Arkansas River at several points to traverse a barren, semiarid region to the southwest. Therein lies some confusion. Early writers, such as Joseph Brown, surveyor with the party dispatched by the United States government to survey the road to Santa Fe in 1825, referred to such fords as crossings and the courses taken as routes.⁴ At a much later date, writers used crossing in an indiscriminate manner to reference both the fords and the routes. Especially was this true with respect to the upper, middle, and lower crossings, each of which led to a point near Lower Spring (later Wagonbed Spring) on the Cimarron River, 11 miles south of present Ulysses, Kansas.

The upper crossing as described by Surveyor Brown was located 20 miles east of Chouteau's Island. There, the surveying party forded the Arkansas and continued up the south bank of the river to the island located five miles upstream from present Lakin, Kansas. From that point, the expedition proceeded in a southerly orientation on what Brown called the upper route to the "Semaron [Cimarron] Spring."⁵ By the time of the 1829 expedition captained by Charles Bent and accompanied by the first military escort on the Santa Fe Road commanded by Brevet Major Bennet Riley, the crossing had moved upstream two-three miles below Chouteau's Island.⁶

Downstream from the upper crossing were two well-documented fords which, in time, became known as the middle crossings. The first ford, called the Arkansas crossing, about 25 miles upstream from Fort Atkinson, was the choice of Santa Fe travelers from the 1830s through the early 1850s. As described by 2nd Lieutenant William D. Whipple, it was the "old and main crossing of the Arkansas River to take the Cimar-

ron route." The second ford, noted by Randolph Marcy in his 1859 *Prairie Traveler*, known as the Cimarron Crossing, located eight and a half miles downstream from the first, was used through the balance of the decade and into the 1860s.⁷

Interestingly, a review of the literature produced only a single source from the nineteenth century which referenced a "middle crossing." Describing his trip to Santa Fe in 1853, W. W. H. Davis recalled, "We passed old Fort Atkinson . . . we encamped . . . at the middle crossing among the sand hills."⁸ Regardless, twentieth-century writers repeatedly referred to the middle crossing(s). Perhaps, logic demanded that if there were lower and upper crossings, there must be a middle crossing; or perhaps the paradigm was borrowed from writers of the historic period who characterized the springs along the Cimarron River as upper, middle, and lower.

Corresponding to the advent of the Cimarron Crossing, François X. Aubry conducted an unsuccessful attempt in the spring of 1851 to pioneer a new road from near Cold Spring in the present Oklahoma panhandle to the Arkansas River. In the following fall, his second attempt resulted in "an excellent wagon road, well supplied with water and grass, and avoiding the Jornada and the Cimarron trail altogether." The route was well documented by William Allen in 1852. He wrote that his party struck "the river 12 miles above Chouteau's Island and 58 above the point where the Cimarron Road crosses the Arkansas." In 1866, the crossing was reported to be 11 miles above Chouteau's Island, 71 miles above the Cimarron crossing, and five miles above Fort Aubrey, the short-lived army post named in honor of François Aubry.⁹

The so-called middle crossing fell into disfavor in 1861 with the advent of mail service to Fort Wise in present Colorado and the use of the Bent's Fort road by some government freight contractors during the Civil War.¹⁰ Eschewing the regular route to lower Cimarron spring, the mail coaches and some freight wagons pursued the north bank of the Arkansas to Bent's Old Fort where they forded the river to follow Timpas Creek to the southwest.¹¹ By

1868, the Union Pacific (changed to Kansas Pacific in 1869) arrived at the little railroad town of Phil Sheridan in present Logan County, Kansas. From that point, mail, passengers, and freight were dispatched down a newly developed road through Fort Wallace and on to Fort Lyon near present Las Animas, Colorado. Consequently, overland traffic on the Bent's Fort road east of Fort Lyon essentially ceased while traffic to the west continued to use the ford at Bent's Old Fort. In 1870, the railroad reached Kit Carson, Colorado, from which two roads departed. The first, a stage route, took a southerly orientation to Fort Lyon. The second, a freight road developed by George McBride and Dick Wootton ran due south from Kit Carson before turning southwest to Bent's Old Fort and seven miles farther west to the site of King's Ferry where La Junta, Colorado, was later established. There Messrs. McBride and Wootton constructed a toll bridge under the auspices of the Kit Carson and Fort Union Bridge Company. Regardless of the imposing title of the company, according to P. G. Scott, an 1870 traveler, the bridge was "a very common wooden affair."¹²

