Merchants of Independence

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL
1827–1860

William Patrick O’Brien
Merchants of Independence

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL
1827–1860

William Patrick O’Brien

Truman State University Press
Kirksville, Missouri
Contents

Illustrations ................................................................. vi
Acknowledgments ............................................................ ix

Introduction  Independence and International Trade ...................... 1
  1 Western Missouri: The Beginning of a Trade with Mexico .................... 13
  2 The Town of Independence .............................................. 36
  3 The Trade ................................................................. 61
  4 Contracts and Conflict .................................................. 78
  5 The Trade and Its People ............................................... 116
  6 McCoy, Waldo, and Smith: A Case Study in International Trade ............. 145

Conclusion  Independence’s Place in the World: Community, Society, and International Trade ...................... 169

Appendix 1  Sale of Lots in Independence, July 1827 .......................... 177

Appendix 2  Independence businesses in the 1860 Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory ...................... 180

Appendix 3  Value of selected shipments entering Missouri from Mexico between 1832 and 1853 ...................... 181

Works Cited .................................................................. 183

About the Author .............................................................. 201

Index ........................................................................ 203
Illustrations

Figure 1. Trade routes in the United States and territories, the Republic of Texas, and northern Mexico, 1845. Map by U.S. National Park Service. .......... 6

Figure 1.1. Fort Osage, ca. 1808, drawing by James Anderson and George Fuller Green, ca. 1950, for Fort Osage Restoration Records, Native Sons of Greater Kansas City Archives/Jackson County Parks and Recreation. .......... 18

Figure 1.2. Detail of Mitchell, A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California, 1846, with arrows added indicating locations of Independence, Santa Fe, and Chihuahua, and the trail between those cities darkened. ................. 25

Figure 1.3. Eastman, Map of the Indian Colonies West of Missouri and Arkansas, 1853. Courtesy of Special Collections and University Archives, Wichita State University Libraries ........................................ 26

Figure 2.1. Joseph R. Walker (1798–1876), photograph by Mathew Brady, ca. 1860. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. ................. 38

Figure 2.2. Hermann Meyer, Independence Courthouse, Missouri [1838], engraving, ca. 1850, Jackson County Historical Society Archives, JCHS4862L. ................................................. 40

Figure 2.3. Samuel Combs Owens, 1847, from a memorial. Jackson County Historical Society................................................. 42

Figure 2.4. Missouri River landings in Jackson and Clay Counties in the 1830s. ................................................................. 45

Figure 2.5. Samuel H. Woodson, ca. 1859. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, #LC-DIG-ppmsca-26808. ......................... 55

Figure 2.6. Alfred Jacob Miller, Trappers [one probably Moses “Black” Harris (d. 1849)], watercolor and gouache on paper, ca. 1858–60, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. ................................................. 59
Figure 2.7. François Xavier Aubry, engraving from Joseph Tassé, *F. X. Aubry* (Montreal: E. Sénécal, 1871). .............................................59

Figure 3.1. George Caleb Bingham, *Mrs. Robert Aull* (Matilda Donohoe), oil on canvas, ca. 1837. Private collection, used with permission. ..................62

Figure 3.2. Mexican eight-reale silver coin, 1840. ........................................64

Figure 3.3. “Bird’s eye view of Kansas City, Jan’y. 1869,” drawn by A. Ruger (Madison, WI: Ruger & Stoner, 1869). Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. ........................................67

Figure 3.4. A typical configuration for overland caravans. From Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies*. ..............................................72

Figure 3.5. Francisco Perea (1830–1913), photo by Mathew Brady, ca. 1860–65. NARA, Still Picture Records Section, ARC#524418. .................75

Figure 3.6. José Francisco Chávez (1833–1904), photo by Mathew Brady ca. 1860–65. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, #cwpbh.00624. ........................................75

Figure 4.1. William Gilpin, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, #r9635345. ..................................................91

Figure 4.2a. Fowler, “Independence, Missouri, 1830–1834,” showing some identifications around the square, 1973.........................95

Figure 4.2b. Fowler, “L.D.S. Ownership [of town lots in Independence, Missouri], 1831–33,” [1973].............................................95

Figure 4.3. “Bird’s eye view of the city of Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri 1868,” drawn by A. Ruger. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. ........................................114

Figure 5.1. William McCoy (1813–1900), ca. 1850. Private collection of Brian and Sharon Snyder, used with permission. .......................119

Figure 5.2. Ellen Waddle McCoy (1818–1893), ca. 1850. Private collection of Brian and Sharon Snyder, used with permission. .......................119

Figure 5.3. Miguel A. Otero (1828–1883), [1859], photo by Julian Vannerson. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, #LC-DIG-ppms-ca-26846. ..............................................123
Figure 5.4. Governor Manuel Armijo (1793–1853), by Alfred S. Waugh, ca. 1840, pastel. Courtesy Albuquerque Museum, Ward Alan and Shirley Jolly Minge Collection, PC1998.22.51 ............................ 123

Figure 5.5. Bernard Seligman, Zadoc Stabb, and Lehman Speigleberg with members of the Kiowa tribe, ca 1850. University of Arizona Special Collections, Bloom Southwest Jewish Archives. .......................... 128

Figure 5.6. “Map of Wyandott Purchase, Kansas Territory,” [ca.1857], from Connelley, Territorial Records of Nebraska Territory, 1899. ................. 132

Figure 5.7. William Walker (1800–1874), photo from Connelley, Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory, 1899. ............................. 133

Figure 5.8. Portrait thought to be of Hiram Young (1812?–1882), Jackson County Historical Society Archives, JCHS005339L. ............................. 136

Figure 5.9. Hiram Young advertisement from Independence Daily Evening Gazette, April 27, 1861, Jackson County Historical Society Archives. ...... 139

Figure 6.1. Left, William McCoy (1813–1900), Jackson County Historical Society Archives, JCHS007224M ........................................... 146

Figure 6.2. Right, David Waldo (1802–1878), Jackson County Historical Society Archives, JCHS005801AL .............................. 146

Figure 6.3. Jabez Smith (1787–1855), Jackson County Historical Society Archives, JCHS008879L .................................................... 146

Figure 6.4. Josiah Gregg (1806–1850), daguerreotype, date unknown .......... 148

Figure 6.5. Partnership agreement, P. Harmony’s Nephews & Co., October 1, 1845. Author’s private collection ............................. 159

Figure 6.6. Postcard, “U.S. 220, Birds Eye View of Cohoes N. Y. in 1859…” Private collection of Frank E. Sadowski Jr. ......................... 161

Figure 6.7. Passport application of Manuel X. Harmony, June 11, 1855, NARA M1372, Roll 51 ......................................................... 162
Acknowledgments

My investigations into Independence and its history owe a great deal to a great many people. Thanks goes to all of my friends and colleagues who have patiently listened to my goings-on about Independence and its Mexican trade, and offered their ideas and insight. As in all studies of this nature, however, any errors in fact or interpretation remain solely my own.

Special thanks go to Ms. Nancy Rediger and the staff of Truman State University Press, whose patience and skill made the trials of publication that much easier. Special thanks go to Barbara Smith-Mandell, TSUP’s acquisitions editor and copy editor, who provided inestimable professional assistance in the review and checking of the manuscript and its sources—I greatly appreciate both your assistance and perseverance.

