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ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The property types defined as Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail are primarily the products of trail traffic from 1821 to 1880. Property types associated with the reuse and commemoration of the trail up to 1930 are also included. Specific periods of significance will vary, depending on the property type and its location along the trail. Property types were developed through the reconnaissance survey of known resources in the state of Kansas, as well as the compilation of other known properties in Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico, including those previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Appendices G-K). The six property types identified are: Transportation Sites, Travel and Trade Sites, Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites, Trail Graves and Cemeteries, Monuments and Markers, and Cultural Landscapes. Where appropriate, subtypes are further distinguished under each type. In some instances, no examples of the subtypes are expected to be found, yet their existence during the periods of significance is crucial to the understanding of extant resources.

Many of the property types are, or are located within, rural historic landscapes.⁷³⁷ As such, the majority of extant Santa Fe Trail resources are anticipated to be classified as sites (and/or sites within districts). There are four distinct definitions of sites that apply to this document: historic sites, historic archeological sites, prehistoric archeological sites, and contributing land areas. Historic sites are landscapes with above-ground evidence of the trail. Historic archeological sites are those resources containing artifacts from the historic period of the Santa Fe Trail; whereas, prehistoric archeological sites contain information related to American Indian presence on the land from before the historic period. Contributing land areas are portions of the landscape that may not contain physical evidence of the trail itself but are significant because of their location within the viewshed of a resource and/or because of their relationship to the district or site. One or all of these definitions may apply to nominated properties.

The location and setting of trail-related resources are paramount in determining integrity. The natural landscape directed the multiple routes, determined the locations of rest areas, and provided way-finders. The natural landscape was the essence of the trail; therefore, it should not be treated as a buffer but as an integral and defining characteristic of the resource. Emphasis shall be placed on the ability of the modern landscape to communicate the historic feeling of place. Changes to land use and management may not seriously lessen the value of a resource if the new use is compatible with historic uses (e.g., prairie turned pastureland). Whereas the introduction of invasive non-historic land uses is often evident near a resource (e.g., wind farms, power lines, natural gas lines, recreational areas), especially in rural areas, the impact shall be evaluated on an individual basis to determine if the sites retain enough integrity to support a nomination.

Because the resources are located in five states, the frequency, length, and condition of sites will vary. In New Mexico, Colorado, and Oklahoma, cultivation in the areas around the trail has been minimal; whereas, in Kansas, agricultural practices have erased or reduced the size of many extant resources. Though few in number, historic sites do exist in urban areas and are surrounded by post-trail development. Similarly, because a large portion of the trail is still within rural areas, natural resource production and harvesting has encroached upon resources in all states.

⁷³⁷ A rural historic landscape is "a geographic area that historically has been used by people, or shaped by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possess a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features." Linda Flint McClelland, et al., "National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes," rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1999), 3.

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By definition, the Santa Fe Trail is a linear resource. Today, trail properties occur singularly (e.g., a set of ruts) or within well-defined complexes (e.g., graves near a skirmish site or trail ruts leading to a stream crossing near a stage station). These resources historically were interconnected by the trail system. Because of this interconnectedness, a top-down hierarchical approach to the nomination of resources shall be used. This approach first considers if a significant concentration of resources exists to create a historic district. Where proximity, ownership, and future management practices do not allow the creation of contiguous districts, then individual trail resources shall be nominated with an emphasis on their relationships to adjacent trail properties. Discontiguous historic districts are permissible for concentrations of resources solely defined by archeological resources or may be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Boundary limitations will depend on the individual property types. However, boundaries are typically drawn to include a significant concentration of intact historic resources, such as trail ruts and sub-surface archeological features, as well as to an appropriate area of landscape surrounding the known resources. Consideration shall be given to natural topographic features that are related to the trail. In many instances, the nominated sites contain tangible evidence for only a small percentage of the related historic context. For example, a cut-down to a stream crossing may be the only extant resource at a site that historically also contained a campsite, a ferry, and a ranch. While physical evidence may be concentrated solely on the cut-down, documentary evidence of the surrounding context shall be used to form adequate boundaries to include the land within which the other resources were located.

Property Type: Transportation Sites

Transportation sites are those resources directly created by or for traffic (e.g., foot travel, pack animal transport, ox-, horse-, and mule-drawn wagons) or which served as directional landmarks to travelers. Included also are those trail segments which were reengineered or adapted for use by later forms of transportation (e.g., railroads and early motorized vehicles). These resources are man-made landscape features (e.g., trail ruts caused by repeated use and/or erosion and later road segments that were constructed and/or engineered over existing trail ruts), naturally occurring landscape features utilized and adapted by man because of their characteristics (e.g., stream and river crossings and river landings), and naturally occurring landscape features that acted as wayfaring signs (e.g., mounds and rock formations).

The existence of a transportation site is verified by historical research, field observations and documentation, maps, and correlation of GPS coordinates with existing General Land Office (GLO) survey lines, where applicable.⁷³⁸ In some instances, the GLO lines were surveyed after a portion of the trail ceased to be used, in which case the field observations and historical research can be correlated with other known maps.⁷³⁹ The Santa Fe Trail passed through many modern urbanized areas, but the bulk of the trail is still located in rural areas. At times, these properties are in sufficiently close proximity to be linked together as a district of sites. Other sites stand in relative isolation. In the main, the categorization (i.e., site or district) of each property or set of properties depends on local environmental circumstances, application of standards for boundary definitions, and owner consent of contributing resources. Because of the potentially large boundaries included in a single nomination, multiple property owners may exist for the various resources. Since a district depends on an owner's consent to list, such instances may arise in which all owners are not in agreement over the nomination

⁷³⁸ General Land Office survey lines give approximate locations of the trail and are most accurate at section lines.

⁷³⁹ A good example of this occurs in Stevens County, Kansas. The 1.5 mile segment does not correlate with the GLO survey in this area of the state; however, the trail segment is identified in Map 57 of Franzwa's *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail* as an earlier branch of the Cimarron Route.

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of resources. In these cases, resources that would best fit within a district still can be evaluated for individual eligibility as a site.

While in modern usage the word “trail” typically connotes an undeveloped route, historic transportation sites were part of a dynamic transportation system that still possesses cultural significance. Trails should be conceived as a multi-level circulation network, at one location operating on a local level, and at another, serving regional or even national level needs.⁷⁴⁰ Transportation sites are important for the historic associations they possess, as well as for the physical attributes displayed.

Critical to the understanding of transportation sites is the formation of adequate boundaries. When possible, natural delimiters (e.g., topographical features) are preferable. This is more in character with maintaining the natural context of the site. Care should be taken when establishing the boundaries of a transportation site with nearby modern visual intrusions. These modern features should be avoided; however, a sufficient amount of land adjacent to the resource should be a primary consideration. The inherent nature of each subtype will determine the approach to establishing boundaries.

Significance – Transportation Sites

The associative characteristics tied to the physical features of the trail lend it significance. The Santa Fe Trail tied two countries together in a mutual – and later competitive – relationship. Its use had a profound effect on the resident American Indian populations of the region. The Comanche, Kiowa, Ute, Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, among others, all increasingly resisted the encroachment upon their lands that the trail represented. The trail was also the primary means by which American hegemony was established over a vast area of the northernmost Mexican Republic. Each transportation site may tangibly reflect diverse areas of significance: **archeology, commerce, transportation, military, exploration/settlement, and ethnic heritage**, being a few.

As a commercial trail, the rutted trail segments are associated with the commercial use of the trail, beginning with Becknell’s expeditions and the first wagons on the trail in the early 1820s. The movement of commerce was the prominent trail use through the succeeding quarter century. Running between Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico, the main trail corridor was a portion of an important international trade network between the United States and the newly independent Mexican Republic.⁷⁴¹ By the 1830s, the eastern terminus of the trail had moved from Franklin to Independence and then on to Westport. The properties reflecting this commercial use form an important physical reflection of the development of American and Hispanic commerce in the West.