The lower crossing was originally situated five miles west of the Caches. Such is at odds with many writers of the twentieth century who have placed the lower crossing at the confluence of Mulberry Creek with the Arkansas River at the western end of the south bend. These writers are well represented by Hobart Stocking who wrote, "Before many wheels marked the Road, traders with merchandise on packhorses sometimes left the Arkansas and the Lower crossing at Mulberry Creek."¹³

It was at Mulberry Creek that the survey party arrived on September 6, 1825. Of this location, Joseph Brown, the surveyor, wrote, "It would be nearer to cross the river here and ascend Mulberry Creek to its source and then go directly to the lower spring on the Semaron, but on trial of the way travelers have discontinued it as unsafe. It is incommodious of water and timber for fuel, and wants such prominent landmarks as will be a sure guide. On this route has been much suffering; in a dry time 'tis dangerous."¹⁴

George C. Sibley, one of three commissioners appointed to oversee the survey, added, "Mulberry Creek runs from the South West. It is said to be very short, not over 20 Miles, & its head branches interlock with those of the Grand Saline [Branch of Cimarron] which runs parallel with the Arkansas about 30 Miles from it at this point. At least such is the report of two of our Men who have been across there."¹⁵

Brown's report suggests that the route along the Mulberry experienced limited traffic, perhaps a single expedition, and that the route was discontinued because of several factors: the lack of water, fuel, and landmarks. Sibley's report mentions two men associated with the survey who had taken the Mulberry Creek route previously. Presumably, those men were members of the expedition referenced by Brown. Who were these men? The most likely candidates are Stephen Cooper and Joel Walker, both members of the survey party and an 1823 trade expedition to Santa Fe.

Fortunately, both men left a record of that expedition. Unfortunately, both waited until they were well advanced in years before recording their memoirs. At age 81, Walker dictated his recollections to R. R. Thompson. By that time, age had evidently taken its toll on his memory. He reported that the trip was taken in 1822, that it was the first such expedition to Santa Fe, and that his party had followed the Arkansas river to the lower Cimarron spring, all three statements obviously untrue. Regardless, other information in his narrative does confirm that the trip described was the "trial of the way" along Mulberry Creek described by Brown. To wit, Walker recalled that the party left the south bend and "traveled due west a day and a half." Elsewhere, he referred to: (1) the creek in opposition to the river; (2) suffering from the lack of water to the point of drinking buffalo blood; (3) and being disoriented on several occasions.¹⁶ Cooper's autobiography, written at age 91, is consistent with Walker's account, especially with regard to the lack of water and the convoluted route taken to the lower Cimarron spring.¹⁷ Parenthetically, both men described the chance meeting with

the party dispatched from Taos to recover trade goods stored on the Arkansas in the previous spring. The party's destination was what became known as "the Caches," so-called for the jug-shaped pits in which the goods had been hidden.

Interestingly enough, neither Brown or Sibley wrote of the Mulberry Creek location as the lower crossing, nor did Walker or Cooper. However, Brown did locate the lower crossing about twenty-five miles upstream from the Mulberry's mouth near present Howell, Kansas. He wrote: "Some turn off at a place known to the Santa Fe travelers by the name of the 'Cashes,' near to which is a rocky point of a hill at some distance from the river, composed of cemented pebbles, and therefore called Gravel Rocks. At about 3 miles southwest from this rock is a place of crossing for those who travel the lower route, or directly to the aforementioned Semaron Spring, but this (though in a less degree) is subject to the same objections as that directly from the south bend."¹⁸

Two miles west of the Caches was what Brown called Gravel Rocks, later known as Point of Rocks. Three miles upstream from that location was the ford, which Brown noted as "a place of crossing for those who travel the lower route." Later, the ford was relocated five miles downstream from its original location. There, near the Caches where the Charles Bent caravan camped on July 4, 1829, Brevet Major Riley had intended to ford the Arkansas, but Bent and the traders persuaded him to continue the march westward to the upper crossing.¹⁹ Exactly how long this ford was used to reach lower Cimarron spring subsequent to the 1829 expedition is not known. However, the ford appears to be the one used by the 1833 expedition captained by Charles Bent and escorted by troops under the command of Captain William N. Wickliffe. Taking the dry route between Pawnee Fork and the Caches, the caravan became lost and finally reached the Arkansas on July 6. Pausing to rest, the caravan arrived at the lower crossing on July 10. On the following day, the traders continued on to Santa Fe and the escort returned to Fort Leavenworth.²⁰ The crossing is clearly

marked on Brown's map, also on Brevet Colonel William E. Merrill's map of 1868.²¹

In summation, there were at least eleven crossings of the Arkansas River on the Santa Fe Trail: the Mulberry Creek crossing which saw limited traffic, perhaps a single expedition;²² two variants of the lower crossing, the first located five miles west of the Caches, the second near the Caches; two variants of the so-called middle crossings, the Arkansas and the Cimarron; two variants of the upper crossing, the first located 20 miles east of Chouteau's Island, the second two-three miles below the island; Aubry's crossing at two separate locations; the ford at Bent's Old Fort; and the crossing at present La Junta where McBride and Wootton operated a toll bridge.²³ Undoubtedly, there were other points along the Arkansas River where some parties crossed but which were either not recorded or the records have yet to be found.

