

Wagon Tracks

Volume 16

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Santa Fe Trail Association

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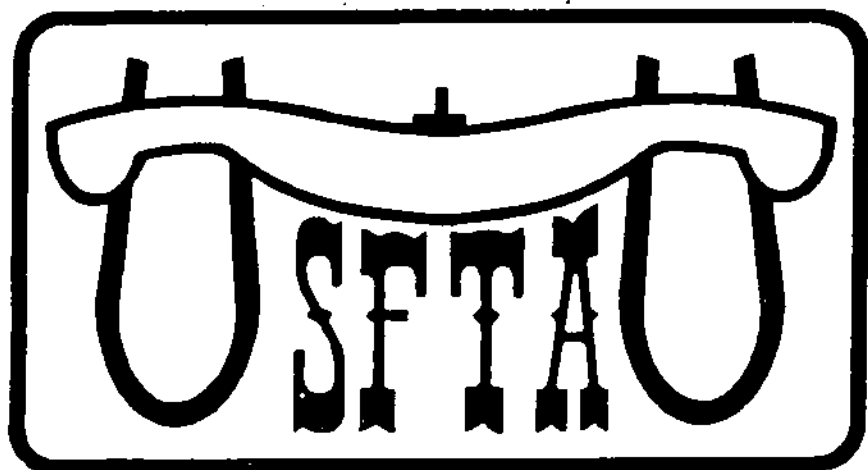


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WAGON TRACKS

SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY

VOLUME 16

NOVEMBER 2001

NUMBER 1



Sam Arnold receiving the Rittenhouse Award from Margaret Sears.

SFTA AWARDS

A total of 21 SFTA awards were presented by awards committee chairman Harry Myers at the symposium banquet at Las Vegas, NM, during the evening of September 28, 2001. Congratulations to these winners.

JACK D. RITTENHOUSE MEMORIAL STAGECOACH AWARD FOR LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AND PUBLICATIONS

Samuel Arnold, Denver, CO.

PAUL F. BENTRUP AMBASSADOR AWARD

Jane Mallinson, Sugar Creek, MO.

Ross Marshall, Merriam, KS.

SFTA AWARD OF MERIT

John Schumacher, Rolla, MO, for Trail survey and mapping work.

LeRoy & Elsie LeDoux, Wagon Mound, NM, for Corazón Chapter work and preservation activities on the Trail.

Marc Simmons, Cerrillos, NM, and Hal Jackson, Placitas, NM, for the new edition of *Following the Santa Fe Trail*.

Nancy Robertson, Raton, NM, for Trail promotion and preservation activities in Raton and northeastern New Mexico.

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ANOTHER STRIKING SYMPOSIUM

by Alma Gregory

(Gregory is a member of the board of Corazón de los Caminos Chapter, editor of the chapter newsletter, and a frequent contributor to WT.)

LAS Vegas was host to more than 300 symposium guests, September 27-30, and the variety of programs offered lots of activities for everyone. In the words of Symposium Coordinator Stephen Whitmore: "It was a splendid Symposium. We had a lot to work with—great places, talented people, good ideas. And we sure did a lot of work to get ready. In the end all the work paid off. It was remarkable to watch events unfold as we had hoped and planned. Everybody involved, Corazón members and volunteers, did his/her job. All (almost) of the contractors showed up on time and did an excellent job. Even the weather cooperated. Frankly, I am thrilled at how well it went. There were many highlights, even some magical moments. If I have to select one highlight, it will be the music. Great mariachi, an excellent brass band, fine dance music, and the beautiful performance of Carl Bernstein and George Tyler at the sunrise service. If I select a moment, it will

be that morning: the beautiful and historic place, the music, Mike Olsen's readings, the surprising crowd (nearly 100), the landowner's generosity, the realization that the whole symposium had gone well and was ending (nearly) with this extraordinary event. It was a thrilling conclusion."

We had 321 people attend the symposium after cancellations and no-shows. Most everyone seemed to have a good time from the Las Vegas tours and reception on Thursday to the sunrise service and finales on Sunday. The pre-symposium Trail Ride and Mountain Route activities were well-attended and well-executed, in spite of the last minute cancellation of the Murphey concert due to a death in his family. Guests at the Shuler Theater in Raton instead enjoyed a performance by Chinese acrobats.

Corazón President Faye Gaines opened the symposium Friday morning with greetings in Spanish and English. In honor of the victims, survivors, heroes, and heroines of our recent terrorism tragedies, she then

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Symposium tour group at First Fort Union site (photo courtesy Harold and Norma Geer).

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

WHAT a wonderful time we all had in Las Vegas! Everything I saw and heard leads me to think we put on an excellent symposium. Only those members in the Cimarron Cutoff, Flint Hills, and now Corazón chapters know how many hours of preparation are needed for a successful symposium. Steve Whitmore and his extensive crew deserve our heartfelt thanks for all their work.

The Fandango was my favorite event. I'm no great shakes on the dance floor, but the instructors got all they could out of me.

On more serious matters let me address our Association's basic missions and how we each fit into them. Protection, education, and research are the three legs of the tripod supporting the SFTA. Each of us has to be alert to every cell tower application and every development scheme threatening our Trail (protection). We have to get the word out to anyone who will listen about the significance of historic trails (educate). No trail was more important than the Santa Fe Trail.

The last leg is research. A large part of the SFTA budget goes to support our remarkable journal *Wagon Tracks*. I could not do without it. Everything of importance to the SFT has found its way into the pages of *Wagon Tracks*. Our Trail scholars have a place to illuminate their findings about their passion.

Why do I preach these three missions to you who are reading *Wagon Tracks* at this very moment? Because there are hundreds of SFT buffs not reading our journal because they don't belong to the SFTA. I ask you to speak with your friends in the many SFTA chapters. Some think that only their small portion of the Trail is important and thus don't join our Association.

We need their help. Protection of the Trail is often accomplished by the national organization, and for this we need clout. The more members, the more clout.

Knowledge of the SFT, the entire SFT, can be gained through *Wagon Tracks*. One learns how their small segment fits into the greater Trail story.

Lastly, when I ran for this office



SFTA President Hal Jackson

last spring I stated that the strength of the SFTA lies in the local chapters. I still think so. I met with chapter presidents or their representatives in Las Vegas and asked to be invited to visit chapters. If you don't see me it will be because I wasn't invited. Ask your president when I'm coming to visit? I look forward to seeing you along the Trail.

—Hal Jackson

NOMINATIONS NEEDED

THE revised bylaws call for two directors from Texas to be added to the SFTA Board. The bylaws provide for the Board to fill vacancies. Terms of directors from the Trail states are staggered, so one is elected each odd-numbered year. The Board is asking for nominations for these two positions, one of which will end in 2003 and the other in 2005. Those elected will be eligible to run for a second term. The requirements are that the person be a member of SFTA and a resident of Texas.

The Board is also seeking nominees to complete the at-large-director term of the late Anna Belle Cartwright. This term will run through the 2003 symposium, and the director may seek election to another term. Any SFTA member is eligible to run for the at-large position.

The Board meets twice per year at sites along the Trail. If you know someone who would be a good director, please contact them to see if they are willing to serve, give a brief background of the person, and submit the nomination to SFTA President Hal Jackson by January 1, 2002.

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

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Membership Categories

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

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Clint Chambers, At-Large
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Faye Gaines, New Mexico
Mary Gamble, Colorado
Nancy Lewis, Missouri
Richard Poole, Oklahoma
Mike Slater, Oklahoma
Joanne VanCoevern, Kansas
Stephen Whitmore, New Mexico



JOHN LEAMON

by Ross Marshall

John Leamon, Kansas City, MO, one of the most important friends of the trail in the Kansas City area, passed away September 29, 2001, after a lengthy illness. Since the 1960s John had researched historic trails and helped identify and map various routes of the Santa Fe and other trails in the Kansas City area. He became a member of the Santa Fe Trail Association in 1988. He was also an active member of the Oregon-California Trails Association and received OCTA's Meritorious Achievement award at the 2000 national convention in Kansas City for his trail preservation work.

A P-47 fighter-bomber pilot in World War II, John had worked for 36 years as a propulsion engineer for TWA. He had many friends in the trails community in Kansas City and will be greatly missed. Our sincere sympathies are extended to his wife Jean and other family and friends.

ANNA BELLE CARTWRIGHT

Anna Belle Campbell Cartwright, SFTA director from Missouri, died at her home in Kansas City, MO, October 21, 2001. The Trail and SFTA lost a remarkable friend and scholar.

Anna Belle was born December 5, 1929, daughter of E. Taylor and Marion Campbell, and granddaughter of George W. Campbell, a Kansas City cattle broker and founder of the Kansas City Livestock Exchange. Anna Belle grew up and attended schools in Springfield, MO. She worked at the Springfield Art Museum, where she developed a lifelong interest in sculpture. From 1948-1949, she was

a staff artist at the St. Joseph Museum, where she designed the exhibits for the Harry L. George Indian Collection.

Anna Belle graduated from the Kansas City Art Institute with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in 1952. She received two national scholarship awards to assist her pursuit of studies in sculpture at KCAI. After graduating from KCAI, Anna Belle taught sculpture there. In 1950, as a result of winning a contest sponsored by J. C. Nichols Company of Kansas City, she was commissioned to create a 12-foot sculpture depicting "The Homesteaders," representing families who settled on the prairie during the mid-19th century. The sculpture is still on display at the entrance to Prairie Village Shopping Center in Prairie Village, KS.

In 1953 she married Joseph L. Cartwright IV and resided in Germany before moving to Leavenworth, KS, in 1956. She was an exhibit designer and curator for the Putnam Museum in Davenport, IA, from 1974-1982. She was contracted by the Jacksonville Museum of Arts and Sciences as an exhibit designer from 1982-1986, and she served as curator of the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, MO, 1990-1998.

Anna Belle was active in SFTA and the Missouri River Outfitters Chapter, and she was in her second term as SFTA director at-large when illness forced her to resign in September 2001. She was twice honored by SFTA with an Award of Merit, the only person to be so honored two times. She received the Award in 1997 for editing the Hinchey Diary for *WT*, and the second honor was presented in 2001 for the Compadres Project.

Anna Belle is survived by her husband Joe, a son and two daughters, four grandchildren, a brother, other relatives, and a host of friends. Memorial contributions may be made to SFTA or American Cancer Society. Sympathy is extended to her family and friends.

Margaret Sears, recently retired president of SFTA, wrote the following tribute.

Anna Belle was courteous, sensitive, astute, diplomatic, and very smart. While somewhat circum-

spect, she was rarely reluctant to offer her views, which were always valid and right on the mark. This was her demeanor in the years she served on the SFTA Board as a director at-large, beginning in 1999, and it was quickly apparent that her understanding of Board governance was considerable.

Earlier, in 1998, Anna Belle was tapped to design a survey of all museums along the Santa Fe Trail. The concept was first introduced by the Board of Directors as one of the Association goals for the 1997-1999 term. She elevated the project far beyond the Board's vision to strengthen relations between SFTA and these museums. A grant awarded to SFTA by the Long Distance Trails Office of the National Park Service permitted a comprehensive study, which included visits to each museum (there are 49). Ever reflecting a creative mind (she also excelled as a sculptor, curator, writer), she found the perfect name for the program: Compadres Project.

As a follow-up to the initial project, her column, "The Caches," was inaugurated in *Wagon Tracks*, November 1999 issue. She was forever disappointed that her increasingly poor health, which eventually forced her resignation from the Board on September 27, 2001, precluded her from carrying the project to even greater heights. Yet, SFTA was significantly impressed to bestow upon her its Award of Merit for the Compadres Project. It hangs as a "compadre" beside her first such award received in 1997 for locating the diaries and sketches of Trail traveler William J. Hinchey and editing them for *WT*.

Anna Belle's contributions to the Missouri River Outfitters chapter board and her tenure as curator at the National Frontier Trails Center, Independence, MO, further exemplify an outstanding career. One achievement few people knew about was the pioneer family sculpture she created a number of years ago while a student at the Kansas City Art Institute. The work is located in a Prairie Village, KS, mall.

We offer our deepest sympathies to husband Joe, who unequivocally supported Anna Belle in her SFTA commitments, and the children and grandchildren who survive her.



Anna Belle examines swales found at the Bingham-Waggoner estate in Independence, MO.

STEPPIN' OUT—STEPPIN' UP

by Anna Belle Cartwright

(Anna Belle wrote the following farewell a month before cancer took her life, her final column for WT [she also wrote the headline]. She was bright and strong of spirit but regretted not being able to finish the book on William Hinchey, to continue the Compadres Project with museums along the Trail, and to keep on writing her informative quarterly column, "The Caches," about museums along the Trail for WT.)

In 1995, I joined the Santa Fe Trail Association and began a wonderful series of junkets that took me down the Santa Fe Trail several times. I was busy planning a whole year of celebration for the 175th anniversary of the Trail. During the process, I discovered a Santa Fe Trail diary with information about a journey that the Irish artist William Hinchey undertook, traveling with a caravan under the leadership of Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy. Hinchey's adventures on the prairie were many. I have tracked them to Fort Union, through McNeese Crossing, up and over Mount Dora, to Round Mound, and on to Santa Fe.

I expected to use this material for

an annotated book about that particular journey. Later on, I was able to add to the body of material I had assembled by visiting museums along the entire 900 miles of the Trail. I learned of many attitudes about the Trail, and made many friends who were able to provide me with good information about the 1850s period in Santa Fe.

To all those who assisted me and told me about material, and to archivists across the country who provided me with photos and helped me learn the facts, I say thank you. To all my friends with the Santa Fe Trail Association, I say good-bye, and it was great to know you.

(Editor's note: Anna Belle was an editor's delight, thoroughly informed, open to suggestions, congenial to work with, and always professional and punctual. In her final illness she expressed concern for the welfare of others and said "don't feel sorry for me, I've had a good life." Hers was truly a good life, and we all can echo her final words in reply: "it was great to know you" too.)

RESOLUTION OF RESPECT

(The following Resolution of Respect and Appreciation to Anna Belle Cartwright from the Santa Fe Trail Association was adopted by the SFTA Board September 27, 2001.)

Whereas; Anna Belle Cartwright who lives in Kansas City, Missouri has demonstrated professional excellency in writing, educating, and creating exhibits for museums in Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and Florida; and has exhibited a love of history and history research, and has served honorably on the Board of Directors of the Santa Fe Trail Association since 1998, and has served honorably as a resource information person for Santa Fe Trail museums, and

Whereas; Anna Belle Cartwright, has researched, investigated, located, and written about the Santa Fe Trail, and in particular locating and publishing the 1854 Diary and Sketches of William James Hinchey on the Trail for which she was presented with an SFTA Award of Merit in 1997, and

Whereas; Anna Belle Cartwright as curator at the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, Missouri, planned, developed, and su-

pervised the expansion of storage areas into life-size permanent dioramas including one of the "1846 Santa Fe Plaza," and celebrated the 175th anniversary of the Santa Fe Trail with expanded programming and special exhibits, and

Whereas; Anna Belle Cartwright established the SFTA "Compadres" Project of assistance, information, and liaison with museums for the entire length of the Santa Fe Trail, and has placed duty to the Association and the Santa Fe Trail above personal advancement and gain, and is recognized and respected by her peers as an outstanding museum professional,

Be it Hereby Resolved, by the members of the Santa Fe Trail Association through its Board, here assembled in Las Vegas, New Mexico, this 27th day of September, 2001, that Anna Belle Cartwright has the gratitude and admiration of the SFTA for all the valuable work she has contributed as a member of the Association. This resolution is intended as an expression of the Association's utmost appreciation and gratitude.

NPS COST-SHARE GRANTS

IT is time for chapters, historical societies, and others to think of Santa Fe Trail projects which might be funded through the National Park Service Challenge Cost-Share Program. Please refer to a copy of Challenge Cost-Share Program: Guidelines and Procedures, particularly the section "Types of Projects." In general, acceptable projects will be funded in the order they are received until available funds are exhausted. NPS can provide a 50 percent match with a maximum ceiling of \$30,000 per project. Although the deadline will not occur until March of 2002, it is important to plan any potential project now. To obtain a copy of the guidelines, contact John Conoboy, Long Distance Trails Group Office, NPS, PO Box 728, Santa Fe, NM 87504, (505) 988-6733.

There is much to be done to improve the Santa Fe Trail, and there is money available for worthwhile, qualifying projects. A quick survey of your area will, no doubt, reveal where the Trail needs help. Then, call John.

