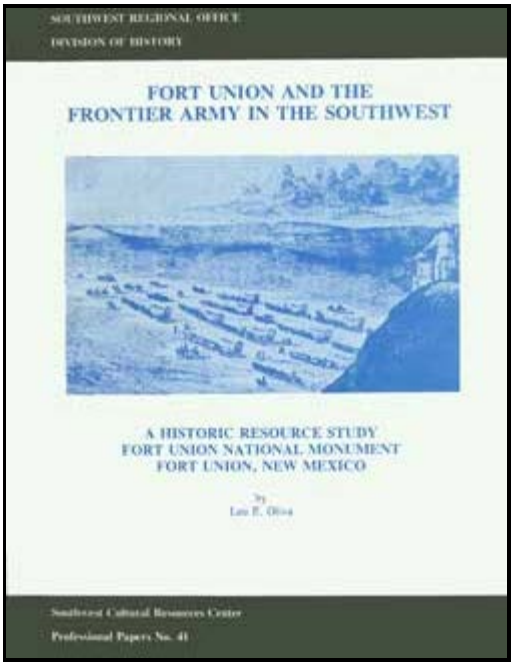
FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study



FORT UNION AND THE FRONTIER ARMY IN THE SOUTHWEST:

A Historic Resource Study
Fort Union National Monument
Fort Union, New Mexico

By
Leo E. Oliva

1993

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Dedicated to
T. J. SPERRY
April 27, 1949-March 23, 1993
Historian and Chief Ranger
Fort Union National Monument
1987-1993

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PREFACE

Exactly 100 years ago the last soldiers who garrisoned Fort Union marched away never to return, ending the active history of what had once been the largest military establishment in the American Southwest. Established in 1851, its name reflected the times, for the North and South of the United States had nearly split the previous year and would divide a decade later. Troops from the post were destined to perform a significant part in that Civil War. But the name Fort Union also signified that it was situated at a point where it might help unite the American Southwest to the larger nation. In many ways the Santa Fe Trail was the thread which connected much of the Mexican Cession of 1848 to the rest of the states, and Fort Union was the knot on that thread by which the Southwest was tied to the larger nation. Along that trail and through Fort Union and the army which it represented, Anglo-American culture penetrated the Hispanic and Indian cultures of the region. The army at Fort Union and in the Southwest also demonstrate how important the role of the federal government was in the settlement of the American West.

What began as a small outpost in 1851 near the Santa Fe Trail, during a major economy move in the nation's history, was briefly the central point of supply for several military posts spread over a vast territory. Its garrison participated in a few Indian campaigns in the 1850s, helping to make the region safer for travelers and settlers. But there were few Indian troubles in the immediate vicinity of the post. Several times military commanders recommended that Fort Union be moved to a better location or that it be abandoned entirely, and plans were well underway to terminate the post and establish another in eastern New Mexico when the Civil War intervened and gave Fort Union an expanded mission. A second fort, a defensive fieldwork, was built approximately one mile from the original post early in the war in anticipation of a Confederate attempt to seize the position and its large supply of ordnance, commissary, and quartermaster stores. More than 1,500 troops, mostly volunteers from Colorado and New Mexico, were concentrated at this strategic point in preparation for a Rebel attack. After the Confederates captured Santa Fe in 1862, a large force from Fort Union moved out to engage the invaders before they could reach the post and forced the Confederates to fall back and, later, to depart from New Mexico. Although the Civil War battles in New Mexico are little-known outside the Southwest today, they were the turning point of the war in the Far West and Southwest, an important factor in the eventual failure of the Confederate States of America.

Before the Civil War was over, a third Fort Union was under construction near the fieldwork. There, in addition to a four-company (later six-company) post, was built a large quartermaster and commissary depot for the military district of New Mexico, and the site of the original fort served as the district arsenal. From the Civil War until the construction of the railroad, which reached the neighboring town of Watrous in 1879, Fort Union was the major distribution point for the needs of the army throughout New Mexico, and troops from its garrison participated in several campaigns to defeat the Indians and hold them on assigned reservations. Indian prisoners were held at the post, and a military prison housed convicts from the territory, many of whom were periodically transferred to the larger military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. By the 1880s the post had fulfilled the purposes for which it was

built, but it was occupied until the spring of 1891. The numerous structures of the post were already in various states of decay, and they deteriorated at an increased pace after the site was abandoned.

Throughout its 40 years of active service, 1851-1891, Fort Union had been the scene of cultural exchange and development between three peoples, and thousands of individuals, including some famous, a few infamous, and a host of the unknown masses, from all three groups had passed through or near the post. The army had helped defeat the Indians and then helped to assure their survival on the reservations. The economic impact of the army at Fort Union and in New Mexico was of most benefit to Anglo-Americans, but Hispanos and Pueblo Indians also were affected. Throughout the years that Fort Union was an active post, the army was the most important component in the economic advancement of the Southwest. Although most contracts for supplies for the department were with Anglos, some were with Hispanos, and laborers, teamsters, and herders were hired from all segments of the complex New Mexican society. In most cases guides and spies were native New Mexicans, Indian and Hispano, and Indians from several Pueblos and from the less settled tribes, such as Utes, Navajos, and Apaches, served as scouts and, sometimes, auxiliaries in campaigns against tribesmen considered hostile. In all, the army and Fort Union, for good or ill, affected political, cultural, social, economic, and military history of the Southwest. Throughout the era, the frontier army was a prominent feature of western society.

The site of the old post reverted to the owners of the property from whom it had been leased, and the adobe remains of the once bustling complex eroded away under the forces of wind, rain, hail, snow, and the freezing and thawing of the seasons. Cattle grazed where soldiers had marched and wagons had rolled with cargoes which sustained them, and livestock wandered through the tumbling buildings. Ranchers and other settlers salvaged some of the materials, such as the metal roofing and timbers, leaving the remains exposed to greater deterioration. In time there remained a stark and eerie monument of what had been, mere traces of the frontier outpost that served its purposes and faded into the past like the romanticized era of the Old West.

By the 1930s some people were aware that the historic site was an important part of the heritage of the region and the nation, and efforts were begun to preserve what remained. Eventually enough interest developed and the site became a national landmark, the owners graciously contributed the land, and Congress established Fort Union National Monument under jurisdiction of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. In 1954 the national monument was opened to the public, and each year more visitors enjoy this unique and impressive landmark and interpretive museum. Many wish to know more about the now remote location where history happened. This historic resources study, commissioned by the National Park Service, tells the story of Fort Union and the frontier army in the Southwest.

Leo E. Oliva
Fort Union National Monument
May 15, 1991

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

AAAG: Acting Assistant Adjutant General

AAG: Assistant Adjutant General

ACP: Appointments, Commissions & Promotions

AC: Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University

AG: Adjutant General

AGO: Adjutant General's Office

MG: Assistant Inspector General

AR: Annual Report

CCF: Consolidated Correspondence File

CIA: Commissioner of Indian Affairs

C-M: Court-Martial

CO: Commanding Officer

CCS: Chief Commissary of Subsistence

COM: Chief Quartermaster

CS: Commissary of Subsistence

DNM: Department of New Mexico until September 12, 1865, and District of New Mexico thereafter

FU: Fort Union

FUNMA: Fort Union National Monument Archives

HQ: Headquarters

IG: Inspector General

JAG: Judge Advocate General

LR: Letters Received

LS: Letters Sent

MHS: Missouri Historical Society

MS: Manuscript

MSS: Manuscripts

NA: National Archives

NM: New Mexico

NMHR: New Mexico Historical Review

NMSRCA: New Mexico State Records Center and Archives

9MD: Ninth Military Department

NS: New Series

OIA: Office of Indian Affairs

OIG: Office of Inspector General

OR: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies

ORD: Ordnance Department

PMG: Postmaster General

QM: Quartermaster

QMG: Quartermaster General

RG: Record Group

RMR: Regiment of Mounted Riflemen

SF: Santa Fe

SG: Surgeon General

SOW: Secretary of War

TE: Topographical Engineers

TR: Telegrams Received

TS: Telegrams Sent

USA: United States Army

USAC: United States Army Commands

UT: University of Texas

WD: War Department

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CHAPTER ONE:
BEFORE FORT UNION

The American Southwest [1] officially became part of the United States at the close of the Mexican War in 1848, although the infiltration of Anglo-American people and culture had begun more than a generation earlier with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail between New Mexico and Missouri. Political organization of the Mexican Cession was part of the famous Compromise of 1850 when California was admitted to the Union as a free state, New Mexico and Utah territories were established with the right of popular sovereignty regarding the institution of black slavery, and the boundary controversy between the State of Texas and New Mexico Territory was settled.

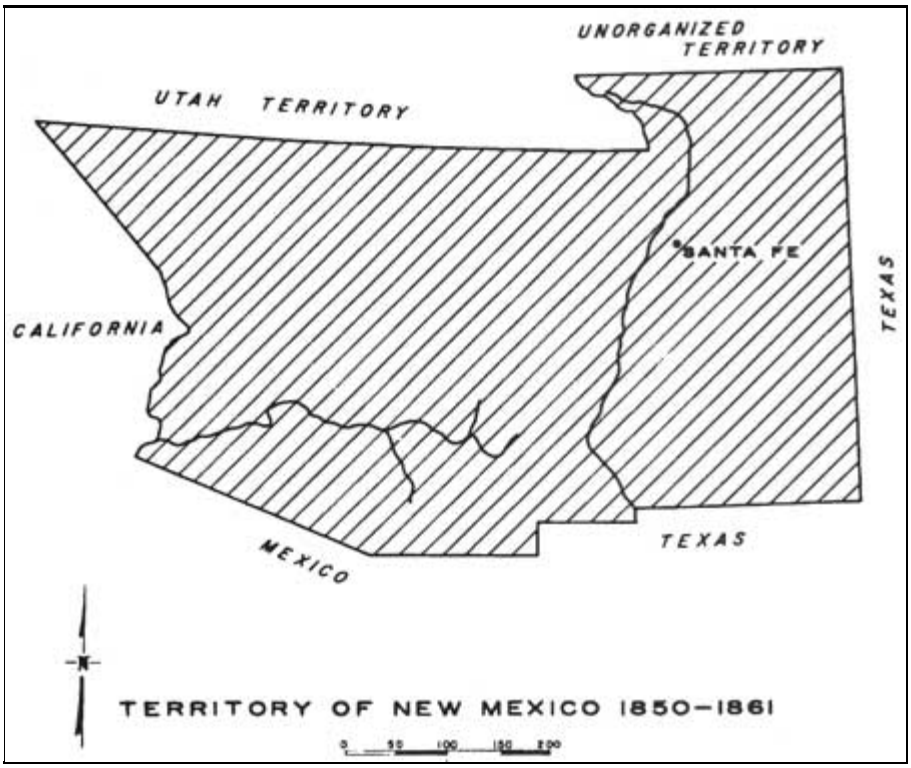
American military history in the region began with the outbreak of war between the United States and Mexico in 1846, and the United States Army would continue to be a major factor in political, social, cultural, and economic, as well as military developments in New Mexico Territory for nearly half a century. For a time New Mexico Territory included all of the present states of New Mexico and Arizona and portions of the present states of Colorado, Utah, and Nevada. [2] The primary mission of the army in the region for four decades was to protect travelers and settlers (including the Pueblo Indians, Hispanic population, and Anglo residents) from hostile activities of some Indians. During the Civil War that responsibility was expanded to include Confederate troops who invaded the territory. The significance of the army in the region, however, extended far beyond protection, and the military establishment affected almost every institution and individual in New Mexico. Fort Union was one part of that vast system, and it was established at a time of extensive changes in the New Mexican political, social, economic, cultural, and military structure.

In 1851 Fort Union was established almost 100 miles from Santa Fe near the Santa Fe Trail and served briefly as command headquarters for the several other forts in the territory and longer as protector of the vicinity from Indians who resented the loss of their lands, power, and traditional ways of life. Most military engagements between soldiers and Indians, however, occurred beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Fort Union. Even so, troops stationed at Union were frequently sent to participate in campaigns in the Southwest and on the plains. The post was always closely associated with the Santa Fe Trail, the economic lifeline that tied New Mexico to the eastern States. An important part of the mission of troops stationed at Fort Union was to protect that route from Indian raids and warfare, to keep open the shipping lane to the Southwest.

Perhaps more important than fighting Indians over the years was Fort Union's role as the department (later district) quartermaster depot for military posts throughout the territory, 1851-1853 and 1861-1879 (it was a subdepot from 1853-1861), when much of the food, clothing, transportation, and shelter for the army was distributed from Fort Union store houses. This made Fort Union the hub of military freighting in the Southwest, an activity which also employed many civilians and has until recently been overlooked in evaluating the military history of the region. [3] In addition, from 1851 to 1883, the department ordnance depot (known as the arsenal after the Civil War) was operated at Fort Union. Such logistical

assignments at Fort Union were not as romantic in the public eye as fighting Indians, but they made the other military bases, field campaigns, and police actions possible. New Mexico was a large territory, it must be remembered, and Fort Union was not involved in everything going on there. One must be careful not to claim too much importance for Fort Union, just as one must be careful not to claim too much importance for the army in the region. It was just one part of a complex and changing society.

The Anglo-American troops and civilian employees of the army who came from the eastern states to the Southwest, including those at Fort Union, helped to modify and destroy the traditional ways of life of Indians and Hispanos in the Southwest, a process that has since been called the "Americanization" of the region. Marion Sloan Russell (1845-1936) first visited Fort Union in 1852 and was there on many other occasions. She met her husband, Lieutenant Richard D. Russell, and was married at the post. A few years before her death she dictated her memoirs, including fond recollections of Fort Union. "That fort," she proclaimed, "became the base for United States troops during the long period required to Americanize the territory of New Mexico." [4]



Territory of New Mexico 1850-1861. Source: Warren A. Beck and Ynez O. Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 29.

That "Americanization," in part, was the result of the intrusion of Anglo institutions and values, including Protestantism, democratic ideals, political structures, public education, and a market economy into the combination of Indian and Hispanic cultures that had developed during previous centuries. It was a also the result of Anglo-American domination of the economy and government, which slowly affected the social structure and culture in the Southwest. This was not always a conscious goal or effort, but it resulted from circumstances in which Anglo power was enforced by the military (which also included some Hispanic soldiers and native New Mexican employees).

The army thus performed primary and secondary functions in that process of change over the years. The overall effect appeared far-reaching and dramatic because the histories, traditions,

and cultures of the Indians and Hispanos of the Southwest were markedly different from those of the Anglo conquerors. As historian Marc Simmons proclaimed, "the entire history of New Mexico from 1850 to the present is interwoven with attempts by the Indian and Hispano populations to come to terms with an alien Anglo society." [5] The history of Fort Union must be set into that perspective of cultural change to see it as more than just another frontier military post established to fight Indians.

The officers and men of the American army had to adapt to the peoples and cultures already in the Southwest, and they had to learn to survive and live productively in a geographical environment foreign to their earlier experiences but to which the native New Mexicans had already learned to accommodate their lives, ideas, and institutions. Because of Anglo beliefs in the superiority of their people and institutions over those of the Hispanics and Indians, army personnel often failed to assimilate native practices in dealing with the environment and misunderstood what was possible in the region. Americans from the United States were as determined to dominate the land as they were the people of the Southwest. The history of Fort Union is also part of that story. [6]

Fort Union was established in the heart of a vast region of plains (where there were few trees) and mountains, embracing portions of the present states of New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Utah. This included the western plains, ranging from the flat grasslands of the Llano Estacado of western Texas and eastern New Mexico to the eroded prairies bordering eastward-flowing streams running out of the Rocky Mountains toward the Mississippi River, the volcanic mesas and isolated peaks of northeastern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, and the foothills and mountains of the southern Rockies. [7]

Fort Union was located in 1851 in the transition zone between the plains and the mountains, an area rich in several grasses which were excellent for grazing livestock and cutting for hay. The predominate grass was grama, and there were also found buffalo grass, switch grass, bluestem, antelope grass, and others. The military post was located west of the Turkey Mountains and east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The Turkey Mountains comprise a circular group of timbered hills, formed by volcanic eruptions and igneous uplift, which were set aside as the Fort Union timber reservation. The Sangre de Cristos form the southernmost branch of the Rocky Mountain province. West of the Sangre de Cristos lies the Rio Grande, the fifth longest river in North America, the lifestream of New Mexico from early Indian occupation to the present. [8]

One of the military officers stationed in New Mexico in the late 1850s, Lieutenant William Woods Averell, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, later wrote in his memoirs that "the principal topographical feature of New Mexico is the Rio Grande which enters it from Colorado on the north and running along the backbone of the Rocky Mountains, like a half-developed spinal cord in embryo, leaves it at El Paso on the south." Averell clearly understood the primacy of the Rio Grande to the territory. "As the Nile to lower Egypt, so is the Rio Grande to the habitable portion of New Mexico," he wrote. "Agriculture waits upon its waters which are drained away by unnumbered *acequias* to irrigate its fertile but thirsty soil." In addition, "the Mexicans, for protection and defense against twenty thousand savages, lived in towns from Taos to El Paso." [9]

The Sangre de Cristo range was an obstacle to travel between the plains where buffalo were plentiful and the agricultural settlements in the Rio Grande valley. There were several passes through the mountains, three of which were most important to plains Indians who visited the Pueblos and other New Mexican settlements and to the Pueblos and New Mexicans who ventured onto the plains to hunt buffalo and trade with the plains tribes. The Pueblos located at those three connections enjoyed a favored position in trade between the plains and the valley and prospered from the commerce. As points where different cultures met, they also

faced special problems. [10]

The northern pass, perhaps the most difficult of the three, connected with Taos, northernmost Pueblo in New Mexico, via either Rayado Creek or the Cimarron River of New Mexico on the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristo range and the Taos Valley on the west. The southern pass, the least difficult route of the three, connected Pecos Pueblo in the Pecos River valley with the river Pueblos and Santa Fe, after it was founded in 1610, via Glorieta Pass. It was the route followed by the Santa Fe Trail in the nineteenth century. The middle pass followed up the Mora River valley from the plains and connected with Picuris Pueblo on the Rio Grande side. Fort Union was established at the eastern end of that middle pass to Picuris. Each of those three routes, it should be noted, followed reliable water sources.

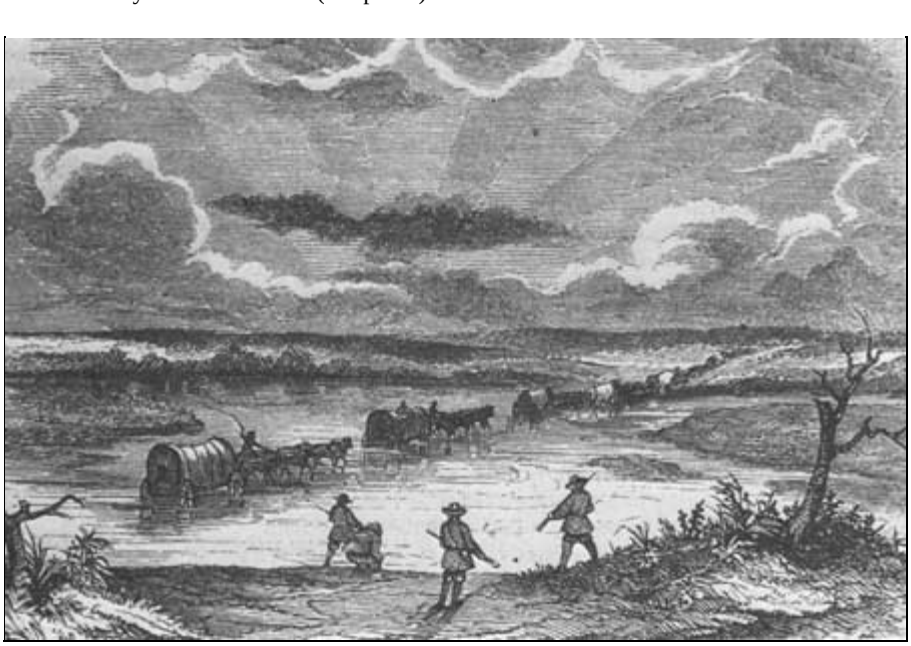


Fort Union Region *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Transportation routes and settlements in the Southwest were located on or near flowing streams because of the general paucity of annual precipitation and its sporadic nature during any given year. All of the streams headed in the mountains and defined the patterns for permanent settlements. The Rio Grande was the largest and most important river in New Mexico, but a number of rivers and their tributary creeks were vital in the area surrounding Fort Union. [11] None of these streams was navigable.

The Arkansas River flowing eastward from the Colorado Rockies and across present Kansas had served as the international boundary (west of the 100th meridian, present Dodge City, Kansas) between the United States and Mexico, 1819-1848. Its valley was an important avenue for Anglo westward migration. The Santa Fe Trail, the major overland connection between New Mexico and the Missouri River valley and the primary route of supply for Fort Union and the army in the Southwest, followed a stretch of the Arkansas (the original route, later known as the Cimarron Route, from present Ellinwood, Kansas, to a point near present Cimarron, Ingalls, or Lakin, Kansas, and the later Mountain Route from Ellinwood to present La Junta, Colorado). Several Indian tribes lived and hunted along the Arkansas, and Bent's Fort was established on that stream by Bent, St. Vrain & Co. (Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain) in 1833, in part, to trade with some of them. Troops from Fort Union were sometimes sent to protect routes of transportation along the Arkansas, especially during the 1850s and the Civil War years.





Wagon train fording the Arkansas River, from *Harper's Monthly*, Sept. 1862, *courtesy* of Kansas State Historical Society.

