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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NPS Approved – April 3, 2013

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items

_____ New Submission X Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail (Revised)

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

I. The Santa Fe Trail
- A. International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846
- B. The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848
- C. Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1861
- D. The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865
- E. The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880
- F. Commemoration and Reuse of the Santa Fe Trail, 1880-1987

II. Individual States and the Santa Fe Trail
- A. The Santa Fe Trail in Missouri
- B. The Santa Fe Trail in Kansas
- C. The Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma
- D. The Santa Fe Trail in Colorado
- E. The Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.
(_____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

SEE FILE
Signature and title of certifying official | Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail (Revised) | Kansas
Name of Multiple Property Listing | State

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

From 1821 until 1880 the Santa Fe Trail figured prominently in the history of the West. The name "Santa Fe Trail" first appeared in print in 1825, being mentioned in the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*.[1] Prior to and after this date, the road was known by a variety of names on maps, in the contemporary press, and in later books and articles. These names included the "Mexican Road," "Mexican Trail," "Spanish Trace," "Santa Fe Trace," "Santa Fe Road," "Road to Santa Fe," "Road to Independence," "Missouri Wagon Road," "Road from Santa Fe, N.M to Kansas City, Mo," and "Road from Santa Fe, N.M. to Independence, Mo."[2] Whatever its name, the route of this trail between the Missouri River and the Rio Grande was a highway for travel and communication between these two areas of North America. It was the first great Euro-American land trade route. From 1825 to 1827, it was the first major road network to be surveyed west of Missouri, and as such, it was a template for future road development. The Santa Fe Trail differed from the Oregon, California, Mormon, and other trails which served as highways for emigrants bound for new homes in the far West. The bulk of traffic along the Santa Fe Trail, especially prior to 1848, consisted of civilian traders – Hispanic and American – with some military traffic and few emigrants.

Soon after Mexican Independence in 1821, the Santa Fe Trail evolved into an international trade route linking the United States with Santa Fe in northern Mexico. Enhancing its international aspect, the Santa Fe Trail connected the eastern US – via the Boonslick Road in Missouri – with the pre-existing El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (the "King's Road" or "Royal Road to the Interior"), which linked Santa Fe with central Mexico. Much emphasis is placed on the importance of the Euro-American traders to the Santa Fe Trail, but historian Ross Frank notes in his book *From Settler to Citizen* that "the late colonial [1750-1820] economic development of the province may well have provided a compelling reason for the attraction of New Mexico to American merchants as the major point of overland trade connecting Mexico and the United States after 1821."[3] The importance of Mexican markets and merchants in the economic system that helped create and sustain the trade cannot be overlooked. The Santa Fe Trail was an important link in a large and complex commercial network that connected two continents – Europe and North America – and several countries, including the United States, Mexico, England, and France. Traders in Missouri were tied to merchants, manufacturers, and wholesalers in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New York City, Baltimore, and other eastern cities, who in turn were connected to merchants in Europe, especially London and Liverpool. Likewise, traders from Santa Fe were linked to Chihuahua, Durango, and other communities to the south along El Camino Real, as well as California to the west. Some of the imports arriving in Santa Fe continued south into central Mexico where many of the goods that were shipped northeast out of Santa Fe originated.

In 1848, following US victory in the Mexican-American War, the United States' Territory of New Mexico was created. The focus of the trail at this time began to shift to domestic trade and communication across the expanding country. In addition, large quantities of military freight were shipped along the route to new southwestern forts. Trade remained international in the sense that in addition to products made in the eastern US, many of the goods that traveled to the Southwest had been imported into the eastern US from European trading partners. Further, some of the goods arriving in Santa Fe continued south into Mexico, and Mexican goods continued to be shipped northeastward out of Santa Fe.[4] Until the completion of a connecting railroad in

[1] "Council Trove-Documents: Use of Word 'Trail'," *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991): 25-26.
[2] Mark L. Gardner, "Introduction," *Journal of the West* 28, no. 2 (April 1989): 3
[3] Ross Frank, *From Settler to Citizen: New Mexican Economic Development and the Creation of Vecino Society, 1750-1820* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press, 2000), 226.
[4] Susan C. Boyle, *Comerciantes, Arrieros, y Peones: The Hispanos and the Santa Fe Trade* (Professional Papers No. 54. National Park Service, Division of History, Southwest Region, 1994), xiii; William G. Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail

1880, the Santa Fe Trail remained the major commercial route linking the eastern US with the American Southwest.

Throughout the course of the trade, American and Hispanic goods were sold at many different locations throughout Central and North America. For westward travelers, most products ended up in Santa Fe, while some goods traveled to Bent's (Old) Fort or Taos. Other traders sought alternate destinations for their goods south of Santa Fe, with many continuing south on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to Chihuahua (500 miles south of Santa Fe), Durango, Zacatecas, San Juan de Los Lagos, or Mexico City.[5] After the Mexican-American War, the southwestern endpoints of the trail also included forts Marcy and Union in New Mexico and developing towns in southeastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico. By the 1830s, Mexican merchants began traveling eastward to sell products in New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, further emphasizing their substantial part in the widespread commercial network.

The importance of the Santa Fe Trail goes beyond that of trade. It significantly aided in the development of a quarter of the newly enlarged United States territory and altered the demographics of the region. The presence of the trail across the frontier region between Missouri and Santa Fe served to stimulate Euro-American settlement in the region it traversed, significantly altering the established demographic makeup of the region. Temporary camps, stage stations, trading ranches, and military posts that were established along the trail to serve the needs of the trade grew into or gave way to towns and cities as settlers followed traders onto the route. The influx of settlers and the wealth of the trade itself changed American citizens' perception of the area from worthless desert to fertile plains; although, in truth American Indian groups and Hispanics were established in this region centuries before the trail opened.

The Santa Fe Trail impacted the cultures and economies of three groups: the Euro-Americans; the Mexicans and Hispanic-Americans, who played active roles in the trade; and the American Indians through whose lands the trail crossed.[6] Euro-American, American Indian, and Hispanic cultures came into contact with one another along the Santa Fe Trail, thus contributing to a mosaic of varying social and cultural aspects of the route. Many notable individuals had a connection with the Santa Fe Trail. Among the Americans were: William Becknell, Charles and William Bent, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Christopher "Kit" Carson, Josiah Gregg, Stephen Watts Kearny, Susan Shelby Magoffin, William Mathewson, Marion Sloan Russell, George Champlin Sibley, and Jedediah Smith. Among the many Hispanics associated with the trail were: Manuel Alvarez, Antonio Jose Chávez, Felipe Chávez**,** Manuel Antonio Chávez, Ramon Garcia, and Miguel Otero, Sr. and Jr.[7]

Many American Indians were also intimately – and unwillingly – tied to the trail, including: Black Kettle (Southern Cheyenne), Bull Bear (Southern Cheyenne), Chief Chacón (Jicarilla Apache), Pawnee Killer (Oglala

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System." *Journal of the West* 28, no. 2 (April 1989): 84**;** Hal Jackson, *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), xvii, 83**;** Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Trade, 1958), 64-65.

[5] Gardner, "Introduction," 3.

[6] Leo E. Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 3-24; Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Dodge: Sentry on the Western Plains* Kansas Forts Series 5 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998), 1-2; David K. Strate, *Sentinel to the Cimarron: The Frontier Experience of Fort Dodge, Kansas* (Dodge City: Cultural Heritage and Arts Center, 1970), 9-10.

[7] Boyle, *Comerciantes*, 89, 109, 143; Marc Simmons, *The Little Lion of the Southwest: The Life of Manuel Antonio Chávez* (Chicago: Sage Books, 1973) 1, 5, 64-65, 88, 89, 96, 127; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road,* 60, 62, 66-68, 72, 128-129, 131, 161-162.

Sioux), Roman Nose (Northern Cheyenne), Satanta (Kiowa), Tall Bull (Northern Cheyenne), and White Horse (Northern Cheyenne).[8] The trail crossed through lands occupied by the Osage, Kaw, Pawnee, Kiowa, Jicarilla Apache, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Puebloan peoples.[9] The role usually attributed to American Indian peoples along the Santa Fe Trail has been primarily that of disruption of trail traffic rather than participation in trail trade and travel; however, some Indians served along the trail as military scouts or teamsters. Especially during the early years of the trail, places like Bent's (Old) Fort served as a collector and distributor of American Indian trade goods, as well as a purchase point for these peoples. Clearly, the trail drew American Indians into contact with other cultures. As traffic increased among the Plains, the established inhabitants sought to defend their territories and lifestyles from westward American colonization, frequently resulting in conflict. As the Santa Fe trade continued, the possibility of acquiring goods from caravans traveling over the trail, either through trade or stealing, and the payment of annuities to American Indians at points along the trail, made contact between Santa Fe travelers and American Indians inescapable. Contact only increased after eastern tribes were forced to move onto reservations in eastern Kansas and Oklahoma in the mid-1800s, some of whom moved directly on the route of the Santa Fe Trail, including during the Long Walk of the Navajo (1863-1866).

The dangers that the Santa Fe Trail posed were varied and numerous. While interactions between the differing cultural groups associated with the trail were sometimes peaceful, clashes between them provoked more fighting along the Santa Fe Trail than occurred on other western trails. During the nearly six decades that the trail was used for trade, violence erupted numerous times, with traders, travelers, and Indians sometimes killed in confrontations, attacks, and skirmishes. While many of these incidents involved various Indian groups attempting to stop travel across and encroachment on their lands, others involved American, Hispanic, or American Indian marauders intent on stealing the traders' valuable goods and livestock.[10] The impetus for stealing these goods was as varied as the cultural groups. While acquisitiveness was a major instigator, other reasons were more subversive. For example, the Comanche – a dominant power in the region before and during the trade – systematically raided "horses, mules, and captives, draining wide sectors of those productive resources" in an oftentimes successful attempt to maintain their dominance.[11] Other dangers on the trail included: high temperatures, prairie fires, icy blizzards, buffalo stampedes, polluted water, lack of water, blowing dust and sand, mosquitoes, rattlesnakes, dysentery, cholera, fever, contusions, exhaustion, flies, gnats, bushwhackers, guerrillas, Jayhawkers, and ordinary highwaymen.[12]

Conflict along the trail led to increasing American Indian distrust of Euro-Americans and to more negative attitudes toward American Indians by Euro-Americans. As a result of increased periods of conflict, the United States developed new types of military units such as the US Dragoons and established satellite

[8] Though terminology preferences differ between tribes, nations, and scholars, the Kansas State Historical Society and the National Park Service use "American Indian" instead of "Native American" in accordance with the US Department of Education's policy on the term.

[9] Oliva, *Soldiers,* 16; Oliva, *Fort Dodge,* 1 (source just mentions "Plains Indians"). Throughout the text, the pluralized forms of American Indian names are based on names provided in Jennie Chinn, *The Kansas Journey* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2005). Tribe name forms do not change between singular and plural. The use of the term "Puebloan peoples" instead of more specific terminology is meant to take in the multiple Pueblos in the affected area.

[10] Boyle, *Comerciantes*, 32; Simmons, *The Little Lion,* 111; Strate, *Sentinel*, 10.

[11] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008), 5. In particular, Hämäläinen notes this behavior toward New Mexican and Spanish Texas residents that turned these residents into imperial possessions. He argues that the perception that these groups "remained unconquered by Comanches is not a historical fact; it is a matter of perspective."

[12] Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union," *Journal of the West* 28, no. 2 (April 1989): 54; Rowe Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," *National Geographic* (March 1991): 102.

frontier forts.[13] The extent of the conflict and the military significance of the trail is further emphasized by the Santa Fe Trail's contribution to the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine, which led to the Mexican-American War, to the expansion of the Union in the 1840s, to the development of a mail system that provided for government communication with civil and military officers, and to the separation and reintegration of the Union in the 1860s.[14]

The popular perception of the Santa Fe Trail is that of a single route with only two branches (the Cimarron and Mountain routes) joining Franklin, Missouri, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. This image is misleading and is in large part the consequence of early twentieth century mapping and marking of these two branches of the trail.[15] While the Cimarron and Mountain routes were the most heavily used, the Santa Fe Trail was a major transportation system comprised of various routes to and from Santa Fe and points in between.[16] The utilization of specific paths depended on starting points, weather conditions, terrain, the chosen destination, the prevalence of water, and the state of man-made hazards.[17] For example, the Wet and Dry routes through Pawnee, Hodgeman, Edwards, and Ford counties in Kansas were called such based on the amount of water encountered along this stretch of the trail; they were smaller branches of the main trail routes. At the eastern end, the trail had branches heading to different locations, such as Westport (now part of modern-day Kansas City), Independence, and various routes to Fort Leavenworth.[18] There were a number of variations along the Cimarron Route depending upon which crossing of the Arkansas River was used. Several other major historic branches of the Santa Fe Trail resulted from locations of military posts and temporary endpoints along the railroads building westward. These secondary routes included the Aubry Cutoff and the many other military roads, including: those in Colorado starting at Forts Reynolds, Fillmore, and Garland to Taos; from (New) Fort Lyon through Raton Pass to Fort Union; and from Fort Wise (Old Fort Lyon) and Granada through Trinchera Pass to Fort Union (Figure 1).[19] Several military roads from Kansas forts connected with other posts on the trail, including: Fort Wallace, Kansas to Fort Lyon, Colorado; Fort Hays to Fort Dodge; Forts Riley and Harker to Fort Zarah; and several routes from Fort Leavenworth to the trail.[20]

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[13] The term "Dragoon" refers to a mounted soldier trained to fight either on horseback or on foot. The application of the term to such soldiers lies in the belief that their muskets were said to spit fire like a dragon. There were no mounted troops in the US Army when the Santa Fe Trail opened in 1821. Because of Major Bennet Riley's experience with infantry troops on the trail in 1829, efforts were made to create a mounted branch of the service. In 1832 the Mounted Rangers were created, followed in 1833 by the Dragoons (a new regiment with no antecedent). Later the Second Dragoons were added, making the original regiment the First Dragoons. See Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903, Vol. I* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903).

[14] In the case of the United States, the Manifest Destiny doctrine implied divine sanction for territorial expansion by this young and emerging nation. The original use of the term appeared in an anonymous article in the July-August, 1845 issue of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* referring to the annexation of Texas by the United States earlier that year. Since that time the term has been used by advocates of other annexations including the Mexican territory after the Mexican-American War and Oregon Country after a dispute with Britain.

[15] Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," 79.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," 79; Otis E. Young, "Military Protection of the Santa Fe Trail and Trade," *Missouri Historical Review* 49, no. 1 (October 1954): 20.

[18] Westport was annexed by Kansas City in 1897. The name of present-day Kansas City has changed three times since it was settled. The names have included: Town of Kansas (1850-1853); City of Kansas (1853-1889); and Kansas City (1889-Present). For clarity, the term "Kansas City" is used in the text to refer to all of its iterations.

[19] Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," 80-82, 84-85.

[20] Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 20; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1990), 15.

Because of the interconnectedness of these secondary routes with the main branches of the trail, they should also be considered part of the Santa Fe Trail network.

The 1200-mile Santa Fe Trail system, including both the Cimarron and Mountain routes, traverses 36 counties in five states: four in Missouri, 22 in Kansas, one in Oklahoma, four in Colorado, and five in New Mexico. In general, the two major branches of the trail ran together from the eastern terminus to the Arkansas River in the vicinity of modern Dodge City and Ingalls, Kansas, where those traveling the Cimarron Route crossed the river at one of several locations then continued southwestward. Those travelers following the Mountain Route continued along the Arkansas River to Bent's (Old) Fort, then crossed the river and headed to the southwest, crossing Raton Pass into New Mexico. These two branches rejoined near Fort Union, at present day Watrous (formerly La Junta), New Mexico, and continued past Pecos, through Glorieta Pass, and into Santa Fe. The main plaza in Santa Fe was the destination of many of the freight wagons along the trail.

The eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail moved westward with the expansion of settlement in Missouri and Kansas. The original eastern terminus of the trail from 1821 to 1828 was Franklin, Missouri, founded in 1817 on the north bank of the Missouri River in Howard County. Materials for and participants in the Santa Fe trade came from the local area and from locations farther east, brought to Franklin on the river or along routes such as the Boonslick (Boone's Lick) Trail from St. Charles, Missouri, to Boone's Lick, Missouri. From Franklin the traders would proceed by ferry across the Missouri River to Arrow Rock, a natural bluff on the west bank of the river.[21] The town of Franklin, platted on the river's edge without accounting for the floodplain, was abandoned in 1828 after being severely damaged by a series of floods.[22] As a result, the town of New Franklin was built two miles northeast of Franklin, but by this time, the eastern terminus had shifted west. Steamboat navigation allowed freight to be transported to Blue Mills Landing, Missouri, or Independence Landing, Missouri, and from there, south to the town of Independence, Missouri.[23] With the establishment of Fort Leavenworth in May 1827, military freight was also transported by river to this post. Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri, was laid out in 1827 and became the chief outfitting point for the Santa Fe trade by 1830.[24] By 1835, steamboat navigation had reduced the length of the trail by another ten miles with freight transported to Westport Landing, Missouri and then south to the village of Westport, Missouri.[25] Rivalry for the business of the trade continued throughout the 1830s and 1840s between Independence, Westport, and the Town of Kansas (modern Kansas City). From 1862 to 1865 Leavenworth was considered the only viable terminus because of the disruptive effects on Kansas City due to border-related troubles during the Civil War. The year 1866 saw Kansas City briefly assume the status of principal trade terminus.[26] However, as the Kansas Pacific (KP, also known as the Union Pacific Eastern Division and Union Pacific - Kansas Division) and Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe (AT&SF) railroads built west across Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, the eastern end of the trail moved west with the rails. Trail end towns became transshipment points with freight off-loaded from trains and loaded onto wagons to continue to their destinations. Among the rail end towns serving as termini of the trail were: Junction City (KP, November 1866), Fort Harker (KP, June 1867), Hays City (KP, October 1867), Sheridan (KP, June 1868), Kit Carson (March

[21] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 90; Jack D. Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 14. The Arrow Rock bluff gave its name to the town of Arrow Rock founded 1829.

[22] Joan Myers and Marc Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 18-19.

[23] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 14; Young, "Military Protection," 20.

[24] Howard R. Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 1084.

[25] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 14; Young, "Military Protection," 20.

[26] US Department of the Treasury, Fifty-first Congress, first session. William F. Switzler. Bureau of Statistics. *Report on Internal Commerce of the United States*. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 565.

1870), Granada (June 1873), Las Animas (December 1873), La Junta, Colorado (December 1875), Trinidad (September 1878), and Las Vegas, New Mexico (July 1879). The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe reached Santa Fe, New Mexico in February 1880.

The Santa Fe Trail served as route of communication and travel between distant communities. After the Mexican-American War, mail routes and stage lines joined freighting companies on the trail. The route also gave way to the railroad in its expansion westward and aided in the settlement of western lands. Portions of the trail became integrated into the network of roads and highways that developed as the territories through which it passed grew into states, and stops along the trail became towns and cities. The material culture that emerged along the trail, while contributing to regional cultures, is unique when viewed in light of the conditions and processes that produced it. The Santa Fe Trail inspired many forms of commemoration, through poems, novels, reminiscences, trail markers and monuments, scholarly investigations, creation of the Santa Fe Trail Association, and recognition of the route as a national historic trail.

Exploration and Illegal Trade, Pre-1821

To appreciate the historic and cultural significance of the Santa Fe Trail, consideration of early explorations and illegal trade between the United States and Spanish-occupied Mexico prior to 1821 provides useful background. However, this period of illegal trade is not designated as a separate historic context for three reasons. First of all, specific details on trade between the two countries prior to 1821 are limited due to the illegal nature of the enterprise and its historic time frame. Secondly, while archeological evidence indicates that American Indians had trails in this region, no standardized trail was in use by European or American travelers between the Missouri River and Santa Fe before 1821 for the purposes of trade or any other activity. Finally, the historic resources contained within this document are the result of activities established and conducted during and after 1821 with the establishment of legal trade.

Trade was an integral part of the lives many American Indian tribes well before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. There is a significant body of evidence indicating that since prehistoric times, communication, travel, and trade had connected the American Plains with both the Southwest and prairies to the east.[27] Southwestern aboriginal ceramics have been recovered from sites on the Plains, while prehistoric cultural material from Plains cultures has been recovered from southwestern contexts (e.g., Pecos). Puebloan architectural influence is visible on at least one Plains site, namely El Cuartelejo in Scott County in western Kansas. Ethnohistoric and early historic accounts refer to contact and trade between southwestern horticulturalists and Plains hunters, including the exchange of corn for bison meat. Plains groups also traded with cultures to the east, such as Mississippian peoples in the St. Louis vicinity, and lithic materials from Missouri are frequently recovered in archeological sites in Kansas.[28]

Trade fairs, hosted in Pecos, San Juan, and Taos, were common in the late seventeenth and into much of the eighteenth centuries.[29] Large numbers of Pueblo and Plains Indians, including Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, and Ute, gathered at these annual fairs to exchange lithic materials, food stuffs, Native products, horses,

[27] Mary Collins Barile, *The Santa Fe Trail in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 2010), 1-4; William Brandon, *Quivira: Europeans in the Region of the Santa Fe Trail, 1540-1820, (*Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990), 145; Robert J. Hoard and William E. Banks, eds. *Kansas Archaeology* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 139.

[28] Hoard and Banks, *Kansas Archeology*, 144-145.

[29] Jere Krakow, "Hispanic Influence on the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks* 6, no. 2 (February 1992): 16; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 25.

slaves, and captured Spanish goods.[30] These trade fairs were hosted in the summer months and witnessed the gathering – under temporary truces – of Indian tribes that often were in conflict with each other.[31] These fairs also brought Spanish residents of New Mexico to trade with the American Indians.[32] The Spanish, and eventually other European traders, introduced new items (e.g., plants, animals, food, and manufactured goods) that "effected extraordinary changes among plains peoples."[33] These changes were welcomed by the American Indians as the new items made traditional tasks more easily accomplished. "A metal scraper allowed a woman to process an animal hide more quickly. Muslin or bed ticking made a durable and lightweight inner lining for a traditional tipi. An iron vessel, unlike the ceramic ones used for centuries, was virtually indestructible, and so it eased the ancient jobs of cooking and potmaking."[34] Further, the introduction of horses significantly altered the way the Comanche empire extended its reach by allowing more effective and efficient means of hunting, transporting, and warfaring.[35] By the end of the eighteenth century, the trade fairs were less important to the American Indian economy due to large amounts of goods given by the Spanish to the Comanche and allied nations.[36]

The approach to trade was fundamentally different to American Indian nations and to the Spanish. For American Indians, trade was more than a way to gather wealth; it firstly created and solidified attachments between the trading parties that were meant to protect their respective tribal members from any and all harm; trade made all parties kin. In contrast, the Spanish (and later Euro-Americans) were influenced by the desire to acquire wealth and thus separated personal relationships with the trading partner from the economic benefits of the trade agreement.[37] This fundamental ideological contrast between the American Indians and the traders later led to real conflict between the two groups during the course of the Santa Fe trade.

By about 1700, most of the Indian tribes that would become familiar to travelers on the Santa Fe Trail were becoming established in the locations where American explorers would find them. During the century leading up to 1800, what would become the Mountain Route of the trail was a route used by fugitive Puebloan people to escape from oppressive Spanish rule.[38] Near the east end of the trail, Missouri and Osage tribes were in what became the State of Missouri. Kansa and Pawnee tribes were just to their west in modern northern Kansas. Wichita were located in southern Kansas into northern Oklahoma, and the Kiowa and Comanche lands were in the short grass plains in the general vicinity where the states of Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico come together. Cheyenne and Arapaho were located on the west edge of the High Plains in western Kansas and western Oklahoma. Plains Apache were in what is now northeastern New

[30] Krakow, "Hispanic Influence," 16; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 24-25. The acquisition and exchange of human goods was prevalent throughout the Southwest and included both Spanish and American Indian proponents and victims. See James F. Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

[31] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 25.

[32] Krakow, "Hispanic Influence," 16.

[33] Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 47.

[34] Ibid., 48. Cheyenne called the Europeans the *veho*; Arapaho called them *niatha*, both terms meaning spider and connoting cleverness and skillfulness.

[35] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 25.

[36] Frank, *From Settler to Citizen*, 123.

[37] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 40-41.

[38] Brandon, *Quivira*, 145.

Mexico. North of Santa Fe in the Rockies, the Ute lived on the northern frontier of the Pueblos near the westernmost extent of the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail.[39]

Before 1821, many people had followed the route to Santa Fe, or portions of it, from the American Indian inhabitants of the region to the many Spanish, French, and American explorers. Early Spanish explorers in the New Mexico Pueblo area recorded tales of the riches of Cibola and Quivira and encountered Natives of these places residing in the pueblos. Spanish explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado organized an expedition to the Plains in 1541 with Fray Juan de Padilla. Pedro Castañeda's journals that he kept during the expedition indicate that they initially traversed a route to the Plains that went far south of the future Santa Fe Trail into the Texas panhandle before turning northward.[40] They reached the Arkansas River near modern Ford, Kansas. Once across the river, the expedition generally followed the river northeast, as did the later Santa Fe Trail, to the vicinity of modern Great Bend, Kansas. The Spaniards reached their goal of Quivira at some villages in the vicinity of modern Lyons, Kansas inhabited by ancestors of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes. On the return from Quivira in 1542, their route closely resembled the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail from central Kansas to Santa Fe.[41] Spanish residents of New Spain did not officially establish La Villa Real de Santa Fe (The Royal Town of the Holy Faith) until 1609 or early 1610.[42]

While the rocky, mountainous terrain encountered on the Mountain Route hindered access to Santa Fe from the north, several routes across the mountains existed. Among these routes were Raton Pass, San Francisco Pass, Manco Burro Pass, Trinchera Pass, and Emery Gap, with recorded use of these routes dating back to the early eighteenth century.[43] During the summer months of 1706, Spanish Sergeant-Major Juan de Ulibarri followed a route similar to the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail through Raton Pass to El Cuartelejo in western Kansas.[44] Ulibarri sought to return a group from Picuris Pueblo who had fled to El Cuartelejo following the Pueblo revolt of 1680.[45] The Comanche discovered a better route across the mountains from west to east in the 1720s.[46] Between the 1730s and 1763, reports exist of French traders from the Mississippi Valley supplying Comanche with arms and perhaps journeying as far as Taos.[47] During the last half of the eighteenth century, Spaniards seemed to use the Sangre de Cristo route into the Arkansas Valley to the exclusion of all others.[48]

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[39] Brandon, *Quivira*, 125-127

[40] Pedro de Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, trans. and ed. George Parker Winship (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), vii-viii.

[41] Brandon, *Quivira,* 28; Thomas E. Chávez, *Quest for Quivira: Spanish Explorers on the Great Plains, 1540-1821* (Tucson, AZ: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1992), 5-8, 54; Charles W. Hurd, "Origin and Development of the Santa Fe Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine* 15, no. 10 (September 1921): 17; L.L. Waters, *Steel Rails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1950), 14.

[42] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 3; William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans Vol. I* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1918-1919), 85.

[43] Janet Lecompte, "The Mountain Branch: Raton Pass and Sangre de Cristo Pass," *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987): 56-57.

[44] Brandon, *Quivira*, 146, 148.

[45] West, *The Contested* Plains, 44. According to West, during this time, El Cuartelejo was occupied by Apache, who allowed Puebloan refugees to live among them as part slave - part instructor. As a result of the cohabitation, the Apache began shifting away from a reliance on a nomadic lifestyle to a lifestyle centered on crop-raising learned from the Picuris Pueblo.

[46] Lecompte, "Mountain," 57.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Lecompte, "Mountain," 58

Pedro de Villasur, with an expedition of about 45 officers and soldiers, 60 Indian allies, a French interpreter, and one priest, left Santa Fe on June 16, 1720 under orders to investigate reports that the French, with whom the Spanish had been at war since 1718, were living among the Pawnee on the Platte River in Nebraska and intruding into Spain's territory.[49] The expedition traveled from Santa Fe to Taos, then north and east as far as Nebraska. En route, the expedition stopped at El Cuartelejo where a group of Apache joined them to act as guides.[50] Villasur's route through Colorado and New Mexico may have followed one similar to the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. Pawnee warriors attacked Villasur's expedition, killing all but a dozen of the Spaniards. The Spanish blamed the attack on French influence over the Pawnee.[51] Although the Spanish continued to be wary of incursions by the French into their territory, some trade with Santa Fe may have occurred during the 1700s by the French on the Mississippi River through Indian intermediaries.[52]

A number of French explorers and traders, including Jean-Baptiste Bénard LaHarpe (1719) and Étienne de Véniard de Bourgmont (1724), attempted to open trade with Plains tribes and in Santa Fe with varying results.[53] After leaving France, with his eyes set on the Santa Fe trade, LaHarpe was employed as a concessionaire in the Province of Louisiana before putting together his own expedition.[54] Bourgmont traded with the Missouri, Kansa, and other tribes along the Missouri and Kansas rivers in the area that nearly a century later served as the starting points of the Santa Fe Trail. It appears that Bourgmont may have traveled as far as the vicinity of Council Grove or Lyons also on the later trail.[55]

Some accounts exist of illegal trade between New Spain and the United States prior to Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821. While inhabitants of New Mexico welcomed occasional traders, Spanish officials adhered to a "closed door" policy because they feared the effects of trading with those outside of Spanish authority.[56] However, contraband was allowed and border guards were bribable.[57] Once inside the border, goods were often confiscated and sold by the Spanish, and the illegal traders were arrested.[58] By the end of the eighteenth century, this practice was commonplace.[59] According to Juan Páez Hurtado, the alcalde of Santa Fe, brothers Paul and Pierre Mallet with seven French Canadians arrived in Taos in July 1739 "with the intention of opening commerce with the Spaniards of the Realm."[60] They subsequently experienced "a few months of friendly captivity."[61] Nine months later they were allowed to leave.[62] Their exact routes across the

[49] Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West 1540-1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 17. Which Indian tribes were among the "Indian allies" is not known.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 97-98; Brandon, *Quivira,* 170; Chávez, *Quest*, 34-36.
[52] Brandon, *Quivira,* 106-107.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 208-209. France's name for the area encompassing the Louisiana Purchase land was the Province of Louisiana.
[55] Ibid., 217-220
[56] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 5.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Isaac J. Cox, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," *Missouri Historical Review* Vol. 25 (October 1930-July 1931): 30-31; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 5-6.
[60] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 5; Brandon, *Quivira,* 202.
[61] David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 33.
[62] Brandon, *Quivira,* 202.

Plains to and from Santa Fe are unclear, but they may have followed portions of the later Santa Fe Trail.[63] In 1803 the United States secured the Louisiana Territory, though not until 1819 were the boundaries of the territory settled.[64] After 1803 trappers and traders visited Santa Fe and its environs, but legal trade between Mexico and the United States did not begin until Mexico achieved its independence in 1821.

The interest and risk demonstrated by many of these traders must have ignited Spanish curiosity because in 1792, Pedro Vial was instructed by New Mexico Governor Fernando de la Concha to seek a route from Santa Fe to St. Louis, Missouri, which he did.[65] Vial, a French frontiersman who had become a Spanish citizen and had experience living among Indian tribes, made a number of trips across the Plains. With just a few companions and pack animals, he undertook several explorations through the Spanish-American frontier. During the 1780s he pioneered routes between Santa Fe and both San Antonio, Texas and a post at Natchitoches, Louisiana. In 1792 Governor Concha sent Vial from Santa Fe to "open direct communication with our [Spanish] Establishments of the Ilinueses [Illinois Indians] situated on the banks of the Misuri [Missouri] River" in the vicinity of St. Louis in the Province of Louisiana.[66] On this trip Vial and his companions were briefly held captive in western Kansas by Indians, probably either Kansa or Apache, but they were released on the Republican River in north-central Kansas. There Vial's party met some other travelers and continued their journey to St. Louis with them down the Republican and Missouri rivers.[67] A portion of Vial's route to and from Santa Fe approximated what later became the part of the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail from Hamilton County to the vicinity of Great Bend, Kansas (Figure 2).[68]

The practice of illegal trade continued into the early years of the nineteenth century prior to Mexican independence. William Morrison, a Kaskaskia trader, sent his agent, Jean-Baptiste La Lande, overland to New Spain with a supply of trade goods in 1804.[69] Once there, La Lande severed his connections with Morrison and used the goods to go into business for himself. After he sold the goods, Spanish authorities did not allow him to leave New Mexico. He was not the only trader who was not permitted to leave the country. James Purcell (also known as "Pursley") had been on a hunting-and-trapping expedition in 1802 when he was attacked by Indians and forced to retreat to Santa Fe, then not allowed to leave.[70]

Following The United States' acquisition of Louisiana Territory, the American military conducted and participated in numerous exploratory, mapping, and scientific expeditions in the West. One of these journeys began during the summer of 1806, when Captain Zebulon M. Pike set off on an expedition to investigate the disputed southern boundaries of this territory for the US government and report on the characteristics of the

[63] See Donald J. Blakeslee, *Along Ancient Trails: The Mallet Expedition of 1739* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995) for further information on the Mallet expedition.

[64] The Louisiana Purchase involved the purchase of 827,987 square miles (2,144,476 square kilometers) of land by the United States from France for about $15,000,000. The territory extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border. The treaty securing the purchase was signed on May 2, 1803 by James Monroe and Robert Livingston (US) and François de Barbe-Marbois (France). The United States assumed possession of the land on December 20, 1803, renaming it Louisiana Territory; however, the final boundaries were not settled until the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

[65] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 6.

[66] Brandon, *Quivira,* 238.

[67] Brandon, *Quivira,* 239; Chávez, *Quest*, 48.

[68] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 8.

[69] Cox, 32; Waters, 15; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 7.

[70] Connelley, *A Standard History,* 87; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 7; Weber, *Taos Trappers*, 37-38. What tribe of Indians was involved is not known.

Arkansas and Red rivers.[71] Accompanied by a party of 22 men, Pike spent two weeks among the Osage Indians in western Missouri and visited a Pawnee village in modern southern Nebraska before heading into what later became central Kansas. In late October the party divided into two forces near the Great Bend of the Arkansas River. Lieutenant James Wilkinson and a detachment began the return trip east, traveling down river in recently constructed canoes. Pike and 16 men continued up the river toward the mountains, travelling west along what later became part of the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail.[72] Having entered Spanish territory along the Rio Grande River, Pike and his party were eventually captured by Spanish troops.[73] Spaniards escorted Pike to Santa Fe where he saw other Americans who had been detained, including Jean Baptiste La Lande and James Purcell.[74] Pike was later taken south to Chihuahua.[75] He was impressed with what he saw and relayed what he had seen to others upon his return. Zebulon Pike published an account of his journey, *Journal of the Western Expedition*, in 1810. This publication created new interest in trading with Santa Fe, and new expeditions followed.

Several other would-be traders set out for Santa Fe in the early nineteenth century. Some would contend that the first truly successful Santa Fe trader was Jacques Clamorgan, a trader from St. Louis who, in 1807, departed St. Louis traveling overland to Santa Fe and on to Chihuahua.[76] Clamorgan was thought to be successful because of his life as a Spanish subject before he became a citizen of the United States.[77] His understanding of the Spanish culture and his strong grasp of Spanish language helped him in his 1807 endeavor.[78] Three years after Clamorgan's journey to Mexico, James McLanahan, Reuben Smith, and James Patterson unsuccessfully attempted trading in the region. The three men were arrested and imprisoned for several years in the Presidio of San Elizario, 17 miles downriver from present day El Paso, Texas.[79] In 1812 a group of ten Missouri frontiersmen, including James Baird of St. Louis, Robert McKnight, and Samuel Chambers, believing erroneously that the Mexican Declaration of Independence in 1810 under Hidalgo had removed the stringent Spanish trade restrictions, crossed the Plains in an attempt to trade with Santa Fe. The Spanish government, in compliance with its standing policy against allowing trade between its colonies and other nations, confiscated their goods. These American traders were imprisoned in Chihuahua; the last of these men, McKnight, was not released until 1821.[80] Between 1812 and 1815 while the United States was involved in war with England, Manuel Lisa, a Spanish-born Missouri River fur trader, wrote to the Spaniards offering to trade with them. He dispatched Charles Sanguinet toward Santa Fe with a load of merchandise with the intent to engage in trade; however, everything was destroyed in a confrontation with American Indians.[81] Auguste P. Chouteau, a member of the famous St. Louis fur trading family, and Jules de Mun conducted several trips to Taos over the Sangre de Cristo Mountains before being arrested in 1817.[82] Eventually they were allowed to return home to St. Louis. Jedediah Smith guided a pack train over what was to become the Santa Fe Trail to the Arkansas River in 1818. However, after a Spanish merchant with whom he was supposed to trade did not

[71] Lecompte, "Mountain," 58 (Lecompte argues for an 1807 date); Hurd, "Origin," 19; Waters, 15; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 7.
[72] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas,* 14.
[73] Robert L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (London, New York, & Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930), 43-44; Barry, *The Beginning,* 54-56.
[74] Connelley, *A Standard History,* 87.
[75] Hurd, "Origin," 19; Waters, 15.
[76] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8.
[77] Julie Winch, *The Clamorgans: One Family's History of Race in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2011), 73.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Lecompte, "Mountain," 58.
[80] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8-9; Waters, 16.
[81] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8.
[82] Rittenhouse, The Santa Fe Trail, 9

arrive, the unsuccessful trading party returned home.[83] In 1819, New Mexican Governor Melgares ordered a fort built on the eastern side of Sangre de Cristo Pass, northeast of Taos. The Governor read a report that stated the Sangre de Cristo Pass was vulnerable to attack, and because of its strategic location, a few men could defeat an entire army. The fort was attacked and destroyed six months after its completion by either American Indians or Americans posing as American Indians.[84]

Prior to the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail, New Spain's far northern frontier had developed a unique character. The physical environment played a key role in the establishment of settlement in that arid climate, and natural materials allowed residents to construct buildings of adobe. The Spanish government offered incentives to individuals willing to settle on these frontier lands.[85] Hispanics assimilated indigenous American Indians into these frontier societies, thus creating a "frontier of inclusion."[86] Historians and anthropologists have viewed New Spain's far northern frontier as more informal, democratic, self-reliant, and egalitarian than that of central portions of the viceroyalty.[87] However, far northern portions of New Spain developed a strong Hispanic urban tradition with restrictions on trade and travel.[88] Most of the populace of northern New Mexico was fully occupied merely trying to grow enough crops to survive and to raise sheep. Both sheep and wool were commodities that could be traded in markets to the south, but woven textiles were increasingly popular as trade items to the south.[89] Up until 1821, New Mexico received nearly all its other goods and supplies from the interior provinces.[90] However, distance, difficult terrain, and government restrictions isolated Santa Fe from markets farther south. In addition, merchants in Chihuahua controlled trade to the New Mexico frontier, and their practices and manipulation of markets and currency further oppressed settlers in the northern settlements. By 1803 goods imported from Chihuahua to New Mexico were valued at more than $100,000, but the province's exports were averaging much less than this figure. As a result, the merchants in Santa Fe were constantly in debt, and the general populace suffered a perpetual shortage of manufactured goods.[91]

Rather than establishing new roads between New Mexico and the United States, large segments of the Santa Fe Trail followed pre-existing paths created by earlier explorers and would-be traders. Though this preface to the history of the Santa Fe Trail is not considered a historic context of the trail itself, it does provide the impetus for and the foundation of this historic trade route.

I. International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846

Legal international trade between the United States and Mexico began in September 1821 with William Becknell's first trip from the Franklin area to Santa Fe. Mexican independence from Spain on August 24, 1821 changed the political climate in Santa Fe, and the newly installed Mexican government removed the restrictions against trade with the United States. In 1821, the northern boundary of Mexico ran along the line arbitrarily

[83] Ibid., 8.
[84] Lecompte, "Mountain," 59.
[85] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 278.
[86] Marvin Mikesell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50 (March 1960): 65.
[87] Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 278.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Frank, *From Settler to Citizen*, 125.
[90] Beck, *New Mexico*, 99-100, 110; Boyle, *Comerciantes,* 12; *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* (Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Ramfre Press, 1966), 172.
[91] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1084.

established as part of the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty; this line between Mexico and the US followed the right bank of the Sabine River, the Red River west to the 100th meridian, and the Arkansas River to the Continental Divide, then the 42nd Parallel west to the Pacific coast. Mexico included all of what is now California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, most of Colorado, and the southwestern corner of Kansas. To the north of Mexico in 1821 lay Oregon Country, unorganized territory, Arkansas Territory, and the United States (Figure 3).[92] The period between 1821 and 1846 witnessed increasing international trade activity along the Santa Fe Trail.

The Beginnings of Legal Trade

Several Americans sought the distinction of being the first to reach Santa Fe with the intention of trading legally. Although Jacob Fowler and Hugh Glenn were discovered trapping beaver streams north of Santa Fe in 1821, William Becknell is credited with the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail, and as the first successful American trader to reach Santa Fe in 1821, he received the title "Father of the Santa Fe Trail."[93] Becknell was born in Virginia circa 1787.[94] He first appeared in the Boon's Lick country of central Missouri in April 1812 when he joined the US Mounted Rangers.[95] By 1815, he had become involved in a series of business ventures including the salt trade and a ferry service across the Missouri River. In 1817, he established a residence in Franklin, Missouri.[96] The Panic of 1819 cost Becknell dearly. Unable to repay personal loans he had taken out, Becknell was arrested on May 29, 1821 but was released on a $400 bond.[97] By the summer of 1821, the 34-year-old frontiersman had accumulated a debt of $1185.42 owed to five creditors, and he faced the prospect of prison. [98] On June 25, 1821, prior to official news of the change in government in Mexico, Captain William Becknell placed an advertisement in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, looking for men to accompany him on his trading venture westward.[99] The stated purpose of the proposed expedition was the trading of horses and mules, presumably with the Indians, and the catching of wild animals. Members of the expedition were to provide their own equipment and an equal part of the capital for the trade. The men met and elected Becknell to lead their expedition. The August 14, 1821 edition of the *Missouri Intelligencer* reported that 17 men assembled at Ezekiel Williams' cabin and set September 1, 1821 for the party, led by William

[92] Carl Abbott, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1976), 35; Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 11; Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 4-5; John Morris, Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Third ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 19, 62.

[93] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 9. Duffus credits historian Hiram Martin Chittenden (1858-1917) with this epithet in *The Santa Fe Trail*, 67. Trader Samuel Adams Ruddock claimed to reach Santa Fe from Council Bluffs, Iowa on June 8, 1821. He was later discredited for being untruthful about his journey. A 1910 article in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* states that geographers checked his routes and found many problems with his story based on where he claimed to have traveled. Hubert Howe Bancroft and Irving Stone, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. XXVIII: History of the Northwest Coast, vol. II,1800-46* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1884), 446.

[94] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8; Larry M. Beachum, *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982), 1.

[95] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail*, 7.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., 8.

[98] Larry M. Beachum, "To the Westward: William Becknell and the Beginning of the Santa Fe Trade," *Journal of the West* 28, no. 2 (April 1989): 6; Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1989), 1.

[99] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 1; Beachum, "To the Westward," 7.

Becknell, to cross the Missouri River at the Arrow Rock ferry.[100] Still contested is whether Becknell anticipated the opening of the Mexican border to legal trade or whether he was the benefactor of circumstance, having originally intended to trade with American Indians. Becknell would have been aware of the Mexican declaration of independence in February 1821 and the Mexican revolt against the Spanish prior to his departure.[101] Not until September 27, 1821, however, did Mexico legally divorce Spain, yet the Becknell party crossed the Missouri River above Franklin and departed from the natural landmark known as Arrow Rock on September 1, 1821, as planned.[102]

The party crossed the Arkansas River in the vicinity of Walnut Creek then followed the south side of the river into Colorado where they followed the Purgatoire River and Chacuaco Creek southwest, entering New Mexico through Emery Gap.[103] Becknell and company, after an uneventful trip, met a troop of soldiers from Santa Fe on November 13. They traveled with the soldiers to San Miguel del Vado and into Santa Fe where Governor Facundo Melgares greeted them warmly.[104] Becknell's timing was advantageous – he and his trading party arrived in Santa Fe on November 16, 1821. Their trade goods, including calicoes and domestic printed cloth, sold at high prices in the isolated Mexican outpost. Having experienced the profits to be gained by this type of trading venture, Becknell was anxious to return to Franklin and to prepare an even larger volume of goods for his next trip to Santa Fe. To this end, he departed Santa Fe on December 13, 1821. The successful Becknell arrived in Franklin on January 30, 1822, after only 48 days' travel.[105] William Becknell was the first American trader into Mexican Santa Fe by only two weeks. Soon after Becknell, Thomas James, who viewed Santa Fe as a market for textiles, arrived on December 1. Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler, both trappers and American Indian traders from southeast Colorado, departed for Santa Fe on January 2, 1822.[106] Enormous profits were to be gained for the effort expended and the risk taken by traders participating in the Santa Fe trade.

Due to the opening of trade relations between the United States and Mexico and the extreme profits from Becknell's first successful trade expedition, other expeditions were organized almost immediately, and the Santa Fe trade was initiated. Becknell set off on his second trading mission with 21 men and three wagons, embarking from Franklin on May 22, 1822.[107] Another trading party, led by John Heath, left after Becknell but soon caught up with his entourage, so they traveled together to Santa Fe.[108] Some scholars contend that this expedition signaled the first transportation of goods to Mexico that was intended for civilian, not American Indian, trade.[109] This was the first American attempt to use wagons in crossing the plains since Becknell's first trip utilized only pack animals.[110] The use of wagons required the party to adopt a trail route that avoided the

[100] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail,* 1; Beachum, "To the Westward," 7. The town of Arrow Rock was not established until 1829. At the time of Becknell's expedition, Arrow Rock referred to a bluff overlooking the Missouri River and the location of a ferry.

[101] Beachum, "To the Westward," 7.

[102] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 1. Mexican Independence was declared in August but not formally recognized until September.

[103] David K. Clapsaddle, "'Cimarron Cutoff,' A 20th Century Misnomer," *Wagon Tracks* 23, no. 3 (May 2009): 25.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Beachum, *William Becknell, Father,* 31-35; William E. Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail: National Park Service 1963 Historic Sites Survey* (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988), 7-9; Clapsaddle, "'Cimarron Cutoff,'" 25; Connelley, *A Standard History,* 88; Beachum, "To the Westward," 9; Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 2.

[106] Oliva, *Soldiers,* 8.

[107] Beachum, *William Becknell, Father*, 34; Beachum, "To the Westward," 9; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8.

[108] Beachum, "To the Westward," 10.

[109] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 10; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8.

[110] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 89; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8.

mountains; this new route partially followed what became the Cimarron Route.[111] Although more strenuous due to the scarcity of water between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, the Cimarron Route was shorter and much less rugged than the later Mountain Route through Raton Pass. Wagons could easily traverse the new route, where scaling the Mountain Route proved treacherous.[112] On his 1822 journey, Becknell and party crossed the Arkansas River in Rice County, Kansas then followed the south side of the river for eight days before heading southwest into Spanish country. Employing the Cimarron Route also meant the crossing of *La Jornada* (Spanish term meaning "the journey"), a 60-mile waterless portion of the route where high temperatures usually prevailed. Josiah Gregg, author of the book *Commerce of the Prairies,* suggested that Becknell's second expedition was closest to failure on this portion of the Santa Fe Trail;[113] Gregg's father, Harmon, was a member of Becknell's expedition.[114] By late July 1822, Becknell was in San Miguel, New Mexico. After continuing on to Santa Fe, he returned to Franklin in October 1822. Becknell's second trading party brought $3000 worth of trade goods to Santa Fe, and the party enjoyed the rewards of a 2000 percent profit on their investment.[115] The demand for American and European goods was emphasized by the instance of Becknell and others selling even their wagons, worth $150, for $700.[116] The profits derived by Becknell from this trip went a long way toward pacifying his creditors back in Franklin.

Several other trading parties were assembled quickly with a view to trading with the Mexicans. Colonel Benjamin Cooper and 15 men left Franklin with a trading party in early May of 1822.[117] Like Becknell, Cooper took the Cimarron Route, encountering hard times when they reached *La Jornada*. The problem arose when the trading party expended its water supply. They were forced to kill their dogs and cut the ears of their mules in order to have hot blood to drink to survive under the extreme weather conditions.[118] On the verge of abandoning the expedition, they chanced upon and killed a buffalo. They utilized the stomach water from this animal to quench their thirst, and subsequently found water in the vicinity, as had the buffalo.[119] This trail incident was once believed to have happened to Becknell's party, but it is now believed to have actually happened to the Benjamin Cooper party in 1823.[120] Cooper's party was forced to return to Franklin after 28 horses strayed from their camp at night.[121] Even then, the handful of men that was sent out after the horses was robbed of their guns, clothes, and six of their horses by Osage Indians.[122] James Baird and Samuel Chambers, imprisoned ten years earlier for illegal trading, also led an expedition to Santa Fe in the autumn of

[111] According to Josiah Gregg's 1844 "Map of the Indian Territory Northern Texas and New Mexico Showing the Great Western Plains," the "First Wagon Route" left Cool Spring (in present-day Oklahoma) and headed further south of the Cimarron Route, crossing Arroyo de los Yutas and the Canadian River before arriving in San Jose, New Mexico where it rejoined the Cimarron Route into Santa Fe. Because of the detail in the map, a reproduction for this MPDF would not be beneficial. The map is viewable on the University of Tulsa's website: http://www.lib.utulsa.edu/speccoll/collections/maps/gregg/Gregg%20%20complete.jpg (accessed 29 February 2012).

[112] Beachum, *William Becknell, Father*, 35; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 71; and Connelley, *A Standard History*, 114.

[113] Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly & Sons Co., 1926), 8-9.

[114] Milo Milton Quaife, introduction to *The Commerce of the Prairies*, by Josiah Gregg (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1926), xv.

[115] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 2; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 10.

[116] Beachum, "To the Westward," 11.

[117] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 89.

[118] Gregg, *Commerce*, 8; Beachum, "To the Westward," 11.

[119] Gregg, *Commerce*, 9; Beachum, "To the Westward," 11.

[120] Kenneth L. Holmes, *Ewing Young: Master Trapper* (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1967), 14; Beachum, "To the Westward," 11. Josiah Gregg records this incident as happening to Becknell.

[121] Barry, *The Beginning*, 105.

[122] Barry, *The Beginning*, 105.

1822.[123] The Baird-Chambers trading expedition experienced a severe snowstorm, which forced them to spend the winter in camp near the Arkansas River.[124] When spring came, the traders had no means of transporting their goods since most of their draught animals had perished in the winter cold. The traders cached their commodities on the north bank of the Arkansas River and went to Taos where they purchased mules and returned for their merchandise.[125] The place where the traders hid their goods became known as "The Caches" and was an important mile-marker and campsite for future travelers.[126]

After 1821 the Santa Fe trade supplied much needed manufactured goods and also provided economic success for New Mexican merchants and for those who supplied goods traded to US markets. While much of the wealth from the trade augmented established *ricos*, others profited by supplying products and freighting along the trail.[127] As the wealthy class in New Mexico, *ricos* controlled the trade of their goods and benefited greatly from the amount of merchandise that American traders shipped into their markets. They also separated themselves from and maintained economic control over the "commoners" and poor.[128] Augustus Storrs, a native of New Hampshire and Franklin, Missouri postmaster who traveled to Santa Fe in 1824 as part of the first trade caravan, described the conditions prevailing in Santa Fe upon his arrival:

> Although necessity has limited their artificial wants, they have not, within themselves, all the necessaries and conveniences of life. Iron is difficult to be obtained, and sells at $100 per cwt., although the country abounds in ore. Wollen [sic] goods are scarce and dear, yet the Internal Provinces produce twice the quantity of wool necessary to clothe their inhabitants. All plates, dishes, bowls, water vessels, and every description of castings, are supplied by a substitute, manufactured from clay, by the civilized Indians. This ware is superior of its kind, and is the invention of the aborigines. They are almost entirely destitute of artizan's [sic] tools of every description, and their implements of agriculture, such as carts, ploughs, harrows, yokes, spades, &c. are universally destitute of the least advantage of iron-work. Their spinning is done by the sole use of a wooden spindle, operated by a twirl of the thumb and finger. These particulars are, in themselves, too trifling for enumeration, but, when considered in relation to the late administration of the government, and the condition of the people, and the practical consequences to be deduced by statesmen, they become more important. From them, also, may be inferred the variety and extent of supplies demanded by that market. It will be remembered that I speak of New Mexico only, to which my personal observation was limited. Report speaks more favorably of the condition of the other Internal Provinces.[129]

Santa Fe was established in 1610 in a narrow valley unoccupied by American Indians.[130] The city was irregularly laid out except for the public square, while the immediate environs of the city consisted of farms.

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[123] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 11.
[124] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 9.
[125] Ibid., 9-10.
[126] Ibid., 10.
[127] Beck, *New Mexico*, 112-113; Boyle, *Comerciantes*, ix.
[128] Boyle, *Comerciantes,* ix; Susan Shelby Magoffin, *Down The Santa Fe Trail and Into New Mexico*: *The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin*, *1846-1847*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), xxi. *Ricos* were the main financial beneficiaries in the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico.
[129] Augustus Storrs, *Answers of Augustus Storrs, of Missouri, to Certain Queries upon the Origin, Present State, and Future Prospect of Trade and Intercourse, Between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico, Propounded by the Hon. Mr. Benton*. 18th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Doc. No. 7 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1825), 10; Thomas H. Benton, Augustus Storrs, & H. Niles, "Trade Between Missouri & Mexico: Presented to the Senate, Jan. 3, by Mr. Benton," *Niles' Weekly Register* (January 15, 1825): 314-315.
[130] Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman & London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 182.

Farming on these arid lands was possible as a result of irrigation systems from the Santa Fe River.[131] The majority of the residents of Santa Fe were poor, but a very wealthy minority also resided there. The church was the center of cultural life in the town and the educational system was poorly developed.[132] By 1821, approximately 5000 people lived in Santa Fe.[133] For the next 25 years, this town grew into the major western terminus for international trade along the Santa Fe Trail.

As trade with Mexico became more popular, numerous caravans were organized each year. The first caravan to Santa Fe left Mount Vernon, Lafayette County, Missouri on May 25, 1824.[134] This particular caravan consisted of 81 men, 156 horses and mules, 23 four-wheeled carts, one piece of field artillery, and $35,000 worth of goods for trade; it was guided by Augustus LeGrand, a former resident of Santa Fe; Meredith M. Marmaduke, later governor of Missouri; Augustus Storrs, the Franklin postmaster; and William Becknell.[135] Having reached Santa Fe, a few of the traders continued on to the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora; others chose to return to Missouri, arriving there on September 24, 1824.[136] Becknell's connection with the Santa Fe Trail lasted until 1826 during which time he completed another trip to Santa Fe (August 1824-June 1825).[137] He also aided the Sibley Survey by running mail to and from the survey party, delivering wagonloads of supplies, and acting as a guide on occasion.[138]

Another individual who played a significant role in the early years of the Santa Fe trade was US Senator Thomas Hart Benton from Missouri. In his younger days as editor of the *St. Louis Inquirer*, Benton ardently advocated the opening of trade with Mexico across the plains. As a senator, after Missouri became a state and the Mexican frontier was opened to trade in 1821, "he pushed the project with renewed enthusiasm."[139] Senator Benton was a staunch advocate for the Santa Fe trade, encouraging it through his writings and aiding it through his efforts in Congress. He saw the trade as an economic stimulus for his state and a solution to financial instability caused by quantities of worthless paper currency and shortage of hard currency. Benton's Missouri constituents had two major concerns. Firstly, dangers posed by Indians along both primary routes of the trail were a real and frequent possibility. The Mountain Route was more difficult to traverse due to its mountainous terrain that led wagon trains through Cheyenne, Arapaho, Ute, Kiowa, Comanche and Jicarilla Apache territories.[140] The Cimarron Route's terrain, though much less rugged, still posed the danger of much less water and a higher threat of attacks by nearby tribes such as the Comanche and Apache. Passing through Indian territory often led to attacks on wagon trains by the occupying tribes. Secondly, the customs regulations imposed on the trade by Mexican authorities was alarming to traders. After being questioned by Senator Benton, traders returning from Santa Fe to Missouri in 1824 sent their complaints and requests to Washington.[141]

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[131] Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 5.
[132] Duffus, 162.
[133] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 32; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 5.
[134] Mount Vernon, Lafayette County, Missouri no longer exists and should not be confused with Mount Vernon, Lawrence County, Missouri a later and still extant settlement.
[135] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 9-10; Gregg, *Commerce*, 10; and Oliva, *Soldiers*, 10. The statistics here are based on Oliva, *Soldiers*. The numbers in other sources vary only slightly, usually by one or two extra or less carts, men, or horses and mules.
[136] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 10-11; Stephen Sayles, "Thomas Hart Benton and the Santa Fe Trail," *Missouri Historical Review* 49, no. 1 (October 1974): 3.
[137] Beachum, "To the Westward," 11.
[138] Ibid., 11-12.
[139] Duffus, 85.
[140] Randy D. Smith, *Heroes of the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1900* (Jamaica Plain: Boston Books, 2006), 76.
[141] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 11.

In 1825 Senator Benton drew the attention of the US Congress to the growing commerce between the frontier towns of Missouri and the Mexican city of Santa Fe. As evidence he provided a statement from Augustus Storrs, a native of New Hampshire, who had traveled to Santa Fe in 1824 as part of the first trade caravan. In answer to Senator Benton's questions, Storrs explained that the residents of Santa Fe and the other Pueblos of Mexico's northern provinces greeted the traders from Missouri with open arms. He listed the types of goods transported to Santa Fe as cotton goods, including bolts of cloth and shirting, handkerchiefs, cotton hose, some woolen goods, silk shawls, cutlery items, mirrors, and assorted other items. In exchange, traders returned to Missouri with Spanish-milled dollars, gold and silver in bullion, beaver furs, and mules.[142] Storrs's testimony also explained that the American traders paid a duty of "25 per cent. *ad valorem*" to the government of the Internal Provinces of Mexico on goods brought into the country. Storrs indicated that rumors of impending raises in the duty were prevalent:

> The certain object of this increase is to place their commerce, from the south [e.g., Mexico City and Chihuahua along the Camino Real], on a more equal footing with that of the Americans, and the measure, I have no doubt, is strongly urged by a few, who have, heretofore, monopolized the sales and fixed the prices of the country.[143]

Storrs believed that US agents stationed in Santa Fe and Chihuahua could protect traders from the greed and unpredictability of New Mexican officials. Augustus Storrs himself was appointed US consul in Santa Fe in 1825. The duty was thought by the traders to have been arbitrarily imposed by the Governor of New Mexico and not legally by the Mexican government.[144] However, the Mexican government also had imposed a series of arbitrary and oppressive taxes and regulations on the Santa Fe trade. Santa Fe, Taos, and San Miguel del Vado each had a customs house, though Santa Fe remained the true port of entry. Although manifests and records were kept of the goods passing through these customs houses and of the taxes levied and paid, graft and corruption were major problems. A very small amount of the revenue, which should have been paid to the government, actually found its way into the Mexican treasury.[145]

The Sibley Survey, 1825-1827

Missouri traders like Augustus Storrs requested that the US government to survey and mark a permanent road over which Santa Fe trade could be conducted. They additionally requested military protection from future threats (e.g. Indian interference) to what Missourians believed would be a continuously expanding trade route.[146] The Missouri legislature supported the traders' cause, as did Missouri senators Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton.[147] Benton forcefully guided a bill through Congress, calling for a survey of the trail from Missouri to the international border along the north bank of the Arkansas River.[148] The result of these efforts was the passage of a bill on March 3, 1825, providing for the survey of a "highway between nations" and for treaties to be made with the Indians through whose lands the road passed.[149] The survey began in July of 1825 and became known as the "Sibley Survey," after George Champlin Sibley who led the survey team, which

[142] Storrs, *Answers,* 6.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 10-12; Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1085.
[146] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 12.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 3; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 12.
[149] Kate L. Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,1952), 7.

included Benjamin H. Reeves and Thomas Mather.[150] The Santa Fe Trail Survey Expedition embarked from Fort Osage (now Sibley) on the Missouri River in Jackson County, Missouri.[151] The expedition surveyed and marked the trail between Missouri and Santa Fe, and the surveyors kept extensive notes and records. Rather than survey the route then in use by traders, the Sibley Expedition followed and marked – by erecting earth mounds – a somewhat different route (Figure 4).[152] Some historians suggest that the Sibley Survey never fulfilled its purpose. This was partly because the Sibley survey ended in Taos, with a branch road to Santa Fe from Taos surveyed later.[153] Upon completion of the survey in 1827, the surveyors' records were sent to Washington, but unfortunately for traders and travelers of the Santa Fe Trail, little of the valuable data was published or made public knowledge.[154] Within a few years the earth mounds had disappeared, leaving only wagon ruts to mark the trail to Santa Fe. Sibley thought the survey was unnecessary because he agreed with the wagon men that they already knew the route to Santa Fe, even without man-made markers.[155] Indeed, Sibley later echoed the contention by some individuals that the traders themselves had already performed the task of marking the Santa Fe Trail.[156] He stated in his journal, "The road as traveled is already well enough Marked by the Waggons [sic], any Mounds put up would be Soon thrown down by the Buffalo and Indians."[157] The Sibley Survey had little effect upon the development of the trade or the trail; however, it did provide national publicity.

As provided in the 1825 bill authorizing the survey and marking of the road to Santa Fe, treaty negotiations were undertaken with the Osage and Kansa tribes. Two treaties – one with the Great and Little Osage (7 Stat., 268) on August 10, 1825 and one with the Kansa (7 Stat., 270) on August 16, 1825 – were identical except for the preliminary and concluding paragraphs specifying the tribe. The first four articles provided that "in consideration of the friendly relations existing" between the two Indian Nations and the US, the Indians would: allow the road to be surveyed and marked; agree that the road would be "forever free for the use of the citizens of the United States and the Mexican Republic… without hindrance or molestation"; "render…friendly aid and assistance" to traders when it was within their power; agree that the "road aforesaid shall be considered as extending to a reasonable distance on either side, so that travelers thereon may, at any time, leave the marked track, for the purpose of finding subsistence and proper camping places."[158] The fifth article required that each tribe receive $500 in money and/or merchandise from the United States government in payment for the considerations enumerated.[159] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Clark, along with Benjamin H. Reeves, George C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, carried out the negotiations. The meetings between the Osage Indians and the US commissioners took place at Council Grove, a rendezvous campsite on the Neosho River in what is now Morris County, Kansas; the treaty with the Kansa was signed at Sora Creek (Dry Turkey Creek), southwest of present-day McPherson, Kansas (Figure 5). The treaties were signed by Reeves, Sibley, Mather and 16 members each of the Osage and Kansa tribes, including seven Osage chiefs and four Kansa chiefs.[160]

Tariffs and Taxes

[150] Beachum, "To the Westward." 11.
[151] Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe*, 54; Connelley, *A Standard History*, 138.
[152] Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe*, insert before v [map of the route].
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., 47-48.
[155] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 12.
[156] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 13.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, Treaties* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 246-248, [electronic on-line database]; available from *Oklahoma State University Library*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/osa0246.htm#mn7> (accessed 23 August 2011).
[159] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 91-92.
[160] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 246-250.

Issues with fair trade, Mexican tariffs, and duties continued during the first two decades of the Santa Fe trade. Despite the enormous profits to be made on American goods sold at Santa Fe, the traders had to surrender some of their profits to the Mexican authorities in the form of customs duty. Customs duty on dry goods was officially 25 percent; in actual practice however, this often varied from 10 to 150 percent.[161] The duty was based on the arbitrary value placed on the goods by the Mexican officials at the customhouse.[162] Corruption was rampant, and during the early years, Mexican officials received as much as a third of the duty for their personal use in addition to any bribes that changed hands.[163] During the 1830s, while serving as the customs collector at Santa Fe, Manuel Armijo experienced difficulties keeping up with the ever-changing Mexican tariff schedules. A variety of duties and taxes existed at that time including national import duties, state excise taxes, taxes on animals and wagons, taxes on the establishment of a retail shop, and taxes on required documentation. Each port of entry also seemed to employ its own tariff schedule. Recognizing these difficulties, Armijo shifted from *ad valorem* duties to a flat $500 impost on every wagon. Santa Fe traders, in response, started using larger wagons pulled by ten or 12 mules, or reloading goods into fewer wagons outside Santa Fe, leaving the empty wagons until their return trip. As a result, Armijo removed the per wagon tax in 1839.[164]

American traders regularly argued that the Mexican trade duties resulted in them being taxed twice on the same merchandise, once when it was imported from Europe and again when it was taken into Mexico. In order to place American traders on equal footing with Mexican competitors who were importing directly from Europe, one Missouri merchant proposed that the US should create a rebate or debenture of American duties for Santa Fe traders who were being impacted by this double taxation. Between 1831 and 1845 American traders appealed to Congress for help. It was argued that this would improve American traders' ability to reach markets farther south in Mexico and increase the value of the Santa Fe trade. In 1842, the acting US consul in Santa Fe sided with the traders.[165] Congress, however, refused to act at that time.

American traders also were worried about the increasing influence of Mexican merchants and were concerned that these businessmen threatened their own business interests. During the 1830s a merchant class began to emerge in Santa Fe, consolidating capital, beginning to control markets, trading in the US, and dealing directly with wholesalers. By the late 1830s, Mexican traders had gained dominance over the trade and were transporting the bulk of the goods bound to Santa Fe. They were involved in all aspects of the trade in Santa Fe, as well as in Missouri, the eastern US, Mexico, and California. Many wealthy Hispanic merchants established their own contacts with wholesalers and merchants in the eastern US, bypassing American merchants and businessmen in Missouri.

On March 3, 1845, however, the US Congress passed the *Drawback Act*. The law allowed traders to be reimbursed for all but 2.5 percent of the US duties of foreign merchandise if advance notice of intent to re-export the goods to Mexico was given and provided that they were shipped to Mexico in original packages with certified invoices by way of Independence, Missouri or either Van Buren or Fulton, Arkansas. In addition, the

[161] Sayles, "Thomas Hart Benton," 6.
[162] David Dary, *Entrepreneurs of the Old West* (Lincoln: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 33.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 33; David A. Sandoval, "Gnats, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail," *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 28-29; Dean Earl Wood, *The Old Santa Fe Trail From The Missouri River: Documentary Proof of the History and Route of the Old Santa Fe Trail,* Panoramic edition (Kansas City, Missouri: E.L. Mendenhall, Inc., 1955), 117-118; and Weber, *The Mexican Frontier,* 153.
[165] Seymour V. Connor and Jimmy M. Skaggs, *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1977), 120; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 73-74.

goods were subject to inspection by American customs agents, and traders were required to provide bond of three times the US duties. Trade increased dramatically in the year after the passage of this legislation, increasing the value of goods transported over the trail to Mexico (Table 1).[166]

Table 1: Josiah Gregg's Estimated Value of Santa Fe Trade Goods, 1821-1843[167]

Year	Value	Year	Value
1821	$ 3,000	1833	$180,000
1822	$ 15,000	1834	$ 150,000
1823	$ 12,000	1835	$ 140,000
1824	$ 35,000	1836	$ 130,000
1825	$ 65,000	1837	$ 150,000
1826	$ 90,000	1838	$ 90,000
1827	$ 85,000	1839	$ 250,000
1828	$150,000	1840	$ 50,000
1829	$ 60,000	1841	$ 150,000
1830	$120,000	1842	$ 160,000
1831	$250,000	1843	$ 450,000
1832	$140,000		

Traded Goods

During his 1825-1827 survey expedition, George C. Sibley sent a letter back to his associates in Missouri in which he outlined the items he felt would sell best in Santa Fe. His enumeration provides information on the types of items leaving Missouri for Santa Fe in the early years of the trade. Cloth, food, medicine, and hardware figured prominently in Sibley's list. In the 1830s, according to Santa Fe trader Alphonso Wetmore and US Secretary of War Lewis Cass, the principal goods being traded from Mexico back to Missouri included Mexican dollars, fine gold, beaver pelts, horses, mules, and asses.[168] Manifests listed the items passing through the Mexican customs house in Santa Fe for the purpose of assessing the amount of tax due. Two of these documents dating from the year 1835 provide evidence that the types of items traded in this period were not significantly different than those of the preceding years. It was the quantity and diversity of merchandise shipped into Santa Fe that changed dramatically between the 1820s and the 1840s; the price of similar items during this time period also declined.

The types of goods transported from the United States and Europe to be sold at Santa Fe reflect the international character of the trade.[169] Cloth, including cottons, silks and linens, was the most important item of merchandise transported to Mexico. Other items sold in Santa Fe included: dry goods, hardware, tableware, cutlery, jewelry, whiskey and champagne, and a wide variety of other manufactured goods. Traders acquired

[166] Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 73-74.

[167] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 8-9,37; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 11; Wood, 61; and Switzler, *Report on Internal Commerce*, 563.

[168] U.S. Senate, Twenty-second Congress, first session. *Sen. Doc. No. 90. Message from the President of the United States, In compliance with a Resolution of the Senate concerning the Fur Trade, and Inland Trade to Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1832). Wetmore was also an ex-Army paymaster who had lost an arm during the War of 1812. Cass was Secretary of War from August 1, 1831 through October 4, 1836

[169] Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," 107.

gold and silver Mexican dollars, silver bullion, gold dust, mules, donkeys, and furs in Santa Fe for their return trip to the United States.[170] Mexican merchants also found a market in Missouri for mules, asses, buffalo robes, furs, and small volumes of coarse wool.[171] Trappers played a significant role in the Santa Fe trade in that they provided trail merchants with manpower for their caravans, customers for their merchandise, and sources of supply for one of their most popular commodities: fur.[172]

The estimated total value of annual goods traded along the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1846 increased dramatically, although it was not a steady increase. Some of the fluctuations in the expanding trade can be attributed to conditions along the trail, while others were related to issues and events in the US or Mexico: for example, confrontations between traders and Indians along the trail, particularly in late 1828 and early 1829; the Panic of 1837; or the Texas uprising in 1841 to 1843.

The Santa Fe trade had an effect on the industrial areas of the eastern United States, especially the northeast, providing a new market for large quantities of merchandise. Both American and European goods were traded extensively, encouraging New Mexican material dependency upon Anglo-American trade items, as well as encouraging the industrial development of the northeastern US.[173] The major wholesale sources of goods which the traders hauled to Santa Fe were a number of prominent firms in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. In the early period of the trade, goods were purchased by independent traders or by an intermediary for a group of traders directly from these cities. Many Missouri merchants purchased large quantities of goods on yearly trips east and advertised them for sale specifically as "Santa Fe Goods."[174] By the 1840s, forwarding and commission houses acted as middlemen between the eastern wholesalers and the Santa Fe merchants, with Kansas City as the staging point for their caravans.[175]

Travel on the Trail

Just as during the early years of trade between Missouri and Mexico, merchants engaged in the Santa Fe trade learned what merchandise would bring the greatest profits and which eastern wholesalers offered the best deals. Santa Fe Trail traders and travelers determined the best routes of travel for freighting goods whether with pack animals or wagon caravans. They found the best places to cross rivers and streams or modified stream banks to make crossings faster and safer. They determined the best locations to camp, the best streams and springs that had constant potable water, and all the things that travelers across the Plains in the early to mid-nineteenth century needed to know in order to successfully complete their journeys. They also found what dangers were most likely to be encountered and where to expect problems. They figured out the best means of travel, the items needed for the journey, and how to organize a wagon train for long distance freighting. However, traders also made changes as necessary to maintain the trade, increase their profits, travel safely, or take advantage of changing conditions.

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[170] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 19; Sayles, “Thomas Hart Benton,” 4.
[171] Wood, 119.
[172] Daniel D. Muldoon, “Trappers and the Trail: The Santa Fe Trail from the Trapper’s Perspective,” *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987), 72.
[173] Barton H. Barbour, “The Santa Fe Trade: A Historic Sketch,” *Gone West* 2, no. 1 (1984): 13.
[174] Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 31-32; Lewis E. Atherton, *The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 60, 67.
[175] Ralph P. Bieber, "The Papers of James J. Webb, Santa Fe Merchant, 1844-1861," *Washington University Studies* 11 (1924): 303.