SFTA SYMPOSIUM STUDENT ART COMPETITION

THE student art competition, coordinated by Patti Olsen, received 350 entries, from which 30 were chosen for display at the symposium. The students whose works were chosen and the top three places in each age category are:

FINALISTS GRADES 4-8

First Place:

Melissa Martinez, La Junta, CO

Second Place:

Carly McGlaun, Capulin, NM

Third Place:

Joseph Madrid, Las Vegas, NM

Other Finalists:

Mouleena Khan, Santa Fe, NM

Sarah Lucero, Las Vegas, NM

Brittney Lucero, Las Vegas, NM

Chantal Bustamante, Santa Fe, NM

Rachelle A. Hollis, La Junta, CO

Kacie Deines, Cimarron, NM

Nichole Metcalf, Concordia, MO

Eddie Gallegos, Las Vegas, NM

Zach Doherty, Folsom, NM

Brittany Davis, Raton, NM

Jordyn Bochenek, Raton, NM

Jason Machuca, Folsom, NM

FINALISTS GRADES 9-12

First Place:

Rebecca Gallegos, Las Vegas, NM

Second Place:

Jose Duran, Las Vegas, NM

Third Place:

Helena Kyasyousie, Las Vegas, NM

Other Finalists:

Christina Chavez, Las Vegas, NM

Cacy Schickedanz, Council Grove, KS

Kevin Bryant, Council Grove, KS

Anneliese Byram, Council Grove, KS

Vince Romero, Montezuma, NM

Tekla Sollohub, Las Vegas, NM

Amanda Collier, Council Grove, KS

Bryce Johnson, Council Grove, KS

Casey Horton, Council Grove, KS

Andrea Gomez, Las Vegas, NM

Kris Ripley, Herrington, KS

Gene Armijo, Wagon Mound, NM

MAKE YOUR MARK: REMEMBER THE SFTA IN YOUR WILL



First place student art, grades 9-12, "Watching, Mirages on the Jornada," by Rebecca Gallegos, Las Vegas, NM (photo courtesy Gabe Hanson).

SYMPOSIUM

(continued from page 1)

asked, "not for a moment of silence, but of applause as we stand and show America is still standing tall!" Ilfeld Auditorium was packed and reverberated.

President Gaines introduced Las Vegas Mayor Tony Martinez who welcomed everyone to the city, Interim President Dr. James Fries of New Mexico Highlands University who thanked everyone for coming, and SFTA President Margaret Sears who welcomed the crowd to New Mexico saying, "it is significant that we honor our past to create a better future."

Keynote speakers Mike Olsen and Harry Myers uniquely made Trail history lively and entertaining. The eight presentations were well attended, with about 100 for the sessions on Friday afternoon, and around 250 for the sessions on Saturday morning. From the number of questions asked after each paper, it was evident that the audience was attentive and interested. Some of these papers will be printed in *Wagon Tracks*.

The bus tours to historic sites were very popular, in spite of a few glitches. The movies, student art contest, juried art and photography shows, and the Rough Rider Memorial Museum all had appreciative visitors.

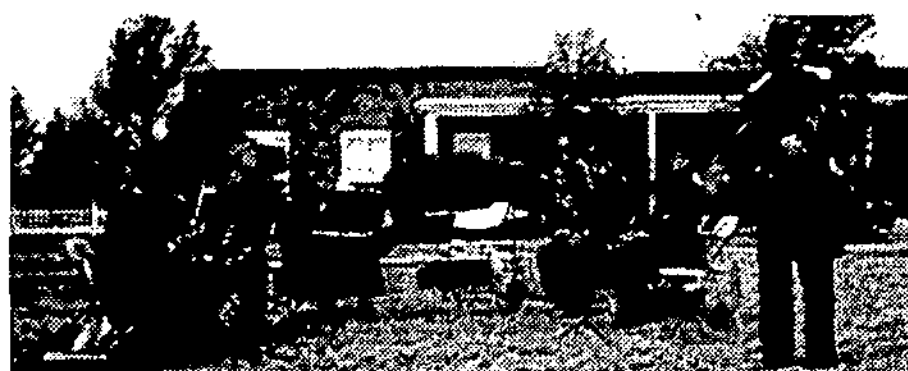
The vendor tables in Kennedy Hall were busy with sellers, buyers, writers, and visitors, all reinforced with refreshments and places to sit and rest tired feet. Other outstanding events were the buffalo dinner at Fort Union and the awards dinner-dance.



Steve Whitmore, symposium coordinator, and Faye Gaines, president of Corazón de los Caminos Chapter (photo courtesy Gabe Hanson).



Harry Myers and Mike Olsen present keynote address (photo courtesy Gabe Hanson).



New Mexico Territorial Brass Band at Fort Union, directed by Ralph Harris (photo courtesy Mary Whitmore).

BYLAWS AMENDED

THE SFTA bylaws were amended by the membership on September 28, with the adoption of all the proposed changes sent with the last issue of *Wagon Tracks*. Anyone wanting a copy of the revised bylaws should send a request to WT Editor Leo E. Oliva.

SFTA AWARDS

(continued from page 1)

Lee & Dorothy Kroh, Merriam, KS, for preserving, mapping, and marking trails in the Kansas City metropolitan area.

H. Denny Davis, Fayette, MO, for Trail promotion of the Franklin, MO, area, including Franklin or Bust, Inc., and original research on the SFT.

Steve and Mary Whitmore, Las Vegas, NM, for promotion of the Trail and development of Trail activities and programs.

Corazon de los Caminos Chapter for outstanding programs and hosting the symposium.

Anna Belle Cartwright, Kansas City, MO, for the Compadres Project involving museums all along the Santa Fe Trail.

HERITAGE PRESERVATION

David Clapsaddle, Mildon Yeager, and Robert Rein, Larned, KS, for purchase and preservation of the site of the 1827 George Sibley survey campsite in Larned.

Fort Larned Old Guard, Larned, KS, for purchase and preservation of 1867 Cheyenne and Sioux Indian Village on Pawnee Fork, captured and burned by the General W. S. Hancock Expedition.

EDUCATOR'S AWARD

Janet Armstead, Wamego, KS, for her work at St. George Elementary School in the Rock Creek School District.

MARC SIMMONS WRITING AWARD FOR BEST ARTICLES IN WT

Best Original Article:

Beverly C. Ryan, Lynchburg, VA, for "Under Siege at Cow Creek Crossing."

Best Edited Document:

Stephen Blair, Silver Spring, MD, and Bonita M. Oliva, Woodston, KS, for "Diary of William Anderson Thornton."

SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

Undergraduate:

Marcus Gottshalk, Las Vegas, NM, for research and paper on the boom years of the trade in Las Vegas.

Graduate:

Terry Ortega, Santa Fe, NM, for research and paper on the Drawback Act.



Ross Marshall receiving Paul F. Bentrup Ambassador Award from President Margaret Sears.



Anne Mallinson accepting Ambassador Award for her mother, Jane Mallinson, from President Margaret Sears.



Award recipients present at the ceremony, l. to r.: Terry Ortega, Steve Whitmore, Mary Whitmore, Faye Gaines, Alice Clapsaddle (accepted for David Clapsaddle, Mildon Yeager, and Robert Rein), Ross Marshall, Bonita Oliva, Sam Arnold, Leo Oliva for Fort Larned Old Guard, Janet Armstead, Hal Jackson, Dorothy Kroh, Marcus Gottshalk, Lee Kroh, and Nancy Robertson.

SANTA FE TRAIL RIDE

by Lynn and Ray Marchi

(The Marchis, SFTA members from Mora, NM, coordinated the trail ride prior to the symposium. This article is reprinted from the October issue of the Corazón de los Caminos Chapter Newsletter, courtesy of Editor Alma Gregory.)

THIRTY-NINE riders arrived at the Point of Rocks Ranch on Monday afternoon, Sept. 24. They came from Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. A social hour was held beginning at 5 p.m. with hors d'oeuvres by our caterer, Mr. C's Catering of Raton. Following a dinner of beef brisket with salad, vegetables and dessert, entertainment was provided by "Dulcimer Dan" from Red River.

Tuesday morning we had an enormous breakfast of eggs, sausage, biscuits and gravy. The group mounted

and sluggishly moved westward on the northern branch of the Trail. After visiting grave sites and teepee rings, the group journeyed along the Trail and several miles later crossed over to the southern branch. From there we rode north to the Point of Rocks Mesa near Blackjack Canyon. The view here from Wagon Mound around to the Sangre de Cristo Mountains was spectacular.

Returning to base camp for a lunch of barbecued sandwiches, the group was treated to a performance by the Ride into History troupe (SFTA members Ann Birney and Joyce Thierer, Admire, KS). Resting a little after lunch, the riders then rode east for several hours to near where the two branches of the Trail divide.

A dinner featuring barbecued New York cut steaks followed the social hour. Entertainment began that evening with a rousing musical pres-

entation by the Vaqueras de los Caminos (Diana Walker and Lynn Marchi), followed by the Ride into History troupe. A surprise was the ice cream and cake to celebrate Al White's birthday. As the tired riders trooped off to their bedrolls under a canopy of stars, the haunting drums and songs of Joe Mirabel drifted across the plains. Joe had a death in his family and was unable to attend, but he sent a CD of his recent work.

The next morning we forced ourselves to eat another gigantic breakfast and then convoyed the rigs to the Dos Rios Ranch on the Canadian River just east of Springer. Here the group did a three-hour ride, crossing several branches of the Trail, visiting the ruins of the Rock Ranch, and ending at the Rock Crossing of the Canadian. The ride ended here with barbecued chicken.

Both ranch owners are to be commended for placing antelope herds throughout the ride for color and authenticity. Because these rides seem to generate interest in the historical events of the West, we are looking for areas to have group rides next spring and fall.

POST OFFICE OAK

—LETTERS—

Editor:

With recent events in mind, we have all been forced to sort through priorities. We reevaluate relationships and activities according to their relative significance, and sometimes a hobby or outside interest may seem less important than people and political/economic issues.

The individuals with whom we come into contact through historical activities are part of our extended family, a family connected through sharing common interests and common goals. Members of the Santa Fe Trail Association have become my extended family, sharing a fascination with the Trail and its historical legacy.

Attending the symposium on the heels of the September 11 disaster forced us to face another direction, not to turn our backs on the tragedy of the time, but to refocus attention on our lives as they once were by studying the lives of others within a historical context. True, concerns for travel safety, for loss of life, re-

mained a nagging reality in September, but symposium attendees, for a few days, immersed themselves in the sites and experiences of yet another gathering, another reunion of our Santa Fe Trail family.

We missed a few faces and lifted a glass in honor of absent friends, but those who attended, persevered. Thanks to the Corazon Chapter for putting on such a wonderful symposium at such a difficult time.

Anne Mallinson
SFTA Vice-President
964 NW 600
Centerview MO 64019

Editor:

Thank you for another splendid edition in the August 2001 *Wagon Tracks*. I was very glad to read the news of Bonita's continued recovery, and I especially enjoyed the articles by Hal Jackson and Deborah and Jon Lawrence.

I appreciate immensely the excellent job you did with my piece about the Lanes and I am grateful you found room to include the photo of Major Lane. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Michael Olsen of New Mexico Highlands University who took time from his busy schedule to locate the photo for me in their wonderful James W. Arrott Fort Union Collection in Donnelly Library.

Continued best wishes to all of you who produce such a valuable journal.

Alma Gregory
HC 69 Box 20-
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JOSIAH GREGG SOCIETY

MMARGARET Sears, recently retired president of SFTA, has become the first member of the Josiah Gregg Society created during the past year by action of the board (see article in May 2001 *WT*). This special category of giving to SFTA recognizes people who make provisions to bequeath some part of their estate to SFTA. Margaret deserves special thanks from all members of the Association for making these provisions, and it demonstrates how serious she was in providing the leadership to add this recognition for anyone who provides for SFTA in their estate planning. For more information, contact President Hal Jackson. Anyone may join the Josiah Gregg Society.

BASS PRO ON THE TRAIL

BBANNISTER Mall, at Bannister Rd and Interstate 435, located on the historic Santa Fe, Oregon, and California trails in Kansas City, MO, will soon add a huge Bass Pro Shop retail facility (160,000 square feet) and change the name of the mall to Three Trails Center. Bass Pro and the Center will focus on historic themes. SFTA members in the area have been involved in getting Bass Pro to come to Kansas City. Jane Mallinson, named SFTA Ambassador at the recent symposium, has been a technical and historical consultant on the project.

Plans are underway to seek National Park Service involvement and add a Historic Trails Visitor Center at or near the shopping center. Bass Pro plans to decorate the new store with attention to history of the trails. They will add a pond next to the store where customers may try out equipment before purchase. The \$76 million project is expected to be completed in late 2002 or early 2003. An interior decorator from Bass Pro has already contacted the SFTA to find individuals and organizations to help with developing trail themes in the new store.

This will benefit the trails as well as the businesses. Bass Pro attracts millions of visitors and customers annually. A visitor center, information about the trails, and opportunities to purchase trail-related items will help SFTA and other trail associations.

SFTA member Louis Schumacher Austin, chairman of 3-Trails West, Inc., a not-for-profit corporation, has provided leadership in persuading Bass Pro to come to south Kansas City, and he and the Missouri River Outfitters Chapter are urging interested people to write letters in support of a NPS visitors' center at the Three Trails Center. Letters of support should go to the following:

Jere Krakow, Supt. NPS Long Distance Trails Office, 324 S State St #250, Salt Lake City Utah 84115 and David Gaines, Supt. NPS Long Distance Trails Office, PO Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504. Krakow administers the Oregon-California National Historic Trails and Gaines administers the Santa Fe National Historic Trail.

THE INDIAN SLAVE TRADE IN NEW MEXICO

by Andy Hernández

(Hernández is professor of history at Western New Mexico University, Silver City. He presented this article as a lecture at the Folk Art Museum in Santa Fe, March 17, 2001, sponsored by the End of the Trail Chapter, SFTA, and the Salida del Sol Chapter, Old Spanish Trail Association.)

IN July 1868, three years after the conclusion of the American Civil War, a Grand Jury convened in Taos County, New Mexico, to consider accusations of slavery and debt peonage against residents of Taos and Río Arriba counties, activities that had been declared illegal by the United States Congress in March of the previous year. Civil Rights Commissioner William W. Griffin prepared, in all, more than 400 cases to be examined by the Grand Jury, mostly involving Indians enslaved by New Mexicans. Upon concluding deliberations, members of the Grand Jury failed to issue any indictments since there was insufficient evidence to conclude that servants had been forcibly restrained.¹ However, members of the Grand Jury also admitted that they sympathized with the defendants in these cases, who were bound by a "traditional [system] which had prevailed in the Southwest for hundreds of years."² In New Mexico, the power of tradition still impeded the elimination of slavery, one of the key national projects of the post-Civil War government of the United States.³

The above passage demands an explanation of the system of Indian slavery, a system that not only presented problems for the United States, but the preceding Mexican and Spanish governments as well. Indeed, this system of slavery had been re-established by Spanish officials after the restoration of Spanish control in New Mexico in 1692 as part of a greater program of solidifying Crown control over the region. The slave trade would, however, become contested ground as officials, merchants, and Indian slavers created alliances and counteralliances in attempts to gain control of this increasingly lucrative commerce. Increasing conflict relating to the slave trade, moreover, weakened state

control in New Mexico over time.

Though initiated by representatives of the Spanish government as a means to punish and assimilate hostile indigenous groups, Crown officials quickly found that they were unable to maintain control over the exchange of captive Indians. In time, the growing trade of Indian captives increased both intertribal frictions and Indian-Hispanic hostilities. Spanish officials demonstrated their ineffectiveness with unenforced bans on the trading of Indian captives and unlicensed trade with Indian slavers. Moreover, as Indian captives came to be dehumanized as mere commodities to be traded, the enforcement of laws and social norms that governed their treatment eroded, creating a worsening social problem in New Mexico over time. With the introduction of Anglo-American immigrants to the Southwest after 1821, the market for Indian captives increased geometrically, exacerbating all of the problems described above, just as New Mexico began to enter into a collision course with the United States that would culminate in the Mexican-American War. Even after the United States' absorption of the Southwest, however, the Indian slave trade would continue to play a role in events in the region over the course of the following decades.

Well before the Spanish conquest of New Mexico, Spanish law defined legal forms of slavery in the Americas. Codes such as the *Recopilaciones de Indias* and the *Derecho Indiano* identified the prosecution of a "just war" as the sole legal basis for taking Indian slaves throughout Spanish America.⁴ In New Mexico, this doctrine was reflected, for example, in the enslavement of 300 Acomans by don Juan de Oñate in the wake of their unsuccessful revolt against the Spanish.⁵

Not all Spaniards in the seventeenth century followed the full prescripts of the law, however. Fray Alonso de Benavides, in his 1630 Memorial, accused New Mexican governors Francisco Manuel de Silva and Felipe Zorylo of making use of friendly Indian groups to ab-

duct and enslave Indians from the surrounding areas to be used for their own personal enrichment.⁶ This practice would increase to the point that Indian slaving has been described as one of the myriad causes of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.⁷

The enslavement of Indians in New Mexico was altered to some degree after the Pueblo Revolt.⁸ Following Diego de Vargas's Reconquest of New Mexico in 1692, Indian slaves generally fell into two categories: those hostile Indians taken as captives during the prosecution of a "just war," as outlined in the *Recopilaciones* of 1542 and 1681, and *indios de rescate*, or captive Indians who were ransomed from servitude to other Indian groups by New Mexicans.⁹ In the early years of the eighteenth century, however, New Mexican governors also began to offer captives from just wars as incentives for the vigorous prosecution of campaigns against enemy indigenous groups.

