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THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

REPORT ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

REPORT ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

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FOREWORD

This study represents the work of the National Park Service field staff assigned to the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. In the process of evaluating the sites treated in the several themes, the Consulting Committee for the Survey and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments have screened the findings of the field staff. Some sites recommended by the field staff for classification of exceptional value have been eliminated, and in a few cases sites and buildings have been added to the lists of exceptionally valuable sites.

The sites and buildings associated with this study, "The Santa Fe Trail," recommended for classification of exceptional value by the Advisory Board are as follows:

1. Bent's Old Fort, Colorado
2. Fort Larned, Kansas
3. Raton Pass, Colorado-New Mexico
4. Wagon Bed Springs, Kansas
5. Santa Fe, New Mexico

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
I. PREFACE

The Santa Fe Trail was one of the two principal overland routes in the trans-Mississippi West. The Oregon Trail extended along the Platte to the west. Over it thousands of wagons, carrying emigrants and household goods, passed en route to the Pacific. Farther south and running parallel to it for many miles was the Santa Fe Trail over which a 2-way commerce to Santa Fe and the Southwest passed for over a half century.

This particular study of the Santa Fe Trail has been made in connection with the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings currently being undertaken by the National Park Service. It is one of several aspects of the broader theme of "Westward Expansion of the United States to 1900."

The purpose of this study is two-fold. The first objective is to synthesize the broad story of the Santa Fe Trail so as to determine what sites along the old overland route were of major significance or exceptional value. The second is to make an appraisal of these more important sites to ascertain what remains are extant. The writer makes no attempt in this study to write a comprehensive story of the Trail or of any of the various phases of its history.

Unfortunately, no definitive history of the Santa Fe Trail has been written. The information is far from adequate on the routes of the Trail over which the travelers passed at various periods.
There are also little data on the volume of traffic which flowed over that highway of commerce. There are, however, several popular works written on the subject. A number of diaries, journals, and accounts of travelers on the Trail have likewise been published. A number of monographs on various aspects of the trade and traffic over this old overland trail have appeared in several historical journals.

It is impossible to make a study of this nature without the assistance of many institutions and individuals. The writer wishes to acknowledge the help given him by Messrs. Nyle H. Miller and Edgar Langsdorf, Secretary and Assistant Secretary, and their staff at the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka; Dr. Floyd Shoemaker, Secretary, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; Mr. Maurice Frink, Executive Secretary, Colorado State Historical Society, Denver; Mr. James Anderson, Native Sons of Kansas City, Missouri; Mr. Frank Haucke, past president, Kansas State Historical Society, Council Grove, Kansas; Messrs. Elmer Newachek and Harold Evans, Larned; Mr. James P. McCollom, Dodge City, Kansas; Mr. R. J. McGrath, Lamar, Colorado; Mr. C. W. Hurd, Las Animas; Mr. Ralph Taylor, News Editor, Pueblo Chieftain and Journal; Dr. Herbert Dick, Archeologist, Trinidad Junior College; Mr. Arthur M. Mitchell, Curator, Felipe de Baca Museum, Trinidad; Mr. and Mrs. Don Berg, owners of the old Wootton Ranch, Trinidad; Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Hamilton, Marshall, Missouri; and Dr. Herman R. Friis, Head, Cartographic Branch, National Archives. The officials of the Soil Conservation Service,
Department of Agriculture, at whose offices I stopped in both Kansas and Colorado, proved very cooperative. They not only made their aerial photographs available to me, but were able to provide me with much information on extant sites and remains of the Trail.

Members of the staff of the Region Three Office of the National Park Service at Santa Fe, particularly Historian Robert Utley, Dr. Erik Reed, and Regional Archeologist Charles R. Steen, provided me with much of the information included in this report regarding that portion of the Trail which lies in Oklahoma and New Mexico. Their comments have likewise proved very helpful. Regional Historian Merrill J. Mattes, Region Two Office, who prepared "Report on Historical Investigation of Eleven Areas Proposed for National Recognition" in December 1955, has also provided needed information regarding several sites along the Trail which he has visited.

s/ Ray H. Mattison
November 7, 1958
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II. ANALYTICAL STATEMENT

Significance of the Trail

Until replaced by the iron horse in the 1870's, the Santa Fe Trail played a highly significant role in the development of the Southwest. For a half century it was the principal highway to that region. For over a quarter of a century thousands of pounds of manufactured goods, destined for Santa Fe, and the other portions of the Mexican domain, passed over this overland route.

With the conquest of New Mexico and California, the Trail assumed an even greater importance. During the Mexican War the armies of Kearny and Doniphan, as well as the supplies and munitions to support these troops, passed over it en route to the Southwest. Following the war, the old Trail became a vital link with the newly-acquired region. For almost another 25 years following the peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the road to Santa Fe was the principal artery over which emigrants passed to the Southwest and over which the mail and thousands of tons of supplies were carried for the network of forts and Indian agencies, and equipment and goods for civilian enterprises. When the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad was built, the rails of that company followed much of the course of this old overland route.
Historical Background of the Trade

During the early 18th century, the Spanish had pushed their frontiers northward from Mexico and had established the province of New Mexico, with Santa Fe as its capital. Meanwhile, the French from the Mississippi Valley, pushed westward toward the northwestern frontier of New Mexico. In common with other colonial powers, the governments of both countries endeavored to maintain a monopoly of the trade of their colonies. The prices of French merchandise were much cheaper than those of the Spaniards. To prevent their colonials from obtaining cheaper manufactured goods from their rivals in return for furs, hides, silver, and gold, the Spanish imposed severe penalties on trade with foreigners. French traders endeavored to penetrate the Spanish barrier. Several parties—one under the leadership of Peter and Paul Mallet in 1739; one under Pierre Satren in 1740; and one under Jean Chapins in 1752—succeeded in reaching Santa Fe. Despite the severe penalties imposed for the violation of the trade laws, illegal French goods found their way into New Mexico. However, by the time of the formal cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, the French had been unable to open formal trade relations with the Spanish Southwest.\footnote{H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, The Pacific Ocean in History (New York, 1917), passim; Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York, 1949), 435-443; 461-462; Henry Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America 1524-1763 (Glendale, 1953), 277-310.}
Soon after the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, the Americans took steps to learn more about the regions to the Southwest, some of which were then under Spanish jurisdiction. In 1806 President Jefferson sent out Lt. Zebulon Pike and a party from St. Louis, ostensibly with the view to exploring the country between the Arkansas and Red Rivers. The explorers sought in vain to find the headwaters of the Red River. On the Upper Rio Grande in southern Colorado, in the spring of 1807, they threw up a stockade. Here, the Spanish captured the party and escorted it to Santa Fe where they interrogated Pike for some time. They then escorted their prisoners to Chihuahua for more questioning and finally to Natchitoches on the American side of the border and released them. In the words of Professor F. F. Stephens, "Pike's 'Account' of his journey, first published in 1810, showed how feasible was the route from Missouri to the Spanish settlements, and became the inspiration of many of the later traders.*

However, the Spaniards continued to maintain a monopoly of the trade and to exclude foreigners. When news was received in the United States of Father Miguel Hidalgo's revolt in 1810 to throw off the Spanish yoke, Robert McKnight and a party, believing Mexican independence imminent, started out to Santa Fe. When the Americans reached their

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objective, they learned that the revolution had collapsed. They were immediately placed in jail where McKnight remained for 9 years. Practically all attempts of Americans to open trade with the Spanish-dominated Southwest ended in failure.\textsuperscript{4}

Mexican Independence--Its Influence on Trade

When the Americans received news in 1821 that the Mexicans had at last achieved independence, they lost no time in exploiting the new trade opportunities. In contrast with the Spanish, the Mexican officials at Santa Fe were willing to open trade relations with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. Early in September of that year, William Becknell, later known as "father of the Santa Fe Trail," together with four companions, set out from Franklin,\textsuperscript{5} Missouri,\textsuperscript{6} to trade with the Commanche Indians. Not far from San Miguel,\textsuperscript{6} they fell in with a


\textsuperscript{5} Old Franklin was located on the north side of the Missouri River opposite the modern town of Boonville, Missouri.

\textsuperscript{6} Prior to the establishment of Las Vegas in 1835, San Miguel del Vado, some 55 to 60 miles southeast of Santa Fe, was the first Spanish settlement at which travelers on the Trail arrived while en route to the New Mexican capital. This hamlet became an important point on the route. When the traders arrived at that point, they considered themselves practically at Santa Fe. From that small village, a well-defined road ran to the New Mexican capital.
party of Mexican rangers who prevailed upon the Missourians to accompany them to Santa Fe. At the latter place, the traders realized a handsome profit on their small amount of merchandise. In the following year Becknell, with a larger party, returned to New Mexico by crossing the Arkansas River near modern Dodge City, Kansas, and striking across the Jornada. The Missourians, after suffering a great deal from thirst, finally reached Santa Fe.

Becknell's initial success soon influenced others in the Boon's Lick country to embark in the New Mexican trade. One of the best known early expeditions was that of Col. M. M. Marmaduke in 1824. The journal of Marmaduke, who later became governor of Missouri, contains one of the best detailed accounts of an early trip over the Trail. The party crossed the Missouri River at Arrow Rock and encamped at the general rendezvous nearby where it organized. The caravan, with trade goods valued at $30,000, comprising 83 persons, two road wagons, 20 dearborns, 2 carts, and a small cannon, set out on May 24. On June 10, the traders arrived at the main stream of the Arkansas. After traveling along that river for several days and losing most of their horses, they set out over the Cimarron Cut Off across the Jornada where the men suffered a great deal from thirst until they found water. On July 25 the party reached

\[1/7\] The region known as the Jornada was that traversed by travelers taking the Cimarron Cut Off route. This short cut passed from one of the three main fords of the Arkansas through the modern "dust bowl" of southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado, the Oklahoma Panhandle, and northeastern New Mexico.

\[1/8\] Moorhead, op. cit., 13-14; "The Journals of Capt. Thomas Becknell, from Boon's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River," Missouri Historical Review, IV (January, 1910), 68-84.
the first Spanish settlement of San Miguel. Three days later the traders arrived in Santa Fe. After disposing of its goods, this party realized a return of $180,000 in gold and silver, and $30,000 in furs.\textsuperscript{9} The trade later normally averaged about 40 to 45 percent profit.

Survey of the Santa Fe Trail

The promise of a highly profitable trade with New Mexico led interested individuals to seek assistance from the Federal Government to establish a permanent trail. As the result of petitions from his constituents, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, secured, in 1825, the passage of a bill appropriating $30,000 for surveying and marking the Trail and securing safe travel over the route from the Indians. As a result of this legislation, the President in that year appointed three Commissioners, Benjamin H. Reeves, Thomas Mather, and George C. Sibley. The Commissioners in turn appointed Joseph C. Brown as surveyor, to survey and mark the route, and Archibald Gamble as secretary.\textsuperscript{10}

The expedition included many well-known frontier characters. Among the more important members of the company were Stephen Cooper, pilot, who had been several times to Santa Fe. Another was William Sherley Williams, better known as "Old Bill," a famous frontiersman

\textsuperscript{9} Archie Butler Hulbert (ed.), Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe (Denver, 1933), 69-77, 78-79.

\textsuperscript{10} Kate L. Gregg (ed.), The Road to Santa Fe (Albuquerque, 1952), 1-25; Stephens, "Missouri and The Santa Fe Trade: Attitude of the National Government," 239-245.
and pathfinder who was the interpreter. Joseph Reddefort Walker, another well-known mountaineer who was later a guide for fur trappers, traders, and emigrants, was a hunter and chainman for the party. Other members were Joel P. Walker, Joseph's brother, and Andrew Broadus, hunter and guard, both of whom were well-known frontiersmen.

The commissioners and their party assembled at Old Fort Osage, Missouri, in mid-July. The company comprised 40 persons. There were 57 horses and mules, 7 supply wagons, and in addition, a sufficient quantity of tools, ammunition, and provisions. Using the old government trading house as the point of beginning, Brown began his survey. The expedition moved westward with Brown, continuing his work as the party proceeded. At present Council Grove, in August, the commissioners met with the Osage Indians and signed a treaty with that tribe granting the Americans a route through their country. Near present McPherson, on August 16, they effected a similar treaty with the Kansas. On September 11, they arrived at the Arkansas River near present Dodge City, on the 100th degree north longitude, then the Mexican boundary. There the commissioners waited until the 20th for permission from the Mexican government to continue the survey into Mexican territory. The commissioners then decided that Sibley, accompanied by a surveyor, interpreter, 9 men, and 2 wagons should continue on to Santa Fe to obtain the consent of Mexican authorities to continue the survey beyond the American boundary. The remainder of the party returned to Missouri.

\[^{11}\] The text of this treaty is in Hulbert, op.cit., 102-105.
Sibley and his small band then pushed toward the New Mexican capital. The small party advanced up the Arkansas to Chouteau Island. There they crossed the river and set out for the Cimarron River. From that stream they followed the route of the later Cimarron Cutoff. When the party reached the South Fork of the Canadian River on October 19, Sibley sent two of the men to San Fernando de Taos to bring back a guide and 10 pack horses. When the 2 men returned on October 24 with mules and packers, Sibley and his men started for Taos where they arrived 6 days later.

On November 29, leaving his men and horses in Taos, Sibley set out for Santa Fe where he spent the winter. There he entered into happy relations with Narbona, the Governor of New Mexico. During the winter and the following spring, Sibley worked assiduously through the Governor to obtain permission from the officials in Mexico City, to continue the survey from the American boundary to Santa Fe. He also corresponded with the American minister in Mexico City and Senator Benton in Washington, D. C. The early replies Sibley received were far from encouraging. However, in the following June, Narbona advised Sibley that he could proceed with the survey as the Mexican government specified. On August 24, Sibley and his men, destined for Missouri, started from Taos. They surveyed the route as they went. Their findings are incorporated in Brown’s notes. By October, Sibley and his men were back in Missouri.
In 1827, Sibley led a party of 12 men for the resurvey of the Trail. After encountering much difficulty, this expedition reached Diamond Springs, near a town in Kansas by the same name. When the party reached that point, the leader decided to return to Missouri, making necessary surveys and connecting new routes with the old. On July 8, he reached Fort Osage. On his arrival at that place, Sibley wrote, "This ends a most disagreeable trip in which I have effected every object I had in view, & in less time than I expected to have done it."/12

Brown's report of his survey,/13 while containing much worthwhile information on the Trail, had little effect on travel on the overland route to Santa Fe. The government pigeonholed his notes, and they went unpublished until only recently. Wind and rain soon destroyed the mounds he built to guide travelers. The Trail proved to be an ever-changing highway of commerce. As time passed, there were several points of beginning. Traffic shifted according to the wetness or dryness of the route. Travelers experimented with new cutoffs. The disposition of the Indians likewise proved a factor in determining what routes the traders took./14

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/12 K. Gregg, op. cit., 23-278.


Government Assistance to Early Traders

From the time of the opening of trade relations with Mexico, American merchants engaged in commerce with Santa Fe sought protection and assistance from the Federal Government. Traders returning from the New Mexican capital complained to their representatives in the national capital of the oppressive export duties imposed upon them when they took their goods into Mexico. In 1825, St. Louis merchants drew up a memorial proposing to make their city a port of entry and delivery. Senator Benton submitted this proposal to the Senate Committee on Commerce, but Congress failed to act affirmatively on the memorial. Since a large portion of the goods used in the business were imported from England and France, Americans objected to paying a double tax on it—the import duty paid when the merchandise was brought into the United States, and the export duty which they paid when the same goods entered Santa Fe. The Missouri merchants complained that they were unable to compete with the French and English who were shipping goods into Mexico through ports on the Gulf. In 1834, a memorial from the Missouri legislature requesting rebates on goods re-exported from Missouri into Mexico was introduced in Congress. Traders received no redress until 1845 when such rebates were authorized by Congress. However, the law was too late to provide for much assistance for the traders, for two years later New Mexico was conquered by the Americans. /15

Early demands by the traders for protection along the Santa Fe Trail were long and persistent. The treaties entered into with the Kansas and Osage in 1825 prevented further serious difficulties. However, the Pawnee and Comanche continued to give trouble. The Comanche lived beyond the Arkansas River and outside of United States jurisdiction. Consequently, the Americans were unable to cope successfully with the tribe until the outbreak of the Mexican War.

