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St. Louis in the Santa Fe Trade

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By
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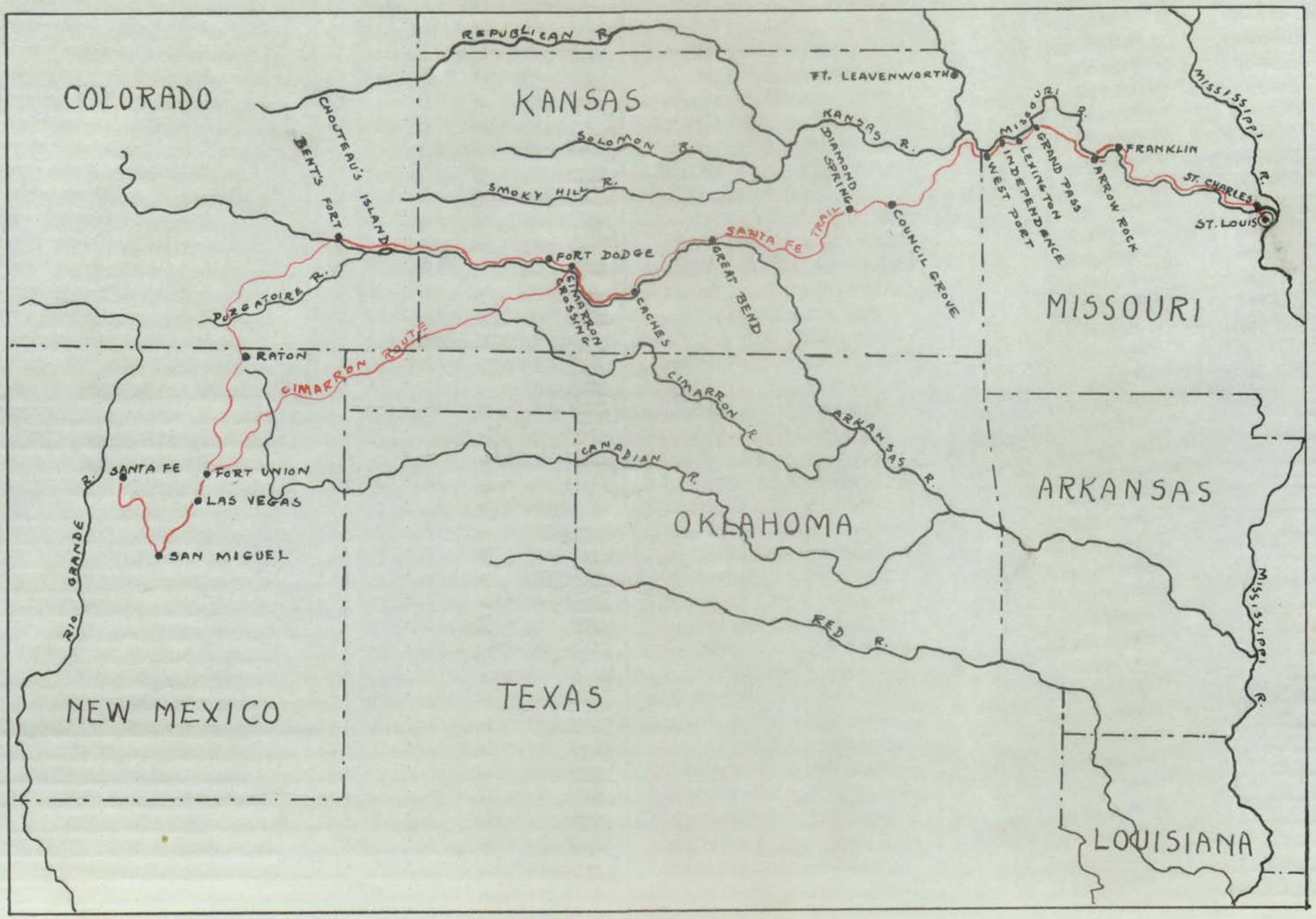
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CIMARRON R.
ARKANSAS R.
CANADIAN R.
RED R.
RIO GRANDE R.
SANTA FE
FORT UNION
LAS VEGAS
SAN MIGUEL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Many works have been written concerning the Santa Fe trade and the various traders who had a part in carrying it on; but to the writer's knowledge no one has written an account of the part which St. Louis had in this great commerce. Writers generally state that Santa Fe was the western end of the trail and Franklin or Independence was the eastern end. St. Louis was situated off the highway, as it were; and, although she might have participated in the trade, being off the highway, it is usually judged that her part in it was slight. The writer's opinion is that St. Louis' part in the Santa Fe trade was greater than has been generally believed.

Until 1848, goods imported to the United States from Santa Fe were articles of foreign commerce; but with the acquisition of the territory at the close of the war between Mexico and the United States, they became domestic imports. In this paper, the Santa Fe trade refers to intercourse between St. Louis and Santa Fe during the first half of the nineteenth century, when it was truly foreign exchange.

The study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter traces the growth of St. Louis from a tiny village in 1764 to a thriving city in 1847. The cause for this growth was due to the continuous increase in her trade which

she owed largely to geographical position. The source material used is found in histories of St. Louis and Missouri and in The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review, edited in the nineteenth century by Freeman Hunt of New York.

The second chapter deals with residents of St. Louis who took part in the Santa Fe trade. It shows that St. Louisans had a part in opening up the trade, known as the Santa Fe Trail; and also that St. Louisans were engaged in the trade after it became legal in 1821. Many of the facts for this chapter were found in the Missouri Republican and The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, two St. Louis newspapers published in the nineteenth century.

The third chapter tells about the goods which were carried in the commerce with Santa Fe. It shows that most of the goods were bought in the East, but they were always shipped to St. Louis and then re-shipped to points on the Missouri river. It also shows that the goods were commonly paid for with drafts or bills of exchange on St. Louis firms. These facts were found by examining Missouri newspapers, such as Missouri Statesman and The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille; the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection of Manuscripts; and the Day Books and Letter Books of the Aull Brothers who had stores located in Lexington, Liberty, Franklin, and Independence.

By studying the facts obtained from these and other

sources, an attempt will be made to show that the part which St. Louis had in the trade with Santa Fe during the first half of the nineteenth century was large in relation to the whole amount of the commerce with that city, which was carried on by the citizens of the United States.

CHAPTER I

ST. LOUIS

Walter B. Stevens states, "A man and two treaties made St. Louis."[1] The man was Pierre Laclede Liguest, a native of a village in southern France near the Pyrenees. He was of good family and well educated. In 1755 he went to Louisiana and founded a commercial establishment in New Orleans. In 1762 the firm of Maxent, Laclede and Company received from the Governor-General of Louisiana the privilege of "exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri and with all the nations residing west of the Mississippi for the term of eight years."[2] Maxent became the financial manager, while Laclede took charge of the work of organizing the expedition which went up the Mississippi river. At Ste. Genevieve Laclede learned that the French possessions east of the Mississippi had been ceded to England. This was the second treaty. Laclede did not know of the first treaty by which Louisiana had been given to Spain.[3]

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[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909 (St. Louis, Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1909), p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] Op. cit.

Laclede went on to Fort Chartres. Here he found the settlers unwilling to submit to English rule. He left Fort Chartres, crossed to the west bank of the Mississippi and explored the land as far north as the mouth of the Missouri. He came back and decided on the site of St. Louis for the founding of a new town for the discontented French settlers. He marked the trees and returned to Fort Chartres determined to found not a trading post, as the company had planned, but a settlement.

He made a plan of the village, laying out streets and blocks. In February, 1764, he sent Auguste Chouteau and a group of picked men to the site to begin clearing and marking off the village. He invited settlers and assigned them lots confirming their holdings with written titles. He and the settlers arrived in April.

St. Ange, the commanding officer, with a small company of men, remained at Fort Chartres. In October, 1765, the British took formal possession of the Illinois country. St. Ange came to St. Louis and was made the acting Governor of the settlement.

As W. B. Stevens says, "This is not the history of a trading post. The plotting of a town-site, the assigning of lots to settlers on condition of improvement, the giving of written titles - these were departures from what had been

the usual methods."[1]

The Indians, who also hated the English, transferred to St. Louis a large part of the fur trade which they had formerly carried on with the Illinois settlements. J. Thomas Scharf says that for this reason, "the village became in the first year of its life one of the most important places in Upper Louisiana."[2]

On May 20, 1770, Don Pedro Piernas, the first Spanish governor, began the duties of his office. From then until March 9, 1804, when Charles Dehault Delassus, the last Spanish governor, transferred Upper Louisiana to the United States, the settlement at St. Louis had a rather tranquil existence with slow but sure growth. Spanish government was mild. In fact the people of St. Louis, in a large measure, governed themselves. The governors made few changes and French customs prevailed.

In 1764 when Laclede established his little settle-

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[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 55. St. Louis was of its own class. It began without the usual military garrison and Indian contingent. It had no land-holding aristocracy and tenantry. It was no haphazard assembling of squatters about a central point. It started with a site mapped. To every family which came to settle was given a lot and the title was confirmed in writing. Ibid., p. 55.

