NPS Form 10-900-b
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instruction in *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form*. 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.

X New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1880.

MAR 11 1994
NATIONAL REGISTER

B. Associated Historic Context(s)

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

International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846
The Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848
Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1865
The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865
The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880

C. Form Prepared by

name/title See Continuation Sheet

organization The URBANA Group date March 1, 1993

street & number P.O. Box 1028 telephone 217/344-7526

city or town Urbana state IL zip code 61801-9028

D. Certification

(Continuation sheets may be used for additional certifying officials.)

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 Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

[signature] SHPO 2-23-94

Signature and title of certifying official Date

Historic Preservation Division, State of New Mexico

State or Federal agency and bureau

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.

Beth Boland 4/21/94

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

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C. Form Prepared by

name/title See Continuation Sheet

organization The URBANA Group date May 30, 1993

street & number P.O. Box 1028 telephone 217/344-7526

city or town Urbana state IL zip code 61801-9028

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Blake Wade SHPO December 20, 1993

Signature and title of certifying official Date

Oklahoma Historical Society, SHPO

State or Federal agency and bureau

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 Keeper Date of Action

NPS Form 10-900-b
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 1024-0018

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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name/title See Continuation Sheet

organization The URBANA Group date May 30, 1993

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city or town Urbana state IL zip code 61801-9028

D. Certification

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Ramon Powers SHPO See Continuation Sheets D 1-6 11.2.94
Signature and title of certifying official Date

Kansas State Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

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.

Edson H. Beall 5/11/95
Signature of Keeper Date of Action

for

C. Form Prepared By

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D.Certification

(Continuation sheets may be used for additional certifying officials.)

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 Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

Claire L. Blackwell 14 February 1994

Signature and title of certifying official Claire F. Blackwell, Deputy SHPO Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources

State or Federal agency and bureau

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 Keeper Date of Action

E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Introduction

The 1,200 mile Santa Fe National Historic Trail (including the Mountain and Cimarron Routes) traverses thirty-six counties in Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. It represents the first great trans-Mississippi trade route, and was the first road to be surveyed west of Missouri. However, the importance of the Trail goes beyond that of trade: the Trail significantly aided in the development of a quarter of the North American continent. The Trail itself began as an international trade route in 1821, only to become a domestic trade route in 1848 following U.S. victory in the Mexican War. 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. Several notable individuals and groups have a connection with the Santa Fe Trail, including William Becknell, Christopher "Kit" Carson[1], Manuel Alvarez, and Josiah Gregg[2] in addition to Apache, Kiowa, Osage, Pawnee, and various other American Indian peoples. This interaction of cultural groups along the Trail provoked more fighting than occurred on any other western trail. Conflict along the Trail led to a new national policy toward American Indians, and to the development of new types of military units such as the U.S. Dragoons[3], as well as to the establishment of satellite frontier forts. The military significance of the Trail is further emphasized by the Santa Fe Trail's contribution to the "Manifest Destiny"[4] doctrine which led to the Mexican War, to the expansion of the Union in the 1840s, to government communication with civil and military officers, and to the preservation of the Union in the 1860s. The route also accommodated the railroad in its expansion westward and aided in the settlement of western lands. The material culture which emerged along the Trail, while contributing to regional cultures, is unique when viewed in light of the factors, conditions, and processes which produced it.

The popular perception of the Santa Fe Trail is that of a single route with two branches joining Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico. This image is misleading, and is the consequence of early twentieth century mapping and marking of two branches of the Trail.[5] Actually, various routes to and from Santa Fe were followed depending on weather conditions, terrain, and the state of man-made hazards, as well as other considerations.[6] Several major historic branches of the Santa Fe Trail have been identified including the Aubry Cutoff and the military roads from Granada, Colorado to Fort Union, New Mexico; Fort Hays, Kansas to Fort Dodge, Kansas; and the various branches to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[7] Franklin, Missouri, the original eastern terminus of the Trail, was founded in 1817 close to the Missouri River with many of the housing lots platted at the river's edge not allowing for its floodplain.[8] Materials and participants in the Santa Fe trade originated at locations farther east with other routes such as the Boon's Lick trail from St. Charles, Missouri to Boon's Lick, Missouri contributing to the Santa Fe trade. From Franklin the traders would proceed by ferry to Arrow Rock, Missouri or Boonville, Missouri on the west bank of the Missouri River.[9] New Franklin, Missouri was built two miles northeast of Franklin after its abandonment due to flooding in 1828. Steamboat navigation allowed freight to be transported to Blue Mills Landing, Missouri or Independence Landing, Missouri and from there, three miles south to the town of Independence, Missouri--the eastern terminus of the Trail in 1827.[10] By 1833, 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 town of Westport, Missouri.[11] Traders traveling westward on the Trail also sought different destinations for their trading of goods with many of them continuing on to Chihuahua (five hundred miles south of Santa Fe), Durango, Zacatecas, and San Juan de Los Lagos.[12] The first printed use of the term "Santa Fe Trail" appeared in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, Franklin, June 18, 1825, page 4, column 1.[13] Prior to this date and afterwards, the route was

known by a variety of names which included the "Mexican Road," "Mexican Trail," "Spanish Trace," "Santa Fe Trace," "Santa Fe Road," and "Missouri Wagon Road."[14] The dangers the Santa Fe Trail posed to travelers were varied and numerous including American Indian attacks in response to trespassing issues, high temperatures, prairie fires, icy blizzards, buffalo stampedes, polluted water, blowing dust and sand, mosquitoes, rattlesnakes, dysentery, cholera, fever, contusions, exhaustion, flies, gnats, bushwhackers, "Red Legs", guerrillas, jayhawkers, and ordinary highwaymen.[15]

Background
Pre 1821: Illegal Trade

To appreciate the historical and cultural significance of the Santa Fe Trail, consideration of illegal trade between the United States and the Spanish-occupied Mexico prior to 1821 provides useful background. The period of illegal trade (pre 1821) is not designated as a historic context for three reasons. First of all, information is lacking on trade between the two countries prior to 1821 due to the illegal nature of the enterprise and its historic time frame. Secondly, no evidence suggests that there was a regular Trail established from Missouri to Santa Fe before 1821 for the purposes of trade or any other activity. Finally, the historic resources contained within this Multiple Property Documentation form are the result of activities established and conducted after 1821.

Reportedly, the Spanish explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado crossed a portion of the same route as that of the Santa Fe Trail when he set out from a location forty miles south of Santa Fe in 1541.[16] Don Juan Õnate established a settlement twenty miles north of the future site of Santa Fe in 1598, but not until late 1609 or early 1610 did Spanish residents of New Spain establish La Villa Real de Santa Fe (The Royal Town of the Holy Faith).[17]

Access to Santa Fe was hindered due to the terrain encountered on the Mountain Route. Several routes across the mountains existed including Raton Pass, San Francisco Pass, Manco de Burro Pass, Trinchera Pass and Emery Gap with recorded use of these routes dating back to the early eighteenth century.[18] A better route across the mountains from west to east was discovered by the Comanches in the 1720s.[19] Between the 1730s and 1763, reports exist of French traders from the Mississippi Valley supplying Comanches with arms and perhaps journeying as far as Taos.[20] 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.[21] In 1803, the United States secured the Louisiana Purchase[22] and, thereafter, Santa Fe and its environs were visited by trappers and traders.

Legal trade between Mexico and the United States did not begin until Mexico achieved its independence from Spain in 1821; however, some accounts exist of illegal trade between New Spain and the United States prior to that time. While the Spanish did conduct trade fairs with the American Indians at Pecos and Taos, they largely adhered to their "closed door" policy.[23] This policy was reinforced by patrols of Spanish and Pueblo soldiers who had policed the border since the late eighteenth century. Two Frenchmen, Pierre and Paul Mallet, and seven of their companions reached the Spanish border in 1739; thereafter, they experienced "a few months of friendly captivity."[24] By 1748, a trade with Frenchmen involving the exchange of guns for mules had become established at Taos. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the arrest of illegal (French) traders and the confiscation of their goods appears to have been commonplace.[25] The interest and risk demonstrated by many of these traders must have ignited Spanish

curiosity because in 1792, a Frenchman by the name of Pedro Vial who was in the employ of Spain, was instructed to seek a route from Santa Fe to St. Louis, Missouri which he did.[26]

The practice of illegal trade continued into the early years of the nineteenth century prior to Mexican independence. William Morrison, a Kaskaskia trader, sent Jean Baptiste La Lande overland to New Spain with a supply of trade goods in 1804.[27] After he sold the goods, Spanish authorities did not allow him to leave New Mexico. He was not the only trader who was allowed to remain in Santa Fe but not permitted to leave the country; James Purcell (also known as "Pursley") did the same in 1805.[28] Following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike left St. Louis on July 15, 1806 to investigate the southern boundaries of this territory for the U.S. government.[29] Pike was escorted by Spaniards to Chihuahua.[30] He was impressed with what he saw and relayed what he had seen to others upon his return. Some would contend that the first truly successful Santa Fe trader was Jacques Clamorgan, a trader from St. Louis who, in 1807, set out from St. Louis overland to Santa Fe and on to Chihuahua.[31] In 1810, James McLanahan, Reuben Smith, and James Patterson were arrested and imprisoned for several years in the Presidio of San Eleazario.[32] Between 1812 and 1815 while the United States was involved in war, 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 a view to trading; however, everything was destroyed in a confrontation with American Indians.[33] Around the same time, a group of ten Missouri frontiersmen including Robert McKnight, Samuel Chambers, and James Baird reached Santa Fe, had their goods confiscated, and were jailed indefinitely. Not until 1821 did the last of these men, McKnight, get released.[34] 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.[35] They were allowed to return home to St. Louis. Jedediah Smith guided a pack train over what was to become the Santa Fe Trail route to the Arkansas River in 1818. However, after a Spanish merchant with whom he was supposed to trade did not arrive, the trading party returned home.[36] In 1819, Governor Melgares ordered a fort built on the eastern side of Sangre de Cristo Pass. The fort was attacked and destroyed six months after its completion by [Americans posing as] American Indians.[37]

Prior to the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail, New Spain's far northern frontier had developed a unique character. The physical environment played its role in the establishment of settlement in that arid climate and natural materials allowed residents to construct buildings of adobe. Spanish and Mexican governments offered incentives to individuals willing to settle on these frontier lands.[38] Hispanics assimilated indigenous Americans into these frontier societies thus creating a "frontier of inclusion."[39] New Spain's far northern frontier has been viewed by historians and anthropologists as more informal, democratic, self reliant, and egalitarian than that of central portions of the country; however, far northern portions of New Spain also developed a strong Hispanic urban tradition with restrictions on trade and travel.[40] Up until 1821, New Mexico received nearly all its goods and supplies from the interior provinces.[41] Like many towns of northern New Spain, Santa Fe occupied the site of an ancient pueblo or abandoned American Indian village.[42] The city was irregularly laid out except for the public square while the immediate environs of the city consisted of farms. Farming on these arid lands was possible as a result of irrigation systems from the Santa Fe River.[43] 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.[44] By 1821, approximately 5,000 people lived in Santa Fe.[45]

I. Associated Historic Context:
International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846

Legal international trade between the United States and Mexico began in 1821 with William Becknell's first trip from Franklin to Santa Fe and ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. While the Mexican War (1846-1848) will be considered separately as an associated historic context, the period 1821-1846 witnessed much international activity. Proceeds obtained from the early expeditions enticed growing numbers of traders to pursue the Trail to and from Santa Fe. In 1821, the northern boundary of Mexico ran along the arbitrarily chosen forty-two degrees north line of latitude eastward from the Pacific coast and 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, the Arkansas Territory, and the United States (Figure 1).[46] Prior to the discussion of historic events, the role and motivation of participants in trade and travel on the Santa Fe Trail is discussed.

The motivation which prompted travel over the Santa Fe Trail varied from individual to individual. Nonetheless, the most significant motive appears to have been that of trade. Even before legal trade between Mexico and the United States commenced, it was apparent that there was a demand in the Southwest for goods from the eastern seaboard. Many traders sought to satisfy that demand in return for the considerable profits to be made through international, and subsequently regional, trade. Early traders even risked, and experienced, imprisonment in an attempt to transport and sell their merchandise in Mexico which, prior to 1821, was under Spanish rule. Many of the people who traveled over the Trail were traders themselves who used this highway of commerce in order to conduct their business and maintain their occupation.

Santa Fe traders were characteristic of the mercantile capitalism of the Commercial Revolution.[47] Items both wholesale and retail were traded in response to the changing demands of consumers and shifting markets.[48] Since the overland trade as a distinctive venture lasted less than a single generation, the Santa Fe trader had to be flexible in his approach to trade. The Santa Fe trader usually operated alone and furnished, or made arrangements to lease, his own mode of transportation since no national or international transportation network existed.[49] 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.[50] Since the Trail trader crossed state and national boundaries, it was necessary for him to seek cooperative relationships with state and national governments.[51]

John, James, and Robert Aull were Santa Fe traders who subscribed to the viewpoint of the mercantile capitalist. John Aull arrived in Chariton, Missouri from Delaware around 1819 and 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.[52] His younger brothers, James and Robert, went west in 1825. James started his own store in Lexington on his arrival and opened branches at Independence in 1827 and at Richmond, Missouri in 1830 while his brother Robert, started a store at Liberty, Missouri in 1829.[53] 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.[54] 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.[55]

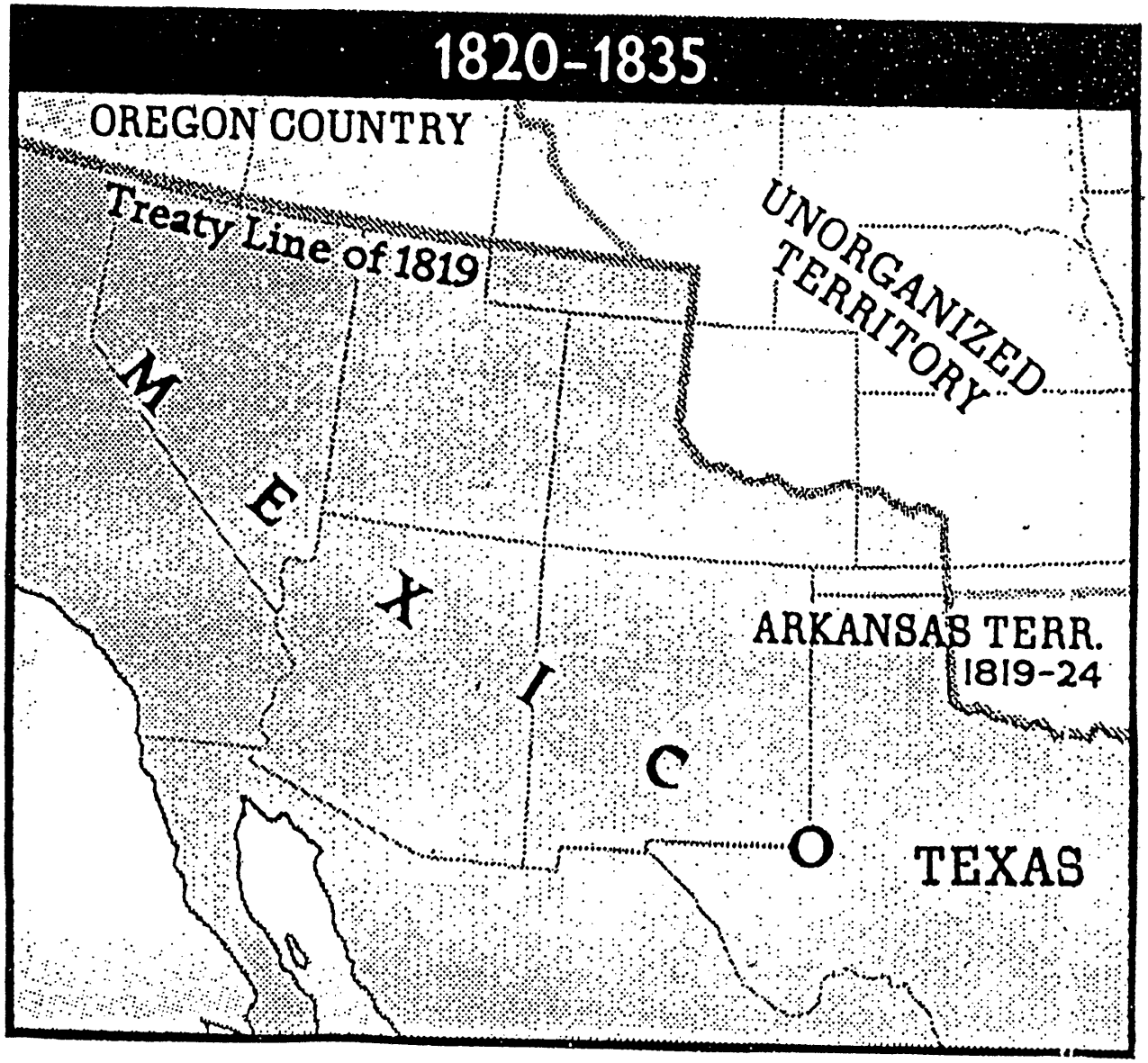

Figure 1. Source: "The Southwest." National Geographic Magazine, Supplement of the National Geographic, November 1982, page 630A, Vol. 162, No. 5 - THE SOUTHWEST.

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.[56] James Aull often selected many of these items on annual trips to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; New York City, New York and points in-between leaving Lexington in January and traveling 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.[57] James Aull purchased thirty-five thousand dollars worth of merchandise on one of these annual trips east in 1831 while one year later he secured another forty-five thousand dollars worth of items to serve the expanding western markets for such goods.[58]

Since many eastern trading firms extended twelve months credit to interior merchants, the Aulls extended six to twelve months credit to local customers, many of whom were involved in agriculture.[59] Sometimes it was necessary for the Aulls to get a credit extension from their eastern suppliers due to delays caused by late mail delivery, changing currency, low water levels in rivers, steamboat disasters, and the inability of their customers to repay them for merchandise purchased.[60] Between 1831 and 1836, the Aulls took the lead in building and owning three steamboats, constructing a rope walk to produce rope from local hemp, and operating a saw and gristmill.[61] James Aull anticipated the Panic of 1837 and, despite being able to recover only five hundred dollars of the twenty-five thousand dollars owed to his Independence store, the Aulls were able to stay in business on a smaller scale until the economic situation improved.[62] The Aulls also attempted to cultivate a symbiotic relationship with state and national governments for the purposes of trade and, to this end, 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.[63] 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.[64]

Mexican merchants also operated over the Santa Fe Trail in this period of expanding trade and, as early as 1838, may have transported the bulk of goods between Missouri and New Mexico.[65] Indeed, many Mexican merchants viewed the Santa Fe Trail as only a portion of a much longer trail to the east coast and even to Europe.[66] Many Mexican merchants from Chihuahua, Durango, and El Paso 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 War despite being labeled "greasers" and traitors by some of their compatriots.[67] 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.[68]

Although Manuel Alvarez was a native of Spain, he was one of the 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.[69] Alvarez operated a store in Santa Fe from 1824 until his death in 1856. He succeeded Ceran St. Vrain as U.S. commercial agent in Santa Fe in 1839.[70] Alvarez made several buying trips to eastern markets including trips in 1838-1839, 1841-1842, and 1843-1844.[71] In August 1843, Alvarez returning from the eastern United States on a business trip was prevented from reentering Mexico because Mexican President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna closed all northern ports of entry into the country.[72] Undeterred by this news, Alvarez returned east via Chicago, and Philadelphia,

and from New York made his way to England, Spain, and France. 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.[73] He deposited three thousand dollars in a London bank for interest and to use as payment for goods purchased there.[74] Despite the reopening of the northern ports of entry into Mexico, Alvarez did not hasten his return to Santa Fe. He returned to New York on May 1, 1844 where he purchased an additional $4,000 worth of merchandise.[75] 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.[76]

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.[77] The types of merchandise transported by Alvarez over the Santa Fe Trail 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, Gibson and Company, Walcott and Slade, Robert Hyslop and Son, and William C. Langley and Alfred Edwards and Company.[78] Alvarez arrived in Santa Fe in late October or early November while the goods he had purchased in London and New York arrived in Santa Fe on November 3, 1844.[79] Alvarez went to New York and Philadelphia the following year to purchase more goods and, no doubt, encouraged others to take his example. Manuel Armijo[80] also conducted business with the New York-based firm of P. Harmony's Nephews & Company while 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.[81]

Some traders and trappers became American Indian agents with the initiation of legal trade in order to aid in the negotiations between American Indian and American peoples. The role attributed by many authors to American Indian peoples along the Santa Fe Trail in the past was that of disruption of Trail traffic rather than participation in Trail trade and travel. Clearly, the Trail drew the American Indian peoples into contact with people from other cultures. The original inhabitants of the plains sought to defend their territory and lifestyle from westward American colonization, resulting frequently in conflict. The possibility of acquiring goods from caravans traveling over the Trail and the payment of annuities to American Indians at points along the Trail made contact with these two groups inescapable. The sense of adventure provoked by accounts of these cultural confrontations encouraged many more to engage in travel and trade on the Santa Fe Trail. The opportunity to explore these vast untraveled lands combined with the elements of danger, which were numerous, evoked in many people an insatiable curiosity. Early Santa Fe Trail traffic was not considered pleasurable by many individuals thus reinforcing Marian Russell's claim that "the romance came later . . . largely in retrospect."[82]

Although the Santa Fe Trail was not primarily an emigrant route, the Trail brought many individuals west in the hope of securing a better life for themselves and their families. Indeed, the Trail resulted in some individuals gaining distinction or acquiring a level of fame such as William Becknell who got the title "Father of the Santa Fe Trail," Josiah Gregg whose two-volume book entitled Commerce of the Prairies remains one of the most significant accounts of Santa Fe trade, and Susan Shelby Magoffin who, for some time, was considered to be the first American woman in Santa Fe. In her account, Magoffin describes her new-found fame when she says:

> 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.[83]

Mary Donoho is now believed to be the first American woman to arrive in Santa Fe over the Trail. What is important to remember is that the Santa Fe Trail was primarily a commercial and military road that also attracted immigrants, and was mostly used by male traders.[84] Certain females contributed to travel over the Trail and, despite their small numbers, women clearly played a greater role than that attributed to them by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 when he wrote that women were "invisible, few in number and not important to the process of taming the wilderness."[85] Historian Sandra Myres identifies the role of women in several communities along the Trail.[86] Among sedentary, 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.[87] Women were responsible for garden plots, some food gathering, food preparation, and making clothes among the semi-nomadic peoples including the Kaw, Pawnee, Osage, and Navajo tribes, while the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, Cheyenne and Sioux women of the Plains were responsible for the domestic arrangement of camps in addition to food preparation and clothes making.[88] These American Indian and Mexican-American women not only lived along the Santa Fe Trail, but also traveled on it and, in some instances, married American traders and trappers who operated on the Trail.[89] From the extant accounts of American women, African-American women served as cooks and personal maids for some Santa Fe Trail travelers.[90] Several New Mexican women became steady customers of the merchants who operated over the Trial including Manuela Rosalia Baca, Luisita Baca, and Senora Linda del Sargento Sanchez.[91] Dona Gertrudis Barcelo, also known as "La Tules," operated a saloon in Santa Fe.[92]

The experiences of the American female travelers, however, are those which we know most about and of which written records exist. The accounts of American women along the Trail are among the most informative accounts of Santa Fe Trail life and commerce. Among the most notable are the memoirs of Marion Sloan Russell who traversed the Trail five times and the diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin who accompanied her husband, Samuel, along the Santa Fe Trail in 1846.

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"[93] but they did. 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"[94] supporting the notion that many of the females who crossed the Trail did so out of loyalty to their husbands or families. Six Spanish women exiled from Mexico crossed over the Trail with their husbands in 1831.[95] Evidence also exists of two French women making the trip from west to east over the Trail in that same year.[96] Carmel Benevides accompanied Antoine Robidou[97] on many trips from Santa Fe to Missouri.[98] The 1830s witnessed the first crossing of the Trail by an American woman. She was Mary Dodson Donoho who, along with her husband William and nine month old daughter Mary Ann, traveled over one hundred miles from Columbia, Missouri to join the caravan for Santa Fe at Independence in 1833.[99] The caravan which they joined was composed of approximately 328 people and between ninety-three and 103 wagons and carriages of which sixty-three were laden with around $100,000 to $180,000 worth of merchandise.[100] The caravan was escorted by 144 officers and men under the command of Captain William N. Wickliffe, five supply wagons, one piece of field artillery and one ammunition wagon.[101] After arriving in Santa Fe, the Donohos managed a hotel there from 1833 to 1837. The participation of the Donohos in the story of the Santa Fe Trail does not end there.