During the 15 years after Kearny’s taking of Santa Fe in 1846, the establishment of American hegemony over the region – and over its inhabitants – became a primary concern of the US government. During this time, the trail became more significant in the area of military history as it served as the principal thoroughfare of military supply in the region.⁷⁴² While commerce still played a vital role in trail use, primarily through military contracts with civilian carriers, the trail became more tangibly linked with the operations of the War Department in the maintenance of military operations in the West. However, beginning in 1850, one important commercial enterprise during the post-Mexican-American War era was the establishment of mail – and later stagecoach – service between the eastern end of the trail and Santa Fe, which continued through 1880.

⁷⁴⁰ McClelland, “Bulletin 30,” 5, 16.

⁷⁴¹ For instance by 1840, one half of the Santa Fe Trail freight was making its way to Chihuahua. Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail*, 17.

⁷⁴² Miller, “Freighting,” 11.

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The evaluation of appropriate areas and levels of significance requires judgment as to which historic context is most dominant because the trail's military and commercial uses became intertwined. Often multiple areas of significance will pertain on a national level. As the network of railroads edged deeper into the West, the trail became increasingly regional in character and more frequently incorporated into local road networks. Hence an evaluation at the state and local levels of significance is also appropriate. This is primarily true after 1870 when the Kansas Pacific Railroad reached Colorado, and transshipment of goods often was made from towns such as Kit Carson, Colorado. The AT&SF Railroad used Junction City, Fort Harker, Hays, and Sheridan, Kansas as eastern termini as it expanded west and reached Santa Fe in 1880, spelling a virtual end to significant Santa Fe Trail use.⁷⁴³ The level of significance for this property type is determinable by examining the documentary record of the trail recorded in primary and secondary sources. The trail's significance at the national level spans all six associated historic contexts, as well as the individual state context in which the resource is located.

Conceivably, all four of the National Register Criteria A through D can be applied to transportation sites within these contexts. However, the historic resources existing along the Santa Fe Trail lend themselves to registration within certain Criteria over others. Within this property type, the principal Criterion is A, which includes those patterns of events associated with commerce, military history, and transportation; Criterion D is also expected to apply when sites have yielded or have the potential to yield important archeological information pertaining to the period of significance. Criterion B is applicable to sites that are clearly linked with a specific person significant to the resource. A transportation site is rarely by itself eligible for registration under Criterion C for its distinctive appearance or construction. Important resources can be combined with ancillary sites, which would make them contributing resources to a district under these Criteria, for instance, when historic architectural or archeological sites lie in proximity to the trail.

Registration Requirements – Transportation Sites

To adequately reflect their significance, transportation sites must have a clear linkage to the trail's use and reuse, as explained in the associated historic contexts. Each property must be individually evaluated for its period of significance and its significance in the area of transportation, though other areas may apply as well. The resource is eligible if it is clearly shown to have played an important role in maintaining the trail's viability as a commercial, military, or stagecoach road or if sections of the trail were reused for early motorized vehicle traffic after trail use diminished in the area.

As previously noted, transportation sites are foremost eligible under Criterion A at the national level of significance. Other levels – state and local – may apply if the site more obviously represents a locally important roadway or was part of an important regional system (e.g., segments of the Ft. Larned Military Road in Pawnee County, Kansas). Clearly if the route of the trail passed through a locality, enabling its existence, it was also significant at the local level. At the state level, however, it must be shown that the transportation site functioned as an integral part of the territorial or state transportation network in hauling goods or people. For instance, those parts of the Santa Fe Trail that served as parts of stagecoach networks, or of the ever-diminishing lengths of the trail used as railroads expanded westward, represent resources significant at the state level.

Criterion B allows for the registration of resources linked to a well-known individual's experience in traveling the trail documented in diaries and journals. Such accounts from the period of historic significance can provide an important link in interpreting the feeling of time and place associated with certain transportation sites.

⁷⁴³ Miller, "Freighting," 14-15.

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When using this Criterion, the association between the trail user and the site must be particularly significant and well-documented. In most cases, the significant person should be demonstrated to have been prominent in the development of the trail or associated with events significant to the site. The relevant level of significance must be determined in reference to the individual's importance as a chronicler of the trail or participation in important historic events, usually meriting national level significance.

Transportation sites are also eligible under Criterion D. Archeological prospection, geophysical survey, and metal detector survey of transportation sites have been shown to reveal associated artifact assemblages, sometimes buried and sometimes not, that can inform on the use of the trail during its period of significance; there is every reason to believe that such an assemblage is present along its course. Under Criterion D extant properties that retain integrity have the potential to yield important information to understanding the use and nature of the Santa Fe Trail and other road transportation road systems, including construction methods, patterns of use and change over time, evolving trade patterns, and cultural interactions. Study of both the remnant trail segments and adjacent archeological features can provide valuable insight into the evolving patterns of historic development in the regions through which the trail passed. The extant sites associated with the Santa Fe Trail likely contain data which may be vital to any wider study of the 19th-century trade and economic development. Examples of historic period road and trail segments are relatively rare, as evidence of such activity has often been obliterated by subsequent development or natural causes. Further investigation could address key questions regarding trade and transportation variability and change. Excavation could also provide additional social data including better estimates of the frequency of use during various phases of settlement, the role played by the military, women, various ethnic and social groups, and the nature of trail users, material culture and the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities.⁷⁴⁴

The analysis of a transportation site is relatively straightforward. It involves evaluating whether integrity of the visual scene and trail features is sufficiently retained along the verified trail route. This process involves evaluating the location and setting of extant sites. It also entails judging whether trail integrity is sufficient to reflect the areas and periods of historic significance. These variables include the retention of current natural and historic vegetation patterns, landscape views, and other factors capable of ensuring long-term site integrity (e.g., low erosion, soil stability).⁷⁴⁵ Landscapes develop through a mix of evolving patterns and activities, the material record of which was influenced by cultural preferences, available technology, and response to the natural environment.⁷⁴⁶ In the case of the Santa Fe Trail, the activities of animal-drawn transport have formed the most vivid reminder of these dictates.

The physical character of a transportation site must display sufficient environmental integrity. That is, the existence of a certain degree of visual quality reminiscent of the historic scene, unobstructed by modern construction or major intrusions, and capable of evoking the qualities of integrity in terms of feeling, setting, and association. Environmental integrity is the quality of visual context of the historical scene remaining intact; it will be discussed further under each subtype. Given the rarity and significance of the remaining transportation sites, flexibility must be allowed in determining what is a sufficient retention of the visual scene. In rural areas, modern visual intrusions such as barbed wire fences, telephone and power poles, roads, hedgerows, and cultivated fields are now common elements in proximity to these sites. In urban areas, modern intrusions are more pronounced

⁷⁴⁴ Michael Elliott, Paul Lusignan, et al., Unpublished Comments on Apache Canyon Bridge Site National Register Nomination, New Mexico, 2012.

⁷⁴⁵ The NPS *Management & Use Plan* details the components of the trail ecosystem in its "Natural Environment" section (53-56), makes provisions for appropriate re-vegetation efforts with the U.S. Soil Conservation Service (111-113), and details threatened and endangered native species in the trail region (132-136).

⁷⁴⁶ McClelland, "Bulletin 30," 3.

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and can include housing subdivisions and other built developments. Because modern visual intrusions are sometimes unavoidable, the sites affected by one or more of these modern intrusions may still be considered eligible for registration. Further, in urban areas, transportation sites can be determined eligible even if they are short in length because of their rarity due to development pressures.