The Missouri River was navigable between March and November in central Missouri. Towns with river landings provided potential jumping-off points for the Santa Fe Trail, as merchandise for the trade could be brought in by riverboat at lower rates than those offered by overland routes. The river town of Franklin in central Missouri served as the departure point for Becknell and other early traders. After a Missouri River flood inundated Franklin in 1828, the town of New Franklin was established two miles northeast of the flooded town of Franklin, but did not seem to play a significant role in the trade, as by 1828, the terminus had moved slightly west.[176] The ferry at Arrow Rock – a bluff along the west bank of the Missouri River – became widely used during the early years of the Santa Fe Trail, especially as Mexican merchants made their way to Franklin.[177] As steamboats came into common use, ports were established upstream and were found to offer advantages. These steamboat landings were established near the big bend in the Missouri River in Jackson County, Missouri. With the establishment of Fort Leavenworth in Kansas Territory in May 1827, a new steamboat landing was available for military freight, which could then be transported along the Santa Fe Trail via military roads, linking the post to the trail. By freighting goods on the river to these upstream landings, traders saved nearly 100 miles of difficult travel over unimproved and often muddy roads.[178] During the 1830s and 1840s Independence and Westport, and later, Kansas City, were the principal outfitting locations and trailheads at the eastern end of the Santa Fe Trail. By the mid-1840s, trail traffic in Westport had caught up with or exceeded the trail traffic in Independence.[179] At least three different trail routes developed in the greater Kansas City area depending upon which river landing and outfitting town a caravan started and which crossing was used over the Big Blue River (Figure 6).[180]

During the first 25 years of the Santa Fe Trail, the Cimarron Route was used almost exclusively over the Mountain Route, which was not considered a viable route for wagon traffic due to its geography. Wagons more easily traversed the relatively level terrain of southwest Kansas than the steep slopes of the Mountain Route into New Mexico. The Mountain Route was rarely used in the years preceding the Mexican-American War except by pack animals.[181]

No improved amenities were found along the trail in the early years. Campsites were carefully selected and needed to provide at least water, grass, and fuel. Draught animals could survive a night without plentiful grass, but neither humans nor animals could survive long without water. Most camping areas were located adjacent to streams or springs. Travelers encountered numerous rivers and streams along the trail. Some were crossed with little trouble, but others with steep banks or muddy bottoms were more difficult to manage and posed major obstacles for travelers. In 1844, author and traveler Josiah Gregg described crossing the Little Arkansas River:

> Although endowed with an imposing name, is only a small creek with a current but five or six yards wide. But, though small, its steep banks and miry bed annoyed us exceedingly in crossing. It is the practice upon the prairies on all such occasions, for several men to go in advance with axes, spades and

[176] Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1989), 5-6.
[177] Michael Dickey, *Arrow Rock: Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier* (Arrow Rock: Friends of Arrow Rock, 2004), 65.
[178] Craig Crease, "Trace of the Blues: The Santa Fe Trail, the Blue River, and the True Nature of the Old Trace in Metropolitan Kansas City," *Wagon Tracks* 11, no. 4 (August 1997): 9; Gregg, *Commerce,* 20.
[179] Crease, "Trace," 8, 14**;** Patricia Cleary Miller, *Westport: Missouri's Port of Many Returns*. Kansas City (Missouri: The Lowell Press, 1983), 39.
[180] Crease, "Trace," 8-14.
[181] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 15-16. Rittenhouse notes that during most of the commercial years of the trail, traders using wagons preferred the Cimarron Route.

> mattocks, and, by digging the banks and erecting temporary bridges, to have all in readiness by the time the wagons arrive. A bridge over a quagmire is made in a few minutes, by cross-laying it with brush (willows are best, but even long grass is often employed as a substitute), and covering it with earth, across which a hundred wagons will often pass in safety.[182]

Crossings became more dangerous after heavy rains when streams were in flood stage. Sometimes waters remained high for several days causing significant delays. Even when water levels were lower, crossing streams often caused a bottleneck for large caravans as wagons had to wait their turn. Some crossings wore out men and livestock working to move wagons bogged down in mud, and quicksand was a danger that could be encountered on some streams, particularly the Arkansas River. Most of the troublesome crossings were encountered in Kansas.[183]

Many other dangers lurked along the trail. Storms with high winds, heavy rains, and hail caused damage to wagons, drove off livestock, and resulted in injuries. Winter storms with heavy snows and extremely cold temperatures bogged down wagons and killed livestock and travelers. At least two caravans suffered from winter storms. In the winter of 1822-1823 the Baird-Chambers trade caravan, as noted above, was caught in a blizzard on an island in the Arkansas River west of modern-day Dodge City. They were forced to cache their merchandise and continue on to “Touse” [Taos].[184] They came back in better weather and retrieved their cached goods.[185] In 1841 Don Manuel Alvarez and his small trading party were caught in a blizzard at Cottonwood Creek Crossing. Two men and most of the company's mules were frozen to death.[186] Livestock stampedes, particularly of oxen, were fairly common because, as Josiah Gregg noted, they tended to be "exceedingly whimsical creatures when surrounded by unfamiliar objects. One will sometimes take a fright at the jingle of his own yoke-irons, or the cough of his mate, and, by a sudden flounce, set the whole herd in a flurry."[187] Injuries were also possible from guns and knives handled by the traders and travelers for hunting and protection, though sometimes used in fights against fellow travelers. Rattlesnakes, bees, poison ivy, nettles and briars, and other native fauna and flora could also pose dangers.

Because of incidents like the Baird-Chambers expedition, travelers learned which seasons of the year were best suited for travel. During the winter months, Missouri traders purchased goods in the East and had them brought to the trailheads in Independence or Kansas City to be ready for departure in early May.[188] Leaving in May would ensure adequate grazing on the prairie for the mules and oxen.[189] Eastbound caravans usually left Santa Fe on September 1, arriving in Missouri around October 10.[190] Caravans could accomplish between ten and 18 miles a day and barring major delays, could reach their destinations within a month and a half. Delays due to rain were common, especially near the eastern part of the trail, as the caravans often had to wait for water to recede from streams in order to cross.

Various travelers recorded their journeys and provided lists of places along the trail and approximate mileages between them. In later years guidebooks were published for travelers, providing itineraries and

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[182] Gregg, *Commerce*, 44.
[183] David K. Clapsaddle, “Toll Bridges on the Santa Fe Trail,” *Wagon Tracks* 13, no. 2 (February 1999):15-16.
[184] Barry, *The Beginning*, 108-109.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail,* 43.
[187] Gregg, *Commerce*, 41.
[188] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 24-25.
[189] Ibid., 25.
[190] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 19.

tables of distances between campsites. Differences appear in the various listings of trail campsites, even between those recorded only a year or two apart. Some of these differences were due to names of places changing or to increased knowledge over time, while others were due to actual changes in the route of travel. The mileages given on early itineraries were often inaccurate, but accuracy improved in later years with better methods of measurement. Both similarities and differences can be seen in these lists of major stops and distances along the trail between Independence, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico. One of the individuals who wrote an itinerary was trader Alphonso Wetmore. In 1828 he maintained a diary while serving as the captain of a Santa Fe-bound caravan that encountered heavy rains and swollen streams. In addition to his Santa Fe Trail writings, he also wrote prolifically about life in the Army and in Missouri.[191] Wetmore's Santa Fe Trail itinerary, published in 1837 in his *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, lists 67 major places along the Cimarron Route, including stream crossings, springs, water holes, and campgrounds. He estimated the total distance between Independence and Santa Fe as 897 miles (Appendix A). Josiah Gregg's total mileage differed from Wetmore's. In his 1844 *Commerce of the Prairies*, Gregg provided a table listing major places and distances along the Cimarron Route based on his six trips along the Santa Fe Trail (Appendix B). He estimated the total distance between Independence and Santa Fe along this route as 770 miles and showed 37 major named places on the route. The most notable difference between the Wetmore and Gregg itineraries is the estimate of the total aggregate mileage between the same starting and ending points. Distances between listed places on both Wetmore's and Gregg's itineraries varied from two to 40 miles.

During the early years of the Santa Fe Trail, traders and travelers settled on a basic route (the Cimarron Route) between Missouri and Santa Fe, as well as learned and established some basic rules of the road. These included which methods of transportation were best suited along the route, the best ways to efficiently organize trade caravans across the Plains, how to protect the cargo and livestock during times of danger, and choosing the most important items that were needed by the traders along the route. Becknell used horses as pack animals on his first trade trip; Mexican traders used burros and mules, and *arrieros* (muleteers) were familiar with their use traveling the rugged Camino Real.[192] No mention of the presence of mules in Missouri has been identified prior to 1824; apparently the first mules came to the state over the Santa Fe Trail.[193] Goods carried on pack animals had to be loaded each morning and unloaded each evening, a time-consuming process even for experienced *arrieros*. Pack animals had some advantages over wagon travel in that they were better suited to rough terrain and could negotiate steep stream banks. Unlike the packing and unpacking required when using pack animals, wagons offered the added benefit of just one loading.[194]

Wagons were first used over the Santa Fe Trail in 1822 when William Becknell used three wagons on his second trading expedition. Josiah Gregg, by contrast, identifies 1824 as the initial year for wagon transport across the trail; however, he credits a company of 80 traders with the introduction of this type of animal-drawn vehicle.[195] His account relates the use of 25 wheeled wagons – two carts, one or two road wagons, and the remainder Dearborn carriages – carrying $25,000 to $30,000 worth of merchandise.[196] Once it was proven that

[191] Stephen G. Hyslop, *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 149; Duane Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri – a History,* revised ed. (St. Louis: State Publishing Company, Inc., 1973), 273.

[192] Sandoval, "Gnats," 23.

[193] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 13-14.

[194] Nick Eggenhofer, *Wagons, Mules and Men: How the Frontier Moved West* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1961), 66.

[195] Gregg, *Commerce*, 10. This may have been the Le Grand/Marmaduke/Storrs party.

[196] Ibid.

wagons could make the journey via the Cimarron Route, wagons became the standard means of transportation, though some travelers continued to use pack mules until 1826.[197] Mules and burros were more frequently used to carry loads back to Missouri than from Missouri to Santa Fe, as it was profitable for traders to sell their wagons in Santa Fe. For instance, William Becknell sold a wagon in New Mexico for $700; he had paid $150 for it in Missouri.[198]

The wagons initially used by the traders consisted of a wide variety of types and sizes, exemplifying the range of wagons available to traders. Early accounts of wagons used on the trail included road wagons, "light running waggons [sic]," carts, and Dearborn carriages, though the actual descriptions of these vehicles are unclear.[199] As the volume of trade increased, and with the imposition of Mexican taxes of a set amount per wagonload regardless of size, more consistency in wagons became apparent by the 1830s. Larger capacity wagons were the result, with typical cargoes of more than 5000 pounds, requiring hitches of 10 or 12 mules.[200] The wagons most widely used over the trail were manufactured in Pittsburgh and were used by American and Hispanic traders alike.[201] A very heavy type of wagon, known as the "Murphy Wagon," commonly was used in the transportation of goods. These wagons were named after Joseph Murphy, a St. Louis wagon maker, and had larger wheels and other dimensions than the typical Santa Fe freight wagon. The typical Santa Fe wagon was described in the *Westport Border Star* of June 30, 1860. According to the *Star*, the "diameter of the larger wheel is five feet two inches, and the tire weighs 105 pounds. The reach is eleven feet and the bed forty-six inches deep, 12 feet long on the bottom and fifteen feet on the top, and will carry 6,500 pounds across the plains and through the mountain passes."[202] Drawn by a yoke of six oxen or a team of six mules, these wagons could accomplish between 12 to 15 miles per day when heavily laden, and up to 20 miles per day when empty.[203] The number of wagons composing a caravan varied from 26 in 1824, to 230 by 1843, to 400 in some instances.[204]

Though horses were used for the first few years of the trade, mules and oxen became the principal draught animals.[205] Early Santa Fe traders were reluctant to use oxen, so mules initially were used to draw trail wagons. However, in 1829 Colonel Bennet Riley hitched oxen to military supply wagons taken on the first military escort for traders traveling the trail.[206] Each wagon utilized six or eight animals, but when pulling heavier loads, especially on the outbound journey, up to 12 animals may have been employed.[207] Oxen could pull heavier loads than mules and were cheaper; however, they did not tolerate hot weather well and their tender feet and poor performance on the short, dry prairie meant that mules were a better investment, despite their higher initial cost.[208] In order to overcome the tenderness of their feet, oxen were shod with iron shoes or,

[197] Mark L. Gardner, *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade: Wheeled Vehicles and Their Makers, 1822-1880 (*Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 5.
[198] Ibid., 3.
[199] Ibid., 4-5.
[200] Gregg, *Commerce*, 22-23.
[201] Gregg, *Commerce*, 22; Gardner, *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade*, 13.
[202] "Rolling Stock of the Plains," *Westport Border Star* (June 23, 1860) reprinted in *Wagon Tracks* 2, no.1 (November 1987): 13.
[203] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 53; Hurd, "Origin," 20; and Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 15.
[204] Hurd, "Origin," 20-21; Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," 110.
[205] Gardner, *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade*, 7.
[206] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 26-27.
[207] Walker D. Wyman, "Bullwhacking: A Prosaic Profession Peculiar to the Great Plains," *New Mexico Historical Review* 7, no. 4 (November 1932): 300.
[208] Phyllis Morgan, "Oxen on the Santa Fe Trail" *Wagon Tracks* 25, no. 2 (February 2011): 9; Gregg, *Commerce*, 23-24.

occasionally, moccasins made of raw buffalo skin.[209] Even though mules were prone to acquiring very smooth hoofs, they did not require shoeing, though some were shoed anyway.[210] Extra animals often followed the wagon train, providing fresh oxen or mules at points along the trail.

Trail Travelers and Traders

Proceeds obtained from the early expeditions enticed growing numbers of traders to pursue the trail to and from Santa Fe, though the motivation prompting travel varied from individual to individual. The Santa Fe Trail attracted travelers with diverse backgrounds, interests, and purposes – explorers, trappers, traders, fortune hunters, gold seekers, soldiers, health seekers in search of the "prairie cure," tourists, journalists, and settlers. Taking part in the lucrative trade between Missouri and Santa Fe was the primary reason that most travelers followed the trail prior to the war with Mexico. Even before legal trade between Mexico and the United States commenced, it had been apparent that there was a demand in the Southwest for goods from the eastern seaboard. With legalization of trade, demand increased, and increasing numbers of traders sought to satisfy that demand in return for the considerable profits to be made. Many of the people who traveled over the trail were traders themselves who used this highway of commerce to conduct their business and maintain their occupation. Others who traveled the trail during this period were employees of traders, military servicemen, trappers and Indian traders, or immigrants in search for opportunities elsewhere.

In the early years, most traders were men with limited capital to put into the trade, and they preferred to conduct their business personally or through a trusted intermediary. Many previously had been involved in the fur trade or trade with Indians and were familiar with Fort Osage and the country between Missouri and Santa Fe. Some were small businessmen, primarily from Missouri; although, records indicate that Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama were among other states also represented.[211] A few were farmers with a bit of extra capital to invest or with capital raised from mortgaged farms and a desire for adventure.[212] Ewing Young, a Missouri farmer and trapper, sold his farm in 1822 to finance his trading venture to Santa Fe with Becknell's caravan.[213] In this Mr. Young was not alone. Other farmers who had suffered in the Panic of 1819 mortgaged their lands to raise the necessary capital to "get in on" the profits of the Santa Fe trade.

Santa Fe traders were typical of the mercantile capitalists of the Commercial Revolution.[214] In contrast to industrial capitalists who flourished in more developed metropolitan areas, mercantile capitalists flourished in less developed regions where they were able to “acquire scarce monetary exchange acceptable for the purchase of foreign goods,” create and become the lending system in lieu of “the absence of an efficient system of indirect lending of capital,” and effectively haul “purchases over vast stretches of water or sparsely settled land.”[215] Items both wholesale and retail were traded in response to the changing demands of consumers and shifting markets. As a result, the Santa Fe trader had to be flexible in his approach to trade.

[209] Marc Simmons, *The Old Trail to Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 146. Gregg, *Commerce*, 24; and Frederick Simpich, “The Santa Fe Trail, Path to Empire,” *The National Geographic Magazine,* vol. 56, no. 2 (August 1929): 213.

[210] Gregg, *Commerce*, 24.

[211] U.S. Senate, *Message from the President of the United States*, 4.

[212] Barbour, “The Santa Fe Trade,” 12-13.

[213] Ibid., 12.

[214] Economic historian Lewis E. Atherton identifies the Commercial Revolution as the trade era before the Industrial Revolution. See Lewis E. Atherton, “The Santa Fe Trader as Mercantile Capitalist,” *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (October 1982): 6.

[215] William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 35.

The Santa Fe trader usually operated alone, and he furnished, or made arrangements to lease, his own mode of transportation since no national or international transportation network existed. Often the Santa Fe trader did not receive money in return for his merchandise, so it was necessary to extend credit or employ some form of exchange in order to conduct business. Since the trader crossed state and national boundaries, it was necessary for him to seek cooperative relationships with state and national governments.[216]

John, James, and Robert Aull were well-known early Santa Fe traders who subscribed to the viewpoint of the mercantile capitalist, and as such, their backgrounds and activities were exemplary of other early traders. John Aull arrived in Chariton, Missouri, from Delaware around 1819. He operated a store there with two other partners until 1822 when he moved to Lexington, Missouri, and ran a general store until his death in 1842.[217] His younger brothers, James and Robert, went west in 1825. James Aull started his own store in Lexington on his arrival and opened branches at Independence in 1827 and at Richmond, Missouri, in 1830. Robert Aull started a store at Liberty, Missouri, in 1829.[218] In 1831 James and Robert Aull combined forces to manage a family firm, which operated all four stores until their partnership was dissolved in 1836.[219] During this partnership, James managed the Lexington store; Robert was responsible for overseeing the one at Liberty; and Samuel Owens was given responsibility for the one at Independence.[220]

The variety of merchandise available at the Aull stores reflected the demand for goods from Santa Fe traders and consumers farther west. Dry goods from the Atlantic seaboard; hardware from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; flour from Cincinnati, Ohio; groceries from New Orleans, Louisiana; leghorn bonnets, books, and medicines were among the diversity of items found in these stores.[221] James Aull often selected many of these items on annual winter trips to Philadelphia, New York City, and points in between. He would leave Lexington in January and travel by horseback or wagon to St. Louis by way of Fayette, Missouri; then by stagecoach to Louisville, Kentucky, by way of Vincennes, Indiana; then on to Pittsburgh and, finally, by overland stage to Philadelphia and other eastern destinations.[222] Every winter James Aull traveled east to order merchandise for the stores from wholesalers, especially the Aull's eastern representative Siter Price and Company in Philadelphia. Most goods were shipped by steamer to New Orleans then up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, then up the Missouri River. Like other traders, the Aulls bore the expense for transporting the goods to Missouri. Combining orders with other traders could reduce the shipping charges from eastern wholesalers. The transportation cost between Missouri and either Santa Fe or Chihuahua was much less, but it was also covered by the traders.[223] James Aull purchased $35,000 worth of merchandise on one of these annual trips east in 1831, while one year later he secured another $45,000 worth of items to serve the expanding western markets for such goods.[224]

Since many eastern trading firms extended 12 months' credit merchants, the Aulls extended six to 12 months' credit to local customers, many of whom were involved in agriculture.[225] Sometimes it was necessary for the Aulls to get a credit extension from their eastern suppliers due to delays caused by late mail delivery,

[216] Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 7-8, 10. Citation covers much of paragraph.
[217] Ibid., 3.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 32; Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 3.
[221] Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 4.
[222] Ibid., 8.
[223] Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 32-33.
[224] Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 4.
[225] Ibid., 8.

changing currency, low water levels in rivers, steamboat disasters, and the inability of their customers to repay them for merchandise purchased.[226] Between 1831 and 1836, the Aulls took the lead in building and owning three steamboats, constructing a ropewalk to produce rope from local hemp, and operating a saw and gristmill. James Aull anticipated the Panic of 1837, and despite being able to recover only $500 of the $25,000 owed to his Independence store, the Aulls were able to stay in business on a smaller scale until the economic situation improved. The Aulls also attempted to cultivate a symbiotic relationship with state and national governments for the purposes of trade. To this end, during the Mexican-American War James Aull and Samuel Owens found themselves part of a "Traders Battalion" consisting of two military companies mustered by Colonel A. W. Doniphan, commander of a regiment of Missouri volunteers. Samuel Owens was killed by Mexicans at the Battle of Sacramento while James Aull was stabbed to death on June 23, 1847 by four Mexicans intent on robbing the new outlet store he had just established in Chihuahua.[227]

The characteristics of the trail's travelers changed during the course of the trade. The dangers of trail life and the sense of adventure provoked by accounts of cultural confrontations encouraged some Americans to engage in travel or trade on the Santa Fe Trail. Many Americans were insatiably curious about the vast unknown western lands and what they viewed as the strange and exotic customs of the Mexican and Indian inhabitants. Some were encouraged to travel west by the opportunity to explore these areas and reap the supposed health benefits. Stories of these adventures were available in newspapers; and, after the 1850s, in popular magazines such as *Leslie's Illustrated* and *Harper's Weekly*, or dime novels. However, early Santa Fe Trail traffic was not considered pleasurable by many individuals. As Santa Fe Trail traveler, Marion Sloan Russell, echoed in her published memoirs, "the romance came later…largely in retrospect."[228]

The possibility of improved health provided an impetus for some to traverse the trail. George Frederick Ruxton, an English sportsman, noted the health benefits of a trip across the Santa Fe Trail when he wrote the following in 1861:

> It is an extraordinary fact that the air of the mountains has a wonderfully restorative effect upon constitutions enfeebled by pulmonary disease; and of my own knowledge I could mention a hundred instances where persons whose cases had been pronounced by eminent practitioners as perfectly hopeless have been restored to comparatively sound health by a sojourn in the pure and bracing air of the Rocky Mountains, and are now alive to testify to the effects of the reinvigorating climate.[229]

Although best known for his book *Commerce of the Prairies*, Josiah Gregg had many connections to the Santa Fe Trail through his family, and he first joined a caravan in 1831 in an effort to restore his health.[230] Gregg, himself a tubercular dyspeptic, noted that

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[226] Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 32-33; Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 9.

[227] Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader," 5-6, 11. Citation covers much of paragraph.

[228] Sandoval, "Gnats," 27; Marion Russell, *Land of Enchantment: Memoirs of Marian Russell along the Santa Fe Trail*, dictated to Mrs. Hal Russell (Evanston, Illinois: The Branding Iron Press, 1954), xii. Marion Sloan Russell spelled her first name with an "o." When her memoirs were published, her name was changed to the feminine spelling (Marian).

[229] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1861), 288.

[230] Josiah Gregg (1806-1849) Gregg was born in Overton County, Tennessee, on July 19, 1806, to Harmon and Susannah Gregg. They moved to Cooper's Fort, near Glasgow, Missouri in 1812 and from there to the Blue River country in 1825. The Gregg family lived about five miles northeast of modern-day Independence in Jackson County, Missouri. During the Mexican-American War, Gregg became a newspaper correspondent and returned home to Missouri after the conflict. In 1849 he joined the California gold rush, and at San Francisco, he embarked upon an expedition to the Trinity

> Prairies have, in fact, become very celebrated for their sanative effects – more justly so, no doubt, than the most fashionable watering-places of the North. Most chronic diseases, particularly liver complaints, dyspepsia, and similar affections, are often radically cured; owing, no doubt, to the peculiarities of diet, and the regular exercise incident to prairie life, as well as to the purity of the atmosphere of those elevated unembarrassed regions. An invalid myself, I can answer for the efficacy of the remedy, at least in my own case.[231]

Josiah Gregg was the fifth of eight children. As a young man, he developed an interest in medicine and was sent to medical college in Philadelphia where he became a doctor. After receiving this qualification, he returned to Jackson County, Missouri to practice medicine. Gregg was also aware that the trail had helped relieve some people who had become afflicted with tuberculosis, so he joined a caravan bound for Santa Fe in 1831. He participated in the Santa Fe trade from 1831 to 1840. His book *Commerce of the Prairies,* which remains one of the most significant accounts of Santa Fe trade, was first published in two volumes simultaneously at New York and London in 1844. This famous account of the Santa Fe trade incorporates details about the history of the trail, statistics of the trade, details of the American Indian peoples encountered along the route, and information about the Mexican people, in addition to a geographical description of the country at that time.[232]

Another individual who became associated with the trail is Kit Carson.[233] Carson traveled the Santa Fe Trail for the first time in 1826 at the age of 16 and was closely associated with the forts along the trail in his later life. His first journey ultimately led Carson to California since en route he met Ewing Young, a western trader and trapper, whom he accompanied to the Rocky Mountains' fur country. In 1830, he accompanied a second trading party to the central Rocky Mountains where he lived as a mountain man for the next 12 years. During that time, he married an American Indian and they had a daughter. In 1841, he became a hunter for Bent's Old Fort in Colorado. While visiting relatives in Missouri in 1842, Carson met Lieutenant John Charles Fremont who enlisted his services as a mountain guide and adviser on two expeditions westward. Carson served in California during the Mexican-American War and was a guide for the Army under the command of General Stephen Watts Kearny on its route to California.

Hispanic merchants were especially significant to the trade during the trail's early years. By the end of the 1830s, a number of wealthy traders from Chihuahua, Sonora, and the Santa Fe area had established business relationships with suppliers in the eastern United States and in Europe. They regularly traveled between Mexico and the United States with trade caravans, buying goods directly from eastern wholesalers, and transporting the bulk of goods between New Mexico and Missouri.[234] Mexican merchants transported merchandise to Missouri,

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River region of northern California. On a lakeshore in present-day Lake County, California, Gregg fell from his horse, became unconscious, and died a few hours later.

[231] Gregg, *Commerce*, 21. Tubercular dyspepsia refers to stomach problems that may be brought on by complications from tuberculosis.

[232] Barton H. Barbour, "Westward to Health: Gentlemen Health-Seekers on the Santa Fe Trail," *Journal of the West* 28, no. 2 (April 1989): 40; Quaife, Introduction to *Commerce*, xx.

[233] Kit Carson (1809-1868). Born Christopher Carson in Madison County, Kentucky on December 24, 1809 to Lindsay and Rebecca Carson. In 1810, the family moved to Howard County, Missouri where they lived with other families in a stockade. Carson received no formal education. At the age of fifteen, he became a saddle maker's apprentice, an occupation he gave up in 1826 when he joined a caravan bound for Santa Fe. Between 1846 and 1865, Carson became involved in limited farming activities, scouting for the US Army, and in battle with American Indians. Carson also took an active role in the Civil War. Carson served as brevet brigadier general at Fort Garland, Colorado before his death at Fort Lyon, Colorado on May 23, 1868.

[234] Boyle, *Commerciantes*, x; Dary, *Entrepreneurs*, 32; and Sandoval, "Gnats," 22-24.

opened stores in Santa Fe, and transshipped goods south into Chihuahua and central Mexico. Many Mexican merchants viewed the Santa Fe Trail as only a portion of a much more extensive trade network connecting to the eastern US and even to Europe.[235] Specifically, Mexican merchants from Chihuahua, Durango, and El Paso del Norte viewed Santa Fe and the trail itself merely as one phase of a corridor of international commerce. Their perspective of the Santa Fe Trail is emphasized by the continuation of trading ventures during the Mexican-American War despite being labeled "greasers" and traitors by some of their compatriots.[236] When threatened, Mexican merchants protected their investments in the Santa Fe trade by volunteering military service and making financial contributions to resist disruption of this type of commerce by Texans, American Indians, and Americans.[237] Among the Hispanic merchants known to have been involved in this trade were the Chaves family, the Otero family, the Delgado family, the Manzanares family, Manuel Alvarez, Don Antonio José Chávez, Juan B. Escudero, Ramon García, Pedro Olivares, Estvan Ochoa, Juan Otero, Juan Perea, Estanislao Porras, and J. Calistro Porras.[238] Many Mexican families sent their children to schools in the eastern United States, further emphasizing that the Santa Fe Trail was not only a means of commercial trade but also one of cultural and international exchange.[239]

By the early 1840s, as noted above, New Mexican and interior Mexican merchants played major roles in the Santa Fe trade. Manuel Alvarez, a native of Spain, was one of the Hispanic merchants who viewed Missouri as "a mere way-station" on a commercial trail that led from New Mexico to Europe and various points in between.[240] Alvarez operated a store in Santa Fe from 1824 until his death in 1856. He succeeded Ceran St. Vrain as US commercial agent in Santa Fe in 1839.[241] Alvarez made several buying trips to eastern markets, including trips in 1838-1839, 1841-1842, and 1843-1844.[242] Upon his return from a business trip to the eastern United States in August 1843, Alvarez was prevented from reentering Mexico because Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna closed all northern ports of entry into the country. As a result, Alvarez went to England, Spain, and France via Chicago and Philadelphia and departing from New York. Throughout his travels, he purchased goods and kept abreast of events in New Mexico. Alvarez conducted most of his business through the London-based firm of Aguirre, Solante, and Murrieta, which acted as his agent. He deposited $3000 in a London bank, using the interest as payment for goods purchased abroad. Despite the reopening of the northern ports of entry into Mexico, Alvarez did not hasten his return to Santa Fe. Instead, he returned to New York on May 1, 1844, where he purchased an additional $4000 worth of merchandise. Allowing for brief sojourns in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Alvarez arrived in Missouri around June 1, 1844, where he remained for an additional two-and-a-half months, arranging shipment of his merchandise from Independence, Westport, and St. Louis to Santa Fe.[243]

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[235] Thomas E. Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez and the Santa Fe Trail: Beyond Geographical Circumstance," *La Gaceta* 9, no. 2 (1985): 6.

[236] Sandoval, "Gnats," 28. "Greasers" was a derogatory name used to refer to Mexican merchants. According to two different theories, the name either refers to the food that Mexican traders ate due to their poor diet or that Mexican men would load oily hides on to clipper ships; see Rafaela G. Castro, *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 116.

[237] Sandoval, "Gnats," 28.

[238] Boyle, *Commerciantes*, 67-68, 69, 79-80, 73, 101-102, 110, 120, 143; Sandoval, "Gnats," 24,26-30.

[239] Mary Jean Cook, ed., "New Mexico Students Travel the Trail, 1832-1880," *Wagon Tracks* 10, no. 1 (November 1995): 6; Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez," 4; and Sandoval, "Gnats," 23.

[240] Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez," 6-7.

[241] Wood, 120.

[242] Ibid.

[243] Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez," 7-10. Citation covers much of paragraph.

Alvarez personally arranged the transportation of his goods over the Santa Fe Trail with Charles Bent, whose shipping company transported the goods from Independence to Santa Fe for nine cents per pound. The types of merchandise Alvarez had transported included textiles, sewing utensils, lace, buttons, combs, shovels, knives, and belts – some of which he had acquired from the New York-based firms of Hugh Auchincloss and Sons; Lockhart, Gibson and Company; Walcott and Slade; Robert Hyslop and Son; William C. Langley; and Alfred Edwards and Company. Alvarez arrived in Santa Fe in late October or early November 1844, and the goods he had purchased in London and New York arrived in Santa Fe on November 3. Alvarez went to New York and Philadelphia the following year to purchase more goods, and no doubt, he encouraged others to follow his example.[244]

Like many other Mexican traders, Manuel Armijo traveled to St. Louis and the eastern United States to purchase goods, which he had transported from Independence to Santa Fe over the trail.[245] Armijo also conducted business with the New York-based firm of P. Harmony's Nephews & Company. In 1842 he lost between $18,000 and $20,000 worth of merchandise when the steamboat "Lebanon" sank "in five feet of water some 50 miles below Independence, Mo."[246] Another trader, Manuel X. Harmony, traveled from New York over the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe and on to Chihuahua with a caravan of his own goods.[247]

Mexican merchants experienced threats similar to those encountered by American merchants. The first Mexicans robbed on the Santa Fe Trail are believed to be Ramon García from Chihuahua and an unnamed Spaniard in the employ of William Anderson; both were robbed in 1823.[248] Don Antonio José Chávez, a New Mexican *rico,* engaged in the Santa Fe trade and operated his family's store at the southeast corner of Santa Fe Plaza. Chávez made a number of trips on the Santa Fe Trail before he was robbed and murdered. Chávez departed Santa Fe in February 1843 with five servants and $12,000 in gold and silver, as well as some bales of fur.[249] The small trading party reached Owl Creek (now Jarvis Creek) in Rice County, Kansas where the traders were robbed and Chávez was murdered by John McDaniel and a band of men claiming to be in the service of the Republic of Texas.[250]

Women and the Santa Fe Trail

The Santa Fe Trail was primarily a commercial and military road mostly used by male traders, but it also served a smaller role as an emigrant route for individuals traveling in both directions between the United

[244] Ibid., 10-12. Citation covers much of paragraph.

[245] Manuel Armijo (c. 1793-1853). Born in Albuquerque, Armijo was a soldier and statesman, as well as a Santa Fe trade merchant. He served as collector of customs at Santa Fe during the 1830s but experienced difficulties in keeping up with the tariff schedules. Armijo shifted from *ad valorem* duties to a flat $500 impost on every wagon but removed it once again in 1839. He served as Lieutenant Governor until the assassination of Governor Perez. He then served as Governor of New Mexico and commander of the troops during most of the period from 1837 to 1846. He died in Lemitar, New Mexico, on December 9, 1853.

[246] Barry, *The Beginning*, 455. A total of $80,000 of merchandise was lost in the sinking. According to US consul Manuel Alvarez, Armijo "became exited to a high degree against all the citizens of the United States" when he learned of his loss.

[247] Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez," 13.

[248] Sandoval, "Gnats," 24.

[249] Larry D. Ball, "Federal Justice on the Santa Fe Trail: The Murder of Antonio Jose Chavez [sic]" *Missouri Historical Review* 81 (October 1986): 1-2, 11; Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1085; and Wood, 131.

[250] Marc Simmons, *Murder on the Santa Fe Trail: An International Incident, 1843* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1987), 29; Wood, 131. Owl Creek was a gully that eventually emptied into Cow Creek. Owl Creek is also known as Jarvis Creek in honor of Chávez – Jarvis being a corruption of Chávez.

States and Mexico. The trail brought many individuals west in the hope of securing a better life for themselves and their families. As a result, certain females contributed to travel over the trail. Despite their small numbers, women clearly played a greater role than that attributed to them by early twentieth century historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893, when he wrote that women were "invisible, few in number and not important to the process of taming a wilderness."[251]

Historian Sandra Myers identifies the role of women in several communities along the trail. Among agricultural peoples of the Pueblos, women built and owned the houses, cared for the children, prepared and gathered food, produced pottery and cooking utensils, and made clothes. Among the semi-nomadic peoples, including the Kaw, Pawnee, and Osage tribes, women were responsible for garden plots, some food gathering, food preparation, and making clothes; Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Cheyenne women of the Plains were responsible for the domestic arrangement of the camps, in addition to food preparation and clothes-making. American Indian and Mexican women not only lived along the Santa Fe Trail, but they also traveled on it and in some instances, married American traders and trappers who operated on the trail. African-American women served as cooks and personal maids for some travelers.[252] Several New Mexican women became steady customers of the merchants who operated over the trail. These women merchants included: Manuela Rosalia Baca, Luisita Baca, and Señora Linda del Sargento Sanchez.[253] Gambling queen and astute businesswoman Doña Gertrudis Barceló, also known as "La Tules," operated a saloon in Santa Fe during the 1830s and 1840s and is credited with a significant role in New Mexico's history at that time.[254]

American, Mexican, and Spanish women had been present along the trail in small numbers since at least 1829. In September of that year a well-to-do Spanish family, including six women and ten men, were banished from Santa Fe and traveled northeast to Missouri with a trade caravan. Colonel Jose Antonio Viscarra and 200 men, comprised of Mexicans, "hired whites," and "hired Indians," escorted them to the Arkansas River.[255] Another Hispanic woman, among the first women to travel the trail, may well have been Santa Fe native Carmel Benevides, the common-law wife of Antoine Robidoux, a voyageur, fur trader, Santa Fe merchant, and magistrate.[256] Carmel Benevides de Robidoux accompanied her husband on at least six trips between Santa Fe and Missouri. Missouri birth records indicate that Carmel gave birth to a daughter, Carmelete, "about 1830" possibly at either the Blacksnake Hills Trading post (later St. Joseph) or in St. Louis. This would place Carmel in Missouri in 1830 and suggest that her first trip over the trail occurred shortly before that time. Carmel and the child were recorded in Santa Fe on the 1841 census, indicating that both had made the return trip. The Robidoux family made additional trips to and from Mexico about 1841 and sometime in 1845. Antoine died on August 29, 1860, in St. Joseph, Missouri. His will listed Carmel as "his beloved wife" and executrix. Her last

[251] Sandra L. Myres, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail," *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987): 28-29.

[252] Ibid., 27-46. Citation covers preceding five sentences.

[253] Chávez, "Manuel Alvarez," 3.

[254] Ibid. For more information on the life and influence of Doña Tules, see Mary Cook, *Doña Tules: Santa Fe's Courtesan and Gambler* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007).

[255] Marian Meyer, *Mary Donoho: New First Ladv of the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1991), 27.

[256] Ibid., 28. Antoine Robidoux (1794-1860) was a New Mexico-based fur trapper and trader who traveled over the Santa Fe Trail, as well as the Great Platte River Road, the Oregon-California Trail, the Old Spanish Trail, the Gila Trail, and part of the Chihuahua Trail. He had taken part in Colonel Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone Expedition in 1819. In 1846, Kearny appointed Robidoux to serve as interpreter for the expedition to occupy Santa Fe. Robidoux had a good relationship with the American Indian peoples of the plains and the mountains. Oliva, *Soldiers*, 59

trip on the trail in the early 1860s was to return to Santa Fe with her adopted granddaughter. Carmel died in Santa Fe on January 29, 1888, at the age of 76.[257]

The experiences of the American female travelers are those about which we know most and of which the most written records exist. The accounts of American women like Susan Shelby Magoffin and Marion Sloan Russell are among the most informative accounts of Santa Fe Trail life and commerce. Some sources also suggest that one American female traversed part of the route in the 1840s disguised as a male soldier.[258] Russell traversed the Santa Fe Trail five times, beginning in 1851 when she traveled as a child with her mother and brother. At age 18, Susan Magoffin and her husband Samuel traveled down this route during the summer of 1846. They departed from Council Grove and made the journey in 32 days, arriving in Santa Fe on August 31, 1846. At the time, she was considered to be the first American woman to enter that town. In her trail account, Magoffin described her newfound fame saying:

> I have entered the city in a year that will always be remembered by my countrymen; and under the 'Star Spangled banner' too, the first American lady, who has come under such auspices, and some of our company seem disposed to make me the first under any circumstances that ever crossed the Plains.[259]

Magoffin's diary of her 1846 trip was published in 1926; Russell's memoirs were transcribed by her daughter-in-law in the 1920s and published during the 1950s. Considering the nature of the Santa Fe Trail, "It may appear, perhaps, a little extraordinary that females should have ventured across the Prairies under such forlorn auspices," but they did.[260] Hezekiah Brake, who crossed the trail in 1858, wrote in his published account that "In those days the women dreaded worse than death, the perils of the Western trails," supporting the notion that many of the females who crossed the trail did so because of their husbands or families.[261] No doubt some of the dreaded perils were experienced by Magoffin in 1846 when she miscarried while at Bent's Old Fort after a carriage wreck west of Pawnee Rock.

The 1830s actually witnessed the first crossing of the trail by a female American citizen. For some time, Susan Shelby Magoffin was considered to be the first American woman in Santa Fe; however, Mary Dodson Donoho, the 25-year-old wife of trader William Donoho, is now believed to be the first American woman to arrive in Santa Fe over the trail. In 1833 Mary Donoho, along with her husband William and nine-month-old daughter Mary Ann, traveled over 100 miles from Columbia, Missouri to join the caravan for Santa Fe at Independence. This caravan was composed of approximately 328 people and between 93 and 103 wagons and carriages, of which 63 were laden with a total of $100,000 to $180,000 worth of merchandise. Captain William N. Wickliffe commanded the caravan, which was escorted by 144 officers and men with five supply wagons, one piece of field artillery, and one ammunition wagon. After arriving in Santa Fe, the Donoho family managed a hotel there from 1833 to 1837.[262]

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[257] Mary Jean Cook, "Carmel Benavides, an Early Santa Fe Trail Woman," *Wagon Tracks* 13, no. 1 (November 1998): 14.

[258] Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," 117.

[259] Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail, 6,* 102-103.

[260] Gregg, *Commerce*, 36.

[261] Meyer, *Mary Donoho*, x.

[262] Meyer, *Mary Donoho*, 28-29. Citation covers paragraph. William Donoho is also believed to have secured the release of three Texan women, a Mrs. Harris, Sarah Horn, and Rachael Parker Plummer, who were held by Comanche as servants. Donoho arranged for their purchase from the Comanche and for their passage to Missouri along the trail. See Meyer's *Mary Donoho* for more information.

American Indians and the Santa Fe Trail

Several American Indian tribes were directly or indirectly tied to the Santa Fe Trail, either by residing in the land crossed by the trail or because their nomadic lifestyles routinely brought them into close proximity with the trail. Through the negotiation of treaties in 1825, the United States Congress officially recognized the presence of the Sioux, Cheyenne, Crow, Osage, Kansa, Otoe & Missouri, Pawnee, and Makah, but according to Augustus Storrs, Arapaho, Snake, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were also very present in the land around the trail.[263] The treaties granted rights-of-way to the US for the purpose of establishing a road between Mexico and Missouri (Appendix C). Though written by the US negotiators, these treaties and agreements with the American Indians contained wording that suggests the two parties viewed each other amicably at the beginning of the trade.

As previously mentioned, Euro-American and Spanish goods that increasingly became available to American Indian groups were generally considered beneficial, as these goods often made traditional tasks easier, or they allowed these tasks to be accomplished more efficiently. Trading posts such as Bent's (Old) Fort were constructed for the primary purpose of trading with the American Indians in the region. Built by Mexican laborers employed by brothers Charles and William Bent and partner Ceran St. Vrain, Bent's Fort was completed in 1834, though it was an active trading post beginning in late 1833 and continuing through 1849.[264] Business consisted of trade in buffalo robes, furs, and horses and transport of Euro-American trade goods into New Mexico. The fort became a focal point of interaction between Hispanic, Euro-American, and the various Plains Indian tribes, including the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche, Sioux, and Snake.[265]

Most of the tribes were, if not friendly, not openly hostile to the traders. In fact, in his Congressional testimony in 1825, Storrs only attributed open acts of hostility to the Comanche and Pawnee – two tribes who other Indians and the Mexicans knew to assert their power by raiding even before the opening of the Santa Fe trade. The Comanche, especially, were a dominant force in the Southwest starting around the year 1700.[266] A result of raids and killings by Comanche or Pawnee Indians was that American traders in particular began to view all Indians as unfriendly. Storrs notes an event that occurred in 1823 where 40 horses and mules were stolen in Osage Territory by Comanche. Because of the location, the Osage, who were generally friendly toward the Americans, were blamed for the robbery until the truth was discovered the following summer.[267] Events like this happened often. Popular belief among Americans at the time, as echoed in Congressional testimony by Storrs, was that American Indians hardly ever risked the lives of their warriors unless it was for the purposes of revenge or in a state of open warfare.[268] What was not understood was the larger truth that warriors willingly risked their lives in order to protect their tribes from other Indian raiders or from non-Indian travelers, who often unjustly reacted to attacks against them. Josiah Gregg alluded to this when he wrote that peaceful relations between Indians and traders were short-lived:

> It is greatly to be feared that the traders were not always innocent of having instigated the savage hostilities that ensued….Instead of cultivating friendly feelings with those few who remained peaceful and honest, there was an occasional one always disposed to kill, even in cold blood, every Indian that

[263] Storrs, *Answers*, 11. Storrs notes that all the tribes, excluding the Osage, Kansa, and Pawnee, were nomadic.
[264] David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 136.
[265] Barry, The Beginning, 256, 276-277, 1293; Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 240-241; Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 140.
[266] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 292.
[267] Benton, Storrs, & Niles, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 315.
[268] Ibid.

> fell into their power, merely because some of the tribe had committed some outrage either against themselves or their friends.[269]

Though Gregg understated the situation, retaliatory actions to Indian hostilities appear to be the Americans' – military and traders – strategy throughout the course of the trade. This reaction violated the wording in many of the agreements between the US and the tribes, which provided protection to the tribal members in the event of hostilities towards them by travelers and traders, but the tribes were most often considered at fault.

Partly in response to the growing tensions between the traders and the American Indians, the first military post was soon established. Colonel Henry Leavenworth founded Fort Leavenworth, the first permanent fort in Kansas, on the west bank of the Missouri River on May 8, 1827. Established to guard the Indian frontier, the post also served to protect the rights of American Indian tribes, regulate trade and contact, garrison troops who protected travelers on the Santa Fe Trail, and generally preserve the peace on the frontier. The fort was the headquarters for military commanders in the Department of the Missouri and later was the general depot for supplies to all military forts and camps in the West.[270] In May of 1834 the War Department designated Fort Leavenworth as the regimental headquarters of the 1st US Dragoons, and upon arrival of Dragoon Companies A, C, D, and G in September of that year, Fort Leavenworth became headquarters in fact.[271] In 1835 Colonel Henry Dodge led an expedition of dragoons to the Rocky Mountains. He held council with numerous Indian tribes along the way, even reporting back to the War Department on the state of land improvement for tribes that received allotments.[272] Leaving Fort Leavenworth on May 29, Dodge and three companies of dragoons, numbering some 125 men, headed toward the Platte River, which they followed to the mountains. The group returned by way of the Arkansas River and Santa Fe Trail through Kansas, arriving at Fort Leavenworth on September 16 after a three-month trip of more than 1600 miles. One member of the party, Samuel Hunt, died and was buried along the trail in Osage County near the Soldier Creek Crossing.[273]

One post along the Missouri River could do only so much to protect traders on the trail. In 1827, a group of Pawnee attacked a returning party of traders and stole 100 head of mules and other livestock. In 1828, near the present border of Oklahoma and New Mexico, two members of a returning wagon train, Robert McNees and Daniel Munro, having gone ahead of their caravans, were attacked while they slept; McNees died immediately, but Munro died a few days later.[274] Their deaths were revenged later on that return trip when traders killed all but one of a group of American Indians they encountered at the crossing of a small tributary of the North Canadian River.[275] The fact that these slain Indians – the tribe of which is unknown – were within such close proximity to the wagon train seems to indicate they were not the ones who attacked the traders.[276] The retaliatory killing of American Indians, regardless of guilt, seems to be an occurrence that happened often.

The first of six Santa Fe Trail escorts preceding the Mexican-American War was assigned to the Army in 1829.[277] Although the US government's policing of the trail suggested that every man carry a gun, in 1829

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[269] Gregg, *Commerce*, 11.
[270] Marvin H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (November 1931): 52-53; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 25.
[271] Barry, *The Beginning*, 278.
[272] Ibid., 287-288, 293-294.
[273] Ibid., 287, 294.
[274] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 18; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 13.
[275] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 13; Wood, 52.
[276] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 18.
[277] Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," 117.

newly elected president Andrew Jackson declared that an escort or outriders should be provided.[278] This first military escort was comprised of Brevet Major Bennet Riley and 200 troops from Companies A, B, F, and H of the 6th US Infantry. Riley's party hauled a six-pound cannon pulled on a mule-drawn carriage and 20 wagons and four carts of supplies and rations drawn by oxen. This was the first documented use of oxen on the Santa Fe Trail.[279] After rendezvousing with traders at Round Grove in Johnson County, Kansas, the soldiers marched ahead of the civilian freight wagons to the vicinity of Chouteau's Island in the Arkansas River in Kearny County, Kansas. At that time the river in this vicinity marked the boundary between the United States and Mexico, so the soldiers could not continue the escort farther down the trail. The caravan experienced some conflict with Indians, most likely Comanche or Pawnee, soon after departing from the Arkansas River and continued to experience harassment for the next month until a group of approximately 120 Mexican hunters joined the party.[280] On the return trip, the caravan was escorted by a group of Mexican soldiers.

Soldiers periodically provided escorts for trading parties along the trail during the next several years when the need arose and orders were issued. The second military escort along the Santa Fe Trail was not provided until 1833. In 1832 President Andrew Jackson signed an act to raise a battalion of Mounted Rangers, predecessors of the 1st US Dragoons (later the 1st US Cavalry), for one year.[281] The battalion, consisting of six companies of 110 men each, was under the command of Major Henry Dodge. Captain Matthew Duncan and Company F of the Mounted Rangers reported for duty at Fort Leavenworth in February 1833.[282] One month later, on March 2, 1833, President Jackson authorized raising a regiment of dragoons and discharging the Mounted Rangers. Major Dodge remained as commander of the newly formed dragoon regiment: the 1st US Dragoons.[283] In 1833 Captain William N. Wickliffe, a few 6th US Infantry soldiers, and Captain Matthew Duncan's company of US Mounted Rangers escorted a caravan to the international border.[284] The following year, a detachment of dragoons under Captain Clifton Wharton provided this service. Among the caravans protected by the dragoons that year was a wagon train composed of 80 wagons, $150,000 worth of trade goods, and 160 men including Josiah Gregg.[285] Later in 1834, a decision was made to eliminate protection of caravans unless a general American Indian war occurred.[286]

A series of *Indian Trade and Intercourse* acts were enacted between 1790 and 1847 to improve relations with American Indians by granting the United States government sole authority to regulate interactions between Indians and non-Indians. In 1830 Congress passed the *Indian Removal Act*. As a result, more than 80,000 individuals within tribes residing east of the Mississippi River were forcibly removed to reservations in present-day eastern Kansas and Oklahoma. Within the next few years, Congress passed additional legislation governing Indian-American relations. This included legislation intended to preserve the peace, restrict contacts between Americans and American Indians, regulate trade with Native peoples, and allow the military to enforce the act. A renewal of the *Indian Trade and Intercourse Act* passed in 1834 designated all US lands west of the Mississippi River (except Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas Territory) as

[278] Hurd, "Origin," 22; Young, "Military Protection," 22. President Jackson was heavily involved in fighting American Indians before being elected.
[279] Gardner, *Wagons for the Santa Fe Trade*, 7.
[280] Barry, *The Beginning*, 163; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 31-32.
[281] Barry, *The Beginning*, 227.
[282] Ibid., 216, 226.
[283] Ibid., 227.
[284] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 25.
[285] Barry, *The Beginning*, 266-267.
[286] Young, "Military Protection," 25.

Indian Territory.[287] With the exception of the military and missionaries, Americans were precluded from settling on or purchasing Indian lands. Fort Leavenworth soon adopted the added responsibility of protecting the rights of newly relocated tribes in the region. As a result of an 1834 act regulating the Indian Department, Fort Leavenworth also served as a central distribution point for cash annuity disbursements paid to these Indian tribes as established in treaties.[288]

The Republic of Texas

Not until the spring of 1843 was another escort provided along the trail.[289] In the meantime, a new threat to Santa Fe travelers emerged. Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836, and the bitter animosities that developed were cause for concern. The Republic of Texas requested annexation by the United States, but President Jackson refused. Texans under the leadership of President Mirabeau B. Lamar, who was elected in 1838, sought recognition of the Republic by the world's leading powers in the hope that it would force Mexico to acknowledge the Republic's independence.[290] This acknowledgement was not received, so this group of Texans attempted to expand Texas' border to the Pacific coast. This made the conquest of New Mexico their first objective. In 1841, a Texan expedition set out for Santa Fe to secure military, political, and economic control over that city despite its stated objective of trade. The members of the expedition were forced to surrender and serve a one-year jail term.[291] The Republic of Texas authorized Jacob Snively and the "Texas Invincibles" to seize, through "honorable warfare,"[292] the goods of Mexican traders that lay within Texas territory. However, the Invincibles' expedition was to remain an unofficial Texan enterprise of less than 300 men comprising individuals from the Texas government, as well as those selected by Snively. The Mexican government pressed for American protection of the Santa Fe wagon trains while the Mexican president secured safe passage for those trains from the Arkansas River to Santa Fe. The US government responded by ordering colonels Stephen Watts Kearny and Philip St. George Cooke to furnish escorts once again for the caravans bound to and from Santa Fe. In doing so, US military escorts forced Snively and his followers to surrender. While this alleviated the threat of the ambush of Mexican traders, it meant that Mexico's earlier fears that the Santa Fe Trail might become an avenue of conquest had now become a reality. Thus, on August 24, 1843, when the fifth military escort accompanying the Santa Fe caravan reached the Arkansas River, Mexican forces, fearing an American takeover, turned out en masse to accompany the caravan for the remainder of the route. With the exception of the 1829 and the 1843 escorts, no Mexican protection was afforded Santa Fe caravans beyond the Upper Canadian River. Upon the return of the 1843 US escort, Colonel Cooke declared that since the Texan threat had been all but eliminated, military escorts were no longer needed.

The first decades of the Santa Fe trade saw a steady use of the 900-mile trail. Mexican and American merchants thrived from the new commercial possibilities of the trade while the Native peoples fought to retain control over their lands and ways of life. The United States' increasing desire for control led to multiple armed conflicts with American Indians and eventually melted amicable relations between the United States and its newly-independent neighbor to the south. The sixth military escort – led by Colonel Kearny – in May 1845, proved to be foreshadowed the war to come the following year.

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[287] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 104.
[288] Barry, *The Beginning*, 279.
[289] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 25.
[290] Ibid., 42.
[291] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 19.
[292] Ibid.

II. The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848

From its outbreak on May 13, 1846, until the formal termination of hostilities in 1848, the Mexican-American War transformed the Santa Fe Trail into a route of military conquest, from which time it became primarily a military supply route. During the war, soldiers and wagonloads of military supplies traveled the trail along with trade caravans; in some cases, soldiers heading to war were also protecting trade caravans filled with goods owned by both American and Mexican merchants. After the war, United States acquisition of the Southwest put the trail under domestic jurisdiction; although, it still carried international trade, as many traded items had been imported into the eastern US or were traded into Mexico after leaving Santa Fe. The period of de facto international trade along the trail ended with Brigadier General Kearny's taking of New Mexico in 1846; on a formal level, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848 officially ended the Mexican-American War.

The Santa Fe Trail was a key element in a number of issues that combined to provoke war between the United States and Mexico. US territorial expansion during the 1840s, the migration of US citizens into northern Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail and along the coast of California, the boundary dispute between Texas and Mexico, US citizens' financial claims against Mexico, and the political instability of the Mexican government, all contributed to a weakening of relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, a major issue of the 1844 American presidential campaign focused on the annexation of Texas and acquisition of Oregon. Tennessee Democrat James Knox Polk, elected on a platform that included a mandate for Manifest Destiny, announced the US intention to expand to the Pacific Ocean with Oregon, Texas, and California. American offers to annex the Republic of Texas were interpreted by Mexicans as an act of hostility. The Mexican government had never recognized the Republic of Texas, continuing to regard the area as a part of Mexico. Passage of a joint resolution for the annexation of the Republic of Texas through the US Congress on March 1, 1845, placed considerable stress on US relations with Mexico. President Polk sent General Zachary Taylor to Texas and diplomat John Slidell to Mexico. Slidell offered to negotiate with Mexico. The American proposal included: 1) that the Mexicans accept the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas, in exchange for which the US would assume payment of claims against Mexicans; 2) that Mexico accept the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Texas, ceding half of New Mexico, for which the US would pay five million dollars; 3) that the US would further pay Mexico another five million dollars for California north of Monterrey Bay and offer 25 million dollars for the rest of what is now the American Southwest. This offer was seen as inflammatory by the Herrera government, which rejected Slidell's diplomatic overtures. Unfortunately this rejection came too late to save Herrera from a popular uprising. Mexican citizens were upset with Herrera for even negotiating with the US about selling Mexican soil to the Americans. Herrera surrendered the government to Mariano Paredes on December 29, 1845.[293]

Paredes issued a proclamation of war against the United States on April 23, 1846. On April 25, Mexican General Mariano Arista crossed the Rio Grande and attacked a company of American soldiers located between the Rio Grande and the Nueces – an area of disputed ownership.[294] This skirmish became known as the Thornton Affair after Captain Seth Thornton, the leader of the American company. Official hostilities between

[293] Connor and Skaggs, 119. Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga (c1797-1849) gained political momentum during the 1840s in Mexico. He was upset with José Herrera's negotiations with the United States; as well as Herrera's domestic policy within Mexican borders. Paredes expected to overthrow Herrera and claim himself as the President. After Herrera's overthrow in 1845, Paredes planned to declare war on the United States with hopes to align Mexico with European countries as allies. However, his plan failed. After fleeing to Europe he moved back to Mexico where he died in 1849.

[294] Connor and Skaggs, 121.

the United States and Mexico began on May 13, 1846, when the US Congress declared war on Mexico. Congress authorized 50,000 volunteers for 12 months, provided ten million dollars for the invasion of Mexico, and increased the regular army from 7200 to 15,540 men.[295] Abolitionist presses voluminously opposed the war, Polk, and annexation, but solid support for the President and the war was more common; there was no shortage of volunteers.[296] The American plan of attack was threefold: 1) south from the Rio Grande through Monterrey to Mexico City; 2) west to New Mexico and California; and 3) American warships were to blockade Mexican ports.

Among the first US forces to move along the Santa Fe Trail into New Mexico was the Army of the West under the command of Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, who was promoted to brigadier general June 30, 1846. This army was sent to protect the Santa Fe traders and American citizens in northern Mexico and to occupy Santa Fe. Between June 6 and 27, 1846, 13 companies of Mexican-American War volunteers, comprising more than 1300 men, mustered at Fort Leavenworth. The Army of the West consisted of 1657 men, including: eight mounted companies of "Doniphan's" 1st regiment of Missouri volunteers; about 430 men of the 1st US Dragoons; the "Laclede Rangers" attached to the 1st US Dragoons; two companies of light artillery with 16 pieces of cannon; two companies of infantry; and a small detachment of topographical engineers. Some of the soldiers had previous experience along the trail as traders. Kearny sent provisions ahead to Bent's (Old) Fort where the troops were to rendezvous. Members of the expedition left Fort Leavenworth throughout June 1846 and traveled along the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. The Mountain Route was selected because it provided access to water and to a ready-made base for operations at Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas River. The army encamped at Bent's Fort from July 29 to August 2, preparing for an attack on Santa Fe.[297]

Kearny was anxious to promote his mission as one of liberation and not of conquest. To this end, circulars were sent to Mexican villages in advance, promising them friendship and protection under US control. From Bent's Fort on August 2, 1846, the Army of the West marched toward Santa Fe, reaching the city unchallenged on August 18. The first wagon train to follow Kearny's army was that containing Susan Shelby Magoffin, by whose account it took five days to cross Raton Pass. Behind the scenes political maneuverings on the parts of Charles Bent, James Magoffin, General Kearny, and Mexican General Armijo allowed the American troops to enter and take Santa Fe, "without the shedding of a drop of American blood."[298] New Mexico was taken peacefully as the Polk administration and General Kearny had desired, in part because of the advance work accomplished by American commerce. By 1846 Santa Fe and northern New Mexico were only nominally tied to Mexico, having gradually become more closely tied economically to the United States through the Santa Fe trade. Brigadier General Kearny declared the US occupation of New Mexico on August 19, 1846, and he proceeded to establish a civil-military government for New Mexico, appointing Charles Bent as governor of the new territory on August 22, 1846.

After occupying New Mexico, Kearny split his forces to continue the campaign against Mexico. The Mormon Battalion, composed of 500 young men from Nauvoo, Illinois, under the leadership of Captain Philip St. George Cooke, was dispatched from Fort Leavenworth to provide support for the Army of the West as it set out to open a wagon road from the Rio Grande to California and take control of that area.[299] The Mormon Battalion followed the Cimarron Route and met with some resistance in New Mexico in 1847. Reinforcements were sent via the Santa Fe Trail under the leadership of Colonel Sterling Price, and they were successful in maintaining US control. Another portion of the Army of the West, under the command of Colonel Alexander

[295] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 728.
[296] Connor and Skaggs, 121-122.
[297] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 123; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 71-73.
[298] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 123; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 72-76.
[299] Barry, *The Beginning*, 632; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 58; and Duffus, 204.

Doniphan, marched down the Rio Grande Valley to capture Chihuahua, Mexico, which had also become a popular destination for Santa Fe traders.

Resistance to US occupation continued in the form of guerilla warfare with insurrections at Taos and Mora, New Mexico in early 1847 which resulted in the deaths of Americans and American sympathizers. Governor Charles Bent perished in the Taos confrontation during his attempts at diplomacy with the leaders of the insurrection.[300] In response to the governor's death and the insurrection, a retaliatory attack on the Pueblo was led by Colonel Sterling Price; Ceran St. Vrain, Francis Aubrey, and Dick Wootton also were present. The attack culminated in the destruction of the Pueblo's adobe church in which most of the defenders were gathered. The destruction of the church resulted in many Pueblo and Mexican deaths. The leaders of the insurrection, Tomás Romero and Pablo Montoya, were captured and later executed.[301]

The American flag was raised over Mexico City on September 14, 1847, proclaiming victory. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was negotiated and signed February 2, 1848, officially ending the war. By July 1848 most United States forces had left Mexican soil. With the signing of the treaty, the United States acquired territory now comprising California, Nevada, and Utah, in addition to parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas. The Texas Annexation of 1845 and the Mexican Cession of 1848 provided for the creation of California, Utah Territory, New Mexico Territory, and Texas with the remainder comprising unorganized territory (Figure 7). The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo also signaled the beginning of an expanding trade.

Trail Traffic during the War

During the course of the Mexican-American War and its immediate aftermath, thousands of troops traveled along the Santa Fe Trail. Some of the soldiers and officers, like Major James H. Carleton, kept diaries or itineraries of their journey (Appendix D). Some 3000 wagons, 12,000 persons, and 50,000 head of livestock were estimated to have moved over the trail in the summer of 1848 alone.[302]

Despite the US preparation for war with Mexico, several aspects in the execution of a successful military operation, as they related to the Santa Fe Trail, were apparently not fully considered. The method of supplying the army demonstrated a lack of deliberation in that provisions reached the military outposts faster than wagons could become available for their distribution. For example, in late October 1846, Bent's Old Fort stored 140 tons of provisions though only about 12 wagons were scheduled for arrival during that that time.[303] Added to this problem was that even when drivers were available, they were often inexperienced.[304]

One of the more vulnerable and dangerous locations along the Santa Fe Trail during this period was the area encompassing the middle Cimarron crossings of the Arkansas River in southwestern Kansas. These crossing sites, all within a 26-mile stretch, had served as popular rendezvous points, campgrounds, and trading grounds for Indians, mountain men, trappers, and traders. Wagon caravans often rested at the crossings for several days before undertaking the arduous *La Jornada* route. Numerous reports were made of

[300] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 9; Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 282. Governor Bent was shot with musket balls and arrows and then scalped.

[301] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 292. For more details on the events at Taos, see Chapter 16 "Retribution."

[302] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 21.

[303] Walker D. Wyman, "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Trading, 1846-1865," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 5 (November 1932): 417.

[304] Ibid.

Indian attacks – primarily by Comanche and Pawnee – on wagons encamped at campgrounds or making the crossings.[305] The *St. Louis Reveille* from June 3, 1848 reported that "almost every train that crossed the plains in 1846 and 1847" was attacked, chiefly between the "Cimarron River and the Pawnee Fork at the bend of the Arkansas" River.[306]

The years between 1846 and 1848 signified the culmination of Comanche power that had dominated this region for 150 years. At the same time, New Mexico had "distanced itself from Mexico City to a point where its political ties" to the Comanche appeared tighter than those to the rest of Mexico. Since 1840, New Mexican government officials, including governors Manuel Armijo and Mariano Martinez, had repeatedly ignored orders from Mexico City that would have severed all peace ties with the Comanche – a tenuous peace based on the mutual benefits of trade between the two nations. As historian Pekka Hämäläinen concludes, "In their efforts to protect the vulnerable province…New Mexican elites had been forced to choose between appeasing one of two imperial cores and, in more cases than not, they chose Comanchería" over Mexico.[307]

New Mexico was arguably less powerful than the Comanche when the Mexican-American War began, but both entities considered the invading US Army as the enemy. Because of this mutual enmity, the two worked together to thwart the advance of the Americans, which helps to explain the increase of Comanche attacks along the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers within Comanchería. During the war, the Mexican Army gave the Comanche money and large numbers of horses and mules in exchange for the killing of Americans and the destruction of their property. [308]

As a result of these attacks, Fort Mann was established in this area in April 1847 by order of assistant quartermaster Captain William M.D. McKissack. McKissack recommended construction of a government depot along the Santa Fe Trail halfway between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe to provide a safe location along the route with a wheelwright, a blacksmith, and storehouses where military freight wagons could be repaired. Built by master teamster Captain Daniel P. Mann, Fort Mann (or Mann's Fort) was primarily intended to be a quartermaster depot – a relatively safe location where wagons and harnesses could be repaired and basic goods purchased, while livestock and travelers rested. Located within sight of "The Caches," it was the first military outpost along the mid-portion of the Santa Fe Trail, and it consisted of four flat-roofed log structures with adobe chimneys connected by 20-foot high wood walls; it had two large wooden gates.[309]

Fort Mann was not a regular military post. At its inception, it was garrisoned by a group of teamsters rather than soldiers.[310] The lack of military experience and the size of the detachment were not sufficient to offer much protection to travelers beyond the immediate vicinity of the fort.[311] Even before the fort was completed, Indians frequently attacked inhabitants and travelers. When construction was accomplished on May

[305] Strate, *Sentinel*, 11; Robert Marr Wright, *Dodge City, the Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest in the Days of the Wild Indian, the Buffalo, the Cowboy, Dance Halls, Gambling Halls, and Bad Men* (Wichita, KS: The Wichita Eagle Press, 1913), 13-14; and Wyman, "The Military," 421.

[306] Wyman, "The Military," 420.

[307] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 212, 292. Citation covers paragraph. See page 176 of *The Comanche Empire* for a map indicating the territory of the Comanche Empire at this time, which stretched north of the Arkansas River where these raids occurred.

[308] Wyman, "The Military," 420-421.

[309] Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), 330-336.

[310] R.A. White, "Fort Mann, Kansas: 1847-1847," *The English Westerners' Brand Book* 13, no. 4 (July 1971): 7.

[311] William Y. Chalfant, *Dangerous Passage: The Santa Fe Trail and the Mexican War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 52-53, 57; Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 330-331, 336, 338; White, "Fort Mann," 7-8.

16, Captain Mann departed the fort with about 25 of his builders, leaving 13 men and a couple of women and children.[312] For the next month, wagon and military trains passed through the fort while Arapaho and Comanche warriors repeatedly attacked, stealing livestock and killing several travelers.[313] The hostile environment contributed to the first abandonment of Fort Mann about June 23.[314] The last seven occupants destroyed much of the stockade's contents, reportedly throwing some items down the well, before departing with two teams, following the fort's cannon toward Santa Fe and leaving Mann's Fort "to the mercies of the Indians."[315] While the post remained officially unmanned, it served as an impromptu refuge for trail travelers throughout the summer of 1847. The physical state of the buildings quickly deteriorated during this time as freighters used wood from the fort walls to repair their wagons and to fuel their cooking fires. It was not long before the old post was described as being in a dilapidated condition and a "perfect wreck."[316]

As the war ended, the disbanding Army of the West provided the first official United States presence in the newly acquired territory.[317] Santa Fe traders began to demand increased military protection for civilian trade along the trail because of losses sustained during Indian raids. On August 20, 1847, the Department of War authorized Missouri Governor John C. Edwards to raise an expedition of Mexican-American War volunteers to protect the Santa Fe trade. Lieutenant Colonel William Gilpin was authorized to raise and command five companies of volunteers.[318] Gathering information for his new command about conditions along the trail from traders and travelers, Gilpin found that between Council Grove, Kansas and Las Vegas, New Mexico, there was a "bleak stretch of 600 miles" with "no resting places, depots, or points of security" since Fort Mann had been abandoned.[319]

In September 1847 Gilpin's Indian Battalion of Missouri Volunteers was formed to restore peace and protect traders along the road to Santa Fe. The force consisted of two mounted companies (A and B), an artillery company (C), and two infantry companies (D and E). This volunteer force was comprised mostly of recent immigrants who spoke little or no English, had no prior military experience, and were equipped with poor quality firearms and only minimal medical supplies.[320] They departed from Fort Leavenworth on October 6, 1847, bound for Fort Mann. The two foot companies and the artillery, some 216 enlisted men and 54 officers, wintered at the old post, with orders to begin repairing and enlarging the dilapidated fort. Considering that the post had previously housed only a few dozen men at most, the soldiers were forced to spend the winter in whatever tents and crude shelters they could rig together. Gilpin and the two companies of cavalry continued up the Arkansas River and spent the winter encamped near Big Timbers in present-day Colorado.[321]

During the War with Mexico, the Fort Mann location was busy with activity due to the large numbers of military supply trains and troops traveling along the trail. The end of the conflict in 1848 resulted in a sharp reduction in military freighting and troop movement and a corresponding decline in activity at and protection from the fort.[322] With the Mexican-American War over, Fort Mann was vacated for good in 1848; Gilpin and his

[312] Barry, *The Beginning*, 670.
[313] Ibid., 670-671.
[314] White, "Fort Mann," 9.
[315] Barry, *The Beginning*, 671.
[316] Trail traveler Thomas Fitzpatrick in a letter to T.H. Harvey, quoted in White, "Fort Mann," 9.
[317] Connelley, *A Standard History*, 123-125; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 91.
[318] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 84; Strate, *Sentinel*, 15.
[319] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 84.
[320] Strate, *Sentinel*, 15; White, "Fort Mann," 9.
[321] White, "Fort Mann," 9.
[322] Strate, *Sentinel*, 12.

volunteers left in August and headed east on the Santa Fe Trail, reaching Fort Leavenworth on August 14.[323] Gilpin recommended to his superiors that the government establish several new military stations or posts along the trail to protect travelers moving along it.[324] The volunteers' departure from Fort Mann once again left the Santa Fe Trail with no military outpost between Fort Leavenworth and Las Vegas, New Mexico, "where a small command had been stationed for protection since late 1846."[325]

The Santa Fe Trail helped make possible the US acquisition of the American Southwest. The traders had helped prepare the way for conquest, and the trail served as a major military supply route during the war.[326] The traffic over the trail during the period of the military campaign in Mexico increased dramatically from its previous civilian mercantile levels. This increase became the norm as the United States took possession of California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and New Mexico. The Santa Fe Trail was no longer just a commercial link between two nations engaged in international trade; it became an internal highway connecting the new territories to the more settled and industrialized East.

The Mexican-American War also altered the pattern of trade along the Santa Fe Trail. The American victory and the annexation of Mexico's northern territories drastically changed Mexican influence and Hispanic involvement on the Santa Fe Trail. New Mexican and interior Mexican merchants did successfully remain involved in and prosper from the trade.[327] Significant changes brought about by the war were the end of Mexican tariffs and the construction of forts and a US military presence in the area. Jurisdiction along the trail route changed from partly foreign to entirely domestic, while large freighting and stage companies replaced small trade proprietors.[328] With the increasing commercial value of merchandise, the Santa Fe trade expanded. The volume of freight hauled over the trail increased dramatically, with large government contracts being added to increasing civilian business along the route.[329] These contracts were to supply the military posts and to carry the mail.[330] The Santa Fe Trail played an important role in the War with Mexico and contributed to the expansion of the Union, and many individuals who became familiar with the trail through their part in the war effort later came back as traders or entrepreneurs.

III. Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1861

The time that elapsed between the end of the War with Mexico and the beginning of the Civil War was a period of consolidation and expansion on the western frontier. Exploration, settlement, and organization began in the vast territories newly acquired from Mexico in the Southwest and on the Great Plains. Trade along the trail increased, and regular mail and stagecoach service was instituted to connect the new territories with the rest of the country. In response to the increased trail traffic and encroachment of settlement, Indian attacks increased both along the trail and in frontier settlements. Fewer soldiers were available immediately following the Mexican-American War, but as attacks increased, so did military presence.[331]

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[323] Barry, *The Beginning*, 771, 802; White, "Fort Mann,"11-12.
[324] Strate, *Sentinel*, 15.
[325] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 94.
[326] Ibid., 55.
[327] Sandoval, "Gnats," 22-31.
[328] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 20.
[329] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1085.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 93; Morris F. Taylor, "The Mail Station and the Military Camp at Pawnee Fork, 1859-1860," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1970): 27, 36-38.

By the late 1840s, a change in the type of people traveling the route was observed. Initially the trail belonged to merchants, wagon masters, muleteers, and ox drovers. However, US Army soldiers, government officials, religious missionaries and emigrant families additionally traversed the trail by this time.[332] Many of the emigrants the trail accommodated in the late 1840s were destined for the gold fields of California. In 1849, between April and September alone, 2500 individuals from ten states traveled over part of the Santa Fe Trail on their way west.[333] This type of migration lasted until 1859 when the gold mines of Colorado became the destination of many travelers.[334]

An increase in the number of women travelers also occurred beginning in the late 1840s. Several accounts exist from army officers' wives who traveled along the trail after 1846, including those of Lydia Spencer Lane, Eveline Alexander, Alice Blackwood Baldwin, Frances Boyd, Frances Marie Antoinette Mack Roe, Josephine McCrackin Clifford, Genevieve La Tourette, Anna Maria Morris, Mrs. Byron Sanford, Katie Bowen, and Ellen Williams, all of whom traveled with their husbands.[335] Other females who traveled in groups and represented increasing traffic over the trail included Eliza Mahoney and daughter Marion Sloan (Russell), Julia Archibald Holmes, and Emily Harwood and Anna McKee – both Protestant missionaries sent to New Mexico by eastern missionary boards.[336] Among the women travelers, most accompanied husbands to Colorado during the gold rush of 1859;[337] however, McKee seems to be the only woman who traveled along the trail without a husband. In the 1850s and 1860s a number of American traders and businessmen took up residence in New Mexico; many of these men brought their wives and families with them on the trail with a wagon caravan or stagecoach.[338]

Trade Expansion

The period of maximum use of the Santa Fe Trail occurred when large annual caravans departed the eastern terminus of the trail bound for Santa Fe. Individual companies traveled but once a year but not necessarily at the same time as other groups. Westward journeys were accomplished between April and June, while eastbound caravans traveled the route between June and September.[339] National trade over the Santa Fe Trail generally expanded in the period between the wars both in terms of volume and price of goods and the number of traders and travelers. The nature of the goods transported did not vary greatly; although, the quantities and varieties increased. The Santa Fe Trail remained a portion of a larger international trade network with European goods still being imported into the US and transported from the east coast to the eastern terminus of the trail. Invoices of James J. Webb, a Santa Fe merchant between 1844 and 1861, provide excellent information on the wide range of goods that entered Santa Fe over the trail during these years. In Webb's stock accounts the following categories of merchandise were itemized:

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[332] Marc Simmons, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail: Diaries, Journals, Memoirs. An Annotated Bibliography," *New Mexico Historical Review* 61, no. 3 (July 1986): 236-237; Marc Simmons, *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers*, 2nd ed. (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1986), 2.

[333] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 58.

