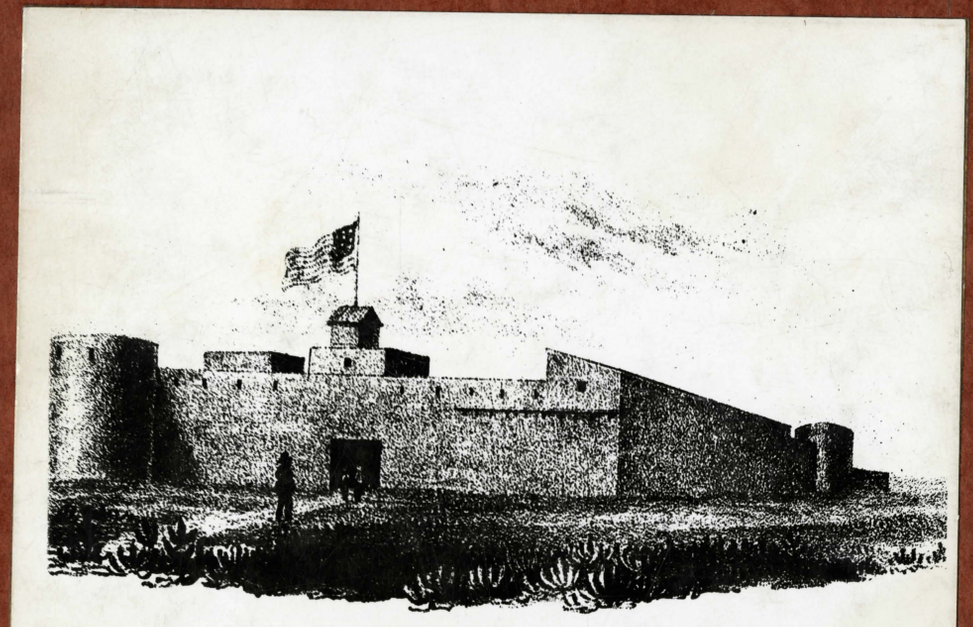
IES

HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

PART II



June 1965

BENTS OLD FORT

Duplicate in Library

Name of Area or Project: Historic Structures Report, Part II
Reconstruction of Bent's Old Fort
Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site

Recommended: Dwight C. Stevens, Jr. Date: June 14, 1965
Acting Superintendent

Recommended: _____ Date: _____
Chief, WODC

Recommended: _____ Date: _____
Acting Chief, Resource Studies

Recommended: _____ Date: _____
Regional Director

Approved: _____ Date: _____
Director

AUA
1E5
000016

HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

PART II

RECONSTRUCTION OF BENT'S OLD FORT

BENT'S OLD FORT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Midwest Regional Office
Omaha, Nebraska

June, 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section

3. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA, by Foy L. Young

4. HISTORICAL DATA, by Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.

6. ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA, by Jackson W. Moore, Jr.

9. HISTORICAL-ARCHEOLOGICAL SUMMARY, by Jackson W. Moore, Jr. and Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.

(NOTE: Detailed Tables of Contents for Sections 4 and 6 are provided at the beginning of the section.)

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

3. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

a. Name and number of structure - Bent's Old Fort, Building #1. Classified AAA in the Historic Structures Inventory.

b. Restatement of Proposed Use of Structure - The interpretive program will be focused at the reconstructed Fort, as the optimum interpretive facility. The building will also house the Park's administrative offices and serve in lieu of a visitor center.

c. Restatement of Provisions for Operating the Structure - The reconstructed Fort will contain the primary visitor reception and interpretive facilities. Orientation and interpretation will be provided by uniformed Park personnel at the Fort, through guided tours, talks, exhibits, audio-visual programs, and publications.

d. Estimate of Cost of Proposed Construction Activity - It is estimated that $434,100 will be required to reconstruct Bent's Old Fort, including necessary facilities and furnishings.

(See PCP B-3 on following pages)

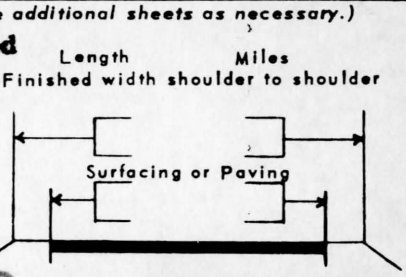
Form 10-411
(Rev. 2/62)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

PROJECT CONSTRUCTION PROPOSAL

1. Statement of requirements, proposed work and construction data, justification, etc. *(Use additional sheets as necessary.)*

Proposed Work: Bent's Old Fort is an almost completely ruined adobe structure. This proposal provides for restoration with original materials and appearance. Housed within the structure will be a modern visitor center and administrative facilities.



Construction Data: The structure to be restored measures approximately 140' X 170' containing 25 lower rooms, 7 upper rooms and 2 bastions. Of the total enclosed area approximately 9,600 sq. ft. were roofed. A 150' X 170' adobe corral abutted the main building within which a 50 car parking area will be provided. Within the main building modern facilities will provide administrative offices, archeological and historical artifact storage, public and employee restrooms, lobby and exhibit space, 50 seat AV room with necessary utility and storage space. Restored rooms will be equipped with historic furnishings as exhibits in place.

Provide oil fired furnace, electric lights, water heating and air conditioning.

(continued)

2. Land Status *(if Govt.-owned, what agency)*, Water Rights, Research, Etc.

Government owned, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service

Archeological and historical research is now underway.

3. PCP Data Prepared by *(Name, Title & Date)*	4. Cross-reference PCP's to this Project: R-1, U-3, M-7, M-8 PCP numbers of previously completed portions:	6. CLASS C ESTIMATE	
10-26-64 Foy Young, Supt. 10-26-64 E. C. Alberts Reg.Chief,Interp & Vis Svs.	5. Construction by: Day Labor ☐ Contract ☒ Work supervised by: Park ☐ Reg. ☐ Design Office ☒	Construction.....	$ 288,000
		Plans, Surveys, & Supervision.....	41,600
		Contingencies.....	17,400
		SUB TOTAL	347,000
		Exhibits, Audio-Visual Installations, etc.....	107,100
		GRAND TOTAL	$ 454,100

7. DISTRIBUTION OF COPIES

No	To
1	WASO
2	WODC
2	MRO
1	Bent's Old Fort

8. Recommended by Park Office *(Signature, title, date)*

(SGD) FOY L. YOUNG 11-10-64

9. Approved by Regional Office *(Signature, title, date)*

(Sgd) Harvey B. Reynolds — Ass't to Regional Director Development — JUN 15 1964

10. Reviewed by D&C Field Office *(Signature, Title, Date)*

[redacted] Hill
Chief, WODC
December 9, 1964

11. Location within Area or Termini: Bent's Old Fort

12. Master Plan No.: NHS-BOF-3000

13. Bldg. or Rt. # and Sec.: Bldg. #1

14. Region: Midwest

15. Park: Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site

16. Project: Reconstruct Bent's Old Fort (Visitor Center and Administration Offices Included)

Otero (County)
Colorado

17. PCP Index No.: B-8

18. P. S. & S. by

CLASS (A) - Estimate based on working drawings
CLASS (B) - Estimate based on preliminary plans
CLASS (C) - Estimate based on similar facilities in other parks

19. ESTIMATE

Item		Quantity	Cost
Reconstruct Fort structure			
9,600 sq.ft (approx.) @ $30.00			**288,000**
Administrative Offices, Archeological and Historical artifact storage facilities - Public and employee restrooms, lobby and exhibit space, 50 seat AV room and restored rooms as exhibits to be included.			
Museum Exhibits			
19 @ $1,800 ea.	$34,200		
1 Diorama	10,000		
	$44,200		
Audiovisual			
Rear screen projection and audio equipment for 50 seat room (Incl program production)	6,500		
Audio stations in furnished exhibit rooms (6) @ $400	2,400		
	$ 8,900		
Furnishings			
Assembly room, lobby & Offices			
50 seats (AV room) @ $15	750		
4 desks @ $100	400		
4 swivel chairs @ $50	200		
8 side chairs @ $50	400		
File & amp cabinets	750		
Ash trays, setees, etc. for lobby and courtyard	3,500		
	$6,000		
Historic Furnishings			
See attachment	$48,000		
		Estimate Totals Construction.....	$ 288,000
		Plans, Surveys, and Supervision.....	$ 41,600
		Contingencies.....	$ 17,400
		SUB TOTAL	$ 347,000
		Exhibits, Aud.-Vis. Installations, Etc.....	$ 107,100
		GRAND TOTAL	$ 454,100

1. Statement of requirements, proposed work and construction data, justification, etc.
Continued:

Historic structures report will contain restoration data.

Justification: The area was established to interpret Bent's Old Fort and its role in westward exploration and expansion. The restored fort will be the major feature of visitor interest and will enclose virtually the entire interpretive program. In addition to an interpretive program, the AV room will provide facilities for special programs, visiting groups and staff assembly and training.

19. Estimate
Continued:

Historic Furnishings (estimate)

Preparation and duplication of Furnishings Report	7,000
Refurnishings	
Northeast Bastion	5,000
William Bent's Quarters	3,000
Kitchen	3,000
Artificer's Shops (4)	8,000
Trade Room	10,000
Storage Room	4,000
Employee Quarters	2,000
Watch Tower	1,000
Billiard Room and Bar	5,000
Total	$ 48,000

HISTORICAL DATA

HISTORICAL DATA SECTION

by

Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.
Historian

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. Historical Resume of Bent's Old Fort

I. History of the Structure 1

II. Land Ownership 9

B. Bent Period

I. Source Evaluation 10

II. Exterior 21
General 21
Special Features 22

III. Interior 25
Orientation 25
Means of Entry 28
Central Complex 30
Wagonhouse 42
Main Corral 44
Special Features 46

IV. Construction 51
Dimensions 51
Adobes 52
Floors 54
Walls 54
Ceilings and Roofs 55
Windows 56
Doors 57
Walkways 57
Fireplaces & Chimneys 58
Interior Partitions 58
Design 58

V. Use, Location, and Description of Rooms 60
Storehouses 61
Workshops 63
Messing Facilities 68
Living Quarters 71
Business 76
Recreation 79
Other 80

VI. Possibility of Alteration 86

VII. Abandonment 95
C. First Interim Period 97
D. Stagecoach Period 99
E. Cattle Period 104
F. Second Interim Period 105
G. Terminal Period 107
H. Plates 109
I. Bibliography 113
J. Notes 119

A. HISTORICAL RESUME OF BENT'S OLD FORT

I. HISTORY OF THE STRUCTURE

The history of the structure known variously as Bent's Old Fort, Bent's Fort, and Fort William falls logically into six periods;

Bent Period (1833-1849) during which the Fort was headquarters for Bent, St. Vrain, and Co., a trading company with connections as wide as St. Louis and Santa Fe. From the Fort's location on the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail the firm dispersed American influence and trade goods over a vast area ranging from the northern part of present day Colorado into the mountains of central New Mexico. Situated on the international boundary with Mexico, the Fort played a prominent role in American expansion to the Southwest. Its location in the heart of the Southern Plains Indian country made it a natural contact point between the whites and several major tribes including the Southern Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Comanche.

First Interim Period (1849-1861) during which the structure was unoccupied and allowed to deteriorate.

Stagecoach Period (1861-1881) during which the structure was occupied by the Barlow-Sanderson Overland Mail and Express Co. as a home station and general repair shop for the line which ran from Kansas City to Santa Fe. Several spur lines also radiated from the Fort.

Cattle Period (1881-1884) during which adobes were carried from the Fort to be placed in the buildings of nearby settlers.

Second Interim Period (1884-1920) during which the remains of the Fort deteriorated virtually unchecked. Midway through the period, the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution began to take an active interest in perpetuating the memory of the old landmark. A monument was dedicated on the site in 1912, and in

late 1920 the DAR was given the site itself.

Terminal Period (1920-1963) The DAR movement to protect the few remaining ruins of the Fort got off to an inauspicious start. In June of 1921 the swollen Arkansas River swept over the Fort site as the Great Pueblo Flood completed the work of destruction. The DAR efforts to maintain interest were retarded by scarcity of funds and it was finally forced to transfer title to the State of Colorado in 1954. The same year the state financed a limited archeological excavation of the Fort and the erection of a low adobe wall which generally marked the outline of the foundation. It was soon realized that a true reconstruction of the old fort could only be accomplished through the funds and resources of the Federal Government. By an act of Congress approved June 3, 1960, the establishment of a National Historic Site at Bent's Old Fort was authorized, and on October 31, 1961 the United States acquired title to the Fort site. The National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior took over the administration of the National Historic Site on March 15, 1963.

This Historic Structures Report has been prepared to provide a portion of the data necessary to reconstruct Bent's Old Fort to its historic appearance. Since the time of major significance was the Bent Period, the report has been largely directed toward the 1833-1849 structure. A brief resume of events and conditions that made the Fort nationally significant is provided below, in the form of a concise history of the Bent Period.

BENT, ST. VRAIN AND CO.: The partners who formed Bent, St. Vrain Co. in 1831 were not new to the West. The brothers Charles and William Bent,

and Ceran St. Vrain had all ventured out from their native St. Louis to take part in the Upper Missouri fur trade.[1] Armed with experience, some capital, and a willingness to do whatever was necessary to compete with other similarly minded entrepreneurs, they arrived in the Arkansas Valley late in the third decade of the 19th century. Their objective was to locate at a point in United States territory which could serve the dual purpose of tapping the rich Santa Fe traffic as well as the potentially, highly lucrative Indian trade. They constructed a stockade on Fountain Creek (near present Pueblo, Colorado) for this purpose, but it soon became apparent that the location was badly chosen. The site was well off the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail and a considerable distance west of the main buffalo hunting grounds of the Plains Indians.[2] It is said that Yellow Wolf, a Cheyenne chief, pointed out the latter fact and suggested the company re-establish at the Big Timbers (near present Lamar, Colorado). For reasons not completely clear, the partners compromised with Yellow Wolf's idea, and instead chose to locate at a spot on the Arkansas some 40 miles upstream from Big Timbers, but nevertheless, on the Mountain Branch Trail.[3]

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FORT: It is not certain how long it took to construct the adobe building that would be known, at least among the partners, as Fort William. The historian Grinnell claims the construction began in 1828 and was completed in 1832, interrupted somewhat by an outbreak of smallpox. During this time the company operated out of a stockade on the construction site:[4] Other, and seemingly more plausible accounts,

have the construction beginning in 1833 and being completed the following year.[5] At any rate, by 1833 the Fort was completed and William Bent installed as resident manager, a position he held until the Fort's abandonment in 1849.[6]

TRADE OPERATIONS: The trading activities centered at Bent's Fort may be described as "three cornered". Trade goods of American manufacture were hauled along the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri. A portion of the goods was deposited at the Fort, and the remainder continued down the Trail into Mexican Territory where it was disposed of at the mercantile outlets operated by St. Vrain and Charles Bent in Taos and Santa Fe. This same method operated in reverse, with goods of Mexican and Navajo origin being allocated to the Fort or carried on to Missouri. The third corner consisted of the Indian tribes who either traded their buffalo robes for goods at the Fort or were reached by traders travelling to the Indian camps. The robes were transported to the company's eastern outlets. The Fort also catered to independent Mountain Men who bartered beaver pelts and other furs for the equipment and supplies needed to maintain themselves.[7]

INDIAN RELATIONS: The key to such a business as the Bent, St. Vrain Co. engaged in was to maintain friendly relations with the several Indian tribes involved. A serious breach would not only destroy the cornerstone of the business, but might conceivably constitute a very real personal danger to the Fort and its occupants. The situation was plain to William Bent, and his efforts soon placed him in a position of great influence with the Indians which he was to enjoy until his death in 1869.[8] The

Southern Cheyennes and their friends, the Arapahoes were the major tribes doing business with the Fort and relations seem to have been excellent throughout the Bent Period. Two reasons stand out, one being that the Fort was in Cheyenne territory, and the other that William Bent took a Cheyenne wife soon after the completion of the structure.[9] Almost as important as the White-Indian relationship were the feelings between the red men themselves. Throughout the 30's Bent found that the enmity between his Cheyenne friends and the tribes south of the Arkansas -- the Kiowas and Comanches -- put the Fort in the center of a potential battlefield. If one faction was reluctant to trade because of the presence in force of the other, business naturally suffered. It is said by some that the peace conference of 1840 which forever abolished the Cheyenne-Comanche differences was Indian initiated, and this may well be true. However, the peace was consummated 3 miles below the Fort, the erstwhile enemies exchanged gifts purchased from Bent, and from that time on, the two tribes could mix at the Fort in an atmosphere of peace.[10] The very nature of the tribal system dictated that there should be occasional flareups, but the 1840 peace provided the wedge Bent needed. After that complaints were often discussed in council at the Fort and settled without resort to violence.[11]

The Federal Government took advantage of the Fort's location to foster relations with the Indians. In 1835 Colonel Henry Dodge's Dragoon Expedition from Fort Leavenworth met with contingents from the various tribes within a few miles of the post.[12] In 1846 Thomas Fitzpatrick,

a former Bent employee, was appointed Agent for the Upper Platte and Arkansas Indian Agency. Fitzpatrick resided part-time at the Fort and often met with the tribes in or near its vicinity.[13]

NOTED VISITORS: As an outpost of American civilization, Bent's Fort was a natural stopping place for travelers. Among those known to have visited during the Bent Period were Matthew Field (New Orleans Journalist),[14] Thomas J. Farnham (English Traveler),[15] Frederick A. Wislizenus (German-American Naturalist),[16] Marcus Whitman (Missionary),[17] Francis Parkman (Author-Historian),[18] and George F. Ruxton (English Author).[19] Many figures prominent in the history of the West were associated with the Fort, the most famous of all being Kit Carson, who was employed by the firm intermittently.[20]

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION: One, if not the most, nationally significant aspects of the history of Bent's Fort was the role the structure played in the territorial expansion of the United States. Relations between the Company and the U. S. Army entered into a more than casual phase in the summer of 1843 when a contract was consummated calling for the storage of Army provisions at the post.[21] The following year, John C. Fremont's Second Expedition disbanded at the Fort, having completed its "Great Reconnaissance of 1843-1844".[22]

In 1845 the Army sent out three expeditions ostensibly to map the Southwest and gather scientific information, but in many respects, simply to compile intelligence to be used in the event of war with

Mexico. Each of the three paused for supplies at Bent's Fort. The first, led by Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, was a Dragoon column originating at Fort Leavenworth and making a circuit via the Oregon Trail, the eastern slope of the Colorado Rockies, and home down the Arkansas. The other two expeditions, both under the overall command of Fremont, spent several weeks in early August fitting out at the Fort. Fremont then took the main body through the Rocky Mountains to California while Lieut. J. W. Abert explored the Canadian River country and returned to Fort Leavenworth.[23]

In the spring of 1846 the long expected war with Mexico broke out. At Fort Leavenworth, Kearny was given command of a force designated the Army of the West. His orders were to march his column to Bent's Fort and use that as a base for an invasion of Mexican Territory. Kearny arrived in late July and remained in and near the Fort for several days.[24] Before moving on he had, in effect, converted the Fort into a depot and assigned an Army Quartermaster officer to see that stores were properly stockpiled and forwarded as needed. The Fort continued to serve in this capacity until late 1847.[25]

Kearny marched into Mexico, raised the United States flag over Santa Fe on August 18th, and pushed on for California. Charles Bent was installed as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico.[26]

DECLINE AND ABANDONMENT: The successful conclusion of the Mexican War resulted in a changed situation at Bent's Fort. The frequent coming

and going of troops on the Santa Fe Trail, the wheeled armadas of supply wagons, and the increased flow of immigrants heralded the beginning of serious conflict with the Indians. In January of 1847, Charles Bent was killed in an insurrection in Taos, and St. Vrain spent more and more time attending to his New Mexican interests.[27] Having served as a base for territorial expansion, Bent's Fort was beginning to wither as a direct result of it.

The discovery of gold in California, coupled with the desire to settle the newly conquered territory provided the coup de grace. The tide of immigrants became a flood. The constant, seemingly endless, flow of wagons alarmed the Indians as they saw water holes ruined and buffalo frightened from their natural runs. With the immigrants came the dread cholera. Incidents occurred and soon more war parties than bands intent on trading, were in the Fort vicinity. Business fell off to an alarming degree as fear of cholera, combat, or both kept the tribes away from the Fort.[28] By the summer of 1849 William Bent decided the Fort would never again attain its pre-war eminence. Taking his family, some employees, and what valuables he could carry, he set fire to his excess powder and abandoned the Fort, moving down to the Big Timbers to begin again.[29]

II. LAND OWNERSHIP

(United States property to 1870)

UNITED STATES (September 20, 1870	TO JULIA BENT Deed Book 1, Page 184)
JULIA BENT (April 10, 1872	TO JOHN W. PROWERS Deed Book 1, Page 186)
HEIRS OF JOHN W. PROWERS (August 17, 1897	TO THOMAS H. MARSHALL Deed Book 44, Page 57)
THOMAS H. MARSHALL (September 22, 1900	TO A. E. REYNOLDS Deed Book 52, Page 386)
A. E. REYNOLDS (February 20, 1920	TO BENT'S FORT LAND & CATTLE CO. Deed Book 168, Page 443)
BENT'S FORT LAND & CATTLE CO. (February 8, 1926	TO LA JUNTA CHAPTER OF DAR Deed Book 275, Page 62)
LA JUNTA CHAPTER OF DAR (April 14, 1954	TO STATE OF COLORADO Deed Book 492, Page 109)
STATE OF COLORADO (October 31, 1961	TO UNITED STATES Deed Book 566, Page 236)

All records cited above are in the custody of the County Clerk of Otero County, Colorado.

B. BENT PERIOD

I. SOURCE EVALUATION

Considering the 16 year duration of the Bent Period, it seems at first remarkable that so few individuals saw fit to record their impressions of the structure. Out of numerous documents examined, there emerged a total of but 25 sources that could be considered to have been written by primary informants. However, when it is realized that at least 60% of those who could qualify were nomadic Indians, and a large number of the remainder were illiterate trappers, hunters, and Mexican laborers, it seems perhaps more remarkable that 25 were found.

The 25 sources range from the highly questionable reminiscences of George Bent to the rather meticulous drawings and measurements of Lieut. James W. Abert. They range over a time period almost as long as the Bent Period itself. Generally, the sources fall into three categories, with those associated with the United States Army doubling those of the other two -- travelers and employees. Table A provides the correlation between the time sequence and the type of informant.

Fortunately, 22 of the sources provided their information by on the spot renderings either in journals, letters, sketches, or notes, the latter being used as a basis for books published within a reasonable time of the visit.

TABLE A: BENT PERIOD SOURCES

YEAR	NAME	MONTH	PURPOSE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION
1835	DODGE	August	U. S. Army	Report
	FORD	August	U. S. Army	Journal
	KINGSBURY	August	U. S. Army	Journal
1838	HOBBS	?	Ransomed Captive	Book
1839	FARNHAM	July	Traveler-Author	Book
	FIELD	August	Newspaper Correspondent	Article
	WISLIZENUS	September	Traveler-Naturalist	Book
1844	FREMONT	July	U. S. Army	Book
	BOGGS	Fall (44) - Spring (45)	Employee	Sketch w/notes
1845	COOKE	July	U. S. Army	Book
	ABERT	August	U. S. Army	Report
1846	EMPLOYEE	May	Employee	Article
	EMORY	July - August	Army of West	Report
	JOHNSTON	July - August	Army of West	Journal
	EDWARDS	July - August	Army of West	Journal
	GIBSON	July - August	Army of West	Journal
	HUGHES	July - August	Army of West	Book
	ABERT	July - September	Army of West	Journal
	MAGOFFIN	July - August	Army of West	Diary
	PARKMAN	August	Traveler-Author	Book
1847	GARRARD	Nov. (46) - Spring	Employee	Book
	RUXTON	May	Traveler-Author	Book
	ST. VRAIN	July	Owner	Letter
1849	FORSYTH	June	Gold Rush Emigrant	Journal
	PALADAY	August	Employee	Article
	G. BENT	(From 1843-1849)	Son of Owner	Interview

The type of information provided varied with the interests, moods, and purpose of the individual. Because of this, it has been thought best for purposes of this report to provide a brief evaluation of each source, which, in accompaniment with Table A, will provide those using the document with ready access to the source of each reference.

DODGE, Henry (Colonel, U. S. Army) visited Bent's Fort in the summer of 1835 while in command of an expedition to meet with the Indian tribes of the region. His observations are recorded in a report of the expedition filed the same year.[30]

FORD, Lemuel (Captain, U. S. Army) a member of the Dodge Expedition, whose Journal provided the information used.[31]

KINGSBURY, G. B. (Lieut., U. S. Army) also a member of the Dodge Expedition, whose Journal was incorporated in Dodge's Report.[32]

HOBBS, James - a young man held captive by the Comanches and ransomed by William Bent, probably in 1838. Hobbs described the incident in a book published some 37 years after the event.[33]

FARNHAM, Thomas J. (English Traveler) visited Bent's Fort in July of 1839 while touring the "Great Western Prairies". A book recording his experiences was published a few years later.[34]

FIELD, Matthew (Newspaper Correspondent) visited Bent's Fort in August of 1839 en route to Santa Fe. His articles were published in the New Orleans Picayune between December, 1839 and October, 1841.[35]

WISLIZENUS, Frederick A. (Traveler-Naturalist) a university trained naturalist of German birth, visited Bent's Fort in September of 1839 while on a journey to the Rocky Mountains. He kept a journal of the trip which was finally published in 1912.[36]

FREMONT, John C. (U. S. Army) the noted explorer visited the Fort on several occasions during the Bent Period. The reference used was recorded in July of 1844 while Fremont was returning from his famed expedition to the Snake River and South Pass.[37]

BOGGS, William M. (Employee) 18 year old son of a Missouri governor and nephew of the Bent brothers, worked as a trader at Bent's Fort from the fall of 1844 to the spring of 1845. The references used are sketches with notes (Plates I, II, and III) rendered in 1903, some 58 years after his stay at the Fort. The time lapse and obvious discrepancies between the two original sketches (Plates I and II) cast some doubt as to the accuracy of the information.[38]

COOKE, Philip St. George (U. S. Army) a Dragoon officer with several known stops at Bent's Fort. The reference used was made in July, 1845 when the Kearny Expedition stopped briefly at the Fort. It was published 12 years later in a book known to be based on a journal.[39]

ABERT, James William (Lieutenant, Topographical Engineers, U. S. Army) provided references in both narrative and graphic form. His first visit embraced a two-week period in August, 1845 when Abert was fitting out an exploratory expedition to the Canadian River (a subsidiary of

Fremont's 1845 Expedition). His report included two excellent sketches of the Fort (Plate IV).[40] He returned the next summer with the Army of the West, becoming ill on the journey across the plains. The illness necessitated a convalescence period of some six weeks at Bent's Fort, during the latter part of which, the restless young officer resumed his Journal and whiled away time sketching visiting Indians and the structure itself. He went so far as to take the dimensions of the Fort, with a view to showing the military authorities the type of structures that could be built in such country. The various sketches and diagrams made during this stay are Plates VII (Fort Front), VIII (Fort Interior), and IX (Dimensions). He returned in January of 1847, tarrying only long enough to deposit several sick soldiers at the Fort.

As a great deal of the primary evidence is attributed to Abert, an effort was made to propel this shadowy character into prospective, and there examine his qualifications as a writer and artist. The results of this sub-investigation proved to be most encouraging.

Briefly stated, James William Abert was born in 1820, making him about 25 years of age at the time of his visits. He came from a line of military officers dating at least as far back as a grandfather on the staff of Rochambeau during the American Revolution. His father, Colonel J. J. Abert, was Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers.[41] Abert prepared for college at a classical seminary in Washington, D. C. and then entered Princeton College, from which he was graduated in the spring of 1838. Appointed to the U. S. Military Academy that summer,

he pursued his military education to graduation with the celebrated Class of 1842.[42] Considering Abert's prior education, his West Point standing of 55 in a class of 56 is probably more indicative of a difficulty to adjusting to regimentation than a lack of mental capacity.[43]

After short service with the 5th Infantry, Abert transferred to the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1843. Routine eastern duties were followed with an assignment to Fremont's 1845 Expedition and his subsequent visits to Bent's Fort. Although Abert's prior experience is impressive in itself, it is perhaps more significant to this evaluation that from 1848 to 1850 he served a tour of duty as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Drawing at West Point, and his drawings were kept as models to students for at least a half century following.[44]

In summation, it seems certain that Abert was completely competent to make such renderings as are used for reference and that, obvious errors notwithstanding, he is probably the most reliable single source.

[illegible] - Author of an unsigned newspaper article published in May, 1846. Although the identity of the informant is unknown, his article indicates that it was written at the Fort shortly before publication.[45]

[illegible], W. H. (Topographical Engineers, U. S. Army) commanding a special engineer unit attached to the Army of the West. Emory was a West Point graduate rendering a report based on notes, but the reference used is so insignificant as to require no further evaluation.[46]

JOHNSTON, Abraham Robinson (Adjutant, 1st Dragoons, U. S. Army) another West Point graduate with the Army of the West, with a brief mention of the Fort in his Journal.[47]

EDWARDS, Marcellus Ball (Private, Missouri Volunteers) an 18 year old soldier and erstwhile deputy clerk in a county clerk's office, noted his experiences with the Army of the West in a Journal. After the war, Edwards became a medical technician in St. Louis, dying of cholera in 1849.[48]

GIBSON, George R. (Missouri Volunteers) an officer who kept a journal of his activities in the Mexican War.[49]

HUGHES, John T. (Missouri Volunteers) a member of the Army of the West published a history of Kearny's Campaign in 1847, from which the references are taken. The title page of the book (Doniphan's Expedition) identifies the author as the holder of an A.B. Degree, and a member of the 1st Missouri Cavalry.[50]

MAGOFFIN, Susan (Wife of Trader) accompanied her husband of 8 months and the Army of the West, passing her 19th birthday at the Fort. Mrs. Magoffin was a Kentucky gentlewoman, educated by private tutors and, in spite of an advanced state of pregnancy, a meticulous diarist. Her excellent entries are the only access we have to a woman's view of Bent's Fort, and her efforts must be considered one of the best of the primary sources. Like Abert, Mrs. Magoffin endured a forced stay due to illness, and was quartered in an upstairs room.[51]

PARKMAN, Francis (Traveler-Historian) arrived at Bent's Fort in August, 1846 shortly after the departure of the Army of the West. At the time, he was 23 years of age and Harvard educated. The reference used is from The Oregon Trail published in 1849, which is an account of his travels through the West, including the mentioned brief stop at Bent's Fort.[32]

GARRARD, Lewis H. (Employee) a 17 year old adventurer from Cincinnati, went west in late 1846 and worked for Bent, St. Vrain, and Co. until spring of the following year. His purpose in noting his experiences was to "gratify" his elder brothers, and done in an admittedly "desultory style". Garrard returned home in 1847 and, while sick from chills and fever, worked over his original notes while the events were still fresh in his mind. The book Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail, from which the references in the report were taken, was first published in 1850. Garrard spent only ten months in the West, but for a considerable portion of that time was resident at Bent's Fort, and at all times was associated with one or more of its partners.[33]

HUNTON, George F. (Traveler-Author) a former officer in the English Army who left the service while still a young man, and became a world traveler. He paid a brief visit to Bent's Fort in 1847, and later incorporated his impressions in the novel Life in the Far West. A serialized version of the book first appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine during the summer of 1848, and it is from this version that the references are taken.[34]

ST. VRAIN, Ceran (Owner) business partner of the Bents was, of course, intimately acquainted with the Fort from its inception. His description of the structure, however, was contained in a letter to the U. S. Army in 1847 in which he offered it for sale. Unfortunately, there are two reasons why it is not as valuable a reference as it would seem on the surface. St. Vrain was trying to sell something, and naturally may have tampered with some of the details to enhance his bargaining position. Also, in his efforts to convince the Army what they could convert the Fort into, he neglected to spend much time on its existing condition.[55]

FORSYTH, John Robert (Gold Rush Emigrant) visited the Fort for a few days en route to California in the summer of 1849. He kept a detailed Journal of his trip, from which the references in this report are taken.[56]

PALADAY (Employee) was interviewed by an unnamed correspondent of the Missouri Republican on September 27, 1849. The interview states that Paladay was employed by William Bent at the Fort, and on August 16 was sent to the Mora River on a business trip. He returned on August 22 to find the Fort "burnt down by the Indians". He remained near the ruins until August 24 and then moved on to Missouri.[57]

BENT, George (Son of William Bent) provided a great deal of information to two historians of the Cheyennes -- George Bird Grinnell and George Hyde. Since the letters, works, and notes of both these men rely (except in extremely obvious cases) on information by George Bent, we

have considered him the primary source and designated accordingly. It must be remembered that both historians were primarily interested in the Cheyenne Indians, and that their efforts on Bent's Fort were more or less incidental to the main purpose of their research.

George Bent, the son of William Bent and Owl Woman, believed himself to have been born at Bent's Fort in July, 1843, living there until its abandonment by his father. Shortly after the time (which Bent believed to be 1852) of abandonment he was sent to Westport, Missouri to attend school under the guardianship of relatives. The outbreak of the Civil War found George and his younger brother Charles in the Confederate Missouri State Guard. Both boys were captured at Corinth, paroled, and sent west in the custody of their father. They were soon off to join the Cheyennes where Charles steadily, and George intermittently, participated in the Indians' war against the U. S. Army, a fact which obviously intrigued the historians Grinnell and Hyde. Among many engagements in which they took part were the Sand Creek affair and several raids on Julesburg. Charles was killed in a Cheyenne-Pawnee skirmish in 1868, by which time George had settled down with his Indian wife Magpie, a niece of Black Kettle. He moved with the rest of the tribe to Indian Territory and remained on the reservation, an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at times, until his death in 1918.

Grinnell is known to have begun his annual summer visits to the Cheyenne

Reservation in 1890, and it may be assumed that he met George Bent either on his first visit or soon after. At that time, by his own figures, Bent would have been some 47 years of age. Both Grinnell and Hyde maintained a prolific correspondence with Bent (whose letters show a somewhat broken, but far from illiterate, ability in written communication) but these deal almost exclusively with Bent himself or his interrogations of other Indians on various battle details. Apparently it was not until 1908 that Grinnell became interested enough in the Fort to have George Bent dictate his recollections, the results of which appear in Plate X. By that time Bent was 65 years old, and had not seen the structure in some 59 years at which time he was about 6 years old. While granting a singular recall facility, it nevertheless seems unlikely that Bent's recollections are much more than hearsay evidence.

Grinnell published an article on the Fort in 1917 for the Kansas State Historical Society, containing numerous pieces of detail that could only have come from interviews with George Bent. Their value must be appraised in light of the facts in the preceding paragraph.[58]

II. EXTERIOR

GENERAL: Because of the sparcity of distinguishing landmarks, Bent's Fort dominated the immediate terrain. Those approaching from the west noted that the structure was visible for some miles distant "standing with its high clay walls in the midst of the scorching plain".[59] Cottonwoods lined the river bank, marking the line of the stream as it swung north southeast of the Fort and meandered past some 200 yards from the east walls.[60] Located on a small prominence, the ground sloped gently to the water's edge. The scene was such that Captain Cooke was moved to write his feelings on seeing the "national flag, floating amid picturesque foliage and river scenery, over a low dark wall, which had a very military semblance".[61]

Perhaps any structure in such a setting would evoke response from those recently passing over the monotonous flat, unbroken plain. But the very magnitude of Bent's Fort was sufficient to cause some viewers to remark on its striking appearance. The round towers and high walls, to those of a generation steeped in the writings of Sir Walter Scott, brought immediately to mind their concept "of an ancient castle",[62] or as PARKMAN eloquently expressed it, the towers rose "over the uncultivated wastes of nature like an old baronial castle that has withstood the wars and desolations of centuries".[63] The spell, however,

was broken on closer examination. This transition is apparent in GIBSON's statement;

> At a distance it presents a handsome appearance, being castle-like with towers at its angles ... But when you approach close, you find the design good but the execution rough ...[64]

SPECIAL FEATURES:

a. Ice House: The fact that ice was served at Bent's Fort is fairly well established, but the source of the luxury is not clear. MAGOFFIN implies an interior ice house in her description of the various rooms[65] and GIBSON claims to have heard of juleps and lemonade being available, but admits he "saw none, nor the ice".[66] GEORGE BENT, (Plate X) whose recollections were of the late part of the Bent Period, included an Ice House east of the Fort on "rising ground on river". Through Grinnell he elaborates as follows;

> About 200 yards west of south of the fort, (Plate X shows it almost due east) and so toward the river bank, on a little mound, stood a large ice house built of adobes. In winter ... this building was filled with ice, and in it during the summer was kept all of the surplus fresh meat ...[67]

Since the only mention of an exterior Ice House is made by GEORGE BENT, it is felt that such a structure was not built until late in the Bent Period. Its existence is fairly certain, however, since ruins of a structure on the approximate location were still visible during the Stagecoach Period.[68] During most of the Bent Period it is likely that ice was stored somewhere inside the Fort.

b. Dairy: Several sources mention that milk cows were kept at the Fort, but only GIBSON implies a separate structure to house them. His statement that "they have a large dairy, and I saw some very fine calves near it",[69] is not specific enough to pinpoint a definite location, or even to establish that there was such a structure. In the absence of any corroboration, it must be assumed that there was no exterior structure used as a Dairy.

c. Race Track: MAGOFFIN states definitely that "They have a regular race track",[70] and is supported by [illegible] (Plate I) who shows an oval marked "Race Track" on land due west of the Fort. Although no other evidence has been found, it may be assumed that a track did exist, since a considerable part of activity at the Fort consisted of horse trading.[71]

d. Grave Yard: [illegible] (Plate X) shows a "Graveyard sloping toward the bottom", an unspecified distance northwest of the Fort. [illegible] recorded;

> In the evening another volunteer died, and was buried. They were obliged to cover the graves with prickly pear, or rocks, to prevent the wolves from tearing the bodies out of the ground ...[72]

GARRARD's remarks on the cheerlessness of the Fort walls were compounded by the fact that "Near were some men digging a grave".[73] Neither of these references establishes a location, but they do provide evidence on the fact that people were

buried in close proximity to the Fort, and it is safe to assume that a special area was designated for such purposes.

e. Wood Pile: BOGGS (Plates I and II) shows "Wood for Fire Use" piled rather haphazardly a short distance northwest of the Main Gate. No mention of such a pile is found in the other sources, but it is certain that fire wood would have to be placed somewhere, and the BOGGS location was as convenient as any.

f. Acequia: BOGGS (Plate I) shows "An old Ditch" approaching the Fort from the northwest and curving in front of the structure toward the east. ABERT probably speaks of the same ditch in the passage:

> Between the fort and the river there is a low piece of ground that was once cultivated, the traces of the "Acequia", by which it was irrigated, are yet visible ...[14]

III. INTERIOR

ORIENTATION:

a. Directions: Dent's Fort was constructed somewhat at an angle directionally speaking, a fact which, coupled with the meander of the Arkansas River, caused some difficulty to those describing the structure. Since the Main Gate faces generally north, it has been used as a point of reference for this report, and the directions designated accordingly. In cases where a direct quotation using what is obviously an incorrect direction, the correction is given in parentheses immediately following.

b. General Designations: To avoid constant explanatory information throughout the text, it has been thought advisable to develop a standard terminology in regard to parts of the structure. Diagram 1 and 2 (and all other diagrams not otherwise noted) are based generally upon a ground plan produced by Dr. Herbert W. Dick as a result of his 1934 excavation. The room designations (E-5, S-7, etc.) are, of course, based on the points of the compass. Certain modifications of Dick's basic plan have been made in the light of new information. The term "Central Complex" is used to refer to the two Bastions, Inner Corral, Alley, and the buildings around the Plaza. Other major areas are designated Alpha-Beta, Magazine,

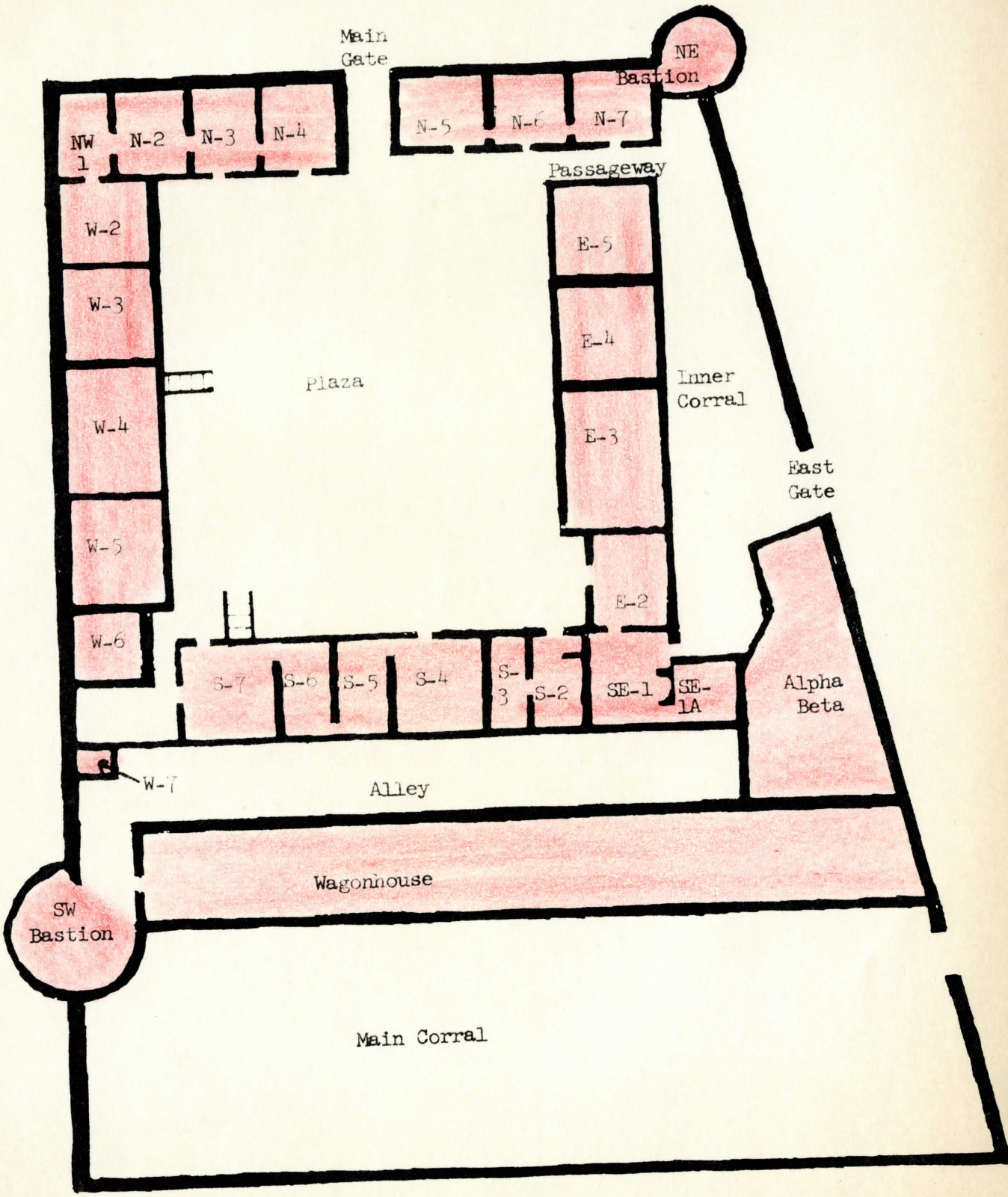

Main Gate
NE Bastion
NW 1
N-2
N-3
N-4
N-5
N-6
N-7
Passageway
W-2
W-3
W-4
W-5
W-6
W-7
Plaza
E-5
E-4
E-3
E-2
Inner Corral
East Gate
S-7
S-6
S-5
S-4
S-3
S-2
SE-1
SE-1A
Alpha Beta
Alley
Wagonhouse
SW Bastion
Main Corral

DIAGRAM #1

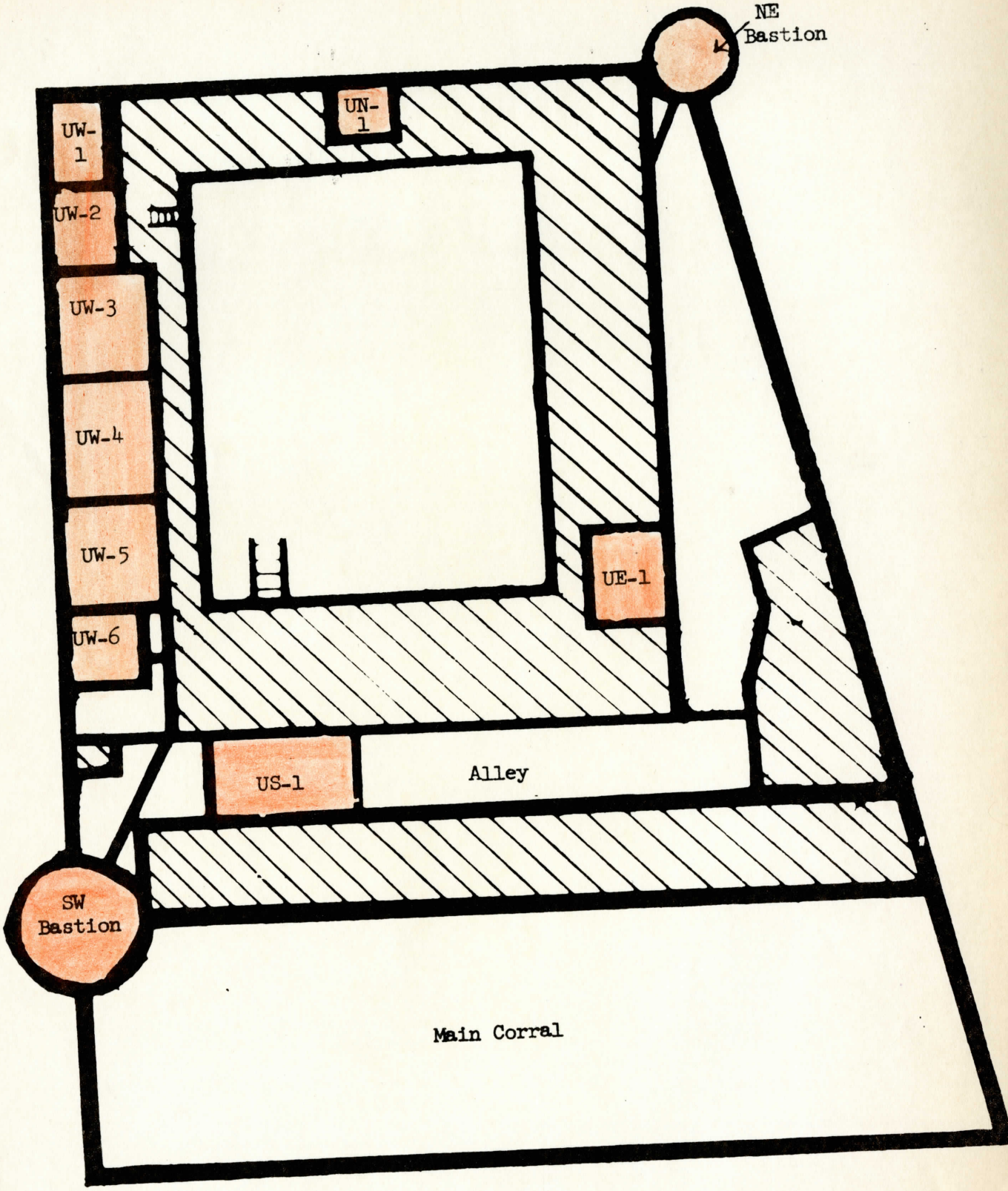

NE
Bastion
UN-
1
UW-
1
UW-2
UW-3
UW-4
UW-5
UW-6
UE-1
US-1
Alley
SW
Bastion
Main Corral

DIAGRAM #2

and Main Corral.