It is now believed that William Donoho secured the release of three Texan women held by American Indians. Two separate incidents in 1836 resulted in the capture of the three women by the Comanches.[102] In March 1836, a group of eleven men, two women, and three children including John and Sarah Horn and their sons, John and Joseph, and Mr. and Mrs. Harris and their infant daughter left Dolores, Texas.[103] The company was attacked by Comanches and all the men and the Harris' daughter were killed while Mrs. Harris, Sarah Horn, and her sons were kept as servants by the Comanches. Mrs. Harris's release was secured by William Donoho in June 1837.[104] Sarah Horn was sold to Benjamin Hill in September 1837 and released to Mr. Smith, a miner, until William Donoho could arrange a safe passage for her to Taos in March 1838.[105] Horn remained there six months until a trip was arranged for her to Missouri on August 22, 1838.[106] Rachael Parker Plummer was taken prisoner by Comanches in May 1836 and remained a servant to her captors until June 19, 1837 when Mexican traders bought and brought her to Santa Fe at the request of William Donoho.[107] In the autumn of 1837, both Plummer and Harris were taken to Missouri by the Donohos.[108] In 1846, eighteen year old Susan Shelby Magoffin, long believed to be the first American woman on the Trail, departed from Council Grove, Kansas with her husband Samuel bound for Santa Fe. They made the journey in thirty-two days, and arrived in Santa Fe on August 31 of that same year.[109] Some sources also suggest that an American female traversed part of the route in the 1840s disguised as a male soldier.[110]

The international aspects of the Santa Fe Trail were heightened by the utilization of the Trail by Mexican traders and travelers. Many Mexican families sent their children to schools in the eastern United States thus emphasizing that the Santa Fe Trail was not only a means of commercial trade but also one of cultural and international exchange.[111] Spanish families exiled by the Mexican government also traversed the Trail in 1829.[112] By the early 1840s, New Mexican and interior Mexican merchants played major roles in the Santa Fe trade. Evidence suggests that as early as 1838 Mexican merchants may have transported the bulk of New Mexico-bound goods along the Trail.[113] 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 Garcia from Chihuahua and an unnamed Spaniard in the employ of William Anderson--both of whom were robbed in 1823.[114] Don Antonio Jose Chavez, a New Mexican rico, engaging in the Santa Fe trade and operating his family's store on the southeast corner of Santa Fe plaza was also robbed and murdered on the Trail. Chavez departed Santa Fe in February 1843 with five servants and $12,000 in gold and silver as well as some bales of fur with the prospect of participating in the Santa Fe trade.[115] The small trading party reached Big Cow Creek and were robbed and murdered by John McDaniel and a band of men who claimed to be in the service of the Republic of Texas.[116]

The possibility of improved health provided the impetus for others to traverse the Trail. Josiah Gregg, himself a tubercular dyspeptic, noted that:

> 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.[117]

George Frederick Ruxton, an English sportsman, also noted the health benefits of a trip across the Santa Fe Trail when he wrote:

> 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.[118]

Amid the variety and motivation of Trail travelers, several Americans sought the distinction of being the first to reach Santa Fe with the intention of legal trading. Adams Ruddock reached Santa Fe from Council Bluffs on June 8, 1821; later that same year Jacob Fowler and Hugh Green were discovered trapping beaver streams north of Santa Fe.[119] However, William Becknell is credited with the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail. William Becknell was born in Virginia circa 1787.[120] He first appeared in the Boon's Lick country of central Missouri in April of 1812 when he joined the U.S. Mounted Rangers.[121] 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 Old Franklin.[122] The Panic of 1819 cost Becknell dearly. Unable to repay personal loans that he had taken out, Becknell was arrested on May 29, 1821, but was released on a four hundred dollar bond.[123] Becknell, on June 25, 1821, placed an advertisement in the Missouri Intelligencer, looking for men to accompany him on his trading venture westward.[124] By this time, the thirty-four year old frontiersman had accumulated a debt of $1,185.42 owed to five creditors[125] and faced the prospect of prison.[126] The August 14, 1821 edition of the Missouri Intelligencer reported that seventeen men assembled at Ezekiel Williams' cabin and set September 1, 1821 for the party, led by William Becknell, to cross the Missouri River at Arrow Rock.[127] Still hotly 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.[128] Not until September 27, 1821, however, did Mexico legally divorce Spain.[129] Nonetheless, Becknell's timing was advantageous--he and his trading party arrived in Santa Fe on November 16, 1821. Becknell's trading party probably utilized Raton Pass or Trinchera Pass on their mountainous route to Santa Fe.[130] William Becknell was the first American trader into independent Santa Fe by only two weeks. He was quickly followed by Thomas James on December 1, 1821 who viewed Santa Fe as a market for textiles, and Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler, both trappers and American Indian traders from southeast Colorado, who arrived in Santa Fe on January 2, 1822.[131] 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 and arrived in Franklin on January 30, 1822.[132]

On May 22, 1822, Becknell departed Franklin with another trading party he had assembled, consisting of twenty-one men and three wagons.[133] Some scholars contend that this expedition signalled the first transportation of goods to Mexico that was intended for civilian, and not American Indian, trade.[134] What is certain is that it was this second expedition, led by Becknell, that employed the first use of wagons along the Santa Fe Trail. Due to the opening of U.S.-Mexico trade relations and, perhaps, to the news of Becknell's successful venture, several trading parties were assembled with a view to trading with the Mexicans. Colonel Benjamin Cooper of Boon's Lick assembled a fifteen-man expedition and departed in April 1822, prior to Becknell's second trading party, while James Baird and Samuel Chambers, imprisoned ten years earlier for illegal trading, also led an expedition to Santa Fe in the autumn of 1822.[135] The Baird and Chambers trading expedition experienced a severe snowstorm which forced them to spend the winter in camp near the Arkansas River.[136] 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.[137] The place where the traders hid their goods became known as "Caches."[138]

As trading parties had left Franklin en route to Santa Fe prior to Becknell's second trip, so too had they left after him. John Heath and his trading party left after Becknell, but soon caught up with his entourage and they traveled together to Santa Fe.[139] The use of wagons required the party to adopt a new Trail route, later to become known as the Cimarron Route, since the route traversed by Becknell on his first trading expedition provided too many physical barriers to the wagons. Employing the Cimarron Route meant the crossing of the Jornada--a sixty-mile waterless portion of the route where high temperatures usually prevailed. Gregg suggested that Becknell's second expedition was closest to failure on this portion of the Santa Fe Trail.[140] The problem arose when the trading party expended its water supply and were forced to kill their dogs and cut the ears of their mules in order to have hot blood to drink and hence survive under these extreme weather conditions. 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. This Trail incident is now believed to have actually happened to the Benjamin Cooper party in 1823.[141]

Enormous profits were to be gained for the effort expended and the risk taken by traders participating in the Santa Fe trade. Becknell's trading party brought three thousand dollars worth of trade goods to Santa Fe, and enjoyed the rewards of a 2,000 percent profit on their investment.[142] The demand for American and European goods was emphasized by the instance of Becknell and others selling their wagons worth 150 dollars for 700 dollars.[143] The profits derived by Becknell from this trip would go a long way in pacifying his creditors back in Franklin. By late July 1822, Becknell was in San Miguel, New Mexico and had returned from there to Franklin by October 1822. The caravan was the traders' answer to American Indian raids and the first caravan under the guidance of Augustus LeGrand, a former resident of Santa Fe; Meredith M. Marmaduke, later governor of Missouri; Augustus Storrs, the Franklin postmaster, and Becknell left Mount Vernon, Lafayette County, Missouri[144] on May 25, 1824 with eighty-one men, one hundred and fifty-six horses and mules, twenty-three four-wheeled vehicles, and one piece of field artillery.[145] The trip was made without American Indian response and, having reached Santa Fe, many of the traders continued on to the Mexican States of Chihuahua and Sonora, returning to Missouri on September 24, 1824.[146] The caravans usually left Santa Fe on September 1 and arrived in Missouri around October 10.[147] 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) and also aided in the survey of the Trail.[148]

Wagons were first used over the Santa Fe Trail in 1822 when William Becknell used three wagons on his second trading expedition. Josiah Gregg identifies 1824 as the initial year for wagon transport across the Trail; however, he credits a company of eighty traders with the introduction of this type of animal-drawn vehicle.[149] His account relates the use of twenty-five wheeled wagons--two carts, two road wagons, and twenty-one Dearborn carriages--carrying twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars worth of merchandise.[150] The packing and unpacking of horses and mules became time-consuming and tiresome, while wagons offered the added benefit of just one loading.[151] The wagons most widely used over the Trail were manufactured in Pittsburgh.[152] No mention of the presence of mules in Missouri exists prior to 1824. Apparently the first mules came in over the Santa Fe Trail, and were used until 1829 instead of oxen to draw the Trail wagons.[153] A very heavy type of wagon, known as the "Murphy Wagon", was used in the transportation of goods and traders. The wagons were named after Joseph Murphy, a St. Louis

wagonmaker, 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, twelve 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."[154] Drawn by a six yoke of oxen or a six team of mules, these wagons could accomplish between twelve to fifteen miles per day when heavily laden, and up to twenty miles per day when empty.[155] The number of wagons composing the annual caravan varied from twenty-six in 1824, to 230 by 1843, to 400 in some instances.[156] Not only did the number of wagons increase, but so too did the value of the goods transported. Some minor fluctuations in this expanding trade can be attributed to the confrontation with American Indians particularly in late 1828 and early 1829, the Texas uprising in the late 1830's and early 1840's, and the Civil War which lasted from 1861 to 1865.

Table 1: Value of Santa Fe Trade Goods[157]

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	$ 15,000
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	1846	$ 1,000,000

The nature of the goods transported reflected the international character of the trade with goods from the United States and Europe being transported to, and sold at, Santa Fe. Trading goods included woolens, cottons, silks, linens, handkerchiefs, china cups, whiskey, gloves, ribbons, earrings, brooches, portmanteaus, champagne, combs, needles, shears, files, forks, spoons, watches, penknives, pocketknives, razors, beads, tacks, velveteens, and furs.[158] Cloth, including cottons, silks and linens, was the most important item of merchandise transported to Mexico as well as dry goods, hardware, cutlery, and jewelry while traders acquired gold and silver Mexican dollars, silver bullion, gold dust, mules, donkeys, and furs for their return trip to the United States.[159] Mexican merchants also found a market for mules, asses, buffalo robes, furs, and small volumes of coarse wool in Missouri.[160] 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 were the source of supply for one of their most popular commodities--fur.[161] 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 Spanish and later to the Mexican authorities in the form of customs duty. Customs duty on dry goods was twenty-five per cent, however, this often varied from ten to one hundred fifty percent.[162]

Since the rutted Trail segments, which are a component of many of the Trail sites to be nominated, were created by a variety of wagons between 1821 and 1880, a knowledge of the modes of transportation adopted across the Trail is important in establishing the historic contexts and linking historic events to the historic resources. In the 1830s, the Conestoga wagon was modified to accommodate transportation by oxen and a new design emerged from the New England area.[163] It was a vehicle with smaller wheels with wide tires, and without the undercurve and traditional paneling characteristic of the Conestoga.[164] The insertion of a "drop tongue" arrangement instead of the more rigid fixed tongue accommodated the use of oxen as draught animals.[165] These emigrant wagons with their long, low, straight sides displaying a distinctive flare were likened to sailing ships thus earning them the titles "Pitt Schooners," "Pike Schooners," and with respect to the Santa Fe Trail, "Prairie Schooners."[166] Goods were sometimes loaded into one large freight wagon. Murphy wagons were specially designed and constructed for this function employing a longer wheel base than the Conestoga wagon and sides several boards higher.[167] The wagons did not possess a braking or locking system since the animals nearest the front wheels often served this purpose by their slow movement and patience on down slopes.[168] Chains were later used to lock the wheels. A new wagon would cost about two hundred dollars in the mid-nineteenth century; associated gear including ox yoke, bows and rings, chains, and water kegs amounted to twenty-five dollars.

Mules and oxen were usually employed to pull the wagons. Each wagon utilized six or eight animals but, when pulling heavier loads especially on the outbound journey, up to twelve animals may have been employed.[169] Early Santa Fe traders were reluctant to use oxen as draught animals until a U.S. Army escort employed oxen to pull supply wagons in 1829. Oxen could pull heavier loads than mules and were cheaper; however, their tender feet and poor performance on the short, dry prairie meant that mules were a better investment, despite their higher initial cost.[170] In order to overcome the tenderness of their feet, oxen were shod with moccasins made of raw buffalo skin.[171] Even though mules were prone to acquiring very smooth hoofs, they did not require shoeing.[172] Extra animals often followed the wagon train, providing fresh oxen or mules at points along the Trail. The loss of these animals to American Indian attack may have forestalled further attack and disruption of a wagon train's progress.[173]

The formations adopted by wagons, which crossed the prairie of eastern Kansas en route to Council Grove, lacked order and discipline. The Osage and Kaw peoples encountered on the route to Council Grove were considered relatively peaceful.[174] The portion of the Trail between the eastern terminus and Council Grove also represented a period of transition with wagons merging with the Trail from Fort Leavenworth military roads and other wagons diverging to pursue the Oregon Trail.[175] Beyond Council Grove, however, in the territory of the Pawnee, Apache, Kiowa and Comanche peoples, lay the travelers' greatest fears. Council Grove was an appropriate place of sojourn along the Santa Fe Trail because it was located on the periphery of American Indian country. There, wagons would gather to form the one great annual caravan to Santa Fe. Council Grove also provided Trail travelers with the last opportunity to cut spare axles for their wagons from the hardwood trees of oak, hickory, walnut, and ash which lined the Neosho River.[176] Hardwood trees were rarely encountered west of Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail so spare axles and wagon tongues were cut and fashioned from the felled trees and secured to the underside of the wagons for possible future use.[177] It was at Council Grove that the caravan was formed and captains, division lieutenants, and guards were elected and assigned duties for the trip to Santa Fe. Bullwhacker was the title given to the driver of a team of oxen. In comparison to wagonmasters who earned approximately one hundred dollars a month in 1860, bullwhackers earned between twenty-five and thirty dollars a month including board. The bullwhacker's whip--composed of a two-foot handle, a ten-foot lash made of braided rawhide with a six or seven inch popper at the end, weighing five and a half pounds--became the pack animals' most feared and felt method of

instruction.[178] The bullwhacker walked alongside the draught animals over the course of a day's journey.[179] Before departing Council Grove, each Trail traveler was equipped with sufficient rations for the long trip ahead, including fifty pounds of bacon, ten pounds of coffee, fifty pounds of flour, twenty pounds of sugar, a small provision of salt, and a bag of beans.[180] These rations were supplemented by hunting along the route. Cows were brought along on later trips as a source of fresh milk and meat.

In eastern Kansas, the wagons followed two parallel columns, but beyond Council Grove, a formation of four parallel columns was adopted. This type of formation presented several advantages including reducing the wagon train's line of exposure in case of attack. Adopting the wider wagon formation meant that, in case of a wagon breakdown, the movement of other wagons was not delayed or hindered.[181] The raising of dust by the preceding wagons was also kept to a minimum by adopting this type of multiple lane Trail. 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."[182]

A similar formation was adopted when setting up camp each evening. The wagonmaster would select the camp site preferably near a stream for the acquisition of water 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 twenty-five foot space at the rear to facilitate the entrance of oxen.[183] Once the oxen were inside the corral, a wagon or chain would block the vacant space.

The caravans could accomplish between ten to fifteen miles of the route per day.[184] After departing from Council Grove, the first night was usually spent at Diamond Spring, Kansas.[185] As the caravan progressed along the Trail, other Kansan campsites became popular including Lost Spring, Cottonwood Creek, Turkey Creek, Little Arkansas River, Cow Creek, and the Big Bend of the Arkansas River.[186] The rugged terrain 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.[187] After several days of travel over rugged terrain, many Trail travelers had to make minor repairs to their wagons. Wheels would become loose due to friction, and wood shrinkage caused by extreme dryness.[188] In order to secure wheels that had become loose, strips of hoop-iron or simple wood wedges were driven between the tire and felloe.[189] Gregg recalls that as many as a dozen wheels may be repaired at once after a day's travel.[190] 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 one to two thousand pounds facilitated quicker movement.[191]

Missouri traders requested the U.S. government to survey and mark a permanent road over which Santa Fe trade could be conducted. They additionally requested military protection.[192] The Missouri legislature supported their cause as did Missouri Senators Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton.[193] Benton forcefully guided a bill through Congress on March 3, 1825 calling for a survey of the Trail from Missouri to the international border.[194] The survey began in July of 1825, and became known as the "Sibley Survey," after George Champlin Sibley who led the survey team which also included Benjamin H. Reeves and Thomas Mather.[195] Some historians suggest that the Sibley Survey never fulfilled its purpose since it concentrated on the establishment of a branch road to Santa Fe rather than an actual survey of the existing Santa Fe Trail.[196] Earth mounds were erected to mark the route, but within a few years they had disappeared, leaving the wagons and the wagon ruts that they produced to mark the Trail to Santa Fe. Indeed, the contention by some individuals that the traders themselves had already performed the task of marking the Santa Fe Trail was later echoed by Sibley himself.[197] Despite the poor execution of the survey, it did provide national publicity for the Trail in addition to a historic agreement with the American Indians.[198] On August 10, 1825, an agreement in the form of a signed treaty took place at Council Grove between the U.S. government and the Osage people. The treaty meant that the Osage people would allow the caravans free passage without interference. The U.S. government also made right-of-way treaties with the Kansa, Pawnee, and Cheyenne peoples in 1825.[199] Several sources suggest that despite these written agreements and the financial settlement therein, raids on caravans continued. Not until 1827, however, did open hostilities begin between the traders and the American Indians.

A report to the U.S. Senate in 1825 suggested that the American Indians were always willing to compromise when they found out that they could not rob the caravans bound for Santa Fe. 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.[200] Some instances of American people killed by American Indians on the Santa Fe Trail were in response to the destruction of the buffalo.[201] The American Indians along the Trail relied on the buffalo as a source of food and clothing, while the white traders sought the commercial benefits of killing buffaloes. In 1827, the Pawnee tribe attacked a returning group of traders and stole one hundred head of mules and other livestock. In 1828, on the present border of Oklahoma and New Mexico, two members of a returning wagon train, McNees and Monroe, having gone ahead of their caravans, were murdered while they slept.[202] 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.[203] In light of these hostilities, the first Santa Fe Trail escort duty was assigned to the Army in 1829.[204] At least six Army escorts were assigned to traders preceding the Mexican War.[205]

Although U.S. government policing of the Trail suggested that every man carry a gun, in 1829 newly elected president Andrew Jackson declared that an escort or outriders should be provided.[206] Jackson had been previously involved in American Indian fighting.[207] Major Bennet Riley and four companies of the Sixth Infantry accompanied a caravan to the Arkansas River (then the border with Mexico) and from there, a Mexican escort guarded the wagon train to its destination.[208] Military escort along the Santa Fe Trail was not provided again until 1833 when captain William N. Wickliffe and a few Sixth infantry soldiers and captain Matthew Duncan's company of U.S. Mounted Rangers escorted the annual caravan to the international border.[209] In 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 twenty-five wagons, thirty-five thousand dollars worth of trade goods, and eighty-five men including Josiah Gregg.[210] Later that year, a decision was made to eliminate protection of caravans

unless a general American Indian war occurred.[211] Not until the spring of 1843 was another escort provided along the Trail.[212]

In the meantime, a new threat to Santa Fe travelers emerged. Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836 and the bitter animosities which 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.[213] This acknowledgment was not received so they attempted to expand the Texan 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.[214] The Republic of Texas authorized Jacob Snively and the "Texas Invincibles" to seize, through honorable warfare, the goods of Mexican traders that lay within Texan territory. However, this seizure of goods was to remain an unofficial Texan enterprise of less than three hundred men comprising individuals from the Texas government as well as those selected by Snively.[215] The Mexican government pressed for American protection of the Santa Fe wagon trains while the Mexican president secured safe passage for those trains from Arkansas to Santa Fe.[216] The U.S. government responded by ordering Colonels Stephen Watts Kearny and Cooke to furnish escorts once again for the caravans bound to and from Santa Fe.[217] In doing so, U.S. 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.[218] Thus, on August 24, 1843, 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.[219] With the exception of the 1829 and the 1843 escorts, no Mexican protection was afforded Santa Fe caravans beyond the Upper Canadian River.[220] This problem was soon to be solved with the placement of the entire Santa Fe Trail under U.S. control. Upon the return of the 1843 U.S. escort, Colonel Cooke declared that since the Texan threat had been all but eliminated, military escorts were no longer needed.

In order to remain competitive, American interests persuaded the U.S. Congress to pass the Drawback Act in 1845, in order to allow American traders to compete more equally with their Mexican counterparts.[221] The argument presented in support of the Drawback Act reiterated the double taxation experienced by American traders on goods imported from Europe. An importation tax had to be paid by traders at the U.S. port of entry and again at the Mexican border. Other proponents of the Act pointed to the language barrier experienced by American traders and stressed the fact that Mexican traders had an inherent advantage in that the Mexicans and some of the Pueblo Indians could converse in a common language.[222]

The sixth military escort, composed of Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny and the First Dragoons, provided in May 1845 would be the last to pass over the Old Santa Fe Trail of international trade and proved to be "little more than a dress rehearsal" for war.[223]

II. Associated Historic Context:
The Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848

The Mexican War, from its outbreak on May 13, 1846 until the termination of hostilities signified by the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, transformed the Santa Fe Trail. United States acquisition of the Southwest following the conflict put the Trail under domestic jurisdiction, although it still carried international trade.

Mexico had always viewed Texas and the United States as different entities, but the passage of a joint resolution for the annexation of the Republic of Texas through U.S. Congress on March 1, 1845, placed considerable stress on U.S. relations with Mexico.[224] Other factors in previous years such as the U.S. territorial expansion of the 1840s, the migration of U.S. citizens into northern Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail, the boundary dispute between Texas and Mexico, U.S. citizens' financial claims against Mexico in addition to the political instability of the Mexican government, all contributed to a weakening of relations between the two countries.[225] The election of James K. Polk as President of the United States in 1844 under a mandate for Manifest Destiny announced the U.S. intention to expand to the Pacific Ocean with Oregon, Texas, and California just three of the goals of the expansionist movement.[226] Official hostilities between the United States and Mexico began on May 13, 1846 when the U.S. Congress declared war on Mexico.

The Santa Fe Trail contributed to the expansion of the Union. Among the first U.S. 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. The Army of the West left Fort Leavenworth on June 16, 1846, and chose to follow the Mountain Route of the Trail because it provided access to water and to a ready made base for operations--Bent's Fort, Colorado.[227] From Bent's Fort, on August 2, 1846, the Army of the West marched toward Santa Fe, reaching the city unchallenged on August 18, 1846.[228] The first wagon train to succeed Kearny's army was that containing Susan Shelby Magoffin by whose account it took five days to cross Raton Pass. Kearny was anxious to promote his mission as one of liberation and not that of conquest so, to this end, circulars were sent to Mexican villages in advance, promising them friendship and protection under U.S. control.[229] Brigadier General Kearny declared the U.S. occupation of New Mexico on August 19, 1846.[230] The annexation of New Mexico by the United States resulted in Charles Bent being installed as Governor of the territory of New Mexico on August 22, 1846.[231]

As the territory of the United States increased, so too did the need for more routes farther west. The Mormon Battalion, composed of five hundred young men from Nauvoo, Illinois,[232] under the leadership of Captain Philip St. George Cooke, were 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.[233] 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 U.S. control.[234] Another portion of the Army of the West under the command of Colonel Alexander Doniphan marched down the Rio Grande Valley to capture Chihuahua, Mexico which had also become a popular destination for Santa Fe traders.[235]

Troops assigned to occupy New Mexico were dispatched over the Santa Fe Trail at various times during the course of the Mexican War. Indeed many individuals who had become familiar with the Trail through their part in the war effort would later come back as traders. Resistance to U.S. occupation continued in the form of guerilla warfare with insurrections at Taos and Mora, New Mexico in early 1847, with Governor Charles Bent perishing in the Taos

confrontation.[236] The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848 signalled the end of the war, but only the beginning of an expanding trade. Three thousand wagons, twelve thousand persons, and fifty thousand head of livestock were estimated to have moved over the Trail in the summer of 1848.[237]

Increasing use of the Santa Fe Trail during the Mexican War continued to pose a threat to American Indian habitation. Big Timbers, located east of Bent's Old Fort on the Arkansas River, is an example of one such instance. At Big Timbers between 1846 and 1847, the increase in traffic along the Santa Fe Trail meant that the habitat and hunting of game had been disrupted, the water had been polluted, and trees had been cut down indiscriminately.[238] As a result of such incursions, forty-seven Trail travelers were killed, 330 wagons were destroyed, and 6,500 animals were stolen.[239] In September 1847, a battalion of troops was assigned to guard the wagon trains. Roving columns of soldiers ready to participate in battle were employed initially, however, this mobile police force proved to be ineffective due to the length of the corridor that had to be patrolled.[240]

With the signing of the treaty, the United States acquired what is now considered New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah in addition to parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Kansas and Texas. The Texas Annexation of 1845 and the Mexican Cession of 1848 provided for the creation of California, the Utah Territory, New Mexico Territory, and Texas with the remainder comprising unorganized territory (Figure 2). Despite the U.S. 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. Even when they were available, their drivers were often inexperienced.[241] The Mexican War altered the pattern of Old Santa Fe trade. New Mexican and interior Mexican merchants, while successful, assumed a declining proportion of the Santa Fe trade following the Mexican War.[242] The Santa Fe route changed from foreign to domestic jurisdiction while small proprietors were replaced by large freighting companies.[243] With the increasing commercial value of merchandise, the Santa Fe trade expanded.

III. Associated Historic Context:
Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1865

By the late 1840s, a change in the type of people traveling the route was observed. Initially the Trail belonged to merchants, wagon masters, and ox drovers. However, by the late 1840s the Trail was additionally traversed by U.S. Army soldiers, government officials, religious missionaries and emigrant families.[244] 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, and Ellen Williams.[245] Other female groups were represented in the increasing traffic over the Trail including Emily Harwood and Anna McKee--both Protestant missionaries sent to New Mexico by eastern missionary boards.[246] The largest single category of women represented among travelers on the Santa Fe Trail were those who accompanied their husbands to Colorado in the gold rush of 1859.[247] Maximum use of the Santa Fe Trail usually occurred but once a year when the large annual caravan departed the eastern terminus of the Trail bound for Santa Fe. The westward journey was usually accomplished between April and June, while the eastbound caravan traveled the route between June and

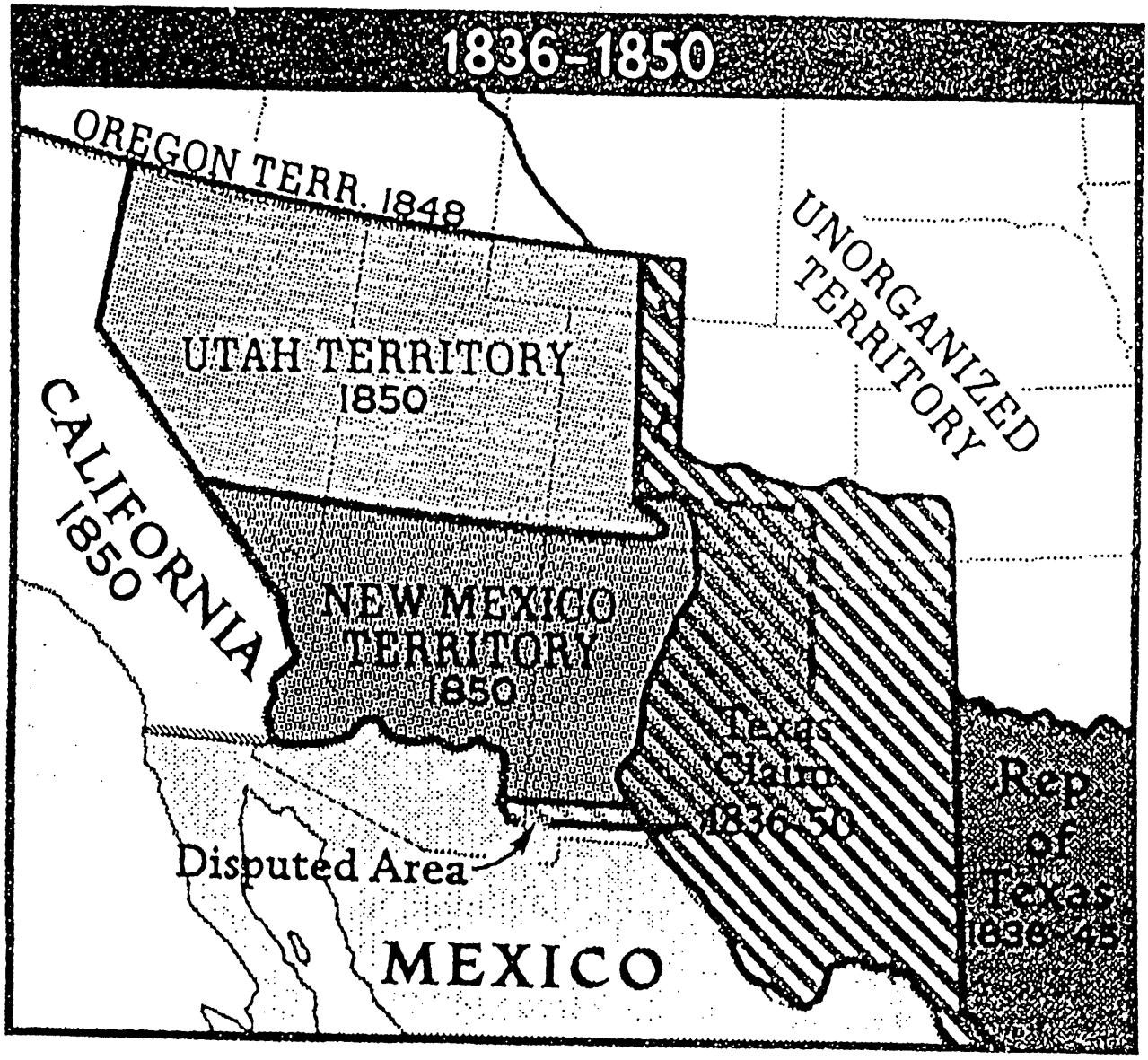

Figure 2. Source: "The Southwest." National Geographic Magazine, Supplement of the National Geographic, November 1982, page 630A, Vol. 162, No. 5 - THE SOUTHWEST.