Specifically, I would like to thank my colleagues at the National Park Service, Dr. Jere Krakow, Mr. Jerry Green, Dr. Susan Boyle, Dr. Jon Taylor of the University of Central Missouri, and all those historians and other professionals who have supported this work over the years with both time and comment.

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, Dr. Patricia Limerick edited and commented on the early versions of this work and responded with her characteristically detailed and intense observations. Particular thanks go to Drs. Lee Chambers and Ann Carlos of the history and economics faculties at the University of Colorado—without their willingness to take on this part-time doctoral student many years ago, the work would not have moved forward. Dr. Jon Taylor of the University of Central Missouri shares my passion for the history of Independence and Jackson County, and I always find him a willing and informed collaborator. Mr. Mark Gardner, a fellow Jackson County native, always shares information and insights regarding Santa Fe trail history and I thank him for his continued generosity and time over the years.

I shared my early thoughts with Dr. Susan Calafate Boyle regarding the international scope of the Mexican trade when I was finishing my doctoral
work at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and during our tenures with the National Park Service’s Denver Service Center. Our conversations and exchanges served in part to inform her later book on Hispano freighters that resulted from her earlier special history study—I am grateful for the many exchanges and conversations during those years.

To the staffs at the Harvard Business School’s R.G. Dun Collection, the National Archives in Washington, DC, the Missouri Historical Society, David Jackson, archivist at the Jackson County Historical Society, Santa Fe Trail Association in Larned, Kansas, the City of Independence and former City Clerk Bruce Lowry, Dave Boutrous of the University of Missouri’s Western Historical Manuscript Collection, the Missouri Valley Room of the Kansas City Public Library, Mid-Continent Public Library, the Jackson County Offices of the Recorder of Deeds and Probate, the late Liz Safly of the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Patricia Moss at Fine Art Investigations in Long Beach, Washington, Pablo Diaz Morlan of the University of Alicante, Dennis Northcott, Associate Archivist for Reference at the Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center in St. Louis, Dave Aamodt of the Frontier Trails Association in Independence, Ms. Noor Jabbar at the University of Arizona Library Express Document Center, Mr. James A. Tharp, and Frank E. Sadowski Jr.: I thank you all for your assistance and support.

Ms. Sarah “Sally” Schwenk has never tired of discussing Independence history; her work in public history and her willingness to take time and share resources and insight is appreciated beyond my ability to express. Others who continue to research and add to the knowledge base on these and related topics in Independence and Jackson County include Mrs. Nancy Ehrlich, Brian and Sharon Snyder, Bill and Annette Curtis, and Jo Ann Chiles Eakin. Thanks to you all for your time and generosity.

Local historians and journalists no longer with us, including Mrs. Pauline “Polly” Fowler, Pearl Wilcox, and Sue Gentry, were always a source of information, encouragement, and insight and I miss their knowledge and their wonderful senses of both history and humor.

My friends Jeffrey Clark Campbell (whose father pointed me in the direction of western history many years ago) and photographer J. Gehrig Fry, whose willingness to traverse the trail from beginning to end over many years’ time is well known to anyone who knows us—my debt is great, amigos.
Finally, my sisters, Patricia Kathleen O’Brien and Maureen O’Brien Salz—two remarkable and independent women who would not have been out of place in America’s western saga—thank you for all of your love and support. To my brother-in-law Sandy Salz, Olam katan, הָעָלַם הַקטָּן, and I’m glad you’re part of mine. And for my late parents, Morris Raymond O’Brien and Catherine Julia Hare O’Brien, bless your memories and thanks for the courage and love—I miss you.
Introduction

Independence and International Trade

Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)
Walt Whitman, “Song of Myself,”
from Leaves of Grass (1855)

Whitman’s brash and confident lines capture the essence of the antebellum American West. In the years after the adventures of Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike, people, ideas, money, and power from around the world swept across the North American continental expanse, creating new nations of immigrants, entrepreneurs, speculators, tribesmen, and adventurers, along with their chattel, all of whom were often caught up in the conflicting visions of both empire and democracy. Americans, Canadians, Mexicans, Europeans, slaves of African descent, tribes both indigenous and displaced—and all of their hybrid progeny—served to create new peoples in the New World. Their world was often contradictory, yet the multitudes they contained formed the base for today’s American nation.

The United States’ overland trade with Mexico before the Civil War sparked the imagination of both adventurers and artists. Its images of wealth and power were as old as the first stories of Marco Polo and the Silk Road—the treasures of the fabled and mysterious East made available to European markets. As late as Jefferson’s administration, hopeful Americans dreamed of finding a water route through North America to the Pacific. Later in the century, technology would provide that desired transportation and economic
link with iron rails and thundering locomotives. In those interim years before the railroad, international caravans of wagons and livestock lumbered their way back and forth across thousands of miles of prairie and desert laden with goods and gold. This trade (known initially as the Mexican trade and by later chroniclers as the Santa Fe trade) required centers of organization and commerce along its global route. The town of Independence, Missouri, was one of those centers.

Independent, strong, self-reliant, and individual—these words are traditionally associated with a popular view of the people of the American West. The stories of trappers and mountain men like Jim Bridger or Pegleg Smith, alone in the wild, capable of singular feats of woodcraft and valor, fill our visions of the American West. The lonely homestead or isolated settlement, the solitary rancher or farmer, the cowboy alone on the vast range—rugged individuals who rarely came in contact with more pedestrian citizens—even today often form our mental image of the American western saga, despite the prodigious scholarship of the last fifty years. Yet, as those scholars tell us, what actually happened in the nineteenth century West was just the opposite. The pursuit of empire and the expansion of the American nation were not carried out by individuals acting alone. They resulted from the competition of vastly different kinds of people and cultures who found ways to cooperate and to accommodate various social and economic contexts. It is a story of both varied cooperation and single-minded contention. Ironically, one of the international centers of the United States’ overland Mexican trade centers was a frontier town whose name represents our traditional image of the American West, but whose name belies its true history.¹

Independence, Missouri: The name suggests a self-sufficient and remote outpost. In reality, Independence, located at the junction between important river- and land-based transportation, developed on an international trade route of polyglot communication and sophisticated commerce. For centuries, Native Americans both struggled and cooperated with various European colonials in the region, including the French, Spanish, and British, and were

¹. Limerick, *Something in the Soil*, 18–22. As noted by Patricia Limerick and others, continuity, convergence, conquest, and complexity are all central in understanding the history of the American West. Working full-time as a historian for the National Park Service in the 1980s, I was guided to Dr. Limerick and the history program of the University of Colorado at Boulder by her mentor, Dr. Howard Lamar of Yale. It was her initial observations regarding the town's name and its contrast with the town's actual history that initially served to focus this study.
party to the constant change in jurisdiction as changes in Native American, European, and United States politics regularly manifested themselves on the landscape. Between 1682 and 1804, the territory changed hands from Native American to French to Spanish, back to French control and finally to the English as a result of the Seven Years' War (1763) and later the Napoleonic empire (1800–1804). Like any other settlements caught up in the American continental conquest of the nineteenth century, Independence depended on the formation of consensus, mutual assistance, and the brokerage of power—perhaps even more so. Since its inception, Independence's citizens have been continually caught between that independent image and their place in the larger world.