MEANS OF ENTRY:

Security was a major factor in the design and operation of the Fort, and it would follow that means of entry would be held to a minimum commensurate with necessity. GIBSON and MAGOFFIN both state distinctly that there was but one entrance, that being the one designated as the Main Gate.[75] Several others imply the same, yet there is evidence to show that more than one entrance was needed to accomodate the wagons, animals, and people necessary to the proper functioning of the establishment.

a. Main Gate: The Main Gate, which bisected the north wall of the Fort, is shown clearly on all contemporary illustrations of the structure. ABERT gives the dimensions of the opening as 7 feet high by 6½ feet wide (Plate VII). The double doors are described by FARNHAM as "a pair of immense plank doors",[76] by FIELD as a "huge gate",[77] and by GIBSON as a "massive gate."[78] GEORGE KENT states that in his day "Sheet iron was nailed over these doors ... they looked like Iron Doors".[79] All illustrations (Plates II, III, IV, V, and X) suggest that the doors opened inward. ABERT (Plate VIII) shows a second set of doors opening into the Plaza, which would mean that having entered the Main Gate, one would pass through the

passageway formed by the east wall of Room R-4 and the west wall of Room R-5, and then through a second set into the Plaza. GARRARD gives some support to ABERT's second set of doors in his story of luring a wild dog into the Plaza by saying, "... the fort gates were opened, and the dog, cautiously passing the first portal, entered the yard ..."[80] The use of the adjective "first" suggests more than one set of doors.

b. East Gate: HUGHES provides the earliest mention of a means of entry other than the Main Gate in his statement that William Bent, fearing to allow a certain contingent of Comanches into the Fort, displayed his wares "at the back door".[81] GEORGE BENT (Plate X) also recalls more than one means of entry to the Main Complex, but his ground plan is so misoriented as to be worthless for pinpointing the location. ABERT (Plate IV) shows no break in the West Wall, and it may be assumed that it was not in the South Wall because of the presence of the Main Gate. If such a gate existed, it would probably have been in the East Wall, which would provide access to the Inner Corral and the Alpha-Beta area. HUGHES (Plate V) shows such a gate in such a location, but there is no other corroboration. Nevertheless, it is concluded that there was an East Gate, and that it was probably used for wagons and domestic

cattle.[82]

c. Corral Gate: The very existence of an adobe corral dictated that there must be a means of entry into it. ABERT (Plate IX) shows a break in the wall at a point near the southwest corner of the Fort, but unfortunately, his bird's eye view (Plate IV) does not show that area clearly. However, he shows no gate in the visible wall, which suggests that if one existed, it was in the hidden section. GEORGE BENT states that a gate to the corral was on the river (east) side,[83] and he indicates the same on Plate X, putting it in the same location as ABERT (Plate IX). According to GEORGE BENT, the gate was single, opened outward and, like the Main Gate, was plated with sheet iron and studded with nails.[84]

CENTRAL COMPLEX:

a. Plaza: Passing through the Main Gate, one would enter an open space known as the Plaza,[85] which was the center of activity in the Fort. ABERT (Plate IX) gives the dimensions as 91 feet (north-south) by 66 feet (east-west) and GEORGE BENT (Plate X) shows it to have been gravelled, undoubtedly as a measure to prevent dust and mud. WISLIZENUS mentions "many barnyard fowl"[86] were present in the Plaza at the time of his visit, and FIELD suggests that "creatures of the prairie, caught and tamed"[87] might also be found there.

(Fixed objects such as the Fur Press, which may have been in the Plaza at one time or another, will be covered below under SPECIAL FEATURES.)

b. Rooms: The main Fort structure encompassed the Plaza (Plates I, II, III, IV, VIII, & IX), with the rooms opening onto it. ABERT (Plate VIII) shows how the buildings would look to an observer in the center of the Plaza. The west row of rooms (marked #5 by ABERT) was two-story, the remainder being one story, except for single upper rooms on the south and west, and the Watchtower-Belfry over the Main Gate.

The number of rooms on the ground-floor is open to question. MAGOFFIN states there were "some twenty-five in number",[88] but in the absence of a statement to the contrary, she is assumed to be referring to upstairs rooms as well. ABERT (Plate VIII) shows 13 doorways on the ground-floor, opening into the plaza but, of course, does not take into account interior partitions and rooms connecting off the rear. The 1954 excavation revealed foundations of 25 rooms, although one of these is known to have been an open area, and is not considered as a room in this report.[89] Three of the rooms (NW-1, SE-1, SE-1A), by their position, could not have had entrances visible to a person in the Plaza.

(See Diagram 1 - Page 26)

The situation is clearer on the second story. (See Diagram 2 - Page 27) On the east side was a single room (Designated UE-1) near the southeast corner of the main structure. This room appears on the BOGGS drawings (Plates I, II, III) where it is designated as "Capt. St. Vrain's Room on Top of Fort". It is also shown by ABERT (Plates IV, VII, IX) and rather vaguely on the HUGHES drawing (Plates V and VI). The ABERT sketch (Plate VIII) shows the room as having a small overhang and apparently a door on the west side. A ladder to the roof of the room leans on the north wall. He gives the dimensions as 18' 9" x 20'.

The single room on the south side (designated US-1) was generally in the area of Rooms S-5, S-6, and S-7 although to their rear and straddling the Alley. ABERT (Plate IX) gives the east-west dimensions as 31' 6" and the north-south 16', or the span of the Alley. He indicates a walkway 4 feet wide on the east side over the Alley, and a centrally located doorway entering into it. ABERT's sketch (Plate IV) shows the same situation, but suggests that the room sat on two trans-Alley beams rather than directly on the walls of the two sides. The BOGGS sketches show a room in the same area, but he has placed it directly on top of the south rooms. On Plate III he shows 4 windows on the north side and a doorway on the east. However, the BOGGS drawings show no Alley or Wagonhouse, and in order to span open space

the south side of the room would be supported by his main Fort wall. GEORGE HUNT also places a single room on the south side, but places it as spanning a "gateway", to be discussed below. Undoubtedly all three sources are speaking of the same room, but the passage of time somewhat dimmed the details for BOGGS and HUNT.

On the west side, the upper rooms run the length of the wall. ABERT gives the dimension of the central portion as 20 feet (Plate IX). This section generally covers the lower rooms W3, W4, and W5. His sketch (Plate VIII) shows 3 doorways and 2 windows in the section. Although his diagram shows no partitions, for purposes of record the section has been divided into three rooms designated UW-3, UW-4, and UW-5. A 10 foot walkway is shown in front of the rooms. To the south, and connected with the above, was a smaller room (designated UW-6) 16 feet deep, reached by a narrow catwalk from the roof (Plate IX). Both the BOGGS (Plate I, II, III) and ABERT (Plate IV) drawings show a roof of the same size covering the entire two-story portion. To the north, and connected with the central structure were two recessed rooms, 16 feet deep, (ABERT - Plate IX) which ran to the northwest corner of the Fort. These have been designated UW-1 and UW-2. In Plate IV, ABERT shows a window in the north wall of what would be UW-1. HUGHES (Plate V)

show the two story side coming to the corner, and a door in the UM-1 area. The BOGGS sketches do not show either room, a situation to be discussed later.

On the north side of the Fort, over the main gate, was an upper room (UM-1) visible in Plates IV through VIII. In Plate VII, ABERT gives the height of the room as 6' 3", and in Plate IX as 11 feet, 6 inches east-west, and 12 feet north-south. Above this room was a Belfry 5 feet high, and 9 feet, 6 inches east-west. ABERT does not give the north-south dimensions. All drawings show it to have a peaked roof. GEORGE KENT's diagram (Plate X) states there was a "Watch-tower and belfry over this gate". UM-1 and the Belfry are completely omitted from the BOGGS drawings, which will also be discussed later.

In summation, it appears that there were 9 upper rooms and 24 lower rooms, or a total of 33 rooms around the Plaza. The possibility that some of the partitions were not always present will be discussed in Section V.

c. Ladders and Stairways: The second floor was apparently reached by ladders or stairs from the Plaza. ABERT (Plate IV and VIII) shows two such sets -- one in front of the south rooms, and another on the west side near the northwest corner. The BOGGS sketches (Plates I, II, III) also show

the south ladder, but omit the other. The possibility of one or more interior staircases cannot be overlooked, but the only hint of such structures is found in ABERT's comment that "I had now recovered my health sufficiently to walk down a flight of steps unaided".[90] The tone of this passage -- particularly the use of "walk" rather than "climb", suggests something more elaborate than the ladder shown in his 1845 drawing (Plate IV). However, the Lieutenant's 1846 sketch (Plate VIII) shows a staircase with hand railings at the same point, and his dimensions on Plate IX show it to be 4 feet wide. It is possible that an improvement was made during the intervening year. BOGGS (Plate II) shows a ladder at the same point, but identifies it as "steps to go on top of Fort". Examination of ABERT's plan (Plate IX) shows two other possible stairways from ground-level, one a 6 foot wide outside staircase east of Room SE-1A, and the other a 7 foot wide staircase in Room E-2. Neither of these is supported by any other evidence.

Access to the tops of the bastions was by ladders from the two closest roof points. These are shown on the BOGGS sketches (Plates I, II, and III), and the ABERT plan (Plate IX).

d. Interior Communication: (Diagram 3 is provided to illustrate points discussed in this section.) Access from the Plaza to the Inner Corral seems to have been gained by a narrow

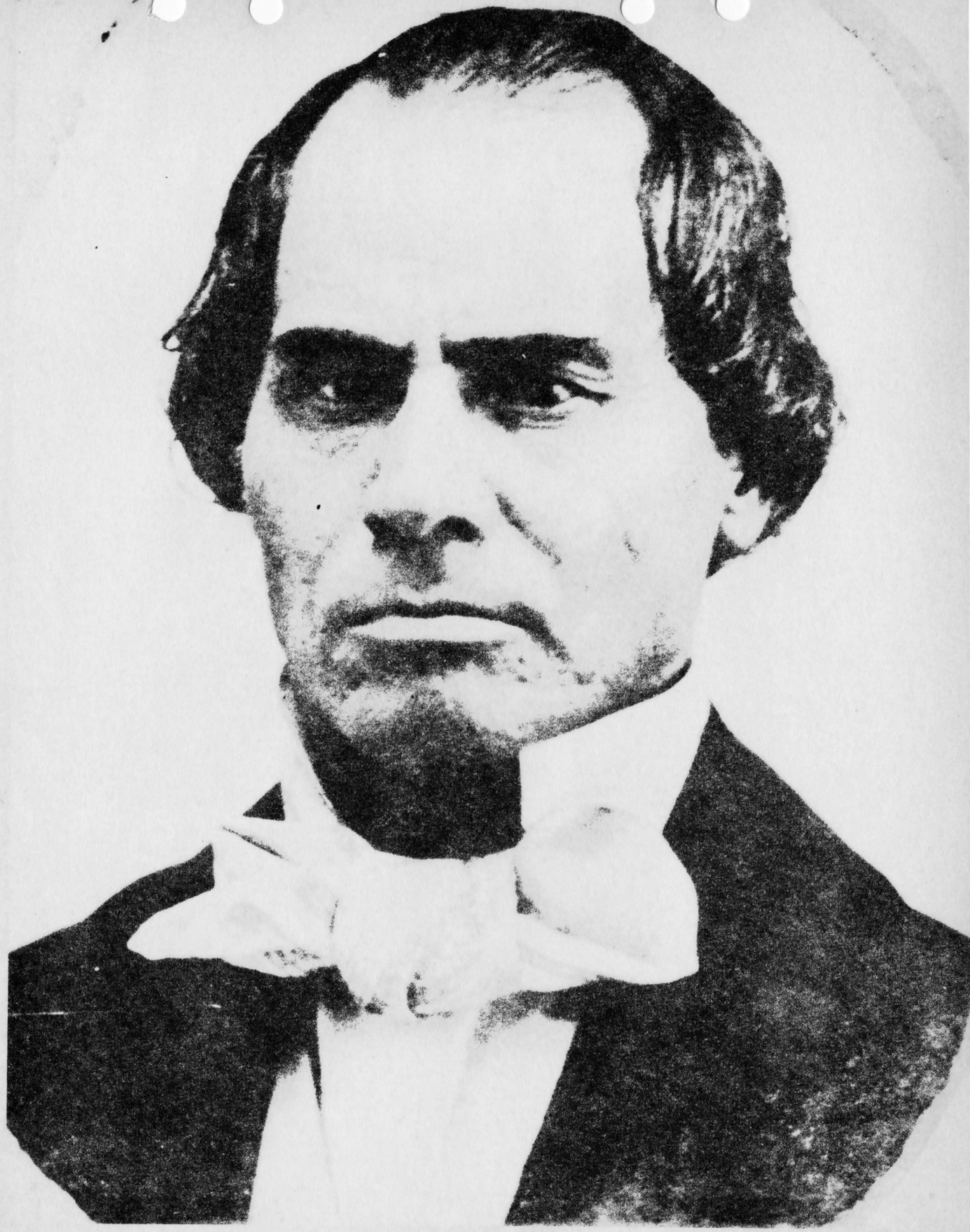
Passageway between the east and north row of rooms. ABERT (Plates VIII and IX) shows the Passageway, as do the BOGGS sketches (Plates I, II, and III). According to ABERT (Plates IV, VIII, and IX), the Passageway was covered by a roof continuous with that over the north and east rows of rooms. EMMONS mentions "a passage"[21] in the same area. Apparently there was also an open way of some kind between the Plaza and the Alley, in the vicinity of Room S-7 and the Southwest Section. (See Diagram 1, Page 26.) There is no documentation for this, other than the suggestion of such a passage by ABERT in Plate IX.

The Alpha-Beta area, shown only as a roof top by ABERT (Plates IV and IX), may also have been, in whole or part, a passage by which wagons entering the East Gate could move into the Alley-Wagonhouse area. ABERT's dimensions (Plate IX) show it to be 10 feet wide at the point nearest the East Gate, and expanding to 20 feet when abreast of the Alley.

Mention should be made of an idea advanced by GEORGE HEAP, which may be completely unfounded. His ground plan (Plate X) shows a large gateway bisecting the south row of rooms, and generally in line with the Main Gate. Room US-1 is shown over this gateway. HEAP's description, as improved on by Grinnell, is as follows;

> Through the main west (south wall of the fort a door was cut leading into the corral, by which the men might pass into the corral and get horses without going outside the fort and opening the main corral gate. This door was wide and arched at the top. It had been made so large and wide that in case of necessity, if by chance an attacking party seemed likely to capture the corral, the door could be opened and the horses and mules run inside into the courtyard of the fort.[32]

The BOOAS drawings show no such gate, and ABERT's sketches (Plates IV and VIII) show nothing more than a series of standard room doors on the south side. GEORGE BENT's own ground plan shows the gate opening into the Alley, but the Alley itself is indicated as being between the solid north wall of the Wagonhouse and the rear of the south rooms. Without a passage through the Wagonhouse, it would be impossible to run the animals into the Plaza from the Main Corral. The only indication of a passage through the Wagonhouse is found in ABERT's Plan (Plate IX), which shows dotted lines marking a space 32 feet, 6 inches wide immediately west of Alpha-Beta, and continuing through the Wagonhouse to the Main Corral. Such a passage would have served the dual purpose of permitting cattle access from the Main Corral to the Inner Corral, and allowing wagons entering the East Gate to proceed to the Alley and the Wagonhouse. It is felt that such a passage may well have existed, but the only documentation is that already discussed. As to location, that offered by ABERT is preferred to that of GEORGE BENT, for the reasons given.



WILLIAM BENT



LIEUTENANT JAMES W. ABERT

c. Bastions: Perhaps the most prominent features of the entire structure were the Bastions located at the Northeast and Southwest corners of the Central Complex (Plates I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and X). With the exception of GEORGE HEAP (Plate X), all the visual sources agree as to their location relative to the Main Gate. Each Bastion was, as FIELD states, "pierced for cannon."[93] The embrasures are visible on Plates I, II, III, IV, and V, all of which show them to be near the top of the structure or slightly higher than the parapets of the main Fort wall. [illegible] (Plate V) shows a second series of embrasures in the lower part of the Bastion, but there is no support for this. BOGGS (Plates I and II) shows a small opening in the Northeast Bastion at ground level which he labels "Coal Hole", with the notation "Small Port hole where Liquor was sometimes passed out to Indians not safe to be admitted in Fort". No mention of such a hole is found elsewhere. Access to the top of the Bastions was by exterior ladders.

No information has been found as to the interior of the Bastions, although it is certain there must have been doors at ground level. GEORGE HEAP states that "guns, pistols, swords, and lances"[94] were hung inside, but in the absence of an interior ladder (of which no mention is made), the weapons would have had to be handed up to those on the open top. The same would be true of ammunition for the cannons known to have been located

on top. Considering this, it seems likely that there was some means of passage (possibly a trap door) between the interior and top of the Bastions. Whether the interior of the Bastions housed only weapons and ammunition is not clear either since MEARNY claims to have found "pack saddles and riding apparatus"[95] in them.

f. Inner Corral: The area designated Inner Corral was a wedge-shaped opening with its apex at the Northeast Bastion. The angle was formed by the divergence of the main east wall from the line of the east row of rooms. BOOS (Plates I, II, and III) shows the "Inside" Corral but omits the angle of the east wall. CHURCH MINE (Plate X) omits the feature entirely. In spite of this, the Inner Corral is believed to have existed as shown by ABERT (Plates IV and IX) and described above. FARNHAM is the only source definitely naming the area as a corral;

> From this area (the Plaza), a passage leads between the eastern (north) outer wall and the one-story houses (east rooms), to the corral or envy-yard, which occupies the remainder of the space within the walls.[96]

In the absence of further information, it is conjectured that the Inner Corral was used for personal animals such as the horses of the residents, so that they would not be left in the open with the stock. It may also have enclosed some domestic cattle and fowl,[97] and in an emergency, stock could have been run in as well.

WAGONHOUSE:

Wagons were probably the most critical, single item in the operations engaged in by Bent, St. Vrain, and Co., and because of this, the condition of the wheeled transports was a top priority item. The wagons were housed in a structure for protection and repair, and all indications point to the structure being that designated in Diagram 1, or the Wagonhouse. Two reasons are paramount in reaching such a conclusion, the first being the need for a large amount of space, and the second being the availability of such space. FREMONT observed workers at the Fort "loading fifteen wagons principally of Buffalone Robes",[98] but does not mention where the wagons were located. EATON, however, provides clues as to location and size, as well as a definite reason for the need of such a structure;

> Beyond the corral (referring to the Inner Corral) to the west and adjoining the wall, is the waggonhouse. It is strongly built, and large enough to shelter 12 or 15 of those large vehicles .. The long drought of summer renders it necessary to protect them from the sun.[99]

FIELD speaks of " ... the extensive wagon houses, in which to keep the enormous, heavy wagons used twice a year ..."[100]

It is apparent, both from the assumed floor-plan of the structure around the Plaza, and the narrow doorways shown by ABERT (Plate VIII), that wagons could not enter any of

rooms from the Plaza, if indeed they could negotiate the Main Gate. Accepting this, the only suitable place remaining is the structure shown so clearly by ABERT (Plates IV and IX) but, like all others, unidentified by the officer. GEORGE HEAP (Plate X) shows a "Wagonshed" in the same area, but indicates it by a broken line which, in conjunction with the word "shed", indicates a less imposing structure than the others.

Whether or not the Wagonhouse was a long room or a combination vehicular storage and shop area, cannot be determined. ABERT mentions " ... the noise from the wagoner's shop ...";[101] but GEORGE HEAP (Plate X) shows repair shops along the main south row of rooms and says, through Grinnell,

> The work of the carpenter and blacksmith,
> whose shops stood at the back of the fort,
> was chiefly on the wagons ...[102]

ABERT also states that "our wagons were examined, and we took the precaution to obtain an extra axletree ..."[103] which confirms the fact, already mentioned, that full facilities for wagon repair were available.

In the absence of detailed information on the Wagonhouse, it is conjectured that entry was made via the East Gate and Alpha-Beta area as discussed above in Section d. ABERT (Plate IV) shows no openings in the north wall of the Wagonhouse, but does indicate a doorway in the offset of

of Alpha-Beta. Since the north wall fronted on an Alley some 16 feet wide, according to ABERT (Plate IX), it is possible that openings were provided to back the wagons in. It is doubtful that openings, other than a possible gate to a passageway (See Section d.), existed in the south wall of the Wagonhouse. Knowledge of whether the structure was sub-divided will depend upon excavation.

MAIN CORRAL:

The enclosed area abutting the Wagonhouse on the south has been designated Main Corral. It appears clearly on the ABERT drawing (Plate IV), and the GENERAL MERT plan (Plate X), but is conspicuously absent from the drawings of BOGGS (Plates I, II, and III) and HUGHES (Plate V). Yet, there is no doubt that the large enclosure existed through at least the latter portion of the Rent Period.

FIELD states that " ... three or four hundred animals can be shut up in the corral.";[104] but this passage is not specific enough to rule out the possibility of a referral to the Inner Corral. Later sources are more exact. According to ABERT, ... On the west side (south) is the cattle yard, which is surrounded by a wall so high as effectually to shelter them. The coping of the wall is planted with cacti, which bear red and white flowers ...[105] MACKENZIE says, "On the South side is an enclosure for stock in dangerous times",[106]

and CARRARD speaks of turning his horse "in the corral behind the fort to chew dry hay".[107] (The last statement could also possibly refer to the Inner Corral). ST. VRAIN's description is even more precise;

> Outside the principal enclosure, and joining it on the west, is an enclosure of the same size, having walls of the same material, six feet in height, erected for ... protecting our animals from the Indians.[108]

GEORGE BENT's plan (Plate X) shows the Main Corral in proper relation to the Central Complex, and he says;

> Another gate was on west (south) side going into the adobe Corral. Corral gate was facing south (east) towards the River, lots of prickle pears were planted on Top of the walls of this Corral clear around so no one could climb over it.[109]

Grinnell follows the above quotation fairly closely, but supplements it with additional material;

> On the west side of the fort, outside the main walls, was the horse corral. It was wide as the fort and deep enough to contain a large herd. The walls were of adobe, eight feet high and three feet thick at the top. The gate was in the south (east) wall, facing the river ... To prevent anyone climbing in it by night, the tops of the corral walls had been thickly planted with cactus -- a large variety which has great fleshy leaves closely set with many sharp thorns. This plant grew so luxuriantly that in some places the leaves hung over the walls, both within and without, and gave efficient protection against any living thing that might wish to surmount the wall ...[110]

The ABERT plan (Plate IX) shows nine small squares within the Main Corral. The GEORGE BENT plan (Plate X) shows only

two, both identified as "Rubbing Posts".

SPECIAL FEATURES:

a. Well: There is definite proof of the existence of a well inside the Fort, as shown in the following extracts:

> PARKMAN: "A range of two-story houses, the well and the blacksmith shop are on the north (west) side."[111]
>
> GIBSON: "They have a well the water of which is very good ..."[112]
>
> MACKENZIE: "They have a well inside, and fine water it is ..."[113]
>
> ST. VRAIN: "Inside the walls are an excellent well of water ..."[114]

From these statements, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. There was only one well at any given time during the Bent Period.
2. It was inside the Fort.
3. It was probably on the west side.

b. Fur Press: A Fur Press located in the Plaza appears to have been a later addition. The first mention of it is by ABERT (1845), who witnessed a Cheyenne scalp dance in the Plaza:

> I happened to be near the press for packing furs, in the centre of the square, and had a fine opportunity for taking sketches.[115]

The press is also indicated by ABERT on his ground plan (Plate IX), made the following year, but is absent from

his other illustrations. The only other references to a press are as follows;

> GARNARD: "In the center of the court is the 'robe press' ..."[116]
>
> HUNTON: "In the center of the square is the press for packing the furs ..."[117]
>
> "The employees ... are pressing packs of buffalo skins ..."[118]

It is somewhat strange that such a conspicuous piece of apparatus was not mentioned by more of the post-1845 sources, particularly McGLOTTEN and GEORGE BENT. However, the fact that DODGE does not indicate the press, and none of the pre-1845 sources mention it, suggests that it was not installed until the early part of 1845. The conclusions drawn follow:

> 1. A Fur Press was located in the center of the Plaza from at least mid-1845 to late 1847, and probably to the end of the Bent Period.

c. Cannon: There is no doubt that the Fort was armed with several cannon throughout all or most of the Bent Period. The difficulty is encountered in determining the number, type, and location of the pieces. DODGE states that in the summer of 1835 the Fort had "a six-pounder and several small, light field-pieces".[119] HOBBS places a "six-pounder at each angle" (probably a reference to the Bastions), and goes on to add "a military company was constantly stationed

there with a small battery".[120] (HOBBS impression that a portion of the Fort employees were assigned permanent military duties, may have been derived from the fact that he arrived at the Fort with a Comanche war-party.)

PARNUM and FIELD mention cannon, but not in such a manner as to provide further information, except to place cannon in the Bastions.[121] PRESCOTT was saluted with "repeated discharge from the guns of the fort ..."[122] and COOKE was saluted with "Three discharges from a swivel gun".[123] EMPLOYEE speaks of "some swivels, and a couple of six-pounder brass pieces, which we have ..."[124]

Noting that all of the above references are prior to the Mexican War, a pattern becomes clear. GARRARD, living at the Fort shortly after the passage of the Army of the West, mentions that "In the center of the court is the "robe press"; and lying on the ground was a small brass cannon, burst in saluting General Kearny".[125] Since he mentions no other heavy ordnance, it may be concluded that the need for such armament terminated with the American invasion of New Mexico. GEORGE HUNT, whose tenure spanned the Mexican War, remembered "one cannon" which was fired to invite friendly Indians to feast at the Fort.[126] His diagram (Plate X) shows it outside the Main Gate with the notation, "Pulled in at night". Through Grinnell, the story

of the burst cannon in the Plaza is repeated, and "some time after that a large iron cannon was brought from Santa Fe, and during the day always stood outside the big gate of the fort ..."[127]

The following conclusions are drawn concerning the cannon:

1. As long as there was a serious danger of Indian or Mexican attack, (that is, to mid-1846) there was probably a six-pounder cannon on the top of each Bastion.

2. These were supplemented by several light swivel guns at undetermined locations.

3. From mid-1846 on, there was a burst cannon barrel in the Plaza for an unknown period.

4. Late in the Bent Period (1847-49) there was a cannon placed outside the Main Gate, and apparently, none in the Bastions.

d. Subterranean Room: The only reference to a basement, or underground room in the Fort is found in an anecdote related by PARKMAN. Having described a convalescent soldier bearing the sobriquet of Tete Rouge, PARKMAN tells how the man was provided with rations, having

> ... applied to a quartermaster's assistant who was in the fort. This official ... (was) ... in a state of chronic indignation because he had been left behind the army ... So, producing a rusty key, he opened a low door which led to a half-subterranean apartment, into which the two disappeared together. After some time they came out again, Tete Rouge greatly embarrassed by a multiplicity of paper parcels containing the different articles of his forty days' rations.[128]

This passage leads to the following conclusions;

1. A "subterranean apartment" existed.

2. It was large enough for at least two men to enter.

3. It was large enough to contain a considerable amount of rations.

4. It was being used to store U. S. Army supplies, at least immediately following the passage of the Army of the West.

5. It was located within the Central Complex, probably on the west side "Storehouse" area.

IV. CONSTRUCTION

DIMENSIONS:

Table B on the following page is provided to show the wide range of dimensions for various sections of Bent's Fort as given by the primary sources. Most, if not all, of the informants based their figures on either eye-estimates or hearsay. The one exception to this is ABBOTT (figures not shown on Table B), who is known to have made a definite effort to obtain correct figures, as is shown by the following passage:

> Tuesday, September 8. - I spent this morning employed in taking the dimensions of Bent's fort. It required some time to complete all the measurements. The structure is quite complex; they may, however, be useful in giving one an idea of the forts that can be built in that country.[129]

The result of ABBOTT's work is found in Plate VII (Giving vertical measurements of the north wall, Northeast Bastion, Main Gate, and Room UB-1 area), and Plate IX (Giving horizontal measurements for the entire Fort). The figures will not be restated in the text. However, enough vertical measurements are shown in Plate VII to allow a deduction to be made in regard to the height of the rooms. In discussing the parapet arrangement, ABBOTT states that the "main walls ... extended four feet above" the roofs.[130] His diagram (Plate VII) shows the north wall to be 14 feet high, which, deducting 4 feet for the parapet, leaves a room height of 10 feet. All

illustrations show the east and south rooms to be of equal height with the north. On the west (the two-story side), ABERT shows 5 feet 9 inches between the parapet and roof, which leaves a total figure of 19 feet 9 inches, or about 10 feet height for each tier of rooms. (Ceiling space a part of total).

ADOBES:

The basic component of the Fort construction was unquestionably adobe, a fact affirmed by all sources who deemed to mention it. The most common contemporary descriptions are "sun-dried brick" and "unburnt brick".[131] As to composition, FIELD's observation that the adobes were made "of the simple prairie soil, made to hold together by a rude mixture with straw and the plain grass itself",[132] is complemented by ABERT's "clay and cut straw" combination.[133]

(Mention of a popular local idea should be made at this point. GEORGE BENT/Grinnell states that "wagonloads of Mexican wool" were sent up "to mix with the clay of the brick". David Lavender's well-read Bent's Fort also states that "coarse, cheap Mexican wool" was used "as binding for the mud". However, if BENT is discounted, there is no primary evidence to support this theory.)[134]

ABERT refers to the size of the adobes as "about four times as large as our common bricks".[135] EMPLOYEE, however, advances exact dimensions for individual bricks -- "18 inches long, 9 inches wide, and 4 inches thick".[136]

TABLE B: COMPARATIVE DIMENSIONS

SOURCE	OVERALL DIMENSIONS	WALL HEIGHT	BASTION HEIGHT	WALL THICKNESS
FARNHAM	100 x 150	17-18	xxxxx	6-7
FIELD	xxxxxxxxx	"Not less than 15"	xxxxx	xxx
BOGGS (PLATE III)	xxxxxxxxx	20	xxxxx	xxx
ABERT (45)	xxxxxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	"Nearly 2"
EMPLOYEE	xxxxxxxxx	"About 20"	xxxxx	xxx
HUGHES	135 x 180	15	xxxxx	4
GARRARD	100 x 100	30	xxxxx	xxx
ST. VRAIN	180 x 180	18	xxxxx	3
FORSYTH	xxxxxxxxx	15	25	1½
G. BENT (PLATE X)	135 x 185	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxx

(NOTE: All figures are in feet)

FLOORS:

Evidence points to the fact that the floors of all rooms were dirt. The possibility of planking is present, but none of the informants mention such floors. BANDELIER's description is probably the best;

> The lower floors of the building are made of clay, a little moistened and beaten hard with large wooden mallets; the upper floors of the two-story houses ... are made in the same way ...[137]

MACGUTH makes quite a point of the dirt floors, mentioning them no fewer than three times. One of her references states, "They have dirt floors -- which are sprinkled with water several times during the day to prevent dust." In another, speaking of the upper room she occupied -- "Like the others it has a dirt floor ..."[138]

WALLS:

The walls of the rooms appear to have been built of adobe. The back walls of the west and north rooms constituted the main wall of the Fort and were, of course, of the same thickness. (ABERT gives the width as "nearly two feet"[139]). Other walls, such as room dividing partitions and those on the Plaza, were probably not as thick as the main walls. GEORGE HERT says that the walls inside the rooms were "white washed", but there is no other reference to paint, plaster, or covering.

CEILINGS & ROOFS:

The ceilings of the rooms and the roofs were, as ABERT states, "sustained by poles".[140] MOORHEAD adds that in the center of some of the rooms "is a large wooden post as a firmer prop to the ceiling which is made of logs".[141] Other informants go into the ceiling-roof combination. [illegible] says;

> ... the roofs of all ... are supported by heavy transverse timbers covered with brush. The tops of the houses being flat and gravelled, furnish a fine promenade ...[142]

[illegible]'s description is essentially the same, except that he has the roof "covered with adobes".[143] [illegible] says, "The roof ... is flat, being formed of poles which are covered with earth about a foot thick".[144] [illegible] has the roofs "made of poles and a layer of mud a foot or more thick, with a slight inclination to run off the water".[145]

Grinnell's description is based on a combination of his knowledge of Mexican construction, and information provided by [illegible] BENT. The result appears to complement the primary sources;

> ... the roofs were made in the same fashion that long prevailed in the Southwest. Poles were laid from the front wall to the rear, slightly inclining toward the front. Over these poles were placed grass, twigs, or brush, and over the brush, clay was spread and trampled down hard. The roof was then covered with gravel. These flat roofs were used as a promenade ...[146]

All visual sources show the roofs of the one-story buildings, as well as the three single upper rooms, to be flat. On the west second-story rooms, [illegible] (Plates I, II, III) shows a

saddle, or gable-type roof, while HUGHES (Plate V) and ABERT (Plates IV, VII) show a lean-to type roof sloping to the west. The Belfry over Room UH-1 is shown with a gabled roof (Plates IV, V, VII).

WINDOWS:

The only written mention of windows by the primary sources is the statement by MAGRATH that her room (believed to be UH-1) had "two windows, one looking out on the plain, the other is on the patio".[147] The visual sources show no windows on the exterior wall except one in the north wall of Room UH-1 (ABERT - Plate IV), and UH-1, which was a Watch Tower. Such windows on the ground floor would, of course, compromise the defensive capabilities of the Fort, and apparently it was felt that upper windows as well, would be a possible source of danger. GENERAL KEARNY says through Grinnell;

> The various rooms about the courtyard received light and air through the doors and windows opening out into the courtyard.[148]

Examination of ABERT's interior sketches (Plate VIII), confirms the above quotation, although the windows are omitted on the sketch of the south row of rooms. However, his bird's-eye view (Plate IV) shows at least two windows on that row, as do the BOGGS drawings (Plates I, II, III). It is possible that the east and south rooms had rear windows as well, since

they were not backed by the main Fort wall.

DOORS:

The door situation is quite similar to that of windows; they opened onto the Plaza, and the east and north rooms may have had rear doors. The ABERT interior sketches (Plate VIII) are again the best source of information. These show for the ground level, as follows;

North Rooms	-	2 Doors
East Rooms	-	4 Doors (Possibly 5)
South Room	-	4 Doors
West Rooms -	-	4 Doors

The upper west rooms have 4 doors showing clearly, 1 partially obscured, and Room W-1 omitted. No mention is made as to what the doors were constructed of, but it may be assumed they were wooden.

WALKWAYS:

On the ground level, between the rooms and the Plaza, was a narrow walkway. ABERT's interior sketches (Plate VIII) show this walkway along all but the north row of rooms. It is partially visible in the BOGGS drawings (Plates I, II, III), and the ABERT bird's-eye view (Plate IV). From these sources, the overhang is apparently formed by an extension of the roofs and supported by wooden posts. This walkway provided shade for those on the ground floor, while allowing a continuous roof-top promenade for those above.

FIREPLACES & CHIMNEYS:

Despite the obvious fact that there must have been numerous fireplaces and consequently, chimneys, there is almost no evidence regarding them. GARRARD speaks of sitting "by the bright wood fire, in the clerk's office",[149] thus providing the only written reference. HUGHES (Plate V) shows a chimney-type affair toward the rear of the Fort, but ABERT's drawing (Plate IV) is completely devoid of any such structures. The Lieutenant's interior sketches (Plate VIII) show several chimneys protruding from the roofs over the single-story rooms, and on the sides of the upper west room. (Location of these features will depend mainly upon the results of excavation).

INTERIOR PARTITIONS:

Little is known of the interior partitions, other than their being almost certainly constructed of adobe. It is quite possible that many of the rooms shown on the diagrams used in this report, were at one time or another, in reality, larger rooms without the partitions that are shown.[150]

DESIGN:

Bent's Fort was designed with one primary thought; to construct a building fully utilitarian for business purposes, while at the same time being as impregnable as possible. The defensive system was based upon the two Bastions (providing a field of fire along all four walls), supplemented by parapets with

embrasures extending along a banquette or firing step formed by the roof tops of the one-story rooms. ABERT describes the system as follows;

> The fort is composed of a series of rooms resembling casemates, and forming a hollow square, the entrance on the east side. A round tower on the left, as you enter, and another diagonally opposite, constitute the flanking arrangements. The outer walls, which are nearly two feet in thickness, intersect in the axes of the towers, thus permitting their faces to be completely enfiladed; the outside walls of the enceint and towers, pierced with loop holes, are continued four feet above the flat roofs which serve for the banquette, which being composed of clay cannot be fired by inflammable substances that might be cast upon it;[151]

When the Fort was originally constructed, the main source of danger was marauding Indians. Since it was not until some time later that other potential enemies came to the fore, it is possible that the Fort was altered prior to ABERT's 1845 visit. This question will be discussed separately in Part VI.

V. USE, LOCATION, AND DESCRIPTION OF ROOMS

No plan or description has been located that assigns a definite use to all the rooms in the Central Complex. By bits of information, coupled with efforts to ascertain the position of the informant, it is possible to make educated estimates as to the location of most of the room-types known to have existed. Before discussing these room-types, some of the general descriptions will be noted.

FARNHAM calls the rooms around the Plaza "the place of business", and goes on to say that "the owners and their servants have their sleeping and cooking apartments, and here are the storehouses".[152] EMPLOYEE writes of the same area that there were " ... storehouses, shops for blacksmith, gunsmith, and carpenters, men's quarters, private rooms for gentlemen, dining room, kitchen, &c."[153] EDWARDS says, "It is divided into various apartments, such as dwelling rooms and shops of all kinds that are necessary for their convenience."[154]

From these, some generalizations can be made concerning the rooms. There seems to have been six general categories of use; although some of the rooms probably served dual purposes. The categories follow:

1. Storehouses or storerooms
2. Work Shops
3. Messing Facilities (kitchen, dining room, etc.)

4. Living Quarters
5. Business (trade-rooms, offices, etc.)
6. Recreation

STOREHOUSES:

The presence of extensive store or warehouses is mentioned by several sources, but only two attempt to pinpoint location. BOGGS (Plates I, II, III) calls the west side rooms, both upper and lower, a "large store house". He also shows Room E-4 as a "store room". GEORGE HENT (Plate X) indicates the same on the north rooms bracketing the main gate, or Rooms E-2, E-3, E-4 (which he designates as "Warehouse"), and Rooms E-5 and E-6 (which he designates as "Store and Warehouse"). He shows no interior partitions.

Some difficulty is encountered in the differentiation between the terms "Storehouse" and "Store" on the one hand, and "Store" and "Trade Room" on the other. The key, of course, is the writer's personal interpretation of the word "store". To some, the term meant simply a place to store goods and material (i.e. storehouse), while to others it was a place where trade was carried out and items purchased (i.e. Trade Room). Fortunately, two sources, BOGGS (Plates I & II) and GEORGE HENT (Plate X), mention Trade Rooms and also Storehouse and/or Stores.

BURTON mentions a "large room", one of three, seemingly contiguous

that was "used as a store and magazine".[155] He mentions no warehousing facilities. Speculating on this combination, it might appear that the room was used to store material. However, a considerable amount of trade consisted in the sale of arms and ammunition, and it would be possible to consolidate the storage of powder, etc., at a place where it was available for sale.

MACGUTH calls one of the rooms "a little store",[156] but she is certainly referring to the mercantile-type, because of a general comment on customers in the same sentence. It must also be remembered that a storehouse or storeroom probably would not be readily identifiable to any observer other than those living at, rather than visiting, the Fort.

There is considerable doubt that BOGGS's recollection of the entire two-story, west side being "a large Store House" is correct. Storing heavy goods such as buffalo robes, upstairs might put great strain on the ceilings of the downstairs rooms. Using the second story as a storehouse would also be inconvenient for loading, unloading, and handling. It seems more likely that the lower west rooms were the storehouses, and the upper west rooms were living quarters. (The latter possibility will be discussed further on) It is also possible that a portion of the Wagonhouse structure was used for the storage of parts, lumber, etc., for wagon and routine repair, since it

would be convenient to the supposed place of work.

From ABEIT (Plate IX), it is known that the lower west rooms had four doors, similar in size and appearance to all others opening on the Plaza. This may account for all witnesses except BOGGS (FAIRMAN, FIELD, EDELOXEE, & GRINNER BENT), using the plural form "storehouses" or "store rooms". This same factor would, of course, apply to any other combination of rooms on the ground floor. That is to say, a section of rooms was probably used for storehouses, and they were probably broken into separate compartments by partitions.

Conclusions reached on the basis of above information are as follows;

1. The lower west rooms probably served as a storage area.
2. One of the east rooms was probably used, at least in part, to store ammunition.

WORKSHOPS:

Operating great distances from any source of help, it was imperative for Bent, St. Vrain and Co. to make its establishment as self-sufficient as possible. Among other things, this meant the employment of resident artisans skilled in providing necessary services. The mechanics would need shops in which to operate, which leads to the questions of what type of shops existed in the Fort, and where they were located.