September.[248] National trade over the Santa Fe Trail generally expanded both in terms of volume and price of goods and the number of traders and travelers.

The nature of the goods transported over the Trail did not vary greatly and indeed the Santa Fe Trail could still be considered to be a portion of a larger international trade network with European goods still being transported from the east coast to the eastern terminus of the Trail. These international goods were then transported over the Santa Fe Trail to markets in Santa Fe and even more southern locations. The value of the Santa Fe Trade increased but estimates as to the total value of the trade varied considerably. A House Executive Document entitled Report on Internal Commerce of the United States in 1889 included a table with T. B. Mills' estimates of the value of merchandise brought into New Mexico.[249]

Table 2: Santa Fe Trade[250]

Year	Value
1847-1848	$ 1,125,000
1849-1859	$ 1,150,000
1860	$ 3,500,000
1861-1865	$ 3,000,000

Mills also estimates that in 1860, 5,948 men were involved in the Santa Fe trade which utilized 2,170 wagons, 464 horses, 5,933 mules, and 17,836 oxen.[251] These estimates exclude those persons not participating in trade such as stagecoach passengers and employees. The figures presented appear conservative and, in some instances, highly suspect. Other estimates, to be used with caution, place the value of Santa Fe trade ten times greater than the estimates previously listed:

Table 3: Santa Fe Trade

Year	Value
1855	$ 5,000,000
1858	$ 3,500,000
1859	$ 10,000,000
1862	$ 40,000,000

With the increase in the number of people using the Santa Fe Trail came more confrontation with the American Indian population. Clearly by the mid 1840s, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, which recognized the presence of permanent American Indian country between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, was not being respected.[252] One of the greatest dangers to traders and travelers was confrontation with American Indians. Among the many American Indian tribes who resided in the vicinity of the Santa Fe Trail were the Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches of the Plains, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Jicarilla Apaches, Kansas, Osages, Pueblos,

Sioux, and Utes. These American Indians represented not only a threat, but also the threatened, as traders and travelers continued to disrupt the American Indian way of life, destroy their game, and infringe upon their lands.

The event which became known as the Wagon Mound Massacre emphasized the need for increased protection of the Trail. The massacre of ten men accompanying the express mail wagon traveling west from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas took place at this natural landmark near the end of the Cimarron Route in May 1850. Wagon Mound, New Mexico, as its title suggests, resembles in profile a freight wagon pulled by oxen and is located halfway between the Rock Crossing of the Canadian River and La Junta on the Mora River. To the west and the north of this mound was a promontory known as Pilot Knob. It has been suggested that the incident itself cannot be viewed in isolation.[253] The massacre had its beginning in an altercation which occurred the previous August in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Soldiers from the U.S. Army were sent to Las Vegas to increase protection of the Trail in that vicinity particularly from the Apaches and their allies, the Utes.[254] On August 16, 1849, forty Jicarilla Apaches appeared near Las Vegas and set up camp on the outskirts of the town.[255] Their expressed intention was to trade ammunition with the townspeople; however, the U.S. soldiers under the command of Captain Henry B. Judd were suspicious of their intentions and forbade the townspeople to trade with the American Indians.[256] After ten Jicarillas entered a village ten miles south of Las Vegas, Lieutenant Ambrose E. Burnside led the American soldiers to the Jicarilla camp where they found the American Indians prepared for war.[257]

After talks failed, the conflict began and resulted in the death of many Jicarilla and the taking of six prisoners.[258] Following claims that the American Indians were seeking peace when they were attacked, violence increased on the Trail. Travelers were attacked near Wagon Mound and two American girls were seized, while in late October, 1849 near Point of Rocks (forty miles northeast of Wagon Mound), Santa Fe trader James M. White, his wife and daughter, in addition to other members of the two carriage train, were attacked.[259] 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 Apache warriors taken at Las Vegas for those held by the Apaches, but Colonel John Washington, Military Governor of New Mexico refused.[260] The events become linked with Wagon Mound when a unit of the U.S. Army, under the command of Sergeant Henry Swartwont, left Las Vegas in search of the Apaches.[261] The soldiers brought one of the Apache chiefs' daughters along as a prisoner.

Two contradictory accounts of questionable accuracy concerning her death still emphasize the connection with Wagon Mound. The first account, furnished by Chief Chacon, reported that she was taken to the top of the mound to point to the Apache camp, but instead seized a knife and was shot attempting to escape.[262] The report given by John Greiner, a American Indian agent, also verified that they had taken her to Wagon Mound and that she cried and tried to signal the Apaches that trouble was on the way.[263] Not until the following morning was she shot after she grabbed a butcher's knife, tried to kill some soldiers, and stabbed a few of the mules.[264] A vow of revenge was made by the Apache Indian girl's father, Lobo. The soldiers returned to Las Vegas to reports that Mrs. White was found dead in an Apache camp. The camp had been attacked by soldiers stationed at Taos and Rayado under the guidance of Kit Carson. Several skirmishes followed including the murder of one Trail traveler and the wounding of another two by Apaches near the Pecos River crossing in Late February, 1850.[265] The entire horse and mule herd belonging to Lucien Maxwell and other residents of Rayado was stolen on April 5, 1850 by Apaches, but recovered later by a company of Dragoons scouted by Kit Carson in a conflict that cost five Apache lives.[266]

On April 18, 1850, Frank Hendrickson, James Clay, and Thomas E. Branton left Fort Leavenworth carrying mail bound for Santa Fe.[267] This was part of a series of individual trip contracts to carry the U.S. mail once a month from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. These trips were begun 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.[268] The three-man party overtook a wagon caravan in central Kansas around a week into their journey and were joined by two members of that caravan--Thomas W. Flournoy and Moses Goldstein.[269] A few days later they were joined by Benjamin Shaw, John Duffy, John Freeman, John Williams and a German teamster who all were members of an eastbound ox train, and decided to turn around and go back to Santa Fe.[270] The bodies of all ten men were found at Wagon Mound on May 19, 1850. The U.S. Army report by Burnside stated that the men were overcome by a combined force of over one hundred Apaches and Utes.[271] A more plausible reconstruction of events was proposed by Chief Chacon who suggested that the Apaches had intended to ambush the mail party [redacted].[272] It was there that the Apaches and the Utes combined forces the following day to murder the mail party in their camp.[273] This encounter has been called "the most daring murder ever committed" by the American Indians and posed a serious threat to small-party Trail traffic.[274]

Missouri towns such as Franklin, Westport, Lexington, and Independence 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 or railroad while westward from these locations prior to 1865, freighting was accomplished overland by wagons. The acquisition of the Southwest and the increased national trade witnessed after the Mexican War led to the establishment of several military posts along or near the Santa Fe Trail. In 1849, seven of these posts occupied by 987 soldiers existed; by 1859, sixteen posts accommodated over 2,000 troops.[275] Up until 1851, Santa Fe was the headquarters of the army and its supply depot. The establishment of Fort Union as a military supply depot in 1851 meant that it became an important point of distribution.[276] The government adopted a system of contract freighting to serve these military forts and their occupants. James Brown of Independence was the first to agree to transport military supplies over the Trail in 1848; transportation expenses were set at $11.75 per hundred pounds.[277] Contract freighting for the government began in 1849 when freighters, James Browne and William H. Russell, were contracted to transport military supplies at $9.88 per hundred pounds.[278] By 1850, several freighters transported military supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe at an average rate of $8.87-1/2.[279] By 1853, Alexander Majors and J. B. Yager had become the principal government contractors and were transporting goods at a rate of $16 per hundred pounds.[280] Throughout the course of government contract freighting, the freighters and freighting rates fluctuated. Russell, Majors & Waddell were contracted in 1857 to transport supplies at a rate between $1.25 and $4.50 per hundred pounds per hundred miles.[281] The supplies were transported from Fort Leavenworth or Fort Riley, Kansas, to Fort Union, intermediate locations, or posts in New Mexico.[282] 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[283], however, the westward expansion of the railroad soon began to replace the government contractor as the means of transporting military supplies to and between military posts in the Southwest.

Military and non-military express mail was used for communication between Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Marcy, Santa Fe during and after the Mexican War. The irregularity of this mail service was a common complaint among New Mexicans.[284] 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 a precursor to 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.

With the Mexican War, expanding trade, and the increase in traffic, came improvements in communication. Prior to 1846, newspapers and letters were 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 northern Mexico in order to maintain contact with its troops positioned in that region.[285] An act of Congress in 1847 designated the Trail from Independence via Bent's Fort to Santa Fe as a postal route.[286] In that same year, Captain Felix Aubry rode from Santa Fe to Westport, a distance of 775 miles, in five days and thirteen hours from September 12-17 using relays.[287]

In 1850, the Postmaster General ordered the establishment of a regular wagon mail service between Independence and Santa Fe.[288] Waldo, Hall and Company of Independence was awarded the contract which required the thirty-day transport of mail once a month in both directions beginning on July 1 of that year.[289] 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 depended heavily 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 U.S. sovereignty over the west.[290] Waldo, Hall and Company initially used simple mail wagons to transport the mail. Stations were established at Council Grove, Fort Mann, Fort Atkinson, Diamond Spring, and Fort Union during the company's contract. Jacob Hall won the $10,990 mail contract in 1854 and the $39,999 mail contract in 1858. The mail stagecoach could carry up to eight passengers at a cost of $150 each.[291] 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 stage was usually pulled by six mules and guarded by eight men who, collectively, could fire 136 shots without reloading.[292] Often the mail entourage consisted of three wagons--one for passengers, one for mail, and one for provisions.[293] In the 1850s, the trip took twenty-five to thirty days to accomplish. However, as late as 1860, irregularities in mail delivery still existed.

The new 1854 contract evolved into a partnership between Hall and John Hockaday.[294] The Hall and 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.[295] Mail and stage routes proliferated throughout the Southwest and nationally as the newly acquired lands gained through the Mexican War were opened for development.[296] This activity culminated in the establishment of a transcontinental stage and mail service through the southernmost region of the United States in 1857, operated by John Butterfield. The enormous $600,000 contract for overland mail was second only to the ambition to provide the service through an overland route through the desert Southwest.[297]

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 1859. 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. Towns were burgeoning with the 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 they be allowed to move their mail service to the Mountain Route.[298] Shortly thereafter the Hall and 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' firm. By early 1861 the Postmaster General allowed the new firm to transfer the mail and stage route to the Mountain Route of the Trail.[299] By that same year, Barnum, Vail, and Vickery had established a regular system of stations along the Trail spaced a distance of fifteen to twenty miles apart.

The evolution of stagecoach firms typically involved a host of investors. Often the partners under one contract would expand or contract in subsequent contracts. Consequently, the names of the firms changed as often as the contracts themselves. After the Hall and Roberts partnership, contracts were awarded to Slemmons, Roberts and Company (1860-1862) which expanded stage lines to newly founded Colorado mining communities, and to Cottrill, Vickory and Company--also known as M. Cottrill and Company (1862-1865) and the Santa Fe Stage Company--which expanded stage lines even farther to other western towns.[300] The introduction of the famous Concord stagecoaches[301] did not appear on the Santa Fe stage lines until M. Cottrill and Company introduced them in 1864.[302]

From 1863 until they went out of business with the coming of the railroad in 1880, the Barlow-Sanderson Overland Mail and 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 thirteen days and six hours.[303] Military protection was sought and obtained for the stagecoach and mail service.[304] A fixed-point defense system in the form of forts located at strategic points along the Trail was adopted in the 1850s and 1860s.[305] Fort Atkinson was established in 1850 as a sort of "half-way house" on the Trail, while in 1851, Fort Union, approximately twenty miles from Watrous, became the second fort to be opened 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.[306] The mail service brought news from abroad and other parts of the United States in addition to mail and express to Trail merchants and frontier inhabitants.[307] The mail service was subsequently improved to semi-monthly in 1857, weekly in 1858, tri-weekly in 1866, and daily in 1868;[308] a daily stagecoach service had been available since 1862.[309] This Santa Fe stage was the quickest means of communication and transportation between the United States and the Southwest territories before the introduction of railroad and telegraph services.[310] This pioneer stage route across the plains was a forerunner to the overland stage lines to the Pacific which later aided in the identification of the transcontinental railroad route.[311]

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, 2,500 individuals from ten states traveled over part of the Santa Fe Trail on their route west.[312] This type of migration lasted until 1858 when the gold mines of Colorado became their destination.[313] To accommodate this traffic, Fort Larned, Kansas, on the Pawnee fork of the Trail and Fort Wise (later Fort Lyon), Colorado, near Bent's New Fort were both built in 1859.[314] These fortifications helped keep the Santa Fe Trail open for years after their construction. These western territorial expansions, while resulting in greater confrontation and conflict with American Indian peoples, also contributed to the deepening sectoral divisions between the North and the South.[315]

IV. Associated Historic Context:
The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail: 1861-1865

The significance of the Civil War in relation to the Santa Fe Trail was limited to military matters such as the increase in the numbers of soldiers, escorts, patrols and forts along the Trail. The Civil War brought about many changes in the regional political divisions of the emerging nation. In 1861, the Santa Fe Trail crossed portions of Missouri, Kansas, unorganized territory, Colorado Territory, and New Mexico Territory (Figure 3).

Differences between the North and the South culminated in the outbreak of Civil War in April 1861, and activities along the Santa Fe Trail can be shown to have contributed to the preservation of the Union. Two battles along the Santa Fe Trail dashed Confederate attempts at territorial expansion. In addition to territorial expansion, the Confederacy sought diplomatic recognition from other nations, allies and, through expansion, access to a Pacific seaport and to the wealth from western mining districts.[316] To these ends, Confederate forces invaded New Mexico. The initial stage of the invasion was a success, with 3,500 officers and men under the command of General Henry Hopkins Sibley marching up the Rio Grande Valley in January 1862 and occupying Albuquerque on March 8 and Santa Fe on March 11, 1862.[317]

The key to Confederate control of New Mexico was Fort Union located on the Santa Fe Trail near where the [redacted].[318] The capture of Fort Union would have reinforced Confederate supplies and equipment considerably. Under orders from Lieutenant Colonel Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, the defensive position of Fort Union was improved by moving the post from its original location near a mesa and rebuilding it a mile into the valley.[319] 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."[320] 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.[321] Colonel Slough in command of 1,342 troops marched from Fort Union towards Santa Fe on March 22, 1862.[322] 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.[323]

On March 28, 1862, these opposing forces met once again, a few miles east of Santa Fe, at Glorieta Pass--a defile of the Sangre de Cristo mountains through which the Trail passed. The result of this meeting between the 1,100 Confederate soldiers led by Lieutenant Colonel William R. Scurry and the Union forces, composed of a 1,300 infantry, cavalry and artillery led by Colonel John B. Slough, was a stalemate.[324] Union forces sent a detachment of seven companies of soldiers under the command of Major Chivington west to attack Confederate forces from the rear.[325] Union forces came upon and destroyed a poorly guarded Confederate supply train of seventy-three wagons hundreds horses and mules.[326] Three Confederate soldiers were killed, several were wounded, and seventeen were taken prisoner.[327] Since the Confederates lacked supplies, they were not fully prepared for combat and decided to retreat southward into Texas.[328] 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.[329] Nevertheless, its significance in the prevention of Confederate expansion westward cannot be overlooked.

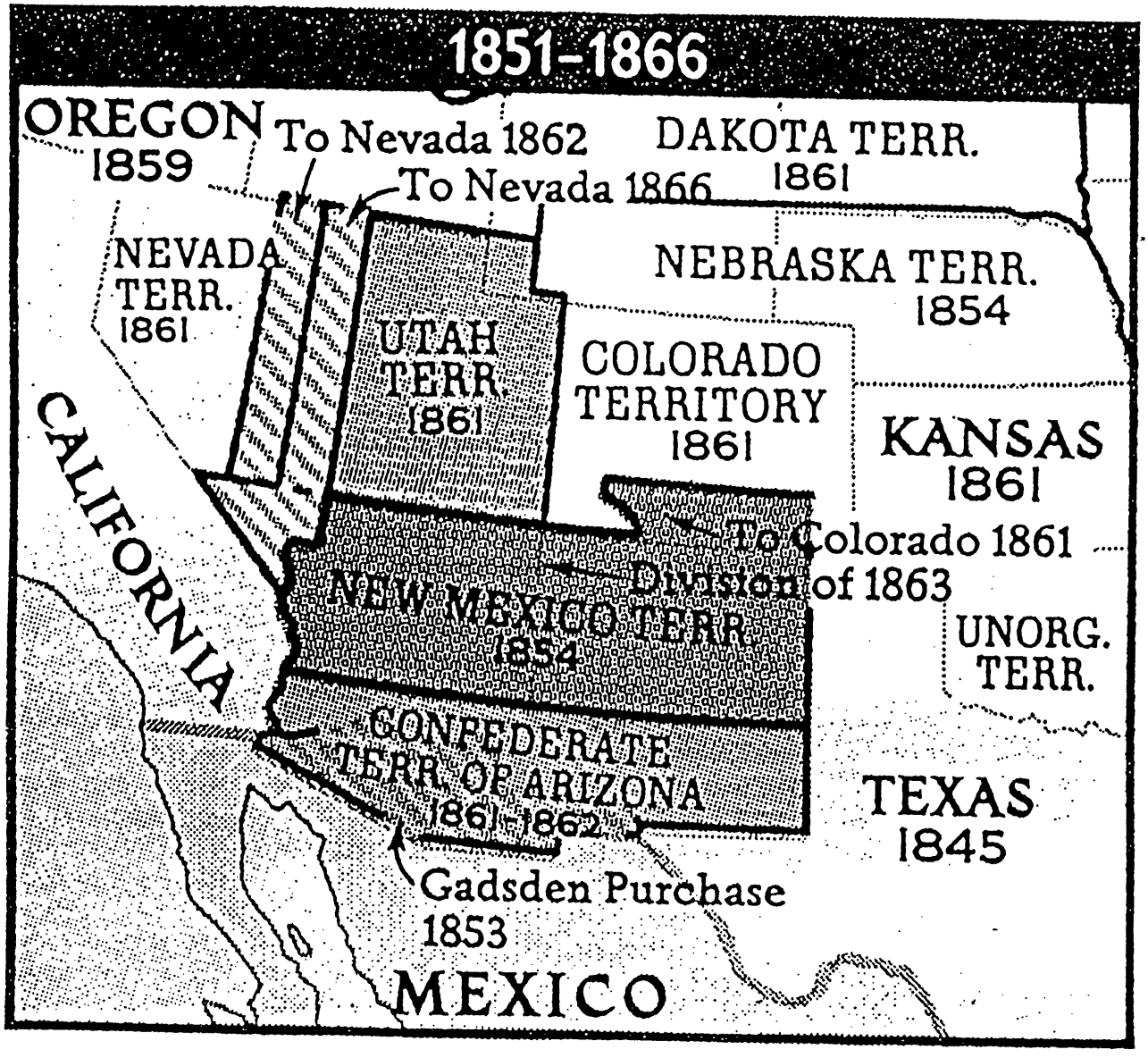

Figure 3. Source: "The Southwest." National Geographic Magazine, Supplement of the National Geographic, November 1982, page 630A, Vol. 162, No. 5 - THE SOUTHWEST.

The Battle of Westport was the last Civil War battle fought in the trans-Mississippi area. This confrontation known as the "Gettysburg of the West" ended in the defeat of General Sterling Price and his Confederate troops.[330] 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.[331] The importance of the Santa Fe Trail as a military highway had persisted and intensified throughout the course of the Civil War. American Indian resistance had intensified during the Civil War in an effort to close the Santa Fe Trail, but this attempt was foiled by the military presence along the Trail.[332] 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 would take over.[333] Indeed, 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.[334]

Not all the American Indians dwelling on the plains were considered to be a threat to Santa Fe Trail trade and traffic at the beginning of the Civil War. At Fort Wise in September 1861, American Indian agent A. G. Boone succeeded in securing an agreement between the Kiowas and the Comanches and the United States.[335] The American Indian 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 U.S. government.[336] Furthermore, the parties agreed to negotiate a permanent treaty of friendship at the end of the year, however, this did not materialize due to violation of the agreement. Adequate protection was afforded the mail coaches and supply trains by military escorts and patrols in 1861 and early 1862. Along the stretch of the Trail from Walnut Creek to Cow Creek in May 1862, attacks on caravans by Kiowas, Apaches and Arapahos occurred.[337] Captain 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.[338] Reinforcements were sent to Fort Larned increasing military numbers from sixty-two to 292 and the resulting patrols were effective in removing that threat.[339] The threat of American Indian attack 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.[340] Steps were taken to protect the Cimarron Route and little American Indian opposition was evident during the winter of 1862-1863. American Indians often suspended their active opposition during the winter months. When spring arrived, the American Indian peoples began to assemble once again along the Trail in pursuit of buffalo and to receive annuities--such was the case in 1863. By April 1864, interaction between American Indians and Trail travelers had erupted into open warfare with the Cheyennes attacking ranches along the Platte River and stealing stock.[341] This type of resistance soon spread to other settlements along the Trail and to traffic over the Trail. With the approach of the winter of 1864 and despite the American Indians' reported willingness to enter into peace negotiations, U.S. troops attacked a large camp of Kiowas near the ruins of Adobe Fort, William Bent's old trading post on the Canadian River, and an Arapaho and Cheyenne encampment on Sand Creek, destroying both settlements and resulting in a large loss of American Indian life.[342]

The period preceding the Sand Creek affair witnessed some of the most serious American Indian opposition in Santa Fe Trail history.[343] In April 1865, Fort Dodge was founded along the course of the Trail and this was soon followed by Camp Nichols in late May and Fort Aubry in September 1865.[344] After the spring and summer raids, American Indians accepted a peace treaty in the autumn of 1865. The Treaties of the Little Arkansas, as they were known, encouraged American Indians 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 forty years.[345] The Treaties of the Little Arkansas did not bring a lasting peace as the terms of the agreement were later violated;

however, it did calm tensions along the Trail for the remainder of the Civil War. By 1865, the Santa Fe Trail had survived the Civil War, but the real threat to its survival had just begun. Over the next fifteen years the wagons would become replaced by steel rails to Santa Fe.

V. Associated Historic Context: The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad: 1865-1880

The importance of the period of railroad expansion westward along the course of the Santa Fe Trail from its eastern terminus in 1865 to its arrival in Santa Fe in 1880, lies in the fact that it witnessed the change in character of overland trade along the Trail. By 1865, territorial and state boundaries had become more formalized and would soon be further refined to provide the basis for the continued formation of the United States (Figure 4).

Although the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail had been in common use since the 1840s, its terrain provided many obstacles to wagon movement. One such obstacle was the tortuous eight thousand foot, axle-breaking Raton Pass. The Raton Mountains themselves 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 one hundred miles along what is now the Colorado-New Mexico border.[346] Raton Pass was by no means the only route over this mountainous terrain. There was another route west of it and four routes to its east--San Francisco Pass, Manco de Burro Pass, Trinchera Pass and Emery Gap--which could accommodate the passage of traders.[347] 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.[348] Antonio Valverde y Cosio, Governor of New Mexico, who led an expedition through Raton Pass in 1719, documented the difficulties of that route.[349]

In 1865, Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton assembled a group of Mexican laborers and commenced work on blasting overhangs and hair pin curves of the Trail at Raton Pass.[350] Wootton had obtained charters from Colorado and New Mexico legislatures to build a toll road over Raton Pass from Trinidad to the Red (Canadian) River.[351] Upon completion of the work in that year, a toll road was opened allowing wagons easier access to the Mountain Route. This venture proved to be extremely profitable with in excess of five thousand wagons using the toll road in 1866. In a single one-year, three-month and nine-day period in the 1860s, Wootton made $9,163.64 on receipts alone.[352] 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.[353]

On September 21, 1865, the first train arrived in Kansas City over the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Even though individuals left Kansas City for Santa Fe as late as 1868, the last wagon trains left Kansas City in the spring of 1866.[354] 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. On August 31, 1867, the Junction City Union reported that:

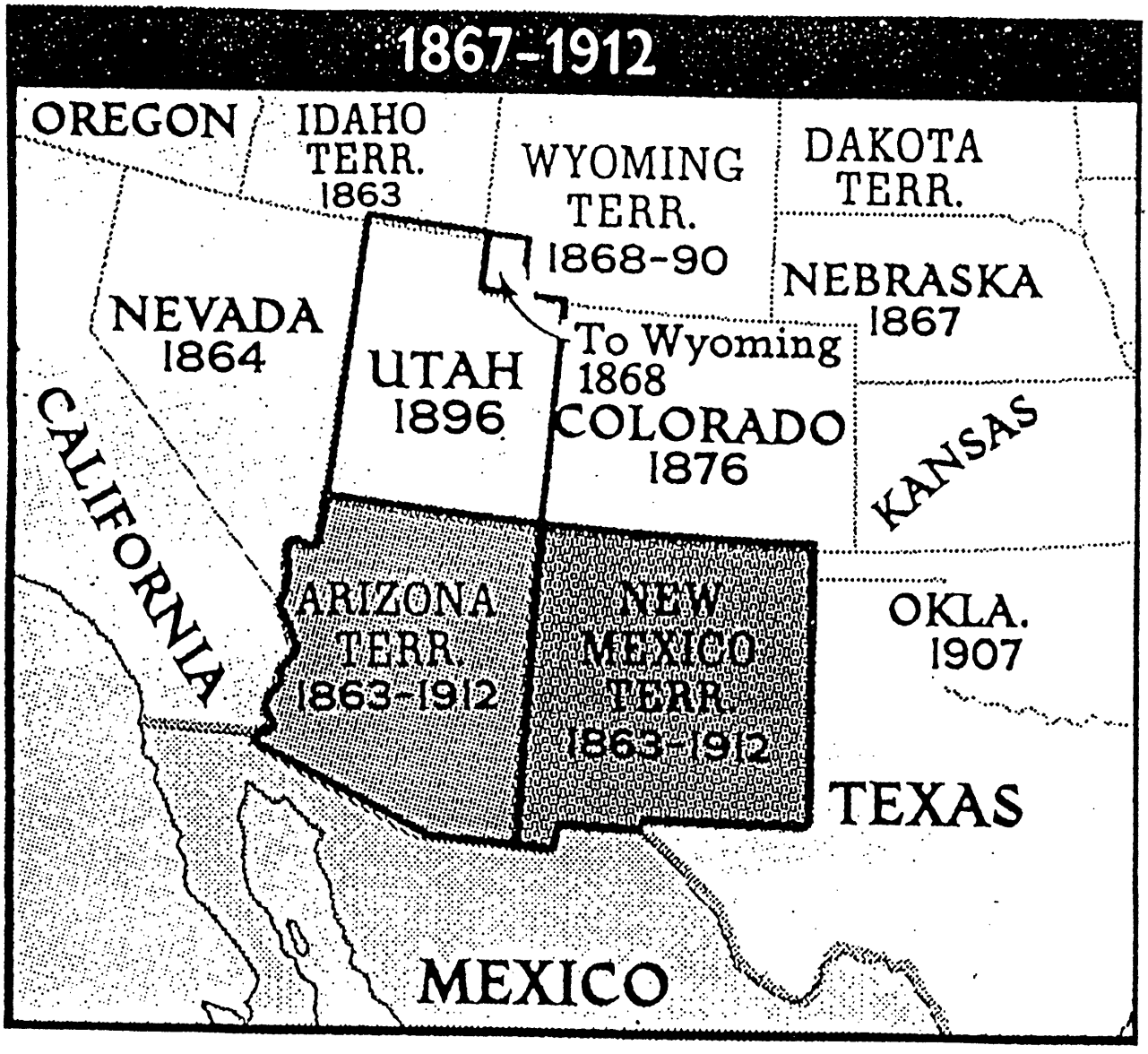

Figure 4. Source: "The Southwest." National Geographic Magazine, Supplement of the National Geographic, November 1982, page 630A, Vol. 162, No. 5 - THE SOUTHWEST.

