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THE DIARY OF PEDRO IGNACIO GALLEGO WHEREIN 400 SOLDIERS FOLLOWING THE TRAIL OF COMANCHES MET WILLIAM BECKNELL ON HIS FIRST TRIP TO SANTA FE

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At the time this was written, Michael Olsen was professor of history at New Mexico Highlands University at Las Vegas, and Harry Myers was superintendent of Fort Union National Monument. Both are acknowledged scholars of the Santa Fe Trail and frequent contributors to WT. Their discovery and preparation of this significant document is a substantial contribution to Trail historiography. They presented more material about Captain Gallego, along with the story of the discovery of the diary, at the 1993 SFTA symposium.

This is the first of two parts. Part Two of this article is on a separate PDF.

For over a century historians have speculated about the circumstances surrounding William Becknell's journey across the plains in 1821, including such issues as where he was heading and the route he followed into New Mexico. Almost exclusively they have relied on Becknell's own account of his trek. But other documentary evidence exists in the diary of Militia Urbana Captain Pedro Ignacio Gallego, who with his troops encountered Becknell's party near present Las Vegas, New Mexico, on November 13, 1821. This diary has lain untranslated and unappreciated in the Mexican Archives of New Mexico for over 100 years. It challenges some previously held views of Becknell and his expedition. It is presented here with a short introductory narrative, annotation of its salient points, and commentary on the precise geographical information it provides.

William Becknell has been credited with being the "Father of the Santa Fe Trade," having initiated successful trading contact and the first legal commerce with New Mexico from the United States in 1821 and, the following year, opening a wagon route later known as the Santa Fe Trail between Missouri and New Mexico. This set in motion over a half century of commerce and cultural exchange between New Mexico and eastern trade centers and contributed to the acquisition of the region by the United States during the Mexican War. Gallego's diary, published here for the first time, sheds new light on Becknell's initial journey to Santa Fe.

The summer of 1821 was a difficult one for New Mexico Governor Don Facundo Melgares. Navajo Indians beset the territory's scattered settlements from the west. In August, Comanche Indians from the eastern plains raided San Miguel del Vado. There were rumors of revolution in Mexico itself. To meet the Indian threat, Melgares fielded several companies of troops.¹ One was that under the command of Pedro Ignacio Gallego of Abiquiu. Originally dispatched against the Navajo, Gallego's company was redirected to investigate the plunder of San Miguel by Comanches. It was on November 13, 1821, while following the trail of these Indians, that Gallego met the Becknell party at Puertocito, on Piedra Lumbre Creek, just south of present Las Vegas.

Several important questions concerning Becknell's exploit continue to surface. For example, did Becknell have prior knowledge that Mexico was about to lift its trade restrictions (or knowledge of the Mexican revolution for independence from Spain which made the removal of trade prohibitions possible)? Trade had been closed to Americans and other outsiders with New Mexico and the rest of Spain's colonies until Mexican Independence in September 1821. There was a question also about the route the Becknell party followed, especially from the Arkansas to the vicinity of present Las Vegas.

Becknell, of course, was not the first American in the opening decades of the nineteenth century to attempt trade with New Mexico. That earlier expeditions had been accorded a less than cordial reception in Santa Fe was common knowledge on the Missouri frontier. Zebulon M. Pike, in 1806-1807, had been leading a military venture, so his fate may not have served as a warning, but what of the party of James Baird and

Robert McKnight, imprisoned in Mexico from 1812 to 1821? Or of Auguste P. Chouteau and Jules De Mun (also DeMunn), who during the summer of 1817 spent 48 days incarcerated on the plaza in Santa Fe and had \$30,000 worth of their goods confiscated?² H. M. Chittenden, in his early landmark history of the fur trade, surmised, "The outrageous treatment of Chouteau and DeMunn in 1817, and the knowledge that a party of Americans (McKnight) even then were languishing in the dungeons of Chihuahua, seems to have deterred further adventure in that direction until the overthrow of Spanish power in Mexico in 1821."³

In the face of such odds, why did Becknell think he would fare any better? The question of who in Missouri knew what about Mexican independence, and when they knew it, is unclear. Becknell, in advertising for companions with whom to mount an expedition, said only that he was headed westward. Consequently, historians have advanced several explanations. Josiah Gregg, in *The Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), took Becknell's advertisement at face value and asserted that he actually intended to trade with plains Indians and "accidentally" fell in with "a party of Mexican rangers."⁴