NOTES

1. Clyde Brion Davis, *The Arkansas* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1940), 7-8; Bernard DeVoto (ed.), *Journals of Lewis and Clark* (1953; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 6; James Newton Baskett, "Prehistoric Kansas. A Study of the Route of Coronado Between the Rio Grande and the Missouri rivers," *Kansas Historical Collections*, XII (1911-1912): 228; Alfred Barnaby Thomas (ed.), *After Coronado. Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 18; and Louise Barry (comp.), *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 11, 14.
2. Donald Jackson (ed.), *The Journals of Zebulon Pike with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), I, 336. Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler Narrating an Adventure From Arkansas Through the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico To The Rio Grande Del Norte 1821-22* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1965), 1.
3. James R. Mead, "The Wichita Indians in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, VIII (1903-1904): 173.
4. Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Rattlesnake and Walnut Creek Crossings of the Arkansas River," *Wagon Tracks*, III (Nov. 1988): 4-5; Jesse Scott, Jr., "The Cimarron Crossing," *Wagon Tracks*, II (Feb. 1988), 8-9; and "Field Notes by Joseph C. Brown, United States Surveying Expedition 1825-1827," *Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Historical Society* (1913): 117-125.
5. Ibid. For more information on this route,

- see Dorothy Morgan, "Bear Creek Pass and the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks*, XI (Aug. 1997): 1, 15-19.
6. Otis E Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829, From the Journal and Report of Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952), 85.
 7. Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cimarron Crossing," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (1973): 346-350. Barry identified yet another crossing near the Caches, which she mistakenly labeled as one of the middle crossings.
 8. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo, New Mexico and Her People* (1857; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 33.
 9. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 99, 1042-1043, 1089-1090.
 10. Barry, "Ranch at Cimarron Crossing," 348-349.
 11. Morris Taylor, *First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines On the Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 68.
 12. For a complete treatment of the roads from Sheridan and Kit Carson, see David K. Clapsaddle, "The Fort Wallace/Kit Carson-Fort Lyon Roads," *Wagon Tracks*, VIII (Feb. 1994): 11-14.
 13. Hobart E. Stocking, *The Road to Santa Fe* (New York: Hastings House, 1971), 134.
 14. "Field Notes by Brown."
 15. Kate L. Gregg (ed.), *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and Others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road from the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico, 1825-1827* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 77. Hobart Stocking inferred that the town of Ford was named for the Mulberry Creek ford, an inaccuracy which continues to be repeated to this day. Stocking, *Road to Santa Fe*, 133. The town of Ford was named for Colonel James H. Ford, commander of the Second Colorado Cavalry. "Origin of City Names," *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII (1901-1902): 428.
 16. Joel P. Walker, *A Pioneer of Pioneers: Narrative of Adventures Thro' Alabama, Florida, New Mexico, Oregon, California, etc.* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953), 5-11. The south bend referred to by Walker was a few miles east of Mulberry Creek's mouth.
 17. Justus H. Rogers (ed.), "Autobiography of Stephen Cooper," *Colusa County: Its History* (Colusa, CA: Colusa Public Library, n.d.), 354-356; "Field Notes by Brown."
 18. Ibid.
 19. Young, *First Military Escort*, 84. This is the ford Barry mistakenly identified as one of the middle crossings. See note 7.
 20. Louise Barry, *Beginning of The West*, 233-234. At its advent, the Dry Route merged with the Wet Route at the Caches. At a later date, the Dry Route joined the Wet Route one mile east of the location chosen to establish Fort Dodge. For a full treatment of the Dry Route, see David K. Clapsaddle, "The Dry Route Revisited," *Overland Journal*, XVIII (Summer 1999): 2-8.

