

AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE SANTA FE TRAIL

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PREFACE

The axiom that the winners interpret history rings true when it comes to the Santa Fe Trail and its enduring legacy. This extent of this problem became exceedingly clear to me on August, 18, 2008, as I drove westward on U.S. 56, a stretch of highway in southeastern Kansas near where animal-powered wagons once hauled people and goods over this famous trail that connected Missouri and New Mexico. I was en route to four surviving landmarks along the trail's route. Although I was crossing the southern periphery of lands once claimed by my Pawnee ancestors, the overcast skies, along with my critical reflections about the horrors of the past and the dramatic changes in the land, added to a gloomy feeling that had overtaken me earlier that day. In addition to considering the legacy of colonialism, I thought about the vast array of stereotypical misrepresentations found in the Euroamericans' intellectual thoughts and popular culture that cast the Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, and other Indigenous peoples whose lands was penetrated by the trail, as backward, warlike savages who had nothing better to do than raid lumbering trains, taking innocent lives and plundering without remorse.

It was as if the ideology of manifest destiny has taken on a new life. What historians, in conjunction with scholars from other academic disciplines, and popular culture have done is to tell a story of Indian relations with the trail that is woefully lacking, superficial, damaging, and often devoid of reality. With notable exceptions, their collective views about this history closely parallels that of those individuals whose written descriptions of their experiences on the trail tell the story of civilization beset by savagery.

My first stop on this journey of discovery was at the site of Fort Zarah, an installation constructed by U.S. soldiers in 1864 to protect trail traffic from Indians. Abandoned five years later, settlers looking for building materials literally dismantled the post's buildings. In the twentieth-century, the state of Kansas constructed a roadside park on the site. On that August day, green grass, trees, and a few picnic tables covered that few acres of land. A large marker erected by the Kansas Historical Society and State Highway Commission on the property, reads:

In 1825 the Federal government surveyed the Santa Fe trail, [a] trade route from western Missouri to Santa Fe. Treaties with the Kansas and Osage Indians safeguarded the eastern end of the road but Plains Tribes continues to make raids. Fort Zarah was one of a chain of forts built on the trail to protect wagon trains and guard settlers. It was established in 1864 by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis and named for his son, Maj. H. Zarah Curtis, who had been killed in the Baxter Springs massacre, October 6, 1863. The fort was built of sandstone quarried in near-by bluffs.

Fort Zarah was successfully defended against an attack by 100 Kiowas on October 2, 1868. It was abandoned in 1869.

The marker's narrative reflects an enduring problem with the trail's history; that is, nineteenth-century discourses depicting Indians as a threat to the country's economic and political development continue to be displayed publicly. It did not offer the slightest hint at the harm that the trail brought Indians or why Kiowas had attacked the fort. Moreover, it did not suggest that Indians relations with the trail did not always involve violent conflict.

After spending about twenty minutes there, I drove a few miles farther along same road to Pawnee Rock. Seemingly surrounded by endless acres of flat farmland, this sandstone formation had once been an important landmark for several generations of trail travelers. Before then, it was part of a vitally important life-sustaining cultural landscape for Indian nations. in part because of its position within the heartland of buffalo country. Various manmade objects, including a twenty-foot high obelisk monument, an observation platform, and a series of historical markers, stand atop of this outcropping. One of the sign states that the Pawnees left their towns in Nebraska and Kansas during the summer to hunt during the peak time of travel on the trail, but that

Because the trail travelers and the Indians usually left each other alone, outright fighting was unusual. Tensions erupted only eighteen times in a twenty-nine-year period from 1822 and 1851. Most of the fights were within twenty miles from this site.

Signs spread over the bluff's surface, which had been reduced in height by the quarrying activities of Euroamerican settlers, contain descriptions of the bluff given by such noted travelers as George C. Sibley, Josiah Gregg, and Susan Magoffin. Artistic depictions on the signs include the images of a mounted "Pawnee chief," mounted Indian buffalo hunters, and moving wagon trains. Words on the obelisk monument, apparently written at an earlier date than the historical signs, honor "the brave men and women who passing over the old Santa Fe Trail, endured the hardships of frontier life, and blazed the path of civilization for posterity." Interestingly, none of the signs mention what happened to the Indigenous peoples who once thrived in that area. It was as if they simple vanished.

Further down the road is the Santa Fe Trail Center. Inside of the building, a placard notes that the Wichita Indians had resided in that area when Coronado's expedition visited there in 1541. Blurbs on a wall sign provide more historical depth than did the historical markers at Fort Zarah and Pawnee Rock. One states: "Relationships between Plains Indians and traders ranged from cooperation to conflict. At least one tribe, the Wyandots, invested in the trade. But the introduction of diseases and alcohol, and coercion to sign treaties giving up their historic homelands threatened Indians' very existence." It also declares: "In the mid-1860s, the U.S. army began a series of campaigns to place Plains tribes on reservations." Aside from this sprinkling of information, the exhibit's curator(s) showed no apparent inclination to deal with matters involving the depopulation, subjugation, and displacement of Indians with substantive details. Rather, the facility's exhibits devote more space to archaeology than the dynamics of nineteenth-century Indian relations with the trail.

From there I drove on Kansas Highway 156 to Fort Larned, a restored U.S. army post consisting of nine restored buildings standing near the banks of the Pawnee River, once called Pawnee Fork, under National Park Service (NPS) management. The roadside sign pointing to the facility includes a metal image of a mounted cavalryman. After parking, I snapped photographs of the metal images of four U.S. infantrymen standing across the access road at the edge of a field. I then walked toward the fort, which was partially visible through the tall verdant trees lining the river. Not knowing what to expect from a river that bears the name of my people, I was shocked by what I saw. Standing atop of the cement bridge that spanned the river, I stared in disbelief at the

putrid, green, and stagnant water. Before pesticides became widely used by farmers, it had been crystal clear stream.

Inside of the visitor's center, I spoke to a NPS park ranger, briefly mentioning that my visit was part of my research about Indian relations with the trail and that the NPS was the sponsor of the project. Echoing what appeared to be a well-rehearsed refrain, he declared that the U.S. army had founded the post as protection from destructive Indian raids. Challenging his use of coded language that essentially described Indians in stereotypical terms, I asked him if it was possible that the destructive impacts of Euroamerican encroachments had precipitated the warfare. He responded by shifting his discussion to the Indian practice of taking Euroamerican captives without noting that Euroamericans often took and mistreated Indian captives. From there, I toured the facility. In addition to offering information about the post's history through wall signs, paintings, and NPS personnel, the center also provides a slideshow about the fort's history, much of which centers on U.S. military campaigns against Indians from an uncritical viewpoint.

On that August day, it was as if I had entered a place that time had forgotten. My visits to these four historical sites reinforced what I had learned from the research component of this project that involved reading hundreds of published primary and secondary materials. Today, contemporary sources continue to express the trail's history in a distorted fashion that often relies on both coded and overt language derived from nineteenth-century discourses of conquest used to rationalize U.S. expansion into Indian lands. The outcome of this collective exercise in colonial history is evident. Repetitive recitals of this history through books, roadside markers, oral presentations, and popular

culture expressions objectify Indians as “savage” threats while denying the destructive consequences of U.S. expansionistic policies and settlement. Stated another way, written history about the trail is marred by conscious and protracted attempts to absolve Euroamericans of culpability for their acts of aggression that had such a detrimental impact on Indian life. Equally problematic is that this history rarely tells how much of the trail’s history involved acts of friendly and cooperative interaction between Indians and non-Indians, including Mexicans and Euroamericans.

Fortunately, NPS personnel who recognize the shortcomings about the trail’s historiography regarding Indians have taken an important step to remedy the problem by funding this project. Most of the resulting research was conducted at Arizona State University (ASU) from 2002 to 2008. I also took three trips to the University of New Mexico to examine sources held there in its non-circulating special collection. A Wassaja grant from the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation also supported part of this research.

This project could not have been completed without the assistance of others. I wish to thank the graduate and undergraduate students who assisted me with the arduous research component. They include Sarah Manning, Joseph Sarcinella III (Lakota), Gordon Adams (Pawnee), Lorraine Billy (White Mountain Apache), Ashley Cassidy, Maylynn Riding In (Pawnee/Santa Ana Pueblo), and Annabelle Bowen (Diné/Seneca). I wish to also acknowledge the staff at ASU’s Hayden Library who willingly shared their extensive knowledge of the primary and secondary sources in the special collections department with project research assistants and myself. Especially helpful were Robert Spindler, Head, Archives and Special Collections; Dr. Christine Marin, Archivist;

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It is hope that NPS personnel will use this study to provide the public a more accurate understanding about the range of human interaction that occurred between Indians and non-Indians on the trail and that the trail, which was part of a larger process of imperialism, had severe and lingering consequences for several dozens of Indian nations whose ancestors were uprooted to make way for U.S. settlement.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This research examines Indian relations with the Santa Fe Trail. Founded in the early 1820s by Euroamericans on the tracks of Indian trails and driven by the lure of lucrative trading opportunities with Mexico's northern province of New Mexico, the trail quickly grew into a major commercial thoroughfare that transported merchandise, livestock, and people across nearly nine hundred miles of terrain. The trail was the first Euroamerican road to penetrate the Great Plains, passing through Indian country.

In the 1820s, the landscape where the trail ran was inhabited, claimed, or used by a rich diversity of Indigenous peoples from nearly a dozen different Indian nations. Over the next fifty or so years, Indians from numerous Indian nations would interacted in a variety of contexts, ranging from cooperation to warfare, with trail travelers who began their journey's both in the United States and Mexico. Before railway cars replaced lumbering caravans of oxen-driven wagons as the primary carrier of goods and people through this region, the U.S. military would gradually established a firm foothold in the contested land despite recurring Indian expressions of opposition and acts of armed resistance to the invasion. By the late 1860s, U.S. territorial expansion would see to it that there would be no Indian lands or peoples left along the trail. The survivors of this campaign of ethnic cleansing were placed on reservations in Wyoming, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

Before this campaign ran its course, impacted Indian nations made decisions about whether to cooperate, capitulate, retreat, resist, or collaborate with the intruders. Indians who had been removed to the eastern edge of the plains and placed in Kansas from the 1820s to the 1840s generally followed a policy of accommodation with the U.S.

government and trail travelers, while Plains Indians usually had a tense if not volatile relationship with the trail and U.S. and Mexican governments.

Taking a broad temporal and spatial approach to examine elements of this history, this study focuses on patterns of contact that developed through Indian contacts with Euroamericans, Spaniards, and Mexicans both before and after the trail's establishment. A premise of this study is that geopolitical, environmental, and demographic conditions influenced how Indians interacted with the trail. The geographic focus of this research extends beyond the narrow swath that linked New Mexico and Missouri to include surrounding Indigenous peoples. Causing ripples that spanned outward from its epicenter, the trail was part of a process of territorial expansion that unleashed dramatic political forces that spread over a wide region. Moreover, the trail was part of a process of colonial expansionism.

Historiography is another principal concern of this study. An annotated bibliography with near fifteen hundred entries is an important outcome. As the trail's history unfolded, U.S. society created an ever-increasing body of primary and secondary literature based largely on stereotypical misrepresentations telling how brave and adventurous pioneers triumphed over Indian savagery. This discourse has had an astounding longevity with profound consequences. It allows for hegemonic forces that lack accountability to Indigenous peoples to control the dialogue. Some of literature belittles Indians as infantile brutes who needed the guiding hand of Euroamerican enlightenment to deliver them from the depths of their violent cultural depravity. Echoing this value judgment, scholars have told the story of the Santa Fe Trail by drawing on the language of racism. In doing so, they use masks of Indian inferiority and

white American superiority to disguise the harsh and oppressive treatment meted out by U.S. society.

The purpose of this study is to gain a more comprehensive understanding of American Indian relations with the trail. It seeks to accomplish this goal by compiling an extensive annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a calendar of contact. The third and final outcome is a critical assessment of the trail's impact on four Indian nations.

My research has uncovered at least ten relatively unknown facts that are important to this study. A first fact is that the trail cut through lands belonging to at least twelve distinct Indian nations. Oriented in an east-to-west direction, these nations are the Osages, Kaws, Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Plains [or Kiowa] Apaches, Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Pecos Pueblo. The culturally and linguistically related Osages and Kaws [or Kansa] claimed lands that stretched from what became Missouri westward onto the plains. Since the late 1700s, peoples of both of these nations had hunted extensively along the Arkansas River, where the trail would run. Pawnee lands extended southward from near the Missouri River to at least the Arkansas River. With their towns situated along the Platte, Loup, and Republican rivers, they regularly hunted within the southern range of their territory. Comanche territory, often called Comanchería, reached southward from the Arkansas River to southern Texas. Kiowa, along with their Plains Apache allies, had moved from the Black Hills to the Arkansas River in the early 1800s. Ute lands extended from the Rockies into southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Jicarilla Apache lands covered an area that included southern Colorado, northeastern New Mexico, as well as parts of the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles. Located on the

banks of the Pecos River in New Mexico, Pecos Pueblo was the only permanent town along the trail's route. Indians of this region often struggled among themselves over control of these lands.

Three other peoples arrived within a few years of the trail's inception. Cheyennes and Arapahos, who migrated southward along the eastern slope of the Rockies, established a homeland on the north side of the upper Arkansas River valley. In 1826, Shawnees pushed out Missouri by Euroamerican pressure began to reestablish their lives on a reservation in eastern Kansas bisected by the trail. Other Shawnees removed from Ohio would join them within a few years.

A second fact is that the thirteen nations had their own languages, histories, and customs. Despite this diversity, it is possible to categorize them in three broad groupings based on shared cultural characteristics. The first group consists of town-dwelling Osages, Kaws, and Pawnees who had integrated horses into their cultures and sustained themselves by blending agriculture and hunting with trading. Living in towns situated along waterways, they raised crops of corns, beans, pumpkins, and squash near their towns while conducting activities involving extended buffalo hunts about half of each year. They procured buffalo for food, ceremonial purposes, and materials with which to manufacture clothing, utensils, and tent covers. Deer and elk were other important sources of protein and hides. Each of them engaged in varying degrees of trade with foreigners and other Indians. Another trait of this group is that although they had treaty relations with the U.S. government, they lived free of foreign domination. Although they experienced episodes of conflict with Euroamericans, none of them ever warred against the U.S. government.

Consisting of Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches, the second group led highly mobile lives, often referred to as nomadism in scholarly jargon, made feasible by the integration of horses into their cultures. Living free of foreign domination, each of them subsisted by extensive buffalo hunting and trading. They exchanged hides, furs, and horses for firearms, metal utensils, and other manufactured items. For most of them, their relations with the U.S. government vacillated from peace to warfare. For Indians, warfare was the least common form of interaction with trail travelers and the U.S. government, but in the end it was the most harmful. The extent of warfare varied from one nation to the next. Cheyennes managed to avoid warfare with the U.S. government, and the trail, until the late 1850s, but years of intermittent conflict with Euroamericans raged until the 1870s when the cumulative effects of warfare ultimately broke their ability to resist. On the other hand, concerted Comanche resistance probably started in 1829, when the first U.S. troops performed escort duty on the trail, and continued sporadically until the mid 1870s then they too suffered military defeat. For all members of this group during those times of warfare, it was their mobility, knowledge of the terrain, and expertise in guerilla warfare that frustrated U.S. forces and trail travelers.

Shawnees and Pecos made up the third group. The Shawnees are actually part of a larger cluster of Indians nations, or elements of them, that had been displaced by U.S. expansion and removed from their Great Lake and old Northwest Territories land to reservations in eastern Kansas. They are the Delawares, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Potawatomis, Miamis, Sauk [Sacs], Foxes, Chippewa, Peorias, Piankeshaws, Weas, Illinois, Ottawas, Senecas, Iroquois, and Munsees. To the south in Oklahoma,

Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, many of whom had survived the infamous “trails of tears” death marches, lived within the boundaries of their respective territories. These were town-dwelling peoples whose traditional economics consisted of a mix of hunting, agricultural production, and trading. Some such as Wyandots, Cherokees, and Chickasaws [or elements of them], at the urging of Christian missionaries, had embarked on the path of accommodation and acculturation, while the more traditional Shawnees and Delawares sought to carry on the customary life of their ancestors. Facing devastation at the hands of the U.S. colonizers, these later peoples adopted a policy of accommodation in their relations with the U.S. government. They agreed to move west in large part to preserve their sovereignty, but, by the time of their removal, they had effectively lost their independence. In Kansas, they increasingly lived under the domination U.S. officials and missionaries.

Situation near the banks of the Pecos River since about the year 1300, the trail passed neared the pueblo. The town was a multistory complex with 700 rooms laid out in a quadrangle shape. A mixture of planting, hunting, and trade sustained its inhabitants. Located on the western fringe of the plains, their town had for many years been an important trading center that brought Plains Indians, Pueblos, Apaches, and others there for the purpose of trade. Regarding their political status, they had fallen under Spanish domination in the early 1600s. But by 1821, they had suffered sharp population losses from recurring epidemics and warfare. In 1838, the seventeen survivors abandoned their homes and moved westward into the Jemez Mountains, where the inhabitants of Jemez Pueblo accepted and incorporated them into Jemez society. After that, the decaying old

pueblo on the Pecos became an important trail landmark that was subjected to Euroamerican mythology about the origins of the pueblo.

A third fact is that, despite these cultural differences, those in all four groupings shared common assumptions regarding the sacredness of their universe, their place on Mother Earth, and their symbiotic relationship with the plants and animals on which they depended for subsistence. They believed that the Creator had endowed bears, buffalos, deer, beavers, and other animals with healing knowledge and power that could be conveyed to them through dreams, visions, and supernatural encounters. Animals could not be taken for food without an offering of thanks to their spirits. Those Plains Indians in groups one and two discussed above claimed ownership over the vast herds of buffalo on the plains. The land that sustained them, along with their place on it, occupied a place of preeminence in their respective spiritual lives, ceremonialism, and worldviews.¹

In their separate ways, each of them communicated with the earth, flora, fauna, and universe through prayers, songs, dances, symbolic offerings, and ceremonies. They gave meaning to their surroundings in their respective languages. Referring to how the Osages, or Children of the Middle Waters, established a spiritual connection with the land, animals, and their Creator, *Wah'Kon-Tah*, Osage scholar John Joseph Mathews, wrote:

But when they came, this was one of first things they did; they gave all these animals and birds and insects names because they would use them as symbols, and transmute their special power which *Wah'Kon-Tah* had give them, and had not given the Children of the Middle Waters. The Children would transmute these power through the agency of prayer-song, and use them vicariously, making

them a part of their own bodies and spirit, even charging them with their dreams and their fears and their urges, so that the symbols might give back to them that with which they had been charged.²

A fourth fact is that the nineteenth-century United States, even before its sending military support to the trail traffic in 1829 , had chosen to become an imperialistic nation that relied on such methods as warfare, diplomacy, coercion, deception, and bribery in its dealings with Indians. Following their revolutionary war, Euroamericans, carrying a heightened sense of privilege and greed for lands belonging to others, began an aggressive movement of territorial expansion that essentially uprooted and displaced thousands of Indigenous landowners for almost a century. The vanguard of advancing settlers reached the banks of the Mississippi River in the early 1800s and the West Coast by the mid 1840s. Along the way, U.S. officials instigated a successful imperialistic war against Mexico. Indians from many different nations in the way ultimately fell under the weight of expansion, becoming subjected to foreign domination.

A fifth fact is that the trail played an overt role in diminishing the inherent sovereignty of affected Indian nations. From time immemorial, over the ages and throughout time, Indian nations had exercised inherent powers of self-government over their lands and peoples as well as outsiders within their lands. Emanating from their respective creation stories and cultural experiences rooted deeply in the history of this continent, Indians nations, before their subjugation under colonial domination, governed themselves in accordance with their respective beliefs, values, and customs. They viewed the passing of uninvited travelers through their lands as trespassing, an offense punishable by the confiscation of the intruders' personal property, corporal punishment,

and death in the case of defiance to an order to leave. At the least, they expected gifts, or tolls, for the right to passage, which were oftentimes, but not always, provided.

It must be pointed out that members of U.S. and Mexican societies willfully violated Indian sovereignty by failing to obtain prior consent from the appropriate Indian nations before embarking on their journeys. This problem was partially, if not belatedly, resolved in 1825 when U.S. commissioners obtained right-of-way treaties with two of Indian nations whose lands touched the trail, but no further attempt was taken to acquired such approval from other Indian stakeholders until years later. An unresolved problem of sovereignty was the harm that interlopers created by conducting ruthless hunting activities, a common infraction of Indian law that led to recurring incidents of conflict. By the early 1830s, those Indians whose livelihood depended on these animals had begun to feel the consequences of the slaughter and disruptions of the herds. Their complaints mostly fell on deaf ears.

Most Euroamericans expressed contempt for the idea of Indians having authority over them. Although early nineteenth-century U.S. officials recognized the sovereignty of Indigenous nations and dealt with them on a government-to-government basis, they usually viewed the Indians' use of force against Euroamericans as acts of criminality. Responding to calls from traders and western politicians for protection, U.S. policymakers gradually amassed a strong military presence throughout the region to control Indians, a term meaning to infringe on the Indians' sovereignty. In 1827, the U.S. army established Cantonment Leavenworth just north of the trail in eastern Kansas to protect the trail and maintain peace among Indian nations. Two years later, amid reports of increasing Indian opposition to the flow of traffic, U.S. officials sent troops to escort

caravans en route to Santa Fe. Other troops were assigned to escort caravans at different times over the years. By the mid 1860s, when Indian resistance on the trail had been reduced to five Indian nations – Comanches, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos – the U.S. army garrisoned numerous cavalry and infantry units at Forts Leavenworth, Zarah, Larned, Dodge, Lyon, and Union. Additionally, Forts Harker, Riley, and Wallace stood north of the trail in Kansas.

Focusing their attention on the interrelated objectives of squashing Indian sovereignty, acquiring new lands around the trail, and terminating Indian resistance, U.S. policymakers turned to the familiar pattern of negotiating removal treaties and subjecting Indians to assimilation programs. When these efforts failed, the U.S. military took the field.

A sixth fact is that Euroamericans in Missouri as well as Mexicans [as did the Spaniards before them] in New Mexico recognized the risk of trespassing on Indian country. For this reason, in 1821 William Becknell, along with his small group of fellow traders, departed Missouri equipped with firearms for protection and hunting. Virtually every other subsequent male trail travelers, whether their journey began in New Mexico or Missouri, carried firearms for the same purposes.

A seventh fact is that to date there have been very few American Indian scholarly expressions about history, and significantly fewer about the Santa Fe Trail. This dearth of Indian perspectives literally meaning that the Euroamericans' framing of and hegemony over this area of study has gone largely unchallenged. Although the number of American Indian scholars trained in history has grown slowly over the past few decades, academia often loathes our perspectives. Reflecting this point, Dakota scholar

Waziyatawin writes, “As an institution of colonialism, the academy has used the veil of objectivity to normalize and codify their own vision of the world, so that other visions may be characterized as subjective.”³

An eighth fact is that the governments of the United States and Mexico, as had Spain, based their claims to Indian lands, including the strip through which the trail ran, on the doctrine of discovery, an imperialistic concept found in international law. The discovery doctrine served as a legal premise for European nations to carve vast empires in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Australia as well as to politically subjugate, dispossess, and deny fundamental human rights to Indigenous peoples. Concocted during the fifteen and sixteenth centuries by European political philosophers, clerics, and monarchs, the doctrine was little more than a crass scheme devised to legitimate the European practice of appropriating lands belonging to non-Christians. In keeping with the prevailing rules of imperialism, Western colonizers claimed an exclusive right to acquire title to vast regions of land inhabited Indigenous peoples. The rules also enabled a “civilized” nation could acquire the discovery claim of another “civilized” nation by purchase, diplomacy, or warfare.⁴

Western colonizers in North America used all of these methods of land transfers. At the conclusion of its bloody revolution that ended in 1783, the United States, with the Treaty of Paris, acquired Great Britain’s claim to lands reaching from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River. In 1803, the United States purchased France’s doctrine of discovery claim to over 800,000 square miles of land for \$15,000,000. In 1846, the United States, driven by the notion of manifest destiny, invaded Mexico. The Santa Fe Trail served as a major route that a thousand U.S. troops, along with vast herds of

livestock and supply trains, took in their invasion of Mexican. Two years later, victorious United States invaders officially received title to about half of Mexico's northern land-base. Because of this war, the entirety of the trail fell under the ownership of the U.S. government. Most of this land, however, remained firmly in the hands of the unconquered Indians. From that time forward, those Indigenous peoples having an association with the trail would deal exclusively with U.S. officials in matters of war and peace.

Meanwhile, assertions about the primacy of the doctrine of discovery and U.S. supremacy over Indians gained standing in both U.S. jurisprudence and law. In *Johnson v. McIntosh*, a monumental U.S. Supreme Court opinion reached in 1823, two years after William Becknell's first journey to Santa Fe, Chief Justice John Marshall drew from the language of Indian savagery and European superiority to declare that European discovery of the Americas diminished the property and political rights of Indians. Accordingly, Indian nations only had an occupancy right to the land that could be extinguished by either conquest or purchase. An associated and contemporaneous supposition, later dubbed manifest destiny, supported the self-serving notion that Anglo Saxons possessed a god-given right to appropriate the lands of Indians and others for the benefit and enjoyment of U.S. society. It must be stressed that these pronouncements were unilaterally conceived instruments of colonialism that lacked meaning without the exertion of power.⁵

Early nineteenth-century U.S. exploratory missions sent to explore the recently purchased lands and acquire information about Indians were political in nature as well. The Corps of Discovery (1804-1806) and Lieutenant Zebulon Pike's expeditions of 1806

carried flags, weapons, peace medals, presents and scripted messages. During meetings with Indian representatives, Lewis, Clark, and Pike informed them that the U.S. government now had political preeminence over them, their lands, and peoples. At several Indian town sites near where the trail would run, Osages, Pawnees, and others heard a brash Pike, speaking through translators, declare that they were now under the authority of the United States and no other nation. Pawnee leaders on the Republican River town, however, emphatically rejected Pike's preposterous premise, but their views had no bearing because international law and racial ideology denied them a say in such matters. This means that their strength and ability to resist constituted the only effective tool they had for upholding and defending their sovereignty and independence.

A ninth fact is that the displacement and political subjugation of Indian peoples along the trail has had enduring consequences. Legal scholar James Anaya's characterization of colonialism argues that Western colonizers claimed and occupied Indigenous lands, overpowered the political institutions of Indigenous nations, slaughtered those who resisted, enslaved Indigenous people, and spread deadly disease. He stresses that colonialism continues to harm them. With historically derived racial discriminatory attitudes fostering inequalities and injustice, they suffer socially, economically, and politically from the loss of their lands and resources.⁶

A tenth fact is that a pervasive master narrative tells the trail's history with nineteenth-century assumptions regarding the alleged inferiority of Indians and the superiority of Euroamericans. This language of racism continues to have a stranglehold on academic writings, historiography, and popular thought. This anti-Indian rhetoric, either explicitly and implicitly, places the trail and its relationship to Indians within the

context of manifest destiny and American exceptionalism. According to the fanciful narrative of manifest destiny, which is a spinoff of the discovery doctrine, Anglo Saxons [Euroamericans] were divinely sanctioned to spread their civilization from coast to coast. Written histories conceptualized from this perspective identify with the intrepid, heroic, and rugged explorers, trappers, merchants, soldiers, and settlers who overcame human barbarism and harsh environmental obstacles to carve a great nation out of a wilderness. This myth objectifies Indians as savages who delighted in swooping down on non-offending travelers for the sake of extracting blood, scalps, and booty. It misrepresents and denigrates Indians as being unworthy, treacherous, and irrational beings whose depravity and proclivity for violence excluded them from the rights afforded “civilized” nations and peoples.⁷ It informed the development of U.S. Indian policy and rationalizes recurring acts of aggression against Indigenous peoples with the misinformation,

The related theme of American exceptionalism espouses an imagined belief, which continues to hold many adherents, stressing that United States history differs from that other “developed” nations. To them, the country has either a moral or divine obligation to spread democracy and liberty throughout the world. As the noted social historian Howard Zinn puts it:

Expanding into another territory, occupying that territory, and dealing harshly with people who resist occupation has been a persistent fact of American history from the first settlements to the present day. And this was often accompanied from very early on with a particular form of American exceptionalism: the idea that American expansion is divinely ordained.⁸

Expressions of American innocence have also come into play in constructing the master narrative. Scholars have asserted that the Christian morality, democratic ideology, universal human rights principles, and aversion to wealth accumulation have encouraged U.S. leaders to take a reluctance stance in its use of power.

The worn and trite paradigm behind this mindset, along with its attendant misconceptions, flawed methodologies, and biased perspectives, has had a disturbing longevity. Of the elements of this genre, the image of the Indian as a warlike savage is perhaps the most enduring, if not damaging. In his seminal study, historian Robert Berkhofer stresses that nineteenth-century imagery of Indian savagery informed the development of U.S. Indian policy.⁹ His work, along with others, stands in sharp contrast to a vast body of scholarly works that parrot assumptions found in nineteenth-century popular thought and primary sources, whether expressed in overt or covert language, telling about Indian inferiority and Euroamerican superiority. Coded language in some of these works conveys subtle and sinister meanings. For instance, noted Santa Fe Trail historian William Chalfant in a 1994 book refers to Plains Indians as “warlike nomadic” peoples. To him, Indians responded “to the entry of whites into their country in only the manner they could—by raiding and making war. And so, the Trail witnessed sporadic conflict as the Plains Indians fought to resist and expel the intruders.”¹⁰ Although noting a reason for Indian resistance, he chose to combine two loaded words, warlike and nomad, to describe Plains Indians. Warlike connotes a lowly cultural condition manifested by ruthless, irrational, and senseless violence. Nomad suggests a primitive cultural pattern of vagrants using large tracts of land in mostly a wasteful manner. When combined, these two words signify wanderers who glorified their repetitive acts of

violence against a basically peaceful, non-offending, and culturally superior people. The story of the trail is substantially more complex and nuanced than vicious clashes between civilized and savage peoples.

Chalfant's view mirrors a scholarly norm that uses negative stereotypes to justify the treatment that nineteenth-century Indians received at the hands of brave, deserving, and industrious Euroamericans. Warfare, which Chalfant covers in detail, was indeed a crucial aspect of the trail's history, but other forms of contact occurred more commonly. Most studies have fallen short when it comes to providing adequate analytical attention to the causes of the warfare, to the wide range of intercultural exchanges that occurred, and to the trail's impacts on Indian life and culture. Moreover, Indian resistance to the trail's development was much more complex than Indians carrying a "warlike" gene that sparked acts of bloody conflict. Their interaction stemmed from conscious decisions made in response to certain circumstances and conditions created in part by Euroamerican interlopers, trespassers, policymakers, traders, soldiers, and settlers. The fact is that Indians and trail travelers engaged in nonviolent contact much more frequently than in fighting.

Here lies the problem of Santa Fe Trail historiography. During the early nineteenth century, trail travelers often communicated their experiences on the trail both verbally and in writing. In discussing their interaction with Indians they often drew from a repertoire of stereotypes that had been in existence since the onset of the European invasion of the Americas. Thus, they described Indians in romantic and negative ways. Their stories, while resonating a comfortable plot line for Euroamericans to enjoy, often depicted Indians as warlike, savage, and uncouth beings who blocked the road to

America's progress. Although containing elements of truth about given events, their stories rest squarely on the false premise that Indian savagery, not Euroamerican expansion, was the root cause of conflict. Subsequent generations of scholars usually adopted the same disparaging stereotypes and themes used by trail travelers to describe Indians. These secondary accounts fall squarely within the genre of the master narrative. The durability of the master narrative discourages honest intellectual inquiry.

NOTES

¹ For discussions of commonly held worldviews and briefs, generally see, Duane Champagne, *Social Change and Cultural Continuity among Native Nations* (Lanham, Md., New York, Toronto, and Plymouth, UK: Altamira Press, 2007) and Four Arrows (Don Trent Jacobs), ed., *Unlearning the Language of Conquest: Scholars Expose Anti-Indianism in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

² John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 7.

³ Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 45.

⁴ See generally, Robert J. Miller, *Native America Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CN: Praeger Publishers, 2006).

⁵ See generally, Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Like A Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

⁶ S. James Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law* 2d ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26-27.

⁷ James P. Ronda, "Exploring the Explorers; Great Plains Peoples and the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in *Lewis & Clark and the Indian Country: The Native American Perspective*, edited by Frederick E. Hoxie and Jay T. Nelson (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

⁸ Howard Zinn, "The Power and the Glory: Myths of American Exceptionalism," *Boston Review of Books* 30 (Summer 2005), <http://bostonreview.net/BR30.3/zinn.html>.

⁹ *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978).

¹⁰ *Dangerous Passage: The Santa Fe Trail and the Mexican War* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), xviii.

CHAPTER II: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography examines nearly fifteen hundred primary and secondary sources that have relevance to those Indians who had an association with the trail. These work cover the years before, during, and after the onset and demise of the road. It is divided into seven subject categories: firsthand narratives, Santa Fe Trail histories, Indigenous nations studies, general histories, military histories, biographies, and bibliographies. Firsthand narratives provide insight for comprehending the ways in which nineteenth-century non-Indians viewed Indians and described encounters. Diaries, reports, correspondence, journals, and memoirs penned by government officials from various governments, missionaries, migrants, soldiers, adventurers, and others who had contact with Indians compose the vast majority of these sources. A few of these accounts provide reliable details about Indian customs, beliefs, social organizations, and while many others simply echo negative racial stereotypes and misinformation.

Written histories are a starting point for gaining an understanding of how scholars from various disciplines and history buffs have contextualized Indian relations with the trail. Usually featuring the trail's travelers, hardships, growth, and functions, these studies are available in numerous books and journal articles. While presenting Indians with varying degrees of accuracy, detail, and sensitivity, these studies oftentimes highlight the trail's significance in the development of the United States with celebratory language and the language of racism. They frequently depict Indians as savage peoples who frequently posed trouble for intrepid trail travelers. Much of the most recent

research appears in *Wagon Tracks*, the official journal of the Santa Fe Trail Association. Each issue contains articles about some component of the trail's history that reference Indians. They also republished firsthand narratives and occasion print recent discoveries.

Indigenous nation studies often provide useful information regarding how U.S. expansion and policies impacted Indian land tenure and cultures. These works in general provide a detailed look at the ways in which Indians interact with their surroundings and other peoples. Generally, the strength of many of these studies is that they rely heavily on information provided by cultural insiders. This emic approach, to a degree, enables individuals to express group norms, values, historical experiences, and relations with others. As with other studies considered by my research, some of these works are tainted by the researchers' racial biases.

The general history section provides a discussion of books and articles pertaining to nineteenth-century topics with a direct or indirect connection to the trail and associated Indians. Written by a wide array of scholars, these studies discuss Indians, in varying degrees of value, in such contexts as the trans-Mississippi west, overland migrations, state histories, warfare, explorers, trappers, towns, disease, health seekers, colonial Spain, cattle drives, trading posts, economics, buffalo, surveyors, legal cases, pioneers, settlers, missionaries, U.S. Indian policy, treaties, Euroamerican women, gold seekers, social change, and roadside markers.

The military history section focuses on the history of U.S. military relations with Indians on the plains and in the Southwest. These studies address peacetime relations as well as armed conflict. Some of them deal rather extensively with military operations against Indians in the vicinity of the trail. The biography listings examines studies about

many individuals, both Indian and non-Indians, who had contact with the trail and Indians associated with the road. Studies with the life stories of Indian leaders, U.S. army officers, trappers, colonizers, explorers, and others are included. Finally, the bibliography segment cites references that may lead researchers to sources about Indian nations, individuals, gold rushes, state histories, and other topics.

A. Firsthand Narratives

1. Abert, James William. *Expedition to the Southwest: An 1845 Reconnaissance of Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

In 1845, Abert, a U.S. Army Topographical Engineers lieutenant, documented his contact with Cheyennes and Apaches as his small party explored the Canadian River region of the southern plains, much of which was in Mexican territory, and traveled hundreds of miles over the Santa Fe Trail. On the Staked Plains while returning to the States, Abert met Kiowas and Comanches.

2. Abert, J. W. "Journal of Lt. J. W. Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845." Introduction and notes by H. Bailey Carroll. *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 14 (1941).

First officially published in the *Senate Documents, 29th Congress, 1st sess.* under the title of "Journal of Lieutenant J. W. Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845," Abert describes his experiences interacting with Cheyennes at Bent's Fort at a time when those Indians were on peaceful terms with Euroamericans.

3. [Abert, Lt. J. W.] U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848.

Abert provides detailed information about his encounters with Indians during his 1846 explorations. At Bent's Fort, he recorded his daily interaction with Cheyennes. In New Mexico, he observed Pueblo Indians in Santa Fe and the surrounding countryside. On his return trip, he and his fellow travelers had a tense meeting with some Pawnees.

4. [Abert, Lt. J. W.] U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. *Through the Country of the Comanche Indians in the Fall of the Year 1845: The Journal of a U.S. Army Expedition Led by Lieutenant James W. Abert of the Topographical Engineers,*

Artists Extraordinary Whose Painting of Indians and the Wild West Illustrate this Book. Edited by John Galvin. San Francisco: J. Howell Books, 1970.

First published in 1846 under the title of “Message from the President of the United States ... communicating a report of an expedition led by Lieutenant Abert on the upper Arkansas,” Abert documents his stay at Bent’s Fort from August 2 to 9, 1845, and contacts with Cheyennes through his diary, paintings and drawings. The diary describes the Indians that his small party met as they moved southward to the Moro River and then eastward to Fort Gibson.

5. Abert, J. W. *Western American in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert who Mapped New Mexico for the United States Army with Illustrations in Color from His Sketchbook*. Edited by John Galvin. San Francisco: John Howell, 1966.

This volume contains Abert’s field notebook that records the journey of his party from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846 and 1847. His party met Pawnees, Apaches, Arapahos, Comanches, Cheyennes, Kaws, and others. It lists some Indian words.

6. Alexander, Eveline M. *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867*. Edited by Sandra L. Myres. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.

In her diary, Alexander, who held racial biases toward Indians, Mexicans and Black soldiers, recorded her observations of Indian-Euroamerican relations following the Civil War as she traveled in New Mexico and Colorado. In the summer of 1866, accompanied by her colonel husband and U.S. soldiers, she spent a few days at Ft. Union before journeying northward on the trail to Fort Stevens in Colorado. On August 23, south of Raton Pass, she reported seeing a Ute “buck” and “squaw” riding separate horses. Alexander’s account notes Mohuache Utes conflict with the U.S. military and settlers near Trinidad and at Fort Stevens. Those Utes, as Alexander learned from Kit Carson, viewed the arrival of Euroamericans as a threat to their way of life. While visiting Bosque Redondo, she commented on the conditions facing Navajos incarcerated there.

7. Allen, Alonzo, H. “Pioneer Life in Old Burlington, Forerunner of Longmont.” *Colorado Magazine* 14 (July 1937): 145-57.

Using the language of racism, Allen writes about pioneer lore regarding Indian-Euroamerican relations in Colorado north of the trail, asserting that Indians were content to beg for food. He stated that in 1864 at Sand Creek Colonel John M. Chivington’s men attacked [Cheyenne] Indians who had killed immigrants, burnt wagons, and stole livestock.

8. Allyn, Joseph Pratt. *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn, Letters from a Pioneer Judge: Observations and Travels, 1863-1866*. Edited by John Nicolson. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.

The author's introduction provides information about Allyn's 1863 trip over the Plains. Allyn had contact with Caddos, whom Fort Larned soldiers were mistreating, Arapahos, and Comanches. Allyn's letters describe his travel from Santa Fe to Arizona. His experiences on the Santa Fe Trail are found in *West by Southwest*.

9. ————. *West by Southwest; Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn, a Traveller along the Santa Fe Trail, 1863*. Dodge City: Kansas Heritage Center, 1984.

Traveling westward in 1863 with a party of Arizona territorial officials and a motley crew of U.S. army escorts on the military road from Fort Leavenworth through Topeka, Manhattan, Junction City, Fort Riley, and Salina, Allyn reached the Santa Fe Trail near Pawnee Rock. He describes the people, "embryo" towns, military posts, helter-skelter buffalo hunting of his companions, and Indians he saw along the way. At Fort Larned, he interacted with Caddos, Indians loyal to the Union who had been driven northward by white Texans.

10. ————. *By Horse, Stage and Packet: The Far West Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn*. Edited by John Nicolson and David K. Strate. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1988.

The editor's introduction discusses Allyn's experiences on the trail and in New Mexico in the fall of 1863.

11. Almy, Kenneth J., ed. "Thof's Dragon and the Letters of Capt. Theophilus H. Turner, M.D., U.S. Army." *Kansas History* 10 (Autumn 1987): 170-200.

Turner's 1866 letters from Forts Dodge, Zarah, Larned, and Wallace reference Euroamerican buffalo hunting for sport, Indian visits, and U.S. relations with surrounding Indian nations. His 1867, 1868, and 1869 correspondence refers to Cheyenne conflict with U.S. citizens. During the spring of 1866 he reflected on the growing desperation among the Cheyennes, stating "The indian [sic] thinks that they are going to starve to death and that they might as well die fighting."

12. Alvarez, Manuel. "Report of Manuel Alvarez, 1842." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 6-10. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Alvarez's report of his 1841 trip from Santa Fe to Missouri briefly notes that in November Pawnees on the Little Arkansas had allowed his party to pass without much difficulty.

13. Anderson, George C. "Touring Kansas and Colorado in 1871: The Journal of George C. Anderson." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 22 (Autumn 1956): 193-219; (Winter 1956): 358-84.

Without mentioning the trail, Anderson provides firsthand information about Kaws, Potawatomis, and other Indians in eastern Kansas in 1871. He also mentions the ongoing buffalo slaughter by hide hunters.

14. Anderson, William Marshall. *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson: The West in 1834*. Edited by Dale L. Morgan and Eleanor Towles Harris. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1967.

Although Marshall apparently had no encounter with Indians during his brief jaunt on the joint Santa Fe and Oregon roads in 1834, he met Pawnees, Kaws, Cheyennes, and Arapahos elsewhere on the plains. As typical with many nineteenth-century travelers, he refers to them derisively using stereotypical language.

15. Anonymous. *An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818*. Edited by Alfred B. Thomas. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, N.d.

Originally published in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* in 1929, this anonymous document illustrates that Spanish settlers in New Mexico lived in fear of Pawnees and U.S. citizens.

16. Ashley, W. H. *Message from the President . . . Relative to the British Establishments on the Columbia and the State of the Fur Trade, &c.* U.S. 21st Cong., 2^d sess., Sen. Doc. 39 [Serial 203]. Washington, Jan. 25, 1831.

In 1831, Ashley recommended the creation of a command of 500 mounted riflemen to protect Santa Fe traders.

17. Archibald [Holmes], Julia Anna. "To Pike's Peak and New Mexico, 1858." In *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1862-1865*. Vol. 7, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes, 191-213. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

While en route to New Mexico in 1858 with a wagon train, Archibald describes the attempts of friendly Cheyennes to "purchase" her and to coax her into leaving with them. She mentions that male members of her train searched trees for Indian burial scaffolds, presumably to loot.

18. Baldwin, Alice Blackwood. *An Army Wife on the Frontier: The Memoirs of Alice Blackwood Baldwin, 1867-1877*. Edited by Robert C. and Eleanor R. Carriker. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1975.

Baldwin's account discusses an array of topics ranging from conflict with Indians in Kansas to the hardships she faced while traveling from Fort Harker to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, via the trail in 1867. On September 8 at Fort Larned, she witnessed a peace council involving Edward Wynkoop, Cheyennes, and Kiowas. While at Fort Lyon on her return to Kansas in 1869 by stagecoach, she heard reports of violence with "the various tribes infesting the stage route, in scattering bands between Santa Fe and Sheridan, the railroad terminus" (85).

19. Bandel, Eugene. *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861*. Translated by Olga Bandel and Richard Jente. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Vol. 2 of Southwest Historical Series. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932.

During the summer of 1857, Bandel, a German immigrant and infantryman stationed at Ft. Leavenworth, wrote letters and diary entries with details about his travel along and near the trail in southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado, northeastern New Mexico, and the Oklahoma panhandle with a U.S. military unit assigned to escort a party surveying the southern boundary of Kansas. In addition to mentioning a few peaceful contacts with Indians, Bandel notes the army's use of Delaware guides and his unit's interaction with Kiowas and Osages south of the trail. His account also notes environment changes in eastern Kansas resulting from U.S. settlement. The editor's introduction contributes important information about a directive from the U.S. secretary of war that military escorts should take action against Kiowas if these Indians refused to abide to terms of the 1853 Fort Atkinson treaty.

20. Barreiro, Antonio. "Barreiro's Ojeada Sobre Nuevo-Mexico." Edited by Lansing B. Bloom. *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (January 1928): 73-96; (April 1928): 145-78.

Barreiro, a Mexican legal advisor sent to Santa Fe in 1832, wrote a report providing a view of New Mexico that addressed a variety of topics including its geography, wildlife, natural resources, peoples, and commerce. Regarding the trail, he states, "no settlement is encountered and only numerous Gentile (non-Christian Indians) are seen until one arrives at the first settlements of North America in the county of Jefferson" (82). He also notes that the caravans took precautions so as to avoid being "surprised by the countless barbarous and warlike Indians who inhabit the dreadful deserts which intervene between New Mexico and Missouri" (145). He also describes Pueblo, Comanche, Navajo, Apache, and Ute customs from a racially biased perspective. He erroneously suggests that the ancient Pueblos would soon perish.

21. Barry, Louise, comp. "Charles Robinson—Yankee '49er: His Journey to California." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1968): 179-88.

Robinson's documentation of his travels through Kansas in 1849 to California references Wyandots, Potawatomis, Pawnees, and others.

22. Barry, Louise, ed. "With the First U. S. Cavalry in Indian Country, 1859-1861." Letters to *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 24 (Autumn 1958): 257-84; (Winter 1958): 399-425.

This body of correspondence provides an account of a U.S. army campaign against Kiowas and Comanches during the late 1850s and early 1860s in Indian Territory and near the trail. One letter refers to an 1859 fight involving Comanches and a Second Cavalry unit near the Arkansas River. Other letters note that skirmishes with Kiowas north of the trail in 1860 had either killed or wounded five Tonkawa Indian trailers in service to the U.S. army. Kiowas were reportedly killed in these and other violent encounters.

23. Battey, Thomas C. *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

Originally printed in 1875, this book contains Battey's negative views of various tribes, especially Kiowas, that lived near the trail.

24. Beach, James H. "Old Fort Hays." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 571-81.

Beach recalls the volatile nature of Indian-Euroamerican relations at Fort Hayes, a U.S. army post located north of the trail, during the 1860s and 1870s.

25. Becknell, Captain William. "Journals from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River." *Missouri Historical Review* 4 (January 1910): 65-84.

This source contains excerpts from Becknell's journal that calls the Osages thieves.

26. Becknell, William. "Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone's Lick to Santa Fé by Capt. Thomas Becknell." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 56-68. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

Becknell's journal of his trips to Santa Fe mentions Kaw, Osage, Navajo, and Mexican Indians, possibly Pueblos. See the above entry.

27. ————. "Captain William Becknell's Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe." Edited by Harry C. Myers. *Wagon Tracks* 11 (May 1997): 1, 20-24.

First appearing in the *Missouri Intelligencer* on April 22, 1823, Becknell's journal mentions his party's encounters with Kaw, Osage, Navajos and Mexican Indians.

28. ————. “Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone’s Lick to Santa Fe.” April 22, 1823, *Missouri Intelligencer*. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*. Compiled and annotated by David A White, 60-67. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

See the above entry.

29. Beckwourth, James P. *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth as Told to Thomas D. Bonner*. Introduced and with notes and an epilogue by Delmont R. Oswald. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.

First published in 1856 and various times subsequently, Jim Beckwourth’s useful, if not controversial, autobiography provides insight into Indian relations with Euroamericans from the late 1820s to the mid 1850s. As a U.S. army messenger who made numerous trips between Santa Fe and Fort Leavenworth in the late 1840s, he met Pawnees, Cheyennes, Comanches, Apaches, Utes, and others. He survived the hazardous profession by knowing how to “act the wolf” while those who did not often died at the hands of Indians (344-45). Referring to the spiritual value that Indians placed on the buffalo, he declares “the Indians believe the buffalo to be theirs by inheritance, not as game, but in the light of ownership, given them by Providence for their support and comfort, and that, when an immigrant shoots a buffalo, the Indian looks upon it exactly as the destruction by a stranger of so much private property.” He adds that “it can be understood why the Indian, in destroying a cow belonging to white people, or stealing a horse, considers himself as merely retaliating for injuries received, repaying himself, in fact, for what he has lost” (365). Oswald’s footnotes identify places where he believes Beckwourth was lying or exaggerating.

30. Bell, William A. *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean in 1867-1868*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965.

First published in 1869, Bell describes his travels during the previous year with a party surveying the southern railroad route that extended from Fort Wallace to Fort Lyon and then to Santa Fe. He notes that U.S. expansion sparked conflict between Euroamericans and Indians, whom he viewed as savages. To him, the Utes, Arapahos, Jicarilla Apaches, and Comanches were dangerous, vicious, and treacherous. He considered the Pueblos of the Rio Grande to be semi-civilized and important to New Mexico’s economy.

31. Benedict, Kirby. *A Journey Through New Mexico’s First Judicial District in 1864: Letters to the Editor of the Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1956.

This collection of letters provides a slanted view of Indian relations with towns and New Mexicans along and near the trail. A letter written from Las Vegas on

April 2, 1864, by “Arrow” indicates that in the summer of 1846 “General” Kearny told the Las Vegas inhabitants that the U.S. government would prevent Apache and Navajo raids. A letter dated three days later states that Indians took sheep belonging to Don Juan Maria, a settler in the Las Vegas area. A third letter dated April 9, 1864, written by “Annon” at Mora, notes that Lucien B. Maxwell offered Indians more “hospitality” than did the U.S. government. A fourth letter by “Annon” dated six days later calls for the U.S. government to establish reservations for the destitute, “wild, lazy, and barbarous” (55) Jicarilla Apaches and Utes.

32. Bennett, James A. *Forts and Forays: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856*. Edited by Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

Bennett’s diary is a narrative of his eight years of service with the First U.S. Dragoons. Many entries detail his command’s travels over the trail, along with its contact with Kaws, fear of Indians, and buffalo hunting activities. Having lost his original journal, Bennett rewrote his experiences from memory. Consequently, this source is marred by glaring factual errors. See the below entry. The book was republished in 1996 by the University of New Mexico Press.

33. ————. “James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856.” Edited by Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve. *New Mexico Historical Review* 22 (January 1947): 51-97; (April 1947): 140-76.

While traveling to New Mexico from Fort Leavenworth in 1850, Bennett recorded his observations of the Kaws at Council Grove. On September 5, he writes: “They [Kaws] are half-civilized tribe of strong, athletic men but their heads are shaven close with the exception of a ridge of tuft two inches in breadth, extending from forehead to neck and sticking up like the comb of a cock” (161-62). He also describes them as deceptive thieves who present themselves as friends. On September 25, he indicates that Fort Atkinson was garrisoned by a company of soldiers with orders to protect travelers from Indians. The soldiers detailed there lived in fear of the 1,500 “hostile” Indians who lived in nearby camps. On the 27th, his party believed that Comanches had stampeded a herd of buffalo. He mentions an incident in which Indians attempted to stampede his command’s horse following a disagreement between one of them and an officer. On October 9th, near Barclay’s Fort, a party of mail carriers indicated that Indians in New Mexico were very hostile. On November 30th, he and other soldiers battled unspecified Indians, probably Jicarillas, reportedly killing seven of them. Bennett claimed falsely that in 1851 he and other soldiers had pursued the Indians responsible for the attack on James White’s party near Wagon Mound. The editors, however, point out that the incident had occurred in 1849, the year before Bennett’s entry into New Mexico. In part 2, Bennett references his encounters with Jicarilla Apaches and others. He indicates Pueblo Indians from Pehocke [Pojoaque] made pilgrimages to the Pecos Pueblo ruins.

34. Bent, William W. "William W. Bent's Report of 1859." In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 183-87. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Addressing the effects of Euroamerica expansion on Indians along the Arkansas River, Bent's report indicates that Cheyennes and Arapahos reacted favorably to a U.S. government proposal that they should settle down. According to Bent, they sought to maintain peaceful relations with gold seeking migrants passing through their lands en route to Colorado. He notes that Kiowas and Comanches for the past two years had taken up residence near the trail because of the hostilities of Texans towards them. He asserts that Comanches had become more aggressive and vengeful after U.S. troops withdrew from the trail to Fort Riley. To control Indians, he recommends the establishment of two military forts, one at Pawnee Fork and the other at Big Timbers, to control the Indians. To change Indians in to agricultural and pastoral peoples, he advocates the use of reservations and assimilation programs.

35. Benton, Thomas H. "Statement of Thomas H. Benton, of the United States' Senate, before the Senate's Subcommittee on Indian Affairs." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 1, Early Explorers, 1803-1812 and Fur Hunters, 1813-1847*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 303. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

On February 4, 1829, Senator Thomas H. Benton, a rabid proponent of westward expansionism who advocated U.S. protection for Santa Fe traders, reported to the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs that unspecified Indians had attacked a wagon train returning to the United States, killing several train members and taking \$30,000 in merchandize. Some of the dead Indians, he declared, carried British firearms.

36. Bieber, Ralph P., ed. *Letters of James and Robert Aull*. Reprint from *Missouri Historical Society Collections* 5, no. 3, (1928).

This book sheds light on Indian trade relations along the trail from 1828 to 1851.

37. ————, ed. *Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-1854*. Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, Historical Society of New Mexico, 1928.

Lane's letters describe his experiences as New Mexico's territorial governor as well as the social and political life of New Mexicans during the 1850s. After an uneventful trip to Santa Fe from Missouri, he made a few comments about Indians, while noting that the buffaloes were experiencing a sharp decline.

38. Bigler, David L. and Will Bagley, eds. *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives*. Vol. 4 of *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2000.

This volume contains the diary entries of and correspondences by Mormon Battalion volunteers as they marched to New Mexico in 1846. Chapter Two notes their encounters with Delawares, Shawnees, Kaws, and Comanches. Chapter Three contains excerpts of the diaries of John D. Lee on the Cimarron Route, which was published in full by the *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (July 1967): 165-210; (October 1967): 281-332.

39. Birch, James H. "The Battle of Coon Creek." *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 10 (1907-1908): 409-13.

Birch recalls that in May 1848 at Coon Creek his westbound unit of U.S. recruits had fought some 800 Indians.

40. Blackburn, Abner. *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative*. Edited by Will Bagley. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992.

Written with expressions of romanticism, Blackburn's memoir discusses his journey on the trail in 1846 with the Mormon Battalion. At Pawnee Fork, his column began to sleep with their arms in response to reports that Comanches had raided several wagon trains. He characterizes Navajos as being the greatest dread of New Mexicans.

41. Bloom, Lansing B., ed. "The Rev. Hiram Walter Read: Baptist Missionary to New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (April 1942): 113-47.

This issue contains newspaper articles with information about U.S. army chaplain Hiram Read and his experiences in New Mexico from 1849 to 1851. These accounts mention "hostile" Indians and Pueblos.

42. Blunt, James G. "General Blunt's Account of His Civil War Experiences." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (May 1932): 211-65.

Blunt details his role in an 1864 U.S. army campaign against Arapahos and Cheyennes near Fort Larned and Pawnee Fork.

43. Bode, E. A. *A Dose of Frontier Soldiering: The Memoirs of Corporal E. A. Bode, Frontier Regular Infantry, 1877-1882*. Edited by Thomas T. Smith. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Bode provides information about Indians confined on Indian Territory and New Mexico reservations in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Although these Indians had

contact with the trail during previous years, Bode does not mention them within that context.

44. Bowen, Katie. “‘A Faithful Account of Everything’: Letters from Katie Bowen on the Santa Fe Trail, 1851.” Edited by Leo E. Oliva. *Kansas History* 19 (Winter 1996-1997): 262-92.

Katie Bowen’s letters describe her 1851 journey on the trail. On July 5, she reports that two Indians entered her party’s camp on Bluff Creek. She indicates that the interaction was friendly and the traders had assured them that Indians were peaceable at that time. Farther along in the route, Indians entered her camp to beg and sell dried meat. She learned that Pawnees had trouble with U.S. mail carriers. Her journal also mentions several meetings with Kiowas.

45. Brake, Hezekiah. “Narrative by Hezekiah Brake, 1858.” In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 37-51. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Brake notes that in 1858 Wyandots, along with a few settlers, were the only people living west of the Missouri River. He also recounts the tense but nonviolent contact between his party and Kiowas and Cheyennes in separate incidents.

46. Brewerton, George D. *A Ride with Kit Carson: Across the Great American Desert and Through the Rocky Mountains*. Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1969.

First published in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1853, Brewerton’s narrative, which does not mention the trail, tells of his travel in 1848 from Los Angeles to Taos. It refers to Indians in New Mexico in stereotypical terms.

47. ————. *Overland with Kit Carson: A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in ’48*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc, 1930.

In the final two chapters, Brewerton discusses his travel in 1848 with a hundred-wagon caravan from Santa Fe to Independence. He describes buffalo hunting and a close call he had with Comanches. His account first appeared in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1853.

48. Brice, James. “James Brice’s Trail Reminiscences, Part I.” *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 1, 19-23; Part III, (November 1992): 12-15.

Brice, who had transported mail over the trail during the late 1850s and early 1860s, recalls that much of the route was “a savage territory infested with Kiowa and Comanche Indians” (19). Part two alludes to Kiowa warfare with the trail’s traffic in 1859. Part three contains Brice’s recollections of Cheyennes, Kiowas, “Hickory” (Jicarilla) Apaches, and Arapahos during the 1860s.

49. Bright, Abbie. "Roughing It on Her Kansas Claim: The Diary of Abbie Bright, 1870-1871." Edited by Joseph W. Snell. *Kansas Historical Society* 37 Part 1, (Autumn 1971): 233-68; Part 2, (Winter 1971): 394-428.

Abbie Bright documents her travel on the trail and life as a Kansas homesteader in 1870 and 1871. In addition to making a few references about Indian attacks, she writes about non-violent interaction that occurred between Osages and Euroamerican settlers.

50. Brown, George W. "Kansas Indian Wars." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 134-39.

Brown records his 1878 involvement with a U.S. army campaign in the vicinity of Fort Dodge against the Northern Cheyennes with Dull Knife who were trying to return from confinement on an Oklahoma reservation to their northern plains homeland.

51. ————. "Life and Adventures of George W. Brown, Soldier, Pioneer, Scout, Plainsman and Buffalo Hunter." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 98-134.

Brown recalls his contact with Indians in Kansas during the 1860s and 1870s. Referring to an alarm on the trail near Pawnee Rock in September 1868, he writes, "The Indians were very bad; were in plain sight, encamped on the south side of the [Arkansas] river" (101). Brown mentions Custer's attack on Black Kettle's camp on the Washita River and other incidents that occurred near the trail and at Dodge City. He also notes his participation in the final slaughter of buffalo during the 1870s.

52. Bryant, Edwin. *Rocky Mountain Adventures, Bristling with Animated Details of Fearful Fights of American Hunters with Savage Indians, Mexican Rancheros, and Beasts of Prey*. New York: Hurst and Co., Publishers, 1885.

Recalling his travel through eastern Kansas on the Santa Fe/Oregon Trail, Bryant references his contacts with Kaws, Potawatomis, Shawnees, and Sacs. The book's title is reflective of the author's biased view concerning the alleged character of Indians.

53. ————. *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour, by the Emigrant Route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, Across the Continent of North America, the Great Desert Basin, and Through California, in the Years 1846, 1847*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1849. 1967. Reprint, Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1967.

This book contains the same information found in the author's *Rocky Mountain Adventures*.

54. Bryant, Peter. "The Letters of Peter Bryant, Jackson County Pioneer: First Installment, 1854-1861." Edited by Donald M. Murray and Robert M. Rodney. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Autumn 1961): 320-52.

Writing during the 1850 and 1860s with racial mindset, Bryant refers to Potawatomis, Pawnees, and Kiowas in derogatory terms.

55. Buechler, John, ed. *The Correspondence of Francis Parkman and Henry Stevens, 1845-1885. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*. Vol. 57, Pt. 6. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1967.

Writing a letter on March 28, 1846, Parkman declared that his intent for traveling in the far west, a journey that took him on the Oregon and Santa Fe trails, was "to see the Indians, glean their traditions, and study their character, for the benefit of 'Pontiac.'" After returning to Missouri in the fall of 1846, he wrote that he had seen "plenty of Indians, and had fine opportunities of observing them in all circumstances. They were the true Simon pure—no beggarly reprobates such as you see about the frontier" (16).

56. Buercklin, Charles Henry. "Memoirs of a Mexican War Volunteer: Charles Henry Buercklin." Translated and edited by Ladd H. Schwegman. *Wagon Tracks* 11 (May 1997): 10-19.

Recorded in 1905, Buercklin's memoirs tell of his 1846 trip over the trail with U.S. Illinois Volunteers. In Kaw country, members of his unit stole crops, fruit, chickens, and hogs from an old Kaw farmer. Unspecified Indians killed two soldiers and wounded another on the Arkansas River. He considered Pawnees, Comanches, and Arapahos as the greatest Indian threats. He also tells about his participation in the U.S. army's campaign against the Navajos in 1848.

57. Burt, George S. "The Wabaunsee Militia Company." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 604-07.

Burt recalls a July 1864 Indian attacked on a wagon train near the Big Bend and his U.S. army unit's pursuit of the perpetrators. He notes that a rumor indicated that Kaws were planning hostile action against Euroamerican settlers near Council Grove.

58. Bypaths of Kansas History. "Carrying the Mail to Santa Fe 100 Years Ago." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 18 (February 1950): 97.

Originally published in *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, in September 1850, this memoir mentions the mail-hauling operations of Waldo, Hall and Co., "which have been made through the Indian country—an undertaking which must seem

hazardous, after the many murders that have been perpetrated recently by hostile tribes” (97). It discusses the weapons that stagecoach crews carried to defend themselves from “savages.”

59. Bypaths of Kansas History. “Council Grove and the Kaw Indians in 1849.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 18 (August 1950): 324-25.

A drawing appearing in the *New York Weekly Tribune* (July 21, 1849) provides a stereotypical portrayal of Kaws at Council Grove. The author indicates that Euroamerican migrants viewed them as lazy, hostile, and treacherous.

60. “Bypaths of Kansas History: Exit the Buffalo.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Autumn 1961): 448.

On November 26, 1872, Topeka’s *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth* reported the extensive slaughter of buffalo near the Arkansas Crossing by Euroamerican hunters. “Every ravine,” the article states, “is full of hunters, and campfires can be seen for miles in every direction. The hides and saddles of fourteen hundred buffalo were brought into town to-day.”

61. “Bypaths of Kansas History: Fort Larned in 1863.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (February 1938): 99-101.

Writing to his brother on July 11, 1863, Captain A. W. Bourton noted that tempers had flared soon after a Fort Larned sentinel shot and killed a Cheyenne. Army officers fanned the flames of discontent by rejecting a Cheyenne call for the surrendering of the guard so they could punish him.

62. “Bypaths of Kansas History: An Indian Chief Serves an Ultimatum on the Commanding Officer at Fort Dodge.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (May 1944): 154.

A letter printed in *The Weekly Free Press* (Atchison), dated March 16, 1867, reported conflict between Kiowas and Euroamerican settlers near the trail. It also notes trouble at Fort Dodge.

63. “Bypaths of Kansas History: Indian Soldiers.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (August 1949): 296.

Two newspaper articles indicate that Kaws and other Indians served in U.S. military units in 1862 and 1865.

64. “Bypaths of Kansas History: An Invitation to Get Scalped.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (November 1940): 400-01.

On July 11, 1867, the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* published a letter from R. I. T. at Fort Wallace stating that Kansas was under siege by Indians, hot weather, and grasshoppers. Sixty to seventy unidentified Indians had reportedly attacked a train of forty wagons en route to Denver.

65. "Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives Were Restless That Year." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Autumn 1961): 448.

A sarcastic statement appearing in the Maryville *Enterprise*, on January 25, 1868, reported that Arapahos had taken possession of a U.S. government train at Cimarron Crossing on January 12th or 13th.

66. "Bypaths of Kansas History: News from Council Grove in 1849." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (May 1938): 204-05.

A letter dated on June 9, 1849, published in the St. Louis *Republican* and reprinted in the New York *Daily Tribune*, about a cholera outbreak at Fort Leavenworth stated, "Indians have all left the road at every settlement contiguous to the roadside. . . ." (204). Delawares and Shawnees had also fled, leaving their gardens and houses "to the mercy of travelers, who, you may know, are not very apt to sympathize with anyone else than themselves" (204).

67. "Bypaths of Kansas History: News from the Plains in 1859." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (February 1938): 98.

An article reprinted from the *Rocky Mountain News*, Auraria and Denver, on December 1, 1859, noted that a wagon train en route from Westport to Pike's Peak by way of the Arkansas River had that October "passed the graves of some fourteen persons who had been recently killed by the Kiowa Indians, among the number was one woman." The party "saw but few Indians on the route, and had no trouble with them except by their intolerable begging. They saw no Kiowas, and but one Comanche, who they one night surprised in their herd and took him prisoner, and kept him as a hostage for some days" (98). Another article printed in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, and republished in the New York *Tribune* indicates that rumors about Comanches being at war with U.S. soldiers were untrue and that Kaws were preparing for a buffalo hunt.

68. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Plains Indians and Their Slaves." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (August 1938): 326-27.

A correspondence dated December 4, 1852, appearing in the New York *Daily Tribune* on March 5, 1853, refers to conflict around Fort Atkinson involving Comanches and Kiowas.

69. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Santa Fe and the West in 1841." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 8 (February 1939): 104-06.

This extract from a July 20, 1841, letter printed in the New York (Weekly) *Tribune* on November 12, 1841, states that the author's party had friendly contact with Indians while traveling to Santa Fe. In addition to mentioning warfare between Pawnees and Arapahos, it also dwells on the character of Indian ceremonies.

70. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Steamboating Down the Kansas River." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 8 (November 1939): 399-400.

This reprint of an article from *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, on June 2, 1855, indicates that Delawares were selling cords of wood to steamboats.

71. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Trading with the Indians." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (August 1949): 297-301.

This article from the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* on May 17, 1867, provides insight into Euroamerican trading relations with Indians.

72. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Turning the Tables." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (February 1953): 378.

On January 10, 1855, the *Kansas Tribune* (Lawrence) quotes a Shawnee as suggesting the need for a mission among the Euroamericans in Kansas. "Murder, the article states, "was a thing almost unknown until the white folks came in, and now skulls can be found bleaching along all the roads. The sarcasm is pretty well deserved."

73. Calhoun, James S. *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun While Indian Agent at Santa Fé and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*. Edited by Annie H. Abel. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915.

Letters in this volume from James Calhoun, New Mexico's first U.S. superintendent of Indian affairs, and others provide useful details pertaining to Indian relations with the trail, New Mexico, and the U.S. policy from 1846 to 1854. They allude to population estimates for and the locations of the Pueblos, Navajos, Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches. This source also contains a copy of an unratified peace treaty between the "Apache Indians East of the Rio Del Norte" and the U.S. government.

74. Campbell, C. E. "Down among the Red Men." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 623-91.

Campbell, an Indian service employee assigned to the Kiowa and Comanche agency in Oklahoma from 1872 to 1886, recounts reservation life and the final

days of Indian resistance. He refers to Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Plains Apaches, Pawnees, Caddos, and Wichitas without mentioning the trail.

75. Campbell, Hugh. "The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey: From the Journal of Hugh Campbell, Astronomical Computer." Edited by Martha B. Caldwell. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (November 1937): 339-77.

In September 1857, Campbell wrote about the Kansas landscape and the weather along the Aubry cutoff. While on the plains, his party met groups of Kiowas and Osages in southern Kansas. He relates his observations of the three Delaware guides who accompanied the survey party.

76. "Capt. James Beckwourth." *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), December 1, 1859. Quoted in Nolie Mumey, *James Pierson Beckwourth, 1856-1866: An Enigmatic Figure in the West, a History of the Latter Years of His Life*. Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1957, 53-56.

According to this editorial, Jim Beckwourth, who traveled with an westbound wagon train in the fall of 1859, "met the Cheyennes who he had not seen for over twenty years; but he was instantly recognized and his presence telegraphed for many miles to the scattered bands, who came rushing to meet and welcome him, whom they consider the 'Big Medicine' of all white men on the plains" (55). The newspaperman declared that the disgruntled Beckwourth felt like "prosecuting" those settlers who are encroaching and building cities on his old hunting grounds.

77. Carriker, Robert C., ed. "Thompson McFadden's Diary of an Indian Campaign, 1874." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 75 (October 1971): 198-232.

At Fort Dodge on August 6, 1874, McFadden noted in his diary that Cheyennes were "making it very uncomfortable for the hunters, stockmen, and freighters" (199). He refers to U.S. army operations in Indian Territory and on the Staked Plains against Indians.

78. Carleton, J. Henry. *The Prairie Log Book: Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845*. Chicago: Caxton Club, 1943.

Lt. Carleton's rich narrative is more about Indians around the trail than actually contact on the road to Santa Fe. In detailing his 1844 journey with five U.S. dragoon companies from Fort Leavenworth to the Platte River, he provides an insightful, albeit Eurocentric, view of Pawnee life and culture. While stationed at Fort Leavenworth, he documented his observations of the Kickapoos, Potawatomis, and Kaws. He also recorded his encounters north of the trail with Otoes, Lakota, and others.

79. Carson, Christopher. *Kit Carson's Autobiography*. Edited by Milo Milton Quaife. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

In recalling his life experiences through the fall of 1856, Christopher “Kit” Carson recounted several trips he took over the trail from the 1820s to the 1840s and his contacts with Indians on the plains and elsewhere. He, however, opted to omit details regarding his two marriages to Indian women and the children they had.

80. Carter, Harvey Lewis. *‘Dear Old Kit:’ The Historical Christopher Carson, with a New Edition of the Carson Memoirs*. Norman: University Oklahoma Press, 1968.

Carter’s annotation of Carson’s memoirs details Carson’s travels on the trail and surrounding area from the 1820s to the 1860s. He states that Carson caused Indians a great deal of hardship on behalf of himself and the United States.

81. Carvalho, Solomon Nunes. *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*. Edited by Bertram Wallace Korn. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954.

First published in 1857, Carvalho’s narrative discusses his travels in 1853 and 1854 with John C. Frémont’s final expedition across the plains and Rocky Mountains. While on the trail in the autumn of 1853 with ten Delaware guides and four Wyandots, Carvalho recorded his party’s friendly contact with Cheyennes at Big Timber. He also took daguerreotypes of Cheyennes near Bent’s Fort.

82. Chase, Charles Monroe. “An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas: The Letters of Charles Monroe Chase.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 26 (Summer 1960): 113-51; (Autumn 1960): 267-301.

First published in the *True Republican and Sentinel* of Sycamore, Illinois, Chase’s letters express his impressions of Kansas and Oklahoma Indians. During an 1873 jaunt through Indian Territory, he saw Eastern Shawnees and other Indians who had been removed from Kansas. He described Sac and Fox peoples as being lazy and Osages as being tall and fierce looking.

83. Cheetham, F. T. “El Camino Militar.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 15 (January 1940): 1-11.

This article contains correspondence regarding the U.S. army’s 1854 conflict in eastern New Mexico with Jicarilla Apaches and Utes. The letters mention the construction of a military road from Fort Union to Taos, but they do not reference the trail.

84. Christy, Charles. “Captain Charles Christy’s Memoirs, 1867.” In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 106-19. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Conveying strong anti-Indian sentiments in his memoirs, Christy, a former U.S. army scout and officer, wrote, “Expressing sympathy for the Indian is to my mind worse than the habit women have of sending flowers to a wife-murdered” (111). He blamed the writings of James Fenimore Cooper for having “indirectly caused the deaths of hundreds of whites and reds” (111). His narrative, riddled with historical errors and self-aggrandizement, tells of his involvement in an 1866 fight with Cheyennes who had massacred Hunig’s caravan and an 1860 battle against Kiowas. Casting doubts on Christy’s credibility, the editor notes that the Kiowa fight occurred in 1864 when Christy was not present.

85. Clark, Calvin Perry. *Two Diaries: The Diary and Journal of Calvin Perry Clark Who Journeyed by Wagon Train from Plano, Illinois to Denver and Vicinity over the Santa Fe Trail in the Year 1859 Together with the Diary of His Sister Helen E. Clark Who Made a Similar Journey by the Northern Route in the Year 1860*. Denver: Denver Public Library, 1962.

While searching for gold in Colorado, Clark made several diary references about Indians, including Comanches and “Kiwas” [Kiowas].

86. Clark, William. “William Clark’s Diary, May, 1826-February, 1831: Part One, 1826-1827.” Edited by Louise Barry. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 16 (February 1948): 1-39; Part Two, 1828,” (May 1948): 136-74; Part Three, 1829,” (August 1948): 275-305; Part Four, 1830-1831-Concluded,” (November 1948): 384-410.

Part one contains brief entries about Indian delegations that called on William Clark, the superintendent of Indian affairs, in St. Louis office. Part two contains a November 28, 1828, letter of questionable veracity from John Dougherty, a U.S. agent at Fort Leavenworth declaring that 1,200 Grand Pawnees [Chauis] and Pawnee Loups [Skidis] warriors had “gone *en masse* in a war excursion against the whites; and their attention will be directed principally to the *Santa Fe* road to intercept our traders, and should they fail there, to fall on the frontier settlements of *Arkansaw*, having declared that *determination* to scalp all white men whom they meet” (170). Part three notes the arrival of Indian visitors, some of whom had contact with the trail. Part four records the presence of various Indian groups in St. Louis from 1826 to 1831.

87. Clarkson, Matthew. “The Matthew Clarkson Manuscripts.” Edited by Rodney Staab. *Kansas History* 5 (Winter 1982): 256-78.

While recalling his experiences in western Kansas during the 1860s and 1870s, Clarkson claims to have killed thousands of buffalo for fun and profit. Regarding Indians, he expressed the negative stereotypical imagery about them that was acceptable doing those times. He also divulged that a colleague of his had murdered an Indian.

88. Cleminson, John James. "John James Cleminson Diary: Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (May 1995): 7-11; Part II, (August 1995): 13-19.

In the summer of the 1850, Cleminson and his family traveled over the trail en route to California. Part one mentions his trading relations with Indians at Council Grove. Part two covers his journey from the Rio Grande Valley to California.

89. Coates, Isaac. *One the Plains with Custer and Hancock: The Journal of Isaac Coates, Army Surgeon*. Edited by W. J. D. Kennedy. Boulder: Johnson Books, 1996.

In 1867, Surgeon Coates documents events he witnessed, including his observations of Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and others, at a Fort Larned council.

90. Coffin, Morse H. *The Battle of Sand Creek*. Edited by Alan W. Farley. Waco: W. M. Morrison-Publisher, 1965.

Written in 1879, Coffin's firsthand account provides details about the Third Colorado Volunteers' march from Bent's Fort to Sand Creek in late November 1864, where soldiers massacred Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. His writings reflect a strong anti-Indian bias common among many newcomers to Colorado.

91. Cole, Fannie E. "Pioneer Life in Kansas." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 353-58.

Without mentioning the trail, Cole recalls her meetings with Delawares, Kaws, Pawnees, Potawatomis, and other Indians in Kansas during the 1850s.

92. Collins, J. L. "Report on Winter Travel, 1852." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 11-17. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

In a report discussing the hazards of winter travel in 1852, Santa Fe trader J. L. Collins took a swipe at Indians. He declared that "marauding savage tribes" that infested the route had destroyed the lives and property of "our fellow-citizens" for the past thirty years (17). He sought more U.S. protection from the weather and Indians.

93. Colt, Miriam D. *Went to Kansas*. New York: Readex Microprint, 1966.

In her journal, Colt notes that during the 1850s Indian resistance heightened fears among trail travelers.

94. Cooke, Philip St. George. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California; An Historical and Personal Narrative*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878.

An experienced officer with the Army of the West, Cooke traveled in 1846 over the trail from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe via the Mountain Route. Using stereotypical language, he provides firsthand observations about his few encounters with Indians, adding anecdotal information to the story. He notes that Indians from the various Pueblos came to Santa Fe in August and swore an oath of allegiance to the U.S. army. Cooke also discusses conflict between Mexicans and Navajos and the revolt at Taos against the U.S. occupation in 1847.

95. ————. “The Journal of Captain Philip St. George Cooke, First U.S. Dragoons, on an Escort of Santa Fe Traders in the Year of 1843.” Edited by Harry C. Myers. In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 41-75. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Cooke records information about his command of U.S. Dragoons who were sent to protect the trail and to demonstrate the power of the U.S. army to Indians. He provides a glimpse at the landscape and surrounding Indians, including Kaws, Pawnees, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas.

96. ————. *Scenes and Adventures in the Army: or Romance of Military Life*. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857.

Writing about his extensive participation in the U.S. army during the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, Cooke reveals his haughty attitudes toward Indians. Shawnees, Pawnees, Kaws, Osages, Arapahos, and Comanches, along with others, are prominent in his account. He details his experiences in 1829 as a young officer with Bennet Riley’s infantry command assigned to escort duty on the trail. He recalls a hunting frenzy that ensued near Cow Creek when he and his fellow soldiers saw buffalo for the first time. He also reveals the disadvantages U.S. infantrymen faced when confronting mounted foes.

97. Cooke, Philip St. George, William Henry Chase Whiting, and Francois Xavier Aubry. *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938.

Cooke’s journal of his experiences with the Mormon Battalion in New Mexico in 1846 provides information about Apache and Navajo relations with the U.S. government in the area south of Santa Fe. Whiting’s journal notes his encounters with Comanches and Apaches in Texas and New Mexico in 1849. In his journal, Aubry details his trip to California.

98. Coolidge, Grace. *Teepee Neighbors*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

Grace Coolidge was the non-Indian wife of Reverend Sherman Coolidge, a full-blood Arapaho who was captured as a child by U.S. troops and raised among

Euroamericans. Once married the two worked as missionaries among the Arapahos and Shoshonis on the Wind River reservation in Wyoming. Originally published in 1917, her book offers a view of reservation life in the early 1900s.

99. Conard, Howard Louis. *Uncle Dick Wootton the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region: An Account of the Adventures and Thrilling Experiences of the Most Note American Hunter, Trapper, Guide, Scout, and Indian Fighter Now Living*. Chicago: W. E. Dibble and Co., 1890.

Uncle Dick Wootton shared his life story with Conard, telling about his many years of living in the Southwest. Republished in 1957 and 2001, this book conveys Wootton's numerous encounters, both friendly and violent, with Indians on the trail and elsewhere.

100. Connelley, William E., ed. "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12 (June 1925): 72-98; (September 1925): 227-55.

The journal is that of Captain Philip St. George Cooke who commanded a U.S. dragoon detachment sent to protect trail traders from May 27 to July 21, 1843. Cooke notes that the dragoons had contact with Kaws and Osages on and near the trail. He also documents that Mexican Indians, very possibly Pueblos from Taos, were with a Mexican wagon train that Texans had attacked and massacred in June near the Caches. He writes about Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche relations with Bent's Fort. In a footnote he draws from flawed folklore saying that Pawnee Rock was named because it was a place where Pawnees were likely to appear at any moment.

101. Council Trove Documents, "Across the Plains, 1866." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (November 1994): 21-23.

An article from the March 2, 1866, *New York Times* issue contains the report of a special correspondent who traveled that winter from Denver to Santa Fe through Bent's Fort and Maxwell's ranch. Conveying racial stereotypes, it mentions the ties that bound the Bent family with the Cheyennes and the connection of the Maxwell family with unspecified Indians, possibly Jicarilla Apaches and Utes.

102. Council Trove Documents, "A. G. Boone Letter from Peacock's Ranch, June 1860." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (February 1988): 12.

In his June 28, 1860 letter, published in *The Westport Border Star* on July 14 of that year, A. G. Boone reports that Kaws hunting on Owl Creek had given him some buffalo meat. Boone states that U.S. soldiers were reportedly on the trail, but that he had not seen them. He declares, "the road is free of hostile Indians."

103. Council Trove Documents, "Bent's Old Fort in 1846." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (May 1994): 19-20.

Originally printed in the *St. Louis Reveille* on May 17, 1846, Richard Smith Elliot, a U.S. volunteer who wrote under the pseudonym of “John Brown,” describes Bent’s Fort. He declares that the “most powerful and warlike Indians [sic] tribes on the continent – the Comanches, the Yutas [Utes], the Cheyennes, the Apaches and Pawnees – all buffalo-eaters and all great scamps surround the fort” (20).

104. Council Trove Documents, “Camp Nichols.” *Wagon Tracks* 3 (May 1989): 13-15.

This installment contains two reprinted documents. The first is a copy of Brigadier General Carlton’s letter directing Colonel Christopher Carson to establish a post at Cedar Bluffs or Cold Springs on the Cimarron Route. The second is an excerpt from R. D. (Marian) Russell’s *The Land of Enchantment* that mentions U.S. army operations against Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches.

105. Council Trove Documents, “Camp Nichols.” *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 17-18.

In a newspaper article first published in the *Cimarron News*, Kenton, Oklahoma, on February 9, 1906, John Skelly provides information about Camp Nichols, a post established in the Oklahoma Panhandle on the trail in 1865 and abandoned during the same year. He notes that members of the First New Mexico Cavalry Volunteers and First New Mexico Infantry under Colonel Kit Carson had build a fort “for the purpose of guarding freight or emigrant trains against hostile Indian attacks” (17).

106. Council Trove Documents, “Claim Against the Pawnees.” *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 19-22.

This installment provides depositions, letters, and reports regarding a Pawnee raid in September 1837 on a Bent and St. Vrain and Co. pack train en route to New Mexico along an Arkansas River tributary. In that year, Pawnees reportedly killed a man named Crawford and wounded Rafael Sanchez. This account first appeared in the report of Jacob Thompson of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, *House Report No. 194*, House of Representatives, 28th Congress, 2d sess., March 3, 1845.

107. Council Trove Documents, “Clara Blinn Capture.” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 21.

This reprint of a *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), October 22, 1868, article notes that unidentified Indians captured Mrs. Clara Blinn and her little child during the fall of that year near Fort Lyon.

108. Council Trove Documents, “Ed Miller Grave.” *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 23-24.

This reprint of an article from the Cherryvale, Kansas, *Daily Republican* is about Miller's death. It states that Cheyennes had killed him in 1865 instead of 1864, as generally assumed, and that Miller was the only [Euroamerican] man killed by Indians in Marion County. It tell of a 1911 search by local citizens located his lost grave.

109. Council Trove Documents, "Fort Atkinson." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 22.

This installment contains a petition from the New Mexico territorial legislature to the House and Senate and published in *Miscellaneous Documents No. 47*, House of Representatives, 33rd Congress, 1st sess., calling for the reestablish Fort Atkinson. Dated February 4, 1854, the petitioners declared that "hostile" Indians necessitated a military presence on the trail.

110. Council Trove Documents, "Fort Larned Horse Race, 1863." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990): 22.

An excerpt from William H. Ryus's autobiography, *The Second William Penn* (1913), tells about an 1863 horse race between Fort Larned soldiers and Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas. After winning the race, the Indians hosted grand feast for everyone.

111. Council Trove Documents, "Fort William, 1843." *Wagon Tracks* 10 (May 1996): 29-30.

This installment provides a January 1, 1843, letter from Bent, St. Vrain and Co. to Superintendent of Indian Affairs D. D. Mitchell complaining about illegal traders on the Arkansas selling whiskey and other items to Indians.

112. Council Trove Documents, "Glasgow Letter, 1846." *Wagon Tracks* 1 (May 1987): 7.

This installment contains a July 9, 1846, letter from William H. Glasgow, written at Pawnee Fork, referring to the killing of a Bent's train cook by Indians there in that year.

113. Council Trove Documents, "Government Express, 1847." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (February 1993): 20-22.

This reprint of a May 1, 1847, letter from Solomon P. Sublette notes his trips to and from Santa Fe in 1846 and 1847. He mentions his procurement of corn at the Kaw Mission.

114. Council Trove Documents, "Indians and Whiskey." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (February 1997): 27.

This installment reprints a May 29, 1868, *Cheyenne Leader* article that refers to the fear that U.S. soldiers had for Indians under the influence of alcohol in the Fort Dodge and Fort Larned areas.

115. Council Trove Documents, "Indians at Fort Larned, 1863." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004): 22-23.

A reprinted article entitled "From the Arkansas" from the July 20, 1863, issue of the Denver *Rocky Mountain News* reflects very harsh anti-Indian sentiments. It indicates that a rumor had been confirmed that over two thousand Indians at Fort Lyon were "seriously menacing that post" (22). It states that the "savages" had threatened an attack in response to the shooting of an [Cheyenne] Indian by a sentinel. Calling for a military solution, the writer declares: "It is to be hoped that these reinforcements will enable Col. Leavenworth to clean out the whole pack of savage brutes that surround him" (22). Another article entitled "From Fort Larned" reports that four thousand Kiowas and Comanches were on the verge of fighting the post's soldiers. It asserts that the soldiers stood ready to fire 12-pounders when the Indians "asked to parley, and were finally persuaded to leave the vicinity" (22-23). Expressing disappointment at the diplomatic conclusion of this incident, the newspaper lamented: "What a pity, those 12-pounders didn't go off before the order [to fire the cannons] was countermanded" (23).

116. Council Trove Documents, "Indian Village on Pawnee Fork." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (August 1998): 25.

This installment contains an April 13, 1867, letter from E. W. Wynkoop, a U.S. agent assigned to the Cheyennes, to General W. S. Hancock in which Wynkoop criticized Hancock's military actions against the Cheyennes.

117. Council Trove Documents, "Military Posts on the Road from Missouri to New Mexico." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 22-23.

First published in *House Report No. 154*, House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 2d sess., February 3, 1859, Charles J. Faulkner, acting chairman of the committee on military affairs, gave reasons why the committee had rejected a call for the establishment of more military posts on the road between Missouri and New Mexico.

118. Council Trove Documents, "Negotiating the Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (February 1994): 24-26.

Marred by a few mistakes, the reminiscences of Frank M. Stahl regarding his freighting on the trail during the 1850s and 1860s first appeared in the *Lyons Daily News* (Lyons, Kansas) on August 17, 1946. He points out that during those years Kaws and Pawnees were seldom troublesome but that Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Arapahos needed "watching." He mentions that "five great

tribes” had assembled west of Fort Zarah and that a fight involving Kiowas, possibly, had occurred recently.

119. Council Trove, Documents, “Reminiscences of H. H. Green.” *Wagon Tracks* 8 (August 1994): 22-23.

This installment contains the reminiscences of H. H. Green, “Old Foggy.” Appearing in the *Daily Optic* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), Green recalls that forty years earlier (in 1841) a U.S. soldier had looted an Indian tree burial near the Arkansas Crossing at Big Timber.

120. Council Trove, Documents, “Sisters on the Trail, 1867.” *Wagon Tracks* 7 (February 1993): 21-22.

Taken from a chapter of *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas* (1898), this installment notes that near Fort Dodge in mid-June 1867 Indians attacked a westbound train with nuns and Santa Fe Bishop Jean B. Lamy. Later, hundreds of mounted Indians attacked a Mexican train on the Arkansas.

121. Council Trove Documents, “Stage Driving.” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 21-22.

This reprint of a September 23, 1906, *Kansas City Star* edition provides the recollections of A. L. Carpenter, a stagecoach driver who worked on the trail during the 1860s. Without specifying the date, Carpenter attributes an Indian attack on this coach west of Pawnee Fork to the Cheyennes.

122. Council Trove Documents, “Trade with New Mexico, 1860.” *Wagon Tracks* 9 (November 1994): 17-21.

Appearing on October 30, 1860, in the *Sacramento Daily Union* and previously in the *St. Louis Republican*, this reprinted article entitled “The Great Overland Trade with New Mexico” describes Indians as a deadly threat to trail travelers.

123. Council Trove Documents, “Trail and Indian Recollections of Addison W. Stubbs, 1927.” *Wagon Tracks* 3 (February 1989): 10.

This installment gives the recollections of Addison W. Stubbs, written in 1927, and printed in the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, March 20, 1987, about the trail in 1863 and the Kaws at Council Grove. He came to Council Grove with his Quaker family and was present when the Kaws signed a treaty agreeing to remove to Indian Territory.

124. Council Trove Documents, “Trail in 1863.” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991): 26.

This installment reprints Brigadier General James H. Carleton's May 10, 1863, letter to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas in which Carleton expresses his fear about Indian intentions toward the trail.

125. Council Trove Documents, "Trail News." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (November 1993): 27.

This reprint of a *St. Louis Reveille* July 30, 1847, article contains an anonymous account of a July 23 skirmish on the Cimarron River between Comanches and Captain McNair's detachment.

126. Council Trove Documents, "Trail News, 1859." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (August 1991): 26-27.

This reprint of an article from the *Westport Border Star* (Missouri), November 12, 1859, mentions that unspecified Indians had recently disrupted U.S. mail carriers en route from New Mexico to Missouri.

127. Council Trove Documents, "Trail Trip, 1867." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (February 1990): 16-18.

John W. Moore's account of his 1867 trip describes Indians as having strained relations with the trail in that year. It indicates that his train had tense encounters with Kiowas under Satanta, that General Hancock and his staff had recently held a council with Kiowas and Arapahos, and that about two hundred Indians had attacked his [Moore's] train near Cimarron Springs on the return trip. The report initially appeared in Denver's *Great Divide* on March 6, 1916.

128. Council Trove Documents, "Trail Trip, 1841." *Wagon Tracks* 3 (November 1988): 14; (February 1989): 9-10.

First published in Charles J. Folsom's *Mexico* (1842), this installment contains the first part of an 1841 report of an unidentified traveler who briefly describes his experiences on the trail while traveling with eight others in three small wagons. It echoes the myth of Pawnees, Arapahos, Comanches, Loups [Skidi Pawnees], and Utes holding yearly peace meetings at Council Grove. Part two tells about a friendly meeting on the Cimarron River between the writer's party and 500 Arapahos, who had ten days previously killed seventy-six Pawnees near there. Several days later, the small party skirmished with three hundred Utes beneath the Red River [Cimarron] Crossing.

129. Council Trove Documents. *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 21.

Referring to the trail during the 1860s, this reprint of a *Kansas City Star* article dated September 23, 1906, provides A. L. Carpenter's recollection of his brushes with Indians and outlaws.

130. Council Trove Documents. *Wagon Tracks* 9 (August 1995): 28.

This installment reprints George H. Knox's 1828 letter that refers to the killing of Daniel Monroe and Robert McNess [McNees] on the trail by Indians in that year.

131. Council Trove Documents, "William Bent Letter, 1856." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (May 1990): 20.

This installment prints a November 1, 1856, letter from William Bent to Colonel St. Vrain concerning Cheyennes fighting Kiowas to protect Euroamericans at Bent's Fort. Indicating his involvement in the fray, Bent stated that he fired a shot at an old Kiowa named Eagle Tail but missed.

132. Council Trove Documents, "William H. Eisele, Trail Pioneer." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 23-24.

This installment of Eisele's "hair-raising stories" of his travel by wagon train on the trail references his contact with Indians (apparently during the 1850s and 1860s). These stories came from a 1936 interview entitled the "Description of a Pioneer's Experience." He notes the burial of a Kaw chief, Gosunka, near Independence in 1859 or 1860 and the scalping of an unnamed man at Westport by Indians at an unspecified time.

133. Cowles, Calvin Duvall. "A Soldier's Life on the Indian Frontier, 1876-1878: Letters of 2 Lt. C. D. Cowless." Edited by Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1972): 144-55.

Cowles provides a soldier's account of the Northern Cheyennes' flight from Oklahoma to the northern plains in 1878.

134. Cozzens, Peter, ed. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars: 1865-1890*. Vol. Three of *Conquering the Southern Plains*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Press, 2001.

This collection of eyewitness accounts enhances our knowledge of the violence that erupted during the post-Civil War as the U.S. presence on the southern plains grew precipitously. The words of Frank Doster, Winfield S. Hancock, and Edward S. Godfrey provide Euroamerican outlooks while those of George Bent express a Cheyenne view. The author's introduction gives a brief overview of Comanche, Kiowa, Plains Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho cultures and histories.

135. Craig, James S. *The Gazette*, January 18, 1832. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865. Volume 1, Early Explorers, 1803-1812 and Fur Hunters, 1813-1847*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 311-12. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company 1996.

A member of an 1830 trapping expedition to the Rocky Mountains that returned to the States along the Arkansas River, Craig documents a mid October conflict with Pawnees near the mouth of the Little Arkansas. After moving on, train members met other Indians who warned them that Pawnees would return to steal their horses.

136. Crimmins, M. L. "Fort Massachusetts, First United States Post in Colorado." *Colorado Magazine* 14 (July 1937): 128-35.

Colonel Crimmins's 1853 correspondence regarding Fort Massachusetts, a military post established in southern Colorado west of the trail, notes that the post was constructed the previous year to control Utes. The post was relocated six years after its founding and renamed Fort Garland. Crimmins does not reference the trail.

137. Cruise, John Daniel. "Early Days on the Union Pacific." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 529-49.

Recalling his Kansas experiences during the 1860s, Cruise mentions that railroad expansion and U.S. settlements sparked conflict with Indians.

138. Cutts, James M. *The Conquest of California and New Mexico, by the Forces of the United States, in the Years 1846 and 1847*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace Publishers, 1965.

Leaving Fort Leavenworth in late June 1846 with the Army of the West, Cutts writes that his column was prepared to travel "through tribes of savage and thieving Indians, their only support--until 'they met the enemy and they were theirs'" (41). At Bent's Fort, he notes that Colonel Kearny advised the Cheyennes to adopt peaceful pursuits. He relates an account of the killing of Charles Bent at Taos in 1847 in Indian and Mexican rebellion against the U.S. invasion. He accuses Arapahos, Comanches, and Pawnees, who "infested" the trail, of killing teamsters responsible for transporting U.S. military supplies to New Mexico. "The Indians," he declares, "have attacked every train that has gone out or come in this year [1847], and are bound to attack every train that will follow. These infernal Cumanches [sic] Pawnees, and Arrapahoes [sic] deserve a castigation that would ever after keep them quiet, and which they are sure some day to receive" (242). He also notes Apache and Comanche conflict with New Mexico.

139. Davis, Joseph. "Diary of Joseph Davis, on Return from the Mexican Boundary, September 30 to October 25, 1825." In *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley, and Others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road From the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico, 1825-1827*, edited by Kate L. Gregg, 162-68. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.

The surveyor with George C. Sibley's 1825 expedition who marked the trail to the Mexican border, Davis describes his party's return trip in October and its contact with Kaws.

140. Davis, Sylvester. "Diary of Sylvester Davis." *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (October 1931): 383-416.

While traveling from Denver to New Mexico via the mountain route during the late summer of 1859, Davis and his two companions had three encounters with Indians. On September 12, Comanches surprised the travelers, but relations between the two groups calmed when the small company provided their guests an evening meal. Tension heightened the next day when fifty mounted Indian men, women, and children approached Davis's party, encouraging its members to prepare for a fight. On September 14 at Rio, he saw Comanches trading mules for ponies.

141. Davis, W. W. H. *El Gringo; or, New Mexico and Her People*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

First published in 1856 and reprinted numerous times thereafter, this book contains Davis's account of his stagecoach journey over the trail in 1853 to Santa Fe, where he served as an U.S. territorial attorney. Along the way, he had interacted with Shawnees and Kaws. He offers secondhand information about the Jicarilla Apaches' attack on the James White party in 1849 as well as a Jicarilla and Ute battle with U.S. mail carriers the following year. Although he considers the Pueblos as "industrious, frugal, and peaceable" (145), if not superstitious, he views Plains Indians with calculated hostility. "They are the Ishmaelites of the Plains," he asserts, "whose hands are turned against every white man, woman, and child, and they should be chastised in the severest manner instead of receiving pity from their crack-brained sympathizers" (251). Of them, he deems Comanches and Kiowas to be deadly threats to Euroamericans on the trail and elsewhere while the dangerous Apaches created difficulties for U.S. soldiers in New Mexico.

142. "The Death of Ed Miller on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 10 (February 1996): 10-13.

An article in the *Marion County Record*, Marion, Kansas, 1911-1912, blames Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches for killing Ed Miller and an unidentified man on or near the trail in 1864. Another newspaper account attributes an attack on a wagon train at Cow Creek to Kiowas and Comanches.

143. DeMun, Jules to Governor William Clark, 25 September 1817. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 43-48. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

In an 1817 letter about trader relations with New Mexico and Indians, Jules DeMun, Auguste Pierre Chouteau's trading partner, vividly expresses the traders' fear of and conflict with Pawnees several years before the trail's establishment. In 1816, after Pawnees attacked Chouteau's party of traders at what became called Chouteau's Island in the Arkansas, DeMun's small eastbound party occasionally used the cover of darkness to avoid Pawnee war parties. Determined to avert "inevitable destruction" the following spring from Pawnees who "were lurking for prey in all directions about the Arkansas River" (46), other traders refused to cross the plains from the mountains to St. Louis. Utes, Arapahos, Apaches, and other Indians are also referenced in the contexts of trade, tension, or conflict.

144. Denison, William W. "Early Days in Osage County." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 375-83.

In 1922, Denison recalls his experiences as a settler along the trail in the 1860s. Revealing the lingering antagonistic feelings he maintained for Indians, Denison refers to them as savages.

145. Dippie, Brian W., ed. *Nomad: George A. Custer in Turf, Field and Farm*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980.

This collection of letters and essays references both Custer's military operations against Indians and the implementation of U.S. Indian policy in the trail's vicinity during the late 1860s.

146. Dodge, Richard Irving. *The Plains of North America and Their Inhabitants*. Edited by Wayne R. Kime. Newark: University of Delaware Press. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1989.

First published in 1876, Dodge's book, a U.S. army officer who served on the plains during the late 1860s and 1870s, provides a view of how Indians and animals existed within the physical features of the plains. Much of his discussion focuses on the Arkansas River and the Indians who were residing near there. Although considered an authoritative source, Dodge's suffered from the nineteenth-century affliction of white supremacy.

147. Dolan, Thomas A. "Report of Council Proceedings with the Jicarilla Apache Indians." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (January 1929): 59-71.

Although Dolan does not reference the trail, his 1873 report to the U.S. commissioner of Indian affairs pertains to the establishment of the Jicarilla Apache reservation near Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico.

148. Doran, Thomas, F. "Kansas Sixty Years Ago." *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 482-501.

Doran, who was raised at Council Grove on the Kaw reservation during the 1860s, recalls the threat that Indians posed to trail travelers and homesteaders. Reflecting common sentiments, he refers to the Kaws as menaces who sought to bluff settlers with their dress and “faces painted hideously.” He notes that the excitement that surfaced in June 1868 when 300 Cheyennes entered town to fight the neighboring Kaws. He states that the U.S. army’s winter campaign in 1868-69 nearly exterminated Indian warriors, “bringing lasting peace to the settlers, with the exception of minor outbreaks as 1874 and 1878” (492).

149. Doster, Frank. “Eleventh Indiana Cavalry in Kansas in 1865.” *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 524-29.

Doster recalls, with questionable accuracy, his travel as an eighteen-year old soldier with U.S. “dignitaries” on a preliminary treaty mission to Indians in Kansas in 1865. He describes an Indian encampment south of the trail, at the site of present-day Wichita, as being dirty and filthy. That October, he asserts that Indian leaders had agreed to abandon the area between the Platte and Arkansas rivers.

150. Dyer, D. B. *Fort Reno Or, Picturesque “Cheyenne and Arapahoe Army Live,” Before the Opening of “Oklahoma.”* Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005.

Originally published in 1896, this book presents a non-Native viewpoint of what life was like at a late nineteenth-century army post in Indian Territory. Mrs. Dyer, the spouse of a U.S. agent assigned to the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency, describes the Indians’ dress and customs, hunting practices, cattle ranching, and trouble with Euroamericans at and near Fort Reno.

151. Dunbar, John, Samuel Allis, George B. Gaston, and Timothy E. Ranney. “Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, Near Bellvue, Neb., 1831-1849.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 14 (1915-1918): 570-784.

Written by Presbyterian missionaries who lived among and traveled with Pawnees during the 1830s and 1840s, these letters offer a rich, if not slanted, ethnographic record about these Indigenous peoples. They reference the Pawnees’ troubled interaction with the trail. The letters also mention Shawnees, Kickapoos, Potawatomis, and other removed Indians in eastern Kansas.

152. Dunbar, John. “The Presbyterian Mission among the Pawnee Indians in Nebraska, 1834-1836.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 323-32.

Dunbar, a Presbyterian missionary who lived with among Pawnees during the 1830s and 1840s, provides rich ethnographic information about Pawnee culture and their relations with other Indians, U.S. citizens, and the trail. In doing so, he demonstrates his ethnocentrism and faith in Euroamerican superiority.

153. Ebbutt, Percy G. *Emigrant Life in Kansas*. New York: Arno Press, 1975.

This book is a collection of firsthand accounts about an English migrant's life in Kansas during the 1870s. In addition to recording his impressions of Kaws, Ebbutt details his uneventful contact with several Potawatomis north of the trail near Junction City.

154. Edwards, Frank S. *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan*. Forward by Mark L. Gardner. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

First published in 1847, Edward's widely read account details his travels with mounted U.S. volunteers en route to invade and occupy New Mexico in 1846 via Bent's Fort. It contains a few references to Indians on the trail. He notes that some of his contemporaries sought to discourage young men from going west by telling them stories about Indian depredations and the hardships of travel. While marching on the military road from Fort Leavenworth to the trail, he noticed two Indians operating a government ferry on the Kansas River about forty miles from Fort Leavenworth and a striking Indian woman with a child at a nearby cabin. His company saw a few distant Indians near Chouteau's Island. He also describes the interest soldiers had for finding Indian burials in that area. In New Mexico along the Rio Grande, he visited Santo Domingo, San Ildelfonso, Tesuque, and other pueblos. He also had friendly contact with Apaches. His descriptions provide a glimpse of the physical appearance, customs, dress, foods, dwellings, and characteristic of these Indians.

155. Edwards, Marcellus Ball. "Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards, 1846-1847." In *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, 105-280. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.

Assigned to the Army of the West with Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's regiment, Edwards's journal entries provide details about Indians his unit encountered as it marched from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846. At the Kansas River, he saw Indians living in farms, operating a ferry, and selling beef. After passing Council Grove, Edwards expresses his fear of Indians, especially Pawnees. He documents the fun soldiers had killing buffalo for sport. He also condemns fellow soldiers for having disrupted an Indian tree burial below Bent's Fort, calling it a sacrilegious act. At Bent's Fort, he notes that Colonel Kearny sent two Pueblo Indians to Taos with his proclamation declaring that if the Pueblos remained neutral no harm would come to them. In New Mexico, Edwards also records his observation of the various Pueblo Indians and Navajos.

156. Elder, Jane Lenz. "Homesick on the Road to Santa Fe: James J. Webb's Private Diary, 1856." *New Mexico Historical Review* 72 (January 1997): 141-52.

A May 1856 entry in Private Webb's diary notes that his unit had friendly interaction with Comanches at the Cimarron River Crossing. Webb also documents the soldiers' hunting activities and camp life.

157. Elder, Jane Lenz and David J. Weber, eds. *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853-1861*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996.

Kingsbury's letters to Webb detail the social and economic conditions of New Mexico territory during the mid 1800s. These sources also cover the status of Indian relations with traders and the United States and Mexico governments.

158. Elliot, Richard Smith. *The Mexican War Correspondence of Richard Smith Elliot*. Edited and annotated by Mark L. Gardner and Marc Simmons. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

Written in the springs and summers 1846 and 1847 along the trail while he was a member of the U.S. occupying forces in New Mexico, Smith's correspondence uses the language of racism to describe Shawnees, Kaws, Potawatomis, Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Osages. A *St. Louis Reveille* correspondent in Santa Fe, on April 27, 1847, he described the Plains Indians as being enemies, rebels, thieves, dangerous, and women abusers. Reserving the lion's share of this contempt for the Pawnees, he declares: "A more perfect set of depredators, when they feel themselves able, than those same Pawnees, does not exist. They are arrant cowards, as all the Indians are, unless they have the advantage; but they are essentially Ishmaelites in one sense, for their hand is against every man, and every man's hand *ought* to be against them. Though universally, almost, fairly dealt with by the whites, they return this fair treatment with treachery and outrage, and richly merit the fate of total extermination" (183). His correspondence also reveals U.S. military strategies for invading and occupying Indian lands.

159. [Emory, W. H.]. U.S. Army. Corps of Topographical Engineers. *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, California, including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848.

Describing his perception of Indians within the Pawnee Fork area in 1846, U.S. army officer Emory, writes: "We are now on ground which is traversed by the nomadic tribes of Pawnees, Sioux, Osages, and occasionally the Comanches" (12). At Big Timber, he notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos and Kiowas sometimes wintered there (13). At abandoned Pecos Pueblo, he recounts the fable of the former residents being the remnant of the Montezuma race. At Santa Fe, he states the Pueblo leaders enthusiastically greeted the American force, saying their traditions indicated that white men from the east would liberate them "from the bonds and shackles which the Spaniards had imposed, not in the name, but in a

worse form than slavery” (33). Emory’s *Reconnaissance in New Mexico* contains the same report.

160. English, Lydia E. “By Wagon from Kansas to Arizona in 1875—The Travel Diary of Lydia E. English.” Edited by Joseph W. Snell. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1970): 369-89.

Traveling with members of her migrant family over the trail in 1875, after U.S. might had forcefully swept Indians aside, English’s diary describes the landscape and several structures near Dodge City that had been attacked at an undisclosed point in time by unspecified Indians. In Colorado, she met two hundred Utes in a friendly encounter.

161. Farnham, Thomas F. *An 1839 Wagon Train Journal: Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory*. New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1843.

En route to the Pacific Northwest in the spring and summer of 1839, Farnham documents this trip that took his small party over the trail from Missouri to Bent’s Fort, and then north to the Oregon Trail. Using stereotypical terms, he records his observations of and interactions with Kaws, whom he calls notorious thieves, at Council Grove and Pawnee Fork. At Bent’s Fort, he saw trading activities with Indian, and that two Indians, an Iroquois and a New Hampshire Native, were working as trappers. He also describes the landscape and provides information about the populations, histories, and cultures of the surrounding Indians, including many of those who had been removed there from east of the Mississippi River. Reflecting a commonly held view, he identifies Pawnees and Comanches as being the greatest threat to Euroamerican travelers.

162. Fay, George E., ed. *Military Engagements Between United States Troops and Plains Indians: Documentary Inquiry by the U.S. Congress, Part Ia: 1854-1867*. Greeley, CO: Museum of Anthropology, University of Colorado, 1972.

This compilation about warfare between U.S. soldiers and Indians contains correspondence pertaining to the events surrounding the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 and the conflict that ensued along the upper Arkansas River and elsewhere.

163. ———, ed. *Military Engagements Between the United States Troops and Plains Indians, Part III: Report of the Secretary of the Interior Regarding the Origin and Progress of Indian Hostilities on the Frontier*. Greeley: Museum of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado, 1973.

This volume contains the 1867 correspondence of U.S. officials regarding Indian affairs throughout the plains that regards such matters of war and peace, trade, economic conditions, and U.S. policy. Soldiers at Forts Larned, Dodge, and Lyons wrote letters mentioning Cheyennes, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas,

and Sioux. The correspondence also reflects on the disagreement that raged between army officers and U.S. agents over the implementation of U.S. Indian policy.

164. Ferguson, Philip Gooch. "Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson, 1847-1848." In *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, 281-361. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.

Ferguson recorded his 1847 journey from Ft. Leavenworth to Santa Fe with Missouri volunteers. His command had friendly encounters with Delawares, Sacs, and Shawnees in eastern Kansas, but experienced several false alarms as it proceeded westward. In New Mexico, he encountered Pueblos and Navajos.

165. Field, Matthew C. *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail*. Collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter and edited by John E. Sunder. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Field's description of his experiences on the trail and in Mexico in 1839 and 1843 contain numerous references to Comanches, Apaches, Kaws, Pawnees, and others. Most of Field's writings appeared in the New Orleans *Picayune*.

166. ————. "Sketches of Big Timber, Bent's Fort and Milk Fort in 1839." *Colorado Magazine* 14 (May 1937): 102-08.

Writing in 1839, Field states that in 1831 William Bent built his fort on the Arkansas River for trade and protection from Pawnees and Comanches. Discussing the strength of the post's adobe walls, he indicates that "Though Indians should come in swarms numerous as the buffalo, Fort William [Bent's Fort] would prove impregnable, for the red devils would never dream of scaling the walls, and if they should, their sure destruction would follow, for the building is surrounded with all the defensive capacities of a complete fortification" (103-04). Field, however, learned from Bent that several months previously, while the Bent brothers were on "one of the upper forks of the Platte, trading with Pawnees" (104), 300 Comanche raiders had stolen seventy-five horses and mules, killing a Spanish employee.

167. Fitch, Andrew T. "Letters of Andrew T. Fitch, Army Surgeon, 1866-1867." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (May 2001): 10-11.

Fitch's May 8, 1867, letter to his father mentions conflict in Kansas between Euroamerican settlers and Cheyennes and Sioux. He notes that General Winfield Scott Hancock had recently met with 2,000 Indians to discuss issues of peace.

168. Fitzpatrick, Thomas to D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, November 20, 1849. "Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail in 1842." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 19 (February 1951): 50-51.

In this letter, Fitzpatrick, then a U. S. agent assigned to the upper Arkansas, blamed Pawnees for robbing him in October 1842 about 300 miles from Independence on the Arkansas River.

169. Fitzpatrick, Thomas. "Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Bent's Ford [sic], Arkansas River, September 18, 1847." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 380-92. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997.

In 1847, U.S. agent Fitzpatrick reported the status of Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail and in New Mexico. Traveling with a company of dragoons deployed to protect the Santa Fe traffic, he documented three Indian attacks on caravans. Referring to conditions in New Mexico, he wrote: "The Indians are ravaging the territory throughout, murdering and carrying off the inhabitants to much greater extent than heretofore; and what would seem very strange, they carry their hostilities (except when they want presents, and then they are as gentle as lambs,) almost with gunshot of the head-quarters of the army of the west" (282-83). He charged that Comanches and Kiowas were attempting to entice other Indians into joining their war against the United States. He also suggested that some Delawares and Osages had joined Comanches. He stressed that a Delaware named Big Negro, who had participated in the 1847 revolt at Taos against the U.S. occupation, was trying to convince Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches to resist U.S. territorial expansion. He stated that the Arapahos "are most to be dreaded, not on account of their superior bravery and courage, as they do not excel the others in that respect; but they are becoming very insolent of late, arising, no doubt, from the frequent defeat of the whites on the Santa Fe road, and perhaps they think that they could be as successful as the Camanches [sic]" (386). Critical of the use of U.S. volunteers against Indians, he recommended the deployment of mounted riflemen, dragoons, and Mexican lancers, under the leadership of competent officers, as the only effective means to subjugate the Comanches and Kiowas.

170. ————. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2^d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848, 470-73.

In this report, Fitzpatrick discusses the status of Indian relations with the trail in 1847.

171. ————. "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 18, 1847." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865, Volume 3, Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 380-92. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1997.

Fitzpatrick documented his trip across the trail in 1847 and his views regarding the shortcoming of U.S. Indian policy during a time of heightened tension between Indians and trail travelers. His report includes his observations of Comanche and Kiowa fights with wagon trains and Lt. Love's command. He noted the protocol involving his relations with the Cheyennes and Arapahos. During a council meeting, Yellow Wolf, a Cheyenne leader, stated that his people had not gone to war against the Euroamericans even though they had killed an important leader named Old Tobacco. Fitzpatrick learned that some Arapahos had joined the Comanches and Kiowas in their war with trail traffic. He sought to convince Cheyennes and Arapahos that they needed to adopt an agricultural way of living.

172. Fitzpatrick, Thomas to Thos. H. Harvey, October 6, 1848. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 397-400. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997.

Fitzpatrick's report discussed Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos relations with the U.S. government and the trail near Bent's Fort. He indicated that in 1846 and 1847 "marauding" Indians had found raiding traffic on the trail very profitable. He recommended the establishment of military posts on the roads to New Mexico, California, and Oregon. Reflecting commonplace biases of his times, he declared that Indians in the surrounding countryside were "the most warlike and formidable of any of the wild tribes on this continent, and who subsist altogether by the chase; warring on, and plunder their fellow man" (399).

173. Ford, Lemuel. "Captain Ford's Journal of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains." Edited by Louis Pelzer, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 12 (March 1926): 550-79.

Using the language of racism, Ford, a U.S. dragoon lieutenant with Colonel Henry Dodge's 1835 expedition to the central plains and Bent's Fort, depicted the Pawnees and Arikaras as being warlike savages.

174. Foreman, Grant. *Marcy and the Gold Seekers: The Journal of Captain R. B. Marcy, with an Account of the Gold Rush over the Southern Route*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.

Two chapters examine the participation of Cherokee men and women in the California gold rush in 1849 and 1850. Somewhere along the route in the latter year, a Cheyenne "chief" offered the husband of a Cherokee woman fifty ponies in exchange for her.

175. Fowler, Jacob. *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*. Edited by Elliot Coues. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

While on a trading and trapping expedition in the late 1821 and 1822 before the advent of wagon travel on the trail, Fowler chronicled his experiences with a small party as it moved from Fort Smith to the area of the present Pueblo, Colorado, into New Mexico via the Rio Grande, and back across the plains partially along the Arkansas to Fort Osage. He documented his contacts with Pawnees, Osages, Kiowas, Arapahos, Comanches, Cheyennes, Crows, Snakes (possibly a Comanche band), Taos, Utes, and Cherokees. First published in 1898, Fowler's account also tells of his party's slaughter of great numbers of buffalo mostly along the Arkansas River.

176. Frazer, Robert W., ed. *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Colonel Joseph King Fenno Mansfield report of western U.S. military post covers Forts Union, Leavenworth, Marcy, Riley and Atkinson. In addition to discussing the conditions of forts, he noted that surrounding Indians, encouraged by the aggressiveness of their character, were embroiled in conflict with the soldiers.

177. Frémont, John C. "Fremont's Letter to Benton." In *Fremont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849 With Diaries, Letters, and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 75-77. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960.

In an 1848 letter to Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Frémont documented his travel from Westport to Bent's Fort. He noted U.S. agent Thomas Fitzpatrick had recently held a council at Big Timber with some 600 lodges of Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos. Frémont stated that those Indians, although they who had received gifts from Fitzpatrick, had threatened his party. He urged Benton to support Fitzpatrick's efforts to assimilate them. The editors listed three California Indians, Manuel, Joaquin, and Gregorio, as being members of Frémont's expedition.

178. ————. *The Life of John Charles Fremont, and His Narrative of Explorations and Adventures, in Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon and California*. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856.

This volume contains Frémont's narratives of his expeditions in 1842 and 1843 to 1844 in which the party traveled a short distance over the trail. His encounters with Indians were few and friendly, including meetings with Sioux and Cheyennes near Bent's Fort in 1844.

179. ————. *Memoirs of My Life, by John Charles Frémont*. Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1887.

Frémont reported his numerous contacts with Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Delawares, Osages, and others who had a connection to the trail. While

returning to Missouri during his 1843 expedition throughout the Far West, he traveled over the trail on two occasions. Accompanying his party were three young Indian men, a Chinook and two California Indians named Juan and Gregorio. On this third expedition, Frémont took along the three men and twelve Delawares he had recruited in eastern Kansas.

180. ————. *Narrative of Exploration and Adventure*. Edited by Allan Nevins. New York, London, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956.

Although this volume contains no references to his contacts with Indians on the trail, it details Frémont's explorations across the plains in 1842, in 1843-1844 [he took a Delaware father and son with him as hunters], 1845-1846, 1848-1849, and 1853. He noted that on the third expedition he acquired the services of twelve Delawares, including Swanok and Sagundai, but at Bent's Fort he failed to induce an Indian, a man of great influence among the Comanches, to accompany him. Other references pertain to his brief meetings with Kaws, Shawnees, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Sioux, and Pawnees.

181. Fribley, Charles W. "Charles W. Fribley's Trail Diary and Letters, 1857-1859, Part I." Edited by David L. Richards. *Wagon Tracks* 12 (August 1998): 1, 14-23.

Fribley mentioned his 1858 friendly but tense relations with Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Apaches. He accused some Kaws of trying to stampede his company's livestock.

182. Fugate, James M. "James M. Fugate's Adventures, 1853." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 28-36. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Fugate recalled a series of bloody affairs his caravan had with Comanches, Cheyennes, Apaches, and Arapahos. This account is very likely an embellishment.

183. Gaillard, Maurice. "Early Years at St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission: From the Diary of Father Maurice Gaillard, S. J." Edited by James M. Burke. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (August 1953): 501-20.

Without referencing the trail, Gaillard's diary entries from 1848 to 1850 provide insight into Potawatomi reservation life during those years.

184. Gallego, Pedro Ignacio. "The Diary of Pedro Ignacio Gallego Wherein 400 Soldiers Following the Trail of Comanches Met William Becknell on his First Trip to Santa Fe." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (November 1992): 1, 15-16.

Gallego's diary states that on November 13, 1821, his unit met six Americans, William Becknell and his party, at the Puertocito de la Piedra Lumbre [Kearny Gap]. Gallego was leading Spanish troops in pursuit of Comanches who had raided San Miguel in August of that year.

185. Garcia, Nasario. *Brujas, Bultos Y Brasas: Tales of Witchcraft and the Supernatural in the Pecos Valley*. Santa Fe: Western Edge Press, 1999.

This compilation of oral histories by contemporary Hispanics in Pecos Valley, New Mexico, gives insight into Hispanic folkways in relation to the supernatural. Although Indians are sparingly mentioned, Comanches and Jicarilla Apaches were remembered as troublesome.

186. Garrard, Lewis H. *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail; or Prairie Travel and Scalp Dances, with a Look at Los Rancheros from Muleback, and the Rocky Mountain Campfire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.

First published in 1850 and reprinted at various times, Garrard's classic narrative details his [occasionally exaggerated] experiences as a seventeen year old traveling with Ceran St. Vrain's train from Westport to Bent's Fort and to nearby Cheyenne camps. He also visited Taos via the Raton Pass following an act of resistance to the U.S. occupation of New Mexico by Pueblo Indians and Mexicans that resulted in the deaths of territorial governor Charles Bent and nineteen others in 1847. He uses picturesque language to describe Indian customs, trading relations with Cheyennes, trail life, and mountain men tall tales about Indians. His account of his return trip to Missouri tells about his month-long stay at Fort Mann on the Arkansas River during a period of warfare with Comanches.

187. Gibson, George Rutledge. *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*. Vol. 3 of the Southwest History Series. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935.

Gibson's account of his 1846 travels with the Army of the West notes Indians he met between Missouri and New Mexico. He feared encountering "some of the wild and savage Indians of the plains" (139). Mentioning the slaughter of buffalo, he writes: "The whole country from the Little Arkansas is like a slaughter pen, covered with bones, skulls, and carcasses of animals in every state of decay" (153). Describing a Pawnee encounter, he states: "As they [soldier hunters] were returning to camp, they found half a dozen Pawnee on an island opposite us, from whom they purchased (for a trifle) dried buffalo meat. After dark the Indians came over to camp and wished to be friendly, but we knew their thievish propensity and want of faith, and told them to leave, which they did" (153-54). He indicates that Arapahos were trading at Bent's Fort. He describes friendly Pueblo Indians around Santa Fe as "a fine, hardy, robust-looking set, with bows and arrows and Indian dress" (210).

188. Giddens, Paul, H., ed. "Eastern Kansas in 1869-1870." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (November 1940): 371-83.

A series of anonymous letters published in *The Venango Spectator* at Franklin, Pennsylvania, in 1869 and 1870 give a disparaging view of Indians in eastern Kansas. One installment references an “Indian War Dance” performed by Quapaws, Shawnees, Paolas, Senecas, and Delawares in which the author used a sarcastic tone to describe the dress of the men, women, and children dancers.

189. Gilpin, William. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2^d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848, 136-40.

Writing from Fort Mann on August 1, 1848, Gilpin, commander of the Battalion of Missouri Volunteers, detailed the status of Indian-Euroamerican relations on the trail. For the summer of 1848, he estimated the losses from attacks by Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches at 47 Americans killed, 330 wagons destroyed, and 65,000 head of stock plundered. He recommended the use of treaties, the deployment of more troops, and the construction of six forts as a means to control the situation.

190. Glasgow, Edward James and William Henry Glasgow. *Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails: Edward James Glasgow and William Henry Glasgow, 1846-1848*. Edited by Mark L. Gardner. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993.

The writings of the Glasgow brothers describe Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail in 1846. They note the killing of a cook with a Bent train and William Swan. After traveling with General Kearny’s delegation to the Pueblos of Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Isleta, William wrote: “They are very good, harmless, lazy sort of people” (93). The editor’s introduction and footnotes give additional details about certain contacts.

191. Golder, Frank Alfred in collaboration with Thomas A. Bailey and J. Lyman Smith. *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage*. New York and London: The Century Co., 1928.

Historian Golder’s compilation of primary documents includes the account of Henry Standage, a Mormon Battalion soldier. These sources provide a glimpse of the battalion relations with Potawatomis and other Indians along the eastern fringe of the Great Plains.

192. Goldman, Henry H. “A Survey of Federal Escorts of the Santa Fe Trade, 1829-1843.” *Journal of the West* 5 (October 1966): 504-16.

Goldman’s valuable study utilizes primary and secondary sources to discuss the relations of five military deployments that provided escort duty on the trail from 1829 to 1843. Focusing on armed conflict during those years, Goldman indicates

that Osages, Pawnees, and Kiowas represented the greatest threat during those years.

193. Goodale, Ephriam. "A Civilian at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Hayes, 1878-1879: Extracts from a Diary of Ephriam Goodale." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 33 (Summer 1967): 138-55.

Goodale's diary mentions Nez Perces being held as prisoners of war at Fort Leavenworth and Cheyenne raids in western Kansas.

194. Goodman, Julia Cody. "Julia Cody Goodman's Memoirs of Buffalo Bill." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1962): 442-96.

Goodman's recollections of Buffalo Bill Cody refer to Indian-Euroamerican relations in Kansas and the surrounding area during the 1850s and 1860s.

195. Goodrich, DeWitt C. "The Exodus to Kansas in 1855." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 388-91.

Goodrich refers to the relations of the Sacs and Foxes, Osages, and Kaws with Euroamerican settlers in eastern Kansas in the 1850s and 1860s.

196. Gowing, Clara. "Life among the Delaware Indians." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 183-93.

Gowing's recollections of her experiences among the Delawares from 1859 to 1864 include a description of a U.S. assimilation program operating on the reservation. It provides information about Indian school children.

197. Greene, A. C. *The Last Captive: The Lives of Herman Lehmann, Who Was Taken by the Indians as a Boy From His Texas Home and Adopted by Them*. Austin, TX: The Encino Press, 1972.

Lehmann does not bring up the trail, but his account tells of his experiences living among the Kiowa Apaches and Comanches in New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. It offers insight into their interaction with Mexicans and U.S. settlers, soldiers, and buffalo hunters during the 1860s and 1870s.

198. Greene, Albert Robinson. "In Remembrance." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 480-88.

Addressing an audience in 1907, Greene recalled stories about Indian-Euroamerican relations in Kansas, including the threat Indians posed to the transportation of mail over the trail and to settlement.

199. Greenwood, A. B. "Commissioner Greenwood's Effort for a Treaty, 1860." October 25, 1861. In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 284-89. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Writing to the Department of Interior about an upcoming treaty council with Cheyennes and Arapahos, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Greenwood blamed Indians for initiating murderous conflict along the trail. He offered a view of the Indians' modes of fighting, stating that they "approach the Santa Fe road, commit the most atrocious deeds, and flee to the plains" (285). He noted that he held discussions with White Antelope, Black Kettle, and four or five sub-chiefs, who expressed the Cheyennes' peaceful intentions. According to Greenwood, these men "exhibited a degree of intelligence seldom to be found among tribes, where no effort has heretofore been made to civilize them" (286). En route to Kansas City on the Neosho River, he obtained Kaw consent for the U.S. government to amend a recent treaty.

200. Gregg, Josiah. *Commerce of the Prairies*. Edited by Max L. Moorhead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

Gregg joined a caravan bound for Santa Fe in 1831 and made other more trips across the plains until 1840. First published in two volumes, his book has become considered a classic description of the trail. His narrative covers a wide array of topics including Indian histories and cultures, geography, botany, traders, caravan life, Mexicans, and buffalo hunting. Although his views of Indians mirror the conventional wisdom and imagery that permeated U.S. society, Gregg provides useful, if not always accurate, information about Indian-trail relations based on his personal experiences and hearsay. His discussion includes Pawnees, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahos, Wichitas, Pueblos, and others.

201. ————. *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg: Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847*. Edited by Maurice Garland Fulton. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

Gregg's letters and diary provide information about various Indians in Texas and New Mexico, especially Comanches who are missing in his *Commerce on the Prairies*.

202. Gregg, Kate L., ed. *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and Others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road from the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.

Sibley's journal and correspondence from 1825 to 1827 contains multiple references to Indian-Euroamerican interaction along the trail. Sibley viewed horseflies and unpredictable weather as more of a threat than Indians.

203. Griffin, John C. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2^d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848, 146-49.

Writing from Fort Mann on July 12, 1848, Captain Griffin of the Missouri Battalion reported a fight on July 9 with Comanches south of the fort on the Cimarron River. He estimated the number of Indians killed at well over thirty of their best men, with two of his men suffering slight wounded.

204. "A Group of Kearny Letters." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (January 1930): 17-37.

A February 24, 1842, letter written by General Philip Kearny at Fort Leavenworth states that Indian-Euroamerican relations on the plains were "perfectly quiet, & fair prospects of their continueing [sic] so!" (26).

205. Gurulé, José Librado. "José Librado Gurulé's Recollections, 1867." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 120-33. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Traveling in 1867 from Santa Fe to Missouri as a teenager, Gurulé and his caravan of Mexicans had an encounter with an unidentified Indians that started with gunfire and ended in peace. Gurulé's account of the trail is one of a few left by a Mexican American.

206. ————. "José Librado Gurulé: Working the Santa Fe Trail." In *When We Were Young in the West*, edited with an introduction and conclusion by Richard Melzer, 20-27. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2003.

This account reflects the fear that Mexican Americans had of Indians as they traveled from New Mexico to Missouri and back in 1867. A version of this story appears in Simmons, ed., *On the Santa Fe Trail*, 120-25.

207. Hadley, John Milton. "Kansas—A Vegetarian Utopia: The Letters of John Milton Hadley, 1855-1856." Edited by Joseph G. Gambone. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1972): 65-87.

Quaker Hadley's letters, although not about the trail, refer to the Shawnee reservation and the Shawnee Mission in Johnson County.

208. Hafen, LeRoy and Ann W. Hafen, eds. *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

This volume contains firsthand accounts about U.S. warfare in 1857 against the Cheyennes and in 1860 against Kiowas and Comanches. It covers the establishment of Fort Wise at Big Timbers in 1860. Those entries in this volume pertaining to the trail and Indians are listed separately in this bibliography under each authors' respective name.

209. Hafen, LeRoy R., ed. *Colorado Gold Rush: Contemporary Letters and Reports, 1858-59*. Vol. 10 of The Southwestern Historical Series. Glendale: Arthur Clark Company, 1941.

Reprinted in 1974, this volume contains newspaper articles, reports, and letters about the Colorado gold rush during the late 1850s, including a few accounts of contact between Indians and gold seekers along the trail. An 1858 letter written at Council Grove described the Kaws as being “a miserable lowlived [sic] set, who live by thieving” (83). Other letters indicate that the gold rush was stirring tension among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches.

210. Hammond, George. *The Adventures of Alexander Barclay, Mountain Man, from London Corsetier to Pioneer Farmer in Canada, Bookkeeper in St. Louis, Superintendent of Bent's Fort, Fur Trader and Mountain Man in Colorado and New Mexico, Builder of Barclay's Fort on the Santa Fe Trail, New Mexico, in 1848: A Narrative of His Career, 1810 to 1855, His Memorandum Diary, 1845 to 1850*. Denver: Old West Publishing Co., 1976.

This book consists of a narrative of Barclay's life, Barclay's memorandum diary from 1845 to 1850, and Barclay's correspondence. It discusses Barclay's lengthy contact with the trail as a traveler, a Bent's Fort employee, and the owner of Barclay's Fort. Diary entries, usually written tersely, note Barclay's interaction with Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Apaches, Delaware, Jicarilla Apaches, and others in war and peace while his letters mention Indians a few times.

211. Hardesty, George W. “Diary of George W. Hardesty.” Edited by Richard H. Loudon. *Wagon Tracks* 9 (February 1995): 10-12.

Hardesty's diary records his trip over the trail in June 1878. He mentioned that his father met Indians and Mexicans at Cimarron Crossing returning from their annual buffalo hunt. He also notes that his party met forty-two Indian men and two women going on a buffalo hunt.

212. Harris, Isaiah. "Isaiah Harris's 'Minutes of a Trip to Kansas Territory' in 1855." Edited by Michael J. Brodhead and John D. Unruh, Jr. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Winter 1969): 373-85.

Although Harris did not refer to the trail, he mentioned having seen Indians near Kansas City engaged in Christian worship in their own language. He indicated that his party spent a night with a Shawnee.

213. Harvey, Thomas. H. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848, 435-44.

In his annual report dated October 4, 1848, Harvey, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, reports that Indians had committed fewer robberies on the route to Santa Fe in that year than during the previous two years.

214. Heap, Gwinn Harris. *Central Route to the Pacific: With Related Material on Railroad Explorations and Indian Affairs by Edward F. Beale, Thomas H. Benton, Kit Carson, and Col. E. A. Hitchcock, and in Other Documents, 1853-54*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957.

First published in 1854, Heap's account records friendly contacts of the Beale exploration and survey party with Kaws, Shawnees, Cheyennes, and Arapahos as it traveled to the Pacific in 1853. Richard Brown, a Delaware, accompanied the party as a hunter. Beale relates his experiences in the San Luis Valley, along with his excursion from there to Taos and Santa Fe.

215. Heslep, Augustus M. "Letters and Journal of Augustus M. Heslep." In *Southern Trails to California in 1849*, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, 354-86. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937.

Heslep references his interaction with Shawnees, Kaws, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Cheyennes. "It is impossible," he wrote with biased thinking, "to conceive of a more filthy, lazy, thieving, worthless set of beings than the Kaw Indians" (368).

216. Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von. "Across Kansas by Train in 1877: The Travels of Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg." Translated and edited by Frederic Trautmann. *Kansas History* 6 (Autumn 1983): 142-63.

Hesse-Wartegg, a member of the Austro-German nobility, relates his journey in 1877 across Kansas. In addition to describing the landscape, he mentions seeing Indians in Wichita, a town located south of the trail. His portrayal of Indians as being childlike and inferior mirrored that of many of his Euroamerican counterparts.

217. Hibbard, Clark to Editor. *Wagon Tracks* 3 (August 1989): 8.

Clark's letter recalls his family history, noting some experiences of John Hibbard, his great grandfather, with Indians on the trail during the early 1830s.

218. Hicks, Virginia Pierce. "Sketches of Early Days in Kearny County." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (February 1938): 54-80.

In this collection of memoirs, India Harris Simmons recalls that Fort Aubrey was established in September 1865 to protect the trail from "marauding" Indians. She asserts that several minor skirmishes had occurred in the post's vicinity.

219. Higgins, C. A. *To California Over the Santa Fé Trail*. Chicago: Passenger Department, Santa Fe, 1914.

Written to promote railway travel, this book provides a description of the changes in the landscape and a brief history of the trail in Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. Higgins declares that Pawnees and Comanches had once threatened wagon train travel.

220. Hinchey, William James. "William James Hinchey: An Irish Artist on the Santa Fe Trail, Part I." Edited with an introduction by Anna Belle Cartwright. *Wagon Track* 10 (May 1996): 11-15, 19-23; Part II, (August 1996): 12-22; Part III, 11 (November 1996): 10-19.

Hinchey's diary of his travel to Santa Fe in 1854 mentions several Indian sightings. Part two contains Hinchey's sketches of creeks, encampments, Council Grove, Washunka and other Kaw Indians, and Fort Union. Hinchey also notes the occurrences of "Indian" scares as his caravan moved westward. Part three references conflict on the trail in December 1854; Indian raids on Galisteo, a small town located near Santa Fe, and U.S. retaliation; and Hinchey's return trip the following spring. He describes his party's buffalo killing sprees and interaction with several Indian parties.

221. Holmes, Kenneth L., ed. *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1850*. Vol. 7. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

This volume contains the diaries and letters of Ellen Hundley and Julia Anna Archibald in 1856 and 1858, respectively. See individual entries for Hundley and Archibald.

222. Holstein, Friedrich von. "Friedrich von Holstein's Hunting Trips, 1865-1866." Edited by Ralph H. Picket. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 32 (Autumn 1966): 314-24.

Holtstein's letters mention the warfare that pitted Comanches, Cheyennes, and Sioux against U.S. forces during the mid 1860s.

223. Hoopes, Alban W., ed. "Letters to and from Abraham G. Mayers, 1854-1857." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9 (July 1934): 290-335.

Writing with unbridled contempt for Indians, Mayers, a U.S. agent assigned to the Pueblos, reveals the ambiguous legal status of the Pueblo Indians under U.S. law.

224. Howard, Oliver O. *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians: A Record of Personal Observations, Adventures, and Campaigns Among the Indians of the Great West, With Some Accounts of their Life, Habits, Traits, Religion, Ceremonies, Dress, Savage Instincts, and Customs in Peace and War*. New York: Da Capo, 1972.

First published in 1907, Howard recounts his vast military experiences on the plains with nineteenth-century biased and stereotypical language. He notes his meetings with such individuals as Satanka, a Kiowa leader who had extensive contact with trail.

225. Howbert, Irving. *The Indians of the Pike's Peak Region: Including an Account of the Battle of Sand Creek, and of Occurrences in El Paso County, Colorado, during the War with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in 1864 and 1868*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1970.

First published in 1912 and written by a Colorado pioneer, this work contains brief sketches of Indians who had a connection to Colorado. It discusses the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 and warfare in 1868. The author, a participant in the bloody 1864 affair, defends the actions of Chivington and the Third Colorado Cavalry at Sand Creek.

226. Hudgins, John. "California in 1849." *Westport Historical Quarterly* 6 (June 1970): 3-16.

Hudgin's account of his 1849 journey to California via the trail refers to Kaws and a few Indian scares.

227. Hughes, John Taylor. *Doniphan's Expedition; an Account of the U.S. Army Operations in the Great American Southwest*. Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962.

First published in 1848, Hughes's book provides an account of the Army of the West as it moved from Ft. Leavenworth in late June 1846 to Santa Fe and occupied New Mexico. Using commonplace stereotypes of Indians as being a treacherous part of the landscape, he writes: "The long files of cavalry, the gay fluttering of banners, and canvas-covered wagons of the merchant train glistening like banks of snow in the distance, might be seen winding their tortuous way over the undulating surface of the prairies. In thus witnessing the march of an army over

the regions of uncultivated nature, which had hitherto been the pasture of the buffalo and the hunting ground of the wily savage” (30). Hughes describes his unit’s camp on the west bank of the Kansas River among friendly Shawnees, who enjoyed the “luxuries of civilized life” (30). Although Hughes belabors his fear of falling in with dreaded Pawnees and other Plains Indians, his command had only one meeting with Plains Indians, a friendly occurrence involving Arapahos near Bent’s Fort. He notes that in late August 1846, a Pueblo delegation entered Santa Fe to express their worries regarding the U.S. invasion. Hughes details the invading army’s relations with Pueblos, Utes, Kiowas, Comanches, Navajos, and Apaches. He asserts that during the spring of 1847, Pawnees, Comanches, and others “infested” the trail, killing people and stealing livestock.

228. Hulbert, Archer Butler, ed. *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

This volume contains an important collection of writings by William Becknell, M. M. Marmaduke, Augustus Storrs, George Sibley, and Alphonso Wetmore. Becknell’s 1821 diary provides his account of the friendly Kaws and “rascally” Osages. Marmaduke’s 1824 journal tells of members of his party hunting buffalo and a few encounters with unspecified Indians. Storrs’s 1825 response to queries by Thomas H. Benton describes Pawnee, Osage, and Comanche conflict with U.S. citizens. Other Indians mentioned include the Shoshonis (Snakes), Arapahos, Cheyenne, Kiowas, and Mexican (Pueblo) Indians. The volume contains a copy of the 1825 right-of-way treaty with the Kaws. The 1825-1827 diary of Sibley notes an incident involving Pawnees and a “Spanish party.” Wetmore’s 1828 diary attributes robberies on the trail to Pawnees and Comanches. Other “dangerous” Indians included the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Blackfeet. Wetmore also notes that the Blackfeet had made their first “appearance in great force on the trace” in that year (177). His letter to Benton stresses that the Blackfeet and the Cheyennes were “numerous, warlike, and extremely hostile. Perhaps the War Department may suggest some mode of military protection to this trade, which will meet with the approbation of congress, so as to prevent a recurrence of the disasters of 1820” (196).

229. Hundley, Ellen. “From Utah to Texas in 1856.” In *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1862-1865*. Vol. 7, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes, 135-55. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

Traveling eastward during the summer of 1856, Hundley’s party encountered several thousand Indians, mostly Cheyennes, Arapahos, Apaches, Kiowas, Blackfeet, Utes, and Shawnees near or at Bent’s new fort. In September, the party met some Osages after it left the trail. Her account provides information about intertribal warfare at a time when Indian relations with Euroamerican travelers were amicable. Yet, Hundley reflected her fear of Indians.

230. Huning, Ernestine Franke. "Ernestine Franke Huning's Diary, 1863." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*. Edited by Marc Simmons, 73-83. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Huning, a German immigrant, traveled to New Mexico via the trail in 1863. Her negative attitude regarding Indians paralleled those of her Euroamerican male counterparts. She refers to the Kaws as child-like. She records a close call her party had with unspecified Indians in New Mexico.

231. Huning, Franz. *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: The Memoirs of Franz Huning with Notes by His Granddaughter, Lina Fergusson Browne*. Edited by Lina F. Brown. Albuquerque: University of Albuquerque and Calvin Horn Publisher, Inc., 1973.

Beginning his memoirs in 1894 at the age of 67, Huning, a German immigrant told of his numerous trips over the trail from 1849 to the 1860s. He recounts his friendly and violent encounters with Comanches, Arapahos, and others. An 1867 fight resulted in the death of this brother-in-law in 1867.

232. Hunter, William W. *Missouri '49er: The Journal of William W. Hunter on the Southern Gold Trail*. Edited and annotated by David P. Robrock. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

Hunter, an argonaut who reached the California goldfields in 1849 via the trail, penned his impressions of Shawnee, Delaware, Kaw, and Cheyenne customs. Showing a degree of sympathy towards the Cheyennes, he declares: "There they lay, quiet, motionless, wrapped in the arms of refreshing slumber, and unconscious of the presence of the White Man who is fast sweeping their race of the face of creation and hurrying all save their *name* into the vortex of oblivion. Savages! Call them rather the victims of an inexorable fate whose name is 'extinction'" (26). Regarding the killing of the buffalo for food and sport by Euroamerican Americans, he writes: "We now continued daily to slay Buffaloes frequently, indeed in mere wantonness, each being desirous to say he has killed one" (24).

233. Hurst, John. "The Beecher Island Fight." *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 530-38.

Hurst's recollection provides details, if not always accurate, about his involvement in the Beecher island fight during September 1868 with Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Sioux.

234. Hutter, William H. "Scenes In (And En Route To) Kansas Territory, Autumn, 1854." Edited by Louise Barry. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Autumn 1969): 312-36.

This account describes reservation life in eastern Kansas. Hutter writes about seeing wealthy Wyandots and Delawares engaged in Christian worship, Kickapoos

receiving an annuity payment, Shawnees living in Euroamerican styles of housing, and Potawatomis inhabiting farm houses. He does not mention the trail, however.

235. Hyde, George E. *Life of George Bent: Written from His Letters*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1968.

Hyde compiled the life story of George Bent, the son of Owl Woman, a Cheyenne, and William Bent, a founder of Bent's Fort, from letters George wrote to him from 1905 to 1918, when George died. The book provides a rare insight into Cheyenne relations with white Americans, Pawnees, Kiowas, Sioux, and other Indians. It tells about smallpox striking Bent's Fort, trading operations with Plains Indians, the arrival of Delawares and Shawnees, and the establishment of U.S. military posts along the trail. It blames the Santa Fe and Oregon trails for the rapid destruction of the buffalo herds, the depletion of timber, and the spread of cholera. Most important, it provides a Cheyenne view of the racial animosity that accompanied in the campaign of Euroamericans entering Colorado to rid themselves of Indians, which led to the Sand Creek Massacre and Indian retaliation. It discusses events leading to the Washita River battle and U.S. government attempts to confine the Cheyennes on several different reservations.

236. Irving, Jr. John Treat. *Indian Sketches Taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes*. Edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.

In this book, Irving recounts his 1833 travel with a U.S. treaty delegation to Pawnee towns on the Loup River. He describes the appearances, cultures, and dispositions of Pawnees, Otoes, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Delawares, Kaws, Sacs, and Osages. He also discusses Fort Leavenworth, U.S. soldiers, and reservations established for removed Indians. McDermott's annotations enrich the account, providing historical depth and clarification when needed.

237. James, Edwin. "Dr. James' Ascent of Pike's Peak." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. 2 vols., edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 25-40. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

James's ascent of Pike's Peak occurred in 1820. His comments note briefly Indians living in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains.

238. James, Thomas. *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans*. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962.

First published in 1846, James's dictated narrative tells of his experiences on the trail in 1821 and the southern plains. His account provides a romantic view of Osage, Comanche, Navajo, Ute, Pawnee, and Pueblo relations with him. He asserts that during the early years Euroamericans often referred to Comanches as

Pawnees. In 1821, his party reached Pecos Pueblo, traveling a route that was south of the trail. He is first U.S. citizen to give a written description of Pecos Pueblo, which he called an old Spanish town.

239. Johnston, Abraham R., Marcellus Ball Edwards, and Philip Gooch Ferguson. *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*. Vol. 4 of the Southwest Historical Series, edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.

This volume contains three accounts of travel with the Army of the West in 1846 from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. See the entries for Abraham R. Johnston, Marcellin B. Edwards, and Philip G. Ferguson in this section. Porcupine Press reprinted this book in 1974.

240. Johnston, Abraham Robinson. "Journal of Abraham Robinson Johnston, 1846." In *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*. Volume 4 of the Southwest Historical Series, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, 73-104. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.

An aide-de-camp to Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, Johnston made a few journal entries about Indians as his column moved westward from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846. One indicates that Pawnees had constructed a breastwork on the Arkansas River, another that unknown Indians at Big Timber had fled quickly as U.S. troops approached, and still another that the former inhabitants of Pecos Pueblo were part of the Montezuma race.

241. Johnston, Joseph E. "Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas: From the Private Journal of Col. Joseph E. Johnson." Edited by Nyle H. Miller. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (February 1932): 104-39.

Johnston's 1857 journal refers to meetings between his survey party and Kiowas. He reported that three hundred Cheyennes were traveling on foot over the trail near the Cimarron River in early September of that year.

242. Jones, Charles Irving. "William Kronig, New Mexico Pioneer from His Memories of 1849-1860." *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 (July 1944): 185-224, (October 1944): 271-311.

Drawn from Kronig's writings, Jones's account provides information regarding Kronig's 1849 travels on the trail and U.S. military experiences in New Mexico and Colorado. Kronig suggests that Pawnees stole his horse near Fort Mann. His party had a friendly encounter with Comanches near the Cimarron River. He indicates that near Las Vegas, a Shawnee bullwhacker justifiably killed another bullwhacker and fled. He relates his participation in a U.S. army campaign that attempted to find those Indians responsible for massacring the White party near Wagon Mound in 1849.

243. Jones, Douglas C. *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge: The Story of the Great Treaty Council as Told by Eyewitnesses*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966.

Jones states that the Medicine Lodge treaty was to be the treaty to end all treaties with the Native nations of the southern plains. His eyewitness account notes that approximately 5,000 Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Plains Apaches had assembled for the council during the fall of 1867. He records the content of conversations between tribal leaders and U.S. representatives as well as specifics about the stipulations of the resulting treaties.

244. Jones, Thomas. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyzen, 1848, 149-51.

On July 23, 1848, Captain Jones of the Missouri Battalion reported a fight that had occurred three days previously south of the trail on the Cimarron River involving Indians and Captain Griffin's force. He believed that the bold Indian fighters, who refused to identify themselves, were Pawnees.

245. Kappler, Charles E., comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883*. New York: Interland Publishing Publishing Inc., 1972.

This reprint of Kappler's second volume *Law and Treaties*, first published in 1904, contains treaties between Indian nations who had a connection with the trail and the U.S. government.

246. Kellogg, David. "David Kellogg's Diary, 1858." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 52-63. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

A gold seeker headed for Colorado in 1858, Kellogg's diary contains entries about his party's encounters with Kaws, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and other Indians. Some of them tried but failed to collect a toll from the travelers, he asserts.

247. Kellogg, Lyman Beecher. "'A Sower Went Forth': Lyman Beecher Kellogg and Kansas State Normal." Edited by Sam Dicks. *Kansas History* 24 (Winter 2001-2002): 252-75.

Reflecting negative imagery about Indians, Kellogg's recollections of Kansas in the 1860s mention Kaws at Council Grove. He notes the cumulative effects of intertribal warfare on these Indians.

248. Kennedy, W. J. D., ed. *On the Plains with Custer and Hancock: The Journal of Isaac Coates, Army Surgeon*. Boulder: Johnson Books, 1996.

Isaac Coates, a U.S. army surgeon stationed in Kansas in 1867, records his experiences with the Seventh Cavalry. Among other things, he describes council meeting involving General Hancock, Cheyennes, and other Indians.

249. Kern, Benjamin. "Diary of Benjamin Kern, 1848-1849." In *Fremont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849 With Diaries, Letters, and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 79-108. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960.

Kern documented peaceful encounters the Frémont's party had with Kiowas and Arapahos between Pawnee Fork and Bent's Fort in November 1848. He states that at least two California Indians and some Delaware guides assisted Frémont's men as they moved from Westport along the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers, before turning south to reach the trail just east of Bent's Fort.

250. Kern, Edward M. "Edward M. Kern's Diary." In *Fremont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849 With Diaries, Letters, and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 289-95. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960.

These diary entries mention Frémont's meeting with Kiowas in the fall of 1848 and his use of Delaware guides.

251. Kern, Richard. "Diary of Richard Kern, 1848-1849." In *Fremont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849 With Diaries, Letters, and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 108-34. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960.

In October and November 1848, Richard Kerns, the brother of Richard and Edward, notes the meeting of Frémont's party with Kiowas and Arapahos.

252. Kingsbury, John M. *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853-1861*. Edited by Lenz, Jane and David J. Weber. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996.

Kingsbury's correspondence discusses Comanche, Apache, Navajo, Pueblo, and Ute relations with New Mexico. It also references Cherokee gold seekers who traveled westward on the trail in 1859. The editor's footnotes give more details about these encounters.

253. Kingman, Samuel A. "Diary of Samuel A. Kingman at Indian Treaty in 1865." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1932): 442-50.

Kingman's brief diary provides information about the U.S. delegation and its treaty with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Osages in October 1865. Kingman writes about Indians using negative imagery.

254. Kirwan, John S. "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan." Introduction by Merrill J. Mattes. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 21 (Winter 1955): 569-87.

Kirwan recalls his role in patrolling the trail from 1859 to 1861 with a U.S. cavalry company. He asserts that Plains Indians interfered with emigrants en route to the Colorado goldfields and mail carriers headed to Santa Fe during those years. He details several fights that occurred on or near the road.

255. Kime, Wayne R., ed. *The Indian Territory Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Comprised of eight personal journals, this book chronicles the life of Lieutenant Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, a career military officer, from 1878 to 1880. During those years, Dodge was stationed mainly in what would become Oklahoma although he ventured into Kansas a few times. Containing the customary view of Euroamerican superiority, the journals center on his experiences with the Cheyennes and Arapahos. He notes that starving Indians ate decaying meat in order to survive.

256. Knight, Charles M. "Building the Kansas Pacific Railway: The Letters of Charles M. Knight, 1869-1870." *Kansas History* 10 (Summer 1987): 76-88.

Knight helped build a railroad across central Kansas to Denver. His letters illustrate the fear that railway workers held for Indians.

257. Lane, Lydia Spencer. *I Married a Soldier or Old Days in the Old Army*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, Publishers, Inc., 1964.

First published in 1893, this narrative recounts a soldier's wife experiences with Indians on the trail and in New Mexico during the 1850s and 1860s. Holding racial attitudes common for her time, she vividly describes her dislike, fear, and distrust of Plains Indians. Her story includes an 1856 incident in which unspecified Indians discovered and stripped naked a non-Indian buffalo hunter. It notes the eagerness of trail travelers to slaughter buffalo for fun. In New Mexico, she had personal contact with and gained hearsay information about Apaches, Navajos, and Pueblos.

258. Lane, William Carr. "Letters of William Carr Lane." Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (April 1928): 179-203.

Lane, the newly appointed New Mexico territorial governor, left Independence for Santa Fe on August 4, 1852, as a Santa Fé Mail and Stage passenger. At Fort Atkinson he joined a military unit that escorted him the rest of the way, arriving on September 13. His inaugural speech addresses the need for U.S. troops to

protect the territory from roving Plains Indians. His correspondence notes the visits of Indians, Mexicans, and U.S. citizens to his office.

259. ————. “William Carr Lane, Diary.” Edited by Wm. G. B. Carson. *New Mexico Historical Review* 39 (July 1964): 181-235; (October 1964): 274-332.

Lane’s diary notes Indian-U.S. relations in New Mexico and his 1853 encounters with Kaws, Shawnees, Osages, and others and his meeting with Indians on the trail. As New Mexico’s territorial governor and its superintendent of Indian affairs during the early 1850s, he recognized the impending hardships that Indians would suffer from the rapid decline of the buffalo. He suggests that U.S. policy must change to provide subsistence to Indians.

260. Larkin, James Ross. *Reluctant Frontiersman: James Ross Larkin on the Santa Fe Trail 1856-1857*. Edited and annotated by Barton H. Barbour. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.

Larkin’s 1857 diary entries provide useful information about his month’s stay at Bent’s New Fort where he interacted with Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kaw, Kiowa, and Pawnee Indians. Of them, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas figure most prominently in his account.

261. Laurence, Mary Leefe. *Daughter of the Regiment: Memoirs of a Childhood in the Frontier Army, 1878-1898*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Laurence’s memoirs of her childhood with the U.S. army between 1878 and 1898 illustrate the intense fear of settlers and soldiers for Comanches, Choctaws, Kickapoos, Creeks, and Apaches. At one point, she details a Ute camp and dance.

262. Lee, John D. *Confessions of John D. Lee: A Photomechanical Reprint of Mormonism Unveiled; Or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee*. Salt Lake City, Modern Microfilm Co, 1950.

This book is a reprint of Lee’s *Mormonism Unveiled* that is discussed below.

263. ————. “Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission.” Edited by Juanita Brooks. *New Mexico Historical Quarterly Review* 42 (July 1967): 165-210; (October 1967): 281-332.

Lee’s 1846 diary contains information gained through personal contact with and hearsay about Indians as he and several companions traveled from Fort Leavenworth over the trail. He reports that Cheyennes had killed a Mr. Swan, who was traveling from the mountains to Fort Leavenworth. Lee, an important Mormon Church figure and a member of its Council of Fifty, documents his friendly interaction with Shawnees, Kaws, Delawares, and Kickapoos. He blames Pawnees for stealing 17 horse and mules from Armijo’s company. He writes

about the precautions his party took to protect its livestock from Indians, apparently Pawnees and Comanches. Returning to Fort Leavenworth that fall, Lee's company met trains that had been attacked by Pawnees and Comanches but his party reached its destination without conflict.

264. ————. *Mormonism Unveiled; Including the Remarkable Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee; (Written by Himself) and Complete Life of Brigham Young . . . Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery Known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre*. Albuquerque: Fierro Blanca Publications, 2001.

Based on information provided by Lee on the eve of his 1877 execution for his role in the Meadow Valley Massacre in Utah, Lee indicates that the return trip from Santa Fe was especially dangerous because nearly every foot of the twelve hundred mile road was "infested" with Indians. This account must be used carefully because it often differs substantially from and contradicts his 1846 diary.

265. Lines, Charles B. "The Connecticut Kansas Colony: Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium." Compiled and edited by Alberta Pantle. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 22 (Spring 1956): 1-50; (Summer 1956): 138-88.

Lines's correspondence provides a few glimpses of Indians and their lands in eastern Kansas in 1856.

266. Little, James A. *What I Saw on the Old Santa Fe Trail*. Plainfield, IN: The Friends Press, 1904.

Writing fifty years after his visit to Albuquerque via the trail and back to Missouri in 1854, Little recalled his brief encounters with Kaws, Comanches, and unidentified Indians on both legs of the trip. He also documents a trip to the Shawnee reservation where he saw missionaries at work. He asserts that Indians viewed F. X. Aubry as a "spirit" and did not harm him.

267. Loudon, Richard. "Marion Sloan Russell Interview, 1933." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (May 2005): 22-24.

Although this account mentions Indians only twice, it provides the insights of an army officer's wife regarding the movement of U.S. troops along the trail during the 1860s in response to Indians. It also contains information about her life in New Mexico and Colorado near the trail. Fort Union and Fort Nichols are important to her story. The author's introduction points out several distortions found in Russell's *The Land of Enchantment*.

268. Lovejoy, Julia Louisa. "Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864: Part One, 1856." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 15 (May 1947): 127-42; "Part Two, 1857," (August 1947): 277-319; "Part Three, 1858," (November 1947): 368-403; 16 "Part Four, 1858," (February 1948): 40-75; "Part Five, 1860-1864," (May 1948): 175-211.

Written from 1856 to 1864, Lovejoy's letters give an occasional glimpse of Indians in eastern and central Kansas.

269. Lowe, Percival G. *Five Years a Dragoon ('49 to '54) and Other Adventures on the Great Plains*. Introduction and notes by Don Russell. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Lowe's recollection of his military service and travels on the Great Plains offers an insightful, if not racially tainted, perspective of Indian-Euroamerican interaction. Stationed at Fort Leavenworth, he met "friendly" Potawatomis, Kickapoos, Wyandots, Shawnees, Muncies, and Delawares. On the trail, he skirmished against Kiowas and Comanches. His story also mentions Apaches, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and others.

270. Lummis, Charles F. *A Tramp Across the Continent*. New York: Charles Scribners's Sons, 1909.

Lummis's travels, including several trips over the trail and throughout New Mexico, began in the mid 1880s. His narrative gives a view of Navajos and Pueblos in a changing landscape after the decline of rail travel.

271. McBee, John. "John McBee's Account of the Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas." As told to William Elsey Connelley. *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 361-74.

McBee's recollection provides information about his participation in a U.S. army campaign against Cheyennes in Kansas during the late 1860s.

272. McCall, George Archibald. *New Mexico in 1850: A Military View*. Edited by Robert W. Frazier. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

In his 1850 report to the U.S. war secretary about New Mexico, Major McCall make recommendations aimed at enabling the U.S. government to take steps to better protect New Mexico settlers and travelers from Indians. He describes "peaceful" Pueblos and "wild" Indians, including the Navajos, Moquis [Hopis], Apaches, Utes, Comanches, Kiowas, and Cheyennes. He advocates taking Indians on tours of U.S. cities as a means to show them the power of the United States.

273. McClure, James R. "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855, Part I." *Kansas Historical Collections* 8 (1903-1904): 227-240.

McClure's memoir discusses the trail, Indians, and Council Grove during the mid 1850s. He remembers Kansas City in 1854 as a place filled with the "lowest type of frontiersmen," including teamsters, Indian traders, backwoodsmen, many of them Mexicans and "half-breeds" (10). It also notes that Kansas City, then called

Westport Landing, received most of the freight bound for New Mexico and Indian country. McClure indicates that a Euroamerican man with a Shawnee “squaw” had settled in Burlingame. He states that the U.S. government school for the Kaws at Council Grove had failed to convince the Indians of the importance of the white man’s system of education. He describes his friendly encounter with two Kaws on the trail. This account was republished in *Wagon Tracks* Part II, 19 (May 2005): 16-20.

274. McCoy, Isaac. “Country for Indians West of the Mississippi: Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting a copy of a report made by Isaac McCoy, upon the subject of the country reserved for Indians west of the Mississippi.” March 16, 1832. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, E: Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, F: Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 302-19. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997.

McCoy’s 1832 report regarding Indians west of the Mississippi provides sketches of numerous Indigenous peoples including Cherokees, Creeks, Pawnees, Osages, Delawares, and Shawnees their lands. He recommends that U.S. officials should acquire title to Pawnee lands as a means to eliminate conflict between them and removed Indians.

275. ————. “Extracts from report of Isaac McCoy to the honorable Secretary of War, of January 31, 1831–Delawares.” In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 315-19. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

In writing to the U.S. war secretary, McCoy recalls his opening of an Indian burial mound near Ft. Leavenworth. He asserts that the Shawnees, whose lands adjoined those of the Delawares, were making very promising advancements in agriculture. He noted that only about a hundred Delawares had settled on their new reservation in Kansas.

276. ————. “Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828.” Edited by Lela Barnes. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 5 (August 1936): 227-77.

Assigned to explore Kansas in search for lands where Indians targeted for westward removal could be resettled, McCoy references his travels over the trail with an Osage guide, a Potawatomi, and an Ottawa delegation. Along the way, McCoy recorded his contacts with Kaws, Pawnees, and Shawnees. His stereotypical views of Indians mirrored those found in U.S. society at that time.

277. ————. “Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1830.” Edited by Lela Barnes. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 5 (November 1936): 339-77.

Although McCoy does not indicate that he traveled along the trail in 1830, his observations give an account regarding Pawnee, Kansas, and Shawnee landholdings in the area of the trail.

278. ————. “Isaac McCoy’s Second Exploring Trip in 1828.” Edited by John Francis McDermott. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (August 1945): 400-62.

In this 1828 account, McCoy records his exploratory journey in Kansas. His diary and correspondence, sometimes based on hearsay, notes that Pawnees had recently made the first successful attack on a party bound for Santa Fe. He also mentions that western Indians, possibly Comanches or Pawnees, had killed Santa Fe travelers and stolen over 700 mules and horses.

279. Mackenzie, Ranald S. “The Journal of Ranald S. Mackenzie’s Messenger to the Kwahadi Comanches.” Edited by Ernest Wallace. *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 227-46.

This account briefly discusses the Kwahadi Comanches’ final days of freedom following the Adobe Walls fight in 1874. It offers an ethnocentric view of Comanche culture during those turbulent and bloody times.

280. McFarland, E. T. *E. T. McFarland’s Memories of Kansas Settlement*. <http://www.kancoll.org/articles/index.html> (accessed January 30, 2008).

In 1887, McFarland recalled his experiences in Kansas that began during the mid 1850s. Although he apparently did not travel the trail, his accounts makes numerous references to Indians in eastern Kansas. He also expressed fear of Indians while hunting farther west.

281. McFerran, John C. “Major John C. McFerran’s Report and Journal, 1865.” In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 96-105. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

McFerran’s report of his trip from Fort Leavenworth to Bent’s Fort and back in 1865 states that two unidentified Indians had driven off most of the U.S. government horses at Fort Dodge. McFerran also mentions that Kit Carson and three companies of U.S. Volunteers were encamped at Cedar Bluffs.

282. Magoffin, Susan Shelby. *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1867*. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. 1926. Reprint, with foreword by Howard R. Lamar. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Reprinted several times, Magoffin’s 1846 diary details her travel to Santa Fe via Bent’s Fort. It provides a brief glimpse of her party’s encounters with Kaws, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Pueblos. Magoffin gives secondhand information about Apaches and Navajos in New Mexico.

283. Majors, Alexander. *Seventy Years on the Frontier: Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border*. Edited by Prentiss Ingraham. Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Company Publishers, 1893.

Republished in 1950 and 1965, the autobiography of Alexander Majors, an important trail freighter from 1848 to the Civil War, uses racist language and stereotypes to describe some of his encounters with Indians and to express his attitude regarding Indian behavior and characteristics. Near One Hundred and Ten Mile Creek in 1850, he recovered some oxen Indians taken by "braves" and "savages." In New Mexico near Wagon Mounds during that year, his train found the bodies of Euroamericans and Mexicans who most likely had been killed by Jicarilla Apaches.

284. Mallinson, Anne. "Interview with Ralph Hathaway." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (November 2003): 16-19.

In this interview, Santa Fe Trail Association member Hathaway, who lived for many years on a homestead transected by the trail, mentions that artifacts such as hardware from burnt wagons were found on his land. He attributes the wagon fragments as coming from the September 9, 1867, Plum Buttes massacre of the Huning party by "renegade Indians" [Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahos] (17). Hathaway acquired details of the incident by reading primary sources.

285. Mallon, Catherine. "Sister Catherine Mallon's Journal (Part One)." Edited by Thomas Richter. *New Mexico Historical Review* 52 (April 1977): 135-55.

In her journal, Sister Mallon, a nun who entered New Mexico in a stagecoach in 1865 from Omaha via Bent's cutoff, recalls seeing Indians at Maxwell Ranch. She illustrates her fear of Indians there and elsewhere in New Mexico.

286. Manion, Sister Patricia Jean. "Three Months to Santa Fe." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (May 2002): 15-19.

In this excerpt from her *Beyond the Adobe Walls* (2002), Manion tells about the travel of Magdalen Hayden and five other Sisters of Loretto to New Mexico Territory in 1852. It briefly mentions Osages, Indian attacks, and other Indian encounters along the Arkansas River.

287. Marcy, R[andolph]. B. *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border. Comprising Descriptions of the Indian Nomads of the Plains; Explorations of New Territory; A Trip Across the Rocky Mountains in the Winter; Descriptions of the Habits of Different Animals Found in the West, and the Methods of Hunting Them; with Incidents in the Life of Different Frontier Men*. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1866.

Although Marcy, a U.S. army officer who crossed the plains to New Mexico during the 1840s and 1850s, makes no mention of having traveled over the trail, his writings about Comanche life and customs include the northern Comanches who lived along the Arkansas River. His account also references his cooperative meetings with Delawares, Shawnees, and Kickapoos.

288. ————. *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and Pacific*. 1859. Reprint, Williamstown, MS: Corner House Publishers, 1968.

Marcy conceived this book as a guide to enable travelers to make the best out of hazardous situations. To him, an Indian threat could be overcome if the emigrants understood them. Viewing Plains Indians as savage and erratic marauders, he writes rather extensively about their “untrustworthy” character and habits. He advises travelers to not allow Indians to approach them without taking adequate precautions. Marcy also shares some of his experiences with Delaware and Shawnee allies.

289. Mardin, Elizabeth. “A Window on Flint Hills Folklife: Part 1, The Diary of Elizabeth Mardin.” Edited by James F. Hoy. *Kansas History* 14 (Autumn 1991): 186-205, and “Part II, The Diary of Elisha Mardin, (Winter 1991-1992): 246-69.

Mardin’s diary provides information about the relations of Euroamerican settler with Kaws in 1862 and 1863 near Council Grove.

290. Marmaduke, Meredith Miles. *Journal of M. M. Marmaduke of the Trip from Franklin Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1824*. Reprinted from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, with notes by F. A. Sampson. Columbia, MO: [s.n.] 1911.

Marmaduke’s journal notes several encounters his party had with Indians while traveling from Missouri to Santa Fe and back in 1824. This account has been republished in various places.

291. ————. “Santa Fe Trail: Marmaduke Journal.” Edited by Francis A. Sampson. *Missouri Historical Review* 6 (October 1911): 1-10.

