

Wagon Tracks

Volume 24

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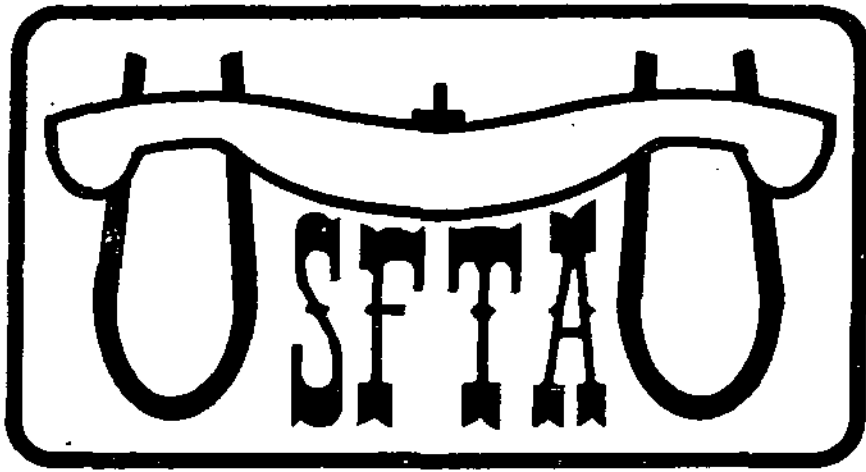


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WAGON TRACKS

SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY

VOLUME 24

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NUMBER 2

RENDEZVOUS 2010

SEPTEMBER 16-18

by Ruth Olson Peters

MARK your calendar now and plan to attend Rendezvous 2010 in Larned, Kansas, September 16-18. The theme for this year's program is "Communication on the Santa Fe Trail." Much of the focus will be on the evolution of the U.S. mail service between Missouri and Santa Fe. It will include talks on the irregular mail expresses prior to 1850, the development of contract mail service, rise of trading establishments in Kansas which hosted mail stations, military protection of the mails, and much more. Rendezvous is the joint effort of the Santa Fe Trail Center, Fort Larned National Historic Site, and the Santa Fe Trail Association.

A bus tour will be offered on Sunday, September 19, after the seminar. The trip will cover Larned to Dodge City on the Dry Route of the Trail, which was used by the mail companies almost exclusively in preference to the Wet Route.

Due to the overwhelming positive response during the 2008 Rendezvous, we will once again start the formal presentations with an introduction and overview of the theme and end with a panel discussion of all Rendezvous speakers. At the end of each individual presentation and during the panel discussion there will be an opportunity for questions from the audience.

The SFTA Board will meet on September 16 before the opening of Rendezvous. There will also be a general membership meeting during Rendezvous. This will be the first Rendezvous to include an awards ceremony conducted by the Santa Fe Trail Association (see call for nominations in this issue). This will become a regular feature of all future Rendezvous programs.

All members of the Santa Fe Trail Association will receive registration

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SFTA BOARD MEETING

ELKHART, KANSAS

APRIL 16-18, 2010

SFT RENDEZVOUS

LARNED, KANSAS

SEPTEMBER 16-18, 2010

SFTA SYMPOSIUM

DODGE CITY, KANSAS

SEPTEMBER 20-25, 2011

STUDENT ESSAYS

[The Kids' Activity Page in the last issue requested students to write a paragraph, using details in the picture provided. The following essays were received. Each student receives a SFNHT logo pin from Last Chance Store.]

Rachel Penner, Age 9, 4th Grade

We have been on the trail for almost a month now. I decided to get out of the wagon and walk some today. I soon regretted it. The dust quickly caked onto my eyelids and face and blew into my nose and mouth. I just noticed a hole in my shoe, maybe from all my walking. Isaiah Twogood, the leader of our caravan, decided to take a quicker, but more dangerous route along the edge of a bluff. We ran into a small group of Indians and traded a bit. My pa was nervous and kept his gun at hand. After a short while, the Indians moved on. We have been walking for hours and I have gotten quite hungry, but Isaiah said we must move for another hour. So here I am, walking amidst horses and mules. The stench of clothes that haven't been washed for days is overpowering. The clamor of men's voices occasionally increases to try to keep everything in order. The canvas covers of the wagons rustle as we come to a stop. Finally, we can eat.

Kasady Smith, Age 13, 7th Grade

As my good friend and I were traveling through the mountains, I could smell the dirt that the horses kicked up as they walked. The wheels on the wagons were loud and

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TRINIDAD LOPEZ, COLLEGE BOY ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by Doyle Daves

[Doyle Daves has been writing about Anglo-American traders who married Hispanic women in New Mexico. During that research, funded in part by a grant from SFTA, he gathered information about Trinidad Lopez for another good story connected to the Trail.]

TRINIDAD Lopez was an interesting and unusual figure in nineteenth-century New Mexican history. He traveled the Santa Trail from New Mexico to Missouri where he received an education that made him fluent in both Spanish and English. He returned to New Mexico where he served as a military officer with the New Mexico Volunteers at Fort Union and elsewhere during the Civil War. After leaving military service, Trinidad was a lawyer, law enforcement officer, and farmer.¹

Trinidad Lopez, Son and Grandson of Early Nineteenth-Century Spanish Immigrants.

Lorenzo Lopez, Trinidad's grandfather, was a Spanish government official who, about 1800, was as-

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PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

ONE of the better things about the month of January is that it gives us a chance to reflect on the past year, and look forward to and make plans for a new year. 2010 has arrived and with it a flurry of activity along the Santa Fe Trail. Chapters are busy planning their yearly activities, plans are being made for the Rendezvous, which is scheduled for September 16-19, and the Association is busy planning meetings and activities as well. From correspondence I've received, 2010 looks like it will be another successful year along the Trail.

To help our chapters, SFTA has received funding through our cooperative agreement with the NPS to provide our chapters with "educational grants" in the amount of \$500 per chapter. These grants are designed to help chapters "educate" the public about their chapter and the Santa Fe Trail. So far, four grants have been approved and those include the Missouri River Outfitters and Quivira chapters for the printing of an auto-tour brochure covering their chapter area. The Cottonwood Crossing Chapter was approved for a 2-part project. Part 1 will be to create a tri-fold brochure that has a rather detailed map of the SFT in Marion County, showing its location and any existing visible remnants of the SFT, along with brief background information on the historic significance of the SFT, with chapter/national contact information. The brochure will be used to educate the County Planning/Zoning Commission, NRCS, FSA, Conservation District, Extension Office, County Road and Bridge Dept., County Mapping Dept., and utility companies about the SFT and encourage them to include the SFTA in evaluation of any projects or proposed land-use changes. These agencies can then pass them along to applicants/clients. Part 2 will be to create a tri-fold brochure about the chapter with membership information. The End of the Trail Chapter has been approved to create a membership recruitment brochure. Other chapters are discussing ideas on how to use these funds to educate others about the Trail in their areas. Be sure to check out the chapter area in this publication for more information on the chapters and their up-

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VISIT SFTA ON THE INTERNET

<<http://www.santafetrail.org>>

coming activities. And don't forget, you don't have to live in a chapter's area to belong to it!

In 2009 SFTA formed the "2021 Task Force," with the goal to evaluate three very important areas of SFTA: SFTA Education, the SFTA web site, and Publications & Media of the SFTA, which includes our quarterly publication *Wagon Tracks*. The first workshop focused on education and was held January 31, 2009, in Santa Fe, NM. The basic goals of the education workshop were to have a draft of three recommendations: (1) What should an effective educational program for the SFTA consist of as well as what age groups should we focus on and how should those programs differ? (2) What is the future of educational communications with SFTA membership, short term and long term? (3) How can we improve our Internet education capability for members and the general public?

A great deal of discussion was given to SFTA and its educational outreach. What do we mean by educational outreach? What do we do now? How might we change? What changes in the delivery of "education" in the future do we need to anticipate? How do we promote new research on the SFT? What is the realistic picture at the secondary/primary level? Are there "alternate-educational" venues we might explore?

Also given a great deal of discussion was the use of the Internet for educational purposes. Discussions centered around what is out there

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Membership Categories

Life	\$1,000
Patron	\$100/year
Business	\$50/year
Nonprofit Institution	\$40/year
Family	\$30/year
Individual	\$25/year
Youth (18 & under)	\$15/year

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from the technical perspective? From the participants view, what has proven to be most successful and what doesn't seem to work? Considering SFTA print publications as an educational tool, what works and what doesn't, and what do we see in the future for publications?

SFTA "partnering" was reviewed, especially our relationship with the National Park Service and the benefits we receive from that. There were also discussions about partnering with museums, libraries, historical sites, etc. along the Trail.

A closing discussion was held on the realities of change, especially with the future of education. How does change happen in the SFTA? Who is going to pay for changes if needed? Special appeals, NPS funding, dues increase? How do our members feel about such changes?

The second session of the 2021 Task Force was held April 30, 2009, in Las Vegas, NM, and focused on the SFTA web site and the use of the Internet by the Association for various topics, such as communication, education, networking, research, promotion, preservation of the Trail, etc. The goal of this discussion was to recommend revisions, updates, and/or changes that could be made to the SFTA web site, building upon recommendations made by the SFTA 2021 Education Task Force, which met in Santa Fe on January 31, 2009. Discussion was guided by the "Web Site Policy" of the SFTA as adopted at the March 28, 2007, meeting of the SFTA Board.

This group first identified those being served by the web site as (1) the SFTA membership, (2) the general public looking for information on the Santa Fe Trail, the Santa Fe National Historic Trail, and the Santa Fe Trail Association, and (3) anyone conducting personal research on the history and heritage of the Santa Fe Trail. It then broke down its considerations into three categories for purposes of discussion: the content of the web site, the design of the web site, and who would be responsible for developing web site material related to any changes or modifications identified by the

YOUR MEMORY CAN LIVE ON
REMEMBER THE SANTA FE TRAIL
ASSOCIATION IN YOUR WILL

group.

The last meeting of the 2021 Task Force will focus on media and publications of the SFTA and is scheduled for Jan. 30, 2010, in Larned, KS. In general, our discussion will focus on what should be the "face" of the SFTA through its publications/media? Who are we trying to reach? What information about the Association and the Trail should we realistically be providing? How should we be providing it? What future do we envision for *Wagon Tracks*? Should we contemplate changes in *Wagon Tracks*' format, coverage, message, etc.? If so, what are some options? How will it be edited, by whom, and in what form? In connection with the discussion on *Wagon Tracks*, how is its future impacted by advances in technology - especially in relation to our web site and other opportunities for Internet communication? We will also consider how print media such as *Wagon Tracks* is being challenged by other communication technologies and whether we need to make adjustments or changes in our contacts with SFTA members and the general public with an interest in the Trail. In addition, in 2011 the SFTA will commemorate its 25th anniversary. How might we start planning now to recognize that anniversary though SFTA publications and other media?

After the completion of this meeting, a report will be developed and recommendations will be made and presented at our next scheduled board of directors meeting. That meeting is scheduled, along with chapter and committee workshops, for April 16-18. We will be meeting in Elkhart, KS, and our host for the meeting will be the Cimarron Cutoff Chapter. Our next general membership meeting will be scheduled during the Rendezvous, so be sure to mark your calendars now for September 16-19.

—Joanne VanCoevern

MANAGER'S COLUMN

I thank you all for your good wishes and thoughts during my recovery from bypass surgery. I went into the hospital on January 6 and am recovering well. I will be back out on the road shortly.

We have heard from several chapters on what they would like to do

with the \$500.00 SFTA-NPS Educational Grants. This is a good opportunity to do a project within your chapter and perhaps to cooperate with others in your area. Send those proposals to either me or Joanne and we will get you started on your project just as soon as we can.

Please continue to look at your chapter page on the web site <www.santafetrail.org>. Send me your changes, corrections, additions, or whatever you want changed. We will continue to work on the site bit by bit and continually improve it.

And thank you all for all of your wonderful work for the Santa Fe Trail in 2009. This year will be even better yet!

—Harry C. Myers

ETHEL ARMSTRONG

Ethel Armstrong, a charter and life member of SFTA, died recently at the nursing home where she resided in Arizona. She and her late husband, Aaron, were very active members of SFTA during its early years. They traveled the entire Trail and presented programs about its rich history. Ethel was a strong supporter of SFTA to the end. She became a life member when she was more than 80 years old. We have lost another great friend of the Trail and SFTA.

PARTNERSHIP FOR NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM REPORT

by Ross Marshall

[Former SFTA President and SFTA Ambassador Marshall is SFTA representative to and president of the PNTS.]

FY10 Appropriations — No increase in funding was received this past fall from Congress, but after the two appropriations increases in FY08 and FY09 of over \$200,000, no problem.

FY11 Appropriations — Shirley and I will be presenting our requests to Congress combined with those of the other 30 National Scenic and Historic Trails during Trails Advocacy Week in Washington, D.C. the week of February 22. We have always been well received there.

Volunteer hours and \$ donations — Thanks to all chapters and leaders who send me their volunteer hours and donations each year. Congress is

very appreciative of our annual report combined with the other PNTS trail organizations. Our SFTA dollar value is over \$1 million each year. Very impressive!

12th Long Distance Trails Conference in Missoula, Montana –

An extremely attractive venue plus exciting programming was enjoyed by all attendees of this national conference sponsored by the Partnership July 11-15. The theme of the conference was “Gearing up for the Decade of the National Trails: Outreach, Protection, Capacity” as expressed in our three Decade Goals.

We had a record registration even without the group of 32 youth/young adults (ages 18-25) that attended with their own indoor sessions and outdoor trail building and preservation activities as part of a Youth Initiative Program.

This group has formed a Youth Council and will likely be represented in the Partnership’s Leadership Council. Pretty exciting stuff!

The Decade for the National Trails – SFTA has contributed ideas for action plans for the Decade Goals for National Trails which are Outreach, Protection, and organizational Capacity. All the ideas have been finalized and when approved by the Board in WDC will be publicized in my next report.

2010 National Historic Trails Workshop – Plans are being finalized for a workshop this year in San Antonio on May 12-14 dealing with trail preservation issues that were raised in both the 2008 workshop in Phoenix and the 2009 NHT Caucus held in Missoula.

Again, my thanks to SFTA for being a key member of the Partnership for the National Trails System and for our relationship with our friends at the National Park Service.

CATCH UP! CATCH UP!

—New Technologies—

by Rod Podszus

[SFTA member Rod Podszus, Colorado Springs, generously writes this regular column. If you have questions about anything he writes, please contact him at <rodpodszus@gmail.com.>]

IN my last column, I asked these questions: how can we make technology be a useful tool for us instead of

just confounding or befuddling us? And, how can we use new technologies to help us further the goals of the SFTA which include “preserving, exploring, educating, and celebrating the Trail’s nearly two centuries of existence on America’s landscape”? In this column, I will focus on Facebook and show how it can help SFTA and the local chapters achieve these goals.

To understand Facebook and put it in its proper context, we first need to consider the relatively new phenomenon called *social media*. Traditional media (books, magazines, newspapers, radio, television, etc.) are vertical one-way disseminators of information. One voice speaks, many people listen. To participate in the media requires vast resources to purchase printing presses, television stations, or government-issued licenses. A relatively few sources dictate what will be broadcast, printed, or spoken.

By contrast, social media (e-mail, blogs, Snapfish, Twitter, LinkedIn, Facebook, etc.) disseminate information horizontally. One observer of this media has called this process the “democratization of knowledge and information, transforming people from content consumers to content producers.” Suddenly every one of us can become a researcher, writer, and a publisher. We can blog, e-mail, and upload photos at will and at little or no expense. Many observers believe that the impact of this new media will be as significant as was the development of the printing press.

Today Facebook is the best-known social media networking site in the world. It began in February 2004 when Mark Zuckerberg, a sophomore at Harvard University, created an Internet site where fellow students could create their own “profiles” by uploading current photos and personal information such as hometown, likes, dislikes, interests, favorite movies and books, etc. The concept was an instant hit. Within 24 hours, over 1,000 Harvard students had created their individual profiles. Within two weeks, half the student body was signed up. Within a month, colleges and universities were clamoring for their own sites. By March, Stanford, Columbia, and Yale had their own Facebook sites. By December, over one million users

had signed up.

Today Facebook has over 350 million users worldwide. The site has grown much beyond its original vision of providing social contact information for students. Now, it is also used as a networking, promotion, and advertising site by businesses and associations (including the traditional media, who have created their own unique pages). The historical societies of Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico all have Facebook pages. Probably your local newspaper, TV and radio stations, school district, and city and county governments do as well.

So, back to the original question: what can Facebook do for SFTA and your chapter? Let’s consider your individual chapter first. How do you promote it? How do people find you? How do you get new members? How do you retain these members? How do you promote future events, share photos of past events, and provide a forum for your members to share ideas, suggestions, and such? How do you educate your members by suggesting trail-related books and web sites to visit? How are you networking with similar organizations in your area? Facebook can help you with these activities by creating a special “group” for you.

Here’s how you do it. First, someone in your chapter needs to take responsibility for this project and sign up for Facebook. If you haven’t done so, go to facebook.com and do it now. Enter the information it asks for and have fun with it. You’ll be asked to give your name and (for security purposes) your birth date. You’ll also be given the opportunity to share personal information such as schools attended, former jobs, hobbies, favorite books, movies, interests, children, associations and networks you belong to, etc. You can put down as little or as much as you wish. What you’re doing is creating your own special “profile” on Facebook. (Note: Profiles, Groups, and Pages all mean different things on Facebook. Read on.)

Once you’ve put down as much as you want, you can then create special “groups” within your profile. Click on the little people icon at the bottom left area of your page and a Groups menu will pop up. It will have an area in the upper right that says

“Create a New Group.” Click on it and another menu pops up that lets you create a group for your chapter. (Caution: the first thing you’re asked to do is put down the name of the group. Once you name it, you can’t change it so really think about the name you want. Instead of just putting down something like Cottonwood Crossing which is a pretty generic name, you might want to put down Cottonwood Crossing Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association. The better your name, the easier it is for other Facebook members and groups to find you. The more information you give, the more you get back.)