Subtype: Trail Segments

Trail segments include ruts/swales, stream crossings, and cut-downs.⁷⁴⁷ Visually they are broad depressions in the soil or rock created by the continuous heavy movement of trail traffic. Ruts are the most common trail features still visible. Though cases exist of a singular rut, historically, because of the travel formation of caravans, ruts most often occur in sets. Cut-downs are a single, wide rut leading down a bank to the crossing of a body of water. Stream crossings are evident as visible ruts cut into the rocks lining stream beds. For clarity, a segment shall be defined as one or more parallel ruts.

Trail segments show the variable trail route as it developed over time. The narrowing and widening of the trail reflects reactions to local topography and to local and seasonal weather conditions. Since transport along the trail depended on animal power, forage and water were prime considerations in trail use. Features of the natural environment such as springs thus played a vital role in determining where the trail went. The oftentimes featureless nature of the High Plains made topographic landmarks an important feature of trail travel. All of these variables, and relations among the travelers, American Indian inhabitants, and Mexican residents of New Mexico, made for a dynamic transportation network that often confronted the trail users with a series of obstacles requiring critical decisions.

The character of this subtype will most often result in linear-drawn boundaries. When establishing boundaries for trail segments, some of which are miles long, important consideration shall be given to the inclusion of contributing land areas adjacent to the segments. Ideally, the viewshed from the trail segments would become the extent of the drawn boundary. In practical terms, however, land management and owner consent may prevent such large areas from being included within the boundaries of the trail segments. Therefore, as linear corridors, trail segment boundaries shall include at least a 50 meter (164 foot) contributing land area around the resource in order to incorporate a portion of the contributing land area as well as potential features historically associated with wagon movement and other aspects of historic significance and use.

Trail segments often can be verified by comparing present locations with the General Land Office (GLO) survey lines. Because the survey lines are not always precise, GLO lines can be generally relied upon to verify general locations of the trail with GPS data collected during field investigations.

The condition of trail segments varies because of climate, soil type, and other environmental factors. Surface visibility during on-the-ground viewing may be limited in dry climates where the soil is sandier (e.g., Cimarron National Grassland); however, when viewed from above, many times the segments are clearly delineated. In many instances, careful examination of the pattern of vegetation within a segment shows the location of individual ruts. As natural swales, water tends to collect in the bottoms of ruts, causing the plant life to thrive more in these locations than on the swales' berms. On sloped terrain, the trail swales often become highly eroded, resulting in deeper and more obvious manifestations of the trail.

⁷⁴⁷ Though technical definitions vary for the terms "rut" and "swale," for the purposes of this submission, the terms are defined synonymously.

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Significance of trail segments

Trail segments are significant for their associations with most of the historic contexts discussed in Section E: International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and in some cases, The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad, as well as the individual state contexts. The end date of the time period for individual segments will vary, depending on when the use of the trail as a commercial, military, or stage route was discontinued. For example, once the railroad reached Hays City (later Hays), Kansas in 1867 and the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road was opened in that year, trail traffic east of Fort Dodge ceased except for military supply of military posts such as Fort Larned. The period of significance for nominated trail segments east of Hays, then, would end before or at 1867. Periods of significance also will be more strictly defined, depending on the extent to which the trail was used, but they will fall between 1821 and 1880. Nationally significant primary routes are defined as being initially created for and by the Santa Fe trade and were used for the longest period of time. Specifically, these routes are the main trail from Franklin, Missouri to the split-offs in Ford County, Kansas between the Mountain Route and the Cimarron Route and from the rejoining locations of these two routes in Mora County, New Mexico to Santa Fe, as well as the Mountain and Cimarron routes themselves. As previously mentioned, the actual route of travel varied for a number of reasons, so these primary routes were not a single linear trail. In southwestern Kansas (including Barton, Pawnee, Edwards, and Ford counties), for instance, the main route had two branches: the Wet and Dry routes, named for the amount of water occurring along the branch. These two branches are considered part of the primary Cimarron Route.

Secondary routes were developed for Santa Fe Trail traffic – commercial and military – but were in use for a shorter period of time. Secondary routes include: the 1846 Military Road, the Fort Riley-Fort Larned Road, the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road, the Aubry Cutoff, the Fort Wallace-Fort Lyon Road, and the Fort Union-Granada Road. Tertiary routes were not created solely for the Santa Fe trade but were occasionally used as alternate and supporting roads. Nominated segments that are secondary or tertiary routes will have shorter periods of significance and will most likely have a regional or local level of significance.⁷⁴⁸

Trail segments are primarily eligible under Criteria A and D in the areas of **commerce, transportation,** and **archeology** for the site's association with the pattern of events that created, developed, and sustained traffic along this corridor from 1821 through 1880 as noted in the general significance section of transportation sites. In addition, segments may be eligible in the area of **military** significance for their association with a military trail used during this time period for Santa Fe Trail-related reasons.

Registration requirements of trail segments

Trail segments are eligible under Criterion A in the areas of commerce and transportation if they served as part of the trade route between Franklin, Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico between 1821 and 1880 and in the area of military if they were also associated with major military events or were military roads used for Santa Fe Trail traffic. Integrity of design, location, setting, feeling, and association should be intact.

Though not consciously designed, the continuous traffic created the physical evidence of the trail segments in terms of their form, and the formation of travel caravans determined the spatial organization of the segments (e.g., the number and locations of the individual ruts at any given spot along the route). Special consideration of the geographical features of individual sites will be necessary for determining if a segment is

⁷⁴⁸ See Table 3 in Section G for a list of routes and the counties within which these routes were located.

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eligible. Some erosion by wind and water is expected to have occurred to these sites and should not make a segment ineligible if the overall visual integrity of feeling, setting, location and association of the segment is intact. In particularly harsh environments, the amount of physical evidence may be indistinguishable by on-the-ground observation. However, if the segment is distinguishable in corresponding aerial images and verified by archeological assessment, the segment would still be eligible as contributing to a district or site. For example, some segments in the Cimarron National Grassland are barely distinguishable on foot; however, archeological testing and recent aerial photography have sufficiently located and adequately documented segments.

Changes in land use and management also are expected to have occurred since 1880, especially where the routes went through lands that are now agricultural fields. Where the ruts and berms have not been erased by plowing, a change in vegetation from the historic period is acceptable as long as the segments are distinguishable. Similarly, the transfer of prairie to pasture is acceptable if other physical evidence remains. Often the vegetation through which the trail segments passed has been altered due to agricultural use or natural processes such as droughts and wildfires. The vegetative material, though increasing the integrity of the site if similar to historic material, does not need to be retained from the historic period in order for a segment to be eligible.

Modern human impacts to trail segments may detract from the visual condition of the segment's adjacent land areas. Most often these are seen in the form of energy developments such as wind farms and gas and oil wells. These interactions are prevalent, however, so their presence does not automatically preclude an intact segment from being eligible for listing. Where feasible, existing energy developments shall be omitted from the resource's boundary; further, proposed future developments within close proximity to the resource may contribute to the segment's ineligibility. Each nominated segment shall be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Subtype: Later Transportation Segments

The Santa Fe Trail was a template for later transportation development in the United States in terms of both road and railroad networks. Before the trail ceased to be used for major commercial transportation by wagon, portions of the route were undoubtedly used by locals for travel between communities as settlement along the Santa Fe Trail increased. Both the Kansas Pacific (as it was eventually known) and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe (ATSF) railroads followed significant portions of the established trail, changing the mode of transportation along the trail. By 1880, when the railroad made the Santa Fe Trail's commercial wagon use obsolete, trail portions continued to be adapted for use as local, state, or federal roads (e.g., modern Blue Ridge Cutoff through the Kansas City, Missouri area and parts of US-56 Hwy in Kansas).

The trail bed itself was often reworked to accommodate these later transportation modes. Existing trail beds were adapted into local roads or rail beds overlaid the trail bed. Often new roads or railroad beds were laid within a close proximity to an established trail segment. In some areas, local roadways followed the old trail next to which railroad tracks were constructed (e.g. Point of Rocks, Finney County, Kansas).