[334] Ralph Bieber, “Some Aspects of the Santa Fe Trail: 1848-1880,” *Missouri Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (January 1924): 159.

[335] Myres, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail,” 34-35.

[336] Ibid., 35. Julia Holmes traveled the trail in 1858 and was the first woman to climb Pike’s Peak.

[337] Myres, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail,” 35.

[338] Simmons, “Women on the Santa Fe Trail,” 236.

[339] Hurd, "Origin," 20.

Fancy Dry Goods: shaving soap, wash balls, hooks and eyes, face powders, vermillion, hair pins, bead bracelets, fancy necklaces, finger rings, ear bobs, satin beads, buck gloves, white gloves, men's gloves, metal vest buttons, pearl buttons, coat buttons, military buttons, women's cotton hose, women's openwork hose, ladies' silk hose, worsted cord, piping cord, needles, black silk thread, ivory combs, side combs, gold stars, silver stars, shoe laces, lamp wicks, wide lace, muslin dresses, silk dresses, fancy dresses, blue crepe shawl, feathers, cotton handkerchiefs, turkey red handkerchiefs, pink saucers, wool comforts, cologne, hair oil, case bonnets, and silk suspenders.

Dry Goods: pink cambric, check cambric, blue cambric, lienzo [linen cloth], manta [coarse cotton cloth], fancy cashmere, blue satinett,[340] blue drill, Swiss muslin, Victoria lawn [white muslin], white wool flannel, black serge, blue blankets, red blankets, table linen, blue yarn, furniture print, blue cloth, alpaca, oil cloth, oil table covers, oil carpeting, and silk handkerchiefs.

Clothing: cord pants, blue blanket coats, overcoats, coats, frock coats, dress coats, cotton vests, silk vests, fancy neckties, string collars, white shirts, fancy shirts, red flannel shirts, and hickory shirts.

Tinware: plates, pepper boxes, bracelets, lanterns, canteens, sets of measures, funnels, candle moulds, molasses cups, milk strainers, tumblers, pails, coffee pots, cups, dippers, and wash basins.

Hardware: iron pumps, skillets, fry pans, ovens, ploughs, coffee mills, corn mills, nails, bars of lead, hay forks, scythes, sad irons, locks, sheep shears, chisels, files, hand saws, bolts, knives and forks, pocket knives, Indian bells, Indian beads, axes, faucets, gun locks, bullet moulds, castors, scissors, zinc mirrors, and mouse traps.

Guns and Pistols: double barrel guns, percussion-lock guns, navy pistols, dragoon pistols, and Allen's revolvers.

Books and Stationery: slates, slate pencils, paper, envelopes, memorandum books, blank books, black sand, blotters, ink stands, red ink, sand boxes, steel pens, quills, pen holders, sealing wax, lead pencils, paper cutters, paper weights, red tape, Spanish dictionaries, geographies, atlases, second, third, and fourth readers, and playing cards.

Wines and Liquors: champagne, whiskey, fine whiskey, peach brandy, cherry brandy, wild cherry brandy, dark brandy, New York brandy, common cordial, Madeira wine, port wine, schnapps, punch essence, and gin.

Groceries: figs, sardines, pepper, cloves, chocolate, tobacco, cigars, candy, raisins, ketchup, pepper sauce, mustard, yeast powders, starch, sassafras bark, vinegar, saleratus [baking soda], pickles, French olives, quinces, canned tomatoes, canned peaches, canned pears, and castile soap.

Drugs and Medicines: sulphur [sic], essence of peppermint, sarsaparilla, soda, arrowroot, iodine, cream of tartar, and nitric acid.

Sutler's Goods: crocks, blacking, shoe brushes, razors, emery, beaver, buckskins, silver lace, gold lace, and shaving brushes.

[340] Satinett is a thin, sheer material used to make dresses imitating more expensive materials.

Sundries: gold scales, tobacco cutter, clock, office chair, office table, office bedstead, desk, counter scales, platform scales, iron safe, carriage and harness, mules, shot guns, medicine chest, six-inch Colt's pistols, counter table, tent, wheelbarrow, show case, and a cow.[341]

Missouri river towns such as Westport, Independence, and Kansas City proved to be important junctions in the transfer and transportation of goods. The commercial nodes often represented a change in the modes of transportation adopted. From the east to these locations, most of the freight was transported by steamship, while westward from these locations prior to 1865, freighting was accomplished overland by wagons. These goods, manufactured in the US or in Europe, were then transported over the Santa Fe Trail to markets in Santa Fe and to even more southern locations. The value of the Santa Fe trade increased, but estimates as to the total value of the trade varied considerably. For example, T.B. Mills, a prominent New Mexican merchant and political figure, created a table of estimates that appear overly conservative and, in some instances, highly suspect when compared with other estimates that place the value of Santa Fe trade ten times greater than Mills' estimates (Table 2).

Mills also estimated that in 1860, 5948 men were involved in the trade, which utilized 2170 wagons, 464 horses, 5933 mules, and 17,836 oxen.[342] These estimates exclude those persons not participating in trade such as stagecoach passengers and employees.

Table 2: Value of Santa Fe Trade Goods, 1846-1879

T.B. Mills's Estimates[343]		Other Estimates[344]	
Year	**Value**		
1846	$825,000		
1847-1848	$1,125,000		
1849-1859, inclusive	$1,150,000	1855 1858 1859	$5,000,000 $3,500,000 $10,000,000
1860	$3,500,000		
1861-1865, inclusive	$3,000,000	1862	$40,000,000
1866-1868, inclusive	$2,800,000		
1869-1870, inclusive	$2,600,000		
1871-1872, inclusive	$4,500,000		
1872-1879, inclusive	$5,200,000		

[341] Bieber, "The Papers of James J. Webb," 301-303.
[342] "Council Trove-Documents: Volume of Trade," *Wagon Tracks* 2, no. 1 (November 1987): 13.
[343] Switzler, *Report on Internal Commerce*, 565. Mills' table was entitled "Estimated number of wagons used in transportation and value of merchandise brought into New Mexico from 1846 to 1879, inclusive."
[344] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 51; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 26; and Wood, 61.

The Role of Council Grove

The portion of the Santa Fe Trail between the eastern terminus and Council Grove was an area of transition for numerous reasons. Crossing the prairie of eastern Kansas en route to Council Grove, the wagon formations lacked order and discipline. Wagons from the Fort Leavenworth military roads merged onto the trail, and wagons bound for Oregon diverged from the trail to Santa Fe.[345] Further, Council Grove represented a transition zone between peaceful and less settled Indian tribes. The Osage and Kaw peoples encountered on the route to Council Grove were considered relatively peaceful.[346] Beyond Council Grove, the territories of the Pawnee, Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche were less stable.

It was at Council Grove that caravans to Santa Fe became more organized in the years beginning immediately after the Mexican-American War. Captains, division lieutenants, and guards were elected and assigned duties. Oxen drovers, or “bullwhackers,” were then hired. The drover walked on the left side of his team, directing the oxen through his voice commands and the skillful use of his bullwhip.[347] This whip was difficult to use. It weighed five-and-a-half pounds and was composed of: a two-foot handle, a ten-foot lash made of braided rawhide, and a six or seven inch popper at the end.[348] The amount of strength it took to crack the whip made it a highly paid skill.[349] Bullwhackers earned between $25 and $30 a month including board. Wagon masters, or trail leaders, however, earned approximately $100 a month in 1860.[350] Wagon masters were a wide range of different ethnicities, mainly because anyone who could handle long periods of work on the trail was welcomed, no matter their background.[351] On wagons drawn by mules, the teamster rode the mule hitched to the left side nearest the wagon; this was called the "near wheel mule."

Council Grove was an appropriate place of sojourn along the Santa Fe Trail because of its proximity to the Neosho River. The river supplied water and provided the last opportunity to cut spare axles for wagons from the hardwood trees of oak, hickory, walnut, and ash lining the riverbanks.[352] Hardwood trees were rarely encountered west of Council Grove on the trail, so spare axles and wagon tongues were cut and fashioned from the felled trees in this area and secured to the underside of the wagons for future use.[353]

Before departing Council Grove, trail travelers had supplied themselves with sufficient rations for the long trip ahead, including 50 pounds of bacon, 10 pounds of coffee, 50 pounds of flour, 20 pounds of sugar, a small provision of salt, and a bag of beans per traveler.[354] These rations were supplemented by hunting along the route. Cows were brought along on later trips as a source of fresh milk and meat. Each man engaged in the trade during the early years provided his own equipment. Typically, this included a gun, a supply of powder and lead, a horse, and sufficient clothing and blankets.

In eastern Kansas, the wagons followed two parallel columns, but beyond Council Grove, a formation of four parallel columns was adopted, which presented several advantages. In case of a wagon breakdown, the

[345] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 15.
[346] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail,* 31.
[347] Connelley *A Standard History*, 140-141; Eggenhofer, 67, 111.
[348] Eggenhofer, 112; Wyman, “Bullwhacking,” 301.
[349] Wyman, “Bullwhacking,” 301-302.
[350] Barile, *The Santa Fe Trail in Missouri*, 96.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail,* 31.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Gregg, *Commerce*, 22; Connelley, *A Standard History*, 139; Eggenhofer, 62; and Wyman, “Bullwhacking,” 302.

movement of other wagons was not delayed or hindered.[355] Also, the raising of dust by the preceding wagons was kept to a minimum. Another attribute of four parallel columns of wagons was the ease and speed it allowed trail travelers to organize a defensive structure in preparation for American Indian response. The defensive formation commonly adopted by the trail caravan meant that:

> The two outside columns swung out in arching movements, the first two wagons meeting and leaving a space for the entrance, the following ones coming alongside to lock their front wheels with the rear wheels of the wagon ahead. The inside columns paused until the tail wagons of the outer ones were in place, then swung out at right angles, one right, one left, to join up with the two tail wagons and complete a rectangle. Another opening was left in the rear for the stock to be driven in. Wagon tongues were lashed to the wheels of the vehicles before them, making a nearly impregnable fort.[356]

A similar formation was adopted when setting up camp each evening. The wagon master would select a campsite preferably near a stream for the acquisition of water, grass, and wood. The head wagon would circle to the right with the wagon behind circling to the left and the subsequent wagons formed these lines of arcs until they met, enclosing a circular corral with a 20-foot space at the rear to facilitate the entrance of oxen.[357] Once the oxen were inside the corral, a wagon or chain would block the vacant space. The caravans could accomplish between 10 to 15 miles of the route per day. After departing from Council Grove, the first night was usually spent at Diamond Spring, Kansas. As the caravan progressed along the trail, other Kansas campsites became popular including Lost Spring, Cottonwood Creek, Turkey Creek, Little Arkansas River, Cow Creek, and the Big Bend of the Arkansas River.[358]

The trail conditions encountered by the wagon train sometimes damaged the wagons, requiring them to be repaired en route. Broken axles were a common complaint, so carrying a spare was advisable. Rosin and tallow served to lessen friction on axles while many government wagons overcame friction by having iron axles installed.[359] After several days of travel, many travelers had to make minor repairs to their wagons. Wheels would become loose due to friction, and wood often shrank because of extreme dryness. In order to secure wheels that had become loose, strips of hoop-iron or simple wood wedges were driven between the tire and felloe. Josiah Gregg recalls that as many as a dozen wheels might be repaired at once after a day's travel. Such minor repairs were an accepted part of trail life, and did little to slow the heavily loaded wagons bound for Santa Fe. On the portion of the trip from Santa Fe to Franklin and other destinations east, the wagons were more lightly laden. With winter fast approaching, the travelers were anxious to make greater haste. Lighter cargoes of 1000 to 2000 pounds facilitated quicker movement.[360]

The Wagon Mound Massacre

With the increase in the number of people using the Santa Fe Trail came more confrontation with the American Indian populations. Clearly by the mid-1840s, the *Indian Trade and Intercourse Act* of 1834, which recognized the presence of a permanent American Indian country between the Missouri River and the Rocky

[355] Marc Simmons, "The Santa Fe Trail...Highway of Commerce," *Trails West* (Washington, D.C.: Special Publications Division, National Geographic Society, 1983): 29.
[356] Eggenhofer, 63.
[357] Wyman, "Bullwhacking," 304.
[358] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 15.
[359] Wyman, "Bullwhacking," 299.
[360] Gregg, *Commerce*, 95-96, 157. Citation covers much of paragraph.

Mountains, was not being respected by Americans.[361] As a consequence, one of the greatest dangers to traders and travelers was confrontation with American Indians. Among the many tribes residing in the vicinity of the Santa Fe Trail were the Pawnee, Comanche, Kiowa, Plains Apache, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Jicarilla Apache, Kansa, Osage, and Puebloan nations, as well as Shawnee, Sioux, and Ute. American Indians themselves were threatened, as increasing numbers of traders and travelers continued to destroy their game and infringe upon their lands. Augustus Storrs predicted the Indians' reactions to the destruction of the buffalo in his Congressional testimony in 1825, "The buffalo are their means of support and commerce, and they would, doubtless, look with hostile feelings upon an establishment, which would be very likely to deprive them of both."[362]

The increase in commerce between New Mexico and the eastern United States undeniably had irreversible effects on the Indians associated with the trail. Diseases such as cholera and small pox decimated large portions of tribes who came into contact with Euro-Americans at trading posts and during the dispersal of annuities. In 1849 for example, a cholera epidemic near Bent's Old Fort was responsible for the deaths of half of the Southern Cheyenne.[363] Perhaps one of the most tragic effects of interactions between the American Indians and the Americans was the demoralizing dependence on the Americans for survival. This shift from proud independence to forced beggardom also led to increased hostilities between American Indian groups themselves as they sought to provide sustenance for their tribes. This shift was noted by Thomas Fitzpatrick, the Indian agent near Bent's Fort, in 1853:

> They are in abject want of food half the year…. The travel upon the road drives [the buffalo] off or else confines them to a narrow path during the period of emigration, and the different tribes are forced to contend with hostile nations in seeking support for their villages. Their women are pinched with want and their children constantly crying with hunger…. Already, under pressure of such hardships they are beginning to gather around a few licensed hunters…acting as herdsmen, runners, and interpreters, living on [the hunters'] bounty….[364]

The tension that increased between the US and the American Indians grew out of the desire for survival – on the Indians' own terms. The push-back against American control led to armed conflicts which endangered the lives of traders and Indians alike. Once the Euro-Americans were called *veho* (Cheyenne) and *niatha* (Arapaho) – words connoting cleverness and skillfulness; they were now considered a threat.

The event that became known as the Wagon Mound Massacre exemplified the distrust and animosity between the Indians – in this case the Llaneros band of Jicarilla Apache – and the Americans. Wagon Mound is located near the end of the Cimarron Route in New Mexico, halfway between the Rock Crossing, Vado de las Piedras, of the Canadian River and La Junta (now Watrous) on the Mora River. As its title suggests, this natural landmark resembles a freight wagon in profile pulled by oxen (Figure 8). The massacre of ten men accompanying the express mail wagon traveling west from Fort Leavenworth took place here in May 1850 and cannot be viewed in isolation.[365] The incident had its beginning in an altercation that occurred the previous August in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Upon an inspection of the Territory of New Mexico by Colonel George McCall and a 51-signature petition from Santa Fe residents, US soldiers were sent to Las Vegas to increase

[361] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 59.
[362] Benton, Storrs, & Niles, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 316.
[363] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 315.
[364] Fitzpatrick's last report from Bent's New Fort, as quoted in Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 326.
[365] Marc Simmons, "The Wagon Mound Massacre," *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 45; Barry, *The Beginning*, 916.

protection of the trail in that vicinity from the Jicarilla Apache and their allies, the Ute.[366] On August 16, 1849, 40 Jicarilla appeared near Las Vegas and set up camp on the outskirts of the town.[367] Their expressed intention was to trade ammunition with the townspeople; however, the US soldiers under the command of Captain Henry B. Judd were suspicious of their intentions and forbade the townspeople to trade with them.[368] After ten Jicarilla entered a village ten miles south of Las Vegas, Lieutenant Ambrose E. Burnside led the American soldiers to the Jicarilla camp where they interpreted the Indians were prepared for combat.[369] According to Captain Judd, after talks failed, a battle began that resulted in the death of many Jicarilla and the taking of six prisoners, including Chief Lobo's daughter.[370]

Two years after the event, Jicarilla Apache Chief Chacón claimed that the American Indians were seeking peace when they were attacked, so violence against travelers increased on the trail. Travelers were attacked near Wagon Mound and two American girls were seized. Meanwhile in late October 1849 near Point of Rocks, about 40 miles northeast of Wagon Mound, Santa Fe trader James M. White, his wife, their daughter, and other members of the two-carriage train were attacked.[371] Mr. White and all the other men in the party were killed, while his wife, daughter, and a female servant were abducted. Negotiations were proposed to exchange the Jicarilla warriors taken at Las Vegas for the prisoners held by the Jicarilla, but Colonel John Washington, Military Governor of New Mexico, refused.[372]

These events became linked with Wagon Mound when a unit of the US Army, under the command of Sergeant Henry Swartwont, left Las Vegas in search of the Jicarilla Apache. The soldiers brought one of the chief's daughters along as a guide and prisoner. Two contradictory accounts of questionable accuracy concerning the chief's daughter's death further emphasize the connection with Wagon Mound. The first account, furnished by Chief Chacón, reported that she was taken to the top of the mound to point to the Jicarilla camp, but instead seized a knife and was shot attempting to escape. The report given by John Greiner, an American Indian agent, also verified that they had taken her to Wagon Mound and that she cried and tried to signal the Inidans that trouble was on the way. The chief's daughter was shot the following morning after she grabbed a butcher's knife, tried to kill some soldiers, and stabbed a few of the mules. Chief Lobo, the girl's father, made a vow of revenge. Sergeant Swartwont's army unit returned to Las Vegas to reports that Mrs. White was found dead in a Jicarilla camp. Under the guidance of Kit Carson, soldiers stationed at Taos and Rayado had attacked the camp. During the attack, Carson and his men reported finding the "still warm body of Mrs. White;" the Whites' daughter and servant were also killed.[373] Several skirmishes followed, including the murder of one trail traveler and the wounding of another two by Jicarilla near the Pecos River crossing in late February 1850. The entire horse and mule herd belonging to Lucien Maxwell and other residents of Rayado was stolen by Jicarilla Apache on April 5, 1850, but they were recovered later by a company of dragoons scouted by Kit Carson in a conflict that cost five Jicarilla lives.[374]

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[366] Simmons, "The Wagon," 46-47; Barry, *The Beginning*, 780.
[367] Simmons, "The Wagon," 47.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid. Chief Lobo Blanco (or just Lobo) was chief of the Llaneros band of Jicarillas; Chief Chacón was chief of the Olleros band, which was more peaceful toward the Americans.
[371] Ibid., 48.
[372] Simmons, "The Wagon," 48; Barry, *The Beginning*, 885.
[373] Simmons, "The Wagon," 49; Barry, *The* Beginning, 885.
[374] Simmons, "The Wagon," 48-49. Citation covers paragraph, unless otherwise noted.

All of these events culminated in the Wagon Mound Massacre. On April 18, 1850, Frank Hendrickson, James Clay, and Thomas E. Branton left Fort Leavenworth carrying mail bound for Santa Fe. This was part of a series of individual trip contracts to carry the US mail once a month from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. These trips began in 1846 and lasted until 1850 when David Waldo, of Waldo, Hall, and Company, secured the first four-year contract to carry mail over the trail. The three-man party overtook a wagon caravan in central Kansas around a week into their journey and was joined by two members of that caravan - Thomas W. Flournoy and Moses Goldstein. A few days later they were joined by Benjamin Shaw, John Duffy, John Freeman, John Williams, and a German teamster, who were all members of an eastbound ox train that decided to turn around and go back to Santa Fe. The bodies of all ten men were found at Wagon Mound on May 19, 1850. The US Army report by Lieutenant Burnside stated that a combined force of over 100 Jicarilla Apache and Ute had overcome the men. A more plausible reconstruction of events was proposed by Chief Chacón, who suggested that the Jicarilla had intended to ambush the mail party at the Rock Crossing of the Canadian River, 20 miles northeast of Wagon Mound. The Indians had insufficient time to make preparations, resulting in a running fight with the mail party that brought them to Wagon Mound and nearby Pilot Knob. It was there that the Jicarilla and the Ute combined forces the following day to murder the mail party in their camp, after a two day battle.[375] At the time of this encounter, it was called "the most daring murder ever committed" by the American Indians and posed a serious threat to small-party trail traffic.[376]

Contract Freighting and Mail Service

The United States' acquisition of the Southwest, the increase in national trade, and the subsequent increase in American Indian hostilities witnessed after the Mexican-American War all led to the establishment of several military posts along or near the Santa Fe Trail. In 1849 there were seven posts scattered along the trail that were occupied by 987 soldiers; by the close of 1860 there were 16 military posts accommodating over 2000 troops.[377] The additional military outposts established to protect the trail, trade, and early settlers in the new territories included Forts Union, Riley, Wise, Larned, and Atkinson. Up until Fort Union was laid out in 1851, Santa Fe was the headquarters of the army in New Mexico and served as its supply depot. However, the establishment of Fort Union as a military supply depot meant that Fort Union became an important point of distribution.[378] Fort Riley was established in 1853; For Atkinson, near old Fort Mann, was active from 1850-1854. Camp Alert (later Fort Larned) started in 1859 primarily to protect a new mail station nearby. Fort Wise was established in 1860 and in 1861 became Fort Lyon. Both Fort Larned, Kansas, near Pawnee Fork, and Fort Wise (later Fort Lyon), Colorado, near Bent's New Fort, were established to protect smaller parties traveling to Colorado from an increasing number of Indian attacks.[379] These fortifications helped keep the Santa Fe Trail open for years after their construction (Figure 9).

Trading ranches opened along the Santa Fe Trail soon after the end of the Mexican-American War. These small businesses, also referred to as road ranches, stations, or stores, offered a variety of services to trail travelers, whether they were Santa Fe traders, civilians, or military travelers. Among the services and

[375] Ibid., 48-50. Citation covers paragraph, unless otherwise noted.
[376] Richard H. Kern, *Philadelphia Ledger*, July 2, 1850 as cited in Simmons, "The Wagon," 45.
[377] Wyman, "The Military," 423.
[378] Ibid., 424.
[379] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 61.

amenities offered were food and lodging, milk, whiskey, fresh water, groceries and provisions, stage service, a post office, fresh livestock, hay and grain for livestock, a blacksmith, corrals, purchase of hides or furs, hunting opportunities, and even prostitution. William Bent erected a new trading post, Bent's New Fort, at the Big Timbers on the Arkansas River, near modern Lamar, Colorado, in 1853. In 1852, William Mathewson built a trading post near modern Great Bend, Kansas, as well as, stores on Cow Creek (near Lyons) and at the Little Arkansas River crossing. After passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 opened Kansas Territory to white settlement, other trading ranches, hotels, and stage stations were established along the route, many at strategic trail crossings and campgrounds. Some merchants saw an opportunity to profit from travelers along this portion of the Santa Fe Trail.[380] While some trading ranches and stage stations remained in place for several years, other stations came and went quickly along the trail, as did the individuals who built them and provided the services (Appendix E). Several Kansas trading ranches also offered toll bridges so that travelers could avoid otherwise treacherous or time consuming fords across troublesome streams. By 1849 a toll bridge had been erected across Switzler Creek (referred to by the 1825 Sibley Survey as Bridge Creek), near modern-day Burlingame, Kansas, by John Switzler. By 1860 toll bridges were available at 110 Mile Creek, 142 Mile Creek, the Neosho River at Council Grove, the Little Arkansas River (Station Little Arkansas), and Cow Creek.[381]

The government adopted a system of contract freighting to serve the military forts and their occupants. Despite the delivery delays and damage to military freight, the transportation system that allowed for civilian contractors proved to be cheaper and more manageable than providing government trains.[382] The relative success of these civilian contracts resulted in more contracts being awarded to serve the increasing number of military outposts that developed along the trail. As the competition among civilian contractors increased, the cost of transportation of military supplies decreased; even so, transported items still increased up to five or six times their original value when transportation costs were included.[383] Since most (though not all) of the military freighting that did take place was fulfilled by civilian contractors, this activity presented the opportunity for military-civilian interaction.

Throughout the course of government contract freighting, the freighting companies varied and freighting rates fluctuated. In 1848, James Browne of Independence was the first to agree to transport military supplies over the trail; transportation expenses were set at $11.75 per 100 pounds. Contract freighting for the government officially began in 1849, however, when James Browne partnered with William H. Russell. They contracted to transport military supplies at $9.88 per 100 pounds. By 1850, several freighters transported military supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe at an average rate of $8.87-1/2. By 1853, Alexander Majors and J. B. Yager had become the principal government contractors and were transporting goods at a rate of $16 per 100 pounds. Russell, Majors, & Waddell were contracted in 1857 to transport supplies at a rate between $1.25 and $4.50 per 100 pounds per 100 miles. The supplies were transported from Fort Leavenworth or Fort Riley, Kansas, to Fort Union, intermediate locations, or other posts in New Mexico. Russell, Majors, & Waddell became the principal government contractors in 1860 and 1861. By 1865, the total cost of military freighting by contractors was $1,439,538.[384] Railroads – which were expanding ever westward

[380] David K. Clapsaddle, “Trade Ranches on the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, Part I: The Other Ranch at Walnut Creek” *Wagon Tracks* 12, no. 2 (February 1998): 19-20; David K. Clapsaddle, “Trading Ranches on the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, Part II: Hohneck’s Ranch” *Wagon Tracks* 12, no. 3 (May 1998): 16-17; Sondra Van Meter McCoy, “Central Kansas Trading Ranches on the Santa Fe Trail,” *Adventure on the Santa Fe Trail,* Leo E. Oliva, ed. (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1988):108-122.

[381] Clapsaddle, “Toll Bridges,” 16-17.

[382] Darlis A. Miller, "Freighting for Uncle Sam," *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 11.

[383] Miller, "Freighting for Uncle Sam," 12.

[384] Wyman, “The Military,” 424-427. Citation covers paragraph.

– slowly began to replace government contractors as the means of transporting military supplies to and between military posts in the Southwest; although, contractors in Colorado and New Mexico were still active until 1880.

After the Mexican-American War, expanding trade and the increase in traffic brought improvements in communication. Prior to 1846, the delivery of newspapers and letters was entrusted to traders and travelers. With the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, the War Department organized a military pony express to various military units traveling in northern Mexico in order to maintain contact with its troops positioned in that region.[385] An act of Congress in 1847 designated the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail from Independence via Bent's (Old) Fort to Santa Fe as a postal route.[386] As an example of an increase in communication, that same year, Captain Francois X. Aubry rode from Santa Fe to Westport, a distance of 775 miles, in five days and 13 hours from September 12 to 17 using relays.[387]

Military and non-military express mail was used for communication between Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Marcy in Santa Fe during and after the Mexican-American War. The irregularity of this mail service was a common complaint among New Mexicans.[388] The establishment of a post office in Santa Fe in 1849 recognized the need for a more permanent system. In the following year, David Waldo and his partners successfully bid for the four-year contract to carry the mail, which was almost always accompanied by the development of passenger stage service to a region. From this time onward, stage traffic became an important component of Santa Fe Trail commercial traffic.

In 1850, the postmaster general ordered the establishment of a regular wagon mail service between Independence and Santa Fe.[389] Waldo, Hall, and Company of Independence was awarded the contract, which required the 30-day transport of mail once a month in both directions beginning on July 1 of that year.[390] Before 1850, Waldo, Hall, and Company used simple mail wagons to transport the mail; however, from 1850 onward, the government subsidized a contract mail service on the Santa Fe Trail, enabling the establishment of stagecoach lines along the trail. These stagecoach lines heavily depended on the revenues derived from contracts to deliver the mail. The contracts issued by the Post Office Department had a significant impact on the settlement and extension of US sovereignty over the West.[391]

Of necessity, stage stations were established along the trail to provide repairs to stages and fresh draft animals. Eventually, limited services were offered such as food and lodging for passengers and stage company workers. Beginning the 1850s, with feed and exchange animals available at stations along the route,

[385] Bieber, "Some Aspects," 165.

[386] Morris F. Taylor, *First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines on the Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 23; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 56. The route was not named the Mountain Route in the Congressional act; rather Taylor describes it as the "route from Independence, Missouri, via Bent's Fort to Santa Fe, capital of the recently occupied Mexican territory south of the Arkansas River."

[387] Simpich, 249. Though Francois X. Aubry is his given name; writers sometimes refer to him as Felix Aubrey or Felix Aubry. Fort Aubrey in Kearny County, Kansas was named for him, though the spelling of his last name was changed.

[388] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 23.

[389] Bieber, "Some Aspects," 165.

[390] Ibid.

[391] A synoptic overview of stagecoaches on the Santa Fe Trail is provided in Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 55-58. See also Taylor, *First Mail West*.

stagecoaches could travel the trail year round, making the trip in a matter of days.[392] Stage stations and stops along the route provided simple meals for the passengers, sometimes a new driver, and a change of animals, though conditions were rough. WWH Davis describes a stop in Council Grove in the latter part of 1853:

> The snow was falling fast when we drove up to the Grove, and all felt thankful we would have a roof to shelter our heads during the night. We took possession of a filthy old cabin, windowless and doorless, and which some of the boys named the 'Astor House,' in which we ate our supper. As soon as we arrived, the blacksmith was set at work shoeing the mules and mending up the wagons. … Mr. Withington, the agent for the mail-contractors, treated us in the kindest manner…he furnished our party with all the beds he had to spare. The next morning Mrs. W. prepared us a warm breakfast, of which we partook with thankfulness.[393]

Stations were established at Council Grove (1850), Fort Union (1851), and Diamond Spring (1852) during the Waldo, Hall, & Company's contract.[394]

Jacob Hall won the $10,990 mail contract in 1854 and the $39,999 mail contract in 1858. In these early years, the main purpose of the service was to transport mail, while passenger travel was only a subsidiary venture to the lucrative mail contract. The mail stagecoach could carry up to eight passengers at a cost of $150 a person.[395] The stage was usually pulled by six mules and guarded by eight men, who collectively could fire 136 shots without reloading; each of the eight men carried one Colt revolving rifle, one Colt long revolver, and one small Colt revolver. [396] Often the mail entourage consisted of three wagons, including one for passengers, one for mail, and one for provisions.[397] In the 1850s, the trip usually took 25 to 30 days to complete. However, as late as 1860, irregularities in mail delivery still existed.

The 1854 mail contract evolved into a partnership between Jacob Hall and John Hockaday. The Hall-Hockaday partnership served official post offices in Independence, Westport, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Fort Union. Newer post offices were added to the route including eight Kansas post offices and one at Tecolote, New Mexico. Hall successfully bid for the next mail contract period in 1858 with Judge James Porter as a partner. Mail and stage routes proliferated throughout the Southwest and nationally as the new lands acquired through the successful conquest by the Americans during the Mexican-American War were opened for settlement and development.[398]

Santa Fe Trail stage lines formed an important part of the national postal and passenger stagecoach system. The regular mail route followed the Cimarron Route of the trail up until 1860. The constant hazard of confrontation with the American Indians of the Plains, coupled with the increasing traffic from Colorado gold seekers, made the Mountain Route of the trail increasingly attractive to stage operators. The new Colorado gold camps were burgeoning with emigrants, and after military protection, mail service was one of the first demands of the new settlers. By late 1860 the partnership of Hall and Porter requested that it be allowed to move its mail

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[392] Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), 304; Taylor, "The Mail Station," 28-29.
[393] W.W.H. Davis, *El Gringo: or New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1857), 23.
[394] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 30, 33; see also Appendix E.
[395] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 56.
[396] Taylor, *First Mail West,* 29; *Brown*, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 56; and Duffus, 223.
[397] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 56.
[398] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 39-40, 48-49, 51-52, 54-55. Citation covers paragraph.

service to the Mountain Route.[399] Shortly thereafter the Hall & Porter stage line was sold to the Missouri Stage Company, headed by Preston Roberts, Jr. Hall retained the current mail contract but transferred its operation to Roberts's firm. By early 1861 the postmaster general allowed the new firm to transfer the mail and stage route to the Mountain Route.[400] From 1863, until they went out of business with the coming of the railroad in 1880, the Barlow-Sanderson Overland Mail & Express Company operated stages and mail services between Kansas City and Santa Fe. Employing the use of relay stations, delivery of mail could be completed in 13 days and six hours.[401]

The development of stagecoach firms typically involved a host of investors. Often the partners under one contract would increase or reduce their level of involvement in subsequent contracts. Consequently, the names of the firms changed as often as the contracts themselves. After the Hall-Roberts partnership, contracts were awarded to Slemmons, Roberts, & Company (1860-1862), which expanded stage lines to newly founded Colorado mining communities. Contracts were also awarded to Cottrill, Vickory, & Company, also known as M. Cottrill & Company (1862-1865), which expanded stage lines even farther to other western towns.[402] The famous Concord stagecoaches did not appear on the Santa Fe stage lines until M. Cottrill & Company introduced them in 1864.[403] A travel itinerary, published in 1867 as a circular from the depot quartermaster's printing office at Fort Union, New Mexico, was based on records kept by travelers Dr. John Locke and W. Wrightson in 1864. It includes measurements of distances between places on the Santa Fe Trail, many of which were stage stations, showing the prevalence of these amenities by 1864 (Appendix F).

Military protection was sought and obtained for the stagecoach and mail service,[404] as Army escorts were regularly provided to protect the mail service.[405] A fixed-point defense system, in the form of forts located at strategic points along the trail, was adopted in the 1850s and 1860s.[406] Fort Atkinson (near present-day Dodge City, Kansas) was established in 1850 as a sort of "half-way house" on the trail. In 1851, Fort Union, approximately 20 miles from Watrous, New Mexico, became the second fort to open along the route. The success of this type of defense system was limited since sporadic violence against trail travelers continued for the following two decades.[407]

Mail service brought news from abroad and from other parts of the United States in addition to mail and express to trail merchants and other frontier inhabitants.[408] While a daily stagecoach service had been available since 1862, mail was not carried on each stage.[409] Mail service was increased to semi-monthly in 1857,

[399] Ibid., 73.
[400] Ibid., 77.
[401] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 57.
[402] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 94-95.
[403] The Concord, New Hampshire firm of Abbot-Downing Company was the first to build these coaches. The structure of this vehicle resembled the English coach of the eighteenth century; however, it was functionally suited to the rough terrain encountered in western territories. They weighed 2500 pounds and could carry nine passengers. Jack Rittenhouse, *American Horse-Drawn Vehicles* (Los Angeles, California: Dillon Lithograph Company, 1948), 46-48; Taylor, *First Mail West*, 103; and William Y. Chalfant, *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 78.
[404] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 10.
[405] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 93; Taylor, "The Mail Station," 28, 35.
[406] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 60.
[407] Simmons, "The Wagon," 51-52.
[408] Bieber, "Some Aspects," 166.
[409] Hurd, "Origin," 22.

weekly in 1858, tri-weekly in 1866, and daily in 1868.[410] The Santa Fe stage was the quickest means of communication and transportation between the more settled parts of the United States and the Southwest territories before the introduction of railroad and telegraph services.[411] These United States' westward territorial expansions, while resulting in greater confrontation and conflict with American Indian peoples, also contributed to the deepening sectional divisions between the North and the South.[412]

IV. The Civil War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865

By the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, the Santa Fe Trail crossed portions of Missouri, Kansas, unorganized territory, Colorado Territory, and New Mexico Territory (Figure 10). The Civil War brought about many changes in the regional political divisions of the emerging nation. President Lincoln appointed pro-Union officials in the territories. Local volunteers and militia troops replaced or supported regular Union troops in much of the West, and Colorado volunteers supplemented regular troops guarding the Santa Fe Trail and fighting in New Mexico.

In the western United States, the Civil War had a much different appearance than in the eastern states. No great strategic battles were won or lost nor were there major engagements comparable to those in the East; although, fighting was not confined to the area east of the Mississippi River. While the conflict in the East was a defensive war for independence on the part of the Confederates, in the West it was an attempt at conquest. Both the Confederate and Union forces saw the need to control the expanding western regions, and the Native peoples sought to maintain possession of their ever-shrinking lands. The significance of the Civil War in relation to the Santa Fe Trail is limited to military matters, such as the increase in the numbers of soldiers, escorts, patrols, and forts along the trail and was closely tied to Indian relations.

While national attention was drawn to the struggle between the North and the South east of the Mississippi River, activities along the Santa Fe Trail contributed to the preservation of the Union. Two battles along the trail dashed Confederate attempts at territorial expansion. The Confederacy sought diplomatic recognition from other nations and allies, and through expansion, it sought access to a Pacific seaport and to the wealth from western mining districts. To these ends, Confederate forces invaded New Mexico in 1862. The initial stage of the invasion was a success. Under the command of Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley, 3500 officers and men mostly from Texas marched up the Rio Grande Valley in January, occupying Albuquerque on March 8 and Santa Fe on March 11, 1862.[413] The invasion of New Mexico was only the initial thrust of a campaign that was intended to capture New Mexico, seize the Colorado mines, and eventually conquer California.

The key to Confederate control of New Mexico was Fort Union, located on the Santa Fe Trail near where the Cimarron and Mountain routes converged, about 100 miles from Santa Fe.[414] The capture of Fort Union would have considerably reinforced Confederate supplies and equipment. Under orders from Lieutenant Colonel Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, the defensive position of Fort Union was improved by moving the post in 1861 from its original location near a mesa and rebuilding it a mile into the valley.[415] The newly rebuilt Fort Union was a "square-bastioned fortification with earthen breastworks extending outward from the square to form the shape of an eight-pointed star"

[410] Bieber, "Some Aspects," 165.
[411] Ibid., 166.
[412] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 131.
[413] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 131-135.
[414] Ibid., 131-132.
[415] Ibid., 132.

(Figure 11).[416] Governor William Gilpin of Colorado sent the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, consisting of ten companies led by Colonel John P. Slough, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, and Major John M. Chivington, to reinforce the garrison at Fort Union.[417] Colonel Slough, in command of 1342 troops, marched from Fort Union towards Santa Fe on March 22, 1862.[418] On March 26, Union forces, led by Major Chivington, and Confederate soldiers, under the command of Major Charles L. Pyron, clashed in the three-hour Battle of Apache Canyon. Union forces prevailed and dealt the Confederate invaders their first defeat since entering New Mexico. Following the battle, both armies fell back to regroup and gather reinforcements.[419]

On March 28, 1862, these opposing forces met once again, a few miles east of Apache Canyon, at Glorieta Pass – a defile of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains through which the Santa Fe Trail passed. A hard fought and bloody six-hour battle ensued between 1100 Confederate soldiers, led by Lieutenant Colonel William R. Scurry, and Union forces, composed of a 1300 infantry, cavalry and artillery, led by Colonel John B. Slough. The result was a stalemate.[420] However, a detachment of seven companies of Union soldiers under the command of Major Chivington was sent west to attack Confederate forces from the rear.[421] Chivington's men, having done so, came upon and destroyed a poorly guarded Confederate supply train with 73 wagons and hundreds of horses and mules.[422] Three Confederate soldiers were killed, several were wounded, and 17 were taken prisoner.[423] Since the Confederates now lacked supplies, they were not fully prepared for combat and had little choice but to retreat southward into Texas.[424] The Battle at Glorieta Pass (also known as the Battle of Pigeon's Ranch) turned out to be only a minor skirmish by Civil War standards.[425] Nevertheless, it proved to be a decisive blow to the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, and its significance in the prevention of Confederate expansion westward cannot be overlooked. Unsupported by the New Mexican populace, pursued by Union soldiers, and with the approach of the California Column under General James H. Carleton providing reinforcements for the Union forces, the Confederates were driven from New Mexico during the late spring and early summer of 1862.[426]

At least three of the ten Civil War battles that took place in Kansas were in close proximity to the Santa Fe Trail. On September 7, 1862, a large force of William Quantrill's proslavery raiders surrounded and staged a bold night attack on Olathe, a small community on the Santa Fe Trail in eastern Kansas. Male civilians and soldiers were rounded up, and many were killed; horses were stolen; large quantities of property were looted or destroyed, and the town was set on fire. The border ruffians escaped unharmed and stirred up panic along the Kansas border with Missouri. On October 17 of that year, the small community of Shawnee, located only a short distance southwest of Kansas City, was sacked and burned. Townspeople were held in the town square while raiders looted stores and set fire to buildings. Civilians blamed General James Blunt for failing to have troops in position to protect border communities. A third battle took place in May 1863 when Dick Yeager led 24 proslavery men in a raid on Diamond Spring, a Morris County town located more than 100 miles west of

[416] Ibid.
[417] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 132; Duffus, 246.
[418] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 132.
[419] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 215; Oliva, *Soldiers*, 134-135.
[420] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 64; Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 26.
[421] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 154.
[422] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 65.
[423] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 139.
[424] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 26.
[425] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 65.
[426] Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 40, 49, 82, 100-101; Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 215; and Oliva, *Soldiers*, 139.

the Missouri border. The proslavery force made its way back to Missouri along the Santa Fe Trail, attacking and looting the communities of Rock Springs, Black Jack, Gardner, and Shawnee on the return trip. The Kansas militia pursued Yeager's party but failed to stop them.[427]

The Battle of Westport in October 1864 was one of the last and largest Civil War battles fought in the trans-Mississippi area. This confrontation ended in the defeat of General Sterling Price and his Confederate troops.[428] Governor Thomas C. Fletcher announced the restoration of civil law in Missouri on March 7, 1865, even though hostilities did not cease until May of that year.[429]

The Civil War itself did not leave significant changes along the Santa Fe Trail. It did not change patterns of settlement or result in major political changes; however, violence related to the war did result in the temporary shift of the eastern terminus. The rise in violence from 1861 to 1863 between the border ruffians in Missouri and Jayhawkers forced the eastern terminus to be moved from Kansas City north to Fort Leavenworth.[430] The fort was far enough removed from the turmoil in and around Kansas City that it was safer for travelers and freighters to embark from here. Leaving from Fort Leavenworth also allowed US soldiers to escort the wagon trains to Council Grove in an attempt to prevent guerilla attacks.[431] The importance of the Santa Fe Trail as a military highway persisted and intensified throughout the course of the war.

Increased Military Presence along the Trail

On the whole, the Civil War years witnessed a continuation of lingering Indian wars that lasted until the 1880s. Both the loss of formally trained soldiers to the war in the East and the continuing pressure caused by advancing settlement have been cited as causes of the continuing American Indian hostilities. Fears of hostilities were so great that false rumors ran rampant through Kansas during the war that the various Indian tribes, acting in collusion with the Confederates, were planning major uprisings.[432] Rather, American Indian resistance intensified during the war in an effort to close the Santa Fe Trail as a means of protection from Euro-American encroachment. Attempts were foiled, though, by the military presence at forts Larned, Wise, and Union.[433]

At the beginning of the Civil War, not all of the Plains Indians were considered a threat to Santa Fe Trail trade and traffic. At Fort Wise in September 1861, American Indian agent Albert Boone succeeded in securing an agreement between the Kiowa and Comanche tribes and the United States. The tribes agreed to suspend all resistance, including the disruption of mail coaches, wagon trains, settlements, and trail travelers, in return for annuities issued by the US government.[434] Furthermore, the parties agreed to negotiate a permanent treaty of friendship at the end of the year.

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[427] Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Lawrence: Kansas Heritage Press, 1958), 116; Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 28.

[428] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 26.

[429] Wood, 246.

[430] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 87. By the end of the Civil War in 1865, the eastern terminus was moved back to Kansas City, due to de-escalation in border violence. Jayhawkers were the name for the free-state guerilla fighters in Kansas.

[431] Duffus, 248.

[432] Marvin H. Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1864-'65" *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (February 1932): 140.

[433] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 131.

[434] Ibid., 142. Citation covers paragraph.

The intended permanent treaty did not materialize due to violation of the agreement by the United States. Hostilities between the tribes and the travelers, therefore, arose again. Adequate protection was afforded the mail coaches and supply trains by military escorts and patrols in 1861 and early 1862. However, along the stretch of the trail from Walnut Creek to Cow Creek in May 1862, attacks on caravans occurred by Kiowa, Apache, and Arapaho. Captain Julius Hayden, stationed at Fort Larned, brought this to the attention of Brigadier General James G. Blunt, commander of the Department of Kansas, and urged him to take "prompt action" to secure the route and avert a possible American Indian war. Reinforcements were sent to Fort Larned, increasing military numbers from 63 to 292, and the resulting patrols were effective in removing that threat. After Indian Agent SG Colley was successful in deescalating the tension between Indians and travelers, Colonel JH Leavenworth announced the violence was sparked due to travelers camping on Indian land, hoping to buy Indian annuities for next to nothing.[435]

The threat of American Indian attacks shifted farther west and emerged in late August 1862 in northeastern New Mexico when a wagon train was robbed of 115 mules en route to Fort Union.[436] Steps were taken to protect the Cimarron Route, and minimal Indian opposition was evident during the winter of 1862-1863, likely because American Indians often suspended active opposition and warfare during the winter months. When spring arrived in 1863, the tribes began to assemble once again along the trail in pursuit of buffalo and to receive annuities promised in treaties.

By April 1864, interaction between Indians and trail travelers had erupted once again into open warfare. Cheyenne warriors attacked ranches along the Platte River and stole stock.[437] During the spring and summer of 1864, other Plains tribes also maintained their efforts to close the trail. They wounded or killed a number of soldiers and civilians, killed or stampeded livestock, and burned wagons and settlements. Colonel JC McFerran traveled from Kansas City to Santa Fe and reported the situation as he saw it in a letter, written in Santa Fe, to Brigadier General James H. Carleton, dated August 28, 1864:

> Both life and property on [the Cimarron Route] is almost at the mercy of the Indians. Every tribe that frequents the plains is engaged in daily depredations on trains, and immense losses to the Government and individuals have occurred, and many lives have already been lost. Several persons were killed and large numbers of animals run off during my trip of fourteen days from Kansas City to this place. Many contractors and private trains are now corralled and unable to move from their camps for fear of Indiands [sic], and other trains have had their entire stock run off, and cannot move until other animals can be had…. This evil is on the increase, and the number of troops on the route is so small that they are unable to securely protect the public property at their respective stations. They have in several instances lost a large number of public horses and other animals, run off by these Indians, within a few hundred yards of their posts. Soldiers and citizens have been killed within sight of a large number of troops. You cannot imagine a worse state of things than exists now on this route. Women and children have been taken prisoners to suffer treatment worse than death.[438]

Indian resistance soon spread to other settlements and to traffic in different areas along the trail.

Perhaps as a result of the continuing warfare, additional military posts were established to provide escorts for wagon caravans. General Samuel R. Curtis established Fort Zarah in September 1864 on Walnut Creek,

[435] Ibid., 143-144. Citation covers paragraph.
[436] Ibid., 145.
[437] Ibid., 150.
[438] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 155-156.

approximately one mile from its confluence with the Arkansas River, to guard commerce and travelers along the Santa Fe Trail. The post was situated near the point where the military road from Fort Riley met the trail. This site had been used for military camps since at least 1853.[439] On July 18, 1864, a party of Kiowa had attacked two civilian freight trains within sight of the Fort Zarah site. Ten of the teamsters were killed and some of the animals were taken in the skirmish, which became known as the Walnut Creek Massacre. One of the survivors was Robert McGee, then a 13-year old in the employ of the freighting company, who was partially scalped.[440] Fort Ellsworth was established on the Smoky Hill Trail in 1864, and in 1867 it was moved a short distance and renamed Fort Harker. While located north of the Santa Fe Trail, this military post was on the Kansas Stage route, which linked the Santa Fe and Smoky Hill trails. A new system of escorting mail caravans was implemented whereby Fort Union troops escorted the mail trains halfway to the Arkansas River where Fort Larned troops took over the duties.[441] During the Civil War and the continuing American Indian resistance, military authorities at Fort Larned ordered caravans to take the safer Mountain Route where a patrol system was in operation.[442]

With the approach of the winter of 1864-65, and despite the American Indians' reported willingness to enter into peace negotiations, US troops attacked a large Kiowa camp near the ruins of the fort at Adobe Walls, William Bent's old trading post on the Canadian River in northern Texas, and also an Arapaho and Cheyenne encampment on Sand Creek in eastern Colorado Territory, destroying both settlements. The period surrounding the Adobe Walls and Sand Creek attacks witnessed some of the most serious American Indian opposition in Santa Fe Trail history.[443] The winter of 1864-65 saw additional conflict between Indians, settlers, travelers, and the military. In January 1865, a large party of Cheyenne and Arapaho attacked a Santa Fe Trail wagon train at Nine Mile Ridge west of Fort Larned.[444] On April 10, 1865, Fort Dodge was founded along the course of the trail. This was soon followed the same year by Camp Nichols in late May and Fort Aubrey in September.[445] After spring and summer raids, the Cheyenne and Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache accepted US peace treaties in the autumn of 1865. The Treaties of the Little Arkansas, as they were known, encouraged these tribes to remain on reservations south of the Arkansas River and to not encamp within ten miles of towns, military posts, or the Santa Fe Trail in return for annuities for 40 years.[446] Though these treaties served to calm tensions along the trail through 1866, they did not bring a lasting peace. The terms of the agreement were violated by the Americans when the “reservations to be established never materialized.”[447]

By the end of the Civil War, more than 20,000 troops were stationed in the West, protecting settlers and trade routes from Indians and Confederates.[448] Western development continued during the course of the war. The first transcontinental telegraph was completed in October 1861, and on July 1, 1862, a bill passed Congress calling for the construction of a transcontinental railroad. In 1865 the Santa Fe Trail had survived the

[439] Ibid., 102, 110-113, 143, 151-153, 165, 169, 185.
[440] Carolyn Lieberg. *Calling the Midwest Home: A Lively Look at the Origins, Attitudes, Quirks, and Curiosities of America’s Heartlanders* (Berkley: Wildcat Canyon Press, 2003), 25.
[441] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 62-63.
[442] Ibid., 62.
[443] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 160.
[444] Garfield, “Defense,” 146-147. Two other known attacks occurred here in January 1863 and October 1867.
[445] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 162.
[446] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 166; Prucha, *The Great Father*, 150.
[447] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 151. Also, see Appendix G for a table of land cession treaties related to the Santa Fe Trail.
[448] Lamar, *The Reader’s Encyclopedia*, 214.

Civil War, but the real threat to its survival had just begun. Over the next 15 years steel rails to Santa Fe would replace wagons.

V. The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880

The railroad boom altered the character of the Santa Fe Trail more than any other period in the life of the trail, eventually leading to the trail's obsolescence as the wagon road to Santa Fe. Railroad expansion westward along the Santa Fe Trail began from its eastern terminus in 1866 (Kansas City, Kansas) and arrived in Santa Fe in 1880. By 1865, territorial and state boundaries had become more formalized, and these boundaries soon would be further refined to provide the basis for the continued formation of what would eventually become the 48 contiguous states (Figure 12). The development and implementation of the railroad network across the United States, particularly along the Santa Fe Trail, enabled freighters to ship larger and more frequent quantities of goods to and from the expanding territories, increasing profits and aiding in the settlement of these new territories. The importance of the railroad period is the fact that it produced the change in character of overland trade along the trail and throughout the country.

Advances in transportation technology were common along the trail before the railroad reached the Plains. Prior developments in transportation directly related to the Santa Fe Trail included the construction of larger wagons in the 1830s and the institution of regular mail delivery and stage traffic during the 1850s. However, these advances all were dependent on animal labor pulling some form of wagon or carriage. In the 1840s, an early east-coast railroad network was developed, and that new technology quickly was adopted in the Midwest, forever changing trade and travel.

Geographical Impacts on the Railroad to Santa Fe

The terrain of the Mountain Route provided many obstacles to wagon movement. One such obstacle was the tortuous 8000-foot, axle-breaking Raton Pass within the Raton Mountains. These mountains were a series of high mesas, separated by narrow, precipitous canyons, adjoining the Sangre de Cristo Mountains at right angles and extending eastward for over 100 miles along what is now the Colorado-New Mexico border. Raton Pass was by no means the only route over this mountainous terrain. There were four routes to its east - San Francisco Pass, Manco Burro Pass, Trinchera Pass, and Emery Gap - which could accommodate the passage of traders (Figure 1). Some of these routes remained difficult, if not impassable, for wagons. Recorded use of Raton Pass as an avenue of communication dates back to the early eighteenth century when Ulibarri (1706), Valverde (1719) and probably Villasur (1720), en route from Santa Fe via Taos, went over the Taos/Palo Flechado Pass through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains onto the plains of northeastern New Mexico and from there through Raton Pass into southeastern Colorado. New Mexico Governor Antonio Valverde y Cosio, who led an expedition through Raton Pass in 1719, documented that the difficulties of this route included "so many forests, ravines, canyons, and narrow places that it was necessary that day to divide the cavalry into ten groups to get over such a difficult trail."[449]

In 1865, Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton assembled a group of Mexican laborers and commenced work on blasting overhangs and hairpin curves of the trail at Raton Pass.[450] Wootton had obtained charters from the Colorado and New Mexico legislatures to build a 27-mile long toll road with bridges and improved grades over Raton Pass from Trinidad to the Red (Canadian) River.[451] The toll road opened in 1866, allowing wagons easier

[449] Lecompte, "Mountain," 56-57. Citation covers paragraph.
[450] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 71.
[451] Lecompte, "Mountain," 62.

access to the Mountain Route. Even with these improvements, pioneer Henry Smith recalled, "The ascent of the Raton pass was slow and difficult, with our heavily loaded wagons, so that we were several days traveling a few miles."[452] Wootton's venture proved to be extremely profitable with more than 5000 wagons using the toll road in 1866. In a one-year, three-month, and nine-day period in the 1860s, Wootton made $9163.64 on receipts alone.[453] The Sangre de Cristo Pass fell into disuse while Wootton's road became the principal artery between Colorado and New Mexico until the coming of the railroad.[454]

The railroad closely followed the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. While in 1863 the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) had planned to build over the Cimarron Route southwest to Santa Fe, this route's limited water availability for steam engines along *La Jornada* forced the railroad to choose a different path.[455]

Kansas Pacific and Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroads

Given the cessation of Civil War-related violence, the years 1865 and 1866 saw Kansas City briefly reassume its prewar status of principal eastern trail terminus.[456] That hegemony, however, soon was threatened by two railroads – the Kansas Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe – that began building tracks westward into Kansas, shortening the trail as they raced to Santa Fe. Even though individual wagons left Kansas City for Santa Fe on the trail as late as 1868, the last large wagon caravans left Kansas City in the spring of 1866.[457]

The US railroad network had crept westward, and during the late 1850s and early 1860s, it had spread across Missouri. The first train arrived in Kansas City, Missouri, on September 21, 1865, over the Missouri Pacific Railroad lines. During the decade following the Civil War, the Kansas Pacific (Figure 13) and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroads sped up construction, and stagecoach lines increased their services along the trail.[458]

The Kansas Pacific Railroad was originally started in 1855 under the name Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad. On July 6, 1863 it was reorganized as the Union Pacific Eastern Division, as part of a second transcontinental railroad competing with the more northerly Union Pacific Railroad under the *Pacific Railway Act*.[459] At that time, the line that later became the Kansas Pacific was an entirely separate entity from the Union Pacific. Within Kansas, the Kansas Pacific acquired approximately 3,000,000 acres in land grants from the federal government. In September 1863 the railroad began building its main line westward from Kansas City toward Denver, Colorado. The tracks reached Lawrence in 1864. In 1866 the rails reached Junction City, which briefly became the shipping center for the Santa Fe trade. The Kansas Pacific continued west along the route of

[452] As quoted in Marc Simmons, ed., *On the Santa Fe Trail,* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 70.
[453] Henry P. Walker, *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 27.
[454] Lecompte, "Mountain," 62.
[455] Ellis J. Smith, "When Rails Replaced the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks* 12, no. 2 (February 1998): 23.
[456] Switzler, *Report on Internal Commerce*, 565.
[457] Wood, 258.
[458] Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Places, Etc., vol .II* (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), 266-267.
[459] For clarity, the name "Kansas Pacific" is used to denote this railroad in its various iterations.

the Smoky Hill Trail, reaching Salina, Ellsworth, and Hays City in 1867.[460] In 1869, the Union Pacific Eastern Division changed its name to the Kansas Pacific, in order to avoid confusion with the Union Pacific Railroad, which at the time was associated with corruption, fraud, and stock swindles.[461] In June 1868, the rails reached the Kansas town of Phil Sheridan, which remained a rail-end town until March 1870, when the rails reached Kit Carson in Colorado Territory.[462] Finally, in August 1870, the Kansas Pacific rails reached Denver, Colorado.

Cyrus K. Holliday chartered the Atchison & Topeka Railroad in Kansas Territory in 1859 (Figure 14). In 1863 it became the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF). That same year, Congress voted a large land grant for the railroad, which in Kansas alone equaled some 2,931,247 acres in alternate sections along the AT&SF easement. This grant was contingent upon the completion of the railroad to the Colorado border by March 3, 1873.[463] In 1868, the AT&SF acquired over 338,000 acres of the Potawatomie Reserve Lands, which they in turn began to sell to raise funds needed to finance construction.[464] The sale of these lands also served to create additional markets for the railroad's services.

Planned to run from Topeka, Kansas to Santa Fe, New Mexico, construction began in 1868, but progress was slow. By July 1871 the AT&SF extended from Topeka to Newton, Kansas. The year 1872 saw a major construction push, with an extension completed from Topeka to Atchison, as well as westward expansion from Newton. The AT&SF reached Great Bend, Larned, and Dodge City in 1872.[465] As construction continued in this area, the rails were laid directly over the wagon ruts from the old Santa Fe Trail in some places. The Colorado border was reached in December 1872, and the following year, the rails reached Granada, Colorado Territory, on May 10. Construction slowed significantly in Colorado after the federal land grant requirements had been met. The railroad reached the New Mexico-Colorado line at Raton Pass in November 1878, following the AT&SF's acquisition of Wootton's toll road.

The Colorado towns of Kit Carson, Granada, and Las Animas each briefly served as the eastern terminus of the wagon road to Santa Fe.[466] Kit Carson remained the major Santa Fe Trail rail-end point until May 1873, when Granada, on the AT&SF, assumed that role. Kansas Pacific got the Santa Fe Trail traffic back when it opened a spur line to Las Animas (from Kit Carson) in October 1873. The Kansas Pacific remained in competition when it extended its spur to La Junta, Colorado, which opened in December 1875, two weeks before the AT&SF arrived. However, by September 1878, the Kansas Pacific gave up competing for Santa Fe Trail business when the AT&SF completed its line to Trinidad.

The AT&SF railroad line was laid in close proximity to the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail.[467] In 1878, Wootton sold his toll road through Raton Pass to the AT&SF.[468] Since the AT&SF had won the race

[460] Hays, KS was established as Hays City, KS in 1867. In 1885 Hays City was incorporated and the name was changed to Hays, KS. Blackmar, *Kansas,* 832; Paul T. Hellmann, *Historical Gazetteer of the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 264.

[461] Robert Athearn, *Union Pacific Country*, (Lincoln & London: Bison Books, 1976, reprinted edition of Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1971), 48; Henry Kirke White, *History of the Union Pacific Railway* (Clifton: A. M. Kelley, 1973), 41.

[462] Phil Sheridan was a short-term name for the town, which was later known as Sheridan. The town, whose population peaked at 89, ceased to exist by around January 20, 1870.

[463] Keith L. Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 10.

[464] Bryant, *History of the ATSF*, 12-13.

[465] Wood, 275; Bryant, *History of the ATSF*, 22.

[466] Switzler, *Report on Internal Commerce*, 564-565.

[467] Smith, "When Rails," 23.

[468] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 10.

against the Kansas Pacific for the right-of-way through Raton Pass, it was their trains that were to arrive in Las Vegas, New Mexico, on July 4, 1879. The final stretch to Lamy and on to Santa Fe was completed February 16, 1880.[469]

Rail-End Towns and the Contraction of the Santa Fe Trail

Construction of the railroads resulted in the creation of end-of-track towns that housed railroad construction workers and provided services for them. Some of these temporary construction communities were placed at or adjacent to existing military or civilian stops along the trails. In many cases these end-of-track railroad settlements lasted for only the weeks or months necessary for the construction of a new segment of track or to build a bridge. In a few cases they burgeoned into towns.

The arrival of the railroad had a significant impact on the places it connected. Stations were built to supply trains with coal and water and sometimes to provide passenger and freight loading and unloading. In the areas where major settlement had already created well-established towns, these stations and depots were usually placed within or near these existing settlements. However, in western areas, where fewer settlers and settlements already existed, the railroad company built stations where it was convenient to do so.

Existing cities and towns fought hard to bring railroads into their midst because the failure of the railroad to pass through an area had detrimental impacts on the development of these places. As the eastern terminus of the trail moved westward, former locations on the Santa Fe Trail that relied on the influx of traders and trading suffered. In the case of Council Grove, the AT&SF followed a more southerly route than the Santa Fe Trail, bypassing Morris County entirely. In August 1867, six months after the railhead moved beyond Junction City to points westward, the *Junction City Union* reported that:

> A few years ago the freighting wagons and oxen passing through Council Grove were counted by thousands, the value of merchandise by millions. But the shriek of the iron horse has silenced the lowing of the panting ox, and the old trail looks desolate.[470]

In bypassing Council Grove, much of the trade and business followed the railroad, and the general economy of Council Grove and Morris County declined.

As the railroads stretched farther and farther westward, the effective length of the Santa Fe Trail contracted. Trail end towns became transshipment points with freight off-loaded from trains and loaded onto wagons to continue to their destination. With each new western railhead a new eastern trail terminus was created, albeit only temporarily. With the completion of the Kansas Pacific Railroad to Junction City in August 1866, for example, this small settlement grew in size and importance. Junction City was the end of the first division of the railroad. A railroad roundhouse and other workshops were constructed here and many people arrived to settle in the town. As the new eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, freighters met trains at Junction City, then followed the Fort Riley–Fort Larned military road, first along the Smoky Hill Trail (the Butterfield Overland Despatch route) west to Fort Ellsworth, and then southwest on the military road, joining the Santa Fe Trail at Fort Zarah, near the great bend of the Arkansas River at modern Great Bend, Kansas. Prior to 1866 this route had been used by the Kansas Stage Company. Afterwards the Barlow & Sanderson Stage Company used this modified and shortened route of the Santa Fe Trail (Appendix H). The route from

[469] James Marshall, *Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire* (New York: Random House, 1945), 398; Wood, 278.

[470] Duffus, 258.

the Kansas Pacific railhead in Junction City to forts Zarah and Larned and then on to Santa Fe soon became the major freight route. Long distance freighting on the portion of the trail east of Fort Zarah discontinued. Stage stations and trading ranches in eastern Kansas ceased operations or turned their efforts toward local business and settlers.[471]

When the Kansas Pacific reached Hays City in October 1867, freight traffic followed the Fort Hays–Fort Dodge military road, rejoining the Santa Fe Trail at Fort Dodge. Stages operated three times per week to Santa Fe along this new and shorter route.[472] The railroad reached the town of Phil Sheridan, about 12 miles from Fort Wallace, in June 1868, and the Fort Wallace–Fort Lyon military road assumed much of the freight and stage traffic. The Southern Overland Mail & Express Company moved its headquarters to Pond Creek Station near Fort Wallace, previously a station on the Butterfield Overland Despatch, and operated regular stages along this shorter route. In March 1870 the Kansas Pacific reached the town of Kit Carson in Colorado Territory. Wagon freight on the Santa Fe Trail started from Kit Carson during 1870 and 1871 on either of two routes: the stage route ran south, meeting the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail at (New) Fort Lyon; the freight route ran southwesterly to the site of Bent's Old Fort. Both crossed the Arkansas River about five miles west of Bent's Old Fort and followed Timpas Creek southwest.[473] In 1871 a new stage route ran east from Iron Spring to Bent Canyon. It passed stage stations located at the junction of Bent and Stage canyons, at Lockwood Canyon, and Hogback Station on W.R. Burn's ranch. In October 1873 a spur line was constructed by the Kansas Pacific from Kit Carson to Las Animas, and the roads through Iron Spring were no longer used by the stage line. A new stage route following the Purgatoire hauled passengers and mail from Las Animas to Trinidad between 1873 and 1876. This route used a combination of old and new stations, running to Alkalai, Bent Canyon, Lockwood, Hogback, and M.G. Frost's station near Hoehne, then into Trinidad.[474]

Soon after the AT&SF Railroad entered southeastern Colorado in 1872, the railhead towns of Granada, and later Las Animas, became eastern termini of the wagon road to Santa Fe.[475] At first, the Kansas Pacific lost freight and passengers headed to Santa Fe, but the completion of the Kansas Pacific spur to Las Animas in October 1873 brought back business. The two railroads shared Santa Fe Trail business for the next two years. People and goods offloading from the AT&SF railroad at Granada went southwest on the Fort Union road in wagons, but Kansas Pacific business (to Las Animas) went west to La Junta and over Raton Pass. The Panic of 1873 dried up funds and stalled railroad construction. As a result, the Santa Fe Trail at this point, carrying both civilian and military freight traffic, remained in use for two years.

In the 1870s, the principal firms handling military freight for New Mexico were Otero, Sellar & Company and Chick, Browne & Company, which moved from Kit Carson to Granada to ship from the AT&SF railhead to Fort Union.[476] When the railroad built west to Las Animas, freight was hauled over the Mountain Route.[477]

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[471] David K. Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line: Trading Establishments on the Santa Fe Trail, Part I" *Wagon Tracks* 24, no. 2 (February 2010): 22; David K. Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line: Trading Establishments on the Santa Fe Trail, Part II" *Wagon Tracks* 24, no. 3 (May 2010): 19.

[472] Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line: Part II," 19.

[473] The route passed four locations with supposed stage stations, though primary documentation has yet to be found to describe them. They are listed here for future scholarship: Iron Spring, Hole-in-the-Rock at the head of the creek, Hole-in-the-Prairie, and Gray's Ranch at the confluence of the Purgatoire and Rito San Lorenzo, only four miles from Trinidad. It is worth noting that Dr. Locke & W. Wrightson's travel itinerary from 1864 lists these places, though it does not refer to them as stations (Appendix F).

[474] David K. Clapsaddle, "The Stage Route From West Las Animas to Trinidad" *Wagon Tracks* 25, no. 2 (February 2011): 19.

[475] Switzler, *Report on Internal Commerce*, 565.

[476] Miller, "Freighting," 14.

Some traders responded to the impact of the railroad on wagon transport by moving their trading operations westward ahead of the railroad. One such trader was Don Miguel Antonio Otero who moved the eastern headquarters of his trading operations westward seven times in 11 years from Hays, Kansas in 1868 to Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1879.[478] When the AT&SF finally reached the western terminus of the trail in 1880, transportation costs declined and wagon hauls grew shorter. Railroad transportation allowed for faster, more frequent shipment of supplies resulting in less spoilage, loss, and deterioration of goods often characteristic of long wagon hauls.[479] With railroad service into Santa Fe, stages and wagon freight lines were no longer needed for long hauls.

Post-Civil War American Indian Relations

During the mid-nineteenth century, a number of factors increasingly outraged American Indians in the Plains. Treaty violations occurred in the form of increased numbers of Euro-American travelers, railroad construction crews, and settlers encroaching upon the reservations established in previous agreements. Further, the tribes agreed to smaller and smaller areas of land, sometimes ceding land previously promised to them (Appendix G). By 1880, the amount of land once claimed by various Indian tribes had shrunk dramatically (Figure 15). The destruction of the buffalo by Euro-Americans was also condemned by the American Indians, and in some cases, the killing of Euro-Americans by American Indians on the Santa Fe Trail was in direct response to this destruction.[480] Old Lady Horse, a Kiowa, described the decimation of the buffalo in a folktale:

> Then the white men hired hunters to do nothing but kill the buffalo. Up and down the plains those men ranged, shooting sometimes as many as a hundred buffalo a day. Behind them came the skinners with their wagons. They piled the hides and bones into the wagons until they were full, and then took their loads to the new railroad stations that were being built, to be shipped east to the market. Sometimes there would be a pile of bones as high as a man, stretching a mile along the railroad track.[481]

The Indians relied on the buffalo as a source of food and clothing, while traders sought the commercial benefits of buffaloes whether from the sale of hides or the mere act of sport hunting. The extinction of the buffalo meant the disappearance of the Kiowa's, as well as other Plains tribes, way of life.[482]

Additional forts were established in western Kansas and eastern Colorado in response to continuing hostilities. Fort Hays, Fort Dodge, and Fort Wallace were all established in 1865 to protect freighters and travelers on the Santa Fe and Smoky Hill trails, as well as to protect military roads, railroad construction crews building the western railroads, and the increasing numbers of settlers.

Even with the establishment of more forts, American Indians continued to pose problems for traders and travelers along the trail. In answer to attacks along the Santa Fe and Smoky Hill trails, attacks on Kansas Pacific railroad crews laying track west of Salina, and a general feeling of unease among the American travelers and

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[477] Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line: Part II," 22.
[478] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 24.
[479] Miller, "Freighting," 15.
[480] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 3.
[481] Old Lady Horse, "The Buffalo Go," in *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992,* ed. Peter Nabokov (New York: Viking Penguin, 1991), 175.
[482] Nabokov, *Native American Testimony*, 174.

settlers, a major military expedition was organized in the late spring and early summer of 1867. The expedition, under the command of Major General Winfield S. Hancock, consisted of approximately 2000 men, including the 7th US Cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, the 37th US Infantry under Captain John Rziha, Battery B of the 4th US Artillery, led by Captain Charles C. Parsons, and an Engineer Corps under command of Lieutenant Micah Brown. "Wild Bill" Hickok was attached as a scout, and a number of Delaware Indians accompanied the troops in the capacity of scouts, guides, hunters, and interpreters.[483] General Hancock attempted to hold council near Fort Larned with representatives of the Cheyenne and Sioux tribes to threaten the Indians that the Army was "able to chastise any tribes who may molest people who are travelling across the plains," and to assure them that he meant to treat "them with justice and according to our treaty stipulations."[484] Whether out of fear and distrust of the Army or because of preexisting provocation, the Cheyenne and Sioux continuously avoided a full council, meeting General Hancock only to determine where next to meet.[485] Among the chiefs involved were Tall Bull, Pawnee Killer, White Horse, and Bull Bear.[486] No formal meeting occurred; instead the Cheyenne abandoned their village during the night, which Hancock viewed as a hostile act. As a result, he ordered the village to be burned. Intended to "overawe" or defeat any hostile Indians, Hancock's expedition failed to do either. The campaign instead only managed to provoke full-scale war during the summer of 1867, known as Hancock's War.[487]

As the Santa Fe Trail was shortened with the westward construction of the railroads and as military concerns on the Plains faded, many of the forts that had protected the trail were closed. Fort Zarah was abandoned December 4, 1869. Fort Larned remained an active post until 1878 when the US military abandoned it. Fort Dodge was abandoned as an active military post on October 2, 1882. Fort Union continued to be the Quartermaster's Depot, servicing garrisons in New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona, into the late 1870s. From its location only a few miles from the junction of the Cimarron & Mountain routes in the Mora Valley at present day Watrous, thousands of wagonloads of military supplies arrived at Fort Union annually over the trail, to be stored and redistributed. Fort Union remained active until 1891 because of its usefulness as an established post near the railroad where troops could be garrisoned. Fort Lyon, previously Fort Wise, was relocated 20 miles up the Arkansas River in 1867 due to flooding issues. Some of the buildings at Old Fort Lyon were briefly used as a station by a stage line, but the old post was later burned by Indians. The new post, renamed Fort Lyon No. 2, was abandoned by the Army in 1897.[488]

VI. Reuse and Commemoration of the Santa Fe Trail, 1880-1987

Soon after the February 1880 completion of the railroad to Santa Fe, wagon use of the trail became obsolete as a means of long distance transportation; however, the trail was not completely abandoned. Territories and states incorporated trail sections into their road network, and local cities and counties used trail segments as city and county roads. Some partial stage and freight routes remained in service along portions of the trail after 1880 for local passenger and freight traffic, and settlers continued to travel along many segments. In some areas, local roadways sometimes followed the old trail next to the railroad tracks. As areas were settled and new state and county roads were planned, often along section lines, some of the Santa Fe Trail

[483] General G.A. [George Armstrong] Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1876), 33-34.
[484] Major General William Hancock, as quoted in Oliva, *Soldiers*, 185.
[485] Oliva, *Soldiers*, 186; Custer, *My Life*, 23-27.
[486] Custer, *My Life*, 26.
[487] William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 19; Strate, *Sentinel*, 42. For an in-depth study of this war, see William Y. Chalfant, *Hancock's War: Conflict on the Southern Plains* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Co., an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).
[488] Garfield, "The Military Post," 61.

was plowed. Some trail sections remained in native sod with the ruts made by heavily loaded wagons still visible. Other portions of the old trail were incorporated into the modern road and highway system.

The concept of a national network of improved roads emerged in the 1890s, in part because the US Postal Service initiated Rural Free Delivery in 1896. Auto clubs formed throughout the country and several met in Chicago in 1902 to form the American Automobile Association (AAA), whose original intent was to explore a transcontinental road from New York to California. Early advocates of good roads – including local governments, farmers, businesses, and chambers of commerce – began selecting existing local roads to improve and link with others. Many roads were given a name and associations formed to promote them – such as the National Old Trails Road, the Lincoln Highway, and the Victory Highway, to name a few.