The ideas that underscore the diverse vision of the New Western History are not new—we as a nation have merely lost sight of them. In his 1871 essay “Democratic Vistas,” American poet Walt Whitman wrote, “the greatest lessons of nature are variety and freedom.” Applying this important point to American life, he quoted John Stuart Mill's 1859 essay regarding the future of liberty, noting that Mill required two elements for “grand nationality”: a variety of character and the ability to grow in many and even contrary ways.² Josiah Royce extolled the meaning of and need for community at the same time Frederick Jackson Turner was promoting his “frontier thesis,” which emphasized individuality. The years between 1846 and 1856 have been described by historian Robert V. Hine as “pivotal” in the formation of American community and national identity, particularly in the West. But for the most part, the ideas of intellectuals such as Royce faded over time in the American consciousness. In contrast, Turner’s image of the individual on the American western frontier became popular. Seemingly real and immediate, that individual served the nationalistic need for a country moving toward the world stage of empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Politicians like Theodore Roosevelt found Turner’s western individual both historically compelling and politically useful. Historical theory coupled with politician expediency produced a new American nationalism founded on the individual and the American West.³

³. Turner first announced his thesis in a paper entitled “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893. Royce emphasized the importance of community in his 1886 history of California, and continued to develop his ideas in further publications through the early twentieth century. See Hine, “Josiah Royce,” 21, 23.
If the underpinning ideas of diversity and variety have always been an acknowledged part of the American experience, so too has the scholarship that documented them. Diversity of nations and economics are implicit in Josiah Gregg’s 1844 *Commerce of the Prairies*, a saga that documented international commerce and social interaction. Similarly, historian Max Moorhead’s masterful *New Mexico’s Royal Road* (1948) illustrated the multicultural backgrounds of the Mexican trade populations. But these works and others like them did not spark the popular mind’s view of national adventure in the way that Turner’s frontier thesis did. The cowboy image portrayed by John Wayne would rise from the idea of the Western individual of Turner and Teddy Roosevelt, not from the ideal communities of Royce.

This volume is a study of these ideas within the context of cultural and economic convergence, cooperation and conflict, and their consequences. It examines the history of Independence and the interactions among the various people and groups involved in the United States’ overland trade with Mexico, from the establishment of the town in 1827 to the year before the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861 when Independence’s citizens participated in international economics. The records of these attempts provide the foundation for this study.4

In 1827, people from the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia platted the town on former Osage and Kansa Indian lands in the spring-fed, wooded hills of western Missouri. Settlers planned Independence as a county seat and laid out the town astride an ancient Indian route that recently had become part of the federally surveyed road to the centuries-old settlement of Santa Fe in Mexican Territory in 1825. Santa Fe was ancient: its environs were first settled by Pueblo Indians circa 1050 to 1150. It was already old when the Spanish established a European community there in 1610. Independence’s initial geographic location on the Missouri River and its later status as a regional governmental, agricultural, and economic center made it an ideal eastern port of entry for the Mexican trade. During this period, the town and its citizens participated in an international economic network that stretched from Chihuahua, Mexico, to St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, New York, and Philadelphia, and then to Europe. The influence of Americans such as geopoliticalician William Gilpin helped to establish a federal port of customs here in 1845. As Independence served as his home between 1841 and 1860, Gilpin’s

Independence and International Trade

choice based itself on personal ties and investments as well as geography. Ever
the promoter, he later noted, “The pioneer army perpetually . . . strikes to the
front. Empire plants itself upon the trails.”

Before two decades had passed, however, Independence lost its status as
a premier American western outfitting and freighting center because of local,
regional, and ultimately national social conflict, as well as shifts in commercial
patterns and centralization of new technologies such as rail transportation.
Mormon conflict, Indian persecution, the Mexican War, and Kansas-Missouri
border violence created an environment of both uncertainty and instability.
The national civil conflict between North and South translated itself in Jack-
son County into a pitched battle between pro-Southern Independence and
its eastern townships and villages and the western settlements bordering on
Indian Territory—soon to be the state of Kansas in 1861. By 1861, Indepen-
dence no longer served as the center of regional economics, and although it
remained the seat of Jackson County, border warfare between Missouri and
Kansas in the 1850s and national Civil War in the 1860s largely destroyed
the town’s economy and county government. Kansas “Jayhawkers” (irregular
partisans) and Missouri guerillas created social and economic havoc in the
region for a decade before the national Civil War began. Organized military
depredations like Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence, Kansas, in 1863 and the sub-
sequent issuance of General Order No. 11, a scorched-earth policy in Mis-
souri issued by Union Brigadier General Thomas Ewing Jr., depopulated the
region and burned it out, much as Ewing’s foster-brother and brother-in-law
William T. Sherman would do in Georgia the following year. In the aftermath
of the war, pro-Union Kansas City became the regional center of economics,
government, and trade.

The town of Independence, Missouri, was one of a number of inter-
national entrepôts in the overland trade with Mexico, serving businesses
involved in the wagon and steamboat transport of manufactured goods and
the return of raw materials and specie. Merchants purchased manufactured

West Film Project, “William Gilpin (1813–1894).” Also see Bancroft, History of the Life of William Gilpin,
58.

6. Hundreds of books have been written on the Santa Fe trade; however, the city of Independence,
Missouri, has received little attention from scholars of the American West. Other than a master’s thesis
completed in 1971 by a student at the University of Washington (McLaughlin, “Independence, Jackson
County, Missouri, c. 1827–1844”) and various specialized articles, little of a serious historical nature has
been written concerning Independence, Missouri, and its role in western development.
William P. (Pat) O’Brien, Ph.D. works for the National Park Service Intermountain Region as Desert Southwest CESU Cultural Resource Specialist and is stationed in Tucson, at the University of Arizona. He received his training in American history at Central Missouri State University (BS, 1972), University of Missouri at Kansas City (MA, 1979), and University of Colorado at Boulder (PhD, 1994).

Dr. O’Brien has held positions in the field of public history since 1977. He served as Historic Preservation Officer for the City of Independence, Missouri, from 1977 to 1984, as Cultural Resource Supervisor for Planning at the National Park Service’s Denver Service Center (1995–1998), and as a Program Manager for Cultural Resources and National Register Programs, Intermountain Region, Santa Fe/Denver, National Park Service (1998–2001). Currently, in addition to specific NPS projects for parks, he coordinates and supports various research programs dealing with resource management in the American West as well as various international efforts.

In conjunction with his NPS duties, he also serves as adjunct faculty through the Southwest Center and the College of Architecture, Planning, and Landscape Architecture at the University of Arizona.

In 2012, he was invited by the American Embassy in Tbilisi, Georgia, through USDOI-ITAP and the United States Agency of International Development (USAID) as a cultural resource consultant to the Republic of Georgia. While there he lectured on cultural resource conservation in the United States and visited various sites along the ancient Silk Road trade routes between Asia and Europe.
Index

Page references in *italics* indicate illustrations; *t* after a number indicates a table.