Because of the direct connection to the trail, later transportation segments are located with adjacent trail rut(s) and often will be included within the boundaries of the related trail segments. The site outside of Lakin, Kansas, known locally as Hayzlet's Ruts, displays a good example of this adjacency. Several trail swales are visible with an unpaved road segment in between them, and to the south of the swales is an active rail line, which began as the ATSF.

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Before automobiles and railroads, the trail-turned-road retained its historic design. With the advent of motorized vehicles, the roads were redesigned to better accommodate the change of conveyance while retaining the original location. The redesigns often widened the travel path, changed the road bed profile to be convex to allow water to run to the edges, and created steeper, more perpendicular edges to the path. Most radically, paving may have been introduced at this point. Similarly, significant physical changes occurred to those portions of the trail reused for rail service.

Later transportation segments will take one of two forms. Either the segment will have been in continual use since its adaptation from the Santa Fe Trail, or it will exist as a remnant of the trail-turned-road-or-railroad, having been abandoned all together.

Significance of later transportation segments

Later transportation segments are significant because of their direct connection with the immediate reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. Examples of this subtype are primarily eligible under Criterion A in the areas of **transportation** and/or **commerce** for their association with the pattern of events that sustained traffic and/or commerce along this corridor after the trail ceased being used for wagon traffic. There is an immediate connection between this subtype and trail segments, as the railroads and roads were created because of the trail. Later transportation segments are also eligible under Criterion A in the area of **exploration/settlement** for the association with settlement patterns along the Santa Fe Trail corridor; these segments aided in sustaining populations in towns established by the trade.

The period of significance for this subtype is variable. The beginning dates generally are based on when wagon traffic ceased operation as the eastern terminus moved west. For instance, in Missouri, the period of significance for this subtype begins with the gradual transfer of the terminus from Franklin to Independence by 1830. End dates will be determined by whether the resource is still in use or if it is abandoned. For those segments still in use, the closing date will be set at 50 years prior to the year the nomination is written. The justification for this is that the activity of transportation, which was started historically, continues to have importance and make contributions to the history of the trail. An abandoned segment's end date will be the year it was abandoned. While not always documented, clues may be given by the physical characteristics of the resource.

Registration requirements of later transportation segments

Later transportation segments are significant for their associations with the historic contexts The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad and The Commemoration and Reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. These segments are eligible under Criterion A at a local level in the areas of transportation exploration/settlement, and/or commerce if they were adaptively used portions of the historic Santa Fe Trail. Integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association all must be intact because later transportation segments are integrally tied with the integrity of trail segments where location, setting, feeling, and association are concerned. As such, for these segments to be eligible, they must be located within a close visual proximity of an extant documented trail-period (1821-1880) resource, most often a trail segment, in order to display this interconnection. An isolated segment absent from this context fails to portray that its historic significance is due to the location of the trail; in other words, its setting, feeling, and association are no longer extant. This property subtype is eligible because of its association with the Santa Fe Trail; therefore, road segments will rarely, if ever, be eligible under Criteria B, C, or D.

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Because of possible changes to the design, materials, and to an extent, workmanship of these resources, these three areas of integrity are not necessary for a later transportation segment to be eligible. This subtype's design and materials are not what make it significant as a trail-related resource; however, if the segment was abandoned early in its reuse, its design may help to illuminate the practice of road/railroad engineering at a specific period of time. Road designs differ between municipalities, especially if the road has been continuously used. Paved road beds do not necessarily render the segment ineligible if the integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association are maintained because the significance of the segment relies on the presence of other trail resources.

Later transportation segments should be included within a nomination of other trail-period resources, if at all possible. In the event of multiple property owners, later transportation segments may be listed on their own if property owner consent is not given for the other resources as long as it is in a close visual proximity of the trail-period resource(s).

Subtype: Ferry and Bridge Sites

Rivers and streams – as well as their dry beds – were natural obstacles to trail users. In reaction to these environmental conditions, bridges and ferries were created for travel to continue unimpeded. While mentioned in historic texts, no ferries and bridges from the historic period of significance (1821-1880) are expected to be extant because of the materials (e.g., wood and stone) used to create them. Any physical evidence of this property type is most likely to be found during archeological investigations.

While bridges often occurred as an amenity at trading ranches and stations or were located near a campsite (110 Mile Creek, Osage County, Kansas; Cow Creek, Rice County, Kansas), they are included within this property type because of their direct relation to transportation. Ferries were more typically located at major rivers where river crossing was impossible due to water level and volume or the expanse of the river precluded the building of a bridge (Arrow Rock Ferry near Arrow Rock, Missouri; Grinter Ferry near Bonner Springs, Kansas).

Significance of ferry and bridge sites

Ferry and bridge sites are significant because of their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail. This property type is eligible at a local level under Criterion D in the area of **archeology** and under Criterion A in the area of **transportation** for the roles they played in supporting traffic along the trail.

Registration requirements of ferry and bridge sites

These sites are eligible at a local level under Criterion D if research suggests the likelihood of archeological evidence is available at the site that informs the history of how these bridges and ferries functioned. Similarly, in order for a bridge site to be eligible under Criterion A, the information gathered through archeological means must support the site's association with the Santa Fe Trail during its period of significance. Integrity of setting, location, and association must be retained.

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Because no extant examples are expected to be found, corroboration of bridge or ferry locations must be evident. This evidence may be found in other, extant resources within proximity and may be verified by primary source documentation (e.g., travel itineraries, journals, and diaries).

Because this property type was directly related to water, environmental factors must be taken into consideration such as the natural change of river beds and stream banks due to changes in the course of water flow. Locations of bridges and ferry landings, therefore, may be far away from or in the middle of current bodies of water.

Subtype: Navigational Aids

Navigational aids are naturally occurring features in the landscape that guided travel along the trail between 1821 and 1880. These aids form a diverse set of features that lend significance by their incorporation into the experience of trail travelers and area residents.⁷⁴⁹ In a real sense, to experience the trail required recognition of the continuity and contrast the trail's natural features presented; these features acted as signposts and symbols to the viewer.

What each of these features has in common is the inherent geographical characteristic that enabled travelers to determine their approximate locations and distances throughout their journeys. The many travel itineraries contemporary with the trail published distances between significant locations, many of which were these naturally-occurring features.

With natural sites, limiting the boundaries to the most significant aspect of the site is necessary because of the size of the features and legal property delimitations; many encompass a large acreage (e.g., Wagon Mound). Discernment must be used to both bound the most significant feature of the site and justify the limits. With very large-scale landmarks such as buttes and mountains, relying on documented accounts and historic drawings is important to determine what features were recognized and accorded importance among trail users. Further, by their locations navigational aids occur within a close proximity to other trail-related resources (e.g., trail segments and campsites). Adequate boundaries will incorporate these other resources as part of a larger cultural landscape.

Navigational aids may have undergone physical changes due to their natural characteristics as landscapes. Erosion, especially by wind, is a process that these landscapes were undergoing in the historic period, so it is unsurprising to find the same process affecting them today. At Indian Mound near Lakin, Kansas, erosion has been partially responsible for shortening the mound by approximately 100 feet since its historic period of use; however, the mound is still prominent and recognizable in the same way that it would have been to the historic trail users.

Significance of navigational aids

Navigational aids are significant for their associations with the historic contexts International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. Navigational aids are eligible at a national level under Criterion A in the area of **transportation** for their strong association with the patterns of events forming and sustaining travel on the Santa Fe Trail from 1821 to 1880. These well-known sites were regularly mentioned in primary sources from the historic period; numerous trail narratives and

⁷⁴⁹ Discussion of landscape features based on survey findings in NPS, *Management and Use Plan*, 90-109.