The traders endeavored to obtain military protection for their caravans. In 1825, Benton had proposed the establishment of a post at the crossing of the Arkansas River to help restrain the Indians. Apparently, as a partial answer to the request for military protection on the Santa Fe Trail, the Army in 1827 established Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River in present Kansas. However, this post was too far removed from the center of Indian disturbances on the overland route to be of much value to the traders, so the demand for a military post on the Arkansas continued.

Indians, in their efforts to obtain the coveted goods of the white man, continued to prey upon the wagon trains bound for Santa Fe. In 1828, the Indians killed two men belonging to a caravan. During that year the losses of property on the Trail from the red man's depredations amounted to from $30,000 to $40,000. In the following year, the Army dispatched a detachment, under the command of Major Bennet Riley, to accompany a train. A short time after the
soldiers left the traders at the Arkansas, the Indians attacked. Riley, learning of the attack from a courier, returned to the wagon train and found it surrounded by the red men. The troops then accompanied the traders for two days more and then returned to their encampment on the Arkansas. Here the Indians attacked the soldiers several times within a few days. Four of the latter were killed and 75 of their horses and oxen were driven off.  

The Federal Government also provided escorts in 1834 and 1843. In 1834, Captain Wharton, in command of 60 dragoons, accompanied a caravan as far as the Arkansas Crossing, near present Cimarron, Kansas. On his return he reported that he did not believe that the Indians would attack the caravans destined for Santa Fe on the American side of the Trail. In 1843, largely as the result of disturbances caused by Texans, Captain Philip St. George Cooke, with a large detachment from Fort Leavenworth, accompanied two different large caravans from Council Grove to the Arkansas River Crossing. The second of these met a Mexican detachment at the Crossing which escorted it to Santa Fe. Military protection for caravans was the exception rather than the general rule. Traders in the early years were forced to rely upon themselves for protection. For the most part, they obtained practically no assistance from Mexican troops.

/16 Otis E. Young, The First Military Escort and the Santa Fe Trail (Glendale, 1952), 95-117.

Character of the Trade

The various journals written by travelers tell how the trade with Santa Fe was conducted. The pattern of the business over the route underwent great changes during and after the Mexican War. Likewise, the Civil War brought more changes.

Trade goods were carried to and from Santa Fe by various methods. In the early days much of the merchandise was carried by pack horses and mules. Later most of the goods were carried by wagons. Josiah Gregg wrote that the caravan which his party organized in 1831 at Council Grove consisted of 100 wagons, about half of which were drawn by oxen and the other half by mules, a dozen dearborns and other small vehicles, and two small cannons (a 4 and 6 pounder) each mounted on a carriage. On a return trip in 1838 from Santa Fe, his party consisted of 23 Americans, with 12 Mexican servants. They had seven wagons, one dearborn, two small field pieces, and a large assortment of small arms. /18

The wagons which the traders used in the business were a modified version of the later famous Conestoga and were manufactured in Pittsburgh. In the early days of the trade, horses and oxen were used for pulling the wagons as there was a scarcity of mules. In the 1830's and 1840's, mules and oxen were the principal draft animals. Eight mules or the same number of oxen drew each wagon. /19

/18 Moorhead, op. cit., 30, 214.
/19 Ibid., 24.
During the decades of the 1820's to the 1840's, the Mexicans were greatly in need of manufactured goods and artisans' tools. There was a strong demand for implements of agriculture, such as carts, spades, plows, yokes, and harrows. There was also a good market in Mexico for calico and cotton shawls, English calico, brown and bleached cotton shirtings, cotton hose, Indian black handkerchiefs and German linens. In return for these articles, the Mexicans gave gold and silver bullion, furs obtained from the Indians, horses, mules, and asses.\textsuperscript{20}

In the first years after the Americans opened trade relations with Santa Fe, business over the Trail increased. In the period from 1822 to 1829, it averaged annually in value of the costs of the goods in eastern cities $64,000; during the 1830's $160,000; from 1838 to 1843, the average was about $130,000. There was a growing trend also for the trade to become capitalistic. The average number of persons engaged in the business in the first six years was 90, two-thirds of whom were proprietors and one-third of whom were employees. From 1838 to 1843, the average number of persons making the trip over the Trail was 185, of whom only about 20 were proprietors.\textsuperscript{21}


Outfitting Points

Old Franklin and Arrow Rock, Missouri, both in the Boon's Lick country, were very significant points in the early period of the Santa Fe trade. Located across the river from present-day Boonville, Old Franklin was the principal outfitting place and point of rendezvous for the trade during the first several years of the business. This town was for several years the largest and wealthiest town west of St. Charles. In 1823, it had a population of from 1,000 to 1,200 and had 200 to 250 buildings. Until high waters in 1826 began to encroach upon it and two years later forced the town to rebuild on a new site two miles distant, Old Franklin enjoyed a monopolistic advantage. As settlement advanced up the Missouri, it soon lost this advantage to the new town of Independence which in 1828 supplanted it as the leading outfitting point.\(^\text{122}\)

The town of Arrow Rock, a part of which is now a State park, was likewise associated with the early period of the trade. Many of the wagons and caravans, after leaving old Franklin, crossed the river by ferry here and assembled for their long westward trek. After leaving Arrow Rock, the wagon trains followed a route which, with some deviations, was the same as modern Missouri State Highway No. 41 through present Saline County to U. S. Highway No. 65 and along that course to U. S. No. 24, and generally along the line of that road to Fort Osage. Until the

outfitting point moved to Independence, that old government trading house for the Indians was the last white outpost before beginning the journey over the Plains.

Laid out in 1827, Independence supplanted Old Franklin the following year as the principal outfitting point. Josiah Gregg described Independence as "the general 'port of embarcation' for every part of the great western and northern 'prairie ocean.'" It was also the outfitting point for the Oregon-bound emigrants and for trappers and traders operating in the Rocky Mountains. "During the season of departure," Gregg wrote, "it is a place of much bustle and active business."

Some, such as James J. Webb, purchased or obtained their goods for the trade in St. Louis and shipped this merchandise to Independence. At the latter place, those engaged in the business purchased their wagons, horses, oxen, mules, and provisions for their long trip over the Plains. Here, preliminary to their journey, they loaded the wagons with goods shipped up the Missouri from St. Louis and below.

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23 Moorhead, op. cit., 23.

A Journey Over the Trail

After leaving Independence or Westport, the traders passed south of the Shawnee Mission over the route of the Santa Fe and Oregon Trail located about 5 or 6 miles west of the latter. From there, they proceeded on to the junction with the Oregon Trail near present-day Baldwin City and took a course in a southwestward direction through the peaceful Kaw country to Council Grove, some 150 miles distant from Independence. Susan Magoffin, in 1846, described Council Grove as "the great rendezvous of the traders." She wrote that this place was "considered the dividing line between the civilized and barbarous, for now we may look out for hostile Indians." Here the traders rested under the cool shade of the trees along the Neosho River, repaired their wagons, and cut hickory and oak, which they slung under their wagons for spare axles. Here also the proprietors organized their caravans. Webb, a trader, wrote that the train his group made up in 1844 at Council Grove comprised 23 wagons, 140 mules, 80 yoke of oxen and 40 men. Before the company departed, the members elected a captain by ballot. In turn, the captain appointed four sergeants of the guard, who drew lots for the choice of men. They then organized the guard, relieving the cook from each mess from guard duty.

25/ Stella Drumm (ed.), Down the Santa Fe Trail into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1849 (New Haven, 1925), 16; Bieber, op. cit., 48-49; See Moorhead, op. cit., 217, for tables of distances from Independence.

26/ Bieber, op. cit., 48-49; see Moorhead, op. cit., 217 for tables of distances from Independence.
After leaving Council Grove, the caravans began their long journey across the typical plains region. Water and wood, except for cottonwood, became more scarce and the grass shorter. The first stop 15 miles west frequently was Diamond Spring, which Brown in 1825 described as "a remarkably fine large fountain spring, near which is a good camping ground." In later years caravans advanced here before organizing. Fifteen miles beyond was Lost Spring, located near the present-day village of the same name. From this point to the Little Arkansas Crossing, 60 miles distant, there was little water or wood. The river here was narrow. The banks, however, were steep and the bed miry so the men were forced to go ahead with spades and axes to scale down the banks and make temporary bridges before the wagons could cross. From this point, the caravans proceeded on to the Big Bend of the Arkansas, some 36 miles.²⁷

When on the plains beyond Council Grove, the caravans maintained a strict vigilance against Indian attack. At night the wagons formed into a corral which served as an enclosure for the stock and as a fortification against Indian attack. Outside the travelers spread their beds at night. Practically all, except the few women who sometimes accompanied the wagon trains, were required to take their turns at guard duty. Sometimes the caravans, while traveling over the

²⁷ Santa Fe Trail Commission, op. cit., 14; Moorhead, op. cit., 39; Drumm, op. cit., 31-35.
prairies, would form in four parallel columns in unbroken lines. As the wagons moved forward the steady "crack, crack" of the whips could be heard, accompanied by the lowing of the cattle, the braying of the mules, and the whooping, hallowing, and swearing of the drivers. \textsuperscript{28}

After reaching the Big Bend of the Arkansas, the Trail, with some deviations, followed generally the north bank of that stream to the Cimarron Crossing. Buffalo were plentiful here in the plains region. Some 25 miles beyond Big Bend (near the modern town of the same name), the route passed Pawnee Rock, near the present-day hamlet by the same name. Lewis H. Garrard described this landmark as "thirty-five or forty feet in height, and its accessible front is cut with the names of ambitious travelers who wish future generations to know that they in such a year journeyed along the Santa Fe Trail."\textsuperscript{29}

The next landmark of importance beyond Pawnee Rock was the "Caches," situated several miles west of present-day Dodge City. Susan Magoffin described these as "large holes in the ground somewhat in the shape of a jug."\textsuperscript{30} For many years the open pits, known as "Caches," were a well-known landmark on the Trail and a favorite stopping place for

\textsuperscript{28} Drumm, op. cit., 2-3; Moorhead, op. cit., 43-45; 71-72.

\textsuperscript{29} Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail (Norman, 1955), 25.

\textsuperscript{30} Drumm, op. cit., 54. The Caches were made by James Baird and his party who set out in the fall of 1822 from St. Louis with a caravan for Santa Fe. Near this landmark winter overtook them. The party's animals wandered off or died so Baird and his men were forced to cache their goods at this point and go overland to Taos where they procured animals so they could continue their journey. When Baird and his companions returned to their caches, they found their goods safe. After recovering them, they proceeded on to Santa Fe. The Caches have only very recently been filled in as the result of bulldozing operations.
travelers. Two miles west of that point was "Gravel Rocks" described by Brown in 1825 as "a rocky point of a hill at some distance from the river, composed of cemented pebbles."/\31

Twenty miles beyond the Caches was the "Middle Ford of the Arkansas" located in the vicinity of present Cimarron, Kansas. Here most of the travelers, taking the Cimarron Cut-Off route, crossed the Arkansas and followed in a southwesterly direction over a stretch devoid of water from 50 to 60 miles to Wagon Bed Springs. Most of the caravans taking the Cut-Off after 1834 used this ford of the Arkansas which was located between the present town of Cimarron and Ingalls, Kansas. In that year, because of the continuous rains during the passage of a caravan, a plain trail was cut in the softened turf across the Jornada. Wagon trains followed these ruts and no longer became lost in crossing this arid region./\32 Garrard said the river at the 'crossing' was,"wide and but a few inches in depth--a good ford."/\33 However, Webb wrote that at best, crossing at that point "was attended with a great deal of risk and labor." The stream was "about a third to a half mile wide, with a rapid current and quicksand bottom--the channel shifting from day to day, forming holes and bars, making necessary much crooking and turning in the stream to avoid miring down so that the water would not reach the bottoms of the wagons and wet the goods."/\34

\31 Santa Fe Trail Commission, op. cit., 16.
\32 Moorhead, op. cit., 216.
\33 Garrard, op. cit., 32.
\34 Bieber, Adventures in The Santa Fe Trade, 54-55.
The Upper Crossing of the Arkansas, located near Chouteau Island, was not far from present-day Hartland, Kansas. Brown recommended this ford because the distance between watering places was shorter, although the route itself was longer. However, since it required a day or a day and a half longer to pass by this route, the traders preferred the course by way of the Middle Crossing. I35

Wagon Bed Springs, the first watering place on the Cimarron route of the Trail after leaving the Arkansas River, is located on the north bank of the Cimarron River about 15 miles southwest of present-day Ulysses, Kansas. It was near here that the Comanche killed the well-known mountain man, Jedediah Smith, in 1831 while en route with a party to Santa Fe.

From Wagon Bed Springs, the Trail followed the northwest bank of the Cimarron River in a west-southwest direction past Point of Rock,36 near present Elkhart, Kansas, into southeastern Kansas and across the western portion of Oklahoma Panhandle, past Rabbit Ears Mounds.37

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36 Point of Rocks (Kansas), located about 6 miles northwest of modern Elkhart, Kansas, was one of the important landmarks on the Cut-Off. It is located on the north bank of the Cimarron River.

37 Rabbit Ears Mounds, another well-known landmark on the Cut-Off, is located about 3 miles west and 10 miles north of Clayton, New Mexico.
of Rocks and Wagon Mound and joined the main trail coming from Raton Pass near present Watrous, New Mexico.

The distance from Old Franklin to Santa Fe via the Cimarron route was about 930 miles; from Independence to the New Mexican capital by the same route was approximately 775 miles. In 1824, it required Marmaduke and his party 65 days to reach Santa Fe after leaving their rendezvous near Arrow Rock. Alphonso Wetmore's group in 1828 took 66 days to pass from Blue Mills, a few miles below Independence, over the Trail by way of the Cut-Off to the same place. The return trip was not normally of so long a duration. The caravan which Gregg accompanied from Santa Fe to Independence in 1838 required 38 days to make the trip; Webb's party in 1845 took 39 days to cover approximately the same course.

By taking the mountain route by Fort Bent, the traders could avoid the Jornada. Garrard explained this route was "a longer but safer and easier road." Those taking this course continued on the north bank

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\(^{38}\) Point of Rocks (New Mexico), located about 10 miles north of U. S. Highway No. 56 near Chico, New Mexico, was a prominent landmark and watering place on the Cimarron route.

\(^{39}\) Wagon Mound, located near a town by the same name, was another important landmark on the Cut-Off.

