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


   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.


   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.


   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.

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.


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.


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.


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.

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*.


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.


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


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.”


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.

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.


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.


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.


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


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.

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).


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.


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.


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

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.


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


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.


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


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


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.

See the above entry.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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 into agricultural and pastoral peoples, he advocates the use of reservations and assimilation programs.


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.


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


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.

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.


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


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.


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.


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


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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

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


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).


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.


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.”


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


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.”


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.


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.


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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


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


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.”


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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 Kickapoo, Potawatomis, and Kaws. He also recorded his encounters north of the trail with Otoes, Lakota, and others.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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


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 [Chaulis] 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.


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.

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.


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


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.


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


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.


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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.”

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).


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.


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).


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.


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.

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 tells of a 1911 search by local citizens located his lost grave.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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).


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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


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.

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.


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.


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


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.


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.


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 elsewhere while the dangerous Apaches created difficulties for U.S. soldiers in New Mexico.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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).


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Describing his perception of Indians within the Pawnee Fork area in 1846, U.S. army officer Emory, writes: “We are now on ground which is traversed by the nomadic tribes of Pawnees, Sioux, Osages, and occasionally the Comanches” (12). At Big Timber, he notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos and Kiowas sometimes wintered there (13). At abandoned Pecos Pueblo, he recounts the fable of the former residents being the remnant of the Montezuma race. At Santa Fe, he states the Pueblo leaders enthusiastically greeted the American force, saying their traditions indicated that white men from the east would liberate them “from the bonds and shackles which the Spaniards had imposed, not in the name, but in a
worse form than slavery” (33). Emory’s *Reconnaissance in New Mexico* contains the same report.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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

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.


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).


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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


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.

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.


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.


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).

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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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


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


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


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.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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*.

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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


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

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.


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.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.


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.


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.


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.

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


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.


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.


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.


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


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.

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.

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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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


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


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.


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.
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.

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.

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

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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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.


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


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.


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.

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


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.


Lummis’ 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.


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


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 [Hopi], 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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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


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.


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.

This article is a reprint.


This article is a reprint.


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.


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).


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.

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).


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.


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


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.


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.


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).


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.

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


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


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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

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.


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).


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.


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.


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.

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).


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


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.


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.


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.


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.


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”].


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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).

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.


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.


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.


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.


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


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.


In part one, Pope mentions his contact with various Indians in an atmosphere characterized by tension, suspicion, uncertainty, and violence. He saw Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos, reportedly with 5,000 fighting men, gathered near Fort Mackay on the Arkansas. He indicates that these dissatisfied Indians were begging for food and that Cheyennes and Comanches were on the verge of commencing
hostilities. A subsequent investigation, however, by U.S. agent Thomas Fitzpatrick found that they desired peace. In part two, Pope, at Fort Leavenworth, states that Colonel E. V. Sumner of the First Dragoons was in the process of leading a command of six hundred soldiers into New Mexico to campaign against Indians.


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.


Proctor’s recounting of his experiences in Kansas during the 1860s and 1870s, mentions fights with Cheyennes and unspecified Indians.


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.


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.


Raymond’s daily account of his commercial buffalo hunting and travel over the trail references his meetings with Arapaho and unspecified Indians.

Traveling to the Pikes Peak gold mines in 1859, Raymond notes in this journal his meetings with Kaws, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Comanches.


Reagles, a civilian doctor attached to the Tenth U.S. Cavalry in Oklahoma, kept a diary and wrote letters from 1866 to 1868 with numerous references to Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and others. Although he did not travel over the trail, much of what he notes pertains to conflict with Indians stemming from U.S. violations of its 1867 treaties at Medicine Creek, Kansas.


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.


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).


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.


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.

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.


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.


In this letter, Riley reports the casualties that Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos inflicted on his force 1829.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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).


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 Kaws. 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.


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.


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.


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*. 

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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.


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.


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).


This account of Marion’s travel in 1852 is drawn from her *Land of Enchantment*.


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).


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.


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).


Covering the period from 1846 to 1848, Ruxton details his travel from Colorado to Missouri along the trail and his life as a mountain man.

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.


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.*


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.

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.


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.


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.

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.


Spanish documents included in this article note the populations of the various Pueblos in New Mexico.


Garland’s record of his travel on the trail during the 1850s mentions his brief contacts with Potawatomi, Pueblo, Comanche, and Apache Indians.


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.”


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.
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.

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.”

In this 1860 letter, Sedgwick notes a fight between U.S. soldiers and a small band of Kiowas north of Bent’s Fort. His claim that recent skirmishes in the trail’s vicinity had taken the lives of a hundred and fourteen Indians is an apparent exaggeration. He blames the outbreak of violence on gold-seeking Euroamericans going to and from Pike’s Peak.

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.


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.


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.

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.


    Referencing preparation taken for overland travel to Oregon, Shively advises his readers to first obtain horses from the Shawnees.