Next, you will be asked to add a description of the group, contact information, etc. Now comes the fun part! You can customize your group by uploading photos, adding links to other Internet sites, creating events, and inviting all your friends to join. You can begin posting information, asking for volunteer help, and just putting fun things down. Joanne VanCoevern, President of SFTA, likes to put down This Day in History tidbits. Other users like to post links to web sites they like or even YouTube videos that are related. What you’ve just done is create a (free) web site presence for your chapter on the most popular social networking site in the world. You’ve given your chapter a presence and an image it never had before. You’ve made it possible for friends and friends of friends to connect with your group, learn more about it, and even join it. Isn’t technology great!

There’s a second way to promote your chapter by creating a “page” within your profile. Groups and pages are similar and mostly just organize information differently. We won’t discuss the differences here as there is plenty of online help available on the Facebook site. Whether you pick a group or a page, you will have all kinds of security and privacy options for your site. You can give or deny privileges to add or delete content, post photos, etc. You can give multiple people administrative rights to work on the site. Unlike traditional web sites that require special knowledge and skills to maintain, your Facebook site can be completely maintained by you.

A third way that a presence can be

created on Facebook is to create a business/association profile. This is probably not a good choice for your individual chapter but it would be an excellent choice for SFTA. Here’s why. SFTA could create a Facebook profile, complete with photos, links, event calendar, etc. This profile would be a contemporary up-to-date image of SFTA for the world to see and visit . . . and find. It would be easy to update and maintain. Then, individual pages or groups could be created for each chapter, adding photos, events, etc. for that chapter. Each chapter could be given administrative rights to the site and take responsibility for keeping its information current.

You might ask: why does SFTA need a Facebook page if it already has a web site? One answer is connections: 350 million potential Facebook members vs. the handful who have found the SFTA web site. Remember, Facebook searches by content and interests as well as by names. If you were to enter Santa Fe Trail into the Facebook search box today, the only group you would find is the Bent’s Fort Chapter group. There is nothing to find about the national organization except for the link to it at the Bent’s Fort Chapter site. So, if we want to grow our association, let’s at least give those 350 million Facebook users a way to find us. A second answer is relevance. We need to constantly update our image, showing the world that we are a contemporary, functioning entity eager to embrace new ideas and ways of connecting. Our feet may be standing in the ruts but our heads are up in hyperspace! Last, we need to appeal to the younger generation. They are avid users of these new technologies and we need to show them that we are a compelling group for them to join.

To learn more about Facebook and how to create your profile, groups, etc., I highly recommend that you buy *Facebook for Dummies*, 2010 edition, by Leah Pearlman and Carolyn Abram. Both authors were early Facebook converts and now work for Facebook. They give clear step-by-step directions on every step of the process you will go through to create your site.

And what is Mr. Zuckerman up to these days? Well, he’s moved the

company to Palo Alto, CA, and now employs over 1,000 people. Recently, Yahoo offered him one billion dollars for the company. He declined.

DONOR HONOR ROLL

MANY members have responded to various pleas for additional donations to assist SFTA with its many projects. Special thanks is extended to the following for recent donations (if we have missed anyone, we apologize and request that you remind us).

Larry & Barbara Black
 Roberta L. Bonnewitz
 Kent H. Borges & Stephanie Dicenso
 Jeff Bransford
 Bill & Susan Bunyan
 Charlotta Burton
 Joe & Donna Butcher
 Bradley Creed
 Carlton & Marketta Damonte
 Linda M. Davis
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 Martha Mitchell
 Ted & Dorothy Morgan
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 Bob & Francis Schoeller
 Stan & Pat Seidel
 Ken Skirtz
 Clinton & Delaine Stalker
 Esther Stephenson
 Van Dyk Insurance Agency, Inc.
 Stephen & Mary Whitmore
 Garth & De Ann Wilson

Special thanks to Alice Anne Thompson, Golden CO, for donating a copy of the Joseph C. Brown survey map from the official government survey, 1825-1827, in memory of the late Paul F. Bentrup. Dr. Thompson will have this historic map framed for permanent display at the Santa Fe Trail Center at Larned.

DON'T FORGET THE BOONSLICK IN THE RUSH TO SANTA FE: HICKS FAMILY OF CENTRAL MISSOURI

PART II by Maryellen H. McVicker

[This concludes Dr. McVicker's article, continued from the last issue.]

ON November 5, 1824, the family held a private sale. James E. Fenton, Young E. Hicks, Daniel McSwain, Joseph Fountain, and Silas Riggs were the only purchasers. James Fenton had married Susan Hicks on November 30, 1820, in Howard County, Missouri. Joseph Fountain married Hannah Hicks on March 12, 1812, in Christian County, Kentucky, and Silas Riggs married Sally (nicknamed Sary) Hicks on March 18, 1819, in Howard County, Missouri, so the three were sons-in-law of Absalom Hicks. Young E. Hicks was a son, and McSwain was Young's brother-in-law. Now flush with funds, the estate paid Hybert Brink for mending one check reel, the pit in one crank wheel, one head on a little spool, two big wheel whirls, and an additional \$3 for making a coffin, presumably for Absalom Hicks. More bills piled in as 1825 rolled around and the estate paid \$4.50 to Daniel Blue for making shingles and then 37.5 cents to Peter Stice for planks for a coffin, again presumably for Absalom. The shingles were probably the 4,800 sold the previous year to Elizabeth Hicks in the estate sale. In 1825 Hybert Brink and Hardemann Stone were paid for two scholars, so evidently Uncle James Hicks was no longer teaching the family children and one child must have quit schooling. The estate also paid stud fees for one mare and Elizabeth stated that her late husband, Absalom, had \$55.87 in cash when he died. She does not state what she did with the money. The November 9, 1826, local newspaper says the estate is now settled as much as possible for Absalom Hicks in his will gave all the household items to Elizabeth with the provision of who was to inherit them once she died. Nobody thought about the fact she would live for many more years. Again on February 22, 1828, settlement of the estate was advertised in the newspaper.¹⁶ In 1829 Young Ewing Hicks paid the tuition for James Madison Hicks, Willis Hicks, and Jenette Hicks, so three of the family were back in school.

When did the family get involved



Elizabeth Hicks

in the Santa Fe Trail? What made them decide to head west? Where did they get the money? The answer to all these questions obviously revolves around Young Ewing Hicks, who appears to be the family member who did the traveling. Public notices in newspapers from 1826 announce a letter for him at the Columbia, Missouri, post office. There are also announcements in 1829 and 1835. He was gone to Santa Fe at those times, so perhaps 1826 is his first trip west?¹⁷ By 1826 Young E. Hicks was a justice of the peace for the county. That fall his cousin, Absalom Hicks, Junior, died. Absalom was the son of James D. Hicks and Sarah Davis Hicks and was called Junior in many legal records to differentiate him from his uncle who was Young's father, Absalom Hicks. At this time period, the terms senior and junior often were used to differentiate age differences in family members, not father-son relationships. Absalom Junior had married Theodosia Winn on December 20, 1821. In five years the couple had two children (James and Sarah, nicknamed Sally). No evidence exists to show what killed this young man, but he also made a will on his death bed which was admitted to court on October 9, 1826, appointing the widow, Theodosia, and Cousin Young Ewing Hicks as the executors. Both renounced all rights to administer the estate and Elijah Winn,

Theodosia's father, took over as executor. This Absalom Hicks Junior and Theodosia Winn Hicks had a farm made up of land purchased from the farm of Elijah Winn and Reverend Daniel McSwain. Two estates within two years with men of the same name with property and interconnected land and money is enough to give even the most dedicated researcher a migraine. Why did Young turn down the job? He certainly had experience with estates and he was a justice of the peace with practical experience. Perhaps he turned it down because he wasn't in Boone County much of the time. Maybe he was gone on the Santa Fe Trail.¹⁸ Young Ewing Hicks would have had money from his father's estate to purchase items to sell.

Certainly he was traveling to Santa Fe by 1828, as told by a story in the *Bench and Bar of Boone County, MO* by North Todd Gentry: "About 1828, Young E. Hicks and Richard Gentry, the former a county judge and the latter a justice of the peace, left Columbia in company with Amos Marney and others, to engage in the Santa Fe trade. As they neared Rocheport, they met a couple of young people on horseback and evidently in great haste. Inquiry developed that they were running away to Boonville to be married. Justice Gentry was outside of his township, so he feared he did not have jurisdiction but Judge Hicks knew he did have jurisdiction so he performed the ceremony, all parties being on the old state road. Judge Hicks was seated in his wagon, the bride and groom were on the same horse."¹⁹

Young E. Hicks had been elected a county judge in 1827. Hicks and Marney were to be business partners for several years. On October 12, 1830, a Mexican passport was issued to "the citizen of the United States of North America Young E. Hicks and his servants, Patricio Ryder, Juan Reynolds, and Santiago Callahan to enter the state of Chihuahua and Sonora on commercial business."²⁰ The passport was issued at Santa Fe.

The Santa Fe trade must have been lucrative because on May 8, 1830, Young E. Hicks bought out his sister, Sally Hicks Riggs and her

husband, Silas, in their share of the estate of their father, Absalom Hicks. Six years had now passed since the father had died and mother was going strong. Slaves, the family farm, and household items were not to be divided until Elizabeth died. Perhaps Sally needed money. Maybe Young got tired of trying to keep all the bookwork required. For whatever reason, Young paid them \$100.00. Included in the sale was the Riggs' interest in one adult male slave, one adult female slave, and two young male slaves.²¹ Young E. also bought the share of Absalom's estate held by his oldest sister, Hannah Hicks Fountain, and her husband, Joseph. Eventually he purchased the interest of all his other sisters as well. There had to be money flowing into the coffers to buy out six sisters.²² However, he did not buy out his two brothers. Absalom Hicks had specified in his will that Young was to receive 159 acres of land and "the next negro child that should be born to my negro family during the life of my wife, if any . . . and if there should be an increase in my negro so that my son Young E. Hicks gets the negro that has been before mentioned then I want all the property left in my wife's hand at the expiration of the widowhood to be equally divided among my daughters."²³ He also ordered that enough money be taken out of the estate to purchase 160 acres (a quarter section) of land for his second son, James Madison Hicks, whom the family called Mattison, plus a slave boy named London, a horse, saddle, bridle, one bed and furniture, two cows and calves. On February 1, 1830, Mattison married Tabitha Brink and Elizabeth and Young paid him as per the will. On May 17, 1827, a brother named Willis Hicks married Elizabeth Foster. Willis was left 160 acres already purchased by his father, a slave boy named William, one horse, saddle, bridle, two cows and calves, plus one bed and furniture. Nothing needed to be purchased or recorded at the county courthouse for Willis. It was already within the family. The sisters also received slaves as part of the estate and no doubt furniture as well. Those unmarried at the time Absalom died were given furniture in the will. Many Southern parents

gave slaves as wedding presents to their children when they married and also furniture. When Absalom died four of his nine children were already married. Probate records show that the married daughters (Hannah, Sally, and Susan) had already received their slaves at the time of the death of Absalom. The younger sisters (Eliza, Martha (Patsy), and Jenette R.) also received their furniture and slaves when they married, plus a horse, saddle, bridle, and two cows and calves just like the boys. Probably the four already married had received the same thing at their weddings. By buying out his sisters, Young simplified the estate down to himself as the other two brothers received their portion when they married and came of age. It seemed like a good idea. It turned out to be a nightmare because Young E. Hicks died before his mother.

Along with the family estate matters and other business concerns, Young Ewing Hicks became a business partner of Amos Marney. They located their business west of Hallsville, Missouri, in the center of Boone County and continued the yearly trek to Santa Fe. Hicks and Marney also loaned money to other traders or people in need of cash. The May 1, 1834, *Missouri Intelligencer* ran a public notice: "Notice is hereby given that a promissory note executed by me to Young E. Hix for about the sum of \$3,344 given in December 1832 is paid off by me. I paid Amos Marney \$3000 at Chihuahua and to Archibald Stevenson the agent of Marney and Hix about the sum of \$344. I, by my agent, have demanded the note since it was paid off by me and the said Hix, and Marney & Hix, refuse to deliver it up to me. This herefore, to forewarn all person from receiving said note by assignment or otherwise. Solomon Houck."²⁴

Amos Marney had lived in Christian County, Kentucky, also. He married Fancy Flint there on November 21, 1816. Like the Hicks family, the Marneys had come west to the Boonslick.²⁵ The families were not only business partners, they intermarried for several generations. For example, Young's son, Absalom, married Elizabeth Marney on November 16, 1843, in Boone County. During the Gold Rush, Amos went to California with his son, Amos Mar-

ney, Junior, and others from Boone County. The son died there, but Amos returned. In 1854 Amos Marney endorsed Whig candidate James S. Rollins for the Missouri General Assembly.²⁶

In 1834 the firm faced a court case. According to Jacob U. Payne, Archibald Stephenson (Stevenson), who was an agent of Hicks and Marney, sold 160 acres of land, two horses, six cattle, two cows with calves, and two heifers to Austin A. King. However, Stevenson had used this land and livestock as collateral for a loan he had with Jacob U. Payne for \$1,000 and also he borrowed \$400.13 from Payne with the promise he would pay it back plus 10% interest in six months from the date of April 27, 1831. If he did not make a payment, Payne would recover the land and could sell it for the payment. Six months came and went. A year came and went. Two years came and went. Payne got tired of waiting for his money and went to court asking not only for the loan repayment plus interest but also court costs. Now the situation gets sticky. Evidently, the land was sold to Stephenson by Joseph Brown sometime in 1825. Brown was a prominent Boone County citizen who had a town called Brown's Station named after him. Brown acquired it from Joseph Fountain who had acquired it as a land grant using collateral from the estate of his father-in-law, Absalom Hicks, from the federal government when John Quincy Adams was president. Joseph and Hannah Hicks Fountain paid \$166.80 for the property in early 1825, a year after her father died. Young E. Hicks bought out the share of the Absalom Hicks estate from his sister, Hannah Hicks Fountain, and evidently this land was part of the buy out. The land was sold to Joseph Brown who then almost immediately sold to Young's business agent, Archibald Stevenson. Now Stevenson had sold the land to Austin A. King. To settle Jacob U. Payne's loan, on June 29, 1833, the land was sold at public auction and the business firm, Hicks and Marney, purchased it back at the sale. However, Stevenson did not pay off the loan to Payne with the money acquired from the sale. How he got the money is not stated, but the clear implication is that his

bosses gave the money to him and he pocketed it. This so angered Payne that he sued everybody, including his former lawyer, Austin A. King. On March 8, 1834, Boone County Circuit Judge David Todd (uncle of future First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln) ordered Young E. Hicks and Amos Marney to appear in Columbia in court on June 4, 1834. Young E. Hicks hurried to hire Abiel Leonard, the foremost lawyer in the Boonslick.²⁷ Interestingly, all the signatures of Amos Marney are followed with "by Young E. Hicks," so Marney must have been out on the Santa Fe Trail at this spring time of year (perhaps giving Hicks power of attorney to sign for him). Leonard's papers do not record how the suit was resolved, but deeds in the Recorder Office at Boone County show that on June 1, 1835, Young E. Hicks sold to Amos Marney the northeast forty acres of the disputed 160 acres tract of land for \$175 with the notation that it was to be held in trust of the benefit of I. M. Payne (relationship, if any, to Jacob U. Payne not noted).²⁸

Leonard must have been satisfied with his payment for the case and Young Hicks must have as well because in 1839 he hired Abiel Leonard again to sue William Raymond and John M. McGee. On January 1, 1838, Raymond and McGee had hired slaves from Young E. Hicks and now there were payment problems. The document in the Leonard file sounds like Hicks was not going to be in Boone County and hired Leonard to take care of the problem in his absence, presumably while he was in Santa Fe.²⁹ Matt Field reported meeting "Hick & Barney [Marney]" on the Trail in 1839. A St. Louis newspaper, the *Missouri Argus*, announced July 9, 1840, that "Boone County Santa Fe traders have arrived in Independence with 30 wagons from the company of Hicks and Marney."³⁰

Young E. Hicks had disposable income and could make donations as well. In 1839 there was a contest to choose the location for the state university. The county and town that raised the most money would get the institution. The serious contenders were all in central Missouri, specifically Fayette in Howard County which already had a college and in Callaway County to the east of

Boone County. Boone County had a population of less than 14,000 persons at that time. A committee was formed to canvas the county and secure pledges for the fund drive. Young E. Hicks pledged and then donated \$500.00. Sister and brother-in-law, Sally Hicks Riggs and Silas Riggs, gave \$100.00. Young's nephew, Caleb Fenton, also gave \$100.00. Joseph and Hannah Hicks Fountain gave \$10. Lots of other Boone County residents did the same and the University of Missouri came to Columbia. The land which the committee of five had selected and saved for a university when they selected the site of the county seat was too small for a major university and part of it had already been used as a cemetery. In 2009 that land is still in use as the Columbia Cemetery on West Broadway and a section of the cemetery in the front cannot have burials as per the agreement of the early 1820s in case another institute of higher education wants to locate there.³¹ The committee was thinking ahead of the times in 1821 when they set up the county seat.

