# The Santa Fe Trail 5 Violence on the Trail



Here's an invitation to join the Study Group of "Movies of the Age of Napoleon," six Monday afternoons starting on April 3.

Here's a two-minute preview of one of the films.

What does this have to do with the Santa Fe Trail? It's a reminder that events all over the world were interconnected. Some of the survivors of 1812 will have been on the Trail after 1821....and 1821 was the year that one of the main figures in this story died (on the island of St. Helena).

We shouldn't let today's events dominate our views of the past. There have been times in history when Russian nationalism led to good results for the world. 1941 was one such year;

1812 was another.









#### Which would be better to pull your heavy wagons?

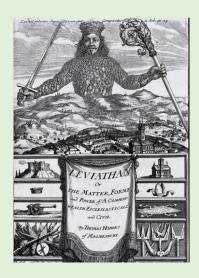
—<u>Mules</u> are strong, can go faster, but are often tricky to handle. Mules also had tendencies to bolt and become unruly.

—<u>Oxen</u> are slower, but more reliable and tougher than mules. They will eat poor grass. Oxen were very strong and could haul fully-loaded wagons up ravines or drag them out of mudholes. A large wagon needed at least three pairs of oxen to pull it.

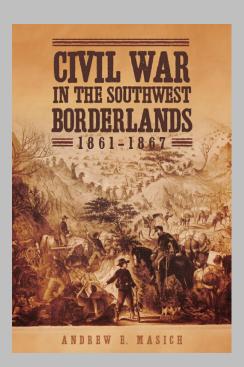
Scholars put the percentage of pioneer wagons pulled by oxen at one-half to three-quarters. The cost of a yoke of oxen during the last half of the 1840s varied from a low of \$25 to a high of \$65.

In 1651, Thomas Hobbes argued that a powerful ruling state was necessary to prevent mankind from tearing itself to pieces. Without it, he felt, there would be—

"No arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." So said Thomas Hobbes in his Leviathan.

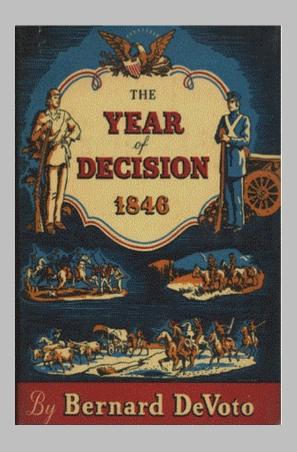


Did that condition exist on the Santa Fe Trail, before the U. S. government became Leviathan?



All the peoples of the Southwest understood the concept of conquest by force of arms, yet the rules of war differed for each group, and the strategies and tactics employed varied. The antagonists all adopted elaborate war rituals, costumes, and weaponry designed to achieve tactical advantage and calculated to awe their enemies. All the groups that vied for power and dominance in the borderlands believed in some form of vengeance warfare and practiced some form of captivity and slavery. The peoples who came into conflict in the borderlands of the 1860s all shared a belief in an afterlife and had religious and spiritual traditions that guided their behavior in the corporeal world.

—Andrew Masich, <u>Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands</u>

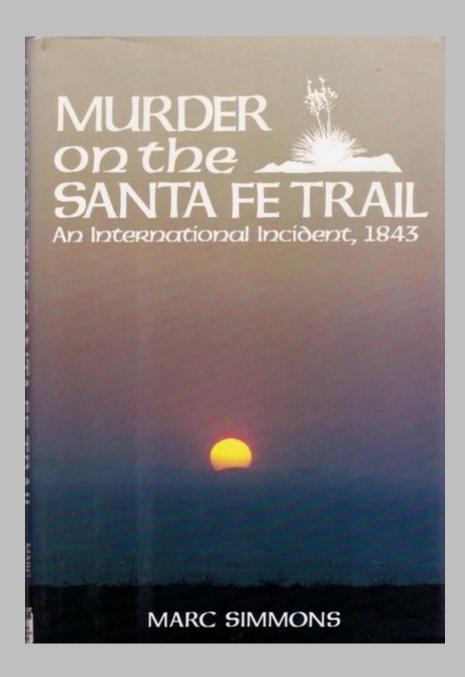


Santa Fe was nearly eight hundred miles out from Independence, or about a hundred and fifty miles farther than Fort Laramie. The journey, however, was much easier. The route was mostly through plains country, there were mountains to cross only in the last stage, and though there were deserts and bad ones, they were on the last leg and (except on the Cimarron Fork) were not so difficult as those the emigrant trail had to cross. Water was not often out of reach, there was abundant grass, and the route was fixed — had even been surveyed — so that there were few detours or cutoffs.



On the other hand, the Santa Fe trail had had blood on it from the beginning. Early in the eighteenth century a Spanish expedition had been massacred on its central marches, and from then on Spaniards, Mexicans, New Mexicans, Frenchmen, Texans, and Americans had regularly perished at one another's hands or those of the Indians. Parts of it had been the disputed frontier between Texas and New Mexico. New Mexicans and the Comancheros, whites who traded with the Comanche in stolen Texas horses and stolen Chihuahua and Sonora mules, had plentifully sprinkled it with blood. Guerrillas of both sides raided one another along the trail, freebooters and filibusters fought along it, and all of them fought the Indians.

# Violence on the Santa Fe Trail: Robbery and Murder





1 Jarvis Creek, the Chavez murder, April 1843



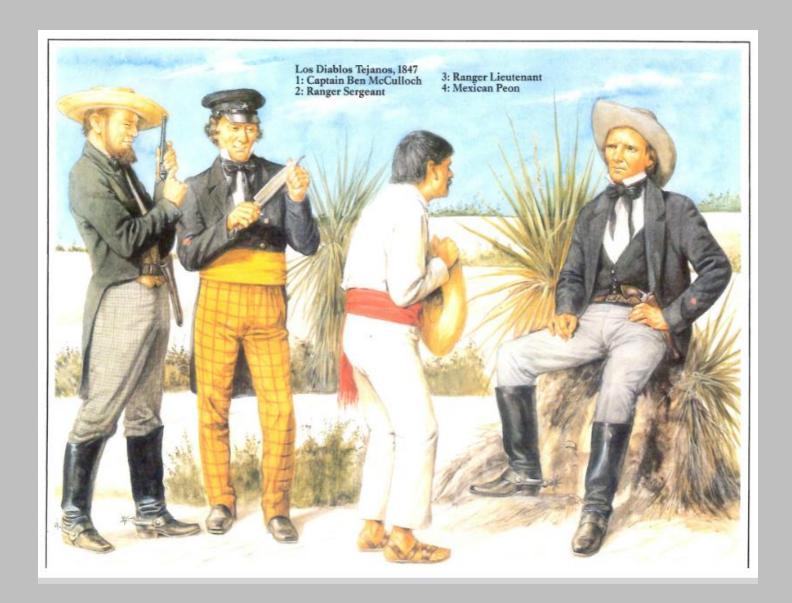


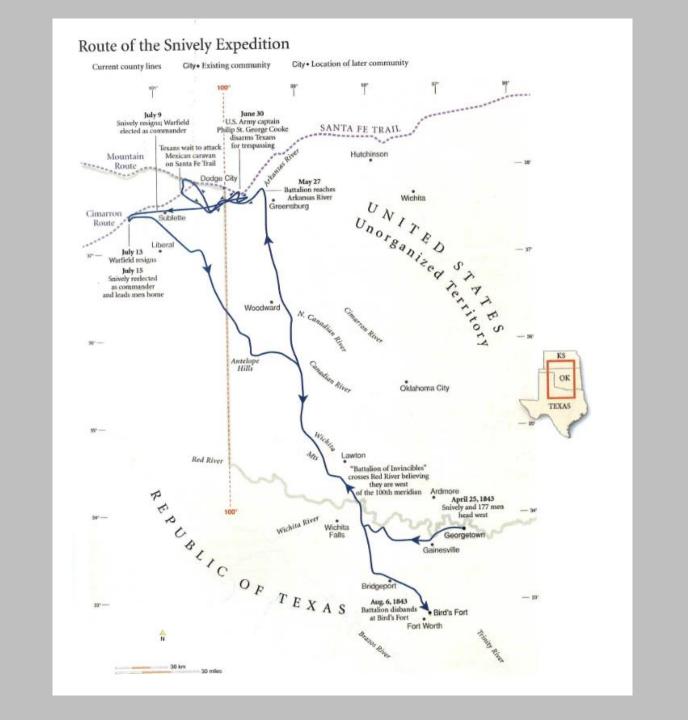
Violence on the Santa Fe Trail: Looting expeditions

