

The Sublette-Beale Hawken

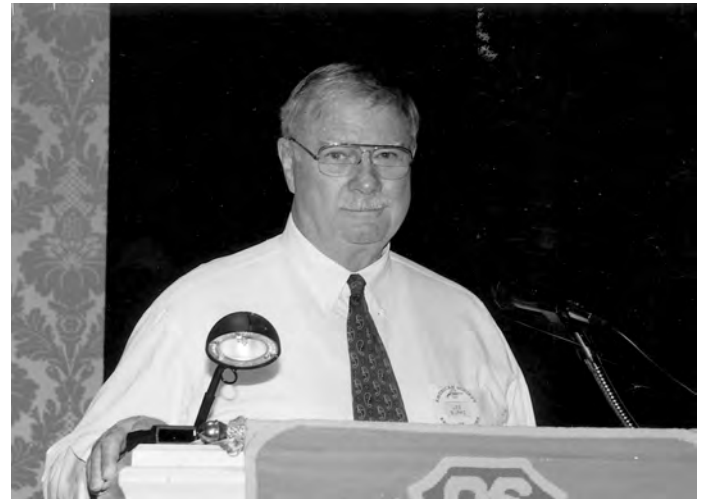
Lee Burke

Decatur House Museum, on Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., owns a number of items that belonged to Edward Fitzgerald Beale during the time that Decatur House¹ was his eastern residence, from October 1873 until his death there in April 1893 (Thompson, 1983). One of these items is a J. & S. Hawken half-stocked plains rifle fitted with a patch box and with exceptional engraving on the stock hardware (figure 1, A and B). The earliest accession information currently available from the Decatur House records for this rifle states²:

Acc. No.	NT 58-61-11	Location	Decatur House
Donor	Mrs. Truxtun Beale		SW rm. 1 st fl.
Description	Marked 6-15-60		
	Rifle. Octagonal barrel, muzzle-loading, percussion. Made by J.&S. Hawken, St. Louis.		
	Formerly owned by Andrew Sudlet, pioneer, and given by him to Edward F. Beale. 4' 6" long.		
	National Trust for Historic Preservation—Numerical File		

Of the three names mentioned in the description, J.&S. Hawken and Edward F. Beale are quite familiar, but the name Andrew Sudlet is not.

Beale, as you may recall,³ was an American Naval Officer engaged in the California theater of the Mexican War, and served as a carrier of military dispatches back and forth across the continent for several years thereafter. Throughout his adult life he was involved in western affairs, particularly



in California, where he was appointed to a number of important offices, among them Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California, and later Surveyor General of that state.⁴ In his private life Beale was a stockman and put together a large ranch, named El Tejon, in the southernmost San Joaquin Valley, just north of Los Angeles. With wise management and time, the ranch became very profitable and was the basis of Beale's later prosperity. In addition, Beale became an ardent collector, and filled his eastern residence with mementoes from his many exceptional experiences.⁵

Although an early hunch suggested that the name *Sudlet* was probably an error in transcription, efforts were made to determine if it could be a correct and plausible entry. None of the biographical works on Beale himself refer to the name Sudlet, and a search of the standard printed references, and quite a few non-standard ones, found no entries for Sudlet, past or present.⁶ A search using several "people-finders" on the Internet found no one with the surname Sudlet in the current directories of the U.S., nor were there any entries for a Sudlet in the many on-line sites concerned with California Pioneers, where Beale would most likely have encountered a pioneer with that name. The search engine "Google," which covers everything from current to



Figure 1. The Sublette-Beale Hawken rifle overall views of left side and right side. All photos by Lee Burke.

historic records (thanks to the genealogists), found only one Sudlet in America: it was the maiden name of a woman, possibly a new emigrant, in Wilkes County, Georgia who married in 1818, and thus apparently extinguished the name.

I believe that the name in the accession record was probably intended to be *Andrew Sublette*, a mountain man and fur trader in the 1830s and 40s, and a member of the Sublette family of St. Louis—a family well known to students of the western frontier. The challenge of the present study was to find out if a relationship between Andrew Sublette and Edward Beale could be documented, and whether the characteristics of the gun could fit within the time frame of that relationship. As it turns out, there was a close relationship between the two, and the gun fits quite nicely into the time frame.