Like Amos Marney, Young E. Hicks became involved in politics in his later life. He was a delegate representing Boone County at the Whig Convention held in Rocheport in 1844, where one of the speakers was a young politician from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln.³² Later that summer Hicks was a delegate to the St. Louis Whig Convention.³³ In 1848 he was also a delegate to the Whig State Convention.³⁴

Along with his business interests in Santa Fe and his political activity, Young E. Hicks and his immediate family also bought and sold Boone County land. Thirty-two transactions are recorded between 1823 and 1851 when his estate was evidently finally settled. Most of the transactions are to family members and some were gifts to his children. Regardless of the intent, they show a man involved in real estate.³⁵

In late fall of 1846 his daughter, Susan E. Hicks, married William W. Stone.³⁶ This happy event helped offset the problem with his sister, Martha (Patsy) Hicks Winn. She married John B. Winn, Junior, in 1832, and in 1835 the couple was given her share of her father's estate. Unfortunately, the marriage fell apart. John

was a teacher at least part of the time; in 1832 he was paid to teach the minor children, Sarah and James Hicks, of Absalom Hicks Junior and Theodosia Winn Hicks, who had now married Washington Wills. Eventually John became a farmer as well as an educator.³⁷

In 1842 John had a real problem. He had both a wife and a pregnant mistress. This certainly is not the first *ménage à trois* as the French termed it, but it was a crisis. A divorce followed, and an irritated Patsy moved home to momma. On February 28, 1842, 19-year-old Permelia Gentry gave birth to a son named John William Winn, and on March 8, 1842, she married the father, John Winn. Permelia Gentry was 10 years younger than he and maybe one of his students. Martha (Patsy) is listed in the 1850 census. In the same census, John B. Winn is listed as living with his wife, Permelia, a 17-year-old son, Willis (son of Martha [Patsy]), and another 7-year-old named John. It must have been a nasty divorce although no records could be found to substantiate this. Likely the divorce required a decree from the Missouri State Legislature. Martha (Patsy) is listed in both the 1850 and the 1860 census, so she lived at least 20 more years after John married Permelia.³⁸ Willis is listed in his father's will when John B. Winn died in 1888. Feeling angry and betrayed, Martha (Patsy) even changed her name back to Hicks.³⁹ This certainly added to the household of Elizabeth Hicks, who was now in her 80s and, no doubt, Young E. Hicks was involved in caring for all these people.

Tragedy had also struck the household of Young Ewing Hicks. The *Columbia Statesman*, June 27, 1845, reported: "DEATHS: Died at the residence of her father, 12 miles North of Columbia, on Sunday the 15th inst., Miss ELIZABETH, youngest daughter of Young E. and Margaret Hicks, aged 17 years." A lengthy eulogy followed.⁴⁰

Her father, Young Hicks, may have been on the road to New Mexico at the time. In July 1845 "Mr. Hicks" was captain of a trade caravan comprised of 27 wagons that left from Council Grove and traveled via Bent's Fort to Santa Fe, some going on as far as Chihuahua. Hicks, in

company with six other men, arrived back in Independence on February 3, 1846, having left Chihuahua on December 1, 1845, and departing from Santa Fe on January 1, 1846.⁴¹

Young Ewing Hicks died of unknown causes on August 24, 1849, at the age of 47.⁴² He had lived an average life expectancy for ante-bellum America. The family buried him in the local cemetery near his father. No doubt his mother experienced many emotions as she stood by his grave. On November 6, 1842, Susan Hicks Fenton had died, so this was the second of her nine children to be buried as well as her husband and grandchildren.

Earlier in the summer Elizabeth had also stood by the grave of her son-in-law, Joseph Fountain, who died July 22, 1849. He was buried in the front yard of his farm about four miles to the northeast of the family cemetery. His tombstone states "He died in peace with all mankind." The estate of Joseph Fountain has been used in scholarly journals as an example of a typical slave-holding family and their living standards in the antebellum Upland South.⁴³ In his will Joseph Fountain left slaves not even conceived yet as property to other family members. The cause of death is not known but two doctors attended to Joseph Fountain: Dr. James H. Dye and Dr. John McCargo Angell. A bill in the probate records from the local general dry goods store shows that the day before Joseph died Hannah Hicks Fountain went to the store and bought a pair of silk gloves. She also purchased whiskey, sugar and coffee plus a dozen screws and seven yards of fabric which is the right amount for a burial shroud. It was considered sexually suggestive for a woman to shake hands without wearing gloves. Whiskey, coffee, and sugar would be required to feed all the people coming for the funeral and screws were used to screw the coffin lid in place. It was obvious that Joseph was going to die. His coffin was made by Willis Harvey Angell, who was a cabinetmaker and the father of Dr. John McCargo Angell and Lucy Ann Angell Fountain, for a fee of \$3.00.⁴⁴ In 1989 Joseph and Hannah's tombstones were removed to Red Top Christian Church in Hallsville because the cemetery had been destroyed. The

actual bodies were never found.⁴⁵

Earlier in 1849 Elizabeth and Young E. Hicks submitted a slave inventory of Absalom Hick's estate to the Probate Court. Elizabeth had seven slaves and had already given three slaves to daughters as per instructions in the will. With Young's death, left to carry on was his aged mother, his wife Margaret, his five surviving children, and seven siblings. According to oral tradition in the Hulen family of Hallsville, Young Ewing and Margaret McSwain Hicks adopted two abandoned or orphaned American Indian girls and raised them up as their own daughters. They must have been brought back by Young E. Hicks from one of his expeditions. The elder girl they named Theodosia Hicks and when she was 22 she married Absalom (called Abner) R. Hulen. The couple had seven children and in the 1890s was on their way to Indian territory to claim Theodosia's Indian rights when she "took sick and died." Abner and the children settled in Harrison County, Arkansas.⁴⁶

Young's son, James E. Hicks, and his son-in-law, William W. Stone, were appointed executors of the estate. Young E. Hicks died without a will. Under Missouri law, the widow was automatically entitled to 1/3 of the estate and the children were to receive the other 2/3. Evidently the orphaned girls had not been formally adopted as they did not share in the estate. Since there were three living children, Margaret McSwain Hicks elected to take 1/4 so each heir would receive the same amount.⁴⁷ The October 5, 1849, newspaper announced that Young Hick's slave, Sam, had run away and that anybody finding him was to return him to the estate.⁴⁸ The estate was valued at \$7,076.70. Young loaned money to people, he hired slaves and with the money paid to the white owner came clothing for the slave. One rental agreement in his estate shows that he hired a "negro boy named Bartlett" for \$24 for a year and promised to feed him and give him two shirts, two pairs of shoes and socks, pay any doctor bills, provide a cap and blanket. Bartlett was still under contract when Young Hicks died. Another large bill from the local blacksmith shows a family that was con-

stantly having equipment repaired and horses shod. In 1849 alone the bill came to \$20.49.⁴⁹ Then there was his father's estate. His mother, Elizabeth Hicks, was still alive and he had bought out his six sisters. That estate could not be closed until Elizabeth died.

Before that happened, Young's daughter, Susan E. Hicks Stone, died on April 4, 1852, in childbirth with her third child who was named Young Hicks Stone. He died at the age of seven in 1859. Two weeks after the death of Susan, her daughter, Lizzie Stone, died at the age of three. Perhaps Susan was already ill when she had her baby. They were all buried next to Young E. Hicks.⁵⁰ and Elizabeth Hicks paid still more visits to the cemetery to bury a grandchild and great-grandchildren. Young's son, James E. Hicks, went to California in April 1850 as part of the Gold Rush, along with the Marney men.⁵¹ James returned to Boone County in 1851.⁵² On April 3, 1855, he married Elizabeth Keen of Audrain County, Missouri, daughter of James Keen. He became involved in a plan to bring a railroad to Sturgeon in northern Boone County.⁵³ He appears to have been a man of much vision and not much common sense. He invested his own money and his money from Young's estate and evidently that of his brother, Absalom Hicks, as well as others. The depot did not work and in 1861 his farm was sold to pay the debts and eight slaves belonging to Absalom Hicks were also sold and the money given to James A. Marney.⁵⁴ The sale of property belonging to James E. Hicks went to pay off a loan to Pre-witt & Price which is still a bank in operation in the Boonslick in 2009, only today it is called Boone County Bank.⁵⁵ James solved his financial dilemma and social embarrassment by moving the entire family to California, including his widowed mother, Margaret McSwain Hicks. They left Sturgeon on May 17, 1861, when the *Missouri Statesman* reported that "A company of Thomas B. Bond, James M. Keen [father-in-law to James E. Hicks], James E. Hicks and family, W. W. Stone and family [widower of Susan E. Hicks Stone], B. T. Rockford, and others left Sturgeon last week for California."⁵⁶ Margaret McSwain lived to be

83 and died in April 1885 at the residence of her granddaughter, Kate Hicks Neely, in Healdsburg, Sonoma County, California. Her short obituary states that she was the sister of the late Daniel McSwain who was a pioneer preacher of the Merced River settlements in Sonoma County, so her brother ended up in California as well.⁵⁷ Already living in California before the 1861 family migration was Willis Hicks, brother to Young Ewing Hicks, who had moved there by 1851. According to census records James E. Hicks moved next door. Within six months after they left Missouri, Elizabeth Hicks succumbed as well. She died on October 30, 1861, from cancer in her left hand.⁵⁸ She was 88 years old. She had seen much change in her lifetime.

The third child of Young E. and Margaret McSwain Hicks was named Absalom Hicks after his paternal grandfather. He served in the Missouri State Legislature in the 1850s⁵⁹ and in 1853 was listed as a judge at the Boone County Fair. He gave the commencement address for the University of Missouri in 1852. In 1857 he won a prize at the fair for his exhibit. During the Civil War he sided with the Confederacy and convinced his uncle, James Madison "Mattison" Hicks, to enlist. Mattison was promptly captured by Union forces and sent to the infamous Myrtle Street Federal prison in St. Louis where he died on May 22, 1862.⁶⁰ His body was returned to the family cemetery and buried next to his brother, Young E. Hicks, and his parents, Absalom and Elizabeth Hicks.⁶¹ After the war, this Absalom Hicks moved to Texas because conditions in Missouri were not conducive to former Confederates.⁶²

In August 1862 the estate of Absalom Hicks, who died in 1824, was still in probate. His widow, Elizabeth, was now dead. His sons James Madison and Young Ewing were dead. His daughter Susan Hicks Fenton was dead. The two sons, James Madison (Mattison) and Willis, had received their part of the estate. Since Young Ewing Hicks had bought out his six sisters, he was the only heir left to the estate. But he had died without a will and so his estate was probated by Missouri state law. His widow, Margaret McSwain,

elected to share equally with her three children. The only problem was that one of the children, Susan E. Hicks Stone, was also dead and her ¼ of the estate would go to her only surviving child, Catherine Stone. Then there was the financial problems of James E. Hicks, son of Young E. He sold to Eli Bass his part of Absalom's estate before he moved to California. The widowed Margaret McSwain Hicks gave her slaves and interest in Absalom Hicks's estate to her son, Absalom Hicks, and that was sold at the same sale where James's property was auctioned and William Simmons bought the slaves and any remaining interest in the 1824 Absalom Hicks estate and all the money went to James Marney. In other words, Margaret had been too trusting of her sons and now her inheritance was gone. The guardian of Young E. Hicks's granddaughter, Catherine Stone, wrote to the court to insure that Catherine received her share of the estate and to remind the judge that her part had not been sold or pledged in any way. The children of Jenette R. Hicks Marney also were part of the mess and entitled to a share of the slave money. Evidently when she married she did not receive all her portion of the slaves.⁶³

The ending of the Civil War made this a moot point anyway as slavery was abolished. The conflict tore this family apart. Elizabeth Hicks was born before the 13 colonies declared independence from Great Britain. When she died the country was embroiled in a horrific war that tore apart her family. One son, Mattison, died in Federal prison as a Confederate soldier and her grandson, Absalom Hicks, ended up in Texas because he was also a Confederate. Her great-granddaughter, Mary Simmerson Cunningham Logan (daughter of John M. Cunningham and Elizabeth Fountain Cunningham who was the daughter of Joseph Fountain and Hannah Hicks Fountain), was married to the Union general, John Alexander Logan, for whom Logan Circle is named in Washington, D. C. Later, he was a candidate for vice-president of the United States on the ticket with James Blaine.⁶⁴ His Republican ticket would be defeated by Grover Cleveland. Mrs. Grover Cleveland campaigned in the Boonslick for her

husband in the summer of 1892, and a newborn great-great-great-granddaughter of Absalom and Elizabeth Hicks was named Frances Cleveland Sappington when she arrived on July 27. She hated the name her entire life and dictated that the Cleveland part be left off her tombstone.⁶⁵ Another great-granddaughter, Hannah Fountain Angell, moved to Illinois with her husband, James Madison Angell, during the war to escape the problems of Missouri. When they returned they took money from the estate of Elizabeth's grandson and Hannah's father, Absalom Fountain (son of Joseph and Hannah Hicks Fountain), and started a bank in Centralia, Missouri.⁶⁶ In 2009 a great-great-great-nephew has an insurance agency in the building. Oral tradition in the family says that James and Hannah were the only family members to whom everybody spoke as they were gone during the war and escaped the terrible accusations and finger pointing of the time.

By this time the Santa Fe Trail was mostly a memory. This answers the final four questions posed at the beginning of this paper—how did Young Hicks end up in an unkempt and virtually destroyed cemetery? Where did his family go? Why didn't somebody still care for these burial plots? What happened to the money made in Santa Fe? Young Ewing Hicks was buried in the family cemetery along with his parents, his brother, his daughter, and two grandchildren. When all his immediate family left for California, the people who were most interested and cared about the cemetery were gone from the landscape. The dead brother's widow, Tabitha Brink Hicks, remarried and was buried with her second husband. The cemetery is on private property and in Missouri a cemetery cannot be disturbed, but there are no laws requiring it to be maintained. A tornado went through the cemetery in May 2005 and broke off several stones. Ironically, a nearby house and barn were totally destroyed while the stones damaged were merely laid over and not broken. The money made on the Santa Fe trade was lost in the Sturgeon depot fiasco in the early 1860s. The family coped by moving to California. It wasn't until the 1970s that local family members

once again became interested in the cemetery and those buried there.

The Hicks family experienced most of the major problems and the major happy times of any family. They were born, married, and some divorced. They had children, worked hard, made good business decisions, made poor business decisions, and eventually died. Along the way they followed the patterns of Southern 19th-century Americans in their lifestyle, beliefs, and quest for money. Many descendants from the seven children of Absalom and Elizabeth Hicks who remained here still live in the Boonslick, walking their path of life in much the same way for better or for worse.

NOTES

16. Probate Records of Absalom Hicks, etc.
17. Newspaper index file in Newspaper Reference Library, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
18. Will and Probate Records of Absalom Hicks, Junior, on file in Probate Office of Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri.
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20. "Passport Records 1828-1836, Mexican Records from the Port of Entry at Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory," 1830, #45, New Mexico Genealogical Society, <<http://www.nmgs.org/artpass.htm>>.
21. Recorder Office, Boone County Courthouse, Boone County, Missouri, page 405 of Book for 1830.
22. Ibid.
23. Will of Absalom Hicks.
24. *Missouri Intelligencer*, May 1, 1834, 3.
25. Marriage Record on file in Christian County, Kentucky.
26. *Columbia Statesman*, May 5, 1854, 2.
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28. Recorder Office, Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri, Book F, page 147.
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30. John E. Sunder, ed., *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 54; *Missouri Argus*, July 9, 1840, 2.
31. Switzler, *History of Boone County*, 255.
32. *Columbia Statesman*, Feb. 1, 1844, 2.
33. Ibid, May 31, 1844, 2.
34. Ibid, March 3, 1848, 2.
35. Boone County Recorder of Deeds Office, Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri.
36. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, December 5, 1846, 3.
37. U.S. Federal Census, 1860, Boone County, Missouri.
38. Ibid, 1850 & 1860, Boone County, Missouri.
39. Ibid.
40. *Columbia Statesman*, June 27, 1845, 3.
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45. Maryellen Harshbarger McVicker, *Reflections of Change, Boonslick Cemeteries* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1989), 296.
46. Genealogy notes of Ida May Sharpe Hulen (Mrs. Benjamin Hulen).
47. Probate Records of Young Ewing Hicks on file in Probate Office, Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri.
48. *Columbia Statesman*, October 5, 1849, 3.
49. Probate Records of Young Ewing Hicks.
50. Cemetery Inventory of Middletown Cemetery west of Hallsville, Missouri, from extant tombstones in 1969.
51. *Columbia Statesman*, April 12, 1850, 2.
52. Ibid, January 3, 1851, 2.
53. Deeds on file at Boone County Recorder of Deeds Office, Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri.
54. Announcement of Sheriff Sale for the May Term of the Circuit Court of Boone County, Missouri, 1861, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
55. Boone County Bank Records on file in bank in Columbia, Missouri.
56. *Columbia Statesman*, May 17, 1861, 3.
57. *San Joaquin Valley Argus*, April 18, 1885.
58. *Columbia Statesman*, November 15, 1861.
59. Switzler, *History of Boone County*, 1007.
60. Military Service Record of James Madison Hicks, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri; and tombstone in Middletown Cemetery, Boone County, Missouri.
61. Cemetery Inventory of Middletown Cemetery.
62. *Columbia Statesman*, May 10, 1867, 2.
63. Final Probate Records of Absalom Hicks, on file in Probate Office, Boone County Courthouse, Columbia, Missouri.
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66. Ibid.

POST OFFICE OAK

—LETTERS—

Editor:

A small misnomer crept into Dolye Daves's nice article "Josefa Ortiz and Sylvester Davis, Her Real American Husband," in the November 2009 *Wagon Tracks*. In several places reference is made to "Colorado gold fields," "Colorado gold rush," "miner and mining in Colorado," and "Gregory's diggings in Colorado," all in the time period of approximately April through September 1859.

The gold fields at that time were actually in Kansas Territory, as was most of present-day Colorado east of the Continental Divide, from establishment of Kansas Territory in 1854

(Kansas-Nebraska Act) until Kansas Statehood on January 29, 1861. Colorado Territory was established February 28, 1861, from portions of what once were Utah, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Kansas territories. It is interesting to note that much of present eastern Colorado was actually "unassigned" between January 29 and February 28, 1861. How did this slip by your editor's eye?

In the same issue, David Clapsaddle ("The Bent's Fort Road, 1832-1878") correctly notes "the discovery of gold in far western Kansas Territory" in the late 1850s, and Don Alberts ("Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico") correctly identifies the rich mines of Colorado Territory in mid-1861.

The popular use of the term "Colorado Gold Rush or Gold Fields" instead of what at the time was actually the "Kansas Gold Rush or Gold Fields" is, I suppose, another anachronism along the lines discussed in Clapsaddle's "The Santa Fe Road: An Anachronism of the Twenty-First Century" (August 2009).

A couple of interesting references on Kansas Territory and State boundaries are: (1) "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas" by Helen G. Gill in the *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VIII (1903-1904) and (2) "Kansas Territory and Its Boundary Question: 'Big Kansas' or 'Little Kansas'" by Calvin W. Gower in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 33 (Spring 1967). Both references are available online.