First published by the *Missouri Intelligencer* on September 2, 1825, and reprinted numerous times, Marmaduke’s journal tells of his buffalo hunting experiences and encounters with unspecified Indians as his party traveled from Missouri to Santa Fe and back in that year.

292. ————. “Santa Fe Trail. M. M. Marmaduke Journal.” September 2, 1825, *Missouri Intelligencer*. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A White, 71-75. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

This article is a reprint.

293. ————. “M. M. Marmaduke Journal.” *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. 2 vols., edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 69-77. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

This article is a reprint.

294. Maury, Dabney Herndon. *Recollections of a Virginian in the Mexican, Indian, and Civil Wars*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1894.

Maury apparently traveled from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union in 1849 with a U.S. military unit. He recalls his experiences with Comanches. He accepts “General Sheridan’s verdict regarding a ‘good Indian’” (123). His flawed chronology calls into question the usefulness of this account, however.

295. Mead, James R. *Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains, 1859-1875*. Edited by Schuyler Jones and Introduction by Ignace Mead Jones. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

Mead, a Kansas settler, buffalo hunter, and trader, recounts his experiences with Pawnees, Cherokees, Cheyennes, Sioux, Delawares, Arapahos, Otoes, Kaws, Osages, Comanches, and other Indians along the trail and elsewhere from the late 1850s to the 1870s. Maps such as one showing the Pawnee Trail from the Platte River in Nebraska to the Arkansas River enrich the book. Noting the diverse nature of the trail’s human actors, he writes: “The drivers were known as ‘bull Whackers’ or ‘mule skimmers,’ mostly semi-Indian, half-civilized, faithful, patient, brown-skinned, with hair of jet hanging on their shoulders. . . .” (46-47).

296. Meline, James F. *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback. Santa Fé and Back: A Summer Tour Through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and New Mexico, in the Year 1866*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867.

Meline’s recollections of his travels over the trail and his reflections of Indian histories and cultures make this book an interesting piece of literature. He writes about a few events involving conflicts that had occurred in previous years including the Jicarilla Apache attack on James White’s party in 1849. He notes that in the 1863-1864 seasons, Arapahos, Caddos, Cheyennes, Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches had sold fifteen thousand buffalo robes at Fort Larned. Reflecting strong anti-Indian sentiments, he declares: “It is thought the buffalo and the Indian will disappear together, but it would not be heart-rending if the Indian went first” (282). He claimed that the Kiowas, who exerted a heavy influence over the Comanches, carried the worst reputation of all Plains Indians.

297. Mendinueta, Pedro Fermin de. *Indian and Mission Affairs in New Mexico, 1773*. Edited and translated by Marc Simmons. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1965.

This book provides a Spaniards' view of Indian relations with New Mexico in 1773. In response to Viceroy Bucareli's order for all Internal Provinces to study the "Indian problem," New Mexico Governor Pedro Fermin de Medinueta found that the plan of Spanish missionaries to Christianize Indians were unsuccessful. This report exposes how Spaniards perceived Indians as infidels and fierce beasts with brutal inclinations.

298. Meriwether, David. *My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains: The Newly Discovered Autobiography*. Edited by Robert A. Griffen. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Meriwether's recounting of his travels through the Great Plains and the Southwest provide a rich source of information about Indians and the trail. On the plains, he had relations with Pawnees, Osages, Kaws, and others. As the territorial governor of New Mexico during the 1850s and a traveler over the trail, he interacted with Utes, Navajos, Jicarilla Apaches, and others in matters of peace and war.

299. Merriam, Gustavus French. "'A Genuine Western Man Never Drinks Tea': Gustavus French Merriam's Letters from Kansas in 1860." *Kansas History* 8 (Autumn 1985): 162-75.

Merriam's 1860 letters reference his homestead a few miles from the trail in Johnson County, Kansas, and the precautions travelers took against Indians, wolves, and buffalos about 120 miles further west. He also mentions Ottawa, Shawnee, and other Indians in Kansas.

300. Meyer, Roy W. "New Light on Lewis Garrard." *Western Historical Quarterly* 6 (July 1975): 261-78.

This article contains six letters written by Lewis Garrard, who traveled from Missouri over the trail in 1846 and back in 1847. Garrard notes his experiences with Indians in eastern Kansas to New Mexico. He also mentions his brief life among Cheyennes for trading purposes and some confrontations involving Comanches and trail travelers.

301. Miles, Nelson A. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles Embracing a Brief View of the Civil War or from New England to the Golden Gate and the Story of His Indian Campaigns with Comments on the Exploration, Development and Progress of Our Great Western Empire*, Vol. 1, introduction to the Bison Book Edition by Robert Wooster. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

A U.S. military officer who served for twenty-two years in Kansas and elsewhere, Miles expresses his ethnocentric views concerning the characteristics of Plains Indians, stating: "The Anglo-Saxon is preeminently the colonizing race. From the first day of his landing on the eastern shores of the continent he has pressed eagerly and steadily forward, his eyes fixed upon the western horizon until his onward march has been, for the present at least, checked by the waves of the Pacific" (57-58). He recalls his experiences at Forts Leavenworth, Dodge, and Larned with Cheyennes, Sioux, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, and Utes from the late 1860s to the late 1870s in times of peace and war. To tell the story of Indian-Euroamerican conflict, he draws from information provided by other military men. He attributes armed Indian resistance to U.S. expansion to four primary causes. First, Indians had been trained to think that to "kill was noble and to labor degrading." The acquisition of modern weapons "inflamed their savage natures and gave them undue confidence in their own strength" (157). Second, the U.S. government failed to fulfill its treaty commitments to provide them with "shelter, clothing and sustenance sufficient in quantity and quality to satisfy their needs" (157). Third, the rapid construction of railways and expansion of settlements not only threatened Indian life but also disrupted the sanctity of Indian cemeteries. Finally, the extermination of the buffalo took away the Indians' primary source of livelihood (158-59).

302. Miller, Benjamin S. *Ranch Life in Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory: As Told by a Novice: How a Fortune Was Made in Cattle*. New York: Arno Press, 1975. Reprint, Less and Ridge Company, New York, 1896.

Miller, who entered Kansas in 1878, wrote about the Northern Cheyennes attempted escape from Oklahoma to Montana. He states that this situation encouraged nearly everyone in Dodge to carry firearms.

303. Miller, Nyle H. and Joseph W. Snell. "Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—Continued." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Autumn 1961): 383-447.

This article contains newspaper accounts of the last fight between Indians [Cheyennes] and Euroamericans in Kansas in 1879.

304. Miller, R. C. "Agent R. C. Miller's Report," October 14, 1857. In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 32-43. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Miller documents his travels in the spring and summer of 1857 from Westport to Bent's Fort when the Cheyennes were at war with the United States. His report contains information about U.S. Indian policy, unstable economic conditions

among the Indians, and Indian-Euroamerican conflict. Miller mentions Cheyennes, Arapahos, Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas.

305. ————. “Agent Miller’s Annual Report, 1858.” August 17, 1858. In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 162-73. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Writing from Bent’s Fort in 1858, Miller’s report discusses the state of Indian affairs along and near the trail. He alludes to health, economic, and political issues that were impacting Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Apaches, and Arapahos.

306. Missouri Legislature. “Memorial of the Legislature of Missouri praying that Adequate protection be extended by the Government to the trade between the State and Mexico.” In *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* by Otis E. Young. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952, 197-200.

In its petition to Congress in December 1828 asking for protection for the Mexican trade, the Missouri legislature declares that Indians, including those who were professedly friendly and those who wandered over the plains, had committed depredations against Missouri traders amounting to \$40,000 in damages, killing several citizens in the process. Its members requested the establishment of a military post on the Arkansas River so that seventy or eighty mounted troopers could escort wagon trains. They stated that the removed tribes located west of the Mississippi River, while on hunting trips, paid “as little respect to the property of the whites as do the wandering and less civilized tribes of the Western Territory” (199). “Savages are restrained,” they proclaimed, “by nothing but force; and we have good grounds to apprehend that, unless a military force be placed among them, they will not only repeat their aggressions on our trading parties, but that, ere long, they will make in roads on our frontier settlements” (199). Citing a U.S. agent as their source of information, the petitioners assert that the powerful Pawnees [the only Indigenous people mentioned by name in the petition] “are now much disaffected towards us and are determined to spare no white man who falls in their way” (199).

307. Moellhausen, M. Baldwin. “Moellhausen’s Account of the Encounter with the Indians.” Edited by Louis C. Butscher. *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (October 1942): 307-23.

Moellhausen, who traversed the plains with Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg in 1851, describes Pawnees as beggars and thieves. Moellhausen’s party did not reach the trail.

308. Moffatt, Isaac. "The Kansas Prairie: Or, Eight Days on the Plains." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (May 1937): 147-74.

Philadelphian Moffatt's account of his 1859 travel in eastern Kansas contains a few references to the trail and Indians.

309. Möllhausen, H. B. "Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858." Translated by John A. Burzle. Edited and annotated by Robert Taft. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 16 (November 1948): 337-80.

An 1858 German trail traveler, Möllhausen's account records hearsay and firsthand information about Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

310. Morfi, Juan Agustin. *Father Juan Agustin de Morfi's Account of Disorders in New Mexico, 1778*. Translated and edited by Marc Simmons. Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1977.

The 1778 report of Father Juan Agustin de Morfi provides insight into Spanish-Indian relations in New Mexico. Morfi discusses "disorders" that affected prosperity within Spain's New Kingdom of New Mexico. These disorders, according to Morfi, reflected on the Spaniards' laziness and lack of organization. Conversely, he portrays Indians as organized peoples who were vulnerable to the effects of Spanish [colonial] authority.

311. Moore, Ely, Jr. "The Naming of Osawatomie, and Some Experiences with John Brown." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 338-46.

Moore's recollection contains information about Peoria, Piankeshaw, Delaware, Miami, and other Indians and their interactions with Euroamerican settlers in eastern Kansas during the mid 1850s. It does not mention the trail.

312. ————. "The Story of Lecompton." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 463-80.

Addressing an old settlers' meeting in 1907, Morton recalls intertribal warfare among Indians in eastern Kansas and U.S. troops evicting squatters on Indian lands during the early 1850s. No mention is made of the trail.

313. Myers, Harry C., ed. "Alphonso Wetmore's Report of a Journey to Santa Fe in 1828." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (August 2002): 9-17.

Responding to a U.S. Senate request for information about trade with inaccuracies and an expansionistic bias, Wetmore provides the names and number of men killed along the trail and in the Far West. The editor's footnotes provide important information, including a listing of eight persons who lost their lives along the trail before 1832 to Indians and Spaniards. Westmore's report appears as No. 5 in

Senate Document 90, 22d Cong., 1st sess. [Serial 213] under the title of “Message from the President of the United States in compliance with a resolution of the Senate concerning the Fur trade, and Inland Trade to Mexico, February 9, 1832.” Wetmore’s report has been published in other sources.

314. ———, “From ‘The Crack Post of the Frontier’: Letters of Thomas and Charlotte Swords.” *Kansas History* 5 (Autumn 1982): 184-213.

Written from Fort Scott, a U.S. post situated in southeastern Kansas, from 1843 to 1845, the letters of Thomas and Charlotte Swords say that U.S. soldiers were performing escort duty along the trail. Delawares and Potawatomis are mentioned.

315. ———, ed. “Meredith Miles Marmaduke’s Journal of a Tour to New Mexico, 1824-1825.” *Wagon Tracks* 12 (November 1997): 8-16.

Marmaduke’s 1824 journal was published in 1825, 1911, and 1933 in excerpts, but Myers was the first to pull together this source in its entirety. The journal is nearly silent in terms of Indian references. However, Marmaduke reports his fear of Indians, the presence of a Spanish Indian [possibly a Pueblo Indian] along the route, and his party’s slaughtering buffalo for sport.

316. Napton, William B. *Over the Santa Fe Trail, 1857*. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1964.

First published in 1905, Napton’s narrative mentions Kaws at Council Grove. He states that the Kiowas and Comanches farther west considered asking trail travelers for food as payment for passage through their lands. His role in the great buffalo slaughter is also noted.

317. Nelson, John Young. *Fifty Years on the Trail – The Adventures of John Young Nelson, as Described to Harrington O’Reilly*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Nelson’s recollection of his journey briefly discusses Indians, providing a glimpse of the plains before Euroamericans “civilized” it.

318. Nichols, Clarina I. H. “The Forgotten Feminist of Kansas: The Papers of Clarina I. H. Nichols, 1854-1885. Edited by Joseph C. Gambone. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1973): 12-57.

This feminist account briefly mentions Delaware, Shawnee, and Kaw Indians.

319. Nicholson, William. “A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 3 (August 1934): 289-326; (November 1934): 343-84.

On an 1870 inspection tour of reservations in Kansas and Indian Territory, Quaker physician Nicholson observed Shawnees, Comanches, Wyandots, Kaws, Osages, Sacs and Foxes, Delawares, Cheyennes, Arapahos and other Indians who had an association with the trail. Writing in stereotypical terms, he records information about their health, customs, morals, and religious activities.

320. *Niles' National Register*. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 192-204. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

Published in 1843 when Texas privateers were intent on robbing Mexican traders on the trail, these *Niles' National Register* accounts reference U.S. interaction with Indians, trade on the plains and in the Rockies, U.S. relations with Mexico, trail travel, U.S. army operations, and the inadequacy of U.S. military power. A correspondent blames Osages and Comanches as sources of trouble along the trail. Referring to the U.S. policy of removal, a September 16 story states, "Indians are pouring in upon us on all side. Seven hundred Wyandots were landed above the Kansas [Kansas River] a few days since; and the thousands of Sacs and Foxes, who lately made the 'Black Hawk war,' are about removing to near Fort Leavenworth" (203).

321. Notes and Documents. *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (April 1935): 172-73.

In an August 4, 1834, letter, published in *Niles' Weekly Register* on September 20, Captain Clifton Wharton notes that his command had peaceful, but tense, encounters with Pawnees and Comanches on the trail. He indicates that he had friendly meetings with Kaws and Osages.

322. Notes and Documents. *New Mexico Historical Review* 22 (January 1947): 99-100.

This issue contains a January 18, 1856, letter from David Meriwether, New Mexico's territorial governor and Indian superintendent, in which he mentions trading between the Pueblo Indians and Santa Fe. He refers to the Pueblos as being partially civilized Indians. Other letters reference conflict involving Mescalero Apaches and New Mexico settlers.

323. Oakley, Obadiah. "The Oregon Expedition." *Peoria Register*, November 9, 1839. In *News of the Plains and Rockies: Volume 2 Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 278-89. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

In 1839, Oakley and seventeen others journeyed from Independence to Oregon with seven pack mules. He notes that Kaws sold buffalo meat to travelers and that traders overcharged them for knives and other items.

324. "Of the North Western Regions of the U. States." *Missouri Intelligencer*, January 15, 1821. Reprinted from the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.). In *Wagon Tracks* 9 (November 1994): 8-9.

At a time when U.S. officials knew very little about Indians who would have contact with the trail, Captain J. R. Bell, a member of Major Stephen H. Long's expedition in 1819 and 1820, describes his encounters below the first fork of the Arkansas River with "strange Indians," including "Arapahoes, Kaskapas [sic], Kiawas [sic], and Cheyennes who warred with Pawnees, Osages, and other known tribes" (9).

325. Oliphant, J. Orin, ed. "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 15 (August 1947): 248-62.

This report provides useful information about the Wyandots' removal during the 1840s to a reservation in eastern Kansas situated north of the trail.

326. Oliva, Leo E., ed. "Escort Duty on the Santa Fe Trail, 1863: Diary of William Heagerty and Memoirs and Letters of Peter F. Clark, Company A, Eleventh Missouri Cavalry." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (August 1994): 10-17.

Both William Heagerty and Peter Clark performed escort duty on the trail with the Eleventh Missouri Cavalry in 1863 and 1864. Heagerty met Caddos at Fort Larned on October 11, 1863, passed an Arapaho camp several days later, and saw a Kiowa camp on Walnut Creek on December 15. Writing to his wife from near the old Pawnee Fort on October 20, 1863, Clark indicates that, although his party had "but little trouble with the Indians" (15), Apaches and Comanches had attempted to rob a nearby small train. Clark also describes Kiowas, Cheyennes, Utes, Navajos, Comanches, Apaches, and Caddos as being thieves.

327. Oliva, Leo and Bonita Oliva, eds. "Katie Bowen Letters, 1851: Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (February 2002): 1, 26-27; Part II, (August 2002): 22-23; Part III, 17 (August 2003): 14-17; Part IV, (February 2004): 15-20; Part V, (May 2004): 16-18; Part VI, 18 (August 2004): 16-20; Part VII, 19 (November 2004): 18-21; Part VIII, (February 2005): 17-19; Part IX, (May 2005): 20-21; Part X, (August 2005): 20-21; Part XI, 20 (November 2005): 21-22.

In 1851, Catherine (Katie) Bowen traveled from Ft. Leavenworth to New Mexico with her husband, a U.S. army captain, and others. Part I contains Bowen's letters written from St. Louis, which do not mention Indians. Letters to her parents in Parts II, III, and IV, written at Fort Leavenworth, describe the neighbor Indians as being perfectly peaceful and suppliers of market goods. Letters in Part V state that some of them lived in fine houses along the Kansas River, raised crops of corn, and made a fortune as ferry boat operators. Correspondence in Part VI contains information about her company's journey from Fort Leavenworth, in which she describes several friendly encounters with Indians including Potawatomis at the

Kansas River. At Council Grove, she saw “a small settlement of whites, French [sic] half breeds and Indians” (16). Part VII letters note her travel to Cottonwood River during which her party met several groups of Indians. She witnessed a few “squaws” who intended to “plunder whatever might be scattering” (19) and saw Indian men painted with yellow ochre. An elderly Osage named Captain Jim provided the travelers an account of his personal history. Part VIII references her trip from Pawnee Fork to beyond Fort Atkinson. She feared that Pawnees had killed her uncle Isaac who was overdue from a hunt. She also indicates that on the Arkansas her company met a large Kiowa party with captives, including a Mexican and a Pawnee woman.

328. Osborne, Vincent B. “Vincent B. Osborne’s Civil War Experiences.” Edited by Joyce Farlow and Louise Barry. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (May 1952): 108-33.

While traveling with a U.S. military detachment from Fort Riley to Fort Union in 1862, Osborne met “wild” Indians – Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Pawnee – at Walnut Creek who entered the soldiers’ camp to trade. At Fort Union, he went with a detachment of 30 soldiers in an unsuccessful attempt to find the Comanches accused of committing depredations against Johnson’s ranch. Returning to Fort Riley, he saw thirty thousand Arapahos, Apaches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches near Fort Larned. These Indians expressed their disappointment when the army told them that they would have to go to Fort Lyon to get their annuities.

329. Otero, Miguel Antonio. *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Originally published in 1935, Otero’s autobiography records a few episodes of Indian contact with the trail and New Mexico during the 1860s and 1870s. This is one of a few firsthand accounts written by a Mexican American.

330. Palmer, Wm. J. *Report of Surveys Across the Continent, in 1867–’68, on the Thirty-Fifth and Thirty-Second Parallels, for a Route Extending the Kansas Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco and San Diego*. Philadelphia: W. B. Selheimer, Printer, 1869.

Palmer’s report of his work as a railroad surveyor mentions Indians in New Mexico, but not their relations with the trail.

331. Parkman, Francis. *The Journals of Francis Parkman*. Edited by Mason Wade. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947.

Volume two contains Parkman’s account of his travels in Missouri and over the Oregon and Santa Fe trails in 1846. His journal characterizes traders, emigrants, and others in the frontier towns of Westport and Independence. It also describes the Kaws, Sioux, Arapahos, Pawnees, Shawnees, Wyandots, Kickapoos, and

Delawares he met. He references the escalation of tension and conflict growing along the route from Bent's Fort to Westport. Parkman, as he would in writing his influential and widely read histories of North America, uses derogatory epithets when mentioning Indians. Referring to Arapahos during an August 31 meeting, he writes, "Squaws busy with skins. Sat before one of the chief lodges, holding our horses fast, and the curious crowd soon gathered around. Bad faces—savage and sinister" (476) In his introduction, Wade also describes Indians with ugly terminology ["degenerate," "half-civilized," "cruel," "murderous," and "thieves"].

332. ————. *Letters of Francis Parkman*. Edited with an introduction by Wilbur R. Jacobs. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Writing from Westport to his father on September 26, 1846, about his trip down the trail, Parkman states that at nights his small party posted guards but the anticipated trouble with Pawnees had not materialized. Concerning his party's encounter with Arapahos, he declares that the recent threats issued by General Kearny, the commander of the Army of the West, had frightened them. Parkman's party passed U.S. troop detachments and supply trains en route to Santa Fe.

333. ————. *The Oregon Trail*. Edited by E. N. Feltskog. Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

First published from 1847 to 1849 as a series in *Knickerbocker's Magazine* and reprinted numerous times, Parkman's classic account details his travel from Westport, Missouri, to Fort Laramie, from Fort Laramie to Bent's Fort, and from Bent's Fort to Westport in 1846. At the outset of his journey in Westport, he saw "Sacs and Foxes, with shaved heads and painted faces, Shawanoes [Shawnees] and Delawares, fluttering in calico frocks and turbans, Wyandots dressed like white men, and a few wretched Kansas [Kaws], wrapped in old blankets, were strolling about the streets or lounging in and out of the shops and houses" (4). On the final leg of the trip, Parkman reports that Pawnees and Comanches had disrupted the traffic flow by killing travelers and stealing livestock. He also describes "half-civilized" Shawnees, Delawares, and Potawatomis living near Fort Leavenworth. Racial concepts found in U.S. popular culture shaped his attitude about and descriptions of Indians.

334. Pattie, James O. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky*. Vol. 18 of *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905.

First published in 1831 and reprinted at various times, Pattie's account tells of his 1826 experiences on the Great Plains and the Southwest, a trip that included travel some distance on the trail while en route from Council Bluffs to Taos and then Santa Fe. Drawing from the language of racism, he uses negative imagery to describe his encounters with Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, and others.

335. Payton, William. *The Last Man over the Trail*. [Kinsley, KS: N.P., 1939].

Payton's brief autobiography provides sketchy information about Indian relations with such individuals as Kit Carson and others who had an association with the trail.

336. Peck, R. M. "R. M. Peck's Account of the Sedgwick Division." *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 97-140. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

A member of a U.S. army force commanded by Colonel Edwin V. Sumner in 1857, Peck participated in action against Cheyennes north of the trail. Soldiers pursued the allusive Cheyennes from near old Fort Atkinson beyond Bent's Fort. Peck saw Kaws at Council Grove and agitated Comanches and Kiowas elsewhere on the trail. He indicates that Delawares served as U.S. army scouts and trailers.

337. Pentland, Jos. "Capt Pentlands Report." In *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* by Otis E. Young. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952, 196.

Pentland's report states that on August 11, 1829, forty to fifty Indians [possibly Comanches] killed a U.S. soldier named King near Chouteau's Island. King and other soldiers were hunting buffalo when the attack occurred.

338. "Petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 101-03. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

In 1824, the Missouri legislature petitioned Congress to protect the Santa Fe trade from "Indians inhabiting or roaming over the intermediate country between Missouri and the Internal Provinces." The petition asks U.S. officials to secure rights of passage through Indian country as "security against the robberies and murders which all savages are prone to commit on the traveler and merchant." It requests treaties for "good behavior on the part of the Indians, and subsidies in the shape of annuities . . . [to convert] the intermediate tribes, from wild hunters to settled farmers, living in houses, cultivating the soil, planting orchards, and educating their children" (102).

339. Perrine, Fred S., ed. "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (April 1927): 175-93; 2 (July 1927): 269-304; 3 (July 1928): 265-300.

These articles include the reports, journals, and correspondence of U.S. army officers who led soldiers to protect trail travelers from Indians. Issue 2 (April) contains the 1829 journal of Major Bennet Riley, issue 2 (July) provides the 1834 journal of Major Clifton Wharton and related correspondence, and issue 3 (July) has Riley's journal. These sources are listed individually within this bibliography under the names of these chroniclers.

340. Peters, Joseph P., comp. *Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier, 1790-1898: Comprising Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882; Chronological List of Actions, &c., with Indians from January 1, 1866 to January, 1891; and a Compilation of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866, Prepared by Historical Section, Army War College*. New York: Argonaut Press Ltd, 1966.

This book contains a compilation of three sources with information about U.S. army engagements with Indians. First published in 1882, Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan's *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians* provides an incomplete and often vague chronology of fights and skirmishes occurring on the trail and elsewhere from March 2, 1868 to 1882. His ethnocentric narrative refers to the Indians' use of arms in defense of their territories and ways of living as acts of murder and robbery. He discusses tactics that Indian combatants employed to make the pursuit of the U.S. soldiers more difficult.

341. —————, comp. *Chronological List of Actions, &c. with Indians, from January 1, 1866, to January, 1891*. In *Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier, 1790-1898: Comprising Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882; Chronological List of Actions, &c., with Indians from January 1, 1866 to January, 1891; and a Compilation of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866, Prepared by Historical Section, Army War College*. New York: Argonaut Press Ltd, 1966.

This book contains a partial listing of the dates, names of place or action, troops engaged, commanding officers, casualties, and officers killed or wounded in fights with Indians. It, however, does not identify the names of the involved Indian nations.

342. Pike, Albert. *Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country*. Edited by David J. Weber. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987.

First published in 1834, Pike provides a sketch of his 1831 travel [with Charles Bent's wagon train of thirty men] from St. Louis to New Mexico. Although Pike makes no mention of any personal contacts with Indians while traveling to Santa Fe, his account frequently references them. Expressing commonly held racial stereotypes, he writes, "the Comanches, the Pawnees, and the Caiwas [Kiowas] and other equally wandering, savage and hostile tribes, its very name is a mystery and a terror" (3). He notes the troubled relations of Navajos, Apaches, Pawnees,

Comanches, and Kiowas with New Mexico settlers. He also records his visit to Jemez, Taos, San Juan, and other pueblos. His account mentions the 1831 death of Jedediah Smith and fights involving Comanches and others. In 1832, his party sought the services of an “old” Comanche who lived at San Miguel as its guide. While returning to the States on a route that took him from San Miguel to Fort Smith via the Llano Escacado, Pike interacted with Kiowas, Comanches, Cherokees, Osages, Delawares, Choctaws, and others.

343. Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*. 2 Vols. Edited by Donald Jackson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

Pike journals tell of his 1806 meetings with Pawnees, Osages, and others as he and his small party travel to Santa Fe. Along the way, he told them that they were now under the control of the U.S. government.

344. ————. “Pike’s Journal, Part I.” *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 12-22; Part II, (August 2003): 24-30; Part III, 18 (November 2003): 28-29; Part IV, 18 (February 2004): 22-26; Part V, (May 2004): 19-22; Part VI, (August 2004), 22-26; Part VII, 19 (November 2004): 22-24; Part VIII, (February 2005): 21-23; Part IX, 20 (May 2005): 24-26; Part X, 20 (August 2005), 23-26; Part XI, 20 (November 2005): 23-26; Part XII, 20 (February 2006), 24-26; Part XIII, 20 (May 2006): 24-26.

Pike’s 1806 journal entries detail the movement of his small command from the Belle Fontaine landing to Santa Fe. Pike notes his contacts with Pawnees, Osages, Kaws, Potawatomis, and others along the way.

345. Pino, Don Pedro Baptista. *The Exposition on the Province of New Mexico, 1812*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Pino’s 1812 description of New Mexico references Indians of the region.

346. Pitts, Bill. “George Bent Letters.” *Wagon Tracks* 11 (November 1996): 19-20.

Pitts’s article contains four letters from George Bent to Joseph B. Thoburn written from 1910 to 1913 with information about the Cheyennes during the 1860s. Bent refers to incidents of conflict on and near the trail.

347. Pope, John. “John Pope’s Journal of a March to New Mexico, 1851, Part I.” Annotated by Michael Olsen and Harry C. Myers. *Wagon Tracks* 5 (August 1991): 19-22; Part II 6 (November 1991), 15-19.

In part one, Pope mentions his contact with various Indians in an atmosphere characterized by tension, suspicion, uncertainty, and violence. He saw Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos, reportedly with 5,000 fighting men, gathered near Fort Mackay on the Arkansas. He indicates that these dissatisfied Indians were begging for food and that Cheyennes and Comanches were on the verge of commencing

hostilities. A subsequent investigation, however, by U.S. agent Thomas Fitzpatrick found that they desired peace. In part two, Pope, at Fort Leavenworth, states that Colonel E. V. Sumner of the First Dragoons was in the process of leading a command of six hundred soldiers into New Mexico to campaign against Indians.

348. Powell, H. M. T. *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852: The Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell*. Edited by Douglas S. Watson. New York: Sol Lewis, 1981.

A member of a train bound to California by the southern route during the 1849 gold rush, Powell's account provides a rich, if not racially biased, description of his trip from Independence to Santa Fe during the spring and early summer of that year. Powell, an artist, documents his contact with Shawnees, Kaws, Apaches, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas. Although constantly expecting trouble, Powell's party experienced nonviolent relations with them. This book was first published in 1931.

349. Proctor, J. C. "Memoirs of J. C. (Buckskin Joe) Proctor." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (November 1996): 6-9.

Proctor's recounting of his experiences in Kansas during the 1860s and 1870s, mentions fights with Cheyennes and unspecified Indians.

350. Preuss, Charles. *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Frémont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West*. Translated and edited by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

Preuss's travels with Frémont's expeditions brought him into contact with Pawnees, Kaws, Delawares, and other Indians, but none of these encounters occurred on the trail. Returning to Missouri via the trail in mid July 1843, his party took a detour to avoid Comanches.

351. *The Raynesford Papers—Notes on Kansas Trails and the Butterfield Overland Dispatch*: <http://www.kancoll.org/articles/index.html> (accessed May 09, 2009).

Within these papers is an account of J. C. Frémont tense meeting with Pawnees encamped at the mouth of Page Creek north of the trail in 1844. Frémont claims the Pawnees, who made off with the remainder of his party's rations, appeared to be unsatisfied and overtly greedy. Extensive maps are included.

352. Raymond, Henry H. "Diary of a Dodge City Buffalo Hunter, 1872-1873." Edited by Joseph W. Snell. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 31 (Winter 1965): 345-95.

Raymond's daily account of his commercial buffalo hunting and travel over the trail references his meetings with Arapaho and unspecified Indians.

353. Raymond, Samuel D. "The Journal of Samuel D. Raymond, 1859-1862." *Wagon Tracks* 10 (November 1995): 1, 12-20.

Traveling to the Pikes Peak gold mines in 1859, Raymond notes in this journal his meetings with Kaws, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Comanches.

354. Reagles, James, Jr. "A View from Oklahoma, 1866-1868: The Diary and Letters of Dr. James Reagles, Jr. Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army." Edited by Jere W. Roberson. *Red River Valley Historical Journal* 3 (Fall 1978): 19-46.

Reagles, a civilian doctor attached to the Tenth U.S. Cavalry in Oklahoma, kept a diary and wrote letters from 1866 to 1868 with numerous references to Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and others. Although he did not travel over the trail, much of what he notes pertains to conflict with Indians stemming from U.S. violations of its 1867 treaties at Medicine Creek, Kansas.

355. Reeve, Frank, ed. "The Charles Bent Papers." *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (July 1954): 234-39; (October 1954): 311-17; 30 (April 1955): 154-67; (October 1955): 340-52.

Charles Bent's papers reference Indian relations with New Mexico and the trail from the late 1830s to the mid-1840s. An 1840 letter from Bent to Manuel Alvares mentions Shawnees at Bent's Fort. An 1841 letter also characterizes Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Sioux attitudes towards Mexicans as tense. Other 1841 letters dwell on conflict. Bent alludes to Pawnees, Utes, Kiowas, Jicarilla Apaches, Pueblos, Navajos and others.

356. Reeves, B. H., G. C. Sibley, and Thom. Mather to Honorable James Barbour, Secy. of the Dept. of War, Washington City, N.d. In *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley, and Others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road From the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico, 1825-1827*, edited by Kate L. Gregg, 197-210. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.

Reporting their role as U.S. commissioners assigned to mark the road to Santa Fe, Reeves, Sibley, and Mather provide useful information about Indian relations. They mention the treaties of August 10th and 16th with the Osages and Kaws, respectively. They note that the only danger facing travelers came from the "Roving bands of Indians who Sometimes best Small parties of our Traders, and either Steal or forcibly take away their Horses, Mules, and other property" (206). They assert the "outrages usually occurred on the traders' journey home on the Mexican side of the Arkansas, but that Some of the depredators are known to have their Villages within the Territory of the United States and Receive presents & other favors from the Government" (206). They identify the "lawless" perpetrators in this category as Pawnees and Arapahos. They also declare that Kiowas,

Comanches, Apaches and Utes, who lived on the Mexican side of the border, as other offenders. They recommend the establishment of a fort near the mountains 36 miles from Taos and occasional use of escorts to properly admonish the Indians. They indicate that a post could be established on Walnut Creek, but recommended against it. They suggest that both countries, the U.S. and Mexico, should work cooperatively to protect the travelers and to punish the offenders through the detachments of regulars who would occasionally “Scour the country, and detect, & arrest for punishment all those who Should presume to infringe the Rights of the highway” (207).

357. Remington, Frederic. “The Plains Tribes with Frederic Remington.” Edited by Kenny A. Franks. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 52 (Winter 1974-1975): 419-38.

Originally published in 1889, Remington’s reminiscences of his visit to Oklahoma during the 1880s provide an account of Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Arapaho reservation life.

358. Richardson, Albert D. “Albert D. Richardson’s Letters on the Pike’s Peak Gold Region: Written to the Editor of the *Lawrence Republican*, May 22-August 25, 1860.” Edited by Louise Barry. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (February 1943): 14-57.

In a series of letters written during the Colorado gold rush, Richardson alluded to the troubled state of Indian relations with Euroamericans. On August 7, 1860, he penned that U.S. troops from Bent’s Fort had attacked a large number of Kiowas who had refused to surrender those responsible for killing thirteen trail travelers the previous year. He documented other incidents of conflict in the surrounding area.

359. Richardson, William H. *Journal of William H. Richardson, a Private Soldier in the Campaign of New and Old Mexico, under the Command of Colonel Doniphan of Missouri*. 3rd ed. New York: Published by William H. Richardson, 1848.

William Richardson documents his travels with Doniphan’s command from Ft. Leavenworth to Santa Fe in the late summer and early fall of 1846. While encamped near Ft. Leavenworth in 1846, Richardson notes that Indians sold his U.S. army unit a variety of items. “Their language,” he writes, “and gestures were very strange, and they presented a most outlandish appearance” (7). He notes his meetings with Delawares and Sacs and an attack by unidentified Indians on a soldier who was hunting buffalo several miles from camp. In New Mexico, he traveled from Santa Fe to Ute country and back, passing through the pueblos of Santo Domingo and San Felipe. This book was republished in 1968.

360. ————. “William H. Richardson’s Journal of Doniphan’s Expedition.” *Missouri Historical Review* 22 (January 1928): 207-36.

Making journal entries while on the trail in 1846, Richardson expresses the fear that his fellow soldiers held for Indians. He mentions Delawares and an Indian attack on a soldier who was hunting buffalo.

361. Riley, Bennet. "Bennet Riley to His Excellency the Governor of Santa Fe, July 10, 1829". In *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* by Otis E. Young. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952, 181-82.

Writing from near the Arkansas River, Major Riley asks the Spanish governor of New Mexico to provide protection for the Santa Fe trade in response to the Comanches' conflict with his troops and a caravan.

362. ————. Bennet Riley to William Clark, September 28, 1831. In *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* by Otis E. Young. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952, 168.

In this letter, Riley reports the casualties that Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos inflicted on his force 1829.

363. ————. "Journal." In "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail." Edited by Fred Perrine, *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (July 1928): 265-300.

Riley's journal of his escort duty on the trail in 1829 provides a daily record of his command's activities and contact with Indians, presumably Comanches.

364. ————. "Report of the four Companies of Sixth regiment of the United States Infantry which left Jefferson Barracks on the 5th of May 1829, under the command of Brevet Major Riley, of the United States army, for the protection of the trade of Santa Fe." In "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail." Edited by Fred S. Perrine. *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (April 1927): 175-93.

First published in *American State Papers, Military Affairs* Volume 9, 277-80 in garbled condition, this source contains the report of Riley's 1829 escort duty along the trail. It notes that Ioways, Kaws, and Shawnees declined Riley's invitation to accompany the expedition. It refers to the fighting that erupted between U.S. troops and Plains Indians, most likely Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos, and to his friendly contacts with Kaws, Ioways, and Shawnees.

365. Riley, Glenda, ed. "Kansas Frontierwomen Viewed Through Their Writings: The Diary of Chestina Bowker Allen." *Kansas History* 9 (Summer 1986): 83-95.

Chestina Allen's 1854 and 1855 diary entries mention a school for Indian children at the Quaker Mission and her party's encounter with Kaws. She may have traveled a distance on the trail.

366. Riley, James Francis. "Recollections of James Francis Riley, 1838-1918: Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (February 1995): 13-22; Part II, (May 1995): 11-16; Part III. (August 1995): 21-27.

Drawing from letters he had written from 1861 to 1865 to recall his experiences as a trail freighter, James Riley uses biased language to describe his numerous contacts with Indians. He describes Indians near Fort Lyon in October 1861 as "terrible beggars" and the males as exploiters of their women. Near Fort Larned in 1863 while transporting provisions to Fort Union, he describes seeing three to four thousand destitute Indians waiting for a U.S. government food distribution. On the return trip, his party met several bands of Indians who were "more saucy than ever before with us" (Part II, 16). He states that Indians forced other trains to surrender their supplies. In 1864 at Walnut Creek, Indians skirmished with Riley's train. Later that year at Fort Union, a friendly old Arapaho chief who spoke some English told Riley that Indians were planning to wage a war against Fort Larned soldiers for having killed all of the Indians' buffalo without giving his people anything to eat. Riley mentions other contacts with Indians in 1865.

367. Rister, Carl Coke, ed. *Comanche Bondage: Dr. John Charles Beales's Settlement of La Villa de Delores on Las Moras Creek in Southern Texas of the 1830's with an Annotated Reprint of Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative of Her Captivity among the Comanches, Her Ransom by Traders in New Mexico and Return Via the Santa Fé Trail*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1955.

Originally printed in 1839, Sarah Horn's ethnocentric narrative tells of her captivity in Texas among Comanches in the late 1830s. It also offers glimpses of Comanche culture and relations with New Mexico and Texas.

368. Roach, Mrs. S. T. "Memories of Frontier Days in Kansas: Barber County." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 606-17.

Although Roach does not mention the trail, her account references Indian-Euroamerican relations in Kansas during the 1870s.

369. "A Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail in 1827." Edited by James. W. Covington. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 21 (Autumn 1955): 560-63.

In an undated petition sent to the U.S. House and Senate, seven angry Santa Fe traders charged that thirty Pawnees, whom they viewed as lawless and violent thugs, had attacked them on the night of October 12, 1827, twenty miles west of the Panis (Pawnee) Fork, taking 163 head of stock. The petitioners found sixty-six missing animals the following day. In addition to demanding justice and compensation for their losses, they assert that their government has a duty to protect "every citizen's lawful rights and property" (563). Reflecting an assessment of the Pawnees' mode of warfare, the editor declares that these Indians

were master horse thieves who “knew every trick in the art of camouflage, psychological warfare, sudden attack, and quick retreat with the spoils” (561).

370. Robinson, Jacob S. *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932.

First published in 1848, Robinson’s journal of his travel over the trail with Colonel Doniphan’s command in June 1846 indicates that his unit camped at Twelve Mile Creek near the Kaw settlements. Referring to Shawnee and Delaware entrepreneurs who operated a ferryboat and sold beef, he states that those “half-civilized Indians differ very widely in character from those in their native wilderness” (3-4). He declares that they had “learned the virtue of avarice most perfectly, you can get nothing of them, not even a cup of milk or an onion, without paying them the most extravagant prices” (4). A few more journal entries made on the mountain route briefly reference Indians. In New Mexico, Robinson participated in a campaign against Navajos. Prevalent stereotypes and racial ideology affected how he saw and wrote about other peoples and their cultures.

371. Root, George A. “Reminiscences of William Darnell.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 479-513.

In a series of interviews from 1925 to 1928, Root compiled information about William Darnell’s experiences in Kansas from 1855 to the 1870s. Darnell’s recollections of the trail, military posts, buffalo hunting, and interaction with Indians make this a useful history. While driving teams for the U.S. government in 1865, unidentified Indians attacked his train at some point on the trail.

372. Ropes, Hannah Anderson. *Six Months in Kansas by a Lady*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972.

First published in 1856, this book contains Hannah Ropes’s correspondence with her mother. Although Ropes did not go to Santa Fe, she traveled from Kansas City to the Shawnee Reserve in 1855. She mentions a Shawnee man who had large fields and hired non-Indians to operate his tavern and hotel. She also referred to Delawares and less “civilized” tribes.

373. Rosenwald, Emanuel. “Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald.” Edited by Floyd S. Fierman. *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (April 1962): 110-31.

Rosenwald mentions his stagecoach travel on the trail during the winter of 1862 when “Indians were unfriendly to whites” (124). The following spring, he notes, Indians attacked a major supply train near Fort Dodge, inflicting casualties and property damage.

374. Royall, W. B. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*.

U.S. 30th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuisen, 1848, 141-44.

Writing from Fort Mann on June 21, 1848, Lt. Royall reports that two to three hundred Comanche and Osage Indians had attacked his unit on the morning of June 18. He set the number of dead Indians at twenty-three and wounded at twice that amount.

375. Ruiz, Jose Francisco. *Report on the Indian Tribes of Texas in 1828*. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1972.

This Mexican report focuses on Comanches, Apaches, and Arapahos in Texas in 1828. Originally written in Spanish by Ruiz, who found asylum among the Comanches, it provides information regarding population estimates, location, customs, and histories of the tribes in Texas during the early part of the nineteenth century. However, Ruiz portrays Indians, for the most part, as uncivilized. He repeatedly refers to them as violent savages.

376. Runyon, A. L. "A. L. Runyon's Letters from the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (February 1940): 58-75.

Runyon's letters tell of his participant in U.S. army operations against Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas in 1868 and 1869 near the trail, in the Texas Panhandle, and in Oklahoma. Runyon made frequent references to Fort Dodge and Fort Larned. He notes the presence of the "10th Colored cavalry" at Fort Dodge in April 1869. Runyon indicates that soldiers slaughtered buffalo for food and sport. Referring to the cost of the army campaigns, he writes: "Indian hunting is a very expensive business, and we have not yet seen a hostile Indian" (69).

377. Russell, Marion [Sloan]. "Adventure on the Santa Fe Trail, 1852." In *When We Were Young in the West: True Childhood Stories*. Edited with an introduction and conclusion by Richard Melzer. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2003, 13-19.

This account of Marion's travel in 1852 is drawn from her *Land of Enchantment*.

378. ————. *Land of Enchantment: Memoirs of Marion Russell along the Santa Fé Trail as Dictated to Mrs. Hal Russell*. Edited by Garnet M. Brayer and afterwords by Marc Simms. 1954. Reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

As a child, Russell traveled over the trail five times from 1852 to 1860 with her single mother. As an adult, and the wife of a U.S. army officer and trader, she spent much of her life in the trail's vicinity. Consequently, her memoirs contain numerous details about Indians during times of peace and war. She tells not only of the fear and distrust that she and her contemporaries held for them, but also of the extensive trade that brought them and Euroamericans together. Places such as Council Grove, Pawnee Rock, Fort Larned, Bent's Fort, Tecolote, Fort Union,

Camp Nichols, and Santa Fe figure prominently in Russell's account, as do Apaches, Utes, Navajos, and Kaws. Offering a distorted view, she wrote: "Along the trail, Indians killed and burned. The bones of their victims oft whitened along the trail" (13).

379. Ruxton, George Augustus Frederick. *In the Old West*. Edited by Horace Kephart. New York: Macmillan Company, 1924.

This book is reprinted in Ruxton's *Life in the Far West* (1983).

380. ————. *Life in the Far West*. 1849. Reprint, [Alexandra, VA]: Time-Life Books, Inc. 1983.

First published in book format in 1849, Ruxton's romantic yarns include stories of trappers who traveled over the trail in mid 1840s and their bloody encounters with Pawnees. Utes, Cheyennes, Blackfeet, and Sioux are also central to Ruxton's account. Other stories relate to Arapahos and their conflict with Ruxton's party as it moved north of the trail. He implies that Indians in the vicinity of Bent's Fort were treacherous and bloodthirsty. He details the measures taken by Santa Fe-bound caravans in Independence in preparation for Indian encounters and other road hazards. He notes that the dwindling buffalo herds compelled Indians to encroach on one another's hunting grounds, which sparked warfare among them.

381. ————. *Ruxton of the Rockies*. Collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter and edited by LeRoy R. Hafen. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Ruxton recorded his experiences in New Mexico, in the Rockies, on the Great Plains, and along the trail in 1846 and 1847. Utes, Pueblos, Navajos, Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Pawnees figure prominently in his writings. He asserts that non-Indian travelers had slaughtered thousands of buffalo, leaving most of them untouched after death. His trip down the trail from Bent's Fort in the spring of 1847 was uneventful, but he sensationalizes his account by noting famous landmarks, such as Chouteau's Island, the Caches, and Fort Mann, where conflict between Indians and Euroamericans had occurred. Regarding the accuracy of the account in his introduction, Hafen writes, it "is fictionalized history. The story is not a reliable historical chronicle, but it is factual" (xvi).

382. ————. *Wild Life in the Rocky Mountains: A True Tale of Rough Adventure in the Days of the Mexican War*. Edited by Horace Kephart. New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1916.

Covering the period from 1846 to 1848, Ruxton details his travel from Colorado to Missouri along the trail and his life as a mountain man.

383. Ryus, W. H. *The Old Santa Fe Trail: True Account of Incidents That Happened along the Old Santa Fe Trail in the Sixties*. Fort Davis: Frontier Book Co., 1968.

Ryus's useful account of his trail experiences from 1861 to 1866 includes mention of his contact with Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and others. Ryus criticizes the ways in which non-Indians treated Indians. He asserts that Euroamericans not only drove Indians from their hunting grounds but also often resorted to violence when hungry Indians approached wagon trains to ask for food. Consequently, "the Indians would be aroused and take to the warpath and attempt to avenge the death of their lost warrior by killing a white man wherever he chanced to find one" (63).

384. Sage, Rufus B. *Rocky Mountain Life; or Startling Scenes and Perilous Adventures in the Far West*. Dayton: Edward Canby, [18--?].

Written in 1845, first published the following year, and reprinted numerous times thereafter, Sage's narrative of his travels from 1841 to 1844 records his contacts with Arapahos, Sioux, Pawnees, Cheyennes, Osages, Sacs, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Kaws, and others. In 1844 with a party of traders, he journeyed on the trail to the States with a young Arapaho man named Friday who had been raised among Euroamericans in St. Louis. Sage depicted Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots as industrious peoples who possessed higher morality and honesty than their Euroamerican neighbors because Christianity had greatly subdued their "wild habits." Conversely, he viewed Pawnees and Kaws as lazy.

385. ————. *Rufus B. Sage: His Letters and Papers, 1836-1847, with an annotated reprint of his "Scenes in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas and the Grand Prairies"*. Vol. 4 of Far West and Rockies Historical Series, introduction, biographical sketch and notes by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1956.

In his correspondence to his mother and others written from 1836 to 1847, Sage related some of his experiences with Indians along the trail and elsewhere. He notes that they were more generous and friendly than their non-Indian neighbors. He asserts that there was no danger from them as long as "a person keeps on his guard" (93). A section of this volume contains a reprint of his *Rocky Mountain Life*.

386. Salisbury, William W. "The Journal of an 1859 Pike's Peak Gold Seeker." Edited by David Lindsey. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1956): 321-41.

Salisbury's record of his travels with a Colorado-bound party of gold seekers along the trail in May of 1859 indicates that they had a friendly meeting with Kiowas at the Walnut Creek trading house.

387. Salpointe, John Baptist. *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado*. Edited by Odie B. Faulk. Tucson: Diocese of Tucson, 1966.

First published in 1898, in this book contains Archbishop John Baptist Salpointe's personal account of Jesuit and Franciscan priests in New Mexico and Arizona during the latter part of the nineteenth century. He wrote that in 1851 Bishop J. B. Lamy opted to reach New Mexico by traveling by sea over the Gulf of Mexico and then traveling north by land to avoid dangers posed by Comanches. Salpointe himself reached New Mexico via the trail in 1859. He stated that the land was mostly inhabited "by nomadic Indian tribes, especially by the Comanches who were good warriors justly dreaded by the travelers" (34). He described daily life on the trail without noting actual contact between his party and Indians.

388. "Sand Creek Letters." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (November 2000): 23-25.

The article contains letters in which Lieutenant Joseph Cramer and Captain Silas Soule describe aspects of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, where U.S. soldiers under Colonel John M. Chivington slaughtered friendly Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas.

389. Sanderson, Jared L. "The Memoirs of Jared L. Sanderson, 'Stagecoach King,'" Part I *Wagon Tracks* 20 (November 2005): 16-21; Part II (February 2006): 12-21; Part III (May 2006).

Relating his days in Colorado and on the trail in an interview conducted around the year 1880 in Part I, Sanderson uses stereotypes and misrepresented facts to present an embellished account of his experiences and interaction with Indians. He makes a few vague references regarding Indians including Satanka, the noted Kiowa chief. In Part II, he states, "although my relations with him were not wholly pleasant nor by any means profitable. I do not entirely believe that saying that the only good Indian is a dead one. I will admit I felt safer in the presence of a dead one than a live one" (12). However, he acknowledges that most conflicts stemmed from injuries inflicted by Euroamericans on Indians. He provides some details about his experiences with Indians, including a view of their dress, economic pursuits, habits, and customs. Part III references what he had learned about their religions, legends, and worldview. White men, he states, often took advantage of Indians because the latter did not know the value of money. He adds that General Winfield Scott Hancock, during a council at Fort Larned in April 1867, use of threatening words had probably encouraged the Indians to commit depredations and atrocities along the trail and that it took a sizeable military force under General Phil Sheridan to force the Indians back on to their reservations.

390. "Santa Fe and the Far West." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (July 1930): 299-304.

Initially published in the *Niles' National Register* on December 4, 1841, this anonymous letter describes an 1841 journey over the trail. It refers to a peaceful meeting with Arapahos at the Cimarron River. Reflecting a commonly held misconception, it also asserts that Pueblos were the descendants of Montezuma, the noted Aztec leader.

391. "The Santa Fe Trail in Johnson County." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 456-63.

In 1906, Kansas settler Newt Ainsworth recalled at the dedication of a trail monument at Lone Elm that the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawnees had occupied eastern Kansas before the arrival of Euroamerican settlers. However, he did not associate these Indians with the trail.

392. Scholes, France. "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (January 1929): 45-58.

Spanish documents included in this article note the populations of the various Pueblos in New Mexico.

393. Scott, Jesse, ed. "Calvin Thompson Garland, 'A Familiar Description of the West.'" *Wagon Tracks* 16 (November 2001): 12-17.

Garland's record of his travel on the trail during the 1850s mentions his brief contacts with Potawatomi, Pueblo, Comanche, and Apache Indians.

394. Sedgwick, John. "Conditions at the Fort [Wise]," 17 November [1860]." In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 276-77. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

In an 1860 letter written from Fort Wise to his sister, Major John Sedgwick states that "six or eight of the chiefs came in, suing for peace. I sent their talk to Washington, recommending that terms be granted them."

395. ————. "Major Sedgwick's Official Report of August 11, [1860]." In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 212-14. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Sedgwick's report details his column's futile search for elusive Kiowas and Comanches on both sides of the trail. He speculates that they had scattered in small groups and that Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches had taken in their women and children. Twenty Kaws accompanied Captain Sturgis, the commander of another unit involved in this U.S. military operation.

396. ————. “Major Sedgwick’s Official Report of July 2, [1860].” In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 202-04. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Sedgwick’s report notes that Sarcoxie and five other Delawares guided U.S. troops along and near the trail in pursuit of Comanches. The soldiers covered more than 500 miles without finding any of them.

397. ————. “Sedgwick Is for the Union.” January 16, 1861. In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 281. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

In a letter written in early 1861 at Fort Wise to his sister, Sedgwick states, “I have sent you the slippers; a squaw brought them in just as the train was starting, and the clerk directed them.”

398. ————. “Sedgwick’s Letter of July 19, [1860].” In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 206-07. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

In this 1860 letter, Sedgwick notes a fight between U.S. soldiers and a small band of Kiowas north of Bent’s Fort. His claim that recent skirmishes in the trail’s vicinity had taken the lives of a hundred and fourteen Indians is an apparent exaggeration. He blames the outbreak of violence on gold-seeking Euroamericans going to and from Pike’s Peak.

399. ————. “Sedgwick’s Official Report of July 24, [1860].” In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 208-09. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Sedgwick reports that his command had pursued Kiowas from Aubrey’s Crossing to Bent’s Fort and then northward. In a fight in which both sides suffered casualties, U.S. soldiers captured sixteen Kiowa women and children. Sedgwick turned the captives over to William Bent “to be used as hostages for the safety of

emigrants on the road” (209). Accompanying reports of Captain William Steele and Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart support Sedgwick’s account.

400. Segale, Sister Blandina. *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*. Foreword by Marc Simmons and afterword by Anne M. Butler. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

Originally published in book format in 1932 and reprinted often, Sister Blandina’s account of her experiences in southern Colorado and New Mexico during the 1870s and 1880s contains hearsay and firsthand information about Indians. Referring to a Ute Chief named Rafael who went on the “warpath” because U.S. officials had constantly forced his people to relocate, she asks, “Poor Indians! Will they ever understand that the conquerors claim the land? How quickly the Indian detects true sympathy from the counterfeit!” (41). Drawing from secondhand information regarding Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa relations with the trail during the late 1860s, she states, “when victorious in their attack on white men, they were most ferocious. The men were first scalped, then killed, the children were also killed; the women were made prisoners-a fate far worse than death” (102). She retells a story about an 1867 Kiowa attack on a caravan carrying Bishop Lamy and nuns to Santa Fe. In her own words, she would rather be shot than taken captive by Indians.

401. Seger, John H. *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians*. Edited by Stanley Vestal. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

The memoirs of John Seger, a former U.S. agent, include a short appendix entitled, “Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians.” Seger also briefly describes Indian life in a reservation setting during the late 1800s. This book was republished in 1979.

402. Sheridan, P. H. *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882. Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier, 1790-1898: Comprising Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882; Chronological List of Actions, &c., with Indians from January 1, 1866 to January, 1891; and a Compilation of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866, Prepared by Historical Section, Army War College*. Compiled by Joseph P. Peters. New York: Argonaut Press Ltd, 1966.

Originally published in 1882 from information contained in U.S. military records, this compilation provides a chronological listing of engagements between Indians and the U.S. army and citizens in the Southwest and Great Plains. Many entries fail to provide the names of the participating Indian nations and to give the precise location of the engagements.

403. Shirk, George H., ed. “The Journal of Private Johnson: A Fragment.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 49 (Winter 1971-1972): 437-51.

Johnson chronicles his involvement with the Seventh Cavalry at the Battle of Washita and a look at his time at Fort Hayes and Fort Dodge.

404. Shively, John M. "The Road to Oregon and California, across the Rocky Mountains." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 359-66. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

Referencing preparation taken for overland travel to Oregon, Shively advises his readers to first obtain horses from the Shawnees.

405. Schlesinger, Sigmund. "The Beecher Island Fight." *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 538-47.

Schlesinger recalls his experiences as one of Forsyth's scouts in the September 1868 fight at Beecher Island against Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, a battle site situated north of the trail.

406. Sibley, George C. "Big John's Spring—Council Grove, Diamond of the Plain." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 111-12. [Colorado Springs:] The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

Sibley's account points out that the name of Council Grove came from a treaty council held there in 1825 between U.S. and Osage representatives.

407. ————. "General Sibley's Santa Fé Diary, 1825-1826." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 133-74. [Colorado Springs:] The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

Sibley's daily entries of his participation in the surveying of the trail and stay in New Mexico provide a glimpse of conditions in Santa Fe and Taos during the early years of the trail's history. It mentions deaths stemming from a measles outbreak and the burial of an Indian child at Taos. It reports a Pawnee raid on that town and Pawnee conflict with a small party of buffalo hunters on the plains in the spring of 1826.

408. Simmons, Marc, ed. "Governor Anza, the Lipan Apaches and Pecos Pueblo." *El Palacio* 77 (Winter 1970): 35-40.

Anza's correspondence discusses Spanish relations with Comanche, Apache, and Pecos Pueblo Indians during the late 1700s.

409. ————, ed. *On the Santa Fe Trail*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1986.

Historian Simmons' compilation of twelve firsthand narratives offers the accounts of a diverse group of trail travelers from 1842 to 1867. These writings uniformly stress the danger of Indian attacks and other hardships. They also reference Pawnee, Comanche, Osage, Kaw, Arapaho, Pueblo, and other Indians. Simmons provides a brief sketch of each author, but he rarely attempts to counter the numerous ethnocentric and debasing assertions found in their accounts. Rather, he perpetuates the ethnocentric notion that Indians were the aggressors, rather than the defenders of their homelands and ways of life.

410. Simpson, Lieutenant James H. *Navaho Expedition: A Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country made in 1849 by Lieutenant James H. Simpson*. Edited and annotated by Frank McNitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

First published in 1852, this volume provides Simpson's account about his extensive travels in New Mexico with the U.S. army. It gives rich descriptions of Zuni, Jemez, Taos, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Navajo, and Jicarilla Apache Indians, among others. It also references incidents of conflict involving Indians and the trail. In his epilogue, McNitt notes that during the spring of 1851 Simpson traveled with a small escort detachment over the trail to survey a site for a new military post to protect travelers from Indians. This discussion notes that Simpson and his escorts were nearby when Jicarilla Apaches killed eleven men carrying mail from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe near a south fork of the Cimarron Creek in 1850. It also indicates that Indians attacked wagon trains that spring.

411. Smith, Alice Strieby. "Through the Eyes of My Father: Fragments of Council Grove Frontier History." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 708-18.

Written from an ethnocentric perspective, Smith's informative account includes a description of Kaw culture and relations with Euroamericans at Council Grove and the trail during the 1850s and 1860s.

412. Smith, Azariah. *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith*. Edited by David L. Bigler. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990.

Smith documents his travel with the Mormon Battalion from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846. Although he indicates that the Battalion had no meaningful contacts with Indians, it shows that U.S. Volunteers frequently killed buffalo along the way.

413. Smith, Henry. "Henry Smith's Recollections, 1863." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*. Edited by Marc Simmons. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986, 64-93.

Recalling his experiences on the trail, Henry Smith notes a friendly encounter with Kiowas that occurred at Cow Creek in 1863.

414. Snell, Joseph W. and Robert W. Richmond. "When the Union and Kansas Pacific Built Through Kansas—Concluded." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 32 (Autumn 1966): 334-52.

The authors' compilation of correspondents' reports printed in newspapers gives slanted information about Cheyenne and Sioux resistance to railroad construction through Kansas.

415. Snively, Jacob. *Niles' National Register*, August 26, 1843. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, C: Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, D: Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 199-200. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

The conflict of Jacob Snively's party in 1843 with Osages and Comanches is mentioned in this newspaper article, originally published on August 10 in the *St. Louis Republican*.

416. Sonnichsen, C. L. "Southwestward Ho! Sam Bean on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (November 1994): 11-13.

Reprinted from C. L. Sonnichsen's *Roy Bean: Law West of the Pecos* (1943), this article contains Sam Bean's recollections of his travel on the trail during the 1840s. Bean, the brother of the famous judge, recalls that teamsters spoke about having fought Comanches and Arapahos, and that Comanches had watched the trail's flow of traffic.

417. Spiegelberg, Flora. "Tenderfoot Bride of the Santa Fe Trail." Introduction and annotation by Mary Jean Cook. *Wagon Tracks* 15 (November 2000): 11-16.

Spiegelberg, while traveling to Santa Fe by stagecoach in 1875, experienced an Indian scare and saw captives among some Indians. Her account references Pueblo Indians and an enslaved Indian.

418. Spotts, David L. *Campaigning with Custer and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry on the Washita Campaign, 1868-'69*. Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co, 1928.

Published several times previously, David Spotts's journal notes the activities of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry on the plains during the post-Civil War years. Containing negative stereotypes and racist sentiments, it gives details about battles between the Volunteers and Cheyennes both on and near the trail.

419. Standage, Henry. "Journal of Henry Standage." In *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage*. Edited by Frank Alfred Golder in collaboration with Thomas A. Bailey and J. Lyman Smith. New York and London: Century Co., 1928.

Henry Standage documents several encounters the Mormon Battalion had with Indians during its 1846 march from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. He notes that Delaware ferry operators took the Battalion across the Kansas River and that Pawnees were "fierce and warlike" (161). Standage notes a report indicating that Comanches had attacked some Missouri Volunteers who were hunting buffalo.

420. Stands In Timber, John and Margot Liberty. *Cheyenne Memories*. 2^d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Originally published in 1967, this book examines Cheyenne life as told by John Stands In Timber, a Northern Cheyenne born in 1882. Stands In Timber spent much of his life seeking information about his peoples' past and culture from tribal elders. It is thus full of details about Cheyenne experiences.

421. [Stanley, Henry M.] "A British Journalist Reports the Medicine Lodge Peace Councils of 1867." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 33 (Autumn 1967): 249-320.

British journalist Henry Stanley's account provides a fascinating picture of key Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache leaders who assembled at Medicine Lodge Creek and engaged in treaty discussions with U.S. representatives, who told them that they had to make way for Euroamerican settlers by abandoning their customary cultures. The report also references Indian relations with the trail, settlers, and U.S. army.

422. Steck, Michael. "Trail Letter of Michael Steck, 1852." In *On the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Marc Simmons, 18-27. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Traveling westward on the trail in the fall of 1852, Steck's letter tells of his party's meetings with Indians that entailed instances of tension and cooperation. An incident involving Kaws took place at Council Grove and a tenser one with Osages occurred at Ash Creek. The letter indicates that several Pueblo Indians found snow that Steck's party used to water its thirsty livestock.

423. Stegmaier, Mark J. and David H. Miller. *James F. Milligan: His Journal of Fremont's Fifth Expedition, 1853-1854; His Adventurous Life on Land and Sea*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988.

Milligan traveled with Frémont's fifth expedition to Bent's trading house at Big Timber in 1853 and returned to Missouri the following year. His journal's listing of expedition's members contains the names of four Wyandots and ten Delaware hunters. Because Frémont terminated his employment, Milligan worked for Bent

from November 25 to February 27. He participated in trading operations with Cheyennes and Arapahos at Bent's trading house and nearby Indian camps. Although he enjoyed fairly positive relations with Cheyennes, he viewed Arapahos as "presumptuous and overbearing." On February 24, 1854, he predicted that the Indians' "insolence and barbarity" (171) would spark a general Indian war within a year. That winter and spring, he returned to the States with a Bent train, having friendly contacts along the way with Cheyennes, Sioux, Comanches, Arapahos, Apaches, and Delawares.

424. Stephens, F. F. "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade." *The Missouri Historical Review* 10 (July 1916): 233-66.

Written early in the twentieth century when ethnocentric beliefs about the righteousness of manifest destiny were very much in vogue, Stephen provides one of the first legal and political histories of the trail. He declares that chronic Indian depredations during the second year of the trail's existence simultaneously caused the traders' profits to decrease and the Indians' stores to increase. Osages were specifically designated as a source of trouble for the traders.

425. Stewart, Watson. "Personal Memoirs of Watson Stewart."
<http://www.kancoll.org/articles/index.html> (assessed May 3, 2009).

Stewart's firsthand journal account offers information pertaining to Osages and the stress placed on them by Euroamerican encroachments and U.S. treaties during the post-Civil War years. It should be noted that similar conditions plagued other Indians of the region who had contact with the trail during those years.

426. Storrs, Augustus. "Collocation of the Indian." February 26, 1825, *Niles Register*. In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 93-95. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

In an 1825 letter to Senator Thomas H. Benton, Augustus Storrs offers a naïve strategy for ridding the trail of "troublesome" Indians. He recommends a policy entailing the removal of Kaws and Osages to an area between the Arkansas River and Missouri, where they would develop "an organized government of industrious habits and of peaceful villages, surrounded with smiling fields and domestic herds." Other Indians would "naturally join them or form similar establishments" (94).

427. ————. "Trade between Missouri and Mexico." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. Edited by Archer Butler Hulbert. [Colorado Springs:] Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933, 77-98.

This book contains Storrs's 1824 report to Sen. Benton. It has been republished several times.

428. Storrs, Augustus and Alphonso Wetmore. *Santa Fe Trail: First Reports: 1825*. Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1960.

First published in 1825 in Eighteenth Congress, Second Session, Senate Document 7, Serial 109, this volume contains the responses of Storrs and Wetmore to Senator Benton's questionnaire regarding Santa Fe and fur trade. Replying to question 19 about the Indians who occupy or traverse the country between Missouri and New Mexico, Storrs identifies Osages, Kaws, Pawnees, Arapahos, Snakes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches as the inhabitants of the region, with the first three being "stationary and the others erratic" (38). He notes several clashes involving Pawnees, Comanches, and non-Indians had occurred along the Arkansas River. Fearing that placing a strong U.S. military post in that area to protect trade would fuel Indian resentment, Wetmore recommends the use of trade and treaties as measures to protect travelers and traders from Indian aggression. The reports of Storrs and others encouraged Congress to allocate funding to cover the costs of right-of-way treaties and marking the route.

429. Stratton, John. "'A Bold and Fearless Rider': Ed Miller and the Paper Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (November 2002): 14-18.

Drawing from Mollie Hoops's 1885 recollection of Ed Miller's death at the hands of Cheyennes on the trail, librarian Stratton discussed various sources that offer conflicting dates and accounts of Miller's death. The article contains a useful annotated bibliography of published and unpublished sources about this minor incident.

430. Stremmel, Phillip. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress*. U.S. 30th Cong., 2^d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 [Serial 537]. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848, 144-46.

Written at Fort Mann on June 21, 1848, Lt. Stremmel's report states that Indians had attacked his command on June 7 and 18. In the latter fight, he estimates that his men killed nine enemy combatants and wounded many others.

431. Stuart, James Ewell Brown. "Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart's Journal, May 15 to August 11." In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 215-44. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

This source contains journals and reports telling of J. E. B. Stuart's march with the First Cavalry along and near the trail in the summer of 1860. It mentions a July 11 fight north of Bent's Fort that resulted in the deaths of two Kiowas and capture of sixteen Kiowa women and children. The soldiers placed the prisoners in the hands of William Bent, a U.S. agent and trader headquartered at Bent's Fort. Stuart notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches had gathered at Bent's Fort to receive their annuity.

432. ————. "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart." Edited by W. Stitt Robinson. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1957): 382-400.

Stuart's diary contains a daily record relates First Cavalry experiences while patrolling the trail in 1860 with six Delaware guides. Stuart mentions his peaceful meetings with Arapahos and Kiowas.

433. Stuart, James R. "The Diary of James R. Steward, Pioneer of Osage County." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (February 1949): 1-36.

In 1854, Stuart traveled in eastern Kansas along the trail with a Shawnee guide. After entering Kansas to homestead land near Cottage Gove, he took timber from an unspecified Indian reservation.

434. Sturgis, Samuel Davis. "Sturgis's Campaign." In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 245-54. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Recording his involvement in the 1860 war against Kiowas and Comanches, Captain Sturgis references fights that occurred north of the trail on the Republican River and elsewhere. One skirmish cost the lives of two Indian scouts and the wounding of others. He asserts that his command's horses could not compete with the Indians' mounts. He reports the death of twenty-seven enemies in a running fight on August 6.

435. Sumner, Edwin V. "Sumner Reports His Operations of 1858." October 5, 1858. In *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents – with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*. Vol. 12 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, 160-62. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

In his 1858 report, Edwin Sumner recommended the reestablishment of a fort at the site of old Fort Atkinson as an ideal spot where U.S. soldiers could protect the

trail's traffic. He also attributed Kiowa conflict with Euroamericans to young Kiowas who acted without the knowledge and consent of their chiefs.

436. Talbot, Theodore. *Soldier in the West: Letters of Theodore Talbot during His Services in California, Mexico, and Oregon, 1845-53*. Edited by Robert V. Hine and Savoie Lottinville. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

Writing from a camp situated a hundred and ten miles west of Westport on July 3, 1845, Talbot notes that Frémont had secured the services of two Delawares and planned to procure the services of others. Other correspondence indicates that before reaching Bent's Fort his party had met Kaws, Kickapoos, and other Indians returning from hunting buffalo. From Pawnee Fork, the command traveled up to the Smoky Hill River, where it had friendly encounters with Comanches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes. At Bent's Fort in early August, Cheyennes and nine Delawares, with some Kiowas present, engaged in peace talks.

437. Taylor, Joe F., ed. *The Indian Campaign on the Staked Plains, 1874-1875; Military Correspondence from War Department Adjutant General's Office, File 2815-1874*. Canyon, TX: Panhandle-Plains Historical Society, 1962.

This book provides a look at the U.S. military campaign against Comanches and others on the Staked Plains during the mid 1870s through personal and military correspondence. The writings tell about treaties and the U.S. army's role in putting down these peoples' final act of military resistance. Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail are not discussed, but this source notes that the route provided the U.S. soldiers an important roadway for reaching the Staked Plains.

438. Teichman, Sandra Gail, ed. *Woman of the Plains: The Journals and Stories of Nellie M. Perry*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000.

Focusing on women who participated in the Euroamericans' movement onto the plains, this edited volume examines selected journals and stories by Nellie M. Perry. Writing about a meeting with Indians, she reveals her arrogance and sense of privilege over them.

439. Thomas, Alfred B., ed. "Documents Bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (April 1929): 146-64.

This documents reference Spain's relations with Indians on the eve of the establishment of trade between Mexico and Missouri. The sources note Spanish relations with Pawnees, Kiowas, and Pueblos.

440. Thomson, Matt. "The Old Santa Fe Trail, Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (August 2002): 18-21; Part II, 17 (November 2002): 8-11.

Originally published in 1901 and reprinted in 1976, Matt Thomson's recollection of his trail experiences includes remarks about Indians during the 1860s with specific commentary pertaining to Satank, a famous Kiowa chief. He mentions "Indian begging papers." Scholars have questioned Thomson's truthfulness because he falsely claims that twenty-eight Mexican teamsters had been massacred along the trail. Part II contains an account of Thomson's conflict with Indians and Cheyennes diving into pools of water for turtles.

441. Tierney, Luke, William B. Parsons, and Summaries of the Other Fifteen. *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*. Vol. 10 of Southwestern Historical Series, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974.

First published in 1941, this useful compilation of guidebooks contains firsthand accounts of travel to the Colorado goldfields in 1858. Guidebook writers usually considered the Santa Fe Trail as one of the more desirable routes. They instructed travelers about how they should react during an Indian encounter. Parson's guidebook advised emigrants to keep their guns ready when interacting with Cheyennes. Tierney's guidebook references the Cherokee party that reached Colorado via the trail. Philander Simmons claims that those Cherokees' were a leading factor in the U.S. settlement of Colorado territory.

442. Tixier, Victor. *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*. Edited by John Francis McDermott. Translated by Albert J. Salvan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940.

First published in 1844 in French, Tixier's narrative provides his views of the Indians he met near the trail in 1839. He provides a romantic description of the Osages and their culture.

443. Trego, Joseph H. "The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer, Part One, 1857, 1858." Edited by Edgar Langsdorf. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 19 (May 1951): 113-32.

Without referencing the trail, Trego's account offers a glimpse of Osage culture and trade with Euroamericans.

444. Turner, Henry Smith. *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner with Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846-1847*. Edited with an introduction by Dwight L. Clarke. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

In his 1846 travel with the Army of West over the trail, Turner, a first U.S. dragoon captain, provides anecdotal and firsthand accounts of Indians. He notes U.S. relations with the Pueblos following the U.S. army's occupancy of Santa Fe.

445. Utey, Robert M., ed. *Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

The Barnitz's letters and diaries provide a view of the Seventh Cavalry's campaigns against Plains Indians in 1867 and 1868. They express the racial sentiments that army officers and their wives held for Indians. Areas in the vicinity of the trail are mentioned.

446. Van Norman, Russell W. "A Replacement's Walk Down the Santa Fe Trail." *Password* 19 (Spring 1974): 27-34.

Van Norman's article contains an 1846 letter by John L. Harris, a soldier who traveled with a U.S. army detachment over the mountain route to New Mexico. Harris reported seeing no Indians, but that this party experienced numerous "Indian scares" along the way. Reflecting the enduring influence of racial thought about Indians, Van Norman states that Harris's fears were well founded because "Pawnees, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches found the Santa Fe Trail an interesting shopping center" (32).

447. Vial, Pedro. "Vial's Santa Fé-St. Louis Diary." *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. 2 vols., edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 45-54. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

Vial's narrative and correspondence provide information about his 1792 contact with Pecos Pueblo, Comanches, Kaws, and others as he traveled with two companions from Santa Fe to St. Louis.

448. Waal, Carla and Barbara Oliver Korner, eds. *Hardship and Hope: Missouri Women about Their Lives, 1820-1920*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.

Although none of the primary sources in this book mention the trail, they do references Potawatomis, Osages, and other Indians in eastern Kansas. It illustrates the attitudes of several Euroamerican women toward Indians.

449. Waldo, William. "Recollections of a Septuagenarian." *Publications of Missouri Historical Society* 2 (1880): 1-18.

Reading a paper about his life on the plains and in the mountains before a Missouri Historical Society gathering in March 1880, Waldo recounts the experiences of himself and others who traveled on the trail. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he shows a degree of sympathy for Indians. Referring to the onset of conflict with Indians and the trail, he declares that traders had fired on unoffending party of those Comanches in 1826. Conversely, he asserts Euroamericans received "hospitalities and kindnesses . . . at the hands of Indians" (14). He notes that the ensuing warfare caused the death of U.S. citizens on and near the trail. He also provides firsthand information about Major Bennet Riley's efforts to protect the trail in 1829.

450. Wallace, Susan E. *Land of the Pueblos*. New York: George D. Hurst Publisher, 1888.

Influenced by the language of romanticism, Wallace provides a sympathetic view of the Pueblo Indians and their cultures.

451. Ward, Allen T. "Letters of Allen T. Ward, 1842-1842, from the Shawnee and Kaw (Methodist) Missions." Edited by Lela Barnes. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 33 (Autumn 1967): 321-76.

Ward's letters refer to the effects of the U.S. assimilation program on the Shawnees and Kaws. He also mentions the flow of Euroamerican traffic on the trail.

452. Ward, John. "Indian Affairs in New Mexico under the Administration of William Carr Lane: From the Journal of John Ward." Edited by Annie Heloise Abel. *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (April 1941): 206-22; (July 1941): 328-58.

In his 1852 and 1853 journal entries, Ward mentions Indians, especially Pueblos who visited his office and U.S. relations with Jicarilla Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and Comanches in New Mexico. On May 11, 1853, he notes that four Cochiti Indians en route to Barclay's Fort wanted the territorial governor to write them a letter asking authorities to assist them in the recovery of their missing animals.

453. Ware, Eugene F. *Indian War of 1864*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960.

Ware, a soldier with the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, drew on his firsthand experiences and hearsay information to tell a racially-tainted story about Plains Indian relations with the U.S. army in 1863 and 1864. Advocating genocide, he writes, the Cheyennes and Arapahos at Fort Lyon "were a bad lot. They all needed killing, and the more they were fed and taken care of the worse they became" (308). He states that "young bucks" often left the fort to rob trains and pillage. This book was first published in 1911.

454. Warner, Luna E. "The Diary of Luna E. Warner, a Kansas Teenager of the Early 1870s." Edited by Venola Lewis Bivans. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Autumn 1969): 276-311.

As fifteen-year old living in Kansas in 1871 and 1872, Luan Warner kept a diary that references Indians, including Pawnees, and the state of alertness that Euroamerican settlers maintained when Indians were believed to be nearby.

455. Webb, James Josiah. *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847*. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1931.

Webb's account of his three trips over the trail during the 1840s mentions his encounters with and hearsay information about Kaws, Pueblos, Pawnees, Navajos, Apaches, Comanches, Utes, Cheyennes, Sacs and Foxes, and others.

456. Webb, Thomas H. and George S. Park. "Emigrant Aid Company." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 416-35. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

Writing in 1854, Webb and Park reference Shawnees, Kickapoos, Potawatomis, and other Indians along and near the Kansas and Wakarusa rivers in eastern Kansas. They assert that Indians will give way to manifest destiny.

457. Weber, David J., comp. and ed. *The Extranjeros: Selected Documents from the Mexican Side of the Santa Fe Trail, 1825-1828*. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967.

This book provides rosters of foreigners who obtained trading permits in Santa Fe and Taos from 1835 to 1828. The rosters do not mention the foreigners' contacts with Indians.

458. Weichselbaum, Theodore. "Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum of Ogden, Riley County, July 17, 1908." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 561-71.

Weichselbaum's recollections of his experiences as a Kansas merchant during the 1850s and 1860s note his interaction with Indians, both friendly and violent, on and near the trail. He mentions Kaws, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Kickapoos, Pawnees, and Potawatomis.

459. ————. "Theodore Weichselbaum: Merchant on the Trail, Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (November 1991): 9-10; Part II, (February 1991): 13-15.

Reprinted from a paper written for the Kansas State Historical Society in 1908, Part I contains Weichselbaum's memory of his friendly and adversarial relations with Indians on the Santa Fe and Mormon trails. In Part II, Weichselbaum relates his trading experiences with Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas in November and December 1864 about twenty miles southwest of Fort Larned.

460. West, J. S. "Early Days in Drywood: The Folks, Their Customs and Many Anecdotes of the Pioneer Life in Bourbon County as the Distinguished Jurist Recalls Them." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 352-61.

Although not about the trail, West's account focuses on a few instances of Indian-Euroamerican conflict in Kansas during the early years of Bourbon County's existence.

461. Wetmore, Alphonso. "Alphonso Wetmore Letters." Edited by Leo E. Oliva. *Wagon Tracks* 14 (February 2000): 9-10.

The first of Wetmore's two letters to Major J. H. Hook published here, dated May 6, 1824, mentions a planned visit by the New Mexico governor with Indians [Pawnees] for a peace treaty. It also notes the preparation taken by an outbound Santa Fe caravan in terms of taking firearms. His November 4, 1829, letter comments on the conflict that erupted between Major Riley's command and Indians on the trail. It refers to Riley's reprisals against Indians for the killing of a merchant named Samuel C. Lamme and four soldiers.

462. ————. "Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of 1828." In *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, 175-98. [Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933.

Wetmore's October 11, 1831, letter to U.S. war secretary Cass, provides an overview of the development of the Santa Fe trade and Indian relations with the trail. Wetmore sought U.S. army protection for the traders. In his diary, also sent to Cass, he documents his numerous interactions with Indians in 1828 on the road.

463. ————. "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the State of Missouri upon the Subject of Mexico, with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore." In *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865.*, compiled and annotated by David A. White, 101-06. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1966.

Sent to Congress by Missouri inhabitants in October 1824, the petition asserts that Indians on the road to Santa Fe posed a threat to the lucrative trade. Calling for obtaining right-of-way agreement with Indians, the petitioners asked the U.S. government to take measures for the "security against the robberies and murders which all savages are prone to commit on the traveler and merchant; several instances of which have already occurred in the prosecution of this trade" (102). They also advocate the establishment of an assimilation program as a means to control the Indians. Wetmore's accompanying letter, dated August 19, 1824, calls for the U.S. government to mark the road to facilitate trade. He declares that the "persons engaged in the trade, without trespassing very largely on the domains of red men, subsist themselves in the country they traverse" (106).

464. Wharton, Clifton. "The Expedition of Major Clifton Wharton in 1844." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 16 (1923-1925).

Wharton's account of his command's visit to the Pawnee towns in late August and early September reveals the differing attitudes among the four Pawnee bands toward U.S. travelers. It indicates that he tried to awe the recalcitrant Pawnees into

line with U.S. expectations by using sabre-rattling tactics and dialogue. It also provides a glimpse at these Indians' poor economic situation.

465. ————. "Report of Captain Clifton Wharton, Company A, United States Dragoon Regiment, covering the Campaign of 1834, of this escort to the Santa Fe Caravan of that year, under the command of Josiah Gregg." In "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail." Edited by Fred S. Perrine. *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (July 1927): 269-304.

The commander of an 1834 U.S. column sent to protect Santa Fe traders, Wharton notes instances of tension between Comanches and a caravan headed by Josiah Gregg. His report, dated July 21, 1834, exposes the negative attitudes Gregg and other caravan members toward Indians. He also describes a friendly encounter with Pawnees as his cavalry command marched over the trail en route to Fort Gibson.

466. Whilden, Charles E. "Letters from a Santa Fe Army Clerk, 1855-1856." Edited by John Hammond Moore. *New Mexico Historical Review* 40 (April 1965): 141-64.

Whilden's letters provide a view of Indian-U.S. relations in New Mexico during the mid 1850s. An August 28, 1855, letter indicates that Whilden and a company of dragoons, traveling with a wagon train, had a friendly meeting with four thousand Comanches and Kiowas under Shaved Head, a great Comanche chief. Whilden asserts that if the Indians had known that the soldiers were unarmed, they could have "wiped out the whole command—got 200,000 in specie, 700 Mules & Horses, nearly 100 Wagons heavily laden—in fact, wealth untold for them" (143). It is unclear, however, where this meeting occurred.

467. White, David A., comp. and ed. *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 1, Early Explorers, 1803-1812 and Fur Hunters, 1813-1847*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

This compilation brings together a variety of U.S. government reports, petitions, newspaper articles, and other primary sources that reference acts of conflict and cooperation between Indians and the trail. Mentioned are Pawnees, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kaws, and others. These sources, listed under the name of each author, are part of this annotated bibliography.

468. ————. *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 2, Santa Fe Adventurers, 1818-1843, Settlers, 1819-1865*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996.

This volume contains the writings of William Becknell, M. M. Marmaduke, Augustus Storrs, Alphonso Wetmore, Bennet Riley, and Jacob Snively who documented their relations on the trail and elsewhere with Kaws, Comanches, Pawnees, Apaches, Utes, Arapahos, and others. The editor's commentary provides

biographical information about the authors and uncritical supplementary information regarding Indian-Euroamerican relations. The accounts of the historical actors are listed separately in this section.

469. ————. *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997, 315-19.

Various missionaries and U.S. agents including Isaac McCoy reported their contacts with Pawnees, Shawnees, Delawares, Osages, and others. The accounts of the historical actors are listed separately in this section.

470. ————. *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 7, Mailmen, 1857-1865, Gold Seekers, Pike's Peak, 1858-1865*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2000.

White noted that in 1858 and 1859 many gold seekers went to Colorado via the trail and other routes. This volume includes guidebooks written during that era for those travelers and the conflict with Cheyennes that followed. White indicated that a party of Cherokees headed by John Beck traveled over the trail en route to Colorado. The accounts of the historical actors are listed separately in this section.

471. White, E. E. *Experiences of a Special Indian Agent*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, White was a U.S. agent who worked with several Indian groups including Shawnees, the Osages, the Kaws, Utes, and Kiowa and Comanche. The book, originally published in 1883, is a collection of his personal remembrances and musings. It provides a Eurocentric understanding of reservation life for Indian peoples who once had intimate contact with the trail.

472. White, Lonnie J., ed. *Chronicle of a Congressional Journey: The Doolittle Committee in the Southwest, 1865*. Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1975.

This small book contains a compilation of newspaper articles written by “Burwell” about the Doolittle Committee and its journey over the trail to New Mexico in 1865 to investigate the treatment and U.S. relations with Indian nations. The delegation, accompanied by a large contingent of U.S. cavalrymen, saw only five Indians on the Plains, some Utes at Maxwell’s ranch, and Navajos confined at Bosque Redondo.

473. ————, ed. “Kansas Newspaper Items Relating to the Red River War of 1874-1875.” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 36 (1963): 71-101.

The newspaper articles in this study provide a view, however biased, about the 1874-1875 war. Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Apaches are mentioned.

474. ———, ed. “The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Indian Territory, 1868-1869: Eyewitness Accounts of Sheridan’s Winter Campaign.” *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 164-85.

This article provides firsthand accounts of the Kansas Volunteers who participated in the 1868-1869 U.S. military campaign against Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa Apaches.

475. White, Mrs. Stephen Beveridge. “My First Days in Kansas.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 550-60.

White’s recollections includes seeing a Kaw encampment at Council Grove in 1854 as her family moved into Kansas and other experiences she had with Indians after her husband build a homestead in northern Kansas.

476. Whitewolf, Jim. *The Life of a Kiowa Apache*. Edited and with an Introduction and Epilogue by Charles S. Brant. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969.

Born in 1878, Whitewolf shares his experiences living under the overbearing pressure of U.S. domination. He discusses his education and the changes that affected his people’s customary culture. Brant’s introduction briefly discusses the alliance among the Plains Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. It notes how U.S. policy placed the Plains Apaches on an Indian Territory reservation.

477. Whiting, Albe B. “Some Western Border Conditions in the 50’s and 60’s.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 1-10.

Whiting, then the president of the Kansas State Historical Society, spoke in 1910 about his Kansas experiences. Much of his talk focused on Fort Riley and its relations with Indians. He saw the U.S. military as largely ineffective in its mission to protect settlers from Indians.

478. Whitney, Chauncey B. “Diary of Chauncey B. Whitney.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928* 12 (1912): 296-302.

The diary provides the views of a scout during Forsyth’s 1868 campaign against Cheyennes.

479. Williams, Joseph. *Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-2*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1977.

Originally published in 1843, Williams tells of his travels in 1841 to Washington and return the following year on the trail. Although his small party feared meeting

Comanches and Pawnees, it only had friendly encounters with Cheyennes and Kaws on the road.

480. Wilson, Richard Lush. *Short Ravelings from a Long Yarn, or Camp March Sketches of the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1936.

Originally published in 1847, this ethnocentric account tells of an 1842 trip across the trail and train members' encounters with friendly Shawnees, Delawares, Kaws, and Arapahos. It graphically describes the buffalo hunting operations of his fellow travelers and a fight with Utes. The author viewed Pawnees and Comanches as the greatest danger to traffic, yet his train engaged in trade, not conflict, with the Comanches.

481. Wislizenus, Frederick Adolph. "Down the Chihuahua Trail with Wislizenus." Introduction and notes by Eugene O. Porter. *Password* 18 (Spring 1973): 21-32.

Wislizenus's 1846 description of Santa Fe inhabitants references Indians.

482. ————. *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839*. Glorieta: The Rio Grande Press, 1912.

Writing to provide readers a view of the West "with the peculiarities of the country and the still great peculiarities of its inhabitants" (161), Wislizenus documented his 1839 journey with a party of trappers up the Missouri River, across the Rocky Mountains, and back to the United States by way of Bent's Fort and the trail. Wislizenus saw the farms of peaceful Shawnees near Westport and described his experiences off the trail with Kaws, Delawares, Pawnees, whom he considered as "quite hostile," Sioux, and Arapahos. His party returned from its journey via the trail because the Sioux "were very much embittered against all whites, because the man they lost was thought to have been killed by a white man who was with the Pawnees" (138). Reaching Bent's Fort on September 15, Wislizenus heard that Indians had recently taken over a hundred horses. Reflecting biases common for his time, he referred to Indians as wild, uncivilized, and resistant to permanent residence. In the final chapter, Wislizenus provides a superficial picture of Indian life and culture.

483. ————. *A Tour to Northern Mexico, 1846-1847, Connected with Col Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1969.

First published in 1848, this book contains the account of Wislizenus who traveled from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, and beyond, in 1846 and 1847 with a train of twenty-two wagons, a few smaller vehicles, and thirty-five men. On June 12, 1846, Cheyenne men, women, and children visited his camp. Near the Rio Mora he noted that the settlers were constantly exposed to Indian depredations and, further west, the possibility of an encounter with Comanches.

484. Wolf, Lambert Bowman. "Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf." Edited by George A. Root. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (May 1932): 195-210.

A First U.S. Cavalry officer who served from 1856 to 1861, Wolf made numerous entries in his diary concerning his meetings with and involvement in military actions against Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos on and near the trail.

485. Wood, Samuel N. "A Free-Stater's 'Letters to the Editor:' Samuel N. Wood's Letters to Eastern Newspapers, 1854." Edited by Robert W. Richmond. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Summer 1957): 181-90.

Wood's 1854 letters about the Kansas political situation reference Indians and Indian lands several times without mentioning the trail.

486. Woodward, Arthur. "Adventuring to Santa Fe." *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (October 1942): 288-93.

In this introduction to an anonymous article entitled "The Book of the Muleteers," first printed in the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1825, Woodward described Indians as threats to the brave travelers on the trail. This account's only reference to Indians states, "And as they journeyed homeward in the wilderness, and in the land of the Arapahoes, the Camanchies and the ungodly Paducas" (293).

487. Württemberg, Paul Wilhelm von. "An Account of Adventures in the Great American Desert by His Royal Highness, Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg." Edited by Louis C. Butscher. *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (July 1942): 193-225; (October 1942): 294-344.

Although Paul Wilhelm did not reach the trail, his 1851 account of his travels across eastern Kansas and the Great Plains via the Oregon Trail mentions Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Jicarilla Apaches, Comanches, and other Indians associated with the trail. At Kansastown, near the junction of the Kansas River with the Missouri, he witnessed Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Iowas, Potawatomis, and Kaws purchasing goods. He described their attire as resembling that of circus clowns and noted the work of missionaries among them.

488. Vanderwalker, George E. "Reminiscences of George E. Vanderwalker, 1864." Edited by Marc Simmons. *On the Santa Fe Trail*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1986, 84-95.

In addition to recounting lore about the trail, Vanderwalker mentions his brief contact with Cheyennes at Bent's Fort.

489. Waldo, David, Charles Bent, James L. Collins to Major Bennet Riley, July 13, 1829. *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* by Otis E. Young. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952, 185-89.

Three traders with the Santa Fe Company thanked Riley and his men for coming to the aid of their train that had been attacked by Indians on July 11, 1829. The traders wanted the soldiers to provide them with additional protection from Indians.

490. Young, Otis E. *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952.

Young's compilation of materials pertaining to the Major Riley's escort command in 1829 provides useful information regarding the troubled relations Comanches and Kiowas with the trail. In a letter, Bent and Waldo thanked Major Riley and his men "for the effectual protection and generous assistance they have given us on a march through a Savage Wilderness of nearly five hundred miles during wll [sic] which nothing has been wanting on their part that energy and perseverance could occur" (179). The journals and reports of Riley and Cooke mention Pawnees, Kaws, Sacs, and others. In the introduction, Young recounts the conflict during the previous year that led to the deployment of the foot soldiers.

491. Young, Sherman Peter. "The Factual History of Kansas." <http://www.kancoll.org/articles/index.html> (assessed January 5, 2009).

Recalling his travels as a five-year old child over the trail, Young asserts that Indians along the route were beggars and nuisances.

492. Yount, George C. *George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West Comprising Extracts from His "Memoirs" and from the Orange Clark "Narrative."* Edited by Charles L. Camp. Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1966.

Yount's narrative tells of his experiences as a trapper in the Southwest during the 1820s. In addition to providing information about Zuni, Taos, and Picaris Pueblos, he briefly discusses the nature of these Indians' interactions with Mexican officials and settlers.

B. Santa Fe Trail Histories

493. Anthony, Ted. "Munro of McNees Crossing." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (November 1993): 13-14.

Anthony provides information about Daniel Munro's background. In 1828, Munro and McNees were perhaps the first Euroamerican men killed by Indians on the Santa Fe Trail.

494. Arnold, Samuel P. *Eating Up the Santa Fe Trail*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990.

This study contains numerous references to Indians and their foods.

495. Atherton, Lewis E. "Business Techniques in the Santa Fe Trade." *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (April 1940): 335-41.

Atherton alludes to the death of Samuel C. Lamme, who was returning to Missouri, at the hands of Indians in 1828.

496. ————. "The Santa Fe Trader as Mercantile Capitalist." *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (October 1982): 1-12.

This study presents Santa Fe traders as capitalists. Atherton points out that the Aull brothers not only engaged in trade with Mexico, but that they also contracted with the U.S. government to supply the reservations in eastern Kansas.

497. Baley, Charles W. *Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002.

In chapter two, Baley discusses the Beale's party as it traveled over the trail in 1858. The party had only one encounter, a friendly one, with unspecified Indians, but the author, drawing from common nineteenth-century assumptions about Indians, referring to them as fierce menaces.

498. Barbour, Barton H. "Westward to Health: Gentlemen Health-Seekers on the Santa Fe Trail." In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*. Edited by Mark L. Gardner. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989, 39-44.

Barbour indicated that Francis Parkman, who traveled on the Oregon and Santa Fe trails in 1846, went for health reasons and to document "wild" Indians. This study was first published in the *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1988): 39-44.

499. ————. "James Ross Larkin: A Well-Heeled Health Seeker on the Santa Fe Trail, 1856-57." *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 47-54. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Barbour described Larkin's experiences with Indians at Bent's Fort in 1856 and 1857.

500. Barry, Louise. "The Ranch at Cimarron Crossing." *Kansas Historical Review* 39 (Autumn 1973): 345-66.

Barry recounted the bloodshed that occurred near the Cimarron Crossing ranch and Cheyenne and Kiowa conflict with non-Indians during the 1860s.

501. ————. "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing (Beach Valley, P. O)." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1972): 416-44.

Barry discussed Kaw, Kiowa, and other Plains Indian troubled relations with the Cow Creek Crossing ranch during the 1850s and 1860s. Situated near the trail, the ranch and its vicinity was a scene of periodic warfare.

502. ————. "The Ranch at the Great Bend." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1974): 96-100.

Barry probed the Kiowa and Cheyenne conflict with the Great Bend ranch on the trail in 1862 and 1864.

503. ————. "The Ranch at Little Arkansas Crossing." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Autumn 1972): 287-94.

Barry's study details incidents of trading and conflict at the ranch from the mid-1850s to 1870. Much of the work addresses Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, and Cheyenne warfare with the U.S. military in the 1860s near the ranch, which was located on the trail.

504. ————. "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Summer 1971): 121-47.

Barry detailed numerous conflicts involving Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and other Indians with trail traffic and the U.S. military from the 1850s to the 1870s.

505. Beachum, Larry Mahon. "To the Westward: William Becknell and the Beginning of the Santa Fe Trade." In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*. Edited by Mark L. Gardner. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989, 6-12.

Beachum used stereotypical language to discuss an incident involving the capture, beating, and theft of property of two members of Becknell's second Santa Fe expedition in 1822. This study also appears in *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1988): 6-12.

506. Beers, Henry P. "Military Protection of the Santa Fé Trail to 1843." *New Mexico Historical Review* 12 (April 1937): 113-33.

This one-sided study attributes murder and robbery by Comanche and Pawnee Indians as reasons for the use of U.S. military personnel to protect trail travelers in 1829. It also mentions U.S. relations with Kiowas, Kaws, and Osages.

507. Belt, Marie. "Wagon Mound." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 7.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Belt noted that the Utes and Jicarillas who ranged in Wagon Mound vicinity occasionally attacked passing wagon trains.

508. "Bent Descendants Celebration." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (November 1987): 3.

This article notes that from August 7 to 9, 1987, a hundred and seventy five descendants of William Bent and Owl Woman attended a celebration at Bent's Old Fort. Speakers to a crowd over 2,600 people strong included Henrietta Whiteman [Mann], Sam Hart, and Donald Berthrong. The event also included a powwow and the selling of Indian crafts.

509. "Bent Reunion Planned." *Wagon Tracks* 1 (November 1986): 5-6.

This article mentions a planned reunion of the descendants of William Bent and his Cheyenne wives, Owl Woman and Yellow Woman at Bent's Fort during the summer of 1987.

510. Bessire, Fern. "Wagonbed Spring." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990): 15-16.

Writing about events occurring in the vicinity of Wagonbed Spring, Santa Fe Trail Association member Bessire mentions that Arapahos near the Lower Spring asked members of a wagon train to help them celebrate a victory over the Pawnees. No year is given for this fight. She describes 1846 as being the "bloodiest year ever for Indian attacks along the trail, fifteen men were killed near the Spring within two weeks" (16).

511. Blakeslee, Donald J. "The Mallet Expedition of 1739, Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991): 15-18; Part II, (May 1991): 14-16.

Blakeslee's discussion of the Mallet expedition references Pawnees, Omahas, and other Indians during the years before 1821 in what became Kansas. In part two, Blakeslee noted the geographic connection of Comanches to lands along the lower Cimarron in 1739. He indicated that the Mallet route, which the trail later followed, was an important Indian path from the plains to the Rio Grande Valley.

512. Boyle, Susan Calafate. *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997.

The Southwest Regional Office of the National Park Service funded the initial research of Boyle's work. Her study of Hispano merchants periodically references Comanches, Utes, Navajos, Apaches, and others mostly in the context of conflict and warfare.

513. Brandon, William. *Quivira: Europeans in the Region of the Santa Fe Trail, 1540-1820*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990.

Brandon's study of Indian relations in the Southwest and plains with European newcomers discusses most major events that transpired in those regions before the trail came into existence. Pawnees, Comanches, Kaws, Utes, Pueblos, Apaches, and others figure prominently in this useful history.

514. Bransford, Jeff. "William A. Bransford Trail Pioneer." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (November 1987): 6-7.

This account mentions an 1846 incident near Bent's Fort involving unspecified Indians and Bransford. It also states that Bransford had a Sioux wife.

515. Broadhead, Edward. "Trail Exhibit at Pueblo." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (February 1992): 5.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Broadhead briefly mentions the abandonment of Fort Pueblo, a U.S. army post located on the trail, because of an 1854 Ute raid.

516. Broadhead, Garland C. "The Santa Fe Trail," *Missouri Historical Review* 4 (July 1910): 309-19.

Applauding the trail's development and early history, this narrative discusses Osages in the context of conflict. Maintaining focus, it also describes Pawnees and Comanches as being troublesome.

517. Brown, Dee. "Along the Santa Fe Trail." *American History Illustrated* 15 (October 1980). 9-13, 42-44.

Historian Brown indicates that during the 1850s, after Indians had become more troublesome along the trail, U.S. soldiers sometimes concealed themselves in mail wagons in hopes of surprising Indians who sought horses and mules.

518. Brown, William E. *Santa Fe Trail: The National Park Service 1963 Historic Sites Survey*. St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1988.

This book about historic sites and structures provides a succinct history of the trail. It discusses Indian relations with U.S. forts including Larned, Dodge, Mann, and Camp Nichols; landmarks such as Pawnee Rock, Point of the Rocks and Wagon Mound in New Mexico; and towns including Council Grove, Las Vegas, and San Miguel. Unfortunately, Indians are depicted primarily as threats and annoyances.

519. Bryan, Howard. *Wildest of the Wild West: True Tales of a Frontier Town on the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1988.

This useful book discusses Apache conflict with U.S. military and New Mexico settlers along the trail in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. A chapter details the 1849 killing of a Jicarilla Apache woman near Wagon Mound by a soldier, an incident that sparked Apache retaliation.

520. Buckles, William G. "Along the Santa Fe Trail: Preservation Today and Tomorrow." *Southwest Lore* 53 (March 1987): 12-27.

This insightful study points out the lingering problem of misconceptions about the trail. According to Buckles, issues of stereotypes of women and Hispanics have been addressed by Sandra Myres and David A. Sandoval, respectively, but the same critical assessment has not occurred for "Indians, Blacks, environments, and other related phenomena" (17).

521. Burr, Eugene P. "A Detailed Study of the Aubry Cutoff of the Santa Fe Trail and Fort Aubry." *The Emporia State Research Studies* 23, No. 1 (Summer 1974): 5-72.

Burr states that Santa Fe traders constantly sought new and safer routes to avoid conflict with Indians. He stresses that "the conflicts that developed between the two groups were severe and violent" (7). In May 1848 Francois Xavier Aubry witnessed a peace council at Fort Mackay between the U.S. army and various Plains nations. A June 3, 1848, excerpt from the St. Louis *Republican* indicates that Aubry lost time, baggage, provisions, and letters to Indians near Pawnee Rock. He notes that U.S. soldiers established a string of forts along the trail to protect travelers "from marauding bands of renegades demanding tribute from a wagon train to insure it against attack." He also discusses the role Fort Aubry played during the wars of the 1860s.

522. Burton, Nada. "Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 3 (August 1989): 9-10.

This brief article discusses the significance of Council Grove to the trail traffic and alludes to Kaw and Osage Indians.

523. Bussian, Robert A. "Two Pioneers: James Carothers on the Santa Fe Trail and Archie Carothers on the Santa Fe Railway." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (November 2004): 12-13.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Bussian provides a brief sketch of his great-grandfather's experiences on the trail in 1852, which includes an incident of tense interaction between Carothers's train and encamped Comanches and Kiowas on the Arkansas. Bussian asserts that then time Indians had become the trail's primary hazard.

524. Carrillo, Richard F. and Philip L. Petersen. "The Caddo Agency Site and John W. Prowers's First Ranch at Big Timbers, Bent County, Colorado." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 11-14.

Historical archaeologist Carrillo and researcher Peterson document in an even-handed fashion the flight of Caddo Indians from Confederate soldiers in Texas to near Fort Larned during the Civil War. They discuss the Caddos' destitute condition, relations with other Indians and the United States as well as their subsequent movement to an Indian Territory reservation. The authors also examine the troubled nature of Cheyenne and Arapaho relations with the trail following the Sand Creek Massacre.

525. Carter, Anne. *Mulberries and Prickly Pear*. Independence: Arrow Press, 1991.

Carter's story is about the hardships of modern travel on horseback on the trail. It includes brief historical passages about Indians.

526. Chalfant, William Y. *Dangerous Passage: The Santa Fe Trail and the Mexican War*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Chalfant, an attorney who has written extensively about Indian-Euroamerican warfare on the southern plains, relies on primary and secondary sources to examine incidents of conflicts that erupted in 1847 as Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos conducted forays in response to the escalation of U.S. military freighting and civilian commerce on the trail. Chalfant acknowledges that U.S. expansion, along with the killing of the buffalo, precipitated the warfare but he nonetheless presents Indians as savage, warlike predators. He asserts that it was Pawnees received the blame for depredations committed by others in that bloody year. Much of Chalfant's narrative focuses on the trail in what became Kansas.

527. ————. "In Search of Pretty Encampment." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 12-15.

Chalfant alludes to Cheyennes in Kansas during the 1800s.

528. ————. "A Time of War: Indian Fights along the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848, the Great Bend of the Coons Creeks." In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 76-87. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Drawn from the pages of *Dangerous Passage*, Chalfant pinpoints place where much of the conflict between Indians and trail traffic occurred from 1846 to 1848.

529. Chambers, Clint. "Texas Panhandle Branches of the Old Santa Fe Trail in the 1860s." *Wagon Tracks* 20 (May 2006): 10-13.

This study addresses the warfare that raged in New Mexico during the 1860s. Kiowas, Comanches, Mescalero Apaches and others are mentioned as being involved in the fighting. Much of the discussion focuses on the Navajos who were imprisoned at Bosque Redondo, however.

530. Chávez, Thomas E. "A Road of Culture and Commerce, Introduction." *Kansas History* 19 (Winter 1966-1997): 224-27.

In his introductory remarks for this special issue, historian Chávez notes that the trail "was the last link that brought together the inevitable confluence of two great American societies each born in Europe and changed through its new-world experience" (227). Apparently, the deleterious effects of the trail on Indian life, land tenure, sovereignty, and cultures are inconsequential in this history, because Chávez fails to mention Indians.

531. ————. "Up from Mexico and Beyond the Ruts: Commemorative Thoughts on the Santa Fe Trail." In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 1-8. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

In presenting this paper at the 1995 Santa Fe Trail Association symposia, Chávez briefly discussed Euroamerican who sought the scalps of Apaches and other Indians for money. He also mentioned the illegal trade in alcohol with Indians that concerned the U.S. and Mexican governments.

532. Clapsaddle, David K. "Satank, Bane of the Santa Fe Trail or Hero of the Kiowas." *Wagon Tracks* 20 (November 2005): 8-11.

The study provides a slanted biographical sketch of Satank, the noted Kiowa leader also known as Set-Angia or Set-Ankeah. It depicts him as a "stone-age man" who fought and killed non-Indians along the trail and in Texas.

533. ————. "Ash Creek Crossing." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (November 2000): 17-18.

Clapsaddle briefly discusses several violent occurrences at the Ash Creek Crossing and surrounding area. In 1847, Comanches attacked a U.S. army detail with Kit Carson, driving off livestock and wounding three soldiers. In an 1860 incident, Kiowas attacked a ranch at Ash Creek, killing John Cunningham and Christian Krauss. In 1865, unidentified Indians killed two soldiers there.

534. ————. "Black Pool: Historic Trail Site or Modern Conjecture?" *Wagon Tracks* 11 (August 1997): 5-7.

Clapsaddle briefly refers to a mixed party of Cherokees and Euroamericans who were en route to California goldfields from Oklahoma in 1850.

535. ————. “Conflict and Commerce on the Santa Fe Trail: The Fort Riley – Fort Larned Road, 1860-1867.” *Kansas History* 16 (Summer 1993): 124-37.

The author examines Indian warfare against U.S. army units and trail traffic during the 1860s. He covers the development of stage travel and the coming of the railroad.

536. ————. “Cook Creek Crossings on the Santa Fe Trail.” *Wagon Tracks* 20 (November 2005): 5-7.

This article notes that in 1863 and 1864 Indian raiders took the lives of several travelers and that this bloodshed led to the construction of Fort Larned, a small outpost initially known as Fort Coon. In 1867, another Indian force attacked a wagon train at the Little Coon Creek crossing. The following year at the Battle of Little Coon Creek, unidentified Indians reportedly lost a few men in a fight that wounded several U.S. soldiers. Clapsaddle points out that accounts differ regarding the number of casualties on both sides.

537. ————. “Dick Curtis, All But Forgotten.” *Wagon Tracks* 14 (February 2000): 8.

This brief article notes that Curtis, a Fort Larned interpreter attached to a Lakota woman, filed for compensation for depredations committed by Kiowas in the 1860s.

538. ————. *A Directory of Santa Fe Trail Sites Associated with the Wet and Dry Routes in Pawnee, Edwards, and Fort Counties, Kansas*. Larned, KS: The Wet/Dry Routes Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association, 1999.

Consisting primarily of maps and brief descriptions of the trail sites in three Kansas counties, this photocopy contains a few scattered references to Indians. It contains an affidavit of William Cole, dated October 8, 1859, concerning a September 24 Kiowa attack on a mail wagon at Jones Point that resulted in the death of the Smith brothers, Michael and Lawrence, and a Kiowa.

539. ————. “The Dry Route Revisited.” *Wagon Tracks* 14 (November 1999): 8-11.

Reprinted from *Overland Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association*, this article mentions a Kiowa attack on a mail wagon that killed the Smith brothers in 1859.

540. ————. “The Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road.” *Kansas History* 14 (Summer 1991): 100-12.

According to Clapsaddle, the extension of the Union Pacific Railroad during the late 1860s enabled the newly founded town of Hays City to become a major distribution center for U.S. military goods. Army units used the road running between Fort Hays and Fort Dodge to conduct operations against Cheyennes.

541. ————. “The Fort Leavenworth-Round Grove/Lone Elm Road: The Army’s First Link to the Santa Fe Trail.” *Wagon Tracks* 8 (November 1993): 10-13.

Clapsaddle provides brief but useful information regarding Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot relations with Euroamerican travelers.

542. ————. “The Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road: A Phenomenon in the Shift from Trail to Rail.” In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 104-110. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Carrying the title of Santa Fe Trail Association Ambassador, Clapsaddle uses primary and secondary sources to discuss Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche conflict with U.S. soldiers, Kansas settlers, and trail travelers in the 1860s. However, he offers no interpretive framework for understanding the complex dynamics of Indian-Euroamerican relations.

543. ————. “The Fort Wallace/Kit Carson – Fort Lyons Roads.” *Wagon Tracks* 8 (February 1994): 11-14.

The author mentions Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa attacks on feeder routes in 1868.

544. ————. “Pawnee Rock Through the Eyes of Matt Field.” *Wagon Tracks* 19 (February 2005): 6-8.

This article, a paper presented at the Rendezvous at Larned, Kansas, in September 2004, discusses Matt Field’s fanciful account entitled “The Legend of Pawnee Rock,” which appeared in an 1840 issue of the *Picayune*. Accordingly, a Pawnee chief went there to sacrifice his daughter but a young French Canadian rescued her.

545. ————. “Santa Fe Trail Crossings on the Arkansas River.” *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 25-28.

This article indicates that the Spanish knew the Arkansas River as the Rio Grande de San Francisco and as the Rio de Napestle or Napeste, after an Indian name for it and that Frenchmen called it the Arkansa for the Indians who resided near its mouth.

546. ————. “Trade Ranches on the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, Part I: The Other Ranch at Walnut Creek.” *Wagon Tracks* 12 (February 1998): 19-21.

The author discusses the trading operations in Kansas of Wilhelm [William] Greiffenstein, known as Dutch Bill. During the 1850s and 1860s, Dutch Bill traded with Shawnees, Delawares, Comanches, Potawatomis, and others. In 1860, Bill established a trading ranch at Walnut Creek near the trail. The article also addresses the bloody 1864 war that pitted Cheyennes against Euroamericans. In 1867, General Philip H. Sheridan charged that Greiffenstein, who had moved his operations to Indian Territory, had sold guns to Cheyennes, who used the firearms against Euroamericans in Kansas.

547. ————. “Trading Ranches on the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, Part II: Hohneck’s Ranch.” *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 16-17; 12 (August 1998): 13-14

Clapsaddle indicates that Ernst Hohneck participated in the buffalo and Indian trade.

548. ————. “Trading Ranches on the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, Part III: The Ranch at Smoky Hill River.” *Wagon Tracks*.

This installment discusses the conflict that occurred in 1864 between Cheyennes and the United States in the Smoky Hills, north of the trail. Clapsaddle mentions a May 17 Cheyenne attack on the Cow Creek stage station near the Smoky Hill Crossing that took the life of Suel Walker.

549. ————. “The Wet and Dry Routes of the Santa Fe Trail.” *Kansas History* 15 (Summer 1992): 98-115.

Clapsaddle’s study of the wet and dry routes of the trail in Kansas gives a snapshot of the fighting that Kiowas and other Indians engaged in with trail travelers and U.S. soldiers.

550. Claycomb, William B. “James Brown: Forgotten Trail Freighter.” *Wagon Tracks* 8 (February 1994): 4-6.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Claycomb writes about freighter Brown in an ethnocentric framework that depicts Indians as warlike aggressors. He mentions that the “Pawnees and other occasionally-belligerent Indians” (4) harassed Brown’s party in 1847. On the return trip on July 4 “a force of Comanches and ‘renegade Mexicans’” (4) attacked Brown’s party at the Cimarron River. Claycomb notes that Comanches killed a member of Brown’s westward bound caravan at Walnut Creek in late May or early June the following year. Brown had other brushes with Indians, including being captured in September 1848 by 40

Arapahos and Apaches east of Rabbit Ear Creek in New Mexico. Clayborn mentions Brown's connection to the Wagon Mound [New Mexico] fight in 1850.

551. Comer, Douglas. *Ritual Ground: Bent's Old Fort, World Formation, and the Annexation of the Southwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996.

In this critical analysis of Bent's Old Fort, Cheyenne, Lakota, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, Shoshoni, and Ute Indians are frequently discussed. Indian ceremonies, spiritual views, and resistance to U.S. expansion are included. The author asserts that Bent's Fort employees encouraged Indians to raid Mexican territory. This book was not well received by scholars because of its speculative and unsubstantiated theories.

552. Conner, Seymour V. and Jimmy M. Skaggs. *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade*. College Station, TX and London, GB: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.

Rather than viewing travel over the trail as a grand adventure, this study examines the interplay of social, economic, and political forces that are a part of this history. However, it is marred by its use of racial language to describe Indians as simple-minded predators. Indians, they proclaim, did not threaten the trade because westward U.S. expansion endangered their lands and ways of living, and they were not "sophisticated enough to recognize such a sweeping socioeconomic concept" (77).

553. Cook, Mary Jean. "Governor James S. Calhoun Remembered." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (February 1994): 7-9.

Santa Fe historian Cook mentions four or five Tesuque Pueblo Indians who traveled with an eastward bound party with Calhoun, the first territorial governor of New Mexico, who was dying.

554. ————. "Tesuque Indians Meet the President: Epilogue to the Death of Gov. James S. Calhoun." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (May 1994): 13-15.

Cook identifies the Tesuque men who traveled across the trail in 1852 on visit to lodge complaints about problems facing their people to the U.S. president. They returned to New Mexico the following January.

555. Council Trove, Document. "Sisters on the Trail, 1867." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (February 1993): 21.

This installment contains a chapter from *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas* (1898) about the travel of a group of sisters over the trail in 1847. It mentions several incidents of conflict involving unspecified Indians.

556. Crease, Craig. "Trace of the Blues: The Santa Fe Trail, the Blue River, and the True Nature of the Old Trace in Metropolitan Kansas City." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (August 1997): 8-15.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Crease discusses the location of the Shawnee Agency and Delawares in proximity to the trail.

557. Crutchfield, James A. *The Santa Fe Trail*. Plano, TX: Republic of Texas Press, 1996.

This study examination of the life and times of the trail provides a superficial view of the Plains Indian cultures.

558. Culmer, Frederic A. "Marking the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9 (January 1934): 78-93.

Drawing from primary sources, Culmer mentions the preliminary negotiations that occurred in 1825 at St. Louis regarding U.S. officials who informed some Osage and Kaw leaders about plans to mark the trail. The appendix indicates that one of the U.S. commissioner had been directed to procure and properly label "a skull [skull] of each of the tribes of Indian," preferable a male, for Dr. Lane.

559. Cunningham, Mary Jo. "Calvin Moses Dyche: Freightier on the Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (May 1993): 1, 18-19.

Cunningham briefly notes a fight her great-grand father Calvin Dyche had with unspecified Indians near Cow Creek in 1863.

560. Curtis, F. S., Jr. "The Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History." *New Mexico Historical Review* 1 (July 1926): 324-34.

Curtis asserts that Indian raiders only seized a very small portion of the goods transported over the trail.

561. Dary, David. "The Santa Fe Trail Adventures of Milton E. Bryan in 1828 and 1829." In *Kansas and the West: Bicentennial Essays in Honor of Nyle H. Miller*. Edited by Forrest R. Blackburn, and others. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1976.

Historian Dary notes that in the fall of 1828 homebound traders with Milton Bryan battled Comanches for several days. The captain of the small wagon train, John Means, was killed during the fighting and other members experienced hardships because the attackers had stampeded their horses. The following year in Mexican territory, Comanches attacked a westbound caravan with Charles Bent and Bryan, but a U.S. force commanded by Bennet Riley rescued all of the travelers, except Samuel Lamme. Unfortunately, this study ignores factors that prompted this outbreak of warfare.

562. ————. *The Santa Fe Trail: Its History, Legends, and Lore*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, Dary writes in the conventional mode of narrative history, without critical analysis, about European and U.S. expansion into the Southwest. He focuses primarily on non-Indians involvement in the trail's development. His concluding chapter about the trail's legacy is disappointing because he presents Southwest Indians primarily as tourist attractions.

563. ————. "Storied Silver, Fabled Gold: Buried Treasure Legends along the Santa Fe Trail." *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992, 93-108.

The author cites Indian attacks on trail travelers that led to the burial of money and gold by besieged caravan members.

564. Davis, H. Denny. "Franklin: Cradle of the Trade." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (May 1993): 11-17.

Denny's study of Franklin, Missouri, references the 1825 U.S. treaty with the Osages.

565. Davis, Katie. "Seth M. Hays and the Council Grove Trade." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (November 1987): 10-11

This article notes that Kaws participated in a bloody conflict at Council Grove in 1859.

566. "Death at Pawnee Rock." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 7.

This brief analysis of historical documentation indicates that warfare at Pawnee Rock took the lives of only a few travelers.

567. DeSpain, S. Matthew. "Taos Trappers and Indian Troubles: Cross-Cultural Violence on the Southwest Fur Trade Frontier." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (May 2002): 20-24.

Historian DeSpain delivered this paper at a 2001 symposium in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Although not about the trail per se, he draws from primary and secondary sources to examine three types of cross-cultural violence – revenge, revenue, and vigilante tradition – that occurred between Indians and fur trappers. To DeSpain, the James Kirker best embodies the spirit of the commercial bounty hunter. Assisted by Delawares and Shawnees, Kirker exchanged Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa scalps for money offered by the Mexican government. DeSpain designates the trials and executions of those Indians and Mexicans who rebelled against U.S. domination in 1847 at Taos and elsewhere as an example of vigilantism.

568. Dick, Charles Howard. *Territory Aflame and the Santa Fe Trail*. Lawrence: Lawrence Outlook Publication, 1954.

In the second section of this brief study, the author examines difficulties experienced by trail travelers. Regarding the Indian threat, Comanches were the most troublesome.

569. Dickey, Michael. "M. M. Marmaduke: Santa Fe Trader and Missouri Governor." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (May 1988): 8-9.

This study mentions that Indian "difficulties" along the trail negatively impacted Marmaduke's quest for financial gain.

570. Doe, Sandra M., ed. "Trail Troubadour." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (August 1997): 19-21.

Drawing from the writings of Sister Blandina Segale, Doe references conflicts that Utes had U.S. settlers and soldiers in the vicinity of Trinidad, Colorado, during the early 1870s.

571. Dolbee, William B. "'Privilege to Mark Out the Way': American Mission, Mexico, and the Road to Santa Fe." *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (July 1993): 227-45.

Dolbee documents U.S.-Mexico relations with a focus on the trail after Mexico gained its independence in 1821. Although U.S. treaties with the Kaw and Osage Indians are referenced, the author fails to mention Indians in a substantive fashion. Rather, he concentrates on U.S. government policy matters and the surveying of the trail by George Sibley.

572. Duffus, R. L. *The Santa Fe Trail*. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930.

Considered a standard work, Duffus's study encompasses the trail's history and its pivotal role in U.S. expansion. Duffus accurately notes that not all Indian-Euroamerican encounters involved violence. He points out that Indians contested foreign trespassers on their hunting lands. Yet, he falls in the Eurocentric trap of presenting Pawnees as predatory; Utes, Navajo, and Apaches as warlike; Arapahos as menaces; and Comanches as aggressors. He considers the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Delawares, and Shawnees as civilized or semi-civilized nations. This book was reissued in 1975.

573. Einsel, Mary. *Stagecoach West to Kansas: True Stories of the Kansas Plains*. Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1970.

The transition of Kansas “from a lonesome prairie occupied by small bands of Indians into a cultivated land supporting thousands of newcomers” (9) is the focus of this book. The author deals with the trail in some detail.

574. Elder, Jane Lenz. *Across the Plains to Santa Fe: Exhibit Catalogue*. Dallas: DeGolyer Library of Southern Methodist University, 1993.

In this brief account, Elder indicates that by 1830 Santa Fe traders had begun to request U.S. protection from Indians. Without critically analyzing the dynamics of Indian-Euroamerican relations, the author casts Indians as aggressive peoples who apparently delighted in harming innocent travelers. Despite its limitations and biases, the book includes a useful annotated bibliography of primary sources.

575. Editors of Look. *The Santa Fe Trail: A Chapter in the Opening of the West*. New York, Random House, 1946.

This study examines the role the trail played in the westward U.S. expansion. It refers to Arapahos, Comanches, and Pawnees as “unholy terrors” who “saw their hunting lands invaded and the buffalo herds on which they depended for their livelihood being dispersed and exterminated” (74).

576. Evans, Sterling. “‘Eastward Ho!’ The Mexican Freighting and Commerce Experience Along the Santa Fe Trail.” *Kansas History* 19 (Winter 1996-1997): 242-61.

Historian Evans used primary and secondary sources to examine the experiences of Mexicans in the trail market. He indicates that New Mexico merchants, many of whom had traded with Pueblos, Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and other Indians for years, exchanging livestock, tobacco, and dry good for furs and produce. He notes that during the 1820s, New Mexico officials and merchants sought peace with the Pawnees and asked the U.S. government to protect the trail.

577. Fisher, Virginia Lee. “Jedediah Smith’s Last Journey.” *Wagon Tracks* 4 (February 1990): 12-14.

Fisher’s article references two separate incidents in which Pawnees killed E. S. Minter and Jackson on Pawnee Fork on May 19, 1831, and Comanches took the life of Jedediah Smith on May 27 during that year.

578. ————. “In Search of José Watrous.” *Wagon Tracks* 12 (February 1998): 6-12.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Fisher discusses aspects of Watrous’s life. Watrous traveled the trail as an adolescent in the 1850s and a freight hauler in the 1860s. Her study briefly references Indians a few times.

579. ————. “Tabo Creek.” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (May 1991): 8-9.

Fisher's brief study touches on the association of Tabo Creek, the first major stream west of the Missouri River, with the trail.

580. Fowler, Pauline S. and Eric Fowler. "Early Jackson County, Missouri, and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (February 1997): 8-10.

This mother and son team, both Santa Fe Trail Association members, references the 1825 treaties in which Osages and Kaws ceded land along the trail. It also alludes to agency roads, essentially trading routes that reached Indian reservations in eastern Kansas.

581. Frank, Curtiss. *Re-Riding History, Horseback over the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1997.

Frank writes about a horseback journey that he took with friend in 1972 over the trail. Reflecting on the legacy of hardships and struggles that traders encountered, he offers nothing new concerning Indians.

582. Franzwa, Gregory. *Images of the Santa Fe Trail*. St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988.

Franzwa's text and captions contain a few tidbits about Indians.

583. ————. *Impressions of the Santa Fe Trail: A Contemporary Diary*. St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988.

In the spring of 1988, Franzwa documented the daily activities of a National Park Service team as it retraced the trail's route. He tells of the team's visit to the graves of Euroamericans killed by Indians and to former Indian campsites. He also mentions that team members held discussions regarding Indians.

584. ————. *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*. St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1989.

Franzwa's study provides a few insignificant references to Indians.

585. ————. *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*. Foreword by James M. Ridenhour. St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1989.

Hampered by the author's strong Eurocentric biases, this well-illustrated tour guide presents a brief history of Indian-Euroamerican contacts at specific trail sites such as Council Grove. "They [Osages]," he writes, "may not have been as bloodthirsty as the Comanches, Kiowas, or Utes, but the Osage were a troublesome bunch" (72).

586. Frost, H. Gordon. "The Santa Fe Trail." In *Along the Early Trails of the Southwest* by Wayne Gard, and others. Austin and New York: Pemberton Press, Jenkins Publishing Company, 1969.

Relying on primary and secondary sources, Gordon focuses on Euroamerican relations with Indians. He asserts that Kaws enjoyed trading with Euroamericans and that William Bent's marriage to an "Indian princess" assured that his fort would be free of Indian attacks. The mountain route through Bent's Fort was safe from Kiowas and Comanches "who were almost always looking for small wagon trains from which to either steal, extract 'gifts' for the right to travel over their land, or on occasions, to kill the unsuspecting traveler" (103). He suggests that during the early years of trail travel Indians probably killed more men than the eight typically cited by historians. He recounts various incidents of conflict and provides estimates about the amount of property damage inflicted by Indians.

587. Gamble, Mary B. "William Bent's First Grandchild." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990): 6-7.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Gamble's account of Ada Moore Lubers, William Bent's granddaughter, provides information about Cheyennes during the 1860s and their treaties with the United States.

588. Gard, Wayne et al. *Along the Early Trails of the Southwest*. Austin and New York: Pemberton Press, 1969.

Individual accounts of life and travel along the trail are offered in this romanticized depiction of the early Southwest trails. The economic benefits as well the history of the Santa Fe Trail are discussed. Conflicts between the U.S. military and Indians are part of this study.

589. Gardner, Kathryn Davis. "Conn and Hays: Council Grove Trail Merchants." In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Mark L. Gardner, 32-38. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989.

Gardner's study about traders at Council Grove references the Kaws. This study first appeared in *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 32-38.

590. Gardner, Mark L. *Santa Fe Trail, National Historic Trail*. Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1993.

This brief monograph by a professional historian and Santa Fe Trail Association member references the 1825 Osage treaty. It acknowledges that the trail produced few benefits for Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, Pawnees, and others except for some trade exchanges. Both sides, according to Gardner, committed outrages that paralyzed the trail's traffic.

591. ————. *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade: Wheeled Vehicles and Their Makers, 1822-1880*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.

Gardner's study of wagons mentions Indians just a few times, including the arrival of a wind wagon at Council Grove, possibly in the spring of 1847, to the Kaw's astonishment.

592. Gottschalk, M. C. "Pioneer Merchants of the Las Vegas Plaza: The Booming Trail Days." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (February 2002): 8-19.

A New Mexico Highlands University student, Gottschalk discusses the significance of the Las Vegas trade in New Mexico. Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches during the 1860s and 1870s receive some attention.

593. Gregg, J. R. *A History of the Oregon Trail, Santa Fe Trail, and Other Trails*. Portland: Binfords and Mort, Publishers, 1955.

Although containing "Santa Fe Trail" in the title, this book has scant information about this road. Moreover, it follows an ethnocentric perspective with Indians referred to as savages and squaws. Pawnees, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches are denigrated as dangerous threats.

594. Gregory, Alma. "William B. and Lydia Spencer Lane on the Southwestern Frontier, 1854-1869." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (August 2001): 8-12.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Gregory's study of the Lanes includes a discussion of incidents on the trail, both real and imagined, involving Southwest Indians.

595. Gross, M. C. "Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: 1846-1847." *Password* 43 (Summer 1998): 88-97.

Gross notes that Susan Magoffin wrote about an Indian mother who bathed herself and her newborn baby in a stream.

596. Gwaltney, William W. "In Search of Furs and Freedom: African-Americans on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (August 2004): 10-15.

This useful study provides a much-needed discussion of the role of African-Americans on the trail and in western U.S. expansion as slaves and free persons. A veteran National Park Service employee, Gwaltney notes that in 1820 and 1821 David Meriwether and his slave Alfred traveled with a few Pawnees over the route where the trail would soon lay. African Americans, including James Beckwourth, worked for William and Charles Bent. Unlike historians who discredited Beckwourth's life story, Gwaltney notes that recent new information has verified the truthfulness of much of Beckwourth's autobiography. He also points out that

following the Civil War African American soldiers in segregated army units occasionally used the trail to pursue Indians.

597. Hall, Thomas B. *Medicine on the Santa Fe Trail*. Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1971.

Hall, a medical doctor, provides useful information about how the trail traffic transmitted smallpox and other contagious diseases to Indians. The book contains the diary of Thomas Bryan Lester, a military physician who traveled over the trail in 1847. Lester recorded his observations of Shawnees, Pawnees, Kaws, Sacs, and Comanches.

598. Hardeman, Nicholas Perkins. *Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977.

A chapter of this study discusses the Hardeman's involvement in the Santa Fe trade during the 1820s. It asserts that mounted Indians led to the demise of the buffalo herds by their practice of hunting females, leaving a gender imbalance with a preponderance of bulls. It also indicates that Kaws and Osages attacked Marmaduke's homeward-bound train in the fall of 1824, taking or stampeding many mules and horses and inflicting more than \$16,000 in property losses. It states that 1828 Indian attacks on returning trading parties resulted in the loss of more property and the deaths of Robert McNees, Daniel Munroe, and John Means.

599. Harvey, Henry. *History of the Shawnee Indians, from the Year 1681 to 1854*. 1855. Reprint. New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971.

A Quaker missionary who worked among the Shawnees in Ohio and Kansas, Harvey documents the displacement of Shawnees, along with their acculturation, economic pursuits, and relations with non-Indians. Regarding the roads to California and Santa Fe, which passed through Shawnee land, he wrote that "should the weary traveler see proper to call, and spend a night with these people, and manifest that interest for them, which he will be very sure to do, in viewing them in their present condition, and comparing it with what it once was, he will be well cared for. The Shawnees generally sow a large amount of grain, and often spare a large surplus after supplying their own wants" (272).

600. Hathaway, Ralph. "Ralph's Ruts." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 8-10.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Hathaway briefly mentions the Plum Buttes massacre in 1863.

601. Hayes, A. A., Jr. *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail*. New York: Harper and Brothers, Franklin Square, 1880.

This book contains five articles that were first appeared either in *Harper's Magazine* or the *International Review*. It should not come as a surprise that early accounts present Indians, especially the Cheyennes and Apaches, as threats who worried travelers.

602. Hernández, Andy. "The Indian Slave Trade in New Mexico." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (November 2001): 8-11.

Historian Hernández stresses that New Mexico officials, merchants, and Indians struggled against one another over control of the Indian slave trade.

603. Hill, William E. *The Santa Fe Trail: Yesterday and Today*. Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1992.

In his introduction, history buff Hill casts Indian relations with the trail in the context of conflict, tension, and warfare. The book contains excerpts from firsthand accounts written by Joseph Brown, George Sibley, Susan Magoffin, and other trail travelers. Illustrations depicting Indians enrich this study.

604. Holmes, Kenneth L. "The Benjamin Cooper Expeditions to Santa Fe in 1822 and 1823." *New Mexico Historical Review* 38 (April 1963): 139-50.

Holmes notes that early trail traffic impacted Indian nations differently. The Kaws were friendly and a Comanche named Francisco Largo guided travelers. A quote from Joel Walker states that at the Little Arkansas on June 1, 1823, unspecified Indians [Osages] attacked his party. An Indian reportedly died from wounds suffered in the fight.

605. Horgan, Paul. *Josiah Gregg and His Vision of the Early West*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979.

This book offers a glimpse into Josiah Gregg's experiences with and attitudes toward Indians and their cultures. Drawn from Gregg's diaries, it tells of his eight trips to Santa Fe from 1831 to 1840.

606. Howard, Bryan. *Wildest of the Wild West: True Tales of a Frontier Town on the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1988.

This history of Las Vegas and surrounding area contains numerous references to Indians, mostly Jicarilla Apaches and Utes. It suggests that the 1849 Jicarilla attack on the White party at the Point of the Rocks was in retaliation for the killing of Lobo Blanco's daughter. It suggests that White's missing daughter, known as Marguerita Inez, had survived the ordeal and still living among her Jicarilla capturers in the 1920s. It provides details about a Jicarilla attack on a U.S. mail party at Wagon Mound in the spring of 1850 that took the lives of ten men.

Howard also includes several stories about Indian-Euroamerican warfare in Kansas during the 1860s.

607. Hudson, James E. "Camp Nichols: Oklahoma's Outpost on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 14 (November 1999): 12-17.

Hudson's paper, presented at the 1997 Santa Fe Trail Association symposium, contains references to Colonel Christopher Carson's military operations against Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa Apaches in 1864 and 1865.

608. Humpage, Erin. "Price of the Prairie: The Death of Ed Miller, a Ballad." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 17.

This poem offers a romanticized view of Miller's death in 1865, or "there about."

609. Hyslop, Stephen G. *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Drawing from the accounts of nearly a hundred trail travelers, Hyslop "paid considerable attention to the ways in which ventures described by American witnesses affected Mexicans and the many tribal peoples encountered along the trail" (ix). Correctly assessing the trail in the context as a place where complex interactions unfolded between Indians, Mexicans, and white Americans, he probes the travelers' attitudes toward and relations with Kaws, Osages, Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Pueblos, Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, and others. Hyslop notes that not all incidents of contact along the trail involved warfare.

610. ————. "Embarking from St. Louis." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (May 2002): 1, 7-14.

This excerpt from Hyslop's *Bound for Santa Fe* (2002) offers information about the relationship of Matt Field, Josiah Gregg, Francis Parkman, and others with Indians along the trail.

611. Inman, Henry. *The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway*. Topeka: Crane and Co., 1898.

Written by a retired army officer, this voluminous book begins with the arrival of the first Spanish explorers on the plains and concludes with the "invasion of the railroad." Inman lacked compassion for and an understanding of Indian cultures, but he conceded that the conflict stemmed from promises made and broken by U.S. officials. He indicates that the Pueblo Indians assisted the Spanish in their war against the Plains Indians.

612. Jackson, W. Turrentine. *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.

This study about road surveys and construction contains a few references to Indians and the trail.

613. Karnes, Thomas L. "Gilpin's Volunteers on the Santa Fe Trail." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (Spring 1964): 1-14.

Based on primary and secondary sources, this history discusses Pawnee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche interaction with the trail and the U.S. army in 1847 and 1848 from the perspective of Major William Gilpin. Much of the study focuses on Fort Mann and surrounding area. Karnes refers to Indians at least once as savages.

614. "Kaw Councils Feature Dhegiha Tribes." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 14.

This piece notes that the Kaw Mission State Historic Site and Friends of Kaw Heritage established a monthly program called "Kaw Councils." It indicates that Kaws had a "close association" with the trail.

615. Kieta, Emily. "The New Mexico Fandango." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (May 2005): 11-14.

Drawing from primary sources, graduate student Kieta finds that Indians participated in the fandangos in Santa Fe.

616. Kimball, Stanley B. "Rediscovering the Fort Leavenworth Military Branch of the Santa Fe Trail." *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 59-58.

Kimball indicates that an Indian guide participated in laying out the Fort Leavenworth branch road.

617. Kincaid, Robert. "Death at the Fort: The Cemetery at Bent's Old Fort." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (May 2001): 6-9.

Kincaid, a history buff from Crowell, Texas, uses primary sources to discuss the deaths of Shoshonis, Comanches, and Kiowas at or near Bent's Fort during the 1830s. He also mentions that Pawnees and Comanches killed Euroamericans near there.

618. Koenig, Terry R. "F. W. Cragin and His Famous Collection." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (November 1991): 11-12.

An excerpt from an account of Theodore C. Dickson contains a brief reference to unspecified Indians in 1858.

619. Kracht, Benjamin R. "The Kiowa and the Santa Fe Trail." In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from the Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 25-40. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Ethnohistorian Kracht's informative study draws from primary and secondary sources to examine Kiowa cosmology in terms of seeking spiritual power in war. Moving beyond the flawed presentation of Indians as barriers to American expansion, he breaks down Kiowa involvement with the trail into two time periods, 1832-1847 and 1848-1868. Kracht also seeks to understand the complex dynamics of among Indian nations.

620. Krakow, Jere L. "Hispanic Influence on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (February 1992): 16-17.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Krakow mentions Indians both before and after the trail's beginning in 1821.

621. Laugesen, Amanda. "Making a Unique Heritage: Celebrating Pike's Pawnee Village and the Santa Fe Trail, 1900-1918." *Kansas History* 23 (Autumn 2000): 172-85.

Historian Laugesen's uncritical examination of the development and placement of historical makers on the trail references Indians a few times.

622. Laut, Agnes, C. *Pilgrims of the Santa Fe Trail*. New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1931.

Laut's study romanticizes the trail as well as the Indians and non-Indians who were involved with it.

623. Lavender, David. "Bent's Fort: Outpost of Manifest Destiny." *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 11-25. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Without adding a new perspective about Indians-Euroamerican relations, historian Lavender mentions Indian involvement in trade at Bent's Fort.

624. ————. *The Trail to Santa Fe*. Santa Fe: Trails West Publishing, 1989.

First published in 1958, this small book, written both for the young and old in a celebratory tone, mostly refers to Indians in the context of conflict.

625. Lecompte, Janet. "The Mountain Branch: Raton Pass and Sangre de Cristo Pass." *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 55-66. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

A scholar of early western history, Lecompte touches on Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho relations with the trail's mountain branch.

626. LeCompte, Mary Lou. "The Manco Burro Pass Massacre." *New Mexico Historical Quarterly Review* 41 (1966): 305-18.

LeCompte examines events surrounding the June 19, 1848, Jicarilla Apache attack on a party of travelers at Manco Burro Pass [San Francisco Pass] in southeastern Colorado. She notes that Utes had captured a small caravan near there that spring.

627. Loleit, John. "Pecos Pueblo on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (November 1999): 8.

National Park Service employee Loleit provides an overview of Pecos Pueblo before and after the trail's founding.

628. Long, Margaret. *The Santa Fe Trail: Following the Old Historic Pioneer Trails on the Modern Highways*. Denver: W. H. Kistler Stationery Company, 1954.

Long examines the wording contained on historical markers on highways. Two markers identify places where the Osage and Kaw treaties of 1825 were signed while others denote sites of warfare.

629. Loudon, Richard. "Bent's Ranch on the Purgatory." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004): 23-24.

Reprinted from a Bent's Fort Chapter newsletter, this article by Santa Fe Trail Association director Loudon discusses an incident that occurred late in the summer of 1847 at the Purgatory ranch on the trail in which Utes took the horses and mules belonging to a small party with John L. Hatcher. Utes told them to "leave the land upon which they said no white man had the right to settle" (22). When Hatcher refused to leave, the Utes killed most of his cattle, sparing three. Hatcher then fled to Bent's Fort.

630. ————. "The Military Freight Route." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (May 1993): 7-10.

In this study about U.S. army freighting, Loudon refers to Indians as thieves, threats, and murderers.

631. ————. "Trinidad and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (November 2004): 16-17.

Loudon notes that Uncle Dick Wootton charged a fee to all non-Indians passing through Raton Pass.

632. ————. “Wootton’s Toll Gate at Raton Pass.” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 18.

Again, Loudon indicates that Wootton charged everyone except Indians a toll for the right to pass through Raton Pass.

633. McDougal, C. L. “The Santa Fe Trail and the Mora Land Grant: The Effects of Trade on a Traditional Economy, 1846-1880.” *Wagon Tracks* 18 (November 2003): 8-14.

McDougal’s examination of the economic transformation of the Mora land grant touches on Pueblo, Ute, and Jicarilla Apache life before the arrival of Spanish colonizers.

634. McKinnan, Bess. “The Toll Road Over Raton Pass.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (January 1927): 83-89.

McKinnan asserts that “Uncle Dick” Wootton was too wise to charge Indians a toll for the right to use Raton Pass. She states that conflict in 1866 and 1867 made it necessary for toll road users to seek U.S. military protection and that newspapers often mentioned Indian troubles there.

635. Mallinson, Jane. “Blue Mills and Lower Independence Landing.” *Wagon Tracks* 14 (May 2000): 6-7.

Sugar Creek [Missouri] resident Mallinson provides a sketch of Indian relations with Fort Leavenworth, mentioning the periodic distributions of flour to the Little Osages and the Delaware Mission in the 1830s from there.

636. ————. “Independence: Queen City of the Trail.” *Wagon Tracks* 17 (August 2003): 1, 18-19.

Noting the importance of Independence as a hub for goods bound for Oregon, California, Santa Fe, and points along the way, Mallinson touches on Euroamerican trade with Osages, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis.

637. ————. “Springs of Independence.” *Wagon Tracks* 17 (August 2003): 19-20.

Mallison mentions that Kaws, Osages, and others frequented an area known as Big Springs. She indicates that the Kaw chief Kachenga died there of pneumonia during the 1850s. She points out that two bronze statues, one of a young Indian and another of a young Euroamerican female, were placed there.

638. Manning, William R. “Diplomacy Concerning the Santa Fe Road.” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1 (March 1915): 516-31.

This study of United States and Mexico diplomacy during the early 1820s contains several references to Indians, treaties, diplomacy, and conflict. Both nations discussed the issue of protecting trail travelers. Of particular note, U.S. representative Joel Roberts Poinsett believed that the trail would have a beneficial impact on Indians.

639. Martin, Gene and Mary. *Trail Dust: A Quick Picture History of the Santa Fe Trail*. Colorado Springs: Little London Press, 1972.

This pamphlet contains a brief listing of significant events that occurred on the trail as well as reproductions of photos and sketches. Indians are occasionally mentioned in the chronology and depicted in the images.

640. Mattes, Merrill J. *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

This study of migrant life on the Overland Trail includes a few comparative references to the Santa Fe Trail.

641. May, Stephen. *Footloose on the Santa Fe Trail*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993.

This book is about the author's walk from Bent's Fort to Santa Fe and the trail's history. It plays with facts in an attempt to intersect the experiences of Francis Parkman, Susan Magoffin, and William Bent in 1846. It briefly describes Pueblo Indians without providing new interpretations regarding their relations with Euroamericans.

642. Mayberry, Willard. "The Middle Spring and Point of Rocks Area along the Cimarron River." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (February 1990): 8-11.

Drawing from historical sources, history buff Mayberry briefly references Indians in the area of the Middle Spring. She suggests that Comanches killed Jedediah Smith there in 1831.

643. Meany, Joseph F., Jr. "Jeremiah Stokes: A Case in Family History." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004): 10-15.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Meany notes that Stokes, a "galvanized Yankee," served on and near the trail with the Second U.S. Volunteers in the spring of 1865. Meany also alludes to Indian attacks on a supply train at Jarvis [Chávez] Creek and Fort Lyons.

644. Meyer, Marian. *Santa Fe's Fifteen Club: A Century of Literary Women*. Santa Fe: Fifteen Club, 1991.

This monograph contains biographical sketches of women who made up Santa Fe's "Fifteen Club." The entry for Ester Virginia Bradley Thomas notes that she reached Santa Fe in a stagecoach via the trail in 1874 "when travelers each night prepared against an attack by hostile Indians" (17).

645. Miller, Darlis A. "Freighting for Uncle Sam." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 11-15.

Historian Miller notes that Indian warfare disrupted the trail's flow during the summer of 1864.

646. ————. "The Perils of a Post Sutler: William H. Moore at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1859-1870." *Journal of the West* 32 (April 1993): 7-18.

This study notes that William H. Moore, soon after the Mexican War's conclusion, established a trading post at Tecolote, a small town on the trail about fifty miles from Santa Fe, from which he traded with local Hispanics, Comanches, and other Indians. It also discusses conflict between Indians and New Mexico. In 1854, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas retaliated for the killing of two of their people by launching a series of attacks from northern New Mexico through the Pecos Valley.

647. Moore, Craig. "Yellow Wolf, William Bent, and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (May 1994): 7-8.

Moore, a Bent's Old Fort park ranger and a Santa Fe Trail Association member, provides useful information about Yellow Wolf and Cheyenne relations with the Bent family, Lieutenant James Abert, and George Ruxton. He discusses the gradual development of Cheyenne conflict with United States citizens in the late 1850s and the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre where Yellow Wolf and other Cheyennes fell. This study references other Indians as well.

648. Moorehead, Mary. "Search for the 1868 Capture Site of Mrs. Clara Blinn." *Wagon Tracks* 3 (May 1989): 1, 17-18.

Moorehead documents the aerial and land search for the site where Arapahos captured Clara Blinn and her baby, members of an eight-wagon train, near Sand Creek in October 1868. Moorehead, a grandniece of Blinn, suggests that the would-be rescuers were responsible for the pair's death during Custer's attack on Black Kettle's camp on the Wichita River in November of that year.

649. Morgan, Dorothy. "Bear Creek Pass and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 11 (August 1997): 1, 15-19.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Morgan references Plains Indian thefts of livestock from trail travelers, U.S. treaties with Kaws and Osages, and the killing of three merchants in 1828. She also notes the deployment of U.S. troops to the trail the following year.

650. Morgan, Phyliss. "Buffalo on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004): 5-9.

Morgan pays scant attention to the Indians' economic and spiritual relationship to buffalo. She indicates that by the mid 1800s the U.S. government had implemented a silent policy aimed at exterminating these animals and displacing Indians. Hide seekers, protected by U.S. soldiers, reduced Indians to a state of starvation by slaughtering the herds during the early 1870s.

651. ————. "Mustangs on the Santa Fe Trail, Part I." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (November 2003): 4-7; Part II, 18 (February 2004): 4-7.

Morgan stresses that the spread of horses onto the plains dramatically changed Indian life. Indians, she states, prized Paints and Pintos for their "hardiness, loyalty, and intelligence" (5).

652. ————. "Prairie Dogs on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 16-22.

Morgan notes that some travelers referred to prairie dogs as the "Wishtonwish" of the Indians. The name, she asserts, came from Indians because of the alarm the animals make.

653. ————. "Rattlesnakes on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 10-14.

Drawing from James Brice's account about an 1858 incident, Morgan discusses the medicinal treatment a Cheyenne used to save a traveler's mule that had been bitten on the head by a rattlesnake.

654. ————. "Wolves, Coyotes, and Roadrunners on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (August 2003): 4-9.

Morgan briefly notes the significance of roadrunners in Pueblo Indian culture.

655. Muldoon, Daniel D. "Trappers and the Trail: The Santa Fe Trail from the Trapper's Perspective." *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 67-74. Niwot: University Press of Press, 1992.

This essay mentions that Shawnees joined James Kirker's scalp-hunting operations for the Mexican government, that Comanches killed Jedediah Smith in 1831 on the Cimarron Cutoff, and that Pawnees killed William Tharp in 1847.

656. Munro, Dixie. "Big Timbers Museum." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (May 1991): 7.

Prowers County Historical Society president Munro provides a brief history of Big Timbers in the 1800s. She says that this noted area along the mountain route was a campground for Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and other Indians. She mentions that Yellow Wolf, a Cheyenne leader, wanted the Bents to build their fort there. After abandoning the old fort, William Bent built a new post near there that served as a trading center with Indians.

657. Murphy, Dan. *Santa Fe Trail, Voyage of Discovery: The Story Behind the Scenery*. [Las Vegas, NV:] KC Publications, Inc. 1994.

This pictorial history few references to Indians includes the 1825 treaty with Osages and Pecos Pueblo. It also alludes to conflict involving Kiowas and Apaches.

658. Murray, Robert A. *Citadel on the Santa Fe Trail*. Bellevue, NE: The Old Army Press, 1970.

This brief study covers important elements about the relationship of Bent's Fort with Comanches, Kiowas, and Cheyennes. It contains contemporaneous drawings depicting Kiowa and Comanche conflict with trail traffic.

659. Myers, Harry C. "Death on the Trail, 1828 McNees Identified." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (August 1995): 1-2.

Myers draws from Nicholas P. Hardeman's *Wilderness Calling* (1977) to indicate that the deaths of Robert McNees, Daniel Munro, and John Means by Comanches or Pawnees in 1828 led to the first deployment of U.S. troops to the trail the following year.

660. ————. "A Desperate Adventure: Why William Becknell and Two Other Parties Went to Santa Fe in 1821." In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 13-16. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Part of Myers's study, written in a celebratory tone, briefly discusses Pawnee relations with trail travelers during the early 1820s.

661. ————. "The Founding of Loma Parda, New Mexico." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (August 1993): 11-12.

This article notes that conflict ensued following the establishment of U.S. and Mexican towns in Indian country. Myers mentions an 1846 incident that occurred near La Junta in which Indians killed two men. He relates an 1849 episode that encouraged U.S. settlers to desert the town of Golondrinas in fear of retaliation for the killing of Utes by U.S. troops.

662. ————. “Massacre on the Santa Fe Trail: Mr. White’s Company of Unfortunates.” *Wagon Tracks* 6 (February 1992): 18-25.

Myers’ useful study places the 1849 “massacre” of the White company in the context of an ongoing conflict between Jicarilla Apaches and trail traffic. Myer argues that elements of Chacon’s account regarding the incident are factually wrong.

663. Myres, Sandra L. “Women on the Santa Fe Trail.” *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 27-46. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Myres indicates that more is known about Euroamerican women experiences on the trail than those of Indians, Mexican-Americans, and African Americans. Regarding Native women, she draws from primary sources to give a view of their diverse experiences. She cautions that although many Indian women traveled on the trail, we lack an understanding of their feelings because they left no written records. Some Euroamerican women, conversely, wrote about their attitudes toward and interaction with Indians.

664. Noble, David Grant. *Pueblos, Villages, Forts, and Trails: A Guide to New Mexico’s Past*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Noble references Indians in New Mexico before and after the trail’s establishment. Comanches, Jicarilla Apaches, Pecos Pueblos, and others are mentioned, but not necessarily in the context of the trail. He suggests that folklore, fiction, and movies have exaggerated the extent of the conflict between Indians and the trail. He states that although Pawnees and Comanches occasionally raided caravans for livestock, they rarely attacked large, well-armed caravans.

665. Oliva, Leo E. “The 1829 Escorts.” In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 17-24. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

A historian who has authored numerous studies about the U.S. military presence on the trail, Oliva points out that although history and popular culture have presented the American frontiersmen as rugged individualists, they relied heavily on the U.S. government for military assistance and protection. Recounting the

story of Major Bennet Riley's 1829 deployment, Oliva mostly deals with Pawnees, Comanches, and Kiowas in the context of conflict.

666. ————. *Fort Larned on the Santa Fe Trail*. Topeka: Kansas Historical Society, 1982.

This monograph discusses the historical significance of Fort Larned to the trail. It notes that Indians hampered the traffic's flow by appropriating horses. It also points out that the travelers, especially after the 1840s, created a situation that threatened the Indians' ways of living. During the 1860s, the post provided travelers limited protection and served as a staging area for military campaigns.

667. ————. "Fort Atkinson on the Santa Fe Trail, 1850-1854." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Summer 1974): 212-33.

Reiterating conventional wisdom, Oliva stresses that Plains Indians plundered trail travelers because raiding was a way of life for them. He notes that the establishment of Fort Atkinson and other posts was in accordance with Congress's policy to protect U.S. citizens from Indians. He covers the cycle of peaceful interaction and warfare that characterized U.S. army relations with Kiowas, Comanches, and others.

668. ————. *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 41. Santa Fe, NM Division of History, National Park Service, 1993.

In this extensive study that relies mostly on primary sources, Oliva discusses the history of this important military post situation on the trail in eastern New Mexico. He covers Jicarilla Apache, Ute, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho relations with the soldiers garrisoned there.

669. ————. "Missouri Volunteers on the Santa Fe Trail, 1847-1848, Part 1." *The Trail Guide* 15 (June 1970); Part 2 (September 1970).

Oliva examines the tumultuous relationship between Plains Indians and Missouri Volunteers in 1847 and 1848 during the final phases of the Mexican War. He asserts that the greatest threat the citizen-soldiers faced was "the bands of hostile Indians who raided without restraint along the unprotected highway" (2-3). Pawnee, Comanche, and Apache marauders during those years made travel unsafe from Council Grove to Las Vegas. Although failing to examine the causes of conflict, he concedes that the November 1847 massacre of Pawnees at Fort Mann was unwarranted.

670. ————. "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union." *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1988): 53-58.

Oliva's study about the U.S. government's use of the trail during the Mexican war mentions Indians a few times.

671. ————. *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

Oliva wrote this study with the intent to fill a void in the historiography. He accomplished this objective but without providing the field a more realistic understanding of Indian cultures and motivations for resisting U.S. encroachments. For instances, writing from the perspectives of nineteenth-century Euroamerican soldiers and policymakers, he declares that Pawnees, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Apaches, and Comanches represented "a constant threat to travelers over the trail. Often their sole aim was to procure horses, and they fought only when necessary to obtain these valued possessions" (16).

672. Oliva, Leo E. and Bonita M., comp. Oliva. *Santa Fe Trail Trivia*. 3rd ed. Woodston, KS: Western Books, 1989.

This pamphlet, written in a question and answer format, was designed to create more public interest in the trail. Unfortunately, it does little to encourage readers to think critically about Indians and their complex connections to the trail.

673. ————. "Ralph's Ruts." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (May 2001): 19.

This brief article alludes to an 1867 Cheyenne attack on a wagon train in a fight called the Plum Buttes Massacre.

674. ————. "Santa Fe Trail Perspectives on Natural History." *Wagon Tracks* 15 (February 2001): 10-19.

Oliva compares the views of Indians, Hispanics and white Americans toward natural history. Indians accordingly saw themselves as part of nature, while Euroamericans considered it as a hostile force in need of conquest. Hispanics, he argues, combined both outlooks.

675. ————. "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union." In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Mark L. Gardner, 53-58. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989.

Oliva discusses the conflict that ensued between U.S troops and Plains Indians from the mid 1840s to the 1860s.

676. Olsen, Michael L. "Dime Novels, Purple Prose, and History." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (November 2004): 6-11.

Giving the keynote address at the Rendezvous at Larned on September 17, 2004, Santa Fe Trail Association secretary Olsen asserts that public perceptions about the road came mostly from dime novels and other works of fiction. Although these publications often present Indians in stereotypical terms, he chose not critically analyze the authors' use of racialized imagery.

677. ————. "Hezekiah Brake: An English Butler Tries His Hand Farming at Fort Union on the Trail, 1858-1861." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990): 18-21.

This work mentions an October 1859 Ute attack at Ocate, near Fort Union, on a crew of hay-cutters.

678. ————. "Old Ruts and New: The History of Santa Fe Trail History." *Kansas History* 19 (Winter 1996-1997): 228-41.

In this historiographic essay about the trail, Olsen fails to consider how scholars and trail travelers depict Indians.

679. ————. "Opening the Santa Fe Trade: The Gallego-Becknell Encounter in 1821." *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva. Woodston, 9-12: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Olsen discusses Mexican relations with Pawnees, Comanches, Apaches, Pueblos, and Navajos at the onset of the trail's development. He asserts that Mexican officials were not as inept in diplomacy with Indians as historians have generally supposed.

680. Olsen, Michael L. and Harry C. Myers. "The Diary of Pedro Ignacio Gallego Wherein 400 Soldiers Following the Trail of Comanches Met William Becknell on His First Trip to Santa Fe." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (November 1992): 1, 15-20.

This article notes that Spanish soldiers, in pursuit of Comanches who had raided San Miguel, met Becknell's small party in 1821.

681. Parkison, Jami. *Path to Glory: A Pictorial Celebration of the Santa Fe Trail*. Kansas City: Highwater Editions, 1996.

Conceptualized to commemorate the trail's 175th anniversary, this book provides a lopsided overview of Indian relations with the trail. Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches are presented as threats. Parkison notes that Westport was a bustling town where traders, Mexicans, Indians, and Euroamerican settlers intermingled.

682. Parks, Ron. "Kaw Mission State Historic Site." *Wagon Tracks* 8 (November 1993): 8-9.

Kaw Mission State Historic Site curator and Santa Fe Trail Association member Parks provides a brief overview of the Kaw Mission, the Kaws, and the trail.

683. Pearce, Thomas M. "Trader Terms in Southwestern English." *American Speech* 16 (October 1941): 179-86.

This study of trader terminology notes that the chief source of information about the trading language comes from firsthand literature. Indian words appearing in the traders' speech include such words as cayuse for pony and punche for a form of Indian tobacco. "A la Comanche" referred to the way in which Indians hid themselves in battle by hanging from one side of their mounts.

684. Perrine, Fred S. "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (April 1927): 175-93; (July 1927): 269-304.

The first article contains the 1829 report of Brevet Major Bennet Riley. Assigned to protect trail traffic from Indians, Riley indicates that he was following instructions when he invited Kaws, Ioways, and Shawnees to accompany his column without pay or rations, but that the Indians did not respond to his offer. Riley also details the encounters of his men with Indians, which included episodes of fighting. Part two gives the 1834 report of Captain Clifton Wharton who led soldiers assigned to escort a Santa Fe caravan commanded by Josiah Gregg. Wharton mentions his command's encounters with Kaws, Comanches, Pawnee Picts [Wichitas], and Osages. It also has excerpts from the 1843 report of Captain Philip St. George Cooke's travel along the trail.

685. Petersen, Phil. "Boggsville: A Trail Settlement." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (November 1992): 7-11.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Petersen's study of Thomas O. Boggs and the history of Boggsville, a town situated below Bent's Fort on the mountain branch, references trading, Bent's Fort, the Sand Creek Massacre, and various Indians including Osages, Arapahos, and Southern Cheyennes. This study covers the years from the early 1840s to the 1860s.

686. Quinn, Vernon. *War-Paint and Powder-Horn on the Old Santa Fé Trail*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1929.

Quinn's history romanticizes the experiences of Kit Carson, Hugh Glenn, George A. Custer, and others and their interaction with Kaws, Pawnees, Comanches, Arapahos, Osages, Apaches, Sioux, and others on and near the trail.

687. Richmond, Patricia Joy. *Trail to Disaster: The Route of John C. Frémont's Fourth Expedition from Big Timbers, Colorado, through the San Luis Valley to Taos, New Mexico*. Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1990.

While traveling westward on November 12, 1848, Frémont's party stopped at Big Timbers and accepted the hospitality of the Apaches, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas camped there. Captive children from New Mexico were among the Indians.

688. Riddle, Kenyon. *Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail*. Raton: The Raton Daily Range, 1949.

In his brief study, Riddle, a trail buff from Kansas, provides a compilation of "accounts of earlier travelers; from military reconnaissance, and from present day traces, ruts and scars, along with aerial and land surveys" (5). It also includes excerpts of the firsthand accounts penned by John T. Hughes, Susan Magoffin, and W. H. Emory. It references Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Delaware, and other Indian relations with the trail. A pocket at the end of the book holds five detailed maps depicting the trail's routes and the surrounding area.

689. Rittenhouse, Jack D. *The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

This dated but classic bibliography contains 710 annotated entries of scholarly studies, personal narratives, and government documents published before 1971. It focuses mostly on soldiers, traders, and other non-Indian travelers. The absences of annotations about Indian histories, cultures, and relations with the trail will frustrate those who want to be led to these types of materials. A brief overview of the trail's history found in the first chapter contains an uncritical recital of Indian-Euroamerican interaction.

690. ————. *Trail of Commerce and Conquest: A Brief History of the Road to Santa Fe*. Woodston, KS: Santa Fe Trail Council, 1987.

First published in 1971, this brief study states that the first serious trouble on the trail occurred in 1827 when Pawnees took mules and other livestock from eastbound traders.

691. Robertson, Nancy. "Clifton House DAR Marker Reset." *Wagon Tracks* 9 (May 1995): 1, 16-21.

Quoting Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's 1846 report, this article indicates that Mexican prisoners told the invading U.S. army that a combined force of 5,000 Pueblos, Yutas [Utes], and others stood ready to defend Mexican soil. The article contains a *St. Louis Daily Union* story about an 1848 Indian attack on fourteen travelers at Monco Burro Pass. The author also mentions that in 1854 U.S. troops with Kit Carson looted a Jicarilla Apache camp on Raton Pass.

692. Ryan, Beverly Carmichael. "Under Siege at the Walnut and Cow Creek Trail Crossing, July 1864." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (August 2004): 5-9.

This article addresses the warfare that erupted along the trail in 1864 as Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches raided U.S. military posts, stations, and trains. It probes the casualties suffered on both sides resulting from the violence.

693. Sandoval, David A. "Gnats, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail. In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Mark L. Gardner, 22-31. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989.

Historian Sandoval notes that Indians robbed Mexican trail travelers for the first time in 1823. The following year Mexican officials not only sought a peace treaty with the Pawnees but they also sent 1,500 soldiers to protect the route. He notes that trading fairs were adapted to accommodate the trail trade. This study was first published in *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 22-31.

694. Santa Fe Trail Symposium. *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

This special issue of *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* contains papers authored by leading historians at the Santa Fe Trail Symposium held at Trinidad, Colorado, in 1986. Essays by Marc Simmons, David Lavender, Sandra L. Myres, Barton H. Barbour, Janet Lecompte, Daniel D. Muldoon, and David Dary discuss Indian issues. It should not come as a surprise that missing from this anthology are perspectives conceptualized by Indigenous scholars.

695. "St. Vrain Remembered." *Wagon Tracks* 6 (February 1992): 6-7.

This brief article mentions that in 1855 Lt. Colonel St. Vrain led a force of U.S. army volunteers against Jicarilla Apaches.

696. Schulz, Ray S. "Murder, Massacre, and Misfortune near Walnut Creek Crossing." In *Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail: Selected Papers from Santa Fe Trail Association Symposia at La Junta, Colorado, 1993, and at Larned and Great Bend, Kansas, 1995*, edited by Leo E. Oliva, 96-103. Woodston: Santa Fe Trail Association Publications, 1996.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, history buff and attorney Schulz focuses Kiowa contacts with the trail during the late 1850s and 1860s. Using the language of stereotypes, Schulz describes Kiowa leaders Satank and Pawnee as vicious drunks.

697. Scott, Jesse. "Pawnee Rock: 'Many an Ambush Originated Here?'" *Wagon Tracks* 11 (August 1997): 4.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Scott rejects the commonly held view that Pawnee Rock was the place where most Indian attacks occurred on the trail. He found only one documented Indian raid originating at the site, a December 1853 incident involving an Osage attempt to plunder a mail party. He argues that the area between the Great Bend and Cimarron Crossing was the actual central point of conflict.

698. Scott, Jesse, Jr. "The Cimarron Crossing." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (February 1988): 8-9.

This study alludes to the killing of Jedediah Smith in 1831 and other Indian-Euroamerican encounters at the Cimarron Crossing.

699. ————. "An Old Barn with a Santa Fe Trail Past." *Wagon Tracks* 4 (May 1990): 10-11.

Scott briefly mentions the 1861 Fort Wise Treaty with Cheyennes and Arapahos.

700. Sharp, Dan and Carol. "Cold Springs and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991): 12-14.

The authors note that in the autumn of 1843 at Cold Springs, Texans victimized Pueblo Indian members of an Armijo wagon train.

701. Simmons, Marc. "Comets and Meteors on the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 5 (May 1991): 12-13.

Simmons utilizes primary sources to discuss Cheyenne reactions to the sight of comets and meteors. Quoting George Bent about the 1833 meteor shower, the son of Owl Woman and William Bent, he states: "The great meteor shower arrived in November and all the Indians thought the world was coming to an end. Collected in bands, they howled like wolves, the women and children wailed, and the warriors mounted their war horses and rode about, singing their death songs."

702. ————. *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers*. Santa Fe Press: Ancient City Press, 1986.

Although Simmon's travel guide references Indians only a few times, it was not written to provide an understanding of Indian relations with the trail.

703. ————. *Murder on the Santa Fe Trail: An International Incident, 1843*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, 1987.

In 1843 on the trail, someone murdered a prominent Spaniard. Simmons explores Spanish, white American, and Texan relations at that time and reframes the incident as an international episode. U.S. and New Mexican relations are characterized as pleasant and cooperative in comparison to their encounters with “warlike” and “violent” Indians.

704. ————. *The Old Trail to Santa Fe: Collected Essays*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

This collection of essays is tainted by stereotypical assumptions about Indians. The book contains some photographs, drawings, and paintings of Indians and the landscape.

705. ————. *Opening the Santa Fe Trail*. N. p., N.d., 1971.

This seven-page monograph references Indians several times. It suggests that Becknell, in planning his journey, had not intended to trade with the Comanches, as Josiah Gregg claims in his *Commerce on the Prairies*.

706. ————. “Poetry of the Santa Fe Trail.” In *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, by the Santa Fe Trail Symposium, 1-10. University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Simmons notes that much of the trail poetry alludes to conflict with Indians. The first known poem, published in the *Missouri Intelligencer* on November 6, 1829, tells of the death of Samuel Craig Lamme who died at the Cimarron Cutoff from wounds inflicted by Kiowas.

707. ————. “Santa Fe in the Days of the Trail.” In *Santa Fe: History of an Ancient City*. Edited by David Grant Noble. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1989.

Simmons mentions that U.S. officials stationed military troops in New Mexico after the 1846 invasion to protect their citizens from Indian attacks. He holds that Utes and Apaches threatened the safety of trail travelers.

708. ————. *The Santa Fe Trail Association: A History of its First Decade, 1986-1996*. Woodston, KS: The Association, 1997.

Simmons’s accounting of the first ten years of the Santa Fe Trail Association indicates that a few Cheyennes, the descendants of William Bent and his wife, attended an Association symposium held at Otero Junior College in La Junta, Colorado, and heard a presentation about the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre.

709. ————. *Treasure Trails of the Southwest*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

This study discusses an 1853 incident that occurred in southwestern Kansas in which Cheyennes and Kiowas fought an eastbound wagon train headed by Jesus Martínez, a Chihuahua merchant.

710. ————. “The Wagon Mound Massacre.” In *The Mexican Road: Trade, Travel, and Confrontation on the Santa Fe Trail*, edited by Mark L. Gardner, 45-52. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1989.