    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.


    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.


    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.


    Anza’s correspondence discusses Spanish relations with Comanche, Apache, and Pecos Pueblo Indians during the late 1700s.
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.


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.


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.


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.

Recalling his experiences on the trail, Henry Smith notes a friendly encounter with Kiowas that occurred at Cow Creek in 1863.


The authors’ compilation of correspondents’ reports printed in newspapers gives slanted information about Cheyenne and Sioux resistance to railroad construction through Kansas.


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*.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Written at Fort Mann on June 21, 1848, Lt. Streemmel’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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Without referencing the trail, Trego’s account offers a glimpse of Osage culture and trade with Euroamericans.


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.

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.


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).


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.


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.


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 an 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.
Influenced by the language of romanticism, Wallace provides a sympathetic view of the Pueblo Indians and their cultures.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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).


Wharton’s account of his command’s visit to the Pawnee towns in late August and early September reveals the differing attitudes among the four Pawnee bands toward U.S. travelers. It indicates that he tried to awe the recalcitrant Pawnees into
line with U.S. expectations by using sabre-rattling tactics and dialogue. It also provides a glimpse at these Indians’ poor economic situation.

465. ————. “Report of Captain Clifton Wharton, Company A, United States Dragoon Regiment, covering the Campaign of 1834, of this escort to the Santa Fe Caravan of that year, under the command of Josiah Gregg.” In “Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail.” Edited by Fred S. Perrine. New Mexico Historical Review 2 (July 1927): 269-304.

The commander of an 1834 U.S. column sent to protect Santa Fe traders, Wharton notes instances of tension between Comanches and a caravan headed by Josiah Gregg. His report, dated July 21, 1834, exposes the negative attitudes Gregg and other caravan members toward Indians. He also describes a friendly encounter with Pawnees as his cavalry command marched over the trail en route to Fort Gibson.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


The newspaper articles in this study provide a view, however biased, about the 1874-1875 war. Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Apaches are mentioned.

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.


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.


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.


The diary provides the views of a scout during Forsyth’s 1868 campaign against Cheyennes.


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.


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.


Wislizenus’s 1846 description of Santa Fe inhabitants references Indians.


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.


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.

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.


Wood’s 1854 letters about the Kansas political situation reference Indians and Indian lands several times without mentioning the trail.


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).


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.


In addition to recounting lore about the trail, Vanderwalker mentions his brief contact with Cheyennes at Bent’s Fort.
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.

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 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.

Recalling his travels as a five-year old child over the trail, Young asserts that Indians along the route were beggars and nuisances.

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 Picarís Pueblos, he briefly discusses the nature of these Indians’ interactions with Mexican officials and settlers.

B. Santa Fe Trail Histories

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.


This study contains numerous references to Indians and their foods.


Atherton alludes to the death of Samuel C. Lamme, who was returning to Missouri, at the hands of Indians in 1828.


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.


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.


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.


Barbour described Larkin’s experiences with Indians at Bent’s Fort in 1856 and 1857.
Barry recounted the bloodshed that occurred near the Cimarron Crossing ranch and Cheyenne and Kiowa conflict with non-Indians during the 1860s.

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.

Barry probed the Kiowa and Cheyenne conflict with the Great Bend ranch on the trail in 1862 and 1864.

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.

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.

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.
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.


Santa Fe Trail Association member Belt noted that the Utes and Jicarillas who ranged in Wagon Mound vicinity occasionally attacked passing wagon trains.


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.


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.


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).


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.

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.


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.


This account mentions an 1846 incident near Bent’s Fort involving unspecified Indians and Bransford. It also states that Bransford had a Sioux wife.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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).


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.


This brief article discusses the significance of Council Grove to the trail traffic and alludes to Kaw and Osage Indians.


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.

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.


Carter’s story is about the hardships of modern travel on horseback on the trail. It includes brief historical passages about Indians.


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.

Chalfant alludes to Cheyennes in Kansas during the 1800s.


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.

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.


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.


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.

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.

Clapsaddle briefly refers to a mixed party of Cherokees and Euroamericans who were en route to California goldfields from Oklahoma in 1850.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


Clapsaddle provides brief but useful information regarding Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot relations with Euroamerican travelers.


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.


The author mentions Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa attacks on feeder routes in 1868.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Santa Fe Trail Association member Claycomb writes about freighter Brown in an ethnocentric framework that depicts Indians as warlike aggressors. He mentions that “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 others.
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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


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.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Crease discusses the location of the Shawnee Agency and Delawares in proximity to the trail.


This study examination of the life and times of the trail provides a superficial view of the Plains Indian cultures.


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.


Cunningham briefly notes a fight her great-grand father Calvin Dyche had with unspecified Indians near Cow Creek in 1863.


Curtis asserts that Indian raiders only seized a very small portion of the goods transported over the trail.


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.
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.