21. "Field Notes by Brown"; Kansas With Parts of Neighboring States and Territories Map compiled by Bvt. Col. Wm. E. Merrill, RG 77, National Archives Services, Washington D. C., shows the lower crossing located just west of Fort Atkinson one half mile from the Caches.
22. Even though the Glenn/Fowler trapping party of 1821 did cross the Arkansas at the mouth of Mulberry Creek, it did not pursue a route to the lower Cimarron spring. Rather it followed the river westward to the mountains. *Journal of Jacob Fowler*, 29.
23. Not included in this study are the fords used by William Becknell in his three trips to Santa Fe. For an interesting treatment of these fords, see Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Rattlesnake Creek and Walnut Creek Crossings of the Arkansas," *Wagon Tracks*, III (Nov. 1988): 4-5.

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. Submit poetry, in open or closed form, along with a brief biography to Sandra M. Doe, Dept. of English, Campus Box 32, Metropolitan State College of Denver, PO Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.

Janice Warren, a poet from Durham, NH, earned her BA in English from Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, and she continued her poetry studies at the University of New Hampshire. Her work has been published in *Flash!point*, *Diner*, and *Concrete Wolf*.

In the summer she is a Smuttynose Steward, one of the summer caretakers of Smuttynose Island at the Isles of Shoals in Maine. Her westerly wanderings have taken her to Taos and Ranchos Church. The poem below is noteworthy for its strong alliteration, its use of assonance, and its intimate and empathetic address to the church, a sight both familiar to and loved by many a Santa Fe Trail traveler, past and present.

Ranchos Church, Taos, NM

by Janice Warren

You kneel like a sphinx in the desert,
breathe the blue air,
cast amber shadows,
catch winter snow.

Spaniards and Natives
pulled you from earth

like a pot from a wheel,

You were template
for apse and buttress
Icon for Adams, O'Keeffe.

When experts embalmed you
in cement to preserve you,
they smothered you instead.
You tried to return to earth.

Mud, dung, and straw revived you,
bricks mixed by the rancher, the bartender,

the weaver of blue and yellow yarns,
the swift hand at cards,

the priest in the Guadalupe T-shirt,
the great grandmother with her spade,

the clerk with his flute,

the chili vendor

who sees Jesus in dreams.

Women daubed on
your final coat of adobe,
as they would shape
a loaf of bread.

Your walls hold the handprints
of hundreds drawn to bathe
in your healing clay.



HOOF PRINTS

—TRAIL TIDBITS—

SFTA Ambassador Paul Bentrup remains in the nursing home in Lakin, KS, and is currently undergoing radiation treatments for skin cancer. He enjoys hearing from SFTA friends. Address: PO Box 595, Lakin KS 67860.

SFTA Ambassador Ralph Hathaway, Chase, KS, had a recent bout of illness and was hospitalized for about a month. He is now at home and doing much better. He also enjoys hearing from SFTA friends. Address: 422 Ave L, Chase KS 67524.

Richard and Shirley Flint are leading scholars of the Coronado Expedition. Two of their recent books are now available. *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* is available from SMU Press, call (800) 826-8911. *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years: Papers of the 2000 Coronado Conference* is available from University of New Mexico Press, call (800)

249-7737.

Bent's Old Fort NHS Superintendent Don Hill retired April 1. He began his appointment there in 1986. He has put in 33 years with the NPS. Hill was coordinator of the 1993 SFTA symposium at La Junta. We wish him well in his retirement.

The National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, MO, is changing the name to National Frontier Trails Museum. The museum recently acquired two additional wagons, and they are offering wagon rides to visitors.

The National Frontier Trails Museum recently opened a new exhibit, "Westward Fever: The Desire to Move West." Those attending the September symposium will get a chance to see this addition.

The Trinidad, CO, Chamber of Commerce, institutional member of SFTA, will alter the focus of the annual Santa Fe Trail Days from a carnival-like atmosphere to a more Trail-oriented event. This year's program, June 6-8, will concentrate more on Trail history by the use of reenactors from Pueblo and with Trail-related talks, with programs presented at both the Bloom Mansion complex and downtown. Mark L. Gardner and his banjo will add to the flavor with a bit of Trail-days music.

El Rancho de las Golondrinas, 334 Los Pinos Rd, 15 miles south of Santa Fe, offers special Josefina tours. Maria Josefina Montoya, the American Girl doll from Spanish colonial New Mexico, lived on a hacienda based on Las Golondrinas. The museum offers tours of sites shown in her books. Tours are offered in 2003 on June 13, 19, 27, July 11, 18, 24, August 8, 21, and September 6. Advance registration required, (505) 473-4169.

The *Council Grove Republican*, newspaper at one of the most historic sites on the Trail, still carries the following misnomer on its masthead: "Birthplace of the Santa Fe Trail." With all that authentic history, the community should stop promoting such a fabrication.

The Friends of Arrow Rock has been awarded a \$100,000 challenge grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Friends also received a \$15,000 gift from Wood & Huston Bank.