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itineraries testify to their prominence. The bare, often featureless nature of much of the trail stood in stark contrast to the jutting promontories that travelers noted in their writings. More than just way-finders, these sites were often the locations of rest areas for travelers and of decisive events in the life of the trail. Where documentation shows that these features were also culturally significant to the local American Indian or Hispanic populations, navigational aids may be also eligible in the area of **ethnic heritage**. Additional consultation on this area of significance likely will be necessary. Properties also may be eligible for their **military** significance, if a skirmish or battle occurred at the site. Where archeological potential exists at a site that is likely to produce information related to events associated with the resource, Criterion D will also apply with the resource also significant in the area of **archeology**. Criterion B will generally not apply and Criterion C will not apply to this property type.

Natural passageways, including passes, natural grades, or other topographic features forming natural roadways are important elements of the trail. The Narrows near the Black Jack ruts of eastern Kansas; Kearny Gap, Apache Canyon, and Glorieta Pass of New Mexico; and Raton Pass on the Colorado-New Mexico border were among natural features that funneled trail traffic into narrow channels.

Promontories and hills that acted as navigational aids form another set of significant resources. Blue Mound in eastern Kansas served as a landmark along the 1846 Military Road from Fort Leavenworth and is one of the promontories that defines the Wakarusa Buttes. The Plum Buttes, west of Chase, Kansas, were large sand dunes covered by plum shrubs that acted as a guide point to avoid the dangerous soft sands of the Arkansas River crossings. Farther west, Round Mound (today Mt. Clayton) in New Mexico was the major navigational marker for trail users after crossing the difficult Turkey Creek Ford. The frontispiece in Josiah Gregg's *The Commerce of the Prairies* shows a wagon train as seen from the mound. One of the most famous natural features of the trail was Wagon Mound, the last significant landmark viewed by Cimarron Route travelers, who then joined the Mountain Route. Pilot Knob, two miles west of Wagon Mound, was also used as a landmark for wagon trains. Two major features of the Mountain Route were Fisher's Peak, overlooking the entrance to Raton Pass, and the Spanish Peaks. Additionally, several sites along the trail were named Point of Rocks, indicating the character of specific locations.

Signature rocks form a small but important set of properties. These sites witnessed the array of trail users who wished to add their names to the log of experienced travelers. Among these sites are those at Pawnee Rock southwest of Great Bend, Kansas and at Cold Springs in Oklahoma. Inscription Rock, near the northernmost Cold Spring site, contains the names of many Santa Fe Trail travelers from the 1840s and later. Autograph Rock, adjacent to the southern Cold Spring, contains names from the 1850s and later. Names also are carved in a signature rock within the canyon walls of nearby Carrizozo Creek.

Registration requirements of navigational aids

In order to be eligible for listing under Criterion A in the area of transportation, the resource must have acted as a navigational aid for travelers along the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. The single most important requirement in the evaluation of a navigational aid is the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting; verified integrity of location is a crucial element in determining the eligibility of these sites, as well. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, and itineraries) recording the presence of the feature must be referenced to establish that the resource was seen as a prominent feature of the trail in its period of historic significance. To be eligible in the area of ethnic heritage, the resource must be shown

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to have significance to an American Indian tribe(s) or a Hispanic population. A resource will be eligible in the area of military if it was the location of a battle or skirmish during the period of significance.

Though erosion by wind, water, and human activity are expected to have impacted these resources, visual integrity must be maintained; that is, the resource must still be discernible. If integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association is retained, consideration must be given to whether modern intrusions or improvements totally compromise the historic character. If the improvements are not overtly obstructive and a reasonable portion of the historic scene is maintained, these properties remain eligible.

Property Type: Travel and Trade Sites

Travel and trade sites comprise those resources along the Santa Fe Trail that supported travel and travelers by offering shelter and supplies from 1821 to 1880. This category includes both natural and man-made resources, and include "nooning" sites, campsites, springs and wells, outfitting areas near either end of the trail, stage and mail stations, inns, corrals, repair stops, ranches and trading posts, and end-of-rail sites where advancing railroads met the trail or trail connectors.

Though not always the case, documentary and physical evidence has shown that some of these amenities were included within complexes. For instance, a trading ranch at Diamond Spring in Morris County, Kansas included a mail station, post office, store, hotel, restaurant, saloon, and blacksmith, along with corrals and warehouses and the spring that made this a natural stopping place along the trail. The locations of the man-made sites are almost always tied to natural elements within the landscape, mostly related to water.

Travel and trade sites will include the landscape both as a resource (e.g., a spring) and as contributing land areas. As with transportation sites, the landscape directly influenced the locations of and defined the character of the travel and trade sites, often determining what amenities would be offered. Because of the historic concentration of individual resources found at these sites, boundaries should be drawn to include the associated resources. The locations within the landscape that once hosted an associated resource may also be included within the boundary, even if no physical evidence of the resource has yet been recovered. For instance, French Frank's Trail Segment near Lehigh, Kansas is named for a road ranch established by Claude Frances "Frank" Laloge. Laloge's ranch was located at the Cottonwood Holes, which are connected to this site. Though the general location of the ranch is known, no physical evidence related to the ranch has been recovered yet; however, this area in the landscape is part of the significance of the entire site and should be included within a contributing land area.

Subtype: Natural Amenities

Resources included under this subtype are naturally-occurring features that provided trail travelers with rest, shelter, and/or refreshment (e.g., springs and wells, campsites, and "nooning" sites) from 1821 to 1880. Nooning sites were the locations of rest during midday travel – the name no doubt coming from personal accounts of travelers such as Susan Magoffin. On Saturday, June 27, 1846, Magoffin notes, "We left at 7 o'clock in the morning – came some six miles...[and] nooned it on the Prairie.... After dinner to get rid of the hot sun, we spread out a buffalo robe in the little shade made by the carriage, and took a short siesta of a few minutes."⁷⁵⁰

Whereas nooning sites were not necessarily tied to water sources, campsites generally were. Water and adequate forage was a preeminent concern to the trail travelers, whose goods and potential profits were only as

⁷⁵⁰ Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 30.

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good as the survival of the stock pulling the wagons allowed them to be. The 60-mile *La Jornada* on the Cimarron Route is perhaps the best known scrape, but dryness could potentially appear among other trail segments at disadvantageous times.⁷⁵¹ The entire history of the trail is intimately tied to the watering places along its routes, which served a double purpose of providing camping spots. Examples include Diamond Spring, Lost Spring, and Lower Cimarron Spring in Kansas, and the Upper Flag Spring, Cold Spring, and Cedar Spring in Oklahoma all played significant roles in the viability of the trail. Point of Rocks in Colfax County, New Mexico was a popular campsite with a nearby spring.

Natural amenities are documented in primary sources such as journals and itineraries. Because of their characteristics as landscapes with little to no built evidence, reliance upon archeological evidence is important to verify exact locations of campsites and nooning sites, especially. Multiple camping sites near major bodies of water also would be possible based on several possibilities, including: the time of day that a caravan reached the creek; the volume and ferocity of water in the river; and the direction of travel.

The condition of this property type will vary. Given the arid nature of the trail, sites possessing water frequently have been developed in recent history to include stock impoundments, well caps, or pipes to and from springs. Further, water may be no longer found at known spring sites. This is commonly due to natural forces or because of the introduction of widespread deep-pumping irrigation systems. As seemingly subtle, open landscapes, nooning and campsite locations may be difficult to discern due to modern cultivation and road construction.

Significance of natural amenities

Natural amenities are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad with the period of significance from 1821 to 1880. Properties nominated under this subtype are eligible at a national level under Criteria A and/or D in the area of **transportation** and/or **archeology** for associations with the pattern of events that supported travelers along the Santa Fe Trail. No properties under this subtype are expected to be eligible under Criteria B and C.

Some of the earliest itineraries of the trail list many of these properties. Further, the continued appearance of these sites in subsequent itineraries and journals help clarify which sites were frequented more than others. Journal accounts related to these sites also help to illuminate exact routes taken on specific journeys. Together, the accounts of the natural amenities suggest that from almost the beginning of the Santa Fe trade, these sites were significant to the traveler.