Despite the accommodation between Puebloans and Spaniards produced by Vargas's Reconquest, the various semi- and non-sedentary populations surrounding New Mexican settlements, such as Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and Comanches, would continue to deny Spaniards hegemony over the Southwest. Within this "non-dominant frontier," Spanish officials employed a variety of tactics to sustain and improve their hold on New Mexico.¹⁰

In order to undermine or prevent alliances between hostile indigenous groups, a number of governors in New Mexico in the first half of the eighteenth century carried out a "divide and conquer" strategy.¹¹ They encouraged non-sedentary groups to attack each other or to join official Spanish campaigns and reprisals against specific groups. Thus, Spanish governors were able to keep enemy groups off balance with a combination of official expeditions supported by Indian irregulars, and "independent" attacks by indigenous groups against each other.

Ultimately, New Mexicans would not necessarily have to serve in the military in order to acquire an In-

dian servant. Instead, one could also acquire captives through trade with Comanches, Utes, Apaches, and Navajos who would sell their war captives either to Spanish officials or New Mexican families in exchange for horses, hides, or other goods. In return, New Mexicans would agree to educate their slaves in the Spanish language, religion, and culture.

By means of the Indian slave trade, Spanish officials intended to create the means to assimilate and control hostile Indians and thereby to guarantee the security of New Mexico and the Spanish Americas. At the same time, as a direct result of official governmental sanction for the taking of captives in campaigns, Indian slaves emerged as an increasingly lucrative commodity in the early years of the eighteenth century.

The various trade fairs in Spanish settlements such as Taos, Picurís, Abiquiú, and Pecos reflect early Spanish attempts to control and regulate the increasing commerce between New Mexicans and indigenous groups in general, and the growing Indian slave trade specifically. As trade between New Mexican settlements and the semi- and non-sedentary populations in the area increased, indigenous groups would, after concluding their trading, either learn that they had been cheated by New Mexicans, or attempt to steal some of what they had traded to New Mexican settlers.¹² By restricting trade to a regular site at a regular time, representatives of the Spanish government hoped to limit the abuses that so often resulted in violence.¹³ In at least one case, however, conflict over the Indian slave trade would not be produced by questionable commercial practices between New Mexicans and Indians.

At the same time, some indigenous groups represented the key intermediaries in providing slaves from other indigenous groups to buyers in New Mexico. In return, Indian slavers profited handsomely while simultaneously becoming increasingly integrated into New Mexico's market economy. The roles of profiteering Indian slaver and dehumanized Indian slave were extremely fluid, with members of the various non-sedentary indigenous groups surrounding New Mexico filling each

role over time.

The sale of slaves in New Mexico continued to be extremely lucrative throughout the eighteenth century. While attending the Taos Trade Fair, Franciscan Francisco Atanasio Domínguez remarked in 1776 that Comanches were especially active in this trade in which they earned considerable profits. Domínguez recalled that "an Indian slave [is traded] according to the individual, because if it is an Indian girl from twelve to twenty years old, two good horses and some trifles in addition, such as a short cloak, a horse cloth, a red lapel are given; or a she-mule and a scarlet cover, or other things are given for her. If the slave is a male, he is worth less and the amount given is arranged in the manner described."¹⁴

With official institutions such as trade fairs, indigenous groups had a ready market and considerable demand for Indian captives. To provide the supply, and to continue to profit from the trade, Comanches and other groups raided each other more extensively. As the conflict between indigenous groups escalated, the entire province became increasingly destabilized. The various trade fairs, which began as an official effort to regulate trade between Indians and New Mexicans and to reduce the violence consequent to that trade, resulted in increasing conflict in New Mexico, especially as merchants began looking outside of New Mexico's borders to supply the demands of the Indian slave trade.

Illegal trade with indigenous groups was also facilitated by officially-sanctioned explorations. The two expeditions of Juan María Antonio de Rivera in June and October 1765 and the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 brought the geography of the Great Basin, and knowledge of new indigenous groups therein, to the attention of New Mexicans.¹⁵ Merchants could now travel directly to distant areas in order to trade far away from the watchful eyes of Crown officials.

Between the conclusion of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition and the early nineteenth century, members of four different expeditions were prosecuted for leaving Abiquiú to trade with Utes in present southern Utah and western Colo-

rado.¹⁶ As these numbers only reflect those merchants who were caught breaking the law, some historians have speculated that many other undocumented trading expeditions entered into the Great Basin during these years.¹⁷

Of these illegal ventures, the trial of Mauricio Arze and Lagos García resulting from their illegal expedition into the Great Basin in 1813 produced a particularly interesting account of slave trading in the early nineteenth century. Accused of violating the ban on trade outside of New Mexican settlements, Arze and García testified that they had entered the Great Basin believing that they had acquired a valid license to trade with Utes from the alcalde mayor of Abiquiú. Among other activities, Arze and García testified that they had attempted to trade with the Timpanagos Utes in the vicinity of Utah Lake. The Timpanagos, however, were only interested in trading slaves to the New Mexicans, as had been done in the past.¹⁸ When the New Mexicans refused to trade for captives, the Timpanagos killed eight horses and one mule. Arze then claimed that he had been forced to accept captives as compensation for his slaughtered animals.¹⁹ Fearing an escalation of force, the New Mexicans broke camp and began their return trip to New Mexico.

The above examples signaled a number of problems for New Mexican officials. First, despite oft-repeated restrictions against illegal trade with indigenous groups, merchants obviously continued to trade anyway, bringing them into increasing legal conflict with Crown officials.²⁰ Second, in carrying out their illegal commerce, merchants like Arze and García exacerbated hostilities with indigenous groups. The Utes responsible for killing Arze's and García's animals clearly expected the New Mexican expedition to trade for slaves. Seeing the New Mexicans' refusal to trade for slaves as a threat to their livelihood, these Utes responded with force. Third, the Great Basin presented New Mexicans with trading grounds outside of the surveillance of Crown officials. Slavery during this period, then, would be driven by commercial demand for slaves, and not by Crown initiated warfare against enemy in-

digenous groups.

These external problems reflect intensifying conflict relating to the Indian slave trade in the late colonial period in New Mexico. At the same time, these examples suggest the emergence of a new, and subversive identity for New Mexican merchants, who began to define themselves more in terms of their usually beneficial economic relationship with indigenous groups rather than in terms of their often antagonistic political relationship with New Mexican officials.

Increasing attempts by New Mexicans to trade with Indian groups corresponded roughly with the movement for independence in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Following Mexican Independence, officials relaxed existing restrictions against trade.²¹ In New Mexico, restrictions against trading with Anglo-Americans were eased, leading to the creation of the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trade with the United States. To the west, the relaxation of previous trading restrictions was reflected in the continued increase of New Mexican trading ventures with Indians outside of New Mexican settlements.²²

As Anglo-Americans and Hispanic New Mexicans began to trade more outside of New Mexico, they also began to chart new routes around and through the territories of indigenous groups. One outcome of expanded exploration was the eventual creation of trade routes connecting New Mexico and California. The knowledge of such routes, in effect, gave New Mexican slavers access to another market for slaves. Though Mexican authorities in California passed laws making slaving in California illegal, and vigorously enforced those laws, legal records suggest that New Mexicans continued to trade slaves in California anyway.²³

Increasing tensions and hostilities between New Mexicans and nearby indigenous groups represented another outcome of expanded exploration and trading. As merchants were able to bypass the lands of Indian slavers and to take Indian captives themselves, the role of Indian slavers diminished. Indian slavers had, up to this point, been integrated to a considerable degree into the New Mexican economy

through their slave raids themselves. As they were gradually cut off from this trade, Indian slavers would then resort to violence and increased raiding against New Mexican settlements in order to offset their losses.²⁴ The intensification of this violence, in turn, would coincide with the annexation of the Southwest by the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War.

As shown in the beginning of this essay, American courts in New Mexico would still face the issue of Indian slavery throughout the nineteenth century. During this period, however, the issue would become even more complex as new players would compete for control of the Indian slave trade. New Mexican traders had taken the Indian slave trade into the Great Basin. After 1848, new settlers, principally Mormons in Utah, would take control of the Indian slave trade for themselves. Mormon interest in the slave trade was best defined in the words of Brigham Young himself, who "spoke upon the importance of the Iron County Mission and the advantages of the Brethren filling it. Advised them to buy up the Lamanite [Indian] children as fast as they could, and educate them and teach them the gospel, so that many generations would not pass ere they should become a white and delightful people. . . ."²⁵ Young would later distinguish between Mormon uplift and Hispanic slavery, when he claimed that: "[we are] essentially purchasing them into freedom instead of slavery; but it is not the low, servile drudgery of Mexican slavery, to which I would doom them, not to be raised among beings scarcely superior to themselves, but where they could find that consideration pertaining not only to civilized, but humane and benevolent society."²⁶ For both Utah and New Mexico, Indian slavery would continue to affect society through the early decades of the twentieth century.²⁷

In too many studies of slavery, authors have focused their attention upon the benefits of slave labor to a given society, without considering the potential penalties associated with systems of slavery. While many historians have examined the Indian slave trade in New Mexico and the commerce relating to that trade,

none have thoroughly explored the competition between state, New Mexican mercantile, and indigenous interests in their attempts to control the slave trade. The relationships between these groups, and the effect of their intermittent cooperation and confrontation over the issue of Indian slavery offers excellent new insights into the extent of state power and control in relation to other groups in New Mexico during the colonial and post-Independence eras. Contested control over the Indian slave trade contributed to the formulation of a new identity for New Mexicans in the context of the Indian slave trade. While the Indian slave trade undoubtedly weakened New Mexico and led to its absorption into the United States, it likewise weakened the United States with conflicts that continued throughout the nineteenth century, and a legacy of slavery that reached well into the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. Lawrence R. Murphy, "Reconstruction in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XLIII (1968): 99-115. In the trial of don Pedro León Luján 16 years earlier, Lafayette Head, speaking in defense of León, indicated that there was no law on the capture or treatment of Indian slaves, "only custom." LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), 274; Sondra Jones, *The Trial of don Pedro León Luján: The Attack against Indian Slavery and Mexican Traders in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000).
2. Murphy, "Reconstruction in New Mexico," 108.
3. Indeed, some historians have argued that Indian slavery in New Mexico continued through the 1930s. See James F. Brooks, "Violence, Justice, and State Power in the New Mexico Borderlands, 1780-1880," in Richard White and John Findlay, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 58, n.83; Marc Simmons, *Coronado's Land: Essays on Daily Life in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 47-50.
4. Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1700-1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 32; Silvio Zavala, *Los Esclavos Indios en Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Edición de El Colegio Nacional Luis González Obregón núm. 23, 1968), 244.
5. Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 145-146.
6. Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, trans., *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965), 56-

- 57.
7. Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 159-164; Frank Folsom, *Red Power on the Rio Grande: The Native American Revolution of 1680* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1973), 42-43.
8. Gutierrez, 151.
9. Brooks, "This Evil Extends Especially to the Feminine Sex," 115, n.6.
10. Frances Swadesh Quintana, "Structure of Hispanic-Indian Relations in New Mexico," in Paul M. Kitch, ed., *The Survival of Spanish American Villages* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Publications in Culture, 1979), 53-61; David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 273-285.
11. Bailey, 30.
12. Stanley Noyes, *Los Comanches: The Horse People, 1751-1845* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 49-69.
13. Ibid.
14. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776. A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 252. In comparison, Domínguez elsewhere establishes the price of a horse at one hundred pesos, making slaves, comparatively speaking, valuable commodities in colonial New Mexico.
15. Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997), 17-41; BNM Legajo 10, Number 86, "Instrucciones q. observava el Fr. Visitador de la Nueva Mexico Fr. Francisco Athanasio Dominguez", n.d., c.1775; Herbert S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Journal with Related Documents and Maps," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XI (1943): 1-132; Fray Angélico Chávez and Ted J. Warner, eds., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976).
16. State Archives of New Mexico (SANM) II, #855, Reel 11, frames 520-524; SANM II, #912, Reel 11, frames 837-845; SANM II, #913, Reel 11, frames 853-864; SANM II, Reel 13, #1349, frames 783-793; SANM II, #1393, Reel 14, frames 112-128.
17. Hafen and Hafen, 76; William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II (1929): 67-73.
18. SANM II, #2511, Reel 17, frames 783-784.
19. In this respect, Arze and García may have been attempting to justify their illegal acquisition of Indian slaves in the Great Basin, in the hope of avoiding the confiscation of the slaves and trade goods that they had bought from Utes.
20. For details of similar conflicts produced by the Bourbon Reforms throughout Spanish America, see Kinsbruner, 3-25, Lynch, 1-37, and Rebecca Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform in New Granada: Riots in Pasto, 1780-1800," *Hispanic American Historical Review*

- view, LXXIII (1993): 99-124.
21. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 125-135.
22. This type of trading venture has been given little attention by historians, who have tended to focus their studies upon other vectors of trade between Euro-Americans, as opposed to internal trading between New Mexicans and indigenous groups.
23. Hafen and Hafen, 269-270.
24. James Beckwourth recalled in 1848 that Utes had initiated an "exterminating war" against New Mexicans due to the enslavement of Indians. Since Utes often operated as slavers themselves, it is reasonable to conclude that the conflict that he reported was the result of Utes being cut off from the slave trade by New Mexicans who bypassed their customary trade rendezvous points with Utes. Oswald R. Delmont, ed., *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth as Told to Thomas D. Bonner* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 503; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Californias, and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean* (New York: Saxton and Miles, 1844), 293.
25. "History of Brigham Young," Manuscript, May 13, 1851, p.846, as cited in Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XII (1944): 6.
26. *Deseret News*, January 10, 1852.
27. For WPA interviews with former Ute slaves in Utah, see Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier."

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.

Poet LaVonne Johnson-Holt, an English major at Metropolitan State College of Denver, crafts a dramatic monologue "Meeting Creekside," springing from her study of David Clapsaddle's article "Ash Creek Crossing" (*Wagon Tracks*, November 2000). As Clapsaddle notes, the stream crossings needed three "necessities—water, wood or chips, and grass" (17). Thus the poet's speaker refers to the "ash trees lining/ its crooked banks" as she echoes the words of George Sibley: "This creek is extremely crooked. . . ."

The speaker hypothesizes that "ash burns well/even when green"

showing that the Trail traveler is unschooled in the ways of the Trail. The poet makes an imaginative entry into Clapsaddle's commentary about the need of Trail travelers to communicate: "At the end of a tiring day, following supper . . . a few rare moments were available for the men to socialize, exchange stories, and perhaps listen to some music." Poet Johnson-Holt's traveler is very communicative: "what did you/ say it is called? Ash Creek, ah. . . ." The traveler also reflects Clapsaddle's commentary that "Such activity was magnified if other caravans were encamped at the crossing, especially if they were coming from the opposite direction. Thus Johnson-Holt's traveler asks for help unhitching the team and asks about the origin of a fellow traveler: "where did you/say you'd come from? Santa Fe, ah. . . ."

However the poet's debt to Clapsaddle, she remarks in her notes that "My mother long ago told me that 'Kansas' comes from a Native American word meaning strong south wind." Her poem is based on organic form. She writes, "My line length is based solely on what I had to say, after I'd pared it down and subjected it to 'condensery,' to borrow a word from Lorine Niedecker."

MEETING CREEKSIDE

by LaVonne Johnson-Holt

Another long day's journey
to this creek at last—
tomorrow we'll cross—what did you
say it is called? Ash Creek, ah,
good name. All the ash trees lining
its crooked banks. Ash burns well
even when green.

Team's tired from pulling
their load in this godawful heat—
help me take off their collars—where
did you
say you'd come from? Santa Fe, ah
not going that far, Colorado only.
Grass
here looks good. We'll picket the
team in
the middle of the rich green.

Water's low and skunky in the bed
still, glad to see it at all
in this heat and no rain—when did
you
say it last rained here? Most a month,
ah,
that's harsh, sun's harsh too. And that
wind, strong south kansas, hard on us
folks that're still so green.

CALVIN THOMPSON GARLAND, "A FAMILIAR DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST"

edited with an introduction by Jesse Scott

(SFTA Ambassador Jesse Scott, Garden City, KS, serves as chair of the SFTA publication committee. He prepared the following manuscript for publication. Special thanks are due Jeffrey Cooper who provided a copy of the manuscript and to the late Marietta Brown who preserved the manuscript.)

Introduction

FROM New England to the Santa Fe Trail and the California Gold Strike, Calvin Thompson Garland related his adventures in an address, "A Familiar Description of the West," apparently presented to some group about 1860 (he refers to Horace Greeley traveling westward "last summer" and Greeley made that trip in 1859). The address may have been given in his native New Hampshire since he closes the manuscript with "started for home, western country enough." Everything Garland refers to in his talk happened prior to 1860.