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, History of Saint Louis City and County (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts and Co., 1883), p. 70.

ment the population was 120. Twenty years later it had increased to 897;[1] while fifteen years later, according to the census taken in 1799 by Governor Delassus, it had increased to only 925.[2] It would seem then that the settlement was standing still, that it was not really growing. However, W. B. Stevens says,

> But the settlement had grown, it had rooted deeply and broadly. The view that St. Louis had waxed slowly between 1764 and 1804 was superficial. It failed to note and measure a development which meant more than the census. Every year saw the radius of the St. Louis sphere of influence lengthen. Up the Missouri crept a line of outposts tributary to St. Louis, each far more important to the settlement than hundreds added to the populations. The traders established and cultivated lower Missouri intimately. St. Louis was to become the gateway of the stream of migration, the starting point for the expeditions. The four decades from Laclede to Stoddard were so many years of efficient, important preparation for what was to follow.[3]

Indeed, it would seem that the St. Louisans as early as 1804 were looking toward the southwest, for W. B. Stevens quotes a communication, marked private, which Governor Delassus wrote in August, 1804, to Senor Marquis de Casa Calvo

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[1] Dean Lange, "The History of St. Louis." Public School Messenger. (Published by the Department of Instruction, St. Louis Public Schools, Nov. 20, 1930).

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, History of Saint Louis City and County, p. 212.

[3] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 411.

at New Orleans. In this communication the governor says that the people of St. Louis are collecting goods which he believes they intend to take to the frontier of Mexico; and he predicts that if something is not done to stop it, "the traders will come to St. Louis with the silver of the Mexican mines in great quantities."[1]

Why was St. Louis to become "the gateway of the stream of migration, the starting point for the expeditions"? To answer this question we need only look at her geographic situation. St. Louis is located on the Mississippi river just south of the mouth of the Missouri river. Floyd C. Shoemaker says of the importance of the Missouri river:

> By following the Missouri river and its tributaries, whether by water or land, the Missouri explorer, trader, or trapper came within a few miles of other rivers. If he followed the Missouri river up-stream, he approached close to the Columbia. If he followed the Yellowstone, he could easily reach the Snake. If he followed the Platte, he soon found the Green and the Grand, which form the Colorado, and the Arkansas. The Arkansas was close to the Rio Grande. In short, the Missouri river was the path to the West, and Missouri became the Gateway to the West.[2]

St. Louis was really the gateway, for she became the

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[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 408.

[2] Floyd C. Shoemaker, A History of Missouri and Missourians (Columbia, Mo.: The Walter Ridgway Publishing Co., 1922), p. 12.

mother city to the other important settlements in Missouri, including Kansas City and St. Joseph.[1]

St. Louis was founded in the pursuit of the fur trade, therefore the majority of the early inhabitants were hunters and boatmen.[2] It is said that in 1764 this trade was worth $75,000 a year.[3] St. Louis, from the time of settlement, was a center of distributive commerce. In 1805, a year after the American occupancy, Antoine Soulard, surveyor of Upper Louisiana, gave the first review of trade and commerce of St. Louis. His report showed that the year's trade amounted to $77,971; the items of trade being skins, hides, tallow and fat, and bear's grease.[4] In 1811, the annual imports at St. Louis were valued at $250,000; while in 1820 their value had increased to more than $2,000,000.[5]

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[1] J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 411. "A branch of the Chouteaus started Kansas City with 'Chouteau's Landing'. Robidoux, another St. Louisan, established a post which became St. Joseph. One of the Menards founded Galveston. A full score of western cities owed their beginning to St. Louisans."

[2] Ibid., p. 287.

[3] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 163.

[4] Ibid., p. 651.

[5] J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 1124.

The Zebulon M. Pike, arriving in the city's harbor in 1817, was the first steamboat to reach St. Louis.[1] W. B. Stevens says,

> When the first steamboat arrived at St. Louis the commerce of the Mississippi was carried on with twenty barges of 100 tons and 160 keel and flat boats of thirty tons. In 1834 there were 230 steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 285 in 1840; two years later, 450; the next year 672, in 1846, the number of steamboats was 1190. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis in 1839 were 1,474. The number increased to 1,721 the year following; to 2,105 in 1844.[2]

In 1845, the harbor master reported that the city's trade was carried on by 213 steamboats with an aggregate tonnage of 42,922 tons.[3] By 1848, the number of steamboats had increased to 3,468 while the aggregate tonnage was 688,213 tons.[4]

J. Thomas Scharf gives a description of St. Louis in 1837. In regard to transportation, he says,

> Transportation was chiefly confined to steamboats, but occasionally a long line of wagons, commonly called "prairie schooners", could be seen on Main and the

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[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 343.

[2] Ibid., p. 347.

[3] J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 1126.

[4] Ibid., p. 1127.

Levee, loading up for the great interior several hundred miles distant.[1]

Probably some of these wagons had come from the east side of the Mississippi. How did they get across the river? In the early days, there had been a ferry between the Missouri and the Illinois shores, starting from a point below St. Louis; but in 1797 Captain James S. Piggott obtained permission from the Spanish governor, Trudeau, to establish and operate a ferry between Cahokia and St. Louis. This ferry was the only one until 1805, when John Campbell, who had been operating the Piggott ferry, got a license to run a ferry in his own name. After that, several people began to engage in the ferry business until, by 1817, the city required two ferry landings.[2] The next year. Samuel Wiggins came to St. Louis. He bought several of the ferries and consolidated the ferry business. He improved the service and added a steam ferry. W. B. Stevens says of his ferry,

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[1] J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 199.

[2] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 337-338. Two kinds of boats were used. The slow moving flat bottomed craft without covering was employed to convey horses and wagons. A keel boat with four oars made quicker passages for people afoot. Ferry transportation in St. Louis became progressive when John Day fixed up a boat with a stern wheel which was turned by a horse in a treadmill. As the patient animal climbed, the paddle wheel went

"The Wiggins Ferry" became an institution of the city. It met public needs. If the ferry had not been so well conducted, St. Louis would not have waited until 1874 for the first bridge.[1]

The great increase of the city's trade was reflected in the growth in population. From less than 1,000 in 1804 the population increased to 4,123 in 1820; in 1830 it was 6,694, and in 1840 it had increased to 16,469, a decennial increase of 146 per cent.[2] Jesse Chickering, in an article in "Hunt's Magazine" for May, 1844, gave as the chief causes for this great increase in population, the influences of manufactures and commerce.[3] The population of St. Louis

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round and the ferry churned its way across the Mississippi. In those days, when rivalry did not lead to cut rates, the tolls for ferriage were twenty-five cents for a human being; fifty cents a head for cattle and horses; fifty cents for a wagon or other vehicle; twelve and one-half cents a hundred for lumber or other heavy freight. Ibid., p. 338.

[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 338. The first bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis was completed and opened to public travel on the 23rd of May, 1874. It is called Eads Bridge, in honor of Captain James B. Eads, who was the chief engineer during the seven years required in its building. J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, pp. 1075-1079.

[2] George Tucker, "Progress of Population and Wealth in the United States, in Fifty Years," The Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review (New York; Freeman Hunt, editor and proprietor. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo., June 1843), p. 506.

[3] Jesse Chickering, "Increase of the Thirty-Six Principal Cities and Towns in the United States." The Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, May, 1844.

continued to grow. In 1848 it had reached 45,000. J. W. Scott, writing for "Hunt's Magazine," makes this statement, "In the aggregate our interior cities, depending for their growth on internal trade and home manufacture, increase three times as fast as the exterior cities, which carry on nearly all the foreign commerce of the country, and monopolize the home commerce of the Atlantic coast."[1]

But in the early days of St. Louis, her commerce was distributive and not productive. Indeed, she did not produce enough grain to supply her own bread, so that she was derisively called "Pain Court" by the neighboring settlements.[2] However, by 1820, the cultivation of hemp (and of tobacco) had been started; red and white lead was being manufactured; flour mills had been started; and there were two copper and tin shops.[3] In June, 1843 "Hunt's Magazine" published an article giving statistics about Missouri's resources. According to these statistics, the two manufactures of bale rope and bagging in the state were in St. Louis; the tobacco and hemp crop for 1841 was about 9,000

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[1] J. W. Scott, Esq., "Commercial Cities and Towns of the United States," The Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, October, 1848, p. 385.

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 287.

[3] J. Thomas Scharf, Op. cit.

hgds., of which 8,5000 passed St. Louis; of the 249,302 bushels of coal produced, 233,000 bushels were produced in St. Louis.[1] This same report states that many items were omitted, such as furniture in which large capital is employed in St. Louis. Naturally an increase in products would mean an increase in trade at St. Louis. The article states that in 1841, the imports and exports at St. Louis exceeded $30,000,000.[2] In one week more than 9,000 barrels of flour were shipped south.[3] St. Louis no longer depended upon her neighbors for bread; she was now exporting it rather than importing it.

Did this great increase in manufacturing and commerce affect the fur trade and were any of these goods exported to or imported from Santa Fe? Certainly it would affect the fur trade, for St. Louis served as a place where traders not only brought their furs, skins, etc., but also a place where they could obtain supplies. According to the article mentioned above, of the $373,121 worth of skins and furs obtained in Missouri, $306,300 worth were obtained by the fur

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[1] C. C. Whittelsey, "Missouri and Its Resources," Hunt's Magazine, June, 1843, pp. 537-538.

[2] Ibid., p. 543.

[3] Ibid., p. 544.

traders of St. Louis.[1] In "Hunt's Magazine" for August, 1843, in an article dealing with the commerce of St. Louis, is found this statement:

> Besides, an extensive trade is carried on between that city (St. Louis) and Santa Fe, and the state of New Mexico, annually amounting in value to the sum of four hundred thousand dollars. These goods are often purchased here and transported by boats to Independence, upon the Missouri, and thence are carried in wagons across the country. This trade employs from one hundred to one hundred and fifty wagons.[2]

Josiah Gregg, in his "Commerce of the Prairies," gives year-by-year statistics about the Santa Fe trade from 1822 until 1843. He says that in 1843 the amount of merchandise carried was $450,000 and there were 230 wagons and 350 men.[3] If the figures of these two men are true, then in 1843 St. Louis carried eight-ninths of the Santa Fe trade.