There are two Cimarron rivers in Fort Union country. One, a tributary of the Arkansas River, is formed by the joining of the Dry Cimarron (which begins in the Raton Mountains about 30 miles east of Raton Pass in New Mexico), Carrizozo Creek (heading in New Mexico), and Carrizo Creek (heading in Colorado) in the northwestern corner of the Oklahoma panhandle. Thus the main stream of this Cimarron is known as the Dry Cimarron in New Mexico (to distinguish it from the other Cimarron in New Mexico) and as the Cimarron River from Oklahoma eastward. The Dry Cimarron was also an appropriate name for the river because, in most years, its surface flow was only sporadic. Water could usually be found, however, by digging in the sandy bed. This Cimarron flows (when water is evident) eastward in present Oklahoma, Colorado, and Kansas, and back into Oklahoma where it joins the Arkansas west of present Tulsa. The Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail followed this Cimarron River from Lower Spring south of present Ulysses, Kansas, to Willow Bar northeast of present Boise City, Oklahoma. The other Cimarron River flows eastward from the Sangre de Cristo range in New Mexico and joins the Canadian River just north of the famous Rock Crossing of the Canadian where the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail crossed on a streambed of solid stone. The Canadian River was also crossed farther upstream by the Bent's Fort or Raton Route (later known as the Mountain Route) of the Santa Fe Trail southwest of Raton Pass, and the Mountain Route crossed this Cimarron River at the present town of Cimarron, New Mexico, and other places. The Canadian, which flows through a deep canyon from a point a short distance south of the Rock Crossing until it reaches eastern New Mexico, was with few exceptions an obstacle to wagon travel to the east and northeast of Fort Union. The Canadian River was often called the Red River during the nineteenth century, which sometimes creates confusion because there are so many other Red rivers. The presence of two Cimarron rivers, plus the Dry Cimarron, also provides potential for a mix-up.

Ute or Utah Creek flows south into the Canadian River, joining that stream near the eastern boundary of New Mexico. The Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail crossed Ute Creek, and Fort Bascom was later located near its mouth on the Canadian. Two small streams, Rayado and Ocate creeks, head in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The Rayado is an affluent of the New Mexico Cimarron River and was crossed by the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. The Ocate flows to the Canadian River and was crossed by both major branches of the Santa Fe Trail. Both creeks were closely related to Fort Union. Troops were stationed at the Rayado

before Union was established, and detachments from Fort Union were sent there briefly afterward. The Fort Union farm was located on the Ocate.

The Pecos River flows south out of the Sangre de Cristos through New Mexico and Texas to the Rio Grande, and it drew settlers from all cultures which came into the area. Rio Gallinas, a tributary of the Pecos, runs through present Las Vegas, New Mexico. The Mora River and its tributary, Sapello River, which joins at present Watrous, New Mexico, drains eastward from the Sangre de Cristos to join the Canadian. Like the Pecos, the Mora valley drew settlers prior to the Anglo infiltration. It was a valley of rich soil which, with irrigation, produced fine crops of wheat, corn, other small grains, vegetables, and fruits. Fort Union was established on a tributary of the Mora, Wolf Creek (also known as Coyote Creek and occasionally as Dog Creek). [12]

The importance of these streams in the region cannot be exaggerated. The overwhelming factor throughout the entire area is aridity; the limited supply of water has been critical regardless of the terrain and other geographical features. "Aridity," William deBuys succinctly declared, "more than any other single factor, shapes this stark world." All human activity, from procuring basic necessities to traveling through the region, always has been constrained by the scarcity of a reliable source of water. Annual precipitation in the region averages below twenty inches per year, but "the capricious timing of it" according to deBuys, "makes the Southwestern environment particularly difficult." [13] Much of the precipitation occurs during the summer months, most of it the result of "local high-intensity storms of relatively short duration." These thunderstorms are frequently accompanied by hail. From records kept at Fort Union during a period of ten years, the following monthly mean temperatures (degrees F.) and mean precipitation (inches) were derived: [14]

Table 1
Temperature and Precipitation at Fort Union

Month	Temp.	Precip.
January	31°	0.33
February	36°	0.43
March	43°	0.49
April	49°	0.57
May	51°	1.81
June	67°	1.29
July	70°	3.89
August	68°	4.59
September	61°	4.25
October	51°	0.93
November	39°	0.70
December	34°	0.40
Average	**51°**	**17.68**

The record was clear that most precipitation occurred in July, August, and September, a period known in New Mexico as the "monsoon season" or "rainy season." Eveline M. Alexander, wife of Captain Andrew Jonathan Alexander, Third Cavalry, wrote in her diary in August 1866, following their trip from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Fort Union: "We arrived here in the rainy season, . . . and every day we are treated to a shower of rain. However, you can see it coming so long before it reaches you that it is not much annoyance." [15] A

newcomer to the area, Mrs. Alexander had not yet felt the force of the violent thunderstorms with high winds and hail which were an annoyance according to the testimony of numerous residents in the territory.

The region also experiences an abundance of wind. Complaints about the wind and the dust it whipped through the post were common at Fort Union. Some residents referred to it as "Fort Windy." The soils were easily blown about most seasons of the year because of the shortage of moisture. One of the first residents of the post, Catherine Cary (Mrs. Isaac) Bowen, commonly known as Katie, wrote that "in this territory nearly all the time we have high winds and the soil becomes so dry and powdered that the air is filled with clouds of the most disagreeable kind of dust." [16] Later she commented about "one or two days of high winds which nearly buried us in dust." Her explanation was that "the grass in this country forms no sod, consequently the ground is much like an ash heap on the surface." [17]

On another occasion, Mrs. Bowen gave a more vivid description of the gales at Fort Union:

> I like this climate, it is so dry, but the winds are horrible sometimes. They generally commence in the north and blow a hurricane for two or three nights and days, carrying dust, stones, straw and everything out of doors. Then we will have a week as mild as summer. At the end of a week a south wind springs up and carries all the dirt back again, drifting in some places like snow and penetrating every unprotected crevice. My bedroom carpet was so covered that the colors could not be distinguished, but we shovel out occasionally and find our houses pleasant and comfortable as any I ever lived in. [18]

Another officer's wife, Lydia Spencer (Mrs. William B.) Lane, who lived at Fort Union before and after the Civil War, complained about how the third post "was swept by the winds all summer long" in 1867. Her views of the wind and descriptive talents were comparable to those of Mrs. Bowen fifteen years earlier. Of the omnipresent winds, Mrs. Lane wrote:

> How they do howl! About ten o'clock every morning they woke up, and whistled and moaned, and rose to wild shrieks, doing everything wind ever does in the way of making a noise. The fine, impalpable dust worked its way into every crack and crevice, lodging round the windows and doors in little yellow mounds, so that we could sweep up a good-sized dustpan full after the wind lulled, which it usually did at sun-down. Sometimes it blew all night, beginning with fresh vigor at the usual time next morning. Another unpleasant trick the breezes had of darting playfully down the chimney, sending the fire and ashes half-way across the room, so that we had to be on guard to prevent a conflagration. [19]

Soon after Private William Edward (Eddie) Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, arrived for duty at Fort Union in 1870, he reported to his family at Westminster, Maryland, about his new assignment: "The only objection I can find here is the miserable wind. Talk of March wind in the States, why it is not a comparison to this place. Wind, wind, and sand all the time. This Post is built on a plain, there is nothing to break the wind, therefore giving it full sway." [20]

A couple of weeks later Matthews noted that, during the sand storms, almost everyone who had to be outside wore goggles to protect their eyes. [21] In March 1874, with his talent for humorous exaggeration, Matthews again described the wind at Fort Union:

> We are having regular March weather here now. So windy at times that it is almost impossible to keep on one's feet. In fact it blows a perfect hurricane all the time. Every now and then you are struck on the back of the head with a stone about the size of your fist. One naturally looks around to see who threw the brick

and finds that Mr. Wind done it. [22]

The persistent gales and resulting dust and sand storms at the third Fort Union were explained by yet another officer's wife, Frances A. (Mrs. Orsemus B.) Boyd, who resided at the post in 1872. Fort Union, she declared, "has always been noted for severe dust-storms. Situated on a barren plain, the nearest mountains, and those not very high, three miles distant, it has the most exposed position of any military fort in New Mexico." Mrs. Boyd also discerned that the fine soil and sand drifted like driven snow, especially against the buildings at the fort. "The sand-banks," she explained, "were famous playgrounds for the children." She believed that neither trees nor grass would grow at Fort Union because the abrasive dust either prevented plants from taking root or uprooted and scattered the plants. Despite the wind and dust, however, Mrs. Boyd considered Fort Union a place of much beauty, especially the surrounding area "where trees and green grass were to be found in abundance." [23]

Most Anglo-Americans, who came to New Mexico from other regions, held strong opinions about the land and climate, some favorable and some not. Ovando J. Hollister, a Colorado Volunteer in the Civil War, gave his favorable impression of the area, expressing well an attitude hinted at by many others.

> The country around Fort Union is pretty—by far the nicest in the Territory. The streams have formed deep narrow canons, the borders of which are rocky and timbered. The prairie is swelling, smooth, and covered with excellent grass. Small mountains and wooded points give variety, and it only wants seasonable rains to vie with any place in the world for beauty and salubrity. [24]

Lydia Lane enjoyed New Mexico and wrote of one of her several trips between Fort Union and Santa Fe, in 1867, as follows: "The road generally was excellent, the scenery beautiful, and at times grand. The breeze, filled with the odor of pine-trees, was exhilarating and delicious,—you seemed to take in health with every breath of the pure air." Years later she also held fond memories of "the sights, sounds, and odors of the little Mexican towns!" She remembered, while passing through the communities, that "the barking of every dog in the village, bleating of terrified sheep and goats, and the unearthly bray of the ill-used burro (donkey) made a tremendous racket." Most of all she remembered "the smells! The smoke from the fires of cedar wood would have been as sweet as a perfume if it had reached us it its purity; but, mixed with heavy odors from sheep and goat corrals, it was indescribable." It was an impression that stayed with her. "I never get a whiff of burning cedar . . . that the whole panorama does not rise up before me, and it is with a thrill of pleasure I recall the past, *scents and all."* [25]

Another point of view was provided by Lieutenant Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, following his arrival for duty in New Mexico late in 1848:

> Having reached that region which lies far west of the setting sun, the Siberia of America, the Texas of Texas the Gomorrah of the modern world, where friends seem consigned to oblivion, horses to starvation and public morals to the Qr. Master's department, my thoughts at times peep through the dense fog of vice composing the atmosphere of this Heaven forsaken spot, and revest those I've left behind.

Judd found nothing pretty, describing the "Country" as "the most dreary & desolate that ever caused the eye to ache by gazing upon." [26]

Eddie Matthews expressed similar opinions and was never fond of New Mexico Territory nor its inhabitants. In his bigoted judgment, somewhat typical of Anglo-Americans from the

eastern United States, the land was not fit for civilized people, and the Indians and Hispanos were not civilized. He noted that the "wind which blows in all seasons" kept the "sand in motion nearly all the time."

> You might go to bed one night with a large sand bank at your front door, and wake up the next morning to find the whole pile moved around to the opposite side of the house. And then again before the day had passed find the same pile of sand placed back again to the first point. It has ever been this since my arrival in the country, and I suppose will remain so, until the good Lord sees fit to order it otherwise, and this I am very much afraid will never come to pass, as the inhabitants of the Territory are not a God fearing people, and in no way deserving of a change for the better, in fact it is my opinion that any white man in the Territory who was free to leave it and would not ought to be smothered in one of these sand banks, and a board placed at his head with this epitaph: "I remained in this God forsaken country when I was free to leave it." [27]

Many Anglo-Americans could not condone aridity, believing that to be a sign of a forsaken land. The Southwest experiences periodic droughts which affect all human cultures. Historian Charles L. Kenner concluded that drought has been "the Southwest's most persistent opponent of tranquility." [28] Archaeologist J. Charles Kelley has conjectured that peace and war between the Pueblos and Indians of the plains was directly related to precipitation. When rainfall was adequate for agricultural surpluses in the Pueblos and an abundance of buffalo meat and robes on the plains, peaceful trade was predominant in their relations. During droughts, when neither culture had a surplus to trade, raiding and warfare predominated. [29]

Such was the situation in New Mexico when Inspector General George A. McCall was sent to inspect the military posts in the Ninth Military Department and, so far as possible, determine the actual losses in lives and property to the Indians during the preceding 18 months, the capacity of the New Mexicans to resist the attacks, and the amount of military force required to provide adequate protection. There was a great need to know more about New Mexico, for in 1850 little was known about the territory by the American people or the government officials in the East; in fact, not much at all was known about the people of the region and their customs, the population, economic resources, geography, and almost everything else. In 1853 a former territorial governor of New Mexico, William Carr Lane, declared that "I find a deplorable state of ignorance to exist" about New Mexican affairs in Washington, D.C. [102]

Although the military may have had more and better information about New Mexico than did any other government departments, because of reports from officers stationed there since the Mexican War, it must be understood that many of the decisions made regarding relations with New Mexicans and Indians, the establishment of Fort Union and missions assigned to it, and the administration of the Ninth Military Department which embraced New Mexico were often made with inadequate information and sometimes with considerable misinformation. When James S. Calhoun was appointed first Indian agent for New Mexico in 1849, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill's letter of appointment declared: "So little is known here [Washington] of the condition and situation of the Indians in that region [New Mexico] that no specific instructions, relative to them can be given at present." Calhoun was requested to supply detailed reports about the Indians in the territory. [103]

By 1850 there were a few publications about New Mexico to which government officials and others could turn for information (although much of what was available was prejudiced against the New Mexicans), but there was little evidence that these were read by people who needed the information. The available publications included George Wilkins Kendall's *Narrative of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition* (1844), Josiah Gregg's classic *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), Thomas James's *Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians* (1846),

George F. A. Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (1847), Frederick Adolphus Wislizenus, *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847* (1848), Second Lieutenant James W. Abert's *Report and Map of the Examination of New Mexico* (1848), and Lewis H. Garrard's *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail* (1850). One newspaper published in the East, *Niles' Weekly Register*, carried many New Mexican items, often reprinted from western newspapers, including the *Santa Fe Republican* which began publication in 1847. In addition there were several reports prepared by military officials that had been published. [104]

Until September 9, 1850, when Congress created New Mexico Territory, the boundaries of New Mexico had not been defined, and it would be some time before these were surveyed. James S. Calhoun, who had been appointed Indian agent for New Mexico in 1849, became the first territorial governor on March 3, 1851, ending the military rule of the region that had existed since General Kearny occupied Santa Fe on August 18, 1846. He had learned much about New Mexico during the previous two years, but many aspects of the region remained a mystery even to him. What he and others did know provided the basis for decisions in 1851 and after.

In summary, the Hispanic and Pueblo Indian settlements of New Mexico were located mostly along the Rio Grande, with a few settlements east of that valley and fewer still to the west. These settlements were virtually surrounded by the so-called "wild" tribes, including Utes, various bands of Apaches, Navajos, and Plains tribes, most of whom had raided almost at will for decades. The settled areas suffered great losses of property and life as crops were destroyed, livestock stolen, and people killed or captured.

The primary mission of the U. S. Army after successful occupation of the land, as declared by General Kearny at the time of the invasion and by other government officials many times later, was to protect New Mexican and Pueblo settlements from those Indians. In addition the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the Mexican War provided that the United States would prevent raids on Mexican territory by Indians residing in the United States, or if these could not be prevented the U. S. would punish any Indians who did raid into Mexico. This was an impossible mission but required that the army make efforts to fulfill the agreement. At the same time, it was clear that the future of New Mexico, both its ability to attract settlers and its economic development, depended on control of the Indians.

The military occupation of New Mexico was followed by a policy of providing some protection of population centers by stationing troops at those locations and at points along routes of travel that Indians followed in their raids. The success of that policy required more troops than were available. After the withdrawal of volunteer troops at the close of the Mexican War, the number of soldiers in the department was reduced substantially, never adequate to deal effectively with Indian raiders. The annual report of the secretary of war showed there were 665 troops in New Mexico in 1848, 708 in 1849, and 1,019 in 1850. [105]

Not only were the numbers small but, because of the vast territory, they were spread exceedingly thin to be effective. The largest concentration was at Santa Fe, where Fort Marcy, established in 1846, was the only fortification in the territory (the other military posts were simply bases of operation). The posts at El Paso and San Elizario, although located in Texas, were included in the department, but the troops those places were of minor importance in the protection of most of the settlements in New Mexico. Other posts were located at Albuquerque, Socorro, Abiquiu, Dona Ana, Las Vegas, Rayado, Taos, and Cebolleta. The hope that such distribution of troops would protect the towns and help to block the routes of Indian raiders was accompanied by the belief that the protection of lives and property would stimulate economic growth and attract additional settlers. Not only were the troops unable to cover the territory, despite their wide distribution, but the cost of providing for them at so

many locations rose far beyond what Congress wanted to appropriate for the job. The next policy, inaugurated in 1851 with the appointment of a new commanding officer and specific orders to economize, saw the removal of the troops from most of the towns.

The economy of New Mexico at mid-century operated mostly at a subsistence-level because of tradition, lack of capital, and perhaps most important because of the almost constant destruction perpetrated by Indian raids. It was not able to produce many supplies needed by the army. Even before the Mexican War, New Mexico had come to rely heavily upon the commerce of the Santa Fe Trail for manufactured items. The army had to depend on that same route. The need for economic development in New Mexico was clear, but that depended on the success of the military. New Mexican Governor Donaciano Vigil explained the situation in 1848: "The pacification of the Indians is another necessity of the first order, for as you already know the principal wealth of this country is the breeding of livestock, and the warfare of the Indians obstructs this almost completely." [106]

The constant threat of Indian raids made subsistence agriculture much more difficult. Hispanic farmers, facing loss or destruction of their crops and livestock to Indian raiders, usually produced little more than required for their own household. Pueblo farmers, who had lived with Indian raids and periodic droughts for centuries, attempted to store any surplus in order to survive during bad times. The army thus found few sources of supply among the people of the territory because the Hispanics did not have surplus commodities to sell and the Pueblos usually refused to sell any surpluses they had. By providing a market and offering protection from Indian raids, the army stimulated New Mexican agricultural development. Even so, prices were high for limited supplies available. At the same time, the army introduced a cash system into what had been largely an economy based on barter. [107]

The New Mexican livestock industry was dominated by the raising of sheep, primarily for meat and secondarily for wool. Sheep provided the major source of wealth in New Mexico, wealth that was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy families *(ricos).* The remainder of the people were economically poor; some were peons. There were also cattle and horse herds which, as with sheep, were objects of Indian raids, but almost no swine or goats were raised. Most manufacturing in New Mexico was comprised of household handicrafts, there being almost no production for a market. [108]

Several villages had a grist mill operated either by water or animal power. These were not capable of producing surplus flour and meal for a market beyond the local economy. The occupation of the area by U. S. troops apparently stimulated the establishment of a few larger grist mills, including one erected by Donaciano Vigil on the Pecos and another built by Ceran St. Vrain on the Mora, and these mills, in turn, stimulated additional production of cereal grains (especially wheat) to supply the demands of the mills and the market provided by the presence of the army. By 1850 a local supply of flour was available for the army. Other items available in the local markets included mutton, beans, vegetables, melons, fruits, salt, and firewood. The army was not the only beneficiary, however, for those heading for the California gold fields in 1849 and after also bought whatever was available as they passed through New Mexico (another factor accounting for the high prices of produce). [109]

The army also relied, for the most part, on the local economy for facilities. With the exception of a portion of Fort Marcy at Santa Fe and the Post at San Elizario, the army rented most of the buildings used for quarters and storehouses in 1850. Almost everything else the military required had to be shipped in via the Santa Fe Trail or, in the case of the southern posts, across Texas. The result of all these factors was that it was tremendously expensive to supply the troops in New Mexico. [110]

Military freight contractors carried 422 wagon loads of supplies from Fort Leavenworth to

the posts of New Mexico during 1850, a total of 2.15 million pounds of food, clothing, and equipment. Rates per hundred pounds varied from just under $8.00 to more than $14.00. [111]

In addition to transportation costs, rent for facilities and prices demanded for locally purchased supplies were considered to be exceptionally high in New Mexico. [112] It fell on the new departmental commander, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner, to try to reduce such costs to the military, beginning in 1851. Sumner and his superiors relied heavily on the information gathered and recommendations made by Inspector General McCall in 1850. McCall's reports comprised the most complete information about New Mexico that was available to the War Department at the time. Some of the things he found should have been revealing. For example, there was not one military veterinarian in the department that had to rely heavily on horses for dealing with Indians. Some of his recommendations, such as the removal of troops from the towns, were followed almost completely. Within two years after his inspection tour of New Mexico, all the posts he visited except Fort Marcy at Santa Fe were abandoned and new ones had been established at other locations.

McCall commented several times about the disastrous effects Indian raids were having on the economy of New Mexico. On July 15, 1850, he wrote as follows: "The hill sides and the plains that were in days past covered with sheep and cattle are now bare in many parts of the state, yet the work of plunder still goes on!" He noted that Apaches and Navajos were not afraid to steal livestock "in the close vicinity of our military posts." He estimated that during the previous three months several herders had been killed, between 15,000 and 20,000 sheep had been stolen, and "several hundred head of cattle and mules" driven from the settlements. The army had been ineffective. The Indians "were on several occasions pursued by the troops, but without success." [113]

As directed, McCall gathered reports on the losses to Indians during the 18 months prior to September 1, 1850. He concluded that the loss in livestock included 181 horses, 402 mules, 788 cattle, and 47,300 sheep. [114] Another estimate of New Mexican losses of livestock to Indians during five years, from 1846 through 1850, included 7,050 horses, 12,887 mules, 31,581 cattle, and 453,293 sheep. [115] A further perspective of those estimates may be gained by comparison with the numbers of livestock recorded in the federal census of New Mexico in 1850: 5,079 horses, 8,654 mules, 32,977 cattle, and 377,271 sheep. [116] The need for additional protection from Indians was evident.