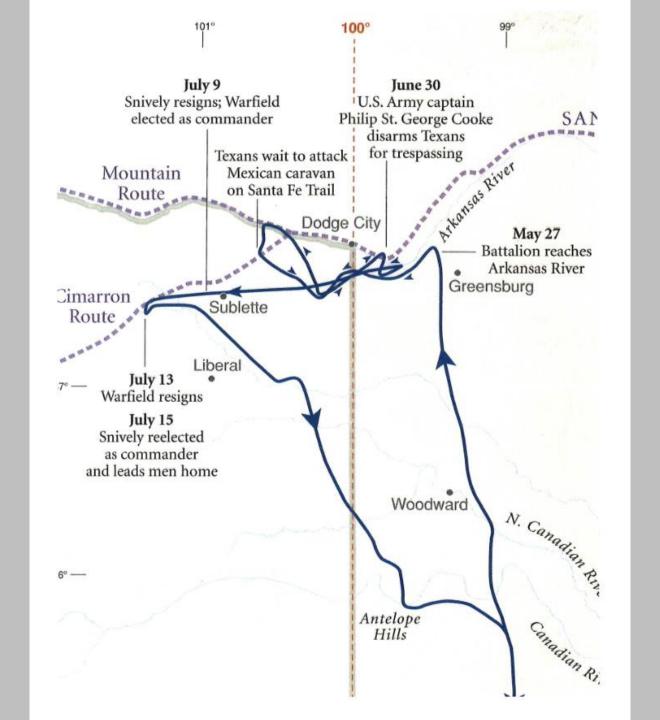


An English view of a Texas ranging company. Note the presence of the tejano ranger riding alongside his

Anglo-American comrades. (Illustrated London News, 1842)





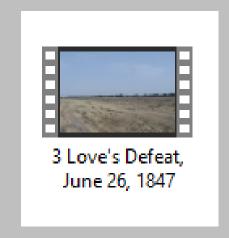




2 Texan Raids, Cooke vs. Snively, June 30 1843



## Violence on the Santa Fe Trail: Battles with Indians

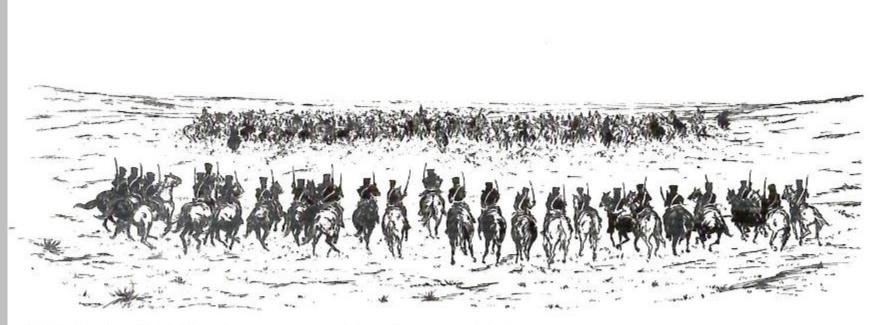








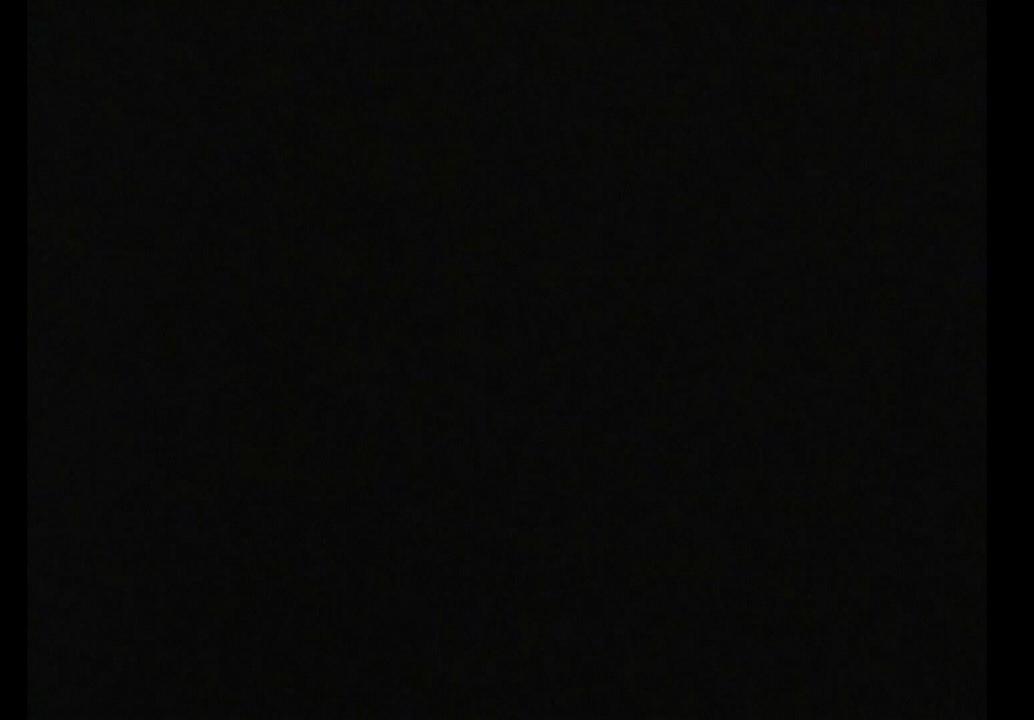
On June 7, 1847, 1st. Lt. John Love led his Company B, First Dragoons, westward from Fort Leavenworth en route to Santa Fe as escort for paymaster Maj. Charles Bodine, his train of twelve wagons, and nearly \$350,000 in specie to pay troops in New Mexico. For Love and his men, the journey would lead to a tragic encounter with the Comanches, which became known as "Love's Defeat."



At dawn on June 26, 1847, a large war party of Comanches stampeded the oxen from one of the government trains traveling will Lieutenant Love and his men. Other warriors menaced the paymaster's train, so Love sent Sgt. Ben Bishop and about twenty-fit troopers to recover the oxen while the remainder defended the paymaster. When within 150 yards of the Comanches, Bishop formed I men into line, then ordered a charge. Away went the brave men, charging ten or twelve times as many Indians.