In 1847 it was being written of St. Louis that she was "the empress city of the West."[4] She had grown from a tiny village of fur traders to a great city through which

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[1] C. C. Whittelsey, "Missouri and Its Resources," Hunt's Magazine, June 1843, p. 538.

[2] James H. Lanman, "Commerce of the Mississippi," Ibid., August, 1843, p. 159.

[3] Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," Ibid., December, 1844, p. 510.

[4] "St. Louis, The Fur Traders' Post," Ibid., February, 1847, p. 218.

trade valued at more than $30,000,000 flowed. Of this business, the trade with Santa Fe was but a small part; but the part of St. Louis in the Santa Fe trade was indeed large.

CHAPTER II

ST. LOUISANS ENGAGED IN THE SANTA FE TRADE

William Becknell is usually considered the "father of the Santa Fe trade." It would seem, then, that the history of the Santa Fe trade should begin with Becknell's expedition of 1821. In this year Mexico won her independence from Spain, and the Spanish restrictions on commercial activity with foreign countries were removed. Legal commerce, therefore, began then between New Mexico and the United States; and this intercourse was carried on over the trace, known as the Santa Fe Trail. The Trail, however, was in existence long before this legalized commercial intercourse began. Its origin probably began with the Spanish explorers of the sixteenth century. Coronado made a round trip between the vicinity of Santa Fe and eastern Kansas. With him was a Franciscan missionary, Fray Juan de Padilla, who in 1542, returned to the Quivira country where he died a martyr.[1] In the seventeenth century, this region was traversed by missionaries, prospectors, and Indian traders. Therefore, by the opening of the eighteenth century, it was no longer a mystery to the Spaniards.

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[1] L. B. Bloom and Thos. C. Donnelly, New Mexico History and Civics (Albuquerque, N. M.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1933), p. 33.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Governor Concha of Santa Fe sent the Frenchman, Pedro Vial, on an expedition to St. Louis. Vial was instructed to keep a diary, and the record he kept is the first "Santa Fe Trail" diary. A. B. Hulbert in his book, "Southwest on the Turquoise Trail," prints a translation of Vial's diary and also a translation of Governor Concha's letter to Zenon Trudeau, Commandant at St. Louis. According to this letter, the purpose of this expedition was to open direct communication between Santa Fe and St. Louis.[1] In his diary Vial states that on May 21, 1792, he left Santa Fe and went to the village of Pecos; from there he went east to the Pecos river and then northeast to the Colorado; from here he traveled in an east-north-east direction which led him across the Cimarron, the Arkansas and finally to the Kansas river, down which he went to the Missouri and thence to St. Louis.[2] Hulbert says,

> With the passing of "Louisiana" into American possession by the famous Purchase the reason for the connection established by Vial a decade before ceased to exist. But the furs in those "Mexican mountains" remained - as well as any liking on the Mississippi for the Spanish milled dollars or "pieces of eight" which

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[1] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail (2 v. Colorado Springs: The Stewart Commission of Colorado College. Denver: The Denver Public Library, 1933), p. 45.

[2] Ibid., pp. 48-54.

may have come into existence where real money far surpassed in interest any pioneer paper money.[1]

And so, by the eighteenth century, the French also knew something of the Trail. However, F. W. Hodge in an article entitled "French Intrusions Toward New Mexico in 1695," gives a translation of an original manuscript of that year, which is a record, made by Governor D. Diego de Vargas, of a statement by some Apache Indians that certain white men were coming into the Quivira country. Governor de Vargas suspected that these white men were Frenchmen.[2] Therefore, it is probable that the French had come into the land of the Quiviras as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century they made very definite attempts to reach New Mexico. In 1718-19 La Harpe ascended the Red river and crossed over to the Canadian; while De Tisne reached the Jumano villages on the Arkansas; and in 1723 Bourgmont erected a post among the Missouri tribe to protect the fur traders there and to serve as a base for commerce with New Mexico.[3] In 1739 the Mallet

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[1] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, pp. 54-55.

[2] F. W. Hodge, "French Intrusions Toward New Mexico in 1695," New Mexico Historical Review, v. IV, 1929, No. 1, pp. 72-76.

[3] Herbert E. Bolton, "French Intrusions Into New Mexico, 1749-1752," The Pacific Ocean In History (H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, editors, New York: The Mac millan Co., 1917), pp. 389-390.

brothers with six companions went up the Missouri river to the Arikara villages; turned south to the Platte river, which they ascended and made their way through the Comanche country to Taos and to Santa Fe. After remaining several months, they returned, three of the party going by way of the Pawnee villages and the rest going down the Arkansas and the Mississippi to New Orleans.[1]

Later, other Frenchmen, hearing of the success of the Mallet brothers, decided to make expeditions. In 1749 Lieutenant Bernardo de Bustamante attended the Taos fair. On his return to Santa Fe, he brought with him three Frenchmen whom the Comanche had conducted to the fair. They were Louis Febre, Pedro Satren and Joseph Miguel Riballo. In the governor's report to the viceroy he said that the men were working, two of them as carpenters, and Febre as tailor, barber and bloodletter. They were permitted to remain in Santa Fe.[2] Louis Feuilli and Jean Chaupis were not so lucky. In 1752 they were given a French license to explore a route to New Mexico and open up trade. Their goods were

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[1] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (3 v. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902), v. 2, p. 389.

[2] Herbert E. Bolton, "French Intrusions Into New Mexico, 1749-1752," The Pacific Ocean In History, pp. 394-395.

confiscated in Santa Fe and they were sent first to Chihuahua and then to Mexico City where the officials finally decided to send them to Spain.[1]

In the early part of the nineteenth century, certain American forerunners of the trade appeared. It is possible that the American interest began with the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase. Three barriers stood in the way of intercourse between them and Santa Fe: the hostile Indians of the plains country; the plains country itself which was arid and difficult to cross; and the trade restrictions of the Spanish government. Having acquired the territory, the United States set about to explore it with the purpose of finding out about the land and of making friends with the Indians there. This work naturally brought them in contact with the Spanish of the Northern Provinces, and the desire to trade with them caused the Americans to try to break the third barrier. Certain trappers and fur-traders had gone into Spanish territory. In 1804 Baptiste La Lande was sent by William Morrison, a merchant of Kaskaskia, with a stock of goods to New Mexico. La Lande sold the goods and then used the money to establish himself in Santa Fe.[2] The next

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[1] Herbert E. Bolton, "French Intrusions Into New Mexico, 1749-1752," The Pacific Ocean In History, pp. 401-402.

[2] Hubert Howe Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888 (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888), p. 291.

year, James Purcell, a native of Kentucky, left St. Louis on a trading expedition. His horses were stolen by the Indians and the contents of his canoe were spilled in the river. Later he traded with the Comanches and was sent by them to Santa Fe to obtain permission for them to come in and trade. He remained in Santa Fe for many years pursuing his trade as a carpenter.[1]

The first authorized expedition for the purpose of exploring the country was that of Zebulon Pike. In 1806 Pike was sent out by the United States government. He kept a diary of his expedition which was edited in 1895 by Elliott Coues[2] and in 1932 by Archer Butler Hulbert.[3] General Wilkinson's instructions to Pike were to explore the head waters of the Arkansas and the Red rivers, and then to descend the latter to Natchitoches.[4] Pike, however, ascend-

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[1] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, pp. 492-493.

[2] Elliott Coues, The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895).

[3] A. B. Hulbert, "Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal," Overland to the Pacific, v. I. (Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert, editors, The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1932).
A. B. Hulbert, "Pike's Tour of New Spain." Southwest on the Turquoise Trail. Chapter VII.

[4] A. B. Hulbert, "Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal," Overland to the Pacific, v. I. pp. 2-4.

ed the Arkansas to its source and then turned southward into the valley of the Rio Grande. He was now in Spanish territory and was taken by the Spaniards to the governor at Santa Fe. Governor Alencaster sent him under military escort through Texas to Chihuahua. Pike claimed that he did not know that he was in Spanish territory, and that in looking for the Red river he got into the Rio Grande valley. Coues believed that Pike really did know that he was on the Rio Grande and not on the Red river; that he purposely made the mistake, so that he would be taken to Santa Fe.[1] Hulbert does not agree with Coues and forcefully denies that Pike knew he was on the Red river and not the Rio Grande.[2] Be

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[1] Coues prints a letter written by Pike from the Village De Charette, to Wilkinson. In the letter Pike says, ...should I encounter a party from the village near Santa Fe, I have thought it would be good policy to join our troops near Nachitoches, but had been uncertain about the headwaters of the rivers over which we passed; but that now, if the commandant approved of it, we would pay him a visit of politeness, either by deputation, or the whole party, but if he refused signify our intention of pursuing our direct route to the post below; but if not I flatter myself secure us an unmolested retreat to Nachitoches.

Coues thinks that this letter is a "dead give away" since Pike at the outset of his expedition is talking of going to New Mexico and of deceiving the Spaniards whom he expects to meet. Elliott Coues, The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, p. 568 ff.