The author cites Indian attacks on trail travelers that led to the burial of money and gold by besieged caravan members.

Denny’s study of Franklin, Missouri, references the 1825 U.S. treaty with the Osages.

This article notes that Kaws participated in a bloody conflict at Council Grove in 1859.

This brief analysis of historical documentation indicates that warfare at Pawnee Rock took the live of only a few travelers.

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.
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.

This study mentions that Indian “difficulties” along the trail negatively impacted Marmaduke’s quest for financial gain.

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.

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.

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.

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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


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.

Fisher’s brief study touches on the association of Tabo Creek, the first major stream west of the Missouri River, with the trail.


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.


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.


Franzwa’s text and captions contain a few tidbits about Indians.


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.


Franzwa’s study provides a few insignificant references to Indians.


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).

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.
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.


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.


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.


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.


Gross notes that Susan Magoffin wrote about an Indian mother who bathed herself and her newborn baby in a stream.


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.


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.


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.


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).


Santa Fe Trail Association member Hathaway briefly mentions the Plum Buttes massacre in 1863.

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.


Historian Hernández stresses that New Mexico officials, merchants, and Indians struggled against one another over control of the Indian slave trade.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


This poem offers a romanticized view of Miller’s death in 1865, or “there about.”


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.


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.


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.

This study about road surveys and construction contains a few references to Indians and the trail.


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.


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.


Drawing from primary sources, graduate student Kieta finds that Indians participated in the fandangos in Santa Fe.


Kimball indicates that an Indian guide participated in laying out the Fort Leavenworth branch road.


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.


An excerpt from an account of Theodore C. Dickson contains a brief reference to unspecified Indians in 1858.
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.

Santa Fe Trail Association member Krakow mentions Indians both before and after the trail’s beginning in 1821.

Historian Laugesen’s uncritical examination of the development and placement of historical makers on the trail references Indians a few times.

Laut’s study romanticizes the trail as well as the Indians and non-Indians who were involved with it.

Without adding a new perspective about Indians-Euroamerican relations, historian Lavender mentions Indian involvement in trade at Bent’s Fort.

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.

A scholar of early western history, Lecompte touches on Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho relations with the trail’s mountain branch.


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.


National Park Service employee Loleit provides an overview of Pecos Pueblo before and after the trail’s founding.


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.


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.


In this study about U.S. army freighting, Louden refers to Indians as thieves, threats, and murderers.


Louden notes that Uncle Dick Wootton charged a fee to all non-Indians passing through Raton Pass.

Again, Louden indicates that Wootton charged everyone except Indians a toll for the right to pass through Raton Pass.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


This study of migrant life on the Overland Trail includes a few comparative references to the Santa Fe Trail.


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.


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.


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.

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).


Historian Miller notes that Indian warfare disrupted the trail’s flow during the summer of 1864.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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).


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.


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.


Morgan briefly notes the significance of roadrunners in Pueblo Indian culture.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Part of Myers’s study, written in a celebratory tone, briefly discusses Pawnee relations with trail travelers during the early 1820s.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

Oliva’s study about the U.S. government’s use of the trail during the Mexican war mentions Indians a few times.


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 instance, 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).


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.


This brief article alludes to an 1867 Cheyenne attack on a wagon train in a fight called the Plum Buttes Massacre.


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.


Oliva discusses the conflict that ensued between U.S troops and Plains Indians from the mid 1840s to the 1860s.

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.


This work mentions an October 1859 Ute attack at Ocate, near Fort Union, on a crew of hay-cutters.


In this historiographic essay about the trail, Olsen fails to consider how scholars and trail travelers depict Indians.


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.


This article notes that Spanish soldiers, in pursuit of Comanches who had raided San Miguel, met Becknell’s small party in 1821.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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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.


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.


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.


This brief article mentions that in 1855 Lt. Colonel St. Vrain led a force of U.S. army volunteers against Jicarilla Apaches.


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.
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.

This study alludes to the killing of Jedediah Smith in 1831 and other Indian-Euroamerican encounters at the Cimarron Crossing.

Scott briefly mentions the 1861 Fort Wise Treaty with Cheyennes and Arapahos.

The authors note that in the autumn of 1843 at Cold Springs, Texans victimized Pueblo Indian members of an Armijo wagon train.

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.”

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.
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.


This collection of essays is tainted by stereotypical assumptions about Indians. The book contains some photographs, drawings, and paintings of Indians and the landscape.


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*.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


Simmon’s bibliography casts Indians as one of dangers that female trail travelers faced.


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.


Writing in 1929, Simpich offers a romantic view that presents Indians as a source of trouble for the hardy pioneers and adventurers who opened a vast area for U.S. settlement. “Now millions,” he writes, “ride in speed and safety where pioneers bet their stubborn way against thirst and hunger, daring torture and death in the forays and ambushes of Pawnees, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, Osages, and Arapahoes” (215). Restating a widespread myth, Simpich proclaims that Indians mounted numerous attacks on wagon trains at Pawnee Rock.