The Independence City Council has hired Larry Hackman, former director of the Truman Presidential Museum & Library, to consult on the redevelopment of the National Frontier Trails Museum.

CAMP TALES

—CHAPTER REPORTS—

Cimarron Cutoff

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

The April meeting was in Morton County, KS, and the July meeting will be in Clayton, NM.

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>

The spring quarterly meeting was in Hugoton, April 11. A new turnstile gate has been installed at Lower Cimarron Spring, making access easier to the DAR Marker and the Joyce Ice house. The Historic Adobe Museum has completed the application for certification as an interpretive facility on the Santa Fe National Historic Trail.

Heart of the Flint Hills

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

The chapter has wonderful news. The board of directors had begun to accept the possibility of having to dismantle the old Wilmington School and establish a park on the premises. Mark Smith heard of these plans, and because of his intense interest in the area, offered to

restore the site for 50% of his initial bid. It seems his grandfather had actually gone to school in the building and is buried just around the corner in the Wilmington Cemetery. Work is scheduled to start Monday, May 12.

The chapter has almost all of the funds to cover the restoration. We will have to start passing the hat very soon to come up with the rest. If anyone out there has an interest in seeing this restoration realized, we will gladly accept any donation you wish to give. I know you have all heard this kind of story before, but we are so excited about this.

Our trail ride, June 13-21, is developing nicely. The route is planned and campsites are established. Hope to see many trail enthusiasts out there enjoying the gorgeous scenery. Call with questions: Carol Retzer (785) 828-3739 or e-mail at <carolandrick@grapevine.net>.

End of the Trail

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

The chapter met March 22 with the Salida del Sol Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association and the Docents of the Palace of the Governors for a program by Harry Myers, "Mules, Sheep, Shawls and Spectacles." He discussed trade in the Southwest, from early Indian routes to the Santa Fe Trail and other trails.

The next program was scheduled for May 10 at Old Fort Marcy in Santa Fe with a program by John Bloom. The chapter is looking forward to hosting the Six Western Chapters meeting June 14-15.

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>

A dozen chapter members, aided by staff members of Fort Union National Monument, beat the road-sides of State Highway 161 from Interstate 25 to Fort Union on April 12. A pickup load of trash, bottles,

cans, and other debris was bagged and sent off to the dump. The views of the countryside and Fort Union site are much improved. The best find of the day was a 1957 New Mexico license plate—a Mora County treasure. 'Twas a beautiful warm and windy day—as spring is usually in our territory. We carefully bagged our empty pizza boxes after lunch!

Mitzi Frank, the brand new superintendent at Fort Union, joined our working team too. She arrived in April from Sitka National Historic Park, Alaska, where the US purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867.

We are looking forward to our May meeting at Hatch's Ranch as a splendid event—a panel comprised of Marc Simmons, Jean Brittingham, Diana Dunn, and Leo Oliva.

Our programs for the rest of this year have been firmed up:

July 20: 10 a.m., presentation by Bill Gwaltney on the Buffalo Soldiers at Fort Union. The Daniels Family fabulous barbecue dinner will be available for purchase or you may bring your own picnic. This is Fort Union's annual weekend of Cultural Encounters on the Santa Fe Trail. The entrance fee is \$3 per person if you don't have an annual pass.

August 17: field trip along SFT ruts hosted by the Daniels Family will include their barbecue dinner. We will meet at 10 a.m. at the Kruse' N Country Café in Wagon Mound.

September 21: Henry Ostrander will give us a special tour of Rayado on September 21. We will meet at the Kit Carson Museum in Rayado at 1 p.m.

October 19: Faye Gaines and Dixie Odom are leading us up Round Mound. Details TBA.

November 16: our annual business meeting and election of directors for 2004-2005 will be held at the St. James Hotel in Cimarron. Details TBA.

All of our programs are open to everyone and we hope to see you along our section of the Trail!

Wet/Dry Routes

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

The spring meeting was held

April 6, 2003, at Fort Larned National Historical Site. The upcoming May 3, 2003, Seminar was reviewed and the meal plan for noon was presented.

President Gardner gave a report on the chapter presidents' meeting at Trinidad. The Santa Fe Trail Association has asked the chapters to support the marking of the Santa Fe Trail in a uniform manner along the original survey of the Trail. Each chapter would have one kiosk and two smaller markers. Each marker would include a map of the entire Trail, with notations of where the remaining markers can be found as well as information about the current section of the trail. Each chapter would decide where the markers would be placed in their section of the Trail. The National Park Service will provide matching funds. This allows our chapter to use "sweat equity" toward our part of the endeavor.