[2] In an annotation discussing whether or not Pike knew that he was on the Rio Grande, Hulbert says, ...In the present situation such editors have deemed that he knew he was not on Red River; and, if he beguiled himself into

that as it may, Pike did get to Santa Fe, and the interesting part for history is that he kept a journal, which "gave to the American people their first glimpse (from the pen of a fellow countryman) of the long, curling Turquoise Trail down the Rio Grande into Old Mexico."[1]

However, the early attempts made to trade in Santa Fe were not successful. In 1812 three men, Robert McKnight, James Baird, and Samuel Chambers, believing that Hidalgo's revolution had removed the old restrictions on trade, led a party of men to Santa Fe. Their goods were confiscated and they were sent to Chihuahua where they were kept in prison for nine years.[2]

Between 1815 and 1817, Auguste P. Chouteau and Julius

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thinking he was, he knew that, in crossing it, he placed himself on foreign soil. As though a party as desperately circumstanced as was Pike's, living in mid-winter from hand to mouth, with comrades on the trail behind them with frozen feet, would be expected to stand on ceremony before moving to the nearest wood in sight to build fires! Do such editors think he should have stood on a timberless shore and slapped his arms against his body to keep warm?

A. B. Hulbert, "Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal." Overland to the Pacific, v. I. p. 167.

[1] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, p. 201. Hulbert does not state why he calls this trail the "Turquoise Trail," but it is probably because it led to the region of the turquoise mines.

[2] Hubert Howe Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, pp. 297-298.

DeMunn of St. Louis had some very unpleasant experiences with the Spanish authorities. They had formed a partnership for the purpose of trading on the upper Arkansas. In 1815 DeMunn went to Santa Fe to ask permission of the governor to trap on the headwaters of the Rio Grande. The governor did not have the authority to grant the permission, but he promised to recommend it to his government. In 1816 DeMunn again started to Santa Fe; but before reaching the city he was informed that there had been a change of governors. He was not allowed to enter Santa Fe and was ordered to withdraw from the Spanish dominions. However, he made another trip to Taos, and this time he was escorted back to the Arkansas river by a troop of armed men. In May, 1817, some Spanish troops came upon them at the headwaters of the Arkansas and Platte rivers. They were escorted to Santa Fe and their furs and property were confiscated. After being kept in prison a few days, they were released and ordered to leave the Spanish dominions.[1]

At this time, the Spaniards had cause to fear that the Americans might be interested in the cause of Mexican independence in order that the third barrier to trade with

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[1] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 497 ff.

New Mexico might be broken. In 1929 Alfred B. Thomas published a paper entitled, "An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818."[1] It is a translation of a manuscript found in the archives of Mexico. The manuscript is written in French and is not signed. It is probably the notes of some unknown traveler whom the Spaniards captured. Thomas believes that the writer of these Notes was a military observer, possibly one of Napoleon's agents.[2] The title, "Notes Concerning the Provinces of New Mexico Collected on My Mission To The West," would seem to show that he had been sent on a specific mission. The unknown traveler made the following comments about trade:

> The iron which is used in the country comes from Chihuahua but I have not been able to learn where that town acquires it. It comes at a price so exorbitant that if the commerce were open, it could be procured from St. Louis on the Mississippi more cheaply.[3]
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> The communication of St. Louis with New Mexico would be very easy as far as the Huerfano. The country offers nothing, as I have said, but immense high prairies or perfectly joined plains, where no difficulty would be encountered in making a way for carriages or artillery, except at the passages of the rivers, which, being almost always crossed towards their sources, would not present, by leaving St. Louis at a good season, that is

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[1] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, v. 33, July, 1929, pp. 50-75.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

[3] Ibid., p. 59.

to say, about the end of April, any other difficulties than that of cutting down the banks and making a road to descend into their beds.[1]

I consider New Mexico, in its present position, as one of the most vulnerable points of the Provincias Internas, and because of the facility of communication by land with the United States, because of the ease of fortifying and maintaining it, as one of the most advantageous for the Insurgents, if they succeed in taking possession of it.[2]

Thomas says, "The time during which the author of the Notes was in New Mexico appears to have been either in the spring of 1817 or between July, 1817, and June, 1818." It was in the spring of 1817 that Chouteau and DeMunn were escorted to Santa Fe by Spanish troops. If the Spanish officials had encountered other travelers, it is not surprising that they were suspicious of the traders.

In 1821, William Becknell was trading in the region of the Canadian and Red rivers. He was met by a troop of Mexicans who urged him to go to Santa Fe. He and his party were kindly received and they found trading there very profitable. Becknell returned to Missouri with the good news that the people in Santa Fe were willing to trade with Americans and that the latter did not need to fear imprisonment

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[1] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

now. Mexico had won her independence from Spain and the old trade restrictions were no longer in force. On this expedition Becknell kept a journal, which was later published in the "Missouri Intelligencer."[1] A. B. Hulbert has published this journal in his book, "Southwest on the Turquoise Trail."[2] In this journal, Becknell said, "An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to make them passable; and a road might be laid out as not to run more than thirty miles over the mountains."[3]

Becknell was to prove that an excellent road could be made. The next year he headed an expedition of twenty-one men. They had with them three wagons which they were able to get to Santa Fe. However, they did not go over Raton Pass as they had done the year before, but they left the Arkansas river at "The Caches", about five miles west of Dodge City: turning south across the desert toward the Cimarron; crossed from the Cimarron to the Canadian and went on through San Miguel and Pecos and entered Santa Fe from the south. From now on, caravans began to move across the

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[1] Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, 1823. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[2] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, pp. 56-68.

[3] Ibid., p. 68.

plains following this route taken by Becknell. And so, while Becknell did not find the Santa Fe Trail, he did open it for trade; and therefore, he deserves the title of "Father of the Santa Fe Trail."

While Becknell was in Santa Fe in 1821, there were other traders and trappers in New Mexico. Thomas James and Hugh Glenn had also come into Santa Fe. In this year also, John McKnight, brother of Robert McKnight, of the McKnight, Baird and Chambers expedition of 1812, went to Mexico in search of his brother. He was successful in his search and the two brothers and James Baird returned to Santa Fe and Taos. In the latter place, they met Hugh Glenn, joined his party and returned with him to St. Louis.[1]

On September 3, 1822, the "Missouri Intelligencer" announced that about fifty persons, principally from St. Louis, were on their way to Santa Fe. This same issue also stated that Mr. Immell, of the Missouri Fur Company, had reported that Colonel Cooper's company which was returning from Santa Fe, had been robbed and left in a starving condition.[2] An article in a later issue, announced the arrival from Santa Fe, of the greater part of the company under the

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[1] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, pp. 500-501.

[2] Missouri Intelligencer, September 3, 1822. University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Mo.

superintendence of Colonel Cooper. The paper stated that they had sustained some losses, but had received no serious injuries from the Indians.[1]

Reports of expeditions of Becknell, Cooper, and others interested Thomas Hart Benton, senator from Missouri. He decided to get information about the trade and the trail, for the benefit of a Senate Committee. Augustus Storrs, who had conducted an expedition to Santa Fe in the summer of 1824, answered a questionnaire for this committee.[2] In answer to the question, "What protection, or facilities, can the United States grant, to promote the successful prosecution of this commerce in time to come?", Storrs said,

> A road traced out from some point near Fort Osage, to the Arkansas would be beneficial. It should be marked with mounds of earth, at proper distances, so as to be pursued without difficulty.[3]

Richard Graham, Indian agent to the Osage and Delaware tribes, was also questioned by the committee. He said, "The assent of the different Indian tribes, through whose country our traders pass, would I think, facilitate the

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[1] Missouri Intelligencer, October 8, 1822. University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Mo.

[2] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, pp 77-98.

[3] Senate Committee Report, 18 Cong. 2 Sess.; Register of Debates in Congress, Second Session of the Eighteenth Congress. v. I. p. 341.

trade."[1] On January 11th, 1825, Senator Benton introduced a bill in Congress authorizing the president of the United States to cause a road to be marked between western Missouri and New Mexico.[2] Congress passed the bill. The law was put into effect by the appointment of B. H. Reeves, G. C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, as a commission to make treaties with the Indians and to survey a trail.

Treaties were made with the Great and Little Osage and with the Kansas tribes. The meeting with the Indians was held in a hickory grove on the Neosho river in the present Morris County, Kansas. After the council was held, Sibley ordered the name "Council Grove" carved on a white oak tree outside the Council Tent. The place has been called Council Grove since that time.[3] The Indians agreed to allow the traders to pass through their lands and the government agreed to pay the Indians five hundred dollars. The commissioners wrote to A. P. Chouteau of St. Louis asking him to pay the chiefs five hundred dollars in powder, lead, knives and other articles; and to present the certificate of the United States agent for the Osages that he had paid them together with the letter from the commissioners, to Tracey and

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[1] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, p. 100.

[2] Senate Committe Report, 18 Cong. 2 Sess.; Register of Debates in Congress, v. I. p. 341.

[3] A. B. Hulbert, Op. cit., p. 112.

Wahrendorf of St. Louis, who would pay him.[1] And so, the Indians were paid through St. Louis firms and with St. Louis goods.

The commissioners spent the following two years surveying the trail from Fort Osage to Taos. They followed the Cimarron route from the crossing of the Arkansas westward. The traders, however, usually preferred the route through Raton, and that became in later years the main traveled pathway.[2] Sibley obtained the supplies for this surveying trip in St. Louis. On May 15, 1825, he wrote a letter to B. H. Reeves, telling him that he had ordered to be made in St. Louis six wagons, which would be ready by the 12th of June.[3] On June 23rd, 1825, he writes saying:

> At 3 P. M. yesterday, I started from here (St. Louis) my principal outfit; consisting of seven strong light wagons - 2 of them drawn by 4 horses each, and 5 by 2 horses - each in charge of a good driver. These wagons are pretty heavily laden, they carry the working tools - goods and for Ind. Treaties - Supply of Rice, Flour, Groceries, Coarse Clothing etc. for use of the party, and the private baggage of the commissioners.[4]

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[1] Leonard MSS. Santa Fe Trail. No. 4 August 10, 1825. University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Mo.