> 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.[355]

The Kansas Pacific Railroad (formerly the Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division) and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad shortened the Trail as their steel rails raced for Santa Fe: Sheridan (May 1868); Burlingame (September 1868); Cheyenne Wells (March 1870); Kit Carson (March 1870); Emporia (summer 1870); Newton (July 1871); Hutchinson (June 1872), Great Bend (July 1872); and Larned, Kansas (August 1872).[356] In 1878, Wootton sold out his toll road through Raton Pass to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.[357]

From before the Civil War and even after the arrival of the railroad, military freighting remained an important activity along the Santa Fe Trail. Since much of the military freighting that did take place was fulfilled by civilian contractors, this activity also presented the opportunity for military-civilian interaction. Despite the delivery delays and damage of military freight, the transportation system that allowed for civilian contractors proved to be cheaper and more manageable than providing government trains.[358] The lack of success of government freighting experienced during the Mexican War prompted the government to experiment with contract freighting. The relative success of these civilian contracts resulted in more of them being awarded to serve the increasing number of military outposts that were developing along the Trail. As the competition among civilian contractors increased, the cost of transportation of military supplies decreased but transported items still increased up to five or six times their original value when transportation costs were included.[359] The provision of a military escort and the westward advance of the Kansas Pacific Railroad in the late 1860s witnessed a decrease in the uncertainty, the length of time, and the expense of military freighting. In the 1870s, the principal firms handling military freight for New Mexico were Otero, Sellar and Company, and Chick, Browne and Company.[360] As the railroad continued its westward advance to Santa Fe, these competing freight companies followed them. When the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe 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.[361]

The effect of the railroad on the overland Santa Fe trade is reflected in the repeated shortening of the wagon segments of the Trail. 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 eleven years from Hays, Kansas in 1868 to Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1879.[362] Since the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad had won the race for the right of way through Raton Pass, it was their trains that were to thunder into Las Vegas on July 4, 1879 and eventually into Santa Fe on February 9, 1880.[363] Soon after this date, wagon use of the Trail as a means of long distance transportation of goods and individuals proved inefficient, thus closing this chapter in the history of the Santa Fe Trail.

Conclusion

The Santa Fe trade and the wagons which it employed may be gone, but the remnants of the Trail continue to receive substantial interest. The National Trails System Act of 1968 listed fourteen trails to be studied to determine their suitability for inclusion in the national trails system. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation of the Department of the Interior concluded in 1975 that, although nationally significant, the Santa Fe Trail did not meet the criteria for registration under the two types of trails recognized at that time: national scenic trails and national recreation trails. 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 must (1) be a trail established by historic use and be historically-significant for that use, (2) be of 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. The bill in which the Santa Fe Trail was proposed as a National Historic Trail was passed by the House of Representatives on March 10, 1987 and the Senate on April 21, 1987. The bill was signed to become Public Law 100-35 on May 8, 1987.[364] The status awarded to the Trail meant that it joined the select group of trails which enjoy this distinction: the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Pioneer Trail, the Lewis & Clark Trail, the Nez Perce Trail, and the Iditarod Trail.[365] Many of these other trails had received National Historic Trail status in 1978.[366] The Trails program is administered by the National Park Service even though ninety percent of the Trail traverses privately owned lands. Mainly the western parts of the Trail cross small "checkerboarded" public land areas.[367]

The Santa Fe Trail has been romanticized in American folklore but the "romance came later . . . largely in retrospect."[368] Stage travelers rarely praised the Trail experience,[369] and many of those individuals who crossed the Trail in caravans did so for profit or for the prospect of a better life farther west. The extent of the Trail corridor, both in terms of distance and use, added to the cultural significance of the Santa Fe Trail. American, Mexican, Spanish, French, Anglo-American, and African American traders traversed the Trail en route to destinations as far west as California, as far south as Chihuahua, and as far east as Europe. The people who traversed the Trail and the functions of the Trail itself were diverse and included commerce, transportation, military, and personal uses. The Santa Fe Trail offered a "prairie cure" to many people suffering from ill health brought on by yellow fever, malaria, smallpox, dysentery, tuberculosis, cholera, or pulmonary and respiratory afflictions.[370] Peaceful and unpeaceful interaction was made by traders, travelers, and even immigrants with American Indians along the Trail corridor. The conflict between American Indians and Trail travelers erupted many times over the course of the Trail and ended in death and injury on both sides. Nevertheless, caravan travelers did get the opportunity to appreciate this new environment due to the leisurely pace of the slow-moving oxen.[371] The constant threat of danger and the sense of adventure evoked by early traders' reports of the Santa Fe Trail were reinforced by elaborate, exaggerated, and exhaustive personal accounts from subsequent relieved and successful travelers at their destination. As this and their accounts of history draw to a close,

> . . . another chapter has been added to the saga during the present century . . . the spirit of the Santa Fe traders is somehow recaptured at the river crossings and watering holes, beneath the shadows of landmark mountains, in the quiet ruins of forts, and at those rare spots where, however faintly, caravan tracks are indelibly engraved in the earth.[372]

Endnotes

1. **Christopher "Kit" Carson (1809-1868)**

Christopher Carson was born 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 saddlemaker apprentice--an occupation he gave up in 1828 when he joined a caravan bound for Santa Fe. This journey ultimately led Carson to California since en route he had 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 twelve years. During that time, he married an American Indian and they had a daughter. In 1841, he became a hunter for Bent's 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 War and was a guide for the army under the command of General Stephen Watts Kearny on its route to California. Between 1846 and 1865, Carson became involved in limited farming activities, scouting for the U.S. 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.

2. **Josiah Gregg (1806-1850)**

Josiah 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 Blue River country in 1825. The Gregg family resided in a log house about five miles northeast of modern-day Independence in Jackson County, Missouri. Josiah Gregg was the fifth of eight children and suffered from consumption. 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 to practice medicine. The people of Jackson County were only too familiar with the Santa Fe trade and Harmon, Josiah Gregg's father, was a member of Becknell's expedition to Santa Fe in 1822. Furthermore, Josiah Gregg's brother, Jacob, accompanied Sibley's 1825 surveying party to New Mexico and saw Sibley recover en route. 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. During the Mexican 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 River region of northern California. On a lake shore in present-day Lake County, California, Gregg fell from his horse, became unconscious, and died a few hours later. His book Commerce of the Prairies was first published in two volumes simultaneously at New York and London in 1844. His famous account of the Santa Fe trade incorporates details about the history of the Trail and the states through which it passed, 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.

Barton H. Barbour, "Westward to Health: Gentlemen Health-Seekers on the Santa Fe Trail," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, pp. 39-43; Josiah Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies, Edited by Milo Milton Quaife, Bison Book edition (Lincoln, Nebraska and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. xi-xxii.

3. 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. The first Dragoons were known as "arquebusiers a cheval" and were organized in France by Piero Strozzi in 1537 for Francis I. In the case of the United States, four regiments of Dragoons existed in the Continental Army until they were consolidated with the cavalry at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861.

4. 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 War and Oregon Country after a dispute with Britain.

5. William G. Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, p. 79.

6. Otis E. Young, "Military Protection of the Santa Fe Trail and Trade," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, October 1954, p. 20.

7. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 15.

8. Joan Myers and Marc Simmons, Along the Santa Fe Trail (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), p. 4.

9. Jack D. Rittenhouse, The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), p. 14.

10. Ibid.; Young, p. 20.

11. Ibid.

12. Mark L. Gardner, "Introduction," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, p. 3.

13. "Council Trove-Documents: Use of Word 'Trail'," Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1991, pp. 25-26.

14. Gardner, p. 3.

15. Leo E. Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, p. 54; Rowe Findley, "Along the Santa Fe Trail," National Geographic, Vol. 179, No. 3, March 1991, p. 102.

16. Charles W. Hurd, "Origin and Development of the Santa Fe Trail," The Santa Fe Magazine, Vol. XV, No. 10, September 1921, p. 17; L. L. Waters, Steel Rails to Santa Fe (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1950), p. 14.

17. Leo E. Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 3; Waters, p. 14.

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

19. Ibid., p. 57.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. 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 fifteen million dollars. 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 on behalf of the United States and by French Minister for Finance, Francois de Barbe-Marbois. Congress ratified the treaty on October 25, 1803 thus permitting the borrowing of money from English and French bankers to pay for the territory. The United States assumed possession of the Louisiana Purchase on December 20, 1803. The territorial boundaries were modified later as international boundary disputes emerged. In 1818, the United States and Great Britain agreed on the 49th Parallel as the boundary between the United States and Canada. The following year the United States acquired Florida in return for Texas which Spain acquired. The Louisiana Purchase did much to increase U.S. economic resources and to cement the union of the Middle West and East.

23. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, p. 8.

24. David J. Weber, The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 33.

25. Isaac J. Cox, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. 25, October 1930-July 1931, pp. 30-31; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, pp. 5-6.

26. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 6.

27. Cox, p. 32; Waters, p. 15; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 7.

28. Waters, p. 15; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 7; Weber, Taos Trappers, p. 38.

29. Lecompte, p. 58; Hurd, p. 19; Waters, p. 5; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 7.

30. Hurd, p. 19; Waters, p. 15.

31. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 8.

32. Lecompte, p. 58.

33. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 8.

34. Ibid.; Waters, p. 16.

35. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 9.

36. Ibid.

37. Lecompte, p. 59.

38. David J. Weber, The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 278.

39. Marvin Mikesell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. L, March 1960, p. 65.

40. Weber, Mexican Frontier, p. 278.

41. The History of Jackson County, Missouri (Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Ramfre Press, 1966), p. 172.

42. Ibid., p. 176.

43. Weber, Mexican Frontier, p. 5.

44. Robert L. Duffus, The Santa Fe Trail (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1943), p. 162.

45. William E. Brown, The Santa Fe Trail (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1990), p. 32; Weber, Mexican Frontier, p. 5.

46. Hereafter, places referred to in this text will be given their current state association. In some instances, this may not coincide with the political divisions of the period of Trail history under consideration. Where appropriate, refer to the figures included (Figures 1-4) for historical political divisions.

47. Lewis E. Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader as Mercantile Capitalist," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LXXVII, No. 1, October 1982, p. 6.

48. Ibid., p. 7.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., p. 8.

51. Ibid., p. 10.

52. Ibid., p. 3.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 4.

57. Ibid., p. 8.

58. Ibid., p. 4.

59. Ibid., p. 8.

60. Ibid., p. 9.

61. Ibid., p. 5.

62. Ibid., p. 6.

63. Ibid., p. 11.

64. Ibid.

65. David A. Sandoval, "Gnats, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, pp. 22-31.

66. Thomas E. Chavez, "Manuel Alvarez and the Santa Fe Trail: Beyond Geographical Circumstances," La Gaceta, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1985, p. 6.

67. Sandoval, p. 28.

68. Ibid.

69. Chavez, pp. 6-7.

70. Dean E. Wood, The Old Santa Fe Trail from the Missouri River (Kansas City, Missouri: E. L. Mendenhall, Inc., 1955), p. 120.

71. Ibid.

72. Chavez, p. 7.

73. Ibid., p. 8.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., p. 9.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., p. 11.

78. Ibid., p. 10.

79. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

80. **Manuel Armijo (c. 1793-1853)**

Manuel Armijo was born in Albuquerque. He was not only a soldier and a statesman, he was a merchant and a trader over the Santa Fe Trail. Like many other Mexican traders, 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. In 1842, he lost $20,000 when one-third of his goods bound for Santa Fe, and valued at $80,000 in Santa Fe, was lost on the steamboat "Lebanon." He served as collector of customs at Santa Fe during the 1830s but experienced difficulties in keeping up with the 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 but removed it once again in 1839 since Santa Fe traders started using larger wagons pulled by ten or twelve mules. He also served as Lieutenant Governor until the assassination of Governor Perez when Armijo was elevated to the position of Governor as well as commander of the troops. He served as Governor of New Mexico during most of the period from 1837 to 1846. On August 14, 1846, Governor Armijo assembled two thousand men at Canoncito for the purpose of defending New Mexico from Colonel Kearny and the Army of the West following the U.S. declaration of war two months earlier. 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 and the Army of the West which seized Santa Fe without firing a shot on August 18, 1846. After the Mexican War was over, Armijo was tried in Mexico City for cowardice and desertion for his actions or lack thereof. He died in Lemitar, New Mexico on December 9, 1853.

Brown, p. 38; Stella M. Drumm, ed., Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926 and 1962; reprint ed., Lincoln, Nebraska and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), p. 96; Sandoval, pp. 28-29; Wood, pp. 117-118; Weber, Mexican Frontier, pp. 190, 268.

81. Chavez, p. 13.

82. Marian 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), p. viii.

83. Drumm, pp. 102-103.

84. Sandra L. Myres, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail," The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987), p. 28.

85. Ibid., p. 29.

86. Ibid., pp. 27-46.

87. Ibid., p. 31.

88. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

89. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

90. Ibid., p. 30.

91. Chavez, p. 3.

92. Ibid.

93. Gregg, n.p.

94. Marian Meyer, Mary Donoho: New First Lady of the Santa Fe Trail (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1991), p. x.

95. Ibid., p. 27.

96. Ibid.

97. Antoine Robidou was a New Mexico-based trapper and trader who traveled over portions of the Santa Fe Trail. In 1846, Kearny appointed Robidou to serve as interpreter for the expedition to occupy Santa Fe. Robidou had a good relationship with the American Indian peoples of the plains and the mountains.
Oliva, Soldiers, p. 59.

98. Meyer, p. 28.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., p. 53.

103. Ibid., p. 55.

104. Ibid., p. 60.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., p. 61.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Drumm, pp. 66, 102.

110. Findley, p. 116.

111. Chavez, p. 4; Sandoval, p. 23.

112. Sandoval, pp. 23-24.

113. Ibid., p. 25.

114. Ibid., p. 24.

115. Wood, p. 131.

116. Ibid. See also Marc Simmons, Murder on the Santa Fe Trail: An International Incident, 1843 (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1987) for a definitive account of the Chavez murder.

117. Gregg, p. 21.

118. George Frederick Ruxton, Adventures in the Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, quoted in LeRoy R. Hafen, Ruxton of the Rockies (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1950), p. 269.

119. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 9.

120. Myers and Simmons, p. 7.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid., p. 8.

124. Gregory M. Franzwa, Maps of the Santa Fe Trail (St. Louis, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1989), p. 1; Larry M. Beachum, "To the Westward: William Becknell and the Beginning of the Santa Fe Trade," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, p. 7.

125. Beachum, p. 6.

126. Franzwa, p. 1.

127. Ibid., p. 3; Beachum, p. 7.

128. Beachum, p. 7.

129. Franzwa, p. 1.

130. Lecompte, p. 60.

131. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 7.

132. Beachum, p. 9; Franzwa, p. 2.

133. Beachum, p. 9; Brown, p. 8.

134. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 10.

135. Ibid., p. 11; Beachum, p. 10.

136. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 9.

137. Ibid., p. 9.

138. Ibid., p. 10.

139. Beachum, p. 10.

140. Gregg, pp. 8-9.

141. Kenneth L. Holmes, Ewing Young: Master Trapper (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1967), p. 14.

142. Franzwa, p. 2; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 10.

143. Beachum, p. 11.

144. 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.

145. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 10.

146. Ibid., p. 10; Stephen Sayles, "Thomas Hart Benton and the Santa Fe Trail," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, October 1974, p. 3.

147. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 19.

148. Beachum, p. 11.

149. Gregg, p. 10.

150. Ibid.

151. Nick Eggenhofer, Wagons, Mules and Men: How the Frontier Moved West (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1961), p. 66.

152. Gregg, p. 22.

153. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, pp. 13-14.

154. Reprinted in Wagon Tracks, Santa Fe Trail Association Newsletter, Vol. 2, November 1987, p. 13.

155. Brown, p. 53; Hurd, p. 20; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 15.

156. Hurd, p. 20; Findley, p. 110.

157. Gregg, n.p.; Duffus, p. 22; Brown, p. 51; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 26; Wood, p. 61.

158. Findley, p. 107.

159. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 19; Sayles, p. 4.

160. Wood, p. 119.

161. Lecompte, p. 72.

162. Sayles, p. 6.

163. Eggenhofer, p. 53.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid., p. 55.

166. Ibid., p. 54.

167. Ibid., p. 66.

168. Walker Wyman, "Bullwhacking: A Prosaic Profession Peculiar to the Great Plains," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, October 1932, p. 299.

169. Ibid., p. 300.

170. Gregg, pp. 23-24.

171. Ibid., p. 24; Frederick Simpich, "The Santa Fe Trail, Path to Empire," The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LVI, No. 2, August 1929, p. 213.

172. Gregg, p. 24.

173. Wyman, "Bullwhacking," p. 300.

174. Myers and Simmons, p. 31.

175. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 15.

176. Myers and Simmons, p. 31.

177. Ibid.

178. Eggenhofer, p. 112; Wyman, "Bullwhacking," p. 301.

179. Eggenhofer, pp. 67, 111.

180. Ibid., p. 62; Wyman, "Bullwhacking," p. 302.

181. Marc Simmons, "The Santa Fe Trail . . . Highway of Commerce," Trails West (Washington, D.C.: Special Publications Division, National Geographic Society, 1983), p. 29.

182. Eggenhofer, n.p.

183. Wyman, "Bullwhacking," p. 304.

184. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 15.

185. Ibid., p. 15.

186. Ibid.

187. Wyman, "Bullwhacking," p. 299.

188. Gregg, p. 95.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid., p. 96.

191. Ibid., p. 157.

192. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 12.

193. Ibid.

194. Franzwa, p. 3; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 12.

195. Beachum, p. 11.

196. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 12.

197. Brown, p. 13.

198. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 12.

199. Wood, p. 11.

200. Gregg, p. 12.

201. Franzwa, p. 3.

202. Brown, p. 18; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 13.

203. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 13; Wood, p. 52.

204. Findley, p. 117.

205. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 25.

206. Hurd, p. 22; Young, p. 22.

207. Brown, p. 19.

208. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 14.

209. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 25.

210. Brown, p. 8.

211. Young, p. 25.

212. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 25.

213. Ibid., p. 42.

214. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 19.

215. Ibid., p. 18.

216. Young, p. 26.

217. Ibid.

218. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 20.

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220. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 40.

221. David A. Sandoval, p. 23.

United States Department of the Interior / National Park Service, p. 9.

222. United States Department of the Interior / National Park Service, p. 9.

223. Ibid., p. 25; Young, p. 32.

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225. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 53.

226. Brown, p. 42.

227. Ibid., p. 43.

228. Ibid., p. 45; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 21.

229. Brown, p. 45.

230. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 21.

231. Brown, p. 48; Oliva, Soldiers, p. 54.

232. Franzwa, p. 4.

233. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 55; Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 22.

234. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 55.

235. Rittenhouse, Santa Fe Trail, p. 55.

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286. Brown, p. 56.

287. Simpich, p. 249.

288. Bieber, p. 165.

289. Ibid.

290. A synoptic overview of stagecoaches on the Santa Fe Trail is provided in Brown, pp. 55-58.

291. Ibid., p. 56.

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295. Ibid., p. 49.

296. Ibid., pp. 51-52, 54-55.

297. Howard R. Lamar, The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), pp. 118-119.

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300. Ibid., p. 94.

301. The Concord stagecoach derived its name from its place of origin--Concord, New Hampshire. The Abbot-Downing Company was the first firm 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. "The ample body, almost egg shaped in its tri-dimensional curves, was a fine piece of joinery. It rested upon two lengthwise "thorough-braces," each of several leather strips. These helped absorb shocks which would otherwise affect the 6-horse team. The thorough-braces were attached to stiff iron standards." The Concord coaches weighed 2,500 pounds and could carry nine passengers inside.

Jack D. Rittenhouse, American Horse-Drawn Vehicles (Los Angeles, California: Dillon Lithograph Company, 1948), pp. 46-48.

302. Taylor, p. 103.

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304. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, p. 10.

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315. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 55.

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352. Henry P. Walker, The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 27.

353. Lecompte, p. 62.

354. Wood, p. 258.

355. Ibid.

356. Ibid., pp. 272 - 273.

357. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, p. 10.

358. Darlis A. Miller, "Freighting for Uncle Sam," Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1, November 1990, p. 11.

359. Ibid., p. 12.

360. Ibid., p. 14.

361. Ibid., p. 15.

362. Oliva, Soldiers, p. 24.

363. Wood, p. 278.

364. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, p. 13.

365. Gardner, p. 3.

366. Franzwa, p. 6.

367. Buckles, p. 79.

368. Russell, p. viii.

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370. Barbour, p. 39.

371. Myers and Simmons, p. 66.

372. Simmons, "Santa Fe Trail," p. 11.

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Introduction

The property types defined in this Multiple Property Submission are the product of Santa Fe Trail traffic from 1821 through 1880. Most of these properties derive significance from their association with a pattern of historic events, namely, use of the Trail during an important epoch in American history. Criterion A is the principal National Register Criterion applied in this Multiple Property Submission. When applicable, Criteria B and D are also relevant. Criterion B is applied to sites involving notable individuals; Criterion D is used when sufficient historic information potential appears on a site. Criterion C has been successfully applied to Santa Fe Trail properties previously listed in the National Register; it is not emphasized in this effort, but will be referenced when applicable.

As part of the Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, a survey of Trail properties was completed in 1988.[1] The intent of this survey was to verify the location of important Trail sites and identify those capable of interpretation under a comprehensive draft management plan. The survey was not conducted to meet the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards*, nor was there an evaluation of Trail properties referencing the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.[2] Nonetheless, this survey verified the existence and location of 194 Trail-related properties with high interpretive potential. Forty-three identified properties have been accorded National Historic Landmark status and twenty-five properties are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. These properties are excluded from this registration effort, leaving 126 identified properties currently undesignated.

Property types formed for this effort focus on the properties being nominated with this initial submission. Additional property types may be developed as needed should any future registration efforts include historic resources which do not meet the property type categories developed in this submission.

The majority of the 126 remaining properties can be classified as National Register *sites*.[3] Trail sites can appear singly, as part of a district, or as part of a discontiguous district.[4] For this effort, a sample of forty properties was selected for registration. This selection does not preclude the registration of any remaining properties identified in future efforts.

This Multiple Property Submission is organized using five Associated Historic Contexts: International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846; The Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848; Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1865; The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865; and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880. A variety of Trail property types may be related to these contexts. The four major property types developed for this Multiple Property Document are a reflection of the historic pattern of events detailed in the Associated Historic Contexts section. Not all property types listed in this document are developed for registering sites at this time. Their listing in this Associated Property Types section (Item F) reflects a sample of other possible property types for the Trail. Future efforts can develop these property types to address underrepresented resources not currently listed on the National Register.

I. Name of Property Type: **Historic Trail**

Introduction

Historic trails are paths and roads consistently used in historic time. As historic landscape features, the existence of a historic trail is verified by historic research, field observation, and the preparation of field documentation. A historic trail as applied here is a generic term: a well-defined corridor of variable width and length, having undergone a variety of uses by different means of conveyance in historic time. Basically, the term "trail" as used here refers to roads limited to foot travel, pack animal transport, and oxen, horse, and mule-drawn wagons.

While in modern usage the name "trail" may conjure an undeveloped route; this is not the case with historic trails. In truth, historic trails are dynamic systems and can possess cultural significance while remaining quite primitive in appearance. Historic trails can 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.[5] A historic trail is important for the historic associations it possesses, as well as for the physical attributes it displays.

Within the generic class of historic trail, are different categories of purposeful use. Those classes of use associated with the Santa Fe Trail include: 1) a commercial trail, 2) historic military trail, 3) historic stage coach route (here subsumed under commercial trail), and 4) historic emigrant trail (not fully developed in this submission). In addition, important subsidiary trails which formed part of the Santa Fe Trail system can be identified as a class. Certainly other classes of local use could expand this list, but are not emphasized in this submission.

The principal physical characteristic of a historic trail itself is generally limited to preserved rutted trail segments, rutted stream crossings, or rutted trail segments found with ruins. These kinds of trail remains are accented in this registration effort. These rutted segments show the variable Trail route as it developed in 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 which often confronted the Trail users with a series of critical decisions in using the Trail.

Some historic trail sites lack visible physical remains (e.g., ruts or ruins), but retain environmental integrity. These are identified through well-documented historic use, depiction on maps, or description within Trail narratives.[6] These sites might be limited to a single important event such as a historically significant battle, the signing of a treaty or a meeting, or they may represent a prominent natural feature guiding trail travelers. They are sites in the literal sense of the word, significant beyond their having material remains.[7] These sites are subsumed within the property type Ancillary Historic Properties.

Historic trails are a type of rural historic landscape in many instances.[8] The Santa Fe Trail passes through many modern urbanized areas, but the bulk of the Trail segments are still located in rural areas. At times these segments are in close enough proximity to be linked together as a discontiguous district of sites. Other segments stand in relative isolation. In the main, the classification (i.e. categorization as site or district) of each existing segment or set

of segments depends on local environmental circumstances and application of standards for boundary definition articulated by the National Register.

The statement of significance for the historic trails property type relates the property (and sub-types) to the associated historic contexts. Given the similarities in physical characteristics for the historic trail sub-types, the applicable Criteria and areas of significance can be related to a number of uses. For instance, on many Trail segments use was contingent on not only commercial traffic, but also traffic related to military logistical support and stage traffic. In many instances the source of the rutted segments is indistinguishable. In instances where no clear demarcation between user groups can be made it is assumed a variety of users formed the segments unless evidence shows otherwise. In registration, priority will be given to the most logical primary users, and appropriate areas of significance will be chosen accordingly. The summary significance section for the property type historic trails addresses the applicable Criteria and areas of significance.

Whether a trail was used as commercial, military, or emigrant trail, its basic physical characteristics remain the same. Therefore, integrity and registration requirements of the resource's principal manifestation--rutted segments--can be addressed in a summary section. These general qualifications for the property type historic trail are summarized in a subsequent section (see Registration Requirements, Historic Trails).