The SFTA also has asked our assistance to raise funds by selling business membership in our area. It would provide an inexpensive way to advertise to around 1200 people. Our chapter would receive \$20 of the \$40 cost for a business membership.

There is a pipeline going through the Stewart Ruts. Rusti Gardner attended a meeting with a representative of the gas line company, owner of the land, an archaeological consultant, and a conservationist. At this time the plan is to bore under the ruts so as not to disturb them.

David Clapsaddle will be taking a Landing display to Kansas City for the fall symposium. Our Chapter will sponsor this display.

Summer meeting will be July 12, 2003, at the Clapsaddle residence in Larned. It will be a covered dish potluck at 6:30 p.m.

George Elmore gave the program on the history of Fort Larned from farm to national historical site.

Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron

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

The chapter met for a noon luncheon meeting on March 12, 2003. Richard Dryden presented the program on the chapter's participation in the Trail mapping project.

For the seventh year, the chapter will sponsor a living-history program as part of Fort Dodge Days. The 2:00 p.m. event will be held in Eisenhower Hall, Fort Dodge, KS.

Missouri River Outfitters

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

The chapter met April 27 at the National Frontier Trails Museum. Officers elected for the year are President John Atkinson, Vice-President Mary Conrad, Secretary Roger Slusher, Treasurer Nancy Lewis, Historian Bill Wall, and Board Members Julie Daicoff, Sandy Slusher, Ross Marshall, and Anne Mallinson.

Jane Mallinson reported that plans for developing the Wayne City overlook are moving forward. NPS has recently sent text and signage plans for discussion and comment. The site should be completed in time for the symposium. John Atkinson recently gave a program in Lawrence on the Bent brothers and the Santa Fe Trail. MRO members have been contacting business along the trail regarding business memberships. Plans continue for the September symposium.

Quivira

President Britt Colle
PO Box 1105
McPherson KS 67460
(620) 241-8719
<blkcolle@midusa.net>

The chapter met April 6 to elect new officers, select committees, plan events for the coming year, and organize for hosting the 2005 symposium. No report is available from this meeting.

Cottonwood Crossing

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

Some 40 members and guests enjoyed dinner and a program at the Harvey House Museum in Florence, KS, on March 6 and 13. Due to limited seating there were two evening sessions.

Museum members were attired in Harvey House waitress uniforms. They served the dinner, which was followed by a historical program

about Fred Harvey and his restaurants and other businesses.

A short business meeting was conducted by President Michel, who showed the signs being fabricated to mark the auto-tour route through Marion County.

President Michel and two committee members met with the Marion County road supervisor on March 12. The county highway department will help with locating and erecting Santa Fe Trail signs, plus they have provided a paved turnout at the Cottonwood Crossing DAR marker site.

The executive committee met on April 12 to plan future meetings and activities. The next chapter meeting is May 15 at King Fisher Inn at Marion Lake, with SFTA President Hal Jackson the featured speaker.

Bent's Fort

President Richard Carrillo
718 W. 2nd St.
La Junta CO 81050
(719) 384-8054
<cuartejo@centurytel.net>
No report.

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

A. R. Mitchell Museum & Gallery,
150 E Main, Trinidad CO 81082
City of La Junta, PO Bo 489, La
Junta CO 81050
City of Las Vegas, PO Box 160, Las
Vegas NM 87701
Holiday Inn Express, 27994 Hwy 50
Frontage Rd, La Junta CO 81050
Koshare Indian Museum, 115 W
18th St, La Junta CO 81050
Otero Junior College, 1802 Colorado
Ave, La Junta CO 81050
Rancho Arriba Bed & Breakfast, PO
Box 338, Truchas NM 87578

FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Dale and Coleen Creed, 2728 Raw-
hide, Lawrence KS 66046
Mike & Lois Keith, 1307 W Trail,
Dodge City KS 67801
Wayne & Bonnie McCandless, 825
Juniper Dr, Manhattan KS 66502
Brian & Cindy Murphy, 17 Larch Dr,
Chester NJ 07930

Eric & Sara J. Nyman, 856 Bristol
Way, Liberty MO 64068

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Ronald Dulle, 6144 S Eaton Ct, Littleton
CO 80123
Suzanne Murray, HC 01 Box 31,
Rolla KS 67954
Rodney D. Penner, 1809 N Oliver Rd,
Newton KS 67114
Joe Pickett, 14017 Parrish Trail,
Montgomery TX 77316
Allen R. Pike, PO Box 696, Carmel
NY 10512
Lisa Rome, 1013 Polk, Hugoton KS
67951
Emilie Sharp, PO Box 28, Beaver OK
73932
Mark Wilson, 1759 Linda Way,
McKinleyville CA 95519