McCall provided his assessment of the non-Pueblo Indians of the area. He thought the Navajos might be persuaded to adapt to a Pueblo way of life, and declared the several Apache tribes were considered the most destructive raiders because "they have nothing of their own and must plunder or starve." [117] He thought the Apaches would be the most difficult to subdue "owing to their numerical strength, their bold and independent character, and their immemorial predatory habits." [118]

McCall identified six bands of Apaches in New Mexico, enclosing the settlements on all sides with the aid of the Navajos and Utes. The Jicarilla Apaches to the northeast were considered "one of the most troublesome" because of their recent attacks along the Santa Fe Trail. The White Mountain and Sacramento Apaches "range the country extending north and south from the junction of the Gallinas with the Pecos to the lower end of the Jornada del Muerto. They continue to drive off stock and to kill the Mexican shepherds both in the vicinity of Vegas and along the Rio Grande." The Mescaleros to the southeast raided more into Texas and Mexico than in New Mexico. The Gila Apaches to the southwest also carried destruction to Mexico more than New Mexico. Peace with all bands of Apaches would require sufficient supplies of the means of life so that they might survive without stealing, for without aid, McCall reiterated, "they must continue to plunder, or they must starve." [119]

According to McCall, the Utes ranged beyond New Mexico, but those living north of most settlements were considered "warlike" and raided as far south as Abiquiu, Taos, and Mora. They sometimes united with Jicarilla Apaches in their forays. The Cheyennes and Arapahos to the northeast were not considered a serious threat to New Mexican settlements. The Comanches to the east rarely struck in New Mexico, but they raided into Mexico and traded stolen property and captives with other tribes and the New Mexicans. The Kiowas were seldom seen in New Mexico. It was clear to McCall that the first priority for the army in New Mexico was to deal effectively with the Indians. Not until that problem was resolved could the territory grow and prosper. [120]

McCall's primary duty in New Mexico was to inspect the military posts, evaluate the state of the army, and make recommendations for improvements. In addition to department headquarters at Santa Fe, McCall visited the ten other posts, reporting the number present and evaluating conditions. He found a total of 831 troops in the department, including 150 at Fort Marcy in Santa Fe, 44 at Taos, 41 at Rayado, and 82 at Las Vegas. His detailed inspection reports on the posts provided a thorough summary of the army in the department. [121]

Of Las Vegas McCall wrote, "The consumption of corn at this post is very great, and a large depot should be established either here or in the vicinity." The demand for corn at Las Vegas was "caused by troops and government trains passing and repassing." Wagon trains were outfitted there for the trip across the plains and forage was sometimes sent to the relief of westbound trains as far away as the Cimarron River. [122]

In addition to a supply depot in the area, a military post was needed to protect the route of supply from Fort Leavenworth and other wagon roads, including one from Las Vegas to Albuquerque via Anton Chico. Las Vegas, which McCall thought was a good location for a supply depot, was not a good location for such a garrison because it was too far from the homelands of the Indians causing the most problems and off the "line of march of the Comanches when they visit New Mexico." A better location, he thought, would be at Rayado or on the Pecos River. McCall was not impressed with Barclay's Fort as a possible army post, although the location was good, because it was too small for a depot or large garrison of troops and the owners wanted too much money to sell or rent it ($20,000.00 to sell or $2,000.00 per year rent). McCall thought Rayado was a good location for a military post. [123]

McCall was critical of the overall military situation in the territory, calling it inadequate for the task at hand. He recommended a minimum of 2,200 troops with at least 1,400 of those mounted. He recommended that the troops be moved from the towns to "the heart of the Indian country." Because of the difficulty of maintaining horses for mounted troops, McCall recommended the establishment of "grazing farms" which, he believed, would result in great savings. [124] Everything in the military department needed to be structured to deal with the serious Indian problem facing settlements in the territory.

Indian raids continued into 1851. In February Indian Agent Calhoun reported that, "during the past month the Indians have been active in every direction, and for no one month during the occupancy of the Territory by the American troops have they been more successful in their depredations." Late in January, near Pecos only 25 miles from Santa Fe, several large herds of sheep and other livestock were stolen and at least three herders were killed. The Utes had raided along the Arkansas River, and "the Apaches and Navajos have roamed in every direction through this Territory." [125]

In March 1851 a band of Jicarillas took about 1,000 sheep near Anton Chico and more sheep were stolen from Chilili. [126] Some of the Jicarillas, however, expressed a desire for peace. On April 2 two principal chiefs, Chacon and Lobo, came to Santa Fe, along with Mescalero

Chief José Cito. On that date these Indians agreed to reside on lands assigned to them and not to go nearer than 50 miles from any settlement or route of transportation. In return the government would furnish them with farm equipment and annuities. [127]

Some of the Jicarillas refused to be bound by the treaty, which was not approved by the U.S. government anyway, and in April they raided near Barclay's Fort and attacked the town of Mora, killing several people. [128] When a large party of Jicarillas appeared along the Pecos Valley near San Miguel, La Cuesta, and Anton Chico, the residents were alarmed. [129] No raids were reported, however, and Chacon declared that his people were starving and had to find food. [130]

Chacon's band, as a demonstration of their commitment to peace, had recovered livestock taken by the Navajos and returned the stock to its owners. [131] To avoid potential problems between Jicarillas and settlers, however, Calhoun wanted the Indians to move farther away from settlements. [132] Chacon went to Santa Fe and agreed to move his people away from the settlements. [133] But the move did not immediately occur. Other Indians were raiding settlements while major changes were taking place in the military organization with the appointment of a new department commander in 1851. This resulted in the establishment of Fort Union. The troops in New Mexico, it is important to understand, were part of the larger U. S. Army and functioned under its organization and limitations.

The Anglo-American tradition, begun during the colonial era, was that a standing army was a liability rather than an asset. Citizen-soldier volunteers could be raised temporarily for a crisis, such as an Indian war or a war for independence, but an army of permanent soldiers was expensive and a threat to freedom. After independence the army was a necessary part of frontier Indian policy, but it was kept small, often inadequate, and poor. As Don Russell pointed out, "had it not been for Indian wars there probably would have been no Regular Army, yet at no time was it organized and trained to fight Indians." [134] Congress was reluctant to fund a military complex. The army that was designed for the early national period, when the western boundary was the Mississippi River, faced enormous new responsibility following the expansionist years during which the western boundary was pushed to the Pacific Ocean. An increase in size and monetary support of the army did not follow prior to the Civil War. Following that national calamity, fought primarily by citizen-soldiers on both sides, Congress determined to reduce military expenditures again, keeping the army handicapped until the frontier was settled.

Thus the greatest problem faced by the army in the Southwest was not the Indian threat to settlement, nor even the arid environment and vast distances, but a parsimonious Congress which refused to recognize that an expanding nation required an expanding military force to deal effectively with Indians, explore new lands, improve roads, provide its own facilities, and supply itself over long routes. Funds were never sufficient for the demands made on the army, and manpower and equipment were usually inadequate for the job faced. As military historian Robert Utley expressed so cogently, Congress refused "to pay the price of Manifest Destiny." [135] Too often presidential administrations devoted to budget economy viewed the military as a good place to reduce expenditures. Such a move in 1851 resulted in orders for troops at western posts to become farmers and produce some of their own food and forage.

As a result of congressional limitations, the army was small in numbers, had substandard equipment and facilities, and experienced a difficult time recruiting and keeping competent soldiers. There was little honor but a lot of hardship connected with service on the frontier, one reason that the companies of most regiments were seldom if ever filled to authorized capacity and that the army experienced a high rate of desertion in the West. In most years more than 10% of the enlisted soldiers in the entire army, in some years more than 20%, deserted and, over time, some regiments lost more than 50% of those enlisted for five years

before their term of service expired. As Utley concluded, "they simply got their fill of low pay, bad living conditions, and oppressive discipline that stood in such bold contrast to the seeming allurements of the civilian world." [136]

Military justice often seemed arbitrary and severe. Punishment frequently varied for the same crime. In February 1851 a general court-martial in Santa Fe tried the cases of several Second Dragoons charged with forming a secret society in New Mexico known as the "Dark Riders," which included among its objectives "robbing and desertion." Of those found guilty, one was sentenced "to forfeit twelve dollars of his Pay, to work under charge of the Guard for one month & then be returned to duty." Two were sentenced to lose twenty-five dollars of their pay and, additionally, each was "to walk a ring daily six hours for one month twelve feet in diameter, then to labor two months with Ball & Chain attached to his Leg under charge of the Guard & be returned to duty." Each of four others faced a much more severe sentence, "to forfeit all pay and allowances that are now or may become due him, to have his Head shaved, to have his face blackened daily and placed standing on a Barrel from 9 to 12 O'clock A.M., and from 2 to 5 O'clock P.M. daily for twenty days, then placed under charge of the Guard at hard Labor, with Ball & Chain attached to his Leg until an opportunity affords to be marched on foot carrying his Ball & Chain to Fort Leavenworth and there be drummed out of the Service." [137] Soldiers serving such penalties were not available for regular duty and contributed to the shortage of personnel.

Thus an under-strength army, always inadequate in authorized numbers, was further reduced in effectiveness and efficiency by being constantly undermanned. The army averaged only 82% of its mandated strength prior to 1850. [138] In 1850 the authorized size of the army was four artillery regiments, eight infantry regiments, and three mounted regiments (two dragoons and one mounted riflemen). The artillery regiments were comprised of twelve companies and the cavalry and infantry regiments had ten companies. [139]

The company strength varied by type of service. Each light artillery company was authorized to contain 64 privates, and each heavy artillery company was to have 42. Each infantry company was to have 42 privates; the dragoons were authorized 50 privates; and the mounted riflemen were assigned 64. In 1850 Congress authorized all companies of all branches stationed on the frontier to have 74 privates. Each company had three commissioned officers (captain, first lieutenant, and second lieutenant) and eight non-commissioned officers (four sergeants and four corporals). In addition, the field staff of a regiment included four commissioned officers (colonel, lieutenant colonel, and two majors), with an adjutant and a quartermaster selected from the subalterns. The noncommissioned staff included a sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant, and musicians (buglers for the cavalry and fifers, drummers, and bandsmen for the artillery and infantry regiments). In addition to the regiments there were the general staff officers and members of the following departments: medical, paymaster, military storekeepers, corps of engineers, corps of topographical engineers, and ordnance. If filled to authorized level, the entire army in 1850 would have totaled over 13,000 officers and men. Because most units were not up to capacity, the actual strength was 10,763, most of whom were stationed in the West. [140]

Almost 10% of the army in 1850 was stationed among the eleven posts of the Ninth Military Department. There were two companies of Second Artillery, ten companies (the entire regiment) of Third Infantry, three companies of First Dragoons, and four companies of Second Dragoons. The total authorized strength for these units was 1,603 officers and men, but only 987 were actually present in the department. This was an average of just under 90 officers and men for each military post. A chronic problem in New Mexico was the absence of officers who should have been with their companies. [141] Many officers could be away from their regimental duties because of a generous leave policy which permitted them to be absent from duty up to a year (occasionally longer). Vacancies also resulted from

resignations and delays in appointing replacements, detached service with other units and in other places, courts-martial assignments, and recruiting duties. [142]

Each military post comprised a highly structured society and operated under a disciplined routine in which every officer and enlisted man had his duties to perform. Despite the daily schedule, which ran by the clock with appropriate calls of drum or bugle, there was a considerable amount of leisure time with nothing provided for the men to do. There was little direct contact between commissioned and non-commissioned troops. The post commander ruled, assisted by the post adjutant and a sergeant major. The duties and training of enlisted men were directed by sergeants and corporals, under command of company officers. Several officers were in charge of specific departments: the post quartermaster was in charge of quarters, clothing, transportation, and all other supplies except food; the post commissary officer was in charge of rations; and the surgeon was in charge of the post hospital and sanitation. At some posts the quartermaster and commissary duties were performed by the same officer. Enlisted men, sometimes assisted by a few civilian employees, provided the labor force for a multitude of tasks at the post. Not all of them were available for duty, as Utley made clear: "Allowing for men in confinement, on guard, sick, and detailed to fatigue duties, a post commander could not often count enough men to man the fort, much less to take the field." [143]

It was not easy to recruit skillful young men for the required five-year enlistment. By 1850 almost two-thirds of the enlisted men were foreign-born, many of them Irish and German, and one-fourth were illiterate. [144] The pay for privates was $7.00 per month for infantrymen and $8.00 for cavalrymen. A sergeant drew $13.00 a month. [145] Soldiers were supposed to be paid every two months, but at frontier posts it was sometimes as long as six months before the paymaster returned. The soldier required little cash, however, because most of his needs were furnished, including uniforms, rations, quarters, transportation, medical care, and equipment. Except for his expense to the company laundress and tailor (which could be avoided if the soldier washed his own clothing and made his own alterations), a soldier's pay was available for items such as additional food from the post or regimental sutler's store, [146] tobacco, recreation, gambling, whiskey, and, if inclined, to send some home to his family.

The uniforms were probably sufficient, but rations and quarters were often inadequate. The daily ration, according to historian Robert Frazer, "was both uninviting and dietetically impoverished, designed to fill the stomach at minimum cost." [147] The monotonous fare as prescribed by Army Regulations included meat (twelve ounces of salt pork or bacon, or twenty ounces of fresh or salt beef) and flour or bread (eighteen ounces of flour or bread, or twelve ounces of hard bread; sixteen ounces of corn meal could be substituted for flour or bread) each day. For each 100 rations there were also issued eight quarts of beans or ten pounds of rice, one pound of coffee or one and one-half pounds of tea, twelve pounds of sugar, two quarts of salt, and four quarts of vinegar. In addition, for each 100 rations, the soldier received one pound of sperm candles and four pounds of soap. [148] Some of the food items shipped to New Mexico, such as bacon and flour, frequently deteriorated during the trip and the subsequent storage before issue. Other foods, except for the issue of vegetables when scurvy was found among the troops, had to be purchased by the individual soldier. Often the enlisted men had the opportunity to buy vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, and eggs at frontier posts, provided they chose to use their pay for such items. Many apparently preferred to use their limited funds for tobacco and whiskey. Drunkenness was a chronic problem at all levels of the service. Excessive drinking, like desertion, was a way many soldiers sought escape from the realities of garrison life.

Quarters varied from post to post, and soldiers sometimes were housed in tents because barracks were not available. They lived in tents, of course, when on field duty. Most

company quarters, because of inadequate funds and unskilled labor, were poorly constructed, inadequately ventilated, hot in the summer, cold in the winter, and conducive to the spread of disease. The frontier army frequently experienced "a high rate of sickness and mortality." Medical care, intended to be part of the fringe benefits, was too often inadequate at frontier posts. [149]

Although training was an important part of turning recruits into disciplined soldiers, the army did not have a standardized training program. Thus many recruits joined companies for duty without any "idea of the duties they will be called on to perform, or of the discipline they will be required to undergo." [150] According to military historian Edward Coffman, the new soldier "often found the diet inadequate, the uniforms ill-fitting, and the quarters uncomfortable. Neither was the adjustment to discipline and drill and all that was involved in learning to be a soldier a pleasant experience." [151] While drill dominated a recruit's training, usually there was no training in marksmanship. Perhaps it was not considered necessary since most troops became laborers at frontier posts and used axes, hammers, saws, picks, and shovels more than muskets, sabers, or cannon. Their main contact with a weapon came when they stood the ubiquitous guard duty.

Most of a soldier's time was spent on garrison duty at a small military post, the tedious routine of which was occasionally broken by field service. Time away from the fort was often spent as guard to a supply train, mail coach, or other group, and, at other times, marching from one duty station to service at another. They were also sent on scouts to investigate Indian "depredations" and on expeditions to locate and punish Indian offenders. Despite the images of an Indian-fighting army portrayed in popular media, enlisted men were seldom engaged in combat. On average, a frontier soldier might participate in battle with the enemy one time during a five-year enlistment. [152] Only rarely were those engagements decisive, and military leaders had a difficult time trying to figure out how to deal most effectively with Indians. In the long run, many other factors besides the army contributed to the defeat and destruction of the Indians' traditional ways of life.

Meanwhile officers and soldiers held justifiable misgivings about their way of life, treatment, and importance on the frontier. William B. Lane, an officer who served in New Mexico and was stationed at Fort Union both before and after the Civil War, later explained the difficulties of soldiering in the 1850s.

> . . . It was not the actual fighting with the Indians, and the casualties in consequence among the officers and men, that made the service at the time so difficult to bear, but it was the hard work necessary to accomplish, apparently, so little.
>
> It was the long marches, the fatigue, the exposure, the hunger and thirst, the desolation and loneliness of the stations, and, finally, the loss of health, that made it so very trying and so thankless.
>
> In addition to this there were the seeming forgetfulness, the indifference, and to all appearances the want of proper appreciation from those from whom praise and commendation should have come, that made frontier service so much worse than it ought to have been. [153]

The effectiveness of troops in the Ninth Military Department depended on their comfort, health, well-being, and training, but it also depended on the equipment with which they were supplied and the officers who led them. In battle the troops were only as good as their weapons and commanders. The Third Infantry was equipped with the .69 caliber percussion smoothbore musket, a reliable instrument with destructive impact (although not as accurate

as a rifled musket). It was heavy to carry, weighing over nine pounds, and time-consuming to reload and fire during the heat of battle (it was a muzzle-loader). The musket was equipped for a bayonet which was sometimes attached for drill and in battle. Most of the time, however, it was detached and served a variety of purposes as a tool, especially in the field, and made a good candlestand. [154]

The soldiers in the Second Artillery and Second Dragoons carried the musketoon, a shortened version of the .69 caliber musket used by the infantry. It weighed six and one-half pounds. According to Major General Zenus R. Bliss, the musketoon was "a sort of brevet musket. It was nothing but an old musket sawed off to about two-thirds of its original length, and the rammer fastened to the barrel by a swivel to prevent its being lost or dropped when loading on horseback; it used the same cartridge as the musket, kicked like blazes, and had neither range nor accuracy, and was not near as good as the musket, and was only used because it could be more conveniently carried on horseback." [155] Almost everyone agreed that the musketoon was unsatisfactory. [156] In 1853 Inspector General J. K. F. Mansfield declared the musketoon was "a worthless arm . . . with no advocates." [157]

When McCall inspected the posts in New Mexico in 1850, he recorded that "the two batteries in possession of the Artillery companies are in good order and are complete, including carriages, limbers, caissons, harness, etc." Each battery, according to McCall, comprised one six-pounder gun, one twelve-pounder field howitzer, and three twelve-pounder mountain howitzers. Ammunition included fifty-six rounds for each gun and field howitzer and sixty rounds for each mountain howitzer. [158]

Each of the artillery pieces had a bronze tube. The six-pounder gun had a bore diameter of 3.67 inches and fired a projectile weighing 6.10 pounds. It had a muzzle velocity of 1,439 feet per second and a range of 1,523 yards at a five-degree elevation. The twelve-pounder field howitzer had a bore diameter of 4.62 inches and fired a projectile weighting 8.9 pounds. It had muzzle velocity of 1,054 feet per second and a range of 1,663 yards at a five-degree elevation. The twelve-pounder mountain howitzer was a lighter weight, mobile weapon designed for field duty. It had the same bore and fired the same projectile as the field howitzer. It utilized a powder charge of one-half pound, only half the charge of the field howitzer. It had a muzzle velocity of 650 feet per second and a range of 900 yards at a five-degree elevation. [159] The twelve-pounder mountain howitzer was "the most popular and widely employed piece" during the 1850s and during and after the Civil War. It was mobile, when mounted on the prairie carriage as in New Mexico, and effective against Indians. [160]

The First Dragoons in New Mexico were still using the .525 caliber Hall's percussion carbine, a breech-loading weapon issued when the dragoons were first organized in 1833. The musketoon was the replacement weapon for Hall's carbine, beginning in 1849. The First Dragoons in New Mexico had not yet received the "improvement" in 1850 and may have considered the Hall's carbine a more effective weapon, given the criticism of the musketoon. [161] The troops of the First and Second Dragoons in New Mexico carried sabers. Inspector McCall did not identify the style, but most likely these were the Model 1840 dragoon sabers which were issued to both regiments. Members of both dragoon regiments in the Ninth Military Department also carried pistols, the Colt .44 caliber dragoon revolver, a cap-and-ball six-shooter. [162]

A full complement of dragoon equipment and arms, including forty rounds of ammunition, weighed a total of seventy-eight pounds. When this was added to the weight of the trooper and the horse equipment (saddle and bridle), it made a heavy burden for the dragoon mounts and affected their efficiency in pursuit of Indians. Dragoons surrendered part of their mobility for the superiority of equipment. They did not always carry everything when engaged in chasing Indians. [163]

With this combination of arms, Utley concluded, "the frontier army easily outmatched the Indians in weaponry. It was without doubt the most important single advantage the soldiers enjoyed over their adversary, and time and again, when a test of arms could be engineered, it carried the day." [164] The problem was to catch the Indians and force an engagement, for they enjoyed the advantage of better knowledge of the land and greater mobility. They could be elusive to the point of frustration and use the landscape to their advantage. Indian soldiers usually stood and fought only when they believed they enjoyed superiority of numbers or position on the field or when surprised in camp. Successful engagements by the U.S. Army depended on perseverance, luck, and the officers who directed the troops.

Most of the officers in the Ninth Military Department were graduates of the Military Academy at West Point where they were trained to serve as officers, received general military education, and were provided special schooling in engineering. They were not taught how to fight Indians. [165] It was not easy to keep officers in the army because pay was inadequate in comparison to similar civilian positions, there was no retirement plan available, promotion was exceedingly slow, and there was much quarreling and competition among them. [166] Except in wartime, there were few opportunities for advancement, and, as military historian Coffman explained, "the tedious monotony of garrison life could be grindingly oppressive." The Ninth Military Department was comprised, as noted above, of minor military posts in a remote region of the nation. "The routine of small garrisons," wrote Coffman, "offered little in the way of professional development." [167]

The incentives to make a career of officer life were not strong. The sister of West Point graduate Edmund Kirby Smith, also the wife of an officer, declared "The Army offers no career which a man of talent can desire—It to be sure (and I am sorry to say it) offers a safe harbour for indolence and imbecility." [168] In 1847 Captain Edmund B. Alexander, who would become the first commanding officer of Fort Union four years later, wrote to his family: "I think if I had my profession to choose over I would select anything but the Army." [169] Officers and enlisted men frequently turned to whiskey for escape from their conditions, and alcoholism was a serious problem for the army. Perhaps many of the officers assigned to duty in New Mexico felt there was little to be gained from service there.

The military organization demanded discipline of officers as well as enlisted men, and everything at the department level of the army was carried out by orders issued from the top down. Officers at military posts, from the commanding officer to the lowest lieutenant, were hesitant to take any action without specific orders. Although officers in command of field operations were usually given much individual discretion in dealing with whatever circumstances that might arise, there was guarded apprehension that any decision beyond specific instructions, which proved to be unsuccessful, might reflect badly on the officer and even lead to disciplinary action. The overall result was stifling for the officer corps, most of whom became mere functionaries in the chain of command. There was always an awareness among officers of who had rank over whom, which depended on the date of commission to a particular grade. The seeming simplicity of that system of seniority was complicated by the institution of brevet rank.