Since one trail-related property type--Historic American Indian Trail--is unique, it is treated separately, despite parallel patterns of travel (see Ancillary Historic Properties: Historic American Indian Trail). The approach followed in this document first describes the sub-classes of the historic trail property type (i.e. Commercial Trail and Military Trail) and, within each class, only briefly states its significance (see Associated Historic Contexts, Section B and Statement of Historic Contexts, Section E for a more detailed statement). These sections are then followed by the comprehensive summary Registration Requirements for historic trails as a property type. The other property types associated with Section F (e.g., Ancillary Historic Properties, Military Properties) follow this "type: sub-type" arrangement when necessary or conform to the standard format of Section F for the National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form.

I. A. Sub-type: **Commercial Trail**

Description

Pre-eminent among the Santa Fe Trail's uses was its role as a road of commerce. The International Trade on the Mexican Road period of the Trail (1821-1846), brought the Trail to the height of its international prominence. It had truly become an international road of commerce. This use is evidenced by well-defined ruts or sites formed by historic trade and freighter traffic. After the Mexican Road period, historic stagecoach traffic became an important adjunct to the shipping of goods. In another chapter of the Trail's use military supply and transport became overwhelmingly important (see Military Trail sub-type). Other adjuncts to the rutted Trail segments include the sites and structures required for maintenance of commercial traffic (see property type II: Ancillary Historic Properties).

Trail segments are often well-documented routes (i.e. on maps and primary historic documents) retaining the physical and associative characteristics of the period of historic significance. The main corridor of the Santa Fe Trail has been carefully analyzed using historic sources and primary documentation.[9] Important ancillary routes to the main

corridor merit additional study.[10] Trail segments can feature artifacts and archaeological and architectural features datable to the period of the Trail's historic significance as a commercial trail. These features are often found in direct proximity to the main Trail corridor and merit careful evaluation for their historic information potential.

Physical evidence of trade or freighter Trail routes may include ruts, swales, and seasonal vegetational changes bearing witness to the passage of thousands of wagons.[11] The arid character of the Trail region played a prominent role in preserving this evidence. The shifting nature of the seasonal vegetational pattern makes some sites observable only at certain times of the year. Increased erosion endangers or compromises the integrity of these landscape features. The rutted segments normally proceed in a long set of parallel tracks. They are molded around the topography and represent decisions made by the guides and travelers seeking the path of least resistance. Often they are aligned in reference to prominent natural features in the area. Their depth and width were determined by the loads carried, wagon technology, and soil conditions. Whether traveling in single file or fanning out, the tracks mirror a series of factors important in each traverse of the Trail.

Among the conceivable types of properties associated with trade, stage, and freighter Trail networks are campsites, relay stations, road houses or road ranches, stage stations, stables, and developed wells. Natural landmarks such as springs, river crossings and promontories also played an important role in Trail travel. These resources are intimately tied to the Trail's use and historic associations (see property type II: Ancillary Historic Properties).

Significance (see summary)

Registration Requirements (see summary)

I. B. Sub-type: **Military Trail**

Description

Historic military trails are documented wagon trails or roads with national, regional, or local military significance. Military traffic on the Santa Fe Trail was related to a series of significant military events.[12] First, military escorts of commercial traffic began in 1829 when infantry under Major Bennett Riley accompanied traders as far as the Adams-Onis Treaty line on the Arkansas; later escorts (1833, 1843) established the principle that traders had the right to expect protection on the Trail.[13] Later, the military was responsible for bringing the Santa Fe Trail region under American sovereignty through actions in the Mexican War, 1846-1848.[14] The heightened military traffic of this action continued through the next half century. The military was responsible for protecting both commercial traffic and their own logistical support on the Trail subsequent to the Mexican War. The improvement of military trails was an important component in military affairs throughout the West.[15] This activity culminated in the establishment and linking of no less than nineteen forts along the Trail in the mid-nineteenth century (see Military Properties property type).[16]

Although the bulk of the traffic was contracted out to civilian commercial carriers, military transport formed an integral component of the maintenance of a military presence in the newly acquired Southwest.[17] Several adjuncts to the older Santa Fe Trail corridor were created linking the military posts along the Trail.[18] Up until 1880, ever decreasing portions of the Santa Fe Trail played a critical role in provisioning the armies of the Southwest. The

advent of the railroad, its extension coming primarily through the 1870s, led to the decrease in significant military-related Trail traffic.

The physical remains of military use of the Trail remain much the same as its more commercially oriented traffic. The reasoning behind creating a separate military trail property type springs from the fact that military use has different historic associations. It also has to be considered that the use of the Trail as a military trail created sites along the Trail directly linked to military history as an area of significance rather than commercial use, a case in point being the numerous branches formed by military freighter traffic between the Mountain Route and Fort Union in the later stages of the Trail's history.[19] The Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road and the Fort Leavenworth Roads leading to the main Trail corridor are also indicative of military-related traffic. As a main distribution point for southwestern supplies, Fort Union, New Mexico features innumerable well-preserved wagon ruts and remains of the historic fort. Adjuncts to the Trail corridor like the forts, camps, and historic sites have been subsumed within the sub-type Military Properties (see below).

Like commercial trails, military trails may be evidenced by well-defined ruts or sites formed by historic military traffic. In certain instances, military trail sites may not feature easily discernable ruts or trail remains, but may contain well-documented routes (i.e. on Army maps or primary historic documents); the sites might retain the physical and associative characteristics of the period. These less well-known sites may conceivably possess features and artifacts dating to the period of the Trail's historic significance in direct proximity to the Trail corridor. Depending on the amount of material remains, these sites can be defined as a feature of the military trail sub-type or ancillary historic site. Like the commercial roadway, physical evidence of military trails may include ruts, swales, vegetational changes, artifacts, associated hearths, and military structures including minor temporary fortifications.

The U.S. Army was a principal road builder in the early trans-Mississippi western frontier. The dispersal of Army posts throughout the West in the nineteenth century necessitated that road networks be established for security reasons. Surveys and improvements to the Trail corridor were made by the military to facilitate traffic.[20] Patrols provided protection along the Trail. Communication and the distribution of supplies to the Army's far flung posts were the main reasons for the improvements and road construction. The advent of the railroad enabled the supplying of Army posts to be set on a firmer footing than had been possible before. The roads blazed and maintained by the military formed an important network for troop movement and campaigning, as well as aiding in the settlement of the region.

Significance (see summary)

Registration Requirements (see summary)

I. C. Sub-type: **Emigrant Trail**

Description

This sub-type is not fully developed, since no properties of this sub-type are being nominated in this initial Multiple Property Submission.

The Santa Fe Trail was not primarily a road of emigration, but rather was a road of commerce.[21] The gold rushes of the West--California's in 1849 and Colorado's in 1859--did precipitate some use of the Trail by fortune hunters. When departing to California, the gold seekers used the routes blazed by the military on the Santa Fe Trail and during the Mexican War. The Colorado gold rush had a more significant impact on the Trail, particularly the Mountain Route, which provided access to the southern peripheries of the gold fields. Stagecoach lines were quickly established to serve the burgeoning gold field towns.

A sustained but small flow of emigrants did seek opportunity in proximity to the Santa Fe Trail, including mechanics and artisans who could perform ancillary services for the military community. Ranchers and farmers also laid claim to the rangelands and river valleys in the vicinity of the Trail, providing goods for army logistical support.

As is the case with the other Trail sub-types, historic emigrant trails are documented wagon roads with national, regional, or local significance. They are evidenced by: 1) well-defined ruts or sites formed by historic wagon traffic and the services required for such traffic, and 2) environmental settings that may not feature easily discernible ruts or Trail remains but are a) well-documented routes (i.e. on maps or primary historic documents) retaining the physical and associative characteristics of the period of historic significance and/or b) feature artifacts and sites datable to the period of the Trail's historic significance in direct proximity to the Trail corridor.

Physical evidence of trails may include ruts, swales, vegetational changes, artifacts, associated hearths, structures and foundations, and inscriptions. Along this traverse, camps were established along the major stream courses cutting across the wagon trail. Three factors were the primary determinants in historic emigrant trail campsite location: defensibility, water availability, and forage for livestock.

The location of emigrant camps was commonly on the broad flat terraces above natural waterways throughout the course of the Trail. Here the wagons could be arranged in a defensive shield and stock fed on the terrace in close proximity to wagons.

Significance (not developed in this original submission)

Registration Requirements (not developed in this original submission)

Significance
(Sub-types: Commercial Trail, Military Trail)

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 Comanches, Kiowas, Utes, Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos all resisted the encroachment that the Trail represented upon their lands. The Trail was the means by which American hegemony was established over a vast area of the northernmost Mexican Republic.[22] Each Trail segment tangibly reflects diverse areas of significance: commerce, transportation, and ethnic heritage being a few of the more important areas.[23] The primary Criterion for evaluating the remaining Trail segments is measuring the site's association with the pattern of events which created, developed, and sustained traffic along this corridor from 1821 through 1880.

The significance of the Santa Fe Trail is apparent from the over 800 articles and books published on its history; analysis of this historic trail continues into the present day, often providing new insights on the Trail's significance at the national, state, and local levels.[24] To relate this information to existing resources for purposes of registration requires a technical exercise. The first aspect of this exercise requires judgments be made on a property's ability to tangibly reflect Trail history under the term integrity (see Registration Requirements for an elaboration of these issues). A second aspect of this exercise involves defining the appropriate areas of historic significance applicable to Trail properties.

As a commercial trail, the rutted Trail segments should be associated with the commercial use of the Trail beginning with Becknell's 1822 trade expedition using the first wagon on the Trail. This commercial traffic was the prominent Trail use through the succeeding quarter century. Running between Franklin and Santa Fe (and often extending to the Rio Abajo country of New Mexico, Chihuahua and farther), the main Trail corridor was a portion of an important international trade network between the United States and the newly independent Mexican Republic.[25] The properties reflecting this commercial use from 1821 to the end of Mexican War in 1848 form an important physical reflection of the development of American commerce in the trans-Mississippi West. At the national level of significance, the existing Trail segments must be documented to have been used during this period of historic significance (i.e. 1821-1846) to be significant under international commerce.

In the fifteen years succeeding Kearny's taking of Santa Fe, the establishment of American hegemony over the region became a primary concern of the government. After this time, the Trail became more significant in the area of military history as it served as the principal viaduct of military supply in the region.[26] 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. One important commercial enterprise during the post-Mexican War era was the establishment of stagecoach service between the eastern end of the Trail and Santa Fe; the first stage company was the Waldo, Hall and Company first contracted in 1850. By 1861 Barnum, Vail and Vickery had established a regular system of stations along the Trail spaced at a distance of fifteen and twenty miles. Later the Barlow and Sanderson Stage Company continued stagecoach operations along the Trail into the 1880s (see Ancillary Historic Properties, sub-type: Stage Stations).

To isolate how much Trail traffic was strictly military goods as opposed to purely commercial ignores the fact that the Trail's uses in this era were intertwined. Evaluation of the appropriate area and level of significance for properties during the period from the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 to the outbreak of Civil War in 1861, and the later phase of Trail use from the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 until the arrival of the railroad in Santa Fe in 1880, requires judgment as to which historic association is more important, though both will often pertain. As the national network of railroads edged deeper into the trans-Mississippi West, the Trail became increasingly regional in character and, hence, is more appropriately evaluated at the state and local levels of significance. This is primarily true after 1870 when the Kansas Pacific Railroad reached Colorado, and transshipment of goods increasingly was made from Kit Carson, Colorado. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad reached Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1879 and spelled a virtual end to significant Santa Fe Trail use.[27] The intervening period of the Civil War (1861-1865), while impinging on the use of the Trail and determining its future role in the region, is more relevantly subsumed under the Military Property type (see below).

Conceivably, all of the National Register Criteria, A-D, can be applied to properties on the Trail within these contexts. However, the historic resources existing along the Santa Fe Trail lend themselves to registration within certain Criteria and areas of significance over others. These Criteria and areas of significance are emphasized in this effort to facilitate ease of registration where integrity is preserved and historic associations are evident. Within the historic trails property type, the principle Criterion is A, association with events. Under this Criterion, the main areas of significance will include those patterns of events associated with commerce, military history, and transportation. Criterion B is applicable to trail segments where a segment or crossing is clearly linked with a specific person significant in American history. A trail segment is rarely by itself eligible for registration under Criteria C or D. Important trail segments can be combined with ancillary sites, which would make them contributing resources to a district under these Criteria, for instance, when historic architectural or archaeology sites lie in proximity to the Trail.

The level of significance for these Trail remains is determinable by examining the rich documentary record of the Trail recorded in secondary sources and, when possible, primary source material. The Trail's significance at the national level spans all five of the associated historic contexts identified in this document (the period 1821-1880).

Registration Requirements
(Sub-types: Commercial Trail, Military Trail)

On this predominantly high Plains road, few historic resources can vie with historic trails in representing historic events. Through their use of a historic trail over 900 miles in length, the travelers of the Santa Fe Trail demonstrated the frontier process and interaction of American cultures. To reflect these processes, the remnants of the Trail must have a clear linkage to the Trail's use from 1821 through 1880. The Associated Historic Contexts section has defined the following contexts: International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846; The Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848; Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1865; Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865; and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880.

Each property must be evaluated for its importance under the areas of significance of commerce, military history, and transportation. The property can be eligible if it can be clearly shown that it played an important role in maintaining the trail's viability as a commercial road, military road, or stagecoach road.

Trail remains are foremost eligible for Criterion A at the national level of significance. Other levels of significance--state and local--may apply if the Trail segment more obviously represents a locally important roadway or was part of an important regional system. Clearly, if the main route of the Trail passed through a locality, and enabled its existence, it was significant at the local level. At the state level, however, it must be shown the trail segment functioned as an integral part of the territorial or state transportation network in distributing goods and people. For instance, those parts of the Santa Fe Trail which served as parts of stagecoach networks in its later years or parts of the ever diminishing parts of the Trail used as the railroads expanded westward represent properties significant at the state level of significance. In lieu of having a regional level of significance, the state level of significance should be carefully considered. This is especially relevant to those portions of the Santa Fe Trail, which can be considered Trail adjuncts (see previous discussion under Description).

Criterion B allows for the registration of properties linked to an 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 Trail sites. When using Criterion B, the association between the Trail traveler 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, and should have traveled the Trail more than once. 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.

The analysis of the historic trail property type is relatively straightforward. It involves evaluating whether integrity of the visual scene and trail features is sufficiently retained along a verified trail route.[28] This process of judgment involves evaluating the location and setting of extant rutted segments and, when relevant, associated sites. It also entails judging whether the qualities of feeling and association are retained. A few critical variables are important to recognizing whether Trail integrity is sufficient to reflect the areas and period of historic significance. These variables include the retention of current natural or historic vegetation patterns, landscape views (including small scale features such as springs and large scale features such as prominent landmarks), and factors capable of preserving long term site integrity (e.g., low erosion, soil stability).[29] Landscapes are composed 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.[30] In the case of the Santa Fe Trail, the activities of animal-drawn transport have formed the most vivid reminder of these dictates--the Trail remnants that dot the landscape between Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The physical character of a historic trail must display sufficient environmental integrity. By environmental integrity, we refer to the existence of a certain amount 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 and association.[31] Environmental integrity is the quality of some visual context of the historical scene remaining intact.

Given the rarity and significance of the remaining rutted segments, flexibility must be allowed in determining what is a sufficient degree of environmental integrity, i.e. retention of the visual scene. Modern visual intrusions such as barbed wire fences, telephone and power pole lines, roads, hedgerows, and cultivated fields are now common in proximity to the remaining rutted segments of the Santa Fe Trail. As these modern visual intrusions are sometimes unavoidable, the rutted segments affected by these features may still be considered eligible for registration.

Critical to retaining integrity of historic trail sites is the formation of boundaries.[32] Along segments of many recognized historic trails these boundaries have been set arbitrarily for practical management reasons.[33] In these instances, boundaries commonly encompass the segment's length and width and a parcel of land, for example, a fifteen meter swath on either side of the rutted segment, parallel to the trail. While useful in a developed urban area, or heavily developed rural location, this kind of bounding sets the minimally acceptable limits for boundaries. When possible, natural delimiters (e.g., topographic features) are preferable. This is more in character with maintaining the natural context of the site. A second preferred mode incorporates arbitrary boundaries where necessary, but the remainder being set upon natural contours, for instance, where modern development impinges on one side of the trail but avoids the other side, which remains relatively intact. Care should be taken when establishing the boundaries of a rutted segment with nearby modern visual intrusions (e.g. barbed wire, and telephone and power pole lines). If possible the modern features should be avoided; however, a sufficient amount of land adjacent to the rutted segment (e.g. a minimum fifteen meter boundary on either side) should be the primary consideration.

Boundaries on historic trails may be wide to incorporate campsites, local natural landmarks, critical stream crossings, and other features associated with historic activity. Sometimes historic trail features are definable as sites but, sometimes they are more appropriately treated as aspects of a site's overall setting. However designated, trail features must be shown to be authentically historical and the boundaries formed to retain site setting must not extend to the point of providing a buffer beyond a site's logical limits. In the formation of trail site boundaries, the discontiguous nature of the extant segments calls for professional judgement to determine whether segments should be grouped as a district or single site. Intervening non-historical development provides one means of decision making; another means is whether the coupled sites are within viewing distance of each other within a consistently unobstructed view.

II. Name of Property Type: **Ancillary Historic Properties**

Introduction

A historic trail generally features ancillary resources associated with its use. These properties played a supporting role in maintaining the viability of the trail. Today, existing ancillary properties include isolated buildings, structures, or sites which have survived with a relatively high degree of integrity. The 1988 Santa-Fe Trail Site/Segment Survey has shown that the bulk of the remaining properties are sites associated with the Trail.

This property type can entail sites directly related to Trail use as an avenue of travel, commercial trade, U.S. military activity, American Indian occupation, Hispanic American Trail use, and pioneer emigration. Historic American Indian sites, trader and freighter camps, pioneer camps, Trail grave sites, signature rocks, and stage stations are among the set of resources that could conceivably be found along this historic Trail. All of these sites fit into this property type, and are linked by historic association. For this effort, the wide-ranging nature of this property type requires the linkage of the site to Santa Fe Trail use be concrete. Those sites only peripherally associated with the Trail, though existing during the period of historic significance, are excluded.

In this document, ancillary historic sites derive significance from clear association with the Trail's use during the period of historic significance. They also evidence an acceptable degree of integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. A unifying characteristic of this property type is that the property can be categorized as an eligible

National Register site[34] under either National Register Criterion A or B, or both. When eligible under Criterion C these ancillary sites contain information relevant to the study of regional vernacular architecture. This potential under Criterion C can be linked to the excavation of architectural features of sites along the Trail.[35] A fourth possible characteristic is that the site potentially possesses the ability to yield information important in American history under National Register Criterion D. The artifacts and features of these sites have the ability to inform us as to how the material culture correlates to the documentary record so richly explored in previous historical investigations. The material culture of the Trail can also have the ability to provide data on undocumented aspects of the Trail, or even provide new insights on Trail history forcing reappraisal of documentary evidence.

The wide variety of sites subsumed within this property type calls for the definition of certain sub-type categories. A small sample of potential sub-types is presented below. All property type sub-types listed here are described and a smaller number of sub-types are developed to present a significance section and registration requirements for this specific registration effort. This listing is viewed as neither comprehensive nor exhaustive.

II. A. Sub-type: **Historic American Indian Trail**

Description

This sub-type is not fully developed, since no properties of this sub-type are being nominated in this initial Multiple Property Submission .

Since the Santa Fe Trail crosses American Indian ancestral lands, the influence of American Indians on the Trail itself seems inevitable. Several American Indian tribes lived in the vicinity of the Trail including Pawnees, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Jicarilla Apaches, Kansas, Osages, Sioux, Utes, and Crows. Whether William Becknell intended to trade with American Indian peoples on his first trip from Missouri to Santa Fe is still contested; this trip was to result in the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821. Once established, the Trail presented American and Mexican travelers with the possibility of American Indian confrontation and conflict. As a result of the Trail and increasing interaction between these cultural groups, American Indian peoples played an increasing role in the life of the Trail.

Along the course of the Trail, peace treaties were negotiated with American Indians in order to secure safe passage for Trail travelers. Two such instances were the signing of a treaty at Council Grove on August 10, 1825 between the U.S. government and the Osage people, and the Treaties of the Little Arkansas in the autumn of 1865.[36] What hostilities did emerge along the Trail were in response to the crossing and subsequent acquisition by Americans of American Indian lands and the disruption of American Indian hunting grounds. Indeed, the first American killed by American Indians on the Santa Fe Trail may have been the result of the destruction of the buffalo for commercial benefits.[37] The increase in American and Mexican traffic over the Trail resulted in further disruption of the American Indian way of life, the continued destruction of their game, and the stealing of ancestral lands. At Big Timbers on the Arkansas River, between 1846 and 1847, hunting activities were disrupted, water was polluted, and habitats were destroyed.[38]

As the Santa Fe trade expanded, interaction with travelers along the Trail was viewed by several American Indian communities as profitable. American Indian response to the intrusion of wagon trains resulted in the taking of gods,

animals, or captives. However, not all interaction between American and American Indian peoples was hostile in nature. In addition to living near and paralleling the Trail, American Indians traveled over the Trail. There are even some instances of American Indian women marrying American traders and trappers who operated on the Trail.[39] Even when peace treaties were signed, American Indians often had to go to some location along the Trail itself in order to collect their annuities. American Indian Trails may, in the future, be shown to represent an intricate network of routes which traverse, parallel, and merge with the Santa Fe Trail as presently recognized.

The first pathways crossing the Santa Fe Trail region were those created by migrating herds of large game animals. Closely attuned to the migrational patterns of these animals were the subsistence patterns of the region's American Indians.[40] These inhabitants monitored and exploited the game available along these seasonally used pathways. Man-made pathways came into existence parallel to the game trails. Other native trails were established in relation to favored seasonal camp spots. The trails generally followed the path of least resistance, and were aligned along natural passes and corridors. Only the most sketchy documentation of the American Indian pattern of trails exists. These trails are commonly alluded to by early literate travelers or have been mentioned in oral traditions.

Evidence of historic American Indian Trail use must incorporate information from documents, oral traditions, and material remains. Physical evidence of trails may include hunting blinds and caches, small stone circles, lithic artifacts, Euro-American trade goods (e.g., metal artifacts), associated hearths in close proximity to natural features like passes, rivers and stream terraces, and game trails.

Recent scholarship has illuminated the role of historic American Indian trails in the Central Plains.[41] Long distance travel on the plains normally progressed on long stream-bounded divides. These ridge top trails were often marked by use, tracks often reaching hundreds of feet in width. Current evidence suggests the trails were otherwise purposefully marked. Among the adjuncts to the trails were campsites, normally of two kinds. The first was a temporary camp for daytime use; the second was overnight camps. Other trail-related sites could include marker cairns (showing trail spurs), petroglyphs, and burials. Some permanent villages were located in conjunction with trail paths at major breaks along the route.

Significance (not developed in this submission)

Registration Requirements (not developed in this submission)

II. B. Sub-type: **Stage Stations**

Description

From 1850 onward, government subsidized contract mail service on the Santa Fe Trail enabled the establishment of stagecoach lines along the Trail. These stagecoach lines depended heavily on the revenues derived from contracts to deliver the mail. The contracts issued by the United States Postal Service had a significant impact on the settlement and extension of U.S. sovereignty over the West.[42]

Military and non-military express mail was used for communication between Fort Leavenworth (Kansas) and Fort Marcy (Santa Fe) during and after the Mexican War of 1846. The irregularity of this mail service was a common

complaint among New Mexicans.[43] The establishment of a post office in Santa Fe in 1849 recognized the need for a more permanent system. In the next year, David Waldo and his partners successfully bid for the four year contract to carry the mail, almost always a precursor to 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. Its various adjuncts, including stations, corrals, and improved crossings were strewn along the route and form a historically significant part of the Trail's material remains.

Waldo, Hall & Company initially used simple mail wagons to transport the mail. Stations were established at Council Grove, Fort Mann, Fort Union, Fort Atkinson and Diamond Spring during the company's contract. In the next contract period Jacob Hall, Waldo's partner, bought the firm and successfully bid on the next four year contract. In these early years the accent of the service was to transport mail, with passenger travel a subsidiary venture to keeping the lucrative mail contract.

The new 1854 contract evolved into a partnership between Hall and John Hockaday.[44] The Hall and Hockaday partnership served official post offices in Independence and Westport, Missouri, and Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Fort Union, New Mexico. Newer post offices added to the route included eight Kansas post offices, including Council Grove and Fort Atkinson, and Tecolote, New Mexico. Hall successfully vied for the next mail contract period in 1858 with partner Judge James Porter.[45] Mail and stage routes proliferated throughout the Southwest and nationally as the newly acquired lands gained through the Mexican War were opened for development.[46] This activity culminated in the establishment of a transcontinental stage and mail service (1857) operated by John Butterfield through the southernmost region of the United States. The enormous $600,000 contract for overland mail was second only to the ambition to provide the service via a southern overland route through the desert Southwest.[47]

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 1859. The constant hazard of confrontation with the American Indians of the Plains--including the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Utes, Cheyennes, and Arapahos--coupled with the increasing traffic from Colorado gold seekers, made the Mountain Route of the Trail increasingly attractive to stage operators. Towns were burgeoning with the emigrants and mail service was one of the first demands of the new arrivals, second only to military protection.

By late 1860 the partnership of Hall and Porter requested that they be allowed to move their mail service to the Mountain Route.[48] Shortly thereafter the Hall and Porter stage line was sold to the Missouri Stage Company headed by Preston Roberts, Jr.; however, Hall retained the current mail contract and transferred its operation to Roberts' firm. By early 1861 the Postmaster General allowed the new firm to transfer the mail and stage route to the Mountain Route of the Trail.[49]

The evolution of stagecoach firms typically involved a host of investors. Often the partners under one contract would expand or contract in subsequent contracts. Consequently, the names of the firms changed as often as the contracts. In contracts after Hall and Roberts' partnership, stagecoach operations included ownership by Slemmons, Roberts and Company (1860-1862)--which expanded the lines to include newly founded Colorado mining communities--and Cottrill, Vickory and Company, later M. Cottrill and Company (1862-1865), which again expanded the stage line with numerous connections to other western towns, and was later referred to as the Santa Fe Stage Company.[50] The introduction of the famous Concord stagecoaches, a standard for excellence in stagecoaches in the nineteenth century, did not come to the Santa Fe stage lines until the M. Cottrill and Company introduced them in 1864.[51]

Throughout the period between 1850-1880, the Santa Fe Trail was incorporated into a system of stage lines that crisscrossed the Southwest, with extensive connections linking the southern and southwestern trans-Mississippi West to the west coast and Mississippi River valley. The last prominent stage company to use portions of the Santa Fe Trail in its operations was the Barlow and Sanderson Company, which saw the stagecoach era dwindling with the western extension of national railroad networks through the 1860s, 1870s, and early 1880s. Barlow and Sanderson was the last major stage system in the country.[52]

Each stage line incorporated groups of properties along its routes necessary for the smooth functioning of the line. In the early years of express mail before 1850, stations to serve the line were few and far between. The earliest stage stations were specifically established to serve the coaches or carriages carrying the mail. Little was done to accommodate passengers. Mules were the preferred animals for the stages. Stage stations were commonly complexes which provided exchange points for draft animals, thus featuring 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 for stock forage and equipment. Some of the more important stage stations featured developed wells and blacksmith shops.