[2] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, p. 107.

[3] Leonard MSS. Op. cit., No. 6 X Saint Louis, May 15, 1825.

[4] Sibley Manuscripts. MS. 2 v. III. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

R. L. Duffus states: "The Santa Fe trade was on one side the offspring of the fur trade, and the fur trade at the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century centered in St. Louis. Hence it was from that city, or near by, that the first American explorers and trappers, as well as those French men who made so desperate an effort to break into New Mexico, naturally set out."[1] H. M. Chittenden says, "Most of the American traders started from St. Louis or Franklin, while they frequently went beyond Santa Fe to Chihuahua or other towns."[2]

Josiah Gregg said: "People who reside at a distance, and especially at the North, have generally considered St. Louis as the emporium of the Santa Fe Trade; but that city, in truth, has never been a place of rendezvous, nor even of outfit, except for a small portion of the traders who have started from its immediate vicinity. The town of Franklin on the Missouri river, over a hundred and fifty miles farther to the westward, seems truly to have been the cradle of our trade; and, in conjunction with several neighboring

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[1] R. L. Duffus, The Santa Fe Trail (London, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), p. 100.

[2] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 530.

towns, continued for many years to furnish the greater number of these adventurous traders."[1]

It seems that Josiah Gregg did not consider the early explorers and trappers as part of the Santa Fe Trade. They were merely the forerunners of the trade, which really began as a legal business in 1821 with Becknell's expedition. Becknell's starting point was Arrow Rock, near Franklin, Missouri. This town was built on an alluvial plain; the river undermined it and in 1828 it collapsed and slid into the water. The caravans then began to use Independence, Missouri, as the starting point. In a few years the steamboat landing here washed away, and the starting point was moved to Westport, at the present time a suburb of Kansas City.

It was not from these towns, however, that the organized caravan started. They were merely the places where the traders bought their supplies and their outfits. The traders then went individually to the meeting place, Council Grove. Here the caravan was organized and a captain was elected.

Whether we take the view of Josiah Gregg that St. Louis was not the emporium of the Santa Fe trade or that of Duffus that St. Louis was originally the starting point of

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[1] Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies; or Journal of a Santa Fe Trader (Ed. 4, 2 v. Philadelphia: 1849), p. 12.

the Trail, we must agree that St. Louis played a large part in the period preceding the opening of the legal intercourse in 1821. The forerunners of the commerce, which have been mentioned above, made St. Louis the starting point of their adventures, and several of them were residents of St. Louis.

James Purcell had been a resident of St. Louis for five or six years previous to making the trading expedition mentioned above. His name is spelled in various ways. W. B. Stevens calls him James Parsley;[1] Chittenden, James Purcell:[2] and Bancroft, James Pursley.[3] As before mentioned, he remained in Santa Fe, working as a carpenter.[4]

Of the three men, who made the expedition in 1812, Robert McKnight was the only one who remained in Spanish territory. It is said that in Chihuahua, Kit Carson once hired out to him as a teamster.[5] McKnight is supposed to have made a fortune working the Santa Rita copper mines and

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[1] Walter Barlow Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 411.

[2] Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 492.

[3] Hubert Howe Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, p. 291.

[4] Cf. p. 22.

[5] Hiram Martin Chittenden, Op. cit., p. 501.

trading, when the Apaches would let him, with the Chihuahua outposts.[1] Baird and Chambers returned to St. Louis in 1822. Here they induced some individuals to fit out another expedition with which they again set out for Santa Fe, but it was too late in the season and they were forced to stay for more than three months, on an island not far from the present town of Cimarron. They hid their goods in pits, dug in the earth - called "caching" from the French word to hide. Inman says, "the place where Baird's little expedition wintered was called 'Caches' for years."[2]

Auguste P. Chouteau and Julius DeHunn were native St. Louisans and were members of the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company. Major William Waldo said of Chouteau:

> Of all the great house of Chouteau, Auguste P. was the most gifted and brilliant. He was a favorite with General Jackson during his presidency and was consulted by him more than was any other man in the United States upon all questions connected with the numerous Indian tribes.[3]

Although Thomas James and Hugh Glenn did not follow Becknell's route, they had some influence as forerunners of

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[1] Hubert Howe Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, p. 298.

[2] Colonel Henry Inman, The Old Santa Fe Trail, The Story of a Great Highway (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898), p. 43.

[3] MS. Waldo papers 1832-1864. Biographical Sketches by Waldo. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

the Santa Fe trade. General James wrote an account of his experiences in a book called "Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans",[1] which must have aroused interest among his fellow citizens and certainly Hugh Glenn's announcement on January 22, 1822 that the bars were down and that Santa Fe authorities had granted Americans the right to trade in Santa Fe, must have caused many adventurous spirits to try their luck in the business.[2]

We are inclined to accept the view of Duffus that since the Santa Fe trade grew out of the fur trade, its original starting point was St. Louis. H. M. Chittenden in his book, "The American Fur Trade of the Far West", has a chapter about St. Louis. Describing the city of St. Louis during the first half of the nineteenth century he says, "Every route of trade or adventure to the remote regions of the west centered in St. Louis." He continues by stating:

> Following the lines of trade, all travel to the Far West, whether for pleasure or for scientific search, all exploring expeditions, all military movements, all intercourse with the Indians, and even the enterprises of the Missionaries in that distant country made St. Louis their starting point and base of operations.

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[1] General Thomas James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans (Walter B. Douglas, editor, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1916).

[2] A. B. Hulbert, Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, p. 55.

> It was here that trans-shipment of commerce was made to eastern markets by way of the Mississippi, the Ohio, or the Great Lakes. Warehouses and mercantile establishments arose for outfitting the numberless expeditions to the interior. The government maintained a military post near by, and had here its principal office of Indian affairs for the trans-Mississippi tribes.[1]

The following quotation is taken from an article, dated Nov. 7, 1835, and found in the Missouri Republican, a St. Louis newspaper.

> Business of every description is extremely brisk in this city. Our wharf is lined with steamboats. Numbers arrive and depart daily, with full freight and hundreds of passengers. It was calculated, a few days since that within the period of thirty-six hours, between seven and eight hundred strangers arrived in the city. They were from all quarters; from the Rocky Mountains and from New Orleans - from Santa Fe and from New York, and indeed from every State of the Union.[2]

This account seems to substantiate Chittenden's statements about St. Louis. Noticing that this article is dated Nov. 7, 1835, we realize that St. Louis must have had some part in the commerce with Santa Fe during the period of the legal trade which began in 1821.

In the St. Louis Weekly Reveille for May 26, 1845, there is an editorial entitled "Santa Fe Trade". In this editorial the writer is happy that several American merchants have bought their supplies for the Santa Fe trade in

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[1] H. M. Chittenden, American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 97.

[2] Missouri Republican, Nov. 7, 1835, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

St. Louis rather than obtaining them in the east. We quote from the editorial.

> The increasing importance of our mercantile transactions with Santa Fe, and a new and most gratifying feature which this trade has recently assumed, in making St. Louis the point of purchase, as (for reasons which we will name hereafter,) it should be, will, perhaps, give some consequence to a statement of facts concerning this trade, which must eventually centre upon our city as the chief, if not the only place of supply. Within the short space of thirteen days, several American merchants have arrived in our city, and instead of going immediately to the eastward to make their purchases, and lay in the necessary supplies for business operations with Santa Fe, as has heretofore been the case, they have found it particularly to their advantage to give St. Louis the full benefit of their patronage, and are now - bear in mind, within thirteen days after their arrival here fully prepared to start again for Santa Fe, thereby being enabled to return home in November.[1]

After naming some of the merchants who have bought goods and the firms from which they bought the goods, the writer continues:

> It is estimated that the goods already bought for this trade alone, in this city, amount to upwards of 30,000 dollars. It is somewhat singular, when we consider the facts in the case, that the Santa Fe merchants and traders have been so slow in arriving at the determination to furnish themselves in St. Louis, when it forwards their respective interests in such an eminent degree. For instance, the necessary delay of two months or more, in making and obtaining the New York purchases, the incidental expenses of insurance, freightage, etc., all of which, when summed up show a total, by no means gratifying or satisfactory to the active driving business man. In our day, and with us, we have the most

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[1] The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, May 26, 1845, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

graphic illustrations that "time is money".[1]

In this same paper is another article entitled "Another Evidence". It reads:

> We were informed yesterday evening by Mr. Morris Colburn, engaged in the Santa Fe grade, that he made all his purchases in this city, to his complete satisfaction, at the establishment of Messrs. Powell, Wilson and Co., No. 84 Main street, who are well supplied with such goods as are most desirable for this trade. Here is another evidence to show that the Santa Fe merchants can be furnished as excellently, and at as reasonable rates, as though they gave the East the benefit of their patronage.[2]

The St. Louis Weekly Reveille for March 30, 1846 announced the arrival of several people from Santa Fe who are on their way East to buy goods. The article then says:

> Would not these gentlemen find it to their advantage to purchase their supplies here? The cost of travelling, transportation of goods, insurance and other incidental taxes, form no inconsiderable item of expense. These are saved in making St. Louis the point of supply.[3]

It seems then that St. Louis was not <u>the</u> point of supply, but the people of St. Louis thought that it should be. It also seems that Franklin or Independence were not <u>the</u> points of supply, as Josiah Gregg implies in his statement, for the people of St. Louis were not jealous of the

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[1] <u>The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille</u>, May 26, 1845.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., May 26, 1845.