Examining the background of the 1850 “massacre” of a mail train in New Mexico, Simmons finds that the fight was an episode in an ongoing war between Jicarilla Apaches and United States. This study provides useful information regarding the Jicarillas during the 1840s and early 1850s. It first appeared in the *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1988): 45-52.

711. ————. “Women on the Santa Fe Trail: Diaries, Journals, Memoirs: An Annotated Bibliography.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 61 (July 1986): 233-43.

Simmon’s bibliography casts Indians as one of dangers that female trail travelers faced.

712. Simmons, Marc and Joan Myers. *Along the Santa Fe Trail*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1986.

This book “represents a distillation of what [Simmons] had learned about the Santa Fe Trail” (xix). Unfortunately, the authors discuss Indian-Euroamerican relations in a standard historical fashion without critical thought and reflection.

713. Simpich, Frederick. “The Santa Te Trail, Path to Empire.” *National Geographic* 56, no. 2 (1929): 212-52.

Writing in 1929, Simpich offers a romantic view that presents Indians as a source of trouble for the hardy pioneers and adventurers who opened a vast area for U.S. settlement. “Now millions,” he writes, “ride in speed and safety where pioneers bet their stubborn way against thirst and hunger, daring torture and death in the forays and ambushes of Pawnees, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, Osages, and Arapahoes” (215). Restating a widespread myth, Simpich proclaims that Indians mounted numerous attacks on wagon trains at Pawnee Rock.

714. Slusher, Mrs. Emmet. “Modern Dover Road Section of the Santa Fe Trail in Missouri, 1934.” *Wagon Tracks* 6 (May 1992): 7.

Santa Fe Trail Association board member Slusher brings forth an article written in 1934 by her mother, whose ancestors had settled somewhere near the trail where “Bands of Indians were no uncommon sight” (7).

715. Stephens, F. F. "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade." *Missouri Historical Review* 10 (August 1916): 232-62; 11 (April-May 1917): 289-312.

Both installments of this study refer to Pawnees, Comanches, and Osages as dangerous barriers to the Santa Fe trade. Part one indicates that many of the Missourians engaged in the trade had been exposed to Indian alarms since infancy when they had lived further east. They sought military protection, but U.S. officials usually ignored their petitions. Part two notes that William Becknell, during his 1821 trip to Santa Fe, planned to trade with Indians. Indian raiders, the author asserts, diminished the traders' profits.

716. Stocking, Hobart E. *The Road to Santa Fe*. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1971.

Stocking's history mentions Apaches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kaws, Kiowas, Navajos, Osages, Pawnees, Pueblos, Utes, and Wichitas. It discusses the Pecos Pueblo people and their movement to Jemez in the 1830s. It contains valuable maps and illustrations.

717. Stout, Joseph A., Jr. "The Santa Fe Trail." *Red River Valley Historical Journal* 6 (Summer 1981): 48-56.

Writing in a congratulatory tone, Stout offers nothing new in terms of Indian relations with the trail. Regarding Indian trustworthiness, he echoes Josiah Gregg's sentiments of Indians being unpredictable. It is little wonder then that Stout references Indians the source of conflict.

718. Stratton, John. "'A Bold and Fearless Rider': Ed Miller and the Paper Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (November 2002): 14-17.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Stratton's bibliography compiles numerous primary sources pertaining to the killing of Ed Miller on July 20, 1864, by Cheyennes. The author finds that conflicting accounts have created misunderstandings about this incident.

719. Strom, Charles R. "Danger on the Santa Fe Trail and the Santa Fe Plaza." *Wagon Tracks* 16 (February 2002): 19-22.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Strom notes that Charles G. Parker, a frequent trail traveler from 1849 to the 1860s, experienced an encounter with approximately 200 Kiowas, with Peshamo, near the Arkansas River in 1857.

720. Swift, Roy L. and Leavitt Corning, Jr. *Three Roads to Chihuahua: The Great Wagon Roads That Opened the Southwest*. Austin: Eakin Press, 1988.

Written by a retired public servant and a retired geologist, this study discusses aspects of Indian-Euroamerican relations from Missouri to Chihuahua. However, it lacks a discussion regarding the ways in which the U.S. roads threatened Indian cultures.

721. Taylor, Morris F. *First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines on the Santa Fe Trail*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

Examining the period from the mid 1840s to the 1870s, historian Taylor discusses Indian conflicts along the trail without analyzing reasons for the warfare. He details U.S. army operations against Comanches, Arapahos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and other. To him, Indians were barriers to progress.

722. ————. “The Mail Station and the Military at Camp on Pawnee Fork, 1859-1860.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1970): 27-39.

Taylor’s study details encounters along the trail and elsewhere involving allied Comanche and Kiowa forces with mail carriers and the U.S. military. The author fails to consider that Native resistance stemmed from the detrimental impacts of U.S. expansion on the Indians land, rights, and ways of living.

723. Trennert, Robert A. “Indian Policy on the Santa Fe Road: The Fitzpatrick Controversy of 1847-1848.” *Kansas History* 1 (Winter 1978): 243-53.

Historian Trennert draws on primary sources to discuss the escalation of conflict that pitted Kiowas, Comanches, and Pawnees against the growing U.S. presence on the trail during the 1840s.

724. Valencius, Conevery Bolton. “Gender and the Economy of Health on the Santa Fe Trail,” *Osiris* 19 (2004): 79-92.

This study about the death of Kate Kingsbury from consumption on the trail in 1857 illustrates that travel guides were written mostly for a male audience. Extolling the healthy benefits of travel, Daniel Drake, writing whimsically in 1844, indicates that travelers with consumption would benefit from rough living and from “[t]he excitement connected with the danger of being lacerated by the bullets of the *Pawnees*; pierced to death by the arrows of the *Blackfeet*, or picked to death by the *Crows*” (86).

725. Vestal, Stanley. *The Old Santa Fe Trail*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939.

Considering the trail to be a grand chapter in the history of U.S. nation-building, English professor Vestal’s account tells about the heroic struggles of adventurous Euroamericans facing the aggressions of brutal savages. Pawnees, Cheyennes, and Comanches figure prominently in this celebratory study. The University of

Nebraska Press reprinted this book in 1996, with a new introduction by Marc Simmons.

726. ————. *Wagons Southwest: Story of Old Trail to Santa Fe*. New York: American Pioneer Trails Association, 1946.

In this brochure that glorifies westward U.S. expansion and the road to Santa Fe, Vestal once again recounts Indians as warlike savages.

727. Walker, Henry Pickering. *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freight from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

In a chapter entitled “Mr. Lo,” Walker relates Indian relations with the Santa Fe and Oregon trails from the early 1820s to the 1860s in the contexts of conflict and savagery. He asserts that the offending Indians’ “lack of social conscience and discipline” undermined their struggle against Euroamerican expansionism. He holds that Comanches were more troublesome than other Indians.

728. Walker, Hollis. “Diary Opens Another Page in the History of Santa Fe Trail.” *New Mexico Magazine* 72 (May 1994): 44-51.

This article notes that the discovery of Don Pedro Ignacio Gallego’s diary sheds more light on William Becknell’s arrival in New Mexico in 1821. Accordingly, Gallegos’s force of four hundred and forty-four men, including some Pueblo Indians, were pursuing Comanches when it encountered Becknell’s small party at Puertocito de la Piedra Lumbre [Kearny Gap].

729. Wallner, Rick. “Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site.” *Wagon Tracks* 2 (May 1988): 6-7.

National Park Service ranger Wallner’s article briefly references Indians at Bent’s Fort.

730. “Wet/Dry Routes Chapter Installs Battle of Coon Creek Interpretive Marker.” *Wagon Tracks* 20 (November 2005): 5.

This brief article tells about the installation of a roadside marker at Kinsley, Kansas. The marker reads, near “the Arkansas River on June 18, 1848, several hundred Comanches attacked an encampment composed of Paymaster Maj. Thomas S. Bryant, two supply trains, 425 beef cattle, Lt. Philip Stremmel’s Volunteer artillery detachment of 65 officers and men, and 71 recruits under command of Lt. William B. Royall, First Dragoons.” It adds that the soldiers killed twenty-three Comanches without losing a man. The fight is known as the Battle of Coon Creek. Another marker several miles away that declares erroneously that a joint force of Osages and Comanches participated in the battle.

731. Wetzel, David N., ed. *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives. Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* 6 Colorado Historical Society, (1987).

This special issue contains papers presented at the Santa Fe Trail Symposium held from September 12 to 14, 1986, at Trinidad, Colorado. In 1992 the Colorado Historical Society reprinted this collection of essays in *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*. Entries from the reprinted book are made under the name of each author whose research discusses Indians.

732. Whitmore, Stephen. "Kit Carson Takes Offense: The Political Battle of Adobe Walls." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (August 1998): 9-12.

Santa Fe Trail Association member and retired physics and astronomy professor Whitmore draws from primary and secondary sources to discuss the 1864 U.S. military campaign against Comanches and Kiowas in retaliation for the killing of five teamsters in August at Wagonbed Spring in southwestern Kansas. Undeterred by the U.S. government's military response, Comanches and Kiowas raiders struck the trail for several more years.

733. Wood, Dean Earl. *The Old Santa Fe Trail from the Missouri River*. Kansas City: E. L. Mendenhall, Inc., 1955.

Written from primary and secondary sources by a Kansas City attorney and enriched with maps, this study, first published in 1951, was heralded as an authentic trail history. These accolades are indicative of how general acceptance of the civilization-over-savagery theme has tainted academic thinking. The account begins in 1821 with the trail's founding and ends in 1880. It discusses strategies and weapons used by caravans to defend themselves from Indian attacks and the U.S army's role in protecting traders. It focuses mostly on Pawnee, Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache warriors in the contexts of Indian criminality and Euroamerican innocence. It casts traders as heroic figures confronted by hordes of aggressive and predatory Plains Indians. Conversely, he presents Shawnees, Wyandots, and other removed Indians as friendly and cooperative.

734. Wright, Deanne. "Kaw Warrior Statue Dedication at Council Grove." *Wagon Tracks* 12 (May 1998): 6.

This brief article pertains to the 1998 dedication of a statute of a Kaw man at Council Grove. A few Kaws participated in the event.

735. Wyman, Walker D. "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1931): 17-27.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, historian Wyman presents Indians during the 1850s and 1860s as insolent beggars, thieves, and troublemakers. He

briefly discusses U.S. government attempts to resolve the conflict through treaties and military action.

736. ————. “Kansas City, Mo., a Famous Freighter Capital.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (February 1937): 3-13.

Wyman briefly deals with the intersection of Indian traders, Kansas City, Westport, Independence, and the trail.

737. ————. “The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1932): 415-28.

Covering the years from the 1840s through the 1860s from information gleaned from primary and secondary sources, Wyman probes Indian relations with the trail solely in terms of conflict. He includes statistics showing the number of trail travelers killed by Indians in 1847. Accordingly, Pawnees and Comanches were the primary culprits.

738. ————. “F. X. Aubry: Santa Fe Freighter, Pathfinder and Explorer.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (January 1932): 1-31.

Wyman recounts various encounters that Aubry, a freighter and explorer who made several trips between Santa Fe and Missouri, had with Indians in the 1840s. On May 19, 1848, unidentified Indians delayed his trip to Santa Fe, which he purportedly made in just eight days. In an October incident occurring that year near Cow Creek, Indians killed one of his men, taking some mules.

C. Indigenous Nations Studies Matters

739. Aadland, Dan. *Women and Warriors of the Plains: The Pioneer Photography of Julia E. Tuell*. New York: Macmillan, 1996.

Filled with numerous photographs, a hundred and fifty seven in all, this book tells the story not only of Julia Tuell, the photographer, but also of the Cheyenne men, women, and children she photographed in the 1910s. These images, unlike later ones taken by Edward Curtis, are not manipulated to suit the photographer's fancy. Rather they are apparently true to life images that offer insight into these people's dress, daily activities, and ceremonial life.

740. Abing, Kevin. “Before Bleeding Kansas: Christian Missionaries, Slavery, and the Shawnee Indians in Pre-Territorial Kansas, 1844-1854.” *Kansas History* 24 (Spring 2001): 54-70.

Historian Abing states that the Shawnee school site was selected in 1839 near the road to Santa Fe and about half a mile from the Missouri border.

741. ————. “A Holy Battleground: Methodist, Baptist, and Quaker Missionaries among Shawnee Indians, 1830–1844.” *Kansas History* 21 (Summer 1998): 118-37.

Drawn from primary and secondary sources, this study mostly focuses on missionary factions that were competing for sole control over Shawnee affairs. It also discusses the U.S. assimilation program on the Shawnee reservation.

742. Afton, Jean, David Fridtjof Halaas, and Andrew E. Masich. *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat*. Denver: Colorado Historical Society and the University Press of Colorado, 1997.

The drawings in this ledgerbook capture events that occurred during the years following the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre. The Cheyenne artists/warriors who produced these images intended for them to be read as a factual record. It is thought that many of the ledger drawings were created in 1865, a particularly brutal year of warfare. Increasing encroachment on Indian lands and traffic on trade routes further intensified the conflict. These ledger drawings not only depict these clashes in minute detail, they also offer insights into Cheyenne culture during this period. Although the book focuses mainly on skirmishes that transpired north of the Arkansas River, the authors occasionally mention the trail.

743. Anderson, Gary Clayton. *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.

As the subtitle indicates, this history is about the ethnic cleansing campaign launched in Texas in 1820. Much of the author’s focuses on the contentious relationship of the invading white Americans with Comanches, but he occasionally mentions the Santa Fe Trail. He argues that the Bent’s family ties with Cheyennes and Arapahos, Comanche enemies, made it difficult for Comanches to trade there until these and other Indians worked out their differences in a peace council. With peace at hand, Comanches had access to firearms and munitions for their fight against the Texans and their Indian allies. Anderson only mentions the trail on several occasions.

744. ————. *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Occasionally mentioning the trail, this book describes ethnogenesis and cultural mergers among selected Indian populations in response to Spanish encroachments. An important contribution is its rejection of the widely held scholarly assumption that Comanches raided others simply because of an their brutal and violent nature. Other Indians discussed include Pueblos and Apaches.

745. Anderson, Jeffery D. *The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Knowledge and Life Movement*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.

Anderson examines Arapaho socio-cultural systems, ceremonial life, and rituals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its purpose is to explain how language, history, and culture are interconnected and interrelated in Arapaho communities. Anderson does not directly address the trail or its impact on the Arapahos, but he discusses how U.S. expansionism led to the confinement of the Northern Arapahos on a Wyoming reservation in 1878.

746. August, Jack. "Balance-of-Power Diplomacy in New Mexico: Governor Fernando De La Concha and the Indian Policy of Conciliation." *New Mexico Historical Review* 56 (April 1981): 141-60.

The author notes that Comanches allied themselves militarily with the Spanish in New Mexico during the 1780s and early 1790s. He also mentions Comanche warfare against Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Pueblos.

747. Baird, W. David. *The Osage People*. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1972.

Historian Baird briefly recounts the dual impacts of the trail and U.S. policy on Osage life and culture.

748. Barry, Louise. "The Kansa Indians and the Census of 1843." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1973): 478-90.

Although not about the trail per se, Barry's brief study provides a trajectory of Kaw population estimates from 1804 to 1843.

749. Bass, Althea. *The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1966.

This "as told to" story of Carl Sweezy relates the life of Arapaho painter who lived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sweezy, according to Bass, felt comfortable living and operating in both the traditional Arapaho world and the Euroamerican world. Sweezy believes his purpose in life was to preserve traditional Arapaho culture through art. This memoir, therefore, presents a picture of Arapaho life on an Oklahoma reservation following the displacement of these people.

750. Berlo, Janet Catherine, ed. *Plains Indian Drawings, 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History*.

Indian peoples often told their life stories with drawings. This study discusses scenes sketched by Cheyennes, Kiowas, and others regarding their social activities, diplomacy, imprisonment, camp life, and warfare.

751. ————. “Wo-Haw’s Notebooks: 19th Kiowa Indian Drawings in the Collections of The Missouri Historical Society.” *Gateway Heritage* 3 (Fall 1982): 3-13.

This study addresses the incarceration of Kiowas and other Indians at Fort Marion, Florida, during the late 1870s. It contains the drawings of Wo-Haw, a twenty-two year old prisoner, about Kiowa life before and during his imprisonment.

752. Berthrong, Donald J. “From Buffalo Days to Classrooms: The Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos and Kansas.” *Kansas History* 12 (Summer 1989): 101-13.

Historian Berthrong’s study about the Southern Cheyennes’ and Arapahos’ subjugation under U.S. domination examines the conflict that Euroamerican expansion generated.

753. ————. *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

As indicated by the book’s title, this book examines Cheyenne and Arapaho relations with the U.S. government, along with its military, during the early reservation years in Oklahoma. It provides an adequate understanding of the problems facing those Indians after they had lost their freedom and independence.

754. ————. *The Southern Cheyennes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Berthrong’s useful history covers Cheyenne interaction with the trail in substantial detail. Written largely from published primary sources and archival materials, Berthrong demonstrates how Cheyennes maintained good relations with the Bent family in times of peace and warfare. Much of his discussion focuses on the increasingly troubled relations of Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas with Euroamericans as the nineteenth century progressed.

755. Betty, Gerald. *Comanche Society: Before the Reservation*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002.

This book examines Comanche kinship systems and the ways in which these structures shaped Comanche life and communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also recounts Comanche relations with Apaches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Osages, Pawnees, Pueblos, Shoshonis, and Sioux. It portrays Comanches as being less than intelligent and somewhat greedy, if not proto-capitalists who demanded goods for the price to pass through their territory.

756. Blount, Bertha. “The Apache in the Southwest, 1846-1886.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1919 to April 1920): 20-38.

Blount studies U.S. government attempts to subjugate Apaches in New Mexico and Arizona from the 1840s to the 1880s. She claims that Jicarilla Apaches preyed on trail travelers.

757. Boyle, Alan. *Holding Stone Hands: On the Trail of the Cheyenne Exodus*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

The Northern Cheyenne's desperate flight in the late 1870s to reach their northern homeland is this book's focus. They crossed the trail near Dodge City, Kansas. Literature professor Boyle sought to re-create the Cheyennes' journey by walking their route. He interweaves stories of his journey with Cheyenne history and conversations he had with Native and non-Native peoples along the way.

758. Brown, Dee. "Story of the Plains Indians." *American History Illustrated* 8 (August 1973): 3-50.

Although not about the trail, this study surveys the histories and cultures of Plains Indians during the nineteenth century. It contains useful photographs and paintings of Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, and others who had contact with the trail.

759. Burns, Louis F. *A History of the Osage People*. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Of Osage, French and Scottish heritage, Burns draws from oral history to examine Osage history. An important aspect of this work is how three major U.S. roads, including the Santa Fe Trail, cut through Osage country, leading to conflict, economic hardships, land cessions, and their removal to Indian Territory.

760. "Bypaths of Kansas History: Indian Warfare in 1840." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 11 (November 1942): 399.

The *Arkansas State Gazette*, Little Rock, April 7, 1841, printed a story dealing with conflict between Pawnees and Kaws in Kansas.

761. Calloway, Colin G. "Arapaho Renegade: Robert North and the Plains Indian Wars of the 1860s." *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* 2 (1984): 1-20.

Robert North, an Euroamerican with an Arapaho wife, contributed to the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 by reporting to have attended a war council in which Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Plain Apaches planned to united in a war against Euroamericans. Historian Calloway points out that no evidence exists to support North's contention about the meeting or that these Indigenous nations planned to fight the United States.

762. Cash, Joseph H. and Gerald W. Wolff. *The Ottawa People*. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976.

This brief study includes a discussion of the Ottawas' short-lived stay in eastern Kansas from the 1840s to the late 1860s. It illustrates how U.S. settlement displaced Indians who lived on coveted lands.

763. Champagne, Duane, *American Indian Societies: Strategies and Conditions of Political and Cultural Survival*. Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, Inc., 1989.

Sociologist and Turtle Mountain Chippewa Champagne provides a useful study that employs a comparative approach to examine how cultural factors helped shape divergent forms of Indian resistance to colonization. Of those he considers, the Delawares, Cheyennes, and Arapahos had significant contact with the trail.

764. Champe, John L., Franklin Fenenga, Thomas M. Griffiths, and Waldo Wedel. *Pawnee and Kansa (Kaw) Indians*. Edited by David Agee Horr. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.

This volume contains historical, cultural, and legal information regarding the land claims filed by Pawnee and Kaw leaders against the U.S. government during the late 1940s. It also includes the Indian Claims Commission's rulings regarding the claims of those Indians for lands lying where the trail ran.

765. Chapman, Berlin B. "Charles Curtis and the Kaw Reservation." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 14 (November 1947): 337-351.

Without mentioning the trail, historian Chapman examines the creation of the Kaw reservation in 1846 and the removal of these people to Indian Territory in 1873. This work also contains information about the Kaws' population decline, growing economic desperation, land loss, and turbulent relations with surrounding Euroamericans.

766. ————. "The Day in Court for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes." *Great Plains Journal* 2 (Fall 1962): 1-21.

Historian Berlin examines Kiowas, Comanche, and Apache land claims against the U.S. government. These claims, encompassing a vast portion of the Great Plains, reveals the lingering legal issues associated with the ways in which U.S. policy displaced Indian nations.

767. ————. "Removal of the Osages from Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (August 1938): 287-305 and (November 1938): 399-410.

Chapman's account asserts that many Osages wanted to leave Kansas during the 1860s because of Euroamerican intrusions. This issue of surrendering land as a result of U.S. expansionism has relevance to all Indians with a historical connection to the trail.

768. Christianson, James B. "Early Osage—"The Ishmaelites of the Savages." *Kansas History* 11 (Spring 1988): 2-21.

This slanted overview of Osage warfare during the 1700s and 1800s mentions that Osages plundered Santa Fe caravans in 1826 and earlier. The article's title reflects the author's predisposition to see Indians as warlike aggressors.

769. Clark, Wahnne C. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 66 (Summer 1988): 192-205.

This study casts light on the effects of the U.S. policy of assimilation following the subjugation of Indians. Clark discusses an 1880 trip of Comanche, Kiowa, and other Indian delegates to Carlisle Indian School. The visit ended with the enrollment of more Indian students in that Pennsylvania school.

770. Connelley, William E. "The Treaty Held at Medicine Lodge." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 601-06.

Connelley, the Kansas State Historical Society secretary, provides a non-Indian view of the 1867 Medicine Lodge treaty and an interpretation of events surrounding the council.

771. Dailey, Martha LaCroix. "Symbolism and Significance of the Lincoln Canes for the Pueblos of New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 69 (April 1994): 127-44.

Although not about the trail, this study discusses political aspects of Pueblo relations with U.S. officials during the 1800s and 1900s.

772. Danziger, Edmund J., Jr. "The Office of Indian Affairs and the Problem of Civil War Indian Refugees in Kansas." *Kansas Historical Review* 35 (Autumn 1969): 257-75.

Historian Danziger provides an accounting of Creeks, Cherokees, and other Indians who fled to eastern Kansas during the Civil War to escape turmoil in Indian Territory. Although Danziger does not discuss the relations of these people with the trail, he provides a context of understanding the presence of Oklahoma Indians in Kansas at that time.

773. ————. *Indians and Bureaucrats: Administering the Reservation Policy during the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, Danziger covers U.S. policies leading to the creation of reservations during the Civil war. Although only providing scant information about the trail, he discusses at length how U.S. actions negatively affected many Indian nations in contact with the trail.

774. Debo, Angie. "History and Customs of the Kiowas." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 7 (1934): 42-52.

Historian Debo sketch of Kiowa culture as it existed in the 1860s and 1870s provides an understanding of the Kiowa interaction, both in matters of war and peace, with Euroamericans along the trail and elsewhere.

775. Din, Gilbert and A. P. Nasatir. *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

The authors document Osage relations with the Spanish colonizers before the trail's opening. The study suffers from its lack of understanding of Osage culture and questionable interpretations.

776. Dorsey, George A. and Alfred L. Kroeber. *Traditions of the Arapaho*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Originally published in 1903, this collection of oral stories and histories includes information about Arapaho mythology, history, and social and political organization. Because these stories were collected from individuals who lived during the tumultuous nineteenth century, they provide an understanding of Arapaho life and beliefs when the trail was functional.

777. Dowes, John P. *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Focusing on the experiences of Delawares, Shawnees, Potawatomis, and Wyandots in eastern Kansas, this study does not address issues pertaining to the trail. It presents these people as pioneers.

778. Edmunds, R. David. "Indians as Pioneers: Potawatomis on the Frontier." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 64 (Winter 1987-1988): 340-53.

Historian Edmunds stresses that Potawatomis fought Plains Indians while engaged in frontier commerce, helping to "tame the wilderness" (353). The Potawatomis, who had been resettled on a Kansas reservation situated north of the trail, had significant contact with Euroamerican migrants bound for the West Coast.

779. Ellis, Clyde. *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

This case study illustrates how a boarding school among the Kiowas functioned as a component of the U.S. assimilation program following the subjugation of these people. It references the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867.

780. ————. “There Are So Many Things Needed: Establishing the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1891-1900.” *Chronicle of Oklahoma* 62 (Winter 1994-95): 414-39.

Ellis examines problems plaguing the Rainy Mountain School within the Kiowa-Comanche agency in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He discusses Kiowa culture during those years following their subjugation.

781. ————. “‘We Don’t Want Your Rations, We Want This Dance’: The Changing Use of Song and Dance on the Southern Plains.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1999): 133-54.

This study is about song and dance among Southern Plains peoples during the twentieth century. It provides information about many Indians who had significant contact with the trail, including Comanches, Kiowas, Kaws, Cheyennes, and Pawnees, and the cultural adjustments they made to meet changing conditions.

782. Epp, Todd D. “The State of Kansas v. Wild Hog, et al.” *Kansas History* 5 (Summer 1982): 139-48.

Epp examines the dismissal of criminal charges filed against six Northern Cheyennes accused of murdering Kansas settlers in 1878 near the trail during the Northern Cheyennes’ flight to their homelands.

783. Ewers, John C. *The Blackfeet; Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

In this study about Blackfeet warfare, ethnohistorian historian Ewers relates that Gros Ventre and Blackfeet warriors traveled about 800 miles south to the Arkansas River and back during the early 1830s. In 1835, Colonel Henry Dodge saw a few of them at Bent’s Fort.

784. ————. “Jean Louis Berlandier: A French Scientist Among the Wild Comanches.” In *Travelers on the Western Frontier*, edited by John Francis McDermott, 290-300. Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1968.

Without mentioning the trail, Ewers summarizes Berlandier’s observations of Comanches in Texas during the late 1820s.

785. Ferris, Ida M. “The Sauks and Foxes in Franklin and Osage Counties, Kansas.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (1910): 333-95.

Ferris discusses Sac and Fox land tenure in Kansas. Although not mentioning the trail, she uses quotes from these people to tell the story.

786. Fowler, Loretta. *The Arapaho*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989.

Fowler first gives a brief account of nineteenth-century Arapaho culture including a sketch of their religious beliefs and social customs. She then discusses Arapaho cultural change resulting from Euroamerican encroachments and U.S. policy. Fowler ends with a look at present-day Arapaho culture.

787. ————. *Tribal Sovereignty and the Historical Imagination: Cheyenne-Arapaho Politics*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Fowler discusses the cultural transformation that Cheyennes and Arapahos experienced as they fell under U.S. domination during the late 1860s.

788. Garfield, Marvin H. "The Indian Question in Congress and in Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 2 (February 1933): 29-44.

Garfield's useful study shows how Euroamerican expansion fueled a debate among U.S. officials over what should be done to remedy the so-called Indian problem. Some advocated a peaceful solution while others preferred a violent resolution. This later stance supported the official position of the Kansas state government.

789. Greene, Jerome A. *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and the Northern Cheyenne, 1876*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

Historian Greene argues that U.S. military campaigns laid the groundwork for the eventual surrender and removal of Northern Cheyennes to Oklahoma. It was these people who fled confinement to reach their northern homeland in 1879, crossing the trail in the process.

790. ————. *Washita: the U.S. Army and the Southern Cheyennes, 1867-1869*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Focusing on the years following the Sand Creek Massacre, Green examines events leading to the surprise attack in November 1868 on a Cheyenne encampment on the Washita River by U.S. soldiers under Lt. Colonel George A. Custer's command. The lethal strike resulted in the deaths of at least 250 Cheyennes, including Black Kettle, a noted chief, and many women and children. Green also probes the years immediately following this tragic event, examining Cheyenne trade on the trail for guns and ammunition as well as the escalation of tensions resulting from U.S. expansion.

791. Greene, Jerome A. and Douglas D. Scott. *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Locating and identifying the physical site of the Sand Creek Massacre, where Colorado militiamen and U.S. troops slaughtered more than a hundred and fifty

Cheyennes and Arapahos, mostly women and children, in 1864 is the focus of this work. The search began in 1998 and ended successfully the following year. The book offers a brief overview of events leading to the massacre and the massacre itself. The site is located north of the trail.

792. Gilles, Albert S. *Comanche Days*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1974.

First published in 1900, the book provides brief stories about nineteenth-century Comanche life though it is of limited use regarding scholarly insight into the trail's history.

793. Griffen, William B. *Apaches at War and Peace; The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

This history notes that trade between the United States and Chihuahua via the Santa Fe Trail brought new goods, some legal and other clandestine, to the Chiricahua Apaches.

794. Grimes, Richard S. "The Early Years of the Delaware Indian Experience in Kansas Territory, 1830-1845." *Journal of the West* 41 (Winter 2002): 73-82.

Grimes provides an overview of the removal of the Delawares to Kansas and their often troubled relations with Comanches, Otoes, and Pawnees. He notes that Delaware men frequently served as scouts for U.S. military campaigns and the Frémont expeditions. He illustrates how Euroamerican settlers and railroad interests pushed the Delawares into Oklahoma in 1866.

795. Grinnell, George B. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

Although the trail only occasionally comes into play in Grinnell's account of Cheyenne warfare, the book covers the major engagements that pitted the Cheyennes, along with their allies, against the U.S. army. With much of the information coming from the Cheyennes themselves, the book opens insight into their philosophies pertaining to warfare.

796. ————. *Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne: History and Folklore of the Plains from the Writings of George Bird Grinnell*. Selected with and introduction by Dee Brown. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.

A section entitled "The Coming of the White Man" recounts Cheyenne and Comanche relations with the trail, Bent's Fort, Kit Carson, and others.

797. Gutiérrez, Ramón A. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Gutiérrez's controversial study examines ways in which Spanish, Mexican and U.S. colonizers disrupted and nearly destroyed Pueblo culture through racist policies, including a program of coercive conversion to Christianity. Critics point out that this book contains numerous mistakes, unsubstantiated assertions, and misrepresentations of Pueblo culture.

798. Hagan, William T. "Quanah Parker, Indian Judge." In *Probing the American West: Papers from the Santa Fe Conference*, edited by K. Ross Toole, and others, 71-78. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962.

Although not about the trail, historian Hagan provides an understanding of changes that dramatically affected the lives of Quanah Parker and other Comanches during the reservation period.

799. ————. *United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Hagan examines the historical relationship of the U.S. government with Comanches and other Indian nations. He covers the trail's deleterious effects on Comanche life.

800. Haines, Francis, Sr. "Red Men of the Plains, 1500-1870." *American West* 10 (July 1973): 31-37.

Haines seeks to cover the diversity and migrations of Plains Indians. He mentions the Indians in Kansas and that Blackfeet from the northern plains raided the trail during the 1820s.

801. Halaas, David Fridtjof and Andrew E. Masich. "'You Could Hear the Drums for Miles': A Cheyenne Ledgerbook History." *Colorado Heritage* (Autumn 1996): 2-44.

The authors discuss the involvement of Pawnee Scouts in U.S. army campaigns against the Cheyennes. Their study also contains pictures of ledgerbook drawings by Cheyennes and a chronological listing of Cheyenne battles with the U.S. military from 1864 to the 1870s. These pictures provide a Cheyenne view of history.

802. Haley, James L. *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

Haley discusses the 1874 war in which Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes fought U.S. troops. He argues that the conflict resulted from the U.S. government's failure to fulfill its obligations under the 1867 Medicine Lodge treaty. This breach of trust left Indians without adequate food. Euroamerican encroachments onto Indian lands compounded the friction.

803. Hall, G. Emlen. "Land Litigation and the Idea of New Mexico Progress." *Journal of the West* 27 (July 1988): 48-58.

Law professor Hall sheds light on the impact of U.S. expansion on Indian rights. He examines the attempts of Santa Clara Pueblo in New Mexico to define its rights under Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. laws.

804. Hämäläinen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

This study asserts that the Comanche expansionism that began during the 1700s was essentially an endeavor of colonialism, except "they never attempted to build a European-style imperial system" (3). It discussing the role the U.S. government played in breaking down Comanchería and Comanche culture. It also addresses Comanche relations with the Santa Fe Trail.

805. ————. "The First Phase of Destruction: Killing the Southern Plains Buffalo, 1790-1840." *Great Plains Quarterly* 21 (Spring 2001): 101-14.

Taking a controversial position, historian Hämäläinen suggests that the growing hunger among Plains Indians during the 1850s resulted from their over hunting of buffalo since the late 1700s. He charges that the geo-political environment encouraged Comanches to participate in the "unsustainable exploitation of the bison" (109).

806. ————. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 833-62.

Following a recent development in scholarship postulating that horses had negative ecological and socioeconomic consequences on Plains Indians, this study stresses that these animals were a mixed blessing for Indians. He argues, "the patterns of success and failure took widely different forms in different parts of the Plains, giving rise to several distinctive horse cultures" (834). To him, it seems, most Indians were so active in shaping their destinies with horses that they ultimately set the stage for their own subjugation. Horses created wealth, facilitated hunting and warfare, and made travel easier, but they also intensified warfare, fashioned internal class distinctions, and disrupted gender roles. Worse of all, overgrazing by horses produced an ecological disaster that caused the size of the buffalo herds to decline sharply, which in turn encouraged Indians to view horses as a source of protein. Facing hunger and falling populations, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos intensified their raiding on the Santa Fe Trail for horses.

807. ————. "The Western Comanche Trade Center: Rethinking the Plains Indian Trade System." *Western Historical Review* 29 (Winter 1998): 485-513.

Hämäläinen argues that Western Comanches ran a major trade center on the upper Arkansas River basin from the 1740s to about 1830. Initially, the Comanches traded with Wichitas, Pawnees, Kaws, Kiowas, Iowas, and Frenchmen. Later, Cheyennes, Comancheros [Spanish, Pueblos, and *génizaros*], and Santa Fe traders joined the trade. The construction of Bent's Fort in the Upper Arkansas during the 1830s dealt a serious blow to the Comanche trade. Nearly simultaneously, Euroamerican traders caused other Indian trading networks to crumble.

808. Hampton, Carol. "Indian Colonization in the Cherokee Outlet and Western Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54 (Spring 1976): 130-48.

Hampton recounts the removal of Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Kaws, and Osages to Oklahoma during the 1860s and 1870s. Hostile attitudes among Euroamericans played a major role in their campaign to cleanse the plains of Indians.

809. Harper, Elizabeth Ann. "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1779-1835." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 26 (1953): 41-72.

Harper's discussion of the Wichitas references their alliance with Kiowas and Comanches and their 1834 treaty with the U.S. government, which contains a stipulation that guaranteed free passage to U.S. citizens going to and from Mexico through Wichita and Comanche territory.

810. Harris, Charles W. "The Red River War of 1874-75: The End of an Era on the Great Plains." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 271-76.

Harris links the Red River War with the extermination of the buffalo. He also blames the war on U.S. officials for their failure to provide annuities to the Comanches, Cheyennes, and Kiowas as stipulated by the 1867 Medicine Lodge treaty, on hunger that plagued reservations, and on Indians for attempting to retain their customary ways of living.

811. Hall, G. Emlen and David J. Weber. "Mexican Liberals and the Pueblo Indians, 1821-1829." *New Mexico Historical Review* 59 (January 1984): 5-32.

The authors discuss Mexico's Indian policy during the 1820s in New Mexico.

812. Haucke, Frank. "The Kaw or Kansas Indians." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (February 1952): 36-61.

Speaking at the 1952 annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, Haucke gave an overview of Kaw history. The speech also referenced the trail and U.S. policy.

813. Heard, J. Norman. *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*. 5 vols. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987-1998.

This five-volume set of encyclopedic entries concerns Indian-Euroamerican relations since the beginning of European colonization of North America. Volume III provides biographical sketches of Indians and non-Indians who had contact with the trail.

814. Heaston, Michael D. "Whiskey Regulation and Indian Land Titles in New Mexico Territory, 1851-1861." *Journal of the West* 10 (July 1971): 474-92.

Although not about the trail per se, Heaston's examination of the effects of U.S. Indian policy in New Mexico focuses on the Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and other Indians.

815. Herring, Joseph B. "The Chippewa and Munsee Indians: Acculturation and Survival in Kansas, 1850s – 1870." *Kansas History* 6 (Winter 1983/84): 212-20.

Without referencing the trail, Herring documents the struggles that faced the Chippewas and Munsees in eastern Kansas.

816. ————. *The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1990.

Herring examines the removal of thousands of Indians into and out of Kansas during the nineteenth century. By the century's end, only several hundred of them remained, mostly Chippewas, Potawatomis, Kickapoos, Iowas, Sacs, and Foxes, because of their willingness to acculturate on their own terms.

817. Hilliard, Sam B. "Indian Land Cessions West of the Mississippi." *Journal of the West* 10 (July 1971): 493-510.

Hilliard's study discusses land cessions involving Indians who had contact with the trail.

818. Hoig, Stan. *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000.

Hoig's examination of Kicking Bird, a Kiowa leader who became a peace and acculturation advocate, probes his peoples' troubles with the trail and other forms of U.S. encroachment. Hoig gives us an indication about the differing perspectives among the Kiowa leadership concerning how their people should deal with the threat and effects of U.S. expansion.

819. ————. *The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Hoig examines the attempts of Walking Whirlwind, Lean Bear, Black Kettle, and White Antelope to maintain peace between Cheyenne warrior societies and Euroamericans. The author notes that the efforts of the chiefs often ended in tragedy. He discusses Cheyenne culture during those tumultuous times. Factual and conceptual errors limit the usefulness of this study, however.

820. ————. *Perilous Pursuit: The U.S. Cavalry and the Northern Cheyenne*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002.

Former journalism professor Hoig draws from primary and secondary sources to challenge the veracity of studies based on Cheyenne oral history regarding the Northern Cheyennes' 1878 flight from Oklahoma. The author believes non-Indian sources, such as agency reports, offer a fuller and more realistic representation of this historical event.

821. ————. *Tribal Wars of the Southern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

In addition to examining tribal rivalries, this study discusses the violence that erupted between various Indian nations and Euroamericans over land issues. Hoig references the trail on numerous occasions.

822. ————. *The Sand Creek Massacre*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

This book contains several references about Cheyenne and Arapaho relations with the trail.

823. ————. *White Man's Paper Trail: Grand Councils and Treaty-Making on the Central Plains*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006.

This award-winning study about treaty-making on the central plains from the early 1800s to 1871 contains numerous references to the trail and to numerous Indigenous nations having an association with it. The author identifies three fundamental problems that undermined the U.S. government's practice of negotiating and implementing treaties: "political deception and dishonesty," broken commitments, and the catastrophic effects of the displacement and removal on Indian peoples.

824. Howard, R. Palmer and Virginia E. Allen. "Stress and Death in the Settlement of Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54 (Fall 1976): 352-59.

This study examines the physical toll that the establishment of Oklahoma reservations had on Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches during the

1860s and 1870s. The authors note that the effects of disease, hunger, and forced removals contribute to a high mortality rate among them.

825. Hughes, J. Donald. *American Indians in Colorado*. Boulder: Pruett Pub. Co., 1977.

This book discusses Native responses to the Euroamerican migration into Colorado via the Santa Fe Trail and other routes.

826. Hyde, George, E. *The Pawnee Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974.

Initially published in 1951, this study briefly discusses aspects of the Pawnees' contentious relationship with the trail. Using primary and secondary sources, Hyde notes that Pawnees blamed Santa Fe traders for giving them gifts infected with the smallpox virus in 1831. Often considered a comprehensive history, it is plagued by inaccuracies and racial biases.

827. John, Elizabeth A. H. "An Earlier Chapter in Kiowa History." *New Mexico Historical Review* 60 (October 1985): 379-97.

Historian John discusses the complex relations of Kiowas and other Plains Indians with New Mexico in the late 1700s and early 1800s.

828. ————. "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 59 (October 1984): 345-69.

Focusing mostly on the Texas arena, John probes the cooperative side of Spanish relations with Comanches during the early 1800s.

829. ————. "Portrait of a Wichita Village, 1808." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 60 (Winter 1982-83): 412-37.

This study discusses Anthony Glass's stay with the Wichitas in 1808 in the upper Red River region. In addition to making cultural observations, Glass recorded the Wichitas' friendship with Comanches, conflict with Osages, and relations with Spain and the United States.

830. Jones, Douglas. "Medicine Lodge Revisited." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1969): 130-42.

Jones documents a 1967 visit by Kiowas and Comanches to the site where their ancestors had participated in the Medicine Lodge treaty council a hundred years earlier. He draws on tribal oral histories to write about the history surrounding the treaty.

831. Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *The Indian Heritage of America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

Josephy's examination of Indian origins, cultures, and histories references the trail in the contexts of U.S. expansionism and violence. He discusses the causes of Kiowa, Comanche, and Taos Indian resistance in New Mexico and elsewhere.

832. Lange, Charles, H. "Plains-Southwestern Inter-Cultural Relations during the Historic Period." *Ethnohistory* 4 (Spring 1957): 150-73.

Lange examines cultural exchange processes for Indians from the Plains and the Southwest from the 1500s to the twentieth century. He covers Indian nations that had contact with the trail.

833. La Vere, David. *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

This history examines the troubled relations of Indians of the southern plains with Southeastern Indians resulting from the U.S. policy of removal. The author points out that the forced removals negatively impacted Comanches, Cheyennes, Osages, and others connected to the trail, leading to intertribal warfare and longstanding contention.

834. Lecompte, Janet. "Bent, St. Vrain and Company among the Comanche and Kiowa." *Colorado Magazine* 49 (Fall 1972): 273-93.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, Lecompte shows that Comanche and Kiowa relations with traders and Bent's Fort fluctuated between conflict and friendship. She discusses Comanche attacks on trail traffic. Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Pawnees are also mentioned. Reproductions of paintings enriched this study.

835. Kavanagh, Thomas W. *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective, 1706-1875*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

The author uses an ethnohistorical approach to present a history of Comanche social, political and economic life during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although probing the complexities of Comanche relations with other Indian, Spain, Mexico and the United States with considerable detail, his examination of Comanche relations with the trail lacks depth. He only covers the years 1821 to 1834. He nonetheless brings to life Comanche encounters with trail travelers, U.S. soldiers, and U.S. government agents. Regarding the Comanches' reputation for being one of the most dangerous people along the route, he asserts that they may have been falsely implicated for acts of war involving others.

836. Kessell, John L. *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico*. Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, [1995?].

First published in 1979, this history covers the relations of Pecos Pueblo inhabitants with Spanish, Mexican, and Euroamerican colonizers as well as other Indians. It notes that in 1822 Thomas James, a Missouri trader, was the first Anglo-American to give a written description of the town. Regarding the pueblo's abandonment in 1838, the author states that the reasons are not only unclear but also shrouded in mythology. Kessell also covers the stories that Euroamericans told about the abandoned town.

837. ————. "Pecos Pueblo." *American West* 16 (May/June 1979): 18, 63.

This brief study indicates that trail travelers, including U.S. traders and soldiers, often poked through the abandoned ruins. The author correctly notes that the descendants of Pecos Pueblo live at Jémez Pueblo.

838. Koch, Lena Clara. "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 28 (January 1925): 223-34; Chapter II, (April 1925): 259-86.

Koch focuses mostly on U.S. policy in Texas and Comanches. She asserts that U.S. annuities during the late 1840s reduced Indian attacks on the westbound migrants. Comanches, she asserts, viewed the annuities as compensation for the use of trails running through their lands.

839. Kroeber, Alfred L. *The Arapaho*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Originally published in 1902, this book is an anthropological examination of Arapaho life. It describes everyday Arapaho life with a heavy focus on their ceremonies. Although the study makes no mention of the trail, it offers an overview of Arapaho culture when the trail was operational.

840. LaVere, David. "Friendly Persuasions: Gifts and Reciprocity in Comanche-Euroamerican Relations." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 71 (Fall 1993): 322-37.

LaVere argues that those non-Indians who enjoyed friendly relations with Comanches understood the significance of gift giving in Comanche culture. Conversely, Josiah Gregg and others trail travelers without this knowledge promoted violent interaction.

841. Leader, Jeanne P. "The Pottawatomies and Alcohol: An Illustration of the Illegal Trade." *Kansas History* 2 (Autumn 1979): 157-66.

Leader argues that the illegal alcohol trade had a devastating impact on the Potawatomis and other Kansas Indians. Her study integrates the effects of U.S.

policy on Indian autonomy and land tenure. Many of the conditions described have application for those Indians who had a closer association with the trail.

842. Levine, Frances. *Our Prayers Are in This Place: Pecos Pueblo Identity over the Centuries*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

This study is about Pecos Pueblo history, culture, and identity. It discusses how William Becknell, Thomas James, Albert Pike, and other travelers represented the pueblo in their writings. However, it fails to consider if the trail contributed to the removal of the Pecos people to Jemez Pueblo in 1838. It illustrates that descendant's of Pecos Pueblo have maintained their identity within Jemez Pueblo.

843. McCoy, Ronald. *Kiowa Memories: Images from Indian Territory, 1880*. Santa Fe: Morning Star Gallery, 1987.

Although this book is limited in scope, it depicts aspects of everyday Kiowa life and society during the nineteenth century.

844. Mader, Jerry. *The Road to Lame Deer*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

This book relates the way in which an Indian nation, the Northern Cheyennes, retains its oral history and how its people lived during the twentieth century. It is filled with informative photographs and Cheyenne stories. Some of these stories pertain to everyday life while others tell about the past, expressing pivotal events in Cheyenne history.

845. Mann, Henrietta. *Cheyenne-Arapaho Education, 1871-1892*. Niwot: University of Colorado, 1997.

In her study about education during the late 1800s, Mann, herself a Cheyenne and trained historian, briefly covers Cheyenne and Arapaho life when the trail was in existence. She tells how her ancestors "survived the onslaught of the white-skinned aggressor, and they resolutely walk behind the keepers of their sacred tribal symbols on the road of light and life into the future" (186).

846. Mattingly Arthur H. "The Great Plains Peace Commission of 1867." *Journal of the West* 15 (July 1976): 23-37.

Drawn on primary and secondary sources, Mattingly's research provides a picture of the U.S. government's attempts to end the warfare sparked by the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. He notes that the 1867 Medicine Lodge treaty failed to establish a lasting peace with Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. However, the author fails to provide an adequate discussion of the causes of the conflict.

847. Manzo, Joseph T. "Emigrant Indian Objections to Kansas Residence." *Kansas History* 4 (Winter 1981): 246-54.

Although not about the trail, Manzo discusses the removal of Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and other Indians to Kansas from the 1820s to the 1840s. Coming from a woodlands environment, they found the barren Kansas landscape to be an unacceptable home.

848. Marriott, Alice. *The Ten Grandmothers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945.

This useful ethnography deals with the Kiowas' transformation from a free and independent status in the 1840s to subjugated people within several generations. It discusses hardships they faced resulting from the destruction of the buffalo, premature deaths, and harsh U.S. army treatment. The Kiowa calendars section gives tribal accounts about historical incidents involving their encounters with the Euroamericans along the trail and elsewhere. The author includes information about the ways in which the Kiowas attempted to adjust to the new conditions while retaining elements of their customary culture.

849. Mathews, John Joseph. *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1961.

Mathews, himself an Osage, provides an insightful view of Osage life and culture from the earliest times to the 1900s. Drawing from oral history as well as primary and secondary sources, he discusses Osage interaction with white Americans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and other Indians. To him, the trail was mostly a source of trouble. He also covers the reduction of the Osage land base and their placement on an Oklahoma reservation during the early 1870s.

850. Mayhall, Mildred P. *The Kiowas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Ethnohistorian Mayhall employs an interdisciplinary approach to study nineteenth-century Kiowa history and culture. Her research discusses Kiowa migrations, ceremonials, and territorial holdings. She interprets various Kiowa calendars from the years 1832 to 1892. These calendars provide Kiowa accounts of such historical events as their interaction with the trail, the U.S. military, and other Indians. The book concludes with a discussion of Kiowa acculturation in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the author's use of the words "savage" and "barbaric" reveals her racial chauvinism.

851. Mead, Ben Carlton. "Netz-a-Huatl's Legend of the Origin of the Pueblo Tribes." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 7 (1934): 70-8.

Mead recorded the oral history of the Pecos Pueblo Indians at Cicuye [Pecos] Pueblo. Distorting history, he asserts, "they lived [there], until Coronado and those black-bearded devils came and ruined the People."

852. Members of the Potomac Corral of the Westerns. *Great Western Indian Fights*. Garden City, NY: Double Day 1960.

This popular history covers some wars and fights resulting from westward U.S. expansion.

853. Meredith, Howard. *Dancing on Common Ground: Tribal Cultures and Alliances on the Southern Plains*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Meredith references tribal relationships with the trail. It is a good starting point for anyone looking to conduct research about the subject.

854. Methvin, J. J. *Andele, or, The Mexican-Kiowa Captive*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Captured in the fall of 1866 by Mescalero Apaches near Las Vegas, New Mexico, and “sold” to the Kiowas, Andele [Jose Andres Martín] came to age as a member of Kiowa society. His story, as told through the ethnocentric lens of a Methodist minister, provides insight into Kiowa life, which was dramatically altered by U.S. expansion, during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

855. Miles, Ray. “‘Give Us Our Priests’: The Osage Plea for Freedom of Religion.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 66 (Summer 1988): 52-63.

Miles notes that during the mid 1860s intense pressure from Euroamerican settlers forced the Osages to remove from southern Kansas to an Indian Territory reservation. He also discusses the U.S. assimilation program at work among them.

856. Miller, Susan Allison. “Those Homelands That You Call the “Louisiana Purchase.” In *The Louisiana Purchase and Its Peoples: Perspective from the New Orleans Conference*, edited by Paul E. Hoffman, 75-87. Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association and the Center for Louisiana Studies, 2004.

Seminole historian Miller discusses some of the impacts of U.S. colonialism and disease on Pawnees, Osages, Kaws, Kiowas, Comanches, and other Indian nations that had intimate contact with the trail.

857. Milner, Clyde A. II. “Off the White Road: Seven Nebraska Indian Societies in the 1870s – A Statistical Analysis of Assimilation, Population, and Prosperity.” *Western Historian Quarterly* 12 (January 1981): 37-52.

Historian Milner examines the impact of the U.S. assimilation policy administered by Quakers on the Pawnees and six other Indian nations in Nebraska and Indian Territory during the late 1860s and 1870s.

858. Miner, Donald D. "Western Travelers in Quest of the Indian." In *Travelers on the Western Frontier*, edited by John Francis McDermott, 267-89. Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1968.

Charles Augustus Murray and John Treat Irving spent time among Pawnees during the 1830s. Miner points out that Murray viewed them as the most treacherous Indians on the plains while Irving saw them in a more romantic light. He also mentions Irving's observations of Shawnees at Fort Leavenworth.

859. Miner, H. Craig and William E. Unrau. *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978.

This history examine the removal of more than 10,000 Kickapoos, Wyandots, Osages, Delawares, Sacs, Foxes, Shawnees, and others to Indian Territory after the opening of Kansas for U.S. settlement. The authors integrate the trail and its significance into the story.

860. Monahan, Forrest D., Jr. "The Kiowas and New Mexico, 1800-1845." *Journal of the West* 8 (January 1969): 67-75.

Although not about the trail per se, the study mentions the trade goods that Kiowas sought in New Mexico from 1800 to 1845.

861. Monnett, John H. *Tell Them We Are Going Home: The Odyssey of the Northern Cheyennes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

The Northern Cheyenne exodus from Indian Territory in 1878 is the focus of this work. Although the Cheyennes crossed the length of Kansas, the author does not discuss any specific encounters with the trail. He notes that U.S. troops stationed at Fort Dodge received orders to intercept and attack those homebound people.

862. Moore, John H. *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.

Moore attributes the rise of the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers to the effects of the Santa Fe and Oregon roads on their people. Opposing the accommodation stance of their chiefs regarding the matter of U.S. expansion, the Dog Soldiers embraced a no compromise position, and, according to Moore, decided to live by raiding.

863. Morrison, T. F. "The Osage Treaty of 1865." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928* 17 (1928): 692-708.

Speaking at Shaw, Kansas, during the dedication of a monument to commemorate the 1865 treaty between the Osage nation and the United States, Morrison, a local politician, summarized Osage history and culture. He also mentions the 1825 treaty.

864. Noyes, Stanley. *Los Comanches: The Horse People, 1751-1845*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.

This history deals with Comanche life during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Noyes discusses Comanche relations with other Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, and U.S. citizens without balance, fairness, or accuracy. His handling of Comanche society, including women, is equally troubling. A chapter examines Comanche attacks on Santa Fe traders and trail traffic.

865. Nye, Wilbur Sturtevant. *Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Drawing largely from information obtained from George Hunt, Ay-tah, Hunting Horse, and Peah-to-mah, Nye recites stories about nineteenth-century Kiowa life, religion, and economic pursuits. Nye, a retired U.S. army officer, focuses mostly on Kiowa warfare with other Indians, Mexicans, and, to a significantly lesser extent, white Americans. Nonetheless, as with Nye's other works, it suffers from his penchant to conceptualize Indians as warlike savages.

866. Parker, Linda. "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54 (Spring 1976): 104-29.

From the 1850s to the 1870s, U.S. officials removed Wyandots, Shawnees, Ottawas, Peorias, Delawares, Potawatomis, and other Indians from Kansas to Oklahoma. The author discusses how U.S. settlement adversely impacted the territorial holdings of these beleaguered Indigenous peoples.

867. Parsons, Elsie Clews. *The Pueblo of Jemez*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

The author provides information regarding the survival of a Pecos Pueblo identity in Jemez society.

868. Powell, Peter J. "Warriors' World: A Cheyenne Self-Portrait." *American Heritage* 33 (December 1981): 36-44.

This article contains ledger drawings by Northern Cheyennes depicting nineteenth-century scenes.

869. Powers, Ramon and James N. Leiker. "Cholera among the Plains Indians: Perceptions, Cause, Consequences." *Western Historical Quarterly* 29 (Autumn 1998): 317-40.

The authors examine factors that promoted the spread of Asiatic cholera among the Wichitas, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Kaws, Osages, Comanches, Pawnees,

Delawares, and Shawnees, among others, during the late 1840s and 1850s in Kansas and elsewhere. They assert that the depopulation encouraged many of the survivors to resist Euroamerican encroachments more aggressively.

870. Price, Catherine. "The Comanches Threat to Texas and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century and the Development of Spanish Indian Policy." *Journal of the West* 24 (April 1996): 34-45.

Historian Price focuses on Comanche interaction with Spaniards in Texas and New Mexico before the trail's establishment. She integrates Jicarilla Apaches, Plains Apaches, Pawnees, Utes, Pueblos, and other Indians into her study.

871. Richardson, Rupert Norval. *Comanche Barrier to Southern Plains Settlement*. Edited by Kenneth R. Jacobs with a new introduction by A. C. Greene. Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1996.

First published in 1933 with the subtitle "A Century and a Half of Savage Resistance to the Advancing White Frontier," this history tells about the final years of the Comanches' fight to preserve their lands and ways of living on the southern plains. A brief chapter discusses Comanche relations with Euroamericans on the Arkansas River, including the treaties that failed to end the raging conflict.

872. Ritter, Beth R. "Piecing Together the Ponca Past: Reconstructing Degiha Migrations to the Great Plains." *Great Plains Quarterly* (Fall 2002): 271-84.

Anthropologist Ritter's study of Ponca migrations briefly discusses the Kaws' movement into Kansas before the trail's establishment.

873. Rivers, Theodore John. "A Study of the Laws of the Ottawa Indians as Preserved in the *Ottawa First Book* (1850)." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 42 (Autumn 1976): 225-37.

Although not about the trail, this study provides a glimpse at the laws enacted by the Ottawas in Kansas in 1850.

874. Robinson, Charles. *The Indian Trial: The Complete Story of the Warren Wagon Train Massacre and the Fall of the Kiowa Nation*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997.

Written from primary and secondary sources, this useful account of the Kiowa's submission under U.S. domination references elements of Kiowa and Comanche history not only near the trail but in Oklahoma and Texas as well. The text contains translations of the speeches given by Satank, Satanta, Kicking Bird, and others regarding their views about the negative cultural consequences of U.S. expansion.

875. Rollings, Willard H. *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1992.

The author examines how the Osages were able to dominate a huge area generally bounded by the Missouri, Mississippi, and Red rivers and the Great Plains, including a swath of land subsequently traversed by the trail. He mainly probes Osage relations with other Indians. The Osages, Rollings argues, lived in peace with Euroamericans because they needed firearms from U.S. traders in their wars with other Indians.

876. Romig, Joseph. "The Chippewa and Munsee (or Christian) Indians of Franklin County, Kansas." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 11 (191): 314-23.

Although Romig does not mention the trail, he refers to the removal of Wyandots, Munsee, Chippewa, and other Indians into Kansas during the 1830s and 1840s.

877. Ross, Edith Connelley. "The Old Shawnee Mission." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 417-35.

Ross provides useful information about the establishment of the Shawnee Mission and other missions in eastern Kansas. She also delves into Indian relations with non-Indians at Shawnee Mission near the trail.

878. Russell, Don. "How Many Indians Were Killed? Whiteman versus Red Man: The Facts and the Legend." *American West* 10 (July 1973): 42-47, 61-63.

In addition to referring to massacres such as the one at the Washita River in 1868, Russell notes several incidents involving interracial bloodshed on the trail in the 1840s.

879. Sando, Joe. S. *Nee Hemish: A History of Jemez Pueblo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1982.

Historian Sando, himself a Jemez Indian, provides an insightful history of Jemez Pueblo that includes a discussion of the abandonment of Pecos Pueblo in 1838 and the migration of its inhabitants to Jemez. Once there, the Pecos integrated into Jemez society. Sando notes that they and their descendents have remained spiritually and physically attached to their former Pecos Pueblo home. He questions the widely held assumption that the Pecos moved to Jemez because of a linguistic relationship.

880. ————. "Popé, The Pueblo Revolt, and Native Americans in Early New Mexico." In *New Mexican Lives: Profiles and Historical Stories*, edited by Richard W. Etulain, 19-44. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Sando's examination of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 indicates that when the Spaniard colonizers returned twelve years later they became more tolerant of Pueblo religion, and relations between them gradually became more cooperative. The Pueblos subsequently assisted the Spaniards in their wars against other Indians. To Sando, Pueblo Revolt leader Popé was a highly capable and energetic leader.

881. Schilz, Thomas F. "Ponies, Pelts and Pemmican: The Arapahoes and Early Western Trade." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 7 (Spring 1982): 28-38.

Schilz points out that Arapahos viewed the trail's opening as a threat to their well being and that their relations with Euroamericans fluctuated between war and peace during the years that followed. He argues that Arapahos became dependent on Euroamerican traders for manufactured goods.

882. Schmidlin, Lois L. Nelsen. "The Role of the Horse in the Life of the Comanche." *Journal of the West* 13 (January 1974): 47-66.

Although not about the trail per se, Schmidlin discusses the role the horse played in the spread of Comanche culture across the southern plains from the 1600s to the 1870s.

883. Shaw, Virginia. "The End of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Alliance." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 5 (Winter 1980): 56-72.

Without mentioning the trail, Shaw discusses elements of Cheyenne and Arapaho cultures and the changing nature of these peoples' interaction with non-Indians during the nineteenth century. Treaties and U.S. Indian policy are also integrated into the history.

884. Shoup, Earl Leon. "Indian Missions in Kansas." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 65-69.

Addressing a Kansas State Historical Society gathering in 1910, Shoup discusses the founding of reservations for and missions among Shawnees, Kaws, Delawares, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Potawatomis, Osages, and others. Although the trail is not mentioned, he alludes to Euroamericans' efforts to Christianize and assimilate Indians.

885. Simmons, Virginia McConnell. *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000.

Drawing from U.S. government, archival, and local history materials, Simmons seeks to present an accurate history of the neglected and misunderstood Utes. Falling short of this objective, she attributes Ute aggression toward the trail during the early 1840s to the influences of alcohol and Euroamerican hunters. She also

notes that in 1849 Utes and Jicarillas attacked James White's party near Point of the Rock. Much of the book focuses on the impact of U.S. policy on the Utes.

886. Smith, Robert E. "The Wyandot Exploring Expedition of 1839." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 55 (Fall 1977): 282-92.

This study examines factors contributing to the Wyandots' removal to Kansas in 1843 and then to Oklahoma in the 1850s.

887. Socolofsky, Homer E. "Wyandot Floats." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36 (Autumn 1970): 241-304.

Historian Socolofsky details how U.S. expansion into Kansas impacted the land tenure and legal status of the Wyandots. He notes that the "Wyandot reservation, cradled as it was between the Missouri and Kansas rivers, was in a strategic location for lines of travel" (245).

888. Stanley, F. *The Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940*. Pampa, TX: Pampa Print Shop, 1962.

This study covers Jicarilla relations with the trail, New Mexico, U.S. government, and other Indians. Although accurately noting that both Indians and Euroamericans committed depredations against one another, much of the account pertains to the Jicarillas' attacks on the White party, mail carriers, and others during the late 1840s and early 1850s. It also focuses on the subjugation of the "fiercely independent" Jicarillas.

889. ————. *Satanta and the Kiowa*. Borger, TX: Jim Hess Printers, 1968.

Stanley's useful account of Satanta [White Bear] details elements of nineteenth-century Kiowa history, much of which occurred on and near the trail. It covers how U.S. policy impacted Kiowa culture and life.

890. Sutter, Virginia. *Tell Me, Grandmother: Traditions, Stories, and Cultures of Arapaho People*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004.

Written by an Arapaho elder, this book examines Arapaho life in the 1800s as told through storytelling and a series of imaginary conversations. Sutter hopes this book will enable people, both Indians and non-Indians, to gain a clearer understanding of Arapaho life, culture, and traditions. While the book does not speak directly about the trail, it does offer insight into what the past lives of Arapaho people might have been like.

891. Sweeney, Edwin R. "Mangas Coloradas and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Conflicts." In *New Mexican Lives: Profiles and Historical Stories*, edited by Richard W. Etulain, 131-62. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

This study about Mangas Coloradas contains information regarding Jicarilla Apaches and their troubled relations with Euroamericans. It indicates that the Jicarilla's 1849 attack on the White party near Point of the Rocks was in retaliation for the shedding of Jicarilla blood by U.S. soldiers near Las Vegas in August of that year.

892. Szabo, Joyce M. *Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

This book provides a context for comprehending the ledger book drawings that Howling Wolf and other Southern Cheyennes made during the late 1870s while the U.S. government held them captive at Fort Marion, Florida, and after they returned to the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Indian Territory. The drawings depict scenes of warfare with U.S. soldiers and other Indians, buffalo hunting, daily activities, and life at Fort Marion.

893. Taylor, Morris F. "Plains Indians on the New Mexico-Colorado Border: The Last Phase, 1870-1876." *New Mexico Historical Review* 46 (October 1971): 315-36.

Historian Taylor examines the final military struggles waged by Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Utes against U.S. expansionism. He covers U.S. army campaigns against them in the trail's vicinity.

894. ————. "Some Aspects of Historical Indian Occupation of Southeastern Colorado." *Great Plains Journal* 4 (Fall 1964): 17-28.

Taylor discusses Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Jicarilla Apache conflicts with Euroamericans in southeastern Colorado, where the trail's mountain route ran.

895. Thomas, James. "The Osage Removal to Oklahoma." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 55 (Spring 1977): 46-55.

Thomas's overview of Osage land tenure in Kansas provides an understanding of how the effects of U.S. policy and Euroamerican settlement led to their removal to Indian Territory in 1871.

896. Thompson, Peter. "The Fight for Life: New Mexico Indians, Health Care, and the Reservation Period." *New Mexico Historical Review* 69 (April 1994): 145-61.

Historian Thompson examines health issues that struck Pueblos, Apaches, and Navajos after they fell under the weight of U.S. domination.

897. Tiller, Veronica E. Velarde. *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History*. Rev. ed. Albuquerque: BowArrow Publishing Company, 2000.

Tiller, a historian, examines her peoples' history and culture from the time of their origin to the 1970s. She attributes the strained relations of Jicarillas with the U.S. government to a biased report of Charles Bent in 1846 that described the Jicarillas as cowardly, indolent nomads. Tiller notes that Jicarilla depredations on the trail subsequently increased until the U.S. military defeated them during the 1850s.

898. Tracy, Valerie. "Indian in Transition: The Neosho Agency, 1850-1861." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 48 (Summer 1970): 164-83.

Focusing mostly on Osages, the author finds that U.S. agents had nearly absolute control over Indians associated with the Neosho agency in Kansas.

899. Trafzer, Clifford E. "Politicos and Navajos." *Journal of the West* 13 (October 1974): 3-16.

Historian Trafzer's discussion of the Navajos examines U.S. Indian policy in New Mexico from the 1840s through the 1860s. Pueblo Indians are covered to a lesser extent without mention of the trail.

900. Trenholm, Virginia Cole. *The Arapahoes, Our People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

An anthropological study of Arapaho life during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, this book touches on Arapaho contacts with the trail, mostly in the context of conflict. Trenholm purports to tell the Arapaho story from an Indian point of view, but she falls short of reaching this objective.

901. Tyson, Carl N. *The Pawnee People*. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976.

This brief study contains information about Pawnee relations with the U.S. government during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

902. Unrau, William E. "The Depopulation of the Dheghia-Siouan Kansa Prior to Removal." *New Mexico Historical Review* (October 1973): 313-28.

Historian Unrau notes that the Kaws' close proximity to the trail made them especially susceptible to infectious disease. He correctly asserts that U.S. policy was more concerned about the welfare of Euroamerican missionaries, farmers, traders, and speculators than Indians, and that many Kaws died prematurely from the effects of hunger and malnutrition from the 1820s to the 1870s.

903. ————. *Indians of Kansas: The Euro-American Invasion and Conquest of Indian Kansas*. Topeka (Kansas State Historical Society, 1991).

Unrau's critical assessment of the forced removal of many Indians from Kansas from the 1850s to the early 1871s notes the interplay of racism with U.S. policy.

He also discusses the return of individual Indians and their families to Kansas during the twentieth century.

904. ————. “Indian Water Rights to the Middle Arkansas: The Case for the Kaws.” *Kansas History* 5 (Spring 1982): 52-69.

Unrau’s study of Kaw water rights mentions article 11 of the 1825 treaty that allowed non-Indians to travel through Kaw land over the trail. It also discusses factors leading to the Kaws’ removal to Indian Territory in the early 1870s.

905. ————. *The Kansas Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673-1873*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Unrau’s history examines the Kaws’ movement on to the central plains in the late 1600s to their removal from Kansas to Oklahoma several hundred years later. Although Unrau addresses major factors that affected Kaw life and land tenure, his discussion of Kaw relations with the trail lacks depth.

906. Unrau, William E. and H. Craig Miner. *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

This book analyzes underlying factors that enabled the Ottawa nation to be misled and fraudulently treated by conspiring Kansas’s politicians and U.S. officials. Prevailing racial attitudes among U.S. society allowed for the dishonesty.

907. Usner, Daniel H., Jr. “An American Indian Gateway: Some Thoughts on the Migration and Settlement of Eastern Indians around Early St. Louis.” *Gateway Heritage* 11 (Winter 1990-91): 42-51.

Although not about the trail, this study illustrates how Delawares, Shawnees, Potawatomis, and other Indians moved to the St. Louis area before the early 1800s participated in the region’s economic development.

908. Van Roekel, Gertrude B. *Jicarilla Apaches*. San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1971.

This history briefly discusses many hardships that U.S. expansion brought to the Jicarillas. It provides information regarding Jicarilla life during the reservation era.

909. Viola, Herman J. *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1998.

This book contains the ledger art drawn by a Cheyenne and a Kiowa depicting scenes of their lives during the 1860s and 1870s, possibly near the trail, and

images of their travel to Florida where they were incarcerated as prisoners of war. Historian Viola provides a historical context for understanding the art.

910. Wallace, Ernest and W. Adamson Hoebel. *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

First published in 1952, the authors draw on tribal oral histories, written primary sources, and secondary materials to examine Comanche history and culture. They cover the Comanches' movement onto the southern plains; alliance with Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos; and, with the help of horses, establishment of a vast territory south of the Arkansas River. The destruction of the buffalo herds and their horses enabled U.S. forces to drive them onto a reservation, where they slowly adjusted to a new way of living.

911. Warren, Stephen A. "The Baptists, the Methodists, and the Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory, 1833-1834." *Kansas History* 17 (Autumn 1994): 149-61.

Historian Warren draws from primary sources to examine Shawnee attempts to preserve their culture during the early 1830s while facing a U.S. assimilation program administered by Euroamerican missionaries. Although the trail dissected the Shawnee reservation, the author failed to show concern about the trail's effects on them.

912. Warren, Stephen. *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870*. Urbana and Chicago; University of Illinois Press, 2005.

This valuable history probes the complex relations that Shawnees had with their Euroamerican neighbors on both sides of the Mississippi River and how contact with U.S. officials contributed to a transformation in their sociopolitical organization. In Kansas, following their removal, the trail had a dual effect on them. Some individuals such as Paschal Fish profited from a ferry he operated on the Kansas River, a blacksmith shop, and a hotel. Others, however, recognized that U.S. migrations would lead to another removal for them, which occurred. Warren also examines the factors that led to their removal to Oklahoma.

913. Wedel, Waldo R. "The Kansas Indians." *Transactions of the Academy of Science* 49 (June 1946): 1-35.

Writing about Kaw history and culture, the author, an archaeologist, notes the trail's negative effects of "unscrupulous traders, whiskey peddlers, and other frontier riffraff" (15) on them near Council Grove. He also probes their depopulation, economic decline, and removal to an Oklahoma reservation in 1873 because of encroaching Euroamerican settlers. Sadly, this study contains an offensive photo of a Kaw burial.

914. Weslager, C[harles]. A[lfred]. "Enrollment List of Chippewa and Delaware-Munsies Living in Franklin County, Kansas, May 31, 1900." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1972): 234-40.

Although not about the trail, this study provides information about Chippewas and Delaware-Munsies who were removed to eastern Kansas.

915. ————. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972.

The author's discussion contains a description of Delaware life in Kansas from 1830 to 1868. He covers the role a few Delawares played in U.S. explorations and military campaigns and how greedy Euroamerican settlers undermined their land tenure in Kansas.

916. ————. *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration*. Wallingford, PA: Middle Atlantic Press, 1978.

This work briefly describes Delaware life in Kansas.

917. Wexler, Alan. *Atlas of Westward Expansion*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995.

The author briefly notes that Benton pushed legislation through Congress that provided for a survey of the trail. He states that Comanche raids led to the deployment of U.S. military patrols over and the construction of forts near the trail. It alludes to the military subjugation of Indians during the 1860s and 1870s.

918. Wilson, Terry P. *The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

This book is about Osage history to the 1980s. Without mentioning the trail, the first chapter discusses Osage land cession treaties of the 1800s.

919. White, James D. "The Osage Plea for Freedom Revisited." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 73 (Summer 1995): 192-225.

White examines the complex relationship of Osages to Christian missionaries during the 1800s. Although not mentioning the trail, the study covers the years in which the Osage had extensive contact with the trail.

920. Worcester, Donald E. "The Apaches in the History of the Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 50 (January 1975): 25-44.

Historian Worcester discusses U.S. military operations against the various Apache groups in New Mexico and Arizona.

921. "Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 103-80.

This study details the creation and abolishment of the Wyandot and Shawnee reservations in eastern Kansas.

922. Young, Richard Keith, *The Ute Indians of Colorado in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

Young's examination of the twentieth-century histories of the Ute Mountain Utes and Southern Utes contains a chapter about previous times that provides useful information about their territorial holdings, economies, political structures, and contacts with Spaniards, Mexicans, and white Americans. It covers conflict and resulting treaties with the U.S. government without mentioning the Santa Fe Trail.

D. General Histories

923. Abbott, Peyton O. "With Zebulon Montgomery Pike Through Pueblo County, Colorado." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 10-12.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Abbott provides details about Pawnees taking property from Pike's party in southeastern Colorado in 1806. He also covers the expedition of Lieutenant Facundo Melgares, with 600 Mexican soldiers, to the Pawnee town on the Republican River in Kansas in that year.

924. Anderson, Hattie M. "Frontier Economic Problems in Missouri." Part 2, *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (January 1940): 182-203.

Referring to Indians as dangerous and marauding thieves, Anderson notes that they contested the advancement of Euroamericans.

925. Arps, Louisa Ward. "From Trading Post to Melted Adobe, 1849-1920." *Colorado Magazine* 54 (Fall 1977): 29-55.

Arps discusses the myth that Cheyennes set fire to and blew up Bent's Fort in 1849, which had been abandoned several months earlier. She also examines Ute relations with Pueblo, a community located upriver from Bent's Fort, and the conflict triggered by the influx of Euroamericans moving into Colorado during the late 1850s as a result of the discovery of gold in the Rocky Mountains.

926. Athearn, Robert G. *The Coloradoans*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976.

Athearn's examination of Colorado's settlement by U.S. citizens, facilitated in part by the trail's existence, references the harmful consequences of this movement on the lives and cultures of Indians.

927. Baca, Oswald G. "Analysis of Deaths in New Mexico' Río Abajo during the Late Spanish Colonial and Mexican Periods, 1793-1846." *New Mexico Historical Review* 70 (July 1995): 237-55.

Baca's analysis of death in New Mexico discusses Indians dying from the effects of microbes.

928. Baird, W. David. "Agriculture in the Oklahoma Panhandle, 1898-1942." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 72 (Summer 1994): 116-37.

Historian Baird briefly covers the impact of U.S. expansion, including the trail's effects, on Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches.

929. Baird, W. David and Danney Goble. *The Story of Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

This study contains a biographical sketch of Black Beaver, a noted Delaware who worked at Bent's Fort and served as an Army scout.

930. Baker, Lindsay and Billy R. Harrison. *Adobe Walls, the History and Archeology of the 1874 Trading Post*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986.

The authors discuss the history of the famed Adobe Walls trading post at length. Information regarding the trail and its relevance to the post is briefly addressed.

931. Bancroft, H. H. *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*. Albuquerque, Horn and Wallace, 1962.

This facsimile of the 1889 edition examines Pawnee, Comanche, Arapaho, and Apache conflict with non-Indian travelers along and near the trail. It discusses the unprovoked massacre of a Pawnee party within the walls of Fort Mann in 1847.

932. Bannon, John Francis. *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Historian Bannon offers a view of Indian-Euroamerican relations on the plains and in the Southwest during the years preceding the trail's founding in 1821.

933. Barr, Thomas P. "The Pottawatomie Baptist Manual Labor Training School." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Winter 1977): 377-431.

Archaeologist Barr probes the Euroamerican staff assigned to administer the U.S. assimilation program at the Pottawatomie School from the 1830s to the 1870s. He also refers to Delawares, Shawnees, Sac and Foxes, and other Indians without referencing the trail.

934. Barry, Louise. *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854*. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972.

This important and useful book is a compilation of her "Kansas Before 1854" series, published from 1961 to 1967.

935. ———, comp. "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Spring 1961): 67-93; Part Two, 1763-1803, (Summer 1961): 201-219; Part Three, 1804-1818, (Autumn 1961): 353-382; Part Four, 1819-1825, (Winter 1961): 497-543; Part Five, 1826-1829, 28 (Spring 1962): 25-59; Part Six, 1830-1832, (Summer 1962): 25-59; Part Seven, 1833-1834, (Autumn 1962): 317-369; Part Eight, 1835, (Autumn 1962): 497-514; Part Nine, 1836-1837, 29 (Spring 1963): 41-81; Part Ten, 1838-1839, (Summer 1963): 143-189; Part Eleven, 1840-1841, (Autumn 1963): 324-359; Part Twelve, 1842-1843, (Winter 1963): 429-486; 30 Part Thirteen, 1844, (Spring 1964): 62-91; Part Fourteen, 1845, (Summer 1964): 209-244; Part Fifteen, 1846, (Autumn 1964): 339-412; Part Sixteen, 1847, (Winter 1964): 492-559; 31 Part Seventeen, 1848, (Summer 1965): 138-199; Part Eighteen, 1849, (Autumn 1965): 256-339; 32 Part Nineteen, 1850, (Spring 1966): 33-112; Part Twenty, 1851, (Summer 1966): 210-282; Part Twenty-one, 1852 (Winter 1966): 426-503; 33 Part Twenty-two, 1853, (Spring 1967): 13-64; Part Twenty-three, 1854, (Summer 1967): 172-213; Concluded, (Autumn 1967): 377-405.

Barry's invaluable and voluminous compilation briefly documents in chronological order hundreds of contact involving Indians, Euroamericans, Mexicans, Spaniards, and others on Kansas soil. Many of these meetings occurred on or near the trail. Photographs, excerpts of quotes from primary sources, maps, and drawings enrich this work.

936. Baur, John E. "The Health Seeker in the Westward Movement, 1830-1900." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46 (June 1959): 92-110.

Many nineteenth-century Euroamericans viewed the semi-arid lands west of the Mississippi River as a place where certain human ailments could be remedied. Baur's examination of the ensuing movement of travelers onto the Plains for health reasons briefly notes that mounted Indians were part of the landscape.

937. Beck, Warren A. *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

In this history of New Mexico, Beck provides an ethnocentric account that casts Plains Indians as backwards and primitive. Thus, his discussion of Indian-Euroamerican relations on the trail reifies negative stereotypes about Indians.

938. Benes, Ronald J. "Anza and Concha in New Mexico, 1778-1793: A Study in New Colonial Techniques." *Journal of the West* 4 (January 1965): 63-76.

Benes discusses Spanish policy during the latter part of the eighteenth century pertaining to Comanches, Utes, Pueblos, Navajos, and other Indians.

939. Bergeron, Paul H. *The Presidency of James K. Polk*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987.

This study notes that in July 1846 a Comanche delegation headed by Santa Anna visited President Polk at the White House. Because of the meeting, according to Polk, Santa Anna came to believe that his people could not defeat the Euroamericans who were “more numerous than the stars” (222).

940. Bieber, Ralph P. “The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849.” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12 (December 1925): 342-75.

Based on newspaper and other primary accounts mostly written in 1849, Bieber’s useful examination of the overland roads to California includes a brief discussion of the Cherokee Trail, a feeder route extending from the Neosho River in Cherokee country to Council Grove. His more in depth discussion of the Santa Fe Trail notes that overlanders, before they departed Missouri, were warned about the potential of Indian danger. In 1849, California-bound gold seekers met some Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches in non-violent encounters.

941. Billington, Ray Allen. *Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1956.

Using the language of civilization over savagery to denigrate Indians, noted historian Billington, in a chapter devoted to the trail, describes Apaches, Pawnees and Comanches as thieves and dangerous obstacles to travel. He also alludes to Osages and Kaws albeit in a less hostile fashion. He discusses the role of the U.S. government and the development of caravans as tactics to deal with the Indian “problem.”

942. Birzer, Bradley J. “Expanding Creative Destruction: Entrepreneurship in the American West.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 30 (Spring 1999): 45-63.

Birzer’s historiographical essay notes that Potawatomis in eastern Kansas profited from the trail.

943. Blakeslee, Donald J. *Along Ancient Trails: The Mallet Expedition of 1730*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995.

Blakeslee’s study of the 1730 Mallet expedition contains several references to the later trail and numerous comments about Pawnees, Comanches, and other Indians who would later become intertwined with the trail.

944. Blevins, Winfred. *Give Your Heart to the Hawks: A Tribute to the Mountain Men*. Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1973.

This celebratory study mentions Comanches and their troubled relations with trail traffic. It also alludes to Pawnees, Cheyennes, Arikaras, Blackfeet, and others. It gives a version of the 1831 death of Jedediah Smith on the Cimarron River.

945. Bloom, John P. "New Mexico Viewed by Anglo-Americans, 1846-1849." *New Mexico Historical Review* 34 (July 1959): 165-98.

Without mentioning the trail, Bloom recounts a friendly encounter in 1846 between the invading U.S. army and Santo Domingo Pueblo.

946. Bonnifield, Paul. "Energy Resources on the Southern Great Plains." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 59 (Fall 1981): 345-57.

The movement of U.S. settlers into the southern plains and its impacts on Indian life is discussed.

947. Bouge, Allan G. Thomas D. Phillips, and James E. Wright. *The West of the American People*. Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1970.

This history contains information about Indian-Euroamerican relations along and in the vicinity of the trail.

948. Briggs, Walter. "Bent's Old Fort: Castle in the Desert." *American West* 13 (September/October 1976): 10-17.

Brigg references the Cheyennes' cooperative relations with Bent's Fort. He notes that in 1835 Colonel Henry Dodge met there with Pawnees, Arapahos, Osages, and Cheyennes about their relations with U.S. travelers and intertribal warfare. Photographs of the restored fort are included.

949. Brooks, James F. "'The Evils Extends Especially . . . to the Feminine Sex': Negotiating Captivity in the New Mexico Borderlands." *Feminist Studies* 22 (Summer 1996): 279-309.

Historian Brooks's probing of the taking of female captives in the New Mexico borderlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides useful information about the complexities of this "commerce" that was prevalent in the Indian and Spanish cultures. He finds that some former female captives served in the capacity of intermediaries between the races.

950. Brown, Dee. "Settlement of the Great Plains." *American History Illustrated* 9 (June 1974), 4-11.

Although not about the trail, this brief study alludes to the harmful consequences of U.S. expansion on Plains Indians in Kansas and Nebraska.

951. Bryant, Keith L., Jr. "The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies." *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (October 1978): 437-53.

This study discusses the rise of the romantic Indian as part of the growing tourism industry sparked in large part by railroad and tourism entrepreneurs.

952. Callahan, James P. "Kansas in the American Novel and Short Story." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 139-88.

This published masters' thesis provides a historical overview of Kansas in fiction. It refers to the volatile nature of relations between Indians and Euroamericans along the trail and elsewhere.

953. Callon, Milton W. *Las Vegas, New Mexico: The Town That Wouldn't Gamble*. Las Vegas, NM: Las Vegas Publishing Co., Inc., 1962.

Callon briefly discusses the tension existing at Las Vegas between New Mexicans and Indians.

954. Calloway, Colin G. "Neither White nor Red: White Renegades on the American Indian Frontier." *Western Historical Quarterly* 17 (January 1986): 43-66.

This study indicates that Euroamericans such as Robert North and John Smith willing joined their in-laws and fought advancing U.S. soldiers and citizens. It also discusses George and Charles Bent, Cheyenne mixed-bloods who also sided with their Indian relatives.

955. Carter, Harvey L. "The Divergent Paths of Frémont's 'Three Marshalls'." *New Mexico Historical Quarterly Review* 48 (January 1973): 5-25.

Carter examines Kit Carson's relations with Utes, Navajos, Comanches, and Kiowas during the 1840s in New Mexico.

956. Chaput, Donald. "Generals, Indian Agents, Politicians: The Doolittle Survey of 1865." *Western Historical Quarterly* 3 (July 1972): 269-82.

Chaput examines the findings and recommendations of Senator Doolittle's investigation of Indian affairs in Kansas, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Colorado in 1865. Originally published in 1867, the report, based on the observations of selected U.S. army officers, agents, and superintendents, discusses such issues affecting Indians as population decline, alcohol use, prostitution, reservations, land ownership, and assimilation. Chaput asserts that the report is the

best resource for understanding contemporaneous Euroamerican views about conditions facing various Indian nations.

957. Charlton, John. ““Westward, the Course of Empire Takes Its Way:’ Alexander Gardner’s 1867 *Across the Continent on the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division Photographic Series*.” *Kansas History* 20 (Summer 1997): 116-28.

Charlton points out that a photograph depicting the killing and mutilation of a U.S. soldier by Cheyennes in 1867 encouraged Congress to support railroad construction across the Great Plains with military might.

958. Chrisman, Harry E. *Lost Trails of the Cimarron*. 2d ed. Denver: Sage Books, 1964.

Chrisman offers a view of the cattle days on the high plains in the American Southwest. Encounters involving Native peoples are briefly discussed.

959. Christianson, James R. “The Kansas-Osage Border War of 1874: Fact or Wishful Thinking?” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 63 (Fall 1985): 292-311.

This study illuminates the racism toward Indians that permeated Kansas during the 1870s.

960. Comer, Douglas. *Ritual Ground: Bent’s Old Fort, World Formation, and the Annexation of the Southwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996.

Archaeologist Comer’s analysis of Bent’s Old Fort’s contains numerous references to Cheyenne, Lakota (Sioux), Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, Shoshoni, and Ute Indians. He argues that the Bents and St. Vrain Company established a “middle ground” with Indians through the ritual of trade. The relationship began to collapse with the crumbling of the fur trade during the 1840s. Among other conceptual problems, Comer overestimates the closeness of the connection between Indians and Bent’s Fort.

961. Connelley, William E. “Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the History of the State.” *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 181-91.

Connelley probes the movement of Delaware, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Wyandot Indians into the Kansas City area.

962. Cordes, Kathleen Ann. *America’s National Historical Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

An associate professor of physical education at Miramar College in San Diego, California, Cordes wrote the book to increase public awareness about America’s

historic trails. Using a celebratory and uncritical approach, she provides no new information about the trail and its complex association with Indians.

963. Dary, David. "The Buffalo in Kansas." *Kansas Historical Review* 39 (Autumn 1973): 305-44.

Journalism professor Dary discusses the ruthless slaughter of the buffalo by Euroamericans and its effect on Indians.

964. ————. *Entrepreneurs of the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1986.

Based largely on primary accounts, Dary writes about the experiences of nineteenth-century Euroamerican entrepreneurs who ventured westward without U.S. government or army support. Chapter two is about the trail. The author's depiction of Indians as warlike savages undermines the value of this study.

965. ————. *Seeking Pleasure in the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

The different ways in which individuals sought pleasure and entertainment in the old west are the emphasis of this book. Areas along the trail are references as are incidents of Euroamerican conflict and friendly interaction with Apaches, Comanches, Osages, Navajos, Pawnees, and Utes.

966. DeVoto, Bernard. *Across the Wide Missouri*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1947.

This study about the rise and fall of the Rocky Mountain fur trade makes a few references to Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail and the surrounding area. DeVoto's presentation of Indians with the language of savagery illustrates the condescending attitude many scholars of his era held for Indians.

967. ————. *The Year of Decision 1846*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943.

This celebratory study of westward U.S. expansion in 1846 treats the Indians who sought to defend their lands and lives as bloodthirsty savages. To him, Apaches were "a vigorous and cruel race" while Comanches were the "most terrible savages of the plains" (249).

968. Dickerman, Carolyn. "Mid-Nineteenth-Century Botanical Exploration in New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 60 (April 1985): 159-71.

The first botanical explorer, William Gambel, to enter New Mexico came by the trail in 1841. Along the way, his party encountered Arapahos and Utes.

969. Dodge, Bertha S. *The Road West: Saga of the 35th Parallel*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

Dodge's history of westward U.S. expansion references Delawares who rode with Kit Carson during the 1840s.

970. Dolbee, Cora. "The Fourth of July in Early Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 8 (May 1939): 115-39.

English professor Dolbee discusses the arrival of non-Indian hunters, trappers, explorers, soldiers, missionaries, and trail travelers in Kansas. Indians, to her, were essentially hostile foes.

971. Drago, Harry Sinclair. *Roads to Empire: The Dramatic Conquest of the West*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968.

Providing an in-depth look at factors contributing to the conquest of the American West, Drago correctly places the trail in the context of U.S. expansionism. Issues of trade and economics, military protection, settlement, warfare, and Indian removal are discussed.

972. Drinnon, Richard. *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980.

Although not written about the trail, this study is relevant because historian Drinnon skillfully illustrates how rampant anti-Indianism in U.S. mythology and ideology helped rationalize the formulation of nineteenth-century policy of westward expansion.

973. Ebright, Malcolm, Teresa Escudero, and Rick Hendricks. "Tomás Vélez Cachúin's Last Will and Testament, His Career in New Mexico, and His Sword with a Golden Hilt." *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (Summer 2003): 285-321.

The authors discuss conflict in New Mexico during the late 1700s between Spanish colonists and the Comanches, Utes, and Navajos.

974. Egan, Ferol. "Frémont at Bent's Fort." *American West* 13 (September/October 1976): 18-21.

Egan notes that Cheyennes were occasionally invited into Bent's Fort to sing and dance.

975. ————. *The El Dorado Trail: The Story of the Gold Rush Routes Across Mexico*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

Using primary and secondary sources, Egan's study centers mostly on the gold-seeking movements of nineteenth-century U.S. citizens. It covers the Santa Fe trade and hostile encounters involving "marauding" Natives and argonauts.

976. Emory, Deborah Carley. "Running the Line: Men, Maps, Science, and Art of the United States and Mexico Boundary Survey, 1849-1856." *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (April 2000): 221-265.

Emory mentions that William Becknell traveled from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1821 with a load of Indian trade goods.

977. Faulk, Odie B. *Dodge City: The Most Western Town of All*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Indian relations to the trail, U.S. government, Fort Dodge, and Dodge City are integrated into this story, mostly in terms of violence.

978. ————. *Land of Many Frontiers: A History of the American Southwest*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Faulk offers a comprehensive history of the American Southwest spanning from initial point of Spanish settlement through the twentieth century. His discussion includes the importance of the trail and the nature of Spanish, Mexican, and Euroamerican relations with Indians.

979. Fergusson, Erna. *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples*. 2^d ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

Fergusson's study alludes to the significance of the trail in the development of New Mexico. Indians are often depicted with negativity.

980. Fierman, Floyd S. *Guts and Ruts: The Jewish Pioneer on the Trail in the American Southwest*. New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1985.

Although providing scant information about the trail and Indians, this study pertains to nineteenth-century Jewish settlers in the Southwest, noting their role in New Mexico's economy as traders and interpreters among Navajos, Zunis, Pueblos, and Apaches.

981. Folmer, Henri. "Contraband Trade between Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (July 1941): 249-74.

Folmer's treatment of France's trade with New Mexico during the 1700s mentions Pawnees, Comanches, and other Plains Indians.

982. Foote, Cheryl J. "Spanish-Indian Trade along New Mexico's Northern Frontier in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the West* 24 (April 1985): 22-33.

Historian Foote discusses the economic and political aspects of Spanish trade with Pueblo, Ute, Apache, Comanche, and other Indians from the 1600s to the early 1800s.

983. ————. *Women on the New Mexico Frontier, 1846-1912*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990.

Foote examines the experiences of selected Euroamerican women, some of whom reached New Mexico via the trail, and their mixed attitudes toward Indians.

984. Foreman, Grant. *Advancing the Frontier 1830-1860*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933.

Foreman's treatment of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes presents a dichotomous view of Indians. Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Chickasaws are seen as civilized and sophisticated while Pawnees, Osages, and others appear as nomadic, warlike peoples. He asserts that the influence of the former hastened the cultural transformation of the latter.

985. ————. *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930.

Foreman's study of Indian-Euroamerican relations in the Southwest references the deployment of U.S. troops to the trail in 1829.

986. ————. *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926.

Writing about Indian-Euroamerican relations in Indian Territory, Foreman covers treaties, trade, military conflict, diplomacy, travelers, and other contacts involving Comanches, Kiowas and other nations connected to the Santa Fe Trail.

987. Foster, Edward Halsey. *Josiah Gregg and Lewis H. Garrard*. Boise: Boise State University, 1977.

In his examination into the lives of two noted trail travelers, Foster discusses why Gregg disliked and distrusted Indians in addition to Garrard's amicable interaction with Cheyennes.

988. Francaviglia, Richard. "The Changing Faces of the West: An Introduction." *Journal of the West* 37 (July 1998): 7-21.

Although not about the trail, historical geographer Francaviglia examines factors that altered the cultural landscape west of the Mississippi River from pre-contact times to the present.

989. Fruehauf, Erich. "Early Surveys in Kansas." *Kansas History* 5 (Summer 1982): 121-38.

Besides examining the trail's significance to U.S. surveying operations in nineteenth-century Kansas, this study touches on U.S. Indian policy and the dispossession of Indians.

990. Fugate, Francis L. and Roberta B. *Roadside History of New Mexico*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1989.

In a chapter entitled "The Santa Fe Trail," this book describes Kiowas and Comanches as being dangerous thieves.

991. Galbraith, Den. *Turbulent Taos*. Santa Fe: The Press of the Territorian, 1970.

This brief work mentions the trail, Comanches, Taos, and other Indians.

992. Ganaway, Loomis Morton. "New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861." *New Mexico Historical Review* 18 (April 1943): 113-47; (July 1943): 205-46, (October 1943): 325-48; 19 (January 1944): 55-76.

Focusing on the years from 1846 to 1861, Ganaway sketches Pueblo, Navajo, Ute, Apache, and Comanche relations with the incoming Euroamericans.

993. Garcia, Nasario. *Brujas, Bultos Y Brasas: Tales of Witchcraft and the Supernatural in the Pecos Valley*. Santa Fe: Western Edge Press, 1999.

This compilation of Hispanic oral histories in Pecos Valley, New Mexico, gives insight to Hispanic folkways concerning the supernatural. Although Indians are sparingly mentioned, Comanches and Jicarilla Apaches are remembered in the oral histories as the provocateurs of violence.

994. Gates, Paul Wallace. "A Fragment of Kansas Land History: The Disposal of Christian Indian Land Tract." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (August 1937): 227-40.

Historian Gates examines the dispossession of Delaware and other Christianized Indians situated in Kansas during the 1820 and 1830 by virtue of the U.S. policy of removal.

995. Georgi-Findlay, Brigitte. *Frontiers of Women's Writings: Narratives and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.

This book offers a valuable glimpse at how several Euroamerican women expressed their experiences on the western frontier. Areas along and within the vicinity of the trail are mentioned, along with their mixed attitudes toward Indians.

996. Gibson, Arrell Morgan. *The West in the Life of the Nation*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Hath and Company, 1976.

This book offers information concerning the trail and its affects on Indians.

997. Gilbert, Benjamin Franklin. "Pike's Peak or Bust: A Summary of the Colorado Mining Rushes." *Journal of the West* 4 (January 1965): 21-26.

Gilbert mentions that in 1850 a party of Cherokee gold seekers traveled en route to California along the trail.

998. Gilbert, Bil. *The Trailblazers*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1973.

Gilbert's brief introduction to this history of U.S. western expansion contains information of limited value regarding Indian relations with the trail.

999. Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.

Historian Goetzmann's voluminous study of Euroamericans who explored the Trans-Mississippi west from the late 1700s to the late 1800s discusses the volatility of Euroamerican relations with Indians. Escalating conflict during the late 1820s led to petitions asking the U.S. government to protect Santa Fe traders and to remove Indians.

1000. Gómez, Arthur. "Royalist in Transition: Facundo Melgares, the Last Spanish Governor of New Mexico, 1818-1822." *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (October 1993): 371-87.

Gómez's examination of Governor Melgares delves into Spain's relations with Pawnees, Navajos, Comanches, and Pueblos in the late 1810s and early 1820s.

1001. Goodrich, James W. "Revolt at Mora, 1847." *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (January 1972): 49-60.

Not all New Mexico Indians welcomed the U.S. military's arrival in 1846. Goodrich discusses the agitated state of Indian relations with Euroamericans at Mora following the invasion.

1002. Gregg, Kate L. "The History of Fort Osage." *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (July 1940): 439-88.

Discussing the historical connection of Fort Osage to the trail, Gregg references Pawnees, Osages, Comanches, Kaws, and others. She also covers U.S. policy as it pertained to Indians in matters of treaties and territorial expansion.

1003. Grinnell, George Bird. "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 28-91.

Grinnell integrated Cheyenne oral history into this study of Bent's Fort and its rise to prominence. This approach enabled him to recount Indian interactions with traders, trail travelers, and other Indians. The Bents employed Delawares and Shawnees as hunters and teamsters. Cheyennes, who enjoyed a close relationship with the fort's owners and employees, often accompanied eastbound Bent trains as far as Pawnee Fork, where they hunted. Shoshonis, Crows, Osages, Comanches, Arapahos, Kiowas, Jicarilla Apaches, Kiowa Apaches, Pawnees, Gros Ventres, and others are mentioned.

1004. Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: The Legacy of Conflict*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1990.

Griswold's broad overview suggests that the treaty that ended the Mexican war in 1848 restricted the civil rights of Indians in New Mexico.

1005. Hague, Harlan. *The Road to California: The Search for a Southern Overland Route, 1540-1848*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1978.

This study about southern overland trails focuses primarily on the present states of New Mexico, Arizona, and California as well as northern Mexico. It briefly references Comanche, Apache, and other Indians along the trails from the 1820s through the 1840s.

1006. Haines, Joe D., Jr. "'For our sake do all you can': The Indian Captivity and Death of Clara and Willie Blinn." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 77 (Summer 1999): 170-83.

Casting the incident in a context of a regional conflict between Indians and U.S. expansion, Haines suggests that U.S. soldiers killed a mother and her two-year old son, who were taken captive by Cheyennes near Sand Creek, Colorado, at the Washita Massacre in 1868. His study contradicts the official account of Custer, who blamed Kiowas for having killed the pair. He debunks popular myth that Indians routinely raped their captives.

1007. Haley, J. Evetts. "The Comanchero Trade." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 38 (January 1935): 157-76.

Although the trail is not discussed, this study about trade presents Comanches as thieving thugs. It says that U.S. officials sought to stop New Mexicans from trading with Kiowas and Comanches in the 1860s.

1008. Hall, Thomas D. *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Historical sociologist Hall argues that nineteenth-century industrial and industrializing nations influenced the development of the trail and the Southwest. He suggests that the pressure of U.S. expansion encouraged Comanches, Apaches, and others to rely more heavily on raiding. Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, Pueblos, and Navajos figure prominently in his analysis of social change in the Southwest.

1009. Hanks, Nancy N. "French Secular Clergy in New Mexico Territory: Images of the Mission." *New Mexico Historical Review* 70 (April 1965): 179-99.

Hanks notes that nineteenth-century French clergy usually entered New Mexico via the trail. She briefly mentions their attempts to educate and Christianize New Mexico Indians.

1010. Haywood, C. Robert. *Trails South: The Wagon-Road Economy in the Dodge City-Panhandle Region*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

This study of trails leading south from Dodge City deals with conflicts involving Cheyennes during the 1860s and 1870s.

1011. Hickman, Russell K. "A Little Satire on Emigrant Aid: Amasa Soule and the Descandum Kansas Improvement Company." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 8 (November 1939): 342-49.

Hickman's article contains a November 25, 1854, letter from Amasa Soule indicating that the Euroamerican settlers entering Kansas coveted Delaware and Shawnee lands.

1012. ————. "The Reeder Administration Inaugurated." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36, Part 1, (Autumn 1970): 305-40; Part 2, (Fall 1970): 424-55.

Hickman's study of the Euroamerican settlement of eastern Kansas refers to the Shawnees and other Indians who lived in the area.

1013. Higham, C. L. *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000.

Although the trail is not mentioned, this book provides a good discussion of Protestant missionary attitudes toward Kaws, Osages, and others.

1014. Hine, Robert V. and John Mack Faragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

The authors' survey of frontier history from 1492 to present times discusses U.S. expansion into the Great Plains and Southwest. It references Comanche,

Cheyenne, Arapaho, Pawnee, and other Indian relations with Euroamericans during the years of the trail's functionality. Illustrations enrich this study.

1015. Hollon, W. Eugene. *Frontier Violence: Another Look*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Historian Hollon takes a look at the U.S. government's suppression of Plains Indians in Kansas during 1860s and 1870s.

1016. ————. *The Southwest: Old and New*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1968.

Hollon's discussion of Indian relations with Euroamericans and Mexicans includes the trail.

1017. Holt, Daniel D. and Marilyn Irvin Holt. "'The Pleasures of Female Society' at Cantonment Leavenworth." *Kansas History* 8 (Spring 1985): 21-35.

Holt's study alludes to U.S. policy on the central and southern plains. An 1829 letter states that Pawnees had committed depredations on the trail traffic and that Major Riley had gone there with his troops to protect the road.

1018. Horgan, Paul. *The Centuries of Santa Fe*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1956.

Drawn from archival sources, Horgan's study of Santa Fe includes a look at the Missouri trade and Indians. He discusses an 1867 Indian attack on a caravan with Bishop Lamy.

1019. ————. *Great River: The Río Grande in North American History*. New York: Minerva Press, 1968.

Rarely mentioning the trail, Horgan's history of the Río Grande provides information about Indian conflicts with the U.S and Mexico governments.

1020. Horn, Calvin. *New Mexico's Troubled Years: The Story of the Early Territorial Governors*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1963.

Horn's depiction of the hardships and troubles New Mexico territory faced following the U.S. invasion references Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, Comanche, and other Indians.

1021. Howes, Charles C. *This Place Called Kansas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

Howes's comprehensive study of Kansas history notes that the trail was important not only to the state but also to U.S. territorial growth. His discussion of Indians focuses primarily on their displacement.

1022. Huberman, Leo. *We, The People*. Revised Ed. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947.

This survey of U.S. history notes that travelers on the Santa Fe Trail took precautions to protect themselves and their property not only from Indian foes who lined the trail but also from friendly Indians who stole whatever they could.

1023. Hughes, W. J. "'Rip' Ford's Indian Fight on the Canadian." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 30 (1957): 1-26.

This study is about a fight between U.S. settlers and Comanches in 1857 at a location south of the trail in northwestern Texas.

1024. Hurt, Douglas A. "Brothers of Influence: Auguste and Pierre Chouteau and the Osages before 1804." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 68 (Fall 2000): 260-77.

Historian Hurt argues that a drive for European trade goods changed the Osages' economy from hunting and horticulture to trading and raiding.

1025. Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Indian Frontier, 1763-1846*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Hurt's survey of the frontier history discusses the sabre-rattling employed by the U.S. army in the 1830s and 1840s to control Pawnees, Arikaras, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and others. It takes a look at treaties as well as the Indian policies of Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. governments. The Santa Fe Trail occasionally enters the discussion.

1026. Isenberg, Andrew C. *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

This methodologically and conceptually flawed study asserts that the bison's destruction resulted from collective responsibility. Accordingly, environmental conditions, excessive Indian hunting and waste, and finally Euroamerican hide hunters are to blame.

1027. Isern, Thomas D. "Jefferson's Salt Mountain: The Big Salt Plain of the Cimarron River." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 58 (Summer 1980): 161-75.

Isern mentions a friendly encounter in 1843 involving Osages and U.S. dragoons sent to patrol the trail. The Indians accompanied the dragoons, commanded by Captain Nathan Boone, to the Big Salt Plain.

1028. Jathjen, Frederick. *The Texas Panhandle Frontier*. Austin: University Texas Press, 1973.

This regional study provides a discussion of the Panhandle's human history. It covers the displacement of Comanches and Kiowas by Euroamericans, who constituted a dire threat to the Indians' life ways. The Red River War of 1874 broke the Indians' resistance.

1029. Jeffrey, Julie Roy. *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1979.

This look at Euroamerican women west of the Mississippi River provides insight into their roles as participants in U.S. expansionism and views about Indians. Areas along the trail and a few of their encounters with Indians are mentioned.

1030. Jennings, Warren A. "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 1971): 288-99.

Historian Jennings discusses Mormon attempts to establish a mission among the Delawares in Kansas during the late 1820s. Although Jennings makes no reference to the trail, he provides a view of the operations of a controversial missionary group with an Indian nation.

1031. Jensen, Richard E. "The Wright-Beauchampe Investigation and the Pawnee Threat of 1829." *Nebraska History* 79 (Fall 1998): 133-43.

Anthropologist Jensen's addresses the attempts of U.S. officials to curb Pawnee violence toward New Mexico and the trail. It was a smallpox epidemic in 1831, however, that served this purpose. This view counters the interpretation found in the vast body of primary and secondary literature asserting that Pawnees continued to be a serious threat to the trail through the 1840s.

1032. Jones, Douglas C. "Medicine Lodge Revisited." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Summer 1969): 130-42.

This study examines the centennial of the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty, a gathering in which Comanches, Kiowas, and other Indians attended. It provides oral histories related to the treaty and events surrounding the treaty.

1033. ————. *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge: The Story of the Great Treaty Council as Told by Eyewitnesses*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966.

Jones notes that the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 was to be the treaty to end all treaties with Native nations of the Southern Plains. He relates intimate details about the council meeting, including Cheyenne, Arapaho, Plains Apache,

Comanche, and Kiowa discussions with a handful of U.S. representatives who sought to subjugation Plains Indians through peaceful means. Stipulations of the resulting treaties are discussed in detail.

1034. Jordan, Weymouth T., Jr., John D. Chapla, and Shan C. Sutton. ““Notorious as the Noonday Sun’: Capt. Alexander Welch Reynolds and the New Mexico Territory, 1849-1859.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (October 2000): 457-508.

The authors discuss Captain Reynolds’ involvement with Indians at Fort Union and elsewhere in New Mexico. Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Pueblos, Navajos, and others are covered.

1035. Kajencki, Francis Casimir. *Poles in the 19th Century Southwest*. El Paso: Southwest Polonia Press, 1990.

This study notes that Pole immigrants participated in U.S. military operations against Indians near and on the trail.

1036. “Kansas Historical Markers.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10 (August 1941): 339-68.

This article contains the text on and locations of Kansas historical markers. Many of these makers commemorate, often in derogatory terms, such things as battles, military posts, and events involving Indians and the trail.

1037. Keleher, William A. *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868*. Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1952.

Keleher presents the Navajo, Apache, and Comanche Indians who resisted U.S. expansion in New Mexico as “wild” and “savage” peoples.

1038. ————. “The Year of Decision.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 22 (January 1947): 8-17.

Keleher’s examination of the decision of U.S. officials to invade New Mexico in 1846 refers to Indians along the trail as warlike savages.

1039. Kelsey, Harry. “William P. Dole and Mr. Lincoln’s Indian Policy.” *Journal of the West* 10 (July 1971): 484- 92.

In this examination of U.S. Indian policy during the Civil War, Kelsey alludes to those Indians associated with the trail, including Pawnees, Comanches, and others.

1040. Kenner, Charles L. *The Comanchero Frontier: A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

This book is a reprint of *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*.

1041. ————. *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

This study examines the centuries-long social, economic, and political association of New Mexico with Comanches, Pawnees, Utes, Pueblos, and Apaches. Comancheros, Mexicans who ventured onto the Plains to trade with the Comanches, worried Euroamerican settlers in Texas and Kansas. U.S. expansionism ultimately brought an end to this trade and Indian resistance in the mid 1870s by forcing the Kwahada Comanches onto an Oklahoma reservation. Parts of this story take place at Bent's Fort and elsewhere along the trail.

1042. King, Charles R. "Physician to Body and Soul: Jotham Meeker—Kansas Missionary." *Kansas History* 17 (Winter 1994-1995): 254-61.

King examines the relationship of Meeker, a physician, with Ottawas in Kansas during the 1830s. Much of the work pertains to Meeker's attempt to treat Ottawas with Western medicine.

1043. Knowlton, Clark S. "The Mora Land Grant: A New Mexican Tragedy." *Journal of the West* 27 (July 1988): 59-73.

Sociologist Knowlton's study of the Mora Land Grant references Comanches, Jicarilla Apaches, and Utes. It notes that the arrival of Euroamericans in New Mexico and the establishment of Fort Union to protect non-Indians.

1044. La Farge, Pen. "The Changes of a Plain: Lea County, New Mexico." *El Palacio* 80 (Winter 1974): 1-14.

La Farge references Pueblos, Comanches, Kiowas, Navajos, and Apaches in his study of the transformation of Lea County.

1045. Lamar, Howard Roberts. *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Lamar's examination of U.S. expansion into the Southwest discusses Indian relations with the trail and incoming white Americans. Issues of trade, economics, and military relations are covered. This noted historian views Indians, except the Pueblos, as a constant threat to the colonists.

1046. Larson, Carole. *Forgotten Frontier: The Story of Southeastern New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.

Larson's study discusses nineteenth-century Indian relations with the U.S. government in the Southwest and on the Great Plains.

1047. Laumbach, Verna. "Las Vegas before 1850." *New Mexico Historical Review* 8 (October 1933): 241-64.

This discussion of Las Vegas, a town situated on the trail in 1835 by Mexican settlers, references Pueblo and Plains Indians. Writing with a biased understanding of Indians, she describes the latter as thieves and murderers.

1048. Lavender, David. *The Great West*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987.

This general study about westward U.S. expansion discusses the warfare that ensued with Indian nations.

1049. Lecompte, Janet. "Manuel Armijo and the Americano." *Journal of the West* 19 (July 1980): 51-63.

Lecompte's study, drawn from primary and secondary sources, refers to Mexican relations with Navajos, Apaches, and other Indians. It also discusses elements of the Santa Fe trade.

1050. ————. *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, and Greenhorn: The Upper Arkansas, 1832-1856*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.

Drawing from archival and published primary sources, Lecompte writes about the history of non-Indian settlement of the upper Arkansas River from 1832 to 1858 in what became Colorado. She discusses the relationship of the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Jicarilla Apaches, Pawnees, Utes, Delawares, and others with traders at Bent's Fort, Hardscrabble, and Pueblo. She also addresses elements of these Indians' relations with trail travelers. Her study not only covers issues of fear, conflict, and trading relations but also the intermarriage of Indian women and non-Indian men.

1051. Leiker, James N. "Voices from a Disease Frontier: Kansans and Cholera, 1867." *Kansas History* 17 (Winter 1994-1995): 236-53.

Leiker's study of the 1867 cholera epidemic that affected U.S. military posts and settlements along the trail indicates that the impact of the disease on Indians in Kansas is unknown. However, he notes that a number of Wichitas on the Little Arkansas may have died from the disease.

1052. LeVan, Sandra W. "The Quaker Agents at Darlington." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 51 (Spring 1973): 92-110.

Written in a tone that casts Indians as wild, warlike savages, this study states that the General Allotment Act of 1887 violated the Treaty of Medicine Lodge of 1867.

It considers the Quaker agents among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians as honorable and efficient U.S. employees.

1053. Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *Desert Passages: Encounters with American Deserts*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.

Historian Limerick's environmental study about nineteenth- and twentieth-century Euroamerican attitudes toward deserts contains a few references regarding Indians. For example, John C. Frémont, a trail traveler in the 1840s, considered the Indigenous inhabitants of those ecological zones as enemies to be subdued.

1054. Limerick, Patricia Nelson, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin. *Trails: Toward a New Western History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

Although none of the chapters in this collection of essays are about the trail, they present research in the context of the so-called "New Western History."

1055. Linsenmayer, Penny T. "Kansas Settlers on the Osage Diminished Reserve: A Study of Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*." *Kansas History* 24 (Autumn 2001): 168-85.

Linsenmayer examines the Euroamerican drive that pushed Osages from their Kansas reservation.

1056. Loewen, James W. *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*. New York: The New Press, 1999.

Presenting a critical view of monuments that memorialize U.S. history, Loewen points to the omissions, misinformation, and misrepresentations that these monuments offer the public. He suggests that the majority of these monuments venerate war. Through research and visits to hundreds of markers, Loewen uncovers new facts as well as hidden ones. Chapter 19 looks at New Mexico's Oñate Monument Resource and Visitors Center while Chapter 20 examines the Great Plains, Oklahoma State History Museum. Loewen also provides an insightful perspective showing how U.S. colonialism negatively impacted Indigenous nations and peoples.

1057. Loyola, Mary. *The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-1852*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Using disparaging stereotypes to describe Indians, Sister Loyola discusses the relations of the Mexican and U.S. governments with Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches. This study was originally published in 1939 in the *New Mexico Historical Review* 14 (January 1939): 34-75, (April 1939): 143-99, (July 1939): 230-86.

1058. McClure, Charles R. "The Texas-Santa Fe Expedition of 1841." *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (January 1973): 45-56.

McClure notes that both Indians and Texans posed a threat to Mexican rule in New Mexico.

1059. McLynn, Frank. *Wagons West: The Epic Story of America's Overland Trail*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2002.

Wagon travel to the West Coast is the focus of McLynn's study. He mentions Indian relations with the Santa Fe Trail and the use of U.S. troops to patrol the road. He presents the Pawnees, Kiowas, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, Apaches, Navajos, and Utes as "hostile and unpredictable" (16).

1060. McNitt, Frank. *The Indian Traders*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Extensively referencing the trail, historian McNitt probes the relations of early U.S. traders with Indians.

1061. Maguire, James H., Peter Wild, and Donald A. Barclay. *Rendezvous Reader: Tall, Tangled, and True Tales of the Mountain Men, 1805-1850*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997.

The authors' examination of mountain men and the fur trade provides information about Indians who had contact with the trail.

1062. Manzo, Joseph. "Sequent Occupance in Kansas City, Kan.—A Historical Geography of Strawberry Hill." *Kansas History* 4 (Spring 1981): 20-29.

Elements of Manzo's study pertain to the ways in which the opening of Kansas for non-Indian settlement affected Wyandot and Delaware land tenure.

1063. Mares, E. A. "Padre Martinez and New Mexico." In *New Mexican Lives: Profiles and Historical Stories*, edited by Richard W. Etulain, 106-30. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Mares's useful study of Indian relations with New Mexico contains a few references to the trail.

1064. Marlin, James C. "The Motives of Stephen A. Douglas in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 19 (November 1951): 321-53.

Historian Marlin illustrates that Douglas viewed Indians in Kansas and Nebraska as barriers to progress.

1065. Mathews-Lamb, Sandra K. “‘Designing and Mischievous Individuals’: The Cruzate Grants and the Office of the Surveyor General.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 71 (October 1996): 341-60.

This study discusses Pueblo land status during the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. eras.

1066. Mayes, William B., Jr. “Did Morphy Blunder? The Closing of Fort Hays, Kansas.” *Journal of the West* 15 (July 1976): 38-59.

Mayes discussion of Fort Hayes covers the conflicts that raged in Kansas between the U.S. army and Comanches, Cheyennes, and others.

1067. Mays, Buddy. *People of the Sun: Some Out-of-Fashion Southwesterners*. Text by Marc Simmons. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979.

Historian Simmons text provides an ethnohistorical view of Indians, Spaniards, and cowboys in New Mexico and the Southwest. Unlike his depiction of white American culture, Simmons portrays Spanish culture as strong and enduring. He describes Indians as violent threats to Spanish and U.S. settlers, who were “prosperous and peaceful agriculturists” (4). Mays’s photographs add visual imagery to the story.

1068. Meinig, D. W. *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Written about the geographic changes in the Southwest, this book mentions the trail without referencing Indians. However, it provides some information about the ways in which Hispanics and white Americans impacted Indian life ways.

1069. “The Memorial Building: A Center for Historical Research.” *Kansas History* 7 (Spring 1984): 22-33.

This article references structures and sites associated with the trail, including the Shawnee Methodist Mission, Kaw Methodist Mission, and Pawnee Rock.

1070. Merk, Frederick. *History of the Westward Movement*. New York: Knopf, 1978.

Historian Merk’s discussion of U.S. expansion includes the topics of economics, warfare, Indian policy, and Euroamerican settlement. Reflecting a common scholarly attitude during the 1970s and afterwards, he declares that “marauding Indians,” particularly Pawnees and Comanches, made trail travel dangerous.

1071. Meyer, Michael C. and Michael M. Brescia. “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as a Living Document: Water and Land Use Issues in Northern New Mexico.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 73 (October 1998): 321-47.

This study addresses the appropriation of land and water rights by those U.S. settlers who entered New Mexico following the Mexican War.

1072. Miles, William. “‘Enamoured with Colonization’: Isaac McCoy’s Plan of Indian Reform.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 1972): 268-86.

Miles discusses McCoy’s ideas calling for the colonization of Indians on land lying west of the Mississippi River.

1073. Miller, Darlis A. “The Perils of a Post Sutler: William H. Moore at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1859-1870.” *Journal of the West* 32 (April 1993): 7-18.

Drawn from primary and secondary sources, this study references trade between Comanches, Apaches, and other Indians and traders at Fort Union. The author includes information about Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa warfare in New Mexico in 1854.

1074. Miller, Joseph, ed. *New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State, Compiled by Workers of the Writers’ Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of New Mexico*. Edited by Henry G. Alsberg. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1962.

Some of the writings occasionally reference the trail without offering an understanding of the dynamics of Indian relations with travelers.

1075. Miner, Craig. *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1853-2000*. University of Kansas Press, 2002.

This history of Kansas discusses Indians within the state and references the trail a few times.

1076. ————. *West of Wichita: Settling on the High Plains of Kansas, 1865-1890*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

Writing from a Euroamerican settler’s perspective, historian Miner paints a bloody picture of Indians as brutal savages who wantonly committed horrendous acts against the U.S. settlers who were occupying western Kansas in the 1860s and 1870s.

1077. ————. *Wichita: The Early Years, 1865-1880*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Miner examines the impact of westward U.S. expansion and the illegal acquisition of land from Indians residing in the vicinity of Wichita, a Kansas town located south of the trail. During the formative years of Kansas and Wichita, conflict

between Native people and Euroamerican settlers was commonplace. He notes how the newcomers endangered the Indians' livelihood.

1078. Mocho, Jill. *Murder and Justice in Frontier New Mexico, 1821-1846*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977.

Although none of the murders that Mocho examines involved Indians and the trail, she does analyze Indian relations with New Mexico both before and after the trail's establishment. She notes that Comanches, Pawnees, Kiowas, and Jicarilla Apaches, classified as *gentiles* and *indios bárbaros* [wild uncivilized or unconquered Indians], threatened eastern New Mexico settlements.

1079. Moody, Marshall D. "Kit Carson, Agent to the Indians in New Mexico, 1853-1861." *New Mexico Historical Review* 28 (January 1953): 1-20.

Focusing on Carson's actions as a U.S. agent, Moody examines U.S. relations with the Jicarilla Apaches and Utes.

1080. Monaghan, Jay, ed. *The Book of the American West*. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1963.

In this historical analysis of the American West, the author discusses Indian-Euroamerican relations along and near the trail mostly in terms of conflict.

1081. Montgomery, F. C. "United States Surveyors Massacred by Indians: Lone Tree, Meade County, 1874." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (May 1932): 266-72.

Montgomery briefly discusses the death of five surveyors at the hands of Cheyennes southwest of Fort Dodge in 1874. She also sketches U.S. military operations against the Cheyennes. Although much of this history was played out near the trail, she does not mention the road.

1082. Montoya, María E. *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002.

In this valuable study, historian Montoya draws from primary and secondary sources to examine the legal, political, and cultural battles over an 1.7 million acre tract of land known as the Maxwell Land Grant in northern New Mexico that the trail traversed. Jicarilla Apaches, white Americans, and Hispanics figure prominently in her account. She accurately points out that the other groups simply ignored the Jicarillas' land use patterns and way of living. The growth of trade in New Mexico, due in large part to the trail's significance, left the Jicarillas susceptible to conflict and dispossession first at the hands of the Mexicans and then by white Americans.

1083. Moody, Ralph. *The Old Trails West: The Stories of the Trails That Made a Nation*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963.

Moody's study is a starting point for those who may want to learn about historical roads, but they should look elsewhere if they choose to gain an understanding of Indian relations with Euroamericans along those travel routes. A chapter about the Santa Fe Trail addresses such issues as Comanches, trade and westward U.S. expansion.

1084. ————. *Stagecoach West*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967.

Without contributing anything new to scholarly representations of Indians and western travel, this examination of stagecoach operations discusses precautions that crews took in preparation for Indian attacks. Comanches, Cheyennes, and others are mentioned in the context of the Santa Fe Trail.

1085. Moorhead, Max L. *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

First published in 1958, Moorhead's examination of the Chihuahua Trail references the Santa Fe Trail. In the process, it presents Indians with negative stereotypical terms. It mentions Osages, Arapahos, Apaches, Cheyennes, Delawares, Shawnees, and Kaws, among others. Of them, he asserts that "Pawnees and Comanches, and to a lesser extent the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas, remained a constant menace to the caravans" (68).

1086. Mumey, Nolie. *Bent's Old Fort and Bent's New Fort on the Arkansas River*. Vol. 1 of the Old Forts and Trading Posts of the West series. Denver: Artcraft Press, 1956.

This study contains numerous primary source references regarding the interaction between Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Apaches, Comanches, and others with the Bent brothers, Bent's Fort, and the trail. Although these personal accounts highlight the racial attitudes of the times, they provide insight into an array of topics including U.S. military operations, trade, and travel.

1087. Murphy, Lawrence R. "Rayado: Pioneer Settlement in Northeastern New Mexico, 1848-1857." *New Mexico Historical Review* 46 (January 1971): 37-56.

Murphy's examination of U.S. settlement in northeastern New Mexico refers to conflict with Indians and the role the U.S. military played in that warfare. It notes that in 1848 Jicarilla Apaches attacked a pack train in the Raton Mountains traveling from Bent's Fort to Rayado, and the following year Indians massacred the Euroamerican party, the White party, on the trail.

1088. Myres, Sandra L. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Relying on the writings Euroamerican women, Myres's insightful discussion about their lives in frontier settings includes a discussion of their views toward Indians. Influenced by the racial thoughts, unrealistic stereotypes, and prejudices that permeated their society, these women often expressed distorted perspectives about the Indians they met along the way. The author does not analyze the writings of women who reached Santa Fe via the trail in terms of Indians, but her examination of their counterparts who traveled on other trails is useful. She also notes that Indian women saw Euroamericans as dangerous and disrespectful threats.

1089. Napier, Rita. "Economic Democracy in Kansas: Speculation and Townsite Preemption in Kickapoo." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Autumn 1974): 349-69.

Addressing an important aspect of Indian-Euroamerican relations, historian Napier examines the plans of non-Indian speculators to obtain Kickapoo lands during the 1830s and 1840s.

1090. Napier, Rita, ed. *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2003.

Several of the articles and the editor's comments in this volume reference Indians who had an association to the trail. Elliot West discusses Pawnee and Cheyenne cultures, Richard White examines the Pawnee's cultural landscape, and Joseph B. Herring probes the acculturation of the Chippewas and Munsees.

1091. Noble, David Grant. *Pueblos, Villages, Forts and Trails: A Guide to New Mexico's Past*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Noble's historical sketches contain a few references to the trail and Indians.

1092. Norton, Hana Samek. "'Fantastical Assumptions': A Centennial Overview of Water Use in New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 73 (July 1998): 207-34.

Although this study is not about the trail, it examines the struggle of Pueblo Indians for water rights that ensued following the U.S. invasion of New Mexico.

1093. Olson, Sarah M. "Furnishing a Frontier Outpost." *Colorado Magazine* 54 (Fall 1977): 139-68.

Drawing from the writings of such travelers as James William Abert, John C. Frémont, and Susan Shelby Magoffin, Olson discusses the varying contexts of Indian interactions at Bent's Fort between traders, but he focuses on the Cheyennes.

1094. O'Neal, Bill. *Fighting Men of the Indian Wars: A Biographical Encyclopedia of the Mountain Men, Soldiers, Cowboys, and Pioneers Who Took Up Arms during America's Westward Expansion*. Stillwater, OK: Barbed Wire Press, 1991.

This encyclopedia contains biographic entries of some U.S. citizens and soldiers who engaged Indians in battles and skirmishes in the vicinity the Santa Fe Trail and elsewhere.

1095. Padget, Martin. *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840-1935*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

This book is about non-Indian travelers in the Southwest and their changing views toward the land, climatic conditions, Hispanics, and Indians during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Early individuals such as William W. H. Davis projected their experiences in terms of manifest destiny while latter observers reflected their perceptions with the language of historical romance.

1096. Pantle, Alberta. "History of the French-Speaking Settlement in the Cottonwood Valley." Part 1, *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 19 (February 1951): 12-49; Part 2, (May 1951): 174-206.

Pantle's study of French-Speaking families in the Cottonwood Valley contains a few references to Indians and the Santa Fe Trail. It discusses the death of Ed Miller at the hands of [Cheyenne] Indians in 1864 and Indian scares.

1097. Peck, Richard E. *The New Mexico Experience, 1598-1998: The Confluences of Cultures*. Albuquerque: Universal Printing and Publishing Co., 1998.

Peck's study contains a few references to the trail and conflicts that erupted between Indians and non-Indian New Mexican inhabitants.

1098. Phillips, Authorene Wilson. *Arrow Rock: The Story of a Missouri Village*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005.
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/lib/asulib/Doc?id=10097297> (assessed December 2008).

Arrow Rock's significance to the trail's development is discussed, as is the interaction of the Missiouria, Osage, Kaw, and Sac and Fox nations with the early non-Indians who entered the area. Growing Euroamerican pressure pushed the Osages farther westward onto the plains. The study also notes the U.S. government's militarization of the trail in response to the wishes of traders.

1099. Pike, David. *Roadside New Mexico: A Guide to Historic Markers*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

This study of New Mexico roadside markers not only references historic events, people, and geographic formations, it also adds information not found on the markers. A marker in Cimarron, Colfax County, notes that the trail passed through this village and that the U.S. government operated an agency there from 1862 to 1876 for Utes and Jicarilla Apaches. The author discusses the health and economic problems that beset the reservation. His narrative includes the stories behind the placement of markers at McNees Crossing, an incident involving the killings of Robert McNees and Daniel Monroe in 1828, and Point of the Rock, where Jicarillas attacked the White party in 1849. He provides additional information about Jicarillas, Comanches, Pecos Puebloans, and other Indians.

1100. Powers, Ramon and Gene Younger. "Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1971): 351-93.

The authors point out that the 1867 cholera epidemic that swept through U.S. army posts and communities in Kansas hampered military operations. They indicate that soldiers spread the deadly disease to Wichitas on the Little Arkansas in that year.

1101. Powers, Ramon S. "The Kansas Indian Claims Commission of 1879." *Kansas History* 7 (Autumn 1984): 199-211.

Historian Power's study covers the confrontation between Northern Cheyennes and Euroamericans in western Kansas during 1878. A claims commission was convened to inventory the settlers' losses near Dodge City and elsewhere.

1102. Prince, L. Bradford. *Historical Sketches of New Mexico, from the Earliest Records to the American Occupation*. 2^d ed. Kansas City: Ramsey, Millett and Hudson, 1883.

Drawing heavily from Josiah Gregg's writings, Bradford, then the president of the New Mexico Historical Society and a former a state chief justice, provides a chapter about the trail's significance to New Mexico history. His account addresses conflict between Plains Indians and the trail.

1103. Rathjen, Frederick W. *The Texas Panhandle Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973.

Historian Rathjen's examination of the Texas Panhandle deals extensively with nineteenth-century Indian and Euroamerican relations. It focuses on the conflict that pitted Comanches, along with other Indians, against travelers and U.S. soldiers.

1104. Read, Benjamin M. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*. Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1912.

Attorney Read's history of New Mexico blames the warfare that erupted between Indians and Santa Fe traders on the latter's failure to cultivate friendly relations. He freely interchanges the terms savages and Indians.

1105. ————. "In Santa Fe during Mexican Regime." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (January 1927): 90-97.

This excerpt from Read's *Sidelights of "New Mexican History"* deals with Indian relations with New Mexico in 1845. It notes that a party of Utes entered Santa Fe in that year to murder Governor Martinez. An ensuing fight resulted in the death of many Utes and the wounding of a Mexican soldier.

1106. Reeve, Frank D. "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 (January 1938): 14-62; III (April 1938): 146-91.

Reeve mentions "intractable" Utes and Jicarilla Apaches.

1107. ————. *History of New Mexico*. 3 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1961.

Volume one of this study mentions Indian-Euroamerican relations on the trail and surrounding areas. Reeve presents Indians as troublesome.

1108. Reeve, Frank and Alice Ann Cleaveland. *New Mexico: Land of Many Cultures*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co, 1969.

This history of New Mexico touches on Indian relations with the trail and New Mexico.

1109. Reichart, Milton. "Bourgmont's Route to Central Kansas: A Reexamination." *Kansas History* 2 (Summer 1979): 96-120.

Reichart references contacts in 1723 and 1724 between a French expedition commanded by Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont and the Indians, including Kaws and Padoucas [Plains Apaches]. Bourgmont stopped at places where the trail reached nearly a hundred years later.

1110. Reséndez, Andrés. "Getting Cured and Getting Drunk: State Versus Market in Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850." *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (Spring 2002): 77-103.

Historian Reséndez mentions how the trail contributed to the flow of new types of liquor into New Mexico for Indians and non-Indians alike.

1111. "Restoration of the North Building at Shawnee Methodist Mission." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 11 (November 1942): 339-40.

This article states that the Santa Fe and Oregon trails passed near the front door of the Shawnee Methodist Mission and the Indian Manual Labor School on the Shawnee reservation. It contains several photographs showing the exterior and interior of those buildings.

1112. Riley, Glenda. *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Historian Riley explores the views and sentiments of Euroamerican women who traveled on the Santa Fe and Oregon trails. She indicates that their attitudes were often colored by negative propaganda and tall tales constructed by the media and individuals to dehumanize Indians. She asserts that women often changed their opinions after encountering the Indian victims of racism and false reports. Although violence occasionally erupted between women settlers and Natives, she suggests that these women not only traded and developed fruitful relations with Indians but that they also felt a sense of empathy for the plight of Indians.

1113. Rister, C[arl]. C[oke]. "Harmful Practices of Indian Traders of the Southwest, 1865-1876." *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (July 1931): 231-48.

Historian Rister notes that greedy traders sold liquor and firearms to Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and other Indians who had contact with the trail. Influenced by racial stereotypes, he argues that the trade made it more difficult for U.S. officials to manage well-armed, murderous, and wild "savages."

1114. ————. *The Southwestern Frontier – 1865-1881: A History of the Coming of the Settlers, Indian Depredations and Massacres, Ranching Activities, Operations of White Desperadoes and Thieves, Government Protection, Building of Railways, and the Disappearance of the Frontier*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1928.

Writing from an ethnocentric point of view, Rister's discussion of the opening of the Southwest for U.S. settlement examines the development and implementation of U.S. Indian policy in Kansas, Texas, and New Mexico. Arapahos, Apaches, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas, along with their conflict with trail, are discussed.

1115. Robbins, Eloise Frisbie. "The Original Military Post Road between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott." *Kansas History* 1 (Summer 1978): 90-100.*

Robbins examines the development of the U.S. army presence in eastern Kansas. She touches on the construction of military roads through Indian lands.

1116. Roberts, Calvin A. and Susan A. Roberts. *New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

This history examines Plains Indian, Navajo, Apache and Pueblo relations with New Mexico and the trail.

1117. Ronda, James P. *Revealing America: Image and Imagination in the Exploration of North America*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1996.

Historian Ronda's study contains Susan Magoffin's account of her stay at Bent's Fort in 1846.

1118. Root, George A. "Ferries in Kansas: Part II-Kansas River." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 2 (August 1933): 251-293; (November 1933): 343-76.

Drawing from primary and secondary materials, Kansas State Historical Society curator Root indicates that Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares, and Kaws established and operated ferries on the Kansas River during the 1840s and 1850s. These ferries provided access to the Santa Fe, Oregon, and other trails.

1119. Root, George A. and Russell K. Hickman. "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III-The Platte Route." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (November 1945): 485-527.

A quote drawn from a Pike's Peak guidebook written by Samuel Adams Drakes and entitled *Hints and Information For the Use of Emigrants to Pike's Peak* (1860) states that Indians made the Santa Fe Trail route to Pike's Peak "notoriously unsafe." It adds, "The mails have been plundered and the passengers massacred in cold blood, and nothing less than an effectual chastisement of the Indians and constant patrolling by cavalry can render it available for travel" (507-08).

1120. Rosen, Deborah A. "Pueblo Indians and Citizenship in Territorial New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (Winter 2003): 1-28.

Historian Rosen probes the murky citizenship status of Pueblo Indians in the 1800s.

1121. Sanborn, Theo A. "The Story of the Pawnee Indian Village in Republic County, Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1973): 1-11.

Sanborn discusses the 1824 visit of Jedediah Smith to the Kitkahahki [or Republican Pawnee] town situated on a bluff above the Republican River. He also refers to Smith's death at Wagon Bed Springs at the hands of Comanches in 1831.

1122. Sanchez, Joseph P. *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997.

Although mostly about the establishment of a road from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, this book discusses the often-troubled relations of Indians with Spanish and white American colonists both before and after the Santa Fe Trail's birth in 1821.

1123. Satz, Ronald N. *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, A Bison Book, 1975.

Historian Satz's analysis of U.S. policies during the 1820s and 1830s addresses such issues as Indian removal, protecting the frontier, and assimilation. He notes that Congress authorized the U.S. army to deploy dragoons to the central plains in 1832 to protect emigrant Indians and Euroamerican settlers from "fierce" Plains Indians. The aim of the U.S. government, he asserts, was to acculturate, as opposed to assimilate, the removed Indians. These emigrants remained subjected to the will of a paternalistic government, in which they had no say regarding matters affecting their lives.

1124. Schake, Lowell M. "Celebrating 'A Precious Memto' at La Charrette." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (November 2003): 24-28.

This study of La Charrette indicates that Indian men and women were important in the early history of this small town where Zebulon Pike, along with his small command, visited in 1806 at the onset of his travels onto the plains and into the Southwest.

1125. Scott, Bob. *Plain Enemies: Best True Stories of the Frontier West*. Calwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1995.

Although Scott offers information relevant to Indians and the trail, his book is of limited usefulness because of sloppy editing and research.

1126. Settle, Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle. "The Early Careers of William Bradford Waddell and William Hepburn Russell: Frontier Capitalists." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1960): 355-82.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources to examine the business operations of Waddell and Russell on the trail and elsewhere, the Settles describe Indians as barriers to trade.

1127. Shadow, Robert D. and María Rodríguez-Shadow. "From *Repartición* to Partition: A History of the Mora Land Grant, 1835-1916." *New Mexico Historical Review* 70 (July 1995): 257-98.

The authors note that the arrival of white Americans in New Mexico, who mostly came over the trail, escalated tension and conflict between Indians and non-Indians.

1128. Shortridge, James R. "The Post Office Frontier in Kansas." *Journal of the West* 13 (July 1974): 83-97.

This study alludes to the arrival of squatters on Indian lands near the trail in Kansas during the 1840s and 1850s.

1129. Simmons, Marc. *Albuquerque*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Simmons's history of Albuquerque references the trail as well as Indian relations with non-Indians in New Mexico during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

1130. ————. "Cheap Whiskey Brought Drunkenness to New Mexico." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 24-25.

This brief article about drunkenness in New Mexico discusses the trade of "Taos Lightning" between New Mexico vendors and Comanches. It notes that after the destruction of the Turley distillery during the Taos revolt of 1847, whiskey dealers engaged in the Indian trade substituted a cheap brew known as "rot-gut whiskey" for the more expensive Kentucky whiskey that was imported over the trail.

1131. ————. *Coronado's Land: Essays on Daily Life in Colonial New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

Simmons examines the influences of U.S. trade on the cultures of New Mexico, including the replacement of buckskins with cloth. The trade also made Santa Fe a principal commerce center.

1132. ————. *Hispanic Albuquerque, 1706-1846*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

Simmons briefly discusses Indian relations with New Mexico, but not their contact with the trail.

1133. ————. *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road: A Tragedy of the Apache Wars*. College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1997.

This study probes Apache-U.S. relations in territorial New Mexico.

1134. ————. *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977.

This study provides an overview of relations among white Americans, Mexicans, and Indians in New Mexico beginning with Spanish colonization. It references the trail.

1135. ————. "New Mexico's Spanish Exiles." *New Mexico Historical Review* 59 (January 1985): 67-79.

Simmons notes that in 1829 near the Cimarron River Indians attacked a caravan with exiled Spaniards bound from Santa Fe to Missouri.

1136. ————. *Ranchers, Ramblers, and Renegades: True Tales of Territorial New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1984.

This study mentions the mixed nature of Indian-Euroamerican relations in nineteenth-century New Mexico.

1137. ————. *Spanish Government in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1968.

Simmons discusses Spain's Indian policy in New Mexico.

1138. ————. *Treasure Trails of the Southwest*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

This book is a compilation of Southwest folklore about gold. It includes tales of Spanish New Mexicans and early U.S. citizens and their discovery of gold and search for lost mines. Indians are portrayed as barriers for gaining control of those sites. Simmons identifies Apaches and Utes as being the most combative Indians.

1139. ————. *Yesterday in Santa Fe: Episodes in a Turbulent History*. Rev. ed. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1989.

Simmons outlines a series of events pertaining to Spanish, Euroamerican and Indian relations in New Mexico during the late nineteenth century. Indians, however, are rarely mentioned. Pueblo Indians are portrayed as brutal savages and enemies of the Spanish. They are accused of the death of the first Mexican governor of New Mexico whose head was cut off in 1837. The Tewas are acknowledged as being the first people to inhabit the site that became Santa Fe.

1140. Simmons, Marc, and Frank Turley. *Southwestern Colonial Ironwork: The Spanish Blacksmithing Tradition from Texas to California*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1980.

This history of ironwork seeks to present the story from a Spanish perspective. The authors view Comanches, Apaches, Tonkawas and Wichitas as threats to the Spanish, who responded by increasing their number of iron weapons. They identify the Pueblos and Apaches as the first Indians in the region to trade for iron.

1141. Simmons, Virginia McConnell. *The San Luis Valley: Land of the Six-Armed Cross*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999.

Although the San Luis Valley lay to the west of the trail's mountain route, Utes and Jicarilla Apaches lived there and elsewhere in the surrounding area. The author discusses the United States taking of the valley by coercion.

1142. ————. *The Upper Arkansas: A Mountain River Valley*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1990.

This book conceptualizes the Upper Arkansas River Valley within the context of the greater Colorado region. Simmons discusses trade along the Arkansas and surrounding areas as well as the exploration and contacts that occurred among the diverse peoples along the river.

1143. Smith, Duane A., ed. *A Taste of the West: Essays in Honor of Robert G. Athearn*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1983.

This collection of essays provides a glimpse into the lives and thoughts of individuals inhabiting areas surrounding parts of the trail.

1144. Smith, Pauline Udall. *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*. Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr. Foundation, 1958.

In this study of the Mormon Battalion and its travel to New Mexico in 1846, Smith uses nineteenth-century racial language without hesitation. She refers to the Shawnees who ferried the Battalion across the Kansas River as “half civilized.” She also states that Comanches were hostile, but no problems occurred with them.

1145. Smith, William E. “The Oregon Trail Through Pottawatomie County.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 435-64.

Smith provides information about Potawatomis and other Indians in Kansas during the 1840s and 1850s.

1146. Stanley, F. *Ciudad Santa Fe: Territorial Days, 1846-1912*. Pampa: Pampa Print Shop, 1965.

Stanley briefly discusses Indian relations with New Mexico.

1147. Streeter, Floyd Benjamin. *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns: The Opening of the Old West*. New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1963.

This study discusses some tense and violent encounters involving Indians and Euroamericans on and near the trail.

1148. Sunseri, Alvin R. “The Indian Slave Trade in New Mexico, 1846-1861.” *Indian Historian* 6 (Fall 1973): 20-22.

This brief article indicates that Santa Fe was a center of the Indian slave trade. It notes the commodity goods that Comanches and others received for surrendering their captives. Although the practice of slavery came under increasing opposition,

Sunseri notes that “*Ricos* and *Anglos* desired no changes, as this social, economic, and political structure enabled them to maintain their positions of power” (22).

1149. ————. *Seeds of Discord: New Mexico in the Aftermath of the American Conquest, 1846-1861*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979.

In this collection of his essays, Sunseri examines cultural clashes involving Mexicans, Spaniards, U.S. citizens, and Indians following the U.S. invasion of New Mexico. U.S. attitudes of superiority fanned the flames of discontent. He also discusses the Indian slave trade and hazards of travel on the trail. Generalizations, stereotypes, and erroneous assertions limit the usefulness of this work.

1150. “A Survey of Historic Sites and Structures in Kansas.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Summer 1957): 113-80.

This article provides the results of a survey of historic sites and structures in Kansas. Structures with relevance to Indians and the trail include Forts Leavenworth, Larned, Zarah, Dodge, Atkinson, Mann, and the Kansas Indian agency building. Numerous Indian missions and burial grounds are also listed. Sites include the location of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, Kaw treaty of 1825, and Pawnee Rock.

1151. Svaldi, David P. “The *Rocky Mountain News* and the Indians.” *Journal of the West* 28 (July 1988): 85-94.

Communications professor Svaldi examines the mostly negative ways in which the *Rocky Mountain News* covered Indian news, primarily stories about Cheyenne and Arapahos, during the turbulent years from 1859 to 1864.

1152. Sweeney, Kevin. “Thirsting for War, Hungering for Peace: Drought, Bison Migrations, and Native Peoples on the Southern Plains, 1845-1850.” *Journal of the West* 41 (Summer 2002): 71-78.

Relying on primary and secondary sources to produce a useful study, historian Sweeney covers the major demographic and economic consequences of the Santa Fe and Cimarron trails on Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and others. He indicates that Indian begging, along with warfare, resulted from the growing prevalence of destitution among the Plains Indians.

1153. Taft, Robert. “The Pictorial Record of the Old West.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 14 (February 1946): 1-35, (May 1946): 145-65, (August 1946): 241-64, (November 1946): 361-90; 16 (May 1948): 113-35, (August 1948): 225-44; 17 (May 1949): 97-121, (August 1949): 209-32, (November 1949): 340-59; 18 (February 1950): 1-19, (May 1950): 113-39, (August 1950): 225-42; 19 (August 1951): 225-53, (November 1951): 354-80, (February 1952): 1-23.

Taft's in-depth discussion of artists, along with their experiences, includes those who had contact with Indians and the trail during much of the nineteenth century. Copies of the artists' paintings and sketches enrich the study.

1154. Tate, Michael L. "Comanche Captives: People Between Two Worlds." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 72 (Fall 1994): 228-63.

Tate examines the relationship between captives and their Comanche captors during the 1700s and 1800s.

1155. ————. *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Tate finds that Indian relations with overland migrants along the Platte River route to the West Coast were mostly characterized by cooperation. He asserts that although conflict escalated during the mid 1850s as westward expansion brought Indians such things as deadly disease and economic hardships, cooperation continued to be the most common type of interaction. Pawnees, Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas figure prominently in the study, which contains a few references to the Santa Fe Trail.

1156. Taylor, David G. "Boom Town Leavenworth: The Failure of the Dream." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1972): 389-415.

Historian Taylor's examination of Leavenworth provides a few references to a Delaware land cession and the trail.

1157. Terrell, John Upton. *The Six Turnings: Major Changes in the American West*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968.

Terrell maps out six major turning points in U.S. expansion from 1806 to 1834. The focal point of this book deals with situations of economic change and those factors that facilitated this growth. Areas in the vicinity of and along the trail are discussed as well as individual accounts regarding the incoming population's living conditions, hardships, trade, and relations with Indians.

1158. Thompson, Enid. "Life in an Adobe Castle, 1833-1849." *Colorado Magazine* 54 (Fall 1977): 7-27.

Thompson notes the significance of Cheyennes and the Indian trade to the development of Bent's Fort. He indicates that members of diverse cultures who spoke English, French, Spanish, Sioux, Cheyenne, Ute, and Comanche sometimes intermingled there. He also mentions a Comanche attack on this palisaded trading post.

1159. Torrez, Robert J. “‘El Bornes’: La Tierra Amarilla and T. D. Burns.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 56 (April 1981): 141-60.

This study probes the use of Fort Union troops in U.S. military operations against Utes in northern New Mexico during the 1860s and 1870s.

1160. ————. “The San Juan Gold Rush of 1860 and Its Effect on the Development of Northern New Mexico.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 (July 1988): 257-72.

Torrez discusses the conflict that the San Juan gold discovery brought to the Utes.

1161. Trennert, Robert A. *Indian Traders on the Middle Border: The House of Ewing, 1827-1854*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1981.

Historian Trennert traces the evolution of the Indian trade from the perspective of the Ewing brothers, trader who exploited Indians, including Osages in Kansas. They also promoted Indian removal and influenced the development of U.S. Indian policy.

1162. Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*. 5 vols. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1911-17.

Volume I addresses Indian life and culture in New Mexico before and during the period of Spanish rule. Volume II provides a view of Indian relations in New Mexico during the Spanish, Mexican, and American eras. His chapter entitled the “Old Santa Fe Trail” focuses primarily on U.S. and Mexican conflict with Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, and others. The numerous acts of violence discussed include a fight between Pawnees and a party of plainsmen with Dick Wootton in 1837, the death of Jedediah S. Smith at the hands of Comanches in 1831, and the Jicarilla Apache attack on the James White party in 1849. Volume IV notes that in 1852 five Pueblo men traveled over the trail en route to visit the U.S. president in Washington and that Comanches and Kiowas fought U.S. soldiers and trail travelers. It also covers New Mexico relations with Navajos, Utes, and Pueblos, among others. His exhaustive footnotes provide useful supplement information. This work was republished in 1963 in two volumes.

1163. Tyler, Daniel. “Anglo-American Penetration of the Southwest: The View from Mexico.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 75 (January 1972): 325-38.

Tyler notes that during the 1820s and 1830s recalcitrant Pawnees and other Indians created problems for Mexicans and the trail. He asserts that New Mexicans wanted to work jointly with the U.S. government to protect trail travelers, but that a deterioration of relations between the two nations before the outbreak of the Mexican War negated the plan.

1164. ————. “Governor Armijo’s Moment of Truth.” *Journal of the West* 11 (April 1972): 307-16.

This study discusses the warfare that Utes, Apaches, and Navajos waged against New Mexico on the eve of the U.S. invasion in 1846.

1165. ————. “Gringo Views of Governor Manuel Armijo.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 45 (January 1970): 23-46.

Tyler notes that raids on Santa Fe caravans and homesteads were a source of friction between U.S. citizens and Armijo during the 1830s and 1840s.

1166. ————. “Mexican Indian Policy in New Mexico.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 55 (April 1980): 101-20.

Tyler asserts that Mexico’s Indian policy in New Mexico was a failure.

1167. Ubbelohde, Carl, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith. *A Colorado History*. 9th ed. Boulder: Pruett Press, 2006.

First published in 1965, this book offers information regarding the trail and its impact on Colorado’s development. It discusses Indian-Euroamerican relations in terms of trade and conflict.

1168. Unrau, William E. “The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim?” *Western Historical Quarterly* 3 (October 1972): 405-20.

This study discusses controversies surrounding U.S. agents who worked among Cheyennes, Arapahos, and other Indians in Kansas during the late 1860s.

1169. ————. “The Council Grove Merchants and Kansas Indians, 1855-1870.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Autumn 1968): 266-81.

Unrau documents the efforts of Council Grove merchants to obtain the Kaw reservation by advocating the removal of these Indians.

1170. ————. “Indian Agent vs. the Army: Some Background Notes on the Kiowa-Comanche Treaty of 1865.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1964): 129-52.

Historian Unrau argues that the year 1865 was a watershed in Indian-U.S. relations on the southern plains. In that year, the U.S. army became increasingly responsive to the demands of railroad interests, town promoters, and homesteaders. Lacking the strength to wage an expansive campaign against Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa resistance, U.S. officials opted for a treaty solution. This decision gave the army time to plan and muster enough strength to take more effective measures to control Indians.

1171. ————. *The Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825-1855*. Lawrence: University Press of Press, 2007.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, Unrau discusses how in 1834 the U.S. government created and twenty years later dissolved a vast section of land lying west of the Mississippi River called Indian Country. He notes the role the trail played in the dissolution of lands promised to displaced Indians, both displaced eastern nations and Plains nations, by this law. He provides an illuminating analysis of the dishonesty of U.S. officials in their dealings with Indians.

1172. ————. *White Man's Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802-1892*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.

The alcohol trade and Indians are discussed along with the attempts of U.S. officials to address the matter. Trading ranches along the trail participated heavily in the sale of illegal drinks to Indians.

1173. Unrau, William E. and H. Craig Miner. *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

This book offers an in-depth analysis of underlying factors that allowed state politicians and U.S. authorities to mislead and take advantage of the Ottawa tribe. It reflects the negative sentiments held by policymakers and Kansas citizens towards Indians that allowed for such dishonesty. It underscores how greed was an important factor in Euroamerican expansionism onto the Great Plains.

1174. U.S. Government, National Park Service. *Explorers and Settlers: Historic Places Commemorating the Early Exploration and Settlement of the United States*. Vol. 5 of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, edited by Robert G. Ferris. Washington, D.C.: [For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office,] 1968.

This volume occasionally uses stereotypical language to describe Indians. Pecos Pueblo is mentioned as a site with a connection to the trail. The narrative alludes to the trail and Indians who had an association with it.

1175. ————. *Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Vol. 12 of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, edited by Robert G. Ferris. Washington, D.C.: [For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office,] 1971.

First published in 1963, this U.S. government publication about historic monuments points out the sites along the trail with that designation, including Council Grove, Shawnee Mission, Bent's Old Fort Camp Nichols as well as Forts

Larned, Atkinson, Dodge, Lyon and Union. Unfortunately, the narrative and picture captions with references to Comanches and Kiowas contain derogatory language. For instances, the caption of a photograph of a Comanche family states, "Fierce, warlike and expert horsemen, the Comanches won the epithet of 'Lords of the Southern Plains.' Following the Great Comanche War Trail, they terrorized the southern Plains and northern Mexico" (14). It also says that the "belligerent" Major General Winfield Hancock led a 1,400 man expedition against the Cheyennes and other Kansas Indians (141). Indian relations with the Santa Fe Trail are mentioned a few times.

1176. Utey, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Utey illustrates how westward U.S. expansion overwhelmed Indian resistance driving Indigenous nations onto reservations and opening their lands for uncontested Euroamerican settlement.

1177. Van Zandt, Howard F. "The Battle of the Washita, Revisited: A Journey to a Historic Site in 1933." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 62 (Spring 1984): 56-69.

Van Zandt's discussion of the Washita Massacre includes Cheyenne testimonials.

1178. Vigil, Ralph, Frances W. Kaye, and John R. Wunder, eds. *Spain and the Plains: Myths and Realities of Spanish Exploration and Settlement on the Great Plains*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1994.

This collection of essays examines the myths and realities of Spanish encroachments onto the Great Plains until 1821. In terms of Indian relations, the book addresses such issues as exploration, travel, settlement, conflict, trade, and diplomacy.

1179. Wallace, Edward S. *The Great Reconnaissance: Soldiers, Artists and Scientists on the Frontier, 1848-1861*. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1955.

Written in a disorganized and rambling fashion, this book discusses the activities of U.S. soldiers, artists, and scientists on the plains, including the trail. Referring to Indians as barbarians and savages, it provides no new or worthwhile information about them.

1180. Warner, Mildred. "The Attitude of the Nebraska Territorial Government towards the Indians: II." *Great Plains Journal* 9 (Spring 1970): 59-66.

Warner deals with the conflict that raged between Indians and Euroamericans on the central plains during the 1850s and 1860s.

1181. ————. “Indians Challenge the Nebraska Territorial Government: I.” *Great Plains Journal* 9 (Spring 1970): 53-8.

Warner notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Sioux resented the slaughter of the buffalo during the 1860s.

1182. Watts, Dale E. “Plows and Bibles, Rifles and Revolvers: Guns in Kansas Territory.” *Kansas History* 21 (Spring 1998): 31-45.

Focusing on Kansas, Watts discusses the different types of firearms used by U.S. soldiers against Indians during the 1850s and 1860s.

1183. Weber, David J. “American Westward Expansion between Pobladores and ‘Indios Bárbaros’ on Mexico’s Far Northern Frontier, 1821-1846.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 56 (July 1981): 221-38.

Weber’s probe of U.S. expansion into northern Mexico discusses the relations of Utes, Comanches, Navajos, and Apaches with the United States and Mexico. He asserts that removed Indians, Delawares and Shawnees, conducted raids in California and New Mexico. He indicates that the U.S. arms trade with Navajos shifted the balance of power from Mexico to those Indians.

1184. ————. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Weber provides a discussion of social, political, and economic issues involved in Indian interaction with Mexican and U.S. officials. He asserts that the years from 1821 to 1846 were a period of dramatic change. He attributes the increase of Ute, Apache, and Comanche raids on New Mexico settlements to the influences of U.S. traders. To Weber, the trail was just one of many points of contention between Indians and non-Indians. The University of New Mexico Press reprinted this book in 1992.

1185. ————. *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988.

One of Weber’s essays explores the ways in which U.S. influence in the Southwest from 1821 to 1846 affected Indian relations. This useful study focuses on how the gun trade shifted the balance of power in favor of the Apaches, Navajos, and other Indians.

1186. ————. *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Weber's examination of trappers operating out of Taos notes their interaction with Indians in the Southwest and the plains. Comanches, Pawnees, Osages, Bent's Fort, and the trail are incorporated into his history.

1187. Wedel, Waldo R. "After Coronado in Quivira." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1968): 369-85.

Archaeologist Wedel discusses the excavation of Wichita and Pawnee sites in Kansas and the disruption of burials. It should be noted that he appropriated human remains and funerary objects without permission of the next of kin, the Pawnees and Wichitas of Oklahoma. Since the 1980s, human remains and funerary objects from these sites have been a source of contention between those Indians and at least one museum.

1188. Weigle, Marta. "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12, no. 3 (1992): 117-50.

The imagery of Southwest Indians underwent a dramatic transformation with the end of the Indian wars and the growth of the tourist trade. Weigle discusses the rise of the tourism in the Southwest that began during the late 1800s and continued well into the 1900s. Writing mostly about the New Mexico towns of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Taos, she asserts that Pueblo women, who were potters, artisans, and weavers, and dressed in colorful clothing, became "regional icons" (120). Navajos and Apaches are also discussed.

1189. ————. "From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display in the Indian Southwest." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45 (Spring 1989): 115-37.

This study probes the rise of the tourist industry in the Southwest that highlighted Indian cultures. It notes that Euroamericans during the early years of the trail's history created and perpetuated the myth about Montezuma's promise to return to Pecos Pueblo but that the pueblo's inhabitants failed to keep their end of the deal by allowing an eternal flame to become extinguished. Weigle points out that during the late 1800s the Santa Fe railway company, whose tracks ran near the abandoned pueblo, put up "an immense signboard proclaiming the Pecos a wonder of the Southwest" (117). Promotional literature presented Pueblos and Navajos as being civilized artisans and Apaches as warriors while tour excursions took vacationers to Taos, the Grand Canyon, and other places with an Indian motif. The inclusion of artistic depictions of Indians used during the nineteenth century for advertisement purposes enrich this study.

1190. Wellman, Paul I. *Glory, God and Gold: A Narrative History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954.

Although saying little about the trail, Wellman references the conflict that increased with Indians as the United States spread westward.

1191. ————. *The Indian Wars of the West*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1954.

Originally published in 1947, this discussion of Indian wars during the 1860s and 1870s contains a few references to the trail.

1192. Wesley, Edgar B. *Guarding the Frontier: A Study of Frontier Defense from 1815 to 1825*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1935.

Wesley's slanted history of Euroamerican attempts to pacify Indians from the end of the War of 1812 to 1825 discusses such issues as U.S. policy and armed conflict. The author uses inappropriate, if not commonly accepted, rhetoric and animalistic metaphors when describing Indians and their inability to respect borders, but he points out, without employing negative stereotypes, that Euroamerican settlers were just as careless. Events along and near the trail are discussed.

1193. West, Elliot. *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998.

Writing in a critical fashion, historian West's important study about the Colorado gold rush presents a comprehensive history of the struggle for the central plains during the late 1850s and early 1860s. The Santa Fe and Smoky Hills trails, along with the surrounding environment, are crucial to this history. His story focuses on the unsuccessful attempts of Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Apaches to preserve their ways of living while facing an invasion.

1194. ————. "Reconstructing Race." *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (Spring 2003): 7-26.

West argues that scholarly examinations of race should be broadened beyond the black-white relations to encompass the mixing of diverse peoples who make history. He notes that those white Americans who entered New Mexico after the Mexican War assumed that "Indians and Mexicans would simply melt away before the expansion of superior White society" (12).

1195. West, G. Derek. "The Battle of Sappa Creek (1875)." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1968): 150-78.

West chronicles the conflict that Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches experienced as U.S. citizens and soldiers sought to take control of the central plains during the 1860s and 1870s that led to a fight on Sappa Creek, north of the trail.

1196. White, Lonnie J. "White Women Captives of Southern Plains Indians, 1866-1875." *Journal of the West* 8 (July 1969): 327-51.

White's slanted examination of Euroamerican women captives mentions the trail and surrounding areas. Using negative stereotypes, it seeks explain why Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes took and mistreated female prisoners. It also contains newspaper excerpts telling about the liberation of some of these women.

1197. Wilmeth, Roscoe. "Kansa Village Locations in the Light of McCoy's 1828 Journal." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 26 (Summer 1960): 152-57.

Archaeologist Wilmeth's study notes that Isaac McCoy crossed the trail three times during his 1828 exploration in eastern Kansas. A group of Potawatomis accompanied him in preparation of their removal westward.

1198. Wilson, Chris. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

This study discusses Santa Fe's diverse cultures and history, covering such issues as Indians relations with Mexicans, Spaniards, and Euroamericans; trade; slavery; and non-Indian settlement.

1199. Wilson, Gary. "Hostage among the Comanches: The Ordeal of Jane Wilson." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 5 (Spring 1980): 4-12.

This study is relevant because it discusses the hardships Jane Wilson encountered in 1853 while she was held captive Comanches in Texas. Word of her ordeal fueled an outburst of anti-Indian propaganda.

1200. Wilson, Julie. "'Kansas Über Alles!': The Geography and Ideology of Conquest, 1870-1900." *Western Historical Quarterly* 27 (Summer 1996): 171-87.

In this study about Kansas, Wilson's discussion references "manifest destiny," attitudes toward Indians, and how Euroamerican settlers transformed the landscape to forms familiar to them. It notes that maps depicting reservation holdings changed from the 1830s to the post-civil war years, lumping Indian lands into counties of the state.

1201. Wilson, Paul E. "How the Law Came to Kansas." *Kansas History* 15 (Spring 1992): 18-35.

Legal scholar Wilson indicates that U.S. authorities rarely filed charges against non-Indians accused of crimes against Indians. He notes that although the U.S. army had responsibility to protect travelers in Indian country, traveling parties oftentimes had to defend themselves because the military was not always

available. An interesting fact is that the Kansas Supreme Court convened for the first time at the Shawnee Manual Labor School in 1855.

1202. Wright, Robert M. *Dodge City: The Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest*. N.p, 19--?

This book provides a descriptive look at Dodge City, a rowdy frontier town located near the trail, known for its cowboys, traders, merchants and gunfighters. Encounters with Indians, including incidents of warfare, are discussed as well as Euroamerican attitudes toward Indians.

1203. Wyckoff, William. *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Based largely on secondary sources, cultural-historical geographer Wyckoff's synthesis of Colorado's environmental, social, political, and economic transformation contains a section about Indian geographies in both pre- and post-contact settings. Of those Indians nations who had contact with the trail, he mentions Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Utes, Apaches, and Pawnees, among others. He notes that the trail was instrumental in reshaping Colorado.

1204. Wyman, Walker D. "Bullwhacking: A Prosaic Profession Peculiar to the Great Plains." *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (October 1932): 297-310.

This study refers to Indians as threats to bullwhackers on the Santa Fe and other trails.

1205. Yurtinus, John F. "Colorado, Mormons, and the Mexican War: A History of the Mississippi Saints and Sick Detachments of the Mormon Battalion." *Essays in Colorado History* 1 (1983): 107-45.

This article notes that in September 1846 an Indian "medicine man" at a camp near the trail treated a Mormon private named Norman Sharp who was suffering from a self-inflicted gunshot wound. Sharp nonetheless died from the effects of gangrene.

1206. "Zebulon M. Pike Expedition Bicentennial Commission." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (February 2003): 5-8.

This entry notes that the Pike Commission, in its preparation for a bicentennial celebration, planned to seek the participation of the descendants of those Indians nations who had contact with Pike's expedition in 1806.

1207. Zornow, William Frank. *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1957.

Zornow's study addresses the trail's significance in Kansas history. It contains information about Indians who had an association with the trail.

1208. Zwink, Timothy A. "E. W. Wynkoop and the Bluff Creek Council." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1977): 217-39.

Historian Zwink attributes the relatively peaceful relations in 1866 between the United States and Cheyennes, Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas on the Kansas plains to the work of U.S. agent E. W. Wynkoop. Sixteen Euroamericans died in violent conflicts with Indians in that year as compared to thirty-seven the previous year.

E. Military Histories

1209. Agnew, Brad. "The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition of 1834." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 53 (Fall 1975): 376-96.

Agnew attributes the Dodge-Leavenworth expedition of 1834 to the Indians' opposition to the trail, to the U.S. policy of Indian removal, and to the Euroamerican settlement of Arkansas. Comanches, Osages, and Wichitas, among others, met the soldiers. Several Catlin paintings are included.

1210. ————. "The 1858 War against the Comanches." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 49 (Summer 1971): 211-29.

Agnew examines the link between U.S. policy and the 1858 war against Comanches in Oklahoma and Texas.

1211. Ball, Durwood. *Army Regulars on the Western Frontier, 1848-1861*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

This valuable study discusses the deployment of U.S. army regulars along the western frontier and how the extension of U.S. sovereignty over the region sparked conflict with Indians. Consequently, Indigenous peoples increasingly faced hardships that undermined their cultural survival. Events that occurred in the trail's vicinity are discussed.

1212. ————. "By Right of Conquest: Military Government in New Mexico and California, 1846-1851." *Journal of the West* 41 (Summer 2002): 8-16.

Historian Ball provides a glimpse at Indian relationships with the U.S. army rule of New Mexico stemming from its invasion.

1213. ————. "Fort Craig, New Mexico, and the Southwest Indian Wars, 1854-1884." *New Mexico Historical Review* 73 (April 1998): 153-73.

Without referencing the trail, this study discusses the crucial role that U.S. soldiers at Fort Craig played in ending Navajo and Apache resistance to U.S. and Hispanic expansion.

1214. Barry, Louise. "Fort Aubrey." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1973): 188-99.

Barry discusses incidents of conflict that led the U.S. army to the founding of Fort Aubrey at Aubrey Crossing, in September 1865. It was abandoned the following April, but reports indicate that Indians periodically fought ranchers, stagecoach station operators, and others in the area until the summer of 1874.

1215. Becher, Ronald. *Massacre along the Medicine Road: A Social History of the Indian War of 1864 in Nebraska Territory*. Caldwell: Caxton Press, 1999.

Spotlighting warfare during 1864 in Nebraska, when Indians raided traffic and settlements along the Oregon-California Trail, the author is concerned with why the fighting took place. To reach an understanding of the causes of the conflict, he briefly examines similar incidents involving Cheyenne attacks against Euroamericans on the Santa Fe Trail. Apaches, Arapahos, Pawnees, Sioux, and Kiowas are mentioned.

1216. Beers, Henry Putney. *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935.

Beers's published dissertation references U.S. military operations against Indians, including Comanches and Arapahos, who had a troubled relationship with the trail.

1217. Bender, Averam B. *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1952.

The role of the U.S. military in the conquest of the Southwest is the concern of this book. Much of the story involving Indians occurs in the trail's vicinity.

1218. Bender, A. B. "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1853." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9 (July 1934): 249-72.

Although not about the trail, this study examines U.S. military operations against Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. It presents Indians as warlike thugs and barbarians.

1219. ————. "Military Posts in the Southwest, 1848-1860." *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (April 1941): 125-47.

Bender notes that the U.S. established military posts in the Southwest to defend its citizens and transportation routes, including the trail, from Indian attacks.

1220. Bender, Norman J. "The Battle of Tierra Amarilla." *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 (July 1988): 241-56.

Bender covers the warfare that erupted in 1872 in northern New Mexico between Utes and U.S. soldiers.

1221. Bieber, Ralph P. Introduction to *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*. Vol. 4 of the Southwest Historical Series. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.

In his introduction, historian Bieber discusses U.S. relations with Navajos and Apaches in 1846 and 1847. He presents Indians as savages. Porcupine Press reprinted this study in 1974.