SOME BACKGROUND ON ANDREW SUBLETTE⁷

Born in 1808, Andrew Whitley Sublette was the third of five sons (plus three daughters) in the family of Phillip Allen Sublette and Isabella Whitley Sublette, of Kentucky. At age 10, Andrew accompanied the family in a move to the village of St. Charles on the Missouri River, some 20 miles northwest of St. Louis. As family fortunes ebbed, the older brothers entered the fur trade, and it was in that arena that the name Sublette became prominent in the annals of the early west. Oldest brother William (about 10 years Andrew's senior) became one of the major traders based in St. Louis and next oldest Milton was his able assistant. Andrew followed suit, and at age 24, signed on as one of the mountain men in brother William's 1832 trapping and trading expedition. His apprenticeship had been served over the preceding few years; he had been out to the Wind River country, including the rendezvous of 1830, and had also been down the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico with a trading caravan in 1831. During this time Andrew had proved himself to be an able frontiersman and an exceptional marksman with a rifle.

The 1832 expedition was a success for all involved, as the total returns were estimated to be from \$60,000 to \$80,000 (Nunis, 1971). These amounts would approximate \$1.2 to \$1.8 million, when converted to 2003 dollars.⁸ Individual mountain men usually worked with several hundred dollars worth of equipment taken on credit extended by the expedition sponsors, to be paid off with beaver skins at an agreed price. Skins in excess of that obligation were credited to individual trappers that brought them in. If you were good at trapping, a considerable balance could be available at the end of the trip, providing there wasn't too much foolishness with booze and other enticing attractions out in the mountains.

Andrew continued to work as a mountain man for the next few years, and also assisted brother William in "opposition" activities against the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri River. During the winter of 1834–35, Andrew helped set up the trading post first called Fort William—later Fort Laramie—on the North Platte River. It was here that Andrew met Louis Vasquez, the youngest son of another St. Louis fur trading family (Benito Vasquez Jr., the oldest son, had been with Manuel Lisa in 1807 during the establishment of Fort Remon at the confluence of the Big Horn River with the Yellowstone River). Andrew and Louis found that they had much in common, and by mid-year 1835, the two had joined in a partnership to build a trading post, to be called Fort Vasquez⁹ (figure 2), at the foot of the Rockies on the South Platte River, in what is now northern Colorado (see Hafen, 1964). At age 27, Andrew was entering the glory years of his fur trading career.

Fort Vasquez was about halfway between Fort William (Fort Laramie) to the north, and Bent's Fort to the south. The specialty of this region was the "buffalo robe," essentially soft tanned buffalo fur prepared by the Indians, used back east for lap robes and rugs, and by the Army for overcoats. An especially interesting account of activity at Fort Vasquez was recorded by Willard Smith (1955), an employee there in 1839 and 1840. Smith had more literary capabilities than most frontiersmen as he was a recent graduate in engineering from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, and was then on a trip out west as a graduation present.

Business at Fort Vasquez was fairly good. From a financial standpoint, the late 1830s into 1840 were the best years for Andrew and his partner (Sunder, 1959), and this was probably the time that Andrew decided to own one of the Hawken brothers' finest rifles.

Within a few years after the founding of Fort Vasquez, the press of competition gave rise to three opposition trad-



Figure 2. Fort Vasquez, reconstructed onsite about 35 miles northeast of Denver, Colorado. Owned and operated by the Colorado Historical Society, this property includes a well appointed Museum.

ing posts within the immediate vicinity (Brown, 1959)¹⁰, and although there was enough business for all for a while, a wiser head (like brother William Sublette) would have sold out early and gone on. In late 1841, with the spreading bank crisis known as the “Panic of 1837”¹¹ looming over St. Louis, Andrew and his partner did liquidate their stock of trade goods, and sold the trading post to another pair of hopefuls.¹² However, economic conditions were deteriorating so fast, the newcomers had no chance at all. Andrew and Louis were left holding promissory notes that could not be collected, nor could they pay the notes they had issued themselves (Nunis, 1971).