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).

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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).


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.


In this brochure that glorifies westward U.S. expansion and the road to Santa Fe, Vestal once again recounts Indians as warlike savages.


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.


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].


National Park Service ranger Wallner’s article briefly references Indians at Bent’s Fort.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Wyman briefly deals with the intersection of Indian traders, Kansas City, Westport, Independence, and the trail.


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.


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


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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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.


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.


Historian Baird briefly recounts the dual impacts of the trail and U.S. policy on Osage life and culture.


Although not about the trail per se, Barry’s brief study provides a trajectory of Kaw population estimates from 1804 to 1843.


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.


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.
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.

Historian Berthrong’s study about the Southern Cheyennes’ and Arapahos’ subjugation under U.S. domination examines the conflict that Euroamerican expansion generated.

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.

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.

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.
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.


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.


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.


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.


The *Arkansas State Gazette*, Little Rock, April 7, 1841, printed a story dealing with conflict between Pawnees and Kaws in Kansas.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Although not about the trail, this study discusses political aspects of Pueblo relations with U.S. officials during the 1800s and 1900s.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

Without mentioning the trail, Ewers summarizes Berlandier’s observations of Comanches in Texas during the late 1820s.

Ferris discusses Sac and Fox land tenure in Kansas. Although not mentioning the trail, she uses quotes from these people to tell the story.
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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


A section entitled “The Coming of the White Man” recounts Cheyenne and Comanche relations with the trail, Bent’s Fort, Kit Carson, and others.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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).


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


The authors discuss Mexico’s Indian policy during the 1820s in New Mexico.


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.

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.


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.


Without referencing the trail, Herring documents the struggles that faced the Chippewas and Munsees in eastern Kansas.


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.


Hilliard’s study discusses land cessions involving Indians who had contact with the trail.


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.

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.


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.


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.


This book contains several references about Cheyenne and Arapaho relations with the trail.


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.


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.


This book discusses Native responses to the Euroamerican migration into Colorado via the Santa Fe Trail and other routes.


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.


Historian John discusses the complex relations of Kiowas and other Plains Indians with New Mexico in the late 1700s and early 1800s.


Focusing mostly on the Texas arena, John probes the cooperative side of Spanish relations with Comanches during the early 1800s.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.


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.


Although this book is limited in scope, it depicts aspects of everyday Kiowa life and society during the nineteenth century.


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.


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).


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.”

This popular history covers some wars and fights resulting from westward U.S. expansion.


Meredith references tribal relationships with the trail. It is a good starting point for anyone looking to conduct research about the subject.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


Although not about the trail per se, the study mentions the trade goods that Kiowas sought in New Mexico from 1800 to 1845.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


The author provides information regarding the survival of a Pecos Pueblo identity in Jemez society.


This article contains ledger drawings by Northern Cheyennes depicting nineteenth-century scenes.


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.


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.


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.


Anthropologist Ritter’s study of Ponca migrations briefly discusses the Kaws’ movement into Kansas before the trail’s establishment.


Although not about the trail, this study provides a glimpse at the laws enacted by the Ottawas in Kansas in 1850.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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


This study examines factors contributing to the Wyandots’ removal to Kansas in 1843 and then to Oklahoma in the 1850s.


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).


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Taylor discusses Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Jicarilla Apache conflicts with Euroamericans in southeastern Colorado, where the trail’s mountain route ran.


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.


Historian Thompson examines health issues that struck Pueblos, Apaches, and Navajos after they fell under the weight of U.S. domination.

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.


Focusing mostly on Osages, the author finds that U.S. agents had nearly absolute control over Indians associated with the Neosho agency in Kansas.


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.


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.


This brief study contains information about Pawnee relations with the U.S. government during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.


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. 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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


This history briefly discusses many hardships that U.S. expansion brought to the Jicarillas. It provides information regarding Jicarilla life during the reservation era.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

Although not about the trail, this study provides information about Chippewas and Delaware-Munsies who were removed to eastern Kansas.


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.


This work briefly describes Delaware life in Kansas.


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.


This book is about Osage history to the 1980s. Without mentioning the trail, the first chapter discusses Osage land cession treaties of the 1800s.


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.


Historian Worcester discusses U.S. military operations against the various Apache groups in New Mexico and Arizona.

This study details the creation and abolishment of the Wyandot and Shawnee reservations in eastern Kansas.


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


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.


Referring to Indians as dangerous and marauding thieves, Anderson notes that they contested the advancement of Euroamericans.


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.


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.
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.


Historian Baird briefly covers the impact of U.S. expansion, including the trail’s effects, on Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches.


This study contains a biographical sketch of Black Beaver, a noted Delaware who worked at Bent’s Fort and served as an Army scout.


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.


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.


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.


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.

This important and useful book is a compilation of her “Kansas Before 1854” series, published from 1961 to 1967.