Max Moorhead, who edited a later edition of Gregg's book, echoed Gregg in *New Mexico's Royal Road* (1958). In Moorhead's rendition, "Becknell . . . meant only to hunt, trap, capture wild horses, and barter with the Comanche." After ten weeks on the plains, Moorhead stated that Becknell and his men "happened upon a detachment of troops from New Mexico." This interpretation was long accepted, although Henry Inman, so notoriously inaccurate about so much of the lore of the Santa Fe Trail, concluded in his late 19th-century book that Becknell, after trading the previous year with the Comanche, "determined the next season to change his objective point to Santa Fe."⁵

In his *Opening the Santa Fe Trail* (1971), Marc Simmons also advanced the view that Becknell planned all along to go to Santa Fe. In so doing he inaugurated contemporary debate on Becknell. Simmons concluded that, "an assessment of available evidence clearly shows that Captain Becknell intended from the very first to visit the New Mexico settlements."⁶ As David J. Weber noted, with this essay "Simmons argues . . . an interesting new interpretation that subsequent writers cannot ignore."⁷

Weber also contributed to the inquiry through his many perceptive publications on New Mexico and the Southwest. In one article, he attempted to determine the dates when the Spanish government in Santa Fe knew officially of Mexican independence and, hence, of the lifting of trade restrictions.⁸ The last in a series of revolts against Spanish rule in Mexico came under Agustín de Iturbide early in 1821. Iturbide embodied his conservative vision of an independent Mexico in his Plan of Iguala, February 24, 1821. Weber noted that New Mexicans had some inkling of new rebellion in Mexico and the Plan of Iguala as early as May 1821.⁹ By early September New Mexico had reports of widespread support for Iturbide, though his forces did not occupy Mexico City until September 27. Chihuahua had joined the revolt during the summer and, under orders from Durango, Governor Melgares in Santa Fe administered an oath of loyalty to the new government on September 11. News of Iturbide's occupation of Mexico City reached Santa Fe by November 30, but Governor Melgares did nothing to mark independence until ordered to do so in a dispatch which he received on December 26. Meanwhile, Becknell arrived in Santa Fe on November 16, 1821.

Becknell's biographer, Larry M. Beachum (writing in 1982), declared, without citing any document as proof, that in 1821 "Becknell was also aware that a new revolt had begun in Mexico." Beachum concluded that "Becknell's arrival in New Mexico seems to have been no accident; he prepared as thoroughly as possible with that end in mind." Whether hints of Mexican independence circulated in Missouri during the spring of 1821 might be determined by a close examination of regional newspapers. Simmons claimed that "between February 24 and the following June 25 when Becknell published his advertisement [for men to accompany him], more than sufficient time had elapsed for news to reach Missouri of the state of Mexican affairs."¹⁰

Becknell, who left Franklin, Missouri, on September 1, was not the only trader to set out for New Mexico that year, suggesting some general conception of changing conditions in Santa Fe. An expedition under John McKnight and Thomas James headed down the Mississippi from St. Louis on May 10, and thence went up the Arkansas. This group arrived in Santa Fe two weeks after Becknell. Jacob Fowler and Hugh Glenn, with another party, left Glenn's trading house on the Verdigris River in east central Oklahoma on

September 25 and reached southeastern Colorado in mid-November; from there Glenn and four companions went on to Taos and Santa Fe.¹¹

It is interesting to note that all of these men, Becknell included, had financial difficulties at the time. Simplistically put, trade with and trapping in New Mexico may have represented a chance for them to recoup their fortunes. They may have been desperate enough to take the risk of being rebuffed or even incarcerated in New Mexico. If that is the case, some of them did find treasure at the end of this particular rainbow.

Beachum ascertained that Becknell's financial problems culminated in at least five law suits . . . in late 1821 and the first months of 1822, all while he was on his westward journey. Thus, he concluded, Becknell's journey west was clearly an act of desperation. He was hundreds of dollars in debt and his salt business was in ruins. . . . Everything he cherished was at stake. From a financial perspective, Becknell's first venture to Santa Fe brought relief. Beachum noted that Becknell returned from New Mexico with enough valuables to repay at least part of his debts.¹² The profit motive must have been an important factor in Becknell's first trip, as well as his second trip to Santa Fe in 1822.