[3] <u>Ibid</u>., March 30, 1846.

trade going there; but they were jealous of the trade going to the places in the east.

Just what interest then did the people of St. Louis have in the Santa Fe trade? Accepting Duffus' statement that the Santa Fe trade grew out of the fur trade, let us see what people, either having stock in the fur companies established in St. Louis or being employed by these companies took an active part in the Santa Fe trade.

The earliest fur company with its headquarters in St. Louis was the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company, organized in the winter of 1808-9. Associated with this company were many of the best trappers, traders, and hunters in the West. It is interesting to note that the leading spirit in the forming of this company was a Spaniard. Manuel Lisa came to St. Louis about the year 1790. Stevens says that in ten years' time he became recognized as one of the boldest and most successful of the fur traders. He is said to have brought to St. Louis 15,000 buffalo skins in a single season.[1] It is not believed that Manuel Lisa was among those who might be classed as forerunners of the Santa Fe trade. However, Duffus states: "The very year of Pike's return Manuel Lisa and Jacques Clamorgan of St. Louis are said to have sent Louison Blaudoin to New Mexico with a barge-load of

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[1] W. B. Stevens, St. Louis The Fourth City, 1764-1909, p. 163.

goods. It is not certain, however, that Blaudoin actually arrived.[1] In 1920, Joseph J. Hill published a mansucript which was a letter written by Governor Alencaster of New Mexico to the commandant at San Eleceario. The letter tells of the coming of D. Santiago Clamorgan and four companions with four mule-loads of merchandise. It states that the merchants came in the fall of 1807 and on December 12th they went on to Chihuahua. The original of this document is in the Spanish archives of New Mexico.[2]

Another leading figure in the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company was Auguste P. Chouteau, who may be considered as one of the forerunners of the legal trade. Inman says,

> As early as 1815, Auguste P. Chouteau and his partner, with a large number of trappers and hunters, went out to the valley of the upper Arkansas for the purpose of trading with Indians and trapping on the numerous streams of the contiguous region. The island on which Chouteau established his trading-post, and which bears his name even to this day, is in the Arkansas river on the boundary line of the United States and Mexico.[3]

C. A. Vandiveer says of the establishing of Chouteau Island: "This was the start of a brisk trade with Santa Fe, which continued to grow and prosper until the Santa Fe trail became a well known and much traveled highway. It proved,

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[1] R. L. Duffus, The Santa Fe Trail, p. 55.

[2] Joseph J. Hill, "An Unknown Expedition to Santa Fe in 1807," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 6:560-2.

[3] Colonel Henry Inman, The Old Santa Fe Trail, The Story of a Great Highway, p. 40.

as the Spaniards feared it would, an entering wedge of the Americans which in time was to split off a portion of their territory."[1]

The Missouri Fur Company went out of existence in the early 'twenties and was succeeded by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Some of the leading men associated with this company were William H. Ashley, Andrew Henry, James Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette, and Uncle John Smith. Ashley, Henry, and Bridger engaged in a trading expedition to Santa Fe in 1822. Bridger and Fitzpatrick were trappers and distinguished themselves as guides. Chittenden says that Bridger is the first white man whom we know to have seen the Great Salt Lake.[2] Fitzpatrick was the guide for General Kearney when he came into New Mexico in 1846.[3] William Sublette led many expeditions across the plains to the Rocky mountains during the period of the 1830's. We do not know how often he went to Santa Fe, but we presume that he did make Santa Fe his destination on some of his trips. Chittenden says that a passport was granted to him in 1831

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[1] C. A. Vandiveer, The Fur Trade and Early Western Exploration (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1929), p. 167.

[2] H. M. Chittenden, American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 258.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, p. 415.

by the United States government to enable him to visit Santa Fe and other points in New Mexico.[1]

Uncle John Smith was one of the most famous trappers of his day. Colonel Inman gives us an interesting account of him. He says that in 1826 he ran away from St. Louis with a party of Santa Fe traders. He was so fascinated with the desultory and exciting life of the Indians that he chose to live with them. He married a pretty Cheyenne squaw and remained true to her during all his long and eventful life. He was adopted into the Cheyenne tribe and became very powerful in their nation. Inman says,

> His excellent judgment as a trader with the various bands of Indians while he was employed by the great fur companies made his services invaluable in the strange business complications of the remote border. Besides understanding the Cheyenne language as well as his native tongue, he also spoke three other Indian dialects, French and Spanish, but with many Western expressions that sometimes grated harshly upon the grammatical ear.
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> He became a sort of autocrat on the plains and in the mountains; and for an Indian or Mexican to attempt to effect a trade without Uncle John Smith having something to say about it, and its conditions, was hardly possible.[2]

The leading spirits of the American Fur Company were the four Bent brothers. In partnership with Ceran St. Vrain, they built Fort Bent on the Arkansas river. This

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[1] H. M. Chittenden, American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 255.

[2] Colonel Henry Inman, The Old Santa Fe Trail, The Story of a Great Highway, pp. 279-281.

fort was the stopping place for all caravans traveling the Santa Fe trail. Chittenden says of it:

> It was the great cross-roads station of the southwest. The north and south route between the Platte river country and Sante Fe, and the east and west route up the Arkansas and into the mountains found this their most natural trading point.[1]

Of the four brothers, we are most interested in Charles Bent. He married a woman who was a member of a prominent Mexican family at Taos. Charles Bent made Taos his place of residence, but he retained his interest in the American Fur Company and made many trips across the plains. Chittenden in volume three of his work, "The American Fur Trade in 1831", prints a letter from Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. In this letter Mr. Forsyth tells of an expedition led by Mr. Charles Bent, he says,

> In August last Mr. Charles Bent set out from St. Louis with a number of wagons loaded with goods for Santa Fe and drawn by oxen. His party consisted of from thirty to forty men, and if he succeeds with his ox wagons the oxen will answer the triple purpose: 1st drawing the wagons; 2nd the Indians will not steal them as they would horses and mules; and 3rdly, in case of necessity part of the oxen will answer for provisions.[2]

It seems that the use of oxen at this time was an experiment. The Missouri Republican for July 12, 1833 giving news of a caravan assembled at Diamond Grove, about 160

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[1] H. M. Chittenden, American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 543.

[2] Ibid., p. 934.

miles from Independence, states that Mr. C. Bent was elected to the captaincy.[1] The St. Louis Weekly Reveille for July 22, 1844 made this statement: "A party of Mountain traders, from Bent's Fort, twenty-five in number, arrived yesterday on the steamer Lexington. Mr. Charles Bent came down with the company.[2]

In 1833 Charles Bent wrote a letter dated, August 1, 1833, to Senor Don Jose Mario Ronquillo, military commander of New Mexico, informing him that a caravan had left on the 28th of May, carrying goods that had been shipped to St. Louis from New York and Philadelphia. When the steamers arrived in St. Louis many people on the boats were ill with cholera and several had died. Mr. Bent states that no one in the caravan had the disease when it left St. Louis in May: but since the goods that they were carrying had been on those steamers, he says that there is a possibility that the goods might be a means by which the disease could be spread. However, he says that he does not know that this is true, but he is giving the commander warning about the goods.[3] This letter gives a little insight into Bent's character.

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[1] Missouri Republican, July 12, 1833.

[2] The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, July 22, 1844.

[3] MS. Aug. 1833, Bent Carlos, Rio Colorado, Letter from Trader Bent to Jose M°Ronquillo, 106 D 2, f., New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

He was not only a good trader but he was sincere and honest in his dealings as well.

In 1846 when General Stephen W. Kearny took possession of New Mexico for the United States, Charles Bent was appointed the provisional Governor of the territory. He held this position just a short time, for in January, 1847, the Indians revolted and Governor Bent was killed at his home in Taos in the presence of his wife and two children.

These traders and trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and the American Fur Company were doing business after 1821; and so they cannot be called the forerunners of the Santa Fe trade, but they had an active part in the legal phases of it. There were other St. Louis traders engaged in trade with Santa Fe besides those associated with the great fur companies. Two notable ones were James Josiah Webb and the Magoffin brothers.

James Josiah Webb wrote about his experiences as a trader in a book called "Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade," edited by Ralph P. Bieber in 1931. In the introduction of this book, Bieber states that Webb came to St. Louis in 1843 and opened a dry goods store in partnership with a man named Smith. He closed out July 1, 1844 and with $600 capital borrowed from his father he bought merchandise and decided to engage in the overland trade with Santa Fe. He was very successful in this trade and formed several business partnerships. Bieber states,

> By the latter part of 1849 Webb had been engaged in the Santa Fe trade almost six years. During that time he had thoroughly learned the details of the business and had gradually built up a profitable trade. His first lot of goods for New Mexico had cost about $1200 but now he carried goods that cost him about $30,000. From an ordinary Santa Fe trader with a transient residence in New Mexico, he had become a prominent Santa Fe merchant with a permanent establishment there. Indeed he had prospered beyond his fondest hopes, and could write in August 1849, that he had "the largest store and premises in town."[1]

James and Samuel Magoffin were business partners engaged in trading with Santa Fe. It is said that the brothers yearly, and sometimes twice a year, took large caravans of goods into Santa Fe and old Mexico. In 1846 the caravan of the two brothers moved just ahead of the American troops under General Kearny. Miss Drumm in her introduction to "Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico," says "The Mexican war had begun. James was really on a secret mission for the Government of the United States, it being hoped that he would be able to pave the way for General Kearny to enter Santa Fe and gain possession of New Mexico without bloodshed."[2] Magoffin was arrested in Santa Fe and taken to Chihuahua. He was saved from execution only through his popularity with Mexican officers.