Andrew managed to wrestle through an arrangement to clear his debts but found himself completely broke, so he turned to guiding westward bound parties, shifting easily from fur trader to plainsman. The guide business was not a lucrative occupation nor was it steady employment, so when the Mexican War began, he sought and obtained a commission in a Battalion of Volunteers from Missouri, for which he raised a company in St. Louis. His military chores were limited to escort duty along the Platte River in the vicinity of Fort Kearny, plus long days of dull garrison life (Nunis, 1960). When he was mustered out at the end of his service in November 1848, Andrew was ready to look somewhere besides Missouri for his future.

THE SUBLETTE-BEALE CONNECTION

Hard copy evidence exists defining the relationship between Andrew Sublette and Edward Beale: a letter by Andrew written in late 1848 states that he was employed to accompany Beale to California; a report in mid-1849 by a correspondent to the *New York Tribune* related that Andrew did accompany Beale to California in the winter of 1848-49 and that Beale was impressed by Andrew’s “heroic character”; and Beale engaged Andrew to transport supplies to the newly established Indian “reserves” in southern California.

Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, U.S.N., arrived on the Missouri frontier in November of 1848, en route again to the far west with government communications for officials in Santa Fe and on the west coast.¹³ He was in need of a small party of capable men to lend some “safety in numbers,” and as luck would have it Andrew was in the vicinity with similar travel plans. The party moved out quickly, as winter was already in the air and the Santa Fe Trail was a dangerous place in a blizzard. Beale’s group was described by one newspaper as “a command of seventeen mounted men, all raw recruits and a few adventurers” (Bonsal, 1912). In a letter to his brother Solomon from Council Grove, well out on the trail, Andrew wrote “I am employed to go with [Beale] to Santa Fe. He wishes me to go with him to California and Oregon.”

(Sublette Papers, Missouri Historical Society and quoted in part in Nunis, 1960). This implies that Andrew was being paid for his services, and thus was neither one of the “raw recruits” nor an “adventurer.” It may be that Andrew was not in the group of seventeen when it first set out; he might have encountered Beale on the trail and joined him there, or had made arrangements to rendezvous with him there.

The party was hit by extremely cold weather and struggled through deep snow to reach Santa Fe on December 25th, 1848. Those who either could not or would not go on were replaced with soldiers from the Army’s Santa Fe garrison, and the group moved out again on January 11, 1849.¹⁴ The Santa Fe replacements deserted after a few days in a raging snow storm, leaving only a handful to go on, but on they did go, arriving in San Francisco in early April of 1849 (Bonsal, 1912 and Thompson, 1983). Andrew did accompany Beale to this point, and because Beale was on his way back to Washington only three days after his arrival in San Francisco, it seems safe to assume that the party was disbanded and the communications intended for Oregon were handed off to someone else.

In Beale’s letters to relatives back home and the notes that he kept, I found no mention of the members of this party by name. His appreciation of Andrew’s contribution was revealed later that same year (1849), when he arrived back in California again, in August, in company with Bayard Taylor, a writer for the *New York Tribune*. Beale’s primary mission on this particular trip was to deliver an important government appointment to John Charles Fremont in California, so he traveled by ship this time, crossing from Atlantic to Pacific at the Isthmus of Panama. In finding Fremont in San Jose, Andrew Sublette was also found, and Taylor (1949) wrote this about him:

“At the house of Mr. Cook [where Fremont was staying] we also saw Andrew Sublette, the celebrated mountaineer, who accompanied Lieutenant Beale on his overland journey, the winter before. He was lame from scurvy brought on by the privations endured on that occasion and his subsequent labors in the placers. Sublette, who from his bravery and daring has obtained among the Indians the name of Keeta-tah-ve-sak, or One-who-walks-in-fire, is a man of about thirty-seven, of fair complexion, long brown hair and beard, and a countenance expressing the extreme of manly frankness and integrity. **Lieutenant Beale, who has the highest admiration of his qualities, related to me many instances of his heroic character.**” (Emphasis added)¹⁵

There is nothing in the record to suggest that Beale and Andrew had met prior to their wintery trip of ‘48-’49, so it would appear that the above opinions expressed by Beale to Taylor could only have come from that experience.

