

# Wagon Tracks

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## Wagon Tracks. Volume 8, Issue 2 (February, 1994)

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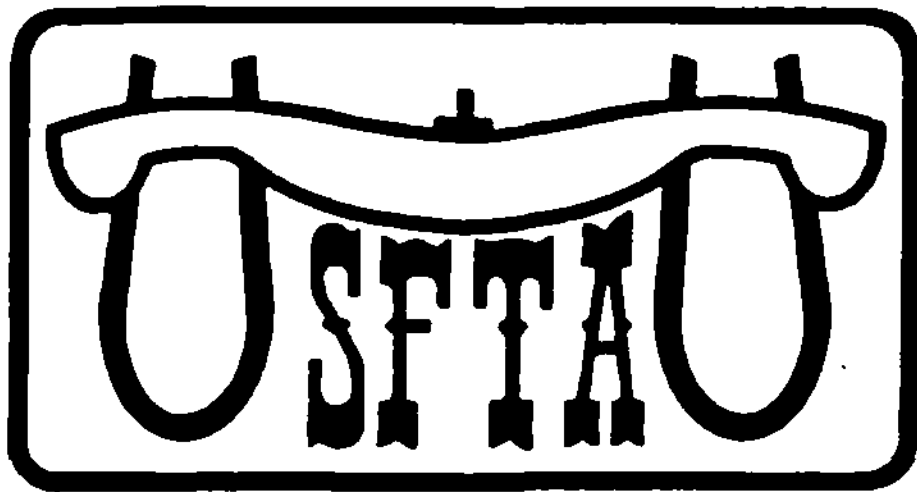
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# WAGON TRACKS

SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY

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At the SFTA Symposium last September, during an 1840s-period dinner at Bent's Old Fort NHS, SFTA Ambassador Paul Bentrup joined the historic entertainment when he danced with Bent's Fort living-history cook Charlotte Green (portrayed by Phyllis Howard of La Junta, CO). Looking on, at right, was Alejandra Aldred, Interpretive historian at the historic site. During the course of the meal Aldred explained that Charlotte was often the only woman at the fort and for special events she would dance with trappers and traders. After the dinner, Aldred announced that Charlotte would dance with any of the men. Up jumped the "Clown Prince of the Santa Fe Trail," the one and only Bentrup who, despite his store-bought knee, danced with Charlotte while singing "Waltzing Matilda." This photo has appeared almost everywhere at Bentrup's behest. Sometimes known as Bulldog Bentrup, it is now clear that he is also Publicity Hound Bentrup.

## RENDEZVOUS 1994 AT LARNED, JUNE 3-4

THE Santa Fe Trail Center and Fort Larned National Historic Site will present Rendezvous 1994 on Friday and Saturday, June 3-4, in Larned. The theme is "Entrepreneurs of the Santa Fe Trade." The program will extend beyond the entrepreneurship of the freighting companies to address the independent businessmen who established trading ranches along the route of the Trail, as well as the post sutlers who catered to the military forts. Indian trade along the Trail (from both sides) will also be addressed.

Speakers for the Rendezvous include David Dary of the University of Oklahoma, Donald Blakeslee of Wichita State University, David Clapsaddle of Larned, Supt. Harry C. Myers of Fort Union National Monument, and Ron Parks, curator of the Kaw Mission State Historic Site in Council Grove.

In addition to the speakers, the program includes a buffalo dinner on Friday evening in the quartermaster building at Fort Larned NHS. A first-person interpretation of Seth Hays, first Anglo-American settler at Council Grove, will be the evening program. Rendezvous 1994 will conclude on Saturday afternoon with a field trip to local Trail sites.

All members of SFTA will receive a mailing in the spring with more details about the program, lodging information, and a registration form. The governing board of SFTA will conduct a business meeting in connection with the Rendezvous.

## 175TH ANNIVERSARY PLANS

by Harry C. Myers

PLANS continue for the celebration of the 175th anniversary of the opening of commercial trade over the Santa Fe Trail. WT editors Leo and Bonita Oliva, who have not offered their guided bus tour of the Trail for several years, are planning to conduct it again in 1996 and 1997 if there is sufficient interest. Anyone wishing to participate should contact them so they can determine if this will be feasible. The SFTA 175th committee encourages everyone to get involved in this Trail anniversary.

The committee will soon be presenting a list of Trail-wide events to the governing board for approval. Now is the time to submit your suggestions for these events. Send to Harry C. Myers, PO Box 7, Watrous NM 87753.

SFTA chapters should begin planning for special events during 1996-1997 to celebrate the anniversary and to call national attention to the Santa Fe Trail. Dates for events and special celebrations should be set by January 1995 so they can be publicized nationwide.

Members should contact their local chambers of commerce and tell them the 175th is coming up in 1996. The celebration will start in September 1996, 175 years after William Becknell left Franklin, Missouri, and run through September 1997, ending at the SFTA symposium. This will cover Becknell's first two trips to Santa Fe and include the use of wagons and Mexican independence from Spain. Letting the chambers know early will assist in the planning and meeting deadlines of informational publications which must be printed well in advance of the events.

Every SFTA member is urged to write in support of a commemorative postage stamp to Citizen's Advisory Committee, U. S. Postal Service, 475 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Washington DC 20262-6753. Please tell them we need a stamp commemorating the 175th anniversary. Send suggested designs or just a letter in support. We will need all the letters we can get in favor of this proposal, and it needs to be done immediately.

## PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

WITH the adoption of the updated bylaws by the membership in La Junta last fall, the Santa Fe Trail Association is now organized to cooperate with organizations and individuals protecting the remnants of the old Trail. Federal, state, and local government agencies are becoming interested in the Trail. However, they are interested in the mystique of the Trail as a lure for tourist dollars. There is nothing wrong with this approach as long as preservation is also involved in the process. What to preserve and how to preserve it always involve differences of opinion. The SFTA has traditionally taken the position that local citizens should be directly involved in the decision-making process on a site-by-site basis. It is difficult to make a set of preservation rules for the entire Trail because of the diversity in soils, rainfall, temperature, vegetation, etc. Land use by wild and domestic animals and by man are also constant considerations all along the Trail.

The recent flooding along the eastern end of the Trail brought SFTA members directly into the preservation business with hands-on experience. All along the Trail, Association members are working with farmers and ranchers and local governments in the assessment of damage and planned future care of historic structures and landmarks.

There is not a national organization with more grassroots involvement than the SFTA. Local input is the true strength of the Association. Coordinating these local activities is one of the Association's reasons for existing. The SFTA is also the legal entity which governments recognize as a partner to preserve the entire route of the old Trail, working through both individual members and local chapters.

*Wagon Tracks* is recognized as the voice of SFTA in both the professional and amateur spheres. I know of no other one publication in any area which relates so well to both the professional and amateur. This is truly an achievement by our editor.

The symposia have also interested both the professionals and amateurs. This double-barreled approach in organizing meeting agendas has required a great deal of creative thought by the program committee members. We owe them a doff of our sombreros.

In 1986 when Dr. Marc Simmons was elected to serve as the first president of the Santa Fe Trail Council, which became the Santa Fe Trail Association in 1987, no one dreamed of the potential we realize today. At that time we agreed to hold a symposium every odd-numbered year. Leo Oliva volunteered to start a newsletter, *Wagon Tracks*. The timing was right and membership grew rapidly. The Santa Fe National Historic Trail was designated

in 1987. Then chapters developed and undertook valuable projects. Success has forced the Association to develop new policies, now possible with the revised bylaws. And this success has sprung from the energy, drive, and enthusiasm of the members. The officers and directors face new challenges. The governing board will conduct planning sessions during the 1994 Rendezvous at Larned. Members are invited to attend. The remarkable story of SFTA continues to fulfill Dr. Simmons's clarion proclamation at the first symposium: "THE SANTA FE TRAIL LIVES ON!"

—Bill Pitts

## AARON ARMSTRONG

by Marc Simmons

School teachers Aaron and Ethel Armstrong retired in 1979 and moved from Santa Barbara, CA to Roswell, NM. They had two great loves that kept them busy—history and books. Their growing Southwestern library was soon recognized as one of the largest private collections in the state.

The Armstrongs were charter members of SFTA and attended the first three symposia. They made numerous drives over the Santa Fe Trail, camping along the way in a small trailer that Aaron liked to call their covered wagon. From these excursions they built a large file of Trail slides, developed several scripted programs, and presented them regularly to public groups. Many SFTA members will recall their slide presentation at the Santa Fe symposium in 1989. The Armstrongs were also contributors to *Wagon Tracks*.

Aaron passed away at Roswell on September 24, 1993. He was 74. Sincere condolences are extended to Ethel. Aaron Armstrong will be sorely missed and fondly remembered.

## BOB YOUNG

William Robert (Bob) Young, Boise City, OK, was, along with his wife Norma Gene, a charter member of SFTA. He was formerly co-owner and co-publisher of *The Boise City News*. He had been active in the Cimarron County Historical Society. He died at the age of 71 on January 2, 1994, a victim of cancer. Sincere condolences are extended to Norma Gene and other members of his family.

## HARVEY L. CARTER

by Mark L. Gardner

Harvey Lewis Carter, one of the premier historians of the mountain men and a biographer of Kit Carson, died January 13, 1994, in Colorado Springs, CO, at the age of 89. Dr. Carter taught history at Ursinus College, PA, from 1928 to 1945, and at Colorado College, 1945 to 1973.

Carter is best known for his scholarly works on Kit Carson, particularly his *'Dear Old Kit': The Historical Kit Carson*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1968. This volume contains the definitive edition of Carson's oft-cited memoirs and was described by Santa Fe Trail bibliographer Jack Rittenhouse as, "One of the most careful studies ever done on Kit Carson." In 1984 he co-authored a full-length biography of Carson with Thelma S. Guild (see bibliography below.)

As a result of his exhaustive research on Carson, Carter developed an unabashed admiration for his subject. He was quick to defend Carson when he felt the legendary mountain man was being unfairly treated or the truth ignored. He answered this call one last time less than a year before his death when he wrote the introduction to *The Short Truth About Kit Carson and the Indians* by Marc Simmons and R.C. Gordon-McCutchan. "Kit Carson was always the first to volunteer when any-

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### Membership Categories

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| Benefactor    | \$1,000    |
| Patron        | \$100/year |
| Institutional | \$25/year  |
| Family        | \$20/year  |
| Individual    | \$15/year  |

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one in trouble called for help," he wrote. "Can we fail him now in his hour of need? . . . Make room for me there on your firing line, if you don't mind an old duffer, who can't shoot straight anymore, thinking he can be of some help. Maybe I can still load our guns and see that you have a good supply of ammunition."

In the preface to his own work, *'Dear Old Kit'*, Dr. Carter wrote that, "The primary obligation of a historian is to set the record straight. Devotion to truth and accuracy must be his guiding principle." And so they were for Harvey L. Carter, truly a historian's historian.

#### Select Bibliography of Harvey L. Carter

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*The Life and Times of Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Introduction to *The Short Truth About Kit Carson and the Indians*, by Marc Simmons and R. C. Gordon-McCutchan. Taos: Kit Carson Historic

Museums, 1993.

Over 100 book reviews in various historical journals.

### NEW CHAPTER FORMING

COTTONWOOD Crossing has been chosen as the name for a new SFTA chapter forming in Marion and McPherson counties in Kansas. The first meeting was held in Canton last November, when Dick Brown of Kansas City, who was then walking the route of the Trail, was present. A second meeting was held to work on by-laws and launch a membership drive. The next meeting will be at the Senior Center in Durham, KS, at 7:00 p.m. on March 8, 1994. Everyone interested is invited to attend.

The section of Trail embraced by this chapter includes Cottonwood Crossing west of Durham, French Frank's trading ranche and stage station north of Lehigh, Fuller's Ranch at the crossing of Turkey Creek south of Galva, the site of the Kansa Treaty signing in 1825 near Elyria, and some excellent Trail remnants and pristine ruts. The purposes of the chapter are to promote local interest in the Trail in the two counties and surrounding area, restore and maintain markers along the Trail, identify and mark the historic route, sponsor field trips to Trail sites, and to search for and share information about the Trail. The Cottonwood Crossing Chapter is the twelfth SFTA chapter.

### SPIRIT MAGAZINE

SFTA members will enjoy *Spirit Magazine*, a travel and tourism publication issued twice each year and covering southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Each issue features an article on the history of the region, and publishers Brian and Gretchen Orr have engaged Marc Simmons to prepare an article on the Santa Fe Trail for the upcoming issue. Simmons had a fine piece entitled "Kit Carson's Homeland: The Man and the Legend" in the last issue of *Spirit*. The Orrs also plan to bring SFTA to the attention of their readers.

The magazine, with full-color photographs, is distributed free at tourist locations in the region. It is available by subscription for only \$9.00 per year and is highly recommended. The publication is sustained by advertising, and businesses may want to check out the advantages of being included in this 80,000-copies-per-issue periodical. For more information or to subscribe, contact Orphan Press, PO Box 346, Walsenburg CO 81089 or (719) 738-2832.

### SUMMER PROGRAM

THE University of New Mexico Southwest Institute will offer its 1994 summer program on "The Borderlands—Past and Present," featuring the natural and cultural diversity of this portion of the Southwest. Participants will explore the region of southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the northern border of Mexico during a two-week lecture program (30 lectures by a variety of scholars) at Albuquerque Academy, June 20-July 1, and a one-week field program in July (either July 3-9 or July 17-23).

Topics include geology, environment, Indian cultures, and current issues associated with the US-Mexico border. Early history includes the Coronado and Janos trails and the presidios of the brief Spanish colonial contact in the area. Special attention will be given to the Apaches, whose homelands were within the Borderlands. Participants will follow in the footsteps of Victorio, Nano, Cochise, and Geronimo. Current issues will include the *maquilladora* border industries, changes expected from the increase in free trade, and restricted human traffic across the border.

Institute Director Jerry L. Williams stated that "The Borderlands" program will "have a great deal to interest" members of SFTA. For further information please contact UNM Southwest Institute, 106 Bandelier West, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque NM 87131-4006 or (505) 227-2828.

### VOLUNTEERS WELCOME

DO you have some spare time and a love of the great outdoors? Looking for a rewarding experience or educational opportunity this summer? Consider spending time as a volunteer in a national or state park, forest or other public land, where the need for volunteers is at an all-time high.

The 1994 *Helping Out in the Outdoors*, a directory of volunteer opportunities on public lands published by American Hiking Society, can help you find an opportunity to match your interests and schedule. Thousands of fascinating opportunities are described, including campground hosts, trail crews, and such positions as geologist, carpenter, computer operator, gardener, historian, librarian, surveyor, writer, and many more.

There are volunteer opportunities in every state. For a copy of *Helping Out in the Outdoors*, a 128-page directory of more than 2,000 volunteer jobs, send \$7.00 to AHS Helping Out, PO Box 20160, Washington DC 20041-2160.

## JAMES BROWN: FORGOTTEN TRAIL FREIGHTER

by William B. Claycomb

*[This is number sixteen in a series on Trail freighters and personalities. Claycomb, a new member of SFTA from Sedalia, MO, has a special interest in freighters from Pettis County, MO. He earlier published an article on John S. Jones in the Missouri Historical Review (1979).]*

PETTIS County, Missouri, was the home of several major Great Plains freighters in the two decades before the Civil War. At times these Pettis countians were doing more business on the plains than anyone else, with the possible exception of William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William Waddell of Lexington, Missouri. Historians tend to concentrate on the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell and its successors at the expense of the Pettis countians. This is somewhat unfair in that at least two of the Pettis countians, John S. Jones and James Brown, were innovative pioneers in Great Plains freighting and transportation. The other Pettis County freighters were Dr. Joseph L. Cartwright and General George R. Smith. William Becknell, who opened successful overland trade between Missouri and Santa Fe in 1821, owned 120 acres in the northeast corner of Pettis County until 1835, but he is not considered one of the Pettis County freighters.<sup>1</sup>

There is some published material on Jones (1811-1876); Smith (1804-1879), the founder of Sedalia, Missouri; and Cartwright (1825-1888); but Brown has been almost forgotten among Santa Fe freighters. Of all these pioneers, however, he was one of the earliest and most experienced. Some books refer to him as being from Independence, Missouri. While he may have operated his business out of Independence, his home—for the last 13 years of his rather short life—was in Pettis County.

Almost nothing is known of Brown's early years. The 1850 Pettis County census dated October 11, 1850, lists James Brown's age as 48 and place of birth as Kentucky. For census purposes his occupation was listed as farmer with \$8,000 worth of real estate. His wife, Martha Scroggins Brown, was listed as being 40 years of age and a native of Kentucky. His six children—Mary E., Samuel H., George S., Nathaniel G., Harriet A., and Charles Ewing—ranged in age from 20 years down to two. Also listed with his household were six young men, ages 15 through 29; four of these were farmers, one a saddler, and one a "trader"

who owned land valued at \$600. The only other family member whose existence was recorded is a brother, John S. Brown, age 43 in 1850, who also lived and owned land in Pettis County. He was married and had six children.<sup>2</sup>

James Brown had come to Georgetown, the Pettis County seat before the Civil War, in 1837 and bought a lot in Georgetown for \$35 on December 9, 1837.<sup>3</sup> In 1838 he commenced buying land east of Georgetown and at his death owned 1,218 acres of good farmland, all but 108 acres of it in one body two miles east of town. He apparently became well-known and respected soon after his arrival in the county, for he was elected to the Pettis County Court in 1838, where he served until 1842.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter he was sometimes referred to as "Judge" Brown.

It is not known when Brown started freighting. He was carrying the mail from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, at least as early as 1847. Records show that he was caught in a 36-hour blizzard on February 19, 1847, while on the Trail, and eight mules froze to death. On that particular trip he left Santa Fe on January 9 and arrived at Fort Leavenworth early in March. Besides the hardships of the desolate terrain and the frequently miserable weather, Brown was sometimes harassed by the Pawnees and other occasionally-belligerent Indians on the plains. On July 4, 1847, while returning from Santa Fe to Westport, Missouri, a combined force of Comanches and "renegade Mexicans" attacked his party of civilians and military personnel along the Cimarron River. Brown lost 17 oxen in the fracas but was lucky nonetheless because there is no record of loss of life in this attack.<sup>5</sup>

When the War Department established permanent posts in New Mexico during and after the Mexican War, it became necessary to supply them from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the army's depot for the West. In 1846 and 1847 the army tried to do its own freighting over the Santa Fe Trail, organizing trains and hiring civilian teamsters (called bullwhackers). According to freighting historians Raymond and Mary Settle, "Owing to ignorance of Army officers concerning the highly specialized business of freighting across the Great Plains, inefficiency of bullwhackers, and efficiency of raiding Indians, this plan proved a total failure in 1847."<sup>6</sup> War Department officials in Washington wisely acknowledged the

inability of the army to transport its own supplies and instructed Captain Langdon C. Easton, quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, to make contracts with civilian freighters.<sup>7</sup>

James Brown was awarded the first two contracts. They were dated May 17 and May 18, 1848. By the terms of the May 17 contract he agreed to deliver 200,000 pounds of supplies to Santa Fe for 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per pound. All goods were to be delivered without delay "unless unavoidably detained." All of Brown's equipment was subject to inspection and rejection by the quartermaster. George R. Smith, John S. Jones, and David Waldo signed the \$50,000 bond required by the army to insure Brown's performance under the contract.<sup>8</sup>

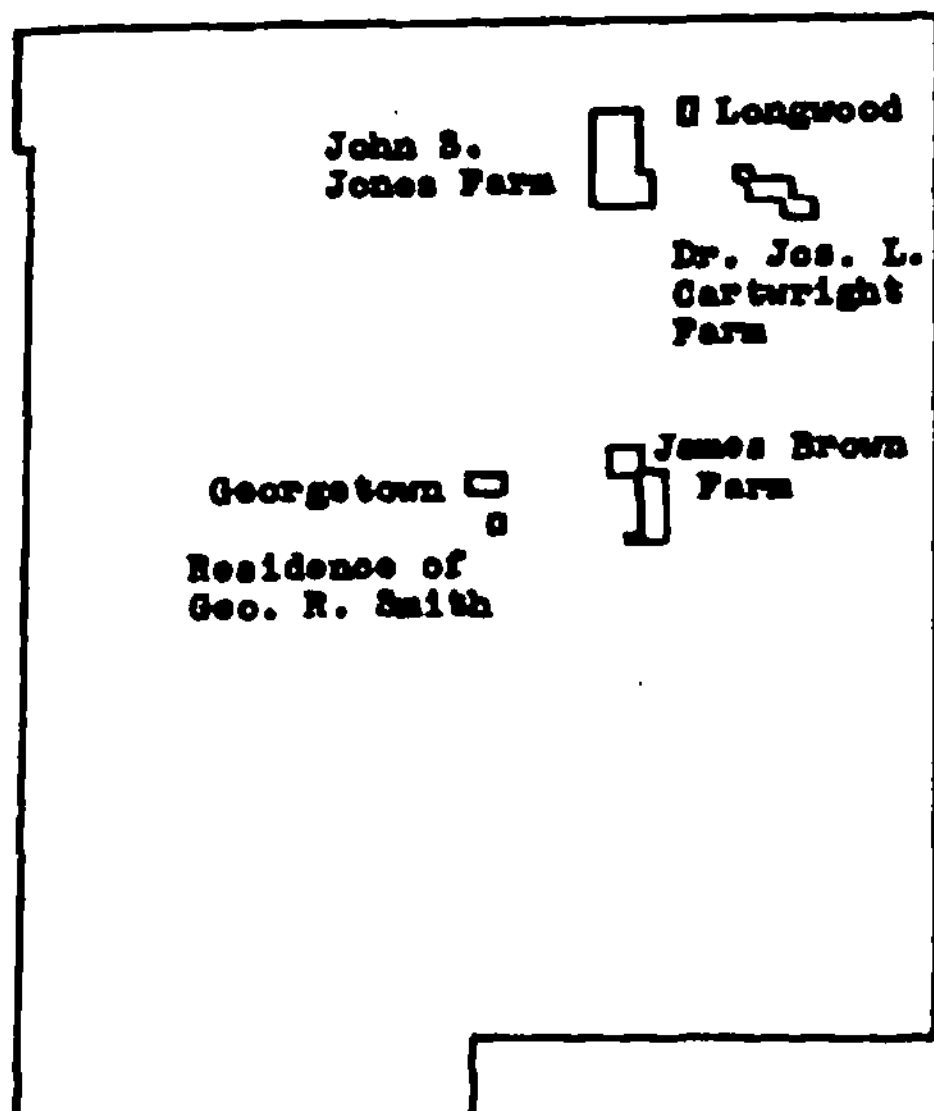
In the agreement of May 18 Brown promised to transport to Santa Fe any and all government supplies delivered to him by Captain Easton at the same rate per pound. The contract continued, "said James Brown shall transport all the above-mentioned stores in good strong osnaberg, not to be overloaded and an adequate team of good work oxen." Brown was also required to purchase all extra government ox wagons, not to exceed 120, complete with accessories, paying what this equipment had cost the government. He was required to post a \$600,000 bond with the government on this contract. The sureties included Cornelius Davy, John McCoy, William McCoy, Jabez Smith, David Waldo, and S. H. Woodson.<sup>9</sup>

Brown loaded the 200,000 pounds of supplies under the terms of the May 17 contract at Fort Leavenworth and delivered them in good condition and in a "timely manner" to Santa Fe. He received \$23,500 for his services. Because of Brown's efficient performance the army adopted the civilian-contract system as a permanent one, abandoning the idea of trying to transport its own supplies.<sup>10</sup>

Indians and weather were always potential threats to the overland freighters. A party of Comanches attacked Brown's westbound wagon train at Walnut Creek in late May or early June of 1848 and killed an employee—the only white man known to be killed by Indians in present Kansas in 1848. Later in the year Brown's returning teamsters and oxen suffered from unusually cold temperatures and snowstorms on the plains. Before reaching Fort Leavenworth in December 1848, one man died from exposure and ap-



## PETTIS COUNTY, MO (1850)



proximately 1,600 oxen perished on the Trail.<sup>11</sup> The economic effect on Brown's freighting operation from these losses was unknown, but it must have been serious.