\(^{40}\) Santa Fe Trail Commission, op. cit., 16-17, see map; Kenyon Riddle, Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail (p. p. 1949). See maps; Moorhead, op. cit., 76.

of the Arkansas from the Middle Crossing or Upper Crossing until they reached Old Fort Bent, also known as Fort Williams, between present-day Las Animas and La Junta, Colorado.\(^{42}\)

Charles, William, and George Bent, and Ceran and Marcellin St. Vrain built Fort Bent, probably in 1833. This stockaded adobe fort, which was equipped with bastions, was the center of the fur trade operations on the Upper Arkansas and was a place of rendezvous for a number of southern plains tribes. Practically all the caravans which passed along the mountain route stopped here. A volunteer wrote from Bent's Fort in 1846, "Such a collection of tribes or nations, as I never expected to see, is here congregated. . . . We had all sorts from the polished gentleman down to the rough daring man of the mountains, as well as the untamed savage who seemed to be sneaking about as if in search of a good opportunity to scalp some body."\(^{43}\) The place was equipped with a blacksmith shop, a barber shop, and ice house, a billiard room and a race track. Trappers, traders, and bullwhackers came here to spend their hard-earned money in gambling and drinking.\(^{44}\)

After leaving Fort Bent, the trail crossed to the south side of the Arkansas River and continued in a south-southwesterly direction up Timpas Creek to the site of present-day Trinidad, and thence through Raton


Pass. Crossing Raton Pass was accompanied by considerable difficulty. One traveler wrote, "When on top of the mountain or dividing ridge, we were not more than six or seven miles from where we camped on the Purgatoire, so tortuous and winding had been our road. On the ridge last named considerable work was done by removing rock and other obstructions, the teams, after ascending having to wait until it was done before they could venture down." \(^{145}\)

After leaving Raton Pass, the main trail followed close to the foothills of the mountains in a south-southwesterly direction to a point near Watrous where the Cimarron route joined it.

Another route from Fort Bent followed the Arkansas River westward to the site of Pueblo, Colorado. From that point it turned south and followed the foothills of the mountains to Raton Pass where it joined the Timpas Creek (main) route to Santa Fe, mentioned above. Another route, which some took from Fort Bent, followed a west-southwesterly course across the Sangre de Cristo Pass north of the Spanish Peaks. After crossing the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, this trail turned south and followed the general course of the Rio Grande to Taos and thence to Santa Fe.

After the Cimarron and mountain trails merged near present-day Watrous (near Fort Union, established in 1851), the trunk line of the Trail continued on to Las Vegas, established in 1835, and thence to San Miguel del Vado on the Pecos River. Here, the character of the country changed from a treeless plain to the semi-mountainous foothills which were covered with pinon and juniper. From San Miguel, the wagons passed in a northwesterly direction up the Pecos to the village by the same name, past the ruins of the old Pecos church, up Apache Canyon and over Glorieta Pass to Santa Fe. As they approached the Governor's Palace adjacent to the Plaza at the capital they passed the old San Miguel Church.

Meanwhile, when the caravans came within about 200 miles of their destination, they sent runners, generally proprietors, ahead to Santa Fe. After reaching that place, these men would procure provisions for the trains, secure good storehouses, and obtain an agreeable understanding with the officers of the customs houses. The wagon trains also disbanded when they approached the New Mexican capital and traveled in detached parties.¹⁴⁶

The entrance into Santa Fe was attended with considerable excitement. Crowds of women and boys flocked out on the street to see

¹⁴⁶ Moorhead, op. cit., 62, 75.
"Los Americanos." To the waggoners, it also offered an opportunity to show off before the dark-eyed senoras and senoritas. Many of the waggoners spent the previous evening and morning in cleaning up, combing their hair, putting on clean shirts, and dressing in their best Sunday suits before making their entrance into the New Mexican capital.

After their arrival, the wagons were placed in the warerooms of the customs houses. After their 8 or 10 weeks of travel on the plains, the waggoners and novices then went in search of recreation at the many fandangos, the Spanish dances, which were kept up after the arrival of the caravans.

The merchants kept busy endeavoring to get their goods through the custom house bureaucracy in the shortest possible time. Here most of the traders, who lacked an understanding of Spanish, employed interpreters for a stipulated fee to serve as go-betweens. According to Josiah Gregg, tariff imports on merchandise averaged about 100 percent upon the original cost. Ordinarily, the traders effected compromises in which the Mexican officers frequently cheated their own government, but included a bribe for themselves. At one time, Governor Manuel Armijo exacted a tariff of $500 per wagonload, regardless of whether the load was large or small or whether the goods were fine or course. As a result the traders finally resorted to using only the largest wagons so the Mexican government returned to the ad valorem system.\(^7\)

A number of the traders, soldiers, and others who visited Santa Fe during the Mexican regime kept journals and diaries during their stay.

\(^7\) Moorhead, op. cit., 78-80; Bieber, Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 62-68.
in that place. Reared in the atmosphere of Puritan morality and Yankee business efficiency, such men as Pike, Gregg, Webb, and others, looked on the Mexicans and their way of life with a degree of scorn. From these Americans' point of view, the government of the Mexicans was corrupt. The members of the ruling hierarchy of Mexico were primarily interested in lining their own pockets. The peons were grossly exploited by their priests, the officialdom, and a few ricos who owned most of the land. For the most part, the people were poor, ignorant, filthy, superstitious, and had little desire to improve their lot. The people were addicted to petty pilfering, gambling, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and holding fandangos. Most of their women smoked cigaretlos and extravagantly painted their faces.

However, the Americans, with overtones of condescension, did admit their hosts possessed a few virtues. The Mexicans as a rule were very hospitable. They were not addicted to liquor because they were too poor to purchase it. Their fandangos, or dances, which were very democratic affairs, at which an elaborately dressed aristocratic woman might be seen dancing with a peon dressed only in his shirt and trousers, were conducted with decorum. The Americans, who had partaken too freely of aguardiente or Taos whisky, caused most of the disorders and brawls at these dances. Nevertheless, most of the traders from the United States
enjoyed their sojourn among this carefree people if it was not of too long a duration. How the Mexicans regarded the swaggering, self-righteous, and acquisitive *Yanquis* is not known.⁴⁸

There are few records, other than the surviving diaries kept by only a very few travelers and merchants, to indicate which route the merchants generally took over the Trail from 1822 to 1843. Most of the journals which have survived lead one to believe they usually took the Cimarron route. Indian depredations during the Mexican War and later forced them during the late era of the trade to take the safer mountain route.

From 1842 to 1845, partly as the result of increasing tension between the United States and Mexico over the Texas situation, the trade over the Trail came virtually to an end. For several years, restrictions imposed by the Mexicans became increasingly oppressive. In April 1842, a decree by the Mexican government prohibited the importation of over 50 classes of articles and forbade the exportation of gold and silver bullion, ore, or dust. Later in the year, the Mexican officials increased the number of classes of forbidden articles for importation and closed several customs houses. Another decree prohibited foreigners, except those naturalized or married to Mexican women, to engage in trade. In 1844, the Mexicans rescinded the order of the preceding year and allowed caravans carrying $200,000 worth of goods to enter Santa Fe.⁴⁹

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The Mexican War and the Santa Fe Trail

With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, the Santa Fe Trail assumed a new importance. During the next several years, it played a significant part in the conquest of New Mexico, Arizona, and California. No sooner was war declared than the Army made plans for operating in that region. In June 1846, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny assembled at Fort Leavenworth his "Army of the West," comprising 2,700 men, which included a battalion of 500 Mormons recruited at Council Bluffs, Iowa. With a regiment of infantry and a wagon train, this army set out over the Trail to Santa Fe. After reaching Fort Bent, the Army took the route by Timpas Creek and over Raton Pass. Within about 10 days, the army approached the Mexican settlements. The Mexicans, under General Armijo, had learned of Kearny's approach so with an army of 3,000 occupied a position commanding Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass by which the American army was to pass to reach Santa Fe. James Magoffin, an emissary who had connections with the officialdom in New Mexico, was commissioned by Polk to accompany Kearny. What actually transpired between Magoffin and the Mexican leaders is not clear. The Mexican leaders withdrew their forces and several days later the American army entered that capital town without having fired a shot.  

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50 Bieber, Marching With the Army of the West, 17-113.
After reaching Santa Fe, Kearny divided his army into 3 parts. One, under General Sterling Price, was left to administer New Mexico. Kearny proceeded to organize a territorial government and appointed Charles Bent as the interim governor. Another segment under Colonel A. W. Doniphan started south to take Chihuahua. The third, under Kearny, started west to California which he soon learned had already been taken over by the United States Navy and a group of Americans planning an independent state there. Meanwhile, at Santa Fe he established Fort Marcy which remained until 1851 the principal troop garrison in the territory.

Kearny had no sooner reached California when he learned of the revolt in New Mexico. Its leader was the disgruntled Archuleta whose claims to control western New Mexico had been ignored by the Americans. The rebels took over Taos and killed Governor Bent and other government officials. General Price at once marched on that town where the revolutionists took refuge in the adobe church at the nearby Indian pueblo. After forcing their way over the wall, the Americans finally entered the church and overwhelmed the defenders. The revolt was now at an end. The Americans hanged some of the rebels and forced others to leave the country.

During the War, the Trail served as an important highway over which the government supplied the Army with food and supplies needed for its operations in the Southwest. Before Kearny and his men began their long march overland from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, the quartermaster and commissary departments of the Army set up establishments at
Fort Leavenworth to supply the Army with the needed equipment necessary to carry on its operations in New Mexico. From that post within the next few years government agents operated actively in Missouri and in the neighboring states procuring horses, wagons, mules and food to supply the Army. Shortly thereafter, thousands of commissary wagons, loaded with supplies, traveled over the Trail by both the Cimarron and Fort Bent routes.\(^{51}\)

The Indians along the Trail deeply resented these new inroads by the white man who killed the buffalo on which they subsisted. The mounted plains tribes, armed with bows, arrows, spears, and guns, attacked the wagon trains. Most of the attacks occurred between the Cimarron River and the Pawnee Fork, near the Big Bend of the Arkansas. The Indians lifted the scalps of the travelers, drove off and killed the stock, and plundered the provisions. Colonel William Gilpin estimated that the losses from those raids in 1847 totaled 47 Americans killed, 330 wagons destroyed, and 6,500 of stock plundered. In the same year, the Army constructed Fort Mann, near present Dodge City, as a point where it might repair wagons and allow the animals to rest in safety.\(^{52}\)


Increased Traffic on Trail After 1848

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed in 1848 which formally brought an end to the war, the United States added California, New Mexico, and Arizona to its domain, and obtained undisputed control of Texas. However, peace did not follow. The treaty brought under American jurisdiction some 124,000 new Indian wards.\(^{53}\)

Many of the wild tribes, such as the Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa, in the newly-acquired regions of the Southwest, had no fixed habitation. They depended upon the buffalo for their food supply. These warlike nomads frequently engaged in marauding expeditions against whites and peaceful pueblo groups who led quiet, industrious lives, cultivated the soil, and raised huge flocks and herds of sheep.

As a result of the Mexican Cession, the Federal Government was forced to bring these warlike groups under control. To accomplish this objective, it inaugurated the Indian reservation system. In the words of Professor Averam B. Bender, this system was to become "the most permanent single contribution to Indian policy in the century." To implement this system, the Government, in return for the surrender of the red man's land and confining him on reservations under the charge of

\(^{53}\) Averam B. Bender, March of Empire: Frontier Defense of the Southwest, 1848-1860 (Lawrence, 1952) 21.
agents, was compelled to guarantee him annuities for his support and subsistence. As a result, during the next few decades goods valued at thousands of dollars passed over the Trail en route to Indian agencies in the Southwest.\cite{5h}

The Indian Bureau by itself was unable to cope with the Indian situation. The problem of subduing the warlike tribes, protecting the settlers, the travelers, and peaceful Indian tribes became the task of the military. During the 12 years following the Mexican Cession, the Federal Government erected more than 60 military stations in the Far Southwest. Fort Union, established on the Trail in 1851, became the chief supply center for a number of lesser posts within a radius of 500 miles.\cite{55}

In the decade following the Mexican War there took place a great overland migration to California and portions of the Southwest. This was due in part to the discovery of gold in California. From 1850 to 1860, the population of California rose from 93,000 to 380,000 while in the same period New Mexico increased from 62,000 to 94,000. Some of the emigrants passed over the Trail via Santa Fe. In 1858 and in the following years, there was an influx of miners and settlers to the gold fields of Colorado.

\cite{5h} Ibid., 206-228.

\cite{55} Ibid., 32-50.
The need to establish closer communication with its military posts in the far removed territories made it essential for the Government to establish a regular overland mail. In 1847, Congress authorized a route between Independence and Santa Fe via Bent's Fort. Two years later, a Mr. Haywood transported mail over the entire length of the Trail. Travelers and emigrants joined the mail carrier to form a party for protection. In the early 1850's two coaches, arranged to carry eight passengers each and drawn by six mules and accompanied by an armed guard of eight men, left Independence the first of each month with mail for Santa Fe.\textsuperscript{56}

During the early 1850's, the mail train comprised three wagons, each of which was drawn by four or six mules. In 1853, one passenger wrote that one of these wagons carried the mail, another transported the provisions, and the third, passengers. The party totaled ten men, all of whom were well armed. The eastbound mail which they met on the trail consisted of one wagon, in the charge of four men. The fare charged was $150 which included 40 pounds of baggage and meals on the route. At night, the passengers slept on the ground.\textsuperscript{57}

In 1854, the Government entered into a four year contract, with Jacob Hall to carry the mail from Independence to Santa Fe. This agreement provided for service in 6-mule coaches. It stipulated also that

\textsuperscript{56}LeRoy R. Hafen, The Overland Mail 1849-1869 (Cleveland, 1926), 70-73.

\textsuperscript{57}\textit{Ibid.}, 72-73.
the service be monthly and each trip be made in at least 25 days. Because of losses sustained as the result of Indian depredations, the Government increased his compensation. In 1858, the Government entered into a contract with Hall for mail service between Kansas City, Missouri, and Stockton, California. From the eastern terminus to the New Mexican capital, the route was over the Santa Fe Trail.\(^{58}\)

H. B. Mollhausen, a German traveler, described the mail caravans which passed over the Trail in 1858:

The mail caravan normally consists of one to six light-traveling wagons, depending upon the number of passengers that have registered for the trip; each wagon is provided with four or six of the best mules, but takes along a double number so that the mules can be exchanged every four to six hours; since the larger part of the freight consists of heavy nutritious fodder, and the animals are therefore not dependent on grass, they are given at the most six or eight hours of the 24 for rest. Besides the driver there are two riders with each wagon, one of whom has to supervise the unharnessed animals while the other one rides at times on the other side of the wagon and keeps the draft animals in fast motion with the help of a long whip. Thus the mail hurries across the endless plains at an average speed of four miles per hour. Provided with the best animals, it is not difficult for the mail coach to cover 50-70 miles per day and to get to Santa Fe from the Missouri or back in the incredibly short time of 18 days.\(^{32}\)

The character of the trade also changed. There were no longer trade restrictions to prevent the passage of goods into New Mexico and Arizona. The development of the gold fields in these regions and the rapid Americanization of the natives created a demand for a greater diversity as well as increased supplies of goods. Americans found here an excellent market for calicoes, bleached domestics, small white hosiery, shoes, flour, whisky, hardware, and ammunition. The goods

\(^{58}\)Ibid., 73, 115-116.

\(^{59}\)H. B. Mollhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVI (November 1948) 353.
shipped to the east over the Trail in return for these items were
different from those of the earlier years. Specie and mules ceased to
be important articles of exchange. Wool, sheep and goat skins, dry
hides, and furs became more important items. 

Shipments of annuities to the Indian agencies, increased
supplies and munitions to the military posts, and a greater demand on
the part of miners for machinery equipment in the Southwest, combined
to increase traffic on the Santa Fe Trail. One newspaper, The Missouri
Republican, reported in 1859 that, exclusive of goldseekers who, "were
too numerous to count," 2,300 men, 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, and over
1,900 tons of freight left Missouri for New Mexico between March 1 and
July 31. This newspaper estimated the value of the annual trade at
10,000,000 dollars. In the following year S. M. Hayes and Company, a
freighting firm at Council Grove, Kansas, estimated the total for the
season as 2,170 wagons, 2,984 horses, and 80,000 tons of freight.