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[1] James Josiah Webb, Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade 1844-1847 (Ralph P. Bieber, editor, Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1931), p. 32.

[2] Susan Shelby Magoffin, Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico, The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847 (Stella M. Drumm, editor, New Haven: Yale University Press, London, 1926), pp. XII-XVI.

The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille published a report which had been printed in the Western Expositor; regarding the amount of money received from Santa Fe for the years 1843 and 1844. The report is as follows:

> Total amount of gold and silver received for the year 1843.....$425,000
> Total amount of gold and silver received this year, 1844 owing to the ports being closed, was only.....$375,000
> And for the year 1845, it cannot be put down at a less sum than.....$600,000[1]

This same newspaper also printed an article taken from the Independence Journal. The article gives a report of the imports from the Mexican provinces and exports to those provinces. We quote the report of imports:

> The imports being principally specie, we omit all other items, and set it down at about $450,000; $400,000 of which was in specie; and the remainder consisting of buffalo robes, peltries, furs, etc.[2]

The article states that there were 160 men in the four companies that went out. On August 12, 1844 this paper announced the arrival at Independence of Lieutenant Fremont and Company and Dr. H. Connelly and Company. Both these companies were St. Louis companies and the paper stated that they brought in about $80,000 in species.[3] The two companies probably traveled together and were considered one com-

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[1] The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, Jan. 13, 1845.

[2] Ibid., Jan. 13, 1845.

[3] Ibid., August 12, 1844.

pany in the report of imports quoted above. However, they were St. Louis companies and they brought in $80,000 of the $375,000 of specie brought in that year. The Magoffins probably made a trip that year and other traders surely made trips. If they did as well as Fremont and Connelly, it is possible that St. Louis people brought in a large share of the $375,000 of specie. If the Santa Fe trade was just a small part of all the trade coming into St. Louis, St. Louis certainly must have had a large part in the Santa Fe trade.

We have seen that St. Louis played a large part in making known the trace to the American people, because the expeditions into New Mexico, prior to 1821, set out from St. Louis and several of the leaders of those expeditions were residents of St. Louis. This city also had a part in the marking out of the route to be followed and in the attempt to make the road safe for American traders; as the Indians were paid for allowing the traders to pass through their lands with St. Louis goods, and the commissioners, who surveyed and marked the route, purchased their supplies in St. Louis. It is also true that St. Louis had a large share in the legal commerce carried on after 1821, as many of the companies engaged in the trade were sent out by the large fur companies whose headquarters were in St. Louis. Besides these expeditions of the fur companies, there were other private companies engaged in this trade and centered in St.

Louis. Judging from the amount of specie brought in from this trade during one year and the amount of specie which one St. Louis company brought in, it seems safe to say that the St. Louis companies had a big share in the Santa Fe trade during the first half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER III

GOODS PURCHASED FOR THE SANTA FE TRADE

As before mentioned, the commerce of St. Louis in early days was distributive and not productive.[1] Indeed her manufactures started about 1820, only a short while before the opening of the legalized Santa Fe trade. Therefore, the growth of St. Louis in productive commerce coincided in time with the growth and development of the Santa Fe trade. St. Louisans, engaged in the trade, could purchase their goods in St. Louis; but the goods had been usually manufactured in the east. If one were going to purchase a large quantity of goods, it was much cheaper to order the goods from eastern firms and have them shipped to St. Louis. Big trading companies, such as the American Fur Company, bought the supplies for their men in the east; and independent traders, who could afford to buy in large quantities also went east for their goods.

Invoices of the American Fur Company for February and March of 1831, show that the value of goods shipped to the St. Louis firm during these two months amounted to $15,188.91¾.[2] We know that individual traders went east to

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[1] Chapter on St. Louis, p. 4.

[2] MS. P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection 1830-1831, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

purchase goods because the newspapers often complained about them not buying in the west. The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille for March 30, 1846, announces the arrival of Santa Fe traders on their way to the East to purchase goods; and asks: "Would not these gentlemen find it to their advantage to purchase their supplies here."[1] The Missouri Statesman, published in Columbia, Missouri, in the issue for October 13, 1843, announced the arrival of Mr. Weatherhead's company of Santa Fe traders. The writer concludes with the following paragraph:

> They are on their way East to purchase goods, and have in their possession 500 lbs. weight of gold and silver in bars. Could they not purchase here on better terms than in the East in as much as goods of all kinds have advanced there since our merchants purchased?[2]

And so, not only St. Louis merchants but merchants in other towns nearer to Franklin and Independence, were chagrined to see the traders pass them by and journey on to the east. In December, 1848, in an article entitled, "The Course of Western Trade", published in the Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, the following statement is made.

> Those engaged in traffic across the plains, in most cases made their purchases in New York, Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh, and our city was benefited very little

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[1] The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, March, 30, 1846.

[2] Missouri Statesman, Oct. 13, 1843.

thereby, further than the travel, shipments, etc., connected with its passage.[1]

However some goods were bought in St. Louis by St. Louis traders and by merchants in other western towns engaged in selling to Santa Fe traders. In February and March of 1831 the American Fur Company bought $15,188.91¾ worth of goods in the east; but in April of that same year, the company bought from St. Louis firms $2,795.98 worth of goods.[2] In 1845 a newspaper editorial stated that goods valued at more than $30,000, had been purchased in St. Louis by Santa Fe traders.[3] In 1844, the Missouri Statesman printed an article taken from the Western Expositor. After announcing the arrival of Dr. Connelly and Co. from Santa Fe, the article continues:

> We learn that they design purchasing goods in St. Louis for the trade; it being now too late to go east for the purpose of providing a stock of goods in time to reach Santa Fe this fall.[4]

It seems that the traders purchased in St. Louis when there was not time to go east or when they wished to augment their orders from the east, possibly obtaining some necessities that they had forgotten to order earlier. Their buying

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[1] The Saint Louis Weekly Reveille, December 10, 1848.

[2] MS. P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection, 1830-1831.

[3] Op. cit., May 26, 1845.

[4] Missouri Statesman, August 23, 1844.

might be compared to the modern housewife who finds it necessary to go to the corner store after having returned from town where she purchased a great many supplies.

Of the merchants in western Missouri towns engaged in selling goods to Santa Fe traders, the Aull brothers probably had the largest establishments. The three brothers, Robert, John and James, had in partnership, stores in Lexington, Liberty, Franklin and Independence. On May 17, 1830, James Aull wrote to C. S. and J. W. Smith:

> ----the Santa Fe Caravan is about setting out my sale for that trade will be for 8 to $10,000 at 25 per cent advance a cut and carriage with interest after six months at 10 per cent until paid.[1]

In January of 1831, he writes to Siter Price and Co. of Philadelphia, saying, "last spring we sent some Goods to Santa Fe and Sold Some to whole amounting to over $10,000."[2] A slip of paper found in a portfolio marked "James and Robert Aull Letters", states that the goods sold in 1838 amounted to "cash - $6,949.05; credit - $40,535.49; total - $47,484.54."[3] Supposing that the trade with Santa Fe did

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[1] MS. James Aull Letter Book, May 17, 1830. Public Library and Historical Association, Lexington, Mo.

[2] Ibid., January, 1831.

[3] MS. James and Robert Aull Letters. Public Library and Historical Association, Lexington, Mo.

not increase in eight years' time, the Santa Fe sales would be about a fourth of the sales made on credit. Statistics show, however, that the Santa Fe trade in general decreased from $120,000 in 1830 to $90,000 in 1838,[1] a decrease of 25 per cent. If the Santa Fe sales of the Aull brothers decreased proportionately, these sales really amounted to about 16 per cent of their credit trade in 1838.

These three brothers bought most of their goods from the east. In January of 1833, James Aull wrote to Siter Price and Co. of Philadelphia, telling them that he expected to send them during the month of March the sum of $8,000 with which they were to pay his debts in the east. He says that the amount of goods ordered is about one-third of their usual spring's purchase.[2] The usual spring orders from the

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[1] Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," Hunt's Magazine, December, 1844, p. 510.

[2] MS. James Aull Letter Book, January, 1831.
Having declined visiting Philadelphia this winter I find it necessary to order a few goods, the amount now ordered is about one third our usual spring's purchase, being merely sufficient to assist the stock now on hand.
I think I have good reason for purchasing so small a supply of Goods. We are yet in debt for our half of the goods purchased in March and June last. We have a large stock of Goods on hand amounting at the four stores to about $35,000 and we are extremely anxious to be free from debt believing that there will be a change of times for the worse and that as prudent men we should prepare for it.

east amounted to about $24,000. In addition, there usually was a purchase in the fall. It is clearly evident that most of the goods sold at the Aull establishments, were bought in the east. However, an examination of their books shows that, from time to time, they did make small purchases in St. Louis. In February of 1833, James Aull bought of two St. Louis firms the total amount of $522.37 worth of goods.[1]

The Aull goods bought in the east, were always shipped to St. Louis and then re-shipped to the respective towns where the stores were located. In a letter dated April 12, 1830 and addressed to Tracy and Wahrendorff of St. Louis, James Aull says,

> I wish you to forward my goods as they arrive and with as little delay as possible..... Should you get a Boat to come here please ship the goods to be delivered at their respective places agreeable to their mark viz. Lexington, Liberty and Independence. I wish you to insure for me the Goods shipped from Philadelphia by Brig Erie. You will insure them $4300 and on shipment by ships Missouri and Ohio $4500.[2]

In September of 1830, James Aull writes to this same firm that he expects ten tons of freight to arrive in St. Louis from Philadelphia, and he asks them to forward the

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[1] MS. Aull Day Book, Feb. 1833, Dec. 1835. Public Library and Historical Association, Lexington, Mo.