After the Mexican War was concluded in 1848 the United States took possession of all the territory between Texas and the Pacific ocean. To monitor and control the Indians of the area the United States government established military posts throughout the West and Southwest. In 1849 there were seven such posts, manned with 987 troops. In 1859 the number of posts had risen to sixteen. All these outposts had to be supplied by wagons freighting from points on the Missouri river, such as Independence, Westport, and Fort Leavenworth.<sup>12</sup>

Early in 1849 Brown formed a partnership with William H. Russell to freight military supplies across the Great Plains. Operating under the name of Brown & Russell, on April 30 they contracted Assistant Quartermaster E. A. Ogden to transport supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe for \$9.88 per hundred pounds plus a 5% surcharge on bacon. Brown and Russell were required to post bond with the government in the amount of \$150,000. The bond was signed by 13 men, including John S. and Charles O. Jones, Amos Fristoe, George R. Smith, and John S. Brown, all of Pettis County.<sup>13</sup>

James Brown's wagon trains were on the road constantly throughout 1849. In September, while returning from Santa Fe, Brown and two companions were captured by a party of 40 Arapahos and Apaches east of Rabbit Ear Creek in New Mexico. The Indians

robbed and considered killing them, but in the end they decided to furnish the three with mules and let them go on their way to Independence. At the time Brown was carrying \$84,000 in government receipts which he saved. Moses Goldstein, one of his companions, lost about \$600. Three days later at Lower Cimarron Springs, the trio met some California-bound travelers who supplied them food and blankets, enough to see the men to Independence, where they arrived September 25, 1849.<sup>14</sup>

On October 1, 1849, Brown set out again from Independence for Santa Fe with a 20-wagon train. Between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers he was caught in a blizzard on November 17 which lasted for three days. Brown lost all of his oxen, leaving his train stranded 30 miles from timber where there was wood for fire and shelter from the storm. Ten or more men were left with the wagons and Brown's nephew (who was not further identified) "returned to the settlements to purchase new teams." It was not recorded exactly where James Brown was during that delay or what he was doing.<sup>15</sup> The next information located about him indicates that he returned to Missouri.

Moses Goldstein, a compatriot of James Brown, and seven other men spent the winter with the stranded wagon train south of the Arkansas River. Because there was no timber nearby, this party burned two wagons for firewood to survive the cold season. A relief train of provisions and oxen left Independence in March 1850, led by Thomas W. Flournoy. They reached Brown's stranded wagons in late April or early May, and the wagon train completed the trip to New Mexico. Some of the members of Brown's caravan and the relief party had the misfortune to join the mail party headed to New Mexico that was massacred by Indians near Wagon Mound in May 1850. Among those killed in that attack were Goldstein and Flournoy.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, on May 5, 1849, John S. Jones joined the firm of Brown & Russell. A native of Kentucky, Jones had come to Pettis County in 1845 from Mississippi where he had managed a plantation for Jefferson Davis at Natchez and married one of Davis's cousins. In Pettis County Jones and his family lived on a 2,200 acre showplace farm, which he named "Deer Park," two miles southwest of Longwood. Jones and Brown (without Russell) won a contract on March 5, 1850, to freight supplies to Fort Hall, Idaho, at a rate of \$14.15 per hundred pounds. Before they started, however,

Fort Hall was abandoned, and Brown and Jones were to deliver the supplies to Fort Laramie at a rate of \$11.75 per hundred pounds. Their wagon train, led by Jones, left Fort Leavenworth on May 21, 1850, and arrived at Fort Laramie before July 10. The teamsters were paid \$20 per month for their services. Some of the teamsters went on to California. Jones provided them with one month's provisions to sustain them while they worked in the gold mines. Early in August Jones returned to Fort Leavenworth from Fort Laramie, completing "one of the quickest trips" on that route. He averaged over 50 miles per day.<sup>17</sup>

Before that supply train departed for Fort Laramie, Brown advertised in the *St. Louis Daily Revue* (May 3, 1850) that a "mule train of Passenger Cars from Kansas [Kansas City, MO] to California [would start] between the 15th and 20th of May. The train . . . [to be] fitted out by men of experience; James Brown, of Pettis County, Missouri, the great Government contractor . . . being at its head. The price of passage will be \$175. . . ." Brown, however, apparently backed out of this ambitious venture to transport men to the gold mines. But he did have freight wagons on the trail in charge of his brother, John S. Brown, in the spring of 1850.<sup>18</sup>

On August 1, 1850, James Brown and Samuel H. Woodson of Independence (doing business as Brown, Woodson & Co.) received a U. S. mail contract, \$19,500 per year, to carry the mail between Independence and Salt Lake City once a month. The mail stages, pulled by four to six mules or horses, were to leave Independence and Salt Lake City the first day of each month and arrive at the end of the route the last day of the same month. The August mail ran only from Independence to Salt Lake City. The party was led by Thomas D. Scoggins (perhaps Brown's brother-in-law) and arrived at Salt Lake City on September 9, 1850. Scoggins also brought the first mail back to Independence, where he arrived on October 24 (24 days behind schedule).

The September, October, and November mails left Independence on schedule, but they all ran into trouble. The September mail finally reached Salt Lake City—carried on foot—on November 22, the stage having lost all its animals. There is no record that the October and November mails got through at all. The failure of the mail service must have been an embarrassment for Brown, who had until that time been very successful and dependable. He undoubtedly lost money on that venture. Meanwhile, however,

Brown had on the trail a 30-wagon train out of Fort Leavenworth on August 23, 1850, carrying 143,897 pounds of freight.<sup>19</sup>

In the late summer of 1850, possibly as a result of Indian raids, the army increased the number of soldiers on the plains and in the Southwest. This increased the need for supplies. In addition, an attempt to freight military supplies into New Mexico through Texas that year had not been successful. There resulted a need to transport extraordinarily large amounts of supplies to Santa Fe as quickly as possible. Brown, Russell, and Jones formed the firm of Brown, Russell and Company and bid on the proposal offered by the quartermaster. They received a contract to deliver 600,000 pounds of goods at a rate of 14½ cents per pound (total contract worth \$86,000). An impressive 135 wagons and 1,600 oxen were needed for transport. The firm shipped the supplies in five wagon trains which left Fort Leavenworth between September 14 and October 2, 1850.<sup>20</sup>

Once on the Trail Brown, the senior partner, took personal charge of the advance caravan, assisted by Charles O. Jones, younger brother of John S. Jones. It is not known who had charge of the other trains. Things went well for Brown until November 25 when a blizzard struck the caravan at the old Pecos Pueblo, 45 miles from Santa Fe. The wagon train became snowbound. Brown rode ahead into Santa Fe to report his predicament to the military authorities and ask for permission to stay where he was until better weather came. Immediately after his arrival Brown became ill with typhoid fever and erysipelas. He died on December 5, 1850. (The *St. Louis Missouri Republican* reported on February 3, 1851, that a nine-man party had returned to Santa Fe with the remains of "Judge" James Brown. He was buried on his Pettis County farm.)

When Brown failed to return to the caravan Charles Jones went to Santa Fe, discovered that Brown was dead, and was told by military authorities that he must bring the train into Santa Fe immediately with its desperately needed medicine and other supplies, even though the contract, as usual, did not specify a deadline for delivery. If Jones did not bring the caravan in, the commandant threatened, the army itself would bring it in, at the expense of Brown, Russell and Company. The 36-year old Jones, who did not have much freighting experience, returned to the caravan and force-marched it into Santa Fe, incurring bills of \$14,000 for feed and oxen replacement.

The rear caravan arrived in Santa Fe in the spring of 1850. William H. Russell, partner of the late James Brown, petitioned Congress for \$39,800, the amount he claimed the partnership lost on the venture. On July 29, 1854, Congress allowed Brown, Russell and Co. \$38,800 on the grounds that the commanding officer at Santa Fe had exceeded his authority in demanding that the caravan be brought in regardless of the circumstances.<sup>21</sup>

Martha Brown was appointed executrix of Brown's estate by the terms of his will, dated June 1, 1849. She was replaced, probably under duress, by her brother-in-law John S. Brown on May 5, 1851. The inventory of the estate included \$11,102.23 worth of notes receivable, including notes receivable from John S. Jones, George R. Smith, and many neighbors in the Georgetown area. Brown's 1,218 acre farm was appraised at only \$4,222 although it had just been valued at \$8,000 in the 1850 census. There were also 16 slaves listed in his estate—eight male and eight female, ranging in ages from ten months to 45 years. Other assets included his one-third interest in the firm of Brown, Russell, and Company.<sup>22</sup> His interest in the mail contract with Samuel H. Woodson was assigned no value. George R. Smith took over this mail contract after Brown's death supposedly for the benefit of the Brown estate. There is no evidence that the estate received any money from it, however.<sup>23</sup>

In a document filed October 1, 1852, the estate's debts were said to be a staggering \$59,882.47. John S. Brown, who seemed to have by then estranged from his late brother's family, proceeded to liquidate all the assets of the estate except the widow's one-third dower interest in the farm. The rest of the farm was sold on February 7, 1853, in small tracts to various neighbors. The January 9, 1852, annual settlement showed receipts of \$25,466.89, including an \$8,000 draft from the government. Later receipts showed \$5,757 from the sale of the slaves.

The estate was not finally closed until August 4, 1857. It appears that all of the claims against the estate were eventually paid, thanks no doubt in part to the estate's share of the \$38,800 award to the defunct firm of Brown, Russell, and Company by Congress in 1854. There is no evidence that Brown's bequests to his widow and six children were ever paid.<sup>24</sup> On October 18, 1879, the surviving children and their spouses signed a quit-claim deed to their mother's farm and disappeared from public record.

Brown's grave site, on what was at the time the Georgetown and Arrow Rock road, is on private property and overgrown with weeds and brush and its marker is missing.

James Brown, with the exception of some footnotes and passing references, has all but vanished from the pages of history. Yet Brown was a pioneer army-contract freighter who operated on the Santa Fe Trail before the better-known contract freighters engaged in that speculative and dangerous business. Because of his expertise in freighting and his success with the army contracts two years before his death, Brown blazed the way for future freighters with their lucrative army contracts in the decade before the Civil War, years before the railroads were built across the plains. Brown's early freighting business was one of the first such organized transportation systems in the West. With it he successfully supplied the army, and the army, in turn, was able to make good U. S. possession of the region. James Brown played a brief but important role in the history of the Trail and the settlement of the American West.

#### NOTES

1. Deed dated June 20, 1835, on file in Pettis County Recorder of Deeds office, recorded August 29, 1835. Becknell traded at the Marmaduke and Sappington store at St. Helena, Pettis County's first county seat. He resided in nearby Cooper County.
2. 1850 Census of Pettis County, Missouri, courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth Bailey, The State Historical Society of Missouri.
3. Pettis County, Missouri Recorder of Deeds.
4. North, *History of Pettis County* (1882), 263, 279.
5. Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 665-980 *passim*.
6. Raymond W. Settle & Mary L. Settle, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), 3.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Henry Pickering Walker, *The Wagonmasters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 231.
9. *Ibid.*; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 751.
10. Settle & Settle, *Empire on Wheels*, 4.
11. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 755, 790-791.
12. Settle & Settle, *Empire on Wheels*, 4.
13. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 833.
14. *Ibid.*, 889.
15. *Ibid.*, 890.
16. *Ibid.*, 908, 916.
17. *Ibid.*, 902, 957; William B. Claycomb, "John S. Jones: Farmer, Freightier, Frontier Promoter," *Missouri Historical Review* (1979): 434-450.
18. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 902.
19. *Ibid.*, 957, 971-972.
20. *Ibid.*, 964.
21. *Ibid.*, 964-965; Settle & Settle, *Empire on Wheels*, 7; Claycomb, "John S. Jones," 439-440.
22. Pettis County, MO, Probate Court file #160.
23. S. B. Harding, *Life of George R. Smith* (Sedalia, MO, 1904), 94.
24. Pettis County, MO, Probate Court file #160; Pettis County Circuit Court records.



## GOVERNOR JAMES S. CALHOUN REMEMBERED

by Mary Jean Cook

[Santa Fe historian, Mary Jean Cook, is editor of the *Palace of the Governors* quarterly, *Compadres*, in which an earlier version of this article appeared. The SFTA governing board passed a resolution at La Junta in September to collect and dispense donations for the erection of a marker in Union Cemetery at Kansas City, MO, to commemorate Calhoun, who died on the Trail. Please send tax-deductible donations for this project, payable to SFTA, to Calhoun Memorial Marker Fund, SFTA, Santa Fe Trail Center, RR 3, Larned KS 67550.]

ALMOST a century and a half has passed since the death on the Santa Fe Trail in 1852 of New Mexico's first territorial governor, James Silas Calhoun. During that time, historians have failed to unravel the circumstances surrounding his burial in Kansas City, Missouri, then known as The Town of Kansas. Nevertheless, after extensive research the question lingers, "Where are the remains of Gov. James Silas Calhoun today?" It may never be answered with documented certainty.

Gov. Calhoun's *jornada del muerto* (deadman's journey) began on May 5, 1852, from the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, where he unceasingly administered the affairs of the new and isolated Territory of New Mexico. Accompanied by his son-in-law (William Love, who was postmaster of Santa Fe), his secretary (David V. Whiting), Deputy U. S. Marshal R. M. Stephens, Army Surgeon John Byrne, a military escort, friends, and four (possibly five) Tesuque Indians enroute to visit the president of the United States, Calhoun struck out for Fort Union, New Mexico, before crossing the plains on the Santa Fe Trail.

The wagon train was forced to remain two weeks in Fort Union while Gov. Calhoun's health deteriorated even further. Prostrate with scurvy and jaundice, he was so ill that his doctors "despaired of his life" more than once. Young Katie Bowen, wife of a Fort Union officer, wrote of seeing New Mexico's dying governor traveling in a bed in his ambulance and being "lifted in and out like an infant."<sup>2</sup>

On May 26, 1852, twenty-one days after leaving Santa Fe, and despite his doctor's opinion that he would die before reaching the States, Calhoun once again resumed his race with death. He carried twenty-one days' rations and his coffin, in anticipation of the "ex-

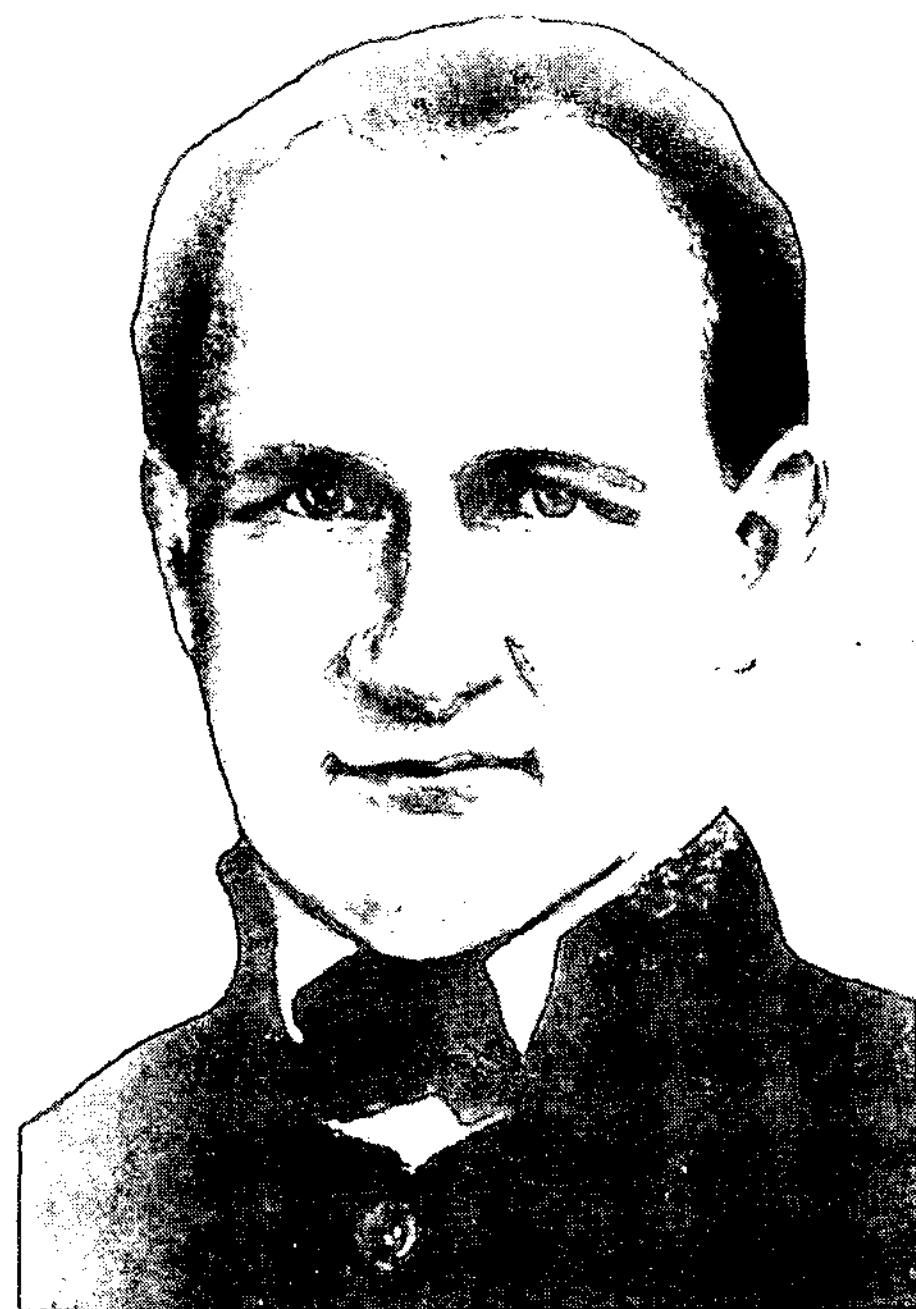
treme contingency." The rations were calculated to last the distance of 320 miles to Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River, traveling slightly faster than 15 miles per day.<sup>3</sup> Calhoun's party was escorted by 25 dragoons commanded by Second Lieutenant Robert Johnston.

Dr. Byrne, who had accompanied Calhoun from Santa Fe to Fort Union, preferred to remain in New Mexico. He sent Dr. Thomas A. McParlin, post surgeon at Fort Union, to accompany the sick Calhoun to Missouri. McParlin described to his family how the governor never "lost heart." He wrote: "It is likely the Governor will die—but if he determines on going rather than that he should die unattended I will go some distance with him and his party—say to the Arkansas River—or a little farther. It is not a duty, but a dictate of humanity—I could not legally be ordered on this service—but—I can avail myself of the Dept. Commander's leave of absence and do what if he were my father I hope some one would similarly minister. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Gov. Calhoun died at noon June 30, 1852, somewhere between Council Grove, Kansas, and the Missouri border. A small notice appeared in the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, July 7, 1852, noting the Masonic honors.<sup>5</sup> Calhoun's secretary, David V. Whiting, wrote to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington City, that Calhoun was interred at Kansas, Missouri, "until the body shall decompose sufficiently to enable his friends to take him home and place him along side of his wife and daughter."<sup>6</sup>

Not until the year 1906 were the later facts surrounding the burial and reburial of New Mexico's Gov. Calhoun revealed. In that year Dr. W. L. Campbell of Kansas City, MO, vice-president of the Kansas City Historical Society, visited a sick son in Santa Fe, releasing a bombshell to the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. The newspaper's headline read, "GOVERNOR BURIED IN PAUPERS LOT." At the time Governor L. Bradford Prince, president of the New Mexico Historical Society and the person Campbell had wished to see during his 1906 visit, was out of town. Otherwise, the shocking news might never have reached public knowledge.<sup>7</sup>

The details disclosed by Dr. Campbell, son of Santa Fe Trail freighter John Campbell (1846-1860), led to an adventure in early Kansas City history regarding a long-forgotten burying ground called Old Town Cemetery.<sup>8</sup>



James Silas Calhoun from a painting in the Palace of the Governors Collection, courtesy of Museum of New Mexico (Neg. No. 9835).