In August 2000 Jeffrey Cooper of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, sent a copy of a copy of some handwritten notes of "Charles" Thompson Garland. Information in possession of other family members show his first name to be "Calvin," taken from his father's name, John Calvin Garland. His middle name, Thompson, is from maternal grandparents. The Thompson family gave the original land to found the University of New Hampshire, and the main building is Thompson Hall.

Calvin Thompson Garland was born June 15, 1839, and spent his childhood in New Hampshire. At the age of eleven he accompanied his grandfather to the California gold fields in 1850, following the "49ers." After such exposure to the Far West, it seems only natural a red-blooded American boy would yearn for more. The following manuscript is from notes of an address he gave, location and time unknown. Where illegibility or uncertainty in the original notes exists, there are blanks or only those identified letters included here. Some of Garland's abbreviations are unclear, but textual clues provide some identity. It is clear, for example, from "lower Cn. Spring,"

"Middle Cn. Spring" and "up the Cn. to the upper Springs," that "Cn." is the abbreviation for "Cimarron River." Also, "As." is for "Arkansas River."

Other abbreviations are not so clear. "Cs." refers to Indians, but is it an abbreviation for "Cheyennes" or "Comanches"? Of "the Indians who infest the route," is "Ds" an abbreviation for Dakota Sioux or Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne, "Ks" for Kiowas or Kaws, "AS." or "As." for Apaches or Arapahoes?

After a trip to Fort Riley, work with a survey team in Nebraska Territory, and two trips over the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico, Garland's last trip was apparently to Utah, hauling supplies for the troops engaged in the Mormon War or Utah Expedition, 1857-1858. None of the places he mentions on that final trip, with unclear abbreviations and illegible words, have been positively identified, but the circumstances suggest a trip to Salt Lake in Utah.

Calvin T. Garland eventually settled in Texas and owned property in Austin. He was a lawyer and a circuit judge in Texas for many years. He later returned to Rye, New Hampshire, and purchased the family home. He died there in 1898 at the age of 60. Calvin's brother, Charles William Garland, lived in Leoti, Kansas, and served as the first Probate judge of Wichita County.

The text of Calvin Garland's address is printed with original spelling, so far as it can be determined. It is another record of travel on the Santa Fe Trail, including the rigors of winter travel and mention of many landmarks..

**"A Familiar Description of the West," by
• C. T. Garland**

Preparatory to my appearance before you this evening I have written down a brief narrative of my western experience, together with some observations on the country and its inhabitants and future prospects. I come before you tonight not to make any oratorical display for that is out of my line entirely, but to give in my humble way, a familiar description of some parts of the

Great West according to my promise, in obedience to your request. I told you at our last meeting that my remarks would probably occupy from 20 minutes to half an hour. I hope that none have come here expecting a full account of the Western country in my brief remarks, for I should be sorry to disappoint such. However, I will make this offer free to all. If any persons want a fuller account of any particular thing I will be happy to answer any question propounded. Let all be free to ask. They shall freely receive according to my limited knowledge and ability. Not having had extensive recourse to books, my account is founded mainly on observations. Few books have been popular enough to give the masses of the people a clear conception of the general character of the far West. However, the American people like to know what kind of a domain Uncle Sam has in reserve and the universal tendency of all Yankees to spread themselves over all the nation is fast throwing light on the matter. As you are aware, Horace Greeley, the Tribune Philosopher went overland to California last summer [Greeley traveled to the West in 1859]. Although his trip was hasty, giving him little time to make observations, still less to write them, yet his letters were eagerly read by thousands. Some of you may think his statements incredible when he says that he saw 1,000,000 buffaloes in one day and when he estimates the number of buffaloes on the Plains to equal the whole number of domestic horned cattle in the U. S. However I can firmly corroborate his statements in that respect and I believe his estimates of the number of buffaloes to be below the mark. But more of this hereafter. Mr. Greeley made a flying trip across the plains by express. I made three trips across the Plains and two others some distance out. I spent two years and two months in the West, just half of that time spent in Camp. While thus employed it was impossible to keep a journal, so whatever you hear from [me] tonight is the charge of a not very retentive memory. Though events have lost much of their freshness and many

cannot be recalled, yet I have thought best to put my address mostly in the form of a narrative interspersed with incidents of travel. This method will bring more incidents to memory that I can otherwise recall.

In May 1856, I left home and went to Boston in search of employment being sick of farming. I got tired of Boston in one day, and contrary to my original intention started for Chicago. The journey reducing my funds to zero, I left the city and went to work on a railroad bridge 20 miles west. After working there 10 days, I went back to Chicago and from there to Odell Station, 84 miles south, five miles from which place I went to work on a farm. This farm contained 3000 acres and had very good buildings, though there was no wood within five miles of the house. Of course there were no fences, though there were two or three 80 acre fields hedged in by the Osage Orange, which was not yet sufficiently grown to keep out cattle. Forty men were employed on this farm and among the crops were 500 acres of wheat. Deer, Prairie wolves and Prairie hens were numerous here and prairie fires lighted up the horizon at night in every direction. I stayed here some over a month and then started for the St. Louis. I spent a week in St. Louis and then started up the Missouri in a steamboat. I got off at Kansas City, Mo. and then walked over to Westport four miles back. I found Westport in so much commotion about Kansas and Old John Brown that I took the back track, sleeping in the woods between the two towns that night. In the morning I went to Kansas City, where I worked on two brick yards about a month and a half. While I stayed in Kansas City I had a good opportunity to watch the movements of the pro slavery men. A steam ferry boat was always busy in crossing the river to carry armed men on their way to the Border Ruffian rendezvous at Little Santa Fe, 12 miles south of Westport. The ferry boat landing was close to where I worked and as I had many pro slavery acquaintances I was very familiar with their plans. Though I was heartily opposed to the pro slavery scheme of wiping out the free state people from Kansas, yet I managed to prudently

guard my tongue among enemies, well knowing the power of Missouri hemp to choke all utterances. I hope that none will say that I make flings at any of their political parties. I belong to none of them and don't consider any of them worth alluding to, I shall state facts and leave others to draw their own inferences. Perhaps you have all heard lies enough about "bleeding Kansas" and if so a sober fact or two may do you good. I will here read part of a letter written by me from Kansas City.

At that time I hired to Majors and Russell to drive an ox team on the Plains. You all know that our Western Territories are chiefly inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians and to protect overland emigrants and settlers from their attacks, forts or military stations are established by Government and occupied by U. S. troops. Whether these garrisons are in Kansas, Nebraska, Utah or New Mexico they have to be supplied with army stores and all such supplies are transported across the plains and mountains by trains of waggons drawn by oxen or mules. Oxen are generally used by contractors, mules by Government or military expeditions. When vast quantities of freight are to be transported, oxen are always employed. Russell and Co. have had the contract to carry the Government freight to the forts for several years. The contractors do a great business and our course [?] to pretty deep into Uncle Sam's purse in return. To give some idea of the extent of Russell's contract, he sent about 4000 waggons and 30,000 cattle over the plains in 1858. Billy Russell, the head of the firm is a little short Vermonter with a great long head for business. Though he is a Yankee and so religious as to forbid swearing and gambling among his teamsters he owned slaves and starts out trains on Sunday. Next in cohort with Russell is Tom [Alexander] Majors, a Kentuckian. He was formerly a bull whacker, then a Methodist preacher, but now a shrewd contractor full of piety and speculation. I started from Fort Leavenworth with an ox train bound for Ft. Riley. Oct 1st, 1856. The distance was 125 miles. Our teamsters were mostly pitiful pro slavery scamps who had been prowling about Kansas till they got "strapped"

and were obliged to resort to bull whacking for existence. They couldn't drive oxen, however, any better than could free state men and most of them got their travelling documents on their return. Our Ft. Riley trip was a bad one. Almost enough to break a man of iron. I had not been very well since I came up the river and driving and herding cattle at night in the frost and dew and freezing prairie winds didn't cure me. The grass, too, was nearly all burnt off or killed by frost and the cattle began to "cave in." Adventurers on this road were rather tame. On our first Sunday out we were encamped four or five miles from Hickory Point, famous in the annals of "bleeding Kansas." An armed man from that place came to our camp and told our wagon master that the Yankees had threatened to destroy their settlement that night. We had no arms, however, and our pro slavery warriors had to stay in camp, leaving Hickory Point to its fate. The next morning we rolled on and I had unspeakable dissatisfaction of seeing the three Hickory Point houses as safe and sound as they had been since the Free State men riddled them with Sharp's rifle bullets a month before. Orders had been given to us by Russell to stop at some town to vote the pro slavery ticket for delegate to Congress. On election day our train arrived at Osawkee, then a pro slaver town on the Grasshopper. Many Missourians had previously passed us on their way to Osawkee to vote. When we drove up to the town, a savage looking Border Ruffian came up and called out with an oath "Come up here, all you bull whackers." And up to the polls all went, but three of us managed to elude the rascals. Four Northern men voted for [John] Whitfield to save their lives. None of our teamsters were legal voters. They came near forcing me to vote in spite of my pleas of being too young and not belonging in the Territory and it required some address for me not to vote and save my scalp. The road to Fort Riley passes over a very fine country. The Pottawamies have a beautiful reserve 70 or 80 miles out. The Catholics have a flourishing mission among these Indians. Uncle Sam has some good stone buildings at Ft. Riley. We made the Riley trip in 20 days, but I

was so thoroughly tired of it that good wages were no inducement to go again and I quit the service, somewhat worse for wear.

On the 22nd of October I started for Nebraska with a surveying party under the direction of a U. S. deputy surveyor named Caldwell. His party was all made up of discharged teamsters from our Fort Riley train. We were six men in all with a tent, wagon and four oxen. On our journey out we were beset with piercing winds which gave us a foretaste of the approaching winter. We commenced to sectionize on the boundary between Kansas and Nebraska, about 120 miles from Ft. Leavenworth. The weather was severe, the grass burnt off or frost killed and there was not timber enough to camp in. We found not a drip of good water after leaving our first camping place. On the 5th of November we had a severe snow storm which was followed by a "cold snap" which should have driven us to the States. But we held on, poor ill fated wretches that we were. We always started to work at daylight and returned any time between sunset and midnight. Sometimes we missed our way to camp and then it was a hunt for life. Wandering over lone prairies and among deep wooded ravines we shouted ourselves hoarse hoping to be heard by the cook in camp. The prairie wolves replied with their hideous barks and howls. These brutes howl first and then sound up by a bark. Sometimes we were in ecstasies supposing that their cry to be the voice of our men in camp, but their hellish barks dispelled the illusions and cast us from joy into the depths of despair. Imagine a simultaneous war whoop and stampede of Pandemonium and you have some idea of the unearthly noise made by a pack of these wolves. The prairie wolf is a skulking cowardly, contemptible cur. He never attacks man but the mountain wolves sometimes do. All wolves prowl about seeking what to devour and it is often the last request of the dying wanderer that his companions shall bury him so deep that the wolves cannot reach him. The 7th of November was a very cold day and Caldwell said "If it is cold enough today to freeze horns off a brass monkey what will the 7th of January be." We soon found out at a dear rate. Before the

end of November we all had fits of sickness but me, though I had a settled bilious (?) compliment of four months standing. In tow came my turn to be stricken down. After sectionizing one day till dark as usual we started in search of camp, five miles distant. We did not know where it was, as the cook had moved it to the northwest on a small creek in sight of the timber of the Big Blue. I was nearly exhausted when we started but by a strong effort of will I managed to follow the others sometimes falling behind, then guided by their shouts I hurried on again. When at last the answering shout from camp was heard I fell behind and it was sometime before I reached camp. But it came near being my final effort. I took supper and went to bed as Plainers do. The next morning I tried to rise supposing myself able to work. So thoroughly had I been exhausted that I was hardly able to move, much less to rise. I laid there six days almost at the point of death. Two days after I fell sick a great snow storm came on which lasted two days, the 1st and 2nd of December. Our cattle ran off, the snow stopped our work, and we were in the Indian country with no means of moving camp. In this dilemma we remained till I got my feet frozen, and was reduced almost to bones by sickness. The rest of our party suffered terribly in hunting our lost cattle. One had most of his toes frozen off, another was picked up insensible in a snow storm by a party of surveyors bound to the States. At length we got some mules from Col. Manners, a surveyor, and with them we moved our camp. In attempting to head a small creek we got lost in a storm and after two days travel imagine our surprise at finding ourselves where we started from. That was a great joke for surveyors, but we never once used the compass in that storm. After being in camp till the 1st of January, we reached an old deserted trading post on the Black Bermilion where I stayed till the 8th of February. While alone at this desolate place two frozen toes on my right foot mortified and I broke them off. I could get no remedy for my feet, nor any sickness which had reduced me to about 100 pounds weight. I seized the first opportunity to go 12 miles to Turkey Creek, Kansas, where I re-

mained till my feet got nearly well, during which time I worked some on a settler's farm. I cooked a while for a surveying party. The country on Turkey Creek is delightful and the soil deep and rich. There are beautiful groves of timber here, the wood is mostly walnut, hickory, elm, oak, sycamore, _____, and cottonwood. There are plenty of deer, wild turkeys and prairie chickens in all this country and many elk where we surveyed. In places here there were good limestone quarries and the stone was smooth faced and excellent for building purposes. My stay at Turkey Creek restored my health and I then started for Leavenworth where I arrived May 1st and hired to Russell and Co. to go across the plains. On the 16th of May I was surprised to meet my father and brother at Russell's outfit. They had been at work since I left it a year before and I had no more idea of seeing any of my folks in Kansas than I had of seeing men from the moon. We all started together with an ox train of 26 wagons, and 30 men for Ft. Union, N. M. on the 18th of May. Ft. Union is 750 miles from _____ and 150 from Santa Fe. The road stretched 200 miles at first over a very fertile country, mostly rolling prairie, but with beautiful belts of timber along the water-courses. The remainder of the distance is over the "Great Plains," which cannot be cultivated without irrigation, but which are capable of grazing animals to a limited extent. The rivers crossed by the Santa Fe road are the Kaw or Kansas, Cottonwood, Little Arkansas, Great Arkansas, Cameroon, Canadian or Red, and other smaller. The Indians who infest the route are the DS. Ks., AS., Cs. some As. on the west and Indians of eastern Kansas, who hunt the buffalo and fight the Indians of the Plains west of their reserves. Perhaps it would be uninteresting to name the many camping places on the route. We had particular places to camp, where we could get trees, and water for the cattle. We cooked and ate once, twice or three times a day. That all depended the number of good stopping places. The first 200 miles we could get wood to burn, then for nearly 200 miles we had to burn buffalo chips, and the remainder of the distance, nearly 400 miles we burnt mule and ox chips.

Sometimes, however, we carried along some wood in the waggon. In our trip we crossed Salt and Soldier Creeks on bridges ferried [Kaw] River and forded all the other streams, sometimes with great difficulty. About 180 miles out we first struck the buffalo. These brutes, if approached when grazing, will fly from man, but if pursued by hunters, they will often blindly charge close up to a train. When that is the case, there is some brisk shooting. Buffalo meat is cooked in various ways. Much of it is dried for the desert route. When Greeley says he don't like buffalo meat, he don't speak the mind of a Plainer nor a Mountaineer. Many a hunter in the Rocky Mts. has lived for years almost entirely on buffalo meat without salt. I heard a N Mountaineer once say that such living was the best he ever had and he longed to try it again. We first struck the Great Arkansas at the Big Bend and travelled 100 miles up the bottom which was sandy but well grassed. We saw a vast heard of buffalo extending 15 miles along the Arkansas and covering the whole bottom along the south bank of the river for five miles. All day we traveled along the north bank by the side of that vast multitude. I should think 1,000,000 a moderate estimate of their number. I was filled with astonishment. I had heard of 10,000 being seen in a single herd, but to [see] 100 times that number in a single day exceeded my wildest expectations. I said then that such a sight was worth a journey to see. 100 miles from the Big Bend we forded the Arkansas at the lower crossing, with 16 yoke of cattle to a waggon. After five miles travel into the south bank of the river we left the country of grass and water and after a hard pull up the sand hill separating the bottom from desert plains we struck the Horn Alley [Jornada]. This is a desert, 60 miles wide between the Apaches and Comanches. It is destitute of water and grass except in the rainy season in the fall. It is a high level plain terminated by sand hills, which separate it from the river bottoms. The road over it is very bad, but not sandy nor stony. The "battle ground," 170 miles from the Apache's sand hills is a camping place with some water in the rainy

season. Some miles further on is the "Bone Yard" where a few years since, a whole train of cattle, more than 360 in number, froze to death in the month of Oct. A few miles more takes us to Sand Creek, where there is water only in the wet season. There is some grass here, which is eagerly cropped by cattle which have been pulled 50 miles without a bite. 10 miles more of desert carry us over the Horn Alley. The hardships endured by men and cattle in crossing this 60 mile desert cannot be imagined nor described. We have to cross in 36 hours, two nights and one day, as the cattle cannot stand more than one hot day without grass and water. We used to sleep walking along the road, sometimes tumbling against the cattle and waggon wheels and narrowly escaping being run over. Many men have lost their lives by riding on their waggon tongues and falling under the wheels when asleep. However, sleep we must, live or die, and sleep we did, every man of us on our waggon tongues for miles. Many a man has sworn off and left the Plains forever, on account of the dreaded Horn Alley. After leaving this waste we camped at the lower Cn. Spring. From here we drove over another stretch of 27 miles without grass or water. After crossing still another desert ridge we arrived at the Middle Cn. Springs, famous for prairie dog towns. The prairie dog is not found on the rich prairies, but on the barren plains. It is but little larger than a gray squirrel. Why they are called dogs, I don't know, we used to eat them at any rate. It is a fact that owls and rattle snakes are found in prairie dog holes but they are probably unwelcome visitors. A large collection of their holes is called a prairie dog town. We found them along the road from the Little Arkansas to Antonio Creek a distance of between 500 and 600 miles. Leaving the middle Springs, we kept on up the Cn. to the upper Springs 100 miles from the lower. From the As. to this place (160 miles) there is not a tree nor a bush to be seen. The Cn. is quite a stream in time of heavy rains, but sometimes it is nearly dry. The grass in its narrow bottom is pretty good, but back on the upland, the soil is dry and barren. Between the Cn. and Rg. [?]