During this period, transportation of supplies over the Trail
became a big business and fell into fewer hands. Large freighting
firms such as Russell, Majors, and Waddell and S. M. Hayes and Company,
came into existence. The first of these in 1857 contracted to trans­
port 5,000,000 pounds of supplies from Fort Riley to Fort Union, inter­
mediate points, or New Mexico posts. The size of the wagons and loads
as well as the number of animals used to haul them increased. By the

\[30\] Walker D. Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa

\[61\] Ibid
1860's each wagon averaged about 10 yoke of (20) oxen. The loads averaged from 9,000 to 10,000 pounds.\textsuperscript{62}

Meanwhile, Westport Landing, now incorporated in Kansas City, became a rival of Independence in 1840 and by the middle 1850's had supplanted it as the principal outfitting point for the Santa Fe trade. The town offered the traders superior accommodations in that they could herd their teams while awaiting the arrival of their goods by river at Blue Mills, mentioned above. Eventually, these traders induced many of the outfitters to establish businesses at Westport and save the 18-mile haul from Blue Mills.\textsuperscript{63}

The increased travel on the Trail had a great impact on the Indians. By the end of the War, the days of the fur trade were over in the region. As the traffic on both the Oregon and Santa Fe routes continued to be heavier, the red men became more bitter. In the face of this ever-increasing hostility and the character of the trade, William Bent and St. Vrain dissolved their long-established partnership. In 1849, Bent abandoned the adobe fort named for him near present La Junta, Colorado, and moved some 30 miles below to Big Timber. There Bent built a small post. In 1851, the Government effected a treaty at Fort Laramie with many of the plains tribes whereby the Indians


\textsuperscript{63}J. Gregg, op. cit., 23 n.; Charles P. Deatheridge, Early History of Greater Kansas City (Kansas City, 1927), 227-270.
granted the whites permission to travel over the Oregon route and establish garrisons there. Two years later the United States also signed a treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache at Fort Atkinson, which had been established three years earlier on the site of Fort Mann. By this agreement the Government, in return for the right to build military posts and railroad depots along the Santa Fe Trail, agreed to pay the three tribes $18,000 annually in goods for a period of ten years.

In the same year, Bent built a large stone fort at Big Timbers which served for several years as the distributing point for Cheyenne annuities. However, as the result of several incidents brought on by the military, such as the trouble over a disputed horse at the Upper Platte Bridge and the unprovoked wounding of Big Head at Fort Kearny, the Cheyenne and Arapaho, like the Sioux farther north, became increasingly hostile and retaliated against the whites. In 1857, the Army sent an abortive expedition under Major John Sedgwick and Col. E. V. Summers, to punish this tribe. In the same year, Bent, in disgust, temporarily leased his fort at Big Timbers to the Army. After reoccupying it for two years he again leased it permanently to the Army.  

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Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (Washington, 1903); 2 volumes, II, 445-447; Lavender, op. cit., 323-326; 331-337.
The Army Erects Permanent Forts on the Trail

Increased disturbances along the Santa Fe Trail in the late 1850's made it imperative for the Federal Government to fortify the Santa Fe Trail. The Cheyenne and Arapaho were becoming increasingly hostile. In common with the other Plains Tribes, they saw in the advance of the white man the further destruction of the buffalo, their principal means of sustenance. They also saw the eventual placing of themselves on reservations as wards of the Federal Government. To make matters worse, the Kiowa and Comanche, expelled from Texas, were crowding northward along the old overland route and competing with the Cheyenne and Arapaho for the last buffalo. In 1859, while agent for the Upper Arkansas Indians, William Bent reported that he met some 2,500 Kiowa and Comanche Indians along the Trail at the mouth of Walnut Creek (somewhere in the vicinity of Lyons, Kansas). The agent also stated that, up to October of that year, he witnessed 50,000 whites along the overland route.\(^{65}\)

In his annual report of the same year, Bent asked for military protection. He wrote that he considered "it essential to have two permanent stations for troops, one at the mouth of Pawnee Fork, and one at Big Timbers," both on the Arkansas River. He added that to control

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the Indians, "it is necessary to have among them the perpetual presence of a controlling military force." \(^{166}\)

The Government lost little time in acting on Bent's recommendations. In October of 1859, Major Henry Wessel, with two companies of United States infantry, arrived at Pawnee Fork and began the erection of the "Camp at Pawnee Forks," later called Camp Alert. The following year, the Army began the construction of a new sod fort three miles west of the original location. This post, renamed Fort Larned, became the principal military post on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. It also served as a distributing point for annuities for the Kiowa and Comanche.\(^{167}\)

In compliance also with Bent's recommendations, the Army in 1860 began the erection of a stone military post at Big Timbers known as Fort Wise, later called Fort Lyon. This establishment served a function along the mountain route of the Santa Fe Trail similar to that of Larned in Kansas. Fort Lyon (No. 1) and its successor, near present Las Animas, Colorado, served in the 1860's as a base of operations against the Indians in western Colorado and in patrolling that section of the Trail. It also became the distributing point for Cheyenne and Arapaho annuities.

During the period of the Civil War, the situation along the Santa Fe Trail became increasingly worse. The Confederates hoped to

\(^{166}\) Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1859, 138, 139, as cited in Unrau, Ibid., 258.

\(^{167}\) Ibid., 258-259.
use the Indians to disrupt the Santa Fe Trail and perhaps cut off New Mexico from the Union. According to R. L. Duffus, the Cimarron route of the Trail was practically abandoned completely during the War because of the Confederates and the Apache.\textsuperscript{168} The Civil War took the soldiers from the western forts. Meanwhile, the Indian problem became more and more critical. Following the signing of the Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861, in which those tribes were stripped of many of their lands, and confined on reservations, the Cheyenne and Arapaho became more and more resentful. In 1862, at the instigation of designing white men, the Cheyenne and Arapaho endeavored to seize their annuities near Fort Larned. However, Col. Jesse Leavenworth, in command of the post, thwarted their plans.

In spite of the War and hazards of travel, traffic on the Trail continued to increase. In 1862, one Kansas newspaper reported that more than 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 6,406 mules, 96 carriages, and 3,720 men made their way over the old overland route. Ten thousand tons of cargo valued at 40 million dollars made up the cargo. Two years later, 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,816 oxen, 8,046 mules, 98 carriages, 3,012 men, and 15,000 tons of merchandise passed through Council Grove.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{168}Duffus, op. cit., 247. Duffus does not give the source of this statement.

\textsuperscript{169}Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," 25.
During the 1860's the Government also improved its mail and stage coach service along the Santa Fe Trail. In 1861 and 1863, a weekly stage and mail service ran from Kansas City to Santa Fe. In 1862, arrangements were made for a line between Denver to Santa Fe via Bent's Fort. During 1863-65, mail coaches ran from Kansas City to Santa Fe. This line ran along the mountain division of the Santa Fe Trail and the round trip took about a month. It crossed Raton Pass and went by Fort Union. Animals were changed at Fort Larned and Fort Lyon. Conductors, drivers, and passengers camped out at night and did their own cooking.\textsuperscript{170}

As more and more whites passed over the old overland route, the buffalo upon which the Indians depended diminished. The red men were forced to looting to survive. On one occasion in 1863, near present Garden City, Kansas, a group of Kiowa surrounded a wagon train and demanded food and coffee. In the excitement which ensued, a teamster wounded one of the Indians. As a result, the red men returned before daylight and killed all the teamsters except one who escaped. In the same year a group of Kiowa ran off 300 cattle from Fort Larned. However, for the most part the tribes along the Trail were relatively friendly.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{170} Hafen, op. cit., 235-237, 278-279.

\textsuperscript{171} Unrau, op. cit., 261.
In 1864, a full-scale Indian war broke out along the Trail in central and western Kansas and eastern Colorado. The spark which set the plains afire was the Massacre at Sand Creek of Chief Black Kettle's band by Col. J. M. Chivington. The Cheyenne and Arapaho at once went on a war of revenge between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers, concentrating their efforts on the Oregon Trail. The Kiowa and Comanche, who lived south of the Arkansas continued to attack the wagons and travelers on the Santa Fe Trail.

One authority claimed that after the beginning of the Indian war on the Arkansas in 1864, caravans were not permitted to proceed west of Fort Larned unless they were in groups of 100 men or more.\textsuperscript{72}

The Army at once took steps to afford travelers on the Trail greater protection. In 1864, it erected a small post known as Fort Zarah,\textsuperscript{73} near the confluence of Walnut Creek and the Arkansas, and a large garrison, known as Fort Dodge, at the intersection of the wet and dry routes of the Trail. In 1865, a detachment erected Fort Aubrey,\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{72}Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," 26; Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1854-1865," \textit{Kansas Historical Quarterly}, I (February 1932), 141.

\textsuperscript{73}The site of Fort Zarah, now a state park, is located about 2 miles east of Big Bend, Kansas. The information on this post is very sketchy. Established in 1864, it supplied military escorts on the Santa Fe Trail from Council Grove to Fort Larned. It was a relatively small garrison. In 1868, some 100 Kiowa attacked it but were repulsed. The Army abandoned Zarah in 1869.

\textsuperscript{74}Fort Aubrey, located a short distance southeast of modern Syracuse, Kansas, was a small 2-company post.
near the present town of Syracuse in western Kansas. In the same year, to protect the travelers along the Cimarron route, the Government commissioned Kit Carson to build Camp Nichols, \(^{75}\) in the present Oklahoma Panhandle.

War continued unabated along the Trail into 1865. One traveler reported that when his caravan left Fort Larned in that year, 1,000 wagons made up the train. An escort of troops accompanied them from Fort Dodge to Fort Lyon, but this did not prevent the Indians from making attacks. \(^{76}\)

In October of that year, the Government affected a treaty with some of the tribes of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa. The first three of these tribes agreed to reside on a reservation south of the Arkansas. The Comanche and Kiowa agreed to be located south of the Cimarron River. It was understood that these reservations were not to be considered permanent since all Indians were at some future time to be removed from Kansas. \(^{77}\) Most of these tribes agreed not to encamp within ten miles of the main traveled routes without the written permission of the commanders of military posts or of the towns along these roads.

\(^{75}\) Camp Nichols, erected in 1865, was a stone fort which was located about 3 miles northwest of modern Wheeless, Oklahoma. It appears to have been abandoned in the same year.

\(^{76}\) Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," 244.

\(^{77}\) Kappler, op. cit., I, 573-576, 679-685.
While this treaty served to pacify most of these Indians, bands of Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne continued to commit depredations. In February of 1866, the military department of Missouri designated Forts Riley and Larned as rendezvous points on the Santa Fe Trail. Wagon trains were forced to arm themselves properly, organize themselves for defense, and submit to regulations laid down by the captains of the trains before being allowed to enter the Indian country. Trains comprising less than 20 wagons and less than 30 armed men were not permitted to leave the fort.\footnote{Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," 26; Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1865-1867," \textit{Kansas Historical Quarterly}, I (August 1932) 327.} However, for the most part there was a lull in hostilities that year. The Government, therefore, abandoned Fort Aubrey.\footnote{Garfield, "The Military Frontier as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," \textit{Kansas Historical Quarterly}, I (November 1931) 57.}

In early 1867, General W. S. Hancock, Commander, Department of the Missouri, took the field against the Cheyenne in an effort to force that tribe on to the reservation assigned them two years earlier. He set out in early March from Fort Leavenworth with six companies of infantry and cavalry. At Fort Riley, he was joined by Col. G. A. Custer and four companies of Seventh Cavalry and one company of infantry. At Fort Harker, two more companies of cavalry were added to the expedition. When
his small army arrived at Fort Larned in early April, Hancock had approximately 1,400 men. While at Larned, Hancock ordered a large party of Sioux and Cheyenne camped at Pawnee Fork some 30 miles distant to come in and make a treaty. When the Indians, fearing another Sand Creek Massacre, continued to refuse, Hancock moved upon their camp and destroyed it while the inhabitants fled. Hancock marched to Fort Dodge where he remained for a few days. He returned to Fort Leavenworth via Fort Harker. Custer, meanwhile, fruitlessly pursued a band of Sioux into Nebraska. In the summer of that year the Army established Fort Reynolds, near Pueblo, Colorado. Fort Lyon moved to a new site near present Las Animas, Colorado.

The Hancock campaign accomplished little. Other than destroying the Indian villages, the expedition killed four Indians, two Sioux and two Cheyenne. It only excited the Indians to commit further depredations.

In October of 1867, the Peace Commission brought the various rebellious Indian tribes in Kansas together at the famous meeting at Medicine Lodge, near the present-day Kansas town of the same name. At this place, a carefully selected group from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and

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the Army met with some 5,000 to 15,000 Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache. The Commission was escorted by three companies of Seventh Cavalry and a battery of Gatling guns. As the result of this meeting, these Indian tribes agreed by treaty to remove from Kansas to Indian Territory where they would reside on fixed reservations.\(^{81}\)

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge did not bring peace to the travelers on the Santa Fe Trail and to the settlers on the Kansas and Colorado frontier. Following the break-up of their Medicine Lodge encampment, the Indians headed north and west. During the fall and winter, the frontiers were relatively peaceful.

During the spring of 1868, the nomadic Indians went into camp near Forts Larned and Dodge. The Kiowa, Comanche, and part of the Cheyenne located near Larned where they drew rations. The Arapaho, Apache, and remainder of the Cheyenne chose Fort Dodge. General Phil Sheridan, who had assumed command of the Department of the Missouri in September 1867, endeavored in vain to get these tribes to comply with the Medicine Lodge Treaty by removing to Indian Territory.

During the spring and early summer, relations between the whites and the red men deteriorated. In the late summer of 1868, 200 Cheyenne went on the warpath and swept through central Kansas, leaving in their path burned houses and dead settlers. In September, a band of Kiowa and Comanche swooped upon Fort Dodge and killed four soldiers and wounded 17 others. Cheyenne and Arapaho attacked a Mexican wagon train on the Santa Fe Trail near that post and reportedly killed and scalped 16 members. From all along the Kansas and Colorado frontier came stories of Indian depredations.\^\footnote{Rister, op. cit., 71-79.}

In September of that year, General Sheridan began preparations for a relentless winter campaign against the Indians to force them onto their reservations. He accumulated considerable stores at Forts Dodge and Lyons and directed that subsistence and forage be sent to Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, and Fort Bascom, New Mexico. During the fall, Sheridan and his subordinates, General Eugene A. Carr, Col. A. W. Evans, Custer, and others from Forts Lyon, Dodge, and Bascom converged on three sides of the Indians in their winter quarters. By the end of March, 1869, practically all of the southern tribes had been forced onto reservations in Indian Territory. During the summer of that year, the military concentrated their efforts on the hostiles operating along the Republican River and the Smoky Hill Trail. By the end of the year, these bands likewise had been subdued.\^\footnote{Ibid., 80-159.}
The Indian troubles were practically at an end by the winter of 1869-70, and most of the forts along the Trail were slowly disestablished. In the winter of 1869, the Army abandoned Fort Zarah. Forts Larned, Dodge, and Lyon (No. 2), after affording protection to the construction workers on the Santa Fe Railroad, continued their existence for several years more. Larned was finally abandoned in 1878; Dodge in 1882, and Lyon (No. 2) in 1889.