Ten of the sources mention a Blacksmith Shop, and five mention a Carpenter's Shop. (Interestingly, all five of the latter also mention the Blacksmith Shop.) All of the references are similar to MR. WHALEY's, "Inside the walls are ... Carpenter's and Blacksmith's Shops".[157] That is to say, there is no doubt the two shops were separate entities, and not a combined utility area operated by a man skilled in both trades. GARNAND also helps establish this fact by identifying the Blacksmith and the Carpenter as separate individuals in his description of the partakers of a social night at the Fort;

> Captain Enos, Assistant Quartermaster, and Dyer, his clerk, Doctor Hempstead, Mr. Holt, the carpenter, blacksmith, and a few fort and government employees ...[158]

He also designates a half-breed French and Indian squaw as "the wife of Mi, the carpenter".[159]

Granting that there were indeed separate shops, it remains to define their location. BOGGS (Plates I, II, III), unfortunately, omits the Carpenter Shop, but he places the Blacksmith Shop in the north rooms near the northwest corner (Rooms M2, M3, and M4). This would span all rooms on that line west of the main gate, except M4-1 which he designates "Old Bill's Room - Wm. Bent's old French Cook." FRIEDMAN places the Blacksmith Shop as follows, "On the east (north) the Blacksmith Shop, the gate, and the outer wall",[160] which is the same area. Strangely, FRIEDMAN mentions the Blacksmith

Shop twice, its other location being on the same side as the two-story houses (west). His references, quoted below, should be studied with a view to a possible typographical error by the original printer;

> A range of two-story houses, the well and the blacksmith shop are on the north (west) side; on the west (south) and south (east) are ranges of one-story houses; on the east (north) the blacksmith shop, the gate, and the outer wall ...[101]

It is extremely doubtful that FARNHAM intended to put the Blacksmith Shop in two different places. Since the second reference so easily coincides with DOCKS, it is possible that the first reference was originally intended as another type of shop, and that the error was made somewhere between the author and the printed document.

CENTRAL PART (Plate X) shows the Blacksmith Shop on the south row (about rooms S-5 and S-6), with the Carpenter Shop west of it (room S-7), the two connected by an interior doorway. This arrangement is supported by Grinnell's statement, previously quoted, that;

> ... the work of the carpenter and blacksmith, whose shops stood at the back of the fort, was chiefly on the wagons ...[102]

The two essentially opposite placements are difficult to reconcile unless extensive alterations took place during the Bent Period. This possibility will be examined separately.

The other references to the Blacksmith Shop contain few clues as to its location. MOFFIN, from her vantage point in an upper west room, complained that "The clang of the blacksmith's hammer was constant".[163] AMERY, from an unknown position, remarked, "The ring of the blacksmith's hammer, and the noise from the wagoner's shop were incessant".[164] Almost certainly, the sharp clanging of metal could be heard from anywhere in the Plaza area. AMERY's statement is interesting because of the slight implication that the blacksmith and wagoner were the same person. That is, as in the Grinnell remark, the blacksmith's work was chiefly in keeping the wagons in condition. Accepting this, the GIBSON MENT location of the south row (close to the wagons) seems the more likely of the two possibilities, again barring a change in arrangement.

There are mentions of other types of shops, but they are virtually uncorroborated. The following list shows the type and source;

1. Gunsmith - Mentioned by EXPLORER in conjunction with Carpenter Shop and Blacksmith Shop.[165]

   Implied by GIBSON as follows, " ... all kinds of accomodations to travelers, such as repairing teams (for which they have a blacksmith shop), provisions, repairing guns (for which they are provided) ..."[166]

2. Barber - Mentioned by MOFFIN in her description of room types - "One is a dining room -- another a kitchen -- a little

store, a blacksmith's shop, a barber's do an ice house ..."[167]

3. Tailor - Mentioned by Grinnell in a manner indicating the original source was GEORGE HUNT;

> "The old Frenchman who was tailor at the fort ... The old French tailor had come up from New Orleans. He had a shop in one of the rooms at the fort, where he used to make and repair clothing for men."[168]

It is possible that, at one time or another, there were rooms used as shops for the Gunsmith and Tailor, but there is lack of substantiating evidence. There is no suggestion of where the shops were located. A Barber Shop is still more doubtful, and it may well have been merely an opportunistic venture catering to the Army of the West. The need for a permanent barber shop in a frontier trading post is practically unsupportable.

In summation, it appears that;

1. There were separate shops for Carpenter and Blacksmith through all or most of the Bent Period.
2. The two shops were probably adjacent to each other.
3. They were probably located in the south row of rooms.
4. Their location may have been changed during the Bent Period, from an original location of Rooms N-2, N-3, and N-4.
5. There was probably a Gunsmith Shop late in the period.

6. A Tailor possibly operated a small shop, probably in a room serving as a residence.

7. There was probably not a permanent Barber Shop.

[redacted]:

The storage, preparation, and consumption of food would be an important requirement for self-sufficiency, and would take a significant amount of room space. Two distinct rooms -- a Kitchen and a Dining Room emerge quite clearly from the source material.

[redacted] speaks of the owners having "sleeping and cooking apartments"[169] in the rooms around the Plaza, and [redacted] also uses the plural form "kitchens".[170] Both of these 1839 references infer that the cooking was done on a dispersed basis, that is, the residents were responsible for their own cooking and probably did it in their rooms. None of the later sources bear this out.

The first reference to "a" Kitchen is found in [redacted] (Plate II), who places it clearly in the rooms designated SE-1 and SE-1A. [redacted] states, "Round the inside of the wall are ... private rooms ... dining room, kitchen ...";[171] a statement quite similar to [redacted]'s "One is a dining room -- another a kitchen".[172] [redacted] (Plate X) also designates a corner room as the kitchen and, if he was using his misplaced Bastion as a reference point, it too would be placed in the SE-1 area

similar to BOGGS.

The facilities within the Kitchen are not mentioned, except in ABERT's indirect reference - "I had the coffee all prepared, and enough bread baked to last several days ..."[173]

There are also several references to a Fort cook. As mentioned earlier, BOGGS (Plate II) mentions "Old Bill", who he describes as "Mr. Bent's old French cook". He also shows a "Cook's Room" in the same general area as the Kitchen. If "Old Bill" were the cook at that time (1844-45), it may be that the "Cook's Room" near the Kitchen was a pantry of some kind.

GAIRARD and HUNTON both mention a Negress named Charlotte, as being cook at the Fort during their visits.[174] This, although showing a change of personnel, supports the idea of a cook's position, and consequently a Kitchen as well.

Several visitors, among them FORD and COOKE, mention dining at the Fort, but do not describe the facilities. Once again, BOGGS (Plate II) is the first to define a Dining Room. He places it as the next room north from the Kitchen area or E-3. (This is assuming E-2 to be the "Cook's Room".) The location is supported by EMPLOYEE's statement, "Over the dining room, and perched on the very top, overlooking all the buildings, is my sanctum".[175] (Since UE-1 is the only upper room known to be a living quarters and still be unconnected with others,

it is assumed that EMPLOYEE was occupying UE-1.) ABBEY (Plates IV & IX) places UE-1 further south than BOGGS's drawing, which would put it over E-2 and at least part of E-3, thus coinciding almost perfectly with EMPLOYEE. Further evidence to place E-3 as the location, is found in GARRARD's reference to the "long, low dining room"[176] (E-3 was the longest room revealed in the 1994 excavation), and in HUNTON designating the third of "three large rooms" as "the common dininghall".[177] GEORGE BENT (Plate X) indicates a Dining Room separated by one undesignated room from the Kitchen, in the direction of the Bastion, which also fits perfectly.

HUNTON goes on to say that the "common dininghall" was used by "traders, trappers, and hunters, and all employees",[178] which would, of course, necessitate having a large room. This very size suggests the possibility of a smaller, private, dining room for the owners and important guests, but this can be only poorly supported by PARKMAN's allusion to dining at "a table laid with a white cloth, with castors in the center and chairs placed around it".[179] It is perhaps more likely that the room was the same, but the trappings were produced for special occasions. Unfortunately, MACOMB's condition was such that she took her meals in her quarters, although she did say that one of the rooms "is a dining-room".[180]

In summation it appears that;

1. There was a separate Kitchen where food was prepared for all residents, by a Fort cook.

2. The Kitchen was located at a corner, most likely in Rooms SE-1 and SE-1A.

3. An auxiliary room (probably E-2) was between it and the Dining Room. This may have been a pantry.

4. There was one large Dining Room used by all diners.

5. The Dining Room was Room E-3.

LIVING QUARTERS:

The number of residents at Bent's Fort seems to have varied not only by seasons, but by years as well. FARNHAM says that at the time of his visit (1839) there were 60 employees at the Fort.[181] HOBBS places the number as "100 trappers", but adds that sometimes half or more were gone.[182] GEORGE BENT recalled 100 employees, most of whom had families.[183] FIELD says that "Two hundred men might be garrisoned conveniently in the fort ..."[184]

Despite the seemingly vast numbers of people to accomodate on a regular basis, there is a definite division line present regarding the types of rooms. A few seem to have had private or semi-private apartments, while the mass of employees were quartered in barracks-type rooms. Yet, in one of the references is there any mention of lack of space and, except for MAGOFFIN's understandable comments about the dirt floors, nothing but praise for the accomodations. (ABERT had no difficulty obtaining

a "comfortable room" for several sick men in January of 1847. These men were left at the Fort for several months.)[185]

BOGGS (Plate II) designates Room E-5 as "Men's Room (Employees)", and shows separate rooms for William Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, and Old Bill. Thus the distinction emerges. EMPLOYEE includes among the rooms "men's quarters, private rooms for gentlemen", which was "perched on the very top".[186] (A reference seemingly to Room UE-1). Allowing for multiple use, these two sources confirm UE-1 as separate quarters.

MAGOFFIN says "Some of these rooms are occupied by boarders as bed chambers". The room occupied by MAGOFFIN was definitely one of those on the upper west side as shown by her statement, "On one side of the top wall are rooms built in the same manner as below. We are occupying one of these ...". Further descriptions of her quarters include the facts that it was "quite roomy" and it had "two windows one looking on the plain, the other is on the patio".[187] On the basis of the latter phrases, a fairly convincing case can be advanced for MAGOFFIN having occupied the upper northwest room (Room UW-1). ABERT (Plate IV) shows a window in the north wall of that room, which would look out over the plain. His interior sketches (Plate VIII) do not show UW-1, but UW-2 does have a window overlooking the Plaza and it may be assumed UW-1 did also. Assuming that ABERT is correct in showing no windows on the west wall, the

only other possibility for her quarters would be Room UW-5 or UW-6, both of which would have had to have windows in the south walls. A person looking out of such a window would have had the Southwest Bastion and Main Corral in their direct line of vision, and would hardly have described the view as "looking out on the plain." MAGOFFIN also remarks that her "situation was very different from that of an Indian woman in the room below me".[188] This would place her above Room UW-1, identified by BOGGS (Plate II) as "Old Bill's Room" and therefore, also living quarters. MAGOFFIN, however, had her room equipped with her own furniture "such as bed, chairs, wash basin, table furniture",[189] which might suggest that the room was assigned her merely as an expedient, and its real use was something other than a bed-chamber. However, considering the young woman's condition and her husband's position, it is equally possible that Bent ordered his men to fit the room with her personal furniture. The latter is supported by the fact that on the day the Magoffins left, "all things of any size" had been "moved out to the wagons" and she was using "borrowed property", which may have been the original furniture of the room.[190]

It is probable that ABERT too, occupied an upstairs room during his stay in the summer of 1846. Since his visit overlapped that of MAGOFFIN, it is reasonable to assume that it was not the same room discussed above. The upstairs

occupancy is shown by his statement "I had now recovered my health sufficiently to walk down a flight of steps unaided".[191] Since this was written after almost a month of days and nights "passed in delirium",[192] it is unlikely that he was doing anything other than coming down from his room. Which room he occupied is another question, since there is a definite possibility that it was Room UN-1 (The Billiard Room). On September 1, 1846 ABERT mentions that an Indian named Ah-mih-nah-co "knocked at the door of my room", and posed for a sketch. The entry for the following day has the same Indian returning and "seated upon the billiard table", and goes on to describe numerous Indians coming in to see the sketches until he "soon had a room full".[193] Despite the great activity accompanied by the passage of the Army of the West, and the consequent taxing of the Fort accomodations, it would seem incomprehensible to billet a seriously ill officer in, of all places, the main recreation room of the Fort. On the other hand, no other room could have held a billiard table and numerous Indians. In short, other than assigning ABERT a private room on the upper story, it is impossible to localize it any further than to be fairly certain it was not UN-1.

GAIRARD, who spent a somewhat extended period as an employee at the Fort, says that on his first night he was given a room "in company with several government teamsters, in which to

sleep". The next morning he went "on top of the fort", which suggests that his sleeping quarters were on the ground floor.[194] GARRARD came and went from the Fort on a rather frequent basis, and he makes no further direct mention of his living accomodations, other than the fact that he was sharing a room with at least one other man. He does however, obliquely hint at a private room of one Dr. Hempstead, who seems to have held some position at the Fort in 1846-47. (ABERT describes the man as "one of the residents here".[195]) The following statement suggests that Dr. Hempstead occupied a room which was equipped with his personal library;

> ... Doctor Hempstead, however, did not join the festive thing; and his well-stocked library afforded recreation and pastime during the dull intervals of the day ...[196]

FORSYTH, inspecting the Fort early in the summer of 1849, reports, "Some of the rooms were neatly fitted up. Maps, Books, & lounges".[197] Although not saying so, it would appear that FORSYTH also was referring to separate living rooms.

As resident manager of the Fort, William Bent may also have been expected to occupy private quarters. BOGGS (Plates I, II, and III) places Bent's apartment adjacent to the Kitchen, that is Rooms S-2 and S-3, with entrance through the former. There are no other references.

Others who probably occupied private quarters by virtue of position, were Robert and George Dent (younger brothers of Charles and William) and the Chief Clerk. All of these prospective tenants either overlapped or were widely separated in their stays, making it impossible to do more than generalize on the number and location of the various rooms.

GEORGE DENT's plan (Plate X) shows two rooms marked "Bed R." and one marked "Visitors". He leaves 7 rooms blank. BOGGS (Plate I, II) shows Room B-5 as "Men's Room (Employees)" suggesting a barracks-type room such as implied by GARNARD.

Conclusions reached on the basis of above information are as follows;

1. With the exception of Room UW-6 (which may have doubled as a Clerk's Office), the upper west rooms were probably living quarters.
2. Room UW-1 was private living quarters.
3. Living quarters were also located on the ground floor, and probably included the north room west of the Main Gate (Rooms NW-1, N-2, N-3, and N-4), and the area west of the Kitchen (Rooms S-2 and S-3).
4. Lower status employees probably were obliged to to bed down in rooms with primary purposes other than living quarters.

[redacted]:

Rooms devoted to business would fall into two types; office and store (or place of exchange). References to the former

are extremely scarce. Only GARNARD and GEORGE HEMT (Plate X) refer directly to a Clerk's Room. GARNARD locates the Clerk's Office as follows;

> There was a billiard table in a small house on top of the fort ... and in the clerk's office, contiguous, a first-rate spyglass, with which I viewed the cabellada coming from the grazing ground, seven miles up the river.

Further on, he mentions that the room had a fireplace -- "Shortly following, did I sit by the bright wood fire, in the clerk's office ..."[198]

GARNARD's information places the Clerk's Office as an upper west room, probably UW-6. The reference to using the spy-glass establishes that it was an upper room, as does the statement that it was "contiguous" to the Billiard Room. The fact that he observed cattle coming from "up the river", suggests that it was a room on the west side. The only clue as to appearance is that the room had a fire-place, which also leads to the thought that the Clerk may have used his office as living quarters as well. ABERT (Plate IX) shows a _____ symbol in the southeast corner of Room UW-6, which may or may not indicate such a facility. GEORGE HEMT's plan (Plate X) indicates a ground-floor room sandwiched between two bedrooms, labeled simply as "Clerk's", (He does not show a Clerk's Office) which may have been the Clerk's abode.

There are frequent references to a Trade-Room or store where goods could be purchased, apparently over the counter. BOGGS (Plates I, II, III) shows what he calls a "Trader's Room" on the western side of the south rooms, or in the area of Rooms S-6 and S-7. GIBSON mentions "articles from the store, which is filled with articles for the Indian trade".[199] MAGOFFIN also speaks of "a little store".[200] GEORGE BENT (Plate X) shows Rooms N-5, N-6, and N-7 to be a "Store and Warehouse" which, since he fails to indicate any other store or Trade Room, must be referring to the same room. He describes the store through Grinnell as follows;

> In the store of the fort -- presumably for sale to trappers and travelers, and for the use of the proprietors -- were to be found such unusual luxuries as butter crackers, Bent's water crackers, candies of various sorts, and, most remarkable of all, great jars of preserved ginger of the kind which fifty or sixty years ago used to be brought from China ...[201]

The following conclusions have been drawn concerning rooms used for purposes of business;

1. In the later Bent Period the area of the north rooms east of the Main Gate (Rooms N5, N6, and N7) probably constituted the Trade Rooms as shown by GEORGE BENT (Plate X).

2. Earlier in the Bent Period, the Trade Rooms may have been in the south row of rooms as shown by BOGGS (Plates I, II, and III).

3. Undoubtedly, at least one room served as a company or Clerk's Office. This room was probably UW-6, as suggested by GARRARD.[202]

RECREATION:

a. Billiard Room: There is little doubt that Room US-1 was, for most of the Fort's existence, a Billiard Room used for recreational purposes. It appears, and is so designated, by the BOGGS sketches (Plates I, II, III). MAGOFFIN seemed quite surprised that "they have a regularly established billiard room!"[203] and GARRARD points out that "There was a billiard table in a small house on top of the fort ..."[204] ABERT mentions one of his Indian models "seated upon the billiard table".[205] The GEORGE BENT plan (Plate X) shows a "Billiard Room" over a gate in the center of the south rooms, and confirms the fact of existence by saying "There was a Billiard Hall also when the Fort was in its prime".[206] Again BENT's words are elaborated on by Grinnell;

> At the back -- west (south) side -- of the fort, over the gate that opened into the corral, was a second-story room rising high above the walls, as the watchtower did in front. This room, which was thirty or forty feet in length, was used as a billiard room during the later years of the post, and across one end of the room ran a counter or bar, over which drinkables were served ....[207]

b. Parlor: The existence of a Parlor as such is highly questionable despite the rather detailed description by MAGOFFIN;

> They have one large room as a parlor; there are no chairs but a cushion next the wall on two sides, so the company set all round in a circle. There is no other furniture then a table on which stands a bucket of water, free to all. Any water

> that may be left in the cup after drinking is unceremoniously tossed onto the floor.
>
> When we came last evening, while they were fixing our room, I sat in the parlour with las senoritas (the ladies), the wife of Mr. George Bent and some others.[208]

As in several other cases, it is probable that the "Parlor" was also the Council Room. (Note the similarity of descriptions between McGOFFIN's and those in the following section.)

OTHER:

a. Council Room: The first mention of a Council Room as an integral part of the Fort is found in ABERT's 1845 report. On August 9, 1845 the young officer was invited to attend a council between the Cheyennes and the Delawares, concerning the murder of a party of the latter, some months before. He describes the scene as follows;

> We were all seated on buffalo robes upon the ground, so ranged around the council chamber that our backs could be supported against the wall ... All the speakers kept their seats whilst addressing the assembly.[209]

HURTON says that there were;

> ... three large rooms, one used as a store and magazine, another as a council-room, where the Indians assemble for their "talks", whilst the third is the common diningHall ...[210]

GEORGE BENT speaks briefly of the room;

> ... the Fort had big Council room also to hold Council with Indians ...[211]

but he fails to show such a room in his ground-plan (Plate X), nor is it shown by BOGGS.

The conclusion that the Parlor and Council Room were one and the same room is based upon several facts extracted from the above, combined with an analysis of the space situation.

1. According to M'GOFFIN and BURTON, both rooms were "large".
2. ABBEY, M'GOFFIN and BURTON all mention the lack of chairs.
3. Both M'GOFFIN and BURTON clearly differentiate between the room in question and the Dining Room.
4. Councils could not have been held so frequently as to necessitate the setting aside of one large room specifically for that purpose, when it would be more expedient to combine its function with that of the Parlor.

The only clue regarding the location of the room is found in the BURTON passage, which causes the implication that the "three large rooms" were adjacent to each other.[212] This is supported by the 1954 excavation, which showed rooms E-3, E-4, and E-5 to be the three largest adjacent rooms. Room E-3 has already been discussed as the probable Dining Room location, leaving E-4 and E-5 as probable locations for the Council Room and the "Store and Magazine". BOGGS (Plates I and II) shows the center room (E-4) as a "Store Room" and designates E-5 as "Men's Room (Employees)". The latter, excluding the possibility of use change, could have been sleeping quarters

at night and, when the occasion arose, served as a Parlor-Council Room.

On the basis of the above discussion, the following conclusions may be drawn;

1. One room served the dual purpose of Parlor and Council Room.
2. The room was probably E-5.
3. It may also have been used as a sleeping area.

b. Watch-Tower and Belfry: (Room UH-1) placed over the Main Gate, first appears in the 1845 ABERT sketch (Plate IV) and is shown on all later drawings and plans. GARRARD says that "In the belfry, two eagles ... looked out from their prison".[213] GRINNELL describes the room in his own words;

> Another Tower was built over the big gate for Watch Tower, they had fine Telescope in this Tower ... during day some one was looking out in this Tower.[214]

Through Grinnell, the description is further detailed;

> Over the main gate of the fort was a square watchtower surmounted by a belfry, from the roof of which rose a flagstaff. The watch-tower contained a single room, furnished with a chair and a bed, and with windows on all sides. Here mounted on a pivot, was an old-fashioned long telescope or spyglass ...
>
> In the belfry, under a little roof which rose above the watchtower, hung the bell of the fort, which sounded the hours for meals. Two tame, whiteheaded eagles kept at the fort were sometimes confined in this belfry ...[215]

On the following pages Diagrams 3 and 4 are provided as a summation of the conclusions reached in the preceding section.

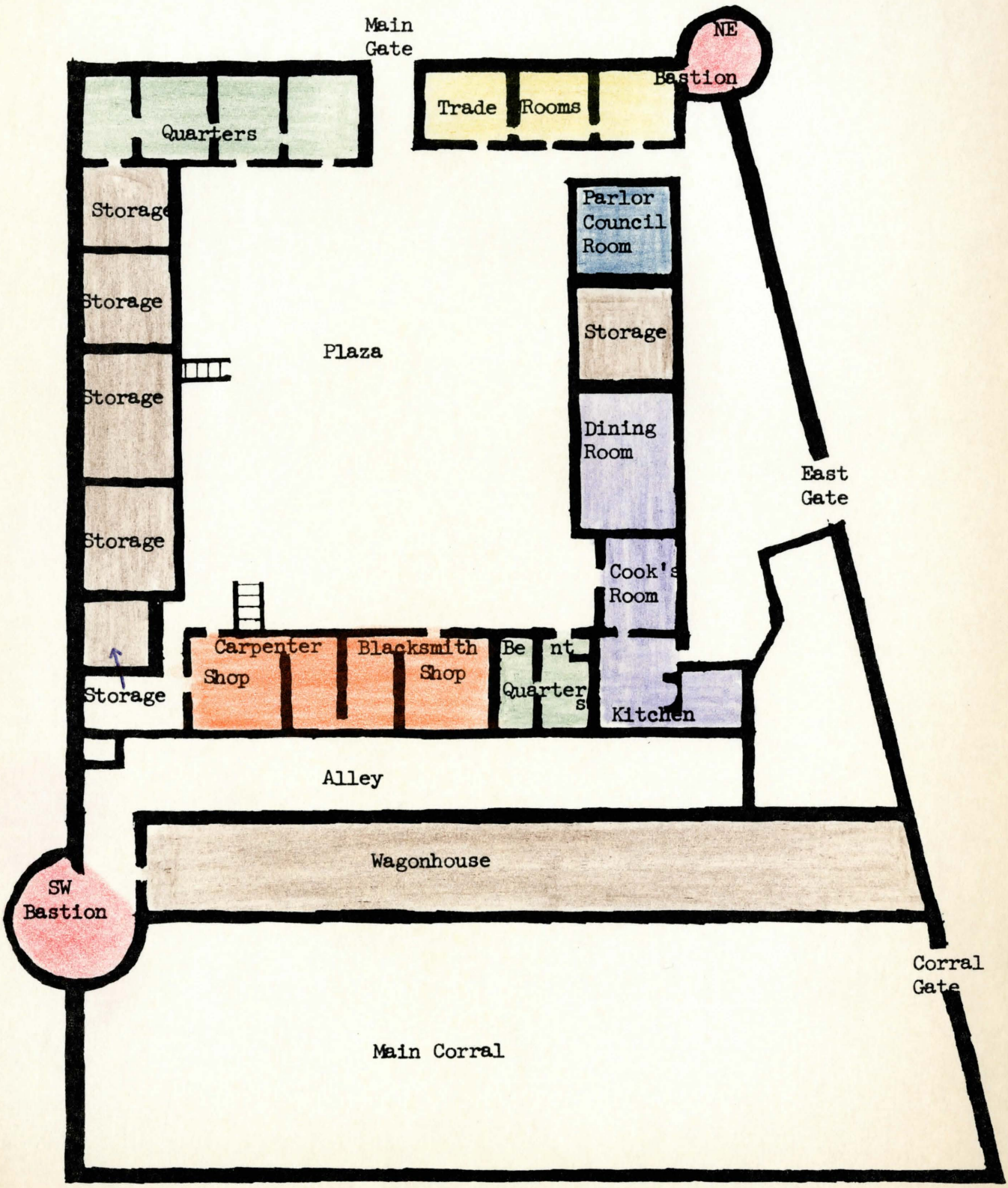

Main Gate
NE Bastion
Trade Rooms
Quarters
Storage
Storage
Storage
Storage
Storage
Plaza
Parlor Council Room
Storage
Dining Room
East Gate
Cook's Room
Carpenter Shop
Blacksmith Shop
Be nt Quarters
Kitchen
Storage
Alley
Wagonhouse
SW Bastion
Corral Gate
Main Corral

DIAGRAM 3

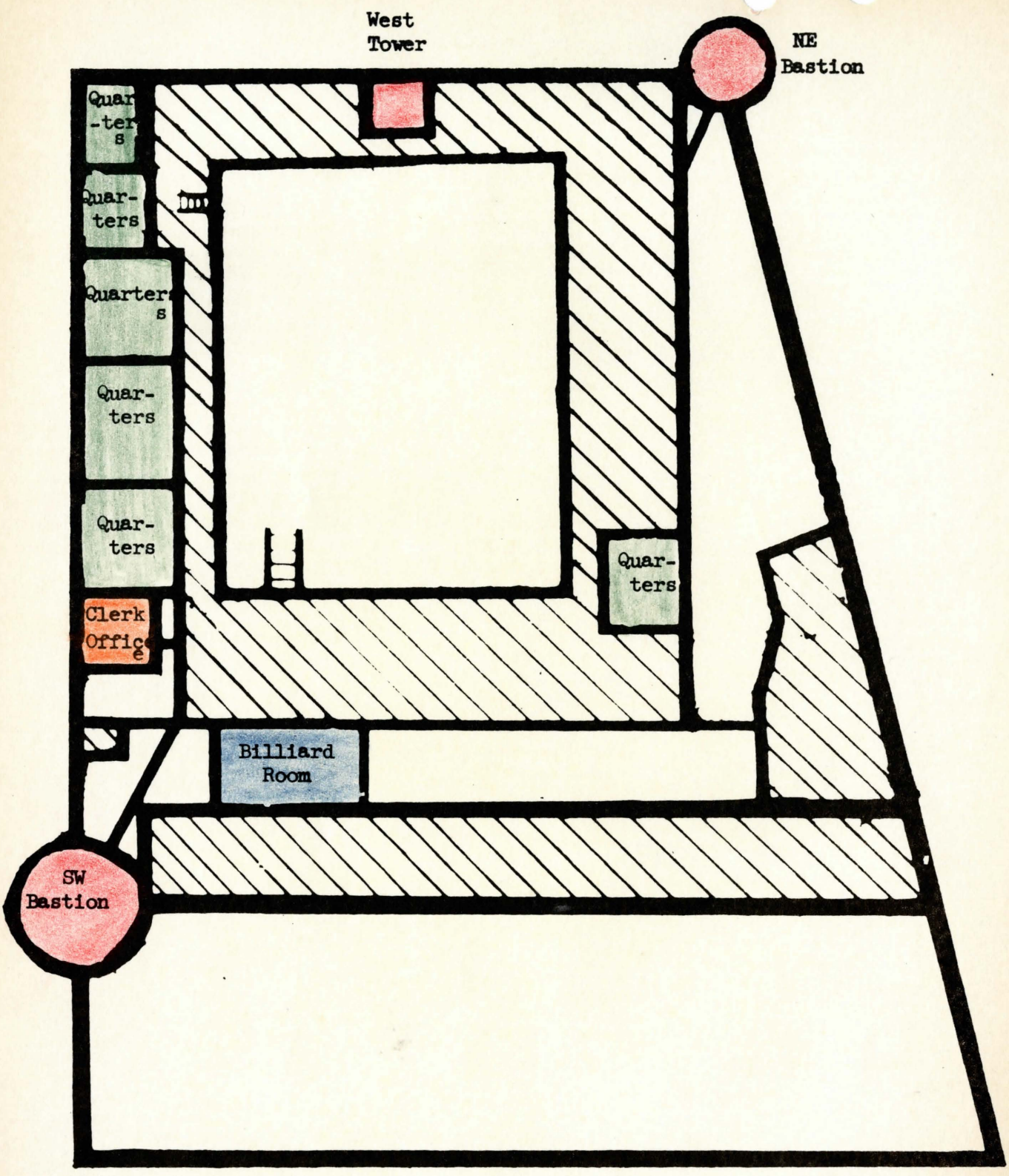

West
Tower
NE
Bastion
Quar
-ter
s
Quar-
ters
Quarter
s
Quar-
ters
Quar-
ters
Clerk
Office
Quar-
ters
Billiard
Room
SW
Bastion

DIAGRAM #4

VI. POSSIBILITY OF ALTERATION

Through the process of extracting data on Bent's Old Fort from the several primary sources, there has emerged a distinct impression that extensive alteration on the structure may have taken place during the Bent Period. Numerous discrepancies cannot, even by the liveliest stretching of piece-meal information, be logically reconciled. For example, both BOGGS and GEORGE BENT use the Main Gate as a point of reference, yet the former flanks it with a Blacksmith Shop and an empty wall, while the latter brackets it with warehouses. Both men were, of course, recollecting the structure after the passage of half a century, and it would be asking a great deal to have their drawings check out with each other. Yet interjected between the two, are the sketches and plans of ABERT, which were rendered on the spot and which, on all basic points, complement GEORGE BENT rather than BOGGS. This leads to the conclusion that either BOGGS was totally deficient in recalling the structure, or significant alterations were made between the time BOGGS left the post (early spring 1845) and the time ABERT arrived (August 2, 1845), a five month period at the most.

There are five major discrepancies between the BOGGS drawings (Plates I, II, III) and the ABERT drawings (Plate IV, VIII) and plans (Plate IX). Stated simply, ABERT shows each of the five features, while BOGGS does not.

1. Watch Tower and Belfry
2. North-east Rooms (R-5, R-6, R-7)
3. Wagon House

4. Main Corral

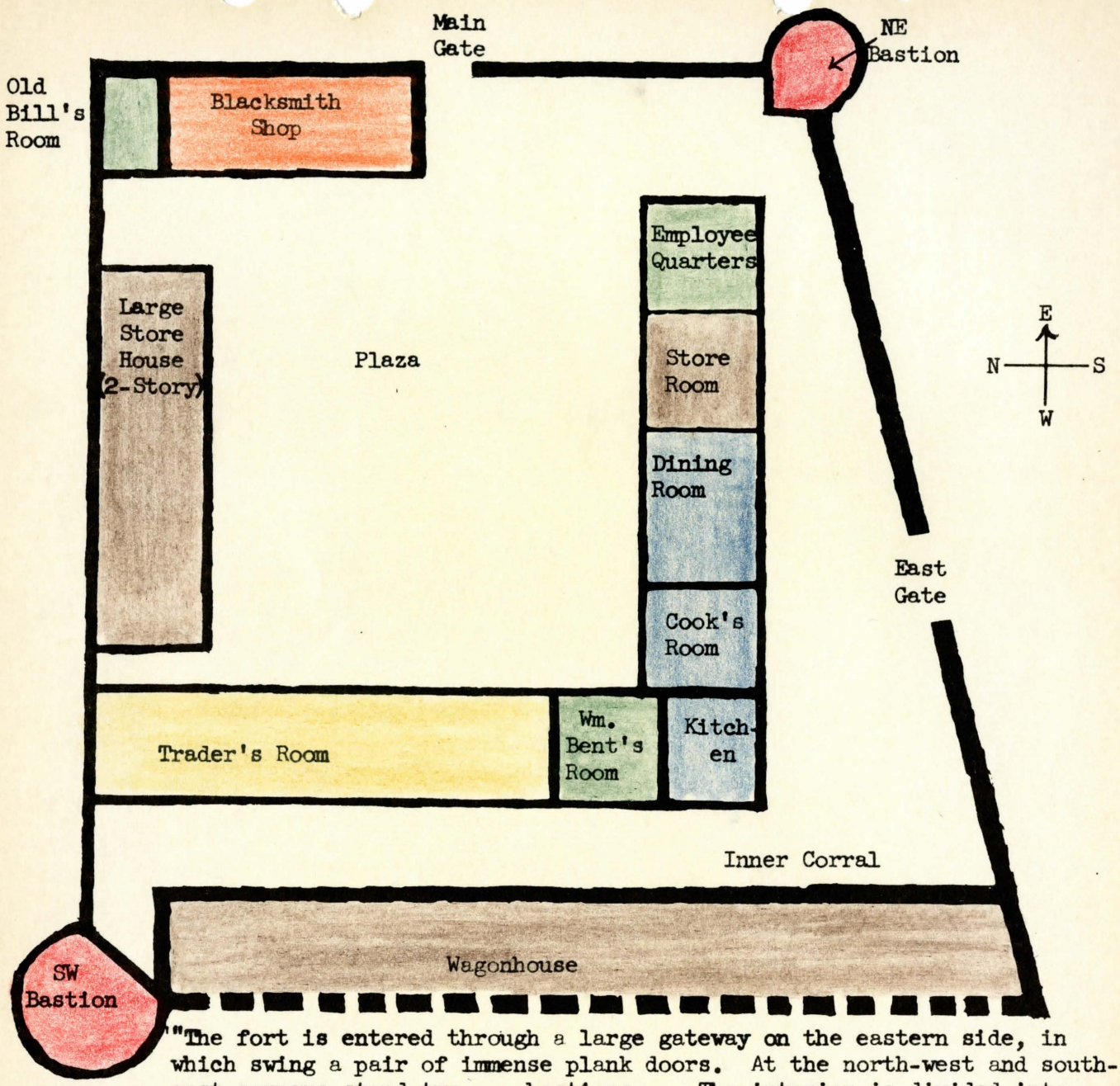
5. Upper West rooms extending to Northwest corner of Fort. (Rooms UW-1 and UW-2)

To best resolve the problem, the five discrepancies were analyzed by seeking corroboration for BOGGS in the pre-1844 sources, and for ABERT in the post-1845 sources. Those of the latter mentioning any of the features, all supported ABERT, which is to say, the structure resembled Plate IV from the middle of 1845 on. Whether it resembled Plates I, II, and III before that is another question, the answering of which may resolve whether or not a major alteration took place.

Perhaps surprisingly, strong support for BOGGS was found in FARNHAM's description of the structure as it appeared in 1839. The correlation is so remarkable that Diagram #5 has been provided on the following page, to better illustrate the various points. The diagram is based on BOGGS (Plate II), as are the designation of room use. FARNHAM's description is placed under the diagram, and his directional orientation is shown to the right. By comparing the two, the following points are brought out;

1. Both agree as to general layout in regard to one and two story buildings, Bastion locations, and Main Gate.

2. Both describe the north rooms in a similar manner (except for BOGG's inclusion of "Old Bill's Room"), that is, the Blacksmith Shop, the Gate, and the Outer Wall are the primary features. There is no mention by either of a Watch-Tower. (Without the west wall of N-5, it would be impossible to have such a room.)



"The fort is entered through a large gateway on the eastern side, in which swing a pair of immense plank doors. At the north-west and south-east corners stand two ... bastions ... The interior is divided into two parts. The one and the larger of them occupies the northeastern portion. It is nearby a square. A range of two-story houses, the well, and the blacksmith shop are on the north side; on the west and south are ranges of one-story houses; on the east the blacksmith shop, the gate, and the outer wall. This is the place of business. Here the owners and their servants have their sleeping and cooking apartments, and here are the storehouses ... From this area a passage leads between the eastern outer wall and the one-story houses, to the caral or cavy-yard which occupies the remainder of the space within the walls ... Beyond the caral to the west and adjoining the wall, is the wagon-house. It is strongly built, and large enough to shelter 12 or 15 of those large vehicles ..."

DIAGRAM #5

3. FARNHAM says a "passage leads between the eastern outer wall and the one-story houses, to the corral ..." This agrees with BOGGS, since he shows only wall at that point.

4. FARNHAM says the corral "occupies the remainder of the space within the walls", and that "beyond the corral to the west and adjoining the wall, is the waggon-house". This implies that the Wagon House was an auxiliary structure attached to, but outside, the main structure. BOGGS does not show, or mention such a building, but the angle of his drawing (Plate II) is such that the building might be masked by the south wall of the Fort. Therefore, a dotted line has been placed on the diagram to show the probable location of the Wagon House. By the inclusion of a Wagon House, the two descriptions compare perfectly.

5. Neither mentions a Main Corral.

6. FARNHAM does not describe the upper rooms in detail, so no comparison is possible.

The critical period in regard to an alteration, was, as stated earlier, between the early spring of 1845 and the 2nd day of August of the same year. Nothing has been discovered concerning the Bent, St. Vrain, Company's activities during this period, to suggest that expansion was necessary for business reasons. However, events of great international significance were taking place, which may have had a bearing on the Company, as well as the Fort. Following is a partial chronology of the period;

March 1 - Declaration of a Joint Congressional Resolution for the Annexation of Texas.[216]

March 4 - Inauguration of James Knox Polk as the 11th President of the United States, elected on a platform calling for, among other things, ... "the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period ..."[217]

March 6 - Mexican Ambassador Almonte demands his passports.[218]

April 2 - American Minister in Mexico informed that Mexico would not continue diplomatic relations with the United States.[219]

June 4 - Mexican President Herrera proclaims that Mexico will protect her rights in Texas by force of arms. Mexican Congress attaches to proclamation, a provision for calling out the armed forces of the nation.[220]

June 15 - General Zachary Taylor, U. S. Army, ordered to move from New Orleans to a point on the western border of Texas.[221]

July 2 - First contingent of U. S. troops embarks from New Orleans, pursuant to order of June 15.[222]

July 4 - Republic of Texas agrees to terms of annexation.[223]

July 12 - Mexican Army of the North (California) put on alert status.[224]

There is no question but that relations between the United States and Mexico had been deteriorating over the Texas question for almost a decade. Yet, the events of March and April were more than mere threatening gestures. The passage of the Joint Resolution for annexation at the end of the Tyler Administration, and the inauguration of the avowed expansionist Polk were, however, almost certain indications that the two nations were on a collision course, with contact imminent. It was equally certain that Bent's Fort, hundreds of miles closer to Santa Fe than the Missouri settlements, isolated on the very boundary of the disputed territory, would, in some way, become involved. A fort -- built for the Indian trade, and adequately defensible against lightly armed red marauders -- might suddenly be called upon to resist an attack by first class troops equipped with all the accouterments of a modern army. If the Fort was built at the time, as BOGGS claimed, it would have been a very disquieting situation for the responsible parties.

Diagrams 6 and 7 on the following pages, illustrate how the five major discrepancies between BOGGS and ABERT may be resolved on the basis of putting Bent's Fort on a war footing. Diagram 6 shows the defensive situation as per BOGGS. Note that the design depended mainly upon the Bastions. The single Main Gate was covered by a banquette along the wall west of it, and by the Northeast Bastion. By constructing rooms along the north wall east of the Main Gate, three objectives were gained, all of which contributed to better defense;

1. It made possible the installation of a second gate into the Plaza.
2. It extended the banquette along the entire north wall.
3. It made possible the construction of a Watch Tower.

The construction of a new south wall on the Wagon House, and the extension in the Alpha-Beta area improved the situation by;

1. Taking the main responsibility for protecting the south wall away from the Southwest Bastion, by extending a banquette along the entire south extremity of the Fort.
2. Giving some protection to the East Gate by providing a banquette to cover it.

The addition of Rooms UW-1 and UW-2 cannot be explained as a defensive measure quite so easily. It did, however, contribute somewhat by;

1. Converting most of the west wall into a two-story structure.

Diagrams 6 and 7 illustrate the points brought out above. Diagram 6 (BOGGS) shows a structure capable of withstanding any assault Plains Indians might have mounted. Diagram 7 (ABERT) shows (in red and blue stripes) the improvements made in the defensive situation.

Conclusions:

1. The March-July Period was tense, in that war was imminent.

2. Bent's Fort was in serious danger should war break out, in that;

   a. It was exposed grographically.

   b. It was built to withstand Indian attacks only.

3. For these reasons, it was decided to put the Fort on a war footing.

4. Every discrepancy between BOGGS (Plates I, II, III) and ABERT (Plate IV) can be explained as a measure to accomplish this.