A
abolitionists, 107
Abraham M. Abraham and Company, 52, 127–28
Abreu, Santiago, 43, 122
Abreu, Soledad, 43
Adams-Onis Treaty (1819), 50, 82
African Americans. See also black businessmen
  in the Fort Osage community, 21–22, 27
  slavery of, 53, 88–89, 107, 160
African conflict, 78–79
Aguirre, Epifiano, 43, 124, 164, 164n44, 172
Aguirre, Mamie Bernard, 172
Aguirre-Solarte, José Ventura, 163–64
Aguirre-Solarte, Murrieta, and Goyeneche, 163
Aguirre-Solarte family, 164n44, 172
Allegheny Portage Railroad, 55
Álvarez, Manuel
  as American consul at Santa Fe, 88
  as attorney, 157
  career of, 29, 152–55, 164–67
  citizenship of, 88, 152–53
  death of, 149n7
  languages spoken by, 122, 152
  role in petitioning for reimbursement for goods sold on credit, 153n23
American Civil War, 107–15, 142
American common and civil law, 16
American Express, 158, 163
American Fur Company, 152
American Home Missionary Society, 56
American West
  as the door to Asian trade, 30–31
  history of, 2n1
  people of, 2
  as a place of individual identity and independence, 2, 3, 34n49
annuity trade, 37
anti-Semitism, 126–29
Apache Indians, 129
Arapahoe Indians, 129
Armijo, Ambrosio, 154
Armijo, Manuel, 122, 123, 148, 163
Armijo, Vincente, 154
Armijo family, 75–76
Atchison (Kansas), 66, 68
Atkinson, Henry, 39
Aubry, François Xavier, 58, 59, 80, 146, 155
Aull, James, 42, 121–22
Aull, Robert, Mrs., 62
Aull Brothers, 149

B
Baca, Tomás, 122
Barcelo, Gertrudis, 124
Barrett, Walter, 158
Bartleson, Sidney S., 155
Battle of Westport, 113
Beach, Moses Y., 158
Beaver (keelboat), 23
Beckham, James, 108
Becknell, William, 28–29, 29n32
Beelen, Anthony, 165
Bent, Charles, 149–50
Bent, St. Vrain, and Company, 166
Bent, William, 118
Bentham, Jeremy, 9, 81
Bernard, Joab, 164n44
Bernard, Mamie, 43, 164n44
Bingham, George Caleb, 112–13
Bissell, Lewis, 28
black businessmen, 8, 70, 126–27, 134–44
Boggs, Lilburn, 43, 98, 99, 100–101
Bone, William S., 113
Boonville (Missouri), 34
Booth, Ezra, 50
border regulations, 14
Boyle, Susan, 11n16
Brackenridge, Henry, 20
bribes, 92
Bridger, Jim, 2, 71n20
Brokers of the New York Executive Board, 160
Brown, Amanda Jane Young, 143
Brown, Blake B., 143
Brown, John, 107
Brown, Joseph, 19–20, 33
Buchanan, Gertrude, 130
Burr, Aaron, 18, 19
business regulation, 44–45
Byrant, Edwin, 123

C
C. R. Morehead and Company, 109
California, 25
California gold rush (1849), 66
Campbell, Mary, 129
Campbell, Richard, 92, 149
Camp Independence, 34n49
Carillo family, 172
Carlist Wars, 78, 164n44
Carlos and Fulton, 70
Cass, Lewis, 133, 133n33
Cather, Willa: Death Comes for the Archbishop, 58–59
Catholicism, merchant conversion to, 10–11, 87
Central Overland Route to California and Oregon, 70
Charles Ilfeld and Company, 172
Chávez, Antonio José, 74, 75
Chávez, Antonio, 122
Chávez, Felipe, 124, 127, 163, 164, 166–67
Chávez, Felix, 148
Chávez, Francisco, 75
Chávez, José, 163
Chávez, José Francisco, 122–23
Chávez, Mariano, 122–23
Cherokee Indians, 24, 37
Cherokee law, 17, 86
Chez Les Canses. See Kansas City
Chick, W. S., 131
Chickasaw Indians, 37
Chihuahua (Mexico), 7, 25, 31
Chiles, Azubah, 130
Chiles, Cornelius Carr, 98
Chiles, James, 107, 136–37
Chiles, James J., 114, 136–37, 143
Chiles, Joel F., 123
Chiles family, 43, 98
Chocotaw Indians, 24, 37
cholera, 58–59, 89
Chouteau, Cyprian, 44, 117
Chouteau, Edmond François, 100
Chouteau, François Gesseau, 22–23, 33n46, 47, 99–100, 117
Chouteau, Frederick, 44, 117
Chouteau, Pierre, 22, 33n46, 48, 117, 131, 153
Chouteau and MacKenzie, 153
Chouteau family, 46, 47
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 93–94, 95
Cimarron Cutoff vs. Mountain Route, 14–15
citizenship, 86–88, 172
Civil War, 107–15, 142
Clamorgan, Jacques, 27
Clark, Margaret, 24, 44, 131
Clark, William, 15, 18, 20
Clay County (Missouri), 45
Clymer, John, 168
Cohoes (New York), 161
Colburn, Norris, 76
Colorado gold rush (1859), 66
Comingo, Abraham, 52, 111–12
Commerce of the Prairies (Gregg), 4, 148
Concert of Europe (1815–66), 82, 82n9
disputed
global, 78–79
resolution/consensus, 7–11, 116–17, 171
Congress of Vienna (1814–15), 81
consent principle, 82, 86
contract law, 9, 81, 83–86
Cooke, P. St. George, 122
Cooper, Stephen, 29
cooperation, of diverse groups for economic success, 36, 170–71, 175
Corbin, Thomas, 91
Cortes de Cadiz, 161
Cotes San DeSsein, 22
Council Bluffs (Missouri), 28, 66
Council Grove Press, 109
cowboy image, 4
Cowherd, F. K., 53
credit reporting, 9–10, 81, 90, 126–27, 141–42, 144, 147–48, 173–74
Cree Indians, 22–23
Creek Indians, 24, 37
currency, 63–64, 64, 73–74, 98, 171
Curtis, Samuel P., 111
Curtis and Eley, 33n46
Cutter, Captain, 107