Meanwhile, steps had been taken to improve the difficult route over Raton Pass. Richard Wootton, better known as "Uncle Dick," and George H. McBride were authorized by Colorado to construct a toll road from Trinidad to Raton. This road, constructed in 1866, was continued until 1878-79 when it was replaced by the railroad.184

The Coming of the Railroads, 1867-1880

The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, which was to replace the old trail, had its beginning in 1859. In that year, Cyrus K. Holliday, who dreamed of extending the rails to Santa Fe along the old overland route, obtained a charter for a railroad from Atchison to Topeka. By the end of 1872 the road had crossed Kansas. By 1876 it

reached Pueblo, Colorado. In 1870 the company extended its lines across Raton Pass and in 1880 reached Santa Fe. As the rails were extended westward, the old Trail paralleling it was discontinued. Trade by wagons to Santa Fe began at the end of the rails - so with the coming of the iron horse the ox team went out of business. /85

/85 LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister, Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi (New York, 1953), 525-526.
Unfortunately for this study, there is no published definitive work on the Santa Fe Trail. Such a project would require the labors of a lifetime. There are, however, several published journals, diaries, and other accounts written by travelers, traders, soldiers, and others who passed over the old overland route from 1821 to 1848. A number of monographs, prepared by competent scholars on various aspects of the commerce and travel to Santa Fe for the period from 1848 to 1870, have appeared in historical journals. There are also several popular books on the subject. However, all of these combined are not adequate to present a well-integrated history of the Trail since there still remain many gaps in its long and romantic story.

1. Printed Sources

Bieber, Ralph P., ed., *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade 1844-1847* by James Josiah Webb. Glendale, California: 1931. (*Southwest Historical Series, I*). This volume, by one of the traders, gives a good account of the operations of the Santa Fe business during the middle 1840's.

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Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Ball Edwards, Ralph Gooch Ferguson. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1935. (*Southwest Historical Series, IV*). Contains the diaries of three soldiers who passed over the Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe during the Mexican War.


Garrard, Lewis H., *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. Garrard, 1846, joined a caravan at Westport. He spent some time at Fort Bent. After receiving news of the insurrection at Taos, in 1847 he joined a group of volunteers enlisted by William Bent and the party set out for that place. At that New Mexican town, the volunteers witnessed the trial of the rebels. Garrard's party then returned to Fort Bent. From that post he went to Fort Mann where he enlisted in the small garrison. After one month at that place he returned to Fort Leavenworth.

Gregg, Kate L., ed., *The Road to Santa Fe.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952. Miss Gregg, in this volume, has edited the journals of the 3 United States Commissioners who directed the survey of the Trail in 1825-1827. It is an excellent compilation of source material.


Moorhead, Max L., ed., *Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. The author of this volume made several trips over the Trail in the 1830's and 1840's. It is the best single work on the Santa Fe trade.

Mumey, Nolle, ed., *March of the First Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1835: The Diaries and Maps of Lemuel Ford.* Denver: The Esmees Brothers Press, 1957. This is a journal of one of the military escorts sent out in 1835 to protect caravans on the Trail.

2. Maps

"Map of Territory of New Mexico Compiled by Bvt. 2nd Lt. Jno. G. Parke, U. S. T. I. assisted by Richd H. Kern by order of Bvt. Col. Jno Monroe, U. S. A., Commdg, 9th Dept. drawn by Richd H. Kern, Santa Fe, N. M. 1851," Record Group No. 77, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. This map, although inaccurate as to parallels of latitude and lines of longitude, shows the Trail in greater detail as to rivers and landmarks in modern Colorado and New Mexico than any other found by the writer.

"Map of Santa Fe Trace from Independence to the Crossing of the Arkansas . . . by Cap. P. St. G. Cooke, Drag'ns. From Notes carefully taken by him, while in command of the Excursion to protect the Santa Fe Trade, 1843."

"Map of the Prairies, with Parts of the Adjoining Frontier of the United States & Mexico, Drawn for Col. John Garland." The National Archives, Washington, D. C. This is a copy from Josiah Gregg's sketch of the route of 1840.


"Sectional Map of the Territory of Kansas compiled from the fieldnotes in the Surveyor General's Office published by John Halsal, Saint Louis, Mo. 1857," The National Archives. This map shows the Trail in the vicinity of modern Kansas City.

Missouri State Highway Department, "The Missouri Cross-State Highway (Old Trail Road), Route of Boon's Lick Road and Santa Fe Trail," (Columbia, 1911). State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.


3. Articles


4. General

Bender, Averam B., The March of Empire: Frontier Defense of the Southwest, 1848-1860. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1952. This volume is a well documented work on the military defense system of the Southwest from 1848-1860.


Connelley, William Elsey, Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California. Kansas City: Privately printed, 1907. The best single work on the Doniphan Expedition during the Mexican War. It is undocumented but does contain a very good diary of one of the soldiers on the expedition.

Duffus, Robert L., The Santa Fe Trail. New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1934. This volume is probably one of the best popular accounts of the Santa Fe Trail. It is undocumented.


Inman, Colonel Henry, The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway. Topeka: Crane and Company, 1916. This volume is the earliest popular work on the subject and is undocumented. It gives highly romantic treatment to the Santa Fe Trail story.

Long, Margaret, *The Santa Fe Trail*. Privately printed, Denver, 1954. The author has traveled the full length of the main Santa Fe Trail. It is a good reference on sites and landmarks on the route.


Riddle, Kenyon, *Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail*. Raton: Privately printed, 1949. The volume is primarily of value for its maps since the author spent many years following the various routes of the Trail. The maps, however, are somewhat confusing, particularly in New Mexico.

Vestal, Stanley, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939. This volume, poorly documented, is the most popular account of the Trail.


Although the last segment of the Santa Fe Trail was abandoned almost 80 years ago as a highway of commerce, this old overland route is still particularly rich in sites and landmarks. Some buildings also associated with its history are extant. In spite of the fact that agricultural and industrial pursuits, and railroad and highway construction programs have obliterated large portions of the old Trail, a number of segments of it may be found in all the states it traversed. Ruts may still be seen in portions of Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. In some instances, as in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, the modern highway systems follow the course of the old Santa Fe route. Even in present day Kansas City, some of the streets have been laid out along the winding route of the old Trail.

Most of the famous landmarks have likewise survived. Rabbit Ear Mounds, Point of Rocks, and Wagon Mound, all in New Mexico, prominent points on the Cimarron Route, loom up from the modern highways some distance from the old Trail. A few, however, have not fared so well. Pawnee Rock in Kansas, has been reduced by railroad construction operations and is no longer the conspicuous landmark it was at one time. The Caches, another well-known landmark near Dodge City, has been recently leveled by a bulldozer. A town of approximately 3,000 population stands on the site of Council Grove, the principal point of rendezvous on the Trail.
The State of Missouri has preserved the old rendezvous for the traders at Arrow Rock.

Except for several buildings in New Mexico known to exist during the period of the Trail, few buildings associated with the Trail are extant. At the old Spanish settlement of San Miguel, the Catholic Church, erected in the early part of the 19th century, still stands. In Santa Fe the San Miguel Church, constructed about 1636, and the Governor's Palace are extant. Both buildings have undergone some alterations. At Bent's Old Fort, the old adobe walls for the most part had eroded away by the beginning of the century.

A number of buildings erected in the 1850's have survived. Among these are the Kaw Mission, the Hays Tavern, and the Last Chance Store - all in Council Grove, Kansas. In old Westport the homes of Alexander Majors and Dr. John Parker, both prominently identified with the Santa Fe trade, are extant. The store of the well-known outfitter A. G. Boone, also remains.

Some of the buildings of the old military posts erected to guard the trail in the late 1840's, the 1850's, and 1860's have survived. Several 1860 - 1880 structures of Forts Larned, Fort Dodge, and the second Fort Lyon, still stand. The melting adobe ruins of Fort Union, some of which have been recently stabilized by the National Park Service, and the stone foundations of Camp Nichols, may still be seen. The outlines of the buildings of the first Fort Lyon are still apparent. However, most of the surface evidences of Forts Zarah, Aubrey, Mann,
and Reynolds have disappeared.

Only one of the Santa Fe Trail sites, Fort Union (1851-1891), has been preserved by the Federal Government. This area was established as a National Monument under National Park Service jurisdiction in 1955. It includes the remains of the original fort and arsenal erected in 1851 and of the Post and Quartermaster Depot constructed in the following years.

Fort Union was situated near the junction of the mountain and Cimarron routes of the Santa Fe Trail. The post itself played an important role in subduing the Utes, the Comanches, and the Apaches in the region. The Quartermaster Depot served as the base of supplies for many of the military posts in the Southwest. Ruts of the old Trail are in evidence near the Fort area. The National Park Service plans to give attention to the role of the Trail in the development of the Southwest in the interpretation of Fort Union.

Four of the States over which the Trail passed have preserved sites associated with its history. Missouri has preserved a portion of the old town of Arrow Rock. Kansas has preserved remains of the old landmark Pawnee Rock, and the site of Fort Zarah. Old Fort Dodge, which contains some buildings of the 1870's, is now a state soldiers' home. Colorado recently acquired the site of Dent's Old Fort. New Mexico has preserved the Governor's Palace and the ruins of the Pecos Church.

Only three sites along the Trail have been preserved by local organizations. Jackson County, Missouri, has preserved the site
of Fort Osage, the starting point for the Brown Survey of 1825-26, and is now reconstructing the old trading post. A portion of Fort Larned has been leased to the Fort Larned Historical Society which operates some of the fort as a historical exhibit. The town of Cimarron, Kansas, has preserved a section of the Middle Cimarron Crossing.

Several organizations and States have been active since the beginning of the present century in marking the route of the old Trail. With the assistance of an appropriation of $1,000 from the legislature, the Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution placed 96 markers at various points along the Trail during 1906 to 1908. Many of these markers have been moved because of state highway construction. In 1913, in accordance with a recommendation of the Kansas State Historical Society, a committee was selected which later prepared a map of the Trail across that State. /1

Two other States have also evinced considerable interest in the old route. In 1908-1910, the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution marked the Trail in that state. Recently, New Mexico has placed signs along the highways pointing out the significant landmarks and sites on the Santa Fe route.

/1 Allie P. Cordry. The Story of the Marking of the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. (Topeka: Crane & Co. Printers., 1915.) et passim.
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

In evaluating the various sites along the Santa Fe Trail, we believe the following sites to have "exceptional value": Bent's Old Fort, Fort Larned, Wagon Bed Springs, Raton Pass, Fort Union, and the present town of Santa Fe, New Mexico. These important points on the Santa Fe Trail have also retained much of their integrity. By integrity, we mean that the site is authentic and relatively unspoiled by intrusions.

Bent's Old Fort

In the opinion of the Survey Staff, Bent's Old Fort was the most significant site studied on the old Santa Fe Trail. This post with New Fort Bent described below, played a role on the Santa Fe Trail similar to that of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail. For over a quarter of a century Bent's Old Fort, and its successor, were among the principal points of contact for Indians and whites on the Great Plains. From the time it was built until the end of the Mexican War, it was the principal stopping point and depot of supplies on the mountain overland route.

According to Dr. LeRoy Hafen, recognized western historian, William and Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain erected Fort Bent (also known as Fort William, in 1833). It was to this post that the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, Prairie Apache, and Pawnee came to trade. At this place after a long winter in the mountains, the trappers brought their furs and spun yarns, gambled, and celebrated. The fort was also the outfitting place for numbers of traders who went out among the various tribes on the plains. Among the better known figures of the
West employed at the post were Lucien B. Maxwell, Thomas O. Doggs, Baptiste Charbonneau, Kit Carson, "Old Bill" Williams, and "Uncle Dick" Wootton.

A number of travelers and officers who visited Fort Bent during the late 1830's and the 1840's left descriptions of the old adobe trading post. The site has recently been excavated under the direction of Dr. Herbert Dick, Trinidad State Junior College. According to Dr. Dick's findings, the buildings of the 24-room post were arranged in the shape of a quadrangle. A circular bastion was located on both the northeast and southwest corners. On the east, a wall ran from the circular bastion diagonally in a southeast direction to double walls running parallel with the south buildings of the post, making the entire fort in the shape of a trapezoid. The north protective wall to the northeast tower was 122.4 feet in length. From its junction with the northeast tower to the junction with the inner south wall, the east wall was 150 feet and to the junction of the south outer wall was an estimated 163.8 feet. The estimated distance of the outer south wall from the southeast corner to the southwest tower is about 170 feet. The west wall from the right angle west wall to the southeast tower was about 170 feet. The east-west width of the rectangle of the buildings themselves was 82 feet; the north-south length was 98 feet. /2

/2 Herbert W. Dick, "The Excavation of Fort Bent". Reprint from The Colorado Magazine, Vol XXXIII (July 1956) et passim

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Probably the most accurate contemporary description of Fort Bent was made by Lieutenant James William Abert, a member of John Fremont's expedition in 1845:

The fort is composed of a series of rooms resembling casemates, and forming a hollow square, the entrance on the east side. A round tower on the left, as you enter, and another diagonally opposite, constitute the flanking arrangements. The outer walls, which are nearly two feet in thickness, intersect in the axes of the others, thus permitting their faces to be completely enfiladed; the outside walls of the enceinte and towers, pierced with loop holes, are continued four feet above the flat roofs which serve for the banquette, which being composed of clay cannot be fired by inflammable substances that might be cast upon it; the whole is built of 'adobes', sun-burnt brick, formed of clay and cut straw, in size about four times as large as our common bricks. The roofs are sustained by poles. On the west side is the cattle yard, which is surrounded by a wall so high as effectually to shelter them. The coping of the wall is planted with cacti, which bear red and white flowers. /3

The post itself was a fairly self-sufficient institution. It was well supplied with flour, corn, and beans from the Mexican settlements. It also kept chickens which supplied the fort with eggs and a herd of cattle which furnished it with milk and butter. The establishment was described by one of the employees as follows:

... The area enclosed within the walls would probably comprise over an acre, which is subdivided by high walls; so, in

/3 Nolie Mumey, Old Forts and Trading Posts of the West, Vol I, pp. 33-34
case of a siege, all the horses, mules, cattle, wagons, etc.,
can be secured and protected inside the walls. Round the
inside of the wall of the fort proper, are the storehouses,
shops for blacksmith, gunsmith and carpenters, men's quarters,
private rooms for gentlemen, dining room, kitchen, etc. . . .
The buildings have flat roofs, covered with adobes, and rendered
perfectly tight, affording a pleasant promenade. . . .

The fort was a stopping place for practically every caravan
which passed over the mountain route to Santa Fe. At this place,
traders and the travelers stopping for several days relaxed from their
long vigilance against the Indians and enjoyed the luxuries of civiliza­
tion and change in diet from the monotonous routine of the trail.
The post blacksmiths and carpenters repaired the wagons, and the oxen
and mules were allowed to rest before they continued their long trek
to Santa Fe.

During the 1840's, the functions of Fort Bent underwent a
change. With the decline of the beaver trade, it was no longer the
rendezvous for trappers. In 1845 John Fremont used the post as his
base of operations for his third expedition. In the following year,
Francis Parkman visited the post. Following the outbreak of the
Mexican War in 1846, the post took on a new and more important func­
tion. When General Kearny and his Army made their long march from
Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in that year, many of the detachments
stopped at Fort Bent. During the war, it served as military storehouse

\[4\] Ibid, 35

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and hospital. Here caravans carrying supplies to the Army in Santa Fe replenished their stores, repaired equipment, and rested.

The steady flow of soldiers across the Plains during the Mexican War, together with the influx of settlers and others following it, made the various tribes increasingly restive. By the late 1840's, the days of the rich Indian trade were over. One of the partners, Charles Bent, was killed in New Mexico. Business had declined. In 1847, St. Vrain endeavored without success to sell the fort to the Government for a military post. St. Vrain wanted to withdraw to New Mexico while William Bent refused to leave the Arkansas. About 1849, the two men dissolved partnership. In the same year William Bent abandoned the old fort, purportedly partially destroyed it, and established a small trading house in a more suitable location at Big Timbers.