Steve Schmidt
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Editor:

The Rittenhouse Award and the Santa Fe Trail blanket arrived in the mail. What a wonderful surprise. I wish I could have been in Arrow Rock to receive it. Never in my wildest dreams did I expect to receive the Rittenhouse Award. I wrap myself in the blanket every chance I get and show all my friends here in NM. They are very jealous of course. They want to know how they can get one. Thanks to all the folks in the SFTA. I hope I can continue to work toward helping the SFT.

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A 19TH-CENTURY ECONOMIC STIMULUS PACKAGE: THE SANTA FE TRAIL

by Michael Dickey

[Mike Dickey serves as a Missouri Director on the SFTA Board and is Site Administrator of Arrow Rock State Historic Site. This article was published in the Fall 2009 issue of the Friends of Arrow Rock newsletter and is reprinted here with permission of the author and Kathy Borgman, Executive Director of Friends of Arrow Rock. Thanks to Mike and Kathy for sharing this.]

DURING the mid-19th century, three great overland trails led from Missouri to the Far West: the California, Oregon, and Santa Fe trails. The first two were emigrant trails whereas the Santa Fe Trail was a route of commerce. After 1848, the Santa Fe Trail did carry emigrant traffic but it remained first and foremost a trade route. Missouri Governor John Miller emphasized the importance of the trade in 1830: "Our trade to the northern parts of New Mexico continues to be prosecuted by our citizens and is an essential and important branch of the commerce of Missouri."¹

The idea of commerce between Santa Fe and the Mississippi Valley predates 1821, the official start of the Santa Fe Trail. Itinerant French traders from the Illinois Country reached Santa Fe sporadically throughout the 18th century. Spain forbade trade outside its empire, and Spanish officials were suspicious of foreigners. The traders faced confiscation of their property, expulsion or arrest. Consequently, none of these ventures resulted in the establishment of regular commerce.

At the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, France ceded the vast Louisiana Territory to Spain to keep it out of British hands. Spanish dominion then stretched from the Pacific to the Mississippi River. Trade between Santa Fe and St. Louis seemed appealing.

The governor of New Mexico sent Pedro Vial from Santa Fe to St. Louis in 1792, with the purpose of opening a trade route, but the Spanish government did not capitalize on his success. Spain feared trade would invite unwanted foreign influence into New Mexico, as the inhabitants of St. Louis were of French and, increasingly, American extraction.²

When the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory in 1803, interest in trade with Santa Fe was renewed. William Morrison of Kaskaskia, Illinois, sent Jean Baptiste LaLande to Santa Fe with an unspecified amount of trade goods. LaLande sold the goods but failed to return to Kaskaskia with the profits.³ St. Louis fur trader Manuel Lisa eyed the possibilities of trade with Santa Fe, but upon hearing the reports of the Lewis and Clark expedition turned his attention to the fur trade of the upper Missouri.⁴

The exploration of the Southwest by Lt. Zebulon M. Pike in 1806-1807 again piqued American interest in Santa Fe.⁵ Spain continued its policy of isolation, fearing, almost prophetically, that American colonists would follow American traders, resulting in the annexation of New Mexico. Like the French before them, American traders entering New Mexico were subject to arrest, expulsion, and the confiscation of their goods.

In 1809, Emmanuel Blanco led St. Louis traders James McLanahan, James Patterson, and Ruben Smith to New Mexico. The party was imprisoned until early in 1812. In April of that year another trading party under Robert McKnight left St. Louis for Santa Fe. The party was imprisoned until 1821 and many did not return to St. Louis until 1822. When they got home, they described their disappointment in the government's halfhearted efforts to free them, but most importantly they speculated about the prospects of future trade in Santa Fe.⁶

The conclusion of the War of 1812 and peace with Britain's Indian allies opened the way for a flood of emigration into the wilderness of central Missouri's "Boonslick Country." Towns literally sprang up in the wilderness overnight. The largest of these was Franklin, founded in 1816 on the banks of the Missouri River. By 1819 the town was second only in size to St. Louis and was the hub of trade, industry, and commerce in the Boonslick Country. It was destined to play a crucial role in the development of the Santa Fe trade.

Excessive land speculation in the western states and territories led to

price inflation by 1819. Nearly everyone was in debt as people rushed to buy on credit. Land was sold and resold at a profit, without any payments being made. Finally, the economy collapsed. Known as the "Panic of 1819," the depression was felt in Missouri Territory by late 1820. Emigration to the Boonslick Country halted, land was no longer salable, and farm produce was unmarketable. Specie, which was gold and silver coin, fled the country and prices fell.

Merchants went bankrupt and many of the frontier boomtowns went bust, some reclaimed by the forests from which they had been carved. Banks produced their own notes but most were unredemable. Missourians distrusted banks and their "soft money" so the banking system collapsed. Missouri was without any new banks for the next 17 years.⁷

In this atmosphere of despair, one man in Franklin took desperate action to stave off prosecution for his personal debts. William Becknell took out an ad in the July 25, 1821, issue of the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer* newspaper. It read in part, "An article for the government of a company of men destined to the westward for purposes of trading for Horses and Mules, and catching Wild Animals of every description, that we think advantageous to the company."⁸ Each man was to stake \$10.00 worth of merchandise for the trip. The ad was a first step in what would become the first successful trading venture to Santa Fe with lasting economic consequences.

Becknell and five others, with packhorses, crossed the Missouri River near the Arrow Rock ferry on September 1, 1821. The expedition coincided with two events that would facilitate and foster regular trade between Santa Fe and the Boonslick Country: the admission of Missouri as a state and the establishment of Mexico as an independent republic.

In contrast to earlier adventurers arriving in New Mexico, Becknell reported that, on November 13, "we had the satisfaction of meeting a party of Spanish troops. Although the difference in language would not

admit to conversation, yet the circumstances attending their reception of us, fully convinced us of their hospitable disposition and friendly feelings.”⁹ Becknell also reported that the Governor of Santa Fe “expressed a desire that the Americans would keep up an intercourse with that country. . . .”¹⁰

Approximately two weeks after Becknell’s arrival, St. Louis merchants Thomas James and John McKnight arrived in Santa Fe via the Arkansas River. McKnight was primarily interested in finding his brother Robert who had failed to return from the ill-fated trade expedition of 1812. James, however, sought to dispose of surplus mercantile goods. Shortly after them, the Glenn-Fowler party, which had been trapping in the mountains, came into New Mexico and did some trading.

Becknell recognized the opportunity at hand and returned to Franklin in January of 1822. Mr. H. H. Harris reminisced about Becknell’s return. “My father saw them unload when they returned, and when their rawhide packages of silver dollars were dumped on the sidewalk, one of the men cut the thongs and the money spill out clinking on the stone pavement and rolled into the gutter.”¹¹ If the account is true, this would have been an electrifying sight in economically-depressed Franklin.

Becknell planned a second expedition in the spring of 1822. On May 14, 1822, Becknell’s party crossed the Missouri River at the Arrow Rock with three wagons loaded with goods. These were the first of many wheel conveyances to be used on the trail. Two other trade expeditions left Franklin that year.

Spain had consumed the raw resources of the province while returning little to the inhabitants in the way of finished goods. The economic poverty of the people was exacerbated by the official policy barring foreign traders. With independence, New Mexicans were now free to utilize their resources to purchase manufactured goods. For example, the silver mines within 40 miles of Santa Fe could now benefit the local populace instead of filling coffers in Mexico City or Madrid, Spain.

Conversely, economically depress-

ed Missouri finally had an outlet for the surplus merchandise that had accumulated as a result of the Panic of 1819. Geography and topography also fostered the growth of trade. The distance from Franklin to Santa Fe was about 900 miles but the Great Plains made it a relatively easy course to travel for most of the distance. This contrasted sharply with Vera Cruz, Mexico’s official port of entry. It was over 1,500 miles from Vera Cruz to Santa Fe on the Camino Real, following rough and mountainous terrain.

The Boonslick Country being at the westernmost edge of American settlement was naturally poised to take advantage of the new trade relations. Josiah Gregg reported in 1844 that, “The town of Franklin on the Missouri River . . . seems truly to have been the cradle of our trade; and in conjunction with several neighboring towns continued to furnish the greater number of these adventurous traders.”¹²

For the first six years or so two-thirds of the men on the Santa Fe Trail owned their own trading goods. They were not necessarily involved in the trade full time and found it beneficial to sandwich a trip to Santa Fe between other enterprises, typically leaving in the early spring and returning in late fall when traveling conditions across the Great Plains were optimal. Missouri merchants were the middlemen for goods purchased for the trade, usually at a 20-30% markup over Philadelphia prices. From the mid-1820s through the 1830s, St. Louis, Franklin, and Independence merchants commonly advertised new shipments of goods in terms such as “expressly for the Santa Fe market.”¹³

From 1822 to 1827, the yearly amount of merchandise taken to Santa Fe was approximately \$50,000 in eastern prices. From 1838 to 1843 the amount of merchandise exported was approximately \$200,000 annually.¹⁴ In 1824 Franklin trader Augustus Storrs reported that this merchandise consisted of “Cotton goods, consisting of course and fine cambrics, calicoes, domestic shawls, handkerchiefs, steam-loom shirtings, and cotton hose. A few woolen goods, consisting of super blues, stroudings, pelisse cloths and shawls, crapes, bombazettes, some

light articles of cutlery, silk shawls and looking glasses.”¹⁵

Josiah Gregg in 1844 advised traders that at least half of a “Santa Fe assortment” should be made up of domestic cottons and about equally divided between “bleached and brown.” The remainder of the cargo was to be divided between calicoes and a miscellaneous assortment of articles.¹⁶

While Missouri benefited most directly from the trade, clearly the cotton-growing states in the South and textile-milling states in New England derived some benefit as well. Missouri politicians, especially Senator Thomas Hart Benton, often used this wider appeal of the trade in hopes of gaining federal legislative and military protection of the trade. Benton sought “drawbacks,” that is the elimination of taxes and tariffs on items imported for use in the Santa Fe trade. Maritime commerce frequently benefited from “drawback” legislation and Missourians simply saw the Santa Fe trade as a logical extension of that protection.

The principal articles that were returned to Missouri were furs, livestock, specie, and small amounts of raw wool. Coarse Mexican blankets were occasionally in demand on the frontier as were Spanish-style saddles.¹⁷ In some respects, the Santa Fe trade was an offshoot of the fur trade. “Catching wild animals” or trapping had been one of the original reasons cited for Becknell’s party to go west.

The Glenn-Fowler expedition had returned to Missouri with beaver fur. Independent trappers operating in the southern Rocky Mountains used Santa Fe or Taos as a base of operations. For the first 15 years of the trade, many returning caravans carried quantities of beaver and otter pelts. Plains Indian tribes sold raw buffalo robes to the New Mexicans, who in turn prepared them as robes for the Santa Fe trade. Even as late as 1843, Simeon Turley in Arroyo Hondo, New Mexico, wrote to his brother Jesse in Arrow Rock, Missouri, that he was shipping him “200 buffalo robes and a load of beaver.”¹⁸

Of greater long-term consequence to Missouri was the livestock, consisting of horses, jacks, jennets, and

mules. As early as 1823, the Cooper family of Howard County brought back over 400 mules to Missouri. Those numbers increased in 1825 to 600 mules, in 1827 to 800 mules, and in 1832 over 1,300 mules.¹⁹ Missourians began crossing Mexican jacks with mares from Kentucky and Tennessee thus establishing the mule industry in Missouri. In the 1850s "Missouri mules" were widely shipped to the southern states for the use on the cotton plantations. Although large European jacks were being bred with mares by this time, the mule industry clearly had its roots in the Santa Fe trade. By 1880 Missouri was the nation's leading mule-producing state.

The importation of Mexican specie and bullion profoundly affected Missouri's economic stability, far more than the importation of furs or mules. There are no official statistics on the amount of bullion or specie imported into the state: traders fearing competition were reluctant to report their profits.

Letters from traders frequently reported poor conditions in the trade. "This trade is done as all will inform you" said one letter in the June 4, 1825, edition of the *Missouri Intelligencer*.²⁰ The paper was quick to declare that the writer was a man with no motive for misrepresentation.

Another letter published in 1825 read in part, "On the whole it appears that there is little prospect of successful trade being kept up between the United States and this Province, except on a very limited scale indeed. The country has but few resources. . . . They are very poor but very contented."²¹

The *Missouri Advocate*, a St. Louis paper, criticized the *Intelligencer* for belittling what was obviously an important industry to Missouri. The editor of the *Intelligencer* replied, "Our own citizens were the first to explore the route and find the market, and in our opinion, ought to reap the advantages resulting from the discovery.

"We have generally stated plain matters of fact, in regard to this trade, abstaining from all unnecessary embellishments or exaggeration, which could only have a tendency to attract the attention of the

other states, and induce large bodies to engage in it, to the injury of our own citizens and the annihilation of the commerce by the glutting of the market."²² The *Advocate* got the point and to protect Missouri's economic interests also began printing articles describing the "ruinous embarrassments" of the Santa Fe trade.

The market in Santa Fe itself did in fact become saturated rather quickly. However, traders often took their goods into the interior states of Chihuahua, Sonora, or Coahuila, merely using Santa Fe as the port of entry. In the same way, Missouri was simply a port of entry for goods from Philadelphia, New York, and even London conveyed up the Missouri River. American traders partnered with or sold goods to Mexican firms who in turn conveyed the merchandise to the interior Mexican states.

As early as 1826 Mexican merchants began coming to Missouri to purchase trade goods directly. The *Missouri Intelligencer* reported, "Six or seven substantial built waggons arrived in this place on Tuesday last, heavily laden with merchandise, on their way to new Mexico owned by Mr. Escudero, a native of that country. . . . This may be considered as a new era in the commerce between Mexico and this country, and it is probable the example of Mr. E. will be followed by others of his rich countrymen who will bring hither large portions of their surplus wealth for the same purpose."²³ Josiah Gregg reported that, by 1843, over half of the merchants in the trade were Mexican nationals.²⁴ Regardless of who actually conducted the trade caravans, the Missouri economy was being enriched.

Profit margins for the traders fluctuated greatly. Like all business endeavors, there were setbacks, losses, and cyclical variations in the market. Mexico often imposed high tariffs on imported items. American Indian tribes sometimes struck caravans, especially those returning with livestock.

Trader Meredith Miles Marmaduke, who surveyed and platted Arrow Rock and was later a governor of Missouri, lost nearly all of his investment in 1828 when Comanche Indians stole all the livestock he was returning to Missouri.²⁵ Arrow Rock

residents Henry C. Miller (a close friend of artist George Caleb Bingham), Jesse Turley, and Philip Thompson lost 55 head of oxen to Indians in 1847. They filed a claim for their loss in 1852, but Congress failed to act on it. Despite such periodic losses the trade overall grew in profitability.

As early as 1828 Governor Miller stated, "That trade [Santa Fe] is one of much importance to this State; the principal part of the silver coin in circulation, particularly in the western part of the State, is derived from that quarter. . . ."²⁶ Spanish and Mexican coins continued to be legal tender in Missouri long afterward. For example, consider this statement by Dr. Glenn O. Hardeman in 1840. "I took lodging only at the hotel kept by that well-known and popular citizen, Joseph Huston Sr. . . . was charged the sum of 12 ½ cents or, I should say a 'bit.' On my return . . . dined at the same hotel and was charged another 'bit' for an excellent dinner. The currency of that day, was exclusively of Mexican or Spanish coin." A "bit" was obtained by cutting a dollar into eighths, and some of these coins in circulation were minted in the early 18th century.²⁷

Alphonso Wetmore estimated that Becknell's second expedition made a profit of 2000%. In 1824 \$35,000 worth of merchandise netted \$200,000 for a profit of 300%. In 1832 Secretary of War Lewis Cass provided the Senate with a report estimating the profit margin of the trade averaging from 25% to 100%, dependent on conditions.²⁸ That same year, Governor Miller reported that the trade, ". . . is believed to yield a greater gain than any other branch of industry employing the same amount of capital."²⁹

In 1824 Augustus Storrs estimated the value of bullion and coin from Mexico at \$180,000 and furs worth \$10,000. In 1829 Secretary of War John Eaton reported profits from the Santa Fe Trade to include "at least \$200,000 in specie."³⁰ William Bent brought back \$100,000 in coin in 1832 and similar amounts were reported in the *Missouri Intelligencer* for the next three years.³¹ Most of this money remained within the coffers of individuals or businesses.

By 1836 Missourians were de-

manding the creation of a bank in the state. The Bank of Missouri opened its door in 1837 as a specie-paying bank, refusing to issue paper notes as many previously-failed banks had done. The main bank was in St. Louis with branches in Fayette in Howard County and Palmyra in Marion County. The bank was soon recognized as one of the soundest in the nation and served as a bank of deposit for the United States Government. The bank had intimate ties with the Santa Fe trade as it served as a place of deposit for the traders and simplified commercial transactions between the traders, Missouri merchants, and eastern wholesalers. In 1839 a run on the bank was staved off when Santa Fe traders pumped \$45,000 of specie into it.³² A frontier army officer explained: "The state of Missouri is at this day the soundest in the Union in her monetary affairs. She is filled with specie; and the interior Mexican states have supplied it."³³

The Arrow Rock community benefited from this abundance of specie. Philip W. Thompson "conducted personally some very large freight trains or outfits to Santa Fe and other points in the Southwest."³⁴ Thompson used his profits from the trade to purchase, in 1826, a 1,000-acre-tract of land a mile north of Arrow Rock. The farm and Greek-Revival style house "Chestnut Hill" remains in the family's possession today. Other residents of Arrow Rock and vicinity who had been active in the Santa Fe trade included Thomas McMahan, "Uncle" Billy Scott, John Leffler, Jesse Turley, Stephen Turley, J. A. J. Aderton, and James W. Smith. William B. and Erasmus Darwin Sappington supplied goods for the trade from their store in nearby Jonesboro (now Napton).

By 1829 Franklin had largely been washed away by the Missouri River and outfitting for the trade in the Boonslick Country began to decrease. After 1831 Independence was the main outfitting center although Josiah Gregg makes it clear some caravans were still outfitted in the Boonslick Country. Philip Thompson continued to be active in the Santa Fe trade until 1861. After 1854 Westport and then Kansas City assumed that outfitting role.