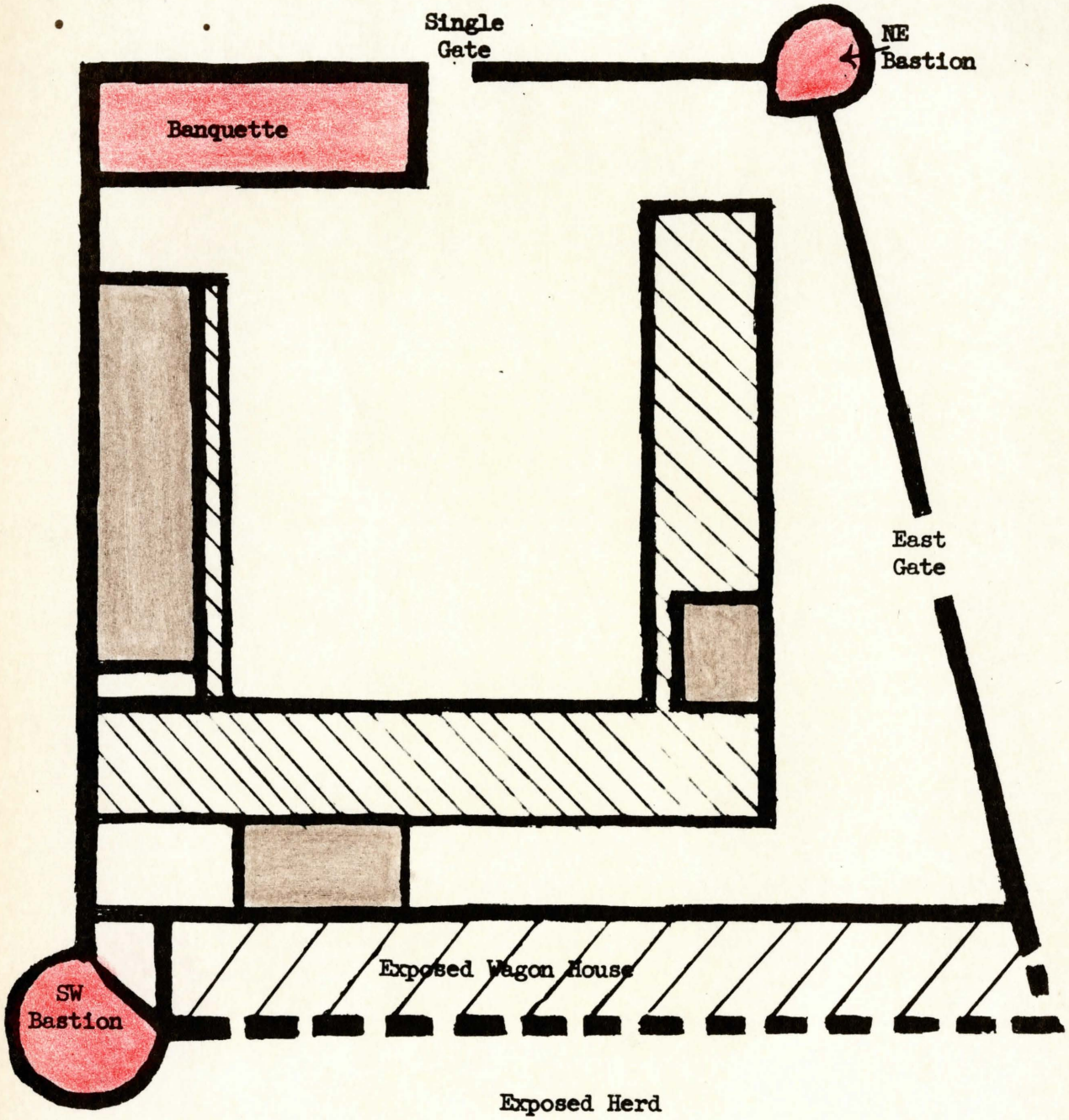

Single
Gate
NE
Bastion
Banquette
East
Gate
Exposed Wagon House
SW
Bastion
Exposed Herd

DIAGRAM #6

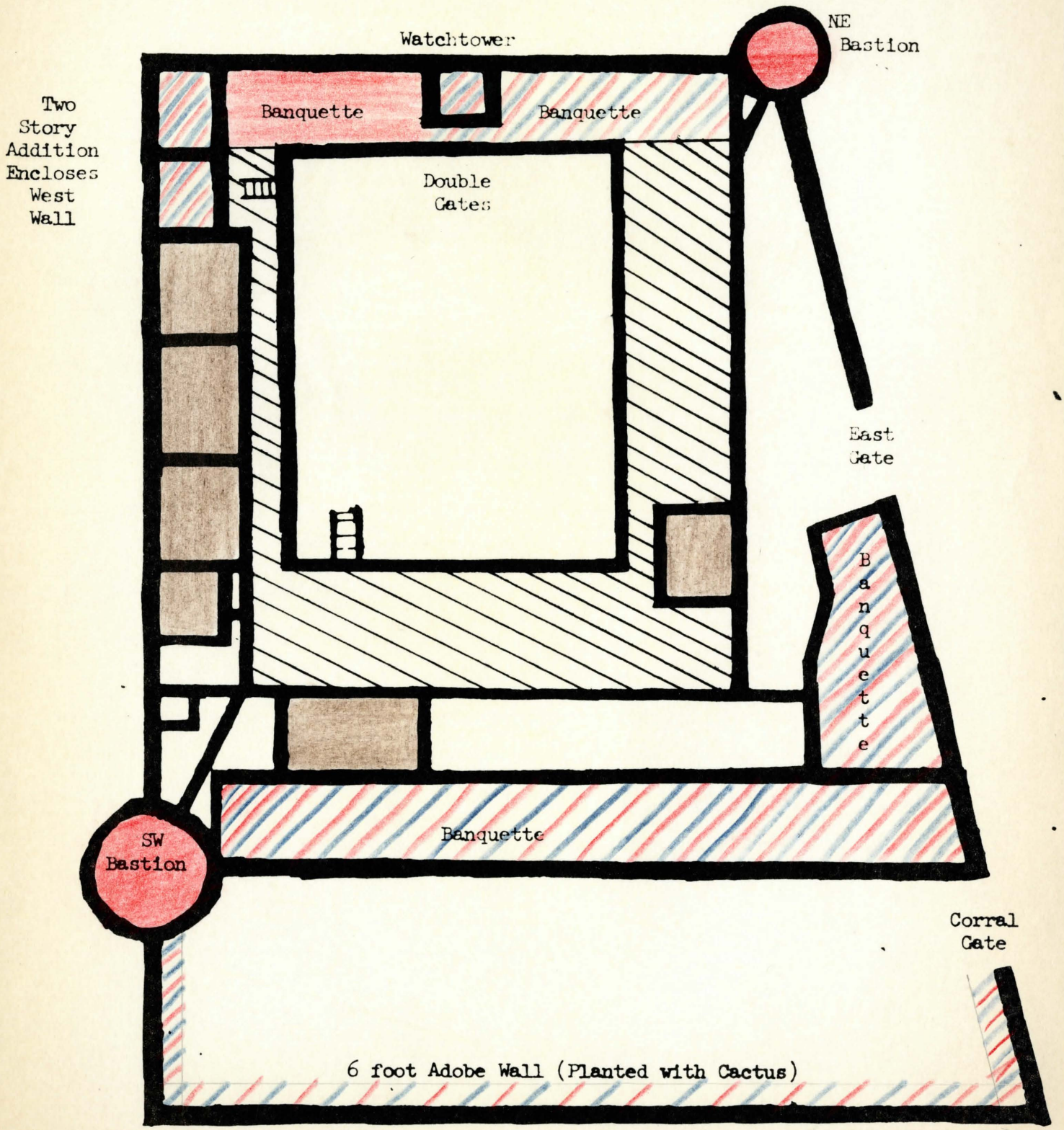

Watchtower
NE Bastion
Two Story Addition Encloses West Wall
Banquette
Banquette
Double Gates
East Gate
Banquette
SW Bastion
Banquette
Corral Gate
6 foot Adobe Wall (Planted with Cactus)

DIAGRAM #7

VII. ABANDONMENT

The facts surrounding William Bent's abandonment of his adobe Fort remain shrouded in mystery. GEORGE BENT remembered the incident well, and through Grinnell gives a brief account of it;

> One morning he (William Bent) loaded all his goods upon his twenty large wagons, each drawn by six yoke of oxen, and moved down the river to Short Timber Creek, five miles below the fort, where he camped for the night. The next morning Bent rode up the river alone and set fire to the fort. Those who were with the wagons heard the report of the distant explosion as the powder magazine blew up.[225]

GEORGE BENT believed the date of abandonment to have been 1832, but this is refuted by PALADAY, who places the time as on or about August 17, 1849. The following passage from a newspaper article dated September 27, 1849, not only gives the date but a description of the Fort remains, as well;

> Mr. Paladay had been in the employ of Wm. Bent, at the Fort. On the 16th August, he was sent over in the direction of Kit Carson's settlement, on the Moro. In returning, he fell in company with the train of Capt. Keith. While they were encamped at the Hole in the Rock, they heard distinctly a loud report, resembling that of a cannon. They journeyed on - crossed the Arkansas river on the 22nd August, and came up to the site of the Fort, and saw that the rubbish of the buildings was all that was left. It had been burnt down by the Indians, and was still smoking and burning on the 24th , when they left it. They now were able to account for the report, as the magazine belonging to Bent had been fired. The guns and traps were consumed, and it is supposed all the goods, books, etc., of Bent's concern, had shared the same fate. The pack saddles and riding apparatus were not destroyed, as they were still in the bastions. What had become of Mr. Bent, or any one connected with the concern,

they could not tell: there was no trace of them or their whereabouts. As our informant came on down the Arkansas, they saw the trail of the cattle from the Fort ...[27]

C. FIRST INTERIM PERIOD

William Bent's abandonment of his Fort marked the end of the Bent Period, and the beginning of what has been designated the First Interim Period. From August, 1849, until the occupation of the structure by the Barlow-Sanderson Overland Stage Mail and Express Company in 1861, it slowly fell into ruin through the dual effects of the Bent-caused fire, and neglect. The burning of the wooden components apparently caused walls to weaken, particularly on the west two-story side, and those who observed it, were almost unanimous in their estimation that it was a "ruin". The following descriptions by those who saw the Fort in the decade of the Fifties, bear this out;

HEAP (1853) - "We rode all through the ruins ... It is now roofless ... The adobe walls are still standing, and are in many places of great thickness ..."[227]

BECKWITH (1853) - "Mr. Bent abandoned his fort about four years ago, but not until he had destroyed it. Its adobe walls still stand in part only, with here and there a tower and chimney ..."[228]

CARVALHO (1853) - "... We travelled up the Arkansas, and passing the ruins of Bent's Fort on the opposite side of the river ..."[229]

RAYMOND (1859) - "... Visited the ruins of Bent's Old Fort -- found that it covered nearly an acre of ground, containing about 25 rooms and a large open Alley on two sides of it. It was ... built of Sods ... The walls were two & a half ft thick and the highest that remained about 14 feet ..."[230]

WILLING (1859) - "Friday, June 3d ... pass Bent's Old Fort, built chiefly of adobes; having been abandoned now more than five years, it is fast falling into ruins. The Arkansas almost washes its base."[231]

None of these descriptions indicate anything more than what might be

expected of an abandoned adobe structure left with burned timbers for over a decade.

D. STAGECOACH PERIOD

In 1861, the Barlow-Sanderson Overland Stage Mail and Express Company took over the remains of the Fort. Using it as a "home station" and general repair shop on the line to Santa Fe, the company apparently made such repairs as were necessary for the proper functioning of the establishment. Descriptions of the Fort during this period are surprisingly scarce, although several important things are evident.

From the available evidence, it appears that the deterioration through the decade of the Fifties resulted in the Stage people electing to operate from the Central Complex only -- that is, the rooms around the Plaza. Interior Partitions were probably removed in some cases, so that the floor-plan was similar to that shown on Plate XIII. Whether the Main Corral, Bastions, and East Outer Wall were already down in 1861 is not known, but it is certain that the Stage Company made no effort to maintain them. The same is true of all the upper rooms, the supports of which were probably weakened by the 1849 fire. A. E. REYNOLDS recalled in 1920 when he first saw the structure (1867) that:

> There was never any two-story building there in the world ... he (referring to a statement on the Bastions) built those round towers out of his imagination ... The walls weren't over eight feet high ... the corral was the inside of this enclosure; there wasn't two separate enclosures ...[232]

It also appears that one row of rooms was obliterated. Colonel J. L. SANDERSON, Superintendent and General-Manager of the line, resided at the Fort throughout the period. In 1903, he provided Professor E. W. Cragin with a picture of the Fort, supposedly made in 1865 (Plate XII),

a floor-plan (Plate XIII), and a verbal description. The plan generally corroborates the facts already stated; no Bastions, Main Corral, or East Outer Wall are shown. There is also the statement "No rooms on the West". Orientation again becomes a problem, and it is probable that SANDERSON, like others before him, felt that the Fort faced east. Making the adjustment would place the absent row of rooms on the south side. By doing this, a comparison of the ground plan and the photograph can be made.

Noting the round tower-like affair on the left of the photograph, orients it as being either the north or south wall of the Fort. The latter may be eliminated because of the orientation of the ground-plan -- it is not likely SANDERSON mistook south for east. Assuming then, that the "tower" on the left of the photograph is the remains of the Northeast Bastion, the following factors become evident;

1. The gate shown in the center of the wall is on the site of the original Main Gate. (This corresponds with the opening in the wall shown on the Ground Plan.)

2. No Watch-Tower is shown over the Gate, and the flag appears to be flying from a pole inside the Fort (probably in the Plaza).

3. The wall on the right (the west wall) is only one story.

4. No second story rooms are visible where UE-1 and UE-1 would have been.

5. Several windows seem to have been cut in the north and west walls, indicating that rooms remained on the other side. (That is, the north and lower west rows of rooms remained, eliminating those rows from consideration as the obliterated side.)

Accepting the above as correct, the conclusion is reached that during

the Stagecoach Period;

1. The north, east, and lower west rooms were available for occupancy.

2. An outward opening, wooden gate provided access at the same location as the Bent Period Main Gate.

3. Stagecoaches probably entered the Plaza from the large opening in the south side, which may have been fenced and gated. (REYNOLDS remembers the stages "used to come in and drive around the Fort, coming in from the westerly side, into the enclosure." -- With proper orientation the west side would be the south side.)

was

As to the types of rooms, several are mentioned. SANDERSON's diagram (Plate XIII) designates but two; a Kitchen and a Dining Room. It is of interest that with the proper orientation, the Kitchen is shown as the SW-1 area (Similar to Bent Period), and the Dining Room in the E-2, E-3 area. The windows on the north row, mentioned previously, suggest that the Living Quarters were probably located there. Those occupying quarters would include Mr. and Mrs. Sanderson and the local employees of the line. The remaining, or west side probably housed the "general repair shop for the line"[233] mentioned by SANDERSON, which is undoubtedly the same room or room as the "blacksmith shop for repairs" described by an 1866 visitor. The latter person states that the Fort also kept "the extra coaches of the Co., stores, forage, etc."[234] P. G. SCOTT stopped at the Fort in 1870, noting that "The stable occupy one side of the square".[235]

The following conclusions as to types of rooms, have been reached on the basis of the above evidence;

1. The East Rooms were used as messing facilities.

2. The North Rooms (bisected by the area of the Bent Period Main Gate) served as Living Quarters.

3. The West Rooms were the utility area, housing maintenance (including Blacksmith) shops, vehicular and animal storage, etc.

4. The South Rooms had been obliterated.

The general appearance, and construction materials were similar to the Bent Period, although it is likely, extensive repairs were necessary to make the structure livable after the fire and deterioration. SCOTT states;

> The fort is built of sundried brick, in a square with houses leant up against the wall on the inside the wall is about 10 feet high and the roofs of the shanties slope inward ... The roofs of the houses are made of poles covered with a thin stratum of clay ...[236]

The 1866 visitor states " ... the old Fort has been repaired; roofs mended, and walls whitewashed".[237] A traveler 5 years later was not as impressed, remarking only that;

> The fort is 44 years old and built of mud. What is left of it is used as a ranch house and they raise cattle. Living is high. Potatoes 8 cents a pound, butter 50 cents a pound, eggs 75 cents a dozen and milk 10 cents a quart.[238]

For one reason or another, the above quoted immigrant somehow failed to note that the Fort was also a stage station. His misteking it for a ranch house is interesting however, since the year before SCOTT mentioned;

> There is a large herd of horses and mules and 400 cattle belonging to Price who lives at the fort.[239]

This may indicate that the separation of the Stagecoach Period and Cattle Period was not as clear cut as is generally believed. Judging by the above references, it appears that the only difference in regard

to use, was that the departure of the Stage Company merely ended that particular phase of structural use.

Exactly when Bent's Fort ceased to serve as a Stage Station is not clear. GARRISON claimed to have lived at the Fort "for 20 yrs or more, beginning in 1861",[240] which would place the date of abandonment as 1881. However, as early as 1873, the Kansas Pacific Railroad reached West Las Animas, and in 1876 was joined by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe. Railroad at La Junta. In February, 1880, the first railroad entered Santa Fe.[241] It is known that the stage stations retired westward in front of the railroad, so that by 1880 there were probably no stages running on the Santa Fe Trail proper. It is quite possible, however, that local stages on spurs from the main trail, operated from the Fort as late as 1881.

E. CATTLE PERIOD

The abandonment of the Fort as a stage station (probably 1881), marked the beginning of final deterioration. Never again would any effort be made to preserve the walls for a residence or business. On the contrary, local traditions state that adobes from the Fort were carried off by neighboring ranchers for use in their own buildings. By about 1885, the Fort was nothing more than a ruin -- an old landmark on the vast holdings of John W. Prowers.[242]

F. SECOND INTERIM PERIOD

The Second Interim Period, spanning the years 1884-1920, merely marked the continual process of deterioration on the Fort walls. In 1900, A. E. REYNOLDS purchased the Fort site and surrounding ranch, and noted that;

> ... the walls at that time were probably -- oh, in places there might be walls there three or four feet high, and there was evidences of fireplaces in one or two of those rooms ...[243]

Plates XIV, XV, and XVI, which show local youths enacting a "melodrama" in 1903, provide support for REYNOLDS' statement. Thirteen years later (1916), Professor F. W. CRAGIN journeyed from Colorado Springs to the Fort site, and recorded his impression as follows;

> Bent's Fort, 9 mi by road E. from La Junta, Colo., on N. side of Ark R. Walls almost utterly leveled. One point only, stands 8 ft above level of surrounding prairie. Fort encircled fr. S.W. to N.E. by Ark. R. Old acequia comes near gate of fort & goes down river to north curving to east. N.E. of fort is a reed swamp depressed area, good bottom grass above & below it Gate & fort front looked S.E. toward a group of 3 cottonwood trees. Latter species of tree scattered up & down the river in region of fort - they grow thickest down the river. Mr. A. E. Reynolds, who owns the land on which is Bent's Fort site has placed a fine stone monument (gray granite) in N. corner of the walled Bent's Fort ruin. Little sign of the (N. & S.) fort towers remains. The site should be dug out; measurements & relics preserved for a future museum of early Western history, to be housed in a reconstructed Bent's Fort, made of cement ... At highest part of wall is at n.e. of S. corner.[244]

The monument referred to, was erected by REYNOLDS in 1910, at the request of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.[245] (It is now the property of Bent's Old Fort NHS.) By 1920, even the walls shown in Plates XIV, XV, and XVI, had practically disappeared. According

to REYNOLDS;

> ... How rain has destroyed those walls, since then, rain and cattle running over them and everything else, and they are down there flat, and just show where the bricks have gone to pieces, show a ridge of mud around; the outline is there, all right ...[246]

Such was the condition in November, 1920, when the DAR acquired the site from REYNOLDS.[247]

G. TERMINAL PERIOD

The DAR began at once to collect funds to be used "to set out trees by the roadside, build a fence, and eventually rebuild the old fort walls".[248] In April, 1921, the ladies and their husbands planted some 200 elm and ash trees at the site, only to see most of their efforts washed away by the rampaging Arkansas River, as the Great Pueblo Flood struck, two months later.[249]

On July 6, 1923, Professor T. H. Carver of Harvard University, visited the site. Carver made a snap-shot of "the only portion of the wall that stands above the level of the ground" (Plate XVII). He added that the "outline of the rest of the walls are still traceable".[250]

Although the DAR did what it could to preserve the ruins, the site remained a favorite hunting ground for amateur archeologists and souvenir seekers. One of these, a B. S. TENNEY, noted that on April 19, 1935, he found the Fort --

> a complete ruin - outlined by a slight rise of ground on lines of the original foundation - all bricks buried but could be located by digging a few inches into the ground.[251]

(TENNEY dug a brick up from the southeast wall of the Fort, a specimen which has since found its way back to its original locale, and is now the property of the United States.)

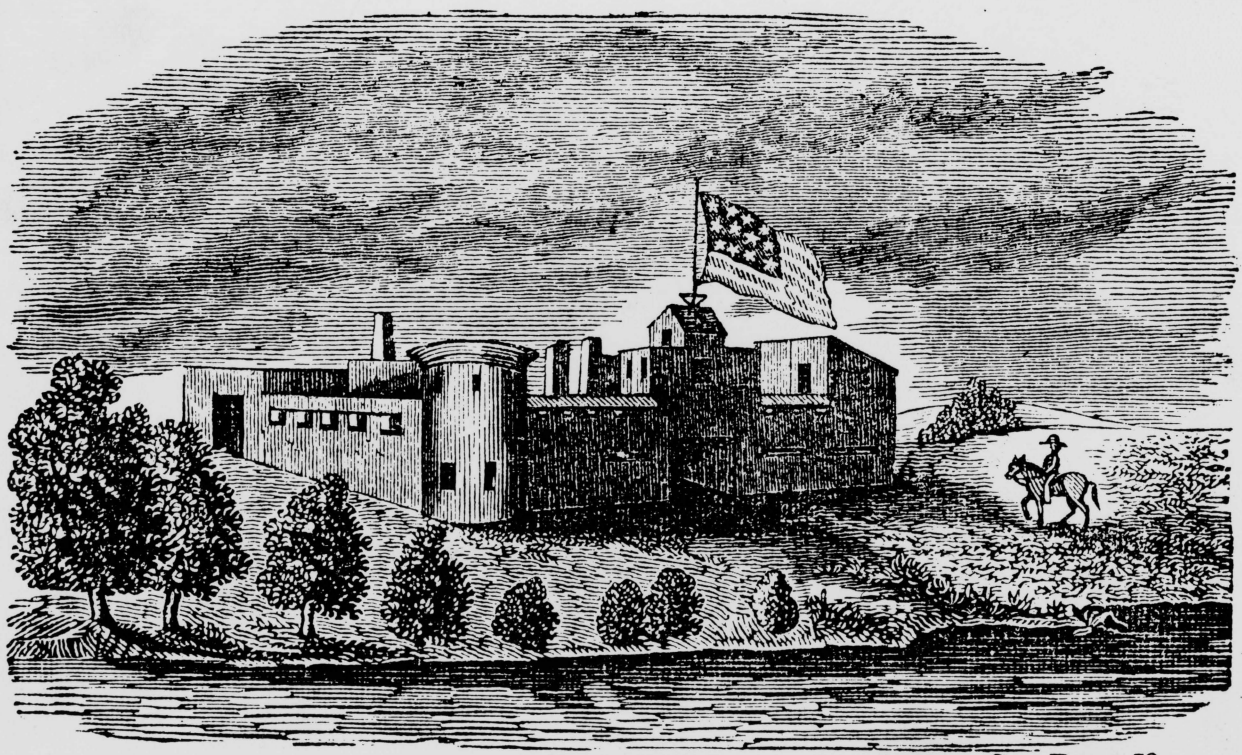
TENNEY's description of the site is supported by a Bureau of Public Roads photograph (Plate XVIII), made in 1939, in which the most conspicuous

BENT'S FORT IN 1846

(Hughes)

Photo - Library of Congress

(BEOL Neg. #1531)



[Fort Bent.]

See Page 59.

PLATE V

BENT'S FORT IN 1846

(Inman)

Photo - Denver Public Library,
Western History Collection

(BEOL Neg. #1533)

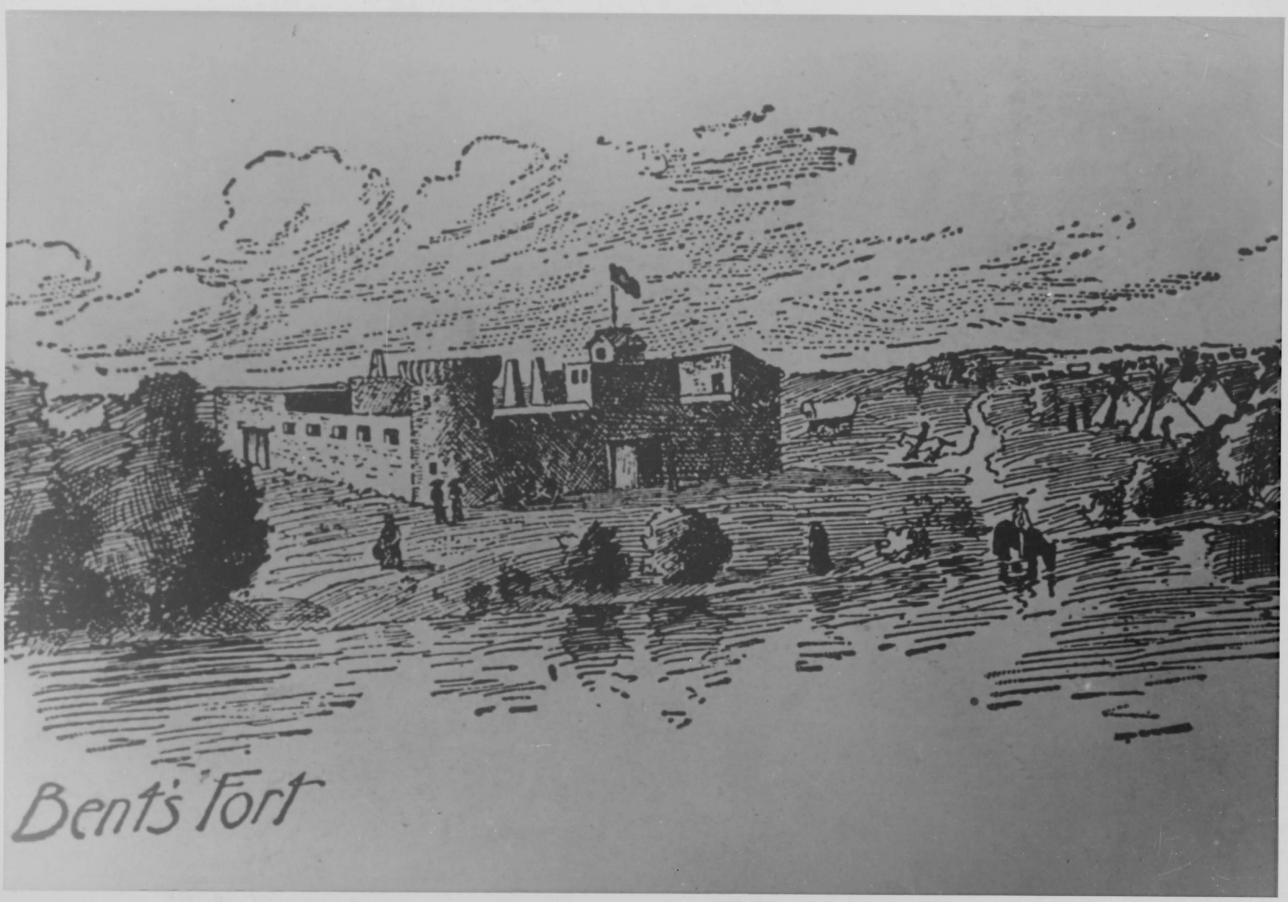


PLATE VI

BENT'S FORT FRONT 1846

(Abert)

Photo - National Park Service
(In-Service Use Only)

(BEOL Neg. #1527)

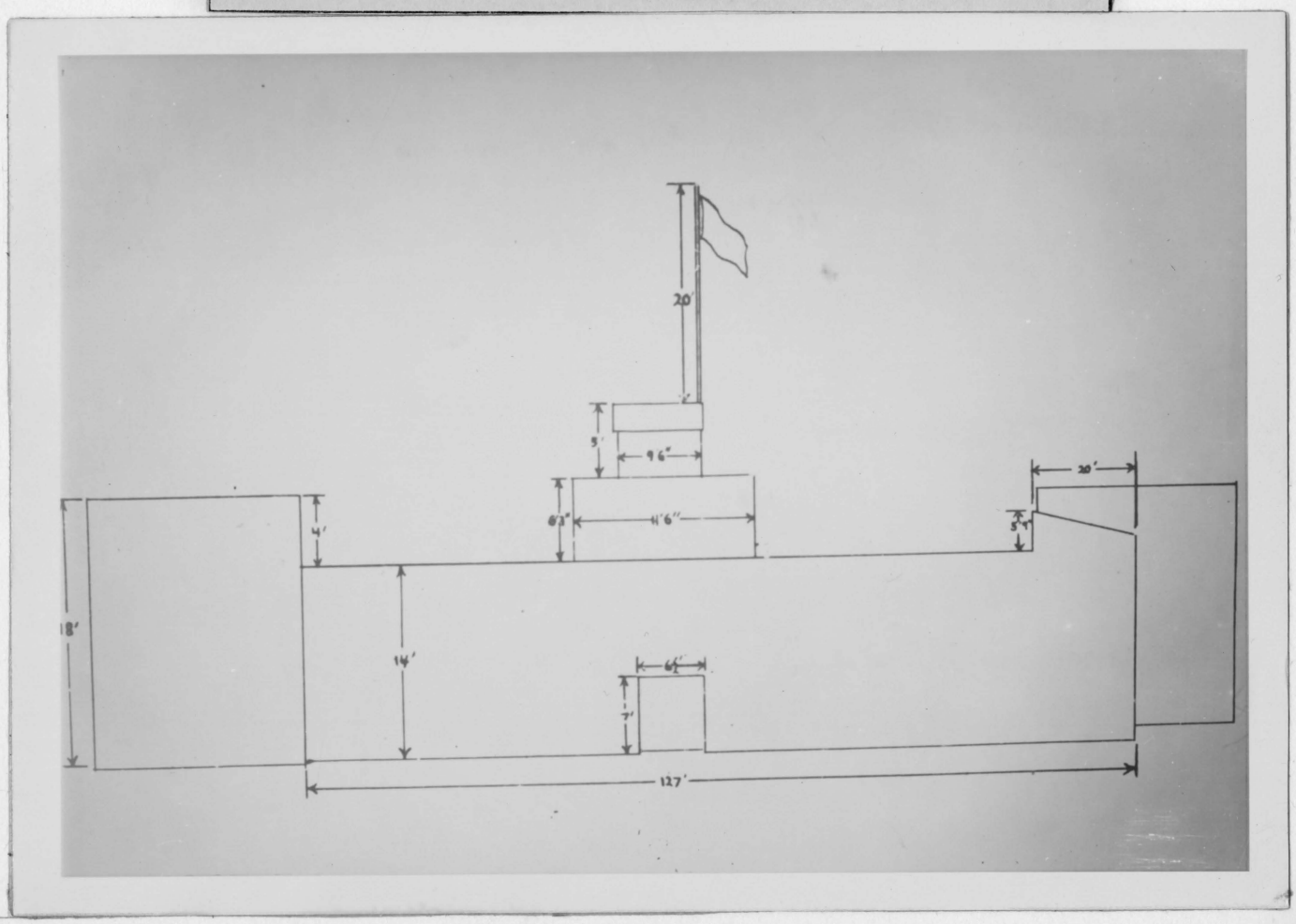


PLATE VII

BENT'S FORT INTERIOR 1846

(Abert)

Photo - National Park Service
(In-Service Use Only)

(BEOL Neg. #1524)

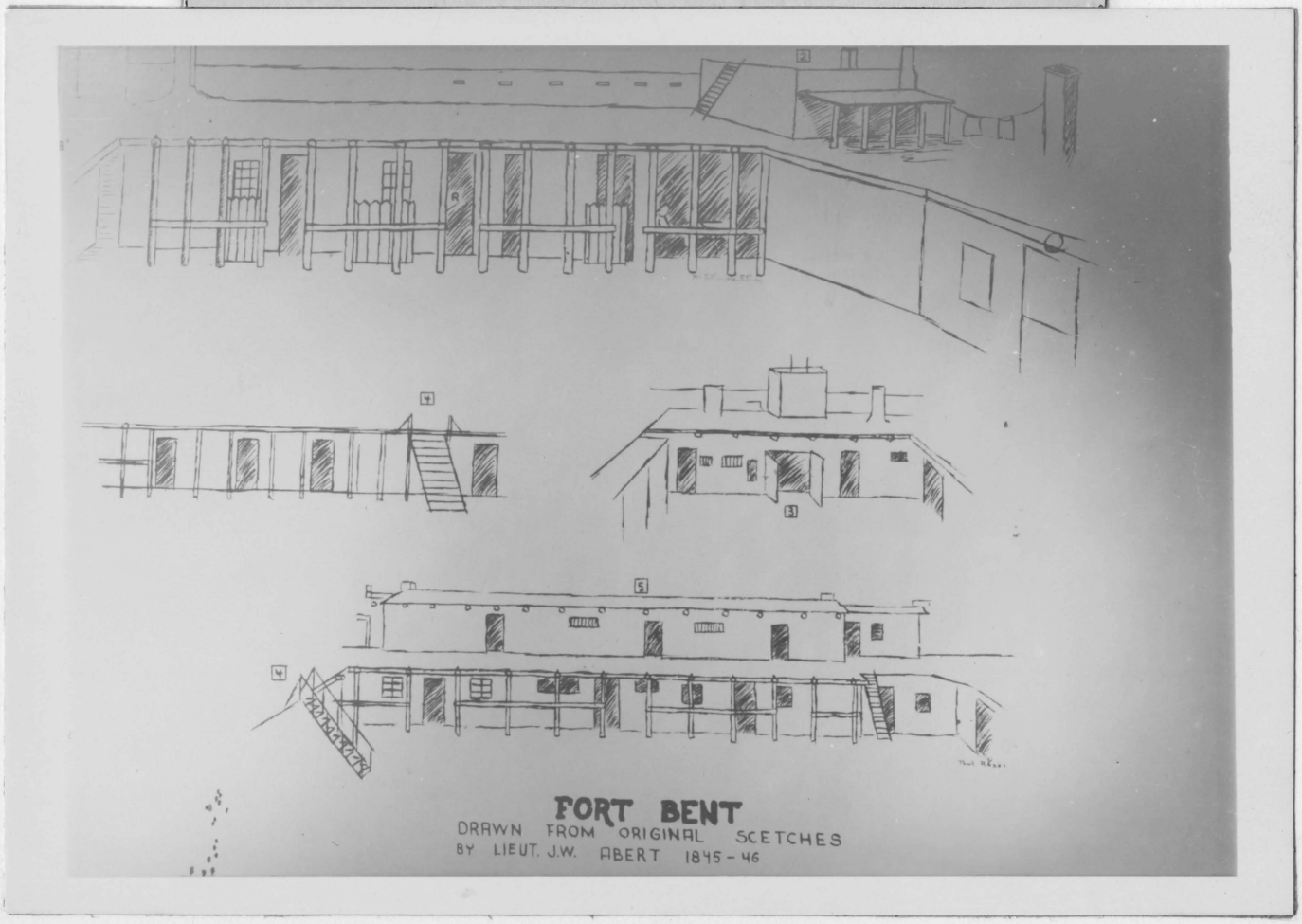


PLATE VIII

BENT'S FORT DIMENSIONS 1846

(Abert)

Photo - National Park Service
(In-Service Use Only)

(BEOL Neg. #1528)

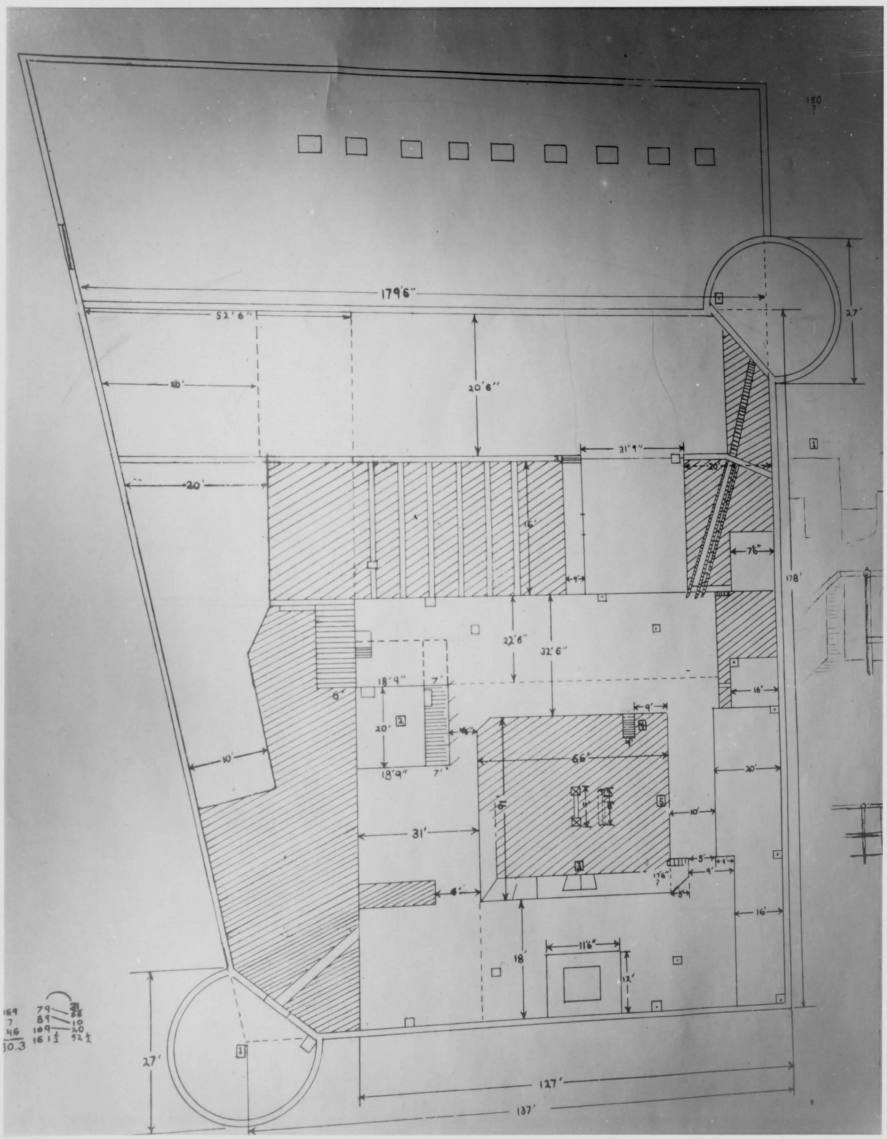


PLATE IX

BENT'S FORT FLOOR PLAN - BENT PERIOD

(George Bent/Grinnell)

Photo - Grinnell Collection,
Southwest Museum

(BEOL Neg. #1548)

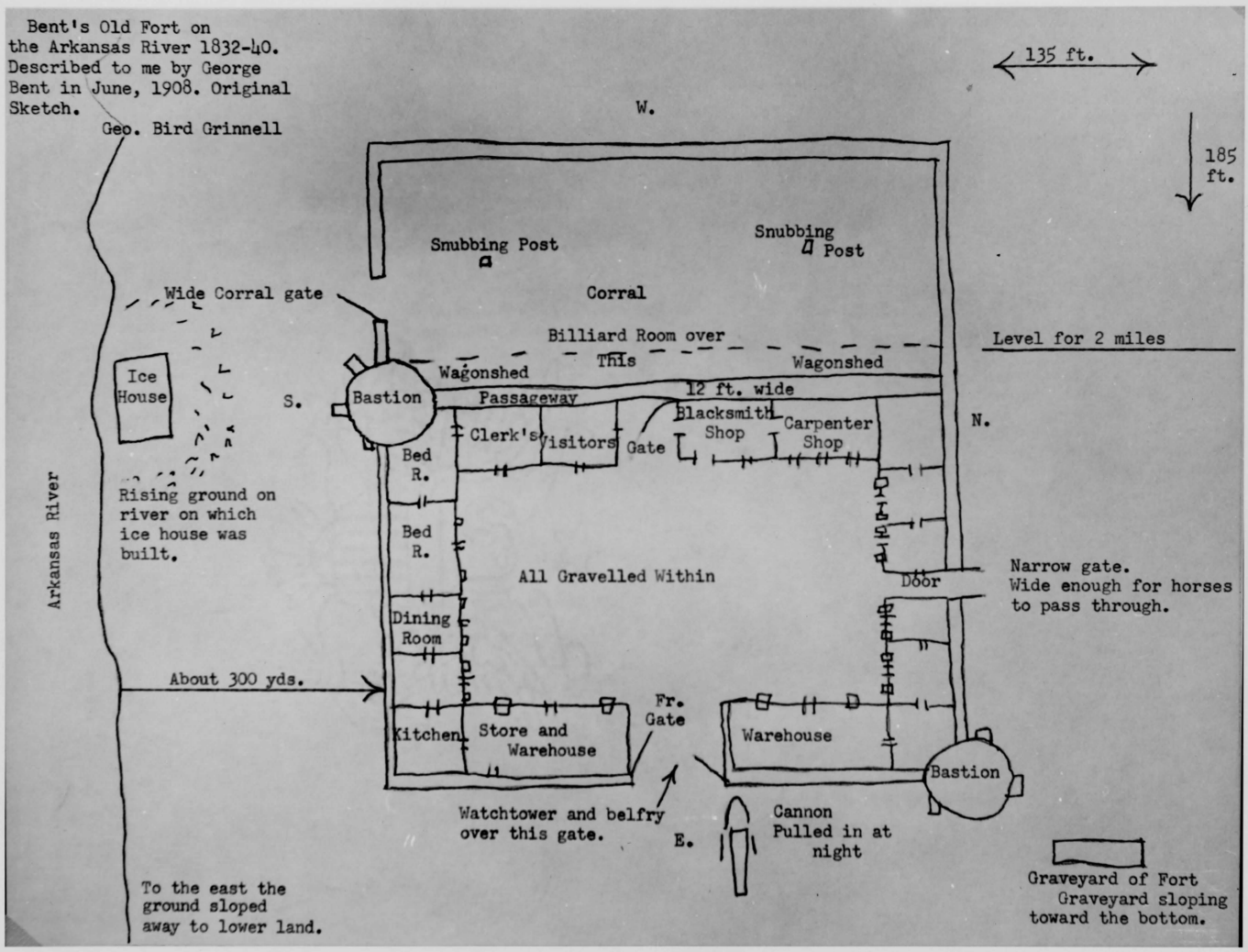


PLATE X

BENT'S FORT BASTION CONSTRUCTION 1852

(Dunbar)

Photo - Cragin Collection,
Pioneers Museum

(BEOL Neg. #1521)

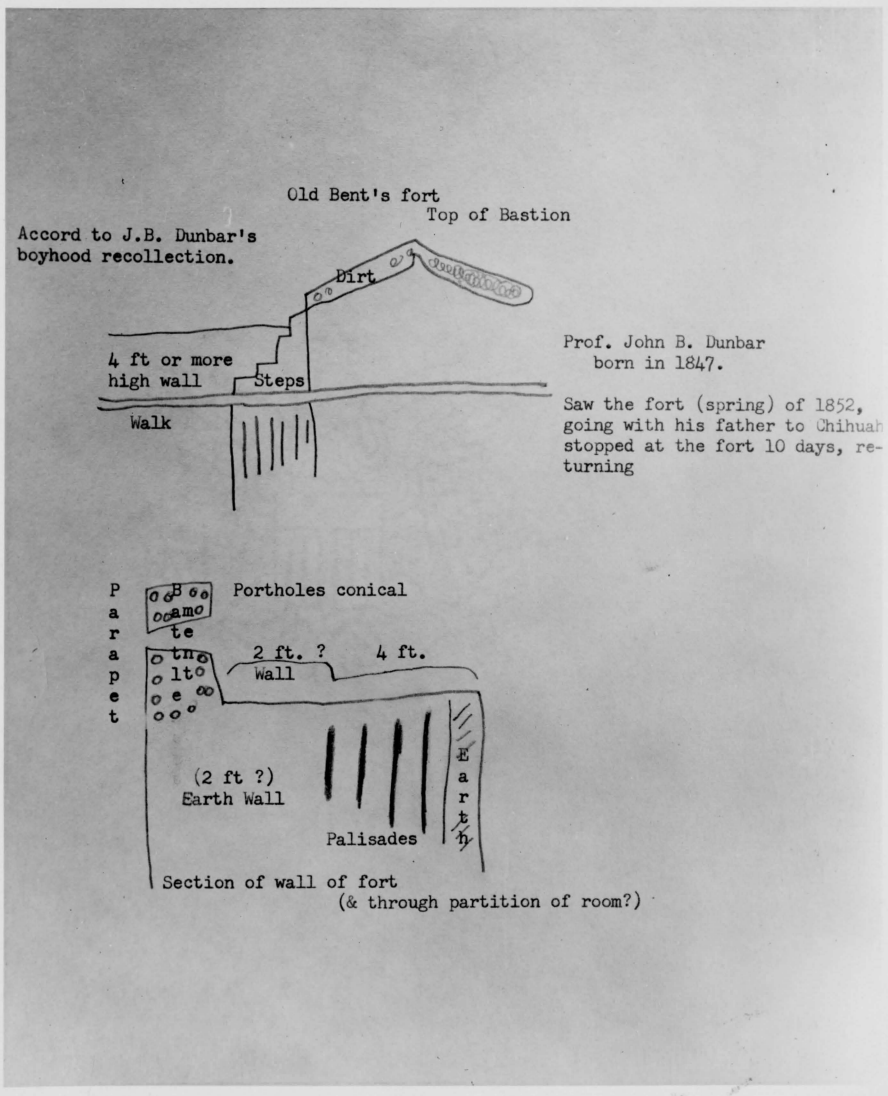


PLATE XI

BENT'S FORT - STAGECOACH PERIOD

(Sanderson)

Photo - Cragin Collection,
Pioneers Museum

(BEOL Neg. #1529)

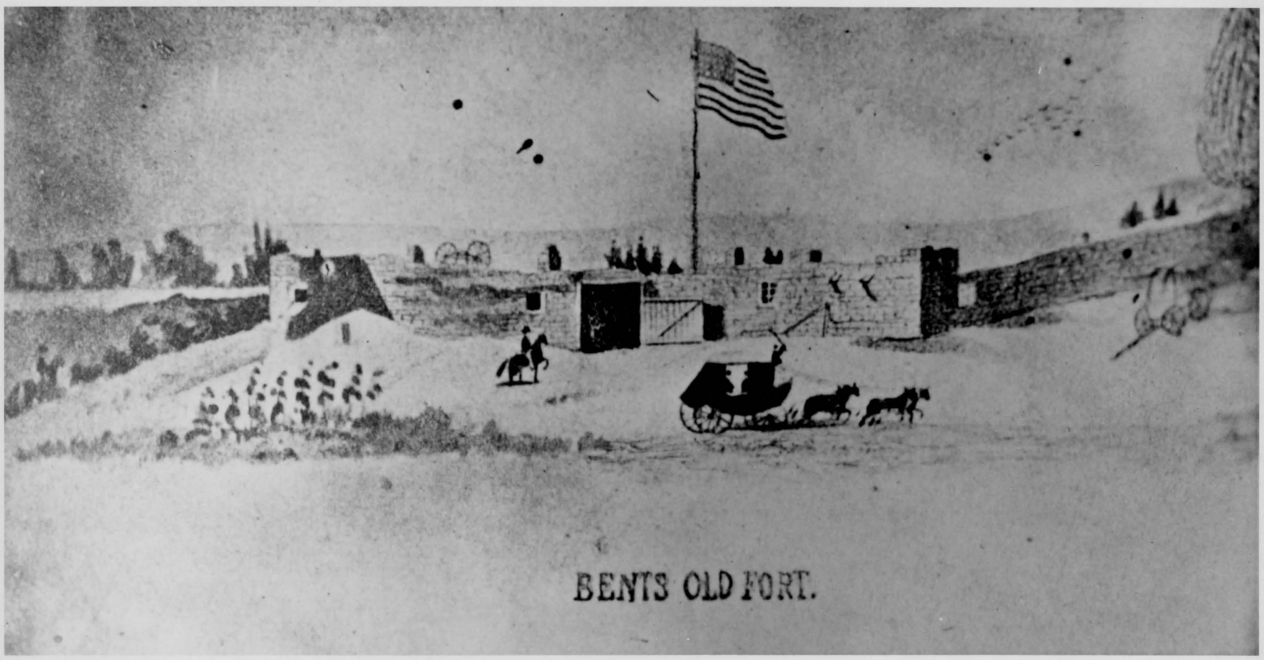


PLATE XII

BENT'S FORT FLOOR PLAN - STAGECOACH PERIOD

(Sanderson/Cragin)