Brevet rank (usually a rank higher than the regular commission of an officer, awarded for a variety of purposes) was the cause of much controversy among officers in the army and of confusion among historians. [170] The practice created all sorts of problems, as Secretary of War John B. Floyd pointed out in 1858, because of its "uncertain and ill-defined rights." [171] The concept was borrowed from the British during the American Revolution to provide a temporary grade for an officer serving in an appointment away from his regular assignment. In the War of 1812 Congress established brevet appointments as honorary ranks to reward individual officers for gallant and meritorious service in battle or for faithful service in the same commissioned rank for ten years (a way to provide a "promotion" when there were no

openings in the service at that level). As established at that time brevet rank was only an award of honor, the officer received the pay of his regular commission and held only the position of his regular commission in the chain of command. "Had the brevet system remained purely honorary," historian Utley observed, "it would have been harmless." [172] It did not.

Many officers who held a brevet rank must have argued that such an appointment should be worth something, at least under some conditions. For whatever reasons, as Utley summarized, "brevet rank took effect, in both authority and pay, by special assignment of the President, in commands composed of different corps, on courts-martial [from 1829 to 1869], and in detachments composed of different corps." The resulting arrangement "had so many ramifications and nuances that it produced endless dispute and uncertainty, to say nothing of chaos in the computation of pay."

During the Mexican War brevet ranks were widely conferred as the primary method of extending recognition for achievement in battle. [173] Most of the officers who remained in the service in 1850, including those in New Mexico, held one or more brevets. [174] "Thus," wrote Utley, "under certain conditions a captain with no brevet might find himself serving under a lieutenant who had picked up a brevet of major in Mexico." [175] In 1851 Senator Jefferson Davis, who would become secretary of war a few years later, spoke out against the brevet system that "has produced such confusion in the Army that many of its best soldiers wish it could be obliterated." [176] The practice continued because it was a way to accord honor to deserving officers and, perhaps even more important, it compensated career officers for the inordinately slow promotions up the regular commissioned ranks. [177]

In military correspondence, orders, and reports, it was customary during the nineteenth century that all officers were addressed as and signed their name over their brevet rank, whether they received pay and commanded at the brevet rank or not (although sometimes regular commission and brevet rank were both given). In 1870 officers who were not serving at their brevet rank were prohibited from wearing the uniform of their brevet rank and from using their brevet rank in official communication. [178] The widespread use of brevet ranks remains confusing, and every student of the frontier army must be aware of the system. Throughout this study of the history of Fort Union, brevet ranks are given only when it was clear that the identified officer was actually serving in that rank, as during the Civil War or a brevet second lieutenant. Even then the use of the term is avoided as much as possible in an attempt to reduce misunderstanding. [179]

Perhaps the best illustration of brevet rank was provided in a humorous poem by Captain Arthur T. Lee:

WHAT IS A BREVET?

As Captain Forbes walked off parade,
Sam Green inquiringly said:
"Pray tell me, Cap.,—and tell me true,
Why all those officers in blue
Walk up and touch their caps to you;
They've leaves and eagles, them 'ere chaps,
Whilst you've but bars upon your straps."

"Why, Sam," says Forbes, "you *must* be green;
The reason's plainly to be seen:—
My straps, so humble in their place,
Are worth the symbol on their face,

Whilst leaves and eagles pay no debts:—
Those officers are all brevets."

Says Green, "that puzzles me,—you bet;—
Cap, tell me,—what is a brevet?"

"Well, Sam,—to put it through your pate,
You listen, whilst I illustrate.
You see yon turkey on the fence.—
That's turkey, Sam, in every sense;
Yon turkey-buzzard on the tree:—
He's *brevet* turkey:—do you see?"

Moral

A Turkey has some value, Sam.
A Buzzard isn't worth a damn! [180]

The army was firmly established in New Mexico Territory by 1851 and faced myriad problems. There were obstacles of terrain, climate, and distance from supplies. The territorial government was weak, and there were rumors of political unrest. The unique blend of Indian, Spanish, and Mexican heritage in New Mexico made it difficult to draw lines and determine who were the perpetrators and who the victims of a complex conflict that had developed for centuries. The injection of Anglo culture, with yet another system of priorities and values, made the situation less stable. The army's record in dealing with the Indian problem there, the primary mission of the troops stationed in the department, left much to be desired. [181] A complete shakeup was about to occur, resulting in widespread reorganization and the establishment of Fort Union.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER TWO:
THE FIRST FORT UNION

By early 1851 Indian raids in New Mexico and along the Santa Fe Trail demanded that something more be done by the troops stationed in the region. [1] A change of administration in the military department, commanded by Colonel John Munroe, [2] was deemed necessary, according to Secretary of War C. M. Conrad, because "the Indians had become so bold as to commit their depredations within a few miles of the military posts." In addition, he lamented, "I regret to say that in no instance was their audacity chastised." This information was clearly based on Inspector George A. McCall's assessment of the previous year. The war department turned to an officer with lengthy experience on the frontier and previous service in New Mexico, Edwin Vose Sumner. [3]

On March 12, 1851, Lieutenant Colonel Sumner was relieved of command of the First Dragoons at St. Louis. [4] On March 29, 1851, orders were sent to Colonel Munroe to inform him that he would be replaced as commander of the Ninth Military Department. [5] On the same day Adjutant General Roger Jones notified Sumner that he was to "proceed to New Mexico without unnecessary delay" and assume command of the department. He outlined some of the goals expected of Sumner. [6]

Jones made it clear that "there is reason to believe that the stations at present occupied by the troops in the 9th Department, are not the best for the protection of the frontiers against the inroads of the Indians." He directed Sumner to reorganize the distribution of troops and to "use sound discretion in making such changes, as upon becoming acquainted with the country, you may deem necessary and proper." In an attempt to fill the companies of artillery, infantry, and dragoons in New Mexico, providing additional manpower to face the marauding Indians, Sumner was to be accompanied on his march from Fort Leavenworth by 642 recruits. In addition Sumner was "specially directed to carry into immediate and it is hoped successful operation" a recent order requiring military posts in the West to establish farms in an attempt to reduce expenditures. [7] On April 1, 1851, Secretary of War C. M. Conrad confirmed what Jones had written and ordered Sumner to travel to New Mexico "as early as practicable." [8]

Before he left St. Louis, Sumner requested that all the officers who belonged in the Ninth Military Department, many of whom were absent on leave, be ordered to return to lead their troops. He did not understand how he could accomplish everything expected of him in New Mexico without the officers being there. When he was offered a portion of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to bolster the number of troops in New Mexico, Sumner (perhaps showing his prejudices as an old dragoon) remarked that he did "not want any part of the rifle regiment." In fact, he declared to Adjutant General Jones, "if I needed more mounted troops, I should not wish to have them, for although they can be made good riflemen, it will take a long time to make them good horsemen, and I would rather take that regiment on foot, for any service whatever, than to have it mounted." [9] Sumner did not arrive in Santa Fe until July 1851, when the change in command of the department actually occurred.

Meanwhile Colonel Munroe had started the search for a site east of Santa Fe for the location

of the department's quartermaster depot, where supplies could be received from Fort Leavenworth and distributed to posts throughout the department. That recommendation had been made the year before by Inspector George A. McCall. [10] Whether it was McCall's recommendation, Munroe's realization that both economy and efficiency would be served by the location of a quartermaster depot along the Santa Fe Trail in eastern New Mexico, or both, in March 1851 Munroe sent Captain Langdon C. Easton, quartermaster department, and Lieutenant John G. Parke, topographical engineers, to "examine the country in the vicinity of Las Vegas and on the Moro Creek with a view of selecting a site for the establishment of a depot for supplies coming from the U.S." [11] In addition, they were directed by Colonel Munroe to "make a reconnaissance of the country from the Rayado to Point of Rocks and report as to the probability of making a Wagon Road between those places." [12]

That reconnaissance was completed by April 14. Captain Easton and Lieutenant Parke considered Rayado a poor location for troops because the site provided a limited view of the surrounding area and Indians could approach close to it without being seen. Also, in their opinion, Rayado Creek did not provide sufficient water for a large garrison. They recommended that a permanent post be established about ten miles north of Rayado along the Cimarron River where everything needed for a garrison was available. Troops stationed there would be able to protect both major routes of the Santa Fe Trail and settlements in the region. [13] Their suggestion was not followed, but it should be noted that Lucien Maxwell moved his headquarters from Rayado to the Cimarron River, establishing what became the present town of Cimarron, New Mexico, and troops were later stationed there (usually as an outpost of Fort Union). The owners of Barclay's Fort, located near the Mora River, had offered to sell their post to the government, but the facility, according to Inspector McCall, writing in 1850, was insufficient for the army's needs and the owners were asking more money than he thought it was worth. [14]

The location of Barclay's trading post, near the point where the Cimarron and Mountain routes of the Santa Fe Trail joined, recommended it for a military post and depot, according to McCall, but he thought Las Vegas was a better location. Las Vegas already had adequate storehouses but more would have to be built at Barclay's Fort. The adobe trading post was not large enough to accommodate more than one company of dragoons and their horses. There was no timber close to the fort. Therefore McCall recommended against the site. [15]

This information about possible sites should have been available to Colonel Sumner when he assumed command of the department in July 1851, and his immediate actions upon taking command appeared to follow many of McCall's recommendations. Sumner was not unfamiliar with New Mexico, for he had commanded a portion of Kearny's Army of the West in 1846 and marched with the troops to New Mexico over the nascent Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. On that expedition, he had camped on August 12, 1846, with the Army of the West at a place known as *Los Pozos*, natural pools of water located several miles northwest of the confluence of the Sapello and Mora rivers along Wolf Creek (also known as Coyote Creek and, occasionally, as Dog Creek). One of the finest descriptions of these important pools or ponds, which were fed by springs, was provided by Governor William Carr Lane in the summer of 1852, when he described *Los Pozos* as "a chain of pools of clear water in basins which have been scooped out of the volcanic rock—probably by the torrents of ages upon ages—from the surrounding mountains." [16]

Sumner may have passed *Los Pozos* again when he marched back to Fort Leavenworth from Santa Fe. The area of *Los Pozos* took on new significance when Sumner selected it as the location for the headquarters and supply depot of the Ninth Military Department and established Fort Union there. It was important because of the supply of water in an arid land, but it was also a strategic location near the junction of the Cimarron and Bent's Fort (later Mountain) routes of the Santa Fe Trail, near the trail across the mountains from the Mora

River valley to the Rio Grande valley, and near settlements threatened by the Jicarilla Apaches, including Rayado, Mora, and Las Vegas.

Because serious Indian problems persisted in much of New Mexico and the cost of maintaining troops in the Ninth Military Department was considered excessive, Secretary Conrad advised Sumner "that material changes ought to be made in that department, both with a view of a more efficient protection of the country, and to a diminution of expense." To achieve goals of increased protection and improved economy, Sumner was authorized to "immediately, on assuming command, revise the whole system of defence" in New Mexico and, regarding the location of posts in the department, "to examine particularly whether the posts now occupied by the troops are the most suitable, and if not, will make such changes as you may deem advisable." [17]

Sumner was given three guidelines to govern his selection of sites for posts. First, troops should be distributed to protect the settlements of New Mexico. Second, they should be located to provide defense of Mexican territory across the border from Indians in the United States, as required by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Third, he was to consider "economy and facility in supporting the troops, particularly in regard to forage, fuel and adaptation of the surrounding country to cultivation." [18] Economy was to be gained, in part, by having soldiers grow some of their own food supply.

Secretary Conrad declared, as Colonel McCall had emphasized in his report of inspection of the troops in New Mexico, that the "economy and efficiency" of the army in New Mexico might be improved by relocating the troops from the towns where most were stationed to positions "nearer the Indians" they were expected to control. Peace could not be achieved, Conrad believed, until the Navajos, Utes, and Apaches had felt "the power of our arms" and received "severe chastisement." Treaties would have to be negotiated from positions of power, and Sumner was authorized to hold hostages from the tribes until terms had been worked out by the superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory and agreed upon by the leaders of the respective tribes. [19]

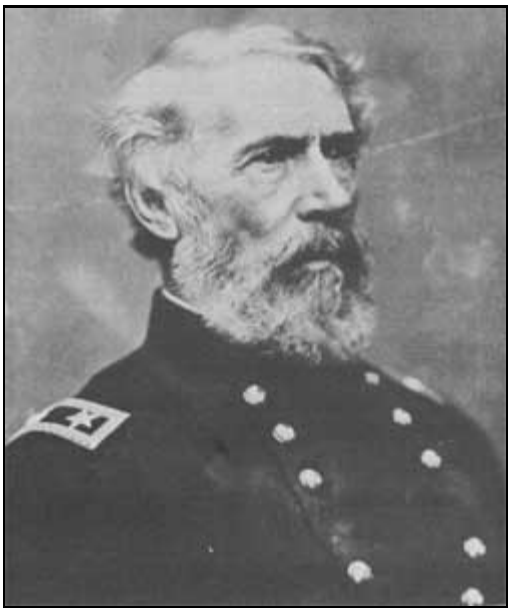
Economy measures expected from the new department commander included a close look at the quartermaster and subsistence departments to see where savings could be made, the discharge of as many civilian employees as possible, reduction of the costs of daily rations, and the cultivation of post gardens and farms. In a major effort to reduce the cost of feeding troops in the Far West, the army had already determined to turn frontier soldiers into farmers. [20] To facilitate the execution of that order in New Mexico, Sumner was promised "such seed, agricultural implements, &c., as you may require." [21]

Lieutenant Colonel Sumner made preparations at Fort Leavenworth for his march to New Mexico over the Santa Fe Trail, a trip which he and his escort of more than 600 recruits (going to fill the "skeleton" companies of artillery, dragoons, and infantry in the territory) began on May 26, 1851. Officers, some of whom would become Sumner's staff in New Mexico, included Surgeon Alfred W. Kennedy, Assistant Surgeon William Hammon Tingley, Majors George A. H. Blake and Francis A. Cunningham, Captains Don C. Buell, Ebenezer S. Sibley, Israel B. Richardson, Philip R. Thompson, and James H. Carleton, and Lieutenants John Pope, John C. Moore, and Robert Ransom. Major Daniel H. Rucker, quartermaster department, and Captain Isaac Bowen, commissary department, followed a few days behind the column with wagon trains of provisions and livestock. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Swords, quartermaster department, accompanied Sumner's command to New Mexico where he was to inspect all the military posts. [22] Several of these officers later served at Fort Union.

Sumner's command was plagued with the dreaded cholera before it departed from Fort

Leavenworth until it reached the Arkansas River, during which time about 35 men, including Surgeon Alfred W. Kennedy, died. [23] Charlotte Sibley, wife of Captain Sibley, later wrote about the "tedious" journey on the Santa Fe Trail: "Thanks to a merciful providence our health was spared though for the first three weeks the cholera raged among the troops and one of the officers, Dr. Kennedy, died after a few hours sickness. As soon as we reached the Arkansas it disappeared for then the water was pure and wholesome." [24] Dr. Kennedy died June 3, and the only other army physician on the trip, Dr. Tingley, was attacked by the same illness. Sumner declared on his arrival at Council Grove that the fear of cholera led to "many desertions" in his command, especially after the surgeons contracted the disease. [25]

The cholera was slowly left behind as the troops marched westward. Lieutenant Pope never stated that his illness was cholera, but H. H. Green later recalled that Pope "was the last to be taken down with the fell disease . . . and Dr. Barney Barry plastered him with mustard from his neck to his heels until he resembled a bronze statue" while Pope "complained that the remedy was worse than the disease." Green confirmed that the remainder of the trip was free from cholera. [26] Lieutenant Pope declared the command suffered from "so disproportionate & insufficient a medical force," that "the numerous desertions which occurred are, in my opinion, entirely attributable to this fact." He reported that desertions increased in proportion to the cases of cholera, stating that the recruits left in groups of three or four at a time. The large number of deaths, according to Pope, "cast a gloom over the command, which for a long time rendered the march one of the most melancholy it has ever been my lot to witness." [27]



Edwin Vose Sumner, photo taken during Civil War when he was a general, more than a decade after he established Fort Union in 1851. Sumner died in 1863. U. S. Signal Corps Photo (Brady Collection), *courtesy* of National Archives.

John Pope, photo taken during or after Civil War when he was a general. After the Civil War Pope commanded the Department of the Missouri which included New Mexico and Fort Union, *courtesy* of Kansas State Historical Society

Pope noted in his journal that Richard H. Weightman and his family and New Mexico's Chief Justice Grafton Baker had joined Sumner's column at Council Grove. [28] Dr. Tingley,

suffering from the effects of cholera, was left at Fort Atkinson (established by Lieutenant Colonel Sumner west of present Dodge City, Kansas, near the Arkansas River on August 8, 1850). Tingley was expected to proceed to New Mexico with Major Rucker and the quartermaster supply train when he had recovered sufficiently to continue, but the physician apparently had enough of the West and headed eastward as soon as he was able to travel. He resigned from the army December 2, 1851. A private physician, Edmund I. Barry from Ireland, had somehow joined Sumner's party (perhaps at Council Grove). When the column left Council Grove he was employed as surgeon for the remainder of the trip to Santa Fe via Bent's Old Fort and Raton Pass. [29]

Sumner's column arrived at Fort Atkinson on June 20, 1851. Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick was there to meet with leaders of several plains tribes, and many Indians were gathered nearby. Pope stated that there were "large encampments of Camanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas &c amounting I was told, in all to about 5000 fighting men." Sumner established his camp about two miles above the post, near the Cheyenne village. Some Cheyennes were permitted to enter Sumner's encampment, and a Cheyenne man who took the hand of an officer's wife to look at her ring was accused of making indecent advances toward a white woman. The enraged husband proceeded to flog the Cheyenne with a carriage whip, nearly precipitating a larger fight when the Cheyennes demanded that their agent seek reparations while Sumner dismissed the incident and proceeded on his journey. The commander at Fort Atkinson, Captain William Hoffman, Sixth Infantry, fearing a possible attack on the small garrison, sent an express to Sumner. Sumner led his force back to the Cheyenne camp, and the Cheyennes feared they were to be attacked. Sumner and Fitzpatrick met with the Cheyenne leaders, which resulted in the presentation of a blanket to the man who had been whipped. The peace was kept and Sumner headed on to New Mexico. [30] The Cheyennes were not completely pacified, however, as Kit Carson was to learn a few days later.

Meantime Sumner elected to avoid the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail because of a severe drought and fear that sufficient water would not be available for his command. [31] They followed the north bank of the Arkansas River to Bent's Old Fort. This former trading post, built in 1833 by Bent, St. Vrain & Co., had been destroyed by William Bent in 1849. Lieutenant Pope stated that on July 2 they "crossed the Arkansas at Bent's Fort which has been consumed by fire. It having been determined to abandon it, the owners burned it to the ground in order to prevent other traders from occupying it." [32] They traveled westward along the south bank of the Arkansas for eight miles before leaving the river for the Raton Mountains.

On the evening of July 6, when the column was camped near the north base of Raton Pass, a New Mexican traveling on foot arrived. He carried a message from Kit Carson, who was leading a train of 12 wagons several days behind the troops on the Arkansas River. The message was to the owner of the wagons and their cargo, Lucien Maxwell at Rayado, "informing Maxwell that the Cheyennes had surrounded him on the Arkansas & were endeavoring to plunder him of his Cattle. Maxwell was requested to come out immediately to his assistance." [33]

Carson later explained that the Cheyennes were in a bad mood when he encountered their village a few miles west of Fort Atkinson. The Cheyennes, Carson was able to determine, planned to retaliate against his wagon train because of the whipping incident when Sumner's command was at Fort Atkinson. Some Cheyennes followed his train for another 20 miles and threatened to attack. That was when Carson sent the messenger to Maxwell. [34] Apparently Sumner made no effort to send troops to investigate or give aid to Carson at the time the messenger passed his camp near Raton Pass.

Travel on the Bent's Fort or Mountain Route was still difficult for wagons and fairly uncommon because of the rugged terrain of Raton Pass where, according to one member of Sumner's party, "it took us two days to let by ropes our train of 100 wagons down the rugged hill of Raton." [35] The troops ahead of the wagon train, according to Pope, experienced little difficulty in negotiating the pass although he described the road as "bad." [36] Charlotte Sibley enjoyed that part of the journey:

> We took the Bent Fort route tho one hundred miles farther for the benefit of the animals as good water and grass was to be found all the way, and I am not sorry for the view of the Rocky Mountains well repaid me the tediousness of the whole trip. It was sublimely beautiful, and as we entered the gap that crosses the Raton Mountain, the place that we crossed, the mountains in the distant lay piled in masses one above another, their summits covered with snow and in the sunlight of early summer morning glistening like so many jewels; beautiful flowers, wild plum and cherry trees, the clematis vine with its white flowers looking so like home. . . . As I insisted upon riding horseback nearly the whole day, my eyes drank in all the grandeur of the view. It's something not soon to be forgotten but a picture upon which memory will love to dwell. [37]

On July 8 Sumner's command was camped at the crossing of the Canadian River. Pope reported that Lieutenant Robert Johnston with 40 dragoons from the Post at Rayado, "going back to the relief of Carson, encamped with us." The next day, when Johnston left for the Arkansas, Sumner sent Captain Carleton and 30 men from the column to go "back to the assistance of Carson." [38] Carleton reported on July 11 that his detachment was 32 miles from old Bent's Fort, having marched 90 miles in 38 hours, and had received word that Carson's train was coming on. He expected to meet Carson that evening. Fortunately Carson had managed to outwit the Cheyennes and continue on his way. Carleton wrote, "please consider everything quiet in this direction unless you hear from me to the contrary." The troops were welcome protection, however, when they reached the train and accompanied the Carson party to Rayado without incident. They arrived there several days after Sumner had been there and gone. [39]

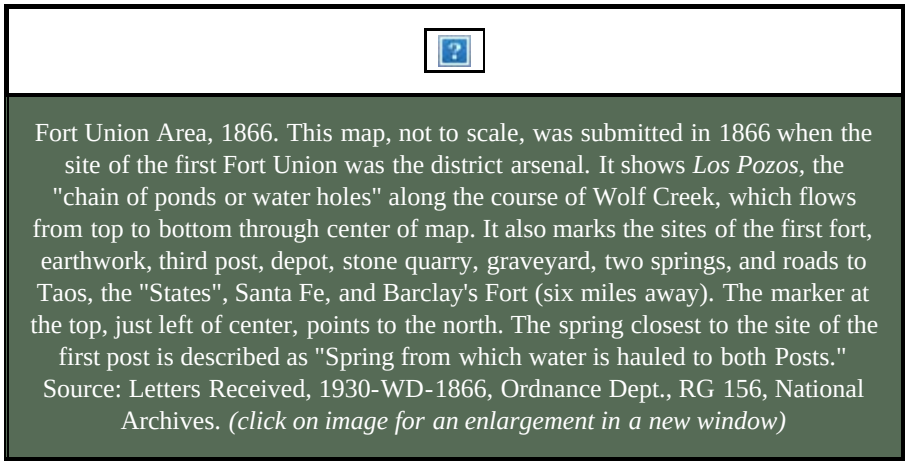
As Sumner approached Rayado on July 10, the commanding officer at that post, Captain Richard S. Ewell, First Dragoons, rode out to meet him. Sumner's entourage camped near the post and settlement. Because many of the horses were broken down from the trip from Fort Leavenworth, most of the troops and recruits were left at Rayado to recuperate. [40] From there they would later be distributed to the companies in the department as Sumner determined. Lieutenant Colonel Swords remained at Rayado where he began his inspection tour of all posts in the department. He thought the rent paid to Lucien Maxwell, $3,400 per year, was "somewhat expensive." [41]

Sumner hoped to find a new location for the troops stationed at Rayado and sent Captain Ewell to investigate the area where the Bent's Fort Route crossed the Canadian River (where Sumner had camped July 7 and 8). Following a quick reconnaissance, Ewell reported to Sumner from Rayado on July 17, 1851, that he had found the supply of water, grass, and timber inadequate to support a military post. [42] Rayado was closed as a post three weeks later and the troops were moved to Fort Union, but a detachment of troops was left at Rayado for a time at the request of Lucien Maxwell.