With this geographic change in

outfitting points, the nature of the trade itself began to change. The number of individual proprietors decreased while the number of men employed in caravans as teamsters, hunters, or salesmen increased. The traders' average per capita investment of goods rose from \$3,000 in 1829 to \$6,000 in 1839 and \$15,000 in 1843. In conjunction with the brokering services provided by the Bank of Missouri, the local merchants in Missouri began to be cut out of the Santa Fe trade. However, residents of Arrow Rock and Boonville were still receiving cash dividends for investments in Santa Fe commerce as late as 1850.

During the War with Mexico from 1846-1848, an early attempt by the Army to do its own freighting proved disastrous. Large freighting firms, such as the Aull brothers of Lexington, Waldo and Hall of Independence, and Alexander Majors in Westport were contracted with the U.S. government to supply the Army of the West. These and other large firms soon dominated the commerce on the Santa Fe Trail. The day of the individual trader, supplying three or four of his own wagons on credit from local merchants, was virtually over.

In 1846 an estimated 414 wagons left Missouri carrying \$1,752,000 worth of goods. In 1850 over 500 wagons went out from Kansas City alone and the total value of the trade was estimated at \$5,000,000. The Civil War seems to have been only a minor disruption to the trade.

Colonel J. F. Meline, who was touring New Mexico in 1866, said, "In 1865 there came into New Mexico from the States three thousand wagons belonging to traders alone exclusive of government transportation. This year there will be from five to six thousand wagons. . . . Most of the large trains return empty."³⁵ These caravans were supplying United States military posts and new American settlements in the Southwest rather than trading with a foreign nation as in years past.

Despite this phenomenal postwar growth, the singular importance of the Santa Fe trade to Missouri's economy was in fact rapidly declining. The state's agricultural and industrial production had diversified and grown to the point that the Santa Fe trade no longer had a dy-

namic impact on the state's economy. The burgeoning cities of St. Louis and Kansas City were scarcely the specie-starved Boonslick villages of 40 years earlier. Furthermore, trail heads and outfitting points followed the advancing line of the railroads across Kansas, annually decreasing both the length of the Santa Fe Trail and the amount of Missouri-originated commerce carried on it.

Technology and transportation spelled the end of the wagon-train trade. In August 1867 this editorial appeared in the Junction City, Kansas, *Union*, "A few years ago the freight wagons and oxen passing through Council Grove were counted by thousands, the value of merchandise by millions. But the shriek of the iron horse has silenced the lowing of the panting ox and the old Trail looks desolate. The track of commerce of the plains has changed and with the change is destined to come other changes and more blessed."³⁶ On February 9, 1880, the railroad reached Santa Fe and the last remnants of the trade were swept away.³⁷

It is difficult to pinpoint the precise end of Missouri's commercial involvement in the Santa Fe trade. The diminishing of the trades' singular economic importance to the state was gradual, perhaps even indiscernible. However it is certain that for the new state of Missouri, the Santa Fe trade was an economic stimulus during a great depression, providing a solid financial base on which to build for its future.

Notes

1. *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1922), 151.
2. John F. McDermott, ed., *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 100.
3. David S. March, *The History of Missouri* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1967), 476.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 10-11.
6. *Ibid.*, 477-478.
7. March, *History of Missouri*, 375-377.
8. *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 25, 1821, State Historical Society of Missouri Newspaper Collection, Columbia, Missouri.
9. "Diary of William Becknell," *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 23, 1823.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Robert L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New

- York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931), 68.
12. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 22.
 13. F. F. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," *Missouri Historical Review*, XI (1917): 300.
 14. *Ibid.*, 297.
 15. Augustus Storrs to Senator Benton, *Senate Document 7*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session.
 16. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 80.
 17. March, *History of Missouri*, 483.
 18. Simeon Turley to Jesse Turley, Turley Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
 19. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," 304.
 20. *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 4, 1825.
 21. *Missouri Intelligencer*, Nov. 5, 1825.
 22. *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 4, 1825.
 23. *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 9, 1826.
 24. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 332.
 25. Thomas Hart Benton to M. M. Marmaduke, Feb. 2, 1829, Sappington Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
 26. *Ibid.*, 137.
 27. Charles Van Ravenswaay, *Arrow Rock, the Story of a Town, Its Tavern and Its People* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1959).
 28. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," 301.
 29. *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Missouri*, 171-172.
 30. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," 305.
 31. *Ibid.*, 305-306.
 32. *Ibid.*, 311.
 33. *Ibid.*, 312.
 34. William B. Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1910), 804.
 35. Duffus, *Santa Fe Trail*, 255.
 36. *Ibid.*, 258.
 37. *Ibid.*, 267.

TRINIDAD LOPEZ

(continued from page 1)

signed to a position in Mexico. In traveling by ship from Spain to Mexico, Lorenzo was accompanied by his wife, Francisca Sasiain, and son, Damaso (Damasio, Damasco) Lopez.² Lorenzo became established in Chihuahua as a highly successful merchant, presumably after he had ended his government service and chosen to remain in Mexico. Damaso, who would become Trinidad's father, was born in Spain about 1791 and, during the early years in Mexico, he worked with his father in the mercantile business. An important business issue caused Lorenzo to send Damaso to New Mexico in 1820. From that time until his death, Damaso Lopez, made New Mexico the center of his extensive operations.

The business deal that caused Lorenzo Lopez to send Damaso³ to New

Mexico was described by William Baxter: "[I]n 1818, [Jose Francisco] Ortiz, in partnership with Francisco Ortiz and Fernando Delgado (two other merchants), obtained merchandise from [Lorenzo Lopez in] Chihuahua for which repayment was to have been in *carneros* (rams) valued at 7 reales each, and the remainder in cash. The debt was never contested, but it was not repaid at the agreed time either."⁴ As a consequence, "Damaso Lopez . . . part of an influential Chihuahuan merchant and mining family . . . had come in 1820 to el Norte to collect the 12,000 pesos his family had advanced to the three New Mexico merchants. . . ."⁵ He filed suit,⁶ entered into negotiations, and, apparently, quickly resolved the issue.

Nothing is known of the activities or whereabouts of Damaso Lopez from his arrival in New Mexico in 1820 until 1833. From 1833 until his death in 1852, Damaso was prominent in New Mexico and many records exist. Homer Milford speculates that Damaso may have spent the bulk of these "missing years" in New Mexico "as by 1833 he was prominent enough to receive the appointment as expert to inspect the mine grant request of Ignacio Cano and José Francisco Ortiz for the Santa Rosalia Mine Grant."⁷ "Damaso Lopez approved the Ortiz-Cano claim as a new discovery on December 18, 1833."⁸ In August 1834 "Damaso Lopez, the expert who had first brokered and approved the Santa Rosalia claim, joined in a partnership with José Francisco Ortiz and Ignacio Cano."⁹ The partnership did not last long. Lopez's knowledge of mining operations led, quickly, to the establishment of a flourishing operation and created jealousies. Josiah Gregg explained what happened. When Lopez's success became known, "the governor and other officers and magnates of the capital, who, with characteristic cupidity, at once begrudged the Gachupin [native-born Spaniard] his prospective fortune. A compact was thereupon entered into between the *oficiales* and the acquiescent Ortiz, to work the mine on their joint account, and to exclude Lopez altogether. This they effected by reviving the old decree of expulsion [of native-born Spaniards from major Mexican set-

tlements] which had virtually become obsolete."¹⁰

Undaunted, Damaso Lopez remained busy with other pursuits "for in 1834 [United States Consul Manuel] Alvarez was back in Santa Fe operating his store with a new partner, Damaso Lopez, another peninsular Spaniard who had business experience."¹¹ This partnership was a prosperous one and continued until about 1840. Lopez apparently then turned his attention to sheep raising and trading. He participated in driving a large sheep herd over the Old Spanish Trail to California in 1843-1844.¹² Damaso Lopez's last major business enterprise was another trip to California which he undertook in 1851-1852 in partnership with Manuel Alvarez. Lopez took charge of some 4,600 head of sheep purchased by Alvarez and drove them to California for sale. Before reaching the market, tragedy struck. "Out on the blazing desert near Warner's Ranch, a well-known stopping place for southern California travelers, Lopez died suddenly of sunstroke."¹³ The flock was taken on to San Diego where the sheep were sold for some \$20,000, reaping a handsome profit for the Alvarez-Lopez partnership.

Trinidad Lopez's Early Life in New Mexico

Damaso Lopez was married in Chihuahua in the 1830s to Maria del Carmen Severina Esparza (Leyva, Leyba) who was born there in 1813. Since Damaso had first traveled to New Mexico in 1820 and his marriage occurred in Chihuahua in the early 1830s, it is clear that he continued a strong relationship with family and friends there. Damaso and Carmen had six children, of whom Trinidad was the oldest. Jerome Cahill indicates that some of the children were born in Chihuahua and some in New Mexico (San Miguel del Vado, Abiquiu); he lists no place of birth for Trinidad.¹⁴ In various census records, Trinidad and his siblings list New Mexico as their birthplaces. Little is known of the domestic arrangements of Damaso and Carmen.¹⁵ Owing to Damaso's extensive travels, it seems likely that Trinidad and the younger children were raised primarily by their mother. The prominence and wealth of the Lopez family, and the later educational experi-

ences of the Lopez children, strongly suggests that Trinidad and his siblings were privately tutored in their early years since local schools were not available at that time.

Trinidad and His Siblings Travel the Santa Fe Trail to Schools in Missouri

Damaso Lopez made a number of round trips from New Mexico to Chihuahua via the Camino Real after settling in New Mexico. Given the extensive mercantile business of his family in Chihuahua, it is likely that he freighted merchandise during at least some of his trips. No records have been found to indicate that Damaso Lopez was a Santa Fe Trail trader, but it seems reasonable that he also engaged in freighting between New Mexico and Missouri. Trinidad traveled the Santa Fe Trail to attend St. Louis University. He was listed as a 15-year-old student there at the time of the 1850 census. Trinidad's sister, Maria Francisca, only eight, is also listed in the 1850 census for St. Louis, where she was a student at Visitation Academy. Trinidad's brothers, Francisco and Melquiades, are not listed in this census, but Cahill reports that they attended (perhaps after 1850) an academy in Chapel Hill in Lafayette County just east of the Missouri terminus of the Santa Fe Trail at Westport.¹⁶ It seems likely that Damaso, himself, took at least some of the children to schools in Missouri; it is doubtful he would have entrusted his eight-year-old daughter, Maria Francisca, to someone else for such a potentially perilous crossing.

Unlike the Lopez children, the great majority of children living in New Mexico in the middle decades of the nineteenth century grew up illiterate without any schooling whatsoever. Essentially, only the children of the "ricos," prosperous, socially and politically dominant families, were educated. Indeed, the literacy and education of the dominant families were important contributors to their status. Obtaining education for their children was critical to maintaining status and privilege. In many cases, private tutors were engaged for this purpose. In addition, many children of the upper class, especially sons, were sent away to school. An example is Miguel Antonio Otero, territorial governor of New Mexico from 1897 to 1906. At a

young age, Miguel and his brother, Page Otero, were sent to boarding schools in Kansas by their father,¹⁷ who, himself had been sent to St. Louis in 1847 to attend school.¹⁸ Similarly, José Inez Perea, scion of a powerful Bernalillo family, was sent first to Chihuahua and then to a variety of schools in several of the eastern American states.¹⁹ And Rafael Chacón, for his education, was sent in 1844 to a military academy in Chihuahua.²⁰ Indeed, Mary Jean Cook provides a long list of sons of leading families of New Mexico and northern Mexico who traveled the Santa Fe Trail to attend schools in Missouri and farther east.²¹

Trinidad, Now Fatherless, Carries On

When Damaso Lopez died in California in 1852, Trinidad and at least some of his siblings were attending schools in Missouri. Thus the children became fatherless at a young age, far from family and friends. To compound matters, Damaso's death led to the loss of status for his family and also left them to cope with greatly diminished financial resources. Thomas E. Chávez notes that Manuel Alvarez even took possession of the Lopez home in Santa Fe in 1853, presumably to recover a debt Damaso owed him.²²

At the time of his father's death, Trinidad had been at St. Louis University since at least 1850. We know that he continued on and completed a four-year program of study, finishing in 1853. Apparently, he then worked for a short time in Independence, Missouri, before returning to New Mexico, probably in 1854. Upon his return to New Mexico, Trinidad located in the Mora Valley near the recently-founded Fort Union. This military post, established in 1851, greatly enhanced the economy of the region.²³ It is not clear why Trinidad chose to locate here, but surely he must have found an opportunity for work. Trinidad's siblings made different choices. His sister, Maria Francisca, later called Fanny by her English-speaking family and friends never returned to New Mexico. She remained in Missouri where she married Benjamin Kimball and died in St. Louis in 1907. Trinidad's brothers, Francisco and Melquiades, did return to New Mexico, as both appear in later census records for Santa Fe.

Trinidad Marries and Joins the Army

Following Trinidad's return to New Mexico after several years in Missouri, first as a student in St. Louis and later in employment in Independence, he moved quickly to establish himself in the Mora Valley near Fort Union. He was married in St. Gertrudes Church in Mora on January 15, 1855,²⁴ by Father Francisco Pinard²⁵ to Maria Cleofas Bonney, oldest daughter of James Bonney and Juana Maria Mascarenas.²⁶ Shortly after his marriage, he enlisted in the New Mexico Volunteers with the rank of sergeant²⁷ to fight Indians who had become particularly active in raiding settlements in the fall and winter of 1854-1855.

Leo Oliva notes that "In preparation for a spring offensive Governor Meriwether, at the request of Brigadier General Garland, called for a militia battalion of mounted volunteers to join with the regular troops against the Indians. Lieutenant Colonel Ceran St. Vrain commanded the six companies of volunteers who were outfitted at Fort Union."²⁸ There is a detailed description of this campaign by Rafael Chacón, who also served as a sergeant.²⁹ Enlistments for this special campaign were for a period of six months, so by summer Trinidad was again a civilian and in need of employment to support himself and wife, Cleofas. By the time of the 1860 census, Trinidad was listed in the Santa Gertrudes Precinct of Mora County as a prosperous farmer with assets of \$3,000.

Trinidad Lopez's Civil War Service

The Civil War in New Mexico seemed to matter little in the larger conflict. However, had the outcome been different; had the Confederate plan to capture Fort Union and then the gold fields of Colorado and finally California succeeded, the overall war might have been radically altered.³⁰ As it happened, the Confederates lost decisively in New Mexico, thanks largely to the skill and valor of the New Mexico and Colorado Volunteer forces.³¹ Trinidad Lopez played his role in the Union cause in New Mexico. On July 1, 1861, as a result of the start of the Civil War and the threat of an invasion by Confederates from Texas, Trinidad and hundreds of other New Mexicans enlisted in the New Mexico Volunteers. Trinidad enlisted as a second lieu-

tenant but by early September he was promoted to first lieutenant, replacing Francisco Gonzales who was promoted to captain at that time.³²

Oliva notes that many "Hispanic men of New Mexico . . . could not speak or understand the English language. This created innumerable problems for the troops and especially for the commanding officers. . . . Many orders and communications had to be translated into Spanish; and English-speaking officers had to utilize translators when directing Hispanic troops."³³ In such a situation, the immense value of a man like Trinidad Lopez was obvious. He was well educated and fluent in both Spanish and English. Indeed, these skills were necessary for his rank as first lieutenant as "It is required that in all the companies the first lieutenant be able to speak and write correctly the two idioms, English and Spanish, and that, in addition, he be a good accountant."³⁴

Trinidad served in Company A, First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson, from his enlistment at Fort Union in July 1861. He participated in the Battle of Valverde on February 21, 1862, in which the Confederates prevailed. Marc Simmons writes that "The 1st Volunteer Regiment was located in the center of the Union line and it held steady throughout the battle. [T]he regiment repulsed 10 Texan cavalry charges and captured one cannon."³⁵ This was truly a heroic performance by the men of the First Volunteer Regiment in a terrible, bloody battle with many casualties. Following their victory, the Confederates continued their march north up the Rio Grande, occupying Socorro, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe in turn. The engagement at Apache Canyon, March 26, and definitive Battle of Glorieta Pass, March 28, 1862, effectively ended the Civil War in New Mexico, although it took several more months before the retreat of the Confederates (Texans) from New Mexico Territory was complete.³⁶ It is unlikely that Trinidad participated in the final battle as he was discharged at Fort Craig near Valverde in May 1862. Most of the First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteers had remained at Fort Craig to defend that post.

Trinidad's military service and later pension application records,³⁷ though sparse and not very informative, do provide some interesting details about his service. In November 1861 and again in February 1862 he was disabled by rheumatism and, on at least one of these occasions, he was admitted to the regimental hospital. The condition seems to have been long-lasting as, on his application for a veteran's pension in December 1890, he claimed that he was "partially" unable to work because of "rheumatism of left leg."

Trinidad Returns to Civilian Life and Moves to Reclaim the Bonney Land Grant

Upon his discharge from the army, Trinidad returned to his family in the Mora Valley. Presumably, at this time, Trinidad returned to the farm he had established prior to entering military service. However, he soon undertook to reclaim the lands awarded to his father-in-law, James Bonney (the Santiago Boné Grant or alternatively the Junta de los Rios Grant).³⁸ Following James Bonney's death in 1846, no family members had remained on the land grant, but Miguel Mascarenas, James Bonney's father-in-law and Cleofas (Bonney) Lopez's grandfather, had taken possession of Bonney's livestock and was, at least nominally, managing the property. A nearby neighbor, William Kroenig,³⁹ began to use the land. In 1855, shortly after Trinidad Lopez and Cleofas Bonney married, Trinidad, a lawyer by training, moved to regain possession. In testimony at a trial in 1887, Trinidad recalled the events: "I made a demand on William Kroenig to vacate the premises. I got no satisfaction from Mr. Kroenig, he saying that we had no right to the place at all. Then I made a demand on Miguel Mascarenas the curator for my wife's share in her father's estate. He came down to La Junta to see Kroenig about the claim. That brought Kroenig into an agreement with Miguel Mascarenas by which Kroenig leased the property for a term of three years, I think."⁴⁰

At the end of the lease, Trinidad Lopez and Miguel Mascarenas again attempted to take possession of the land, but Kroenig insisted that they had no legal right to it. In 1864 Trinidad Lopez and his brothers-in-law,

Santiago Bonney and Bernardo Salazar (husband of Maria Rafaela Bonney), simply reoccupied the Bonney lands. Trinidad told the court: "I had my employees at La Junta building me a house in 1864 and I moved there in March, 1865." The result of the Bonney heirs reoccupying the Bonney Land Grant was more than two decades of contention and law suits that, in the end, gave the Bonney heirs clear title to the land which, today, is still owned and occupied by descendants.