Although old Fort Bent would no longer serve as a trading establishment, its usefulness was not at an end. From 1859 to about 1861, it was used as a stage station. For a while Fort Bent was the principal stage stop on Barlow-Sanderson Overland Stage, Mail and Express Company, which operated between Kansas City and Santa Fe. The old trading post served as a "home station." Here the superintendent-general manager lived for a time. Because of its location, the company maintained a general repair shop for the line at this place. After the railroads had replaced the stage, the buildings served as cattle corrals. Gradually, the buildings collapsed and disintegrated. Some of the adobe bricks were probably removed by ranchers and found their way into other
buildings in the vicinity. By the early part of the present century, most of the evidences of the old fort had disappeared.  

The site of old Fort Bent is located in Otero County on the north bank of the Arkansas, 7 miles east of La Junta, Colorado, in SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) Sec. 14 and NW\(\frac{1}{4}\), Sec. 23, T23 S, R 54 W. Comprising some 5.08 acres, the area is in State ownership and is administered by the Colorado State Historical Society. Dr. Dick points out that most of the old corral area of the fort is on private property. A portion of the north wall of the old adobe post has recently been reconstructed by local historical groups.

There has been a long sustained movement to preserve this area. In 1926, the cattle company which owned the site transferred the title to the La Junta Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.


Fort Larned

Located about five miles west of the present town by the same name, Fort Larned was the most significant military post on the eastern
portion of the Trail. For several years, it was the principal guardian on the Trail. It served also as the administrative center for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in governing several of the southern plains tribes.

As the result of Indian disturbances in the late 1850's, William Bent, who was then agent for the Upper Arkansas Indians, proposed the establishment of a permanent military post at Big Timbers in Colorado, and at the mouth of Pawnee Fork, both on the Arkansas River. He pointed out the need for "the perpetual presence of a controlling military force." Any other motive for which these posts were to be established was to supply escorts for the mails passing along the Santa Fe Trail. Acting on Bent's recommendations, the Army in 1859 established a temporary camp at the latter location, known later as Camp Alert. Later in the year, it moved to a new site three miles west where the erection of a permanent sod fort was begun. In the following year, the Army completed this post, which it renamed Fort Larned, in honor of Col. Benjamin F. Larned, Paymaster of the United States Army.\footnote{Unrau, op. cit., et passim}

During the 1860's, Fort Larned played a very significant role in the negotiations with and in administering the southern and central plains tribes. In 1860, some 160 troops were stationed there. From about 1861 to 1868, the fort was a distributing point for the annuities to several of the Indian tribes under the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. Because of depredations, the Army in 1864 ordered the Kiowa and Comanche to Fort Larned where the government established an agency for the two
tribes. In 1865, bands of Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Apache were also placed under the charge of the agent at Larned. In September, 1868, as the result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty effected in October of the previous year, the five tribes moved to reservations set aside for them in Indian Territory. The government therefore abandoned the annuity distribution center at Larned for the five tribes and Fort Cobb fell heir to these functions. /8

During the 1860's and early 1870's, the post was the oldest and most important guardian in Kansas on the Santa Fe Trail. It served as headquarters for troops responsible for safeguarding freighters and travelers and the passage of mail along that route. In 1864, Fort Larned was the base of operations against the hostile Cheyenne. The depredations of this tribe continued. In 1867, the Army sent an abortive expedition of about 1,400 men, under General Winfield S. Hancock, to the post to punish any tribes who might molest people traveling across the Plains. In July, following the signing of Medicine Lodge Treaty that year, General Alfred Sully sent six companies of cavalry to Fort Larned where the Kiowa and Comanche were holding up Santa Fe freighters. From 1859 to 1869, almost 200 whites and red men were recorded as having been killed in the Fort Larned vicinity. When the Santa Fe railroad was extended across Kansas in the early 1870's, the garrison provided protection for construction workers. During the late 1870's until discontinued in

/8 Ibid
1878, troops at Larned saw little action.  

After the post was abandoned, the lands and buildings were purchased by private parties. In 1902, it was bought by E. E. Frizell whose descendants are the present owners.

With the exception of Fort Totten in North Dakota, which was of considerably less significance, Fort Larned is the best preserved 19th century military post in Region Two. Practically all of the buildings surrounding the parade ground have survived. Several of these buildings have undergone considerable alterations.

Two of the three officers' quarters, probably erected in 1867, have undergone few architectural alterations. The commanding officer's quarters, which now serves as the residence of the owners, has been remodeled to some degree. The two barracks built about the same time, each of which housed two companies of troops, were converted into a barn. The original stone walls, the outlines of which are still in evidence, were extended and reroofed to form haylofts. The quartermaster's office and storehouse has likewise been converted into a barn by the extension of the original walls in order to provide a hayloft. The old commissary storehouse, which still has the original portholes, is little changed except for the roof. The ordnance sergeant's office

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/2 Ibid, Garfield, "The Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869." 54

/10 Unrau, op. cit., 276-280
and storehouse, and also the buildings indicated on the ground plan as the workshops and bakery, have likewise undergone only slight alteration, except for the roofs. All of the above structures were built of native sandstone between 1866 and 1868.

The chief intrusions on the parade ground of the old fort are three silos on the northwest and southeast corners. The guardhouse, the office of the hospital steward, and adobe hospital, the adobe laundresses quarters, adjutant's office, and washhouse disappeared many years ago. The only outbuilding which has survived has been the old stone icehouse.

Raton Pass was one of the two most significant sites on the mountain branch of the Santa Fe Trail. During the early years of the trade, Bent's Old Fort, mentioned above, was the most significant site on that overland route. Prior to the Mexican War, Raton Pass was little used by vehicles because of the numerous obstructions and the steep inclines. Following the War, Raton Pass became the most important site on the Trail. Louis Garrard, who in company with a party of volunteers crossed over the Raton Mountains at this point in 1847, described the ascent of the Pass as follows:

The route was up a steep valley, enclosed on either side by abrupt hills covered with pine and masses of gray rock our corse now along the points of hills, now in the rough, stony bed of the creek itself . . . As we ascended, the scenery partook of a bolder, rougher cast. Sudden turns in the intricate windings gave views of the great valley below.

Toward four o'clock we, fatigued with the incessant climbing, spurring, and walking, came to a valley gently sloping to the summit of the pass on the west and rising on the east immediately by a continued succession of acclivities and terraces to the bare cliff, which, overlooking the country for leagues around, is known and designated as the Raton Peak—a familiar landmark to the trappers and traders. [11]

The descent of Raton Pass was likewise attended with considerable hardship. Garrard continued:

The summit of the ridge was reached after an hour's toil; and, stopping a moment for the fatigued animals to blow we rapidly descended. The immense precipices of bare

rock and earth, the confusion in which nature seemed involved caused all to remark the forbidding aspect on the Canadian side of the summit. At some steep hills, near the pass terminus, we picked our way over a road, which, in verity might be termed rough. Pine trees interfered with the free use of the whip; large rocks obtruded their rude fronts in the tortuous road; one "who ha-e" too many or a "gee" too few here endangers the safety of the unwieldy teams and burdens. The debris of wagons, such as fellies, loose tire, and tongues snapped short off shewed unmistakable signs of mismanagement, and told plainly that "government" was a loser in the Raton Pass. /12

Raton Pass became increasingly important during the later period of the Santa Fe Trail. The discovery of gold in the Pike's Peak region resulted in the rapid development of central Colorado in 1859 and in the following decade and a half. Santa Fe, likewise, became more and more important as the trade center of the Southwest. During the Indian disturbances in the 1860's and the Civil War, practically all of the travel to Santa Fe passed over the mountain route and crossed over Raton Pass.

This increased travel induced Richard Lacy ("Uncle Dick") Wootton, well known trapper and trader of the Southwest, and George H. McBride to construct a toll road between Trinidad, Colorado, and Raton, New Mexico, and collect such tolls as Huerfano County might fix. The partners completed this road in 1866. For over a decade a large volume of travel crossed over Wootton's-road over the Pass from Raton to Trinidad and the partners derived a handsome profit from their toll road. "Uncle Dick" also built a combined residence and inn of adobe near the old toll

/12 Ibid, 141-142
gate where he lived until fire destroyed the former in 1890. For over a decade and a half the adobe walls were standing.

The significance of Raton Pass was recognized by both the Denver and Rio Grande and the Santa Fe Railroads when those companies attempted to project their lines from Pueblo to Santa Fe. Both of these railroads entered into a spirited controversy in 1878 to obtain control of the Pass. Both lines enlisted small armies to take and hold Raton. The Santa Fe succeeded in getting to the Pass ahead of its rival and built through it to the New Mexican capital. The Rio Grande, meanwhile pushed forward to the mining towns in Colorado.

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

Santa Fe, New Mexico

The end of the Trail, Santa Fe was the goal towards which the caravans had struggled for eight or ten weeks. It was the great entrepot of the Santa Fe trade, for here the traders bargained with Mexican customs officers, unloaded their wares, and traded them either for a medium of exchange or for native goods to be transported back to the States. It was also a great recreational arena for the weary traders just off the trail, offering, as it did, many and varied amusements that appealed to Americans now briefly free of the conventions of their own society.

Santa Fe still retains, in its architecture and its people, much of the Spanish-Mexican-Indian flavor that so impressed, favorably
or unfavorably, the 19th century Americans. Pueblo and territorial style buildings still line the narrow streets; Spanisih language and customs still predominate; and many of the same characteristics noted by the early traders may yet be observed among the people of the city. It contains a number of historic sites possessing Santa Fe Trail associations. Among them are:

The Plaza

The plaza, still the commercial and social center of Santa Fe, was the end of the long trail. Here wagons were parked and unloaded. Here the customs negotiations were carried out. And from here the Americans spread out over the town in search of entertainment. Originally encompassing two city blocks, the plaza now includes but one. It is shaded by large cottonwood trees and crossed with concrete sidewalks. A large memorial to New Mexico's Civil War volunteers stands in the center, and a marble monument marking the end of the Santa Fe Trail stands on the Southeast corner. Across Palace Avenue on the north, and occupying an entire block facing the plaza, stands the historic

Palace of the Governors

The oldest public building in the United States, the Palace of the Governors was built between 1610 and 1612. Except for the twelve years following the revolt of the Pueblo Indians and the expulsion of the Spanish from New Mexico in 1680, the Palace housed the offices and residence of successive Spanish, Mexican and American
governors of New Mexico. Lt. Zebulon Pike was taken here and interrogated by Spanish officials after his arrest in the San Luis Valley of Colorado in 1807. In 1812, James Baird, Robert Knight and party, pioneers of the Santa Fe trade, were imprisoned here; in 1817, Auguste Pierre Chouteau suffered a similar fate. It was at this place that the Santa Fe traders came into contact with the Mexican official hierarchy. When the Army of the West entered Santa Fe in 1846, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny raised the American flag over the Palace, and thereafter American governors ruled from the building. In 1885 a larger capitol was built, but the governors continued to live in the Palace until 1912. Although the edifice has undergone many architectural changes during its long history, it still occupies the original site and is very much the original structure. Now owned by the State, it houses the Museum of New Mexico.

San Miguel Mission

A well-known landmark to Santa Fe traders, this old mission stands on College Street, the route by which the Trail entered the city, several blocks south of the plaza. The oldest church in Santa Fe and one of the oldest in the United States, San Miguel was built some time between 1640 and 1680. Like the Palace of the Governors, it has undergone architectural changes, but the basic structure still remains on the original site. All of the caravans entering Santa Fe passed by San Miguel Mission.
Fort Marcy

This military post was built in 1846 following the bloodless conquest of Santa Fe by the Army of the West under Gen. S. W. Kearny. Its garrison policed Santa Fe during the American occupation and it housed the headquarters of the Department of New Mexico until construction of Fort Union in 1851. The fort was located on a hill to the north of and overlooking the heart of the city. It consisted of a log blockhouse surrounded by adobe walls. Shortly after the Civil War the location was abandoned and a new Fort Marcy, consisting of a group of buildings between the Governors' Palace and the present Federal Building, was established. This post served until abandoned in 1894. Although contemporaneous with the Santa Fe Trail, its Trail associations are slight. The site of the first fort is now a city park, although not maintained properly. Mounds of earth mark the foundations of the original structures. Excavation would no doubt uncover considerable evidence of the fort. There are no remains of the second fort.

Fort Union

Other than the town of Santa Fe, Fort Union was the most important historic site on the Western segment of the old overland route during the last two decades of the existence of the Trail. This post, established in 1851 where the mountains meet the plains, played an important role in the history of the route. This establishment also furnished escorts for many of the caravans passing over that
portion of the Trail. The fort served as a place at which the wagon trains replenished supplies and repaired their wagons. The Quartermaster Depot at Union came to be the hub of all Army supply services in the Southwest. After being abandoned in 1891, the post fell into ruins. In 1955, Congress established the area as a National Monument. It is the only historic site along the Santa Fe Trail which has been given national designation.

Wagon Bed Springs, Lower Cimarron Spring

Wagon Bed (Lower Cimarron) Spring was the most significant site on the Cimarron route of the Santa Fe Trail which was the course generally followed by most traders prior to the Mexican War. Wagon Bed Springs was an oasis on the desert route. Practically every caravan traveling the Cut-Off stopped at these springs.

After leaving the Middle Cimarron Crossing (the ford most commonly used) of the Arkansas, the travelers began the worst portion of their journey known as the Jornada (now known as the "dust bowl"). Josiah Gregg, in 1831, described the region between the Arkansas and the Cimarron River as "the grand prairie ocean, for not a single landmark is to be seen for more than forty miles—scarcely a visible eminence by which to direct one's course." During the dry season there was not a single place to obtain water on the almost 60-mile stretch of trail from Middle Crossing of the Arkansas to Wagon Bed Springs on the Arkansas. After reaching this place the water was generally sufficiently plentiful for the remainder of the journey.
The Springs were a most welcome sight to the thirsty travelers after crossing the first stretch of the "dreaded Jornada". Brown, the surveyor, indicated that in 1825 Wagon Bed Spring was located at the west edge of a marsh green with bullrushes. The spring was constant, though the creek was sometimes dry a few miles distant. The stream was bolder and the water better as one traveled up it.

Sibley described it as follows:

... Semerone Spring issues from a Hollow near the South-East Extremity of the large Valley that it waters. The Valley is in area probably 300 acres, & is for the most part well set with good grass. A part of it is a salt marsh, so that the grazing is peculiarly fine. The Spring, as I saw it, appeared small, probably because an immense herd of Buffalo had just been treading about it. It no doubt affords an abundant supply of water when properly opened, as it always is when the Indians camp near it. Its water is cool, sweet and good. /13

The Springs appear to have been a favorite haunt for raiding parties of Comanche. It was near here that a war party in 1831 killed the famous mountainman, Jedediah Smith, who was taking a caravan to Santa Fe.

The integrity of Wagon Bed Spring has been little impaired. However, the springs no longer flow in the draw. The ruts of the Santa Fe Trail are very much in evidence in the vicinity of the Spring.

Site Documentation: Kate L. Gregg (ed), The Road to Santa Fe. (Albuquerque, 1952).