On July 12 Sumner's command camped at *Los Pozos*, and this familiar site where he had camped in 1846 impressed itself on his mind as the best possible location for a new military post and department headquarters. It was one site that appeared to have adequate supplies of water, grass, and timber for a large facility. The only disadvantage according to Sumner was that "there is not land enough for tillage." That would be solved by locating the farm on

Ocate Creek some 25 miles to the north. Of *Los Pozos,* Sumner concluded "it is the only place that will answer, at all, on this side of Santa Fe." [43]

Lieutenant Pope described *Los Pozos* in the valley of Wolf Creek as "large holes of spring water 15 or 20 feet deep. A chain of these holes & small lakes extend several miles down the valley." He reported that "grass is very abundant & of excellent quality & wood plenty in the neighborhood." Like Sumner, Pope was impressed with this location. "There are," he recorded, "many springs of clear, cold, water in the vicinity and this valley is in short by far the most desirable portion of country I have seen since leaving Missouri." [44]



Fort Union Area, 1866. This map, not to scale, was submitted in 1866 when the site of the first Fort Union was the district arsenal. It shows *Los Pozos,* the "chain of ponds or water holes" along the course of Wolf Creek, which flows from top to bottom through center of map. It also marks the sites of the first fort, earthwork, third post, depot, stone quarry, graveyard, two springs, and roads to Taos, the "States", Santa Fe, and Barclay's Fort (six miles away). The marker at the top, just left of center, points to the north. The spring closest to the site of the first post is described as "Spring from which water is hauled to both Posts." Source: Letters Received, 1930-WD-1866, Ordnance Dept., RG 156, National Archives. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Sumner had already decided to remove the headquarters and supply depot of the Ninth Military Department from Santa Fe and to place troops in a position where they could better protect settlements exposed to Indian raids and "the line of communication with Missouri." [45] With the specific orders Sumner had, directing a reorganization of the department, "it became necessary," as Pope observed, "to select positions with a view not only to Military purposes but to the agricultural resources for their support." The area at *Los Pozos* was "the first point we had seen which fulfilled any of the required conditions." Sumner therefore selected the site for the new headquarters and depot on July 12, "and it was accordingly marked out for a post." [46] The order establishing the post and the name by which it would be known came later. When Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield, inspector general's department, conducted the first inspection of Fort Union in 1853, he declared that the location "seems to have been selected on account of a good spring of water." [47]

Although Sumner had "marked out" the site that became Fort Union, he continued to evaluate other locations on the way to Santa Fe. He concluded that Las Vegas lacked sufficient water and grass to support the military post located there and "determined," on July 13, "to abandon it." The supply train and some of the troops with Sumner were left encamped at Las Vegas, while Sumner, Buell, and Pope, with an escort of 25 dragoons under Lieutenant John Adams, scouted to the confluence of the Gallinas and Pecos rivers, looking for possible sites for military posts. They found no location that had the desired combination of water, grass, wood, and arable land. Because of the drought, they found "very little water" in either of the streams. [48]

On the return, at Anton Chico, Lieutenant Adams and the escort were sent back to Las Vegas to forward the supply train. Sumner and the other officers followed the Pecos River to San Miguel and waited there for the train. Sumner arrived in Santa Fe on July 19, 1851, and immediately replaced Munroe as departmental commander. [49] One of his first considerations was to secure a lease to the land selected for the new military post on Wolf Creek. Most land in the region was included in one or another land grant dating from the Mexican period, 1821-1846, and exactly on which grant the post was situated was not settled until many years later. In July 1851 Sumner arranged a lease agreement with a party of

claimants to the John Scolly Grant (also known as the La Junta Grant), on whose property it was then believed the site of Fort Union was located: Robert Brent, Donaciano Vigil for Gregorio Trujillo, James M. Giddings, George H. Estes, William [Alexander?] Barclay, Herman Grolman, Henry O'Neil, and James [Samuel] B. Watrous. Within their grant made by Governor Manuel Armijo in 1843 and "renewed" in 1846, which they believed comprised 25 square leagues (approximately 108,000 acres) centered near the junction of the Sapello and Mora rivers, they leased to Colonel Sumner and his successors in command of the department, for the sum of five dollars paid in advance, an area one mile square (640 acres) for 20 years to be used for a military post. When the military post was vacated, the leasors were to receive all improvements and fixtures made on the property. [50] It appeared to be a good deal for all parties, but the question of whose grant was actually involved remained to be settled. It was not until 1893, two years after Fort Union was abandoned, that the boundaries of the Scolly Grant were finally determined. [51]

Sumner named his departmental staff on July 19: Captain Don C. Buell, adjutant; Captain Ebenezer S. Sibley, quartermaster; Captain Isaac Bowen, subsistence department; Surgeon Charles McDougall, medical department; Major Francis A. Cunningham, paymaster; and Lieutenant John Pope, topographical engineer. Military Storekeeper William R. Shoemaker, who had arrived in New Mexico and assumed control of the departmental ordnance depot in 1848, was retained in that capacity. At the same time, Sumner ordered the headquarters and principal quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance depots of the department "transferred to the Moro River, and all military stores now at this place [Santa Fe], will at once be removed to the point selected." The medical depot was left at Santa Fe for the time being. [52] Historian Robert Utley declared that the "establishment of the quartermaster depot . . . at Fort Union made the post a freight destination rivaling if not surpassing Santa Fe in importance." [53]

While the troops and supplies were moving from old departmental headquarters at Santa Fe to the new post on the Mora, Major Edmund B. Alexander, Third Infantry, was ordered to abandon the post at Las Vegas and move his command, one company of infantry and two of dragoons, to the new place. At Santa Fe, where 134 citizens were employed by the quartermaster department, all civilian employees, except for those needed to assist with the movement of stores to the new headquarters and depot, were discharged. Within three weeks after Sumner took command, the citizens employed by the quartermaster department in New Mexico was reduced to three clerks and one carpenter. [54] Thereafter a few citizens were hired as teamsters and occasional "other capacities," but most were discharged as soon as their duties were performed. [55]

All expenditures for the department were to be approved by the commander before disbursements were made. Sumner later observed, "if I do nothing else in this Territory, I will certainly effect a great reduction in expenses but I hope to do more." [56] The troops rather than civilian employees performed most of the construction work at the new posts in the department. Almost all transportation of supplies within the department was done by army wagons and animals at a cost less than private contractors could offer. Because "it is impossible to procure soldiers sufficient for our wants who have any experience whatever in ox driving" (which meant that civilian teamsters had to be hired for ox trains), Captain Sibley believed that mules were more efficient than oxen for the public wagons and shifted to those draft animals in the name of savings. [57] The cost of keeping one army mule in New Mexico was calculated by Captain Easton, quartermaster department, as being $320.00 per year. Before winter Sumner sent 71 wagons and 473 mules to Fort Leavenworth so his department would not have the expense of wintering those animals. [58]

Sumner fulfilled most of his orders regarding economy, and he did not neglect the Indian question. He sent a patrol to begin protecting the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail

between Fort Union and Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River on August 3 and ordered that an expedition against the Navajos, which Colonel Munroe had been planning, be prepared to march on August 15. [59] While troops and supplies were being consolidated at the new department headquarters on Wolf Creek, Indian raids continued in New Mexico. The Navajos were the major perpetrators, stealing livestock and killing citizens. Sumner began to concentrate troops and supplies at Santo Domingo, south of Santa Fe, for the upcoming Navajo expedition. Following the show of American military force in the Navajo homelands, Sumner intended to establish a new military post in the area to keep watch over them.

Sumner later reported that his "first step was to break up the post at Santa Fe, that sink of vice and extravagance, and remove the troops and public property." Next, he moved troops from other New Mexican towns, "a matter of vital importance, both as regards discipline and economy." He declared that, from his observations, "most of the troops in this territory have become in a high degree demoralized, and it can only be accounted for by the vicious associations in those towns." The "evils were so great," he feared that he could not "eradicate them entirely" until the troops could be concentrated in sufficient numbers to instill discipline. [60]

On July 21, 1851, Sumner ordered Second Lieutenant Louis H. Marshall, Third Infantry, to lead Company D, Third Infantry, from Fort Marcy at Santa Fe to the new post on Wolf Creek. Lieutenant John C. McFerran, Third Infantry, remained in Santa Fe to oversee the packing and shipping of subsistence stores to the new depot, after which he was to follow. Because sufficient transportation for the transfer of stores was unavailable, the army hired 32 wagons belonging to Francis X. Aubry, well-known Santa Fe Trail freighter who had just opened a significant new branch of the trail that became known as the Aubry Route or Aubry Cutoff. Aubry later claimed $4,000 in damages done to his equipment. [61] Captain Easton turned over the quartermaster stores to Captain Sibley, who was responsible for moving, storing, and protecting the large inventory at the new site. Sibley later reported that most of those stores, except for clothing and some subsistence items, were moved within 20 days. [62] Captain Shoemaker, military storekeeper, transferred the ordnance and ordnance stores from Santa Fe to the new depot, although much of this was left in safe storage in Santa Fe until buildings could be erected at Fort Union. [63]

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Swords, quartermaster department, inspected all quartermaster facilities in New Mexico in 1851, and the report he filed from the new Fort Union, one month to the day after it was established, was critical of the removal of stores to this new post before storehouses were available to protect the commodities. He could not understand why such "a large amount of public property had been removed to it from Santa Fe and Las Vegas" when "no storehouses had yet been provided for its protection." The supplies were piled outside with only a canvas cover, and Swords "feared much of it has become more or less damaged by exposure to the weather, the rainy season having set in." He had serious "doubts as to the propriety of removing the stores from Santa Fe before provision was made for their security at the new-post." There were adequate storehouses in Santa Fe, and a battalion of artillery was still there to guard them. It would have been less expensive to distribute the commodities from Santa Fe to many posts in the department than to haul them to Fort Union from which they would have to be hauled a farther distance to reach the same posts. [64] It was another example of Colonel Sumner's intense desire to save money regardless of the consequences, practices which Surgeon Jonathan Letterman later called "extravagant economy." [65]

Sumner left Santa Fe on July 23 with troops heading for the new headquarters, arriving at Las Vegas on July 25. There Sumner directed that the military post at Rayado be abandoned, with the garrison and supplies transferred to the new headquarters. [66] Two days later Captain Ewell reported from Rayado that everything there would be moved as soon as transportation

was provided; he estimated 20 wagons were needed for the supplies which included a sawmill and about 10,000 feet of sawed lumber. The saw and the lumber would be important for the construction of quarters and storehouses at the new post. Ewell also reported that no laborers were available at Rayado to make and lay adobes because Lucien Maxwell had employed everyone available to build a fence around his fields. [67]

Maxwell, proprietor of the enormous Beaubien-Miranda Grant (later known as the Maxwell Grant), protested the removal of troops from Rayado where his headquarters were located. He requested that some military protection remain in that vicinity in order to protect his holdings from Indian raids, especially while he was serving as a guide to Lieutenant Pope to open a new wagon road from Fort Union to the crossing of the Canadian River on the Cimarron Route and from that crossing to the Big Timbers on the Arkansas River. A compromise was reached whereby 15 dragoons (a non-commissioned officer and 14 privates of Company I, First Dragoons) were left at Rayado with supplies for three months, and Maxwell provided quarters and stables for these soldiers and their horses. Captain Ewell reported that "Mr. Maxwell furnishes excellent Quarters & stabling gratis, for the Det. authorized to be left here." [68]

Sumner later reported that he had removed the troops from and abandoned several other posts located in towns, establishing new garrisons closer to the Indians of the territory. In addition to Las Vegas and Rayado, he withdrew the troops from Albuquerque, Cebolleta, Socorro, Dona Ana, San Elizario, and El Paso. [69] The posts at Taos and Abiquiu were abandoned in November 1851. [70] Four new posts were founded in 1851: Fort Union near the Mora River on Wolf Creek (July 26, 1851), Fort Conrad on the west bank of the Rio Grande near Valverde (September 8, 1851), Fort Defiance at the mouth of Bonita Canyon in Navajo country just west of the present New Mexico-Arizona boundary (September 18, 1851), and Fort Fillmore on the east bank of the Rio Grande about 40 miles above El Paso near Mesilla (September 23, 1851). Because of demands from the citizens of Taos and promises to provide "comfortable" quarters for soldiers, a company of Third Infantry was ordered to return there. Troops were again withdrawn from Taos, June 14, 1852, and a new post, Cantonment Burgwin, was established a few miles from Taos on August 14, 1852. Sumner also established two other new posts: Fort Webster at the Santa Rita copper mines on January 23, 1852, and Fort Massachusetts in the land of the Utes on Ute Creek near the San Luis Valley of present Colorado, June 22, 1852. [71]

Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup was pleased with what Sumner had done upon his arrival in New Mexico. He especially approved the removal of the troops from the towns and locating them closer to the scenes of Indian raids at points where grass and fuel were readily available as positive steps toward the reduction of expenses in the department. [72] He apparently endorsed the establishment of Fort Union.

Major Alexander abandoned the post at Las Vegas on July 26, 1851, and led Company G, Third Infantry, and Companies F and K, First Dragoons, to the site of the new post at *Los Pozos*, which was established later the same day at the site selected by Colonel Sumner on July 12. The post was on the west side of Wolf Creek at the base of a high mesa to the west of the site. The geographical position was 35° 54' 21" north latitude, 105° 01' 00" west longitude, at an altitude of 6,670 feet above sea level. Sumner, with Company D of the Third Infantry, and a detachment of recruits arrived the following day. Sumner and Alexander immediately referred to the new post as Fort Union, but Sumner did not issue an order officially giving it that name until August 2, 1851. [73]

Prior to that, on July 31, Sumner expressed belief that the location "would certainly effect a great reduction in expenses." He expressed some reservations about the location, stating "it does not exactly suit me" because of a shortage of arable land for a large farm and a shortage

of water for irrigation purposes. He requested that equipment be sent to bore wells. Still, Sumner defended it as the best place available east of Santa Fe. [74]

Not everyone was satisfied with the location. Captain Shoemaker, military storekeeper in charge of the ordnance depot, declared soon after arriving at the new post, "every days experience goes to show the many disadvantages & objections to this place as a permanent location for an Ordnance Depot." He asserted that the "want of common natural advantages seems to indicate the absolute necessity of its abandonment as an Ordnance post, so soon as there is an appropriation to build an Arsenal." [75]

The suitability of the location of Fort Union was almost a constant issue until the Civil War, and there were several proposals over the years to move it to a "better" site. A second post was built approximately one mile east of the first post and the nearby mesa early in the Civil War, and a third post was erected next to that second fort a short time later. Other than those short moves, the several proposals to relocate Fort Union were not fulfilled because of changes in command of the department or the interruption of circumstances such as the Civil War. After the Civil War Shoemaker's arsenal was rebuilt beside the site of the original fort, and he remained at Fort Union beyond his retirement in 1882 until his death in 1886. Despite his early opposition, he became closely attached to the place. There were always some problems, however, which resulted from the location of the post.

Fort Union was established on private land, as noted, for there was little public land in the region because of the earlier Spanish and Mexican grants to individuals and groups. Alexander Barclay, co-owner of Barclay's Fort on the Mora River, protested to Colonel Sumner in October 1851 that military plans to use land along the Mora for agricultural purposes would take water for irrigation that he was already dependent upon for his own farming operations. [76] Barclay later claimed the land on which Fort Union was located and, after his claim was confirmed by the courts, negotiated a rental agreement with the army.

Because Fort Union was located off the route of the stagecoach line, which passed by Barclay's Fort, Sumner discovered that mails from the East were delivered to Santa Fe and distributed throughout the territory from that city. This meant that mail for department headquarters at Fort Union passed within a few miles of the post on the way to Santa Fe and was not delivered to the new post until several days (usually five days) later. Thus he requested of the postmaster general that a post office be established at Fort Union, with the post sutler, Jared W. Folger, as postmaster, and that the mails be delivered directly to the post. [77]

Sumner directed Lieutenant Pope, topographical engineers, to find "a new road by the shortest practicable route between this point and Fort Leavenworth." Pope, accompanied by a dragoon escort and guided by Lucien B. Maxwell and a Delaware Indian, began his reconnaissance on August 9. [78] The route Pope established, with the help of Captain Carleton and his company of dragoons, was commonly known in New Mexico as the Fort Leavenworth Road. It ran northward from Fort Union, passed north of the Turkey Mountains and Wagon Mound, and connected with the main Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail near the Rock Crossing of the Canadian River. As a more direct connection to the Cimarron Route, this road saved travelers to and from the Missouri Valley approximately 13 miles over the older circuitous course. The new road became the principal route for military freight, most of which came from Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River to the depot at Fort Union for distribution to the military posts throughout the Ninth Military Department. [79]

Pope also, as directed by Sumner, located a route from the Rock Crossing of the Canadian to the Bent's Fort or Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail (also called the Fort Leavenworth Road, which creates confusion for historians), connecting at the Big Timbers in present

eastern Colorado, a road that was used by military freight contractors during the early 1870s when the railroads built into Colorado Territory. [80] Pope also attempted to find a better and shorter route for freight wagons between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Union by following the Smoky Hill River into present western Kansas before heading south to the Arkansas River at Chouteau's Island (in present Kearny County, Kansas), but such a road was not developed. [81]

While a shorter route between Fort Union and the Missouri River was being explored, Sumner had Captain Sibley, department quartermaster, open a more direct route southward to Las Vegas. It is not clear how this route differed from the major Santa Fe Trail between the Mora Valley and the town of Las Vegas, but Colonel Mansfield observed that it saved "several miles in distance." Upon completion of these improvements, Mansfield reported that "this post is now directly on the shortest road to Santa Fe." [82] With the establishment of Fort Union as a supply depot, Sumner had affected the routing of a good portion of the traffic on the Santa Fe Trail.

Sumner's primary consideration, after arranging for the reorganization of the department and establishing Fort Union, was to deal with the Indians in New Mexico. In addition to planning the upcoming campaign against the Navajos, Sumner had arranged for better protection of the Santa Fe Trail. On August 2, 1851, in the same order naming Fort Union, Sumner directed that "in order to afford protection to travel and commerce between the Missouri frontier and this territory, Major Carleton's Company K 1st Dragoons, will be kept in motion this summer and fall along the Cimarron route, between this place and the post below the crossing of the Arkansas river [Fort Atkinson], returning finally to this post." [83] The primary mission of these patrols was protection of the stagecoaches and mail they carried, giving some protection directly or indirectly to other travelers and freight caravans on the trail.

Later, when the possibility of Indian attacks on the mail coaches threatened, the patrols were replaced with escorts which accompanied the eastbound mails from Fort Union to the Arkansas River in Kansas Territory and the westbound coaches (if connections were made) from the Arkansas River to Fort Union. Sometimes the escort of approximately 20 soldiers was mounted and rode near the mail wagons or coaches; other times the escort rode in wagons which accompanied the mails. Only rarely were these armed patrols or escorts attacked by Indians. Beginning with Carleton's first patrol in 1851, military commanders considered these efforts successful in protecting the Santa Fe Trail.

Carleton and his command left Fort Union on August 3, 1851, and followed the Cimarron Route to Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River, where a mail station had been established. He was instructed to move slowly along the Santa Fe Trail, remain at Fort Atkinson for one week, and return at a leisurely pace over the same route. He was to watch for Indians along the way, show "great kindness" to those who were peaceable, and promptly punish any who were considered hostile. After recuperating at Fort Union for approximately 10 days after making the first trip, the same troops were to make a second patrol under the same directions. [84]

Sumner reported several weeks later, "that no depredations, whatever, have been committed on the road to Missouri, since Major Carleton has been upon it." [85] This system of patrols operated until November 4, 1851, when Carleton's command returned to Fort Union for the winter months, and was repeated during part of the following summer. Later, when escorts replaced patrols, the troops from Fort Union operated in conjunction with Fort Atkinson until that post was abandoned, October 2, 1854. After Fort Larned was established in Kansas Territory in 1859, a system of escorts was coordinated between that post and Fort Union. In this way, one of the missions of the Fort Union garrison, protection for the Santa Fe Trail, was achieved.