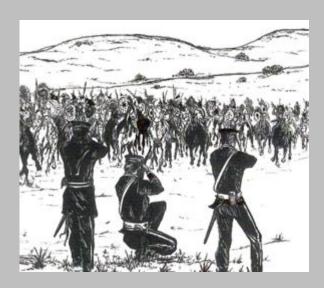


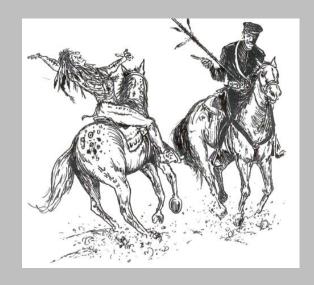
3 Love's Defeat, June 26, 1847

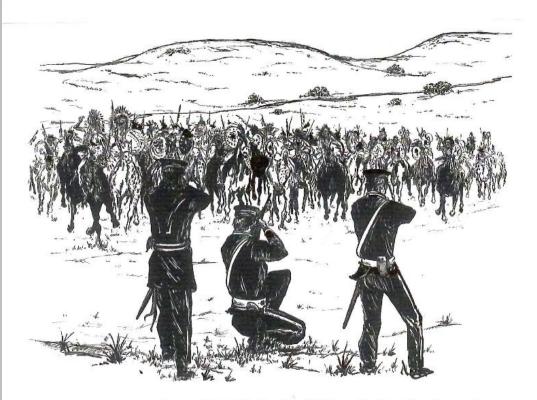




4 Battle of Coon Creek, June 18, 1848



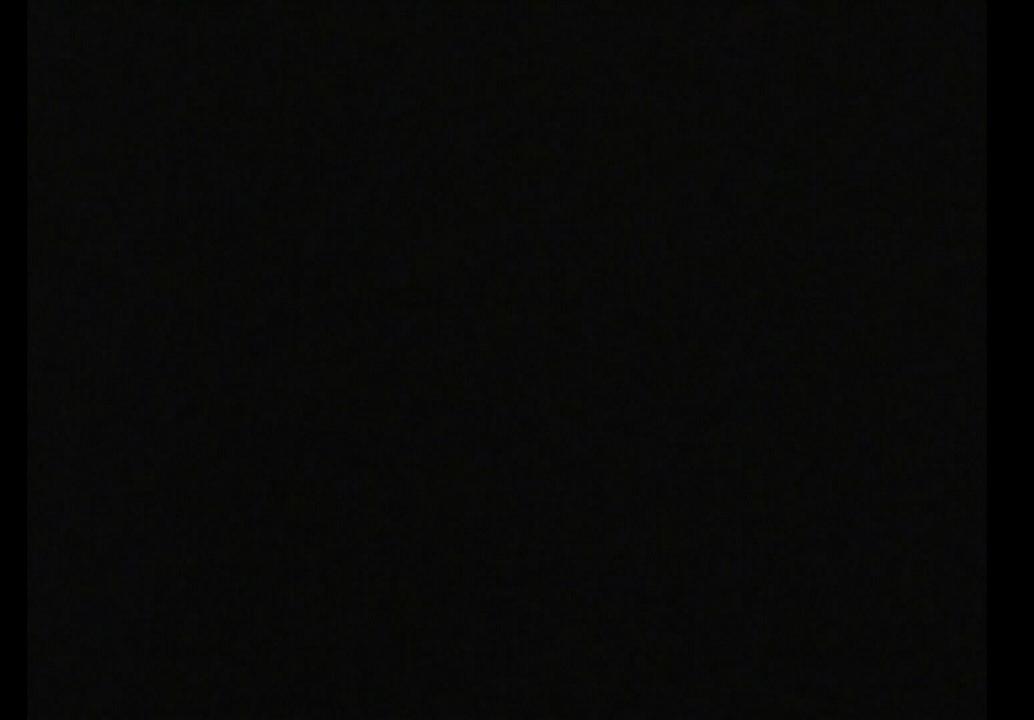




During the evening of June 17, 1848, 1st Lt. William B. Royall and seventy-one recruits from the Santa Fe Battalion, a detachment of artillery from the Indian Battalion, an army paymaster, and two government supply trains, with a herd of beef cattle, camped along the Arkansas River about two miles northeast of present Kinsley, Kansas. At dawn the next morning, this camp was suddenly attacked by between two and three hundred Comanche warriors, with another four hundred observing the attack from the north and south. It was the beginning of the Battle of Coon Creek, the first important fight in which breech-loading carbines were used against the Plains Indians.

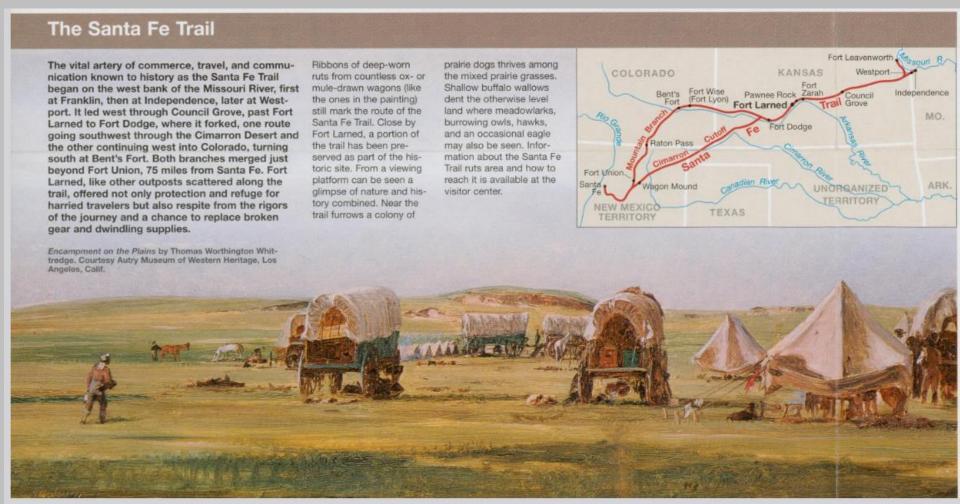


4 Battle of Coon Creek, June 18, 1848





After the Battle of Coon Creek, Lieutenant Royall led thirty-eight men across the Arkansas in an effort to recover stolen livestock. In the sand hills southeast of the river they were surprised and surrounded by more than five hundred Comanche warriors. While the troops were dashing for the highest dune to make a fighting stand, one of the warriors charged Pvt. James Roop with a lance, striking him in the abdomen. Incredibly, the lance struck the trooper's belt buckle and was held fast while Roop shot and killed the warrior.



### A Guide to Fort Larned

**Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail** 

Official Map and Guide



#### **Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail**

From 1821 to 1880 the Santa Fe Trail was one of America's most important overland routes, carrying annually several million dollars in commercial traffic between Independence, Mo., and Santa Fe. The acquisition of vast new southwestern territories by the United States after the Mexican War, and the gold rushes of 1849 and 1858, gave added impeand adventurers disrupted the Indians' way of life. Believing their very existence was in jeopardy, the tribes struck back, attacking the commerce, mail shipments, and travelers on the trail.

To counter these attacks, the army, on October 22, 1859, established a military post west of Lookout Hill (now Jenkins Hill) on the bank of the Pawnee River about five miles from its junction with the Arkansas. The post was initially called "Camp on Pawnee Fork," but the name was soon changed to "Camp Alert." In June 1860 the camp was moved farther west, where a more durable sod-and-adobe fort was constructed and named for Col. Benjamin F. Larned, U.S. Army Paymaster-General (1854-62).

Fort Larned was one in a succession of military posts established for protection and escort duty along the Santa Fe Trail. Among these posts Fort Larned was a key post in the Indian wars from 1859 to 1869. In were forts Mann (1847), Atkinson (1850), Union (1851), Wise, later renamed Lyon (1860), Zarah (1864), Dodge (1865), and Aubrey (1865), as before, the Cheyennes attacked several wagon trains along the Santa

well as Camp Nichols (1865). Some of the posts were temporary, lastmanent. Fort Larned, as well as forts Union, Lvon, and Dodge, experienced extensive development that lasted for years after the closing of the trail and the removal of any Indian threat in the area. As the military tus to trail traffic. Inevitably, the great influx of merchants, gold seekers, presence grew so did troop movements and government freighting to keep the posts supplied.

> As a military center, Fort Larned, for several critical years, was a principal guardian of Santa Fe Trail commerce, its soldiers cooperating with troops from forts Union and Lyon on both the Cimarron and Mountain branches of the route. In 1864, following the Sand Creek Massacre in eastern Colorado and after the War Department forbade travel beyond Fort Larned without armed escort, the post furnished guard detachments for mail stages and wagon trains. It served as a base for Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock's abortive 1867 campaign against the Plains tribes-a campaign that was intended to impress the Indians with the military strength of the United States but which only succeeded in terrorizing them and intensifying hostilities.

1868, in violation of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge signed the year

Company C, Third U.S. Infantry, in front of barracks at Fort Larned, 1867.

Fe Trail and raided settlers as far south as the Texas panhandle. These events signaled a general outbreak, and Klowas. Comanches, and Arapahos also began to pillage and raid from Kansas to Texas. To meet the threat, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Military Division of the Missouri, obtained permission from Washington to organize a winter campaign and ordered Lt. Col. George A. Custer and the 7th Cavalry to thrust south into Indian Territory. Custer's campaign culminated with an attack on Black Kettle's Cheyennes along the Washita River in the pre-dawn hours of November 27,1868. Black Kettle was among those killed in the fight and the camp of 51 lodges was completely destroyed. This ended organized Indian threat to the area around Fort Larned, although skirmishes and unorganized resistance

Throughout most of the 1860s Fort Larned also served as an agency of property. the Indian Bureau in its attempts to provide peaceful solutions to the cultural conflict between Indians and whites. The groundwork for such an approach was laid by the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise and strengthened by the subsequent treaties of the Little Arkansas (1865) and Medicine Lodge (1867). Under these agreements, the U.S. Government promised to pay annuities of clothing and other necessities to the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches in return for staying on their reservations and keeping the peace. Beginning in 1861 Fort Larned was a

distributing point for these annuities. The agency was abolished in 1868 when the tribes were moved to new reservations in Indian Territory.

Fort Larned's last important function was, ironically, to help end the usefulness of the trail it had so long protected. The close of the Civil War released the nation's great industrial energies, foremost of which was the great surge of the railroad across the plains. The railroad promised cheaper and faster transportation and shattered old ideas of distance. Trails of mud and dust could not compete with the trails of steel stretching westward from the Missouri. In the early 1870's, as the Santa Fe Railroad pushed west from Topeka, soldiers from Fort Larned provided protection for construction workers. In July 1878, nearly six years after the completion of the line through Kansas, the fort was abandoned, except for a small guard force of soldiers left to protect the

On March 26, 1883, the Fort Larned military reservation was transferred from the War Department to the General Land Office, U.S. Department of the Interior. A year later the buildings and land were sold at public auction. For the next 80 years the property remained in private hands. In August 1964 Fort Larned became a national historic site and a unit of the National Park System.