The Campbells, one of the founding families of Kansas City, along with seven others donated property between present Missouri and Independence avenues, and Oak and Locust streets, to The Town of Kansas for a burying ground. The tract of land a short distance from the Campbell residence, known as Old Town Cemetery, was used as such between 1847 and 1857, then the only cemetery in The Town of Kansas, Missouri. According to Dr. W. L. Campbell, this was the burial place of Gov. James S. Calhoun in 1852.<sup>9</sup>

An early history of the cemetery stated: "Lots were free to all who wished to enter, and although there were several marble monuments and tombstones, the graves were not arranged in rows, and the palings surrounding the resting places of the dead were not systematically placed, but presented a singular ghostly, erratic appearance."<sup>10</sup>

One of the marble monuments may have marked the grave of James S. Calhoun. By joint resolution, the Third Legislative Assembly of New Mexico Territory on January 10, 1853, approved an appropriation of \$300 to erect a "Slab of Marble at his Tomb with a suitable inscription" under the direction of the territorial secretary.<sup>11</sup>



Unfortunately, no records of the territorial secretary or treasurer are extant to confirm the purchase and installation. The sum of \$300 would have bought a monument of considerable magnitude in 1853.

City encroachment eventually brought about the demise of the Old Town Cemetery, located a mile from Westport Landing. Kansas City Mayor George M. Shelley initiated the grading of the cemetery in 1878 for a park, which became known both as Shelley Park or Shelley Park Cemetery. In 1902 the park became the site of Kansas City's first public playground.<sup>12</sup>

In an attempt to regain ownership of the property because it was no longer being used as a cemetery, the donors sued the City of Kansas. The case reached the Missouri Supreme Court, recording grizzly details of the reinterrment of some of the 1,000 burials of blacks, Mormons, Swedes, and Germans. The court would determine "whether the calling of a place where people are buried, a park, can change the coffins of its dead into lilies, the bones of its dead into roses, and make it a speculative object for barter and trade with the avaricious."<sup>13</sup>

According to court testimony, workhouse laborers unearthed graves barely five feet deep. Coffins were exposed sometimes by digging as few as three feet, on Missouri Avenue and Oak Street. "Pieces of coffins, human hair and bones fell out of the banks and into the streets." Many remains were scooped up and put in boxes and taken to the paupers' lot purchased by the city in Union Cemetery. Other burials were simply recovered and abandoned.<sup>14</sup> Were the monuments abandoned as well?

It appears impossible to know for certain whether the remains of Gov. Calhoun were taken to Union Cemetery or left behind in Old Town Cemetery (no longer extant). Union Cemetery lists no separate grave for a James S. Calhoun, thus Campbell's assumption or assertion (because he was present at the exhumation) that he lies in the paupers' lot.<sup>15</sup>

No complete biography has been published of James Silas Calhoun, the first New Mexico governor to advocate the franchise for the Pueblo Indians and protection of their lands conferred by Spain. A southerner by birth, Calhoun opposed the admission of free slaves to the Territory of New Mexico. It is indeed ironic that Calhoun's hasty burial on July 3, 1852, because of deteriorating remains which a steamboat company refused to accept for return to Georgia, was in a slave/cholera cemetery.<sup>16</sup>

The early life of Calhoun has eluded historians until recently when a relative was found living in Columbus, Georgia. Calhoun's obituary in a Georgia newspaper recounted that his "patrimony was an orphanage of poverty, and his youth encumbered with every disadvantage inseparable from such a condition . . . a self made man" of compassion who never turned away the poor or homeless at his door. This description of his life as one of deprivation is refuted by his relative who is an historian. She writes that James Calhoun was indeed orphaned but "highly educated and lived among quite influential people all of his life!"<sup>17</sup>

Calhoun's entire life reflects one of struggle against great odds. He has been aptly described in New Mexico as a man "sent to make ropes of sand" by author Eugene Manlove Rhodes. From the time of his appointment in 1849 as U. S. Indian Agent by President Zachary Taylor (under whom he had served during the Mexican War), and as New Mexico territorial governor in 1851, James Calhoun continually begged for "pecuniary relief," guidance and acknowledgement from the U. S. Government. It never came.<sup>18</sup>

Though his appointments were essentially political, Calhoun possessed the grit necessary to accomplish the impossible job Washington routinely expected of him. The final days of his life in June 1852 on the Santa Fe Trail were filled with the "pain and mortification" of which he had complained in his letters. He had not described his own failing health, but the pressing demands before him in New Mexico.<sup>19</sup>

Allotted \$3,800 in 1849, \$1,500 of which was his year's salary in advance, Indian Agent Calhoun arrived in Santa Fe to find his rent \$100 a month (later reduced to \$70) for a "dirty and leaky house with mud walls, roof and floors." The U. S. Government generously requisitioned two horses (the extra horse for his interpreter) with which to travel an area the size of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado, not unlike Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy.<sup>20</sup>

By late May of 1850 the overworked and ailing Calhoun wrote, "I have exhausted my own means and my own salary in the public service." He labored another two years. His personal debt against the U. S. Government in April 1851 amounted to \$3,011.23. A portion of Calhoun's money had been used for the repair and preservation of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe.<sup>21</sup>

Some 53 years later, in 1905, the great-granddaughter of Calhoun attempted to retrieve the personal funds

Calhoun had spent (\$5,500, the equivalent perhaps of \$500,000 today), but no expense vouchers were found in New Mexico by Governor Miguel A. Otero or in Washington to document her claim.<sup>22</sup>

Gov. James S. Calhoun was a man of dedication and compassion. Most assuredly he deserves to be remembered by a stone in Union Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri, where his remains may have been placed nameless in a common grave shaded by ancient oaks. I hope you will join me in contributing toward the purchase of a monument. Should money allow, dedication of a memorial stone will take place on or about June 30, 1994, anniversary of his death. Checks should be payable to the Santa Fe Trail Association and mailed to: Calhoun Memorial Marker Fund, Santa Fe Trail Association, Santa Fe Trail Center, RR 3, Larned KS 67550.

#### NOTES

1. Calhoun's daughter, Martha Ann, incorrectly listed in one source as accompanying Calhoun in June 1852, had died in January of that year. The number of Tesuque Indians is unclear. Calhoun's secretary, David V. Whiting, wrote of five Indians while John Greiner, acting supt. of Indian affairs in New Mexico Territory, wrote of "four or five." The *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, Aug. 12, 1852, listed four. Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 1107; Annie Heloise Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 471, 538-540.
2. Dr. Thomas A. McParlin to Mother and Brother, May 9, 1852, McParlin Letters, Courtesy Gary Hendershott, Little Rock, Ark.; Katie Bowen to Mother, May 28, 1852, Bowen Letters, Arrott Collection, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.
3. Brevet Major James H. Carlton to Col. Edwin V. Sumner, May 24, 1852, Quartermaster General Records, Record Groups 92, 98, and 192, Dept. of N.M., Letters Sent & Received 1848-1861, National Archives, Reel 1, New Mexico State Records and Archives (NMSRCA).
4. McParlin Letters.
5. R. H. Weightman letter, July 3, 1852, *New York Daily Times*, July 7, 1852.
6. Abel, *Official Correspondence*, 540.
7. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 30, 1906, clipping in Prince Papers, Historical Documents #40, NMSRCA.
8. Old Town was 4 miles north of Old Westport. Old Town Cemetery was in today's Kansas City River Market area.
9. W. J. Ward, "History of the Square between Oak and Locust Streets and Missouri Avenue and Independence Avenue, in Kansas City, Mo.," Native Sons Collection, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri Kansas City (UMKC).
10. Jessie M. Crosby, comp., "Shelley Park Cemetery," *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri, 1826-1876* (Kansas City: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1933-34), 275.
11. Laws of New Mexico, 1852-1853, Secretary of State Papers H-3, NMSRCA.
12. "Town Company Cemetery," Scrapbooks, UMKC; *Kansas City Star*, Oct. 29, 1922.
13. "In the Supreme Court of Missouri, John Campbell et al., vs. The City of Kansas (1890)," Scrapbooks, UMKC.

14. Ibid.
15. Harold DeGood, Corres. Sec., Union Cemetery Historical Society, to M. J. Cook, Aug. 28, 1991; "Union Cemetery," *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County*, 280-327.
16. 16. Abel, *Official Correspondence*, 54, 86.
17. *The Columbus Enquirer*, July 13, 1852; Louise Barfield Hammett to Cook, Jan. 21, 1993.
18. William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982 reprint), 127n49; Abel, *Official Correspondence*, 249, 255, 295.
19. Ibid., 288; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: History Pub. Co., 1889), 632, wrote of Calhoun's intemperance.
20. Abel, *Official Correspondence*, 81-82, 178-179.
21. Ibid., 205; Territorial Archives of New Mexico (TANM), Reel 1, fr. 60, NMSRCA.
22. 22. Abel, *Official Correspondence*, 179-180, 323; TANM, Reel 137, frs. 585-589, 630-635; TANM, Reel 146, fr. 899; TANM, Reel 183, frs. 22-24, 168-170, NMSRCA.

## CONVERSE OF THE PRAIRIES

### —BOOK NOTICES—

C. R. Green, *Early Days in Kansas, Vol. II: Along the Santa Fe Trail, Council City 1854-5, Superior 1856, and Burlingame 1856-64*. 1913, reprint, Lyndon, KS: Osage County Historical Society, 1993. Pp. 155. Illustrations. Paper, \$7.00 postpaid.

C. R. Green, *Early Days in Kansas, Vol. III: Along the Santa Fe and Lawrence Trails, Old Ridgeway, 1855-69*. 1913, reprint, Lyndon, KS: Osage County Historical Society, 1992. Pp. 121. Paper, \$6.00 postpaid.

C. R. Green, *Early Days in Kansas, Vol. IV: Annals of Lyndon, First Book*. 1913, reprint, Lyndon, KS: Osage County Historical Society, 1992. Pp. 352. Paper, \$12.00 postpaid.

These volumes available from Osage County Historical Society, PO Box 361, Lyndon KS 66451.

Charles R. Green, historian and publisher, gathered public documents and private reminiscences of early Osage County, KS, which he first published in newspapers. He released this information in a series of books in 1913, three of which the Osage County Historical Society has reprinted. These inexpensive volumes present an outstanding collection of pioneer narratives and military and county records especially valuable to genealogical researchers (although there is no index) and containing some information (in volumes two and three) about the Santa Fe Trail in the area, particularly where the Trail crossed 110 Mile Creek, Switzler Creek, Dragoon Creek, Soldier Creek, and other streams.

In the late 1850s, after settlers came into the area following the creation of Kansas Territory in 1854, an attempt



At the La Junta Symposium, l to r, Marc Simmons, Barbara Magerl, Sylvia Mooney, and Gregory Franzwa posed for this "reunion" photo. They testified before Congress to get the Santa Fe National Historic Trail bill enacted in 1987. Only one member of their delegation, Tom Hunt, was unavailable for this picture.

was made to establish an alternate route to the Santa Fe Trail between Black Jack and 142 Mile Creek. A new road was built, including a bridge over Dragoon Creek. Although it was a more direct route than the old Trail, trade caravans never used it. They continued to follow the Narrows through the region because the original route stayed on the divide which avoided many stream crossings.

Perhaps of most interest to Trail enthusiasts is scattered information about the family of Fry P. McGee, who opened a trading ranch and stage station at 110 Mile Creek in 1857. McGee's daughter, America Puss, married William D. Harris, who joined the operation and continued it following the death of Fry McGee in 1861. McGee owned slaves and was a proslavery advocate, but he apparently got along well with the free-state settlers at Council City which was superseded by Burlingame.

There is also information about Indians, settlers, towns, schools, military service during the Civil War, and numerous other topics. The Osage County Historical Society is commended for bringing these volumes back into print.

### ERRORS CORRECTED

In a book reviewed in the last issue of WT, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* compiled by Gabrielle G. Palmer, a few unfortunate errors of fact appeared in the chapter entitled "Civil War along the Camino Real," pp. 195-203. Because it is always difficult to rectify misinformation that appears in print, readers should correct these mistakes about the Confederate invasion of New

Mexico Territory and the engagements at Glorieta Pass in 1862. The Confederate commander, Henry Hopkins Sibley, was incorrectly identified as Henry Hastings Sibley (whose Civil War career was in Minnesota). The date for the Battle of Apache Canyon on March 26, 1862, was given as February 26, and the date for the Battle of Glorieta Pass or Pigeon's Ranch on March 28, 1862, was given as February 28. Such errors may seem inconsequential, but they devalue the credibility of the publication and should be repaired.

### FLOG PUBLICATION IS A COLLECTOR'S ITEM

THE Fort Larned Old Guard (FLOG), support group for Fort Larned National Historic Site, publishes an outstanding newsletter, *Outpost*, edited by Dave Webb. Webb is the author of *Adventures with the Santa Fe Trail* and many other fine works. The latest issue of *Outpost*, a 48-page chronological compilation of primary documents illustrating the history of Fort Larned during 1867, is truly a collector's item. Drawn from post orders, Fort Larned letters sent and received, Office of Indian Affairs letters sent and received, and the letters and journal of Albert Barnitz, these records detail military life and Indian-white relations along that portion of the Santa Fe Trail during that critical year.

*Outpost* is available to members of FLOG. Annual dues for individuals are \$15, and family dues are \$25 per year. This one issue alone is worth more than the cost of membership. Send dues to Fort Larned Old Guard, PO Box 354, Larned KS 67550-0354.



## PINKY AND BENT'S OLD FORT

by Teresa Kesterson

[SFTA member Kesterson wrote a piece on her section of the Trail for a recent issue of WT, in which she introduced Pinky. This is the rest of that story.]

ON the first weekend of December 1993 my husband Dale and I were participating in a Christmas crafts show in our home town of Las Animas, Colorado. We have a small business where we combine our love for photography with our interest in the Santa Fe Trail and the Arkansas Valley of Colorado. Our primary product is a note-card, though we also produce enlargements of the various scenes. We particularly like this show, a community event that gives us a chance to visit with our local friends and to catch up on "the news." It is not always happy news.

Soon after the show opened one of our friends came by. "There's that large picture of Bent's Old Fort I bought a couple of years ago. I really enjoy it. It will help me remember the Fort after I move to Arkansas." He explained that he had to move the following week because of a job reassignment. I told him we would miss him, and that Bent's Old Fort was losing a valuable volunteer. "Do you have any pictures of Pinky? A small one?" he asked.

Pinky the Bent's Fort cat came to be the site soon after it was reconstructed by the National Park Service in 1976 (see *Wagon Tracks*, Aug. 1993, p. 10). Many people who have visited Bent's Fort have met the cat. Some have a "Pinky story" to relate, and I have heard several. One was from a man who visited the Fort with his family shortly after reconstruction. He was impressed that everywhere he looked, everything was stamped with a large "US." The man teased his little daughter that if she looked at the cat's nose, she would probably see it stamped with the letters "US." She found the cat in the plaza and crouched down to have a "look see." Pinky responded in the same spirit of curiosity. They examined each other intently nose to nose as the moment was recorded in a photograph. I have never seen the picture, but I am told it is adorable. Now the little girl is grown up and has young children of her own.

Pinky became a favorite photographic subject for me over the years. She is unpredictable. At times she seems to know I need her to hold still for a picture, and she poses. Other times she does anything but pose.

Sometimes she seems to be hiding from me. Usually after a little searching she is found. On one particular visit, after a search of her usual hiding places, I had resigned myself to the fact that I would not see her. Disappointed, I went to the upper level to look out over the low adobe wall at the Arkansas River. While I was doing this, I happened to look down at my feet. I was just inches away from stepping on the cat.

Pinky's personality is not her most memorable trait. Like other cats I have known, she keeps pretty much to herself. I would describe her as more of an acquaintance than a friend. She has an acute dislike for dogs. There are a few interesting stories about this part of her personality as well.

"I sure do have a picture of Pinky," I said as I turned to our rack of note-cards and selected one. "Here is a sepia tone I took several years ago . . ."

"She's gone you know," he said in a soft tone.

". . . and here is a colored one I took just recently. What did you say?" I asked turning toward my friend.

I had heard what he said. They were words I expected to hear soon but had dreaded. In a childish way I hoped he had not really said them. He went on to explain that the suffering of illnesses associated with Pinky's advanced age made her life so difficult that the only thing to do was to have her humanely put to sleep. I felt sad at the loss of Pinky. My friend purchased the color note card, saying that was the way he remembered her. We bade each other goodbye and good luck.

Soon after he left, Pinky's original owner came to our booth. An enlargement of the color photo of the cat had been placed predominantly in our display. As she lifted it for a closer look she said, "I'm going to buy this picture someday." It was obvious she had not heard the news. I did not want to be the one to tell her. I found something else to do it while Dale conversed with her. He did not tell her either.

I knew this would not be my only difficult moment concerning the loss of Pinky. The following weekend would be the celebration of the Christmas season at Bent's Old Fort. This celebration is a special time for Dale and me, and we look forward to it each year. The evening program is particularly treasured as it occurs after dark, a time when few people get the opportunity to be at the fort. To me the place is filled with the spirits of those who occupied



this space not so many years ago. I am reminded of the Bents, St. Vrain, Kit Carson, and others like them, of the Hispanics and Indians, of Kearny's Army of the West, of Charlotte Green and Susan Magoffin. But this would be the first time I had ever been at Bent's Old Fort when Pinky was not there.

The week went quickly, and then Dale and I were hurrying to the fort that Friday evening. The program is a bit different each year, so one visit is not enough. We joined other visitors in the plaza at the bonfire. At the appointed time we broke into little groups and visited different rooms where various scenes were depicted of what one might see during the Christmas season in this cultural crossroads of the American West at the time it was active. Visitors not only observe but become part of the scenes through interaction with the costumed enactors. After this tour we met in the plaza for singing and enactment of *Los Posados*. In this Hispanic tradition, enactors posing as Mary and Joseph go from door to door requesting lodging for the night, followed in procession by the visitors. Finally they gain entry and are welcomed by the innkeeper. We followed into the dining room and kitchen for yummy period refreshments representative of the different cultures that were present at the fort. An added feature this year was a real fandango with period music and dances. I could not induce Superintendent Don Hill to participate in the dance. He and I spoke of Pinky and the possibility, if the proper kitten could be found, she may have a replacement someday.

The program over, a few of us who were not wanting to leave so soon gathered again at the remains of the bonfire. Dale's warm and comforting arm was around me. I watched the sparks drifting up over our heads, dancing in the slight breeze off the Arkansas. I thought of the spirits of the past, and of a new one among their number, a scruffy cantankerous one with a little pink nose. For me, at least, Pinky will always be a part of Bent's Old Fort.

## THE FORT WALLACE/KIT CARSON - FORT LYON ROADS

by David K. Clapsaddle

*[SFTA Ambassador Clapsaddle has studied many of the "feeder" trails which served as part of the Santa Fe Trail network during its 60-year history. Several of his articles have appeared in WT.]*

DURING the first four decades of its 60-year tenure, the Santa Fe Trail was repeatedly shortened as its eastern terminus was moved westward from the original Missouri River landing at Franklin to Fort Osage, Independence, Westport, and finally Fort Leavenworth. Subsequently, in the next decade, successive sections of the Trail were lopped off as a series of prairie ports were established along the westward-building Union Pacific Railway Company, Eastern Division (later the Kansas Pacific).

On September 7, 1863, the UPRR-ED began track construction at Wyandotte, Kansas. Work progressed slowly along the north bank of the Kansas River with rail service reaching Junction City in June 1866.<sup>1</sup> Immediately the little town near Fort Riley became the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail. Freight, mail, and passengers previously routed along the Trail from the Missouri River through Council Grove were transported by rail to Junction City and thence by wagon and stagecoach over a military and stage route which ran westward to Fort Ellsworth (soon to be named Fort Harker) and then southwestward to Walnut Creek where it struck the main trunk of the Santa Fe Trail. Thus, overland traffic on the original route of the Santa Fe Trail east of Walnut Creek came to a halt.<sup>2</sup>

The following summer, 1867, the railroad reached Fort Harker, successor to Fort Ellsworth and located one mile north of the original post. Superseding Junction City as the UPRR-ED railhead, Fort Harker became the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, dispatching freight wagons and stage coaches down the 40-mile road to the Santa Fe Trail junction at Fort Zarah on Walnut Creek.<sup>3</sup>

By October 1867 the railroad had pushed westward to Hays City. This new town only one-half mile from Fort Hays, became at once the new railhead and eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail. To accommodate traffic to the southwest a new 75-mile road was laid out to Fort Dodge where it connected with the original road to Santa Fe. Consequently, overland traffic on the established route of the Santa Fe Trail east of Fort Dodge ceased.<sup>4</sup>

As the railroad pushed westward from Hays City, a new end-of-track town called Sheridan was established in May 1868 in present Logan County, KS.<sup>5</sup> There the Southern Overland Mail and Express Company relocated its terminus in anticipation of the railroad's June arrival. The following month the stage line moved its headquarters to Pond Creek Station, a Butterfield Overland Dispatch (BOD) stop established in 1865, 14 miles to the southwest. This was near Fort Wallace. The Southern Overland initially projected a road running from Pond Creek Station by way of Cheyenne Wells to Bent's Fort, and Dick Wootton laid out a road along the proposed route. This road was never developed, however, and a second route was plotted from Pond Creek Station through Cheyenne Wells to Fort Lyon, CO.<sup>6</sup>

Having no official name, the road to Fort Lyon was known by several designations. Captain W. H. Penrose, commanding officer at Fort Lyon, referred to the road as the "stage route to Cheyenne Wells."<sup>7</sup> Luke Cahill, a stage company employee and former first sergeant in the Fifth Infantry at Fort Lyon, called the road "the trail between Lyon and Wallace."<sup>8</sup> At a later date, the road was commonly known as the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road. Whatever the name, this road eliminated another significant section of the Santa Fe Trail, the stretch running westward from Fort Dodge to Fort Lyon.<sup>9</sup>

The northern end of the line was construed to be any of three locations: Sheridan, the railhead which received passengers, mail, and freight from the east; Fort Wallace, twelve miles southwest of Sheridan, which housed the post office established in 1866;<sup>10</sup> or Pond Creek Station.<sup>11</sup> There the Southern Overland initiated a daily stage service to Santa Fe effective July 1, 1868. Actually, the stages ran only six days a week, departing each end of the line Monday through Saturday.<sup>12</sup>

Between Pond Creek and Fort Lyon, the stage company established six stations at varying intervals, each named for a water source: Cheyenne Wells, Sand Creek (Big Sandy), Rush Creek, Kiowa Springs, Well No. 1, and Well No. 2.<sup>13</sup> Beyond Cheyenne Wells, originally a BOD station 36 miles from Pond Creek Station, the threat of Indian attack was ever imminent.<sup>14</sup> As early as August 30, 1868, Captain Penrose at Fort Lyon reported: "the country between here and the Denver

stage road, the Smoky Hill and also between here and Fort Dodge is overrun with hostile Indians, every precaution is taken to protect the Stages, the Trails, and the settlers in my vicinity as is possible to do without cavalry."<sup>15</sup> While Penrose referred to the Indians in generic terms, it appears that the majority of the raiders were Cheyennes and, to a lesser extent, Arapahos and Kiowas.