1222. Billington, Monroe Lee. *New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991.

This book focuses on Blacks who served in the post-Civil War U.S. army in New Mexico. It represents the Black soldiers, who were often the targets of racial discrimination, as being instrumental in the campaign of Euroamericans to squash Indian resistance. Drawing from conventional thought, Monroe echoes negative stereotypes that depict Indians as unruly threats to progress. Utes, Apaches, Navajos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Lakotas (Sioux) are mentioned.

1223. Brackett, Albert G. *History of the United States Cavalry, from the Formation of the Federal Government to the 1st of June, 1863*. New York: Argonaut Press, Ltd., 1965.

Brackett's history discusses warfare between Jicarilla Apaches, along with their Ute allies, and U.S. troops near Fort Union following the death of Mrs. White in 1849.

1224. Brown, D. Alexander. *The Galvanized Yankees*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1963.

Based on primary sources, this history is about the captured Confederate soldiers who did time during and after the Civil War on the Great Plains in military units called the U.S. Volunteers. Many of them served as trail escorts and garrisoned soldiers along the trail. The author details Kiowa horse stealing and warfare tactics in early June 1865.

1225. Campbell, Hortense Balderston. "Camp Beecher." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 3 (May 1934): 172-85.

Librarian Campbell discusses the establishment of Camp Beecher in 1868 near the present city of Wichita. This short-lived post was positioned strategically to protect Euroamerican settlers from warring Indians, most notably Cheyennes.

1226. Carlson, Paul H. *The Buffalo Soldier Tragedy of 1877*. College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2003.

This book discusses a fight in 1877 between Tenth Cavalry soldiers and Comanches on the Staked Plains, one of the last battles on the southern plains that pitted Indians against U.S. troops.

1227. ————. “William R. Shafter, Black Troops, and the Finale to the Red River War.” *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 247-58.

Writing in a celebratory tone, Carlson’s narrative discusses the Tenth Cavalry’s participation in sweeping the Llano Estacado clear of Comanches and Kiowas during the Red River War.

1228. Carriker, Robert C. *Fort Supply Indian Territory: Frontier Outpost on the Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

Historian Carriker’s study about Fort Supply notes the U.S. policy to keep Indians confined on Indian Territory reservations. It states that in the spring of 1871 a Tenth Cavalry unit patrolled an area between Camp Supply and the Santa Fe Trail crossing near Round Mound to prevent Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos from going northward. Carriker also alludes to the destitution that plagued Pawnees, Cheyennes, and others during the mid 1870s.

1229. ————. “Mercenary Heroes: The Scouting Detachment of the Indian Territory Expedition, 1874-1875.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 51 (Fall 1973): 309-24.

Historian Carriker’s examination of the 1874-1875 war is written with a celebratory tenor. It mentions Fort Dodge’s significance in this U.S. military campaign and the participation of Delaware army scouts.

1230. Carroll, John M., ed. *The Medal of Honor: Its History and Its Recipients for the Indian Wars*. Mattituck, NY: J. M Carroll and Company, [1979?].

This book contains information about U.S. soldiers and Indian scouts who received medal of honors for valor in combat during the Indian wars. An entry shows that Leander Herron, a corporal assigned to Company A, Third U.S. Infantry, earned the medal for his part in an 1868 fight with fifty Indians near Little Coon Creek in Kansas.

1231. Chalfant, William Y. *Cheyennes at Dark Water Creek: The Last Fight of the Red River War*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

The 1875 battle at Sappa Creek between U.S. cavalrymen and Cheyennes is the focus of this book. Chalfant’s examination of events leading up to and surrounding the fight discusses the impacts of the trail and U.S. army posts, Forts Larned and

Fort Dodge in particular, on Cheyenne life. He also deals with the Adobe Walls fight.

1232. ————. *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

This study probes the U.S. army's 1857 campaign against Cheyennes in Kansas and events leading up to that affair.

1233. ————. *Without Quarter: The Wichita Expedition and the Fight on Crooked Creek*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Relying primarily on U.S. military records, Chalfant's examination of the Crooked Creek fight includes a discussion of army operations against the Comanches and their allies throughout the southern plains. It identifies the trail as a primary point of friction between Indians and Euroamericans. The author also focuses on the relations between U.S. soldiers and Indian scouts.

1234. Conrad, David E. "The Whipple Expedition on the Great Plains." *Great Plains Journal* 2 (Fall 1963): 42-66.

Conrad notes that Lt. Amiel W. Whipple's expedition of 1853-54 encountered Kiowas, Comanches, and other Indians as it looked for a southern railroad route. The author notes that Whipple, along with other members of his survey and scientific party, considered Plains Indians to be "warlike savages."

1235. Corbett, William P. "Rifles and Ruts: Army Road Builders in Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 60 (Fall 1982): 294-310.

Corbett's study of U.S. army road construction in Oklahoma references Pawnees, Comanches, and other Indians. Some of them opposed the roads.

1236. Craig, Stephen C. "Medicine for the Military: Dr. George M. Sternberg on the Kansas Plains, 1866-1870." *Kansas History* 21 (Autumn 1998): 188-206.

U.S. army epidemiologist Craig draws from primary and secondary sources to examine the experiences of an army medical doctor on the Kansas plains from the mid 1860s to 1870. Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas are part of this story.

1237. Dawson, Joseph G., III. "The Alpha-Omega Man: General Phil Sheridan." *Red River Valley Historical Journal* 3 (Spring 1978): 147-63.

Dawson's examination of U.S. military campaigns directed by Phil Sheridan looks at its efforts to drive Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahos out of Kansas.

1238. ————. *Doniphan's Epic March: The 1st Missouri Volunteers in the Mexican War*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999.

Dawson's book is about conquest and expansion. It discusses Indian/U.S. relations as Doniphan and his Missouri Volunteers marched from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico over the Santa Fe Trail in 1846. Although saying virtually nothing about Plains Indians, it notes the extension of U.S. policies over Apache, Taos, Zuni, Navajo, and Ute peoples.

1239. Delaney, Donald J. "The Catlin Portrait of General Leavenworth." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1971): 345-50.

Colonel Delaney's discussion of George Catlin's portrait of General Leavenworth references U.S. military operations during the 1820s and 1830s against Comanches, Pawnee Picts [Wichitas], and other Indians.

1240. Dinges, Bruce J. "The Irrepressible Captain Armes: Politics and Justice in the Indian-Fighting Army." *Journal of the West* 32 (April 1993): 38-52.

Historian Dinges discusses Captain Armes's involvement in U.S. military campaigns against Indians near the trail during the 1860s and 1870s.

1241. Dobak, William A. "Fort Riley's Black Soldiers and the Army's Changing Role in the West, 1867-1885." *Kansas History* 22 (Autumn 1999): 214-27.

Dobak examines the Tenth Cavalry's participation in the Indian wars on Kansas plains during the 1860s and 1870s.

1242. Dunlay, Thomas William. "Indian Allies in the Armies of New Spain and the United States: A Comparative Study." *New Mexico Historical Review* (56 July 1981): 239-58.

Southwest and Plains Indians often supported the armies of Spain and the United States. Dunlay examines reasons for those alliances.

1243. ————. *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Focusing on the years from 1860 to 1890, this history examines the roles Indians played in the exploration and conquest of lands west of the Mississippi River. Delawares, Pawnees, and others served as scouts, guides, and combatants in U.S. army actions against Comanche, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux, and others.

1244. Dunn, William R. *"I Stand by Sand Creek": A Defense of Colonel John M. Chivington and the Third Colorado Cavalry*. Ft. Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1985.

According to Dunn, a career soldier, the U.S. soldiers under Chivington who participated in the Sand Creek “battle” have been misunderstood and misrepresented. This book, therefore, attempts to give long due credit and honorable recognition to their legacy.

1245. Eales, Anne Bruner. *Army Wives on the American Frontier: Living by the Bugles*. Boulder: Johnson Books, 1996.

Grounded in the letters, memoirs, photos, and manuscripts of thirty-three U.S. army wives, this study describes these women’s experiences on the frontier and differing attitudes toward Indians. Some of them expressed their viewpoint with unbridled contempt while others showed more compassion. Apaches, Cheyennes, Comanches, Delawares, Kiowas, Navajos, Sioux, and others with an association with the trail are mentioned.

1246. Elmore, George. “Fort Larned National Historical Site.” *Wagon Tracks* 3 (February 1989): 11-13.

Resource specialist Elmore’s historical overview of Fort Larned provides a brief discussion of U.S. policy pertaining to Cheyennes, Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and Comanches in the 1860s. He mentions a July 17, 1864, Kiowa raid on the fort that netted them 172 horses and mules. The post served as a point for the distributions of annuity goods to Indians and the seat of a U.S. Indian agency. Army officers used the fort as a staging site for expeditions against Indians and for deploying escorts to protect trail traffic.

1247. Emmet, Chris. *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Based on primary sources, Emmet’s history of Fort Union addresses the fort’s relations with Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Gila Apaches; Navajos; Comanches; and Utes in a conventional fashion. Jurisdictional disputes between the Indian office and the U.S. military over Indian matters complicated the post’s effectiveness in this responsibility. Civilian criticism about the post’s inability to provide sufficient protection from Indians is also noted. Among other duties, soldiers garrisoned there pursued Indians accused of harassing trail traffic. Emmet also describes the treatment and conditions of Indians who were imprisoned there.

1248. Essin, Emmett M. *Shavetails and Bell Sharps: The History of the U.S. Army Mule*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977.

This history of the significance of U.S. military mules discusses the warfare that Comanches, Plains Apaches, and others waged against soldiers, teamsters, and traders along the trail and elsewhere from the late 1840s to the 1860s.

1249. Flint, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint. "Fort Union and the Economy of Northern New Mexico, 1860-1868." *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (Winter 2002): 27-55.

The authors' examination of the economic impact of Fort Union on New Mexico references the post's role in mounting of armed opposition to Indian resistance.

1250. Frazer, Robert W. "Fort Butler: The Fort That Almost Was." *New Mexico Historical Review* (October 1968): 253-70.

This study about Fort Butler discusses U.S. military actions against Comanches, Utes, Kiowas, and Apaches in northwestern New Mexico during the 1850s and 1860s.

1251. ————. *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

Frazer's study about the economic impact of the U.S. army in the development of the Southwest includes coverage of Indian relations in New Mexico with U.S. officials, soldiers, and traders. It references the roads that crossed New Mexico, including the Santa Fe Trail.

1252. ————. *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898*. Norman: University of New Mexico, 1965.

Covering the placement of U.S. military forts in the various western states, this study mentions the trail and Indians.

1253. Gardner, Hamilton. "Romance at Old Cantonment Leavenworth: The Marriage of 2nd Lt. Philip St. George Cooke in 1830." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1956): 97-113.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources, history buff Gardner alludes to Cooke's participation in the U.S. army's trail campaign in 1829, which included fights with Comanches and possibly other Indians.

1254. Gardner, Hamilton. "Philip St. George Cooke and the Apache, 1854." *New Mexico Historical Review* 28 (April 1953): 81-112.

In addition to discussing U.S. military campaigns launched from Fort Union in 1854, this study provides population estimates for Jicarilla Apaches and Utes during the early 1850s.

1255. Garfield, Marvin H. "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1864-1865." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (February 1932): 140-52.

Grounded in primary and secondary materials, Garfield's study contains information about the operations of U.S. military posts on the Kansas plains during the early 1860s against Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches. Garfield mentions the treaties negotiated during this era.

1256. ————. "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (August 1932): 326-44.

Garfield's discussion of conflict on the Kansas frontier includes an account of U.S. army campaigns against Sioux and Cheyennes in 1867 near Pawnee Fork and elsewhere. It mentions the functions of the U.S. Peace Commission during the same year and the resulting treaties with Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyennes, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache leaders at Medicine Lodge Creek. It provides statistics indicating the number of U.S. citizens and soldiers who were killed and wounded by Indians in 1867.

1257. ————. "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1868-1869." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1932): 451-73.

Garfield provides statistics regarding the number of Indians and non-Indians killed and wounded in 1868 and 1869. He asserts that those years were "the worst in the history of plains warfare in the Department of the Missouri" (472). His study indicates that the warring Indians, including Pawnees, Sioux, Osages, Cheyennes, focused much of their attention on Kansas's settlements.

1258. ————. "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1931): 50-62.

Drawing from primary and secondary sources relating to U.S. military posts in Kansas from the 1820s to the 1860s, Garfield briefly points out Forts Zarah, Mann, Dodge, Aubrey, and Larned were built and manned to protect trail traffic from Plains Indians.

1259. Gibson, Arrell Morgan. "The St. Augustine Prisoners." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 259-70.

Gibson discusses the imprisonment of Comanche, Cheyenne, and Kiowa warriors at Fort Marion in Florida for their involvement in the Red River War.

1260. Goldman, Henry H. "General James H. Carleton and the New Mexico Indian Campaigns, 1862-1866." *Journal of the West* 2 (April 1963): 156-66.

Although not about the trail, Goldman's study explores the attempts of the U.S. army to control Navajos and Apaches in New Mexico during the 1860s.

1261. Gregg, Andy. *Drums of Yesterday: The Forts of New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Press of the Territorian, 1968.

Written in a celebratory tone, this pamphlet about U.S. forts in New Mexico presents Indians as threats. It declares that Buffalo Soldiers and “galvanized Yankees” served with distinction during the Indian wars.

1262. Griswold, Gillett. “The Site of Camp Comanche Dragoon Expedition of 1834.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 73 (Fall 1995): 322-39.

Griswold seeks to end the confusion regarding the location of Camp Comanche, where U.S. Dragoons bivouacked in July 1834. He refers to Comanche, Kiowa, Wichita, and Pawnee relations with the soldiers.

1263. Gwaltney, William W. and Thomas Welle. “By Force of Arms: The Buffalo Soldiers of Colorado.” *Colorado Heritage* (Spring 1996): 30-34.

The authors note that Buffalo Soldiers were positioned at Fort Lyon in Colorado following the Civil War and assigned to protect the trail’s stagecoach and mail traffic. They discuss the Tenth Cavalry’s involvement in campaigns against Cheyennes and Utes.

1264. Hamilton, Clad. “A Colonel in Kansas.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 282-92.

Hamilton briefly discusses Henry C. Lindsey’s military engagements with Indians during the 1860s in Kansas.

1265. Hart, Herbert M. *Old Forts of the Southwest*. Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1964.

This study about U.S. forts in the Southwest includes those along the trail. The author provides a few brief sketches of Indians and their relations with those installations.

1266. Hoagland, Alison K. “Village Constructions: U.S. Army Forts on the Plains, 1848-1890.” *Winterthu Portfolio* 34 (Winter 1999): 215-37.

This useful study is not about the Santa Fe Trail. Arguing the U.S. army commanders after 1848 unconsciously followed a pattern of designing forts that resembled villages, this study notes that this architectural change accompanied a corresponding shift in the military’s strategy from protecting emigrant routes to facilitating Euroamerican settlement. As the nineteenth century progressed, the army countered Indian guerrilla warfare tactics by launching aggressive campaigns that targeted “whole communities to punish for the depredations of a few” (217).

1267. Hoig, Stan. *The Battle of the Washita: The Sheridan-Custer Indian Campaign of 1867-69*. Garden City and New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976.

This study traces events that led to the Seventh Cavalry's attack on Black Kettle's camp in 1868 on the Washita River and the aftermath of this infamous affair. It notes incidents of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche conflict with trail traffic and the operations of U.S. forces in the areas of Fort Larned and Fort Dodge. Hoig refers to the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867 as an act of trickery committed by U.S. representatives.

1268. ————. *Fort Reno and the Indian Territory Frontier*. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

According to Hoig, Fort Reno, founded in 1875, was conceived as a post from which U.S. forces could exert control over Cheyennes and Arapahos in Oklahoma. The fort also sought to keep Euroamericans from encroaching on Indian lands.

1269. ————. *A Travel Guide to the Plains Indian Wars*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

This useful travel guide surveys many of the battles that occurred on the plains between Indians and the U.S. army. It lists fights that took place both on and near the trail. Its numerous maps enhance the value of this work.

1270. ————. *Tribal Wars of the Southern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

This study about warfare from the Arkansas River to central Texas deals with intertribal fighting and Indian-Euroamerican violence. Indians with an association to the trail are central to Hoig's history.

1271. Hurt, R. Douglas. "The Construction and Development of Fort Wallace, Kansas, 1865-1882." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1977): 44-55.

Hurt notes that Fort Wallace, a post situated on the Smoky Hill Trail, played an important role in the subjugation of Plains Indians.

1272. Jackson, W. Turrentine. "The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854-1858." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (February 1949): 37-59.

Drawn from primary and secondary sources, Jackson's useful study indicates that Plains Indians along the trail voiced strong opposition to the building of new military roads and the improvement of existing ones.

1273. Jones, Oakah L., Jr. "Pueblo Indian Auxiliaries and the Reconquest of New Mexico, 1692-1704." *Journal of the West* 2 (July 1963): 257-80.

Providing a view of Pueblo-Spanish relations during the late 1600s, this study deals with the roles that Pueblos, including Pecos, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and others played in the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico. He indicates that Utes, Apaches, and Navajos remained beyond the reach of Spanish control.

1274. ————. "Pueblo Indian Auxiliaries in New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (April 1962): 81-109.

Jones examines the Spanish use of Pueblos in their campaigns and defensive actions against other Indians.

1275. Leckie, William H. "Buell's Campaign." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 186-93.

Leckie praises the accomplishments of Lt. Colonel Buell in the 1874-1875 Red River War. However, the author acknowledges that Comanche, Kiowa, and Cheyenne raiding in Texas and Kansas were spurred by their commitment to preserve their rapidly disappearing ways of living.

1276. ————. *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

In this conventional study, Leckie examines the U.S. military's suppression of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche resistance along the trail and farther south. In addition to warfare, he covers U.S. Indian policy, diplomacy, and treaties.

1277. ————. "The Red River War, 1874-1875." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 19 (1956): 78-100.

Leckie attributes the Red River War to Comanche, Kiowa, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho resentment over the loss of their land as well as their desire to maintain the functionality of their customary forms of warfare and to protect the dwindling buffalo herds from further Euroamerican encroachments.

1278. McCall, Kimberly S. "'Vindictive Earnestness in Practice: The Campaigns of Ranald S. Mackenzie as a Model of Post-Civil War Indian Policy.'" *Journal of the West* 34 (July 1995): 67-81.

McCall, a medical researcher with an interest in military history, provides an account of U.S. army operations against Comanches, Kiowas, and others during the post-Civil War years. This study contains a useful bibliography of primary and secondary sources related to the topic.

1279. McNitt, Frank. "Navajo Campaigns and the Occupation of New Mexico, 1847-1848." *New Mexico Historical Review* 43 (July 1968): 173-94.

Historian McNitt examines U.S. army campaigns in New Mexico against the Navajos in 1847 and 1848.

1280. Millbrook, Minnie Dubbs. "Custer's First Scout in the West." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1973): 75-95.

Local historian Millbrook examines Custer's 1867 campaign against the Cheyennes and Sioux.

1281. ————. "An Old Trail Plowed Under—Hays to Dodge." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1973): 264-81.

Millbrook discusses U.S. army operations against Plains Indians from posts located along the trail and throughout Kansas.

1282. ————. "The West Breaks in General Custer." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36 (Summer 1970): 113-48.

This study examines the U.S. army's campaigns in 1867 and 1868 against Cheyennes and Sioux along and near the trail.

1283. Miller, Darlis. *The California Column in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

In this conventional history, Miller probes U.S. army campaigns during the 1860s against Apaches, Navajos, Comanches, Kiowas, and other Indians.

1284. ————. *Soldiers and Settlers*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

The economic impact of the U.S. army's operations from 1861 to 1885 in New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and Colorado is examined. The focus is on agricultural expansion based on military needs. Unfortunately, the author portrays Indians as hostile and hungry thieves.

1285. Monahan, Forrest D., Jr. "Kiowa-Federal Relations in Kansas, 1865-1868." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 49 (Winter 1971-1972): 477-91.

Monahan examines U.S. military operations against Kiowas in Kansas from 1865 to 1868.

1286. Monnett, John H. *The Battle of Beecher Island and the Indian War of 1867-1868*. Ninot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Aiming to deconstruct and challenge the shortcomings of the conventional interpretations of U.S. frontier history, this useful book offers a critical analysis of “white histories of the Indian wars” (1). Occurring in eastern Colorado some distance north of the trail, the Beecher Island battle, which involved a Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho attack on U.S. army scouts is central to Monnett’s thesis. Neither a large nor bloody battle, it has received significant scholarly attention and has been romanticized to a point where it is has gained an exaggerated importance. In his attempt to revise western history, Monnett includes Indian oral histories to give his approach more methodological depth. The Cheyenne chief’s role as a peace official is presented as a voice of moderation. Cheyenne Dog Soldier actions are also presented from an Indian vantage point. The book does not explicitly discuss the trail, but it mentions Fort Larned and George Bent, the mixed-Cheyenne who sided with his mother’s people following the Sand Creek Massacre.

1287. ————. *Massacre at Cheyenne Hole: Lieutenant Austin Henely and the Sappa Creek Controversy*. Niwot: The University Press of Colorado, 1999.

In 1875, a U.S. Cavalry regiment commanded by Lieutenant Austin Henely destroyed an Indian camp composed mainly of Southern Cheyennes in Rawlins County, Kansas. Monnett not only examines the events surrounding the attack but also Henely himself. George Bent’s recollections figure prominently in this study because they offer the perspectives of several Cheyenne who shared their accounts of the incident with Bent.

1288. Montgomery, Mrs. Frank C. “Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 189-283.

Montgomery’s account of the U.S. army’s role in expanding and pacifying the frontier includes a discussion regarding Indian relations with the U.S. military at Fort Wallace and elsewhere.

1289. Murphy, Lawrence R. “The United States Army in Taos, 1847-1852.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (January 1972): 33-48.

Murphy probes conflict in New Mexico between Indians and the United States following the U.S. invasion. His study alludes to Pueblos, Utes, Comanches, Apaches, and others.

1290. Myers, Lee. “Illinois Volunteers in New Mexico, 1847-1848.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (January 1972): 5-31.

Myers examines the role of Illinois Volunteers in U.S. military operations in 1847 and 1848 against Indians in New Mexico.

1291. Nacy, Michele J. *Members of the Regiment: Army Officers' Wives on the Western Frontier, 1865–1890*. Westport, CN and London: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Based on primary accounts found in books, diaries, and letters, this study examines the lives of U.S. army officers' wives on the frontier from the perspective of a woman historian. Nacy's chapter about Indians argues that these women held differing viewpoints toward them. Several of the women she examines spent time at forts along the trail.

1292. Nye, Wilbur Sturtevant. *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

First published in 1937, this book offers a comprehensive, if not biased, perspective of the Indian wars that erupted on the southern plains during the late 1860s and 1870s. It is based on U.S. military records as well as Comanche and Kiowa memories. Yet, Nye, a retired U.S. army officer, asserts that the "barbarous" Indians were led forcefully out of the Stone Age.

1293. ————. *Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

First published in 1968, this slanted study is about U.S. warfare against Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Kiowa Apaches. In his preface, Nye writes, "The nomadic Indians of the central and southwestern Plains were untamed, frequently hostile to the Euroamericans, and of uncertain temper, even as late as 1875" (vii). After presenting this conceptualization of Indians being culturally deficient and prone to violence, he examines the conflict that broke out on the central plains in the 1864 and spread elsewhere before ending during the mid 1870s. Although it provides no new information, its most useful part is the inclusion of William S. Soule's photographs of many different Indians who lived during the 1860s and 1870s.

1294. Oliva, Leo E. "The Army and the Fur Trade." *Journal of the West* 24 (October 1987): 21-26.

This history illustrates that the U.S. army's role was designed to protect Euroamerican self-interest, including the fur trade. In 1835, Colonel Henry Dodge visited Pawnees, Arikaras, and other Indians in attempt to persuade them to live peacefully with Euroamericans and other Indians. Oliva also notes that a dragoon battalion commanded by Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny traveled from Bent's Fort in 1845 to Fort Leavenworth on the trail, protecting travelers along the way.

1295. ————. "Frontier Forts and the Settlement of Western Kansas." In *Kansas and The West: Bicentennial Essays in Honor of Nyle H. Miller*. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1976.

Oliva notes that the primary impact of soldiers stationed at U.S. military posts in western Kansas, including those along the trail, was the protection they provided to Euroamerican settlers and travelers.

1296. Olsen, Michael L. and Harry C. Myers. "The Diary of Pedro Ignacio Gallego Wherein 400 Soldiers Following the Trail of Comanches, Met William Becknell on His First Trip to Santa Fe." *Wagon Tracks* 7 (November 1992): 1-15, 20.

Gallego's diary mentions Jemez Pueblo and a Santa Clara Indian. Excerpts from Becknell's journal indicate that his small party was met outside of Santa Fe by a "Spanish" force commanded by that Gallego that was pursuing Comanches who had attacked El Vado.

1297. Omer, George E., Jr. "An Army Hospital: From Dragoons to Rough Riders—Fort Riley, 1853-1903." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1957): 337-67.

Omer, a U.S. army surgeon, attributes Euroamerican expansion, and the establishment of the Santa Fe and other trails, as causes of conflict on the plains.

1298. Oswald, James M. "History of Fort Elliott." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 32 (1959): 1-59.

The U.S. army established Fort Elliott in 1875 to prevent the reentry of Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, and Arapahos into the Texas Panhandle. This study notes that to accomplish this objective this post was linked to Fort Dodge, Fort Supply, and other posts.

1299. Pate, J'Nell. "The Red River War of 1874 – An Enlisted Man's Contribution." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54 (Summer 1976): 263-75.

Pate presents the U.S. army's side of the Red River War.

1300. Prucha, Francis Paul. *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964.

Noted historian Prucha notes that forts on the trail were established to protect travelers.

1301. ————. *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969.

In this pro-military study, Prucha points out that the U.S. army was an agent of empire that provided economic benefits to and protection for Euroamerican settlers. Much of his account pertains to the trail and surrounding areas until 1846.

1302. Rea, Bob. "The Washita Trail: The Seventh U.S. Cavalry's Route to and from the Battle of the Washita." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 76 (Fall 1998): 244-61.

Writing in a celebratory tone, Rea seeks to trace the route the Seventh Cavalry took to and from the Wichita Massacre in the winter of 1868 and 1869. This study also discusses the strategy devised by Lt. General Phil Sheridan to defeat the defiant Indians of the southern plains.

1303. Rickey, Don, Jr. *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Based on interviews conducted with veterans, diaries, newspapers, and other primary sources, this study takes a close look at the lives of regular U.S. soldiers who participated in the Indian wars from 1866 to 1891. It probes the differing views of soldiers regarding widespread calls for the extermination of Indians.

1304. Rister, Carl Coke. *Border Command: General Phil Sheridan in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944.

Rister's depiction of Sheridan and his exploits on the western frontier in heroic terms references the conflict that erupted in the vicinity of and along the trail.

1305. Sandoval, David A. "Texan Raids in 1843: Mexican Soldiers on the Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 14 (February 2000): 11-14.

Dressed in the uniform of a presidio soldier at the 1997 Santa Fe Trail Association symposium, Sandoval, a University of Southern Colorado professor, spoke about the military strength of Spain and Mexico in Santa Fe. He characterizes the typical soldiers, along with the gear they carried, and their role in patrolling the trail. He briefly mentions the 1829 escort duty of José Antonio Vizcarra on the Mexican side of the trail, which resulted in the loss of three soldiers to Indian attacks.

1306. Schubert, Frank N. *Black Valor: Buffalo Soldiers and the Medal of Honor, 1870-1898*. Wilmington: SR Books, 1997.

This study references Buffalo Soldier fights with Utes, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahos and others.

1307. ————. *Vanguard of Expansion: Army Engineers in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1819-1879*. Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, Office of Administrative Services, Office of the Chief of Engineers: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1980.

Schubert provides an insightful look at the role of army engineers in the expansion of U.S. society. An array of topics including U.S. Indian policy, economics,

military affairs, and Euroamerican settlement are discussed. Areas along and within the vicinity of the trail are covered.

1308. Sherow, James E. and William S. Reeder, Jr. "A Richly Textured Community: Fort Riley, Kansas, and American Indians 1853-1911." *Kansas History* 21 (Spring 1998): 3-17.

This study uses primary and secondary sources to examine the complex connection of Fort Riley with the surrounding Indian nations.

1309. "Siege at Fort Atkinson." *Harper's New Monthly* 15 (October 1857): 638-48.

This 1857 article is filled with errors about Indian-U.S. relations on the plains during the 1840s and 1850s. It focuses on an 1852 incident that pitted Comanches and Kiowas against Fort Atkinson troops sparked by the failure of a U.S. agent to deliver annuity goods on time to the Indians.

1310. Sievers, Michael A. "Sands of Sand Creek Historiography." *Colorado Magazine* 49 (Spring 1972): 116-42.

The study does an adequate job of discussing the historical literature about the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.

1311. Simmons, Marc, ed. *The Battle at Valley's Ranch: First Account of the Gettysburg of the West, 1862*. Sandia Park, NM: San Pedro Press, 1987.

U.S. military functions during 1862 in New Mexico are the focus of this book. Although Simmons only refers to Indians a few times, he notes that U.S. authorities withheld annuities from the Navajos in retaliation for the Navajos conflict with others.

1312. Smit, David D. "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883." *Western Historical Quarterly* 25 (Autumn 1994): 313-38.

Historian Smit draws on primary and secondary sources to examine the U.S. army's campaign to slaughter the buffalo as a means to end Plains Indian resistance. He asserts that the army's "well-calculated policy of destroying the buffalo in order to conquer the Plains Indians proved more effective than any other weapon in its arsenal" (338). Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and others are mentioned in this useful study.

1313. Smith, Sherry L. *The View from Officer's Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990.

Although containing only a few references to the trail, this book offers valuable insight into the minds of the U.S. army officers whose job called for the subjugation of Native peoples.

1314. Sperry, T. J. "Fort Union National Monument." *Wagon Tracks* 2 (August 1988): 4-5.

A National Park Service employ at the Fort Union Nation Monument, Sperry mentions fort's mission to fight Indians and protect the trail.

1315. ————. *Fort Union: A Photo History*. Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments, 1991.

This illustrated monograph states that the U.S. army established Fort Union in 1851 to maintain civil law, protect settlements and travelers, and supply other military posts. Fort Union served as a center for staging campaigns against Navajos, Utes, and Comanches.

1316. Stanley, Arthur J., Jr. "Fort Leavenworth: Dowager Queen of Frontier Posts." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1976): 1-23.

Judge Stanley discusses the deployment of Fort Leavenworth troops to protect the trail. He also mentions the post's relations with removed Indians who inhabited the surrounding lands. Regarding conflict, he blames Indians as being the aggressors.

1317. Stanley, F. *Fort Bascom, Comanche-Kiowa Barrier*. Pampa: Pampa Print Shop, 1961.

Stanley tells the history of Fort Bascom relations with Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. Written from archival sources, personal narratives, and other primary sources, the book offers the perspective of soldiers who manned this post from 1863 to 1870 on the Cimarron River in New Mexico. The regional scope of the book enables Stanley to discuss the violence that erupted between the trail and the allied Comanches and Kiowas.

1318. Steffen, Randy. *The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943: The United States Cavalryman, His Uniforms, Arms, Accoutrements, and Equipment's. Volume III; The Last of the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, the Brink of the Great War, 1881-1916*. 4 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977-1979.

These volumes contain detailed descriptions of conflict between Indians and the U.S. Cavalry. The trail is hardly mentioned, however.

1319. Stout, Joseph, Jr. "Davidson's Campaign." *Red River Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 194-201.

Stout discusses U.S. military actions against Comanches, Cheyennes, and Kiowas during the Red River War.

1320. Strate, David Kay. *Sentinel to the Cimarron: The Frontier Experience of Fort Dodge, Kansas*. Dodge City: Cultural Heritage and Arts Center, 1970.

As the author notes, Fort Dodge, along with the other military posts on the plains, garrisoned mounted troops to protect U.S. settlements, road travelers, and commerce. Strate provides helpful details about the uneasy and often violent interaction that was common along and near the trail between Euroamericans and Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches.

1321. Tate, Michael L. "The Frontier of Northwest Texas during the Civil War." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 50 (Summer 1972): 177-89.

Tate's examination of the Civil War in Texas references Union and Confederate relations in the general region of the trail with Comanches and Kiowas.

1322. ————. "Indian Scouting Detachment in the Red River War, 1874-1875." *Red River Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1978): 202-25.

Tate discusses the involvement of Delaware, Pawnee, Caddo, Waco, and other Indian scouts in U.S. military actions against Comanches, Cheyennes, and Kiowas in the 1874-1875 war.

1323. Taylor, Mendell Lee. "The Western Services of Stephen Watts Kearny, 1815-1848." *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 (July 1946): 169-84.

This study provides an overview of Kearny's contacts with Pawnees, Potawatomis, and others in the mid 1840s.

1324. Taylor, Morris F. "Campaigns against the Jicarilla Apache, 1854." *New Mexico Historical Review* 44 (October 1969): 269-91.

Taylor asserts that U.S. army action in the mid 1850s against the Jicarillas stemmed from those Indians' raids on northeastern New Mexico settlers and from their "proximity to both the Cimarron Cutoff and the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail" (270).

1325. ————. "Campaigns against the Jicarilla Apache, 1855." *New Mexico Historical Review* 45 (April 1970): 119-36.

Taylor details U.S. army operations in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado against Utes and Jicarilla Apaches.

1326. ————. "Fort Massachusetts." *Colorado Magazine* 45 (Spring 1968): 120-42.

This study examines the role of Fort Massachusetts in the opening of the Southwest for U.S. settlement during the 1850s. Utes and Jicarilla Apaches are mentioned frequently. Fort Garland replaced that post in 1859.

1327. ————. “Fort Stevens, Fort Reynolds, and the Defense of Southern Colorado.” *Colorado Magazine* 49 (Spring 1972): 143-62.

Historian Taylor examines the U.S. army’s function during the 1860s and early 1870s in protecting southern Colorado, an area that encompassed much of the trail, from Indian resistance.

1328. Taylor, Quintard. “Comrades of Color: Buffalo Soldiers in the West: 1866-1917.” *Colorado Heritage* (Spring 1996): 3-27.

Taylor notes that Buffalo Soldiers played a major part in campaign to drive Indians out of Kansas during the 1860s before participating in the operations leading to the subjugation of other Indigenous peoples in Texas and New Mexico. Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Apaches, and Arapahos are mentioned.

1329. Temple, Frank M. “Colonel Grierson in the Southwest.” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 30 (1957): 27-54.

This study examines Colonel Benjamin Henry Grierson’s participation in the U.S. government’s campaign to pacify Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and other Indians of the plains. Grierson served as the commander of enlisted black cavalrymen.

1330. Thoburn, Joseph B. “Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859.” *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 312-29.

Thoburn discusses the participation of fifty-eight Caddos, Keechis, Tonkawas, Delawares, and Absentee Shawnees in U.S. army actions against Comanches and Kiowas near the trail in 1859.

1331. Tucker, John M. “Major Long’s Route from the Arkansas to the Canadian River, 1820.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 38 (July 1963): 185-219.

Tucker’s attempt to identify the route that the Stephen Long expedition took while returning to the United States in 1820 contains several references to Indians.

1332. Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States Together with Biographical Sketches of Men Prominent in the Conduct of the Government during that Period*. Denver: The Smith-Brooks Company, Publishers, 1909.

Grounded in primary and secondary sources, Twitchell's examination of the establishment of a U.S. military presence in New Mexico discusses the early relations of the U.S. army, territorial officials, and settlers with Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and others. Like many of his contemporaries, Twitchell was unabashedly sympathetic toward westward U.S. expansion into lands belonging to others.

1333. Unrau, William E. "The Story of Fort Larned." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Autumn 1957): 257-80.

Historian Unrau's useful account of Indian relations with Fort Larned discusses treaties, trade, and U.S. policy. He attributes the rise in conflict between Plains Indians and U.S. citizens during the 1860s to Euroamerican encroachments.

1334. Utey, Robert M. "Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review* 36 (January 1961): 36-48.

National Park Service historian Utey attributes the construction of Fort Union to the promise of U.S. officials to protect the inhabitants of New Mexico from "marauding Indians." He discusses the importance of this post in the U.S. army's operations against Comanches, Kiowas, and Jicarilla Apaches.

1335. ————. *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1989.

Historian Utey's brief study essentially presents Indians as threats and menaces.

1336. ————. *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977.

The U.S. army's campaign against Indians west of the Mississippi River is the focus of this book. Aspects of this story have an association with the trail.

1337. ————. *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. New York: Macmillan Company, London: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1967.

The participation of the U.S. army in the pacification of Indians is this book's concern. It discusses the bloody conflicts that ensued in a regional context, noting that various trails impacted Indian life. Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Kiowa Apaches figure prominently in the story. Utey asserts that the primary objective of Indian warfare was to take property and gain honor for bravery. Conversely, "civilized" warfare, as waged by the United States, sought to smash and conquer the enemy.

1338. Vandebusch, Duane. "Life at a Frontier Post: Fort Garland." *Colorado Magazine* 43 (1966): 132-48.

This study alludes to Fort Garland's history in protecting U.S. settlements in the San Luis Valley and traffic to Santa Fe from the 1850s to the 1870s. It depicts Utes, Navajos, Apaches and others as marauding, discontented savages.

1339. Wade, Arthur P. "The Military Command Structure: The Great Plains, 1853-1891." *Journal of the West* 15 (July 1976): 5-22.

Military historian Wade's discussion of the U.S. military structure references the establishment of army posts along the trail that were built in response to the Indian threat during the 1850s and 1860s. Writing from a "winner's" perspective, he presents those Indians who resisted U.S. expansion as hostiles.

1340. Wallace, Ernest. *Ranald S. Mackenzie on the Texas Frontier*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993.

First published in 1964, this study examines Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie's role in suppression of Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches in western Texas during the 1860s and 1870s.

1341. Webb, Henry W. "The Story of Jefferson Barracks." *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 (July 1946): 185-208.

This study covers important U.S. army operations associated with the Jefferson Barracks involving travel onto the plains and over the trail.

1342. Wellman, Paul I. "Some Famous Kansas Frontier Scouts." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (August 1932): 345-59.

Wellman's study of civilian scouts for the U.S. army briefly references Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux, and others and their relations with the trail, Bent's Fort, and other places.

1343. Welty, Raymond L. "The Policing of the Frontier by the Army, 1860-1870." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (August 1938): 246-57.

Drawing from primary sources, historian Welty discusses the number of soldiers used against Indians during the 1860s and the U.S. army's role in promoting westward expansion. To him, Indians were wild and hostile. Thus, he writes approvingly of the dispossession of Kansas Indians during the 1860s.

1344. ————. "Supplying the Frontier Military Posts." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 7 (May 193): 154-69.

Welty's study of freighting mentions the methods employed by teamsters to protect their cargo from Indians.

1345. West, G. Derek. "The Battle of Adobe Walls (1874)." *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 36 (1963): 1-36.

West provides an account of the battle at Adobe Walls.

1346. ————. "The Battle of Sappa Creek (1875)." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1969): 150-178.

West examines the final campaign waged by the U.S. army during the 1870s against between the Cheyennes.

1347. White, Lonnie J. "The Battle of Beecher Island: The Scouts Hold Fast on the Arickaree." *Journal of the West* 5 (January 1966): 1-24.

This study attributes the onset of the Beecher Island fight of 1868 in Kansas and Colorado to the unhappiness of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes with their new reservations and to the non-delivery of their annuities.

1348. ————. "From Bloodless to Bloody: The Third Colorado Cavalry and the Sand Creek Massacre." *Journal of the West* 6 (October 1967): 535-81.

White's sixth installment of his Warpaths on the Southern Plains series addresses events surrounding the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864. He asserts that the Cheyennes, unhappy with their small reservation on the Upper Arkansas River, raided roads that crossed Kansas and Nebraska. He acknowledges that the conflict stemmed from the rapidity of U.S. expansion onto the central plains following the Civil War.

1349. ————. "General Sully's Expedition to the North Canadian, 1868." *Journal of the West* 11 (January 1972): 75-98.

White asserts that the 1868 U.S. army campaign commanded by General Sully resulted from unprovoked Cheyenne depredations on the trail and attacks on homesteaders throughout the Saline and Solomon valleys of Kansas. The article contains excerpts from military reports and eyewitness accounts of Cheyenne raiding published in the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* in 1868 and other newspapers.

1350. ————. "The Hancock and Custer Expeditions of 1867." *Journal of the West* 5 (July 1966): 335-78.

White notes that the Hancock and Custer expeditions of 1867 traveled over the trail in a campaign aimed at ending the resistance of the Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowa-Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas.

1351. ————. “Indian Battles in the Texas Panhandle, 1874.” *Journal of the West* 6 (April 1967): 278-309.

White’s first installment of his warpath on the southern plains series discusses the Red River Indian War of 1874. He indicates that Kiowas, Comanches, and Southern Cheyennes went to war against U.S. expansion in Kansas and Texas because they had “become increasingly unhappy with the white man’s road” (278-279).

1352. ————. “Indian Raids of the Kansas Frontier, 1869.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1972): 369-88.

This study presents Pawnees, Cheyennes, Comanches, Sioux, and other Indians as hostiles who were justly punished by U.S. forces. White asserts that the warfare of 1869 was more destructive than that of other years.

1353. ————. “Warpaths on the Southern Plains: The Battles of the Saline River and Prairie Dog Creek.” *Journal of the West* 4 (October 1965): 485-503.

This study examines the U.S. army’s efforts to pacify intractable Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos in 1867. It notes that Cheyennes and Kiowas were raiding the trail at that time.

1354. ————. “Winter Campaigning with Sheridan and Custer: The Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.” *Journal of the West* 6 (January 1967): 68-98.

White discusses U.S. army operations against Kiowas, Comanches, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas during the late 1860s. He also notes the strategic importance of those U.S. army posts situated along and near the trail.

1355. Whitford, William C. *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War, the New Mexico Campaign in 1862*. Denver: The State Historical and Natural History Society, 1906. Boulder, Colo.: Republished by Pruett Press, 1963.

Whitford’s military history of Colorado Volunteers provides a conventional perspective of Indian-Euroamerican relations in 1862. He notes how promotions in ranks were given to those who helped defeat Indians and that the U.S. army viewed Indians as treacherous, fierce, and predatory foes.

F. Biographies

1356. Anderson, Jeffrey D. *One Hundred Years of Old Man Sage: An Arapaho Life*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Relying on oral history, this biographical account of Sage, a northern Arapaho, tells about Arapaho culture in the face of U.S. expansion into Colorado beginning during the late 1850s. It references Cheyenne and Arapaho land claims against the United States for lands taken from them in Kansas and Colorado.

1357. Andrews, Thomas G. "Tata Atanasio Trujillo's Unlikely Tale of Utes, Nuevomexicanos, and the Settling of Colorado's San Luis Valley." *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (January 2000): 5-41.

Andrews references the trail in the context of the movement of Hispanics and white Americans into Colorado's San Luis Valley. He notes that Tata Atanasio Trujillo, a Nuevomexicano settler, established positive relations with the Utes but that he feared Navajo, Kiowa, and Apache attacks. Andrews also indicates that during the 1840s and 1850s some Utes joined forces with Jicarilla Apaches to attack the trail's traffic. Shawnees, Delawares, Sacs, and Cherokees are integrated into this account.

1358. Barbour, Barton H. "Kit Carson and the 'Americanization' of New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (Spring 2002): 115-43.

This study contains numerous references to the trail. Barbour's examination of U.S. expansion into New Mexico discusses the resulting social and economic interaction that transpired between Indians and the newcomers. Challenging the notion that Kit Carson was a ruthless "Indian killer," historian Barbour recounts Carson's experiences living among Cheyennes, Arapahos, Apaches, Navajos, and other Indians. He attributes Carson's legacy as an avid Indian killer to the power of dime novels. He briefly discusses Carson's marriages to Indian women and employment at Bent's Fort. He also mentions the troubled relations of Navajos, Utes, Apaches, and Comanches with New Mexico.

1359. Barbour, Barton H. "Kit Carson and the 'Americanization' of New Mexico." In *New Mexican Lives: Profiles and Historical Stories*, edited by Richard W. Etulain, 163-92. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

This study was previously published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (Spring 2002): 115-43.

1360. Barde, Fred S. "Edmund Gasseau Choteau Guerrier: French Trader." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 47 (Winter 1969-1970): 360-76.

This study chronicles the experiences of the Edmund Guerrier, who had a French father and Cheyenne mother. It discusses Guerrier's life among the Cheyennes, along with his contacts with Bent's Fort, Fort Union, and the trail as a bullwhacker.

1361. Beach, James H. "Mother Smith, of Ellis." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 347-52.

Kansas State Historical Society member Beach's brief discussion of Mother Smith refers to the relations of Kansas settlers with Indians during the late 1860s.

1362. Beachum, Larry. *William Becknell: Father of the Santa Fe Trade*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982.

Becknell's life and trips from Missouri to Santa Fe and back in 1821 and 1822 are covered in this book. Drawn on Becknell's writings, the author notes that Becknell, along with his traveling companions were concerned about encountering Indians along the way.

1363. Bender, Norman J. *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869-1880*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

The Rocky Mountains were a destination for many trail travelers, including Christian missionaries. This book looks at Presbyterian efforts to erase the essence of Indian spirituality.

1364. Bergan, Dalton C. *The Pathfinder: The Story of Francis X. Aubry on the Santa Fe Trail and the California-Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1854*. Carpinteria, CA: Printed by Dalton C. Bergan, N.p., n.d.

This study notes Aubry's encounters with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail.

1365. Bratcher, James T. "Frank Harris, a Literary Trail Drive." *Journal of the West* 41 (Summer 2002): 79-83.

Bratcher refers to Frank Harris's close calls with Comanches in Indian Territory and Kansas, in places near and on the trail, during the 1870s. Bratcher points out that Harris was not always truthful about his experiences as a boy trail driver.

1366. Brooks, Juanita. *John Doyle Lee: Zealot – Pioneer Builder – Scapegoat*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961.

In 1846, Lee and several companions departed Fort Leavenworth with mail for the Mormon Battalion, returning that fall. In a chapter entitled "To Santa Fe," Brooks provides a few details about Lee's trip. Although Lee's diary contains numerous references to his contacts with Indians and to his meeting with trains that had had conflict with Pawnees and others, Brooks mostly ignores this useful information.

1367. Chambers, William Nisbet. *Old Bullion Benton: Senator from the New West*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956.

Chambers probes Senator Thomas Heart Benton's role in the development of the U.S. governmental support for the Santa Fe trade during the mid 1820s. He notes that Benton proposed the use of treaties with Indians and the construction of a military post on the Arkansas River as a means to secure peaceful passage for U.S. traders traveling to and from Santa Fe. Benton also introduced a bill to Congress that authorized U.S. commissioners to trade with Indians for safe passage. Chambers also states that the 1825 letter of Augustus Storrs of Missouri, with responses to twenty-two questions concerning the nature of trade with Santa Fe, was widely circulated in the press.

1368. Chaput, Donald. *Francois X. Aubry: Trader, Trailmaker and Voyageur in the Southwest, 1846-1854*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975.

Chaput's biography of Aubry, a noted Santa Fe trader and explorer, discusses the conflict that Pawnees, Jicarilla Apaches, Comanches, and other Indians had with Aubry's caravans. This study offers no critical insight into the complex nature of Indian-Euroamerican relations.

1369. Chartier, JoAnn and Chris Enss. *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon: Women Soldiers and Patriots of the Western Frontier*. Guilford, Conn. and Helena, MT: TwoDot, 2004.

In this study of women on the frontier, the authors' offer a biographical account of Susan Shelby Magoffin that alludes to her fears of and sparse interactions with Indians on the trail and in New Mexico.

1370. Chávez, Thomas E. "Don Manuel Alvarez (de las Abelgas): Multi-Talented Merchant of New Mexico." *Journal of the West* 18 (January 1979): 22-31.

Historian Chávez points out that Don Manuel Alvarez had extensive trade relations with Southwest Indians connected to the trail before and after the U.S. invasion of New Mexico in 1846. Chávez also covers the Mexicans use of Taos Indian auxiliaries on the trail and these Indians' participation in the 1847 revolt at Taos against U.S. rule.

1371. ————. *Manuel Alvarez, 1794-1856: A Southwestern Biography*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990.

Chávez's purpose is to illuminate the significance of Manuel Alvarez, a Spaniard who migrated to New Mexico in the early 1820s and became a leading figure in the Santa Fe Trail trade, in New Mexico history. Chávez, however, presents Indians in such a superficial way that nothing new or provocative comes to light.

1372. Cheatham, F. T. "Kit Carson: Pathbreaker, Patriot and Humanitarian." *New Mexico Historical Review* 1 (October 1926): 375-99.

Presenting a romantic view of Carson's participation in the opening of the West, Cheatham notes that during the mid 1860s Carson led U.S. forces against Comanches and Kiowas who posed a threat to the trail's traffic.

1373. Clokey, Richard M. *William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Clokey occasionally references the Santa Fe trade, but his study of William Ashley provides scant information relative to Indians and the trail.

1374. Coel, Margaret. *Chief Left Hand: Southern Arapaho*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.

Coel's sympathetic and useful study tells the story of Left Hand, an Arapaho who spoke fluent English, and his unproductive attempts to promote peace between his people and Euromerians during the mid 1800s. It examines events that led to the infamous Sand Creek Massacre and the removal of Plains Indian nations to reservations. Some consideration is given to the environmental changes that resulted from the increased flow of traffic on the trail, including the killing off of small and large game.

1375. Colby, Susan M. *Sacagawea's Child: The Life and Times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2005.

Colby notes that Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau worked as a hunter and guide at Bent's Fort during the early 1840s. To her, he possessed a "tripartite heritage as an Indian, a French-Canadian fur trapper, and a Jeffersonian enlightened man" (182).

1376. Corwin, Hugh D. "Oscar Yellowwolf, Comanche." *Great Plains Journal* 1 (Spring 1962): 32-35.

This study references the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 and U.S. military operations against the Comanches. It also provides a glimpse at the acculturation of these people following their subjugation.

1377. Criqui, Orvel A. "A Northern Cheyenne Called Roman Nose." *Kansas History* 8 (Autumn 1985): 176-85.

Criqui's study of Roman Nose mentions the 1868 Beecher Island fight in eastern Colorado.

1378. Davidson, Homer K. *Black Jack Davidson, A Cavalry Commander on the Western Frontier: The Life of General John W. Davidson*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1974.

This glorified depiction of General Black Jack Davidson discusses military conflicts with and U.S. policy toward Indians during the 1860s and 1870s. It focuses on the Southwest and areas along the trail.

1379. Delgado, Edmundo. "A Spanish Ranker in New Mexico: Captain Manuel Delgado of Santa Fe, 1738-1815." *New Mexico Historical Review* 66 (January 1991): 1-13.

Delgado's study of his ancestor, Manuel Delgado, references Spanish relations with Indians in the area where the future trail would run.

1380. Dixon, David. "A Scout with Custer: Edmund Guerrier on the Hancock Expedition of 1867." *Kansas History* 4 (Autumn 1981): 155-65.

Dixon discusses Edmund Guerrier's activities in 1867 as a U.S. army scout in Kansas with the Seventh Cavalry. Dixon argues that Guerrier, a mixed-blood Cheyenne, took steps to allow his Cheyenne relatives to escape Custer's force.

1381. Drannan, William F. *Thirty-One Years on the Plains and in the Mountains: Or the Last Voice from the Plains*. Chicago: Rhodes and McClure Publishing Company, 1905.

This fictitious account, presented as a factual autobiography, contains a string of concocted stories about the trail, Kit Carson, and Indians.

1382. Dunlay, Thomas L. *Kit Carson and the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2000.

His study probes Carson's interaction with Jicarilla Apaches, Cheyennes, Utes, Kiowas, Taos, Comanches, Kiowas, Navajos and others. Historian Dunlay argues that Carson, like his nineteenth-century Euroamerican contemporaries, held mixed and complex attitudes toward Indians. Rejecting the competing scholarly views that Carson was a either bloodthirsty Indian hater or valiant hero, Dunlay focuses on Carson's thoughts, life among Indians, trapping, military experiences, and frontier upbringing to reach a middle ground. Dunlay postulates that Carson, before becoming a U.S. agent, came to the realization that Indians had to assimilate or vanish. Thus, Carson worked to facilitate the Indians' cultural transformation.

1383. Egan, Ferol. *Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation*. New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1977.

Egan discusses Frémont's five expeditions, including those treks that occurred on and near the trail. He also considers Indian-Euroamerican relations in matters of trade and conflict.

1384. Estergreen, M. Morgan. *Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Discussing this noted frontiersman's interactions with Indians along the trail and elsewhere, Estergreen contextualizes Carson as a hero.

1385. Evans, Max. *Long John Dunn of Taos*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1959.

Evan's examination of Long John Dunn's life provides a brief overview of Indian-Euroamerican relations in New Mexico after 1846.

1386. Exley, Jo Ella Powell. *Frontier Blood: The Saga of the Parker Family*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001.

This story of Quanah Parker and his family focuses on Comanche life during the 1800s.

1387. Favour, Alpheus H. *Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Favour's account of Bill Williams, one of the first mountain men who traveled west of the Mississippi, discusses the surveying of the Santa Fe Trail. The author also references the mixed nature of Indian relations with U.S. settlers, travelers, and soldiers.

1388. Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. "Nathan Boone: Trapper Manufacturer, Surveyor, Militiaman, Legislator, Ranger and Dragoon." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 19 (December 1941): 322-47.

Foreman's narrative mentions Boone's military service in the central and southern plains and contacts with Indians.

1389. Foster, Edward Halsey. *Josiah Gregg and Lewis H. Garrard*. Boise: Boise State University, 1977.

In his examination into the lives of two noted trail travelers, Foster discusses why Gregg disliked and distrusted Indians in addition to Garrard's amicable interaction with Cheyennes.

1390. Godin, Richard W. "Standing Out Woman." *Wagon Tracks* 12, No. 3 (May 1998): 1, 15.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Godin's research provides a biographical sketch of Standing Out Woman, a Cheyenne who lived through the tumultuous 1860s.

1391. Guild, Thelma S. and Harvey L. Carter. *Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

The authors argue that Carson, although taught to consider Indians as threats, came to sympathize with them. They seek to explain his life in the context of the physical environment and social milieu of his times, much of which occurred on or near the trail and with Indians who resided there.

1392. Hafen, Le Roy Reuben. *Broken Hand; The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick: Mountain Man, Guide, and Indian Agent*. Denver: Old West Pub. Co., 1973.

Drawing on primary and secondary sources, Hafen recounts the experiences of Thomas Fitzpatrick on and near the trail from the 1820s to the 1840s. As a mountain man, he survived a Pawnee raid that cost him most of his property. As a U.S. agent assigned to the Upper Arkansas agency, he held councils with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and others regarding their relations with Euroamericans and treaty stipulations.

1393. Hafen, LeRoy R., ed. *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West: Biographical Sketches of Participants by Scholars on the Subject and with Introductions by the Editor*. 10 vols. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-72.

Hafen's compilation of biographical sketches, presented in ten volumes, includes such people as Jedediah Smith, Ceran St. Vrain, William Bent, Charles Bent, Rufus Sage, Richens Wootton, George and Robert Bent, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Manuel Alvarez, John S. Smith, Bill New, James Kirker, and others who had contact with Indians on and near the trail.

1394. Hagan, William T. "Quanah Parker." In *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity*, edited by R. David Edmund, 175-91. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.

This study provides an overview of Quanah Parker's life. Born in the early 1850s, Parker, the son of a noted Comanche war leader and a Euroamerican captive, became an important leader among his people during the 1870s. Hagan discusses Comanche life on an Oklahoma reservation after these Indians were militarily subjugated.

1395. ————. *Quanah Parker, Comanche Chief*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Hagan examines the hardships that U.S. expansion brought to Parker, Comanches, and other Indians of the southern plains during the 1800s and early 1900s.

1396. Halaas, David Fridtjof. "'All the Camp Was Weeping': George Bent and the Sand Creek Massacre." *Colorado Heritage* (Summer 1995): 2-17.

Historian Halaas discusses the life and times of George Bent, whose mother was a Cheyenne. He was raised among the Cheyennes, attended Euroamerican schools, and reentered Cheyenne society after he returned from school. Wounded at Sand Creek in 1864, he joined other Cheyennes in their retaliation against U.S. soldiers and citizens.

1397. Halaas, David Fridtjof and Andrew E. Masich. *Halfbreed: The Remarkable True Story of George Bent—Caught Between the Worlds of the Indian and the White Man*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004.

Born in 1843 at Bent's Fort on the trail to Owl Woman and William Bent, George Bent's life spanned the years of the Cheyennes' transition from freedom to subjugation. He was educated in Missouri, fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War, and joined the Dog Soldiers in their quest for retribution following the Sand Creek Massacre. After the Cheyennes' confinement on an Indian Territory reservation, he provided historians and ethnographers information about his people from an insider's perspective. Much of this biography discusses Indian relations with the trail from the late 1820s to the 1870s.

1398. Hardeman, Nicholas P. *Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977.

Written by a Hardeman family descendant and historian, this book documents the involvement of his family's participation in westward U.S. expansion from 1750 to 1900. Focusing on the trail and trade, the fourth chapter asserts that Osage and Comanche raiders took property from Hardeman family members.

1399. Hatch, Thom. *Black Kettle: The Cheyenne Chief Who Sought Peace But Found War*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2004.

This study covers the leadership that Black Kettle provided the Cheyennes during the increasingly turbulent 1850s and 1860s when U.S. expansionism, along with its troublesome roads across the plains, was threatening Cheyenne life, land holdings, and economic well being. Although Black Kettle, a peace advocate, survived the bloody Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, he died four years later on the banks of the Washita River when U.S. cavalrymen attacked his camp. The inclusion of maps enriches this study.

1400. Haywood, C. Robert. *The Merchant Prince of Dodge City: The Life and Times of Robert M. Wright*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

This biography of Wright, a freighter who also drove a stagecoach during the late 1850s and 1860s, notes the conflict that erupted with Indians at various places along the trail, including Fort Dodge.

1401. Hoig, Stan. *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991.

Hoig's useful study recounts the extensive experiences of Jesse Chisholm, a half-Cherokee whose cattle drives crossed the trail, with Plains Indians and removed Indians. Hoig also refers to the trail and some of the Indians associated with it. Chisholm was also traded with and rescued captives held by the Comanches.

1402. ————. *The Western Odyssey of John Simpson Smith: Frontiersman, Trapper, Trader, and Interpreter*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Originally published in 1974, Hoig's study details the life experiences John Simpson Smith, many of which occurred either on or near the trail, from the early 1830s to Smith's death in 1871. Married to a Cheyenne woman, Smith lived among her people and Arapahos, worked as a Bent's Fort employee, was at Sand Creek during the 1864 massacre, and served as an interpreter. According to Hoig, Smith "probably spend as much time on the [Santa Fe] road—with the Cheyennes, with Bent trains to and from Missouri, with the Indian agents who brought annuity goods to the tribes, and with the frontier military—as anyone" (58).

1403. Holmes, Kenneth L. *Ewing Young: Master Trapper*. Portland: Binfords and Mort, Publishers, 1967.

Historian Holmes' account of Young's life in New Mexico and travels on the trail in the 1820s and early 1830s refers to conflict with Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and others.

1404. Horgan, Paul. *Josiah Gregg and His Vision of the Early West*. 1941. Reprint, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979.

Drawing from Gregg's *Commerce on the Prairies* and diaries, Horgan asserts that Gregg saw Indians as people, but that he also judged them from the biased perspective of his own culture. Sadly, to many nineteenth-century Euroamericans, *Commerce on the Prairies* was an important book that told them about the true nature of Indian-Euroamerican relations on the trail.

1405. ————. *Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975.

Horgan discusses Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy's trips over the trail during the 1850s and 1860s. Several caravans with Lamy had contentious meetings with Indians. In July 1867 at the Arkansas Crossing, Indians, possibly Cheyennes, attacked Lamy's train.

1406. Hutton, Paul Andrew. *Phil Sheridan and His Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

In 1869, General Phil Sheridan became the commander of the Department of the Missouri, a vast expanse that included much of the land where the trail ran. Historian Hutton discusses Sheridan's plans to resolve the "Indian Problem" with military might.

1407. Irving, Washington. *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*. Edited by Edgeley W. Todd. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

Although Bonneville did not travel on the trail, he spent time during the 1820s and 1830s in eastern Kansas, western Missouri, the Rockies, and the far West. Irving's story refers to Pawnees, Kaws, Osages, and other Indians. To him, the hand of U.S. civilization had already begun to corrupt Indians living beyond the Mississippi.

1408. Isern, Thomas D. "The Controversial Career of Edward W. Wynkoop." *Colorado Magazine* 56 (Winter/Spring 1979): 1-18.

Historian Isern discusses the controversies surrounding Edward Wynkoop's life in Indian affairs on the central and southern plains during the 1860s. Although the trail is not mentioned, much of the history that Isern covers, including the Sand Creek Massacre and the Medicine Lodge treaty, has a direct relationship with it.

1409. Karnes, Thomas L. *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1970.

Karnes's biography of Gilpin references the volatility of Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail during the mid and late 1840s. It discusses the 1847 massacre of Pawnees by U.S. volunteers at Fort Mann and Gilpin's campaigns against Comanches, Pawnees, Kiowas, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. Gilpin commanded the Missouri Volunteers, often called the "Indian Battalion," in 1847 and 1848.

1410. Killoren, John J. *Come, Blackrobe: De Smet and the Indian Tragedy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Killoren's study of Father Peter De Smet, whose vast experiences entailed contact with many different Indian nation but mostly on the upper Missouri, illustrates many of the problems that faced Great Plains Indian nations stemming from western U.S. expansion during the 1840s and 1850s. It asserts that De Smet sought to ensure the survival of Indians from the threats posed by manifest destiny.

1411. Leckie, William H. and Shirley A. Leckie. *Unlikely Warriors: General Benjamin H. Grierson and His Family*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

Leckie's examination of General Benjamin Grierson, the commander of the Tenth Cavalry, a regiment of black soldiers, or Buffalo Soldiers, led by white officers, in Kansas during the late 1860s, covers Indian encounters, both unfriendly and peaceful, with travelers, settlers, and U.S. soldiers along and near the trail.

1412. Lehmann, Herman. *Nine Years Among the Indians, 1870-1879: The Story of the Captivity and Life of a Texan Among the Indians*. Edited by J. Marvin Hunter. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993.

First published in 1899 and again in 1927, Lehmann's account of his experiences provides worthwhile information about Comanche culture and insight into Plains Indian resistance to U.S. expansion.

1413. Loomis Noel M. and Abraham P. Nasatir. *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

Drawing from archival sources from different parts of the world, the authors essentially produced two books in one. The first part is a history of Indian, French, English, and white American attempts to penetrate lands west of the Mississippi River claimed by Spain. The second part contains the translated journals of Pedro Vial, José Mares, and Francisco Amangual who traveled to Santa Fe. The account about Vial provides a view of Indian relations, Pawnees in particular, with Europeans during the late 1700s and early 1800s in the geographic area where the trail would extend a few years later. Unfortunately, prevailing stereotypes influenced the authors' perceptions of Indians.

1414. Meany, Joseph F. "Jeremiah Stokes: A Case Study in Family History." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004): 10-15.

The author explores Stokes's military service with the Second U.S. Volunteers at Fort Leavenworth and on the trail during the waning moments of the Civil War and a few months thereafter. A captured Confederate who swore an oath of allegiance to the Union, Stroke's and others like him [Galvanized Yankees] served as infantrymen and helped guard U.S. military posts and stations along the trail against Cheyennes and others. Noted in the account is information about Kiowa attacks on wagon trains and Fort Lyon.

1415. Meketa, Jacqueline Dorgan. "A Soldier in New Mexico, 1847-1848." *New Mexico Historical Review* 66 (January 1991): 15-32.

Meketa's examination of Albert L. Gay's military service in the late 1840s contains correspondence from Gay that references conflict between the U.S. army and Indians in New Mexico. These letters reveal that Gay saw as Indians warlike savages.

1416. Meyer, Marian. *Mary Donoho: New First Lady of the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1991.

Meyer's account of Mary Donoho, who in 1833 traveled the trail to Santa Fe, notes conflict between Comanches and Euroamericans. Unfortunately, this book does not say much about Mary's experiences on the trail.

1417. Mills, Charles K. *Harvest of Barren Regrets: The Army Career of Frederick William Benteen, 1834-1898*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1985.

This examination of Benteen's military experiences with the Seventh Cavalry probes the troubled nature of United States relations with Plains Indian during the post-Civil War years. The author discusses Benteen's involvement in campaigns launched Cheyennes and other Indians.

1418. Morgan, Dale L. *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953.

Morgan's heroic biography of Jedediah Smith ends on May 27, 1831, with a discussion of a fight near the trail with Comanches that took Smith's life. Morgan also discusses the relations of other Indians with the trail and Euroamericans.

1419. Morgan, Dale L. and Eleanor Towles Harris, eds. "A Galaxy of Mountain Men: Biographical Sketches." *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson: The West in 1834*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1967.

The editors provide biographical sketches of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Kit Carson, Friday [an Arapaho], William Sublette, Joseph Reddeford Walker, and others who had a connection to the trail and surrounding Indians.

1420. Moses, L. G. *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

This study of the famed anthropologist and ethnographer James Mooney offers insight into the thoughts and ideologies of Euroamerican academics when U.S. expansion was using coercion to assimilate subjugated Indian nations. Although many of Mooney's assessments regarding Indians contain racial assumptions, his work among the Kiowas helped record information about their history and ceremonial life.

1421. Mumey, Nolie. *James Pierson Beckwourth, 1856-1866: An Enigmatic Figure in the West, a History of the Latter Years of His Life*. Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1957.

Beckwourth's autobiography ends in 1855 in California. Mumey's study examines Beckwourth's final years life, which saw the famed frontiersman traveling the trail

in 1859 and serving as scout for those U.S. troops responsible for the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. The book reprints an 1859 *Rocky Mountain News* account reporting that Beckwourth had left Westport on October 2, 1859, with A. P. Vasquez's train en route to Denver and had met his old Cheyenne friends on the Arkansas River. Accordingly, the Cheyennes considered him "Big Medicine." The editorial quoted him as saying, "he feels like prosecuting the settlers, who are encroaching, and building cities on his old hunting grounds" (55).

1422. Murphy, Lawrence R. *Lucien Bonaparte Maxwell: Napoleon of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

Murphy discusses Lucien Maxwell relations with Jicarilla Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Utes, Comanches, and others. Maxwell gained fame as an Indian fighter, farmer, stockman, merchant, and guide.

1423. Nichols, Roger L. *General Henry Atkinson: A Western Military Career*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Historian Nichols notes that Atkinson participated in every major U.S. army conflict with Indians in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys from 1819 to 1842. The author discusses the Santa Fe trade and Indians within the trail's vicinity.

1424. Norris, L. David, James C. Milligan, and Odie B. Faulk. *William H. Emory: Soldier-Scientist*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.

Although this study notes Emory's travel across the trail in 1846 with the U.S. forces en route to invade Mexico, it rarely mentions Indians. The authors, however, discuss his army experiences in Kansas and Indian Territory that involved conflict with Comanches, Kiowas, and others.

1425. Parins, James W. *John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

This account states that on April 13, 1850, Cherokee brothers John and Aeneas Ridge, along with a slave named Wacooli, set out to strike it rich in California. They traveled on the trail with the Rector-Leeper train before turning north to reach Fort Laramie.

1426. Parkhill, Forbes. *The Blazed Trail of Antoine Leroux*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965.

From the 1820s to his death in 1861, fur trader, explorer, and guide Antoine Leroux spent much of his time at Bent's Fort and in New Mexico. Parkhill's account of his life references Southwest Indians who had contact with Leroux.

1427. Pelzer, Louis. *Henry Dodge*. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1911.

Drawing on the language of racism to contextualize Indians, Pelzer's narrative discusses Henry Dodge's involvement in the U.S. military expeditions to the southern plains in 1834 and the central plains in 1835. Kiowas, Comanches, Wichitas, Pawnees, Arikaras, and Cheyennes are mentioned.

1428. Ramsay, Jack C., Jr. *The Story of Cynthia Ann Parker: Sunshine on the Prairie*. Austin: Eakin Press, 1990.

This study of Quanah Parker's mother, a captive who was integrated into Comanche culture, tells about the Comanches' subjugation. It notes that the U.S. posts established on the Arkansas River were part of a larger process aimed at hemming in the Comanches and other Indians.

1429. Roberts, David. *A Newer World: Kit Carson, John C. Fremont, and the Claiming of the American West*. New York: Touchstone Books/Simon and Schuster, 2000.

Roberts' examination of the roles of Carson and Frémont in westward U.S. expansion from 1842 to 1854 references Osage, Ute, and Apache contacts with the trail in matters of trade and strife.

1430. Rosa, Joseph G. *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

Although this study about the famed frontiersman Wild Bill Hickok does not provide specific information regarding the trail, it takes a look at the effects of U.S. expansion onto central plains on Indian cultures. The University of Oklahoma Press issued the second revised edition of this book in 1974.

1431. Schofield, Donald F. *Indians, Cattle, Ships and Oil: The Story of W. M. D. Lee*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

Schofield's examination of Lee's life contains scant information about Indian-Euroamerican encounters along the trail, but it discusses factors leading to the U.S. settlement of Indian lands lying west of the Mississippi. Relations between the incoming settlers and Indigenous peoples are covered, offering insight regarding how U.S. expansion created this intense friction between the races.

1432. Schultz, George A. "Kennekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet." *Kansas History* 3 (Spring 1980): 38-46.

This study probes aspects of the life of Kennekuk, a noted Kickapoo spiritual leader who became something of a celebrity on the Kickapoo reservation located west of Fort Leavenworth, during the 1840s and 1850s. Schultz also discusses the effects of U.S. policy and Euroamerican settlement of eastern Kansas on the Kickapoos and others.

1433. Simmons, Marc. *Kit Carson and His Three Wives: A Family History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2003.

In this family history, Simmons provides new information by about Carson's marriages to two Indian women, a Cheyenne and an Arapaho, and their children. He also discusses Carson's experiences with the trail, at Bent's Fort, among various Indian nations, in New Mexico, and as U.S. government servant.

1434. ————. *The Last Conquistador: Juan De Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Juan de Oñate is a controversial conquistador and the first Spanish governor of New Mexico from 1598 to 1606. Simmons examines Oñate's role in the colonization of New Mexico and subjugation of the Pueblo Indians. Unfortunately, his discussion is marred by unwarranted swipes at and unflattering portrayals of Indians.

1435. ————. *The Little Lion of the Southwest: A Life of Manuel Antonio Chaves*. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1973.

Simmons celebrates the military exploits of Manuel Antonio Chaves, a Spaniard who gained recognition for having fought and defeated "hostile" Indians, Navajos in particular, during the Mexican era of New Mexico history. Strategies employed by Mexicans and Euroamericans to exterminate Indians, such as the burning of Indians and their villages, are described at length. The kidnapping of Navajo children for servitude is mentioned as well. Comanches are described as the most violent and furious of all Indian peoples.

1436. Simmons, Marc and R. C. Gordon-McCutchan. *The Short Truth about Kit Carson and the Indians*. Taos: Columbine Printing, Inc., 1993.

This brief study challenges scholarly assertions that Carson was a genocidal racist killer. It references Carson's interactions with Utes, Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Navajos.

1437. Smith, E. D. "Jedediah S. Smith and the Settlement of Kansas." *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 252-60.

Smith discusses the Kansas experiences of his great-grandfather, Jedediah. It covers Smith's death at the hands of Comanches at Fargo Springs in 1831.

1438. Smith, Ralph Adam. *Borderlander: The Life of James Kirker, 1793-1852*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

For good reason, history has presented James Kirker as a brutal killer and mercenary. In this revisionist biography, Smith discusses aspects of Kirker's controversial life, including his pivotal role in the scalp hunting for bounty industry, which involved murder and the massacring of Apaches and Comanches. Smith traces Kirker's travels over the trail and the tension that characterized Indian-Euroamerican relations in the Southwest. Pointing out that Kirker's contemporaries viewed him as a hero, Smith declares that Kirker "added a little to making the continent safe for settlers" (248).

1439. Spellman, Paul N. *Forgotten Texas Leader: Hugh McLeod and the Texas Santa Fe Expedition*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999.

The story of General Hugh McLeod of Texas is brought to life in this vivid account. Specific tribes with a connection to the trail are discussed.

1440. Stratton, John M. "The Life of Charles O. Fuller in Central Kansas, 1855-1879." *Wagon Tracks* 18 (February 2004): 9-13.

This biography briefly mentions the killing of Ed Miller on July 20, 1864, without referring to Indians.

1441. Sunder, John E. "Solomon Perry Sublette: Mountain Man of the Forties." *New Mexico Historical Review* 36 (January 1961): 49-61.

This article notes that Sublette, a trader and trapper, worked at Bent's Fort and other places along the trail in the late 1830s and 1840s. It provides an overview of his interaction with Indians.

1442. Taylor, Morris F. "Ka-Ni-Ache." *Colorado Magazine* 43 (Fall 1966): 275-302, 44 (Spring 1967): 139-61.

Taylor discusses Mohuache Ute life under their leader, Ka-ni-ache, from the 1850s to the 1870s. He notes the negative impact of U.S. expansion on these Utes, whose homeland was penetrated by the trail. Jicarilla Apaches, Pueblos, and Comanches are also mentioned.

1443. ————. "Kicking Bird: A Chief of the Kiowa." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Autumn 1972): 295-319.

Taylor discusses aspects of Kicking Bird's life when the Kiowas' freedom and independence were being increasingly threatened by U.S. expansion during the 1860s and early 1870s. Unlike other Kiowa leaders, Kicking Bird advocated peace with the U.S. government.

1444. Trafzer, Cliff. "Comanche Killer or Commentator? Captain Marcy the Ethnographer." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 58 (Spring 1980): 53-64.

Historian Trafzer examines Comanche interaction with Captain Randolph B. Marcy of the U.S. Fifth Infantry. Marcy's observations, according to Trafzer, provide a rich ethnographic view of the Comanche life.

1445. Twitchell, Ralph E. *Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: New Mexican Publishing Corporation, [1924?].

Drawing from Gregg's own words, Twitchell says that from infancy Josiah Gregg, the author of *Commerce on the Prairies*, was familiar with the character of Indians and that traders subsequently provided Gregg with additional information about them.

1446. Utey, Robert M. "Kit Carson and the Adobe Walls Campaign." *American West* 2 (1965): 4-11, 73-75.

Utey's discussion of Kit Carson's involvement in the Adobe Walls battle mentions the changing nature of relations between the Euroamericans and the Kiowas and Comanches from peace to war. He notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas often attacked the trail's traffic during times of warfare. The Adobe Walls campaign of 1874-75 permanently crushed the resistance of these Indians.

1447. Van Ness, Christine M. and John R. "W. W. H. Davis: Neglected Figure of New Mexico's Early Territorial Period." *Journal of the West* 26 (July 1977): 68-74.

The authors discuss the role that Davis played in the development and implementation of U.S. Indian policy in New Mexico from the 1840s to the 1860s. In their depiction of the Pueblos and Navajos, the authors reveal their racial biases.

1448. Veenendaal, Augustus J., Jr. "Herman F. C. Ten Kate, Jr.: An Adventurous Dutch Ethnologist in Indian Territory, 1883." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 73 (Spring 1995): 32-51.

This discussion of ethnologist Herman Ten Kate includes his views about reservation life for the Comanches, Cheyennes, Delawares, and others in Oklahoma.

1449. Waley, Charlotte. *Nina Otero-Warren of Santa Fe*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

This biography focuses on the life of a descendant of Spanish Conquistadors, Nina Otero-Warren, a first wave feminist who was the first woman appointed to inspect Indian schools in Santa Fe County. Waley traces how U.S. forces contained and pushed Apaches and Navajos onto separate reservations.

1450. Walker, Wayne T. "Nathan Boone: The Forgotten Hero of Missouri." *Journal of the West* 18 (April 1979): 85-94.

In this account of Nathan Boone's military service, the author discusses Boone's participation in U.S. army deployments that entered Indian country. Boone had contact with Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas, Delawares, Cherokees, and Pawnees, during the 1830 and 1840s in the central and southern plains.

1451. Walter, Paul A. F. "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes." *New Mexico Historical Review* 8 (April 1933): 98-129.

Walter's account of Charles Bent's brief tenure as the territorial governor of New Mexico, 1846-1847, includes Bent's report on Indian affairs in which Bent mentioned the disposition of Pueblos, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Navajos, Utes, Comanches, and Apaches.

1452. *Warsaw (Mo.) Saturday Morning Visitor*, July 29, 1848. Quoted in Elinor Wilson. "Jim Beckwourth: Black Mountain Man and War Chief of the Crows." Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, 111-12.

According to a newspaper correspondent, in the summer of 1846, Jim Beckwourth, Charles McIntosh, a half-breed Cherokee, and Henry Hamilton met encamped Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and others in about a thousand lodges just east of Bent's Fort. The Indians reported having seen a large number of Pawnees on the Smoky Hill Fork about a day's travel away. Beckwourth feared that Pawnees had cut off Kit Carson, who was traveling in advance of Beckwourth.

1453. Westphall, Victor. *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973.

This account of the career of Thomas Catron, an attorney general for New Mexico territory during the late 1860s, provides details about Indians who had a link to the trail.

1454. Wetmore, Helen Cody. *Last of the Great Scouts*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1918.

This early biography of William F. Cody, or Buffalo Bill, mentions encounters involving acts of trade, warfare, and non-violent confrontations between unspecified Indians and Euroamericans, including Cody, within the general vicinity of the trail.

1455. Wilkerson, Evelyn and Ted. *Miss Kittie Hays: Grand Land of the Frontier*. Hillsboro, KS: Hearth Publishing, 1994.

This biography briefly references Kaws at Council Grove during the 1850s and 1860s.

1456. Wilson, Elinor. *Jim Beckwourth: Black Mountain Man and War Chief of the Crows*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

This book contains a chapter entitled “The Santa Fe Trail” that discusses Beckwourth’s interaction with Indians along the road during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. Pawnees and Comanches gave him the most trouble. As a result of problems he had with Pawnees and unidentified Indians while carrying a dispatch from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1848, he became the subject of a newspaper story.

1457. Wilson, Iris Higbie. *William Wolfskill, 1798-1866: Frontier Trapper to California Ranchero*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965.

Wilson notes the occurrence of a tense meeting in the spring of 1822 near the Arkansas River involving a party of Osages and twenty-one Santa Fe-bound traders commanded by Stephen Cooper. Auguste P. Chouteau, a trader among the Osages, stopped the Osages from taking the white men’s horses and supplies.

1458. Wilson, James Harrison. *The Life and Services of Brevet Brigadier-General Andrew Jonathan Alexander, United States Army. A Sketch from Personal Recollections, Family Letters and the Records of the Great Rebellion*. New York, 1887.

The author discusses Alexander’s participation in the U.S. army’s operations to subjugation Utes in the area surrounding Trinidad, Colorado, during the fall of 1866.

1459. Worcester, Donald. “Satanta.” In *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity*, edited by E. David Edmonds, 107-30. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.

Historian Worcester examines the rise of Satanta to an influential Kiowa war leader who led raids on the trail, Texas, and other places. Much of the story focuses on Satanta’s interaction with U.S. army officers at Forts Dodge and Larned. Worcester argues that Euroamericans saw him as an “arch-fiend” but his own people viewed him as a “tragic hero who forcefully expressed their sentiments and courageously battled to uphold them.” Imprisoned for life in Texas in 1878, Satanta, now aged and in failing health, committed suicide by leaping headfirst from the prison hospital window. The Kiowa leader, Worcester suggests, had been “beaten into submission if not submissiveness” (129).

1460. Young, Otis E. *The West of Philip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1955.

Viewing Indians as savage barriers to U.S. progress, Young tells the story of Cooke's forty-six year military career. Regarding the trail, he covers Cooke's participation Major Riley's 1829 expedition, which involving warfare with Comanches, escort duty in 1843, and march with the Army of the West to conquer New Mexico in 1846. Young also deals with the role Cooke played in fighting Apaches and other Indian nations.

1461. Zerwekh, Sister Edward Mary. "John Baptist Salpointe, 1825-1894." *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (January 1962): 1-19.

This study refers to the vicinity of the trail as "the wide plains inhabited by dangerous nomadic Indian tribes" (7). Catholic priest Salpointe traveled from Missouri to New Mexico in 1859.

1462. Zwink, T. Ashley. "On the White Man's Road: Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency, 1869-1873." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 56 (Winter 1978-79): 431-41.

Although Zwink does not discuss the trail, he examines the attempts of Quaker agents in service to the U.S. government to assimilate Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Wichitas, Delawares, and others at the Kiowa Agency in Indian Territory. He notes that Kiowas and Apaches showed no appreciable inclination to adopt farming.

G. Bibliographies

1463. Boughter, Judith A. *The Pawnee Nation: An Annotated Research Bibliography*. Lanham, MD and Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2004.

This useful bibliography discusses sources about Pawnee history, culture, treaties, land cessions, and relations with Euroamericans.

1464. Hyslop, Stephen G. "Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Southwestern Expedition: Bibliography for a Neglected Chapter of Our History." *Wagon Tracks* 17 (May 2003): 5-9.

Hyslop provides a comprehensive listing of primary and secondary sources about Pike and his Southwest expedition in 1806, which took him partially along the route of the future trail from Missouri to Santa Fe. Hyslop's narrative refers to his contacts with Pawnees, Osages, Comanches, and others. It mentions the competing claims of Spain and France to the central plains, noting that Indians were the area's "rightful masters, notwithstanding their occasional willingness to recognize white men from one country or another as friends or 'fathers.'"

1465. Lamar, Howard R. *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*. New Haven and London: Yale University, 1998.

This chronologically arranged reference volume, written by more than two hundred scholars, contains numerous entries pertaining to Indians and non-Indians who had contact with the trail.

1466. Kunutz, Gary F. *The California Gold Rush: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Covering the Years 1848-1852*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1977.

Containing 706 entries, this bibliography lists books written by individuals who reached California via the road from Missouri to New Mexico.

1467. Kvasnicka, Robert M., comp. *The Trans-Mississippi West, 1804-1912. Part 1, A Guide to Records of the Department of State for the Territorial Period, Part 2, A Guide to Records of the Department of Justice for the Territorial Period, and Part 3, A Guide to Records of the Department of Agriculture for the Territorial Period*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1993.

This multivolume resource covers the period from 1804 to 1912. It offers information about where to find primary sources related to the trail.

1468. Mattes, Merrill J. *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

This book is a good resource for descriptions of non-Indian travel and life on the Santa Fe and Overland trails. It offers information pertaining to daily hardships, Indian encounters, and westward U.S. expansion and settlement.

1469. Noe, Randolph. *The Shawnee Indians: An Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2001.

Noe's annotated bibliography of sources about the Shawnee Nation is organized thematically with such categories as life west of the Mississippi, court cases, and removal.

1470. Powell, Father Peter J. *The Cheyennes, Ma heo o's People*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Powell lists numerous sources with information about Cheyenne history and culture, including their relations with the trail, other Indians, and non-Indians.

1471. Thrapp, Dan L. *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*. 3 vols. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1988.

This multivolume source contains brief biographical entries by more than fifty scholars about individuals who participated in the westward U.S. movement, including some who had an association with the trail.

1472. Tyler, Daniel. *Sources for the New Mexican History, 1821-1848*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1984.

This is an excellent resource for researchers conducting studies on an array of topics about New Mexico history. It guides readers to the location of primary and secondary sources about the state's past, including its Indigenous inhabitants. However, it does not directly deal with trail in respect to Indian-Euroamerican relations.

1473. Salzmann, Zdenek. *The Arapaho Indians: A Research Guide and Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

The author's introduction notes that the flow of traffic on the Santa Fe and Overland trails disrupted Arapaho life while the remainder of the book contains a comprehensive listing of studies about Arapaho history and culture.

1474. Townley, John M. *The Trail West: A Bibliography – Index to Western American Trails, 1841-1869*. Reno: Jamison Station Press, 1988.

With over 7,500 listings of journals, recollections, books, articles, graduate theses, and diaries, this reference source pertains to the various western roads, including the Santa Fe Trail.

1475. Wagner, Henry R. *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865*. Revised by Charles L. Camp. Columbus, OH: Long's College Book Company, 1953.

Organized in a chronological format, this book provides a biographical sketch of many historical individuals, excluding Indians, who traveled in the West and left written records. Many entries pertain to sources with an association to the trail.

1476. Welsh, Carol. *An Annotated Guide to The Chronicles of Oklahoma, 1921-1994*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1996.

This bibliography contains numerous references to articles about Indians who had contact with the trail.

1477. Wilson, Terry P. *Bibliography of the Osage*. Native American Bibliography Series, No. 6. Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1985.

This source lists hundreds of books, articles, and U.S. government reports about Osage history and culture, including studies and source materials pertinent the trail.

CHAPTER III: CALENDAR OF CONTACT

INTRODUCTION

The calendar of contact provides a chronological listing of hundreds of documented encounters involving Indians and trail travelers, some of whom were Indians themselves. Drawn both from the primary and secondary sources found in the annotated bibliography, these entries provide a context for comprehending the different types of interaction that transpired from 1821 to 1878. Relevant developments such as landmark court decisions, congressional statutes, and presidential decrees have been included so as to offer a view of what was happening locally, regionally, and nationally, and internationally regarding the trail's history.

Several terms used to characterize the context of the meetings. These terms and their meanings are as follows:

- Friendly a meeting involving sociable interaction, although underlying tensions and suspicious may have been present
- Cooperation a meeting or situation in which Indians or non-Indians provided help of some type or assistance to the other
- Sighting a visual contact from afar
- Signs a sighting Indian tracks, petroglyphs, and abandoned campsites
- Grave looting the looting of burials
- Anecdotal a reflection about some past imagined or real historical event
- False alarm an erroneous perception of imminent danger in which a traveler believed that wolves, buffalo, or mounted horses were Indians

- Tension a meeting in which one or both parties felt a high level of wariness, mistrust, and fear that could potentially erupt in violence
- Conflict a meeting or action involving violence
- Warfare prolonged violent conflict
- Violence an incident usually involving a single act of violence
- Diplomacy acts involvement agreements or government-to-government interaction

CHAPTER IV

THE TRAIL'S IMPACT ON FOUR INDIAN NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Examining the history and cultures of Indian nations can help understand the dynamics of their relations with the trail. Each of them had a distinctive culture and history before the trail came into their lives. This approach enables us to comprehend the short- and long-term impacts of the trail on them.

The Shawnee, Delaware, Pawnee, and Comanche nations have been selected for consideration for two reasons. The first is that members of each of these nations are reflective of the historical complexity that typifies the diversity nature of Indian relations with the trail's traffic. The second is that these Indian nations, if not their individual members, had a significant relationship with the road.

SHAWNEES

The movement of fragmented subdivisions of Shawnees onto an eastern Kansas reservation beginning during the late 1820s was part of a larger process of Euroamerican expansionism. The westward spread of U.S. society during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created an upheaval of such magnitude that it literally displaced thousands of people from many different Indigenous. The Shawnees were the first of many Indian nations that the U.S. government placed on a tier of reservations that extended from northern Kansas in the north to southern Oklahoma in the south. Because the lands selected for the Shawnee reservation bisected the Santa Fe Trail, Shawnees' relation with the trail essentially began with their removal to Kansas. This meant that thousands of travelers with wagons, livestock would cross through the Shawnee lands.

Before entering Kansas, these Algonkian-speakers had experienced cultural change through a long and often tumultuous relationship with English and later Euroamerican colonizers. Conditions created by European and white American encroachments into the Old Northwest had brought years of intermittent violence to Indigenous nations. Following the American revolutionary war, many Shawnees, along with citizens of other Indigenous nations, participated in several coordinated efforts aimed at defending their lands, sovereignty, and cultures by checking the spread of U.S. settlers into Indian lands lying west of the Appalachian Mountains. The inability of Little Turtle's confederacy to defeat U.S. forces encouraged Shawnee brothers Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa to form another military coalition. In a sense, coalition members were willing to stand up against what essentially amounted to a campaign of ethnic cleansing directed at them.

The brothers' movement had a traditional component in that it advocated a return to the ancestral ways of living. It sought to counter a growing trend that saw Shawnees

and other Indians gradually abandoning their customary hunting-agriculture economic pursuits in favor of another way of living based on extensive agriculture and livestock raising. Rejecting assimilation, proponents of this traditional movement called for its followers to reject alcohol, Christianity, and life in log cabins with split-trail fences, gristmills, and sawmills. Although most Shawnees distanced themselves from the brothers, many Potawatomis, Delawares, Chippewas, Kickapoos, Winnebagos, Ioways, Foxes, and others did not.

Suffering defeat during the War of 1812, along with the battlefield death of Tecumseh, the war did not destroy the wish of many Indians to keep their lives free of foreign domination and their cultures vibrant.¹ Before the rise of Tecumseh's coalition, a competing viewpoint held that Indians could retain the vitality of their sovereignty and cultures by adopting a position of accommodation with white America. Those holding this belief hoped to preserve their autonomy and cultural integrity by voluntarily moving westward into territory considered part of the Spanish empire. In 1797, Shawnees and Delawares received a Spanish land grant near Cape Girardeau. Other migrants took up lands in Arkansas' Ozark Mountains and elsewhere. They fought with Spanish and French colonists against the Osages, who had settled in that area first.²

Unfortunately for them, Tecumseh's defeat had opened the floodgate of expansionism. It would take less than a decade for land-seeking Euroamericans, many of whom held and acted on strong racial biases, to inundate them. In this racially-charged milieu, tensions flared and violence erupted, making life in Missouri and Arkansas increasingly unbearable not only for Shawnees and Delawares but also for Osages and Kaws who had lived in the region for generations. Compounding matters, by the 1820s, many segments of U.S. society, including politicians, embraced the concept of Indian removal. They called for a course of action that would both remove Indian nations from lands coveted by Euroamerican settlers and resettle them to the west.³

On November 7, 1825, William Clark, the superintendent of Indian affairs, negotiated a removal treaty with the beleaguered Missouri Shawnees, who agreed to accept a reservation on lands in eastern Kansas ceded by the Osage nation. In keeping with the treaty, they chose a homeland south of the Kansas River and began settling there in 1828.

In 1831, several hundred Shawnees, who, following the collapse of Tecumseh's coalition, had been confined to small plots of land in Ohio, entered into a removal treaty with the U.S. government. They agreed to cede their Ohio lands and join their Shawnee relatives in eastern Kansas. For its part, the U.S. government promised to protect the reservation and "guaranteed that said lands shall never be within the bounds of any State or territory, nor subject to the laws thereof."⁴ The next year, other Shawnees in Missouri and Arkansas agreed to remove to the Kansas reservation.⁵

Through the removal process, fragmented groups of Shawnees merged on a reservation under a single government. Many Shawnees rejected this political development, preferring instead to live under the old system where sovereignty laid in the

hands of autonomous towns. However, the missionaries who came with the Shawnees and U.S. agents assigned to them exerted a great deal of influence over internal matters.⁶

The new government apparently did not take a stance on the Santa Fe Trail, and Shawnee interaction with this road was largely an individualistic matter. A combination of factors including past experiences, necessity, and cultural traditions played a significant role in shaping their interaction with the trail. Having had exposure to Christian missionaries and U.S. settlers' modes of living before reaching Kansas, numerous Shawnees had undergone varying degrees of social change, adopting a way of life that superficially resembled that of agrarian white America. Most of them nonetheless retained their language, core cultural values, and beliefs. Others sought to live as closely as possible to their traditional teachings. They fiercely guarded their identity even as increasing numbers of their children attended missionary schools. Realizing that military resistance was not a practical option, they continued to follow a policy of accommodation in their dealings with Euroamericans.

Meanwhile, those nations indigenous to plains viewed the arrival of displaced Indians onto the southern plains with consternation and alarm. It was evident to them that these newcomers would encroach on their lands, buffalo herds, and lives. U.S. agents sought to remedy the problem through dialogue and treaty making. On June 23, 1828, Kitkahahki Pawnee leaders traveled from their town on the Republican River to Cantonment Leavenworth where they met in council with Omahas, Otoes, Iowas, Sacs, Kaws, Shawnees, and U.S. agent John Dougherty. The meeting resulted in the signing of a peace and friendship treaty among these Indians.⁷ This treaty brought peace between Shawnees and Pawnees, one of the Indian nations that had intimate contact with the trail.

By the 1840s, Shawnees, because of their geographic location, had adapted to their surroundings without confronting significant Euroamerican opposition. Many of them hunted buffalo on the plains and traveled to the Rocky Mountains on extended hunting and trapping expeditions. Frances Parkman visited the area in the spring and fall of 1846. Published from 1847 to 1849 in *Knickerbocker's Magazine* in sixteen installments and subsequently reprinted numerous times under the title of *The Oregon Trail*, Parkman told of his trip up the Oregon Trail and return via the Santa Fe Trail. He recorded his observations of various Indians that spring in the border town of Westport, Missouri. By that time, thousands of displaced Indians lived nearby on a number of reservations. According to Parkman, Shawnees, Wyandots, Sacs, Kickapoos, Foxes, Kaws, and Delawares, were there, with each wearing their distinctive clothing. Reflecting on his party's trip through the "beautiful country" of the Shawnee reservation, he observed, "Shawnees were constantly riding by on a canter, upon little stubborn ponies, and with their calico shirts fluttering in the wind."⁸ His romantic description of intercultural relations in the region suggests that Indians, including Shawnees, were integral to the local economy.⁹

Other accounts written in 1846 support Parkman's view. A soldier, whose Army of the West unit camped on Shawnee land on June 30 as it prepared to invade Mexico, described Shawnees as being industrious people who enjoyed the luxuries of civilized

life.¹⁰ With their reservation serving as a staging area for U.S. soldiers and supply trains en route to Mexican territory, a few Shawnees capitalized on the dramatic escalation of the trail traffic. Brothers Paschal and Charles Fish operated a profitable ferry on the Kansas River. They ferried wagons across the river at the rate of \$1 per wagon. Paschal also owned a hotel that catered to travelers. Some other Shawnees sold produce, prepared meals, and whiskey to trail travelers.¹¹

Travelers occasionally commented on the demeanor, moral character, economic progress, and stage of civilization of the Shawnees. Some used the word industrious to describe them. Observers stated indicated that they maintained good cornfields. One account described them as civil and accommodating. Another noted that daughters of a Shawnee named Rogers spoke English well and were very intelligent. On July 10, 1847, Christianized Shawnees open the door of their large long meetinghouse to Illinois infantry volunteers.¹² At a Bull Creek trading post, an observer admired the riding skills of a Shawnee woman “dressed in semi-American style and mounted upon a sorrel pony.”¹³

The description of Shawnee being conduits of U.S. expansionism only applies to a few Shawnees. Most of them were not interested in copying the Euroamerican value of accumulating and hoarding wealth. They must have viewed the escalation of trail’s traffic as a repetition of a disturbing pattern of white American expansionism. In 1842, a Quaker missionary documented the sentiments of an elderly Shawnee who declared that he “wanted to die and be buried there. [He] wished to know if we had heard the men at Washington talk about removing them again.” The old man wanted the Quakers who recorded his words to work to secure this peoples’ title to the land to ensure that Euroamerican settlers would not uproot them again.¹⁴

Trail travelers sometimes harmed Shawnee timber and crops. A military unit camped near the Shawnee meetinghouse for two days in 1846 moved on after its cattle had invaded Shawnee fields.¹⁵ In 1849, a large civilian and military company departed for Santa Fe from a spot near chief Blackhoof’s home [in what became Johnson County].¹⁶ A Shawnee “chief,” for instances, told party members not to cut any of green trees, but they were welcomed to take all the dead timber they wanted.¹⁷ That spring, H. M. T. Powell, a noted landscape artist, blamed Wel-a-peto, a Shawnee, and Wel-a-peto’s son of stealing cattle. Responding to the accusation, Wel-a-peto declared: “No, no Shawnee not steal.” Train members offered a reward for the cattle but they found the missing livestock, apparently without Indian help.¹⁸

Contacting deadly disease carried by trail travelers and others was an ongoing concern among Shawnees. Powell noted that cholera was raging among the emigrants. A report indicates at that time cholera struck about two-thirds of the Shawnees. That June a westbound traveler, writing under the pseudonym of “Veni,” described their response to the epidemic: “I noticed at Bull creek, Kaw river and Willow Springs, among the Delawares and Shawnees, that they had all run off, and left their houses and gardens, with vegetables growing, to the mercy of the travelers. . . .”¹⁹ On July 10, 1847, Shawnees gathered at their meetinghouse in response to reports of smallpox at nearby

Fort Leavenworth. Fearful of the disease, they fled when they saw an approaching soldier who sought to assure them that the reports of the epidemic were false. They nonetheless received vaccinations for the highly contagious and deadly virus.²⁰

Regarding the trail's impact on Shawnees beyond the reservation, a number of men often traveled on extended hunting and trapping expeditions, sometimes using the trail as a transportation route. A few Shawnee men accepted employment with wagon trains, traders, exploratory expeditions, and U.S. army units in the capacity of hunters, guides, and teamsters. As Bent's Fort employees, Shawnees and Delawares hunted and trapped for pay. Several Delaware and Shawnee teamsters, in company of Euroamerican bullwhackers, drove wagons during the annual Bent caravan to Missouri, which usually began in April. According to George Bird Grinnell, who studied the history of Bent's Fort, Indian teamsters preferred to eat with one another, shunning the white American and Mexican mess.²¹

Referring to the prowess of Indian hunters in romantic terms, Grinnell stated: "Two hunters, one a white man and the other either a Mexican or an Indian, accompanied the train, and each morning as soon as the wagons were ready to start they set out to look for game. Usually when the train reached the appointed camping place for the night the hunters were found there resting in the shade with a horseload of fresh meat." He added that, "[t]he Delawares and Shawnees were great hunters, and almost always when the train stopped to noon and their cattle had been turned out and the meal eaten, these Indian teamsters were to be seen striding over the prairie, each with a long rifle over his shoulder."²²

Not all observers held such positive views of them. In August of 1845, after reaching the Kansas River coming down the Santa Fe Trail, Philip St. George Cooke wrote that a "blundering Shawnee guide" led his command to Ft. Leavenworth. Conversely, ethnocentric travelers often described them as existing in a state between civilization and savagery. Using this language of racism, Parkman, for instance, referred to them as half-civilized who lived in log cabins and farmed.²³

The arrival of Euroamericans, after their Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, led to the recurrence of the old pattern of ethnic cleansing. As Euroamerican pressure intensified to force Indians from their Kansas reservation during the 1850s, documented accounts of their contact with the trail diminished. In one instance occurring south of Fort Leavenworth on July 19, 1858, Shawnees assisted a company cross a gorge.²⁴

The Santa Fe Trail was just one in many factors that contributed to the Shawnees' removal to Oklahoma in 1871. Although it provided short-termed economic benefits to some Shawnees, the trail was essentially the spearhead of U.S. colonialism, and Shawnees had a paradoxical relationship with both. The Shawnees' role, however minor, in the "opening of the West" ultimately undermined their land tenure in Kansas. Settlers followed existing roads and created new ones as they transformed the landscape. Self-

assured, arrogant, and confident, they vehemently rejected the concept of cultural diversity and ethnic cleansing became U.S. policy during the 1860s.

Rather than using its power to protect Indian rights, the U.S. government effectively betrayed its role as the Shawnees' protectorate, opting instead to promote the interests of non-Indians. In 1854, Congress destroyed the concept of Indian country, established by an 1834 law, by opening formerly restricted lands to settlement by white homesteaders. In the same year, the executive branch imposed an oppressive treaty on the Shawnees that limited their sovereignty and diminished the size of their reservation from 100,600,000 acres of land to about 200,000 acres. The treaty, concluded in Washington, D.C., enabled U.S. agents to determine Shawnee membership, decide which Shawnees were competent to manage their small share of the nation's annuity funds, and approve the final selection of individual allotments. Meanwhile, border ruffians, Quantrill's raiders, and settlers disrupted Shawnee life with acts of violence and intimidation. In 1864, small groups of Shawnees sought to escape the turmoil, racism, and violence by moving to Oklahoma. Three years later, another treaty established a Shawnee reservation in Oklahoma. Those Shawnees who wanted to accept U.S. citizenship were given the option of staying in Kansas. Most of them chose to move southward, rejecting citizenship in favor of preserving Shawnee political autonomy and cultural identity.²⁵

DELAWARES

Similar to the Shawnees, before being removed to the trail's vicinity, Delawares had experienced a series of events that had left them vulnerable and virtually unable to militarily physically resist the might of U.S. expansion. At the time of European contact in the seventeenth century, approximately forty autonomous Delaware bands lived in parts of the present-day states of New Jersey, New York, and Delaware. Calling themselves the Lenape, these Algonquian speakers had a concept of ethnic identity but not national unity. They were town dwellers who sustained themselves by mixing hunting and agricultural production. Following contact, they became engaged in the fur trade with Europeans and after that the beaver population in their lands diminished, they sold meats, agricultural produce, and land so they could purchase manufactured goods from European traders. The combination of factors -- land cessions, pressure from European settlers, depletion of game, and conflict with other Indians -- pushed them westward into western Pennsylvania and the Ohio River valley. Along the way, many of them became exposed to the teachings of Christianity.²⁶

Traditional Delawares viewed this process of acculturation as a cultural survival threat. The message of several cultural revitalization movements with a customary orientation brought political change to Delaware people. Along with rejecting Christianity and European ways of living and farming, they created a more centralized religious and governmental structure that sought to return them a life patterned after their ancestors' culture and to unify them so they could act collectively to protect their traditions.

In the 1750s, Delawares, along with Potawatomis, Shawnees, and many others, became caught up the French and Indian War, one of four European conflicts fought for control of the Americas. They sided with the French, who ultimately lost the war and their doctrine of discovery title to a vast section of the North American interior. Worried about British troops occupying abandoned French forts in the Ohio country and the Great Lakes area and a new British policy that treated Indians as a conquered people, Delawares united with Ottawas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Ojibwas, Potawatomis, Hurons, Wyandots, Senecas, Piankashaws, Mingos, and others to drive the British out of the region. Fighting began in what was known as Pontiac's Conspiracy in 1763 and ended in a stalemate three years later, with Indians unable to accomplish their objective and British forces unable to conquer the Indians. During the American revolutionary Delaware fought on both sides.

Following the war, Euroamerican settlers streamed across the Appalachian Mountains into Indian country, lands that Great Britain had ceded to the victorious rebels. Many Delawares, Shawnees, and others joined a confederation formed by the Miami Little Turtle to defend the Old Northwest, stop U.S. expansionism, and challenge the U.S. assertions of sovereignty over the region. In the "Little Turtle War," Indian forces inflicted heavy casualties but, facing overwhelming odds, stopped the war when it became apparent that British troops would not join the fighting. In 1795, many members of the Indian confederation accepted terms of the Treaty of Greenville, which called for massive Indian land cessions and Indian recognition of U.S. sovereignty lands reaching to the Mississippi River. With the establishment of U.S. hegemony over the region, settlers poured into Indian lands. To escape the resulting problems and to preserve their independence, groups of them began migrating westward into Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.²⁷

During the War of 1812, the final attempt of a European nation to establish dominion over the eastern United States, many different Indians, including Delawares, Shawnees, Miami, Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Wyandots, united with Tecumseh and his brother the Shawnee Prophet, or Tenskwatawa, to stop U.S. expansion. Defeat in 1813 literally ended the viability of collective Indian resistance by military means east of the Mississippi River, opening the way for further Euroamerican expansion.

Meanwhile, many Delawares, Shawnees, and others sought to preserve their ways of life and autonomy by moving westward into Missouri and Arkansas.²⁸ Their strategy lasted a little more than thirty years. In 1829, succumbing to unrelenting pressures to removal, Delaware leaders in Missouri and Ohio signed treaties, agreeing to relocate to the eastern Kansas reservation. The treaty promised them a ten-mile strip of land, or outlet, that reached westward into unceded Pawnee country. It also pledged that their new land, located north of the Kansas River and the Santa Fe Trail, with Fort Leavenworth located nearby, would belong to them forever.²⁹ By accepting the treaty terms, they sought to maintain their customary form of living, including hunting, trapping, and subsistence farming, in a new land.

This history means that by the time of their contact with the Santa Fe Trail most Delawares remained committed to living in accordance with the beliefs, values, customs, and worldview of their ancestors. Following the War of 1812, their leadership developed a consensus to pursue a policy of accommodation with the U.S. colonizers. For practical reasons, Delawares, as a nation, could no longer oppose U.S. expansion through military means either alone or in coordination with others without the running the risk of utter devastation. Put another way, the overwhelming pressures of contact forced them to accept a subservient position under U.S. domination but they were unwilling to surrender their autonomy and cultural identity.

These historical and cultural factors played a part in shaping Delaware relations with the trail. In the short term, these displaced people, following their policy of accommodation, largely enjoyed a cooperative relationship with the traffic on the thoroughfare and the U.S. government. Yet, upon their arrival in Kansas, suffering hunger and the loss of many horses because of a cold winter, they turned to living off of the land in a culturally-appropriate fashion. Before removal, their hunting operations took them occasionally on to the plains. Delaware men, and occasionally women, soon began traveling about familiarizing themselves more completely with the topography and resources of the plains and beyond. Their travels apparently took them over the trail.³⁰

Because of their proximity to the key departure points in Missouri for westward U.S. expeditions, friendly disposition toward Euroamericans, growing geographic knowledge, and hunting skills, a number of U.S. exploratory, scientific, military, and trading expeditions turned to them for assistance. In May 1832, several of them accompanied Captain Benjamin Bonneville's expedition to the Rockies and beyond, traveling across present Johnson and Douglas counties on the Santa Fe Trail a distance before moving northward. Founded in the early 1830s, Bent's Fort, a walled trading post situated on mountain route of the trail on the upper Arkansas, provided economic opportunities for them. Black Beaver became one of the most famous Bent hunters who along with other Delawares found employment as hunters, trappers, and guide for U.S. army expeditions, caravans, and trapping companies.³¹

Perhaps because of economic incentives, some Delawares seemed eager to assist the expansionism goals of the U.S. government and its citizenry. For instances, in 1843, Black Wolf, "a noble specimen of the American Indian," offered to mobilize a Delaware force against Indians who were attacking the frontier.³² During the 1840s and 1850s, Delaware men participated in the expeditions of John C. Frémont. Frémont's route usually took him westward to Bent's Fort, which included travel at least part of the distance over the Santa Fe Trail. In 1842, an unnamed Delaware father and his son accompanied his first scientific expedition, serving as hunters.

Three years later, twelve Delaware men accompanied Frémont's third expedition to California as scouts and hunters. They included James Saghundai (or Secondyan or Secondine), James Conner, Delaware Charley, Wetowka, Solomon Evertt, Crane, and Bob Skirkett.³³ After the United States declared war on Mexico, Frémont's force, along with its Delaware members, transformed their role into combatants. Although these

Delawares received the designation of U.S. soldiers and served with “remarkable courage and fidelity,” they were denied patents of land and pay provided to other U.S. troops. In 1853, ten Delawares, including James Secondine, George Washington, and Captain Wolff, and four Wyandots joined Frémont’s fifth expedition with the promise of two dollars in compensation. Referring to their physical appearance and preparation for war, Salomon Nunes Carvalho wrote: “A more noble set of Indians I never saw, most of them six feet high, all mounted and armed *cap-a-pie*.”³⁴ As late as 1886, none of them had received the money or land owed to them.³⁵

Delawares frequently crisscrossed and traveled over the trail with U.S. army forces in actions against Plains Indian resistance. In June 23, 1853, John Gunnison’s railroad surveying expedition, with three Delawares [John Moses, guide; Wahhone, hunter; and James Sanders, interpreter] began “in the midst of the various Shawnee missions.”³⁶ Four years later, Jim Connor, George Washington, and Benjamin Love accompanied a surveying party throughout southwestern Kansas, the Oklahoma Panhandle, and northeastern New Mexico.³⁷

Also in 1857, Falls Leaf and several other Delaware men served as guides with a U.S. army bid to punish Cheyennes. At Fort Leavenworth, Falls Leaf showed some non-Indians gold he had received from several prospectors who had found the metal at Cherry Creek in what became Colorado. Fall Leaf inadvertently set into motion a gold rush that took thousands of Euroamericans into Colorado, igniting intense conflict with Plains Indians that lasted until their defeat about ten years later. Three years later, Fall Leaf, Sarcxie, John Williams, Bascom, Wilson, and Bullit participated in the U.S. army’s indecisive expedition against Comanches and Kiowas. In 1860, six Delaware guide escorted troops commanded by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart over the trail in another campaign against defiant Kiowas and Comanches.³⁸ Describing the attire and value of the Delawares, R. M. Peck, a member of 1860 Sedgwick’s command that was pursuing defiant Indian resisters, wrote, they copy the “white man’s garb and ways to a great extent, and were far superior to the plains Indians. They did us excellent service throughout the trip.”³⁹

There are at least two accounts of Delawares being injured or killed in their work with the U.S. forces and traders. On June 17, 1848, Jicarilla Apaches killed Blackhawk, along with four non-Delawares, at Manco Burro Pass.⁴⁰ Then, on June 28, 1860, east of Aubrey Crossing, Fall Leaf, a guide with Stuart’s command in a movement against Comanches and Kiowas, was injured when his rifle burst in this face.⁴¹

Moreover, travel on the trail was not without its risks for other Delawares. In July 1852, four U.S. army deserters met an unnamed Delaware trader and his sister Mar-mar-trish-ey near Fort Mackay on the Arkansas River. After several days of travel, one deserter, John Schoen, beat the young man to death with a gunstock while Joseph Dodge struck the woman with a frying pan. Before fleeing with the pair’s horses and property, Schoen slashed the woman’s throat. The critically wounded woman survived the attack, managing to walk for several days before she met a party of Kaws who provided her food and a mule. In Missouri, she reported the crimes to authorities. Convicted by a jury for

their offenses, the two murderers met their fate in a public hanging on July 22, 1853, in St. Louis.⁴² This incident is rare in that it appears to be the only time that U.S. authorities filed charges against travel travelers accused of criminal acts against Indians.

The Delawares' close connection with U.S. forces caused problems for them with other Indians. In late June or early July of 1844, a combined force of Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos fought a party of Delawares on the Smoky Hill River, killing fifteen of them. On July 5, Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos met Frémont's party, stating that they wanted peace with Delawares.⁴³ At Bent's Fort in early August, 1845, Delawares met Cheyennes in a council with James Abert, a U.S. Army Topographical Engineers lieutenant, and other U.S. citizens. Old Bark, a Cheyenne leader, took advantage of the situation to speak about the harm brought to his people by Euroamericans, declaring that white invaders had entered Cheyenne land, cut timber, and killed buffalo and antelope.⁴⁴ About a year later during another Bent's Fort meeting, Cheyennes expressed their concern that Delawares' close association with white Americans.⁴⁵ In Frémont's 1853 expedition, however, Delawares traded for horses with Cheyennes.⁴⁶

Despite the Delawares' service, at least one U.S. agent questioned their loyalty. On August 29, 1847, during a time of warfare along the trail, Thomas Fitzpatrick, a U.S. agent assigned to the Upper Platte and Arkansas agency, averred that Delawares, along with Osages, had joined Comanches in fighting the U.S. government on the trail. Reiterating this view several weeks later, Fitzpatrick reported that Arapahos, Delawares, and Osages had united with Kiowa and Comanche raiders. He called for the violent subjugation of all Indians who harmed whites.⁴⁷

There is one instance in which a huge Delaware, possibly named En-di-ond, fought with others against the U.S. occupation of New Mexico. Known among white American circles as Big Nigger, he had spent time with other Delawares at Bent's Fort, Hardscrabble, and Pueblo after 1842. While visiting his wife at Taos Pueblo in January 1847, a U.S. force attacked the Indian town to avenge the slaying of the recently appointed territorial governor, Charles Bent, and fifteen others. During the siege of the thick-walled church where Taos and Mexican resistance fighters had taken refuge, the Delaware purportedly killed a number of trappers with the U.S. army by luring them into the open by calling their names.

According to two accounts, he survived the bloody massacre. The first tells of him hiding out for a time in the canyon of St. Charles with the help of his kinsmen before returning to the Delaware reservation and proclaiming his innocence.⁴⁸ Providing another version, U.S. agent Fitzpatrick suggested that "Big Negro" fled to the Arkansas River where he tried to convince Cheyennes and Comanches to fight white Americans. From there, he traveled to the states [probably a reference to the reservations in eastern Kansas] for the same purpose.⁴⁹ Drawing on circumstantial evidence, Fitzpatrick believed that he fought with Comanches against the Santa Fe traffic. Not long after William Tharp's death from a Comanche, or possibly Pawnee, attack on May 27 or 28, the Delaware had possession of a rifle belonging to Sharp [Tharp?].⁵⁰

Microbes transmitted by Euroamerican travelers posed a near constant problem for Delawares. In an 1832 report, Isaac McCoy, noted that nine Shawnees and fifteen Delawares had died the previous summer and fall from smallpox. An inoculation effort apparently stopped the spread of disease, as did vigilance by the Indians, their agents, and other friends. In the spring of 1849, Delawares, Wyandots, Sacs and Foxes, Otoes, Pawnees, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis, Osages, and others suffered widespread illness and death from the cholera pandemic.⁵¹ In June 1849, "Veni," wrote: "I noticed at Bull creek, Kaw river and Willow Springs, among the Delawares and Shawnees, that they had all run off, and left their houses and gardens, with vegetables growing, to the mercy of the travelers. . . ."⁵² In the summer of 1851, cholera struck Shawnees, Delawares, Munsees, and Stockbridges, reportedly taking forty lives.⁵³

It was U.S. expansion rather than disease that posed the greatest threat to the Delawares' autonomy and cultural independence. Treaty promises, no matter how solemnly articulated, and the invaluable service Delawares provided to cause of U.S. expansion did virtually nothing to protect their reservation. In 1854 and 1856, Delaware leaders ceded significant portions of their territory, opening thousands of acres of fertile lands for European settlers who began to flood into eastern Kansas following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. In 1866, with a campaign of ethnic cleansing raging, Delaware leaders, pressured by U.S. officials and settlers, entered into another treaty, agreeing this time to remove to Oklahoma. They reluctantly consented to surrender their sovereignty and to incorporate themselves into the Cherokee nation.⁵⁴

PAWNEES

With a population that probably exceeded 30,000 people during the early 1800s, Pawnees were the largest and most powerful group on the central plains at the onset of the Santa Fe trade. In 1821, the year of Becknell's trip to Santa Fe, they lived free of foreign domination. Actually, the Pawnee nation was a confederacy of four autonomous Caddoan-speaking bands or tribes, known among themselves as Chaui, Kitkahahki, Pitahawirata, and Skidi.⁵⁵ Their existence on the plains stemmed deep into the past, probably much deeper than other Indians who had close contact with the trail.

With horses integrated into their culture by early 1700s, they followed a complex rhythm of life that took them from their respective towns in late June or July, following the second hoeing of their cornfields, to their buffalo hunting lands on communal hunts. These hunts often took them to the Arkansas River and elsewhere on lands that they claimed. After traveling hundreds of miles, dwelling in tepees along the way, and procuring large quantities of buffalo meat, they returned their towns. They arrived in time to harvest their crops and to hold their fall religious ceremonies. In November, they returned to the buffalo range on the winter buffalo hunt, returning home in January or February. In the spring they conducted ceremonies to awaken the plants and hibernating animals from their winter sleep.

Providing homes for several thousand people, their towns served as the spiritual and social centers of their existence. Extended families dwelled in circular structures

constructed with logs, branches, and earth. These mud-lodge homes comfortably housed up to forty people.

Buffalo, formally known as bison, held a significantly more profound place in their worldview than being a simple source of protein. Considering them as gifts from their Creator, Tirawahut, they used small portions of these sacred animals for ceremonial purposes and the remainder for food. Hides from these sacred animals provided them a durable material for manufacturing clothing, sinew, utensils, tool, and tent covers and items to trade for such things as knives, hoes, metal utensils, vermillion, bells, and firearms. Regarding these animals as theirs, they took steps to deter unauthorized hunting by outsiders. In their way, trespassing and pouching by outsiders constituted a serious offense. Noted African American frontiersman Jim Beckwourth [who incidentally harbored a strong anti-Pawnee feelings] described the spiritual value Plains Indians placed on the buffalo, declaring “the Indians believe the buffalo to be theirs by inheritance, not as game, but in the light of ownership, given them by Providence for their support and comfort, and that, when an immigrant shoots a buffalo, the Indian looks upon it exactly as the destruction by a stranger of so much private property.”⁵⁶ Beckwourth had lived among the Crows and developed an understanding of the close spiritual connection that linked Indians with the buffalo. Most white Americans could not comprehend this relationship.

Each Pawnee division possessed its own political and religious organizations. The chiefs, composed of both hereditary and elected leaders, functioned as the representatives of their people in matters involving diplomacy, maintenance of peace and harmony within the towns, and communal buffalo hunts. A society of priests conducted a seasonal round of religious ceremonies viewed as vital for preserving the integrity of the universe. Drawing their curative powers from animals and skilled healers, Pawnee doctors possessed knowledge of medicinal herbs and healing ceremonies that enabled them to treat a variety of health problems, injuries, and mental afflictions. They, however, lacked the ability to cure deadly diseases carried from Europe to the Americans. Warrior societies had the responsibility of defending their lands, towns, people, and culture from external threats.⁵⁷

The Pawnees’ first probable contact with Europeans occurred in August 1541 at a Wichita town situated just south of the Arkansas River, at a site near where the Santa Fe Trail would run less than three hundred years later. The Pawnee delegation had come there to meet Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the leader of a small Spanish exploratory force of fortune seekers. Although Spanish accounts indicate that this encounter played out on rather amicable terms, the outcome may have been different if the Spaniards had detected any signs of precious metals. What Coronado did accomplish for Spain was to establish a doctrine of discovery claim to the region. In 1802, Spain transferred this title to France.⁵⁸

Unlike Shawnees, Delawares, and others east of the Mississippi, Pawnees, because of their distant proximity to the epicenters of European colonialism, did not become involved in the European wars for control of the Americas. During the late

1600s, however, a small number of French traders reached the central plains and Pawnee country. Although sharing imperialistic principles with their rival European counterparts, the French mostly went about the business of building an empire through the instrumentality of trade. Land acquisition for settlement purposes, at least on the central plains, was not a goal of France. This non-threatening backdrop produced an environment in which a mutually beneficial partnership thrived between Pawnees and French traders. Although willing to exchange furs and hides for manufactured goods, the Pawnees' worldview about the sacredness of the flora and fauna discouraged them from slaughtering large numbers of animals for trade purposes.

Rumors of a Pawnee alliance with France reached concerned Spanish officials in Santa Fe. In 1720 the New Mexico governor sent a military expedition commanded by Lieutenant-General Pedro de Villasur to counter what was seen as French encroachments into Spanish territory. Possibly in the heart of Pawnee country near where the Loup River flows into the Platte on about August 14, a combined force of Pawnee and Otoe warriors, perhaps joined by a few Frenchmen, struck a preemptive blow against colonialism, killing the Spanish commander, thirty-four soldiers, and eleven Pueblo scouts. Through militant means, Pawnees ended Spanish plans to control the central plains. After that, Spain's interest shifted to establishing trading relations with Indians of the region.⁵⁹

To the east, a more precarious threat was looming. In 1803, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, without consulting any Indians within the vast affected area, purchased Louisiana territory from France, opening the door for westward Euroamerican expansion. In September of 1806 at the Pawnee town on the Republican River, just north of the present Kansas-Nebraska border, a chief named Saritarish greeted Lieutenant Zebulon Pike and a small party of U.S. soldiers. In his report, Pike indicated that he had informed the Pawnee leadership that they were now living under the authority of the United States. Of course, Pawnees lacked a reason to accept such a preposterous declaration. There would be other chiefs with the name Saritarish and most of them would have difficulties with the trail and U.S. colonialism.⁶⁰

Because of a series of early 1800s series of well-publicized encounters with Pike and other uninvited travelers, Euroamericans viewed Pawnees as a powerful but troublesome and dangerous people. The essence of this label stemmed from several factors. The first is that Euroamerican intruders possessed a proclivity for projecting themselves as the victims of Indian aggression. They sought the prerogative to pass freely through Pawnee lands without acquiring permission and to kill animals for food and fun. Relying heavily on buffalo for spiritual and nutritional subsistence, Pawnees often stood up to the Indian and non-Indians trespassers. In 1816, 300 Pawnees [or Comanches according to a few sources] laid siege to a party of hunters and trappers with Auguste P. Chouteau and Jules DeMun. Taking up defensive positions on an Arkansas River island, Chouteau's men reportedly killed and wounded thirty attackers while suffering only four casualties, including one fatality. Located in what is now western Kansas near the town of Hartland, this site, known thereafter as Chouteau's Island, became a landmark on the Santa Fe Trail. For years to come, travelers, in their dairies,

journals, and letters, recalled the violent connection of Pawnees to the island. Other landmarks along the route with Pawnee names, including Pawnee Rock, Pawnee Fork, and the old Pawnee forts, also connoted warfare.⁶¹

With Euroamerican encroachments sparking conflict throughout the plains, U.S. officials sought to control Indians throughout the region through treaties, trade, and, military means. In 1818, leaders of the confederated Pawnee nations entered into separate treaties of peace and friendship with U.S. representatives in St. Louis. Article one states: "Every injury, or act of hostility, by one or either of the contracting parties against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgotten." Article three declares that the Pawnee chiefs and warriors, on behalf of their nation, "do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign, whatsoever."⁶² Given the language barrier and cultural differences that came into play in most treaty councils, it seems unlikely that Pawnee leaders understood what U.S. officials were asking of them.

The 1818 treaty, in terms of the future Santa Fe Trail, was of minor importance. The independent-minded Pawnee leaders, although they referred to the U.S. president as their "Great Father," were not only unwilling to subjugate their people under the unbridled authority of the United States but they were also becoming increasingly intolerant to acts of Euroamerican trespassing. Yet, the development of the Santa Fe trade, along with other forms of U.S. expansionism, slowly propelled the Pawnees towards a state of dependency and political subservience under foreign dominion.

Almost from the trail's onset, popular perceptions among Euroamericans and Mexicans alike held that Pawnees were a formidable, unpredictable, and dangerous threat. Conversely, Pawnees almost certainly held an almost identical view of them. Over the twenty or so years that followed, interlopers on the trail attributed many incidents involving tension, conflict, and violence to Pawnees and Comanches, whether the true identity of the involved Indians was known. Other accounts periodically indicated that Pawnee contact with the trail also included instances of trade, gift exchanges, and other forms of friendly interaction.

A listing of dubious accuracy, compiled by Jedidiah Smith and U.S. agent William Clark for propaganda purposes, alleges that Pawnees had robbed unidentified traveler on the "road to Mexico" in 1821, taking horses, mules, and furs. Historical sources, however, do not substantiate this claim. However, the first documented meeting between Pawnees and trail travelers occurred near Cow Creek on June 18, 1822, shortly before wagons came into general use on the trail. Thomas James, a co-leader of the eastbound McKnight/James company, reported that a large Pawnee party, headed by a principal chief's brother, encountered his small eastbound party on the Arkansas River. Although the meeting began with tension because two "Spanish" Indians, probably Taos Indians, were traveling with the Euroamericans, it ended amicably.⁶³ Explaining to James his reasoning for wanting to co-exist peacefully with Euroamericans, the Pawnee leader stated, [L]ast winter my brother went to Washington and saw our Great Father [U.S. president] there. He said many great things to my brother and made him a great

many presents. And what he said went into my ear and down to my heart. Our Great Father told my bother to treat all Americans well who visited his country, and my bother promised the Great Father, in the name of the whole nation, that we would do as he wished us to do towards the Americans. You and your friends are safe. You shall not be hurt.”⁶⁴ Before the groups parted ways, James provided the Pawnee leader a gift of horse. The leader indicated that he would reciprocate the next time James came to Pawnee country.

These feelings of goodwill were short-lived. In 1823, Pawnees had several antagonistic encounters with travelers. In June or July they took thirty mules and personal property belonging to a party of several Americans and “Spaniards.” According to Louise Barry, whose research focused on the trail’s history, the site of incident became known as the Caches.⁶⁵ That summer, eighty Pawnees confronted a company of thirty-two Missouri-bound traders. An account states that, although a “war hoop was raised,” both sides reached a compromise because the Pawnees could not rob the traders without losing some of their men. Pawnees also received blamed for killing a “Spaniard” with William Anderson’s caravan on the Arkansas that same year.⁶⁶

Amid clamoring that Pawnees, Comanches, and other Indians threatened the lives and economic opportunities of Santa Fe traders, Euroamericans sought protection from their national government. In 1824, Missouri legislatures petitioned Congress for “security against the robberies and murders which all savages are prone to commit on the traveller and merchant.” It also advocated assimilation programs to control Indians, declaring, “commerce is the civilizer of mankind.”⁶⁷ In 1828, the legislature submitted another memorial, claiming that the powerful Pawnees [the only Indigenous people mentioned by name in the petition] “are now much disaffected towards us and are determined to spare no white man who falls in their way.”⁶⁸

Pawnee raids on Mexican settlements and trail traffic on the Mexican side of the border encouraged Mexican officials to seek a peaceful solution to end the conflict. In 1824, a delegation of twenty-six Mexicans departed Santa Fe en route to Fort Atkinson, a U.S. military post situated on the Missouri River, in hopes of negotiating a peace treaty with their Pawnee enemies. Somewhere along the way the party left the trail and proceeded in a northeastern direction to reach the outpost.⁶⁹ This diplomatic occurrence is unique in that U.S. officials permitted representatives of a foreign government to enter lands claimed by the United States for the purpose of negotiating a peace treaty with an Indian nation considered to be under the exclusive authority of the U.S. government. Old animosities nonetheless continued to simmer and the resulting treaty failed to end the Pawnee-Mexico war.⁷⁰

The following spring, the U.S. Congress, in a belated act of obtaining belated approval for the road from selected Indian nations, allocated \$10,000 for the survey and marking of the Santa Fe Trail and another \$20,000 to enter into right-of-way treaties with Indians whose land touched the trade route. In return for the right-of-way agreement, U.S. government agreed to provide the Osage and Kaw nations \$800 in goods a piece.⁷¹ The treaty stipulated that U.S. and Mexican travelers “who shall at all times pass and

repass thereon, without any hindrance or molest[tation]” may seek subsistence and “proper camping places” in an area “extending to a reasonable distance on either side” of the road.⁷² George Sibley, another commissioner, apparently knew of or soon learned about the Pawnees’ connection to the land along the Arkansas River. In an August 31, 1825, journal entry, he suspected that Pawnees and Arikaras had hunted there recently but had returned to their towns to harvest their crops. He referred to the area surrounding Big Coon Creek as the Pawnees’ usual “Summer Resort.”⁷³

Less than six weeks later after the Osage and Kaw treaties, another set of U.S. officials entered into a friendship and trade treaty with Pawnee leaders at Fort Atkinson. Regarding the issue of travel over the controversial road, the treaty stated that Pawnees agreed not to “molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens, who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico or returning from thence to the United States.”⁷⁴ Because the treaty failed to address the trespassing issue and matters pertaining to harm inflicted on the flora and fauna by the travelers, Indian relations with the trail became increasingly volatile.

Meanwhile, several weeks after the treaty with the Osage and Kaw leaders at the Cimarron River in Mexican territory, Pawnees reportedly laid in wait for an eastbound train carrying the U.S. commissioners back to Missouri. According to an account, they “planned to coerce from them a rich booty.” However, they struck the wrong caravan, taking a large number of horses and mules. Benjamin H. Reeves, one of the U.S. commissioners, speculated that they had conducted raids in Mexican territory “from a belief in them that they cannot be punished for an outrage committed beyond our bounds.” In early 1826 Pawnee raiders struck another eastbound caravan with six members of the survey company and fourteen others, taking public and private property. Speculating about the Pawnees’ objective, Reeves asserted that they “seem to be more for the sake of plunder than blood.” Reeves asked U.S. officials to take steps to recover the missing mules and property or to put into place “such further measures as the indignity offered the authority of the government would seem to require.”⁷⁵

Reports of this nature further reified the Euroamerican view that Pawnees were a consistent threat to travel. In May or June of 1826, Pawnees allegedly attacked a party of Ceran St. Vrain with Kit Carson at Pawnee Rock. Another account about this occurrence states that a youthful Carson shot a mule there thinking it was an Indian. This incident is supposedly how this famous landmark received its name.⁷⁶ In late June 1827 midnight raid, possibly near the Little Coon Creek, thirty Pawnees, or possibly Comanches, took livestock belonging to an eastbound party of a dozen or so traders. Petitioning the U.S. government for compensation, traders declared that Pawnees were lawless, violent, and driven by their love of plunder.⁷⁷

In late August or early September of 1828, Euroamericans claimed that relations along the Arkansas River had reached an unprecedented level of volatility. At that time, unknown Indians killed Daniel Monroe and Robert McNees, members of the Sublette and Marmaduke party, near the Upper Cimarron Springs. The trappers subsequently took revenge on a group of unoffending Comanches who arrived at the scene of men’s funeral,

killing five or six of them without provocation. Conflicting reports initially blamed the pair's death both on Pawnee and Comanches, but ensuing accounts mostly held the latter responsible.⁷⁸ Several days later, Indians struck the Marmaduke and Sublette caravan, driving off between seven hundred and a thousand horses and mules. Again, reports implicated the Pawnees but it may have been Comanches or others who drove off the animals.⁷⁹ During that same month east of the Upper Cimarron Springs, Pawnees received blame for killing John Means, the captain of a caravan of about twenty-five eastbound travelers. Statements from others, however, attributed the act to Comanches.⁸⁰

On the night of August 28 Indians, believed to have been Pawnees, took sixty-five to a hundred and thirty mules belonging to the Marmaduke, Sappington, and McMahan company. In September, Isaac McCoy, who was escorting with a delegation of Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks about seventy-five miles from the mouth of the Kansas River, dreaded a meeting with roving Pawnee war parties.⁸¹ At that time, Euroamericans were circulating rumor alleging that the Pawnees had declared war on Euroamericans. In November, McCoy reported that 1,500 Pawnees had gone "en masse in a war excursion against the whites."⁸² On November 18, the *Missouri Republican* published a letter in which U.S. agent John Dougherty, written about two weeks earlier, asserted that 1,500 Grand [Chau] and Loup [Skidi] Pawnees had "gone *en masse* in a war excursion against the whites; and their attention will be directed principally to the Santa Fe road to intercept our traders, and if they failed there, to fall on the frontier settlements of Arkansas, having declared that *determination to scalp all white men* who they meet." Infusing a bit of racial editorializing into the story, the *Republican* added, "The Pawnees . . . are a strong, athletic race of men but destitute of courage. When united they can bring into the field several thousand warriors."⁸³

Responding the following month to growing conflict on the trail and calls for protection, the Missouri legislator petitioned Congress for the establishment of a military post on the Arkansas River.⁸⁴ Rather than trying to suppress the actual source of the conflict – the uncurbed growth of destructive trail traffic – U.S. officials opted for a militaristic solution aimed at protecting the traders and commerce. Apparently expecting contact, if not trouble, from Pawnees, Captain Bennet Riley, the force's commander, took along a Pawnee-speaking interpreter. Riley's command fought several battles and skirmishes with Indians, perhaps Comanches and others,⁸⁵ but it does not appear that Pawnees participated in the combat.

Other factors contributed to the solidification of the Pawnees' ignoble reputation. In the late 1820s, the unreliable list compiled by famed mountain man Jedediah Smith and William Clark of violence along the trail accused Pawnees of having committed criminal acts against trailers. Interestingly, despite numerous reports of Pawnees perpetrating acts of violence or theft along the trail, the enumeration contained very few references to Pawnees. Nonetheless, in an October 11, 1831 Santa Fe trader Alphonso Wetmore declared that Pawnees, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Blackfeet, and Arapahos endangered the lives and property of traders. He attributed forays in 1827 and 1828, which cost traders nearly a thousand head of livestock, to Comanches and Pawnees.⁸⁶

Although a few documented accounts tell of friendly interaction between Pawnees and trail traffic, most travelers told a story of that contained the elements of fear, tension, and violent conflict. On the Arkansas River in the fall of 1830, Pawnees reportedly attacked a westbound contingent of trappers, taking seven horses and wounding others. At least one Pawnee may have died or received wounds during the confrontation.⁸⁷ In a narrative regarding his 1831 journey along the Arkansas and elsewhere, Albert Pike declared the “wandering, savage, and hostile tribes” included the Comanches, Kiowas, Pawnees, and others. He noted that Pawnees always traveled to war on foot and seldom ventured south of the Canadian River.⁸⁸ The following spring, Pawnees received blame for killing two caravan members who were hunting on the Pawnee Fork.⁸⁹ Travelers during this period began to attribute unexplained occurrences to them. In May, for instances, Josiah Gregg’s caravan suspected that the smell of “lurking Pawnees” had caused its livestock to stampede.⁹⁰

By 1831, Euroamerican interlopers seemingly had a vendetta against Pawnees. That fall, a group of Pawnees received gifts from a passing caravan. Soon thereafter, a smallpox outbreak swept through their settlements with devastating consequences. On October 29, describing a scene of widespread suffering, dying, and death, a U.S. agent wrote:

They were dying fast, and taken down at once in such a large number that they have ceased to bury their dead whose bodies were seen in every direction laying about in the river lodged on the sandbars, in the hogweeds, around the villages & in the corn caches, others again now dragged off by hungry dogs into the Prairie where they were torn to pieces by more hungry wolves and Buzzards.

Although the epidemic cut the Pawnee population in half, between 8,000 to 12,000 survivors went about the responsibility of restoring their ways of living.⁹¹ Pawnees traced the epidemic to the gifts from Santa Fe traders.⁹² Albert Pike, a youthful member of Charles Bent’s caravan that reached Taos in November 1831, declared that Pawnees had sworn “vengeance against the whites for carrying [smallpox] among them.” A second incident occurring in the early 1830s further soured Pawnee relations with the trail traffic. Apparently drawing from secondhand information, Pike declared that a Pueblo Indian traveling with a caravan shot the son of a Pawnee chief in the back while he was parleying with traders. Echoing this story, Josiah Gregg, a trader who traveled with a caravan from States to Santa Fe during the spring and summer of 1831, dates the killing as having occurred in 1832. According to Gregg, traders disapproved of the murder, but Pawnees held all of them responsible nonetheless. Gregg, who failed to mention the smallpox incident, claims that the killing aroused the Pawnees’ ire, making them “among the most formidable and treacherous enemies of the Santa Fé traders.”⁹³ A letter dated December 10, 1832, from Clark to Lewis Cass, the secretary of war, indicates that the killer was a white man, and that Pawnees would avenge the death. In a previous letter, however, Clark indicated that the culprit was a Spaniard.⁹⁴ Despite these assertions, as we shall see, it appears that the Pawnees’ first strike of vengeance, it that is what it was, occurred in 1837.

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1832, Pawnees expressed their distress to U.S. agent John Dougherty about the destructiveness of trespassers. Relaying their concerns to the William Clark, the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis he wrote:

They state however that they have one cause of complaint against their white brothers and that was the frequent passing and repassing in various directions of large parties of trappers and Santa Fe traders over their buffalo hunting grounds in consequence of which they are often obliged to go many days at a time without a mouthful to eat. They requested me to make known these facts to you that they might reach the ears of their great Father who they confidently hoped would have pity on his Pawnee Children and either prevent these parties from traveling through their Country, destroying their Beaver and running off their Buffalo or give them something annually as an equivalent for the loss they thus sustain.⁹⁵

Clark promptly forwarded this information to the U.S. secretary of war.

In 1833, a U.S. treaty delegation visited the Pawnee towns for the purpose of acquiring millions of acres of land that reached from the Platte River southward. The roots of the treaty stemmed from the U.S. policy of territorial expansion. Not long after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, U.S. policymakers viewed the newly acquired lands as a place where Indians, whose rich and fertile lands laid were the objects of Euroamerican desires, could be placed. During the mid 1820s U.S. officials initiated a policy responsible for pushing thousands of Indians, belonging to nearly thirty different nations, into eastern Kansas and Indian Territory. U.S. treaty representatives often resorted to such threats as intimidation, false promises, and deception to reach their expansionistic objective of moving Indians out of the way.

Shawnees followed by Delawares, Kickapoos, Potawatomis, and others forfeited their eastern and Midwestern lands in return for reservations in eastern Kansas near the vicinity of the road to Santa Fe. When Delaware hunters moved onto the plains in search of buffalo in 1831, they encountered a party of Pawnees. A fight erupted when the Delawares refused a Pawnee directive for them to abandon the hunt and leave Pawnee land. In the summer of 1833, Delawares retaliated for the loss of several of their men in that skirmish by burning a Chaui town on the Platte River while its inhabitants were on a communal hunt.⁹⁶

Inhabitants of each Pawnee town extended the U.S. treaty delegation a warm, if not totally trustful, welcome. Although the treaty's finalized version asserted that Pawnees had ceded all of their lands lying south of the Platte River, which included their most productive hunting lands, they apparently believed that they had merely relinquished title a small piece of land where Delawares could hunt. According to the treaty, Pawnees retained the right hunt in common with other Indians on the ceded lands at the pleasure of the U.S. president. In a Pawnee worldview, ownership of the land could not be separated from the buffalo, meaning that cultural differences probably, if not deception, contributed to the misunderstanding. Regarding the issue of travel on the

Santa Fe Trail and elsewhere, article 9 states that the Pawnees would “not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found.”⁹⁷ Among other things, the treaty also provided for the establishment of an annuity fund and assimilation program for a ten-year period.⁹⁸ The treaty did not address the Pawnee concerns about the “pass and repassing” of caravans through their lands.

By this point in time, most Pawnee leaders had adopted a policy of accommodation with the U.S. government, but groups of Pawnees began to raid along the trail in 1837, but not at the level expressed in Euroamerican propaganda. A report indicates that some of them killed two herders near Bent’s Fort in that year. That spring at Pawnee Fork, sixteen Pawnees fought Dick Wooten’s party of hunters. Wooten claimed that his companions killed thirteen of them and captured another one. They freed the captive with an understanding that he would inform his people that Euroamericans “would kill all the Pawnees if they didn’t behave themselves better in the future.”⁹⁹ This warning, if true, had no discernable effect on the Pawnees’ growing discontent with the trail and their declining economic well-being because of the decline of the buffalo herds.

That September on soil claimed by Mexico, a Skidi party skirmished with a southbound Bent, St. Vrain & Company party on the mountain route on either the Timpas or upper Purgatorie rivers. The victorious Skidis returned home with appropriated horses and goods valued at more than \$3,000. Dispositions given several years later, to support a claim for compensation from a Pawnee annuity fund established by the 1833 treaty, contain discrepancies regarding the number of casualties sustained by the traders. One statement indicates that the fight had resulted in the death of one trader and the wounding three others while another account says that two traders were wounded.¹⁰⁰ When questioned about the affair by U.S. agents, Big Soldier, as Skidi, admitted to having led the attack on what he believed was a party of “Spaniards.” In 1845, Congress denied the request because the incident had occurred in Mexico.¹⁰¹

As the 1830s came to a close, the Pawnees’ largely undeserved reputation as deadly foes remained firmly entrenched. Their population losses from epidemics, however, reduced the ability of the Pawnees to engage in more active militant actions. Another devastating smallpox epidemic struck Pawnees in 1837, killing most of those who had not been born in 1831, when the previous outbreak had occurred. This deadly epidemic virtually wiped out an entire generation of Pawnees but not the will of these people to live in accordance with their revered customs, beliefs, and worldview.

Josiah Gregg recalled that on April 19, 1838, Pawnee raiders had failed to run off with horses and mules belonging to this party of twenty-three Euroamericans and twelve Mexican servants. Later that summer, Pawnees reportedly killed two herds at Bent’s Fort.¹⁰² Echoing a common belief, Gregg asserted that Pawnees were “among the most formidable and treacherous enemies of the Santa Fé traders.”¹⁰³

From 1839 to 1845, travelers gave mostly anecdotal accounts telling of past acts of Pawnee aggression, Indian scares, and precautions taken after they entered the danger

zone just west of Council Grove. Thomas F. Farnham, a member of the westbound Peoria party, repeated commonly held views about dreaded Pawnees and Comanches. Travelers often wrote about the “old Pawnee fort” on the Arkansas and the 1816 fight at Chouteau’s Island. Old timers spun yarns about murderous depredations committed by thieving Pawnees.¹⁰⁴ Matt Field, without specifying a date, related stories telling of an attack by fifteen Pawnee “savages” on four brave Euroamericans who were traveling on foot from Bent’s Fort to Arkansas. Summarizing the outcome of this real or imagined encounter, Field stated that “the miserable men were shot dead, and the scalps of the four victims were taken in triumph by the blood thirsty savages.”¹⁰⁵ Suggesting that these Indians were no longer a threat to life, Field declared “no danger being dreaded from the quiet Pawnees in case of an encounter, though they will steal if by neglect any opportunity is left for them.”¹⁰⁶ However, a fear of Pawnee violence continued to inspire caution, innuendo, and speculation for about ten more years.¹⁰⁷

In this tense milieu, travelers delighted in learning about tragedies that befell Pawnees. In late May or early June in 1841 at the Lower Cimarron Spring, an Arapaho force reportedly killed more than seventy Pawnees.¹⁰⁸ Rufus Sage and his traveling companions learned about the bloody affair from another Santa Fe company. “An approving murmur,” Sage wrote, “ran through the crowd while listening to the recital, and all united to denounce the Pawnees as a dangerous and villainous set, and wished for their utter extermination.”¹⁰⁹

Several verifiable incidents did occur during that time period. At the Little Arkansas River in November 1841, Pawnees allowed a Mexican party, accompanied by fifteen Euroamericans, to pass by “without much difficulty.”¹¹⁰ In late October 1842, possibly at the Pawnee Fork crossing, twenty Pawnees scuffled with and took property from eastbound a small party that included the noted mountain man Thomas Fitzpatrick and “Vandusen.” The Pawnees voluntarily returned some horses to Fitzpatrick. A U.S. agent, however, later awarded Fitzpatrick compensation amounting to \$207 for the property he had lost during the encounter. This money came from the Pawnee annuity fund.¹¹¹

The year 1842 was another one in which travelers mostly provided anecdotal information about Pawnees. Reflecting on his journey, Joseph Williams stated that Pawnees and Comanches made the route “very dangerous.”¹¹² He heard that Indians on different occasions had chased a Euroamerican and killed eight others. However, other sources do not support Williams’s dubious account.

It was during this era that some Pawnees became frustrated with the position of accommodation that their leaders had chosen to pursue in U.S. relations. Rotten Moccasin was one who joined the Comanches to fight the tragic efficacy of U.S. expansionism. He was killed on the Arkansas River while returning from a visit to this family.

The next reference to Pawnee contact with the trail came from Lewis Garrard, an adventure-seeking teenager. In the spring of 1845, he reported that Pawnees at Pawnee

Fork had attacked three Bent and St. Vrain employees who had traveled strayed away from the safety of their caravan, killing one.¹¹³

The spring and summer of the following year saw numerous meeting Pawnees and trail travelers. On March 7, Indians identified as Pawnees raided Armijo's train and another trading party, taking two horses and forty-four mules.¹¹⁴ Writing under the name of John Brown to the *Saint Louis Reveille* on May 17, 1846, Richard Smith Elliot used stereotypical language to comment on the Indians' disposition. He stated that Comanches, Utes, Cheyennes, Apaches and Pawnees were the most powerful and warlike Indians, adding that they were all "buffalo eaters" and "great scamps." At Plum Buttes, some Indian hunters warned Marcellus Ball Edward's command that they had seen signs of "wild" Indians, probably meaning Pawnees. This information encouraged Edward's unit to switch to a more defensible camp. He learned that unidentified Indians had attacked other trains near Pawnee Fork.¹¹⁵

In early summer of 1846, when the Mexican War escalated traffic over the trail, travelers reported numerous incidents of conflict with Indians, with a few probable acts involving Pawnees occurring between Pawnee Rock and Pawnee Fork. On July 8, traders informed a U.S. command that Indians had recently attacked another train, killing one or two of its members.¹¹⁶ On July 14, Captain Waldo and thirty-six soldiers were sent to the scene to protect a supply train from an anticipated Pawnee attack. A member of Doniphan's Expedition, John T. Hughes, asserted that "treacherous and wily" Pawnees "constantly beset the road for murder and plunder."¹¹⁷ Three days later, five naked Pawnees with painted faces entered a U.S. army camp causing it inhabitants to find a more defensible position.¹¹⁸

Not all encounters involved violence. On July 18, a friendly but stressful meeting occurred on the Arkansas River. On that day, some Pawnees sold a camp of soldiers a quantity of dried buffalo meat "for a trifle." Expressing contempt for them, a soldier wrote, "we knew their thievish propensity and want of faith, and told them to leave, which they did."¹¹⁹ Fearing that their visitors might return after darkness, the soldiers carefully picketed their horses.

Most reports indicate that Pawnees were more of a nuance than a threat. However, on August 11 or 12 at the Caches, Indians, variously identified as either Pawnees, Cheyennes, or Comanches, killed William Swan, a teamster who had wandered beyond the protection of his camp.¹²⁰

As the summer waned, growing incidents of Indian opposition to the escalation of trail travel resulted in an exponential increase in the use of negative imagery about the Pawnees. Not since 1828 had the reports been so scathing. Francis Parkman and other travelers routinely stressed the horrors of Indian savagery. In doing so, they mostly based their flawed facts on hearsay and possibly erroneous information. Parkman claimed that parties of Pawnees and Comanches targeted every passing caravan soon after the Army of the West's westward passage. Just east of Bent's Fort, in response to news that the

route ahead was “infested by hostile Pawnees and Camanches [sic],”¹²¹ Parkman’s small party merged with seventy other travelers for protection.¹²²

He learned that Pawnees had shot and killed man named Ewing, possibly at a site east of Cow Creek. Another account indicates that Ewing’s caravan may have killed as many as three Pawnees. Whatever the number of reported deaths accounts of this nature, fueled by a fear of Indian retaliation, kept Euroamerican interlopers on edge. Parkman recorded that travelers “fired every night at real or imaginary Indians.” Yet, the threat was not severe enough to bring travel to a standstill or warrant U.S. military protection.¹²³

Parkman’s travel occurred at a time when certain nations of Indians, or at least parts of them, were becoming more forceful in their dealings with the disruptive effects of accelerating trail traffic. At this point, Pawnees, Comanches, and Arapahos were apparently the most active in the fighting. They targeted both civilian and military caravans. They did not differentiate between them because both types of travelers posed a threat to their buffalo herds, customary forms of land use, and economies. The area between the Pawnee Fork and the Cimarron River witnessed most of the conflict.¹²⁴

Mormon volunteers en route to New Mexico, and beyond, to participate in the U.S. invasion of Mexico, constituted a major portion of the U.S. military travel. At Pawnee Fork, one of them echoed a common refrain, stating that the Pawnees were “very fierce and warlike.”¹²⁵ A civilian Mormon, John D. Lee, learned from U.S. soldiers that some Pawnees had taken seventeen horses and mules from Armijo’s train. Pawnee harassment of the train supposedly continued for a few days.¹²⁶

That fall, travelers blamed Pawnees for perpetrating other acts of violence. At Pawnee Fork around October 13, a report indicated that Pawnees attacked a U.S. mule train, killing a Euroamerican and wounding another. A few days later Pawnees, or other Indians, captured a caravan and destroyed eighteen wagons. Taking articles of clothing and about fifty mules, they supposedly left the nude teamster to fend for themselves.¹²⁷ On October 28, 300 to 500 Pawnees reportedly defeated a Santa Fe-bound U.S. supply train under Captain Mann with forty men. In addition to taking all but twelve of the train’s horses and mules, the attackers killed a teamster. They also took blankets and clothing and burned a wagon with bacon and flouring.¹²⁸ According to a dubious account, a hundred and sixty Cheyennes pursued the Pawnees who had defeated Mann’s train. However, another source indicates that the Cheyennes followed Mann’s men.¹²⁹ At that time, Cheyennes were trying to maintain a fragile peace with Euroamericans, but, facing growing problems stemming of disruptive impact of Euroamericans, they would within ten years join the fight against U.S. colonialism.

The writings of Lewis Garrard, who traveled the trail at that time, assert the Pawnees imperiled trail travel. Accordingly, possibly on November 3, they struck a U.S. supply train with twenty-eight wagons and 169 mules, burning a wagon and taking most of the mules. Garrard was apparently referring to the October 28 fight with Mann’s train. Reflecting a sentiment shared by many of his counterparts, he declared that Pawnees had “the devil to pay.”¹³⁰

The last recorded Pawnee contact that year occurred in December. In that meeting, some of them met eastbound Lieutenant John O. Simpson. Although the encounter was a tense one, they did not “seriously molest” him.¹³¹

A question is to what extent were the Pawnees involved in fight against the flow of traffic in 1846. Although an absence of reliable sources makes it virtually impossible to offer a definitive answer to this historical mystery, it appears certain that Chauis from Sharitarish’s town had participated in the conflict. Of all Pawnees leader, most of whom had taken an a position of accommodation toward the U.S. government, this elderly man had a reputation among Euroamericans as being a “bad” man for his outspoken opposition to U.S. expansionism. He had been born and come to an age during a time when his people lived in accordance with the customary rhythms of life, and he wanted to carry on the ways of his ancestors. It was a free existence, unimpeded by demands of U.S. society, that he sought to maintain for the well-being of his people. Considering the 1833 treaty to be fraudulent, he refused to move his people north of the Platte River in accordance with terms of the agreement. In 1847, some of their leaders told a U.S. agent that Chauis had attacked a U.S. train on the trail, killing a man and taking 160 mules. It is likely, however, that these and other Pawnees had engaged in most of the other raids.

The fall 1847 incident sheds light on how returning Pawnee raiding expeditions allocated booty appropriated from the Santa Fe Trail and how U.S. officials sought to undermine the Pawnee tradition without addressing the root cause of the conflict. Given that a cultural value of sharing pervaded their lives and values, Pawnee men had a strict obligation to redistribute the fruits of their war activities among their families, relations, friends, and the needy. Those who received the gifts could use the items as them as fit. The objects often served as a medium of exchange within a Pawnee town or with their neighboring Kitkahahki, Skidi, and Pitahawirata relatives. Although his distributive process was an important cultural practice that contributed to the economic well-being of the Pawnee confederacy, U.S. official acted to force them to surrender those goods acquired in 1847. The Kitkahahkis, Skidis, and Pitahawiratas apparently did so without much difficulty, but it took a measure of unspecified coercion to encourage Chauis to give up property remaining in their possession.¹³²

Indian raids on the trail continued virtually unabated during the following year. An estimation of the Indians’ success came in 1847 with the report of Lt. Colonel William Gilpin, who was appointed as the officer in charge of U.S. military force assigned to protect the trail. According to Gilpin, the Indians in 1847 had destroyed 330 wagons, plundered 6,500 head of livestock, and killed forty-seven Euromericans.¹³³ On June 3, 1848, the Santa Louis *Reveille* reported that Indians had attacked most wagon trains on the plains in 1846 and 1847. Writing from Bent’s Fort, an observer claimed that “The Pawnees are playing the deuce with the provision wagons . . . [they have killed men, burned several wagons . . . and I am glad of this because now, perhaps, Uncle Sam, the old fool, will punish these Indians who have so long committed outrages upon the traders with impunity.”¹³⁴

Meanwhile, Indian resistance to the trail's traffic remained constant, and travelers continue to express their fear of the Pawnees and others and demand U.S. protection. On January 8, 1848, George Ruxton, a British adventurer, noted that after having recently detained a Santa Fe-bound U.S. train the Pawnee captors allowed its members to resume their journey without their animals and wagons. Ruxton was probably referring to the aforementioned October 28, 1847, incident involving the Mann train.¹³⁵

There were only a few accounts of Indian interaction with the trail's traffic in January, but none of them tell of Pawnee involvement. On January 6, however, Abert's party blamed them for the loss of mules taken at Jackson's Grove, a site situated some distance beyond of the normal route of travel. Three days later about seven miles west of Ash Creek, a group of Pawnees engaged a series of tense relations with Abert's party. As a show of their peaceful intentions, about six Pawnees crossed the frozen stream with a white flag entered Abert's camp in hope of selling some mules in their possession. With frigid weather making travel extremely difficult, Abert allowed a small party of Pawnee visitors to spend the night in his crowded tent. He warned them to avoid moving around at night because his guards were looking for "thievish Indians and they might be shot by mistake." The following day, Abert accompanied the Pawnees to their camp so he could see the mules in their possession. Returning to his camp without taking an axe belonging to his party that was used to break the ice during the crossing, Abert believed that those people had stolen the mules from his company.¹³⁶

The next day, tensions ran high at the soldier's camp. A Pawnee reportedly stated that this party would turnover the mules if the soldiers gave them more than what they were worth. According to Abert, the Pawnees departed in an irritated state when he refused to trade for the mules. He rejected the demands of his men that they should kill all of the Pawnees for having stolen their mule. Describing his reluctance to resort to violence, he stated that he "could never kill any of them in cold blood, nor would [he] consent that my men should shoot them down." Abert's men armed themselves nonetheless and headed for the Pawnee camp to retrieve the missing axe. Seeing approaching soldiers, the Pawnees broke camp and moved out of harms way. Abert wrote that they "continued to dog our trail" for about twelve miles.¹³⁷

There was no other recorded contact until March. On June 1, the St. Louis *Union* reported that Pawnees had captured, robbed, stripped, and whipped Mr. [James?] Brown near Pawnee Fork in March. Their principal men, according to the account, kept the others from killing Brown who "succeeded in escaping and his clothes were finally restored to him."¹³⁸ Rumors also blamed the Comanches for this deed.¹³⁹ On April 13, 1847, Ruxton painted a written picture of the warfare, stating that during the past six months Pawnees and Comanches had raided a caravan, taking livestock without apparently inflicting any casualties. Several weeks later in early May, Hector Garrard partially described Pawnee and Comanche motives for war, stating they were attempting to keep the land "preserved inviolate from the track-leaving wood-wasting and game scaring white-man."¹⁴⁰

It was during this period of heightened tensions and fighting along the trail that U.S. officials opted to construct a fortified way station near the Caches. Named Fort Mann, the outpost was meant to serve as a safe-haven where caravans could rest, repair damaged wagons, and restore worn out animals. In late April, on behalf of the U.S. army, forty teamsters began cutting timber as part of the construction.¹⁴¹ For surrounding Indians, whose delicate livelihood depended largely on availability of animals to hunt, the post represented an unprecedented step of Euroamerican aggression, environmental degradation, trespassing, and provocation.

Consequently, conflict in the surrounding area soon erupted. Although the extent of Pawnee involvement in disrupting the post's construction was probably limited, if nonexistent, vigilant Comanches observed the development with consternation. On May 9, several days before Garrard's arrival, a party of them killed a foolish worker who had gone fishing at a nearby stream. Two days later, a mounted group of unidentified raiders struck quickly, stampeding thirty oxen and forty mules.¹⁴² Giving an exaggerated if not false accounting of the situation on May 12, Ruxton claimed that Pawnees had besieged the fort, killing "everyone who showed his nose outside the gate."¹⁴³ Most other observers attributed the raids to the Comanches, possibly joined at times by Kiowas and Arapahos, who were apparently trying to destroy the small post.

Garrard described the physical appearance of completed post. Having a diameter of sixty feet, it had four, flat-roof buildings interconnected with timber standing up to twenty feet in height. The walls were constructed with loopholes for defensive purposes. Two large wooden gates served as entryways. Despite its protective design, the inhabitants of the fort were vulnerable and scared. Unrelenting Indian pressure encouraged them to abandon the outpost on June 22.¹⁴⁴

Several 1847 sources indicate that Pawnee warriors were conducting operations along the trail. In April or May, possibly near the Great Bend, Indians identified as Pawnees attempted to stampede the livestock belonging to a train with Kit Carson but only managed to take two horses. The following night, in an apparent act of revenge, they harassed the same train. On May 10, according to Ruxton, they struck a Mexican wagon train, taking 150 mules at the cost of losing a man. During an after-dark fight with a train of fifteen wagons on October 25, they reportedly suffered another fatality.¹⁴⁵

As in the past, interlopers, usually without knowing the perpetrators' identity, often blamed Pawnees and Comanches. As a result, the ranting of newspapers editors and correspondents, soldiers, and travelers periodically expressed outrage and fear toward both of them. Experienced frontiersmen used the campfire as a forum for sharing their belligerent views about them and to provide embellished, if not blatantly erroneous, accounts. One reader and listener, Ruxton, a tenderfoot, wrote with passion about the fear he felt while envisioning a Pawnee or Comanche encounter. He noted that because of the probability "that Indians were lurking in the neighbourhood . . . the rifle always accompanied the fuel hunter."¹⁴⁶

Writing about Pawnees with unconstrained contempt and expressing a “final solution” for resolving the “Indian problem” on the plains, Richard Smith Elliot, a U.S. volunteer with the occupying force in New Mexico, wrote:

A more perfect set of depredators, when they feel themselves able, than those same Pawnees, does not exist. They are arrant cowards, as all the Indians are, unless they have the advantage; but they are essentially Ishmaelites in one sense, for their had is against every man, and every man’s hand *ought* to be against them. Though universally, almost, fairly dealt with by the whites, they return this fair treatment with treachery and outrage, and richly merit the fate of total extermination.”¹⁴⁷

In the fall of 1847, with Indian challenges to U.S. encroachments and raids on caravans mounting, U.S. officials intensified their efforts to protect trade and travel. In January 1847, the Pawnees’ old adversary, Thomas Fitzpatrick, now a U.S. agent, recommended the placement of two forts on the trail, one at Great Bend and another at the mouth of the Purgatoire River. Rather, Gilpin, or perhaps U.S. officials, opted to reoccupy Fort Mann that autumn. This decision marked a fundamental shift in the U.S. policy from the periodic use of mounted patrols to garrisoning troops in the heart of Indian country. Additional posts along the trail and within the surrounding region would be built.¹⁴⁸

Called Gilpin’s Volunteers, in honor of their commander, Lt. Colonel William Gilpin; the Indian Battalion; the Missouri Mounted Battalion; and other names, these poorly-trained, undisciplined, and inexperienced volunteers occupied the isolated military post. Yet, they would participate in some of the bloodiest fighting connected to the trail to that point in time. Gilpin left two companies of infantrymen and an artillery company at Fort Mann before he moved up the Arkansas with four cavalry companies to winter at Big Timber.

In late 1847 the Fort Mann area became a scene of two incidents of bloodshed. Jim Beckwourth, a U.S. army courier, claimed to have killed two Pawnees near the post without provocation. On November 16, several Pawnees died inside and beyond the post’s wall at the hands of Missouri volunteers. The following April, a U.S. agent Nebraska recorded a survivor’s account of the massacre. Accordingly, members of a large Pawnee party who had been south of the Arkansas searching for other Indians, possibly Comanches or Kiowas, stopped near the fort in their journey back home.¹⁴⁹ Some of them wanted to do “mischief” to the fort, but most others did not. A short distance away, a few other Pawnees met several Missouri volunteers who invited them inside to smoke tobacco and drink coffee. Soon thereafter, about forty more unarmed Pawnees entered the fort at the invitation of the post’s commander. Within the fort’s walls they received food and good treatment. The mood quickly changed when the soldiers began to arm themselves. Dodging sword blades and gunfire, most Pawnees reached the nearby timber where they had left their weapons. The Pawnee account placed of missing at seven, including the head chief’s son. A Euroamerican account indicates that the volunteers killed four Pawnees and wounded twenty others. The death

toll may have been dramatically higher, according to the Pawnee version, if a faction of the soldiers, who apparently disapproved of the trap, had not turned on their comrades. An additional problem, cold weather, beset the survivors. Having left most of their gear behind, they experienced the hardship of winter travel as they returned to their homes on the Platte River. Saritarish's son, the leader of the expedition, was among the missing.¹⁵⁰

Reporting this incident on December 16, 1847, *The Daily Reveille*, a St. Louis newspaper, waved the bloody banners of Indian savagery and deceitfulness to justify the Fort Mann tragedy, declaring

It is well known that the *Pawnees* are among the most treacherous and hostile of the prairie tribes, and notwithstanding their many peaceful protestations, they have not hesitated, wherever an opportunity offered, to attack our troops, emigrating parties, traders, and government trains.

It speculated that the Pawnees had used the white flag of peace as a ruse post to create havoc within the garrison. It concluded: "The fact that they were *Pawnees* is a strong argument against their motives for visiting the fort, it being well known, as we have before stated, that this tribe are deadly hostile to the whites."¹⁵¹ In St. Louis, the *New Era* blamed the massacre on the post commander for disobeying orders prohibiting Pawnees from entering the post.

Although some soldiers acknowledged the criminality of the massacre, U.S. officials refused to accept responsibility. During a March visit with a U.S. agent at Council Bluffs, the Pawnee chiefs demanded compensation for the men they had lost at Fort Mann. Their quest for justice went unheeded. U.S. policy enabled Euroamericans to seek compensation from Indians for damage and lost property, but it virtually denied the same opportunity to Indians who experienced harm from Euroamericans.

When the chiefs raised the troubling matter of the Fort Mann massacre, conditions among their people were very bleak. Reduced to eating "wild roots," they lacked corn because of a poor harvest and meat because they had managed to only take a hundred and fifty buffalo during their winter hunt. Indians having an association with the Santa Fe Trail had been complaining bitterly to U.S. agents that the flow of traffic was driving away the buffalo herds, making it substantially more difficult for them to procure enough food to eat.¹⁵²

As 1847 came to a close, Pawnees relations with the trail remained troubled. In his autobiography, Jim Beckwourth claimed some of them had chased him and his companions. In December, he stated that his small party hid from Pawnees who were hunting buffalo.¹⁵³ He declared that at a spot two days west of Fort Mann he fired at eleven Pawnees without provocation, "leveling" five of them.¹⁵⁴

Successful raids on wagon trains enabled Pawnee men to partially offset the growing desperation of their people, but problems beyond their control were making life increased risky for them. Beginning during the early 1840s, two new thoroughfares, the

Oregon and Mormon trails, directly penetrated the core area of their homeland along the Platte and Loup rivers. With thousands of people in rut-carving wagons transporting large numbers of livestock toward the West Coast, these interlopers spread disease, polluted the water, killed game, and destroyed timber and grasslands. Regarding deadly infections, in 1837, another smallpox visitation took the lives of the children who had not been alive during the previous epidemic six years earlier. During the late 1840s, an outbreak of whooping cough took way many of children. In the spring and summer of 1849, a cholera epidemic struck, killing more than a thousand of them or about a quarter of their population.