The next and last known association between Andrew and Beale grew out of Beale's appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California three years later in 1852. Beale had formulated a grand plan to engage the Indians in agriculture to the end that they would not only become self sufficient, but would eventually produce a surplus that would cover the costs of running the reservation system, with funds to spare. Until that could be accomplished, however, rations of beef and wheat would have to be supplied, and in substantial quantities. A contract to transport provisions was given to Andrew Sublette in April of 1853, so Andrew took on a partner and got to work (Nunis, 1960).¹⁶ This arrangement could have been a long and profitable one, if Andrew had focused on his transportation business and ignored the urge to hunt game for the Los Angeles market. An encounter with a wounded bear in May 1853 left Andrew pretty badly chewed up, but he recovered. In the following December, again while hunting, Andrew came up on a pair of grizzlies, but could drop only one. In the man-vs.-bear fight that followed, Andrew finally killed the second with his knife, but was mortally injured himself. The next day, December 18, 1853, he died (Nunis, 1960, Bell, 1927).¹⁷

It appears reasonable to conclude that at some point in the 5 year period between November 1848 and December 1853, Edward Beale acquired a J. & S. Hawken rifle that Andrew Sublette had taken to California. During his courier years, Beale traveled "light," swift, and unencumbered, and had neither the funds nor the facilities to handle such an acquisition. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, however, Beale was comfortably salaried and had quarters to house his beginning collection, so the most likely time for the exchange would have occurred in 1852 or 1853. Concurrently, Andrew, who had tried repeatedly to make a go of some opportunities in the mining business, was on hard times when the California Indian Office was opened; he may have needed to sell the gun just to raise some ready cash. I do not believe that there is any question that an exchange took place, as the Decatur House accession record says so (when corrected for the typo), but we may never know the circumstances.

CHARACTERISTICS THAT DATE THE GUN

To fit the documented times and circumstances that brought Andrew Sublette and Edward Beale together, the gun under study here should have been available to be in Andrew's possession before he first met Beale and went to California in 1848. An even more discriminating fit would be had if Andrew's flush years in the fur trade, the late 1830s thru 1840, coincided to some extent with the period of the

gun's original manufacture. Fortunately, the gun can speak for itself on these issues.

Several features about the gun tend to date it in a general way, and others are more specific. The time specific features of importance here are the names inscribed on the top flat of the barrel and on the outer face of the lock plate. The name on the barrel is J & S. HAWKEN — ST. LOUIS¹⁸ (figure 3). The initials are for Hawken brothers Jacob and Samuel, who were prominent St. Louis gunsmiths in the 19th century. Their joint mark dates the gun from sometime after August 1825, when the two commenced their partnership, to May, 1849, when Jacob died and Samuel worked on alone - a 25 year span (see Hansen, 1979).¹⁹ The name on the lock, W. H. BROWN over DAYTON (figure 4), constrains that time span a bit, as Brown worked in Dayton (Ohio) from 1827 to 1843, then moved on to Indiana, and later to Illinois (from Hutslar by Jeff Jager, related to Jerry Gnemi then to Lee Burke, April 2003). Obviously, these two time indicators are compatible,



Figure 3. The name on the barrel: J & S. HAWKEN ST. LOUIS, a mark in use from 1825 to 1849. A heavy coat of varnish on the barrel may explain at least in part the apparent lack of full lettering.



Figure 4. The name on the lock is W. H. BROWN/DAYTON which dates this component from 1827 to 1843. The design of the "snail" around the percussion nipple, which shows some sophistication, shortens this span to about 1835 to 1843, the time frame in which the gun must have been made.

and place the origin of the gun in the second quarter of the 19th century, with certainty, to as late as 1843.