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.


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.


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.

Benes discusses Spanish policy during the latter part of the eighteenth century pertaining to Comanches, Utes, Pueblos, Navajos, and other Indians.


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).


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.


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.”


Birzer’s historiographical essay notes that Potawatomis in eastern Kansas profited from the trail.


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.

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.


Without mentioning the trail, Bloom recounts a friendly encounter in 1846 between the invading U.S. army and Santo Domingo Pueblo.


The movement of U.S. settlers into the southern plains and its impacts on Indian life is discussed.


This history contains information about Indian-Euroamerican relations along and in the vicinity of the trail.


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.


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.

Although not about the trail, this brief study alludes to the harmful consequences of U.S. expansion on Plains Indians in Kansas and Nebraska.


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.


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.


Callon briefly discusses the tension existing at Las Vegas between New Mexicans and Indians.


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.


Carter examines Kit Carson’s relations with Utes, Navajos, Comanches, and Kiowas during the 1840s in New Mexico.


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.


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.


Chrisman offers a view of the cattle days on the high plains in the American Southwest. Encounters involving Native peoples are briefly discussed.


This study illuminates the racism toward Indians that permeated Kansas during the 1870s.


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.


Connelley probes the movement of Delaware, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Wyandot Indians into the Kansas City area.


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.


Journalism professor Dary discusses the ruthless slaughter of the buffalo by Euroamericans and its effect on Indians.


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.


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.


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.


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).


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.

Dodge’s history of westward U.S. expansion references Delawares who rode with Kit Carson during the 1840s.


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.


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.


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.


The authors discuss conflict in New Mexico during the late 1700s between Spanish colonists and the Comanches, Utes, and Navajos.


Egan notes that Cheyennes were occasionally invited into Bent’s Fort to sing and dance.


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.
Emory mentions that William Becknell traveled from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1821 with a load of Indian trade goods.

Indian relations to the trail, U.S. government, Fort Dodge, and Dodge City are integrated into this story, mostly in terms of violence.

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.

Fergusson’s study alludes to the significance of the trail in the development of New Mexico. Indians are often depicted with negativity.

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.

Folmer’s treatment of France’s trade with New Mexico during the 1700s mentions Pawnees, Comanches, and other Plains Indians.

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.


Foote examines the experiences of selected Euroamerican women, some of whom reached New Mexico via the trail, and their mixed attitudes toward Indians.


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.


Foreman’s study of Indian-Euroamerican relations in the Southwest references the deployment of U.S. troops to the trail in 1829.


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.


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.


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.

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.


In a chapter entitled “The Santa Fe Trail,” this book describes Kiowas and Comanches as being dangerous thieves.


This brief work mentions the trail, Comanches, Taos, and other Indians.


Focusing on the years from 1846 to 1861, Ganaway sketches Pueblo, Navajo, Ute, Apache, and Comanche relations with the incoming Euroamericans.


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.


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.


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.

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This book offers information concerning the trail and its affects on Indians.


Gilbert mentions that in 1850 a party of Cherokee gold seekers traveled en route to California along the trail.


Gilbert’s brief introduction to this history of U.S. western expansion contains information of limited value regarding Indian relations with the trail.


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.


Gómez’s examination of Governor Melgares delves into Spain’s relations with Pawnees, Navajos, Comanches, and Pueblos in the late 1810s and early 1820s.


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.


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.
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.

Griswold’s broad overview suggests that the treaty that ended the Mexican war in 1848 restricted the civil rights of Indians in New Mexico.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.


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.


This study of trails leading south from Dodge City deals with conflicts involving Cheyennes during the 1860s and 1870s.


Hickman’s article contains a November 25, 1854, letter from Amasa Soule indicating that the Euroamerican settlers entering Kansas coveted Delaware and Shawnee lands.


Hickman’s study of the Euroamerican settlement of eastern Kansas refers to the Shawnees and other Indians who lived in the area.


Although the trail is not mentioned, this book provides a good discussion of Protestant missionary attitudes toward Kaws, Osages, and others.


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.


   Historian Hollon takes a look at the U.S. government’s suppression of Plains Indians in Kansas during 1860s and 1870s.


   Hollon’s discussion of Indian relations with Euroamericans and Mexicans includes the trail.


   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.


   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.


   Rarely mentioning the trail, Horgan’s history of the Rio Grande provides information about Indian conflicts with the U.S and Mexico governments.


   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.

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.


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.


This study is about a fight between U.S. settlers and Comanches in 1857 at a location south of the trail in northwestern Texas.


Historian Hurt argues that a drive for European trade goods changed the Osages’ economy from hunting and horticulture to trading and raiding.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


This study notes that Pole immigrants participated in U.S. military operations against Indians near and on the trail.


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.


Keleher presents the Navajo, Apache, and Comanche Indians who resisted U.S. expansion in New Mexico as “wild” and “savage” peoples.