Another factor occurring in the summer of 1848 had profound implications for the Pawnees' relations with the Santa Fe Trail and Euroamericans. On August 6, responding to a U.S. government request for a treaty, the destitute Pawnee chiefs ceded a strip of land about sixty miles long and five miles wide north of the Platte River to the United States for the construction of a U.S. army post that became known as Fort Kearny on Grand Island. Article four of the treaty declared that the Pawnee chiefs reaffirmed the Pawnee nation's friendship with the Euroamericans, "their fidelity to the United States, and their desire for peace with all the neighboring tribes of Indians." It added: "The Pawnee Nation, therefore, faithfully promise not to molest or injure the property or person of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found."¹⁵⁵

After having the treaty terms read and interpreted to the Pawnee leaders, Lt. Colonel Ludwell E. Powell, the head U.S. representative, distributed two thousand dollars in goods and merchandize among all of those who had signed the treaty except for two "bad men:" the elderly Saritarish and Double Chief. Speaking in an arrogant and condescending manner, Powell declared that "if [Saritarish] did not behave better in [the] future he would hang him like a dog." Powell accused him of the offenses of encouraging the Chaus to stay south of the Platte, refusing to surrender stolen U.S. government mules [taken from the Santa Fe Trail], and being a general problem for white people. Responding to these charges, Saritarish "replied that some time ago his son was killed on the Santa fee road he had supposed it was done by whites & had felt badly towards them, but his heart had been opened. [H]e had been led to see that the whites were good."¹⁵⁶

Before the soldiers departed the following morning, Saritarish and Powell engaged in a heated exchange, with the chief declaring that he did not want any of the goods because Euroamericans had killed his son. He then criticized Powell for having violated diplomatic protocol by berating him during the council. After proclaiming his innocence, Saritarish [who was not a Christian] pulled a bible from his robe and gave it to Powell, advising "him to read it & he hoped it would make him a better man." Powell retorted that the bible taught "him that the good should be rewarded & the wicked punished."¹⁵⁷

A language barrier nearly sparked a potentially bloody fight between the Chaus and soldiers. Several evenings later, on August 13, Powell received an express stating that a party of U.S. mail carriers was advised to avoid Saritarish's town because the old

chief intended to kill them and that the wagon train accompany them had corralled in anticipation of an attack. At daybreak the following morning, Powell led three hundred mounted soldiers with two artillery pieces to Saritarish's town intending to protect the mail carriers and level the Chaui town. Pawnees discovered the soldiers' early morning approach. Chief Malane, who was considered the leading chief of the four confederated Pawnee nations and was apparently at odds with Saritarish, greeted the approaching force. In a display of hostility, Powell led his troops through the town before turning toward the nearby bluffs, where the soldiers apparently trained the cannons on the town. An observer reported that the "Indians regarded these movements with suspicion and great uneasiness."

In council, the Pawnee leaders informed Powell that a misunderstanding had caused the tension. Chief Malane stated that he had used sign language to tell mail carriers that they "should not stop in the village lest their young men might steal them something." Regarding Saritarish's alleged threat to harm the mail carriers, Chief Malane stated that he had used signs to say that the old chief had been involved in a domestic violence issue involving his son-in-law's killing of his daughter. One report indicated that Saritarish had killed his son-in-law while another asserts that Saritarish had wounded the man, who subsequently took his own life. Although the U.S. government lacked jurisdiction over offenses involving Indian-on-Indian violence, Powell, citing authority given to him by the U.S. president, violated the sovereignty of the Pawnee nation by taking Saritarish into custody and threatening the same for anyone who might come to the chief's defense. A correspondent called "Nebraska" noted that Powell had taken this action "not for what he [Saritarish] has done lately . . . but for the misdeeds of a past life."¹⁵⁸ The soldiers apparently held the old chief at Fort Kearny for less than two months without pursuing criminal action against him.

In a November 30, 1847, letter to his superior in Washington, D.C., Lieutenant D. P. Woodbury described the strategic importance of the new post.

There is every reason to believe that the station in question, will add much to the security of the Oregon road, and gradually overcome the audacity of the Indians – Pawnees and Sioux – mostly Pawnees, who now infest it. Its situation in relation to the Pawnees is excellent, being intermediate between their villages where they spend five months of the year – the spring and autumn, and their hunting grounds, the Platte, the tributaries of the Kansas and the Arkansas – where they spend the remaining seven months – women[,] children and all. With these incumbrances [sic] *they will be completely in our power for going in one body as they do, they can never escape a mounted force.*"¹⁵⁹

Following this sequence of events and Fort Kearny in their midst, Pawnee interaction with the Santa Fe Trail came to a rather abrupt end. Subsequent reports of sightings and contact with them were based on insinuation as well as incomplete and perhaps erroneous information. On June 7, 1849, westbound H. M. T. Powell saw three graves near Walnut Creek. Without citing his source of information, he asserted that, at

some unspecified point in time, Pawnees had killed three soldiers who were fishing. Reflecting on the significance of this sighting to his train, Powell wrote, “[t]hese graves will not serve to lessen our vigilance.”¹⁶⁰ In early July of that year, an Indian, possibly a Pawnee, took a trader’s horse.¹⁶¹ The following month, a group of them reportedly made a night attack on Aubry’s train with thirteen Americans and seven Mexicans in a few wagons and 120 mules. Before calling off the attack, the Indians wounded two mules.¹⁶²

At Walnut Creek on February 9, 1851, mounted Indians, reportedly Pawnees, sighted mailmen in two carriages escorted by riders. The report asserts that these men rode away after assessing the size of the mail party. That same day near Pawnee Rock, Indians identified as Pawnees chased a U.S. mail carrier.¹⁶³ In February or March of 1850, either Pawnee or Kaw raiders took twenty-five mules and horses from a small train of eight Americans and four Mexicans.¹⁶⁴ After this incident, few, if any, reports of contact involving the Pawnees are noted in the literature.

If true, this final report of Pawnee contact with the trail is illustrative of a substantive geopolitical shift that was sweeping across the central and southern plains and New Mexico. Pawnees, Osages, Kaws, and others who lived rather sedentary and politically centralized lives were more vulnerable to the stranglehold of U.S. colonialism than those who led a highly mobile existence. Knowing that the Pawnees’ seasonal rounds of life-sustaining activities took them between their towns and hunting lands, the agents of colonialism took advantage of the situation by placing a strong U.S. army post in their homeland. The imposition of two major thoroughfares through the Pawnee’s homeland produced ecological and biological crisis of unparalleled dimensions that dramatically undermined their self-sufficiency while depleting their numbers. To elaborate further, U.S. interlopers not only spread infectious disease with deadly consequences, but they also slaughtered the buffalo population with astonishing rapidity.

For the Pawnees, their world was literally being turned upside down. The catastrophic consequences of three major epidemics from the early 1830s to 1849 had caused their population to decline precipitously from about 20,000 to less than five thousand people. Warfare, mostly with other Indians, and bouts of starvation also contributed to their depopulation. The establishment of Fort Kearny at a distance of less than sixty miles from their fixed towns, although inhabited about half of the year, made them easy targets for intimidation and possible destruction by U.S. soldiers. The aggressive action taken by Powell’s force in 1848, because of a misunderstanding, is reflective of how susceptible Pawnees had become to the striking power of the U.S. government. U.S. officials could and did interpret any action taken by the Pawnees to defend their lands, rights, livelihood, dignity, and sovereignty as acts of aggression punishable by severe means. It should also be noted that the post commander of Fort Kearny periodically provided humanitarian assistance to the Pawnees during times of extreme destitution.

Facing these adversities, those Pawnees who raided the trail, along their leaders who supported them, made a pragmatic change in their operations so as to protect their families, relations, bands, and confederacy from harm. Their war with New Mexico, now

a U.S. territory, had also come to an end. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, their life activities continued to take parties of them near and south of the trail, but travelers did not record any incidents of contact with them, except the untrustworthy accounts from 1850 and 1851. A former freighter recalled that during the 1850s and 1860s, Pawnees rarely caused problems.¹⁶⁵

Despite the severity of these changes and the proliferation of U.S. expansionism, the Pawnees remained firmly committed to maintaining their customary values, beliefs, and economic pursuits. The Kansas-Nebraska Act opened millions of unceded acres of lands for Euroamerican settlement. In an 1857 treaty, facing dire economic conditions, the Pawnee chiefs surrendered their remaining lands north of the Platte River, retaining an irregularly shaped reservation fifteen miles wide by thirty miles long. Their reservation soon became a cultural enclave surrounded by homesteads and small communities. A web of new roads cut through their lands. In 1864, the chiefs, forming a military alliance with the U.S. government, allowed hundreds of their men to serve in special U.S. army units known as the Pawnee Scouts. These men mostly served with distinction against Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, foes that had infringed on Pawnee lands and had fought Pawnee people beginning in the early 1820s. These men mostly served with distinction, but their sacrifices on behalf of the United States did nothing to ease the harm inflicted on their people and culture by the onslaught of U.S. society. In the early 1870s, the Pawnees succumbed to the effects of the Euroamerican blitz and ethnic cleansing, a campaign characterized the slaughtered of the buffalo herds, intensifying racial animosity, and the utter collapse of their economy.

From 1873 to 1875, Pawnees crossed the Santa Fe Trail the force of ethnic cleansing removed them to a small Indian Territory reservation. Departing their reservation in 1876, about a hundred Pawnee Scouts crossed the trail as they went north to participate in a campaign against the Sioux and re-crossed it the following years as they returned to their new reservation. This was the last significant contact of a large number of Pawnees with this thoroughfare that had brought so much harm and conflict to their lives.

COMANCHES

Of all Indians, it was the Comanches who had the most contact with the trail. This relationship was shaped in large part by their resistance to colonialism. Like Pawnees, they exerted sovereignty over their lands, peoples, and buffalo. They had a powerful military presence that enabled them to dictate terms with those who came into their lands.

The Comanches, Uto-Aztecan speakers who call themselves Numunuh, had been part of the Eastern Shoshones before separating with them on the northern plains in what is now called Wyoming and moving towards the southern plains around 1700s. Unlike the town-dwelling Osages, Kaws, and Pawnees, Comanches lived a mobile lifestyle, inhabiting tepees year round, supported by extensive buffalo for food and hides for tent covers, clothing, and trade. They exchanged hides with other Indians, comancheros, and

Europeans for corn, horses, firearms, knives, and other manufactured items. Raiding over a vast region provided them horses, mules, cattle, and captives, who were either integrated into Comanche society or ransomed.

Comanche political culture consisted of various autonomous bands, including the Yamparikas, Kwahadis, Jupes, Kotsotekas, Tenewas, and Penatekas. By 1821, their lands, called “Comanchería,” extended southward from the Arkansas River to the Brazos River in southern Texas and from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Pecos River in the west to the Cross Timbers in the east. Inhabiting the northern region of Comanchería, Yamparikas were more closely associated with the trail than the others.¹⁶⁶

Spanish colonizers in New Mexico and Texas lacked the strength and resources to subjugate the Comanches, who showed no respect for the doctrine of discovery claim. White Americans were fully aware of the Comanche relationship with New Mexico colonizers. During the early 1820s the *St. Louis Enquirer* described the Comanches as a warlike nation capable of fielding up to 15,000 warriors had overwhelmed Spanish frontier settlements. Continuing, it stated:

The Spaniards have never been able to do anything with them, and have almost relinquished the country to their possession. From St. Antonio, in Texas, to Santa Fe, in New Mexico, the Camanches roam at large, the undisputed masters of the soil. All the early frontier establishments of the Spaniards have long since cut off by those Indians, and the further ingress of the Europeans entirely checked by the fears which they inspired. But the Americans they have heretofore view in the most friendly manner, between whom and themselves there has always been kept up a kind and mutual intercourse.¹⁶⁷

The article, reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, essentially presented Comanches in the light as a barrier to U.S. expansionism.¹⁶⁸

Comanche interaction with the trail developed rather gradually, much slower than their negative reputation among white Americans as deadly, unpredictable threats. With the lure of huge profits in New Mexico driving Missouri traders, it would only be a matter of time before their crossings would create conflict. In May of 1823, Comanches received blame for the death John McKnight, although the identity of the killer or killers is uncertain. The incident appears to have occurred in Comanchería south of the trail on the Cimarron River, possibly in the Texas Panhandle, where McKnight had gone to establish a trading post. If it was Comanches who had slain the trader, they undoubtedly viewed him as an unwelcome intruder. Conversely, white Americans saw his death as a manifestation of Indian savagery.¹⁶⁹

Because a few early encounters resulted in violence, Missouri traders and politicians developed a discourse that presented the Santa Fe trade as being victimized by warlike savages, mostly Pawnees and Comanches. These Euroamericans used the death of McKnight and other incidents to request U.S. protection for growing Santa Fe trade.

In 1825, Augustus Storrs provided the Benton a report citing alleged acts of Indian violence against U.S. citizens on the trail.¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile, Comanches engaged in trade relations with the traders on the trail and in the surrounding area. These exchanges provided them sought after provisions, utensils, cloth, guns, and other items. Misunderstandings, disagreements, and breeches of protocol created periodically created tension during some of these encounters. During a September 1825 meeting, for example, James Ohio Pattie, along with his small party, declined an invitation from a Comanche chief to spend the night at his camp. Fearful of a Comanche attack, Pattie's party stayed awake all night in anticipation of a fight.¹⁷¹

In 1828 was the most violent year to date on the trail. Comanches received blame for taking 300 mules valued at \$7,500 from John Means and Samuel Lamb [Lamme]. Near the Upper Cimarron Spring, Indians, possibly Comanches or Pawnees, killed Means. Expressing outrage at Mean's death, the *Missouri Intelligencer*, on October 28, indicated that he had been killed with his own rifle. In late August, unidentified Indians, usually identified as Comanches or Pawnees, killed two caravan members, Daniel Monroe and Robert McNees, with an eastbound Sublette and Marmaduke train. At the burial of the two men, surviving caravan members fired on a party of approximately eight innocent Comanches who came upon the scene, killing all but one.¹⁷²

The murderous and indiscriminant act of vengeance by the victims' companions sparked Indian reprisal. Several days later, Indians identified as Pawnees, but probably Comanches, drove off between 700 to 1,000 horses and mules belonging to the Marmaduke/Sublette company. Interestingly, the Monroe and McNees incident was not mentioned by any of the Missouri newspapers, which usually covered news of this importance.¹⁷³

The following year, in response to trader and politician pleas for protection, U.S. officials authorized the deployment of infantry companies to escort trains. On July 11, several hundred unidentified Indians attacked the Charles Bent, William Waldo, and James L. Collins caravan just beyond the international boundary in Mexican territory, killing Samuel C. Lamme. Riley's infantry force crossed the Arkansas, violating Mexican sovereignty, and ended the siege. During the remainder of the summer, Indians, using guerilla warfare tactics, periodically skirmished the soldiers who had set up camp near Chouteau's Island, killing four of them in three incidents. Before the soldiers returned to Jefferson Barrack, approximately ten Indians died and others were wounded as a result of the warfare.¹⁷⁴

The Indian combatants, possibly Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and others, did more than hold their own against the slow moving U.S. force. They were neither winners nor losers, but their tactics showed the U.S. army that foot soldiers were unequally matched when facing skilled Indian cavalymen. Reflecting this view in response to seeing Indians make off with an abandoned wagon and team as infantrymen watched, Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke, one of Riley's young officers, wrote that he was

“stung by the contempt which these well-mounted savages showed for our powerlessness.”¹⁷⁵

Over the next few years, rumors and reports implicated Comanches in several attacks. An incident involving violence provides a possible scenario regarding what some of them may have done with their spoils of war. On May 26, 1831, on the Cimarron River possibly near Wagon Bed Spring, Indians killed Jedediah Smith, a famed mountain man who had left his westbound caravan to search for water. When Smith failed to return, members of the caravan continued their journey to Santa Fe, where they found Smith’s weapons and saddle in the possession of a merchant. When questioned about the items, the merchant stated that he had purchased them from a party of Comanches who said they had killed a white man on the Cimarron River. Non-Indians constructed a story saying that Smith had died heroically before being overwhelmed and killed.¹⁷⁶ Smith’s death, however, did not spark a crisis but it added another incident to a growing list of allegations against Comanches.

In the spring of 1834, when Comanches and other Indians were on relatively good terms with the trail, the U.S. army, for the second time, sent sixty dragoons to protect the trail. This time, Captain Clifton Wharton used the power of his position to prevent a caravan with Josiah Gregg from committing atrocities. Wharton’s report indicates that Gregg and other belligerent caravan members attempted unsuccessfully to lure a group of Comanches in a position where cannon fired would kill them.¹⁷⁷ Wharton criticized Gregg’s reckless and unruly behavior, writing: “I have pleasure in adding that none of the many intelligent and respectable persons interested in the Caravan took part in the scene I have described.”¹⁷⁸ Realizing that Comanches were not looking for a fight, Wharton recommended against future escorts, stating: “[Indians] horse thieves may follow it [a caravan], and a small party of young warriors might rob a straggling trader even near the limits of Missouri, but past experience shows that any organized regular attack is not to be apprehended.”¹⁷⁹

The year 1840 was a significant one in terms of intertribal relations. Before then, various Indian nations had fought destructive wars among themselves over buffalo. Meeting on the Arkansas below Bent’s Fort, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas reached a peace accord in which they decided to share their hunting lands with one another and to end the fighting. This monumental agreement produced lasting results. Generally, harmonious interaction prevailed among them for the remaining of the history of the Santa Fe Trail. Peace also opened the gates at Bent’s Fort for Comanches to obtain firearms and other provisions through trading. Before then, the Bent’s close ties with Cheyennes and Arapahos had precluded Comanches from doing business there.¹⁸⁰

Comanches only had a few violent encounters with the trail until the summer of 1846, when traffic escalated to unprecedented proportions with the march of the Army of the West into Mexican territory. Numerous supply trains, with large herds of livestock, passed back and forth placing unparalleled stress on the ecological surroundings, diminishing the buffalo herds, destroying grassland, polluting the water, and negatively

impacting the quality of Indian life. Comanches, along with others, responded to the provocation and losses by raiding trains for horses and provisions, taking an occasional life or two and losing a few warriors in the process.¹⁸¹ In April 1847, tensions escalated significantly as civilian workers built a walled fortress named Fort Mann, initially conceived as a way station for caravans, about twenty miles below the Caches on the Arkansas. Comanches, apparently joined by Kiowas and Arapahos, disrupted the flow of traffic, fought several skirmishes and battles with U.S. army units, and forced the abandonment of Fort Mann by its handful of defenders within a month.¹⁸²

After a hiatus during the winter months, when Indians wintered their horses and hunted buffalo, Indian resistance resumed the following spring and raged all summer. On August 1, 1847, a U.S. army report indicated that Indians had killed forty-seven Americans, destroyed 330 wagons destroyed, and taken 6,500 head of livestock. On October 19, however, U.S. agent Fitzpatrick placed the number of dead travelers at twenty-seven. Conversely, Comanches and Kiowas said that they eliminated sixty travelers.

Responding to the warfare, the U.S. government took two interconnected steps aimed at suppressing Indian resistance: the deployment of a battalion of volunteers to the scene and the conversion of Fort Mann into a military garrison. The Missouri Battalion, commanded by William Gilpin, used the post as a base to launch search and destroy campaigns against Comanches and the Kiowa allies.

Although Comanches and their allies used their speed, knowledge of the terrain, and guerilla warfare tactics to evade pursuing troops, Gilpin in his 1848 report claimed a sweeping victory. At most, the Missouri battalion, according to questionable claims by its officers, killed seventy-nine Indians in four battles, not counting the Fort Mann fiasco involving Pawnees. His poorly-trained, incompetent, and insubordinate troops neither made the road safe for travelers nor defeated the enemy. He failed to effectively take the fight into Indian country and awe Indians into submission. Moreover, it is doubtful if the soldiers knew the identity of the warriors they fought in all of these incidences. Comanches and other Indians nonetheless mostly avoided conflict with the trail after the departure of Gilpin's troops in the early August 1848. Although still free of foreign domination, and Fort Mann sitting vacant once again, changes to the environment set into motion by the white American invasion were eroding their economic stability.¹⁸³

The fighting diminished in scope and intensity in 1848, but tensions continued to run high and the U.S. army acted to further militarize the trail.¹⁸⁴ In the spring of 1850, the U.S. army established a new garrison called Fort Mackay, later renamed Fort Atkinson, near the abandoned Fort Mann. The following year, it built a significantly larger post, named Fort Union, near where the mountain route merged with the Cimarron route.

The U.S. government turned to the treaty-making process in an attempt to gain concessions from Comanches and their Kiowa and Plains Apache allies. The Fort Laramie treaty council in 1851, which Comanche, Kiowa, and Pawnee leaders did not

attend, sought to clarify the boundaries of Indian territories on the plains. The treaty recognized Cheyenne and Arapaho land as being located north of the Arkansas. U.S. officials convened a similar council for the Comanches and Kiowas. In the summer of 1853, possibly up to 12,000 of them gathered near Fort Atkinson, near present Dodge City, to discuss the proposed treaty with Thomas Fitzpatrick, the designated U.S. treaty representative, who showed up without a competent Comanche interpreter. The dialogue was carried out both through signs and a Mexican adoptee into Comanche culture who spoke Spanish and Comanche. Indian leaders rejected the major points laid out by Fitzpatrick, that they must allow the U.S. army could build roads and forts, stop raiding Mexico, and surrender their captives. On July 27, leaders of these nations, perhaps wishing to obtain \$18,000 promised over ten-year period for damages caused by U.S. travelers or confused by the cumbersome translation process, accepted the terms of the treaty.¹⁸⁵ The treaty lacked mention of white American culpability and measures to control, regulate, and punish the destructive behavior of U.S. citizens passing through Indian lands.

The treaty failed in its purpose to promote peace. Insisting that they had not agreed to stop raiding Mexican settlements and travelers, Comanche parties continued to go south for horses and mules. Because of the severity of the economic disruptions facing them, Indian nations and families along the trail became increasingly dependent on annuity goods. Consequently, Comanches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas traveled several times a year to Fort Atkinson, which was abandoned in 1854, and Bent's New Fort at Big Timber to receive distributions. Their movements brought them into contact more frequently with travel traffic. These encounters were mostly nonviolent, but tensions ran high along the trail because many travelers fear Indian violence. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, incoming settlers, followed the predictable pattern, demanded the removal of Indians from coveted lands.¹⁸⁶

In 1857, with U.S. settlers pushing into deeper into Kansas, Cheyennes, for the first time, went to war against the U.S. government. The fighting actually began on the northern plains and along the Oregon Trail before spreading southward to the Southern Cheyennes. Although Comanches and others on the Arkansas River faced the same problems confronting Cheyennes, none of them fought along side of the Cheyennes. Meanwhile, U.S. forces, Texas Rangers, and vigilantes in Texas were inflicting heavy casualties on the southern Comanches and Kiowas, pushing them northward toward the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers. The rapidly changing geopolitical environment increasingly weakened the prosperity and power of the various Comanche bands throughout Comanchería.¹⁸⁷

The discovery of gold in Colorado ignited a gold rush in 1859 that almost simultaneously increased the flow of traffic on the trail and undermined an already unstable political environment. In an October 15, 1859, letter, U.S. agent William Bent explained the gravity of the Indians' situation, stating: A "smothered passion for revenge agitates these Indians. [It is] perpetually fomented by the failure of food, the encircling encroachment of the white population, and the exasperating sense of decay and impending extinction with which they are surrounded."¹⁸⁸

The harm inflicted by hunger and foreign encroachments produced a volatile environment that could erupt in violence with the slightest provocation. In that year, the U.S. army intensified already strained tensions by resuming regular patrols to protect travelers and control Indians. Kiowas, joined by Comanches, retaliated in response to the slaying of one of their leaders named Big Pawnee by a U.S. army officer that September. They initiated a guerilla warfare campaign against migrants, mail carriers, settlers, and soldiers. With white American blood flowing, U.S. officials authorized the construction of another military post, later named Fort Larned, on the bank of Pawnee Fork in 1859 and Fort Wise, later renamed Fort Lyon, at Big Timbers the following year. Nonetheless, warfare continued until the summer of 1862.¹⁸⁹ Given the enormity of the U.S. population, the Comanches and their allies could not win a war of attrition.

With Comanches and Kiowas wanting a new treaty, in April of 1863, a U.S. agent obtained authority to take Comanche, Kiowa, Plains Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders to Washington for that purpose. Among other things, this unratified treaty stipulated that these peoples would stay away from the trail.¹⁹⁰

Warfare returned to the trail in the spring of 1864, with Comanches playing a significant role in the fighting. In July, the U.S. army built Fort Zarah and established camps along the trail. The massacre of friendly Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas in late November by Colorado volunteers at Sand Creek not only escalated the conflict, but, it also encouraged politicians to question the U.S. army's handling of the war and Indian relations. Others, however, advocated a Chivington solution for ending Indian resistance. The war, which lasted until mid August of 1865 led to the establishment of Fort Dodge, Camp Nichols, and Fort Aubrey along the trail. Only small groups of Indians continued the fight. Meanwhile, to the south in the Texas Panhandle on the Cimarron River on November 26, a U.S. punitive expedition struck Kiowas near Adobe Walls. Comanches encamped nearby joined the fight, driving the aggressors from the field.¹⁹¹

With the oppressive weight of U.S. colonialism taking effect, many Comanches wanted to end the conflict. This setting influenced the outcome in the treaty of the Little Arkansas of October 18, 1865. With most but not all Comanche band leaders present, and wanting peace, U.S. treaty negotiators pursued the objectives of gaining a land cession, surrendering captives in Indian hands, establishing a reservation, tethering the Indians' movement, and restricting tribal sovereignty. Several Comanche leaders objected to the notion of ceding land, but in the end those in attendance accepted a reservation located within the boundaries of Comanchería. The written version of the treaty also declared that the U.S. government had jurisdiction over crimes and that Euroamericans, excluding U.S. employees, would not to be allowed into the territory unless they were incorporated into the tribe. The Indians agreed not leave the reservation unless they had written permission from their agent and not to harm the person and property of any U.S. citizen while away. They could not camp within ten miles of any road of military post, town, or village without the consent of a nearby military commander or town official. The U.S. government could build roads and military posts

through and on the reservation necessary for preserving the peace and enforcing existing and future U.S. laws, regulations, and rules and to protect Indians on the reservation.¹⁹²

Following the treaty, and with the buffalo population on the verge of collapse and hunger present, many Comanches refused to settle down and become pacifist reservation dwellers. Rather, they reinvigorated their raiding activities, striking settlements in New Mexico, Texas, and Indian Territory for cattle, supplies, horses, and captives. Reports of Indians on the trail in 1866 and 1867 reference Comanches only a few times, which suggests that their participation in the fighting that raged during those years was concentrated elsewhere. Meanwhile, trade with comancheros on the Llano Estacado provided them food, clothing, and weapons.¹⁹³

This upsurge in resistance to colonialism was short lived, however. With many Indians from different nations from the northern to southern plains fighting desperately to maintain their sovereignty, independence, and way of life, U.S. policymakers, still reeling from the negative publicity resulting from the infamous Sand Creek Massacre, decided to take a humanitarian approach to bring closure to the longstanding conflict. This did not mean that they would take actions to halt U.S. expansions and allow Indians to live in accordance with their respective values, beliefs, norms, and customs. Rather, Indians would have to accept life on reservations, adopt farming, and assimilate as individuals.

U.S. commissioners carried the twin beliefs of Euroamerican superiority and Indian savagery as they traveled onto the plains during the fall of 1867 to negotiate treaties on behalf of their government. On October 21, near Medicine Lodge Creek, at a site located seventy-five miles south of Fort Larned, about five thousand Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches amassed for the treaty council. Comanche chiefs expressed their outrage at the proposal that they would have to cede their lands and accept a diminished reservation in Indian Territory, where they would live in houses and farm, their children would attend school, and their sick would be treated by white physicians. In the end, Comanche leaders consented the terms of the treaty. They reserved the right to hunt south of the Arkansas River as long as there was enough buffalo to support this economic endeavor.¹⁹⁴

Given language barriers and cultural differences it is very likely that the Comanches interpreted the treaty different from what the U.S. commissioners' intended. In a Comanche worldview, it is likely that hunting on their lands meant they continued to have ownership of that region and they saw the treaty as recognition of their land claims in the Texas Panhandle, even if they had a reservation farther east. Most of them had no plans to live year round on the reservation in square houses.¹⁹⁵

The following spring, Comanches, along with members of the four other defiant Indian nations, traveled beyond the reservation to collect their annuity distribution at Forts Dodge and Lyons and to hunt diminishing buffalo and other animals. The failure of the U.S. government to deliver promised goods in adequate quantities caused tensions to flare once again. In the spring of 1868, the five allied nations were fighting the elements of U.S. expansionism. On September 2, a joint force of them attacked Fort Dodge,

inflicting a number of casualties. However, the extent of Comanche participation in the fighting is uncertain because most sources simply state Indian.¹⁹⁶

Meanwhile, in late August, General Phil Tecumseh Sheridan directed U.S. troops to drive the Indian freedom fighters on to the Indian Territory reservations. The soldiers responded by taking the fight to surrounding areas during the winter months when Indians were the most vulnerable. Resulting battles and skirmishes undermined the Comanches' ability to resist, but they were not defeated. However, by the closing months of 1868 the Comanche presence along the trail had effectively become a memory. Reports in the early 1870s note several contacts involving conflicts without mentioning Comanches. The Comanches and their allies continued to resist U.S. expansion until the mid 1870s, when the power of the U.S. government finally suppressed them.¹⁹⁷

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout much of the trail's history Indians interacted travelers, soldiers, and U.S. government officials in contexts ranging from friendship to warfare. As citizens of an expanding nation, Euroamericans had established a blueprint for its relations with Indians that was replicated in the Great Plains and Southwest. This pattern, in place at the time of the opening of the trail, involved U.S. travelers, followed by soldiers and settlers, moving into Indian lands and then using a variety of means including military might and law to displace the Indian landowners. Although Indians along the route sought to maintain their homelands and sovereignty, the four discussed above, along with others, were gradually swept aside and placed on reservations in Oklahoma. These reservations were essentially concentration camps controlled by U.S. soldiers and agents. These lands were to serve as sites where Indians would be remade into the image of white Americans. Boarding schools, allotments, and religious oppression were used to hasten the breaking up of Indian cultures. The abusive U.S. policies during this era dramatically weakened Indian cultures but failed in their avowed intent to assimilate Indians. Today, Indian nations have been struggling to retain their languages, exert their sovereignty, decolonize themselves, and reestablish sustainable economies.

A major finding of this research is that nineteenth-century concepts avowing the superiority of Euroamericans and inferiority of Indians continue to influence historiography. The existing body of scholarship has not been attentive to and inclusive of the wide range of Indian interactions with the trail. Supercilious publications rarely discuss the trail as being part of a larger process of colonialism that brought cultural change, harm, and destruction to Indigenous America. Indian experiences with the trail rightly deserve to be incorporated in this story in an honest and critical manner that moves well beyond the norm of superficiality.

This research shows that the National Park Service must move beyond the old paradigm that privileges white American historical actors, scholarship, and worldviews. The first place to begin is with the creation of an Indigenous landscape that captures the rich diversity and divergent histories of Indian nations. Another step is to sponsor studies that tell the story in ways that conform to Indian realities. Moreover, Indian conflict with

the trail's traffic must be conceptualized as a legitimate response to an invasion that endangered their lands and lives, but that historical circumstances and cultural lifestyles precluded overt military resistance by many Indian nations. Finally, the telling of these stories must acknowledge that although the trail produced premature deaths, suffering, oppression, and displacements, Indians have survived the onslaught with elements of their sovereignty and cultures in place. These stories must be told in studies and at national historic sites and landmarks.

NOTES

¹ Stephen Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 13-42.

² Ibid., 79.

³ Ibid., 81-96.

⁴ Treaty with the Shawnee, 1831, in Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), 333.

⁵ Ibid., Treaty with the Shawnee, Etc, 1832, 370-72.

⁶ Ibid., Treaty with the Shawnee, 1825, 262-64.

⁷ Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 149.

⁸ *The Journals of Francis Parkman*, ed. Mason Wade (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957), 2: 420.

⁹ Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 4 and John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition on Account of the U.S. Army Operations* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962), 30.

¹⁰ Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 30.

¹¹ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 953; "Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson, 1847-1848," in *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936), 294; and John D. Lee, "Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission," *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (July 1967): 181; and Warren, *Shawnees and Their Neighbors*, 129.

¹² "Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson," 298; "Letters and Journal of Augustus M. Heslep," in *Southern Trails to California in 1849*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937), 361; Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 30; George R. Gibson, *Journal of a Soldier*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935), 132; and Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 700-01.

¹³ W[illiam]. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo; Or New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 20.

¹⁴ Quoted in Warren, *Shawnees and Their Neighbors*, 129.

¹⁵ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 632.

¹⁶ Ibid., 869.

¹⁷ William Hunter, *Missouri '49er* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 12.

¹⁸ H. M. T. Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852* (New York: Sol Lewis, 1981), 16.

¹⁹ Ibid., 12.

- ²⁰ "Diary of Fredrick Gooch Ferguson," 296-97.
- ²¹ George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 15 (1919-1922): 52-53.
- ²² Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 54.
- ²³ *Scenes and Adventures in the Army: Or Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1857), 431; Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, 408, 703; and Parkman, *Journals*, 482, 509.
- ²⁴ H. B. Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 16 (November 1948): 377.
- ²⁵ Treaty with the Shawnee, 1854, in Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 628-25; Warren, *Shawnees and their Neighbors*, 150ff.
- ²⁶ Duane Champagne, *American Indian Societies: Strategies and Conditions of Political and Cultural Survival* (Cambridge: Cultural Survival, Inc., 1989), 15-24
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 303-05.
- ³⁰ Champagne, *American Indian Societies*, 21-23; Clifton A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 378; and Isaac McCoy, "Country for Indians West of the Mississippi: Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting a copy of a report made by Isaac McCoy, upon the subject of the country reserved for Indians west of the Mississippi," March 16, 1832, in *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865: Volume 3, E: Missionaries, Mormons, 1821-1864, F: Indian Agents, Captives, 1832-1865*, compiled and annotated by David A. White (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), 318.
- ³¹ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 213; W. David Baird and Danney Goble, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 244-46 and Thomas William Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 18.
- ³² Richard Wilson, *Short Ravelings from a Long Yarn, or Camp March Sketches of the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1936), 10.
- ³³ Theodore Talbot, *Soldier in the West: Letters of Theodore Talbot during His Services in California, Mexico, and Oregon, 1845-53*, ed. Robert V. Hine and Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 25, 28, 31 and John Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1887), 424-25.
- ³⁴ Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*, ed. Bertram Wallace Korn (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), 91.
- ³⁵ Mark J. Stegmaier and David H. Miller, *James F. Milligan: His Journal of Fremont's Fifth Expedition, 1853-1854; His Adventurous Life on Land and Sea* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988), 268-69 and Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 377-80.
- ³⁶ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 1167.
- ³⁷ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 1167 and Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861*, trans. Olga Bandel and Richard Jente and ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Southwest Historical Series. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932) 2: 128, 140, 140 n.
- ³⁸ James Ewell Brown, "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart," ed. W. Stitt Robinson *Kansas Historical Quarterly*

23 (Winter 1957): 382-400; Hugh Campbell, "The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey: From the Journal of Hugh Campbell, Astronomical Computer," ed. Martha B. Caldwell *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (November 1937): 357, 371; and R. M. Peck, "R. M. Peck's Account of the Sedgwick Division," in *Relations with the Indians of the Plains: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*, ed. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), 106-07, 135.

³⁹ Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 106-07 and William Y. Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 282.

⁴⁰ James P. Beckwourth, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth as Told to Thomas D. Bonner*, introduction and with notes and an epilogue Delmont R. Oswald (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 489, 593 n. For a list of those killed see, Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 257. Manco Burro Pass was an alternative route east of Raton Pass that trail travelers occasionally took.

⁴¹ J. E. B. Stuart, "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart," ed. W. Stitt Robinson *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1957): 397.

⁴² Stegmaier and Miller, *James F. Milligan*, 65-66, 183, 184 n.

⁴³ Frémont, *Memoirs*, 406.

⁴⁴ James W. Abert, *Expedition to the Southwest: An 1845 Reconnaissance of Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 14-16 and Talbot, *Soldier*, 28, 31-32.

⁴⁵ [Abert, Lt. J. W.] U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848), 430-31.

⁴⁶ Stegmaier and Miller, *James F. Milligan*, 133.

⁴⁷ Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 3: 388-89.

⁴⁸ Janet Lecompte, *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, and Greenhorn: The Upper Arkansas, 1832-1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 83, 138, 172, 195, 343.

⁴⁹ Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 388-89.

⁵⁰ Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 388-89 and "Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson," 304 n.

⁵¹ Isaac McCoy, "Country for Indians West of the Mississippi: Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting A copy of a report made by Isaac McCoy, upon the subject of the country reserved for Indians west of the Mississippi," March 16, 1832, in *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 3: 302-15; and Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 864-65.

⁵² Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 863.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1011.

⁵⁴ Treaty with the Delaware, 1866, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 987-92 and Champagne, *American Indian Societies*, 23-24.

- ⁵⁵ White Americans referred to Chauis as the Grand Pawnees, Kitkahahkis as the Republican Pawnees, Pitahawiratas the Tappage Pawnees, and Skidis as the Loup Pawnees.
- ⁵⁶ Beckwourth, *Life and Adventures*, 365.
- ⁵⁷ For a discussion of Skidi life and culture in 1867, see Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe, With a Closing Chapter on the Universe Regained* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971).
- ⁵⁸ Generally see, George Parker Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896).
- ⁵⁹ Calvin A. Roberts and Susan A. Roberts, *New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 62-63.
- ⁶⁰ George E. Hyde, *The Pawnee Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 49-51.
- ⁶¹ Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, *Santa Fe Trail, First Reports: 1821* (Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1960), 36 and George Ruxton, *Ruxton of the Rockies*, collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter and ed. LeRoy R. Hafen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), 275.
- ⁶² Treaty with the Grand [Chau] Pawnee, 1818, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 156. The U.S. government also entered into identical treaties with the Kitkahahkis, Pitahawiratas, and Skidis.
- ⁶³ Thomas James, *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962), 109-111.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 110-11.
- ⁶⁵ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 109.
- ⁶⁶ Storrs and Wetmore, *Santa Fe Trail*, 37.
- ⁶⁷ "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the State of Missouri upon the Subject of . . . Mexico, with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore," in *Plains and Rockies*, 2: 102.
- ⁶⁸ Missouri Legislature, "Memorial of the Legislature of Missouri praying that Adequate protection be extended by the Government to the trade between the State and Mexico," in Otis E. Young, *The Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1952), 199.
- ⁶⁹ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 115-16.
- ⁷⁰ "Diary of George C. Sibley, Santa Fe and Taos, January 1 to March 31, 1826," in *The Road to Santa Fe*, ed. Kate L. Gregg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 155-56.
- ⁷¹ Treaty with the Great and Little Osage, 1825 and Treaty with the Kansas, 1825, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 246-50.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ "The Journal of George C. Sibley on an Expedition to Survey and Mark a Road from The Missouri Frontier to the Settlements in Mexico. St. Louis, June 22 to Santa Fe, November 30, 1825," in *Road to Santa Fe*, 73.
- ⁷⁴ Treaty with the Pawnee Tribe, 1825, in Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 259.
- ⁷⁵ Benjamin H. Reeves to James Barbour, April 15, 1826, in *Road to Santa Fe*, 231.

⁷⁶ *Journal of Jacob Fowler*, ed. Elliot Coues (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 32 n; "Alfonso Wetmore's Report," *Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.*, October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31.

⁷⁷ "A Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail in 1827," ed. James W. Covington *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 21 (Autumn 1955): 562-63.

⁷⁸ Isaac McCoy, "Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (August 1945): 433; Young, *Military Escort*, 16, 33; "Council Trove, Documents," *Wagon Tracks* 9 (August 1995): 28; and *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 12, 1828, in Young, *Military Escort*, 16, 33.

⁷⁹ Stanley Noyes, *Los Comanches* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 206; "Council Trove, Documents," *Wagon Tracks* 9 (August 1995): 28; "Alfonso Wetmore's Report," *Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.*, October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31.

⁸⁰ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 151-52.

⁸¹ "Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Expedition in 1828," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (August 1945): 411.

⁸² McCoy, "Second Expedition," 416.

⁸³ *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania), December 17, 1828, <http://genealogytrails.com/ark/events.htm><http://genealogytrails.com/ark/events.htm> (assessed June 7, 2009).

⁸⁴ Missouri Legislature, "Memorial of the Legislature of Missouri praying that Adequate protection be extended by the Government to the trade between the State and Mexico," in Young, *Military Escort*, 197-200.

⁸⁵ The Comanches' response to the presence of Riley's force is discussed in the Comanche section of this study.

⁸⁶ The Smith and Clark compilation actually listed alleged incidents that occurred not only before the trail came into existence but also others that took place elsewhere. "Alfonso Wetmore's Report," in *Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.*, October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31 and "Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of 1828," in *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*, ed. Archer Butler Hulbert ([Colorado Springs:] The Steward Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1933), 177.

⁸⁷ James S. Craig, *The Arkansas Gazette*, January 18, 1832, in *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 1: 306, 307, 311-12.

⁸⁸ Albert Pike, *Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country*, ed. David J. Weber (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 3, 48,

⁸⁹ Virginia Lee Fisher, "Jedediah Smith's Last Journey," *Wagon Tracks* 4 (February 1990): 13; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 201-02.

⁹⁰ Josiah Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 37.

⁹¹ John Dougherty to William Clark, October 29, 1831, National Archives, Office of Indian Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Reel 833, Letters Received, Upper Missouri Agency.

⁹² Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 208.

⁹³ Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies*, 215-16.

- ⁹⁴ Clark to Cass, December 10, 1832, Clark to Cass, November 29, 1832, and Dougherty to Clark, November 29, 1832, NA, OIA, LR, RG 75, M 234, R 883, UMA.
- ⁹⁵ Dougherty to Clark, November 29, 1832.
- ⁹⁶ Hyde, *Pawnee Indians*, 182-83.
- ⁹⁷ Treaty with the Pawnees, 1833, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 416-17.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Ralph Emerson Twichell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2 vols., (Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, Publishers, 1963), 122-23, n, 87.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bent, St. Vrain & Co. Report, March 3, 1845, in *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 1: 401-14 and "Deposition of Alexander Papin" and "Deposition of Michelle Robidoux, "Council Trove," *Wagon Tracks* (May 1998): 20.
- ¹⁰¹ Bent, St. Vrain & Co. Report, 401-14; Robidoux, "Disposition," 20.
- ¹⁰² David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 182.
- ¹⁰³ Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies*, 215-16.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail*, collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter and ed. John E. Sunder (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 104-09.
- ¹⁰⁵ Field, *Santa Fe Trail*, 109.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 106.
- ¹⁰⁷ Thomas F. Farnham, *An 1839 Wagon Train Journal* (New York: Greeley & McElrath, 1843), 7; Field, *Santa Fe Trail*, 90-91, 107-08; and Frederick A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (Glorieta: Rio Grande Press, 1912), 27.
- ¹⁰⁸ "Council Trove, Documents, Trail Trip, 1841," *Wagon Tracks* 3 (February 1989): 9-10; Sage, *Rocky Mountain Life*, 44; David A. White, comp. and annot., *Plains and Rockies*, 2: 138. For an account indicating that this event occurred in June 1842, see Richard Wilson, *Short Ravelings from a Long Yarn, or Camp March Sketches of the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1936), 73-78.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Rufus B. Sage: His Letters and Papers, 1836-1847*, notes by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1956), 138.
- ¹¹⁰ "Report of Manuel Alvarez, 1842," in *On the Santa Fe Trail*, ed. Marc Simmons (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1986), 9.
- ¹¹¹ Berry, *Beginning of the West*, 463-64.
- ¹¹² Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon. . . .* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1977), 55-57.
- ¹¹³ Lewis Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 28.
- ¹¹⁴ Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 27.
- ¹¹⁵ "Council Trove Documents," *Wagon Tracks* 8 (May 1994): 19-20; "Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards, 1846-1847," in *Marching with the Army of the West*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936), 128-31.
- ¹¹⁶ "Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 128.
- ¹¹⁷ John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition on Account of the U.S. Army Operations* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962), 48.
- ¹¹⁸ Abert, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 402.
- ¹¹⁹ George R. Gibson, *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935), 153-54.

- ¹²⁰ Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, 347-48; Parkman, *Journals*, 475, 508.
- ¹²¹ Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, 307, 333.
- ¹²² Ibid., 393.
- ¹²³ Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, 347; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 640.
- ¹²⁴ "Journal of Henry Standage," in *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage*, ed. Frank Alfred Golder in collaboration with Thomas A. Bailey and J. Lyman Smith (New York and London: Century Co., 1928), 147.
- ¹²⁵ "Journal of Henry Standage," 161.
- ¹²⁶ John D. Lee, "Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission," *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (July 1967): 185, 204 n.
- ¹²⁷ Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 30-31; Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 43; and Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 652, 682.
- ¹²⁸ Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 44; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 652-53; Hughes, *Expedition*, 404-05; and Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
- ¹²⁹ Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
- ¹³⁰ Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 43.
- ¹³¹ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 660.
- ¹³² Walker D. Wyman, "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (November 1932):420.
- ¹³³ Ibid., 421-22.
- ¹³⁴ Quoted in Wyman, "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting," 420.
- ¹³⁵ Ruxton, *Ruxton of the Rockies*, 271.
- ¹³⁶ Aberts, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 536-38.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., 538.
- ¹³⁸ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 674.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., 674.
- ¹⁴⁰ Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 254 and Ruxton, *Ruxton of the Rockies*, 270.
- ¹⁴¹ Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 321 and Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 669.
- ¹⁴² Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 255-56; and Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 55.
- ¹⁴³ Ruxton, *Ruxton of the Rockies*, 279.
- ¹⁴⁴ Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 294-95 and Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 63.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ruxton, *Ruxton of the Rockies*, 272, 283, 285 and Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 683, 724.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ruxton, *Rockies of the Rockies*, 285.
- ¹⁴⁷ Richard Smith Elliot, *The Mexican War Correspondence of Richard Smith Elliot*, ed. Mark L. Gardner and Marc Simmons (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 183.
- ¹⁴⁸ Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 48-49.
- ¹⁴⁹ An account in *The Daily Reveille* (St. Louis, MO), December 16, 1847, states that a Pawnee taken captive said his force had been looking for Comanches.
- ¹⁵⁰ Harvey to William Medill, April 12, 1848, NA, OIA, RG 75, MC 234, R 217, LR; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 727, 755, 760; and Thomas L. Karnes, "Gilpin's Volunteers on the Santa Fe Trail," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (Spring 1964): 1-10.
- ¹⁵¹ *The Daily Reveille*, December 16, 1847.

- ¹⁵² Harvey to Medill, April 12, 1848.
- ¹⁵³ *Santa Fe Republic*, February 12, 1848, quoted in Elinor Wilson, *Jim Beckwourth* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 110.
- ¹⁵⁴ Beckwourth, *Life and Adventures*, 480-81, 591; *Santa Fe Republic*, February 12, 1848, in Wilson, *Beckwourth*, 110-11.
- ¹⁵⁵ Treaty with the Pawnee—Grand, Loups, Republicans, etc., 1848, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 571.
- ¹⁵⁶ William Tappan Diary Entries, August 8, 1848, www.nebraskastudies.org/0400/frameset_reset.html?http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0400/stories/0401_0136.html (assessed May 5, 2009).
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
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- ¹⁵⁹ Emphasis mine. Lt. D. P. Woodbury to Col. Jos. G. Totten, Chief Engineer, November 30, 1847. MS 1046.4, Indian & Military Reservations, Field Notes and Correspondence, 1839-1883, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.
- ¹⁶⁰ H. M. T. Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852* (New York: Sol Lewis, 1981),
- ¹⁶¹ Jones, "Kronig," 189.
- ¹⁶² Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 883.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 979.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 904.
- ¹⁶⁵ Council Trove Documents, "Negotiating the Trail," *Wagon Tracks* 8 (February 1994): 24-26.
- ¹⁶⁶ For discussions of Comanche political divisions, territorial holdings, warfare and trading, see Thomas W. Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective, 1706-1875* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) and Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
- ¹⁶⁷ Quoted in Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 213-14.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁹ Storrs and Wetmore, *Santa Fe Trail*, 37 and Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexican*, 190-227.
- ¹⁷⁰ "A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico, since the late war with Great Britain; the amount of robberies committed; at what places, and by what tribe," 82
- ¹⁷¹ *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (1833: reprint ed., Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1905), 65-66; *Journal of M. M. Marmaduke of the Trip from Franklin Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1824*, reprinted from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, with notes by F. A. Sampson (Columbia, MO: [s.n.] 1911), 7; and Storrs and Wetmore, 36-37.
- ¹⁷² Young, *Military Escort*, 34.
- ¹⁷³ "Alfonso Wetmore's Report," *Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.*, October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31; "Council Trove, Documents," *Wagon Tracks* 9 (August 1995): 28; and Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 217.

¹⁷⁴ Generally see, Fred S. Perrin, ed., "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (April 1927): 175-93; 2 (July 1927): 269-304; 3 (July 1928): 265-300; William Waldo, "Recollections of a Septuagenarian," *Publications of Missouri Historical Society* 2 (1880): 1-18; and Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army: or Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857).

¹⁷⁵ Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, 58.

¹⁷⁶ David A. White, comp. and annot., *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 2: 21 and Albert Pike, *Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country*, ed. David J. Weber (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 38.

¹⁷⁷ "Report of Captain Clifton Wharton, Company A, United States Dragoon Regiment, covering the Campaign of 1834, of this escort to the Santa Fe Caravan of that year, under the command of Josiah Gregg," in "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," ed. Fred S. Perrine *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (July 1927): 270-71.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 283-84.

¹⁸⁰ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 164-67.

¹⁸¹ Grinnell, "Bent's Fort," 71-72; Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 220; Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 255-56, 293; Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 154; Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 54; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 674-75, 683, 700, 703; and Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 63, 156.

¹⁸² Ferguson, "Diary," 295, 295 n; Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 404; Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage*, 95-100; Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 382; and Elliot, *Mexican War Correspondence*, 200.

¹⁸³ Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 320-21.

¹⁸⁴ Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 722, 780.

¹⁸⁵ Treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache, 1853, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 600-02.

¹⁸⁶ Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 350; William B. Napton, *Over the Santa Fe Trail, 1857*, ed. Marc Simmons (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1964), 26ff; and R. C. Miller, R. C. "Agent R. C. Miller's Report," October 14, 1857, in *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers*, vol. 12 of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, ed. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), 32ff.

¹⁸⁷ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 292-320.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Leo Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 113.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-17.

¹⁹⁰ Rupert N. Richardson, *Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, ed. Kenneth R. Jacobs (Austin: Eakin Press, 1996), 142.

¹⁹¹ Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*, 165-66.

¹⁹² Treaty with the Comanche and Kiowa, 1865, Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Treaties*, 893-94.

¹⁹³ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 303-20.

¹⁹⁴ Kappler, comp. and ed. *Indian Treaties*, 977-79.

¹⁹⁵ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 296-99.

¹⁹⁶ P. H. Sheridan, *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882. Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier, 1790-1898:*, comp. Joseph P. Peters (New York: Argonaut Press Ltd, 1966), 10 and Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*, 188.

¹⁹⁷ Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*, 190-91; Louise Berry, "Fort Aubrey," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1973): 198; "Life and Adventures of George W. Brown," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 17 (1928): 119; and Sheridan, *Record of Engagements*, 30-31.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
14 July 1821	near mouth of Little Arkansas	Osages raided Marmaduke party, taking 120 horses	none	conflict	This report shows that Osages objected to Euroamerican encroachments.	David A. White, comp., <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 54.
1821	"on the Mexican road"	Panis [Pawnees] robbed an unknown person, taking horses, mules, and furs	none	conflict	This report was generated in an attempt to convince Congress to provide more military protection for the Santa Fe trade. It illustrates further that Indians objected to Euroamerican encroachments into their lands.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico," 82.
16 September 1821		Mexico won its independence from Spain through revolution	none		The end of Spain rule over New Mexico opened opportunities for Euroamericans in Missouri to open trade relations with Santa Fe.	
21 September 1821	Boones Lick, MO	William Becknell, with 20 mounted men and a pack train, departed probably on a trading expedition to Santa Fe	none		This trip set into motion a historical process leading to the Euroamericans' penetration of Indian country and Mexican territory.	
10 October 1821	Little Arkansas River	south of where the trail would run, Jacob Fowler's westbound party lost a horse	none	tension	Party members assumed that Indians had taken the animal.	<i>The Journal of Jacob Fowler</i> (1898), 17-19.
11 October 1821	south of Arkansas River	Fowler's party met unidentified Indians who were unfriendly and sassy	none	tension	This report suggests that the Indians disapproved of the Euroamericans' presence.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 19
12 October 1821	south of Arkansas River	Fowler blamed Indians for driving away the buffalo	none	tension		Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 19
13 October 1821	near Arkansas River	3 Indians told Fowler's party that they had heard its members the previous evening	none	friendly	Fearing the voices were Pawnees, their enemies, they had hid in the woods all night.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 18-19

14 October 1821	Arkansas River	Fowler's party discharged an Indian it had hired	none	cooperation		Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 19.
15 October 1821	Arkansas River	Fowler's party prepare for a fight believing that Indians were chasing its returning hunters	none	tension	Its member resumed hunting but secured their horses that night.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 19-20.
16 October 1821	Arkansas River	hunters failing to return that night to the camp worried Fowler's party	none	tension	Fowler's words suggest that party members feared that Indians had harmed them.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 20.
21 October 1821	either the Purgatoire or Timpas river	William Becknell and his men heard gunfire	none	tension	They assumed that Indians were nearby.	Thomas Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions," in <i>Southwest on the Turquoise Trail</i> , (1933), 61.
23 October 1821	near Big Coon Creek	Fowler's party apparently believed that Indians were nearby	none	tension	Fowler indicated that Indians were pushing the vast buffalo herd northward	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 27.
6 November 1821	near Little Sandy or Wild Horse creek	Fowler's party camped at a recently made Pawnee fort	none	tension	Fowler reported that eleven sets of Indian footprints were visible in the sand and that the head of slain wolf was nearby.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 35.
7 November 1821	Arkansas River	Fowler's party saw Indian signs	none	signs	That summer, according to Fowler, Indians had killed a large number of buffalo there.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 36.
11 November 1821	Muddy or Mud Creek	Fowler reported seeing old Indian signs	none	signs	These signs were piles of rocks on the bluffs.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 38.
15 November 1821	Pecos Pueblo	Becknell passed "St. Baw" [Pecos] and ruins of an ancient fortification built by Mexican Indians	none	visual	Becknell seems to have suggested erroneously that Pecos Pueblo had been abandoned. Early US travelers often referred to Pueblos as Mexican Indians.	William Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe," April 22, 1823, <i>Missouri Intelligence</i> , in <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 65.

late November 1821	Pecos Pueblo	Thomas James expressed a positive view of Pecos Pueblo people	none	friendly	James asserted that Pecos people had "lost all tradition of the settlement of the town of Peccas [sic]." The town stood as proof of the Indians' advancement "in the arts of civilization before the Spaniards came among them."	Thomas James, <i>Three Years Among the Indians and Mexican</i> (1962), 80-81.
winter 1821	Santa Fe and vicinity	Becknell noted that Navajos often raided surrounding villages for livestock, occasionally killing herders	unknown	warfare	This report indicates that volatile relations existed between Navajos and others living under Spanish rule.	Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions," 65.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
early January 1822	near the Arkansas River [near Big Blue's mouth]	Kaws greeted Becknell's eastbound party hospitably, selling corn to their guests	none	friendly	Becknell was returning to Missouri. News of his profits from trading in New Mexico set into motion the Santa Fe trader.	William Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe," April 22, 1823, <i>Missouri Intelligence</i> , in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 66.
January 1822	Pecos Pueblo	a Spanish officer prohibited Thomas James from paying a Pecos man in ammunition	none	friendly	Spanish law forbid Indians from possessing firearms. James's party was enroute to Santa Fe.	Thomas James, <i>Three Years Among the Indians and Mexican</i> (1962), 80-81.
January 1822	Santa Fe	James expressed a favorable view of Pecos people in comparison to the Spanish	none	friendly	"The Indians are much superior to their Spanish masters in all the qualities of a useful and meritorious population," he wrote.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 87.
7 February 1822	Santa Fe	Pecos Indians participated in a Santa Fe celebration dressed in bull and bear skins	none	friendly	James asserted that the sight frightened observers.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 90.
February 1822	Santa Fe	James learned that Southwest Indians lived in houses and raised wheat and corn	none	friendly	He was referring to the Pueblos of New Mexico.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 90.
February 1822	Santa Fe	James acquired Indian artwork and blankets	none	friendly	This interaction illustrates an aspect of Indian relations with Euroamericans.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 90.
late February 1822	Santa Fe	50 Utahs [Utes] with Lechat wanted to trade with James	none	diplomacy	According to James, the Utes indicated that the Spanish were too poor to trade with. When departing, they showed contempt for the Spanish.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 90-92.
late February 1822	Santa Fe	Spanish Governor Malgaris rejected a Navajo peace offer	none	diplomacy	James suggested that the Spanish killed the Navajo messenger.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 93.

late February 1822	Santa Fe	The Navajo asked for trade between the United States	none	diplomacy	James told him to tell his leaders to treat Euroamericans like brothers.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 93.
late February 1822	Santa Fe	James noted that Navajos retaliated for the murder of their leaders who sought peace with the Spaniards	24 Navajos murdered	warfare	Santa Fe served as a staging area for Spanish troops to wage war against the Navajos.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 93-96.
22 March 1822	Arkansas River	Osages apprehended and "stripped, barbarously whipped, and robbed" 2 Becknell's party members looking for lost horses	2 whites whipped	conflict	The Osages also took their horses, guns and clothes. This treatment was a common punishment for trespassing.	Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions," 66.
22 March 1822	Arkansas River	Osages released 2 members of Becknell's party	none	conflict	Becknell wrote, "We had a strong desire to punish the rascally Osages, who commit outrages on those very citizens from whom they receive regular annuities." He added, "[T]hese Indians should be more cautiously avoided and strictly guarded against than any others on the route."	Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions," 66.
March 1822	Arkansas River	Osages captured a Becknell party member	none	conflict	Auguste P. Chouteau, a trader, secured the prisoner's release. Becknell warned that the Osages "should be more cautiously avoided and strictly guarded against than any other on the route." See the March 22 entries.	<i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> , May 13, 1823, in <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 67.
1 June 1822	Little Arkansas	unknown Indians took 50 horses and mules from the westbound party of Stephen Cooper, Joel P. Walker, and 31 others	none	conflict	This was the first wagon train to travel on the trail. When replacement horses arrived from Franklin, Missouri, the company resumed its journey.	Joel P. Walker, <i>Pioneer of Pioneers</i> (1953), 5.

June 1822	two days march from Taos	the James/McKnight parties passed a place where Spaniards had slaughtered Comanches about 20 years earlier		anecdotal	Comanches reportedly retaliated.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 105-07.
[12] June 1822	Arkansas River	eastbound James/McKnight parties with pack animal received a message from Col. Glenn that Comanches were ahead	none	tension	James's party found Glenn in a state of panic, but no Indians nearby. Four Taos Indians (two with each party) were with the Euroamericans.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 107-08.
[12?] June 1822	Arkansas River	James's killing of a buffalo frightened Glenn	none	tension	Glenn feared that the sound of gunfire might attract Indians.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 107-08.
12 June 1822	Arkansas River	several mounted Indians saw the eastbound McKnight, James, and Glenn parties across the river	none	sighting	Despite Euroamerican urgings, the Indians refused to cross the river.	<i>Journal of Jacob Fowler</i> (1898), 154.
18 June 1822	Cow Creek	a small group of Pawnees, with an Iotan [Comanche] chief, met and camped with Glenn's and James's party	none	friendly	During the evening the number of Pawnees grew to four to five hundred strong.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 157.
18 June 1822	Arkansas River	Glenn, whose party had chosen to move ahead of James's party, sent word to James that a large number of Pawnees were nearby	none	tension	Knowing that the Pawnees were at war with the Spanish, Glenn feared for the safety of two "Spanish" Indians with James's party. See James's account below.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 108-09; Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 157.
18 June 1822	Pawnee Fork	James/McKnight, with 2 "Mexican" [Taos] Indians, caused Glenn to become scared upon meeting 12 Pawnees	none	friendly	James and McKnight greeted the Pawnees, including head chief's brother.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 108-09; Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 157.

[19] June 1822	Cow Creek	1,000 Pawnees and 1 Kiowa or Comanche [Iotan] chief surrounded James's company with "Mexican" [Taos] Indians, enemies of the Pawnee, and held a council	none	friendly	James wrote the Pawnees wanted to scalp the Mexican Indians. The Kiowa chief confronted them about their heritage. The Pawnee leader played a key role in releasing the two men. The chief also protected James's party, upholding a promise of peace with the Great Father made the chief's brother.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 110-11; Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 158-59.
[19] June 1822	Cow Creek	before departing, James and Glenn gave the Pawnee leader gifts of knives, a horse, and riding equipment	none	diplomatic	The Pawnee promised James two horse the next time he entered Pawnee country.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 111-12; Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 159.
[19] June 1822	east of Cow Creek	a small Pawnee hunting party greeted James and Glenn	none	friendly	James's party sought to protect the Mexican Indians but the Pawnee mostly wanted to shake hands. Meanwhile, Glenn's party tried to outrun the Indians.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 112.
19 June 1822	5 miles east of Pawnee Fork	14 Pawnees followed the combined Glenn parties to shake hands	none	tension then friendly	Glenn's party stopped and prepared to fight. After accepting a smoke offering, the Pawnees inquired about the whereabouts of the "Mexican" Indians and shook hands with the travelers.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 159-60.
19 June 1822	west of Walnut Creek	Glenn's party traveled after dark fearing that Indians would steal its horse that night	none	tension		Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 160.
late June 1822	Arkansas River	James learned that Osages had robbed a caravan	none	conflict	It appears that the Osage were more active than others in challenging the trail's imposition.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 113.

late June 1822	Arkansas River	unidentified Indians met James's party	none	tension	Fearing conflict, James's party posted night guards.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 113.
late June 1822	Arkansas River	an Osage took James, Chouteau, Tonish, and Pelche to an Osage camp where conflict erupted	none	conflict	Others took four horses, powder, and other items belonging to the whites. An Osage "medicine man," located missing items.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 113-15.
late June 1822	Arkansas River	James's party camped at an abandoned Osage camp site	none	sign	Travelers frequently commented about seeing abandoned sites.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 116.
late June 1822	creek northeast of Arkansas River	30 Osages became angry when James's party refused to accept goods taken from Santa Fe traders	none	conflict	McKnight struck the arm of an Osage who had tried to take his belt.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 116.
late June 1822	Osage town on Grand River	Osages fed and took care of the starving travelers	none	friendly	James's Osage encounters reflect on the complexity of Indian-white relations.	James, <i>Three Years</i> , 116-17.
1822	[Chouteau's Island]	Storrs recounted an 1816 fight in which 300 Pawnees attacked Chouteau's party	none	anecdotal	Storrs was documenting acts of Indian violence in hopes of obtaining US protection for Santa Fe traders.	Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail, First Reports: 1821</i> (1960), 36.
1822	near the mountains	Comanches killed Mr. Maxwell	1 ttraveler killed	warfare	Maxwell was apparently not traveling on the trail when the attack occurred.	Storrs and Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 36.
summer 1822	Big Bend	[Osage?] Indians stopped Mr. Glenn who escaped with difficulty	none	conflict		"From the Santa Fe Expedition," September 3, 1822, <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> , in <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 58.

summer 1822	near Big Bend	[Osage?] Indians allegedly robbed and left Col. Cooper's party starving	none	warfare	The <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> noted that another company of about fifty members were about to set out for Santa Fe to hunt and obtain furs. The editor "wish[ed] them greater success than has befallen to the lot of those mentioned above." See the October 8, 1822, entry, which gives another account.	"Santa Fe Expedition," 58-59.
3 September 1822		The <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> noted that a company of about 50 members was about to set out for Santa Fe to hunt and obtain furs	none		The editor "wish[ed] them greater success than has befallen to the lot of those mentioned above."	"Santa Fe Expedition," 58-59.
fall 1822	Arkansas River, near present Dodge City	westbound James Baird and Samuel Chambers sought safety against Indians on an island during a snow storm and cached their property	none	warfare	This site became known as The Caches, a name carrying an implicit reference to conflict with Indians. Others gave differing views behind the site's name. See the early June or July 1823 entry.	R. L. Duffus, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> (1930), 79.
8 October 1822	St. Louis	an October 8 <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> account indicated that Cooper's party only lost "some trifling loses" and no serious interruptions	none	conflic	This account counters a previous account. See the summer 1822 entry.	"Santa Fe Expedition," 58-59.

1822	"on the Arkansas" [?]	Comanches attacked trader John McKnight	McKnight killed	warfare	Although blame fell on the Comanches, the identity of the killers is uncertain. The incident appears to have occurred south of the Arkansas, possible in the Texas Panhandle. Euroamericans used this incident to request US protection for the growing Santa Fe trade. This report misdated McKnight's death. See the May 1823 entry.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico, since the late war with Great Britain; the amount of robberies committed; at what places, and by what tribe," 82.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1823	"from Chihuahua"	Kaws robbed Raymond and Garcia at an unspecified location, taking a mule and camp equipment valued at \$166	none	conflict	This information was issued in an 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico, since the late war with Great Britain," 82.
1823	"from Mexico"	Kaws robbed R. A. and J. G. Heath at unspecified location, taking horses, mules, and other items valued at \$350	none	conflict	This information was issued in an 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 82.
1823	"from Santa Fe"	Osages robbed J. Knight and J. Embre at an unspecified location, taking a horse and mule valued at \$110	none	warfare	This information was issued in an 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	Tabular Statement," 82.
May 1823	south of the North Fork of the Canadian	Comanches attacked trader John McKnight as he left a Comanche camp south of the trail	John McKnight Killed	warfare	This incident occurred where McKnight had gone to establish a post. In 1825, Storrs' report cited alleged acts of Comanche violence against US citizens. Nonetheless, the tribal identity of the killers is uncertain.	Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail, First Reports: 1821</i> (1960), 37; Thomas James, <i>Three Years Among the Indians and Mexican</i> (1962), 190-227.
[1 June 1823]	[Little Arkansas]	20 Osages with firearms took 45 horses from Stephen Cooper's Santa Fe-bound party	1 Osage reported killed	warfare	Euroamericans believed that Indians probably wanted horses without inflicting physical harm. The <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> reported that Osages, recipients of U.S. annuities, were "savages" who had engaged in similar behavior.	<i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> , May 17, 1823, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 68; Kenneth L. Holmes, "The Benjamin Cooper Expeditions to Santa Fe in 1822 and 1823," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 38 (April 1963): 145.

[June?] 1823	Little Arkansas	about 1,500 Kaws camped near Cooper's company	none	friendly		Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 110.
[June?] 1823	Little Arkansas	Kaws hunting buffalo camped near Cooper's camp	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 110.
June 1823	Arkansas River	Joe Walker's returned from the mountains with a Comanche guide named Francisco Largo	none	cooperation	Francisco Largo was reportedly undependable but developed into an "effective guide."	Holmes, "Cooper Expeditions," 148-49.
late June or July 1823	Caches	60 to 80 Panis [Pawnees] confronted McGunnegle, William Anderson, Sr., Paul Anderson, Jr., and a few Spaniards, taking 13 mules, a jackass and other items	none	warfare	The party returned to Taos on foot. The place of the incident became known as "The Caches." See the fall 1822 entry. See the below entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 109.
[late June or July?] 1823	[Caches?] Arkansas River	Pawnees took 13 mules from a Spaniard employed by William Anderson	1 Spaniard killed	warfare	Storrs stated that a compromise was reached because the Pawnees could not rob the traders without losing some men. See the above entry.	Storrs and Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 36.
summer 1823	Osage country 15 miles east of Arkansas River	Comanches or Osages attacked a company of 32 Missouri traders, taking 40 mules and horses	1 Indian killed	warfare	First reports blamed Osages, but more information implicated the Comanches.	Storrs and Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 36-37.
summer 1823	unspecified	80 Pawnees confronted 32 Missouri traders	none	warfare	Storrs asserted that both parties agreed to compromise because the Pawnees could not rob the traders without losing some of their men.	Storrs and Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 37.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance of Encounter	Source
1824	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took goods and silver valued at \$427 from Paul Baillis and company	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for Santa Fe traders.	A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico, since the late war with Great Britain", 83.
1824	"from Mexico"	Kaws took cash, a horse, and other property valued at \$304 from W. M. Burch	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1824	"from Mexico"	Kaws took cash, a horse, and other property valued at \$47 from W. M. Burch	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade..	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1824	"from Mexico"	Kaws took a mule and blankets valued at \$64 from Benjamin Cooper	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1824	"from Mexico"	The Kaws took blankets valued at \$20 from Fred Hicks	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1824	"on the Mexican road"	Comanches confronted Simo and Adamoso	none	conflict	This 1831 report aimed at obtaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1824	New Mexico	4 companies of Missouri traders traveled to New Mexico to trade with Mexican Indians	none		Missouri traders viewed Mexican Indians, possibly meaning Pueblos, as potential trading partners.	Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, <i>Santa Fe Trail, First Reports: 1821</i> (1960), 45.
1824	30 miles from Ely's trading post	"Kansas band of Osages" found James Beckwourth and Moses Harris in a starving condition	none	friendly	The Indians restored the pair's health.	<i>Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth</i> (1972), 30-31.

1824	Ely's trading post (mouth of Kansas River)	"Kansas band of the Osages" met Beckwourth, Harris, Ely, and Curtis	none	friendly	Ely and Curtis rewarded the Indians generously with US stores for saving Beckwourth and Harris.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 32.
April 1824	Franklin, MO, to Santa Fe	83 traders, teamsters and others with 2 road wagons, 20 Dearborns, 2 carts, 200 horses and mules returned from Santa Fe to Franklin with \$30,000 in goods	none	none	"Le Grande's successful expedition gave the first large-scale proof that the trail could be negotiated by wheeled vehicle." However, Estrop questioned Le Grand's journalistic veracity.	Ramond Estrop, "The Le Grand Survey of the High Plains--Fact or Fancy," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 29 (April 1954): 23.
spring? 1824	Washington, DC	US agent Graham informed a congressional committee about the Santa Fe trade and recommended an army post on the Arkansas			On June 5, the <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> reported that Graham recommendations.	Garland C. Broadhead, "The Santa Fe Trail," <i>Missouri Historical Review</i> 4 (July 1910): 312.
8 June 1824	branch of the Little Arkansas River	M. M. Marmaduke's party became alarmed after mistaking buffalo for hundreds Indians	none	false alarm	Travelers often mistook buffalo for Indians	"Santa Fe Trail: M. M. Marmaduke Journal," September 2, 1825, <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> , in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 72.
17 June 1824	Arkansas River, about 370 miles west of Franklin, MO	Marmaduke's men pursued an Indian man without overtaking him	none	conflict		"Journal of M. M. Marmaduke of the trip from Franklin Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1824," (1911), 6; Marmaduke, "Santa Fe Trail," 72.
19 June 1824	west of Pawnee Fork	Marmaduke "saw a great number of buffalo," but no Indians	none	conflict		Harry C. Myers, ed., "Meredith Miles Marmaduke's Journal of a Tour to New Mexico, 1824-1825," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 12 (November 1997): 11.

2 July 1824	Cimarron Creek	2 unidentified Indians chased a hunter with Marmaduke party	none	conflict	Marmaduke's men had killed a large number of buffalo.	Myers, "Marmaduke's Journal," 11
5 July 1824	Cimarron River, Mexico	Marmaduke's party saw a small Indian camp with 3 lodges	none	friendly		Marmaduke, "Santa Fe Trail," 73.
1 August 1825	near US settlements	Osages plundered livestock of an American party	none	conflict	They treated the interlopers "poorly."	<i>Nile's Weekly Register</i> , September 23, 1825, 54.
7 September? 1824	Council Bluffs, on the Missouri	a "Spanish" delegation negotiated a peace treaty with Pawnee leaders	none	diplomacy	New Mexican officials considered Pawnees a threat. They reached Council Bluffs by traveling a distance on the trail before going northeast. The treaty had no lasting effect.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 115-16.
October 1824		a Missouri petition used racial language to ask Congress for right-of-way agreements with Indians	none		The petition called for "security against the robberies and murders which all savages are prone to commit on the traveller and merchant." It advocated assimilation programs to control Indians.	"Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the State of Missouri upon the Subject of . . . Mexico, with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore," in <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 102.
6 November 1824	Arkansas River, near later site of Ft. Zarah	Pattie apparently falsely described Iotan and Comanche ceremonies with stereotypical language	none	friendly	Describing Comanche ceremony following their fight with six Navajos, he stated that they cut out the hearts jof the deceased and growled like animals.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 72.
6 November 1824	Arkansas River, near later site of Ft. Zarah	Pattie noted that Iotan Comanches fought and killed 6 Navajos	none	friendly	Pattie's account indicates Navajos and Comanches were at war against one another. Pattie also described an animalistic Comanche ceremony performed, involving the cutting out the hearts of the fallen Navajos and growling like animals.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 72.

6 November 1824	Arkansas River, near later site of Ft. Zarah	Pattie supposedly witnessed an Iotan and Comanche ceremony involving Navajo bodies	none	friendly	Pattie wrote that they cut out the Navajos' hearts and growled like animals.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 72.
November 1824		Augustus Storrs responded to U.S. Senator Thomas H. Benton's questions about the Santa Fe trade	none		Benton presented the reports of Storrs and others to Congress on January 3, 1825. Storrs focused on Indian conflict with U.S. citizens along the trail and elsewhere. See the January 3, 1825, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 118.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1825	"from Santa Fe"	The Osages took horses and mules valued at \$216 from Ewing	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico, since the late war with Great Britain," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took horses and mules valued at \$295 from McClure and Marmaduke	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took a mule from M. Marmaduke valued at \$38.	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took a mule valued at \$35 from Keys Pasquez	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took 11 horses and a mule valued at \$423 from Raymond Garcia	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took a horse valued at \$35 from James Pursley	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took 19 horses and 4 mules valued at \$817 from M. S. Escudero	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.

1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took two horses and a mule valued at \$109 from B. Hardiman	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took a horse valued at #35 from William, a black man	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took a mule valued at \$38 from I. P. B. Gratiot?	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took 10 horses and a mule valued at \$350 from William Remick	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Osages took 16 horses and mules valued at \$360 from W. D. McRae	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	Raymond Garcia received \$213 in indemnity for losses from Osages	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
1825	"from Santa Fe"	M. S. Escuderao received \$80 in indemnity for losses attributed to Osages	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 83.
3 January 1825		Senator Thomas Hart Benton presented Augustus Storrs's and Graham's reports to the US Senate	none		These reports encouraged Congress to allocate funding for right-of-way treaties and to mark the trail.	Augustus Storrs, "Trade between Missouri & Mexico," in <i>Southwest on the Turquoise Trail</i> (1933), 77-98.

1825 [1824]	Council Bluff	William O'Fallon arranged for 26 New Mexican officials to hold a treaty council with Pawnee leaders	none	diplomacy	This event occurred in 1824.	R. L. Duffus, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> (1930), 83.
3 March 1825	Washington, DC	President James Monroe signed a bill providing for the survey and marking of the road to Mexico	none		The law provided for \$20,000 for right-of-way treaties from Indians and \$10,000 for marking the road.	Kate Gregg, <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> (1952), 7, 8.
2 June 1825	St. Louis	Osage leaders consented to a treaty with the United States negotiated by William Clark	none	diplomacy	Osages ceded millions of acres of land in Missouri, Arkansas, and Kansas, agreeing to move onto a Kansas reservation.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 121.
3 June 1825	St. Louis	Kaw leaders consented to a treaty with the United States negotiated by William Clark	none	diplomacy	Kaws ceded land in Missouri, agreeing to move onto a Kansas reservation.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 121.
spring? 1825	Arkansas River in Mexico	rumors stated that Arapahos had attacked an eastbound party	3 travelers reportedly killed	warfare	The <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> reported this rumor on 5 June.	Garland C. Broadhead, "The Santa Fe Trail," <i>Missouri Historical Review</i> 4 (July 1910): 313.
5 July 1825	Cimarron River, Mexico	Marmaduke's party camped near 3 Indian lodges, 2 Comanches and 1 Kiowas, with 15 to 20 inhabitants	none	friendly	Marmaduke's party trade with Comanches and Kiowas.	<i>Journal of M. M. Marmaduke of the Trip from Franklin Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1824</i> (1911), 7.
5 July 1825	near mouth of Bad or Teton River	Cheyenne leaders met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Cheyenne agreed "not to molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens, who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico, or returning to hence to the United States ."	Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties, 1778-1883</i> (1972), 232-34.
5 July 1825	mouth of Teton River	Sioux and Oglala leaders met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Sioux and Oglala leaders agreed not to molest American citizens on the Santa Fe Trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 230-32.

6 July 1825	creek 15 miles from previous camp	hunters with Marmaduke's party saw Indians on high ground	none	tension	The Indians did not approach the strangers. Marmaduke surmised the Indians were watching his men's movement.	"Marmaduke's Journal," 12.
7 July 1825	Ft. Osage	surveying-and-marking expedition, with 40 men, 57 horses and mules in 7 wagons, departed	none		US commissioners Sibley, Reeves, and Mather headed the party, Archibald Gamble was the secretary and Joseph C. Brown was the surveyor. Stephen Cooper served as pilot and captain.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 122.
14 July 1825	near the mouth of the Little Arkansas River, about 70 miles west of Ft. Osage	a large Osage party robbed Marmaduke's party as it returned from Santa Fe	none	conflict	The Osages took 120 head of livestock and other property while mistreating the traders. On July 27 at Ft. Osage, Marmaduke informed Sibley of this encounter.	"The Journal of George C. Sibley on an Expedition to Survey and Mark a Road from the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements in Mexico. St. Louis, June 22, to Santa Fe, November 30, 1825," in <i>The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and Others</i> , ed. Kate L. Gregg, (1952), 54-55.
1 August 1825	"very near the American settlements"	The <i>Niles Weekly Register</i> reported that a large Osage party treated white Americans poorly, taking livestock	none	warfare	According to the article, Osages interfered with the Santa Fe traffic close to American border.	<i>Nile's Weekly Register</i> , September 23, 1825, 54.
3 August 1825	Branch Creek [142 Mile Creek]	Gamble departed to invite Osage leaders to negotiate with the US commissioners	none	diplomacy	The US commissioners sought Osage permission to mark the trail through Osage land.	Sibley, "Journal," 56.
4 August 1825	Mandan village	Crow leaders met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Crow leaders agreed not to molest US citizens on the trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 244-46.

5 August 1825	Franklin, MO	The <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> reported that Indians had attacked and plundered an eastbound Mexican-US train	none	warfare	Reports such as this led to calls for protection of the trail.	Broadhead, "Santa Fe Trail," 312-13.
5 August 1825	Neosho River	Sibley's party waited in a timbered area for Osage leaders	none	diplomacy	Sibley and fellow party members named the site Council Grove in honor of the impending treaty council with the Osage nation.	Sibley, "Journal," 57.
8 August 1825	Council Grove	Gamble arrived with 50 principal chiefs and warriors of the Great and Little Osages	none	diplomacy	Camping near Sibley's party, the Osage delegation had come to discuss a right-of-way treaty with the US commissioners.	Sibley, "Journal," 57.
9 August 1825	Council Grove	Sibley and William S. Gamble held council with 50 principal Osages leaders, including White Hair of the Great Osages and Foolish Chief of the Little Osages, regarding a right-of-way treaty	none	diplomacy	The US commissioners "explained to them fully & clearly what they desire respecting the Road; and proposed to give them \$800 as compensation for the privilege of Marking it through their Land, & the free use of it forever." Article 4 stated that the Osages "do further consent and agree that the road aforesaid shall be considered as extending to a reasonable distance on either side, so that travelers thereon may, at any time, leave the marked tract, for the purpose of finding subsistence and proper camping places."	Sibley, "Journal," 57-58.
10 August 1825	Council Grove	US commissioners finalized the treaty with Osage leaders	none	diplomacy	The commissioners paid Osage \$300 in trade goods and made arrangements to pay them the remaining \$500 in trade goods.	Sibley, "Journal," 58.

11 August 1825	Council Grove	several lesser Osage chiefs expressed dissatisfaction over the distribution of the goods	none	diplomacy	According to Sibley, disgruntled Osages blamed their senior chiefs for an unfair distribution. He asserted that Osage leaders left perfectly satisfied with a liberal distribution of goods "for the Right of Way through the country claimed by them. . . ."	Sibley, "Journal," 58-59; B. H. Reeves, G. C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather to James Barbour, in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> , 198.
11 August 1825	Council Grove	US commissioners sent William Williams to summons Kaw leaders about a proposed right-of-way treaty	none	diplomacy	The treaty took place further west, about 45 miles from the Kaw town. See the August 15 and 16 entries.	Sibley, "Journal," 59.
14 August 1825	Running Turkey Creek, east of McPherson	Williams arrived after dark with 2 Kaws and 50 more would arrived the following day	none	diplomacy	Kaws arrived to treat with the US commissioners.	Sibley, "Journal," 61.
15 August 1825	Sora Con:sta [Kansas], a branch of Turkey Creek	Shone-gee-ne-gare, Ke-hea-bash-ee, and other Kaw leaders met the US commissioners	none	diplomacy	Kaws verbally accepted the same offer as had Osages.	Sibley, "Journal," 63.
16 August 1825	Sora Con:sta, a branch of Turkey Creek	US commissioners finalized the treaty with the Kaw leaders	none	diplomacy	Kaw leaders accepted \$800 in trade goods to allow the trail's marking and guaranteed the safe passage of traders forever. Following the council, Sibley's party resumed its march westward without seeking to establish treaty relations with other Indians whose lands touched the trail.	Sibley, "Journal," 63; Reeves, Sibley, and Mather to Barbour, 198.
1 September 1825	ford a mile from the mouth of Pawnee River	Sibley saw Indian marks and the names of Santa Fe travelers cut into the cliff	none		Sibley was apparently referring to a bluff later named Pawnee Rock, which became an important trail landmark.	Sibley, "Journal," 73.

1 September 1825	near Pawnee Creek [Saw Mill Creek]	Sibley believed that Pawnees and Recaras [Arikaras] had been there recently, but had returned home to harvest their crops	none	signs	Sibley wrote that the area was the Pawnees' usual "Summer Resort."	Sibley, "Journal," 73.
21 September 1825	Arkansas River	Pattie's party, with 116 men, 300 mules, and some horses, declined an offer of a Comanche chief to stay with him and ten others	none	tension	Pattie stated that the offended chief threatened to attack Pattie's party when his people returned. Pattie's party stayed awake all night in anticipation of a fight. Pattie's account is marred by errors and discrepancies.	<i>Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky</i> (1905), 65-66.
22 September 1825	Arkansas River	600 to 800 Iotans fought Comanches in defense of Pattie's party	none	cooperation	Pattie's party gave the Iotan chief a hundred dollars worth of goods to compensate the Iotans for the men they had lost in the battle.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 66-68.
22 September 1825	Arkansas River, near later site of Ft. Zarah.	Pattie's party traded with Iotans while keeping the Comanches out of the camp	none	friendly	The Iotans received pelts and deerskins in exchange for butcher knives, paint, and balls and powder.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 68.
22 September 1825	Arkansas River, near later site of Ft. Zarah	a Comanche chief held peace talks with Pattie's party	none	friendly	The chief stated that he had never killed a white person and he did not want the white Americans to trade with the Spaniards.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 70.
26 September 1825	Ft. Atkinson	Otoe and Missouri leaders met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Otoe and Missouri leaders agreed not to molest US citizens on the trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 256-58.
30 September 1825	Ft. Atkinson	Pawnee met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Pawnee chiefs agreed not to molest US citizens on the trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 258-60.

2 October 1825	creek about 9 miles southwest of Rolla, KS	Sibley's party spotted Indian signs near the only good water in the area	none	signs	Travelers frequently noted Indian signs they saw.	Sibley, "Journal," 91.
5-6 October 1824	Arkansas River	Iotans hunted buffalo while traveling with Pattie's party	none	friendly		Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 72.
6 October 1824	Arkansas River	Iotans reportedly exhumed 3 Navajos bodies and held a scalp dance, causing Pattie's party to break off relations with them	none	tension	There is no reliable evidence showing that Iotans desecrated the graves of their enemies.	Pattie, <i>Narrative</i> , 72.
6 October 1825	Ft. Atkinson	Omahas met in a treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	Omahas agreed not to molest US citizens on the trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 260-62.
fall 1825	Cimarron River, Mexico	Pawnees took a large number of mules and property from an eastbound caravan	none	conflict	Reeves believed that Pawnees had targeted the US commissioners, but robbed another caravan by mistake. Reeves speculated that Indians attacked US parties in Mexican territory "from a belief in them that they cannot be punished for an outrage committed beyond our bounds."	Benjamin H. Reeves to James Barbour, April 15, 1826, in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> , 231.
9 October 1825	Cimarron River	Sibley's party saw fresh Indian signs at a spring	none	signs	Travelers frequently noted Indian signs they saw.	Sibley, "Journal," 95.
11 October 1825	Corrumpa Creek, NM	Sibley speculated that Indians were pursuing him	none	tension	He produce no evidence to support his speculation.	Sibley, "Journal," 97.
13 October 1825	Elk Fork [142 Mile Creek]	US commissioner Reeves noted that "[o]n this fork Osage settlements may be formd" [sic]	none			"Diary of Benjamin H. Reeves, on Return from the Boundary, October 8 to October 25, 1825," in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> , 171.

17 October 1825	Rio Don Carlos [Carrizo]	Sibley wrote that the small stream had received its name because Spanish troops and militiamen under Don Carlos had defeated Comanches there many years ago	none	anecdotal		Sibley, "Journal," 103.
18 October 1825	east of Council Grove	Joseph Davis assumed that Indians had started a prairie fire	none		Other travelers over the years would make this observation.	"Diary of Joseph Davis, on Return from the Mexican Boundary, September 30 to October 25, 1825," in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> , 166.
19 October 1825	between the Osage and Kaw Rivers	Kaws visited Sibley's camp	none	friendly	Reeves gave them twists of tobacco.	Reeves, "Diary," 172.
19 October 1825	east of Council Grove	Davis's eastbound party met Kaws on a buffalo hunt	none	friendly	Davis's party declined a Kaw invitation to eat. Kaws had their camp on a branch of the Kansas River, near the road.	Davis, "Diary," 166
20 October 1825	east of Council Grove	an Indian man felt as if a member of Sibley's party had cheated him in a trade that exchanged a mule for a mare.	none	friendly	He said that he had shot the mare and that the "white man who swapped with him 'was a big liar.'" He wanted the mule back.	Davis, "Diary," 167.
20 October 1825	branch of the Osage River	Davis noted that Indians had been there the previous day	none	signs	This sighting indicated that travelers kept alert to the possibility of encountering Indians.	Davis, "Diary," 167.
20 October 1825	between Osage and Kaw Rivers	Kaws visited Davis's camp	none	friendly	Reeves gave several Kaw visitors, who "manifested great friendship," twists of tobacco. The Kaws were very pleased by the gifts, he wrote.	Reeves, "Diary," 172.
20 October 1825	20 miles east of Council Grove	an unidentified Indian accused a Sibley party member of theft	none	conflict	The incident occurred as Sibley's party traveled towards Santa Fe.	Davis, "Diary," 167.

20 October 1825	20 miles east of Council Grove	Davis's party spotted a recently abandoned Indian camp site	none	signs	Travelers frequently noted Indian signs they saw.	Davis, "Diary," 167.
20 October 1825	between Osage and Kaw Rivers	Reeves's party met a large number of Indian hunters	none	friendly	Reeves wrote, "The Indians hunting & comeing [sic] to us from every direction."	Reeves, "Diary," 173.
21 October 1825	camp 12 miles from previous camp	Reeves's party suspected that Kaws had taken one of its horses	none	tension	A Sibley's party member found a missing horse tied with an "Indian tug." Reeves wrote, "this is a proof to me of the Indian perfidy."	Reeves, "Diary," 173.
21 October 1825	branch of Osage River	hunters with Davis's party found the missing horse tethered in the bushes with an Indian rope	none	tension	Party members suspected that Indians had taken the horse. See Reeves account of this event.	Davis, "Diary," 167.
October 1825		Gen. Brown asked Gen. Henry Atkinson for a report on how to protect removed Indians and the trail	none		Atkinson recommended the establishment of a sting of military posts.	William E. Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825-1855</i> (2007), 54.
23 October 1825	Big Blue	Davis's party found a horse and a mule	none		Davis speculated that Indians had taken the animals from US merchants.	Davis, "Diary," 168.
24 October 1825	unspecified, in New Mexico	2 members of Sibley's party returned from Taos with an old Comanche guide	none	cooperation	Sibley reported that the Comanche knew a route over the mountains.	Sibley, "Journal," 107.
7 November 1825	St. Louis	Shawnee Indians of Missouri entered into a treaty with the US government and agreed to move into eastern Kansas	none	diplomacy	Shawnees agreed to cede their Missouri lands and move to a Kansas reservation. From 1826 to 1833 over two thousand Ohio and Missouri Shawnees settled on a reservation divided by the trail.	Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 262-64.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1826	"from Mexico"	Kaws took a horse and mule valued at \$65 from S. & L. Switzer	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico," 84.
1826	"from Santa Fe"	Kaws took a horse valued at \$50 from Nathaniel Symmes	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 84.
1826	"from Santa Fe"	"Arrapahoes" took 70 mules, jacks, and mares valued at \$2,800 from Bird B. Smith	none	conflict	This information was issued in a 1831 report calling for the US government to protect the Santa Fe trade.	"Tabular Statement," 84.
early 1826	unspecified	a large Pawnee force raided 20 trail travelers, including Ewing Young, Thomas H. Boggs, James Dempsey, Paul Baillio and 6 members of the road survey company	none	conflict	Reeves wanted US officials to take steps to recover the property or a "farther [sic] measure as the indignity offered the authority of the government would seem to require."	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 130-31; B. H. Reeves to J. Barbour, April 15, 1826, in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> (1952), 231.
15 April 1826		Reeves reported to the US war secretary that Pawnees had planned to raid a caravan with US commissioners the previous fall	none	conflict	See the fall 1825 entry.	Reeves to Barbour, April 15, 1826, in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> , 231.
May or June 1826	Pawnee Rock	a youthful Kit Carson, with a Ceran St. Vrain company, reportedly shot and killed his mule by mistake	none	false alarm	According to this myth, Carson thought the mule was an Indian.	<i>Journal of Jacob Fowler</i> , ed. Elliot Coues (1970), 32n.
May or June 1826	Pawnee Rock	Pawnees attacked a Ceran St. Vrain party with Kit Carson	none	warfare	This incident is supposedly how this famous landmark [Pawnee Rock] got its name.	Fowler, <i>Journal</i> , 32n.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt in Encounter	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
spring 1827	60 miles from the mouth of Kansas River	Cantonment Leavenworth was founded	none		Later named Ft. Leavenworth, the post served as important place for deploying troops to protect the trail and for conducting US relations with Plains and removed Indians.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 141.
spring 1827	Missouri	Independence was founded	none		The town became an important site in the Santa Fe trade.	Berry, <i>Beginning</i> , 141.
3 June 1827	100 Mile Creek	a Kaw entered Sibley's camp and said that 5 Kaw families were hunting about 6 miles away	none	friendly		George C. Sibley, "Journal of George C. Sibley," in <i>Road to Santa Fe</i> (1952), 182.
4 June 1827	Muscle Creek, 124 miles west of Ft. Osage	Sibley's party met a small Kaw party on the road whose purpose was to beg	none	friendly	Indians viewed "begging" as collecting a toll.	Sibley, "Journal," 182.
29 June 1827	4 miles from Flat Rock Creek	Sibley's party met 5 Kaws returning from a hunt	none	friendly		Sibley, "Journal," 189.
12 October 1827	Little Coon Creek?	perhaps 30 Pawnees raided livestock from 12 to 16 eastbound traders, including Thomas Talbot, Elisha Stanley, Edwin M. Ryland, William Wolfskill, James Collins, James Fielding, and Solomon Houck	none	warfare	The next day the travelers found about sixty-six of the missing animals. A petition for compensation to the US government declared that Pawnees were lawless, violent and impelled by their love of plunder.	"A Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail in 1827," ed. James W. Covington <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 21 (Autumn 1955): 562-63; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 146.

[12 October?] 1827	unspecified [Little Coon Creek?]	Pawnees or Comanches took 130 head of livestock from traders	none	warfare	Traders did not always know the identity of Indians they encountered. It is likely in this instance that Wetmore was referring to the October 12 incident in which Talbot and other traders blamed Pawnees for taking their stock.	Alfonso Wetmore, "Alfonso Wetmore's Report," <i>Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.</i> , October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31.
October 1827	vicinity of present Dodge City	Indians stampeded the horses of 25 Missourians, including James Cockrell	none	conflict	The Missourians had gone west to look for a silver mine.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 144.
20 October 1827	eastern Kansas	Smallpox took 180 Kaw lives			The trail may have been responsible for spreading disease to Indians.	William E. Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country</i> (2007), 86- 87.
27 October 1827		Joseph C. Brown's diary references Indians twice	none	diplomacy	Brown noted the sites where the 1825 treaties with the Osages and Kaws were signed.	Joseph C. Brown, "Field Notes of the Santa Fé Trail Survey," in <i>Southwest on the Turquoise Trail</i> (1933), 111, 115.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1828	"on the Mexican road"	Comanches robbed Means and Lamb of 300 mules valued at \$7,500	none	conflict	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico. . . .," 85.
1828	"from Santa Fe"	Comanches confronted an unknown trader	none	conflict	The entry fails to mention the outcome of the contact.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
early 1828	Cimarron River on or near the Trail	Thomas Fitzpatrick and William Sublette found a lost, hungry, and thirsty Arapaho boy whom they named Friday	none	friendly	Friday expected death but Fitzpatrick and Sublette took him to the States. He returned years later to the plains and spent the rest of his life among his people.	Rufus B. Sage, <i>Rocky Mountain Life</i> (18--), 357-58.
spring 1828	eastern Kansas	Isaac McCoy reported the arrival of many Shawnees	none	friendly	McCoy wrote, "With some aid from government, chiefly in food & clothing, & farming utensils, they are in three or four settlements of villages putting up with their own hands very neat log cabbins."	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 152.
4 June 1828	34 miles west of Round Grove	Wetmore and other Santa Fe traders saw Indian moccasin footprints in a river bank	none	signs	Traders, especially during the early years of the trail's history, often documented their observation of Indian signs.	Alphonso Wetmore, "Diary," in <i>Southwest on the Turquoise Trail</i> , 2 vols. (1933), 183.
8 June 1828	115 miles west of the Round Grove	Wetmore and other Santa Fe traders spotted Indian signs	none	signs	Reporting signs was common.	Wetmore, "Report," 34.
8 June 1828	east of Arkansas River	Wetmore's party found Indian signs	none	signs	Reporting signs was common.	Wetmore, "Diary," 184.

21 June 1828	east of a branch of Cow Creek	unidentified Indians tried to steal mules from Wetmore's party	none	conflict	The Indians aborted their attempt to steal the mules.	Wetmore, "Report," 35.
21 June 1828	near Turkey Creek	a Wetmore party sentry fired a warning shot at an Indian	none	conflict	The gunfire and Indian shouting aroused the camp. Wetmore wrote, "Killed and wounded, blank; alarmed, none."	Wetmore, "Diary," 186.
22 June 1828	Arkansas River	a Wetmore party sentry mistook a fellow traveler for an Indian	none	false alarm	False alarms were common.	Wetmore, "Diary," 186.
23 June 1828	Cantonment Leavenworth	Kitkahahki [Republic] Pawnees, Omahas, Otoes, Iowas, Sacs, Kaws, and immigrant Shawnees met US John Dougherty in council	none	diplomacy	Indians leaders signed the peace treaties among themselves in response to the US policy of removing eastern Indians west of the Mississippi River.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 149.
25 June 1828	Big Bend	Wetmore noted that his caravan had entered the most dangerous section of the trail	none	tension	Wetmore wrote that the area was the "war grounds of the Pawnees, Osages, and Kaws"	Wetmore, "Diary," 187.
15 July 1828	near Upper Cimarron Spring	Wetmore's party met a Kiowa man and "squaw"	none	friendly	Euroamericans frequently used the term "squaw" for Indian women. Today, many people find this term to be offensive.	Wetmore, "Diary," 190; Wetmore, "Report," 37.
16 July 1828	upper Cimarron Spring	Wetmore and other Santa Fe traders found the bodies of 2 white men killed while sleeping [Robert McNees and Daniel Monroe]		warfare	Other accounts indicate that these men had died in late August or September. Wetmore apparently falsified his diary in hopes of gaining US protection for the Santa Fe trade. See the [late August] 1828 entry.	Wetmore, "Report," 37; Wetmore, "Diary," 190.

16 July (?) 1828	Upper Cimarron Springs	Wetmore's caravan fired on 6 or 7 Indians (possibly Comanches or Kiowas) who appeared at the funeral for Munroe and McNees was ending	5 or 6 Indians killed	warfare	Other accounts state that this incident had occurred in late August indicating that Wetmore had falsified his diary. See the early September 1828 entry.	Wetmore, "Diary," 190-91; Otis E. Young, <i>Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829</i> (1952), 16.
18 or 19 July 1828	west of Rabbit Ears	Wetmore's party met 3 Kiowa buffalo hunters	none	friendly	The Kiowas "uttered all the Spanish they were masters of, bellowing lustily amigo! amigo! friend! friend!"	Wetmore, "Diary," 191; Wetmore, "Report," 38.
20 July 1828	La Madre Loma Creek	Wetmore's party met a small party of Pawnee-speaking Kiowas without mounts on a horse-raiding expedition against the Cheyenne	none	friendly	If the Indians spoke Pawnee, as Wetmore stated, it is likely that they were Pawnees. Pawnees on horse-stealing expeditions customarily set out on foot.	Wetmore, "Diary," 192; Wetmore, "Report," 38.
[late August] 1828	McNees Creek	unknown Indians attacked Daniel Monroe and Robert McNees who were traveling ahead of the Sublette and Marmaduke party	McNees killed and Monroe mortally wounded	warfare	Newspaper accounts initially accused the Pawnees and Comanches, but blamed later fell on the Comanches. See the July 16, 1828 entry.	Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 16; "Council Trove, Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (August 1995): 28.
[late August] 1828	[Upper Cimarron Springs]	western Indians [Pawnees and Comanches] attacked 2 caravans, killing McNees and Monroe	see above entry	warfare	McCoy wrote that the attackers also took 700 mules and horses. In the second incident, he stated that they killed a man and took some animals.	"Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 13 (August 1945): 433.
[late August] 1828	Santa Fe Trail	McCoy declared that Indians only attacked eastbound caravans		warfare	He opined about how to stop the raids.	McCoy, "Second Exploring Trip," 433.
early September? 1828	Upper Cimarron Springs	Sublette and Marmaduke party fired on 6 or 7 unoffending Comanches who appeared at the funeral of Munroe and McNees	5 or 6 Indians killed	warfare	Other accounts say the massacre occurred in late August. Also see the July 16, 1828 entry.	David A. White, comp., <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1966) 2: 21.

early September? 1828	west of Cimarron Springs near Arkansas River	Indians took nearly a 1000 horses and mules from the eastbound Sublette and Marmaduke train	none	warfare	The attack was in retaliation for the indiscriminant killing of the Indians by the Sublette and Marmaduke parties several days earlier.	Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 17.
3 September 1828	3 days travel from Santa Fe	Indians and Mexicans drove off livestock belonging to 30 traders with 150 horses and mules and 4 wagons	none	conflict	Company members continued their journey after returning to Santa Fe and purchasing their stolen animal.	Young, <i>Military Escorts</i> , 17- 18.
[September 1828]	near Arkansas River	150 to 200 Indians frightened a hunting party with M. M. Marmaduke, Taylor, and 4 others	none	warfare	This incident happened a few days after the Upper Cimarron Springs massacre.	Waldo, "Recollections," 9; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 151.
September 1828	McNees Creek	Indians attacked 2 men with Wetmore's caravan of about 50 men	2 caravan members killed	warfare		White, comp., <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 21.
12 September 1828	St. Louis	the <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> reported that Pawnees had killed Monroe and McNees, noting that their party had "realized a handsome profit on their outfit"		warfare	The account encouraged more interest in the Santa Fe trade Blame for the killings later fell on Comanches. This and other reports of violence led to calls for a US military presence on the trail.	<i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> , 12 September 1828, in Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 16, 33.
14 September 1828	near Cimarron Springs	George Knox wrote that Indians, probably Comanches, had killed Daniel Munroe [Monroe] and Robert McNees		warfare	The account says that Monroe died at the Cimarron Crossing.	"Council Trove, Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (August 1995): 28.
September 1828	Upper Cimarron Springs	Marmaduke's caravan fired on a small Pawnee [Comanche] party	[5 or 6] Indians killed	warfare	The Upper Cimarron Springs massacre escalated tensions and violence along the trail.	Berry, <i>Beginning</i> , 150-51.

September 1828	probably Great Bend area	Indians identified as Pawnees, but probably Comanches, drove off some 700 to 1000 horses and mules belonging to the Marmaduke/Sublette company	none	warfare	This raid was in apparent retaliation for the Upper Cimarron Springs massacre. George Knox's September 14, 1828, letter described this incident.	"Council Trove, Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (August 1995): 28; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 151.
[September ?] 1828	unspecified	Wetmore asserted that Pawnees or Comanches had taken 825 head of livestock from traders	none	warfare	This 1831 statement is an apparent reference to large number of horses taken from the Marmaduke/Sublette company.	"Alfonso Wetmore's Report," <i>Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Cong., 1st sess.</i> , October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31.
4 - 24 September 1828	eastern Kansas	US commissioner McCoy and 6 Ottawas and Potawatomis toured eastern Kansas	none	friendly	The party may have traveled on or near the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 152.
September 1828	[near Upper Cimarron Spring]	Comanches or Pawnees attacked 25 eastbound traders captained by John Means	John Means killed	warfare	Expressing outrage at Mean's death, the <i>Missouri Intelligencer</i> [October 28, 1828] indicated that he had been killed with his own rifle. After abandoning their wagons and hiding a considerable sum of silver, the survivors continued on foot. See the below entry.	Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 34.
September and October 1828	east of Upper Cimarron Spring	Comanches ran off all the horses and mules belonging to the Means caravan, forcing the traders to abandon their wagons and baggage	John Whitt wounded	warfare	The traders cached their property and silver, possibly on Chouteau's Island. A Missouri rescue party found the starving stragglers scattered for 150 miles along the trail. See the above entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 151-52.
September 1828	75 miles from the mouth of the Kansas River	Isaac McCoy, with Capt. G. H. Kenerly, and Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek delegates learned that Pawnees had attacked trail travelers	none	tension	The attack had reportedly occurred 75 miles from the mouth of the Kansas River. McCoy's company feared meeting Pawnee war parties.	"Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Expedition in 1828," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 13 (August 1945): 411.

September 1828		McCoy attributed the first defeat of Santa Fe traders to the Pawnees as having occurred in September, killing 2 men and taking about 700 mules and horses		warfare	McCoy was apparently writing about the deaths of McNees and Monroe without mentioning the massacre of innocent Comanches.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 151.
November 1828	Independence	Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks accompanied McCoy	none	friendly	This trip was related to the US policy of removing eastern Indians to west of the Mississippi.	McCoy, "Second Expedition," 404, 405.
2 November 1828	Ft. Leavenworth	McCoy took precautions upon hearing that 1,500 Pawnees were on a war expedition	none	tension	Another report explained that Pawnees have gone "en masse in a war excursion against the whites." These reports were inaccurate.	McCoy, "Second Expedition," 416; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 151.
4 November 1828	Ft. Leavenworth	US agent Dougherty reported on the disposition of Pawnees	none	tension	He stated that 1500 Chavis and Skidis had gone in mass to war against the trail and if that failed they would attack US settlements in Arkansas to kill all the whites they could. This report lacked truth.	<i>The Adams Sentinel</i> Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, December 17, 1828 http://genealogytrails.com/ark/events.htm http://genealogytrails.com/ark/events.htm
December 1828	Missouri	the Missouri legislature petitioned Congress to establish a military post on the Arkansas River for protection of the Santa Fe trade	none		The petitioners cited the threat of depredations from both "wandering" and "half-civilized" tribes to the Santa Fe trade. They were responding to deaths of McNees, Monroe, and other incidents.	Missouri Legislature, "Memorial of the Legislature of Missouri praying that Adequate protection be extended by the Government to the trade between the State and Mexico," in Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 197-200.
8 November - early December 1828	eastern Kansas	US commissioner Isaac McCoy and others with a delegation of 16 Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks crossed the trail while on a tour of Kansas and Oklahoma	none	friendly	The tour was part of the US government's policy of removing eastern Indians to west of the Mississippi River.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 154-55.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1829	"Santa Fe road"	Arapahos took 700 mules valued at \$17,500 from an unnamed traveler	none	conflict	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"A Tabular Statement, showing the number and names of American citizens who have been killed or robbed while engaged in the Fur Trade, or the Inland Trade to Mexico. . . .," 85.
1829	"from Santa Fe"	Osages, or Comanches, took a mule valued at \$30 from the David Waldo of Collins and company	none	warfare	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
1829	"from Santa Fe"	Osages, or Comanches took a horse valued at \$25 from F. S. Samuels of Collins and company	none	warfare	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
1829	"from Santa Fe"	Osages robbed Manuel Lopez of Collins and company	none	warfare	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
1829	"from Santa Fe"	Osages or Comanches took 16 mules valued at \$600 from Manuel Teal of Collins and company	none	warfare	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
1829	"from Santa Fe"	Osages or Comanches took 17 mules and 28 horses valued at \$1,800 from Lorenzo Lopez of Collins and company	none	warfare	Jedidiah Smith helped compile a tabular listing of US citizens killed or robbed in association with the Mexican trade.	"Tabular Statement," 85.
4 February 1829	Washington, DC	Senator Thomas Hart Benton alleged that several guns taken from the Indians who had killed 2 traders had come from the Hudson Bay Fur Company	see late August 1828 entries	warfare	Benton was an expansionist who distorted the truth.	"Statement of Thomas H. Benton, of the United States's Senate. . . .," in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 1: 303.

18 April 1829		The <i>Fayette Missouri Intelligencer</i> noted that on June 1 the 6th infantry under Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley would depart Leavenworth to protect caravans	none	tension	The onset of the US policy to protect the Santa Fe trade from Indians received public attention.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 164.
5 May 1829	Jefferson Barracks	6th infantry companies departed Jefferson Barracks for escort duty on the trail	none	tension		Bennet Riley, "Report of the Four Companies of Sixth Regiment of the United States Infantry," "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 2 (April 1927): 177.
17 May 1829	Ft. Leavenworth	Riley told White Plume, a Kaw chief, that if his people escorted US troops they would provide them protection	none	diplomacy	White Plume replied that he would contact his people regarding Riley's proposal.	Riley, "Journal," in "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 3 (July 1928): 270.
17 May 1829	Ft. Leavenworth	White Plume requested that Riley provide military protection for his people and some Sacs while hunting in Pawnee country	none	diplomacy	Riley replied that he could not deny the Kaws protection but he would not provide them their annuity subsidies if US troops were used to protect them. The Kaws departed without any assistance.	Otis E. Young, <i>Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829</i> (1952), 66-78.
[20 May] 1829	west of Council Grove	Riley, now escorting Charles Bent's train with 79 traders, including Samuel Lamme [or Lamb], in 38 wagons saw Indian camps	none	friendly	It is unclear whether the camps belonged to Kaws, Wichitas, Comanches, Kiowas, or Pawnees.	Riley, Message From The President ... Relating To The Protection Of The Trade Between Missouri And Mexico, Feb. 8, 1830, in <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 116.
June - October 1829	Council Grove to Mexican territory	Cooke asserted that Indians had spied on his unit as it moved from Council Grove to Mexican territory and back	none	tension	This report suggests Indian wariness.	Philip St. George Cooke, <i>Scenes and Adventures in the Army</i> (1857), 59-60.

11 June 1829	Round Grove	Riley's command took Bent's train under its protection	none	tension	This is the first time that the US military acted to protect a caravan on the trail.	Riley, "Report," 178-79; Riley, "Journal," 273.
11 June 1829	near Round Grove	a Pawnee-speaking interpreter joined Riley's battalion	none	tension	This suggests that Bennett expected trouble with Pawnees.	Riley, "Journal," 273.
12 June 1829	Round Grove	79 men and 37 wagons captained by Charles Bent left Round Grove a day behind Riley's force	none	tension	Riley's force had twenty wagons and four oxen-drawn carts, and a six-pound cannon mounted on a mule-drawn carriage.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 160.
20 June 1829	west of Council Grove	Riley's command found a note warning readers to watch out for Pawnee Picks [Wichitas]	none	tension		Fred Perrine, ed., "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 2 (April, July 1927): 179.
20 June 1829	west of Council Grove	Riley's command saw Indian camps	none	tension		Riley, "Report," 179.
June 1829		Riley sent runners to invite Kaws, Iowas, and Shawnees to accompany the expedition without pay or rations	none	diplomacy	Riley's message stated that the Indians would be protected while they hunted. None of the three nations responded.	Riley, "Report," 179.
late June 1829	Cimarron River	large Indian force, possible Gros Venture, approached a Mexican military escort commanded by Gen. Viscarra accompanying Bent's caravan	several Mexican military officers killed ----- 1 allied Pueblo killed	warfare	After Bent's caravan moved a distance from Viscarra's force, Indians attacked the Mexican army. According to Waldo, the Pablo [Pueblo] jumped in front of Viscarra, sacrificing his life to save the Mexican general from Indian gunfire. Bent and members of his wagon train rescued Viscarra's army.	William Waldo, "Recollections of a Septuagenarian," <i>Publications of Missouri Historical Society</i> 2 (1880): 12-14; Josiah Gregg, <i>Commerce on the Prairies</i> (1954), 59-60.

24 June 1829	east of Turkey Creek	Riley's command suspected that Indians had taken 6 missing horses and traders reported having seen Indian signs	none	tension	An all day search failed to find the missing animals.	Riley, "Report," 180; Riley, "Journal," 275.
11 July 1829	9 miles from Chouteau's Island	several hundred Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas attacked the Charles Bent, William Waldo, and James L. Collins caravan	civilian Samuel Craig Lamb killed	warfare	Bent positioned sixteen guards in the caravan's front and rear, but the attackers surprised the caravan by hiding themselves and horses in deep ravines.	Riley to William Clark, September 28, 1831, in Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 168; Riley, "Report," 180-81; Riley, "Journal," 280-81; Waldo, "Recollections," 11; "Tabular Statement," 85.
[11 July 1829]	9 miles from Chouteau's Island	Bent's train fired its small cannon at Indians	unknown	warfare	The Indians allegedly fled "in great consternation."	Waldo, "Recollections," 11.
[11?] July 1829	Arkansas River, six miles into Mexico	unspecified Indians attacked a caravan of 70 traders in 35 wagons in Mexican territory	"some" traders killed	warfare	Having stopped at the Mexican border, Riley led his force into Mexico to aid the besieged traders.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 46-47.
July 1829	Santa Fe Trail in Mexico	at dawn, Riley's soldiers on guards sighted Indians	none	warfare	Soldiers quickly relocated their camp to more defensible position.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 47.
11 July 1829	west of Chouteau's Island	at 11 pm, Riley and several companies reached Bent's caravan	none	warfare	Indians had called off their attack before Riley's command reached the scene.	Riley, "Report," 181.
12 July 1829	west of Chouteau's Island	at reveille, a trader sounded the alarm of an Indian attack	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Riley, "Report," 181; Riley, "Journal," 280-81.
12 July 1829	west of Chouteau's Island	Riley agreed to accompany Bent's caravan to the Cimarron	none	warfare	Caravan members feared another attack.	Riley, "Report," 181.

July 1829	near Council Grove	express carriers Astor [or Arter or Aster] and William Nation feared that Kaws would try to take their horses	none	tension	On August 10, Astor reported that Indians had "showed them something of hostility, but did not attack them."	Riley, "Report," 186; Riley, Message From The President, 120.
[13] July 1829	west of Chouteau's Island	scared Bent caravan members wanted to return under Riley's protection	none	warfare	Waldo feared that splitting the caravan could have ended in disaster.	Waldo, "Recollections," 12-13.
13 July 1829	west of Chouteau's Island	caravan members wrote Riley begging for 20 or 30 soldiers to escorts to the Red [Cimarron] River	none	warfare	They feared that the Mexican military was too weak to protect them.	Riley, Commanding U.S. Troops, 188.
14 July 1829	20 miles west of Arkansas River	Riley declined to protect Bent's caravan on the basis that his teams would give out	none	warfare	Riley's response reflects a weakness of his command.	"Copy of a letter from Bvt. Major Riley to a company of Traders . . . July 14, 1829," in Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 191.
15 July 1829	Sand Hills	Indians harassed Bent's caravan constantly as it moved towards Santa Fe	none	warfare	Ewing Young and 95 traders rescued Bent's train.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 160.
23 July 1829	unspecified	15 Indians attacked soldiers Astor [or Aster] and Nation, taking the soldier's mail and horses	Nation mortally wounded and Astor wounded	warfare	Riley received Astor's report on August 10. Soldiers later found Nation near death. See the August 28 entry.	Riley, Message From The President, 120; Riley, "Report," 186; "Report of Four Companies. . . .," <i>American State Papers: Military Affairs</i> (1860), 4: 279.
31 July 1829	8 to 10 miles east of Chouteau's Island	Indians, possibly Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas, attacked 79 traders and Riley's troops	1 Indian reportedly killed	warfare	The identity of the attackers was uncertain.	"Four Companies," 278.

1 or 3 August 1829	Chouteau's Island	300 to 500 mounted and well-armed Indians, possibly Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Pawnee Picts [Wichitas], attacked Riley's camp, cattle herd, and cattle guards, taking 54 oxen, 10 US horses, 10 private horses, and 4 US mules	Samuel Arrison mortally wounded ----- 5 to 9 Indians killed and 1 wounded	warfare	Although Riley reported that his men had killed eight Indians, an Indian report indicated that cannon fire had killed five or six of them.	Riley, Message From The President, 118-20; Riley, "Report," 183-86; Riley, "Journal," 284-86; "Four Companies," 279; Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 52-54, 248; Riley to Clark, 168.
1 August 1829	15 miles east of Chouteau's Island	30 mounted Indians, possibly Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas, attacked 4 discharged solders en route to Missouri	George Gordon killed ----- some Indians wounded	warfare	The attack reportedly occurred Gordon as he offered tobacco to the Indians. This account follows the image of the Indian as treacherous.	Riley to Clark, 168; "Four Companies," 278; Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 50-51; "Tabular Statement," 85.
3 August 1829	east of Chouteau's Island	a sentinel report hearing approaching Indians	none	false alarm	Cooke discovered that the noise had come from coyotes feeding on livestock killed during the fight.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 54-55.
5 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	at night, US sentries reported hearing horses crossing the river	none	false alarm	It was determined that the guards had heard wolves.	Riley, "Journal," 287.
5 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Indians killed 8 to 10 oxen	none	warfare	Targeting oxen limited the effectiveness of US soldiers.	Riley, "Journal," 287.
7 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Indians killed oxen	none	warfare	Soldiers recovered an oxen with arrow and bullet wounds.	Riley, "Journal," 287.

10 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Astor [Arter] reported that Indians had attacked him and Nation	none	warfare	Soldiers found a "dangerous wounded, sick & emaciated" Nation, who died from his wounds on August 28.	Riley, "Journal," 287-88.
10 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Riley's command saw smoke	none	warfare	Soldiers assumed that the smoke was an Indian signal.	Riley, "Journal," 288.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	before daybreak a sentinel fired his weapon	none	false alarm	It was believed that the man had fired at a wolf.	Riley, "Journal," 288.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Riley's command saw Indian buffalo hunters	none	warfare	Riley's command was intruding in Indian hunting lands.	Riley, "Report," 186-87.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	approximately 150 Indians attacked Riley's camp, staying out of musket range	1 Indian killed	warfare	Fire from the six-pounder had had some effect.	Riley, "Report," 187, 189; Riley, Message From The President, 120-21, 122.
11 August 1829	a few miles below Chouteau's Island	Indians exchanged gunfire with US soldiers	none	warfare	Neither side suffered casualties.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 56-57.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	20 to 50 Indians attacked 19 soldiers and a teamster under Capt. Pentland	Mathew King killed ----- 1 Indian killed	warfare	Pentland allowed King to pursue a buffalo in violation of Riley's order that the small force must stay together.	Riley, "Report," 187; Jos. Pentland, "Pentland Report," August 14, 1829, in Young, <i>Military Escort</i> , 196.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	15 to 20 Indians fired on soldiers retrieving King's body	none	warfare	The Indians withdrew after seeing an approaching force.	Riley, "Report," 187.
11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Wickliffe's company recovered King's body	none	warfare		Pentland, "Report," 196.
11 August 1829	Arkansas River	Riley's troops saw 20 mounted Indians	none	sighting	Riley expected a fight but the Indians disappeared.	"Four Companies," 279.

11 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Riley's troops saw smoke following the fight	none	warfare	They believed that the smoke was an Indian signal.	Riley, "Journal," 289.
11 August 1829	few miles below Chouteau's Island	Indians galloping past a US army camp received fired from a six-pound canister	1 Indian killed or wounded	warfare	Two Indians retrieved their fallen comrade's body.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 57-58.
11 August 1829	Chouteau's Island?	expecting a fight, Riley recalled 3 or 4 men who had been sent to kill buffalo	none	warfare	Indians appeared shortly after the recalling of the hunters.	Riley, Message From The President, 120; "Four Companies," 279.
11 August 1829	few miles below Chouteau's Island	18 Indians took an abandoned wagon and team as US infantrymen watched	none	warfare	Cooke was "stung by the contempt which these well-mounted savages showed for our powerlessness,. . ."	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 58.
12 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	between 2 and 3 am, Indian sounds alarmed Riley's camp	none	warfare	The soldiers prepared to fight, but no Indians appeared. However, soldiers saw Indians at a great distance.	Riley, "Journal," 289-90.
12 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	while conducting drills, Riley's command saw Indians at a great distance	none	warfare	Officers halted the soldier's drilling in apparent preparation of a confrontation.	Riley, "Journal," 290.
19 August 1829	near Chouteau's Island	at 10 pm a sentinel with Riley's command fired an alarm shot	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Riley, "Journal," 290.
20 August 1829	soldiers' new camp	at 8 pm a sentinel with Riley's command fired an alarm shot	none	false alarm	Soldiers remained alert for half an hour before being dismissed.	Riley, "Journal," 290.
28 August 1829	unspecified	US soldier William Nation died from his wounds	Nation died	warfare	See the July 23 and August 10 entries.	Riley, "Journal," 290.
about 1 September 1829	Santa Fe	96 traders, with Spanish refugees [10 men and 6 women] and a force of 200 men, including 75 Mexicans, 91 whites, and 34 "hired Indians" departed for Missouri	none	cooperation	Some, if not all of the "hired" Indians were probably from Taos Pueblo.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 163-64.

2 September 1829	unspecified	at midnight, a US sentinel fired an alarm shot	none	false alarm	The soldier claimed that he had shot at an enemy.	Riley, "Journal," 291.
28 September 1829	Jefferson Barracks	Riley reported the casualties his command suffered in fights with Amphoes [sic], Kiaways [sic] and Camanicoes [sic]	none	warfare	He listed George Gordon, Samuel Arrison, and William Nation as dead and Aster as wounded. He ignored Indian casualties.	Riley to Clark, 168-69.
late September or early November 1829	Mexican territory	unknown Indians attacked Viscarra's command of Mexican escorts with approximately 40 Taos allies	1 Taos ally killed	warfare	A Taos had taken a bullet for Viscarra.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 86-88
6 October 1829	near Cimarron Spring	130 Indians attacked 200 Mexican soldiers and Taos Pueblo allies commanded by Lt. Col. Viscarra with 200 men escorting a Mexican train	1 Mexican captain and 2 privates killed ----- 5-10 Indians killed	warfare	Reports vary on the identity of the attackers and the number of Indians killed.	Riley, "Report," 187; Riley, "Journal," 293; Riley, Message From The President, 123-24; Waldo, "Recollections," 12-14; Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 58-59.
11 October 1829	unspecified	Riley requested that Mexican officials provide soldiers to help his force to patrol the trail	none	warfare	Riley recognized the need of cooperation between the US and Mexican governments.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 84.
11 October 1829	near Chouteau's Island	Riley's command fired a cannon round and marched towards Cantonment Leavenworth	none		The command stopped after traveling three miles upon learning about the approach of Viscarra's command.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 164.
12-13 October 1829	few miles below Chouteau's Island	Viscarra's force and the Mexican train, with 40 Taos Indian allies, camped near Riley's camp	none	friendly	Describing this gathering of over 500 person, Cooke wrote, "[t]he two days this congregation spent together were highlighted by exchanges of military and social courtesies, buffalo hunting, feats of horsemanship, Indian songs and rituals."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 164; Riley, "Journal," 295.

12 October 1829	unspecified	Lt. Cooke used racial terms to describe the Taos with Viscarra's command	none	friendly	Cooke wrote: "they resembled demons rather than men" and that one of the displayed grief "howling like a famished wolf."	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 86-88.
14 October 1829	Arkansas River	Viscarra' command with the 40 Taos Indian allies set out for New Mexico	none	friendly	After the Mexican force departed, Riley's command saw smoke coming from the nearby hills. Riley assumed that it was "a signal of our separation, & most likely for a collection, to attack either Col Viscarra's or this command."	Riley, "Journal," 295.
14 October 1829	unspecified	Riley's command saw smoke coming from nearby hills	none	warfare	Cooke suggested that the smoke was a signal that the Mexican train was traveling eastward.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 89.
25 October 1829	Turkey Creek	Riley's eastbound command traveling with the Mexican caravan met a party of Osages	none	friendly	Riley did not indicate the nature of the meeting.	Riley, "Journal," 297.
29 October 1829	Council Grove	Riley's eastbound command traveling with a Mexican caravan met a party of Kaws	none	friendly	The Kaws told Riley about a prairie fire and that they had seen four horses running wild. Riley assumed that the animals were the ones his command had lost.	Riley, "Journal," 297.
30 October 1829	west of 110 Mile Creek	Osages stole horses from a party of Spanish traders	none	conflict	The Osage had visited the traders' camp that evening.	Riley, "Journal," 298.
31 October 1829	west of 110 Mile Creek	Riley sent the interpreter to the Kansas agency for a guide	none		It is unclear if Riley expected to find an Indian or a non-Indian guide at the agency.	Riley, "Journal," 298.
3 November 1829	east of 110 Mile Creek	the guide from the Kansas agency reached Riley's camp	none		Riley failed to state if the guide was an Indian.	Riley, "Journal," 299.
4 November 1829	east of 110 Mile Creek	Riley reported that Indians had removed surveyor stakes used to mark the road	none	tension	This suggests that Indians disapproved of the road passing through their lands.	Riley, "Journal," 299.

8 November 1829	Ft. Leavenworth	Riley's command arrived	none		This event ended the first US military intervention on the trail.	Riley, "Journal," 300.
20 November 1829	south of Council Grove	US soldiers found a note telling of intertribal warfare	none		The note stated: "The Kansas [Kaws] have been attacked a few days since by the Pawnee Picks [Wichitas] and one of them was killed."	"Four Companies," 277.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
mid October 1830	Arkansas River between western Kansas and eastern Colorado	80 Pawnees invited about 50 trappers, with James Craig and commanded by Col. Bean en route to the Rockies, to camp with them	none	tension	Although the hosts provide generous gifts to their visitors, the whites feared the Pawnees' intentions and stayed alert all night. Craig alleged that some Pawnees stole some small items from the trappers.	James S. Craig, <i>The Arkansas Gazette</i> , January 18, 1832, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 1: 306, 307, 312.
mid October 1830	Arkansas River	Indians, possibly Arapahos, camped with Craig's party the following day	none	cooperation	The Indians warned Craig's party that Pawnees would return at night to steal horses.	Craig, <i>Arkansas Gazette</i> , 306, 312.
mid October 1830	Arkansas River	about 1 am Pawnees attacked Craig's party and other Indians, taking 7 horses and wounding 2 others	1 Pawnee either killed or severely wounded	warfare	The Indians, possibly Arapahos, camped with the trappers, also fought the Pawnees.	Craig, <i>Arkansas Gazette</i> , 306, 312.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
winter 1831	Big Timber	Cheyennes Black White Man, his wife Otter Woman, and Little Turtle camped with Kit Carson and other Bent's Fort employees	none	friendly	Cheyenne relations with white Americans remained positive.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 63-67.
winter 1831	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes, Carson, and others pursued Crows who took horses	none	cooperation	The party overtook the fleeing Crows, inflicting casualties and recovering the horses.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 63-67.
16 May 1831	Round Grove	Josiah Gregg stated that there was no danger of Indian attack along the trail's eastern part	none		Gregg asserted that "wild Indians," rarely came within two hundred miles of the US border.	Josiah Gregg, <i>Commerce on the Prairies</i> (1954), 28.
19 May 1831	Pawnee Fork	Indians, possibly Pawnees, attacked 2 caravan members with 85 persons with 24 wagons belonging to Jedediah Smith, David Jackson, and William Sublette	Jackson and Minter killed	warfare	The pair were hunting buffalo or antelope when the attack occurred.	Virginia Lee Fisher, "Jedediah Smith's Last Journey," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (February 1990): 13; Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 201-02.
May 1831	between the Narrows and Council Grove	Gregg reflected on the Pawnee, Kaw, and Osage threat in an area where Pawnees were reportedly "prowling"	none	conflict	Gregg believed that the report was either a hoax concocted by an advanced company or a ploy by the Kaws who, along with Osages," prowled" in that region for caravans to rob. Kaws and Osages, he asserted, took stray livestock and sought a reward from the owners.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 28-29.
26 May 1831	between the Narrows and Council Grove	Gregg discussed the efficacy of firearms used by Santa Fe traders for protection and hunting	none	anecdotal	Gregg stated that the weapons were "formidable weapons, particularly when used against an ignorant savage foe."	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 33.

26 May 1831	Council Grove	Gregg reflected on the future of the fertile lands owned belonging to Shawnees and other Indians	none	anecdotal	Gregg stated that all seasoned travelers looked forward to the day when land title would pass into non-Indian hands.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 29.
26 May 1831	Council Grove	Gregg discounted reports that Pawnees, Comanches, Utes, Loups [Skidi Pawnees], and Arapahos often congregated in the area	none	anecdotal	Gregg wrote that the novice traveler often envisioned those Indians stalking about while veteran travelers knew these reports to be false.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 30.
26 May 1831	Council Grove	Gregg provided an accurate account regarding the origin of the Council Grove name	none	anecdotal	Most other travelers gave an incorrect accounting of the origin of the name.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 30-31.
27 May 1831	Cottonwood Fork	Gregg's party of over 200 travelers suspected "lurking Pawnees" had caused a livestock stampede	none	tension	Some members believed that the animals had smelled the Pawnees.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 37.
27 May 1831	Cimarron River, possibly near Wagon Bed Spring	15 to 20 Comanches attacked Jedediah Smith	Smith killed ----- 1 Indian killed	warfare	A famed as a mountain man and explorer, Smith left his caravan to search for water.	David A. White, comp., <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 21.
30 May 1831	Little Arkansas Cow Creek area	false alarms among Gregg's caravan were occurring with greater frequency	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 40.
early June 1831	Ash Creek	Gregg reflected on the impact of Indian signs on his company	none	signs	Gregg stated that an increase in the number of signs "resulted in groundless and unmanly fears," but these alarms kept the company alert.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 42-43.
early June 1831	Pawnee Fork	Gregg's company began to travel four-abreast and corral their wagons at night for protection	none	tension	This defensive mode of travel was commonly practiced by caravans.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 43.

11 June 1831	west of Pawnee Fork	Gregg attributed the scarcity of buffalo to Indians	none		Other travelers made a similar claim.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 45.
15 June 1831	near the Cimarron cutoff	80 mounted Sioux with a US flag alarmed Gregg's company	none	tension	The Sioux indicated that Blackfeet and Comanches were ahead. Gregg stated that the Sioux were on a trading and pillaging tour.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 53.
19 June 1831	Cimarron valley	mounted Indians, possibly, Blackfeet and Comanches, with their bows strung surprised Gregg's train who drew their weapons	none	tension	An Indian leader defused the tension with a tobacco pipe. Leaders from both groups smoked in peace. Gregg's train camped a few hundred yards from the Indian camp of several thousand people.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 52-53.
(June?) 1831		in an October 11, 1831, letter to Senator Benton, Wetmore claimed that large numbers of Blackfeet had appeared on the trail for the first time	none	tension	Euroamericans viewed the Blackfeet of the northern plains as being "numerous, warlike, and extremely hostile."	"Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of 1828," in <i>Southwest on the Turquoise Trail</i> (1933), 176- 77.
19 June 1831	Cimarron River	noises from 30 to 40 approaching Indians at night alarmed Gregg's camp	none	tension	The train responded by doubling its guard. Although the Indian party consisted mostly of women, train members kept them at bay.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 54.
20 June 1831	Cimarron River	a small group of Indians, possibly Blackfeet, approached Gregg's camp	none	conflict	Gregg's party attributed a missing horse to the Indians.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 54.
20 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	several Indians, possibly Blackfeet, returned a missing horse to Gregg's train	none	cooperation/t ension	Suspicious train members viewed the act as an Indian plot to ingratiate themselves with whites. Gregg's party rejected the peace offering because those Indians may have committed outrages on Major Riley's force and a caravan in 1829.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 55.

20 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	a few [Blackfeet?] Indians led Gregg's lost train to the Cimarron River	none	cooperation	The Indians may have saved Gregg's caravan from suffering thirst.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 55.
20 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Gregg's party prepared for an attack upon hearing Indian drumming and yells at about midnight	none	tension	Realizing after an hour or two that the Indians had no intent of attacking, the train relaxed its guard.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 55.
21 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	10 to 12 Indians approached Gregg's train before daylight	none	tension	Startled company members signaled the Indians to stay away until morning.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 56.
21 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Indians traveled along side of Gregg's train	none	tension	According to Gregg, this contact marking the beginning of an annoying affair.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 56.
21 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Indians refused to leave Gregg's camp	none	tension	Gregg expressed his mistrust of Indians with stereotypical terms. He attributed missing items to them.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 56.
22 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Gregg's train resumed its travel earlier than usual hoping to escape their "tormentors"	none	tension	The Indians maintained contact with the train.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 56.
23 June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Indian chiefs met with Gregg's company to finalize a "treaty of peace"	none	tension	The chiefs accepted \$50 to \$60 worth of goods to seal the agreement. Gregg stated that the Indians annoyed his party for two more days.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 56-57.
late June 1831	Cimarron River valley	Gregg's train faced internal dissent over the presence of Indians	none	tension	With "hordes of savages" nearby, the train captain threatened to resign because the company had become lax in performing its guard.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 57.
late June 1831	Cimarron River	mounted Indians, possibly Blackfeet and Gros Ventre or Comanches, charged Gregg's company	several Indians possibly wounded	warfare	Gregg's party returned fire with rifles and a canon.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 58-59.

late June 1831	Cimarron River	Gregg's train passed the site where Gros Ventres had battled a Mexican army under Col. Vizcarra in 1829	none	anecdotal	Gregg, along with other chroniclers, keep alive the history of violence on the trail.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 59-60.
spring 1831	Cimarron River	Thomas Fitzpatrick, with a Santa Fe-bound train, found a lost Arapaho boy whom he named "Friday"	none	friendly	In addition to adopting and educating Friday, Fitzpatrick took him on some of his trips. Friday later returned to his people.	White, comp., <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 3: 375.
mid summer 1831	Shawnee reservation	smallpox struck the Shawnees	dozen of deaths		The disease spread in all directions.	William E. Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825-1855</i> (2007), 86.
5 July 1831	Rabbit Ear Mounds	a Mexican buffalo hunter informed Gregg's party that Indians had killed a Sublette's party member	none	anecdotal	Gregg and others assumed correctly that the dead man was Jedediah Smith.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 64-65.
5 July 1831	Rabbit Ear Mounds	a Mexican buffalo hunter may have informed Gregg's caravan about Minter's death	none	anecdotal	Gregg asserted that Minter was the first caravan member killed while hunting buffalo but other hunters were equally careless.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 64-65.
July 1831	near Rio Colorado	Gregg asserted that his caravan reached a place where Indians were not a danger	none	anecdotal	Most travelers assumed this point was where the Indian danger stopped.	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 75.
fall 1831	Arkansas and Cimarron rivers areas	Wetmore noted a strong Blackfeet presence on the trail for the first time	none	tension	White American viewed the Blackfeet, who lived on the northern plains, as a powerful and aggressive nation.	Wetmore, "Wetmore's Report," 31.
1831	Arkansas River	Gregg heard that Blackfeet and Gros Ventres had menaced Sublette's party	none	anecdotal	Gregg asserted that Sublette's experience with "treacherous savages" saved the caravan from "total destruction."	Gregg, <i>Commerce</i> , 66.

28 September 1831		Bennet Riley reported to William Clark that several hundred Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas had killed Samuel Craig Lamb July 11, 1829	none	anecdotal	Clark was gathering data about Indian conflict with the Santa Fe traders.	Riley to Clark, September 28, 1831, in Otis E. Young, <i>Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829</i> (1952), 168.
11 October 1831		Wetmore's letter to US Secretary of War Cass presented a racially biased view of Indian relations with Santa Fe traders and fur trappers	see May 19 entry	anecdotal	The dead included Jackson and Minter. According to Wetmore, Pawnees, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Blackfeet, and Arapahos posed a danger to traders.	"Alfonso Wetmore's Report," <i>Senate Doc. 90, 22nd Congress, 1st Session</i> , October 11, 1831 (Serial 213), 31: Wetmore, <i>Turquoise Trail</i> , 176-77, 196.
29 October 1831	Platte River	Pawnees attributed an epidemic to some Santa Fe traders who gave them gifts contaminated with the deadly smallpox virus	thousands of Pawnees died	warfare	The epidemic killed about half of the Pawnees, dramatically reducing their presence on the southern plains and the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 208; Albert Pike, <i>Prose Sketches and Poems</i> (1987), 287-88.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
16 March 1832		Isaac McCoy reported that 9 Shawnees and 15 Delawares the previous summer and fall from smallpox	none		"The disease was arrested by vaccination, and the vigilance of the Indian, and of their agentts and other friends.	Isaac McCoy, "Country for Indians West of the Mississippi," in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> 3: 313.
1 May 1832	Ft. Osage	Delaware hunters accompanied Capt. Benjamin Bonneville's expedition to the Rockies and beyond, traveling across present Johnson and Douglas counties on the trail before turning north	none	cooperation	Delawares had become allies of the US government. They participated in subsequent US expeditions.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> , (1972), 213.
1832	unspecified	a Pueblo with a caravan assaulted a Pawnee "chief" caused the beginning of Pawnee conflict with Santa Fe traders	none	conflict	Gregg regarded Pawnees "among the most formidable and treacherous enemies of the Santa Fé traders" and trail traffic. Pike claimed that the killing, along with the recent smallpox expediton encouraged Pawnees to seek revenge.	Josiah Gregg, <i>Commerce on the Prairies</i> (1954), 215-16; Albert Pike, <i>Prose Sketches and Poems</i> (1987), 288.
early September 1832	San Miguel	Albert Pike and several traveling companions sought the services of an "old" [Manuel?] Comanche as a guide	none	friendly	Pike stated that the Comanche had converted and married into the town.	Pike, <i>Sketches</i> , 36.
early September 1832	San Miguel	Pike noted that town inhabitants viewed the Comanches "Diablos" and "infiles"	none	conflict	Comanche relations with New Mexico were often strained.	Pike, <i>Sketches</i> , 37.
September 1832	Red [Cimarron] River	Pike learned that Comanches had robbed some Mexicans	none	conflict	It is unclear if this alleged incident occurred on the trail.	Pike, <i>Sketches</i> , 37.
September 1832	San Miguel	Pike heard that Kiowas had shot someone at an unspecified place 4 days away	1 person wounded	anecdotal	It is unclear if this alleged incident had occurred on the trail. Some Pueblo Indians had found the wounded man.	Pike, <i>Sketches</i> , 37.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
19 June 1833	Council Grove	100 mounted rangers and 25 infantrymen escorted 93 Santa Fe-bound wagons under Charles Bent	none		The trip occurred without incident.	David R. White, comp., <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 21.
summer 1833?	Bent's Fort	Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain commenced construction on Bent's Fort, or Fort William	none		With construction completed the following year, Bent's Fort became an important site on the trail where Indians and non-Indians interacted in acts of trade and conflict.	White, comp., <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2: 21.
1833 (March or 1 January)	Points of Rocks	about 200 Comanches attacked 12 eastbound traders	Pratt and Mitchell killed	warfare	Comanches captured the caravan's horses.	Ralph Emerson Twichell, <i>Leading Facts of New Mexican History</i> , 2 vols. (1963), 128-29.
10 October 1833		Pawnees supposedly ceded their land beneath the Platte River while retaining a right to hunt in the area	none	diplomacy	Pawnees held that they had only ceded a small section of land for the Delawares' use. Article 9 stated that the Pawnees agreed "not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found."	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 246.
9 November 1833	Columbia, MO	a Columbia newspaper reported that "the party escorting the caravan from Santa Fe had been so closely hemmed in by the Indians (probably Arikaras) they had been compelled, by the want of provisions, to slaughter fourteen of their horse"	none	conflict	This is one of few accounts indicating that Arikaras had contact with the trail. Euromerians viewed Arikaras as the most dangerous and untrustworthy Indians on the Plains.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 247.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
late May - early June 1834		an Osage guided Capt. Clifton Wharton's command of 60 dragoons to the trail	none	cooperation	The guides joined Wharton's command at the Osage agency on the Missouri. There, soldiers escorted a hundred wagon train.	"Report of Captain Clifton Wharton," in "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 2 (July 1927): 270-71.
9 June 1834	Cottonwood	a train of about 160 traders in 80 wagons captained by Josiah Gregg accepted Wharton's offer of dragoon protection	none	tension	Congress had given into demands to provide protection for the trail. Gregg's caravan carried goods valued at about \$150,000.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 266.
17 June 1834	Walnut Creek	a night sentry with Wharton and Gregg's train fired an alarm shot	none	conflict	Soldiers saw moccasin tracks near Wharton's camp. See the June 18, 1834, entry.	Wharton, "Report," 272.
17 June 1834	Walnut Creek	Kaws entered Wharton's camp during the night	none	friendly	Relations would soon turn tense.	Wharton, "Report," 272.
18 June 1834	Walnut Creek	Gregg train members wanted to fire on approaching Kaws	none	tension	Wharton met with Kaws a distance from the wagons.	Wharton, "Report," 272-73; 272; Notes and Documents, <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 10 (April 1935): 173.
18? June 1834	Walnut Creek	traders closed their camp to Kaws	none	tension	Keeping Indians out of trail camp was commonplace.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 266.
18 June 1834	Walnut Creek	a Kaw chief engaged Wharton in talks about a treaty and a shot fired by a sentry the previous night	none	tension	The chief stated that the sentry had not fired at any Kaws. Wharton assumed that some Kaws had tried to steal horses without the chief's knowledge. See the June 17, 1834, entry.	Wharton, "Report," 273-74.

20 June 1834	where the Santa Fe Trail meets the Arkansas	2 traders traveling ahead of Gregg's train saw 40 Comanches [Patokas] causing the train to corral in anticipation of an attack	none	tension	After discharging their weapons into the air and laying them on the ground, the Comanches shook hands with caravan members.	Wharton, "Report," 274-75, 272; Notes and Documents, <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 10 (April 1935): 172-73.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	about 100 Comanches camped across the river a mile from Gregg's caravan	none	friendly		Wharton, "Report," 274-75.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	traders told Wharton that they had met another group of about 100 Comanches	none	friendly	Wharton decided to hold council with them.	Wharton, "Report," 275.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Wharton and another man crossed the river and accepted an offer from a few Comanches to eat and council with them	none	diplomacy	Wharton accepted a Comanche proposal for another meeting when their chief would be present.	Wharton, "Report," 276.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	train members, possibly including Gregg, disrupted Wharton's meeting by crossing the river and alarming the Comanches	none	tension	Wharton accepted a Comanche proposal for another meeting when their chief would be present.	Wharton, "Report," 276.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Wharton learned that Gregg and other traders intended to fire a cannon shot into a group of Comanches	none	tension	Traders threatened and cursed an officer who stopped them from firing. After meeting with Wharton, Gregg halted the plan.	Wharton, "Report," 275, 302-03.
20 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Gregg and others told Comanche leaders that Wharton's soldiers would shoot them if they stayed on the road	none	conflict	Wharton charged Gregg with undermining Wharton's plan to hold a peaceful meeting with the Comanches.	Wharton, "Report," 278.
21 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Wharton condemned the belligerency of traders with Gregg's caravan whose irresponsible actions created conflict between Wharton and Comanches	none	conflict	Wharton added that "I have pleasure in adding that none of the many intelligent and respectable persons interested in the Caravan took part in the scene I have described."	Wharton, "Report," 276.

26 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Comanches allegedly tried to cutoff 2 Gregg train members	none	conflict	Despite the report, Wharton did not believe that the train was in danger of attack.	Josiah Gregg to Wharton, June 27, 1834, "Military Escorts," 301; Wharton, "Report," 279.
26 June 1834	Arkansas Crossing	Gregg's train, fearing an Indian attack, wanted Wharton's command to provide escort duty into Mexican territory	none	conflict	Wharton did not believe that the caravan was in danger of attack. Wharton's command, however, entered Mexican territory.	Wharton, "Report," 279.
27 June 1834	Arkansas River	Gregg sent Wharton a note alleging that Comanches used deception to defeat their enemies	none	conflict	Gregg continued to build a case for Wharton to escort the train to the Cimarron River.	Gregg to Wharton, June 27, 1834, 301.
27 June 1834	Camp Livingston on the Arkansas	in a letter to Wharton, Gregg sought protection alleging that Arikaras and Comanches endangered his caravan	none	conflict	Gregg stated that Arikaras were on the road "with the expressed view to the annoyance of this trade" and that Comanches were menacing his caravan.	Gregg to Wharton, June 27, 1834, "Military Escorts," 301-02.
27 June 1834	west of Arkansas Crossing	Gregg sent Wharton a note charging that Comanches had menaced his camp and threatened his train	none	conflict	Wharton rejected Gregg's claim, noting that some Comanches, "like true Indians," had visited the camp site after it had been abandoned.	Wharton, "Report," 280, 301-02.
27 June 1834	west of Arkansas Crossing	Wharton learned that traders in Gregg's party planned to kill Comanches	none	conflict	The traders planned to lure the Comanches out of their camp with a flag and fire on them. The plan was not executed.	Wharton, "Report," 280-81.
30 June 1834	Washington, DC	Congress passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, designating much of the land west of the Mississippi River as Indian Country	none		The law did not stop non-Indian encroachments on Indian lands.	William Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825-1855</i> (2007), 2.

early July 1834	Pawnee Fork	en route to Ft. Gibson Wharton's command met a party of Pawnee "Mahaus," [Mahas or Skidis]	none	friendly	Wharton noted that Santa Fe traders viewed Pawnees as enemies.	Wharton, "Report," 282-83; Notes and Documents, <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 10 (April 1935): 173.
21 July 1834	Ft. Leavenworth?	Wharton advocated a limited role for US military escorts operating on the trail by discounting the potential of violence and advocating an arrangement with Mexico to protect caravans between the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers	none		Accordingly, westbound caravans did not need escorts beyond Walnut Creek and east of Cow Creek. He asserted that "horse thieves may follow it, and a small party of young warriors might rob a straggling trader even near the limits of Missouri, but past experience shows that any organized regular attack is not to be apprehended."	Wharton, "Report," 283-84.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
about 1835	Bent's Fort	William Bent married Owl Woman, the daughter of White Thunder, the Keeper of the Sacred Arrows	none	friendly	This union promoted peace and cooperation between the Bent's and Cheyennes.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 68.
6 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes camped on both sides of the Arkansas met Col. Henry Dodge's command traveling with 4 Delawares, 4 Skidi Pawnee, and 2 Arikaras	none	diplomacy	Dodge had instructions to negotiate peace between warring Plains Indian nations and to protect frontier settlements and Santa Fe trade.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 76.
6-11 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Dodge's command waited for the arrival of Arapaho and Gros Ventre leaders for a council meeting	none	diplomacy	This is one of the few accounts of Gros Ventres being on or near the trail.	"Journal of a march of a detachment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel Dodge. . . .," <i>American State Papers, Military Affairs</i> (1861), 6: 142.
6-11 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Dodge's command saw Indians interacting with Bent's Fort and Mexican traders	none	friendly	Dodge reported that Cheyennes had always been friendly with whites.	"Journal of a march," 142.
10 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Capt. Gantt arrived with Arapaho leaders, several Blackfeet, and a few Gros Ventres	none	diplomacy	See the August 11, 1835, entry.	"Journal of a march," 142.
11 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Dodge held council with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Gros Ventres, a few Blackfeet, and a small Skidi Pawnee delegation	none	diplomacy	Dodge tried to make peace between Pawnees and Cheyennes while encouraging them to keep peaceful relations with the United States.	"Journal of a march," 142, 145.
11 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Dodge asked Little Moon to select a Cheyenne from each of the camps to be recognized by the US as the head chiefs	none	diplomacy	This act represented an attempt to change the Cheyennes' traditional system of government	"Journal of a march," 145.

12 August 1835	Bent's Fort	Bent told Dodge that Comanches had a friendly disposition for white Americans	none	friendly	Accordingly, after making peace at the Wichita towns the previous year, Comanches had "neither killed or robbed any of the whites since then."	"Journal of a march," 142, 145.
12 August 1835	Bent's Fort	an Arapaho chief and Gros Ventres interacted with Dodge on very good terms	none	diplomacy	Dodge's report says that Indians viewed Euroamericans as good people. It suggests that Indian-US relations along the trail were amicable.	"Journal of a march," 142.
14 August 1835	Arkansas River, 40 miles below Bent's Fort	Cheyennes reluctantly appointed a chief to be recognized as such by the US government	none	diplomacy	Dodge's report said his name was White Man's Chief. Cheyennes refused to recognize chiefs appointed in this fashion.	"Journal of a march," 143, 145.
15 August 1835	Arkansas River, 40 miles below Bent's Fort	150 Skidi Pawnees and Arikaras announced their arrival with gunfire	none	tension	Dodge ordered his dragoons into battle formation but learned about the friendly intent of the visitors.	"Journal of a march," 143.
15 August 1835	Arkansas River, 40 miles below Bent's Fort	Dodge urged Pawnees, Arikaras, and Cheyennes to maintain peace among themselves	none	diplomacy	The Indians seemingly agreed but the peace did not last.	"Journal of a march," 143.
October 1835	Fort Leavenworth	Dodge described Comanche, Arapaho, and Cheyenne relations with Bent's Fort	none	friendly	The fort had a six-pounder and small, light field pieces within a wall to protect traders from "a sudden attack by Indians."	"Journal of a march," 145.

Date	Place	Participants	Number Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1830s	unspecified	Indians supposedly fought a party with John Hibbard and Mose Carson somewhere on the trail	several Indian casualties	warfare	Clark Hibbard wrote about his great grandfather's alleged encounter with Indians. Mose Carson ordered others not to fire until they saw the whites of the Indians' eyes.	Clark Hibbard to Editor, <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 3 (August 1989): 8.
1836?	Bent's Fort	Lucas Murray, a Bent employee, fired into Wyoming Shoshones shooting arrows over the wall and demanding entry	1 Shoshone killed	violence	The Shoshones departed without retaliating. This is one of only a few references to Shoshones along the trail.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 181-82.
spring 1836	Little Cow Creek	Richens Lacy Wootton, with a Bent train and another train, shot his mule during the night	none	false alarm	This account is very similar to the story that Kit Carson had shot his mule.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 178.
May 1836	Pawnee Fork	250 Comanches attempted to take mules from a westbound train with Charles Bent's 7 wagons and the annual spring caravan with 135 men and 57 wagons	3 Comanches killed	warfare	The Comanches "charged through the camp three or four times, trying to make the mules break loose." Wootton said the train's size was 150 men in 57 wagons.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 309.
spring 1836	east of the Caches	Comanches captured Jim Hobbs and John Baptiste, members of Bent's train who was following a buffalo	none	warfare	In 1840, both men, married to Comanche women, appeared near Bent's Fort. William Bent ransomed them.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 178, 202.
about 1836	Bent's Fort	a large Comanche party with Buffalo Hump followed Cheyennes who had stolen Comanche horses	none	friendly	The Comanches traded with Bent's men.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 71-72.

23 February 1836	Washington, D.C.	Edmund P. Gaines praised Col. Henry Dodge's 1835 sixteen-hundred mile expedition	none		Accordingly, the expedition had "most judiciously impressed with the <i>justice, magnanimity, humanity, and power</i> of our government and country" on the Indians it had met along the way.	"Journal of a march of a detachment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel Dodge. . . .," <i>American State Papers, Military Affairs</i> (1861), 6: 146.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
spring 1837	Bent's Fort	Pawnees attacked 2 herders near Bent's Fort	2 herders killed	warfare	That spring, Pawnees attacked isolated persons and small caravans.	Ralph Emerson Twichell, <i>Leading Facts of New Mexican History</i> , 2 vols., (1963), 122-23, n. 87.
spring 1837	Pawnee Fork	Comanches battled plainsmen	none	warfare		Twichell, <i>New Mexican History</i> , 122-23, n. 87.
spring 1837	Pawnee Fork	16 Pawnees fought Dick Wooton's hunting party	13 Pawnees killed	warfare	Train members captured fleeing survivors, who were soon released with a message that the whites "would kill all the Pawnees if they didn't behave themselves better in the future."	Twichell, <i>New Mexican History</i> , 122-23, n. 87.
September 1837	mountain route, on the Timpas or upper Purgatory	Skidi Pawnees led by Big Soldier attacked a southbound Bent, St. Vrain & Co. party including Marcelen St. Vrain, Blass Grego, Alexander LaForce Papin, and Michel Robidoux, taking merchandize and horses valued at over \$3000	1 trapper killed [Crawford] and 3 wounded	warfare	Big Soldier later told US agents that the Skidis believed they were attacking a Spanish party. Although the trappers sought compensation, a US agent misplaced the file. In 1845, Congress denied the claim because the incident had occurred in Mexico.	Bent, St. Vrain & Co. Report, March 3, 1845, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 1: 401-14.
1837	Arkansas River tributary	Pawnees attacked a Bent and St. Vrain & Co. party with Crawford and Rafael Sanchez en route to New Mexico	see above entry	warfare	Crawford was killed and Sanchez was wounded.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 12 (May 1998): 20.
September 1837	an Arkansas River fork	Blass Grego stated that Pawnees had robbed traders of its merchandize wounding 2 traders	see above entries	warfare	Grego provided this information in a July 11, 1838, deposition.	Deposition of Blass Grego, "Council Trove," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> (May 1998), 20.
September 1837	an Arkansas River fork	Alexander Papin stated that Pawnees had attacked a party after denied permission to approach	see above entries	anecdotal	Papin gave a deposition on July 11, 1838, asserting that he had learned about the incident at his trading post.	Deposition of Alexander Papin, "Council Trove," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> (May 1998): 20.

September 1837	an Arkansas River fork	Michelle Robidoux stated that a young Pawnee and others had robbed a white party	see above entries	anecdotal	Robidoux gave a deposition on July 1, 1838, stating that he had learned about the incident at a Pawnee town.	Deposition of Michelle Robidoux, "Council Trove," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> (May 1998): 20.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
19 April 1838	Cimarron valley	Pawnees failed to steal horses and mules belonging to Gregg's party, consisting of 23 Americans and 12 Mexican servants	none	warfare	Gregg asserted that Pawnees were "among the most formidable and treacherous enemies of the Santa Fé traders." He attributed the troubled relationship to the murder of a Pawnee chief in 1832 by a Pueblo Indian traveling with a caravan.	Josiah Gregg, <i>Commerce on the Prairies</i> (1954), 215-16.
summer 1838	Bent's Fort	Pawnees attacked 2 herders	2 herders killed	warfare	The attack occurred within sight of the post. See the spring 1837 entry.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 182.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
4 May 1839	Sapling Grove	Wislizenus's party passed through land belonging to the "peaceful" Shawnees, some of whom spoke English	none	friendly	Wislizenus stated that some Shawnees owned valuable farms and lived in a manner that closely resembled that of the white man.	Frederick A. Wislizenus, <i>A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839</i> (1912), 27.
8 June 1839	Osage River	2 Kaws with a larger party cautiously approached a camp consisting of Thomas Farnham and 17 others [the Peoria party]	none	friendly	Farnham described Kaws as savages who spoke with harsh guttural grunts. The Peoria party was en route to the Pacific Northwest with pack mules and horses.	Thomas F. Farnham, <i>An 1839 Wagon Train Journal</i> (1843), 7.
[8] June 1839	Osage River	2 Kaws entered the Peoria party's camp and received trifling presents	none	friendly	Kaws were the first Indians the Peoria party had seen.	Obadiah Oakley, "The Oregon Expedition," <i>Peoria Register</i> , November 9, 1839, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 279.
[9] June 1839	Osage River	the Peoria party met Kaw hunters who spoke no English	none	friendly		Oakley, "Oregon Expedition," 279.
9 June 1839	Council Grove	Farnham's [Peoria] party camped where Kaws' had camped about six years earlier	none	sighting	Travelers often reported sightings where Indians had camped.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 7.
10 June 1839	Council Grove	Farnham declared that a grove of trees marked the beginning of the Comanches' territory	none	anecdotal	He described Comanches as warlike savages who raided over a vast territory.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 7.
14 June 1839	between Council Grove and Arkansas River	Farnham echoed commonly held views about Pawnees and Comanches	none	anecdotal	Farnham party had posted night guards at Council Grove.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 11.

16 June 1839	between Council Grove and Arkansas River	mules running from an eastbound Bent's train entered Farnham's [Peoria] party, causing a scare	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 11.
16 June 1839	Walnut Creek	other travelers reprimanded the Peoria party for its safety breeches	none	tension	Experienced travelers blamed casualties and property losses on carelessness.	Oakley, "Oregon Expedition," 282.
16 June 1839	Walnut Creek	Oakley stated that hovering Kaws drove off the buffalo	none	tension		Oakley, "Oregon Expedition," 282.
17 June 1839	Arkansas River	Farnham's party was too tired to stay awake at night in Comanche country	none	anecdotal	Farnham wrote: "No fear nor warwhoop could have broken the slumbers of that night. It was a temporary death."	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 12.
18 June 1839	Pawnee Fork	the Peoria party startled a camp of Kaws who mistook them for Pawnees	none	tension	Calling Kaws "notorious thieves," Farnham's [Peoria] party doubled the guard.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 13.
19 June 1839	Pawnee Fork	Kaws killed 62 buffalo and offered to provide meat to the Peoria party	none	friendly	Having meat, Farnham's group rejected the offer because the Kaws' method of jerking unclean meat.	Oakley, "Oregon Expedition," 283.
June 1839	Pawnee Fork	Farnham entered Kaw camps looking for 3 lost mules	none	friendly	He failed to locate the animals.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 15-16.
June 1839	Pawnee Fork	Kaws helped care for a wounded member of Farnham's [Peoria] party who had been shot while fighting a fellow traveler	none	cooperation	This is one of a few accounts telling of Indians providing medical assistance to travelers.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 16, 17.
June 1839	Pawnee Fork	Farnham feared that Kaws would rob his party and that Pawnees and Comanches would attack	none	tension	Neither suspicion materialized.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 16.
5 July 1839	Fort William [Bent's Fort]	Farnham felt safe at Bent's Fort	none	tension	His narrative provides a view of Indian relations with Bent's Fort in terms of trade and warfare.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 20.

July 1839	Bent's Fort	Farnham learned that Comanches had attacked the fort in mid June for horses and mules	1 Mexican herder killed	anecdotal	Farnham saw the herder's grave near the fort.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 33-34.
summer 1839	Bent's Fort	300 Comanches killed a Spanish employee and took 75 head of stock	Spanish employee killed	anecdotal	See the above entry.	Matthew C. Field, "Sketches of Big Timber, Bent's Fort and Milk Fort in 1839," <i>Colorado Magazine</i> 14 (May 1937): 104-05.
July 1839	Bent's Fort	Farnham met 2 Indians with trappers	none	cooperation	One Indian trapper, who had been educated at Dartmouth, was from New Hampshire. The other was an Iroquois.	Farnham, <i>Journal</i> , 36-37.
July 1839	near Sands Hills	Field's party and another party feared that Pawnees had fired a gun	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	<i>Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1960), 90-91.
July 1839	near Sands Hills	Field's recalled hearing stories about the murders and depredations of "thieving Pawnees"	none	anecdotal	Field seemed to suggest that Pawnees were mostly interested in stealing property.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 90-91, 106.
18 July 1830	Sand Hills	Field's saw a Kaw camp	none	friendly	Field recorded this contact in a poem.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 8.
21 July 1839	Arkansas River	Field's party saw an Osage camp	none	friendly	Field mentioned his sighting in a poem.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 13.
July 1839	Pawnee Fork	Field's party saw an abandoned Pawnee hunting "village"	none	sighting	Reports of this nature were common.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 105-06.
summer 1839	Bent's Fort	Shawnees arrived with recovered horses and mules stolen by Mexican citizens and sold in Taos	none	conflict	The animals belonged to Bent's Fort. In a November 11, 1839, letter to New Mexico officials, Charles Bent asked if he could legally reclaim the animals.	"Notes and Documents. Charles Bent Papers," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 29 (July 1954): 235-36.

summer 1839	Bent's Fort	Shawnees told Bent that they owned the animals because of the risks they had taken to recover them.	none	tension	A Bent's Fort employee refused to take the horses from the Shawnees, fearing that the Shawnees would retaliate by taking all of the fort's horses.	"Bent Papers," (July 1954): 237-38.
5 August 1839	old Pawnee "fort" on the Arkansas River	Field asserted that "murdering Pawnees" had killed and scalped 4 white men there	none	anecdotal	This account seems to lacks substance.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 31-32, 107-09.
18 August 1839	Milk Fort	Field stated that Comanches had stolen horses belonging to the inhabitants	none	anecdotal	Milk Fort was situated five miles above Bent's Fort.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 47, 149-53.
mid- September 1839	Bent's Fort	before September 15, Indian raiders took 100 horses from Bent's Fort	none	warfare	The raid left Bent's employees with very few horses.	Wislizenus, <i>Journey</i> , 141.
September 1839	Red [Cimarron] River	Field's party feared a Comanche raid	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 165-66.
September 1839	Santa Fe	Field noted that James Kirker fought Comanches for the Mexican government	none	warfare	Kirker was a bounty hunter.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 212.
September 1839	Santa Fe	Field described the women as dark in complexion and some were pretty, many of them plain, and most of them ugly	none	friendly	To Field, they were "slightly removed from Indians."	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 213.
September 1839	Santa Fe	Field declared that fearful Santa Feans were at war with Comanches and Apaches	none	anecdotal	Some Santa Feans wanted the Mexican government to pay a bounty for Comanche and Apache scalps, including those of men, women, and children.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 241.
18 September 1839	Big Timber	Wislizenus stated that Comanches roamed freely in that area	none	anecdotal		Wislizenus, <i>Journey</i> , 142.

September 1839	west of Cow Creek	separated from his party and lost, Wislizenus refrained from shooting a deer because Pawnees frequented the area	none	tension	This was a common fear.	Wislizenus, <i>Journey</i> , 141.
21 September 1839	Pecos Pueblo	Field spent the night at the abandoned pueblo and related a romantic story about Pecos and its "Sacred Fire" he learned from an old man	none	anecdotal	Field stated erroneously that the inhabitants were becoming extinct. He noted the buildings were crumbling.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 50-51, 247-51.
September 1839	east of San Miguel	Field's party escorted by 25 Mexican soldiers under Lt. Hernandez met 300 to 400 Comanches	none	tension	Describing a tense meeting, Field asserted that Comanches cared little for the Spanish and the dreaded Americans.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 265-69.
27 September 1839	near Santa Clara Springs and Vermejo Creek	Field's stated that the "Eutaws" hunting buffalo looked like they wanted to fight, but professed their friendship	none	tension	He wrote that they looked like "devils" scouring the countryside.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 51, 54.
late September 1839	between Arkansas Crossing and Rio Colorado	2 hunters with Field's party mistook Mexicans returning to Santa Fe for Comanches or Pawnees	none	false alarm	Field's wrote that the two men feared being killed by "red devils."	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 273-81.
14 October 1839	Sapling Grove	Wislizenus passed Shawnee farms near Westport	none	friendly	Numerous travelers noted Shawnee farms.	Wislizenus, <i>Journey</i> , 147.
autumn 1839	Arkansas River in Kansas	Field asserted that his party often mistook stars on the horizon for Indian campfires	none	false alarm	Field's party was on land "infested by Comanches".	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 282.
late October 1839	Arkansas River in Kansas	Field blamed Indians for having started a prairie fire	none		Travelers often noted that Indians set fires.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 303-07.
late October 1839	Arkansas River	Field stated that barking dogs sparked an Indian "scare"	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 308-11.

25 October 1839	8 miles east of Council Grove	Kaws, including Jim Rogers, a biracial Kaw, met Field's party	none	friendly	Field gave an account of Roger's family history, economic activities as a trapper, and physical looks.	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 58, 297- 300.
26 October 1839	east of Council Grove	Kaws met Field's party	none	friendly		Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 58.
28 October 1839	east of Council Grove	a man with 6 Indian families told Field's party to move on	none	tension	Field described the man as a "fine warlike looking fellow."	Field, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 58.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1 May 1840	Fort William [Bent's Fort]	Alexander Barclay's letter to his brother discussed interracial relations at the fort in terms of trade, language, and intermarriage	none	friendly	Barclay felt sadness for failing to gain the hand of a beautiful young Cheyenne girl in marriage.	George Hammond, <i>Adventures of Alexander Barclay</i> (1976), 25-26, 56-57.
summer 1840	Arkansas River below Bent's Fort	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas discussed peace among themselves	none	friendly	Subsequently, these five nations occasionally united in war against the United States.	George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Fort and Its Builders," (1919-1922) 71-72.
summer 1840	near Bent's Fort	Comanches made peace with Bent's Fort	none	diplomacy	The truce did not last.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 202.
summer 1840	Bent's Fort	Smoke's Band shot at a store with Beckwourth and another man inside	none	conflict	A refusal to sell the Indians whiskey was the issue.	James P. Beckwourth, <i>Life and Adventures</i> (1972), 453.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
early 1841 [perhaps early March]	Bent's Fort	32 Kiowas with Comanches entered the post ostensibly in peace	none	tension	A white trader married to "two Kiowa squaws" agreed to go with the Kiowas. Relations had been troubled between the Indians and Bent's Fort.	George Hammond, <i>Adventures of Alexander Barclay</i> (1976), 28-29.
early 1841 [perhaps early March]	unknown	2 Kiowas attacked the Bent's Fort employee	1 white trader killed	conflict	Bent's Fort workers called an act of treachery. It is unclear if the killing occurred on the trail. See the above entry	Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 28-29.
early 1841 [perhaps early March]	Bent's Fort	Arapahos informed fort personnel about the traders death	none	friendly	See the above entry.	Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 29.
early 1841 [perhaps March]	Bent's Fort	40 Kiowas received a cool greeting	none	tension	Post personnel only allowed entry to the chiefs.	Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 29.
4 March 1841	Bent's Fort	31 Comanches made peace with Bent's Fort	none	diplomacy		"Notes and Documents, Charles Bent Papers," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 30 (April 1955): 155.
15 March 1841	Bent's Fort?	Bent warned a Mexican official that Comanches might attack caravans near the Cimarron	none	tension	See the April 30, 1841 entry.	Bent, "Bent Papers," (April 1955): 155.
15 March 1841	Bent's Fort?	Bent conversed with a Mexican official about Cheyenne and Arapaho captives in New Mexico	none	warfare	Accordingly, if the prisoners were not returned, Cheyennes and Arapahos would attack New Mexico settlements.	Bent, "Bent Papers," (April 1955): 155.
30 April 1841	Bent's Fort	Bent informed Mexican officials that Arapahos had attacked Mexicans was because of Mexico's failure to free its Indian captives	8 "Spanish" killed	warfare	Bent's letter indicated that Arapahos would attack Pecos and possibly St. Miguel.	Bent, "Bent Papers" (April 1955): 159.