As previously mentioned, Hall and Hockaday expanded the system of mail post offices when they took over the service in 1855.[53] The buildings and associated stock corrals were constructed of local materials and usually located in proximity to an Army post for protection. Sometimes a post office lost its official status, as in the case of Allison and Booth's Walnut Creek Station in Kansas, but continued to thrive as a stopping point on the Trail.[54] The stations thus often became a locus of area settlement in the earliest years.

Hall had the length of the Trail between Kansas City and Pawnee Fork surveyed in 1858. The surveyor, Captain L.J. Berry, marked every 20 mile interval. Hall had a mail station established along each point. To reduce travel time, the federal Post Office Department urged the establishment of numerous stations where fresh animals could be available. These stations were fortified against increasing American Indian resistance, but did not differ materially from previous stations, again being constructed of local materials and primarily concerned with maintaining stock necessary for the stage line.[55] At later stations this extended to the use of local junipers and stone for stock corrals.[56] Local ranches also served as stops along the line. In one significant instance, adaptive use of older buildings, like those at Bent's Old Fort, served as an important way station on the stage route.[57]

In the mid-1860s, the firm of M. Cottrill and Company made improvements along the Trail's stage stations. Large substantial adobe buildings (40' x 80') were added to the line and seven new stations were built. In 1866, seven stations were built along the mail route east of Fort Lyon. The stations were more often simple constructions, and included dugouts built into hill slopes, walled with sod or adobe and roofed with logs covered with dirt.[58] A typical stage station of this period was operated by a husband and wife who oversaw the animals and provided the food and accommodations to passengers. Relay drivers often boarded with the couple whose responsibilities extended to feeding the drivers. The stationmasters normally had responsibility for the mail delivery once deposited by the stage. Because they were officially postmasters, the station managers were accorded government protection. Isolated stage stations were nonetheless vulnerable to stock stealing and attack by American Indians resisting the encroachment of settlement on their traditional lands.

Significance

In 1849, David Waldo and his partners successfully bid for the four year contract to carry the mail to Santa Fe; these contracts were almost always a precursor to 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. Its various adjuncts, including stations, corrals, and improved crossings were strewn along the route and form a historically significant part of the Trail's material remains. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Santa Fe Trail was incorporated into a system of stage lines that crisscrossed the Southwest, with extensive connections linking the southern and southwestern trans-Mississippi West to the northern Rocky Mountain region, west Pacific coast, and Mississippi River valley. The last prominent stage company to operate over segments of the old Santa Fe Trail was the Barlow and Sanderson Company, which witnessed the stagecoach era decline as the national railroad networks expanded westward during the 1860s, 1870s, and early 1880s. Barlow and Sanderson was the last major stage system in the country.[59]

Stage stations represent a significant resource along the Santa Fe Trail. Aside from their direct historic associations with Trail activities, the stage stations can also play a unique role in informing us about early settlement and development of the Trail region through the stations' material remains. Stage stations will most commonly be eligible under Criteria A and D with commerce and transportation coupled with archaeology/historic--non-aboriginal being the principal areas of significance. In the case of a stage station acting as a locus of area trade, or as being destroyed in conflicts with American Indians, the area of significance could be extended to include archaeology/historic--aboriginal.

Many of the Santa Fe Trail stage stations were constructed of local materials using the standards of vernacular architecture prevalent in the nineteenth century in territorial Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. Systematic archaeological excavation can fully realize the potential these sites have in informing us on these local architectural practices; potential eligibility under Criterion C should not be ignored among these sites.[60]

The information potential of stage stations sites as historic archaeological resources has been demonstrated. For instance, excavations of the Simpson Spring Station site, Utah and Gila Bend Stage Station, Arizona show this class of sites has the potential to yield important information in history.[61] Data retrieved from the Simpson Springs site excavations revealed material culture spanning the era from first American residence in the area to permanent settlement. Data relevant to the study of local diet, the distribution of mass produced material culture, the maintenance of the express mail line, and the practice of vernacular architecture were retrieved in the systematic excavations at Simpson Springs. Given parallel sets of data revealed in historic archaeological excavations conducted at Bent's Old Fort,[62] the local Santa Fe Trail stage stations can be expected, if having intact archaeological components, to have comparable classes of data capable of illuminating the material culture history of the Trail. In fact, given the richness and diversity of glass, ceramic, faunal and other remains garnered through the systematic excavations of Bent's Fort middens, the existing stage station sites of the Santa Fe Trail represent a highly significant property type remaining on the Trail, and are therefore eligible under Criterion D.

Material culture data extracted from the sites can provide a measure of commercial interaction between the frontier and metropolitan regions to the east and west. The fact stage stations had the potential to evolve into local ranches also will materially document the transformation of the frontier into a settled region through adapting a pattern of

rangeland stock raising. The potential of these sites has not as yet been realized. However, the numerous sites with ruins along the Trail corridor attest to the potential information obtainable from Criterion D eligible sites.

Stage stations are potentially eligible at the national level of significance, with areas of significance including transportation and commerce. In battles fought between the stage station managers and American Indian inhabitants, the stations also represent an embodiment of American Indian resistance to American encroachment on native lands. Some stage stations may be more obviously eligible at the local level and state levels of significance, depending upon whether their role was more focused on the station as a local or regional (i.e. state) center.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible under Criterion A, a stage station has to be directly associated with a Santa Fe Trail stage line operating from 1850 through 1880. Most of these sites are significant for their historic associations and relation to a pattern of events, namely, their being components in the operation of an important transportation and communication network spanning the Trail region during the years of early settlement and development.

To be eligible under Criterion D the stage stations must be demonstrated to have information yielding potential in historical archaeology. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact ruins of the station that, while deteriorated beyond being classified as a building or structure, are still recognizable as an identifiable archaeological feature. The location of the site must be verified in accord with the probable location of the site documented in the historic record.

Sites displaying artifacts datable to the period of historic significance (1850-1880), and showing a potential for well-preserved archaeological 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 sites' geomorphological contexts appears intact.

A stage station site with evidence of a subsequent function or occupation overlaying materials or features related to the site's stage station function can also be considered eligible under Criterion D if the potential for yielding information appears intact as a buried component, and evidence can be provided establishing a clear link to the stage station operation.

II. C. Sub-type: **Historical Archaeology Sites**

Description

Along the length of the Santa Fe Trail are ancillary historic sites containing ruins and artifacts datable to the Trail's period of significance. Like the stage stations, these properties often played an important role in the continued viability of the Trail and possess unique historic associations relevant to the Trail's history. Through study of the material culture of these sites, new insights on Trail history can be gained.[63] While stage stations are additionally historical archaeology sites, they have been singled out and developed as a separate sub-type. The rationale for this is that their founding was strictly based on a relationship with the Trail. While the mill sites and townsites encompassed within the Historical Archaeology Sites sub-type have associations with the history of the Trail, these

sites were not necessarily so strictly related to the Trail for their existence. Additionally, the lack of systematic investigation of the townsites inhibits the ability to singularly address them as a separate sub-type at this time.

The town of Franklin was the eastern origin of the Santa Fe Trail in its earliest years between 1821 and 1828.[64] Platted in 1816 the townsite by 1819 had expanded to include 120 buildings with homes, commercial buildings, blacksmith and saddlery shops, and nearly a thousand residents.[65] The townsite now lies beneath the alluvial deposits of the Missouri River. This historic archaeological site represents an important place in Santa Fe Trail history. Despite its abandonment, this and other abandoned Trail communities[66] represent important adjuncts to the Trail in the westwardly shifting pattern of eastern Trail terminus locations, and served as main points of provisioning travelers before their embarking on the Trail and during their travel along its length.

Similarly, the mill operations on the Santa Fe Trail represent another set of properties having significance in Trail history; most that remain are currently historic archaeological sites. (Only five mill sites--three in New Mexico and two in Missouri--are included in the Santa Fe Trail National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan.) The mills played an important role in providing provisions (e.g. flour) at the beginning of the Trail and along its long course. These mills often served as a locus for local settlement, and provided valuable goods and services to Trail travelers. In the case of Missouri's Blue Mills, established in 1834, Santa Fe merchants Michael Rice, Samuel Owens, and Robert Aull developed a milling complex which was directly adjacent to the main Trail corridor leading up from Blue Mills Landing, a prominent landing on the Trail from 1832 onward.[67] The Blue Mills complex included both a gristmill and a sawmill, providing flour and lumber respectively. The Fitzhugh-Watts' Mill (a gristmill) in Missouri, built in 1832 as the Fitzhugh Mill, was an important rendezvous site for embarkation due to the surrounding water and pasturage up through the time when Anthony B. Watts acquired the mill in 1850.[68] At the opposite end of the Trail, mill sites played no less a prominent role with the mills at Mora's St. Vrain Mill (c. 1855, 1864), La Cueva (c. 1850) and Cimarron's Aztec Mill (1864) operating through the mid-late nineteenth century when the Trail functioned as an important military logistical supply road and a thoroughfare through Northern New Mexico's villages.

Significance

Historical archaeology sites will most commonly be eligible under Criteria A and D with commerce, transportation, and Archaeology/historic--non-aboriginal being the principal areas of significance. In the case of a historical archaeology site acting as a locus of area trade or provisioning trail users, commerce is particularly relevant.

The primary significance of Santa Fe Trail historical archaeology sites lies in their ability to yield information under Criterion D. A second, but related, level of significance lies in the ability of these sites to convey significant patterns of Trail development through time, reflecting Criterion A. Despite the deteriorated state of these sites the retention of integrity in location, setting, materials, feeling and association allows them to reflect Trail history in a tangible way, perhaps extending their eligibility under Criterion C.

Most of these sites are significant for their historic associations and relation to a pattern of events, namely, their being components in the operation of an important transportation, commerce, and communication network spanning the Trail region during the years of early settlement and development. Therefore, historical archaeology sites are potentially eligible at the national level, for their associations with historic events on the Trail. These sites are often of local significance in being among the earliest settlements in the local area. However, whenever possible, the

highest possible level of significance will be addressed. Despite the advanced state of deterioration these sites can have sufficient physical character to reflect important area history under Criterion A if few properties capable of reflecting these associations exist in an area. The relevant areas of significance can include early settlement, transportation, and commerce.

Primarily, the data these sites often possess can be used to address important questions in historical archaeology. Determining the significance of Trail-related sites under Criterion D is difficult, however, in the absence of systematic archaeological survey and preliminary testing on these sites.[69] This difficulty is accentuated by the lack of a well-defined set of research questions which can clearly show that the material culture exhibited in these sites is directly pertinent to Trail history.[70] Additionally, the relevancy of the Criteria for evaluation for the National Register in assessing historical archaeological sites has been brought into question.[71] However, these limitations should not preclude establishing general guidelines for establishing when a Trail site is recognizably significant. In fact, a symposium of the Society of Historical Archaeology on archaeological site significance, held in 1990, provides a rich source of methodological approaches applicable to Trail properties.[72]

To understand the importance of these sites to history, the Trail sites should be conceived as representative parts of a process. Santa Fe Trail historical archaeology sites were part of a wider and dynamic, commercial, communication and transportation system. As ancillary resources to the Trail, these sites functioned as components in that system. The site's residents helped maintain the viability of the system and formed enclaves of permanent settlement along the Trail corridor. If the historical archaeology sites are placed within their overall cultural historic context, a myriad of potential research questions related to the study of the material culture of the Trail sites can be forwarded.[73] Recent scholarship in historical archaeology has shown a variety of practical approaches can be applied to establish the significance of these historical archaeology sites.[74]

For instance, Francis P. McManamon has emphasized the importance of site frequency when judged from the context of overall site population.[75] This property sub-type represents only one group of Trail-related properties. Given the varying degrees of preservation, only a portion of these sites have the ability to yield important information. Thus, the remaining number of these properties directly related to a pattern of historic events becomes very important to the historical archaeologist.[76] Historical archaeologists require comparative sets of data from a number of sites across space.[77] Without this kind of comparative data, McManamon would have been unable to statistically sample across different environments to discover an unexpected, and undocumented, concentration of early settlements along royal roads on Cape Cod. In a similar fashion, site distribution along the Trail, including undocumented sites, might reveal new patterns of settlement that can be profitably explored along the Santa Fe Trail. Application of similar methods would be pertinent, particularly with undocumented sites, like extra-legal road ranches or the earliest sites of the region which dotted the Trail corridor. As McManamon maintains, ". . . the quantitative aspect of "context" is a reasonable one to consider in the evaluation of significance."[78] Thus, the ever diminishing number of intact historic sites intimately associated with the Trail having integrity of location and within the bounds of the period of significance can often be judged as significant.[79] This significance depends on the relative frequency of the site type in the local area.[80] The site also must display sufficient historic character to be recognized as a legitimate Trail site, this being defined by the site's data classes or historic documentation.

Santa Fe Trail historic sites are also significant for information they possess which can be used to address regional demographic, settlement, and developmental trends. When site data are combined with an intensive study of secondary source material, trends in regional settlement and the viability of households (definable as families in

residence over successive generations) can be addressed.[81] Sites that display geomorphological integrity and short term, single family occupancy in the frontier period were found by John Wilson to have the highest potential eligibility for yielding information. However, a second, and similarly significant, group of sites included multi-generational household sites which could address the change through time in area history. Thus, identified period sites dating to the Trail's active use (1821-1880) currently retaining archaeological features or data become critical components in addressing broad theoretical and historical questions in historical archaeology.

Several additional characteristics are critical to assessing these sites and their eligibility. Ideally, archaeological components should be temporally and spatially distinct and a good record of successive occupance should be available. Realistically, such sites will be rare. A wide range of variation in component integrity is likely to be evident. Sites with single components clearly datable to the period of historic significance are very significant for providing reliable information. Sites with relatively intact components, relatively dated to the period of historic significance, or both, should also be considered eligible as they can provide some comparative information with other sites. Lastly, the site's formation process (creation, use, re-use, abandonment, deliberate destruction, modern impacts) must be addressed as an integrity issue and reconciled with the suggested information potential.

An important contingency of successfully applying any methodological approach is the preservation of the sites themselves. This can most constructively be addressed by stressing the significance of these sites under Criterion A, and, when possible, placing the site in a wider context of research potential within historical archaeology. Important to remember is that properties are National Register eligible if they have yet to yield data but display evidence that they are a likely source of such data.[82]

Registration Requirements

To be eligible under Criterion A, a historical archaeology site has to be directly associated with a Santa Fe Trail use during the period of significance (1821 through 1880). To be eligible under Criterion D, a historical archaeology site must be demonstrated to have information yielding potential in historic archaeology or be likely sources of such data. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact surface or eroded ruins on the site that, while deteriorated beyond being classified as a building or structure, are still recognizable as an identifiable archaeological feature. The location of the site must be verified in accord with the most probable location of the site documented in the historic record, and must generally feature historic material remains.

Sites displaying artifacts datable to the period of historic significance (1821-1880) and showing a potential for well-preserved archaeological components are eligible for registration. Sites lacking surface artifacts but showing a high potential for intact subsurface components in conjunction with ruins, should also be considered eligible if integrity of the site geomorphological contexts appear intact. A historical archaeology site currently displaying artifacts or surface components datable to subsequent documented historic use (i.e. years after its use as a Trail-related property) can also be considered eligible if the potential for yielding information appears buried, but intact, below the later components, and evidence can be provided establishing a clear link between the Trail's use and historical archaeology site.

II. D. Subtype: **Trail Grave Sites/Cemeteries**

Description

Encountering death on the Santa Fe Trail was a distinct possibility for Trail travelers. Perhaps mirroring the disease, accidents, and gunplay on the Oregon-California Trail, Santa Fe travelers probably had more to fear from each other than from American Indians.[83] Nevertheless, confrontations with American Indians did occur and were historically significant more for the increased vigilance, retaliation, and military consequences they brought upon American Indians than for the numbers of victims involved. The clamor for military protection on the Santa Fe route was generally linked to attacks from resident tribes along the Trail. The 1849 attack against the White family at Point of Rocks, New Mexico left the father dead and mother and daughter captive; the Wagon Mound attack of 1850, also in New Mexico, left a mail party dead.[84] These and other depredations were pointed arguments for the establishment of a permanent military presence on the Trail.[85] Graves associated with these and other attacks reflect the clash of cultures on the Trail. The graves of military personnel fulfilling their duties as Trail guardians form a significant source of this activity. One example is the grave of Private Samuel Hunt, U.S. 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--the first known gravesite of a serviceman on the Santa Fe Trail.

More typical of the Santa Fe Trail corridor was the establishment of a cemetery in the nascent communities along the Trail. Within the early settlement of the Trail region, cemeteries were established for the developing hamlets distributed along the Trail route. Now many of these small cemeteries have been incorporated into larger cemeteries having graves from later periods. However, given the small number of Trail-related resources directly associated with the careers of notable Trail figures or associated with specific events, these graves can form an important reflection of Trail history. The Woodlawn Cemetery in Independence was revealed in the recent National Park Service reconnaissance as an important resource of this kind. Platted by Robert Hickman in 1837, the site was used as burial ground before 1845. Several people who were important to the Santa Fe Trail story are buried here, including Hiram Young, Samuel and Robert Weston, freighter John Lewis, hotel proprietor Smallwood Noland, Mexican War veteran John T. Hughes, merchants William and John McCoy, and attorneys William Chrisman and Samuel Woodson. A second cemetery having Trail figure graves is Lexington, Missouri's Machpelah Cemetery, containing the grave of noted Trail outfitter and entrepreneur Robert Aull.

Significance

The isolated graves and cemeteries of the Santa Fe Trail represent an important Trail resource reflecting historic individuals and events on the Trail. 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 U.S. Dragoons along the Trail before the establishment of a permanent military presence on the Trail. Isolated graves might also mark the series of conflicts which took place between the resident American Indians and Trail users. Lastly, a single gravesite might be the only representative property left to reflect the linkage of a transcendent significant individual to the Trail's history. In this instance the application of Criterion B would be appropriate if no identified property is capable of reflecting the productive life of the individual.

Cemeteries along the course of the Trail also reflect Trail history in a tangible way. Potentially, a historic cemetery linked to the Trail 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 transcendent significant figures who have little else to reflect their productive lives would be important in reflecting Trail history. Cemeteries of ethnic hamlets or communities along the Trail might reflect the important and under-represented role these communities played in keeping the Trail a viable route. These ethnic cemeteries might also be significant in yielding important undocumented information about historic community composition, mortuary practices, and other variables relevant to understanding historic community life during the Trail epoch. The cemeteries associated with the Trail have the potential to fulfill all of the Criteria if they contain graves or sets of graves datable to the period 1821-1880, and can be tangibly linked to the active life of the Trail in the area.

Registration Requirements

Individual grave sites must meet the requirements of Criteria consideration C; cemeteries must meet the requirements of Criteria consideration D.[86] (All graves and cemeteries must meet certain Criteria considerations to be eligible for the National Register.) Graves and cemeteries along the Trail will most likely be eligible to the National Register because of their association with historic events--under Criterion A--and this Criterion is correspondingly accented here.

In the case of graves, the site 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. Normally the gravesite will be directly linked to a documented historic event in Trail history which is not reflected in another historic site, building, or district in the area. The gravesite will also normally be linked to the activities of the Trail (e.g., Trail commerce, transportation, military 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. A group of graves dating to 1821-1880 and in proximity to the Trail is not necessarily eligible. Linkage of the individuals buried in the cemetery to the events along the Trail must be shown. In addition, the individuals have to be shown to have had significance in Trail-related activities.

All 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 grave site to reflect a historic occurrence along the 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. If other Criteria are applied, justification for the diminished aspects of integrity must be given.

II. E. Subtype: Natural Sites (i.e. pilot markers, natural features)

Description

Natural sites form a diverse set of features lent significance by their incorporation into the experience of Trail travelers and area residents.[87] Trail users and American Indians recognized these natural features as elements of the cultural landscape drawn in the minds of all parties. 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. These natural features form a class of properties which provide a real opportunity to experience the Trail firsthand even in the modern era.

Natural viaducts, including passes, rock-lined stream or river crossings, natural grades or other topographic features forming natural roadways are important elements of the Trail. [redacted] Advantageous crossings of streams, for example, [redacted] acted as natural features incorporated into the Trail corridor. When features substantially reflect the development of the roadway by Trail users (e.g., developing grades near stream crossings [redacted], they are more appropriately treated as portions of the Commercial or Military Trails sub-types.

The springs and developed wells of the Trail form another significant class of resources. Water and adequate forage was of preeminent concern to the Trail travelers, whose goods and potential profits were only as good as the survival of the stock pulling the wagons allowed them to be. The sixty mile [redacted] of the Trail is perhaps the best known scrape,[89] but dryness could potentially appear among other Trail segments at disadvantageous times. The entire history of the Trail is intimately tied to the watering places along its route, which served a double purpose in providing camping spots along the Trail: [redacted], all played significant roles in the viability of the Trail. These features also became the locus of area settlement and communities stretched out along the Trail.

Promontories and hills which acted as navigational aids and notable campsite features form another set of significant resources on the Trail. Blue Mound in eastern Kansas served as a landmark for travelers on their way to the Santa Fe Trail along the military trail from Fort Leavenworth, and was one of the promontories referred to as the Wakarusa Buttes. The Plum Buttes, west of Chase, Kansas, were large sand dunes covered by plum bushes and acted as a guide point to travelers to avoid the dangerous soft sands of the Arkansas River crossings. The buttes were also a favored noontime stopping point on this somewhat featureless part of the Trail.

Farther west, Round Mound (today, Mt. Clayton) in New Mexico was the major navigational marker for Trail users after crossing the difficult [redacted]. An illustration in Josiah Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies (1844) shows a wagon train as seen from the mound. Point of Rocks in Colfax County, New Mexico, was a popular, but potentially hazardous, campsite with a nearby spring. One of the most famous natural features of the Trail was the Wagon Mound landmark, the last significant landmark viewed by Cimarron Route travelers, who then joined the Mountain Route travelers on a single Trail. Pilot Knobs, 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, viewable from great distances along the Mountain Route and another prominent landmark for Trail travelers.

Signature rocks form a small, but important, set of properties along the Trail. These sites witness the array of Trail users who wished to add their names to the log of experienced travelers. Among these Trail sites are [redacted] contains the names of many Santa Fe Trail travelers from the 1840s and later. [redacted] contains the names of many Trail travelers from the 1850s and later. Lastly, names are carved in a signature rock within the [redacted].

Numerous prominent Trail features have not withstood the vagaries of time and development. These lost or compromised resources have been stripped of historic character and include the Plum Buttes site, where wind erosion scoured the site away by the turn of the century. [redacted] was destroyed in 1981 when the Kansas Highway Department widened an adjacent roadway. Wooded copses which once formed a significant Trail feature disappeared long ago, sometimes as a direct result of Trail use (e.g., Lone Elm Campground, Kansas). Chouteau's Island, a crossing point of the Arkansas River in far western Kansas, has disappeared because of erosion by the Arkansas River. The remnant sites of these Trail features are not generally eligible for the National Register (see Registration Requirements of this section).

Significance

Numerous Trail narratives testify to the prominent role natural features played in Trail travel.[90] The bare, often featureless nature of much of the Trail stood in stark contrast to the jutting promontories which Trail users noted in their writings. In the arid stretches of the Trail, natural springs were welcome opportunities to refresh stock and people. Danger was associated with these features, which often afforded American Indians the chance to strike against the travelers. If visual integrity is maintained, the powerful evocative qualities of these sites can still be enjoyed by modern Trail travelers; a true sense of feeling and association is possible if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained.

Natural sites associated with the Santa Fe Trail form a significant set of resources. These natural landmarks and features are strongly associated with the patterns of events forming the Trail. As prominent features recognized by Trail users, these resources acted as both navigational aids and prominent stations for spring water and forage along the Trail. Some natural rock outcrop features allowed Trail users the opportunity to inscribe their names; these inscriptions now bear testimony to the importance of natural feature sites along the Trail, most of which are eligible under Criterion A in the area of significance of transportation and at the national level of significance. In some instances, a natural site could be the general location of a significant historic event, without any material trace being in evidence. In these cases, consideration should be given as to whether a single site nomination should be prepared to define the property as a separate property type.

Registration Requirements

The single most important requirement in the evaluation of a natural feature site is the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic scene; verified integrity of location is a crucial element in determining eligibility of these sites. Setting and feeling as elements of integrity are also important. Documentary evidence

recording the significance of the feature must be referenced to establish that the feature was in fact seen as a prominent feature of the Trail in its period of historic significance.

An important consideration in the formation of a National Register site is bounding its limits. With natural sites, limiting the boundaries to the most significant aspect of the site is very important. Many natural features encompass large acreage. Discernment must be used to both bound the most significant feature of the site and justify the site limits. With very large scale features such as buttes or mountains, relying on documented accounts, perhaps using historical drawings, to determine what features were recognized and accorded importance among Trail users is important.

Natural sites as a property sub-type do not encompass those historically significant sites which have lost their historic character. The processes of erosion and human activity have compromised the historic character of several Santa Fe Trail sites. Modern site locations, stripped of their recorded historic features such as rock formations of promontories, sand dunes, river bars, or natural spring vents are not eligible. If integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association is retained at a developed spring or campsite, consideration must be given to whether modern impoundments or improvements totally compromise the historic character of the site. Given the arid nature of the Trail region, few sites possessing water have not been developed to include stock impoundments, well caps, or pipes to and from water holes. If the improvements are not overtly obstructive, and a reasonable portion of the historic scene is maintained, these properties can be eligible under Criterion A.

III. Name of Property Type: **Military Properties**

Description

A military presence along the Santa Fe Trail came early. Fort Osage was founded as a military post and trade factory in 1808, and continued in operation until 1827; its abandonment was related to a diminishing number of American Indians in the area and to the construction of Fort Leavenworth in nearby Kansas in the same year. Military escorts for the annual trade caravan on the Santa Fe Trail began in 1829, and continued sporadically the next two decades. The first instance of a sustained military presence requiring forts came during the Mexican War (1846-1848) when Santa Fe's presidio was occupied by General Stephen W. Kearny's invading forces. Subsequent to this occupation no fewer than nineteen forts were established along the Trail corridor in the years of the Trail's use.[91] Heightened military use of the Trail became a prominent feature in the thirty-five years after the conquest of the Southwest. Supplying the forts and installations of the Southwest actually surpassed other Trail uses throughout the remaining years of Trail use.

The emphasis on the Santa Fe Trail's important role in military supply can obscure the fact that the supply of forces in the Southwest was purposeful: the extension and maintenance of United States sovereignty in the region, including control of resident Hispanic and American Indian populations, and protection of American property, were prime considerations.[92] Later, the advent of the Civil War again brought this military presence into sharp focus when invading Confederates nearly succeeded in taking New Mexico Territory.[93] The forts and military camps established on the Trail, while primarily related to maintaining and benefiting from the commercial traffic, were a visible symbol of American authority. They served as a logistical base for military campaigning--a critical component in a national

military communication network--and played a significant role in subjugating, concentrating, and in some measure, protecting resident American Indians in the reservation system.[94]

III. A. Subtype: **Forts and Fortifications**

Description

"Fort" refers to any military establishment created by the U.S. armed forces for the purpose of maintaining American sovereignty over a region. The word "fort" also includes all military posts established above the scale of a bivouac. These posts include cantonments, camps, blockhouses, and barracks.