Regarding the earlier end of the range, the design and sophistication of the percussion system gives some insight as to the age of that system. Hanson (1979) noted that although the percussion system was invented earlier, general usage did not occur until the first few years of the 1830s, the main problem being difficulty in obtaining percussion caps. One of the earliest known J.&S. Hawken rifles (origin estimated: 1825-1830 period) is equipped with a very simple percussion configuration that, at first glance, is not much different from the basic drum-and-nipple design (see Baird, 1968, Plates 23 and 26). As thought was given to the objective of keeping corrosive fulminates from the cap flash out of the lock and away from the breech in general, a number of modifications were tried. One of the results was the “early snail” design, where the curved line of the flash fence continued forward defined by a groove under the nipple lug, giving the lug the appearance of a large “comma” (see Baird, 1968, Plate No. 32 and accompanying text). This design, which is attributed to the period 1835-1845 by Baird, is very close in all respects to the one seen on the Sublette-Beale gun, and also coincides well with the other time indicators on this gun. Continued modification eliminated the curved groove under the lug, resulting in a bent “V” outline between the fence and the nipple lug, the “late snail” design that is found on almost all *S. Hawken* guns (see Baird, 1968, Plates 19 and 97).

If it is acceptable to take 1835 from the percussion design as the early time limit, and 1843 from the name on the lock as the late limit, the time of origin obviously includes the period when Andrew was most able to acquire such a gun (figure 5). Hanson (1979, p. 24) theorizes that from 1838 to 1842, there was a surge in the demand for rifles from the Hawken shop, in part due to “the development of finer ‘prestige class’ rifles by the Hawkens in this

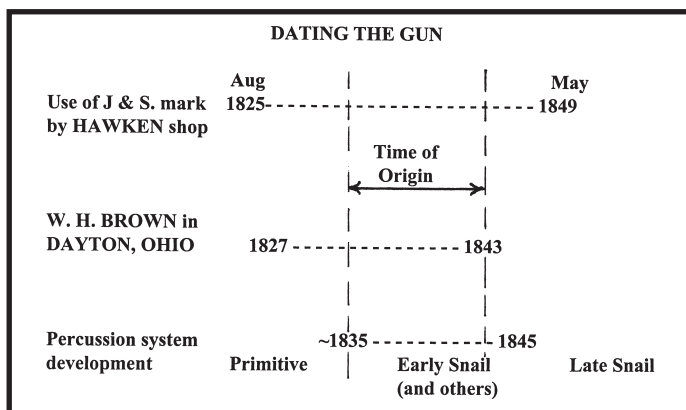


Figure 5. The time of origin of the Sublette-Beale Hawken is defined by the sophistication of the percussion snail, thought to be not earlier than about 1835, and the year that the lock maker moved from Dayton, Ohio: 1843. This approach uses the youngest of the early dates, and the oldest of the later dates. Mr. Spock would find this to be quite rational.

period.” As a dating factor, this is a hazy point, but the gun under consideration here is definitely in a higher class than most Hawken plains rifles, and does exemplify such finer guns as Hanson was considering. Hawken Specialist Jerry Gnemi, who has essentially all of this information on file in his working memory, dates the gun to the “late 30s to early 40s” (personal communications 1999-2003), so there is general agreement by all concerned.

Construction features seen in the stock furniture on this Hawken all indicate that the iron furniture was forged in the “early” manner. The butt plate, trigger guard, and fore end nose cap are all hand crafted, not cast as was standard on later Hawkens. In the tip of the heel of the butt plate there is a break indicating that the heel is hollow, and a seam can be seen where the crescent and the tang are joined (figure 6). The trigger guard is made of rather thin metal, apparently shaped by hand and not a casting, and showing evidence of having been broken and brazed just behind the bow. On the nose cap, a seam can be seen where the flat front has been joined to the collar of this fitting (figure 7). These are all “hand made” characteristics, generally found on earlier guns.