Photo - Cragin Collection,
Pioneers Museum

(BEOL Neg. #1523)

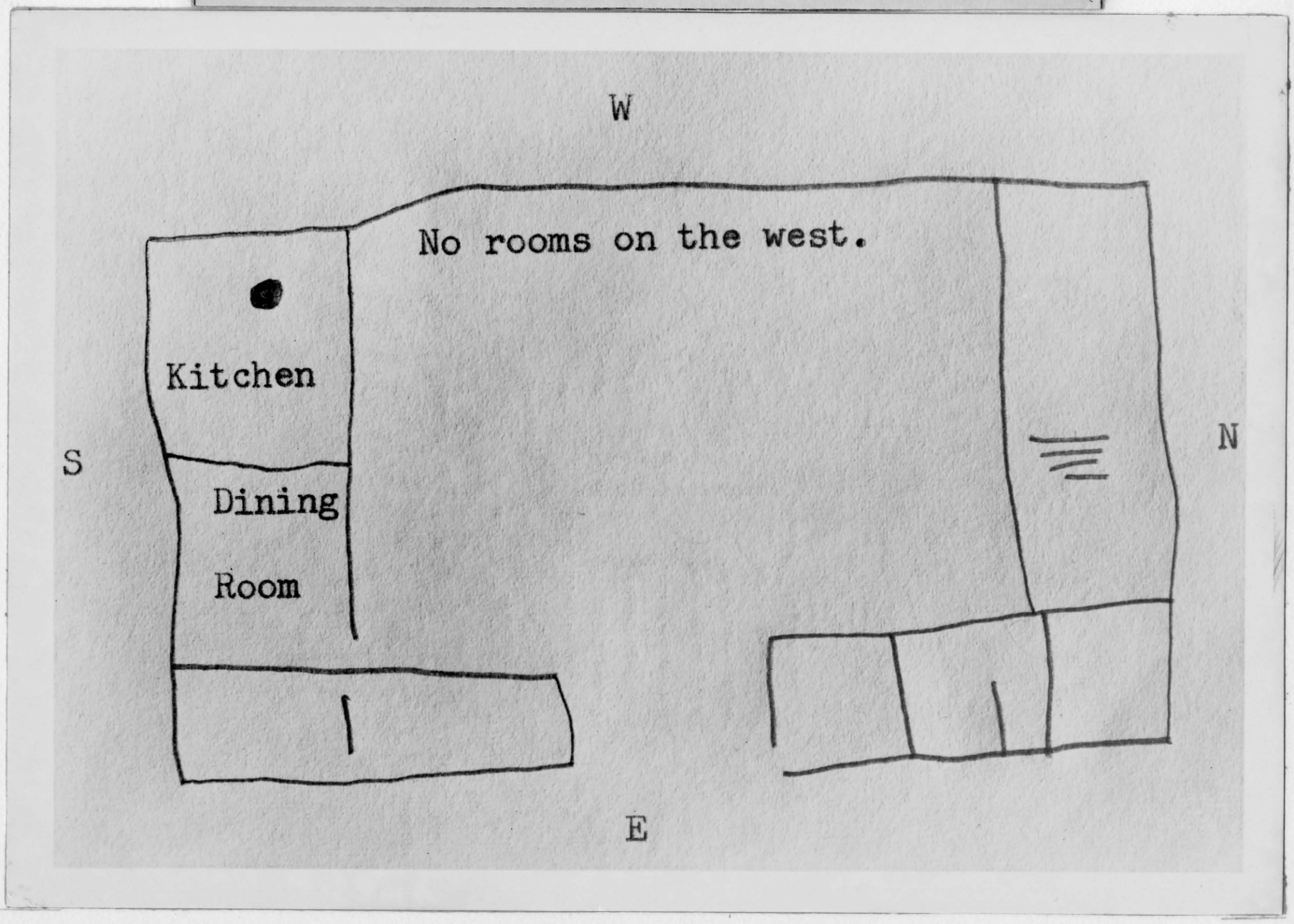


PLATE XIII

BENT'S FORT RUINS IN 1903

(Rockwell)

Photo - Al Miller - La Junta, Colorado

(BEOL Neg. #164)



PLATE XIV

BENT'S FORT RUINS IN 1903

(Rockwell)

Photo - Al Miller - La Junta, Colorado

(BEOL Neg. #165)



PLATE XV

BENT'S FORT RUINS IN 1903

Photo - Al Miller - La Junta, Colorado

(BEOL Neg. #246)



PLATE XVI

BENT'S FORT RUINS IN 1923

(Carver)

Photo - Turner Collection,
Huntington Library

(BEOL Neg. #1463)



PLATE XVII

BENT'S FORT RUINS IN 1939

(Bureau of Public Roads)

Photo - National Archives

(BEOL Neg. #1532)



PLATE XVIII

ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA

ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA SECTION

by

Jackson W. Moore, Jr.
Archeologist

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

COMPOUND 1

North Row of Rooms 2

N1 2
N2 3
N3 3
N4 4
North Gate 5
N5 5
N6 6
N7 7

East Row of Rooms 9

E5 9
E4 10
E3 11
E2 14
SE1 15
SE1-A 16

South Row of Rooms 17

S2 17
S3 18
S4 19
S5 19
S6 20
S7 21

West Row of Rooms 22

W2 23
W3 25
W4 26
W5 28
W6 30

Pit #2 31
W7 32

Walkways 32

East Walkway 32
South Walkway 33
West Walkway 33
North Walkway 33

Fur Press 34

Passageway 35

Tower Bastions 36

East Tower 36
West Tower 38

INNER CORRAL 39

STAGE GATE 41

THE ALLEY, BILLIARD ROOM, & ROOM ALPHA 41

Alley 41

Billiard Room 42

Room Alpha 42

THE WAGON ROOM 44

THE MAIN CORRAL 45

THE TRASH DUMP 47

REFERENCES 49

INTRODUCTION

The significance of Bent's Old Fort has long been recognized by students of the related themes of westward expansion and the fur trade. For this reason the several generations have practiced and encouraged restraint regarding the ruin, with the DAR eventually acquiring title to the site in 1920. Even so, considerable pot-hunting has occurred from time to time, even by persons and groups of good will otherwise. Where the above-ground portion is concerned, the damage of cattlemen and pothunter was as nought after the "Great Pueblo Flood" of 1921.

In 1954 the State Historical Society of Colorado accepted the deed from the DAR and sought the means to interest the Federal Government in it. The best way appeared to be to demonstrate that, beneath the sand and the silt remained a substantial amount of the original foundations. They thereupon arranged with the Trinidad State Junior College to sponsor jointly an ambitious project of limited exploratory trenching. Dr. Herbert Dick of the college was put in charge of the project; it was conducted as a summer field school and eight students provided the labor. The goals were to outline the walls of the fort and rooms, take dimensional measuremrnts, and prepare a ground plan. The estimated expenses were somewhat short of the actual ones, but the major walls were traced out and measurements taken. The resulting ground plan was drawn up two years after the fact (the funding had made no provision for a report!), and contains several major errors as well

as not being to scale. The overriding aim of the project was accomplished, however, in that the Federal Government was impressed and accepted the deed, designating it a national historic site on March 15, 1963. The National Park Service decided that extraordinary measures would be required to properly interpret the site to the public. Situated as it is in a flat, barren area with no auxiliary features of interest, its reconstruction would be essential. The reconstructed fort could serve also to house administrative and utility rooms, as well as interpretive displays. Before this could be justified, however, all possible information regarding the construction, historic grade levels, and artifacts associated with specific features and periods should be recovered. This required, in other words, a major archeological project. Such a project was duly approved and begun in September of 1963 and scheduled tentatively through August of 1965.

ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA

In final form, Bent's Old Fort consisted of four main areas. These are a) the compound, b) the inner corral, c) the wagon room, and d) the main corral. The compound is the essentially rectangular core made up of the four rows of rooms. For purposes of this report it will include the plaza, walkways, and fur press. The inner corral is the unroofed area east of the compound roughly the shape of a right triangle. In this report it will include the east outer wall, the stage gate, & Room Alpha. The wagon room is the largest room at the site, and because of the non-conforming orientation of the east outer wall, it is burin or chisel shaped. In this report it will be associated with the alley. The main corral is the area behind (southwest) the wagon room. Four secondary areas outside the fort proper were the ice house, the trash dump, the race track, and the burial grounds.

COMPOUND

The major units of the compound are the four rows of rooms. Exclusive of Rooms W7 and SE1-A, these form a rectangle 122.00' NW-SE, x NE-SW.

The north row of rooms is divided into two sections by the main gate. Rooms NW1, N2, N3, and N4 are on the west of the gate with Rooms N5, N6, and N7 on the east. The west section is 61.70' x 20.70', based on maximum measurements of the remnants. Adding 0.80' to the outer NW wall of Room NW1 to make it an even 3.00', it would become 62.5'.

Similar treatment of the NE-SW dimensions would result in a dimension of 21.00'. The gateway itself is 8.3' wide at its maximum eroded surfaces. The east section, exclusive of the east tower, is 52.6' x 19.5'.

Room NW1 occupies the extreme north corner of the fort. Interior dimensions of this room are 11.00' east-west, and 17.80' north-south. There is a circular depression in the south quarter of the room which is 7.2' wide and 0.65' deep. There were numerous wagon wheel parts buried in it, as well as glass and animal bones. No Bent period floor was present in this corner. Elsewhere, a Bent occupation level was in evidence rather than a floor. The Stage period floor equates to level six. It could as easily be called an occupation level, also. No evidence of the usual plank-and-joist floor was found at all. Rather, it was simply a firm soil level where the various artifacts occurred in a flat plane. These included end sections of tinned cans, eye-bolts, a copper button, and numerous iron wagon wheel parts. The Fireplace had been modified and a limestone hearth provided to match this level. The fireplace had been damaged by a bulldozer blade during plaza levelling after 1955. It was a corner fireplace 8.2' across and 4.65' long from the vertex to the inside of the hearth. The hearthstone is 0.87' wide and 4.0' long, and evidence of the cheeks is missing altogether. The relative elvations for this room are: Top of fireplace 20.4, top of hearthstone 20.26, Stage level 19.9, Bent level 19.40.

Examination of the features and of the cultural material fails to confirm a use pattern during the Bent period. There is some documentary

reference to the room as the location of the blacksmith's quarters. There were doors into Rooms W2, and N2. Fragments of white plaster were found.

Room N2. This room was 18.00' x 14.50'. Doorways were shared with NW1, W2, and N3. A Stage period fireplace in the east corner was most likely modified from an earlier Bent fireplace. The eroded cheeks go well below the later limestone hearth, just as was true in NW1, N5, N6, and N7. There were three noticable surfaces, but this was not determined by any well preserved floor remnants. Rather, these surfaces were recognized by a relative firmness which caused the overlying soil to separate more or less evenly; cultural material also tended to lie on a plane. There did not appear to be a true burned surface except against the outer NE wall. The wall dividing this room from NW1 is the most eroded wall of the north row. It has remnants of its full width of 1.4' at the bottom level. At this level there was still white plaster intact.

Room N3. This room measured 18.0' x 12.5' and 17.7' x 12.5' in 1954 and 1964 respectively. Dr. Dick had made a test in the south corner of this room. There is a discrepancy in the stratigraphic sequence of this room as reported by Dr. Dick, and as observed by myself. The Bent floor underlies two "floors" by our findings in 1964, and one by Dr. Dick a decade earlier. He places the Stagecoach floor (plank-and-joist) somewhat higher than I do, but his depth is based on the edge, while ours is based on an undulating over-all surface. Between these two, a later

Bent floor was found, although it should be more properly called an occupation level. This level would correspond to the top of Dick's small "forge" which he believes was used after Bent, and before Stagecoach. There were numerous small pieces of iron at this level, but nothing to definitely include or preclude Bent. Beneath the Bent (bottom) floor is the usual pre-structure occupation level.

This room communicated by door with both N2 and N4. The sills of both were raised once and then the doors were sealed up. This same sequence was followed with the rest of the north rooms. I interpret this as accompanying the change of Bent floor levels, with the sealing-off occurring in Stagecoach times.

Room N4. This room, when measured in 1954 was found to be 15.5' x 18.0'. In 1964 it was found to be 15.5' x 17.25'. No Bent period floor was found in this room, although scorched earth was found beneath the Stage period floor. This latter was the finest floor of the Stage period found at the site. Beneath some fallen adobe several planks still ran from NW-SE. These were supported by a pattern of 5 joists which ran NE-SW an average distance of three feet apart. These joists were, in turn, divided evenly by runners. Large cut nails were found driven into the ground through rhomboid pieces of leather. In the west corner was a small (1.4' x 1.1') base associated with a ridge of adobe bricks. It was 0.2' out from the wall shared with N3.

There can be little doubt that this was an important room to the Barlow and Sanderson people.

The North Gate. This feature is bounded by Rooms N4 and N5, whose present separation is 8.3'. The front jamb-posts were an even 8.0' apart, and were 0.7' round posts set in squarish holes 1.1' wide. At the back, or south, an old ditch underlies the southwest wall of Room N4 and continues behind Room N5; since the latter room is of shorter length, this trench is outside, and at the base of its wall. There are several posts in this trench, and three would have served satisfactorily as rear jamb-posts. If so, the dimensions would have been 8.00' x 19.50'. The rear jambs are suggested because of the references to a "double" gate. Had this referred to paired doors at the front only, we would have expected to find a third post, located in the center. Although not essential to a paired-door gate, a center post would certainly have provided stability.

No wagon wheel ruts were found in the gateway at any level, although they were found well east (25 feet) of it in the Trash Dump.

Room N5. This room measured in 1954 as 17.5' x 15.0', and was found to be 17.75 NE-SW x 15.33' at the bottom level. Just beneath the surface (0.25') there was a remnant fire site. It was not a basin, nor was it lined with anything; rather, it was a scorched zone covered with charcoal and small clinkers. Half a foot, or one standard level separated the top of the fire site from the Stage period floor below. This floor was of the usual plank and joist type, with the planks running NW-SE. The fireplace was modified to take a limestone hearth of about 30% more than the usual breadth; this was effected by providing a row of

smaller stones between the main hearth stone and the ends of the cheeks. Material associated with this floor were a broken iron bit, circular harness buckle, pieces of leather, and a heavy iron bar with knuckle-hinges.

The Bent period floors were undulating but were usually 0.4' apart in depth. Among materials associated with both earthen floors were inch-square plates of iron and fragments of flat glass. Limited to floor 2 were burlap impressions in a white matrix, numerous spherical lead bullets and goose shot. Floor 3 also had goose shot in association plus the blade of a hunting knife. The lowest floor was in a poor state of preservation but did not show any sign of severe burning. The artifacts of the floors 2 and 3 reflect no time difference from each other, but do antedate those associated with floor 1. Evidence of white plaster was found in 1954 and 1963.

Room N6. This room was measured to be 15.5' x 15.0' in 1954 and 15.65' x 14.95 E-W in 1963. The walls of this room contained the most area of white plaster at the site with the possible exception of Room E3. The fireplace showed evidence of much erosion or possible abuse, with the firewall indented beyond the line of the room wall. The area of the hearth may have held a stone at one time, but it was a circular pit filled with burned refuse when excavated. The highest of three floor levels was, as usual, a plank and joist floor associated with artifacts of the 3rd quarter of the 19th Century. Rows of cut nails still secured the desiccated planks, which were overlaid by the

remnants of the roof vigas. These latter were oriented NE-SW and were at right angles to the planks. None of the wood at this level was burned.

The second floor was of rammed earth and likewise showed little sign of burning. A short length of charred beam was found near the north corner, as well as small amounts of scattered charcoal. There was considerable in the way of iron wagon parts at this level. It should be noted that all rooms yielded this material to a greater or lesser extent.

Room N7. Nowhere at the site is the sequence of occupation more clearly demonstrated than in this room. The first of three floors occurred at the bottom of level 2. This was one foot below the 1963 surface (see plate 3). Fallen wall comprised the bulk of the debris overlying floor 1. A layer of dirt 0.15' - 0.20' deep atop floor 1 supports a deer skeleton lying on its right side. This total 1.2' depth represents the Cattle period for this room. The Stagecoach floor was of plank and joist construction and oriented the same as all of the contemporal floors of the north rooms. The remnants were not as well preserved as in N4 or N6, but the cut nails and associated planks could be traced. At this level, the fireplace cheeks have been shortened and a limestone hearth stone placed against them. Located in the north corner, this fireplace is oriented with the room and faces the west corner.

Floor 2 is an average of 0.45' below floor 1. Made of prepared earth 0.20' thick, it survived in better condition than any floor at the site.

Charred timbers lay on the floor with only a vague orientation of E-W. This would suggest that the ends of the vigas protruded into the Inner Corral. Indeed, the available sketches show no vigas in the northeast wall east of the gate! Between the fireplace and the east corner was an area 1.6' x 2.4' of a white matrix like that in N5, again with burlap impressions plus charred burlap. The artifacts were of the second quarter of the 19th Century. A quantity of rattan or willow might indicate office baskets.

Floor 3 was 0.7' below floor 2. It too, was covered with burned and charred materials. The viga type beams were fewer and more completely consumed, but were similarly oriented NW-SE. This floor was far inferior to floor 2 but was definitely a prepared floor. In the east quarter of the room lay white ash to a depth of 0.25'. In the west quarter a circular depression was formed which closely resembles that in the south quarter of NW1, complete to the iron meat hook at the edge! The pit is formed by the floor itself, but it was overlain by ashes and some charred timbers. At this level some copper lustre ware and black transfer-printed earthenwares were recovered. Both shape and decorative motif puts both wares in the Bent era. The former ware indicates that floor 3 was used at least until copper lustre was developed, probably in 1840.*

*Some forms of copper lustre date from 1815; our type is poorly documented.

Room E5 is 20.1' by 20.1' and is bounded on the NW by the Plaza, on the NE by the Passageway, on the SE by the Inner Corral, and on the south by Room E4. Only one floor was encountered in the east rooms probably because of heavy traffic since 1885. It is known that vehicles entered the fort from the old Stagecoach period gate. Some levelling was done by a blade in 1955 and possibly earlier as well. The shallowest fill was adjacent to E4, and the deepest was in the east quarter. The fireplace (F6) is 6.3' wide by 2.3' deep, and 3.2' from the east corner. Both walls, floor, and fireplace had been plastered white several times, at least three white layers being still extant.

There is a well in the east quarter. The builders' excavation was 6.1'. wide and cut into the SE wall. The shaft itself is 2.2' in diameter and is lined with unshaped limestone slabs. This well was excavated by Dr. Dick in 1954, and it was determined to have a depth of 13 feet. Since we removed four feet of fill in order to reach the water at 13 feet, it could only have been dug to 9 feet in 1954. Dr. Dick recalls that the bottom 3 or 4 feet were determined with a probe. The top of the well is flush with the Bent floor. Dr. Dick assigned the well to the Stagecoach period, but his criteria were not included in the published article. The floor of E5 was completely covered with charred timbers, some of which were large enough to be upright supports. Most of the charred beams were oriented N-S. Significantly, the charring was absent only in the 1954 excavations, including the well. If the well was post-Bent, then there should have been no burned material over the well; again,

this was not stated in the report. Dr. Dick confirmed, by correspondence, that no charred materials were found either above or within the well. (See Plate 4)

This was certain to have been one of the more comfortable rooms, although it was probably not one of the living quarters. The fireplace was one of the larger ones of the Bent period, and only room E3 has more floor space.

In areas selected for deeper tests, two sub-floor post holes were found which were not in use after the floor was made.

Room E4. This room was also measured as 20.0' square in 1954, and presently 20.1' N-S x 20.2' E-W. The divider wall which this room shares with E5 is 0.8' thick, while a wall 1.08' separates E4 from E3. This is affected by the relative wall heights, the former being higher. Both walls have a sill, or portal remnant in the center 1.2' x 2.55'. These may have been open doorways, for if there were jambs, they had to occur at a higher level. As in E5, the floor of this room was covered with burned beams, but these were largely confined to the east and south quarters. A broad, but shallow pot hole was in the north quarter. In the west quarter a double row of rectangular posts 2.55' apart, and 0.30' x 0.25' on the average, extended across the room NE-SW. There were thin wooden runners between the posts which outlined smooth panels of floor 2.85' x 2.8'. (See Plate 5) This occurred 6.0' from the inside of the NW wall and was interrupted on the NE by the late pot hole. This was most like the foundation of a counter used as in a store. The charred

timbers are oriented NE-SW, just as in Rm. E5. Charred cloth was found beneath the beams in the east corner. In the west quarter the brass hardware and charred, cross-hatchured fragments of stock from an as yet unidentified shoulder arm were found. Nearby were several heart-shaped iron padlocks and 90% of a brass telescope. Only the objective lens and its housing was missing from the telescope. Numerous variegated glass trade beads were also found. The floor itself was scorched red but well surfaced and preserved. After exposure, however, the weathering accentuated an outline of "settling". Testing revealed a quarter basement-sized pit 15.0' x 16.2' and three feet deep (See Plate 5). There was 0.6' depth of loose fill beneath the floor and the rest was made up of broken adobe bricks. Very little was recovered from among the adobe rubble, but the loose fill at the top was fructuous with trade beads, mostly black. The west quarter, with the counter foundation in the floor, was not excavated. Whatever the purpose of this pit had been, it was earlier than the floor by which it was completely covered.

Room E3. This is the largest room at the site within the compound, and was measured in 1954 as 29.0' x 20.0'. Present measurements are 29.55' x 20.09'. Associated features, at the floor level, are an adobe foundation for an enclosed stair landing in the west corner, (see Plate 7) and a rectangular adobe brick base in the center of the floor (see Plate 8). The landing is 6.0' wide and five feet long, being 7.0' out from the SW wall. The front (NE) of the landing is formed by two shaped corner adobe bricks with a trench 1.1' x 3.1' x 0.8' deep. This trench

is contiguous on the SW and contained three vertical posts. The floor was covered with burned material but these tended to be in "clumps" rather than being aligned. There were semi-melted pots and pans, charred cloth, (both fine textured and burlap) and short, heavy length of beams. One reason for the "clumpiness" became evident as the floor surface was cleared. Scores of not quite parallel striations had been made by a toothed instrument. These striations occurred on both divider walls, the stair landing, the central rectangular feature, and the S-E wall. Similar striations were noticable on the divider walls between Rooms E4 and E5, but they were shallower and never reached the floor of either room.

In the northeast half of the room a light colored zone of the floor was noticed early; this became increasingly evident as it bleached out from weathering. Half a foot below the floor level a burned outline appeared which formed an assymmetrical pit 10.2' NE-SW x 13.8' NW-SE. As this pit was taken down it was seen to include about half of the rectangular adobe feature, which is four courses deep. The walls of the pit are very straight and regular and the corners quite round. The width of the pit is less on the NW than on the SE. The pit is actually deeper than the buff-yellow soil in this one area, extending up to a foot or more into the gravels of the flood plane. Where this occurs, the gravel is scorched as severely as soil walls. The pit in Room E4 adjacent, was completely contained in the native soil at a similar depth! There was evidence of 2 inch planking (charred) at the NW and SE walls which had the appearance

of joists or purlins.. Everything from 0.5' below the floor level to a foot below the gravel was scorched red and black. The bottom foot of debris contained numerous charred barrel ends and staves. Against the edge of the NE wall, at the center, was a charred barrel which held five bottles. Four of these bottles were green wine bottles, two of which had glass seals welded to the shoulders and identifying the contents as Medoc. This is a red wine from Southwestern France. The other bottle was a light blue and was blown in a three-piece mold (the green ones were blown in a one-piece mold), with a rim which suggests ancestry to the later whiskey and beer bottles. From the westerly half of the pit a 4-gallon salt-glazed stoneware olla, a wooden churn with wooden dasher, another green wine bottle, and ceramics representative of the second quarter of the 19th century were recovered. Fragments of clay pipes, and hundreds of white trade beads were found throughout but were heaviest on the easterly side of the pit.

The central adobe feature was at least 0.25' higher than at present as was the stair landing. The standard adobe brick had an average height of 0.35' whereas the top course of the central feature and the only course of the landing are less than 0.1' and are unnaturally smoothed. This suggests that, prior to the ultimate destruction of the room, these features were deliberately razed to floor level due to a change in room usage. The presence of burned debris above these features means that they had been razed prior to the burning. The striations were not in any way responsible, for an instrument leveling them would have cleaned off the

burned debris rather than furrowing it into clumps. The rectangular central feature is difficult to interpret with any finality. Its depth suggests that it was a base which was meant to support considerable weight. It could be the remnants of a fireplace, or a stair, but most likely it was a support column. The 29 foot plus length of this room would actually seem to make such a column necessary! The three posts at one end may have been reinforcements. There might also have been matching posts at the other end!

The pit, being severely burned, is not analogous to the pit in Room E4. While a prepared floor, including a built-in counter, covered the latter, almost no "clumped" debris covered the pit in Room E3. The striations referred to above extended well across this pit, but they were more vague because of the looser texture of the soil here. The "slumped" edges of the burned strata within the pit suggest that it was open during, not before the fire. The unscorched half foot of soil which covers the bulk of the pit accumulated later, and was compacted from the heavy traffic which these central east rooms were all subjected to from then on.

Room E2. The heaviest walls of the east half of the compound occur here. The room was measured to be 17.6' x 15.4' in 1954, and 17.7' x 15.6' in 1964. The wall shared with E3 is 1.6' thick, while the NW is 2.05', the SW 2.0', and the SE is 1.95'. The NW is set back 5.4' from the alignment of the SW wall of the other east rooms.

The fireplace against the SW wall is 6.5' wide by 0.8' deep. The

edges of the cheeks of this fireplace are very meticulously symmetrical. There are "ghosts" in the floor before each cheek which shows that their length were reduced 1.2'. The walls of the room and the fireplace were first plastered yellow, and later brick red.

The wall dividing E2 and SE1 was high enough that a door sill remnant 2.6' wide was extant. The sill is "stepped" and the wood only occupied half of the wall thickness.

An architectural clue for this room was a charred shutter or door which was secured by an attached large iron hook. The remnant is not complete at 4.3' x 1.5' but would seem to be too large for a shutter.

A sizable quantity of charred paper was found, including a backless book of some sort. This latter was too brittle to permit of much handling, but the inside pages may be unburned. This can only be determined when the outer pages are considered expendable. Several pieces of slate were found which had been inscribed. At least some of the pieces contain portions of a foot and leg clad in a tight, fringed buckskin trouser and a moccasin. A red slate scribe was also found. The slate has been scorched red and tends to be friable. The prepared earth floor contains small and medium-sized glass beads as inclusions. Tests reveal that there is no prepared floor remnant beneath this one.

Room SE1. In 1954 the dimensions recorded were 20.1' N-S x 9.8' E-W (probably a typographical error) and in 1965 as 20.1' NE-SW x 18.09' NW-SE. There is access to this room by doors from the Inner

Corral, Room E2, and Room SE1-A. The fireplace (F8) is the largest at the site and has the largest hearth as well. The hearth is made up of un-cut tabular slabs of limestone which bear no resemblance to the cut and finished stones of the Stagecoach period. The hearth is 9.0' wide and 6.5' long (NW-SE). Most of the wall surfaces had no plaster remaining, but a small area of the NW wall still had some red plaster. The floor is no longer even, and slopes from the center downward to the SW. There may well be an abandoned drainage ditch beneath the floor here to connect with one known to extend from S2 to S7, and probably with one on the other side from SE1-A across the Inner Corral and outside the east outer wall. (see Plates 6 & 9).

Dr. Dick felt that this room was used by William Bent as his quarters. This was probably based on the combination of largest fireplace, largest hearth, and a relatively large amount of ceramic material. This same combination of traits suggests that it might have been a kitchen.

Room SE1-A. This room was measured to be 12.8' N-S x 8.0' E-W, and 13.0' x 8.4' in 1965. Dr. Dick only tested to just below the bottom of the coarsed adobe bricks. From this level down the room was filled in with adobe wasters. Amid the lower levels of wasters sherds of copper lustered white earthenware was recovered. There was special evidence of burning below the top of the wasters, and whitewash had been applied to adobe plaster on the walls, both brick and earth. At the bottom the floor was the usual prepared earth, and some flat

glass and an iron adze-head lay on it. No remains of any stairs were found. Later, it would be found that the ditch referred to above entered this room next to the south corner, but was later filled in and plastered over.

There seems to be little doubt that this room was originally a pantry or root cellar. As such it would have serviced the adjacent kitchen in Rm. SE1. Later, but in pre-fire times, the floor level was raised four feet to bring it to the level of the nearer rooms. It may be that the walls were only raised to full room height at this time, although this seems doubtful. Whether this alteration was accompanied by a like change of use in Rm. SE1 is not reflected in the excavations.

The south row of rooms is 60.90' from the south corner of Room SE1-A to the west corner of Room S7; it is 27.89' less on the Plaza side. These rooms were even more eroded than the east rooms, with blade scars along the walls and floors; Dr. Dick noted wagon wheel scars on the walls of Rm. S7. The absence of fallen wall in these rooms, while shared with the east rooms, is in contrast to those of the north and west (see Plate 9).

Room S2. This room was measured to be 19.8' N-S x 10.3' E-W in both 1954 and 1964. It had a congruent corner fireplace a total of 4.15' wide, with one cheek 1.5' long and 0.9' wide; the cheek width is included. The hearth merged with the SE wall in place of

the second cheek.

Another feature of this room is a short wall forming an alcove 4.2' x 1.5' in the east corner. Dr. Dick suggested that it was a closet or a commode, which doesn't leave much else.

This is another room which showed a continuous series of plasterings which included the floor as well as the walls. Both were alternately coated with adobe, red, yellow, and white. Regardless of its use it was not drab! Material recovered from the bottom level includes several large fragments of flat glass near the fireplace. There was probably more, but a Cattle period row of posts was set in a trench which entered the room from the alley near the west corner for a distance of 8.7'. There was considerable evidence of fire on the floor itself, although it apparently did not extend to the walls, where the 1954 exploratory trenches failed to yield any striking evidence of such. Other than the scorched floor plaster, most of this evidence was in the form of charred beams.

There was little among the cultural remains to suggest room use. In view of the physical traits described it would seem best suited to be used as living quarters for one or two persons.

Room 83. In 1954 this room was measured as 19.7' N-S x 7.3' E-W, while it was 19.7' NE-SW x 7.1' NW-SE a decade later. It is, therefore, the narrowest room of the south row. There was evidence of white

plaster of adobe in this room. It had a fireplace of the "H" type back-to-back with that of Room S4. The hearth was 2.4' wide with cheeks adding an additional 1.5' and 1.7' of width and 1.7' of length. Like S2 and S4 there was very little depth, hence little cultural material was recovered. Like Room S2, the small size plus the fireplace limits its use to either a sleeping room or an office. It would seem that almost any sort of shop would require more width than 7.5'.

Room S4. This is the largest of the south rooms, but one of the more poorly preserved (see Plate 10). In 1954 and in 1964 the dimensions were recorded as 19.4' x 18.0', which indicates that the wall remnants were at about the same height. The fireplace was incomplete as found, but since the hearth was the same width as the one in S3 the rest was probably a mirror image of it, especially since they are part of an "H". The shallow fill in this room also provided relatively sparse cultural material, and this has not been examined carefully yet. White, and later red plaster had been applied to the walls and floor. The size of this room would permit a range of alternative uses; the artifacts may reveal some clue as to its use but this is doubtful.

Room S5. Here we have an enigmatic situation. This 19.7' x 10.3' room has no actual wall remnant to separate it from the alley (A single square post). It is the only room in this row which has no fireplace, although there is a pie-slice shaped feature in the west corner which shows red from severe burning. Its small size (2.1' x 2.15') makes its use as a fireplace or door equally unlikely, although it could be

the locus of a small forge. The largest single quantity of iron hardware at a single level was found on the floor of this room (see Plate 11). Beneath the rubble (which was left by the 1954 trenches inside and outside of the SW wall) was a boarded area seven feet wide extending five feet into the Alley. This is the room most nearly in line with the Fur Press and the Main Gate, hence is where George Bent recalled a gate opposite. On the basis of archeology alone, this is the strongest single candidate for a smithy. The lack of a substantial wall, and the provision of a plank floor on the Alley side are rather strongly suggestive of provision for bringing in vehicles, or animals, for outfitting or repair. The walls retained at least two white-plastered surfaces.

Room S6. At 19.7' x 9.6' in 1954 and 19.65' x 9.48' in 1964, this was the second smallest room of this row. It had a fireplace with a 3.1' wide hearth plus two cheeks each 0.6' thick by 1.6' long; it formed an "H" fireplace, together with that in Room S7. Very little height remained of walls or fireplace and the features were fairly well outlined with floor and whisk brooms used in conjunction with a sharp hoe. With such a shallow overburden there was a correspondingly slight recovery of artifactual material. From fragments of plaster recovered from the floor and some extant plaster in the rounded corners, there were at least three white coats.

There was little about this room to suggest a use. Its narrow width would put it in a similar category with S2 and S3. It does communicate

by door to S7, and together they may have constituted, if only for a time, an apartment.

Room S7. The topography was higher in this room and, as a result, more diversity of fill, features, and quantity of material was encountered. In 1954 the dimensions were measured as 19.7' x 18.5' and as 19.8' x 18.5' in 1964. Like most of the adjacent rooms, the walls were scarred by a blade; a decade earlier Dr. Dick noted the tracks of wagon wheels across these walls as well. To be sure that we were not applying differential interpretations to the same phenomena, photographs and descriptions were sent to Dr. Dick. He affirmed that these were not what he made reference to. The fireplace, which had a 3.6' wide hearth, and cheeks 1.5' thick by 1.8' long, was a poor state of preservation, but was less so than those in S4 and S6. An interesting feature of this room was a door in the north corner facing the Plaza. The sill portion was severely burned, and there was the remains of a stone stoop outside. Iron wheel hub parts, and bones were on the sill.

At the first level a trench entered the room from the alley (see Plate 12). This trench was one of several which contained small (0.50' average diameter) juniper posts, and probably helped form a branding pen of the Cattle period. Also at this level was some late 19th Century, early 20th Century, with some early-to-mid 19th Century material. Below this was a prepared earth floor covered with charred timbers, horse shoes, wheel hub parts, and, an intrusive garbage hole. The floor was white-washed but was scorched red in places.

In testing the sub-floor areas two burials were found. Both were tightly flexed inhumations unaccompanied by grave offerings of any kind. Burial I was oriented with head to the north, face down, arms akimbo, with legs folded behind. This burial had every appearance of haste and of minimal concern. Burial II, on the other hand was a "normal" appearing flexed burial in the tradition of the aboriginal Southeast. This burial was face up, arms folded across the chest, and knees drawn up tightly. Again, there was no burial furniture of any sort. This burial was disturbed by the row of Cattle period posts referred to above, which ran across its long axis; the damage was mainly to the feet and one hand. The bones were sent to Dr. William Bass, physical anthropologist at the University of Kansas for analysis.

In other areas where sections of the floor were removed, the aforementioned deep trench along the inside edge of the back (SW) wall was found and several post holes. None of these features showed at the floor level.

The west row of rooms, from the line of the inner edge of the NE wall of Room W2, (which is the same as the outer edge of the Plaza side of the North rooms), is 98.06' to the outer edge of the SW wall of Room W6. Room NW1 is excluded, but would add 22.5'. Also excluded is Room W7 because of its discontiguity. There is no Room SW8 on this scheme because we failed to find sound evidence of such a structure. As in the south row of rooms a ditch was found (see Plate 14) which was lower than the walls

of the rooms (which were built across them). The walls of these rooms are necessarily heavy (average width 2.2') since they bore the weight of two stories (see Plate 13).

Room W2. Dimensions were recorded as 18.4' x 16.6' in 1954 and as 18.45' x 16.2' in 1964. There was evidence of white plaster found during both projects. The thickness of the front (SE) wall is less than that of Room W3, but I believe this to be a modification by the Stagecoach personnel. The tops of the room-divider walls were found easily by sweeping and hoeing, and the 1954 trenches helped them to stand out from the sheet of fallen wall. Both wall and rubble had the smoothed, inward-sloping appearance of well-meaninged landscaping.

The floor of the Stagecoach period was well below the fallen wall and the associated bovine bones and manure of the Cattle period. It was the usual plank and joist type, with the joists running NE-SW. These joists had been seated in shallow, sand-filled trenches. There was no direct evidence of a Bent period floor in this room other than the deeply scorched earth beneath the later, unburned floor. There was, however, an elaborate well complex of the Bent period (see Plate 15). This consisted of a rectangular, plank-lined shaft, a non-congruent rectangular well room, and a stairway leading down into it (see Plate 16). Even assuming the topmost riser to have originally been the highest, its present shallow depth of 0.35' is so much less than the average of 0.75' that we must regard it as a remnant. Clearly, the Stagecoach people built their own floor some 0.3' below the original

Bent floor. The present dimensions of the stairs are 2.6' wide by 3.75' long. The fire tread, average 1.1' in width. Originally the stairs had one more bottom tread within the well-room, and it is represented by scorched remnants which indicate a total length of 4.5'. The well-room was rectangular and consisted of four square uprights in each corner with plank-lined walls. The dimensions of the well-room were 6.0' x 6.2' x 5.5' deep. The well shaft itself was constructed as follows; a builder's excavation somewhat the shape of the room, but narrowed to 3.3' x 4.0' by 9.75' deep was first dug. A vertical shaft lined with planks was built up, filling in the excavation around it as the shaft rose in height. At the top the shaft was bordered with flat boards 0.3' wide by 3.5' long. The completed shaft was 2.8' x 3.45' x 9.75'. It was off-set 45° from the room, so that the NE edge of the stairs was in line with the W and S corners of the shaft.

Among the numerous artifacts recovered from the shaft was the pump, which was a wooden device with iron straps built like a square barrel. The piston was also of wood, although it undoubtedly had a leather gasket.

The fire here was severe. The articles recovered from the higher levels of the shaft were scorched or charred, although the lower ones were preserved by being waterlogged. The well-room itself indicates a partial collapse at the top which gives it the profile of an inverted bell. The fill from here up (2.65') is a "cap" with associated materials which confirm its Stagecoach period origin. The well complex is unquestionably of the Bent period.

Since the Bent floor of W2 proper had been removed, there was nothing to suggest the room's use at that level. It had doors communicating with both Room NW1 and Room N2, which could mean that the three shared some use pattern between them. If any one of them could be identified as a smithy, the proximity of a well would be quite logical.

Room W3. The dimensions recorded in 1954 were 17.2' x 19.1', compared with 17.1' x 19.2' a decade later. The fallen wall was immediately underlain by many bovine skeletons and two deer. Associated with these animal bones were broken plate glass, and such agricultural hardware as pieces of mower feet, blade-holders, etc. The ubiquitous manure here was more heterogenous than usual, some of it being deer and some rabbit. The stagecoach floor was much like that of Rm. W2. The Bent floor was scorched and discolored but, except for a circular depression in the center, was intact. It was of prepared earth with a line of post holes, two covered with support stones. In the center was a slot-like impression made by a half-log laid flat side up. At least two, and possibly three, posts were used as roof supports.

A portion of the divider wall between Rm. W3 and W2 is missing. The wall and floor are scorched a bright red and is accompanied by a bovus humerus and an iron pan. Despite its depth it is intrusive from the Cattle period.

In order to test the cause of the floor having "settled" in the center. the NE half of the floor was removed. A very regular, straight-walled

circular pit was found. It was 11.89' in diameter and 4.5' deep. One half of the pit was excavated, but very little was recovered other than small animal bones. It is possible that it was used as a storage, or cache pit in the early phase of Bent's occupation. Just beneath the bottom of the SE (Plaza-side, or front) wall was a post hole which had to be earlier than the wall.

The absence of a fireplace in this room would have made it very uncomfortable in the winter for anything but in-and-out work. This is the sort of activity that would be appropriate to a warehouse or storage room, and there is some documentary reference to these west rooms as such.

Room W4. This room was enigmatic to Dr. Dick after his limited tests, and remained so until well along 1964. The 1954 dimensions of 14.0' x 16.0' reflect the interpretation of it as a pit. Only a complete excavation could have shown this to have been a full room 17.1' x 25.45', with a stair leading from the walkway down into a basement 14.0' x 16.0' which in turn had a split-level pit 8.5' x 9.5' x 2.0' deep (see Plate 17). The ground level floor would have been of little use unless the basement was roofed over. Apparently it was. Front and back posts were located in the center of the NW and SE basement walls. All four corners of the basement had heavy posts up to a foot in diameter. In addition to two intermediate posts on each of the remaining walls, there was a dark "key" ghost in the centers. All ten upright posts were half recessed, and on a horizontal plane.

The same is true of the keyed beam. Unless there was also a trap door and ladder, the basement had to be entered by stairs from the west walkway outside.

The stairs were 4.0' x 4.66' wide, with treads 1.1', and risers 0.8'. Both treads and risers were plank-covered.

Dr. Dick's single deep test was in the south corner of the basement, where at a depth of 5 feet he felt he had found the Bent floor. In a sense he had, since the scorched surface was veneered by an adobe wash left from the "grout" in which the Stagecoach period floor joists were set. The Stacoach floor was missing in the south and east corners, except as crumbled ruffle in the east. Dr. Dick's interpretation of his test was accurate in that the folk of the Stagecoach and Cattle periods dumped their debris in this "Pit." The Stagecoach floor was covered with iron implements, most of which was from agricultural machinery and coach wheels, and a leather shoe with square toe.

The split-level pit became evident only after scraping down around the floor above. It first showed as a black corner (rounded, as usual). Removal of the penultimate floor revealed a pit 8.5' x 9.5', not quite parallel to the basement. The primary function of this pit was for the storage of wooden barrels. The charred remains of fourteen such barrels were found plus two brass bibcocks. The diameters of the barrels were 1.65'. In addition to the barrels and spigots,

hundreds of variegated glass trade beads, a spade, a fireplace tile with pre-1829 glaze, a cartouch case, and seven flintlocks were recovered. Everything was severely burned or charred (including fabric-lined bungs). By peeling back the adobe coating the scorched discoloration extended across the floor of the basement as well, but not the walls.

West 4 was obviously the largest of several storage rooms. It is doubtful that the other items listed above belonged to the pit, but the barrels unquestionably did. There must have been more in the basement than barrels (whether for vinegar, wine, or spirits) if this is the "subterranean storehouse where Tete Rouge and the clerk spent two hours gathering supplies". The ground level floor must have been shelf-lined. There was probably a wooden floor across the basement, but the corner supports probably extended to the main ceiling since this was a long room beneath a second story. There is indirect evidence that the roof of the basement was plastered while; numerous large pieces of gray adobe plaster with white coatings were recovered from the pit. These all contained impressions of latias and larger beams as well. This would probably have been more necessary in the basement than at the ground floor, or the room above where more light was available.

Room W5. In 1954 there was much question about where to measure from and to where, but the dimensions recorded as 22.0(?)' x 19.0(?)'. Our measurements in 1964 were 21.33' x 17.0'

There was no remnant of the Cattle period in this room for Stagecoach period materials were revealed in the first level. The plank-and-

joist floor was easily traced out, with the joists laid from NW to SE. An extraordinary thick west corner can only be explained as the remnant of a chimney foundation for the fireplace directly above. The Abert sketch does indicate a chimney for the second story room at this location.