This discussion of the need for a national network of good roads coincided with nostalgic remembrance of those who traveled along the one of the nation's original highways – the Santa Fe Trail. In her memoirs written in 1897, Marion Russell poignantly recalled the end of the Santa Fe Trail:

> When the railroads came the old trail was neglected. Weeds sprang up along its rutted way. The old trail, the long trail over which once flowed the commerce of a nation, lives now only in the memory of a few old hearts. It lives there like a lovely, oft repeated dream… What the old grass-grown ruts could tell![489]

Colonel Henry Inman ends his 1897 book, *The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway*, with a similar reminiscence on the occasion of the arrival of the railroad in Santa Fe:

> …and the Old Trail as a route of commerce was closed forever. The once great highway is now only a picture in the memory of the few who have travelled its weary course, following the windings of the silent Arkansas, on to the portals that guard the rugged pathway leading to the shores of the blue Pacific.[490]

Such were the memories held by those who played an active role along the Santa Fe Trail.

The arrival of the railroad in Santa Fe in 1880 signaled the end of the Santa Fe Trail as a trade route but not the end of the route's local and national significance. The trail's significance was extended as segments of the trail were converted to roadways and the adventures of the trail's heydays were romanticized in American folklore.

Roots of Nostalgia

Contemporary accounts, details of events, and sketches of places and people on the trail appeared in popular magazines such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, many of which appeared while the trail was still an active, long distance route. A Theodore Davis sketch of the interior of the "Sutler's Store at Fort Dodge, Kansas" appeared in the May 25, 1867 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, and a painting of "An Army train crossing the plains" was printed in the April 24, 1868 issue of this popular magazine. An article entitled "The Old Santa Fe Trail and Railroad Switchback Over Raton Pass Near Trinidad," appeared in the August 23, 1879 edition of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. These magazines provided news about events that had happened recently in an age when news did not travel fast.

[489] Russell, *Land of Enchantment*, 18-19.
[490] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway*, (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1897), 490.

However, many of the pictures and stories resembled modern tabloid news. They allowed eastern readers to share vicariously the danger and excitement of trail life and meetings with exotic cultures.

Dime novels written contemporaneously with and after the Santa Fe Trail, like many western novels written more recently, also romanticized and popularized the trail, or a not very accurate version of it, in fictional form. The "dime novel" was inexpensive, generally costing less than the name implies, during the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. They were pulp fiction, but they provided a major form of entertainment in the 1800s. Their usually sensational stories of adventure were aimed at a young male audience. The heroes in these books were frequently cowboys, mountain men, explorers, soldiers, detectives, or Indian fighters. Beadle and Adams of New York published most of these books. In 1865 Beadle and company published a dime novel set along the trail entitled *The Two Hunters; or, The Canon Campus. A Romance of the Santa Fe Trail*. Many of the authors of these dime novels likely never had been west of New York, garnering their knowledge of western locales from newspapers and magazines. However, some dime novels were written by participants in the events, or the type of events, they depicted. An example of an early twentieth century dime novel is the story *Young Wild West and the Sand Hill "Terrors"; or, The Road-Agents of the Santa-Fe Trail*, which appeared in *Wild West Weekly*, issue number 293, published in New York City on May 29, 1908.[491]

The trail continued to provide a setting for novels, and later movies, through the mid-twentieth century. In 1940 Errol Flynn, Olivia de Havilland, Raymond Massey, and Ronald Reagan starred in a motion picture titled *Santa Fe Trail*. The plot has virtually nothing to do with the trail nor is it historically accurate. According to the IMBD website, the United Artists' film, directed by Michael Curtiz, was the "story of Jeb [J.E.B.] Stuart, his romance with Kit Carson Holliday, friendship with George Custer and battles against John Brown in the days leading up to the outbreak of the American Civil War." The Santa Fe Trail figured prominently in two books by Zane Grey (1872-1939), the best-selling author of western fiction in the first half of the twentieth century. In *Fighting Caravans*, published in 1929 by Harper & Brothers, the story moves along the trail from Council Grove to Santa Fe. This book was made into a movie of the same name in 1931 starring Gary Cooper as the guide of a wagon train fending off Indians and evil traders. The Cimarron Route is the setting for Grey's *The Lost Wagon Train*, published in 1936.[492] Another twentieth century example of a novel that was set along the trail is Walker A. Tompkins' 1948 novel *Santa Fe Trail*, about the exploits of Bob Pryor, the Rio Kid, leading a wagon train to Santa Fe.

Marking the Trail

The first major collective effort to mark the trail and commemorate those who traveled it began with the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) in Kansas in 1902. The national organization had long emphasized the importance of local history and patriotism, and the Kansas Daughters sought to contribute their part. A 1915 history, compiled by then-DAR historian Almira Cordry of Parsons, recounts the Kansas project. Cordry credits State Regent Fannie Geiger Thompson of Topeka with first suggesting the idea of marking the trail in her annual address on November 5, 1902 in Ottawa, Kansas.[493] Thompson died before the next state conference, but DAR

[491] University of Missouri Libraries, "Dime Novels," *Special Collections and Rare Books Online* [Dime Novels page on-line]; available from http://mulibraries.missouri.edu/specialcollections/dimenovels.htm; Internet; accessed 6 October 2011.

[492] Charles G. Pfeiffer, "Zane Grey and the Santa Fe Trail" *Wagon Tracks* 5, no. 4 (August 1991): 17.

[493] Mrs. T. A. [Almira] Cordry, *The Story of the Marking the Santa Fe Trail* (Topeka, KS: Crane and Company, 1915), 14. While Cordry's history of the project is accurate, the locations of markers is often erroneous in her book. According to Kansas Society DAR immediate Past State Regent (2007-2010), Shirley S. Coupal, in a February 23, 2012

members voted to undertake her project to place markers along the Santa Fe Trail. The project began in 1904 when the Daughters consulted the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) for assistance in finding a map of the trail, to which Roy Marsh agreed to help. Additional assistance came from DAR member and KSHS librarian Zu Adams. With the assistance of the KSHS, the Daughters raised enough money to contact county superintendents and/or women's clubs in the various counties through which the trail passed to judge their interest and request their cooperation in marking the trail.[494] Fundraising efforts included a request to schoolchildren for their pennies and to the Kansas Legislature, which appropriated $1000 toward the marker project.[495] The Daughters even arranged for the markers to be shipped free of charge by the AT&SF railroad from Topeka to their final destinations. The summer of 1906 was spent finalizing the marker specifications and finding places to mark along the trail. In partnership, the DAR and the KSHS contracted with C. W. Guild of Topeka to complete an order of 70 red granite boulders; due to demand, the actual number was 89.[496] The inscription was to read, in white lettering: SANTA FE TRAIL / 1822 – 1872 / MARKED BY THE / DAUGHTERS OF THE / AMERICAN / REVOLUTION / AND THE / STATE OF KANSAS / 1906.[497] The contract further specified the dimensions of the markers to be "at least two feet in height and not less than sixteen inches in breadth" with an area of "not less than two square feet."[498]

Payment included $16 per boulder, and the entire order was to be complete by February 1, 1907.[499] The first markers were erected in 1906 along the trail in Rice County between Sterling and Lyons. In his annual report of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1907, Secretary George W. Martin recalls the completed project as "a most inspiring one." He continues, "The markers have excited an historical interest never before reached," and some people will "drive miles out of their way to see the markers."[500] In all, 95 granite markers were erected as part of this effort across the 500-mile trail route in the state from 1906 to 1914.[501] Eighty-nine markers follow the basic wording pattern as described above (Figure 16). Four special markers were erected, each differing in scale or design from the 89 smaller granite markers. These special markers were erected at Baldwin City (Trail Park), Burlingame (Fannie Geiger Thompson Memorial), Lost Spring (Eunice Sterling Chapter), and Lyons (Sterling Chapter). Two additional markers were placed in Olathe and Gardner by The Old Settlers

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email to Amanda Loughlin, KSHS Survey Coordinator, "From Lyons [Rice County] west … there were very few DAR chapters in 1906-14. Mrs. Cordry was a wonderful Kansas DAR historian but she never actually went out and surveyed the markers. She depended on others and the KSHS 1906 and 1908 minutes to identify where the markers were placed. She often misplaced the markers and we know now she didn't identify all of them. We also know that the KSHS minutes are not accurate either." Coupal and Patricia Dorsch Traffas located all existing markers in the state between 1995 and 1996.

[494] Cordry, *The Story*, 29.

[495] Ibid., 37, 43.

[496] Ibid., 73, 99.

[497] Ibid., 72. There are eight different arrangements of the wording on the markers, though they all contain the same information. See Shirley S. Coupal and Patricia Dorsch Traffas, *The Century Survey of the Kansas Santa Fe Trail DAR Markers Placed by the Kansas Society Daughters of the American Revolution in 1906,* Unpublished report of the "Historical [sic] Preservation Project of the 'At Home on the Plains Administration,' Shirley S. Coupal, State Regent, Patricia Dorsch Traffas, Honorary State Regent and Project Coordinator, 2007-2010," (2011), 8.

[498] Cordry, *The Story,* 74.

[499] Ibid., 73-74.

[500] Ibid., 142.

[501] According to Cordry, two of Morton County's five markers were not placed until 1914 (the one at the state line and the one at Point of Rocks). Cordry, 130. Cordry gives the total number of markers as 96; this number includes markers that were counted twice and ones that were not accounted for.

Association as part of this effort. An additional marker was placed at Ralph's Ruts in Rice County in 1996 in honor of the trail's 175th anniversary.[502]

Kansas was the first state in which the DAR marked the trail, but chapters in Colorado, Missouri, and New Mexico followed Kansas' example.[503] The DAR in Colorado began the process of marking their portion of the Santa Fe Trail in 1906. The last marker in Colorado was erected in 1912 at the site of Bent's Old Fort. Mr. A.E. Reynolds of Denver, then-owner of the land where Bent's Old Fort was located, donated the marker. A statewide DAR committee requested and received $2000 from the state legislature to aid in the project. Upon completion of the initial project to place 27 granite markers and after paying all costs, the Colorado DAR returned $600 to the legislature. The DAR also received contributions from the AT&SF Railroad, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, the city council of Trinidad, and many private citizens. A total of 36 DAR markers are now located along the route that Santa Fe Trail wagons traveled through Colorado: 33 on the Mountain Route and three along the Cimarron Route.[504] In 1909, DAR members in Missouri began a project to commemorate the Santa Fe Trail by locating and marking its route through their state. Daughters met with the Independence City Council to announce their project, and on September 3, 1909, DAR members attended the first reunion meeting of the Old Plainsmen's Association to garner public sentiment for the effort. The Old Plainsmen's Association was established in 1909 by aging traders, wagon freighters, and bullwhackers, mostly from Missouri, who had crossed the Plains over the trail. The organization held annual reunions at a fair in Independence, Missouri, where they shared their memories of their heydays on the trails. The first reunion of the Old Plainsmen was held September 3, 1909, in conjunction with a gathering of long-time settlers of Jackson County, Missouri. The event was organized and hosted by local Independence historian W. Z. Hickman. The 168 registered Old Plainsmen were between 56 and 85 years of age. On August 25, 1916, the organization issued certificates to members, giving the member's name, date of birth, the year when they "first crossed the Great American Desert," and the number of trips made. The organization attempted to fund a project to erect a statue of a bullwhacker in Independence, but the plan never came to fruition. The last reunion was held in 1919, by which time only a few old timers who had experienced the trails firsthand were left.[505]

The Missouri Legislature appropriated $3000 for the purchase of markers, and the state's highway engineer, Curtis Hill, was asked to map the route so that markers could be located close to the Santa Fe Trail and within the right-of-way of existing roads. Markers were purchased from the Rice Monument Company of Kansas City in 1909, but they were not erected until 1912-1913. DAR members and dignitaries dedicated the 29 granite markers during a two-day auto tour from Kansas City to New Franklin in 1913.[506]

Missouri DAR project leaders included Elizabeth Butler Gentry and Mrs. John Van Brunt.[507] Gentry combined her interests in history and commemoration with efforts to improve roads by serving as the chairman of the national organization's "National Old Trails Road Committee," which was formed in 1911, and as Jackson

[502] Coupal and Traffas, *The Century Survey*, 8. Oklahoma's DAR erected a marker along the trail around the same time as the marker placed at Ralph's Ruts. This is the only marker in Oklahoma.

[503] Cordry, *The Story*, 142.

[504] Mary B. Gamble and Leo E. Gamble, *Santa Fe Markers in Colorado - placed by The Colorado State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1906-1909* (Spearville, Kansas: Spearville News, Inc., 1987), 13-50; Mary B. Gamble, "DAR Markers on the Santa Fe Trail, Part III: Colorado," *Wagon Tracks* 6, no. 2 (February 1992): 11-12.

[505] Marc Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association: A History of its First Decade, 1986-1996* (Larned, KS: The Santa Fe Trail Association, 1997), 1; Donald R. Hale, "The Old Plainsman's Association," Mark L. Gardner, ed. *Wagon Tracks* 14, no. 3 (May 2000): 15; and Morgan, "Oxen," 10.

[506] Virginia Lee Fisher, "DAR Marker Moved," *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991): 9.

[507] Jane Mallinson, "DAR Markers on the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks* 5, no. 4 (February 1991): 8.

County's chairman of the Missouri Good Roads Committee.[508] As part of her DAR duties, she penned a regular column in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* during the early and middle 1910s.[509] Excerpts from the column suggest DAR chapters throughout the United States were documenting and marking sites of local and national historical significance.

In New Mexico, the territorial government set aside funding for the "establishment of a public highway through the Territory of New Mexico."[510] Section 1 of the 1905 *Session Laws of New Mexico* describes the location of the highway: "for its northern terminus a point in the Raton Mountains on the State Line between Colorado and New Mexico where the old Barlow & Sanderson stage road, known as the 'Santa Fe Trail,' crossed the State Line, running thence in a southerly direction and following the old Santa Fe Trail as nearly as practicable."[511] Further, Section 9 stipulates that commemorative stone monuments be placed "at suitable points along said highway…to be erected by the labor of penitentiary convicts."[512] The DAR placed 18 markers along the trail in New Mexico. On July 2, 1910, a large celebration was held in Las Vegas, New Mexico to dedicate a new concrete bridge over the Gallinas River at the site where the Santa Fe Trail had forded this stream a short distance from the Las Vegas Plaza. As part of this celebration, a reunion of "old trailers" was held at the event. Local city and county officials spoke. The chairman of the San Miguel County Board of Commissioners, Ramon Gallegos, noted that the bridge would "stand as an everlasting monument to that once great highway of commerce, the Santa Fe Trail."[513] Thomas Catron, who had traveled from Westport Landing to Santa Fe in 1866, vividly described the trail and its history. About 100 old trailers attended the gathering and participated in a parade, either walking or riding in carriages. As a lead up to this grand event, the *Optic* printed lists of "pioneers who traveled the Santa Fe Trail," eventually coming up with 450 individuals.[514] A quick glance at the list suggests about 250 of the surnames appear to be of Hispanic origin.[515]

These DAR-related markers in the states through which the trail passes have been well documented. Often, historic photographs and local newspaper articles document the original dedication and unveiling of the markers. Later efforts throughout the twentieth century to compile documentation on and photographs of the markers have been undertaken by DAR members and Santa Fe Trail enthusiasts, the result of which have been maps, travel guides, and even websites. Many markers have been relocated, usually just a short distance often due to road- or farm-related development. For instance, of the 27 original markers placed along the trail in

[508] Robert F. Weingroff, *The National Old Trails Road Part 1: The Quest for a National Road* (Washington, DC: FHWA, n.d.), 7 [electronic copy on-line]; available from the *Federal Highway Administration Website,* <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/trailstoc.cfm> (accessed 1 November 2011.)

[509] For examples, see: Elizabeth Butler Gentry, "National Old Trails Road Department," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (December 1913): 733-736; Elizabeth Butler Gentry, "National Old Trails Road Department," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (August-September 1914): 132-135; and Elizabeth Butler Gentry, "National Old Trails Road Department," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (October 1914): 663-665.

[510] Jane Mallinson, "DAR Markers on the Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico," *Wagon Tracks* 7, no. 2 (February 1993): 10.

[511] Ibid. Confusingly, this new road was to be called El Camino Real.

[512] Ibid.

[513] Michael L. Olsen, "The Fourth of July 1910 in Las Vegas, New Mexico: Was it the Last Roundup for Santa Fe Trail Veterans?" *Wagon Tracks* 8, no. 3 (May 1994): 9.

[514] Ibid.

[515] Ibid., 9-12.

Colorado by DAR chapters, at least 10 have been relocated.[516] Similar patterns of relocation have been documented in the other states.

Efforts to mark the trail during the early twentieth century coincided with the dawn of the automobile era. Auto-related publications of the early 1910s, such as *Motor Age*, regularly printed articles about auto-treks and scenic routes that would appeal to local and cross-country travelers. The Daughters' national publication printed similar articles promoting local history and travel. Cordry's 1915 account of the marker project in Kansas suggests the Daughters were aware of the tremendous educational opportunity in erecting these monuments, as the public would be traveling roads that paralleled and crossed the trail. The fact that Missouri's highway engineer was instrumental in determining locations for markers within rights-of way provides more evidence of the importance of catching the eye of the motoring public.

In 1912, the National Old Trails Road Association was formed in Kansas City. The primary mission of this group was to garner political support for the creation of a new national highway system that would follow and commemorate routes such as the Santa Fe Trail and the Boonslick Road. Created out of the efforts of this organization, the National Old Trails Road became "the first transcontinental route to have an organization created for its improvement."[517] This road stretched from Maryland to California and generally followed four historic trails: the National Pike (from Washington, DC to St. Louis) the Boonslick Trail (from St. Louis to Old Franklin), the Santa Fe Trail (from Old Franklin to Santa Fe), and the Padres Trail (from Santa Fe to the Pacific Coast).[518] Anton L. Westgard, chairman of the Committee on Tours of the Touring Club of America, was a strong proponent of using the Santa Fe Trail to form this automobile highway, stating, "In the far west, old trading routes, abandoned since the advent of railroads, had to be followed. While these old trails cunningly meandered along the line of least topographical resistance, they were, for the most part, owing to long years of disuse, in a condition which made them practically impassable."[519] In 1910, Westgard had traveled from New York to California to determine road conditions and possible amenities and the best route for the first transcontinental highway.[520] The corridor was already in place, and its improvement and popularity were a result of the efforts of the motor car industry, the Good Roads Movement, and motor tourism.[521] In 1914 alone, two million dollars were spent on the highway's improvement, which had provided macadam paving for most of the section to Missouri and road construction throughout Missouri and Kansas.[522]

The idea of a highway in Kansas that followed the Santa Fe Trail was discussed even before the National Old Trails Road Association was formed. Disputes arose over which route in Kansas would be best for the highway. Boosters in Hutchinson and Reno County, Kansas, for instance, organized in 1910 to map a route from Newton to the Colorado border. Using existing roads, they cobbled together a rather straight route that eventually became US Highway 50. A route connecting Newton to the state's eastern border soon emerged and

[516] Gamble and Gamble, *Santa Fe Markers in Colorado*, 13-50

[517] A.L. Westgard, "Major Routes to the California Expositions," *Motor*, March 1915 [transcription on-line]; available from http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/westgard.cfm; Internet; accessed 23 March 2012.

[518] Ibid. Westgard notes that the portion of the 1825 National Pike west of Indiana was only surveyed and not constructed.

[519] Westgard, "Major Routes," n.p.

[520] "A.L. Westgard's Transcontinental Trip Ends This Week at Los Angeles," *New York Times*, 27 November 1910, n.p., [transcription on-line]; available from http://www.americanroads.us/articles/New_York_Times_1910_11_27.html; Internet; accessed 23 March 2012.

[521] Westgard, "Major Routes," n.p.

[522] Ibid.

became known as the New Santa Fe Trail.[523] In 1911, a competing association formed in Herington, Kansas and mapped the Old Santa Fe Trail, which attempted to follow the historic trail route as closely as possible. The two routes were largely the same west of Lyons, Kansas.[524] As a result, the National Old Trails Road had two routes in the state, splitting at Edgerton.[525] The National Old Trails Road Association disbanded during World War I but was revived in 1928 as the National Old Trails Association under the leadership of Independence judge and future US President Harry S. Truman.[526]

The DAR, working with Truman from the National Old Trails Association, collected donations, and between 1928 and 1929, had 12 "Madonna of the Trail" or "Pioneer Mother" statues erected along the National Old Trails Road, mostly along Old US Highway 40.[527] The 18-foot tall statues, created by sculptor August Leimbach, depict a 10-foot tall pioneer mother wearing a long dress and bonnet stepping forward, usually facing west (Figure 17). She is carrying a rifle in one hand, has an infant on her other arm, and clinging to her skirt is a small child. On one side of the base is inscribed "NSDAR Memorial / Pioneer Mothers / Covered Wagon Days." On the north side are the words "Into the primitive West / Face upswung toward the sun / Bravely she came, her children beside her, here she made a home / Beautiful pioneer mother." On the south side the inscription reads: "To the pioneer mother of America / Through whose courage and sacrifice / The desert has blossomed / The camp became a home / The blazed trail the thoroughfare." The Madonna monuments were intended by the DAR to provide a symbol of the courage and faith of the women whose strength and love aided so greatly in conquering the wilderness and establishing permanent homes.[528]

There was tremendous competition between communities within the 12 states of the National Old Trails Association designated to receive the Madonna statues. In New Mexico there was also opposition from some in Santa Fe to the placement of one of the statues there. Some Santa Fe citizens' objections were artistic in nature or due to not being involved in the selection of the artist or final appearance of the statue. Others in Santa Fe objected that the statue did not reflect the region's Hispanic pioneer mothers. Finally the State Conference of the DAR in New Mexico chose to place the Madonna statue near downtown Albuquerque in McClellan Park on the corner of Fourth Street and Marble Avenue NW. While not solely commemorating the Santa Fe Trail, four of the statues were placed along or in proximity to the Santa Fe Trail in Lexington, Missouri; Council Grove, Kansas; Lamar, Colorado; and Albuquerque, New Mexico.[529] The Madonna statue in Council Grove was dedicated on September 7, 1928. It has several local inscriptions on its base: 1) "Here, east met west when the Old Santa Fe Trail was established August 10, 1825 at a council between the United States Commissioners and Osage

[523] Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Theodore A. Wilson, *Milestones: A History of the Kansas Highway Commission and the Department of Transportation* (Topeka, KS: Kansas Department of Transportation, 1986), 1-20. As quoted in Elizabeth Rosin and Dale Nimz, "Roadside Kansas" National Register of Historic Places multiple property documentation form (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, 2011), E-9.

[524] Weingroff, *The National Old Trails Road*, 20-24.

[525] Westgard, "Major Routes," n.p.

[526] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 1.

[527] Ibid. According to KSDAR past-president, Shirley Coupal, these statues are still owned and maintained by the DAR and are the responsibility of the local chapters and state societies.

[528] Jane Mallinson, "Harry Truman and the Selection of Sites for the DAR Madonna Statues, Part II," *Wagon Tracks* 9, no. 3 (May 1995): 6; Doug Kirby, Ken Smith, and Mike Wilkins, "Madonnas of the Trail," *Roadside America Online* [Madonnas of the Trail page on-line]; available from http://www.roadsideamerica.com/set/madonna.html; Internet; accessed 21 March 2011.

[529] Jane Mallinson, "Harry Truman and the Selection of Sites for the DAR Madonna Statues, Part I," *Wagon Tracks* 9, no. 1 (November 1994): 11; Mallinson, "Harry Truman, Part II," 6; Jane Mallinson, "Harry Truman and the Selection of Sites for the DAR Madonna Statues, Part III," *Wagon Tracks* 9, no. 4 (August 1995): 10-11; and Shirley Coupal, "DAR Madonna Rededication at Council Grove September 7, 2003" *Wagon Tracks* 17, no. 4 (August 2003): 13.

Indians;" 2) "1825-1866 Trailsmen camped on the spot. 1847-1873 Kaw Indians lived here. 1847 – first white settler Seth Hays. 1847 – Council Grove a trading post." On September 7, 2007, the Kansas Society Daughters of the American Revolution hosted a 75th anniversary and rededication celebration of the Council Grove Madonna of the trail statue. The other eight Madonna of the Trail statues were erected in Bethesda, Maryland; Beallsville, Pennsylvania; Wheeling, West Virginia; Springfield, Ohio; Richmond, Indiana; Vandalia, Illinois; Springerville, Arizona; and Upland, California.[530] Each statue erected by the DAR is still owned and maintained by the local chapters and state societies in which they are located.

In addition to the DAR, other organizations including museums, associations, and communities have erected markers, monuments, and memorials to acknowledge and commemorate the lasting legacy of the Santa Fe Trail. For example, three historical markers denote the location of "The Caches" on the Santa Fe Trail west of Dodge City in Ford County, Kansas. A large white concrete marker is located at the northeast corner of US-50 and 107 Road. In part this marker reads: "1823-CACHES-N.W. 1100. Ft., Famous Old Trail Campsite, Early Army Hdq." The inscription on the base of the monument identifies the location of "The Caches" as being "N.W. 1100 Ft." This large marker was manufactured and erected with funds donated by the citizens of Dodge City to preserve the memory of their pioneer heritage. It was dedicated at a ceremony on October 1, 1926 to honor the several sites and events inscribed on the monument.[531] The other two historical markers are located together on the west side of 107 Road about 250 yards north of US Highway 50.[532] The adjacent sign consists of a brass plaque on a limestone post that simply reads "The Caches / Santa Fe Trail." "The Caches" in Ford County was one of 186 historic sites and structures within Kansas identified by the Kansas State Historical Society, during a survey conducted of such properties undertaken in compliance with a 1955 act of the state legislature. The 1957 report presented to the legislature described "The Caches" as "a famous landmark on the Santa Fe trail near these military posts [Fort Mann, Camp Mackay, and Fort Atkinson]" that was "first used by a pack train outfit in 1822 for temporary storage of supplies." "The Caches" site was identified as being on "privately owned farm land" "about three-fourths of a miles northwest of the fort site." The Society recommended that a historical marker be erected to mark the location of this site.[533]

In 1948 the Kansas City Chapter of the American Pioneer Trail Association, a successor to the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, organized a project to mark the entire length of the Santa Fe Trail with oval metal signs, depicting a covered wagon pulled by mules above the words "Santa Fe Trail." These markers were placed that same year on or near schools located along the Santa Fe Trail. Thornton Cooke was chairman of the association committee that worked on the trail marking plan. Irvin "Shorty" Shope, a western painter, illustrator, and muralist from Montana, created the image for the markers. Amateur historian Dean Earl Wood raised funds for the project. In 1950 an additional 27 signs were placed on trees and poles to mark the precise trail route through Kansas City. Very few of these oval signs remain where they were originally placed.[534]

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[530] Coupal, "DAR Madonna," 13; Kirby, Smith, and Wilkins, "Madonnas of the Trail," website.

[531] *Dodge City Journal*, September 30, 1926, vol.46, no.39.

[532] The larger sign, erected by the Wet/Dry Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association, reads, "At this point were the Caches, so called for the pits dug by the Baird/Chambers party to store / trade goods in 1823. Here, the Dry Route of the Santa Fe Trail merged with the Wet Route. / At a later date, the Dry Route merged with the Wet Route one mile east of Fort Dodge."

[533] Kansas State Historical Society, "A Survey of Historic Sites and Structures in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Summer 1957): 131.

[534] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 1-2; Santa Fe Trail Research, "Historic Santa Fe Trail Markers," *Santa Fe Trail Research Online* [Oval Santa Fe Trail Signs page on-line]; available from http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/research/oval-sft-signs.html; Internet; accessed 21 March 2011.

Beyond Monuments

After World War II, efforts to mark and re-mark the trail transitioned to producing brochures, maps, and related literature for locals and travelers. With the Kansas centennial approaching, the Santa Fe Trail Highway Association was founded in about 1960 and took advantage of historical interest in Kansas generated by the state's upcoming commemoration. Grace Collier of Great Bend, Kansas was one of the leaders of this group. The organization lobbied the Kansas Legislature, and as a result, US Highway 56 was formally designated as the "Santa Fe Trail Highway." Meanwhile, New Mexico State Senator William Wheatley of Clayton supported the lobbying effort in Kansas and later worked to get a string of trail sites near his hometown in New Mexico, the "Clayton Complex," designated as a National Historic Landmark. In addition to lobbying efforts, the Santa Fe Trail Highway Association marketed the trail and its history using tourist brochures, maps, bumper stickers, postcards, restaurant place mats, and commemorative coins; in addition, it briefly published a bulletin. The organization also attached green and white signs with the words "Santa Fe Trail" to posts of US 56 Highway signs. With their efforts focused on US-56 roughly following the Cimarron Route, the Santa Fe Trail Highway Association virtually ignored the Mountain Route, which more closely followed US Highway 50.[535] More than 300 members attended the 1961 meeting of the Santa Fe Trail Highway Association in Lyons, including the governors of Kansas and New Mexico.

The Historical Santa Fe Trail Association was formed on November 6, 1961, by Colorado residents who focused their efforts on the Mountain Route. Led by Fred Betz, Sr. of Lamar, the group wanted to publish a "colorful, informative trail brochure…to attract and hold tourist travel on Highway 50." It does not appear that the group held further meetings or accomplished their goal.[536]

In 1974 the Fort Larned Historical Society built and dedicated the Santa Fe Trail Center, a museum and archive located just west of Larned, Kansas. The center began holding scholarly three-day conferences, referred to as Rendezvous, in even-numbered years. Presentations, tours, and historical entertainment focused on the Santa Fe Trail, frontier forts, and local and regional history.[537]

In 1984 Joy Poole, then-administrator of the Baca and Bloom Houses museum in Trinidad, Colorado, persuaded the Colorado Historical Society to sponsor a Santa Fe Trail symposium in Trinidad. While initially the idea was to invite historians, trail scholars, and museum personnel, the event was later thrown open to the public. The Santa Fe Trail Center helped by supplying contacts and a list of trail scholars and persons who might be interested in attending. Poole conferred with Marc Simmons concerning her hopes that the symposium would provide an opportunity to organize a new organization focused on the Santa Fe Trail. Simmons was asked and agreed to serve as president of such an organization. A number of trail luminaries were lined up to give presentations and serve on panels, including David Lavender, Sandra Myres, Jack D. Rittenhouse, Leo Oliva, David Dary, Ruth Olson, David Sandoval, and Bill Pitts.[538]

As efforts were underway to set up the Trinidad symposium and start a new Santa Fe Trail organization, Congress was considering legislation to designate the Santa Fe Trail as a national historic trail. The National Parks and Trails Act of 1978 amended the National Trails System Act by recognizing national historic trails as a new trail type and establishing criteria for its evaluation. In order for a trail to be designated as national historic trail, it needed to: 1) be a trail established by historic use and be historically-significant for that use; (2) be of

[535] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 2.
[536] Ibid. Citation covers paragraph.
[537] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 3.
[538] Ibid., 4-5.

national significance with respect to American history; and (3) have significant potential for public recreation use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation.[539] In order to move the Santa Fe Trail along in this process, an advocacy group focused on the trail was needed. In light of this need – in September 1985, in advance of the symposium – Joy Poole incorporated the new organization as the Santa Fe Trail Council under the laws of the State of Colorado.

Just before the start of the 1986 symposium in Trinidad, Poole and Simmons met with Leo Oliva, Merrill J. Mattes, and others to discuss the new organization. At this meeting Oliva agreed to become the editor of a quarterly newsletter, and the name *Wagon Tracks* was selected. The future of the new organization hinged on the symposium attendees and their response. The symposium drew 230 individuals, with the original target group of scholars and museum professionals in the minority. Many of those who attended lived in communities along the trail; some owned property on the trail, and for many this was their first serious historical conference. Mark Simmons's keynote address, which ended with the phrase "The Santa Fe Trail lives on!" proved prophetic. The symposium was the beginning of the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA). At an inaugural business meeting held on the evening of September 12, 1986, Simmons explained the birth of the organization and introduced the board of directors. Provisional bylaws drafted by Poole and based on those of the Oregon-California Trail Association (OCTA) were reviewed. It was decided that a biennial symposium should be held in odd-numbered years so as not to interfere with the Santa Fe Trail Center's Rendezvous on even years. Attendees approved of the organization and the symposium was broadly considered a success.[540]

On March 10, 1987, the US House of Representatives passed a bill in which the Santa Fe Trail was proposed as a National Historic Trail, and the Senate passed it on April 21, 1987. The bill was signed to become Public Law 100-35 on May 8, 1987, by President Ronald Reagan.[541] Prior to the approval of this bill by the 100th Congress, Representative Bill Richardson (D-NM) first introduced a Santa Fe Trail National Historic Trail bill on May 8, 1986. His bill was passed by the House on September 16 and was moved to the Senate where Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) attempted to move it further. Her bill died but was ready to go in the early days of the new Congress. The status awarded to the trail meant that it joined the select group of trails that also enjoy this distinction.

The Santa Fe Trail Council board meeting, held just before the opening of the September 1987 Santa Fe Trail symposium in Hutchinson, Kansas, was productive. Membership in the young organization had grown to nearly 500 members, and finances were sound. It was decided to have a contest to design a logo for the organization. The bylaws were discussed and revised. The organization's name had been a problem as it was easily confused with the Santa Fe Trail National Historic Trail Advisory Council organized after passage of the 1987 bill. The word "council" also had legal connotations that were limiting and inappropriate for the promotional group envisioned. The name of the organization was changed to the Santa Fe Trail Association at the 1987 symposium. David Gaines from the National Park Service reviewed the successful legislation, which added the trail to the National Historic Trails System. Gaines noted that a comprehensive survey of the trail would be undertaken and an advisory council (as noted above) would be set up to consult on the project. He indicated that SFTA members would be involved in both activities. At the general business meetings, the bylaws revisions were approved and new officers were elected. The framed original signed Santa Fe National Historic Trail bill was displayed and turned over to Ruth Olson to be put in the SFTA archives at the Santa Fe Trail Center.[542]

[539] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 3.
[540] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 7-9.
[541] NPS, M*anagement and Use Plan*, 3.
[542] Simmons, *The Santa Fe Trail Association*, 12-14.

Since its creation, the SFTA has continued to hold regular symposia and Rendezvous and to publish *Wagon Tracks*.

The commemoration and documentation of the Santa Fe Trail has occurred over a longer period than the number of years the trail was used to transport goods and people. As evidenced by the long and colorful history of commemoration along the trail, there are many ways in which an event, a place, a person, or a trail can be commemorated and remembered. For many years the Santa Fe Trail was held and shared through the memories of those pioneers who had traveled the route and had firsthand knowledge of the joys and hardships associated with it. Some of them saw fit to share their memories with their contemporaries and with future generations by leaving behind diaries, memoirs, articles, and books telling their stories. The government documents, wagon manifests, business records, and personal papers may tell the story far beyond what their creators had in mind when they were written, and will likely be reexamined and reinterpreted for generations to come. The trail has been memorialized through monuments, signs, and even the renaming of streets and highways. Its story has been told through historical tomes and fictionalized in books and movies for adults and children. The Santa Fe Trail has also been commemorated by the protection and preservation of trail segments, buildings, archeological sites, and associated properties along the route by private individuals, government bodies, museums, or historical societies. Some trail-related properties have been recognized locally or statewide as important historic places, or listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and a few nationally significant sites have been declared to be national historic landmarks.

VII. The Santa Fe Trail in Missouri

The Santa Fe Trail was important in the early history of the State of Missouri. Missouri had been a United States territory since 1812 and attained statehood in 1821; therefore, unlike the other four states along the trail, Missouri was already a state when the trail opened. The trail and the trade with Mexico provided a much-needed boost to, and continuing support of, the economy of the young state. New settlements were formed and developed as outfitting points for the trail, and existing settlements such as St. Louis expanded and grew wealthy on the profits made from the trade.

The Santa Fe Trail crossed the western portion of Missouri, generally following the Missouri River. In total, as measured from Franklin in the central part of the state, Missouri contained 130 miles of the trail, with no distinction between the Cimarron and Mountain routes.[543] The Osage Trace, a secondary route of the Santa Fe Trail, ran between the Arrow Rock ferry and Fort Osage. The tertiary route of the Boonslick Trail connected St. Louis with the Franklin area. Missouri towns, trails, and rivers provided the link between the Santa Fe Trail and the cities, merchants, and ports in the eastern US.

Geographical Characteristics

The Santa Fe Trail followed the Missouri River through the West Central Loess Hills in western Missouri.[544] These rolling, silty hills extend about 25 miles on either side of the river and its broad flood plain.

[543] For clarification, Franklin refers to the current location of Old Franklin. At the time of its role in the trade, it was known simply as Franklin.

[544] Loess is a windblown deposit. Deposits are “typically are very silty but may contain significant amounts of clay and very fine sand.” Soil Survey Division Staff, *Soil Survey Manual, Soil Conservation Service, US Department of*

Physiographically, the trail was situated at the sectional junction of the Central Dissected Till Plains and the Osage Plains within the Central Lowland province of the Interior Plains division.[545] The Central Dissected Till Plains cover northern Missouri to a short distance south of the Missouri River, and consist of glacial drift deposits of loess atop limestone bedrock. The Missouri River was the southern limit of the last major glaciation in the state. The Osage Plains extend from the southern portion of the Kansas City area into southwestern Missouri, stopping north of Carthage. Vegetation on either side of the river, at least along the trail, consists of bottomland hardwoods and small section of tall-grass prairie, with big and little bluestem.[546] Specifically, from Franklin to Arrow Rock in Saline County, the trail was in the bottomlands on the left bank of the river; the trail crossed the river at Arrow Rock. From here to the Kansas City area in northwest Jackson County, the area along the trail, which was itself on the high bluffs and ridges along the river, was mainly prairie except where it crossed the streams.

Pre-Santa Fe Trail Missouri

Prior to European incursions and settlement, seven principal Indian tribes resided in what became the State of Missouri. The two tribes claiming the majority of land in the state were the Missouri, located north of the Missouri River, and the Osage, south of the river.[547] Other tribes were also present in the state. The Iowa, Sac and Fox claimed lands extending a short distance into north central Missouri; the Otoe were found in little more than Atchison County in the extreme northwest corner. Kansa tribal land crossed the Missouri River into western Missouri north of the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers (in modern Kansas City).

The land contained within the boundaries of Missouri had, at various times, been claimed by France and Spain. Spanish claims to the Mississippi River valley stemmed from the 1542 explorations of Hernando de Soto. France laid claim to the Mississippi River Basin in 1682 for King Louis XIV, based on the explorations of Marquette and Joliet in 1673. French Canadian *coureurs des bois* and *voyageurs* traveled wilderness trails and rivers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, trading with Indian inhabitants and trapping fur-bearing animals.[548]

Claims to Missouri, which was part of France's Province of Louisiana, changed from French back to Spanish ownership in the eighteenth century. In the 1750s the first French settlement in Missouri was established on the west side of the Mississippi River at Ste. Genevieve. In 1764 Auguste Chouteau, with a party of 30 employees of Maxent, Laclède, & Company, went up the Mississippi River to a point just south of the mouth of the Missouri River where Pierre Laclède had found a location for a settlement the previous year. Chouteau began to clear the site and build a new company trading post, which became St. Louis.[549] In 1762 Spain assumed control of this land. Under the 1764 Treaty of Fontainebleau near the end of the Seven Years' War, France officially gave up its claims and recognized Spain as the owner of the Province of Louisiana,

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Agriculture Handbook 18 (1993):14 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *USDA Soil Survey Online*, <http://soils.usda.gov/technical/manual> (accessed 11 August 2011).

[545] Milton D. Rafferty, *Historical Atlas of Missouri*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 10.

[546] Ibid., 15.

[547] Ibid., 25.

[548] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, 188. *Coureurs des bois* literally means "woods runners." *Voyageurs* were fur-trappers.

[549] Rick Montgomery and Shirl Kasper, *Kansas City: An American Story*, (Kansas City, MO: KC Star Books, 1999), 21. Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829) was the son of French immigrants that settled as inn- and tavern-keepers in New Orleans. After settling in upper Louisiana, he became a trader and traveled up and down the Mississippi River on trade expeditions; William E. Foley and C. David Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 1-2, 4-5.

which at that time encompassed the lands between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River.[550] The first Spanish governor of the new territory did not arrive until 1766. Spanish land grants were located along the Mississippi River, including Missouri.[551] In 1773, a census of Upper Louisiana, taken by Don Pedro Piernas, the Lieutenant Governor of New Mexico, found 444 white inhabitants and 193 slaves living in St. Louis; in Ste. Genevieve, there were 400 white residents and 276 slaves.[552]

The Treaty of San Ildefonso, signed October 1, 1800, transferred title to Louisiana Territory from Spain to Napoleonic France.[553] The United States acquired Missouri through the Louisiana Purchase a few years later, and the land included in the purchase was called Louisiana Territory.[554] President Thomas Jefferson sent Robert R. Livingston to negotiate with French diplomat Bishop Talleyrand for lands in the northeastern part of the Province of Louisiana. Talleyrand offered to sell the entire province to the United States. Livingston quickly agreed, and a deal was negotiated for the Americans to assume claims against France, paying 60 million francs (approximately $15,000,000) in total.[555] The treaty of cession was signed April 30, 1803. Congress ratified the purchase agreement, and the lands transferred to the United States on November 3, 1803, though the southern boundary was not settled until 1819. On March 10, 1804, Louisiana Territory, including the entire future state of Missouri, was officially transferred to US ownership, and US agent Amos Stoddard proclaimed US authority. By an act of Congress on March 26, 1804, the newly acquired lands were divided into the Territory of Orleans, which later became the state of Louisiana, and the District of Louisiana, which was initially placed under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana.[556] A March 2, 1805, act of Congress changed the District of Louisiana to the Territory of Louisiana.

In 1805, St. Louis, an important trading hub, became the seat of government for the new territory encompassing the southern half of the former Louisiana Purchase lands.[557] St. Louis was already a major outpost for the fur trade by the time it became part of the United States. After 1804 the fur trade expanded under US control and settlements began to be established along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. On May 14, 1804, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark began their journey of exploration from St. Louis, traveling up the Missouri River and on to the Pacific Ocean. The Lewis and Clark expedition returned to St. Louis September 23, 1806.[558]

In 1807, Daniel Morgan and Nathan Boone began laying out a new trail from the Mississippi River at St. Charles west into the interior of the future state. In large part following migratory and Indian trails, the

[550] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 14. The Treaty of Fontainebleu was signed in 1762 but became public in 1764. The same transfer of territory was included in the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

[551] Rafferty, *Historical Atlas of Missouri*, 28; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 14.

[552] Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol I,* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly & Sons, 1909), 61; Edwin C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 21; Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 761.

[553] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 109. Napoleon wanted to acquire the area that became the Louisiana Territory, and Spain wished to hold title to Tuscany. In an exchange between France and Spain, the territories were traded via the conditions and signing of the Treaty of Ildefonso (1800) by both parties.

[554] During its time under French ownership, the area encompassing Louisiana Territory was referred to as the Province of Louisiana. After the United States' purchase, it was known as Louisiana Territory and was divided into two smaller districts: 1) The New Orleans Territory (which became the state of Louisiana), and 2) the District of Louisiana (which later was transferred to the Territory of Indiana after Louisiana gained statehood).

[555] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 10.

[556] Barry, *The Beginning*, 48.

[557] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*,117, 170, 762.

[558] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, 762; Montgomery and Kasper, *Kansas City*, 21.

Boonslick (Boone's Lick) Trail extended west to the Boone family's salt lick (Boone's Lick), situated between modern Boonville, Glasgow, and Arrow Rock. From 1807 to 1812 this trail followed a more northerly route at some distance from the Missouri River. Towns along the route included: Warrenton, Danville, Fulton, Columbia, and Franklin (the trail's end point). The Boonslick Trail helped to open up Boone's Lick Country in central Missouri for settlement and development. Numerous resources (e.g. salt springs, timber, good soil, plenty of water, and the Missouri River) made this area attractive for settlement.[559] After the War of 1812 the original route of the Boonslick Trail was used more frequently by travelers due to a decrease in Indian attacks. However, Boonslick Trail moved closer to the north bank of the Missouri River in 1822.[560]

In 1808, Fort Osage was established to trade with the Osage Indians, who in September of that year inequitably ceded most of their land in Missouri and Arkansas – some 30 million acres – in return for $1200 worth of presents, an annuity of $500, and services of a blacksmith and grist mill at the fort. Fort Osage was one of 28 government Indian "factories" (trading posts) that operated between 1796 and 1822 as part of the government factory system, which attempted to control trade with the tribes.[561] Under the command of William Clark, US Infantry and Territorial Militia built the post at a strategic location on the Missouri River. Fort Osage became an important location in the fur trade, collecting furs and pelts that were then shipped down the Missouri River to St. Louis. Until it ceased in 1827 to be an active post and military storage facility, Fort Osage also served as a convenient rendezvous for trappers, mountain men, explorers and, later, traders in the early years of the Santa Fe trade.[562] Fort Osage was the site from which the 1825 Sibley Survey of the Santa Fe Trail embarked.[563]

By the *Territory of Missouri Act* of June 4, 1812, the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri to avoid confusion with the newly formed State of Louisiana.[564] Under this Organic Act, Missouri Territory – now minus the state of Louisiana – was divided into five counties, and President James Madison appointed a governor.[565] Benjamin Howard served as the first governor until his resignation in July 1813. At that time William Clark was appointed to the position, which he held until 1821, when Missouri became a state.[566]

On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war on Britain. Hostility toward the British ran hotly in Missouri. The American inhabitants were particularly irate about British traders providing weapons for Indian tribes and inciting the tribes. As a result, many settlers in central Missouri moved east during the war. In the expectation of Indian attacks, Missourians built a series of stockade posts along the Mississippi frontier. The war between the US and Britain ended on December 24, 1814, with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.[567] The end of the war and signing of the treaty resulted in a steady decrease in warfare between the British and

[559] Rafferty, *Historical Atlas of Missouri,* 33.

[560] Bill Earngey, *Missouri Roadsides: The Traveler's Companion* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995), 21-22.

[561] Factory is synonymous with trading post. However, the term "trading post" is rooted in America while "factory" has its origins in England. They mean the same thing. Kristie C. Wolferman, *The Indomitable Mary Easton Sibley: Pioneer of Women's Education in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 22-23.

[562] James W. Goodrich and Lynn Wolf Gentzler, *Marking Missouri History* (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1998), 96.

[563] Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe*, 54.

[564] *Organic Acts for the Territories of the United States with Notes Therein* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 35.

[565] McReynolds, *Missouri*, 60.

[566] Barry, *The Beginning*, 69.

[567] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, 763; McReynolds, *Missouri*, 57.

Americans;[568] however, the US government did not immediately make peace with the Indian nations, so hostilities between Indians and Missourians continued. Not until 1816, after the signing of peace treaties with several tribes, was immigration to Missouri renewed.[569]

The first few years of the 1820s were very important for Missouri. A stagecoach line was established in 1820, linking St. Louis to Franklin (organized in 1816) in Howard County.[570] This stage line helped to increase the number of people in central Missouri. That same year, the US Congress finalized the first *Missouri Compromise*. This agreement stated that in order to maintain the balance of free and slave states in the Senate, the admission of a new pro-slavery state required the admission of a new free state. Maine, a free state, became the 23rd state; pro-slavery Missouri was the 24th. On March 6, 1820, the *Missouri Enabling Act*, which allowed the people of Missouri to form a state constitution, was passed by the US Congress and subsequently signed by President James Monroe. Saline and Lafayette (then Lillard) counties were organized later that year. On August 10, 1821, President Monroe admitted Missouri, with its pro-slavery constitution, into the Union.[571] In 1821, François and Bérénice Chouteau traveled up the Missouri River to a point near the confluence of the Kansas River; they established a new trading post there.[572] Clay County was organized in 1822, and Jackson County was laid out in 1826.[573] In the June 2, 1825 Treaty with the Osage (7 Stat., 240) negotiated at St. Louis, the tribe ceded their remaining lands in western Missouri, including modern Jackson, Cass, Bates, Vernon, Barton, Jasper, Newton, and McDonald counties.[574] This opened the way for increased settlement in the state. On October 1, 1826, Jefferson City became the capital of Missouri.[575]

Missouri's Role in the Santa Fe Trade

The same year Missouri became a state, Mexico gained its independence from Spain, and legal trade between the United States and Mexico began. The profits made by Becknell's first trading trip brought much needed money and valuable goods into central Missouri where the Panic of 1819 had a devastating effect on the economy. This economic depression was caused, in large part, by a short supply of money. With no banking system, paper money was considered worthless in Missouri, so only gold and silver coins were accepted as payment. No markets existed for farmers to sell their produce or for merchants to peddle their wares, and many people were in debt.[576] The influx of Mexican specie significantly helped Missouri's economy

[568] McReynolds, *Missouri,* 57.

[569] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 110-117, 119-124, 126-128. Treaties were signed on July 18, 1815 (ratified December 26) with the: Potawatomi (7 Stat., 123) and Piankashaw (7 Stat., 124). Treaties were signed July 19, 1815 (ratified December 26) with the: Teton (7 Stat., 125); Sioux of the Lakes (7 Stat., 126); Sioux of St. Peter's River (7 Stat., 127); Yankton Sioux (7 Stat., 128); and Makah (7 Stat., 129). On September 2, 1815 (ratified December 26), treaties were signed with the Kickapoo (7 Stat., 130). Between September 12-16, 1815, treaties were signed (ratified December 26) with the: Osage (7 Stat., 133); Sauk (7 Stat., 134); Foxes (7 Stat., 135); and Iowa (7 Stat., 136). The Treaty with the Kansa, 1815 (7 Stat., 137) was signed October 28 and ratified December 26, 1818; the Treaty with the Sauk, 1816 (7 Stat., 141) was signed May 13.

[570] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 763-765.

[571] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 763; Montgomery and Kasper, *Kansas City*, 21.

[572] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 764; Earngey, *Missouri Roadsides*, 138. Francois and Bérénice Chouteau (1797-1838). The Chouteaus settled in the location now known as Kansas City. Bérénice is known at "The Mother of Kansas City" because she was the first white settler to live and raise a family in the location that became Kansas City.

[573] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 763-765; Montgomery and Kasper, *Kansas City*, 21.

[574] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 765; Kappler, *Indian Treaties,* 217-221.

[575] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 765.

[576] Dickey, *Arrow* Rock, 61.

as farmers and local merchants found a new market for their goods.[577] The advent of legal trade with Mexico promised to counteract the effects of the economic panic in Missouri.

The gold and silver coins brought into the state by Becknell's expedition from Mexico spurred additional trade along two previously established Missouri trails: the Boonslick Trail and the Osage Trace. Travelers and traders followed the Boonslick Trail from the Mississippi River in the St. Louis vicinity overland to Franklin, located on the Missouri River. The river west of Franklin then was crossed by ferry at Arrow Rock – a landmark where the town of Arrow Rock was founded in 1829. From Arrow Rock, the Osage Trace provided an overland route to Fort Osage, which was approximately 100 miles west. The trace was created soon after Fort Osage was established in 1808 and followed the south side of the Missouri River. The river was often muddy in the spring, and several tributaries had to be crossed.[578] From Fort Osage, travelers followed the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe and Chihuahua, Mexico. Franklin, with direct access to both St. Louis and Fort Osage became an important trading center in the region, albeit only briefly. Becknell's 1821 expedition left from the Franklin area, and soon after his successful trip, ferry traffic in the region increased, hauling US and Mexican traders heading to and from Santa Fe.[579]

In the decade leading up to 1821, Missourians began utilizing the Missouri River to transport trade goods from St. Louis into central Missouri. The first boats on the Missouri River were ferries, but steamboats slowly followed these. A ferry may have been in operation across the Missouri River at Arrow Rock by 1813, but Judiah Osman is the first documented ferry operator here, under a license from Howard County in April 1817. The ferry at Arrow Rock was one of at least two major ferries at this location of the river where the riverbanks were narrower and rocky, providing a stable, solid landing.[580] On August 2, 1817, the first steamboat, the *Zebulon M. Pike*, arrived at St. Louis – nearly two years before a steamboat, the *Independence*, made it up the Missouri River to Franklin.[581] This was the beginning of an increase in travel and trade along the lower portion of the Missouri River.

Steamboats became the preferred means of transportation in the late 1820s, and as a result, the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail moved west. Before 1826, there were virtually no civilian steamboats maneuvering the river. Central Missouri towns along the Missouri River, which was navigable between March and November, provided the perfect eastern termini for the Santa Fe Trail. Merchandise for the trade could be brought in from St. Louis by riverboat at lower rates than those offered by overland routes. In the 1820s, the Arrow Rock ferry was heavily used by both Euro-American traders leaving Franklin bound for Santa Fe and Mexican merchants heading to Franklin.[582] At least until 1827, some travelers may have used the landing at Fort Osage near Sibley, Missouri. With the establishment of Fort Leavenworth in May 1827, a new steamboat landing was available for military freight, which could then be transported along the Santa Fe Trail via a military trail, linking the post to the trail. By 1830 new river towns with steamboat landings had been established along the Missouri River between Arrow Rock and Fort Leavenworth, including: the town of Arrow Rock, Glasgow, Chariton, Brunswick, Lexington, Liberty, and Independence. Above the Kansas River, the only landing at this

[577] Dickey, *Arrow* Rock, 63; Sandoval, "Gnats*,"* 23.
[578] David K. Clapsaddle, "Wood, Water, and Grass: But the Greatest of these is Water" *Wagon Tracks* 25 (November 2010): 18; Hyslop, *Bound for Santa* Fe, 109.
[579] Dickey, *Arrow Rock*, 65.
[580] Dickey, *Arrow Rock*, 56-57.
[581] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* 763.
[582] Dickey, *Arrow Rock*, 65

time related to the Santa Fe Trail was Fort Leavenworth.[583] The various trailhead towns and St. Louis all experienced rapid growth in part due to providing for the needs of traders and travelers on the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California trails. Travelers needed supplies for the journey across the plains, including fresh livestock, food, camp supplies, and some trinkets for trading with Indians encountered along the way. As a result of this demand for supplies, various stores, warehouses, freight company offices, and homes were built in Missouri trail towns to outfit Santa Fe traders and other travelers. Traders needed the access to manufactured goods for trade from cities on the east coast and imports from European markets that was possible from St. Louis.

Steamboat landings near the big bend in the Missouri River in Jackson County, Missouri, offered the greatest advantage to traders. By freighting goods farther on the river, nearly 100 miles of unimproved and often muddy roads could be avoided.[584] The town of Independence was platted in Jackson County in 1827 a few miles southwest of the Blue Mills landing and southeast of the Independence landing. For two decades after that, it served as the principal eastern trailhead and outfitting point for the Santa Fe trade.[585] The new town soon boasted a number of settlers and a store run by James Aull. In 1832 Westport Landing was established on the Missouri River a short distance east of the confluence of the Kansas River, on the site of present-day Kansas City, Missouri. The Chouteaus' trading post, established in 1821, flooded out in 1830 and was moved to Westport Landing.[586] In 1833 John Calvin McCoy established a store focused on trading with Indians west of Missouri in what later became Kansas Territory. On February 13, 1835, McCoy platted the Town of Westport about four miles south of the landing, and over the next few years, he significantly improved the trail leading from Westport Landing to Westport. Westport Landing was acquired by the Kansas Town Company, of which McCoy was a member, in 1838.[587] With a better river landing than Independence, some traders began stopping at Westport Landing and using Westport as an outfitting point by about 1840.[588] By the mid-1840s trail traffic, using Westport as an outfitting point and trailhead, had caught up with and possibly exceeded Independence.[589] The growth of Westport as an outfitting point can be partially attributed to the Mexican traders that stopped here en route from Santa Fe. Compared to Independence, the landscape of the Westport area offered better areas for herds to graze and water while these traders awaited the arrival of their goods purchased in the eastern United States to arrive at the various river landings. To accommodate the travelers themselves, outfitting operations opened in Westport itself.[590] In 1846 McCoy drew the first plat map of the Town of Kansas (including Westport Landing), which became an official municipality in 1850. By this time, the town was beginning to develop into a significant place.[591] Kansas City's location on the elbow of the Missouri River gave the town an advantage over inland trailheads such as Independence and supply points such as Westport, making it a substantial terminus for the Santa Fe Trail. [592]

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[583] James Sterling Pope, "Still They Come: Wagon Wheels on Paddle Wheels to the Heads of the Oregon Trail," *Overland Journal* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 2-3

[584] Crease, "Trace," 9.

[585] Goodrich and Gentzler, *Marking* Missouri, 98-99.

[586] Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri*, 764; Earngey, *Missouri Roadsides*, 138.

[587] Earngey, *Missouri Roadsides,* 138.

[588] Miller, *Westport,* 37-39.

[589] Craig Crease, "Boom Times for Freighting on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1866" *Wagon Tracks* 23, no.2 (February 2009): 16-17.

[590] Charles P. Deatherage, *Early History of Greater Kansas City Missouri and Kansas*, vol. 1, *Early History, 1492-1870* (Kansas City, MO: Interstate Publishing Co., 1927), 248.

[591] Barry, *The Beginning,* 575, 1293; Earngey, *Missouri Roadsides*, 138.

[592] Paul C. Nagel, *Missouri: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 69, 81.

With the establishment of new Missouri River landings and trailhead towns in the greater Kansas City area, the Santa Fe Trail evolved to follow three main alternate routes through the area (Figure 6). The use of these routes depended on which river landing and trailhead was used and where the Big Blue River was crossed. This tributary of the Missouri River was the major impediment to travel through Jackson County because of its steep banks. In the early years of the trail, when most traders used pack animals, there were several possible crossings of the Big Blue. The lower crossing, which was less frequented than the upper crossing, was located in modern Swope Park near 73rd Street. The upper crossing was situated near the Missouri-Kansas state line, just north of the Jackson-Cass county line, 18 miles south of the Kansas River, and about four miles south of the later town of New Santa Fe.[593]

Two early routes existed in the 1820s before the three main routes were frequented. One early route left from Fort Osage heading southwest, passing southeast of the later location of Independence. This route crossed the Big Blue River at the lower crossing and continued west across the Missouri border approximately nine miles south of the Missouri River, passing Round Grove (later Lone Elm) near modern 167th and Lone Elm Road in Johnson County, Kansas. The other early Santa Fe Trail route through the Kansas City area left from Blue Spring some 12 miles south of Fort Osage on Harmony Road, the generally north-south road between Fort Osage and Harmony Mission to the Osage Indians. Traders followed this mission road south several miles before heading southwest along the high ground. The route then crossed the Big Blue River at the upper crossing. These two early routes converged near present-day Gardner, Kansas.[594]

The three major routes through Kansas City were the Blue Spring Route, the Independence Route, and the Westport Route. The easternmost route was the Blue Spring Route. This left the Missouri River at Fort Osage and traveled south-southwest, passing the east side of Raytown. It then crossed the Big Blue River at the upper crossing and the Missouri-Kansas state line south of New Santa Fe before joining the trail in eastern Kansas. To the west of this route was the Independence Route, which carried the majority of traffic. Typically leaving the Missouri River at Independence Landing, traders passed through Independence Square, Minor Park in Kansas City, and New Santa Fe, Missouri before joining the trail near Gardner, Kansas. The westernmost of the three major routes was the Westport Route, which avoided the Big Blue River by leaving the river west of the mouth of the Big Blue. Merchandise was off-loaded from steamboats at Westport Landing, and traders headed south-southwest, crossing the Missouri border nine miles south of the Missouri River and continuing west to modern Olathe. The Westport Route then joined the other routes near Gardner in Johnson County, Kansas. The eastern trail routes from Blue Spring and Fort Osage were used and modified up to about 1840. After 1828 more traffic bypassed Blue Spring and left from Independence; however, traffic continued south out of Independence and crossed the Big Blue at the upper crossing. This route was shortened by about 1839 when the Red Bridge crossing of the Big Blue, near modern Red Bridge Road in southern Kansas City, Missouri replaced the upper crossing.[595]

Trail into Missouri Roads

Until the railroad reached western Missouri in the late 1850s, Kansas City remained the major eastern terminus for the Santa Fe Trail. The Pacific Railroad – Missouri's first – arrived in St. Louis in 1851; by February 1859, the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad had reached St. Joseph, Missouri. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad was the only line completed across Missouri.[596] After the war,

[593] Crease, "Trace," 9. New Santa Fe is now part of south Kansas City.
[594] Ibid. Crease mentions Round Grove which is near present-day Gardner, Kansas.
[595] Crease, "Trace," 14.
[596] Nagel, *Missouri*, 67.

Missouri saw a boom in railroad construction, with the Pacific Railroad reaching Kansas City in 1865.[597] Shortly after the railroad reached the trailhead towns of Independence, Westport, and Kansas City, the eastern terminus of the trail continued to move westward into Kansas and Colorado, ending Missouri's major role in the Santa Fe trade. However, portions of the trail were converted into public roadways soon after the trail left Missouri.

An April 1869 Jackson County, Missouri road order signed by road commissioner James Yeager and reviewed by the county court, clearly described incorporating the lower Big Blue River crossing, referred to in the document as "the old Santa Fe Crossing" that "has fallen nearly into disuse," into a proposed public road right of way.[598] In the Kansas City Area (inclusive of Independence), several modern roadbeds overlay portions of the Santa Fe Trail system. These include Westport Road as it leaves Independence Square, heading southwest until it hits Blue Ridge Boulevard.[599] At this junction, the Blue Ridge Cutoff heads south to the Rice-Tremonti house at present-day E 66 h Street.[600] The Rice-Tremonti house is also the location where the main branch of the Santa Fe Trail reunites with the cutoff as present-day Blue Ridge Boulevard.[601] The boulevard follows the trail south and east to this location from approximately where it intersects with I-70 and US-40 Hwy in eastern Kansas City until E 83rd Street in southern Raytown.[602] Portions of Broadway Boulevard, Westport Road, and US-40 Hwy, along with other minor streets in the Kansas City area were also portions of the Santa Fe Trail.

Missouri's role in the Santa Fe trade began with the first legal trading expedition to New Mexico in 1821 and lasted until the railroad removed the eastern terminus from the state in 1866. As the oldest state of the five through which the Santa Fe Trail passed, Missouri was an important intermediary between Mexico, the frontier, and the rest of the country. Both Independence and Kansas City owe their beginnings to the successful role they played in this important trade.

VIII. The Santa Fe Trail in Kansas

The Santa Fe Trail is highly significant to the history of what became the State of Kansas. During the course of the trade, the land now encompassing Kansas changed from being partly under the control of Mexico, to Indian Territory under the governance of Missouri, to Kansas Territory, and eventually into the 34th state of the United States. This trail, other major trails, and subsequent railroads increased the Euro-American population while at the same time decreasing the American Indian populations, forever changing the state's demographics.

Unlike the other four states along the trade route, the trail crossed the entire length of the present-day state of Kansas and included both major routes that shared 358 miles as measured from the Missouri border. From the Middle Crossing of the Arkansas River (near Ingalls) to the border with Oklahoma, the Cimarron Route totaled 88 miles in Kansas and included the 60-mile waterless stretch known as *La Jornada*. The Mountain Route totaled 43 miles from Upper Crossing of the Arkansas River (near Lakin) to the Colorado state

[597] Nagel, *Missouri*, 68; Rafferty, *Historical Atlas of* Missouri, 62.
[598] Crease, "Trace," 10-11.
[599] Franzwa, *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, 29.
[600] Ibid., 29, 43-45.
[601] Ibid., 45. Actually, this junction occurs one-half block north of the Rice-Tremonti house where Blue Ridge Boulevard intersects with Blue Ridge Cutoff.
[602] Ibid., 43-45.

line.[603] Several alternate route segments also linked to the trail; some of these were used primarily by the military prior to the mid-1860s. After the Civil War, these trail linkages were used by freight wagons and stagecoaches to carry cargo and passengers from railheads on the Kansas Pacific Railroad south to the Santa Fe Trail. These alternate routes included the Fort Riley-Fort Larned military road via Junction City and Forts Harker and Zarah, the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge military road, and the northeastern (Kansas) portion of the Fort Wallace-Fort Lyon military road. Each of these routes could be considered the eastern portion of a shortened Santa Fe Trail until the railroad built farther west and other linking routes replaced them.

Geographical Characteristics

The Santa Fe Trail crossed the entire length of Kansas from east to southwest. It passed through at least two physiographic provinces within the Interior Plains division: the Central Lowlands and the Great Plains. The Central Lowlands in eastern Kansas is a varied and well-watered landscape. The trail crossed the southern edge of the Glaciated Region and through the Flint Hills and Smoky Hills before reaching the Great Bend Prairie in the Arkansas River Lowlands near the Arkansas River. Vegetation along the eastern border of the state consists of mixed bluestem prairie and oak-hickory forest, until reaching the bluestem prairie of the Flint Hills and bluestem-grama prairie of the Smoky Hills. The Great Plains region in the western two-thirds of Kansas has a more even ground surface which gradually rises toward the Rocky Mountains in the west. Along the north side of the Arkansas River, the trail passed through northern floodplain forest immediately adjacent to the river and bluestem-grama prairie to the north. In extreme western Kansas to the north of the river was a grama-buffalo grass prairie. South of the Arkansas River on the Cimarron Route, the trail crossed through the Sand Hills and High Plains. Along this section of the trail was grama-buffalo grass prairie interspersed with sandsage and bluestem.[604]

The route of the Santa Fe Trail through the state crossed several major drainages. In eastern Kansas the trail generally remained on the ridge between the Kansas and Marais des Cygnes rivers but crossed several of their tributaries. At Council Grove, the Neosho River was crossed. In central Kansas, the trail crossed tributaries of the Smoky Hill and Arkansas rivers. In western Kansas, tributaries of the Arkansas were crossed. The Cimarron Route crossed the Arkansas River in western Kansas and the Cimarron River in the southwestern part of the state.[605]

Pre-Santa Fe Trail Kansas

When trade between Missouri and Santa Fe began in 1821, the area now comprising the State of Kansas was neither a state nor even a territory, yet several groups claimed ownership to the land. At least seven Indian tribes claimed portions of Kansas: the Kansa in the northeast, the Osage in the southeast, the Pawnee in the north central, the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the northwest, and the Kiowa and Comanche in the southwest.[606] Land was also claimed by England, France, and Spain at various times, based on early explorations, charters granted by monarchies, and results of armed conflicts and treaties in Europe and America. Among the early Spanish explorers who crossed through the area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and Juan de Oñate. French explorers in Kansas during the

[603] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 15. The management plan gives the total miles of the Cimarron Route as 446 and the total miles of the Mountain Route as 401. These numbers include the specified miles of the individual routes plus the shared mileage in the state.
[604] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 5.
[605] Ibid., 17.
[606] Ibid., 11.

early eighteenth century included Étienne Veniard de Bourgmont, Paul and Pierre Mallet, and Claude Charles du Tisne. Between 1744 and 1764 a French fort and fur-trading outpost, Fort de Cavagnial, operated on the west bank of the Missouri River approximately three miles north of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[607] Under the 1763 Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War, France gave up its claims and recognized Spain as the owner of the Province of Louisiana, which was comprised of the lands between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River and included Kansas. The Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800 transferred title to this province from Spain to Napoleonic France, and the official transfer of control from France to the United States took place on March 10, 1804 through the Louisiana Purchase.

When acquired from France, the boundaries of the Louisiana Territory were not well defined. This was particularly true of the boundary with Spain's New World territories. As part of the 1819 Florida Purchase (or Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain), US Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish diplomat Luis de Onís established the boundary between the United States and Spain as the right (west) bank of the Sabine River, the right (south) bank of the Red River, the 100th meridian, the right (south) bank of the Arkansas River, a line from the headwaters of the Arkansas to the 42nd parallel, and then west on this parallel to the Pacific Ocean. These boundaries placed all but the southwestern corner of the modern State of Kansas, that part lying south of the Arkansas River and west of the 100th meridian, within the United States.[608]

Beginning shortly after the United States acquired this territory from France in 1803 through the Louisiana Purchase, numerous American explorers – civilian and military – and frontiersmen began to investigate the region and map the territory. Official early expeditions by the military included: Captain Zebulon Pike's expedition in 1806, Major Stephen H. Long's party in 1819-1821, and Colonel Henry Dodge's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1835.[609] In 1811 George C. Sibley, a government factor (or trader), traveled west from Fort Osage, Missouri, to trade with the Kansa and Pawnee.[610] Unofficial exploration was also conducted by civilians, most of whom were fur trappers and traders. These individuals soon established profitable commercial relations with the various Indian tribes and contributed to efforts to open trade with Santa Fe. Among the early trappers and traders were Robert McKnight, James Baird, Benjamin Shreve, Michael McDonough, and Samuel Chambers in 1812.

The Santa Fe Trail in Indian Territory

William Becknell is credited as being the first legal trader to enter Santa Fe in 1821. Jacob Fowler closely followed him in 1821-22. Other early traders were Sylvester Pattie in 1824 and Jedediah Smith, who completed multiple trips between 1824 and 1831. Portions of the routes followed by many of these travelers later closely resembled parts of the Santa Fe Trail. In the 1820s, with the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail as an important and busy route of commerce between the Missouri and Mexican frontiers, numerous American and Mexican traders crossed the area.[611]

During the first week of June 1825, William Clark, acting for the United States government, signed treaties with the Osage and Kansa Indians at St. Louis. The treaties ended Indian title to some three to four million acres of land in Missouri and Arkansas and to nearly 100 million acres west of Missouri and Arkansas.

[607] Barry, *The Beginning*, 22-23.
[608] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 15; Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 10.
[609] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 14; Barry, *The Beginning*, 54-56, 83, 287, 294.
[610] Barry, *The Beginning*, 65.
[611] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*, 17

Reservations were established for both tribes in these western lands. The remaining land was opened for the resettlement of emigrant eastern Indian tribes.[612]

During the 1820s and 1830s, treaties made between the government and various tribes residing east of the Mississippi River resulted in the removal of large numbers of American Indians west onto reservations in what became eastern Kansas. On May 28, 1830, Congress passed the *Indian Removal Act*. This act embodied President Andrew Jackson's Indian policy, calling for the voluntary emigration of Indians in the eastern US to reservations on lands west of the Mississippi River. These lands were actually west of the western boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas. Generally, eastern tribes residing north of the Ohio River removed to what later became Kansas and Nebraska, while tribes living south of the Ohio River moved to lands in what is now eastern and central Oklahoma. A few eastern tribes were removed by 1817 before the act was passed; some into eastern Kansas. Many tribes moved during the 1830s, but a few did not remove to Kansas until the 1840s.[613] In all, 28 eastern Indian tribes (either entire tribes or factions of the tribes) took up new lands in eastern Kansas. By 1846 these tribes were settled on 15 reservations, mostly situated immediately west of the western border of Missouri, and included: the so-called New York Indians (Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Tuscarora, Oneida, St. Regis, Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown), as well as the Otoe and Missouri, the Iowa, the Sac (Sauk) and Fox of Missouri, the Sac (Sauk) and Fox of Mississippi, the Kickapoo, the Delaware and Wyandot, the Shawnee, the Chippewa, the Ottawa, the Peoria and Kaskaskia, the Wea and Piankashaw, the Pottawatomi, and the Miami. In addition, the Kaw and the Osage had reservations in the future state. There were also three other parcels of land set aside for Indian tribes, the Cherokee Neutral Lands, the Quapaw Strip immediately to the south of the Cherokee reservation, and the Cherokee Strip extending west of the Quapaw lands on the south border of the future state.[614] The route of the various Santa Fe Trail branches in northeast Kansas passed through or in close proximity to several reservations, including those of the Delaware, Wyandotte, Shawnee, and Sauk and Fox of Mississippi. A branch of the trail originating in Westport, Missouri, passed close to the Shawnee Methodist Mission just west of the Missouri state line in what is now Fairway, Kansas.[615]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, as established by the *Indian Trade and Intercourse Act*, white settlement in present-day Kansas legally was limited to the military, missionaries, workers at the mission farms and shops, a few licensed traders, and family members of these individuals. This act was actually a series of laws enacted between 1790 and 1847 to improve relations with American Indians by granting the United States government sole authority to regulate interactions between Indians and non-Indians. An 1834 renewal of this act designated all US lands west of the Mississippi River, with the exception of Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas Territory, as Indian Territory.[616]

On July 2, 1836, President Jackson signed a law providing for construction of frontier military posts situated along a north-south line roughly following the western border of Missouri, and for survey and construction of a military road linking these forts.[617] Fort Scott, named for General Winfield Scott, was established May 30, 1842 at the Marmaton River crossing on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road,

[612] Barry, *The Beginning*, 119-121.
[613] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia,* 866.
[614] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas,*13.
[615] NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 94.
[616] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 104.
[617] Barry, *The Beginning*, 311.

which was laid out in 1837. Fort Scott's mission was to prevent encroachment into the "permanent Indian frontier" to the west and to protect settlers, Indians, and the military road.[618]

Despite these well-intentioned efforts, the end of the “permanent Indian Country” was in the works as early as the spring of 1853. This Indian country encompassed land west of the Missouri River and west of the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas. A rider attached to an Indian appropriation bill on March 3, 1853, authorized negotiations with Indian tribes west of Missouri to extinguish Indian title to the land and to get the tribes to agree to allow US citizens to settle there.[619] The new generation of politicians focused on western expansion over permanent Indian policy, with progressive plans such as railroad expansion and new town sites.[620]

Fort Riley was established on the north bank of the Kansas River near the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers on May 17, 1853. Originally designated as Camp Center due to its location near the geographical center of the country, it was renamed on June 27 of that year to honor Colonel Bennett Riley, 1st US Infantry, who had died on June 9. This fort, along with later forts Larned and Zarah, was intended to protect commerce and travel along the Santa Fe and other overland trails. Fort Riley, which was closer than Fort Leavenworth to the location of much Indian activity, became a point of departure for many mounted expeditions against the tribes.[621] Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny visited eastern “Kansas” between September 2 and October 11, 1853. In his report of the tour he noted:

> On the 11th of October, the day on which I left the frontier, there was not settlement made in any part of [Kansas and] Nebraska. From all the information I could obtain, there were but three white men in the territory except such as were there by authority of law, and those adopted, by marriage or otherwise, into Indian families.[622]

It was not until 1854, with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, that non-Indian permanent settlement was officially allowed within Kansas Territory.