Union the country is very barren and dreary, and grass, water and fuel is scanty. Leaving the Upper Stream we kept on stopping at some miserable camping places, the names of which I have forgotten, till we came to Rabbit Ears, so called from the appearance of to high mounds near by. Here we found some black currants and a little wood. From this place we had a long stretch without grass or water. When we ascended the west bank of this creek the famous "Round Mound" was full in sight and apparently very near, but after we had traveled its supposed distance, it appeared to be about as far off as before. This surprised those Yankees who were unacquainted with the Plains. Such men often start over the plain to go to an isolated hill or mountain, but it seems to them that the eminence moves from them, till finally they give up in despair, saying that they are no nearer their destination than when they started. Rolling on over the barren plains which are rolling most of the way from the Cimarron to Ft. Union, we pursued our toils some journey to the south westward, stopping at Point of Rocks, Cold pr., Limestone Spring, McNieces Creek, _____ Cr., Cottonwood holes and other dreary and forgotten camping places. At length we reached Red River, where we found good grass and water and some black currants. Leaving here we came in sight of Apache hill, 15 miles distant. While at Red R. a great storm in the mountains swelled the river and hail stones of great size came down with the flood. Some of our men, including my brother narrowly escaped drowning while swimming the cattle across the river. They were on mules and the current carried them some distance down the river. A drive from Red R. took us to the Ocate, where was good grass, the ground being low and wet. Leaving here we rolled on towards Abate hill, which properly speaking is a long bluff between the low land and the table land. Doubling teams, we made the toilsome and zig zag ascent and then rolled on over the high plain towards Ft. Union. We stopped at B. Balley, 12 miles from the fort. Here we saw a hut, the first human habitation we had seen for 500 miles. We also saw some fat

Mexican cattle, guarded by two or three Mexicans. These people herd their cattle in this vicinity and in the summer in winter drive them 100 miles down on Red River where grass is abundant. Here we first came near fine timber. We had seen some before, far off on the mountains, here was some on the hills two of three miles to the southward. Pine and cedar made the country look a little like N. England. However, the timber here is stunted and confined to the hills and mountains. We now made our final drive to Ft. Union which is on a small branch of the Mora, a tributary to Red R. The surrounding country is extremely barren and not a rod of land is cultivated at the fort. After unloading we left the fort and camped at the Springs, three or four miles distant. Here we had an opportunity to view the country at leisure. The country here as everywhere else in the vast Territory of New Mexico is composed of hills and mountains covered with rocks and stunted timber, and of plains and valleys covered with very short grass scorched to a crisp. Nothing can be cultivated without irrigation, but cattle, mustangs, and vast numbers of sheep are herded over the country. The Mexicans are capital herders and manage to keep their stock in good condition, in spite of the aridity and sterility of the soil. The plains and valleys here are entirely destitute of timber and stone and have a hard reddish soil resembling brick dust. The hills and Mts. on the contrary are extremely rocky and are generally covered with stunted trees, and some tufted grass and bushes. Many of the mountains peaks are covered with eternal snow, and look like white clouds above the distant horizon. The country on the whole has a dreary and desolate aspect. We remained 10 days at the Springs expecting to go to Ft. Tucson near Arizona. Grass being so scarce it was finally decided to send us no farther down into New Mexico than Ao. Co., 70 miles from Ft. Union. Passing a cornfield at Water's [Watrous?] R. on the Ma. [Mora] we rolled to Las Vegas over a dry desert. This town presented a striking contrast to the surrounding parched country. Here the water flowed from the springs above the town, down

through the streets into the reservoirs below and was let off on the fields when required. Cn. [corn] Wt. [wheat] R. P. and various garden vegetables were here cultivated and looked flourishing. No fences were seen and all the garden patches below the town looked like a single field. Their stock was herded day and night to keep them from the growing crops. We drove through the town and were well stared at by all the people except the priest, who evidently did not consider heretics worthy of his priestly notice, as he slowly walked on with downcast eyes and sanctimonious contempt. Las Vegas is a village of considerable size and a fair sample of Mexican towns. Houses of adobes. There is much magnanimity and generosity among the mongrels and the Pueblos or civilized Indians are decidedly superior to the Spanish in noble qualities. To the West are the Ns. [Navajos], a brave tribe of Mt. Rovers who have many horses and run off thousands of sheep from the Mexican settlements. They make the famous Ne. blankets which are water proof. The Mexicans also make blankets which effectually protect them from wet while herding cattle. Leaving Las Vegas we soon came to what appeared to be a termination of the road, and one by one our waggons despaired [disappeared]. On our right it appeared to be a solid mountain reaching it and making a short turn we were surprised to find ourselves in a narrow pass, which seemed to suddenly open for our passage. Driving through we rolled towards the Ao. Co. among hills, mountains, rocks, trees, bushes and thorns and agles generally. Varieties of the cactus about here, some resembling lances diverging from a common root. At night when the cattle were trying to scatter all over N.M. and when we were doing some tall running to prevent it we often charged into these lance bushes in the darkness and consequently got severely lanced. We finally got to Ao. Co., which was similar in most respects to Las Vegas. The Mexicans here pack their wood on donkeys and bring it from the Mountains, two thirds wood on top, one third donkey underneath storing our freight here we rolled out for the States. With loaded waggons we drove 6 yoke of

oxen to a team, but with empty waggons, only 4 yoke, driving the remainder lose. When we got to the Cn. we found a 36 mile stretch without grass or water. 60 miles ditto on the Horn Alley. brought us to the As. On the Horn Alley. we met some Mexicans who said that great number of Indians were on the As. and we expected a fight, but when we reached the As, the Indians had left for parts unknown. A short distance below we passed Cl. sumner's [Col. Edwin V. Sumner] camp of U. S. troops, who were out after the Cs. [Cheyennes] They had had a battle a few days before with a large body of Cs. and destroyed their village. The soldiers were out of provisions and lived on beef without salt till we gave them some. On the As. the buffaloe came near running off our cattle in the night. From the B.B. [Big Bend] of the As. (20 miles) to Cow Creek, the buffaloe kicked up clouds of dust about us the whole way. At Cow Creek, we could take in a one view, several hundred thousand of these animals, one of the grandest sights that man ever beheld. Here the buffaloe charged among our cattle three times and men, buffaloe and cattle were intermingled in the utmost of confusion to the great hazard of our lives. We finally reached Dh. [Leavenworth?] after a 105 days trip.

The next trip we were accompanied by 450 U. S. troops. They were supplied from our trains and camped close by us every night. They were new recruits, destined for the forts in N.M. Though we were bound to Ft. Union, we took a new and longer route to get there. We went 220 miles up the As. to Bent's Fort, where we crossed and took a Mt. route for Ft. Union. We had snow before we reached the Mts. We found Bent's Fort deserted and saw traces of a large body of Indians who, aware of our approach, had retreated up the river. Our commander, Col. Chandler, [Major Daniel T. Chandler, Third Infantry] had a talk with a small party of Commanche's and bought a Mexican girl of them for the purpose of restoring her to her friends in Mexico, where she was stolen by the Cs. From Bent's Fort to Ft. Union. (200 miles) we had a very bad road, in fact, it was nothing but a miserable mule track. We were three

THE "DRAWBACK ACT" OF 1845

by Terry M. Ortega

days in crossing the Raton Mts. The scenery here is magnificent beyond description. The Sh. [Spanish] Peaks covered with perpetual snow from the western terminus of the huge piles of mountains, among which we traveled. After unloading at Ft. Union we left our broken _____ cattle in N. M. and taking two waggons and 24 fa _____ Nov. 1st for the States. Our trip out had been a _____ trip back was worse still. At first we _____ igh our waggons were heavily loaded with _____d to sleep on the ground and one morning _____ (cove)red with snow. We started, and drove nearly _____ storm with nothing to eat till we ma _____ where we managed to get a fire with some _____en wood and bushes. Thus we traveled day by _____ the cold and snow till we reached the U. S. Springs. _____ we laid by two days in a snow storm. Going down _____ we found nothing to burn but weeds and wild sage _____ our sufferings were extreme. On the Horn Alley we all were a pitiful sight to behold. We were nearly all snow blinded and some painted black under their eyes as a remedy. Our coats and hats were torn and tattered and some wore blankets instead. Some wore stockings on their hands instead of mitts. Here we gave the cattle the last of our corn and hurried them on to the As. for grass. Finally we reached Sehh. [Leavenworth?] having made the trip in 5 [42?] days. It was now Dec. 12th. I had not slept in a house for seven months but my health was never _____. My father now went home, but my brother _____ the winter in Mo. In the Spring _____ Ft. Lee. 11 miles out on the S. Indians _____ very interesting trip, but I cannot _____ it. Mormons, Indians, buffalo, antelope, _____ were the chief things of note on _____. At Ft. Sac. [Salt Lake?] we saw Sac Peak on the west _____ with snow. 20 miles this side of Ft. _____ I met my youngest brother (15 years old) _____ fir Ft. Sac. He was driving oxen and Sao meant to go through to Ca. And he did get through. All the way back to Lok. [Leavenworth?] we found the road lined with trains and troops belonging to Great St. Sac. [Great Salt Lake?] expedition. We made the _____ trip in three months and then started for home, western country enough.

(Terry Ortega, Santa Fe, NM, is a graduate student at New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas. This research paper won the SFTA award for best paper submitted by a graduate student in 2001. Ortega presented a summary of this manuscript at the symposium, and it is here printed in full.)

ON February 2, 1842, Manuel Alvarez, United States Consul in Santa Fe, and an active trader and merchant on the Santa Fe Trail, wrote his well-known "Memorial" to Secretary of State Daniel Webster. He reported what he perceived to be several "wrongs" committed against American traders and merchants by the Mexican government in Santa Fe.¹ As an introduction to this paper, Alvarez's "Memorial" is quoted, in pertinent part, as follows: "[On] December 1st 1839, there was published a law, by which the natives of this Department are exempted from a tax on stores and groceries, which is nevertheless exacted from the citizens of the United States trading in this place, in violation of the ninth article of the treaty between the two Governments. . . . I presented a petition signed by all the foreign merchants then in Santa Fe, to his Excellency, Governor [Manuel] Armijo asking redress. The answer of his Excellency not being favorable, I wrote a letter . . . on the subject to the Hon. P. Ellis [United States minister]. . . . The circumstance of there then being for the first time in the United States, some of the wealthiest citizens of New Mexico, suggested the idea to me that this was a first measure of the [Mexican] Government to draw the traders of the United States from this market. I stated the same to the Hon. P. Ellis, and under that impression, insisted strongly, for redress; but it was only after the lapse of many months that the Mexican traders were treated in this respect the same as the American."²

Alvarez further reported: "In July 1840, there arrived at Santa Fe a caravan from the United States, with merchandise belonging principally to Mexicans; for the few goods belonging to citizens of the United

States, received by the same caravan, they exacted almost double the amount of duties required from the Mexicans. In October of the same year, a small caravan arrived with goods owned by citizens of the United States, and they were compelled to pay higher duties even, than those that came in July with the Mexicans. Being by this time well informed of the great inequality with which the duties had been exacted in July, I used every means in my power to have justice done to our citizens, but in vain. This convinced me that Governor Armijo was determined by such means to drive from the market the competition of the industrious enterprising citizens of the United States, making certain the most direct and surest way of accomplishing his ends."³

The treaty to which Alvarez referred was the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, concluded on April 5, 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States (hereinafter "the Treaty").⁴ During the time that the Treaty was being negotiated and was finally concluded, several significant developments in the Santa Fe trade contributed, in part, to the "making" of the Treaty between the two nations. First, many of New Mexico's traders and merchants became actively involved in the Santa Fe trade during the 1830s, and by the 1840s they dominated a substantial portion of that trade, especially with the interior provinces of Mexico. Secondly, as reported by Alvarez in his "Memorial," import duties on merchandise entering Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail were numerous, arbitrary, and obviously costly to American traders and merchants.⁵ Finally, and most importantly, the amount of silver coin and bullion entering the United States from Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail was substantial and, thus, so were the profits to be made, particularly if unencumbered by numerous, arbitrary, and costly import duties. The foregoing significant developments eventually led to increased "hostility, concern, and anger" on the part of American traders and merchants. Consequently, from the early 1830s until 1845, they be-

gan to increase political pressure on the United States Congress to "provide for the changing economic picture."⁶ The Treaty was a first step in providing for that change.

The Treaty contained a "most favored nation" clause whereby each nation, "designing to take for the basis of the agreement the most perfect equality and reciprocity, engage mutually not to grant any particular favor to other nations in respect of commerce and navigation which shall not immediately become common to the other party. . . ."⁷ Furthermore, Article IX to which Alvarez made reference, stated that the citizens of both countries, respectively, would not be "subjected to any other charges, or contributions, or taxes, than such are paid by the citizens of the States in which they reside."⁸ Finally, the Treaty contained an article relating specifically to the regulation of the interior commerce between the two nations. Article XXXII stated, in pertinent part, as follows: "For the purposes of regulating the interior commerce between the frontier territories of both Republics, . . . it is...agreed, that, *until the regulations for governing this interior commerce between the two nations shall be established, the commercial intercourse between the State of Missouri of the United States of America, and New Mexico in the United Mexican States, shall be conducted as heretofore, each Government affording the necessary protection to the citizens of the other*"⁹ (emphasis added).

The Treaty, therefore, was construed by the traders and merchants of both countries to be the controlling authority over the interior commerce. The Treaty did not, however, supersede current United States revenue laws which regulated import duties on foreign merchandise. Thus, potential profits to be made by American traders and merchants were further encumbered by the "double taxation grievance."¹⁰ By way of explanation, between 1821 and 1829, the majority of the merchandise entering Santa Fe from the United States was sold in Santa Fe, and the surrounding areas, and consisted primarily of domestic goods. Thereafter, from 1830 through American occupation, as the Santa Fe trade increased and the New Mexican market became glutted,

more than half of each year's merchandise was transported to the interior provinces of Mexico, and approximately one-third of that merchandise was of a foreign nature (imported into the U.S. before being exported to Mexico).¹¹ In the interior markets of Mexico, American traders and merchants importing overland felt that they were at an unfair disadvantage. Unlike their Mexican and other competitors who were importing directly into Mexico at Mexican seaports, they were paying an import fee at American ports for goods purchased in Europe and then paying another import fee charged by Mexico on the same merchandise entering Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. Consequently, in an attempt to alleviate this "double taxation grievance," American traders and merchants began lobbying Congress for the allowance of "drawback" or rebates of import duties on foreign merchandise re-exported from the United States to Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. After fifteen years of "wrangling" with the United States Congress, what is popularly known as the "Drawback Act" was passed in March 1845.

In brief, the Drawback Act provided that rebates could be secured on foreign merchandise imported to the United States, with full payment of duties, and then re-exported to Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. Such merchandise was required to be re-exported to Mexico in its original packages, either through Missouri or Arkansas, and accompanied by invoices, certified by the collector of customs, which contained specific information relating to the merchandise.¹² Passage of the Drawback Act certainly stimulated an increase in the inland trade¹³ and thereby increased the profits of American traders and merchants, placing them on more equal footing with their New Mexican and other competitors. However, its passage came too late to make a significant difference in the profits of the American traders and merchants. Relying on several documents generated by and for the United States Congress between the early 1820s and 1845, this paper will trace in detail the actions of Congress, at the urging and persistence of the American traders and merchants, which led up to the passage

of the Drawback Act.