Registration requirements of natural amenities

In order to be eligible for listing under Criteria A and/or D, the resource must have acted as a place of rest, shelter, or refreshment for travelers along the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. Like navigational aids, the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting is critical, as is the verified integrity of location. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, and itineraries) must be referenced to establish the historical basis for the resource. In the case of ephemeral sites such as campsites and nooning

⁷⁵¹ A scrape is a waterless trail or road.

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sites where no buildings or structures were established, sufficient archeological information must be present to validate the property's significance. In cases where no known primary documentary evidence exists, verified archeological evidence from the historic period of significance can be used to establish the resource's historical basis.

Subtype: Buildings, Structures, and Building Sites

This property type incorporates those man-made resources associated with the Santa Fe Trail from 1821 to 1880 that were not built for military purposes. These resources were constructed to support trail use (e.g., stage stations, corrals, warehouses); others were built or occupied by people directly associated with the trail (e.g., houses of traders). A small group of these properties were not constructed because of the trade but became associated with the Santa Fe Trail due to proximity (e.g. Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe; American Indian dwellings and villages). Because of the multiple climates, cultural areas, and original functions of these resources, no one architectural style or structural type is applicable.

The uses and locations of each resource also determined their physical characteristics. Near the trail termini or other significant towns, more permanent construction techniques were used to erect buildings and structures. These resources were created of brick (e.g., Ewing-Boone Store, Kansas City, Missouri; Grinter Place, Bonner Springs, Kansas), stone (e.g., Kaw Mission, Council Grove, Kansas), and adobe (e.g., Lucien Maxwell House, Rayado, New Mexico; Hough-Baca House, Trinidad, Colorado). Though some wooden buildings remain that date to the Santa Fe Trail era, likely many have been remodeled to the point that only a small portion of original material remains (e.g., Hays House Restaurant and the Last Chance Store in Council Grove, Kansas).

Most often located near a water source, buildings and structures along the middle of the trail route frequently were built of wood and sod, but they were often more simply constructed as dugouts built into hill slopes, walled with sod or adobe, and roofed with logs covered with dirt.⁷⁵² As a result of the impermanence of materials and the disuse of the trail itself, most of these resources are no longer extant or are in ruinous form (McGee-Harris Stage Station, Burlingame vicinity, Kansas). No longer extant, Boyd's Ranch in Larned, Kansas was built of sod, as were most of its outbuildings, including a corral.⁷⁵³ The one commonality of construction of these on-the-trail resources is the use of locally available materials, such as juniper wood and stone.⁷⁵⁴ Adobe commonly was used in the states of Colorado and New Mexico (e.g., the Cottrill & Company stations buildings).

Found along the trail, stage stations were complexes that provided exchange points for draft animals; thus, they featured corrals and stock shelters, and a single or small set of buildings to house the station keeper and relay drivers and to provide shelter for storage of stock forage and equipment. Some of the more important stage stations featured developed wells and blacksmith shops, while others were nothing more than ephemeral brush shelters.

Significance of buildings, structures, and building sites

Buildings, structures, and building sites are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. These

⁷⁵² Taylor, *First Mail West*, 116.

⁷⁵³ David K. Clapsaddle, *A.H. Boyd: Entrepreneur of the Prairie* (Self-published, n.d.), 9, 12.

⁷⁵⁴ Taylor, *First Mail West*, 154.

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resources are potentially eligible at the national level of significance in the areas of transportation and commerce; however, most will be eligible at the local and state levels, depending upon whether their roles were more focused on a local or regional center.

Properties listed under this subtype most commonly will be eligible under Criterion A and/or C in the areas of **commerce, transportation, architecture**, and/or **ethnic heritage** for the resource's role in shaping how travel and trade were conducted from 1821 to 1880. Extant buildings and structures may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of architecture if they exhibit distinctive characteristics of the era encompassing the Santa Fe trade. The various uses of individual resources inform the understanding of this era: warehouses tell of the amount of commerce; houses of individuals involved in the trade tell of the finances and lifestyles of traders; stations explain the amenities needed and provided to travelers. Resources directly associated with significant individuals who contributed to the commerce and transportation along the trail will be also eligible under Criterion B.

Because a large number of the buildings and structures that were associated with the trail are no longer extant, archeologically documented building sites will be eligible under Criterion D. These intact archeological components have data capable of illuminating the understanding of the material culture of the trail. Many of the resources were constructed of local materials in the vernacular traditions of their locations. Systematic archeological excavation can realize the potential these sites have to inform about local architectural practices, so potential eligibility under Criterion C should be considered even if the building or structure is no longer standing.

Registration requirements of buildings, structures, and building sites

To be eligible under Criterion A, a building or structure must be directly associated with the Santa Fe Trail between 1821 and 1880. These properties also must retain their feeling and original locations. Because many extant buildings are located in urban environments, retention of trail-era setting is important but will not render a resource ineligible if disrupted.

To be eligible under Criterion B, the resource's direct connection to an important figure to the Santa Fe Trail must be documented. The person must have been associated with the property during the period of trail significance and must be shown to be a significant contributor to the history of the trail. To be eligible under Criterion C, the building or structure must retain its location, feeling, and association by demonstrating the workmanship and design typical of construction between 1821 and 1880.

To be eligible under Criterion D, a site must demonstrate it has information-yielding potential in architecture or historical archeology. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact ruins that, while deteriorated beyond classification as a building or structure, are still recognizable as identifiable archeological features. The location of the site must be verified in accordance with the probable location of the site documented in the historic record. Sites displaying artifacts datable to the period of historic significance and showing a potential for well-preserved archeological components are eligible for registration. Sites lacking surface artifacts and showing a high potential for intact subsurface components in conjunction with ruins should also be considered eligible if integrity of the site's geomorphological contexts appear intact. A resource with evidence of a subsequent function or occupation overlaying materials or features related to the site's trail-era function also can be considered eligible under Criterion D if the potential for yielding information appears intact as a buried component and evidence is provided establishing a clear link to the operation during the period of significance.

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Property Type: Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

This property type includes those resources involved with the various conflicts related to the Santa Fe Trail. Among the resources are the many military fort and outpost sites and Mexican-American War and Civil War skirmish and encampment locations, as well as those sites where attacks against and by Indians or where conflicts with the Texans and trail robberies occurred.

The number of forts and military outposts along the trail is known, as well as at least the approximate locations of each. One fort was found in Missouri: Fort Osage (1808-1827); seven were located in Kansas: Forts Leavenworth (1827-present), Mann (1847-1848), Atkinson (1850-1854), Larned (1859-1878), Zarah (1864-1869), Aubrey (1865-1866), and Dodge (1865-1882). Camp Nichols (1865) was the only military outpost along the trail in Oklahoma. Military posts in Colorado included Bent's (Old) Fort (1833-1849), Bent's New Fort (1853-1875), Fort Wise/Old Fort Lyon (1860-1867), Fort Lyon No. 2 (1867-1897), and in New Mexico there were two forts along the trail: Forts Marcy (1846-1851) and Union (1851-1891).⁷⁵⁵ Other posts and forts were established that, though they were not located on the main routes of the Santa Fe Trail, held supporting roles for trade and travelers of the trail. These forts in Kansas included: Fort Riley (1853-present), Fort Ellsworth (1864-1866), Fort Hays (1865-1889), Fort Wallace (1865-1882), and Fort Harker (1866-1872).

The locations within the immediate landscape and the building materials of these forts varied based on a number of factors. Some of the factors were related to the impetus for establishing a fort. Those established to fulfill temporary guard duties were more crudely constructed, and because of their building materials, they are no longer extant. Forts such as the one at Leavenworth were built to be a more permanent headquarters, which led to the use of more substantial materials. As a result, a few of the forts dating to the time of the Santa Fe Trail remain. Another factor of the variation in fort design was the location along the trail. As with those resources within the Building and Structures Subtype above, locally available materials and distinct regional building techniques contributed to the form, design, and materials of each post.