Weber advanced one further interpretation on the question of how those three parties that arrived in Santa Fe in late 1821 and early 1822 may have learned about Mexican independence. He suggested that all three may have encountered New Mexicans on the plains and thereby heard of the lifting of trade restrictions. In Becknell's case, however, Weber may have misread Becknell's journal. Becknell reported his first encounter with New Mexicans on November 13. As the Gallego diary indicates, this meeting was at Puertocito near present Las Vegas, not on the Arkansas as Weber would have it.¹³

Another debatable aspect of Becknell's first trip to New Mexico, as noted above, has concerned the possible route the party followed. The Gallego diary is quite precise on locations concerning Becknell's party as far north as the Rio Colorado (Canadian River) in New Mexico. Gallego himself marched from Abiquiu to Bosque de Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande, then crossed to Galisteo and San Miguel del Vado. From there he traveled to Ojo de Bernal and Puertocito de la Piedra Lumbre, where he met Becknell. He and his men then attempted to trace Becknell's trail. They followed it north past the Mora and Sapello rivers but lost it at the Rio Colorado. This information, along with a careful reading of Becknell's journal, helps to better determine Becknell's route and, perhaps, to correct an error that has dominated Trail literature for more than 60 years.

In 1930 Robert L. Duffus published a book, *The Santa Fe Trail*, a popular overview of the history of the route. While Duffus summarized in excellent prose the available information about the Trail, he also repeated some errors and made some uninformed suppositions. One of those suppositions was that Becknell's party had entered New Mexico via Raton Pass.¹⁴ He apparently assumed that Becknell followed in 1821 what became known many years later as the Mountain Route of the Trail. Such a conclusion, however, was not consistent with either Becknell's journal or the landscape. Nor is that conjecture consistent with the recently-discovered Gallego's diary.

Had Becknell crossed into New Mexico at Raton Pass, his journey to where he met Captain Gallego would most likely have been along the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. There are several major problems with that routing. First, where Robert Duffus had Becknell crossing Raton Pass, Becknell in his journal¹⁵ stated that he had insurmountable cliffs to ascend. On his way into Santa Fe on the same journey, Becknell says that he crossed mountainous country. Why did he, if he was at the Raton Mountains, say he only had cliffs to ascend?

Becknell next said that two days later his band crossed the Canadian River, which also had rugged cliffs which they overcame with considerable difficulty. Two days south of the Raton Mountains would put Becknell's party at a location east of the Canadian River, where the only difficulty in crossing the river with horses was the quicksand in the river bottom. Perhaps Becknell had misidentified the Canadian and was actually crossing a different stream. The third problem is that, after surmounting the cliffs and crossing what he called the Canadian River, Becknell recorded that his party encamped a night without wood and water. That was unlikely if they did cross the Canadian, but it was possible if Becknell had labeled another

river, as will be suggested below, as the Canadian. Given the terrain and other information gleaned from Becknell's journal, it is improbable that Becknell's party had come over Raton Pass.

When the pieces do not all fit together, perhaps another route is more plausible. Because of the general nature of Becknell's journal, any suggested alternate routing must be somewhat speculative. But the available evidence strongly indicates that Becknell and his five men, if they were indeed headed for Santa Fe, took a route other than Raton Pass between the Arkansas River and Puertocito Piedra Lumbre. The following excerpts from Becknell's journal, accompanied by an innovative interpretation of the evidence of the way his party headed south from the Arkansas River, may shed some light on Becknell's route and, at the same time, set the stage for the significance of Gallego's diary.