At Sand Creek, 14 miles from Cheyenne Wells, Indians attacked the Big Sandy station on September 19. However, troops dispatched from Fort Lyon four days previously were able to repulse the raiders without any losses. One Indian was reported killed and another wounded in the exchange.<sup>16</sup>

The Rush Creek Station, 15 miles beyond Sand Creek, never experienced Indian problems, but Kiowa Springs, 22 miles to the southwest, was not so fortunate. This station, kept by a Mr. Stickney, was attacked on August 25, 1868, but the Indians were driven off with no losses on either side.<sup>17</sup>

At Well No. 2, only 12 miles from Kiowa Springs, a coach returned to the station on August 24 after proceeding only about one mile toward Fort Lyon. Being warned by a courier that Indians were in pursuit, the conductor turned the coach and raced back to the station. Waiting until darkness, the coach slipped away from the station and quietly made his way to Fort Lyon, arriving 12½ hours behind schedule.<sup>18</sup>

Well No. 1 was 15 miles beyond Well No. 2 and seven miles from Fort Lyon. On August 28, 1868, a party of 25 to 30 Indians surrounded this station. After observing the stage company employees were prepared for the attack, the Indians left without incident.<sup>19</sup> At Well No. 1, Lydia Spencer Lane and her husband, William, stayed overnight in 1869 while en route to the railhead at Sheridan. Mrs. Lane's brief sketch of the property might well serve as a prototype of the stations on the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road: "We stayed all night at the small board shanty used as a mail-station, occupying the state apartment, I suppose, for the walls were papered with illustrations from various pictorials. I had a suspicion the pictures were put there more to keep out the wind—of which there is an undue allowance of kind and quality in Colorado—than to embellish the room. A bright and cheery little place it was, with windows that commanded a view of the country for miles in every direction."<sup>20</sup>



Following the Battle of Beecher's Island in September 1868 northwest of Fort Wallace and the October 9 capture of Clara Blinn and her two-year-old son Willie east of Fort Lyon, the Cheyennes and their southern plains allies moved south of the Arkansas to winter in the Washita River valley.<sup>21</sup> Then traffic on the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road returned to a peaceful flow. Nevertheless, the Southern Overland officials armed their employees at company expense<sup>22</sup> and on December 5 requested Captain Penrose to assign troops to each of the stations between Fort Lyon and Cheyenne Wells. At that time only 24 men were available for duty at Fort Lyon. Consequently Penrose dispatched four men at Fort Lyon to escort stages southward and assigned three men at Fort Lyon to escort stages northward. Penrose informed his superiors: "This arrangement does not seem to meet the approval of Mr. Barnum, [Superintendent of the Southern Overland Mail and Express Company] but is the best I can make."<sup>23</sup>

During the winter of 1868-1869 the majority of the southern plains tribes were subdued by General Phil Sheridan's winter campaign and forced onto reservations in Indian Territory. The Cheyenne Dog Soldiers were an exception, and they were slow to surrender their freedom. In the spring of 1869 a contingency of Cheyennes, comprised mostly of Dog Soldiers, moved north to the Republican River area in northwest Kansas where they resumed their depredations on the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road. At Sheridan they ran off several hundred mules in May 1869, and the following month they raided a caravan near Fort Lyon. Throughout the summer, numerous bands of Indians were reported along the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road. Fortunately, no lives were lost in any of the encounters.<sup>24</sup>

Trouble of a different sort occurred during the same period. While a coach was en route to Well No. 2 from Fort Lyon, a driver named Huggins killed another stage company employee named Taylor. Because both men had been drinking, Huggins was not held responsible for Taylor's death. He was relieved of his driving duties and assigned to Well No. 2 as a stock tender. Not finding the new duties to his liking, Huggins left the company's employment. Shortly thereafter the station was closed.<sup>25</sup>

By this time the town of Sheridan had grown to a population of 2,000, swelled by the lawless element common to end-of-track towns. A reporter for the *Topeka Commonwealth*, de-

scribed the situation in the issue of August 4, 1869: "The scum of creation have there congregated and assumed control of municipal and social affairs. Gamblers, pickpockets, thieves, prostitutes and representatives of every other class of the world's people, who are ranked among the vicious, have taken possession of the town and reign supreme . . . Civil authorities are laughed at and disregarded, and crimes are rampant and predominant."

Regardless of such observations, a sizable proportion of the population was comprised of respectable personnel associated with giant commission firms, principally the Otero & Sellars Company and the C. H. Chick Company. Employing clerks by the score, these two firms operated mammoth wholesale operations disbursing goods to New Mexico by way of freight caravans operated by New Mexico merchants who found a ready market for their wool at the Sheridan railhead.<sup>26</sup>

During the late 1860s northwest Kansas was considered to be the prime buffalo hunting area of all the West. Hunters by hundreds, with easy access to the railroad, made Sheridan their base of operations. Roaming the plains within a short radius of the railhead, they slaughtered buffalo by the thousands. To capitalize on the wool and buffalo trade, Otero & Sellars pirated Moses Friedman from the C. R. Morehead Company of Leavenworth to conduct their wool, hide, and fur buying business. Miguel Otero recalled the company's warehouses contained, at one time, 30,000 buffalo hides and 5,000 wolf skins plus thousands of coyote, badger, skunk, and antelope skins.<sup>27</sup>

At Fort Wallace the population had increased to 286 soldiers, officers, and families, and 168 civilians, making a total of 479. Among the civilians were a few individuals associated with the newly-built railroad station named Wallace located north of the post. A row of officers quarters lined the north side of the parade grounds, and soldiers were quartered in four barracks, two sod and two frame. The temporary quarters and hospital tents occupied by the families of noncommissioned officers gave the post an "unfinished, if not unsightly appearance."<sup>28</sup>

At Pond Creek Station, shortened to Pond Creek, a post office was established in November 1868.<sup>29</sup> In the same year, the little settlement was named as the temporary seat of government for Wallace County. In 1869, the town gained municipal status when a group of citizens filed for a city charter under the name of Pond City

Land and Town Company. While the Southern Overland Company continued to dominate the town, Pond City attracted a number of other businesses including a jewelry store owned by John Whiteford, Wallace County's first justice of the peace.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, as the UPRR-ED (changed to Kansas Pacific on March 3, 1869) extended westward in Colorado Territory, a new end-of-the-track town was being developed at Kit Carson. By December 1869 a population of 300 was living in tents and eight frame buildings were under construction.<sup>31</sup> In March 1870 the stage company abandoned Pond City and moved its offices to the Colorado terminus.<sup>32</sup> In short order Kit Carson took on the appearance of its Kansas counterparts with the usual array of dance halls, gambling houses, and saloons, in addition to the more respectable business houses associated with the commission firms and the railroad.<sup>33</sup>

With both the stage and railroad headquarters relocated at Kit Carson, a stage route was developed to Fort Lyon. Running due south from Kit Carson, the new road connected with the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road at the Big Sandy Station and followed that older route on to Fort Lyon, a total distance of 55 miles.<sup>34</sup>

To protect the new road, Company A of the 5th U.S. Infantry was transferred from Fort Wallace to Kit Carson.<sup>34</sup> As it turned out, however, the road was never threatened by Indian attack thanks to Major Eugene Carr's overwhelming defeat of the Dog Soldiers at Summit Springs, Colorado, on July 18, 1869.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it seemed that the road was plagued more by a monotonous landscape than it was by Indians. In April 1870 the area south of Kit Carson was described by a Denver correspondent as: "a lifeless prairie, with naught to interest or attract the eye of the traveler."<sup>37</sup> The following year Frances Roe, a young officer's wife en route to Fort Lyon, offered a similar observation: "there was not one object to be seen on the vast rolling plains—not a tree nor a house, except for the wretched ranch and stockade where we got fresh horses and a perfectly uneatable dinner."<sup>38</sup> The location of the ranch described by Roe remains unknown, but it would appear that it was the only station on the road at that date. Such is plausible as the stages, traveling at the rate of four to six miles per hour, could cover the distance from Kit Carson to Fort Lyon in a single day.<sup>39</sup>

The stage route is not to be confused with the freight road developed by George McBride and Dick Wootton,

principal owners of the Kit Carson and Fort Union Bridge Company. Evidently following the same route laid out by Wootton in 1868, the freight road ran south from Kit Carson to a point a few miles north of the Big Sandy Station. From that location it departed southwest to a ranch on a stream identified by Ado Hunnius as Big Creek (present-day Gageby Creek). From the ranch the road turned south to Bent's Old Fort and seven miles beyond to present-day La Junta, Colorado. There, the Arkansas River was spanned by a toll bridge constructed by Wootton and his associates at the site of King's Ferry.<sup>40</sup>

While little is known of this freight road, one account by P. G. Scott provided a fleeting glimpse of the route. Scott arrived by rail at Kit Carson on August 18, 1870. Securing passage with a Mexican train captained by Dolore Pathea, Scott departed Kit Carson on August 20. His observations of the countryside closely parallel those made of the terrain crossed by the stage route: "The country round here—Carson—is a little rolling but is almost pure sand, grows a little short dry grass, almost too short for animals to get a bite at all, and a plant that looks like southernwood and which does not grow very high but is very plentiful. The water is mostly alkali and bad for stock. In the creeks there is only a waterhole here and there. At Carson they have bored 1,200 feet and have not got pure water yet."<sup>41</sup>

The road was so sandy that at some intervals 14 yoke of oxen were required to pull a single wagon. Reaching Bent's Fort on August 26, the train crossed the Arkansas and followed its south bank to the toll bridge operated by the Kit Carson and Fort Union Bridge Company. Scott described the bridge as a "very common wooden affair."<sup>42</sup> The toll was \$1.00 per wagon.

During the summer of 1872 the Kansas Pacific reached Denver. Consequently government freight was no longer dispatched from Kit Carson by wagons. It was shipped through Kit Carson to Denver by rail, transported south to Pueblo on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, and thence by wagon to the mountain route of the Santa Fe Trail at Trinidad. Stage traffic and most civilian freight, however, continued to flow south from Kit Carson.<sup>43</sup> In the summer of 1873 the Kansas Pacific began construction of a branch line south from Kit Carson. Expecting the southern terminus to be located at Las Animas, a town founded in 1869 near Fort Lyon, the Southern Overland Company moved its receiving and shipping office from Kit Carson to the

new town in early July. The railroad bypassed Las Animas to establish a new town four miles to the west called New or West Las Animas. In short order the Southern Overland Company abandoned the original Las Animas location and moved its offices to the new place where it constructed a complex of stables and corrals within sight of an imposing water tower, engine house, and other railhead facilities. From West Las Animas freight and stage traffic continued to move down over the mountain route of the Santa Fe Trail, while the Kit Carson - Fort Lyon Road and the McBride & Wootton freight route fell into disuse, being superseded by the Kansas Pacific branch line.<sup>44</sup>

The closing of the roads from Kit Carson signaled the end of an era, the 1863-1873 decade which witnessed the gradual truncation of the Santa Fe Trail by the westward thrust of the Union Pacific-Kansas Pacific Railroad. In 1863 travel from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe by way of Council Grove and the Cimarron Route was 821 miles.<sup>45</sup> In 1873 the distance from West Las Animas to Santa Fe was 320, a reduction of 501 miles.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the railroads replaced the Trail.

#### NOTES

1. Joseph W. Snell and Robert W. Richmond, "When the Union and Kansas Pacific Built Through Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 49 (Summer 1966): 164.
2. *Junction City Union*, June 30, 1866; Morris F. Taylor, *First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines on the Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 115-116; David K. Clapsaddle, "The Fort Riley - Fort Lamed Road," *Kansas History*, 16 (Summer 1993): 124-137.
3. Ibid.
4. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 122-123, 127; David K. Clapsaddle, "The Fort Hays - Fort Dodge Road," *Kansas History*, 14 (Summer 1991): 101-102.
5. Snell and Richmond, "When the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific Built Through Kansas - Concluded," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 49 (Autumn 1966): 347. The town was officially named Phil Sheridan in honor of the Union general of Civil War fame who in 1868 was the commander of the Department of the Missouri. In that year he temporarily moved his headquarters to Fort Hays in preparation for the winter campaign of 1868-1869. Regardless, the town was, almost without exception, referred to by the shortened name of Sheridan.
6. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 130-132.
7. Penrose to Assistant Adjutant General (AAG), August 30, 1868, Selected Letters Sent by Captain and Bvt. Brigadier General Penrose, U.S. Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives.
8. Luke Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," MSS 13-5a8, State Historical Society of Colorado Library, Denver.
9. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 112, 131. In 1865 the BOD surveyed a road from Pond Creek Station to Fort Lyon and, in the same year, a military road was developed between Forts Wallace and Lyon. In both cases these roads ran to the Fort Lyon established in 1860 as Fort Wise in the Big Timbers area at the site of William Bent's New Fort. In 1862 the name was changed to Fort Lyon and, in 1867, the post was moved upstream some 20 miles following a devastat-

tating flood. This location is sometimes called New Fort Lyon to distinguish it from the original post known as Old Fort Lyon. Kansas State Historical Society, "Kansas Historic Sites and Structures in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 40 (Summer 1957): 137; George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 15 (1919-1922): 91.

10. Robert W. Baugham, *Kansas Post Offices* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1961), 46.
11. Mrs. Frank Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 17 (1926-1928): 194.
12. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 131; *Colorado Chieftain*, June 25, 1862.
13. Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," 8.
14. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace," 194. The Cheyenne Wells Station was located five miles north of the present city of Cheyenne Wells. Margaret Long, *The Smoky Hill Trail: Following the Old Historical Pioneer Trail on the Modern Highway* (Denver: W. H. Kistler Stationery Company, 1943), 65.
15. Penrose to AAG, August 30, 1868.
16. Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," 8; Penrose to AAG, September 19, 1868. Sand Creek, also known as Big Sandy, was called Dry Creek by the Cheyennes. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," 91.
17. Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," 8; Penrose to AAG, August 30, 1868. Kiowa Springs was also called Collins Springs. [Carl Julius] Adolph Hunnius, Map of Kansas - 1870, Map Drawer AA, Kansas State Historical Society.
18. Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," 8; Penrose to AAG, August 30, 1868.
19. Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," 8; Penrose to AAG, August 30, 1868.
20. Lydia Spencer Lane, *I Married a Soldier or Old Days in the Army* (reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace Publishers, Inc., 1964), 187.
21. Stan Hoig, *The Battle of the Washita, The Sheridan-Custer Campaign of 1867-69* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 54-68.
22. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 134.
23. Penrose to AAG, December 7, 1868. Luke Cahill's report that escorts were in place between Forts Wallace and Lyon prior to the stage company's request appear to be in conflict with Penrose's letter. Cahill wrote: "At each of the above stations ten men and a corporal or a sergeant were stationed, the duty of those men being to guard the station and also to escort each coach. Four men could take station on top of the coach and accompany it to the next station and five men and one non-commissioned officer would remain at the station to guard the stocktenders and the company property. The men would take turns in escorting the coaches. Fort Lyon had to furnish men as far north as Kiowa Station and Fort Wallace as far south as Rush Creek. Luke Cahill, "Pioneer Days in Bent County," *Bent County Democrat*, March 1, 1923.
24. Donald J. Berthong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 339-340; George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent Written from His Letters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 328; Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 74; Taylor, *First Mail West*, 218; *Colorado Chieftain*, June 3 & 17, 1869.
25. Cahill, "Pioneer Days in Bent County."
26. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 37-38.
27. Ibid., 27-29.
28. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace," 227.
29. Baugham, *Post Offices of Kansas*, 103.
30. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace," 227.
31. Snell and Richmond, "When the Union and Kansas Pacific Built Through Kansas - Concluded," 347.
32. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 147.



33. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 35-37.
34. *Colorado Chieftain*, March 10 & 24, 1870; Hunnius, Map of Kansas - 1870.
35. Regimental Returns, 5th U.S. Infantry, Microcopy 665, Roll 58, National Archives.
36. In the battle of Summit Springs which took place near present Sterling, CO, Carr's Fifth Cavalry devastated the Dog Soldiers' village, killing 52 warriors, capturing 17 women and children, and confiscating huge stores of equipment and provisions. Among those killed was Tall Bull, the undisputed leader of the Dog Soldiers. This humiliating defeat essentially broke the back of Cheyenne resistance. Consequently, the depredations common to the Fort Wallace - Fort Lyon Road were unknown on the Kit Carson - Fort Lyon Road. James T. King, *War Eagle: A Life of General Eugene A. Carr* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 94-119.
37. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 12, 1870.
38. Frances A. Roe, *Army Letters from an Officer's Wife 1871-1888* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 2.
39. The correspondent quoted in note 37 stated that he made the trip from Fort Lyon to Kit Carson in twelve hours.
40. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 150; Hunnius, Map of Kansas - 1870.
41. P. G. Scott, "Diary of a Freighting Trip from Kit Carson to Trinidad in 1870," *Colorado Magazine* 8 (1931-1932): 146-148.
42. *Ibid.*, 149-151. The toll was set as follows: fifty cents per wagon at low water, not more than a \$1.50 during other times. Morris F. Taylor, *Trinidad, Colorado Territory* (Trinidad: Trinidad State Junior College, 1966), 104. Pathea chose to cross the Arkansas at the old ford near Bent's Fort instead of the toll bridge, thus avoiding the toll costs.
43. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 158.
44. *Ibid.*, 162-163.
45. Table of Distances on the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, as compiled by Bvt. Maj. Henry L. Kendrick in 1849, *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, 31 Cong., 1 sess. (Serial 573), 92. By 1863 Fort Leavenworth had superseded Westport as the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail.
46. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 163.

## TRAIL PHOTOGRAPHS

BRUCE Hucko, photographer and arts education consultant who is a member of SFTA, is currently at work on a soft-cover, 65-page book on the Santa Fe Trail to be published by KC Publication in Las Vegas, Nevada. Bruce's photo stock now includes over 1,000 images taken along the Santa Fe Trail. About 75% of these are on 4 x 5 transparencies with the balance on 35mm. If you are planning to publish postcards, books, or whatever where Trail photos are required, he would like you to keep his collection in mind. He will be adding to his stock files on the Trail this coming summer in anticipation of getting a contract to produce a large format, hard-cover book on the Trail. This additional coverage will include the Trail as it appears today, communities and people involved in the Trail, and commercial take-offs of the Trail motif. For anyone interested he has a detailed file description of Trail photographs available upon request. Contact Bruce Hucko, 541 E Alameda Apt B, Santa Fe NM 87501 (505) 989-8562.

## TRAIL DIARY OF SPRUCE MCCOY BAIRD, 1867: PART II

edited by Mary Jean Cook

*[The introduction and part I of this diary appeared in the last issue, and the diary is concluded here.]*

**June 15** Nothing of note transpired during the night, except that a blind man who seemed to be know[n] to road men came aboard and traveled a short distance. He talked much, muddling of politics and religion, though a democrat and not fanatical. He evidently was trying to make a display of his learning which was however (to use the "old Irish gentle-man's") expletive nothing but a smattering. Nevertheless some of the passengers, not graduates themselves, stared with wonder that one head and that blind could hold as much learning. We gaped. We nodded. We snored. We slept, and awoke at daylight high up in the lower part of the very low & flat state of Illinois, and still dashing on towards Odin our present objective point. By farm houses. By small towns numerous, through fields, with waving grain, through lands and skirts of timber and open Prairies we soon arrive at Centralia and a few minutes afterwards at Odin where we change cars and direction for St. Louis on the Mississippi or St. Louis and Cincinnati road. The country and towns all along the road are just such as we have indicated above and need no further description. We arrive about ten o'clock at east St. Louis and take the omnibus amid the usual din and scramble of hackmen and hotel drummers, under our through ticket privilege to any hotel or steamboat. As we passed down the wharf I saw the Kate Kinney with her sign up for Omaha and I boarded her and made arrangements for my passage up the Missouri to Kansas City.

And here I will rest a while. The Captain of the Kate Kinney was not ready to sail and consequently proposed that he would take me on board and charge me \$1 per day until he did sail.<sup>27</sup> I accepted the proposition at once & soon found myself in a choice state room, soon made myself acquainted with the officers of the boat, found them all clever and accommodating gentlemen and of the Rebel persuasion. I turned my money over to the clerk, it being gold and requested him to sell it for me for greenbacks which he did the first time he went uptown to much better advantage doubtless than I could have done myself. I was now the first and only passenger on the boat and soon ingratiated myself with the clerk, Capt. Stew-

ard etc. and got along well by being polite and kind to all with whom I came in contact. The Captain (Kinney) had but little to do and I had less and we mutually assisted each other by talking about matters and things in general. Among other things talked over was the war. He stated that his boat had been pressed into the service and forced or sent up the Yazoo river and was there when Sherman returned from his raid into Mississippi. That the officers brought back gunny sacks full of gold, and silver plate. That they had also collected a large number of negroes from the plantations and that they were encamped or crowded on a space of ground of about four acres nearly or quite as close as they could be packed. That they were without a single exception pure blacks. That the soldiers perpetrated the most shameful outrages upon them in open day, the oldest not excepted and notwithstanding their entreaties to be let alone. Of these negroes he said nearly every one died from hardships, hunger and maltreatment. After closing his statement and seemingly falling into a reverie he quickly added "This was no war. It was nothing but a great big plunder and robbery". I remained on the boat all day having no important business ashore.