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.


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.

This book is a reprint of A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations.


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.


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.


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.


La Farge references Pueblos, Comanches, Kiowas, Navajos, and Apaches in his study of the transformation of Lea County.


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.


Larson’s study discusses nineteenth-century Indian relations with the U.S. government in the Southwest and on the Great Plains.

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.


This general study about westward U.S. expansion discusses the warfare that ensued with Indian nations.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.”


Linsenmayer examines the Euroamerican drive that pushed Osages from their Kansas reservation.


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.


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.

McClure notes that both Indians and Texans posed a threat to Mexican rule in New Mexico.


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).


Extensively referencing the trail, historian McNitt probes the relations of early U.S. traders with Indians.


The authors’ examination of mountain men and the fur trade provides information about Indians who had contact with the trail.


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.


Mares’s useful study of Indian relations with New Mexico contains a few references to the trail.


Historian Marlin illustrates that Douglas viewed Indians in Kansas and Nebraska as barriers to progress.

This study discusses Pueblo land status during the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. eras.


Mayes discussion of Fort Hayes covers the conflicts that raged in Kansas between the U.S. army and Comanches, Cheyennes, and others.


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.


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.


This article references structures and sites associated with the trail, including the Shawnee Methodist Mission, Kaw Methodist Mission, and Pawnee Rock.


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.

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.


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.


Some of the writings occasionally reference the trail without offering an understanding of the dynamics of Indian relations with travelers.


This history of Kansas discusses Indians within the state and references the trail a few times.


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.


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.


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.


Focusing on Carson’s actions as a U.S. agent, Moody examines U.S. relations with the Jicarilla Apaches and Utes.


In this historical analysis of the American West, the author discusses Indian-Euroamerican relations along and near the trail mostly in terms of conflict.


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.


In this valuable study, historian Montoya draws from primary and secondary sources to examine the legal, political, and cultural battles over an 1.7 million acre tract of land known as the Maxwell Land Grant in northern New Mexico that the trail traversed. Jicarilla Apaches, white Americans, and Hispanics figure prominently in her account. She accurately points out that the other groups simply ignored the Jicarillas’ land use patterns and way of living. The growth of trade in New Mexico, due in large part to the trail’s significance, left the Jicarillas susceptible to conflict and dispossession first at the hands of the Mexicans and then by white Americans.

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.


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.


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).


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Noble’s historical sketches contain a few references to the trail and Indians.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Peck’s study contains a few references to the trail and conflicts that erupted between Indians and non-Indian New Mexican inhabitants.


Arrow Rock’s significance to the trail’s development is discussed, as is the interaction of the Missouria, 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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

Attorney Read’s history of New Mexico blames the warfare that erupted between Indians and Santa Fe traders on the latter’s failure to cultivate friendly relations. He freely interchanges the terms savages and Indians.


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.


Reeve mentions “intractable” Utes and Jicarilla Apaches.


Volume one of this study mentions Indian-Euroamerican relations on the trail and surrounding areas. Reeve presents Indians as troublesome.


This history of New Mexico touches on Indian relations with the trail and New Mexico.


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.


Historian Reséndez mentions how the trail contributed to the flow of new types of liquor into New Mexico for Indians and non-Indians alike.

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.


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.


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.”


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.


Robbins examines the development of the U.S. army presence in eastern Kansas. She touches on the construction of military roads through Indian lands.

This history examines Plains Indian, Navajo, Apache and Pueblo relations with New Mexico and the trail.


Historian Ronda’s study contains Susan Magoffin’s account of her stay at Bent’s Fort in 1846.


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.


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).


Historian Rosen probes the murky citizenship status of Pueblo Indians in the 1800s.


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.


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.

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.


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.


Although Scott offers information relevant to Indians and the trail, his book is of limited usefulness because of sloppy editing and research.


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.


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.

This study alludes to the arrival of squatters on Indian lands near the trail in Kansas during the 1840s and 1850s.


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.


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.


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.


Simmons briefly discusses Indian relations with New Mexico, but not their contact with the trail.


This study probes Apache-U.S. relations in territorial New Mexico.


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.

This study mentions the mixed nature of Indian-Euroamerican relations in nineteenth-century New Mexico.


Simmons discusses Spain’s Indian policy in New Mexico.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


This collection of essays provides a glimpse into the lives and thoughts of individuals inhabiting areas surrounding parts of the trail.


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.


Smith provides information about Potawatomis and other Indians in Kansas during the 1840s and 1850s.


Stanley briefly discusses Indian relations with New Mexico.


This study discusses some tense and violent encounters involving Indians and Euroamericans on and near the trail.


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).


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


Tate examines the relationship between captives and their Comanche captors during the 1700s and 1800s.


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.


Historian Taylor’s examination of Leavenworth provides a few references to a Delaware land cession and the trail.


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.


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.

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.