YOUTH MEMBERSHIPS

Taylor Atwood, 15104 Gillaspie Rd,
Wamego KS 66547
Carson Donoho Bayless, 7955 N 73rd
St, Longmont CO 80503
Renee Brockish, 304 Walnut, Wa-
meo KS 66547
Brittany Chasser, 13318 Woodlane
Dr, Wamego KS 66547
Nikki Clayton, 4255 Blue Run Rd, St
George KS 66535
Hannah Cockerill, 305 Oakview Ct,
St George KS 66535
Honesty Cohorst, 308 Vine, Wamego
KS 66547
T. J. Collette, 1311 17th St, Wamego
KS 66547
Jacob & Makenna DeHart, RR1 Box
52A, Olsburg KS 66520
Kasey Delay, 702 Adam Dr, Wamego
KS 66547
Hillary L. Dreher, PO Box 191,
Wamego KS 66457
Brandon Falder, 3777 Pecan Dr, St
George KS 66535
Jessica Fritz, 702 Locust, Wamego
KS 66547
Rachel Hatfield, PO Box 33, Wamego
KS 66547
Jana Havens, 15105 Elm Slough Rd,
Wamego KS 66547
Brittney Hill, 600 Ash, Wamego KS
66547
Chelsea Kay Hosfelt, 800 Bolderson
Blvd, Wamego KS 66547
Catie Huston, 409 Vine St, Wamego
KS 66547
Russell Jackson, 16540 Cameron
Circle, Wamego KS 66547
Drew Jacobson, 409 Redwood Dr,
Wamego KS 66547
Krisa Johnson, 300 Spruce, Wamego
KS 66547
Candace Judd, 1455 Pearl Dr, Junc-
tion City KS 66441
Devin Kesl, 6230 Hopkins Creek Rd,

St George KS 66535

Jonathan Lagerquist, 104 Warnow
Circle, Wamego KS 66547
Sydney Lippman, 706 Country Club
Circle, Wamego KS 66547
Sabrina Martin, 3866 Chestnut, St
George KS 66535
Jennifer McFarlin, 14875 Lake
Crossing Rd, Wamego KS 66547
Saige Morris, 105 E Valley St #23,
Wamego KS 66547
Jacob Mueller, 4825 Auburn Dr,
Wamego KS 66547
Marshall Musser, 12335 Woodland
Dr, St George KS 66535
Shamus Neel, 105 Wilson Circle,
Wamego KS 66547
Stephanie Neilsen, 19200 Marten
Rd, Wamego KS 66547
Susan Overstreet, 422 Redbud Dr,
Junction City KS 66441
Jennie Parker, 5770 Prairie View
Rd, Wamego KS 66547
Olivia Parrish, 1703 Lilac Lane,
Wamego KS 66547
Elizabeth Pitts, 3811 Butternut Dr
#53, St George KS 66535
Kendall Poe, 16580 Cameron,
Wamego KS 66547
Callie Price, 4440 Tuttle Creek Blvd
#305, Manhattan KS 66502
Stephen Reavis, 15055 6th St Rd,
Wamego KS 66547
Erica Smith, 206 Second, St George
KS 66535
Melissa Sterrett, 38973 Paxico Rd,
Paxico KS 66526
Lynsi Stutzman, 614 Broadway,
Belve KS 66407
Lucas Swoyer, 13312 Cedarwood Dr,
St George KS 66535
Storm Sebbutt, 4140 Rockenham Rd,
St George KS 66535
Megan Thoman, 1689 Rust Rd, Con-
cordia KS 66901
Jordan Umscheid, 1360 Forrester
Rd, Wamego KS 66547
Evan Whetzel, 2309 K St, Belleville
KS 66935
John White, 10850 Onaga Rd,
Wamego KS 66547
Kevin White, 10850 Onaga Rd,
Wamego KS 66547
Cassie Wolf, 4824 Auburn Dr,
Wamego KS 66547
Dallas Wright, 1227 Colorado, Man-
hattan KS 66502
Amy Yenze, 3545 Wilson Circle, St
George KS 66535

NOTICE

DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE
JULY 1, 2003
YOUR COOPERATION APPRECIATED

TRAIL CALENDAR

Everyone is invited to send notices for this section; provide location, date, time, and activity. This is a quarterly. The next issue should appear in August, so send information for September and later to arrive by July 1, 2003. Thank you. Dates of additional events may be found in chapter reports.