#### Indian Bureau Agency, 1861-68

Each autumn during the years Fort Larned served as an agency for the Indian Bureau, post residents watched in fascination as the scattered tribes of Southern Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches assembled at the fort. Pitching their tipis in the nearby prairie, the tribes (like the Cheyennes shown in the painting) settled down to locate friends and kin among their neighbors, to trade, and to await the distribution of their annuities. Noted Indian Bureau agents Edward W. Wynkoop and Jesse Leavenworth were among those who served the tribes from Fort Larned. Annuities provided included staples such as bacon, wheat

flour, coffee, sugar, fresh beef, and tobacco. Clothing, beads, blankets, metal tools and cooking utensils, gunpowder, and lead for bullets were also usually provided. The annuity system, established under treaties like the one negotiated at Medicine Lodge in 1867, was designed to pacify and transform roaming tribes of warlike Indians into sedentary, peaceful farmers. Benevolent in theory, the system in practice encouraged indolence on the part of the Indians. And depredations continued, despite sincere efforts by Indian agents like Wynkoop and Leavenworth to treat the tribes honorably.

Indian Camp at Dawn by Jules Tavernier. Courtesy Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Okla.



#### Fort Larned's Buildings

When Capt, Henry W. Wessells, 2d Infantry, came to the fort in 1860 to construct a set of buildings, he planned to build them of wood and was disappointed when ordered to use adobe, which he thought would be less durable. Nevertheless, by year's end, an officers' quarters, a combination storehouse and barracks, a guardhouse, two laundresses' quarters, and a hospital had been completed. Later additions included soldiers' quarters and a bakery, dug into the river bank; a small adobe meathouse; and a three-room picket structure housing blacksmith, carpenter, and saddler shops.

For the most part, Fort Larned's buildings at that time were poorly constructed and inadequate to meet the threat of the large-scale Indian war many high-ranking officers were predicting. Appropriations for new construction work were finally made in 1866, and the fort's garrison began an extensive building program. By the winter of 1868 Wessells' "shabby, vermin-breeding" adobe structures were gone and nine new stone and timber buildings stood around the quadrangular parade ground. These are the same buildings you see here today. They are shown on the diagram below and briefly identified at right.

house two companies of housed one company infantry, this barracks has of infantry and one of been restored and adapted for use as visitor center and administrative offices. Museum, audiovisual program, book store, and restrooms.

#### Barracks/Post Hospital

Originally constructed to This building originally cavairy, about 150 man, In 1871, the east half was converted into the post hospital, the way it is seen today. The west half has been restored as the barracks for Company C, 3rd Infantry.

#### Shops Building

Bakery and blacksmith shops occupied the end spaces in this three-room structure. The center's "workshop" area was used for wheelwright, carpentry, tinsmith, paint. and saddlery activities.

#### **New Commissary**

This building was constructed to house the overflow of garrison food and subsistence supplies distributed to the gardfrom the Old Commisas a hospital annex, and ing was used as an arse-needed to carry out fronin 1871 the north end was used as a schoolroom for soldiers as well the south and west walls. south wall. as post children, and as

#### Old Commissary

This is the oldest survivfort. From here food was storeroom was filled with son. For many years the ding, tents, field gear, nal and powder magazine. Note the rifle slits in Note the rifle slits in the

#### Quartermaster

commodated two capmilitary clothing, bedtains and four lieutenants. sary. For awhile it served western part of the build- tools, and other materials the ends of the buildings ranking officer. It conconsisted of two rooms, tier military operations. a letchen, and servant's room. The lieutenants out kitchens, In 1870 wooden lean-tos were

servant space.

#### Company Officers' Quarters

ing stone structure at the This building's large open. These buildings each acthe only single-family residence on the post. The captains' quarters in housed the fort's highest tained four large rooms separated by a central hallway, a kitchen, and had one room each with- upstairs servants' quarters, Maj. Meredith Kidd and his family were the added at the rear of each first occupants of the to provide kitchens and house.

#### Commanding Officer's Blockhouse (reconstruction)

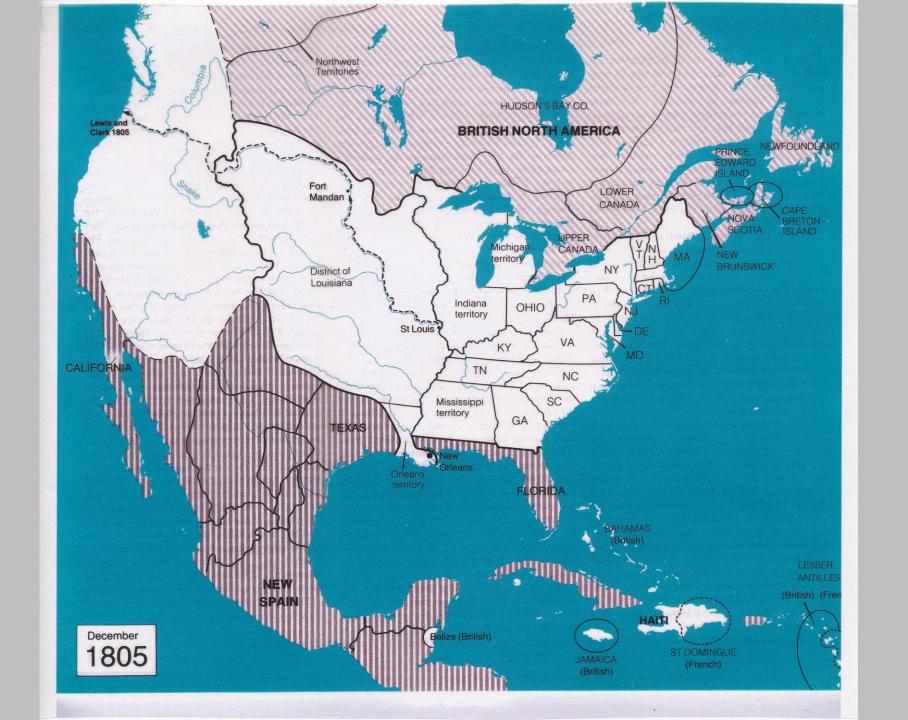
Built in the winter of 1864-65 to strengthen the fort's defenses, this hexagonal stone building contained a powder magazine, two levels of rifle sits or "loopholes," an underground passageway, and a well, Not needed for defense, it. was converted in 1867 into a guardhouse. The original structure was dismantled around 1900 by civilian owners who used its sandstone blocks in other buildings.