/13 Kate L. Gregg. The Road to Santa Fe. 88-89

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IV. OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

In addition to the sites along the Santa Fe Trail believed to be of exceptional value, there are a number of other areas which have been considered in this study. Some of the sites are of major significance but, because of intrusions, have lost their integrity. Others are of secondary importance. We believe the following areas logically fall in this category:

Old Franklin, Missouri

During the early period of the trade, Old Franklin, located on the north bank of the Missouri opposite the modern city of Boonville, was the point of the beginning of the Trail. During the early 1820's, it was "the last outpost of civilization" on the river. Goods were brought to the point by steamboat. During the early 1820's, Old Franklin was the largest town on the Missouri west of St. Charles and had a population of about 1,200 to 1,500. Here the traders destined for the Santa Fe trade, after loading their goods on mules and on wagons, began their long journey to Santa Fe. Some followed the north bank of the river to a point opposite Arrow Rock and crossed the Missouri by ferry to that town. Others ferried across the river to the site of Boonville, and followed the south bank of the Missouri to Arrow Rock. In 1828, Franklin was largely swept into the Missouri River.

Independence, which had since become the leading town on the Missouri to the west, supplanted it as the principal outfitting point.
A marker, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution on U. S. Highway No. 40 north of the Missouri River bridge at Boonville, marks the site of Old Franklin.


**Arrow Rock, Missouri**

Arrow Rock, one of the more important sites identified with the early Santa Fe Trail, retains some degree of its integrity. The available source materials indicate that it was from this place that William Becknell, "the founder of the Santa Fe trade and the father of the Santa Fe Trail," after rendezvousing at the home of Ezekiel Williams, in the Boon's Lick country, crossed the Missouri River with a party at Arrow Rock on September 1, 1821, on the first successful trading expedition to Santa Fe. Following his return, Becknell, who in 1828 took up his residence in Arrow Rock and established a ferry across the Missouri there, in May 1822, organized a second expedition and set out from Arrow Rock with 21 men and 3 wagons. Col. M. M. Marmaduke's party in 1824, likewise crossed the Missouri River at Arrow Rock and encamped nearby where it organized.

Available evidence indicates that a number of the early parties, which outfitted at the nearby Franklin, crossed the Missouri at Arrow Rock. Some rendezvoused at this place or nearby. After organizing,
these caravans set out probably following a road, laid out in 1819
by the County Court in Jasper County, which ran from Arrow Rock to
Fort Osage.

Arrow Rock State Park, administered by the State of Missouri,
includes several sites identified with the early Santa Fe trade. Among
these are (1) the old ferry landing; (2) the steamboat landings; (3) the
site of the tobacco warehouse; (4) the "Santa Fe Traders Spring" near
which the early trading parties rendezvoused; (5) two roads, one of
which led up through a valley to the highlands; the second, led to the
village. It is very doubtful if any of the buildings in the nearby
village of Arrow Rock are identified in any way with the Santa Fe trade.
All appear to have been of late vintage. Additional study needs to be
made on this area to determine the association of Arrow Rock with the
Santa Fe trade.

Site Documentation: Walter Williams and Floyd C. Shoemaker,

Independence, Missouri

From about 1828 to the late 1840's, Independence was the
principal outfitting point for the Santa Fe business as well as for
the Oregon Trail. Laid out in 1827, Independence soon became the
leading town on the Missouri River in western Missouri. Some of the
traders, such as Josiah Webb in 1844, purchased their goods from
St. Louis, and shipped them to Independence. Others purchased their
wagons, animals, and supplies needed for the long westward journey at that
place. In 1848, George Ruxton, when Independence was at its heyday,
described the place as follows:

Independence may be termed the "prairie port" of the western country. Here the caravans destined for Santa Fe and the interior of Mexico, assembled to complete their necessary equipment. Mules and oxen are purchased, teamsters hired, and all stores and outfit laid in here for the long journey over the wide expanse of prairie ocean. Here, too, the Indian traders and the Rocky Mountain trappers rendezvous, collecting in sufficient force to ensure their safe passage through the Indian country. At the seasons of departure and arrival of these bands, the little town presents a lively scene of bustle and confusion. The wild and dissipated mountainers get rid of their last dollars in furious orgies, treating all comers to galore of drink, and pledging each other, in horns of potent whiskey, to successful hunts and "heaps of beaver." /14

Francis Parkman's description of the place in 1846, before his western journey, is no less interesting:

... At Independence, every store is adapted to furnish outfits—the public houses were full of Santa Fe men and emigrants. Mules, horses, and wagons at every corner. Groups of hardy-looking men about the stores and Santa Fe and emigrant wagons standing in the fields around. /15

No sites or buildings associated with the Santa Fe trade have survived in Independence. The old steamboat landing identified with the trade was swept into the Missouri many years ago.


/14 Hafen, op. cit., 55

Westport Landing

In the early 1850's, Independence continued to share the Santa Fe trade with Westport. Goods were first landed at the latter place in 1832. However, freighters loaded primarily at Independence until the mid-1840's. The superior advantages which Westport offered by virtue of its providing more room for the traders to pasture their stock, together with the distances from the landing at Blue Mill, near Independence, to this place, forced the outfitting firms to move to the landing at Westport. By the middle of the late 1850's, the latter point, together with rapidly growing Kansas City, had supplanted Independence.

By the late 1850's, the Santa Fe business had grown to great proportions. Traders on the Trail annually spent $1,500,000 to merchants, blacksmiths, livestock producers, and bullwhackers in Westport and Kansas City. As a result of the heavy traffic on the Trail, the outfitters and commission houses at Westport did a prolific business. Isaac Moffatt in 1859 described Westport as follows:

Westport is indeed a very neat little village having a large hotel, two or three churches, several good stores—and is well laid out,—and derives great support from the Santa Fe merchants who purchase nearly all their wagons here;—one wheelwright informs me that there are nearly eight hundred wagons sold in the village this season,—as this is the starting point of the Santa Fe traders,—the trade holds good from April to September. . . . /17

/16 Walker D. Wyman, "Kansas City, Mo., A Famous Freighter Capital," Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI (February 1937 3-13)

/17 Isaac Moffatt, "The Kansas Prairie Or, Eight Days on the Plains," Kansas Historical Quarterly (May 1937) 173
Old Westport is now a part of Greater Kansas City. Little has survived to indicate that the place was once the principal outfitting point on the Trail. In a number of places, however, modern city streets follow the winding course of the old overland route. The nomenclature of some of these indicate their early identification with the trade. Among the surviving buildings which were directly or indirectly associated with the business are: the old store of A. G. Boone, prominent outfitter on the Trail, at the corner of Westport Road and Pennsylvania Avenue; the home of Alexander Majors, 8145 State Line Road; the William Bent Home at 1032 West 55th Street; and the Dr. John Parker House at 305 Lawrence. The owners of all of these residences were prominently identified with the trade. The Fitzhugh's Mill Site, where some of the traders rendezvoused is at 110th Street and State Line Road.


Council Grove

Council Grove was one of the major points on the Santa Fe Trail. As has been pointed out above, it was the principal point of rendezvous for the traders before embarking on their journey over the plains. Until they reached this point, the traders traveled through
the peaceful Kaw country without guard. At Council Grove the proprietors repaired their wagons and organized caravan travel began. One traveler in 1846 described the place as follows:

Council Grove is the last place from which a single individual can return in safety to "the States," and hereafter it will be necessary to be cautious how we leave the company, as we might fall in with some of the wild and savage Indians of the plains. It is an important point, as after this no timber can be found on the route to repair anything broken. The bottom is about a mile wide, covered with a heavy growth consisting of almost every variety found in "the States" . . . /18

During the 1850's Council Grove became an important stopping point on the overland mail route. The town, by the same name established on the site, was the farthest western settlement of any size on the eastern portion of the Trail. In 1858, the Territorial legislature incorporated Council Grove as a town by a special Act. In the same year, H. B. Mollhausen, a German prince, passed through the place. He wrote:

We rode down from the upland and when we entered its only and very broad street we noticed crudely painted signs on all the houses on both sides of the street; the houses numbered about thirty. By these signs we saw that the place was inhabited exclusively by merchants. There were also two inns which stood out because they were painted white. We entered one of them which also had a store connected with the hotel. /19

The town built on the site of the old traders' rendezvous at Council Grove has grown to about 2,700 people. As a result, it no

/18 Bieber, Journal of a Soldier 138-139

/19 Robert Taft (ed.), and John A. Burzle (trans.) 373
longer retains its early character. Several sites identified with the Santa Fe trade have survived. These are:

1. The old Kaw Mission, a two-story stone structure, was built in 1851 and operated by the Methodists. The Kansas State Historical Society now uses the building as a museum.

2. The Last Chance Store, a one-story stone structure, was constructed in 1857 and served as a store and later as a post office.

3. Old Hays Tavern, built by the Indian trader Seth Hays in 1857, is a two-story frame structure. It served as a home, saloon, supply house, and hotel.


**Pawnee Rock**

Pawnee Rock was one of the most important landmarks on the Trail and is frequently mentioned in the historical journals of travelers. The site is now in State ownership and is located near a hamlet by the same name. Passing by the promontory during the Mexican War, one soldier described it as follows:

The rock is singular in its appearance, rising abruptly in the midst of the prairie, and on it are carved innumerable names. In this vicinity we saw the first great herd of buffaloes we had met with. I climbed up the rock, from the top of which I witnessed one of the grandest sights ever beheld. Far over the
plain to the west and north was one vast herd of buffaloes; some in column, marching in their trails, other carelessly grazing. Every acre was covered, until in the dim distance the prairie became one black mass, from which there was no opening, and extending to the horizon./20

With the intrusions of the white man, Pawnee Rock has lost the "singular" appearance described by the soldier above. The red sandstone of the cliff has been removed by railroad and home builders. An observation tower now stands on the highest point. However, unlike Chimney Rock, it retains few of the characteristics which made it a prominent landmark on the Trail over a century ago. From U. S. Highway 56 nearby, it can be seen for only a few miles and is not impressive. From the top of the rock one can no longer get a panorama view of the flat plains surrounding it.


Fort Dodge

During the last years of the old overland route, Forts Dodge and Larned were the two most important military establishments on the Trail in Kansas. In 1864, General G. M. Dodge established the garrison at an old camping ground at the intersection of the wet and dry routes from Larned at the point where the latter struck the Arkansas. Fort Dodge was a three-company stone adobe and frame post, with shelter for

/20 Bieber, Journal of a Soldier 147 footnotes
one company of cavalry horses. It was at that time the furthermost large fort in western Kansas on the Santa Fe Trail and afforded protection to freighters and travelers on that route.

Fort Dodge was of its greatest significance during the winter of 1868-69 when it served as the base of operations of General Philip Sheridan in the Indian Territory. It also safeguarded an important segment of the Trail. The Army finally discontinued the garrison in 1882, several years after travel over the old overland road had ceased.

The old post is now a State Soldiers' Home. Although remodeled to meet institutional needs, a number of the original buildings have survived. However, they have been absorbed by more modern structures and the area no longer gives an atmosphere of an old military post.

Fort Lyon (No. 1)

Fort Wise, renamed Fort Lyon in 1862, played a role along the mountain route of the Santa Fe Trail in Colorado similar to that of Larned in Kansas. William Bent in 1859 recommended the establishment of a military post at Big Timbers to control the Indians along the route. Four companies of the 1st Cavalry established Fort Wise in August 1860. The officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, corrals and stables were all built of stone. In the spring of 1866 floods swept over the banks and into the fort which undermined many of the buildings. This factor, together with the unhealthy conditions of the post and
the decreasing supply of timber, caused the Army to move in 1867, 20 miles farther up the river near the mouth of the Purgatoire River where it erected a post on the present site of Fort Lyons. The buildings of the old fort, after they were abandoned, continued to be used as a stage station on a mail, express, and passenger line operating between Kansas City and Santa Fe.

Fort Lyon played a very important function during the early 1860's as a base of operations against the Indians and in patrolling the Colorado section of the Trail. For several years it served as the distributing point for Cheyenne and Arapaho annuities. Here also the Government in 1861 effected a treaty guaranteeing these two tribes western Colorado as far south as the Arkansas and Purgatoire Rivers.

Like those at New Fort Bent, the stone buildings of the military post were carted away many years ago. The outlines of the buildings may still be seen. The site is in private ownership.

Bent's New Fort, Colorado

Although Bent's New Fort, the site of which is about eight miles west of present Lamar, Colorado, had a much shorter duration than its predecessor, it played a significant role in the history of the Trail for several years. After dissolving partnership with Ceran St. Vrain, William Bent moved 38 miles down the river from the old fort, discussed above, down the Arkansas River to Big Timbers, and established a trading house. For several years, he seemed to have had no established base of operations. In 1852-53, he erected New Fort Bent. Bent's new fort was
of stone construction and one story in height. According to David Lavender, "There were twelve rooms around the central court, each room ten feet high and ranging in size from two apartments fourteen by fifteen and a half feet to a warehouse fifty-five feet long. There were parapets, but evidently no bastions, and little cannons were placed on corners of the roof. From the top of the walls, sixteen feet high, one could see on a crystal day, a dim outline that was the mountains." /21

Except for 1857, when it was temporarily leased to the Government, William Bent occupied this establishment as a trading post until 1860. From 1853 to 1860, it served as a distributing center for Cheyenne annuities. During 1859, Bent served here as Indian agent. In 1860, the Army began the construction of a cantonment, known as Fort Wise, a short distance west of New Fort Bent, which it leased and used as a quartermaster's and subsistence storehouse. The Army later threw up substantial earthworks surrounding the buildings of Bent's former establishment and equipped it with diamond-shaped gun emplacements on the corners. Meanwhile, Bent had moved up to the mouth of the Purgatoire Creek, where he enlarged the stockade which he had built and occupied for a short time in 1857 when the Army first occupied the new fort.

The old stone buildings of New Fort Bent were removed many years ago. The stone chips from these disclose very clearly the

/21 Lavender, op. cit., 324
outlines of the fort. There are also very substantial remains of the old earthworks.


Boggsville, Colorado

Boggsville, the remains of which is about two and one-half miles southeast of Las Animas, Colorado, was a stopping point on the Trail during the late period. Of the old town, only two buildings remain. One of them is the remains of the old John W. Prowers Home built in the early 1860's, which served as a hotel, store, and stage station. Here also the horses for the overland stage station were changed and the passengers fed. The second building is the old Thomas O. Boggs residence, of about the same vintage as the Prowers house.

Santa Fe Trail Remains near Dodge City, Kansas

At various points along the Santa Fe Trail, remains of the old overland route may still be seen. About 110 miles west of Dodge City, Kansas, and adjacent to U. S. Highway No. 50, are extensive ruts of the old Trail. These ruts extend for some two or more miles in length and in some places are several hundred yards in width. (See attached photograph). The chief intrusion in this area is a large irrigation ditch which winds through the area.

Evidences of the old Trail itself have survived in all of the five states which it traversed. Aerial photographs were examined of 15
counties in Kansas along the route. In these, remains were noted in eight counties. Extensive remains were noted along the Cimarron Cut Off in Oklahoma and in the vicinity of Fort Union, New Mexico.

San Miguel del Vado

San Miguel del Vado was one of the most significant of the "Spanish settlements" on the Trail through which the Americans passed before they reached Santa Fe. Before the establishment of Las Vegas in 1835, it was the first of several Mexican villages which the travelers on the Trail reached whether they went by the Cimarron or the Fort Bent routes. At this place, they considered themselves as practically "there." They relaxed their vigilance and crossed over a well defined road which ran some 55 to 60 miles to Santa Fe. It was at San Miguel in 1841 that the Mexican forces captured the advance forces of Texans, under General Hugh McLeod, and executed two of their scouts.

The Spanish established the settlement of San Miguel del Vado during the period from 1794-1805. Of the surviving structures of that village, the Catholic Church is of the most significance. This building was erected during the early part of the 19th century. Only the towers have undergone considerable alterations.