After removing the Stagecoach period floor, the usual ashes and scorched clay and debris was encountered. Charred wood as was relatively light. A slumped, circular area was immediately apparent, even before the entire Bent floor was cleaned off. This later proved to be a sub-floor pit. The floor itself had two probable roof-support posts, but not symmetrically located. One was next to the edge of the SW wall, and the other was on a stone base, in line with the other, but well in from the NE wall. Like W3, there was a long thin slot in the center, but closer to the southwest wall. It was ash-filled and oriented NE-SW, which is at right angles to the wood-filled slot in W3.

The pit was shaped like a rounded capital "D" with the straight edge against the northwest wall. It was 9.4' x 10.6' by 4.44' deep. Only a small amount of bone was recovered from the fill, although there were several irregular blocks of limestone, some burned, on the floor. Like the pit in W3, this one suggests a temporary cache pit early in Bent's period which was filled in and floored over later. The pit was earlier than the Bent floor, but younger than the sub-wall trench which it intruded. This trench contained ashes, and also went under the floor of Room W6, and into the open area beyond W6. The 1954 exploratory

trench along the inside of the outer NW wall was directly above but never cut as deep as the trench.

Except for size Room W5 would seem to offer the same alternatives of use-pattern as Room W3. It is fairly certain that there was a chimney foundation in the west corner of W5, but if there was ever a fireplace the Stagecoach period removed most of what remained. In my opinion there never was a fireplace at the ground floor in this room.

Room W6. This is a confusing little room, if room it really was. Dr. Dick determined its dimensions at 12.0' x 9.0' in 1954. A decade later we measured it as 10.66' x 10.15', but were uncertain what to regard as the front (SE) wall. The front wall at 12.0' would be the 1954 exploratory trench. The floor, at the highest level, was paved with adobe bricks laid flat. The sizes varied somewhat but averaged 9' x 16' x 4'. Most bricks were broken, those fronting on the Plaza being best preserved. The disturbing aspect here is that the brick floor seems identical on each side of the 1954 exploratory trench except for height! It could have been an extensive paved stoop, or a patio. If so, it might have served as a wash house, with little or no emphasis on the "house." It's immediate proximity to Pit #2 would make this identification plausible. The floor is younger than the ditch in back, but since all floors at the site are apparently so, this is not too significant.

There were two earlier levels of occupation, the higher of which could possibly qualify as a poorly preserved floor. I feel that both were simply open occupation levels, probably not floored, and that the paving was added late in the Bent period. If the pavement is up-dated into the Stagecoach period, it becomes less likely to have been a wash area. Pit #2 is unquestionably a cistern and it is equally certain that it is Bent.

Pit #2. This pit was found as a result of excavating Stagecoach period post holes. When it became evident that several posts showed disturbance in their sides and bottoms, the area was hoed down gradually and swept. After a few such shavings a circular feature appeared. Excavation showed that it was a straight-sided pit 9.85' in diameter and 7.5' deep. From level 4 to level 1? a partial cave-in was evident. At the bottom of the pit the natural gravel had been covered with an exotic clay. This could only have been to enable the pit to hold water either in or out. If the latter was the purpose, it would have served as another cache pit, but if the gravel at the base ever served as an aquifer, I suspect that the walls would have had to be clay-coated also. My feeling is that it was a cistern associated with the wash room in W6. A door leading through the outer northwest wall, with the remains of a stoop outside is enigmatic at this stage.

Room W7. This room was regarded in 1954 as an off-set corner of "Room SW8." Since I found no convincing evidence of such a room, I can only offer the observation that the northeast wall of W6 was clearly in evidence although cut through at the north and east corners. We determined the dimensions to be 6.12' by 6.12'. The floor showed evidence of discoloration from fire, as did the inner edges of the walls. Artifacts were meager, since the floor space was so small. Beyond this, there is little that can be said with any confidence in the way of interpretation. If there was a smokehouse present, this structure would make an excellent candidate.

The Walkways apparently were just that, as there was no evidence to suggest planks. There was a subtle, but noticable difference between the walkways associated with each row of rooms. On the east, a line of limestone blocks set five feet apart, center-to-center, extends from a point opposite the north corner of Room E5 to the junction with the south walkway. The stones are six feet inside to seven feet outside from the edge of the front walls of the east rooms. This provided a six foot width of walking space. A layer of gravel overlain with sand constituted the walkway itself. Protection from the sun and from direct rain was provided by an overhang which was supported by posts seated on the limestone blocks. To prevent water from seeping under the walkway a drain ditch 1.3' x 0.21' deep was dug at the edge of the line of stones. This was filled with loose sand and covered with planks. The latter probably served also to resist erosion from the water which dripped from the edge of the overhang.

The walkway made a right angle turn before the south row, but a single stone post-support offset at 45° indicates that the overhang was beveled as shown in the Abert sketch.

The south row walkway differed in two respects from that of the east; the stone post-supports were not uniformly spaced for the south, and the drain ditch was covered in places with adobe bricks as well as boards. In front of Room S6 the walkway incorporated the stairway to the Billiard Room. The stair landing is 4.5' x 3.8' and extended 15.8' to 19.7' from the wall of the south rooms. There is a narrow (0.5'), shallow (0.3') trench which runs from the east edge of the stair landing to the west corner of Room E3. This trench has not yet been interpreted. The drain ditch does not simply join that of the west row, but intersects with it and continues to the south corner of Room W5.

The west walkway differs from the others in that small stone post supports were recessed in the ground, so that only the post holes and molds are visible. Except for pot hunting disturbance in front of Room W4, the line of posts and the drain ditch are continuous from the south walkway to that of the north. The drain trench was first encountered on this side, where the sand-fill was less adulterated with silt and therefore more striking. It was covered with wood planking all the way, but became badly charred before Rooms W3 and W2.

The north walkway is definite only for that half west of the Gate. Again, there were subtle differences. The posts were larger, set on larger

limestone supports which were recessed deeper in the ground; the drain tube was deepest before Rooms W2 and N2, deeper in fact than the west ditch. As the drain ditch extended southeast it became shallow and surfaced in front of Room N4 for a total length of 17.6'. The drain ditch contained sand which contained a great deal of silt. The posts were 0.6' in diameter and were 6.6' apart, center to center.

A walkway was in evidence in front of the north rooms, but there was no evidence of an overhang. The sidewalk was simply a seven foot wide stratum of the local reddish gravel overlain by ashes, conglomerate scorched rubble, and a yellow gravel walkway of the Stagecoach period.

The Fur Press, it has always been felt, was located at, or near, the center of the Plaza. Of a total of three documented references to it one neglects to imply a location, but the other two specify the center of the courtyard. Dr. Dick apparently had run out of time or had not really scheduled a test for this feature. He did place one of his characteristic 1.5' x 2.5' x 1.0' pick-mattock "pits" near one of the post holes. So near in fact that it cut into the scorched mold of a horizontal beam which connected the two in-line posts below the surface. In so small a test it would have looked little different from the 0.3' average depth of scorched conglomerate which covers the Plaza of the 1849-1859 period level.

There are three posts, each rather massive (see Plate 21). Two are aligned northeast southwest 9.5' apart, edge to edge, and 11.0' apart center to center. They were joined 0.15' below ground by a horizontal

be

beam. The diameter of the southwest post mold is 1.4' and set 2.4' deep. The opposite post mold is 1.4' in diameter and 1.4' deep. Making an acute right triangle the third post was 11.2' northwest of the first, was 1.54' wide, and 1.44' deep. A builders' trench 0.8' x 15.0' was first made, partly to ease the heavy timbers into position, and probably to arrange some sort of fitting between the two upright posts which were at the ends of the horizontal timber.

The fur press is probably a later addition at the fort. It cuts across a disturbed area. This latter feature cannot be fully excavated without obliterating the press. It was "stepped" down in two tiers to dig a circular pit 3.3' wide to an, as yet, undetermined depth.

Little material of use or index value has been recovered from it. It might possibly the remnant of an early well, a cache pit, or even a flag pole base.

The distance of the press from the west row of rooms is 38.6', from the east 34.4', from the south 39.2', and from the north 44.0'.

The Passageway. At the east corner of the Plaza a passage to the Inner Corral is formed by the northeast wall of Room E5, and the southwest walls of Rooms N6 and N7. It is 4.5' wide and 23.0' long; the length is determined by the width of northeast terminus of the east walkway. There are two good Bent levels, both containing ashes. During the Stagecoach period it was apparently of advantage to raise the level

of the Passageway floor. Adobe bricks were laid flat on top of scorched conglomerate and ashes. By this time the levels of the Plaza and Inner Corral had also become elevated by the accumulation of debris. It may have been the relative softness of the fill that inspired the limited use of paving. A similar phenomenon at a higher level apparently was a Cattleman period effort to make some use of fallen wall.

It had been assumed that the purpose of this feature was to bring cargo wagons, pack animals, etc. from the Plaza to the Inner Corral. It became evident, however, that no such wagon could negotiate the Passageway, and it seems doubtful if it could really enter the Gate. Even a pack horse would probably have to be unloaded to get through without abrading the packs. If it was for strictly emergency use to bring animals from a vulnerable location to one of relative safety, said animals would probably not be carrying packs! This corridor would provide convenient access between the Plaza and the East Tower or Inner Corral for persons on foot.

The Tower Bastions. These towers are not properly rooms which can be assigned to a row of the compound. They were designed to function as citadels, but in actuality they were used more as arsenals.

The East Tower was completely excavated in 1954, the artifacts deposited with the State Historical Society of Colorado in Denver. Dr. Dick found the structure to have an inside diameter of 16.00', with walls 2.2' thick. He also found a trench 0.8' wide and deep and 15.7'

in length. He did not find it to extend to the southwest wall, nor to exit through the east arc, and could not interpret it as a drain (for publication).

Dr. Dick placed the entrance to the Tower high in the wall shared with Room N7. I have studied the photograph and the wall and find no indication of a sealed door. He found Stagecoach period fill above adobe rubble, sterile fill, and then 0.6' of charred fill over an adobe floor. His notes in Denver also reveal that he found six large post-holes averaging 1.0' in diameter. The Tower, after excavation and recordation, was backfilled by machine.

In 1963 the Tower was re-excavated by area and level to insure a cautious outlook. The dimensions were indeed 16.0' in diameter, with walls 2.2' thick. The trench, however was obviously a drain which made an exit through the east arc of the wall (see Plate 19). The orifice had been a box of cut limestone turned northward at an angle. The confusion resulted, no doubt, from the fact that the top stone had collapsed and blocked the square orifice. There were actually 22 post holes in the floor of the Tower. In view of the fact that a cannon was mounted (albeit a small one) in this tower which fired salutes to visiting dignitaries, Indian Chiefs, etc. (in lieu of any bona fide excitement), these supports were probably necessary floor supports. The doorway was not from Room N7, in my opinion, but from the Inner Corral. Most of the southwest "wall" was simply compact

adobe with excavations on either side. The door way is 6.22' wide, which is adequate for two-way traffic under duress. A sealed opening beyond the outer north-east protective wall is indicated on the Boggs sketch (see Historical Section, Plate 2) and identified as a "coal hole." This term has long been used by many people to refer to any dark, black opening. Such a folk tradition does not preclude the possibility of coal being passed through here, but in the absence of any other evidence of coal, it does make it unlikely.

In examining the artifacts from this feature stored with the Colorado State Historical Society, I was impressed by the number of whetstones. These were of a very fine-grained, compact sandstone usually of brick-size and shape. All showed signs of extensive use. There was also a fair number of ox-yoke pins, meat-hooks, and a small "nozzle" from a powder flask. Unfortunately no indication of depth or association was included with these artifacts. If of Bent provenience, the whetstones indicate that the cutlasses and pikes were kept sharp even when there was no opportunity to use them.

The West Tower tests conducted in 1954 failed to find any more than the beginning of the arc where it joined the outer northwest wall. It was not until the southwest quarter of the loop road was blocked off that test trenches could be cut across it. There, under and past the crown of the road an arc of wall with a chord of 12.9' was found. The outer edge of the wall was crumbled and the thickness varied considerably,

but the inner edge was well marked by the scorched discoloration. No floor features were found other than the fire blackened adobe floor itself. The bulk of the associated material was comprised of the charred remains of a wagon bed (see Plate 20). The diameter, measured from the inside north corner.

INNER CORRAL

This feature suggests a right triangle in plan, but is actually assymmetrical in detail. At the northeast the "apex" is a straight wall 8.4'* long, of which 6.22' is the door to the East Tower. The height and westerly leg is formed by the 128.7' long back (SE) wall of the east row of rooms. The hypotenuse is the outer east wall, which is 132.55' from the East Tower to Room Alpha. This trianguloid plan is interrupted by the intrusions of Room SE1-A and the "shed" sketched by Abert in the south corner from Room Alpha to the Gate. There is no firm evidence of this feature, which would indicate that it was less substantial than the rooms of the Compound.

Four trenches were found in this enclosure, three of which must be attributed to the Bent period. One of these has a length of 63.0', is 1.3' - 1.5' wide, and slopes from an elevation of 19.46' at the north, to 18.93' at the south, where it intersects. At one time it was, in places, wood covered. At the south it joins with another trench which is of similar width and depth and extends from the west inside

* eroded to 8.8'

corner of Room South 7 to an "L" 6.2' - 9.1' outside the outer east wall. The former trench was used, and lengthened, in Stagecoach times but was not as deep, nor did it join with the other trench. The latter trench paralleled the inside of the back walls of the south rooms, the outside of the front wall of Room Alpha, and underneath and beyond the east outer wall. This trench was abandoned during Bent's period, for all but the lowest laminae of floor plaster were undisturbed by it, and in Room SE1-A it is sealed over with plaster. Another old trench is a small one at the base of the outer east wall, extending from the south edge of the gate to the trench in front of Room Alpha, It is below the 1954 exploratory trench, and is 53.3' x 1.2' x 0.35' deep. The remaining trench is obviously intrusive, and profiles show it to be later than the features in contact with it. This is a narrow trench extending from the northeast wall of Rm. SE1-A diagonally past the first-mentioned trench, under the outer wall, joining a parallel trench outside. This trench contained small vertical posts and was probably Cattle period in time.

The Bent level is marked by a compacted clay, ashy grey in color, with elevations which average 19.65'. Numerous post holes were found, mostly in the higher levels. Above this level is a lamina of ash, inconsistent in thickness and distribution, which is in turn overlaid by molted burned fill. Above this is scattered adobe fragments. A short half-wall of adobe bricks, one brick in width, was built in Stagecoach times 6.5' south of the tower. This wall is only 3.8' long (5.5' from the present wall surface) and may have supported a gate to a small pen.

THE STAGE GATE

This feature was measured to be 22.0' in 1954 and 1964. Dr. Dick conjectured that the east rooms were razed to facilitate vehicular traffic through this gate during the Stagecoach period. Nothing in the profiles across this feature indicate that there was ever a wall here, either removed or broken through. Rather, there is the sterile native soil at the bottom, an occupation zone with a scorched surface, light soil and solian overburden which has become compacted, and at the very top, the 1955 adobe bricks. Since the edges had already been excavated earlier, new interpretations must be restricted the gateway. On this basis it is suggested that the Stagecoach period saw a remodeling of an earlier feature, not the construction of a new one.

THE ALLEY, BILLIARD ROOM, & ROOM ALPHA

The term "alley" is somewhat misleading insofar as it connotes an uninterrupted, open-ended corridor. It was a corridor 15.00' wide between the Wagon Room and the south row of rooms, but neither end was entirely free from obstruction. At the easterly end of the Alley was Room Alpha. It was not possible to distinguish a definite wall separating this room from the Alley because of a packed clay floor whick appeared to be continuous for both features. Communication between the Alley and the Inner Courtyard was by means of a gate, with heavy wood sill, 8.0' wide. This gate was placed between the south

corner of Room SE1-A and the north corner of Room Alpha. There was a recognizable floor level for the Alley throughout its length. Behind Room S4 there was a wall the width of one adobe brick. This wall was 3.3' southeast of a line even with the inside west corner of Rm. S4. This wall did not completely block the Alley at this point, however, for there was a doorway 2.8' in it with posts for jambs. The west end of the Alley, like the west end of the Wagon Room, contains numerous post holes at various levels, and are most numerous behind Room S7. This is as it should be, since this is where the Billiard Room was located. It might well be asked, why post supports in the Wagon Room too? One possible answer is space; 20.00' x 16.00' would have been more than ample for quarters, but barely adequate as a gathering place.

The Billiard Room might have extended at least partly over the west end of the Wagon Room. This, however, runs counter to the Abert sketches!= If this topographical engineer can be credited with accurate observations anywhere, it should be here, where all four sides were exposed and where he himself must have spent some time. The room would have required enough support posts underneath to preclude vehicular traffic. A gravel covered stair landing was indicated but no firm remnant was found; this would have further narrowed the space. Only individuals and pack animals would have been at this end in any event, since the access is even more limited between the West Tower to the west and Room W5 and S7 to the north.

Room Alpha was missed altogether in 1954 and its discovery a decade later came as a surprise. It remains at least partially enigmatic for at least

two reasons; 1) it cannot be given strict dimensions because of the absence of firm wall evidence on the northwest, 2) a room in such a location would be part of the structure sketched by Abert, extending from the site of the East Gate to the Wagon Room, but it was separated from both by a substantial wall. There was a Stagecoach floor in this room, but it was almost certainly a larger addition to the older Alpha. The two main roof supports for the Stagecoach roof were two large posts set deeply, resting on shaped limestone blocks 1.6' x 2.4' x 0.5'. The best preserved portion of the late floor was that in the "Beta" section some twelve to seventeen feet north-west of the east outer wall. Horse shoes and "late" mule shoe, harness, etc. were associated. Above this level were several laminae of manure.

Beneath the wood floor of the Stagecoach period was a burned earthen floor. The scorched marks of this floor merged with those on the northeast wall. There was a pattern of six (?) light posts of juniper. If these posts can be assumed to have been centrally located, their position relative to the east outer wall indicates a room 60.15' (NE wall) x 16.00', by 63.0' N-S.

A second prepared earth was found directly below which showed no evidence of burning at all. The support post pattern was only slightly different and there was no difference in post type. The room size indicated is identical.

THE WAGON ROOM

This feature is chisel, or burin-shaped with average inside dimensions of 18.0' x 160.0'. There was a doorway 3.3' wide in the northwest wall (see Plate 18). It is possible that there may have been a door in the opposite end as well, but the loop road destroyed the foundations there. It would seem unlikely that there was a door in the southeast wall since none of the sketches indicate one. It is certain that wagons could not have been brought in from the Alley, for this is where the walls are highest. On the southwest, the wall is very low and access could easily have been provided for. Whether this was intentional or not is speculative; the south corner is missing altogether and the west corner is equally low. The pre-excavation surface indicated a sharp slope downward, indicating that man and nature had sculpted it so. If wagons were parked in this feature, it would have had to be from the Main Corral side simply because it was impossible from the Alley. The westerly quarter of the room had too many posts at the same floor level to have permitted heavy cargo wagons to park. The eastern two-thirds had a sparser post-pattern, however.

The Wagon Room was not among the earliest features at the site. A defile extended from almost the northeast edge of the Alley (in the east) to within a yard of the southwest wall of the Wagon room, and extending from the West Tower to a point behind Room SE1-A! Before use could be made of this area, it had first to be filled in and levelled. This was, of course, done. The northeast wall may

once have been the back wall of the fort, for it was built to conform with the contours of the defile, rather than across the top of the rubble fill. The fill consisted of adobe wasters, which indicates that considerable construction had already taken place. The bottom of the rubble undulates, but the top was levelled off and compacted. These wasters are of broken bricks made chiefly of the gray adobe. A blue cast is given to the gray floor level by compaction. The west third shows a progressively shallower profile and also a heavier amount of charcoal and scorched over-burden.

THE MAIN CORRAL

Except for the Ice House, no other phase of the project has caused more high hopes, disappointment, resignation, bewilderment, and general frustration than this one. Hope was initially high because Dr. Dick was believed to have picked up the wall in several places in line with the outer east wall of the fort. Several lines-of-sight based on the alignment of the latter wall failed to reveal anything convincing either in plan or profile. Correspondence with Dr. Dick reveals that he found two or three discolored areas in small tests performed during part of a day, as well as several other tests in the same line which showed nothing.

Much later, tests beneath the crown of the loop road revealed a substantial wall which crossed into the field beyond, turned, and behaved otherwise like a corral wall. It was not at all in accord with the Abert sketch, however. Instead of continuing off of the outer east

wall it was set back some eight feet from the south corner of the Wagon Room, and is then generally parallel with the Compound and not with the Inner Corral! The width of this wall varies from 1.2' near the Wagon Room to 0.95' where it makes a south corner. The back, or southwest wall is not really parallel, being 129.25' on the south east and 123.2' near the center. Since all of these remnants were shallow, very little cultural material was recovered and these are of necessarily tenuous provenience. In short, the identification of this feature is vulnerable to challenge. The land across the loop road has enjoyed no such sanctuary as that afforded the fort proper, but had been under cultivation for decades. A very considerable amount of disturbance has obliterated almost all of the historic grade in the Main Corral. From the corral side of the Wagon Room wall, the surface can be traced only to 2.4'. It is easily recognized, since it too was scorched by the 1849 fire. Subsequently excavations have cut curb-like banks in at least two separate operations. Since these follow the plan of the road, both are probably early phases of its construction.

The ground elevation is therefore lower in the field than at the fort. Dr. Dick has expressed his complete faith in the Abert sketch, especially as regards the Main Corral. The sketches themselves could be interpreted either way due to the angle of view and differential wall heights. The plan drawings based on Abert's sketches are quite definite in showing the corral parallel with the Inner Corral. In the meantime, we do have this corral-like feature to consider.

THE TRASH DUMP

To date, no documentary reference to this feature has been found. Unfortunately, the entire frontage before the fort had been bladed down during the decade preceding excavation. Early trenches (TR1, 2, & 3) testing the area in front of, and just east of the main gate were fruitless. Later tests showed that the lower levels were still extant farther north and east, and even extended past the loop road.

From the remnants, the dump was at least 123 feet long x 57 to 78 feet wide and probably was always at least thirty feet from the fort walls. This was not such an offensive situation as it might appear; even at these bottom-most remnants the profiles show lenses of ashes and charred material. Nothing, it seems, was simply dumped and left, but was probably incinerated immediately. This means that the odor of trash fires was fairly constant.

Mr. Baldridge, the former owner of the adjacent land recalls that when the bulldozer levelled the dump area large quantities of leather harness, glass, and general hardware was pushed out into the fields. The greatest damage in this case was to remove all of the material which accumulated during the Cattlemen and Stagecoach periods, and apparently most of the later Bent materials as well. Even under this circumstance the amount of cultural material has been considerable. Trade beads, clay pipe fragments, parts of the hardware of guns, etc. have been as frequent here as anywhere, plus such unique items as a lead plug for

an 1806-1826 one-half or one pound cannister of E. I. Du Pont black powder, and clay pipes of unfamiliar design.

REFERENCES

1. All elevations are relative to N.P.S. Brass Cap "D", which was arbitrarily elevated at plus 20.00 feet. Actually it falls somewhere between 3990 and 4010 feet above mean sea-level.

2. All references to the 1954 excavation are based either on personal communications with Dr. Herbert Dick, or on his article "Excavation of Bent's Fort" The Colorado Magazine, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, July 1956, pp. 181-196.

3. References to documented occurrences, descriptions, statements, sketches, photographs, etc. are based on discussions with and compilations by Park Historian Stinson.

Photographic Data

The photographs used in this section were taken by the archeological staff with 4" x 5" negatives. These negatives are numbered by chronological sequence and are permanently filed at Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site. Cut film (Panatomic-X, Plus-X, and Royal Pan) was used for all photo's, above #310. Numbered contact prints are arranged by subject as a cross-index.

Plate 1: Between 1955 and 1963 these modern adobe walls served to "interpret" the site to visitors. Originally 5 feet high all around they were occasionally misplaced. The West Tower, as shown here, would be at the north corner of the Wagon Room; the tower is actually under the far side of the road. View is to the southwest.

Plate 2: Control pillar of Room 77. Note the fallen wall in the top stratum; narrow dark second stratum is the Stagecoach floor; debris above terminal Dent floor contains charcoal, ashes, & other burned material on the prepared clay floor at tip of arrow; more ashes, charcoal, charred vigas, etc. fill space above early Dent floor, also of prepared clay, at base of arrow.





Plate 3: View of Rooms E4 (foreground), E5, Passageway, E6, E7, and East Tower Bastion. Light area in E4 at bottom left is a pothole. In Room E5 note the Stagecoach well to right of fireplace. The floors of E6 and E7 (with the deer skeleton) are at the Stagecoach floor levels. Note the modern wall at left, above the old wall of E6. View is to northeast.

Plate 4: View of the counter-cabinet foundation in floor of Room E4. This feature is interrupted by the pothunter hole beyond. View is to the northeast.





Plate 5: Early Kent pit, looking South. Bottom of pit is shown at left, the adobe brick wasters, used to fill the pit are shown at right. The west quarter, at right, contained the counter foundations and was not excavated below the terminal Kent floor.

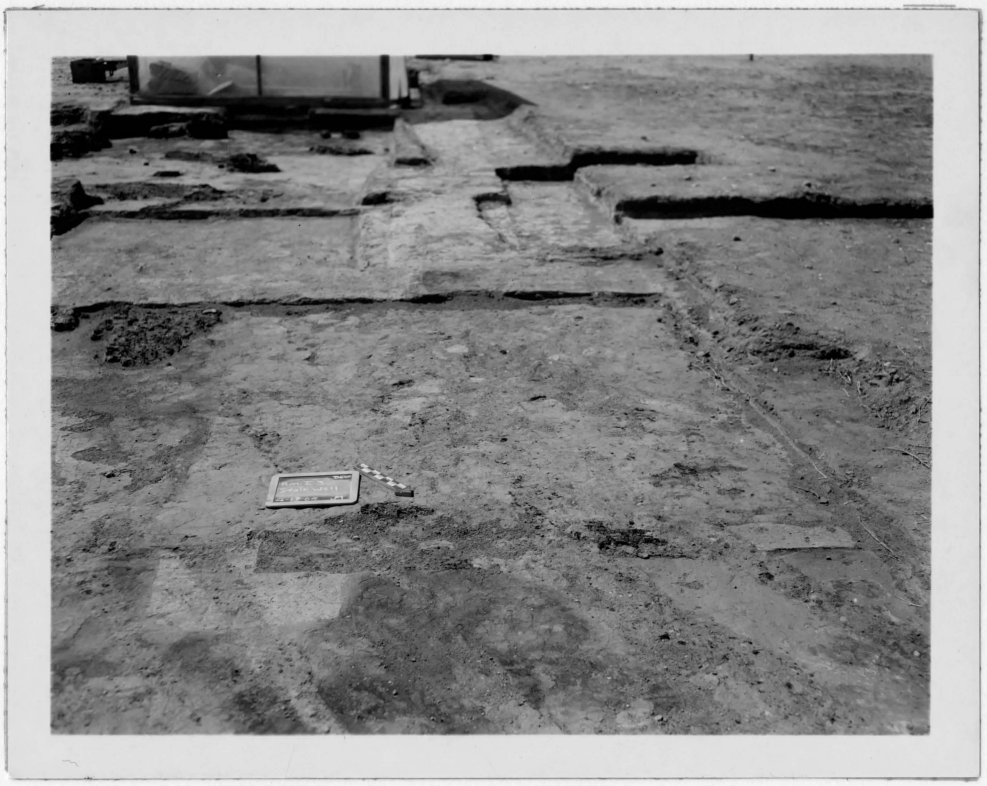
Plate 6: View of east rooms from center of Plaza. Room EJ at left, to EM1 at extreme right. View is to the Southeast.





Plate 7: Room R3, remnant of stairway in west corner. This feature was razed prior to the fort's abandonment. Note instrument scars.

Plate 8: Room R3, the "rectangular adobe feature" with three posts at one end. Like the stairway, this feature was no longer in use when fort was burned.



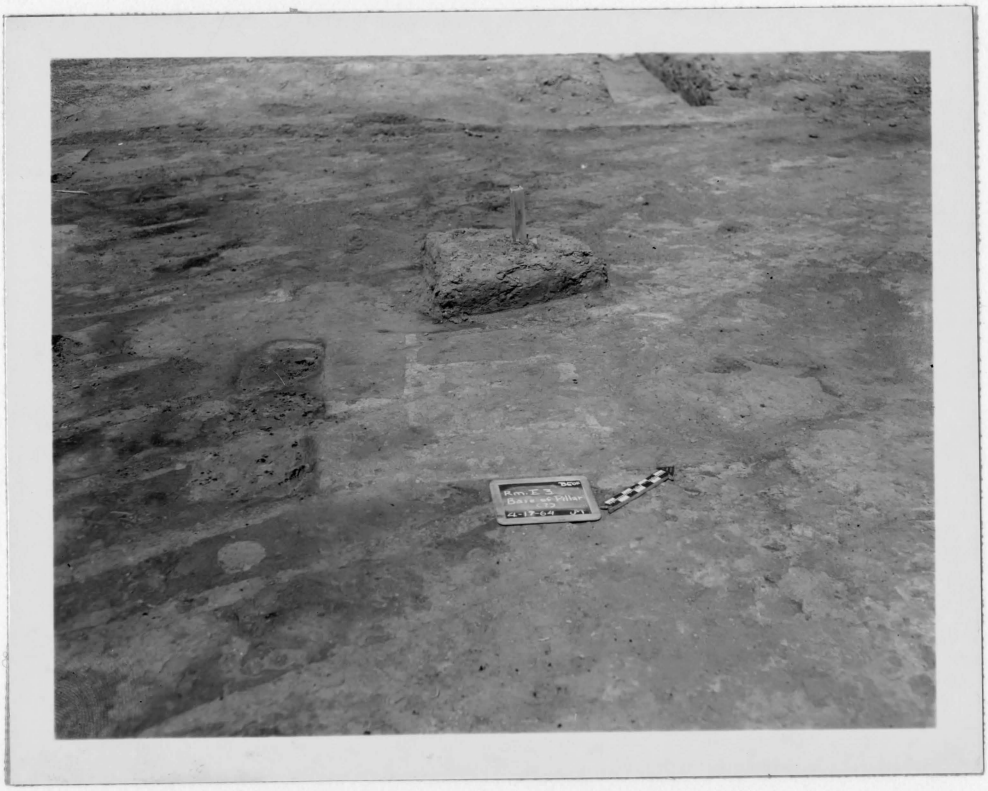


Plate 9: View of south corner of compound. Men at left are in Room 31, those at right are starting work in 34.

Plate 10: Floor of Room 34, looking west. Dais-like feature near south corner is a section of fallen wall. Note condition of "H" fireplace at left, and of north-east wall at bottom right. A sub-floor pit is noticable beneath slate at center-right.



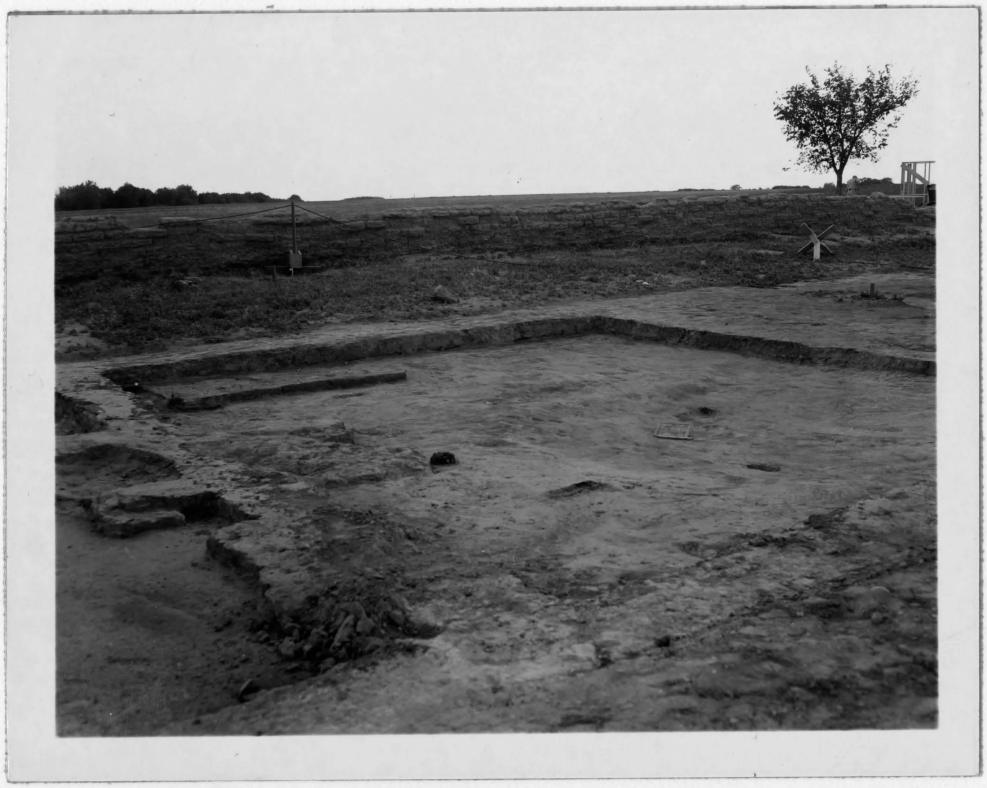


Plate 11: Bent floor being exposed in Room 85. The iron wagon parts are the most numerous of any associated with a Bent floor. The arrow indicate north.

Plate 12: View of Room 87, looking south. The Bent floor has not been reached. Note the "H" fireplace shared with Room 86. The line of small posts in a trench are of cattle period provenience, and intrudes fill which is chiefly Stagecoach. The posts ran across Burial #2; Burial #1 is near the two mule shoes.





Plate 13: View, toward the north, of Rooms W1 (at far right), W2 (with fallen wall segment left at its right center), and W3. Workmen are cleaning out the 1954 exploratory trenches. Note the deer and cattle skeletons of the Cattle period in W3. Room W4 is still unexcavated at the left.

Plate 14: View of the sub-wall, sub-floor trench in backs of Rooms W5, W6, and Cistern (at right). A similar trench runs the length of the South rooms.





Plate 15: Room W2, Bent period well partially excavated. Note plan and profile of well stairs at left.

Plate 16: Room W2, looking down the stairs toward the well-room. Arrow indicates north.




BEOL-ARCH
W&P.+5B
Level-B
1/5/65 R

Plate 17: Room W4; looking southeast. Stair in east corner led from sidewalk to basement floor; split-level pit in foreground contained, among many things, 14 charred kegs.

Plate 18: View down the Alley, looking southeast. South rooms are at left, and the Wagon Room is on the right. The circular depression near the south corner of Rm. W7 is an old pot-hole. Note Wagon Room door at extreme right, below center. Area in Alley between the two control columns is the area of the Billiard Room.

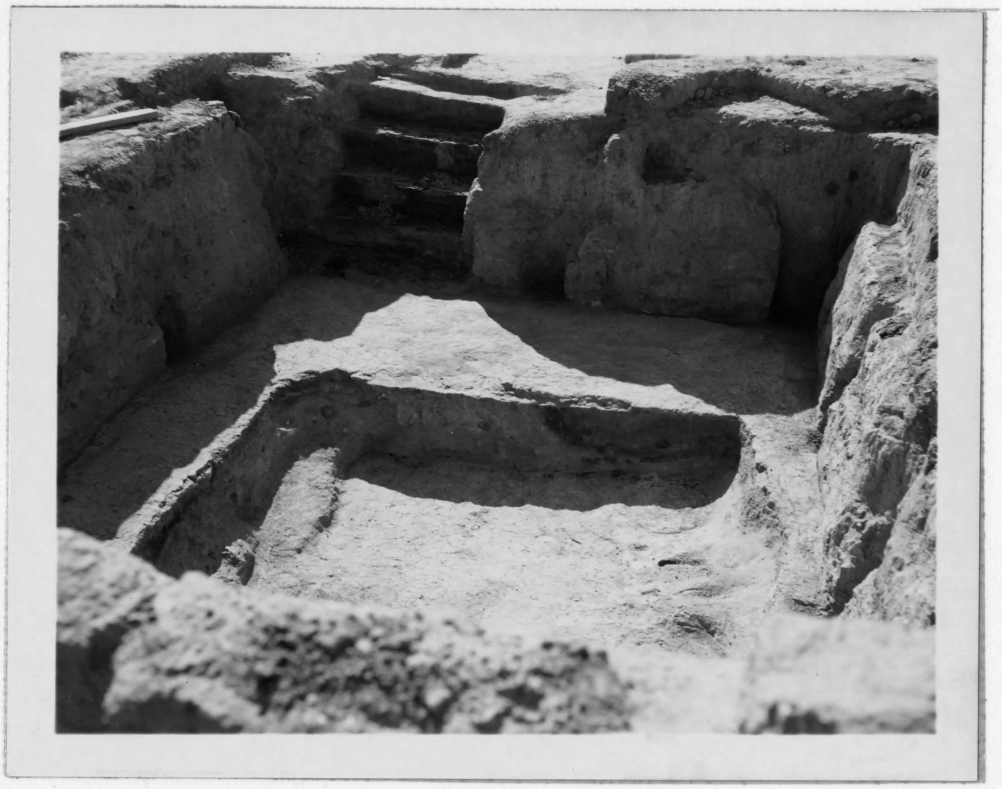




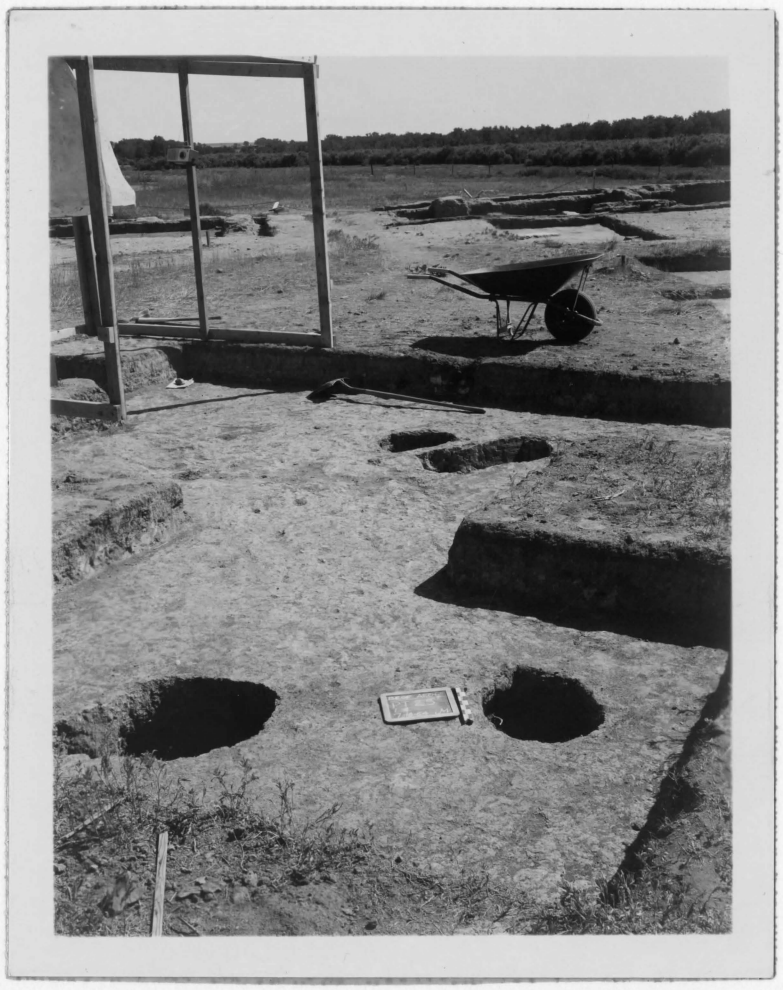
Plate 19: East Tower Bastion drain tube, looking east. Note that there is a stone tube exiting the wall although the top stone has collapsed.

Plate 20: West Tower Bastion, looking north. The remnants consist of the single arc of wall at center, and a two-foot long segment joined to the northwest outer wall (not visible). The arc-shaped ditch at upper right is the 1954 exploratory trench. Burned wood & metal on tower floor was a wagon bed.





Plate 21: Fur Press. A triangular pattern is formed by the two post holes in line with the gate (near top of photo) and the large hole at left. The latter hole was enlarged by a gourd root. The rectangular pit near the far post hole is a 1954 test.



HISTORICAL-ARCHEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

6. HISTORICAL - ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Prepared by

Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.
Historian

Jackson W. Moore, Jr.
Archeologist

6a. HISTORICAL - ARCHEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

The following summary is provided to analyze certain key points brought out in the Historical and Archeological Data sections of this report. It is confined to items having a direct bearing on the basic appearance of the Fort during the Bent Period. Detailed archeological analysis is necessarily deferred to the final report which will be submitted at the completion of the present project.

1. East Gate

HISTORICAL: Documentary evidence suggests that a large gate in the main east wall, providing access to the Inner Corral, was an original feature of the Fort. (See Historical Data Section, Pages 29-30)

ARCHEOLOGICAL: The reasons for suggesting that this feature is an original feature dating at least to "late" Bent are given on Page 41 of the Archeological Data Section. If this was a later modification of a section of solid wall, the profile should have shown a section of disturbed wall, a builder's ditch where it was torn out, or at least the absence of a Bent surface at all. We have neither of the former phenomena but we do have a scorched surface, not associated with any wall remnant, which is contiguous to the Bent level of the Inner Corral.

2. Alley Gate

ARCHEOLOGICAL: There was no reason to suspect the existence of this feature before its discovery. As described in the Archeological Data Section, it was anchored in the south corner of Room Sill-A and in the north corner (to the extent that it can be determined) of Room Alpha. The excavation for seating the sill is itself intrusive to a wide, irregular ditch which contained, at a higher level, a row of small (0.35' diam.) juniper posts. This gate frankly disturbs me, and it cannot be given firm provenience because it was lacking a vertical profile. The entire south corner of the compound lacked such a profile outside the walls, except the easterly half of Room Alpha; this was due to the concave contour of the eroded surface at ground level.

The best basis for ascribing this gate to "late" Dent is the association with that grade level.

HISTORICAL: Little has been learned from historical sources concerning the area in question. However, as discussed on Page 36 of the Historical Data Section, it is believed that some type of passageway between the Inner Corral and the Alley existed in the Alpha area. There may well have been a gate to prevent animals from venturing through the passageway.

3. Pits

ARCHEOLOGICAL: These features also came as a surprise, except the main basement of Room W4. At least three types of pits are represented: room features (Pits 1, 4, and 5, possibly 9), cistern (pit 2), & storage (3,6,7,8). Pit 9 is rather regular and straight walled but, even so, it probably was dug simply for the disposal of debris during preparation for abandonment, which is my view.

The pits which occur in Rooms S4, S5 & 6 (single pit), and W2, and W5 are unidentifiable. Only small amounts of non-index material was recovered from any of them, but with the possible exception of W5, they appear early. The pit shared by S5 and S6 underlies the wall dividing them. Other than these facts, there is no archeological basis for cultatic interpretation.

HISTORICAL: It is possible that in the latter part of 1843, Bent, St. Vrain & Co. was obliged to construct storage pits at Bent's Fort in which to store a large amount of U. S. Army provisions.

On August 23, 1843 the Company contracted with the U. S. Army Quartermaster Department to, receive at Westport, Missouri,

> ... a quantity of stores and provisions, intended for the subsistence of the Army of the United States, weighing thirty-five thousand pounds or thereabouts ...

and transport the same to Bent's Fort where it (The Company) would be responsible,

> ... for the care, safety & good order of the aforesaid property for the time of its receipt by them ...

to delivery,

> ... excepting the danger of a capture by an enemy or other unforeseen accidents not to be obviated by their best care & exertions ...[1]

Three days later, August 26, 1843 the Company contracted with the U. S. Army Subsistence Department for,

> ... Forty-five thousand pounds net of Beef Cattle on the hoof ... Also Thirty-Five thousand pounds of unsifted Flour, of good quality and in good condition, to be delivered in bags, the bags after being emptied, to be held subject to the order of Bent, St. Vrain & Co. Also, upon reasonable notice, such quantities of Onion's and other Provisions as may be required ...[2]

The provisions were stored at Bent's Fort,

> ... to establish a depot of provisions at that point, to meet the contingency of the troops composing the Santa Fe escort wintering there ...[3]

As events turned out, The Santa Fe Escort did not winter at the Fort. However, proof that the provisions were indeed stored there may be found in the fact that the Army found itself with 35,000 pounds of provisions on its hands. In

May of 1844, Major R. B. Lee of the Subsistence Department wrote to his superiors;

> ... Since the return of the Santa Fe escort, I have lost no opportunity to effect a sale of the provisions at Fort Williams, but as yet have received no offer ...[4]

The provisions were finally used in the summer of 1845 by the Kearny Expedition which included Captain P. St. George Cooke, commander of the Santa Fe Escort for whom they were originally intended. Kearny approached Bent's Fort under the pale of a disquieting rumor that the supplies had been spoiled or used up.[5] On July 29 the column arrived at the Fort and Cooke was gratified to find "the provisions in perfect preservation."[6] (See also Historical Data Section, Pages 49-50 for data on Subterranean Room.)