**June 16** Sunday & at home on the boat all day.

**June 17** This morning after breakfast I went down to the Iron Mountain Rail Road depot and thence down to Carondelet by the RR to see Mrs. Farnsworth and make inquiry about the Messrs. Leitensdorfer, her brothers. I learned that they were both out west, Tom at Trinidad and Eugene at Las Vegas.<sup>28</sup> Carondelet is a small, hilly, and rather pretty place having nothing about it worth special notice. I returned by the next (?) and return train to the depot and then up through the heart of the city on 4th street & the finest of the city. I went to one of the hotels or public places because I did not wish to meet any of my acquaintances as I knew they would disturb more or less my quietude on my boat and insist on my running round the city for which the weather was entirely too hot and moreover I had a slight rheumatic affliction in my right thigh and had no heart for social and gay enjoyments. I purchased me a fine glass and returned to my boat. They all seemed glad to see me (though I had been gone but a few hours) as I was the only company on the boat.

I should have remarked that on Saturday it was published in the papers that the Rail-Roads congressional committee who were there in St. Louis on their return from Fort Riley Kz consisting of Ben Wade and others, would attend the Baptist church on Sunday. I had myself contemplated attending the same church but on seeing this declined, because I thought it would look too much like the curiosity which sends people to a monkey show.

On this Monday morning passengers began to come aboard. I had been so long the first settler on the boat that I felt like Daniel Boone when he learned of another settler within forty miles of him that is to say that I was about to be crowded. While laying at the wharf a boat from the head of navigation (Fort Benton) on the Missouri river, a way up in Montana landed by the side of us. She was heavily laden with peltries such as buffalo robes, bear skins, deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, beaver skins, etc. etc. And afterwards the Stonewall came and landed just above the latter and next to us.<sup>29</sup> She had a gilded lance projecting horizontally from the Jacob-staff and the bust of the celebrated dutchman of Shorpsburg standing on it with these words ascending from his mouth tittered on a tin plate "Who's bin here ven I sh bin come".

Among the passengers there was an old gentleman by the name of O'Bryan and wife and daughter and three grown sons, from La opposite Nachez. Formerly a large planter, shipping annually 1000 bales of cotton. He was a Kentuckian by birth & from Nelson County. He had sold his plantation in La and purchased another in Clay County Mo and was now on his way to his new home. They seemed to be remarkably clever people and in their manners of the free unrestrained and courteous southern school. Mr. O'Bryan said he knew of no planter who had made any thing over expenses since the war and he had consequently given up the business himself.

Everything is in a stir about the boat as they are loading. The prevailing sentiment among the passengers seems to be southern or conservative.

In the evening I went down some distance to see a new boat, said to be the finest on the Mississippi, called the Great Republic.<sup>30</sup> She is a boat of large size. I stepped up on the cabin deck and looked down the hall and observed (the only thing about her peculiar) that she had a row of Gothic columns (colonades) extending the whole length of the hall on each side, apparently one in front of the partition of each state

room. They looked very pretty, but when I reflected that this was all Yankee ostentation and vulgar attempt at grandeur and display and that it all was probably built with the ill gotten gains of the war, and at the expense of those left destitute I turned from it as from a disgusting pageant and slowly and thoughtfully returned to the boat (my boat).

**June 18** Last night I walked up town, and a considerable distance up and down 4th street, which was brilliantly lighted up and showed to great advantage. The chief object of attraction to idle strollers was a Yankee blacking peddler who had his stand placed on the street near the side walk, with a lamp, a box of blacking, a brush and a shoe and was giving an interminable lecture on his blacking and the art of blacking shoes, which he illustrated and exemplified by interminably blacking his shoe. I soon became disgusted with him also and again returned to my boat, which now had passengers aboard enough to make it cheerful and companionable.

This morning a Judge Hughes from Union county, Ky came aboard. We soon became acquainted and were traveling companions from this on as far as Lawrence City Kz. There was also aboard a Dutch Doctor from St. Louis by the name of Galland. He was out peddling the patent right to a medicine for rheumatism and bored us sorely as to the extraordinary virtues of his medicine. They are rapidly transferring the barrels, boxes etc. etc. piled up on the wharf in front of us, thence to the boat preparatory to starting this evening. In the mean time there comes aboard a fine florid old Kentucky gentleman who after looking around requested the clerk to introduce him to me. After some conversation in which he informed me he was a liquor merchant and doing business just in front of the boat, he invited me over to his store and treated me to some of the best whisky I ever tasted. His name was Chamblin, and if I ever return that way, I certainly will call on old man Chamblin according to his request.

The black smoke is boiling out of our chimneys in clouds. The steam is up. The whistle blows, the bell rings, we are all aboard and off we move passing up in front of the city. St. Louis is now a great, a beautiful, a large city. But to me like all other cities a perfect Babel, a systematic confusion, a regularly confused mas(s) of brick, stone and mortar and human misery and apparent anxiety. Its population is about [blank].

There is nothing in city life to my taste, to be compared with that in the

outside world, in the grand old forest, in the rural hamlets and districts, an[d] the widespread prairie and towering mountains, livend up by all the wildness and freedom of unbridled nature, the crowing of chickens, the lowing of cattle, the tinkling of bells, the barking of dogs, the singing birds, the mighty rush of a herd of buffalo, and even the occasional raid of [a] hostile band of Indians. But we are going and night overtakes us about the mouth of the Missouri. Old man O'Bryan, myself and his son, take a social and quiet game of Gusher and we turn in for the night.

**June 19** We woke up this morning some distance up the turbid Missouri. Nothing to note during the night except that the boat furnishes us wretched coffee. In fact, Judge Hughes and myself have held a council over it and pronounce it not coffee at all, but we can not positively say what it is made of. The fare is otherwise very good.

The Missouri River, like all the streams issuing from the Rocky Mountains, is always muddy, or "riley" as Lincoln would have it in one of his ill timed pauses. When settled the water is good and healthy. There is not much to be seen in ascending the Missouri. The best farms lay back in the country generally, though in places, particularly at Washington and Herman the river hills are beautifully adorned with cottages, gardens and vineyards. It was generally conceded

**June 20** by the passengers that Washington is the most inviting place on the river, as seen from the boat.

At Boonville Capt Kinney left us, it being the place of his residence.<sup>31</sup> The voyage becomes monotonous as the time lengthens and the distance before us shortens. Every thing is commonplace and unworthy of even a hasty note, and we will jump an interval embracing the 20th (Thurs) 21st (Friday).

**June 21st** during which we passed Hills landing, stopping a short time to deliver freight and where I left a note to Maj. Bowdry of that vicinity.<sup>32</sup> We pass Lexington in the evening and on

**June 22nd** Saturday the 22nd in the evening arrive at Kansas City the terminus of our river voyage.

Before arriving at Kansas our Dutch Doctor, patent medicine peddler came to Judge Hughes & myself and said he was informed that there was a Dutch hotel in the City of superior quality and class and proposed that we all stop there to which we consented. It is known by its sign as the Franklin house and stuck against the bluff right



on the Rail-Road and near the river which were the Judges and my principal reason for stopping there. As we approached it the countenance of the Dutch Doctor brightened as he remarked "Now we gits some tings coot". We had gotten our evening meal on the boat and fortunately needed no supper. The evening sun beat against the house and the bluff perpendicularly and we found the heat almost unbearable, but we were in for it and had to endure it. The evening was also enlivened by the musick of about three billion of mosquitos, corresponding as near as I could calculate from the number that seemed to be to each square inch numerically with the public debt. From the order in which their bills seemed to be they must just have returned from the shop of the candle maker, for they brought blood with pain every "pop". We retired to our rooms early to find them of the most filthy and disgusting character though the beds seemed to be clean, and after our olefatories became familiarized with the stench, being up stairs and having the doors and windows open and the mosquitos from some cause having retreated (perhaps they were routed by the overwhelming stench) we passed a tolerable night in the Dutch hotel, the Franklin House. The Doctor and

**June 23rd Sunday** I arose early and went up into the city and the Hill in search of a bath house, which we found, kept under ground by a freed man and tolerably neat. After bathing we returned to our hotel and found breakfast in progress. The prominent object on the table was an immense sausage coiled around in an immense dish, and looked like an immense anaconda, such as I have seen in shows. We had bakers bread and bad coffee, but the Dutch Doctor ate as though he had "cot some ting coot".

As soon as we got through with our share of the sausage consisting of about one coil aplece (more or less) the Judge and I in a fit of deep disgust, paid our fare, shouldered our baggage, bid farewell to the Dutch Doctor and the Franklin hotel and launched out upon the brod bosome of the earth resolved to seek adventures for that day. This was Sunday morning and the cars would not leave for the west until Monday morning, so afoot we struck along the Rail-Road for Wyandotte, some three miles off around the bend which the Missouri River here makes and just across the Kansas river. In passing along at our leisure, coats off and baggage on our backs, we discussed of matters and things in a dissultory manner, but some how or other

the conversation involuntarily would return with imprecations to the Franklin Hotel of Kansas City. We noticed on our way myriads of grasshoppers which in their flight had come in contact with the high and perpendicular embankments of Kansas City and had accumulated in heaps at the foot of these bluffs there to die. We noticed also that they had devoured every thing grown in their way, even to the dogfennel and smart weed. Kansas City promises to be a place of importance and the City on the hill is as pretty a place as could be desired. It is improving rapidly. Its inhabitants number some 14,000 or 15,000. It is suported by a fine surrounding country both in Missouri and Kansas as well as by the river trade of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. By the Pacific Rail-road from St. Louis to this city and thence to Levenworth and the Union Pacific Rail-road E. D. extending across the plains on what is more commonly known as the Smoky hill route and that which I traveled. A branch of the North Missouri Rail-road also extends up the north bank of the Mo River and connects with Kansas City and its converging Rail-roads by a bridge across the Mo River, which is now being built. They are also constructing a Rail-Road from this City by way of Fort Scott, designed eventually to connect with the Texas Rail-Roads and Galveston etc. etc. We passed up the south bank of the Missouri into the valley just above the present city and just below the mouth of the Kansas, where the business part of the city will soon be and where now the depot is and where they have also erected a fine and commodious Rail-road hotel. On arriving at the depot we learned that we would have to go to Wyandotte to take the Monday morning train, so we continued our walk, talking as before, Judge Hughes cursing right out in an open and profane manner the Franklin Hotel of Kansas City and I if not exactly saying Amen at least giving such grunts as are usually to be heard in and about the Amen corner. The weather was intensely hot and we took divers and sundry rests at such shady places as the surrounding forest trees presented and at length arrive on the bank of the Kansas, bank full, muddy and swift. We are paddled over in a yawl and strike for the [blank] Hotel situated near the Rail-road in the City of Wyandotte, determined not to be bit as at the Franklin House of Kansas City kept by the Dutchman where we ate a whole coil of the huge anaconda sausage. We deposited our baggage in the clerks office and walked round to the rival Hotel on the hill & reconitered it and found it a twin sister, if not

a branch of the Franklin House of Kansas City kept by the Dutchman where we atle] a coil of the great anaconda sausage, and we contentedly returned to [blank] Hotel where we had left our baggage and took a pleasant room for the balance of the day and until next morning and found our accommodations every way excellent. The land lady was a Tennessean. We worried through the balance of the hot day and at night went to church (Congregational). A man by the name of Parker preached, Yankee, Radical though he touched not politics. His text, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and loose his own soul or what will a man give in exchange for his soul". It was certainly a good text. He read his sermon in the cold, formal lifeless Yankee style and its best feature was its shortness. Judge Hughes and I returned again disgusted and the Judge said he was a d-m-d fool and I grunted. He added, he was a d-m-d Yankee & I said Amen.

We talked out in the cool night a while to the land lord and lady in the free and easy and lovely southern style and then retired and slept soundly till day break.

**June 24th. Monday** It rained yesterday evening and made the streets muddy and slippery. This morning after breakfast cars arrived from Levenworth City and had aboard some negro soldiers with white officers. These white negro officers all have a downcast sheepish or dgish [doggish?] look, are respected by no body, not even the negroes. One of them seemed to be a low bred vulgar man and the other seemed to be walking all the time on stilts and under an effort to make a respectable, soldierly expression. The negroes, of course were all stolen property. The train is under way and flying up the northern bank of the Kansas or Kaw river. Our flight is too rapid to learn much about the country. It is plain to be seen however that the river bottom is of the best of land, but in rather a rude state of cultivation. The grasshoppers for a long way up the river have in many places destroyed the wheat and young corn. We pass many ephemeral, mushroom towns, too tedious and unimportant to mention. We arrive about the middle of the day at Lawrence City, made famous by many events and particularly by Quantrells celebrated raid. The building now seem to be almost entirely of wood and of the Cabbin order. Here Judge Hughes left me and on we go for Fort Riley and Junction City. Arrive in the evening at Fort Riley where the negroes disembark and three miles more bring us to the depot at Junction

139 miles from Wyandotte. We have passed on the way several prongs of the Kansas river but all their names I now can not call to mind. On the cars nothing worthy of note transpired. The boys as usual ran up and down and cried their "peanuts" "figs" "oranges" and newspaper and yellow backed literature. Politics on boats, and cars and in hotels, one not discussed as in former years. The Radicals seem ashamed to avow their principals and the Democrats say they (the Rads) are too d-m-d fools to talk to and I believe this to be so; for I have never heard one attempt to give a sober mans reason for any of their diabolical proceedings. They always set out by opening a set of base falsehoods to be facts and no amount of evidence is sufficient to convince them that they are falsehoods and hence they are perfectly unshakable by any ordinary channel of reasoning. They all however whenever I have met them have treated me with marked courtesy and are evidently proud of being on familiar terms with any gentleman known to be Southern.

At Wyandotte I learned that General Wright(?) in command of the Rail-road surveying party on the Smoky Hill and New Mexico route was a few days ahead of me and I had some hope of overtaking him and traveling with him, but on arriving at Junction City found that he was out of my reach.

On landing at the depot at Junction City as I stepped upon the platform with my baggage on my arm I was accosted by a young man in his shirt sleeves, his clothes being reasonably clean and his countenance and address pleasant. He asked me if I would like to go to a private boarding house. I replied in the affirmative but that I must see the house first. He then insisted on taking my baggage and conducted me to Mrs. Burroughs. On arriving I was at once unfavorably impressed with the outside appearance of things but requested the young man to show me the room designed for me, whereupon he opened a door into a back room. There were some four or five tumbled beds in it and from all appearance the sheets and bedding generally had not been washed since the year A.D. 1. It was evidently an Irish establishment and the den of all the unwashed democracy and riraff of the Rail-road employees. It surpassed in filthiness the Franklin Hotel of Kansas City kept by the Dutchman where Judge Hughes and I ate two coils of the great anaconda sausage and for one time the Irish took the premium over the Dutch, that is in filthiness and this adventure led me to the reflection that perhaps filthiness is confined to no

one nation and in these cases, was certainly common to both Irish and Dutch, the Irish winning. I curtly remarked to the abashed young man (who seemed to understand me fully) as I grasped my baggage that the situation would not suite me and I struck out up main street in search of better quarters. As I passed the store door of a Jewish gentleman by the name of [blank] with whom I afterwards became acquainted, I made inquiry for the best hotel in the city. He directed me to the Hole House remarking that it was the only decent Hotel in the place which I found to be the case and felt gratified to Mr. [blank] for telling me so plain a truth. I arrived at the Hole House and registered my name and my destination with the expression of my desire (also registered) to see any body from New Mexico. It was not long before I met quite a number of acquaintances both Mexican and Americans. Among them Mr. Kitchen of Las Vegas, Lalos formerly of Mesilla, Music of Chihuahua and many others.<sup>33</sup>

I found the Hole House to be a pleasant and well ordered place and the chief clerk a young Kentuckian by the name of Lyon and a clever fellow. I also became acquainted at this town with a Col. Hasen of Richmond, Roy County, Mo. He had been a Confederate colonel and appeared to be every way a gentleman. I learned that George W. Giddings of San Antonio, Texas had left here a few days before, having been interested in freighting contract, that from some cause had failed and was [going?] to be relet, which was in a few days secured by the Messrs. Kitchen of Las Vegas.<sup>34</sup> Mr. Kitchen ordered me every accommodation for my trip to cross the plains whenever his train should go. I stayed at Junction City until Friday evening in consequence of the road thence to Salina being out of order from having been submerged. I availed myself of the interval to prepare my outfit for the plains. I purchased me an elegant pair of high top[p]led Cavalry boots, soldier's overcoat and pants, and pair of blankets, butcher-knife, trunk, etc. etc. While here I learned that a valuable negro which the Government had stolen from me was camped near town with a train but did not see him. I here also met Bishop Lamey of Santa Fe on his return from Rome with a number of attaches and some good hearted sisters of Charity [and Loretto] a religious sisterhood made ever memorable and worthy of all praise and all gratitude for their disinterested charities during the war. They are practical christians and not of the Pharasaical order so

characteristic of the real Yankees. They, the sisters, finely illustrate St. James definition of religion. He says "Pure and undefiled religion before God and the father is this; to visit the widow and the orphans in their afflictions, and keep thyself unspotted from the world". The Yankee and even some people not Yankee, I am sorry to say hold that religion is to pray hard, sing loud, get all you can, let every one paddle his own canou and like the

**June 26** pious old lady, who, when the horses ran away down the mountain road said she, "trusted in God till the breeching broke and then she gave up all hope". I have known many persons who could not for any consideration be induced to commit a sin knowingly for less than five dollars; others not less than ten and so on. And to sum up the whole matter after long experience & much observation I have deliberately come to the conclusion that [?] man has about two hundred and seventy thousand sincere heart feeling worshipers, where God has one (more or less). The Bishop met me very cordially and pleasantly alluded to the good dinners and pleasant times he had enjoyed in our house in New Mexico.

I was deprived of the pleasure of

**June 27** traveling with him by his intending at that time to travel the Cimarron route, my business calling me by the Bents Fort route.<sup>35</sup> The little priest (formerly of Albuquerque)[?] tendered me a seat in his carriage, and they all seemed very kind and obliging. The Bishop is a most excellent man and practically a good christian.

At Junction a train of negroes passed from Johnson County Texas en route for Oregon.

This evening the train on its being announced that the road was repaired and in running order started through to Salina, but about fourteen miles from town a bridge gave way and some of the freight cars tumbled down, the loco motive and passenger cars escaping on the very brink of the breach in rather a miraculous manner. I was prevented from going on this train by my clothes being out at wash. This was fortunate and perhaps I was indebted for that good fortune to the indolence of the washerwoman. For although no one was seriously hurt yet the returning passengers said they had passed a very disagreeable night.

**June 28** Next day (the road again being declared passable) in the evening the train again started out for Salina I this time being aboard. We passed some miles from town a place where the riverbank had given away (fresh) and there lay a loco motive and tender up



side down in the river. This had occurred a few day[s] before but without any one being hurt.

The engineer now drove very carefully and felt his way at every doubtful place and the consequence was that it was dark when we arrived at Salina. On arriving as I had my trunk checked, I left it at the depot and with my portable baggage in company with others to wit (Messrs. Swartzkopf valise etc.) footed it, about a half a mile in the dark up to town and the hotel if anything about the place be worthy of that dignified and honorable title and I must say that I most decidedly think in the negative. As we passed along the street the stores and shops being lit up presented a lively and city like appearance. And to add still further life there was a traveling theater going on in a framed barnlike house near the hotel at which we stoted. As we passed it the whole house, not only so but the whole town seemed to be melodious by the music of many voices and on inquiring into the matter we learned that the actors and actresses in attempting some city, theatrical and operatic airs (in giving a song) though out of place in this extemporized rail road town, perhaps or perhaps from a misunderstanding of the matter but so it is they were joined by the whole audience upon almost every key in the gammut from deep base to alto and with almost every tune to be found in "The Missouri Harmony" to the deep disgust and bitter shagrine of the theatricals. The consequence was the theater adjourned, was informally disrupted or broken up and turned into a free ball in which all the bull whackers or teamsters are here called, took an equal rights part and they danced away the lazing hours of the latter night, the theatricals good humoredly both men and women leading off in every dance.

With the theater and this ball I here close volume first of my diary and narrative, it being the most suitable point for such case as on the next morning I go into camp with Parker and remain in camp until my arrival at Trinidad.

The balance I will complete as soon as I can leaving for your devout meditation in the meantime the following upon which your minds and hearts can safely rest in every trying time and under every trying circumstance until we are again reunited.

The Lords Prayer and Psalm XXV

### Smoky Hill Route

Table of distances from Kansas City to Denver and Trinidad C.T.