Torrez discusses the conflict that the San Juan gold discovery brought to the Utes.


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.


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.


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.
This study discusses the warfare that Utes, Apaches, and Navajos waged against New Mexico on the eve of the U.S. invasion in 1846.

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.

Tyler asserts that Mexico’s Indian policy in New Mexico was a failure.

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.

This study discusses controversies surrounding U.S. agents who worked among Cheyennes, Arapahos, and other Indians in Kansas during the late 1860s.

Unrau documents the efforts of Council Grove merchants to obtain the Kaw reservation by advocating the removal of these Indians.

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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Utley illustrates how westward U.S. expansion overwhelmed Indian resistance driving Indigenous nations onto reservations and opening their lands for uncontested Euroamerican settlement.


Van Zandt’s discussion of the Washita Massacre includes Cheyenne testimonials.


This collection of essays examines the myths and realities of Spanish encroachments onto the Great Plains until 1821. In terms of Indian relations, the book addresses such issues as exploration, travel, settlement, conflict, trade, and diplomacy.


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.


Warner deals with the conflict that raged between Indians and EuroAmericans on the central plains during the 1850s and 1860s.
Warner notes that Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Sioux resented the slaughter of the buffalo during the 1860s.

Focusing on Kansas, Watts discusses the different types of firearms used by U.S. soldiers against Indians during the 1850s and 1860s.

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.

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.

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.
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.


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.


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.


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.

Although saying little about the trail, Wellman references the conflict that increased with Indians as the United States spread westward.


Originally published in 1947, this discussion of Indian wars during the 1860s and 1870s contains a few references to the trail.


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.


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.


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).


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


Legal scholar Wilson indicates that U.S. authorities rarely filed charges against non-Indians accused of crimes against Indians. He notes that although the U.S. army had responsibility to protect travelers in Indian country, traveling parties oftentimes had to defend themselves because the military was not always
available. An interesting fact is that the Kansas Supreme Court convened for the first time at the Shawnee Manual Labor School in 1855.

1202. Wright, Robert M. *Dodge City: The Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest*. N.p., 19--?

This book provides a descriptive look at Dodge City, a rowdy frontier town located near the trail, known for its cowboys, traders, merchants and gunfighters. Encounters with Indians, including incidents of warfare, are discussed as well as Euroamerican attitudes toward Indians.


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.


This study refers to Indians as threats to bullwhackers on the Santa Fe and other trails.


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.


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.

Zornow’s study addresses the trail’s significance in Kansas history. It contains information about Indians who had an association with the trail.


   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


   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.


   Agnew examines the link between U.S. policy and the 1858 war against Comanches in Oklahoma and Texas.


   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.


   Historian Ball provides a glimpse at Indian relationships with the U.S. army rule of New Mexico stemming from its invasion.

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.


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.


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.


Beers’s published dissertation references U.S. military operations against Indians, including Comanches and Arapahos, who had a troubled relationship with the trail.


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.


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.


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.
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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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The 1875 battle at Sappa Creek between U.S. cavalrmen 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.


This study probes the U.S. army’s 1857 campaign against Cheyennes in Kansas and events leading up to that affair.


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.


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.”


Corbett’s study of U.S. army road construction in Oklahoma references Pawnees, Comanches, and other Indians. Some of them opposed the roads.


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.


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.

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.


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.


Historian Dinges discusses Captain Armes’s involvement in U.S. military campaigns against Indians near the trail during the 1860s and 1870s.


Dobak examines the Tenth Cavalry’s participation in the Indian wars on Kansas plains during the 1860s and 1870s.


Southwest and Plains Indians often supported the armies of Spain and the United States. Dunlay examines reasons for those alliances.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Covering the placement of U.S. military forts in the various western states, this study mentions the trail and Indians.


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.


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.

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.


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, Cheyenne, 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.


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.


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.


Gibson discusses the imprisonment of Comanche, Cheyenne, and Kiowa warriors at Fort Marion in Florida for their involvement in the Red River War.


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.
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.

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.

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.

Hamilton briefly discusses Henry C. Lindsey’s military engagements with Indians during the 1860s in Kansas.

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.

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).

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.


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.


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.


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.


Hurt notes that Fort Wallace, a post situated on the Smoky Hill Trail, played an important role in the subjugation of Plains Indians.


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.

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.


Jones examines the Spanish use of Pueblos in their campaigns and defensive actions against other Indians.


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.


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.


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.


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.

   Historian McNitt examines U.S. army campaigns in New Mexico against the Navajos in 1847 and 1848.


   Local historian Millbrook examines Custer’s 1867 campaign against the Cheyennes and Sioux.


   Millbrook discusses U.S. army operations against Plains Indians from posts located along the trail and throughout Kansas.


   This study examines the U.S. army’s campaigns in 1867 and 1868 against Cheyennes and Sioux along and near the trail.