Shawnee Mission

Shawnee Mission, established in 1839, was a prominent landmark on one of the branches of the Santa Fe Trail near present Kansas City, Kansas. Actually it was several miles north of the main trunk
line of the old overland route. To many travelers, the red brick mission buildings were the last vestiges of civilization after they left Independence or Westport. Several noted persons, such as Francis Parkman, Marcus Whitman, and John C. Fremont were entertained there before beginning their westward journeys. The role of the mission, however, in the history of the Santa Fe Trail is relatively insignificant.

Of the old buildings of the Shawnee Mission, only three, one erected in 1840, another in 1841, and the third in 1845, are standing. These are owned by Kansas and administered by the State Historical Society.

**OTHER SITES NOTED**

In addition to the significant ones above, there are a number of less important sites, buildings, and landmarks which are worthy of mention in connection with the Trail. The history of the old overland route would not be complete without mention of these.

**Fort Osage**

During early years of the Trail, Fort Osage, the old Government factory or trading house erected in 1808, was an important stopping point on the Trail during the period when Old Franklin and Arrow Rock were the outfitting points. It was from Fort Osage that Brown began his survey for the Trail in 1825. When Independence supplanted Old Franklin
as the eastern terminus, the old Government trading house ceased to be a factor on this old overland route.

Fort Leavenworth

Fort Leavenworth, established in 1827, played an important role in the Santa Fe Trail. During the Mexican War it served as a supply base for operations in the Southwest. Later, many of the supplies, destined for the military posts in the Southwest, were sent out from this place. In the Civil War, it was one of the eastern termini or outfitting points.

Several buildings of the 1850's at Fort Leavenworth have survived. It is doubtful, however, if any of these are identified with the old overland route. The remains of the old Trail, running from the steamboat landing to the fort itself, are very much in evidence. The fort itself is still an active military post.

Diamond Springs

Diamond Springs, located about 15 miles west of Council Grove, was a favorite watering place on the Trail. About every caravan traveling on the trunk route stopped there. At this point there were always an abundance of water, camping facilities and plenty of grass. During the later period of the Trail, it became a point of rendezvous for some of the caravans. In the late 1840's and during the 1850's a stone stage station, long since disappeared, was erected here on the overland mail route. The site is now in private ownership.
Site Documentation: George Pierson Morehouse, "Diamond Springs, 'The Diamond of the Plain,'" Kansas Historical Collections, XIV (Topeka 1918).

Little Arkansas Crossing

Little Arkansas Crossing, located about seven miles south of Windom, Kansas, was a prominent landmark on the Trail. The crossing of the Little Arkansas was always attended with considerable difficulty.

The Sites of Forts Mann, Mackay and Atkinson

These posts, which were built on the same sites, were located about two miles west of present Dodge City, Kansas. All had a short period of existence and were of minor importance. In 1847, during the Mexican War, the Government found it desirable to have a station at a point somewhat equidistant between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe where it might repair the wagons and allow the animals to rest in safety. It therefore constructed a post which Lewis H. Garrard described following his visit there in 1848 as "four big houses connected by angles of timber framework, in which were cut loopholes for the cannon and small arms." /22 It was about 60 feet in diameter. The walls were 20 feet in height.

Fort Mackay was established on the same site in 1850. It apparently was a temporary affair as it is described as being "built of sod, covered with poles, brush, sod and canvas." Its name was changed

/22 Garrard, Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail
in 1851 to Fort Atkinson. Probably the greatest event which occurred at the post was the signing of the treaty with the Comanche, Kiowas and Apache on July 27, 1853, which was brought about by Thomas Fitzpatrick, then Indian agent. Under the treaty, the Government, in return for the right to establish military posts and railroad depots along the Trail, agreed to pay the three tribes $18,000 in goods for a period of 10\(\frac{2}{3}\) years. Fort Atkinson was abandoned in the same year. There are very few surface evidences of these posts at these sites. The locations are in private ownership.


Middle Cimarron Crossing

The Middle Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas is located between the present towns of Ingalls and Cimarron, Kansas. Here was the ford most commonly used by the travelers who took the Cut Off to Santa Fe. From this place it was some 50 or 60 miles across the Jornada to Wagon Bed Springs, on the Cimarron River. A park, known as Cimarron Crossing, has been established at the town of Cimarron. However, it is understood that the traders crossed the Arkansas at a number of places between the present town of Cimarron and Ingalls. Josiah Gregg explained in the 1840's "nothing like a regular ford had ever been established."

\[23\] Kappler, op. cit., II, 445-447
Chouteau Island

Chouteau Island was a well-known landmark on the Santa Fe Trail. Brown recommended this ford of the Arkansas for those who took the Cut Off. From this point the caravan could strike due south 33 miles and strike Wagon Bed Springs. Water was likely to be more plentiful along this course. Nevertheless, few crossed at this point.

The island received its name in 1816 when Auguste P. Chouteau, a prominent St. Louis trader, and several others, while returning from New Mexico were attacked near here by a band of Pawnee. They retreated to the island and drove off their attackers. In the following year, they were arrested in Mexican territory, their goods confiscated and sent back to the United States. Chouteau Island has since disappeared.

Fort Lyon (No. 2)

This four-company post was established about two miles below the mouth of the Purgatoire in 1867, when the old site of Fort Lyon at Big Timbers was abandoned. The post was maintained at this point until 1889 when the troops stationed at that place were ordered to Fort Logan.

The surviving buildings of the original new Fort Lyon are several officers' quarters which have been remodeled to some degree. The other original buildings have been destroyed and replaced by more modern structures. This post is federally owned and is now a Veterans' Administration hospital. This post was established in the late period
of the Trail when the scene of the Indian difficulties had shifted to the Fort Larned vicinity and into Indian Territory. Its significance was relatively small.

**Camp Nichols, Oklahoma**

Camp Nichols was founded in the spring of 1865 by Col. Kit Carson as a point from which to protect traffic using the dangerous Cimarron Cut Off of the Santa Fe Trail from hostile Kiowa and Comanche Indians. Carson had been ordered by Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, commanding the Department of New Mexico, to establish a post midway between Fort Union and the Arkansas River, at a place known as "Cedar Springs" or "Cold Springs." Once he had built the fort, Carson was to arrange a conference with the Kiowa and Comanche chiefs and to tell them that "If the Indians behave themselves that is all the peace we want and we shall not molest them ... If they do not, we will fight them on sight and to the end. They must not stop commerce on the plains." With two companies of New Mexico Volunteers and one of California Volunteers, Carson by June had built six sets of stone officers quarters and a quartermaster building, and the men had been housed in tents with stone walls. Breastworks of stone and banked earth enclosed the camp, which occupied an area about 200 feet square. The post, apparently, provided escorts for caravans on the Trail for about a year before being abandoned. As late as 1906 the stone walls

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\[24\] Bieber, *Marching with the Army of the West*, 313
of the buildings were standing, but they were soon thereafter torn down by settlers and used for building materials.

Rabbit Ear Mounds

These landmarks on the Cimarron Route are located about 12 miles northwest of Clayton, New Mexico. They are two high peaks so named because of their resemblance to the ears of a rabbit.

Point of Rocks, New Mexico

This landmark on the Cimarron Cut Off is located about three miles southeast of Chico, New Mexico. It was described as being a singular range of hills broken into rugged shapes with the bare ends of the huge rocks pointing to the southwest.

Site Documentation: Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848 by Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Bell Edwards, Ralph Gooch Ferguson (Glendale, 1936).

Wagon Mound

Wagon Mound, a rock mesa rising above the prairies of eastern New Mexico, was one of the better known landmarks of the Santa Fe Trail. It was named because of its resemblance to a covered army wagon. The stretch of trail from Point of Rocks to Wagon Mound was unusually dangerous and was the scene of some desperate encounters with Indians. One of the better known incidents occurred near Wagon Mound in 1850. A Dr. White and 11 members of his party were murdered and scalped, and his wife, child, and nurse kidnapped. Congress appropriated $1,500 for the recovery of the prisoners. A pursuit followed in which
Mrs. White was rescued, but the nurse and child were never recovered.

**Plaza, Old Las Vegas**

The plaza of the old town of Las Vegas, New Mexico, was a familiar sight to many of the travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. It was here on August 15, 1846, that General Stephen W. Kearney, in company with the Mexican officials of the place, ascended one of the rooftops, and, before a motley assemblage of frightened citizens in the plaza, proclaimed the town under American jurisdiction. One soldier, accompanying Kearney's expedition, described Las Vegas as an "assemblage of mud houses covering a space of fifteen acres."

**Site Documentation:** Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), *Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848* by Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Ball Edwards, Ralph Gooch Ferguson (Glendale, 1936).

**Ruins of Nuestra Senora de los Angeles de Porciuncula Church**

The ruins of the old Pecos Church, known as Nuestra Senora de los Angeles de Porciuncula, was one of the familiar landmarks to travelers on the Trail as they approached Apache Canyon from the southwest. The Spanish, after subjugating the Pecos Indians in 1590, had by 1620 established this church. During the Rebellion of 1680, the rebellious Indians burned this edifice but later rebuilt it after the Reconquest. As the result of smallpox and warfare with the Apache and Comanche during the middle 18th century, the Pecos Indians were greatly reduced in number. The latter abandoned their mission in 1780.
and in 1788 an epidemic practically wiped out the pueblo. The old church ruins have been recently stabilized and have recently become a State Monument.

Glorieta Pass

About six miles after the Santa Fe travelers passed the ruins of Pecos Church, they reached Glorieta Pass. This place is the gateway of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the New Mexican capital. The place was the scene of a battle of Glorieta Pass in March 1862, in which the destruction, by the Federals, of the Confederate supply train forced the southern forces to withdraw to Santa Fe. U. S. Highways Nos. 84 and 85 follow this route to New Mexico's capital city.

Apache Canyon

Apache Canyon is the deep canyon formed by Apache Creek, which flows into the Rio Grande River, along which the traders passed immediately before entering Santa Fe.

Don Fernando de Taos

Don Fernando de Taos, the present town of Taos, was the official port of entry for New Mexico though the custom house was situated in Santa Fe. Some of the traders, such as Josiah Webb, in the mid 1840's traveled from Independence to Santa Fe by way of Taos and returned by the same route.

A number of the mountain men, such as Kit Carson, Charles Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, Lucien Maxwell, and Charles Beaubien lived in this village. Of the surviving historic sites and buildings in Taos
associated with the Santa Fe Trail are:

(1) The historic plaza in the heart of the town.

(2) The Kit Carson Home, occupied by the famous frontiersman as headquarters office and home from 1858 to 1866.

(3) The House of Governor Charles Bent where the owner was killed and scalped during the insurrection of 1847.

**Ranchos de Taos**

Ranchos de Taos is a small adobe village located several miles south of the town of San Fernando de Taos. According to tradition it was founded by members of the Taos Pueblo who sought better fields for their crops. Traders traveling from San Fernando passed through Ranchos de Taos enroute to Santa Fe. The principal historic building in the place is the St. Francis Mission. The date of the erection of this structure is unknown but it is believed to have been rebuilt in the latter part of the 18th century. The mission is one of northern New Mexico's leading tourist attractions.
V. SPECIAL STUDIES

As has been pointed out earlier, no definitive work has been written on the Santa Fe Trail. As a result there are large gaps in the long story of this overland route which, to a great degree, may be attributed to a lack of basic research. There appears to have been no study made of the Mexican archives for material which might shed additional light on the Santa Fe trade during the early years of the business. Although several monographs have appeared on various aspects of the trade after 1848, there seems to have been no exhaustive research in the National Archives at Washington, D. C., or in early Kansas newspapers on such subjects as Indian raids on the caravans, the role of the forts, and military protection given the traders and the overland mail on the Santa Fe Trail.

Only on two sites of the Santa Fe Trail—Old Fort Bent and New Fort Bent—has historical work been adequate. Two books have recently appeared on this subject—Bent's Fort by David Lavender and Bent's Old and New Forts by Noley Mumey. Both of these works appear to have been quite exhaustive. Additional light has been shed on Bent's Old Fort as the result of the archeological investigations of that site by Dr. Herbert Dick.

It is understood that exhaustive research has been undertaken on Fort Union, in New Mexico, which is based on materials in the National Archives. These studies should help fill in the gaps in the
information needed for the western segment of the Trail following the Mexican War.

Additional studies need to be undertaken on Forts Lyon (No. 1), Larned, and Dodge. The checklist of the Records of the United States Army Commands indicates there are considerable un-exploited materials in the National Archives relating to these posts. A monograph, based upon a Master's thesis, entitled "The Story of Fort Larned," by William E. Unrua, appeared in a recent issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. It appears, however, that the author used only published source materials in preparing this article and did not use the post records in the National Archives.

A careful study should be made of the aerial photographs of the counties the Santa Fe Trail traversed. Such a study should reveal remains as well as other surviving features of the Trail. This study should be supplemented by a site reconnaissance of the old route itself.
OLD BENT'S FORT
(Sketches by Lieut. J. W. Abert)


1845

Courtesy, The National Archives
Aerial view of Bents Old Fort taken during archeological excavations made in 1954.

1954 Photograph, The Roos Studio, La Junta, Colorado
BENT'S OLD FORT, Colorado. The adobe wall seen in the background has been reconstructed.

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
FORT LARNED Ground Plan, 1876.

1876 From Outline Descriptions of Military Posts in the Division of the Missouri (Chicago 1876)
AERIAL VIEW OF FORT LARNED, Kansas. The buildings of the fort surrounding the parade grounds have been converted into farm buildings.

1956  Kansas Industrial Commission photograph
BARF at FORT LARNED, Kansas. This structure has been converted from two of the soldiers' barracks.

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
OFFICERS' QUARTERS FORT LARNED. This structure now serves as a museum.

October 1957
National Park Service photograph
BARN at FORT LARNED. This structure has been converted from the old commissary storehouse at the post.

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
Portholes in one of the stone storehouses at Fort Larned, Kansas

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
GOVERNOR'S PALACE, Santa Fe. New Mexico. This adobe building, built between 1610 and 1612, was the western terminus of the Trail.

March 1958  
National Park Service photograph
SAN MIGUEL MISSION in Santa Fe. This building, erected between 1640 and 1680, was a familiar landmark to Santa Fe traders.

March 1958

National Park Service photograph
SITE OF FITZHUGH MILL in Kansas City, Missouri. The Mill was a favorite point of rendezvous for Santa Fe traders.

April 1958

National Park Service photograph
KAW MISSION, in Council Grove, Kansas. This structure was completed by the Methodists in 1851 as a school for the Kaw Indian children.

October 1958

National Park Service photograph
PAWNEE ROCK, well-known landmark on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
PURPORTED SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS, near Fort Union, New Mexico

September 1956

National Park Service photograph
Purported SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS, near Fort Union, New Mexico

September 1956

National Park Service photograph
SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS near Dodge City, Kansas. The winding irrigation ditch is seen on the right, U. S. Highway No. 50 may be noted on the upper left.

1957

Kansas Industrial Commission photograph
SAINT FRANCIS MISSION, Ranchos de Taos, New Mexico. This structure, erected in the latter part of the 18th Century, was a familiar landmark for those who travelled to Santa Fe by Taos.

March 1958

National Park Service photograph
SANTA FE TRADERS' SPRING, near Arrow Rock, Missouri. Traders purportedly rendezvoused near this place during the early years of the Trail.

April 1958

National Park Service photograph
WAGON BED (LOWER CIMARRON) SPRINGS. This watering place, located on the Cimarron River near Ulysses, Kansas, was one of the best known landmarks on the Cimarron route of the Santa Fe Trail.

October 1957

National Park Service photograph
REMAINS OF OLD TOLL ROAD at Raton Pass, New Mexico, New Mexico

March 1958

National Park Service photograph
SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS, near Wheeless, Oklahoma

April 1958

National Park Service photograph