D
Davis, Harmon, 96
Davy, Cornelius
business relationships of, 89, 105, 146, 154
death of, 46, 48, 121
Davy, Thomas, 154
Dearborn, Henry, 18
Death Comes for the Archbishop (Cather), 58–59
debt collection/settlement, 16, 17
D'Eglise, Jacques, 15–16
Delaware Indians, 24
Delgado Brothers, 148
DeLisel, Frank, 166
Democratic Gazette, 68
"Democratic Vistas" (Whitman), 3
De Smet, Pierre-Jean, 59–60
Detroit, 36
deweber, W. F., 145
Dickens, Charles, 78
disease, 58–59
diversification of trades, 56
diversity of population
and the American experience, 4
as a catalyst for consensus, 7–8, 116–17
in Chez Les Canses, 22–23
complimentary to diversity of landscape, 13
and cooperation, 36, 170–71, 175
in Fort Osage, 27
in Six Mile, 27
Doniphan, Alexander W., 101n48, 102, 105–6
Donnelly, Bernard, 98
Douglass, Frederick, 143
Doyle, Don Harrison, 93
drawback bill (1845), 91
Drips, Andrew, 118, 152
Durocher, Lorenzo, 15–16
duties and fees, 14, 63–64, 90–91
Dykstra, Robert, 93, 117
E
El Camino Real de la Tierra Adentro, 7
Elguea, Francisco, 80, 105
Elkins, Stephen B., 164n44
El Paso del Norte (Mexico), 7
equality,
in business dealings, 9
illusion of, 36
estate supervision and potential for abuse, 48–49
European conflict, 78–79
European settlement, 13–14
Ewing, Thomas, Jr., 5, 113, 142
expansionism, 19–20, 31
F
fees and duties, 14, 63–64, 90–91
Fellman, Michael, 111
Ferguson, Alexander C., 105
Fire Prairie (Six Mile, Jackson County, Missouri), 21
Fisher, Emily, 130
Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 71n20
Flanagan, Daniel, 138
Flathead Indians, 22–23
Fleming and Marshall, 103–4
Flint, Timothy, 117
Flores, Pedro R. de, 163
Flournoy, James, 42
Flournoy, Jones H., 97
Flournoy, Lawrence, 42
Flournoy, Rowland, 41–42
Flournoy, Solomon, 41–42
Flournoy family, 41–42, 43, 98, 146
Floyd, Charles, 15
Forsyth, John, 152
Fort Clark. See Fort Osage
Fort Leavenworth, 40, 72, 107, 108–9
Fort Osage, 18
building of, 18–20, 21
population/community of, 21–22, 27
purpose of, 19
strength of connection to Santa Fe trade, 27
Foucault, Michel, 9
Fowler, Jacob, 39
Fowler, Pauline Siegfried, 96
Fox Indians, 37, 85
Franker and Todd, 42, 43
Franklin (Missouri), 34
Frazier, E. Franklin, 144
Free State Republican, 68
freighting
draft animals used in, 67
firms and merchants involved in, 74, 88, 124, 147, 150–51, 162, 164–68, 172
for the government, 76, 89, 102, 115, 147, 168
Independence as freighting center, 5, 34, 51, 56, 60
supplies and equipment, sources for, 66, 76, 134
and railroads, 72
French Code Napoléon, 16
French settlers, 13–14
French traders, 19, 22
Fristoe, Richard, 42
fur trade
in Chez Les Canses, 23
as a foundation for later trade, 15
government supervision of, 19, 22
and river transportation, 13–14
in the Rocky Mountains, 37
trappers, 59
G
Gamble, Archibald, 30
García, Guadalupe, 88
García, John, 160
García, Miguel, 160
García, Raymond, 160
General Order No. 11, 5, 113, 142
Gentry, Nicholas, 107
Gentry, Reuben, 74
German immigrants, 8
Gervais, José, 15
Gilbert, Algernon S., 97
Gilbert, James W., 138
Gilbert and Whitney, 96, 97
Gilpin, Henry, 120
Gilpin, William, 4–5, 30–31, 91, 91–92, 102, 120–21, 169
Glasgow, W. H., 105
Glasgow Brothers, 74, 167
gold as a standard of international currency, 73–74
gold rushes, 66
Goldstein, Moses, 129, 146
Goldstein, Thompson, and Flournoy, 129
Gonzáles, José, 80
government
contracts, 167–68
elected officials, 49
estate administration, 46–47
fines, 57–58
mail route, 76
ordinances and local laws, 49, 56–57
role in trade, 37, 44–45, 49, 66, 79
Graham, M. T., 140
Gray, James, 96
Greeley, Horace, 134–35
Gregg, Josiah, 148
business relationships of, 165
Commerce of the Prairies, 4, 148
and Hispano traders, thoughts on, 148–49
languages spoken by, 124, 125–26
records kept by, 17, 24, 65, 80, 86
Gross, Kelly, and Company, 172
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gros Ventres, 22–23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grotius, Hugo, 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutierrez family, 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyamas, 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, William A., 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall and Porter’s Santa Fe stage service, 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallar, Jacob, 54n45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton (Canada), 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony, Manuel X., 103–6, 106n57, 162, 162–63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony, Peter, 74, 103, 147, 157–65, 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony, Widow de X, 158, 158n34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony and Nephews, 74, 103–4, 147, 157–64, 159, 167, 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris, Moses, 58, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart, Bernard, 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heisterhagan, F., 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernandez, Luis Amado, 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hicks, Russell, 46, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hine, Robert V., 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiram Young and Company, 137–38, 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic study school curriculum, 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispano businessmen, 8, 11n, 147–49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics in the Fort Osage community, 21–22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffman and Barney, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holcomb, Azariah, 96–97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmes, Daniel B., 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosmer, Harriet, 174–75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houck, Samuel, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houghton, Eliza Donner, 118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Lords, 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howland, Donaciana, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudspeth, William, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudspeth family, 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt, Alexander von, 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huron Indians, 24. See also Wyandotte Indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfeld, Charles, 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immigration, 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imported goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duties and fees, 14, 63–64, 90–91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Europe, 14, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence, 34n49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence and Missouri River Railroad project, 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence City Council, 56–58. See also government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence House, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence Lodge No. 35, 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence (Missouri)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>businesses listed in state directory, 180t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Chez Les Canses, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collapse of community, 111–12, 111–14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>county courthouse, 40, 40–41, 46, 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>customs offices, 90–92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diversity of, 7–9, 10, 34–35, 70, 117–20, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic instability, 107–8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as Eden, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire of 1860, 108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire of 1861, 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>founding families of, 42–43, 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>founding of, 34–35, 38–39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>growth of, 50–54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegal settlement of, 38–39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>importance of, 2–6, 4–5, 11, 35, 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incorporation of, 45, 51n34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Kansas City, 66–71, 77, 112, 115, 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location, 2–3, 4, 14, 25, 38, 50, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lots sold in, 33, 39–43, 47–48, 94–97, 95, 177–79t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naming of, 34, 34n49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>planning, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics of, 5, 7, 44–45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population of, 68, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post–Civil War, 8, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre–Civil War, 5, 8, 11–12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seal design of, 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelbyville Square plan, 50, 50n31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slavery, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town lots sold, 33, 39–43, 47–48, 94–97, 95, 177–79t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence Savings Institution, 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian annuity trade, 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inman, Henry, 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international boundaries, 76, 82–83, 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
international law
authority over, 81
changes in, 83
lack of, 17, 79–82, 157
Law of Nations, 81
vs. local/municipal law, 81–82
international silver market, 73–74
Iowa Indians, 22
Irish immigrants, 8
Iroquois Nation, 131
Iturbide, Agustín de, 85

J
Jabez Smith and Company, 155
Jackson, Andrew, 38n6, 120, 150
Jackson, David E., 71, 71n20
Jackson County (Missouri), 45
founding of, 34–35, 38
Independence Courthouse, 40
location, 13
population of, 53
pre-Civil War, 5
record-keeping, 90
road improvements, 45–46
seal design of, 51
slavery, 53
social climate of, 10
James, Thomas, 28
*Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, 29n32
Jefferson, Thomas, 30–31
Jennison's Jayhawkers, 110, 111, 112–13
Jesuit College (St. Louis, MO), 75
Jewish merchants, 8, 126–29
Johnston, Gan, 42
Jones, Lewis, 55, 96, 136
Jornada del Muerto (Journey of Death), 14–15
Juárez, Benito, 85