Water played a major role – sometimes inadvertently – in the location of resources within this property type. The occurrences of this natural amenity along or near the trail led to the establishment of campsites and rest areas not only for traders and travelers but also for the Native peoples. Too often, attacks against and by all demographic groups related to the trail occurred while a party was encamped or at rest (e.g., the murder of Don Antonio José Chávez and the attack against the White Family). Because of the correlation with other trail-related resources, military and skirmish/battle sites are expected to be found often, but not always, within close proximity to other property types.

The conditions of resources within this property type are expected to vary widely. In the case of a few of the forts, continued use – whether as a fort or as another function – has inevitably extended the life of the buildings. Few above-ground remains of other posts exist, mainly because they were originally intended to be temporary. Many of these temporary outposts were located in areas that are now heavily farmed, so determining exact locations through archeological investigations may be difficult.

Significance – Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

Military and Skirmish/Battle sites are significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe

⁷⁵⁵ Bent's Fort is included in this list because it served as a staging point for General Kearny's Army of the West in preparation for the invasion of New Mexico in 1846. It was not officially a military fort; it was a trading post.

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Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. Properties nominated under this type are eligible at a national level under Criteria A and/or D in the areas of **military** for associations with the pattern of events that defined conflict along the trail and **ethnic heritage** for direct associations with conflict involving Hispanics and various American Indian nations. Criterion B will apply if the resource is shown to be significantly tied to the life – or death – of a person or persons involved with the trail. In the case of existing fort buildings and structures, Criterion C may apply if the design of the resources is an excellent example of a fortification related to the Santa Fe Trail.

A military presence along the Santa Fe Trail came early in its history. Fort Osage, Missouri was founded as a military post and trade factory in 1808 and continued in operation until 1827 when Fort Leavenworth, Kansas was established. Military escorts for the trade caravans began in 1829, continuing sporadically for the next two decades. The first instance of a sustained military presence requiring forts came during the Mexican-American War when Santa Fe's presidio was occupied by Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's invading forces. Heightened military use of the trail became a prominent feature in the years following the establishment of New Mexico Territory. The advent of the Civil War again brought this military presence into sharp focus when Confederate soldiers nearly succeeded in taking New Mexico Territory.⁷⁵⁶ Supplying the forts became as important as other trail uses throughout the remaining years of the trail.

The forts and military camps established along the trail, while primarily related to maintaining and benefitting from the commercial traffic, were a visible symbol of American authority. They served as logistical bases for military campaigning – a critical component in a national military communication network – and played a significant role in subjugating, concentrating, and in an unsuccessful measure, protecting resident American Indians.⁷⁵⁷ The increased push for US hegemony over the West and its inhabitants, not surprisingly, led to conflict.

Registration Requirements – Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites

In order to be eligible for listing under Criteria A and/or D, the resource must have hosted a fort, camp, or post directly involved in the Santa Fe Trail or must have been the location of conflict along the trail involving traders, travelers, and Native inhabitants between 1821 and 1880. Retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting is critical, as is the verified integrity of location. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. In the case of archeological sites, sufficient information must be present to validate the property's identity and significance.

For a resource to be eligible under Criterion B, the person(s) associated with the site must have been significant in the history of the trail. Primary documentary evidence must be referenced to verify the location and association. Further, the setting must retain a sufficient amount of character to recall the period within which the person(s) is associated with the site.

Resources eligible under Criterion C will retain integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship sufficient to express its association with the period of significance. Because a small number of the forts are still in operation, the setting may not exemplify the Santa Fe Trail era.

⁷⁵⁶ Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime," 55.

⁷⁵⁷ Lamar, *The Reader's Encyclopedia*, 392-396.

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Property Type: Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Trail graves and cemeteries are those sites containing individual burial locations of trail travelers; cemeteries containing the grave(s) of important traders, freighters, or trail travelers; or in rare instances, the burials of American Indians. Of this last example, no known sites exist, but it is included here because the history of trail conflict also includes the deaths of Native peoples.

Encountering death on the Santa Fe Trail was a distinct possibility. Disease, accidents, and natural disasters claimed the lives of travelers, as did confrontations between groups of the various ethnicities and nationalities related to the trail; graves associated with these confrontations reflect the clash of cultures seen along the trail corridor. The graves of military personnel fulfilling their duties associated with the trail are also found. One example is the grave of Private Samuel Hunt, US Army Dragoons, who served with Colonel Henry Dodge's Rocky Mountain expedition in 1835. Hunt died as his unit was returning to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; this is the first known gravesite of a US serviceman on the trail.

More typical of the Santa Fe Trail corridor was the establishment of a cemetery in the nascent communities along the routes. Many of the small cemeteries established in developing hamlets have been incorporated into larger cemeteries with graves from later periods. Given the small number of trail-related resources directly associated with the careers of notable trail figures or with specific events along the trail, these graves form an important reflection of trail history. For example, the Woodlawn Cemetery in Independence, Missouri was used as a burial ground before 1845. Several people who were important to the Santa Fe trade are buried here, including Hiram Young, Samuel and Robert Weston, freighter John Lewis, hotel proprietor Smallwood Noland, Mexican-American War veteran John T. Hughes, merchants William and John McCoy, and attorneys William Chrisman and Samuel Woodson. Lexington, Missouri's Machpelah Cemetery contains the grave of noted outfitter and entrepreneur Robert Aull.

Boundaries for this property type will be developed based on adjacent resources. Most often the gravesite will be directly linked to a documented historic event in trail history that is not reflected at another historic site in the area. A gravesite may be included within a district if it is directly related to trail history reflected by adjacent resources. Other times, the gravesite occurs singularly, in which case the boundary of the resource will include the grave itself plus at least a 50 meter contributing land area around the burial site.

Though the exact locations of many burials are known, more gravesites are likely to exist than are documented. This is especially true of massacre sites. The final resting places of many of these people remain unknown.

The condition of graves and cemeteries will vary. In some instances, such as Point of Rocks in Colfax County, New Mexico, graves have been robbed and are currently unmarked to deter future vandalism. In other cases, especially those within town cemeteries, the gravesites are well tended and marked. Burial locations may also become exposed with natural erosion as seen near the Walnut Creek Crossing in Barton County, Kansas where human remains were discovered – in recent history – in an eroded creek bank.

Significance – Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Trail graves and cemeteries are nationally significant for their associations with International Trade on the Mexican Road, The Mexican-American War and the Santa Fe Trail, Expanding National Trade on the Santa Fe Trail, The Effects of the Civil War on the Santa Fe Trail, and The Santa Fe Trail and the Railroad. The period of

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significance for these resources most often will be focused on the events leading up to the death of the individual(s). In the case of established pioneer cemeteries containing the remains of individuals directly associated with the trail, the period of significance will end with the last burial of the related person(s).

The isolated graves and cemeteries of the Santa Fe Trail represent an important trail resource reflecting historic individuals and events. Isolated graves are normally eligible for their association with events or a series of events in trail history; hence, Criterion A is relevant in these instances. A gravesite like the Samuel Hunt grave is a tangible reflection of an important military action; Hunt's grave reflects the military actions of the US Dragoons along the trail before the establishment of a permanent military presence. Isolated graves might also mark the series of conflicts that took place between the resident American Indians and trail users. A single gravesite also might be the only representative property left to reflect the linkage of an individual of transcendent importance to the trail's history. In this instance, the application of Criterion B would be appropriate if no identified property exists that is capable of reflecting the life of the individual.