1841	Arkansas Crossing at Big Timber	H. H. Green recalled that a soldier had looted the burial	none	grave looting	Grave looting was a common humanr rights violation.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 8 (August 1994): 22-23.
May 1841	Westport	Rufus Sage, with L. L. Lupton's trading party, compared local Indians with neighboring whites	none		Sage described the Indians as being more moral and honest than their white neighbors.	Rufus Sage, <i>Rocky Mountain Life</i> (18--), 33-34, 137-38.
late 1841	Council Grove	an anonymous letter falsely asserted that Pawnees, Arapahos, Comanches, Loups [Skidi Pawnees], and Eutaws [Utes] met there annually to smoke the peace pipe	none	anecdotal	The origin of the name Council Grove was the subject of erroneous speculation.	Anonymous letter, "Santa Fe and the Far West," <i>Niles' National Register</i> , December 4, 1841, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1996), 2: 141.
early June 1841	Lower Cimarron Spring	a traveler with 8 others in 3 wagons met 500 Arapahos who had killed 76 Pawnees near there 10 days previously	none	friendly	Another source states that Comanche had fought the Pawnees. See the early September 1841 entry.	"Council Trove, Documents, Trail Trip, 1841," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 3 (February 1989): 9-10.
next day, early June 1841		the same writer used negative stereotypical terms to describe an Arapaho camp	none	friendly	The writer stated that his party "had a full view of savage life in a perfect state of nature; among 500 women and children, there were but few who had ever before seen the dress and quipage [sic] of the white man."	Anonymous letter, "Santa Fe," 141.
May 1841	Arkansas River	a writer indicated that his small party reached a caravan without trouble from Indians	none			Anonymous letter, "Santa Fe," 141.
June 1841	Red River Crossing	300 Utes attacked the anonymous writer's caravan	none	warfare	Repeated skirmishes occurred before the Indians retreated "without any damage or consequence."	Anonymous letter, "Santa Fe," 142.

July 1841	Santa Fe	a traveler reported that Mexican officials "are of the mixed blood of Montezuma"	none	friendly		Anonymous letter, "Santa Fe," 143.
early September 1841	Lower Cimarron Spring	an eastbound train informed Rufus Sage's train that Arapahos had recently killed 72 Pawnees	none	friendly	Sage wrote that the traders "wished for their [the Pawnees] utter extermination." See the early June 1841 entry.	Sage, <i>Rocky Mountain Life</i> , 44; David White, comp., <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 2:138.
20? October 1841	near Pawnee Fork	Comanches attacked Robert Bent, a Bent train member en route to Bent's Fort, who had left the train to hunt buffalo	Robert Bent killed	warfare	An October 21 <i>Missouri Republican</i> account states that Bent had died in either St. Louis or at Bent's Fort. He was the youngest of the Bent brothers.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 203; Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 439.
fall 1841	Bent's Fort	William Mitchell and Bill New arrived on foot and naked	none	conflict	Indians above the post on the Arkansas had driven off the pairs animals and took their personal property.	<i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 64.
November 1841	Little Arkansas	Pawnees allowed Missouri-bound Alvarez's party with 15 Americans to pass through "without much difficulty"	none	tension	This account suggests that the Pawnees were not a war with Mexico at this time.	"Report of Manuel Alvarez, 1842," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 9.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
24 February 1842	Ft. Leavenworth	S. W. Kearny noted in a letter to his nephew that the Indians of the plains were peaceful	none		His assessment held true through the remained of the year.	Stanley Vestal, ed., "Kearny and 'Kit' Carson: As Interpreted by Stanley Vestal," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 5 (January 1930): 25.
1842 (?)	south of Bent's Fort	a Cheyenne party led by Three Crows took whiskey from James Beckwourth's friend	none	tension	Later, Three Crows gave him ten robes and a horse in return for the whiskey.	James P. Beckwourth, <i>Life and Adventures</i> (1972), 463.
1842	Harmony Mission	Wilson with 88 others en route to California via Santa Fe saw Indian children playing and working in the fields	none	friendly	The sight of fields and smoke coming from chimneys reminded him of the home.	Richard Wilson, <i>Short Ravelings from a Long Yarn, or Camp March Sketches of the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1936), 10.
1842	Harmony Mission	Wilson used stereotypical terms to describe a Shawnee woman	none	friendly	Wilson saw a lazy, fat Shawnee "squaw" trudging after her "lord and master" as a comic sight that [George] Catlin had failed to put on canvas.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 10-11.
1842	Narrows	Wilson spotted grazing Indian horses	none	sighting	Travelers often reported sighting such as this.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 15.
1842	"One Hundred and Ten"	Wilson met Black Wolf, a Delaware chief, with 4 Mexican eastbound wagons returning from a failed diplomatic mission to Mexico	none	friendly	Black Wolf offered the service of Delawares against Indians who were attacking the frontier. Wilson stated that Black Wolf "was altogether a noble specimen of the American Indian."	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 21.
1842	near "One Hundred and Ten"	Wilson speculated on why Delawares had received permission to travel to the Arkansas River with his train	none	friendly	Accordingly, the Delawares were on a war expedition. The unexpected return of Black Wolf ended the plan and reduced the strength of Wilson's train.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 22.

1842	west of "One Hundred and Ten"	4 Kaws supposedly looking for mules to steal met Wilson's train	none	friendly	Wilson described the Kaws dress, writing that they "looked very fierce." The Kaws rode westward with Wilson's train.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 22.
early April-May 1842		Kit Carson took his young half-Arapaho daughter to St. Louis with a Bent and St. Vrain train	none	friendly	Carson wanted his daughter to receive an education.	Harvey L. Carter, 'Dear of Kit' (1968), 82n.
May 1842	west of "One Hundred and Ten"	Kaws traded honey to and conversed with Wilson's train	none	friendly	Trading was commonplace between Kaws and travelers.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 22-23.
May 1842	west of Council Grove	eastbound mountain men told Wilson's train that Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho camps were ahead on the Cimarron	none	tension	This information sparked concern among Wilson's companions.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 28-29.
May 1842	Cow Creek	Wilson's train took greater precautions upon entering Indian country	none	tension	Taking precautions was common among travelers.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 32.
1842	Pawnee Rock	Wilson stated that the formation had gotten its named because of a battle there between the Pawnees and Osages	none	anecdotal	This is one of several accounts about the origin of the name of Pawnee Rock.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 55-56.
3 June 1842	west of Pawnee Rock	Wilson's train found a dead buffalo on the road	none		A veteran traveler declared that the three arrows in the animal were Pawnee.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 57-58.
12 June 1842	Cimarron River	Wilson's train met 800 Arapahos at a site where 3 days earlier they had killed 76 Pawnees, losing 1 man in the process	none	friendly	Other accounts say that this fight had occurred in 1841. See the early May 1841 entry.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 73-78.

12 June 1842	Cimarron River	Arapahos indicated that Comanches, camped 15 miles away, had asked them to join in an attack on Wilson's train		friendly	The Arapahos declined saying that whites were their friends. The US travelers gave the Arapahos a keg of tobacco, but the Indians wanted horses, which were refused.	Wilson, <i>Ravelings</i> , 73-78.
June 1842		an Indian guided Frémont's 1st expedition to near the trail	none	cooperation	Frémont saw "several good-looking Indian farms" along the Kansas River and a few mounted Indians	John C. Frémont, <i>Memoirs of My Life</i> (1887), 75-76.
August 1842	Council Grove	Joseph Williams, Solomon P. Sublette, Alfred Shutes, James Ross, and Mr. M'Carty trade with Kaws	none	friendly	The trading occurred over a two day period.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 461.
late August or early September 1842	outside of Santa Fe	Mr. Collings told Joseph Williams and others en route to Bent's Fort that Indians had chased him	none	conflict	This is one of the only few accounts of conflict in 1842.	Joseph Williams, <i>Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon. . . .</i> (1977), 55-56.
16 September 1842	Bent's Fort	Williams heard that Indians had killed 8 men on different occasions		anecdotal	Two of them had reportedly been killed between Bent's Fort and Santa Fe.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 56.
19 September 1842		Bent recommended a US fort on the Arkansas between Big Timbers and the foot of the Rockies to protect trail travelers	none		This report suggests that Bent expected trouble to ensue on the trail.	"Charles Bent Papers," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 29 (July 1954): 237-38.
26 September 1842	east of Bent's Fort	Williams's party passed 70 to 80 Cheyenne lodges	none	friendly	Williams described how tepees were made and the number of people they housed.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 56-57.
26 September 1842	east of Bent's Fort	Williams reflected on the trip to Missouri	none	anecdotal	He stated that the route was "very dangerous" because of Pawnees and Comanches.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 57.
1? October 1842	east of Pawnee Fork	Kaws informed Williams's party that "the Pawnees were all gone off."	none	friendly	This report suggests that Pawnees had been in the area on their summer buffalo hunt.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 57.

1? October 1842	east of Pawnee Fork	Kaws traded with Williams's party did some trading	none	friendly	Trading was commonplace between Kaws and travelers.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 57.
before 25 October 1842	Council Grove	Williams described Kaw activities, stating they would probably sell their land to the United States	none	friendly	Kaws provided Williams some honey. He saw two preachers, including an Indian delivering a sermon to Kaws.	Williams, <i>Narrative</i> , 57-59.
28 October 1842	Pawnee Fork Crossing?	20 Pawnees scuffled with and took property from Thomas Fitzpatrick and "Vandusen" who were returning from Ft. Hall to Missouri through Bent's Fort	none	conflict	Pawnees returned Fitzpatrick's horses. Later, Fitzpatrick received \$207.50 in compensation from the Pawnee annuity.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 463-64.
November 1842	Little Arkansas Crossing	an unspecified number of Pawnees met 15 to 16 Mexican travelers, including Manuel Alvarez, traveling from Santa Fe to the US	none	friendly	Although Pawnees had a reputation for molesting trail travelers and warfare with New Mexico, no conflict occurred during this meeting.	"Report, Manuel Alvarez," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 9.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type	Significance	Source
26 May 1843	Ft. Scott	Capt. Burdett A. Terrett and 23 dragoons departed for Council Grove	none	tension	These dragoons would join others from Ft. Leavenworth. See the May 27 entry	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 480-81.
27 May 1843	Ft. Leavenworth	Capt. Philip St. George Cooke's command departed to protect Santa Fe-bound traffic	none	tension	The command consisted of 162 dragoons, 2 mountain howitzers, and 11 baggage wagons.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 480-81.
6 June 1843	Council Grove	Cooke's dragoons followed a caravan of US and Mexican traders in about 60 wagons	none	tension	US officials feared that Texans would raid the train.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 480-81.
29 June 1843	Arkansas River	Frémont learned that Arapahos had killed stock and drove off horses from Bent's Fort	none	anecdotal	It appears that this report was inaccurate.	John Frémont, <i>Memoirs of My Life</i> (1887), 406.
10 June 1843	near Cow Creek, near the trail	200 mounted Kaws charged Lt. Love's hunting detachment with Cooke's command	none	friendly	Kaws halted their charge by waving a white flag. Love doubted the Kaws' statement that they had mistaken the soldiers for Pawnees.	Philip St. George Cooke, "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," <i>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</i> 12 (June 1925): 82.
10 June 1843	near Cow Creek, near the trail	20 Kaws traded dried buffalo meat for tobacco and pork with Cooke's men	none	trade	Cooke predicted that Kaws would be imprudent towards traders.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 82.
11 June 1843	near the Little Arkansas, near the trail	100 Kaws entered Cooke's camp to trade buffalo meat for tobacco	none	trade	Kaws had good relations with US soldiers.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 82.
12 June 1843	Cow Creek	Cooke noted that a dragoon unit was traveling with a caravan and another was on its left flank for protection	none	tension		Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 83.
12 June 1843	Cow Creek	Cooke saw an area where Kaws had dried and smoked buffalo meat	none	sighting	Travelers often wrote about seeing traces of Indians.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 83.

12 June 1843	Cow Creek	Cooke's men found a cache with 4 pound balls, canisters of grapeshot, and musket balls	none		Cooke indicated that a party of traders had left the items, stating that traders often carried four pounders.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 83.
14 June 1843	unspecified	Cooke reported that some Osages had stolen 8 or 10 horses and mules from Capt. Nathan Boone's command	none	conflict	Osages made Boone believe "for a time--by most consummate acting that it had been done by wild Indians--The Captain met afterwards another lot, whom it thought implicated and retaliated--despoiling them of their <i>arms</i> , but did <i>not</i> replace his horses."	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 84.
14 June 1843	Walnut Creek	Cooke suggested that Osage guides had told Boone, on an exploring expedition, that he was near the "crossing" but that it was at least a hundred miles away	none	tension	This account sounds as if Osages had tried to mislead Boone.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 84.
15 June 1843	Walnut Creek	Charles Bent informed Cooke that 3 men, including 2 whites, had been killed on the Pawnee Fork	2 non-Indians killed	warfare	It is unclear if the incident occurred on the Santa Fe Trail.	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 85.
15 June 1843	Walnut Creek	Cooke used stereotypical terms to attribute Indian aggression to poverty	none		He declared that the United States was dealing with "savages whose imperfectly democratic character of government is not equal to the task of controlling their sparse population on these vast plains."	Cooke, "Journal," (June 1925), 84, 86.

20 June 1843	15 to 20 miles west of the Caches	a Texan force led by Charles A. Warfield attacked an advanced guard of 100 Mexicans [mostly Taos Indians] commanded by Capt. Ventura Lobata en route to Missouri	23 Mexicans [Taos Indians] killed and 13 wounded	warfare	Manuel Armijo had impressed the poorly armed Taos into service. An Indian survivor told Cooke an account of Warfield's attack that differed from the one given by the Texans.	Philip St. George Cooke, "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," <i>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</i> 12 (September 1925): 231, 238.
June or July 1843	near the Caches	Snively's force of Texans saw 2000 to 3000 Indians	none	tension		Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 231.
late June 1843	Bent's Fort	Bent warned Kit Carson and Dick Owens, bearers of a call for assistance from a Mexican train endangered by Texans, about Utes on their route	none	tension	Bent furnished Carson a horse to help his escape should he met the Utes.	Harvey L. Carter, 'Dear Old Kit' (1968), 85.
late June? 1843	mountain route?	Utes were camped along the route Carson took from Bent's Fort to Taos	none	tension	Carson passed the camp during the night without being seen.	Carter, 'Dear Old Kit,' 85.
late June or early July 1843	unspecified, possibly on the mountain route	Utes confronted Carson and a Mexican who were traveling from Taos to Bent's Fort	none	tension	Following a tussle over Carson's weapon, Carson and his companion resumed their journey.	Carter, 'Dear Old Kit,' 85- 87.
July 1843	unspecified	"roaming" Osages reportedly stole 8 to 10 mules from Lupton's eastbound caravan and reluctantly returned the animals	none	conflict	Osages reportedly stated that they planned "to lurk near the road and obtain as much booty as they possibly could, either by fair or foul means."	<i>Niles' National Register</i> , August 26, 1843, in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865</i> (1996), 2: 199.
July 1843	Pawnee Rock	a westbound correspondent predicted that Comanches would fight his party	none	tension		<i>Niles' National Register</i> , (1996), 199.
1 July 1843	Arkansas Crossing	Cooke indicated that tensions on the trail ran high	none	warfare	Cooke stated that he would escort Texans towards the States to a point beyond the Indian danger.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 234.

3 July 1843	near the Caches	Cooke's command found a Mexican Indian who had been with the party that Texans had massacred on June 20	none	friendly	A survivor indicated that the his party had numbered forty-eight "Mexican Mongrels" and that the Texans had slaughtered 30 or 40 of them.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 238.
3 July 1843	near the Caches	a hunting detachment with Cooke's command sighted 2 "wild" Comanche "spies"	none	tense	Cooke wrote, Comanches "have a mortal dread of Dragoons, and will not come near." He also noted that his command to steps to protect its horses.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 238, 254.
4 July 1843	near the Caches	several days previously 3 whites reported to Cooke that they had seen Cheyennes and Arapahos at Chouteau's Island	none	friendly	The meeting seen to have been a friendly one.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 238-39.
4 July 1843	near the Caches	Cooke provided demographic information about Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas	none		The report provides information about the populations of these Indians.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 238-39.
4 July 1843	east of Walnut Creek	Cooke learned that 500 Comanches might cross the road, apparently at Walnut Creek, to fight Pawnees	none	anecdotal	Cooke noted that Pawnees were at war with Comanches, Cheyennes, Sioux, Kiowas, and Mexicans.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 238-40.
6 July 1843	east of Walnut Creek	without Indian hunters with his command, Cooke's men fired an artillery round at some buffalo without effect	none		He stated that hunting buffalo was dangerous for the soldiers.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 241.
12 July 1843	unspecified	Capt. Moore told Cooke that Kaws had previously taken him on a route that saved 4 or 5 miles of travel	none	anecdotal	This entry suggests that Kaws occasionally assisted the US military.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 244.
21 August 1843	Fort Scott	Lt. Richard S. Ewell departed for Council Grove with a platoon dragoons	none			Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 494.

31 August 1843	Council Grove	Cooke with 150 dragoons arrived to protect the autumn caravan	none	tension	Texans were considered a threat to the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 494.
17 September 1843	near Cow Creek	Cooke sounded the alarm with the approach of a party of eastbound mounted men	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Philip St. George Cooke, <i>Scenes and Adventures in the Army</i> (1857), 255-56.
21 September 1843	Pawnee Rock	Cooke related the story of a Pawnee fight with Comanches	none	anecdotal	This important landmark was the subject of trail mythology.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 258.
22 September 1843	west of Pawnee Rock	soldiers believed that Indians were nearby	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 261.
21 November 1843		Cooke reported that caravans did not need or want US army escorts	none		Cooke wrote that American and Mexican traders did not fear Indians.	Cooke, "Journal," (September 1925), 255.
December 1843	25 miles below Bent's Fort	eastbound Norris Colburn met 150 lodges of Cheyennes and a larger Arapaho encampment	none	friendly	Trail relations were good that fall.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 502.
December 1843	about 125 miles below Bent's Fort	Colburn met about 150 Cheyennes searching for enemy Pawnees	none	friendly	Numerous accounts tell about the Pawnee-Cheyenne war.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 502.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
mid-April 1844	Salt Bottom	Arapahos confronted Sage's caravan over 10 to 15 domesticated buffalo	none	tension	Arapahos "accused the whites of stealing their buffalo." A tobacco offering kept Arapahos from fighting them.	Rufus B. Sage, <i>Rocky Mountain Life</i> (18--?), 354.
mid-April 1844	Salt Bottom	young Arapaho Friday joined a caravan en route to St. Louis	none	friendly	Friday spoke English language and had a reputation in St. Louis for his "honesty, intelligence, and sobriety."	Sage, <i>Mountain Life</i> , 354.
April - May 1844		Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos exacted a toll of tobacco and clothing from at least 3 eastbound travelers	none	friendly?	The New York <i>Weekly Tribune</i> reported this news on June 15, 1844.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 506.
21 May 1844	Pawnee Fork	Cheyenne chief Slim Face, Shawnee chief Spy Buck, and Friday were with an eastbound Bent, St. Vrain & Company train	none	friendly	Cheyennes had selected Slim Face [Miahtose] to visit St. Louis [or Washington, DC] to request US officials to address the illegal whiskey trade. His mission failed.	Sage, <i>Mountain Life</i> , 354; George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," (1919-1922): 61-62.
late April or May 1844	Pawnee Fork	Spy Buck traveled with an eastbound Bent-St. Vrain train, returning from employment with James Kirker to fight Apaches and Navajos for the Mexican government	none	friendly	Sage declared: "The history of his [Spy Buck] exploits would fill a volume for more interesting in its details that those of the proudest heroes of fiction."	Sage, <i>Mountain Life</i> , 355.
16 June 1844	Walnut Creek	Sage and Friday departed the caravan despite a Pawnee and Osage threat	none	tension	Pawnees and Arapahos were enemies.	Sage, <i>Mountain Life</i> , 356.
29 June 1844	west of Bent's Fort	Frémont's eastbound party met Arapahos who had recently killed and driven off stock from Bent's Fort	none	tension	Indians occasionally had falling outs with Bent's employees.	John C. Frémont, <i>Memoirs of My Life</i> (1887), 406.

July 1844	St. Louis	Bent's train with Slim Face reached St. Louis	none	friendly	William Bent departed for Bent's Fort soon after arriving in St. Louis. It is not known if Slim Face accompanied him or went to Washington, DC.	Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 59-60.
5 July 1844	east of Bent's Fort	Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos met Frémont's party who wanted peace with Delawares	none	friendly	Several days previously, Indians had killed fifteen Delawares on the Smoky Hill River.	Frémont, <i>Memoirs</i> , 406.
late August or early September 1844	Council Grove	Eugene [or Thomas] Leitensdorfer, Sheets, and James Webb stayed in an empty Kaw town	none		With Kaws hunting buffalo, the visitors stayed about a week before joining a large eastbound train.	James Webb, <i>Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade</i> (1931), 46-47.
mid September 1844	10 miles below Arkansas Crossing	Webb's train met 2 Shawnees returning from trapping in the mountains	none	friendly	Some Shawnees were carrying on the customary lifestyle of their ancestors.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 54.
16 September 1844	few miles past Big Timber	Eugene Leitensdorfer, Webb, and 3 other traders noticed a Cheyenne camp across the river	none	tension	Although not expecting trouble from Cheyennes, Webb's party though it would be prudent to saddle up and leave.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 58 n, 58-59.
September 1844	Huérfano River	Webb's small party overtook a group of Mexicans	none	friendly	The Mexicans had been on a trading expedition with Indians.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 62.
September 1844	Rio Culebra [Costilla County, CO]	Webb's party, en route to Taos, met Kit Carson, Lucien Maxwell, and Timothy Goodale	none	tension	When departing, Carson advised Webb's party to "Look out for your har, boys! The Ute are plenty about here."	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 63-65.
late September or early October 1844	Pecos Pueblo	Webb described the abandoned town as being in a state of deterioration while mentioning the sacred fire	none		Webb echoed mythology about the pueblo.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 78-79.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
January? 1845	Big Timbers	William Bent and Bill Boggs traveled on the trail to trade with Cheyennes	none	friendly		David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 254-55.
spring 1845	Pawnee Fork	Lewis Garrard reported that Pawnees fought 3 employees of Bent and St. Vrain	1 non-Pawnee killed	anecdotal	The dead man had traveled too far in advance of the train.	Lewis Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail</i> (1955), 28.
late June 1845	west of Westport	2 Delawares joined Frémont's California-bound expedition with over 50 men, about 200 horses and mules, some cattle, and several ox-driven supply wagons	none	cooperation	On July 17, the expedition departed the trail at Pawnee Fork and returned to it about twenty-five miles below Bent's Fort.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 551-52.
3 July 1845	110 miles from Westport	2 Delawares joined Frémont's command	none	cooperation	Others would later join Frémont's party. See the late June and August 2 and 16 1845, entries.	Theodore Talbot, <i>Soldier in the West</i> (1972), 25.
July 1845	unspecified	Talbot saw small parties of Kickapoos, Kaws, and others returning from hunting buffalo	none	friendly		Talbot, <i>Soldier</i> , 26.
July 1845	near Little Arkansas	Indians, possibly Osages, chased Alexander Barclay and other traders from a buffalo herd	none	conflict	Webb had learned of Osages taking property from hunters but allowing them to escape with their lives.	James J. Webb, <i>Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade</i> (1931), 133-34.
July 1845	mountain route	Webb learned that Ute relations with Mexicans and US citizens made trail travel between Bent's Fort and Santa Fe unsafe	none	tension	Webb's party of six moved cautiously as it approached the mountains.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 135.
July 1845	near Rio Colorado on the mountain trail	Tom, with Webb's caravan, spotted approaching "Indians" and took cover in trees	none	false alarm	Webb's party saw that the "Indians" were Mexicans who were after Utes for having taken stock from the Rio Colorado and killed a herder or two.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 135-36.

1 August 1845	Bent's Fort	7 Delaware waited for Frémont's arrival	none	cooperation	In all, nine Delawares accompanied Frémont. See the August 2, 1846, entry.	Talbot, <i>Soldier</i> , 28, 31.
2 August 1845	Bent's Fort	3 California Indians and 12 [9?] Delawares accompanied Frémont's expedition	none	cooperation	Chinook, Juan, and Gregorio were the California Indians and Swaniok and Sagundai [Secondine] were two of the Delawares	John Frémont, <i>Memoirs of My Life</i> (1887), 424-25.
2 August 1845	Bent's Fort	Frémont failed to induce an Indian and who knew the country to accompany him	none	friendly	The man reportedly had a great influence especially among the Comanches.	Frémont, <i>Memoirs</i> , 426.
3 August 1845	Big Timber	Cooke described the looks of mounted New Mexican Indians, [Plains?] Apaches, and Kiowas	none	friendly	The Indians "were large, handsome men, of a frank and pleasant bearing" and faces that resembled "the Caucasian than the Indian caste."	Philip St. George Cooke, <i>Scenes and Adventures in the Army</i> (1857), 419.
3 August 1845	east of Big Timber	Cooke speculated about the purpose of an abandoned Indian "medicine lodge" using stereotypical terms	none	anecdotal		Cooke, <i>Scenes</i> , 420-21.
7 August 1845	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes interacted with US soldiers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and post employees	none	friendly	Cheyenne relations with the trail remained generally positive but were becoming more tense as travelers was harming the Indians' economy. See Old Bark's comments on August 9.	James W. Abert, <i>Expedition to the Southwest</i> (1999), 11.
August 1845	Bent's Fort	Talbot saw a Cheyenne scalp dance reportedly held in the honor of Frémont's party	none	friendly	Other travelers reported seeing "scalp dances."	Talbot, <i>Soldier</i> , 28-29.
August 1845	Bent's Fort	several Kiowa lodges were nearby	none	friendly	Talbot stated that Kiowas influenced the Comanches.	Talbot, <i>Soldier</i> , 31.

8 August 1845	Bent's Fort	Yellow Wolf, a Cheyenne chief; Shonka-mah-toh, a Brule Sioux; Mis-stanstar, a Cheyenne woman, Nah cot-se-west, her brother; and others interacted with Abert	none	friendly	Abert sketched the Cheyennes, providing a view of their clothing, looks, and physical characteristics.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 12-13.
9 August 1845	Bent's Fort	Abert and Mr. Charbonard visited Nah-co-men-si, the second Cheyenne chief	none	friendly	Abert seems to have had good relations with Cheyennes.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 14.
9 August 1845	Bent's Fort	Delawares met Cheyennes with Old Bark in a council with Abert and other US citizens	none	diplomacy	Old Bark told the Delawares that whites had entered Cheyenne land, cutting timber and killing buffalo and antelope.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 14-16; Talbot, <i>Soldier</i> , 28, 31-32.
9 August 1845	fourth mile east of Bent's Fort	Cheyennes annoyed the camp of Abert and Lt. Peck	none	tension	This report is reflective of the growing tension of between Cheyennes and Euroamericans.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 16.
16 August 1845	Bent's Fort	6 Delawares departed with Frémont's expedition for California	none	cooperation	The Delawares included Jim Shawanock, Jim Secodine, and Jim Connor.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 552.
16 August 1845	near Purgatoire River [Los Animas]	Abert feared that 2 Indians might steal his party's property and supplies	none	tension	Indians periodically took horses and supplies from interlopers.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 21.
17 August 1845	6 to 8 miles south of Purgatoire River	[Jicarilla?] Apaches told Fitzpatrick, with Abert's party, that they had killed an ox because of white hunting	none	friendly	These words note that the Apaches had retaliated against the killing of game in their territory.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 22-23.
17 August 1845	8 to 10 miles south of Purgatoire River	a Cheyenne chief greeted Abert's southbound party	none	friendly	Fearing Cheyenne intentions, Abert's party traveled further before setting up camp.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 23.
18 August 1845	south of Purgatoire River	Cheyennes with Shonka-mah-toh interacted with Abert's party	none	friendly	Shonka-mah-toh gave Abert a pair of moccasins.	Abert, <i>Expedition</i> , 23.

late November 1845	7 or 8 miles below Middle Cimarron Spring	Webb's party of 5 Americans and 2 Mexicans believed that Indians had stampeded their mules	none	false alarm	Party members decided that a buffalo had caused the disturbance. Nonetheless, they feared an Indian attack.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 150-55.
December 1845	Council Grove	2 Kaw boys with bows and arrows entered Webb's camp	none	friendly	Webb noted the Kaw boys' archery skills.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 167.
December 1845	Council Grove	Kaw men entered Webb's camp and traded Webb honey for a Mexican blanket	none	friendly	Kaws tried to maintain friendly relations with trail travelers.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 168.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
January 14, 1846	Methodist Mission in Kansa country	destitute Kaw leaders ceded over 6,000,000 acres of land and accepted a 20-mile-square reservation near Council Grove	none	diplomacy	The treaty placed Kaws in more direct contact with the trail traffic. They moved there in early 1848.	Charles J. Kappler, <i>Indian Treaties, 1778-1883</i> (1972), 552-53.
January 1846	unspecified	Houck and Beck's party met a few Indians	none	friendly	Travelers often did not know the identity of the Indians they met.	William Y. Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> (1994), 26.
[spring?] 1846	Bent's Fort	Kiowas had custody of a Mexican woman who Comanches had captured east of Durango and had become the Hawken's wife	none	friendly	Traders had purchased her from Kiowas. Her husband found her but departed when learning she was with Hawken.	George Ruxton, <i>Ruxton of the Rockies</i> (1950), 265-66.
7 March 1846	Cow Creek	Indians identified as Pawnees struck eastbound traders Norris Colburn, A. Armijo, James Flores, Mr. Elliott, and Mr. Lussard	none	warfare	The raiders took about forty-four mules and two horses forcing Armijo's party to walk 200 miles to Independence.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 571.
February or March 1846	unspecified	Indians took provisions from the train with Eugene Leitensdorfer and his family	none	warfare		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 572-73; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 27.
spring 1846	Westport	Francis Parkman observed Sacs, Foxes, Kaws, Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots, noting their clothing differences	none	friendly	His description suggests that Indians were important to the local economy.	Francis Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> (1969), 4.
spring 1846	Coon Creek	Peel stated that US soldiers under Sgt. Bishop had recovered 400 oxen stampeded by Indians	none	warfare	The Indians are not identified.	Percival G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 108.
1846	mouth of Coon Creek	Lowe noted that a fight had occurred there in which 12 soldiers were wounded, some fatally, and livestock was lost	12 soldiers wounded	anecdotal	Indians, according to Lowe, had not forgotten the troops either. Soldiers considered the battle site as sacred ground.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 82-83.

April 1846	Bent's Fort	US officials created the Upper Platte and Arkansas agency with Bent's Fort serving as its seat under Thomas Fitzpatrick	none	diplomacy	Fitzpatrick conducted US relations with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and others.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 288-89.
early spring 1846	Arkansas River	a US train member shot Old Tobacco, an important Cheyenne chief	Old Tobacco mortally wounded	conflict	Before dying five days later, Old Tobacco asked his family and friends not to avenge his death because his friends had shot him without knowing who he was.	Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. . . .," in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865</i> (1997), 3: 380.
7 March 1846	Cow Creek crossing	Pawnees raided Armijo's train and another trading party with Norris Colburn, taking 2 horses and 44 mules	none	warfare	As Armijo's men walked to Independence, Colburn transported Armijo's property.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 27.
13 May 1846	Washington, DC	US Congress declared war on Mexico in response to President Polk's wishes	none	warfare	The war dramatically escalated trail traffic creating more conflict and difficulties for Indians. It resulted in the annexation of a vast territory including the entirety of the trail. Other Indians were also pulled into a political relationship with the US government.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 97.
17 May 1846		writing to the St. Louis <i>Reveille</i> under the name of John Brown, Richard Smith Elliot commented on the disposition of Indians with stereotypical terms	none	anecdotal	Elliot stated that Comanches, Utes, Cheyennes, Apaches and Pawnees were the most powerful and warlike Indians. He added that they were all buffalo eaters and great scamps.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 8 (May 1994): 19-20.
26 May 1858		Cherokees with John Beck joined a caravan with Luke Tierney	none	cooperation	Cherokee trail travelers cooperated with non-Indians.	White, comp., <i>Plains and Rockies</i> , 7: 231.

28 May 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	Comanches attacked an eastbound Bent, St. Vrain & Co. train with 22 wagons	1 train member killed	warfare	The victim may have been R. T. Ross. News of this killing spread over the trail. See the June 5, 1846, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 589.
May or June 1846	Sand Creek, on the Cimarron Cutoff	when Comanches entered James Webb's camp, a team of horses broke free, but were quickly retrieved	none	friendly		James Webb, <i>Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade</i> (1931), 180.
1 June 1846	Ft. Leavenworth	George T. Howard left the Ft. Leavenworth with 7 dragoon escorts and 7 Delawares and Shawnees to warn Speyer's train about Indians	none	cooperation	See the June 3, 1846, entry for information about Speyer's caravan.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 29-30.
3 June 1846	Little Arkansas	Bent, St. Vrain & Co. train members warned Speyer's train, with F. A. Wislizenus, about the May 28 death of a traveler at the hands of Comanches	none	warfare	On September 7, 1846, William H. Richardson's westbound party saw a grave with R. T. Ross engraved on a headstone. See the May 28, 1846, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 589.
early June 1846	Ft. Leavenworth	small U.S. supply trains began departing to provide provisions for the Army of the West	none		These trains often became a source of conflict.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 5.
5 June 1846	southwest of Pawnee Fork	Speyer's party reached the grave of the Bent employee killed by Comanches on 28 May	none	warfare	See the May 28, 1846, entry.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 29.
5 June 1846	Ft. Leavenworth	the first Army of the West companies departed for Bent's Fort en route to New Mexico	none	warfare	The last U.S. army contingent departed on July 6, 1846. Thousands of people, with livestock, passed through Indian country.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 3-8.
6 June 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	F. A. Wislizenus with a westbound train saw the grave of a Mormon Battalion soldier killed by Comanches	1 US soldier killed	warfare	If truthful, this may have been the only soldier to died on the trail that year from an Indian fight.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 589.

June? 1846	Kansas River	Edwards saw 2 Indians operating a ferry	none	cooperation	Other accounts note the Indians' role in operating the ferry.	Frank S. Edwards, <i>Campaign in New Mexico</i> (1996), 8.
June? 1846	Kansas River	Edwards saw a "beautiful and noble-looking" Indian woman with her baby at a cabin	none	friendly	Edwards said the scene was Cooper-like, a reference to James F. Cooper's depiction of Indians in the <i>Leatherstocking Tales</i> .	Edwards, <i>Campaign</i> , 8-9.
June? 1846	Big Timber	Edwards's company saw a few Indians who kept their distance and a sentry shot 2 horses thinking they were Indians	none	tension	This incident reflects on the level on tension that existed on the trail.	Edwards, <i>Campaign</i> , 15.
June? 1846	Big Timber	Edwards stated that several years previously Indians had suffered the consequences of a two-pound cannon in a fight with traders	none	anecdotal	See the above entry.	Edwards, <i>Campaign</i> , 15.
15? June 1846	near Cimarron River	5 Cheyennes visited Albert Speyer's train, with Adolphus Wislizenus	none	friendly	Cheyennes reported that five hundred lodges of their people were trading with Comanches.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 97.
12 June 1846	near the Cimarron River	a large party of Cheyenne men, women, and children visited Wislizenus train with 22 men	none	friendly	Cheyenne men smoked with Wislizenus's party while the Indian women sold them ropes, moccasins, and other items.	A. Wislizenus, <i>Tour to Northern Mexico, 1846-1847</i> (1969), 13.
17 June 1846	Rio Mora	Wislizenus stated that Indians had committed depredations on local settlers	unknown	warfare	Indians were striking at the expansion of Mexican settlements.	Wislizenus, <i>Tour</i> , 17.
24 June 1846	Santa Fe	Emory described some Navajos who entered the town as "naked, thin, and savage"	none		Fitzpatrick told Emory that Navajos sometimes "ate their own offspring, and consider it a great delicacy."	[W. H. Emory], <i>Notes of a Military Reconnaissance</i> (1848), 33.

24 June 1846	Wakarusa River, where the Oregon and Santa Fe trails split	W. H. Emory, traveling with Col. Kearny's command, saw Indians taking coal to Westport	none	friendly	This report suggests that Indians used the trail to participate in the local economy of Euroamericans.	Emory, <i>Notes</i> , 11.
25 June 1846	Kansas River	some Indians ferried Edwards' command across the river and others sold beef to soldiers	none	cooperation	He also wrote that a "beautiful and highly accomplished squaw lived" there and that many Indians could read and write.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards, 1846-1847," in <i>Marching with the Army of the West</i> (1936), 118-19.
28 June 1846	near Pecos Pueblo	20 Comanches met Wislizenus, who was riding ahead of his train	none	tension	Wislizenus refused to dismount in accordance with a Comanche chief's order.	Wislizenus, <i>Tour</i> , 18.
28 June 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Wislizenus echoed a popular myth about the pueblo	none	anecdotal	Wislizenus noted the eternal fire of the Pecos Indians as the temple of Montezuma.	Wislizenus, <i>Tour</i> , 18.
30 June 1846	Wakaroosa Crossing	3 Indians ferried Abert's party across the stream and Abert enlisted the help of a young Indian	none	cooperation	Abert described the enlisted man as a "fine looking Indian lad."	[Abert, Lt. J. W.] U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, <i>Notes of a Military Reconnoissance</i> (1848), 390.
30 June 1846	Kansas River	Hughes, with the Army of the West, camped among friendly Shawnees	none	friendly	Hughes described Shawnees as being industrious people who enjoyed the luxuries of civilized life.	John T. Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition: An Account of the U.S. Army Operations</i> (1962), 30.
1 July 184r	Ft. Leavenworth	Richard E. Smith, a U.S. volunteer, heard rumors that Delawares and Shawnees had been employed to hunt for the Army of the West	none	anecdotal	Smith wrote that Delawares and Shawnees were good hunters but fearful of Pawnees, Sioux, and Arapahos.	<i>The Mexican War Correspondence of Richard Smith Elliot</i> (1997), 44.
2 July 1846	Council Grove	entering Pawnee territory, Edwards's military unit marched in a tighter formation	none	tension	Edwards stated Indians killed train member in sight of large parties.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 126.
2 July 1846	Diamond Springs	Edwards claimed that traders had defeated Indians there in a battle		warfare	Edwards does not provide a time reference of the alleged fight.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 124.

2 July 1846	110 Mile Creek	an Indian lad declined Abert's request for him to shoot a bird with a bow and arrow	none	friendly	Indian boys could not be easily manipulated by Euroamericans.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 392.
2 July 1846	Fish's Ferry on Kansas River	Indians ferried soldiers across the river	none	cooperation	Although Gibson stated that the ferry belonged to some Delawares, the editor said it was owned by Pascal Fish, a Shawnee.	<i>Journal of a Soldier</i> (1935), 129, 129n.
3 July 1846	Oregon-Santa Fe Trail	Gibson stated that his unit passed an Indian hut or two with good cornfields	none	friendly	Gibson must have been on the Shawnee reservation.	George R. Gibson, <i>Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847</i> , 132.
3 July 1846	Oregon Trail	an Indian told US army officers that they were on the Oregon Trail and not the Santa Fe Trail	none	cooperation	It is possible that the Indian was either a Delaware or Potawatomi.	Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 132 n.
4 July 1846	near Cimarron River	Apaches attacked Mexican herders	3 Mexicans killed	warfare	This incident reflects on the tension caused by the spread of Mexican settlements.	H. M. T. Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852</i> (1981), 65.
5 July 1846	near Council Grove	Abert saw the grave of a white man killed by Osages	none	anecdotal	It is unclear when the killing had occurred.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 394.
7 July 1846	Council Grove	Gibson feared "the wild and savage Indians of the plains"	none	tension	He emphasized the necessity of caution.	Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 139.
7 July 1846	Plum Buttes	Indian hunters warned Edward's command about signs of "wild Indians," probably Pawnees	none	friendly	Edward's unit camped in an easily defendable place.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 128.
7 July 1846	near Pawnee Fork?	Indians attacked traders without inflicting damage	none	warfare	This incident indicates that Indians disapproved of the increased travel over the trail.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 131.
8 July 1846	Pawnee Fork	traders told Edward's command that Indians had attacked other trains	1 or 2 train members killed	anecdotal	These incidents indicates that Indians disapproved of the increased travel over the trail.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 131.

9 July 1846	Pawnee Creek	unidentified Indians moved camp with the arrival of Glasgow's train of about 400 men	none	tension	Train members speculated that Indians feared that the whites would punish them for killing Mr. Bent's cook. See the May 28, 1846, entry.	Edward and William Glasgow, <i>Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails</i> (1993), 84, 144 n37.
10 July 1846	near Pawnee Fork	Emory stated that his command was now on lands "traversed by the nomadic tribes of the Pawnees, Sioux, Osage, and occasionally the Comanches"	none	tension	This was a common perspective.	Emory, <i>Notes</i> , 12.
11 July 1846	Coon Creek	sentries with the Edwards fired at an unidentified object in the grass	none	false alarm	False alarms were common.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 132.
13 July 1846	Pawnee Rock	Hughes reflected on the origin of the name for Pawnee Rock	none	anecdotal	The name allegedly came from Pawnee and Cheyenne battle.	Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition</i> , 47.
14 July 1846	Pawnee Fork	Capt. Waldo and 36 men were dispatched to protect a provision train from a Pawnee attack	none	warfare	Hughes described Pawnees as "treacherous and wily" who "constantly beset the road for murder and plunder."	Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition</i> , 48.
14 July 1846	near Jackson's Grove	reports indicated that between 800 and 8,000 Comanches were in the vicinity	none	warfare	That summer, Comanches waged war against the Santa Fe traffic.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 133.
15 July 1846	old Pawnee Fort	soldiers in Edwards's command camped there	none	tension	The old Pawnee Fort was an important trail landmark.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 134.
July ? 1846	near and on Chouteau's Island	soldiers in Marcellus Edward's company found 2 Indian graves	none		Soldiers apparently had a fascination for Indian burials. It is unclear if the soldiers loot it.	Edwards, <i>Campaign</i> , 15.
15 July 1846	Arkansas River, seven miles east of Walnut Creek	Gibson met a Delaware returning from a buffalo hunt	none	friendly	Delaware had fresh meat to sell. This was the first Indian the soldiers had seen on the plains	Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 146.
16 July 1846	Pawnee Fork	Emory used stereotypical language to describe the mounted Indian "lad" crossing a stream	none	cooperation	The use of racist language was common among trail travelers.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 400.

17 July 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	5 naked Pawnees with painted faces entered Emory's camp causing the soldiers to find a more defensible position	none	tension	Soldiers also carefully picketed their horses. Fear kept Abert awake most of the night.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 402.
18 July 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	the Indian lad with Abert's party shot a buffalo	none	cooperation	The buffalo was left for the wolves because the soldiers had enough meat.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 402-03.
18 July 1846	Arkansas River	US soldiers purchased dried buffalo meat from Pawnees for a trifle but refused to allow them to enter their camp	none	tension	Gibson wrote, "we knew their thievish propensity and want of faith, and told them to leave, which they did."	Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 153-54.
20 July 1846	Arkansas River	25 to 30 Indians fired at a wagon master with a commissary train	none	warfare	The officer of the day ordered all arms loaded and the guard increased.	Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 156.
21 July 1846	Santa Fe Crossing	Abert saw 3 Indian bodies wrapped in blankets and skins in a cottonwood tree	none		Abert did not indicate if soldiers desecrated the burial.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 404.
21 July 1846	Arkansas River	Turner, with the Army of the West, suspected that mounted Indians across the river may have stolen horses from US volunteers	none	tension	Travelers often blamed Indians for taking missing livestock.	<i>Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner</i> (1966), 64.
21 July 1846	near the Caches	marching soldiers saw a few Indians, possibly Comanches south of the river	none	tension	Indians were probably keep the growing traffic under surveillance.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 15.
21 July 1846	near the Caches	Kearny's command found an Indian burial in a small grove of trees	none	grave looting	Soldiers speculated that the tree burial belonged to a chief and important warrior. Is is unclear if the soldiers disrupted the grave.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 15.
22 July 1846	4 miles west of Pawnee forts	soldiers buried Sgt. Augustus Leslie's body under staves from a flour barrel, heavy timber, and dirt to protect it from wolves or Indians	none	tension	There are not believable accounts telling of Indian desecrating graves along the trail.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 16.

22 July 1846	Pawnee forts	Turner wrote that Pawnees had wintered there several years previously	none	anecdotal	The Pawnee fort was an important landmark.	Turner, <i>Journals</i> , 64.
22 July 1846	Bent's Fort	Edwards reported that fort's owners had several mistresses, both Spanish and Indian	none	friendly	The account reflects on the cultural blending that occurred along the trail.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 139.
22 July 1846	Arkansas River	Hughes's command passed an old, decaying fort	none	anecdotal	Hughes wrote that the "fort" was where a "great battle was fought between the Pawnees and their besiegers, the Cheyennes."	Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition</i> , 53.
22 July 1846	a Pawnee fort between the Caches and Chouteau's Island	According to Johnston, "Pawnee Indians [had] once fortified themselves by felling trees and where they remained for some time."	none	anecdotal	The Pawnee fort was an important landmark.	"Journal of Abraham Robinson Johnston, 1846," in <i>Marching with the Army of the West</i> (1936), 88.
24 July 1846	Big Timber	Emory wrote that Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahos winter there	none	anecdotal	Big Timber was an important area to Indians.	Emory, <i>Notes</i> , 13.
25 July 1846	Arkansas River	soldiers failed to get approaching Comanches to come near a US army camp	none	friendly		Gibson, <i>Journal</i> , 162.
27 July 1846	Big Timber	Johnson's command saw signs that Indians camped there had fled	none	warfare	Writing in biblical terms, Johnston wrote, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth."	Johnston, "Journal," 90.
28 July 1846	Chouteau's Island	Cooke noted that Chouteau and 30 veteran infantrymen, armed with a six-pound cannon, faced "those savage Scythians, the Comanches"	none	warfare	Most accounts indicate that the attackers were Pawnees not Comanches	Philip St. George Cooke, <i>Conquest of New Mexico and California</i> (1878), 5.
29 July 1846	Bent's Fort	Indians showed Abert a raccoon skin	none	friendly	The Indians may have been Cheyennes.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 405.

29 July 1846	8 miles below Bent's Fort	Hughes called the Comanches "cunning," stating that his command had invaded their territory	none	anecdotal	Soldiers exercised more vigilance than usual from fear of the Comanches.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 58.
29 July 1846	8 miles below Bent's Fort	an Indian or a wolf stampeded about a thousand horses belonging to US soldiers	none	tension	The stampede confused the soldiers.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 58-59.
30 July 1846	Arkansas River, 7 miles below Bent's Fort	Kearny allowed 3 Mexicans [Pueblo Indians?] to enter his camp so they could tell Armijo about the size of the US force	none	warfare	Kearny provided them a proclamation stating the Mexicans would not be harmed if they did not interfere with the US occupation.	Turner, <i>Journals</i> , 64.
30 July 1846	Arkansas River, 7 miles below Bent's Fort	a Mexican was looking for his wife whom Comanches had captured	none		Having taken up with a Bent's Fort employee, she opted not to return home with her husband.	Turner, <i>Journals</i> , 65-66.
late July 1846	Arkansas River, 7 miles below Bent's Fort	Cheyennes saw the large encampment of Kearny's forces with 414 wagons belonging to traders	none	friendly	Cheyennes "said they never supposed there were as many men in the 'whole white tribe' as they now saw assembled in this one camp."	George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," 74-75.
31 July 1846	Bent's Fort	an Arapaho chief visited the soldiers' camp asking the US commander to show him the "big gun"	none	friendly	The chief predicted that the Mexicans would be easily defeated and quickly flee to the mountains.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 59.
31 July 1846	Bent's Fort	2 Pueblo men were provided US soldier guards to carry a proclamation to the peaceful Indians of New Mexico and others	none	diplomacy	Col. Kearny's proclamation declared that if the Indians remained neutral no harm would come to them. See the August 11, 1846, entry.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 141-42.

31 July 1846	near Bent's Fort	Richard S. Elliot described two Mexican prisoners as having the appearance of being a cross between Mexican and Indian	none	warfare	Col. Kearny sent the Mexican prisoners to tell the Mexican governor in Santa Fe that his forced wanted to peacefully take over Mexican territory.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondence</i> , 55-56.
1 August 1846	near Bent's Fort	Edwards's command found cannon balls and human skulls	none	anecdotal	Edwards surmised that a fight must have occurred there between Indians and whites.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 142.
1 August 1846	near Bent's Fort	Edwards's command desecrated an Indian tree burial	none	grave looting	Edwards wrote, "This is very wrong, for it being their mode of disposing of their dead, should be held as sacred as ours."	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 142-43; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 16.
2 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Cooke reflected on the cultural diversity at the post "located in the lands of the audacious Cheyennes and Scythian Comanches	none	friendly	Cooke indicated that the fort was bustling with activities and that "here were many races and colors, a confusion of tongues, of rank and condition, and of cross purposes."	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 8.
2 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Hughes noted that Indian women and Mexican girls watched the passing US troops	none	friendly	Hughes wrote, "the tops of the houses were crowded with Mexican girls and Indian squaws, intently beholding the American army."	Grinnell, "Bent's Fort," 75.
5 August 1846	Hole in the Prairie	Edwards noted that Indians set prairie fires	none		Reports attributed the vast number of dead cottonwood trees to Indians who burned the thick underbrush for the deer, bears, elk, and turkeys that lived among the trees.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 147.
early August 1846	short distance from Bent's Fort	eastbound travelers, Ewing, Hewitt, and Fay, met a party of "friendly" Cheyennes	none	friendly	Despite the raging warfare, Cheyennes were trying to remain neutral.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 640.
8 August 1846	Fort Union	Cooke described the fort's purpose in the context of civilization over savagery	none	friendly	Travelers frequently used the language of racism to describe Indians.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 17.

9 August 1846	Las Vegas	Indians attacked herders 2 leagues from the town	1 or 2 herders killed	anecdotal	The incident had occurred two leagues from the town.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 19.
9 July 1846	Las Vegas	Cooke compared the earth houses at Las Vegas with those of the Pawnees	none	friendly		Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 19.
9 August 1846	Las Vegas	Cooke wrote, "There appeared to be servants,—wild Indians of full blood"	none	friendly	Mexican citizens often held Indian slaves, often called servants. The institution of slavery continued after US rule replaced Mexican rule.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 20-21.
10 August 1846	Ocate Creek	Kearny heard that Taos Indians would join the Mexican resistance against the US invasion	none	anecdotal	Many Taos apparently detested the US invasion.	Turner, <i>Original Journals</i> , 70.
11 August 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Cooke speculated about the religion of the Pecos in stereotypical terms	none	anecdotal	Trail travelers often speculated about the nature of the pueblo.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 25-26.
11 August 1846	Ponil	Edward's command reached the place where 2 Pueblo men departed with Kearny's proclamation	none	diplomacy	Concealing the proclamation in their hair, they were to meet their people at Taos in council and return on August sixteenth or seventeenth. See the July 31, 1848, entry.	"Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards," 149-50.
11 August 1846	near Ponil	Hughes noted that prisoners stated that 5000 Pueblos, Utes and other Indians would resistance to the US invasion	none	anecdotal	Many Indians were concerned about the possible consequences of the US invasion.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 67-68.
[11 or 12] August 1846	Caches	Pawnees, Cheyennes, or Comanches raided a large eastbound party of mounted travelers with William L. Swan	Swan killed	warfare	Swan was killed within seventy-five yards of his camp. Indians reportedly dug up his buried body and scalped it.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 347-48; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 640.

August 1846	east of Bent's Fort	Parkman heard that the trail ahead of him was "being infested by hostile Pawnees and Camanches."	none	tension	Parkman's party joined a party of seventy before moving on	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 307, 333.
13 August 1846	Middle Crossing	a US supply train en route to Bent's Fort with 43 wagons and 54 men was in distress and low on ammunition	none	warfare	With "hostile" Indians in the area, Major Clark and Norris Colburn provided distressed train members "all the powder which they could afford."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 637.
August 1846	between Middle Crossing and Coon Creek	an eastbound train of Norris Colburn with 43 wagons and 53 men met westbound trains	none	warfare	Most caravans had experienced Indian raids or attacks.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 39.
14 August 1846	Las Vegas	Emory noted that Navajo and Ute raids the town	some inhabitants killed	anecdotal	The towns people would retreat into their plaza when Navajos and Utes came to take their stock and women and children.	Emory, <i>Notes</i> , 26.
14 August 1846		Indians attacked a westbound US train of 22 wagons under Mr. Campbell and Mr. Coons	1 Indian killed and 1 wounded	warfare	The incident indicates that increased traffic was escalating tension and conflict between Indians and travelers.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 41.
14 August 1846	near Coon Creek	Indians, possibly Comanches, attacked a westbound US supply train	none	warfare	On August 15, US train members told Norris Colburn about the attack.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 39.
15 August 1846	near Coon Creek	Indians raiders failed to take livestock from Colburn's train	none	warfare	The train passed other trains "harassed" by Indians.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 39; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 642.
16 August 1846	Fish's ferry	Delaware and Shawnees ferried a contingent of the Mormon Battalion across the river	none	cooperation	The report referred to the Indians as being half civilized. The command camped nearby for two days and moved after its cattle invaded Shawnee fields.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 632.

16 August 1846	Kansas River ferry	Delawares ferried the Mormon Battalion across the river	none	cooperation	After crossing the river, the command camped on Delaware [Shawnee?] land.	"Journal of Henry Standage," in <i>The March of the Mormon Battalion</i> (1928), 147.
16 August 1846	Pawnee Fork	Indians raided a train of Armijo, Magoffin, and others, with 60 wagons		anecdotal	Colburn learned about the incident from another train.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 40.
16 August 1846	San Miguel	two Pueblo Indians reported to Kearny the location of the Mexican force	none	cooperation		Emory, <i>Notes</i> , 29.
16 August 1846	near Ft. Leavenworth	Richardson used stereotypical terms to describe Indians who had traded in his camp	none	friendly	"Their language," he wrote, "and gestures were very strange, and they presented a most outlandish appearance."	<i>Journal of William H. Richardson</i> (1848), 7.
16 August 1846	Santa Fe	Kearny raised the US flag over Santa Fe	none	warfare	This event signaled the exertion of US control over New Mexico.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 19.
16 August 1846??		en route to Santa Fe Kearny promised to protect native New Mexicans from Navajo raids	none	warfare	He ordered Doniphan to launch a campaign against the offenders.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 38.
16 August 1846	Kansas River	Levi Hancock, with the Mormon Battalion, noted the Shawnees' and Delawares' location	none	friendly	Hancock indicated that Shawnees were south of the river while Delawares were to the north.	David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, eds., <i>Kingdom in the West</i> (2000), 4: 86.
17 August 1846	Cow Creek	Indians attacked a westbound US train with 31 wagons and 43 men under Barns and Allen	none	anecdotal	Colburn stated that insolent members of the attacked train refused to go to Santa Fe.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 40.
17 August 1846	Cow Creek	Indians raided Colburn's train taking 3 mules	none	warfare		Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 40.
17 August 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Turner wrote that the former inhabitants had practiced "some of the rituals of the period of the Montezumas."	none	anecdotal	The few survivors "are still to be seen under a mountain near Santa Fe," Turner wrote.	Turner, <i>Journals</i> , 72.

17 August 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Johnson recited a mythical story of the Pecos's history	none	anecdotal	Johnston stated that the former inhabitants were "a curious relic of the Montezuma race."	Johnston, "Journal," 102-03.
17 August 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Edwards reflected on the former inhabitants of Pecos in mythical terms	none	anecdotal	Travelers often echoed similar perspectives.	Edwards, <i>Campaign</i> , 23.
17 August 1846	Pecos Pueblo	Hughes reflected on the alleged connection between the Pecos people and Montezuma	none	anecdotal	He reported that most Pueblos have similar traditions.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 74-75.
17 August 1846	Peco Pueblo	Elliot's unit camped near the ruins	none	anecdotal	He indicated that tiredness kept him and other soldiers from digging in "the ruins of Aztec structures and edifices of Spanish origin."	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondence</i> , 66.
18-28 August 1846	Santa Fe	Cooke noted that "civilized" Pueblos were visiting Santa Fe	none	diplomatic	They, including some from Taos who swore an oath of allegiance, seemed pleased by the new order.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 40.
August 1846	Santa Fe	Cooke stayed where a young Ute was a house slave.	none	friendly	This report indicates that the enslavement of Indians was a common New Mexico practice.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 42.
August ? 1846	Santa Fe	a Pueblo informed Hughes that his people would not unite with the Mexicans because of the oppression of Mexican rule	none	friendly	Hughes stated that Pueblos viewed the US army's arrival as Montezuma keeping his promise to free his people.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 75.
August 18, 1846	Santa Fe	The US flag waved above the Mexican capital			The US's invasion of New Mexico was occurring without the shed of blood	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondence</i> , 67.
18 August 1846	Owl Creek	a large Indian force attacked the train of Mr. Horner's company at 3:00 am	none	warfare	The train did not lose any livestock but it used most of its powder.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 40.

19 August 1846	between Ft. Leavenworth and Council Grove	Mormon Battalion cows destroyed corn in an Indian field	none	friendly	This incident probably occurred on Shawnee land.	Bigler and Bagley, eds., <i>Kingdom</i> , 87.
21 August 1846	beginning of Indian country	Richardson noted that his party was entering Indian country, the "place assigned by the Goverument [sic] for the future of residence of the tribes who have emigrated from the States"	none	tension	Richardson's party posted guards at night as protection from "roving bands of Indians" who would take everything they could get their hands on	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 8.
22 August 1846	Delaware country on Kansas River	Richardson's party entered a Delaware settlement	none	friendly	Richardson went to a house where two "squaws" were making moccasins and a large, powerfully built man sleeping nearby.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 8-9.
22 August 1846	Delaware country on the Kansas River	Richardson's party traded with Delaware "squaws"	none	friendly	Whiskey was the primary trade item.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 9.
22 August 1846	Delaware country on the Kansas River	Richardson noted that Delawares operated a ferry	none	friendly	This ferry transported many US citizens and soldiers across the river.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 9.
24 August 1846	unspecified	Richardson noted that Sacs, who visited the soldiers' camp out of curiosity, were "elegantly mounted, but painted and tatoed [sic] in a frightful manner."	none	friendly		Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 9.
25 August 1846	west of Switzer [Dragoon] Creek	2 Kaws traveled 15 miles with Levi Hancock and the Mormon Battalion	none	friendly	Kaws maintained peaceful, if not troubled, relations with US forces.	Bigler and Bagley, eds., <i>Kingdom</i> , 89.

26 August 1846	Bent's Fort	3 Cheyennes assisted Abert's men	none	cooperation	Although other Indians were fighting the US troops, Cheyennes remained at peace.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 420.
26 August 1846	near Bent's Fort	Parkman saw a few Cheyenne lodges a mile or two below Bent's Fort	none	friendly	Cheyennes were on friendly terms with white Americans.	<i>Journals of Francis Parkman</i> (1947), 2: 474, 507-08.
26 August 1846	Bent's Fort	fearing Pawnees and Comanches, Parkman's small party joined an eastbound caravan of 70 members		warfare		Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 333; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 474.
27 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Nah-co-mense, or Old Bark, welcomed Abert, expressing concern about his emaciated appearance	none	friendly	Old Bark had met Abert the previous year.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 421.
late August 1846	Cow Creek?	Ewing shot a Pawnee	1 Pawnee killed	warfare	The threat of Pawnee retaliations made trail travel unsafe.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 307-08, 347, 637-39.
late August 1846	Cow Creek	Indians identified as Pawnees took mules from an eastbound party with Ewing	1 Pawnee and possibly 2 more killed	warfare	Parkman stated that the travelers "fired every night at real or imaginary Indians." Ewing's caravan urged Parkman's party to turn back.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 347; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 640.
29 August 1846	Arkansas River, east of Bent's Fort	Magoffin stated that an Arapaho camp laid ahead and that Pawnees were on the road	none	tension	For years, many travelers blamed Pawnees for attacking trail traffic.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 475, 508; Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 347.
29 August 1846	Arkansas River	Magoffin told Parkman that Pawnees had killed William Swan, a member of a large eastbound caravan, at the Caches	none	anecdotal	Magoffin asserted that Indians had dug him up and scalped Swan. Parkman indicated that Cheyennes or Comanches had kill him. See the August 11 or 12 entry.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 347-48; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 475, 508.

29 August 1846	Santa Fe	William Glasgow believed that Swan died because of his habit of straying off alone from camp	none	anecdotal	Travelers often blamed the death of fellow travelers on carelessness.	Glasgow, <i>Brothers</i> , 88.
late August 1846	Arkansas River	Ewing with a US train shot an approaching Pawnee	1 Pawnee killed	warfare	Retaliation for this killing made travel unsafe. The Pawnees had tried to steal horses. See the August 30 entry.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 475.
29 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Old Bark's son Ah-mah-nah-co and Yellow Wolf (O-cum-who-wast) told Abert about growing Cheyenne antagonism towards whites and their concerns about the decline of their people and the buffalo herds	none	friendly	Yellow Wolf added, "we have not robbed or stolen from you, and you take no notice of us, nor do you make us any presents, while you are continually doing benefits to the Pawnees, who both kill and rob your people, and who are our enemies."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 421.
30 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Ah-mah-nah-co and Nah-moust (Big Left Hand) visited Abert	none	friendly	Ah-mah-nah-co gave Abert "a pair of moccasins, ornamented with porcupine quills, worked into a figure resembling a squaw."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 422.
30 August 1846	Arkansas River, near Colorado-Kansas border	Ewing's caravan advised Parkman's party that the road ahead was dangerous because of Pawnees and to travel as fast as possible	1 Pawnee killed	warfare	Several days previously, a Pawnee party had tried to steal Ewing's horses and Ewing had killed an approaching Pawnee.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 475, 508.
late August 1846	east of Bent's Fort	Parkman claimed that Pawnee and Comanche had harassed virtually every passing caravan, killing people and taking livestock	none	warfare	Parkman indicated that the Indians began the carnage following the passage of Kearny's army to New Mexico.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 333-34.

31 August 1846	Arkansas River, near Colorado-Kansas border	Parkman's party saw a distant Arapaho camp of 200 lodges	none	tension	Parkman expressed fear about meeting its inhabitants.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 348-49.
31 August 1846	Arkansas River, near Colorado-Kansas border	Parkman used racial terms to describe a meeting with Arapahos	none	tension	He wrote that they were "wolfish, sinister, and malignant and their complexions, as well as their features, unlike those of the Dakota, were exceedingly bad."	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 348, 670; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 474-76, 508.
August 1846 (?)	Arkansas River	Parkman reported that Arapahos were peacefully because Kearny had repeatedly threatened them	none	anecdotal	Kearny stated he would "exterminate their nation" if they harmed a white person. Kearny did not report holding a council with the Arapaho.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 349, 670.
31 August 1846	Arkansas River	Henry Chatillon lied to Arapahos saying Parkman's party was going to fight Pawnees	none	tension	Parkman claimed that Chatillon's lie had "produced a visible impression in our favor."	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 351.
31 August 1846	Arkansas River	Parkman's party considered instigating a fight between Pawnees and Arapahos so its members could hunt buffalo without interference	none	tension	Party members reconsidered the plan, thinking that Arapahos would be as dangerous as Pawnees.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 352.
31 August 1846	Arkansas	a guard Parkman's party believed he had seen an Indian	none	false alarm	False alarms were common.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 476.
31 August 1846	Bent's Fort	Mi-ah-tose told Abert about his visit to St. Louis	none	friendly	Despite the raging warfare, Cheyennes were trying to remain neutral.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 423-24.
31 August 1846	Santa Fe	a messenger from Santo Domingo Pueblo told Kearny that Armijo was raising an army	none	cooperation	Kearny did not believe the report.	Turner, <i>Journals</i> , 75.

late August 1846	Kaw [Kansas] River	Lewis Garrard along with several other non-Indians met Mr. Walker, a full-blood Wyandot	none	cooperation	Garrard noted that Walker, a ferryboat operator, engaged in the US economic pursuits.	Lewis H. Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail</i> (1955), 9.
late August 1846	near Kansas River	Garrard reported that he fired his weapon and the noise scared a "drunken Indian."	none	tension	Garrard was apparently on the Shawnee reservation.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 10.
late August 1846	Westport	Garrard described Indians he saw	none	friendly	Westport was a center of Indian trade.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 10.
1 September 1846	Arkansas River, near Colorado- Kansas border	Parkman and Shaw rode among Arapaho hunters	none	friendly	Arapahos were maintaining neutrality in the fighting.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 360-61; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 476, 508.
1 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Abert sketched Cheyennes Nah-moust and Ah-mah-nah-co	none	friendly	Despite the raging warfare, Cheyennes were trying to remain neutral.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 424.
1 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Isse-wo-ne-mox-ist told Abert that whites had destroyed a fish trap	none	friendly	Despite the raging warfare, Cheyennes were trying to remain neutral.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 424.
2 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Old Bark, Nah-moust, and other Cheyennes told Abert about their use of plants	none	friendly	Cheyennes used plants to dye porcupine quills for medical purposes.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 425.
2 September 1846	Cottonwood Creek	the Mormon Battalion entered Comanche country	none	warfare	Standage declared that Comanches were very hostile.	Standage, "Journal," 159.
2 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Abert sketched Ah-ma-nah-co and spoke to other Cheyennes about their origins	none	friendly	Despite the raging warfare, Cheyennes were trying to remain neutral.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 425.
early September 1846	Arkansas River	Parkman fled camp after hunting buffalo in fear that Pawnees were nearby	none	warfare	Parkman considered Pawnees to be enemies.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 393.
early September 1846	west of Caches	Parkman's party kept night guards upon seeing traces of a Comanche camp	none	warfare	Parkman considered the Comanches a threat.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 395, 692; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 479, 508.

early September 1846	west of Caches	Parkman said he had seen the Pawnee forts.	none	warfare	The Pawnee fort(s) was an important landmark.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 479, 508.
4 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Aberts viewed "loitering" Cheyennes	none	friendly	Abert stated that the traders had to feed the Cheyennes or these Indians would not trade with them in the fall.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 426.
5 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Abert spent several hours constructing a Cheyenne vocabulary but later lost his papers	none	friendly	He noted, "[t]he Cheyenne is far from being deficient in its capability of expressing abstract ideas."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 426-27.
5 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Nah-moust and Ah-mah-nah-co gave Abert some gifts of a carved looking glass and wild cherries	none	friendly	Ah-mah-nah-co "squaw" measured Abert's foot for a pair of moccasins.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 426.
5 September 1846	Missouri	John D. Lee and several traveling companions learned that Cheyennes had killed a Swan and some oxen	Swan killed	warfare	Other reports attributed Swan's death to Pawnees, Comanches. See the August 31 entry.	John D. Lee, "Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 42 (July 1967): 180-81.
6 September 1846	2 miles from Kansas River ferry	Lee and others stopped "at a Methodist Indian of [the] Shawnee [sic] Tribe."	none	friendly	A "squaw" cooked them breakfast and some Indians sold them three watermelons.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 181-82.
6 September 1846	Kansas River, Delaware Nation	Lee noted that Delaware and Shawnee ferry owners had a contract with the US government	none	cooperation	The Indians had agreed to ferry wagons across the river at the rate of \$1 per wagon.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 181.
7 September 1846	Kansas River Crossing	Lee's party met some Delawares and Shawnees	none	cooperation	Lee noted that the Delaware and Shawnee nations owned and operated the Kansas River crossing.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 181-82.
7 September 1846	2 miles east of Kansas Crossing	Lee's party met Methodist Indians of Shawnee nation	none	friendly	Several missionary groups were working to convert Shawnees.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 181-82.

7 September 1846	between Pawnee Fork and the Arkansas River	Richardson's party spotted the grave of R. T. Ross, who had been killed by Indians	none	anecdotal	See the May 28, 1846, entry.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 14.
7 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Nah-co-mense and other Cheyennes traded with Abert's party	none	friendly	Ebert obtained moccasins while Nah-co-mense gave him buffalo tongues.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 430-31.
8 September 1846	Bent's Fort	Abert noted that the year before Bill Garey [William Guerrier] had served as an interpreter during a Cheyenne and Delaware meeting	none	anecdotal	Cheyennes viewed Delawares as associates of white Americans.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 430-31.
7 or 8 September	between Lost and Diamond springs	Lee's party learned that Pawnees had confronted Armijo's train between Lost Spring and Diamond Springs	none	anecdotal	See the September 11, 1846, entry for more details.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 185.
8 September 1846	Pawnee Fork	Standage stated that Pawnees "are said to be very fierce and warlike"	none	anecdotal	Standage was echoing a widely held assumption.	Standage, "Journal," 161.
8 September 1846	Pawnee Fork	the Mormon Battalion took precautions against a Comanche attack by doubling the guard and sleeping with its weapons	none	warfare	The Comanches had recently attacked several wagon trains in that area.	<i>Frontiersman</i> , Abner Blackburn's <i>Narrative</i> (1992), 41.
9 September 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	Mormons found a note written by [William Bransford], stating, "Look for Indians. We had a man killed here last night by Comanches, as is supposed, May thirty first, 1846"	1 white man killed?	warfare	The historical record does not show any deaths occurring on May 31 at Pawnee Fork. Rather Comanches killed a member of a Bent, St. Vrain & Co. train on May 28 near their. See the May 28, 1846, entry.	Bigler and Bagley, eds., <i>Kingdom</i> , 103; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 589.
9 September 1846	east of Coon Creek	Parkman's party passed the Pawnee forts and a large Indian trail	none	warfare		Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 479, 508; Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 401.

10 September 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	Standage heard that 3 Comanches had fired arrows from bushes at the Missouri volunteers skinning a buffalo	none	anecdotal	He stated that the incident had occurred on Indian land, "the US having no claim to any beyond the line 5 miles each side of the road."	Standage, "Journal," 161.
10 September 1846	Council Grove	Lee and his crew received a letter stating that they should spend nights with larger companies because small ones were more vulnerable	none	warfare	The letter reflects on one of the precautions taken by travels in response to the Indian threat.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 184.
10 September 1846	Diamond Springs	Lee and his companions mistook a black bear for an Indian	none	false alarm	False alarms were commonplace.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 185.
11 September 1846	between Lost Springs and Diamond Springs	US soldiers told Lee that Pawnees had taken 17 horses and mules from Armijo's train and advised Lee to camp with other companies	none	warfare	Seventy-seven armed train members chased the Pawnees twenty-five miles and used force to recover fifteen animals. See the below entry.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 185, 204 n.
11-13 September 1846	unspecified	Pawnees followed Armijo's company for several days and nights, "expecting no doubt to be reinforced and make another attack—but failed"	none	warfare		Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 185, 204 n.
11 September 1846	Santa Fe	Pueblo Indians sold fruit, vegetables, bread, and molasses to US soldiers	none	friendly	This report provides a view of the Pueblos' economy.	Cooke, <i>Conquest</i> , 64.
12 September 1846	west of Pawnee Fork	Parkman's caravan mistook a party member's yells after dark for a Pawnee attack	none	false alarm	False alarms were common.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 404; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 480.
mid- September 1846	near Cow Creek	Parkman's party thought that Henry Chatillon's killing of buffalo with a firearm was an Indian attack	none	false alarm	Parkman reflected a common perspective.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 406.

mid-September 1846	near Council Grove	Parkman stated that there was nothing to fear from the Sacs, Foxes, Kaws, and Osages who lived near Council Grove	none	friendly	This was a common perspective.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 407.
14 September 1846	near Pawnee Fork	while on a buffalo hunt alone, Lee and Pace used up all their ammunition	none	tension	They feared encountering Indians as they searched for their camp.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 189-90.
15 September 1846	Arkansas River	Lee party camped a hundred yards off the road to avoid Indians	none	warfare	The travelers had spotted Indians.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 190.
15 September 1846	west of Arkansas Crossing	US soldiers, including Waters, found the physical remains and funerary objects of a chief that had fallen from a tree limb	none	grave looting	Several soldiers took some beads, and Waters "carried the lower jaw and skull to camp, the latter he said he intended to 'make a soup gourd of.'"	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 16.
15 September 1846	Arkansas River	Lee, with Lt. Pace and 15 others, sighted Indians	none	signting	Travelers commonly noted in their diaries the Indians they saw from afar.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 190.
17 September 1846	Turkey Creek	Parkman's party ceased posting night guards and saw Kaw signs	none	tension	Kaws were not viewed more of a nuisance than a threat.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 481.
mid September 1846	Cimarron River	Blackburn indicated that they had left the range of buffalo and "hostile" Indians	none	tension	Blackburn wrote, we "began to come into the Mexican settlements."	Blackburn, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 41.
mid September 1846	eastern Kansas	Indians took 3 oxen from a westbound Bent and St. Vrain train	none	conflict	Incidents of this type were rather uncommon in eastern Kansas.	"William A. Bransford Trail Pioneer," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 2 (November 1987): 7.
18 September 1846	Sand Creek	several Mormon Battalion members with Lee saw several human skulls	none		Lee assumed the dead men had been killed in a battle.	Lee, "Diary," (July 1967): 196.

18 September 1846	Lone Elm	a Shawnee met Garrard with the Ceran St. Vrain party, consisting of 18-20 Canadian Frenchmen, Mexicans, and others	none	friendly	The Shawnee told St. Vrain that another Indian had three oxen with the company's brand. St. Vrain and Bransford returned with fifteen yoke. See the mid September 1846 entry.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 13.
25 September 1846	Elm Creek	Parkman reported seeing Sacs men and women in wagons	none	friendly	This sighting suggests that some displaced Indians were adopted wagon transportation.	Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 482, 509.
26 September 1846	Lost Springs	Parkman's party entered Shawnee country	none	friendly	Parkman stated that the half-civilized Shawnees lived in log cabins and farmed.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 408, 703; Parkman, <i>Journals</i> , 482, 509.
26 September 1846	between San Miguel and old Pecos Pueblo	Abert's party overtook "Teguas" Indians traveling with mules loaded with buffalo meat and robes	none	friendly	The "Teguas" were returning from a trading excursion with Comanches.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 446.
26 September 1846	old Pecos Pueblo	Abert reported that the 6 to 8 surviving inhabitants had moved with their sacred fire to Zuni	none	anecdotal	In actuality, the survivors had moved to Jemez Pueblo in 1838.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 446.
26 September 1846		Parkman mentioned his small party's encounters with Indians	none	anecdotal	The expected troubles with Pawnees had not materialized. Parkman's party had only met friendly Arapahos.	<i>Letters of Francis Parkman</i> (1960), 48.
27 September 1846	McNees Creek	Lee pondered the origin of the name of McNees Creek	none	anecdotal	Lee correctly noted that the name of McNees Creek was derived from a person killed there by Indians.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 286.
28 September 1846	Santa Fe	US soldiers mingled "with motley groups" of Mexicans and Pueblo Indians	none	friendly	The Pueblos, he stated, brought vast quantities of peaches to Santa Fe.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 448.

29 September 1846	Santa Fe	Pueblo Indians entered Santa Fe with trains of burros loaded with musk melons	none	friendly	White Americans purchased some of the melons.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 449.
September 1846	Lower Cimarron Spring	John Bliss with the Mormon Battalion noted that the pilot pointed out a site where Comanches had killed many Pawnees in 1841	none	anecdotal	Other sources indicate that the site where Arapahos and Pawnees had battled. See the early September 1841 entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 589.
early October 1846	west of Council Grove	safety concerns encouraged St. Vrain and 3 or 4 others to join an eastbound train	none	warfare	Combining parties for protection was a common practice during times of heighten tensions and warfare	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 15.
2 October 1846	near Canadian Fork	Richardson wrote that his unit was in a treeless country occupied only by roving bands of Indians who lived by hunting buffalo	none	tension	This was a common perspective.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 20.
9 October 1846	west of San Miguel	Richardson and other soldiers found water by following an Indian trail	none		This account reflects on an indirect way in which Indians assisted trail traffic.	Richardson, <i>Journal</i> , 20.
9 October 1846	near Point of Rocks	Lee reflected on those who had inhabited ruins near Point of the Rocks	none	anecdotal	Lee described the ruins of an "...ancient Nephrite building," built of stone and cement, the remains of "...an enlightened race of beings that far surpassed the present."	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 300.
on or about 13 October 1846	Pawnee Fork	Indians identified as Pawnees attacked a US mule train under Mr. Harlowe	1 white killed and Harlowe wounded	warfare	Chalfant wrote that Comanches were probably responsible for the raid. See the October 17, 1846, entry.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 43.
mid-October 1846	20 miles below Middle Crossing	Indians identified as Pawnees captured a caravan, destroying 18 wagons and taking clothing and about 50 mules	none	warfare	The attackers left the teamsters naked. The Indians used empty flour sacks for turbans and breechcloths.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 43; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 652, 682.

17 October 1846	near Cook Creek	Ceran St. Vrain's train "nooned" near Harlowe's train	1 train member killed	anecdotal	An account noted that a man from a train had been killed at Pawnee Fork. The date of this incident is not stated.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 651.
17 October 1846	Arkansas River	Garrard reported that Indians had attacked a US mule train, likely Harlowe's train	none	anecdotal	Train captain [Harlowe?] received an arrow through his coat collar.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 30-31.
24 October 1846	near Pawnee forts	runners from a "grand" Cheyenne war party ate and smoked with Garrard's train	none	friendly	Garrard learned that 122 Cheyennes were after Pawnees. Cheyennes were "the first wild Indians" that Garrard had seen.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 33.
25 October 1846	Arkansas River west of Pawnee forts	a Cheyenne "war party" smoked, ate, and traded with members of Garrard's train	none	friendly	St. Vrain gave the chiefs a gift of tobacco and powder, "not for love of the guttural-toned warriors, but to influence them in his favor."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 33-36.
25 October 1846	Point of Rocks	Lee and Mormon Battalion members feared an ambush after seeing Indian signs	none	warfare	Several miles away they mistook four mounted soldiers for Indians.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 311.
25 August 1846	Santa Fe	Elliot stated that US soldiers were in pursuit of Navajos	unknown	warfare	This report indicated that soon after the invasion of New Mexico US forces sought to subdue Indian resistance	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondence</i> , 82.
25 October 1846	near Point of Rocks	several miles away Lee's party mistook four mounted soldiers for Indians	none	false alarm	False alarms were common.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 311.
25 October 1846	east of Points of Rocks	Lee's party joined another party for safety and protection as it camped on a "high spot, the better to observe the moves of our Wild Savage Red Friends"	none	warfare	Seeking protected camping sites was common.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 313.

26 October 1846	Chouteau's Island	Garrard noted that the island had received its name because of Chouteau's fight with Pawnees	none	anecdotal	This story was alive and well.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 36.
27 October 1846	Cedar Springs, NM	Capt. Gipson told Lee that Indians on the upper Cimarron had failed twice to rob Dr. Penn's company	none	warfare	Gipson [Gibson] was with a train of 31 wagons en route to Ft. Gibson.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 313.
27? October 1846	25 miles beyond Arkansas Crossing	Indians robbed 109 men, taking their clothes, blankets, guns and provisions	none	warfare	Four party members escaped. Before leaving, Indians shook hands with the company of men.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 313.
27 October 1846	Cedar Springs, NM	Lee learned that Indians had robbed 19 men 25 miles beyond the Arkansas	none	conflict	See the above entry.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 313-14.
27 October 1846	7 miles east of Cedar Springs, NM	Capt. Belle's westbound train warned Lees party that Indians were seen 9 mile ahead	none	tension	Warning others travelers was a common practice on the trail.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 313-14.
27 October 1846	5 miles east of Cold Spring	Lee's company left a horse as a peace offering to unidentified Indians	none	tension		Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 314.
27 October 1846	east of Arkansas Crossing	Comanches robbed a US quartermaster, taking 8 mules and dry goods	none	anecdotal	Lee learned about the fight on November 2.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 317.
28 October 1846	near Middle Crossing	Pawnees attacked a Santa Fe-bound US train with 24 wagons headed by Daniel P. Mann with John H. Dougherty, burning a wagon and taking all but 12 of party's horses and mules	Dougherty killed and 4 train member wounded	warfare	In 1847, a Pawnee agent wrote that Chauis had attacked a US train the previous fall, killing a man and taking 160 mules. See the below entry.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 44; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 652-53.

28 October 1846	more than 30 miles from Arkansas Crossing	300 to 500 [Pawnee] Indians overtook Capt. Mann's train moving under a white flag	see the above entry	warfare	That night Indians attacked the train, taking 280 mules. Leaving their wagons behind, train members walked thirty miles with their wounded and reached Capt. McIlvaine's train thirty miles away.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 404-05.
28 October 1846	30 miles below Arkansas Crossing	[Pawnee] Indians attacked Capt. Mann's train of 24 wagons	see the above entry	warfare	Soldiers rescued Woodson and Stricklin who were traveling behind the main party.	Hughes, <i>Expedition</i> , 404-05.
28 October 1846	30 miles east of Arkansas Crossing	Pawnees attacked a train with Cpts. Mann, Yates, and Buchannon with 40 men	see the above entry	warfare	After four hours of fighting, Yates company retreated. The Indians captured about 160 mules, blankets, and clothing and burned a wagon loaded with bacon and flour. See the October 31, 1846, entry.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
28 October 1846	Arkansas Crossing	160 Shawnees met Yates's company	none	cooperation	The Shawnees agreed to help Yates recover its missing animals.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
28 October 1846	west of Chouteau's Island	Garrard's train passed an abandoned Cheyenne "medicine lodge"	none	anecdotal	Garrard described the purpose of a sweat lodge.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 37.
29 October 1846	25 miles south of Arkansas, on Cimarron cutoff	Adams and Harry Trading Co. train members told Lee that Indians had shot at 2 men with Overfelt's company	1 trader killed	anecdotal	The Indians had shot the man in the back of his head and put a second bullet through the other man's clothing.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 314-15.
[30?] October? 1846	10 miles east of Arkansas River	300 to 500 nearby Pawnees caused Capt. Mann's caravan to leave the main trail	none	anecdotal	The caravan passed through a three-day-old battle site. See the above entries.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 317-18.

31 October 1846	Arkansas Crossing	Cpts. Mann and Yates related the 28 October battle with Pawnees to Lee's company	none	warfare	See the October 28, 1846, entry.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
[31 October 1846]	Arkansas Crossing	800 southern Pawnees? and Cheyennes defeated 3 companies of soldiers under Capt. Mann	see the October 28 and 31 entries	warfare	Lee recalled that Indians killed seven soldiers and wounded many others. This account differs significantly from his journal entries.	John D. Lee, <i>Mormonism Unveiled</i> (2001), 196.
31 October 1846	Arkansas Crossing	160 Cheyennes reportedly pursued Pawnees who had defeated Mann's command	none	friendly	After Lee's company told the Cheyennes that "the Pawnees bad Indians will shoot Chemuckaman [?] & [the Cheyennes] started on in pursuit of those Pawnees to give them Battle." Other information says the Cheyennes followed Mann's command.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 316-17.
31 October 1846	Big Sand Creek [Big Sandy Creek]	Garrard noted the location of a Cheyenne camp	none	anecdotal	Travelers often recorded most of their contacts with Indians.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 39.
31 October 1846	Big Sandy Creek	Garrard, Bransford, and another traveler found Indian tree burials	none	grave looting	Bransford found a woman's jawbone on the ground and Garrard put it in his bullet pouch "for safe-keeping."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 40.
1 November 1846	Bent's Fort	Garrard met William Bent and Marcellus St. Vrain, and their Indian families	none	friendly	Garrard wrote that "the fort was a mélange of traders and employers, government officers and subordinates, Indians, Frenchmen, and hunters."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 42.

early November 1846	Bent's Fort	Garrard wanted to retaliate against a Cheyenne "savage" who killed a released eagle "to adorn his own ugly head"	none	tension	Garrard had no understanding of the significance of eagle feathers in Cheyenne culture.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 43.
autumn 1846	east of Bent's Fort	Parkman noted that Pawnees and Comanches began attacking the trail 3 months after he completed his travels	many killed	anecdotal	The attacks killed [white] men and stole horses. The fighting lasted six months. His account was widely read.	Parkman, <i>Oregon Trail</i> , 333, 407.
2 November 1846	Arkansas Crossing	160 Cheyennes followed Mann's defeated company	none	warfare	Pawnees had defeated the soldiers. See the [November 1846] entry.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 317.
2 November 1846	Arkansas Crossing	Mann's company told Lee's party that "we doubtless would fall an easy Prey to the Barbarity of the Savages" and that about 160 Cheyennes had followed them.	none	warfare	Lee also learned that on October 27 Comanches had robbed a quartermaster. Placing themselves at God's mercy, Lee' party resumed its journey, traveling north of the road to avoid Indians.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 317.
2 November 1846	Arkansas River	guided by the "invisible force," Lee's small party found the site where Indians had defeated Mann, Yates, and Buchannon 3 days previously	none	warfare	When continuing its journey, Lee's party sought safety by traveling away from the road. See the October 28, 1846, entry.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 318, Lee, <i>Mormonism Unveiled</i> , 197-99.
next day, November 1846	Arkansas River	Lee's party met 2 Indians, probably Osages, but they could not communicate with one another because of the language barrier	none	friendly	Lee was certain that the Osage chief had kept his promise to spread the word that Lee's party would receive safe passage.	Lee, <i>Mormonism Unveiled</i> , 200.
[3 and 5] November 1846	Pawnee Fork	Indians stampeded 5 mules belonging to Santa Fe traders	none	conflict	Lee's party found the missing mules on November 5.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 318.

3 November? 1846	east of Bent's Fort	Pawnees attacked a US train with 28 wagons and 169 mules, burning a wagon and taking most of the mules	see the October 28 and 31 entries	warfare	With only seven mules, train members asserted that Pawnees had "the devil to pay." This must be a reference to the Mann incident.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 43.
5 November 1846	Walnut Creek	2 young Indian boys offered to protect Lee's party	none	cooperation	The boys apparently wanted to guard Lee's horses.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 319.
5 November 1846	Walnut Creek	5 more Indians joined Lee's party	none	friendly	Lee's party provided them food and small gifts.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 319.
5 November 1846	Pawnee Rock	6 Indians offered to protect Lee's party from Pawnees	none	friendly	They also killed a buffalo for Lee's party.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 319.
6 November 1846	Big Cow Creek	12 Kaws had breakfast with Lee's small party	none	friendly	Lee referred to the Kaws as pests.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 320.
6 November 1846	Little Arkansas River	Lee's party left Indians a tired mule as a peace offering	none	friendly	Lee referred to Indians as "Cousin Lemuel."	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 320.
6 November 1846	Cow Creek	2 Kaws ate breakfast with Lee's camp	none	friendly	Ten or twelve other Kaws later sought to trade for Lee's mules.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 320.
November 1846	Kane Creek	Indian signs deterred Lee's party from stopping to care for its sick mules	none	tension		Lee, <i>Mormonism Unveiled</i> , 201.
7 November 1846	Arkansas "Desert"	feeling safe, Lee's party built a fire	none	warfare	Nothing of significance occurred.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 320.
8-10 November 1846	Purgatoire River south of Bent's Fort	Garrard traveled with John "Blackfoot" Smith, and Smith's Cheyenne wife and children	none	friendly	This account illustrates that Euroamericans with Indian wives were important aspects of the trail.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 43.
9 November 1846	Big John Spring	Lee's party met two friendly Kaws	none	friendly	This was common type of encounter with Kaws.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 321.
9 November 1846	Diamond Spring	3 hours after shots were heard at Council Grove, 2 mounted Indians approached Lee's party	none	friendly	Lee did not explain what happened.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 321-22.

10 November 1846		New Mexico territorial governor Charles Bent recommended the establishment of a US army post on the Arkansas to protect the trail and US settlements	none	warfare	Bent's recommendation was probably made in response to the warfare occurring along the trail, mostly in Kansas.	James S. Calhoun, <i>Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun</i> (1915), 8.
12 November 1846	Hurricane Point, 17 miles from Ft. Leavenworth	Lee's party purchased corn and potatoes Shawnee John Fish	none	friendly	Some Shawnees were making money by selling produce to the trail traffic.	Lee, "Diary," (October 1967): 321.
10-29 November 1846	30 to 40 miles south of Bent's Fort	Garrard's party met Cheyennes with William Bent's Cheyenne wife and her mother en route to Bent's Fort	none	friendly		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 48.
10-29 November 1846	30 to 40 miles south of Bent's Fort	Garrard and other traders spent several weeks trading among Cheyennes	none	friendly	Garrard stated that the "white man is always welcome with the Cheyenne, as he generally has mok-ta-bo-mah-pe - coffee."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 48-70.
November 1846	30 to 40 miles south of Bent's Fort	New Mexican traders arrived with dried pumpkins and corn to trade Cheyennes for buffalo robes and meat	none	tension	Smith disrupted the trade by having young Cheyenne men dump the goods on the ground.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 64-65.
2-7 December 1846	Tharpe's Bottom	Cheyennes with Vip-po-nah opened their camp to Bent's traders, including Garrard, Smith, and Smith's family	none	friendly	Cheyennes enjoyed a good relations with traders.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 76-79.
7 December 1846	Salt Bottom	an Arapaho camp with chief Beardy received Bent's traders	none	tension	Unlike the Cheyenne, Arapaho relations with traders were more tense.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 80-81.
7 December 1846	near Salt Bottom	unidentified Indians passed Garrard's party without shaking hands	none	tension	Fearing conflict, Garrard's party traveled as fast and far as it could to avoid trouble.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 81.

7 December 1846 - 7 January 1847	upper Arkansas River and elsewhere	Garrard recorded Cheyenne life and his interaction with several young Cheyenne women, Morning Mist and Smiling Moon	none	friendly	Garrard's romantic account provides a rich source of information about Cheyenne culture.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 83-98.
December 1846	"Kansas"	Pawnees met Lt. John O. Simpson traveling eastward from Bent's Fort	none	tension	An account stated that Pawnees had "not seriously molested" him.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 660.
28 December 1846	few miles outside of Santa Fe	members of a large westbound commissary train told Abert of their frightening contacts with Indians	none	warfare	Albers wrote, they were "greatly annoyed by the Indians, in crossing the prairies; they told us frightful tales of the bold daring of the savages."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 513.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1 January 1847	"Vegas"	Abert asserted that the town was in a state of excitement following the recent depredations	"pastores" killed	warfare	The Arapahos had also "driven off the flocks and herds of the Mexicans."	[James W. Abert], <i>Notes of a Military Reconnaissance</i> (1848), 515-16.
January 1847	Bent's Fort	news of Charles Bent's death at Taos angered Cheyennes	none	friendly	Cheyennes offered to wipe out the Pueblo killers, but William Bent, Charles's brother, declined the offer.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 88-89.
January 1847		US agent Thomas Fitzpatrick recommended a US fort at Great Bend and another at the mouth of the Purgatoire	none		He recommended no travel south from the Upper and Middle Crossings in favor of travel following the Kearny route to Timpas Creek and south over Raton Pass.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 48-49.
7 January 1847	east of Bent's Fort	Lewis Garrard's party feared a Pawnee encounter,	none	warfare	Pawnees had recently taken 40 Cheyenne horses	Lewis H. Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail</i> (1955), 98-99.
8 January 1847	Arkansas River(?)	Garrard's party, with John Simpson Smith and his Cheyenne wife and children, traveled toward Bent's Fort	none	cooperation		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 100-14.
8 January 1847	unspecified	George Ruxton, a British adventurer, noted that Pawnees had captured a Santa Fe-bound US train	none	warfare	Pawnees allowed train members to resume their journey without their wagons and animals. See the October 28, 1846, entries.	George Ruxton, <i>Ruxton of the Rockies</i> (1950), 271.
1847[?]	Arkansas River	Tharpe purchased a Mexican and American Negro from Kiowas	none	friendly	Bent's Fort was a place where Kiowas and Comanches sometimes liberated captives.	<i>Ruxton of the Rockies</i> , 267.

10 January 1847	Arkansas River?	Garrard's party with 30 Arapahos and John Smith traveled to an Arapaho camp headed by Coho and Beardy and had a tense discussion with an Arapaho chief	none	tension	The chief told Smith that "bad" white men had" ran the buffalo out of the country, and starved the Arapaho."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 106-09; Donald J. Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1972), 104.
10 January 1847	Arkansas River?	Pedro, a Mexican with Garrard's party, and Smith, met an Arapaho party	none	fear	Pedro feared the Arapahos, who were returning from a war expedition in New Mexico, would harm him.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 109.
13 January 1847	Big Timber	Garrard's trading party traveled to a Cheyenne camp with William Bent	none	friendly	Garrard saw Smiling Moon and Morning Mist. He became distraught upon learning from Smith that Smiling Moon had married.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 112-22.
14 January 1847	near the mouth of Mission Creek	Kaws ceded their lands north of the Kansas River and accepted a small reservation	none	diplomacy	In April of that year, the Kaws selected a new reservation centered at Council Grove.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 156.
15 January 1847	near Holes in the Prairie	Capt. Murphy warned Abert's party about Arapahos at Chouteau's Island	none	tension	The Arapahos refused to surrender mules with US brands in their possession.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 524.
19 January 1847	Mora	Beckwourth told of the "butchery" of Mr. [L. L.] Waldo and other Americans	8 to 10 Americans killed	warfare	Beckwourth did not indicate who had killed them.	James P. Beckwourth, <i>Life and Adventures</i> (1972), 488, 592 n.
January 1847	Coon Creek	Indians took the last 9 mules belonging to the eastbound Boggs-Seymour party		warfare	Boggs's party continued its journey to Independence on foot.	William Y. Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> (1994), 45-46.
January 1847	unspecified	Osages provided comfort, warmth, and ponies to starving members of the Boggs-Seymour party	none	cooperation	The Osages may have saved the party's lives. On the Kansas River, Kaws guided the party to Fort Leavenworth.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 45-46.
22 January 1847	Big Timbers	Abert's noted that large numbers of Cheyennes were wintered there	none	friendly	The area offered Cheyennes ample supplies of firewood, water, and good grass.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 526.

22 January 1847	Big Timbers	a white trader told Abert about Arapahos returning from Mexico with cattle and scalps		anecdotal	It seems likely that Arapahos conducted in this foray because of hunger.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 527.
22 January 1847	Big Timbers	Cheyenne women exchanged dried buffalo meat for trinkets but took axes, 2 guns, and a bullet pouch from Abert's party	none	tension	Abert commented about the skill of Cheyenne thieves.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 527.
23 January 1847	Big Timbers	Cheyenne women and a chief returned to Abert's camp and the women gave Abert's men more meat and returned some missing items	none	friendly	Accepting a chief's invitation, Abert went to Cheyenne camp and received the remaining stolen objects.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 527.
23 January 1847	Pawnee Fork	Solomon P. Sublette's train found 12 teamsters who had lost all of their mules	none	conflict	Indians had probably taken some of the animals while others froze.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 45.
31 January 1847	Pawnee fort	Abert's party camped near the fort Pawnees had built last fall	none	anecdotal	The forts had existed long before then.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 531.
late January or early February 1847	unspecified	Kaws found 2 half-starved men on the frozen plains	none	cooperation	Two young Kaws guided them to Fort Leavenworth.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 46; Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 663.
6 February 1847	Jackson's Grove, off the normally traveled road	"Pawnees" stole the mules with Abert's party	none	warfare	Abert's group had to pull its wagons by hand. Chalfant believes that it was probably Comanches who conducted the raid.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 534; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 47; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 664-65.

9 February 1847	7 miles west of Ash Creek	Pawnees with a white flag entered Abert's party to offer the soldiers' mules that were across the river	none	tension	The Pawnee leader and five others slept in Abert's crowded tent. Abert warned them not to move around at night because his guards were looking for "thievish Indians and they might be shot by mistake."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 536.
10 February 1847	7 miles west of Ash Creek	Pawnees took Abert to their camp across the frozen river	none	tension	Abert believed that Pawnees had stolen his party's mules. Abert later rejoined his men without the axe used to break the river's ice.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 537.
11 February 1847	7 miles west of Ash Creek	Abert's men wanted to kill Pawnees who had taken their mules, but Abert refused, writing that he "could never kill any of them in cold blood, nor would [he] consent that my men should shoot them down"	none	tension	Pawnees refused to return the mules unless the whites gave them more than the mules' value. When Abert refused to trade, the Indians left in a state of "high irritation."	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 538.
11 February 1847	7 miles west of Ash Creek	Abert's armed men crossed the river to confront Pawnees over the missing axe	none	conflict	Seeing this, the Pawnees gathered their mules and moved out of harms way. Abert stated that the Pawnees "continued to dog our trail" for about twelve miles.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 538.
28 February 1847	Kansas ferry	Abert's party met Indian ferry operators	none	friendly	Ice prevented the ferry operators crossing the river.	Abert, <i>Notes</i> , 546.
March 1847	near Pawnee Fork	Pawnees captured, robbed, and whipped Mr. Brown	Brown whipped	warfare	Rumors indicate that Comanches had captured Brown and killed two men. See the May 22, 1847, and June 1, 1847, entries.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674.

late March 1847	near Hickory Point	2 Sac or Fox Indians attacked Norris Colburn	Colburn killed	conflict	Searchers found his body several weeks later. In 1849, US officials arrested the two men.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 42; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 668.
1847[?]	Arkansas River	trader Tharpe purchased 2 captives held by Kiowas	none	friendly	The captives were a Mexican and an American negro.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 267.
13 April 1847	Arkansas River	Ruxton stated that during the past 6 months Pawnees and Comanches had attacked a party, carrying off livestock	none	anecdotal		Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 270.
[April] 1847	near the Caches	civilians built Ft. Mann on behalf of the US army as a waystation for trains	none	warfare	Within a few months, the post would be converted into a military establishment. This transition marked a shift in the US policy from mounted patrols to the use of military posts to control Indians.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 321; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 669.
April 1847	Council Grove	Albert G. Boone and James G. Hamilton opened a store	none		The store, operated by Seth M. Hays, served Kaws and trail traffic.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 671.
late April 1847	Ft. Mann	Indians "harassed" the Peck-McKnight party	none	warfare	The party apparently took refuge at the fort.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 670.
late April 1847	9 miles east of the Caches	about 90 Comanches attacked a caravan, taking 10 animals		warfare	The travelers returned to Fort Mann for safety.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 682.
late April 1847	Ft. Mann	Comanches attacked, taking 39 mules and horses	Williams wounded	warfare	The caravan attacked nine miles east of the Caches was at the fort.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 682.

27 April 1847	Santa Fe	a correspondence for the St. Louis <i>Reveille</i> John Brown, aka Richard Smith Elliot, reported rumors about Indian and New Mexican threats to the trail	none	tension	Accordingly, Jim Beckwourth was going lead Cheyennes against Euroamericans on the trail and elsewhere. Manuel Cortés, a Mexican "outlaw," planned to raid the U.S. commissary at Los Vegas and the trail. Elliot called for the extermination of the treacherous and violent Pawnees.	<i>The Mexican War Correspondence of Richard Smith Elliot</i> (1997), 183.
1 May 1847	Kaw Mission	Solomon P. Sublette procured corn	none	friendly	It is unclear if he procured the corn from Kaws or others.	"Council Trove, Documents, Government Express, 1847," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 7 (February 1993): 20-21.
early May 1847	Cimarron Crossing	Garrard's party entered a region claimed by Comanches "and his savage competitor, the Pawnee"	none	warfare	Garrard noted that both nations sought to keep the land "preserved inviolate from the track-leaving wood-wasting and game scaring white-man."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 254.
May 1847	between Bent's Fort and Big Timber	6 or 7 of Fremont's men, including a California Indian, met Ruxton's small party	none	cooperation	California Indians accompanied Frémont on several expeditions.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 272.
4 May 1847	Big Timber	Ruxton noted a Cheyenne movement from their winter camp to hunt buffalo	none	friendly		Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 272.
5 May 1847	Pretty Encampment	the Enos and Wise parties met John S. Smith and his Cheyenne wife and 2 children	none	friendly	Enos hired Smith as Fort Mann's "commander" when the teamsters left.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 56.
6 May 1847	Salt Bottom	Ruxton's party entered Pawnee and Comanche country, the danger area	none	warfare	Party members took precautions at night, including arranging their wagons in a square and enclosing the mules.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 273.

May 1847		in Comanche country Enos did not allow stragglers or hunting parties to go too far	none	warfare	This was a standard precaution.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 56.
9 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Comanches attacked a teamster as others watched from the safety of the post	1 teamster killed	warfare	The victim was fishing away from others.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 55.
7 May 1847	just east of Salt Bottom near the Colorado-Kansas line	Ruxton followed signs to a Cheyenne camp of 50 tepees	none	friendly	An old chief pointed out a good camping site, known by the Santa Fe traders as "Pretty Encampment," for Ruxton's party.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 273.
7 May 1847	Pretty Encampment	Cheyenne men, women, and children entered Ruxton's camp	none	friendly	Ruxton wrote that Cheyennes had come to beg and steal "everything they could lay their hands upon, soon became a perfect nuisance."	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 274.
9 May 1847	Chouteau's Island	Ruxton recalled the story of Pawnees attacking Chouteau's party in 1816	none	anecdotal	This story was part of the trail's lore.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 275.
9 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Garrard noted that a few Comanches had attacked 40 armed teamsters	1 worker killed	warfare	Comanches killed a worker who was fishing about 300 yards from the fort.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 255.
11 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Garrard noted that unidentified Indians, possibly Comanches, faced armed teamsters while raiding livestock	1 "savage" fell	warfare	The raiders took fifteen yoke of oxen and forty mules. See the below entry.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 255-56.
11 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Indians attacked the fort's livestock	none	warfare	The attackers took fifteen oxen and forty mules. Workers at the fort feared for their safety.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 55.

12 May 1847	near Pawnee Fork Crossing	Yamparika Comanches with Red Sleeve [Ikanosa] attacked an eastbound Armijo train with 54 men in 18 wagons	Red Sleeve killed and other Comanches wounded	warfare	Kiowas with Satan and other Comanches refused to join the fight because of Red Sleeve's taunting. Comanches took 105 horses and mules.	Mildred P. Mayhall, <i>The Kiowas</i> (1962), 154; George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," (1919-1922): 54.
[12 May] 1847	near Pawnee Fork Crossing	Kiowas held another account of the fight with traders in which Red Sleeve was killed	see the above entry	warfare	Accordingly, Kiowas attacked first and withdrew, then Comanches attacked.	Mayhall, <i>Kiowas</i> , 154.
12 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Ruxton claimed that Pawnees besieged the fort, killing "everyone who showed his nose outside the gate"	none	warfare	Several days previously, they had ran off all the mules.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 279.
13 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Indians besieged Garrard, Capt. Enos, teamsters, and Smith with his family	none	warfare	Enos offered extra pay to convince nine teamsters to stay. Garrard stayed wanting to experience an Indian fight. Smith and his family stayed also. The fort remained a major focal point of conflict.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 256.
May 1847	Pawnee Fork	Pawnees attacked a Mexican wagon train	1 Pawnee killed	anecdotal	Ruxton learned that the attack had occurred several days earlier. Pawnees took 150 mules.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 283.
May 1847	east of Pawnee Fork	Ruxton expressed his fear of a Pawnee encounter	none	warfare		Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 284.
May 1847	east of Pawnee Fork	Ruxton's party took precaution against Indians	none	warfare	Ruxton noted that because of the probability "that Indians were lurking in the neighbourhood, and therefore the rifle always accompanied the fuel hunter."	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 285.

May 1847	between Pawnee Fork and Cow Creek	a California Indian traveled with non-Indians	none	cooperation	Ruxton stated that the California Indian had lassoed some buffalo calves.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 285.
May 1847	Council Grove	Ruxton noted Kaw interaction with a log house built by a trader	none	friendly	A Kaw lodge was there while other Kaws away were hunting buffalo.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 287-88.
May 1847	between Council Grove and the Kansas River	Ruxton stated that the land between Council Grove and Kansas River had been guaranteed to Kaws and Osages by treaty	none		Ruxton was apparently unaware of the 1846 treaty in which Kaws ceded all of their land except for a small reservation centered at Council Grove.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 288; Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties</i> , (1972), 552-53.
May 1847	Kansas River	Ruxton noted that Kaws had log shanties among timbered knolls and cultivated some land	none	friendly		Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 289.
May 1847	Kansas River ferry	Ruxton stated that his party passed a ferry on the Kansas River worked by Indians	none	friendly	The ferry was important to the flow of trail traffic.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 289.
15 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Enos's party and Mann's party wanted to abandon the post because of the Indian threat	none	warfare	Indians controlled the area around the fort.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 57.
15 May 1847	Caches below Pretty Encampment and Pawnee forts	eastbound Alexander Barclay met Cheyennes, including Yellow Wolf's band, and Arapahos	none	friendly	Barclay noted that Cheyennes agreed that Comanches had "hostile views."	"The Memorandum Diary," in <i>The Adventures of Alexander Barclay, Mountain Man</i> (1976), 148.

mid May 1847	Big Coon Creek Crossing	700 Arapahos and Comanches surrounded Santa Fe traders including James C. Bean, and Thomas G. Clarkson	1 Arapaho killed	warfare	Train members captured two Arapahos, killing one who was trying to escape. The conflict lasted several days	Barclay, "Diary," 202 n; Berry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 155.
15 May 1847	Caches below Pretty Encampment and the Pawnee forts	Cheyennes told Barclay that a US train member had recently shot [Old] Tobacco at Arkansas Crossing as he entered a train's camp to warn the travelers about Comanche war plans	Tobacco killed	conflict	This killing was important in terms of Cheyenne-US relations because Tobacco advocated peace. He told his family and friends not to avenge his death because "his friends had killed him without knowing who he was."	Barclay, "Diary," 148; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 107.
16 May 1847	Caches	Barclay learned from the Squire Bean and Independence companies that [James C.] Bean had shot an Arapaho	1 Arapaho killed	warfare	Barclay stated that Bean had killed the man because he had become annoyed with Indians.	Barclay, "Diary," 148.
May 1847	Ft. Mann?	Arapahos made a questionable appearance	none	tension	Arapahos had allegedly joined Comanches to fight trail traffic.	Barclay, "Diary," 148.
22 May 1847	Westport	A. G. Boone heard rumors that Brown had been robbed and lost 2 men	2 men killed	anecdotal	See the March 1847 and June 1, 1847, entries.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674.
22 May 1847	Independence	J. McKnight heard that Comanches had robbed Brown on the Arkansas	see the above entry	anecdotal	See the March 1847 and June 1, 1847, entries.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674.
23 May 1847	Ft. Mann	John Smith and his Cheyenne family departed with a Bent and St. Vrain company train	none	warfare	The departure of Smith and his family illustrates the tenuous situation of Fort Mann.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 262-63; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 58.

23-27 May 1847	between Pawnee Fork and Ft. Mann	Arapahos and Comanches harassed an eastbound US train	none	warfare	At Pawnee Forks, the Indians attempted to take the caravan's livestock. At Coon Creek, seven hundred Comanches captured fifty-one oxen. Train members captured a young Arapaho.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 271; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 60-61.
26 May 1847	Ft. Mann	10 Arapahos attempted to steal the fort's livestock but the post's six-pound cannon encouraged them to abandon the attack and talk peace	none	conflict	An old Arapaho ended the conflict by making peace signs. An Arapaho indicated their chiefs had dissuaded Comanches from attacking the post. The Arapahos accepted gifts of bread, coffee, and tobacco.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 265-66; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 670; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 58-59.
27 May 1847	Ft. Mann	3 Comanches chased Roy into the fort	none	conflict	Roy had left safety of the fort to kill a buffalo.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 267; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 59-60.
27 or 28 May 1847	Walnut Creek	Pawnees, but probably either Arapahos or Comanches, or both, attacked an eastbound caravan with trader William Tharp [Tharpe] and wagons belonging to Bent, St. Vrain and Company	Tharpe and killed	warfare	Fitzpatrick felt that a Delaware named Big Nigger had joined the Comanches' fight against the Santa Fe traffic. Not long after Tharpe's death, the Delaware possessed a rifle belonging to Sharp [Tharp?].	"Diary of Philip Gooch Ferguson, 1847-1848," in <i>Marching with the Army of the West</i> (1936), 304 n; Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1997), 3: 388-89; and Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 270-71.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	300 Arapahos of Warratoria's band camped near Ft. Mann in hopes of recovering the young Arapaho taken captive by a train several days earlier	none	tension	Chalfant stated that the Arapahos and Comanches, had harassed the train for three days. See the mid May 1847 entry.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 60.

28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	2 Arapahos from Warratoria's band approached the fort to ask for whiskey but the request was denied	none	tension	According to Chalfant, Warratoria was "a chief usually noted for his peaceable and friendly disposition toward whites."	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 60.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	about 300 Comanches camped near Ft. Mann	none	tension	Within range of the post's cannon, the Arapahos moved their camp half a mile away.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 670.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	over 300 Arapahos with Warratoria and Beardy sought peace with the small garrison	none	diplomacy	As the Indians approached, fort personnel prepared to fight. Seeking friendship, the Arapahos set up camp 300 yards away on the river banks.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 269-71.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	white Americans returned their young Arapaho captive to his people	none	diplomacy	The Arapahos moved their camp half a mile from the fort.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 270-71.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	traders from Santa Fe camped at the fort sought to keep the Arapahos away from their train	none	tension	Garrard observed that traders in New Mexico had the privilege to keep Indians a respectful distance away from their train.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 30-31.
29 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Fowler's US train arrived after 3 days of conflict with Comanches and Arapahos	none	warfare	The train corralled near the post's gate.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 670.
28 May 1847	Ft. Mann	Fowler's party wanted to fire on the nearby Arapaho camp with the fort's cannon	none	warfare	Ft. Mann personnel rejected the train members' proposal for two reasons. First, it would kill innocent women and children. Second, the fort was too weak to resist an Indian attack.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 670.
28 May through early June 1847	Coon Creek to the Middle Crossing	Comanches and Arapahos harassed the train of James C. Bean, Thomas G. Clarkson, Reynolds, and others	none	warfare	At Coon Creek, Indians took twenty-five head of oxen.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 154-55.

29 May 1847	Ft. Mann	an eastbound caravan with 30 men, including James C. Bean, Thomas G. Clarkson, Mr. Reynolds, and G. W. Hereford, found Warratoria's band of Arapahos camped nearby	none	tension	Despite tension running high, a fight was avoided. Garrard noted that the whites wanted to slaughter the Indians.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 60-61.
30 May 1847	near Ft. Mann	a train with Ceran St. Vrain, Folger, and others mistook Arapahos for Comanches and sought refuge on an island	none	warfare	After a two-hour delay, the train decided to chance it.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 274.
May 1847	Ft. Mann	Arapahos appeared at the fort	none	tension		Barclay, "Diary," 148.
31 May 1847	east of Ft. Mann	Comanches attacked a Mexican train	1 Mexican mortally wounded	warfare		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 271 n.
spring 1847	unspecified	Garrard's party passed an abandoned Cheyenne village where Garrard had visited the preceding winter			Garrard indicated that Cheyennes had moved to another location.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 250.
spring 1847	Arkansas River?	Garrard's party traded in a Cheyenne town	none	friendly		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 250.
spring 1847	near mouth of the Purgatory on the Arkansas	Ruxton noted that a California Indian was traveling with a US army train	none	friendly	The unidentified man was one of Kit Carson's escorts.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 250.
[April or May] 1847	[Great Bend?]	Pawnees attacked a train with Kit Carson, taking 2 horses	none	warfare	They failed to stampede the horses.	Ruxton, <i>Rockies</i> , 272; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 683.

late May and early June 1847	Arkansas River	news arrived in St. Louis on June 25 indicating that 1000 Indians [Arapaho and Comanches] had attacked Bullard, Hooke, and Co.'s wagons	none	anecdotal	The attack forced the train to corral for three days. See the below entry for "Christopher's" account of the fight.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674.
late May and early June 1847	Coon Creek	at Santa Fe, "Christopher" noted that 700 mounted Indians [Arapahos and Comanches] had attacked his train with 30 men, taking 51 oxen	1 Indian killed and several wounded	warfare	Train members captured three Indians, killing one while attempting to escape. The fighting lasted several days over a distance of seventy miles.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674-75.
May or June	unspecified	Indians allegedly took 3 mules belonging to the party of R. T. Edmondson and Lt. B. M. Hawkins	none	warfare		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 688-89.
1 June 1847	Las Vegas	correspondent Elliot reported about the troubled state of Indian relations with the United States	none	warfare	Indians had fought US troops in a Canadian River canyon, killed seventy oxen. Brown was the first contract freighter, stampeded US horses at Wagon Mound.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 194-95.
1 June 1847	St. Louis	The St. Louis <i>Union</i> reported that Pawnees had captured, robbed, stripped, and whipped Mr. [James?] Brown near Pawnee Fork	See March and May 22, 1847 entries.	warfare	Principal men kept others from killing Brown who "succeeded in escaping and his clothes were finally restored to him."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 674.
[2 June?] 1847	Coon Creeks	while traveling with several eastbound trains, Barclay participated in a buffalo hunting frenzy during a time of heightened tensions	none	warfare	Barclay wrote, "Consequent alarm and good behavior of party of Santa Feans-traveled over Coon Creeks with anticipation of seeing Indians-nevertheless everyone dispersed after buffalo the evening we reached Pawnee Fork."	Barclay, "Diary," 148.

[3] June 1847	Ash Creek	Indians, possibly Comanches, attacked an eastbound US train under Capt. Fowler and a Bent and St. Vrain caravan with Barclay	McGuire killed and a Mexican wounded	warfare	McGuire was buried on the banks of Walnut Creek near where Comanches had killed William Tharpe on May 27 or 28. See the May 27 or 28, 1847, entry.	Barclay, "Diary," 148-49; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 89-90; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 688.
7 June 1847	Ft. Leavenworth	Lt. John Love and Company B of the First Dragoons, 80 men, departed Ft. Leavenworth to escort a paymaster en route to Santa Fe, and Thomas Fitzpatrick and John Dougherty	none	warfare	A total of three trains with over sixty wagons accompanied Love.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 689; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 87-90.
11 June 1847	Ft. Mann	a small eastbound train under Coolidge, with 4 wagons and 5 men, arrived and waited to join stronger trains	none	warfare	Comanches were harassing trains at the "Coon Creeks."	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 61-62.
11 June 1847	near Ft. Mann	16 Comanches chased 4 white men, including a member of Coolidge's train, who was hunting buffalo	none	warfare	The four men reached the fort after dark.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 62.
12 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	Indians attacked a US train with Moses Payne and his black slave	1 black slave killed	warfare	A white man narrowly escaped. Eastbound Lt. L. J. Eastin arrived at the scene the following day.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 703.
mid June 1847	old Pecos Pueblo	eastbound James J. Webb's train with 25 to 30 volunteer dragoons took the more risky Cimarron route	none	warfare	Webb's party had the strength to protect their "property and scalps" in spite of the assumption that all Indians, especially Comanches, had "concluded to unite and avenge their wrongs!"	James J. Webb, <i>Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade</i> (1931), 285.

15 June 1847	Ft. Mann	Garrard's celebrated his 18th birthday during a state of war with Comanches	none	warfare	He was surrounded "by the most hostile Indians on the continent, my scalp in danger of sudden hoisting on some yelling Camanche's lance point."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 275.
15 June 1847	Ft. Mann	the California Battalion arrived	none	warfare	According to Garrard, when asked if there was any danger of Pawnees locally, the reply was "Yes, there are a few about, but walk in."	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 278-79.
16 June 1847	Ft. Mann	Garrard departed with 85 men, including 16 escorts under Col. Russell, one of whom was a California Indian	none	warfare	Garrard left because of the Indian threat. The wagons traveled in double file in case of a Comanche or Arapaho attack.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 282.
June 1847	Cimarron River	Webb's party met a westbound train whose members that Indians had harassed	none	warfare	The company warned Webb's company that many Indians, who were more daring than usual, were ahead.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 287.
June 1847	between Cimarron River and Big Bend	Webb reported that Indians had attacked many caravans in which "nearly all had lost one or more men"	none	anecdotal	Other sources support the accuracy of Webb's statement.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 287.
June 1847	Arkansas River?	Indians ambushed 3 men traveling a few rods in front of a Santa Fe-bound company of 8 wagons and about 70 men with F. X. Aubry	1 Aubry party member killed	warfare	Two survivors reached Fort Mann, where they defended themselves for nearly two days. Aubry stated that Indians could have killed them at the risk of losing some men.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 287-88.

June 1847	west of Arkansas River	passing trains warned Webb's company to be aware of an Indian on a white horse	none	warfare	Webb's party was advised to send scouts far enough ahead so they could warn the company to "corral and secure the animals and form in line for defense."	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 288.
June 1847	between Arkansas Crossing and Coon Creek route	Webb, with Capt. Houck and Lt. Elliott, spotted what they believed was an Indian on a white horse	none	false alarm	The object was a raven atop a buffalo skull. This story was published in the St. Louis <i>Weekly Reveille</i> , July 26, 1847.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 288-89.
June 1847	between Little Arkansas and Walnut Creek	Lt. Love's command spotted many Indian signs	none	warfare	Soldiers often reported seeing Indian signs.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 89-90.
June 1847	Walnut Creek	Love's command found the graves of Tharpe and McGuire	none	warfare	Comanches killed William Tharpe on May 27 or 28 and may have killed McGuire on May 3, 1847.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 89-90.
17 June 1847	east of Ft. Mann	an advanced guard belonging to a caravan with Garrard, Col. William H. Russell sighted 400 Comanches	none	warfare	Their caravan corralled in preparation of a fight.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 77-78.
17 June 1847	east of Ft. Mann	approximately 400 mounted Comanches, attacked Garrard's corralled caravan, wounding several oxen	none	warfare	Garrard believed that if the attack had begun before the train corralled, the Indians would have killed all of the travelers.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 283-85.
17 June 1847		US agent Richard W. Cummings announced that the area surrounding Council Grove had been selected as a reservation for the Kaws	none	diplomacy	This location put the Kaws in close contact with the trail, which passed through Council Grove.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 689.

17 June 1847	about 140 miles east of Santa Fe	eastbound correspondent Elliot's party heard from a westbound train about conflict with Indians	none	warfare	Indians had annoyed the train without taking any livestock.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 197.
19 June 1847	Coon Creeks area?	Comanches and Arapahos attacked a US train	none	warfare		Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 157.
19 June 1847	Coon Creeks area	Garrard's train moved eastward cautiously with Indians watching its movement	none	warfare		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 81.
19-21 June 1847	Ft. Mann	400 Comanches and possibly Arapahos launched a series of attacks on the fort	Johnson, Roy, and John Nagle killed ----- 15 Indians killed and 30 wounded	warfare	The victims had left the fort's safety to obtain wood or hunt buffalo. Fort personnel inflicted causalities with a six-pound cannon.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 63; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 671, 683.
21 June 1847	Caches	"F. C. A." reported that Comanches and Arapahos attacked his caravan of 90 US wagons	4 Indians killed and 6 to 8 wounded	warfare	The account indicated that the Indians had "molested" the caravan for four days.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 683.
22 June 1847	"near the grand Arkansas"	John Hughes used racial language to describe an attack by a large Indian force on an eastbound US train that took 80 yoke of oxen	none	anecdotal	Accordingly, the Indians had "wantonly and cruelly slaughtered them [oxen] for amusement and for the gratification of their savage propensities" as the outnumbered teamsters watched.	John T. Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition</i> (1962), 403-04.
late June 1847	Walnut Creek	Garrard and others visited the graves of Tharpe and McGuire	none	anecdotal	Comanches killed William Tharpe on May 27 or 28 and may have killed McGuire on May 3, 1847.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 294- 95.

22 June 1847	Ft. Mann	the beleaguered garrison of 7 men abandoned the fort with a westbound wagon train	none	warfare	Fear of Comanches led to the fort's abandonment.	Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 203 n; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 63.
22 June 1847	west of Pawnee Fork	Garrard's train expected another Comanche attack	none	warfare		Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 290.
22 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	Garrard and others came upon a site where Comanches and traders had fought a battle several days previously, in which 2 or 3 Comanches had died	none	warfare	The whites threw the dead man's skull into the river. Chalfant suggests that the cranium was that of Red Sleeve.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 290 Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 72 n.
23 June 1847	Gum Spring, about 6 miles from Westport	Lt. Col. Alton R. Easton with Companies C, D, and E and a US train camped near a Shawnee church	none	friendly	Easton noted that the spot was "just at the starting point of the Santa Fe Trail." He made no reference to Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 691.
23 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	50 to 60 Comanches and perhaps Kiowas, attacked Fagan's corralled train of over 30 wagons	1 Comanche killed ----- 3 or 4 train members wounded	warfare	Camped across the river was Col. Russell and his escorts, with Garrard and a large eastbound US train under Bell.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 293; Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 380; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 90-91.
23 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	following the attack on Fagan's party, 50 to 60 Comanches crossed the river and drove off 200 head of unprotected oxen with the Bell-Russell train	none	warfare	Indians killed most of the trains' oxen. Fitzpatrick attributed the success of the attack to the "imbecility and bad management of the party." Party members had failed to corral their livestock in time.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 380; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 92-93.

23 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	Lt. Love and his dragoons reached the site where Comanches had attacked the Fagan and Hayden trains	none	warfare	Love promised to avenge the attacks and escort the westbound trains to Santa Fe.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 93; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 692.
24 June 1847	Pawnee Fork	Lt. Love's command escorted an unruly train under Hayden	none	warfare	Lt. Love ordered the trains to travel and camp as near to him as possible. Hayden's train camped at an unsafe distance.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 380-81.
25 or 26 June 1847	near Coon Creek	Arapahos or Comanches attacked a mail train with Francis X. Aubry	1 white killed	warfare		Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 156.; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 675, 700.
25 June 1847	between Arkansas Crossing and Coon Creek route	Webb's party saw a picketed horse across the river	none	warfare	Although members of Webb's party claimed the horse by right of discovery, fear of a trap kept them from obtaining the animal.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 290.
late June 1847	Arkansas River	eastbound correspondent Elliot saw a company placing rear and front guards and encircling its wagons in two columns	none	warfare	This report reflects on a common precaution employed by caravans.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 198.
26 June 1847	between Sand Creek and the Arkansas	eastbound correspondent Elliot reported about the troubled state of Indian relations with the United States	3 whites killed at Ft. Mann	warfare	Elliot learned that Indians had taken six mules from a caravan of US supply trains and had attacked Fort Mann. The Indians were "very bad." Seven survivors with the trains had abandoned Fort Mann.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 197-98.
26 June 1847	Coon creeks area	250 to 300 Comanches attacked Hayden's train, with about 30 wagons, after train members let their cattle of the corral to grave	3 train members wounded	warfare	Hayden had disobeyed Love's order by moving too rapidly and camping beyond US military protection.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 381; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 90, 93-96.

26 June 1847	Ft. Mann	Comanches attacked 25 dragoons under Sgt. Bishop sent by Lt. Love to aid Hayden's train, and drove off 320 oxen, causing the abandonment of 17 wagons	25 Indians supposedly killed and possibly 50 wounded -----5 soldiers killed and 6 wounded	warfare	This fight illustrates Comanches' military capacity.	Ferguson, "Diary," 295, 295 n; Hughes, <i>Doniphan's Expedition</i> , 404; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 95-100; Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 382; Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondence</i> , 200.
27 June 1847	dry route	Love sought mules from Webb's train so he would not have to leave anyone behind or request mules from Ft. Leavenworth	none	warfare	This incident indicates an effect of the Comanche attack	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 290-92, 293 n., 298.
[30?] June 1847	near Big Coon Creek	Webb's party feared an Indian attack at Pawnee Fork	none	warfare	The expected attack did not occur.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 293-94.
30 June 1847	on the road from the Arkansas to Pawnee Fork	Fitzpatrick with small dragoon detachment met some discharged U.S. volunteers, with Richard E. Smith, traveling with a wagon train bound from Independence	none	warfare	Fitzpatrick related news about the casualties suffered by Lt. Love's command in a fight with Indians several day previously. Smith's command expected an attack. See the June 26 entry.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 183.
30 June 1847	trail along the highlands to Pawnee Fork	eastbound correspondent Elliot's train saw approaching men	none	false alarm	Although Elliot's corralled their wagons, it was a party of US dragons with US agent Fitzpatrick who stated the position of Indians. Fitzpatrick noted the defeat of Lt. Love's command.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 198.
late June or early July 1847	Pawnee Fork	unspecified Indians attacked the Coolidge train	none	warfare	The raiders probably made off with provisions but left some behind.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 294-95.

late June or early July 1847	Pawnee Fork	Webb's party found what was left of Coolidge's goods and a few scattered wagons	none	warfare	Despite the raid, Webb indicated that Coolidge held sympathetic views for Indians.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 294-95.
late June or early July 1847	Pawnee Rock	an Arrow Rock trader warned Webb's train about danger from Comanches, implicating Osages and border Indians as accomplices	none	warfare	The trader stated that the caravan, although beyond the usual Comanche range, was vulnerable because border Indians, especially Osages, had joined Comanches and "have some fun and take some scalps, and return as friendly Indians. . ."	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 295.
late June or early July 1847	Pawnee Rock	[Henry C.?] Miller believed that Osages who had visited his camp on Walnut Creek were in disguise and with a war party that had ran off his party's cattle	none	anecdotal	Other report implicated Osage involvement in the raiding.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 295-96.
late June or early July 1847	just east of Big Bend	approaching Indians who identified themselves as Wazhazhe [Osages] and a few Sacs and Foxes, caused Webb's party to corral their animals and assume defensive positions	none	tension	Webb's party, fearing deception from the "treacherous devils," allowed the Osages to travel near them toward Plum Buttes. Sacs and Foxes joined them. Despite the fears, the Osages and whites separated as friends.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 297-98.
late June or early July 1847	Pawnee Fork	Indians attacked 2 US trains bound for Santa Fe	1 train member slightly wounded	warfare	Fitzpatrick reported this attack on September 18.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 380.
July 1847	Council Grove	a <i>Missouri Republican</i> report noted that 20 to 30 wigwams and a smith shop that repaired wagons and shoed horses were there	none	friendly	Council Grove became an important stopover and repair spot.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 672.

July 1847	Santa Fe Trail	8 companies of Missouri mounted volunteers escorted US and trader trains	none	warfare	US officials sought to stop the raiding with a military buildup.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 696-97.
early July	Coon Creek	eastbound correspondent Elliot's train met parties of Osages and Sacs on the plains	none	friendly	Elliot's party initially believed the Indians were "hostile." Elliot's companions provided them tobacco. Although not fully trusting the Osages, Elliot indicated that his crew felt safer than they had in sometime.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 198, 202-03.
early July 1847	east of Cow Creek	Webb's party saw a few Kaws	none	friendly	Webb wrote, "We now breathed free and felt a great relief, as we were so near out of the land of our enemies."	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 298.
early July 1847	east of Council Grove	Webb's party met 5 infantry companies under Col. Alton Easton that had departed Ft. Leavenworth in response to the Comanches fight with Love's command	none	warfare	US officials sought to stop the raiding with a military buildup.	Webb, <i>Adventures</i> , 299.
1 July 1847	Council Grove	Company B of Easton's infantry found traders awaiting military escorts		warfare	Reports of Indian attacks created fear among traders.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 104-05.
2 July 1847	Council Grove	Garrard with another party, including a California Indian, left the train hoping to reach the frontier towns in 3 days	none	cooperation	Travelers considered the road east of Council Grove as safe.	Garrard, <i>Wah-To-Yah</i> , 296.
2 July 1847	Council Grove	E. N. O. Clough, a member of Easton's battalion, saw several bark wigwams	none	friendly	Clough was referring to Kaw dwellings.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 671-72.
3 July 1847	Council Grove	news of Lt. Love's defeat arrived	none	warfare	The battle received widespread news coverage.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 691.

3 July 1847	Westport	Ferguson, a Missouri mounted volunteer, described the dress of young Indian woman	none	friendly	Ferguson noted that a young women among them was "arrayed in fantastic robes and wearing on her head a high-crowned hat decorated with glittering tin plates, jingling bells, etc."	Ferguson, "Diary," 293-94.
3-4 July 1847	Gum Spring, 8 miles from Westport	Ferguson camped near the Shawnee meeting house and had breakfast with a Frenchman who had an Indian wife and two "half-breed" daughters	none	friendly	He also noted the location of Delaware and Wyandot lands.	Ferguson, "Diary," 294.
4 July 1847	Kansas River	Ferguson noted that Shawnees owned one ferry and Delawares another	none	friendly	He also stated that Indian women along the road sold whiskey, many Indians had converted to Christianity, and many were educated.	Ferguson, "Diary," 294.
4 July 1847	Cimarron River	Comanches and renegade Mexicans attacked a party of US soldiers and civilians	none	warfare	The Indians took a mule and killed another while driving off seventeen oxen.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 707.
5 July 1847	Ft. Leavenworth	news of Lt. Love's defeat arrived	none	warfare	It took until July 9 before a force was sent to relieve Love's command.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 702.
8 July 1847	Council Grove	eastbound correspondent Elliot reported about the troubled state of Indian relations with the United States	none	warfare	US troops had gone against those Indians who had fought soldiers on the Cimarron on May 26. The pursuing troops only found a few recent Indian burials.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 195.
9 July 1847	Ft. Leavenworth	Ferguson's unit received orders to relieve Love's command by a forced march	none	warfare	News of the fight had arrived four days earlier.	Ferguson, "Diary," 295.

July 1847	Lost Springs or Cottonwood Crossing	Easton's patrols failed to find Indians	none	warfare	The Indians were highly skilled in the art of guerilla warfare.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 106.
10 July 1847	Shawnee meeting house	Indians had gathered regarding reports of smallpox at Ft. Leavenworth	none	friendly	They received vaccinations.	Ferguson, "Diary," 296-97.
10 July 1847	Shawnee campground	Illinois infantry volunteers stopped there	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 700-01.
10 July 1847	near Shawnee meeting house	Ferguson and another soldier went to the house of the Frenchman with an Indian wife to purchase a meal	none	tension	Fearful of catching smallpox, the inhabitants fled when they saw Ferguson approaching. He assured them that the reports of the smallpox epidemic at the fort were false.	Ferguson, "Diary," 297.
July 1847	Cottonwood Creek	eastbound correspondent Elliot saw a caravans of US supply trains and US soldiers with large numbers of livestock		warfare	Elliot believed that Indians would take many of the numerous head of cattle.	Elliot, <i>Mexican War Correspondent</i> , 198-99.
11 July 1847	Shawnee campground	Illinois infantry volunteers attended church with Shawnees	none	friendly	The service was held in the "Indians' large log meeting house."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 701.
11 July 1847	Kansas River, 25 miles west of Shawnee meeting house	Ferguson's command camped near a house belonging to Indian named Rogers	none	friendly	Ferguson noted that Roger's daughters spoke English well and were very intelligent.	Ferguson, "Diary," 298.
13 July 1847	east of 110 Mile Creek	Sacs returning from a buffalo hunt camped with US soldiers	none	friendly	An officer cautioned his men to be watchful because they were entering enemy country.	Ferguson, "Diary," 299.
13 July 1847	west of Pawnee Rock	Indians, possibly Comanches, attacked a caravan under Grooms taking cattle and a wagon	1 train member killed	warfare	Barry placed the attack on July 14. See the July 15, 1847, entry.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 106; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 703.

15 July 1847	Council Grove	Ferguson repeated the myth of Council Grove being an annual meeting place for various Indian nations	none	anecdotal		Ferguson, "Diary," 299.
15 July 1847	Council Grove	Ferguson used derogatory terms to describe Kaws and saw Kaw graves on a bluff	none	friendly	Referring to the Kaws, he wrote, "a dirty, lazy set whose doleful songs at night disturbed my slumbers."	Ferguson, "Diary," 300.
15 July 1847	near Pawnee Rock	Grooms informed Easton that 2 nights earlier Indians, probably Comanches, had attacked his train, killing a man and taking livestock	see July 13, 1847, entry	warfare	.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 106.
17 July 1847	Council Grove	Ferguson's captain gave his men another "war-speech"	none	warfare		Ferguson, "Diary," 300.
[17 July] 1847	Ft. Leavenworth	Carson received 50 Missouri volunteer escorts the trail because Comanches were at war	none	warfare	Carson was en route from Washington, DC, to California	Christopher Carson, <i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 120.
20 July 1847	6 or 7 miles east of the Lower Crossing	Comanches ambushed 25 to 50 unarmed members of Easton's command who had crossed the Arkansas for firewood	8 soldiers killed and 4 wounded ----- possibly 1 Comanche killed and 1 wounded	warfare	Soldiers firing from across the river inflicted the casualties. While withdrawing an Indian yelled in English, "Come on, if you will fight." See Barry for a listing of the casualties.	Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 106-07; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 705.
20 July 1847	Washington, DC	The US war secretary authorized the organization of 500 Missouri volunteers for service on the trail	none	warfare	Under the command of Lt. Col. William Gilpin, the battalion was known as "Gilpin's battalion," "Indian battalion," "Arkansas battalion," and "Santa Fe trace battalion."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 715.

21 July 1847	Little Arkansas	a US soldier saw an Indian and Indian signs	none	warfare	Soldiers often reported seeing Indian signs.	Ferguson, "Diary," 300-01.
22 July 1847	west of the Little Arkansas	20 soldiers, including Ferguson, forgot about Indians when they saw buffalo	none	warfare	The soldiers were deployed in response to a report that Indians planned a secret attack.	Ferguson, "Diary," 302.
22 July 1847	Cow Creek	suspecting an Indian attack, Jones's command formed a battle line	none	warfare		Ferguson, "Diary," 303-04.
24 July 1847	Pawnee Rock	Ferguson claimed that the feature's name came from a bloody fight there between Indians and traders	none	anecdotal	This story was part of the trail's lore.	Ferguson, "Diary," 304.
24 July 1847	Walnut Creek	Ferguson's command reached the grave of William Tharpe	none	warfare	The grave reminded Euroamericans about Indian violence.	Ferguson, "Diary," 305, 305n.
24 July 1847	near Ash Creek	responding to a false report that Indians had driven off livestock from a Mexican train, mounted soldiers charged	none	false alarm	The incident left the soldiers "pretty tired" and "considerably vexed."	Ferguson, "Diary," 305.
25 July 1847	Pawnee Fork	Ferguson noted that numerous fights had occurred there	none	anecdotal	He mentioned that Indians taken a hundred horses from Armijo's train. He recounted a story saying that an Armijo's man had kill an Indian and sold his scalp in Independence for three dollars.	Ferguson, "Diary," 306.
25-26 July 1847	Pawnee Fork	while on night guard, Ferguson imagined seeing Indians crossing the stream	none	warfare	This was a common experience.	Ferguson, "Diary," 306.
26 July 1847	west of Pawnee Fork	Ferguson's command passed several empty wagons that Indians had recently robbed	none	warfare	The report reflected on an effectiveness of the Indians' defensive campaign.	Ferguson, "Diary," 306-07.

29 July 1847	Ft. Mann	Ferguson gave a brief history of Ft. Mann, asserting falsely that Indians had attacked Lt. Love's command there	none	anecdotal	Travelers often misrepresented the history of the trail.	Ferguson, "Diary," 307.
30 July 1847	Cimarron River	the <i>St. Louis Reveille</i> noted a skirmish between Comanches and Capt. McNair's detachment	none	warfare	Newspapers carried information, however truthful, about the fighting.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 8 (November 1993): 27.
1 August 1847	Pawnee Rock [Ash Creek]	Comanches attacked a large train with US volunteers en route to New Mexico with Carson and his 50 escorts	3 volunteers wounded ----- 6 to 8 Indians killed	warfare	Comanches took twenty-six horses and all of the train's cattle, which were recaptured.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 120-21; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 110-11; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 704.
5 August 1847	Pawnee Fork	Missouri volunteer Pvt. Thomas B. Lester saw two graves, one apparently that of a "negro boy"	none	warfare	It is possible that the first grave belonged to Moses Payne's slave. See the June 12, 1847, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 703.
7 August 1847	Barclay's Fort?	Barclay learned about Comanche depredations during the summer near Pawnee Fork	none	warfare	Word about conflict spread over the trail.	Barclay, "Diary," 149.
16 August 1847	Wagon Mound	Ferguson reported the aftermath of an Indian attack, stating that oxen remains were littered across the ground	none	warfare	Accordingly, the animals had been speared not for food but to rob and impoverish their enemy.	Ferguson, "Diary," 314.
20 August 1847	Pecos Pueblo	Ferguson repeated a fable alleging Montezuma's relationship with the pueblo	none	anecdotal		Ferguson, "Diary," 315-16.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick met Cheyennes to ascertain which Indians were plundering and robbing travellers on the Santa Fe road"	none	diplomacy	Fitzpatrick sought information so US soldiers would punish the guilty. He advised Cheyennes to adopt agriculture.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 384.

29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick rejected Yellow Wolf's offer for Cheyennes to help punish Comanches	none	diplomacy	Yellow Wolf noted that the US military lacked strength to carry out a punitive expedition.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 384.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Yellow Wolf told Fitzpatrick that his people had witnessed the buffalos' decrease and were willing to learn to raise corn	none	diplomacy	Yellow Wolf's statement, however sincere, indicates the growing effects of US expansion on Cheyenne life.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 384.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Yellow Wolf told Fitzpatrick that Cheyennes still mourned the death of Old Tobacco while stating the whites had violated the Cheyenne concept of justice	none	diplomacy	Fitzpatrick stated that Indian custom dictated payment for someone's death, whether accidental or deliberate. He lacked the ability to satisfy Cheyennes.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 385.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Arapahos met Fitzpatrick in council about matters of war and peace and agreed to assemble all Arapahos for another meeting	none	diplomatic	The Arapahos stated that some of their people had joined Comanches to fight white Americans.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 385.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick used racial stereotypes to reflect on the alleged characteristics of Cheyennes and other Indians	none		He stated that Cheyennes seemed serious about their friendship with the US government and their willingness to adopt agriculture.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 385.
29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick reported that Arapahos were becoming more insolent on account of Comanches and Kiowas	none	warfare	Fitzpatrick stated that Comanches and Kiowas wanted other Indians to join the war against Americans, telling them that "the whites on the Santa Fe road [are] as easily killed as elk or buffalo."	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 386.

29 August 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick believed that Delawares and Osages had joined Comanches in fighting the US government on the trail	none	warfare	Others expressed this same perspective regarding the Osage.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 388.
30 August 1847	Cow Creek	a Missouri volunteer reported seeing abundant Indian signs		warfare	The account indicated that his command had 3,500 animals to guard but they had not lost any of them.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 698.
3 September 1847	near Arkansas Crossing	a Missouri volunteer was reported as "lost"	1 soldier killed	warfare	Those who killed him was not stated.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 716.
18 September 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick reported on the troubled state of Indian-US relation in New Mexico casting all Indians as being involved in the fighting	none	warfare	Fitzpatrick views of Indian culpability reflect a commonly held Euroamerican attitude.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 382-83.
18 September 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick reported that Kiowas and Comanches had moved south, indicating that conflict along the trail would diminish for the time being	none	warfare	He heard that some Arapahos, Delawares, and Osages had joined Kiowas and Comanches. He called for the violent subjugation of all Indians who harmed whites.	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 388-89.
18 September 1847	Bent's Fort	Rejecting a conciliatory and humane policy, Fitzpatrick used racial language to call for the violent suppress of Indian opposition to trail travel	none	warfare	"This lesson," he wrote, "once taught, and our ability and willingness to punish insult and injury shown, I repeat, is all that is required to make the inhabitants of this country quiet and peaceable."	Fitzpatrick, "Appendix," 389.
19 October 1847	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick reported the extent of conflict along the trail during the spring and summer	27 to 60 travelers killed	warfare	He wrote that Indians had killed twenty-seven white men but Arapahos told him that Comanches and Kiowas claimed to have killed sixty travelers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 722.

25 October 1847	near Ft. Mann	at night Pawnees attacked Wethered's party of 19 wagons	1 Indian killed	warfare	See the below entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 724.
26 October 1847	near Ft. Mann	at night Pawnees attacked Wethered's party with 19 wagons	none	warfare	The reported motive for this second attack was revenge.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 724.
late October 1847	near New Mexico border	Indians encountered Aubry, Boggs, A. P. Kean, and others	none		The context of the meeting was not given.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 719.
9? November 1847	Ft. Mann	Gilpin left 3 infantry companies, about 270 officers and men, to "repair and enlarge" the post	none	warfare	Gilpin and his cavalry departed for Bent's Fort.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 720-21.
November 1847	Bent's Fort	Gilpin and 2 volunteer companies arrived to "quite" Cheyennes and Arapahos	none	warfare	Bent, who had a Cheyenne wife and four children with her, was on good terms with those Indians.	Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 79.
November 1847		Cheyennes and Arapahos ended their relations with Comanches and tried to convince Kiowas to do likewise	none	warfare	See the February 1848 entry.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 111.
November 1847	Big Timber	Gilpin and his cavalry went into winter quarters	none	warfare	Big Timber was a frequent Indian camp site.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 111.
16 November 1847	Ft. Mann	Missouri volunteers fired on some 60 Pawnees who had been invited into the fort	4 Pawnees killed and 15 to 20 wounded	warfare	The St. Louis <i>New Era</i> blamed the massacre on Captain William Pelzer for disobeying orders by allowing Indians to enter the post.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 727, 755, 760.
between 21 November and 13 December 1847	Cimarron River?	Indians chased Jim Beckwourth, a military courier, from the crossing of the Red River [Cimarron?]	none	warfare	Beckwourth took an alternative route to Ft. Mann, where he obtained fresh mounts because pursuing Indians [possibly Pawnees] had worn down his mules.	<i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , February 12, 1848, quoted in Elinor Wilson, <i>Jim Beckwourth</i> (1972), 110.

between 21 November and 13 December 1847	Pawnee Forks	Beckwourth fled from a large Pawnee party	none	warfare	Beckwouth, by his own account, had a troubled relationship with Pawnees.	<i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , 110.
December 1847	Arkansas River?	Beckwourth and his eastbound companions hid among willows all day when they saw Pawnees hunting buffalo	none	tension	They reached Ft. Leavenworth without further difficulties. Beckwourth felt animosity for Pawnees.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 478; and <i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , 110,
between 21 November and 13 December 1847	Cow Creek	Beckwourth feared trouble, but the man he saw turned out to be a Kaw	none	friendly	Beckwouth apparently had positive relations with Kaws.	<i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , 110.
December 1847	Arkansas River	westbound Beckwourth, with a young traveling companion, met 1,000 Comanches who wanted his companion's scalp	none	conflict	Beckwourth stated that Comanches had the fresh scalps of nine white men. He discouraged them from harming the boy. After coffee, the Comanches moved on.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 479-80.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1848		Lt. Col. Gilpin recommended forts placed at Pawnee Fork, Middle Crossing, Pretty Encampment, Canadian Crossing, and the junctions of the Mora and Sapello rivers	none	conflict	Gilpin's recommendation illustrates that some officers wanted the US army to take a more proactive approach to protect the trail.	William Y. Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> (1994), 49.
January 1848	Arkansas River	returning to Santa Fe from Ft. Leavenworth, Jim Beckwourth with Isaac and an unidentified young Kentuckian, met 1,000 Comanches with 9 fresh scalps	none	conflict	Beckwourth saved the boy by saying he was his relative. After coffee, the Comanches moved on. A February 12, 1848, Santa Fe <i>Republican</i> account of Beckwourth's trip does not mention this event.	James P. Beckwourth, <i>Life and Adventures</i> (1972), 479-80.
January 1848	Ft. Mann	Beckwourth and Isaac delayed their trip by a day after learning that Comanches and Pawnees were on the road	none	warfare	Failing to link up with US soldiers, the pair resumed their journey. Two US companies were quartered at Ft. Mann.	<i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , February 12, 1848, in Elinor Wilson, <i>Jim Beckwourth</i> (1972), 110.
January 1848	2 days west of Ft. Mann	Beckwourth and Isaac fired on 11 Pawnees without provocation and fled	5 Pawnees "leveled," [possibly 2 killed and 3 wounded]	warfare	The Santa Fe <i>Republican</i> reported this incident.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 480-81, 591; <i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , February 12, 1848, in Wilson, <i>Beckwourth</i> , 110-11.
January 1848	Arkansas River	Black Shield [Black Knife?] told his plan to Beckwourth about fighting Euromericans and asked for gunpowder	none	tension	Beckwourth promised to provide the gunpowder, but failed to do so.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 480-83, 591.
January 1848	Vermeho [Mermeho] to Mora	Apaches chased Beckwourth's party of 3 and Bent and St. Vrain employees to the Moro	none	warfare	On February 12, 1848, the <i>Santa Fe Republican</i> reported that Apaches pursued the party to Mora.	<i>Santa Fe Republic</i> , in Wilson, <i>Beckwourth</i> , 111.

February 1848	Bent's Fort	Kiowa leaders expressed regret to US agent Thomas Fitzpatrick for having joined Comanches in war against the United States	none	diplomacy	The Kiowas planned to move among friendly Cheyennes.	Thomas Fitzpatrick, Thirtieth Congress-Second Session, <i>Ex. Doc. No 1. House of Representatives</i> , in <i>News of the Plains and Rockies</i> (1997), 3: 399.
10 or 11 March 1848	near Bent's Fort	with reinforcements, Gilpin setout for New Mexico on against Comanches	none	warfare	Gilpin's troops fought Indians south of the trail.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 733.
spring 1848	Mora area	while patrolling the trail, Gilpin's troop fought Comanches	none	warfare		<i>The Adventures of Alexander Barclay, Mountain Man.</i> (1976), 79.
2 May 1848	near Purgatoire	Alexander Barclay "slept on creek above [the Purgatory] after alarm of Indians"	none	warfare	Barclay was apparently traveling southward on trail.	Alexander Barclay, "Memorandum Diary," in George Hammond, <i>Barclay</i> , 156.
7 May 1848	Rayado Creek	Barclay "nooned on the Riow [Rayado] after the alarm of the Apaches"	none	warfare		Barclay, "Diary," 156.
early May 1848	30 miles east of Ft. Mann	25 Comanches attacked Mr. Fink's party	1 Mexican wounded	warfare	<i>The Daily Reveille</i> published an account of this incident on May 31.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 751.
about 15 May 1848	5 miles south of Arkansas Crossing	Maj. William Singer's party of 7 fled to Ft. Mann after seeing 150 mounted [Kiowa] Indians	none	warfare	Singer's party left its baggage, horses, mules and a wagon.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 750.
about 15 May 1848	Ft. Mann	Capt. William Pelzer with 65 soldiers pursued Indians who had frightened Singer's party	none	warfare	Finding 150 Indians, Pelzer returned to the fort. Lt. Caleb S. Tuttle continued to scout.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 750.
on or about 18 May 1848	Ft. Leavenworth	71 "raw" Missouri volunteers under Lt. William Royall departed to escort US trains	none	warfare		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 757.

May 1848	Ft. Mann area	Santa Fe-bound Leitensdorfer and Webb train members visited Kiowa camps	none	friendly	The traders recovered Major Singer's property from the "peaceful" Kiowas.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 750.
late May 1848	near Pawnee Fork	Indians delayed Francis Aubry's eastward travel	none	warfare	Aubry lost his "baggage, provision, packages of letters &c" but it is unclear if Indians were responsible.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 754.
30 May 1848	Ft. Mann	Gilpin held peace talks with Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders who wanted a peace treaty	none	diplomacy	Gilpin told the Indians to move away from the trail to the Platte River. Comanches refused to participate in the talks.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 112; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 755.
30 May 1848		with the Mexican War's end, New Mexico became part of the United States	none		The entirety of the trail now fell under US control by the power of conquest.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 755.
late June or early May 1848	Walnut Creek	Comanches attacked Brown's train	1 train member killed	warfare	The man was apparently the only Euroamerican killed by Indians in Kansas in that year.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 755.
7 June 1848	Pawnee Fork	200 Indians, possibly Comanches and others, attacked encamped US soldiers under Lt. Phillip Stremmel and 64 Gilpin volunteers	5 Indians reportedly killed and 10 wounded	warfare	Armed mostly with lances and bows and arrows, the Indians took twenty-two horses and mules.	Phillip Stremmel, <i>Message from the President of the United States</i> (1848), 144-46; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 759.
10 June 1848	Ft. Mann	Gilpin sent 50 men under Lt. Ashley Gulley to aid Stremmel	none	warfare	This force and Royall's command fought Comanches and Apaches on June 18.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 759.
16 June 1848	Barclay's Fort	Barclay received news of "Apache depredations on the Greenhorn"	none	anecdotal	Benito delivered the message from Mora.	Barclay, "Diary," 158.

[17 June] 1848	Manco Burro Pass	[Jicarilla] Apaches attacked 17 to 18 travelers resting at a creek, inflicting casualties and taking two children captive	5 trail travelers killed and 7 wounded	warfare	Two children, Mary and James Tharp, were captured. Charles Towne, Blackhawk [a Delaware], Pascual Riviera, José Cortez, and José Carmel died while Elliot Lee, Lucien Maxwell, and six others were wounded. Taos merchants later ransomed the children.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 489, 593 n. For a list of those killed see, Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 257; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 756-77.
May or June 1848	unspecified	westbound Beckwourth met Black Shield and other Apaches and discussed gunpowder that Beckwourth had failed to deliver	none	friendly	Beckwourth misdated this meeting, indicating that it had occurred in 1847.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 488-89.
17? June 1848	Santa Fe	Col. E. W. B. Newby warned dispatch-carrier Carson that warring "Comanches" were watching the roads	none	warfare	En route to Washington, DC, Carson avoided potential conflict by traveling north to the South Platte to Ft. Kearney and then to Ft. Leavenworth.	Harvey L. Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit'</i> (1968), 119-21.
18 June 1848	Coon Creek Bottom or mouth of Coon Creek	Indians, principally Comanches and Osages, attacked a civilian-military force [200 strong] under Lt. William B. Royall, 64 of Gilpin's battalion artillerymen with 2 six pounders, and about 60 US wagons	9 Indians reportedly killed and others wounded	warfare	Carrying new breech-loading carbines, the soldiers and trains lost 15 "military" horses and five horses and mules. See the below entry for information about the fight's second part .	Stremmel, <i>Message from the President</i> , 144-46; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 758; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 215-27.
18 June 1848	Coon Creek Bottom or mouth of Coon Creek	in the fight's second part, fleeing Indians lured Lt. Royall and 38 soldiers into an ambush set by 500 to 700 Indians	15 Indians killed and others wounded ----- 4 soldiers wounded	warfare	Soldiers saw a female dressed in scarlet attending to wounded Indians. The wounded soldiers were James Moody, J. L. Henry, John C. Slocum, and James Roop.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 758; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 215-27.
23 June 1848	Mora	Barclay received a message of "Apache & Rafael García <i>rencontre</i> "	none	tension	Barclay's entry is not clear	Barclay, "Diary," 158.

27 June 1848	Barclay's Fort	Barclay learned about the "Manco Burro Pass fight resulting in the death of Charles Town, Black Hawk, and a "Spaniard" at the hand of Utes and Apaches	none	anecdotal	Black Hawk and Little Beaver were Delawares. This news concerned Barclay because of the vulnerability of the post was building. See the June 17, 1848, entry.	Barclay, "Diary," 158-59.
late June and early July 1848		Beckwourth reported the presence of Indians on the plains	none	report	The <i>Jefferson Inquirer</i> stated, "Jim Beckwith [sic] and three others crossed the plains with an express, represent the Indians as collecting in large bodies."	<i>Jefferson Inquirer</i> , July 22, 1848, quoted in Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 590.
late June or early July 1848	just east of Bent's Fort	eastbound couriers Beckwourth, half-Cherokee Charles McIntosh, and Henry Hamilton met Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and others in about 1,000 lodges	none	report	Beckwourth feared that Pawnees had cutoff Kit Carson. Beckwourth misdated this incident to Bonner as occurring in 1846.	<i>Warsaw (Mo.) Saturday Morning Visitor</i> , July 29, 1848, quoted in Wilson, <i>Beckwourth</i> , 111-12; Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 495.
late June or early July 1848	near Wagon Mound	Beckwourth and McIntosh heard gunshots coming from a westbound train that Apaches had attacked	none	warfare	Beckwourth and McIntosh continued their journey in spite of a warning about Apaches.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 497.
late June or early July 1848	east of Wagon Mound	Apaches hosted Beckwourth and McIntosh	none	friendly	Beckwourth and McIntosh had taken a circuitous route to avoid the Apaches.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 497.
July 1848	unspecified	Beckwourth and McIntosh met an American party that Comanches had attacked	none	warfare	The Americans told Beckwourth and McIntosh that the Comanches had stolen a horse.	Beckwourth, <i>Life</i> , 497.
summer 1848	Santa Fe	Brewerton noted Navajos hostage among settlers	none	friendly	The settlers planned to exchange them for captives and stolen property in Navajo possession.	George Brewerton, <i>Overland with Kit Carson</i> (1930), 198.
1848	near Pawnee Fork	Indians pursued Aubry	Aubry wounded	warfare	He reached Independence with a blood-stained saddle.	Brewerton, <i>Overland</i> , 258.

1848	"Great Prairies"	3 Comanches chased Brewerton, who was hunting buffalo on foot	none	warfare	This incident illustrates that Comanches did not want intruders in their buffalo herds.	Brewerton, <i>Overland</i> , 273-74.
1848	near Cottonwood Creek?	Brewerton with his crew met a Sac and Fox party returning from a buffalo hunt	none	friendly	Immigrant Indians periodically used the trail.	Brewerton, <i>Overland</i> , 278-79.
7 July 1848	Ft. Mann area	Capt. Griffin and 100 Missouri volunteers departed on a Comanche-hunting expedition south of the trail and returned on July 12	none	warfare	Located in the heart of Indian country, Ft. Mann served as a staging site for US military operations.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 764.
9 July 1848	Cimarron River, south of trail	Griffin's command engaged Comanches, killing 25 to 30 of them while two soldiers were wounded. Other sources indicated that Comanches suffered only a few casualties.	from a few to 30 Comanches killed ----- 2 soldiers wounded	warfare	Kananagh asserts that the identify of the Indian combants is uncertain and the US casualty report was inaccurate	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 764; Thomas W. Kavanagh, <i>Comanche Political History</i> (1996), 320.
12 July 1848	Ft. Mann	Capt. Jones with 101 mounted Missouri volunteers and 7 guides and a six-pounder departed on a Comanche hunt, returning on July 23	none	warfare	A fight on the Cimarron in the present Woods County, OK, resulted in the deaths of 21 Comanches or Pawnees.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 766-67.
20 July 1848	south of the trail	Jones command engaged Pawnees in battle	21 Pawnees killed	warfare	The identity of the Indians is uncertain as is the number of Indian casualties.	Kavanagh, <i>Comanche Political History</i> , 320.
1 August 1848	Ft. Mann	Gilpin reported damages caused by Indians on the trail during summer of 1847	47 Americans killee	warfare	He stated that "330 wagons destroyed, 6,500 stock plundered." See the October 19, 1848, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 722.

11 August 1848		Fitzpatrick recommended US posts placed on the Platte and Arkansas rivers	none	warfare	Fitzpatrick wanted each post manned by 500 soldiers under competent officers who knew the country and Indians.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 112.
6 October 1848	St. Louis	Fitzpatrick criticized the US army's ineffectiveness against Indians on the Arkansas River	none	warfare	He was referring to the Missouri battalion. He advocated more troops under competent officers and the use of more harsh punitive measures to secure peace and order. He stated the starving and destitute Pawnees were the main culprits.	Fitzpatrick, Thirtieth Congress-Second Session, <i>Ex. Doc. No 1. House of Representatives</i> , 397.
6 October 1848		Fitzpatrick wrote that most Kiowas had moved into Cheyenne and Arapaho country	none	warfare	Fitzpatrick asserted that Kiowas were living "in perfect amity with the surrounding tribes."	Fitzpatrick, Thirtieth Congress-Second Session, <i>Ex. Doc. No 1. House of Representatives</i> , 399.
6 October 1848		Fitzpatrick stated that the "marauding" tribes' war against the trail in New Mexico had become less intense because of their 1846 and 1847 successes	none	warfare	The Indians, he stated, "have been the past summer, luxuriating in and enjoying the spoils."	Fitzpatrick, Thirtieth Congress-Second Session, <i>Ex. Doc. No 1. House of Representatives</i> , 399.
19 October 1848		Fitzpatrick reported damages caused by Indians on the trail	27 travelers killed	warfare	Comanches and Kiowas said that they killed sixty travelers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 722.
20 October 1848	west of Westport	38 members of Frémont's party camped at a Delaware house on the reservation	none	friendly	Several Delawares joined Frémont and traveled a distance on the trail. See the November 7 through 17 entries.	"Edward M. Kern's Diary," in <i>Fremont's Fourth Expedition</i> (1960), 289.

21 October 1848	Cow Creek	traveling with a large amount of merchandise, Aubry learned of an Apache attack near Las Vegas on October 13	Williams killed	anecdotal	Accordingly, Apaches took 240 US animals and some mules belonging to Aubry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 780.
late October and early November 1848		Fitzpatrick traveled with Ceran St. Vrain to a council with Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos at Big Timber	none		Fitzpatrick's aimed to create peace with the Plains Indians and end intertribal warfare.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 781; Chalfant, <i>Dangerous Passage</i> , 272.
7 November 1848	east of Chouteau's Island	Frémont's expedition, with Delaware and California Indians, reached the trail from the Smoky Hill River	none	cooperation	Delaware Jim Secundi [Secondine] with California Indians named Gregorio and Joaquin accompanied the party.	"Edward M. Kern's Diary," 289, 290, 292, 293; "Diary of Benjamin Kern, 1848-1849," in <i>Fremont's Fourth Expedition</i> , 82-83; "Diary of Richard Kern, 1848-1849," in <i>Fremont's Fourth Expedition</i> , 112, 113.
8 November 1848	east of Chouteau's Island	Kern, with Frémont's party, stated that many Kiowas had camped there to beg and trade	none	friendly	He said that some of them were fine looking fellows and the children were half-naked or wearing dirty blankets.	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 86.
9 November 1848	near Chouteau's Island	Frémont's party camped about half a mile from a Kiowa camp	none	friendly	Kern stated that the Indians wanted silver for mules and horses.	"Edward M. Kern's Diary," 294.
9 November 1848	near Chouteau's Island	Richard Kern and Frémont's part camped near a large village of Kiowas with a few Comanches	none	friendly	He described the Indians as annoying and "wild looking rascals."	"Diary of Richard Kern," 115.
10 November 1848	west of Chouteau's Island	Kiowas camped and traveled with Frémont's party	none	friendly	Kern wrote, "It was a queer compound civilization and barbarism travelling in company."	"Diary of Richard Kern," 115.

10 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Richard Kern described Kiowas camped near Fremont's party with stereotypical language	none	friendly	The old chief was "haranguing, and telling them to be honest (necessary advice) and above all the clear moonlight and camp fires."	"Diary of Richard Kern," 116.
10 November 1848	east of Big Timber	several Spanish boys and girls were with Kiowas		friendly	Kern stated that the children had been stolen from Monterey three years previously.	"Diary of Richard Kern," 115.
10 November 1848	east of Big Timber	an elderly Indian man, a woman, and 2 girls entered Frémont's camp	none	friendly	Kern's stated that the "nuisance of Indians followed us to our next camp" and stole a saddle blanket.	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 87.
10 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Frémont's party camped with 100 Indian lodges with chief Little Mound, apparently Kiowas	none	friendly	Little Mound harangued his people, who were mainly armed with bows and arrows and a few guns.	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 87.
11 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Little Mound traveled with Frémont's party all day	none	friendly		"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 88.
11 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Kiowas interacted with Frémont's party	none	friendly	Kern stated that his party "raised camp before the red devils."	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 89.
12 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Frémont's party met 2 or 3 Arapahos planning to steal Pawnee horses	none	friendly	This meeting was Frémont's first Arapaho meeting.	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 116; and "Diary of Richard Kern," 116.
12 November 1848	east of Big Timber	Kiowas and Arapahos camped near Frémont's party	none	friendly		"Diary of Richard Kern," 116.
13 November 1848	Big Timber	Arapahos camped near Frémont's party	none	friendly		"Diary of Richard Kern," 117.

13 November 1848	Big Timber	Frémont's party reached an Arapaho camp where Fitzpatrick was holding council	none	friendly	Kern stated that Fitzpatrick would provide the Arapahos presents.	"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 89.
14 November 1848	Big Timber	Arapahos traded Kern 3 mules for medicine	none	friendly		"Diary of Benjamin Kern," 89.
mid November 1848	Big Timber	Frémont's party interacted with 600 lodges of Plains Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos	none	tension	Some party members viewed Indians as nuisances.	Frémont, <i>Fourth Expedition</i> , 76.
[13?] mid November 1848	Big Timber	Fitzpatrick feasted with and gave gifts to 600 lodges of Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos	none	diplomacy	Frémont asked Senator Benton to support Fitzpatrick's efforts to assimilate Indians.	John C. Frémont, "Fremont's Letter to Benton," <i>Fremont's Fourth Expedition</i> , 76.
[17?] November 1848	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches told Fitzpatrick that overland travel was harming their lives	none	diplomacy	Indian leaders charged that the traffic was destroying timber and scattering game.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 112.
17 November 1848	Bent's Fort	Fitzpatrick urged Kiowas to sever their Comanche ties	none	diplomacy	See the February 1848 entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 737.
late November or December 1848	unspecified	US navy Lt. Edward Beale, with 17 escorts [raw recruits], William Sublette, and others had difficult meetings with Indians	none	tension		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 787.
3 December 1848	Big Timber	Lt. Beale saw thousands of Indians trading with 3 Americans	none	friendly	Beale wrote: The traders had "built a couple of miserable huts, but appear . . . to be making a very excellent business. . . ."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 787.

December 1848	unspecified	Fitzpatrick reported that during the summer 30 Comanches had attacked members of the Missouri battalion	8 soldiers killed	warfare	Fizpartrick quesioned the effectiveness of Gilpin's Missouri battalion	Kavanagh, <i>Comanche Political History</i> , 320.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
February 1849	Taos	Col. Benjamin Beall learned that Indians on the Arkansas were agreeable to a treaty with the United States and Mexico	none	tension	According to Kit Carson, Beall decided to travel there to have Indians turn over Mexican captives by persuasion or force.	Harvey L. Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit'</i> (1968), 122-23.
mid February 1849	Bent's Fort?	Comanches met in council with US agent Fitzpatrick regarding the movement of US troops and Indian captives	none	diplomacy	The Comanches learned that US troops were en route to Bent's Fort to free captives held by Indians.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 113.
February 1849	Arkansas River	Col. Beall, with 2 dragoon companies and Kit Carson, planned to demand that [Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho] Indians surrender their Mexican captives	none	tension	Fitzpatrick, Carson, and others persuaded Beall to postpone the plan because the Indians would resist.	<i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 128-29; Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 123.
February 1849	Lower Cimarron Springs	in a pre-dawn raid, unidentified Indians raided a small party with Oliver P. Hovey	none	warfare	The raiders took all of the party's livestock except two animals. Hovey, the editor of the <i>Santa Fe Republican</i> , walked over 350 miles.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 02-03.
3 March 1849	Washington, DC	a law transferred supervision of Indian affairs from the US war department to the US interior department	none		The act placed civilians in charge of Indian affairs in many matters, but left the military empowered to handle issues of war and peace.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 797-98.
13 April 1849	Barclay's Fort	"Metcalf, Stepperfield, Black Pete & Sander & Jesús brother to Kiawa village"	none	friendly	It is unclear if the party reached the Kiowas via the trail.	"The Memorandum Diary," in George Hammond, <i>The Adventures of Alexander Barclay</i> (1976), 169.

April 1849	Santa Fe	US troops were sent to punish Utes accused of attacking northern US settlements, but found and attacked Jicarilla Apaches,	numerous Indian casualties	warfare	Settlements were expanding into Indian country, creating conflict that the US military sought to resolve in ways that fostered US expansion and subjugated Indian resistance.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), 22.
mid April 1849	Bent's Fort	3 Arapahos, a chief with his wife and son, departed with Fitzpatrick, William Bent, and 8-year old [half-Cheyenne] Robert Bent	none	cooperation		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 841-42.
16 April 1849	Barclay's Fort	Barclay had contact with an unidentified Indian	none	friendly	Barclay wrote, the "Indian made his hut and dragged over the first ploughed in."	Barclay, "Diary," 169.
26 April 1849	Kansas	Wyandot William Walker wrote in his diary that Asiatic cholera had struck Kansas	unknown		With US emigrants and Santa Fe traders carrying the disease, it spread to Indians throughout the Plains before dissipating in June.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 829-31.
28 April 1849	Fort Scott	a correspondent noted that about 18 wagons from the Cherokee nation would reach the trail at Council Grove en route to California	9 Cherokees died of cholera	friendly	The train took the Platte River route, with nine of the fifteen Cherokees dying of cholera at the forks of the Platte between June 8 and 11. This train may have pioneered the Fort Scott-Council Grove road.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 831-32.
May 1849	west side of the "Big Blue"	a Shawnee delegation approached Hunter's train, with 15 wagons, 51 men and 1 woman and 1 girl	none	friendly	The Shawnee chief told party members not to cut any green timber, but they could take dead timber.	William Hunter, <i>Missouri '49er</i> (1992), 12.
May 1849	"Big Blue"	4 hunters with Hunter's train pulled a prank about Indians	none		The misinformation encouraged two others to flee to the train.	Hunter, <i>49er</i> , 13-14.