K
Kansa Indians, 18–19, 24, 33, 33n46, 37
Kansa River, 14
Kansas City (formerly Chez Les Canses; Kansas; Missouri), 5, 8, 11, 56, 67
Catholic population of, 117
diversity of, 70, 77
fur trade, 23
vs. Independence, 66–71, 77, 112, 115, 170
naming of, 66, 132
population of, 22–24, 68
Kansas City Railroad Convention (1858), 120
Kansas City Southern, 174
Kansas (Missouri). See Kansas City
Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 106
Kansas Town Company, 47–48
Das Kapital (Marx), 78
Kaskaskia Indians, 24
Kean, Ann Eliza, 89
Kearney, Stephen W., 101, 105
Kerferd and Jenkins, 105
Kickapoo Indians, 22–23, 24
Kiowa Indians, 128
Knight, William S., 154
Krakow, Jere, 11n16
Kutenai Indians, 22–23

L
Lacy, Francis B., 111
Lafayette County (Missouri), 38
La Foret, Francisco, 153
Lamanche, Antoine, 152
Lamanites, 94
Lamar, Howard, 2n
Lamme, Samuel, 121, 149, 150
Lamy, Jean Baptiste, 58–59, 155
language barriers, 17
Larkin, Thomas, 166
Latter-Day Saints, 93–94, 95
Law of Nations, 81
Lawrence, William, 42
Leaman, Andrew, 160
Leavenworth (Kansas), 66, 68, 76
Leitensdorfer, Eugene, 43, 146, 154
Leland, Baptiste, 15
Lewis, Meriwether, 15, 18, 19
Lewis and Clark, 15
Lewis Tappan's Mercantile Company, 126–27
Lexington (Missouri), 34, 66
Lightner, Isaac, 43, 107, 154
limited participation, 9
Limmerick, Patricia, 2n1
Lincoln, Abraham, 120
Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, 163, 163n43
looting, 109, 113
López, Antonio, 64
López, Damaso, 152, 155
Louisiana Purchase (1803), 16, 22
Louisiana Territory, 16, 19
Lucas, Samuel D., 55, 98, 101, 101n48, 112, 123
Lucas and Kavanaugh, 51

M
MacKenzie, Alexander, 153
MacManners, Thomas F., 105
Magoffin, James Wiley, 43, 44
Magoffin, James, 80
Magraw, William M. F., 70
Maha Indians, 18
Majors, Russell, and Waddell, 134–35
Malek Aghel (ship), 161
Mamie Bernard and Pedro Joab Aguirre Scholarship in Spanish, 172
Marest, Gabriel, 14
Margraine, Noel, 44
marriage
and economic security, 9, 10
and financial gain, 163
and property ownership, 124
and trade relationships, 23–24, 43–44, 81, 87, 117–18, 173
Marshall, Fanny, 29
Martínez, Miguel, 163
Marx, Karl: Das Kapital, 78
Marx, Leo, 174
Mather, Thomas, 33
Mayer, Brantz, 92
McCausley, John, 146
McClanahan, 108
McCoy, Ellen Waddle, 119
McCoy, Isaac, 97, 99
McCoy, J. C., 108
McCoy, John, 74, 89, 118, 147, 155
McCoy, John C., 101
McCoy, Russell, and Company, 52, 147, 151
McCoy, Samuel, 118
McCoy, Waldo, and Company, 163
McCoy, Waldo, and Smith, 53, 121–22, 146–47, 149, 151, 153, 168
McCoy, William, 119, 146
business relationships of, 121–22, 135, 140–41, 142, 143, 149, 166, 172
career of, 151, 154–56
robbery of, 113–14
role in the Mexican trade, 74, 102
as surety for other merchants’ contracts, 89
Union loyalty of, 111
woodworking business of, 135n40
McCoy and Lee, 51, 118–19, 151
McCoy family, 76
McCurdy, John, 136
McDaniel, John, 74
McGill, James, 166
McKinney, S. L., 107
McKnight, John, 28, 29n32, 80
McNair, Alexander, 152
Mechanics Bank, 68–69
Menard, Bernice, 23
Menard, Pierre, 23
Mercantile Agency, 90, 126, 173
merchants
adaptation to social and political environments, 11
citizenship of, 86–88, 152, 172
and commissioned trade, 74, 157
distrust of Jews, 126–29
diversity of, 7–8, 11n16, 171–73
government involvement of, 88–89
languages spoken by, 122–23, 124–26, 132–33, 152
reliance on established international trading houses, 157
as sureties for each other, 89–90
Meriwether, David, 28
Messervy and Webb, 149
Messervy, 146
métis people, 22, 27
Metoyer, Jeannot, 15
Mexican-American War (1846–48), 79–80, 83, 93, 102–6, 115, 170–71
Mexican conflict, 78–79, 85
Merchants of Independence

Mexican gold and silver, 63–64, 64, 73–74, 98, 171
Mexican independence, 22, 28
Mexican marriages to traders, 43–44
Mexican trade
  border regulations, 14
  and conflict, effect of, 79–81
  contract law, 17, 81, 84–85
  debt settlements, 17
  diversity of merchants and businessmen, 8, 36, 171–73
  goods sold, 62–65
  growth of, 27–31, 51, 52, 63–65, 65n7, 65n9, 71–74, 157
  and international law, 81–87
  Native Americans, affected by, 24, 27, 130–34
  profitability of, 28–31, 36–37, 65, 76
  robberies, 74–75
  routes used, 1–2, 14–15
  value of shipments, 181–82
Mexican War of Independence, 5, 49–50, 64–65, 82–83
military route potential of the Santa Fe Trail, 32n44
Mill, John Stuart, 3
Mills, Mathilda, 58
Mills, T. B.: Report on Internal Commerce of the United States, 65
Missouri Intelligencer, 29n32
Missouri–Kansas border warfare (1854–61), 79–80, 93, 106–7
Missouri Mounted Volunteers, 102, 105
Missouri Railroad Company, 55
Missouri Republican, 30, 66
Missouri River, 14, 45
Missouri Stage Line, 68
Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 56, 70, 180t
Mitchell, David D., 105
Modie, John, 136
monetary systems, 16
Monroe, James, 28, 31
Monroe Doctrine, 82
Montardeau, Calise, 41
Montoya family, 75–76
Montreal, 13–14
Moore, Benjamin D., 104
Moorhead, Max: New Mexico’s Royal Road, 4
Morehead, C. R., 109
Mormons, 93–94, 95
Mormon War (1833–38), 5, 79–80, 93–99, 170–71
The Morning and Evening Star, 96–97
Morrison, William, 15
Mountain Route vs. Cimarron Cutoff, 14–15
N
NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), 175
Napton, W. B., 136–37
nationalism, 3, 172
national sovereignty principle, 82
Native Americans
  Anglo-American attitudes toward, 117–18
  annuity trade, 37
  conflict with, 2–3, 78–79
  cooperation of, 2–3
  displacement by the American government, 24
  in the Fort Osage community, 21–22
  as investors in trade, 8
  as Lamanites, 94
  laws and customs, 16–17
  marriages to traders, 43–44
  number of tribes, 16–17
  persecution of, 5
  reservations for, 24, 37, 85–86, 130–34
  support of, 18
  trade with, 15, 22
  tribal law, 17, 82, 85–86
  unfair compensation for land, 20
  west of Missouri and Arkansas, 24, 26, 27
New Mexico’s Royal Road (Moorhead), 4
New Orleans, 13–14
New Spain, 19
Newton, Samuel, 39, 41, 43
New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), 160
Niles’ Weekly Register, 29
Noland, S. V., 42
Noland, Smallwood, 42, 51
Index