During the 1870s, although still dealing with legal issues regarding the claim of the heirs of James Bonney to his land grant, Cleofas (Bonney) Lopez deeded seven acres to the Catholic diocese for the purpose of erecting and staffing a church. The resulting Sacred Heart Church with its resident priest served the people of the local community and outlying areas, including Wagon Mound and Ocate for some 30 years. The church was discontinued in 1905 and a new church was built at Watrous.

Trinidad Practices Law, Serves as a Deputy Sheriff, and Farms

Following the move to the Bonney land grant at La Junta (Watrous), Trinidad developed farm land utilizing the irrigation system designed and constructed by James Bonney in the 1840s. He also utilized his education to augment his income by practicing law. He helped many of his neighbors in the Mora Valley with issues regarding their land claims when the United States government began reviewing Spanish and Mexican governmental land grants. In addition, he served for a time in the late 1860s and into the 1870s as a Mora County deputy sheriff.⁴¹

The Trinidad Lopez Family

Trinidad and Cleofas (Bonney) Lopez raised three children: two daughters, Maria Eulogia, born March 11, 1856, and Maria Maclovía, born November 11, 1858, and a son, Manuel López, born January 18, 1861. Eulogia married Miguel Antonio Lopez, Maclovía married José Fermin Nolan, and Manuel married Manuelita Martinez. Trinidad and Cleofas continued to live on their portion of the Bonney Land Grant until their deaths, Trinidad on August 31, 1898, and Cleofas on April 22, 1922. Both are buried in the family cemetery nearby.

NOTES

1. Interviews with Joe Lopez, great-grandson of Trinidad Lopez.
2. Jerome Wood Cahill, family genealogy: <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/884015>.
3. A number of references indicate that Lorenzo and Damaso were brothers. This is almost certainly incorrect as the family genealogy indicates that Lorenzo Lopez was born in Spain in 1772.
4. William Baxter, *The Gold of the Ortiz Mountains* (Santa Fe: Lorie Butte Press, 2004), 39.
5. *Ibid.*, 45.
6. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. 2, (New Mexico: Torch Press, 1914), 626.
7. Homer E. Milford, interviews and notes; Doyle Daves, "Josefa Ortiz and Sylvester Davis, Her Real American Husband," *Wagon Tracks*, 24 (November 2009): 1, 15-19, contains a description of the mining activities of the Ortiz family.
8. Baxter, *Gold of the Ortiz Mountains*, 42.
9. *Ibid.*, 45.
10. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 121. José Francisco Ortiz's participation in the scheme to exclude Damaso Lopez may have been motivated by revenge for the lawsuit filed in 1820. See Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez, 1794-1856, A Southwestern Biography* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1989), 21.
11. *Ibid.*, 20, 21.
12. John O. Baxter, *Las Carneradas, Sheep Trade in New Mexico, 1700-1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 117.
13. *Ibid.*, 122.
14. Cahill, family genealogy. The 1860 census for Mora County indicates that Trinidad was born in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico Territory.
15. The 1850 census for Santa Fe lists Damasco Lopez (Damasco Lopes) as age 59, born in Spain with assets worth \$8,150 (significant wealth for the time) and living with Juana Garcia, age 24. In this census record, Damaso was one of only eight residents of New Mexico Territory to have been born in Spain. Carmen has not been located in this census.
16. Cahill, family genealogy.
17. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life of the Frontier, 1864-1882* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), chapter 1.
18. Michael Olsen, "The Santa Fe Trail and Nineteenth Century New Mexico: We Encountered Six Americans," in Marta Weigle, ed., *Telling New Mexico, A New History* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009), 152, 153.
19. Joseph A. Schuffe, *Preparing the Way, Centennial Year 1970* (Las Vegas, NM: First Presbyterian Church, 1970), 4, 5.
20. Jacqueline Dorgan Meketa, *Legacy of Honor, The Life of Rafael Chacón, a Nineteenth-Century New Mexican* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), chapter 4.
21. Mary Jean Cook, "New Mexico Students Travel the Trail, 1832-1880," *Wagon*

Tracks, 10 (November 1995): 6-10.

22. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez*, 177.
23. Maurilio E. Vigil, "Hispanos and the Santa Fe Trail," *La Herencia*, 43 (Fall 2004): 43.
24. Marriage Records of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, Las Vegas, New Mexico. In 1855, St. Gertrudes Church in Mora was a "mission" church affiliated with the Las Vegas church. It became independent in 1856. Appreciation is expressed to Leroy LeDoux for this important record.
25. Maria Cleofas Lopez, Declaration for Widow's Pension, 1898, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D. C.
26. Doyle Daves, "James Bonney, Santa Fe Trail Pioneer, New Mexico Settler (Was He the Grandfather of Billy the Kid?)," *Wagon Tracks*, 23 (February 2009): 9-12.
27. Trinidad Lopez's military records, obtained from the National Archives and Records Administration, make no mention that Trinidad served before his enlistment in 1861 at the time of the Civil War. However, family memory is clear that Trinidad enlisted twice, the first time as a sergeant. The 1855 campaign against marauding Indians is the only event (1854-1861) where New Mexico Volunteers were enlisted into federal service, so Trinidad must have enlisted at this time.
28. Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Southwestern Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 41, National Park Service, 1993), 132.
29. Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, chapter 7.
30. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army*, 242.
31. William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1952), book 2; Darlis A. Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War in New Mexico: A Reconsideration," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 54 (April 1979): 105-123; Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), chapter 37.
32. Trinidad Lopez military records, National Archives.
33. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army*, 246.
34. Meketa, *Legacy of Honor*, 130.
35. Marc Simmons, "Lost Heroes: Only a Few Hispanos Recorded Their Civil War Years," *Wagon Tracks*, 14 (May 2000): 22.
36. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army*, 278-292.
37. Trinidad Lopez Military Service Records and Veterans Pension Application, National Archives.
38. Daves, "James Bonney," 9.
39. Charles I. Jones, "William Kroenig, New Mexico Pioneer," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 19 (July 1944): 185-224.
40. J. Richard Salazar, "Land Records of New Mexico," New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, Roll 30, Frame 1097.
41. Law Suit transcript filed December 22, 1870: John L May and Vicente St. Vrain vs John Dold, Fernando Nolan and Trinidad Lopez, New Mexico Supreme Court Records, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Case 81.

TRAIL TROUBADOUR

—Traffic in Verse—

Sandra M. Doe, Editor

This column seeks poetry which addresses the history, realism, romance, and diversity of the Trail and demonstrates authentic emotion, original images, and skill in craftsmanship. Please submit poems for consideration to Sandra M. Doe, Dept. of English, Campus Box 32, Metropolitan State College of Denver, PO Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.

This poetry editor found Wilson's "The Santa Fe Trail" in the University of California Bancroft Library on a research trip. It represents a romantic and Puritanical view of the Trail, perhaps informed by Jonathan Edwards's "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Published in 1921 by the International Printing Company of Philadelphia, the poem is irregular, argues a dark and unforgiving view "where none lived to tell the tale," and the journey is taken by "pioneer martyrs" on a "cursed trip." The poem is full of notions unregulated by information.

The Santa Fe Trail

by Joseph R. Wilson

From west and east ward bounders
There are moanings on the Trail,
The host that's passed forever,
That shall never know it more;
From men and fragile women,
From pioneers and traders,
Whose dying word was "Never,"
Whose pale souls went on before.
And its ruts flow deep with tears
For the countless lowly biers,
Of those who died upon it,
In the agony of fears.

Oh! The rumbling caravan—
The women under cover,
While the men before them scan,
For Indians or water,
For, the're mounds along the trail
It's thousand miles of stretches,
Of man, and child and mother,
Fair flowers and hardened wretches;
Where the sandstorms blow and blow,
And obliterate all traces.

Moving twenty miles a day,
With mules and horses straining
Through the deep and parching sand,
The wagon wheels a-squeaking,
With the hot sun beating down
On whitened bones a-bleaching.
Stretching all along the trail,
From Fort Dodge to San Miguel
From caravans forgotten,
Where none lived to tell the tale.

Oh! The tide of misery,
And tears forever flowing,
From the women folk inside,
Through the long dark hours of night,
Or moonlight's eerie bleaches,
Praying God to send the light.
The grey of early morning,
While the rifle shot rings out,
The Indians are coming
And the men go driving on,
The tired horses running
For the goal they never reach.

Oh! That never ending trail,
Through canyon and arroya,
And that cursed, cruel plain,
The parched wastes of the desert,
A mile above sea-level,
Not a tree or shrub upon it,
Without a drop of water,
'Tween the Arkansas river
And the spring at Cimarron,
Where they'll never drink again.
Pushing on the Willow Bar,
Round Mound and Rio Moro,
Through buff'lo grass and cacti
To the ruins of the Pecos,
With the blue skies overhead,
And the horses breathing hard,
Rolls the caravan along.
A country in the making,
And the women sing,
God bless them, they are helping,
Those tender friends of man,
To keep his heart from breaking
With the wagon broken down,
And not a blade for grazing.
There are ghosts upon the trail,
The myriads that trod it,
And they never pass without salute
In a never ending line.
In wagon and on horseback;
Some going West, some Eastward.
Strange specters in the moonlight,
Brave men and noble women,
You girls and little children,
All long forgotten.

And the past rolls back again,
With Indians approaching
The Navajos and Pawnees,
Kiowas and Comanche,
Creeping closer to the trail.
The children and the women
Oh! 'Tis hard that they should die.
Then the musket shots ring out
From cool men bent on killing,
Fighting for the ones they love,
Though ten to one outnumbered,
Until morning tints the sky
And with it ends the combat.
Then the town of Santa Fe,
Oh! Father in Thy mercy—
And the women laugh and sing,
The tired men are weeping,
A thousand times repeated
As men entered Santa Fe.
The cursed trip was over,
Save those left on the way.
The pioneer martyrs
On the trail to Santa Fe.

STUDENT ESSAYS

(continued from page 1)

wobbly as they passed over the rough ground. I could smell the fresh air that surrounded us. I could feel the cool mountain wind blow in my face. The cool wind was enough to keep us silent. But the breeze wasn't going to keep the men from talking. I couldn't quite hear what they were saying, the creaking of the wagon wheels were too loud. Although I did catch that a big canyon was just ahead. I suddenly got nervous about how we were going to cross it.

Paige Soellner, Age 13, 7th Grade

As I was riding through the mountains I could smell the fresh air that blew my hair to and fro. I was so tired. I had been traveling all day, the sound of the horses feet clop clop in my head. I had been on my horse all day and we were thirsty. My mouth thirsted for water. As I moved on I could see the mountains getting bigger and bigger. I was hoping we could find a river soon. The ground wasn't the greatest thing, it was really rocky and bumpy. I was glad I wasn't one of the people that were walking. The smell of the dirt arose as the horses kicked the dirt in my face. The wind had died down and it was now extremely hot and I was sweating like crazy. I won't forget that day on the Santa Fe Trail. It was a great experience.

Megan Serviss, Age 12, 7th Grade

Just as I heard a gun fire, my good buddies and I all looked back to see what was going on. When I looked back, there was a big cloud of dust behind me. Horses were neighing and dogs barking. My friend's horse was having troubles standing up. So, I quickly jumped off of my horse and helped my friend get off his horse. There would've been a big disaster if I didn't jump off and help my friend. The horse was fine; the dog had just startled him. We were all hollering at the dogs to get out of the way. There weren't any more problems on our way to Santa Fe. We made the rest of the way safely.

AWARDS NOMINATIONS DUE JULY 1, 2010

NOMINATIONS are needed for SFTA awards to be presented at the Rendezvous in September. All nominations must be postmarked by July 1, 2010. Awards are SFTA Award of

Merit, Paul F. Bentrup Ambassador Award, Louise Barry Writing Award, Ralph Hathaway Memorial Heritage Preservation Award, Gregory M. Franzwa Memorial Award for Lifetime Achievement, and Marc Simmons Writing Award. Nominations should include details of why the person, group, or organization should receive the award. Nominations should be sent to Leo E. Oliva, PO Box 31, Woodston KS 67675. The Marc Simmons Writing Award, given for the best article in *Wagon Tracks*, volume 23, will be selected by a special committee.

AWARD OF MERIT (maximum of 4 awards)

This award, a recognition plaque, recognizes individuals, businesses, organizations, or groups who have made a significant contribution to the purposes of the SFTA.

PAUL F. BENTRUP AMBASSADOR AWARD (1 award)

This award, a recognition plaque, is an honorary lifetime designation given to a member of the SFTA who has demonstrated exceptional promotion of the SFTA, development and dissemination of knowledge of Trail history, preservation of Trail remnants, or who has otherwise promoted an understanding of the Trail.

LOUISE BARRY WRITING AWARD (1 award)

This award is presented for a publication (major article or book) based on research about the Trail. The award includes a recognition plaque and \$100 cash. The recipient need not be a member of SFTA.

RALPH HATHAWAY MEMORIAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION AWARD (1 award)

This award, a recognition plaque, is presented to landowners, leaseholders, or tenants of Trail ruts, remnants, structures, or sites, who have preserved and protected significant portions of the Trail or sites associated with the Trail, and provided public access.

GREGORY M. FRANZWA MEMORIAL AWARD FOR LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT (1 award)

This award is presented to a SFTA member for extraordinary lifetime achievement in preservation, protection, and promotion of the historic Santa Fe Trail. This award includes a recognition plaque and \$100 cash.

A FRAIL THIN LINE: TRADING ESTABLISHMENTS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, PART I

by David K. Clapsaddle

[SFTA Ambassador Clapsaddle, president of the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter, is a frequent contributor to Wagon Tracks. This article will be concluded in the next issue.]

THE year was 1852, an unfortunate time for James S. Calhoun, governor of the Territory of New Mexico, who died on the Santa Fe Trail en route to Kansas City. Subsequently, President Millard F. Fillmore appointed William Carr Lane, a former mayor of St. Louis who had served as an army surgeon, to the position.

Lane departed the gateway city by steamboat in late July with his servant (slave) Frank. Arriving at Independence on August 6, he secured passage with a Waldo, Hall and Company mail party to Santa Fe. Bouncing down the road to Council Grove, he was pleased to find the comfort of a bed in the home of mail agent Charles Withington after sleeping on the open prairie the two previous nights. Proceeding from Council Grove, the mail party reached Fort Atkinson where an escort party commanded by Brevet Major James H. Carleton awaited Lane's arrival. Beyond Fort Atkinson, the escort accompanied the mail party to Fort Union where Lane, fatigued from the journey, became ill. Following a 12-day layover, the good doctor finally reached Santa Fe on September 7 and was inaugurated six days later.

Lane addressed the territorial legislature on December 7. With the memory of the exhausting trip fresh in his mind, he proposed that the federal government allocate funds to establish caravansaries or station houses upon what he called the Road to Missouri. Such installations, he said, should be located 40 to 50 miles apart and kept by two or more citizens. The governor maintained that such caravansaries shall furnish all travelers with shelter (for man or beast) and good water and fuel, gratis. He added all other necessities, if practical, for pay.¹

Caravansary is derived from an old Persian word with reference to "a kind of inn in the East where caravans could rest at night, being a large bare building surrounded by a

court."² Such is reminiscent of William W. H. Davis's description of Barclay's Fort: "It is a large adobe establishment, and like the immense caravansaries of the East, serves as an abode for men and animals."³

Barclay's Fort

Barclay's Fort, situated on the Mora River in northeast New Mexico, was located on the south side of the Mora not far from its confluence with the Sapello River. The fort's construction was initiated in May 1848. Principals in the business were Alexander Barclay and Joseph Doyle. The fort was aptly described by Janet Lecompte.

"A building so huge that the fort at Pueblo could have fit in one corner of it. The structure covered an acre of ground, with walls sixteen feet high, thirty-three inches thick. At opposite corners were two great port holed locations, each containing a six pound howitzer and other armament. Inside the walls were forty rooms and offices, a well, bake-oven, and stables. Outside were two hundred acres of cultivated land irrigated by two main ditches, and an acre and-a-half vegetable garden, entirely fenced."⁴

At the advent of mail service between Independence and Santa Fe in 1850, Barclay's Fort was the only stop west of Council Grove.⁵

Watrous's Store

East of the fort near the junction of the Mora and Sapello rivers, Samuel Watrous built an adobe structure in 1849 which served as both residence and store. While Watrous's cattle ranching overshadowed the store, it was nevertheless an important place of retail which catered both to civilian travelers and soldiers from nearby Fort Union.⁶

Kozlowski's Ranch

Barclay's Fort and Watrous's store were succeeded by three other businesses in the 1850s, from the Pecos Ruins westward. The first of the three was Kozlowski's Ranch constructed from materials salvaged from the old mission and Indian pueblo by Martin Kozlowski, a Polish immigrant who had served in the Mexican War. The ranch became a popular stop thanks to the fine fare

served by Kozlowski's wife, particularly the trout fresh from the nearby Pecos River.⁷

Pigeon's Ranch

The second establishment was operated by Alexander Valle two miles east of Glorieta Pass. There a mail station was located and a 23-room hotel welcomed weary guests from their long and grueling journey from Missouri. For some obscure reason, Valle's establishment came to be called Pigeon's Ranch.⁸

Johnson's Ranch

The third was Johnson's Ranch located west of Glorieta Pass. Operated by Anthony Johnson, formerly a teamster at Fort Union, it was the last mail station east of Santa Fe.⁹

These three enterprises were the essence of Lane's proposal, though not federally funded. Rather, they were privately-owned places of retail business known throughout the West as ranches. Ranch, often spelled ranche, was derived from the Spanish *rancho* (small ranch) with reference to any little place of isolated habitation. Catering to the needs of frontier travelers, they were known variously as trading ranches, road ranches, stations, and in one case, a stand. In some instances they were known simply as stores. Often, ranches were identified by the major product or service from which the bulk of their income was derived. Near Fort Union, two African-Americans operated a milk ranch.¹⁰ James Mead reported, "Between Salina and Fort Larned were two hunting ranches."¹¹ Such ranches subsisted through the sale of hides, furs, and meat, products of their Nimrod activities. Hog ranch was a veiled reference to prostitution. These ranches were often located near a military reservation, as were whiskey ranches in the Fort Dodge area.¹² Sporting ranches catered to sport hunters. The following item was published in *The Kansas Press*, Council Grove, June 1, 1861.