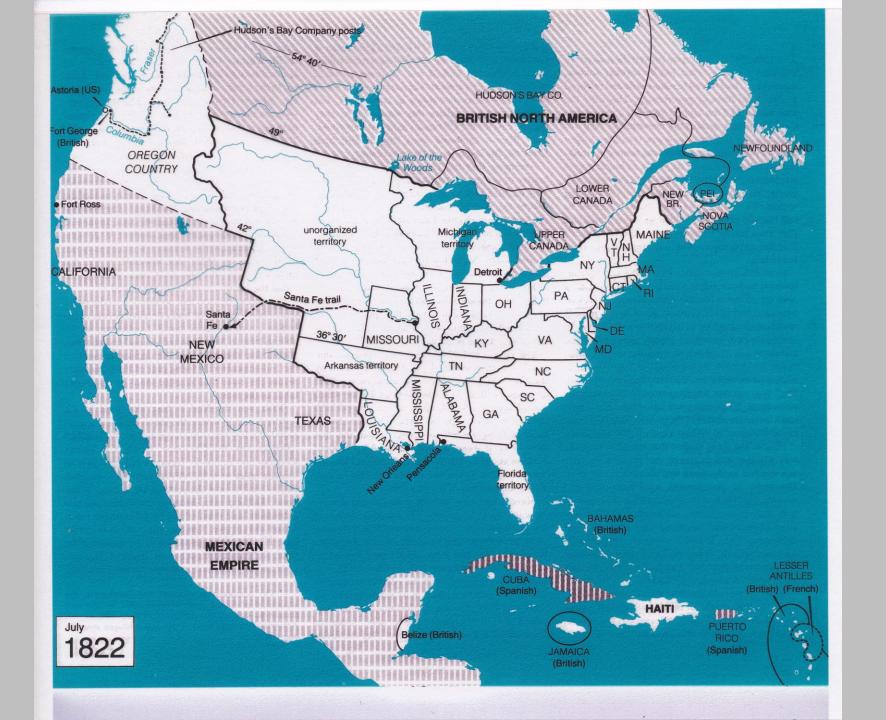




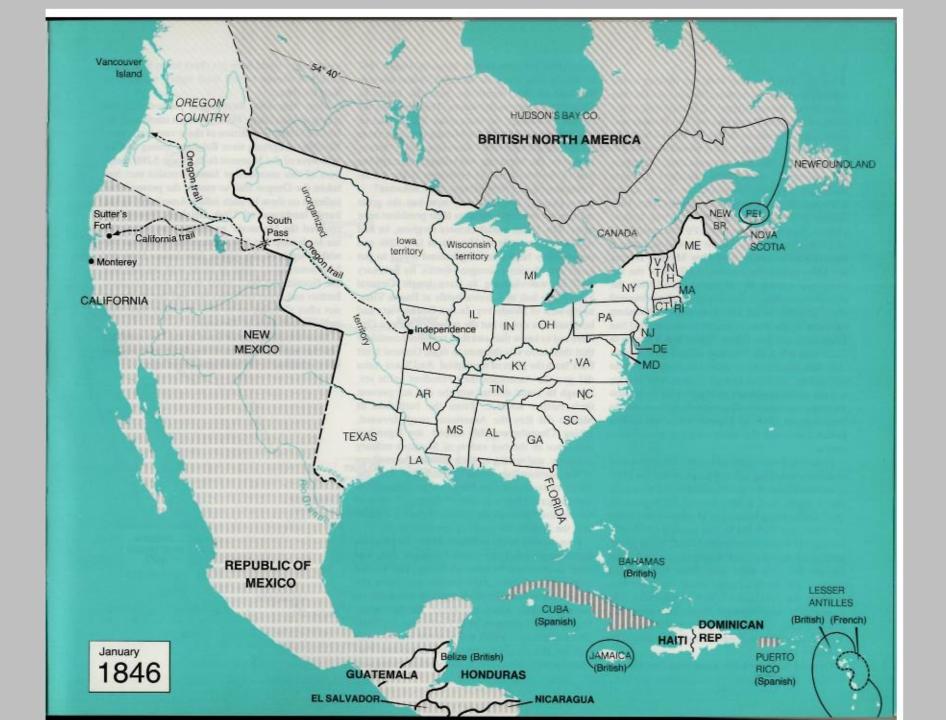
5 Fort Larned KS











#### Treaty line of 1846 BRITISH NORTH AMERICA MENNESOTA Oregon Oty+ ORRCON TERRITORY TERRITORY Boston, MASS. **HISCONSID** 10WA Chicago Pittsburgh-Philadelphia Salt Lake Citys 1846 Washington UTAH TERRITORY INDUAN Richmond. Sank Independence. ATLANTIC Francisco St. Louis CALIFORNIA TERRITORS N.C. TIME OCEAN Los Angelese · Charleston San Diego\* Savannah - Dallas TEXAS Gadsden Purchase Land bought by U.S. from Mexico in (853 \*Houston Chihuahus. PACIFIC States before 1845 MEXICO States admitted 1845-1850 OCEAN Ceded to U.S. by Britain 1846 Ceded to U.S. by Mexico 1848 Selected Mexican War battle, 1846-48

# 1845-49 Term of Expansion

"Who is James K. Polk?" asked Whigs derisively when Democrats unexpectedly presented the former Tennessee governor as their nominee for President in 1844. But it was Polk's embrace of Manifest Destiny-a term coined by magazine editor John O'Sullivan in 1845-that completed the broad outlines of America's geography. During his single term as President, the United States pushed its boundaries to the Pacific-wrestling California and the Southwest from Mexico, admitting Texas to the Union, and crowding Britain out of the Pacific Northwest

# Violence on the Santa Fe Trail: The Mexican War

#### Mexican-American War











Clockwise from top: Battle of Resaca de la Palma, U.S. victory at Churubusco outside of Mexico City, Marines storming Chapultepec castle under a large U.S. flag, Battle of Cerro Gordo

#### Date

April 25, 1846 - February 2, 1848 (1 year, 9 months, 1 week and 1 day)

#### Location

Texas, New Mexico, California; Northern, Central, and Eastern Mexico; Mexico City

#### Result

American victory

- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
- · Mexican recognition of U.S. sovereignty over Texas (among other territories)
- End of the conflict between Mexico and Texas