Another early feature is the vestige of a flash fence on the upper left flat of the barrel tang block. This remnant-of-a-fence is rarely seen on later guns, which have an upper left flat that extends smoothly from the barrel all the way to the



Figure 6. Break and seam in the butt plate heel indicating handcrafted construction.



Figure 7. Fore end cap showing a fine seam where the front plate is joined to the collar, again indicating handcrafted construction.

back of the breech assembly.

Thus there is uniformity in the time specific features, and uniformity in the vintage of the hardware, with no late features, anomalies or unexplainables. The gun fits perfectly the overall time requirements of the Sublette-Beale experience.



Figure 8. The buffalo on the patch box lid. According to Jerry Gnemi, Hawken Specialist, only three “buffalo” patch boxes are known on Hawken rifles at the present time.



Figure 9. “Sublette” in the patch box, a penciled inscription that was covered over by grunge for a long, long time.

“SUBLETTE” IN THE PATCH BOX

A third name on the gun almost falls into the category of graffiti, and though it does not contribute to age dating the gun, the name gains importance when the circumstances of its “discovery” are considered. During my preliminary examination of the gun in 1999, the inside of the patch box was found to be crusted over with a layer of dirt, flaky dried-out grease, and corroded percussion caps. A superficial cleaning with an artist’s brush (done primarily to get rid of loose material) revealed the name *Sublette*, written in pencil and just barely discernable on the bottom of the patch box.²⁰ To my knowledge, in the few years that this project had been underway, no one connected to the gun was aware of the name. Since then, a thorough cleaning of the patch box by a professional restorer has brought the name out significantly (figure 9). There appears to be no question that the name has been there for a long time, at least before a handful of percussion caps started to corrode and turn to grey powder. Exactly how long that might be I do not know, but the implied age lends fairly conclusive support to the idea that the name in the accession record should have been Sublette, not Sudlet.



Figure 11. Close up of the left side breech area. Note the “slant breech” surface (just under the nose of the hammer) and the vestige of a flash fence on the tang block just behind it.



Figure 10. Three quarter view of the right side. Note the slivers missing from the fore end, and the expansion of the wrist from front to back.

At present, we cannot know who put the name in the patch box. It could have been someone in the Hawken shop when the gun was being put together; possibly Andrew Sublette himself signed it, or maybe Edward Beale did it to help him remember where the guns he had collected came from. I like to think that since Andrew's success as a fur trader was a direct result of the buffalo robe trade, he made a point of having a buffalo engraved on the patch box that contained his name.

It does appear entirely reasonable from all this that the time of origin of Sublette-Beale Hawken was in the late 1830s-early 40s period; that Andrew Sublette ordered the gun during his tenure at Fort Vasquez and carried it through the peak of his fur trading days. Later, in 1848, he took it overland to California. Under circumstances now unknown, Edward Beale acquired the gun from Andrew Sublette, and it remains today in the collection that he formed.

SOME GUN DETAILS

In most respects, the Sublette-Beale Hawken is a typical half stocked plains rifle that has seen hard use but is still structurally sound and basically in original condition. "Wear and tear" includes some missing slivers of wood from the right side of the fore end (a point of distinction), and a slight collapse of the wood at the toe of the stock (figure 10).



Figure 12. Close up of the eagle-engraved silver oval set into the cheek piece. A professional would have to use a few tiny pins around the edge to hold the oval in place.



Figure 13. Engraving on the toe plate. Note the bird's head on the finial. The button opens the patch box.

The gun is 54 3/4" in length overall, with a 38 3/8" barrel having a rifled bore that measures 0.56". With ramrod in place the gun weighs 10 3/4 pounds. The barrel is slightly "swamped," measuring 1.119" between the side flats at the percussion snail, decreasing forward to 1.022" midway between the mid-and forward ramrod pipes, then increasing to 1.047" at the muzzle. The barrel is secured by two flat keys and a hook on the patent breech that engages the mortise in the tang block.²¹ The surface between the back of the patent breech and the tang block is inclined at about 15 degrees to the rear, displaying the "slant breech" characteristic (figure 11). The barrel tang is 6" long and secured by two screws into the trigger bar. Two cylindrical ramrod pipes are secured to an under rib on the bottom flat of the barrel. The rear sight is a stubby, long base buckhorn, and the front sight is a sliver of silver set in a copper base—both typical for the period.

