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 polices 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 Reconnoissance, 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., 2d 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 form 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 Boon’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 Tribun*e (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 (February1948): 1-39; Part Two, 1828," (May 1948): 136-74; Part Three, 1829," (August 1948): 275-305; Part Four, 1830-1831-Concluded," (November1948): 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. Putnams’ 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 Fogy." 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 Arkansaw 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 filth. 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 Reconnoissance 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 *Reconnoissance 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 no 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., 2d 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. Gailland, Maurice. "Early Years at St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission: From the Diary of Father Maurice Gailland, S. J." Edited by James M. Burke. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (August 1953): 501-20.

Without referencing the trail, Gailland'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., 2d 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 to1843. 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., 2d 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. Louden. *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 Benthuysen, 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: Fierra 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. Louden, 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 skinners,' 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 Kanzas [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 Kanzas [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 solders 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 to1868 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 Frontierswomen 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 Benthuysen, 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 Simmson. 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 to1848, 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.

Sedgwich'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, [1960].” 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 this1860 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*. 2d 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 Millers' 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., 2d 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. Utley, 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 situtation.

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 Greiffensten, 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 scull [skull] of each of the tribes of Indian,” preferable a male, for Dr. Lane.

559. Cunningham, Mary Jo. “Calvin Moses Dyche: Freighter 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 live 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 that $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. Louden, 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 Louden 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, Louden refers to Indians as thieves, threats, and murderers.

631. ——————. "Trinidad and the Santa Fe Trail." *Wagon Tracks* 19 (November 2004): 16-17.

Louden 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, Louden 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 ambuscades 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 is 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 Freighting 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 taints 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: Stragegies 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 Day1960.

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 Euromericans viewed the semi-arid lands west of the Mississippi River as a place where certain human ailments could be remedy. 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 Six': 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 Cachuín'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.* 2d 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 Monyota 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*. 2d 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 latters' 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.

Simmon'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 Manual 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 photography 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. Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Utley 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 realties 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 nineteen 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 Southwes*t. 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 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 presidia 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. Utley, Robert M. "Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review* 36 (January 1961): 36-48.

National Park Service historian Utley 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 Utley'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 if 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. Utley 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. Vandenbusche, 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 Euromericans 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: Author 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.

Foremen'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 tail 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/Simmon and Schuster, 2000.

Roberts 's 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. Utley, Robert M. "Kit Carson and the Adobe Walls Campaign." *American West* 2 (1965): 4-11, 73-75.

Utley'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 Abode 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 the1860s. 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.