"We again invite the attention of our gentlemen and lady friends to the delightful programme, arranged in March last, for a buffalo hunt, this present June. Buffalo are now plentifully, and indolently gamboling

upon every hill around and about Little Arkansas, and the Cow Creek region of the country. . . . The prairies are not destitute of those comforts so desirable to persons used to civilization, Mr. William Wheeler, Dr. A. I. Beach, (and others), have Ranches all the way out. - - these points are as well fortified by art, as by the brave owners and employees that protect them. To those who may never again have the opportunity to engage in the chase or witness the sublime spectacles that present the wild wonders of an untamed nature, to the adventurous seeker of recreation on the plains; we say come and go."

While the ranches mentioned did not depend entirely on income received from sportsmen, it would appear they were trying to attract such clientele.

The establishment at the Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas River, operated by A. J. Anthony and Robert Wright, was characterized as a hay ranch.¹³ While compiling a photographic record of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division's western thrust, Alexander Gardner captured an image of a workmen's ranch at Alma, Kansas. Such ranches provided housing for railroad construction workers and other laborers.¹⁴

Regardless, most of the trading establishments in the West were not identified by a single source of income but were simply called ranches. As James Mead wrote, "In those days, every trading or hunting establishment was called a ranch."¹⁵ That said, many of the ranches offered a number of amenities in addition to the sale of a wide range of merchandise and an ample supply of spirits: toll bridges, well water (in one case spring water), prostitutes, corrals, and livestock for sale. Proprietors often purchased sick or lame animals for pennies on the dollar. Turned loose to recuperate under nature's providence, they were later sold at a tidy profit. Other means of income included the addition of mail stations, post offices, and blacksmith shops. Some proprietors engaged in Indian trade, licensed or otherwise. Several sold hay and grain; one sold coal. At some ranches, meals were served and lodging was available. Make no mistake—the men who operated these little pockets of private

enterprise were entrepreneurs in every sense of the word.

At this point, a clarification is in order. Both contemporary and modern writers have mistakenly characterized trading ranches as trading posts, and by extension, forts. Robert Peck reported, "Be it understood that these frontier ranches, as they were called, were mere trading posts." He continued, "As a necessary precaution against Indian attacks, these ranches were always enclosed by walls or palisades, the ranch buildings being strung around the inside of the enclosure, leaving an open court or corral in the center of sufficient capacity to contain all the animals belonging to the establishment. For traffic with Indians a long, narrow opening, about waist-high, to be closed when need be by a drop-door on the inside, was made in that side of the storeroom that formed a part of the enclosing wall, and through this slit all trade with the redskins was conducted, thus avoiding the risk of admitting them to the enclosure. A watch tower was frequently built on a prominent corner of the wall, and in dangerous times a lookout was maintained day and night."¹⁶

What Peck described were not trading ranches but trading posts on the upper Missouri River and elsewhere, such as Bent's Fort, which conducted Indian trade and were enclosed within a stockade. Ranches on the Santa Fe Trail and other overland routes catered to non-Indian patrons and were generally not fortified. The ranch at Walnut Creek was an exception to this generalization, as was the ranch at the Cimarron Crossing and Wright's Ranch at Fort Aubrey. Writers such as Peck have contributed greatly to this misunderstanding as have diarists who, making their first forays into the West, were not cognizant of the frontier language. Modern writers, in some cases, have done little to clarify the misunderstanding.

On the eastern end of the Santa Fe Trail, trading establishments began to populate the trade route with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Prior to that date, the geographic area now known as Kansas was a part of Indian Territory where white settlement was prohibited by the Indian Intercourse and

Trade Act of 1834.¹⁷ But, with the opening of Kansas Territory, little towns sprang up along the Trail from the Missouri border westward, catering to the needs of Santa Fe-bound travelers: Gardner, Black Jack, Palmyra, Brooklyn. Farther west was Council Grove, illegally organized within the boundaries of the Kanza Reserve, and Council City, established in 1855.¹⁸ From present Douglas County west, the towns were replaced (not counting Council Grove and Council City) with trading establishments known, with one exception, as stations or stores. Beginning on Six Mile Creek in present Morris County and westward, the trading establishments were called ranches.

The trading establishments on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas are here discussed in a singular fashion. One proviso is necessary. Little information will be provided with reference to trading establishments east of Walnut Creek after 1866. In that year the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, eliminated overland traffic on the Santa Se Trail in that area.¹⁹ Consequently, many of the trading establishments east of Walnut Creek ceased to operate, although some remained in business to serve early settlers.

Hubbard's Stage Stand

The first of the trading establishments in present Kansas was located seven miles east of the Osage-Douglas county line, 17 miles southwest of Lawrence. The proprietor of the business, David Hubbard, described his establishment as a "small store, post office, and stage stand." Hubbard operated the stand from 1861 through 1863.²⁰ Stand is a curious designation for Hubbard's business. The term was used to designate inns which catered to men traversing the Natchez Trace in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One dictionary definition for the word is "any location for a business." Established late in the tenure of the Santa Fe Trail, the stand suffered the consequence of the guerrilla warfare during the Civil War. Following the raid on the Diamond Spring Station in May 1863, Dick Yeager and his fellow brigands rode eastward on the Santa Fe Trail. They stopped at Hubbard's place, shot the proprietor (not mortally), stole a horse, and continued eastward. At Black Jack, they

intercepted a stagecoach. Robbing the passengers of their valuables, they pressed on to Gardner where they robbed the express office, stole clothing from some hotel guests, and took horses belonging to the hotel's proprietor. Fleeing Gardner, they soon crossed the Missouri line to a region more receptive to their ilk.

In the following September, Hubbard abandoned his business to accept a position in the commissary department of the Thirteen Corps, United States Army.

110 Mile Creek

West of Hubbard's Stand was 110 Mile Creek. There, returning from Oregon in 1854, Fry P. McGee stopped at the stream then located in the Shawnee Reserve which became a part of Weller County, changed to Osage County in 1859. The stream, originally called Jones Creek, was named for its distance from Fort Osage as measured by the expedition dispatched to survey the Santa Fe Trail in 1825-1827. At the stream's crossing, McGee found three families, mixed-blood Shawnees, engaged in farming. On August 2, McGee and his brother Mobillion purchased the crossing site.²¹ The property was within the Shawnee Reserve, but white men often resorted to a well-used scheme to acquire the land. They married Indian women. There was another ruse used at times to the same end. White men persuaded Indians to sell a parcel of land.²² The Kansas-Nebraska Act was signed into law on May 30, 1854, but Kansas Territory was not officially opened to settlement until a later date.

Soon after the land was acquired, Fry McGee's wife and their daughters joined him at the crossing where they occupied the log buildings constructed by the original owners. In these quarters, McGee provided bed and board for Santa Fe Trail travelers. Additional income came from the toll bridge built over 110 Mile Creek.²³ A post office named Richardson for one of the original owners was established at what became known as 110 Mile Station in January 1855.²⁴ A mail station was also located at the crossing according to a table of distances published in 1858.²⁵ The table also listed a number of other items of interest to frontier travelers: water, wood, and

grass, also coal. The source of the coal is not known; but at a later date, Osage County became a huge coal-producing area. The table also listed entertainment. Ten other places between Westport and Cottonwood Creek were likewise identified. One writer opined that entertainment referred to drinking whiskey and card playing.²⁶ Such an interpretation ignores that the table identified a large number of stops west of Cottonwood Creek, none of which were listed as having entertainment available. In those places, whiskey was abundant and card playing was common. The interpretation also ignores the obvious lesson of demography. West of Cottonwood Creek in 1858, the region, far removed from the population centers in eastern Kansas Territory, was bereft of women of any kind, even that kind. Entertainment was most likely a reference to prostitution.

The station became a headquarters for proslavery sentiment with Fry McGee as its outspoken advocate. Early in 1855, James McClure was appointed census taker for the Territory's 7th and 8th voting districts. McClure had been forewarned by Governor Andrew Reeder of McGee's radical attitudes, and upon his arrival at the station the governor's counsel was confirmed. McGee engaged McClure in an argument which led to the census taker spending the night in a log building with no furniture or heat.²⁷ Tables were turned on McGee in the fall of 1857. Free-state men began raiding proslavery settlements in eastern Kansas Territory. The 110 Mile Station did not escape the looting. McGee was robbed of all his personal property.²⁸

About the same time McGee's daughter, with the unlikely name of America Puss, married William Harris. McGee and his new son-in-law organized a town company at the station, named Washington, but the town never developed. However, Harris remained in the partnership until McGee's death in 1861.²⁹ Subsequently, he built a store which he operated through 1866 when the Union Pacific closed the Santa Fe Trail traffic east of Walnut Creek.

142 Mile Creek

Twenty-eight miles west of 110 Mile Creek, the Santa Fe Trail

crossed 142 Mile Creek, so named for its distance from Fort Osage. There, in what became Breckenridge County (later Lyon County), Charles Withington arrived in June 1854, shortly after the ink had dried on the Kansas-Nebraska Act.³⁰ Like McGee, Withington was in violation of the Indian Intercourse and Trade Act, but between the date that the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law and the official opening of the Territory to settlement, federal authorities turned a blind eye to encroachment of men like Withington.

Withington had been appointed blacksmith at the Mississippi Sac and Fox Racoon River Agency in Iowa Territory in 1838 and continued in that position until the agency moved to a new location near Des Moines, and on to present Franklin County, Kansas, in Indian Territory three years later.³¹ He maintained his position as blacksmith until 1850 when he was appointed gunsmith for the agency.³² Resigning the position, he moved to Council Grove where he became the mail agent for Waldo, Hall and Company. As noted, in 1852 William Carr Lane was a guest in his home. Two years later he opened the store at 142 Mile Creek.

Not known as a ranch or a station, Withington's enterprise was characterized by locals and citizens of nearby counties as Charles Withington's, Withington's store, or simply a store.³³ A post office named Allen was added to the store in February 1855, with Withington as postmaster.³⁴ Capitalizing on his old trade, he opened a blacksmith shop and contracted with Hockaday and Hall to operate a mail station. Another significant source of revenue was derived from the toll bridge spanning 142 Mile Creek.³⁵ The original log building was expanded from time to time with "six or seven one-story rooms stretched eastward with a porch along the south side."³⁶ Such a structure, no doubt, housed another amenity, entertainment as listed in the previously mentioned 1858 table of distances.

Like McGee, Withington was beset by opportunists who raided settlements along the Santa Fe Trail. The brigands, sometimes proslavery advocates and sometimes free-state men, indiscriminately attacked settlers of both persuasions. On Sep-

tember 15, 1856, a gang representing themselves as free-staters looted the store, stealing everything in his possession.³⁷

Withington was appointed to two local offices in 1855, Justice of Peace and Constable. In the same year he was elected by the Territorial Legislature to serve on his county's first Board of Commissioners. Also in 1855 he was elected to the Territorial Council as a free-state man but was never seated because of the pro-slavery forces which came into power at that time.³⁸

Withington continued to operate the store through 1866 when the railroad ended Santa Fe wagon freighting through his area. At that point he turned his attention to the 160-acre farm he had previously pre-empted.³⁹

Rock Creek

To the west of 142 Mile Creek 13 miles was Rock Creek, named for the stony formations which lined its course. There, in the spring of 1854 in what became Breckenridge County (later Lyon County), Arthur Ingram Baker settled.⁴⁰ A fellow blacksmith with Charles Withington at the Sac and Fox Agency in Iowa, he came to Indian Territory with the agency in 1846. He resigned his blacksmith appointment in 1849 to become a licensed trader with the tribe; and in 1854 when the license was not renewed, he moved to Rock Creek.⁴¹

Baker came to Rock Creek before the May 30 signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. His settlement was within the boundaries of the Kanza Reserve; but he must have been aware of his encroachment for the property was not filed on or deeded until after his death when that parcel had become public land.⁴² Upon his arrival at Rock Creek, Baker opened a store which catered to Santa Fe Trail travelers and eventually to the Kanzas. Like Withington's business, Baker's enterprise was known simply as a store.

At Rock Creek the former blacksmith became the quintessential public servant. In both 1854 and 1855, he was appointed Election Clerk,⁴³ and in 1855 he was elected to the Kansas House of Representatives, a short-lived proposition. Fol-

lowing a recount of the votes, the seat was given to Mobillon McGee, partner with his brother Fry at 110 Mile Station.⁴⁴ Interestingly, McGee was a resident of Jackson County, Missouri. The year proved to be a busy time for Baker. In addition to the other offices, he was appointed Justice of Peace for Breckenridge County and postmaster at Miller, its location lost to history. The year of 1857 was equally active. Elected Probate Judge for his county, he also established Agnes City at the crossing site in partnership with E. M. Sewell and Emanuel Moises. Agnes City experienced early growth, but Baker's second attempt at town building was not so successful. On the heels of Agnes City's birth, he and five others organized the town company of Sonora. The town never developed. Baker's later attempts at town building were likewise unproductive. In 1858 he was one of several to incorporate Wamego in what became Chase County. In the same year, he was also involved in the Toledo Town Company, another unsuccessful speculation in what later was Chase County.⁴⁵

Baker's original structure, described as a cabin, was replaced in 1857-1858 by a substantial two-story stone house, 44 by 18 feet. A scaled-down version of the Kaw Indian Mission at Council Grove where Baker's mother was matron and his brother-in-law, T. S. Huffaker was the teacher, the facsimile duplicated the mission's design even to the lintels and portals. The store was located 100 feet from the residence, and several outbuildings completed the complex. Baker's business was not restricted to the store. From his arrival at Rock Creek, he engaged in farming, particularly as a stockman. Another source of income was the blacksmith shop, and he also served as postmaster at the Agnes City post office beginning in 1859.

As early as 1857 Baker advertised himself as an attorney, a profession for which he had no training. Nevertheless, he successfully pursued that calling, adding Real Estate Agent to his business card in 1858. In 1861 Baker purchased the Council Grove *Press*. His career in journalism was short lived. The last publication of the paper was printed in the following summer. Concurrent with his

venture in the newspaper business, Baker purchased the Gilkey House in Council Grove and renamed it the Union Hotel. The addition of a saloon did little to make the investment a success. Like the newspaper, it, too, was closed in the summer of 1861.

During this period, Baker had written in the *Press* in vigorous support of the Union. His support was more than editorial. In May 1861 he was largely responsible for the organization of the Frontier Riflemen, a company of volunteers formed at Council Grove. He was chosen to be captain. Regardless of the display of Union sympathies, he was charged in 1862 with supporting the secessionist cause and imprisoned at Fort Scott. Baker later explained the paradox stating that the death of his wife, in March 1861, contributed to his irrational behavior. Others opined that his 1861 business failures may have added to his depression. Baker returned to Agnes City, maintaining his innocence.

Back home, he began to court the young daughter of a neighbor on Bluff Creek, William Anderson, a man of known Confederate leanings. Anderson, by all accounts, assumed that his frequent visits were tantamount to engagement with his daughter. Much to the father's surprise, however, Baker suddenly announced his engagement to a seventeen-year-old schoolteacher, Annis Segur.

Shortly thereafter, two horses were stolen from Annis's father. Believing that Leo Griffin, a cousin of the Andersons, was the thief, Baker and his neighbors set out in search of the horses. A Mexican said to be associated with the Andersons was apprehended, brought back to Council Grove, and bound over to the District Court. A warrant was issued for Griffin's arrest. On May 12, Anderson sought out Baker at his home intent on killing him. But, Baker succeeded in killing Anderson as he climbed the stairs to the second floor of the fine home. Two days subsequent to Anderson's death, Baker and Miss Segur were married. Joining the bride at Rock Creek was her brother who clerked in the store.

On July 3 Bill Anderson, the oldest son of William, led a gang of family members and like-minded men to Agnes City. Waiting until dark, the

gang sent a man to the store pretending to be buying goods for a nearby wagon train. When the man requested whiskey, both Baker and Segur descended the stairs into the cellar where the spirits were kept. At once, the gang rushed into the store, firing into the cellar, hitting both men. Closing the cellar door, they torched the store, set fire to the residence and the other buildings, and fled east to Missouri. Young Segur was able to escape through the basement window of the store and lived long enough on the following day to report that Baker, fearing death by fire, put a pistol to his head and took his own life.

Diamond Spring

From Rock Creek to Council Grove was eight miles, and sixteen miles more was Diamond Spring, located in what was to become Wise County, later changed to Morris County. A popular stop on the Santa Fe Trail, the site was named by George C. Sibley in 1827. He wrote, "It might be appropriately called Diamond of the Plains,"⁴⁶ There Waldo, Hall and Company established a mail station. Though the exact date at which the station came into existence is unknown, Morris Taylor stated that it was in operation by 1853.⁴⁷ Waldo, Hall and Company had received an Indian trading license in 1850 when it opened a trading house at Council Grove in competition with its mail station. The license allowed the company to comply with the Indian Intercourse and Trade Act which permitted settlement in Indian Territory for army posts, authorized Christian missions, and licensed Indian traders. In both 1852 and 1853, the company was licensed to trade with the Kansas. Perhaps, the 1852/1853 licenses were intended for the mail station at Diamond Spring.⁴⁸

The station complex was impressive. Two large buildings were constructed, one to serve as a hotel, restaurant, and saloon; the other a combination warehouse and store. Additionally, a blacksmith shop, a number of corrals, and a full complement of outbuildings were situated nearby.⁴⁹ No doubt, the hotel was the scene of entertainment listed in the 1858 table of distances. The only other item listed was corn.