Cemeteries along the trail corridor also reflect the trail's history in a tangible way. Potentially, a historic cemetery could be the only representative property in an area or community capable of reflecting the broad patterns of trail development or the earliest settlement along the trail. Again, cemeteries having graves of significant individuals associated with the trail are important to the trail's history. Cemeteries of ethnic hamlets or communities related to the Santa Fe Trail might also reflect the important and underrepresented role these communities played in sustaining the trail. Further, these ethnic cemeteries might yield important undocumented information about historic community composition, mortuary practices, and other variables relevant to understanding historic community life during the trail's period of significance. The cemeteries associated with the Santa Fe Trail have the potential to fulfill all of the Criteria A through D, if they contain graves or sets of graves datable to the time period 1821-1880 and can be tangibly linked to the active life of the trail in a specific area.

Registration Requirements – Trail Graves and Cemeteries

Criteria Consideration D must be met in the case of cemeteries. Individual grave sites will be considered for potential eligibility if no other appropriate resource exists that is directly associated with the individual's productive life or if it contributes to a larger district. Likewise, a cemetery's eligibility will be considered if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons integral to the trail's history or from its association with historic trail-related events.⁷⁵⁸

For a grave to be individually eligible under Criterion A in the areas of transportation and/or military, it must have been placed during a period when the Santa Fe Trail was active in the area and must date to the period 1821-1880. The grave must be in direct proximity to a verified trail route. The gravesite is eligible for its link to trail-related activities and not ancillary events more connected to local area development.

Cemeteries must meet similar requirements, namely, development during the period of trail significance, trail proximity, and direct historic linkage to trail history. Only that portion of the cemetery having trail-related graves is eligible for nomination as a historic resource of the Santa Fe Trail. A group of graves dating to 1821-1880 and in proximity to the trail is not necessarily eligible unless direct and significant linkage between those individuals and the trail is documented.

⁷⁵⁸ *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991, rev2002), 32-36. Graves are considered under Criteria Consideration C; cemeteries are considered under Criteria Consideration D.

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All trail graves and cemeteries must retain integrity of location. For association with specific historic events, a grave must possess the combined aspects of integrity of setting, feeling, and association. The associative aspects of the property are particularly important in using the gravesite to reflect a historic occurrence along the Santa Fe Trail. If the grave is in its original location and has compelling associative values, the replacement of the headstone or the enclosure of the site by fencing will not preclude its being eligible for listing under Criterion A or B. When Criterion D is applied, justification for the diminished aspects of integrity must be given. For instance, known burial locations may not be marked. Criterion C will apply to those examples, usually within a cemetery, embodying distinctive characteristics of its time period or possess high artistic values.

Property Type: Monuments and Memorials

Resources under this property type are objects (e.g., statues, monuments, and memorials) related to the Santa Fe Trail in general or about a specific site, event, or person associated with the trail. The most prevalent examples of this property type are the stone markers found along the trail and erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Other examples are the various Madonna of the Trail statues. Although 12 statues exist in the United States, only three are directly related to the Santa Fe Trail (Lexington, Missouri; Council Grove, Kansas; and Lamar, Colorado).⁷⁵⁹ These three statues are found along the National Old Trails Road. Other examples include the stone and bronze memorial found at the Pawnee Fork (Duncan's) Crossing of the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road in Hodgeman County, Kansas. Monuments and memorials may be located at or immediately adjacent to the trail place or event, or may be located along modern transportation routes, in nearby towns or cities, or at museums along or associated with the trail.

Drawing boundaries for this property type will often include other trail-related resources, as will be typical with the stone DAR markers. Boundaries for some monuments and statues, however, may include only the resource itself.

While the resources are expected to be well intact, minor damage from wind and rain is permissible. The largest factor related to the object's condition is its location. Particularly with the smaller DAR markers, these resources have sometimes been relocated due to various reasons; however, these relocations do not automatically preclude eligibility.

Significance – Monuments and Memorials

Monuments and memorials are significant for their direct associations with the historic context Commemoration and Reuse of the Santa Fe Trail. Their levels of significance will depend on the range of effort associated with the commemoration. For instance, the Madonna of the Trail statues would be nationally significant; whereas, markers erected by a local society for a specific location may only be locally significant. Though the period of significance of this property ranges from 1880 to 1930, the individual periods of significance will correspond to the year(s) of the object's dedication and installation. Resources nominated under this property type are eligible primarily under Criterion A in the area of **social history** for their association with the pattern of commemoration after the Santa Fe trade ceased. Criterion C may also apply for statues or monuments of exceptional artistic quality. Criteria B and D are not expected to apply to this property type.

Criteria Consideration F (commemorative properties) must be applied in this case as the age, intent, and symbolic value of these resources have gained their own historical significance. This significance is in large part

⁷⁵⁹ The statue located in Albuquerque, New Mexico was intended for Santa Fe, but local members of the DAR opposed its erection in the city of Santa Fe. Its location makes it only indirectly associated with the trail.

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directly tied to the effort to memorialize the trail in the immediate decades following the closing of the Santa Fe Trail. These commemorative objects also provide clues to the location of other Santa Fe Trail resources, and in this way help to confirm and illuminate the history of the trail itself.

Because the resources listed under this property type are by definition objects, Criteria Consideration B (moved properties) does not need to be met.⁷⁶⁰ However, it is important to note that while some allowance for the relocation of objects is acceptable, the significance of the object is associated with a specific environment or setting, in this case, the remnants of the Santa Fe Trail.

Registration Requirements – Monuments and Memorials

In order for a monument, memorial, or statue to be eligible under Criteria A and/or C, it must have been dedicated by a person or group of people directly associated with the trail. The resource must retain its original association, setting, design, feeling, and workmanship and be located at or immediately adjacent to the trail place or event.

Locations of these properties have often changed. If the resource has been relocated within its original general vicinity, and this can be documented, the property is still eligible. The resource must still be associated with the transportation site or location it was originally commemorating. Locations along modern transportation routes, in nearby towns and cities, or at museums not within a close visual proximity most likely will render the resource ineligible. Like later transportation segments, the significance of this property type is directly associated with the trail. Without the visual connection with a trail-period (1821-1880) resource, the integrity of setting, feeling, and association are lost.

Monuments and memorials should be included within a nomination of other trail-period resources, if at all possible. In the event of multiple property owners, examples of this property type may be listed on their own if property owner consent is not given for the other resources, as long as it is in a close visual proximity of the trail-period resource(s).

Property Type: Cultural Landscape⁷⁶¹

The resources of greatest national significance related to the Santa Fe Trail are cultural landscapes, comprised of at least one of each of the above property types (Transportation sites, Travel and Trade Sites, Military and Skirmish/Battle Sites, Trail Graves and Cemeteries, and Monuments and Markers) and can also include traditional cultural places of significance to American Indian tribes, including those descended from tribes that historically and prehistorically were associated with particular areas along the trail. This property type represents the fullest interrelationship of the trail-related resources and the historic setting. As a rural historic landscape, a property can be deemed significant for all relevant periods of significance and can include all Criteria A through D. This holistic approach to evaluating the significance of the landscape is based on an understanding of the cultural and natural forces that shaped the landscape. Therefore the natural landscape also

⁷⁶⁰ This criteria consideration is for a "building or structure removed from its original location." "National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form," rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1997), 37.

⁷⁶¹ The majority of the language under this property type is attributed to Barbara Wyatt and Linda McClelland in an August 2009 memo to Michael Taylor, "Comments on MPDF for *Historic Resources on [sic] the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1880* and consideration for discussions at the Dodge City National Register meeting. A copy of this memo is on file with the Cultural Resources Division at the Kansas State Historical Society.

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should be included as a contributing resource. The landscape should be essentially intact from the historic period, including its topography, wet or dry waterways, vegetation, and associated cultural resources.

Obviously, districts at this scale should be reserved for the most intact, complex, and continuous segments of the trail, or places where a concentration of resources exists in a highly intact, cohesive, and evocative setting. Because of the scale and complexity of these districts, few are expected to be nominated; however, future survey work in Colorado is expected to further define this property type.