The stock is maple, stained very dark, and measures 33 5/8" over all (unstained wood can be seen in the barrel channel when the barrel is removed). The rear ramrod pipe, or tail pipe, is secured by one transverse pin, and the nose cap by a single screw from inside the barrel channel. Note that there is a gap of a little more than a half inch between the fore end cap and the tail pipe. The wrist expands from front to back quite noticeably, and the height of the comb is reduced accordingly. Pull length from the single set trigger to the mid-point of the butt plate is 14 7/8". The butt plate is 4 3/4" high and is 1 1/8" wide at the widest point. An eagle is engraved on the silver oval set into the beaver-tail cheek piece on the left side of the butt stock; this looks like a commercially prepared decoration, installed (rather crudely) after the gun left the Hawken shop (figure 12).

The barrel key escutcheons are of "German silver." On the left side of the stock the escutcheons each have two flat copper screw heads exposed, but those on the right side show no screws.

The patch box is elaborately engraved, with a buffalo running to the right on the lid (figure 8). The lid is opened by pressing a button in the toe plate, which is also elaborately engraved with flower motifs and a bird's head at the finial (figure 13). Much simpler engraving, mostly vines, tendrils and flowers, is present on the barrel tang and block, the trigger guard bow and scroll, and the front and rear finials of the trigger bar. Several screw heads have been decorated as well.

The patch box and the extensive engraving make this one of the finest guns produced in the J & S. Hawken shop. It's connection to Andrew Sublette and Edward Beale place it near the head of the most elite western arms, and it must be the earliest Hawken rifle known today with a demonstrable historical association.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study of the Sublette-Beale Hawken would not have happened if Bill Pirie had not invited me to join him in researching the Carson-Beale Hawken, which we published some years ago. The Carson-Beale project gave rise to an invitation from Chris Slusher at Decatur House to do a similar study of their “other” Hawken, and that was the beginning of the program summarized here. Over the intervening years, Director Bruce Whitmarsh and Curator Sarah Tapper at Decatur House have been supportive of the project and tolerant of the long delays which occurred. At the National Firearms Museum, where the Sublette-Beale Hawken is currently on display, Senior Curator Doug Wicklund and Assistant Curator Karin Johnston facilitated the study with time and space to do the necessary work with the gun. All the while, Hawken Specialist Jerry Gnemi spent many hours in consultation, going over the finer points of Hawken classification.

I am honored to have been allowed to do this study, and it would not have happened without your collective consent and cooperation. To one and all I say “Thank you very much.”

NOTES

1. Decatur House is one of a number of historical properties owned and operated by The National Trust for Historic Preservation, the only nonprofit nongovernmental educational organization chartered by Congress to safeguard America's heritage of historic sites and buildings. They may be contacted at: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

2. A copy of the accession record for this Hawken rifle was provided March 2, 1997 by H. Christopher Slusher, then Assistant Director, Decatur House Museum. Mrs. Truxtun Beale, daughter-in-law of Edward Fitzgerald Beale and last of the Beale line, bequeathed the Decatur House and its contents to the National Trust on her death in 1956. At the present time (April 2003) the Hawken rifle of concern here is on exhibit at the National Firearms Museum, 11250 Waples Mill Road, Fairfax, VA 22030.

3. A substantial part of Beale's history was covered in an earlier study concerning the Carson-Beale Hawken. See Burke, 1995.

4. Actually, his title for both the Indian and Surveyor jobs was for “California and Nevada.”

5. Two contemporary quotes concerning the accumulation of artifacts in Beale's “eastern” home, first in Chester, PA, and later in Decatur House, Washington, D.C., are given in Burke, 1995, p. 18.