Miles

From Kansas City to Wyandotte 3

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| From Wyandotte to Junction City        | 139 |
| From Junction City to Salina           | 48  |
| From Salina to Ellsworth (Fort Harker) | 34  |
| From Ellsworth to Wilsons              | 19  |
| From Wilsons to Big Creek              | 38  |
| From Big Creek to Downers              | 42  |
| From Downers to Monument               | 50  |
| From Monument to Pond Creek            | 47  |
| From Pond Creek to Big Springs         | 62  |
| From Big Springs to Lake Station       | 44  |
| From Lake Station to Bijou             | 37  |
| From Bijou to Denver                   | 44  |
| From Denver to Trinidad                | 210 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| From Pond Creek where the New Mexico branch of the Rail Road Departs to Fort Lyon ) | 90  |
| From Fort Lyon to Trinidad  | 110 |

### Distances from Ellsworth to Trinidad Arkansas Route

Miles

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| From Ellsworth to Fort Zara (Walnut Creek on old Santa Fe road) | 41  |
| From Zara to Fort Larned (Pawnee fork)                          | 31  |
| From Larned to Fort Dodge                                       | 55  |
| From Dodge to Fort Aubry  | 101 |
| From Aubry to Fort Lyons  | 68  |
| From Lyons to Bents old Fort                                    | 34  |
| From Bents to Iron Spring                                       | 40  |
| From Iron Spring to Trinidad                                    | 53  |

There is now a nearer way from Lyons to Trinidad up the Purgatoire about 100 miles

#### NOTES

27. Capt. Joseph B. Kinney was one of the most successful steamboat men on the Missouri, at one time owning as many as 21 steamboats. The *Kate Kinney No. 1*, a large side-wheel boat of the Omaha line named for Kinney's daughter, burned in Nov. 1872. Built in 1880, the *Kate Kinney No. 2* also burned in 1883. Kinney tenaciously fought the arrival of the railroads. Phil. E. Chappell, comp., "Missouri River Steamboats," *Kansas Historical Collections*, IX (1905-1906): 305; Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited* (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1989), 6.
28. The Leitensdorfers were early Santa Fe Trail merchants. See Barry, *Beginning of the West*.
29. Joseph McKinney was master of the *Stonewall*. A fatal explosion of *Stonewall* boilers near Ste. Genevieve killed 125 people on Oct. 29, 1869. Those who died were sugar plantation laborers on their way from St. Louis to New Orleans as deck passengers. Money recovered from their bodies remained in a Missouri state account for 12 years, labeled "Victims of the Stonewall Disaster," until it was finally placed in the general school fund in 1881. Chappell, "Missouri River Steamboats," 311.
30. The *Great Republic* was considered the largest boat on the Mississippi, displacing 2,600 tons. It had a cabin 275 feet long and provided sleeping berths for 200 passengers. Oscar O. Winther, *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 86.
31. Rivercene, the mansion of Captain Joseph B. Kinney which stands today near Boonville (heavily dam-

aged by the floods of 1993), was built two years after Baird's 1867 trip. Franzwa, *Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 6.

32. Maj. Samuel Perrin Bowdry was Spruce Baird's father-in-law.
33. Since about 1866, Charlie and Dick Kitchen managed the Exchange Hotel in Las Vegas which, according to common knowledge, had the best gambling rooms in northern New Mexico. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1883* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 156, 159. Musick, an extensive rancher from Chihuahua, in 1864 cross-bred Brahmin cattle from Missouri with Mexican cattle to improve his stock. *Santa Fe Gazette*, July 2, 1864.
34. George H. Giddings first came to Texas in 1846 as a mail contractor from San Antonio to San Diego, serving as agent in San Antonio in 1857. President Abraham Lincoln sent Giddings to attempt to prevent the secession of Texas. Arriving too late, he joined the Confederate Army. Webb, *Handbook of Texas*, I, 687.
35. This was the 1867 Lamy wagon train in which Loretto Sister Alphonsa Thompson was traveling when she died and was buried on the Santa Fe Trail near the Cimarron Crossing.



## HOOF PRINTS

### —TRAIL TIDBITS—

The story of Hiram Young, an ex-slave who developed a wagon and ox-yoke factory at Independence, MO, during the decade before the Civil War was featured in the *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1994. For a time Young owned the largest business in Independence. In 1860 his firm manufactured 300 wagons valued at \$48,000 and 6,000 yokes worth \$13,500. His business was destroyed during the Civil War.

An American Discovery Trail newsletter has begun publication. The first issue describes the history of ADT and the scope of a National Park Service study of the proposed National Scenic Trail, a portion of which follows the Santa Fe Trail. To get on the mailing list, contact Jan Harris, ADT Study Team, Denver Service Center, PO Box 25287, Denver CO 80225-0287.

Recent legislation authorizes the Department of the Interior to study El Camino Real de Terra Adentro (Royal Road to the Interior Lands) for possible inclusion in the National Historic Trail system. This includes what is commonly known as the Chihuahua Trail south of Santa Fe, with which the Santa Fe Trail connected. The department is also directed to investigate El Camino Real Para Los Texas, later known as the San Antonio Road, which extended from Saltillo, Mexico,

to near Los Adeas, Louisiana. The legislation provides for cooperation with the government of Mexico in establishing international historic trails.

The Santa Fe Trail Center, Larned, recently received a photograph showing a large contingent of automobiles and people at old Fort Larned (then the Frizell Ranch) on May 23, 1912. This was a tour sponsored by several organizations, including the New Santa Fe Trail Association (mentioned in last WT).

SFTA member (and former board member) Dan Sharp, Boise City, OK, was a guest speaker at the Ala Kahakai Trail Conference held in Kaihuala-Kona, Hawaii, last November. The Ala Kahakai Trail is proposed for inclusion in the National Trail system. Sharp addressed the concerns of landowners and alternatives to avoid property condemnation.

The Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association continues to work on mapping and marking historic trails in the region. This active group is promoting the preservation of early trails and educating the public about their significance. For more information, contact President Dorothy Kroh, 8812 W 66th St, Merriam KS 66202.

Trail travelers in New Mexico may want to take a look at the restored historic Bank of New Mexico building in Wagon Mound. An article about this structure and its authentic furnishings appeared in the January 1994 issue of *New Mexico Magazine*.

SFTA Vice-President Mark L. Gardner will present a lecture, "Two Perspectives on the Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail," as part of the Colorado Historical Society's 1994 Western Authors Lecture Series. Gardner will speak at the Colorado History Museum in Denver at 7:00 p.m. on Wednesday, March 23, 1994.

The National Frontier Trails Center, Independence, MO, has acquired a wagon to place on exhibit. After a lengthy search a wagon was found near St. Louis. The Center has also received an Indian headdress, believed to be Sioux in origin. This was a donation by Myrtle Irene Blake.

The annual conference of the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) will be in Salt Lake City, Utah, August 9-13, 1994. In addition a fine

program of speakers and tours there will be a mapping workshop which will focus on the use of the newly-revised *Mapping Emigrant Trails* (MET), problems mappers have encountered in the field, the use of handheld Global Positioning System, and how chapters can participate in the MET program. Contact OCTA, PO Box 1019, Independence MO 64051-0519.

A fine article, "On the Santa Fe Trail" by William Childress, appeared in the February 1994 issue of *Motor Home* magazine. It will be helpful to those who are planning to travel the historic route.

An article on New Mexico's "Madonna of the Trail" statue in Albuquerque appeared in the December 1993 issue of *New Mexico Magazine*. This is one of 12 such identical monuments erected by the DAR in the 1920s. The New Mexico statue was planned to be in Santa Fe, but the city rejected it. It was dedicated in Albuquerque on September 27, 1928, and rededicated on September 28, 1978. Others along the Santa Fe Trail stand in Lexington, MO, Council Grove, KS, and Lamar, CO.

One of SFTA's oldest members, 88-year-old John Warner of rural Dodge City, was featured in the Winter 1993 issue of *Kansas Living* magazine. Warner is still actively engaged in his family's ranching operation on Sawlog Creek. The Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Trail crossed that stream on his property, and Warner and his family have preserved and marked the remnants of that branch of the Santa Fe Trail.

SFTA member Bert Blank, Phillipsburg, KS, helped actor Stuart Proud Eagle Grant, who portrays the Apache scout Sergeant Dutchie in the movie *Geronimo*, locate records of his Indian heritage. Grant's roots were in rural Phillips County. Blank and his family were rewarded by an invitation to visit the movie set near Moab, Utah, during filming, where they were guests of Wes Studi, who portrays Geronimo, and Grant.

American Laser Games, Albuquerque, NM, is preparing a motion picture CD game on the Santa Fe Trail, scheduled for release in the fall of 1994. Presented in what is called "interactive motion picture action," the game will challenge participants to deal with the problems of a journey from Missouri to Santa Fe. For more information call 1-800-863-GAME.

## PAPER TRAILS

by Mike Olsen and Harry Myers

[This column, premiering with this issue, seeks to trace the constantly expanding "paper trail" of materials published about the Santa Fe Trail. Readers are urged to send information about recent publications to Mike Olsen, 1729 Eighth St, Las Vegas NM 87701. In time Olsen and Myers hope to compile a comprehensive, annotated bibliography of Trail materials published since Jack D. Rittenhouse's invaluable *Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography* (1971).]

Clapsaddle, David K., "Conflict and Commerce on the Santa Fe Trail, The Fort Riley - Fort Larned Road, 1860-1867." *Kansas History*, 16 (Summer 1993):124-137.

With the establishment of Fort Riley in 1855, the army set a new route to New Mexico. Use of this route during the Civil War led to confrontations with Cheyenne and other Indians along the way. This trail ran through Junction City, Salina, Fort Harker, Fort Zarah, to Fort Larned and lasted a scant seven years before the railroad superseded it.

Dolbee, William B., "The Privilege to Mark Out the Way: American Mission, Mexico, and the Road to Santa Fe." *New Mexico Historical Review*, 68 (July 1993): 227-245.

An excellent overview of the passage of the bill providing for the survey of the Trail in 1825 by Sibley. Dolbee also discusses the attempt of Joel Poinsett to expand the U.S. boundaries while negotiating the survey with his Mexican counterparts.

Merriam, Douglas, "Fort Union: On Memory Trail." *New Mexico Magazine*, 71 (January 1993): 22-31.

Stunning modern-day photos accompanied by historical quotations and a brief history of this national monument in northeastern New Mexico.

Miller, Darlis A., "The Perils of a Post Sutler: William H. Moore at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1859-1870." *Journal of the West*, XXXII (April 1993): 7-18.

William H. Moore opened a trading post in Tecolote, New Mexico, in 1848 and sold goods to local Hispanics and Trail travelers, traded with the Comanches, and later won contracts to supply mules, beef, forage, and many other local goods to the army at Fort Union. In 1859 he became sutler (post trader) there. Moore amassed sufficient wealth to lend vital support to the military during the Civil War. In 1868 Moore paid more taxes than anyone



else in New Mexico. Replaced as sutler by President Grant's brother-in-law, John Dent, in 1870, Moore died broke and owing money. An excellent look at Moore's operation at Fort Union and his freighting activities on the Santa Fe Trail.

Wallis, Michael, "La Fonda: Gathering Place at the End of the Trail." *New Mexico Magazine*, 70 (November 1992): 34-35.

The famous hotel in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on one end of the Santa Fe Trail.

## POST OFFICE OAK

### —LETTERS—

Editor:

I see several references to the military road during the past year in WT. I am a native of New Mexico and have some information about a portion of that route in northeast New Mexico that I will share with serious historians working on this topic.

Esther Jones Killam  
5820 S Windermere Apt 565  
Littleton CO 80120

Editor:

I recently joined SFTA. I am especially interested in the Trail because my great-grandmother was Marion Sloan Russell. Her book, *Land of Enchantment*, prepared by her daughter-in-law Winnie (Mrs. Hal) Russell, is a treasured possession. Winnie Russell was an interesting individual herself, a rather peculiar personality in that she was sensitive, vengeful, sentimental, and caring. She tended to use diminutives to excess in her writing. The word "little" was used frequently, too often it seems to me.

Marion Russell was made of much stronger, sterner spirit and character than the writer might lead one to believe. Although fragile physically, Marion Sloan Russell was mentally alert and interested in everything that was happening until the day of her death, December 25, 1936.

Myrtle Anne Walte  
583 - 20 Rd  
Grand Junction CO 81053

Editor:

I enjoy my membership in SFTA. A year or so ago I joined Corazon de los Caminos Chapter (I rent a little house in Cimarron where I go now and then), a very active and interesting group. Recently I joined the Texas Panhandle Chapter in Amarillo. I'm delighted this chapter is being reactivated. The president, Kathy Revett, is a "live wire" and so much activity is anticipated.

In my retirement I write a weekly

column for the local paper, *The Dalhart Texan*, in which I enjoy plugging SFTA. I am looking forward to 1994, a year for learning more history.

Dell Steel  
PO Box 26  
Dalhart TX 79022

Editor:

When you think of Bethesda, MD, my home, you may think of the National Institutes of Health or the National Naval Medical Center. Bethesda, however, has something in common with Trail states. It is the home of the easternmost DAR Madonna of the Trail statue. It was dedicated in April 1929, the last of the 12 such statues erected across the nation.

My family (including three boys) is planning a trip along the Santa Fe Trail this coming summer. We have gathered much information but wonder what you might recommend.

Richard L. Fidler  
7400 Pyle Rd  
Bethesda MD 20817

*Everyone, including your boys, will enjoy Dave Webb's Adventures with the Santa Fe Trail. Brief overviews of the Trail are found in Jack Rittenhouse's Trail of Commerce and Conquest and Mark L. Gardner's Santa Fe Trail. For guidebooks you should have Marc Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, and Gregory Franzwa's Santa Fe Trail Revisited. Everyone should benefit from reading Marian Sloan Russell, Land of Enchantment. You may enjoy Santa Fe Trail Trivia while traveling. Additional good books may be found in the bibliographies of several of the above. Best wishes for a pleasant venture on the Trail.*

Editor

Editor:

Just a short note from Franklin, MO. The Great Flood of 1993 certainly rearranged our landscape, but it did not change our spirit or dedication to interpreting the rich history of this area. Although we lost several historical markers, others are still in place. The auto tour route signs have been erected and our end of the Trail is open. Folks here are preparing for this year's events. We will have fundraisers, a National Trails Day celebration, and wagon trains.

The 4th annual Santa Fe Memorial Wagon Train will leave Franklin June 18. The South Howard County Historical Society will be sending its newly-crafted conestoga wagon down the Trail on its first venture with the Lexington Bit & Bridle Club. Drop by and enjoy our reenactment or better yet bring a horse or a wagon and join us.

Thanks to everyone for their concern

during last summer's tragedy. It's a little sandy here, but we all had a little grit in us to begin with.

Randall Robb  
3579 St Rt J  
Franklin MO 65250

Editor:

I read with great interest and appreciation your editorial comments in the last WT. I agree with everything you said, and I am glad you wrote down your feelings about the great potential that SFTA has that is not being fulfilled at present.

My wife Jana and I talked about these same issues all the way back home from the La Junta symposium. I wondered if anyone else felt the same way.

The Santa Fe Trail has a basic need—a broad-based citizen support group. The Santa Fe National Historic Trail Advisory Council was formed (by law) for a period of only 10 years. The National Park Service can provide help with interpretation and promotion of the SFNHT. But neither the NPS or the advisory council can provide the public support group that the Santa Fe Trail must have. That is what SFTA can do.

SFTA members and chapters should be at the forefront of preserving the historic Trail network and sites associated with it, gathering and preserving the records of the overland experiences, mapping and marking the routes and sites, erecting accurate signs and interpretive displays, fostering research and publication, designing educational programs, and publicizing the Trail and creating public awareness of its significance in our regional and national history. SFTA should be coordinating these activities among its members and chapters. These are basic components that only SFTA can do effectively, but we've got a long way to go.

I joined SFTA to be a part of these activities, to help preserve this unique part of our history. I would like to see the officers and directors challenge interested members like me (and we have hundreds of such members) to be a part of the process. We want to be involved. A brief board meeting once a year will not get it done. I agree with you that "we ought to do better." With you, I hope that a new vitalization will ensue with the implementation of the revised bylaws.

Leo, thanks for all you do for the Trail. *Wagon Tracks* is superb.

Ross Marshall  
6624 Craig Rd  
Merriam KS 66202

## CAMP TALES

### —CHAPTER REPORTS—

#### Cimarron Cutoff

President David Hutchison  
HCR 1 Box 35  
Boise City, OK 73933

The Cimarron Heritage Center, Boise City, OK, will dedicate its new exhibit building on February 20, 1994. The Cimarron Cutoff Chapter will meet after the dedication.

#### Texas Panhandle

President Kathy Revett  
3505 Cinderella  
Amarillo TX 79121-1607

At the November meeting Len Slesick gave a slide presentation on Fort Bascom. Located on the Canadian River near Tucumcari, NM, Bascom was associated with Fort Union, Kit Carson, the Indian wars, and the trail along the Canadian. It is an interesting and relevant SFT subject. In keeping with plans to reorganize the chapter the following officers were elected for two-year terms: President Kathy Revett, V-P Scott Burgan, Secretary LaVerne Hays, Treasurer Ruth Mary Maples, Historians Beverly & Andrew Lyle, Publicity Director Charles Pitts, and Hospitality Director Elaine Maples.

Chapter members met January 9 and were treated to a tour of the Bush Collection of Amarillo's Central Library by library staff following the business meeting. Those present were delighted to have the chance to become better acquainted with this valuable regional history collection. Members also brought and shared their own favorite SFT books.

Meetings are held the second Sunday of every other month. The next one will be March 13, 1994.

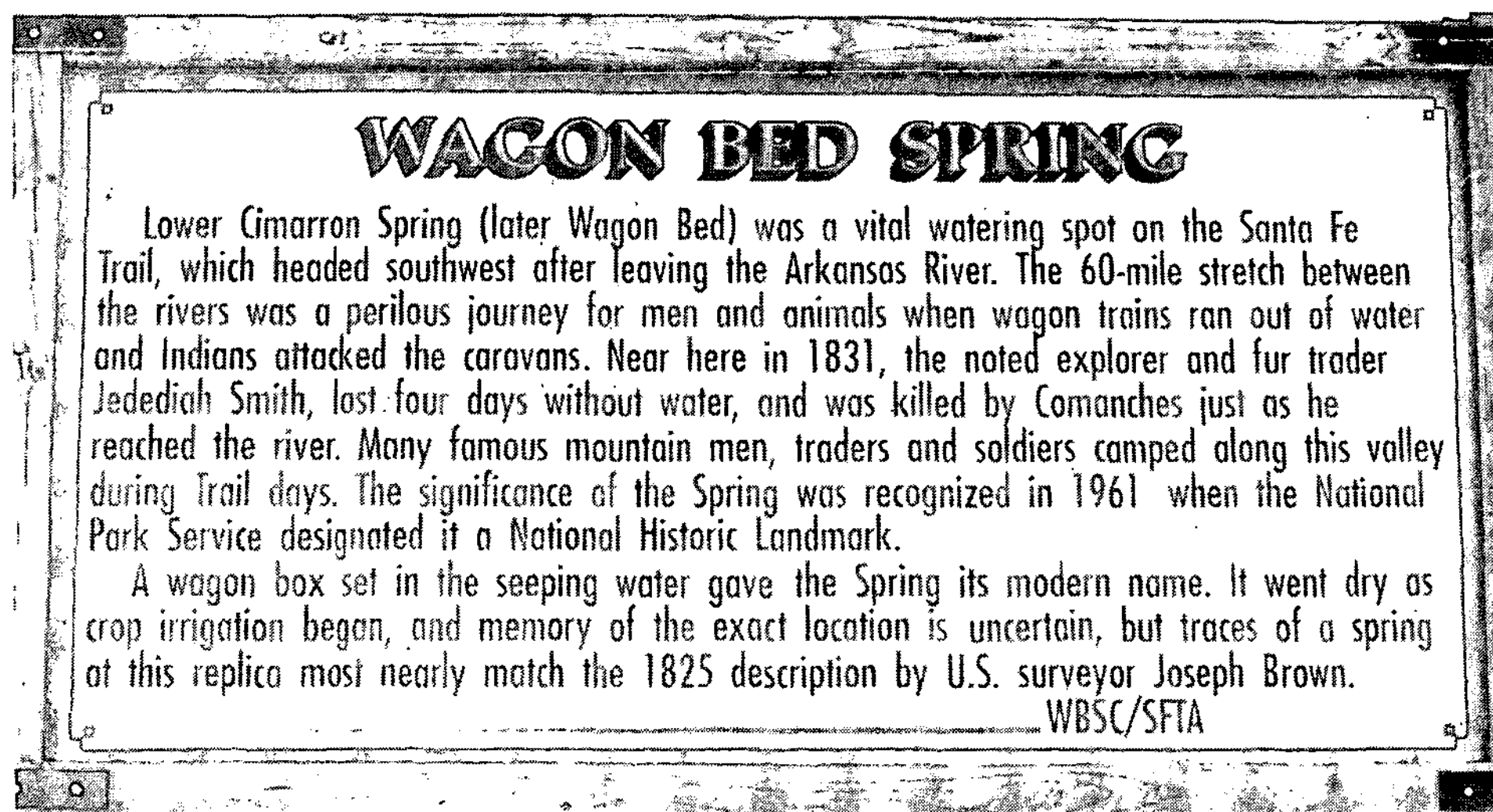
#### Wagonbed Spring

President Edward Dowell  
521 W Janice  
Ulysses, KS 67880

John Conoboy, who is in charge of the NPS certification program for sites along the SFT, was guest speaker at the winter meeting of Wagonbed Spring chapter on Jan. 13, 1994, when 28 members and guests were present. The study to consider enlarging the Wagonbed Spring NHL is continuing by NPS personnel from the Denver office.

Other projects include evaluation of 40 Trail sites for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The NPS is also studying the El Camino Real from Santa Fe into Mexico.

At the business meeting conducted by President Edward Dowell, the group



This sign was erected by the Wagonbed Spring Chapter at the site. The text was prepared by the organizing chapter president, the late Fern Bessire, who did not live to see the sign installed. (Photo by Leo Gamble.)

voted to have a metal buffalo placed on one of the hills at Wagonbed site for a touch of realism for by-gone days. This was suggested by Ed Lewis. Paul Ben-trup reported there was some water erosion along the pipe fence which should be stopped.

Election of officers was held, and at the suggestion of Roy Bessire, all officers were retained for another year. They are: Dowell, president; Lewis, vice-president; Marjorie Persinger, secretary; Karla French, treasurer; and Mary Gamble, reporter.

The next meeting will be in Hugoton on April 14, 1994.