The small to large military establishments were referred to as posts, forts, camps, cantonments, or barracks. These structures and buildings were strategically placed along lines of communication and transportation to control territory and to physically establish American sovereignty in the region. This latter aspect distinguishes military posts from the trading posts, typified by Bent's Fort in the Mountain Route of the Trail.[95] Typically established along the lines of the frontier or parallel major transportation routes, the posts commonly had no protective palisades; the simple act of establishing a presence of military personnel was thought to be enough to intimidate any potential foes.

Forts and smaller fortifications ranged in composition. Some posts were little more than long term bivouacs or camps maintaining sentry and signal stations, and other posts were solidly constructed permanent buildings of adobe, grout, wood, or stone. Among the structures associated with forts were barracks, stables, stockades, blockhouses, magazines, hospitals and auxiliary laundries, and sutler's stores. The fort's functions included: providing troops capable of facilitating commercial or emigrant traffic; implementing the military aspects of treaty obligations; protecting developing commerce, communication, and transportation networks; providing protection in railroad development; quelling civil disturbances beyond the control of local government; aiding in protecting settlers; and confining American Indians to reservations.

The configuration and physical structure of forts were often strictly regulated. Maps of all fort features were required to be maintained and changes in the physical structure of the fort were overseen by the Quartermaster of the post. Inspections and repairs to the physical aspects of the fort were undertaken by the Quartermaster officer as well. Documentation related to these physical characteristics therefore exists, and can show the evolution of fort structure.

Significance

Forts and their subsidiaries are generally eligible for registration under Criterion A by their association with an important series of events in the military history of the Trail. Forts can also be important examples of military construction and engineering, and of the adaptation of regional vernacular architecture; as such, they are thus eligible for registration under Criterion C. Forts also make up important historic archaeological sites which have a high potential to yield information on cultural interaction, military life, and local settlement on the frontier; thus, they are also eligible for registration for their ability to yield information important in history under Criterion D. While military history is often a logical area of significance, other areas of significance include architecture, archaeology/historic--non-aboriginal, ethnic heritage, and women's history. In the last case, recognize that the first

resident American women on the frontier were the dependents or employees of military personnel who left records of their impressions of life on the frontier and activities on the Trail.

Registration Requirements

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of a historic military fort are artifacts, structural remains, or architectural features datable to a specific historic military occupation. Although absolute dates for artifacts are not necessary, a diagnostic artifact's existence should be related to a period when historic military activity took place. Confirmation that a fort was placed in a specific locale will rest on the existence of documented historic records showing the location of the fort, and the results of field observation and documentation verifying the location of the fort site. The evaluation of a historic fort's integrity must consider both the physical and environmental characteristics of the site.

Physical characteristics are the actual set of fort remains; these conceivably include artifacts and features like cartridges, gun parts, leather goods (saddlery and boots), wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements and fortification buildings, foundations, and structures. Environmental characteristics are those elements of the natural environment surrounding the fort: the site's landscape context (which may have figured prominently in the fort's founding), location, setting, and design. The integrity of a historic fort's physical and environmental characteristics, including location and setting, must be sufficiently intact to convey a sense of the historic scene in the absence of surface remains. In some instances, the fort may have been impacted (i.e. artifacts collected, structures disassembled, moderate erosion), but the elements of the historic landscape around the site may still exist to a significantly high level to allow the site to reflect historical associations.

Buildings or structures associated with a historic fort might occur within larger complexes now incorporating historical (but non-Santa Fe Trail) resources, non-historical resources, and modern construction. For instance, modern Fort Dodge (operating as a Trail post between 1865-1882) today serves as the Kansas State Soldiers Home. Several original buildings remain, including the commanding officer's quarters, several officers' quarters, enlisted men's barracks, and the post hospital. Evaluation in these cases requires buildings or structures must retain sufficient integrity to reflect their original function as a Santa Fe Trail-related property. These buildings can be eligible under Criterion C if sufficient physical character exists to reflect the building's or structure's linkage to Trail activities. Allowance for change through time in the incorporation of modern materials (e.g., aluminum storm windows, metal doors, composition shingles) will not disqualify a building if such changes are reversible. The building or structure must, however, retain a substantive portion of its original exterior materials, fenestration and door opening patterns, and roof profile. Additions are allowable if they leave the original building or structure substantially intact and observable. If these properties are linked historically and functionally within the same complex, they can comprise a set of building(s) or district under the categorization of properties for registration.

III. B. Subtype: Battle Sites

Description

The physical remains from battles can include cartridges, gun parts, projectile points, clothing, metal saddlery parts, wagon or caisson parts, rifle pits, gun emplacements, or other fortifications. Much of this material can be found in

sub-surface historic archaeological contexts. The environmental contexts in which battles took place vary. Large scale battles took place in locations where ambushes could be set or the element of surprise maximized. More commonly, the scale of battle along the Santa Fe Trail could be classed as skirmishes. For instance, [redacted] were the scenes of numerous American Indian confrontations during the Trail era, as was [redacted], a Trail campsite developed, and the site was also the focus of American Indian resistance on several occasions. [redacted] in Colorado was an important water supply on the Trail and was the location of a stage station; it was also the scene of American Indian resistance on several occasions. These sites became the points of resistance because the American Indians preferred a guerilla warfare strategy in the face of superior armament or concentration of forces. Interception by the American Indians was often a great deal more profitable materially (i.e. horses and supplies garnered), and had the added benefit of minimizing their casualties. When nominating battle sites, consideration must also be given to the differences in the participants' (e.g., American Indian, American, Hispanic) attitudes towards warfare and its nature in assessing the significance of an engagement.

Skirmish locations and the disposition of forces in these fights are often documented in United States military records and history. Oral accounts of the American Indian participation in battles are also documented. Care must be taken in asserting the location of battles without qualifications. Identification of a historic site should be established in accord with the best documentary records available. However, first hand accounts of the battle were normally made subsequent to the fight. In the interim, descriptions of the local topography and nature of the fight could misidentify natural features or course of the battle. These later accounts could allow errors to infiltrate the documentary record. Conceivably, actual physical remains in a likely environmental context might more firmly fix a battlefield location and dispositions of forces in the fight. Each source of information, both documentary and material remains, should be marshalled and allowed to operate in tandem to determine the location and nature of the engagement.

In some instances, little or no physical material remains will exist on the battlefield ground surface. In this case a careful examination of the surrounding landscape and prominent physical features should be made in light of the documentary record and American Indian oral tradition. The battlefield site boundary definition should take these features into account. If possible, such natural features should be integrated into a defensible set of boundary markers for registration.

While this property sub-type is subsumed under Military Properties, non-military battle sites do exist along the Santa Fe Trail. The most prominent example of this kind of fight is the Wagon Mound Massacre of 1850 (see Significance).[96] The organization of the civilian trains, much like the military organization, makes the inclusion of this site type under this military heading generally appropriate.

Significance

Battle sites are important for their historical associations at the national level of significance. The bulk of armed confrontations along the Trail came between resident American Indians and American travelers. The sporadic warfare along the Trail could reach beyond the theft of stock or supplies, as the Wagon Mound Massacre of 1850 evidenced.[97] The emphasis on the Santa Fe Trail's important role in military supply can obscure the fact that the supply of forces in the Southwest was purposeful: the extension and maintenance of United States sovereignty in the region, including control of resident American Indians, and protection of American property and commercial interests. Later, the advent of the Civil War again brought this military presence into sharp focus when invading

Confederates nearly succeeded in taking New Mexico Territory until checked by the action [redacted]. The military significance of Santa Fe Trail sites continued into the second half of the nineteenth century as troops from Trail forts were used against the Plains American Indians.[98]

Battle sites are commonly eligible for registration under Criterion A, as a location of an important historic event. Significant people can also be associated with these sites, potentially eligible under Criterion B. Military history is the usual area of significance involving these sites, but other important areas of significance could include ethnic heritage and transportation on the Santa Fe Trail. Under Criterion D, battlefields can potentially yield material evidence on the course of the battle and disposition of forces.

Battle sites associated with civilian trains or non-military travel will be nominated under this property sub-type with a clear statement of its distinction from military actions. The same physical characteristics and historical associations pertain in the main, although the use of military history as an area of significance should be applied only when it can be shown that the battle directly led to an organized military response subsequent to the battle.

Registration Requirements

The primary physical evidence necessary to establish the existence of a historic military battle site is artifacts or features datable to a specific historic battle. Although absolute dates for materials or features are not strictly necessary, their existence should be related to a general period when historic military activity took place. Information important in history can be yielded by a battlefield location and therefore, eligibility under Criterion D is an important consideration in evaluating a site's significance and eligibility. While confirmation that a battle took place in a specific locale often rests on the existence of documented historic records when surface evidence is lacking, this does not preclude that additional information cannot be yielded by systematic excavations. In the absence of surface remains, an assessment of the site should take into consideration potential subsurface components. This archaeological potential should be described within the registration documentation.

The critical element in verifying a site in relation to its environmental context lies in determining whether the battle site retains integrity of location and setting commensurate with a significant historic event. Only those battle sites which can be explicitly linked to the reliable historic records and to retaining integrity of location and setting can be considered for registration. Visual integrity of the area around a battlefield should reflect the period of historic significance; a feeling of time and place should be in evidence. This does not preclude battle sites having visual intrusions being evaluated primarily on the basis of important historic associations. In cases where important historic associations are clearly significant, judicious bounding of a small set of sites into a district might exclude intrusions into the historic scene.

IV. Property type: Associated Historic Buildings/Structures

Description

For National Register purposes, a building is primarily built to shelter human activities; in contrast, structures are made for purposes other than sheltering human activities. Examples of historic buildings once found along the Trail include homes, detached kitchens, barns or privies, commercial buildings, and forts. Structures include sheds

bridges, and corrals built along the Trail in historic times. Of properties along the main course of the Santa Fe Trail or associated with the development and use of the Trail, this property type makes up the bulk of what is already listed in the National Register or what has been accorded National Historic Landmark status.

The historic resources along the Santa Fe Trail have long been recognized as significant in American history. Generally, properties retaining integrity and having important connections to the Trail have been listed on the National Register. Buildings and structures not currently listed on the National Register usually pose significant problems for listing (i.e. fail to have integrity), have indistinct linkage to Trail activities, or have not been identified and evaluated due to a lack of systematic survey and registration activities. The last set of properties is the subject for which this property type category is intended.

Buildings having clear associations with the Trail, but substantially altered from their historic appearance, are not intended to be included in this property type definition. An example would be substantially altered historic buildings, such as the Jose Albino Baca House of Las Vegas, New Mexico.[99] These resources should be treated in single property nominations and judged on a case by case basis.

Isolated buildings and structures which once formed components of larger Trail properties are important remnants of Trail activities. One example would be the isolated smoke house associated with the Neff Tavern Site in Missouri; another example are the corrals of Fort Union, New Mexico.[100] Future survey and registration efforts undoubtedly will reveal other Trail-related properties which stand as isolated, but tangible, reminders of the Trail's history.

Significance

The properties associated with the Santa Fe Trail forming this property type are normally eligible for listing under Criterion A for their associations with patterns of events on the Trail. One example would be a building retaining integrity and having historic associations like the Noland House (Independence, Missouri), although not located on the Trail corridor. This house features a small, two room rear ell built in 1831, and a prominent two story brick front extension which was built c. 1850. The house was built for Smallwood Noland, the proprietor of the Washington House, a well-known hostelry on Independence Square frequented by Santa Fe traders and travelers.[101] Other possible historic buildings significant in Trail history exist as isolated properties in Lexington, Independence and Kansas City--in the latter case, properties in and around Westport. These properties are primarily commercial buildings in urban settings which have undergone varying degrees of alteration, but which must be evaluated in light of their historic significance, rarity, or having only recently been identified as having Trail-related associations.[102]

Buildings and structures found on the Trail might also be the best representative properties for significant individuals connected to Trail history. Criterion B, while not the primary focus of this registration effort, is of particular importance within this property type. Properties associated with Trail figures such as the William Bent House and Alexander Majors Home (both in Kansas City), the Moses Grinter House and Ferry (Bonner Springs vicinity, Kansas), Seth Hays House (Council Grove, Kansas), and Samuel Watrous Store (Watrous vicinity, New Mexico) are only a few of the properties registered for their historical associations and connection to prominent Trail figures. In most cases properties eligible under Criterion B will also be eligible under Criterion A; the relevant area(s) of significance will be defined by the individual's productive, Trail-related, and significant activities and comparative evaluation of the building with other properties related to the person's life.

Criterion C is applicable to buildings and structures found along the Trail or in a Trail community when directly related to Trail activities or events from 1821-1880. In addition, these properties must display historic character recognizable as a period building type or important method of construction.

Criterion D is applicable to buildings and structures.[103] In these cases the building or structure must be the principal source of the important information.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for registration, buildings and structures must have direct associations or linkage with Trail activities during the period of historic Trail significance (i.e. 1821-1880). The property must represent a specific important Trail event or pattern of events which reflected the development and use of the Trail. If a dwelling, the property must have associations linking to Trail use, such as being a recognized landmark or feature along the Trail, perhaps even providing services to travelers. The dwelling need not be on the Trail corridor, but must date to the period of significance, and must be associated with a person who had linkages to the Trail (e.g. a merchant). Under Criterion A the property must be shown to have significance associated with the Trail.

Properties belonging to individuals whose Trail-related activities can be shown by research to have been significant are eligible under Criterion B. The application of Criterion B requires the individual's life be proven important in Trail history and it demands the individual have a clear contribution to Trail history. Additionally, the property must be shown, to a reasonable degree, to be a good representative of the individual's productive contribution to Trail history. Buildings, particularly dwellings, which have associations with an individual who was involved with an aspect of the Trail, but who was not necessarily significant under Criterion B, are more appropriately nominated under Criterion A, as contributing to the broad patterns of commerce, transportation, and/or military history.

An important consideration in evaluating buildings and structures along the Trail is whether they embody recognizable building types found historically along the Trail. In Missouri, one could expect that Trail-related properties would reflect the characteristic antebellum architecture of the Boon's Lick region and Missouri River Valley, including the I-house form of vernacular architecture. In New Mexico, the buildings and structures would reflect the adobe construction characteristic of the Hispanic Southwest. As a corollary, the methods of construction associated with the opposite termini of the Trail would be in evidence throughout the period of the Trail's historic significance (1821-1880); embracing such diverse materials as wood, brick, stone, and the sun dried adobe brick. The design of the buildings would reflect the demands of the environment and cultural tastes of the contrasting populations. The Trail also brought these people into contact fueling adoption of architectural forms which preserve old forms of room design, but incorporated use of new materials and technology which were locally available. Eligibility of buildings and structures under Criterion C can embrace both the classic forms of building recognizable to Trail users, and/or the transitional or idiosyncratic forms of building which were the result of an amalgamation process when distinct cultural traditions came into contact. The architectural significance of these properties rests on the retention of location and immediate surroundings, materials, elements of design, including most significantly, the building plan, and workmanship indicative of the builder's skill and adherence to or divergence from common standards.

The buildings and structures eligible under Criterion C must clearly display enough physical character to be considered representative of Santa Fe Trail era building methods. Some properties that retain some historic character

of the period, but have been substantially altered or modernized, are not generally eligible. However, if changes to the building or structure can be shown to have occurred during the period of the Trail's significance in the local area, the property might still be eligible. Thus, an early building or structure on the Trail dramatically altered in the mid-late nineteenth century can be eligible if still associated with Trail activities at the date of the changes or if the original building or structure form is still evident. Also, if the changes are insignificant to the overall integrity of the building or structure, the resource may still be eligible. For example, a small addition that clearly does not interfere or overwhelm the original building, would not prevent a building from being eligible. Additions or alterations to the rear of buildings or structures, or to non-primary or street facing facades, may still be acceptable if the general integrity of the overall building is maintained. Buildings or structures which have lost historic materials or detailing are still eligible if the majority of historic characteristics remain (e.g., design, window and door pattern, overall massing, exterior texture).[104] Buildings and structures having modern siding can be eligible if the building's significant form, features, and detailing are not obscured. Buildings or structures retaining elements of materials and massing, but stripped of other character defining elements of their type are not generally eligible.

Buildings and structures do have the ability to yield information, and can be eligible under Criterion D. In these cases the building or structure itself should provide the principal source of information. The property should exhibit characteristics which by themselves illuminate the history of building practice. For instance, the adaptation of locally non-standard building materials while retaining traditional patterns of building design used in other environments or cultural contexts. Among Santa Fe Trail sites, one may expect the intermingling of cultures produced sites capable of yielding information on the evolution of architectural types or modes of construction along the Trail.

Buildings and structures of military properties have been listed under a separate property type (see Military Properties property type). However, note that the resources directly associated with Trail activities among military properties might stand in isolation or be incorporated in larger, post-Trail sites. These resources might form a small set of rare surviving examples of Trail-related resources. Despite changes, the essential physical features of the properties might be retained; these properties should be carefully analyzed for comparative information that exists to evaluate their eligibility under Criterion C.

Endnotes

1. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990). The inventory, conducted in 1988, is detailed in the first section of this report on pages 16-19, page 57, and Appendix C, pages 90-109. A map supplement is the second section of the plan. The plan will be referred to in this Multiple Property Document as "NPS Plan." The original survey forms completed on this inventory are on file with the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Office of Cultural Affairs, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

2. "The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation," *Federal Register*, 48 (190) (Thursday September 29,1983). National Register Branch, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin #15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991). Hereafter, this Bulletin will be referred to as "NR Bulletin 15." Also see Summary of Identification & Evaluation Methods section, Item H of this document for discussion.

3. NR Bulletin 15, p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 6.

5. See National Register Branch, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 5, 16.

The complexity of historic roadways is addressed by J.B. Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). Jackson distinguishes two kinds of road networks, the centrifugal and centripetal (21-27, 35-38); historic trails seem to display attributes of both. As defined by Jackson, the centrifugal system represents roadways formed as nationwide or consolidating networks, embodying wide ranging political motivations. The more vernacular centripetal road is oriented towards the small scale movement of people, and is considerably less dramatic in intent. The vernacular road serves local interests and needs, and is identified with local custom, pragmatic adaptation to circumstances and unpredictable mobility. The differences in scale, direction, and intent in these two road systems are marked. The centrifugal (directed away from the center of an axis) is grand in scale, commonly disregards topography and commonly emphasizes military and commercial use. The purpose of the centrifugal road system is to extend and consolidate; it can function to establish cultural hegemony. The centripetal (directed toward the center of an axis) is flexible, without overall plan, isolated, usually without maintenance and is often the bane of efficient traffic. Centripetal roads commonly eschew integration into a greater centralized network. The application of this dichotomy to trail study has some interesting ramifications, leading us to an increased appreciation of the complexity inherent in the analysis of this historic landscape feature. The genesis of trails is a measure of the dynamism in the process of regional development.

The dynamics of the Santa Fe Trail network has been recognized by anthropologist William Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," Journal of the West 28.2 (April 1989), pp. 79-87. Buckles' analysis, as a system of transportation with many variations, does justice to the complexity of trail networks. This effort of nominating sites to the National Register recognizes that complexity, but restricts itself to the main corridor of the Trail defined by the initial Trail survey.

6. NR Bulletin 30, p. 27.

7. NR Bulletin 15, p. 5.

8. The discussion of Santa Fe Trail properties as landscape features devolves from ideas expressed in the aforementioned NR Bulletin 30. The Historic Resources of the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming Multiple Property Documentation Form (On File, National Register Branch, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.) also touches upon viewing trails as cultural landscape features.

9. For a comprehensive bibliography of Santa Fe research see: Jack D. Rittenhouse, The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971). Of the numerous guide books on the Trail the best is: Marc Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers, 2nd ed. (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1986).

10. Buckles, Trail System, pp. 79-87.

11. Seasonal variation in vegetational cover often exposes trail features with changes in color, composition and thickness of floral cover. For instance, small swales created by wagon traffic ruts 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 in observing and identifying trail ruts and features; sometimes observations are made easier by factors such as these vegetational changes. Also see Section G: Geographical Data.

12. Darlis A. Miller, "Freighting for Uncle Sam," Wagon Tracks, Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, 5 (1) (November, 1990), pp. 11-15.

13. Rittenhouse, pp. 14, 18.

14. Leo E. Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union," Journal of the West, 28.2 (April, 1989), pp. 53-55.

15. For a thorough treatment of military road building see W. Turrentine Jackson, Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869, (New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d.). See especially Chapter II, "Exploring Routes for Roads in the New Western Domain, 1846-1850," Chapter VII, "Federal Road Projects in New Mexico Territory," including figure on page 114, and Chapter VIII, "Shortening and Improving Routes Across the Plains of Kansas and Nebraska."

16. Rittenhouse, p. 23.

17. Miller, p. 12-15.

18. Among the important adjuncts to the main Trail corridor one could list the Ft. Leavenworth Road(s) linking with the Trail in eastern Kansas, and the Ft. Hays-Ft. Dodge Road; see NPS Plan, p. 17-18. See also David Clapsaddle, "The Ft. Hays-Fort Dodge Road," Kansas History 14.2 (Summer 1991): 100-112.

19. Buckles, p. 80; Granada-Ft. Union Military Road, Sheets 87-96 and 71, Map Supplement, NPS Plan.

20. See W.T. Jackson, p. 112-119 for an excellent discussion of the road building carried out by Captain John N. Macomb between 1856-1860. Under Macomb's outstanding leadership substantial improvements were made to the Santa Fe Trail, including the Ft. Union-Santa Fe segment of the Trail. For a summary of Bryan's 1855 Kansas Territory road survey involving sections of the Santa Fe Trail see Jackson, pp. 122-124.

21. William E. Brown, The Santa Fe Trail: National Park Service 1963 Historic Sites Survey (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1990), p. 58.

22. ". . . more even than a commercial and cultural link between the borderlands of the United States and Mexico. Manifest Destiny would travel this trail. For at its end was an empire . . . Thus did the trail become a military highway clogged with the freight and banners of war." Brown, p. 1.

23. A concise introduction to the Santa Fe Trail's history, and related contexts, is provided in Rittenhouse, "Introduction: Trail of Commerce and Conquest," pp. 3-29. The recent (1988) publication of Brown, incorporates narrative and pictures compiled in this important survey and features outstanding maps of Trail segments. Within this nomination effort, the emphasis is being placed on certain areas of significance (e.g., commerce, transportation and military [history]) due to the constraints of time and budget. Future efforts should address and hopefully will be capable of addressing the critical need for intensive analysis and registration of sites associated with American Indian and Hispanic heritage.

24. Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, p. 2. See also Rittenhouse. The continued publication of Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly (1985-present) marks a new chapter in Trail historiography. For a comprehensive synthesis on Trail history see Brown.

25. For instance, by 1840 one-half of the Santa Fe Trail freight was making its way to Chihuahua: Rittenhouse, p. 17. Some aspects of the wider trade network involving the Santa Fe Trail are given in David A. Sandoval, "Gnats, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail," Journal of the West 28.2 (April 1989), pp. 22-31.

To refer to the Santa Fe Trail or "the Trail," delimits it by reference in this document to a main corridor and, for management purposes, to temporarily limit the number of Trail segments considered

for registration. Further study will reveal a complex network of Trail adjuncts of historic significance. The development of new historical insights and adjustments in defining the Trail corridor will inevitably require amendment of this document.

26. Miller, p. 11.

27. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

28. As noted, this registration effort restricts itself to the route outlined in the NPS Plan: Map Supplement issued as the second section of the management plan, while referencing other Trail guides, including Simmons (1986) and Franzwa.

29. The NPS Plan details the components of the Trail ecosystem in its Natural Environment section (pp. 53-56), makes provisions for appropriate revegetation efforts with the U.S. Soil Conservation Service (pp. 111-113), and details threatened and endangered native species in the Trail region (pp. 132-136). Some of the factors impinging on the integrity of Trail segments are addressed as environmental factors in the Trail registration requirements.

30. NR Bulletin 30, p. 3.

31. NR Bulletin 15, p. 45. Also, "Integrity of feeling is a composite of several factors--association, location, design, materials and setting," NR Bulletin 30, p. 13.

32. NR Bulletin 30, p. 27.

33. A well conceived set of cultural resource management guidelines for historic trails has been devised by the Wyoming State Office of the Bureau of Land Management: "8143-Procedures for the Avoidance and/or Mitigation of Effects on Cultural Resources," (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Bureau of Land Management Manual Supplement, Wyoming State Office, n.d.).

34. A National Register site is defined in NR Bulletin 15, p. 5. To paraphrase the definition, a site is a location of a significant event . . . historic occupation or activity, whether standing, ruined or vanished, where the location itself possesses . . . historic value regardless of the value of any existing structure. Examples abound along the Santa Fe Trail: rutted Trail segments, rutted stream crossings, ruined buildings alone and in conjunction with Trail segments and sites important for the events that took place along the Trail.

35. Standing structures studied for their information potential can have less overall integrity than those structures evaluated under Criteria A, B, or C, NR Bulletin 15, p. 46. Archaeological sites must demonstrate an ability to convey significance as opposed to sites eligible under Criterion D, where only the potential to yield information is required, NR Bulletin 15, p. 48. For a historic site with ruins, enough physical character must exist to show something can be learned from further study (e.g. full excavation or documentation) under Criterion D, or the ruins must display sufficient

physical remains to be noteworthy as exhibiting important modes of period construction under Criterion C and architecture.

36. Dean E. Wood, The Old Santa Fe Trail from the Missouri River. (Kansas City, Missouri: E.L. Mendenhall, Inc., 1955), p. 11.
Leo E. Oliva, Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 166.

37. Franzwa, p. 3.

38. Brown, p. 59.

39. Sandra L. Myres, "Women on the Santa Fe Trail." The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives. (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987), pp. 32 - 33.

40. Dan Flores, Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains from 1800-1850, Journal of American History 78.2 (Sept. 1991), pp. 465-485.

41. Donald J. Blakeslee and Robert Blasing, "Indian Trails in the Central Plains," Plains Anthropologist 33 (119) (February 1988), p. 17-25. A more detailed study with implications for future trail site analysis can be found in Donna Roper's article, "John Dunbar's Journal of 1834-5 Chawi Winter Hunt and its Implications for Pawnee Archaeology," Plains Anthropologist 36 (136) (August 1991), p. 193-214.

42. A synoptic overview of stagecoaches on the Santa Fe Trail is provided in Brown, pp. 55-58.

43. Morris F. Taylor, First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines on the Santa Fe Trail (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), p. 23.

44. Taylor, p. 39.

45. Ibid., p. 49.

46. Taylor, pp. 51-52, 54-55; Howard R. Lamar, The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West, (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 114.

47. Lamar, pp. 118-119.

48. Taylor, p. 73.

49. Ibid., p. 77.

50. Ibid., p. 94.

51. Ibid., p. 103.

52. Ibid., p. 152.

53. Ibid., p. 40.

54. Ibid., p. 42.

55. Ibid., p. 66.

56. Ibid., p. 154.

57. Ibid., p. 85.

58. Ibid., p. 116.

59. Ibid, p. 152; Brown, p. 58.

60. A site conceivably could possess ruins displaying characteristics having important architectural information. Elements of design and construction in architectural ruins are no less significant than those found on extant buildings. The local use of materials and construction expertise, and the site's reflection of the evolution of building practice, all connote criterion C eligibility. However, the site ruins must themselves be the principal source of information on architectural practice in these cases to be eligible under C. See NR Bulletin 15, p. 21. See Miller, pp. 14-15 for a related discussion.