[2] MS. James Aull Letter Book, April 12, 1830.

goods to the respective stores.[1] In a letter dated Jan. 21, 1833, to Siter Price and Co. of Philadelphia, James Aull says,

> I wish you to have wagoned at Pittsburgh and consigned to Anthony Beeler all the goods ordered of Everly and Rees, Bryan, Chapin and Nedilet, Dickson, Oliver, Fairbairn, Freeland and your house. Also the Looking Glasses of Smith, and Tea, Indigo, Chocolate, Raisins, and any of the small Boxes thought advisable of Toland.
> The remainder of the Goods you will please have shipped to New Orleans consigned to Elisha L. Tracy with instructions to forward them by first good steam Boat to St. Louis care Edward Tracy.
> I wish the goods wagoned to Pittsburgh to be insured to their respective places of destination by Steam Boat or Boats with privilege of reshipping at Louisville and St. Louis.[2]

By this letter we see that goods were shipped either by river steamer down the Ohio and then up the Mississippi to St. Louis or by ocean steamer to New Orleans and thence up the Mississippi to St. Louis. An examination of the Aull manuscripts shows that goods from the east came by these two

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[1] MS. James Aull Letter Book, Sept. 3, 1830.
Towards the last of this month there will be a few tons of freight at St. Louis from Philadelphia for this place Liberty, Independence and Richmond which I would like to have brought up to their respective places by a Steam Boat. I will ship to N. Orleans 30 or 35 Tons of Bale Rope together with a quantity of Beeswax and honey for St. Louis. .....There will be something like 10 Tons of Philad. Goods to bring up.
James Aull

[2] MS. Aull Letter Book, January, 1831, January 21, 1833. Public Library and Historical Association, Lexington, Mo.

routes with re-shipment at St. Louis. An article in "Hunt's Magazine" in August, 1847 stated that St. Louis was the terminus of the river vessels.[1] And so, while most of the goods carried in the Santa Fe trade were brought from the east, it was necessary to ship them to St. Louis, and there have them re-shipped to the various points on the Missouri river from which Santa Fe traders set out on their expeditions.

St. Louis firms served also as sort of clearing houses for bills of exchange. In the Aull Day Book, Feb. 21, 1833 - Dec. 19, 1835, we find many letters directed to Edward Tracy Esq. St. Louis, with statements, such as the following:

> I wrote you 14th instant enclosing $500 U. S. paper and an a/c on U. S. for $15.88. I will enclose you $500 now of United States paper and wish you to remit to Anthony Beeler of Pittsburgh a check on Bank U. S. Philad - for $1000.[2]

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[1] "The Shipping and Import Trade of St. Louis," The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review (New York: Freeman Hunt, editor and proprietor. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo., August, 1847), p. 170. "The reader will also bear in mind, that St. Louis is the terminus of the voyages of these vessels. Here their freights are discharged, and either pass into store or are transhipped for some other point."

[2] MS. Aull Day Book, Feb. 21, 1833, Dec. 19, 1835, Feb. 22, 1833.

I also enclose you Bent and St. Vrain's Note of Sept. 1, 1832 at 10 months for $842.11 our favour. I presume that Capt. Bent is now in St. Louis and my object in sending you the note is to get some arrangement made that the money will be paid when due, as I understand Bent is going to Santa Fe. An acceptance on P. and J. Powell due 1st Sept. with the two months interest added will suit us and I presume will also suit Bent.[1]

In this same Day Book we find pages similar to the following:

$273.18
Messrs Sublette and Campbell
ten days after sight in St. Louis please pay to John A. Mytingre the sum of Two hundred and Seventy three Dollars Eighteen Cents for value received and charge the same to account of your most Obnt
Thos Fitspatrick
for
Fitspatrick, Sublette & Bridger.

Hans Fork U. S. Teritory
July 7th 1834.
Endorsement on said draft accepted according to the William Sublette & Campbell. For value received I assign the within to J. & R. Aull
August 22nd 1834.
Inc. A. Mytingre
pay to E. & A. Tracy on order J. & R. Aull.[2]

Messrs. Pratte Choteau & Co.
Saint Louis
Gentlemen
You will please pay to Mr. Luther Chase an order the sum of Seven hundred and twenty two dollars and fourteen cents and charge the same to Rocky Mountain Expedition of 1833 and
Oblige yours respectfully
L Fontenelle

722\frac{14}{100}$

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[1] MS. Aull Day Book, Feb. 21, 1833, Dec. 19, 1835, 28th March, 1833.

[2] Ibid., Feb. 21, 1833, Dec. 19, 1835.

River Platte August 19, 1834
Pay J. & R. Aull on order (Signed)
Luther Chase pay E. and A. Tracy on order
J. & R. Aull.[1]

Also in the James Aull Letter Book are found, in letters addressed to Tracy and Wahrendorff, statements similar to the following:

> Above is Wm. Anderson draft on You for 40$ which I have endorsed and charged to your a/c
> Enclosed you will find Jonathan L. Bean draft on O'fallon & Kyte. 550$ which You will collect and place to my credit. I wish you to remit to A. Beeler Pittsburgh 500$ as soon as possible in such manner as You think Best.[2]
>
> I wrote you 10th inst enclosing Daugherty's draft on J. & A. Kerr for 200$.[3]
>
> I wrote you L. J. & Sublette Note to Gabriel Predim balance on it unpaid $2349.83 Also a draft on Scott and Ruel for amount Doct. Waldo a/c $165.59 and requested You to remit 3000$ to Siter Price & Co.[4]

In the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection of manuscripts are found the following bills of exchange.

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[1] MS. Aull Day Book, Feb. 21, 1833, Dec. 19, 1835.

[2] MS. James Aull Letter Book, May 23, 1828.

[3] Ibid., May 17, 1830.

[4] Ibid., Nov. 1, 1830.

Santa Fe Augt. 31st 1830

$800

Ten days after sight of this my first bill of Exchange (Second and third of same date and tenor unpaid) please pay to the order of Richard D. Shackleford Eight hundred dollars for value received & charge to the account of yr. obt. Svt.

Ceran St. Vrain

For Messers B. Pratte & Co.
Merchant
St. Louis.[1]

San Fernando de Taos
Sept. 4th 1830

Messers. B. Pratte & Co.
Gentlemen

On demand please to pay to Mr. Lavasie Ruel on order Seventyfive Dollars, and charge to account of your Obt. Svt.

$75.00

Ceran St. Vrain.[2]

These letters and bills of exchange show that St. Louis firms engaged in the business of collecting drafts and cancelling bills of exchange.

An examination of the foregoing manuscripts, newspapers, and magazines has shown us that although the majority of the goods carried in the Santa Fe trade was purchased in the east, some goods were obtained in St. Louis. It also shows us that the goods bought in the East were consigned to St. Louis, and then re-shipped to points on the Missouri river; and that the goods were commonly paid for with drafts or bills of exchange on St. Louis firms.

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[1] MS. P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection 1830-1831, Augt. 31st 1830.

[2] Ibid., Sept. 4, 1830.

CONCLUSION

From histories written about St. Louis and Missouri, we have learned that during the first half of the nineteenth century, St. Louis grew to be a thriving city. This growth was due to her increasing trade, a small part of which was her trade with Santa Fe. However small the Santa Fe trade was in comparison with the total trade of St. Louis, the part of St. Louis in the trade with Santa Fe was large in comparison with the total amount of that trade. St. Louis, because of her strategic position, became the "Gateway to the West;" and so it was from this city that the early expeditions started which made known to the American people the Santa Fe Trace and led to the opening of the legalized trade in 1821.

An examination of manuscripts, newspapers and magazines of the nineteenth century has shown that a big share of the Santa Fe trade was carried on by St. Louis companies or by individuals who were residents of St. Louis. It has also shown that most of the goods carried in this trade were bought in the East, but were shipped first to St. Louis and then re-shipped to various points on the Missouri river; and also that these goods were paid for with drafts or bills of exchange on St. Louis firms.

Statistics giving the total number of people engaged

in the trade in any one year or period of years or the total number of St. Louisans engaged in the trade in any one year or period of years could not be found. Neither could be found statistics showing where the goods carried were purchased. In the absence of this data, no definite statement can be made giving the percentage of the number of St. Louisans engaged in the trade, in relation to the total number of Santa Fe traders; nor can any definite relation be drawn regarding the amount of goods carried. However, it was found from examining a statement in "Hunt's Magazine" for August, 1843, dealing with the commerce of St. Louis, and also from statistics given by Josiah Gregg regarding the trade with Santa Fe, that in 1843 St. Louis carried about eight-ninths of the Santa Fe trade.[1] Also it was found that in 1844 two St. Louis companies alone brought in $80,000 of the $375,000 brought from Santa Fe. We know that there were other St. Louis companies that must have brought in some specie that year.[2] Although a definite statement cannot be made, because of lack of date, it seems safe to say that St. Louis played a large part in the Santa Fe trade during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[1] Cf. p. 15.

[2] Cf. p. 50.

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