6. The printed references examined include The Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Encyclopedia Americana, The World Book Encyclopedia, the name index for the New York Times 1851-1974 (a 22 volume set, two columns per page, of single spaced name listings), and Hafen's ten volume work on the Mountain Men and the Fur Trade.

7. The primary source of information on Andrew Sublette is Doyce Nunis, whose publications are included in the bibliography. John Sunder's study of William Sublette, also in the bibliography, is a valuable addition as Andrew was greatly influenced by his oldest brother and seemed always to be in his debt. Much of the summary on Andrew presented here was generalized from those two authors. Specific information is referenced in the text.

8. All dollar comparisons accomplished using McCusker, 1992.

9. Fort Vasquez Museum and the reconstructed fort are located 35 miles northeast of Denver, just south of Platteville on U.S. Highway 85, and may be contacted by telephone at (970) 785-2832. This facility is owned and operated by the Colorado Historical Society. During my visit there in September, 2001, Mrs. Nancy Fisher was the Guide on duty, and provided an informative review of the establishment and details of its history.

10. The other three posts were Fort Lupton, Fort Jackson, and Fort St. Vrain. Information concerning their history is available in the *Colorado Magazine*, official publication of the Colorado Historical Society.

11. For information on the “Panic of 1837,” use Google.

12. There appears to be some disagreement as to the year that Andrew and Louis sold their interest in Fort Vasquez. Sublette family correspondence discusses the subject in 1842 and later, but other records suggest that the sale took place in 1841.

13. Beale's courier trips are summarized on pages 52 and 53 in Bonsal, 1912.

14. In his 1960 publication, Nunis did not accept that Andrew had gone on from Santa Fe to California with Beale, and used several pages of text (see his pp. 89 to 93) taking Andrew on a roundabout trip that got him to California later. His 1971 offering in *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade*, Nunis barely mentions the whole trip, using only six lines on pages 361-362, but this time he does let Andrew go on with Beale.

15. Two photographic images purported to be of Andrew Sublette exist. One, depicting a man in a disheveled Mexican War uniform, is shown as the frontispiece of Nunis, 1960, and also in the picture section at the front of the Nunis 1971 publication. This image is not a very good one in my opinion, and has been retouched to the point that the individual's features are considerably altered. It may be Andrew,

but the portrayal does not offer much insight into the man. The other image is shown in Hafen, 1964, and appears to be an ambrotype, which raises a technical problem: The ambrotype process was still being developed when Andrew died in December 1853, and was not patented in the U.S. until July 1854,—I decided not to use either image.

16. There was some direct dealing between Beale and Andrew during this period, as is revealed in the reports of the Second Auditor of the Treasury, who was responsible for gathering and publishing the details of expenditures made for the benefit of Indians. In the period from July 1, 1853 to June 30, 1854, Beale reported two direct transactions with Andrew (a large one large for “mules,” and a small one for “sundries”) that totaled \$3,391. Beale did not get his reports in on time for the 12 months preceding July 1853, when the California Indian office was just being set up, and I have not yet located them. I suspect that more dealing with Andrew will be recorded therein.

17. During a visit to California in November 1999, I attempted to see the Probate Records for Andrew Sublette, cited in Nunis, 1960, pp. 112, as File No. 43 1/4 in the Los Angeles County Clerk’s Office. I found that the records dating from 1850 to 1879 had been moved from the County Clerk’s office to the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. An inquiry there revealed that the Sublette probate file had not been among the files moved, and there was no record of its whereabouts.

18. It is a peculiarity of the barrel mark used during the years that the Hawken brothers worked together that no period followed the “J”, although there was one after the “S.”

19. The underside of the barrel was examined in 1999, and what may be a name is present on the right flat just ahead of the snail. It looks like “S?IML,” but corrosion from cap residue has eaten it up pretty badly, and a partial coating of foggy varnish does not help. It may be more discernable after a good cleaning. Barrels made by others were used in the Hawken shop, and it is not unusual to find the marks of other barrel makers on the hidden flats of the barrel.

20. Let me tell you, that was a thrilling experience!

21. This quick release feature was fully functional and was used with ease during the 1999 examination.

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