#### Heart of the Flint Hills

President Donald B. Cress  
RR 1 Box 66  
Council Grove, KS 66846

The chapter met January 11, 1994, at the Morris County Courthouse. Howard Mohler reported that progress was being made in getting the Wilmington schoolhouse on the National Register. The annual Santa Fe Trail Ride is set for June 5-10, 1994, beginning one mile south of Gardner, KS, and ending in Council Grove. Ideas for celebrating the 175th anniversary in 1996 were discussed. Helen Ericson suggested having a quilt contest sponsored by the Emporia Quilters Guild. The Fremont Park Revitalization Board has developed a master plan to develop the stone barn and 16 acres adjacent to it. The insurance committee is working to acquire adequate liability insurance for the chapter's trail rides. Consideration was given to the installation of interpretive signs on the Trail ruts five miles west of Council

Grove at 142 Mile Creek Crossing and at the Wilmington schoolhouse.

The next meeting will be a joint meeting with the Morris County Historical Society, February 28, 1994, 7:00 p.m., at the courthouse, to begin planning for the 1999 SFTA symposium which will be held in Council Grove. The spring meeting of the chapter will be on April 12, time and location to be announced later.

#### End of the Trail

President Margaret Sears  
1871 Candela  
Santa Fe, NM 87505

The chapter's executive board met at the home of Margaret Sears, vice-president, on October 29, 1993, to consider the status of the Santa Fe Plaza certification action by the NPS and the city of Santa Fe, the program for the membership meeting in November, and a financial report by Sec-Treas. Louann Jordan. A nominating committee was appointed to select individuals to serve as officers for 1994. It was announced that Margaret Sears had been elected to serve on the SFTA board of directors for a four-year term.

The last chapter meeting for 1993 was held November 13 at the Santa Fe Library. Speaker was chapter member Mary Moorehead who concluded the tale of her great aunt, Clara Blinn. Blinn and her two-year-old son were captured by Indians on the SFT and subsequently killed during an attack on the Indians by the U. S. Army. Mary recently completed a four-year term on the SFTA board of directors.

Following Moorehead's presentation, Jack Uhlenhopp reported on his sur-



vey of DAR markers in the chapter's area from San Miguel del Vado to the Santa Fe Plaza. His efforts have culminated in a book containing a detailed description and location of each marker plus accompanying photographs. The book will be placed in the chapter's archives and used as an educational and promotional tool.

The final event of the day was a humorous presentation by Louann Jordan on events she observed at the 1993 SFTA Symposium. Her presentation was completed by colored slides taken by chapter member Larry Lyons.

On January 15, 1994, approximately 50 persons gathered to hear Mary Jean Cook, Santa Fe National Historic Trail Advisory Council member and a founding member of SFTA, present a preview of an article she has written for *Wagon Tracks*, "Governor James S. Calhoun Remembered" (see elsewhere in this issue). Sec-Treas. Louann Jordan was recognized for having been named Member of the Year by the Santa Fe Flesta Council.

Margaret Sears was elected Alcalde; Helen M. Geer, secretary; and Doris Lyons, treasurer. Marjorie Knightly accepted the position as Alcalde Segundo. After Sears was presented the badge of office, a red bandana, she commented on the future of the SFTA and its relationship with the chapters, indicating that more interaction and cooperation will result. Lyon asked for applause for Carl Damonte in thanks for his two years of outstanding work as Alcalde of the End of the Trail Chapter.

A video of "Forts Along the Santa Fe Trail" was shown. A presentation of the Old Army Press, it was an interesting history of the forts whose remains are still visible on the Trail.

The next meeting will be on March 26, 1994, 1:30 p.m., at the Santa Fe Library. Larry Lyons will show his slides on the "Modern Santa Fe Trail."

### **Corazon de los Caminos**

President LeRoy LeDoux  
PO Box 94  
Wagon Mound, NM 87752

The Nov. 21, 1993 meeting, devoted to techniques of oral history, was attended by 19 members. Dale Gerde-man, who spoke on family genealogy research, discussed major sources and distributed several forms for those interested in getting started in genealogical research. Ermenio Martinez concentrated on tracing family history in northern New Mexico. Specifically, he mentioned that most Hispanic families are descendants of about 200 original families that came with Oñate and the Spaniards. Good sources are

*Origins of New Mexico Families*, records of Spanish governmental authorities, and church records. Michael Olsen, the program coordinator, summarized techniques of recording oral history. Anyone wanting more information on this subject should request a 6-page report from Olsen.

During January membership activities were in hibernation, but several committees worked hard to get ready for a successful 1994.

The library/archives committee, Milton Swenson, chair, has finalized arrangements with the Carnegie Public Library in Las Vegas for facilities which allow the chapter to collect and preserve information relating to the Santa Fe Trail.

The program committee, co-chaired by Mike Olsen and Dorothy Valdez, has prepared a fine calender of activities for 1994. The next meeting will be March 20, when we hope to attract area legislators and civic leaders to discuss the commemoration of the upcoming 175th anniversary of the commercial opening of the Santa Fe Trail.

Both the marker committee, Nancy Robertson, chair, and certification committee, Stephen Whitmore, chair, have begun research toward identifying SFT sites which should be marked and might receive certification.

The chapter is establishing a library/archive for the purpose of collecting and preserving the history, memories, reminiscences, documents, oral histories, and books relating to the Santa Fe Trail. The intention is to collect and preserve those items and oral histories that are not now being preserved or collected. Milton Swenson will oversee this project.

Anne Kaiser, head librarian, has generously offered a location for the collection in the library's Southwest Studies room. The general public is invited to make use of this collection for study and interpretation.

The chapter is interested in receiving additional contributions (books, documents, photographs, audio and video tapes, and other material) for the archives. To be acceptable, the item should contribute directly to the understanding and interpretation of the Santa Fe Trail and the heritage of the Corazon Chapter area. Inquiries should be directed to Milton A. Swenson, c/o Carnegie Public Library, Las Vegas, NM 87701, or (505) 666-2409.

### **Wet/Dry Routes**

President Lon R. Palmer  
358 West 8  
Hoisington, KS 67544

The Wet/Dry Routes Chapter convened its winter meeting on January

30 in Kinsley. Officers for 1994 were elected with the 1993 officers being chosen to serve another year: President Lon Palmer, V-P Louis Van Meter, Sec-Treas. Ida Yeager, and David Clapsaddle as program director. Other items included (1) the approval of July 4, 1994, for the annual chuck wagon fund raiser, (2) approval of the chapter's serving a chuck wagon meal during the 1995 SFTA symposium, and (3) approval of a \$500 contribution to the 1995 symposium budget.

The first annual Faye Anderson Award was presented to Leo and Bonita Oliva for their work in the promotion and preservation of the Trail. The award was represented by a handsome engraved plaque and a lifetime membership in the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter. Two Boy Scouts were also recognized for completing Eagle Service Projects: Aaron Cross, for resetting the DAR marker in Ford County, and Josh Woolard, for placing nine additional markers on the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road.

The chapter's new publication, *Self-Guided Auto Tour of the Santa Fe Trail in Pawnee, Edwards, and Ford Counties*, was distributed to persons present and quantities of the booklets were allocated for placement at selected sites throughout the three counties.

An announcement was made of a \$1500 grant from the Larned Tourism Committee to purchase plaques to commemorate the legacy of Henry Booth in the Larned area. Booth, captain of Co. L, Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, was inspector general of the Department of the Arkansas at the time of the Sand Creek Massacre and made an official visit to the site subsequent to the confrontation. Booth became the principal founder of both Pawnee County and the City of Larned.

The spring meeting is scheduled for 2:00 p.m., April 24, 1994, at the Senior Citizen's Center, Burdett, KS.

### **Mountain Branch**

President Roberta Cordova  
202 East Sixth St.  
Trinidad, CO 81082

No report.

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

President Janet Bevers  
513 Andrew Street  
Dodge City, KS 67801

The first Chapter meeting of the new year was held on Jan. 22 at the Dodge City Public Library. Chapter member Richard Dryden presented a slide program "Up the Trail: Fort Dodge to Council Grove," featuring sites passed by travelers on the fall return trip.

The business meeting consisted of

election of new officers, committee reports, and future meeting plans. Officers are Janet Bevers, president; Ann Warner, vice-president; B. Richard Dryden, sec.-treas.; Bob Monaghan, director at large; and Guy Josserand, Jr., program chairman.

The next meeting will be Feb. 26, 1994, at the Dodge City Public Library, at 2:00 p.m., when the video "West to Santa Fe, Overview" will be presented.

### Missouri River Outfitters

President Robert Dorian  
13211 E 45th Terr  
Independence, MO 64055

The Missouri River Outfitters Chapter met on the first Sunday in October 1993 at a SFT site in east Kansas City. Lou and Topper Schumacher hosted the event and gave a tour of the land they donated to the NPS. Lou presented an interesting program on his Trail research and the site certification process. After cider and cookies, members were treated to a demonstration of a problem perhaps encountered on the same spot 150 years ago. Several of the men employed jacks, levers, and a fulcrum to extricate a (modern-day) wagon from atop a tree stump. Thanks to the Schumachers for an informative and entertaining afternoon.

The chapter gathered December 5 at the Carter Ranch for a potluck dinner and meeting. Each member brought a dish that might have been served during the Trail era, which made for a varied menu.

The next chapter meeting will be held on Thursday, February 24, at 7:00 p.m. at the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, Missouri. Member Jane Mallinson will share information and slides of DAR markers and Madonna of the Trail statues that have been placed (and replaced) along the trails.

### Quivira

President Wayne Smith  
RR 1 Box 44  
Raymond, KS 67573

No report.

## COUNCIL TROVE

### —DOCUMENTS—

#### TRAIL TRADE, 1825

Harry C. Myers has been gathering all articles relating to the Santa Fe trade which appeared in the *Missouri Intelligencer*. He plans to reprint these so this invaluable source on early Trail history will be readily available to students of the route. The following three items from 1825 provided a discouraging prospect for the future of the trade between Missouri and New Mexico. Myers notes that the intent of

these negative observations was, in part, an effort by the editor of the newspaper and others to discourage people outside Missouri from entering the trade. A portion of the article from the November 4, 1825, issue appeared in an earlier edition of WT (Feb. 1993). It is now included in its entirety.

*Missouri Intelligencer*  
June 4, 1825

#### TRADE TO NEW MEXICO.

The following is an extract from a letter received, a few days since, by a gentleman of this place, dated "Passo del Norte, Sept. 21, 1824," about 300 miles south of Santa Fe. The writer is a man of intelligence and veracity, and not being himself engaged in the trade, could have no motive for misrepresentation. We sincerely regret that the commerce heretofore carried on between Missouri and the Internal Provinces, & which has been a source of so much profit and advantage to those enterprising citizens who have engaged in it, as well as to the state, does not appear to hold out sufficient inducements to continue it. We have no doubt, however, that our persevering citizens will penetrate into the remotest provinces, and seek new markets, and that the trade will not be finally abandoned until the whole country has been explored, and every source from which profit could be derived, has been exhausted.

The following is the extract above referred to: "I will only say, that in my opinion, no person is justifiable in taking goods here, at this time, with the expectation of selling for more than 100 per cent, and that for mules and horses. Cash is scarce here, or, rather, it is in the hands of a few, who are able to live without parting with it. This trade is done, as all will inform you. Mules sell for \$20 to \$30—horses, \$10 to \$20."

*Missouri Intelligencer*  
June 18, 1825

#### TRADE TO NEW MEXICO.

We have noticed some illiberal remarks in the *Missouri Advocate* of the 8th inst. on the course the Editor of this paper has pursued in regard to our commerce and intercourse with the Provinces of New Mexico. We are inclined to think, however much the *Advocate* may have the interest of Missouri at heart, that its course on this subject has not had a tendency to advance the interest or promote the prosperity of the state. Our own citizens were the first to explore the route and find the market, and, in our opinion, ought to reap the advantages resulting from the discovery. We have generally stated plain matters of fact, in regard to this trade, abstaining from all unnecessary embellishment or exaggeration, which could only have a tendency to attract the attention of other states, and induce large bodies to engage in it, to the injury of our own citizens, and to the anni-

hilation of the commerce itself, by glutting the market. Already has a large party left Tennessee, and another from Alabama, (the latter taking \$30,000 worth of merchandise)—and but a few days since, a gentleman from Boston, an agent of an extensive commercial concern, passed through this place on his way to New Mexico, for the purpose of ascertaining the real situation of the market, and if favorable, to engage in the business extensively. That country cannot support the trade to the extent it is now carried on. Missouri alone can supply that country with twice the amount of goods it has the means to purchase. Our position enables us to carry on the traffic to greater advantage than any other state in the Union.

We have received from Capt. Becknell, lately returned from a trapping expedition, in the New Mexican country, some interesting particulars relating to the privations & sufferings of his company—together with some remarks respecting the Santa Fe trade. We shall endeavor to find room for them in our next.

Santa Fe. —It is stated in a late Huntsville, (Alabama) paper, that an expedition to the interior provinces of Mexico was fitting out in that neighborhood—the company to consist of 70 or 80 persons—That "about \$80,000 were already invested in dry goods, to be transported to Santa Fe, and there exchanged for Specie!"

*Missouri Intelligencer*  
Nov. 4, 1825

#### INTERESTING LETTER FROM SANTA FE.

The following letter from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman, now in New Mexico, to his friend in this place, corroborates the statements heretofore made by us respecting the actual condition of the commerce with that country.

"Santa Fe, Aug. 25, 1825.

"Dear Sir—Before I left Franklin I promised on my arrival at this place to give you an account of the state of trade in this country. From my own observation, and conversations which I have held with a number of individuals, some of whom have been trading throughout all the upper provinces of New Mexico, I think I shall be able to draw a pretty correct picture of the present state of commerce in this and neighboring states.

"The importations this year have been so great, the market for goods is completely overstocked. Many who brought but few goods, and left families behind, have been compelled to sell; some at a loss & others for about enough to save themselves. In this way the trade for cash has been ruined.

"Every village is crowded with goods, and it would be difficult to find a place within 300 miles where more could be sold. There is a



large amount still in Santa Fe, & the owners are completely at a loss how to act. The little cash that was in the country has been expended, and to think of bartering altogether for mules, at high rates, they cannot. "In Sonora, goods may yet be disposed of on pretty good terms for mules; but the great fatigue and the still greater hazard attending a traffick of that kind, deter many from engaging in it. Several persons, however, have left here for that Province, and necessity I expect will compel others to follow them. There is no cash in the country except in the hands of a few individuals who are already supplied with more goods than they can consume in two years.

"The great mass of the people are extremely poor, and except here and there a ninepence which they get from our traders, they have not the handling of a farthing from one years end to another.

"The sales that have been effected this year; have been principally at wholesale; and I think I hazard nothing in saying that more than two thirds of the amount imported still remain to be distributed throughout the country. How long it will take to sell fifty or sixty thousand dollars worth to a people who have nothing to buy with, is a calculation rather too nice for me to make. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that it will take some time.

"Goods are entered at the custom-house without any regard to their invoice prices. They are valued at from 10 to 150 per cent. above cost, and pay on that valuation a duty of 22 per cent. which, on a common assortment, amounts to about 35 per cent. on the actual cost; and yet several sales have been made here at 50 per cent. advance, the vender paying the duty.

"Those who are acquainted with the country, and can speak the language, may possibly keep up a small trade for two or three years longer, but new adventurers generally must suffer.

"On the whole, it appears that there is but little prospect of a successful trade being kept up between the United States and this Province, except on a very limited scale indeed. The country has but few resources, and the people in general are too indolent to call even, those few to their aid. They are very poor, but very contented."

— —

Cols. Reeves and Mather, two of the Commissioners of the Mexican Road, together with their company, have arrived here. We do not learn any thing of importance in addition to what we have already published.

### • • • • • "NEGOTIATING THE TRAIL"

Beverly Ryan, SFTA member from Lynchburg, VA, has been researching a July 1864 encounter between traders and Indians at Cow Creek Crossing (west of present Lyons, KS) in which

her grandfather and great-grandfather were involved. She is especially seeking a copy of a diary kept by I. W. Gray in 1864, which was mentioned in the *Lyons Republican* (July 20, 1914) coverage of the 50th anniversary reunion of survivors of the battle.

That diary has not yet been located, but Ryan found the following article, "Negotiating the Trail," in the *Lyons Daily News*, August 17, 1946. These reminiscences of Frank M. Stahl, apparently recorded in the 1930s or early 1940s, provide details of Trail freighting in the 1850s and 1860s. He worked for a company engaged in hauling army supplies. As with many memoirs, a few errors of fact occur in this recollection. The firm Stahl identified as "Irwin & Jackson" was Irwin, Jackman & Co. When Russell, Majors & Waddell failed in 1861, their unfilled military freighting contracts were awarded to Irwin, Jackman & Co., which became for a time the largest enterprise engaged in shipping on the Trail. Stahl mistakenly placed Las Vegas north of Wagon Mound. He notes that the trip he describes occurred in the 1850s, but several places he mentions (such as Forts Zarah and Dodge) were not established until the mid-1860s. Interestingly he referred to the stretch between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers on the Cimarron Route as "Horn-Alley," apparently a corruption of "Jornada," a name by which it was known. The "Battle Ground" he mentioned was the location of an encounter between New Mexican troops and Texan militiamen in 1843, not a part of the Mexican War. The pilfering of sugar from the army freight, which Stahl thought to be a rare occasion, was actually a common practice.

These minor mistakes do not detract from the significance of an account by one who was a bullwhacker on the Trail. It should be noted that the large pile of bones Stahl saw between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, referred to by some travelers as the "bone yard," resulted from the loss of draft animals of a caravan to a blizzard some years before. The article is reproduced here, with a few spelling errors corrected, as it appeared in the *Lyons Daily News*, August 17, 1946.

#### Details of a Santa Fe Journey by One Who Made It

For those who would know the details of a caravan trip over the Santa Fe trail through Rice county and beyond, nearly a hundred years ago, the description herewith will be a valuable find.

The NEWS is indebted to the late Dan M. Bell, first county commissioner and town-builder, for preserving it. It was compiled by L. Palenske of Burlington who obtained the

account from the old trail traveler, Frank M. Stahl, of that town. For years it has lain in the files of a member of the NEWS force and is now being printed locally for the first time:

Much has been said and written about the Old Santa Fe Trail; writers of fiction have mixed up their stories of the Trail with romance, adventure and tragedy with facts, until it is hard to distinguish one from the other. The great Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad today follows the Old Trail in many places. The tourist riding in an observation car, has his attention called to historic places, old forts, river crossings, the sand hills, old trader ranches, scenes of conflicts with Indians; in many places on the slopes and side hills he is also shown traces of the Old Trail — the deep ruts made by the wagons many years ago.

It was my fortune, not misfortune, to travel the Old Trail in its busiest days, and the purpose of this article is to give a correct story as I saw it in the middle fifties.

For many years the starting point on the Missouri river was Independence, Westport, and Leavenworth. In the early fifties a large part of the overland traffic started from Leavenworth, Kansas. The Trail cut across lots crossing the Kaw River at Topeka, passing the little town of Auburn, intersecting the main line of the Old Trail at Wilmington, a little town five miles west of Burlingame. This trail was very heavily traveled. After grass came, a train was nearly always in sight, and the marks left on the prairie by the heavy wagons are still plain, although it has been more than fifty years since the trail was abandoned.

THE START: Yoking up the oxen, loading the wagons and greasing them thoroughly. The wagons were very heavy and strong with high wheels. The bottom of the bed as it rested on the bolsters was close to four feet from the ground. Six yoke of cattle were assigned to each wagon, and the wagons were loaded with goods weighting from three tons to 6500 pounds. Their loads consisted mostly of flour, sugar, bacon and other eatables. Often supplies for the government consisting of war materials, fixed ammunition, guns and revolvers. On one trip my wagon had sixty-five hundred pounds of revolvers and fixed ammunition. The firms of Irwin and Jackson, and Majors and Russell, were the head freighters. Scott, Kerr, & Co. furnished the government with beef cattle driven over the Trail. All these firms had their headquarters at Leavenworth.

A regular train consisted of twenty-six wagons, with six yoke of cattle to each wagon, making three hundred and twelve head. The personnel consisted of a head man: the Boss, called the "Wagon Boss," and an assistant wagon boss, and twenty-six drivers. The common wages of the drivers, up to the civil war, was one dollar per day. The men were boarded but furnished

their own bedding.

There were few bridges and in wet times progress was very slow until after leaving Council Grove. Forced to double or more in bad creeks made much trouble, and often the morning and evening camps were in sight of each other and sometimes the same.

**THE CAMP:** The wagons were placed in an ellipse. Just before getting to a camp selected for the night or for the mid-afternoon supper, wagon No. 1 was brought up to a point and stopped with the wagon slightly oblique. No. 14 was brought up along side of No. 1 about twenty feet distant. No. 2 came up alongside of No. 1, and No. 15 came up to No. 14. The wagons kept coming up to their respective places widening out until half the wagons were in place, then narrowing until the last two were some fifty feet apart. A chain was placed on the front wagons across the exit while the rear was guarded by the boss and assistant while the drivers were yoking their oxen. The wagons formed the corral, the front wheel of each wagon was chained to the hind wheel of the wagon in front, made an excellent corral.

Often the 'Roll Out' was called while it was yet dark; at the call the night herders brought in the cattle. It was a mob. 312 head of cattle in a small place; 26 men with a yoke on his arm looking for his individual team. It would seem to be impossible for the driver to find and yoke his cattle in such a seething mess. The first oxen wanted was the "off-wheeler." He was worked up to his own wagon and chained to the hind wheel on the inside of the corral; then with bow in hand he started out for his mate. There was no trading or mixing of oxen, each man had to find his own and they were hitched to the wagon. The wheelers were selected on account of size and because of being well broke.

My wheelers on this trip were pure white, weighing in the neighborhood of eighteen hundred pounds each. They were almost perfectly matched. When yoking them in the dark, the only way I could tell the night from the off ox was by their horns. They were branded on the horns with a deep I. J., [for] Irwin & Jackson.