Becknell Journal: *"On the 21st we arrived at the forks of the river, and took the course of the left hand one. The cliffs became immensely high, and the aspect of the country is rugged, wild and dreary."*

Becknell, in preparation for his journey, met with others at the home of Ezekiel Williams. When employed by Manuel Lisa,¹⁶ Williams had been out on the Plains and could give valuable advice.¹⁷ But perhaps the only tangible and most valuable item Becknell could take to show the way would have been Zebulon M. Pike's "Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana." This map was published with Pike's account in 1810. If Becknell's intention was to enter Santa Fe for trade, Pike's account of his 1807 adventures in Mexico and his description of the route would have been required reading. In fact, Jacob Fowler of the Glenn-Fowler expedition, hard on the heels of Becknell in 1821, was carrying either Pike's map or his book which included the map.¹⁸

A comparison of Becknell's journal with Pike's map shows that both parties crossed to the south side of the Arkansas in the vicinity of Great Bend, Kansas, and continued up the river. A notation on Pike's map stated: "Above the first Fork of the Arkansas the bank becomes very rough which altho' narrow (the fork) carries a quantity of water of a red colour, and is the left branch of the Arkansas, which connects with the Red River of the Mississippi, which is extremely easy distinguishable in ascending: as from a few miles above nearly in a parallel line, is a high Ridge bearing off at right angles from the main River."¹⁹ Becknell, describing his course, used terms similar to those of Pike. This first fork, or left branch, was the Purgatoire River.²⁰ Becknell headed south up the Purgatoire River, it being the left branch of the Arkansas. He kept to the left, following Chacuaco Creek, a tributary of the Purgatoire. On October 26 the group saw large flocks of mountain sheep which were described in the journal. Then they encountered the cliffs.

Becknell Journal: *"We had now some cliffs to ascend, which presented difficulties almost insurmountable, and we were laboriously engaged nearly two days in rolling away large rocks, before we attempted to get our horses up, and even then one fell and was bruised to death."*

As the cliffs lining the creek began to close in, Becknell realized he had to get out of the creek valley. Only the year before, Major Stephen Long and his party, on an exploring expedition to determine the sources of the Red River, went up Chacuaco Creek to where they "arrived at a part of the valley beyond which it was found impossible to penetrate."²¹ Long's party had to backtrack and were finally able with great difficulty to emerge from the canyon. Becknell apparently had the same experience.

Becknell Journal: *"At length we had the gratification of finding ourselves on the open plain: and two days travel brought us to the Canadian br[e]ak, whose rugged cliffs again threatened to interrupt our passage, which we finally effected with considerable difficulty."*

Once out of the canyon of Chacuaco Creek, there is indeed a plain which is fairly level. Depending on where a party left the creek and how many miles are traveled per day, it was possible to spend two days traveling to the Dry Cimarron River. Becknell apparently came to the Dry Cimarron and called it the Canadian, an error that had been made before. Edwin James, a member of the 1820 Stephen H. Long exploring expedition, had called the Dry Cimarron "the most remote sources of the great northern tributary of the Canadian river."²² If the Long party misnamed the Dry Cimarron, Becknell could have made the same mistake. John M. Tucker, in his description of Long's route, related (with a quotation from the report) the difficulties that party had in crossing the Dry Cimarron: They arrived at the cliff bounding the south

side of the valley at a distance of 3 miles from their camp. This 'mural barrier' they found impassable 'except at particular points, where it is broken by ravines. One of these we were fortunate in finding without being compelled to deviate greatly from our course, and climbing its rugged declivity, we emerged upon the broad expanse of the high plain.'"²³ Thus Long's difficulty in crossing the Dry Cimarron was matched by Becknell's difficulty in crossing the Dry Cimarron and each called it the Canadian.²⁴

Becknell Journal: "*Nov. 1st. we experienced a keen northwest wind, accompanied with some snow. Having been now traveling about fifty days . . . our horses are so reduced that we only travel from eight to fifteen miles per day. We found game scarce near the mountains, and one night encamped without wood or water. On the 4th, and several subsequent days, found the country more level and pleasant discovered abundance of iron ore, and saw many wild horses.*"

Traveling southwest from the crossing of the Dry Cimarron, Becknell and his party would have passed through an area of old volcanoes, lava flows, and intrusive peaks. Such features would include Sierra Grande, Capulin Volcano, Laughlin Peak, Palo Blanco Peak, Eagle Tall Mountain, Tinaja Peak, Sugar Loaf Mountain, and Johnson Mesa-Raton Mountains in the northern background. In this area there are places where wood was scarce and, in November, some creeks were dry. They probably crossed the Canadian River north of the Rock Crossing (or possibly at the Rock Crossing itself), heading for the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, which would have been in sight for several days. The mountains would have been a natural target, since Becknell and his men knew they would have to cross this range to reach Santa Fe. It is also likely that they were looking for the "gap" in the mountains and the trail which would lead them to Taos and on to Santa Fe.