Efforts by the American traders and merchants to relieve this particular tax burden began in earnest shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation in 1831. On February 8, 1832, President Andrew Jackson transmitted a report to the Senate, prepared by Secretary of War Lewis Cass, in compliance with an earlier resolution of the Senate concerning the fur trade and the inland trade to Mexico. The resolution requested "the most authentic information which can be obtained of . . . the number of persons who annually engage in the fur trade and inland trade to Mexico; the amount of capital employed; and the annual amount of the proceeds. . . . Also, the disadvantages, if any, which these branches of trade labor under; and the means for their relief and protection."¹⁴

In response to the last part of the Senate resolution, Secretary Cass claimed that the Santa Fe trade labored under two disadvantages: (1) the "degradations" of the Plains Indians, and (2) "the exactions imposed upon our citizens after their arrival upon the Mexican frontier." Cass referred to an accompanying communication from Alphonso Wetmore, a long-time Missouri trader, who "fully explain[ed] the nature of these duties."¹⁵

Wetmore's communication, dated October 11, 1831, was one of many documents submitted to the United States Congress which dealt specifically with the "double taxation grievance." Wetmore claimed that: "There are no facilities afforded [by the Mexican government to] the merchants of the United States who trade to Mexico by the interior route. But great impediments have been always thrown in the way of this class of our citizens, who have, by their risks and daring enterprise, deserved much indulgence. The Mexican Government has always given a preference, strongly marked, to their own merchants. This cannot be objected to. But facilities are afforded to the merchants of Great Britain and France, that are denied to those of the United States."¹⁶

Wetmore did not disclose what "facilities" had been afforded by the Mexican government to merchants

from France and England. It is highly unlikely, however, that any such, "facilities" were in fact afforded; first of all, the Santa Fe trade was not accessible to either French or English traders and merchants,¹⁷ and, secondly, all merchants and traders, regardless of nationality, were subject to the same import duties at Mexican seaports as were American traders and merchants. Furthermore, any "facilities" that were not likewise afforded to American traders and merchants by the Mexican government would certainly have been a violation of the aforementioned Treaty.

Wetmore then proceeded to suggest an appropriate remedy for what he termed "those evils," as follows: "The merchants of the United States, trading to Mexico, by the interior, *if allowed the advantage of debenture, will, on entering the market, be placed on an equal footing with those of all nations trading through the sea ports. With this change, the interior trade would assume an importance, which it has never claimed*; and it would, probably, advance to several millions per annum...If it is in contemplation to do any thing for this trade, it is only necessary to allow drawback on all merchandise imported into the United States for the Mexican market, and actually exported by the interior"¹⁸ (emphasis added).

He went on to state that despite all of the "disadvantages" that the American traders and merchants had encountered, the trade had continued to increase steadily, and he claimed that "the circulating medium of Missouri now consists principally of Mexican dollars."¹⁹

President Jackson's message, with accompanying documents, was referred to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on February 9, 1832 where, apparently, no action was taken. Congress, however, was now aware of the "double taxation grievance" and, more importantly, of the significant value of the inland trade with Mexico.

Three years later, in December 1834, William H. Ashley, Representative from the State of Missouri, introduced and secured the passage of a resolution, requesting the House Committee on Commerce to inquire into the expediency of allowing

drawback on foreign merchandise transported via the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico and of establishing the requisite port of entry at Independence, Missouri.²⁰ Representative Ashley's resolution was thereafter bolstered, in January 1835, by one of several memorials submitted to the United States Congress by the Missouri Legislature in support of this issue. The memorial of January 1835 reiterated the "unequal operation of the laws" with respect to foreign merchandise exported to Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. As a consequence of this inequality, the Missouri memorialists claimed that Missouri traders were paying twenty-five percent more in duties for their merchandise than were those traders who exported the same merchandise to Mexican seaports. Thus, their commerce with New Mexico was "languishing."²¹ Again, no action was taken by the United States Congress with regard to this issue; nevertheless, Congressmen's awareness of the situation was again heightened, and the Missouri Legislature continued its press for relief. Two additional memorials were presented to Congress, in February 1837 and again in December 1838, which reiterated their requests regarding drawback and the establishment of a port of entry at the western border of Missouri.²²

The matter appears to have lain dormant and was not given much attention again until 1840, the year in which, as noted earlier, New Mexican traders and merchants were well on their way to monopolizing much of the Santa Fe trade, especially to the interior provinces of Mexico. In April 1840, Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, submitted a letter to R. M. T. Hunter, Speaker of the House of Representatives, in compliance with a resolution of that body dated April 6, 1840. The resolution called for information concerning the inland trade with Mexico. In particular, Secretary Woodbury was directed to "communicate to this House whether, under existing laws, drawback of duties is, or, in his [Secretary Woodbury's] opinion, can be, allowed on goods used in carrying on an inland trade between the United States and the Republic of Mexico; and whether any, and what plan could be most conveniently adopted

for that purpose."²³ In response to the first part of this inquiry, Secretary Woodbury stated that "no drawback of the duties is at present allowed on goods used in the trade mentioned, nor can such drawback be allowed, in the opinion of the department, under the provisions of existing laws regulating that subject."²⁴ The reason for this disallowance had previously been discussed in a January 1835 communication from Joseph Anderson of the Comptroller's Office, to Secretary Woodbury. Apparently, this communication was the result of Representative Ashley's resolution of December 1834 and the January 1835 memorial of the Missouri Legislature.²⁵ According to Comptroller Anderson, in order for goods to be entitled to drawback, they were required, pursuant to Sections 75 and 92 of the collection law of March 2, 1799, ". . . to be exported to some foreign port or place, other than the dominions of some foreign state immediately adjoining to the United States; and the exportation must be made by sea, and in vessels of not less than 30 tons burden; but the 2d section of the act of January 5, 1805, entitled 'An act concerning drawbacks on goods, wares, and merchandise,' makes an exception to the rule by allowing the benefit of drawback on goods exported to any foreign port or place, *situated to the westward or southward of Louisiana*."²⁶

As a result of the exception in the January 1805 act, Secretary Woodbury was able to respond in the affirmative to the second part of the House's aforementioned inquiry (i.e., "whether any, and what plan could be most conveniently adopted for that purpose"). A suggested plan had been proposed by Comptroller Anderson in his January 1835 communication to the House of Representatives.²⁷ Thereafter, on December 21, 1835, the House Committee on Commerce, to whom the Comptroller's report had been transmitted, reported a favorable bill "embracing in its provisions the plan suggested by the Comptroller, for a particular route therein specified; which, with suitable modifications, might include such other routes through which the trade over land to Mexico is, or may be, contemplated to be carried on."²⁸

Although the information in these

documents appears to have previously fallen on deaf ears, Congress now seemed ready and more attuned to listen. In 1839, the relief so long requested by the Missouri traders and merchants was strengthened by similar requests made by traders from Louisiana and Arkansas. Included with Secretary Woodbury's report submitted to the House of Representatives in April 1840 was a letter dated September 10, 1839, from J. W. Zacharie of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce. Zacharie was chairman of a committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to draft a memorial to the United States Congress, requesting that current revenue laws be modified in order to allow drawback on merchandise exported by land to countries west of Louisiana.²⁹

This unexpected interest on the part of New Orleans was a result of the arrival "recently" of a large caravan from the province of Chihuahua, carrying with it "a large amount in bullion for investment in merchandise." The caravan had arrived at a point on the "Red river above the raft, and thence by steam conveyance" to the city of New Orleans. There was an immediate perception on the part of the New Orleans traders and merchants of the "importance to the United States of securing a direct trade in bullion with that [Chihuahua] and the adjoining provinces." They also emphasized that the "benefit of inland drawback would measurably, if not entirely, direct that trade by the Red river route instead of the circuitous one through the Mexican ports on the bay."³⁰

Being under the impression that the Secretary of the Treasury had the authority to allow "the export of merchandise, for the benefit of drawback by steamboats, to countries west of Louisiana," Zacharie and his committee decided to correspond with Secretary Woodbury directly before drafting a memorial. They felt that if they had to resort to submitting a memorial to Congress, it would only serve to "create more publicly than they deem judicious, as the Mexican Government, with their jealousy toward our citizens, which has already prohibited the importation of nearly every article of domestic manufacture of the United States, might take more effective

steps to prevent their introduction through this, the only channel left." Zacharie also referred to the collection law of 1799, and the act of 1805, which he construed amended the 1799 act to allow drawback on goods exported "from the United States, or district of Mississippi," to ports westward and southward of Louisiana.³¹

Although Zacharie did not specifically identify the location of a port of entry, Secretary Woodbury appeared to have been under the impression that Zacharie was requesting that goods "be carried by steamboats from New Orleans to a point on the Red river, and from thence by land across the country to the province of Chihuahua in Mexico." Thus, in his response of September 27, 1839, Secretary Woodbury advised Zacharie that the Department of the Treasury was not authorized to "sanction the arrangement proposed." He informed Zacharie that Congress was the only body that could amend or modify existing revenue laws to accomplish this end.³²

Thereafter, on October 8, 1839, Zacharie clarified the request of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce as follows: ". . . whether goods shipped per steamboat to a foreign country, that is, to Jonesborough or Pecan Point, on the Red river, in [the Republic of] Texas, without being landed at an intermediate point of the United States, could not be entitled to drawback."³³ To the obvious disappointment of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, Secretary Woodbury was forced to advise them that because the boundary line between the United States and the Republic of Texas had not yet been surveyed and marked, it could not be determined at that time whether Jonesborough or Pecan Point were embraced within the limits of the United States or of Texas. Therefore, the Department of the Treasury did not "feel justified in the expression of an opinion as to the right of drawback on goods shipped to either of the places mentioned."³⁴ This appears to have been the last communication between Secretary Woodbury and the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce with regard to this matter.

Secretary Woodbury's April 15, 1840 letter to House Speaker Hunter, and all of its attachments, was referred to the House Commit-

tee on Commerce, wherein a favorable report was secured from that committee in May of 1840.³⁵ By this time, traders and merchants from Arkansas were also actively engaged in the Santa Fe trade.

In May 1839, the Arkansas Gazette reported that Josiah Gregg had led the first caravan of traders from Arkansas to Mexico, and, thereafter, the Congressional delegation from Arkansas was just as forceful as the Missouri delegation in its demands for drawback.³⁶ In this regard, Representative Edward Cross from Arkansas was instrumental in securing the aforementioned favorable report from the House Committee on Commerce. In a letter dated May 12, 1840, to Representative Edward Curtis, chairman of this committee, Representative Cross related that the trade in question consisted, on the part of the United States, of cotton goods manufactured in the northern and eastern states, and of linens, woolen cloth, and silk manufactured in foreign countries, and on the part of Mexico, of gold and silver, either coined or in the form of bullion. He reiterated that the United States imposed heavy duties upon the goods manufactured in foreign countries, and, therefore, "the allowance of drawback [on these goods] will be essential, as, without it, traders would seek other markets not similarly burdened. For the purpose of affording this advantage, one or more ports of entry will be necessary near our western border, and on the line of the trade within our territorial limits."³⁷ Accompanying Representative Cross's letter to the House Committee on Commerce was a copy of Secretary Woodbury's previously referenced letter (April 15, 1840) to the House of Representatives, with all of its attachments, including Comptroller Anderson's January 1835 proposed plan for drawback, and the correspondence between Secretary Woodbury and J. W. Zacharie of New Orleans.

Two other significant documents accompanied Representative Cross's letter. In a postscript, Cross referred to M. de Valois and a Captain A. Harris, with whom he had communicated in April 1840 regarding the inland trade and the mines in Chihuahua. Because of his "long residence and connexion with the army on the

western frontier," Representative Cross requested of Captain Harris on April 9, 1840, "any knowledge you may have in relation to the annual amount of the inland trade between the United States and Mexico; in what it consists; the route or routes by which it is carried on; . . . and information in your power in relation to the annual production of the gold and silver mines of the Mexican provinces of Chihuahua and Santa Fe."³⁸ In his written communication to Mariano de Valois,³⁹ April 20, 1840, Representative Cross also requested of Valois that he communicate his personal knowledge of the inland trade between Mexico and United States.

These communications were, of course, solicited in support of legislation requesting the establishment of ports of entry in the State of Arkansas and the allowance of drawback on foreign goods conveyed overland from such ports to Mexico. The State of Arkansas was obviously looking to secure for itself the valuable trade with the interior provinces of Mexico and was, therefore, contemplating a new, direct route from Arkansas to "that portion of Mexico east of the Rocky Mountains, and south of the province of Santa Fe." Thus, in his inquiries to Harris and Valois, Representative Cross suggested that such ports of entry could be established at either Fort Smith or Van Buren on the Arkansas River.⁴⁰

In this regard, Captain Harris, responding on April 10, 1840, acquiesced in Representative Cross' suggestion that Fort Smith was decidedly the most suitable place for a port of entry on the Arkansas River. "It is an important military post," he declared, "immediately on the western border, and at the head of low-water navigation. It is also the crossing point of the great military road from the Upper Mississippi, along the western frontier to Red river; and the fort is situated on that side of the river from which the trading caravans must start."⁴¹

With regard to the issue of drawback, his response was in the form of a pointed interrogation of the United States government: "Will not our Government extend a helping hand to her hardy and adventurous citizens in the prosecution of so laudable an object, and, by so doing confer

such immense benefit upon the whole country? Why is it that an inland trade should not be entitled to the same privileges and immunities as our commerce on the seas? It certainly cannot be that it is less worthy of the attention of the Government because the goods are transported in wagons and on mules, instead of vessels."⁴² Finally, Captain Harris concluded, "the State of Missouri is at this day the soundest in the Union in her monetary affairs. She is filled with specie; and the interior Mexican States have supplied it. She [Missouri] will always have the Santa Fe trade; *Arkansas can secure that for Chihuahua*"⁴³ (emphasis added).

Valois's response, dated April 23, 1840, was much more detailed in that Representative Cross requested answers to specific inquiries. With regard to the issue of drawback, Cross asked: "Would the allowance of a drawback of duties on goods imported into the United States, and in carrying on the trade, have any, and what, influence upon it?" Furthermore: "Be pleased to state the usual routes of carrying it on, with their respective advantages?"⁴⁴ Valois wrote pointedly regarding the opening of a new route "of direct intercourse with the State of Arkansas" and of allowing drawback on goods exported by this new route. He prefaced his discussion by stating that the Department of Chihuahua had a population of 140,000, and that their annual consumption of goods amounted to no less than \$2.5 million annually. Valois stressed that the majority of the goods consumed were brought in by English traders and merchants, "through the ports on the Pacific." Small portions of goods were also imported through the ports on the Gulf of Mexico, or "by the way of Santa Fe."

Valois contended that the transactions with Chihuahua through Santa Fe were "extremely circumscribed" and could not be carried on to any great extent by the traders from Missouri because ". . . as you are well aware, their goods are burdened with the drawback. Besides, it [Santa Fe] is a thousand miles' journey through the desert, to that independency. Like the rest of the districts of New Mexico, its population is sparse, and consequently con-

sumes but little. Hence the traders are usually obliged to undertake a second journey of six hundred miles or more to Chihuahua, where they commonly arrive with their assortments greatly damaged, and but seldom realize much profit on their sales."⁴⁵

With regard to the opening of a new, direct route from Chihuahua to Arkansas, Valois described a trip that he and "two other gentlemen of Chihuahua" began on April 3, 1839, carrying with them "upwards of five hundred mules and seven wagons, in which we carried our effects and provisions, as well as arms to defend ourselves against any attacks from the wild Indians inhabiting the intervening territory." The caravan had expected to encounter obstacles to the passage of its wagons, as well as little water on the "unexplored trackless desert." However, to their "surprise and joy," the traders found that the way was "level and firm, bounded by rich pasturage, interspersed with wood, and traversed every two, three, and four miles by living brooks of wholesome and refreshing water." Valois concluded that this route was "the best and the shortest that any one could reasonably desire between the two countries." He estimated that from Chihuahua to the point at which they touched the Red River, the distance did not exceed 600 miles, and from this point to Fort Smith or Van Buren on the Arkansas River, was another 200 miles.⁴⁶ Returning to the issue of drawback, Valois argued that, if the United States government "should think proper to extend the benefit of drawback to goods exported by this new route, I have no doubt that the trade between this country and Chihuahua would become very important."⁴⁷

Finally, in response to a question regarding whether the cotton goods manufactured in the United States, or those of British fabric, were preferred by the citizens of Chihuahua, Valois stated: "The consumption of cotton fabrics in Mexico is so great, as to be equal to the half, or more, in value of all the goods introduced. The fabrics of the United States are always preferred, because they are more substantial and durable than the English. This article is, therefore, one of great importance in the

Mexican markets; and the United States might, for many years, secure the privilege of furnishing the supply. . . . *But, I repeat, in order to give to the direct trade between Arkansas and Chihuahua the increase of which it is susceptible, it is indispensably necessary that the goods should have the benefit of drawback*, just as they have it when exported by sea. Without this advantage, traders would have no prospect of gain to induce them to use the land route, where they would be subjected to greater burdens, with less chance of profit, than if they resorted to the highway of the ocean"⁴⁸ (emphasis added).