   In this conventional history, Miller probes U.S. army campaigns during the 1860s against Apaches, Navajos, Comanches, Kiowas, and other Indians.


   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.


   Monahan examines U.S. military operations against Kiowas in Kansas from 1865 to 1868.

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.


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.


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.


Myers examines the role of Illinois Volunteers in U.S. military operations in 1847 and 1848 against Indians in New Mexico.

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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


Pate presents the U.S. army’s side of the Red River War.


Noted historian Prucha notes that forts on the trail were established to protect travelers.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


This study references Buffalo Soldier fights with Utes, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahos and others.


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.


This study uses primary and secondary sources to examine the complex connection of Fort Riley with the surrounding Indian nations.


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.


The study does an adequate job of discussing the historical literature about the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.


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.


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.

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.


A National Park Service employee at the Fort Union National Monument, Sperry mentions fort’s mission to fight Indians and protect the trail.


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.


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.


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.


These volumes contain detailed descriptions of conflict between Indians and the U.S. Cavalry. The trail is hardly mentioned, however.

Stout discusses U.S. military actions against Comanches, Cheyennes, and Kiowas during the Red River War.


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.


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.


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.


This study provides an overview of Kearny’s contacts with Pawnees, Potawatomis, and others in the mid 1840s.


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).


Taylor details U.S. army operations in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado against Utes and Jicarilla Apaches.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Historian Utley’s brief study essentially presents Indians as threats and menaces.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


This study covers important U.S. army operations associated with the Jefferson Barracks involving travel onto the plains and over the trail.


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.


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.


Welty’s study of freighting mentions the methods employed by teamsters to protect their cargo from Indians.

West provides an account of the battle at Adobe Walls.


West examines the final campaign waged by the U.S. army during the 1870s against between the Cheyennes.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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).


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.


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.


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.


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

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.


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.


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.


This study was previously published in the New Mexico Historical Review 77 (Spring 2002): 115-43.


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.

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.


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.


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.


This study notes Aubry’s encounters with Indians on the Santa Fe Trail.


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.


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.

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 Stors of Missouri, with responses to twenty-two questions concerning the nature of trade with Santa Fe, was widely circulated in the press.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


Clokey occasionally references the Santa Fe trade, but his study of William Ashley provides scant information relative to Indians and the trail.


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.


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).


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.


Criqui’s study of Roman Nose mentions the 1868 Beecher Island fight in eastern Colorado.

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.


   Delgado’s study of his ancestor, Manuel Delgado, references Spanish relations with Indians in the area where the future trail would run.


   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.


   This fictitious account, presented as a factual autobiography, contains a string of concocted stories about the trail, Kit Carson, and Indians.


   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.


   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.

Discussing this noted frontiersman’s interactions with Indians along the trail and elsewhere, Estergreen contextualizes Carson as a hero.


Evans’s examination of Long John Dunn’s life provides a brief overview of Indian-Euroamerican relations in New Mexico after 1846.


This story of Quanah Parker and his family focuses on Comanche life during the 1800s.


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.


Foreman’s narrative mentions Boone’s military service in the central and southern plains and contacts with Indians.


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.


Santa Fe Trail Association member Godin’s research provides a biographical sketch of Standing Out Woman, a Cheyenne who lived through the tumultuous 1860s.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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).


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Karnes’s biography of Gilpin references the volatility of Indian-Euroamerican relations along the trail during the mid and late 1840s. It discusses the 1847 massacre of Pawnees by U.S. volunteers at Fort Mann and Gilpin’s campaigns against Comanches, Pawnees, Kiowas, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. Gilpin commanded the Missouri Volunteers, often called the “Indian Battalion,” in 1847 and 1848.


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.

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.


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.


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 Amanguel 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.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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).


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


This brief study challenges scholarly assertions that Carson was a genocidal racist killer. It references Carson’s interactions with Utes, Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Navajos.


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.

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).


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.


This biography briefly mentions the killing of Ed Miller on July 20, 1864, without referring to Indians.


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.


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.


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.

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.


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 the 1860s. In their depiction of the Pueblos and Navajos, the authors reveal their racial biases.


This discussion of ethnologist Herman Ten Kate includes his views about reservation life for the Comanches, Cheyennes, Delawares, and others in Oklahoma.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

This biography briefly references Kaws at Council Grove during the 1850s and 1860s.


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.


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.


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.


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).

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.


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.


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


This useful bibliography discusses sources about Pawnee history, culture, treaties, land cessions, and relations with Euroamericans.


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.’”

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.


    Containing 706 entries, this bibliography lists books written by individuals who reached California via the road from Missouri to New Mexico.


    This multivolume resource covers the period from 1804 to 1912. It offers information about where to find primary sources related to the trail.


    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.


    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.


    Powell lists numerous sources with information about Cheyenne history and culture, including their relations with the trail, other Indians, and non-Indians.

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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


This bibliography contains numerous references to articles about Indians who had contact with the trail.

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.