61. Dale L. Berge, "The Gila Bend Stage Station," The Kiva 33.4 (1968), pp. 69-243; "Simpson Springs Station: Historical Archaeology in Western Utah," Bureau of Land Management Cultural Resource Series No. 6, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Office, Bureau of Land Management, n.d.).

62. Room blocks of Bent's Old Fort served as an important stagecoach station for the Barlow-Sanderson Stagecoach line between 1861-1881. Although the bulk of time diagnostic artifacts from fort midden deposits group around a mean date of 1832, the array of artifacts from excavations is impressive and directly supports the assertion that high plains stagecoach stations have high potential to yield information important to history. See Herbert W. Dick, "The Excavations of Bent's Fort, Otero, County, Colorado," Colorado Magazine 33 (1956), p. 181-196; Jackson Moore, Bent's Old Fort: An Archaeological Study, (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1973) and Douglas C. Comer, 1976 Archaeological Investigations, Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, Colorado, (Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985). Comer's trash deposit excavations of 1976 established a mean date of c. 1832 for the ceramic assemblage in two dumps sites; see Comer, pp. 174-175.

63. This material culture evidence can extend to artifacts, features and ecological remains on a site; see National Register Branch, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin #36, Evaluating and Registering Historical Archeology Sites and Districts, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, preliminary draft release, September 1991), pp. 1-2.

64. Hobart E. Stocking, The Road to Santa Fe, (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1971), pp. 9, 11; Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 19-20; NPS Plan, p. 90.

65. Stocking, p. 11.

66. Sites of abandoned communities, or portions of abandoned communities, currently known include New Santa Fe (Missouri), Wilmington (Kansas), and Diamond Spring (Kansas). The small communities along the Trail were commonly associated with some adjunct service point on the Trail like a tavern, mill, road ranch, stage station, ferry or military post; see "Historic Sites and Route Segments," NPS Plan, pp. 90-109.

67. Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, p. 39; NPS Plan, p. 91.

68. Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, p. 58; NPS Plan, p. 94.

69. This underscores the need for a systematic historical survey of the Santa Fe Trail as is advocated in the NPS Plan, p. 19. For the critical methodological role site survey plays in determining historic archaeological site significance see Samuel D. Smith, "Site Survey as a Method for Determining Historic Site Significance," in William B. Lees and Vergil E. Noble (editors), "Methodological Approaches to Assessing the Archaeological Significance of Historic Sites: A Symposium," Historical Archaeology 24.2 (1990), pp. 9-54.

70. This important issue of historic site significance based on archaeology is referenced in Lee and Noble's general statement: "...there is not a large corpus of research data against which new information can be measured, and central themes have not been clearly articulated in the archaeological literature," William B. Lees and Vergil E. Noble, "Other Questions That Count: Introductory Comments on Assessing Significance in Historical Archaeology," Lees and Noble, p. 11. Unfortunately, Santa Fe Trail sites have not often been subject to much in-depth archaeological assessment.

71. "Yet the National Register criteria, as almost everyone agrees, are woefully inadequate for providing a working definition of site significance....there has been much discussion related to archaeological significance." Lees and Noble, p. 10.

72. Lees and Noble, pp. 9-54.

73. This is well articulated in draft NR Bulletin #36, pp. 21-25, where both the contextual level or scale of analysis of a hypothetical historic archaeological site is juxtaposed with variables such as demography, technology, social organization and ideology in a matrix. The matrix illustrates how conceptually a site could be examined in a wider frame of reference than the locality itself. "Significant" sites should have data important to answering questions within such an evaluative framework.

74. Lees and Noble, pp. 9-54.

75. Francis P. McManamon, "A Regional Perspective on Assessing the Significance of Historic Period Sites," Lees and Noble, p. 16.

76. Given the fact that stage stations would normally be placed no farther than 15-20 miles apart, and that important home stations were located every fourth station, quite a number of stage stations could conceivably be located along the Santa Fe Trail stage routes. The preliminary survey of the Trail, however, identified only 13% of the 194 trail sites as possible station locations (NPS Plan, pp. 90-109); for a general discussion of trail stations--using 110 Mile Station in Kansas as an example--see Hobart Stocking, pp. 75-78.

77. McManamon, p. 16.

78. Ibid., p. 20.

79. An important aspect of Santa Fe Trail historic archaeological sites would be the redundancy of material culture information among site components. Only when the sites are viewed in overall context from a comparative point of view can we comprehend the trail system at work. See NR Bulletin #36, p. 25.

80. The majority of eligible sites within the sub-type will be eligible at the local level of significance. The likelihood of comparative analysis of integrity among these sites is extremely limited due to the lack of a comprehensive survey among trail sites. See NR Bulletin 15, p. 47 for "Comparing Similar Properties;" these standards will be applied where sufficient information is available.

81. John S. Wilson, "We've Got Thousands of These! What Makes an Historic Farmstead Significant," Lees and Noble, pp. 23-33.

82. NR Bulletin 15, p. 21.

83. John D. Unruh, The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978). Unruh's study showed Trail mortality on this coeval trail owed much more to disease and accidental death (primarily gun-play) than to attack (pp. 408-413). The dangers from attack on the Santa Fe trail were conceivably greater, but undoubtedly the same dangers attendant upon Oregon-California Trail travel held true for the southwestern trail as well. Diseases from epidemics, poor sanitation and exposure, drownings, and both general and gun accidents were among the killers noted by Unruh's study.

84. Robert M. Utley, Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1846-1865, (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1967), pp. 79-90.

85. Ibid.

86. NR Bulletin 15, pp. 32-36.

87. This discussion of natural features relies heavily on the descriptions of the NPS Plan reconnaissance survey, see NPS Plan, pp. 90-109.

88. #157 Apache Canyon, NPS Plan, pp. 105-106.

89. Brown, pp. 26-29 provides a succinct account of a Trail journey, including reference to the water and forage needs of the trains. A scrape is a waterless trail or road.

90. Annotated bibliographies on the more notable trail narratives can be found in Simmons, Santa Fe Trail, pp. 5-7; Brown, pp. 212-214.

91. Rittenhouse.

92. Perhaps best exemplified in the suppression of the Taos revolt of 1847, Lamar, pp. 87, 833. In addition, Ft. Union served as a base of operations against American Indians in the Jicarilla Apache War of 1854 and Ute War of 1855, Lamar, pp. 398-399.

93. Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime," p. 55.

94. Lamar, pp. 392-396.

95. Bent's Fort, also known as Fort William, operated between 1833-1849; to be succeeded by Bent's New Fort, 38 miles east, on the Arkansas River. The latter fort is considered a military post as it was leased to the government in 1860; Lamar, p. 90.

96. Simmons, "The Wagon Mound Massacre," Journal of the West 28.2 (April, 1989), pp. 44-52.

97. Ibid.

98. Fort Union, New Mexico provided troops for the campaign against the Kiowa and Comanche in 1860-1861, Lamar, p. 399; Ft. Larned acted as a base against the Cheyenne in 1864 and southern Plains campaign of 1868-1869, Lamar, p. 390.

99. Simmons, Following the Santa Fe Trail, pp. 170-171.

100. NPS Plan, pp. 90, 104.

101. NPS Plan, p. 92.

102. The current NPS Plan identifies several unlisted historic sites as possessing high potential for interpretive purposes; the following descriptions drawn from the plan (Appendix C) suggest previously unevaluated buildings which might possess historic significance. Their inclusion in this list is for illustrative purposes only. One such example is the Lewis Jones House in Independence. As a Santa Fe trader, merchant, and financial backer for other Santa Fe merchants and traders, Jones was

an unusually successful businessman. The William McCoy House of Independence is another extant example. McCoy was a Santa Fe trader, and a backer of other Santa Fe traders, as well as a banker, a merchant, a contract freighter for the army, and a partner in early stagecoach operations on the trail. His home was built by another Santa Fe trader, Samuel C. Owens. At 205 North Main in Independence is a commercial structure which is possibly one of the oldest intact commercial buildings in the Independence Square area. The town of Westport, four miles south of the old Westport Landing, has long since been incorporated by Kansas City, but is near the Old Westport Historic District and includes the historic buildings that are associated with the Santa Fe Trail. Westport was the major point of embarkation on the Santa Fe Trail after it superseded Independence in the late 1840s to the early 1850s. Only Fort Leavenworth rivaled Westport as the point of organization of wagon trains for travel to Santa Fe after 1850. Another example is New Mexico's St. James Hotel on the east side of New Mexico Highway 21 in Cimarron. This hotel was built next to the Santa Fe Trail in its later days and was a hangout for outlaws.

103. NR Bulletin 15, pp. 21, 46.

104. For discussion of these issues see NR Bulletin 15, pp. 17-19, 46-47.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail are located within the following counties in the states listed:

Missouri: Howard, Saline, Lafayette, and Jackson

Kansas: Wyandotte, Johnson, Douglas, Osage, Lyon, Morris, Marion, McPherson, Rice, Barton, Pawnee, Edwards, Ford, Finney, Kearny, Gray, Haskell, Grant, Stevens, Morton, and Hamilton

Oklahoma: Cimarron

Colorado: Baca, Prowers, Bent, Otero, and Las Animas

New Mexico: Union, Colfax, Mora, San Miguel, and Santa Fe

See Figure 1.

Supplementary Geographical Information

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 and/or difficulty of movement across the Trail. Low-lying areas provided ease of wagon movement while Raton Pass presented the annual caravan to Santa Fe with a considerable obstacle. The climate also presented the Santa Fe Trail traveler with dry conditions over the Cimarron Route while along other portions of the Trail thunderstorms were in abundance. The climate of the region also contributes to other physical processes which mold 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 their 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 can hide the remains of resources important to a better understanding of the Trail. Conversely, they can accentuate other features such as wagon ruts through vegetational changes between that in the ruts and that of the surrounding countryside.

The Course of the Trail

The popular perception of the Santa Fe Trail as being composed of a single route that divides into two branches, later rejoining to form a single road to Santa Fe, is misleading. This perception of the Trail is the consequence of an early twentieth century mapping and marking of the route.[1] The Trail is more appropriately described as a network

Pages G2 and H3 contain restricted information and are not included in this document.

system which provided the Santa Fe Trail traveler with a set of route options. The choice of Trail portions traversed was made according to route condition, season, and purpose, in addition to other variables. While this documentation will concentrate on the primary Trail routes and interpretation of the Trail presented in the Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, the less-traveled branches of the Trail should not be overlooked. The interpretation of the Trail adopted by the National Park Service identifies it as beginning at Old Franklin and stretching three hundred and fifty eight miles southwestward to the Arkansas River where it divides into the Cimarron Route and the Mountain Route.[2] The Cimarron Route traverses two hundred ninety-four miles and the Mountain Route crosses three hundred thirty-eight miles before they converge to form the remaining eighty-three miles of the route from Watrous (La Junta) to Santa Fe.[3]

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. Traffic over the Trail played its own part in altering the morphology of the landscape on a minor but widespread scale. Vegetation differences between that of the prairies and that within the wagon ruts themselves enhance their appearance. The bright green snakeweed irrigated by rainwater accumulation in the depressions contrasts sharply with short grass on either side of the ruts even today.[4] Seasonal variation in vegetational cover often exposes Trail features through changes in color, composition and thickness of floral cover. For instance, small swales created by wagon ruts 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 ruts and features, however, these observations are made easier at times by vegetational changes. The volume of traffic these ruts have experienced over the decades has also changed the texture of the soil, 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 over the years, 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. From these wagon ruts, one can identify the route which travelers adopted on their journey between Old Franklin and Santa Fe.

Starting at Old Franklin, the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Missouri River to Arrow Rock where it followed a west-northwesterly orientation to Fort Osage. It proceeded along the Missouri River passing through Independence and Westport--both of which later became eastern terminus points for travelers of the shortened Trail. The Trail crossed into Kansas where it adopted a southwest route. After intersecting the Oregon Trail, it proceeded westward, traversing several tributaries, to Council Grove where the Trail travelers assembled to form the annual caravan to Santa Fe. Upon leaving Council Grove, the Trail moved southwestward until it reached the Arkansas River. The Trail followed the river closely, leaving it only to traverse later military branches of the Trail. At Cimarron, the Trail diverged offering the traveler a choice of two routes--the Cimarron Route or the Mountain Route.

The Cimarron Route was nearly fifty miles shorter than the Mountain Route and therein lay its attractiveness. Another advantage that the Cimarron Route offered was level terrain, important for the ease of wagon movement. It was for these two reasons that during the first twenty-five years of the Trail's existence, the Cimarron Route proved more popular than its more mountainous counterpart. However, the Cimarron Route posed the challenge of a sixty mile long waterless stretch between the Arkansas and Cimarron Rivers. To native New Mexicans, this section of the route was known as the "Jornada," meaning a desert march while travelers on the route often referred to it as the "Water Scrape." In preparation for almost three days travel without irrigation, the wagon train would prepare by securing five-gallon water casks to their vehicles, by preparing food for several days in advance, and by ensuring that

all members of the wagon train, including humans and animals, had taken sufficient volumes of liquid prior to departure.[5] The threat of Indian confrontation was also a possibility. The Cimarron Route followed a southwesterly trail from Cimarron to Santa Fe. Passing through Middle Spring at Point of Rocks, the Trail proceeded to enter the southeast corner of Colorado and, subsequently, the northwest corner of Oklahoma past Cold Spring and Inscription Rock before entering New Mexico near Camp Nichols. While rivers were used as points of reference on earlier components of the Trail, the use of other geomorphic features as reference points became more apparent. Upon entering New Mexico, the Cimarron Route proceeded westward between Point of Rocks to the northwest and Round Mound to the southeast. The Cimarron Route crossed a tributary of the Canadian River before heading southwestward past Wagon Mound to La Junta (Watrous[6]) where it rejoined the Mountain Route. La Junta meaning "The Junction" originally referred to the confluence of the Mora and Sapello Rivers thus it seemed appropriate that this site would later witness the reunification of the two route segments.

Unlike the Cimarron Route, the Mountain Route was a well-irrigated route and considered a much safer one. It did possess the disadvantages of being longer and presenting a more challenging terrain to wagon traffic than the Cimarron Route. 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 allowing wagons access to Colorado.[7] In 1833, Fort William (later renamed Bent's Fort) was built and in the years ahead, it became the main stopping point on the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. Bent's New Fort, a smaller trading post farther down river, came to replace Bent's Fort following its destruction for personal reasons by William Bent.[8] 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 could be overcome by wagon travel.[9] A drought in the southwest in 1846 also made the better irrigated Mountain Route appear more attractive. The Mountain Route followed the north bank of the Arkansas River to Upper Crossing. Travelers were given a last chance to change route segments between Upper Crossing on the Mountain Route and Lower Spring on the Cimarron Route. The Trail then continued westward past Bent's New Fort, Old Fort Lyon, and New Fort Lyon to Bent's Old Fort. Beyond this fortification, the Trail crossed the Arkansas River and went southwestward to Trinidad, Colorado. Before leaving Colorado, the Trail turned southward into New Mexico to accommodate its passage through Raton Pass to Cimarron, New Mexico. Due south the wagons went to La Junta (Watrous) 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, nestled in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

Prior to the use of wagons along the Trail, it is believed that early Santa Fe traders marked the Trail by bending down sapling branches at right angles to the ground.[10] The Sibley Survey of 1825 attempted to mark the Trail employing the use of man-made mounds and physical features en route. However, this survey did not fulfill its purpose in marking the Santa Fe Trail; it attempted to plot a new trail to Santa Fe, but this route was not adopted by subsequent traders and travelers and the markers which they used paled into the landscape over time in response to exposure to the elements.

Physiographic Regions

The course of the Santa Fe Trail, described above, traverses five physiographic regions.[11] The Trail originates in the Ozark Plateaus physiographic region. The region consists of mildly folded and faulted carbonate rocks, principally limestone, forming cuestaform topography with receding frontal escarpments. The plateau surface averages from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level dissected with valleys 200 to 300 feet below this upland surface. From the northern boundary of the Ozark Plateaus, the Trail moves over the Central Lowland. This low-lying region bounded on all sides, except its southern boundary, by higher ground ranges in altitude from 1,500 to 1,800 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 the 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--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. This vast expanse of prairie grassland has underlying rocks Cretaceous in age with a veneer of Tertiary rocks. From altitudes averaging 1,500 feet above sea level along its eastern boundary, the Great Plains rise westward at a gradient of ten feet per square mile, despite a westward dip in their underlying strata, to elevations of 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level at the Rocky Mountains. Although the Santa Fe Trail did not enter the Southern Rocky Mountains physiographic region, the Mountain Route segment of the route did have to negotiate Raton Pass in Colorado before sweeping down from its lofty height to rejoin the Cimarron Route. Turning northwestward for Santa Fe, the Trail entered the Basin and Range physiographic region. Block faulting of the numerous underlying structures has given this region its characteristic isolated north-south oriented mountain ranges which rise abruptly above the adjacent plains, the western margins of which experience the rainshadow effect.

Climate

For the purposes of generalization, the Koppen climatic classification system originally devised by Dr. Wladimir Koppen in 1918 and subsequently revised by his students R. Geiger and W. Pohl in 1953, will be utilized. 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 originates within the Warm Temperate climatic region (Cfa). Under this regime, the coldest month has an average temperature between 64.6 degrees fahrenheit (18 degrees celsius) and 26.6 degrees fahrenheit (-3 degrees celsius). The warmest month has a mean temperature of over 71.6 degrees fahrenheit (22 degrees celsius) with sufficient precipitation in all months.[12] As one moves westward, the Trail moves into a dry climate (Bsk/Bsh). In this climatic regime, evaporation exceeds precipitation on average throughout the year and, since there is no water surplus, no permanent streams originate in this zone.[13] It has a mean annual temperature of around 64.4 degrees fahrenheit (18 degrees celsius).[14] Clearly the Cimarron Route falls within this climatic region. On the other hand, the Mountain Route, as it title suggests, experiences a Highland climate (H). The most characteristic feature of this climatic regime is the decrease in temperature with increasing altitude. As the Cimarron Route and the Mountain Route rejoin to form a single trail to Santa Fe, the Trail experiences another dry climate (BSk). This semi-arid

climate is characterized by Steppe grassland and occupies an intermediate position between the desert climate of the southwestern United States and the more humid climates to the east.

Vegetation and Soils

Mid-latitude deciduous forest (including oak, elm, ash, birch and beech) was common along the eastern part of the Trail, particularly in the valleys along the rivers and streams which irrigate the region. This type of vegetation was dominated by tall, broadleaf trees which provided a continuous and dense canopy in summer but shed their leaves in winter.[15] The soils associated with mid-latitude deciduous forests are udalfs and boralfs. Alfisols are characterized by argillic horizons--a B horizon in the soil profile which is enriched by the accumulation of silicate clay minerals and capable of holding base cations such as calcium and magnesium.[16] Alfisols have a high base status and can prove to be highly fertile where cleared.[17] Udalfs, which are a sub-order of alfisols, are highly productive when even a moderate amount of lime and fertilizer is added 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.[18] Tall-grass prairie is closely identified with mollisols. These soils have a unique, very thick (greater than twenty-five centimeters), dark brown to black surface horizon called the mollic epipedon.[19] Mollisols are also of high base status, have a rich nutrient base required by grasses and are among the most fertile soils in the world.[20] 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.[21] Mollisols usually form the underlying soil types in these areas. The change from Steppe vegetation to semidesert 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 is an example, and usually overlies aridisols. As their title suggests, aridisols are soils which are dry for long periods of time. Soil horizons are weakly developed as a result of lack of precipitation and humus. Subsurface horizons of calcium carbonate or soluble salts may develop. Aridisols are not agriculturally productive unless they are well irrigated and, in the past, have been used for nomadic herding. Along the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail, the vegetation changes to one of boreal forest as one increases in elevation. This type of vegetation was largely composed of evergreen conifers, such as spruce and fir.[22] Characteristically, conifer trees are usually underlain by spodosols which are acidic in nature and have a low base status. Spodosols display a B horizon (or spodic horizon) composed of organic matter, and compounds of aluminum and iron eluviated from the overlying A2 horizon.[23] These soils can be highly productive once their high acidic levels have been neutralized.

Socioeconomic Aspects

Approximately ninety 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 was identified along the Trail corridor. In terms of land use, approximately sixty-four percent of the land is designated as rangeland, seventeen 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. [redacted]. Most of the Santa Fe Trail crosses rural areas with very low population densities--the only notable exception being that part of the Trail corridor in Kansas City where the population density exceeds one thousand people per square mile. In contrast near the western terminus of the Trail, population densities are as low as 1.2 people per square mile. The average population density for the Trail is 13.8 people per square mile. The National Park Service has estimated that the Trail corridor had a population of 1,613,000 people in 1986 and, that despite very different growth rates along certain corridors of the Trail, population increased by 5.4 percent since 1980. In terms of racial composition, Hispanics are a major ethnic population in Kansas City 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 important in specific portions of the Trail corridor.[24]

Endnotes

1. William G. Buckles, "The Santa Fe Trail System," Journal of the West, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, April 1989, p. 79.

2. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 15.

3. Ibid.

4. Joan Myers and Marc Simmons, Along the Santa Fe Trail (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), p. 62.

5. Ibid., p. 55.

6. Watrous

Formerly La Junta de los Rios, this settlement was later renamed Watrous in honor of Samuel Bowman Watrous who was born in Montpelier, Vermont circa 1808. In 1835, he went west for health reasons. He spent the first two years in charge of a store in Taos before moving to Las Nortas as a trader and hunter. In 1848, Watrous settled at La Junta de los Rios. He died on March 17, 1886.

Terry R. Koenig, "F.W. Cragin and His Famous Collection," Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 1, November 1991, p. 11.

7. Nick Eggenhofer, Wagons, Mules and Men: How the Frontier Moved West (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1961), p. 70.

8. Ibid.

9. Myers and Simmons, p. 57.

10. Marc Simmons, "The Santa Fe Trail . . . Highway to Commerce," Trails West (Washington, D.C.: Special Publications Division, National Geographic Society, 1983), pp. 16-17.

11. J. H. Paterson, North America: A Geography of the United States and Canada (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 7; William D. Thornbury, Regional Geomorphology of the United States (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 6.

12. Arthur N. Strahler and Alan H. Strahler, Elements of Physical Geography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1979), p. 528.

13. Ibid., p. 521.

14. Ibid., p. 258.

15. Ibid., p. 251.

16. Ibid., p. 213.

17. Ibid., p. 252.

18. Ibid., p. 257.

19. Ibid., p. 216.

20. Ibid., pp. 217, 257.

21. Ibid., p. 257.

22. Ibid., p. 253.

23. Ibid., p. 214.

24. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, pp. 58-60.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

After designating 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, various organizations, landowners, and individuals as well as federal, state and local agencies to manage, protect, and develop the Trail.[1] Based on these comments and nine public meetings held along the Trail in November 1987, draft management objectives were developed and presented to the public in April 1988.[2] In the spring of 1988, National Park Service personnel and contract consultants undertook the mapping of the Trail route and the identification of potential historic sites and segments.[3] 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 proposes the protection, historical interpretation, recreational use, and management of the Trail corridor[4] and identifies 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.[5]

This initial registration effort works toward the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan goals for protection and historical interpretation of the Santa Fe Trail. This project was funded by the National Park Service/Southwest Regional Office, through the State of New Mexico, Office of Cultural Affairs, Historic Preservation Division, which had the responsibility of managing this registration effort. Dr. Mary Ann Anders, Architectural Historian and National Register reviewer for the New Mexico office, served as Project Coordinator from that office. After a Request for Proposals process, The URBANA Group Incorporated, a private consulting firm specializing in preservation planning, was selected to conduct this project.

The task for this project was to develop this Multiple Property Documentation form along with no fewer than forty National Register of Historic Places Registration forms. The Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1880 fall within five associated historic contexts: (1) International Trade on the Mexican Road, 1821-1846; (2) Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail, 1846-1848; (3) Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1865; (4) Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, 1861-1865; and (5) The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, 1865-1880. The possibility of organizing the historic contexts by the five interpretive regions or the eight themes outlined in the Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan[6] was explored, but the most applicable basis for developing the associated historic contexts was in terms of chronology and significant events, concentrating on the national level.

The selection of properties to be nominated was made from the list of 194 properties determined in the Management 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."[7] The properties nominated with this initial submission were selected from their list of 194 properties, firstly by a process of elimination, excluding those sites which were already designated National Historic Landmarks or which were listed in the National Register. The remaining properties were judged by their descriptions, particularly for integrity, from both the Management Plan and from the notes on the Santa Fe Trail Site/Segment Survey Forms resulting from the 1988 survey of the Trail. Consideration was also given to 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 was denied. The forty properties prepared for National Register nomination contained within this Multiple Property Document are listed below and their location is shown on the accompanying map:

Missouri

8. Santa Fe Trail (Saline County Trail Segments)
9. Grand Pass Trail Segments
14. Blue Mills
23. Noland, Smallwood V., House
29. Jones, Lewis, House
30. Santa Fe Trail (Santa Fe Trail Park Ruts, Independence Trail Segments)
31. Santa Fe Trail (Santa Fe Road, Independence Trail Segments)
36. Owens-McCoy House
40. Santa Fe Trail (Minor Park, Kansas City Trail Segments)
47. Fitzhugh-Watts' Mill

Kansas

59. Santa Fe Trail (Douglas County Trail Segments)
64. McGee-Harris Stage Station Historic District
66. Dragoon Creek Crossing
67. Havana Stage Station
68. Samuel Hunt Grave
69. Soldier Creek Crossing
81. Six Mile Creek Stage Station Historic District
83. Cottonwood Creek Crossing Historic District
84. Santa Fe Trail (Marion County Trail Segments)
87. Little Arkansas River (Upper) Crossing and the Santa Fe Trail (Rice County Trail Segments)
88. Station Little Arkansas
90. Owl Creek Crossing
93. Santa Fe Trail (Rice County Trail Segments)
103. Coon Creek Crossing
104. Black Pool and the Santa Fe Trail (Ford County Trail Segments)
108. Fort Hays - Fort Dodge Road/Pawnee Fork Historic District
109. Fort Hays - Fort Dodge/Sawlog Creek Crossing
117. Middle Spring
118. Santa Fe Trail (Morton County Trail Segments)
193. Santa Fe Trail (Kearny County Trail Segments)

Oklahoma

122. Cold Spring and Inscription Rock Historic District
123. Autograph Rock Historic District

New Mexico
133. Point of Rocks Historic District
134. El Vado de las Piedras and the Santa Fe Trail (Colfax County Trail Segments)
149. Santa Fe Trail (San Miguel County Trail Segments)
166. Ocate Creek Crossing and the Santa Fe Trail (Mora County Trail Segments)
172. Clifton House

Colorado
181. Iron Spring Historic District
186. Fort Wise
187. Bent's New Fort

Other properties on the list of 194 "high-potential historic sites and route segments" which have not been listed and which are not part of this submission, may be eligible to the National Register, but were beyond the scope of this project which is limited to forty nominations.

Significant property types were developed around the properties identified on the list of 194 properties from the Management Plan. Four property types are identified, grouped by function, and divided into more descriptive sub-types as appropriate. Some sub-types are only identified, and not fully developed, if no nomination with this submission fits under that sub-type. The identification of these additional sub-types establishes the skeletal framework for the larger group of Trail properties identified in the Management Plan, and allows for further development for future nominations.

Endnotes

1. United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service, Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Management and Use Plan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. iii.

5. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

6. Ibid., pp. 32, 26-27.

7. Ibid., p. 16.

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