During the Border War period of

1855-1856, the station was closed for a time. Young Marion Sloan and her mother, Eliza Mahoney, arrived at the station in 1856 with a caravan en route to Fort Leavenworth. Afraid to proceed further without an escort, the caravan stayed two weeks at the station awaiting the arrival of another caravan which could accompany them to Fort Leavenworth. Finally, Mrs. Mahoney and Marion left on foot and proceeded to Council Grove.⁵⁰

Following the turbulent time of 1855-1856, the station was reopened and a post office was established in July 1859, with George Newbery as postmaster.⁵¹ Four years later the station suffered a fatal blow when Dick Yeager, a Quantrill associate, and his band of brigands arrived at Diamond Spring. The proprietor, Augustus Howell, was killed and his wife was seriously wounded.⁵² Following the raid, the station was closed and the post office was moved to Six Mile Creek.⁵³

Six Mile Creek

Six Mile Creek, named for its distance from Diamond Spring, was located in Morris County, originally Wise County. There in February 1863 the post office was transferred from Diamond Spring.⁵⁴ Samuel Shaft, appointed postmaster, was presumably the proprietor of the ranch located at the Santa Fe Trail crossing of the creek.⁵⁵

In the fall of 1865, two young brothers, Frank and William Hartwell, came from New Hampshire to Kansas seeking their fortune. At Topeka they were advised that a ranch would be a good investment; and subsequently, they purchased the Six Mile Creek enterprise. At that time, the ranch consisted of a "low stone structure with three rooms, and a log building used as a grocery, all under a dirt roof." There was, in addition, "a stable capacity of ten horses, and a good stone corral."⁵⁶ Adequate facilities, it appears, but not adequate patronage. Business was dismal through the winter months and not much better in the spring.

Word was that the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, was laying tracks to Junction City, and that the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail would soon be relocated there,

thus eliminating overland traffic in the Six Mile Creek area.⁵⁷ The Hartwells, who had paid \$2,000 for the ranch, sold it for a mere \$500, and departed to the Cimarron Crossing of the Santa Fe Trail where they learned that the Santa Fe Stage Company was planning for a new station.⁵⁸

The new owner was Charley Owens. Not much of his tenure at the ranch is known; but in 1868, Cheyennes, returning west from their confrontation with the Kansas near Council Grove, burned the buildings. Fortunately, Owens and his wife were away at the time.⁵⁹

Lost Spring

A short seven miles west of Six Mile Creek was Lost Spring, named for its lack of water at certain periods of the year. Emptying into Lyon Creek, it was a well-known location on the Santa Fe Trail. There, in present Marion County, George Smith established a ranch in 1859. In the same year, he contracted with Hockaday and Hall to operate a mail station. The three-room board and batten structure built by Smith measured 30 by 40 feet with an L extension containing a kitchen and dining area. The building was outfitted with four outside doors, five twelve-paned windows, and a dirt floor. Interior walls were covered with newspapers. In the absence of chimneys, stove pipes extended through the sod roof. Southwest of the house was a stockade, enclosing an acre of ground, constructed of eight-foot poles with rifle loops placed at appropriate intervals.⁶⁰

Late in 1859 a drifter named Jack Costello, who had traveled through the West following a stint in the Mexican War, stopped at Lost Creek for a night of drinking and gambling. By dawn of the following morning, Costello's poker prowess had won the station. Smith saddled a horse and rode away leaving his property in the lucky hands of Costello. Costello made a number of improvements to the station, building a corral and digging a well. Adding an ample supply of provisions, he began to cater to the lawless element of the area, and the station soon became known as a hangout for the ne'er-do-wells. Eleven men were said to have met their deaths at Costello's station.

In the same year the Thomas Wise family, returning from an unsuccessful trip to the Rocky Mountain gold fields, stopped at the ranch. Wise, being impressed with the farming prospects of the area, was persuaded by Costello to join him in the operation of the ranch. The partnership was strengthened in 1862 when Costello married Wise's sister, Abigail.⁶¹ In 1861 a post office named Lost Spring was established at the station. Oddly enough, neither Costello nor Wise was chosen as postmaster. Rather, Joshua Smith received the appointment.⁶²

In 1866, like other establishments east of Walnut Creek, the Lost Spring enterprise was forced to close by westward extension of the Union Pacific Railway. However, Costello and Wise remained at the ranch, farming the 160 acres homesteaded by Costello. In 1868 Costello sold the quarter section to Wise. Moving to Marion Centre, he opened a general store and saloon.⁶³

(concluded next issue)

Notes

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2. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, MA: G & C Merriam Co., Publishers, 1953).
3. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo: New Mexico and Her People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 51.
4. Janet Lecompte, *Pueblo, Hardscrabble and Greenhorn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 210.
5. Morris F. Taylor, *First Mail West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 15.
6. William E. Brown, *The Santa Fe Trail* (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988), 148.
7. Marc Simmons, *Following the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1984), 194.
8. Ibid., 195. The best guess as to the name Pigeon is that Alexander Valle's mother married a man named Pigeon, and he used that name as well as Valle. Court records in New Mexico show he had relatives named Pigeon.
9. Ibid., 197-198.
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11. Schuyler Jones, ed., *Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains 1859 - 1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 59-60.
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15. Jones, *Hunting and Trading*, 68.
16. Louise Barry, "The Ranch at Walnut Creek," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 54 (Summer 1971): 123.
17. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 271.
18. A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 1533.
19. David K. Clapsaddle, "Conflict and Commerce on the Santa Fe Trail: The Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, 1860-1867," *Kansas History*, 16 (Summer 1993): 134.
20. The information for this portion of the study subtitled Hubbard's Stage Stand was taken from David Hubbard, "Reminiscences of the Yeager Raid, On the Santa Fe Trail, In 1863," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 8 (1903-1904): 168-171.
21. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, 1529; Simmons, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 78-79; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 1188.
22. Everett Dick, *The Sodhouse Frontier, 1854-1890* (New York: D. Appleton - Century Company, Inc., 1937), 164-165.
23. Simmons, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 79.
24. Robert W. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1961), 108, 213.
25. Barry, "Ranch at Walnut Creek," ff. 136.
26. Sondra Van Meter McCoy, "Central Kansas Trading Ranches on the Santa Fe Trail," *Adventures on the Santa Fe Trail* (Topeka: Kansas Historical Society, 1988), 112.
27. James R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 8 (1903-1904): 236.
28. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, 1532.
29. Ibid., 1531.
30. Flora Rosenquist Godsey, "The Early Settlement and Raid on the 'Upper Neosho,'" *Kansas Historical Collections*, 16 (1925): 452; Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 661.
31. Ibid., 661.
32. Ibid., 997.
33. Stephen Jackson Spear, "Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dragoon Creek, Wabaunsee County," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 13 (1913-1914): 351; "Letter of John C. Van Gundy to William Connelly," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 17 (1926-1928): 598; J. M. Bisbey, "Pioneering in Wabaunsee County," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 11 (1909-1910): 598.
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35. D. E. Schiessen, "History of Allen, Kansas," *Our Land - A History of Lyon County, Kansas* (Emporia: Emporia State Press, 1976), 40-41.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. William Michael Shimeall, "Arthur Ingram Baker: Frontier Kansan," (Master's Thesis, Emporia State University, 1978), 27.
41. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 661, 730, 792, 896, 897, 1059, 1138; Shimeall, "Baker," 19, 27.
42. Ibid., 75-76.
43. "Executive Minutes Kept During Governor Reeder's Administration," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 3 (1883-1885): 263-264, 272.

44. "Governor Reeder's Administration," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 5 (1891-1896): 188.
45. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices*, 84, 208; Shimeall, "Baker," 38; "Extinct Geographical Locations," *Kansas Historical Collections* 12 (1911-1912), 472, 487; Shimeall, "Baker," 87. Material for the remaining portion of this study subtitled Rock Creek was taken from Shimeall, "Baker."
46. Kate L. Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and Others* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 184.
47. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 30.
48. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, 949, 1108, 1171.
49. George Pierson Morehouse, "Diamond Spring, the Diamond Of The Plain," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 14 (1915-1918): 797.
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53. Taylor, *First Mail West*, 95.
54. Ibid.
55. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices*, 119, 208.
56. Louise Barry, "The Ranch at the Cimarron Crossing," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 39 (Autumn 1973): 350.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 350-351.
59. Marc Simmons and Hal Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2001), 102.
60. Clara M. Fengel Shields, "The Lyon Creek Settlement," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 14 (1915-1918): 143.
61. McCoy, "Central Kansas Trading Ranches," 111.
62. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices*, 77, 204.
63. McCoy, "Central Kansas Trading Ranches," 112.

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(continued from page 1)

materials in the mail this summer. The May issue of *Wagon Tracks* will include much more detailed information about the speakers and their topics, as well as other activities. For questions regarding the seminar, please contact Ruth Peters at the Santa Fe Trail Center at 620-285-2054 or e-mail <museum@santafe-trailcenter.org>.

CAMP TALES

—CHAPTER REPORTS—

Cimarron Cutoff

President Leon Ellis
PO Box 668
Elkhart KS 67950
(620) 697-2517 (home), -4321 (work)
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No report.

Wagon Bed Spring

President Jeff Trotman
PO Box 1005
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(620) 356-1854
<swpb@pld.com>

The winter meeting is scheduled for February 6, 12:00 noon, Alejandro's Restaurant, Ulysses, KS. The spring meeting will be April 10 at the Sublette museum complex. The program will be especially for children, and everyone is invited to bring children to the meeting.

Heart of the Flint Hills

President Carol L. Retzer
4215 E 245th St
Lyndon KS 66451
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No report.

End of the Trail

La Alcaidesa Joy Poole
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No report.

Corazón de los Caminos

President Harry Myers
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(505) 466-4129
<hmyers@cybermesa.com>

Officers for 2010 were elected at the November business meeting in Las Vegas: Harry Myers, president; Paula Steves, vice-president; Dixie Odom, secretary/newsletter; Nancy Robertson, treasurer; Faye Gaines, trail preservation; Henri Vanderkolk, archives; and Doyle Foreman.

For the program, Corazón member Inez Ross gave a dramatic portrayal of Marion Russell based on Russell's book, *Land of Enchantment*. Inez chose to depict Marion's trip east on the Santa Fe Trail when she was 11 years old. With stories of her life, childhood antics, period amusements, and Trail history, Inez entertained her audience.

President Harry Myers had heart surgery in January. We all wish him a speedy recovery.

Wet/Dry Routes

President David Clapsaddle
215 Mann
Larned KS 67550
(620) 285-3295
<adsaddle@cox.net>

Seventy-five members and guests met for the winter meeting on

January 24 at Kinsley, Kansas. Following a fine meal of chili and pie, the Faye Anderson Award was presented to Faye Gaines. Officers for 2010 were elected: President David Clapsaddle, Vice-President Rosetta Graff, Secretary/Treasurer Merlene Baird, Program Director David Clapsaddle. Lon Palmer reported on Braving Cheyenne Bottoms, a booklet by David Clapsaddle available at Main Street Hoisington and the Kansas Wetland Education Center. Also reporting was Kevin McMurry who spoke to the traveling trunk, The Little Red House, which made its debut at Larned's Northside Elementary School on January 15. The program was presented by Faye Gaines who spoke about the Point of Rocks Ranch which she and her family have operated for a number of years. The spring meeting is scheduled for Sunday, April 25, at the Episcopal Church in Larned..

Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron

President Jim Sherer
1908 La Mesa Dr
Dodge City KS 67801
(620) 227-7377
<sherer@cjnetworks.com>

No report.

Missouri River Outfitters

President Roger Slusher
1421 South St
Lexington MO 64067
(660) 259-2900
<rslusher@yahoo.com>

No report.

Quivira

President Linda Colle
PO Box 1105
McPherson KS 67460
(620) 241-3800
<blkcolle@swbell.net>

Programs scheduled:

February 18, annual meeting, 5:30 p.m., Galva Community Center, program by Joanne VanCoevern, "Letters from Fort Dodge."

May 1, 2:00 p.m., McPherson Municipal Center, program by John Martin, "The Ed Miller Story."

May 8, 1:00 p.m., History of Cheyenne Bottoms and Tour

Cottonwood Crossing

President Steve Schmidt
1120 Cobblestone Ct
McPherson KS 67460
(620) 245-0715
<wfordok@yahoo.com>

We have completed our project to

place signs at all locations the SFT crosses a Marion County road. This has received good local press. Our next project is to replace our existing SFT Auto Tour signs with the SFTA/NPS approved "Local Tour" signs. Our Auto Tour brochures (available on the SFTA web site) continue to be a "hot item" and we can hardly keep the literature boxes supplied (in good weather).

July 3 we will have the re-dedication ceremony for the Lost Spring monument and installation of the new time capsule. We are working on design of historic interpretive panels to place at the site sometime (hopefully) in 2010. Development of the Lost Spring Historic Site is a joint effort of the chapter, Shields Family, and Marion County.

We plan to use our education grant money to produce a chapter brochure to promote membership, and also to produce an information packet to give to local agencies and utilities to raise awareness of where the SFT is located and to encourage preservation of SFT cultural resources.

We welcome Bobby Gibson as a new Director on the Board. Other officers for 2010 are President Steve Schmidt, Vice-President Sharron Schutte, Secretaries Doug and Pauline Sharp, Treasurer Kent Becker, and Directors Vernon Lohrentz, Bill Silverstrand, and Jim and Debi Owens.

Keven Hiebert presented the program at our November meeting about the Plains Indians. He had an incredible museum-quality exhibit of Indian artifacts. Our next meeting will be March 11 when Pat Seidel will present a program on Marion Russell. David Clapsaddle will present our program in May, date TBA.

Bent's Fort

President Pat Palmer
PO Box 628
Lamar CO 81052
(719) 931-4323
<cnhutton@bresnan.net>

On January 16 the chapter held its annual meeting at the Senior Center in Las Animas. Over 40 members and guests celebrated the highlights of 2009: 9 tours to historic sites in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico; restoration of the historic Robb Pioneer Cemetery; cleanup projects at Boggsville; host-

ing and feeding numerous groups visiting the Trail, including students, teachers, and foreign film crews; and marking the site of the Trail in several locations with limestone posts.

SFTA President Joanne VanCoeven spoke of successful efforts by SFTA to preserve and protect the Trail from modern developments such as cell phone towers and natural gas pipelines. She also announced that SFTA is working with American Indians whose traditional tribal lands lay where the Santa Fe Trail crossed. Several tribes are interested in working with NPS & SFTA to update kiosks along the Trail to include Indian place names and history.

Brooke Stafford from the NPS offices in Santa Fe presented an audio-visual program on the Rediscovery Project.

Lolly Ming, tour director, announced the 2010 tour schedule. All tours are scheduled for the 3rd Saturday of the month beginning in May. Meeting spots and times will be announced later.

The highlight of the meeting was the presentation of the 2009 Member of the Year Award. This year's honoree is Betty Murray, Las Animas, in appreciation of her work on newsletters, membership, and leadership. Betty and husband Emery are long-time members of the chapter and have contributed much to its growth.

Douglas County

President John V. Jackson
1305 N 200 Rd
Baldwin City KS 66006

Santa Fe Trail Association
PO Box 31
Woodston, KS 67675

Change Service Requested

(785) 594-3094

No report.

NEW SFTA MEMBERS

This list includes new memberships received since the last issue. If there is an error in this information, please send corrections to the editor. We thank you for your support.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

The following members of SFTA have upgraded to life membership:

Tom & Peggy Ferguson, HCR 63 Box 502, Raton NM 87740

Davy J. Mitchell, 6801 Norfolk, Lubbock TX 79413

Roger & Sandra Slusher, 1421 South St, Lexington MO 64067

Mike & Kathy Trier, 10109 Wildflower Dr, Unionville MO 64565

INSTITUTION MEMBERSHIPS

Aztec Mill Museum, 620 State Rd 58, Cimarron NM 87714

FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS

Rex & DeVonne Abrahams, 1708 27th Ave, Canton KS 67428

Roy & Dianne Connelly, 711 Corse Ave, Larned KS 67550

Cee & Greg Heller, 309 Forest Dr, Ellsworth KS 67439

Tim & Jan Lewis, 602 E San Jacinto Ave, Ulysses KS 67880

Todd & Carole Lynne, Jared & Tate Lovin, 7360 Flush Rd, St George KS 66535

Jim and Mary Kay Moyer, 2158 E Road 5, Ulysses KS 67880

Rod & Marie Sauter, PO Box 2595, Las Vegas NM 87701

John & Mary Scott, 1224 E Ohio Ave, Ulysses KS 67880

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

Gary E. Anschutz, 180 W Floyd Ave, Galatia KS 67565

Lowell Burns Family, 2208 Old Santa Fe Trail, Napoleon MO 64074

John Dietterich, 112 N Delaware, Ransom KS 67572

John Kenny, 91 Verano Loop, Santa Fe NM 87508

John E. Leamon, 403 Coventry Ln, Manchester MO 63021

James A. Morrison, 8526 South Point, Richmond MO 64085

Vivian Nelson, PO Box 198, Garfield KS 67529

William M. Petro, 3817 Cholla Dr NE, Albuquerque NM 87144

Raymond Schrader, 2528 SW Chauncey Dr, Topeka KS 66614

Ken Skirtz, 2208 Eureka Terr, Cincinnati OH 45219

TRAIL CALENDAR

Everyone is invited to send notices for this section; provide location, date, time, and activity. This is a quarterly. The next issue should appear in May, so send information for June and later to arrive by April 20, 2010. Other events are listed in chapter reports.

April 16-18, 2010: SFTA Board meeting, Elkhart KS.

April 24, 2010: Fort Larned Old Guard Annual Meeting at the Fort.

Sept. 16-19, 2010: Trail Rendezvous, Larned KS.

FROM THE EDITOR

The Caches column, unchanged from last issue, is omitted because of space. Other items are carried over.

Please mark your calendar now and plan to be at the Rendezvous in September. The story of the U.S. Mail on the Trail will provide an informative and entertaining program. I hope to see you there.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva



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