The Santa Fe Trail may have been clear of Indian raids in the summer of 1851, but much of the Territory of New Mexico was without adequate protection. Sumner led a large force against the Navajos on August 17 and established Fort Defiance near their homeland on September 18, but members of that tribe slipped around those troops in the field and raided unprotected settlements near the Rio Grande Valley. [86] Before Sumner returned from the Navajo campaign, which failed to engage the enemy, additional attacks were made on New Mexican settlements. [87] Governor Calhoun, fearing the regular army could not protect the far-flung settlements of the territory, called up a mounted militia on October 24, 1851, to serve for six months. Some of these militiamen, led by Brigadier General Manuel Herrera of Ojitos Frios (a village ten miles southwest of Las Vegas), carried out several expeditions against Apache and Ute Indians. They apparently operated independently of the regular army. [88]

After Sumner returned to Fort Union, New Mexico Governor Calhoun, in response to citizen requests, asked Sumner to authorize the issue of federal military arms for a volunteer militia unit in the territory so the people could better protect themselves from destruction at the hands of Indians. After some delay, Sumner authorized Captain Shoemaker to issue 75 flintlock muskets, with ammunition and necessary accouterments, to the governor for the use of a militia unit to be led by Captain Preston Beck, a rancher in the Pecos Valley below Anton Chico. [89] Sumner placed two restrictions on the "loan" of arms; one, that they would "be immediately returned whenever demanded by the Commanding Officer of the 9th Dept., and secondly that they are never to be used in making hostile incursions into the Indian Country unless this volunteer company is acting in conjunction with the regular troops." [90]

These restrictions were unacceptable to Captain Beck, and the arms were refused. [91] A period of strained relations between Sumner and Calhoun followed. [92] Sumner was busy traveling around the department and spent little time at the new post at *Los Pozos.*

On January 1, 1852, Sumner, just back at Fort Union from an inspection tour that took him to El Paso, declared that "I find it indispensably necessary to remove my headquarters from this post to Albuquerque, on the Rio Grande, in order to be nearer the new posts in the Indian Country. Circumstances might arise which would make it important that I should be within striking distance of these posts." [93] Fort Union did not seem to be in Indian country, although the presence of the troops as well as the season may have accounted for the lack of activity in the vicinity. Katie Bowen noted that "the Apaches seem friendly enough in this part of the country and hunt over these mountains without giving any trouble." [94] The headquarters were transferred on February 1, 1852. [95]

Sumner, ever mindful of his orders to reduce expenses in the department, also began 1852 with another order to economize: "No Officer will be continued in command of a post in this Department, who does not manifest great zeal and ability in carrying out the orders of the government, relating to agriculture, and the reduction of army expenses." [96] In the long run Sumner's drive to economize probably did more harm than good in the department, but he was convinced it was the right thing to do.

As he prepared to leave Fort Union for his new headquarters, Sumner painted a rosy picture of conditions in New Mexico six months after he took command of the department. The new posts he had established were "exercising a favorable influence in our Indian relations." He believed the placing of troops near the Indians homelands prevented them from making "distant hostile expeditions" for fear that their families and property might be attacked by the troops located nearby. Sumner recommended that a small military post be established on the Cimarron River, about midway between Fort Union and the Arkansas River, to protect traffic on the Santa Fe Trail. He expected an era of unprecedented peace to follow. [97] This report was naive; conditions were soon to change in the territory; and Indian problems were far

from being resolved. In the meantime, since the troops arrived to establish Fort Union in July, the construction of the post was partially completed.

Colonel Alexander had wasted no time in getting soldiers to work on the erection of quarters and storehouses under the immediate direction of the post quartermaster, Captain Sibley (who arrived at the new post on August 6), so troops and supplies could be secured and protected before winter arrived. Traditionally, frontier military establishments were constructed by civilian laborers and skilled craftsmen employed by the quartermaster department. In New Mexico, because of the great attention to economize everywhere possible, Sumner turned to the soldiers for construction labor. Unfortunately, few soldiers possessed the skills of carpentry and masonry which, accompanied by the rush to complete structures as quickly as possible, resulted in shoddy buildings that were deteriorating almost as soon as completed for occupation. Because of the available timber, Fort Union was constructed of pine logs. In the haste to get the structures up before winter, the bark was not even removed from the green logs which were "laid on the ground without any durable foundation." [98] Stone was quarried near the post for the construction of fireplaces and chimneys. [99]

Sibley admitted that "the buildings are, however, confessedly of a temporary character." He recommended that if the new posts established in the department, including Fort Union, were to be considered "permanent, sound economy would prescribe that the necessary buildings should be permanent also." [100] Fort Union, then, became a permanent establishment with temporary buildings because of the need to reduce expenditures. Katie Bowen, who was among the first to live in the quarters at Fort Union, was critical of what she called Sumner's "excessive economy," [101] and a few years later the post surgeon, Jonathan Letterman, referred to the failure to provide adequate structures at Fort Union as "short-sighted and extravagant economy." [102] The "temporary" buildings were repaired over the years, but they were not replaced for at least a decade.

The officers and troops at Fort Union lived in tents while they constructed the buildings, and they apparently spent most of their time erecting quarters in an attempt to have adequate housing before winter. By August 20, less than four weeks after the first troops arrived at the site of Fort Union, the walls for two company quarters and the hospital were completed, and the roof was being placed on one set of company quarters. The commanding officer's quarters were under construction, the log walls expected to be completed within three more days. Sibley then planned to build other officers' quarters until all officers of the staff and command were housed. Work on storehouses would wait until the quarters were finished. [103]

The major obstacle in the way of having quarters completed before winter was "the want of lumber." The boards from Rayado were being brought in, but the sawmill apparently had not been moved. A supply train from Fort Leavenworth, under command of Captain Isaac Bowen, was also bringing a horse-powered sawmill. According to Sibley, on August 20, "Bowen's train is in sight, & *if he has the machine with him, we will have mules in readiness to saw lumber* in a very short time." The nearby Turkey Mountains had sufficient timber "to cut enough for our purposes before winter sets in." [104]

A few days later Katie Bowen informed her mother that "we are putting up quarters as fast as possible." The company quarters, commanding officer's quarters, and the hospital were "well advanced" and work had begun on Sibley's quarters. "Next comes ours," she wrote, "as all are built according to rank, and Col Sumner ordered that all the married officers houses should be built first." [105]

By September 2 Sibley stated that "we are progressing rapidly in the erection of buildings," and reported the log walls were up for two company quarters, one for infantry and one for

dragoons, for the hospital, and four officers' quarters. He expected the new sawmill to be ready the following day, and it would be used to saw lumber for roofs and floors. He concluded that, if no accidents occurred, "the quarters will be in readiness to receive the troops by the 1st day of November." [106] As it turned out, however, the sawmills broke down so often that an adequate supply of lumber could not be sawed at the post. [107]

Despite the problems of equipment failures and unskilled soldier-builders, the quarters, hospital, offices, storehouses, and related buildings at Fort Union were going up on an area of approximately 80 acres. According to Post Surgeon Letterman, writing in 1856, "the buildings being, of necessity, widely separated, cause the post to present more the appearance of a village, whose houses have been built with little regard to order, than a military post." Letterman pointed out that the terrain on which the post was built presented a drainage problem, "the water during a heavy rain not unfrequently running into and through some of the buildings." [108]

Fort Union, like many western posts, had no protective perimeter wall nor any fortification (until the second post was built during the Civil War). It was a base for supplies and men, but not a defensive work. There was apparently no concern that Indians would attack or besiege the post. "We never think of Indians," wrote Katie Bowen, "and I have not heard that any were near." [109] A defensive earthwork was constructed early in the Civil War when Confederate troops invaded New Mexico. Except for that field work, Fort Union served no defensive purpose except as a base for troops and supplies.

Because of trouble with the sawmills, which Sibley complained "are incessantly requiring repairs," the workers had to construct roofs on most of the buildings "with earth, the custom of the country." This was "only considered temporary," and later, when lumber was available, board roofs would be placed over the top of the earthen ones. By October 3 the walls were erected for all the buildings planned to be completed in 1851, and the roofs were being constructed. [110] On November 3 Captain Shoemaker, in charge of the ordnance depot, noted in his monthly report to the chief of ordnance in Washington, D.C., that "the work of building Quarters & Storerooms is all that has been done since our arrival here, except the usual receipts & issues." He predicted that the quarters at the post, although "very temporary ones" which were only "partially completed," would be ready for occupancy within 10 or 12 more days. [111]

On December 3 Sibley announced that all the officers and men were in the new buildings, "although the quarters are not fully completed." Because the structure designed to serve as the post hospital did "not exactly answer the purposes for which it was intended," a new hospital was under construction and the old one was to be converted into a storehouse. This would make it possible to move the public stores from under canvas into a secure facility. [112] Work on these and additional buildings continued into the spring of 1852.

By April 1, 1852, only a few shops and a storehouse of the original plan remained to be erected, and soldiers were working on those as well as finishing the other buildings. "I hope," wrote Sibley, "by the close of the ensuing summer to be able to announce to you that everything has been done that was originally contemplated." In order to reduce "to some extent the expenses of the Q'master Department in this Territory," enlisted men continued to provide all the labor on the buildings and they were sawing all the lumber and operating a lime kiln to produce plaster and mortar. [113] He failed to mention that they were mostly unskilled and the quality of their work was inadequate for the needs of garrison. The belief that these were only temporary structures probably influenced the level of workmanship as well as the grade of materials used. The caliber of the buildings also apparently suffered from Sibley's inability to design reliable structures for the New Mexico climate. The combination of circumstances resulted in inferior quarters and storehouses.

Although the quality of construction was much criticized in the future and major repairs were required almost as quickly as the buildings were occupied, an entire complement of log structures was reported by Captain Sibley as nearly completed by the end of June 1852. [114] In some of the buildings the logs were placed upright, and in others they were laid horizontally in the typical log-cabin style. Because they were, as Surgeon Letterman explained, "unseasoned, unhewn, and unbarked pine logs," placed on the ground without foundations, he found them a few years later "rapidly decaying." Of the house he occupied, Letterman said that "in many of the logs . . . an ordinary sized nail will not hold, to such an extent has the timber decayed, although several feet above the ground." [115] Given the abundance of stone near the site, it is difficult to understand why some was not used for foundations. The only plausible explanations seem to be that there was not time to do that before winter arrived and these were considered to be temporary buildings at the time of construction.

There were in June 1852, when Sibley made his annual report for the department, nine sets of officers' quarters at Fort Union, all identical except a larger building for the commanding officer, each apparently having four rooms. The yard around each of the officers' quarters was enclosed, giving some privacy and a place for an outhouse, chicken coop, pig pen, stable for cows and horses, and family garden plot if desired. In the haste to complete these quarters before winter began in 1851, as noted, they all had flat, earthen roofs placed on a framework of logs. As lumber was sawed at the post, gabled board roofs were placed over the earthen roofs to provide better protection from precipitation. [116]

Katie Bowen described her quarters as having two rooms in front and a kitchen and servant's quarters in the rear. "Our rooms," she wrote to her parents, "are very tidy and comfortable having large stone fireplaces that give us genial warmth and cheerfulness." [117] She later noted that the roofs leaked: "No one in garrison, except Maj. Sibley, has anything but a mud roof and a heavy shower would give our carpets and fixins a beautiful color." She saw little hope for improvement soon, declaring that "the old worn out mills break down two or three times a day and there is no telling when the rest of us will get boards for our houses." [118] The Bowen quarters received a board roof a few weeks later, and Katie found a thorough housecleaning was a necessary result. "I was in hopes that the house was clean for the summer, but in putting up the board roofs, so much dirt scattered through the logs that I will be obliged to take up carpets." She had mixed emotions about the new roof. "Now we are secure against wet, though I feel rather timid respecting fire." [119] She later found that the quarters were little protection from rodents. "The mice bother us to death," she grumbled in the summer of 1852, and "last night they ate both laces out of my boots and cut my curtains all to pieces." [120]

There were two company barracks completed by June 1852, each 140 feet long and 18 feet wide, with two wings 50 feet long by 16 feet wide. These had board roofs, and included kitchens and mess rooms as well as squad rooms and quarters for sergeants. A third set of barracks was added later in 1852 or in 1853. None of these barracks, it turned out, was well constructed.

Plan of Fort Union, 1853. Source: Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument* (Washington: National Park Service, 1962), 12. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

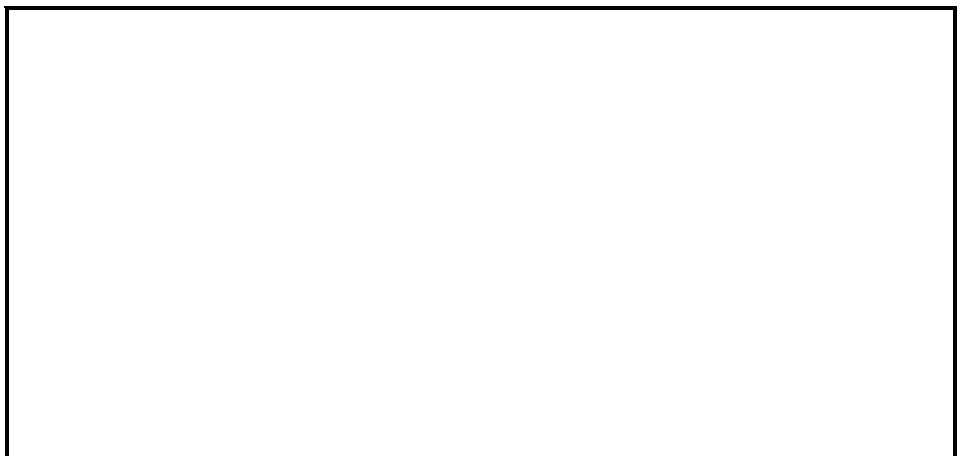
Although Inspector General Mansfield reported in August 1853 that "the quarters occupied by

the respective companies were in a good state of police and the comfort of the troops studied in all the details," [121] Surgeon Letterman described them in 1856 as not fit for habitation. "One set of the so-called barracks," he reported, "have lately been torn down to prevent any untoward accidents that were liable at any moment to happen from the falling of the building; and yet this building was erected in 1852." Not only were they dangerous, according to Surgeon Letterman, they were uncomfortable. "The unbarked logs afford excellent hiding places for that annoying and disgusting insect the *cimex lectularius* [bed bug], so common in this country, which it is by no means backward in taking advantage of, to the evident discomfort of those who occupy the buildings—the men almost universally sleeping in the open air when the weather will permit." [122]

Earlier in 1856 Captain J. C. McFerran, post quartermaster, had inspected the buildings and found that the walls of one of the company quarters, probably the one torn down, had to be "propped up, outside & in, to prevent them falling and all of the quarters & public buildings, at the post, are very much decayed, out of repair, unsafe & filled with insects & vermin." He concluded "that it is absolutely necessary that immediate steps should be taken to rebuild the entire post, before the rainy season begins." [123] McFerran's recommendations were not followed, partly because of lack of funds and partly because of periodic consideration of proposals to close the post in favor of another position, and the original buildings were used until the Civil War.

The state of those structures was described by Lieutenant Herbert M. Enos, post quartermaster, in 1861. "They are with scarcely a single exception," he reported, "rotting down; the majority of them almost unfit for occupation and in fact, all of them in such a dilapidated state as to require continual and extensive repairs to keep them in an habitable condition. The Hospital, Commissary and Quarter Master's Buildings are entirely unfit for the purposes for which they are required." He stated that "several companies of troops now here are occupying tents because of the lack of quarters." Enos reported that almost no repairs had been made at Fort Union during the previous year. [124] The reason, which he did not state, was that plans were well underway to close the post and establish Fort Butler. Those plans were changed with the coming of the Civil War, and Fort Union was given a new importance and the second post was built.

The post hospital, second building erected for that purpose in late 1851 or early 1852, was 48 feet by 18 feet with a wing 46 feet by 16 feet. It had an earthen roof covered with a board roof. Mansfield reported that the hospital was "comfortable" in 1853. [125] Like the rest of the buildings at the post, however, it was poorly constructed and often in need of repairs. Almost every surgeon commented on problems of the roof leaking. Dr. Letterman declared in 1856 that the hospital "has not a room which remained dry during the rain in the latter part of September last, and I was obliged to use tents and canvass to protect the property from damage." [126]





One of the officers' quarters at the first Fort Union, photo probably taken after the Civil War. The bluffs in the background indicate that this may have been the commanding officer's home prior to the Civil War. *Courtesy* Museum of New Mexico, negative no. 38174.

Only one storehouse (originally used as the hospital) was completed by June 1852, 100 feet long and 22 feet wide with a wing 45 feet by 22 feet, supporting a board roof. It apparently was shared by the quartermaster and commissary departments, although some of their stores may still have been outside under canvas. By the summer of 1853 a separate storehouse for the commissary department, approximately 100 feet x 22 feet and no wing, was located east of the first storehouse. The ordnance depot, built around four sides of a 100-foot square, was also completed by 1853, although the earthen roofs were not replaced with lumber until 1855. Because of the danger of fire in the log depot, Captain Shoemaker expressed a desire to build a *"fire proof adobe arsenal."* Meanwhile, he ordered lightning rods to help protect the powder magazine and everything else kept in the ordnance depot. He kept requesting funds and authorization to build a new depot, but nothing beyond repairs was done until 1859 when an adobe magazine was finally built. [127]

Other buildings reported by Captain Sibley as completed or nearly finished by the end of June 1852 included the commanding officer's office and court-martial room (48 x 18), office building for quartermaster and commissary departments (38 x 18), smokehouse (100 x 22), guardhouse and prison (42 x 18), blacksmith and wheelwright shop (50 x 18), bake house (31 x 17), ice house (20 x 30), [128] and laundresses' quarters (114 x 14 with six rooms). In addition yards at five sets of officers' quarters were enclosed and two corrals had been completed, one for the quartermaster department and the other for the dragoons. Not only had the soldiers done all the work in constructing these buildings, they had also sawed most of the lumber. Sibley declared that all but approximately 15,000 feet of the lumber used at the post had been sawed there. [129] It was a remarkable achievement for a garrison required to perform many other duties. [130]



This is believed to be a photograph of one of the buildings at the first Fort Union, possibly an enlisted men's barracks. it was probably taken during the period that the site served as the district arsenal or later when troops were temporarily housed there. From Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University.

Not all the soldiers were engaged in construction in 1851, for some had been sent to patrol along the Santa Fe Trail, and Sibley reported others were transporting to Fort Union the public property from the old posts at Rayado, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe. A few soldiers had been sent to cut hay on Ocate Creek, approximately 23 miles to the north where the post farm was located, and haul it in wagons to Fort Union. It is not clear why grass closer to the new post could not be cut for hay, unless it was being preserved for grazing, and Sibley feared there would not be sufficient grass at Ocate to supply the needs of the livestock during the coming winter. [131]

In addition to the horses, mules, and beef cattle at the post, Major Rucker brought hogs and sheep from Fort Leavenworth. Most of the sheep died of disease along the way (only three survived the trip), but the hogs came through in good shape despite the loss of "only eight or ten." In addition to the forage brought from Ocate and purchased locally ("twenty to fifty miles" away), there was need to buy corn in the local market to help feed the livestock. Most of the officers kept some livestock, including milk cows, hogs, and chickens, and they could purchase corn and forage from the army for their private stock. Sibley requested Sumner's directions regarding the procurement of corn and forage. [132] Because of the economy measures in force and Sumner's strict orders that he approve all expenditures, Sibley would not contract for any item without the department commander's instructions. The purchase of supplies in the area was one way the army and Fort Union affected the economy of New Mexico, providing a cash market for commodities that otherwise could not have been sold. The departmental depots were in a position to spend more money locally than was any single military post. As depot quartermaster, Sibley had numerous responsibilities, not the least of which was providing adequate protection for commodities.



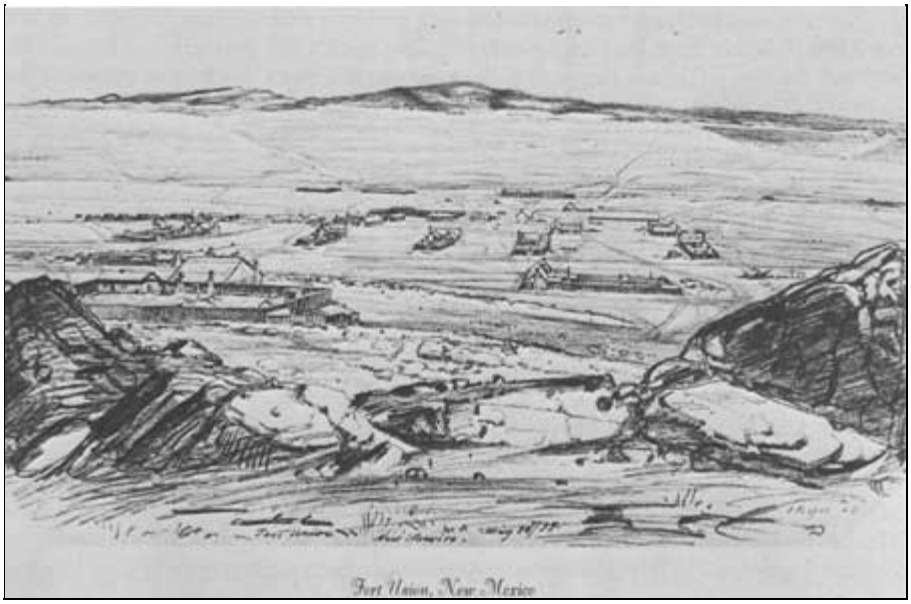
Sketch of the first Fort Union by Captain Joseph Horace Eaton, Third Infantry, 1856, for publication in W. H. Davis, *El Gringo: New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper, 1857), 50. View is looking southeast from the bluffs. The cluster in left foreground apparently depicts a company of infantry formation.

Lieutenant Colonel Swords's concern about the protection of stores moved to Fort Union before storehouses were built was noted above. Sibley made every effort to secure all commodities stored outside under canvas and to move everything possible into buildings as soon as storage rooms were available. He understood that Swords was unhappy with the way quartermaster supplies were handled at the new post. [133]

Swords was much more complimentary and, as events were to prove, far too optimistic regarding the other steps Sumner had taken to save money and deal with the Indians. He believed the removal of the troops from the towns would result in effective control of the Indians in New Mexico, something that would not be accomplished until many years later.

Swords believed that the new locations for troops would open additional areas to settlement, thereby increasing the prosperity of the territory and making provisions less expensive for the army. He predicted that the army's new plan to have the soldiers become farmers and grow some of their own needs would be successful where the new forts were situated. [134] The Fort Union farm was one of those experiments, and it was far from successful.