Noland family, 43, 98
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 175
Northrup, Hiram, 24, 44, 69, 131–32, 134
Northrup and Chick, 24, 69, 131–32
Northrup and Company, 69
NYSE (New York Stock Exchange), 160

O
Ochoa family, 172
Oestreicher, Richard Jules, 36
O'Fallon, John, 28
Omaha Indians, 24
Oregon, 25
Ortiz, Gaspar, 148
Osage Indians
   as American allies, 18–19
   marriages with, 22
   partitioning of lands, 33
   payments made to, 33, 33n46
   protection of, 20
   removal of, 100–101
   reservation for, 24, 37, 100
   settlement of claims against, 20
   theft by, 30
   treaties, 20
Osage Plains, 13, 14–15
Osage Trace, 21
Osage Treaty (1812), 18
Osage War (1836), 79–80, 93, 100–101
Otero, Antonio José, 122, 147–48
Otero, John, 80
Otero, M. S., 122
Otero, Manuel, 122
Otero, Manuel A., 124
Otero, Miguel Antonio, 123, 134, 172
Otero family, 75–76, 172
Otoe Indians, 22, 24
Ottawa Indians, 24, 85
overland caravans, 72
overland trade routes, 1, 6, 6–7, 61–62, 65, 76–77, 156–57
Owen, Robert, 94n33
Owens, Samuel C., 42
   business relationships of, 41, 154
   citizenship of, 172
   as clerk of the County Court, 49–50
   death of, 102, 121, 156
   as a founder of Independence, 43, 121–22
   government, role in, 49–50
   languages spoken by, 125–26
   private business, role in, 49–50
   as recorder of deeds, 47–48, 49–50, 149
   sale of mules from, 71
   ‘Traders’ Battalion, formed by, 102
   as treasurer of Independence Lodge, 123
   trip with Manuel X. Harmony, 105
   wealth of, 98
Owens’ Landing, 46

P
panopticon, 9
Parkville (Missouri), 66
Partridge, Edward, 96
Pattie, James Ohio, 30
Pawnee Fork, 104
Pawnee Indians, 15, 18, 22, 24
Pawnee Rock, 32
Peacock, Marshall James, 114
Penick, William R., 111
Peoria Indians, 24, 37
Perea, Francisco, 75, 75, 108–9
Perea, J. L., 148
Perea, Joaquin, 75
Perea, José, 122
Perea family, 75–76
Peter Harmony and Nephews, 74, 103–4, 147, 157–64, 159, 167, 168
Phelps, W. W., 96–97
Piankeshaw Indians, 24, 85
Pike, Zebulon, 17–18, 19, 34n49
Pittsfield (MA) Sun, 108
Point, Nicholas, S. J., 117
Ponca Indians, 18
Poole, James, 96
Poras, J. Calistro, 103, 105
Porter, James and Mahala, 55
Pottawatomie Indians, 22–23, 24
Pottawatomie Massacre, 107
probate court, 46–49
property rights, 9
pro-slavery marches, 107
prostitution, 56–57

207
Protestant conversion to Catholicism, 10–11
Prudhomme, Gabriel, and heirs, 46–47

Q
Quantrill, William Clarke, 113, 136
Quantrill’s raid, 5
Quindaro (Kansas), 66

R
rail routes, 1–2, 63, 173, 174
Rapp, George, 94n33
Redford and Partners, 103–4
Rees, Richard, 46, 47
Reece, Richard, 123
Reeves, Benjamin, 33
regulation of the fur trade, 19
religious conversion, 10–11
Report on Internal Commerce of the United States (Mills), 65
Republic of Texas, 6
reservations, 24, 37, 130–34
R. G. Dun and Company, 90
Rickman, Robert, 120
Rigdon, Sidney, 96, 98
right-of-way purchased by the American government, 33, 33n46
road improvements, 45–46
road survey from Missouri to Santa Fe (1825), 4, 29, 31–33
Roberts, Eli, 96
Robidoux, Antoine, 88
Robidoux, Esadore, 152
Robidoux, François, 29
Robidoux, Louis, 88
Robinson, John, 27–28, 54n45, 108
Robison and Crook Foundry, 54, 54n45
Robledo, Francisco Paula, 166
Robles, Antonio, 127
Rocky Mountain Fur Company, 71n20
Rocky Mountain fur trade, 37
Rollins, James S., 112
Roman Catholicism, 87
Romero, Vicente, 124
Roosevelt, Theodore, 3, 4
Rosenthal, 127–28
Rothschild family, 173
Roux, Benedict, S. J., 117
Roy, Joseph, 41
Royce, Josiah, 3, 4
Ruff, Charles, 129