The Santa Fe Trail in Kansas Territory

On May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law. The act created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, opened the new territories to white settlement, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and introduced the principle of popular sovereignty, allowing residents to decide whether the states would enter the Union with or without slavery.[623] The boundaries of Kansas were established by this act as the Missouri border to the east, the 40th parallel to the north, the 37th parallel to the south, and the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the west (Figure 18).[624] President Pierce, a staunch pro-slavery Democrat, appointed the territorial officials: a governor, a secretary, a marshal, a chief justice, two associate justices, and a district attorney. Two legislative bodies were also created: a council consisting of 13 members and a house of

[618] Barry, *The Beginning*, 1294; Leo Oliva, *Fort Scott on the Indian Frontier* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1984), 1.
[619] H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study in Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 6.
[620] Miner and Unrau, *End of Indian* Kansas, 5.
[621] Wiliam McKale and William Young*, Fort Riley: Citadel of the Frontier West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 2000), xi; and Garfield, “The Military Post,” 53.
[622] Barry, *The Beginning*, 1178.
[623] Ibid., 1192-1193, 1218.
[624] Ibid., 1218.

representatives with 26 members. These were to be elected positions. The president's choice of governor of Kansas Territory was Andrew Reeder, from Easton, Pennsylvania, who was appointed on June 26, 1854. Upon arriving in Kansas on October 4, Reeder expressed his support for "popular sovereignty," the right of citizens of the territory to vote on territorial matters, including the issue of slavery. Under provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the first temporary capital of Kansas Territory was established at Fort Leavenworth, though it remained there for only 49 days, as Governor Reeder considered the "accommodation for the executive departments…too limited" and removed to Shawnee Mission in Fairway.[625]

Even before Kansas Territory was officially opened for settlement and long before Indian claims to the lands were cleared, white settlers began arriving. Among the first white settlements were trading ranches along the Santa Fe Trail, including Diamond Spring (established circa 1852). Within only a couple of years after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, at least nine new service stops along the Santa Fe Trail were added. These included trading ranches and stage stops at 110 Mile Creek, 142 Mile Creek, and Rock Creek, all in 1854, Walnut Creek and Running Turkey Creek in 1855, Cottonwood Creek and Station Little Arkansas in 1857, and Cow Creek and Great Bend of the Arkansas River by 1858.[626]

Among the first acts of the early Kansas Territorial Legislature were a number directly related to the Santa Fe Trail and locations along the route. The 1855 legislature passed acts making portions of the "Santa Fe Road" a territorial road. The first of these, "An Act to declare the Santa Fe road a territorial road," described the new territorial road as:

> Commencing at the eastern territorial line of the territory of Kansas, near the house of Samuel McKinney, of Johnson County, Missouri; thence by the way of R. McCamish's, on Bull Creek; thence by the way of the town of Salem, at Hickory Point; thence by the way of McGee's, on One Hundred and Ten creek; thence by the way of C. Withington's, on One Hundred Forty-Two creek; thence by way of A.J. Baker's, at the crossing of Rock Creek, to Council Grove, in the territory of Kansas, and the same is hereby declared a territorial road.[627]

According to this act, the counties through which the road passed were ordered to keep the road in good repair and not less than 100 feet wide. Another territorial act in 1855, "An Act to declare the road leading from Fort Atkinson to Bent's Old Fort a territorial road," did not further describe the route or the width of the road but did require it to be maintained.[628] Several other acts passed by the territorial legislature in 1855 established roads that either departed from or into the "Santa Fe road," connecting the preexisting trail to other destinations in the growing territory. Among these connecting roads were: "a territorial road from the point where the Atchison, Kickapoo and Leavenworth roads converge by way of Osawatomie and Tecumseh, to intersect the Santa Fe road at or near One Hundred and Ten Creek;" "a road from One Hundred and Ten, via Glendale and the town of Douglas, to intersect the Military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley;" "a road from Black Jack Point, on the Santa Fe road, thence by the way of Joel M. Bernard's store, to a point on the Santa Fe road, at or near

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[625] George W. Martin, ed., *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911-1912*, *Vol. XII* (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1912), 332-333. This movement was not made by an act of Congress, so the official capital remained Ft. Leavenworth until the territorial legislature appointed another location.

[626] Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line, Part I," 23-25; Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line, Part II," 14-19.

[627] Kansas Territorial Legislature, first session, Chapter 118, Special Laws, *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas; Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-Five* (Shawnee Manual Labor School, KT: John T. Brady, 1855), 960.

[628] Ibid., Chapter 128, 967.

McGee's, on the One Hundred and Ten creek;" and "a territorial road from Leavenworth city to the town of Salem, on the Santa Fe road, in Kansas territory."[629]

The 1858 Kansas Territorial Legislature passed several acts relating to towns and bridges along the Santa Fe Trail. Several of these acts incorporated town companies and authorized them to make bylaws and regulations for towns that had already been located along the trail, including Brookline [Brooklyn], Gardner, Burlingame, and Wilmington.[630] One 1858 act granted "sole and exclusive privilege" for a bridge across the Little Arkansas River to:

> E.F. Gregory and his associates, and their assigns, for the period of twenty-one years, to build, erect, and construct, a bridge across the Little Arkansas river, where the Santa Fe road from Westport, Missouri, to Santa Fe crosses the same; Provided, that said bridge shall be completed within one year.[631]

The bridge company was to maintain the bridge in good repair "at all times and held in readiness for the accommodation of the traveling public."[632] No one else was to build or maintain another bridge or a ferry within four miles of this bridge for the same period. The bridge company was further authorized to collect the following tolls for the use of the bridge:

> For every wagon or other vehicle, fifty cents; for every animal attached thereto, ten cents; for every loose or drove head of horses, cattle, mules or jacks, ten cents; for every head of swine, sheep and goats, and for every person, five cents; and no more.[633]

It would appear that Gregory failed to meet the one-year deadline for completion of the bridge across the Little Arkansas as the 1859 territorial legislature passed an "Act to authorize William T. Williamson and others to build a bridge across Little Arkansas River."[634] The wording of this act is nearly identical to that passed in 1858, except that the bridge privileges were granted to William T. Williamson, Columbus Hornsby, Thomas Lounds, and James C. Horton. The same stipulations remained: the 21-year privilege, the one-year construction deadline, the four-mile buffer, and the toll rates.[635] Additional acts in 1859 authorized construction across several other streams along the Santa Fe Trail and included the same or very similar wording and stipulations. Asahel Beach, Samuel K. Huson, R.W. Eddy, and James C. Horton were authorized to erect and maintain a toll bridge "across Cow creek, where the Santa Fe road, leading from Westport in Missouri to Santa Fe in New Mexico, crosses the same, near Beach's Trading Post."[636] Alvin N. Blacklidge and his associates were authorized to build a toll bridge "across Pawnee fork of the Arkansas river, at or near where the great Santa Fe road, leading from Westport, Mo., to Santa Fe, crosses said Pawnee fork," but were given only six months to complete the structure.[637] Another act passed by the territorial legislature in 1859 incorporated

[629] Ibid., Chapters 99, 139, and 140, 947.
[630] Kansas Territorial Legislature, fourth session, Chapter XCVII, *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas; Passed at the Fourth Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Lecompton, KT: S.W. Diggs & Co., 1858), 305-306; Chapter CXXIII, 338-339; Chapter XCIX, 309-310; and Chapter CLXVII, 395.
[631] Kansas Territorial Legislature, fourth session, Chapter XVII, 35.
[632] Kansas Territorial Legislature, fourth session, Chapter XVII, 35.
[633] Ibid.
[634] Kansas Territorial Legislature, fifth session, Chapter III, *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas; Passed at the Fifth Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Lawrence, KT: Herald of Freedom Steam Press, 1859), 15-16.
[635] Ibid.
[636] Ibid., Chapter VI, 18-19.
[637] Kansas Territorial Legislature, fifth session, Chapter XV, 26-27.

George Parks, William Wilson, Fielding Johnson, Alfred Gray, and Peter Dunkle as a corporate body under the name of the "Kansas and Missouri Stage Company" with $50,000 in capital stock. The bill did not detail destinations, stage routes, or stage stations.[638]

During the 1860 session of the Kansas Territorial Legislature, three additional bridge authorization acts were passed: "William D. Harris and Alexander Street to build a bridge across the 110 Creek, at the town of Washington;"[639] "I.E. Moore, M.L. Wood, A.J. Chipman, George Crawford and others to build a bridge across the Cottonwood River, at the Santa Fe Crossing;"[640] and the authorization of "the Rock Creek Bridge Company."[641]

The history of the Santa Fe Trail within the state of Kansas is vast. The entire length of the state was crossed either by the trail itself or the railroads as they pushed through into Colorado. In the span of less than 60 years, the landscape and demographics of Kansas were significantly altered. As a result, established American Indian populations were disrupted as Americans established themselves. The trail also significantly contributed to the growth and development of the area from unorganized territory to US territory to the 34th US state in 1861. After the end of the Civil War, the railroads began to push their way through the new state, shortening the actual length of the trail in Kansas. By 1872, the railroads had pushed into Colorado, making the portion of the trail in Kansas obsolete.

IX. The Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma

Of the five states located along the Santa Fe Trail, Oklahoma's growth and development was least affected by the historic trade route. However, Oklahoma played an important role in sustaining travelers along the Cimarron Route – after their encounter with the 60-mile *La Jornada* – by providing abundant water and campsites.

The smallest portion of the Santa Fe Trail was in Oklahoma. Of the two major trail branches, only the Cimarron Route crossed into the state through the western portion of the Oklahoma panhandle, in modern Cimarron County. The Cimarron Route within Oklahoma was only 46 miles long from the northern border with Colorado southwest to the border with New Mexico.[642] The lesser-used Aubry Cutoff was also partially within Oklahoma. This route started near Fort Aubrey in western Kansas, crossed the Arkansas River at the crossing downstream from the fort, forded the Cimarron River in northern Cimarron County, Oklahoma, and ended near Cold Spring Campground, northwest of modern Boise City.

Geographical Characteristics

The Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma passed through the High Plains physiographic section of the Great Plains. The Cimarron River to the north and the North Canadian to the south drain this portion of the Arkansas River Basin. This section is characterized by its extensive, broad plain with occasional tablelands.[643] It is a

[638] Ibid., Chapter LVIII, 77.
[639] Kansas Territorial Legislature, special session, Chapter XII, *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, Passed at the Special Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1860* (Lawrence, KT: S.A. Medary, 1860), 18.
[640] Kansas Territorial Legislature, special session, Chapter XVI, 21-22.
[641] Ibid., Chapter XXI, 29-30.
[642] NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 15.
[643] W. Henry McNab and Peter E. Avers, comp., *Ecological Subregions of the United States* (Washington DC: USDA Forest Service, 1994, updated 1996) [electronic copy on-line]; available from *USDA Forest Service Online,*

semi-arid environment with short to mid-height grassland vegetation bisected by sandsage-bluestem prairie and bluestem-grama prairie grasslands along streams and rivers.[644] Major vegetation includes bluegrama, buffalograss, hairy grama, and little bluestem.[645]

Early Ownership and Occupation of Oklahoma

When trade between Missouri and Santa Fe began in 1821, the lands now comprising the State of Oklahoma were not a state. Like Missouri and Kansas noted above, England, France and Spain had each laid claim to these lands at various times. When France recognized Spain as the owner of the Province of Louisiana at the end of the Seven Years' War, this land came under Spanish jurisdiction. From 1763 to 1800 Spain maintained ownership, but with the Treaty of San Ildefoso in 1800, title was transferred to Napoleonic France, and by 1804, the U.S owned this portion of North America.

However, when acquired from France, the boundaries of the Louisiana Territory were not well defined. This was particularly true of the boundary with Spain's New World territories, including the Oklahoma panhandle. As part of the 1819 Florida Purchase (or Adams-Onís Treaty), US Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish diplomat Luis de Onís established the boundary between the United States and Spain as the right (west) bank of the Sabine River, the right (south) bank of the Red River, the 100th meridian, the right (south) bank of the Arkansas River, a line from the headwaters of the Arkansas to the 42nd parallel, and then west on this parallel to the Pacific Ocean. As the Red River and 100th meridian now form parts of the south and western boundaries of Oklahoma, this placed all but the panhandle within the United States.[646]

Indian Country

Before the emigration of eastern tribes, at least four indigenous tribes were located in Oklahoma, including the Wichita, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Comanche. The Wichita were located in northern Oklahoma, and the Comanche lands were in the short grass plains in the general vicinity where the states of Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico come together. The Cheyenne and Arapaho were located on the west edge of the High Plains in western Kansas, eastern Colorado, and western Oklahoma.

From 1803 until 1830 the US portion of Oklahoma was left as part of Indian country – an unorganized region to which eastern Indian tribes were removed as white settlers encroached upon tribal lands. In fact, the same year that the US government purchased Louisiana, President Thomas Jefferson considered the possibility of exchanging land in the west for tribal lands in the east. Some Indian factions and tribes viewed ceding their land as a way to maintain their culture without continual pressure from whites, but others objected, causing tribal rifts. Voluntary removal of consenting tribes occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth century, with members of the Five Civilized Tribes arriving in Arkansas by 1817.[647] When Missouri petitioned

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<http://www.fs.fed.us/land/pubs/ecoregions/ch41.html#331B> (accessed 25 August 2011); Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 3, 24.

[644] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 3, 5; McNab and Avers, *Ecological Subregions,* website.

[645] McNab and Avers, *Ecological Subregions,* website.

[646] H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 3; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 15.

[647] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma*, 21-22; Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 866. The Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee tribes were known as the Five Civilized Tribes because of their willingness to conform to the Euro-Settler socio-political structure. Each tribe was organized into a republic that represented a similar structure to

for statehood in 1819, Congress established Arkansas Territory, which included all of the present state of Arkansas and the part of Oklahoma east of the 100th meridian. Beginning in 1820, most of what would become the state of Oklahoma "was divided among the Five Civilized Tribes."[648]

Before 1825 the boundary between Indian lands and white settlement areas included a strip of present-day eastern Oklahoma. Two forts near this border were established to replace Fort Smith, Arkansas, in guarding traders and travelers from Indian attacks along the Indian frontier. The more northern of these was Fort Gibson, located at the forks of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand rivers. To the south was Fort Towson that was situated near the mouth of the Kiamichi River.[649] In 1825, due to objections from the Cherokee and Choctaw about the encroachment of white settlers, a new treaty was negotiated to adjust the western boundary of Arkansas Territory to the current Arkansas-Oklahoma state line and remove settlers to the area east of the border.[650] Under this Treaty with the Choctaw, 1825 (7 Stat., 234), the western half of Arkansas Territory remained officially unorganized Indian Territory, as created under the 1834 renewal of the *Indian Trade and Intercourse Act*.[651] The only Euro-Americans legally residing within Indian Territory were Indian agents, missionaries, military personnel, and a few whites who had married into tribes. Despite that ban, Euro-American settlers, primarily from Texas and southern states, began entering this area illegally in the 1820s-1830s.[652] The panhandle remained part of Spain until Mexican independence in 1821 when it came under Mexican authority.[653]

Indian resettlement within Oklahoma mostly involved the southeastern Indian nations (i.e. Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muscogee [Creek], and Seminole) known together as the Five Civilized Tribes. With the election of President Andrew Jackson in 1828 the issue of Indian removal reached a climax.[654] On May 28, 1830, Congress passed the *Indian Removal Act*. This act embodied President Andrew Jackson's Indian policy, calling for the voluntary removal of Indian tribes from the eastern US.[655] By the end of the 1830s, however, this policy shifted from voluntary to forced cession of Indian lands in the East to the United States and the emigration of eastern tribes to reservations west of the boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas. Precedent for this policy change came as eastern Cherokee, objecting to the move that had been agreed to by a faction of the tribe in the 1835 Treaty of New Echota (7 Stat., 478), refused to voluntarily leave their lands, fields, homes, and towns in Georgia.[656] During the spring of 1838, Major General Winfield Scott was dispatched by the War Department to forcefully remove the Cherokee. In what became known as the Trail of Tears, more than 1000 Cherokee eventually died en route from the heat, unfamiliar diet, unsanitary conditions,

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that of the American form. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 13-14.

[648] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 71.

[649] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma*, 20.

[650] Dianna Everett, "Encyclopedia of History and Culture," (2007) [encyclopedia on-line]; available from *Oklahoma Historical Society Online,* <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/I/IN018.html> (accessed 25 August 2011).

[651] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 211-214.

[652] David J. Wishart, *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 682.

[653] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 19.

[654] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma,* 22.

[655] Generally, eastern tribes residing north of the Ohio River removed to what later became Kansas and Nebraska, while tribes living south of the Ohio River moved to land in what is now eastern and central Oklahoma. Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 866.

[656] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 439-449.

and grief over the move. The other four tribes had been forced to remove from the lands in the southeastern US before the Cherokee; although, smaller groups of Seminole arrived in Oklahoma by 1842.[657]

After the Civil War and into the 1880s, additional Indian tribes were removed to Indian Territory. These included indigenous tribes from the west and north, as well as tribes that had previously been removed to Kansas. Among these tribes were the: Delaware, Sac and Fox, Potawatomie, Shawnee, Peoria, Otoe and Missouria, Kickapoo, Iowa, Ottawa, Miami, Illinois, Mowhawk, Kaskaska, Chippewa, Cayuga, Seneca, Piankashaw, Wea, Tuscarora, Wyandotte, Quapaw, Ponca, Kaw, Pawnee, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, and Wichita.[658] Forts Sill, Reno, and Supply were established in the western portion of Indian Territory in an attempt to discourage Indian attacks, especially by the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho.[659]

The land now comprising the Oklahoma panhandle became part of the Republic of Texas in 1836, as a result of the defeat of Santa Anna's army at the battle of San Jacinto and Texas independence from Mexico. In 1842 Fort Washita was established on the Washita River about 15 miles north of the Red (Canadian) River – the Texas border. President James Polk signed a proclamation on December 29, 1845, making Texas a state. It was not until the Compromise of 1850 that Texas relinquished the Oklahoma panhandle to the United States, and Texas's present boundaries were set. Due to the late acquisition of the panhandle by the United States, it was not a part of any state or territory.[660]

Increasing numbers of whites entered Indian Territory after the Civil War. Many of them worked on railroads, in mining, in the cattle trade, and as agricultural tenants on Indian lands. White ownership of land in what became Oklahoma was not permitted until 1889. At this time, white settlement was limited to the "Unassigned Lands" in the central portion of the future state. White settlers in significant numbers did not arrive in central and western portions of Indian Territory or in the panhandle (known as No Man's Land) until the last decade of the nineteenth century.[661] The *Organic Act* of May 2, 1890, created Oklahoma Territory from the Unassigned Lands, the area west of the Five Civilized Tribes that was not assigned to any tribe, and from No Man's Land.[662] Additional lands were added as Indian lands were surveyed and made available under the 1887 *Dawes Act* (24 Stat. 388) and the *Curtis Act* of 1898, which broke up reservations, gave individual title to up to 160 acres for each Indian, then allowed remaining "surplus" lands to be sold to non-Indians.[663] The Oklahoma land rushes between 1889 and 1905 opened surplus Indian land from the old Indian Territory to the east and unorganized land in Oklahoma Territory to homesteaders, disposing of millions of acres. The *Oklahoma Enabling Act*, signed June 16, 1906, allowed for the formation of the new state of Oklahoma, though the question of what to include within the new state was debated. There was strong support, especially among the Five Civilized Tribes, for two separate states – Oklahoma (a non-Indian state) and Sequoyah (an Indian state). [664] However, on November 16, 1907 during the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt,

[657] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma,* 24-26.
[658] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 34.
[659] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma,* 36.
[660] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 868, 1170; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 62.
[661] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma,* 4, 38-40.
[662] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 48, 62.
[663] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 868; Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 3rd edition. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 170-173, 195-196.
[664] Prucha, *The Great Father,* 261-262.

Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were joined and Oklahoma became the 46th state, subsequently dissolving Indian Territory.[665]

The Civil War and the Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma

During the Civil War, Union forces withdrew into Kansas Territory, leaving Indian Territory to the Confederacy. Some factions within the Five Tribes, led by John Ross of the Cherokee and Opothle Yahoa of the Creek, argued for neutrality during the war. With the exception of the Choctaw, the Five Tribes did not unanimously agree to side with the Confederacy at first; however, with the removal of Union forces – and federal allotment monies – an alliance was sought. The decision to side with the Confederates after Union removal was driven by negotiations and treaties made with the Five Tribes by Albert Pike, a Confederate.[666] In his negotiations he promised that each tribe would hold title to their lands that they lived on.[667] Confederate president Jefferson Davis had other ideas. He stated clearly in a report that the lands owned by the Five Tribes would be "turned into a state."[668] Deception was both the driving force behind the joining with and the controversy over aligning with the Confederacy; thousands of individuals from the Five Tribes joined the war effort, divided between the opposing forces. No major Civil War battles were fought in Oklahoma, but there was heavy fighting in a number of skirmishes, mostly in the eastern quarter of the future state. During the war both Union and Confederate forces and guerilla bands plundered the tribal fields, orchards, and livestock and burned homes, schools, and churches. By the end of the conflict, much of the area was devastated. The tribes' alliance with the Confederacy was used against them as the rationale for annulling and abrogating earlier treaty agreements. Eventually, in 1866, Congress decided to authorize the cancellation of all existing treaties with the Five Tribes. They were forced to cede large portions of their lands in Indian Territory to immigrant tribes being expelled from Kansas.[669]

Established just after the Civil War, Camp Nichols was the only military post along the Oklahoma portion of the Santa Fe Trail. In May 1865 General James H. Carleton, commander of the Department of New Mexico, ordered Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson to establish a post about halfway between the Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas River and Fort Union in New Mexico. Founded as the western terminus of the Aubry Route, the intent of this new post was to protect wagon trains traveling along the Cimarron and Aubry routes from Indian raids.[670] The small fortified post was located on high ground between two forks of South Carrizozo Creek about one half mile north of the Santa Fe Trail and a short distance east of Cedar Spring. The post was constructed and manned by three companies of New Mexico and California volunteers who escorted wagon trains along the trail and protected traffic primarily from raids by Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. Lieutenant Richard Russell and his wife Marion arrived at the post in June 1865 about two weeks after construction began. Marion noted that the soldiers built several stone walled dugouts with dirt floors and dirt roofs supported by logs. The stone walls of the dugouts formed an enclosure, outside of which was a moat. These structures housed the seven officers and had other functions, such as a hospital. Some 300 soldiers lived in tents and dugouts within the enclosure. There were also ten Indian scouts, two Indian women, and two laundresses who were wives of Hispanic soldiers at the post.[671] Wagon trains outbound from New Mexico assembled at this post situated about 130 miles east of Fort Union. From here they were escorted by

[665] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 868; Wishart, 682; and Prucha, *The Great Father,* 262.
[666] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma*, 34.
[667] Ibid.
[668] Ibid.
[669] Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma*, 34-35; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 33.
[670] "Council Trove-Documents: Camp Nichols" *Wagon Tracks* 3, no. 3 (May 1989): 13.
[671] Russell, *Land of Enchantment*, 106.

detachments of troops to the Arkansas River. Camp Nichols was only occupied for a few months before being abandoned in late September by the Army when raids by Indians decreased.[672]

Although the Santa Fe Trail crossed Cimarron County in the Oklahoma panhandle, it had little impact on trade and development of Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory, or the future county or state. The route from Missouri to Santa Fe was less significant to Oklahoma than to the other states through which it crossed. The less well-known route used by Josiah Gregg's livestock traders, which ran across Oklahoma from Van Buren, Arkansas, into New Mexico generally following the Canadian River had a greater impact on this state than did the Cimarron Route. No towns were laid out along the Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma while the route was active. The unincorporated town of Wheeless, the only populated place in the general trail corridor, was not settled until 1907 and was a few miles south of the trail – about three miles from Camp Nichols. The only manmade structures built during the 59-year Santa Fe Trail period were Camp Nichols and Cold Spring stage station, both of which were semi-permanent and of short duration. A branch of the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad was built across Cimarron County; however, it did not follow the route of the trail. No roads or highways follow the route of the trail through the Oklahoma panhandle. Some individuals from the Indian Nations were likely employed by trail freighters as teamsters or drovers, and some who worked or traveled along the trail may have subsequently settled in Oklahoma.[673]

X. The Santa Fe Trail in Colorado

The Santa Fe Trail is significant to the history of what became the State of Colorado. When legal trade began in 1821, over half of the land now comprising Colorado was under Mexican ownership; the other half was unorganized territory. Southeastern Colorado's dramatic landscape inspired the name for one of the main routes of the trail; the Mountain Route became especially important as the railroads moved into the state.

Both the Mountain and Cimarron routes of the Santa Fe Trail crossed the southeastern corner of Colorado, though the Cimarron Route traversed approximately only 14 miles of Baca County. In contrast, the Colorado segment of the Mountain Route was much longer, totaling 181 miles.[674] This route crossed present Prowers, Bent, Otero, and Las Animas counties before entering New Mexico.

Geographical Characteristics

The Santa Fe Trail passed through three physiographic sections within the Interior Plains. Much of southeastern Colorado lies within the Great Plains province and includes the High Plains and the Colorado Piedmont sections.[675] The extreme eastern edge of Colorado is semi-arid High Plains. The Colorado Piedmont is a basin comprised of dissected hills and valleys situated between and separating the High Plains and the front range of the Southern Rocky Mountains. Vegetation communities consist of shortgrass steppe, floodplain shrubland, and salt meadow. While blue grama is the dominate plant cover, buffalo grass (*Buchloe dactyloides*), prickly pear cactus, rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosa*), and saltbush (*Atriplex canescens*) are also present.[676] Most of the trail within Prowers, Bent, and Otero counties, especially the portion following

[672] NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 103.
[673] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 24.
[674] NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 15.
[675] Nevin Melancthon Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931).
[676] Colorado State University, "About the Shortgrass Steppe, *Shortgrass Steppe (SGS) Long Term Ecological Research (LTER) project Web site* [Shortgrass Steppe page on-line]; available from http://sgs.cnr.colostate.edu/about_location.aspx; Internet; accessed 23 March 2012.

the Arkansas River, passed through the Colorado Piedmont section. Southern Otero County and most of Las Animas County lie within the Raton section of the Great Plains province. This section is a relatively flat inclined plain that slopes up to the west and has major intrusive igneous features.

The principal river basin along the Santa Fe Trail through Colorado was the Arkansas River, whose headwaters originate from the Colorado Rocky Mountains. This river has many tributaries within the state, including Big Sandy, Adobe, and Horse creeks to the north, as well as Two Buttes Creek, the Purgatoire River, and Timpas Creek to the south. Both the Purgatoire River and Timpas Creek generally flow east-northeastward from their sources. The Purgatoire River joins with the Arkansas River near the city of Las Animas in Bent County, while Timpas Creek empties into the Arkansas River near the town of Swink in Otero County.

Pre-Santa Fe Trail Colorado

When trade between Missouri and Santa Fe began in 1821, the area now comprising the State of Colorado was claimed by several groups. Prior to the arrival of white settlers, the lands in what is now eastern Colorado were claimed by at least four different Indian tribes. The Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho were located in the northeastern portion of the future state; the Kiowa, Comanche, and Jicarilla Apache/Apache extended into the southeastern portion. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, a vast area that included what is now most of eastern Colorado was claimed by the United States. The Louisiana Purchase did not specify the southwestern boundary with Spain, so in 1819, the Adams-Onís Treaty, established the boundary between the United States and Spain as the right (west) bank of the Sabine River, the right (south) bank of the Red River, the 100th meridian, the right (south) bank of the Arkansas River, a line from the headwaters of the Arkansas to the 42nd parallel, and then west on this parallel to the Pacific Ocean. The Arkansas River divided eastern Colorado with the land north of the river belonging to the United States and lands south of the Arkansas to Spain.[677] Following Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the Arkansas River formed the border between US and Mexico in the portion of the future State of Colorado lying east of the continental divide until 1848.[678]

Political Development

The area now known as Colorado went through various claim and boundary phases before becoming a state in 1876. When Texas became an independent republic in 1836, it claimed a narrow strip of mountain territory extending northward through Colorado to the 42nd parallel. During the early 1840s, Mexico granted lands to some of its wealthy citizens in the San Luis Valley, south of the Arkansas Valley and within the Rocky Mountains, hoping to secure claims against Texas or the United States. Through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo following the Mexican-American War in 1848, Mexico ceded to the United States most of that portion of Colorado that had not already been acquired through the Louisiana Purchase. Between 1848 and 1861 the border between New Mexico Territory and Colorado was an east-west line just south of Bent's Fort.[679] In 1850, the Federal Government purchased Texas' claims in Colorado.

[677] Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* 15; Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas,* 10.
[678] Abbott, *Colorado*, 43.
[679] Ibid.

On May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law. The act created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.[680] This act defined the boundaries of Kansas Territory as the Missouri border to the east, the 40th parallel to the north, the 37th parallel to the south, and the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the west.[681] Lands in what is now eastern Colorado were part of Kansas Territory until the 1859 Wyandotte Constitutional Convention placed the western boundary of Kansas Territory a few miles west of the 102nd meridian – 18 months before Kansas statehood.[682]

The discovery of gold on the slopes of the Colorado Rockies was the occasion for a sudden immigration into a deserted stretch of mountains and plains. Early in 1859, gold was found by George A. Jackson along Chicago Creek on the present site of Idaho Springs. On May 6 of the same year, John Gregory made the famous gold-lode strike on North Clear Creek, stimulating a rush of prospectors, who established the camps of Black Hawk, Central City, and Nevadaville. Rich discoveries caused a stampede of miners to California Gulch on the present site of Leadville in 1860.[683] In the first three years after the Jackson and Gregory discoveries, 100,000 people made the pilgrimage to the diggings. Half of them reached the mountains, and half of those who arrived survived the disappointments and decided to settle here. This small population of prospectors and settlers, totaling only 25,371 in 1861, became a community, then a territory, and 15 years later, a state.[684] Before Colorado Territory was established, it included portions of the Nebraska, Utah, Kansas, and New Mexico territories. Along with admitting the state of Kansas, Congress finally established Colorado's current boundaries, forming Colorado Territory in 1861.[685] In 1876, Colorado was finally admitted to the Union as the 38th state.[686]

The Santa Fe Trail in Colorado

After Mexican Independence in 1821, American and Mexican traders developed the Santa Fe Trail. It quickly became a commercial and cultural link between the United States and Mexico. It also served as a road of conquest during the Mexican-American War and later the Civil War. Early in the history of the Santa Fe Trail, the Cimarron Route was used by wagon traffic. The Mountain Route could be used by pack animals, but was rarely used before 1846. This route of the trail included several notable sites.

In the late summer of 1832, a Bent, St. Vrain & Company wagon train eastbound out of Santa Fe pioneered what would become the Mountain Route (or Bent's Fort Route) of the Santa Fe Trail. The party left Santa Fe via Taos, crossed Raton Pass into what is now southeastern Colorado, and reached the Arkansas River near the future location of Fort William eight miles northeast of present-day La Junta. From there they traveled down the Arkansas River, joined the Cimarron Route and reached Independence, Missouri in

[680] Barry, *The Beginning*, 1192-1193, 1218. Popular Sovereignty was first introduced in the Compromise of 1850.
[681] Ibid., 1218.
[682] Socolofsky and Self, *Historical Atlas of* Kansas, 24.
[683] Colorado Department of Personnel & Administration, "Colorado State Archives, Colorado History Chronology," *Colorado Department of Personnel & Administration Online* [History Chronology page on-line]; available from http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/history/histchron.htm; Internet; accessed 3 November 2011. See James E. Fell, PhD and Eric Twitty, *The Mining Industry in Colorado* National Register of Historic Places MPDF (2008), on file with the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.
[684] James Grafton Rogers, *The Rush to the Rockies: Background of Colorado History* (Denver: The State Historical Society of Colorado, 1957), 5, 17.
[685] Abbott, *Colorado*, 43.
[686] "Colorado State Archives, Colorado History Chronology," website.

November.[687] Fort William, named for William Bent and later known as Bent's Old Fort, occupied an area that at the time was the border between the United States and the newly independent Mexico. The rectangular adobe fort faced eastward and had towers at each corner and 14 foot walls of three foot thickness.[688] Constructed by Mexican laborers employed by brothers Charles and William Bent and partner Ceran St. Vrain, the fort was completed in 1834.[689] It was a trading post from late 1833 – before the fort was completed – through 1849.

In 1849, William Bent became the sole owner of the fort, but the prosperity of Bent's Old Fort was dwindling due to a decrease in trade and an increase in American Indian hostilities.[690] Bent held the Army partially responsible for the decline of his business due to their presence at the fort before and during the Mexican-American War, which led to increased tensions with and between the neighboring American Indians.[691] In response to the increased tensions, the US Army considered establishing a fort in the area; Bent attempted to sell his fort to them but considered the Army's offer too little recompense for his losses.[692] Concurrently with his attempt to sell the fort to the Army, a major cholera epidemic attacked large groups of American Indians – including the Southern Cheyenne whom Bent considered his strongest ally in the region. When the epidemic passed, half of the Southern Cheyenne had died.[693] In August 1849 after sending his employees and family off with the remaining trade goods, Bent set fire to the adobe fort's wooden substructure and rolled powder kegs into the main rooms of the fort in order to destroy it. Several conjectures exist as to why he would see the fort destroyed: 1) to deny the Army occupancy of the fort; 2) to prevent the Ute, Apache, Comanche, and Arapaho from using it in the fight against the US Army; and 3) in response to the cholera epidemic.[694] Whatever the reason, he moved 38 miles down the Arkansas River to the Big Timbers.[695]

At the Big Timbers, Bent resumed trading with the local Indians. He built three log structures joined together to form a U with the open side facing the river.[696] In the winter of 1852-1853, however, he built a more impressive fort of stone having 12 rooms around a central courtyard and 16 foot tall walls.[697] He operated this smaller post from 1853 to 1860. Although he failed to sell Bent's New Fort to the US Army, they did lease it for use as the Upper Arkansas Indian Agency and commissary and quartermaster storehouse for nearby Fort Wise (Old Fort Lyon).[698]

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[687] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 131-132; Barry, *The Beginning*, 256, 276-277, 1293; and Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 240-241.

[688] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 136.

[689] Ibid.

[690] Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 241; Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 312.

[691] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 312.

[692] Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 241; Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 312.

[693] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 315.

[694] Ibid., 315, 318.

[695] Franzwa, *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, 241-242; Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 177-178; and Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 324.

[696] Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 318.

[697] Ibid., 323-324.

[698] Lavender, *Bent's* Fort, 345; Santa Fe Trail Research, "Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail," *Santa Fe Trail Research Online* [Mountain Route page on-line]; available from http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/mileagecharts/sft-mountain.html; Internet; accessed 3 November 2011; Santa Fe Trail Association, "Bent's Fort Chapter," *Santa Fe Trail Association Online* [Bent's Fort Chapter page on-line]; available from http://www.santafetrail.org/chapters/bentsfort; Internet; accessed 3 November 2011.

Old Fort Lyon, established as Fort Wise, was built less than one mile west of Bent's New Fort by the Army in 1860. It was named for Henry Wise, Governor of Virginia; however, in 1861 the name was changed to Fort Lyon in honor of General Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri. Fort Wise/Old Fort Lyon served as an important military link on the Santa Fe Trail between Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Union in New Mexico, being the "principal guardian of the Mountain Branch."[699] It was deeply involved in the Indian troubles of this region during and after the Civil War. The 1861 Treaty with the Arapaho and Cheyenne (12 Stat., 1163) was signed here, but it was not honored by either side. Due to its location in the Arkansas River flood plain and subsequent flooding, the fort was relocated to its present location east of Las Animas in 1867.[700] New Fort Lyon was active from 1867 to 1889, being abandoned as a fort by an act of Congress in 1890.[701] Beginning in 1867, New Fort Lyon served as part of the Army's Department of the Missouri, a regional network of forts and military facilities in the Missouri River drainage. This post replaced Old Fort Lyon and helped guard the Santa Fe Trail and later the railroad line.[702]

Approximately two miles south of Las Animas is the location of Boggsville, which is one of Colorado's earliest extant agriculture and trade centers. This small complex of two trading stores, owned separately by John W. Prowers and Thomas O. Boggs, was a stage stop on the Santa Fe Trail. [703] Boggsville was founded in 1862 on the west bank of the Purgatoire River, three miles from New Fort Lyon. It was built on 2040 acres of the original four million-acre 1843 Vigil & Saint Vrain, or Las Animas, Mexican Land Grant, comprising most of southeastern Colorado. Boggsville served as a center of commerce and agriculture between 1867 and 1873; it was also the first county seat of Bent County. Thomas and Rumalda (Luna) Boggs, John W. and Amache (Ochinee) Prowers, and Kit and Josepha (Jaramillo) Carson called Boggsville their home.[704]

Las Animas City was the first town established in southeastern Colorado and was located on the Arkansas River across from Fort Lyon. It served as the home station for the Barlow and Sanderson Stage Company and later became the county seat for Bent County. It was abandoned after 1873 when the Kansas Pacific Railroad built West Las Animas (present-day Las Animas).[705]

Raton Pass sits astride the existing Colorado-New Mexico border. Although the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail had been in use since the 1830s, its terrain provided many obstacles to wagon movement. One such obstacle was the tortuous 8000-foot, axle-breaking Raton Pass. Both a barrier and a gateway, the Raton Ridge symbolized the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail.[706] This pass was difficult to cross until the Army made improvements during the Mexican-American War.

The Mountain Route and its most important feature, Raton Pass, played a significant role in military history. Kearny's Army of the West used this route in 1846 on its way to the conquest of New Mexico. Also, in 1862, Colorado Volunteers poured through Raton Pass on their way to Glorieta Pass, where they defeated troops of the Confederate Army. However, the pass was not widely used until "Uncle Dick" Wootton started

[699] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 179.
[700] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 179; "Bent's Fort Chapter," website; and "Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail," website.
[701] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 180. Subsequent continued use of the site has included status as a Navy hospital and occupancy by the Veterans Administration.
[702] "Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail," website.
[703] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 180.
[704] "Bent's Fort Chapter," website.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 185.

improving it in 1865 as part of his toll road. The improvements continued to promote many travelers, including the operators of the stagecoach lines, to use to the Mountain Route instead of following the Cimarron Route.[707]

Railroad Impacts on the Santa Fe Trail in Colorado

After the completion of the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad in 1880, the trail was abandoned as a national route. The railroad closely followed the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. While in 1863 the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) had planned to build over the Cimarron Route southwest to Santa Fe, this route's geography forced the railroad to adjust its route due to limited water availability for steam engines along *La Jornada*.[708] Further, the lack of settlement along the Cimarron Route would limit traffic through the area.[709] The AT&SF railroad line instead was laid in close proximity to the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail.[710] In 1878, Wootton sold his toll road through Raton Pass to the AT&SF.[711]

The Mountain Route was a significant route of the Santa Fe Trail and continued to be a significant route for the railroad. Once called the Raton or Bent's Fort Route during trail days, the Mountain Route was longer and more difficult than the Cimarron Route, but it was considered safer due to the abundance of water and lack of Indian attacks. Though the railroad boom led to the trail's obsolescence as the wagon road to Santa Fe, it maintained – and produced a change in character of – overland trade along the trail. The development and implementation of the railroad network across the United States, particularly along the Santa Fe Trail, enabled freighters to ship larger and more frequent quantities of goods to and from the expanding territories, increasing profits and aiding in the settlement of these new territories.

XI. The Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico

The establishment and growth of the Santa Fe trade was a turning point in the history and development of what is now the State of New Mexico. In less than 30 years, Santa Fe went from being a northern outpost of Spain in North America, to a city in the Mexican state of Nueva Mexico, to the capital of the American Territory of New Mexico. Finally, in 1912, it became the capital of the State of New Mexico.

Both major routes of the Santa Fe Trail (i.e., the Cimarron Route and the Mountain Route) crossed the northeastern corner of New Mexico. The Mountain Route entered the state on the northern border at Raton Pass and traversed 197 miles within the state, while the Cimarron Route entered on the eastern border near the Corrumpa Creek (North Canadian River) and traversed 228 miles. In conjunction, the routes went through five counties in New Mexico, including Colfax, Mora, San Miguel, Union, and Santa Fe counties.

Geographical Characteristics

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[707] Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 185-187; History Colorado, "Las Animas County," *Colorado Historical Society Online* [Las Animas page on-line]; available from http://www.historycolorado.org/content/las-animas-county; Internet; accessed 15 November 2011; and "Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail," website.

[708] Smith, "When Rails," 23.

[709] Bryant, *History of the ATSF*, 44.

[710] Smith, "When Rails," 23.

[711] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 10. See also Clayton B. Fraser and Jennifer H. Strand, *Railroads in Colorado 1858-1948* National Register of Historic Places MPDF (1998), on file with the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

New Mexico has a complex geography due to its variety of landforms, which include parts of the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains, in addition to plateaus, basins, and ranges. Two portions of the Rockies intrude into the state: the San Juan and Jemez Mountains on the west side and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east. A 140-mile wide plateau separates the two ranges. Plains are found between the mountains and made from deposits of sedimentary matter, such as sand or mud, washed down the uplifted rim over a long period of time. These numerous alluvial basins have been very important in developing the state's agriculture.[712]

The six life zones of native vegetation in New Mexico include: the Lower Sonoran, the Upper Sonoran, the Transition, the Canadian, the Hudsonian, and the Arctic-Alpine (listed from warmest to coldest and driest to wettest). Altitude – more than latitude – accounts for climatic differences within the state. The Lower Sonoran makes up most of the southwestern part of New Mexico, spanning 19,500 square miles. It contains mesquite and black grama grass; at altitudes below 4500 feet, the grass coverage in this zone permits more grazing than would be possible at higher elevations, making it more economically valuable. The Upper Sonoran covers about three-fourths of the state and has a considerable variation in vegetation due to the vast region. Most of the plains, foothills, and valleys lying above 4500 feet are included within this zone. At lower altitudes, vegetation is scanty as a result of arid conditions; at higher altitudes (8000 to 8500 feet), blue grama and buffalo grass, sagebrush, piñon, and juniper show the obvious effect of more rainfall. The Transition zone makes up 19,000 square miles of New Mexico and is identified by the ponderosa pine found on the middle mountain slopes of the high ranges at altitudes of 7000 to 8500 feet on the northeast slopes and 8000 to 9500 feet on the southwest slopes. The Canadian spans 4000 square miles, contains blue spruce and Douglas fir, and is known for lumbering; it is the most humid area in the state and its precipitation feeds the streams that irrigate the more arid region. The Hudsonian takes up only 160 square miles of New Mexico and is identified by dwarf spruce occurring in a narrow shabby timberline belt around the higher peaks (above 9500 feet); pasture for sheep in the summer is its only commercial use. Finally, a small portion of the state is within the Arctic-Alpine zone is the treeless zone of the low and hearty alpine plants associated with arctic tundra, found on the caps of the highest peaks; these areas are important because they frequently retain snow until late summer, when moisture is most needed in the dry valleys below.[713]

The major drainages crossed by the route of the Santa Fe Trail through New Mexico were the Canadian and Dry and Wet Cimarron rivers. The headwaters of the Canadian River lie on the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in southeastern Las Animas County, Colorado, and from there it quickly flows east-southeast into New Mexico.

Pre-Santa Fe Trail in the Province of New Mexico

Before the Spanish had begun exploring what is now New Mexico in the 1500s, among other areas in North America, Puebloan Indians had established villages along the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Between 1609 and 1610, Spanish Governor Pedro de Peralta established a new capital at Santa Fe and construction began on the Palace of the Governors. The seventeenth century was full of conflict between the church and

[712] Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 2, 4.
[713] Beck and Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico*, 2,4.

the government and also between the Puebloan Indians and the Spanish colonists, amidst other raiding tribes.[714]

Throughout the colonial period, New Spain's northern frontier was distant and isolated, and its citizens struggled for their region to become an integral part of the Spanish empire. Almost 1700 miles separated Santa Fe and Mexico City. This distance was daunting because of the obstacles to travel, such as the rugged terrain of northern and central Mexico, did not help to encourage communication and mutual understanding between the separated regions. New Mexicans searched for a means to relieve their isolation and bring an end to their dependency on an economic system that was designed to benefit the mother country and was ill-suited to the conditions that prevailed in their remote territory. They began alleviating their problems principally by engaging in a widespread network of trade activities among various ethnic groups. With time, New Mexicans came to rely on a variety of licit and illicit commercial strategies to bypass the government policies that stifled the economic development of their New Mexican province.[715]

New Mexican dependence on Spain was guaranteed by the complex monetary system that handicapped the settlers. Starting in 1609, mission supply trains were officially sanctioned and became the standard link between Mexico City and its northernmost province. Contact with French traders, though illegal, became an important means of relieving the isolation of the province; by the 1720s interaction became more frequent. In 1739, the Mallet brothers reached Santa Fe to begin limited trade with the Spanish.[716] Contact with non-Hispanics was sporadic until the 1780s but became more frequent as the ex-British colonists moved west looking for new hunting grounds, land, and opportunity.

Zebulon Pike led the first Anglo-American expedition into New Mexico in 1807 and published an account of the way of life in New Mexico upon his return to the United States.[717] The flourish of exploratory activities around the turn of the nineteenth century led to the integration of a large regional commercial system between Indian tribes, Mexicans, New Mexicans, Americans, and eventually Europeans. One of the early explorers was Pedro Vial, whose expeditions occurred from 1786 to 1793 between San Antonio, Santa Fe, Natchitoches, and St. Louis. The form of mercantile capitalism that evolved in New Mexico was dependent on cooperation between the various ethnic groups that participated in the trade.[718] New Mexico would become a key commercial link between the United States and Mexico.

The Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico Territory

Once Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1821, New Mexicans sought economic freedom, and the Santa Fe Trail was opened to international trade. However, it took time for the New Mexican mercantile system to successfully develop. Within 10 years of the "opening" of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, local New Mexican merchants did not participate in any direct large-scale commercial activities with businesses from the United States. This changed by the end of the 1830s at which time they were venturing to the east to cities including New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, where they invested their sizable accumulated capital. The New Mexican traders became part of a widespread commercial network, which

[714] PPSA, "Timeline of New Mexico History," *PPSA Magazine Online* [New Mexico Timeline page on-line]; available from http://www.ppsa.com/magazine/NMtimeline.html; Internet; accessed 28 November 2011.
[715] Susan C. Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 1-2.
[716] Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 5; Brandon, *Quivira,* 202.
[717] "Timeline of New Mexico History," website.
[718] Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 111.

offered them substantial returns. Their complex transactions eventually included merchants in the United States, Europe, and Mexico.[719]

Because New Mexico was an area that linked two young, ambitious countries – the United States and Mexico – conflict arose. In 1841, Texas soldiers invaded New Mexico and claimed all of the land east of the Rio Grande, but their efforts were thwarted by Governor Manuel Armijo. Then, in April 1846, Mexico declared war against the United States. For the United States, General Stephen Watts Kearny commanded the Army of the West, which marched westward following a portion of the Santa Fe Trail toward the city of Santa Fe.[720] Upon arriving at Apache Canyon in New Mexico on August 16th, where Governor Armijo previously said he would meet him, General Kearny found that the Mexican troops had dispersed and fled to the mountains. Armijo had an army of 7000 Mexicans, with six pieces of artillery, and the advantage of location within the terrain, yet he allowed General Kearny, with a force of less than 2000, to march through the almost impregnable gorge and on to the capital of the province, without any attempt to oppose him. As a result of meeting with several merchants sent by Kearny, and faced with dissension among his assembled force, Armijo abandoned any military resistance to Kearny, allowing them to seize Santa Fe without firing a shot on August 18, 1846. After the Mexican-American War was over, Armijo was tried in Mexico City for cowardice and desertion for his actions or lack thereof.[721] The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo officially ended the Mexican-American War in 1848.

In 1850, New Mexico (which at this time included present-day New Mexico, Arizona, southern Colorado, southern Utah, and southern Nevada) was designated a territory but denied statehood. The Gadsden Purchase from Mexico in 1853 added 45,000 square miles to the territory. By the 1860s the nature of the Santa Fe trade had changed dramatically. As the volume of trade increased, the prices of the merchandise declined. Profits per unit also plunged.[722]

With the advent of the Civil War in 1861, Confederates invaded New Mexico Territory (which now included the present day states of New Mexico and Arizona) from Texas. Also at this time, Colorado Territory was created, eliminating the extreme northernmost section from New Mexico Territory. Many of the new settlers in New Mexico Territory were Southern sympathizers.[723] President Jefferson Davis was persuaded by Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley to issue orders for him to lead and follow through with his plan for westward expansion for the Confederacy by conquering all of New Mexico Territory during the winter of 1861-1862.[724] Sibley's campaign had potential to be a military success until the skirmish at Apache Canyon on March 26, 1862, which was the first Union victory in New Mexico Territory.[725] Ultimately, after the Battle of Glorieta Pass on March 28, the defeated Confederate force retreated back to Texas, and Confederate occupation of New Mexico Territory ended. In 1863, the territory of Arizona was created, which partitioned the territory of New Mexico in half; this brought the territory closer to the area we now consider the state of New Mexico.

The Railroad in the State of New Mexico

[719] Ibid.
[720] Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, 102-103.
[721] Ibid., 112.
[722] Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 100.
[723] Cottrell, *Civil War in Texas and New Mexico Territory* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, 1998), 22.
[724] Ibid., 29.
[725] Ibid., 52.

In 1876, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) reached Pueblo, Colorado at the foot of the Rockies. In the meantime, the tiny, narrow-gauge trains of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) were running up and down the Rocky Mountain front from Denver to El Moro, a company-developed town just outside Trinidad, Colorado. The stage was set for the railroad penetration into New Mexico. The AT&SF commenced its rapid advance south through New Mexico beginning in November 1878; the line reached Las Vegas in July 1879, and service to Santa Fe began February 16, 1880. When the railroad reached Santa Fe, the Santa Fe Trail came to a practical end.[726] New Mexico was finally admitted to the Union as the 47th state in 1912.

Significant Sites in New Mexico

In addition to hosting the western terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, the state of New Mexico also contains numerous recorded trail sites of importance. As previously mentioned, both the Cimarron Route and the Mountain Route ran significant lengths through New Mexico toward or from the city of Santa Fe. Along each route were many stopping points and landmarks pertaining to the trail.

A number of significant sites exist along the Cimarron Route in New Mexico, which entered the state from the present-day Oklahoma panhandle. Some of these sites include McNees Crossing, Point of Rocks, and Rock Crossing of the Canadian River. The McNees Crossing of Corrumpa Creek in Union County is 3.8 miles southwest from the Oklahoma state line. This rock crossing, which is still visible, was named for a young trader, Robert McNees, who was killed here by Indians in 1828; the site was also used as a campground, and a group of traders celebrated the Fourth of July here in 1831. The Point of Rocks in Colfax County was a popular campsite with a nearby spring. As mentioned earlier, there was occasional violence at this site; of the 11 known gravesites, only one has been identified. The Rock Crossing of the Canadian River, also in Colfax County, was used by Indians from early times as well as later by travelers on the Cimarron Route. The crossing has a natural stone floor for a short distance only. Upstream it is sandy and hard to cross, while downstream a deep, rocky canyon makes it impossible to cross. This spot was considered to be the real entry into Mexico, and Mexican troops were sometimes sent this far to escort traders back to Santa Fe. It was also the site of several Indian raids on the caravans. Other notable sites in along this route in New Mexico include: Rabbit Ears, Rabbit Ears Creek Camp, Round Mound, Wagon Mound, Santa Clara Spring, and Pilot Knob. Trading ranches and stage stations along the Cimarron Route included the Samuel B. Watrous Ranch House and Store, Barclay's Fort Site at Phoenix Ranch, and Sapello Stage Station (also known as Gregg Tavern-Stage Station or Barlow & Sanderson Stage Station).[727]

Along the Mountain Route, which entered New Mexico from Colorado, significant sites include Lucien Maxwell House, Ocate Crossing, and Fort Union National Monument. Lucien Maxwell House is located in Rayado, 12 miles south of Cimarron, in Colfax County. Rayado started from a Santa Fe Trail campsite established by Lucien Maxwell in 1848; it was the point at which the Mountain Route and two of its side trails rejoined. There was a military camp at Rayado in the early 1850s to help protect this portion of the Mountain Route. The Ocate Crossing in Mora County was a watering point and campsite. This route was heavily used during and after the Civil War, and it was often mentioned by trail travelers. Kearny's Army of the West crossed here in 1846 and camped nearby. The Fort Union National Monument, also in Mora County, is near the

[726] Gabrielle G. Palmer, ed., *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, Cultural Resources Series No. 11, 1993), 205-206.

[727] Santa Fe Trail Research, "Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail," *Santa Fe Trail Research Online* [Cimarron Route page on-line]; available from http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/mileagecharts/sft-cimarron-cut-off.html; Internet; accessed 29 November 2011; NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 104 .

junction of the Cimarron and Mountain routes. Fort Union was a major military post on the Santa Fe Trail during the period from 1851 to 1891, and for a time it was the largest American military post in the Southwest. Founded primarily to protect the trail, the fort's original structures had already deteriorated by the Civil War, and a fortification was built. After the Civil War, a third Fort Union was completed, which included a garrison and traditional post, regional quartermaster depot, and an arsenal on the site of the original fort. Other sites along this route include Willow Springs and the Cimarron Plaza and Well. Trading ranches and stage stations along the Mountain Route included the Clifton House.[728]

The Cimarron and Mountain routes converged at La Junta (present-day Watrous). One of the most significant sites along the route from Watrous to Santa Fe is Pecos National Historic Park in San Miguel County. This is the site of the Pecos Pueblo, which was the easternmost pueblo visited by Francisco Coronado in 1541. The pueblo was still inhabited when the Santa Fe Trail opened in 1821, but it was abandoned around 1838. The abandoned pueblo was used as a campsite by trail travelers; it was well known and often mentioned in their journals. Other sites along this stretch of the combined trail include Las Vegas Plaza, Tecolote, San Miguel del Vado, Apache Canyon, Kearny Gap, and Glorieta Pass. Trading ranches included Kozlowski's Stage Station, Pigeon's Ranch, and Johnson's Ranch Site.[729]

Significant sites within the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico include the Santa Fe Plaza, the Palace of the Governors, and Fort Marcy. The plaza is in the middle of Santa Fe and was the traditional terminus of the Santa Fe Trail for westbound travelers. The Palace of the Governors is on the north side of the Santa Fe Plaza. Built in 1610, it served as the seat of government in New Mexico for 300 years. After occupying New Mexico for the United States in 1846, Kearny raised the US flag over the palace and took up residence inside. It now houses the Museum of New Mexico. Fort Marcy was built on the hill overlooking the city of Santa Fe in 1846, and some features are still visible; this was the headquarters for troops in New Mexico until Fort Union was built in 1851 to get the troops out of the Santa Fe environment.[730]

Along with the important buildings and structures located within New Mexico are numerous extant trail segments and crossings. The lack of cultivation around the trail has helped to preserve these remains, as has the fact that many segments are located within the 9 million surface acres held in the New Mexico State Land Trust. The Trust is charged with protecting, conserving, and maintaining the lands within its holdings.[731] Significant trail segments and crossings within Trust lands include the Magazine Ruts north of Sophia, Holkeo Creek Crossing and a 3 mile trail segment near Point of Rocks, El Vado de las Piedras Segments in the Springer vicinity, Mora County segment northeast of Wagon Mound, and Apache Mesa Trail Segment near Ocate Creek.

[728] "Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail," website; NPS, *Management and Use Plan,* 105-106.
[729] Ibid.
[730] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 106.
[731] The Land Trust has 9 million surface acres and 13 million subsurface acres of land in their holdings. New Mexico State Land Office, "State Land Trust," *NM State Land Office Online* [About the Agency page on-line]; available from http://www.nmstatelands.org/About.aspx; Internet; accessed 8 March 2012.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The property types defined as Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail are primarily the products of trail traffic from 1821 to 1880. Property types associated with the reuse and commemoration of the trail up to 1930 are also included. Specific periods of significance will vary, depending on the property type and its location along the trail. Property types were developed through the reconnaissance survey of known resources in the state of Kansas, as well as the compilation of other known properties in Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico, including those previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Appendices G-K). The six property types identified are: Transportation Sites, Travel and Trade Sites, Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites, Trail Graves and Cemeteries, Monuments and Markers, and Cultural Landscapes. Where appropriate, subtypes are further distinguished under each type. In some instances, no examples of the subtypes are expected to be found, yet their existence during the periods of significance is crucial to the understanding of extant resources.

Many of the property types are, or are located within, rural historic landscapes.[737] As such, the majority of extant Santa Fe Trail resources are anticipated to be classified as sites (and/or sites within districts). There are four distinct definitions of sites that apply to this document: historic sites, historic archeological sites, prehistoric archeological sites, and contributing land areas. Historic sites are landscapes with above-ground evidence of the trail. Historic archeological sites are those resources containing artifacts from the historic period of the Santa Fe Trail; whereas, prehistoric archeological sites contain information related to American Indian presence on the land from before the historic period. Contributing land areas are portions of the landscape that may not contain physical evidence of the trail itself but are significant because of their location within the viewshed of a resource and/or because of their relationship to the district or site. One or all of these definitions may apply to nominated properties.

The location and setting of trail-related resources are paramount in determining integrity. The natural landscape directed the multiple routes, determined the locations of rest areas, and provided way-finders. The natural landscape was the essence of the trail; therefore, it should not be treated as a buffer but as an integral and defining characteristic of the resource. Emphasis shall be placed on the ability of the modern landscape to communicate the historic feeling of place. Changes to land use and management may not seriously lessen the value of a resource if the new use is compatible with historic uses (e.g., prairie turned pastureland). Whereas the introduction of invasive non-historic land uses is often evident near a resource (e.g., wind farms, power lines, natural gas lines, recreational areas), especially in rural areas, the impact shall be evaluated on an individual basis to determine if the sites retain enough integrity to support a nomination.

Because the resources are located in five states, the frequency, length, and condition of sites will vary. In New Mexico, Colorado, and Oklahoma, cultivation in the areas around the trail has been minimal; whereas, in Kansas, agricultural practices have erased or reduced the size of many extant resources. Though few in number, historic sites do exist in urban areas and are surrounded by post-trail development. Similarly, because a large portion of the trail is still within rural areas, natural resource production and harvesting has encroached upon resources in all states.

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[737] A rural historic landscape is “a geographic area that historically has been used by people, or shaped by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possess a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features.” Linda Flint McClelland, et al., “National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes,” rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1999), 3.

By definition, the Santa Fe Trail is a linear resource. Today, trail properties occur singularly (e.g., a set of ruts) or within well-defined complexes (e.g., graves near a skirmish site or trail ruts leading to a stream crossing near a stage station). These resources historically were interconnected by the trail system. Because of this interconnectedness, a top-down hierarchical approach to the nomination of resources shall be used. This approach first considers if a significant concentration of resources exists to create a historic district. Where proximity, ownership, and future management practices do not allow the creation of contiguous districts, then individual trail resources shall be nominated with an emphasis on their relationships to adjacent trail properties. Discontiguous historic districts are permissible for concentrations of resources solely defined by archeological resources or may be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Boundary limitations will depend on the individual property types. However, boundaries are typically drawn to include a significant concentration of intact historic resources, such as trail ruts and sub-surface archeological features, as well as to an appropriate area of landscape surrounding the known resources. Consideration shall be given to natural topographic features that are related to the trail. In many instances, the nominated sites contain tangible evidence for only a small percentage of the related historic context. For example, a cut-down to a stream crossing may be the only extant resource at a site that historically also contained a campsite, a ferry, and a ranch. While physical evidence may be concentrated solely on the cut-down, documentary evidence of the surrounding context shall be used to form adequate boundaries to include the land within which the other resources were located.

Property Type: Transportation Sites

Transportation sites are those resources directly created by or for traffic (e.g., foot travel, pack animal transport, ox-, horse-, and mule-drawn wagons) or which served as directional landmarks to travelers. Included also are those trail segments which were reengineered or adapted for use by later forms of transportation (e.g., railroads and early motorized vehicles). These resources are man-made landscape features (e.g., trail ruts caused by repeated use and/or erosion and later road segments that were constructed and/or engineered over existing trail ruts), naturally occurring landscape features utilized and adapted by man because of their characteristics (e.g., stream and river crossings and river landings), and naturally occurring landscape features that acted as wayfaring signs (e.g., mounds and rock formations).

The existence of a transportation site is verified by historical research, field observations and documentation, maps, and correlation of GPS coordinates with existing General Land Office (GLO) survey lines, where applicable.[738] In some instances, the GLO lines were surveyed after a portion of the trail ceased to be used, in which case the field observations and historical research can be correlated with other known maps.[739] The Santa Fe Trail passed through many modern urbanized areas, but the bulk of the trail is still located in rural areas. At times, these properties are in sufficiently close proximity to be linked together as a district of sites. Other sites stand in relative isolation. In the main, the categorization (i.e., site or district) of each property or set of properties depends on local environmental circumstances, application of standards for boundary definitions, and owner consent of contributing resources. Because of the potentially large boundaries included in a single nomination, multiple property owners may exist for the various resources. Since a district depends on an owner's consent to list, such instances may arise in which all owners are not in agreement over the nomination

[738] General Land Office survey lines give approximate locations of the trail and are most accurate at section lines.

[739] A good example of this occurs in Stevens County, Kansas. The 1.5 mile segment does not correlate with the GLO survey in this area of the state; however, the trail segment is identified in Map 57 of Franzwa's *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail* as an earlier branch of the Cimarron Route.

of resources. In these cases, resources that would best fit within a district still can be evaluated for individual eligibility as a site.

While in modern usage the word "trail" typically connotes an undeveloped route, historic transportation sites were part of a dynamic transportation system that still possesses cultural significance. Trails should be conceived as a multi-level circulation network, at one location operating on a local level, and at another, serving regional or even national level needs.[740] Transportation sites are important for the historic associations they possess, as well as for the physical attributes displayed.

Critical to the understanding of transportation sites is the formation of adequate boundaries. When possible, natural delimiters (e.g., topographical features) are preferable. This is more in character with maintaining the natural context of the site. Care should be taken when establishing the boundaries of a transportation site with nearby modern visual intrusions. These modern features should be avoided; however, a sufficient amount of land adjacent to the resource should be a primary consideration. The inherent nature of each subtype will determine the approach to establishing boundaries.

Significance – Transportation Sites

The associative characteristics tied to the physical features of the trail lend it significance. The Santa Fe Trail tied two countries together in a mutual – and later competitive – relationship. Its use had a profound effect on the resident American Indian populations of the region. The Comanche, Kiowa, Ute, Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, among others, all increasingly resisted the encroachment upon their lands that the trail represented. The trail was also the primary means by which American hegemony was established over a vast area of the northernmost Mexican Republic. Each transportation site may tangibly reflect diverse areas of significance: **archeology**, **commerce**, **transportation**, **military**, **exploration/settlement**, and **ethnic heritage**, being a few.

As a commercial trail, the rutted trail segments are associated with the commercial use of the trail, beginning with Becknell's expeditions and the first wagons on the trail in the early 1820s. The movement of commerce was the prominent trail use through the succeeding quarter century. Running between Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico, the main trail corridor was a portion of an important international trade network between the United States and the newly independent Mexican Republic.[741] By the 1830s, the eastern terminus of the trail had moved from Franklin to Independence and then on to Westport. The properties reflecting this commercial use form an important physical reflection of the development of American and Hispanic commerce in the West.

During the 15 years after Kearny's taking of Santa Fe in 1846, the establishment of American hegemony over the region – and over its inhabitants – became a primary concern of the US government. During this time, the trail became more significant in the area of military history as it served as the principal thoroughfare of military supply in the region.[742] While commerce still played a vital role in trail use, primarily through military contracts with civilian carriers, the trail became more tangibly linked with the operations of the War Department in the maintenance of military operations in the West. However, beginning in 1850, one important commercial enterprise during the post-Mexican-American War era was the establishment of mail – and later stagecoach – service between the eastern end of the trail and Santa Fe, which continued through 1880.

[740] McClelland, "Bulletin 30," 5, 16.
[741] For instance by 1840, one half of the Santa Fe Trail freight was making its way to Chihuahua. Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 17.
[742] Miller, "Freighting," 11.

The evaluation of appropriate areas and levels of significance requires judgment as to which historic context is most dominant because the trail's military and commercial uses became intertwined. Often multiple areas of significance will pertain on a national level. As the network of railroads edged deeper into the West, the trail became increasingly regional in character and more frequently incorporated into local road networks. Hence an evaluation at the state and local levels of significance is also appropriate. This is primarily true after 1870 when the Kansas Pacific Railroad reached Colorado, and transshipment of goods often was made from towns such as Kit Carson, Colorado. The AT&SF Railroad used Junction City, Fort Harker, Hays, and Sheridan, Kansas as eastern termini as it expanded west and reached Santa Fe in 1880, spelling a virtual end to significant Santa Fe Trail use.[743] The level of significance for this property type is determinable by examining the documentary record of the trail recorded in primary and secondary sources. The trail's significance at the national level spans all six associated historic contexts, as well as the individual state context in which the resource is located.

Conceivably, all four of the National Register Criteria A through D can be applied to transportation sites within these contexts. However, the historic resources existing along the Santa Fe Trail lend themselves to registration within certain Criteria over others. Within this property type, the principal Criterion is A, which includes those patterns of events associated with commerce, military history, and transportation; Criterion D is also expected to apply when sites have yielded or have the potential to yield important archeological information pertaining to the period of significance. Criterion B is applicable to sites that are clearly linked with a specific person significant to the resource. A transportation site is rarely by itself eligible for registration under Criterion C for its distinctive appearance or construction. Important resources can be combined with ancillary sites, which would make them contributing resources to a district under these Criteria, for instance, when historic architectural or archeological sites lie in proximity to the trail.

Registration Requirements – Transportation Sites

To adequately reflect their significance, transportation sites must have a clear linkage to the trail's use and reuse, as explained in the associated historic contexts. Each property must be individually evaluated for its period of significance and its significance in the area of transportation, though other areas may apply as well. The resource is eligible if it is clearly shown to have played an important role in maintaining the trail's viability as a commercial, military, or stagecoach road or if sections of the trail were reused for early motorized vehicle traffic after trail use diminished in the area.

As previously noted, transportation sites are foremost eligible under Criterion A at the national level of significance. Other levels – state and local – may apply if the site more obviously represents a locally important roadway or was part of an important regional system (e.g., segments of the Ft. Larned Military Road in Pawnee County, Kansas). Clearly if the route of the trail passed through a locality, enabling its existence, it was also significant at the local level. At the state level, however, it must be shown that the transportation site functioned as an integral part of the territorial or state transportation network in hauling goods or people. For instance, those parts of the Santa Fe Trail that served as parts of stagecoach networks, or of the ever-diminishing lengths of the trail used as railroads expanded westward, represent resources significant at the state level.

Criterion B allows for the registration of resources linked to a well-known individual's experience in traveling the trail documented in diaries and journals. Such accounts from the period of historic significance can provide an important link in interpreting the feeling of time and place associated with certain transportation sites.

[743] Miller, "Freighting," 14-15.

When using this Criterion, the association between the trail user and the site must be particularly significant and well-documented. In most cases, the significant person should be demonstrated to have been prominent in the development of the trail or associated with events significant to the site. The relevant level of significance must be determined in reference to the individual's importance as a chronicler of the trail or participation in important historic events, usually meriting national level significance.

Transportation sites are also eligible under Criterion D. Archeological prospection, geophysical survey, and metal detector survey of transportation sites have been shown to reveal associated artifact assemblages, sometimes buried and sometimes not, that can inform on the use of the trail during its period of significance; there is every reason to believe that such an assemblage is present along its course. Under Criterion D extant properties that retain integrity have the potential to yield important information to understanding the use and nature of the Santa Fe Trail and other road transportation road systems, including construction methods, patterns of use and change over time, evolving trade patterns, and cultural interactions. Study of both the remnant trail segments and adjacent archeological features can provide valuable insight into the evolving patterns of historic development in the regions through which the trail passed. The extant sites associated with the Santa Fe Trail likely contain data which may be vital to any wider study of the 19th-century trade and economic development. Examples of historic period road and trail segments are relatively rare, as evidence of such activity has often been obliterated by subsequent development or natural causes. Further investigation could address key questions regarding trade and transportation variability and change. Excavation could also provide additional social data including better estimates of the frequency of use during various phases of settlement, the role played by the military, women, various ethnic and social groups, and the nature of trail users, material culture and the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities.[744]

The analysis of a transportation site is relatively straightforward. It involves evaluating whether integrity of the visual scene and trail features is sufficiently retained along the verified trail route. This process involves evaluating the location and setting of extant sites. It also entails judging whether trail integrity is sufficient to reflect the areas and periods of historic significance. These variables include the retention of current natural and historic vegetation patterns, landscape views, and other factors capable of ensuring long-term site integrity (e.g., low erosion, soil stability).[745] Landscapes develop through a mix of evolving patterns and activities, the material record of which was influenced by cultural preferences, available technology, and response to the natural environment.[746] In the case of the Santa Fe Trail, the activities of animal-drawn transport have formed the most vivid reminder of these dictates.

The physical character of a transportation site must display sufficient environmental integrity. That is, the existence of a certain degree of visual quality reminiscent of the historic scene, unobstructed by modern construction or major intrusions, and capable of evoking the qualities of integrity in terms of feeling, setting, and association. Environmental integrity is the quality of visual context of the historical scene remaining intact; it will be discussed further under each subtype. Given the rarity and significance of the remaining transportation sites, flexibility must be allowed in determining what is a sufficient retention of the visual scene. In rural areas, modern visual intrusions such as barbed wire fences, telephone and power poles, roads, hedgerows, and cultivated fields are now common elements in proximity to these sites. In urban areas, modern intrusions are more pronounced

[744] Michael Elliott, Paul Lusignan, et al., Unpublished Comments on Apache Canyon Bridge Site National Register Nomination, New Mexico, 2012.

[745] The NPS *Management & Use Plan* details the components of the trail ecosystem in its "Natural Environment" section (53-56), makes provisions for appropriate re-vegetation efforts with the U.S. Soil Conservation Service (111-113), and details threatened and endangered native species in the trail region (132-136).

[746] McClelland, "Bulletin 30," 3.

and can include housing subdivisions and other built developments. Because modern visual intrusions are sometimes unavoidable, the sites affected by one or more of these modern intrusions may still be considered eligible for registration. Further, in urban areas, transportation sites can be determined eligible even if they are short in length because of their rarity due to development pressures.

Subtype: Trail Segments

Trail segments include ruts/swales, stream crossings, and cut-downs.[747] Visually they are broad depressions in the soil or rock created by the continuous heavy movement of trail traffic. Ruts are the most common trail features still visible. Though cases exist of a singular rut, historically, because of the travel formation of caravans, ruts most often occur in sets. Cut-downs are a single, wide rut leading down a bank to the crossing of a body of water. Stream crossings are evident as visible ruts cut into the rocks lining stream beds. For clarity, a segment shall be defined as one or more parallel ruts.

Trail segments show the variable trail route as it developed over time. The narrowing and widening of the trail reflects reactions to local topography and to local and seasonal weather conditions. Since transport along the trail depended on animal power, forage and water were prime considerations in trail use. Features of the natural environment such as springs thus played a vital role in determining where the trail went. The oftentimes featureless nature of the High Plains made topographic landmarks an important feature of trail travel. All of these variables, and relations among the travelers, American Indian inhabitants, and Mexican residents of New Mexico, made for a dynamic transportation network that often confronted the trail users with a series of obstacles requiring critical decisions.

The character of this subtype will most often result in linear-drawn boundaries. When establishing boundaries for trail segments, some of which are miles long, important consideration shall be given to the inclusion of contributing land areas adjacent to the segments. Ideally, the viewshed from the trail segments would become the extent of the drawn boundary. In practical terms, however, land management and owner consent may prevent such large areas from being included within the boundaries of the trail segments. Therefore, as linear corridors, trail segment boundaries shall include at least a 50 meter (164 foot) contributing land area around the resource in order to incorporate a portion of the contributing land area as well as potential features historically associated with wagon movement and other aspects of historic significance and use.

Trail segments often can be verified by comparing present locations with the General Land Office (GLO) survey lines. Because the survey lines are not always precise, GLO lines can be generally relied upon to verify general locations of the trail with GPS data collected during field investigations.

The condition of trail segments varies because of climate, soil type, and other environmental factors. Surface visibility during on-the-ground viewing may be limited in dry climates where the soil is sandier (e.g., Cimarron National Grassland); however, when viewed from above, many times the segments are clearly delineated. In many instances, careful examination of the pattern of vegetation within a segment shows the location of individual ruts. As natural swales, water tends to collect in the bottoms of ruts, causing the plant life to thrive more in these locations than on the swales' berms. On sloped terrain, the trail swales often become highly eroded, resulting in deeper and more obvious manifestations of the trail.

[747] Though technical definitions vary for the terms "rut" and "swale," for the purposes of this submission, the terms are defined synonymously.