Becknell Journal: "*After several days' descent towards Rock river, on Monday the 12th we struck a trail, and found several other indications which induced us to believe that the inhabitants had here herded their cattle and sheep. Timber, consisting of pine and cottonwood, is more plentiful than we have found it for some time.*"

Becknell's Rock River was most likely the modern Canadian River. He does not mention crossing Rock River in 1821, but the next year, when bringing wagons across the Trail, he reported that the "greatest difficulty was In the vicinity of Rock river, where we were under the necessity of taking our waggons up some high and rocky cliffs by hand." Gregg's 1844 Map of the Indian Territory, which was included in *Commerce of the Prairies*, shows the routing of the "First wagon Route to Santa Fe."²⁵ That route cut south from Cold Spring, passed south of Rabbit Ears, crossed Ute Creek, and crossed the Canadian in the vicinity of what is now Conchas Lake. There are deep canyons along both Ute Creek and the Canadian. However, the most likely candidate for Becknell's "Rock River" is the Canadian, and, although Gregg is not always completely accurate, a crossing here was indicated by the Marmaduke Journal of 1824.²⁶ The crossing in the vicinity of present Conchas Lake was a traditional gateway to the plains long before Becknell came through, and a road crossed there as late as 1877.²⁷ That he crossed it farther upstream in 1821 was, perhaps, an indication that Becknell, as he should have, recognized the Canadian both above and below its great canyon.

The corridor through which Becknell traveled between the Arkansas River and the point where he met Gallego had been used before. In 1706, Juan de Ulibarri, on his way to El Cuartelejo, crossed the Dry Cimarron in the same vicinity, as did Long and Becknell. In 1804 and again in 1805, Pedro Vial on his way to the Pawnee Villages forded the Dry Cimarron in the same vicinity.²⁸ The Hugh Glenn-Jacob Fowler and Thomas James expeditions, which arrived in Santa Fe in 1821 on the heels of Becknell, joined together to journey home in 1822. They left from Taos, passed through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and headed northeast. They skirted the mesas at the head waters of the Dry Cimarron, forded the Purgatoire, and camped on Chacuaco Creek, before heading northeast across the country. Thus, if Becknell asked Ezekiel Williams how to get to Santa Fe (which he surely did if he intended to go there), Williams might have told him to follow the Arkansas River, take the left fork and keep to the left branch, cross the Canadian (Dry Cimarron) fork and head southwest to the mountains, follow a creek to the gap in the mountains, and cross over to Taos. The corridor through which Becknell and his men probably passed into New Mexico had been in use for over a hundred years.²⁹

By November 13, 1821, Becknell, a desperate man with dreams of riches in Santa Fe, had brought his small party of tired, dirty, and discouraged men into the province of New Mexico. On that day they met New Mexican troops under command of Militia Urbana Captain Pedro Ignacio Gallego. Gallego's brief diary of his activities, so long buried, reveals a new perspective and additional details on that historic encounter and the opening of the Santa Fe trade.