4. Use of Rooms

HISTORICAL: The conclusions reached as to probable use of ground floor rooms are found on Diagram 3, Page 84, Historical Data Section.

ARCHEOLOGICAL: No archeological evidence has been discovered to date to refute the conclusions reached as to use of rooms.

5. NOTES

1. National Archives - Old Army Section. Quartermaster General's Office, Register of Contracts No. 8, 1841-1844, 440-441.

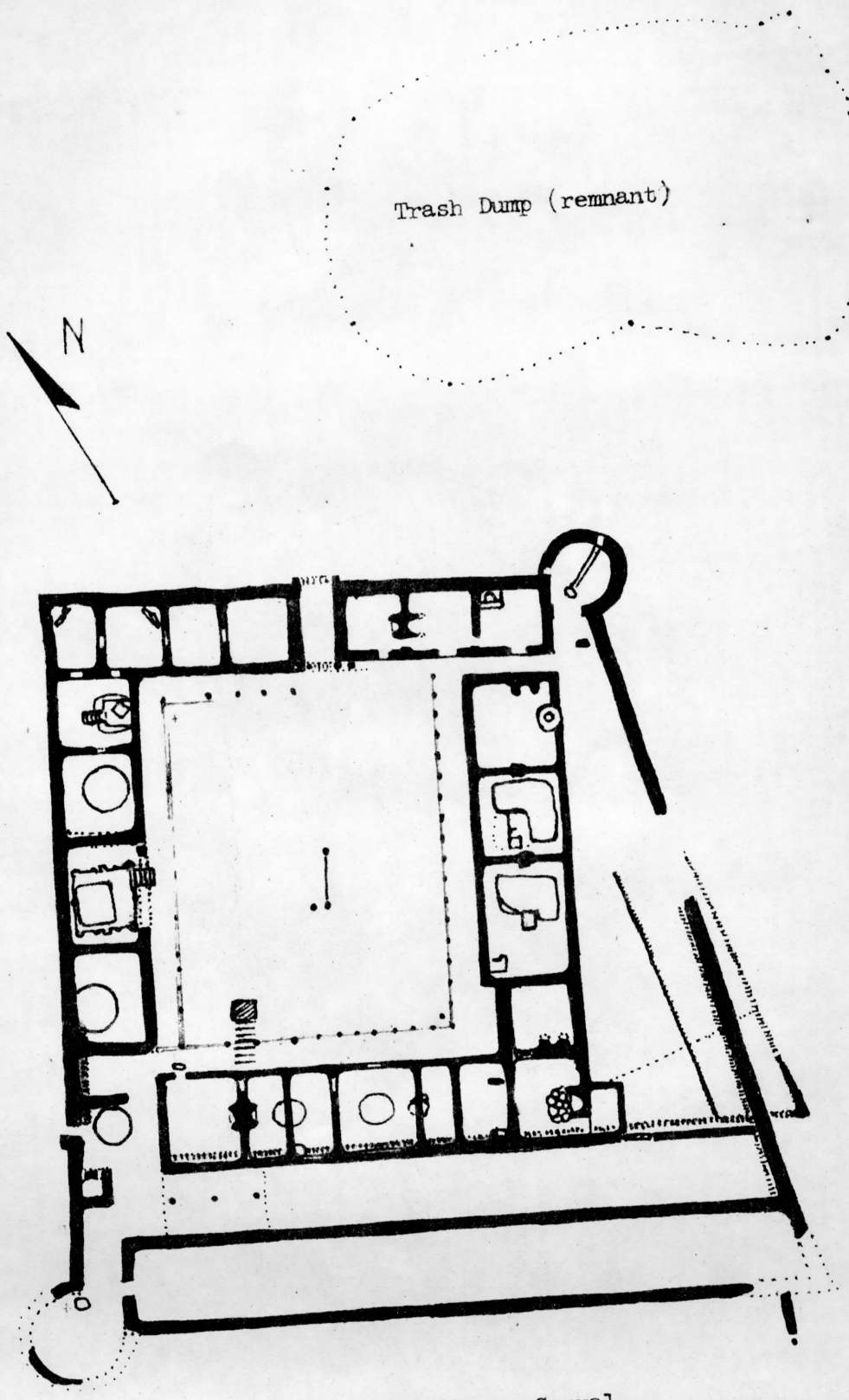
2. National Archives - Diplomatic, Legal & Fiscal Branch. Record Group 217 - Records of the Second Comptroller of the Treasury. Contract between U. S. Army Subsistence Department (Major R. E. Lee) and Bent, St. Vrain & Co., dated August 26, 1843.

3. House Report 37, 30th Congress, 1st Session (Serial 52[illegible]), 1-4.

4. Ibid.

5. Young, Otis. E., The West of Philip St. George Cooke; 1809-1895, (Glendale, 1955), 168.

6. Cooke, Philip St. George, Scenes and Adventures in the Army, (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 417-418.



Plan of Fort, Trash Dump, &
Corral Areas

Scale: 1 inch equals 40 feet

thing at the Fort site is the DAR monument, located near the northeast corner of the Fort. As a DAR member stated in unflattering terms, "... there is nothing left but a gateway, a monument and a pile of dirt".[252]

In the early Fifties, the State of Colorado began to show an interest in the Fort site, and in 1953, conducted a brief experimental excavation. A newspaper item noted;

> During the years many interested persons have dug around the foundations possibly destroying valuable historical data.[253]

In April, 1954, the DAR donated the site to the State Historical Society of Colorado.[254] Under the Society's auspices, a brief archeological exploratory survey directed by Dr. Herbert W. Dick, was conducted between June 20 and July 23, 1954. Having exposed most of the foundation, the site was then back-filled, and a low adobe wall erected to partially outline the Fort. This wall was still standing when the National Park Service took over the administration of Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site on March 15, 1963.[255]

B. PLATES

I. BOGGS - Bent's Fort in 1844-45
Photo - State Historical Society of Colorado
BEOL - Negative #1522

Original Drawing by Will Boggs drawn circa 1903.

II. BOGGS - Bent's Fort in 1844-45
Photo - State Historical Society of Colorado
BEOL - Negative #1526

Original drawing by Will Boggs drawn circa 1903. Similar to Plate I except the surrounding terrain has been excluded.

III. BOGGS - Bent's Fort in 1844-45
Photo - Western History Collection, Denver Public Library
BEOL - Negative #1525

[illegible] - Similar in essential details to Plates I and II. Apparently this is an artist's effort to improve on the originals.

IV. ABERT - Bent's Fort in 1845
Photo - Library of Congress
BEOL - Negative #1530

These two drawings were a part of ABERT's 1845 Report.

V. HUGHES - Bent's Fort in 1846
Photo - Library of Congress
BEOL - Negative #1531

This drawing first appeared in the 1848 edition of Hughes' Doniphan's Expedition. In the author's preface he states that "his acknowledgements are also due to his valued and esteemed friend, L. A. Maclean, of the Missouri Horse Guards, who generously and gratuitously furnished most of the designs which embellish this work." In the absence of other evidence it is assumed that Maclean was the artist.

VI. INMAN - Bent's Fort in 1846
Photo - Western History Collection, Denver Public Library
BEOL - Negative #1533

This drawing has not been referred to in the text since it is simply a copy of Plate V. It's first appearance was apparently in Inman's, The Old Santa Fe Trail written circa 1896.

(The following three plates will be commented on as a group, quoting a letter of July 24, 1964 from the Executive Director of the State Historical Society of Colorado to the Superintendent, BEOL);

> The originals of the drawings of Bent's Fort which you have inquired about are not in the possession of the State Historical Society ... The elevations are on the same face as a sketch of an Indian called Ha-Nocci = the left hand; the plan is on the back of the same sketch ... I can assure you that the Society staff has made no additions to either the original or the copy and that both the plan and the elevations are, so far as we know, contemporary with the Fort ... Personally, I would give a great deal of weight to the ABERT drawings considering their detail, the dimensions, and the obvious connection between the elevations and the plan, which would indicate an on-the-spot rendering.

VII. ABERT - Bent's Fort Front 1846
Photo - National Park Service (In-Service Use Only)
BEOL - Negative #1527

VIII. ABERT - Bent's Fort Interior 1846
Photo - National Park Service (In-Service Use Only)
BEOL - Negative #1524

IX. ABERT - Bent's Fort Dimensions 1846
Photo - National Park Service (In-Service Use Only)
BEOL - Negative #1528

X. GEORGE BENT - Bent's Fort Floor Plan - Bent Period
Photo - Grinnell Collection, Southwest Museum
BEOL - Negative #1948

Photograph of a plan traced by Historian, BEOL, November, 1964, found in original notes of George Bird Grinnell. As the notation indicates, Grinnell drew the plan from information provided by George Bent in 1908. It has proved useful despite the obvious error in regard to Bastion locations.

XI. DUNBAR - Bent's Fort Bastion Construction 1832
Photo - Cragin Collection, Pioneers Museum
BEOL - Negative #1521

Photograph of plan traced by Historian, BEOL, in January, 1965, found in original notes of F. W. Cragin. It has not been mentioned in the text because of the doubt cast by the fact that, according to the notations, it was rendered by a mature man recalling a structure he had seen briefly when 5 years old.

XII. SANDERSON - Bent's Fort - Stagecoach Period
Photo - Cragin Collection, Pioneers Museum
BEOL - Negative #1529

This photograph was given to F. W. Cragin by J. W. Sanderson during an interview in 1905. It reputedly shows the Fort during the heyday of the Stagecoach Period.

XIII. SANDERSON - Bent's Fort Floor Plan - Stagecoach Period
Photo - Cragin Collection, Pioneers Museum
BEOL - Negative #1523

Photograph of a plan traced by Historian, BEOL, January, 1965, found in original notes of F. W. Cragin. Believed to have been sketched during Cragin's 1905 interview with Sanderson

(The following three plates will be commented on as a group.

They were taken in 1903 by Roy E. Rockwell (still living in

La Junta) and show boys engaging in an outing at the Fort. Although the exact portion of wall shown cannot be definitely ascertained, the pictures do show a good cross-section of original wall.)

XIV. ROCKWELL - Bent's Fort Ruins in 1903
Photo - Al Miller, La Junta, Colo.
BEOL - Negative #164

XV. ROCKWELL - Bent's Fort Ruins in 1903
Photo - Al Miller, La Junta, Colo.
BEOL - Negative #165

XVI. ROCKWELL - Bent's Fort Ruins in 1903
Photo - Al Miller, La Junta, Colo.
BEOL - Negative #246

XVII. CARVER - Bent's Fort Ruins in 1923
Photo - Turner Collection, Huntington Library
BEOL - Negative #1463

Copy of snap-shot taken by T. M. Carver on July 6, 1923. Shows the condition of the Fort walls following the 1921 flood.

XVIII. BPR - Bent's Fort Ruins in 1939
Photo - National Archives
BEOL - Negative #1532

Bureau of Public Roads photograph made in January, 1939. As close as can be ascertained, view is looking across Plaza from southwest corner of Fort.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources (Bent Period)

Books: Bieber, Ralph P., ed., Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, (Glendale, 1935).

_____, Marching With the Army of the West, (Glendale, 1936).

Cooke, Philip St. George, Scenes and Adventures in the Army, (Philadelphia, 1857).

Drumm, Stella M., ed., Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847, (New Haven, Yale Western Americana Paperbound Edition, 1962).

Farnham, Thomas J., Travels in the Great Western Prairies, (New York, 1843).

Fremont, Jessie Benton, Memoirs of My Life by John Charles Fremont, I, (Chicago & New York, 1887).

Garrard, Lewis H., Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail, (Norman, 1955).

Hafen, Leroy R., ed., Life in the Far West by George Frederick Ruxton, (Norman, 1951).

Hobbs, James, Wild Life in the Far West, (Hartford, 1875).

Hughes, John T., Doniphan's Expedition, (Cincinnati, 1848).

Parkman, Francis, The Oregon Trail, (New York, 1963 - Reprint of 1892 edition).

Snyder, John E., ed., Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail, (Norman, 1960).

Wislizenus, F. A., A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839, (St. Louis, 1912).

Government Reports: Abert, J. W., "Journal of Lieut. J. W. Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845," Senate Executive Document 438, 29th Congress, 1st Session.

_____, "Report of Lieut. J. W. Abert, of his Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-47", Senate Executive Document 23, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Dodge, Henry, "Report of the Expedition of Dragoons, under Colonel Henry Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains in 1835", in American State Papers, Volume VI - Military Affairs, Report 654, 24th Congress, 1st Session. (G. D. Kingsbury Journal a part of this report.).

Emory, W. H., "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers", Senate Executive Document 7, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Letters: Bent, George, Colony, Oklahoma, letter, October 5, 1905, to E. W. Cragin, Colorado Springs, Colo. (Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs, Colo.)

St. Vrain, Ceran, St. Louis, Mo., letter, July 21, 1847, to Lieut. Col. Rhean Mackay, U. S. Army. (National Archives - Abandoned Military Reservations Section, Box 32, Folder labeled "Ft. Lyon (Old) Col.")

Newspaper Articles: Unsigned letter dated Independence, Mo., September 27, 1849, to Missouri Republican and published October 2, 1849. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.)

Unsigned column in May 18, 1946 issue of St. Louis Weekly Reveille. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo. - also printed in Bieber, Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny & Doniphan).

Periodicals: Pelzer, Louis, ed., "Captain Ford's Journal of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1926).

Manuscripts: Forsyth, John Robert, Mss. Journal of Trip to California in 1849. (Peoria Public Library, Peoria, Illinois - copy in HBOL files).

Grinnell, George Bird, Mss. Papers. (Grinnell Collection, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California).

2. Secondary Sources (Bent Period)

Books: Berthrong, Donald J., The Southern Cheyennes, (Norman, 1963).

Betzinger, M. Morgan, Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage, (Norman, 1962).

Goetzmann, William H., Army Exploration in the American West: 1803-1863, (New Haven, 1959).

Grinnell, George Bird, The Fighting Cheyennes, (Norman, 1956).

_____, By Cheyenne Campfires, (New Haven, 1962).

_____, Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders", in Kansas Historical Collections, XV, 1919-1922, (Topeka, 1923).

Inman, Henry, The Old Santa Fe Trail, (Topeka, 1916).

Jacobs, Wilbur L. ed., Letters of Francis Parkman, I, (Norman, 1960).

Jenkins, John S., The Life of James Knox Polk, (Auburn, 1850).

Ladd, Horatio L., History of the War With Mexico, (New York, 1883).

Mayhall, Mildred P., The Kiowas, (Norman, 1962).

McNitt, Frank, The Indian Traders, (Norman, 1962).

Moorhead, Max L., ed., Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg, (Norman, 1954).

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States, (Denville, 1909).

Misc. Publications: Annual Reunion, June 9, 1938. (Publication of U. S. Military Academy).

Government Reports: Office of Indian Affairs, Jurisdictural Histories 1824-1880, II. (National Archives - Economic, Social, and Political Branch).

Letters: Enos, A. W., Captain, U. S. Army, Bent's Fort, letter, December 12, 1846 to Brigadier General T. S. Jesup, Quartermaster General. (National Archives - Old Army Section, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, Box 77 - "Bent's Fort".)

Hyde, David, Historian, Pea Ridge NMP, letter, May 18, 1964 to Historian, Bent's Old Fort NHS.

Hopp, Kenneth W., Archivist, U. S. Military Academy, letter, April 12, 1963 to Superintendent, Bent's Old Fort NHS.

Marshall, W. E., Executive Director, State Historical Society of Colorado, letter, July 24, 1964 to Superintendent, Bent's Old Fort NHS.

Manuscripts: Hyde, George, Mss. "Life of George Bent", (Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colo.)

Lovejoy, Asa L., Mss., (Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California).

3. Other Sources

Books: Carvalho, Solomon Nunes, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, (New York, 1857).

Hopp, Gwinn H., The Central Route to the Pacific, (Philadelphia, 1854).

Lavender, David, Bent's Fort, (New York, 1954).

Govt. Reports: Beckwith, E. G. "Report of Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, 3rd Artillery", in Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, Senate Executive Document 78, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, II.

Brown, William, The Santa Fe Trail, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, (Unpublished National Park Service Report).

Letters: Reynolds, A. E., letter, November 11, 1920 to La Junta Chapter of Daughters of American Revolution.

Scharton, Leo G., Principal, Keating Junior High School, Pueblo, Colorado, letter, September 30, 1963 to Superintendent, Bent's Old Fort NHS.

Newspaper Articles: Unsigned article in January 22, 1866 issue of Rocky Mountain News. (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado).

Unsigned article in November 4, 1953 issue of Pueblo Chieftain. (Park Files).

Willing, George W., Diary, published in August 9, 1839 issue of Missouri Republican. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.)

Periodicals: Young, Mrs. Mary Eliza, "Diary" in Montana: The Magazine of Western History, (XIV, No. 1, January, 1964).

Dick, Herbert W., "The Excavation of Bent's Fort; Otero County, Colorado", in Colorado Magazine, (XXXIII, No. 3, July, 1956).

Manuscripts: Crugin Collection (Pioneers Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado). Contains various notes including those on an interview with J. L. Sanderson and those on a personal visit to Fort site.

Turner Papers (Huntington Library, San Marino, California). Includes letter and photographs by E. M. Carver)

Raymond, Samuel D., Mss. Diary. "Trip to Pike's Peak, 1859". (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado).

Scott, P. G., Mss. Diary. (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado).

Rice, Carrie Allen, "Bent's Fort" - transcript of talk given by Mrs. Rice. Undated, but believed to have been given circa 1950. (Park Files).

Minute Book of La Junta Chapter of Daughters of American Revolution for period November 24, 1913 to May 4, 1925.

Public Records: Land Records of Otero County, Colorado. (County Clerk's Office, Otero County Courthouse, La Junta, Colorado).

Interviews: Walter, Reuben - interviewed at Bent's Old Fort NHS - September 18, 1963.
- interviewed at home in North La Junta - June 7, 1965.
(Both interviews by staff of NPOL)

White, Marjorie Allen - interviewed at Bent's Old Fort NHS - June 5, 1965. (Interviewed by staff of NPOL)

Maps: Chacon's Irrigation Map of the Arkansas Valley. (Chacon Map Company, Denver, Colorado - 1910).

Topographic Base Map, Drawing No. HHS-DOF-3006, 1963. (A part of the Master Plan - Bent's Old Fort HHS).

J. NOTES

1. Grinnell, George Bird, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders" in Kansas Historical Collections, XV, 1919-1922 (Topeka, 1923), 29. (Hereafter cited Grinnell.)

2. Berthrong, Donald J., The Southern Cheyennes, (Norman, 1963), 25.

3. Grinnell, 31.

4. Ibid., 31-33.

5. ST. VRAIN, Ceran, St. Louis, Mo., letter, July 21, 1847, to Lieut. Col. Enoch Mackay, U. S. Army. (National Archives-Abandoned Military Reservations Section, Box 52, Folder labeled "Ft. Lyon (Old) Col."). (Hereafter cited as ST. VRAIN Letter.) This letter states the fort was "established in 1834".

6. Unsigned letter dated Independence, Mo., September 27, 1849, to Missouri Republican and Published October 2, 1849. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.) (Hereafter cited PALADAY Article.)

7. McWitt, Frank, The Indian Traders, (Norman, 1962), 25 ff.

8. Grinnell, 88. William Bent died May 19, 1869.

9. Ibid., 46. William Bent's first wife, Owl Woman, died during the Bent Period. He then married her sister, Yellow Woman. Grinnell gives the date as 1847.

10. Grinnell, George Bird, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman, 1955- Originally published 1915), 63 ff., and Mayhall, Mildred P., The Kiowas (Norman, 1962), 78 ff.

11. ABERT and HUNTON both mention attending such councils at the Fort.

12. American State Papers, "Report of the Expedition of Dragoons, under Colonel Henry Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains in 1835", Report 654, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 141-142. (Hereafter cited DODGE.)

13. Office of Indian Affairs, Jurisdictural Histories 1824-1880, II, 281. (National Archives - Economic, Social, and Political Branch.) Fitzpatrick's appointment was approved by the Senate on August 3, 1846. He served until April 3, 1854.

14. Sunder, John E., ed., Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail, (Norman, 1960), 143. (Hereafter cited FIELD.)

15. FARNHAM, Thomas J., Travels in the Great Western Prairies, (New York, 1843), 35. (Hereafter cited FARNHAM.)

16. WISLIZENUS, F. A., A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839, (St. Louis, 1912), 141. (Hereafter cited WISLIZENUS.)

17. Lovejoy, Asa L., Mss., (Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.)

18. Jacobs, Wilbur L., ed., Letters of Francis Parkman, I, (Norman, 1960), XXXIX.

19. Hafen, Leroy R., ed., Life in the Far West by George Frederick Ruxton, (Norman, 1951), XIV. (Hereafter cited RUXTON.)

20. Estergreen, M. Morgan, Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage, (Norman, 1962), 100, 103.

21. Full citations on the 1843 Army Contracts are included in the Historical-Archeology Summary Section of this Report.

22. Goetzmann, William H., Army Exploration in the American West: 1803-1863, (New Haven, 1959), 101.

23. Ibid., 111.

24. Hughes, John T., Doniphan's Expedition, (Cincinnati, 1848), 59. (Hereafter cited HUGHES.)

25. Enos, A. W., Captain, U. S. Army, Bent's Fort, letter, December 12, 1846, to Brigadier General T. S. Jesup, Quartermaster General. (National Archives-Old Army Section, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, Box 77-"Bent's Fort".) Several other letters concerning Quartermaster activities at Bent's Fort are in this file.

26. Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States, (Danville, 1909), 72, 84.

27. Ibid., 124-125.

28. Berthrong, Op. Cit., 113-114.

29. Ibid., 114.

30. DODGE, 141.

31. Pelzer, Louis, ed., "Captain Ford's Journal of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains", in Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1926), 566. (Hereafter cited FORD.)

32. DODGE, Op. Cit., (Kingsbury's Journal is a complement of Dodge's Report.)

33. HOBBS, James, Wild Life in the Far West, (Hartford, 1875), 47. (Hereafter cited HOBBS.)

34. FARNHAM, 35 ff.

35. FIELD, XII. The articles on Bent's Fort appeared July 12-13, 1840.

36. Moorhead, Max L., ed., Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg, (Norman, 1954), XXIV.

37. Fremont, Jessie Benton, Memoirs of My Life by John Charles Fremont, I, (Chicago & New York, 1887), 406. (Hereafter cited FREMONT.)

38. McNitt, Op. Cit., 35 (note).

39. COOKE, Philip St. George, Scenes and Adventures in the Army, (Philadelphia, 1857), 417-418. (Hereafter cited COOKE.)

40. ABERT, J. W., "Journal of Lieut. J. W. Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845", Senate Executive Document 438, 29th Congress, 1st Session. (Hereafter cited ABERT (1845).)

41. Annual Reunion, June 9th, 1898. Publication of U. S. Military Academy, ABERT's obituary on 18 ff.

42. Hyde, David, Historian, Pea Ridge NMP, letter, May 18, 1964, to Historian, Bent's Old Fort NHS. ABERT's classmates included Van Dorn, Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Doubleday, McLows, Pope and Rosecrans, all destined to become generals in the Civil War.

43. Demerits for infractions of Academy regulations were averaged into the academic grades.

44. Rapp, Kenneth W., Archivist, U. S. Military Academy, letter, April 12, 1965 to Superintendent, Bent's Old Fort NHS.

45. Unsigned article in St. Louis Weekly Reveille of May 18, 1846. (St. Louis Historical Society.) (Hereafter cited EMPLOYEE.)

46. EMORY, W. H., Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri to San Diego, in California, including Parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers, Senate Executive Document 7, 30th Congress, 1st Session. (Hereafter cited EMORY.)

47. Bieber, Ralph P., ed., "Journal of Abraham Robinson Johnston, 1846", in Marching With the Army of the West, (Glendale, 1936), 92. (Hereafter cited JOHNSTON.)

48. Bieber, Ralph P., ed., "Journal of Marcellus Ball Edwards, 1846-47" in Marching With the Army of the West, (Glendale, 1936), 139. (Hereafter cited EDWARDS.)

49. Bieber, Ralph P., ed., Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan (Glendale, 1935), 167-169. (Journal of George R. Gibson) (Hereafter cited GIBSON.)

50. HUGHES, Title Page.

51. Drumm, Stella M., ed., Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847, (Yale Western American Paperbound Edition, 1962), 59 ff. (Hereafter cited MAGOFFIN.)

52. Jacobs, Op. Cit., XXX.

53. GARRARD, Lewis H., Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail, (Norman, 1955) 42 ff., (Hereafter cited GARRARD.)

54. BUXTON, Introduction.

55. ST. VRAIN Letter.

56. FORSYTH, John Robert, Mss. Journal, (Peoria Public Library, Peoria, Illinois.) (Hereafter cited FORSYTH Mss.)

57. PALADAY Letter.

58. Grinnell, George Bird, By Cheyenne Campfires, (New Haven, 1926). Information on Grinnell is found in Foreward to Yale Western American Paperbound - Edition of 1962 by Omer C. Stewart. Information on GEORGE BENT found in unpublished Mss. by George Hyde in Western History Collection, Denver Public Library. (Hereafter cited Hyde Mss.)

59. PARKMAN, Francis, The Oregon Trail, (New York, 1963 - Reprint of 1892 edition), 254. (Hereafter cited PARKMAN.)

60. Exactly how close the Arkansas River came to the east walls of the Fort, is open to question. BOGGS (Plate II), gives the distance as "about 250 yards", but on Plate I, gives it as "about 300 yards". GIBSON and ST. VRAIN both put the figure at 100 yards. GEORGE BENT states the distance was 300 yards. The question is purely academic, of course, since the closest the river comes to the Fort ruins now (1965) in the direction the above estimates are placed, is over 600 yards.

Long-time residents of the area claim that the Great Pueblo Flood of 1921 altered the course of the Arkansas in the area of the Fort. This is supported to some degree by a comparison of a present map of the area (Topographic Base Map, Drawing No. NHS-BOF-3006) with a 1910 Irrigation Map (Clason's Irrigation Map of the Arkansas Valley, Clason Map Company, Denver, Colo., 1910.) The former shows the river to be well east of the north-south quarter-section line of Section 23. The 1910 map shows the left bank of the river west of the quarter-section line. Since the line itself is 250 yards due east of the Northeast Bastion, the figure given of "some 200 yards" is considered to be as accurate as possible.

61. COOKE, 417.

62. MAGOFFIN, 60.

63. Grinnell, 40. (Passage from FARNHAM quoted by Grinnell.)

64. GIBSON, 167.

65. MAGOFFIN, 61.

66. GIBSON, 167.

67. Grinnell, 40.

68. SANDERSON, J. L. interviewed by F. W. Cragin on December 10, 1903. (Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs, Colo.) Notebook XXVIII. (Hereafter cited SANDERSON Interview.)

69. GIBSON, 168.

70. MAGOFFIN, 61.

71. Grinnell, 60.

72. ABERT, J. W., "Report of Lieut. J. W. Abert, of his Examination of New Mexico, in the years 1846-47", Senate Executive Document 23, 30th Congress, 1st Session. (Another edition of report published as House Executive Document 41, page 18.) (Hereafter cited ABERT (1846), with date of entry before the page number.)

73. GARRARD, 73.

74. ABERT (1846), August 31, 14.

75. GIBSON, 167 and MAGOFFIN, 60.

76. FARNHAM, 35.

77. FIELD, 145.

78. GIBSON, 168.

79. BENT, George, Colony, Oklahoma, letter, October 5, 1905, to F. W. Cragin. (Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs, Colo.) (Hereafter cited BENT - CRAGIN Letter.)

80. GARRARD, 131.

81. HOBBS, 48.

82. If the Main Gate dimensions given by ABERT (6½ ft. wide by 7 ft. high) are even close to being correct, it is doubtful that it could have been negotiated by wagons. The HUGHES picture (Plate V) was drawn by a man who saw the Fort in 1846 and made his sketches on the spot. The punitive composition of his work notwithstanding, it seems extremely doubtful that he would include such an important a feature as the East Gate without having some basis for doing so.

83. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

84. Ibid., Plate X shows a single gate opening outward.

85. This area is also known variously as the courtyard, enciente, patio, placita, open square, etc. Use of "Plaza" in this report is merely an effort toward standardization of terms.

86. WISLIZENUS, 141.

87. FIELD, 144.

88. MAGOFFIN, 60.

89. Dick, Herbert W., "The Excavation of Bent's Fort, Otero County, Colorado" in Colorado Magazine, (XXXIII, No. 3, July, 1956), 185. Dr. Dick reported the "foundations of 24 rooms, a large rectangular pit and a well were uncovered". The open area is designated Room SW-8 by Dr. Dick. The pit he referred to was in a position where, according to ABERT (Plate VIII), it would have been inside a room,

and would have appeared as such to an observer. It is therefore carried as Room M-4 in this Report, and with the elimination of SW-8, the room total on the ground level remains 24. (See Archeological Data Sections for reasons dictating the removal of SW-8 from consideration as a room.)

90. ABERT (1846), August 27, 9.

91. FARNHAM, 35.

92. Grinnell, 40.

93. FIELD, 143.

94. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

95. PALADAY Letter.

96. FARNHAM, 35.

97. WISLIZENUS, 141, mentions that "In the ample courtyard were many barnyard foul". FIELD, 144, states that "the great wall encloses numerous separations for domestic cattle, poultry, creatures of the prairie, cought and tamed ... ". If separations existed, it seems more logical that they would be in the Inner Corral rather than the Plaza.

98. FORD, 566.

99. FARNHAM, 35.

100. FIELD, 144.

101. ABERT (1846), August 30, 13.

102. Grinnell, 62.

103. ABERT (1846), January 20, 1847, 156.

104. FIELD, 144.

105. ABERT (1845).

106. MAGOFFIN, 60.

107. GARRARD, 73.

108. ST. VRAIN Letter.

109. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

110. Grinnell, 39.

111. FARNHAM, 35.

112. GIBSON, 167-169.

113. MAGOFFIN, 61.

114. ST. VRAIN Letter.

115. ABERT (1845).

116. CARRARD, 43.

117. RUXTON, 179.

118. RUXTON, 181.

119. DODGE, 141.

120. HOBBS, 47.

121. FARNHAM, 35 and FIELD, 143.

122. FREMONT, 406.

123. COOKE, 417-418.

124. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

125. CARRARD, 43.

126. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

127. Grinnell, 39.

128. PARKMAN, 260.

129. ABERT (1846), Sept. 8, 23.

130. ABERT (1845).

131. FARNHAM, 35 and EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

132. FIELD, 143.

133. ABERT (1845).

134. Grinnell, 32, also Lavender, David, Bent's Fort, (New York, 1954), 138.

135. ABERT (1845).

136. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

137. FARNHAM, 35.

138. MACOFFIN, 61.

139. ABERT (1845).

140. ABERT (1845).

141. MACOFFIN, 60.

142. FARNHAM, 35.

143. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

144. EDWARDS, 139.

145. GARRARD, 43.

146. Grinnell, 39.

147. MACOFFIN, 61.

148. Grinnell, 39.

149. GARRARD, 73.

150. GEORGE BENT (Plate X) shows only 17 rooms on the ground level, while BOGGS (Plate II) shows only 10.

151. ABERT (1845).

152. FARNHAM, 35.

153. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

154. EDWARDS, 139.

155. RUXTON, 179.

156. MACOFFIN, 60.

157. ST. VRAIN Letter.

158. GARRARD, 73-74.

159. GARRARD, 74.

160. FARNHAM, 35.

161. FARNHAM, 35.

162. Grinnell, 62.

163. MAGOFFIN, 69.

164. ABERT (1846), August 30, 13.

165. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

166. GIBSON, 167-169.

167. MAGOFFIN, 60.

168. Grinnell, 51, 61.

169. FARNHAM, 35.

170. FIELD, 144.

171. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

172. MAGOFFIN, 60.

173. ABERT (1846), Sept. 9, 24.

174. GARRARD, 74 and RUXTON, 180.

175. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

176. GARRARD, 73.

177. RUXTON, 179-180.

178. RUXTON, 180

179. PARKMAN, 254.

180. MAGOFFIN, 60, 61.

181. FARNHAM, 35.

182. HOBBS, 51.

183. Hyde Mss.

184. FIELD, 144.

185. ABERT (1846), Jan. 20, 1847, 156.

186. EMPLOYEE, 167-168.

187. MACOFFIN, 61.

188. MACOFFIN, 68.

189. MACOFFIN, 61.

190. MACOFFIN, 71.

191. ABERT (1846), August 27, 9.

192. ABERT (1846), July 22, 7.

193. ABERT (1846), September 2, 17-18.

194. GARRARD, 42.

195. ABERT (1846), August 29, 10.

196. GARRARD, 74.

197. FORSYTH Mss.

198. GARRARD, 43.

199. GIBSON, 167-169.

200. MACOFFIN, 60.

201. Grinnell, 62.

202. GARRARD, 43.

203. MACOFFIN, 61.

204. GARRARD, 43.

205. ABERT (1846), September 2, 17.

206. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

207. Grinnell, 39.

208. MACOFFIN, 61.

209. ABERT (1845), 5.

210. HUXTON, 179-180.

211. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

212. HUXTON, 179.

213. GARRARD, 43.

214. BENT - CRAGIN Letter.

215. Grinnell, 38.

216. Jenkins, John S., The Life of James Knox Polk, (Auburn, 1850), 163.

217. Ibid., 139.

218. Ibid., 242.

219. Ibid., 242.

220. Ibid., 242-243.

221. Ladd, Horatio O., History of the War With Mexico, (New York, 1883), 36.

222. Ibid., 36.

223. Jenkins, Op. Cit., 163.

224. Ibid., 243.

225. Grinnell, 82. Also in Hyde Mss., Chapter IV, 12.

226. FALADAY Letter.

227. Heap, Gwinn H., The Central Route to the Pacific, (Philadelphia, 1854), 24-25.

228. Beckwith, E. G., "Report of Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, 3rd Artillery" in Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, Senate Executive Document 78, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, II, 28.

229. Carvalho, Solomon Nunes, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, (New York, 1857), 73-75.

230. Raymond, Samuel D., Mss. Diary entitled "Trip to Pike's Peak, 1859", (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado.)

231. Willing, George W., Diary, published in Missouri Republican, August 9, 1859. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.)

232. REYNOLDS, A. M., letter, November 11, 1920 to La Junta Chapter of Daughters of American Revolution. Copy in Park files. (Hereafter cited REYNOLDS Letter.)

233. SANDERSON Interview.

234. Unsigned article in Rocky Mountain News of January 22, 1866. (Hereafter cited Rocky Mountain News Article.)

235. Scott, P. G., Mss. Diary, (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado.) (Hereafter cited Scott Diary.)

236. Scott Diary.

237. Rocky Mountain News Article.

238. Young, Mrs. Mary Elisa, "Diary" in Montana: The Magazine of Western History, (XIV, No. 1, January, 1964), 30.

239. Scott Diary.

240. SANDERSON Interview.

241. Brown, William, The Santa Fe Trail, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, (Unpublished National Park Service Report), 83-I.

242. Prowers acquired the Fort site on April 10, 1872. (Deed Book 1, Page 186 - Otero County Land Records.)

243. REYNOLDS Letter.

244. Cragin, F. W., Field notes on visit to site April 11, 1916. (Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado.) Notebook XIII.

245. White, Marjorie Allen, Regent, La Junta Chapter of Daughters of American Revolution; interviewed at Bent's Old Fort NHS on June 5, 1965. According to Mrs. White, the monument was erected in 1910 and dedicated in 1912. (Monument itself confirms 1910 date.)

246. REYNOLDS Letter.

247. According to newspaper clippings, REYNOLDS gave the site to the DAR on November 11, 1920. Land records indicate, however, that a legal transfer of property was not made until February 8, 1926, when the Bent's Fort Land and Cattle Co. (of which REYNOLDS had half-interest) donated the site to the DAR. (Deed Book 275, Page 62 - Otero County Land Records.) For practical purposes, the site was in the hands of the DAR from late 1920 until 1954.

248. Unpublished Minute Book of the La Junta Chapter of Daughters of American Revolution for period November 24, 1913 to May 4, 1925. Entry for May, 1921 shows that a motion was carried to allow certain bills including $88.20 for fence material and $50.00 for trees at Bent's Fort.

249. Walter, Reuben, local resident, interviewed at Bent's Old Fort NHS on September 18, 1963, and at his home in North La Junta on June 7, 1965. Mr. Walter's memory of the site extends to 1912. At one time, he had a 1/4 interest in the Bent's Fort Land and Cattle Co.

250. Carver, T. N., Note on rear of Photograph (Plate XVII). (F. J. Turner Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.) On the rear of a photograph of the DAR marker Carver noted, "At one point inside the old walls a great many pieces of iron, including some hand made nails, mark the position of the black smith shop". In the 1963 Walter interview (Note 249), Mr. Walter pointed out to the NPS Historian that the area of Room W-5 abounded in surface material similar to that described, but not located, by Carver. This may give some support to the conclusion reached on Page 102 regarding the Stagecoach maintenance area being on the west side.

251. Scharton, Leo C., Principal, Keating Junior High School, Pueblo, Colorado, letter, September 30, 1963, to Superintendent, Bent's Old Fort NHS. (Statement is attachment to letter.)

252. Rice, Carrie Allen, "Bent's Fort". (Transcript of talk given by Mrs. Rice. Undated, but believed to have been given circa 1950.)

253. Pueblo Chieftain, November 4, 1953.

254. Deed Book 492, Page 109 - Otero County Land Records.

255. The first Superintendent entered on duty March 24, 1963.

BENT'S FORT IN 1844-45

(Boggs)

Photo - State Historical Society of Colorado

(BEOL Neg. #1522)

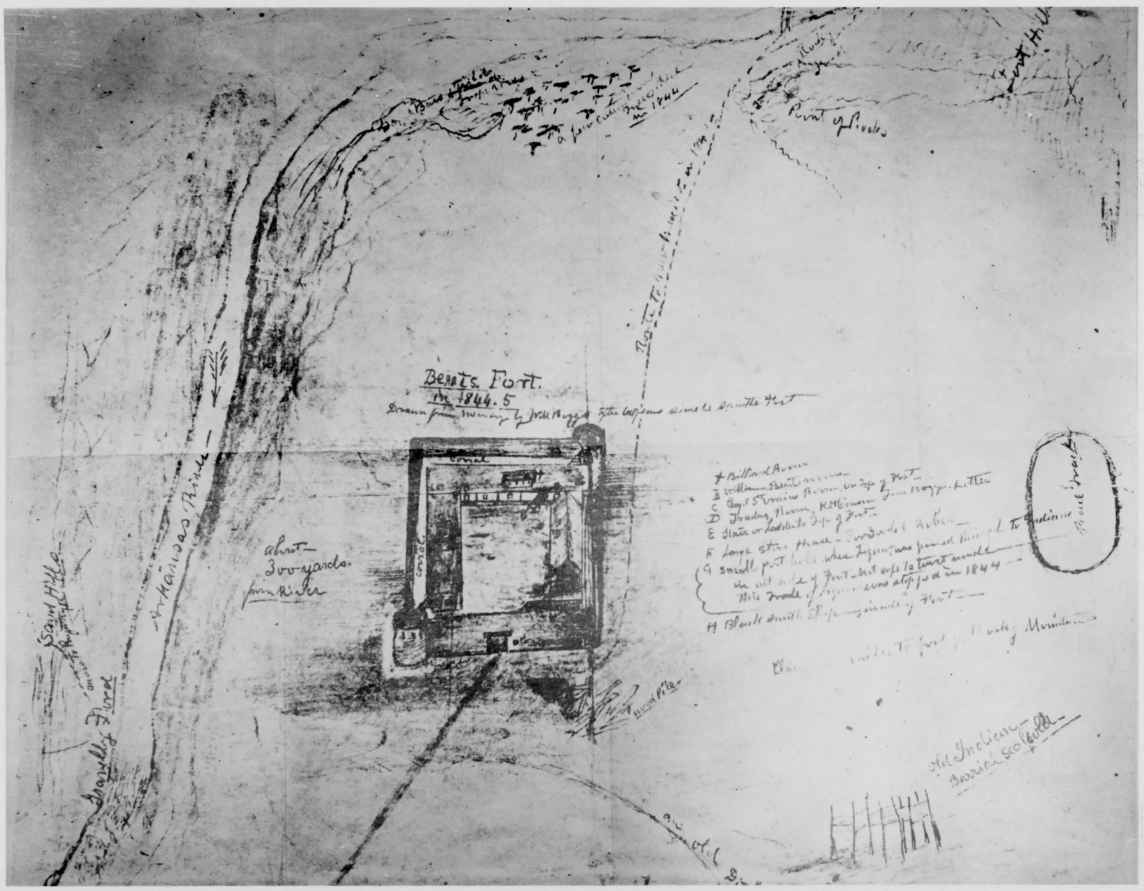


PLATE I

BENT'S FORT IN 1844-45

(Boggs)

Photo - State Historical Society of Colorado

(BEOL Neg. #1526)

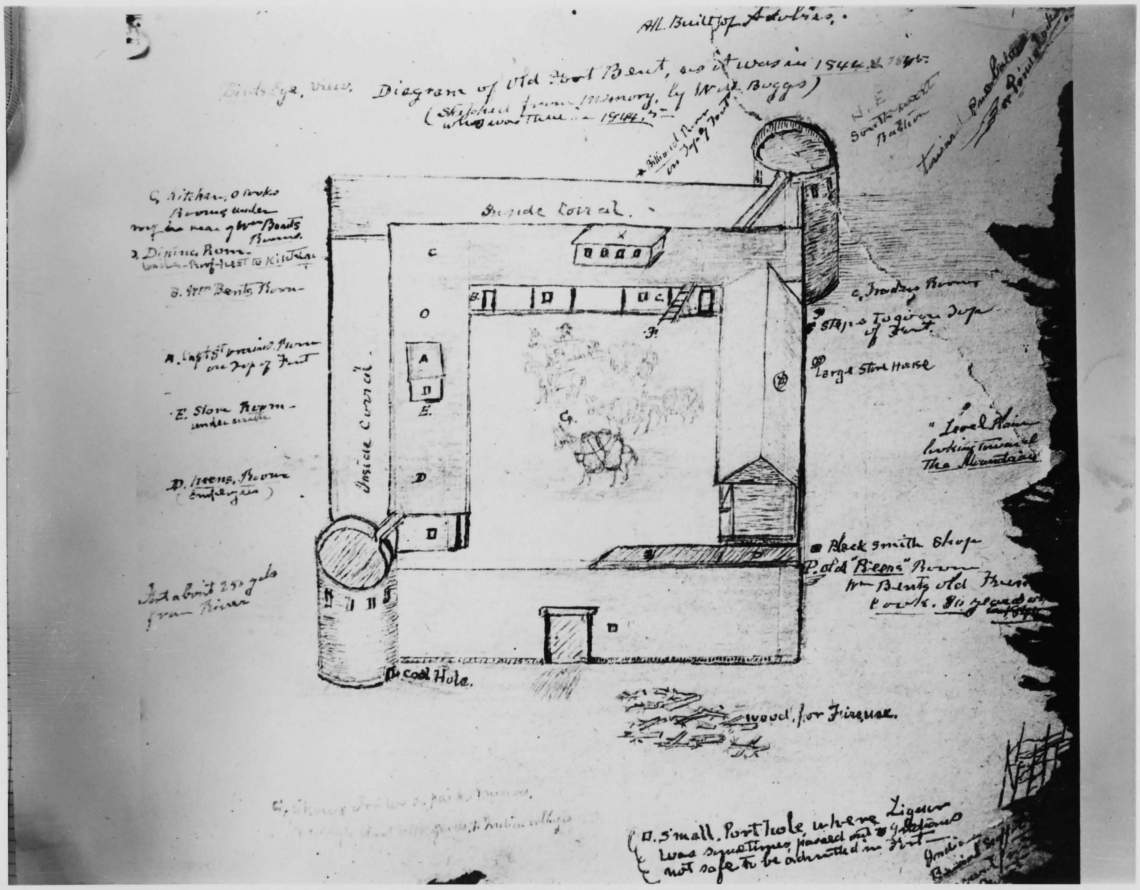


PLATE II

BENT'S FORT IN 1844-45

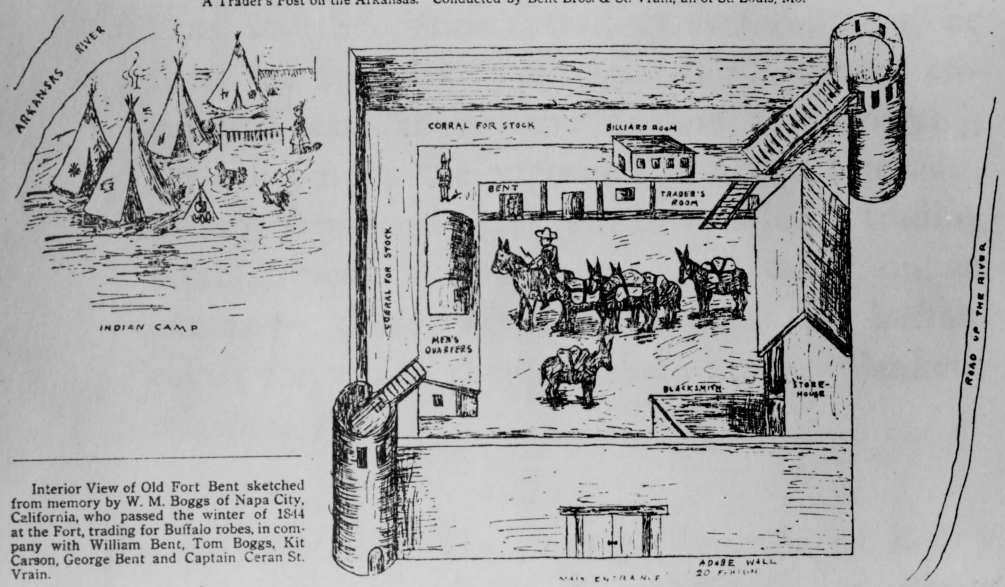
(Boggs)

Photo - Denver Public Library,
Western History Collection

(BEOL Neg. #1525)

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BENT'S FORT, COLORADO, IN 1844

A Trader's Post on the Arkansas. Conducted by Bent Bros. & St. Vrain, all of St. Louis, Mo.