Territorial Mexican Cession

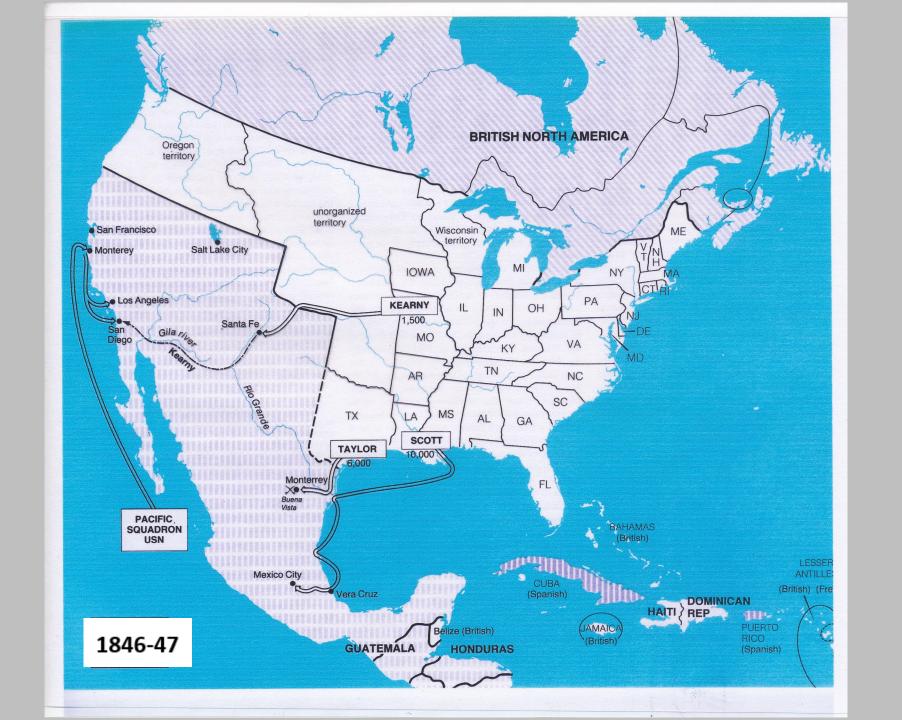
changes

#### Belligerents



Mexico

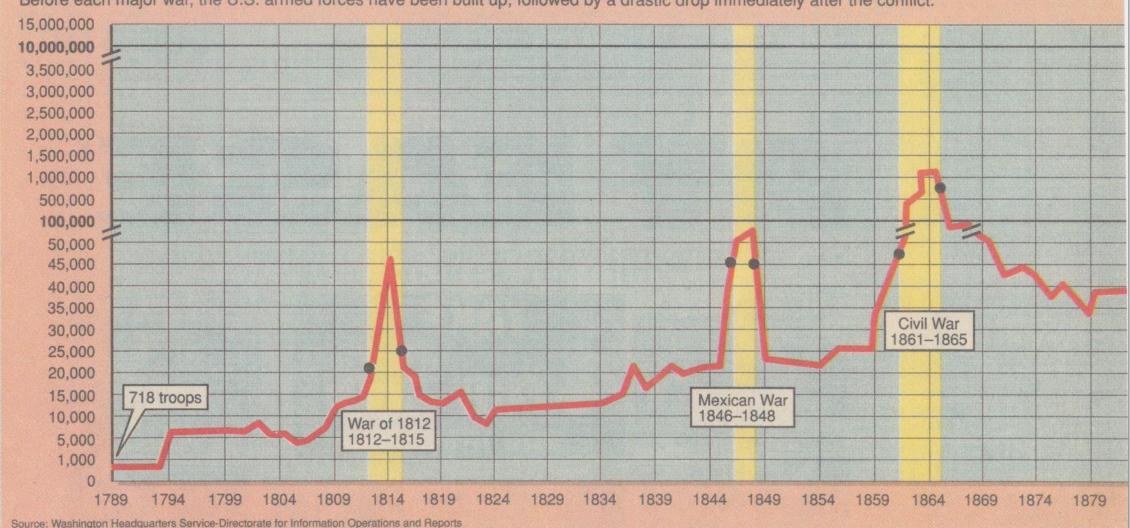
United States California Republic



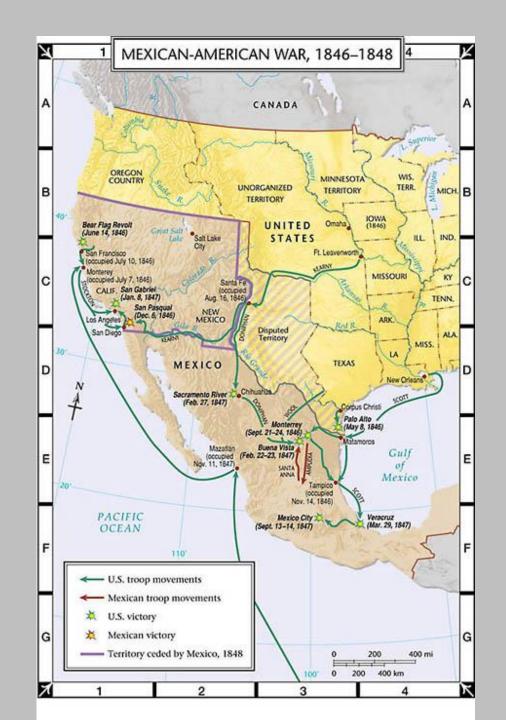


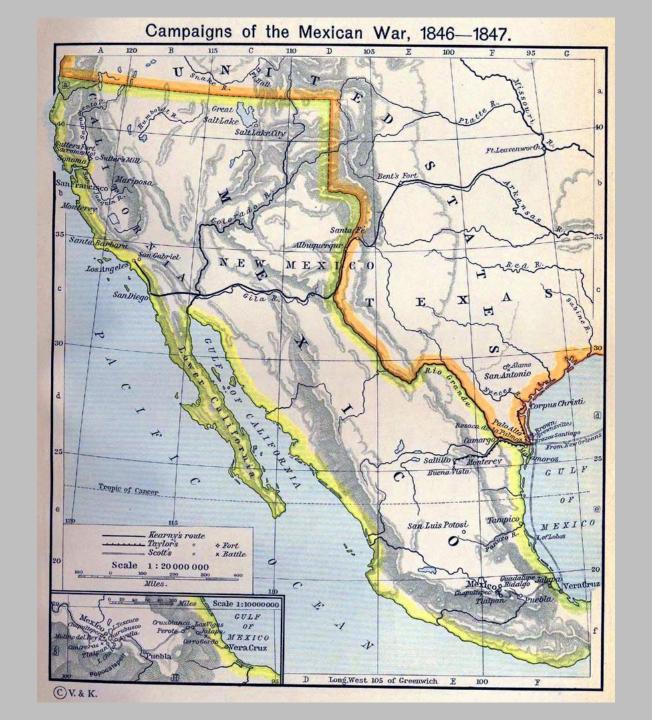


Before each major war, the U.S. armed forces have been built up, followed by a drastic drop immediately after the confilct.









#### Stephen W. Kearny



#### Military Governor of New Mexico

#### In office

August 1846 - September 1846

Preceded by

Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid

Succeeded by Sterling Price

#### 4th Military Governor of California

#### In office

February 23, 1847 - May 31, 1847

Preceded by

Robert F. Stockton

Succeeded by Richard Barnes Mason

#### Personal details

Born

Stephen Watts Kearny

August 30, 1794

Newark, New Jersey, U.S.

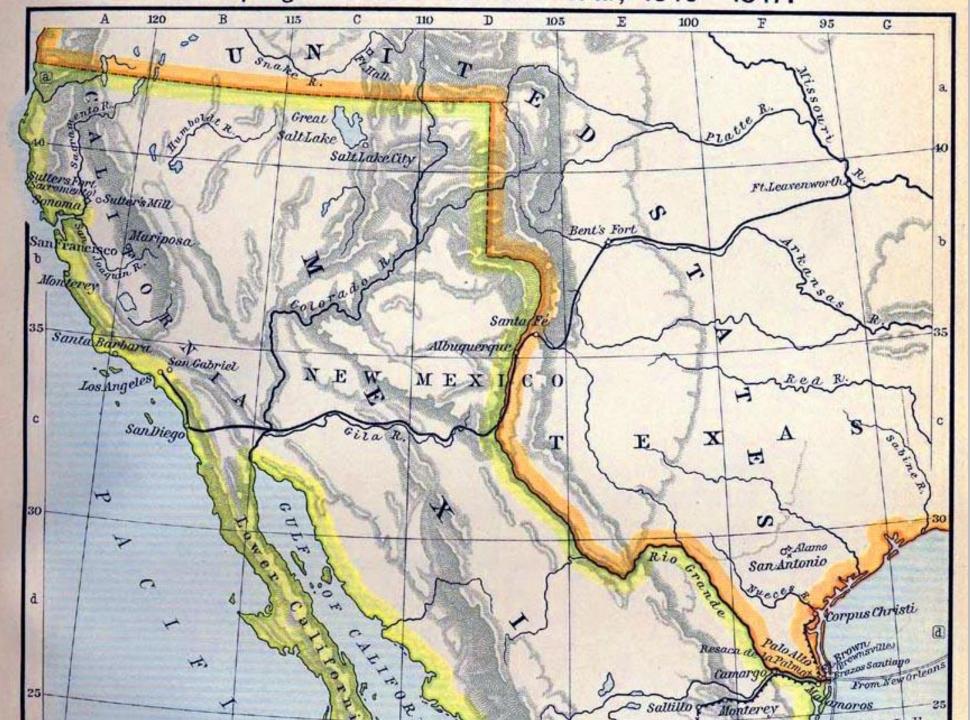
Died

October 31, 1848 (aged 54)

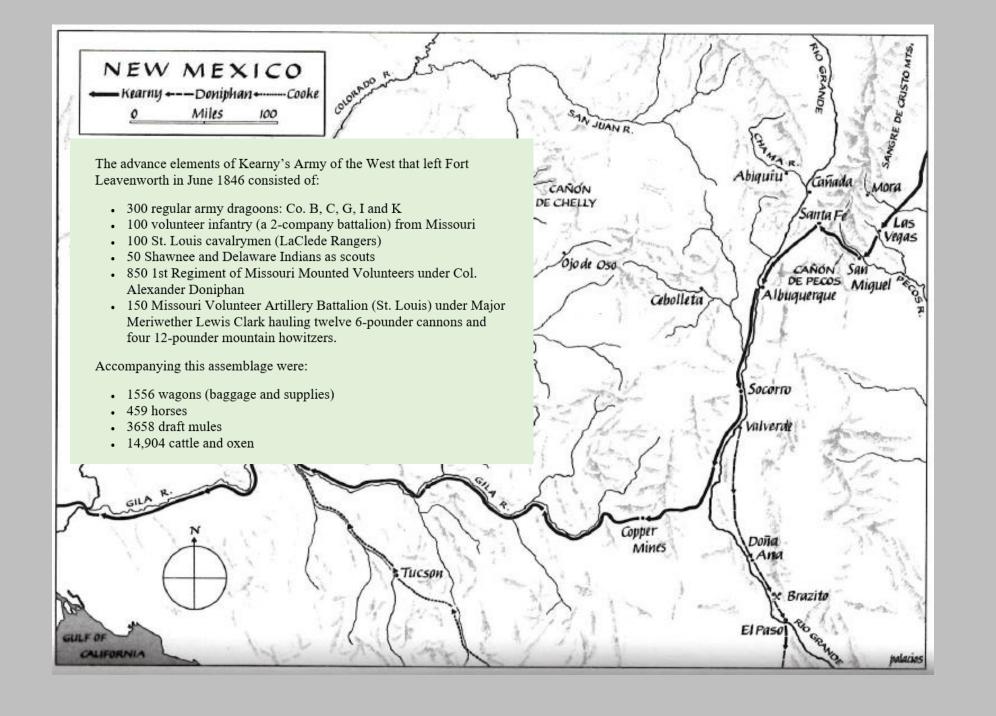
St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.