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NOTES

1. John P. Wilson, *Military Campaigns in the Navajo Country, Northwestern New Mexico, 1800-1846* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1967). 12-13.
2. Frank B. Godley, "James Baird, Early Santa Fe Trader," *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, 3 (April 1959): 171-193; & George S. Ulibarri, "The Chouteau- DeMunn Expedition of New Mexico. 1815-1817," *New Mexico Historical Review* (hereafter *NMHR*), 36 (Oct. 1961): 263-273.
3. Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (2 vols.; reprint; New York: R. R. Wilson, 1936), II, 148.
4. Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. by Milo M. Quafe (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967) 6-7.
5. Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road, Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958), 60; & Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail, the Story of a Great Highway* (Topeka: Crane A Company, 1899), 38. Inman, characteristically, had the date of Becknell's expedition wrong, having him depart in 1812.
6. Marc Simmons, *Opening the Santa Fe Trail* (Cerrillos: Galisteo Press, 1971), 3.
7. David J. Weber, ed., "William Becknell as a Mountain Man: Two Letters," *NMHR*, 46 [July 1971]: 259 fn1.
8. David J. Weber, "An Unforgettable Day: Facundo Melgares on Independence," *NMHR*, 48 (January 1973): 27-44.
9. *Ibid.*, 29.
10. Larry M. Beachum, *William Becknell: Father of the Santa Fe Trade* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982), 21- 22; Simmons, *Opening the Santa Fe Trail*, 3.
11. Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians* (Chicago: The Rio Grande Press, 1962); & Harry R. Stevens, "A Company of Hands and Traders: Origins of the Glenn- Fowler Expedition of 1821-1822," *NMHR*, 46 (July 1971): 181-221.
12. Beachum, *William Becknell*, 22-23, 33.
13. David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers, the Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 53; & Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1345, the American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 126, 128.
14. Robert L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), 68. Duffus was apparently the first to propose that Becknell crossed over Raton Pass. Almost all others who have written since have accepted this routing without question. Duffus's book remains an excellent overview of the Trail.
15. Becknell's Journal has been published several times since its first appearance in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 22, 1823. These include *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, 2, 57-75; [William Becknell], "The Journals of Capt. Thomas Becknell from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River," *Missouri Historical Review*, 4 (January 1910): 65-84; & Archer Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, the First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe* (Colorado Springs: Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933), 56-68. The quotations from the journal included here are from the *Missouri Historical Review* (1910), although the other editions contain the same journal entries.
16. Manuel Lisa was an early fur trader and partner in the St. Louis-Missouri Fur Company. Among many other activities, he attempted to open trade with Santa Fe in 1812. Ezekiel Williams was part of the party Lisa sent toward Santa Fe. Along the way Indians attacked them and killed all except Williams.
17. Beachum, *William Becknell*, 19; & Weber, *The Taos Trappers*, 44.

18. Fowler, while traveling up the Arkansas on November 13, passed a fork in the river and in his journal commented that he supposed it to be "Pikes first forke." Unless he had the map memorized, this is strong evidence that he had the map in hand. Elliott Coues, ed., *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 47.
19. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike with Letters and Related Documents*, Vol. I (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), map between 368 & 389.
20. *Ibid.*, 349 fn132.
21. John M. Tucker, "Major Long's Routs from the Arkansas to the Canadian River, 1820," *NMHR*, 38 (July 1963): 195-196, quoting from the account of Edwin James, who accompanied the expedition.
22. *Ibid.*, 202.
23. *Ibid.*, 205.
24. In all fairness it must be noted that both Jacob Fowler and Thomas James in 1821 and 1822 identified correctly the Canadian River. Both started from the Arkansas River generally between Fort Smith and Fort Gibson. This is the area where the Canadian River flows into the Arkansas River. James identified the river early in his journey to Santa Fe, and Fowler identified it in 1822 coming over the mountains just west of Rayado. Each may have had the correct information by virtue of being or residing near its mouth and information from various Indians. Coues, *Journal of Jacob Fowler*, 117; & James, *Three Years Among the Mexicans and the Indians*, 106.
25. "Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas, and New Mexico showing the Great Western Prairies, by Josiah Gregg," in Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*. The map was also published separately by the Santa Fe Trail Association, 1990.
26. Hulbert, *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*, 74. Hulbert stated that, on July 22, Marmaduke was at Las Vegas because he mentioned being at Juan Peno's. Las Vegas had no permanent residents in 1824, but a Juan Peno was having sheep herded on the land for which he applied for a grant. The area of the grant was to the west of the crossing and present-day Conchas Lake, near Pino Spring and Pino Creek in San Miguel County. G. Emlen Hall, "Juan Estevan Pino, 'Se Los Coma': New Mexico Land Speculation in the 1820s," *NMHR*, 57 (January 1982): 31.
27. Wheeler Map, sheet No. 78 (A), which essentially is the Las Vegas sheet.
28. James H Gunnerson, "Documentary Clues and Northeastern New Mexico Archeology," *New Mexico Archeological Council Proceedings*, VI, 18-56, 68-72, gives convincing evidence of the route of Ulibarri and Vial. Vial's journals are more accessible in Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 428-438, & Abraham P. Nasatir, "More on Pedro Vial in Upper Louisiana," *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804*, ed. by John F. McDermott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 100-119.
29. While this seems convincing evidence of Becknell's route, the authors would like to hear differing views.

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