These were powerful statements on the part of Valois. In fact, his entire document was clearly one of the most important generated during this period in support of drawback for the inland trade. Furthermore, soliciting support from a Mexican trader and merchant, albeit one who was a partner in an American merchant firm, was a wise and strategic move on the part of Representative Cross. Valois's letter became a part of the Congressional record and, no doubt, was heavily relied on by Congress in its negotiations and deliberations leading up to the passage of the Drawback Act in 1845.

As a result of Representative Cross's May 12, 1840, letter and each of its accompanying documents, the House Committee on Commerce favorably reported: "The advantages derivable from a properly regulated trade with the internal provinces are thought to be too plain to admit of demonstration. The plan of encouragement proposed is, to allow the benefit of drawback on goods exported over land to those countries. To a measure so simple in its nature, and so consonant with common justice, the committee are unable to discern any plausible objection. If goods conveyed by sea are entitled to a return of duties, why should they be denied the same privilege when exported by land? No substantial argument against it can be drawn from the fear of frauds on the revenue. By keeping the goods in the original packages until they reach their places of destination, they can never be brought back to the United States for sale."⁴⁹ This document, House Report 540, accompanied "bill H. R. No. 441," which was introduced in the

House of Representatives on May 12, 1840.⁵⁰ Again, it appears that no action was taken by Congress.⁵¹

Similar information and documents were submitted by Secretary Woodbury on February 7, 1840, to Senator William R. King, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce.⁵² The first, dated February 6, 1840, was a letter from Comptroller J. N. Barker to Secretary Woodbury. Attachments to that letter included a resolution of the Senate, dated December 27, 1839, made on a motion by Senator William S. Fulton from Arkansas. The resolution made inquiry into the expediency of establishing ports of entry on the western border of the State of Arkansas, to be located on the Red River and the Arkansas River, and of entitling drawback on foreign merchandise exported overland from those ports to Mexico.⁵³ A second attachment, dated January 7, 1840, was a letter from Senator Fulton to Secretary Woodbury, recommending the establishment of the aforementioned ports of entry. As grounds for his recommendations, Senator Fulton stated that "if these ports of entry were established, and the drawback allowed upon foreign merchandise exported from thence overland into the department of Chihuahua, we could easily secure to the United States the immensely valuable trade of that department," referring, of course, to the "inexhaustible" gold and silver mines in the Department of Chihuahua.⁵⁴

A third document attached to Comptroller Barker's letter was a memorial of the Legislature of Missouri to the United States Congress, dated December 27, 1838. The memorial requested the establishment of a port of entry on the Missouri River and the allowance of drawback on goods exported by land to Mexico from that port of entry. The Missouri Legislature, as noted earlier, had previously memorialized Congress regarding the Santa Fe trade, but obviously to no avail.⁵⁵ In the present memorial, which appears to have been Missouri's final one to Congress in this regard, the memorialists first presented "a statement of facts in connexion with this trade," setting forth the circumstances by which the trade began, the route between Missouri and Santa Fe, the problems

with Mexican duties at Santa Fe, and, of course, the issue of drawback. They claimed that "the track which the Santa Fe traders have heretofore followed over the vast prairies must be soon obliterated, unless Congress shall infuse into the trade new vigor and life, by allowing to our traders the same privilege of drawback and debenture which they grant to those who reship by water." They concluded that passage of the requested legislation "would produce the most beneficial results."⁵⁶

A final document, not part of Comptroller Barker's letter, but attached to Secretary Woodbury's letter of February 7, 1840, was a communication from a James Harrison at Fort Gibson, to Senator A. H. Sevier, dated December 31, 1839. Harrison, writing in support of a new, direct route from Arkansas directly to the city of Chihuahua, stated that the city of Chihuahua could be "relied on for the vent [sic] of from two to three millions of dollars annually, all of which (if proper protection is given) must, from necessity, pass through our State." He felt confident in his statements because he had apparently lived in Chihuahua for approximately three years, and "was, during the whole time, actively engaged in the commerce of the country."⁵⁷ He discussed the route by which a large caravan had arrived from Chihuahua in August 1839⁵⁸ and emphasized that the mileage between Van Buren, on the Arkansas River, and the city of Chihuahua, was only 800 miles. Furthermore, Harrison surmised that the "route will be easily performed every six months; when, at the same time, the traders from Missouri, having six hundred miles farther to go, can only perform the route once in twelve months; added to which, they have a second duty of ten per cent on the Mexican valuation, the extra transportation, &c., making a difference in favor of the trade from Arkansas, of at least twenty per cent."⁵⁹ He, therefore, concluded: "The principal and almost only protection required to this valuable trade, is that of making Van Buren or Fort Smith a port of entry, for the *sole and express purpose* of giving to the trader the benefit of *debenture* or drawback of duties on our foreign goods, without which a port of entry would be of

no benefit or interest whatever."⁶⁰

Harrison urged Congress to grant the State of Arkansas a port of entry, with the privilege of drawback, which, if granted, would "not only prove beneficial to Arkansas, but allow me to assure you, from my best knowledge of the business of that country, that there will, without doubt, be large amounts of goods furnished through that channel that are now landed on the coast of Mexico from France and England, which is of no small importance to the United States."⁶¹

Secretary Woodbury's February 7, 1840, letter and attachments accompanied "bill S. 347," which was introduced in the United States Senate on May 18, 1840.⁶² Unlike the similar legislation before the House, this bill was passed by the Senate late in the session; passage, however, was required by both houses of Congress, and the legislation languished for the next five years, despite continued "agitation" by American traders and merchants.⁶³

In February 1842; obviously as a result of the United States government's lack of action in this regard, Manuel Alvarez was compelled to bring the matter to light once again. Either in conjunction with or shortly after his "Memorial" to Secretary of State Webster, Alvarez memorialized Congress "on behalf of the American merchants therein [Santa Fe] resident."⁶⁴ As United States Consul in Santa Fe, he was obligated to inform the United States government of the difficulties encountered by American traders in Mexico. As a long-time overland trader himself, Alvarez was obviously protecting his own interests as well.

He reminded Congress of the ease with which American traders and merchants were able to profitably "dispose" of American cotton goods in the Santa Fe trade. When it came to goods of English or French manufacture, however, they could not possibly compete with those traders and merchants who imported similar goods directly from their respective countries into Mexican seaports, or with American traders who imported similar goods from the United States, but who had the benefit of drawback. Alvarez was the opinion that without the benefit of drawback, the overland traders, espe-

cially those from Missouri, would soon be driven from the market.

Alvarez admonished Congress with respect to the repeated applications which had been made by American traders and merchants over the previous ten years, requesting the benefit of drawback on foreign merchandise transported overland to Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. This benefit, Alvarez contended, would place the overland traders on an "equal footing with those carrying on the trade by sea."

He then proceeded to inform Congress of the advantages that would result to American interests should the request for drawback upon the goods referred to be granted. First, Alvarez contended that American traders and merchants, particularly those from Missouri, could command "nearly the whole of that portion of the commerce with Chihuahua, which is at present enjoyed by France and England through the seaports of Mexico." Second, Alvarez believed that, should drawback be allowed, the "whole trade in foreign articles by . . . Chihuahua, with the larger portion of that of Durango and Sonora, would be diverted from its present channels, and carried on with the United States through Santa Fe." Alvarez had been informed by the "most satisfactory sources" that the state of Chihuahua consumed more than two million dollars annually in foreign goods, the profits of which were "now received by foreigners," and that if the "desired equality of footing" was granted to the inland traders, those profits would soon find their way "into the hands of the enterprising population of our western borders." Furthermore, as a consequence of increased profits, Alvarez claimed that an increased demand for American goods would naturally flow, and, therefore, "all classes in the Union" would participate in and benefit from the overland trade, i.e., "from the manufacturing districts to the last place in west Missouri, where the outfits of the caravans are completed."

Finally, Alvarez believed that a more extensive intercourse between the inhabitants of Missouri and those of Santa Fe and Chihuahua would naturally promote and strengthen "those feelings of mutual

amity and confidence which form their relative geographical position and the intimate connection of their interests it is for the welfare of all parties to cultivate."

Thereafter, in July of 1843, Alvarez once again wrote to the Secretary of State reiterating the advantages that would accrue to the United States if the proposed legislation were enacted.⁶⁵ Manuel Alvarez was obviously articulate in his communications with the United States government, and, more importantly, he was a shrewd, intelligent businessman. He was well-respected by the governments of both Mexico and the United States, and his memorials were, no doubt, relied on by the U.S. Congress in its consideration and subsequent passage of the Drawback Act.⁶⁶

Another two years went by, however, before the Drawback Act was finally passed and signed into law by President John Tyler, on March 3, 1845. It is difficult to comprehend why the Congress delayed passage of the Drawback Act for so many years, given its knowledge of all the aforementioned reasons for the passage of such legislation. In particular, it appears that Congress should have realized by the 1840s that New Mexican traders and merchants were monopolizing much of the Santa Fe trade to the interior provinces. Furthermore, and of greater significance, was the fact that large amounts of silver coin and bullion were entering the United States as a result of that trade.

The competition for this trade had become intense because the profits to be made were obviously substantial. Thus, as is evidenced by the numerous documents submitted to Congress in this regard, American traders and merchants were adamant in their efforts to keep as much of those profits as possible in their own pockets. Their efforts, however, were fragmented because of the intense competition that existed among the American traders and merchants themselves. As evidenced in this paper, many of the states on the western boundary of the United States, i.e., Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, proposed similar legislation to Congress for the allowance of drawback. Each, however, wanted a port or ports of entry in their respective

state. Consequently, there must have been intense disagreement among the Congressional delegations of each state, thereby delaying the passage of the requested legislation. In this regard, Congress may also have paid close attention to Comptroller Barker's February 6, 1840, communication to Secretary Woodbury, wherein he made the following recommendation: "In closing this report, it may not be improper to add that my views in regard to the expediency of establishing ports of entry or delivery, in the manner proposed, and at the places designated, have been . . . the result merely of an examination of their geographical positions on the maps within my reach. In regard to their eligibility for creation as ports of entry, in other respects, all the information necessary for a just determination is presumed to be within the control of Congress; but the extensive internal trade now existing between places hitherto wholly unknown must be anticipated to induce similar applications, which may lead to an augmentation of officers, without resulting in the benefits contemplated; and it is, therefore, conceived to be the dictate of sound policy to avoid . . . the multiplication of ports at minor points of trade, or where there does not exist an absolute necessity."⁶⁷

The Drawback Act, as finally passed and approved in 1845, contained essentially the same provisions and plan of operations as set forth by Comptroller Anderson nearly ten years earlier. Ports of entry were established in Van Buren and Fulton, Arkansas, and in Independence, Missouri, and the subject merchandise was to be re-exported through these ports of entry to Santa Fe and Chihuahua via the Santa Fe Trail.⁶⁸ No mention of another direct route from Arkansas or New Orleans to Chihuahua was made, and the Santa Fe Trail trade remained intact. It has been suggested that the political and economic strength of the New Mexican traders and merchants during this period contributed, in large part, to this end.⁶⁹

Pursuant to Section 11 of the Drawback Act, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to "prescribe such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, . . . to carry into effect

the provisions of this act. . . ."⁷⁰ Thereafter, on April 10, 1845, Secretary of the Treasury R. J. Walker prescribed the requisite rules, regulations, and forms, which were disseminated as "Circular Instructions to Collectors of the Customs," at the aforementioned ports of entry.⁷¹

After the passage of the Drawback Act, the inland trade between Santa Fe and Missouri increased markedly. Its passage, however, came too late to make a significant difference in the profits of the American traders and merchants. Within two years, General Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West marched into New Mexico and seized it for the United States. Thereafter, in February 1848, Brigadier General Sterling Price, the civil and military authority in New Mexico after American occupation, issued Order No. 10, which, among other things, levied an import duty of "six per centum, ad valorem, on all merchandise introduced into the Territory of New Mexico, from and after the date hereof, based upon the original invoices, duly authenticated before the officer hereinafter designated."⁷²

The Drawback Act, still in its infancy, was now null and void, and it is somewhat ironic that the United States government, after denying the American traders and merchants the benefit of drawback for so many years, was now levying a whole new set of duties on their imports to New Mexico.

NOTES

1. "Manuel Alvarez, Memorial to Secretary of State Daniel Webster," Washington, February 2, 1842, as cited in Thomas E. Chávez, ed., *Conflict and Acculturation: Manuel Alvarez's 1842 Memorial* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989).
2. *Ibid.*, 29.
3. *Ibid.*, 29-30.
4. "Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation," 5 April 1831, *Treaties and Conventions Concluded Between the United States of America and Other Powers Since July 4, 1776* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 664-675.
5. See also Richard O. Ulibarri, "American Interest in the Spanish-Mexican Southwest, 1803-1848" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1963), 113; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 79-80; and F. F. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," *Missouri Historical Review*, 10 (July 1916): 258-259.
6. David A. Sandoval, "Montezuma's Mer-

chants: Mexican Traders on the Santa Fe Trail," *Adventures on the Santa Fe Trail*, ed. Leo E. Oliva (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1988), 44.

7. "Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation," 664.
8. *Ibid.*, 666.
9. *Ibid.*, 672-673.
10. Stephens, "Missouri," 258.
11. See Gregg, *Commerce*, 331-332; see also House, Committee on Commerce, *To Establish Ports of Entry in Arkansas and Missouri, and to Allow Debenture, etc.*, report prepared by E. D. White, 26th Cong., 1st sess., 1840, H. Rep. 540, 1.
12. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, V (1845): 750-752.
13. See Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (1958; reprint Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 74-75; see also Gregg, *Commerce*, 332.
14. Senate, *Message from the President of the United States, in Compliance with a resolution of the Senate concerning the Fur Trade, and Inland Trade to Mexico*, 22nd Cong., 1st sess., 1832, S. Doc. 90, 1.
15. *Ibid.*, 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 32.
17. See Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 151, 154.
18. Senate, *Message from the President*, 1832, 32-33.
19. *Ibid.*, 33.
20. See Stephens, "Missouri," 259. Stephens did not cite a specific document.
21. Ses. Laws of Mo., 8th Gen. Assem., 104, as cited in Stephens, "Missouri," 260.
22. See Stephens, "Missouri," 260-261.
23. House, *Inland Trade with Mexico. Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, in Compliance with a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, calling for information concerning the inland trade with Mexico*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., 1840, H. Doc. 191, 1.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, 2-3.
26. *Ibid.*, 3; see also Senate, *Documents Relating To the bill (S. 347) "to establish ports of entry in the States of Arkansas and Missouri, and to allow debenture on foreign goods conveyed over land from such ports to Mexico"*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., 1840, S. Doc. 472, 10.
27. House, *Inland Trade*, 3-5; see also Senate, *Documents Relating To*, 10-11.
28. House, *Inland Trade*, 1-2.
29. *Ibid.*, 5.
30. *Ibid.*, 6.
31. *Ibid.*, 5. See also *Niles' Register*, XXXVI (March-September 1829), 354, for a list of the purported prohibited items of trade.
32. House, *Inland Trade*, 6-7.
33. *Ibid.*, 7.
34. *Ibid.*, 8.
35. See House, *To Establish Ports*, 1.
36. See Stephens, "Missouri," 261.
37. House, *To Establish Ports*, 1-2.
38. *Ibid.*, 10.
39. Valois was a native of Chihuahua and a veteran of the Mexican trade. He had

also been involved in working the gold and silver mines of that region for several years. At the time of Representative Cross's communication with Valois, he was a partner in the successful American merchant firm of Glasgow, Harrison, Valois & Co. See Mark L. Gardner, ed., *Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails: Edward James Glasgow and William Henry Glasgow, 1846-1848* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993), 7-8.

40. House, *To Establish Ports*, 2.
41. Ibid., 12.
42. Ibid., 12.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., 13.
45. Ibid., 15.
46. Ibid., 15-16.
47. Ibid., 16.
48. Ibid., 13, 16.
49. Ibid., 1.
50. Ibid.
51. See Stephens, "Missouri," 261.
52. Senate, *Documents Relating To*, 1-2.
53. Ibid., 4.
54. Ibid.
55. See Stephens, "Missouri," 260-261.
56. Senate, *Documents Relating To*, 6-8.
57. Ibid., 9.
58. Harrison was apparently referring to Mariano de Valois's caravan which departed Chihuahua on April 3, 1839.
59. Senate, *Documents Relating To*, 9.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., 1.
63. See Stephens, "Missouri," 262.
64. "Manuel Alvarez, Memorial to Congress," Washington, February 1842, (copy of handwritten original), Benjamin Read Collection, No. 42, New Mexico State Records Center & Archives (NMSRCA).
65. "Manuel Alvarez to Secretary of State," July 1, 1843, *Consular Dispatches*, Santa Fe, Vol. I, as cited in Ulibarri, "American Interest," 115.
66. For additional biography of Manuel Alvarez, see Chávez, *Conflict and Acculturation*, 4-15; see also Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez, 1794-1856: A Southwestern Biography* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990).
67. Senate, *Documents Relating To*, 3.
68. *U.S. Statutes at Large V* (1845): 750.
69. Sandoval, "Montezuma's Merchants," 49.
70. *U. S. Statutes at Large V* (1845): 752.
71. A. Jones, ed., *The Revenue Book: Containing the New Tariff of 1846, etc.* (New York: Bell & Gould, 1847), 35-37.
72. "Laws passed by the General Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico," December 1847, Order No. 10, Secretary of State Collection, H-001 Laws of New Mexico (1847), Serial #4804, NMSRCA.