The pointers or lead team was the next oxen wanted. They were so selected on account of being well broke and ridable. They were chained to the hind wheel of the wagon to which they belonged. Next, the four yoke of oxen between the wheelers and pointers were called the swing cattle, and the off ox in any team was kept the off ox. It was not long after starting the train until most of the teamsters knew all their cattle and often by name; and they helped one another. "Here's your off wheeler," or your pointer, or swing steers. It was common for the cattle of a team to keep close together which made it much easier. Inside of fifteen minutes, every man had his cattle

yoked. As the train rolled out, No. 14 of the day before became No. 1, and changing places every day, unless, for some reason No. 13 was to lead [because the other?] was too slow. To lose your place was a small disgrace.

Night herders and cattle. The drivers were detailed for night herders, each as their turn came, for the whole night. The camp as a rule, was made early, so as to give the cattle a good show for feeding. They would quietly graze until near midnight; when they would rise and graze for a couple of hours and lie down again. They were easily herded as a general thing. In an electrical storm with heavy rain, it might become necessary to talk to the cattle. Unlike the buffalo, the oxen turn from the wind. They would move slow at first; then was the time to work. The herders would get in front of the moving mess, take hold of their horns, talk to them, push them back and would soon stop them. They would stand perfectly quiet until the storm was over. If thoroughly frightened or tormented by mosquitoes in such numbers that figures fail, until they were frantic, the only chance to keep the cattle was to mill them. Milling is keeping the cattle going around in a circle. It is easily done by constantly turning the leaders into the revolving jam.

The aim of the Trail is to keep on the best ground, caring far less for distance than for good road. High ground, as free from creek crossing as possible was the object. There were numerous streams to cross on either the Independence or Leavenworth trail between their starting point and Wilmington, where they came together. From Wilmington west Log-Chain, Chicken, One Hundred and Forty-Two, St. Johns, Rock, and Big Johns Creeks, and the Neosho at Council Grove. The country was more level and the streams not so deep. There were ranches or traders, general saloon keepers as well at certain points along the Trail.

At Diamond Springs, 14 miles from Council Grove, was the first point; at Big Turkey, the ranch was run by Harve Bickford and Lester Buttes; at the Little Arkansas (now Little River) by Wheeler; at Cow Creek, by Dr. Beach; and at Walnut Creek, by Peacock. Walnut Creek later became Fort Zarah. From that on, it was Fort Lamed, Fort Dodge and Bent's Old Fort until you reached Fort Union in New Mexico. Or by crossing the Arkansas river at the Cimarron crossing, passing over the 60 or 80 miles of dry road, one would strike the other trail at Wagon Mound, a few miles north of Fort Union.

There was little danger until the Little Arkansas or Cow Creek was reached. Very few trains loaded with government goods were captured by the Indians. The Indians were heavy on trade. They wanted fire arms, ammunition, knives, sugar, bacon, flour and meal. Their offerings for trade was mainly buffalo hides, well tanned, and moc-

casins. Their buffalo hides were often smoke-tanned and painted with crude pictures. The footwear was well beaded, and often belled. The bells were made of tin and jingled as the wearer walked. In season they would bring plums and berries. Sugar was their greatest need or want. Two cups of sugar would buy a large well-tanned robe; or four cups would buy a large, black, smoke-tanned and pained robe or one coup would get a fine pair of beaded or belled moccasins.

After leaving the Grove you went into the Indian country. Kaws and Pawnees seldom troubled, I mean dangerously troublesome. Then, you might meet Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches or Arrapahoes. All needing watching.

The trail from Fort Zarah on Walnut Creek, to Fort Dodge has been dubbed the bloodiest ground in Kansas.

On this trip the "five great tribes" were assembled just beyond Fort Zarah, between the Walnut and the Arkansas River, waiting for a commission from Washington to come there and hold a pow-wow. They were camped there a good while. Some two months previous a Mexican train loaded with wool and hides passed through their lines, going east. They were camped on both sides of the trail for miles. A Mexican had traded a saddle for a pony. This same Mexican train was now going back to New Mexico, loaded — a mule train. The Indian wanted the pony back and proceeded to take him. We, our train, had just got strung out, when I heard a shot. Instantly there was pandemonium, squaws and papooses running towards the river, and mounted Indians by the hundreds running alongside the train stringing their bows. Our boss, Tom Fields, was a Missourian and a cool and experience man. Every teamster has an ax on the side of his wagon. The orders were: "Don't try to fight, just keep going." If they kill an ox, take your ax and cut the bow that holds him, let him drop, but keep on going.

I remember well, that a young Indian, Kiowa, I think, rode up very close, he was very black, vicious-looking fellow. He drew his bow with a fixed arrow pointing to my left breast. I never said a word, just looked at him and never stopped. From the look of his eyes, combined with his youth, I think that I had a very close call. A few oxen were shot but we kept going, and were near Pawnee Rock before we stopped, nearly morning. The older Indians not being ready for trouble, was our salvation. (I never learned how the Mexican train came through this deal.)

**OUR EATS:** were flour, corn meal, bacon, rice and beans. Our cooking utensils were a dutch oven, a long-handled spider, a coffee pot, and a camp kettle. Messes were formed with a cook for each mess. The cook had to get his water and wood, or burning material; and was exempt from



night herding. Ash Creek, a few miles west of Pawnee Rock, was the last place to get wood until you reached New Mexico on the Cimarron route. At Fort Larned the trail branched, coming together at Fort Dodge again. One branch followed the river, the other, the cut-off, was shorter, but with hardly any water for about 60 miles.

Having now arrived at the Cimarron Crossing (about 15 miles west of Fort Dodge). On this occasion the river was high. There was a place in the river so deep that about the length of six yoke of cattle could not pull anything. I spent the day in guiding the six yoke over to where they had a footing. We hitched thirty-two yoke of cattle to each wagon. It took the entire day to cross the river. Then, there was nearly two miles of very heavy sand where we had to double our teams, and that was another day. In the evening, the cattle were driven back to the river for water, and then at night, we took the Horn-Alley (Mexican name different). After leaving the sand there was 60 miles of dead level country with one exception, there was a very shallow ravine, just a slight depression, called the "Battle Ground." It was current talk among the old followers of the trail that during the Mexican War a party of Federal soldiers and Mexican troops met at this point and had a scrap. I remember seeing on one occasion, a piece of human skull thrown up out of the sand by a wagon wheel. This proves nothing unusual, as human bones were found in many places on the great plains along the Old Trail.

When we came to Sand Creek, we got water. I have been over the trail when we had to go onto the Cimarron River, 8 miles farther before getting water. It took a night, and day and nearly another night to reach Sand Creek. Miles before reaching Sand Creek the drivers were looking out for bones. When I last saw it the pile must have been about twenty feet high. There were many tons in it. The Cimarron River was an uncertain quantity as far as water was concerned. It was strongly impregnated with alkali, and there were long drives between water holes. On one occasion 35 miles. The water in the holes after settling was clear, and without signs of life but, after the cattle waded in it the water turned, black, caused by alkali and became alive with fish. They had to come from under their hiding places for air and you could see them near the surface of the water by the score. They were easily caught with the hands. Nearly all the same size — about half-pound.

The road up the Cimarron River, towards Wagon Mound, is rather monotonous. Wood and water there was none. There was no wood after leaving Ash Creek, near Pawnee Rock. There we gathered logs and swung them under the wagons, not using them unless it was rainy. But every wagon had a large sack on the side for chips. And the teamsters, ready to help the cook,

would keep their sacks well filled. The dry chips made a quick and very hot fire.

The trail from here on to Wagon Mound, was very fair. There was little doubling on this route from the time we struck the Cimarron until we reached the Apache Hills. Only one team made the hill without doubling — only one.

An incident took place at Wind Valley that I never saw duplicated elsewhere. We were short on sugar, yet we had tons of it in our wagons belonging to the government. We camped there one whole day opened hundreds of sugar sacks took out several pounds, and sewed them up again. The sugar was divided equally between the drivers. After that each man had his own sugar. Some soon run out and had to buy from the prudent ones, and the real traders kept theirs for barter with the Indians on the return trip.

This train unloaded at Fort Union, and came back by the Raton route; that is, instead of going back as we came, we left our former trail at Wagon Mound, and went straight north thru Las Vegas, by the Maxwell ranch, over the Raton Pass, down the Picketwire to where it empties into the Arkansas, at the Big Timbers, at Bent's Fort. In crossing the Arkansas River near Bent's Fort, the river was high and the current very swift. In crossing, 2 wagons were turned over and were taken from the river a half a mile lower down.

From Bent's Fort we followed the north side of the Arkansas River for about 200 miles until we again reached the Cimarron Crossing, and then followed our former tracks back to Leavenworth without any unusual events.

Men were paid off. The first thing was a hair cut and shave; then a suit of clothes then with some, it was the saloon, and the gambling tables. Then back for another trip to Santa Fe.

## HELP WANTED

In preparation for the celebration of the 175th anniversary in 1996, I would like to assemble a list of descendants of those who traveled the Trail, preferably those who would be willing to be interviewed by visiting news media and who live on or near the Trail (names, addresses, phone numbers, the names of the ancestors linked to the Trail, including a bit of family history). Will anyone who fits the above specifications please contact me? Thank you.

Michael E. Pitel  
SFTA Publicity Coordinator  
New Mexico Dept. of Tourism  
PO Box 20003  
Santa Fe NM 87503  
(505) 827-4000  
FAX (505) 827-7402

My great-great-grandfather, Tomas Gonzales, and his father, Santiago Gonzales, were traders from the New Mexico side of the Trail between about 1850 and 1870. I am in the process of documenting this history. I would appreciate hearing from anyone who can be of help with this project. Thank you.

Gerald Gonzalez  
PO Box 336  
Santa Fe NM 87504

My grandfather, Herman Collins, wrote in his autobiography that his father, William Aaron Collins, worked on the Santa Fe Trail as a bullwacker in 1864 and 1865 and again about 1875 or 1876 to 1877. I am searching for records which can confirm this information. Any additional details about W. A. Collins would be a valuable bonus. Incidentally, an excerpt from Herman Collins's autobiography appeared in the Summer 1991 issue of *Kansas History*. I will be grateful for any help anyone can provide.

Roger W. Collins  
3656 Utah Place  
St. Louis MO 63116

On a recent visit to Kinsley, KS, I checked on the Trail ruts in the Hill-side Cemetery there. These are excellent swales in a vacant part of this cemetery. It now appears that these undisturbed ruts will soon become grave sites. Can someone help save these from disturbance? I would appreciate it if some group in SFTA would check into this and, if possible, save these Trail remnants. Thank you.

Jon Heit  
700 Peregrine Way  
Vacaville CA 95687

## NEW SFTA MEMBERS

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

### INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Box 964 WT Station, Canyon TX 79106

### FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Wayne & Grace Banta, 11570 Hwy 50, Las Animas CO 81054

M/M Albert D. Clinesmith, PO Box 66, Rolla KS 67954

Harold & Norma Geer, 220 Valencia Rd, DeBary FL 32713

Bill & Luella Marlman, 28978 Rd 10, Las Animas CO 81054

Donald & Paula Perry, 110 Northwest Ave, Hugoton KS 67951

Steve & Carole Poland, 9911 W 10th Terr,

Shawnee Mission KS 66203  
 Don & Alma Lee Powers, 943 N Arapahoe,  
 Ulysses KS 67880  
 R. L. & Pauline Robertson, 124 Wayside  
 Dr, Amarillo TX 79106  
 David & Roni Rohr, 2501 W Zia Rd #3-208,  
 Santa Fe NM 87505  
 Ron & Carol Sands, 441 E Shawnee, Gard-  
 ner KS 66030  
 Robert & Patricia Stalder, 10360 Lazy  
 Creek Box 183B, Westmoreland KS  
 66549  
 Ruth & Ralph Weller, 2500 Pheasant Pl,  
 Great Bend KS 67530

### INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Frank H. Anthony, 326 Atherton Dr, Metairie  
 LA 70005  
 Ted Anthony, 5869 E Caley Dr, Englewood  
 CO 80111  
 Robert W. Appel, PO Box 6, McClave CO  
 81057  
 Arthur Beebe, 4921 Ashton Rd, Fayetteville  
 NC 28304  
 Karen E. Bialkowski, 7356 S Platte Canyon  
 Dr, Littleton CO 80123  
 Kenneth D. Bogard, 4314 E Alta Mesa Ave,  
 Phoenix AZ 85044  
 Scott Burgan, 1708 Brazos, Amarillo TX  
 79102  
 Carl Carlson, 2794 S Eaton Way, Denver  
 CO 80227  
 William B. Claycomb, 503 S Grand Ave,  
 Sedalia MO 65301  
 Greg Collins, 1229 E 57th St #3, Chicago  
 IL 60637  
 John Conoboy, National Park Service, PO  
 Box 728, Santa Fe NM 87504  
 Charlie Coyote, 321 S Oak, Medicine  
 Lodge KS 67104  
 Howard Crockett, 2003 Woodmere Dr E,  
 Valparaiso IN 46383  
 Cora Drake, 1013 Wichita Dr, Ulysses KS  
 67880  
 Jan Drennan, 823 S Michigan Ave, Villa  
 Park IL 60181  
 Eric A. Fidler, 7400 Pyle Rd, Bethesda MD  
 20817  
 M. Renetta Friesen, PO Box 185, High  
 Rolls NM 88325  
 Terry Gandy, 6933 E 40th Cir N, Wichita  
 KS 67226-2410  
 Gerald Gonzalez, PO Box 336, Santa Fe  
 NM 87504  
 Edwin D. Gutentag, 2033 S Yank Way,  
 Lakewood CO 80228  
 Lynda Hatch, 1480 W University Heights Dr  
 N, Flagstaff AZ 86001  
 Leo J. Hayward, 14030 E Progress Way,  
 Aurora CO 80015  
 Fred L. Jones, 410 N West St, Tipton IN  
 46072  
 Bruce P. Kelley, 215 Sage Dr, Lamar CO  
 81052  
 Janice Klein, 3008 Anna Ave, Dodge City  
 KS 67801  
 Ray Koernig, Jr., 7 Meadowbrook Circle,  
 Littleton CO 80120  
 Jean I. Lantis, RR 2 Box 206, Dodge City  
 KS 67801  
 Peter J. Lewty, RR 1, Powassan Ontario,  
 Canada P0H 1Z0  
 J. Don Looper, Rt 5 Box 786-PL, Big Pine  
 Key FL 33043

Marion McGlohon, 301 S Maxwell, Ulysses  
 KS 67880  
 Veta M. Moore, 27 N Stanton, Elkhart KS  
 67550  
 Elaine Napp, PO Box 251, Pecos NM  
 87552  
 William P. O'Brien, 12166 W 7th Dr 7-106,  
 Golden CO 80401  
 James Perkins, 57 W Glenrose, Pueblo  
 West CO 81007  
 Kathleen S. Pickard, 705 E Cedar, Lamar  
 CO 81052  
 Raymond R. Preddy, 705 Forest Oaks Dr,  
 Waco TX 76712  
 Christine Rudd, 3317 Hobbs, Amarillo TX  
 79109  
 Roger Joe Sanchez, 807 E 5th, Raton NM  
 87740  
 Becky Sauble, HCR 62 Box 29, Maxwell  
 NM 87728  
 Jackie R. Selby, 2634 Navajo Rd, Pampa  
 TX 79065  
 Harold Shetterly, Kendall KS 67857  
 Susan G. Smith, 4705 Harvard, Amarillo  
 TX 79109  
 Rick Steen, Southwest Energy, 2210 W  
 2nd St, Odessa TX 79763  
 E. P. Taylor, 112 Western, Amarillo TX  
 79106  
 Ted Troyer, RR 3 Box 122, Harper KS  
 67058  
 Joseph A. Tully, 1052 W Balmoral #5F,  
 Chicago IL 60640  
 William Webb, PO Box 7752, Amarillo TX  
 79114  
 Jim Wesch, RR 3 Box 76, Centerville IA  
 52544  
 David F. Wiebe, 313 S Birch, Hillsboro KS  
 67063  
 Vincent Youngren, PO Box 488, Hugoton  
 KS 67951

### TRAIL CALENDAR

Everyone is invited to send notices for  
 this section; provide location, date(s),  
 time(s), and activity. Remember this is  
 a quarterly. The next issue should ap-  
 pear in May, so send information for  
 June and later to arrive by April 20.  
 Thank you.

**Mar. 20, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Hillcrest Restaurant,  
 Las Vegas, 1106 Grand Ave., Las  
 Vegas NM, noon.  
**Mar. 25-27, 1994:** Used book sale benefit-  
 ing Alexander Majors Historic House,  
 8201 State Line Rd., Kansas City MO  
 64114, (816) 333-5556.  
**Mar. 26, 1994:** End of the Trail Chapter  
 meeting at Santa Fe Public Library, 1:30  
 p.m.  
**April 14, 1994:** Wagonbed Spring Chapter  
 meeting at Hugoton, KS.  
**April 17, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Santa Clara Parish  
 Hall, Wagon Mound NM, 2:00 p.m.  
**April 24, 1994:** Wet/Dry Routes Chapter  
 meeting, Senior Citizens Center, Bur-  
 dett KS, 2:00 p.m.  
**May 7-8, 1994:** Oregon Trail Conestoga  
 Days, Alexander Majors Historical  
 House, 8201 State Line Rd., Kansas  
 City MO 64114, (816) 333-5556.

**May 14, 1994:** End of the Trail Chapter  
 meeting, meet in center of Santa Fe  
 plaza at 10:00 a.m. for a walking tour of  
 old Fort Marcy.  
**May 15, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, NRA Whittington Cen-  
 ter, Raton, NM, noon.  
**June 3-4, 1994:** Santa Fe Trail Rendez-  
 vous, Santa Fe Trail Center, Lamed,  
 KS.  
**June 4, 1994:** National Trails Day. Plan to  
 host an event on your section of the  
 Trail. Contact David Lillard, American  
 Hiking Society, (703) 255-9304.  
**June 5-10, 1994:** Heart of the Flint Hills  
 Chapter Annual Trail Ride from Gardner  
 to Council Grove. Contact Don Cress,  
 RR 1 Box 66, Council Grove KS 66846.  
**June 11, 1994:** Santa Fe Trail Craft Show,  
 Alexander Majors Historic House, 8210  
 State Line Rd., Kansas City MO 64114,  
 (816) 333-5556.  
**June 12-19, 1994:** 20th Annual Santa Fe  
 Trail Rendezvous in Raton NM. (800)  
 638-6161.  
**June 17-19, 1994:** 13th Annual Rails &  
 Trails Days in Las Vegas NM. (800)  
 832-5947.  
**June 19, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Loma Parda NM, 2:00  
 p.m.  
**July 10, 1994:** End of the Trail Chapter  
 meeting, meet on the old plaza of Las  
 Vegas at 10:00 a.m. for a walking tour  
 in that community. A potluck picnic fol-  
 lows.  
**July 23-24, 1994:** 12th Annual Soldiering  
 on the Santa Fe Trail, Fort Union Na-  
 tional Monument. Includes guided visits  
 to the first Fort Union.  
**July 31, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting at the church in Buey-  
 eros NM, 11:00 a.m.  
**Aug. 10-14, 1994:** 10th Annual Palace of  
 the Governors Mountain Man Trade  
 Fair, Santa Fe NM. (800) 777-CITY.  
**Aug. 21, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Community Center,  
 Ocate, NM, 12:30 p.m.  
**Sept. 18, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Eklund Hotel Dining  
 Room, 15 Main Street, Clayton NM,  
 noon.  
**Sept. 18-Oct 7, 1994:** 5th Annual Santa Fe  
 Trail Bicycle Trek from Santa Fe to New  
 Franklin. Contact Willard Chilcott (505)  
 982-1282.  
**Sept. 24-25, 1994:** 8th Annual Old Taos  
 Trade Fair, Taos NM. (800) 732-TAOS.  
**Oct. 8, 1994:** Wet/Dry Routes Chapter  
 Tour of Fort Hays- Fort Dodge Trail.  
**Oct. 16, 1994:** Corazon de los Caminos  
 Chapter meeting, Brown's Bed and  
 Breakfast, 308 Maxwell Ave, Springer  
 NM, 2:00 p.m.  
**Sept. 21-24, 1995:** Biennial Symposium,  
 Lamed and Great Bend, KS, Steve Lin-  
 derer, Fort Larned NHS, program coor-  
 dinator.

### FROM THE EDITOR

Bonita and I had the best intentions.  
 Since we completed the National Park  
 Service project on the history of Fort



Union in December, our next objective was to get an issue of *WT* in the mail on schedule. We found this to be impossible because much of the material was not submitted to us until some time after the announced deadline. Everyone is reminded that the deadline for the next issue is April 20.

For the first time since the second issue of *WT*, this issue does not have an article in the series on historic sites and museums along the Trail. We are seeking volunteers to prepare articles on the places that have not been included in this series. We have tried several times, for example, to find someone to prepare a piece on San Miguel, NM (a most significant site in

Trail history), so far without success. Let us know if you are willing to work on a piece for this series, and we will schedule it for an upcoming issue.

As of this writing only half of the SFTA members have renewed for 1994. Please check your mailing label for the expiration date and, if it shows "DEC 1993," you will need to renew before April 1 or, as the bylaws provide, be dropped from the rolls. We treasure every member and hope you will continue to support SFTA.

As the Trail Calendar shows, many events are planned along the Trail during the coming months. It is my hope that you will be able to participate in some of these activities.

Thanks to all who have supported SFTA. This is your organization and your participation in its plans and projects are encouraged. If you have suggestions, let the officers know. If you can make it, attend the meeting of the governing board during Rendezvous 1994 at Larned in June. I hope to meet you someplace along the Trail during the coming year.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

**DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE**  
**APRIL 20, 1994**

**YOUR DONATION IS NEEDED  
FOR THE JAMES S. CALHOUN  
MEMORIAL MARKER FUND**

(SEE ARTICLE ON PP. 7-9)

-donations are tax-deductible-

SEND TO:

CALHOUN MARKER FUND  
SANTA FE TRAIL CENTER  
RR 3  
LARNED KS 67675

**Your letter in support of a commemorative postage stamp for the 175th anniversary of the Santa Fe Trail is needed immediately. Please write:**

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