S
S. M. Hays and Company, 72
Sac Indians, 37, 85
Saint Charles (Missouri), 22
Saint Joseph (Missouri), 66, 68, 77
Saint Louis Daily Union, 54
Salcedo, Governor, 27
Salvucci, Richard, 63, 64
Samaniego, Mariano, 172
Samaniego family, 172
Sampson, Moses, 108
Samuel C. Owens and Company, 51
Santa Ana, 79, 164
Santa Fe (Mexico)
Clamorgan, first profitable American trip by, 27
founding of, 13
location of, 25
Metoyer and Leland, first overland trip by, 15
routes to, 15–16, 28
settlement of, 4
surveyed route to, 4, 29, 31–33
Santa Fe Trail
as a military route, 32n44
proximity to Native American reservations, 130, 134
Sarracino, Luis, 127
Schoolcraft, Henry, 133
school curriculum, 175
schooling of Mexican traders’ children in the United States, 75–76
scorched-earth policy, 5
Scoville, Joseph, 158
Second Bank of the United States, 120
Seligman, Bernard, 128
Seminole Indians, 24
Semirane, Peo, 80
Seven Years’ War (1763), 3
Shawnee Indians, 24, 37, 85, 131
Shelbyville Square plan, 50, 50n31
Shepard family, 43
Sherman, William T., 5
Sibley, George Champlin, 19, 27, 31–34, 33n46, 38, 39
Sibley, John, 27
Silk Road, 1, 31
silver as a standard of international currency, 73
Sioux Indians, 22–23
Six Mile, 21–22, 27
Skillman, Henry, 80
“Skimmer of the Plains,” 55n46, 58
slavery, 53, 88–89, 107, 160
Sloan, Benjamin, 111
Smith, Adam, 73
Smith, Dan, 137, 141
Smith, Henry C., 89
Smith, Jabez, 146
advertising, 52
business relationships of, 119, 121–22, 149, 154–56, 166
death of, 149n7
house of, 108
slave speculation business of, 53, 88–89
wealth of, 151
Smith, Jedediah S., 71, 71n20
Smith, Joseph, Jr., 94, 94n33, 96, 101n48
Smith, Joseph, 169–70
Smith, Nash: Virgin Land, 30–31
Smith, Pegleg, 2
Smith, Susan Royster, 89
Smith, Thomas T., 108
smuggling, 14, 17, 92, 150
social conflict, 5
Southern Bank of Saint Louis, 68
sovereignty principle, 82
Spanish civil law, 16
Spanish government’s uneasiness toward American merchants, 27–28
Speer, William H., 163
Speigleberg, Lehman, 128
Speigleberg, Levi, 154
St. Louis, 51
St. Vrain, Ceran, 149, 152
St. Vrain, Vincent, 156
Stabb, Zadoc, 128
State Gazetteer, 70
Steinfeld, Albert, 172
Steinfeld Department Store, 172
Stone, McCoy, and Company, 68, 151
Stone, Robert, 136
Storrs, Augustus, 29–30, 32, 152
Suárez, B. S., 163
Suárez, Leonardo Santos, 160, 161
Suárez, P. S., 163
Sublette, William, 46
Sublette, William L., 71, 71n20
surveyed roads, 4, 29, 31–33
T
Tampico, 64
Tappan, Lewis, 90, 144, 173–74
tariffs, 90–91
Taylor, John, 94n33
Texan revolt (1936), 101
Texas, 25
Thomas, James, 139
Thorntoon, John, 41
Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans (James), 29n32
Tillery, T. L. Watson, 130
Tionnontates of the Huron Confederacy. See Wyandotte Indians
Todd, Elisha, 42
Toledo, José Álvarez de, 27–28
Tonnies, Ferdinand, 169
Toronto (Canada), 70
trade. See also Mexican trade
by commission, 74, 157
government’s role in, 37, 44–45, 66
of Indian annuities, 37
length of travel, 6–7
monitoring of behavior for equitable business dealings, 9, 34
overland routes, 1, 6, 6–7, 61–62, 65, 76–77, 156–57
pre–Civil War, 1
rail routes, 1–2, 63, 173, 174
risks, 156–57
of slaves, 160
water routes, 1, 157
Traders’ Battalion, 102
trappers, 59
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), 102–3
tribal law, 17, 82, 85–86
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 3, 4, 31
Turner and Company, 68
Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, 122–23
Twyman, Juliana, 129
Twyman, Leo, 89

U
Union Bank of Missouri, 68–69
Union troops in Independence, 109, 110–11
Upper Independence Landing, 46

V
Valdez, Carmelita, 43
Valdez, Maria Gertrudis, 43, 44
Van Buren, Martin, 120
Van Epps, 127
Van Ness, N. D., 155
Van Nostrand, G., 158
Van Nostrand, J., 158
Vasquez, Baronet, 47
Veracruz, 14, 64
Virgin Land (Smith), 30–31

W
W. Chick (firm), 68
Waddle, Ellen, 119
wagon industry, 15, 71, 134–44
Wakarusa War, 107
Waldo, David, 146
as an attorney, 157
business relationships of, 121–22, 134, 149, 154–56, 166, 172
career of, 89, 149–51
citizenship of, 87–88, 111, 152, 172
contract with the U.S. government, 167–68
as executor of Cornelius Davy’s estate, 48–49
as a founder of Independence, 119, 120, 121
languages spoken by, 124–26
member of Independence Lodge, 123
merchant firm of, 51
and the Mexican-American War, 102
smuggling by, 150
wealth of, 36–37, 150–51
Waldo, Hall, and Company, 151, 155
Waldo, L. L., 152, 153
Waldo, Lawrence, 48
Waldo and Company, 147
Walker, Joel, 29, 38n6
Walker, Joseph Rutherford, 29, 38, 38, 38n6, 118
Walker, William, 24, 132–34, 133, 133n, 134n37
Walker family, 43
Walnut Creek, 30
Warner, Sophia, 143
Warner, William, 143
Warsaw, 160
Washington Hotel, 51
Waugh, Alfred S., 120
Wayne, John, 4
Wayne City, 46
Wea Indians, 24, 85
Webb, William H., 161
Webb, 146
Weekly Tribune, 54
Wells Fargo, 158
Wescott, Robert, 19–20
West, Elliot, 7
western Missouri, 13–14, 15. See also Jackson County
The Western Missourian, 107
Weston, Robert, 56n48, 136
Weston (Missouri), 66, 68
Westport Border Star, 139
Westport (Missouri), 66, 68
White Hair, Chief, 44
Whitman, Walt, 1, 30–31
“Democratic Vistas,” 3
Wichita, 93
Wilburn, Ed, 41, 42
Wilkinson, James, 17–18, 19
William and John McCoy, 151
William S. Knight and Company, 154
Wilson, Moses G., 107
Wilson and Parker, 52
Wistar, Isaac Jones, 170
women in business, 8, 70, 126–27, 129–30
Woods, Christy, and Company, 155
Woodson, Samuel H., 55, 87, 89, 107, 123
Wyandotte City, 131
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>211</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wyandotte Indians, 24, 37, 85, 130–34,</td>
<td>Young, John T., 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134n37</td>
<td>Young, Matilda, 136, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyandotte Mining Company, 134</td>
<td>Young, Solomon, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyandotte (Kansas), 66, 68</td>
<td>Young and Smith, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyandotte Purchase, 132</td>
<td>Young School (Independence, MO), 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Y</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaulwager, Louis, 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, George, 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, Hiram, 56n48, 70, 76, 135–44, 136, 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeckendorf family, 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Merchants of Independence pulls back the veil of the commercial interworkings of the frontier town of Independence, Missouri, and explains how the community was an active participant in Santa Fe Trail trade from 1827 to 1860. No other study has assessed the role Independence played, and here William O’Brien makes a compelling case that the Santa Fe Trail trade was not just regional in nature, but part of an international trade network. This is significant.

— Jon E. Taylor
author of A President, A Church and Trails West

A thoroughly researched book, Merchants of Independence examines the complexities of the international network of trade involving the United States, Mexico, and Europe Hispanics, and French.

— Susan Calafate Boyle
author of Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade

In the frontier town of Independence, Missouri, a commercial route for goods to and from Europe developed into a sophisticated international network of overland trade with Mexico. To trade goods, western Missouri entrepreneurs relied on the cooperative support and interactions of Anglos, Hispanics, Native Americans, Jews, Irish, free blacks, slaves, and women in order to succeed. Here William Patrick O’Brien examines the complexity of U.S. and Mexican trade alliances from 1827 to 1860 and how traders built consensus between individuals and various governmental and economic systems. The groups used in this study have been selected to underscore the town’s diverse and polyglot nature and to dispel the notion of any homogeneous base. Cultural convergence, cooperation, conflict, and their consequences all played a part to make this strategic locale on the Missouri River a challenging and premier American center for trade on the Santa Fe Trail.