NOTICE

Because of space, the "Council Trove," "New SFTA Members," and "Trail Calendar" columns have been omitted from this issue.

FORT LEARNED

—TEACHER'S TRADING POST—

Anne Mallinson, Editor

Congratulations to Janet Armstead of Wamego, KS, for being chosen to receive the 2001 SFTA Educator's Award. Armstead teaches at St. George Elementary School in the Rock Creek, KS, School District. Her work promotes the Trail in her community and throughout her school district. Janet has written a musical about the Santa Fe Trail for her students. We would love to see a performance of it at a symposium.

The Raytown School District and members of the Raytown, MO, community sponsored a 5K Run for Excellence along the original route of the Santa Fe Trail. The project helps support the Raytown Educational Foundation, an endowment established to provide financial assistance to Raytown graduates attending a college or university. Civic leaders and local businesses donated prizes and refreshments for the runners and for the volunteers. During the weeks prior to the event, runners were given sponsor sheets to garner support for their participation.

On October 20, participants gathered at the Chittwood Athletic Stadium at 8:00 a.m. to receive their numbers and instructions. At 9:00 the starting bell sounded and 181 runners and walkers left the field to travel the Santa Fe Trail in Raytown. Volunteers and spectators lined the route waving banners and cheering family members and friends. Christine Stringer, a Santa Fe Trail enthusiast, ran with her 5th-grade class from Laurel Hills Elementary School. Stringer teaches the western trails and wanted to give her students first-hand experience in traveling a part the local historic trail. I volunteered to help and was lucky enough to draw traffic duty where I could watch runners and spectators alike.

Everyone seemed to have a good time, even those straining to keep up. Police officers on bicycles shadowed the slower groups, and one 83-year-old participant had her own personal traffic officer. The event featured several categories for winners, but it seemed that everyone was a winner to be out on such a

beautiful sunny morning. Next year's event is set for October 19, 2002. For more information on how to create your own Santa Fe Trail 5K run, contact Robert Kessel at <BOB KESSEL@aol.com>.



HOOF PRINTS

—TRAIL TIDBITS—

Mike Pitel, SFTA publicity coordinator, has taken on a new persona as Route 66 historian. Route 66 is celebrating its 75th anniversary in 2001. It once ran through Santa Fe. Pitel offers two Route 66 tours. One is a 90-minute walking tour through downtown Santa Fe which points out Route 66 sites. The second is a seven-hour driving tour along the original route from Romeroville west through Santa Fe and south to Albuquerque. Pitel may be reached at (505) 982-2704.

The Santa Fe Trail Monument has been selected and approved by the Santa Fe Art in Public Places Committee. It now awaits approval of the City Council. The bronze life scale monument depicts an arriving trade wagon and three cultures. Reynaldo Rivera is the sculptor and Richard Alan Borkovetz, the landscape architect. Installation of the sculpture will happen in the fall of 2002.

The Friends of the National Frontier Trails Center have established an endowment fund for the Center. Their intent is to build the fund to the point that the interest it generates can be used to help fund important Trail Center programs and other special needs. Gifts to the endowment can be sent directly to NFTC, 318 W Pacific St, Independence MO 64050.

Master planning for Little John Creek Heritage Park near Council Grove, KS, began early in November when Kaw National Cultural Committee members and other tribal members joined Council Grove residents and Kansas State Historical Society representatives to discuss how best to interpret the history of the Kaw Tribe in Council

Grove area. Historical, cultural, ecological, and environmental concerns were addressed. Master planning has been made possible by a grant from the National Park Service's Historic Preservation program.

THANK YOU

I want to express my profound and sincere gratitude to the Santa Fe Trail Association for the Marc Simmons Writing Award, awarded at the September 2001 Symposium for an article of mine published in *Wagon Tracks*.

I was unable to attend the symposium, so had no idea this wonderful award was coming my way until the package from New Mexico arrived with the beautiful recognition plaque, check, and congratulatory note from Harry Myers. This was a particular honor, in that the award is made in the name of Marc Simmons and comes from an organization that publishes an outstanding quarterly—*Wagon Tracks*.

Thank you very much. I treasure the plaque and have it in a place where I can see it and smile often.

Beverly Carmichael Ryan
1515 Fairway Place
Lynchburg VA 24503

My sincere appreciation to the Association for awarding the Marc Simmons Writing Award jointly to Stephen Clyde Blair and me for our work on the William Anderson Thornton diary. Thornton's descendants are to be commended for preserving this fine diary and allowing it to be printed in *Wagon Tracks*. Harry Myers deserves thanks for spotting the notice about the diary on internet and beginning the process of acquiring it for publication. And the editor added invaluable information to the work. I am truly honored to receive this award.

I was also surprised and touched to receive the "Stick Around Award," a product of Harry Myer's wonderful imagination. For those not present at the awards ceremony, the gist of the award, I think, was for me to stay off my bicycle and stick close to Leo, as well as to celebrate the fact that I was alive and pretty much in one piece. I want to thank those I've heard from since the last issue of

Wagon Tracks, when they first learned of my accident, for their concern. I am doing well and back riding my bicycle.

Bonita M. Oliva
2985 C Rd
Woodston KS 67675

CAMP TALES

—CHAPTER REPORTS—

Cimarron Cutoff

President D. Ray Blakeley
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Clayton NM 88415
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No report.

Texas Panhandle

President Kathy Revett Wade
1615 Bryan Place #14
Amarillo TX 79102
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<krevett@am.net>

No report.

Wagon Bed Spring

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

No report.

Heart of the Flint Hills

President Deanne Wright
PO Box 45
Council Grove KS 66846
(620) 767-7080

To prove that Kansans are hardy and can survive a heat index of 110 degrees, the chapter met on July 25 by the Wilmington School. We sat in a grove of trees planted years ago by the Wilmington community. The chapter needed to decide if it would continue to try to rebuild the west wall of the school. Only partial work has been completed on the stone wall since it was damaged by vandals. The chapter directors voted to continue efforts to find area stonemasons and to use funds earned from the 1999 Symposium for the project.

Jolene Day reported that the 2001 Trail Ride from Marquette to Council Grove, June 8-15, was highly successful. They saw great scenery south of the Smoky Hills and enjoyed their portable water tank, "Jack and Jenny" facility, and a new traveling shower stall. (No one admits to getting soft; the shower ostensibly is for youngsters on the ride. No age limit of "youngster" was provided, how-

ever.) Members were encouraged to attend the symposium in Las Vegas in September.

The chapter held its annual meeting November 8 at the Kaw Mission State Historic Site. The main order of business was the re-election of three board directors, Al Bunting, Don Cress, and Lois DeWitt, and the election of new board director, Sheila Litke. Sheila has participated in every trail ride held by the chapter and has led the school where she teaches in the Trails Project.

Chapter directors decided to prioritize work on the historic stone barn with the replacement of doors. We also discussed the difficulty of locating stonemasons in the vicinity of Wilmington school who would rebuild the west wall of the building.

The programs was "Tales from the 2001 Symposium." Reports were given by those who attended the symposium in Las Vegas, NM, and the trail ride. Everyone had a splendid time and we send our congratulations to all those who worked to produce another successful symposium.

End of the Trail

President Tom Steel
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<tomcarly@swcp.com>

On September 15 at 1:00 p.m., 22 members and guests met on the Santa Fe Plaza to tour historic sites significant to the Trail. Margaret Sears and Pam Najdowski were our guides; we were divided into two almost equal groups.

We started out somewhat disoriented by the cacophonous music from the bandstand. The celebration was the Annual Chili Fiesta right after the annual Fiestas de Santa Fe. We righted ourselves and took off on an informative tour. We learned about the people, where they lived and worked or played during the era of Trail Days.

In spite of the noise of traffic we all worked hard to put ourselves back in time; in the time of mules and carts, adobe homes, military installations, entrepreneurs in trade, farmers and clergy. The Church played a dominant role in establishing schools, orphanages, and hospitals. This is where women of the East met the challenge of settlement, not

only the Sisters of Charity and of Loretto but many wives. Some traders married local women which became apparent to us as we traced the genealogy of those who lived in those old adobes in Santa Fe. The people who have purchased some of the sites and are maintaining them are to be congratulated.

Aside from our Corazón members about 20 more EoT members attended the symposium in Las Vegas. The Corazón Chapter is to be congratulated for producing a well-planned educational event that provided much variety.

On November 17, member Agnesa Reeve will present a slide lecture on "Three Houses and Their Legends: Watrous Trading Post, Mills in Springer, Chase in Cimarron."

On January 19, 2002, Doug Peterson will give a talk on "The Influence of the Santa Fe Trail on Religion in New Mexico."

Corazón de los Caminos

President Faye Gaines
HC 60 Box 27
Springer, NM 87747
(505) 485-2473
<www.nmhu.edu/research/sftrail/corazon.htm>

The Corazón Chapter is to be congratulated for the outstanding symposium they worked so long and hard to present. Thank you for a great symposium. See articles about symposium in this issue.

Dr. Glenn Faith, formerly associated with the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, presented the October 21 program at the Santa Clara Café in Wagon Mound, "Medical Support at Fort Union, 1851-1861." He was peppered with questions from about 25 members and guests, including D. Ray Blakely, president of the Cimarron Cutoff Chapter. Dr. Faith and his wife, Dorothy, flew into Denver and drove to Wagon Mound for the meeting.

The doctor has his own practice in Rochester but is attempting to retire. He has long been interested in medicine at frontier army posts and is presently working on a new degree in medical history at the University of Minnesota.

He was in Las Vegas as an ER physician at Northeastern Regional Hospital last year and took a history course from Mike Olsen at NMHU.

Faith's presentation was excerpted from his term paper for that class. He focused on the period between the Mexican War and the Civil War and did extensive research in the James W. Arrott Fort Union collection at Highland's Donnelly Library.

The annual business meeting was held at the Santa Clara Cafe in Wagon Mound, November 18, followed by a meeting of the outgoing board of directors, then the newly-elected board. The incoming directors/officers are Mary Whitmore, president; Faye Gaines, vice president; Morris Eiland, treasurer; Nancy Robertson, secretary; and members-at-large Dixie Odom, Tibor Remenyik, and Alma Gregory.

Wet/Dry Routes

President Lon Palmer
358 W 8th St
Hoisington KS 67544
(620) 653-2827

The chapter conducted its fall meeting on October 14, 2001 at Garfield, KS. Included in the business session was a discussion relative to the annual Santa Fe Trail Seminar scheduled for May 4, 2002, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Fort Larned Old Guard.

In addition, a report on the recent Santa Fe Trail Symposium was presented by Alice Clapsaddle. Cited were the following chapter members who received awards from the Santa Fe Trail Association: Merit Award, Lee and Dorothy Kroh; Marc Simmons Writing Award, Bonita Oliva; Paul Bentrup Ambassador Award, Ross Marshall; and Heritage Preservation Award, David Clapsaddle, Bob Rein, and Mildon Yeager.

Following the meeting the members met at the Plain Camp site, five miles southwest of Garfield, to replace the marker recently vandalized.

The next meeting is slated for January 20, 2002 at Kinsley, KS. Cecil and Jayne Humphrey Pearce and their sons, from Wallace, KS, will present a musical program.

Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron

Nancy Jo Trauer
1309 West Brier
Dodge City KS 67801
(620) 227-8343

The chapter met October 2, 2001, at noon at the Inn Pancake House.

President Nancy Trauer presided. Following the business meeting, Dr. B. Richard Dryden gave a 10-year anniversary history of the chapter.

The chapter's regular meeting was held Saturday, November 3. Members and guests took the Dodge City Trolley to Ingalls to visit the Santa Fe Trail Museum. Keith Chadd provided information about sites along the way. Stops were made at the Caches and Fort Atkinson.

Missouri River Outfitters

President Nancy Lewis
1112 Oak Ridge Dr
Blue Springs MO 64015
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The chapter met at 2:00 p.m. on November 18 at the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, MO. Niel Johnson presented a slide program on Harry Truman and his involvement in preserving and promoting the history of the overland trails. Johnson is president of the Friends of the NFTC and also a Missouri Humanities speaker who has portrayed Harry Truman for many years. You may have seen him on television or heard his voice narrating Channel 41 segments of "Crossroads" that dealt with Truman. This was a joint meeting with Friends of the NFTC.

The annual holiday potluck dinner will be held at the Slusher home in Lexington, MO, on Sunday, December 2. Members are invited to bring a covered dish (service and meat provided). Musicians are requested to bring their musical instruments. The Slusher home is at 1421 South Street. For more information, contact President Nancy Lewis (816) 229-8379.

The January meeting will be held on Sunday, January 27, 2:00 p.m., at the National Frontier Trails Center. Mark Armitage will present a program on Alexander Majors. This, too, will be a joint meeting with the Friends of the NFTC. For more information, contact John Atkinson (816) 233-3924 or <atkin@mwsc.edu>.

MRO Vice President John Atkinson has been busy writing grants for the 2003 symposium and for resources to fund mapping projects. The 2003 committee has met several times and reports that plans for tours and activities are progressing.

Chapter members were saddened to lose our friend Anna Belle Cartwright. Anna Belle was active at the national level with the campadres program and with her attendance at SFTA events. Her contributions to the chapter and to the Association, her enthusiasm, and her bright smile cheered us all. She was an active member of the 2003 symposium committee and designed the logo that MRO has recently adopted. Services were held on Monday, October 29, at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Kansas City, MO. We extend condolences to her husband Joe, to her three children, and to other family members.

Quivira

President Britt Colle
PO Box 1105
McPherson KS 67460
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<blkcolle@midusa.net>

No report.

Cottonwood Crossing

President Dale E. Brooks
316 W 16 St
Newton KS 67114
(620) 283-6454

The August quarterly meeting, attended by 35 members and guests, was held at the Main Street Café in Durham, where a short business session was held along with a presentation by Vernon Lohrenz concerning history of the Cottonwood Crossing. The Trail crossing of the Cottonwood River is well noted in Trail literature.

Following the meeting a tour was to be held of Trail ruts that were made by west-bound teams and wagons as they pulled up out of the Cot-

tonwood River campground. A severe thunderstorm prohibited the tour, so it will be on a future schedule.

The chapter executive committee is pursuing a plan to develop an "Auto Tour" across our area of Marion County. The tour will follow the Trail on county and state roads where markers and ruts can be viewed from the roadside. We need information concerning the availability of "Auto Tour" signs that can be placed at appropriate places along the roads.

Thirty-three members and guests attended the November quarterly meeting, the last meeting of the year. Sheryl's Café in Canton provided the chapter with an excellent meal that was preceded by business of the evening meeting and the program. Business included an election of officers for 2002. The following were elected to guide the chapter through the coming year: President Gil Michel, Vice-President Dale E. Brooks, Secretary Vernon Lorhertz, Treasurer Bill Silverstrand, Directors John Dick, Sharon Shutte, and John Wiebe.

Following the business portion of the meeting, David Clapsaddle gave an interesting presentation, "Trading Ranches along the Trail."

Several Trail development projects were discussed by the group, one of which was a displaced DAR marker along highway 77 where the road is being rebuilt. The day following the chapter meeting a chapter work party reset the marker along the new highway right-of-way. The chapter area has six DAR

markers, four of which have been re-lettered by the chapter.

Bent's Fort

President Dub Couch
PO Bos 325
Rocky Ford CO 81067
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<dubcouch@ria.net>

A very enjoyable, educational Rock Art Tour hosted by Lolly Ming was held on August 8. Although the group was small, they enjoyed viewing ranching country, rock art, signs of volcanic activity in southeast Colorado, and an entire town that was moved to be closer to water.

On November 3, the founding of the Black community south of Manzanola, "The Dry," was scheduled to be the subject of a program presented by Alice (Craig) McDonald of Manzanola for the chapter's educational meeting at the Otero Museum in La Junta, CO.

FROM THE EDITOR

Another late issue, and another excuse. A computer crash was bad enough, but everything on the hard drive was recovered. Even worse, the new computer had serious problems for a month before it was fully operational. There were days when we feared there would not be another issue of *WT* from this office. Things are back to normal again, behind schedule as usual.

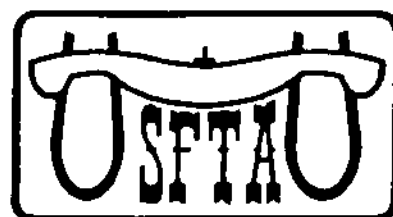
We hope to get organized next year. Happy holidays and best wishes for a better 2002.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

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