Interior View of Old Fort Bent sketched from memory by W. M. Boggs of Napa City, California, who passed the winter of 1844 at the Fort, trading for Buffalo robes, in company with William Bent, Tom Boggs, Kit Carson, George Bent and Captain Ceran St. Vrain.

Bent's Old Fort, sketched from memory by W. M. Boggs.

Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

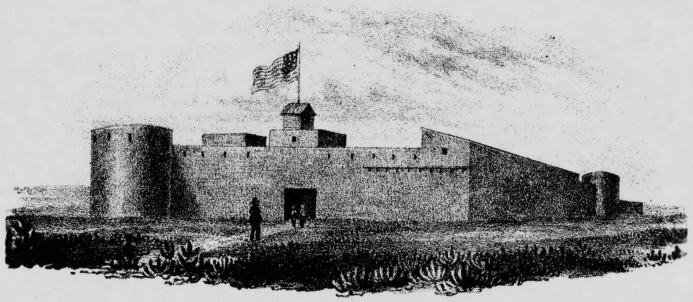
PLATE III

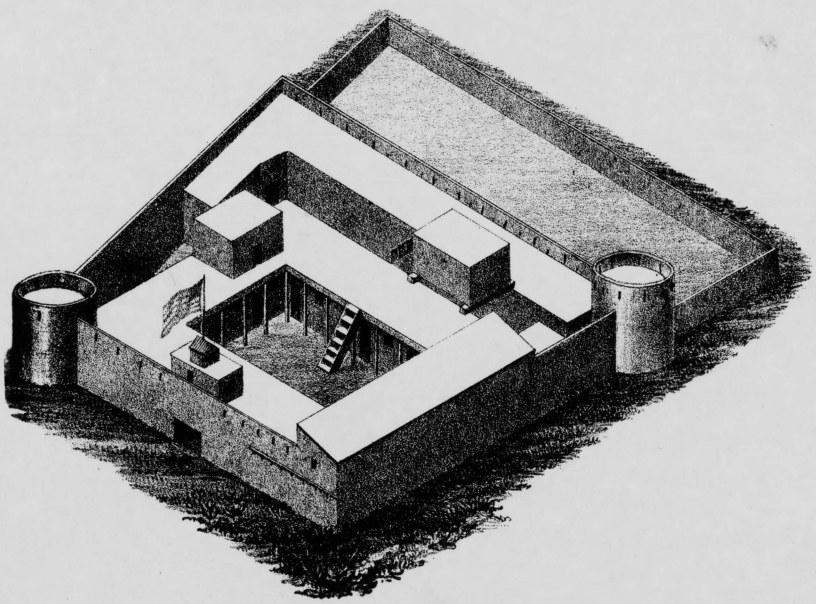
BENT'S FORT IN 1845

(Abert)

Photo - Library of Congress

(BEOL Neg. #1530)





BENTS FORT

PLATE IV

FURNISHINGS DATA

FURNISHINGS & EXHIBITION DATA SECTION

by

Nan V. Carson
Historic Restorations Specialist

30 July 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page Number
A.	STATEMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE REVEALING HISTORIC FURNISHINGS.	1
B.	STATEMENT OF ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE REVEALING HISTORIC FURNISHINGS.	3
	Heating Devices	3
	Lighting Devices and Window Treatment	4
	Walls and Floors.	4
	Other Archeological Evidence of Interior Treatment and Features	8
	Cultural Objects.	8
C.	DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES TO HISTORIC FURNISHINGS . .	14
	Defense	14
	Recreation.	15
	Trade	18
	Accommodations.	20
	Subsistence	25
	Maintenance	27
	General	28
D.	APPRAISAL OF STRUCTURAL TASTE AND STYLE RELEVANT TO FURNISHING	30
E.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	32
F.	EXHIBITION DATA.	33
	PLATE I.	34

A. STATEMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE REVEALING HISTORIC FURNISHINGS

The total destruction of Bent's Old Fort precludes the gathering of furnishings evidence from the structure itself.

Careful study of surviving original walls in Plates XIV, XVI, and XVII, Historical Data Section, predictably fails also to shed light on furnishings. The only evidence of possible interest to the historic interior of Bent's Fort in these photographs is the apparent seam in the adobe wall shown in Plate XVI. It is impossible, however, to evaluate this feature from a photograph. Careful first-hand examination and a knowledge of the location of the seam would be needed to determine its structural or decorative relevance.

It is a local tradition that structural members of Bent's Fort were carried off by nearby ranchers for use in their own buildings during the Cattle Period, 1881-1884. Such cannibalizing no doubt included wooden elements of the Fort such as door and window frames, as well as adobes. Theoretically, thus, it should be possible to locate such elements of the original structure for the purpose of study for furnishings evidence.

The fact that Bent's Fort was dismantled after its burning by Bent in 1849, when it is likely that many of its original wooden features were destroyed, and after its period of use as a stage station, when much replacement and repair took place, would make such a search for original

members a doubtful undertaking. If found, it would be difficult, lacking comparative evidence, to determine with certainty the period of origin for the feature. Evidence that might be present relevant to furnishings, such as marks indicating window coverings, would be similarly difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate.

In conclusion, the potential usefulness of such evidence does not promise to be sufficient to merit a strenuous effort to locate such possible surviving features.

B. STATEMENT OF ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE REVEALING HISTORIC FURNISHINGS

The findings of the extensive archeological project at Bent's Fort provide the only unchallengeable documentation for its historic furnishings and those structural elements of the building relevant to its interior detailing.

HEATING DEVICES: From the results of this excavation it may be concluded with certainty that Bent's Fort was heated by fireplaces. Five such features were located in the north row of rooms; three in the east section; six on the south; and, significantly, none on the west. The location of fireplaces is strong evidence in determining the various uses of the rooms.

Evidence of heating devices on the second story is, of course, not obtainable from archeological evidence save for the single instance in W5, where a thick wall at the ground level indicates support for a fireplace on the floor above in Room UW5. This is borne out by the Abert drawing (Plate VII) which shows a chimney at the south end of the upper west row of rooms. Speculating that any additional heating facilities in the upper rooms would have been located to take advantage of the flues and chimneys needed for the ground level fireplaces, it might be concluded that only UE1 also possessed the comfort of heating.

Refurnishing research and planning should not rule out the possible use of braziers or other portable heating devices in some otherwise apparently

unheated rooms, and should also endeavor to account in some way for the apparent chimney shown in the Abert drawing (Plate VII), located at the north end of the west second-story structure, as well as for the two chimney-like elements abutting what appears to be the billiard room in both the Hughes and Inman sketches (Plates V and VL).

LIGHTING DEVICES & WINDOW TREATMENT: The results of the excavation at Bent's Fort have not produced any evidence of lighting devices, or, as has been mentioned previously, decorative window treatment. The discovery of pieces of flat glass at the Bent level, in Rooms N5, SE1A, and S2, may produce the conclusion that windows were glazed rather than having been covered with such frontier expedients as oiled paper or hung skins.

WALLS & FLOORS: Archeological investigations have produced conclusive evidence of wall and floor treatment throughout the ground level structure. Floors were smoothed and tamped earth. In some cases, this floor was further refined by the application of plaster or whitewash. In one instance a floor of adobe brick was laid, although there is doubt that the space involved was a room.

The application of a finish coat of plaster to floors in some of the rooms should receive additional study in the course of refurnishing planning. This treatment would seem logically to have been reserved for rooms where the use, or occupant, merited such extra effort, convenience, and elegance. The presence of such floors

in rooms determined in the Historical Section to have been carpenter and blacksmith workshops seems not only incongruous, but also impractical.

No evidence of carpeting was found in the Bent Period floors, but this alone does not preclude their use.

Walls appear to have been coated with plaster or whitewash almost throughout. Three colors predominated: white, yellow, and red.[1/]

The following table will summarize wall and floor treatment as defined by archeological evidence and coordinated with room use as determined in the Historical Data Section. Colors cited are given in their chronological order, with the earliest stated first.

Room	Historic Use	Floor	Walls	Color
NW1	Quarters		Plaster	White
N2	Quarters		Plaster	White
N3	Quarters			
N4	Quarters			
N5	Trade Room		Plaster	White
N6	Trade Room		Plaster	White
N7	Trade Room			
E2	Cook's Room		Plaster	Yellow/Red
E3	Dining Room			
E5	Parlor, Council Room	Plaster	Plaster	White

1/ The designation of plaster or whitewash used has followed the terms used in the Archeological Section. It seems likely that the substance referred to would be the same throughout the structure: an unbound lime coating, rather thicker than whitewash, but thinner than plaster, resembling most a plaster finish coat.

Room	Historic Use	Floor	Walls	Color
SE1A	Kitchen-Pantry		Whitewash	
SE1	Kitchen		Plaster	Red
S2	Bent's Quarters	Plaster--same as wall colors	Plaster	Adobe/Red/Yellow/White
S3	Bent's Quarters		Plaster	White
S4	Blacksmith Shop	Plaster--same as wall colors	Plaster	White/Red
S5	Blacksmith Shop		Plaster	White
S6	Carpenter Shop		Plaster	White
S7	Carpenter Shop	Whitewash		
W2	Storage		Plaster	White
W3	Storage			
W4	Storage (Pit/Basement)		Plaster	Gray adobe/White
W5	Storage			
W6	?	Adobe brick		

Rooms N5 and N7 both yielded fragments of "burlap or burlap impressions in a white matrix." This evidence should be studied further in the course of refurnishing planning, as it may indicate walls to which burlap was applied, having a plaster finish washed over. This was a common practice in the 19th Century (and well into the 20th) to cover cracks and otherwise conceal wall blemishes, although the fabric most often used was muslin, canvas, or even gauze. Burlap may only

have been the "best available" at Bent's Fort. It should be noted that, in elegant homes where impeccable wall finishes were wanted, canvas was also often applied over the plaster at the time of construction. The evidence is considered worth pursuing. The use of burlap in this manner would have imparted a distinctive and decorative texture to the walls involved.

No evidence has been recovered to point out the treatment of floors and walls on the second story. Using comparative testimony obtained from the relationship of floor and wall finishes with room use on the ground level, it might be concluded that the bastions and watch towers would have been unfinished in any way; and that Room UE1, a private quarters, might have had red or yellow plaster on its walls. The billiard room might also have sported brightly colored plaster walls, but the walls in the clerk's office and remaining quarters on the west side would doubtless have had no more than the standard white plastering.

Whether or not the grandest room on this level, UE1, had floor plastering is difficult to say. Probably used by partner St. Vrain (see Boggs, Plate II) during his visits, it may well have had the same floor refinement as the quarters of partner Bent on the ground floor. It is unlikely that any of the other second story floors would have been so treated. Traffic in the billiard room would have rendered

fragile plastered floors impractical. Magoffin's statement that she sprinkled her dirt floor in UW1 "several times during the day" probably speaks for the floors in the entire west section.

OTHER ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF INTERIOR TREATMENT & FEATURES: Furnishing research will need to investigate further the "pie slice" burned section in Room S5 to determine its relationship to furnishings, as well as the pre-1829 glazed fireplace tile found in the basement section of W4. The presence of this latter specimen at Bent's Fort is indeed puzzling. It is not a likely item for the Santa Fe trade, since tiles were readily available at this period in both the United States and New Mexico. It hardly fits the "local" market, made up of Indians and mountain men. This leaves the solitary alternative that the tile was part of a shipment to embellish the proprietor's quarters, perhaps in Santa Fe, but more probably, since one was found in storage there, at Bent's Fort.

Other archeological evidence remains that provokes considerable furnishing interest. These features need not, however, be relentlessly tracked down because they occur in areas not being considered for refurnishing. They are: (1) the counter-like foundation in E4, (2) the wells in E5 and W2, and (3) the slot-like floor depressions made by halved logs laid flatside up in W3 and W5.

CULTURAL OBJECTS: The evidence of cultural materials here has been obtained from notes in the Archeological Section of this report, and

from the weekly reports submitted by the Archeologist to the Regional Office during the course of excavation. Additional information about such objects will no doubt be contained in the final report of the archeological project. The recovered specimens should also be studied carefully during research for the refurnishing report.

Archeological finds indicating cultural objects in use at Bent's Fort during its primary period, are charted below to provide reference to the refurnishing themes (see Interpretive Prospectus, p. 25) to which they would be relevant; the possible rooms which could interpret that theme; and the location of their discovery.

It should be noted that many specimens recovered during the course of archeological investigation would have been present in such quantity and so universally used in historic times that their presence today in any given location constitutes but little evidence of the use or furnishing of the room in which they were found. A heavy concentration of some items, however, in any one space, can logically be construed to bear upon historic room use and content. Trade beads are the most typical instance of this situation, as are iron fragments and bottles.

Substances which have been found, for example the rattan or willow found in N7, have not been tabulated. They could represent a wide variety of objects and study of the specimen will be necessary to reach a conclusion.

Refurnishing Theme: DEFENSE
Possible Installation: NE Bastion, Watchtower

Object	Recovery Location
Whetstones	NE Bastion
Brass telescope	E4

Refurnishing Theme: RECREATION
Possible Installation: Billiard Room

Object	Recovery Location
Trade beads (on specimen trophies	E4, E3, trash dump
Wine, whiskey bottles	E3
Clay pipes	E3, trash dump
Paper (charred found)	E2
Book	E2
Slate	E2
Red slate scribe	E2

Refurnishing Theme: TRADE
Possible Installation: Trade Rooms (N5, N6, N7); Clerk's Office (UW6)

Object	Recovery Location
Square pieces of iron	N5, N3
Goose shot	N5
Spherical lead	N5
Hunting knife (blade found)	N5
Shoulder arm (stock and hardware found)	E4, trash dump
Heart-shaped iron padlocks	E4
Brass telescope	E4
Cloth (charred piece found)	E4, E3
Trade beads	E4, E3, E2, W4, trash dump

Pots and pans	E3
Barrels with wine bottles/whiskey	E3
4-gallon stoneware olla	E3
Clay pipes	E3, trash dump
Paper (charred found)	E2
Book	E2
Slate	E2
Red slate scribe	E2
Iron adze-head	SE1A
Iron hardware	S5
Iron wheel hub parts	S7
Horseshoes	S7
Brass bibcocks	W4
Spade	W4
Cartouche case	W4
Flintlocks (Deringer trade rifles)	W4
Barrels, wooden	W4
Black powder can (plug found)	Trash dump

Refurnishing Theme: ACCOMMODATIONS
Possible Installation: Bent Quarters (S2, S3); Employee Quarters (NW1, N2, N3, N4, UW1, UW2, UW3, UW4, UW5, UE1)

Object	Recovery Location
Spherical lead bullets	N5
Copper lustre ware	N7
Black transfer printed earthenware	N7
Powder flask (nozzle found)	NE Bastion
Shoulder arm (stock and hardware found)	E4, trash dump
Brass telescope	E4
Cloth (charred piece found)	E4, E3
Trade beads (on apparel)	E4, E3, E2, W4, trash dump
Wine, whiskey bottles	E3
Clay pipes	E3, trash dump
Ceramics of 1825-50	E3, SE1

Paper (charred found)	E2
Book	E2
Copper lustre white earthenware	SE1A
Flintlocks (Deringer trade rifles)	W4
Black powder can (plug found)	Trash dump

Refurnishing Theme: SUBSISTENCE
Possible Installation: Kitchen (SE1, SE1A); Dining Room (E3)

Object	Recovery Location
Copper lustre ware	N7
Black transfer printed earthenware	N7
Cloth (charred piece found)	E4, E3
Pots and pans	E3
Wine, whiskey bottles	E3
Wooden churn, wooden dasher	E3
4-gallon stoneware olla	E3
Clay pipes	E3, trash dump
Ceramics of 1825-50	E3, SE1
Copper lustre white earthenware	SE1A

Refurnishing Theme: MAINTENANCE
Possible Installation: Blacksmith (S4, S5); Carpenter Shops, (S6, S7)

Object	Recovery Location
Iron adze-head	SE1A
Square pieces of iron/ iron	N5, N3
Iron hardware	S5
Iron wheel hub parts	S7
Horseshoes	S7
Spade	W4
Barrels	W4

Refurnishing Theme: GENERAL
Possible Installation: The Plaza

Object	Recovery Location
Iron adze-head	SE1A
Spade	W4
Fur press	Plaza

C. DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES TO HISTORIC FURNISHINGS

All documentary sources listed as primary in the Historical Data Section that were available to this office have been consulted. Nine have thus been searched, with research remaining to be executed in fourteen. Two secondary sources have also been searched. Arrangements should be made as soon as possible to begin furnishings research in those primary materials not yet consulted, and in specimens, with particular reference to fur trade objects and the cultural materials of Santa Fe in the period of historic concern.

Documentary references have been arranged, in narrative form, under the refurnishing theme headings planned for interpretation at Bent's Fort.

DEFENSE: The bastions and watchtower at Bent's Fort were noted by many of its visitors, and several commented feelingly on the flag of the United States flying above the entrance gate. Ruxton mentioned the flag,[2] as did Cooke,[3] and Johnston.[4] Emory provided details of its size and pole. He wrote that he saw "... a huge United

---

2/ George Frederick Ruxton, Life in the Far West, ed. LeRoy Hafen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 180, (hereafter cited as Ruxton).

3/ Philip St. George Cooke, Scenes and Adventures in the Army (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakeston, 1859), p. 417, (hereafter cited as Cooke).

4/ Abraham Robinson Johnston, Journal, in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Marching with the Army of the West (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), p. 92, (hereafter cited as Johnston).

States flag flowing to the breeze, and straining every fibre of an ash pole planted over the center of the gate."[5]

The Fort was armed, it is certain, with small artillery. Cooke noted that his approach to the post was "... saluted by three discharges from a swivel gun ...."[6] while Garrard located "... a few cannon ...." in the bastions.[7] Garrard observed, also, a small brass cannon laying on the ground in the Plaza, which had been burst "... in saluting General Kearney."[8] This gun would have been in use prior to 1846.

Garrard is also the source of two interesting bits of information about the watchtower. He noted its "belfry," implying a bell located there, and the imprisonment in it of two bald eagles, two years old. One of these was killed during the period of his visit (1847).[9]

RECREATION: If we may judge by contemporary references, recreation at Bent's Fort during the period of its zenith revolved chiefly around two rather hardy pastimes: drinking and gambling. Gambling was so much in evidence that Susan Magoffin was moved to philosophy.

5/ W. H. Emory, Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Senate Executive Document 41, 30th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848), p. 15 (hereafter cited as Emory).
6/ Cooke, loc.cit.
7/ Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail (Norman: University of Okla. Press, 1955), p. 42, (hereafter cited as Garrard).
8/ Ibid., p. 43
9/ Ibid.

Wrote she, "There is no place on Earth I believe where man lives and gambling in some form or other is not carried on."[10] She then recounted its prevalence at the Fort, citing the billiard room, and race track, and concluding that she would not be at all surprised to learn of the existence of a cock pit.[11] Later she had cause to complain of her servants "... gambling off their clothing..." in some unnamed Plaza sport.[12]

Numerous references occur defining equipment for such games of chance. Garrard testified that the Billiard Room did indeed contain a billiard table.[13] That same gentleman customarily carried with him a backgammon board for amusement and/or risk.[14] Ruxton observed men in the corral (Plaza?) playing with "decks" of "euker" and "seven-up."[15] Horse racing must have been relatively impromptu, with individuals wagering on the prowess of their own mounts. However organized, it was no doubt an expensive and somewhat hazardous amusement, for horses were the primary means of individual transport. A man racing his own mount, risked not only the money he might wager, but also his means of getting from place to place. Replacements were expensive, at least in 1846, when Marcellus Ball Edwards observed that they sold at Bent's Fort for "... thribble their home (Missouri) value."[16]

10/ Stella M. Drumm, ed., Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico, The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), p. 61 (hereafter cited as Magoffin).
11/ Ibid.
12/ Ibid., p. 66.
13/ Garrard, p. 43.
14/ Ibid., p. 60
15/ Ruxton, loc. cit.
16/ Marcellus Ball Edwards, Journal, in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Marching With the Army of the West (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), p. 141, (hereafter cited as Edwards).

The consumption of spiritous liquids in splendid quantities is, of course, classical in the history of the American fur trade. Ruxton observed that the trappers and mountain men at Bent's Fort indulged in furious orgies "... as long as the liquor lasted, and there was a good supply of alcohol as well as of Taos whiskey."[17] More ceremonious occasions for drinking were found, as well, as Susan Magoffin rather crisply observed in her diary when she noted that her numerous gentlemen callers all drank her health, although it was not good.[18] Entertainment or custom, drinking at Bent's Fort was expensive. Marcellus Ball Edwards, who owned a banker's mind, noted that it sold there for twenty-four dollars a gallon.[19]

Although most often mentioned, drinking and gambling were not the only forms of recreation available on the banks of the Arkansas. Cooke recorded with pleasure the presence of newspapers at the Fort,[20] and Garrard wrote of carrying several books with him, one of them on "heavenly bodies" from Harper's Series of the Family Library.[21] Garrard also documented the presence of at least one apparently respectable personal library at the Fort, which proved more enticing to its owner than an informal dance.[22]

The dance in question was undoubtedly but one of many which ornamented leisure time at the Fort. For this one, the Fort's personnel provided

---

17/ Ruxton, p. 179.
18/ Magoffin, p. 65.
19/ Edwards, p. 140
20/ Cooke, loc. cit.
21/ Garrard, p. 60.
22/ Ibid., p. 74.

but two partners, an Indian woman, and Charlotte, the Fort cook. These good ladies must have danced their shoes thin (if they had such) that night, to tunes "... from a screaking violin."[23]

Tobacco also provided relaxation at Bent's Fort, and was present in a wide variety of uses and forms. Clay pipes were much in evidence, being pulled out at every possible opportunity.[24] Kinnik-kinnik filled them, as well as regular tobacco.[25] Also on hand were Mexican shuck cigarillos and other cigars.[26]

TRADE: The business of Bent's Fort was selling goods and keeping records of such sales. Evidence of the trade would therefore appear in the refurnished Fort in the form of items of the trade itself, and in its supportive paperwork.

Surprisingly few documentary references to the goods of the trade have been encountered. Lewis Garrard has left the best list in his itemization of goods carried by a peddler-type expedition to the Indian villages. In his party's packs on that occasion were "... tobacco, blue blankets, black (deep blue) blankets, white blankets, knives, and beads."[27]

This list can only represent a portion of the goods of the trade that were available within the walls of Bent's Fort. Edwards'

23/ Ibid.
24/ Garrard, p. 75.
25/ Ruxton, p. 180.
26/ Garrard, p. 73, p. 75.
27/ Ibid., p. 50

reference to the price of liquor confirms its availability there.[28] Further evidence can be derived from the assumption that every manufactured article mentioned in connection with the Indians or mountain men had been obtained from trade goods. This approach adds to Garrard's list small bells,[29] shirting,[30] butcher knives,[31] cigars, clay pipes,[32] woolen hats, leather belts, brass-headed tacks, rifles, and Green River knives.[33] Additional research should extend this list considerably.

For such goods, Indians and trappers exchanged buffalo robes and beaver pelts.[34] These two commodities must have been present in great quantities at the Fort much of the time, for, according to Matt Field, they were shipped to St. Louis but twice a year.[35] Ruxton's observation of Fort employees busy pressing packs of buffalo skins and beating robes in the Plaza sheds considerable light on the form of their packing as well, perhaps, as on the stage of their processing.[36]

That business records were kept is attested by their documentary survival, as well as by the presence of a "clerk's office" at the

---

28/ Edwards, loc. cit.
29/ Ruxton, loc. cit.
30/ Garrard, p. 60.
31/ Ibid., p. 78.
32/ Ibid., p. 75.
33/ Ibid., p. 121.
34/ John E. Sunder, ed., Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail (Norman: University of Okla. Press, 1960), p. 144, (hereafter cited as Field).
35/ Ibid.
36/ Ruxton, loc. cit.

Fort. No source has been discovered yet, however, which mentions the keeping of account books, pens, pencils, or other logically associated materials. The sole reference to the content of the clerk's office at Bent's Fort is Garrard's mention of the "first rate spieglass" kept there.[37] This object may have been as relevant to the defense of the Fort as to the trading operations.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Two classes of accommodations, public and private, were maintained at Bent's Fort. The two classes undoubtedly differed substantially in their equipments.

Susan Magoffin, who might reasonably have been expected to merit luxurious accommodations at the Fort, and who certainly had private ones, might have left an account of them. She appears, however, to have been forced to accept a second class room due to a full house, or to have found the "best available" not good enough. In any event her husband saw fit to have her temporary room there divested of its usual furnishings, and fitted with their own. As a result, we know that the Magoffins took a bed, chairs, wash basin, and table furniture to Santa Fe with them, but have not even an indirect reference to the usual contents of her room, were they plain or grand.[38]

Shreds of information relative to the content of some of the private rooms can be gleaned from chance references. Matt Field recounted a story, told him by William Bent, of the death of a Spanish horse

---

37/ Garrard, p. 43.
38/ Magoffin, p. 61.

guard at the Fort. The horse guard had been killed by three Comanche arrows during a raid of the Fort's herd. Mr. Bent showed Field the three iron pointed arrows, still bearing bloodstains, and we may assume that such trophies were kept in the Bent quarters.[39]

Francis Parkman has left a fine description of a private quarters--but at Fort Laramie. Nevertheless, the year of his visit there was 1846, prime Bent time, and the Fort Laramie he visited was Fort John--a walled adobe fur trade post, housing the operations of a private enterprise. His description is therefore extremely valuable comparative evidence.

The room in question was, Parkman said, the "... best in Fort Laramie ..." usually occupied by "... the ligitimate bourgeois Papin, ..." absent at the time. It was "... a large room, rather more elaborately furnished than a barn. For furniture it had a rough bedstead, but no bed; two chairs, a chest of drawers, a tin pail to hold water, and a board to cut tobacco upon. A brass crucifix hung on the wall, and close at hand a recent scalp, with hair a full yard long, was suspended from a nail."[40]

Parkman stayed in this room sleeping on buffalo robes spread on the floor.

39/ Field, p. 146.
40/ Francis Parkman, The Oregon Trail (New York: The Modern Library, 1949), p. 94 (hereafter cited as Parkman).

Only one other documentary source contains information which would have bearing on the furnishings of the partner's private quarters. Marcellus Edwards remarked in his Journal on the practice of polygamy at the Fort, stating that its owners were also the "... owners of several mistresses each."[41] If true, this circumstance would have produced certain adjustments in their living arrangements.

Women were undoubtedly resident in many of the quarters at Bent's Fort. We may assume that William Bent's Indian wife lived there, and Susan Magoffin wrote of an Indian woman resident in the room below hers, as well as of the Mexican wife of "Mr. Lightendoffer."[42] It would seem likely that in any instance in which a man's wife (and children?) lived at the Fort with him, a private quarters of some kind would have been provided, no matter what his status. Francis Parkman attests this practice at Fort John, and indicates the character of the accommodations as well. He wrote, "Beneath us was the square area surrounded by little rooms, or rather cells, which opened upon it. These were devoted to various purposes, but served chiefly for the accommodation of the men employed at the Fort, or of the equally numerous squaws whom they were allowed to maintain in it."[43]

Such apartments must have been very small, and the rooms in them would have served multiple uses, as did Susan Magoffin's. When she left her temporary home high atop the Fort, she recorded that her

---

41/ Edwards, p. 139.
42/ Magoffin, P. 62, p. 68.
43/ Parkman, loc. cit.

"... chamber, dining-room, parlour, reception room, etc., etc., ..." was quite desolate.[44]

Any room, grand or mean, which housed a woman would have contained evidence of her presence therein. The only reference secured thus far to the equipment of a fur trade wife is derived from an experience of Susan Magoffin. While waiting for her quarters to be prepared on the evening of her arrival at the Fort, Mrs. Magoffin sat in the "parlor" in company with "other ladies," one of whom spent the time combing her hair, after which she liberally coated it with "... oil or greese of some kind...." contained in a crock. Two objects emerge from this account--equipment for a lady's toilette at Bent's Fort.[45]

The accommodations offered by the Fort to unaccompanied men, itinerants, employees, government teamsters, sick soldiers, miscellaneous trappers and mountain men, etc. consisted mostly of simple shelter. Garrard experienced such quarters. On his arrival at Bent's he was given "... a room, in company with several government teamsters, in which to sleep."[46] Francis Parkman's ludicrous friend, Tete Rouge, had been left at the Fort by the Army of the West because of illness. His sickroom was, according to Parkman, "... a little mud room, where he and a companion, attacked by the same disease, were laid together, with nothing but a buffalo-robe between them and the ground."[47]

44/ Magoffin, p. 70.
45/ Ibid., p. 62.
46/ Garrard, p. 42.
47/ Parkman, p. 292.

Tete Rouge was not the object of discrimination in being required to sleep on a buffalo robe spread on the floor in a Bent's Fort dormitory. Matt Field wrote a delightful verse in praise of Bent's Fort which confirms such sleeping arrangements for sick and well alike.

> "And a Buffalo skin neatly spread,
> Is bolster, and blanket, and bedstead and bed.
> In summer time, or in the snow,
> Wrapped in a skin of Buffalo,
> In fair moonlight, or in the storm,
> The Desert Dwellers slumber warm."[48]

References to miscellaneous materials that would have appeared in quarters, public or private, are not numerous. Matt Field's poem contained one line of enormous aid,

> "Boats, coats, ropes, candles, all things flow
> Out of the useful Buffalo."[49]

Coats and ropes made from buffalo robes and skins might be expected to be found in the quarters at Bent's Fort, but the information that the post was lit by candles, made from buffalo tallow, is pure gold.

Garrard throws additional light on the clothing situation in a passage describing his return to the Fort on a winter day. He kept warm on that occasion wearing a "...blue blanket overcoat having a collar ...."[50] In the same sequence he mentioned his personal rifle, and we may be certain that both items reposed for a time in the quarters assigned him at the Fort.

48/ Field, p. 45.
49/ Ibid.
50/ Garrard, p. 71.

SUBSISTENCE: Dining facilities at Bent's Fort seem to have been provided in a single large room for all comers, were they august or humble. Nevertheless, we should not rule out the possibility that meals were occasionally served, in certain circumstances, in private quarters. Susan Magoffin appears never to have participated in the Fort mess, but always to have taken her meals in her room.[51] Doubtless there were other times, particularly when the dining company involved an American woman, a visitor intent on conducting important or private business during dinner with a partner, or a man who found either the companionship or cooking of his wife preferable to the comparable offerings provided by the Fort, when tables were laid in private quarters.

In general, however, we should assume that most everybody at Bent's Fort ate in the common dining room. Cooke recounted that a number of officers from his command "... partook of a good dinner at the Fort," and the reference implies that an invitation was not necessary.[52] Actually, the Fort's dining facilities seem to have been open at all times, in the manner of a public restaurant, for Garrard wrote of repairing to "... the long, low dining room ...." to warm and feed himself directly on his arrival at the post after a long cold ride.[53] The fact that Charlotte, the Fort cook, was his company during this repast, indicates that she was at leisure to gossip with him, and not as busy as she surely must have been at regular mealtimes.[54]

51/ Magoffin, p. 70.
52/ Cooke, loc. cit.
53/ Garrard, p. 73.
54/ Ibid.

Equipment for this room may have varied in elegance with the status of the diners currently being seated, but it does not appear to have been primitive from any reference. Parkman ate there at "... a table laid with a white cloth, with castors in the middle and chairs placed around it."[55] He might have been considered a sufficiently special guest to merit a white tablecloth, but the reference to castors in the plural makes it certain he dined in the common hall at a table of considerable size which was equipped for such elegancies. Garrard, whose position was rather toward the lower end of the Bent Fort scale, also experienced refinements at this table. He ate there "... with knives, forks and plates."[56]

No documentation has appeared which describes the equipment of the kitchen, but we know much about the food that came out of it. Charlotte was famous for her "slap-jacks and pumpkin pies,"[57] and Garrard's warming meal after his ride consisted of hot coffee, bread, and "buffler."[58] Field's poetic praise of the Fort and its buffalo described the limitless variety in which it was prepared:

> "Buffalo fresh, Buffalo dried,
> Roasted, boiled, or stewed or fried,
> Buffalo serves in every stead
> For poultry and pastry, for meat & for bread"[59]

Equipment to cook all of these edibles in all of the manners suggested must have been present in the kitchen.

55/ Parkman, p. 288.
56/ Garrard, p. 42.
57/ Ruxton, p. 180.
58/ Garrard, p. 73.
59/ Field, p. 45.

Game undoubtedly provided the mainstay of the Fort diet. Ruxton identified the source of supply when he wrote that "Hunters drop in with deer or buffalo meat to supply the Fort."[60] Field's poem tells how it was presented at the kitchen, and describes a rather esoteric piece of equipment that might have been in evidence there as well:

> ". . . , all things flow
> Out of the useful Buffalo.
> They pack his flesh in his own hide
> When back to camp the hunters ride.
> They make a hammer of his hoof
> To knock his fatted hump-ribs off."[61]

Other subsistence supplies were obtained from trade in the field with New Mexicans. On Garrard's peddler expedition to the Indian villages, he remarked that his party traded robes and meat (obtained from the Indians?) with the New Mexicans for dried corn, pumpkins, and beans.[62] This must have been a source of supply for the Fort's bread and Charlotte's famous pumpkin pies.

MAINTENANCE: Oddly enough, the only woman who has provided primary material about historic Bent's Fort, is the only source also for the activity and equipment of its artificer's shops. Her observations about them, based upon their sounds, rather than upon her visits to them, are attributable to her sensitivity to their incessant commotion during her illness while at the post.

60/ Ruxton, p. 180.
61/ Field, pp. 45-46.
62/ Garrard, p. 64.

In an upper room, undergoing a severe physical ordeal, Mrs. Magoffin was moved to write in her diary of the noise in the Plaza, and that attendant to the shoeing of horses, remarking that the "... clang of the blacksmith's hammer was constant."[63/]

From this we know that a blacksmith's shop was located at Bent's Fort, and that horses were shoed there. A hammer and horseshoes. We should be permitted the conclusion that the shop was fully equipped for its work in the manner of its time.

GENERAL: The Plaza. Most of the visitors or residents at Bent's Fort commented about its Plaza. Their comments, however, were more often descriptive of the quality of life to be found there than of the objects associated with life. As a result, most of the information is useful for furnishing only by inference.

Susan Magoffin did not see it often, and her impressions of it were confined to its noise: "There is the greatest possible noise in the patio. The ..., neighing and braying of mules, the crying of children, the scolding and fighting of men...."[64/]

Francis Parkman saw it, that same year, in another mood. Arriving just after the Army of the West had departed, it seemed to him that "... the life and bustle (had) passed away, and the fort was a scene

63/ Magoffin, p. 66, p. 69.
64/ Magoffin, p. 66.

of dull and lazy tranquillity. A few invalid officers and soldiers sauntered about the area, which was oppressively hot; for the glaring sun was reflected down upon it from the high white walls around."[65]

Ruxton observed it in yet another guise. Although calling it "the corral," there can be no doubt but that he was describing the Plaza when he wrote of mountaineers gambling there, of "... employees pressing packs of buffalo skins, beating robes ...," and of "... Indian squaws, wives of mountain men, strut(ing) about in all the pride of beads and fanfaron, jingling with bells and bugles, and happy as paint can make them." It was into this scene that Ruxton saw the hunters coming "... with deer and buffalo meat to supply the Fort, ..."[66]

Garrard alone saw fit to mention objects. "In the center of the court is the 'robe press;' and lying on the ground was a small brass cannon, burst in saluting General Kearney."[67]

65/ Parkman, p. 288.
66/ Ruxton, p. 180.
67/ Garrard, p. 43.

D. APPRAISAL OF STRUCTURAL TASTE AND STYLE RELEVANT TO FURNISHING

The architectural style of Bent's Fort reflected a wedding of the Medieval fortified castle with the native Pueblo architecture and Spanish influence of the Southwest. This mingling of the styles and tastes of Western Culture with those of New Spain and the American Indian was no doubt reflected strongly in its furnishings, but not for the sake of taste or aesthetic symmetry. Rather, a black walnut chair from St. Louis would have been found there, standing upon a buffalo robe, with a chest made by craftsmen in Santa Fe behind it, for reasons attributable to geography, economics, and simple pragmatism.

The location and business of Bent's Fort made it inevitable that its equipments should come from both the United States and Santa Fe. Its partners were chiefly St. Louisians, and would have thought of desirable design styles in terms of those fashionable in the States. Whenever they wanted something truly nice or specially elegant, or something of sophisticated manufacture, their great wagons no doubt brought it out from Missouri. On the other hand, the freight hauled from Missouri was the paying load, and as hard-headed business men they would have been loath to relinquish space for income producing goods to any but the most intensely wanted or needed things, or objects intended for some specially cherished person. An example of this is to be found in the Victorian couch

William Bent had brought from St. Louis for a daughter, which is now owned by the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Wagons from Santa Fe, however, frequently rolled empty into Bent's Fort, where they picked up loads of robes and furs. Trade in Santa Fe returned mostly silver to the partners. It would therefore seem likely that a great quantity of the Fort's more utilitarian, or bulky equipment came from New Mexico, if it was available there, hauled back in wagons otherwise carrying very little.

Purely mundane objects, equipment and dress for the average man at the post were probably made at the site by craftsmen using materials readily available from trade goods or the natural environment of the region. Doubtless, too, many needed objects or garments were obtained from the Indians or patterned after Indian forms.

Cooke observed that Spanish was the prevailing language at Bent's Fort, "... but with English, French, and Indian additions and combinations, there is no slight confusion of tongues."[68] There was, without question, no slight confusion of taste and style as well.

68/ Cooke, loc. cit.

E. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bieber, Ralph P., ed., Marching With the Army of the West. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936. 361 pp.

Cooke, Philip St. George, Scenes and Adventures in the Army. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859. 432 pp.

Drumm, Stella M., ed., Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. 294 pp.

Emory, W. H., Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including Parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers, Senate Executive Document 41, 30th Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848. 614 pp.

Garrard, Lewis H., Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. 298 pp.

Gregg, Josiah, Commerce of the Prairies. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. 469 pp.

Parkman, Francis, The Oregon Trail. New York: The Modern Library, 1949. 366 pp.

Ruxton, George Frederick, Life in the Far West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951. 252 pp.

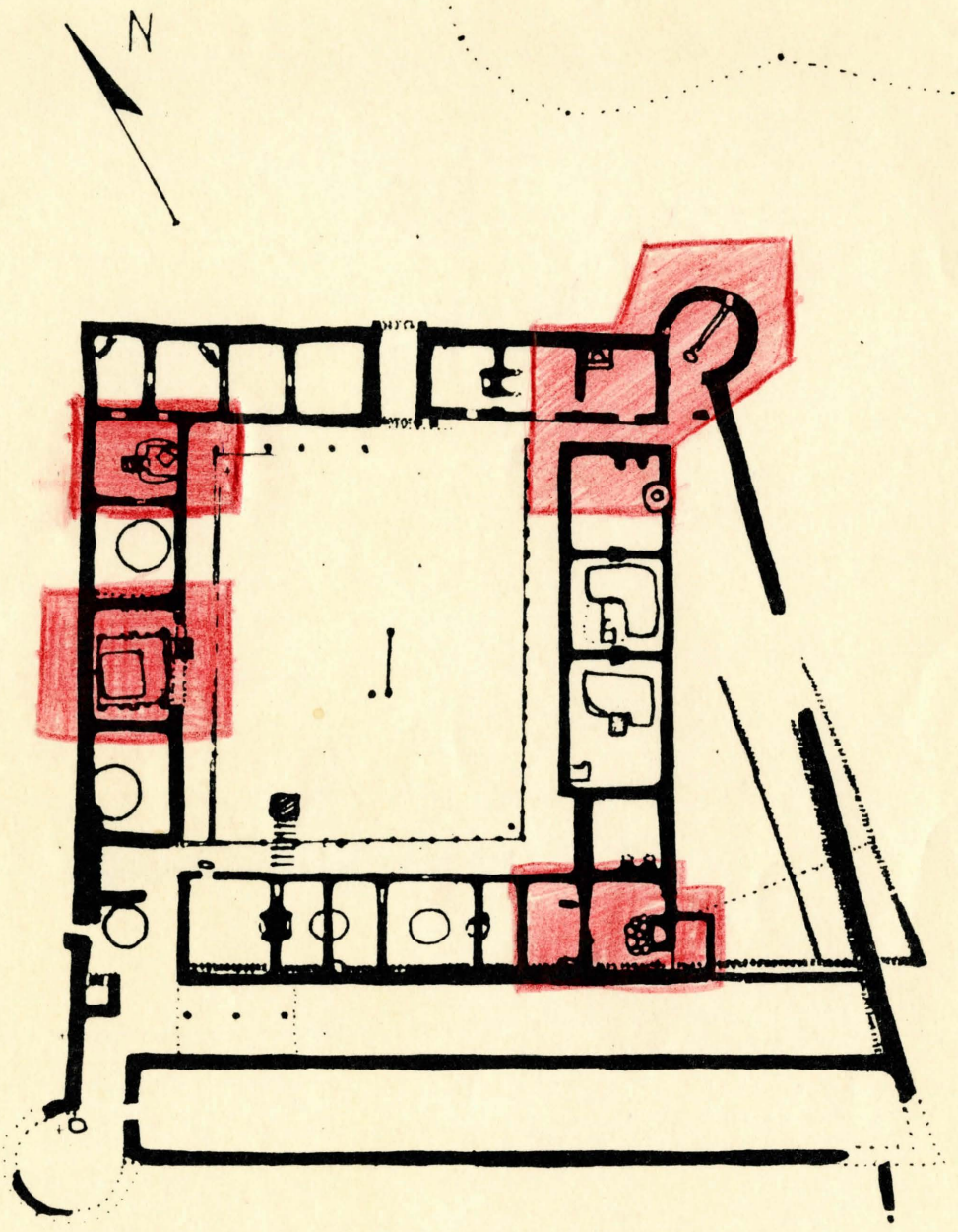
Sunder, John E., ed., Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 322 pp.

F. EXHIBITION DATA

In reconstructing Bent's Old Fort, it has been planned to preserve for exhibition and interpretation, certain portions of the original Fort foundations, now excavated. This plan is discussed in the Interpretive Prospectus (pp. 24-25).

The preservation and exhibition of foundation remains will, of course, preclude the use of the room in which they are located for refurnishing.

The plan on the following page indicates areas of the excavated foundation which are well preserved, and of sufficient interest, to merit consideration for exhibition and interpretation. These areas are currently protected by shelters.



Plan of Fort, Trash Dump, &
Corral Areas

Scale: 1 inch equals 40 feet

PLATE I.

Locations of Foundation Ruins Being
Considered for Exhibition and Interpretation
Bent's Old Fort