Significance of trail segments

Trail segments are significant for their associations with most of the historic contexts discussed in Section E: International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and in some cases, The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, as well as the individual state contexts. The end date of the time period for individual segments will vary, depending on when the use of the trail as a commercial, military, or stage route was discontinued. For example, once the railroad reached Hays City (later Hays), Kansas in 1867 and the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road was opened in that year, trail traffic east of Fort Dodge ceased except for military supply of military posts such as Fort Larned. The period of significance for nominated trail segments east of Hays, then, would end before or at 1867. Periods of significance also will be more strictly defined, depending on the extent to which the trail was used, but they will fall between 1821 and 1880. Nationally significant primary routes are defined as being initially created for and by the Santa Fe trade and were used for the longest period of time. Specifically, these routes are the main trail from Franklin, Missouri to the split-offs in Ford County, Kansas between the Mountain Route and the Cimarron Route and from the rejoining locations of these two routes in Mora County, New Mexico to Santa Fe, as well as the Mountain and Cimarron routes themselves. As previously mentioned, the actual route of travel varied for a number of reasons, so these primary routes were not a single linear trail. In southwestern Kansas (including Barton, Pawnee, Edwards, and Ford counties), for instance, the main route had two branches: the Wet and Dry routes, named for the amount of water occurring along the branch. These two branches are considered part of the primary Cimarron Route.

Secondary routes were developed for Santa Fe Trail traffic – commercial and military – but were in use for a shorter period of time. Secondary routes include: the 1846 Military Road, the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road, the Aubry Cutoff, the Fort Wallace-Fort Lyon Road, and the Fort Union-Granada Road. Tertiary routes were not created solely for the Santa Fe trade but were occasionally used as alternate and supporting roads. Nominated segments that are secondary or tertiary routes will have shorter periods of significance and will most likely have a regional or local level of significance.[748]

Trail segments are primarily eligible under Criteria A and D in the areas of **commerce**, **transportation**, and **archeology** for the site's association with the pattern of events that created, developed, and sustained traffic along this corridor from 1821 through 1880 as noted in the general significance section of transportation sites. In addition, segments may be eligible in the area of **military** significance for their association with a military trail used during this time period for Santa Fe Trail-related reasons.

Registration requirements of trail segments

Trail segments are eligible under Criterion A in the areas of commerce and transportation if they served as part of the trade route between Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico between 1821 and 1880 and in the area of military if they were also associated with major military events or were military roads used for Santa Fe Trail traffic. Integrity of design, location, setting, feeling, and association should be intact.

Though not consciously designed, the continuous traffic created the physical evidence of the trail segments in terms of their form, and the formation of travel caravans determined the spatial organization of the segments (e.g., the number and locations of the individual ruts at any given spot along the route). Special consideration of the geographical features of individual sites will be necessary for determining if a segment is

[748] See Table 3 in Section G for a list of routes and the counties within which these routes were located.

eligible. Some erosion by wind and water is expected to have occurred to these sites and should not make a segment ineligible if the overall visual integrity of feeling, setting, location and association of the segment is intact. In particularly harsh environments, the amount of physical evidence may be indistinguishable by on-the-ground observation. However, if the segment is distinguishable in corresponding aerial images and verified by archeological assessment, the segment would still be eligible as contributing to a district or site. For example, some segments in the Cimarron National Grassland are barely distinguishable on foot; however, archeological testing and recent aerial photography have sufficiently located and adequately documented segments.

Changes in land use and management also are expected to have occurred since 1880, especially where the routes went through lands that are now agricultural fields. Where the ruts and berms have not been erased by plowing, a change in vegetation from the historic period is acceptable as long as the segments are distinguishable. Similarly, the transfer of prairie to pasture is acceptable if other physical evidence remains. Often the vegetation through which the trail segments passed has been altered due to agricultural use or natural processes such as droughts and wildfires. The vegetative material, though increasing the integrity of the site if similar to historic material, does not need to be retained from the historic period in order for a segment to be eligible.

Modern human impacts to trail segments may detract from the visual condition of the segment's adjacent land areas. Most often these are seen in the form of energy developments such as wind farms and gas and oil wells. These interactions are prevalent, however, so their presence does not automatically preclude an intact segment from being eligible for listing. Where feasible, existing energy developments shall be omitted from the resource's boundary; further, proposed future developments within close proximity to the resource may contribute to the segment's ineligibility. Each nominated segment shall be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Subtype: Later Transportation Segments

The Santa Fe Trail was a template for later transportation development in the United States in terms of both road and railroad networks. Before the trail ceased to be used for major commercial transportation by wagon, portions of the route were undoubtedly used by locals for travel between communities as settlement along the Santa Fe Trail increased. Both the Kansas Pacific (as it was eventually known) and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe (ATSF) railroads followed significant portions of the established trail, changing the mode of transportation along the trail. By 1880, when the railroad made the Santa Fe Trail's commercial wagon use obsolete, trail portions continued to be adapted for use as local, state, or federal roads (e.g., modern Blue Ridge Cutoff through the Kansas City, Missouri area and parts of US-56 Hwy in Kansas).

The trail bed itself was often reworked to accommodate these later transportation modes. Existing trail beds were adapted into local roads or rail beds overlaid the trail bed. Often new roads or railroad beds were laid within a close proximity to an established trail segment. In some areas, local roadways followed the old trail next to which railroad tracks were constructed (e.g. Point of Rocks, Finney County, Kansas).

Because of the direct connection to the trail, later transportation segments are located with adjacent trail rut(s) and often will be included within the boundaries of the related trail segments. The site outside of Lakin, Kansas, known locally as Hayzlet's Ruts, displays a good example of this adjacency. Several trail swales are visible with an unpaved road segment in between them, and to the south of the swales is an active rail line, which began as the ATSF.

Before automobiles and railroads, the trail-turned-road retained its historic design. With the advent of motorized vehicles, the roads were redesigned to better accommodate the change of conveyance while retaining the original location. The redesigns often widened the travel path, changed the road bed profile to be convex to allow water to run to the edges, and created steeper, more perpendicular edges to the path. Most radically, paving may have been introduced at this point. Similarly, significant physical changes occurred to those portions of the trail reused for rail service.

Later transportation segments will take one of two forms. Either the segment will have been in continual use since its adaptation from the Santa Fe Trail, or it will exist as a remnant of the trail-turned-road-or-railroad, having been abandoned all together.

Significance of later transportation segments

Later transportation segments are significant because of their direct connection with the immediate reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. Examples of this subtype are primarily eligible under Criterion A in the areas of **transportation** and/or **commerce** for their association with the pattern of events that sustained traffic and/or commerce along this corridor after the trail ceased being used for wagon traffic. There is an immediate connection between this subtype and trail segments, as the railroads and roads were created because of the trail. Later transportation segments are also eligible under Criterion A in the area of **exploration/settlement** for the association with settlement patterns along the Santa Fe Trail corridor; these segments aided in sustaining populations in towns established by the trade.

The period of significance for this subtype is variable. The beginning dates generally are based on when wagon traffic ceased operation as the eastern terminus moved west. For instance, in Missouri, the period of significance for this subtype begins with the gradual transfer of the terminus from Franklin to Independence by 1830. End dates will be determined by whether the resource is still in use or if it is abandoned. For those segments still in use, the closing date will be set at 50 years prior to the year the nomination is written. The justification for this is that the activity of transportation, which was started historically, continues to have importance and make contributions to the history of the trail. An abandoned segment's end date will be the year it was abandoned. While not always documented, clues may be given by the physical characteristics of the resource.

Registration requirements of later transportation segments

Later transportation segments are significant for their associations with the historic contexts The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad and The Commemoration and Reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. These segments are eligible under Criterion A at a local level in the areas of transportation exploration/settlement, and/or commerce if they were adaptively used portions of the historic Santa Fe Trail. Integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association all must be intact because later transportation segments are integrally tied with the integrity of trail segments where location, setting, feeling, and association are concerned. As such, for these segments to be eligible, they must be located within a close visual proximity of an extant documented trail-period (1821-1880) resource, most often a trail segment, in order to display this interconnection. An isolated segment absent from this context fails to portray that its historic significance is due to the location of the trail; in other words, its setting, feeling, and association are no longer extant. This property subtype is eligible because of its association with the Santa Fe Trail; therefore, road segments will rarely, if ever, be eligible under Criteria B, C, or D.

Because of possible changes to the design, materials, and to an extent, workmanship of these resources, these three areas of integrity are not necessary for a later transportation segment to be eligible. This subtype's design and materials are not what make it significant as a trail-related resource; however, if the segment was abandoned early in its reuse, its design may help to illuminate the practice of road/railroad engineering at a specific period of time. Road designs differ between municipalities, especially if the road has been continuously used. Paved road beds do not necessarily render the segment ineligible if the integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association are maintained because the significance of the segment relies on the presence of other trail resources.

Later transportation segments should be included within a nomination of other trail-period resources, if at all possible. In the event of multiple property owners, later transportation segments may be listed on their own if property owner consent is not given for the other resources as long as it is in a close visual proximity of the trail-period resource(s).

Subtype: Ferry and Bridge Sites

Rivers and streams – as well as their dry beds – were natural obstacles to trail users. In reaction to these environmental conditions, bridges and ferries were created for travel to continue unimpeded. While mentioned in historic texts, no ferries and bridges from the historic period of significance (1821-1880) are expected to be extant because of the materials (e.g., wood and stone) used to create them. Any physical evidence of this property type is most likely to be found during archeological investigations.

While bridges often occurred as an amenity at trading ranches and stations or were located near a campsite (110 Mile Creek, Osage County, Kansas; Cow Creek, Rice County, Kansas), they are included within this property type because of their direct relation to transportation. Ferries were more typically located at major rivers where river crossing was impossible due to water level and volume or the expanse of the river precluded the building of a bridge (Arrow Rock Ferry near Arrow Rock, Missouri; Grinter Ferry near Bonner Springs, Kansas).

Significance of ferry and bridge sites

Ferry and bridge sites are significant because of their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail. This property type is eligible at a local level under Criterion D in the area of **archeology** and under Criterion A in the area of **transportation** for the roles they played in supporting traffic along the trail.

Registration requirements of ferry and bridge sites

These sites are eligible at a local level under Criterion D if research suggests the likelihood of archeological evidence is available at the site that informs the history of how these bridges and ferries functioned. Similarly, in order for a bridge site to be eligible under Criterion A, the information gathered through archeological means must support the site's association with the Santa Fe Trail during its period of significance. Integrity of setting, location, and association must be retained.

Because no extant examples are expected to be found, corroboration of bridge or ferry locations must be evident. This evidence may be found in other, extant resources within proximity and may be verified by primary source documentation (e.g., travel itineraries, journals, and diaries).

Because this property type was directly related to water, environmental factors must be taken into consideration such as the natural change of river beds and stream banks due to changes in the course of water flow. Locations of bridges and ferry landings, therefore, may be far away from or in the middle of current bodies of water.

Subtype: Navigational Aids

Navigational aids are naturally occurring features in the landscape that guided travel along the trail between 1821 and 1880. These aids form a diverse set of features that lend significance by their incorporation into the experience of trail travelers and area residents.[749] In a real sense, to experience the trail required recognition of the continuity and contrast the trail's natural features presented; these features acted as signposts and symbols to the viewer.

What each of these features has in common is the inherent geographical characteristic that enabled travelers to determine their approximate locations and distances throughout their journeys. The many travel itineraries contemporary with the trail published distances between significant locations, many of which were these naturally-occurring features.

With natural sites, limiting the boundaries to the most significant aspect of the site is necessary because of the size of the features and legal property delimitations; many encompass a large acreage (e.g., Wagon Mound). Discernment must be used to both bound the most significant feature of the site and justify the limits. With very large-scale landmarks such as buttes and mountains, relying on documented accounts and historic drawings is important to determine what features were recognized and accorded importance among trail users. Further, by their locations navigational aids occur within a close proximity to other trail-related resources (e.g., trail segments and campsites). Adequate boundaries will incorporate these other resources as part of a larger cultural landscape.

Navigational aids may have undergone physical changes due to their natural characteristics as landscapes. Erosion, especially by wind, is a process that these landscapes were undergoing in the historic period, so it is unsurprising to find the same process affecting them today. At Indian Mound near Lakin, Kansas, erosion has been partially responsible for shortening the mound by approximately 100 feet since its historic period of use; however, the mound is still prominent and recognizable in the same way that it would have been to the historic trail users.

Significance of navigational aids

Navigational aids are significant for their associations with the historic contexts International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. Navigational aids are eligible at a national level under Criterion A in the area of **transportation** for their strong association with the patterns of events forming and sustaining travel on the Santa Fe Trail from 1821 to 1880. These well-known sites were regularly mentioned in primary sources from the historic period; numerous trail narratives and

[749] Discussion of landscape features based on survey findings in NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 90-109.

itineraries testify to their prominence. The bare, often featureless nature of much of the trail stood in stark contrast to the jutting promontories that travelers noted in their writings. More than just way-finders, these sites were often the locations of rest areas for travelers and of decisive events in the life of the trail. Where documentation shows that these features were also culturally significant to the local American Indian or Hispanic populations, navigational aids may be also eligible in the area of **ethnic heritage**. Additional consultation on this area of significance likely will be necessary. Properties also may be eligible for their **military** significance, if a skirmish or battle occurred at the site. Where archeological potential exists at a site that is likely to produce information related to events associated with the resource, Criterion D will also apply with the resource also significant in the area of **archeology**. Criterion B will generally not apply and Criterion C will not apply to this property type.

Natural passageways, including passes, natural grades, or other topographic features forming natural roadways are important elements of the trail. The Narrows near the Black Jack ruts of eastern Kansas; Kearny Gap, Apache Canyon, and Glorieta Pass of New Mexico; and Raton Pass on the Colorado-New Mexico border were among natural features that funneled trail traffic into narrow channels.

Promontories and hills that acted as navigational aids form another set of significant resources. Blue Mound in eastern Kansas served as a landmark along the 1846 Military Road from Fort Leavenworth and is one of the promontories that defines the Wakarusa Buttes. The Plum Buttes, west of Chase, Kansas, were large sand dunes covered by plum shrubs that acted as a guide point to avoid the dangerous soft sands of the Arkansas River crossings. Farther west, Round Mound (today Mt. Clayton) in New Mexico was the major navigational marker for trail users after crossing the difficult Turkey Creek Ford. The frontispiece in Josiah Gregg's *The Commerce of the Prairies* shows a wagon train as seen from the mound. One of the most famous natural features of the trail was Wagon Mound, the last significant landmark viewed by Cimarron Route travelers, who then joined the Mountain Route. Pilot Knob, two miles west of Wagon Mound, was also used as a landmark for wagon trains. Two major features of the Mountain Route were Fisher's Peak, overlooking the entrance to Raton Pass, and the Spanish Peaks. Additionally, several sites along the trail were named Point of Rocks, indicating the character of specific locations.

Signature rocks form a small but important set of properties. These sites witnessed the array of trail users who wished to add their names to the log of experienced travelers. Among these sites are those at Pawnee Rock southwest of Great Bend, Kansas and at Cold Springs in Oklahoma. Inscription Rock, near the northernmost Cold Spring site, contains the names of many Santa Fe Trail travelers from the 1840s and later. Autograph Rock, adjacent to the southern Cold Spring, contains names from the 1850s and later. Names also are carved in a signature rock within the canyon walls of nearby Carrizozo Creek.

Registration requirements of navigational aids

In order to be eligible for listing under Criterion A in the area of transportation, the resource must have acted as a navigational aid for travelers along the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. The single most important requirement in the evaluation of a navigational aid is the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting; verified integrity of location is a crucial element in determining the eligibility of these sites, as well. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, and itineraries) recording the presence of the feature must be referenced to establish that the resource was seen as a prominent feature of the trail in its period of historic significance. To be eligible in the area of ethnic heritage, the resource must be shown

to have significance to an American Indian tribe(s) or a Hispanic population. A resource will be eligible in the area of military if it was the location of a battle or skirmish during the period of significance.

Though erosion by wind, water, and human activity are expected to have impacted these resources, visual integrity must be maintained; that is, the resource must still be discernible. If integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association is retained, consideration must be given to whether modern intrusions or improvements totally compromise the historic character. If the improvements are not overtly obstructive and a reasonable portion of the historic scene is maintained, these properties remain eligible.

Property Type: Travel and Trade Sites

Travel and trade sites comprise those resources along the Santa Fe Trail that supported travel and travelers by offering shelter and supplies from 1821 to 1880. This category includes both natural and man-made resources, and include "nooning" sites, campsites, springs and wells, outfitting areas near either end of the trail, stage and mail stations, inns, corrals, repair stops, ranches and trading posts, and end-of-rail sites where advancing railroads met the trail or trail connectors.

Though not always the case, documentary and physical evidence has shown that some of these amenities were included within complexes. For instance, a trading ranch at Diamond Spring in Morris County, Kansas included a mail station, post office, store, hotel, restaurant, saloon, and blacksmith, along with corrals and warehouses and the spring that made this a natural stopping place along the trail. The locations of the man-made sites are almost always tied to natural elements within the landscape, mostly related to water.

Travel and trade sites will include the landscape both as a resource (e.g., a spring) and as contributing land areas. As with transportation sites, the landscape directly influenced the locations of and defined the character of the travel and trade sites, often determining what amenities would be offered. Because of the historic concentration of individual resources found at these sites, boundaries should be drawn to include the associated resources. The locations within the landscape that once hosted an associated resource may also be included within the boundary, even if no physical evidence of the resource has yet been recovered. For instance, French Frank's Trail Segment near Lehigh, Kansas is named for a road ranch established by Claude Frances "Frank" Laloge. Laloge's ranch was located at the Cottonwood Holes, which are connected to this site. Though the general location of the ranch is known, no physical evidence related to the ranch has been recovered yet; however, this area in the landscape is part of the significance of the entire site and should be included within a contributing land area.

Subtype: Natural Amenities

Resources included under this subtype are naturally-occurring features that provided trail travelers with rest, shelter, and/or refreshment (e.g., springs and wells, campsites, and "nooning" sites) from 1821 to 1880. Nooning sites were the locations of rest during midday travel – the name no doubt coming from personal accounts of travelers such as Susan Magoffin. On Saturday, June 27, 1846, Magoffin notes, "We left at 7 o'clock in the morning – came some six miles…[and] nooned it on the Prairie…. After dinner to get rid of the hot sun, we spread out a buffalo robe in the little shade made by the carriage, and took a short siesta of a few minutes."[750]

Whereas nooning sites were not necessarily tied to water sources, campsites generally were. Water and adequate forage was a preeminent concern to the trail travelers, whose goods and potential profits were only as

[750] Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 30.

good as the survival of the stock pulling the wagons allowed them to be. The 60-mile *La Jornada* on the Cimarron Route is perhaps the best known scrape, but dryness could potentially appear among other trail segments at disadvantageous times.[751] The entire history of the trail is intimately tied to the watering places along its routes, which served a double purpose of providing camping spots. Examples include Diamond Spring, Lost Spring, and Lower Cimarron Spring in Kansas, and the Upper Flag Spring, Cold Spring, and Cedar Spring in Oklahoma all played significant roles in the viability of the trail. Point of Rocks in Colfax County, New Mexico was a popular campsite with a nearby spring.

Natural amenities are documented in primary sources such as journals and itineraries. Because of their characteristics as landscapes with little to no built evidence, reliance upon archeological evidence is important to verify exact locations of campsites and nooning sites, especially. Multiple camping sites near major bodies of water also would be possible based on several possibilities, including: the time of day that a caravan reached the creek; the volume and ferocity of water in the river; and the direction of travel.

The condition of this property type will vary. Given the arid nature of the trail, sites possessing water frequently have been developed in recent history to include stock impoundments, well caps, or pipes to and from springs. Further, water may be no longer found at known spring sites. This is commonly due to natural forces or because of the introduction of widespread deep-pumping irrigation systems. As seemingly subtle, open landscapes, nooning and campsite locations may be difficult to discern due to modern cultivation and road construction.

Significance of natural amenities

Natural amenities are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad with the period of significance from 1821 to 1880. Properties nominated under this subtype are eligible at a national level under Criteria A and/or D in the area of **transportation** and/or **archeology** for associations with the pattern of events that supported travelers along the Santa Fe Trail. No properties under this subtype are expected to be eligible under Criteria B and C.

Some of the earliest itineraries of the trail list many of these properties. Further, the continued appearance of these sites in subsequent itineraries and journals help clarify which sites were frequented more than others. Journal accounts related to these sites also help to illuminate exact routes taken on specific journeys. Together, the accounts of the natural amenities suggest that from almost the beginning of the Santa Fe trade, these sites were significant to the traveler.

Registration requirements of natural amenities

In order to be eligible for listing under Criteria A and/or D, the resource must have acted as a place of rest, shelter, or refreshment for travelers along the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. Like navigational aids, the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting is critical, as is the verified integrity of location. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, and itineraries) must be referenced to establish the historical basis for the resource. In the case of ephemeral sites such as campsites and nooning

[751] A scrape is a waterless trail or road.

sites where no buildings or structures were established, sufficient archeological information must be present to validate the property's significance. In cases where no known primary documentary evidence exists, verified archeological evidence from the historic period of significance can be used to establish the resource's historical basis.

Subtype: Buildings, Structures, and Building Sites

This property type incorporates those man-made resources associated with the Santa Fe Trail from 1821 to 1880 that were not built for military purposes. These resources were constructed to support trail use (e.g., stage stations, corrals, warehouses); others were built or occupied by people directly associated with the trail (e.g., houses of traders). A small group of these properties were not constructed because of the trade but became associated with the Santa Fe Trail due to proximity (e.g. Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe; American Indian dwellings and villages). Because of the multiple climates, cultural areas, and original functions of these resources, no one architectural style or structural type is applicable.

The uses and locations of each resource also determined their physical characteristics. Near the trail termini or other significant towns, more permanent construction techniques were used to erect buildings and structures. These resources were created of brick (e.g., Ewing-Boone Store, Kansas City, Missouri; Grinter Place, Bonner Springs, Kansas), stone (e.g., Kaw Mission, Council Grove, Kansas), and adobe (e.g., Lucien Maxwell House, Rayado, New Mexico; Hough-Baca House, Trinidad, Colorado). Though some wooden buildings remain that date to the Santa Fe Trail era, likely many have been remodeled to the point that only a small portion of original material remains (e.g., Hays House Restaurant and the Last Chance Store in Council Grove, Kansas).

Most often located near a water source, buildings and structures along the middle of the trail route frequently were built of wood and sod, but they were often more simply constructed as dugouts built into hill slopes, walled with sod or adobe, and roofed with logs covered with dirt.[752] As a result of the impermanence of materials and the disuse of the trail itself, most of these resources are no longer extant or are in ruinous form (McGee-Harris Stage Station, Burlingame vicinity, Kansas). No longer extant, Boyd's Ranch in Larned, Kansas was built of sod, as were most of its outbuildings, including a corral.[753] The one commonality of construction of these on-the-trail resources is the use of locally available materials, such as juniper wood and stone.[754] Adobe commonly was used in the states of Colorado and New Mexico (e.g., the Cottrill & Company stations buildings).

Found along the trail, stage stations were complexes that provided exchange points for draft animals; thus, they featured corrals and stock shelters, and a single or small set of buildings to house the station keeper and relay drivers and to provide shelter for storage of stock forage and equipment. Some of the more important stage stations featured developed wells and blacksmith shops, while others were nothing more than ephemeral brush shelters.

Significance of buildings, structures, and building sites

Buildings, structures, and building sites are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. These

[752] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 116.
[753] David K. Clapsaddle, *A.H. Boyd: Entrepreneur of the Prairie* (Self-published, n.d.), 9, 12.
[754] Taylor, *First Mail West*, 154.

resources are potentially eligible at the national level of significance in the areas of transportation and commerce; however, most will be eligible at the local and state levels, depending upon whether their roles were more focused on a local or regional center.

Properties listed under this subtype most commonly will be eligible under Criterion A and/or C in the areas of **commerce**, **transportation**, **architecture**, and/or **ethnic heritage** for the resource's role in shaping how travel and trade were conducted from 1821 to 1880. Extant buildings and structures may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of architecture if they exhibit distinctive characteristics of the era encompassing the Santa Fe trade. The various uses of individual resources inform the understanding of this era: warehouses tell of the amount of commerce; houses of individuals involved in the trade tell of the finances and lifestyles of traders; stations explain the amenities needed and provided to travelers. Resources directly associated with significant individuals who contributed to the commerce and transportation along the trail will be also eligible under Criterion B.

Because a large number of the buildings and structures that were associated with the trail are no longer extant, archeologically documented building sites will be eligible under Criterion D. These intact archeological components have data capable of illuminating the understanding of the material culture of the trail. Many of the resources were constructed of local materials in the vernacular traditions of their locations. Systematic archeological excavation can realize the potential these sites have to inform about local architectural practices, so potential eligibility under Criterion C should be considered even if the building or structure is no longer standing.

Registration requirements of buildings, structures, and building sites

To be eligible under Criterion A, a building or structure must be directly associated with the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. These properties also must retain their feeling and original locations. Because many extant buildings are located in urban environments, retention of trail-era setting is important but will not render a resource ineligible if disrupted.

To be eligible under Criterion B, the resource's direct connection to an important figure to the Santa Fe Trail must be documented. The person must have been associated with the property during the period of trail significance and must be shown to be a significant contributor to the history of the trail. To be eligible under Criterion C, the building or structure must retain its location, feeling, and association by demonstrating the workmanship and design typical of construction between 1821 and 1880.

To be eligible under Criterion D, a site must demonstrate it has information-yielding potential in architecture or historical archeology. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact ruins that, while deteriorated beyond classification as a building or structure, are still recognizable as identifiable archeological features. The location of the site must be verified in accordance with the probable location of the site documented in the historic record. Sites displaying artifacts datable to the period of historic significance and showing a potential for well-preserved archeological components are eligible for registration. Sites lacking surface artifacts and showing a high potential for intact subsurface components in conjunction with ruins should also be considered eligible if integrity of the site's geomorphological contexts appear intact. A resource with evidence of a subsequent function or occupation overlaying materials or features related to the site's trail-era function also can be considered eligible under Criterion D if the potential for yielding information appears intact as a buried component and evidence is provided establishing a clear link to the operation during the period of significance.

Property Type: Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

This property type includes those resources involved with the various conflicts related to the Santa Fe Trail. Among the resources are the many military fort and outpost sites and Mexican-American War and Civil War skirmish and encampment locations, as well as those sites where attacks against and by Indians or where conflicts with the Texans and trail robberies occurred.

The number of forts and military outposts along the trail is known, as well as at least the approximate locations of each. One fort was found in Missouri: Fort Osage (1808-1827); seven were located in Kansas: Forts Leavenworth (1827-present), Mann (1847-1848), Atkinson (1850-1854), Larned (1859-1878), Zarah (1864-1869), Aubrey (1865-1866), and Dodge (1865-1882). Camp Nichols (1865) was the only military outpost along the trail in Oklahoma. Military posts in Colorado included Bent's (Old) Fort (1833-1849), Bent's New Fort (1853-c1875), Fort Wise/Old Fort Lyon (1860-1867), Fort Lyon No. 2 (1867-1897), and in New Mexico there were two forts along the trail: Forts Marcy (1846-1851) and Union (1851-1891).[755] Other posts and forts were established that, though they were not located on the main routes of the Santa Fe Trail, held supporting roles for trade and travelers of the trail. These forts in Kansas included: Fort Riley (1853-present), Fort Ellsworth (1864-1866), Fort Hays (1865-1889), Fort Wallace (1865-1882), and Fort Harker (1866-1872).

The locations within the immediate landscape and the building materials of these forts varied based on a number of factors. Some of the factors were related to the impetus for establishing a fort. Those established to fulfill temporary guard duties were more crudely constructed, and because of their building materials, they are no longer extant. Forts such as the one at Leavenworth were built to be a more permanent headquarters, which led to the use of more substantial materials. As a result, a few of the forts dating to the time of the Santa Fe Trail remain. Another factor of the variation in fort design was the location along the trail. As with those resources within the Building and Structures Subtype above, locally available materials and distinct regional building techniques contributed to the form, design, and materials of each post.

Water played a major role – sometimes inadvertently – in the location of resources within this property type. The occurrences of this natural amenity along or near the trail led to the establishment of campsites and rest areas not only for traders and travelers but also for the Native peoples. Too often, attacks against and by all demographic groups related to the trail occurred while a party was encamped or at rest (e.g., the murder of Don Antonio José Chávez and the attack against the White Family). Because of the correlation with other trail-related resources, military and skirmish/battle sites are expected to be found often, but not always, within close proximity to other property types.

The conditions of resources within this property type are expected to vary widely. In the case of a few of the forts, continued use – whether as a fort or as another function – has inevitably extended the life of the buildings. Few above-ground remains of other posts exist, mainly because they were originally intended to be temporary. Many of these temporary outposts were located in areas that are now heavily farmed, so determining exact locations through archeological investigations may be difficult.

Significance – Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

Military and Skirmish/Battle sites are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe

[755] Bent's Fort is included in this list because it served as a staging point for General Kearny's Army of the West in preparation for the invasion of New Mexico in 1846. It was not officially a military fort; it was a trading post.

Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. Properties nominated under this type are eligible at a national level under Criteria A and/or D in the areas of **military** for associations with the pattern of events that defined conflict along the trail and **ethnic heritage** for direct associations with conflict involving Hispanics and various American Indian nations. Criterion B will apply if the resource is shown to be significantly tied to the life – or death – of a person or persons involved with the trail. In the case of existing fort buildings and structures, Criterion C may apply if the design of the resources is an excellent example of a fortification related to the Santa Fe Trail.

A military presence along the Santa Fe Trail came early in its history. Fort Osage, Missouri was founded as a military post and trade factory in 1808 and continued in operation until 1827 when Fort Leavenworth, Kansas was established. Military escorts for the trade caravans began in 1829, continuing sporadically for the next two decades. The first instance of a sustained military presence requiring forts came during the Mexican-American War when Santa Fe's presidio was occupied by Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's invading forces. Heightened military use of the trail became a prominent feature in the years following the establishment of New Mexico Territory. The advent of the Civil War again brought this military presence into sharp focus when Confederate soldiers nearly succeeded in taking New Mexico Territory.[756] Supplying the forts became as important as other trail uses throughout the remaining years of the trail.

The forts and military camps established along the trail, while primarily related to maintaining and benefitting from the commercial traffic, were a visible symbol of American authority. They served as logistical bases for military campaigning – a critical component in a national military communication network – and played a significant role in subjugating, concentrating, and in an unsuccessful measure, protecting resident American Indians.[757] The increased push for US hegemony over the West and its inhabitants, not surprisingly, led to conflict.

Registration Requirements – Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

In order to be eligible for listing under Criteria A and/or D, the resource must have hosted a fort, camp, or post directly involved in the Santa Fe Trail or must have been the location of conflict along the trail involving traders, travelers, and Native inhabitants between 1821 and 1880. Retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting is critical, as is the verified integrity of location. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. In the case of archeological sites, sufficient information must be present to validate the property's identity and significance.

For a resource to be eligible under Criterion B, the person(s) associated with the site must have been significant in the history of the trail. Primary documentary evidence must be referenced to verify the location and association. Further, the setting must retain a sufficient amount of character to recall the period within which the person(s) is associated with the site.

Resources eligible under Criterion C will retain integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship sufficient to express its association with the period of significance. Because a small number of the forts are still in operation, the setting may not exemplify the Santa Fe Trail era.

[756] Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime," 55.
[757] Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 392-396.

Property Type: Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Trail graves and cemeteries are those sites containing individual burial locations of trail travelers; cemeteries containing the grave(s) of important traders, freighters, or trail travelers; or in rare instances, the burials of American Indians. Of this last example, no known sites exist, but it is included here because the history of trail conflict also includes the deaths of Native peoples.

Encountering death on the Santa Fe Trail was a distinct possibility. Disease, accidents, and natural disasters claimed the lives of travelers, as did confrontations between groups of the various ethnicities and nationalities related to the trail; graves associated with these confrontations reflect the clash of cultures seen along the trail corridor. The graves of military personnel fulfilling their duties associated with the trail are also found. One example is the grave of Private Samuel Hunt, US Army Dragoons, who served with Colonel Henry Dodge's Rocky Mountain expedition in 1835. Hunt died as his unit was returning to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; this is the first known gravesite of a US serviceman on the trail.

More typical of the Santa Fe Trail corridor was the establishment of a cemetery in the nascent communities along the routes. Many of the small cemeteries established in developing hamlets have been incorporated into larger cemeteries with graves from later periods. Given the small number of trail-related resources directly associated with the careers of notable trail figures or with specific events along the trail, these graves form an important reflection of trail history. For example, the Woodlawn Cemetery in Independence, Missouri was used as a burial ground before 1845. Several people who were important to the Santa Fe trade are buried here, including Hiram Young, Samuel and Robert Weston, freighter John Lewis, hotel proprietor Smallwood Noland, Mexican-American War veteran John T. Hughes, merchants William and John McCoy, and attorneys William Chrisman and Samuel Woodson. Lexington, Missouri's Machpelah Cemetery contains the grave of noted outfitter and entrepreneur Robert Aull.

Boundaries for this property type will be developed based on adjacent resources. Most often the gravesite will be directly linked to a documented historic event in trail history that is not reflected at another historic site in the area. A gravesite may be included within a district if it is directly related to trail history reflected by adjacent resources. Other times, the gravesite occurs singularly, in which case the boundary of the resource will include the grave itself plus at least a 50 meter contributing land area around the burial site.

Though the exact locations of many burials are known, more gravesites are likely to exist than are documented. This is especially true of massacre sites. The final resting places of many of these people remain unknown.

The condition of graves and cemeteries will vary. In some instances, such as Point of Rocks in Colfax County, New Mexico, graves have been robbed and are currently unmarked to deter future vandalism. In other cases, especially those within town cemeteries, the gravesites are well tended and marked. Burial locations may also become exposed with natural erosion as seen near the Walnut Creek Crossing in Barton County, Kansas where human remains were discovered – in recent history – in an eroded creek bank.

Significance – Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Trail graves and cemeteries are nationally significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. The period of

significance for these resources most often will be focused on the events leading up to the death of the individual(s). In the case of established pioneer cemeteries containing the remains of individuals directly associated with the trail, the period of significance will end with the last burial of the related person(s).

The isolated graves and cemeteries of the Santa Fe Trail represent an important trail resource reflecting historic individuals and events. Isolated graves are normally eligible for their association with events or a series of events in trail history; hence, Criterion A is relevant in these instances. A gravesite like the Samuel Hunt grave is a tangible reflection of an important military action; Hunt's grave reflects the military actions of the US Dragoons along the trail before the establishment of a permanent military presence. Isolated graves might also mark the series of conflicts that took place between the resident American Indians and trail users. A single gravesite also might be the only representative property left to reflect the linkage of an individual of transcendent importance to the trail's history. In this instance, the application of Criterion B would be appropriate if no identified property exists that is capable of reflecting the life of the individual.

Cemeteries along the trail corridor also reflect the trail's history in a tangible way. Potentially, a historic cemetery could be the only representative property in an area or community capable of reflecting the broad patterns of trail development or the earliest settlement along the trail. Again, cemeteries having graves of significant individuals associated with the trail are important to the trail's history. Cemeteries of ethnic hamlets or communities related to the Santa Fe Trail might also reflect the important and underrepresented role these communities played in sustaining the trail. Further, these ethnic cemeteries might yield important undocumented information about historic community composition, mortuary practices, and other variables relevant to understanding historic community life during the trail's period of significance. The cemeteries associated with the Santa Fe Trail have the potential to fulfill all of the Criteria A through D, if they contain graves or sets of graves datable to the time period 1821-1880 and can be tangibly linked to the active life of the trail in a specific area.

Registration Requirements – Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Criteria Consideration D must be met in the case of cemeteries. Individual grave sites will be considered for potential eligibility if no other appropriate resource exists that is directly associated with the individual's productive life or if it contributes to a larger district. Likewise, a cemetery's eligibility will be considered if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons integral to the trail's history or from its association with historic trail-related events.[758]

For a grave to be individually eligible under Criterion A in the areas of transportation and/or military, it must have been placed during a period when the Santa Fe Trail was active in the area and must date to the period 1821-1880. The grave must be in direct proximity to a verified trail route. The gravesite is eligible for its link to trail-related activities and not ancillary events more connected to local area development.

Cemeteries must meet similar requirements, namely, development during the period of trail significance, trail proximity, and direct historic linkage to trail history. Only that portion of the cemetery having trail-related graves is eligible for nomination as a historic resource of the Santa Fe Trail. A group of graves dating to 1821-1880 and in proximity to the trail is not necessarily eligible unless direct and significant linkage between those individuals and the trail is documented.

[758] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991, rev2002), 32-36. Graves are considered under Criteria Consideration C; cemeteries are considered under Criteria Consideration D.

All trail graves and cemeteries must retain integrity of location. For association with specific historic events, a grave must possess the combined aspects of integrity of setting, feeling, and association. The associative aspects of the property are particularly important in using the gravesite to reflect a historic occurrence along the Santa Fe Trail. If the grave is in its original location and has compelling associative values, the replacement of the headstone or the enclosure of the site by fencing will not preclude its being eligible for listing under Criterion A or B. When Criterion D is applied, justification for the diminished aspects of integrity must be given. For instance, known burial locations may not be marked. Criterion C will apply to those examples, usually within a cemetery, embodying distinctive characteristics of its time period or possess high artistic values.

Property Type: Monuments and Memorials

Resources under this property type are objects (e.g., statues, monuments, and memorials) related to the Santa Fe Trail in general or about a specific site, event, or person associated with the trail. The most prevalent examples of this property type are the stone markers found along the trail and erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Other examples are the various Madonna of the Trail statues. Although 12 statues exist in the United States, only three are directly related to the Santa Fe Trail (Lexington, Missouri; Council Grove, Kansas; and Lamar, Colorado).[759] These three statues are found along the National Old Trails Road. Other examples include the stone and bronze memorial found at the Pawnee Fork (Duncan's) Crossing of the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road in Hodgeman County, Kansas. Monuments and memorials may be located at or immediately adjacent to the trail place or event, or may be located along modern transportation routes, in nearby towns or cities, or at museums along or associated with the trail.

Drawing boundaries for this property type will often include other trail-related resources, as will be typical with the stone DAR markers. Boundaries for some monuments and statues, however, may include only the resource itself.

While the resources are expected to be well intact, minor damage from wind and rain is permissible. The largest factor related to the object's condition is its location. Particularly with the smaller DAR markers, these resources have sometimes been relocated due to various reasons; however, these relocations do not automatically preclude eligibility.

Significance – Monuments and Memorials

Monuments and memorials are significant for their direct associations with the historic context Commemoration and Reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. Their levels of significance will depend on the range of effort associated with the commemoration. For instance, the Madonna of the Trail statues would be nationally significant; whereas, markers erected by a local society for a specific location may only be locally significant. Though the period of significance of this property ranges from 1880 to 1930, the individual periods of significance will correspond to the year(s) of the object's dedication and installation. Resources nominated under this property type are eligible primarily under Criterion A in the area of **social history** for their association with the pattern of commemoration after the Santa Fe trade ceased. Criterion C may also apply for statues or monuments of exceptional artistic quality. Criteria B and D are not expected to apply to this property type.

Criteria Consideration F (commemorative properties) must be applied in this case as the age, intent, and symbolic value of these resources have gained their own historical significance. This significance is in large part

[759] The statue located in Albuquerque, New Mexico was intended for Santa Fe, but local members of the DAR opposed its erection in the city of Santa Fe. Its location makes it only indirectly associated with the trail.

directly tied to the effort to memorialize the trail in the immediate decades following the closing of the Santa Fe Trail. These commemorative objects also provide clues to the location of other Santa Fe Trail resources, and in this way help to confirm and illuminate the history of the trail itself.

Because the resources listed under this property type are by definition objects, Criteria Consideration B (moved properties) does not need to be met.[760] However, it is important to note that while some allowance for the relocation of objects is acceptable, the significance of the object is associated with a specific environment or setting, in this case, the remnants of the Santa Fe Trail.

Registration Requirements – Monuments and Memorials

In order for a monument, memorial, or statue to be eligible under Criteria A and/or C, it must have been dedicated by a person or group of people directly associated with the trail. The resource must retain its original association, setting, design, feeling, and workmanship and be located at or immediately adjacent to the trail place or event.

Locations of these properties have often changed. If the resource has been relocated within its original general vicinity, and this can be documented, the property is still eligible. The resource must still be associated with the transportation site or location it was originally commemorating. Locations along modern transportation routes, in nearby towns and cities, or at museums not within a close visual proximity most likely will render the resource ineligible. Like later transportation segments, the significance of this property type is directly associated with the trail. Without the visual connection with a trail-period (1821-1880) resource, the integrity of setting, feeling, and association are lost.

Monuments and memorials should be included within a nomination of other trail-period resources, if at all possible. In the event of multiple property owners, examples of this property type may be listed on their own if property owner consent is not given for the other resources, as long as it is in a close visual proximity of the trail-period resource(s).

Property Type: Cultural Landscape[761]

The resources of greatest national significance related to the Santa Fe Trail are cultural landscapes, comprised of at least one of each of the above property types (Transportation sites, Travel and Trade Sites, Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites, Trail Graves and Cemeteries, and Monuments and Markers) and can also include traditional cultural places of significance to American Indian tribes, including those descended from tribes that historically and prehistorically were associated with particular areas along the trail. This property type represents the fullest interrelationship of the trail-related resources and the historic setting. As a rural historic landscape, a property can be deemed significant for all relevant periods of significance and can include all Criteria A through D. This holistic approach to evaluating the significance of the landscape is based on an understanding of the cultural and natural forces that shaped the landscape. Therefore the natural landscape also

[760] This criteria consideration is for a "building or structure removed from its original location." "National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form," rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1997), 37.

[761] The majority of the language under this property type is attributed to Barbara Wyatt and Linda McClelland in an August 2009 memo to Michael Taylor, "Comments on MPDF for *Historic Resources on* [sic] *the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1880* and consideration for discussions at the Dodge City National Register meeting. A copy of this memo is on file with the Cultural Resources Division at the Kansas State Historical Society.

should be included as a contributing resource. The landscape should be essentially intact from the historic period, including its topography, wet or dry waterways, vegetation, and associated cultural resources.

Obviously, districts at this scale should be reserved for the most intact, complex, and continuous segments of the trail, or places where a concentration of resources exists in a highly intact, cohesive, and evocative setting. Because of the scale and complexity of these districts, few are expected to be nominated; however, future survey work in Colorado is expected to further define this property type.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The geographical data presented provide an important basis for interpreting and understanding the historic resources of the Santa Fe Trail. Establishing the course of the trail and the physical and cultural environment over which it extended are of primary importance. Ideally, such geographical data should encompass a description of the trail and all its branches. An understanding of the physiographic regions through which the trail passes allows a better appreciation of the ease or difficulty of movement across the trail. Relatively level areas provided ease of wagon movement while areas like Raton Pass presented considerable obstacles. The climate also presented challenges ranging from infrequent precipitation over sections of the Cimarron Route to abundant thunderstorms along other portions of the trail. The climate also contributed to other physical processes which molded the landscape, including mechanical and chemical weathering and erosion. The spatial and temporal variations in the physical environment clearly entered into the decision-making process of the Santa Fe Trail traveler. Since many of the historic resources presented in this nomination deal with elements of the physical landscape, an understanding of the resources' physical and cultural emergence is needed. For the purposes of identification and interpretation, even their physical appearance bears much importance. Vegetation and soils provide an epidermis for the physical landscape, and in doing so, often hide the remains of resources important to a better understanding of the trail. Conversely, features (e.g., wagon ruts) are often accentuated through vegetation changes in and along them.

The Course of the Trail

Although referred to in the singular, the Santa Fe Trail was composed of several routes forming a disordered pattern of wagon ruts superimposed on the dendritic river patterns of the plains. According to a Santa Fe Trail scholar, William Buckles, as late as the 1980s the course of the trail was based largely on early guidebooks identifying two main routes and well-known related sites.[762] As a consequence, the Santa Fe Trail was simplified to being composed of a single route that divided into two branches later rejoining to form a single road into Santa Fe. Subsequent scholarship more accurately describes the trail as a network that provided the traveler with a set of route options dependent upon route condition, seasons, travel purpose, and politics, among others. The interpretation of the trail adopted in 1990 by the National Park Service identifies its beginning at Old Franklin, Missouri and stretching 488 miles southwestwardly to the Arkansas River where it divided into the Cimarron and Mountain routes.[763] The Cimarron Route traversed another 294 miles while the Mountain Route crosses 338 miles before the two primary routes converged to form the remaining 83 miles from Watrous (La Junta), New Mexico to Santa Fe.[764] While this section of the multiple property document concentrates on the primary trail routes (i.e., Cimarron Route and Mountain Route), the secondary and tertiary branches shall be covered more in-depth when evaluating individual resources along the trail network.

[762] Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," 79.
[763] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 15.
[764] Ibid.

	Table 3: Trails and Counties[765]				
	Missouri	**Kansas**	**Oklahoma**	**Colorado**	**New Mexico**
Primary Routes	***Combined Trail*** (Before/After the Cimarron & Mountain Routes Split)				
	Howard, Cooper, Saline, Lafayette, Jackson	Johnson, Douglas, Osage, Wabaunsee, Lyon, Morris, Marion, McPherson, Rice, Gray *Wet & Dry Routes:* Barton, Pawnee, Edwards, Ford	--	--	Mora, San Miguel, Santa Fe
	Cimarron Route				
	--	Gray, Haskell, Kearny, Grant, Stevens, Morton	Cimarron	Baca	Union, Colfax, Mora
	Mountain Route				
	--	Gray, Finney, Kearny, Hamilton	--	Prowers, Bent, Otero, Las Animas	Colfax, Mora
Secondary Routes	***1846 Military Road***				
	--	Leavenworth, Douglas	--	--	--
	Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road				
	--	Geary, Dickinson, Saline, Ellsworth, Rice, Barton, Pawnee	--	--	--
	Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road				
	--	Ellis, Rush, Pawnee, Ford, Hodgeman	--	--	--
	Aubry Cutoff				
	--	Hamilton, Stanton	Cimarron	Prowers, Baca	--
	Fort Union-Granada Road				
	--	--	--	Prowers, Bent, Las Animas	Colfax, Mora
	Fort Wallace-Fort Lyons Road				
		Wallace, Greeley	--	Bent	--

[765] Table 3 is not all-inclusive, as further scholarship and local knowledge may expand the number of secondary and tertiary routes.

Starting at Old Franklin, the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Missouri River to the bluff known as Arrow Rock where it followed a west-northwesterly orientation to the vicinity of Fort Osage. It proceeded along the Missouri River passing through Independence and just south of Westport – both of which later became eastern termini. The trail crossed into Kansas in modern day Johnson County where it adopted a southwesterly route. After diverging from the Oregon Trail near Gardner, it proceeded westward, traversing several tributaries, to Council Grove. Upon leaving Council Grove, the trail moved southwestward until it reached the Arkansas River; the trail closely followed the river. At Cimarron, the primary trail diverged into two main branches, the Cimarron Route and the Mountain Route.

The Cimarron Route was the Santa Fe Trail during the first 25 years of the road's existence and was more frequently used than the Mountain Route except during the Mexican-American and Civil wars. Despite its 60-mile waterless stretch – *La Jornada* – between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, the Cimarron Route offered two major advantages to the Mountain Route.[766] It was nearly 50 miles shorter and composed of relatively level terrain, which was important for the ease of wagon movement. From Cimarron, Kansas, this route followed a southwesterly trail to La Junta (Watrous), New Mexico. Passing through Middle Spring at Point of Rocks (Morton County, Kansas) the trail proceeded to enter the southeast corner of Colorado (Baca County) and, subsequently, the northwest corner of Oklahoma past Cold Spring and Inscription Rock before entering New Mexico near Camp Nichols. Upon entering New Mexico, the Cimarron Route proceeded westward between the similarly-named formation Point of Rocks (Colfax County) to the northwest and Round Mound to the southeast. A tributary of the Canadian River was crossed before the route headed southwestward past Wagon Mound to La Junta where it rejoined the Mountain Route. La Junta (literally "The Junction") originally referred to the confluence of the Mora and Sapello rivers; thus, it seemed appropriate that this site later witnessed the reunification of the two route segments.

The Mountain Route was a well-irrigated route, but it did possess the disadvantages of being longer and more challenging to wagon traffic than the Cimarron Route. Using pack animals, William Becknell was the first to traverse the mountainous route to Santa Fe. However, it was not until 1832 that William and Charles Bent, returning from Taos, went north via Raton Pass and cleared the route for wagon access into Colorado.[767] At the start of the Mexican War in 1846, the bulk of trail traffic shifted from the Cimarron Route to the Mountain Route. In that year, the Army of the West, under the command of General Kearny, was dispatched to Bent's Fort, a strategic position from which the invasion of New Mexico could be launched. This decision resulted in the widening of formerly narrow sections of the Mountain Route and demonstrated that Raton Pass was accessible to wagon travel.[768] A drought in the southwest in 1846 also made the better irrigated Mountain Route appear more attractive.

After splitting from the Cimarron Route, the Mountain Route followed the north bank of the Arkansas River to the Upper Crossing. Travelers were given a last chance to change route segments between Upper Crossing on the Mountain Route and Lower Spring (Grant County, Kansas) on the Cimarron Route. The trail then continued westward to Bent's Old Fort (Otero County, Colorado). Beyond this fortification, the trail crossed the Arkansas River and went southwestwardly to Trinidad, Colorado. Before leaving Colorado, the trail turned southward into New Mexico to accommodate its passage through Raton Pass to Cimarron, New Mexico.

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[766] In preparation for almost three days of travel without irrigation, the wagon train would attach five-gallon water casks to their vehicles, secure food for several days in advance, and ensure that all members of the wagon train, including humans and animals, took sufficient volumes of liquid prior to departure. Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail*, 55

[767] Eggenhofer, *Wagons, Mules, and Men*, 70; Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 131-132.

[768] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail*, 57.

Due south, the wagons went to La Junta where they found themselves entrenched in the well-travelled ruts made by wagons from both route segments. The trail went southward from Watrous to San Jose before it turned northwestward for Santa Fe, which nestled in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

Physiographic Regions

The course of the primary routes of the Santa Fe Trail, described above, traverses four physiographic regions.[769] In Missouri, the trail originated in the Central Lowland of the Interior Plains. This low-lying province is bounded on the north, east, and west by higher ground altitudes, ranging from 1500 to 1800 feet above sea level in western areas to 300 to 400 feet above sea level in central sections. Underlain by Paleozoic bedrock, northern areas of this region experienced the effects of glaciation. The Santa Fe Trail corridor was at or beyond the southern boundary of the four major periods of glaciation (i.e., the Nebraskan, the Kansan, the Illinoisan, and the Wisconsinan) with the result that the course of the trail was not enhanced to any large extent by glacial features.

After negotiating the Central Lowland, the trail moved onto the Great Plains province, still within the Interior Plains, near Great Bend, Kansas. This vast expanse of prairie grassland has underlying Cretaceous rocks with a veneer of Tertiary rocks. From altitudes averaging 1500 feet above sea level along its eastern boundary, the Great Plains rise westward at a slow gradient often feet per square mile, despite a westward dip in underlying strata, to elevations of 5000 to 6000 feet above sea level at the Rocky Mountains. Although the Santa Fe Trail did not enter the Southern Rocky Mountain province, the Mountain Route did negotiate Raton Pass in Colorado before sweeping down to rejoin the Cimarron Route. Turning northwestward for Santa Fe, the trail entered the Basin and Range province of the Intermontane Plateaus. Block faulting of the numerous underlying structures has given this region its characteristic isolated north-south oriented mountain ranges that rise abruptly above the adjacent plains, the western margins of which experience the rain shadow effect.

Climate

For the purposes of generalization, the Köppen climatic classification system is used here to describe the current three climatic zones.[770] Since climate is an abstract concept and a spatially continuous variable, exact boundaries cannot be drawn on a map. In terms of “boundaries,” it is more appropriate to think of them as zones of transition. The eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail (Franklin, Missouri) originated within what is now a moist continental climate (Dfa).[771] Under this regime, the coldest month has an average temperature under 26.6° Fahrenheit (-3° Celsius), the warmest month over 71.6° Fahrenheit (22° Celsius), and with sufficient precipitation in all months.[772] This climatic regime persists to the Dodge City, Kansas vicinity where the climate becomes semiarid (BSk). In this region predominated by grasslands, “evaporation exceeds precipitation on average

[769] J.H. Paterson, *North America: A Geography of the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 7; William D. Thornbury, *Regional Geomorphology of the United States* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), 6.

[770] The Köppen climatic classification system was originally devised by Dr. Wladimir Köppen in 1918 and subsequently revised by his students R. Geiger and W. Pohl in 1953.

[771] The climate zones have shifted slightly since the mid-1990s when the original MPDF was submitted, particularly in Missouri. Previously, the eastern terminus (the Franklin area) was within a warm temperate climatic region (Cfa).

[772] Alan Strahler and Arthur Strahler, *Introducing Physical Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 222-223.

throughout the year," and since there is no water surplus, no permanent streams originate in this zone.[773] It has a mean annual temperature of 64.4° Fahrenheit (18° Celsius).[774] A large part of the Cimarron Route now falls within this climatic region. The Mountain Route falls within this region until the Trinidad, Colorado vicinity where the altitude increases and the trail enters a snowy-forest climate with moist winters (Dfb). Similar to the climate in the Franklin area, the coldest month in this regime has an average temperature under 26.6° Fahrenheit (-3° Celsius); however, the summers are not typically as warm. The warmest month is below 71.6° Fahrenheit (22° Celsius).[775] As the Cimarron and Mountain routes rejoined near Watrous, New Mexico, the trail moved back into a semiarid climate (BSk), and ended in the snowy-forest climate (Dfb) of Santa Fe.

Vegetation and Soils

Mid-latitude deciduous forest, including oak (*Quercus spp.*), elm (*Ulmus spp.*), ash (*Fraxinus spp.*), birch (*Betula spp.*) and beech (*Fagus spp.*), is common along the eastern part of the trail, particularly in the valleys along the rivers and streams which irrigate the region.[776] This type of vegetation was dominated by tall, broadleaf trees that provide a continuous and dense canopy in summer but shed their leaves in winter.[777] The soils associated with mid-latitude deciduous forests are highly productive as many settlers in the vicinity of the trail discovered. Outside the river valleys and further westward, the trail was dominated by tall-grass prairie. Trees and shrubs were absent in the natural vegetation of the region while the grasses were deeply rooted and dense.[778] Soils of the tall-grass prairie are among the most fertile soils in the world.[779] As one moves westward, the tall-grass prairie grades into short-grass prairie or steppe. This natural vegetation type consisted of sparsely distributed short grasses interspersed with areas of bare soil, scattered shrubs, and low trees.[780] The change from steppe vegetation to semi-desert shrub is again a transitional one with the absence of vegetation becoming more apparent. This type of vegetation is composed of xerophytic shrubs, of which sagebrush (*Artemisia spp.*) is an example. These areas are not productive for agriculture unless they are well irrigated.

Traffic over the trail played its own part in altering the morphology of the landscape on a minor but widespread scale. Seen today, vegetation often helps delineate between the swales and ruts themselves and the adjacent land. For example, the bright green snakeweed (*Gutierrezia spp.*), irrigated by rainwater accumulation in the depressions, contrasts sharply with short grass on either side of the ruts.[781] Seasonal vegetative variations expose trail features through changes in color, composition and thickness of floral cover. For instance, small swales can accumulate surface runoff during seasonal rains, providing sufficient moisture for plants to cure more slowly than the surrounding grasses. A host of factors play a role in observing and identifying trail segments; however, these observations are made easier at times by vegetation changes. The volume of traffic experienced over the decades also changed the soil texture, altered the soil profile, and contributed to soil erosion. Weathering and erosion have created visually striking gullies and arroyos from some of these wagon ruts, while other wide depressions originating from wagon ruts are more heavily grassed-over, making them only discernible from an elevated viewpoint or from the air.

[773] Strahler and Strahler, *Introducing Physical Geography*, 222.
[774] Ibid., 223.
[775] Ibid.
[776] The Botanical Classification System is used in this document.
[777] Strahler and Strahler, *Introducing Physical Geography*, 256.
[778] Ibid.
[779] Ibid.
[780] Ibid., 255.
[781] Myers and Simmons, *Along the Santa Fe Trail*, 62.

Socioeconomic Aspects

Approximately 90 percent of the land along the trail corridor is privately owned, six percent is owned by state and local governments while the remaining four percent is owned by the federal government. No American Indian tribal ownership is identified along the trail corridor. In terms of land use, approximately 64 percent of the land is designated as rangeland, 17 percent is cropland, seven percent is given to rural residences and urban development, ten percent form highway rights-of-way while the remaining two percent of land is used for recreational purposes.

Federal, state, and locally maintained highways and secondary roads allow varying degrees of access to the Santa Fe Trail. Most of the trail crosses rural areas with very low population densities. The only notable exception is that part of the trail corridor in the Kansas City area where the population density averages 2330 people per square mile, according to 2000 US Census Bureau statistics. In terms of racial composition, Hispanics are a major ethnic population in the Kansas City area and in parts of New Mexico while the strongest American Indian concentrations only account for less than three percent of the populations of Douglas County, Kansas and Santa Fe County, New Mexico. Only small concentrations of African-American populations are to be found along the trail corridor. The peoples who currently inhabit the trail corridor are primarily involved in commercial agriculture and ranching with other activities such as tourism, light manufacturing, forestry, oil exploration and education.[782]

[782] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 58-60.

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

After Congress designated the Santa Fe Trail a National Historic Trail in 1987, the National Park Service began developing a comprehensive management and use plan. Participation was requested from American Indians, landowners, and other individuals, as well as federal, state, and local agencies to manage, protect, and develop the trail.[783] Based on comments from these interested parties and input from nine public meetings held along the trail in November 1987, draft management objectives were developed and presented to the public in April 1988.[784] Later that spring, National Park Service personnel and contract consultants undertook the mapping of the trail route and the identification of potential historic sites and segments.[785] The *Draft Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Environmental Assessment*, including map supplement, was distributed for review and comment to the public, government agencies, organizations, and individuals in May 1989. Comments were entertained during a public review period (May 12 – June 6, 1989), as well as at ten public meetings along the trail in that period. The plan was revised and presented in final form as the *Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan* in May 1990. The plan proposed the protection, historical interpretation, recreational use, and management of the trail corridor and identified eight areas with potential for further research: (1) Spanish/Mexican role, (2) Commerce, (3) Social/Cultural Aspects, (4) American Indians, (5) U.S. Army, (6) Railroads, (7) Anthropology/Archaeology, and (8) Other Influences.[786]

Listing Santa Fe Trail related resources in the National Register of Historic Places was an anticipated response to the *Management and Use Plan*. An initial registration effort was undertaken by The URBANA Group in 1993 under the management of the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division of the Department of Cultural Affairs.[787] The objectives were to develop (1) a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) for the trail's resources and (2) no fewer than 40 individual National Register of Historic Places nominations related to the MPDF. Sixteen years later, in August 2009, a meeting was held at Dodge City, Kansas to review known issues with the initial Santa Fe Trail MPDF.[788] As a result of the meeting, the NPS National Trails Office, in partnership with the Kansas Historical Society's Historic Preservation Division, coordinated the needed revisions and developed an additional 30 individual Kansas nominations under the revised document.

At the 2009 Dodge City meeting, specific suggestions were made on ways that the document should be improved. The original MPDF, "Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1880," was accepted by four of the five states, and all had difficulties with portions of the document, finding errors and issues that were not discussed adequately in the historic context statements, problems with the organization of the associated property types, and missing sources from the bibliography.[789] The goal of the amended document is to retain and revise the original five historic contexts and add new sections on the reuse and commemoration of the Santa Fe Trail, as well as adding

[783] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 5.
[784] Ibid., 6.
[785] Ibid.
[786] Ibid., iii, 26-27.
[787] This project was funded by the National Park Service's Southwest Regional Office. Dr. Mary Ann Anders, architectural historian and National Register reviewer for the New Mexico office, served as Project Coordinator.
[788] The meeting was organized by the National Trails, Intermountain Region of the National Park Service. Among those in attendance were state historic preservation office representatives of the five trail states, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the National Park Service, and the Santa Fe Trail Association.
[789] The Colorado Historic Preservation Review Board chose to table the MPDF and associated individual nominations pending significant revisions. See Minutes of the Colorado Historic Preservation Review Board, 11/19/1993, on file with the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

individual state contexts.[790] Further, the associated property types were reorganized and rewritten to fit into a more rational framework suitable for the wide variety of sites associated with the Santa Fe Trail along its entire length. The URBANA Group developed four significant property types (i.e., Historic Trail, Ancillary Historic Properties, Military Properties, and Associated Historic Buildings/Structures), grouped them by function, and divided them into more descriptive subtypes as appropriate.[791] In the amended MPDF, the property types were simplified into six broad categories.[792]

Issues relating to the evaluation and nomination of trail sites were also discussed at the 2009 meeting. The URBANA Group's selection of 40 properties to be nominated was made from the list of 194 properties determined in the *Management and Use Plan* to be high-potential historic sites and route segments along the Santa Fe Trail, "to interpret the trail's historical significance and to provide high-quality recreational activities."[793] The properties nominated with their initial submission were selected from the list, firstly by a process of elimination, excluding those sites which were already designated National Historic Landmarks or which were already listed in the National Register. The remaining properties were judged by their descriptions, particularly for integrity, from both the *Management and Use Plan* and from the notes of the 1988 Santa Fe Trail Site/Segment Survey Forms. Consideration was also given to ensure an equitable distribution of nominations or nominated properties throughout the five trail states. Additionally, the list of properties to be nominated was affected by owner objection where property access or property mapping and photography were denied. Once these forms were completed, however, many of these site nominations contained inaccuracies, poor boundary definitions, and other problems. As a result, only 20 of the 40 nominations were approved for listing in the register.

Throughout the fall of 2011 and spring of 2012, site visits were accomplished by staff at the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) to assess eligibility for 30 individual National Register nominations in the state. Priority was given to those 14 sites initially tabled by the Kansas Historic Sites Board of Review. As part of the 1994 review of the site nomination forms, the Board and KSHS staff recommended that archeological examinations be conducted at several of the sites to determine whether subsurface remains were present and to modify the proposed boundaries. Field work conducted at these sites since then made them ideal for reevaluation. Other sites were selected based on recommendations of the Santa Fe Trail Association Chapter members and by consultation of the list of Certified Santa Fe Trail sites.[794] Sites were photographed, and GPS coordinates were taken either around the resource or directly on the trail segments. These coordinates were then mapped and overlaid onto existing topographical maps to verify that the locations of the resources

[790] The five original contexts were International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846; Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848; Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1861; Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865 [sic]; and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880. According to the authors of the original MPDF, "The possibility of organizing the historic contexts by the five interpretive regions or the eight themes outlined in the *Management and Use Plan* [on pages 26-27, 32] was explored but they thought that the most applicable basis for developing the associated historic contexts was in terms of chronology and significant events, concentrating on the national level."

[791] Significant property types were identified using the list of 194 properties from the *Management and Use Plan*. Some sub-types were only identified and not fully developed, when no nomination with their submission fit under that subtype. They hoped that the identification of these additional subtypes established the skeletal framework for the larger group of trail properties identified in the *Management and Use Plan* and would allow for further development for future nominations.

[792] See Section F for explanation of these property types.

[793] NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 16.

[794] Santa Fe Trail Association members who aided in the identification and evaluation of Kansas properties included: Roger Boyd, David Clapsaddle, Britt and Linda Colle, Leon Ellis, Marsha King, Leo Oliva, Carol Retzer, Steve Schmidt, Jeff Trotman, and Joanne VanCoevern.

correspond to the General Land Office (GLO) survey lines. Property types developed for Section F are largely based on survey work done in Kansas.

Other states are currently working on similar projects to nominate trail sites. The Missouri SHPO entered into a task agreement with the National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office in 2011. This agreement and associated grant are for nominating a total of 24 sites related to trails in Missouri; two Santa Fe Trail site nominations are currently pending. In August 2010, the Colorado State Historical Fund awarded a grant to the National Trust for Historic Preservation to engage in "Santa Fe Trail in Colorado: Survey, National Register Nominations, Visual Resource Management Analysis." This project will result in 12-14 National Register nominations, among other deliverables.[795] As of February 2012, New Mexico is in the process of nominating an additional 12 sites through a project funded by the National Park Service.

This document is meant to serve as an overview of the Santa Fe Trail's history not an exhaustive study of all the factors involved in the history. Though certainly important to the significance of the trail, focused research topics were not developed at this time. Further study might center on the questions raised by the background in this document. Some topics include: the trail's direct impact on the demographic changes along the trail routes; the occupational variations available during the course of the trail; more positive cultural impacts from the interaction of the travelers and residents; and the impact of the trail on the regional environments such as vegetative changes.

[795] Project 11-01-038 with joint funding from the NPS and the US Forest Service.

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[796] The citations located in this section are not an exhaustive list of the materials available about the Santa Fe Trail. Instead, this list represents only those cited in this document.

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Images

Figure 1. Buckles, William. "Map showing official SFT Routes…." *Journal of the West* (April 1989): 80.

Figure 2. Boyle, Susan Calafate. "Comerciantes, Arrieros, Y Peones: The Hispanos and the Santa Fe Trade." Southwest Cultural Resources Center: Professional Papers No. 54: Division of History Southwest Region, National Park Service, 1994 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *National Park Service*, <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/safe/shs3.htm> (accessed 11 August 2011).

Figure 3. "The Southwest 1820-1835." *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic,* November 1982, 630A.

Figure 4. Schmidt, L. Stephen and Richard Hayden, "Overview Mapping of Sibley Expedition 1825, 1826, & 1827," in "Appendix G: Plots of the Survey Route on Modern Maps." *The Survey and Maps of the Sibley Expedition 1825, 1826, & 1827.* Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) Grant Report, August 2011 (rev.1) [electronic copy on-line]; available from *Santa Fe Trail Association*, <http://www.santafetrail.org/about-us/scholarly-research/sibley-survey/Appendix_G.pdf> (accessed 22 February 2012).

Figure 5. Socolofsky, Homer E. and Huber Self. *Historical Atlas of Kansas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, 11, 17. Image is a compilation of these two maps.

Figure 6. Simmons, Marc. "Independence Area." *Following the Santa Fe Trail*. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1986, 38.

Figure 7. "The Southwest 1836-1850." *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 8. *Wagon Mound*. n.d. *New Mexico Office of the State Historian Online*. Wagon Mound page on-line. Available from http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=394; Internet; accessed 16 August 2011).

Figure 9. Socolofsky, Homer E. and Huber Self. *Historical Atlas of Kansas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, 20.

Figure 10. "The Southwest 1851-1866." *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 11. Harrison, Laura Soullieré and James E. Ivey. "The Earthwork at 'Fort Union.'" Southwest Cultural Resources Center: Professional Papers No. 55: Division of History Southwest Region, National Park Service. *Of A Temporary Character: A Historic Structure Report of First Fort, Second, Fort, and the Arsenal and Historical Base Map, Fort Union National Monument, Fort Union, New Mexico.* 1993 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *National Park Service,* <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun1/hsr4.htm> (accessed 15 August 2011).

Figure 12. "The Southwest 1867-1912." *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 13. Henry Seibert & Bros. "Map of the Land Grant of the Kansas Pacific Railway, from Kansas City, Mo. to Denver Col. T." 1869 [image page on-line]; available from *Wichita State University* <http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/18611869.asp?offset=-1> (accessed 26 September 2011).

Figure 14. Black, W.J. *By the Way – A Condensed Guide of Points of Interest Along the Santa Fe Lines to California.* Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1922).

Figure 15. Thomas, David, et al. *The Native Americans: An Illustrated History*. Atlanta: Turner Publishing, Inc., 1993, 369.

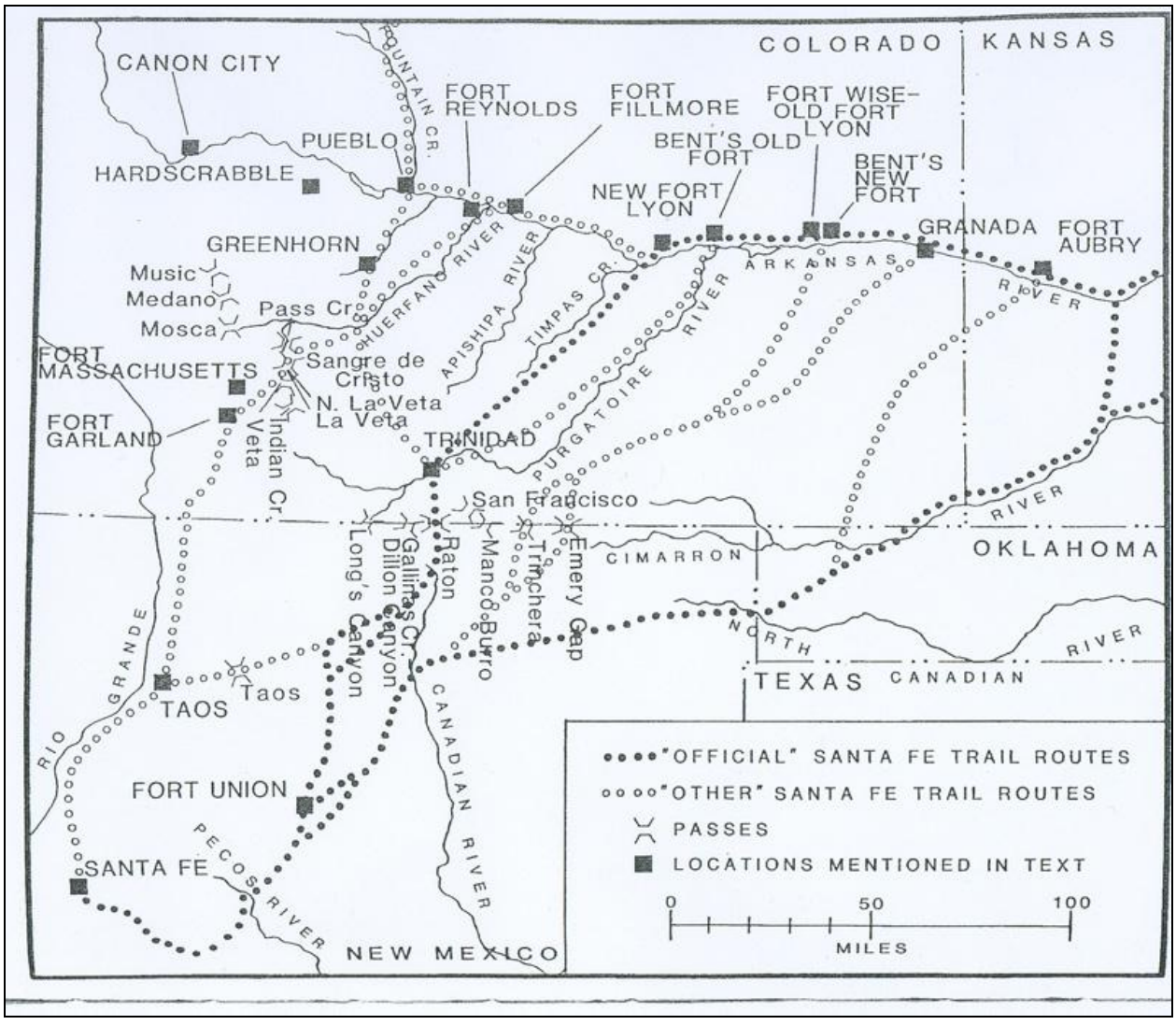
Figure 16. Brooklyn, Kansas DAR marker. 1906. Amanda Loughlin, photographer. 6 March 2012.

Figure 17. Leimbach, Auguste, sculptor. "Madonna of the Trail" at Council Grove. 1928. Jeanie Jennings, photographer. August 16, 1995.

Figure 18. PBS. "Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854." *Public Broadcasting System Online.* Image page online. Available from http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/lincolns-political-landscape; accessed 30 September 2011.

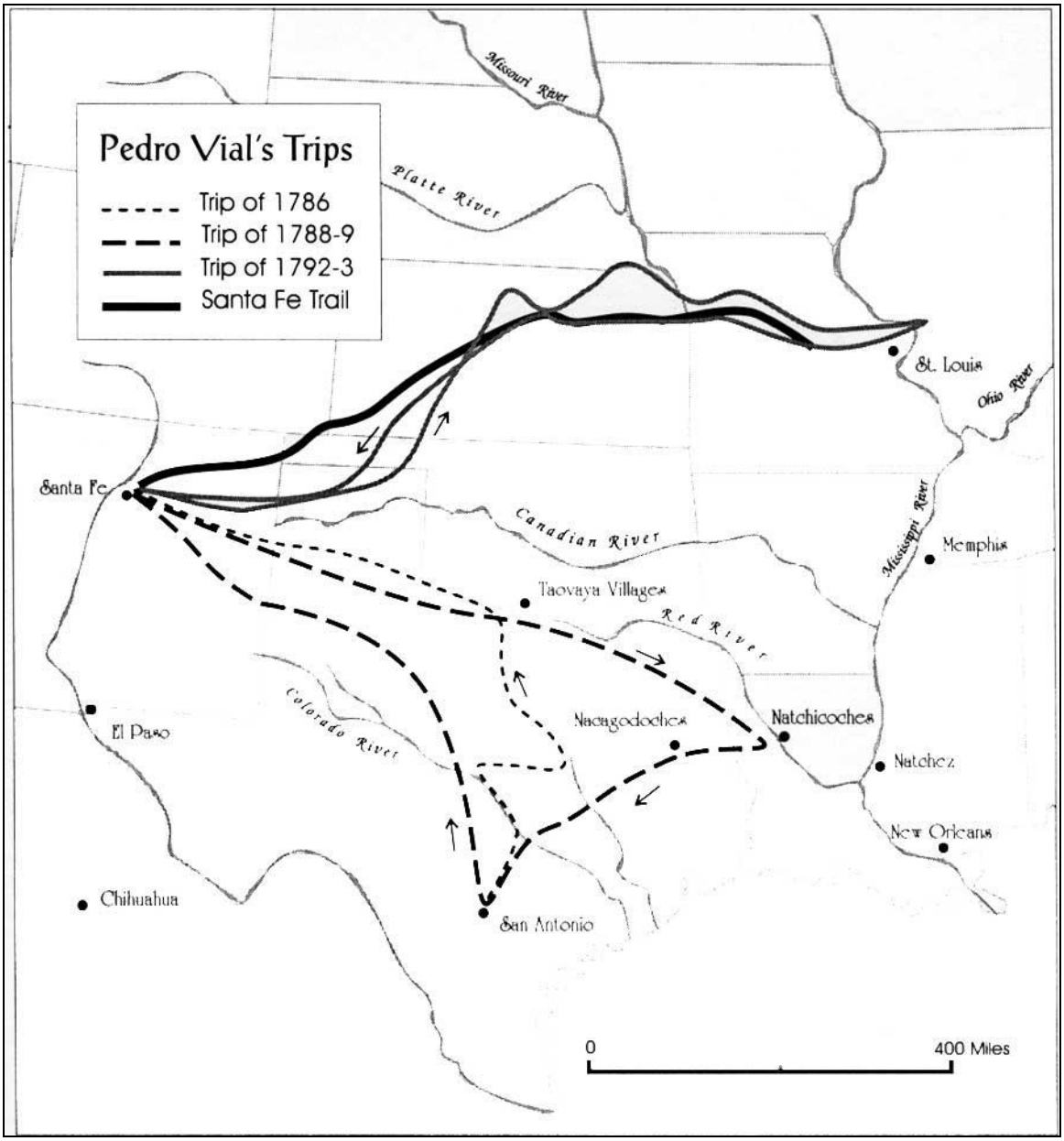
ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Figure 1.