June 6, 2003: Santa Fe Trail Daze tour sponsored by Cimarron Heritage Center, Boise City, OK; call (580) 544-3479 for information and reservations.

June 6-8, 2003: Celebration of Trail history by the City of Trinidad, CO, and the Santa Fe Trail Museum there.

June 7-8, 2003: Prairie Days at the Maxwell Wildlife Refuge, 6 miles north of Canton, KS.

June 14, 2003: First Fort Day at Fort Union, call (505) 425-8025 for details.

June 14, 2003: Springer, NM, 1:00 p.m., dedication for Santa Fe Trail Interpretive Center & Museum, a National Scenic Byway project.

June 14-15, 2003: Six Western Chapters gathering, Santa Fe, NM. For information call (505) 473-3124 or (505) 244-7608.

June 20-23, 2003: Old Spanish Trail Association annual Conference, Durango, CO.

July 5, 2003: National Frontier Trails Museum, Independence, MO, 2:00 p.m., special program "Sacagawea: Images of the Last Frontier" presented by Dianne Moran.

July 12, 2003: Wet/Dry Routes

Symposium 2003

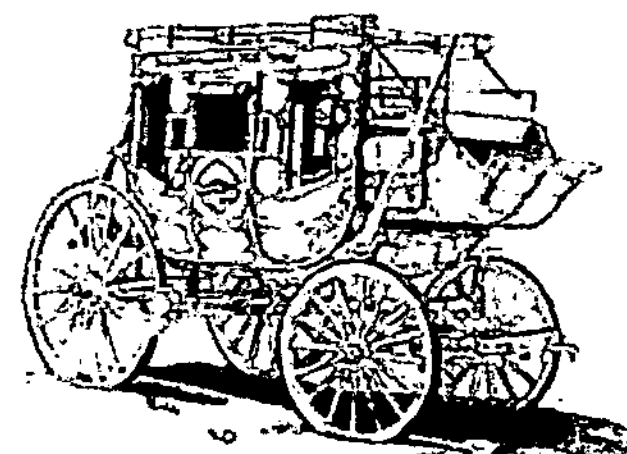
Independence/Kansas City MO
"A Highway Between Nations"



MISSOURI RIVER OUTFITTERS
 September 25, 26, 27, 28

Join us for a tour of
 The Mahaffie Stagecoach Stop
 and Farm in Olathe, Kansas

Registration Assistant - Mary Conrad



Along the Westport Cut-off
 1858 to 1870

Chapter, 6:30 p.m. at Clapsaddle's in Larned. Bring a dish to share.

July 15, 2003: Deadline for mail ballots for SFTA officers & board.

July 19, 2003: End of Trail Chapter field trip to Los Trigos Ranch near Pecos River.

July 20, 2003: Fort Union's annual Cultural Encounters on the Santa Fe Trail, with program by Bill Gwaltney on Buffalo Soldiers at Fort Union.

Aug. 2, 2003: Las Vegas, NM, CCHP Places with a Past tour, call (505) 425-8803 for tickets.

Aug. 2-3, 2003: Summer festival and frontier days, El Rancho de las Golondrinas, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., featuring Peruvian Paso horses, mountain men, soldiers, and traders.

Aug. 10-16, 2003: OCTA National Convention, Manhattan, KS.

Aug. 17, 2003: Corazón Chapter field trip to see Trail ruts, hosted by Daniels Family; meet at 10:00 a.m. at the Kruse'N Café, Wagon Mound.

Sept. 11-12, 2003: Fort Riley, KS,

special program commemorating 150th anniversary of the post.

Sept. 20, 2003: tentative date for first membership meeting of CARTA.

Sept. 21, 2003: Corazón Chapter field trip to Rayado; meet at Kit Carson Museum in Rayado at 1:00 p.m.

Sept. 24, 2003: SFTA board meeting, Kansas City, MO.

Sept. 25-28, 2003: SFTA Symposium, Kansas City, MO.

FROM THE EDITOR

Everything is shaping up for a great symposium in September, and I hope to see you there. Early copy is needed for the August issue, so please have everything here by July 1. Material received after that date will appear in the November issue.

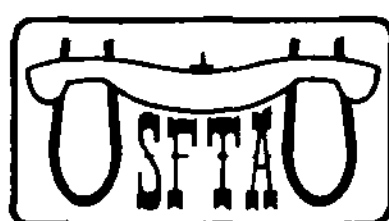
Because of space (and this is a large issue), several items are carried over for November. Spend some time this summer on the Trail.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

Santa Fe Trail Association
 PO Box 31
 Woodston, KS 67675

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