Secretary of War Conrad had issued orders designed to turn soldiers into farmers before Sumner was appointed commander of the Ninth Military Department. In order to save money, the primary objective, and promote the health of troops, all garrisons were required to plant post gardens to supply vegetables for the rations. Frontier posts were also required to establish post farms, cultivated by troops, to raise grains and forage. The expenses of the farm were to be paid by the sale of the produce to the quartermaster and commissary departments. To get the farms started, the order authorized "all necessary expenditures." To provide incentive, any profit was to be distributed among the enlisted men at the post. [135] Major Munroe may have misunderstood the order or did not believe it applied to New Mexico. He did nothing to implement farming in the department before he was replaced by Colonel Sumner in July. By then it was too late in the season to plant crops in New Mexico.



Sketch of the first Fort Union by Joseph Heger, 1859, looking east from the bluffs over the fort and Wolf Creek valley, with the Turkey Mountains in the background. *Courtesy* of Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.

A large farming operation had been quite successful at Fort Leavenworth in the Missouri Valley, [136] but it was not feasible in arid New Mexico by people who knew little or nothing about agriculture in that land. Post gardens were sometimes successful where irrigated, but post farms were not cost-effective even with irrigation. If New Mexicans had been placed in charge of these experiments, the results might have been better. Colonel Sumner, however, directed that, except for irrigation practices, New Mexican farming methods were to be ignored. [137] Sumner was totally committed to the experiment and declared that no post commander would remain in that position who did not "manifest zeal and ability" in carrying out the orders. [138]

Sumner expected Fort Union to provide leadership in the farming operation. The post farm was located on Ocate Creek, approximately 23 miles north of the fort, on land leased from Manuel Alvarez. [139] According to Colonel Mansfield, it was 20 miles from Fort Union to Ocate Creek, "and three miles further still in a 'Cañon' of the mountain is the farm attached to this post." [140] Sergeant Thomas Pollack was placed in charge of the farm. It was too late in the season to plant crops in 1851, but hay was cut from the native grass at the farm. The following year Colonel Sumner appointed his brother, M. Robbins Sumner, to oversee the farm on the Ocate for a salary of $65.00 per month and one daily ration. A party of ten soldiers were assigned from the post to work on the farm, presumably receiving extra-duty pay (15 cents per day), and these men were seemingly rotated occasionally. [141]

This map, not to scale, accompanied Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's inspection report on Fort Union, August 1853, to show the location of Fort Union to the farm on Ocate Creek. This copy *courtesy* New Mexico Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

H. H. Green, who looked after the Ocate property for Alvarez, later recalled that everything possible was done to make the farm successful. He stated that "large quantities of assorted seed, grains, and vegetables, farming tools, plows, mowers, and thresher, stallions and brood

mares, hogs and thorough-bred cows and bulls" were sent from Fort Leavenworth to the farm. [142] A total of $12,699.13 was spent on the farm in 1851. The value of the hay harvested was $465.98, leaving the farm with a debt of $12,233.15 for the first year. The debt was owed to the subsistence department which was responsible for farm expenses until or if the agricultural experiment became profitable (the Fort Union shortfall in 1851 constituted more than 80% of the total loss to the subsistence department, $15,080.585, for the operation of 14 farms begun under the new program that year). Expenditures for the Fort Union farm in 1851 had been for farm implements, seed, livestock, labor, and the cost of freighting supplies and herding livestock from Fort Leavenworth. Livestock included twenty-four oxen, fifty cows, fifty heifers, five bulls, twelve ewes and rams, and eighty hogs. Approximately one-fourth of the expenses were for labor. A total of $2,380.32 was paid for teamsters and herders on the trail from Fort Leavenworth to the Ocate farm, and $812.87 was spent for farm laborers and herders at the farm. Colonel Sumner had purchased equipment and supplies from the firm of Emory & Co. of Albany, New York, on April 11, 1851, amounting to $3,551.95. That bill was not itemized, nor was the cost of transporting those items to New Mexico specified. Apparently the other military farms established in New Mexico in 1851 (including the post at Albuquerque and Forts Fillmore, Conrad, and Defiance) obtained equipment and seed from Fort Union (thus some of the items charged to Fort Union were actually utilized at other farms). [143]

Following a establishment of department headquarters at Albuquerque early in 1852, Colonel Sumner requested that some of the hogs be sent from Fort Union to Albuquerque. He probably wanted them for the post farm he had planned there. Major Alexander, commanding at Fort Union, directed the chief commissary officer, Isaac Bowen, to select "upwards of 30 of the best hogs" and have them driven to Albuquerque. Lieutenant Joseph Edward Maxwell and his company of Third Artillery, being transferred from Fort Union to Albuquerque, were given charge of the hog brigade. Corn was carried in the company baggage wagon for the hogs. Maxwell left the porkers at Anton Chico, for what reason is not clear (perhaps they were too difficult to drive). Bowen later asked Sumner what he should do with the hogs because the expense of keeping them at Anton Chico was costly, corn to feed them being sold at $5.00 per fanega. [144] The fate of the hogs remains unknown.

In the spring of 1852 Major Alexander informed Sumner: "Your brother is here & tells me he is getting along quite well. I shall visit the farm now . . . & will give you a full account of all that is doing there. I have told your brother that great exertions are expected of him." [145]

"Great exertions" were apparently made at the Fort Union farm. Besides the livestock, several crops were planted, including corn, barley, oats, wheat, and beans. Cornstalks and straw could be used as fodder for the animals. The soldiers assigned to the farm, by Sumner's orders, were to receive extra-duty pay during the spring and summer months. Because none of the men sent to the farm could handle the stallion, Captain Carleton was directed to find a soldier at the post who could do that job and exchange him for one of the other men at the farm. [146] Carleton sent Private Morris of his own company of dragoons "to take charge of the stallion. If he cannot do it there is no man here who can." [147]

The Ocate farm was used to maintain the public horses of the department which were not in use, horses that were recuperating from weak conditions or extra horses for the quartermaster department and dragoon regiments. In addition there was a breeding program, the size of which cannot be determined from available records, to raise "American" horses in New Mexico. Many New Mexican horses were considered too small for military service, and horses were brought from the states, particularly Missouri, for the army. It was not feasible, however, for the army to attempt to breed and raise its own stock as was tried at the post farm.

In November 1852 Captain Carleton informed Colonel Sumner that a recent severe snow storm had probably taken a heavy toll on the dragoon horses, *"my best horses,"* sent on escort duty to Fort Atkinson with Paymaster Cunningham. Carleton requested that Sumner consider replacing the unsound horses with some of the good horses at the farm. Within two weeks Carleton informed Sumner that "the weather has been severe and the snow deep" and he doubted "if half of the horses which went to Fort Atkinson in October ever return." He asked for enough horses from the farm "to mount my whole." [148]

It is not clear if Carleton got the horses he wanted, but in mid-December he directed the farm superintendent, Robbins Sumner, to "have the public horses driven up and well fed . . . *and send everyone you have at the farm except the stallion* to this post by the Mexican herders tomorrow." The superintendent was to accompany the horses to Fort Union "to count them over to the Quarter Master here." Carleton firmly informed Robbins Sumner to be prompt, "let there be no mistake or delay about this on any account whatever." Some of the horses were to be sent to the quartermaster department at Albuquerque, and some were to be distributed to the dragoon companies. Fort Union Quartermaster Sibley was awaiting a clarification of orders regarding that distribution. Carleton reminded department headquarters that his company was greatly in need of some of the horses. [149] How long public horses were kept at the farm cannot be determined.

In addition to the horses and mules grazed at the farm, other livestock were part of the operation. In December 1852 there were forty-seven oxen, five milk cows, the breeding stallion, and approximately forty hogs. Carleton recommended that the hogs be sold or even given away "to improve the breed of hogs in this country." In his opinion the hogs were too expensive to keep in a land where grain prices were so high, and they were not yet ready for slaughter. He also recommended that the number of oxen be reduced at the farm. The keeping of more livestock than was needed at the farm was adding to the expenses of the operation. [150]

The main purpose of the farm was grain and forage production. Colonel Sumner and his brother, Robbins, learned that hard work and high hopes did not make a farm productive in New Mexico. In 1852 approximately 1,000 bushels of corn was grown at Ocate, of which about 600 bushels had been used by December. Part of that corn may have gone into the hogs which Carleton wished to sell or give away. Forage production in 1852 included an estimated 40 tons of cornstalk fodder and 40 tons of hay. E. V. Sumner expressed his disappointment in the results in the autumn harvest of 1852. Crop production was insufficient to feed the public animals at the post and depot during the coming winter, and the farm had lost money. He was still confident that "the scheme is unquestionably practicable and advantageous to the troops as well as the government." It just needed more time to become profitable. [151] He had apparently caught the "next-year" optimism that kept farmers going throughout the West, the belief that conditions and production would be better next year.

E. V. Sumner was gone from the department, replaced by Brigadier General John Garland, before the 1853 crops were harvested. The results, again, were disappointing. Robbins Sumner requested two additional soldiers to work on the farm in the spring of 1853, but Carleton sent word they were not necessary: "When the Farm was first Established ten men were deemed all that were necessary to cultivate and now that the land is broken the buildings completed and most of the manual labor of a trifling character the Major does not think that an additional force of two men will add to the Efficiency of the cultivation in your charge." [152] Colonel Sumner, before he was replaced, authorized his brother to hire two New Mexicans as laborers at the farm for $9.00 per month and one ration per day. [153]

In the summer of 1853 Inspector General Mansfield reported that 50 acres of corn had been planted and "looked well." Approximately 75 tons of hay had been "cut off the natural

meadow." Although he found the post farms in the department to be almost $14,000 in debt, Mansfield recommended that the Ocate farm be kept but that the civilian superintendent, Robbins Sumner, be dismissed. The farm was "well irrigated" and could be operated by a detachment of extra-duty soldiers under direction of the quartermaster. Mansfield had no illusions about the cultivated crops paying their own way but saw the farm "more as a convenient locality" to maintain public horses, keep the beef herd, and harvest hay. He was basically opposed to soldier farming because it interfered with military duties and discipline. [154]

The farmers at the Ocate had to deal with the weather, weeds, and insects, and they were not immune from Indian raids. In September 1853 a party of Ute Indians stole 22 of the best mules at the farm, leaving 34 mules that were of no value. Troops from Fort Union were sent to recover the lost mules but failed to find them. [155]

Robbins Sumner apparently proved to be a poor manager of the farm, and the corn harvest was delayed in the fall of 1853. Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, new commanding officer at Fort Union, sent two additional soldiers to the farm to assist with the harvest and informed Sumner that his services would be terminated at the end of the month. When Sumner claimed he had been promised employment longer than that by Captain Macrae, Cooke checked with Macrae who declared, "I have no recollection of making any verbal or written agreement with M. R. Sumner at any time." Cooke so informed Robbins Sumner and ordered him to have the corn harvested and his accounts settled with the commissary department by the end of November. With his brother no longer in command of the department, Robbins Sumner found himself unemployed. Although all the corn was not harvested by November 29, Sumner requested permission to be relieved so he could take passage on the stage to the states. Cooke told him to go and sent a sergeant to oversee the completion of harvest. [156]

The corn produced at the farm inn 1853 was of poor quality, testing only 43.5 pounds per bushel (the standard test weight of corn is 56 pounds per bushel). Cooke was not pleased when he discovered that the production of corn on the post farm had cost more than four times as much as corn purchased in the territory (a cost in labor alone of $12.85 per *fanega*, compared to the market price of $3.00 in the open market). [157] The Fort Union farm showed a loss of almost $14,000. Garland, new department commander, declared that the farming experiment in New Mexico "has failed entirely." He recommended that "all further farming operations in this department be discontinued and that the implements and other property purchased for these operations be sold and applied to the debts already incurred. There will even then remain a balance of several thousand dollars to be provided for, in some way or other." [158] Adjutant General Samuel Cooper agreed, as did the new Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, and the farming experiment was ended. [159] General in Chief Winfield Scott had never supported the farming experiment because it kept troops from performing their other (more important) duties, interfered with army discipline, and competed with civilians who might settle near posts and produce the needed commodities. [160] Green recalled that the attempt to turn soldiers into farmers at Ocate Creek "was a failure, and all its livestock and machinery were sold at public auction at a ruinous discount." [161] As Mansfield had recommended, the lease on the Ocate farm was continued to graze livestock and cut hay for a few years. In 1856, however, the army discontinued the lease and Alvarez rented the land to Captain Shoemaker, military storekeeper at the department ordnance depot at Fort Union. [162]

The post garden was more successful at Fort Union and was continued. No garden was planted in 1851 because of the lateness of the season when the post was founded. By the following spring an irrigation system had been devised to raise water from one of the natural ponds to use for the post garden, located near Wolf Creek. A pump had been tried but

delivered an insufficient amount of water. A device was constructed by which water was lifted from the pond with a series of buckets on an endless chain revolving upon a drum, powered by six mules and capable of raising up to ten barrels a minute. It provided, wrote Carleton, "an abundance of water for a large garden." He noted that "the pond falls some four inches a day when the wheel is in operation; but it soon fills up again." [163] Katie Bowen observed that the "pumps work well and we will have a fine garden at least. The farming operations are rather cumbersome, but time will tell." [164]

Before the end of April the ground had been plowed, a seedbed prepared, and some vegetables planted. It was still too cold, however, for the seeds to germinate. By mid-May it was still freezing hard at nights and the garden was "very backward." A week later a couple of rains came and the prospects for the garden improved. [165] Katie Bowen reported at the end of May that "the public garden is doing very well. Located by the side of a pond with a six horse power pump to irrigate. Peas are ready to pick and cabbages are looking very well." She noted that she was going to plant an herb garden in her yard. [166] By mid-summer Mrs. Bowen declared that "we have plenty of vegetables from the public garden." [167]

When Governor William Carr Lane was at Fort Union, August 26 to September 6, 1852, recuperating from illness on his way to assume his office at Santa Fe, he found the garden had "produced an abundant supply of well-grown and delicious vegetables." Lane recorded what he found growing in the post garden, the only such list available, including asparagus, beets, cabbage, carrots, corn, cucumbers, okra, onions, parsnips, peas, peppers, pumpkins, radishes, turnips, and a variety of unidentified berries. A few crops had failed, including tomatoes, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, and melons. Lane also visited Captain Shoemaker's garden located a little over one mile north of the post at a large spring which was used for irrigation. There Lane saw the "indigenous potato" which did well but produced small tubers "the size of musket balls." [168] When Colonel Garland directed that the farm at Ocate be closed, he also urged that the post garden be continued. [169] In most years there was a post garden but in 1856, according to Surgeon Letterman, "no gardens could be cultivated . . . in consequence of the want of water for irrigation . . . and on account of the great abundance of grasshoppers." [170]

The post garden at Fort Union and other posts in the department provided a variety of vegetables that had previously been unavailable or of limited supply. The garden provided fresh vegetables during the summer months, and some crops could be stored for use during the winter. Vegetables were important as part of the diet, providing some variety to a generally monotonous ration. More important, they supplied vitamin C which was essential to combat scurvy, a disease that was often a problem for the frontier army. The significance of garden crops in New Mexico was shown by a considerable reduction in scurvy among the soldiers in the department. There were 113 cases of scurvy reported during 1851, but only 19 in 1853. [171]

During the years that the farm was founded and failed and post gardens provided needed vegetables, many other activities involved the first Fort Union. With the coming of spring in 1852, troops at Fort Union and throughout the department turned their attention to the Indians. The depot quartermaster at Fort Union was responsible for outfitting and providing transportation for field operations. Captain Carleton replaced Major Alexander as post commander at Fort Union on April 22, 1852. During April 1852 two companies of First Dragoons and one company of Third Infantry, under command of Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake, First Dragoons, were sent to establish Fort Massachusetts in the land of the Ute Indians." [172] The new post was located on Ute Creek, a tributary of the Rio Grande, near the San Luis Valley on June 22, 1852. Later that year the horses belonging to the company of First Dragoons at Fort Massachusetts were sent, except for ten head kept there, to Fort Union for the winter months because of a shortage of feed at the new post. [173] Fort

Massachusetts was occupied until June 24, 1858, when the garrison was moved to a nearby site and Fort Garland was established. [174]

In March 1852, following reports of Indian raids near San Antonio, New Mexico, Governor Calhoun requested 100 muskets and ammunition from Sumner to issue to a militia unit at San Antonio. Sumner directed Captain Horace Brooks, Second Artillery, commanding Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, to turn over the requested weapons, 5,000 cap and ball cartridges, and 300 flints to the governor to be used by citizens at San Antonio led by Estanislas Montoya. Calhoun asked Brooks to deliver the items to San Antonio. Brooks was unable to fulfill the order because he did not have the muskets at Santa Fe, and he informed Calhoun that he did not have available transportation to deliver the weapons if he had them. Calhoun, so ill that he was unable to fulfill his duties, appealed to Sumner, who ordered Brooks to obtain the necessary arms and ammunition from Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot at Fort Union. [175]

The health of Governor Calhoun soon became more important than the securing of arms. Calhoun suffered from scurvy and, perhaps, other complications. [176] He informed Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea at the end of March 1852 that he was "just recovering from a severe attack of the scurvy which came near laying me in my grave." A week later Calhoun sent notice to Lea that "I have been lying at the point of death and forbidden by my physicians to attend to my public duties and even now have to be propped up in my bed in order to sign my name," and announced that he had appointed Indian Agent John Greiner to serve as superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory during his illness. New Mexico, Calhoun declared, was in need of more government protection because "the lives of the citizens . . . are in eminent danger" from Indians and possible revolution by New Mexicans. [177]

Greiner was an alarmist who had little affection for the people of New Mexico and whose own fears, perhaps communicated to Calhoun, increased the governor's anxiety about the security of the territory. Greiner's nervous perceptions of the situation were expressed in a letter to a friend in the East, October 1, 1851:

> Here I am in the Palace of Santa Fe sitting along side of Governor Calhoun, writing letters to my old friends in the "States," far, far away. If I succeed in getting safely back again among my friends under Providence I shall consider myself a highly favored man. Between the savage Indians, the treacherous Mexicans and the outlawed Americans a man has to run the gauntlet in this country. Three governors within twelve years have lost their heads and there are men here at present who talk so flippantly of taking Governor Calhoun's head as though it were of no consequence at all. Everybody and everything in this. . . country appears at cross purposes. In the first place the civil and military authorities are at war. . . . The American residents are at war with the Governor, while the Mexican population side with him. Even the missionaries are at logger-heads. . . . The American troops are at war with the Indians. . . . I have been residing at Taos lately, among the Eutahs and Apaches, who get drunk whenever they get a chance and boast of how many whites they have killed, and talk very glibly of the scalps they intend to take. There is a great and deep gulf between the American and Mexican yet. . . . There is hardly an American here that stirs abroad without being armed to the teeth, and under his pillow pistols and bowie knives may always be found. [178]

In another letter, written from Santa Fe on March 31, 1852, Greiner expressed his opinion of the army in New Mexico:

> Our troops are of no earthly account. They cannot catch a single Indian. A dragoon mounted will weigh 255 pounds. Their horses are all as poor as carrion. The Indians have nothing but their bows and arrows and their ponies are as fleet as deer. Heavy dragoons on poor horses, who know nothing of the country, sent after Indians who are at home anywhere, and who always have some hours of start, how long will it take to catch them? So far, although several expeditions have started after them, not a single Indian has been caught! [179]

At the same time, Greiner noted that the civil government of the territory was disintegrating into ineptitude, increasing the insecurity of everyone.