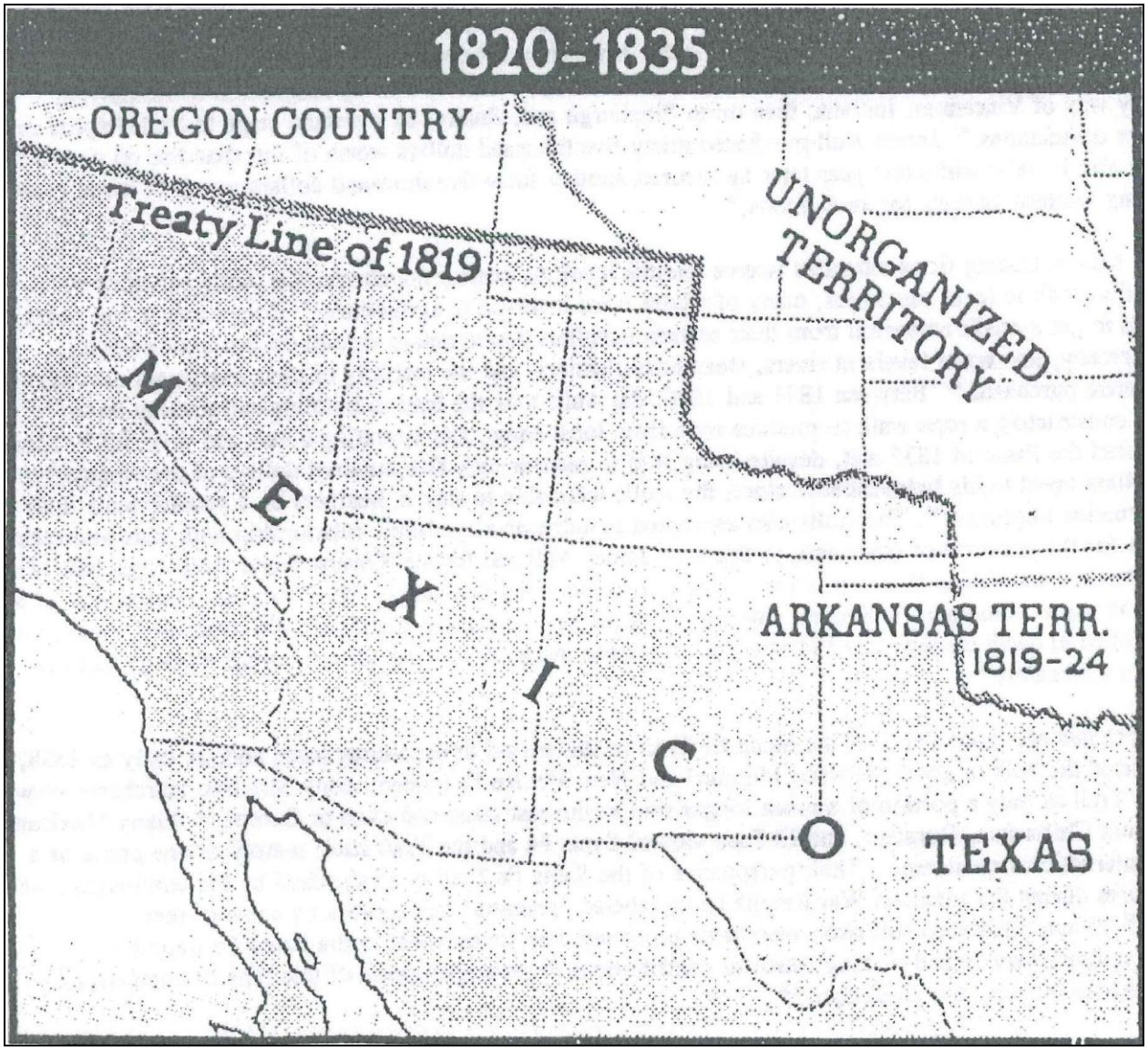
William Buckles, "Map showing official SFT Routes…," *Journal of the West* (April 1989): 80.
Note: The locations of Bent's Old Fort and New Fort Lyon are reversed; New Fort Lyon was west of Bent's Old Fort.

Figure 2.



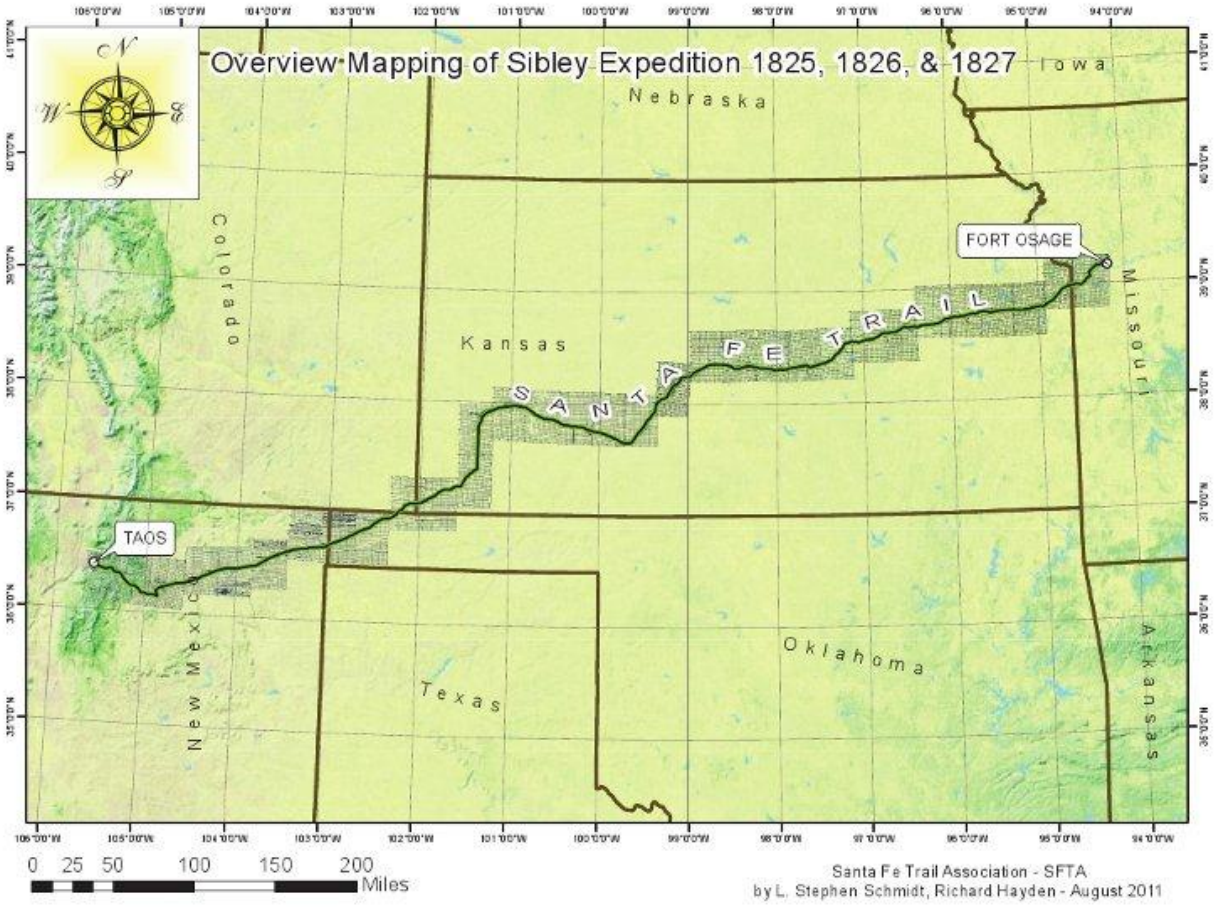
Susan Calafate Boyle, "Comerciantes, Arrieros, Y Peones: The Hispanos and the Santa Fe Trade," Southwest Cultural Resources Center: Professional Papers No. 54: Division of History Southwest Region, National Park Service, 1994 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *National Park Service,* <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/safe/shs3.htm> (accessed 11 August 2011).

Figure 3.



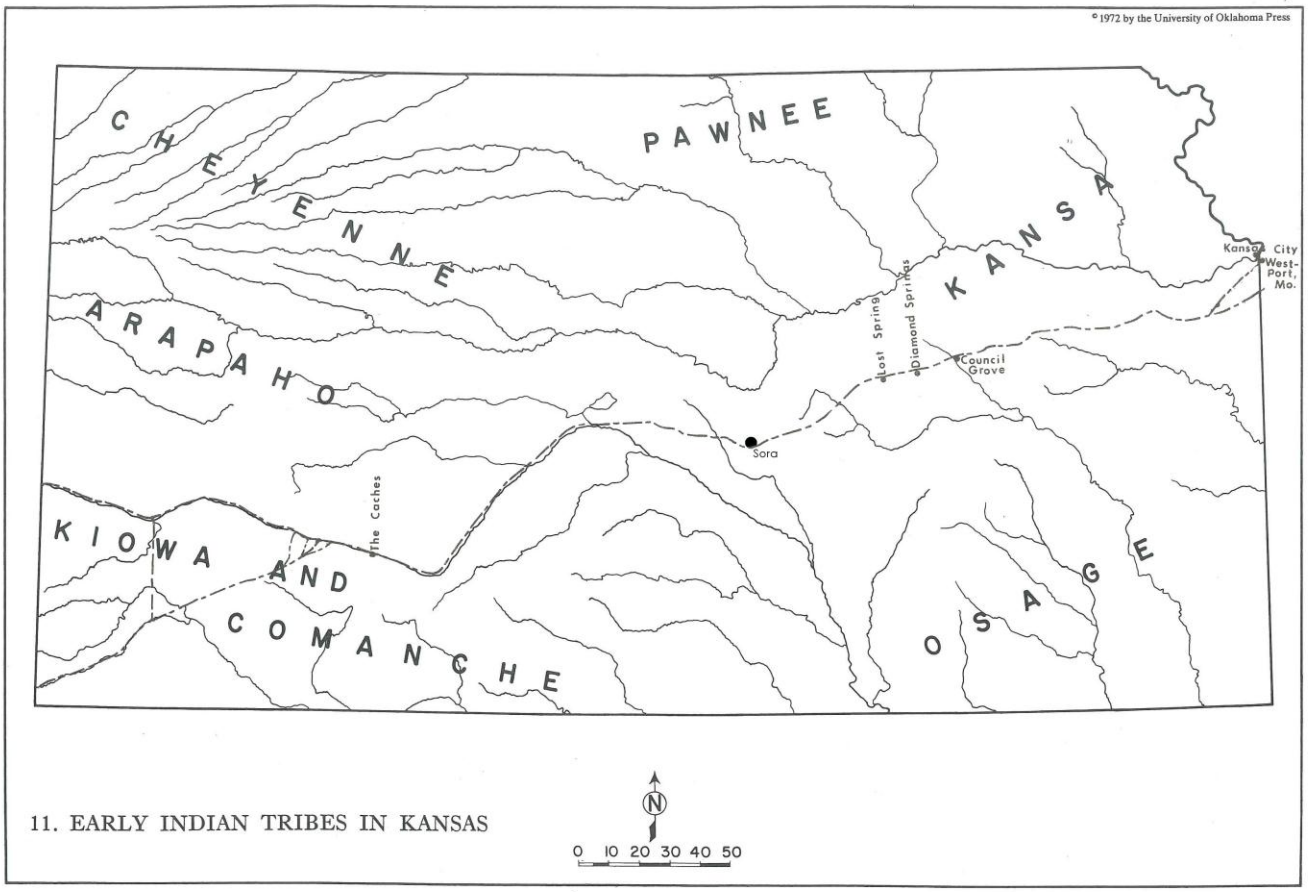
"The Southwest 1820-1835," *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic* November 1982, 630A.

Figure 4.



L. Stephen Schmidt and Richard Hayden, "Overview Mapping of Sibley Expedition 1825, 1826, & 1827," in "Appendix G: Plots of the Survey Route on Modern Maps," *The Survey and Maps of the Sibley Expedition 1825, 1826, & 1827*, Santa Fe Trail Association Grant Report, August 2011 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *Santa Fe Trail Association Online*, <http://www.santafetrail.org/about-us/scholarly-research/sibley-survey/Appendix_G.pdf> (accessed 22 February 2012).

Figure 5.



Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, "Forts and Military Roads after 1827," *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 11, 17. Image is a compilation of these two maps, showing the tribal locations, the routes of the Santa Fe Trail, and the 1825 treaty sites at Sora Creek and Council Grove.

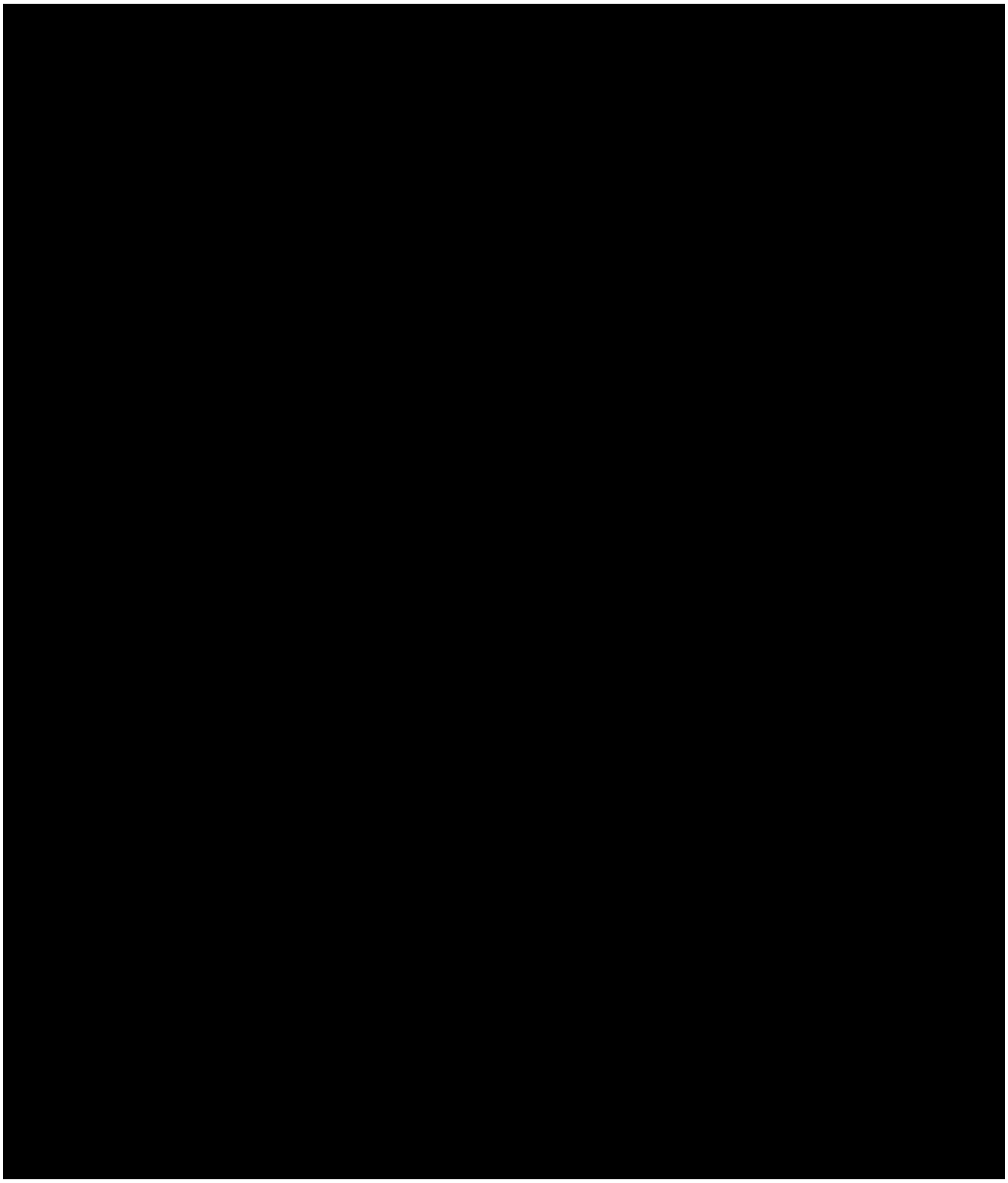
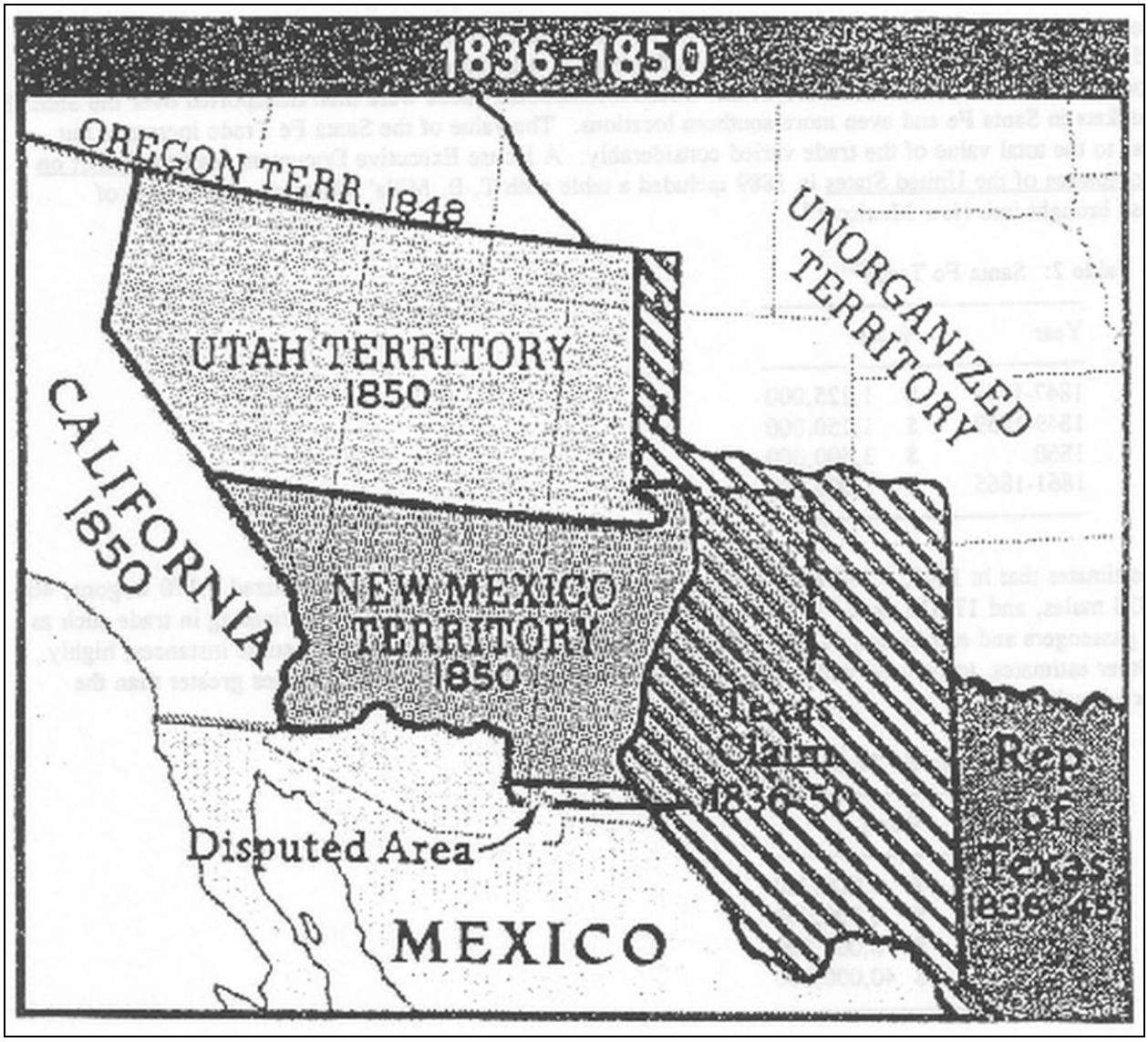
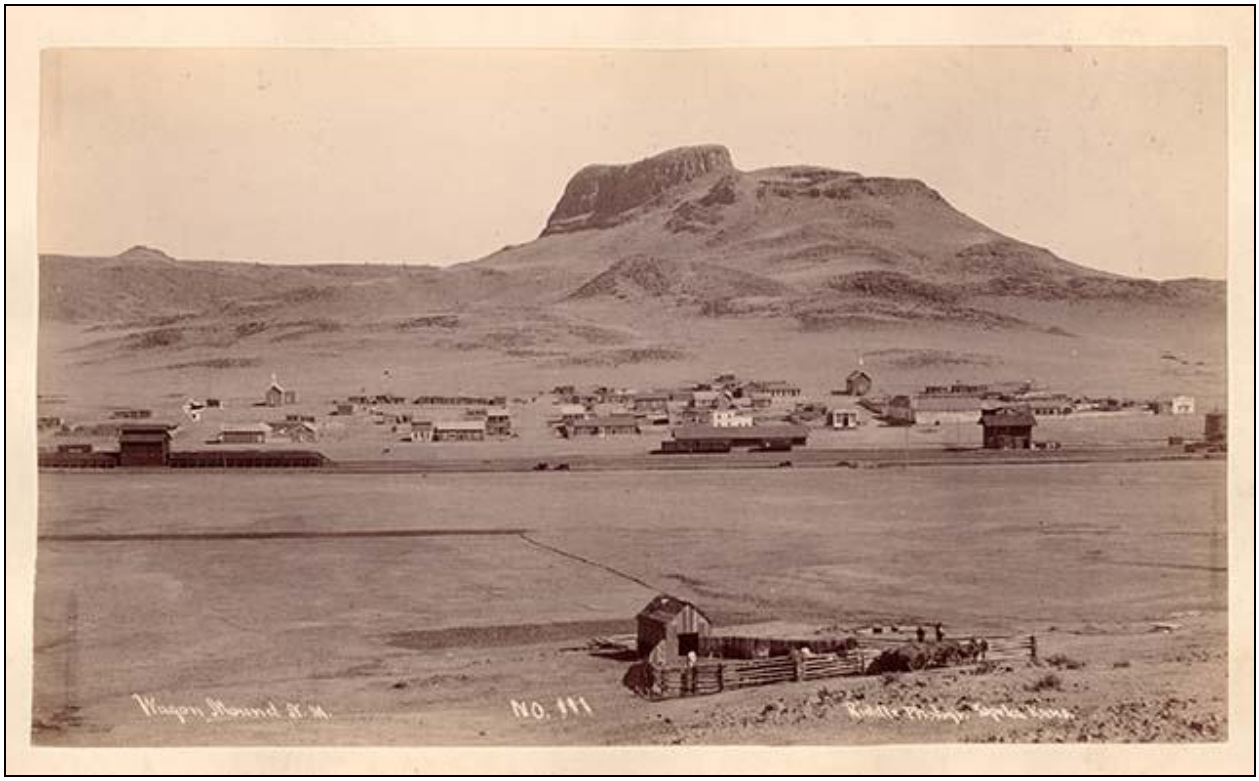


Figure 7.



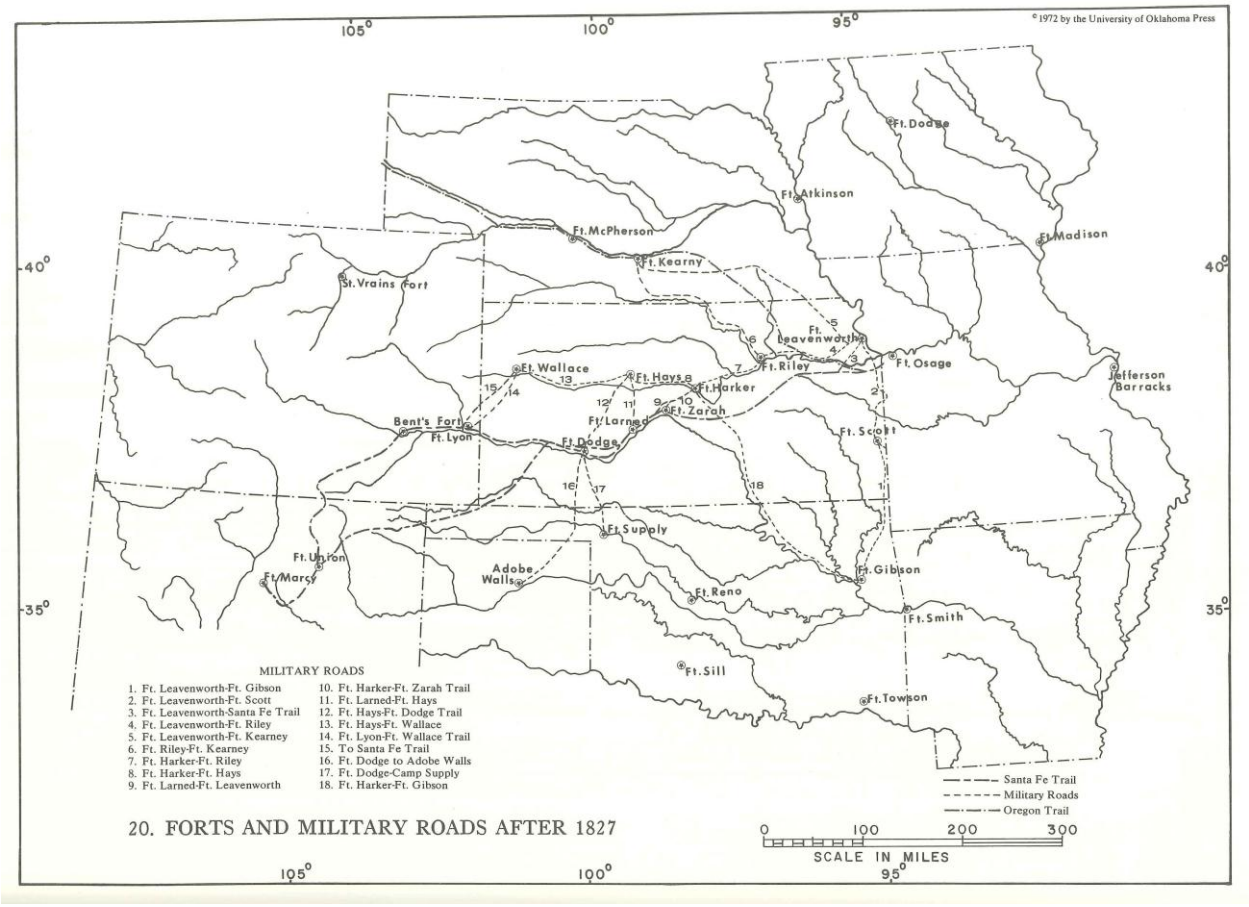
"The Southwest 1836-1850," *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 8.



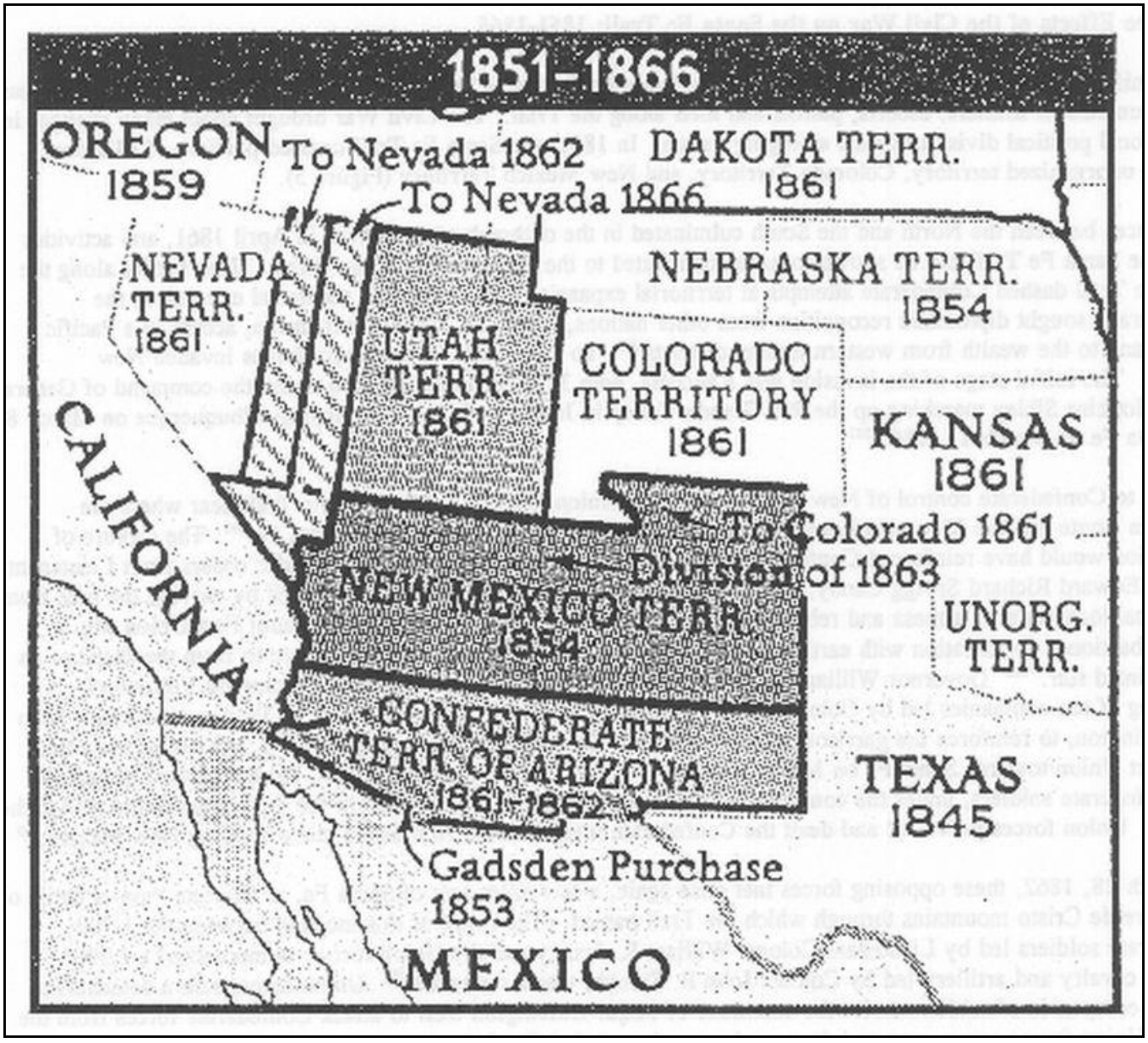
Wagon Mound, unknown date, *New Mexico Office of the State Historian Online* [Wagon Mound Image page on-line]; available from http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=394; Internet; accessed 16 August 2011.

Figure 9.



Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, “Forts and Military Roads after 1827,” *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 20.

Figure 10.

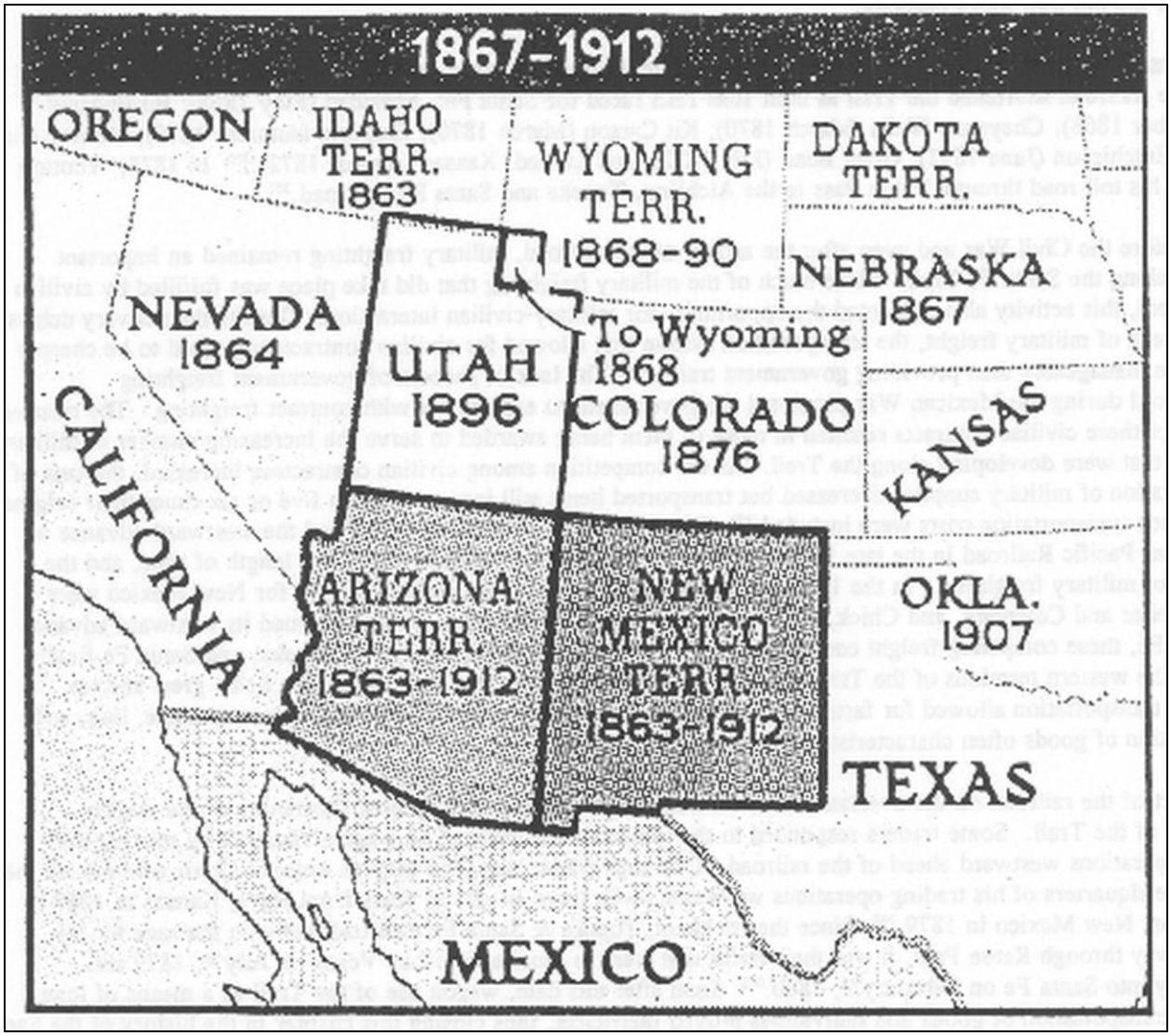


"The Southwest 1851-1866," *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 11.

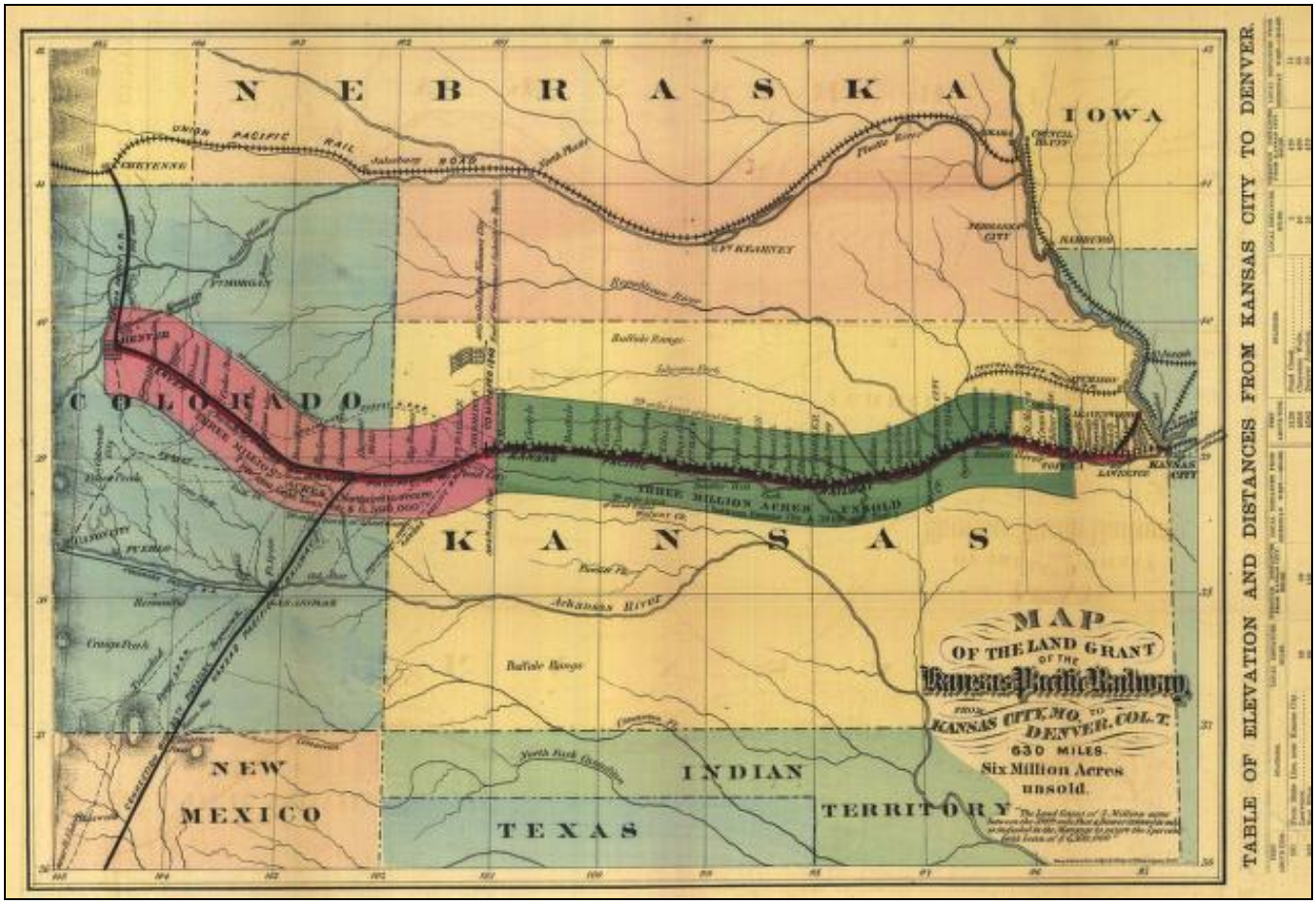
Laura Soullieré Harrison and James E. Ivey, "Fort Union," Southwest Cultural Resources Center: Professional Papers No. 55: Division of History Southwest Region, National Park Service, *Of A Temporary Character: A Historic Structure Report of First Fort, Second, Fort, and the Arsenal and Historical Base Map, Fort Union National Monument, Fort Union, New Mexico,* 1993 [electronic copy on-line]; available from *National Park Service,* <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun1/hsr4.htm> (accessed 15 August 2011). This image shows the second iteration of Fort Union, "The Earthwork."

Figure 12.



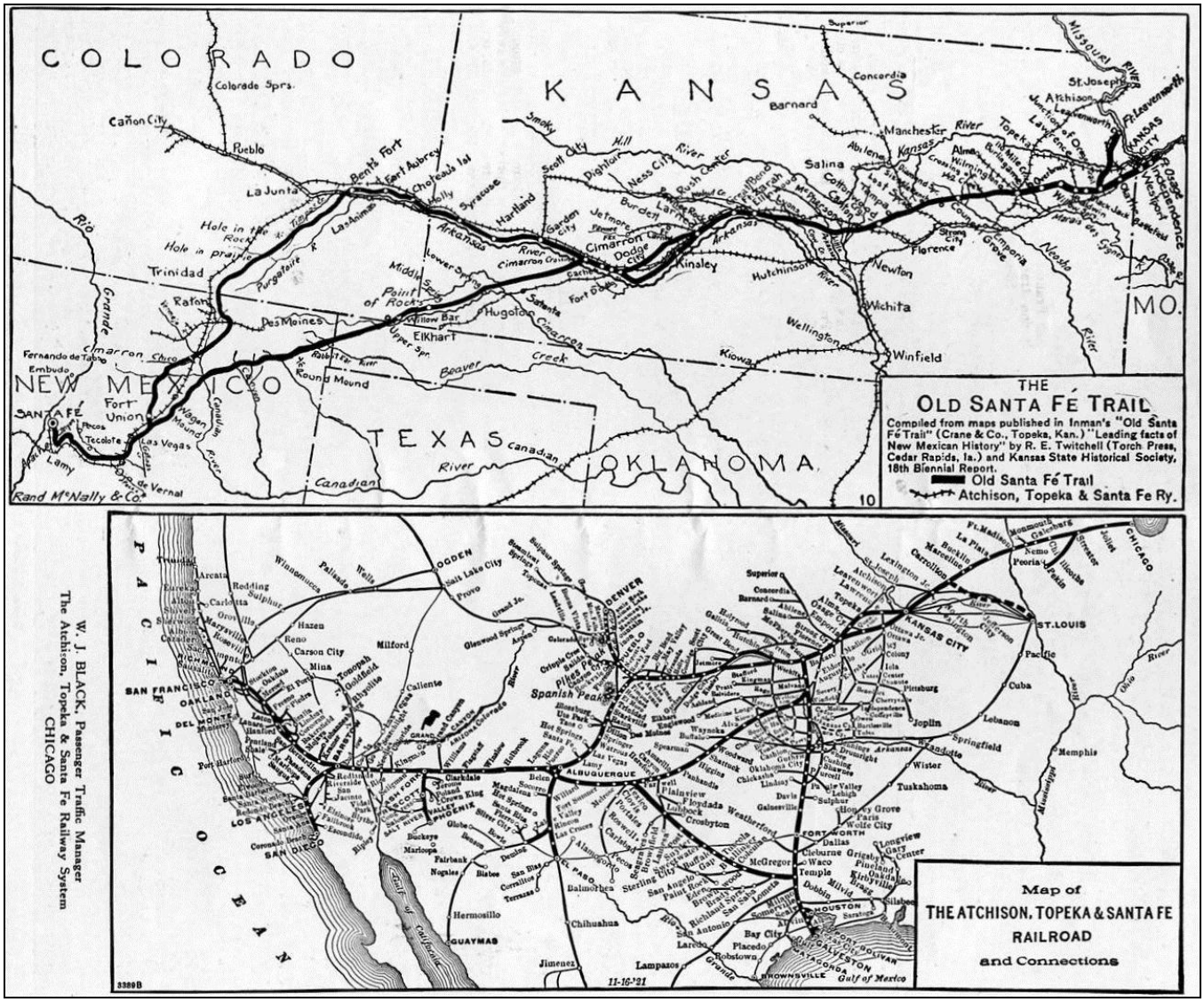
"The Southwest 1867-1912," *National Geographic Magazine*, Supplement of the *National Geographic*, November 1982, 630A.

Figure 13.



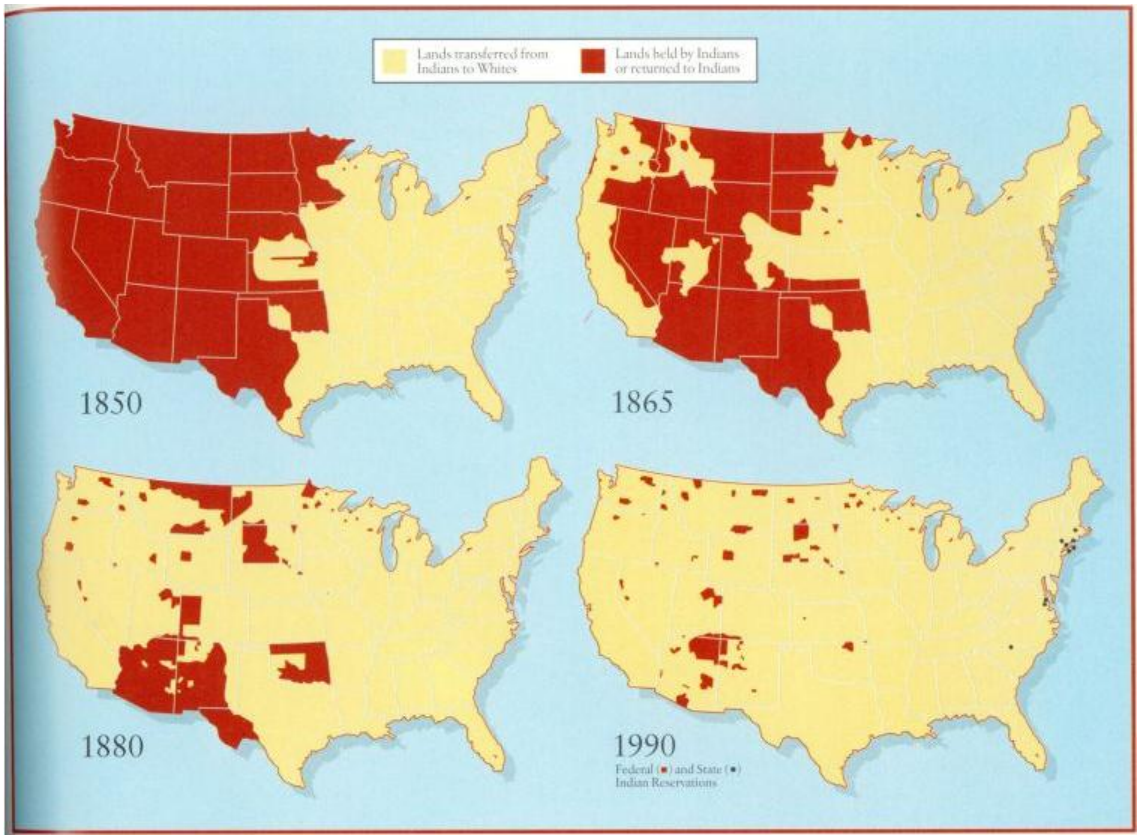
Henry Seibert & Bros, "Map of the Land Grant of the Kansas Pacific Railway, from Kansas City, Mo. to Denver Col. T," 1869 [image page on-line]; available from *Wichita State University Online* <http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/18611869.asp?offset=-1> (accessed 26 September 2011).

Figure 14.



W.J. Black, *By the Way – A Condensed Guide of Points of Interest Along the Santa Fe Lines to California* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1922).

Figure 15.



David Hurst Thomas, et al., *The Native Americans: an illustrated history* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, Inc., 1993), 369. The red indicated lands held by American Indians.

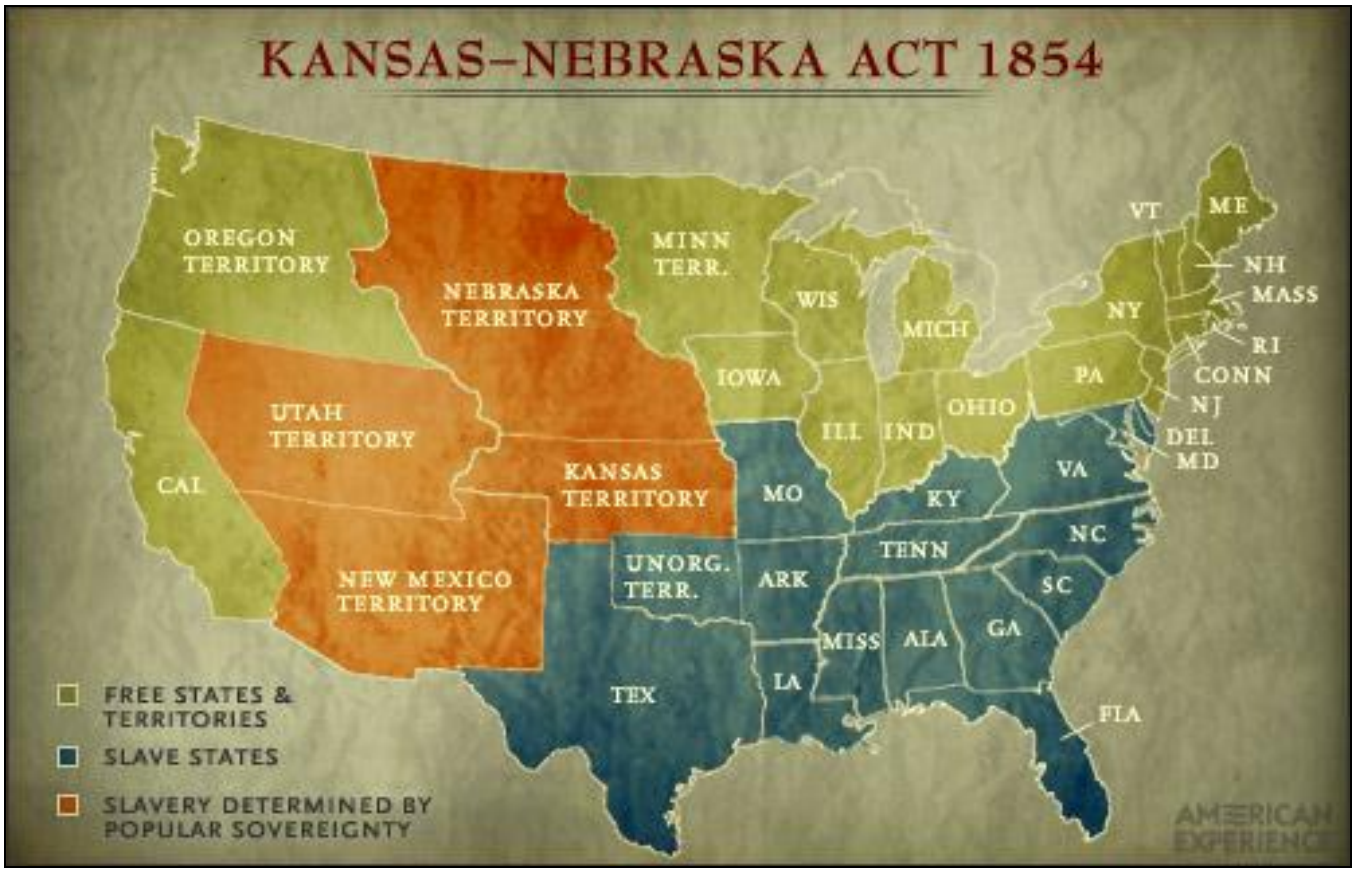
Figure 16.

Brooklyn, Kansas DAR marker, 1906, Amanda Loughlin, photographer, 6 March 2012.

Figure 17.

Auguste Leimbach, sculptor, "Madonna of the Trail," 1928. Jeanie Jennings, photographer, August 16, 1995. Council Grove, Kansas.

Figure 18.



PBS, “Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854.” *Public Broadcasting System Online* [image page on-line]; available from http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/lincolns-political-landscape/ accessed 30 September 2011.

Appendix A. "List of Roads and Distances in Missouri, From Jackson county to Santa Fe," From Alphonso Wetmore's 1837 *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* [797]					
Independence to:	**Miles**	**Total**	**Major Places (cont.)**	**Miles**	**Total**
Camp Grove	16	16	The Lake	12	498
Big Blue River Ford	20	36	Sandy Creek	12	510
Round Grove	14	50	Lone Pond	14	524
Belmont	20	70	Small Pool	22	546
Left-hand Grove	18	88	The Semiron [Cimarron] River)	8	554
Right-hand Grove	18	106	Lower Spring	2	556
Elk Creek	5	111	Salt Camp	8	564
Marie des Cignes	11	122	Nitre Camp	21	585
Rock Creek	5	127	The Willows	7	592
Prairie Camp	13	140	Saltpetric Camp, in view of Sugar House Mound	10	602
Indian Camp	9	149	Upper Semiron [Cimarron] Spring	10	612
High-water Creek	15	164	Seven Mile Creek	7	619
Council Grove on the Neosho	8	172	Drain Camp	8	627
Plain Creek	5	177	Two Pools	17	644
Diamond Spring	8	185	Rocky Pool	8	652
Prairie Spring	8	193	Bad Water	7	659
Hook's Spring (in prairie)	8	201	Sugar Loaf	5	664
Cottonwood Grove	13	214	Kiawa Camp	10	674
Lake Camp	18	232	Sabine Camp	15	689
Small Creek	20	252	Round Mound	4	693
Little Arkansas (River)	18	270	Rocky Branch	12	705
Branch of Cow Creek	12	282	Summit Level, in view of Rocky Mountains	8	713
Main Cow Creek	13	295	Harl's Camp	6	719
Arkansas River	15	310	Point of Rocks [NM]	10	729
Walnut Creek (up the Arkansas)	20	330	Deep Hollow	7	736
Ash Creek	24	354	Canadian Fork	15	751
Pawnee Fork of Arkansas	8	362	Mule Creek	6	757
Plain Camp	15	377	Pilot Knobs	19	776
Little Pond	21	398	Tar Kiln Grove	20	796
Small Drain	20	418	El Moro	10	806
Anderson's Caches on the Arkansas	20	438	El Sapiote	2	808
Pond Camp West of Arkansas River	7	445	Río Las Guineas (Las Vegas)	18	826
The Two Ponds	22	467	San Magil (Miguel)	25	851
Several Ponds	19	486	Santa Fe	40	[891]

[797] Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, (St. Louis: C Keemle, 1837), 269-270. Wetmore lists the total number of miles as 897, but his math was a few miles off the 891 added in the table.

Appendix B. Major Places and Distances Along the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail, Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*					
Independence to:	**Miles**	**Total Miles**	**Major Places on Route (cont.)**	**Miles**	**Total Miles**
Round Grove	35	35	Cimarron River (Lower Spring)	8	445
Narrows	30	65	Middle Spring	36	481
110-Mile Creek	30	95	Willow Bar	26	507
Bridge Creek	8	103	Upper Spring	18	525
Big John Spring	40	143	Cold Spring	5	530
Council Grove	2	145	M'Nees Creek	25	555
Diamond Spring	15	160	Rabbit Ear Creek	20	575
Lost Spring	15	175	Round Mound	8	583
Cottonwood Creek	12	187	Rock Creek	8	591
Turkey Creek	25	212	Point of Rocks	19	610
Little Arkansas River	17	229	Río Colorado (Upper Canadian)	20	630
Cow Creek	20	249	Ocaté	6	636
Arkansas River	16	265	Santa Clara Spring	21	657
Walnut Creek	8	273	Río Mora	22	679
Ash Creek	19	292	Río Gallinas (Las Vegas)	20	699
Pawnee Fork	6	298	Ojo de Bernal Spring	17	716
Coon Creek	33	331	San Miguel	6	722
Caches	36	367	Pecos Village	23	745
Ford of Arkansas (Cimarron Crossing)	20	387	Santa Fe	25	770
Sand Creek	50	437			
Miles column's numbers are extrapolated directly from Gregg's text.					

Appendix C. 1825 American Indian – United States Treaties Related to the Santa Fe Trail[798]			
Name of Treaty	**Date(s)**	**Location**	**Statute (Vol., Page)**
Treaty with the Sioune & Oglala Tribes [of the Sioux]	July 5, 1825	Mouth of the Teton River	7 Stat., 252
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Sioune and Ogallala bands of Sioux into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will [the Sioux bands], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			
Treaty with the Cheyenne Tribe	July 6, 1825	Mouth of the Teton River	7 Stat., 255
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Chayenne [sic] tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will the [Cheyenne tribe], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens, who may be passing, from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			
Treaty with the Crow Tribe	August 4, 1825	Mandan Village	7 Stat., 266
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Crow tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will the [Crow tribe], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens, who may be passing, from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			
Treaty with the Great and Little Osage	August 10, 1825	Council Grove	7 Stat., 268
Details: Article 1: The Great and Little Osage "consent and agree that [Sibley's Expedition] shall and may survey and mark out a road, in such manner as they may think proper, through any of the territory owned or claimed by the said Great and Little Osage Nations."			

[798] Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs*, 230-234, 244-250, 256-262. The details listed in this table relate directly to the Santa Fe Trail; however, the US would regulate trade with the various tribes, who were also expected to acknowledge the "supremacy of the United States." See the full citation for further treaty details.

Article 2: The Great and Little Osage "agree that the road authorized in article 1, shall, when marked, be forever free for the use of the citizens of the United States and of the Mexican

(Appendix C continued)

Republic, who shall at all times pass and repass thereon, without any hindrance or molestation…."
Article 3: The Great and Little Osage promise "that they will, on all fit occasions, render such friendly aid and assistance as may be in their power, to any of the citizens of the United States, or of the Mexican Republic, as they may at any time happen to meet or fall in with on the road aforesaid."
Article 4: The Great and Little Osage "consent and agree that the road aforesaid shall be considered as extending to a reasonable distance on either side, so that travelers [sic] thereon may, at any time, leave the marked tract, for the purpose of finding subsistence and proper camping places."
Article 5: In exchange the Great and Little Osage will receive "the sum of five hundred dollars; which sum is to be paid them as soon as may be, in money or merchandise, at their option, at such place as they may desire."
Article 6: The Great and Little Osage "acknowledge to have received from the Commissioners aforesaid, at the before the signing of this Treaty, articles of merchandise to the value of three hundred dollars; which sum of three hundred dollars, and the payment stipulated to be made to the said Osages in Article 5, shall be considered, and are so considered by said Chiefs, as full and complete compensation for every privilege herein granted by said Chiefs."

Treaty with the Kansa	August 16, 1825	Sora Creek	7 Stat., 270

Details:
Article 1: The Kansa "consent and agree that [Sibley's Expedition] shall and may survey and mark out a road, in such manner as they may think proper, through any of the territory owned or claimed by" the Kansa.
Article 2: The Kansa "agree that the road authorized in article 1, shall, when marked, be forever free for the use of the citizens of the United States and of the Mexican Republic, who shall at all times pass and repass thereon, without any hindrance or molestation…."
Article 3: The Kansa promise "that they will, on all fit occasions, render such friendly aid and assistance as may be in their power, to any of the citizens of the United States, or of the Mexican Republic, as they may at any time happen to meet or fall in with on the road aforesaid."
Article 4: The Kansa "consent and agree that the road aforesaid shall be considered as extending to a reasonable distance on either side, so that travelers [sic] thereon may, at any time, leave the marked tract, for the purpose of finding subsistence and proper camping places."
Article 5: In exchange the Kansa will receive "the sum of five hundred dollars; which sum is to be paid them as soon as may be, in money or merchandise, at their option, at such place as they may desire."
Article 6: The Kansa "acknowledge to have received from the Commissioners aforesaid, at the before the signing of this Treaty, articles of merchandise to the value of three hundred dollars; which sum of three hundred dollars, and the payment stipulated to be made to the said Kansas in Article 5, shall be considered, and are so considered by said Chiefs, as full and complete compensation for every privilege herein granted by said Chiefs."

(Appendix C continued)			
Treaty with the Oto [sic] & Missouri Tribe	September 26, 1825	Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs	7 Stat., 277
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Ottoe [sic] and Missouri tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will [the Otoe & Missouri Tribe], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			
Treaty with the Pawnee Tribe	September 30, 1825	Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs	7 Stat., 279
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Pawnee tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will [the Pawnee], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			
Treaty with the Makah Tribe	October 6, 1825	Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs	7 Stat., 282
Details: Article 2: "The United States agree to receive the Maha [sic] tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States." Article 4: "nor will [the Makah], whilst on their distant excursions, molest or interrupt any American citizen or citizens who may be passing from the United States to New Mexico, or returning from thence to the United States."			

Appendix D. Major Places and Distances Along the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail and on to El Paso, Major James H. Carleton (using Captain Alexander B. Dyer's notes), 1846-1848[799]					
Fort Leavenworth to:	**Miles**	**Total Miles**	**Major Places on Route (cont.)**	**Miles**	**Total Miles**
Upper ferry (mouth of Wakarusa River)	35	35	McNee's creek	10	534
Willow spring	17	52	Cottonwood	10	544
110-Mile creek	24	76	Rabbit-ear spring	14	558
Beaver creek	12	88	Whetstone	24	582
Dragoon creek	8	96	Point-of-rocks	15	597
Bluff creek	13	109	Red river	21	618
Council grove	12	121	Ocate	5	623
Diamond spring	15	136	Wagon mound	20	643
Lost spring	14	150	Rock creek	16	659
Cottonwood (Creek)	15	165	Mora river	8	667
Main Turkey creek	18	183	Los [sic] Vegas	19	686
Little Arkansas (River)	26	209	St. Miguel	23	709
Big Cow creek	21	230	Old Peco's church	24	733
Walnut creek	25	255	Santa Fe	24	757
Pawnee fork	25	280	Albuquerque	65	822
Cow creek	12	292	Peralto (the Oteros)	--	--
Fort Mann	55	347	La Josga	45	867
Crossing of Arkansas (River)	26	373	Socorro	18	885
Sand creek	50	423	Ford of Del Norte, above the ruins of Valverde	25	910
Lower spring on Cimerone [Cimarron River]	8	431	Fra Christoval, entrance of Jornada de los Muertos	16	926
Middle spring	34	465	Don Ana, Mexican town (Doña Ana)	95	1021
Crossing of Cimerone [Cimarron River]	27	492	Grove on river	15	1036
Cold spring	18	510	Brazito	16	1052
Cedar spring	14	524	El Paso	32	1084

[799] *Stryker's American Register and Magazine*, July 1850, 247-249. The "Total Miles" column and calculations were added to supplement the original table in the primary document. The table from the primary document has a mileage total listed at the end of the table. However, the end total in the primary document differs from the total listed in this document. The original total shows 1104 miles. This could be due to poor calculations or incorrect mileages.

Appendix E. Some Trading Ranches & Stage Stations Along the Santa Fe Trail[800]				
State	**County**	**Name [Operator(s)]**	**Occupation Dates**	**Amenities**
Kansas	Osage	Hubbard's Stage Stand [David Hubbard]	1861 - 1863	Store, PO, stage station
		110 Mile Creek [Fry P. McGee and William Harris]	1854 - 1866	Water, wood, grass, coal, inn, mail station & PO, toll bridge, entertainment
	Lyon	142 Mile Creek [Charles Withington]	1854 - 1866	Store, mail station & PO, blacksmith, toll bridge
		Rock Creek [Arthur Ingram Baker]	1854 - 1862	Store, saloon, PO, blacksmith, "attorney," real estate agent, newspaper
	Morris	Diamond Spring [Waldo Hall Company]	1852/3 - 1863	Mail station & PO (1857), store, hotel, restaurant, saloon, corrals, blacksmith, warehouses
		6 Mile Creek [Samuel S___; Frank & William Hartwell; Charley Owens]	1863 - 1868	PO (moved from Diamond Spring), grocery, stable & corral
	Marion	Lost Spring [George Smith; Jack Costello; Thomas Wise]	1859 - 1868	Mail station & PO (1861), stockade, well, corral
		Cottonwood Creek [George Smith; Abraham & Ira Moore]	c1857-1866	Mail station, hay, corn, provisions
		Cottonwood Hole [Frank Laloge; Peter Martin; George Russell]	1861-1866	Water
	McPherson	Running Turkey Creek [Charles Fuller]	1855-1866	Restaurant, provisions, liquor, poor water

[800] Operators, dates, and amenities are listed where known. Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line, Part I," 21-26; Clapsaddle, "A Frail Thin Line, Part II," 14-23; and McCoy 1988:108-122.

(Appendix E continued)

State	County	Name [Operator(s)]	Dates	Amenities
Kansas	Rice	Little Arkansas River Crossing/Ranch (aka Station Little Arkansas) [William Mathewson; William Wheeler & Gains; A.J. Greenway; Theo Conley]	1857/8-1864 [1865-1867]	Toll bridge, water, provisions, liquor, lodging, corrals
		Cow Creek [Asahel & Abijah Beach; John Stanton; William Mathewson]	1858-1866	Corn, mail station & PO, stage station, corral, wood, livestock, provisions, ford, toll bridge, buffalo trade
	Barton	Great Bend of the Arkansas River [Charles Rath; William Mathewson; Dick Curtis & Frank Cole]	c1858-1864	Provisions, well, corrals
		Walnut Creek [William Allison & Francis Boothe; George Peacock; Charles Rath]	1855-1867	Stockade, forage, PO (1856), mail station (1858), provisions, corrals, fur & hide trade
	Pawnee	Ash Creek [Orville William Thompson]	1860	Trading ranch
		Pawnee River & Pawnee Fork [Samuel Parker; Wagginer; Albert Henry Boyd]	1864-1872	Provisions, chickens, corral, toll bridge, fur & hide trade, hay & wood contracts with Forts Larned & Dodge
	Gray	Cimarron Ranch [William & Frank Hartwell; A.J. Anthony & Robert Wright]	1866-1868	Corral, stables, hay contract with stage company
	Hamilton	Fort Aubrey Ranch [Robert Wright & James Anderson]	1864-1866	Stage station
Colorado	Bent	Bent's New Trading Post [William Bent] Fort Wise/Old Fort Lyon	1852-1858	Indian trade, fur trade [post sutler's/trader's store]
	Otero	Bent's Old Fort [Bent, St. Vrain & Co.]	1832-1849	Provisions, Indian trade, fur trade
		Spring Bottom Ranch [Robert Wright & family]	1866/7	

		Iron Springs [Barlow & Sanderson Stage Co.]	1861-1866	Stage station
(Appendix E continued)				
State	**County**	**Name [Operator(s)]**	**Dates**	**Amenities**
Colorado	Las Animas	Hole in the Rock [Barlow & Sanderson Stage Co.]	1861-1866	Stage station
		Gray's Ranch on the Purgatoire [Dan Taylor]	1861-1866	Stage station, provisions, PO (1863), store (1865)
		"Uncle Dick" Wooton's		Stage station, provisions, liquor, dancing
New Mexico	Colfax	Willow Spring [S.A. Sayre]		Military; Forage, spring, stage stop
		Clifton House / Red River Station	1866-1867	Gather place for cattlemen
		Cimarron [Lucien Maxwell]	1857	Community; businesses catering to Santa Fe travelers
	Colfax	Rayado (Post of Rayado) [Jesus Abreu]	1848 (1850)	Stage home station
	Mora	Barclay's Fort (1) [Alexander Barclay]	1848-1854	Civilian trading post
		Barclay's Fort (2) [Alexander Barclay]	1849-1854	Civilian trading post
		Watrous's Store [Samuel B. Watrous]	1849	Store for wagon trains
		Sapello Stage Station [Barlow & Sanderson Stage Co.; George Gregg]	1860 (Started)	Stage station; tavern
	San Miguel	Kozlowski's Ranch [Martin Kozlowski]	1858 (Started)	Stage station; spring; campsite; tavern
	Santa Fe	Pigeon's Ranch	1862	
		Johnson's Ranch	1862	

Appendix F. Major Places and Distances Along the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail, Dr. John Locke and W. Wrightson, 1864[801]					
Kansas City, Missouri, to:	**Miles**	**Total Miles**	**Major Places on Route (cont.)**	**Miles**	**Total Miles**
Westport	4.37	4.37	Fairview Station	13.98	453.07
Olathe Station	16.87	21.24	Pretty Encampment	10.98	464.05
Olathe Post Office	1.24	22.48	Bluffs at Salt Bottom	18.72	482.77
Black Jack	18.75	41.23	Sand Creek	10.12	492.89
Station 110	34.49	75.72	Fort Lyon	18.38	511.27
Burlingame	7.88	83.6	Camp Refreshment	14.02	525.29
Wilmington	7.92	91.52	Twelve Mile Point	8.98	534.27
Wacherrie	5.82	97.34	Little Sand Creek	5.09	539.96
Allen	4.79	102.13	Bent's Old Fort	5.54	544.9
Rock Creek	12.35	114.48	Big Arroyo	21.17	566.07
Council Grove	8.44	122.92	The Mounds	8.55	574.62
Six Mile Creek	21.5	144.42	Iron Springs	9.89	584.51
Cottonwood Creek	14.52	168.94	Hole in Rocks	14.12	598.63
Running Turkey Creek	18.86	187.8	Hole in Prairie	14.87	613.5
Big Turkey Creek	7.63	195.43	Gray's Ranche	18.5	632.0
Beech Valley	17.49	212.92	Trinidad	4.15	636.15
Cow Creek	18.7	231.62	Summit of Raton Pass	14.63	650.78
Plum Buttes	10.61	242.23	Red River	13.98	664.76
Walnut Creek	13.43	255.66	Hill East of Creek	19.9	684.66
Fort Larned	31.3	286.96	Vermejo Creek	3.11	687.77
Rock Hollow	8.85	295.81	Maxwell Ranche	12.4	700.17
Big Coon Creek	15.06	310.3	Murray Ranche	19.01	719.18
Dinner Station	8.39	319.26	Apache Hill	7.55	726.73
Arroyo Blanco	8.04	327.3	Ocate Creek	6.0	732.73
Little Coon Creek	3.6	330.9	Fort Union	17.41	750.14
Arkansas River	9.77	340.67	Mora River	6.46	756.6
Adkin Ranche	1.32	341.99	Forks of road	7.81	764.41
Fort Mackey	8.58	350.57	Las Vegas	12.01	776.42
Bluff	1.52	352.09	Tecalote	11.53	787.95
Lone Elm	9.69	361.78	San Jose	15.3	803.25
Cimarron Crossing	5.78	367.56	Parajito Spring	14.85	818.1
Nine Mile Ridge	9.27	376.83	Koslosky's	4.2	822.3
Pawnee Forts	11.7	388.53	Pigeon Ranche	5.14	827.44
Lone Tree	8.87	397.4	Valley Gorge	3.28	830.72
Bluffs	10.08	407.48	Johnson Ranche	2.57	833.29
Chouteau's Island	20.19	427.67	Rock Corral	2.35	835.64
Aubrey Crossing	11.42	439.09	Santa Fe, New Mexico	10.76	846.4

[801] "Council Trove-Documents: Table of Distances, 1864," *Wagon Tracks* 13 (February 1999): 23-24.

Appendix G. American Indian Land Cession and Reservation Treaties Related to the Santa Fe Trail between 1821-1880[802]

Tribe(s)	Date	Statute (Vol., page)	Generally Affected Locations along SFT
Sauk & Fox	Aug. 4, 1824	7 Stat., 229	**MO:** Franklin, New Franklin, Boon's Lick
	Cession. The ceded land had already been covered in a treaty with the Osage in 1808.		
Iowa	Aug. 4, 1824	7 Stat., 231	**MO:** Franklin, New Franklin, Boon's Lick
	Cession. The ceded land had already been covered in a treaty with the Osage in 1808.		
Great & Little Osage	June 2, 1825	7 Stat., 240	**MO:** Independence, Kansas City/Westport **KS:** Council Grove, McPherson, Great Bend, Larned, Dodge City
	Cession & Reservation. The reservation described in Article 2 was relinquished and sold in an 1865 treaty (cf. 14 Stat., 687) and an act of Congress on July 15, 1870.		
Kansa	June 3, 1825	7 Stat., 244	**KS:** Leavenworth, Kansas City, Olathe, Lawrence, Hays
	Cession & Reservation. The reservation specified in Article 2 was ceded to the US in 1846 (cf. 9 Stat., 842).		
	Jan. 14, 1846, ratified Apr. 13 1846	9 Stat., 842	**KS:** Ft. Riley, Council Grove
	Cession & Reservation. The land ceded had been reserved for the Kansa in 1825 (cf. 7 Stat., 244). Article 3 stipulated that if insufficient timber be found on the new reservation selected by the US, then the US would select another area. This reservation was part of the Shawnee lands, which that tribe ceded in 1854 for the reservation. Concluded at the Shawnee Methodist Mission (Fairway, Kansas).		
	Oct. 5, 1859, ratified June 27, 1860	12 Stat., 1111	**KS:** Council Grove
	Cession. Treaty was with the Western Shoshoni Band. Portion of reservation retained. Tribe removed to Indian Territory; this reservation was then sold by acts of Congress in May 1872, June 1874, July 1876, and March 1880.		

[802] Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs*, 206-209, 217-225, 262-264, 534-537, 552-554, 594-596, 614-626, 677-681, 800-811, 814-824, 887-895, 937-942, 1048; US House of Representatives, Fifty-sixth Congress, first session. J.W. Powell. *House Document No. 736. Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-97*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 706-709, 714-715, 776-779, 786-787, 790-793, 802-803, 822-825, 838-841 [electronic database online]; available from the *Library of Congress Website*, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwss-ilc.html> (accessed 21 March 2012). HR Doc. No. 736 contains maps showing the areas of reservations and lands ceded.