12 May 1849	Turkey Creek	15 California-bound Cherokees with Capt. Lewis Evans' train of some 40 wagons and 130 persons pioneered a new trail	none	cooperation	At Turkey Creek, the company voted to make the trip via Bent's Fort. From there, some of them went northward over what became known as the Cherokee Trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 853-54.
15 May 1849	Shawnee country	Heslep's caravan saw 3 Shawnees drinking freely at a grocery	none	friendly	To him, Shawnees were "civil and accommodating."	"Letters and Journal of Augustus M. Heslep," in <i>Southern Trails to California in 1849</i> (1937), 361.
16 May 1849	grocery west of Big Blue	Powell saw Shawnees with a woman and noted that cholera was raging among emigrants	none	friendly	He stated that the Shawnees were consuming alcohol. US law prohibited Indian use of alcohol.	H. M. T. Powell, <i>The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852</i> (1981), 12.
17 May 1849	west of where Santa Fe and Oregon trails fork	2 mounted "dangerous and troublesome" Osages chased Heslep back to his caravan	none	tension	Heslep wrote that wandering Indians posed a threat to lone individuals away from their caravan's safety.	Heslep, "Letters," 362-63.
19 May 1849	Big John Creek, east of Council Grove	a large party of mounted, shrieking, and yelling Kaws swooped down on Hunter's train with the intent of trading horses	none	friendly	The Kaw chief, a tall man with well developed muscles, "spoke English very fluently and bore himself with much dignity."	Hunter, <i>49er</i> , 13-17, 18.
19 May 1849	about 12 miles west of Lone Elm	Powell party members apparently blamed Wel-a-peto and his son, both a Shawnees, of stealing cattle without incriminating evidence	none	tension	Wel-a-peto declared: "No, no Shawnee not steal." Train members offered Shawnees a reward for finding the cattle. Train members found the missing animals.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 16.
19 May 1849	about 12 miles west of Lone Elm	Wel-a-peto told Powell's party that Col. Jackson's train was a day or two ahead	none	cooperation		Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 18.
20 May 1847	near Wagon Mound	Indians and New Mexicans attacked a party under Capt. Roberson, taking 250 horses	1 man killed and 2 wounded	warfare	Jicarilla Apaches resistance to US encroachments was commencing.	F. Stanley, <i>The Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940</i> (1967), 56-57.

21 May 1849	Black Jack	Powell saw a small Indian house but did not see its inhabitants	none	friendly	Travelers often wrote about their sighting of Indians.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 18.
22 May 1849	near Willow Springs	Powell's train saw 2 Indian long houses, but no inhabitants were home	none	friendly	The long houses shows that displaced Indians want to carry on the way of their ancestors.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 19.
22 May 1849	near Hickory Point	2 mounted Indians met Powell and another unarmed man	none	friendly		Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 20.
22 May 1849	6 miles west of the Kansas River	news of warfare delayed the travel of James S. Calhoun, the governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of New Mexico, with US troops	none	warfare	Calhoun reported a rumor that Apaches, Navajos, Comanches, and others had commenced hostilities against New Mexicans and emigrants.	<i>Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun</i> (1915), 14.
22 May 1849	Shawnee Baptist Mission	cholera struck about two-thirds of the Shawnee	several Shawnee deaths		The pandemic also struck Delawares, Wyandots, Sacs and Fox, Otoe, Pawnees, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis, Osages, and others.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 864-65.
23 May 1849	west of the fork of the Santa Fe and Oregon trails	Powell's train met 5 Sacs who referred to themselves as "Sawkeys" [Meskwakii?]	none	friendly	Powell described their dress.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 20.
24 May 1847	Wagon Mound	Indians [and Mexicans?] tried to secure provisions from 12 sutlers' wagons	none	warfare	They drove the train's cattle out of gunshot range and killed sixty to seventy of them to give them a better opportunity to take supplies.	Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 56-57.
25 May 1847	Wagon Mound	US troops pursued the Indians and New Mexicans who attacked the sutlers' wagons to the Red River		warfare	In the ensuing battle, the Indians and Mexicans lost forty-one men and the soldiers had one man killed and three wounded.	Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 57-59.

26 May 1849	142 Mile Creek	Ish-ca-ta-ba, a Kaw, caused Powell's party to fear for their horses	none	friendly	That night, Powell's party kept the mounts close to their tents.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 25.
27 May 1849	142 Mile Creek	Ish-ca-ta-ba, described as a fine looking man in Indian clothing, returned to Powell's camp during breakfast	none	friendly	Ish-ca-ta-ba ate some food, and used signs to "beg" for applesauce for his "squaw" and "papoose." A party member named Walter gave him some tobacco.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 25.
27 May 1849	142 Mile Creek	after a Kaw entered Powell's camp, Powell wrote that the Kaws were "notorious horse thieves"	none	friendly	With Kaws nearby and sickness among the travelers, Powell's party broke Sabbath and proceeded westward to join other trains.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 25.
27 May 1849	Council Grove	Dr. Heslep, aka "Rambler," used racial language to describe Kaws	none	friendly	"It is impossible," he wrote, "to conceive of a more filthy, lazy, thieving, worthless set of beings than the Kaw Indians."	Heslep, "Letters," 368; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 867.
28 May 1849	west of Rock Creek	some Kaws with recommendation papers entered the lunch camp of Powell's party	none	friendly	Powell's party was annoyed by their begging with "great pertinacity."	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 27.
28 May 1849	west of Rock Creek	Ish-ca-ta-ba, his wife, and his 6 or 7 year old daughter entered Powell's noon camp	none	friendly	Powell's party fed the Indians.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 27.
28 May 1849	east of Council Grove	Powell's train saw 15 Indian lodges in a beautiful savannah	none	sighting	Travelers often wrote about their sighting of Indians.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 27.

28 May 1849	Council Grove	at supper time Ish-ca-ta-ba with his wife, son, daughter, and brother-in-law entered the camp of Powell's train, which had joined another train	none	friendly with tension	Member of the other train became angry when the Kaws were invited to stay to eat. Detrich told the Ish-ca-ta-ba that he could not spend the night. Before departing, Ish-ca-ta-ba and his family exchanged gifts with Walter, a member of Powell's party.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 27-28.
31 May 1849	"Camp Kansas" [Kansas River]	a large civilian and military company departed for Santa Fe from a spot near Shawnee chief Blackhoof's home [Johnson County]	none	friendly	The site served as a departure point for Santa Fe traffic.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 869.
spring and summer 1849	Santa Fe Trail	overland emigrants spread cholera among Indians	unknown		Indians sought to avoid the disease by staying away from the Santa Fe road.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 113.
3 June 1849	Arkansas River	Hunter showed a degree of sympathy for a few Cheyenne visitors while using racial language	none	friendly	Hunter considered them to be "victims of an inexorable fate whose name is 'extinction.'"	Hunter, <i>49er</i> , 26.
1 June 1849	Barclay's Fort	US troops reported that Jicarillas were raiding settlers at Rayado	none	warfare		Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 22.
3 June 1849	Arkansas River	Hunter referred to Cheyennes as shrewd traders who got the best of his party	none	friendly	Hunter commented favorably on the Cheyennes' apparel.	Hunter, <i>49er</i> , 26.
4 June 1849	15 miles above the Arkansas Crossing	Seth Ward and companions met westbound Cherokees with the Capt. Evans' train	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 855.

4 June 1849	Little Arkansas	Powell's train heard that Comanches were "awaiting the return of a messenger from Washington City to decide on peace and war"	none	anecdotal	Powell wrote, "[w]e are all armed, therefore, to the very teeth and breathe nothing but disdain and defiance to all redskins."	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 33.
6 June 1849	abandoned Ft. Mann	Hunter's train met an eastbound train with a Delaware Indian and his child	none	cooperation	The Delaware was returning the child to his mother's tribe for the summer. Traders paid him \$50 a month to hunt for them.	Hunter, <i>Missouri 49er</i> , 29.
7 June 1849	Council Grove	emigrants encountered Kaws en route to hunt buffalo	none	tension	Emigrants viewed them as wild savages and lazy.	"Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives Were Restless That Year," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1961): 324.
7 June 1849	just west of Walnut Creek	Powell blamed Pawnees for attacking 3 careless soldiers who had left camp to fish	3 soldiers killed	anecdotal	Powell wrote, "[t]hese graves will not serve to lessen our vigilance." It is unclear when this fight occurred.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 37.
8 June 1849	10 miles below Ft. Mann	Heslep wrote that Comanches were in the south	none	tension	He did not expect trouble from them.	Heslep, "Letters," 366.
9 June 1849	Pawnee Fork	Fuller saw the remains of an Indian camp about 3 miles below Powell's camp	none	signs	The Indians had left "a number of figures sketched or scratched on the soft sandstone, some of which show a very immoral and debased taste."	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 40.

9 June 1849	Council Grove	westbound "Veni" noted the reaction of Indians to the cholera epidemic	unknown		He wrote, "I noticed at Bull creek, Kaw river and Willow Springs, among the Delawares and Shawnees, that they had all run off, and left their houses and gardens, with vegetables growing, to the mercy of the travelers. . . ."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 863.
10 June 1849	4 miles below Ft. Mann	Arapahos, Kiowas, and a few "peaceable" Cheyennes, including Buffalo Heart, visited a train of Forty-niners with James Kirker	none	friendly	With the train prepared for a fight, Chief Buffalo Heart showed a letter from Fitzpatrick stating the Cheyennes' friendly disposition.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 873.
13 June 1849	near Rock Spring	while going to sketch Rock Spring, Powell saw many mounted Indians across the river	none	visual	Powell made a quick sketch. Members of his party also sighted the Indians, and drove their cattle towards camp.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 43.
13 June 1849	near Rock Spring	10 Kiowas, including men, boys, and a young girl, approached Powell's train displaying a piece of blue cloth as a sign of peace	none	friendly	The Kiowas traveled with them until they approached Jackson Grove, where the Kiowas crossed the river.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 43.
13 June 1849	Jackson Grove	unarmed Comanche and Kiowas men and boys approached Powell's train to talk and trade	none	friendly	Communications between the two groups occurred primarily in Spanish through the young Mexican captive.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 44.
13 June 1849	west of Jackson Grove	Powell's train occasionally met Indians	none	friendly	The meetings occurred over a ten-mile spread.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 44.
13 June 1849	a river 20 miles west of Jackson Grove	a small Arapaho party entered Powell's camp creating fear	none	friendly	With so many Indians nearby, the train kept six men on watch at night.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 44.

13 June 1849	Ft. Mann	Powell's train interacted with a large number of Arapahos camped near the decaying fort	none	friendly	Members of Powell's train traded with the Arapahos in their camp while the latter visited the train. The Arapahos favorite word was "swap."	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 45.
14 June 1849	west of Ft. Mann	Powell noted an incident of cultural differences as trading transpired between party and Arapahos	none	friendly		Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 45.
14 June 1849	8 miles further west	Powell's train traded with Arapaho in about 17 tents	none	friendly	Indian boys played pranks on white boys with Powell's party. Powell described the dress of Arapaho men, women, and boys.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 46.
15 June 1849	east of the Arkansas Crossing	Powell's train passed "stray" Arapahos	none	friendly	Some Arapahos occasionally interacted with his train.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 46-47.
15 June 1849	just east of Arkansas Crossing	Powell's train passed 2 Arapaho tepees	none	friendly	Powell wanted to see the insides of a tepee, but did not get a chance to do so.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 47.
15 June 1849	Arkansas Crossing	4 or 5 Arapahos visited Powell's camp and were offered a reward for finding Charles Reimer	none	friendly	Reimer failed to return from a morning buffalo hunt.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 47.
16 June 1849	Arkansas Crossing	Trading with an Arapaho woman, Powell exchanged a looking glass for a horse-hair rope	none	friendly	Train members visited the Arapaho camp and did not return until after dark, which caused an uneasy feeling among the train's women.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 48.
17 June 1849	Arkansas Crossing	an Arapaho looking for his missing wife entered Powell's camp when Reimer was missing	none	friendly	The Arapaho knew nothing about Reimer. The train moved on, fearing that Indians or a buffalo bull had killed Reimer.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 48-49.

18 June 1849	west of Arkansas Crossing	An Arapaho showed hunters from Powell's train how to butcher a buffalo	none	friendly	The white hunters were amused to see him eat pieces of tripe dipped in the gall.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 50.
20 June 1849	Sand Creek	Powell's train heard rumors about Utes being in large numbers on the Cimarron	none	anecdotal	Accordingly, Utes were there "to steal cattle, and shoot and scalp, etc., etc., etc."	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 52.
20 June 1849	east of Jackson's Grove	Capt. Abraham Buford's party saw 3,000 to 4,000 encamped Indians	none	friendly	The Indians were waiting for Fitzpatrick "with whom they were to have a big talk."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 873.
June 1849	Ft. Mann crossing	traders saw several thousand Indians camped along both sides of the Arkansas	none	friendly	An account said that Indians were willing "to assist in getting a wagon out of the Arkansas River that stalled."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 873.
24-25 June 1849	Arkansas Crossing	Calhoun saw several thousand encamped Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Ute	none	friendly	Writing on July 29, 1849, from Santa Fe, Calhoun stated the Indians were waiting for Fitzpatrick to return from Washington.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 18.
28 June 1849	upper spring of Cimarron	Powell's train heard a rumor that Indians had attacked a train ahead, suffering 9 or 10 deaths	unknown	anecdotal	Some members did not want to proceed. Powell believed that gunfire from another train had sparked the rumor.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 60.
30 June 1849	branch of the Rio Mora	Hunter's train camped near Santa Fe-bound soldier going to protect herders and cattle from Indians	none	warfare	Part of the Santa Fe force went to Rayado because Apaches had surrounded its inhabitants and their livestock herds.	Hunter, <i>49er</i> , 38-39.
summer [July?] 1849	near Cow Creek	William Kronig feared Indians while he returned alone to his train from hunting buffalo	none	tension	Kronig's concerns were shared by others	Charles Irving Jones, "William Kronig, New Mexico Pioneer from His Memories of 1849-1860," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 19 (July 1944): 187-88.

summer [July?] 1849	Pawnee Forks	Indians took horses belonging to McGuffin [Magoffin], forcing him to use oxen to pull his carriage	none	anecdotal	The two trains united for the sake of safety.	Jones, "Kronig," 188.
5 July 1849	Cimarron River	New Mexicans from Taos warned Powell's train about nearby Apaches who had attacked 3 herders	3 herders killed	cooperation		Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 65.
7 July 1849	Wagon Mound	Powell's train saw Indian signs and human remains	none		Many trail travelers had a fascination with Indian burials.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 66.
8 July 1849	Shawnee Methodist Mission	a mission employee noted the presence of cholera, but that no Shawnees had contacted the disease	none	friendly	This information contradicts a May 22, 1849, report. See the entry for that date.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 878.
8 July 1849	Cedar Creek	upon seeing Indian signs, traders with Powell's party pushed ahead	none	tension		Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 67.
summer [July?] 1849	Ft. Mann	at night, Indians crept into the camp of the Kronig and Magoffin trains	none	warfare	Indians took all of Kronig's horses except the one.	Jones, "Kronig," 188.
the following night [July?] 1849	near Ft. Mann	an Indian, possibly a Pawnee, took Kronig's horse but Kronig could not fire at him because he had grabbed the wrong shot pouch	none	warfare	A Magoffin party member nearly shot Kronig by mistake. At his bed, Kronig found a pair of moccasins, identified by some bull whackers as Pawnee, perhaps left as a friendly gesture.	Jones, "Kronig," 189.
10 July 1849	Las Vegas	Powell used racial terms to note the presence of "native women"	none	tension	Powell wrote that they were dirty and homely.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 68.

10 July 1849	4 miles below Ft. Mann	Heslep's caravan prepared for a fight after seeing several hundred Indians across the river, mostly Arapahos and Kiowas and a few Cheyennes	none	tension	Heslep believed that a fight would have occurred if his companions carried fewer firearms.	Heslep, "Letters," 371-73.
10 July 1849	4 miles below Ft. Mann	Heslep provided medicine to Buffalo Heart who had a chronic eye affection	none	friendly	The Cheyenne chief showed his gratitude by giving Heslep big hugs.	Heslep, "Letters," 371-73.
12 July 1849	San Miguel	Powell's train learned that Apaches had killed 14 to 17 men below Santa Fe		anecdotal	News of this nature alarmed most travelers.	Powell, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 69.
summer [August] 1849	near Cimarron River	Comanches greeted Kronig's westbound train	none	friendly	Kronig purchased a horse from Comanches.	Jones, "Kronig," 190.
summer [August] 1849	near Cimarron River	several Indians chased Kronig who was alone ahead of his train	none	warfare	Kronig reached his train.	Jones, "Kronig," 190.
summer 1849	near the New Mexico line	Hearing news of Indian "atrocities," Kronig's party took "double precautions" to avoid surprise attacks	none	warfare	Trains customarily took such precautions when hearing reports and rumors about violence.	Jones, "Kronig," 190.
16 July 1849	Barclay's Fort	Barclay wrote, "[s]ix Indians seen in the neighborhood of timber camp"	none	sighting		Barclay, "Diary," 174.
30 July 1849	Barclay's Fort	Barclay wrote, "[t]hree Spaniards passed and camped near field last night from Comanche trading."	none	friendly	The report indicated that Comanche trading occurred near the trail.	Barclay, "Diary," 176.
late July or early August 1849	between Coon Creek and the Cimarron Crossing	T. J. Slaughter reported seeing 4,000 Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos but Comanches had gone south because cholera had ravaged Kiowas and others	none	friendly	This report shows that Indians knew how to avoid contact with contagious disease.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 873.

early? August 1849	Ash Creek	Pawnees made a night attack on Aubry's train with 13 Americans and 7 Mexicans in some wagons and 120 mules	none	warfare	Before being dislodged from their positions, the attackers wounded two mules.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 883.
6 August 1849	Lower Cimarron Crossing	Barclay wrote, "[n]ooned at Lower Crossing of Cimerone and met Spaniards & Frenchmen, Kiawan traders with caballada [mules]"	none	friendly	This report must refer to the Kiowas.	Barclay, "Diary," 176.
7 August 1849	Lower Cimarron Spring	Kiowas met Magoffin on Sand Creek	none	friendly		Barclay, "Diary," 176.
7 August 1849	3 and a half hours beyond Sand Creek	Barclay and a few eastbound companions spotted Indians on the hills	none	warfare	Barclay kept guard while others cooked.	Barclay, "Diary," 176.
10 August 1849	Pawnee Fork	Indians fired on Aubry's train with Barclay at night	none	warfare	Seeking safety, Barclay spent the night with Aubry's train.	Barclay, "Diary," 177.
16 August 1849	Big Hill Creek	Barclay, with a small party, traded his "footsore and weary bay to Kansas Indian"	none	friendly		Barclay, "Diary," 177.
16 August 1849	142 Creek	Jones, Barclay's companion, saw an Indian "sulking about"	none	warfare	Barclay's party moved its camp to between Rock and Elms creeks.	Barclay, "Diary," 177.
16 August 1849	outskirts of Las Vegas	40 Jicarillas who had camped nearby to trade, fought US soldiers commanded by Lt. Ambrose E. Burnside	14 Jicarillas killed ----- 3 soldiers wounded	warfare	Six Jicarillas, a man and five women including Lobo's daughter, were captured. Wounded were Burnside, Ambrose, and Meader. Jicarillas retaliated on May 10, 1850.	Bryan Howard, <i>Wildest of the Wild West</i> (1988), 30-32.
16 August 1849	near Los Valles	US troops arrived to protect the small settlement from Jicarillas camped nearby	none	warfare		Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 22-23.

20 or 21 August 1849	Bent's Fort	William Bent destroyed his post			This incident reflects on the declining Indian trade.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 883.
23 August 1849	Las Vegas	a 3rd artillery company fought Indians	none	warfare	Could this reference be about the August 16 fight between the Jicarillas and Burnside's troops?	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> (1966), 33.
summer [August] 1849	near Las Vegas	a Shawnee shot another member of Kronig's train, a bullwhacker named Smith	Smith killed	violence	Kronig was glad the Shawnee escaped because Smith had instigated his fight.	Jones, "Kronig," 192.
summer [August] 1849	near Las Vegas	Kronig related the story of a peak south of the trail where trappers had taken refuge from Indians	none	anecdotal		Jones, "Kronig," 193.
summer or fall of 1849	near Las Vegas?	Kronig noted that a military detachment under a lieutenant was deployed to Rayado	none	warfare	Most of the soldiers were then sent to the Rio Colorado to "protect that settlement from the Utes and Apaches."	Jones, "Kronig," 200-01.
late August or early September 1849	Cimarron River	Indians stampeded mules belonging to W. F. Dewebber's party	none	warfare	Stampeding mules was a common Indian strategy.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 889.
September 1849	east of Rabbit Ear Creek	40 Arapahos and Apaches captured Moses Goldstein and 2 companions	none	warfare	After some debate, the Indians allowed them to leave with some mules.	Howard, <i>Wild West</i> , 45.
late September 1849	Pawnee or Ash creek	Barclay's party saw 2 Indians leading a horse in a sleet storm	none	warfare	Barclay suspected that the Indians had taken a horse belonging to Simpson	Barclay, "Diary," 178.
21-31 September 1849	Las Vegas	Burnside led troops from the post in search of Jicarillas	none	warfare	The Jicarillas escaped the approaching force.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 23.

1 October 1849		US agent John E. Barrow reported that cholera had struck Pawnees the previous spring and summer	numerous casualties		Suffering the loss of about a quarter of their population, the Pawnees' contact with the trail diminished dramatically after that.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 890.
1 October 1849	Bent's Fort area	Calhoun declared that "wild" Indians were having the most success robbing and pillaging since 1846	unknown	warfare	He stated that Indians do not believe that the United States has the power to punish them.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 32.
around 1 October 1849	above Big Timbers	Thomas Forsyth saw a Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho camp	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 893.
around 18 October 1849	Council Grove	a Huning's party member, with 32 wagons, killed a dog belonging to the Kaws	none	tension	Some Kaws pursued the caravan, killing two oxen in retaliation.	Franz Huning, <i>Trader on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1973), 12.
24 or 25 October 1849	Point of Rocks	Jicarillas under Lobo Blanco and Utes attacked the James M. White party after being told to leave	6 or 7 members of White's party killed	warfare	The dead included White, William Callaway, "Ben Bushman," two or three Germans, and a Mexican. Ann White, her daughter, and black servant were captured. See the October 27, 1849, entry.	Howard, <i>Wild West</i> , 35-37; Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 24; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 885.
24 or 25 October 1849	Point of Rocks	Jicarillas and Utes attacked a party of Mexican buffalo hunters who arrived on the scene	several hunters killed and 1 wounded	warfare	See the above entry. The death of these individuals did not result in calls for vengeance.	Barclay, "Diary," 178, 221-22 n; Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 63.
25 October 1849	Point of Rocks	Barclay, Charles Spencer, and others slept there after having passed the bodies of Mexican hunters who had been attacked by Jicarillas	see October 25 entry	warfare	Believing that Indians were nearby and unaware of the White group's fate, Barclay's party departed for safety.	Barclay, "Diary," 178, 221-22 n; Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 63.
26 October 1849	near Wagon Mound	Smith's eastbound party told Barclay about White's party	none	warfare	Smith had learned about the matter from the surviving Mexican hunter.	Barclay, "Diary," 178, 225 n; Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 63.

27 October 1849		Mitchell received approval to treat with Plains Indians	none	tension	This proposed treaty resulted from growing tension between Indians and the United States.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 115.
28 October 1849	Santa Fe	Spencer told Calhoun that he had seen the lifeless bodies of Mr. White and 5 or 6 others at Point of the Rocks	none	warfare	Spencer asked the US government to do all it could to liberate the captives. Many others called for vengeance.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 63.
28 October 1849	Santa Fe	Some Pueblos told Calhoun that they had seen a white female and her child in an Apache camp	none	cooperation	Information was beginning to blame the Jicarillas for attacking the White party.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 63.
late October or early November 1849	Taos	a rescue force of solders and volunteers under Maj. William Grier departed to retrieve the captives	none	warfare	See the November 17, 1849, entry.	Jones, "Kronig," 202-09; Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 131-35; Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 124-26.
[early November] 1849	Point of Rocks	a rescue party with Carson and volunteers reached the site of the White massacre	none	warfare	An intense rescue effort was underway.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 131-35; Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 124-26.
November 1849	Las Vegas	US troops, with Lobo's daughter, departed to escort an eastbound train to Lower Cimarron Spring and to find the Jicarillas holding Ann White and 2 others	none	warfare	Lobo's daughter was to negotiate or be exchanged for the prisoners.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 24-25.
1 November 1849	Taos	Kronig's company received orders to find Utes and Apaches who attacked White's party	none	warfare	The troops were to rescue the captives.	Jones, "Kronig," 203-209.
2 November 1849	Santa Fe	Calhoun learned that Indians had attacked New Mexican buffalo hunters near where White party's had been attacked	see October 25 entry	warfare	Calhoun, wanting the Jicarillas punished, sent information to Washington concerning the fate of the White party as it became available.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 68-70.

7 November 1849	Santa Fe	Calhoun recommended establishing military posts, restricting trade with Indians, and confining Indians in fixed and limited areas	none	warfare	This proposal was in response to the attack on White's party.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 72-73.
November 1849	east of Las Vegas	Sgt. Martinez shot Lobo's daughter as she try to escape	Lobo's daughter killed	warfare	Lobo vowed and sought vengeance.	Veronica E. Velarde Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apache Tribe</i> (1992), 35.
17 November 1849	Red River south of the trail	Jicarillas faced the rescue party and escaped	a few Jicarilla casualties	warfare	Jicarillas killed Mrs. White but her baby and servant were never found. Soldiers killed an Apache and captured two or three others.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 88; Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 124-25.
24 November 1849	Barclay's Fort	Barclay wrote, "Quinn & party here with all the Apache plunder passing—some of his men slept in the courtyard"	none	warfare		Barclay, "Diary," 179.
30 November 1849	Washington, D.C.	Calhoun reported the death of Mrs. White, the fate of her daughter, and the uncertain status of the female servant		warfare	Calhoun also noted that pursuing US troops had killed six Indians several days travel south of the trail.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 88.
3 December 1849	Las Vegas	dragoon escorts accompanied mail carriers John Phillips and James M. Clay en route to Ft. Leavenworth	none	warfare	Conflict with the Apaches led to the dragoons' assignment	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 894.
28 December 1849	Washington, D.C.	Orlando Brown responded to Calhoun's letter, advocating swift action against those who had attacked White's party	none	warfare	Brown declared that swift military reprisals would stop the Indians "outrages" on US citizens. US officials lacked concern regarding the factors that had precipitated the violence.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 94-95.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1850	Council Grove	James Cleminson traded with Indians, probably Kaws	none	friendly	Cleminson failed to date the encounter.	"John James Cleminson Diary: Part 1," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (May 1995): 7-11.
February or March 1850	Big Bend	Pawnees or Kaws raided McCarty's train of 8 Americans and 4 Mexicans, taking 25 mules and horses	none	conflict	The raid left the train members on foot. It seems doubtful if the travelers knew who had raided them, meaning that others may have conducted the raid.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 904.
7 January 1850	Barclay's Fort	Barclay received news from <i>ciboleros</i> [buffalo hunters] regarding Apaches	none	tension	Barclay recorded a cryptic entry in his diary, writing: "About his time Ecebolerio [Cibolero] courier with Apache news from Rabbit Ears."	"The Memorandum Diary," in George Hammond, <i>Adventures of Alexander Barclay</i> (1976), 180.
14 January 1850	Barclay's Fort	<i>ciboleros</i> returned from a buffalo hunt without news about Apaches	none	tension	Barclay wrote, "First of the party of Eceboleros of St. Miguel getting in, no further news of Apaches."	Barclay, "Diary," 181.
February 1850	Santa Clara Springs [near Wagon Mound]	Kronig heard that [Apache] Indians had attacked a US mail stagecoach with passengers	none	anecdotal	The incident, which resulted in a number of deaths, occurred on May 10, 1850. This mistake reflects on the problems of memory.	Charles Irving Jones, "William Kronig, New Mexico Pioneer, From His Memories of 1849-1860," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 19 (July 1944): 222.
13 February 1850	Santa Fe	James S. Calhoun, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, had not heard a word regarding the fate of Mrs. White's daughter and servant	none	anecdotal	Calhoun occasionally updated Washington officials about the search for the missing baby.	<i>Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun</i> (1915), 151-52.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
February 1850	near Santa Fe	Lobo and Jicarillas attacked several herders and drove of some 12,000 sheep	none	warfare	Jicarillas were periodically stiking out at US settlements and travelers.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/fort-union-nm/fu-oliva-2.html
a few days later February 1850	near San Miguel	Jicarillas attacked Mexicans	1 "Mexican" killed and two wounded	warfare	Jicarillas were periodically stiking out at US settlements and travelers.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 25.
27 February 1850		Calhoun forwarded a petition from New Mexico to the US government pleading for protection from Indians citing the late October 1849 incident near Point of the Rocks	none	warfare	Petitioners called for military posts and mounted forces to cover the territory and keep roads opened in all directions. Steps, they asked, should be taken to prevent the Pueblos from being alienated and to confine the others.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 150.
March 1850	Big Timber	several tribes met with US agent Thomas Fitzpatrick	none	diplomacy	Joseph D. Ellis and his party gave this report.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 907-08.
March 1850	near Rayado	9 unidentified Indians attacked a rancho manned by 2 men, taking a number of horses	2 rancho men severely wounded	warfare	Jicarilla Apaches were continuing their war against US expansionism.	<i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 136.
March 1850	near Rayado	Kit Carson, William New, Sgt. Leigh Holbrook, and 10 dragoons pursued and fought Indian attackers	5 Indians killed	warfare	Four Indians escaped with four stolen horses. In May, men from the same tribe killed New at Rayado and Holbrook at the Battle of Ceneguilla in 1854. See the May 1850 entry.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 137; Harvey L. Carter, 'Dear Old Kit,' (1968), 126-27.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
15 March to 15 April 1850	Big Timbers	Fitzpatrick met with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Sioux, and Plains Apaches regarding a treaty proposal	none	diplomacy	Fitzpatrick expected that the Comanches would not agree to the proposed treaty.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963),
spring 1850	Big Timbers	Comanches declined to meet Fitzpatrick in council because their medicine men had foresaw another cholera epidemic	none	diplomacy	They replied that they were friendly and would not bother travelers on the various trails.	Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1966), 91.
16 March 1850	Santa Fe	Calhoun forwarded a report to his superiors about the fate of Mrs. White daughter	none	warfare	Following a visit with Utes, Auguste Lacome that he was convinced that Apaches had killed Mrs. White's daughter soon after they had murdered her.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 169-70.
25 March 1850	Santa Fe	Calhoun forwarded a petition from New Mexico to US officials pleading for protection from Indians	none	warfare	Throughout US history, settlers intruding into Indian lands sought US protection.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 170-72.
29 March 1850	Santa Fe	Calhoun reported the troubled state of relations between Plains Indians and the United States	none	warfare	Calhoun claimed that "wild" Indians of the Arkansas River area, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and others often united "in their War and robberies against the people of the U.S. and Mexico."	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 172-75.
5 April 1850	near Rayado	Jicarillas attacked Lucien Maxwell's herders, taking most of the horses and mules	2 herders wounded	warfare	Sergeant William C. Holbrook and US dragoons pursued the Jicarillas. See below entry.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 25-26.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
6 April 1850	near Rayado	Apaches fought a detachment of Company I, 1st dragoons	5 Indians killed and 2 wounded	warfare	The soldiers recovered most of the livestock.	"Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866," in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966,) 9.
19 April 1850	Las Vegas	Indians attacked several herders, driving off some stock	some herders killed	warfare	Lt. Burnside's men pursued the attackers.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 188.
20 April 1850	Las Vegas	a small Indian party attacked Mexican wood cutters	3 Mexican killed	warfare	Lt. Burnside's unit found the dead men while pursuing Indians. See the April 19 entry.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 196-97.
May 1850	Counci Grove	the firm of Waldo, Hall & Company established a station and farm there	none		According to the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, this development was illegal.	William E. Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country, 1825-1855</i> (2007), 123.
May 1850	Rayado	Apaches attacked Rayado inflicting a casualty and taking livestock	William New killed ----- "some" Indians killed	warfare	Pursuing soldiers engaged the Indians in battle and recovered the livestock.	Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 127-29; Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 137.
10 May 1850	Wagon Mound	Jicarillas and Utes, initially identified by arrows lying on the ground, attacked a party of 10 including US mail carriers	10 non-Indians killed ----- 5 Jicarillas including Chino and 4 Utes killed	warfare	This attack was in retaliation for the unprovoked attack on them near Las Vegas on August 16, 1849.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 198-99, 206-07; Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 26-27; Veronica E. Velarde Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apache Tribe</i> (1992), 35.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
17 May 1850	Turkey Creek	California-bound Cherokees, captained by Clement V. McNair, Arkansans, and Missourians in 37 wagons and 132 persons reached the trail	none	cooperation	A faster moving segment known as the Wolf company split from McNair's group. In Colorado, Cherokees found gold, touching off a gold rush that dramatically increased traffic and Indian-white conflict along the trail and elsewhere.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 940-41.
19 May 1850	Wagon Mound	an eastbound US party that found the mail carriers' bodies and heard a gunshot	none	warfare	Fearing Indians were nearby, party members returned to Las Vegas with some of mail. See the May 10, 1850 entry.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 206-07.
23 May 1850		Bvt. Col. John Munroe dispatched army escorts, 20 men and 1 officer, with the eastbound US mail	none	warfare	The troops were "to ensure its [mail party] safety from the attacks of the Hostile Band of Indians which commit Depredations in an around this Territory."	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 205-06.
23 May 1850		Munroe also speculated that Mexicans, Comanches, Utes, and whites had participated in the fight near Wagon Mound	none	anecdotal		Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 205-06.
27 May 1850	Las Vegas	24 US troops departed to escort groups of travelers	none	warfare	Escorts deterred Indian actions.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 27.
late May 1850	near Rabbit Ear Creek	Lt. Burnside suspected that a party of Mexican and Pueblo buffalo hunters he met had attacked the mail party because they gave conflicting stories	none	tension	Reporting on June 12, he found a drawing on some mail of what he said was a depiction of the fight. He took no action because he was escorting a mail train. See the May 10 entry.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 199-200.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
31 May 1850	"crossing of the Santa fee Road"	the Wolf party, composed of many Cherokees, saw Fitzpatrick meeting with different tribes and distributing annuity payments	none	friendly	Cherokees were en route to the California goldfields.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 941.
31 May 1850	Rayado	a US military established a post	none	coflict	The post was designed to control Indians and protect settlers.	Percevial G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 19 n.
early June 1850	110 Mile Creek	unarmed Alexander Majors, with 10 wagons, met 6 painted Indians while looking for missing oxen	none	tension	Majors recovered the missing cattle, stating that a chief had directed the men to steal the animals. While returning to his train, 25-30 Indians took the cattle, allowing Majors to keep one.	Alexander Majors, <i>Seventy Years on the Frontier</i> , (1893), 128-32.
June 1850	New Mexico	US agents cancelled the licenses of traders doing business with the Jicarillas	none	tension	This act was designed to affect US relations with Jicarillas.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 27.
5 June 1850		Adj. Gen. Jones recommended posts placed at Council Gove, Pawnee Fork, and Big Timers to pursue and punish Plains Indians	none	warfare	Jones stated that several large tribes attacked "caravans for the sake of plunder, and sometimes murder our Citizens."	Leo Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 94-95.
6 June 1850	Rayado	Rayado post commander Grier recommended strengthening the line of defense against Jicarillas		warfare	Among other things, he recommended a fort placed at La Junta to protect settlements and the trail.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 27.
June 1850	St. Louis	Fitzpatrick saw a train of some 200 California-bound Cherokees in 60 wagons	none	friendly	He was apparently referring to Wolf's company. See the May 31, 1850, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 941.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
June 1850	Wagon Mound	Majors wagon train found a stagecoach with human remains representing 10 individuals	none	warfare	See the May 10, 1850, entry.	Col. Prentiss Ingraham, ed. <i>Seventy Years on the Frontier</i> (1950), 137; Majors, <i>Seventy Years</i> , 137-39.
12 June 1850	Santa Fe	Calhoun revised downward casualty figures for the Wagon Mounds fight on May 10 from 11 to 10 killed	none	warfare	He wrote, "surely, a just and severe chastisement awaits these people [Jicarillas] for their numerous butcheries perpetrated since the first of October last."	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 209.
13 June 1850	Washington, DC	war secretary G. W. Crawford authorized the establishment of one fort	none	warfare	US officials sought to strengthen their military presence along the trail.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 95.
19 June 1850	Independence	William O. Ardinger and Robert H. Smith carried the news of the Wagon Mound massacre	none	warfare	This news created public outcries.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 947.
26 June 1850	near Rayado	200 to 250 Jicarillas drove off stock	2 citizens and 1 soldier killed	warfare	With only twenty-three men, the post commander could only watch the affair. The US army was not able to acquire enough strength until July 23 to retaliate.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 27-28.
26 June 1850	Rayado	Comanches and Apaches attacked the settlement	none	warfare	Major W. N. Grier pursued the Indians with orders not to conduct long range patrols. McLaws also stated that Comanches had gone among the Santo Domingo Pueblos to make a peace treaty.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 215.
27 June 1850	110 Mile Creek	Alexander Majors had an "adventure" with Indians	none		The context of this meeting is unclear.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 948.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
28? June 1850	near Arkansas Crossing	Aubry met many Indians	none	friendly	He apparently had not meet any difficulties un to this time.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 951.
29 June 1850	Plum Buttes	Osages failed to take Aubry's mules	none	conflict	Osages were blamed periodically for conflict with travelers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 951.
1 July 1850	Santa Fe Trail	regular stagecoach service began between Independence and Santa Fe	none		The coaches carried four well-armed guards and US mail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 949-50.
mid-July 1850	Rayado	300 Apaches, and possibly others, attacked the US military post, taking livestock	1 soldier killed	warfare	Calhoun's letter, dated July 15, 1850, reflects on his concern about the war with Indians.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 216-17.
summer 1850	Rayado	pursuing soldiers fought fleeing Apaches and recovered most of the livestock	some Apaches killed	warfare	Raids on livestock suggest that the Jicarilla were experiencing hard times and opposing US expansion.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 139.
15 July 1850	Santa Fe	Calhoun reported that "wild Indians," possible Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Apaches, were moving towards the Arkansas to hunt buffalo	none	tension	Calhoun wrote "I shall be mistaken if we do not hear of mischief, of some sort, from that quarter."	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 217.
15 July 1850	Las Vegas area	Navajos, Utes, and Apaches attacked sheep herders	several herders killed	warfare	George McCall reported that on several occasions the US military had chased the Indians without overtaking them.	George McCall, <i>New Mexico in 1850</i> (1968), 89, 178, 181.
15 July 1850	Point of Rocks and Wagon Mound areas	George McCall reported that "troublesome" Jicarillas had in recent years killed more US citizens than other Indians	none	anecdotal	McCall was referring to the attacks on the party of John M. White in September 1849, and mail carriers at Wagon Mound in May 1850.	McCall, <i>New Mexico in 1850</i> , 104-05;

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
22 July 1850	camp in "Kansas"	an Arizona-bound company camped on Shawnee land	none	friendly	Shawnees brought "string beans, green corn, blackberries, and onions into camp."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 953.
23 July 1850	Rayado	78 US troops and 90 volunteers departed in pursuit of the Jicarilla who had attacked Rayado on June 26	none	warfare	In a running fight, several Jicarillas were killed and wounded. Some of the livestock was recovered. One soldier was killed.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 28.
25 July 1850	Ft. Leavenworth	Bennett with the 1st Dragoons, noted the presence of many unidentified Indians and cholera	none	friendly	When Bennett's unit reached the fort, it was swarming with Indians and men of his command were dying of cholera.	James Bennett, <i>Forts and Forays</i> (1948), 10.
late July or early August 1850	Kansas	unidentified Indians approached Cleminson's party, traveling with 12 to 15 other families in 17 wagons	none	tension	Seeing approaching mounted Indians, Lydian Reeves and others knelt in prayer.	"John James Cleminson Diary: Part 1," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (May 1995): 7.
10 August 1850	Council Grove	Cleminson traded with Indians	none	friendly	The Indians were probably Kaws.	Cleminson, "Diary," 8.
12 August 1850	Ft. Leavenworth	25 men of Company K, 1st Dragoons dispatched to escort Santa Fe-bound government trains	none	warfare	Escorts deterred Indian actions.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 953.
23 August 1850	Cedar Creek	Indians raided Connelly's train taking 84 mules	none	warfare	Mules were a frequent object of Indian warfare.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 956
August 1850	unspecified	Indians stole oxen from Cleminson's party	none	warfare	Men of the party pulled the wagon until they reached the mountains.	Cleminson, "Diary," 8.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
5 September 1850	Council Grove	Bennett used racial stereotypes to describe a Kaw's visit to his camp	none	friendly	Referring to Kaws as beggar and thieves, Bennett described them as half-civilized and strong athletic men. The soldiers were enraged when they discovered that Indians had stolen "anything they could take."	"James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 22 (January 1947): 61-62.
9 September 1850	Washington, DC	Congress created New Mexico territory	none		On March 3, 1851, James S. Calhoun became the territorial governor.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 29.
12 September 1850	Sand Creek	James Brewer reported that Indians had pursued a mail coach with ten armed guards	none	warfare		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 954.
September 1850	near abandoned Ft. Mann	construction of "New Post on Arkansas" began with sod	none	warfare	US officials sought to strengthen their military presence. The post's name was later changed to Fort Mackay and Fort Atkinson.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 965, 979.
mid September 1850	east of Council Grove	a westbound William Bent train with 8 wagons was en route to trade with Comanches	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 968.
25 Sept 1850	near Arkansas River	Indians saw Bennett and other soldiers searching for firewood	none	tension	Without timber near "New Post," soldiers traveled thirty-five miles to find firewood.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 12.
25 September 1850	New Post on the Arkansas	US soldiers lived in constant fear of Indians	none	tension	Up to 1,500 "hostile" Indians were camped in the area.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 12.
25 September 1850	Arkansas River	Bennett's column viewed an Indian camp	none	tension		Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 12.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
27 September 1850	Arkansas River	Bennett's column mistook buffalo for charging Comanches	none	false alarm	Other travelers at various times mistook buffalo for Indians.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 12-13.
28 September 1850	Arkansas River	Indians entered Bennett's camp and one of them swore vengeance following an angry confrontation	none	tension	This incident illustrates the growing tension along the trail.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 13.
1 October 1850	Arkansas River	Indians failed to stampede horses with Bennett's unit	none	warfare	The raid indicates that Indians were not afraid to take US horse.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 13.
6 October 1850	Wagon Mound	Bennett stated that the Jicarilla attack had taken eleven lives when in actuality it took ten lives	see the May 10, 1849, entry	anecdotal	This incident received widespread attention.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 13.
12 October 1850	Barclay's Fort	Bennett wrote that settlers had built a pile of mud bricks for protection from Indians	none	anecdotal	Most trading forts had walls.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 14.
21 October 1850	Rayado	Bennett and 20 dragoons departed to protect a US mail train from Indians	none	warfare	The troops traveled to Barclay's Fort.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 17-18.
27 October 1850	Rayado	Bennett wrote that the town's name came from an Indian chief who had lived and died there	none	anecdotal		Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 16-17.
29 November 1850	Rayado	Bennett, Kit Carson, and infantrymen pursued Indians who had driven off 400 cattle	none	warfare	About 70 miles from Rayado the following day, the pursuers killed seven Indians and recovering the cattle. Soldiers captured a child.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 18.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1851	Council Grove	Kaws were accused of stealing horses	none	conflict		Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 981.
January? 1851	Council Grove	Maj. R. H. Chilton, with some 50 dragoons, arrested 4 Kaw leaders and took them to Ft. Leavenworth	none	conflict	Chilton planned to hold the chiefs hostage.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 981.
1-3 January 1851	Rayado	J. Bennett and another soldier received orders to escort US mail carriers to Santa Fe	none	conflict	Indians periodically attacked US mail carriers.	James Bennett, <i>Forts and Forays</i> (1948), 18.
3 January 1851	Santa Fe	Bennett reflected on the capture and sale of Paiutes from the Gila Rivers into slavery	none	anecdotal	Bennett learned that every spring Paiutes were sold for \$100 to \$400 each.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 19.
January 1851	Rayado	US troops were send to protect a wagon train from a possible Ute attack	none	warfare	Utes went out to fight Arapahos not trail travelers	Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier in the South</i> , http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/fort-union-nm/fu-oliva-2.html .
late January 1851	Pecos, NM	Jicarilla Apaches took sheep and other livestock from towns near the trail at Anton Chico, Chilili, and other places	at least 3 herders killed	warfare	Jicarillas periodically raided US towns.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), 34.
9 February 1851	Walnut Creek	mounted Pawnees saw mailmen in two carriages with riders	none	conflict	Indians disappeared after determining the mail party's size.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 979.
9 February 1851	near Pawnee Rock	Pawnees chased US mailman G. H. Williams	none	warfare	Indians periodically attacked US mail carriers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 979.
mid February? 1851	Council Grove	Sacs took horses and mules from a mail station but US soldiers recovered some animals	none	conflict	An account blamed Pawnees, asserting incorrectly that they had killed several persons.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 980-81.

March 1851	unspecified	unidentified Indians approached US mail carriers	none	conflict	The mailmen "bluffed off" the Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 983.
22 March 1851	near Chouteau's Island	a prairie fire destroyed wagons	none	tension	Blamed for the fire fell on Pawnees.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 984.
1 April 1851	Washhington, D.C.	war secretary Conrad wanted treaties negotiated from a position of power and Navajos, Utes, and Apaches punished	none	conflict	Conrad authorized Col. Sumner to hold Indians hostage until treaties could be worked out	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/fort-union-nm/fu-oliva-2.html .
1 April 1851	Santa Fe	Apaches entered town for treaty negotiations	none	diplomacy	Chacon, an important chief, arrived later.	<i>Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun</i> (1915), 313.
2 April 1851	Santa Fe	Chacon and Lobo reached a treaty with US officials	none	diplomacy	The treaty called for Jicarillas to move to assigned lands and stay fifty miles from any roads or settlements. Not all Jicarillas nor Congress accepted the treaty.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 35.
2 April 1851	Santa Fe	Apaches east of the Rio Del Norte, with Chacon, a Jicarilla; Lobo, either a Jicarilla or a Mescalero; Guero, and Jose Cito, a Mescalero; entered into a treaty with the United States	none	diplomacy	In section two, Apaches pledged "to abstain from all murders, and depredations, not to roam within Fifty miles of the settlements, or the established highways of the People of new Mexico, or the roads leading to the United States . . . To deliver up all murderers, robbers and fugitives from justice, all captives that may be with them, or in their possession." The treaty was not ratified by Congress.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 315.
April 1851	New Post on Arkansas	trader William Bent sent a dispatch inviting Indians to talk peace and trade	none	friendly	Bent told Cheyennes and Arapahos about the "Great Indian Council" planned at Fort Laramie.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 991.

mid April 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Bent waited for Comanches and Kiowas to arrive for a talk about peace and trade	none	diplomacy	Bent was seeking to resolve problems.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 991.
April 1851	unspecified	Cheyennes and Arapahos met eastbound Kit Carson	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 991, 995.
April? 1851	unspecified	Cheyennes attacked a Shawnee employed by William Bent	1 Shawnee killed		It is unclear if this event occurred on the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 991.
[April] 1851	Ft. Atkinson	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas met agent Fitzpatrick	none	diplomacy	With US soldiers present, Fitzpatrick spoke about the proposed Ft. Laramie council.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 342-43.
25 April 1851	San Miguel county communities	Jicarilla Apaches were accused of violating the treaty	none	tension	Settlers demanded the Indians removed from those settlements. See the April 2, 1851, entry.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 318.
1 May 1851	San Miguel county communities	Apaches were reportedly within 15 miles of San Miguel and Las Vegas	none	tension	Calhoun claimed that settlers feared Indians, but Apaches would "behave" if provision were given them.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 341-42, 359.
4 May 1851	above New Post on Arkansas	F. X. Aubry's party passed 30 Cheyenne lodges en route to Ft. Mackay to council with Col. Hoffman	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 997.
5 May 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Aubry saw Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, and Arapahos who had met Col. Hoffman	none	diplomacy	Aubry indicated that the Indians seemed content.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 997.
8 May 1851	San Miguel county	Chacon expressed concerns about section two of the treaty	none	conflict	US soldiers received orders to remove Apaches, by force if necessary, to Anton Chico. See the April 2, 1851, entry.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 330-31, 350.

11 May 1851	Ocate	Bennett, with other soldiers and Kit Carson, captured an Apache woman	none	warfare	The woman said Apaches held Mrs. White captive, but had killed her "servant" because she could not keep up and that Utes had her child.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 25-26.
20 May 1851	Pecos	Chacón, Lobo, San Pablo, and San Antonio, with 100 Jicarilla warriors, met with US agent John Greiner	none	diplomacy	Jicarillas presented their perspectives about their troubles with other Indians and New Mexico settlers. Greiner distributed gifts to them.	Veronica E. Valarde Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apache Tribe</i> (1992), 40.
26 May 1851	Ft. Leavenworth	Col. E. V. Sumner departed for New Mexico with more than 600 recruits including some with cholera	none		Soldiers died from cholera as the slow moving force. Sumner assumed command of Ft. Sumner, later named Ft. Union.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1003-04.
29 May 1851	Rayado	Bennett with 15 dragoons confronted 60 to 70 camped Indians	none	conflict	Indians were reported helping themselves to whatever they wanted. When Bennett told them to leave, a chief spit at him. When the soldier prepared to fight, they left.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 26.
31 May 1850	Rayado	the US military post was closed and soldiers were transferred to Ft. Union	none	conflict	This action was part of US plans to control Indians.	Percival G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 19 n.
19 June 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas gathered to hear about a proposed council at Ft. Laramie from agent Fitzpatrick	none	friendly	Of them, only Cheyennes attended the Fort Laramie council.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 342-43; Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 116.
20 June 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Sumner's command camped near many Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas	none	friendly	Fitzpatrick noted "unrestricted intercourse" between the Indians and soldiers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1004; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 116.

21 June 1851	New Post on Arkansas	a military officer nearly sparked a war by whipping a young Cheyenne chief accused of trying to take a ring from the officer's wife or of making inappropriate advances	none	conflict	Tensions eased somewhat when Sumner gave the injured Cheyenne a blanket. See the late June and early July entries.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 342-43; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 116-17; Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 54.
21 June 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Col. William Hoffman warned Sumner that Cheyennes "intended some act of hostility"	none	tension	The Cheyennes' plan, if true, apparently resulted from the flogging. See the above entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1004.
22 June 1851	Arkansas River	Hoffman warned Sumner about the Indians' disposition	none	conflict	The letter suggested that Indians planned to band together to commit hostilities.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 416-17.
22 June 1851	New Post on Arkansas	Cheyennes, "bent on mischief" allegedly fired shots from their camp at Sumner's column and supply train	none	conflict	Sumner stationed soldiers near the Indian camp until his supply train passed by.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 416-17; Barry, <i>"Beginning,"</i> 1004, 1013
23 June 1851	Arkansas River	Sumner's command returned to the Cheyenne camp	none	diplomacy	In council, the chiefs stated that they had no hostile intentions.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 417.
25 June 1851	Washington, DC	General Orders No. 34, AGO, changed the name of New Post to Ft. Atkinson	none		Fort Atkinson was an important post in the US efforts to control Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1013.
25 June 1851	Kansas River	Katie Bowen, traveling with a US military train, noted Indians and "squaws" watched her party	none	friendly	Bowen commented on their physical appear and economic pursuits.	"Katie Bowen Letters, 1851," Pt. V, <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 18 (May 2004): 18.
29 June 1851	near Las Vegas?	Eagle Feathers and other Comanches fled because of an evil person	none	conflict	US army officers sought to persuade them to return to Las Vegas to retrieve their property.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 346.

[late June or early July] 1851	15 miles above the Arkansas Crossing	a westbound train with Kit Carson and his half-Arapaho daughter, 2 other Americans, and 13 Mexicans met angry Cheyennes	none	conflict	Carson recalled: "[t]hey were at the time hostile . . . on account of one of the officers of Colonel Sumner's command (that was about ten days march in my advance) having flogged an Indian Chief of their tribe. . . . On me they intended to have retaliation."	Harvey L. Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> (1968), 129-30; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1008.
[late June or early July] 1851	20 miles away	20 Cheyennes angry about the flogging entered Carson's camp	none	conflict	Overhearing Cheyennes talk about killing his party, Carson ordered them to leave or be shot. The Cheyennes left and Carson's company hitched up and fled, prepared to fight.	<i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 142-46; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 123.
next day [late June or early July] 1851	unspecified	Carson sent an express requesting military assistance	none	conflict	Sumner did not send help until later, but troops from Rayado reached Carson's train after it had passed beyond the threat. Carson felt that Summer lacked a desire to assist travelers threatened by Indians.	Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 131-32. Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1004.
next day [late June or early July] 1851	unspecified	5 Cheyennes met Carson's train	none	conflict	The Indians departed after learning that a dispatch had been sent requesting military assistance and hearing other threats.	Carter, <i>'Dear Old Kit,'</i> 131.
early July (?)	20 miles east of Bent's Fort	Col. Summer reluctantly allowed soldiers to go to Carson's aid	none	warfare	Carson felt that Summer lacked a desire to help trail travelers threatened by Indians.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 142-44; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1008.
[early?] July 1851	"Narrows" New Mexico	Indians skirmished with mail carriers under Griffith H. Williams	1 Indian killed	warfare	The mail carriers retreated to Beck's train.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1027.

5 July 1851	Bluff Creek	Katie Bowen and soldiers were amused by the sight of 2 Indians driving mules with their bows and arrows	none	friendly	Travelers occasionally expressed amusemen at the sight of Indians.	Katie Bowen, "A Faithful Account of Everything," <i>Kansas History</i> 19 (Winter 1996-1997): 272-73.
5 July 1851	Bluff Creek	Katie Bowen and US soldiers saw 2 Indians	none	friendly	The scene of Indians driving a mule with bows and arrows amused the soldiers.	Bowen, "A Faithful," 272-73.
9 July 1851	east of Cottonwood Creek	eastbound train members told Bowen's train that Indians at Ft. Mackey would be leaving	none	tension	Accordingly, sparse grass would encourage 4,000 "savages" "to leave and go farther into the back country to support their ponies."	"Katie Bowen Letters," Part VII, <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (November 2004): 19.
10 July 1851	west of Council Grove	after Isaac of Bowen's train kept an Indian from entering the camp, Bowen noted the event using racial language	none	tension	She suggested that Indians were devils.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 19.
12 July 1851	east of Big Turkey Creek	Bowen reported that "several squaws were hanging about our camp the night before last"	none	tension	Bowen speculated that the women sought to "plunder whatever might be scattering."	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 19.
12 July 1851	Big Turkey Creek	Bowen suggested that moonlight nights deterred the Indian threat	none	tension	Bowen wrote that "[f]ear of Indians does not prevent my sleeping very sound. These moonlight nights are too clear for mischief."	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 19.
12 July 1851	near the Little Arkansas	Bowen described the dress and appearance of unidentified Indians	none	tension	The Indians were "painted all over with yellow ochre, a strip about the eyes of red, and dozens of strings of beads attached all around the rim of their ears, crow feathers in the hair."	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 19-20.
13 July 1851	15 miles from Turkey Creek	Katie Bowen and her camp crew saw three Indians	none	tension	See the below entry.	Bowen, "Faithful Account," 276.

14 July 1851 (ca)	east of Cow Creek	3 Osages visited Bowen's train	none	tension	Bowen noted that an Osage was an intelligent man about eighty years old. He refused an offer to sell his peace medal to members of Bowen's party.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 20.
16 July 1851	east of Pawnee Fork	Bowen feared that Pawnees had gotten Uncle Isaac and others buffalo hunters	none	tension	Isaac avoided an Indian camp before finding his train.	"Katie Bowen Letters, 1851," Part VIII, <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (February 2005): 18.
16-18 July 1851	east of Pawnee Fork	Bowen noted that Indian nations were hunting buffalo nearby	none	tension	Indian continued to rely heavily on buffalo for food.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VIII, 18.
16-18 July 1851	east of Pawnee Fork	Indians entered Bowen's camp to "beg or sell their dried meat"	none	tension		Bowen, "Letters," Part VIII, 18.
mid July 1851	east of the Arkansas River	Bowen had not seen Indians for 3 days	none	tension	Bowen learned that Indians had left the area for Fort Laramie for "big talk."	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 19.
mid July 1851	east of Arkansas River	Bowen stated that the "last mail carried had some trouble with the Pawnee"	none	tension	Bowen suggested that Pawnees feared her train would punish them.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 21.
summer? 1851	25 miles east of Bent's Fort	Carson's train met a relief force of soldiers	none	tension	The force found Carson's train out of danger about twenty miles from Bent's Fort.	Carson, <i>Autobiography</i> , 144-46.
19 July 1851 (ca)	east of Arkansas River	Bowen used racial thinking to describe the Indians' disposition	none	conflict	All Indians of the area were "troublesome and nobody knows how many more may be one sided. At the worst we can defend ourselves."	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 21.

19 July 1851	New Mexico	Sumner ordered the establishment of a new post [Ft. Union]	none	tension	Ft. Union was to serve as a military depot for New Mexico forts, to punish Indians and protect New Mexico settlements, and to protect the trail.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 104-05.
July 1851	Mora River	Col. Sumner established Ft. Union within the homelands of the Jicarilla Apaches without approval of these Indians	none	tension	See the July 19, 1851, entry.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/fort-union-nm/fu-oliva-2.html
23 July 1851	Ft. Mackey [Atkinson]	Bowen wrote that Indians had left to hunt buffalo but would return a few weeks later	none	tension	The Indians' departure temporarily soothed tensions.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 21.
23 July 1851	Ft. Mackey [Atkinson]	Bowen asserted that some Indians had a Mexican captive who was purchased by a sutler	none	tension	In New Mexico, captives were held by Mexicans, Indians, and US citizens.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VII, 21.
26 July 1851	Las Vegas	the US military post was abandoned and the construction of Ft. Union began	none	tension	Within a few years, the post would become "the largest military post on the western plains."	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 105.
summer 1851	near Cow Creek	Kiowas and Comanches were "annoying" trains	none	conflict	US dragoons were sent from Ft. Leavenworth to protect the traffic.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 81.
summer 1851	near Pawnee Rock	unidentified Indians attacked a lagging wagon with a Mexican train and fought US dragoons	1 Mexican wounded ----- several Indians possibly wounded	warfare	US dragoons rescued the wounded man and his son. One [Indian?] pony was killed.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 82.

summer 1851	Cimarron Crossing	a large Comanche and Kiowa encampment was across the river from a US dragoon camp	none	tension	Lowe noted that there was no active war.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 83, 85.
summer 1851	Cimarron Crossing	Comanche and Kiowa chiefs visited Lt. Hastings each day to express their regret that they could not control their young men	none	diplomacy	Lowe term the interaction as a "farce."	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 85.
summer 1851	Cimarron Crossing	a Comanche or Kiowa told the chiefs, who were visiting Lt. Hastings, that Indians were attacking a wagon train	none	warfare	Fearing a ruse, Haskins doubled the guard and had his command's horses tied to a picket line.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 85-86.
summer 1851	Cimarron Crossing	US soldiers fired across the river into the tops of Kiowa and Comanche tepees	none	warfare	Later that evening the Indians fled, leaving behind their personal property and tents.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 86-87.
next day, summer 1851	Cimarron Crossing	US soldiers looted and burned the abandoned Kiowa and Comanche camp	none	warfare	Lowe speculated that fear of the soldiers' superior firepower and of an approaching military train coming to wipe them out had scared off the Indians, making freighting safe.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 86-87.
summer 1851 several weeks later	near Cimarron Crossing	50 or more Indians attacked 2 soldiers who were hunting buffalo for sport	several Indians wounded	warfare	Two other soldiers from Hastings' command joined the fight. The incident illustrated that Indians' disapproved of non-authorized hunting.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 90-94.
summer of 1851 a few days later	south of Cimarron Crossing	an eastbound freight train prepared to fight approaching Indians	none	warfare	The Indians, supposedly the same ones involved in a fight a few days previously, passed without stopping.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 94.

summer 1851	west of Council Grove	F. X. Aubry, Bent, and Maxwell felt that Indians would not return to the trail that season	none	warfare	This view suggests that relations would rather amicable along the trail.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 94-95.
summer 1851	mouth of Walnut Creek	Lt. Hastings ordered trains to prepare for Indian attacks	none	warfare	He ordered trains to amass in large caravans and travel in double columns.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 81-82.
summer 1851	near Pawnee Rock	US dragoons rescued a small Mexican train under an Indian attack	1 train member wounded ----- some Indians possibly wounded	warfare	Indians periodically attacked Mexican trains.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 82.
26 July 1851	Ft. Union	US soldiers occupied the post near the Mora River close to where the mountain route and Cimarron route joined	none	warfare	The strategically placed fort would play an important role in carrying out US of controlling Indian.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 167; Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 417.
26 or 27 July 1851	west of Ft. Mackey [Atkinson]	Bowen's train, with Maj. Rucker, fed Kiowas looking for Pawnees who had recently killed 1 of their men	none	tension	Among the Kiowas was a Mexican captive, now the wife of a chief, and a Pawnee woman with two children, and a Pawnee woman.	Bowen, "Letters," Part VIII, 18; Bowen, "Faithful Account," 277.
28 July 1851	Santa Fe	Calhoun had 5 Mexican captives freed from Comanches	none	diplomacy	In New Mexico, captives were held by Mexicans, Indians, and US citizens.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 390-91.
30 July 1851	Santa Fe	Calhoun ordered the cessation of treaties with Jicarilla Apaches east of the Del Norte	none	warfare	Congress had not ratified the treaty but Jicarillas were expected to abide by its terms.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 393.
[early ?] August 1851	Upper Cimarron Springs	Indian raiders "upset" Mayer's train	none	warfare	This ambiguous account appeared in the <i>Missouri Republican</i> on August 22.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1026.

2 August 1851	Ft. Union	US dragoons began to patrol the road between Ft. Union and Ft. Atkinson	none	tension	The plan hoped that the presence of a mobile US military force would deter Indian attacks.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 106.
3 August 1851	Ft. Union	Sumner dispatched Maj. Carleton and a US dragoon company to protect the trail	none	warfare	Several weeks later Sumner reported that Indians had not committed depredations since the arrival of Carleton's force.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 417.
8 August 1851	between Pawnee Fork and the [Crossing	a letter appearing in the Missouri <i>Republican</i> reported cholera	none		Ten cases of the disease were reported but only a Shawnee named Logan had died.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1015.
17 August 1851	Ft. Union	Sumner led US troops on a campaign into Navajo country	none	warfare	US officials opted for a military solution to address the problems that US expansion was bringing Indians.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 117.
25 August 1851	eastern Kansas	cholera was among the Shawnees, Delawares, Munsees, and Stockbridges	40 to 50 deaths		Disease was a constant threat.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1011.
10 September 1851	Santa Fe	Calhoun sent Col. A. R. Woolley to investigate reports "without a moments delay" that Indians were camped between San Miguel and Barclay's Fort	none	tension	Woolley was to "ascertain the purposes of the Indians in coming in to our settlement." Col. Alexander refused to provide Woolley a military escort.	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 422-23, 423 n.
17 September 1851	Ft. Laramie	Ft. Laramie treaty signed with many Indian nations who had contact with the trail	none	diplomacy	The treaty sought to end Indian warfare along US roads and to establish peace between warring Indian nations	Kappler, comp, and ed., <i>Indian Treaties, 1778-1883</i> (1972), 594-96.
18 September 1851	Navajo land	Sumner established Ft. Defiance near Navajo country	none	warfare	The US government was expanding its military posts to more effectively control Indian nations who resisted US expansion.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 118.

24 October 1851	Ft. Union	Sumner reported the results of the military patrol on the trail	none	warfare	He speculated that Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches had not attacked caravans, mail trains, and travelers because of the patrol. The US army would use military patrols the following summer.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 106.
4 November 1851	Ft. Union	Carleton's patrolling duty ended	none	warfare	This indicates that those who resisted the trail had gone into winter camps.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 118

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
January 1852	10 miles above Aubrey's Crossing	Ft. Atkinson commanding officer Bvt. Capt. Simon met Kiowas in 20 lodges	none	friendly	Relations were good at the onset of the new year.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 1061.
spring 1852	between Cow Creek and Big Bend	unidentified Indians attacked 2 men with a Mexican wagon	2 Mexicans killed	warfare	US soldiers who found the dead men attempted to follow the Indians' tracks but buffalo had obliterated the trail.	Percival G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 102.
spring 1852	near Coon Creek	12 Osages fought Sgt. Cook, infantry escorts, and a train after Indians demanded a feast and tobacco	1 Indian killed and 2 wounded	conflict	Cook shot the Indian leader when he struck Cook with a whip and raised his bow and arrow. Major Chilton declared that the supposedly friendly Osages stole and robbed "whenever they could bluff a small party."	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 102-03.
early April 1852	five miles above Ft. Atkinson	US mail carriers and eastbound travelers saw Arapahos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Pawnees [Comanches?] trading with William Bent	none	friendly	It is unlikely that the Pawnees would be trading with their enemies.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1073.
April 1852	San Luis Valley	US troops established Ft. Massachusetts	none	tension	This post was placed to control Ute Indians. In 1859 its troops were transferred to Fort Garland.	Morris F. Taylor, "Fort Massachusetts," <i>Colorado Magazine</i> 45 (Spring 1968): 120-42
26 April 1852	Buffalo Creek	Cheyennes met Aubry's caravan	none	friendly		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1090.
May 1852	Santa Fe Trail	trains including those with Francis X. Aubry, Jotham Meeker, and others carried cholera suffers	none		Trains spread disease to Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1097.

May 1852	Santa Fe Trail	an army officer [Lt. W. D. Whipple?] stated that mail carriers were well armed and traveled into the night so Indians could not discover their camp except by accident	none	tension	This account appeared in the New York <i>Daily Tribune</i> on May 31, 1852.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1099.
early 1852		an army officer [Whipple?] reported that buffalo were rapidly diminishing	none		He wrote that "each successive year finds them diminishing in numbers and their range more circumscribed."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1102.
summer 1852	Cimarron Cutoff	Marian Russell, with a train of 500 wagons under Aubry, reflected about her fear of Indians	none	anecdotal	Russell, who was seven years old at the time of this trip, noted that Indians and desert mirages occasionally alarmed her caravan.	Marian Sloan Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 15-16.
summer 1852	Pawnee Rock	Indians took 250 army horses from Russell's train, delaying its journey until replacements were obtained	none	warfare	Russell reported that mules with her train hated Indian.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 23, 27.
summer 1852	west of Pawnee Rock	Russell asserted that she and her traveling companions feared the Indians they saw	none	tension	This was a common view.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 24.
summer 1852	Ft. Mackey	Aubry warned the children in Russell's train that too many Indians were nearby for them to wander away	none	tension	This was a standard precaution taken by trains.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 24.
summer 1852	Ft. Mackey	Russell declared that Indians "all seemed sullen, treacherous and ready to go on the war path"	none	tension	Russell reported that mules with her train hated Indian.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 24.
summer 1852	Ft. Mackey	Russell used negative terms to express her views about trading between teamsters and Indians	none	tension	Russell stated that an old, ugly Indian seemed delighted to see his reflection in a mirror.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 24-25.

summer 1852	Cimarron Cutoff	passing a dozen lodges, Russell saw Indian children playing in the rain	none	tension	Russell used the language of racism to express commonly held views.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 26.
summer 1852	Ft. Union	Russell noted that the fort was built in 1851 as a measure against Indians, especially the "murderous" Apaches	none	anecdotal	Russell used the language of racism to express commonly held views.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 27.
summer 1852	Ft. Union	Will, Russell's child friend, played mumblety-peg with the 2 Indians, losing his marbles	none	friendly	Friendly intercultural relations occasionally occurred among children.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 28.
31 May 1852	Santa Fe	5 Tesuque Pueblos departed en route to Washington, DC, with territorial governor John S. Calhoun, and 21 dragoon escorts	none	cooperation	John Greiner, acting superintendent of Indian affairs, reported that the Tesuques were accompanying Calhoun, who was dying, on a trip to Washington. See the July 5, 1852, entry.	<i>Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun</i> (1915), 539, 542-43.
10 June 1852	Ft. Atkinson	an eastbound US military command suffered 10 cholera deaths before reaching the fort	none		Trains spread disease among Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1092.
14 June 1852	St. Louis	Lt. Heth received orders from Gen. Newman Clarke, at the request of superintendent of Indian affair D. D. Mitchell to discuss the condition of Indians on the Arkansas in Washington DC	none		The request was made "to urge upon the proper Dept the adoption of such measures as will be best calculated to preserve friendly relations."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1095.
June 1852	Ft. Leavenworth	post commander Lt. Buckners demanded reinforcements	none	tension	He accused his superiors of failing to support his post from Indians.	Leo Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 100.
3 July 1852	Ft. Leavenworth	US troops departed for Ft. Atkinson	none	tension	See the June 1852 and August 1, 1852, entries.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 100.

5 July 1852	eastern Kansas	David V. Whiting, Calhoun's temporary replacement, reported that the 5 Tesuque men were waiting for a boat to take them to Washington, D.C.	none	cooperation	Calhoun died before reaching Independence. Whiting wrote that Calhoun wanted the journey to continue if he died so that the Pueblos could visit the president to "secure more firmly their confidence and esteem towards our people. . . . If these Indians are turned back, the consequences will be injurious to the Government and the Territory alike."	Calhoun, <i>Correspondence</i> , 540-41.
July 1852	near Ft. Mackay	4 army deserters, Joseph Dodge, John Schoen, and two others, attacked and robbed a Delaware trader and his sister Mar-mar-trish-ey	Delaware man killed and his sister severely wounded	violence	After the woman reported the crime, authorities arrested, tried, and convicted Dodge and Schoen. The pair was hung on July 22, 1853, in St. Louis.	Mark J. Stegmaier and David H. Miller, <i>James F. Milligan</i> (1988), 65, 183, 184 n; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1111-12.
on or about 3 July 1852	Ft. Leavenworth	rumors and reports of Indian threats led to deployment of 2 companies of mounted riflemen and 1 company of dragoons to Ft. Atkinson	none	conflict	Accordingly, several thousand Indians were threatening to destroy the post and murder people.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1108.
19 July 1852	Ft. Atkinson	2 mounted riflemen companies from Ft. Leavenworth arrived	none	conflict	The US was strengthening its presence along the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1108.
August? 1852	Pawnee Rock area	Indians attacked a "laggard" wagon	1 wagon member wounded ----- some Indians possibly wounded	warfare	soldiers rescued the besieged wagon.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1108.

summer 1852	Ft. Atkinson	Kiowas camped nearby spent their time racing horses and betting on the competition	none	friendly	They were "great horsemen" and "superb with the bow." They were awaiting the arrival of Fitzpatrick.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1113.
1 August 1852	Ft. Union	Katie Bowen stated that Indians were threatening to attack trains if the US government did not send them presents	none	tension	She stated indicated that Col. Sumner ordered Maj. Carleton and his dragoons to patrol the trail	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 120, n. 29.
1 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	a 1st dragoon company arrived to escort Santa Fe-bound trains	none	conflict	The dragoons required trains to "concentrate in large caravans and to proceed with great caution in doubled columns." See the July 3, 1852, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1108.
1 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	thousands of Indians waiting for Fitzpatrick's arrival departed in "greatly disgusted"	none	tension	Fitzpatrick did not arrive until the end of August. See the August 30, 1852, entry.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1112.
1 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	"Kiowa" reported Maj. Robert Chilton's arrival with 25 to 30 men "to keep the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Osages, Crows[?] &c. in check"	none	conflict	Chilton returned to Fort Leavenworth in September.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1113.
3 August 1852	Ft. Union	Carleton departed with a dragoon company to patrol the trail	none	conflict	Carleton returned by September 1, 1852.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 118, n. 29
6 August 1852	Bull Creek	westbound William Carr Lane, traveling by mail coach, noted "some Shawnee farms and cabins"	none	friendly	Lane was going to New Mexico to become the territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 114.
7 August 1852	west of 110 Mile Creek	Lane made a diary entry about a nearby Shawnee settlement	none	friendly	Numerous travelers committed about Shawnee settlements.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1114.

8 August 1852	Council Grove	Lane noted that a Ft. Atkinson-bound train under Mr. Orrick accused Kaws of stealing his train's oxen	none	violence	Meeting Kaw opposition when trying to recover some of the animals, Orrick fired a shot that struck the Kaw's hat.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1114.
8? August 1852	110 Mile Creek	Santa Fe-bound Bishop Lamy, with 4 Sisters of Loretto and perhaps 20 others, said mass near an "Indian hut" on the creek's band	none	friendly	Lamy was the vicar apostolic of New Mexico.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1116.
early August 1852	Arkansas Crossing	Caruthers and [Houston's] train saw "hordes" of camped Kiowas and Comanches	none	tension		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1118.
16 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	leaving the mail coach, Lane traveled with Maj. Carleton's command	none	conflict	The mail coach that Lane had been with traveled near Carleton's troops for protection	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1115.
17 August 1852	Council Grove	Julius Froebel, with Henry Mayer's train, later reflected on Council Grove and its inhabitants	none	friendly	Council Grove had "about ten houses, inhabited by white men and Indian women." About a mile away, Kaws were camped in "twelve to fifteen leather tents."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1099.
late summer? 1852		William Bent and Lucien Maxwell felt that Indians would not return to the trail that season	none	tension		Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1113.
29 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	a Missouri-bound traveler noted 2,000 Indians camped nearby	none	friendly	The Indians [Kiowas and Comanches] were awaiting the arrival of Fitzpatrick.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1114.
30 August 1852	Ft. Atkinson	Fitzpatrick distributed \$6,000 in goods among the Kiowas and Comanches provided by the Ft. Laramie treaty	none	friendly	Neither Comanches or Kiowas were parties to the treaty. US officials or others had led the Indians to believe that they would receive presents.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1113, 1114

30 August? 1852	near Ft. Atkinson	30,000 Comanches, Kiowas with Satanta, and Plains Apaches met in council with Chilton and Fitzpatrick over a 2 month period	none	diplomacy	Satanta complained about how whites treated Indians. Chilton apparently threatened to exterminate the Indians if they bothered trail traffic.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 103-106; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1112, 1114.
7 September 1852	west of Ft. Atkinson	some 400 Indians surrounded Lamy's party	none	friendly	The Indians terrified the Sisters of Loretto with Lamy.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1116.
9 September 1852	"dry route" west of Ft. Atkinson	Comanche chiefs To-ho-pe-te-cane [White Tent], Way-ya-ba-tosh-a [(White Eagle), and Okh-ahk-tzo-mo visited Mayer's westbound train	none	friendly	Mayer's train met numerous Comanche hunting parties.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1117.
10 September 1852	few miles west of Ft. Atkinson	Kiowas visited the Mayer train camp	none	friendly	The context of this meeting is uncertain.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1117.
17 October 1852	Council Grove	Michael Steck with a Santa Fe-bound caravan met some Kaws and commented on the Indians reservation life	none	friendly	Steck indicated that the Kaws were adjusting to the conditions produced by the trail and reservation life.	"Trail Letter of Michael Steck, 1852," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 21.
October 1852	Coon Creek	US soldiers spotted 4 Osages creeping near where Lowe and another soldier were skinning a buffalo	none	conflict	A detachment of soldiers including Lt. Hastings and others apprehended the Osages.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 108-09.
October 1852	Coon Creek	soldiers took 4 Osages to Maj. Chilton's camp	none	conflict	Some soldiers wanted to kill the Osages.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 108-09.
October 1852	Coon Creek	at the soldier's camp, Chilton threatened to "'wipe the Osage off the face of the earth' if they did not keep off the road and leave white people entirely alone."	none	diplomacy	Chilton's harsh reaction illustrates a common view that Euromericans had a privileged status.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 108-09.

October 1852	Diamond Springs	soldiers blamed Kaws for setting a prairie fire	Lowe and other soldiers suffered burns	tension	After putting out the fire, soldiers doubled the guard.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 109-10.
October 1852	Kaw town near Council Grove	Lowe held council with Kaws about army horses stolen the previous spring at Walnut Creek	none	diplomacy	Lowe wanted to kill a lot of Kaws because they were amusing themselves at his expense. The Kaws stated that they had found the horses in question.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 110-12.
October 1852	Kaw town near Council Grove	obeying Chilton's order, Lowe and other soldiers enraged the Kaws by entering the Kaw town and taking an innocent chief hostage in an attempt to recover the missing horses	none	conflict	Lowe threatened to kill the chief if the Kaws resisted. The Kaws soon turned over three horses and promised to return the others. The chief was outraged by this treatment, and Lowe felt sorry for taking an innocent man hostage.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 112-14.
October 1852	near Council Grove	Kaw chiefs returned 2 more horses to Chilton	none	conflict	Kaws were trying to maintain peaceful relations with trail travelers.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 114-15.
October 1852	near Council Grove	Chilton blamed Kaw chiefs for trying to burn his camp the previous day.	none	diplomacy	Threatening to "wipe the young bucks off the face of the earth," Chilton ordered the chiefs to control their young men.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 114-15.
15 October 1852	Independence	a report indicated that 5 Tesuque Pueblo men would leave for Santa Fe on the 10th or 12th of November	none	friendly	The Tesuque's were returning from a trip to Washington, D.C.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1131.
17 October 1852	Council Grove	a Santa Fe-bound caravan with Michael Steck and 22 others met the Kaws	none	friendly	Kaws were trying to maintain peaceful relations with trail travelers.	Steck, "Trail Letter," 21.

November or December 1852	near Ash Creek	40-50 "hostile" and surly Osage hunters met Steck's party	none	tension	Steck's comments suggest that Osages disapproved of the harm being done by travelers.	Steck, "Trail Letters," 22-24.
December 1852	New Mexico	several Pueblo Indians helped Steck's party to find water	none	cooperation		Steck, "Trail Letters," 25.
December 1852	stage station near Ft. Union	an Indian attack woke Russell	1 stock- tender killed	warfare	The attackers burned the stables.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 28.
December 1852	Santa Fe	Russell was disappointed with the Mexicans, Indians, and "half-breeds she saw	none	tension	Russell used the language of racism to express commonly held views.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 29.
winter 1852- 1853	Big Timbers	William Bent began to build a new trading fort	none		Bent's presence near Fort Atkinson allowed him to intervene in matters pertaining to the Cheyennes while maintaining his trading business.	Donald J. Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 124.
winter 1852- 1853	Big Timbers	many Cheyennes and Arapahos, along with some Kiowas and Plains Apaches, gathered at Bent's new trading fort	none	friendly	George Bent recalled that buffalo were plentiful that winter.	George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Fort and Its Builders," (1919-1922): 84.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
spring 1853	Bent's Fort	George Bent and his siblings traveled by wagon train to Westport for schooling	none	friendly	Returning home in 1862, he saw how much US expansion had altered the landscape during his absence.	George Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 94, 110-11.
early March 1853	near Ft. Union	US soldiers pursued Jicarilla Apaches who had taken livestock and fled to a Red River canyon	none	warfare	Apaches killed two soldiers and wounded others suffering four deaths and other wounds. Warfare continued until Jicarillas sought peace on July 10 in Santa Fe.	F. Stanley, <i>Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940</i> (1962), 199.
19 March 1853	Independence	an arriving mail stage with Lt. Lloyd Beall had met Indians along the way	none	friendly	Presumably, the meeting was uneventful	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 1142.
10 April 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Lt. Heth reported Cheyenne attacks on trail travelers	none	conflict	Heth asked for reinforcements and an escort for the eastbound May mail trail, both of which were provided.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 101.
April 1853	unspecified	Lt. Henry Heth prepared to attack Cheyennes suspected of having murdered a traveler	none	warfare	Learning that fellow travelers had slain the man for his money, Bent persuaded Heth to stop the attack.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 124
10 May 1853	Westport	Beale's party of 12 hired Richard Brown, a Delaware hunter	none	cooperation	Delawares participated in numerous major and minor US military operations	Gwinn Harris Heap, <i>Central Route to the Pacific</i> (1957), 83, 88.
11 May 1853	Santa Fe	4 Cochiti Pueblo men en route to Barclay's Fort visited Gov. Ward's office	none	diplomacy	They requested a letter asking authorities near Barclay's Fort to help them recovery stolen livestock.	John Ward, "Indian Affairs in New Mexico," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 16 (July 1941): 339.
15 May 1853	Westport	Richard Brown, a Delaware, set out for California with Edward F. Beale and 10 others	none	cooperation	Beale was California's superintendent of Indian affairs.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1152.

15 May 1853	near Indian Creek, a tributary of the Kansas	Simms, a black member of Beale's party, procured milk at a nearby Kaw "hut"	none	friendly		Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 84.
16 May 1853	Bull Creek	Beale noted 2 "log-huts," possibly Shawnees	none	sighting	Travelers frequently noted Indian dwellings.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1152.
17 May 1853	110 Mile Creek	Heap noted a Shawnee women in a town with the men absent	none	friendly	Heap referred to the women as "neat and respectable."	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 85.
17 May 1853	Dragoon Creek	Beale's party refused to exchange horses with Kaws	none	tension	The Kaw chief presented a paper, apparently written by "some mischievous emigrant," warning that this chief was "a great rascal, and great beggar."	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 86.
17 May 1853	Dragoon Creek	Heap with Beale's train used stereotypical language to describe the Kaws	none	tension	Heap described the Kaws as "fine- looking men, well proportioned, and athletic."	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 86.
17 May 1853	"Camp Centre" [north of the trail]	6th infantry companies arrived at the confluence of the Kansas and Republican rivers to establish "Camp Centre" that was renamed Ft. Riley	none	tension	This post was a step in the US army's plan to protect travelers and trade on the Santa Fe and Oregon trails.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1154.
17 May 1853	Ft. Atkinson	stagecoach passengers saw encamped Cheyenne waiting for US agent Fitzpatrick	none	friendly	The Cheyennes were described as being "remarkably friendly."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1156.
18 May 1853	Council Grove	Beale's party sighted Indian towns	none	friendly	Travelers frequently noted Indian dwellings.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 87.
19 May 1853	Council Grove	Heap noted that Indians on the road made the trip seem less lonely	none	friendly		Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 88.
19 May 1853	Council Grove	nearing Indian hunting lands, Beale's party posted guards for the first time		tension	This posting of guards at Council Grove had become commonplace.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 89.

21 May 1853	near Walnut Creek	228 to 285 Comanches, armed with guns, bows and arrows, and tomahawks, attacked James Fugate and 56 other well-armed men with 210 cattle bound for Santa Fe	1 white killed and many wounded ----- many Comanches killed and wounded	warfare	The whites expressed concern about continuing the trip, but did so. No other sources supports Fugate's claim.	"James M. Fugate's Adventures, 1853," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 29-31.
May 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Maj. Johnson investigated a quarrel involving Cheyennes and emigrants [occurring several days before May 25]	none	anecdotal	Finding that an emigrant had instigated the conflict, Johnson ordered him to return to the States.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 96.
22 May 1853	Walnut Creek	Brown, a Delaware hunter, brought buffalo meat to Heap's camp	none	cooperation	Delawares had a reputation as being skillful hunters.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 93.
23 May 1853	Pawnee Rock	Brown brought an antelope and a rabbit to Heap's camp	none	cooperation	Delawares had a reputation as being skillful hunters.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 94.
23? May 1853	Walnut Creek	at dawn approximately 500 Cheyennes went after Fugate's cattle before attacking the train	60 Cheyennes killed ----- 5 train members killed and several wounded	warfare	The Cheyennes withdrew when help from another caravan arrived but continued harassing the caravan the next morning. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 31-33.
23? May 1853	5 or 6 miles west of Walnut Creek	Fugate's party had a slight brush with unspecified Indians	none	warfare	Incidents of violence were becoming more prevalent. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 33-35.

24? May 1853	Pawnee Rock	300 Cheyennes went after cattle with Fugate's caravan	some Cheyennes killed ----- 1 train member wounded	warfare	The Indians killed several cattle. They retreated, taking their dead and wounded. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 34-35.
late May or early June 1853	Pawnee Fork	Fugate's train fought Indians	none	warfare	Incidents of violence were becoming more prevalent. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 35.
late May or early June 1853	Cimarron	[Plains?] Apaches and Arapahos fought Fugate's party	none	warfare	Incidents of violence were becoming more prevalent. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 35.
late May or early June 1853	unspecified	unknown Indians attacked an eastbound "Spanish" train	none	warfare	Incidents of violence were becoming more prevalent. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 35.
late May or early June 1853	Mount Aubrey [Indian Mound or Chouteau's Mound?]	Fugate's party found 10 dead "Spaniards" and a wounded one who died the next morning	11 Spaniards killed	warfare	Jicarilla Apaches were responsible for the attack. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventures," 35.
next morning 1853	Mount Aubrey	Apaches and Arapahos attacked Fugate's party at dawn	50 to 80 Indians killed ----- 8 non-Indians killed	warfare	Fugate asserted that his party piled the Indian bodies in a stack for the coyotes and buzzards. The Indian casualty count is another gross exaggeration. No other account supports Fugate's assertion about this fight.	Fugate, "Adventure," 35-36.

25 May 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Cheyennes and Arapahos were waiting for Fitzpatrick	none	friendly	Fitzpatrick was en route there to treat with the Comanches and Kiowas.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 95, 95 n.
25 May 1853	Ft. Atkinson	the commanding officer sought to resolve the conflict between Cheyennes and emigrants	none	conflict		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 125.
28 May 1853	east of Chouteau's Island	Delaware hunter Brown killed an antelope and ducks for Beale's party	none	cooperation	Delawares had a reputation as being skillful hunters.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 97.
30 May 1853	Big Timber	Heap reported that Indians winter there	none	sighting	Travelers frequently noted where Indians had camped.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 98.
30 May 1853	Big Timber	Heap passed an old trading post established by John Hatcher	none	anecdotal	The post was abandoned when "Bent's Fort was given up."	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 99, 99 n.
30 May 1853	Bent's old fort	Heap stated that Indians and trappers had once intermingled at the abandoned post	none	anecdotal	Travelers often gave a version of the past regarding certain sites.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 100.
30 May 1853	near Bent's old fort	Delaware hunter Brown got two antelopes for Beale's party	none	cooperation	Delawares had a reputation as being skillful hunters.	Heap, <i>Central Route</i> , 100.
on or about 1 June 1853	Plum Buttes	Indians attacked Mexicans near a large train but US dragoons were unable to follow the Indians because buffalo had destroyed their trail	3 Mexicans killed	warfare	Another account of the dragoons' movement does not mention this incident.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1162-63.
16? June 1853	near an Arkansas Crossings	Kiowas confronted the McCarty train over 2 Mexican girls and fled when a large train with over 200 troops approached	none	conflict	The Kiowas knew that the train was hiding the girls who had escaped from them. The troop's arrival may have averted a fight.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1165.

20 June 1853	Kansas City, MO	Fitzpatrick departed for a treaty council at Ft. Atkinson	none	diplomacy	Fitzpatrick traveled with Indian presents in a large wagon. The treaty was to end conflict with Indians.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1166-67.
23 June 1853	Shawnee country	John Gunnison's railroad surveying expedition, with 3 Delawares [John Moses, guide; Wahhone, hunter; and James Sanders, interpreter] began "in the midst of the various Shawnee missions"	none	cooperation	The expedition, with about 60 men including 30 mounted riflemen, had been there since mid June.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1167.
10 July 1853	Santa Fe	Jicarilla Apaches sought peace	none	diplomacy	Jicarillas had been fighting US expansion since the late 1840s.	Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 199.
mid July 1853	Arkansas River	Gunnison surveying party met a few Cheyennes	none	friendly	Gunnison reported that Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches had gone to fight the Pawnees.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 125.
16 July 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Edward G. Beckwith, with Gunnison's expedition, reported that 280 Comanche lodges were on the Arkansas and Kiowas were camped south of the river	none	friendly	Beckwith's journal entry stated that the "warriors had gone to fight the Pawnees."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1169.
16 July 1853	Ft. Atkinson	the Comanche principal chief Shaved Head met with Gunnison	none	diplomacy	A treaty council would convene in about a week.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1169.
25? July 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Fitzpatrick found many Comanches, Arapahos, and Apaches camped nearby and others arriving daily	none	diplomacy	Indians were frustrated by Fitzpatrick's late arrival.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1167.
26 July 1853	Ft. Atkinson	Comanche, Kiowa, and Plains Apache leaders discussed a peace treaty with Fitzpatrick	none	diplomacy	Without an able interpreter, the Indians had a "distant and suspicious bearing."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1170.

26 July 1853	Ft. Wise	Kiowas, Comanches, and Plains Apaches signed a peace treaty with the US government with vague defined territorial boundaries as lying below the Arkansas	none	diplomacy	The treaty, which was to last for ten years, did not protect Indians from US encroachments. It signaled that more intruders would further harm their life ways.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 117-18.
27 July 1853	two miles from Ft. Atkinson	Comanches, Kiowas and Plains Apaches received presents from Fitzpatrick	none	diplomacy	Gift giving was part of the treaty-making protocol.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1170.
31 July 1853	near Ft. Atkinson	Indians who had signed the treaty moved south of the river	none	friendly	This movement left the trail clear of Indians, at least temporarily.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1175.
early September 1853	Ft. Atkinson	US soldiers abandoned the post and the post office was transferred to Walnut Creek	none		Military officials transferred the soldiers to Fort Riley. Barry placed the date at September 22.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 102; and Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1170.
2 September to 11 October 1853	Nebraska and Kansas	Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny talked to Indian leaders about another round of land cession treaties	none	diplomacy	Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Potawatomis, Ottawas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Weas, Piankeshaws, and others were contacted.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1178.
22 September 1853	near Shawnee Methodist Mission	2 Indian boys returned a lost mule to John C. Frémont's party	none	friendly	Milligan believed the boys had something to do with the mule's disappearance.	James F. Milligan (1988), 108.
22 September 1853	[Shawnee] Methodist Mission	Frémont's expedition had 10 Delawares, including Captain Wolff, Washington, Solomon [Everett], and [John?] Moses	none	cooperation	Carvalho described them as a "noble set of Indians . . . most of them six feet high, all mounted and armed <i>cap-a-pie</i> ."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1180-81.
1 October 1853	Ft. Union	Jicarilla Apaches interacted with James Bennett and other US soldiers	none	tension	Soldiers watched their loose property. Bennett gave an Indian a knife and the Indian said he would remember him as a friend.	James Bennett, <i>Forts and Forays</i> (1948), 48.

1 October 1853	old Ft. Atkinson	a 1st dragoon company leveled the sod structures	none	tension	The fort's destruction was to prevent Indians from ambushing mail carriers and other travelers.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1170.
10 October 1853	half mile from "Lower Cimarron Spring"	William Lane, a former New Mexico territorial governor, noted the poor condition of Indians due to the absence of buffalo and ecological harm caused by US expansion	none		Lane also commented that US Indian policy must be changed "to enable the [Indians] to subsist."	"William Carr Lane, Diary," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 39 (October 1964): 312.
14 October 1853	Saline River	Frémont camp heard gunfire come from the west	none	tension	The gunfire probably came from Kaws on a buffalo hunt.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 118.
15 October 1853	Walnut Creek	a mail stage carrying Lane met Charles Withington with James Rogers, a Cherokee	none	friendly	Cherokees occasionally traveled the trail.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1185.
October 1853	near Las Vegas	[Jicarilla Apache] Indians took an old cow from a Mexican		warfare	See the below entry.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 48.
[several days later] October 1853	Las Vegas	The cow owner retaliated by assaulting an Indian	1 Indian killed	warfare	Swearing vengeance, some Jicarillas returned to Las Vegas. See the above entry.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 48.
26 October 1853	near Las Vegas	news arrived that Indians had attacked herders [John Silva and his son]	2 herders killed	warfare	See the above entry.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 48.
27 October 1853	Ft. Union	30 dragoons left to pursue Indians who had killed 2 herders	none	warfare	See the November 22, 1853, entry.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 48.

1 November 1853	Independence	W. W. H. Davis, US attorney for New Mexico territory, with 11 other men in 4 wagons prepared for their Santa Fe journey	none	tension	Davis wrote: "We were well armed to defend ourselves from Indian attacks on the way, and to shoot game, with which the country abounds."	W[illiam]. W. H. Davis, <i>El Gringo; Or New Mexico and Her People</i> (1973), 14-15.
2 November 1853	near Santa Fe	Davis noted those Indian nations who had frequent contact with the trail	none			Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 16-17; Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1187.
3 November 1853	Lone Elm	Davis reflected on the significance of Lone Elm to Indians and Santa Fe travelers	none	anecdotal	Vandals had destroyed the tree, leaving only a stump.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 19.
3 November 1853	Bull Creek	Davis's train stopped at a small trading post where Davis admired the riding skills of a Shawnee woman "dressed in semi-American style and mounted upon a sorrel pony"	none	friendly	He noted that the trading post was maintained for trade with Indians and that Shawnees inhabited the area.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 20.
4 November 1853	110 Creek	Davis noted that a white settler and his Indian wife lived there	none	friendly	This observation illustrates that intermarriage existed on the eastern plains of Kansas.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 21.
6 November 1853	Council Grove	Davis described Kaws with racial language	none	friendly	Describing the men "as large and rather fine-looking," he stated that they were squalid, drank excessively, and rejected Christianity.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 22-23.
9 November 1853	Cow Creek	Davis and two hunting companions became alarmed when seeing 3 Indians approaching and returned to their train's camp	none	tension	The Indians turned out to be three old Kaws who followed Davis's party before engaging in trading with them.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 27-28.

9 November 1853	Pawnee Fork, near the trail	seeing Cheyenne or Arapaho signs, Milligan feared that the expedition was in a dangerous position because it had entered an area traveled by Indian war parties	none	tension	Signs often caused tension and fear among travelers.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 131.
10 November 1853	Pawnee Fork	Milligan and Captain Wolf, a Delaware, followed the trail of 3 mules and 2 horses taken by Indians	none	conflict	Milligan and Wolf found an abandoned mule, which the Indians had left to avoid being overtaken.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 131.
10 November 1853	Pawnee Fork	Booth of Davis's train "smelt Injins"	none	false alarm	Train members subsequently traveled with their arms ready.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 29.
11 November 1853	between Coon Creek and the Arkansas crossing	after dark, Davis's party saw a campfire and believed it was from an Indian camp	none	false alarm	The fire belonged to a camp of a mail wagon with four men.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 30-31.
11 November 1853	Arkansas River, near the old Pawnee Fort	Milligan believed that these Cheyennes had taken and cached animals belonging to Frémont's party	none	friendly	He expected that they would steal more animals, if given an opportunity to do so.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 132.
11 November 1853	near the old Pawnee Fort on the Arkansas	Indians, possibly Cheyennes, passed near Frémont camp all night	none	tension		Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 132.
ca 11 November 1853	Arkansas River near Pawnee Fork	borrowing Carvalho's pocketknife, an Indian hunter cut a piece of raw antelope liver and ate it	none	friendly	Carvalho felt disgust, considering the man "little better than a cannibal."	Solomon N. Carvalho, <i>Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West</i> (1954), 126-27.
12 November 1853	Arkansas River	17 Cheyennes rode some 15 miles with Frémont's party, but continue when the other party stopped to camp	none	friendly	Referring to the Cheyennes' demeanor, Milligan wrote, "every one 'looking if we dare we would.'"	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 132.

14 November 1853	Cimarron River or Lost River	Davis's party saw approaching "Indians"	none	false alarm	Davis's party armed themselves for a fight, but the party turned out to be eastbound teamsters.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 38
14 November 1853	Arkansas River	Frémont's party met a large Cheyenne war party	none	friendly		Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 133.
16 November 1853	Arkansas River	Cheyennes traveled with Frémont's expedition	none	friendly	Delawares traded ponies with the Cheyennes.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 133.
16 November 1853	Arkansas River	Cheyennes camped with Frémont's expedition	none	friendly	Milligan wrote that experience had taught them to keep their eyes open.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 133.
17 November 1853	M'Nese's [McNees] Creek	Davis wrote that the creek was named after "an old hunter who had been killed there by the Indians a few years ago."	none	anecdotal	McNees had been killed there in 1831.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 42.
18 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Frémont's expedition camped near a large Cheyenne and Arapaho village, who were trading with Mexicans	none	friendly	Cheyennes remained closely attached to Bent's operation.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 134.
19 November 1853	between Whitestone Branch and Rock Creek	Davis's party reached the spot where Jicarilla Apaches had attacked James White's party in 1849	none	anecdotal	Davis provided an account of the incident given by US Indian agent John Greiner who learned about it from "Chacow" [Chacón], a Jicarilla leader.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 44-46.
19 or 20 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Milligan traded Indians 2 shirts for a pair of moccasins	none	friendly		Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 136.

21 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Carvalho visited the Indian village and took daguerreotypes	none	friendly	A lithograph probably based on one of Carvalho's images entitled the "Cheyenne Belle" appears in Frémont's <i>Memoirs</i> and his book.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 136, 148.
21 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Frémont's expedition entered a Cheyenne camp of 250 lodges with a thousand men, women, and children	none	friendly		Carvalho, <i>Travel</i> , 128-30.
21 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Carvalho used his daguerreotype and "quicksilver" to impress Cheyenne women.	none	friendly	He declared that "if I had remained, they would have worshipped me as possessing most extraordinary powers of necromancy."	Carvalho, <i>Travel</i> , 128-30.
21 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Milligan noted that the Cheyennes planned a scalp dance that evening in honor of their recent victory over the Pawnees	none	friendly	Milligan commented negatively on Cheyenne singing.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 137.
21 November 1853	near Wagon Mound	Davis's party reached the site where Apaches and Utes had attacked a US mail party in 1850	none	anecdotal	In 1857, Davis presented a story of the event from information obtained afterwards.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 47-48.
22 November 1853	Barclay's Fort	Davis's party reached a timbered area beyond Indian danger	none	tension	The remainder of the trail to Santa Fe was considered safe.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 51.
22 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Frémont's party obtained stores including tents, robes, and moccasins	none	friendly		Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 137.
22 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Frémont's party witnessed a Cheyenne scalp dance and participated in a feast	none	friendly	Carvalho noted the gender- based division of labor among the Cheyenne and their large horse herds.	Carvalho, <i>Travel</i> , 130-31.

22 November 1853	near Ft. Union	Apaches including Old Lobo fought US soldiers	2 soldiers killed and 3 wounded ----- 9-10 Indians killed	warfare	Lobo was among the dead. General John Garland dated the battle on March 5, 1854. David Howard says it occurred in February 1854.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 48; Bryan Howard, <i>Wildest of the Wild West</i> (1988), 47-48; Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 70.
23 November 1853	Pecos Pueblo	Davis described the abandoned pueblo reciting the fable of the Pecos being the descendants of Montezuma	none	anecdotal	Mythology about the old pueblo was enduring.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 54-55, 152-54.
23 November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Cheyennes tried to return several animals to Frémont's party taken at Pawnee Fork	none	friendly	Frémont refused to accept the animals because they were in poor shape.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 138.
25 November 1853 to 27 February 1854	Bent's trading house and general area	Milligan documented trading activities at the post and elsewhere.	none	friendly	Milligan quit Frémont's expedition to work for Bent.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 139.
November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Carvalho noted that Indians traded venison, buffalo meat, hides, and skins for manufactured goods	none	friendly	Cheyennes remained closely attached to Bent's operation.	Carvalho, <i>Travel</i> , 134.
November 1853	Bent's trading house at Big Timber	Carvalho reported erroneously that Indians had destroyed Bent's Fort	none		William Bent had destroyed the post.	Carvalho, <i>Travel</i> , 134.
17 December 1853	near Ft. Union	Indians ambushed an advanced guard of 4 soldiers, with Lt. Maxwell as Capt. Symes, with 130 troops, watched	Maxwell and another soldier killed and 3 wounded	warfare	Bennett said that Symes threatened anyone who dared to Maxwell's rescue.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 49.

mid December 1853	Pawnee Rock	15-20 mounted Osages took clothing from a US mail party headed by John Jones	none	warfare	Jones followed the Osages and with a revolver forced them to return the stole items. The Santa Fe <i>Gazette</i> declared: "These Osages have lately been very troublesome, intimidating and robbing emigrants on their way to California and Salt Lake."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1188.

Date	Place	Participants	Number Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1854	unspecified	a train with David Slusher denied a request for provisions from 3 Indians	none	conflict	The Indians vowed to return with five hundred men and take the items.	"Council Trove Documents, End to a Plainsman David C. Slusher Served as Driver on Wagon Trains," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (May 1990): 20.
1854	unspecified	500 Indians attacked 2 wagon trains, one captained by Lee	none	warfare	According to Slusher, the Indians attacked another train, taking everything.	"Council Trove, Slusher," 20
winter and spring 1854	vicinity of Bent's New Fort	smallpox struck Plains Apaches, Kiowas, and Cheyennes			It is possible that the disease had come from a trail contact.	George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Fort and Its Builders," 85-86.
about 1 February 1854	Santa Fe	Davis reported in stereotypical terms that a Ute delegation headed by Tamouche, with his wife, was meeting the governor	none	diplomacy	Tamouche planned to visit the president in Washington, D.C. in the spring.	W. W. H. Davis, <i>El Gringo; Or New Mexico and Her People</i> (1938), 283-85.
4 February 1854	Santa Fe	New Mexico citizens petitioned Congress to reestablish Ft. Atkinson to protect the mail route between Santa Fe and Independence	none	conflict	The fort was abandoned in August 1853 and temporarily manned from May 27 to October 2, 1854.	Miscellaneous Documents No. 47, House of Representatives, 33rd Cong., 1st sess.; and "Council Trove, Documents, Fort Atkinson," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 12 (May 1998): 22.
February 1854	near Ft. Union	Jicarilla Apaches took cattle belonging to Samuel Wartrous, the fort's beef contractor	none	conflict	Without US government assistance, Jicarillas had to either plunder or starve.	Veronica E. Valarde Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apache Tribe</i> (1992), 43.

[20] February 1854	Ft. Union	Lt. Beal departed to find and punish Jicarilla Apaches who stole Wartrous's cattle	none	warfare	Fighting ensued on March 5 when soldiers tried to take Lobo hostage near the Cimarron River. Five Jicarillas, including Lobo were and two soldiers were killed and four were wounded. The Jicarillas said that the Utes had stolen the cattle.	<i>Kit Carson's Autobiography</i> (1966), 149-60; Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apache</i> , 41-44
late February 1854	Independence	John B. Lamy, vicar apostolic, arrived from Santa Fe with a Santa Clara Pueblo boy	none	friendly	The party was en route to Rome.	Louise Barry, <i>Beginning of the West</i> (1972), 1194.
March 1854	Santa Fe	Ute relatives of Tamouche's wife, fearing for her safety among whites, took her back to the mountains	none		Tamouche did not make the trip across the plains to Washington without his wife.	Davis, <i>El Gringo</i> , 285.
4 March 1854	east of Camp Bonito	Bent's train with Kioway, an Indian scout, and Pelow, a Mexican adopted by the Cheyennes, saw an Indian camp and corralled	none	friendly	The Indians turned out to be Cheyennes. Bent took the train on a trading expedition among the Plains Indians along the Arkansas.	<i>James F. Milligan</i> (1988), 173.
5 March 1854	west of Chouteau's Island	a Shawnee with Bent's train beat a Mexican by 20 feet in a 250-yard race	none	friendly	Milligan did not explain the connection between the Shawnee and Bent's train.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 173.
6 March 1854	west of Chouteau's Island	Bent's train passed an Indian camp	none	friendly		Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 173.
6 March 1854	near Ft. Union?	Lt. Davidson with 60 troops met 150 Apaches	none	diplomacy	Apache leaders, possibly Jicarillas, agreed to make a treaty at the fort.	James Bennett, <i>Forts and Forays</i> (1948), 52-53.
8 March 1854	near Ft. Union	Jicarilla and Ute raiders struck the post's herd taking over 200 cattle	2 herders killed	warfare	Velásquez saved the other herdsmen from being killed. Pursuing troops failed to find the raiders.	Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apaches</i> , 45.

9 March 1854	Ft. Union	Lt. Beal and 25 dragoons departed to recover the post's stock and punish the Jicarillas but failed to do		warfare	Beal's men failed to find the missing cattle or the Jicarillas.	Tiller, <i>Jicarilla Apaches</i> , 45.
9 March 1854	Taos Rancho	3 Apache chiefs agreed to accompany Maj. Blake to Ft. Union to conclude a treaty with Col. Cooke	none	warfare	The discussion had occurred because US troops had captured 10 Apaches.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 53.
9 March 1854	east of Chouteau's Island	Bill Garey [Guerrier], with Bent's train, had been trading Kiowas and Comanches	none	friendly	Mules were the object of trade.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 174.
11 March 1854	near Taos Rancho	3 Apaches with Maj. Blake and 12 US troops set out for Ft. Union	none	conflict	Apaches had agreed to discuss a treaty with Col. Cooke at Ft. Union	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 53.
11 March 1854	Arkansas River	some 200 lodges of Cheyennes, Sioux, and Apaches camped near Bent's train	none	friendly	Trading occurred between the Indians and Bent's train.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 174.
11? March 1854	Pawnee Fork	unidentified Indians skirmished with David Meriwether's party	Montague wounded	conflict	Meriwether was the New Mexico territorial governor.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1199.
13 March 1854	Arkansas River	Milligan interacted with an old Indian	none	friendly	The elderly man gave Milligan some ribs.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 175.
14 March 1854	Arkansas River	Tim Goodwell and Charley Davidson reported that Utes Cheyennes were at odds	none		Utes and Cheyennes had been in a state of conflict since about the 1820s.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 175.
15 March 1854	Arkansas River	Milligan reported that Cheyennes, Sioux, and Apaches interacted with Bent's train	none	friendly	Bent's train and the Indians moved about ten miles down stream.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 176.
16 March 1854	Arkansas River	Milligan's former Cheyenne "wife" asked him for some sugar	none	friendly	Milligan did not have any to give her.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 176.

18 March 1854	Arkansas River	3 Cheyennes returning from a war expedition into Mexico met Bent's train	none	friendly	They carried news that Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas had been killed near Chihuahua.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 176.
20 March 1854	Arkansas River	Kioway and Pelow returned to Bent's train with 20 horses	none	cooperation	The animals had ran away during a storm.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 177.
20 March 1854	Arkansas River	Shawnees with Bent's train hunted ducks	none	cooperation	The Shawnees were employed by Bent.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 177.
21 March 1854	Arkansas River	Bent's train with Cheyennes, Sioux, and Apaches moved downstream, camping at the Pawnee fort	none	friendly	The Indians camped across the river.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 177-78.
22 March 1854	Jackson's Grove	Milligan sparked tension by shooting a Cheyenne dog	none	tension	Milligan blamed the dog for causing him to scald himself on a hand and foot. He treated the burn with an Indian treatment.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 178.
22 March 1854	Jackson's Grove	Bent's train expected to find Comanches at the Grove	none	friendly	The Comanches were not there.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 178.
24 March 1854	Jackson's Grove	Cheyennes camped with Bent's train to trade	none	friendly	This was the last day of trade between them and Bent's company	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 178.
27 March 1854	15 miles from abandoned Ft. MacKay	Comanches and Arapahos provided a feast for Bent's company	none	friendly	Feasts of this nature were common.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 179.
28 March 1854	Arkansas River	Bent's train apparently traded with Comanches and Arapahos near Ft. Mackay	none	friendly	Trading along the trail was common.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 180.
29 March 1854	between Taos and Ft. Union?	unidentified Indians attacked cattle herders	2 herders killed	warfare	The Indians had drove off 1,500 head of cattle.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 53-54.

30 March 1854	near Rio Grande at Cieneguilla	400 Indians [Jicarilla Apaches and Utes] ambushed and inflicted heavy casualties on 60 US troops under Bennett	Bennett and many other soldiers wounded and 22 killed	warfare	This fight was the result of Jicarilla conflict with the trail and New Mexico settlements.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 54.
30 March 1854	Ft. Union	Lt. Col. Cooke and the 2nd Dragoons departed for Taos in pursuit of the Indians [Jicarilla and Utes] who defeated Lt. Davidson's command	none	warfare	On April 8, Cooke's command engaged the Indians in battle.	Lansing B. Bloom, "El Camino Military," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 15 (January 1940): 1-11
31 March 1854	Westport	James Little noted that the town was "a great trading point of the Indians" and a defensive strategy from Indian attacks	none	tension	Little stated that the prevailing opinion that a "large train of wagons to cross the plains as a protection from the Indians."	James A. Little, <i>What I Saw on the Old Santa Fe Trail</i> (1904), 18.
1 April 1854	below Jackson's Grove	Comanches departed Bent's train	none	friendly	Bent's train planned to resume trading with the Comanches at Coon Creek.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 180.
2 April 1854	below Jackson's Grove	2 lodges of Arapahos camped near Bent's company	none	friendly	The Arapahos had come to trade with Bent.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 180.
4 April 1854	below Jackson's Grove	Bent's company met a large Kiowa war party	none	friendly	The Kiowas had stolen mules and horses from a Mexican on the dry route.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 181.
5 April 1854	Coon Creek	Milligan used racial terms to reflect on the character of Bent's biracial children	none	friendly	Milligan had killed several buffalo cows and caught a young calf. Bent's children killed the calf for "mere wantonness." Milligan referred to them as "Semi-Barbarian Children."	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 181.

9 April 1854	Jarvis Creek	Jim Swanick, a Delaware chief who had been trapping on Pawnee Fork, camped with Bent's company	none	friendly	Swanick (also spelled Swanok and Sewanik) informed the party that Frémont's missing horses were at the Potawatomi reservation.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 182.
April 1854	Council Grove	Little described Kaws as cowards who were hated by other Indians	none	friendly	Other travelers reflected this perspective.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 33.
April 1854	Council Grove	a member of Little's train whipped a Kaw with a blacksnake whip for trying to steal coffee	1 Kaw injured	tension	Little stated that it seemed strange that every Indian his train passed seemed to know about the beating "for they would say: "whip um Kaw."	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 33.
April 1854	few miles east of Great Bend	an eastbound US mail company warned Little's party about Comanches camped ahead	none	tension	Travelers often shared information regarding the whereabouts of Indians.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 34-35.
April 1854	near Great Bend	Comanches showed signs of hostility and planned to rob Little's train "which was the most valuable that crossed the plains that season."	none	tension	Little asserted the Indians "have a mysterious way of communication with other tribes."	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 34-35.
April 1854	Great Bend	a Comanche group divided into two parties when Little's train refused to allow them to come near	none	tension	The chief then made signs that they only wanted to beg, but the wagon master told train members not to give them anything. The wagon master later gave the chief a cup of sugar. Later, Little learned that Comanches were preparing to fight a small tribe trespassing on their hunting lands.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 35.

12 April 1854	[near Fort Mackay]	Bent's company camped where Joseph Dodge, Swaney [John Schoen], and Fillmore had attacked and robbed a Delaware trapper and his "squaw"	Delaware man and woman killed		Swaney and Fillmore were hung in St. Louis for the crime on July 22, 1854. This appears to be the only time non-Indians faced prosecution for criminal acts committed against Indians on the Santa Fe Trail.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 183, 183 n.
17 April 1854	near Council Grove	Swanick accompanied Milligan to Union Town	none	friendly	Bent gave Milligan ten dollars to go to Union Town with Swanick.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 185.
18 April 1854	east of Big John	Milligan and Swanick departed the Santa Fe Trail	none	friendly	Milligan and Swanick left the Santa Fe Trail, headed for the Kansas River.	Milligan, <i>Journal</i> , 185.
6 May 1854	Washington, DC	Delawares ceded all their land north of the Kansas River except about 275,000 acres and 39 section the Wyandots had previously purchased	none	diplomacy	Settlers and US officials were gearing up for a campaign of ethnic cleansing.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1212.
10 May 1854	Washington, DC	Shawnees ceded 1,600,000 acres but a tract of 200,000 acres was returned to them	none	diplomacy	Other Indians in Kansas also ceded large quantities of land.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1212-13.
6 May(?) 1854	unspecified	about 40 Cheyennes, armed with boys and arrows, surrounded a mail coach with "Jones" the conductor and a crew of 2	none	conflict	The Indians stampeded the coach mules and asked for provisions. They agreed to return the mules when Jones aimed his weapon at the "chief's" head. The coach's crew agreed to provide the provisions when the mules were returned.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1215.

26 May 1854	Washington, DC	Congress enacted the Kansas-Nebraska bill	none		Congress celebrated the event with a 100 gun salute fired from Capitol Hill. This law was an important step in the ethnic cleansing campaign of Euroamericans. Between 1854 and 1860 over 100,000 non-Indians poured into Kansas.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1216; and William E. Unrau, <i>Rise and Fall of Indian Country</i> (2007), 141.
June? 1854	Arkansas River	the wagon master did not want Little to leave the train because of the Indian threat	none	tension	Little's train was going to be quarantined because several members had contact smallpox in Las Vegas.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 67.
June? 1854	unspecified	two days later Little met a mounted Indian with a deer	none	friendly	Little stated that they seemed glad to see one another.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 68.
June? 1854	unspecified	two days later after midnight, an Indian approached Little as he slept and the language barrier created misunderstanding	none	friendly	After shaking Little's hand, the man went westward and shouted "Who-e-e, who-e-e." Little feared incorrectly that the man was calling other Indians.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 68-69.
June? 1854	unspecified	that same night Little rode into Indians on foot who grabbed his reins and leg	none	tension	The Indians let him go. He surmised that the Indians had followed him.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 70-71.
June? 1854	half a day travel west of Council Grove	next day, Little entered the camp of an Indian trader flying a US flag	none	friendly	Little assumed the flag was for protection from Indians.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 71-72.
June? 1854	Council Grove	an old Kaw man greeted Little and told him that the Kaws and Comanches had recently fought over a border dispute	none	friendly	Little said that the scared Kaws had flocked to the agency, and they were in mourning for the losses they had suffered.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 73-74.
June?1854	Shawnee reservation	Little visited the Shawnee reservation	none	friendly	He noted that missionary work among Shawnees.	Little, <i>Old Santa Fe Trail</i> , 90-93.

13 June 1854	old Ft. Atkinson	Maj. Albemarle Cady and 2 6th infantry companies [some 150 men] began to construct a temporary camp	none	tension	On April 7, military orders directed the camp to remain occupied until "some time in October."	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1217.
4 July 1854	300 Yards from Ft.	Bennett shot an unidentified Indian "spy" crawling through the bushes	1 Indian killed	warfare	Bennett, on crutches, cut off dead man's scalp and had a "war dance" around it.	Bennett, <i>Forts</i> , 56.
July 1854	just west of Council Grove	many Kiowas approached a 1st dragoon detachment with Col. Fauntleroy, Maj. Chilton, some families, and Percival Lowe, traveling with a large westbound army supply train	none	tension	The train was prepared for an Indian encounter. Following the customary practice of trail travelers, train members had doubled their guard after passing Council Grove.	Percival Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 127.
July 1854	Coon Creek	US army officers argued intensely over how soldiers should treat "saucy, insolent and defiant" Kiowas	none	tension	Fauntleroy ordered the arrest of Chilton, who said: "Well if I were in command I would corral these trains and horses and wipe these Kiowas off the face of the earth; this is no way to deal with Indians."	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 128.
July 1854	Cimarron crossing	soldiers theorized that a lone Indian or wolves may have stampeded the command's 600 horses and mules	none	tension	Lowe believed "the treacherous character of the ground" may have caused the stampede.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 132.
July 1854	about 30 miles west of Cimarron Crossing	soldiers with retrieved horses drove them through a Comanche and Kiowa camp	none	conflict	The soldiers' action was one of reckless intimidation.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 132-35.
July 1854	about 30 miles west of Cimarron Crossing	Although soldiers had driven a herd through the Kiowa and Comanche camp, these Indians helped recover the US livestock	none	cooperation	Kiowas and Comanches received pay from Fauntleroy for returning missing horses.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 132-35.

July 1854	Maxwell's ranch on the Cimarron	Lowe's army train learned of a fight between I Troop and Apaches	none	anecdotal	The fight had occurred six weeks earlier.	Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 138-39.
2 October 1854	old Ft. Atkinson	Cady's command abandoned their camp and marched to Ft. Riley	none	tension	This movement suggests that tensions were easing.	Barry, <i>Beginning</i> , 1217.
2 November 1854	St. Louis	James McClure described the mix of people in St. Louis and the town's significance to the New Mexico trade	none	friendly	Accordingly, "[t]he people were of the lowest type of frontiersmen, and principally composed of teamsters, Indian traders, backwoodsmen, many of them Mexicans and half-breeds."	James McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855, Part II," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (February 2005): 10.
25 December 1854	Pueblo, CO?	Utes and Jicarillas attacked a trading post taking a woman, her child, and livestock	14 Mexicans killed and 2 wounded	warfare	Stanley believes the site of the attack may have been Pueblo, New Mexico, a village near San Miguel.	Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 78-79.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1855	new Bent's Fort	US agent John Whitfield reported that Cheyennes disrespected the US government and needed a "sound chastisement"	none	tension	Whitfield felt that "every present made them they regard as an acknowledgement of their superior power and give to deprecate their wrath." He did not acknowledge that US expansion had created the conflict.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 132.
19 January 1855	Pueblo	Utes and Jicarillas attacked the town, taking over 100 head of livestock	4 citizens killed	warfare		Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), 131.
25 January 1855	Ft. Union	Col. Fauntleroy led US troops after the Utes and Jicarillas who had attacked Pueblo		warfare	The soldiers returned on February 5 without having located Indians.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 131.
8 February 1855	Ocate	Utes and Jicarillas attacked the town	40 Utes killed	warfare	A pursuing US force inflicted the casualties.	F. Stanley, <i>Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940</i> (1967), 79.
February 1855	Council Grove	James McClure observed the Kaws' opposition to school	none	friendly	McClure stated that Kaws considered it a disgrace to become educated in the white man's way.	James McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855, Part II," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (May 2005): 16.
February 1855	east of Council Grove	2 Kaws on foot overtook a mounted McClure who showed his distrust of the Indians' intent by letting the pair know that his gun was in reach	none	tension	McClure gave them tobacco. He declared that after becoming familiar with the Indian character he realized "they did not intend to harm me, but to scare me out of such presents as they were able to get from me" (16).	McClure, "Taking the Census," Part II, 16.

25 April 1855	Huerfano Crossing	Indians fought Company F, 1st dragoons	none	warfare	The account did not provide details about the fight.	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements. . . .</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes. . . .</i> (1966), 34.
July 1855	Maxwell ranch at Rayado	Comanches took several hundred sheep	none	conflict	Comanches raiding created fear among New Mexico settlers.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> , 135.
11 July 1855	Lost Spring	William T. Thornton's command of 137 US soldiers and others saw unidentified Indians	none	friendly	Members of Thornton's command were dying of cholera.	"Diary of William Anderson Thornton: Military Expedition to New Mexico," www.kancoll.org/articles/thornton.htm
12 July 1855	Cottonwood Creek	a Crow chief and woman entered Thornton's camp, asking for money, flour, and sugar	none	friendly	The soldiers gave them a small contribution, along with bread and meat.	Thornton, "Diary."
16 July 1855	22 miles east of Little Arkansas and Cow Creek	Thornton's command feared an Indian attack after his troops accidentally ignited a grass fire	none	conflict	No attack occurred.	Thornton, "Diary."
20 July 1855	Pawnee Fork	a passing party told Thornton that Indians had stolen 8 horses during the night	none	conflict	Thornton had not seen any Indians.	Thornton, "Diary."
24 July 1855	3 miles above Ft. Atkinson	7 unidentified Indians watched Thornton's command from across the river	none	conflict	Indians often observed the movement of foreigners.	Thornton, "Diary."
25 July 1855	about 18 miles above Ft. Atkinson	Thornton's command saw a abandoned Indian campsite	none	signs	Thornton speculated 3,000 Indians had camped there.	Thornton, "Diary."
26 July 1855	east of Ft. Atkinson	a few nearby Indians crossed the river	none	tension	It is possibly that the Indians wanted to watch Thornton's movement.	Thornton, "Diary."

28 July 1855	below Chouteau's Island	2,500 Comanches and 1,500 Kiowas saw Thornton's approaching force and sent their women and children away and formed in line along the road	none	tension	Comanches and Kiowas traveled on Thornton's left flank and rear for a few hours. Thornton thought that the Indians could have taken his command in ten minutes.	Thornton, "Diary."
28 July 1855	below Chouteau's Island	a thousand Indians across the river when the saw Thornton's command approaching	none	tension	From across the river, Indians observed Thornton's movement.	Thornton, "Diary."
28 July 1855	below Chouteau's Island	Comanche chiefs Old Stonehead, White Eagle, Buffalo Rump, and a Mexican boy visited Thornton's camp	none	friendly	Communication occurred through the Mexican boy, a captive. The Indians departed after receiving hard bread and sugar.	Thornton, "Diary."
29 July 1855	below Chouteau's Island	Thornton's command saw many fresh Indian trails	none	tension	Travelers often recorded their spotting of Indian signs.	Thornton, "Diary."
30 July 1855	above Chouteau's Island	Indians watching Thornton's command lit signal fires as the soldiers approached	none	tension	A dragoon party saw 60 to 80 Indians across the river.	Thornton, "Diary."
late July 1855	Walnut Creek	a newspaper reported that Allison and Boon had recently established a "settlement"	none		These trading ranches were enclosed within walls for protection.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 121-22.
1 August 1855	near Bear Creek	Thornton's command reached a train whose horses had been driven off by Indians	none	conflict	Indians often targeted caravan livestock.	Thornton, "Diary."
8 August 1855	Cedar Creek spring	Thornton wrote that the place was a noted site where Indians attacked trains and the mail	none	anecdotal		Thornton, "Diary."

9 August 1855	Cottonwood Creek	Thornton's command saw Indian fires in the distant mountains	none	tension	Thornton stated that his command had reached the territory of hostile Utes and Apaches who had cutoff all trail traffic at the watering spots.	Thornton, "Diary."
10 August 1855	Rabbit Ear Creek	Thornton's command met Cherokees returning from trailing some Utes	none	friendly	The Cherokees apparently wore a distinctive war attire.	Thornton, "Diary."
14 August 1855	Ocate Creek	Thornton's command met several small Indian parties looking for missing animal	none	friendly	It is unclear how the animals were lost.	Thornton, "Diary."
September 1855	Ft. Union	US dragoons departed to protect New Mexico settlements from Comanche raiders	none	tension	The Comanches only took some green corn and a few cattle.	Oliva, Fort Union, 135
11 September 1855	Abiquiu	Moache Utes signed a peace treaty with the New Mexico territorial governor agreeing to cease raiding and ceded all other their lands except a reservation to be established later.	none	diplomacy	The Senate refused to ratify the treaty.	Oliva, <i>Fort Union</i> ,
12 September 1855	Abiquiu	a Jicarilla delegation signed a peace treaty with the New Mexico territorial governor agreeing to stop raiding and to cede there lands except for a reservation to be established later	none	diplomacy	The treaty stipulated that the Jicarillas were not to come within fifty miles of US settlements. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty. A permanent reservation was not established for them until 1887. Those Jicarillas who refused to participate in the treaty continued raiding for some time.	Oliva, Fort Union, 134-35.

fall 1855		US agent John Whitfield noted that Indians charged a toll in sugar, coffee, and other items	none		"No train has been permitted to cross without having to submit to the imposition, whilst a large number of horses, mules and oxen have been stolen during the present season."	John Kingsbury, <i>Trading in Santa Fe</i> (1996), 28 n. 45.
fall 1855	unspecified	Kingsbury reported the robbery of the Santa Fe mail	none	conflict	Mail carriers were a frequent target of Indians.	Kingsbury, <i>Trading</i> , 28.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
10 February 1856	Ft. Union	post commander Lt. Magruder requested the discontinuance of escorts because the Indian threat was minimal	none	tension	His request was rejected. In late 1857 US troops would escort all mail trains. Mail escorts were not used continuously, however.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 108-09.
May 1856	near Upper Cimarron Crossing	James Webb's party entered a Comanche village with chiefs "Without Moccasins" Sin Zappatos" and Camiza de Mugin	none	friendly	Although short on food, the Comanches welcomed the visitors.	"Homesick on the Road to Santa Fe: James J. Webb's Private Diary, 1856," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 72 (April 1997): 144.
17 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Ellen Hundley, with her husband and another westbound traveler, met more than 50 Cheyennes and Arapahos	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Ellen Hundley, "From Utah to Texas in 1856," in <i>Covered Wagon Women</i> (1987), 7: 145-46.
17 July 1856	near Bent's Fort	Hundley's party met 6 Indians	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146-47.
18 July 1856	15 miles east of Bent's Fort	2 Apaches had lunch with Hundley's party	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
18 July 1856	15 miles east of Bent's Fort	an Arapaho man with this wife en route to visit the US agent met Hundley's party	none	friendly	Arapahos traveled some distance with the Hundley's party.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
18 July 1856	east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's party spotted an Indian burial in a tree	none		Many Euroamericans had a fascination for Indian burial.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
18 July 1856	23 miles east of Bent's Fort	unidentified Indians camped with Hundley's party	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
19 July 1856	35 miles east Bent's Fort	Hundley's wagon passed 8 Apache "wickeups" but no inhabitants came out	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
19 July 1856	over 50 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's party saw 4 Indians, 2 males and 2 females	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.

20 July 1856	60 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's party met an Indian traveling with a white man to inform Indians that the US agent would distribute presents among them	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
20 July 1856	60 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's party with an "old Indian chief" stopped at a site where Indians had killed a white boy and burned his train	none	anecdotal	The attack was in retaliation for an Indian killed near Ft. Kearny on the Platte River Road. The old Indian chief had been with those who had killed the boy. The date of this killing is uncertain.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
20 July 1856	60 miles east of Bent's Fort	100 Indians were with a US agent en route to Bent's Fort camped with Hundley's party	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146.
20 July 1856	60 miles east of Bent's Fort	the US agent advised Hundley's train to return with him to Bent's Fort because 7,000 Kiowas ahead "were mad and fighting among themselves"	none	tension	Hundley wrote that "it was better to do that than for us all to be killed or robbed [sic] and taken prisoners."	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 146-47.
21 July 1856	less than 60 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley shuddered at seeing Indians butcher a beef given to them by the US agent	none	friendly	Her reaction was not that uncommon.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
21 July 1856	less than 60 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley feared camping among large numbers of Indians when relations	none	tension	He stated "the Indians camped all around us and such a few white men and no women but Alice and myself besides squaws."	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
22 July 1856	east of Bent's Fort	Hundley indicated that the old Apache chief wore his finest war dress and that he ordered his 400 men to treat the whites well	none	tension	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.

22 July 1856	east of Bent's Fort	Hundley felt that Apaches were pleased with the goods and provisions that the agent had distributed among them	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
22 July 1856	east of Bent's Fort	the old Apache chief spent the night with Hundley's party	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
23 July 1856	near Bent's Fort	Hundley's party and "Plenty of Indians" camped together	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
24 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Hundley wrote that the place was crawling with Indians	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
24 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Bent refused to let the Hundley's party spend the night within the fort	none		Bent's response seems to reflect on the peaceful conditions.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
25 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Hundley with others purchased moccasins at an Indian camp	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 147.
26 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Hundley saw a "scalp dance" involving Indian women dancers and male drummers, and a female Ute captive	none	friendly	She wrote, "it made the cold chills run over me to see their actions and hear them war hoop and yell."	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 148.
29 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Hundley noted that Indians conducted a dance with a Pawnee scalp	none	friendly	She "was frightened out of my life nearly."	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 148.
31 July 1856	Bent's Fort	Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, Shawnees, Blackfeet, Utes, Apache, Cheyennes, and Mexicans were at the fort	none	friendly	Feeling out of place, Hundley wrote, "the sight of a white face looked good for you could look no way but what there was Indians" (sic).	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 148.
August 1856	Walnut Creek	Marian Russell recalled that an Apache approached her train of 20 wagons to ask her mother for food created conflict	none	conflict	The conflict subsided when the Apache returned to his nearby camp.	Marian S. Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 60.

August 1856	east of Walnut creek	Apaches stampeded the oxen and scattered wagons of Russell's train	none	warfare	Russell's mother said we would not cross the prairie again unless she was with a large train.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 61-62.
August 1856	Pawnee Rock	Russell's train entered a cabin Indians had attacked	2 whites killed	warfare	The discovery scared Russell's party.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 62.
August or September 1856	Diamond Springs	Russell's companions broke into a stone structure from a fear of Indians and border ruffians	none	warfare	Although it was a time of peace, fear still existed toward Indians.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 65.
August or September 1856	Diamond Springs	a traveler told Russell's train that the Kaws posed no danger	none	anecdotal	This was a fairly common description of Kaw disposition.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 69-70.
4 August 1856	5 or 6 miles east of Bent's Fort	fear encouraged Hundley's party tried to join a larger train	none	conflict	The other train departed as Hundley looked for missing horses.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
4 August 1856	east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's train passed a camp of Comanche and Kiowa who had killed stolen oxen	none	tension	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
5 August 1856	east of Bent's Fort	Hundley's train met 3,000 to 4,000 Indians who behaved themselves	none	tension	Hundley wrote that she feared them.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
7 August 1856	about 60 miles east of Bent's Fort	Hundley' felt sad with news that Kiowas were approaching	none	tension	She seems to suggest that a Kiowa party was looking for Pawnees to fight. Hundley thought that her train was out of danger from Indians.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
8 August 1856	east of Bent's Fort	an old Indian was still traveling with Hundley's party	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
9 August 1856	east of Bent's Fort	the old man departed, returning to the US agent	none	friendly	The summer of 1856 was a time of peace.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 149.
25 August 1856	Little Turkey Creek	entering Osage country Hundley wrote, "we have to go through them alone over wild wilderness country."	none	tension	On the 27th, Hundley's party left the trail.	Hundley, "Utah to Texas," 151.

9 September 1856	Bent's Fort	Lt. McRae reported conflict between chief Sitting Bear with 50 to 60 other Kiowas and Bent's employees	none	conflict	Sitting Bear forced the man in charge to give him barrels of sugar, hard bread, and cloth. Tensions were brewing between the fort and the Kiowas.	<i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> , January 17, 1857, in James R. Larkin, <i>Reluctant Frontiersman</i> (1990), 130-31.
27 September 1856	Bull's Creek	an unidentified Indian, William Bent's Cheyenne wife, Yellow Woman, and a Pawnee boy (prisoner) with her, traveled with a caravan belonging to Bent and Mr. Anderson to Bent's Fort	none	cooperation	Bent had purchased the Pawnee boy, a favorite of Yellow Woman, from an unidentified Indian nation.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 58, 71-72, 78.
27 September 1856	Bull's Creek	an unidentified Indian traveling with Bent's train looked for Larkin's missing horse	none	cooperation	Various reports over the years indicated that Indians assisted trail travelers to find missing animals.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 58.
1 October 1856	Council Grove	Larkin, with Bent's caravan, used biased language to describe the Kaws and the sound of their language	none	friendly	Racial swipes were commonplace.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 73-74.
5 October 1856	Walnut Creek	Bent informed some Cheyennes that US soldiers had killed and taken Cheyennes prisoners near Ft. Laramie	none	friendly	Cheyennes feared the fighting would spread southward.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 76-77.
6 October 1856	Arkansas River	several Cheyennes met and left Bent's train after receiving coffee, sugar, and other items	none	friendly	Larkin described them as "ferocious looking fellows, some of them, & rather handsomely dressed."	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 78.
6 October 1856	Arkansas River	2 Cheyennes on poor horses joined Bent's train	none	friendly	Cheyennes continued to enjoy good relations with Bent employees.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 78.

8 October 1856	near Ft. Atkinson or Ft. Mackay	Larkin called Kiowas "treacherous & deceitful" and noted that near naked boys looked deformed because of their large bellies	none	tension	The large, deformed bellies suggests that the boys may have been suffering from malnutrition.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 79.
8 October 1856	below Arkansas Crossing	Larkin saw a Cheyenne	none	friendly	The account does not provide a context for the meeting	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 78-79.
13 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin used stereotypes to describe Cheyenne, Kiowa, Arapaho, and Comanche trade relations with Bent's Fort and the Indians' disposition	none	friendly	He wrote, "The Cheyennes are great friends of Mr. B[ent]. Arrapahoes & Comanches are also friendly-Kioways rather so. These latter Indians are great rascals & very unreliable."	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 81.
13 October 1856	Bent's Fort	with Cheyennes and Kiowas nearby, Larkin learned that Cheyennes to the north had killed 14 whites and committed other acts of violence	none	anecdotal	Larkin indicated that US troops had killed some Cheyennes at or near Ft. Kearney.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 82.
14 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Pawnee, a Kiowa, became upset when William Bent fired an employee for giving Indians whiskey	none	conflict	Cheyennes kept Bent, who asserted that Pawnee had endangered Bent's trading license, from killing Pawnee. They feared Kiowa retaliation.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 83-84.
15 October 1856	Bent's Fort	an elderly Kiowa visitor left after receiving a cool welcome	none	tension	The cool welcome illustrated the difficult relations between Kiowas and Bent's employees.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 85.
15 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin noted the arrived of Arapahos who feasted with Bent	none	friendly	Larkin asserted that Arapahos lacked a good name because they worked their women too hard.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 85.
17 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin joined a Mexican Indian on a hunt	none	friendly	It is possible that the "Mexican Indian" was a Pueblo.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 86.

17 October 1856	near Bent's Fort	after passing Comanche and Arapaho camps, Larkin noted that the women "were engage in preparing their robes, hung on scaffolds"	none	friendly	Comanches and Arapahos were at peace with Euroamericans.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 86.
18 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin interacted with several young Indian women despite a language barrier	none	friendly	One of the woman gave Larkin "two plates of cactus or Prickly Pear Apples[.]"	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 86.
18 October 1856	Bent's Fort	several [Plains?] Apaches visitors arrived	none	friendly	Very few reports noted the whereabouts of Plains Apaches.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 86.
18 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin gave a description of Cheyennes' customs following the killing of an enemy, a Pawnee	none	friendly	Over the years, various travelers saw "scalp dances."	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 87.
19 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin interpreted signs of the Kiowa leader Pawnee to say that his people were planning to fight Americans and Cheyennes	none	tension	This report indicated that Kiowa discontent was continuing to rise.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 87.
19 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin amused Kiowas by showing them pictures in <i>Harpers</i> magazine	none	friendly	This report may suggest that not all Kiowas were planning war.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 87.
19 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin noted that Arapahos raced horses while Cheyennes held footraces and danced	none	friendly	Larkin found the Indians' singing to be disagreeable.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 88.
23 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin reported the huge profit margin that Bent made on certain trade items	none	friendly	Bent expected to receive a buffalo robe in trade for a humming top and jumping jacks. While each item cost about a dime in St. Louis, Bent received about \$7 per hide.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 88.
23 October 1856	Bent's Fort	an old Indian visited the post	none	friendly		Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 88-89.

23 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin reported that travel to Mora was risky because of the possibility of an Indian attack	none	tension	Larkin's report reflected on the troubled state of Indian-US relations in New Mexico.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 89.
24 October 1856	Bent's Fort	Larkin participated in a marksmanship contest with six whites, Indians, and Mexicans	none	friendly	The shooting match illustrates the competitive side of trading relations. Larkin did not identify the Indian marksmen.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 89.
winter 1856-57	Bent's Fort	William Bent initiated a fight by giving Kiowa tepees to Cheyennes	1 Kiowa wounded	conflict	A Kiowa account stated that the fight erupted after Bent gave the Cheyennes some Kiowa tepees. Lone Wolf's horse was wounded in the melee.	Mildred P. Mayhall, <i>The Kiowas</i> (1962) 159.
26 October 1856	Bent's Fort	[William] Bent fired a shot at Eagle Tail, one of 10 or 12 Kiowa chiefs, and Cheyennes pursued the fleeing Kiowas	none	conflict	According to a newspaper article, Eagle Tail precipitated Bent's reaction by following him "menacingly from room to room."	<i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> , January 17, 1857, in Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 131.
27 October 1856	near Purgatoire River	a Mexican and Indian visited Larkin's camp	none	friendly		Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 91.
30 October 1856	near Timpas crossing	3 passing Mexicans told Larkin about the peaceful disposition of "Eutaws & Apaches"	none	friendly	New Mexico was in a state of relative peace.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 92.
1 November 1856	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes drove off 40 to 50 Kiowas who fired on Bent's For	1 Kiowa killed	warfare	See the November 11, 1856, entry.	"Council Trove, Documents, William Bent Letter, 1856," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (May 1990): 20; <i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> , January 17, 1857, in Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 131.
1 November 1856	Raton Mountains	Larkin's party feared a mounted Mexican boy was a Ute and Apache spy	none	tension	Although Larkin's felt very vulnerable to attack, the boy was not a spy.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 94-95.

11 November 1856	Mora	Larkin learned of fighting at Bent's Fort between Bent's employees and Kiowas	none	anecdotal	Bent's Fort requested military assistance because a Kiowa had been shot.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 99.
November 1856	Bent's Fort	US mounted riflemen were sent to Bent's Fort to determine the Kiowas' disposition	none	tension	The troops returned to Fort Union on January 7, 1857, with information about where the Kiowas were wintering	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), 140-41.
13 November 1856	Pecos Pueblo ruins	Larkin noted that several rumors existed about the Pueblo's former inhabitants	none	anecdotal	Larkin stated that "the builders were superior to the present stupid race of Mexicans" [who occupied the area].	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 100-01.
19 November 1856	Santa Fe	Indians performed a dance at the Fonda Hotel	none	friendly	It is possible that the performers were Pueblos.	Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 104.
26 November 1856	Bent's Fort	in Santa Fe, Larkin speculated that the Kiowas would have probably killed Bent and destroyed his property if the Cheyennes had not intervened	none	conflict	Bent sent a large portion of his goods to Mora for protection and requested Fort Union soldiers "to protect him in making his retreat from the Indian country."	November 26, 1856, <i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> in Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 129-30.
26 November 1856	Santa Fe	a Santa Fe newspaper expressed the predictions of Joseph Doyle and William Bent that impertinent Plains Indians would make travel unsafe for small parties	none	tension	The newspaper stated: "unless they [Indians] are chastised and made to fear the power of the government, we had as well surrender the peaceable occupation of the plains to them, and give up all communication with our friends in the states."	<i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> , November 26, 1856, in Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 130.

19 December 1856	near Bent's Fort	Kiowa chiefs Sitting Bear and Little Mountain had differing view regarding white Americans	none	tension	Sitting Bear wanted Cheyennes to side with him against whites, but Little Mountain refused. The article called Kiowas the best armed and mounted Plains Indians.	<i>Santa Fe Weekly Gazette</i> , January 17, 1857, in Larkin, <i>Frontiersman</i> , 131.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1857	Cow Creek	6 Comanches asked Franz Huning's camp for food	none	tension	The party refused to comply. An expected Comanche attack did materialize.	Franz Huning, <i>Trader on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1973), 66.
4 February 1857	Ft. Union	mounted riflemen escorted February's eastbound mail February mail	none	tension	The troops reported that Kiowas and other Plains Indians were friendly.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest</i> (1993), 141-42.
mid May 1857	Allison's Ranch	traders told Maj. John Sedgwick, with 4 1st cavalry companies, that Cheyennes and a few Sioux warriors had gone to the mountains to prepare for war	none	tension	This account suggests that US expansionism was harming Cheyennes.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 125.
mid May 1857	Allison's Ranch	Joseph Cracklin, with 14 others, stated that about 80 Arapahos were anxious to trade buffalo robes and moccasins "for a mere trifle compared to what you would have to pay a trader"	none	friendly	This account suggests that Arapahos were facing economic hardships.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 125-26.
late May 1857	Council Grove	R. M. Peck, with Sedgwick's command, used stereotypes to reflect on the Kaws' reluctance to accept white American ways	none	friendly	Peck wrote, "teachers, preachers, farmers and mechanics were trying to teach them [Kaws] the arts of peace - more particularly, how to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows - but with indifferent success; for Mr. Lo."	"R. M. Peck's Account of the Sedgwick Division," in <i>Relations with the Indians of the Plains</i> (1959), 99.
late May or early June 1857	Walnut Creek	Peck stated that Indians and trail travelers could obtain trade goods at Allison's ranch	none	friendly	Trading ranches of this nature represented the vanguard of US encroachments into Indian country.	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 103-04.

1857	Ft. Leavenworth	Sedgwick employed 6 Delawares, including Fall Leaf, to accompany his expedition as guides, scouts, and trailers	none	cooperation	According to Peck, the Delawares copied the "white man's garb and ways to a great extent, and were far superior to the plains Indians. They did us excellent service throughout the trip."	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 106-07.
June 1857	Bent's Fort	Peck used stereotypical terms to describe William Bent, his Cheyenne wife, and children	none	friendly	Peck noted that Bent's wife was a Cheyenne "squaw" and the Bent's had "quite a flock of half-breed children." The older three "had been educated in a Catholic school in St. Louis."	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 108.
June 1857	Council Grove	traveling with a caravan of 2 trains and 60 men, William Napton met a large Kaw party returning from a buffalo hunt	none	friendly	Napton wrote, Kaws were "wild" Indians but on buffalo hunts "their native savage inclinations made them about as dangerous as those roaming the plains."	William B. Napton, <i>Over the Santa Fe Trail, 1857</i> (1964), 17-18.
June 1857	west of Diamond Spring	Napton reported that Indians [possibly Kaws] often had used the cover of darkness to stampede another train's cattle	none	conflict	Napton claimed Indians often held the animals for payment.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 18.
June 1857	Pawnee Rock	after claiming that many battles had occurred between Indians and traders at Pawnee Rock, Napton stated what his caravan was not apprehensive of Indian trouble			Napton "knew that the Cheyenne were turbulent." Following the common practice of the day, the caravan doubled its guard and kept firearms nearby.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 26.
June 1857	a day west of Pawnee Rock	Napton used racial terms to describe 20 "wild" Kiowa "bucks" who rode up and down the length of Napton's caravan "talking and laughing with the teamsters"	none	tension	Napton asserted that Kiowas "did not seem the least wild, however, but uncomfortably 'tame,' and disposed to get very familiar on short acquaintance."	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 28.

June 1857	a day's travel west of Pawnee Rock	Napton's and his companions developed "an ugly feeling of resentment . . . toward the [Kiowa] Indians" when some of them stampeded the cattle	none	tension	The proximity of Kiowa and Comanche camps dissuaded caravan members from punishing the 20 men.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 29.
June 1857	day's travel west of Pawnee Rock	20 mounted Kiowas "begged" Napton's train for food	none	tension	The caravan leaders refused to give them food, saving their flour and sugar for when they "should meet the entire tribes of Kiowas and Comanches" camped ahead.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 30.
June 1857	day's travel west of Pawnee Rock	Napton's caravan fed 20 mounted Kiowas, who gathered firewood for the meal	none	tension	The food encourage the Indians to become friendly.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 30-31.
June 1857	west of Pawnee Rock	a member of Napton's train named Rice struck a mounted Kiowa, with a party of 20, without warning, nearly knocking him from his horse	none	violence	The Kiowa punched Rice with an arrow point in the face, knocking off Rice's hat. The Kiowas wanted Rice whipped but the caravan leader refused to do so.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 31-32.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	Napton's caravan entered a large Kiowa encampment that covered a square mile	none	tension	Hundreds of men, women, and children, came closer to "view the white man and his belongings as they passed by."	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 34.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	seeing a large Comanche camp Napton's caravan kept moving without a noon break	none	tension	The caravan wanted distance from the Comanches before stopping.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 34.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	Napton described hundreds of Comanches as being an annoyance	none	tension	The males were mostly armed with bows and arrows and that a few of them had guns or pistols. Some carried spears.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 35.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	Comanches riding on a parallel course with Napton's caravan, refusing to join them in a buffalo hunt	none	tension	The Comanches rode at a distance sufficient so as not to frighten or stampede the caravan's cattle.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 36.

June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	wagon masters with Napton's train offered Comanches supplies if they promised not to follow and annoy the train.	none	tension	Comanche leaders stated that their people needed food because of the US government's failure to provide them annuity goods.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 36.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	about 12 Comanche and Kiowa leaders accepted 6 sacks of flour, 3 sacks of sugar, and sides of bacon from wagon masters	none	friendly	Napton noted that Indians viewed the food "as a sort of tribute we were under obligations to pay for the privilege of passing through their country unmolested."	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 37-38.
June 1857	west of old Ft. Atkinson	that evening, 2 mounted young Indians returned a pair of stolen blankets to Napton's train	none	friendly	Wagon master Chiles gave them small quantities of sugar, saying that this was "first instance in his life when an Indian had restored stolen property."	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 38.
4 July 1857	Allison's Ranch	US agent Robert Miller, with a wagon train of annuity goods, gave Kiowas some presents	none	diplomacy	Miller stated that Kiowas left "apparently well pleased, to join their people whom they expected to find near [old] Ft. Atkinson.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 126.
late June or early July 1857	unspecified	US agent Miller's train transported annuity goods to Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas	none	diplomacy	Miller reported that he had not experienced interruptions or incidents except "the usual reports against the Kiowas."	"Agent R. C. Miller's Report," October 14, 1857, in <i>Relations with the Indians of the Plains</i> (1959), 32.
July 1857	near Ft. Atkinson	Miller distributed annuity goods to Comanches and Kiowas	none	friendly	The provisions were stipulated by treaty.	Miller, "Report," 32-33.

July 1857	near Ft. Atkinson	Arapahos demanded their annuity goods from Miller and explained their uncontrollable young men's behavior during Miller's previous visit to Bent's Fort	none	diplomacy	The young men had demanded their annuity goods, without waiting for Cheyennes to arrive because "they had been waiting many days for their goods, and their women and children had become very faint and hungry."	Miller, "Report," 32-33.
13 July 1857	Arkansas River, 10 miles above Ft. Atkinson	Miller's train entered a camp of approximately 300 lodges of starving Arapahos whose leaders expressed a willingness to "maintain peace and friendship with the whites"	none	diplomacy	Granting an Arapaho request, Miller distributed their annuity goods there, rather than at Bent's Fort, so they could hunt buffalo. Little Raven expressed his desired for Arapahos to become farmers.	Miller, "Report," 33.
late July 1857	Bent's Fort	2 Apaches and an Arapaho reported to Miller that Cheyennes wanted peace	none	friendly	Miller responded by sending an Arapaho and Mexican to invite Cheyennes to meet him. US soldiers had subsequently defeated Cheyennes, killing some influential men. Reports had it that the Kiowas were going to join Cheyennes in a war against whites.	Miller, "Report," 37.
30 July 1857	Arkansas Crossing	Miller rejected the veracity of reports blaming 4 or 5 Kiowas, or Comanches, for wounding an army ambulance with Col. Johnson's command	driver wounded [killed?]	warfare	Pretending friendship, the Indians shot the driver and took his mules. As the following entry indicates, Eugene Bandel blamed the deed on two Kiowas.	Miller, "Report," 39-40.
30 July 1857	Cimarron River	2 Kiowas armed with flintlock shotguns attacked a survey party member without a cavalry escort	ambulance driver killed	warfare	See the above entry and the September 25, 1857, entry.	Eugene Bandel, <i>Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861</i> (1932), 171.

summer 1857	Ft. Atkinson	Kiowas armed with bows demanded their annuity goods from Miller	none	tension	This incident demonstrates growing dissatisfaction among Kiowas for the U.S. government.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963) 141.
July 1857	Ft. Atkinson	speaking to Miller, Cheyennes and Kiowas threatened to go to Bent's Fort "to help themselves to the goods, and take the scalp of the agent and everyone with him"	none	tension	The threat reflected on the Indians' dire economic situation and discontent with US expansionism.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 141.
July 1857	Ft. Atkinson	Cheyennes rejected Miller's invitation to meet and to receive presents	none	diplomacy	The Cheyennes' response illustrated their disposition.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 141.
July or August 1857	unspecified	Lydia Lane, traveling with an eastbound Mexican train, used negative stereotypes to describe Indians	none	tension	She speculated that Indians had tormented a troublesome mule with her train.	Lydia Spencer Lane, <i>I Married a Soldier</i> (1987), 54-55.
July or August 1857	unspecified	referring to another train, Lane noted that Indians had forced a hunter to disrobe	none	anecdotal	Lane stated that man "did not care much for hunting during the rest of his travels."	Lane, <i>Married a Soldier</i> , 56.
July or August 1857	unspecified	Lane, with light curly hair and blue eyes baby, feared Indians who rode near her wagon	none	tension	She felt that the Mexican train was too large for Indians to fight. She was relieved when her train passed beyond the range of the buffalo where Indians hunted.	Lane, <i>Married a Soldier</i> , 56-57.
9 August 1857	near old Ft. Atkinson	Maj. Sedgwick and 4 cavalry units pursued Cheyennes to near the old fort	none	warfare	Warfare with Cheyennes had erupted on the Oregon Trail and spread to the Santa Fe Trail.	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 127, 131-32.

9 August 1857	on or near the trail	7 Spanish-speaking Indians identifying themselves as Kiowas entered Bandel's camp, saying others were camped nearby	none	tension	Not believing that the visitors were Kiowas, soldiers refused to allow them to remain in camp after dark. About a mile from the soldiers' camp, the Indians held a "war dance" before moving on.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 178.
9 August 1857	Ft. Atkinson	Col. Edwin V. Sumner marched with Delaware guides and US troops to punish Cheyennes	none	warfare	This was the first punitive campaign since the late 1840s.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 140; Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 135.
9 August 1857	southeastern Colorado	a mail train from Santa Fe reported an Indian fight in New Mexico	50 Indians killed	anecdotal	The number of deaths seems greatly exaggerated.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 188.
August 1857	Bent's Fort	Sedgwick learned that "Cheyennes had passed there, still on the run, making for the mountains, all broken up and badly demoralized"	none	warfare	US soldiers had difficulty trying to overtake fleeing Indians.	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 132.
August 1857	Grand Saline on bank of the Arkansas	Kiowas and Comanches en route to Bent's Fort for their annuities surrounded Sedgwick's command	none	conflict	Peck stated that the Indians wanted a fight.	Peck, "Sedgwick Division," 132-33.
18 August 1857	Bent's New Fort	Sumner's force arrived to strike another blow against Cheyennes	none	warfare	Sumner hoped to force Cheyennes to sue for peace.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 141-42.
18 August 1857	Bent's New Fort	Sumner confiscated Cheyenne annuity goods, allowing the distribution of clothing and perishable goods but no powder, balls, and firearms	none	conflict	Cheyennes viewed Sumner's directive as a treaty violation.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 141-42.
18 August 1857	unspecified	a westbound mail party reported a fight between Cheyennes and Sumner's command near Ft. Laramie		anecdotal	The report indicated that fourteen Indians had been killed, while soldiers had two men killed and two wounded.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 180.

19 August 1857	Bent's Fort	with Sumner present, Miller distributed annuity goods among a few Arapahos	none	friendly	With war raging between Cheyennes and US soldiers, Miller threw powder, lead, and flint into the river.	Miller, "Report," 38.
20 August 1857	Bent's Fort	an Arapaho told Miller that Mexican traders and Cheyennes planned to kill everyone at the fort	none	tension	Miller recommended the exclusion of Mexicans from area.	Miller, "Report," 42.
22 August 1857	three days east of Bent's Fort	Miller, traveling with Sumner, distributed Cheyenne annuity goods among [Plains] Apaches as a reward for their good behavior	none	friendly	Miller stated that Apaches were receiving goods because the "Great Father" was punishing Cheyennes for violating their treaty.	Miller, "Report," 39.
September 1857	Arkansas Crossing	Napton's caravan met destitute US troops from Sumner's regiment who had been chasing Cheyennes	none	warfare	Napton wrote that the hungry soldiers begged for food, whisky, and tobacco, "much as the Indians were in the habit of doing."	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 64.
September 1857	Arkansas River	Napton's caravan saw 50 approaching horsemen	none	false alarm	The riders were US soldiers on captured Cheyenne horses.	Napton, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 65-66.
6 September 1857	Cimarron Valley near the trail	3 Delawares guides served with surveyors and US troops marking the southern boundary of Kansas	none	cooperation	Bandel wrote that the "Indians [kept] out of sight; we are too strong for them."	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 128, 140, 140 n.
6 September 1857	near Upper Crossing	Kiowas told traders that 300 Cheyennes were near the trail	none	friendly	The traders repeated this information to Johnston, whose force was pursuing Cheyennes.	Joseph E. Johnston, "Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 1 (1931-32): 129.
7 September 1857	near Upper Crossing	Kiowas entered Johnston's camp	none	friendly	The Kiowas reportedly saw Cheyennes between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers	Johnston, "Surveying," 129.

7 September 1857	13 miles east of place where the Kiowas were met	traders informed Johnson that Cheyennes were about 10 miles away	none	friendly	Johnson's command had been looking for the Cheyennes without success.	Johnston, "Surveying," 129.
7 September 1857	Cimarron Valley near the trail	an express reached Bandel's unit stating that 500 Cheyennes planned to plunder his train	none	warfare	The attack never materialized.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 187.
7 September 1857	Middle Cimarron Spring	Bandel's unit met 11 non- threatening Kiowas	none	tension	The soldiers "paid no attention to them."	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 187.
8 September 1857	Middle Cimarron Spring	word of a planned Indian attack encouraged Bandel's destitute column to travel rapidly eastward to meet a supply train	none	warfare	The attack never materialized.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 129-31.
8 September 1857	Middle Cimarron Spring	relief train members reported to Bandel's column as having met 5 Indians	none	tension	Train members feared that the Indians were a lookout party.	Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 187.
10 September 1857	Cimarron Crossing	Bandel received tobacco from some Indians, possibly 3 Delaware guides	none	friendly		Bandel, <i>Frontier Life</i> , 188.
25 September 1857	near the trail [Oklahoma Panhandle]	20 Kiowas traveled a distance with US soldiers	none	tension	Johnston believed that other Kiowas had fled as the train approached their camp.	Johnston, "Surveying," 131.
25 September 1857	near the trail [Oklahoma Panhandle]	Johnston and a Kiowa leader discussed the killing of a survey party member in violation of a treaty	none	diplomacy	The Kiowa declared that most of his people had friendly relations with whites. He promised to uphold the treaty and surrender the guilty men when he could identify them. See the July 30, 1857, entries.	Johnston, "Surveying," 131.
26 September 1857	near the trail	30 to 40 Kiowa men and women traded with Johnston's camp	none	friendly	Traded items included buffalo robes, moccasins, and lariats.	Johnston, "Surveying," 131.

14 October 1857	Ft. Union	a US army order provided escorts for a mail train	none	warfare	Escorts were to protect the mail to the Arkansas and beyond.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 109.
late October 1857	new Bent's Fort	Cheyenne chiefs White Antelope, High-Back-Wolf, Tall Bear, and Starving Bear told William Bent that the US war against their people was unjust	none	warfare	Cheyenne chiefs blamed Kiowas as the cause of the trouble. They said some of their young men had joined Northern Cheyennes.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 142- 43.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
12 or 14 January 1858	Cimarron Crossing	a newspaper reported that Arapahos had captured a wagon train	none	warfare	Other sources do not support this contention.	"Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives Were Restless That Year," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1961): 448.
February 1858	Westport	Hezekiah Brake reported that only Wyandots and a few [white] settlers lived west of the Missouri River	none	friendly	This report indicates that US settlement was progressing relatively slowly in that part of the country.	"Narrative by Hezekiah Brake, 1858," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 40.
February 1858	Big Bend	Kiowas brawled with Brake's eastbound wagons	none	conflict	Neither side resorted to weapons.	Brake, "Narrative," 36.
February 1858	Big Bend	Kiowas surrounded Brake's small party and asked for powder and lead	none	conflict	The train provided Kiowas a "dainty repast."	Brake, "Narrative," 44.
February 1858	Big Bend	30 unarmed Kiowa men and women encouraged Brake's party to draw their firearms	none	conflict	Seeking to avert a fight, Brake's party sold supplies to their visitors.	Brake, "Narrative," 44-45.
February 1858	Big Bend	Kiowas mocked the way in which Brake drove his team	none	conflict	Brake made the mules pay for the teasing by whipping them harshly.	Brake, "Narrative," 46.
February 1858	just east of the Big Bend	Cheyennes met eastbound wagons	none	conflict	Brake's words indicate that white travelers feared Cheyennes.	Brake, "Narrative," 46.
February 1858	Big Bend	Cheyenne warriors in pursuit of Kiowas met Brake's party	none	friendly	Dressed in "war" regalia, Cheyennes said "how" as they passed by.	Brake, "Narrative," 46.
spring 1858		US agent Miller wanted Cheyennes on the Arkansas to receive their annuities	none	diplomacy	He felt that an annuity distribution would discourage Cheyennes from retaliating against travel traffic.	Donald J. Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 143.

12 May 1858		30 Cherokees and 12 whites departed for the Colorado gold field in 7 or 8 wagons on a prospecting expedition	none	friendly	According to Philander Simmons, a white party member created "gold excitement" that led to the settlement of Colorado territory.	Philander Simmons, "The Cherokee Expedition of 1858," in <i>Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859</i> (1974), 301, 304.
late May 1858	Turkey Creek	Cherokee [Beck] party leader George Hicks entered a large Arapaho camp and conversed with a chief	none	friendly	Hicks advised the chief "to learn the manner of the white people and engage in farming, erect schools and churches, the same as the Cherokees had done." The party distributed flour, sugar, and coffee among the Arapahos.	Simmons, "Cherokee Expedition," 302.
28 May 1858	near Turkey Creek	Luke Tierney, with the Russell party, received a message, written on a buffalo bone, saying the Cherokee [Beck] party was a few miles ahead	none	cooperation	Tierney's party had considered joining Beck's party. See the June 12, 1858, entry.	Luke Tierney, "The Luke Tierney Guidebook," <i>Guidebooks</i> , 98.
1 June 1858	Pawnee Fork	Russell party members traded in a large Cheyennes camp	none	friendly	Tierney wrote that these "warlike" Indians showed "no hostile intentions."	Tierney, "Guidebook," 99-100.
3 June 1858	Great Bend	the Russell party joined the Cherokees party	none	cooperation	Cherokees and whites traveled together for mutual protection, "removing all fear of molestation."	Tierney, "Guidebook," 100; "Statement of Dr. Levi J. Russell," in <i>Guidebooks</i> , 298.
June 1858	Little Arkansas River	Cheyennes delivered a note from a missing member of Julia Archibald's train indicating that he was at trading post two days away	none	cooperation	Believing the missing man was dead, the company treated Cheyennes to a feast in gratitude.	Julia Anna Archibald [Holmes], "To Pike's Peak and New Mexico, 1858," in <i>Covered Wagon Women</i> (1998), 7: 199.
12 June 1858	Bent's Fort at Big Timber	Mrs. Kelley and her sister, both Cherokees, reached Bent's Fort	none	cooperation	Traveling with non-Indians, the women were en route to the Colorado goldfields. At this point, the women disappeared from the historical recorded.	David Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> (1954), 358.

12 June 1858	Bent's Fort at Big Timber	the Cherokee and Russell parties of gold seekers arrived	none	friendly	Indians often took advantage of the trail for travel.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 359.
13 June 1858	Allison's Ranch	Cheyennes and Arapahos visited Augustus Voorhees	none	friendly		Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 126.
14 June 1858	west of Pawnee Fork	Voorhees reported that 2000 "men women and Children they Came out in swarms to beg and trade mockasins and buffalo robes"	none	friendly	The Indians were Cheyennes and Arapahos with some Comanches and Arapahos in 200 lodges with 800 warriors	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 127.
14 June 1858	west of Walnut Creek	Archibald's company with 50 armed men hid her from a large Cheyennes and Arapaho party because they had heard that Indian men fancied white women	none	tension	When seeing her, several offered to trade her husband two "squaws" for her while others tried to coax her into joining them, making signs for her "to jump up behind them on their ponies."	Archibald, "To Pike's Peak," 201.
20 June 1858	west of Arkansas Crossing	Cheyennes approached Archibald's company	none	tension	Archibald noted that the Indians were very friendly, but not good neighbors. They accepted anything that whites gave them, "and more, if they can get it."	Archibald, "To Pike's Peak," 203.
21 June 1858	west of Arkansas Crossing	Archibald's company searched trees for Cheyenne burials	none	grave looting	Grave looting was common.	Archibald, "To Pike's Peak," 203.
28 June 1858	Bent's Fort	Archibald noted that the fort was for trade with prairie Indians, especially Cheyennes	none	friendly	She did not mention the presence of any Indians.	Archibald, "To Pike's Peak," 203-04.
30 June 1858	Cimarron Valley	US mail carriers told H. B. Mollhausen that Osages and Kaws had chased them	none	conflict	The incident suggests growing Kaw and Osage antagonism toward the trail.	H. B. Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 16 (November 1948): 346.

2 July 1858	Lower Cimarron or Wagon Bed Spring	Mollhausen's train met a company of disreputable-looking Mexicans returning from a Comanche trading expedition	none		Mollhausen speculated that Indians often received blame for Mexican crimes.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 342.
4 July 1858	near the town of Cimarron	Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahos met Mollhausen's caravan	none	friendly	The Indians were en route to Bent's Fort for an annuity distribution.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 344.
4 July 1858	near the town of Cimarron	several Arapahos assisted Mollhausen's company cross the high waters of the Arkansas	none	cooperation	Arapahos received tobacco for their help.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 347.
5 July 1858	Ft. Mann	Mollhausen's company sought to avoid Comanches by taking the "Dry Road"	none	tension	Mollhausen learned that Comanches were in temporary camp with their women and children.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 348.
6 July 1858	Coon Creek	Mollhausen's company feared Comanches	none	tension	Train members captured a loose Comanche horse. Later that night, they feared wolves and "thieving" Comanches.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 350.
7 July 1858	Pawnee Fork	Mollhausen's company saw signs of a large Cheyenne and Arapaho camp	none	signs	Reporting of signs was common.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 351.
8 July 1858	near Arkansas River	Mollhausen's company met an Arapaho man traveling to tell his people that US agent Miller was four days behind him	none	friendly	Miller planned to distribute annuities to destitute Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 352.
8 July 1858	near Arkansas River	Mollhausen's company met several white men with a wagon and an Indian going to trade with Comanches	none	cooperation	Comanches often welcomed trade, and Indians assisted in the trade.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 353.
10 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Mollhausen learned that Osages had attacked a Cheyenne camp	none	tension	Mollhausen was told to be on guard.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 360.

10 July 1858	Cow Creek	An Osage Indian killed a Mexican at Cow Creek the day before	1 Mexican killed	anecdotal		Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 360.
10 July 1858	Little Arkansas	Kaws met Miller and William Bent who were traveling to Bent's Fort to distribute annuities to destitute Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches	none	friendly	Kaws informed Miller that the other Indians had been waiting for nearly a month for the distribution.	R. C. Miller, "Agent Miller's Annual Report, 1858," August 17, 1858, in <i>Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861</i> (1959), 163.
10 July 1858	Little Arkansas	Kaws failed to stampede mules belonging to Fribley's company	none	conflict	See the August 18, 1858, entry.	"Charles W. Fribley's Trail Diary and Letters, 1857-1859, Part 1," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 12 (August 1998): 17.
13 July 1858	Walnut Creek Crossing	Comanches and Kiowas ate with and received crackers and sugar Fribley's company	none	friendly	Indians considered these "gifts" as tolls for crossing through their land.	Fribley, "Diary and Letters," 17.
13 July 1858	Little Arkansas River	Mollhausen feared that mounted Kaws would attack at night	none	tension	Kaws were generally on good relations with travelers.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 368.
14 July 1858	Arkansas river	Fribley saw a large Kiowa and Comanche camp	none	sighting	Traders frequently recorded their sightings of Indians.	Fribley, "Diary and Letters," 17.
18 July 1858	Council Grove	Mollhausen used stereotypical language to describe Indian behaviors and lifestyles	none	friendly	Views of this type were common among Euroamericans.	Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 373.
19 July 1858	south of Ft. Leavenworth	Shawnees assisted Mollhausen's company cross a gorge	none	cooperation		Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail," 377.
19 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Kiowas and Comanches expressed gratitude for not having to go Bent's Fort to receive their annuity distribution	none	diplomacy	Miller learned that Indians wanted to treat with the United States.	Miller, "Annual Report," 164-65.