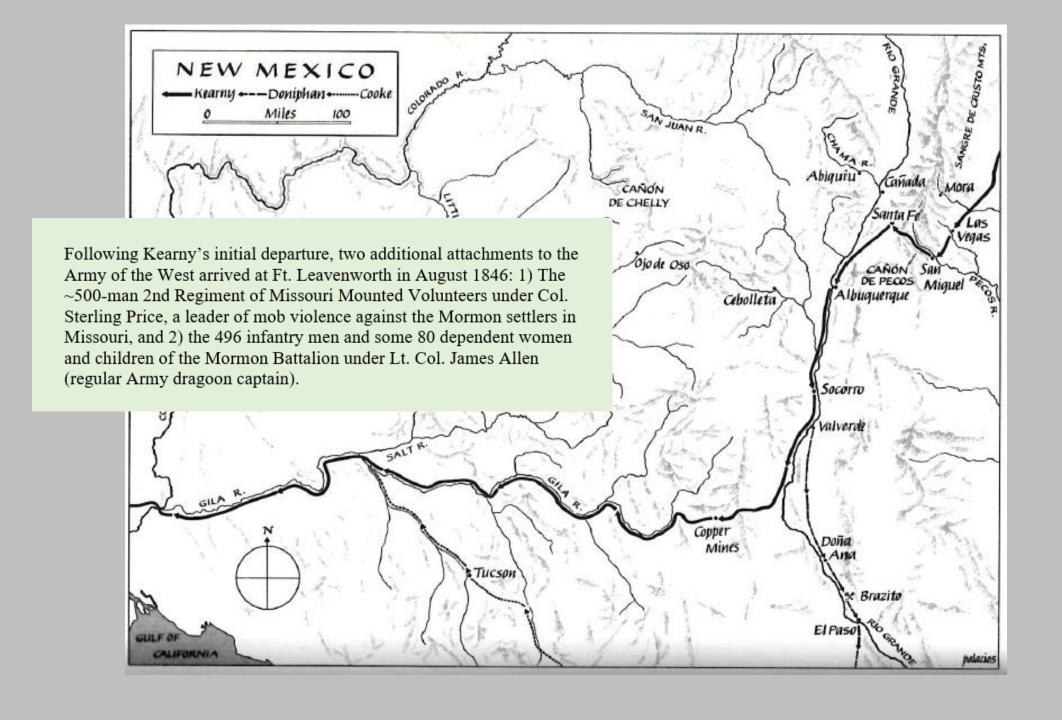
Soldier

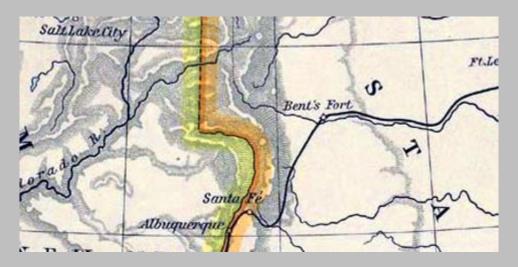
Profession



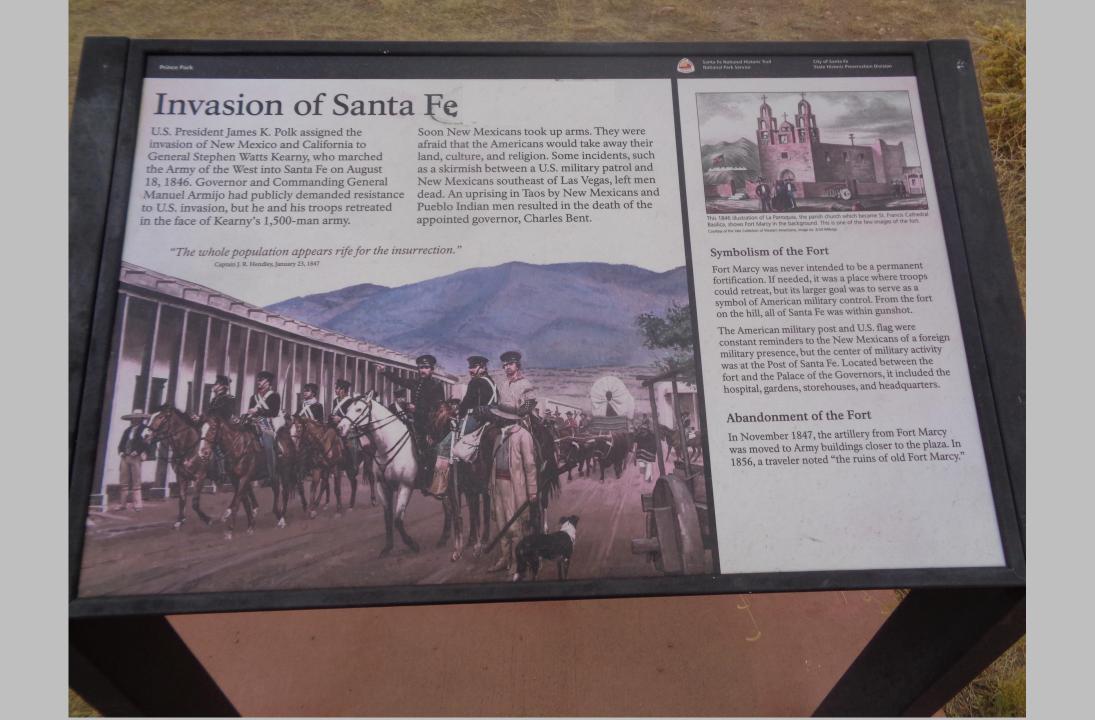








The traders followed, and, army and traders, it was a formidable caravan. One census makes it 1556 wagons and nearly twenty thousand stock all told, oxen, beeves, horses, mules.5 A long column moving through the most intense heat yet encountered and the worst desert of the trail. For four days there was almost no grass for the horses and little grass for anyone. Lieutenant Emory's thermometers showed 120° and the sirocco never died across the sand. The troops tied handkerchiefs over their mouths, to no avail. They got nosebleeds from the altitude and dysentery from the alkali. The wagons laboring behind, rations had to be cut. They could not be controlled at water holes, where the first ones spoiled the drinking for the rest. The horses were even worse; Captain Johnston observed that when the water was scarcest they were most apt to urinate in it. Private Marcellus Edwards of Doniphan's Company D said of one small pool they passed on August 4 that it was "so bad that one who drank it would have to shut both eyes and hold his breath until the nauseating dose was swallowed. Notwithstanding its scarcity, some men allowed their horses to tramp through it, which soon stirred it up to a thick mud; and to give it a still greater flavor, a dead snake with the flesh just dropping from his bones." -Bernard DeVoto, Year of Decision 1846



## August 18, 1846



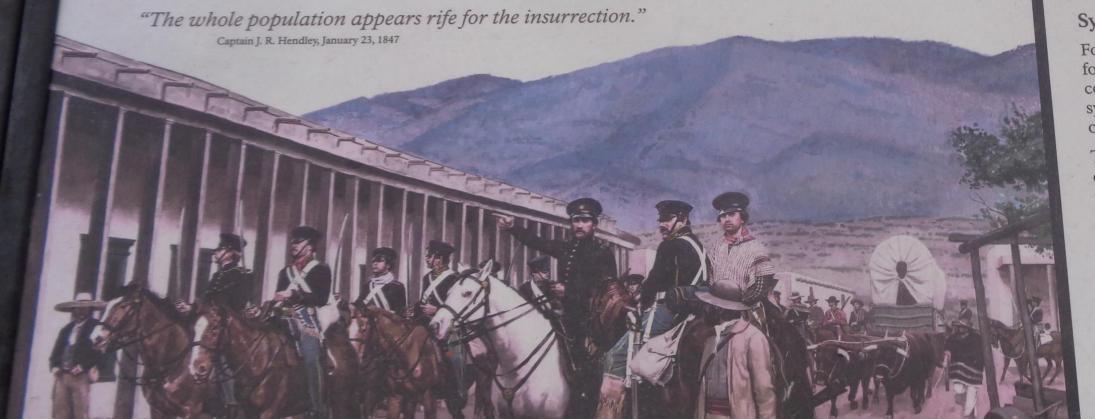
Late in the afternoon the conquerors were ready. Two subofficials had come out to profess submission and, sending his artillery to a hill that commanded the town, Kearny rode back with them and his staff, the army following in column. Bridles jingled and scabbards clanked in the little, twisting, dirty streets, between the brown adobe houses. There was a low wailing behind shuttered windows where women cowered in terror of the rape and branding which the priests had told them the Americans meant to inflict. Soldiers filed into the Plaza of the Constitution, which has always been the center of the town's life. The infantry stood at parade rest, the tired horses drooped, in the silence one heard the rustle of cottonwoods and the silver music of the creek. The ranks stiffened and the muskets came to present arms, Kearny and his staff raised their sabers, the bugles blared down those empty streets, and the flag went up. As it touched the top of the staff, the artillery on the hilltop boomed its salute, and for the first time in history the Americans had conquered a foreign capital. And they had done exactly what Mr. Polk had instructed them to do: they had taken New Mexico without firing a shot.

—Bernard DeVoto, <u>Year of Decision 1846</u>

# Invasion of Santa Fe

U.S. President James K. Polk assigned the invasion of New Mexico and California to General Stephen Watts Kearny, who marched the Army of the West into Santa Fe on August 18, 1846. Governor and Commanding General Manuel Armijo had publicly demanded resistance to U.S. invasion, but he and his troops retreated in the face of Kearny's 1,500-man army.