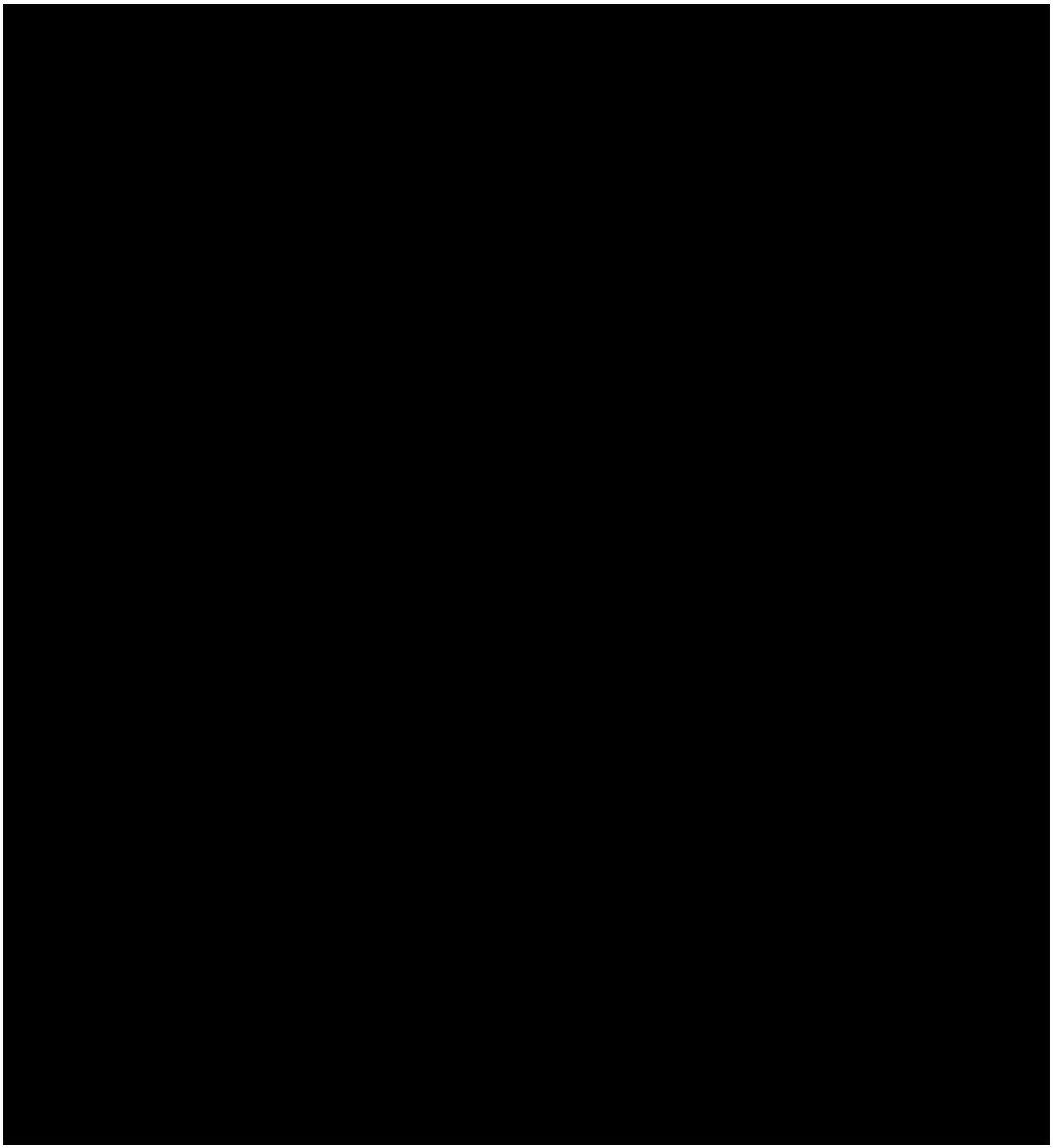
(Appendix G continued)

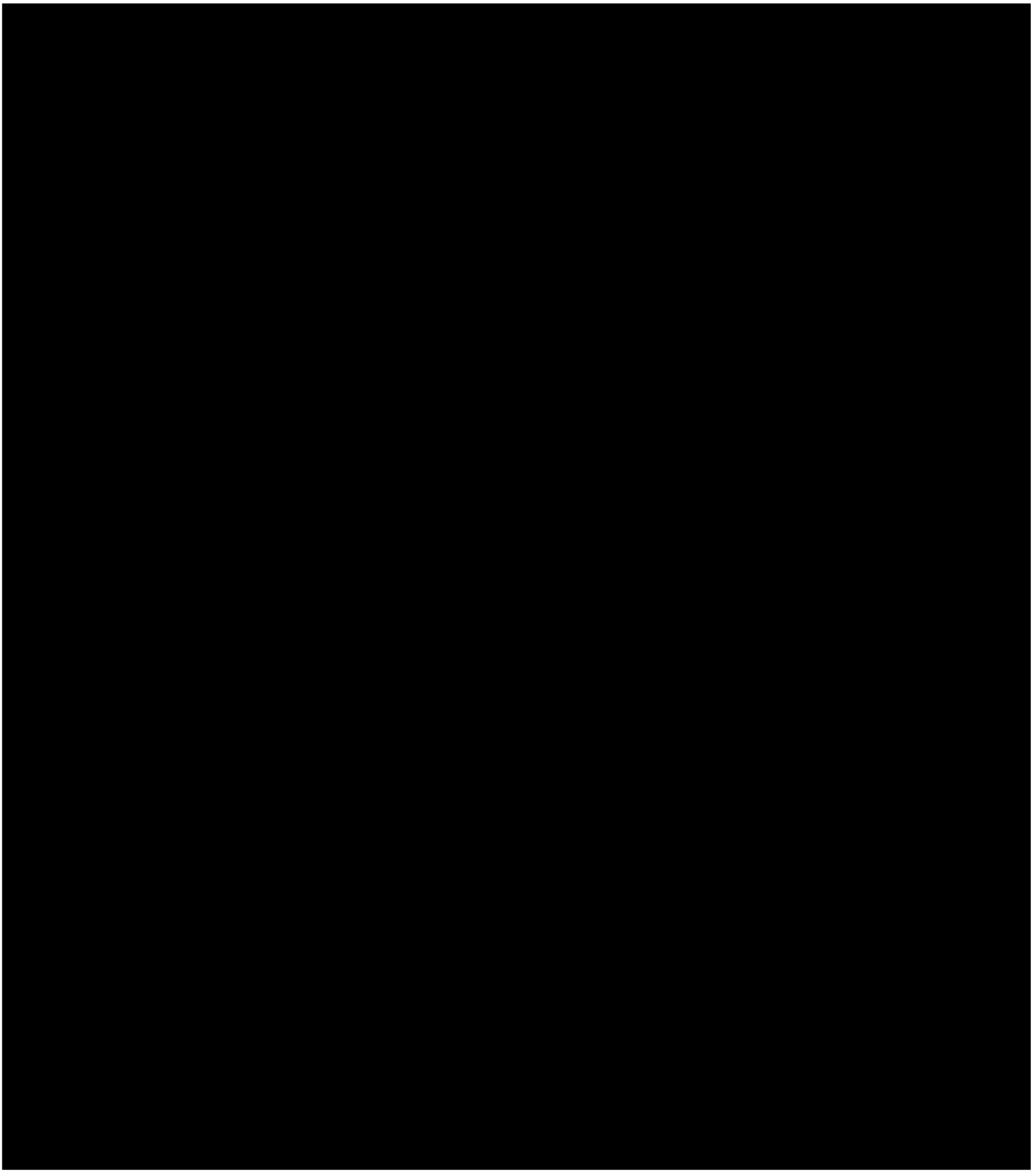
Tribe(s)	Date	Statute (Vol., page)	Generally Affected Locations along SFT
Shawnee	Nov. 7, 1825	7 Stat., 284	**KS:** Burlingame, Olathe
	Cession & Reservation. Article 3 stipulated that if the tract of land described in Article 1 was unacceptable, another would be assigned. The Shawnee found the tract unacceptable, so they received a different area. This tract was ceded to the US by treaty in May 1854 (cf. 10 Stat., 1053).		
	May 10, 1854, ratified Aug. 2, 1854	10 Stat., 1053	**KS:** Olathe, Lawrence, Council Grove
	Cession & Reservation. Rights-of-way granted for roads and railroads. A portion of the reservation was sold to settlers by act of Congress April 7, 1869.		
Wyandotte	Mar. 17, 1842	11 Stat., 581	**KS:** Kansas City
	Cession & Reservation. The US failed to give them the land promised in Article 2, so in December of 1843, the Wyandotte purchased 39 sections of the Delaware Reservation in Kansas (cf. 9 Stat., 337). In an April 1, 1850 treaty with the Wyandotte (9 Stat., 987), the US paid $185,000 for the land promised in Article 2.		
	Dec. 14, 1843, ratified July 25, 1848	9 Stat., 337	**KS:** Kansas City
	Reservation. The Delaware Nation conveyed 39 sections of their reserve to the Wyandotte. Approved by an act of Congress, July 25, 1848; this land was ceded to the US in 1850 (cf. 9 Stat., 987)		
	Jan. 31, 1855, ratified Feb. 20, 1855	10 Stat., 1159	**KS:** Kansas City
	Cession & Reservation. Treaty made the Wyandotte citizens of the United States. Ceded land bought from Delaware in 1843 (9 Stat., 337); US subdivided and reallocated lands to individual Wyandotte.		
Cheyenne & Arapaho	Sept. 17, 1851	11 Stat., 749	**KS:** Garden City, Syracuse **CO:** La Junta (Watrous)
	Reservation. The Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, etc. involved the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Crow. Article 1 was a peace agreement between all parties; Article 2 recognized the US right to establish roads and military posts within the Tribal lands.		
	Feb. 18, 1861, ratified Aug. 6, 1861	12 Stat., 1163	**KS:** Garden City, Syracuse **CO:** La Junta, Las Animas, Lamar
	Cession and Reservation. All land owned was ceded except a small portion within the present state of Colorado. Acknowledgment of roads and rights-of-		

	way agreed upon. Land was ceded to US under treaty in October 1865 (cf. 14 Stat., 703). Concluded at Ft. Wise (Old Ft. Lyon), Kansas Territory.		
(Appendix G continued)			
Tribe(s)	**Date**	**Statute (Vol., page)**	**Generally Affected Locations along SFT**
Cheyenne & Arapaho	Oct. 14, 1865, ratified May 22, 1866	14 Stat., 703	**CO:** La Junta, Las Animas, Lamar
	Cession and Reservation. Ceded land reserved in treaty from February 18, 1861 (12 Stat., 1163). A new, temporary reserve established within Colorado; relinquished by treaty in October 1867. Concluded at the Camp on Little Arkansas River, Kansas. Compensation outlined in treaty was never honored by the US.		
Delaware	May 6, 1854, ratified July 11, 1854	10 Stat., 1048	**KS:** Leavenworth, Kansas City
	Cession. Article 12 allowed roads and rights-of-way to be established in the Delaware lands.		
	May 30, 1860, ratified July 27, 1860	12 Stat., 1129	**KS:** Kansas City
	Cession. Portion of land was sold to Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad Co. The rest of the reservation was sold to the Missouri River Railroad Co by treaty July 4, 1866 (cf. 14 Stat., 793).		
	July 2, 1861, ratified Aug. 6, 1861	12 Stat., 1177	**KS:** Kansas City
	Cession. Confirmed the sale of the May 30, 1860 treaty (12 Stat., 1129) to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad. Concluded at Leavenworth, Kansas.		
	July 4, 1866, ratified July 26, 1866	14 Stat., 793	**KS:** Kansas City
	Cession and Reservation. Sold remainder of reservation agreed upon in treaty of May 30, 1860 (12 Stat., 1129) to Missouri River Railroad Co. The Delaware and Cherokee merged tribal existence April 11, 1867, and the Delaware relocated to Cherokee country.		
Comanche & Kiowa	October 18, 1865, ratified May 22, 1866	14 Stat., 717	**KS:** Ingalls, Ulysses, Elkhart **CO:** Lamar, Trinidad **OK:** Boise City
	Cession and Reservation. All land previously claimed by the Comanche and Kiowa, including areas in Kansas and Colorado, was relinquished. Article 1 specified that the US and the Comanche and Kiowa would be at peace with each other. Concluded at the Camp on Little Arkansas River, Kansas.		

Appendix H. Major Places and Distances Along the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail, Sanderson's Overland Stage Company, August 4, 1866[803]					
Junction City, KS to:	**Miles**	**Total Miles**	**Major Places on Route (cont.)**	**Miles**	**Total Miles**
Chapmans Creek	11	--	Little Sand Creek	5	403
Abilene	13	24	Bents Old Fort	6	408
Sand Springs	3	27	Big Aroyo (Arroyo)	21	429
Salina	22	49	The Mounds	9	438
Pritchard	14	63	Iron Springs	10	448
Fort Ellsworth [now Kanopolis, KS]	16	79	Hole in Rock	14	462
Plum Creek	18	97	Hole in Prairie	15	477
Fort Zarah	23	120	Gray's Ranche	19	496
Fort Larned	31	151	Trinidad	4	500
Rock Hollow	9	160	Summit Raton Pass	15	515
Big Coon Creek	15	175	Red River	14	529
Aroyo (Arroyo) Blanco	16	191	Vermejo Creek	23	552
Little Coon Creek	4	195	Maxwell's	12	564
Fort Dodge	11	206	Ryado (Rayado)	10	574
Cimarron Crossing	25	231	Murray's	9	583
Pawnee Forts	21	252	Apache Hill	8	591
Lone Tree	8	260	Ocate Creek	6	597
Bluffs	10	270	Fort Union	17	614
Chouteau Island	20	290	Law Vegas	26	640
Fort Aubrey	16	306	Tecojole	12	652
Fair View	9	315	San Jose	15	667
Pretty Encampment	11	326	Pecos	20	687
Bluff at Head of Salt Bottom	19	345	Pigeon Ranche	5	692
Sand Creek	10	355	Johnson Ranche	6	698
Fort Lyon	19	374	Santa Fe, New Mexico	13	711
Twelve Mile Point	23	397			

[803] "Mileage on Mt. Branch" *Wagon Tracks* 1 (August 1987): 10.





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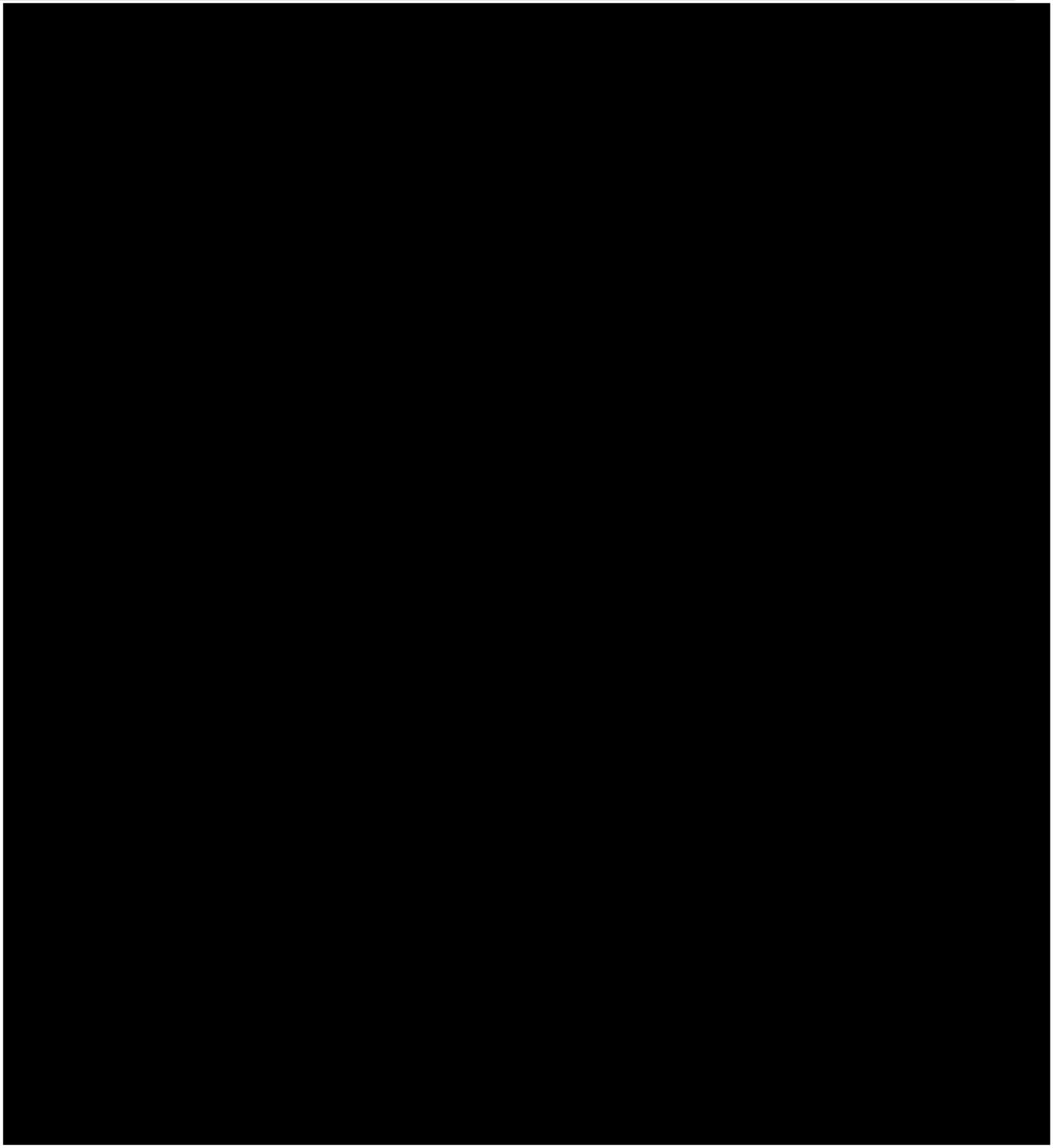

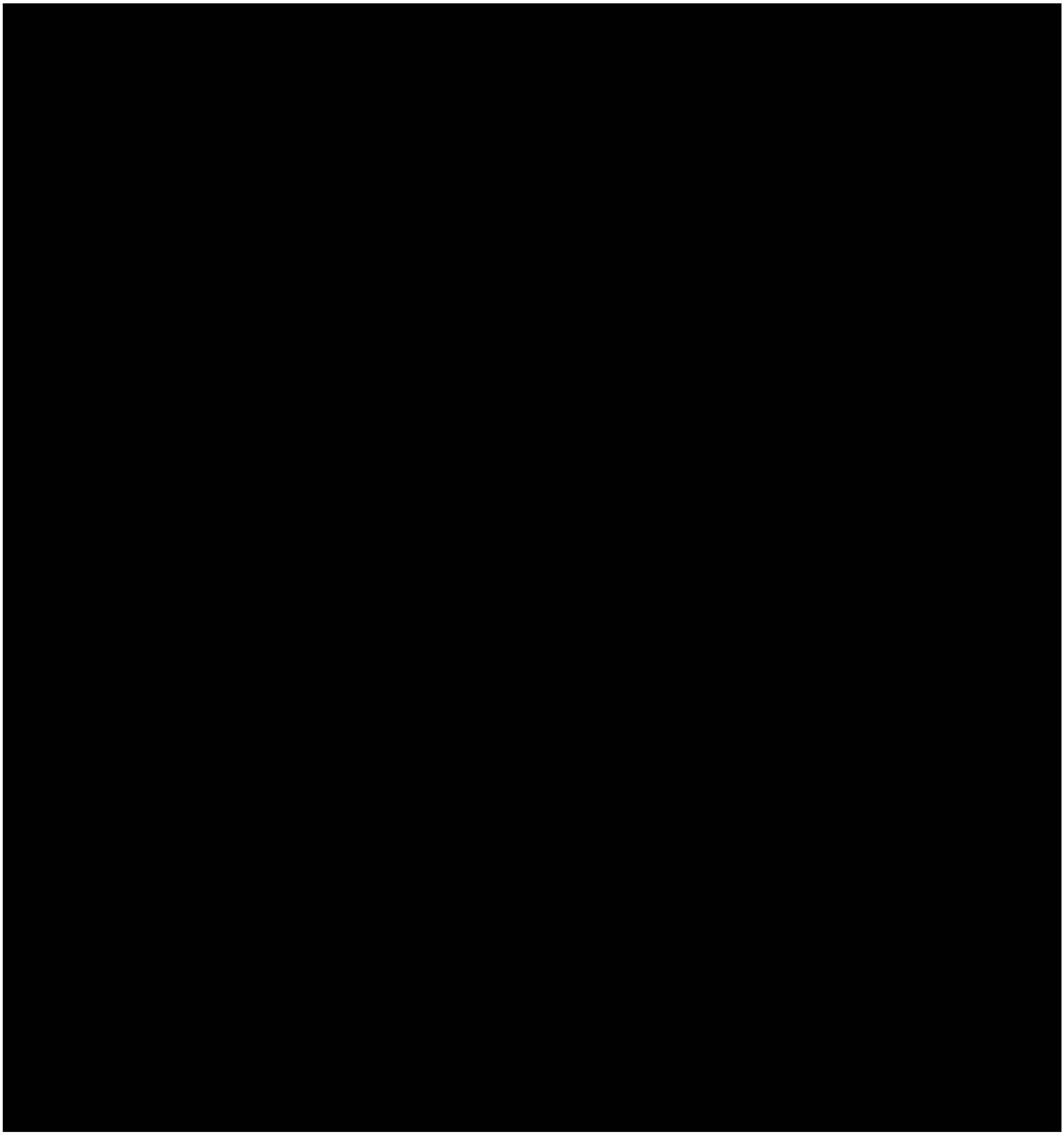

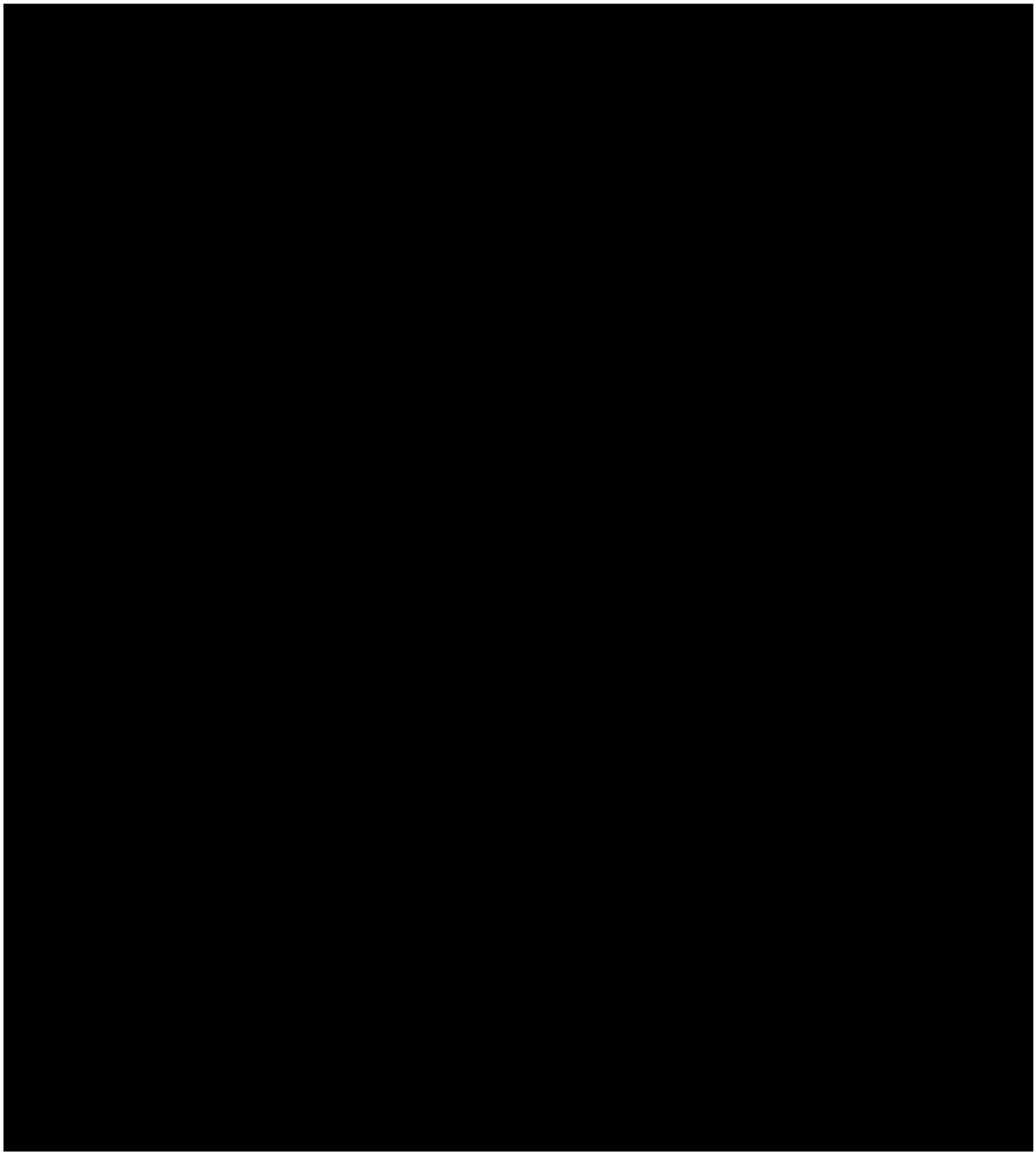

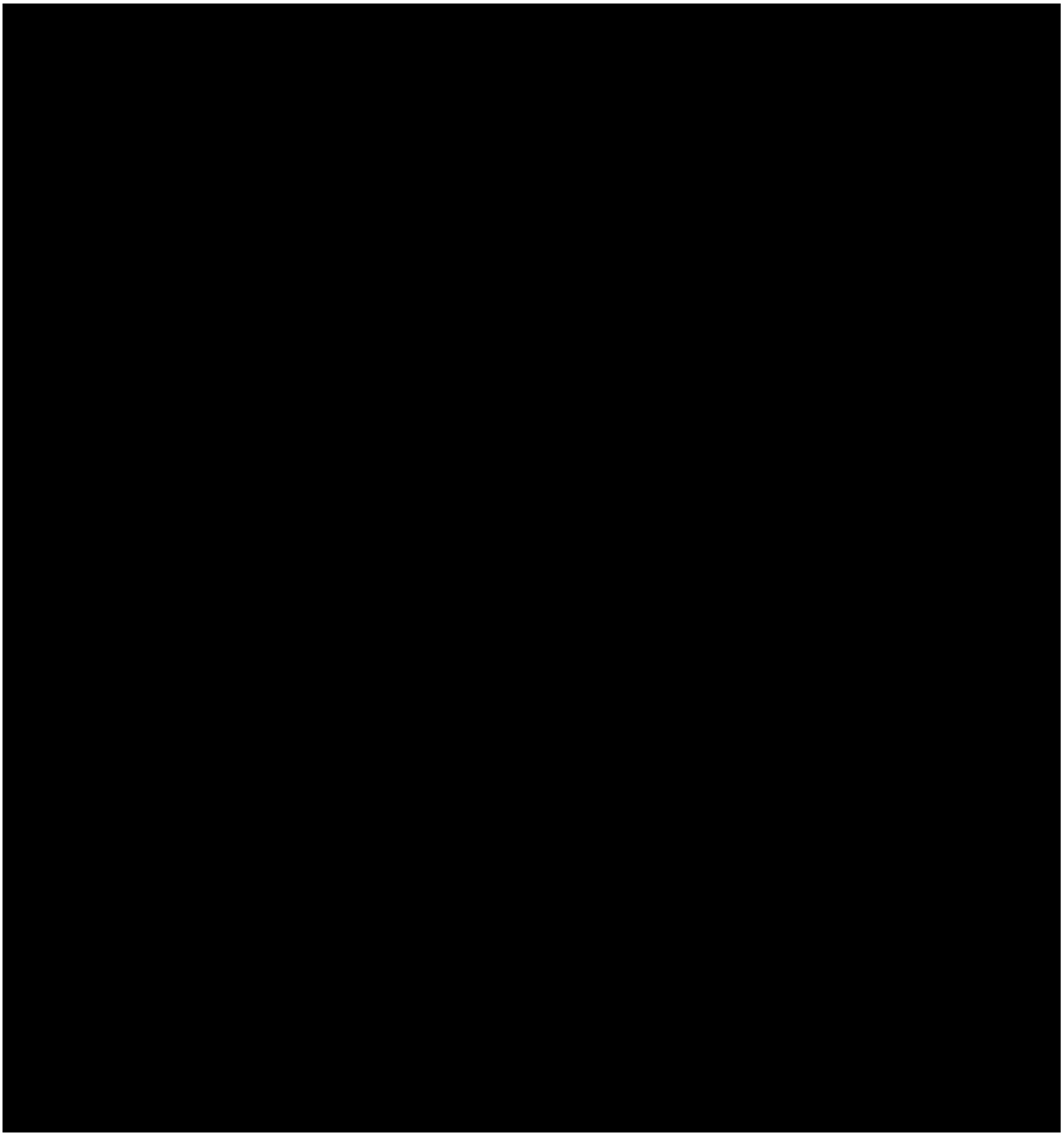

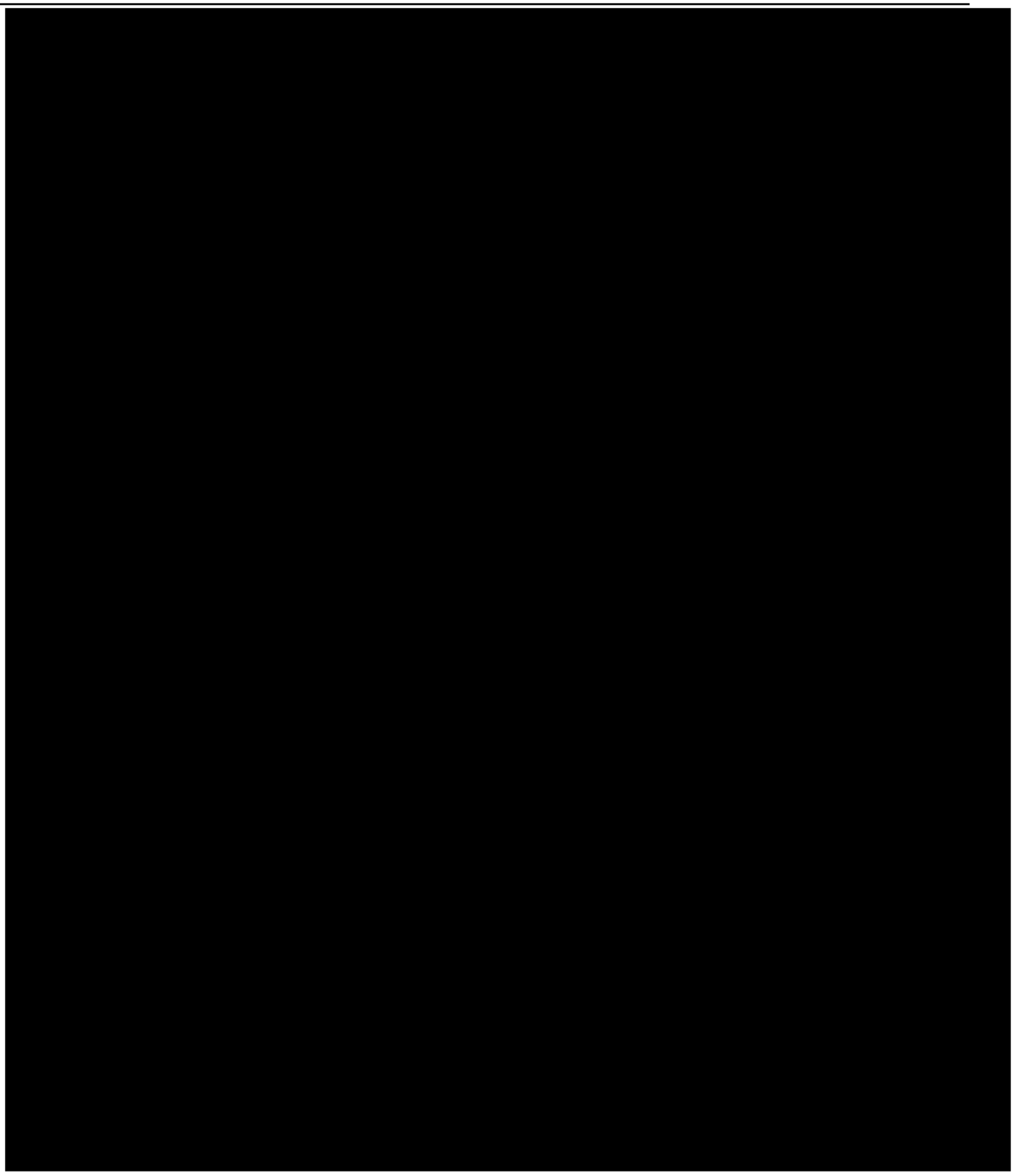

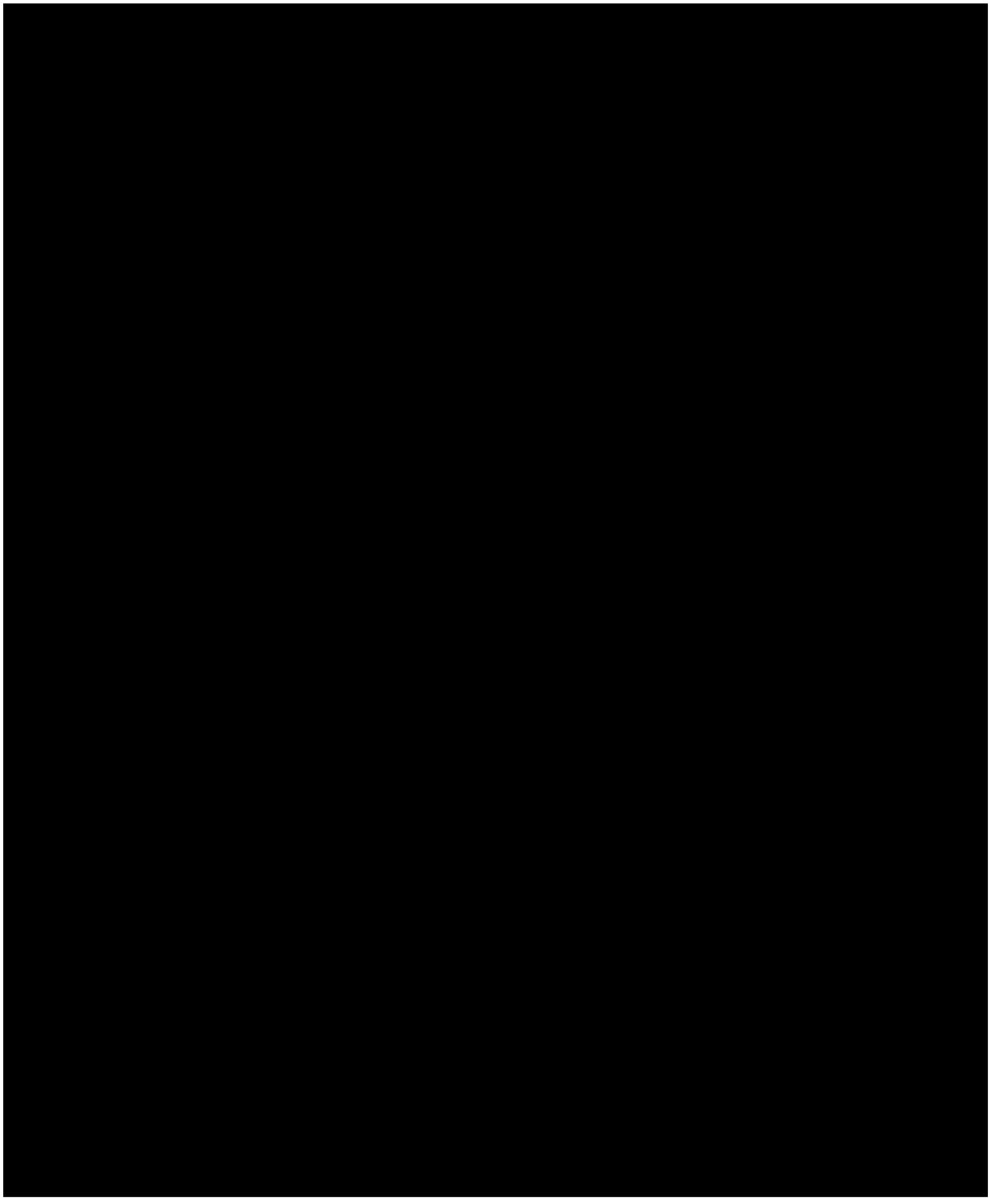

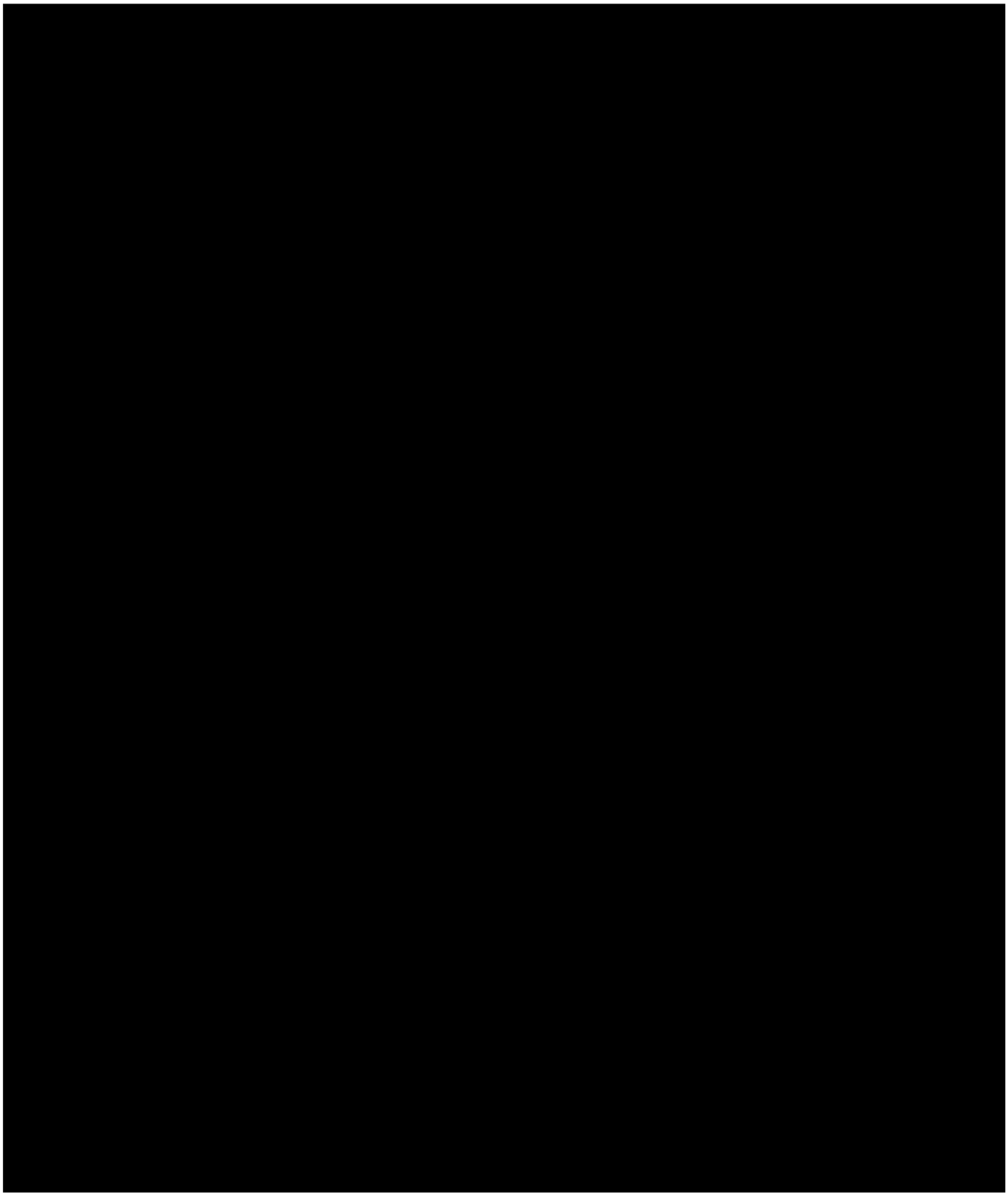

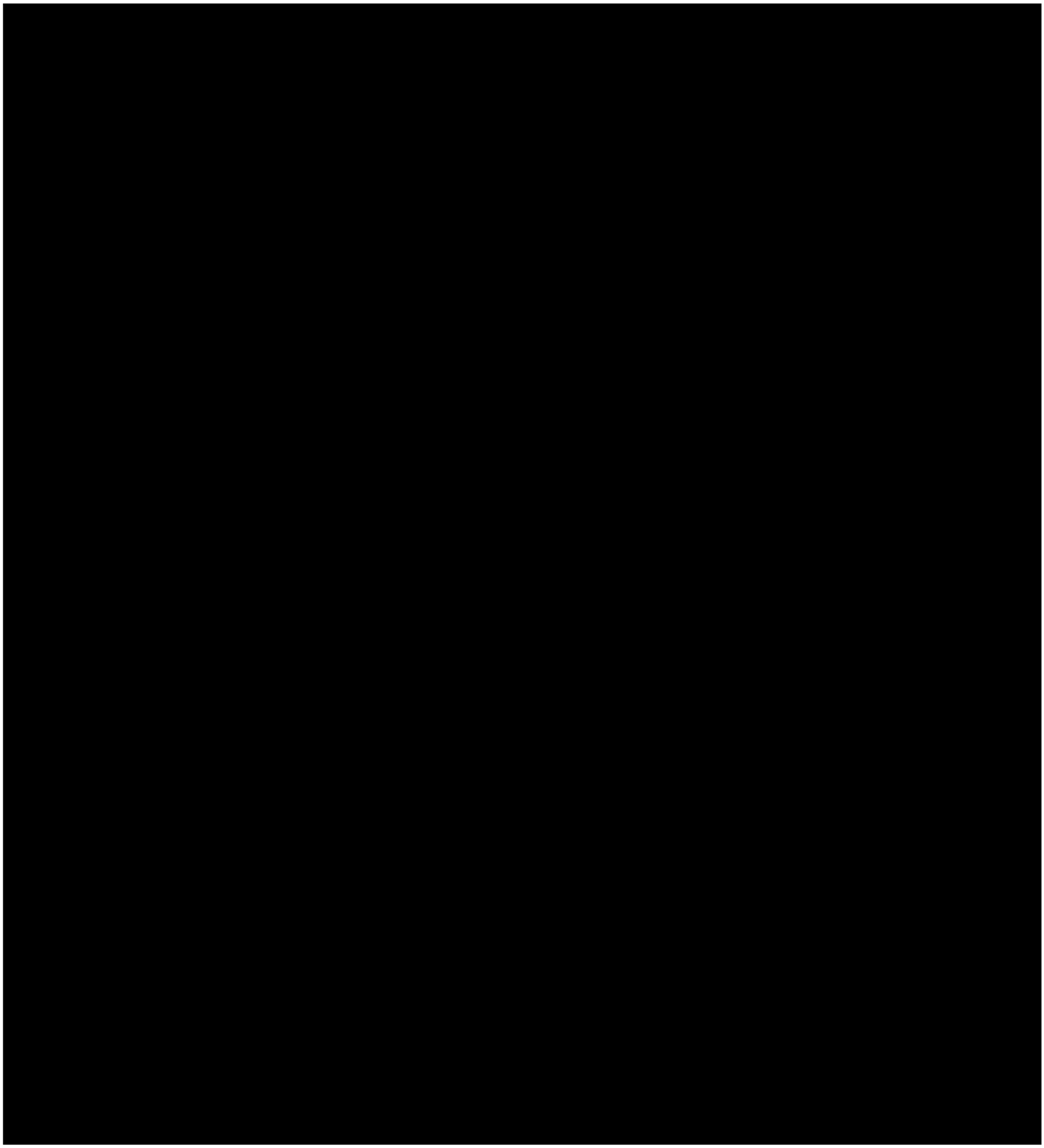

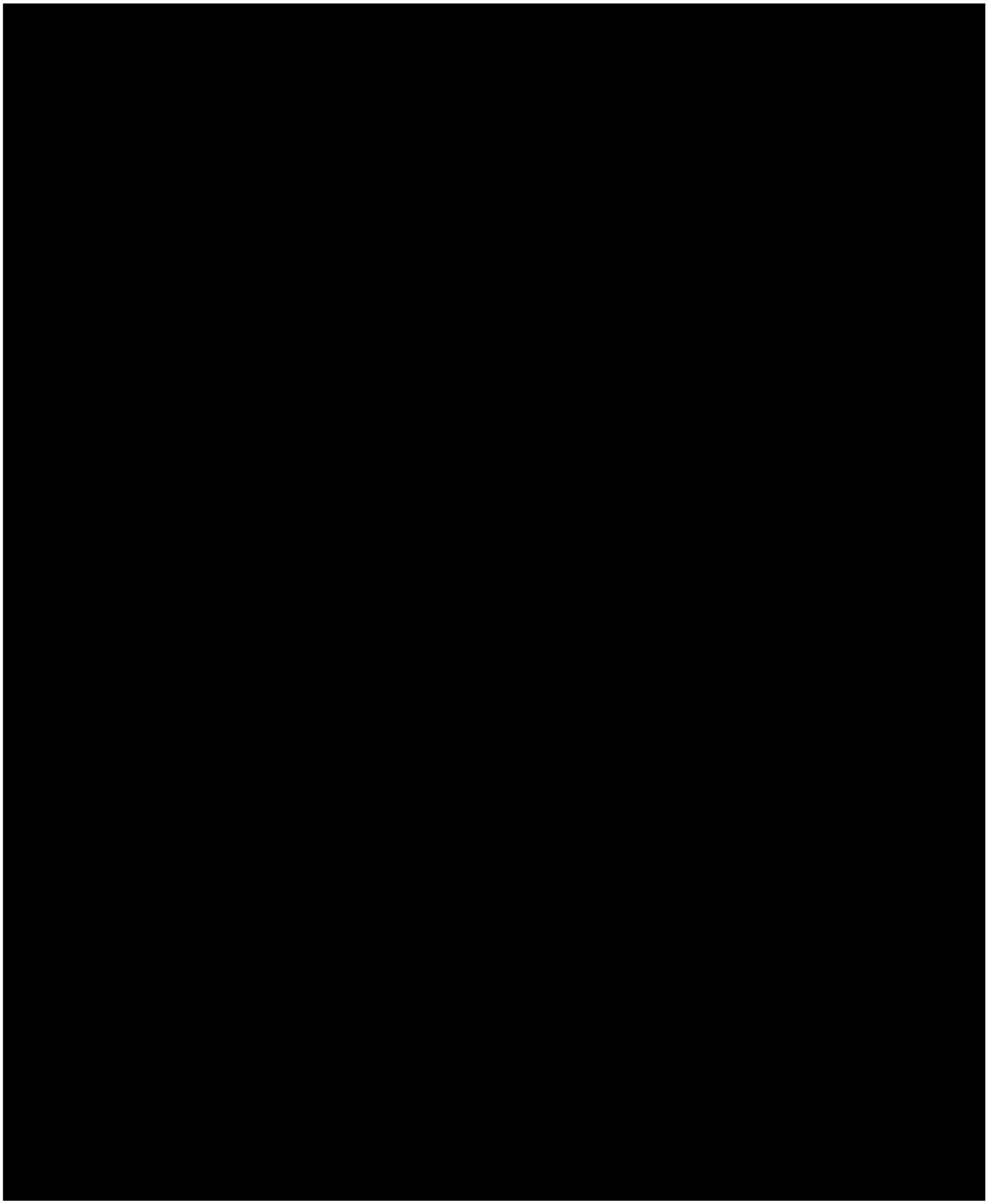

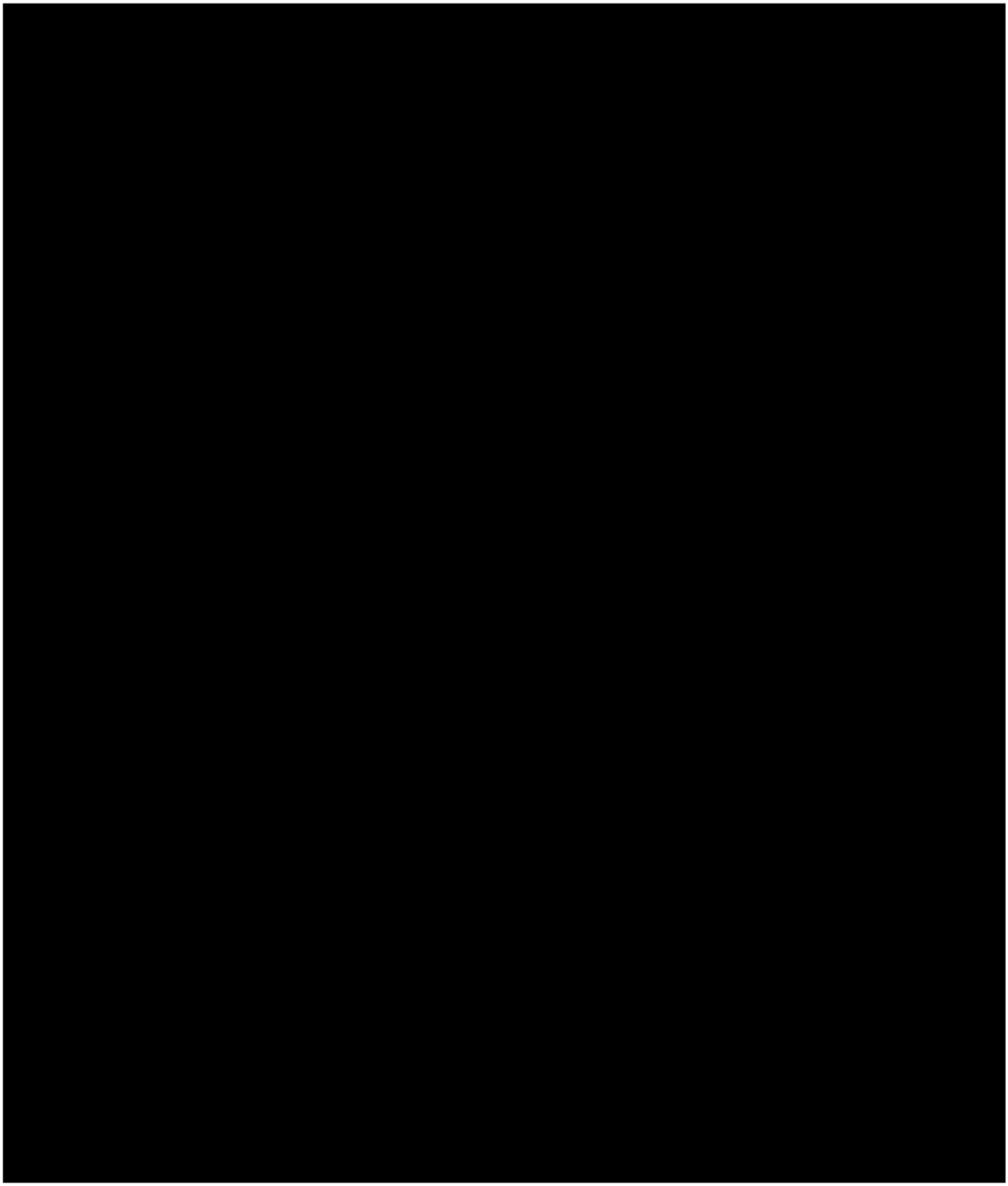

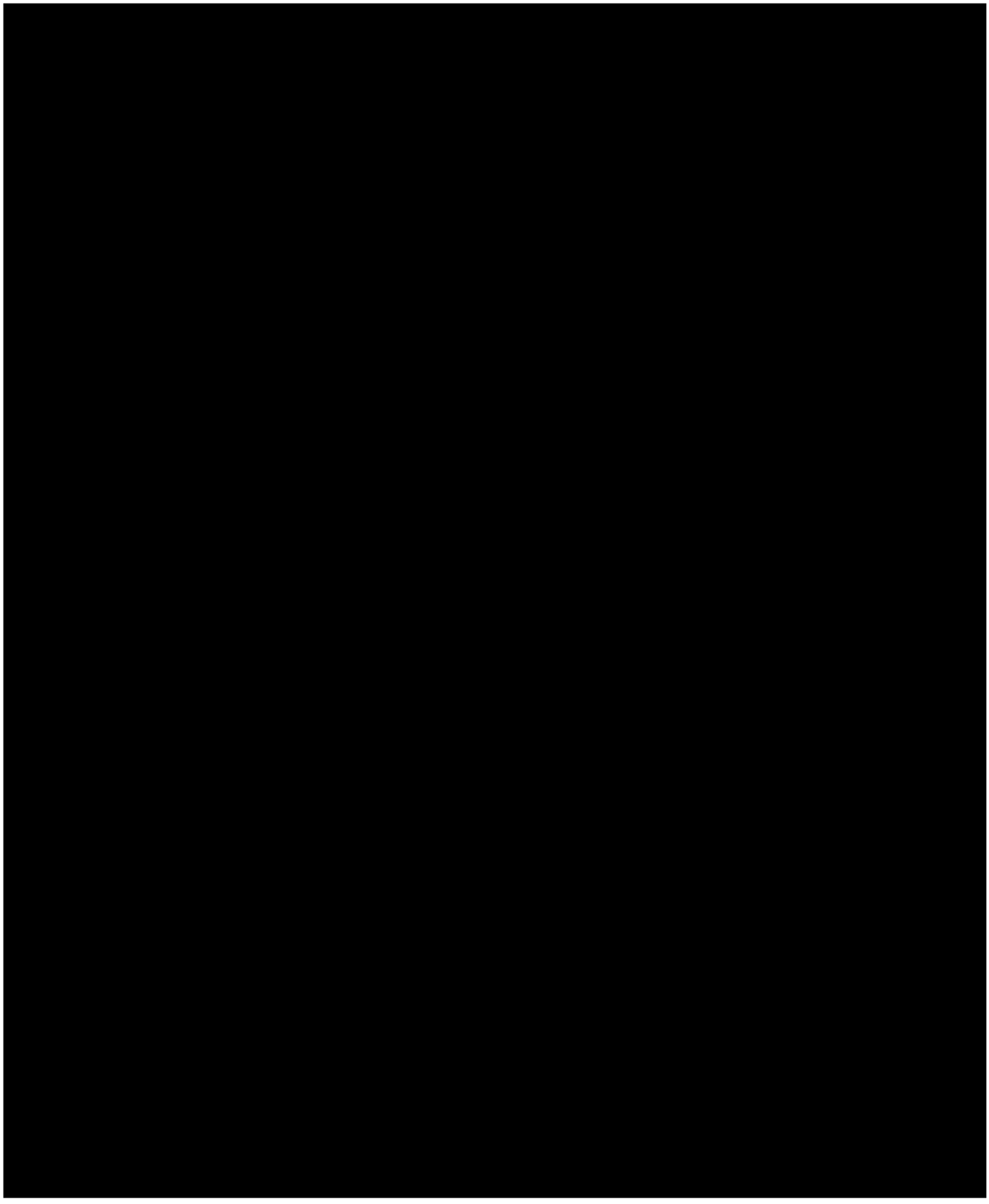

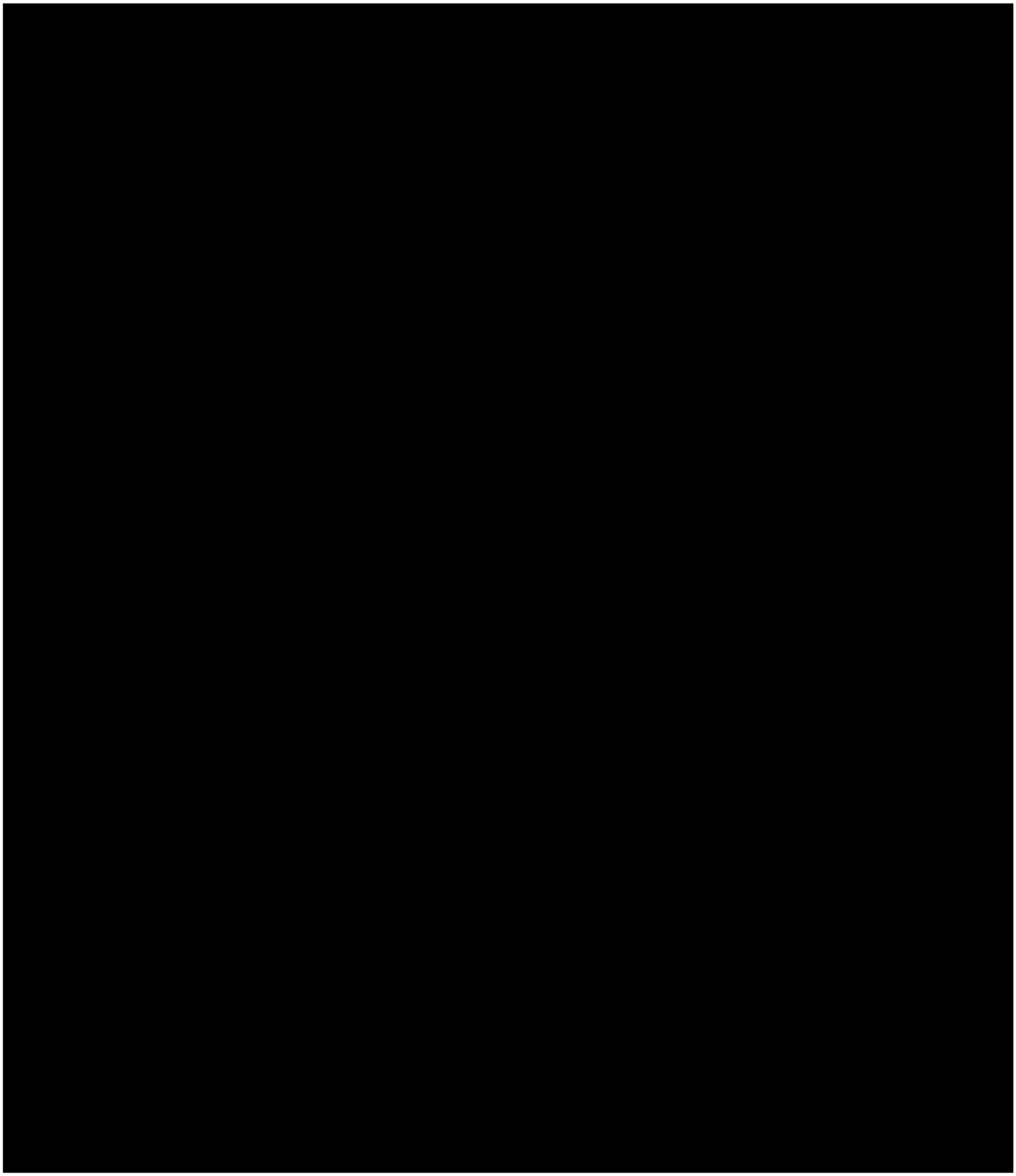

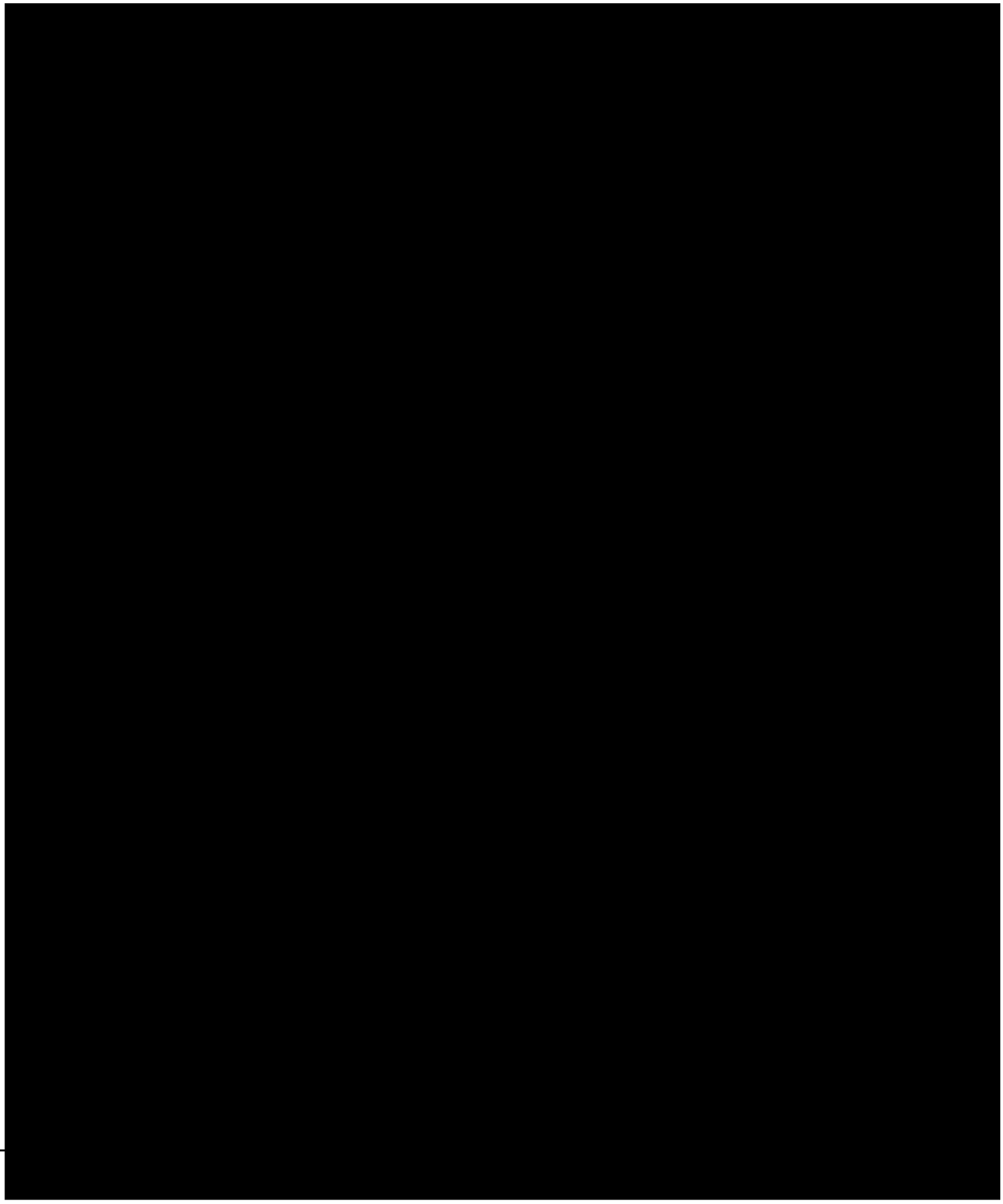

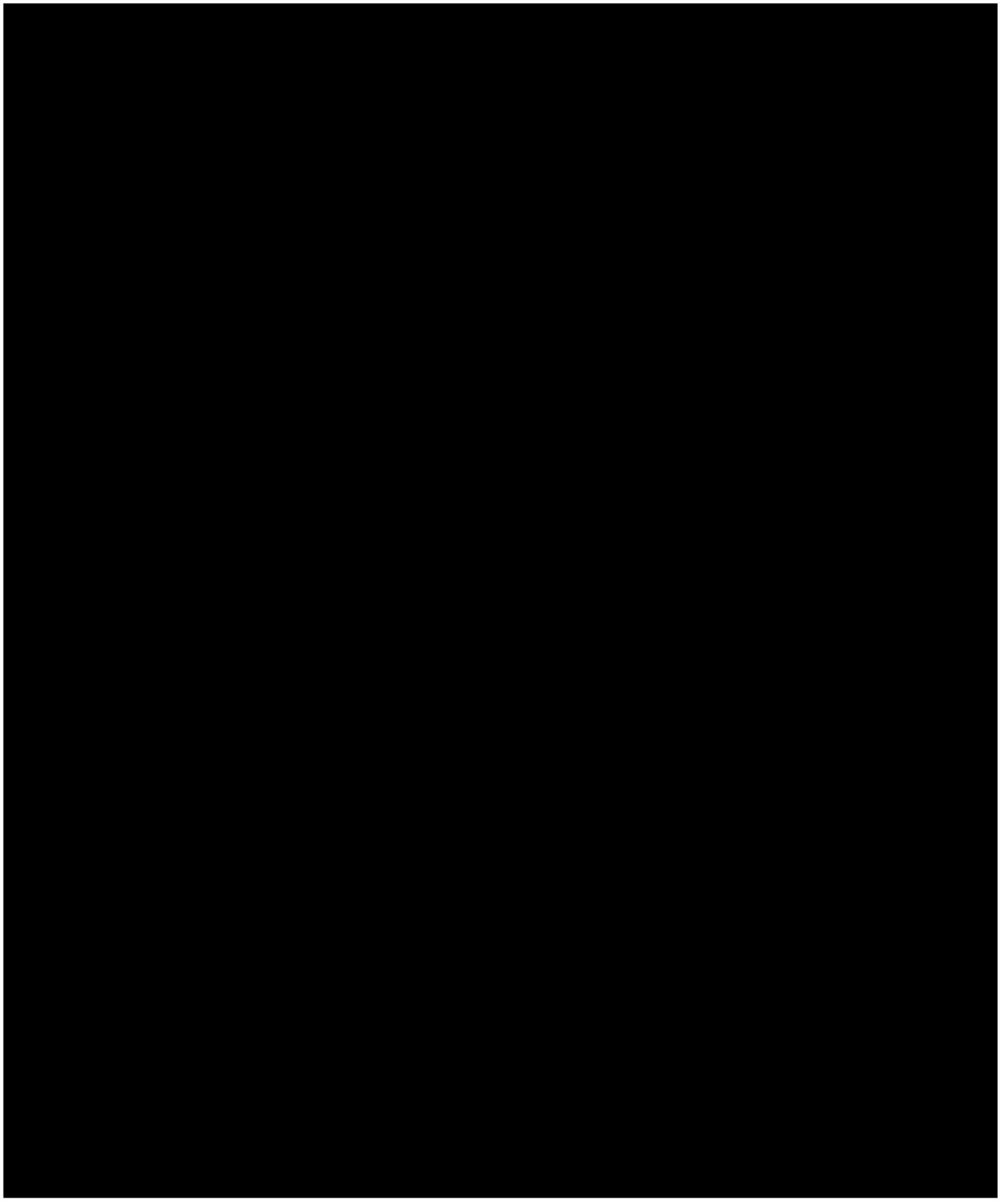

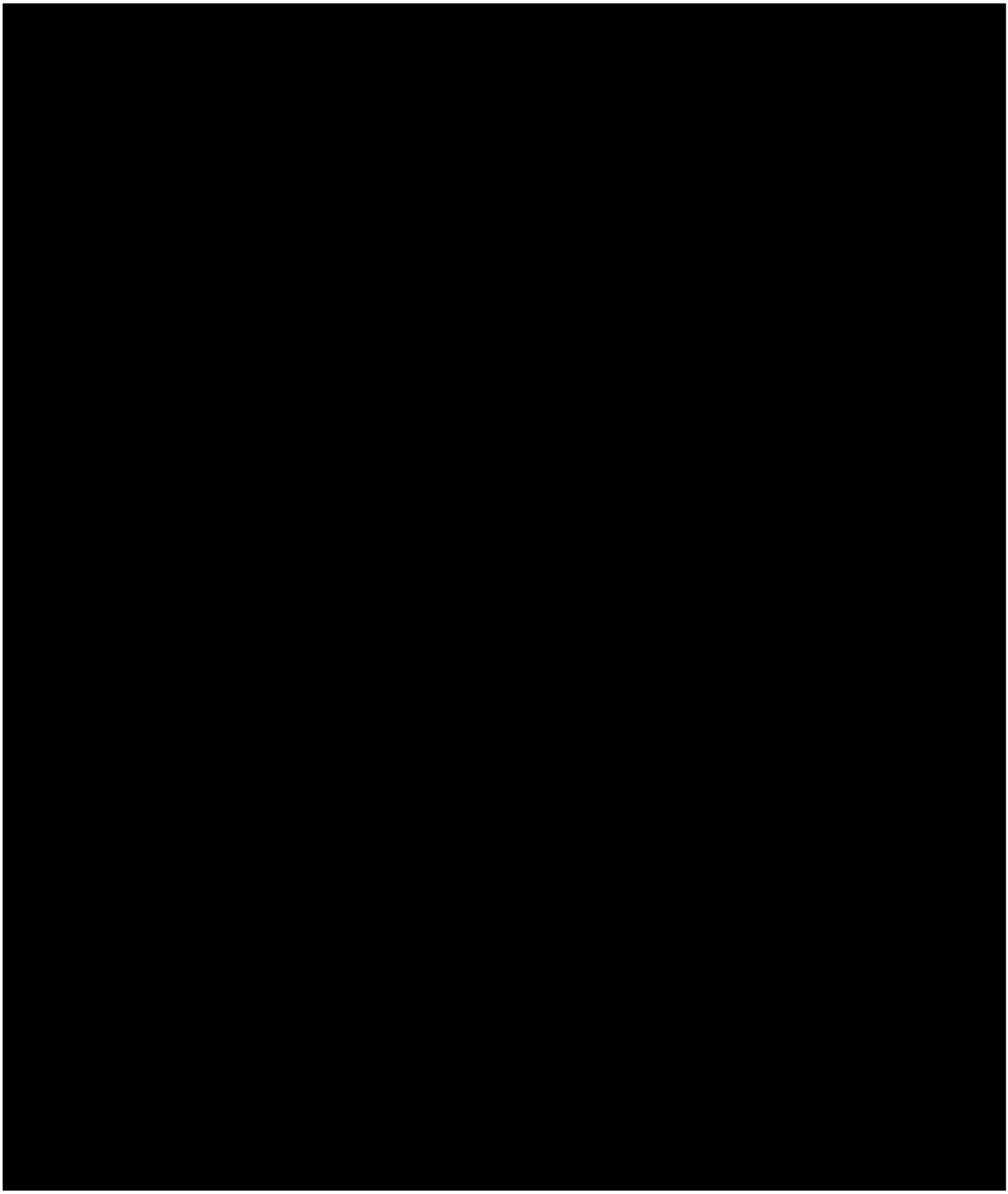

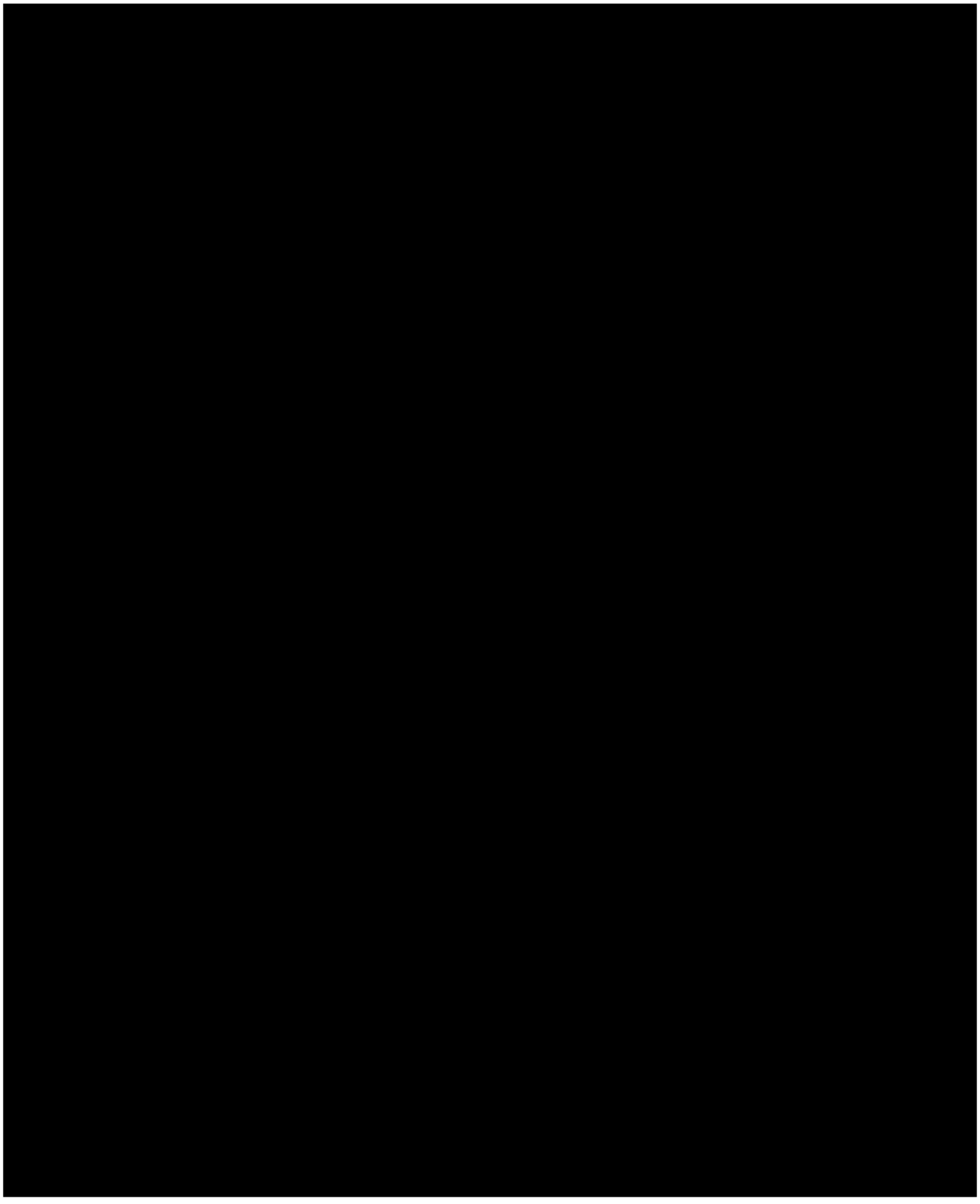

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