19 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Miller reflected on the scene of 1500 lodges assembled in the valley, saying the US government should give them a "thorough chastisement"	none		He added that the "good whipping" that Sumner gave them had "worked a wondrous change in their dispositions towards the whites!"	Miller, "Annual Report," 164-65.
July 1858	Walnut Creek	Comanches and Kiowas robbed 2 Mexican trains as Miller prepared an annuity distribution	none	warfare	Destitution may have been an important factor behind the Comanche and Kiowa action.	Miller, "Annual Report," 166.
19 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Comanches rejected a US peace offering from Miller	none	diplomacy	Miller declared that southern Comanches under Buffalo Hump were influencing northern Comanches under Shave Head towards war.	Miller, "Annual Report," 166-67.
19 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Kiowa Ho-Hosea, or Dohasan, [Little Mountain] berated Miller, travelers, and the US president for the trail's harmful impacts	none	diplomacy	He stated that the "white chief" acted like a child, getting angry when Kiowas asked white travelers for food in return for the buffalo the whites killed.	Miller, "Annual Report," 166-67.
19 July 1858	Walnut Creek	Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches agreed to meet Miller at Bent's Fort in 60 days to prepare for a Washington trip	none	diplomacy	Miller wanted those Indian nations moved away from the trail for the sake of commerce.	Miller, "Annual Report," 168.
18 August 1858	Council Grove	Fribley observed that Kaws faced dire economic hardships	none	friendly	Hunger may explain why Kaws tried to stampede Fribley's mules on July 10.	Fribley, "Diary and Letters," 18.
summer 1858	near Ft. Atkinson	Sumner met some "perfectly humble" Cheyennes	none	friendly	Besides suffering some deaths in the 1857 war, Cheyennes had lost lodges, equipment, and part of their annuity.	Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> , 144.

August? 1858	eastern Kansas	Lydia Lane, with a westbound army train, used racial language to describe Indian towns	none	friendly	She wrote: "We passed through several villages of half-civilized Indians. . . ."	Lydia Spencer Lane, <i>I Married a Soldier</i> (1987), 61.
August? 1858	eastern Kansas	Lane noted that an Indian man was struck by a black child with her	none	friendly	The curious man asked Lane: "Dat you papoose?"	Lane, <i>Married a Soldier</i> , 61.
17 August 1858		Kiowas and Comanches attacked and robbed 2 Mexican trains as Miller was preparing to distribute annuities among the Indians	none	conflict	Miller wrote: "Nothing short of a thorough chastisement, which they so richly deserve, will bring these people to their proper senses."	Quoted in Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 113.
16 September 1858	Walnut Creek	US agent William Bent met 2,500 encamped Comanche warriors who wanted peace	none	friendly	Bent stated that US soldiers helped preserve peace, but that Indians assumed a threatening attitude after the soldiers' departure.	Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1996), 133.
20 September 1858	Cold Springs	15 approaching Kiowas scared Fribley's company	none	tension	Fear among travelers was a common experience.	Fribley, "Diary and Letters," 19.
23 September 1858	Council Grove	G. N. Woodward, with a company of 60 men in 12 wagons, described 400 Kaws, including "squaws" and "papooses," in stereotypical terms	none	tension	Woodward stated that Kaws lived by stealing and his party kept a guard to protect the company's livestock.	"Letters of G. N. Woodward En Route to the Mines," <i>Colorado Gold Rush</i> (1941), 83.
October 1858	Ft. Union	Lane learned that US soldiers were fighting Navajos	none	warfare	US officials want to subjugate Navajos	Lane, <i>Married a Soldier</i> , 62.
1 October 1858	Big Coon Creek	Woodward wrote: "We are now two hundred and forty miles from Kansas City, in the midst of buffaloes, wolves, Indians and game of all kinds"	none		Woodward's views were commonly held among his peers.	"Letters of G. N. Woodward," in <i>Colorado Gold Rush</i> , 84.
1 October 1858	Walnut Creek	David Kellogg noted that Allison had a built a stockade for trade with Indians	none		Allison's ranch became a scene of trade and conflict with Indians.	"David Kellogg's Diary, 1858," in <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 57.

5 October 1858		Col. Sumner wanted a post at the old Fort Atkinson site	none	warfare	He considered the site to be ideally situated for controlling Indians.	Edwin V. Sumner, "Sumner Reports His Operations of 1858," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 160-74.
5 October 1858		Bent attributed Kiowa and Comanche resistance to hunger, white encroachments, and a sense of "impending extinction"	none	tension	Bent recommended a fort placed at Pawnee Fork and another near Big Timbers to control Indians. His advise was followed the following year.	<i>Oliva, Soldiers</i> , 113.
7 October 1858	old Fort Atkinson	Kellogg stated that Bent had halted an Indian attack on the fort at an unspecified point with haranguing and gifts of sugar	none	anecdotal	It is questionable if Bent had that much influence over Indians.	Kellogg, "Diary," 59.
11 October 1858	two days west of Arkansas Crossing	Colorado-bound gold seekers refused a Kiowa and Arapaho request for a toll of food	none	tension	Trading ensued with Indians accepting sugar for buffalo hides.	Kellogg, "Diary," 59-60.
12 October 1858	west of Arkansas Crossing	2 Kiowas or Arapahos camped with gold seekers including Kellogg	none	tension	Yells from the river at night caused travelers to double their camp's guard.	Kellogg, "Diary," 59-60.
15 October 1858	Big Timbers	gold seekers including Kellogg passed near Arapaho camps	none	friendly	Mounted boys from the camps rode along side of the train.	Kellogg, "Diary," 60-61.
16 October 1858	Bent's Fort	Kellogg saw a large Cheyenne camp with Bent's Cheyenne wife and children	none	friendly		Kellogg, "Diary," 61.
20 October 1858	Arkansas River	an Apache party conversed with Fribley's company	none	friendly	Members of Fribley's company gave them some sugar.	Fribley, "Diary and Letters," 20.
October 1858	Allison's Ranch	Allison warned Larimer's party in 8 wagons en route to Colorado to proceed with caution	none	tension	Allison warned that relations with Indians were somewhat strained. Larimer had a commission to lay the foundation of a town and establish a local government.	<i>Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his Son William H. H. Larimer</i> (1918), 59.

fall 1858	Cow Creek	Asahal Beach and his son founded a ranch at "Beach Valley"	none		The ranch was another encroachment into Indian country. It became a US post office in 1859.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing (Beach Valley, P.O.)," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 416-17.
late November 1858	Bent's Fort at Big Timber	Cheyennes and Arapahos asked Bent to tell the "Great White Father" to "stop the invaders from cutting down their trees, pre-empting their favorite haunts"	none	cooperation	This request shows the impacts Colorado gold rush and settlement of Kansas on Indian land and life.	Lavender, <i>Bent's Fort</i> , 364.
4 December 1858	Cold Spring	Kiowas attacked a mail coach with US army escorts	1 US soldier wounded	warfare	Indians often targeted mail coaches.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967) 109.
23 December 1858	Cow Creek Crossing ranch	20 Kaws under Wah-ti-an-gah looted the ranch, taking livestock	1 US citizen wounded	conflict	The ranch was situated within the buffalo range, when settlers were killing buffalo in large numbers.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 417.

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Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1860	trading post at Cow Creek	Christy claimed to have been in a fight involving 50 Kiowas' failed attempt to oust traders, including Bill Mathewson, Hurricane Bill, and Bronco Sam from the trading post	none	warfare	A 1972 study indicates that Christy was not truthful about his claimed. The fight had occurred in 1864 and not 1860.	"Captain Charles Christy's Memoirs, 1867," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 117-19; Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 433.
spring 1860	Council Grove	Russell, her mother, and Will, with a 200 US wagons, saw trading between a store owner and Kaws	none	friendly	A Kaw traded the store owner a "shaggy red pony for a sack of white bolted flour. The store owner later traded the same pony to another Kaw for a "buffalo hide filled with yellow Indian corn."	Marian S. Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 78-79.
spring 1860	east of Pawnee Rock	12 mounted Indians joined Russell's train	none	tension	Riding at the rear of the train, the Indian men occasionally circled the train "to hoot and jeer" at its members.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 80.
spring 1860	Pawnee Rock	Russell mentioned Indians in the context of the graves of 2 trappers	none	warfare	Perhaps alluding to Indians as potential grave looters, Russell noted that the graves seemed unmolested.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 80-81.
spring 1860	Bent's New Fort	Russell saw Indians at Bent's Fort trading for beads, guns, and ammunition	none	friendly	It is unclear who these Indians were.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 81.
spring 1860	Purgatory River (Simpson's Rest)	Russell saw a tall, straight Indian	none	friendly	It is unclear who this man was.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 82.
10 March 1860		US army headquarters issued a declaration of war against "hostile" Comanches and Kiowas	none	warfare	No diplomacy was to occur with Indians until they were punished militarily.	"Report of the Secretary of War," <i>Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1</i> , 36th Cong., 2d Sess. (1860-1861): 2: 19-22.

May 1860	Pawnee Fork	US troops under Sedgwick amassed for a campaign against Comanches and Kiowas		warfare	This was to be a major punitive expedition.	Leo Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 124.
15 May 1860	Ft. Riley	Sedgwick led 1st cavalry units along and near the trail in pursuit of evasive Kiowas and Comanches	none	warfare	See the below entry.	Sedgwick, "Major Sedgwick's Official Report of July 2, [1860]," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 202-04.
15 May 1860	Ft. Riley	6 Delaware [Fall Leaf, Sarcoxie, Bascom, John Williams, Wilson, and Bullet] accompanied Sedgwick's campaign against Kiowas and Comanches	none	cooperation	The command had wintered at Ft. Riley. Stuart expected an "arduous campaign" lasting five months. The command split into two divisions and operated on both sides of the Arkansas spending time on the trail. See the above entry.	J. E. B. Stuart, "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 23 (Winter 1957): 389, 395, n56.
21 May 1860	Walnut Creek	Wolf's unit camped near where Kiowas had camped the previous fall	none	warfare	The soldiers were pursuing Kiowas and Comanches on both sides of the trail.	Wolf, "Diary," 206.
23 May 1860		Stuart's command, with 6 Delaware guides, reached the trail on May 23	none	cooperation	See the May 15, 1860, entry.	Stuart, "Diary," 391.
26 MAY 1860	Camp Alert [later Ft. Larned]	Stuart sent 30 troops south of the river to explore a site where smoke had been seen	none	warfare	The soldiers had orders to attack if they found Indians, but did not see any.	Stuart, "Diary," 391-92.
3 June 1860	above Jackson's Island	Stuart's command saw a few Arapaho lodges on the river and received a visit from an Arapaho leader	none	friendly	The Arapaho chief, "came in bearing aloft on a pole the stars and stripes which he rightly conjectured was the sure passport through our lines. He was dressed in a dressing gown and wore a [an] Infantry Cap."	Stuart, "Diary," 393.

5 June 1860	120 miles west of where the trail's start	Maj. G. Merriam noted that travelers felt safe for about a 120 miles down the trail to a point where Indians, wolves, and buffalo lived	none	warfare	Kiowas and Comanches did not take the fighting to the eastside of the trail.	Gustavus F. Merriam, "A Genuine Western Man Never Drinks Tea," <i>Kansas History</i> 8 (Autumn 1985): 166.
June 1860	Owl Creek	Kaws supplied buffalo meat to A. G. Boone's party	none	friendly	During this time of warfare, Kaws remained on good terms with Euroamericans.	"Council Trove, Documents, A. G. Boone Letter from Peacock's Ranch, June 1860," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 2 (February 1988): 12.
14 June 1860	Middle River	Stuart's company passed an Indian camp that had been abandoned for 2 months	none	warfare	Soldiers were having little success in finding Kiowas and Comanches.	Stuart, "Diary," 395.
15 June 1860	near Fork of the Canadian	Delawares with Stuart's company reported attacking Kiowas	none	false alarm	A herd of mustangs created the fear.	Stuart, "Diary," 397.
17 June 1860	south of Gardner, KS	Black Wolf invited Maj. Merriam and 6 others to a Shawnee dance and feast	none	friendly	Merriam traded with Shawnees.	Merriam, "Western Man," 174-75.
26 June 1860	near Aubrey's trail	John Williams, a Delaware guide with Stuart's command, shot an antelope	none	cooperation	Delawares were noted hunters.	Stuart, "Diary," 397.
28 June 1860	east of Aubrey's Crossing	Fall Leaf, a guide with Stuart's command, was injured	Fall Leaf injured	cooperation	His rifle burst in his face.	Stuart, "Diary," 397.
28 June 1860	Arkansas River	an Arapaho visited Stuart's camp	none	friendly	The Arapaho was en route to Bent's Fort "with one of Bent's trains of the other side" [of the river].	Stuart, "Diary," 397.
29 June 1860	east of Aubrey's Crossing	the same Arapaho visited Stuart	none	friendly	The Arapaho was en route to Bent's Fort "with one of Bent's trains of the other side" [of the river].	Stuart, "Diary," 397.

28 June 1860	Owl Creek	Kaws on a hunt provided Colorado-bound A. G. Boone and his family buffalo meat	none	friendly	Kaws reported that soldiers were nearby and that the "road is clear of hostile Indians."	Quoted in Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 136.
late June 1860	Great Bend area	Kiowas were sighted	none	warfare	Euroamericans often recorded their sightings of Indians.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
1 July 1860	Arkansas River	Stuart heard that Kiowas were on Cow Creek and the South Platte	none	warfare	US soldiers were attempting to keep track of Kiowas for violent purposes.	Stuart, "Diary," 397-98.
6-8 July 1860	from Aubrey's Crossing to Bent's New Fort	Sedgwick's command pursued Kiowas under Litarki	none	warfare	Kiowas were skilled at evading the pursuit of U.S. soldiers.	Sedgwick, "Official Report, July 24, 1860," 208-09; "Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart's Journal, May 15 to August 11," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 233.
9 July 1860	3 miles below Bent's New Fort	Capt. Steele led US troops after Kiowas reported to be 25 miles north of the trail	none	warfare	Kiowas were skilled at evading the pursuit of U.S. soldiers.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 124-25.
9 July 1860	Ash Creek Crossing	3 Kiowas attacked 2 white men	2 whites killed	warfare	Christian Krauss? fell on the road and John Cunningham died in a cabin.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
9 July 1860	Bent's New Fort	a volunteer Cheyenne led Capt. Steele's detachment in pursuit of Kiowas towards the Smoky Hill River	none	cooperation	Cheyennes relations with the US army had improved since the 1857 war.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
10-15 July 1860	Walnut Creek area to Cow Creek	Capt. Sturgis's men found an abandoned Kiowa campsite	none	warfare	US army reports often provided information about abandoned Indian camps.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
11 July 1860	Pawnee Fork	a letter stated that Indians were near Walnut Creek	none	warfare		Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.

11 July 1860	Bent's New Fort	William Bent informed Sedgwick that Satank and other Kiowas had been there and moved north	none	warfare	Lt. Stuart and 20 men went in pursuit. Steele's and Stuart's companies attacked a Kiowa camp, killing two men and capturing sixteen women and children north of the trail.	Wolf, "Diary," 199.
11 July 1860	Bent's New Fort	Sedgwick turned over 16 Kiowa women and children to Bent to be used as hostages for the safe passage of emigrants	none	warfare	Soldiers had captured the Kiowas the previous day north of Bent's Fort in a fight involving casualties on both sides.	Sedgwick, July 24, 1860, <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 208-09 and "Journal," 233.
11 July 1860	Walnut Creek area	Capt. Sturgis' command passed a large abandoned Indian camp	none	warfare	US army reports often provided information about abandoned Indian camps.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
15 July 1860	near Cow Creek	1st US cavalrymen set out to punish Kiowas and Comanches for murders and depredations committed in 1859 on the trail	none	warfare	This was a major expedition.	Louise Barry, ed., "With the 1st U.S. Cavalry in Indian Country," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1861): 407.
15 July 1860	near Cow Creek	U.S. soldiers saw numerous recently abandoned Kiowas camps	none	warfare	US army reports often provided information about abandoned Indian camps.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137.
15 July 1860	Cow Creek near the trail	1st US cavalrymen met several Kaws on a summer hunt	none	friendly	Kaws were on friendly terms with the US government.	Barry, "1st U.S. Cavalry," 407.
20 July 1860	Bent's New Fort	Stuart reported Cheyennes, Apaches, and Arapahos had assembled to collect their annuities	none	friendly	The annuities consisted of blankets, cloth, calico, provisions, hoop-iron, axes, and rifles.	Stuart, <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 235; Wolf, "Diary," 208.

July 1860	near Aubrey's Crossing	Sedgwick's command crossed the Arkansas without finding any Kiowas and Comanches, speculating that they had broken into small parties and scattered	none	warfare	Sedgwick assumed that Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches had taken in Kiowa and Comanche women and children.	Sedgwick, August, 11, 1860, <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 213-14.
28? July 1860	Bent's New Fort	Kiowas forced Bent to release Satank's family members taken prisoner by Sedgwick's command	none	conflict	Other accounts say that Bent released the Kiowas in disapproval of the policy of holding Indians hostage.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137, n. 64.
28 July 1860	Pawnee Fork	Lt. Sturgis's command marched north in search of Kiowas	none	warfare	On August 6, US troops fought Kiowas, reportedly killing 29 while suffering the loss of two Indian scouts, three soldiers wounded, and one missing.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 137 n. 64.
late July 1860	near Pawnee Fork Fort [Ft. Larned]	The Council Grove <i>Press</i> reported that Kiowas or Comanches had murdered 5 white people	5 whites killed	warfare	The victims consisted of a man, his wife, and two children. No information was given regarding the fifth person.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 138.
1 August 1860	Big Saline Fork near the trail	a 1st cavalry detachment fought 50 Kiowas	1 Kiowa killed	warfare		Barry, ed., "1st U.S. Cavalry," 332.
6 August 1860	Cottonwood Creek	Kiowas and Comanches battled 1st cavalry companies commanded by Sedgwick	1 soldier wounded	warfare	The trail crossed Cottonwood Creek near the present town of Lost Springs, Kansas.	<i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 24.

7 August 1860	gold region of Colorado	A. D. Richardson wrote that US troops had attacked Kiowas for refusing to surrender those who had killed 13 trail travelers and that the troops had turned over 13 Kiowa prisoners to William Bent	5 Kiowas killed	warfare	Richardson gave an inaccurate account regarding the fight's location. See the July 11, 1860, entries.	Louise Barry, "Albert D. Richardson's Letters on the Pike's Peak Gold Region," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 12 (February 1943): 54.
7 August 1860	gold region of Colorado	Richardson reported that Kiowas had attacked a messenger taking news to US troops that Kiowas prisoners at Bent's Fort had escaped	Mark Ralf wounded	warfare	Arapahos found the severely wounded man. Richardson identified him as an "old Frenchman" but a newspaper said he was a young man named Mark Ralf.	Barry, "Richardson's Letters," 54, n 42.
August 1860	north of trail	Tonkawas with US soldiers fought Kiowas	none	warfare	Coming from Texas, Tonkawas served as scouts and warriors for the US army.	Berry, ed., "1st U.S. Cavalry," 412.
8 August 1860	near mouth of Pawnee Fork	Wolf's command received news about an attack on an express and release of Kiowa prisoners at Bent's Fort	none	warfare	Both Kiowas and US forces were escalating the war.	Wolf, "Diary," 206.
8 August 1860	near mouth of Pawnee Fork	Wolf's command received news of Cheyennes saving a wounded express carrier	1 express wounded	warfare	The express had been "shot, scalped, and left for dead."	Wolf, "Diary," 206.
8 August 1860	near mouth of Pawnee Fork	Sedgwick's command received orders to cease actions against Kiowas and Comanches and to construct a military post at Big Timber	none	warfare	The post was initially called Fort Wise and in 1861 changed to Fort Lyon. The post was part of US plans to control Indians militarily.	Wolf, "Diary," 209.
24 August 1860	Cow Creek	a newspaper stated that owners of the Cow Creek ranch "report the Indians quiet in their vicinity"	none	friendly	This report indicates that fighting reached a lull in the Cow Creek region.	Wolf, "Diary," 209.

1 September 1860	Big Timbers	Sedgwick's command arrived and began construction of Ft. Wise.	none	warfare	Big Timber, a twenty-six mile stretch of cottonwoods, provided Cheyennes and others a sheltered place to camp during the winter.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 127.
8 September 1860	Ft. Wise	Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood met with a few Cheyennes and Arapahos	none	diplomacy	William Bent send runners for the others.	George Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 113-14.
9 September 1860	Allison's Ranch near Walnut Creek crossing	Satanta and a few other Kiowas attacked George Peacock, Peacock's clerk [Meyers], and a Mexican herder	Peacock, Peacock's clerk, and Mexican herder killed	warfare	Satanta swore revenge because rather than writing a letter stating that Satanta was an important chief who should be treated respectfully, Peacock wrote that Satanta was "the dirtiest, laziest, louseyest vagabon on the plains" and that those who read the letter should kick him out of their camp.	James Mead, <i>Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains</i> (1986), 171-75; Barry, "Walnut Creek Crossing," 138-39.
September 1860	Walnut Creek ranch	Charles Rath took over management of the ranch	none	warfare	Rath had good relations with Cheyennes through his marriage to Making Out Road, a Cheyenne.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 140.
11 September 1860	Ft. Larned	Sedgwick reported that the Kiowas and Comanches had split into small groups and that their women and children had joined Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches.	none	warfare	Sedgwick's command had failed to find and punish targeted Indians, but other troops reportedly killed thirty-nine of them.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 125-26.

[18?] September 1860	Fort Wise	Greenwood told White Antelope, Black Kettle, and 4 or 5 Cheyenne sub-chiefs about a proposed land cession and expressed his president's thanks for Cheyenne and Arapaho neutrality	none	diplomacy	Having spoken only to a few chiefs and leading men, Greenwood returned to the States on the 20th and appointed A. G. Boone to negotiate a treaty.	"Commissioner Greenwood's Effort for a Treaty, 1860," 25 October 1861," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 285-89.
19 September 1860	Johnson County	Moffatt with Dominique, a stagecoach driver, saw that a few Indian settlers	none	sighting	Travelers often recorded their sightings of Indians.	Isaac Moffatt, "The Kansas Prairie or, Eight Days on the Plains," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 6 (May 1937): 149.
20 September 1860	*Marysville 1861 called Lyons now extinct	Moffatt and Dominique saw a mounted Indian with a whiskey bottle tied to his horse and a "squaw"	none	sighting	Moffat wrote that this territory was mostly reservation land until it is sold back to the government and that Indians were poor farmers.	Moffatt, "Kansas Prairie," 153.
late September or early November 1860	Neosho River	Commissioner Greenwood met Kaws in council	none	diplomacy	Kaw leaders accepted a proposition to amend their recent treaty with the US.	A. B. Greenwood, "Commissioner Greenwood's Effort for a Treaty, 1860," 25 October 1861," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 289.
22 October 1860	Ft. Wise	Sedgwick reported that despite constant emigrant travel Indians had not committed any depredations	none	warfare	It is likely that Kiowas and Comanches were occupied with evading the pursuing soldiers.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 128.
25 October 1860	unspecified	Greenwood reported that Indians had murdered and scalped US citizens on the trail		warfare	Greenwood stated that Indians "cautiously approach the Santa Fe road, commit the most atrocious deeds, and flee to the plains." He failed to mention the causes of the conflict.	Greenwood, "Effort for a Treaty, 1860," 285.

30 October 1860	St. Louis	an article <i>Sacramento Daily Union</i> reprinted in the <i>St. Louis Republican</i> stated that Indians posed a danger to the trail	none	warfare	Newspapers frequently warned about conflict on the trail.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (November 1994): 18.
10 November 1860	St. Joseph	the St. Joseph <i>Free Democrat</i> reported that Mark Ralf had nearly recovered from wounds inflicted by Kiowas	see the August entry	warfare	Ralf had been wounded by Kiowas and assisted by Arapahos.	Barry, ed., "Richardson Letter," 54, n 42.
Sunday before 17 November 1860	Fort Wise	"hostile" Indians asked Sedgwick for peace	none	diplomacy	Sedgwick forwarded the request to Washington, recommending that favorable terms be granted.	Sedgwick, "Conditions at the Fort [Wise]," November 17, [1860]," in <i>Relations with the Indians</i> , 276-77.
December 1860	Fort Union	because mail carriers feared Indians, mail from Santa Fe did not go beyond Ft. Union	none	warfare	Kiowa resistance was having a desired outcome while flaming the ire of US officials and travelers.	John M. Kingsbury, <i>Trading in Santa Fe</i> (1996), 266.
December 1860	Ft. Union	post commander Crittenden received orders to punish Kiowas and Comanches at every opportunity	none	warfare	With Indians raiding trail traffic on the mountain route, US soldiers went in pursuit.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 110.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
2 January 1861	near Cold Springs on Cimarron River, NM	Kiowas and Comanches fought mounted riflemen companies	3 soldiers wounded ----- 10 Indians killed	warfare	Mounted infantrymen had been sent to chastise Indians for raiding the mountain route. See the December 1860 entry.	<i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 26.
15 January 1861	Ft. Wise	Capt. W. T. Walker reported the strategic importance of the post in terms of controlling Indians	none	warfare	It was located in the heart of Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa country and in an area where Pawnees, Comanches, and Apaches often visited. It was in striking range of Navajos and Utes.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 129.
1861?	Purgatoire River	Russell recalled a story she had heard from Mexicans regarding the name of Purgatoire River and Comanches	none	anecdotal	It was called the River of Lost Souls in Purgatory because the Great Spirit had forced cruel Comanches to live beneath the earth's surface there. Russell was perplexed "at hearing strange sounds like moans and curses coming from beneath the earth at places along the banks of the Purgatoire."	Marian Sloan Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 88.
1861?	Purgatoire River	Russell, with an eastbound train, recalled the resentment of Indians about the buffalos' destruction	none	tension	By 1861, Indians had suffered economic deprivation stemming from the slaughter of the buffalo.	Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> , 88.

18 February 1861	Ft. Wise [later renamed Ft. Lyon]	Boone held a treaty council with a few Cheyennes and Arapahos in which they agreed to live in peace with white Americans and to cede their land except for small reservations on the upper Arkansas	none	diplomacy	Most Cheyennes and Arapahos repudiated the treaty because only six Cheyenne and four Arapaho chiefs had consented and did not understand what they were agreeing to. Those opposed to continued to live and hunt in the customary area.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 114, 118; "The Fort Wise Treaty with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, February 18, 1861," in <i>Relations with the Indians of the Plains</i> (1959), 289-99.
18 February 1861	Ft. Wise	few Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders signed the Treaty of Ft. Wise, which became effective on December 15, 1861	none	diplomacy	Indians retained a smaller reservation on the Arkansas River in Colorado. Many younger Cheyenne warriors, including Dog Soldiers, opposed the treaty.	Donald J. Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 149-51, 152.
early 1861	Ft. Wise	US agent Boone reported that Indians [Comanches] had a threatening attitude	none	tension	Facing hunger, some Comanches moved elsewhere while others stayed nearby.	Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1996), 139-40.
1861	Santa Fe	Lydia Lane observed Navajos and Pueblos trading and selling items	none	friendly		Lydia Spencer Lane, <i>I Married a Soldier</i> (1987), 118.
late April 1861	near Walnut Creek	Kiowas attacked a small Mexican train	6 Mexicans killed	violence	This was the only reported violent conflict on the road that year.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 140.

13 May 1861	Alamo Gordo, New Mexico	Comanches negotiated a truce with US Superintendent J. L. Collins and Capt. R. A. Wainwright	none	diplomacy	Comanches agreed to stop raiding New Mexico, Kansas, and Texas settlers; to punish warriors who committed raids; and stay out of New Mexico except to trade at Ft. Union. The treaty failed to end conflict between Comanches and New Mexico.	Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier</i> , 141.
May or June? 1861	Ft. Atkinson	Ft. Leavenworth-bound Maury, saw 2,000 Arapahos and Cheyennes assembled for the annual US distribution of presents	none	friendly	Maury, a Southern en route to join the Confederate army, suggested that the Indians were destitute.	Dabney H. Maury, <i>Recollections of a Virginian in the Mexican, Indian, and Civil Wars</i> (1894), 137.
May or June? 1861	Ft. Atkinson	Maury witnessed an "old squaw" butchering a dog, which he had killed with a knife	none	friendly	He noted that the Indians had not "had fresh meat for some time, and dog is an Indian's dainty dish." Maury had killed the dog.	Maury, <i>Recollections</i> , 138.
19 June 1861		Lt. Col. Canby ordered the Ft. Union commander to protect trains between there and the Arkansas Crossing from Confederates and Indians	none	warfare	The trail was seen as a vital transportation route that must be kept open during the Civil War.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 140.
20 June 1861		Canby requested 3 companies of New Mexico volunteers to protect the Cimarron Route from Comanches	none	warfare	A hundred regular soldiers and two companies of New Mexico volunteers were ordered to patrol the road between Ft. Union and the Middle Crossing.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 140-41.
16 July 1861	Ft. Wise	an Indian woman gave Sedgwick a pair of slippers	none	friendly	Gift-giving was an important part of Indian culture.	John Sedgwick, "Sedgwick Is for the Union," January 16, 1861, 281.

summer 1861	near Great Bend	Kiowas held their sun dance	none		The sun dance was one of the Kiowas most important religious ceremony.	Mildred Mayhall, <i>The Kiowas</i> (1962), 161.
[August] 1861	Coon Creek, 13 miles from Ft. Larned	Arapahos under Big Mouth plundered a Mexican train and shared the booty with Little Wolf and other Cheyennes	none	warfare	Indians did not consider the Mexicans under US protection. US agents sought to amend the Ft. Wise Treaty to preserve peace.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 153-55.
August 1861	Ft. Wise	a mounted rifleman squadron was sent there to protect the mountain route	none	warfare	US army official believed that the warfare was spreading.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 141.
22 August 1861	Ft. Union	4 New Mexico volunteer companies departed to protect eastbound supply trains	none	warfare	The volunteers reached Cold Spring without seeing any Indians and returned to Ft. Union.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 141.
late August 1861	Denver	Colorado's territorial governor William Gilpin send Boone to Ft. Wise treat with Comanches	none	diplomacy	A treaty mention the that Indians would be asked to cede land and move elsewhere to a reservation.	Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier</i> , 140.
latter part of 1861?	Cow Creek ranch?	William Mathewson reported that he had given Satanta a severe beating because the Kiowa had threatened to kill him	none	conflict	There is no documentation that supports Mathewson's claim.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 426.
August 1861	Ft. Wise	Kiowas were camped nearby	none	friendly	Kiowa relations with the US army and trail traffic had changed.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 142.
22 August 1861	Ft. Wise	post commander Capt. E. Otis reported that Kiowas kept him informed of Confederate troop movements into New Mexico	none	cooperation	Kiowas cooperated because they viewed Texans as their enemies.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 142.

August 1861	Ft. Larned area	Arapahos looted trains taking a few oxen, sugar, coffee, flour, whiskey, brandy, champagne, tobacco, blankets, wagon covers, a rifle and powder flask	none	conflict	After Kiowa opposition to the trail subsided, Arapahos began to operate in that mode.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 141-42, 142 n.
1 September 1861	Ft. Wise	post commander Capt. J. Hayden notified Boone that he lacked manpower to protect trail travelers from Indians	none	warfare	Hayden suggested that Boone should hold Big Mouth and twenty-five to thirty Arapahos hostage to deter others from raiding the trail.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 153.
6 September 1861	Ft. Wise	Boone negotiated a temporary peace agreement with Comanche and Kiowa leaders	none	diplomacy	The Indians agreed to return stolen horses and hunt away from US travel routes, and negotiate a permanent treaty at the end of the year.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 142.
early October 1861	Ft. Lyon	James Riley used racial terms to describe 2 groups of moving Indians	none	tension	He noted the division of labor based on gender. He called them terrible beggars.	"Recollections of James Francis Riley, 1838-1918: Part II," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (May 1995): 12-13.
October 1861	Council Grove	Riley and others "explored [an Indian cemetery] pretty thoroughly"	none	grave looting	Grave looting was a common characteristic of Euroamericans.	Riley, "Recollections," 13.
26 October 1861	Ft. Wise	Boone reported his meeting with Yamparika Comanche chief Bis-te-va-na	none	diplomacy	Bis-te-va-na showed Boone a treaty that southern Comanches had made with the Confederacy. Bis-te-va-na and other southern Comanches had moved north to receive supplies from the US government.	Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier</i> , 140-41.

15 December 1861	Ft. Wise	the Ft. Wise treaty became effective	none	diplomacy	Younger Cheyenne warriors, including the Dog Soldiers, opposed the treaty. Without game on the reservation, other Cheyennes rejected the treaty and became more determined to resist the growing tide of US encroachments.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 149- 51, 152.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
4 April 1862	St. Louis	the <i>Western Journal of Commerce</i> stated that 10,000 Indian warriors near Ft. Larned were threatening to take the post	none	tension	Newspapers used rumors, innuendo, and lies to call for a military solution to end conflict with Indians.	David Kay Strate, <i>Sentinel to the Cimarron</i> (1970), 18.
May 1862	Fort Larned	Poor Bear, a Plains Apache chief, warned the post commander that Confederate agents were encouraging Plains nations to disrupt trail travel	none	cooperation	In response to this news, the US military garrisoned Colorado volunteers in forts along the trail.	Hyde, <i>George Bent</i> , 117.
May 1862	Walnut Creek	"wild" Pawnees, Arapahos, and Cheyennes visited Vicent Osborne's company to trade	none	trade	It is very unlikely that Pawnees would have been traveling with their Arapaho and Cheyenne enemies.	"Vincent Osborne's Civil War Experiences," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 20 (May 1952): 130.
14 May 1862	Ft. Larned	Capt. Hayden reported that Kiowas and Comanche had committed depredations between Walnut and Cow creeks	none	conflict	US soldiers lacked the manpower to stop Indian raids. Hayden blamed the conflict on whites who were selling whiskey to Indians. He wanted US troops to drive away the Indians from the trail.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 142.
June 1862	Ft. Larned	two companies of Kansas volunteers arrived to patrol the trail and control Indians	none	conflict	Indians moved away from the trail.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 143.
28 June 1862	Ft. Union	30 pursuing men [soldiers?] could not find the Comanches' trail	none	conflict	The Comanches were suspected of having committed depredations at Johnson's Ranch.	Osborne, "Civil War Experiences," 131.
July 1862	Ft. Lyon	4 volunteer Colorado cavalry companies arrived to keep the trail open between Ft. Lyon and Ft. Union	none	conflict	The troops failed to control Indians.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 144.

21 July 1862	Junction City, KS	the <i>Smoky Hill and Republican Union</i> declared that Indian theft of horses and mules periodically disrupted travel and mail service.	none	conflict	Newspapers rarely indicated that Indians in their fighting were defending their homelands and ways of living.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 19.
August 1862	Ft. Larned	Col. Jesse Leavenworth reported the disposition of Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas	none	diplomacy	Cheyennes and Arapahos were not a threat but most Comanches and Kiowas were disposed "to take up the hatchet."	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 158.
August 1862	Ft. Larned	US agent Cooley arrived to hold council with Indians camped nearby	none	diplomacy	The chiefs agreed to depart for their hunting areas and return on October 1 for their annuities. This movement temporarily eased conflict in the area.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 144-45.
5 August 1862	Ft. Larned	30,000 Arapahos, Plains Apaches Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches arrived for an annuity distribution	none	friendly	Military officials refused to allow Indians into the army camp, but non-Indians traded freely in the Indian camps.	Osborne, "Civil War Experiences," 132.
5 August 1862	Ft. Larned	30,000 Arapahos, Apaches Kiowas, Cheyennes and Comanches met Osborne's company	none	tension	US citizens wrote letters complaining about Indian depredations. Newspapers published many complaints, including false ones.	Osborne, "Civil War Experiences," 133.
August 1862	Ft. Larned	US officials moved the annuity distribution site from Ft. Larned to Ft. Lyon	none	diplomacy	The change of sites caused discontent among Indians.	Louise Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 141.
late August 1862	northeastern New Mexico	Indians took 115 mules from a train en route to Ft. Union	none	conflict	Indians were expressing their discontent while obtaining mules.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 145.

31 August 1862	Ft. Union	the post commander reported that Indian depredations were increasing in frequency	none	conflict	It appears as if matters were progressing towards war.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 145.
1 September 1862	Ft. Union	the post commander requested additional companies because of the Indians' strength	none	conflict	It appears as if matters were progressing towards war.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 145.
September 1862	Coon Creek	Lowe, with a small US army escort and a large train, camped near a large Kiowa camp with Lone Wolf and Satanta	none	diplomacy	Satanta and Lone Wolf promised to keep their young men, women and children away from passing trains. To Lowe, it was amazed that thousands of people obeyed their chiefs.	Percival G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 300-01.
September 1862	Ft. Leavenworth	the post commander told Lowe to take the Raton route because Confederate guerrillas and Apaches were on the Cimarron route	none	conflict		Lowe, <i>Dragoon</i> , 302.
6 September 1862	Ft. Wise	US agent A. G. Boone negotiated a temporary peace agreement with Kiowas and Comanches	none	diplomacy	The agreement called for Indians to cease raiding the trail. The chiefs agreed to discuss a permanent peace at the year's end. Boone stipulated that the US would provide Indians annuities when the permanent treaty was concluded.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 142.

October 1862	Bent's Fort	George Bent returned home to the upper Arkansas via the trail after a 10 year absence to a changing environment	none		By then Colorado had become a territory, new US military forts were operational, two stage lines went up the Arkansas, towns had been founded, and ranches and stage stations were built every few miles. His father's trade with Indians had diminished.	George Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 111.
19 October 1862	near Council Grove	homesteaders Elizabeth and Elisha Mardin interacted with Indians, probably Kaws	none	friendly	Homesteader were penetrating deeper into Kansas and occupying land surrounding the small Kaw reservation.	"A Window on Flint Hills Folklife: Part I The Diary of Elizabeth Mardin," <i>Kansas History</i> 14 (Autumn 1991): 197.
22 October 1862	near Council Grove	Indians entered Mardin's property	none	friendly	It is unclear if Kaws were responsible for this act.	Mardin, "Diary," 197.
November 1862	Ft. Larned	large number of Indians were camped nearby	none	friendly	The location of the encampment suggests that tensions had eased temporarily or that economic conditions had encouraged the Indians seek refuge there.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 141.
winter 1862	Ft. Dodge	Rosenwald traveled by stage from Ft. Dodge to Las Vegas when "Indians were unfriendly to whites"	none	warfare	Rosenwald observed that the US expansion, backed by military force, had substantially burdened Indian life and economic well being.	"Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 37 (April 1962): 124.
about 5 December 1862	mail station 55 miles east of Ft. Lyons	Cheyennes took food and burned hay	none	warfare	This incident suggests that Cheyennes were facing economic deprivation caused by US expansion.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 162.
winter 1862-63	Walnut Creek	starving Kiowas camped were there	none	tension	Kiowas had a difficult time finding enough food for themselves and their horses.	Mildred P. Mayhall, <i>The Kiowas</i> (1962), 165.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
1863	50 miles west of Ft. Dodge	white emigrants fired on some Indian food-seekers	all whites killed	warfare	According to Sanderson, fear encouraged the whites to fire on the "inoffensive savage."	"The Memoirs of Jared L. Sanderson, 'Stagecoach King,'" Part II, <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 20 (February 2006): 21.
12 February 1863	near Council Grove	Elisha Mardin traded with Indians, possibly Kaws	none	friendly	Indians exchanged ponies for meat and corn.	"A Window on Flint Hills Folklife: Part II The Diary of Elisha Mardin," <i>Kansas History</i> 14 (Winter 1991-92): 250.
26 February 1863	Cheyenne territory	US agent S. G. Colley blamed a few Cheyennes for depredations along the mail route to whiskey provided by whites	none	conflict	Economic deprivation was more likely the cause of the depredations than alcohol.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 160.
10 March 1863	near Council Grove	Mardin met unidentified Indians, possibly Kaws	none	friendly		Mardin, "Flint Hills," 251.
9 April 1863	Ft. Larned	Colley obtained authority to take Comanche, Kiowa, Plains Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders to Washington for a treaty	none	diplomacy	Comanches Ten Bears and Prick-in-the-Forehead and Kiowas Yellow buffalo, Little Heart, Lone Wolf and White Bull went. The unratified treaty stipulated that Indians would stay away from the trail, among other things.	Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1996), 142.
April 1863		traders and a US agent expected trouble with Indians	none	tension	Indians had gathered near the trail in anticipation of an annuity distribution.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 146.
26 April 1863	near Council Grove	Mardin trade with [Kaw?] Indians	none	friendly		Mardin, "Flint Hills," 253.

29 April 1863	Council Grove	Ernestine Huning, with a Santa Fe-bound train, used racial language to describe Kaws	none	friendly	Huning wrote in her diary that the Indian men acted liked children.	"Ernestine Franke Huning's Diary, 1863," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 78-79.
spring 1863	near Ft. Dodge	unknown Indians attacked a wagon train, inflicting casualties and taking supplies	some train members killed	anecdotal	No evidence supports Rosenwald's account.	"Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 37 (April 1962): 126.
4 May 1863	between Council Grove and Cow Creek	Indians met a westbound wagon train with Huning	none	tension	According to Huning, small parties of travelers were not necessarily attacked or "molested" by Indians.	Huning, "Diary," 79.
6 May 1863	west of Cow Creek	Indians asked Huning's party for food	none	tension	Huning called them beggars.	Huning, "Diary," 79.
10 May 1863	Ft. Union	post commander Carleton proposed a plan to keep the trail safe	none	tension	The plan was in response to rumors about impending Indian conflict. It called for positioning troops along the trail and strengthening Fts. Lyons and Larned.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 146.
22 May 1863	New Mexico	20 to 25 Indians had robbed another train the previous day, taking \$10,000 in gold and 50 mules	none	anecdotal	The amount of gold taken sound preposterous.	Huning, "Diary," 81.
25 May 1863	Cow Creek	US soldiers arrested a man for selling alcohol to Indians in violation of US laws	none		US officials incorrectly considered alcohol to be a primary source of trouble between Indians and trail travelers.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 427.
May or June 1863	Ft. Larned	James Riley, with 26 wagons, saw 3 to 4 thousand destitute Indians scattered along the Arkansas	none	tension	He wrote that "they were peaceable but long on the beg."	"Recollections of James Francis Riley, 1838-1918: Part II," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (May 1995): 15.

June 1863	Cow Creek	Smith, with 30 wagons, meet more than 1,000 Kiowas with Satanta	none	tension	Smith recalled that Satanta had a "reputation of being troublesome and vicious." Kiowa boys annoyed the travelers by shooting arrows into grazing cattle.	"Henry Smith's Recollection, 1863," in <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 68.
June 1863	70 miles west of Ft. Larned	John F. Dodds reported that an order prohibiting traders from trading with Indians had caused Indian threats of retaliation and noted that 1 to 2 thousands Indian lodges were along Walnut Creek	none	tension	This report indicates the dire economic situation of Indians.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 141.
June 1863	Ft. Larned	Indians arrived in military formation to meet with Col. J. H. Leavenworth under tense conditions to discuss relations	none	diplomacy	Leavenworth declared that he would use force to stop young Indians from committing robberies. The leaders replied that "a great number of white men [who] are now engaged in killing Buffalo merely for their hides."	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 164.
8 June 1863	Ft Larned	Leavenworth received command all US troops within the District of Kansas	none	tension	This concentration of power indicates that US forces were preparing for war.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 146.
11 June 1863	near Ft. Larned	Leavenworth feared the disposition of nearby Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Caddos	none	tension	Blaming the Indians' discontent on Mexicans whiskey sellers, Leavenworth seized a Mexican train.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 163.
June 1863	between Walnut and Cow creeks	Kiowas and Comanches committed outrages on a train	none	conflict	An eighteen-year trail veteran had never witnessed Indians so "impudent and insulting." Expecting war, Leavenworth requested more troops for duty at Ft. Larned and Ft. Lyons.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 164.

summer 1863	Washington, D.C.	a Kiowa delegation gave the US permission to establish mail stations in their country	none	diplomacy	This agreement suggests that economic deprivation encouraged Kiowas to agree to such an arrangement.	Mildred P. Mayhall, <i>The Kiowas</i> (1962), 195.
6 July 1863	Council Grove	the Council Grove <i>Press</i> explained a result of Colley's order to close the Walnut Creek ranch	none	conflict	Without a source of flour, sugar, coffee, and other supplies, starving Indians robbed a US train while agent Colley and his son ran to Ft. Lyon for protection.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 142
8 July 1863	near Council Grove	[Kaw?] Indians were at Mardin's home when he arrived	none	friendly		Mardin, "Window on the Flint Hills," 256.
9 July 1863	Ft. Larned	an army guard created an explosive situation by shooting a Cheyenne	Little Heart killed	conflict	Cheyenne chiefs became furious when Leavenworth refused to turn the guard over to them for punishment. Despite the shooting, the Indians avoided war.	"Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives Were Restless That Year," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1961): 99; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 164-65, 166-67.
10 July 1863	Council Grove	Lt. G. C. Manville with the 2nd Colorado cavalry reported on the troubled state of Indian relations with the trail	none	conflict	Indians had fired at trains, ransacked wagons with a US train, taken property, and killed livestock.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 142.
28 July 1863	Walnut Creek	Indian relations with the trails showed signs of improvement	none	conflict	Colley issued Rath a trading license, and there was no serious conflict in the Ft. Larned and Walnut Creek areas.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 142.
July or early August 1863	unspecified	Riley's train avoided conflict with Indians by using its wit and supplies	none	conflict	He indicated that Indians, more "saucy than ever," had forced other trains to give up nearly all of their provisions.	Riley, "Recollections," 16.

late August 1863	Cimarron Crossing area	Kiowas and Comanches raided trains for food and supplies	none	conflict	Kiowas under Satank inflicted "more damage than all the others." US soldiers at Ft. Lyon were sent to protect the trail.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 142-43; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 148.
9 September 1863	near Ft. Larned	John S. Smith reported that Cheyennes still felt outraged by Little Heart's death	none	conflict	Historian Berthrong suggests that Governor Evan's pro-war stance may have influenced Smith's report. See the July 9, 1863, entry.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 166- 67.
September 1863	near Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas River	Evans accused Comanches and Kiowas of depredations	none	conflict	Evans's accusations sought to justify a war against those Indians who refused to settle on reservations.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 178- 79.
September 1863	Arkansas River below Ft. Lyon	while en route to the fort, Maj. Scott J. Anthony, with interpreter John S. Smith, visited Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Caddo, and Arapaho leaders	none	diplomacy	Favoring peace, the chiefs blamed their young men for the trouble. They stated that they had refused to join the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes in war. Hearing this account, Anthony took no action.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 170.
24 September 1863	Ft. Lyon	Maj. Anthony reported that the Indians were raiding because of their dire state of destitution	none	conflict	Anthony wrote, the US government "will be compelled to subsist them [the Indians] to a great extent, or allow them to starve to death, which would probably be much the easiest way of disposing of them."	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 171.
late September 1863		Kiowas and Comanches agreed to leave the vicinity of the trail	none	diplomacy	This was a US government's solution for ending conflict along the trail	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 148-49.

11 October 1863	Ft. Larned	William Heagerty with the 11th Missouri cavalry saw Caddos	none	friendly	Heagerty stated that Texans had been driven pro-Union Caddos north.	Leo E. Oliva, ed., "Escort Duty on the Santa Fe Trail, 1863," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 8 (August 1994): 11.
11 October 1863	Ft. Larned	J. P. Allyn saw Caddos dependant on the US army for food	none	tension	Caddo women hid in their lodges because US soldiers had treated them "very rudely."	Joseph P. Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> (1984), 71-72 .
11 October 1863	Ft. Larned	Allyn noted the location and unfriendly disposition of other Indians	none	tension	Allyn wrote, "The other Indian tribes about here are very generally as hostile as they dare be." There were several camps of them "within a few miles."	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 72.
late October 1863	Ft. Larned	traveling with an army escort, Allyn saw destitute Caddos being mistreated by soldiers	none	tension	Caddos had been driven out of Texas for their refusal to support the Confederacy	<i>The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn</i> (1974), 14.
October 1863	Cimarron Crossing	Allyn reflected on Caddo, Arapaho, and other Indian relations with Ft. Larned	none	friendly	Caddo and other Indian leaders often went to the fort.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 74-75.
October 1863	west of Ft. Larned	Allyn described a routine Indians had with travelers	none	tension	When his party entered a camp, the Indian children would flock around, a chief would present a "greasy certificate" saying he was a good Indian, the chief would accept sugar, coffee, whiskey, or tobacco. The chief would say that his people were poor but that the next tribe had plenty."	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 76.

October 1863	several days west of Ft. Larned	Kiowas cutting a tree fled to a nearby camp as Allyn approached	none	tension	At the camp, fearing thievery, Allyn refused to dismount but enter the chief's lodge, as requested. When an US army officer enter the town, the chief wanted to show them his certificate.	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest, 77.</i>
October 1863	several days west of Ft. Larned	Allyn reflected fondly on an encounter with Kiowa women, including a grandmother	none	friendly	The grandmother showed Allyn and his officer friend a certificate and a daguerreotype of chief Big Heart and two other Indians. Those Kiowas had been part of a delegation to Washington, DC. See the April 9, 1863, entry.	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest, 77-78.</i>
October 1863	Coon Creek	Allyn learned that [Plains?] Apaches had taken food from Mexican train when the Mexicans refused to provide request goods	none	anecdotal	Allyn thought incorrectly that Apaches would not have done the same thing to an American train.	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest, 78-79.</i>
October 1863	Coon Creek	Allyn and a companion saw a Mexican captive in the Apache camp	none	friendly	Having "turned Indian," the boy still spoke Spanish and "seemed quite content."	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest, 79.</i>
October 1863	old Pawnee Fort	Lt. Peter F. Clark and his men, members of the 11th Missouri cavalry, prevented 1,500 Comanches and Apaches from robbing a small train	none	warfare	Writing to his wife on October 20, Clark declared that Indians, who took a few sacks of flour, sugar, and coffee, fled as his company arrived.	Clark, "Letters," 15-16.

20 October 1863	old Pawnee Fort	Clark noted the presence of large numbers of Cheyennes, Kiowas, Utes, Navajos, Comanches, Apaches, and Caddos	none	conflict	Clark stated that Indians were thick, and that the US army had a difficult time stopping them from stealing. He did not expect prolonged difficulties, however.	Clark, "Letters," 16.
23 October 1863		Heagerty's unit passed a camp of 20 Arapaho "wigwams"	none	tension		Heagerty, "Diary," 12.
25? October 1863	east of Big Timbers?	Allyn took a painted buffalo skull from an Arapaho ceremonial lodge and later discarded it	none		A "know-it-all" said the skull was part of an Indian burial. An Arapaho women later said the buffalo skull was part of "a lodge erected for a grand medicine council."	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 83.
26? October 1863	Big Timbers	Allyn "meet a whole tribe of Arapahoes on their return from Lyon" with a light-skinned mother, who spoke perfect English, and her baby	none	friendly	The woman had a white father and she had married a white man. She had joined her Arapaho relatives to get her share of their annuities.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 84.
26? October 1863	Big Timbers	Arapaho chiefs Little Raven, Left Hand, and Neva told Allyn about the troubled state of relations between Indians and the United States, including the roads passing through Indian country	none	friendly	Neva stated in English that Sioux had invited Arapahos to "join a general uprising of all the tribes against the United States, and the simultaneous seizing of the two great routes across the plain—this one [Santa Fe] and the one to Denver. . . ."	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 85-86.
26 October 1863	east of Ft. Lyon	Heagerty reported passing a number of Indian "wigwams"	none	friendly		Heagerty, "Diary," 12.
26? October 1863	10 miles east of Ft. Lyon	Allyn's party entered an Arapaho camp looking for Little Raven	none	friendly	Little Raven who was not there.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 86.

30 October 1863	Bent's ranch on the Purgatory	William Bent told Allyn that Indians and buffalo were disappearing	none		Bent's comments reflect on the devastating effects of US expansion on Indians and their environment.	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest</i> , 100.
early November 1863	Ft. Lyon	Allyn observed a Comanche chief and his silent wife	none	friendly	Allyn wrote that she "had a hand and foot that would have made her fortune."	<i>Allyn, Arizona</i> , 14.
November 1863	east of Ft. Lyon	2,000 Arapahos having just received an annuity distribution passed Allyn's expedition	none	friendly	They warned Allyn's party about a Sioux plan to rid the country west of the Mississippi of whites.	<i>Allyn, Arizona</i> , 15.
November 1863	west of Ft. Lyon	Indians surrounded Allyn	none	conflict	Allyn kept the Indians at bay with a pistol until his traveling companions arrived.	<i>Allyn, Arizona</i> , 15.
November 1863	Bent's Fort	Allyn spoke to William Bent about Indians	none		Bent lamented about the changing landscape and its harmful impacts on Indians.	<i>Allyn, Arizona</i> , 16.
fall? 1863	Walnut Creek	US agents presented peace medals to Indian leaders who had negotiated a treaty in Washington	none	diplomacy	The leaders expressed optimism stating that they had "a strong treaty with their Great Father at Washington."	<i>Richardson, Comanche Barrier</i> , 142.
autumn 1863	near Council Grove	a Kaw mother, Allegawahu's wife, and her son met 8-year met Addison Stubbs and Mattie Townsend who were traveling to Council Grove with 2 wagons	none	friendly	Addison Stubbs ran to his parent's wagon when he saw the shaved head of a Kaw boy who was painted red.	"Council Trove, Documents, Trail & Indian Recollections of Addison W. Stubbs, 1927," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 3 (February 1989): 10.
autumn 1863	Lucien Maxwell's ranch	Allyn stated that Arapahos had raided Maxwell's horses, but US soldiers forced them to return most of the animals	none	anecdotal	Previously, Utes had stole Arapaho horses and sold them to Maxwell.	<i>Allyn, West by Southwest</i> , 112.

early November 1863	Lucien Maxwell's ranch	Allyn saw a captive Navajo girl weaving a rug that sold for up to \$150	none	friendly	Maxwell had other young Navajo girls as house servants [slaves].	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 112.
before 15 November 1863	Tecolote, south of the trail	Allyn, with several other lost travelers, learned that Navajos had stolen a nearby herd of sheep	none	anecdotal	Such raids encouraged the US government to launch a war against Navajo.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 122.
before 15 November 1863	Pecos Pueblo	Allyn wrote that 20 years previously the sacred fire kept burning for Montezuma's arrival had went out	none	anecdotal	Allyn reflected a version of the mythology surrounding the Pueblo.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 124.
21 November 1863	Santa Fe	Allyn noted the arrival of nearly 200 "nearly naked and very hungry" Navajo men, women, and children	none	warfare	Gen. Carleton was waging a "relentless war" against Navajos who refused to live at Ft. Sumner.	Allyn, <i>West by Southwest</i> , 131-32.
27 November 1863	near Ft. Lyon	Heagerty noted that the post's commanding officer had gone to visit an Indian camp	none	diplomacy	The position of Fort Lyon at Big Timber gave the US army relatively quick access to Cheyennes and others.	Heagerty, "Diary," 13.
29 November 1863	Sand Creek	Heagerty indicated that Navajos were camped there	none	friendly	They may have sought safety there from US soldiers who were warring against Navajos	Heagerty, "Diary," 13.
30 November 1863	near Big Timber	Heagerty's eastbound unit watered at an Indian camp	none	friendly	Relations were relatively calm but an undercurrent of tension existed.	Heagerty, "Diary," 13.
15 December 1863	at or near Walnut Creek	Heagerty saw a Kiowa camp	none	friendly	Relations were relatively calm but an undercurrent of tension existed.	Heagerty, "Diary," 13.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
winter to mid May 1864	Ash Creek, near Ft. Larned	encamped Cheyennes and Arapahos to trade were growing uneasy	none	tension	Declining conditions probably laid behind the feelings of uneasiness.	George Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 131.
March 1864	Ft. Larned	Cheyennes and Arapahos informed a US agent of an impending Sioux attack on white settlements along the Platte and Arkansas rivers	none	cooperation/warfare	Fighting would begin in the north and spread southward.	Donald Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyennes</i> (1963), 175ff.
spring 1864	Ft. Lyon	2 Cheyennes expressed fear to US agent Colley concerning the consequences of war on the South Platte	none	diplomacy	They feared that warfare would harm Cheyennes.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 181-82.
early spring 1864	Spring Bottom	Indians drove off Robert Wright who was attempting to establish a ranch	none	conflict	This indicates that Indians did not want white settlers in the area.	Louise Barry, "Fort Aubrey," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 (Summer 1973): 189.
4 April 1864	Ft. Larned	US agent Ketcham reported that the post's drunken commander had insulted and abused Cheyenne leaders and that whites had started a conflict	1 Indian hurt	conflict	Ketcham reported that a white man had hit an Indian in the head with an empty whiskey bottle and that whites encouraged Indians to steal and sell the ranchers' livestock. He added that drunken soldiers made prostitutes of Indian women.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 174-75.
20 April 1864	near Ft. Larned	Kiowas raided a train	none	warfare	This attack marked the beginning of fighting on the trail in that year.	David Dary, <i>The Santa Fe Trail</i> (2000), 271.

20 April 1864	Ft. Larned	post commander Lt. W. D. Crocker reported on the disposition of Indians	none	warfare	Accordingly, Indians were more "insolent" than ever before. He requested reinforcements but none no troops were available.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 150-51.
15 May 1864	Ash Creek, near Ft. Larned	Cheyennes and Arapahos received news that US troops had attacked their relatives on the South Platte and Republican rivers	none	warfare	Cheyennes moved north to join their relatives.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 131.
May 1864	Walnut Creek Station	Cheyennes were angry because US soldiers had murdered Lean Bear on May 16 north of the trail	none	warfare	They planned "to clear out the road and kill every white man they could find."	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 133.
May 1864	Ft. Larned	William Bent accompanied Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Prairie Apache chiefs there in an attempt to avoid war	none	diplomacy	The drunken commanding officer, along with his inebriated men mistreated the chiefs, who "went away angry."	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 133.
May 1864	Ft. Larned	a sentry's incomprehensible shout and pointing of a rifle at Satanta touched off a skirmish	1 soldier wounded	warfare	Satanta shot the sentry with an arrow or two. Other Kiowas fled with the post's herd. The Kiowas were unaware of an order that prohibited them from entering the fort.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 134-35.
17 May 1864	Cow Creek station	Southern Cheyennes drove off Charlie Rath's stock and attacked traffic on the Cow Creek road	none	warfare	The raids was in retaliation for the unprovoked killing of Lean Bear by US soldiers on May 16 north of the trail. A white and several Indians were killed on Cow Creek road.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 187-88; Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 143.

17 May 1864	Great Bend ranch	a few Southern Cheyennes took 9 horses, 4 mules, and a jackass from Frank Cole and John Sechler, causing the abandonment of the ranch	none	warfare	Cheyennes warned Cole and Sechler that they planned to fight all white men on the trail.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Great Bend," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 (Spring 1973): 97
17 May 1864	Walnut Creek ranch	Cheyennes ordered Charlie Rath, who was married to Road Maker, a Cheyenne woman, to leave	none	warfare	Cheyennes told Road Maker that they planned to kill every white they could find. Another account says that Cheyennes had taken her away the previous day, warning Rath of brewing trouble.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 143; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 188.
17 May 1864	Ft. Larned	post commander Capt. J. W. Parmetar requested reinforcements	none	warfare	The request came because other Indians had joined Kiowas in war.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 151.
May 1864	Ft. Larned	Lt. G. S. Eayre arrived with a company of 3rd Colorado volunteers	none	warfare	On May 16, those troops fought Cheyennes some fifty miles northwest of the post. The fight resulted in seven soldier casualties, including four deaths, and possibly ten killed and wounded Indians.	David K. Strate, <i>Sentinel to the Cimarron</i> (1970), 19.
21 May 1864	Camp Wynkoop	the commander sent a dispatch to Ft. Lyon indicating that Cheyennes were establishing a large camp nearby	none	warfare		Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 188.
23 May 1864	Ft. Lyon	many Cheyennes were camped 60 miles away	none	warfare	Cheyennes who rejected war feared indiscriminate retaliation.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 188.

25 May 1864	Ft. Larned	Capt. Parmetar departed with 80 men to find Kiowas who had attacked the mail station		warfare	His mission failed.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 152.
May 1864	Great Bend ranch	Cheyennes plundered the vacant ranch and trading post	none	warfare	The owners late sought damages totaling \$3,555.	Barry, "Ranch at Great Bend," 97.
late May 1864	near Ft. Larned	Parmetar held council with and ordered Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches to stay clear of the trail	none	diplomacy	Indians leaders professed friendship and agreed to avoid the trail.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 152.
late May 1864	between Ft. Larned and Ft. Lyon	Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches raided trail travelers as Parmetar met with leaders of those nations	none	warfare	Indians disagreed about how what their relations with the US government should be.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 152.
late May 1864		news spread that Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches had become allied for "hellish purposes"	none	warfare		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 188.
May 1864		Col. Chivington deployed 10 Colorado volunteer companies to various points on the trail	none	warfare	Troops escorting traffic had frequent skirmishes with Indians.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 152.
28 May 1864	Ft. Lyon	territorial governor Evans begged Gen. Curtis to use US soldiers to "chastise the Indians on the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers"	none	warfare	many white settlers in Colorado wanted an Indian-free environment through warfare.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 189.
28 May 1864	Walnut Creek and Big Bend	the Council Grove <i>Press</i> reported the Cheyenne raids on May 17	none	warfare	The press often printed news about conflict on the trail.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 428,

May or June 1864	west of Council Grove	eastbound trains warned Riley's caravan to lookout for Indians	none	warfare	Caravans often shared information about Indians.	"Recollections of James Francis Riley, 1838-1918: Part III," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (August 1995): 21.
May or June 1864	Walnut Creek	a few Indians attacked Riley's caravan of 3 trains	none	warfare	The skirmish scared a teamster to such an extent that he feared traveling further west.	Riley, "Recollections," 22.
spring 1864		Maj. T. I. McKenny recommended dismissing incompetent officers, including the Ft. Larned commander, a "confirmed drunk"	none	warfare	Some US military officers advocated an Indian policy of conciliation.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 193.
June 1864	Ft. Lyon	Riley's caravan saw a few Indians "laying around"	none	tension		Riley, "Recollections," 22.
June 1864	Ft Lyon	Riley recalled that US army officers refused to allow caravans to proceed without military escorts	none	warfare	When two more trains arrived, Riley's caravan and the new trains departed with a military escort.	Riley, "Recollections," 22.
11 June 1864	Ft. Lyon	Col. Chivington reported that Cheyennes and Kiowas wanted war and "will have to be soundly thrashed before they will be quiet"	none	warfare	He was ready to "keep the route between Larned and Lyon clear of Indians and rebels."	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 189.
19 June 1864	Ft. Larned	Lt. F. E. Smith reported that Satank and Kicking Birds were "friendly if not cooperating with the Cheyennes"	none	warfare	Smith concluded that Kiowas were "not favorably disposed towards the whites."	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 429.

24 June 1864	19 miles west of Ft. Larned	Indians attacked an eastbound mail stage with a military escort in a 10-mile running fight	3 Indians killed or wounded	warfare	Is this the same fight that Berthrong said happened on June 27?	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 429
25 June 1864		the <i>Smoky Hill and Republican Union</i> declared that Indians often stage coaches and settlers near the trail	none	warfare	Newspapers usually expressed strong anti-Indian sentiment.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 18-19.
27 June 1864		territorial governor Evans ordered friendly Arapahos and Cheyennes on the Arkansas to go to Ft. Lyon for protection and provisions and friendly Kiowas and Comanches to go to Ft. Larned for the same purpose	none	warfare	Asserting that Indians had killed US soldiers and citizens, Evans letter stated, "[f]or this the Great Father is angry, and will certainly hunt them out and punish them; but he does not want to injure those who remain friendly to the whites."	John Evans to the friendly Indians of the plains, June 27, 1864, in George E. Fay, ed., <i>Military Engagements Between United States Troops and Plains Indians: Part Ia</i> (1972), 154-55.
June 1864		Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix rejected Evans's war plan against "hostile" Indians	none	warfare	White officials differed regarding the treatment of Indians.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 192.
27 June 1864	between Ft. Larned and Ft. Lyon	Indians attacked a stagecoach with a military escort	several Indians killed	warfare	Hunger, clashes with US troops, and Colorado land grabbing schemes encouraged Indians to seek a military solution to their problems.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 194.
June 1864	Bent's Fort	Cheyennes met a caravan of traders, with George E. Vanderwalker, traveling in 2 columns	none	warfare	The caravan was prepared for conflict.	"Recollection of George E. Vanderwalker, 1864," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 94.

July 1864	near Great Bend	Indians raided a train of traders for provisions, cattle, and horses	drivers killed	warfare	For the Indians, this was a successful raid.	George S. Burt, "The Wabaunsee Militia Company," <i>Collections of the Kansas State</i> 11 (1910): 604.
July 1864	Walnut Creek	US troops established Camp Dunlap	none	warfare	The small post, later renamed Ft. Zarah, was part of a web of post established to control Indians.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 144.
July 1864	mile north of Ft. Larned	Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, Apaches, and Comanches took James Brice's horses and cattle	none	warfare	Brice valued his losses at \$300.	James Brice, "James Brice Reminiscences, Part III," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 7 (November 1992): 12.
[July 1864?]	Ft. Larned	Arapaho chief Left Hand warned the post commander that Kiowas planned to drive off the fort's stock on a certain day	none	warfare	The post commander ignored the warning.	Sworn statement of John Smith, January 15, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 187.
4 July 1864	Cow Creek bridge	5 Indians drove off stock and took mules "belonging to the Mail Co." and took 7 horses from the 15th Kansas volunteer cavalry	none	warfare	Lt. Smith asserted that the raid was successful because the soldiers were careless.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 429.
6 July 1864	between Cimarron Crossing and Big Bend	Lt. Smith stated that large war parties were present	none	warfare	This account suggests that Indians were ready for war.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 429.
17 July 1864	Ft. Larned	Kiowas took 172 horses and mules from the post's corral while Satanta was visiting the post commander	none	warfare	Pursuing soldiers failed to overtake the Kiowas.	George Elmore, "Fort Larned National Historical Site," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 3 (February 1989): 11; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 152..

[17 July 1864?]	Ft. Larned	US soldiers fired at Left Hand, an Arapaho chief, as he approached the post to offer the commander help in pursuing the Kiowas	none	warfare	This act caused Arapahos to join the Sioux and Cheyenne in their war against US expansion. On November 29, US volunteers killed Left Hand at Sand Creek.	Sworn statement of John Smith, January 15, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 187.
17 July 1864	Pawnee Fork bridge	Kiowas burned the bridge	none	warfare	This act suggests that Kiowas wanted to disrupt the flow of traffic.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 432.
[July?] 1864	east of Walnut Creek	Riley's crew warned Crow's train about the potential of Indian danger	none	warfare	Riley believed the warning was ignored. See the July 18, 1864, entry.	Riley, "Recollections," 23.
18 July 1864	just west of Camp Dunlap [Ft. Zarah]	100 Kiowas and Arapahos, or Cheyennes, attacked trains of Jerome E. Crow and Richard F. Barrett bound for Ft. Union	10 freighters killed and 5 seriously wounded	warfare	Flour was strewn on the ground and oxen were killed or taken. Berthrong suggested that Cheyennes may have conducted the raid.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 432; Brice, "Reminiscences," 12; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 196.
18 July 1864?	Camp Dunlap [Ft. Zarah]	Indians raided a train carrying US military supplies	teamsters wounded	warfare	The Indians took flour and goods. See the above entry.	Brice, "Reminiscences," 12.
19 July 1864	Cow Creek Crossing	news of war with Plains Indians encouraged 4 small trains, including a Mexican train, to corral together	none	warfare	This act delayed the delivery of ordnance stores to Fort Union.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 432.
20 - 22 July 1864	Cow Creek ranch	Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos under Big Mouth and possibly others besieged the ranch	many Indians killed and wounded ----- 2 teamsters killed	warfare	A howitzer trained on a bridge where the Indians were crossing inflicted most of the casualties.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 432.

20 -28 July 1864	Cow Creek Crossing	Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos under Big Mouth, and possibly others attacked corralled wagons	Indian casualties unknown ----- 2 teamsters killed and 1 died from exposure	warfare	The attackers stampeded 300 head of stock. Freighters fought with rifles being transported to Ft. Union. The arrival of a US military force on the 28th ended the siege.	Barry, "Ranch at Cow Creek," 432.
21 July 1864	Running Turkey Creek	Kiowas took 8 mules and 2 horses from 2 wagons	none	warfare	This raid was successful for Kiowas.	Barry, "Ranch at Great Bend," 98.
21 or 22 July 1864	Great Bend ranch	Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos burned the unoccupied ranch	none	warfare	The owners sought damages from the Kiowas totaling \$1500.	Barry, "Ranch at Great Bend," 98.
23 July 1864	Ft. Larned and Walnut Creek	Curtis reported that Indians had run off "our stock "	none	warfare	Curtis felt the Indians' main object was to steal the animals.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements</i> , 156.
25 July? 1864		Curtis created the District of the Upper Arkansas and strengthened garrisons along the trail	none	warfare	Curtis feared that united Indians would "destroy trains and murder our white people."	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 198.
summer 1864	Big Bend	a soldier told Riley that Indians had attacked Ft. Larned, inflicting casualties and taking livestock	several soldiers killed	warfare	The raiders took most of the post's horses. Riley's train sought to exit Indian country as quickly as possible.	Riley, "Recollections," 23.
late July 1864	Ft. Riley	Curtis mounted a campaign to push Indians off the trail		warfare	The US soldiers did not find any Indians.	Dary, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 272.
July 1864?	unspecified	2 Indians chased herders with Brice's train	none	warfare	Brice assumed that a major attack was pending.	Brice, "Reminiscences," 12.

July 1864?	Ft. Larned	Brice met a Mexican, with a "squaw" and "papoos," who had been captured and married into the tribe	none	friendly	The Mexican feared being mistaken for an Indian by the US army.	Brice, "Reminiscences," 12.
July 1864?	unspecified	Brice met several Kiowa chiefs, including Satank, Dehosin, Satanta, and Kicking Bird	none	friendly	Brice described Satank as being warlike and deceitful, Dehosin and Kicking Bird as peaceful, and Satanta as ferocious.	Brice, "Reminiscences," 13.
July 1864?	Ft. Lyon	Cheyennes tried to charge trains and mail carriers a fee for the right to travel through their lands	none	conflict	Rejecting the Cheyennes' bid to collect a toll, Brice's party refused to acknowledge that Indians had land rights.	Brice, "Reminiscences," 13.
summer 1864	between Ft. Lyons and Ft. Larned	US army units escorted coaches between Ft. Lyons and Ft. Larned	none	warfare	Escorts deterred Indian attacks.	Vanderwalker, "Wabanese Militia," 91.
summer 1864?	unspecified	Vanderwalker heard that Indians could wipe out an immigrant train if the travelers were ignorant and unprepared	none	anecdotal	He asserted that women and children travelers were hindrances and encumbrances.	Vanderwalker, "Wabanese Militia," 92.
summer 1864?		Indian scouts noted the danger of "red devil's" hiding in arroyos	none	anecdotal		Vanderwalker, "Wabanese Militia," 92.
July? 1864	Ft. Larned cutoff	returning to Ft. Leavenworth at night, Riley's train spotted Indians crossing the river	none	conflict	Riley hid provisions in his wagon fearing that Indians would make his train give up its food.	Riley, "Recollections," 22.

July? 1864	Ft. Larned cutoff	mounted Indians, including an elderly Arapaho chief who spoke English, interacted with Riley's moving train	none	friendly	The chief said his people were starving. After Riley promised to provide them food at Ft. Larned. The chief dislike soldiers because they were mean.	Riley, "Recollections," 22.
July? 1864	a mile east of Ft. Larned	the Arapaho chief, other chiefs with 5 women, and about a hundred young Arapaho men approached Riley's camp seeking the promised food	none	friendly	After receiving food, the old chief told Riley that his people planned to kill the soldiers for slaughtering the buffalo and leaving this people hungry.	Riley, "Recollections," 22-23.
July? 1864	Ft. Larned	Riley informed a post storekeeper about Arapaho plans to attack the fort	none	tension	The storekeeper replied that threats such as that were commonplace.	Riley, "Recollections," 23.
July [1864]	Turkey Creek	Cheyennes, Kiowas, or Comanches pursued Ed Miller	Miller killed	warfare	Some accounts erroneously place the incident as having occurred in 1865.	"The Death of Miller on the Santa Fe Trail," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 10 (February 1996): 10-13.
[July 1864]	Cow Creek	Kiowas and Comanches attacked a caravan	none	warfare		"Death of Miller," 11.
July 1864	Cow Creek	Indians, possibly Cheyennes, attacked 4 large wagon trains, taking 300 head of livestock	2 US citizens killed	warfare	US military officials believed the Indians wanted food, not war.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 196.
late July? 1864	Cimarron Crossing	Indians attacked a train	2 US citizens killed	warfare		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 197.
28 July 1864	Walnut Creek Crossing	Curtis arrived with 400 men and established Ft. Zarah	none	warfare	Curtis's arrival encouraged Indians to scatter and ended a siege of a train at Cow Creek.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 153.

29 July 1864	Ft. Larned	Curtis divided his command into 3 units in response to Indian	none	warfare	One detachment was sent to the north of the trail to look for and punish Indians, another south, and the third went west to protect trail traffic. The Indians moved their operations further west.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
30 July 1864	St. Louis	the <i>Western Journal of Commerce</i> reported that Cheyennes had attacked ranches on Walnut Creek	none	warfare	The paper stated that ten [non-Indian] men had been killed.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 19.
31 July 1864	Ft. Larned	Gen. John Williams ordered army posts and stations in Kansas and Nebraska to prepare for Indian warfare	none	warfare	Soldiers were to keep livestock penned up at night, guard livestock during the day, and hide the posts' strength by blindfolding Indians.	General Field Orders No. 2, July 31, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 174-75.
early August 1864	Ft. Larned?	Curtis discharged the Kansas militia and departed for Ft. Leavenworth	none	warfare	Curtis's command had failed to find any Indians.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
7 August 1864	7 miles from Ft. Lyon	Kiowas and Comanches attacked a wagon train causing local settlers to flee for safety	none	warfare	With an estimated thousand Indians in the area, the US army could not protect the trail and white settlements.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 199; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
August 1864	Smoky Hill River	Ft. Ellsworth, later renamed Ft. Harker, was built at the point where the Santa Fe Stage road turned south	none	warfare	Soldiers stationed there saw duty guarding portions of the Santa Fe Trail and protecting remote white settlements that were being established in Kansas.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 197.

7 August 1864	near Ft. Lyon	an "affair" involving the 1st Colorado cavalry	none	warfare	The account does not provide information about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 41.
8 August 1864	upper Arkansas	Curtis reported that his troops had failed to overtake Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos but had scared them away from the trail	none	warfare	Curtis stated that the Indians were "determined to do all the mischief they can."	Curtis to Maj. Gen. Halleck, August 8, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 156.
9 August 1864	seven miles from Ft. Lyon	Indians attacked a wagon train	none	warfare	Soldiers from camp Wynkoop were assigned to stop the retreating Indians.	Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 189.
9 August 1864		Curtis advised Gen. Blunt, the Upper Arkansas district commander, to separate "hostile" Indians from friendly ones	none	warfare	Curtis wrote that Indians had been "implicated in the stealing of stock, and most of them with murder." On August 7, Cheyennes and Sioux attacked travelers on the Overland Trail along the Platte River and encroaching settlers.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 198-99, 206.
11 August 1864		reports from Ft. Lyon and Ft. Larned about conflict with Indians encouraged Evans to issue a war proclamation	none	warfare	The proclamation authorized "all citizens of Colorado . . .to go in pursuit of all hostile Indians on the plains, scrupulously avoiding those who have responded to my said call to rendezvous at the places indicated; also, to kill and destroy, as enemies of the country, wherever they may be found, all such hostile Indians."	"Proclamation by Governor Evans, of Colorado Territory," in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 137.

11 August 1864	Ft. Lyon	30 soldiers pursued Indians who had chased a soldier to the fort	none	warfare		Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
12 August 1864	Ft. Lyon	additional soldiers joined the pursuit started the previous day	none	warfare	A brief skirmish occurred near Sand Creek without any casualties.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
13 August 1864	Ft. Lyon	Maj. Scott Anthony reported that Indians had recently stolen US government and civilian stock	none	warfare	Indians were successful in many of their raids.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154.
13 August 1864	Camp Wynkoop	Indians supposedly attacked US soldiers	2 soldiers supposedly killed			Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 188-89
11-17 August 1864	Ft. Lyon	Indians besieged a train, chased a soldier to the fort, fought 15 soldiers, and stampeded Upper Arkansas agency horses	2 Indians killed ----- 2 US citizens killed	warfare	Colley attributed the attack to all local Indian nations, meaning Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 200.
mid-August 1864		Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches reached a preliminary agreement with the US military to end the war	none	diplomacy	The agreement did not bring an immediate end to the fighting. Peace treaties were reached on October 14 and 18, 1865.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," 145.
August 1864	Lower Cimarron Springs	Comanches attacked a train, stampeding all of its cattle	5 US men killed	warfare		Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 154-55.
August 1864	Ft. Union	US troops were sent from New Mexico to Lower Cimarron Springs, Upper Cimarron Springs, Ft. Lyons, and Gray's ranch on the Purgatoire	none	warfare	The deployment of troops from New Mexico is indicative of the successes the Indians were having.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 155.

19 August 1864	Cimarron Springs	Indians attacked a wagon train, taking all of its livestock	10 US citizens killed	warfare		Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1996), 142.
20 August 1864	above Ft. Larned	Indians attacked 3 wagon trains	11 US citizens killed	warfare		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 205.
21 August 1864	near old Ft. Atkinson	Indians attacked 4 US government trains and a trader's caravan, taking many head of cattle	1 train member killed	warfare	US troops sent to the field failed to find any of the attackers.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 155.
21 August 1864	60 miles west of Ft. Larned	200 Indians attacked 95 wagons	none	warfare		Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier</i> , 142.
22 August 1864	Atkins' ranch	an "affair" involving the 1st Colorado cavalry	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," 41.
28 August 1864		Col. J. C. McFerran, chief of staff for the Department of New Mexico, declared the trail was unsafe	none	warfare	McFerran blamed Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches. He wanted the campaign against them to continue until the Indians were exterminated or "effectively" chastised.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 205- 06.
29 August 1864	Ft. Larned	Scott reported the weakness of US forces along the trail	none	warfare	He reported that Indians had run off stock, killed soldiers and travelers in sight of large numbers of US troops, and captured women and children.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 156.
late August 1864	Ft. Lyon	Cheyennes One Eye and Minimic carried a peace message from their chiefs to the US military	none	diplomacy	Not all Cheyennes wanted war.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 207.

September 1864	Big Timbers	Black Kettle along with other Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs sent out peace messages	none	diplomacy	US military columns simultaneously searched the plains for "hostiles."	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 206.
[4 September] 1864	Ft. Lyon	3 captured Cheyennes gave Wynkoop a letter from the Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders indicating they would exchange prisoners for peace	none	warfare	Lacking authority to establish peace, Wynkoop took them under his protection. Wynkoop wrote that the Indians knew US soldiers would exterminate them for misbehavior.	E. W. Wynkoop to Lt. J. E. Tappan, January 15, 1865, in <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 182-83.
6 September 1864	Ft. Lyon	John Smith and Wynkoop's command departed for a Cheyenne and Arapaho camp on the headwaters of the Smoky Hill	none	warfare	On September 10, Black Kettle stated that white aggression had caused Cheyenne retaliation against US soldiers and citizens. The Indians surrendered four prisoners.	Sworn statement of John Smith, January 15, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 185-89.
12 September 1864	Ft. Lyon	post commander Wynkoop ordered the establishment of a post near Aubrey's Crossing	none	warfare	The post was to watch for Confederate and Indian movements	Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 188.
18 September 1864		Gen. Carleton reported that 200 Utes were willing to fight Kiowas and other Indians who were attacking trail traffic	none	warfare	Utes were willing to accept rations, blankets, and any stock they could capture from the Plains Indians.	F. Stanley, <i>The Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940</i> (1967), 81.
19 September 1864	Ft. Lyon	Chivington reported 3,000 Indian warriors were 80 miles away	none	warfare	Chivington wanted to severely punish Indians.	Chivington to E. M. Stanton, September 19, 1864, <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 163.

25 September 1864	Ft. Larned	Blunt departed with US soldiers and Delaware scouts for a site 80 miles away and fought 1500 Cheyennes and Arapahos	9 Indians killed ----- 2 soldiers killed and 7 wounded	warfare	Indians overpowered an advanced detachment but were routed by the main US force. The soldiers' pursuit lasted several days.	James G. Blunt, "General Blunt's Account of His Civil War Experiences," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 1 (May 1932): 251; Curtis to Halleck, October 7, 1864, <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 166-68.
September 1864	Ft. Lyon	Arapahos camped nearby believing they were under US protection and peace would be established	none	warfare	Some Arapahos joined Cheyennes at Sand Creek.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 146-47.
28 September 1864		In a telegram to Chivington, Gen. Curtis wrote, "I want no peace till the Indians suffer more. . . . No peace must be made without my directions"	none	warfare	US military and Colorado officials wanted to punish Cheyennes and others. Chivington was operating under these orders at the Sand Creek Massacre.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 212; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 157 n.
31 September 1864	Los Pinos, NM	discharged soldier John Hurst and possibly others began travel with a wagon train to Kansas	none	warfare	Freighters welcomed veterans because of the Indian threat.	John Hurst, "The Beecher Island Fight," <i>Collections of the Kansas Historical Society</i> 15 (1919-1922): 530.
8 October 1864		the <i>Smoky Hill and Republican Union</i> reported the fight of Blunt's command with Cheyennes	none	warfare	Blunt felt that the US needed to be punished for their atrocities before peace could be concluded.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 19.
October 1864		Col. Carson led a punitive expedition into the Texas Panhandle against Comanches and Kiowas	none	warfare	This campaign sought a military solution to end conflict along the trail. Its outcome was indecisive.	Seymour V. Connor and Jimmy M. Skaggs, <i>Broadcloth and Britches</i> (1977), 171-73.

fall 1864	Ft. Lyon	Cheyennes under Black Kettle and Arapahos under Left Hand received protection and food	none	diplomacy	Wynkoop was removed from office because his actions were deemed unauthorized.	Wynkoop to Tappan, 182-83; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 214.
17 October 1864	Ft. Lyon	Maj. B. C. Henning, commander of the Upper Arkansas district, relayed an order from Curtis pertaining to Indians and US forts	none	warfare	The general "will not permit or allow any agreement or treaty with the Indians without his approval . . .[or] allow any Indians to approach any post on any excuse."	Quoted in Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 214.
22 October 1864	Ft. Union	Gen. Carleton formed an expedition commanded by Col. Carson with 334 soldiers and 75 Utes and Jicarillas against Kiowas	none	warfare	The campaign was to punish Kiowas for their attacks on the trail the previous summer. On November 25 the troops attacked Kiowas near old Adobe Fort.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 159.
October - November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Maj. Scott Anthony reported the arrest of Left Hand, Little Raven, and 652 other Arapahos in 113 lodges 2 miles from the fort who had come to show their desire for peace	none	warfare	He stated that the Arapahos lacked the firearms, ammunition, and horses to wage war against the US and that he would hold any of them in close confinement if he found that they had been waging war.	Scott I. Anthony to A. A. A. G. District of Upper Arkansas, Ft. Riley, November 6, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 166-68.
2 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	650 Arapahos under Left Hand, Little Raven, Neva, and other chiefs arrived	none	diplomacy	After surrendering their arms and captured livestock, Anthony allowed them to camp nearby as prisoners.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 214-15.
6 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Anthony reported that Arapahos were being held prisoners	none	warfare	The held Arapahos denied involvement in the war.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 166-67.

early November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Anthony refused Cheyennes protection, saying they would be safe at a site 25 miles away at Sand Creek	none	diplomacy	Anthony's decision setup friendly Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas for an attack my Chivington's command.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 216-23.
6 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	post commander Anthony reported that Arapahos were being held prisoner	none	warfare	The Arapahos, being held in their camp near the fort, denied any involvement in the war.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 166-67.
6 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	9 Cheyennes visitors informed Anthony that about 2600 Indians were en route to the fort	none	warfare	Anthony refused to allow Cheyennes to approach the fort, indicating that they only pretended to want peace and small bands of them had attacked unprotected wagons and frontier settlements.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 167.
6 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Anthony reported that Kiowas and Comanches had stolen stock from the trail	none	warfare	Kiowas and Comanches moved south of the Arkansas.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 167-68.
10 November 1864	Ft. Bascom	US troops, with 75 Ute and Jicarilla allies, marched against Comanches and Kiowas	none	warfare	US army units battled Comanches, Arapahos, and Kiowas west of Adobe Fort in the Texas Panhandle.	Stanley, <i>Apaches</i> , 83.
6-16 November 1864	near Ft. Lyon, CO	an "affair" involving the 1st Colorado cavalry	none	warfare	The source does not provide information about the incident	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 41.
12 November 1864	near Ft. Lyon	30 Indians attacked a train, inflicting casualties and destroying 5 wagons	2 white men killed	warfare	The source does not provide information about the incident	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 167.

12 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Maj. Henning responded to the attack near Ft. Lyon	none	warfare	Henning instructed the Ft. Larned's commanding officer to report "all cases of Indian depredations that may come to his knowledge."	B. Henning, November 22, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements</i> , Part Ia, 156.
12 November 1864		The <i>Smoky Hill and Republican Union</i> reported the number of travelers and settlers killed by Indians in 1864	200 travelers and settlers killed	warfare	The number is exaggerated.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 20.
13 November 1864	Ash Creek, near Ft. Larned	Pawnees reportedly attacked a supply train	none	warfare	It seems unlikely that Pawnees had participated in this attack.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 42.
20 November 1864	Ft. Zarah	Indians attacked Capt. Henry Booth and Lt. A. Helliwell	none	warfare	The entry provides no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 42.
late November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Chivington and his troops arrived	none	warfare	The command was en route to Sand Creek	"Second Report of Colonel Chivington," December 16, 1864, <i>Engagements</i> , Part Ia, 137-38.
28 November 1864	Ft. Lyon	Chivington departed with 750 soldiers to Sand Creek and the Cheyenne and Arapaho camp	none	warfare	At sunrise the following morning, the troops attacked, killing several hundred Indians, mostly innocent women and children.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 215-16.

29 November 1864	Sand Creek	Chivington reported that his troops had "distinguished themselves in one of the most bloody Indian battles ever fought on these Plains"	none	warfare	Chivington charged that the Indians had been guilty of war against the whites. The Sand Creek Massacre aroused the moral indignation of many US politicians and citizens. Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas would soon retaliate for the massacre, leading to a stronger US military presence along the trail and elsewhere.	"First Report of Colonel Chivington," November 29, 1864, <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 137-38; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 160.
1 December 1864		Curtis reported that Indians were crowding into Ft. Lyon as prisoners of war, while others in small bands were attacking stagecoaches and trains	none	warfare	The US army lacked strength to provide escorts to carry provisions for Indians and troops beyond his departmental lines.	Curtis to Halleck, December 1, 1864, <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 169.
December 1864		Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches opted for war in retaliation for the Sand Creek Massacre and their cultural survival	none	warfare	Retaliatory warfare rage for months.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 224.
4 December 1864	Cow Creek	Indians attacked a wagon with a 7th Iowa cavalry escort	none	warfare	The source does not provide information about the incident	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 42.
6 December 1864	100 miles below Ft. Lyon	Col. Shoup reported the worn-out condition of 3rd Colorado cavalrymen	none	warfare	Shoup cited this as a reasons for not being able "to duplicate the great victory of November 29."	"First Report of Colonel [George L.] Shoup," December 6, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 140-41.

30 December 1864		Curtis noted that Indians operated in groups ranging from 50 to 100 in size	none	warfare	Curtis requested more troops to keep mail routes open, to escort trains, and to crush Indian resistances.	Curtis to Halleck, December 30, 1864, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 170.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
January 1865		Gen. U.S. Grant deployed Maj. Gen. Grenville Dodge to Ft. Leavenworth to plan a campaign against Plains Indians	none	warfare	Dodge's appointment marked the beginning of a concerted US effort to break Plains Indian resistance along the trail and elsewhere with violence.	David K. Strate, <i>Sentinel to the Cimarron</i> (1970), 21.
15 January 1865	Ft. Lyon	post commander E. W. Wynkoop reported that soldiers and settlers were preparing for an Indian attack	none	warfare	Wynkoop declared that with improvements "a comparatively small garrison can hold the fort against any attack by Indians."	E. W. Wynkoop to Lt. J. E. Tappan, January 15, 1865, in <i>Military Engagements Between United States Troops and Plains Indians: Part Ia</i> (1972), 184-85.
17 January 1865	west of Ft. Larned	45 Cheyennes and Arapahos attacked a sutler's train with US troop escorts	3 Indians killed and 3 wounded	warfare	This and other attacks was in retaliation for the Sand Creek Massacre.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 161.
20 January 1865	near Ft. Larned	Cheyennes and Arapahos attacked sutler trains with 1st Colorado and 2nd Colorado cavalry escorts	none	warfare	The entry provided no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements in Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier</i> (1966), 42.
21 January 1865		the Kansas House of Representatives called for the US officials to provide adequate troops to protect frontier settlements and roads	none	warfare	Kansas officials and settlers were pushing a political campaign to rid the state of Indians.	Fay, <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 198.
30 January 1865	Ft. Leavenworth	Curtis requested the extension of the telegraph to Ft. Riley to assist in the fight against Indians	none	warfare	He justified the request stating, "I can direct matters on the Platte to correspond with intelligence arriving from the Santa Fe route."	Curtis to Halleck, January 30, 1864, in <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 178.

1 February 1865		Gen. Halleck stressed the need for more US troops to protect "roads to New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho" from Indians	none	warfare	U.S. Grant had not responded to other requests for additional troops deployed to Kansas.	Gen. H. W. Halleck to Maj. Gen. J. Pope, February 1, 1865, in <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 178-79.
1 February 1865	1 mile from Ft. Zarah	Indians fired at a 2nd Colorado cavalry detachment		warfare	The entry provided no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 42.
1 February 1865	near Ft. Zarah	Indians attacked 8 soldiers chopping wood	1 soldier killed	warfare	It is unclear if this incident is the same one that is referenced above.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 161.
February 1865		Kansas legislators called for the US war department "to place a sufficient force under General Curtis to enable him to protect the Kansas frontier and the overland and Santa Fé routes"	none	warfare	The resolution was part of a campaign to rid Kansas of Indians. Many settlers and politicians favored a military solution to eliminate Indian resistance to Euroamerican expansion.	Concurrent Resolutions in relation to the overland travel and the settlers upon the frontier, in <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 197-98.
February 1865	Ft. Union	Russell, now an army wife, took precautions while warfare with Apaches and Comanches ensued	none	warfare	Fearing danger, she occasionally rode around the fort, but never alone and at an unsafe distance.	Marian Sloan Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 101.
February 1865	Ft. Union	Russell used racial stereotypes to express the troubled state of US relations with Apaches and Comanches	none	warfare	She wrote: "The Apaches were growing bolder and more and more cruel. The Comanches were driving off the white man's sheep and cattle. Emigrant trains were being cruelly harassed."	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 101-02.
15 February 1865		Dodge ordered Col. J. Ford to move against Indians between the Platte and Arkansas rivers	none	warfare	Seeking to avoid a Chivington outcome, Dodge ordered Ford to capture Indian women and children.	Donald J. Berthrong, <i>Southern Cheyenne</i> (1963), 232.

1 March 1865		the US army implemented a system to escort trains from Ft. Union to Ft. Larned and from Ft. Larned to Ft. Union	none	warfare	Escorts departed on the 1st and 15th of each month. Oliva credits this system for reducing the number of incidents involving and harm caused by Indians.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 162.
7 March 1865	80 miles west of Ft. Larned	Indians attacked a train	none	warfare	The entry provided no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43.
18 March 1865		Dodge ordered the establishment of a post near old Ft. Atkinson "as soon as possible"	none	warfare	Word of large numbers of Indians in the area influenced Dodge's decision. Soldiers manned the post on April 10, 1865.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 162-63.
March 1865		George Evans telegraphed Maj. Colby with instructions to assemble friendly Indians at US military posts and stations and to stop the war with other "red skins"	none	warfare	Ft. Larned and especially Ft. Lyon became an increasingly important sites for Indian-US relations.	Evans to Colby, March 1865, in <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 153.
30 March 1865	Ft. Larned	US volunteer infantrymen and a 11th Kansas cavalry company departed to establish Ft. Dodge	none	warfare	The post was part of the US plan to protect trail traffic from Indians.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 163.
March and April 1865	Ft. Riley	Col. Ford organized about 400 men for an expedition against Indians along the trail	none	warfare	Calls for more humane treatment of Indians encouraged US officials to use negotiations to end the warfare.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 165.

early April 1865	Ft. Riley	Ford was finalizing plans for a military expedition against Kiowas and their allies while US agent Jesse Leavenworth prepared to embark on a peace mission	none	warfare	Leavenworth's mission had begun the previous year. Most US army officers wanted to punish those Plains Indians who resisted US expansionism.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cow Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 38 (Winter 1972): 438.
10 April 1865	Ft. Dodge	US soldiers occupied Ft. Dodge	none	warfare	See the March 30, 1865, entry. The fort served as an important base of operations against Indians and a site for US/Indian relations.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 162, 163.
1865	Ft. Dodge	Maj. McFerran reported that 2 Indians drove off most of the post's animals	none	warfare	Five hundred to 5,000 other Indians appeared on the surrounding hills.	"Major John C. McFerran's Report and Journal, 1865," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 100.
23 April 1865	near Ft. Zarah	Indians fought a 2nd Colorado cavalry detachment		warfare	The entry provided no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43.
23 April 1865	6 miles west of Cow Creek Crossing	unidentified Indians attacked herders with Kitchen's train	4 Mexican herdsmen killed	warfare		Barry, "Cow Creek Crossing," 438
24 April 1865	Cow Creek ranch	Indian raids took 16 mules and a pony	none	warfare	The US military responded by establishing a station at Cow Creek.	Barry, "Cow Creek Crossing," 438
late April 1865	Cow Creek station	Cheyennes and Sioux raided the station and drove off stock	none	warfare	Responded to this raid, Secretary of War Stanton and Secretary of Interior Usher authorized Dodge to mount a campaign against Indians.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 234.
1 May 1865	Ft. Larned to Council Grove	an escort systems was implemented to protect trail travelers	none	warfare	The escort system provide travelers a significant degree of protection.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 162.

4 May 1865		Gen. Carleton ordered Col. Carson to establish a temporary post on the Cimarron route between Fts. Union and Larned	none	warfare	The post was to be manned until November 1, 1865.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 163.
7 May 1865		Brig. Gen. Carleton ordered Carson and US troops to erect a temporary military post at Cedar Bluffs or Cold Spring on the Cimarron route	none	warfare	See the late May 1865 entries. The post was abandoned in November 1865.	"Council Trove, Documents, Camp Nichols," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 3 (May1989): 13-15
May 1865		Senator Doolittle's Committee traveled over the trail seeking to end the costly war and to investigate Indian affairs	none	diplomacy	Often facing US army officers who wanted war, Committee members advocated peace and a reservation south of the Arkansas River for Indians. The Committee delayed an US army plan to mount a campaign against Plains Indians.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 234-35.
11 May 1865	east of Council Grove	Riley's westbound train met several eastbound trains that had not seen Indians	none	warfare		"Recollections of James Francis Riley, 1838-1918: Part III," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (August 1995): 25.
12 May 1865	Council Grove	Riley reflected on the danger of entering Indian country	none	warfare	Riley wrote: "we will have to be very cautious and watch as well as pray for at that time when you think you are safe then is the time when the Indians are most likely to attack you."	Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1995): 25.
19 - 23 May 1865	Ft. Larned	detained at Pawnee Rock by military orders, Riley heard numerous reports telling of Indian attacks	none	warfare	The post commander would not allow trains to pass without a military escort.	Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1995): 25.

19 - 23 May 1865	15 miles west of Pawnee Rock	Riley recalled that Indians were falsely suspected of having killed and robbed a discharged soldier	none	warfare	Another former soldier had apparently committed the crime.	Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1995): 25.
20 May 1865	near Pawnee Rock	Indians fought a 2nd Colorado cavalry detachment	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43.
20 May 1865	Ft. Union	Carson's force departed to establish Camp Nicholas	none	warfare		Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 163.
[20] May 1865	Ft. Union	Kit Carson led a US military force against Cheyennes, Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches	none	warfare	This reference may have been about Carson's leading troops to establish Camp Nichols near Cold Spring on the Cimarron route. See the above entry.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (May 1989): 13.
[20] May 1865	[Ft. Union]	R. D. [Marian] Russell reported that Carson and his force marched east in pursuit of Cheyennes, Apaches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Comanches	none	warfare	See the other May 20, 1865, entries.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (May 1989): 13.
[20] May 1865	Ft. Union	Marian Russell reported Carson marched with regular US soldiers east to erect a post to protect wagon trains and stages.	none	warfare	See the other May 20, 1865, entries.	Richard Loudon, "Marion Sloan Russell Interview, 1933," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (May 2005): 26.
22 May 1865	near Ft. Larned	Riley reported that Indians attacked 2 soldiers hunting horses	2 soldiers killed	warfare		Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1995): 25.
22 May 1865	east of Ft. Larned	Riley stated that Indians raided a small eastbound wagon train	none	anecdotal	The raiders took the train's mules.	Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1995): 25.

30 May 1865	near Pawnee Rock	an advanced guard with the Doolittle Committee and 150 cavalrymen saw 5 Indians who kept their distance	none	tension	The sighting encourage Doolittle's party to increase the night guard.	Lonnie J. White, ed., <i>Chronicle of a Congressional Journey</i> (B1975), 19-20, 20-21, 69 n12.
31 May 1865	Ft. Larned	Doolittle's party found Col. Ford preparing a thousand man force for acting against Indians on the Canadian	none	warfare	Leavenworth convinced Ford to cease the operation.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 21.
31 May 1865	Ft. Larned	Lt. Col. T. H. Dodd joined Doolittle's party	none	warfare	Dodd was en route to New Mexico to become the Navajo agent.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 21.
late May 1865		Kit Carson and US volunteers were camped at Cedar Bluff	none	warfare	Carson's force built a post at Cedar Bluff.	McFerran, "Report," 100-01.
4 June 1865	Pawnee fort	"Burwell" with Doolittle's Committee noted the ruins	none	anecdotal	"Burwell" wrote that Pawnees had fought other Indians there years ago.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 23-24.
June 1865	White's Creek	Russell, with Carson's detachment to Ft. Nickols, passed the site where Apaches had attacked James White's party	none	anecdotal	The fate of the White's daughter was still unknown.	Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 103-04.
June 1865	Ft. Nickols	Russell noted that the post's protective functions	none	warfare		Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 101-02.
June? 1865	Ft. Nichols	Russell saw 10 Indian scouts and 2 "squaws" who often tanned hides	none	cooperation		Russell, <i>Enchantment</i> , 106.
1865	Camp Nichols	Carson warned Russell about the danger of trail travel	none	warfare	Carson told her that an "Indian might get me."	Louden, "Russell Interview," 23.

June 1865	Old Bent's Fort	the Doolittle Committee was there when Indians launched a series of attacks on the trail	none	warfare	The attacks illustrated the Indians' growing desperation.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236-37; D. Alexander Brown, <i>The Galvanized Yankees</i> (1963), 48-49.
8 June 1865	Ft. Dodge	Kiowas wearing blue uniforms engaged a 2nd US volunteers detachment and cattle herders, taking 60 horses.	none	warfare	Pursuing soldiers recovered ten animals.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43; Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236-37; Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 48-49.
8 June 1865 and several days later	Ft. Dodge	unidentified Indians raided the fort	none	warfare	The raiders drove off all but eight of the fort's animals.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236.
8 June 1865	Sand Creek	"Burwell" indicated that the massacre site was 40 miles to the north			This comment was made as the congressional committee moved westward.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 24.
8 June 1865	Ft. Lyon	the Doolittle Committee began a 3 day investigation of the Sand Creek Massacre	none	warfare	The committee concluded that US officials should learn about the cause of violence.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 24.
9 June 1865	Ft. Lyon	Doolittle and others departed for the Sand Creek Massacre site and found human remains of women and children	none	warfare	The party returned to Ft. Lyon with the skeletons. "Burwell" reported that two skulls had holes made by pistol balls.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 26-28.
9 June 1865	Chaves (Jarvis) Creek	Indians attacked a herder	1 herder killed	warfare		Barry, "Cow Creek Crossing," 440.
9 June 1865	Little Arkansas Station near Chaves (Jarvis) Creek	60 Indians surprised a westbound train of 48 wagons escorted by Company K, US volunteers	none	warfare	The "galvanized Yankees" only fired several rounds. The raiders drove off a 100 mules and 75 cattle, stranding the train.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 1963) 48.

9 - 11 June 1865	Ft. Lyon	"Burwell" reported that testimony pointed to Col. Chivington's guilt	none	anecdotal	Accordingly, Chivington was a "monster" whose men had committed "the most diabolical outrages" against hungry and friendly Cheyennes.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 26-28.
11 June 1865	Cow Creek	100 Indians besieged 4 wagon trains and fought a US cavalry detachment	none	warfare	Incidents such as these encouraged the Doolittle committee to advocate peace. Conversely, many US military officers favored war.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236.
11 June 1865	Ft. Zarah	Indians chased Lt. R. W. Jenkins and a small escort to the fort	none	warfare	This incident suggests that warring Indians did not fear the posts.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236.
11 June 1865	between Fts. Zarah and Larned	Indians attacked 2 military dispatchers	2 military messengers killed	warfare		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 236.
12 June 1865	Cow Creek station	Indians fought a 2nd Colorado cavalry and a 7th Iowa cavalry detachments	1 soldier killed	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43; Barry, "Cow Creek Crossing," 440.
12 June 1865	Ft. Dodge	Indians fought a 2nd US volunteers detachment	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 43.
12 June 1865	Ft. Dodge	Kiowas used morning fog as cover to attack the horse herd of US volunteers and Kansas cavalymen	2 soldiers captured or killed and 3 wounded	warfare	The raiders drove off most of the horses. Major Armstrong wrote that without mounts and artillery, "I think the post is in rather a dangerous situation."	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 49.
12 June 1865	Plum Butte	Indians fought a 2nd Colorado cavalry detachment	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 44.
12 June 1865	Pawnee Rock	Indians fought a 2nd Colorado cavalry detachment	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 44.
14 June 1865	Santa Fe Road, NM	Indians fought the Company F, 1st California cavalry	none	warfare		"Appended Compilation," (1966), 44.

17 June 1865	Maxwell's ranch	"Burwell" noted that Utes protected Maxwell's cattle and horses from other Indians for food and clothing	none	cooperation	Utes also periodically returned with Navajo captives. Two young Navajo women lived there and wove blankets.	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 32-34.
17 June 1865	Junction City	Indians attacked trains between Ft. Zarah and Ft. Dodge	"couple of drivers" killed	warfare	The Junction City Union account also stated that Indians had captured a train.	Frank Doster, "Eleventh Indiana Cavalry in Kansas in 1865," <i>Collections of the Kansas Historical Society</i> 15 (1919-1922): 525.
18 June 1865	18 miles east of Cow Creek	a false report stated that Indians attacked dispatch bearers with the 13th Missouri cavalry and killed 5 soldiers	none	warfare	This account illustrates how Kansas newspapers distorted reality with sensational rumors.	Doster, "Eleventh Indiana Cavalry," 525.
19 June 1865	Ft. Union	Gen. Carleton visited the Doolittle Committee about imprisoned Navajos	none	warfare	Carleton wanted the Committee to visit Bosque Redondo "where he had seven or eight thousand Navajo Indians corralled."	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 35-37.
20 June 1865	Ft. Union	the Doolittle Committee departed for Bosque Redondo	none	warfare	"Burwell" reported that "about 6,000 Navajos and 500 Apaches were kept in awe by 300 Federal bayonets."	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 37.
29 June 1865	Pecos Pueblo	"Burwell" gave a widely held story about its former inhabitants	none	anecdotal	The Pecos were "followers of Montezuma."	White, ed., <i>Doolittle Committee</i> , 43.
29 June 1865	near Ft. Dodge	Indians fought a 5th US volunteers detachment	none	warfare	The entry provided no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," (1966), 44.
29 June 1865	near Cimarron Crossing	40 Kiowas attacked a train escorted by 2nd US volunteers	2 Mexicans killed	warfare	The attackers failed to take any of the trains' and soldiers' livestock.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 207.

29 June 1865	Ft. Larned	Ft. Larned was designated as the main staging post for a campaign against Kiowas and Comanches	none	warfare	US policy makers, however, decided to follow a course of negotiation and peace.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 50-52.
June 1865	2 days east of Ft. Lyons	Riley reported that several 16th Kansas cavalry companies were escorting acting Vice President Foster, Senator Doolittle, and Maj. Gen. McCook on a peace mission with Indians in New Mexico	none	warfare	The Peace Commission sought to end the costly warfare with Indians through negotiations.	Riley, "Recollections," Part III, (August 1895): 25.
1 July 1865	Ft. Leavenworth	Doolittle reported that five to seven thousand Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos planned to attack exposed settlements	none	warfare	Doolittle attributed to "the cowardly butchery of the Cheyennes on Lance creek, an affair in which the blame is on our side."	Doster, "Eleventh Indiana Cavalry," 525.
14 July 1865		Gen. G. M. Dodge suggested that Gen. Sanborn establish a post at Aubrey Crossing that became known as Camp Wynkoop	none	warfare	Soldiers station there would to relieve stage escorts.	Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 191.
27 July 1865		McFerran recommended the establishment of military posts at Cedar Bluffs and between Ft. Lyon and Ft. Dodge	none	warfare	The proposed post would provide travelers more protection from Indians. Soldiers garrisoned a post for a few weeks.	McFerran, "Report," 100-01.
1865	Cow Creek	2,000 to 3,000 Kiowas and Comanches attacked a wagon train	none	warfare	Articles in the <i>Marion County Record</i> , Kansas, do not indicate whether anyone was hurt in the fight.	"Death of Miller," 12.
2 August 1865		Gen. Pope ordered the US army to cease its operations against Indians and work for peace	none	warfare	Dodge continued to advocate war as did many Cheyennes.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 239.

early August 1865	mouth of Little Arkansas	Leavenworth and Capt. J. Sanborn met with Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders to end their attacks on frontier settlements and trail traffic	none	diplomacy	Not all Comanche bands were present.	Rupert N. Richardson, <i>Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement</i> (1996), 145.
August 1865		Frank Doster traveled with "some dignitaries" [including Sanborn] to make peace with Indians	none	warfare	Doster recalled that the meeting resulted in a treaty reached in October of that year in which the Indians agreed to abandon the lands between the Platte and Arkansas rivers.	Doster, "Eleventh Indiana Cavalry," 527.
August 1865	south of the trail	at the present-day town of Wichita, Doster's dignitaries met about a thousand Wichitas [Kiwias, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Apaches?]	none	peaceful	Doster reported seeing "a dirty herd of blanket Indians, a hundred or more in number, a few frontier scouts, two or three military officers, and one or two in civilian clothes."	Doster, "Eleventh Indiana Cavalry," 527.
August 1865 [between 7 and 13]	Ash Creek	Indians ambushed a 2nd US volunteer messenger detail	3 soldiers killed	warfare	A soldier escaped and returned from Ft. Zarah with a pursuit party.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 52-53; "Appended Compilation," (1966), 44.
August 1865 [between 7 and 13]	between Ash Creek and Ft. Zarah	Indians watched soldiers gathering the bodies of the slain 2nd US volunteer soldiers	none	warfare	They fled when soldiers went in pursuit.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 53.
15 August 1865	mouth of Little Arkansas River	Maj. Gen. J. B. Sanborn and Leavenworth met Arapaho, Cheyenne, Plains Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche leaders	none	diplomacy	The Indians agreed to peace and meet at Bluff Creek on October 4 for a permanent peace treaty.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 165.

18 August 1865		Sanborn announced that Leavenworth had secured peace agreements with Lone Wolf, Satanta, Ten Bears, and others	none	diplomacy	The chiefs agreed "to cease all acts of violence or injury to the frontier settlements, and to the travelers on the Santa Fe road." The agreement called for another meeting on October 4, 1865, at Bluff Creek, south of the trail.	Brown, <i>Galvanized Yankees</i> , 52.
15 September 1865	Ft. Aubrey	the U.S. army ordered the establishment of a temporary post named Ft. Aubrey 60 miles east of Ft. Lyon on the mountain route	none	warfare	Ft. Aubrey was the last post established on the trail. It was abandoned on April 20, 1866.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 164.
possibly September 1865	Maxwell's ranch	stagecoach passenger Sister Mallon recalled seeing some Indians, probably Utes or Jicarillas	none	tension	In 1901, Sister Mallon wrote, "we did not know whether they were savage or civilized. . . . We found out that the poor Indians which caused us so much alarm were perfectly harmless."	"Sister Catherine Mallon's Journal (Part One)," <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> 50 (April 1977): 140-41.
4 October 1865	Bluff Creek	Arapahos, Cheyennes, Plains Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches met in treaty council with US representatives	none	diplomacy	The resulting treaties called for Indians not to camp "within ten miles of any town, military post, or maintained traveled road without permission from proper authorities, and they promised perpetual peace and to arbitrate future disputes." The peace did not last.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 166.
October 1865	Cimarron Crossing station	Indians ran off "a few hundred dollars worth" of livestock	none	conflict	Indians often targeted livestock.	Louise Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 352.

17 October 1865		US officials entered into the Treaty of the Little Arkansas with Cheyenne, Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches,	none	diplomacy	Indians retained the right to hunt between the Platte and Arkansas rivers. Although the treaty stipulated that Indians would be assigned reservations south of Kansas, the lands were unavailable for that purpose.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 21.
21 October 1865	St. Louis	the <i>Western Journal of Commerce</i> criticized eastern newspaper for advocating peace with Plains Indians	none	warfare	Many settlers on the plains favored ethnic cleansing as a solution to the Indian "problem."	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 26.
1 November 1865		Dodge's plan called for keeping the area between the Platte and Arkansas rivers free of Indians	none	warfare	The US military was increasing its efforts to end Indian resistance with violence.	John S. Kirwan, "Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 21 (Winter 1955): 572-73.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
[January ?] 1866	Bent's Fort	"Cloquis," with Gen. W. Brewster and others, provided information about William Bent's troubled relationship with his former wife and about their children	none	anecdotal	Appearing in the <i>New York Times</i> on March 2, 1866, the letter noted that the Bent's daughter was on Walnut Creek trying to persuade Cheyennes to keep their treaty. It also stated that two of Bent boys were with the Indians.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (November 1994): 20.
[January ?] 1866	Maxwell's Ranch	"Cloquis" reported that Indians [possibly Jicarilla Apaches and Utes] enjoyed a close relationship with Maxwell who allowed them use of his house and access to his sheep	none	friendly	He asserted that Maxwell spent \$20,000 annually to keep the Indians happy with food and drink.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (November 1994): 20.
February 1866	Ft. Dodge	freighters arrived saying that Cheyennes had attacked a 16-year old boy	1 white teenager killed	warfare	A Cheyenne account said the death was warranted because the boy's father and others had cheated a Cheyenne out of money. The fight erupted when the culprit refused to return the money.	David K. Strate, <i>Sentinel to the Cimarron</i> (1970), 35-36; George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 252.
2 March 1866	New York	the <i>New York Times</i> reported that Indians were threatening the trail	none	warfare	The report accurately captured the troubled state of Indian-white relations along the trail and elsewhere.	"Council Trove, Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (November 1994): 20.
1 April 1866	Ft. Dodge	Indians receiving rations were amused with photography	none	friendly		Kenneth J. Almy, ed., "Thof's Dragon and the Letters of Captain Theophilis H. Turner, M.D., U.S. Army," <i>Kansas History</i> 10 (Autumn 1987): 175.

8 April 1866		US agent E. W. Wynkoop visited tribes along the Arkansas	none	diplomacy	Wynkoop declared that trail traffic had no fear of an Indian attack.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 182.
15 April 1866	Ft. Aubrey	orders were issued to abandon the post	none	tension	The post was abandoned on April 20.	Louise Berry, "Fort Aubrey," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 (Summer 1973): 191-92.
4 July 1866	Delaware Agency	Delaware leaders agreed to a treaty stipulating their removal from Kansas to Indian Territory	none	diplomacy	Most other Indian nations would be removed from Kansas.	Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., <i>Indian Treaties, 1778-1883</i> (1972), 937-42.
summer 1866	west of Ft. Aubrey	Indians robbed a stagecoach with B. F. Bigger and 5 or 6 others, including the driver	none	warfare	After robbing the coach, the Indians fired arrows into the departing coach.	Berry, "Fort Aubrey," 190.
summer 1866	west of Ft. Aubrey	Indians robber Robert M. Wright and a name named Ward	none	conflict	The Indians took "grub and rope, but nothing else.	Berry, "Fort Aubrey," 190.
14 August 1866	Barclay's Fort	traveling with a US army command Eveline Alexander noted the deteriorating condition of the structure	none		The structure had been built to protect its inhabitants from Indians.	Eveline M. Alexander, <i>Cavalry Wife</i> (1977), 74.
23 August 1866	south of Raton Pass	Alexander saw a mounted Ute "buck" and "squaw"	none	friendly	These were negative terms for an Indian man and woman	Alexander, <i>Cavalry Wife</i> , 79-80.
August to September 1866	Ft. Zarah	Meline saw a small Arapaho camp of 4 lodges	none	friendly	This account shows that some Indians were willing to stay in the fort's vicinity.	James F. Meline, <i>Two Thousand Miles on Horseback</i> (1867), 293-301.
August to September 4 1866	Ft. Zarah	2 traders with were doing a thriving business with Indians	none	friendly	Relations along the trail had improve.	Meline, <i>Two Thousand Miles</i> , 293-301.

August to September 1866	Ft. Larned	Meline saw a few Indians trading	none	friendly	Relations along the trail had improve.	Meline, <i>Two Thousand Miles</i> , 283-92.
summer 1866	unspecified	Lane saw an Indian "dandy"	none	friendly	Relations along the trail had improve.	Lane, <i>I Married a Soldier</i> , 136.
August to September 1866	Little Cimarron [50 miles from Ft. Union]	12 Utes including Kaniatse, and Kaniatse's sons wanted the commanding officer to surrender a Mexican "lad," who had killed Kaniatse's or son	none	diplomacy	Kaniatse obtained the Mexican who had killed his son. Kaniatse's two other sons accompanied him.	Meline, <i>Two Thousand Miles</i> , 283-92.
9 September 1866	Ft. Larned	Satanta told the post commander that he wished to surrender 4 captives [Martha Box and her daughters] taken in Texas	none	diplomacy	When US representatives failed to ransom the women, Satanta traded the mother and a daughter to Plains Apaches.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 182.
September 1866	Ft. Dodge	post commander Capt. A. Sheridan agreed to ransom 2 Box girls from Satanta for guns, power, lead, coffee, sugar, and trinkets	none	diplomacy	Gen. W. T. Sherman reprimanded Sheridan and ordered his troops not to ransom prisoners. See the October 20, 1866, entries for details about the release of the other Box women.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 182-83.
September 1866	Fort Zarah	Cheyennes arrived to receive an annuity distribution	none	friendly	The annuities were provided by treaty.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 253.
1 October 1866	Trinidad	word arrived that [Mohuache] Utes with Ka-ni-ha-che camped at Trinidad had caused a disturbance in "the Indian uprising of 1866"	none	warfare	Soldiers under Col. Andrew Alexander from Camp Stevens chased the Utes. Lt. Russell also led troops from Ft. Union to Trinidad.	Marion S. Russell, <i>Land of Enchantment</i> (1954), 115-16; Alexander, <i>Cavalry Wife</i> , 91.

4 October 1866	Ft. Stevens	word arrived that [Mohuache] Utes had fought US soldiers near Trinidad	13 Utes killed ----- 1 soldier killed and 2 wounded	warfare	Utes fought because of hunger and US expansion. Russell asserted that the defeat ended their stay in that part of the country.	Richard Loudon, "Marion Sloan Russell Interview, 1933," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 19 (May 2005): 23, 24 n. 7; Alexander, <i>Cavalry Wife</i> , 91, 94-95, 150 n. 10, and 11.
6 October 1866	near Las Vegas	Mescalero Apaches [Peso's band] attacked 2 young herders, 10-year old José Andrés Martínez [Andele] and his younger nephew Pedro and a traveler named Joaquin	Joaquin and Pedro killed	warfare	Andele ended up with Plains Apaches. See below entry.	J. J. Methvin, <i>Andele, or, The Mexican-Kiowa Captive</i> (1996), 1, 29-38.
several days before 20 October 1866	between Ft. Union and Las Vegas	On October 20, <i>The New Mexican</i> reported that Apaches [Peso's band] had chased a stagecoach and taken 2 boys near San Geronimo	none	warfare	The columnist called for swift punitive response.	Methvin, <i>Andele</i> , 1.
20 October 1866	Ft. Dodge	Kiowas held council with US officials, turning over a captive white mother [Mary Box] and child taken from Texas	none	diplomacy	See the below entry.	Capt. A. Sheridan to Capt. W. S. Mitchell, April 22, 1867, in George E. Fay, ed., <i>Military Engagements Between the United States Troops and Plains Indians, Part III</i> (1973), 115.
20? October 1866	Ft. Dodge	US soldiers lured Plains Apaches holding the Box women into the fort, took 2 leaders hostage, and threatened to kill them if the Box girls were not surrendered	none	conflict	Soldiers released the leaders when other Apaches released the girls. Word of the soldiers' treachery caused Indian relations with the fort to deteriorate.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 183; Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 36-37.

winter 1866	Little Arkansas Crossing and other places	because "wild" Indians were planning a war, 7th cavalry units and troops from St. Louis were placed at strategic locations along the trail	none	anecdotal	Mead recalled having traveled through the region without difficulty.	James R. Mead, <i>Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains</i> (1986), 196.
19 December 1866	Pecos Pueblo	Alexander reflected on the Pueblo's alleged connection to the Aztecs and noted her collecting of artifacts	none	anecdotal	She took "some of the carved wood and the head of a little Aztec image found among the ruins."	Alexander, <i>Cavalry Wife</i> , 113.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
January 1867	Ft. Dodge	post commander Maj. Douglass claimed that trader Charley Rath at Ft. Zarah had sold revolvers and powder to Kiowas	none	tension	US military officers sought to restrict the flow of firearms to Indians.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971): 145-46.
13 January 1867	Ft. Dodge	Douglass reported that traders had supplied Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas with weapons and power	none	tension	Douglass suggested that Plains Indians were preparing for an "outbreak." The US military was moving towards war.	George E. Fay, ed., <i>Military Engagements Between United States Troops and Plains Indians: Part III</i> (1972), 60-61.
13 January 1867	Ft. Dodge	Kiowa Kicking Bird complained that US agent Leavenworth had created dissatisfaction among Kiowas by distributing annuity goods inequitably	none	tension	Indians were often critical of the way in which US agents distributed annuities.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 156.
15 January 1867		Gen. Sherman proposed to "restrict the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, and Navahoes, south of the Arkansas and east of Fort Union"	none	tension	Sherman wanted to "keep open the great routes to the mountain territories, to render safe the prosecution of work on the Pacific railroads, and to prevent apprehension of Indian depredation." U.S. Grant, however, would not support the plan if it conflicted with US treaty obligations.	George E. Fay, ed., <i>Military Engagements Between the United States Troops and Plains Indians, Part Ia</i> (1973), 228-29.
17 January 1867		Gen. W. S. Hancock reaffirmed that "Indians should not be allowed to visit military posts save on business"	none	tension	The US army was pursuing a hard-line approach.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part Ia</i> , 235.

January 1867	Cimarron Crossing ranch	John Sullivan and several Arapahos were stopped from taking storeroom provisions by William Hartwell and others	none	conflict	At the confrontation's end, Hartwell gave Arapahos flour.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cimarron Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 (Autumn 1973): 352.
26 January 1867		Hancock prohibited the sell and trade of firearms to Indians in the District of the Upper Arkansas except at Ft. Dodge and Ft. Larned	none	tension	US soldiers feared that Indians would use firearms in warfare against whites. Indians could only obtain arms and powder for hunting purposes from authorized traders.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 184.
2 February 1867		General Orders No. 2 empowered US soldiers to prevent the sale of firearms and ammunition to Arapahos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Apaches	none	tension	The order also authorized the inspection and confiscation of all wagons with contraband.	General Orders No. 2, February 2, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 125.
9 February 1867	Ft. Dodge	word arrived that Satanta wanted "all the military posts and troops removed from this country immediately . . . And the Santa Fe road stopped at Council Grove"	none	tension	He also wanted "[t]he mail coach stopped running; . . . The railroad stopped at Junction City; and if the roads were not stopped and the posts and troops moved he would take his force and, in company with other Indians, help to move them." This report turned out to be a lie.	F. F. Jones to G. A Hesselberger, April 22, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 118; Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 184.
1867		US military officials met Kiowas with Satanta and Arapahos	none	diplomacy	John W. Moore noted that whites regarded Satanta to be a fierce warrior.	"Council Trove Documents," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 5 (February 1990): 17.

mid February 1867	Arkansas River	Indians en route to Ft. Dodge for rations returned gunfire on an eastbound Mexican caravan with José Librado Gurulé	1 caravan member either killed or wounded	conflict	The fighting stopped when caravan leaders signaled for peace. An old woman gave Gurulé some meat.	José Librado Gurulé, "José Librado Gurulé's Recollections, 1867," <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 128-29.
17 February 1867	Cimarron River	Kiowas wanting provisions attacked C. C. Baker, P. F. Goodfellow, and a hunter	none	warfare	The whites repelled the attack but the Indians returned and stampeded the stock.	"Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives were restless that year," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1961): 154.
21 February 1867	Ft. Larned	US agent Wynkoop reported that US officials had not returned captured Indian children to their parents and had not distributed annuity goods to Indians	none	tension	These problems escalated brewing tensions between Indians and the US government.	E. W. Wynkoop to Lewis V. Bogy, February 21, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 90.
25 February 1867		a US military order required westbound wagon trains would have to wait at Ft. Larned until at least 20 could be assembled	none	tension	This order was in response to fear of upcoming warfare.	David K. Strate, <i>Sentinel to the Cimarron</i> (1970), 38-39.
few days before 27 February 1867	near Ft. Dodge	a Sioux party passed by the post en route to met with other Indians to decide when to begin a war	none	tension	This account indicates that various Plains nations were planning to challenge US expansion.	Bvt. Maj. Henry Asbury to Capt. W. S. Mitchell, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 119.
4 or 5 March 1867	Ft. Larned	Roman Nose, a Cheyenne Dog Soldier leader, visited Wynkoop about Indian-white relations	none	diplomacy		Capt. Henry Asbury to Assistant Adjutant General, March 6, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 86.
4 or 5 March 1867	Ft. Larned	post commander Capt. Asbury reported that all was quiet among Cheyennes on the Arkansas	none	tension	Conflict was ensuing on the Platte between the Sioux and US military.	Asbury to Assistant Adjutant General, March 6, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 86.

10 March 1867	west of Ft. Aubry	8 Arapahos attacked Gilchrist's camp, taking 40 mules and a mare	Mexican herder shot	warfare	The report does not indicate the severity of the herder's wound.	Maj. H. Douglass to Bvt. Maj. H. E. Noyes, A.A.A.G., March 14, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 90.
10 March 1867	Ft. Dodge	Hancock reported that Indians had traveled near the post	none	friendly	The Indians were reportedly well supplied with arms and ammunition.	W. S. Hancock to Leavenworth, April 11, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 123-24.
before 11 March 1867	Ft. Dodge	Kiowas returned from Texas arrived with 17 scalps of "colored soldiers" and a white man	none	warfare	Kiowas were at war with Texas.	Hancock to Leavenworth, March 11, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 93.
14 March 1867	Ft. Dodge	Douglass reported that Little Raven, an Arapaho chief, and Satanta had made "threatening demonstrations"	none	diplomacy	Little Raven and Satanta wanted whites to abandon the area.	Douglass to Noyes, March 14, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 90.
16 March 1867	Atkinson, KS	a letter reported that Indians and US settlers were engaged in conflict and that trouble at Ft. Dodge	none	conflict	This letter was published in the <i>Weekly Free Press</i> (Atchison).	"Bypaths of Kansas History: An Indian Chief Serves an Ultimatum on the Commanding Officer at Fort Dodge," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 13 (May 1944): 154
24 March 1867	Ft. Dodge	a US army report stated that Sioux were encouraging Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Plains Apaches to begin a war in the spring	none	tension	This and other reports indicated that deteriorating conditions and the US government's failure to provide promised annuity distributions contributed to the likeliness of war.	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 38-39.

27 March 1867	Ft. Riley	Hancock marched 6 infantry companies and 6 cavalry companies, along with artillery, toward Ft. Larned to intimidate Indians into peace	none	tension	General Field Orders explained the campaign's purpose: "We wish to show them that the Government is ready and able to punish them if they are hostile, although it may not be disposed to invite war."	Strate, <i>Sentinel</i> , 40.
winter 1866-67	Bluff Creek	Black Kettle, George Bent and other Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches learned that a large US army force under Hancock had assembled	none	tension	Fearing another Sand Creek Massacre, many Cheyennes fled to the Washita River.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 267-71.
5 April 1867		Gen. J. W. Davidson reported that Rath, at Ft. Zarah, was selling whiskey to Indians in violation of military orders and US law	none		US military officers partially blamed Indian resistance on alcohol.	Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," 146.
7 April 1867	Ft. Zarah	Cheyennes told Hancock about their peaceful intentions	none	diplomacy	See the April 13, 1867, entry.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 186-87.
April 1867	Ft. Larned	Hancock had a force of 1400 men, including 11 troops of the 7th cavalry, 6 infantry companies, a artillery battery, and 16 Delaware scouts	none	diplomacy	Hancock's intent with taking such a large force was to awe Indians into submission or fight them.	"Letters of Andrew Fitch, Army Surgeon, 1866-1867," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 15 (May 2001): 10-11.

7 April 1867	Ft. Larned	Hancock marched his force to Cheyenne and Sioux camps on Pawnee Fork to demand an explanation of their intentions	none	conflict	When the Indians fled, Hancock's force destroyed the Indians' tents, supplies, and equipment. Indians would respond militarily to Hancock's unprovoked aggression	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 186-87.
9 April 1867	near Ft. Larned	Arapaho, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and possible other leaders threatened to disrupt traffic on US roads and told the military to leave	none	diplomacy	Tensions were mounting again.	Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 124.
9 April 1867		Hancock issued General Field Orders No. 2 regarding matters of war and peace	none	warfare	The US army would pursue and arrest Indian perpetrators and no peace would be made until authorized by the Headquarters Department of the Missouri.	General Field Orders No. 2, April 9, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 124.
12 April 1867	Ft. Larned	Tall Bull, Bull Bear, White Horse, Little Robe, and other Cheyennes met with Hancock about ending the war and returning captives	none	diplomacy	Hancock demanded that the Cheyennes must surrender their captives and stop raiding the railroads and wagon roads. Hancock promised that the US would punish whites who committed crimes against Indians.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 273-74.
13 April 1867	Ft. Larned	Hancock departed with his troops en route to Cheyenne and Sioux camps along the Pawnee Fork and elsewhere to demand if they wanted war or peace	none	warfare	Cheyennes and Sioux opposed Hancock's action. See the April 19, 1867, entry.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 274.

April 1867	Ft. Dodge	Hancock met Kiowa chiefs who declared their peaceful disposition	none	diplomacy	Hancock abandoned the expedition, but his actions had sparked warfare along the trail.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 186-87.
15 April 1867	near Ft. Lyon	Indians fought a 7th cavalry company	1 soldier wounded	warfare	The account provides no information about the fight.	<i>Chronological List of Actions, &c. with Indians, from January 1, 1866, to January, 1891, in Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 5.
17 April 1867	near the Cimarron Crossing	Maj. Wickliffe Cooper set up camp to intercept and capture the Cheyennes and Sioux who were reportedly in the area	none	warfare	Warfare seemed likely and US soldiers were preparing for battle.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 353.
April 1867		US military officials deployed 7th cavalry companies to patrol the trail west of Ft. Dodge	none	warfare	The soldiers had orders to fight those Indians "without hesitation" who refused to surrender.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 280.
19 April 1867		Leavenworth reported the troubled status of Kiowa-US relations	none	warfare	Leavenworth wrote that Kiowas had brought the scalps of 17 "colored" soldiers, threatened US posts on the Arkansas, robbed, insulted army officers, and were on the verge of entering an alliance with the Sioux in a war against the US.	Leavenworth to Hancock, April 19, 1867; Hancock to Leavenworth, April 23, 1867; Hancock to Leavenworth, March 11, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 112.
19 April 1867	Cimarron Crossing	a scout spotted "a few Indians skulking in the area"	none	warfare	U.S. troop were sent to the area. See the below entry.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 353.

19 April 1867	Cimarron Crossing	7th cavalymen attacked a small Cheyenne [and Sioux?] party with Lone Bear and Eagle Nest	2 Cheyennes killed ----- 1 soldier wounded	warfare	The soldiers reported that six Indians had been killed, but George Bent placed the number at two. Cheyennes only found the body of Lone Bear.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 280; List of Actions, 6; Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 270; Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 353.
24 April 1867	Ft. Larned	Wynkoop reported that US soldiers had killed and scalped 6 Cheyennes above Ft. Dodge	none	warfare	Criticizing the soldiers' action, Wynkoop stated that Cheyennes has not committed depredations on the trail traffic.	Wynkoop to N. B. Taylor, April 24, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 103- 04.
[April] 1867	Cimarron Crossing	aware of US military plan to fight them, Lame Bull with 75 Cheyennes, including George Bent, went on the offensive	none	warfare		Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 270.
that evening 1867	Arkansas River	Lame Bull's force attacked a westbound mule train, taking 50 mules	none	warfare	The attack was in retaliation for the killing of Lone Bear and Eagle Nest.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 270.
next day 1867	Cimarron route	Lame Bull's party attacked a train returning from Ft. Union for mules	Howling Wolf wounded	warfare	The attack was in retaliation for the killing of Lone Bear and Eagle Nest.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 270.
1867	60 miles east of Ft. Larned	Lame Bull's party joined other Cheyennes led by Lean Bear in attacking trail traffic	none	warfare	Cheyennes captured and destroyed two wagon trains, taking provisions, whiskey, horses, and mules.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 271-72.
22 May 1867		Leavenworth acknowledged receipt of instructions for Kiowas and Comanches to stay clear of the trail	none	warfare	Leavenworth charged that the army was ignoring US treaties with Indians.	Leavenworth to Taylor, May 22, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 126.
23 May 1867	Pretty Encampment	Indians drove off stock from the mail station	none	warfare		Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 197.

28 May 1867		Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor instructed US agents Leavenworth and Wynkoop not to delivery annuity goods to the Indians within their agencies	none	warfare	The order stayed in effect until those who had been at war returned captives, made restitution for property they had taken, and promised good conduct in the future.	Taylor to Thomas Murphy, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 127.
29 May 1867		Southern Cheyennes stated that "the people on the Arkansas did not treat them well"	none	warfare	Despite this poor treatment, they had no intentions of going to war.	James J. Morrison to Wynkoop, May 29, 1867, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 141.
31 May 1867	Bluff Ranch, KS	Indians fought a 37th infantry detachment near Ft. Aubrey	2 soldiers killed	warfare	The account provides no information.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 6; Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 197.
late May or early June 1867	Ft. Dodge	Satanta and 20 Kiowas surprised the camp of John W. Moore, Amberson Hays, and others en route to Ft. Union, helping themselves to the train's mess wagon	none	tension	Facing guns aimed by train members, Kiowas made threatening gestures as they rode away.	"Council Trove, Documents, Trail Trip, 1867," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 4 (February 1990): 16-17, hereafter cited "Trail Trip."
5 June 1867	Cimarron Crossing	37th infantry detachment		warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.
5 June 1867	lower Arkansas Crossing	Indians attacked Mexican trains	4 Mexicans killed and 5 wounded	warfare	The trains also lost livestock, mostly horses.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 353, n 26.
7 June 1867	Cimarron Crossing	Kiowas took 33 mules from Juan Montoya's train	none	warfare	Montoya complained that the Ft. Dodge failed to provide him assistance.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 353-54.

12 June 1867	east of Ft. Dodge	Satanta and 160 Kiowas attacked an US army herder, taking 71 horses	1 soldier mortally wounded	warfare	Company B of the 7th cavalry pursued Indians.	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 6.
12 June 1867	Plum Butte	2nd Colorado cavalry skirmished Indians	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 44.
12 June 1867	Pawnee Rock	2nd Colorado cavalry skirmished Indians	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 44.
16 June 1867	Cimarron Crossing stage station	70 [Kiowa] Indians attacked the stage station and an eastbound train	2 Americans killed	warfare	The attackers, initially believed Sioux and Cheyenne, plundered wagons, taking eight mules and twenty cattle.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 354-56.
17 June 1867	Cimarron Crossing	Lt. Karples and 40 men with the 37th infantry exchanged gunfire with Kiowas	1 soldier killed	warfare	The soldier died from the accidental discharging of his weapon.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 354.
17 June 1867		Lt. Gen. W. T. Sherman wanted all Indians removed from the land between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, "whether they be cozed out by Indian commissioners or killed"	none	warfare	In his letter to the war secretary, Sherman justified his genocidal position declaring that "fifty (50) hostile Indians will checkmate three thousand soldiers."	Sherman to E. M. Stanton, in Fay, ed., <i>Engagements, Part III</i> , 141.
17 June 1867	Cimarron Crossing	37th infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.

late June? 1867	Ft. Union	Maj. Shoemaker told members of Moore's train that Kiowas had "broken out" and took most of the cavalry horses from Ft. Dodge	none	anecdotal	Moore persuaded army officers that his party had fast enough mules and adequate firearms to begin the return trip.	"Trail Trip," 17.
18 June 1867	Kansas	Maj. Douglass reported that 11 men of the 37th infantry were posted at each of the stage stations	none	warfare	He wrote: "The country in this vicinity is alive with Indians. . . . The road is very, unsafe." He added that they had attacked every ranch between Fort Aubrey and Sand Creek.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356; Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 197.
late June or early July 1867	just east of Cimarron springs	200 Kiowas on cavalry horses repeatedly attacked Moore's train	8 to 10 Indians fell	warfare	Moore declared that "[w]e felt ready to thank the government for furnishing old Satanta and his braves with horses and ammunition. If they had their own well-trained Indian ponies, I believe they would have massacred all of us. As it was, they could not manage their horses and their shots went wild."	"Trail Trip," 17.
late June or early July 1867	Arkansas River	Moore's train found encamped Mexicans stranded by Indian raids	several Mexicans killed	warfare	Indians stampeded all of the Mexican's oxen and mules.	"Trail Trip," 17.
July 1867	Washington, DC	Congress responded to the war by creating the Indian Peace Commission	none	warfare	The Commission's intent was to end fighting by concentrating Indians on reservations.	Oliva, <i>Soldier</i> , 187.
11 July 1867	Bluff Ranch	37th infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.

summer 1867	Pawnee Fork	Comanches with Red Arm, or Red Sleeve, attacked a William Bent train	Red Arm killed	anecdotal	Both John Smith and Thomas Murphy claimed to have shot Red Arm.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 265-66.
15 July 1867	Ft. Aubry	37th infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.
18 July 1867	10 miles below Cimarron Crossing	Indians attacked 10 westbound wagons owned by John Blackman with 25 men	1 train member killed	warfare	Fort Dodge soldiers assisted the train.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356.
18 July 1867	Cimarron Crossing	60 Indians attacked a train under Jose Gutierrez with 130 men, including a California Indian	2 train members killed and 3 wounded	warfare	Attackers ran off 530 cattle. A report indicated that only one train member, a California Indian, put up a spirited fight, suffering three spear wounds.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356.
18 July 1867	Cimarron Crossing ranch	Indians attacked the ranch	none	warfare	U.S. soldiers sent there failed to make contact with the Indians.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356.
18 July 1867	Cimarron Crossing	Indians attacked hay cutters contracted by the stagecoach company	2 hay cutters killed and 1 wounded	warfare	The attackers tried to destroy the hay-cutting machines. The Indians interrupted the hay cutters all summer.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356-58.
18 July 1867	Cimarron Crossing	Lt. Brown arrived with a 3rd infantry detachment	1 soldier wounded?	warfare	Information suggests that a soldier with Brown was wounded although the official report stated that infantrymen did not participate in the fight.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 356.

20 July 1867	Washington, DC	Congress established the Indian Peace Commission to pursue a permanent peace with western Indians	none	warfare	The Commission was to separate the "hostile" Indians from the "friendly" ones and place Indians on reservations away from roads and railroads.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 289.
21 July 1867	Cimarron Crossing	37th infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.
29 July 1867	near Junction City	after 4 Kiowas departed Lamy's camp, Lamy ordered his caravan of 100 wagons to travel off of the trail for safety	none	anecdotal	This incident shows how at least one train sought to evade conflict.	Sister Blandina Segale, <i>At the End of the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1999), 102.
30 July 1867	unspecified	Kiowas attacked Lamy's corralled caravan	none	anecdotal	The Kiowa arrows to fall harmlessly.	Segale, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 102-03.
31 July 1867	unspecified	The Kiowas renewed their attack at daybreak soon after cholera was discovered among caravan members	some Indians killed	anecdotal	A train leader made plans to have the nuns shoot if the attack continued over twenty-four hours. The siege ended when caravan members carried a barrel of whiskey and provisions across the river for the Kiowas.	Segale, <i>Santa Fe Trail</i> , 103-05.
6 August 1867	St. Louis	Indian Peace Commissioners decided for Indians of the southern plains to met at Ft. Larned	none	warfare	The Santa Fe Trail, along with the surrounding area, was a central point of the Peace Commission's focus	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 289.
15 August 1867	Ft. Aubry	37th infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.

2 September 1867	Ft. Larned	destitute Arapaho men, women, and children with Little Raven and Yellow Bear arrived to discuss peace with the Indian Peace Commission	none	diplomacy	The Arapahos maintained that they were not involved in the Cheyenne raids on the trail and had no reason to make peace.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 290.
3 September 1867	Ft. Larned	Black Kettle and 7 other Cheyennes arrived	none	diplomacy		Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 290.
September 1867	between Cow Creek and Big Bend	100 Kiowas, Cheyennes, and "Ampaposes" met Huning's train	none	warfare	The Indians fired their rifles and arrows at the train.	Franz Huning, <i>Trader on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1973), 90-91.
[8 September] 1867	Ft. Larned	Alice Baldwin, with a westbound military train, saw a council between an army delegation headed by Wynkoop and Tall Bull, Little Raven, Yellow Bear, and Black Kettle	none	diplomacy	The meeting was a preliminary discussion between the Indian Peace Commission and Cheyennes and Kiowas. At the conclusion of the meeting, US representatives distributed presents to the Indians.	Alice Blackwood Baldwin, <i>An Army Wife on the Frontier</i> (1975), 49.
8 September? 1867	Ft. Larned	George Bent took Black Kettle and other Cheyenne chiefs to meet the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [superintendent Thomas Murphy] to discuss a place for a proposed treaty council	none	diplomacy	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, Plains Apaches and US authorities decided to meet at Medicine Lodge Creek, which began on October 16. Bent declared that this treaty "marked the beginning of the end of the Cheyenne as a free and independent warrior and hunter, reservation in Oklahoma."	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 282.

9 September 1867	Little Arkansas Crossing	a military officer declined Franz Huning's request for a military escort for his wagon train	none	warfare	The denial occurred even though Indian signs were abundant.	"Captain Charles Christy's <i>Memoirs, 1867</i> ," in <i>On the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1986), 106-08.
9 September 1867	Plum Buttes	[Cheyenne, with a few Kiowas and Arapahos] Indians attacked Huning's train (or wagon)	Huning's mother-in-law, her son and wagon driver killed	warfare	Huning expressed outrage at the US army's for refusal to provide his train a military escort. Huning's memoirs and his letters written soon after the death of his relatives contain differing accounts about the fight. His account also does not correspond with that of Charles Christy in key respects.	Christy, "Memoirs," 112-16; Huning, <i>Trader</i> , 91-93.
[9] September 1867	Plum Buttes	200 Cheyennes, with Charlie Bent, attacked a wagon bound for New Mexico with Franz Huning, his mother- and brother-in-law and a driver	3 whites killed	warfare	Apparently panicking, Huning fled to Fort Zarah upon seeing the charging Indians who subsequently burned some of the wagons.	Christy, "Memoirs," in 106-07, 112-14.
[9] September 1867	near Plum Buttes	Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas chased an army ambulance crew of Charles Christy and Roma who had recovered the bodies from Plum Buttes	none	warfare	Cheyennes ended their pursuit upon seeing a detachment of soldiers approaching from Fort Zarah.	Christy, "Memoirs," 112-16
11 September 1867	near Cimarron Crossing	Indians ambushed a westbound train with an US army escort, taking 16 mules	4 men killed and 5 wounded	warfare	This was a successful attack on train with an army escort.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 360.
11? September 1867	near Ft. Lyon	Indians attacked a train, taking 60 mules	none	warfare	This was a successful attack.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 360.

11? September 1867	Cimarron ranch	Indians took 10 mule from the ranch	none	warfare	This was a successful attack.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 360.
14? September 1867	west of Ft. Dodge	Alice Baldwin saw Indians	none	sighting	The train's officers assigned a detail of soldiers to keep watch.	Baldwin, <i>Army Wife</i> , 55.
mid- September 1867	west of Ft. Zarah	unspecified Indians attacked passing trains	none	warfare	Huning passed some trains stranded by Indian attacks that resulted in lost of mules.	Huning, <i>Trader</i> , 93-94.
17 September 1867	Ft. Larned	40 Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Plains Apache warriors led and protected Murphy and US agent Wynkoop with a large train of provisions to Medicine Lodge Creek	none	cooperation	The treaty was to end the United States' war with Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches.	Berthrong, <i>Cheyennes</i> , 293.
19 September 1867	St. Louis	a letter from Ft. Dodge stated that 2000 "consolidated" Indians were on the "war path"	none	warfare	Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, and Kiowas were listed as the combatants.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 360.
22 September 1867	Pawnee Fork Bluff	3rd infantry detachment	none	warfare	The account provides no information.	"Appended Compilation," 45.
23 September 1867	Arkansas River, 9 miles west of Cimarron Crossing	Indians fought a 4th cavalry company	1 soldier killed and Lt. Ephraim Williams wounded	warfare	This account provides no additional information.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 8.
[1 October?] 1867	Cimarron Crossing	hundreds of Indians resumed their raids on hay cutters	none	warfare	Cholera in the area had caused them to temporarily cease their attacks.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 363.
[1 October?] 1867	west of Cimarron Crossing	75 Indians attacked a US paymaster with 60 escorts	none	warfare	The fight lasted several hours.	Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 363.

3 October 1867	between Cimarron Crossing and Bluff Ranch	Maj. Horace Moore and an 18th Kansas cavalry detachment scoured the country for Indians	none	warfare		Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 364.
3 October 1867	Cimarron mail station	12 soldiers with the 18th Kansas battalion arrived to protect hay cutters contracted by a mail coach company	none	warfare		Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 364.
21 October 1867	Medicine Lodge Creek	Kiowas and Comanches signed a peace treaty with US officials	none	diplomacy	The Indians agreed to cede their lands in Kansas, retain hunting rights south of the Arkansas, accept a reservation in Indian Territory, and stay away from US roads and railroad.	Charles J. Kappler, <i>Indian Treaties, 1778-1883</i> (1972), 977-82.
21 October 1867	Medicine Lodge Creek	Plains Apaches signed a peace treaty with the US government	none	diplomacy	The treaty terms were the same as with Kiowas and Comanches.	Kappler, <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 982-84.
28 October 1867	Medicine Lodge Creek	Cheyennes and Arapahos signed a peace treaty with US officials	none	diplomacy	The treaty terms were the same as with the Kiowas and Comanches.	Kappler, <i>Indian Treaties</i> , 984-89.
winter 1867-68	Ft. Larned or Ft. Dodge	Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches camped nearby expecting to receive firearms and ammunition promised by the Medicine Lodge Treaty	none	friendly	When guns and ammunition failed to arrive, the Indians moved elsewhere, viewing the situation as a treaty violation.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 287.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
winter 1867-68	Ft. Dodge	Cheyennes and Arapahos camped nearby expecting to receive an issue of firearms and ammunition promised by the Medicine Lodge Treaty	none	friendly	The guns and ammunition never arrived, and the Indians moved. This breach of the treaty probably renewed tension.	George E. Hyde, <i>Life of George Bent</i> (1968), 287.
12-13 January 1868	Cimarron Crossing	Arapahos or Cheyennes took food from a US government wagon train	none	conflict	This incident indicates that the Medicine Lodge treaties would not resolve the problems US expansion was causing Indians.	"Bypaths of Kansas History: The Natives Were Restless That Year," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 27 (Autumn 1961): 448.
spring 1868	Fts. Larned and Dodge	Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes camped nearby for provisions	none	tension	Because US officers provided inadequate provisions, Indians occasionally took supplied from trains on the trail.	Leo E. Oliva, <i>Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail</i> (1967), 188.
spring 1868	Ft. Dodge	Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, the new department commander, visited the post but refused to met Indian leaders	none	tension	According to Sheridan, Indians had become "more than ever reckless and defiant." The 1867 treaties had failed to resolve conflict along the trail.	Quoted in Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 189.
spring 1868	Ft. Dodge	Sheridan hired scouts to keep track of the Indians' movements near the Arkansas	none	tension	Sheridan considered his action as a precautionary one to protect the "lines of travel in the district of the upper Arkansas."	Quoted in Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 189.
March 1868	Ft. Dodge	Sheridan's command, with Lt. Col. Custer, took hostage 3 unidentified chiefs	none	warfare	Soldiers transported the kidnapped chiefs to Ft. Hays to make peace.	John McBee, "John McBee's Account of the Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas," <i>Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society</i> 17 (1928): 364.

25 March 1868	Bluff Creek	Indians attacked settlers	none	warfare	The attack caused many settlers to flee their homes.	P. H. Sheridan, <i>Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians</i> (1966), 7.
25 March 1868	near Ft. Dodge	Indians attached a herder	1 herder killed	warfare		Sheridan, <i>Record of Engagements</i> , 9.
19 May 1868	Ft. Zarah	25 Cheyennes and a few Arapahos burned the trading post	none	warfare	The trader, Joseph W. Douglass, later sought \$5445 in damages from the Cheyennes.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 37 (Summer 1971):146.
29 May 1868	Fort Dodge, Fort Larned	A Cheyenne <i>Leader</i> correspondent mentioned that the US military feared intoxicated Indians	none	warfare	US officials sometimes blamed alcohol as the cause of Indian resistance.	"Council Trove Documents." <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 11 (February 1997): 27.
[3] June 1868	Council Grove	Cheyennes traveled over the trail to raid the Kaws, but they withdrew before inflicting or receiving injury	none	warfare	Some Cheyennes killed a few cattle belonging to white settlers. US officials responded by stopping the delivery of firearms to the Cheyennes.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 287-88, 288 n.
1868	Ft. Larned	Cheyennes, and possibly Arapahos, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, met Gen. Sheridan and agent Wynkoop in council	none	diplomacy	Sheridan allowed some arms and ammunition to be issued to the Indians. He was unaware of the conflict that had erupted on the Solomon. Expecting trouble, Black Kettle moved his people away from the soldiers after receiving an annuity issue.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 290, 290 n.
2 August 1868	Cimarron River, KS,	Indians fought a 7th cavalry company	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>Chronological List of Actions, &c. with Indians, from January 1, 1866, to January, 1891</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 12.

10 August 1868	near Cimarron River	Indians attacked the advance guard Lt. Col. Alfred Sully's 3rd infantry	2 Indians killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
10 August 1868	near Cimarron River	Indians attacked the rear guard of Sully's 3rd infantry	10 Indians killed and 12 wounded	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
12 August 1868	unspecified	Indians attacked Sully's command	2 soldiers killed and 3 wounded ----- 12 Indians killed and 15 wounded	warfare	After failing to stampede Sully's stock, a large force of Indians attacked his column.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
12 August 1868	Pawnee Fork above Cimarron Crossing	Cheyennes attacked a Mexican train taking 152 horses and mules	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
12 August 1868	near Ft. Dodge	Cheyennes robbed R. M. Wright's camp, taking 2 horses and 3 revolvers	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
13 August 1868	southern Kansas	Indians attacked Sully's command	1 soldier killed and 4 wounded ----- 10 Indian killed and 12 wounded	warfare	The troops repelled the attack.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
17 August 1868		using racial and incendiary language, Kansas governor S. J. Crawford wrote asking US president Andrew Johnson to protect settlers from Indians	none	warfare	Crawford declared that the "savage devils have become intolerable, and must and shall be driven out of this state." Not long thereafter, Sheridan began planning a winter campaign.	W. S. Nye, <i>Carbine & Lance</i> (1969), 53-54.

18-20 August 1868	Pawnee Fork	Indians attacked a train	5 "men" wounded ----- 5 Indians killed and 10 wounded	warfare	Ft. Dodge troops repelled the attack, but the Indians returned the same night and were dispersed again.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 8.
19 August 1868	present site of Garden City	100 Indians attacked a westbound party with Charles A. Blanchard and 12 New Mexicans, taking the party's horses and mules	none	warfare	Blanchard blamed the attack on the US government's failure to fulfill its treaty promise to provide Indians food and supplies. He also blamed the US government for the murder of two Indian women near Fort Dodge.	Bryan Howard, <i>Wildest of the Wild West</i> (1988), 77-78.
23 August 1868	Bent's Fort	Indians took 15 horses and mules and 4 head of cattle	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 9.
24 August 1868	Bent's Fort vicinity	Indians attacked 3 stage coaches and 1 wagon	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 9.
24 August 1868		Sheridan declared war against Indians along the Arkansas	none	warfare	Sheridan directed Lt. Gen. W. T. Sherman to use force to place the Indians on their reservations.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 190-91.
25 August 1868	near Ft. Dodge	Indians fought unspecified opponent	1 civilian killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 13.
29 August 1868	18 miles from Arkansas River	Indians attacked a train of 13 wagons with 21 men	none	warfare	The attackers killed oxen and destroyed the train. Train members escaped to Ft. Lyons.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 9.

late August 1868	near or at Cimarron	Indians [Kiowas] captured a Mexican train with 10 wagons	15 "Mexicans" killed	warfare	See the September 8 entry.	Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Cimarron Crossing," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 (Autumn 1973): 365.
September 1868	Arkansas Crossing	George Bent and his wife left the Cheyennes to visit his brother and sister in Colorado	none	warfare	He apparently traveled over the trail. He never saw Black Kettle and his wife's uncle again.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 290-91.
1868	Ft. Lyon	Bent learned that Cheyennes were at war again with the US government	none	warfare	He rejected a US war department offer to scout against his people.	Hyde, <i>Bent</i> , 290-91, 290 n.
1 September 1868	Ft. Dodge	Bvt. Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully arrived and began to organize a campaign against Indians	none	warfare	The US government was planning to stamp out Indian resistance.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 190-91.
September 1868	near Cimarron River	Comanches and Kiowas fought Sully's command	none	warfare	This fight probably did not occur on the trail.	Hyde, <i>George Bent</i> , 293.
1 September 1868	near Cimarron Crossing	a 7th cavalry unit arrived to protect Mexican trains	none	warfare		Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 365-66.
2 September 1868	Little Coon Creek near Ft. Dodge	50 Indians fought mail carriers with 3rd infantry and 7th cavalry escorts	3 soldiers wounded ----- 3 Indians killed and 1 wounded	warfare	Leander Herron received the Medal of Honor for rescuing four soldiers.	Sheridan, <i>Record of Engagements</i> , 10; John M. Carroll, ed., <i>The Medal of Honor</i> (1979?), 79-80.
3 September 1868	Ft. Dodge	Comanches and Kiowas attacked the post	4 soldiers killed and 17 wounded	warfare	The number of Indian casualties was unknown.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 191.

7 September 1868	Ft. Dodge	Sully's force march to the Cimarron looked for Indians to fight	none	warfare	Fighting on the north fork of the Canadian River resulted in casualties on both sides.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 192.
8 September 1868	Cimarron Crossing	Indians attacked a train	17 civilians killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 13.
September 1868	opposite Ft. Larned	Mr. Yount, Owen Smith, cattle owners, George W. Brown, along other cattle herders saw Indians camped across the river	none	tension	The cattlemen feared an Indian attack.	"Life and Adventures of George W. Brown," <i>Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society</i> 17 (1928): 101.
8 September 1868	Cimarron Crossing	a 7th cavalry unit under Lt. Wallingford reached a Mexican train of 35 wagons and 50 men that had been under siege for 4 days	2 train members killed	warfare	The Indians took seventy-five head of cattle and wounded many mules.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 10; Barry, "Cimarron Crossing," 365-66.
8 September 1868	5 miles west of Cimarron Crossing	Wallingford's command found 10 wagons Indians had captured and burned and 15 burnt bodies	15 "Mexicans" killed	warfare	Colorado's governor reported falsely that Indians had burned the men to death. Bent said that they had died defending themselves and that Cheyennes threw their lifeless bodies into burning wagons. See the late August entry.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 10; Hyde, <i>George Bent</i> , 295-96.
12 September 1868	near Bent's old fort	Indians took 85 head of stock belonging to Thompson and McGee	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 11.
12 September 1868	Points of the Rocks	Indians raided a house taking 4 head of livestock	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 11.

30 September 1868	Big Bend	3rd infantry company	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," <i>Compilations of Indian Engagements from January 1837 to January 1866</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes</i> (1966), 46.
September 1868	east of Ft. Dodge	several thousand Indians attacked a wagon train with Mrs. Updyke	Kirk Gordon purportedly killed	warfare	Gordon died a heroic death from wounds he suffered while rescuing Mrs. Updyke.	Howard, <i>Wild West</i> , 78-81.
late September and early October 1868	Ft. Dodge?	12 companies of US troops arrived to participate in the campaign	none	warfare	These troops conducted operation south of the Arkansas. They participated in Sheridan's winter campaign.	Oliva, <i>Soldiers</i> , 192.
2 October 1868	Ft. Zarah	[Kiowa] Indians attacked the fort and a nearby supply train	1 teamster killed	warfare	Kiowas were fully aware of the US military's weaknesses.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 12; <i>List of Actions</i> , 14.
2 October 1868	near Ft. Zarah	Indians attacked a ranch	none	warfare	Indians took 160 head of stock.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 12.
2 October 1868	between Ft. Larned and Ft. Dodge	Indians attacked a train	3 US citizens killed and 3 wounded	warfare	In addition to inflicting casualties, the attackers took over fifty mules.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 12.
3 October 1868	Cow Creek	3rd infantry company	none	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	"Appended Compilation," 46.
3 October 1868	FT. Zarah	Indians attacked Ft. Zarah	1 "person" killed ----- 2 Indians killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13.

4 October 1868	Ft. Dodge	The account does not provide information about the fight.	2 civilians killed ----- 1 Indian killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>List of Actions, 15.</i>
4 October 1868	Lime-Kiln	Indians attacked a Mexican	1 "Mexican" wounded	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>Sheridan, Engagements, 12.</i>
4 October 1868	"on the road"	Indians attacked a wagon train	2 non-Indians killed and 2 wounded	warfare	The attackers also destroyed stores and took livestock.	<i>Sheridan, Engagements, 12.</i>
7 - 12 October 1868	[Arkansas River, 10 miles east of Sand Creek]	[200 Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowas] Indians abducted Mrs. Blynn [Blinn] and baby traveling with 8 wagons	1 train member severely wounded	warfare	The attackers stampeded the train's cattle. The wagon master claimed that Satanta was with them. The woman and her child were later killed at the Washita massacre during an attack by US troops.	<i>Sheridan, Engagements, 12; "Council Trove Documents," Wagon Tracks November 5, 1990: 21; Berthrong, Cheyennes, 314-15.</i>
9 October 1868		Gen. Sheridan received war department approval for a winter campaign against the Cheyennes	none	warfare	The approval indicates that the US was initiating an aggressive war against the Cheyennes.	<i>Berthrong, Cheyennes, 317.</i>
10 October 1868	Ft. Zarah	Indians raided the fort's herd, taking 8 horses and mules	none	warfare	This was a daring feat of defiance to the US army.	<i>Sheridan, Engagements, 12.</i>
12 October 1868	Big Bend	Indians fought 7th cavalry companies	2 Indians killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>List of Actions, 15.</i>
14 [7 -12] October 1868	Ft. Zarah	The account does not provide information about the fight.	2 civilians killed ----- 2 Indian killed	warfare	The account provides no details about the incident.	<i>List of Actions, 15.</i>

fall 1868 [before 13 October]	Ft. Dodge	Uncle Ned White told Charles Blanchard about an Indian fight occurring in September 1868 in which several thousand Indians attacked a wagon train with Mrs. Updyke	Kirk Gordon killed	warfare	Gordon died a heroic death from wounds he suffered while rescuing Mrs. Updyke from the Indians. The alleged attack had occurred some miles east of Ft. Dodge. No other accounts support this story.	Howard, <i>Wild West</i> , 78-81.
23 October 1868	near Ft. Dodge	3rd infantry company	none	warfare	No details were provided.	"Appended Compilation," 46.
26 October 1868	Coon Creek	Indians attacked a stage	none	warfare	No details were provided.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 15.
7 November 1868	Coon Creek	Indians attacked a stage and captured a horse	none	warfare	No details were provided.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13.
7 November 1868	near Ft. Dodge	detachment B, 6th Cavalry	none	warfare	No details were provided.	"Appended Compilation," 47.
10 November 1868	Little Coon Creek	Indians attacked a "person"	1 "person" killed	warfare	No details were provided.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13.
19 November 1868	Little Coon Creek	Indians fought with civilians	1 civilian killed ----- 5 Indians killed	warfare	No details were provided.	<i>List of Actions</i> , 16.
19 November 1868	near Ft. Dodge	Indians fought US citizens	1 civilian killed ----- 2 Indians killed	warfare	No details were provided.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13.

19 November 1868	near Ft. Dodge	Indians fought a 10th cavalry detachment under Sgt. Wilson	2 Indians killed	warfare	No details were provided.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13.
19 November 1868	half mile from Ft. Dodge	3rd and 5th infantry companies pursued Indians who attempted to stampede a beef contractor's herd	3 soldiers wounded ----- 4 Indians killed and 6 wounded	warfare	No details were provided.	Sheridan, <i>Engagements</i> , 13; <i>List of Actions</i> , 16.
December 1868	Maxwell's ranch	Allyn saw captive Navajo girls at the ranch and Utes and other Indians came and went as they pleased.	none	friendly	Maxwell is an example showing that peacefu interactions were possible.	Allyn, <i>Arizona</i> , 17.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
18 March 1870	near Ft. Dodge	Indians attacked a US government train	3 soldiers killed ----- 5 Indians wounded	warfare	No details were provided about the incident.	Joseph P. Peters, comp., <i>Chronological List of Actions</i> , (1966), 25.
3 May 1870	near Cimarron, NM	no information provided	3 civilians killed ----- 22 Indians captured	warfare	No details were provided about the incident.	Peters, <i>List of Actions</i> , 25.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
18 March 1871	near Ft. Dodge	Indians repeatedly attacked a US government wagon train	3 non-Indians killed ----- 5 Indians wounded	warfare	No details are provided about the incident.	P. H. Sheridan, <i>Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882</i> , in <i>Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier</i> (1966), 30.
3 May 1871	near Cimarron, NM	Indians raiders drove off about 950 head of livestock from settlements	3 "persons" killed	warfare	No details are provided about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Records of Engagements</i> , 30.
28 June 1871	near Ft. Larned	Indians raiders took 14 horses	none	warfare	No details are provided about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Records of Engagements</i> , 30.
28 June 1871	near Pawnee Fork	Indians raiders took 70 mules	none	warfare	No details are provided about the incident.	Sheridan, <i>Records of Engagements</i> , 30.
2 July 1871	Ft. Larned	US soldiers repulsed an Indian attack	none	warfare	This incident is the last recorded engagement between Indians and US soldiers on the trail.	Sheridan, <i>Records of Engagements</i> , 31.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
June/July 1872	Walnut Creek	Northern Cheyennes and Pawnees attacked Dick Jordan, George Jordan, Dick's wife, an another white man		warfare	The Indians captured Dick and Jordan, Dick's wife, and a white man in retaliation for having one of their own killed previously by white men along the same path. This account is suspect because the Pawnees would not have been in operating with their Cheyenne enemies.	"Life and Adventures of George W. Brown," <i>Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society</i> 17 (1928), 119.
June/July 1872	Walnut Creek	Bob and Jim Carter warned Northern Cheyennes and Pawnees not to approach them	1 Indian killed	warfare	When the Indians ignored the signal, Bob and Jim fired and the Indians fled.	Brown, "Life and Adventures," 119.
1872	Dodge	Elic Fields left an ambulance, driver, team and dog at Dodge because of "hostile" Indians	none	warfare		Percival G. Lowe, <i>Five Years a Dragoon</i> (1965), 314-15.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
4 July 1874	near Sargent [now Coolidge], Kansas	Indians attacked a young herder	1 herder killed	warfare	Warfare was lingering in the vicinity of the Trail.	Louise Berry, "Fort Aubrey," <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> 39 [Summer 1973]: 198.
4 July 1874	Butte Creek, Colorado [12 miles west of Sargent]	Indians attacked two white[?] men	1 white man killed and 1 missing	warfare	Warfare was lingering in the vicinity of the Trail.	Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 198.
15 August 1874	near Aubrey station	Indians attacked a party of white[?] men	4 or 5 white men killed	warfare	Warfare was lingering in the vicinity of the Trail. Sources give a different number of victims.	Barry, "Fort Aubrey," 198.

Date	Place	Participants	Numbers Hurt	Type of Encounter	Significance	Source
23 September 1878	near Dodge City	North Cheyennes fleeing northward from captivity in Indian Terriory cross the trail	none	warfare	This was the last fighting that occurred between Indians and settlers near the trail.	John H. Monnett, <i>Tell Them We Are Going Home: The Odyssey of the Northern Cheyennes</i> (2001), 66.

Date	Place	Participants in Encounter	Numbers Hurt in Encounter	Type of Encounter	Significance of Encounter	Source
1879?	Careth Crossing [near present Kenton, OK]	freighter George W. Hardesty met Mexican and Indian hunters carrying buffalo meat and hides in wagons	none	friendly	He indicated that the hunters were equipped with bows and arrows, lances, and a few guns.	"Diary of George W. Hardesty," <i>Wagon Tracks</i> 9 (February 1995): 12.
1879?	unspecified	freighter Hardesty met 42 Indian with 2 "squaws" on a buffalo hunt	none	friendly	According to Hardesty, Indians had tepee poles dragging from their horses. "They were painted and somewhat gaudily arrayed in red blankets etc."	Hardesty, "Diary," 12.