Soon New Mexicans took up arms. They were afraid that the Americans would take away their land, culture, and religion. Some incidents, such as a skirmish between a U.S. military patrol and New Mexicans southeast of Las Vegas, left men dead. An uprising in Taos by New Mexicans and Pueblo Indian men resulted in the death of the appointed governor, Charles Bent.





This 1846 illustration of La Parroqu Basilica, shows Fort Marcy in the b Courtesy of the Yale Collection of Western America

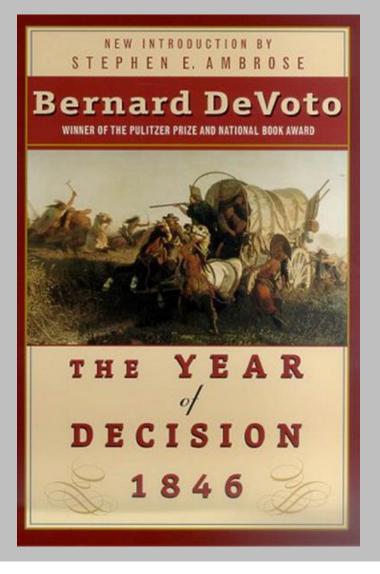
## Symbolism of the

Fort Marcy was net fortification. If need could retreat, but is symbol of America on the hill, all of S

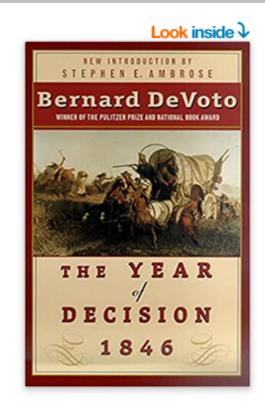
The American miconstant reminder military presence was at the Post of fort and the Pala hospital, garder

## Abandonme

In November was moved to 1856, a travele



Year of Decision 1846 tells many fascinating stories of the U.S. explorers who began the western march from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from Canada to the annexation of Texas, California, and the southwest lands from Mexico. It is the penultimate book of a trilogy which includes Across the Wide Missouri (for which DeVoto won both the Pulitzer and Bancroft prizes) and The Course of Empire. DeVoto's narrative covers the expanding Western frontier, the Mormons, the Donner party, Fremont's exploration, the Army of the West, and takes readers into Native American tribal life.



## The Year of Decision 1846 Paperback – October 5, 2000

by Bernard DeVoto Y (Author), Stephen E. Ambrose (Introduction), Mark DeVoto (Foreword)

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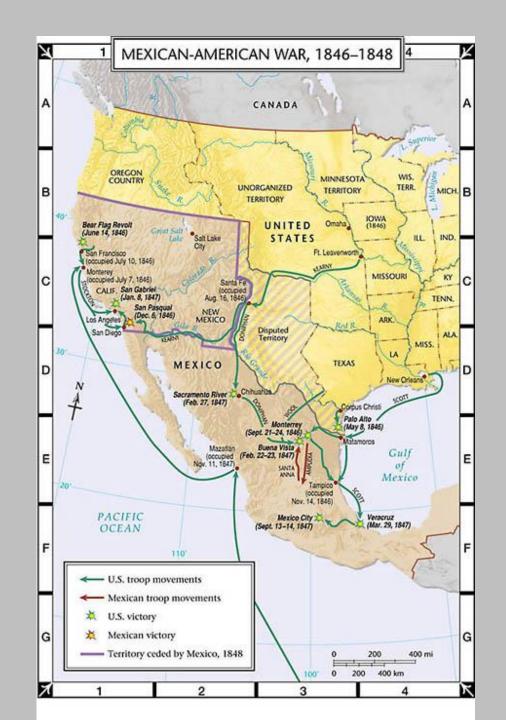
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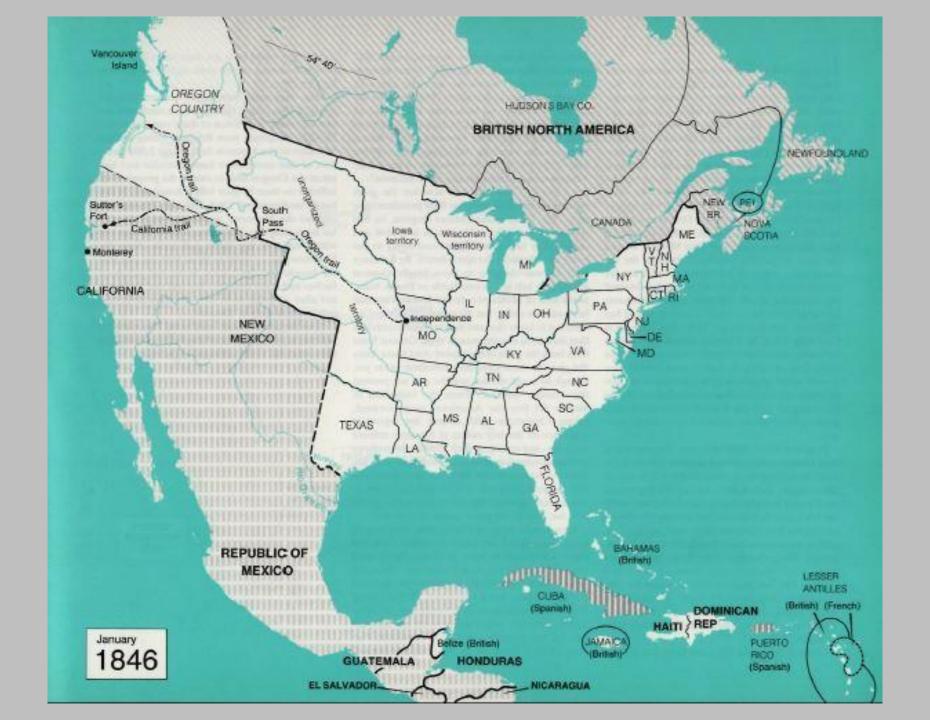


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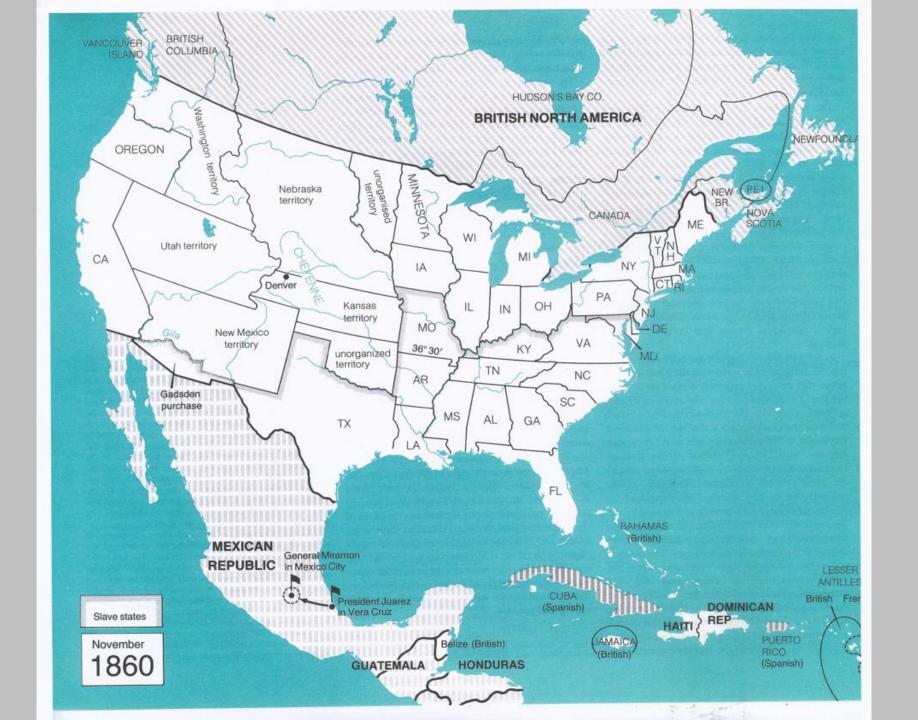
# BERNARD DEVOTO ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI **WINNER OF THE PULITZER PRIZE**











# ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI

Oh, Shennydore, I long to hear you. Away, you rolling river! Oh, Shennydore, I can't get near you. Away, away, I'm bound away Across the wide Missouri.

'Tis seven long years since first I seed 'ee. Away, you rolling river!
'Tis seven long years since first I seed 'ee. Away, away, I'm bound away Across the wide Missouri.

Oh, Shennydore, I love your daughter. Away, you rolling river! I'll take her across the yellow water. Away, away, I'm bound away Across the wide Missouri.