> The Governor goes into the States in a few weeks, if able to travel. The Secretary goes to see his family by the mail tomorrow. . . . The Attorney-general resigns to-day. The Prefect has just come here stating that he would have to let the prisoners out of jail because there is nothing to feed them on. The Chief Justice of the Territory, [Grafton] Baker, has been absent all winter at Washington. . . . He is by far the best of the Judges on the bench. Although the Associates are steady, sober, moral men, but nothing else, no one has any confidence in their decisions. . . . If traveling on the road, you meet an American, you put your hand on your pistol for fear of accidents. [180]

Governor Calhoun, like Greiner, was fearful for the safety of the citizens of New Mexico. "Our Territory is in a more critical condition than it has ever been before, a combination of wild Indians who surround us is threatened and . . . after the first of May or June the road to the States will become so infested with Indians that it will be unsafe to travel except with large and well provided escorts." [181] His predictions did not come true, in part, because of the troops at Fort Union who helped protect the Santa Fe Trail. [182] Colonel Sumner reported in September that "all things continue quiet in this department. . . . The new posts in the Indian country have had the happiest effect; indeed, it is plain that this is the only certain way of controlling Indians." [183]

On April 7, 1852, Calhoun informed Colonel Sumner of his "weak, feeble, and almost hopeless condition—and I feel that I am speaking almost as a dying man." He had been bedfast for four weeks. Even so, he was more concerned about military protection of the settlements than his own well-being. "I feel," he wrote, "desirous of doing all in my power to promote the public weal." Sumner tended to discount many of the rumors of Indian uprisings and revolutionary plots and assured the governor that the army was prepared for any emergency, declaring "that whoever expects to find me unprepared, will find himself mistaken." [184]

Governor Calhoun expressed fear of "the dreadful horrors of a civil war," [185] and on April 18 appealed to Colonel Sumner "to assist the civil authorities in maintaining peace & good order" in Santa Fe. [186] Sumner had just come from Albuquerque to Santa Fe, after hearing from Calhoun that the civil authority appeared to be threatened. [187] "On my arrival in this town," Sumner later wrote, "I was surprised to find it in a state of anarchy. All prisoners had been released for want of means to subsist them, and all law seemed to be set at naught. At the same time, there was a constant dread of revolution." [188] Katie Bowen offered her sarcastic interpretation of the threat of revolution: "There is some talk of revolution among the Mexicans in Santa Fe but I recken that it is all humbug, for we are quiet enough here." She held no affection for the department commander, declaring that "Col Sumner must keep his troops moving continually if for no other purpose than to render them uncomfortable, so if you hear of troops changing post, rest assured that my version of the story is correct." [189]

Nevertheless, Sumner promised Calhoun that he would give military aid if asked and

responded favorably to the governor's April 18 request, established a military police in the capital, placed a guard at the Palace of the Governors, and increased the garrison at Fort Marcy. On April 21 Calhoun and Sumner issued a joint proclamation "to the public," declaring that, if the governor should "leave for the States before the arrival of the Hon. Secretary of the Territory [William S. Allen], the Military authority of this Department will so far take charge of the Executive Office as to make the preservation of law and order, absolutely certain." [190]

With this assurance that civil order would be preserved and reportedly on the road to recovery from his illness, Governor Calhoun, encouraged by his physicians to return to the States, determined to travel to his home in Georgia. Calhoun's "rapid state of recovery" proved to be temporary, however, and John Greiner reported at the end of April that the governor "is yet lying seriously ill." [191] Sumner recommended that the governor travel to Fort Union and rest a few days in Sumner's home there before departing for the long trip over the Santa Fe Trail. [192] A dragoon escort, led by Second Lieutenant Robert Johnston, was directed to accompany the governor as far as Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River (Johnston was authorized to send a detachment of the escort as far as Pawnee Fork if Governor Calhoun so desired). [193] Governor Calhoun requested military supplies and equipment for his trip over the Santa Fe Trail, but Sumner stated no commissary stores could be spared. He did authorize Carleton at Fort Union to supply two wall tents, two water tanks, and harness for eight mules, all to be turned in at Fort Leavenworth at the end of the trip. [194]

Meanwhile there was fear among the Anglo-Americans at Mora that some of the Mexicans were planning an uprising. William Bransford, resident at Mora in charge of Ceran St. Vrain's mill, and Alexander Barclay, also residing at Mora at the time, had notified Captain Carleton at Fort Union of the possible threat and requested arms for protection. The extent of the rumored uprising could not be determined, but Carleton secretly sent arms to Bransford for the Americans who gathered each night for safety at Bransford's house. [195] There were also rumors in Las Vegas of a possible uprising against Anglos, and Sumner directed Carleton to take 15 or 20 men and go there to see what he could find out. If there appeared to be just reason for the apprehension, Carleton was to leave 15 men there under his best sergeant for a short time. [196] A few days later Carleton reported that he would go to Las Vegas to learn of the disturbances but assured Sumner it was "not necessary" to leave any soldiers at the town. [197]

At Las Vegas Carleton was told that it was the absence of the territorial secretary and the planned departure of Governor Calhoun, the two principal civil authorities, that alarmed the Hispanic population, who feared the results of administration of territorial affairs by Sumner. Sumner was, by most accounts (newspaper and private correspondence), extremely unpopular with the New Mexicans. Kate Bowen had written a few months earlier that Sumner "is very unpopular in his command and throughout the country. . . . If I could get hold of a few numbers of Santa fe papers you might read in full the contempt the inhabitants have for him." Carleton still belittled the potential for trouble. The news that William Carr Lane was appointed to be the new governor and would arrive late in the summer months quieted whatever fear actually existed. By the time Lane arrived in New Mexico, Sumner reported that any signs of "insurrectionary spirit had entirely subsided." [198]

When Sumner learned in May that Carleton had loaned arms from Fort Union to the Americans at Mora, he immediately notified Carleton of his "regret that you issued those arms." Sumner believed the furnishing of weapons would tend to "keep up excitement." Also, he was concerned that, if people knew they could borrow arms from the army, there would "be no end to the applications." He directed that no more arms be furnished except to volunteer troops serving under the authority of the regular army. Sumner also expressed his opinion that the rumored uprising was not serious and, if any "Mexicans" openly rebelled

against U.S. authority, they could be quickly crushed by the army. [199]

Governor Calhoun, with Sumner's assurances of maintaining civil order, left Santa Fe on May 6, accompanied by his personal secretary David V. Whiting, William Love (his son-in-law who was postmaster at Santa Fe), Deputy United States Marshall R. M. Stephens, and Army Surgeon John Byrne, and the party arrived at Fort Union May 11. There Captain Carleton described Calhoun as "in a feeble state of health" and expressed doubt that he would be "able to proceed further." [200] Carleton stated a few days later that the governor's "health has been gradually declining ever since he has been here." Dr. Byrne said "the probabilities are that he will die before he will be able to reach the States." In anticipation that Calhoun would not survive the trip, a coffin was made at Fort Union to be carried on the trail. [201]

Calhoun was determined to begin the long journey and left Fort Union with an escort of 25 dragoons under Second Lieutenant Johnston, one mountain howitzer, and Post Surgeon Thomas A. McParlin on May 26. [202] Army Surgeon Byrne, who had been one of the physicians treating Governor Calhoun at Santa Fe and accompanied the governor to Fort Union, became the new post surgeon at Fort Union. [203] For the trip across the plains, the governor was confined to his bed in an ambulance. [204] On June 30, 1852, Calhoun died on the Santa Fe Trail between Council Grove and Missouri. His remains were buried at present Kansas City, Missouri. [205]

Colonel Sumner, who had hurried the troops out of Santa Fe to Fort Union the previous year and had moved the department headquarters first to Fort Union and then to Albuquerque, temporarily reestablished his headquarters in Santa Fe on May 5, 1852. There he oversaw both military and civil authority in New Mexico until Calhoun's replacement, William Carr Lane, arrived on September 9, 1852. Sumner then returned to Albuquerque. [206] Samuel Ellison described Governor Lane as "a man of superior intellect, & was highly esteemed by the people of the territory, both natives & Americans." [207] He was not, however, always esteemed by Sumner. The two men seldom agreed on public policy, and they clashed over several issues.

Although Sumner maintained that the removal of troops from Santa Fe to Fort Union also removed them from the detractions of saloons, gambling, and prostitutes, the enterprising purveyors of what Sumner had called demoralizing "evils" and "vice" simply followed the troops to their new station. In April 1852, just nine months after Fort Union was established, Captain Carleton, who replaced Captain Alexander as post commander on April 22, reported that the post was surrounded by whiskey establishments and "these places without a doubt are the receptacles of the property and many of the stores stolen from this depot and are the places where the thieves congregate to lay schemes for carrying on further depredations." [208]

Captain Bowen later compiled an extensive list of losses suffered by the commissary department at Fort Union in 1852 (shown in Table 2 on the following page) and stated his belief "that the greater proportion of the above articles were stolen by the enlisted men of the command stationed at Fort Union, and sold at the grog shops and bawdy houses in the neighborhood." Post Surgeon John Byrne compiled a list of property stolen from the medical department, including a large quantity of medications, surgical instruments, hospital stores (comprising, among other items, 28 bottles of brandy and 132 bottles of wine), bedding (58 blankets, 16 pillow cases, and 6 sheets), furniture, and other supplies (such as paper, ink, scissors, tape, silverware, a frying pan, and a chamber pot). [209]

Table 2
Subsistence Stores Dropped from Inventory at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1852, for

Wastage and Theft [210]

Item	Amount Lost
Bacon	9,379 pounds
Ham	1,191 pounds
Flour	3,400 pounds
Beans	70.6 bushels
Coffee	4,003 pounds
Sugar	7,124 pounds
Candles	1,313 pounds
Dried Peaches	20 bushels
Pickles	70 gallons
Salt	37 bushels

Carleton wanted to see "these dens of drunkennes and thieving to be broken up at once." The solution, he suggested, was "to burn every one of these houses to the ground and destroy all the property found in them." [211] Carleton, in cooperation with civil authorities in New Mexico, was authorized to close the dram shops and Sumner enlarged the military reservation at Fort Union to help force the undesirable businesses to operate farther from the post. Both actions resulted in legal entanglements for the army.

Deputy United States Marshal R. M. Stephens accompanied Governor Calhoun to Fort Union on May 11, carrying a warrant issued by the governor for the arrest of ten men charged with "selling liquor in the Indian Country, and for having purchased and concealed stolen property." With the assistance of troops from the post, Stephens arrested Morris Miller, Hugh G. Hutchinson, John Woland, Calvin D. Scofield, Arthur Morrison, Samuel Sease, William Reynolds, Samuel Morey, Jacob Meador, and William Haisted. As provided in the warrant, Stephens and the soldiers, under direction of Captain Carleton, confiscated the property of those men (which was turned over to the quartermaster at the fort) and burned five or six "shanties" where they operated. Those arrested were taken to Santa Fe for trial. United States Marshall John Jones later submitted a bill to Territorial Governor Lane for $338.00 for the cost of his department in making the arrests and moving the prisoners to Santa Fe. [212]

Katie Bowen gave an account of these events:

> All the shanties and grogeries around this post kept by miserable Americans have by order of the chief of Santa Fe been burned down and the keepers put in irons and sent to that town for trial. Now we are enclosed in a line eight miles square. A great deal of quartemaster and commissary property was found in the search and some gentlemen who were out on horseback when the places were set fire to said that mexican women scattered like sheep from all the places and hid in the rocks on the mountain. The Mexicans are very bitter toward Maj. Carleton for informing the Sheriff and requesting him to destroy those places. [213]

On May 11, by Sumner's order, "the military reservation at Fort Union is hereby extended to eight miles square. The Fort to be the central point. Posts will be erected at the corners, and all citizens now living within those limits will be removed from the reserve without destroying their property." [214]

Captain Bowen, chief commissary officer for the department, was ordered to survey the reservation, but he reported no instruments on hand to perform that assignment and requested that Lieutenant Pope, chief engineer for the department, be sent to conduct the survey. [215]

Before Pope had laid out the boundaries of the new reservation, Alexander Barclay protested that the enlarged reserve encroached upon his lands and he would defend his title. [216] On May 28, 1852, Barclay delivered a formal protest against the enlarged reservation to Captain Carleton at Fort Union and declared he was going to start plowing his own property within one mile of the post. Carleton threatened to remove him by force if he did, and Barclay stated that is what he wanted the army to do so he could file a suit to protect his land grant from military encroachment. [217]

Barclay and his partner J. B. Doyle were also involved in the whiskey trade which was shut down and lost some liquor that was destroyed. According to Carleton they became so bold as to operate a portable liquor store in a wagon which they could bring onto the military reservation to make sales but escape with the illegal goods when threatened with discovery and confiscation. This wagon was apparently captured while on the reservation at night, "peddling to the men on the reserve," and 25 gallons of their whiskey was destroyed by Carleton's orders. Barclay and Doyle filed suit against Carleton, claiming they were on their own property. [218]

In October 1852 a deputy sheriff from Taos County served a summons on Captain Carleton to appear before the district court at Don Fernandez de Taos on the fourth Monday in November to answer a petition for trial made by Barclay and Doyle for an alleged trespass. As Carleton related it to his superiors, "for trespass for destroying a quantity of whiskey which they *persisted* in bringing upon the Military reserve after I had sent to them a copy of Department orders 'No 30' establishing the Military reserve and after I had sent them word that if they brought any more liquor to sell to troops on the reserve, it would be destroyed." [219] Carleton asked Governor Lane if he should appear in court or claim that Taos County had no jurisdiction over the military reservation. "Would not obedience to this summons," queried Carleton, "imply that I consider this as being within the jurisdiction of Taos County[?]" In a cover letter, Carleton begged the governor to "please ask the judge about this." [220]

Lane, however, refused to become involved in this case, informing Colonel Sumner (with whom he had already clashed regarding the lines of authority in the territory between civil and military officials) that "any interference in this case, on my part, under present circumstances, might be construed into an unwarranted interference with your appropriate duties." [221] Carleton engaged Hugh N. Smith, former territorial delegate to Congress, to represent him at Taos. Carleton feared that any jury in Taos County would find in favor of the owners of the land grant on which the fort was located. Thus the title to the land on which the fort stood was as much a part of the case as the authority to prohibit the sale of liquor. [222]

Carleton had been told by someone he did not identify that the grant which Barclay & Doyle occupied may not be valid because the Mexican government had never ratified it. If they had title, however, the question became one of military authority on lands surrounding Fort Union. He also suggested that a change of venue from Taos to Santa Fe would bring the case before a more favorable judge, Grafton Baker. [223] There was also the consideration that Carleton was acting under government orders when he led the troops which confiscated the liquor, meaning the government rather than he personally was responsible for what had been done.

The case of Barclay and Doyle against Carleton was not transferred from Taos County, but it was delayed until March of 1853. At that time the suit was decided in favor of Barclay and Doyle, and Carleton was required to pay $144 "for trespass and breaking & destroying a barrel of whiskey." A similar suit against Sumner was postponed. Also, because of conflicting evidence over the rightful owner of the land grant on which Fort Union and the military reservation were located, a decision on the part of Barclay's suit to require the

ejectment of the military from the land grant was postponed so more evidence could be gathered. Captain Gouverneur Morris, new commanding officer at Fort Union, hoped to compile sufficient testimony to prove that the post was located on the Mora Grant. [224]

The suit charging trespass against Sumner came to trial in Taos in September 1853, and a jury of 12 men found in favor of Barclay and Doyle, requiring the defendant to pay damages of $100.00 and costs of the trial. [225] The suit for ejectment of the U.S. government from possession of lands belonging to Barclay and Doyle was heard later, and the army's representatives failed to appear. The court found in favor of Barclay and Doyle and issued a writ of possession to them. A jury was asked to assess damages in the case and awarded Barclay and Doyle another $100.00. The attorneys representing the plaintiffs then returned $99.99, keeping only one cent as token payment. [226]

The court having decided that Barclay and Doyle were rightful owners of the site of Fort Union, they signed a lease with the government, represented by Major Rucker, on March 22, 1854, for an area of 16 square miles (10,240 acres) centering on the flagstaff of the post, at an annual fee of $1,200.00 to be paid quarterly from September 7, 1853. Witnesses were W. H. Moore and W J. Martin. The army received the privilege of "cutting and using on said premises, such wood, timber, grass and water, *et cetera*, as may be necessary for the use of the post of Fort Union." [227]

Another civil suit was brought against Carleton in Santa Fe County by some of the men who had lost whiskey in the raids. Because the territorial attorney was absent, Governor Lane did represent Carleton before the court in this instance. According to Lane, the case was eventually dismissed but Carleton was assessed the court costs, which Governor Lane paid for him. [228] This was not the last problem with whiskey vendors, [229] but the army had succeeded in stopping some of the traders. More important it appeared that a solution had been found for the lease of land on which the post stood. Meanwhile, the troops at Fort Union continued with their various assignments and a new territorial governor arrived in New Mexico.

On August 3 Carleton and his Company K, First Dragoons, departed for Fort Atkinson, where they met on August 15 newly-appointed Territorial Governor William Carr Lane, a surgeon from St. Louis, and accompanied his party to New Mexico. Because Lane was seriously ill, suffering from intense pain and unable to eat anything for five days, Carleton and a small party made a forced march from the New Mexico Point of Rocks on August 25 and arrived at Fort Union on August 26, where Lane and Carleton were both ill for several days. The remainder of the company, under command of Second Lieutenant Johnston, returned to Fort Union August 29 after marching a total distance of 682 miles. [230]

Governor Lane related an incident on the return trip that was not mentioned in the military records. In a letter to Waldo, Hall & Co., mail contractors and operators of the stage line on which Lane had traveled from the Missouri River to Fort Atkinson, Lane told of his pleasant trip on their coach under Conductor William Allison and explained he left the stage at Fort Atkinson to ride in Captain Carleton's "carriage" (probably an army ambulance). Allison, taking advantage of the protection provided by the dragoons, traveled near them for several days and encamped in the same vicinity at nights. [231]

This arrangement proceeded "in the most perfect harmony" until the afternoon of August 19 at a camp on the Cimarron River. Somehow Captain Carleton drove the mules pulling his ambulance across the picket ropes of some of the stagecoach mules, and one his mules became entangled in the rope holding one of the stage mules, causing only a minor mishap. Conductor Allison, however, to the "utter amazement" of Lane, flew into a terrible rage and in the presence of the entire troop of dragoons "indulged in many loud and indecent oaths &

exclamations" and continued the "grossly indecent language" for some time. Carleton remained calm during the entire ordeal. [232]

Governor Lane informed the owners of the stage line that Allison's behavior was "indefensible" and declared Allison owed Carleton an apology. Until then, Lane concluded, "I could not think of travelling in a Stage, under his control." [233]

That was not the end of the story. William and John McCoy, managers of the stage headquarters at Independence, Missouri, responded that Allison had a bad temper and they were sorry about what had happened. They also informed Lane that they had forwarded some of his freight from the steamboat at Wayne City Landing (near Independence) via one of Francis X. Aubry's wagon trains, for which there was a $6.94 transfer charge because they had to overtake the train near Westport. The letter and the bill were delivered to Lane at Santa Fe by none other than William Allison, who gave the governor a receipt for the payment. [234]

Governor Lane became good friends with the Carletons and other officers at Fort Union, and they must have enjoyed the memory of the incident with Allison. In October 1852 Carleton wrote to Lane, "Mrs. Carleton proposed sending you a cake by mail(!) I thru cold water on this for perhaps Mr Allison would not care to be troubled in this way." He also invited the governor to come to Fort Union for Christmas, stating "we will do our best to make it a merry one." [235]

In November 1852, in order to provide for considerable indebtedness Carleton had accumulated (over $1,000 plus interest), he sold to Governor Lane two black slaves the family had brought from Missouri to Fort Union. Benjamin, age 21, and Hannah, age 28, were deeded in trust to Gov. Lane who agreed either to hire them out or sell them to advantage to pay off the Carleton family debts. [236] Lane took close interest in the lawsuits filed against Carleton for the destruction of whiskey on the military reservation, as noted above, and represented him before the court in Santa Fe.

During the 12 days Lane spent recuperating at the Carletons' quarters at Fort Union, he observed much that was entered into his diary. [237] He commented on the thunderstorms and one hail storm of the "so-called rainy season." He visited the post garden and gave the most descriptive list available of what was grown there and how the irrigation system operated. He provided a good description of *Los Pozos.* [238]

Lane visited in the home of Captain and Mrs. Shoemaker and described their vegetable garden approximately one and one-quarter miles up the valley from the post where there was a "large spring . . . used for irrigation." He "dined and suped" with Captain and Mrs. Bowen, another couple with whom a fine friendship developed and personal correspondence passed during the time Lane was in New Mexico. [239] He was able to leave Fort Union on September 5 and arrived in Santa Fe on September 9, where he took over the executive office from Lieutenant Colonel Sumner. [240] The officers at Fort Union held Lane in high esteem, and he enjoyed their friendship. In November 1852 Lane wrote to a friend in St. Louis: "I am in luck. The officers at Fort Union - 100 miles east of this place, have just sent me some venison (Black-tailed Deer), some Antelope venison, and a Wild Turkey." [241]

Mrs. Bowen corresponded with Gov. Lane and shared with him her disgust with Col. Sumner, stating a fear her pen might be *"court-martialed."* She said "Our little Willie C (he's a namesake of yours [hardly true since William Cary Bowen was named after Kate's father and before they knew William Carr Lane]) is well." She invited him to "pay us a visit" and closed with "Excuse me for spinning this yarn so long, but a love for old gentlemen is my weakness." Kate C. Bowen to Lane, Jan. 5, 1853, William Carr Lane Collection, MHS.

When Major Gouveneur Morris and his wife, Anna Maria, visited Gov. Lane at Santa Fe in December 1852. Mrs. Morris was also impressed with "the elegant old gentleman." The day after their arrival in Santa Fe, she wrote in her diary, "we called to see the Governor. . . . I like him very much & gave him a kiss at parting." Before the Morrises left town the next day to go to Fort Union, "the Governor called to say good bye. He kissed my hand in a very courtly manner & gave me his Blessing." Anna Maria Morris Diary, Morris Collection, University of Virginia, microfilm, Dec. 12-13, 1852 (hereafter Morris Diary).

Sophia W (Mrs. James H.) Carleton hosted the governor in her home when he was ill upon his arrival in New Mexico Territory, and she kept in touch with Lane. In May 1853, in response to a gift he had sent to her, Mrs. Carleton wrote and thanked him for the present and invited him to visit the Carletons at Fort Union. "You know," she wrote, "I have the heart to treat you well, and if I don't succeed, it must be attributed to the hard life we have here." She shared her personal life and views with him and obviously considered him a special friend. "Both my little children are well and growing finely. Hal is as sweet as he can be. What is the reason that you men do not grow up so sweet?" Sophia W. Carleton to Lane, May 6, 1853, William Carr Lane Collection, MHS. Other officers Lane visited at the post included Captains Sibley, Brooks, and Sykes, Lt. Johnston, and Dr. Byrne.

Lane was a good friend to have, but he resigned in the summer of 1853, a few months after a change of administrations in Washington, D.C. He and Sumner were unable to work together in New Mexico. [242] Lane negotiated treaties with some of the Indians and promised to feed them, an economical alternative to warfare. The federal administration did not approve the treaties and Congress did not appropriate funds to feed the Indians. When the Indians discovered the promises were not to be fulfilled they retaliated against the New Mexicans, creating new problems for civil and military officials in New Mexico, problems to be dealt with by Lane's and Sumner's successors and the troops stationed at Fort Union. Lane, one of the few Anglo-Americans who admired and respected the people and culture of New Mexico, ran for the office of territorial delegate to Congress and was defeated by Jose Manuel Gallegos. Lane returned to his home and family in St. Louis, where he died in 1863. [243]

On June 1, 1853, Colonel Sumner announced that he was taking a leave of absence and placed Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles, Third Infantry, in command of the department. Two days later, Sumner resumed command because of problems with the Navajos. Because of the murder of a "Mexican citizen" by a party of Navajos, Sumner ordered a large force, including most of the available men at Fort Union, to be ready to march against that tribe if the guilty party or parties were not surrendered by July 1. Then, before any action was taken, Sumner left the department and placed Miles in charge until his successor arrived. [244]

Although Sumner was apparently pleased with what he had accomplished in New Mexico, including the reorganization of the department, construction of new posts, and especially the reduction of expenditures, it soon became clear that he had left the department in an impoverished condition. Kate Bowen provided a perceptive evaluation when she wrote of Sumner: "He is very unpopular throughout the country and his excessive economy with regard to troops and animals has just the effect as meanness in a household, viz; a failure in all arrangements." "Economy," she declared, "wont work in such a poor country as this." [245] Sumner's successor probably would have agreed but was unable to state it so concisely.

Sumner traveled eastward over the Santa Fe Trail, made a brief visit at Fort Atkinson which he had established in 1850, and met his replacement, Brigadier General John Garland, [246] along the Arkansas River. They almost did not meet on the trail because they followed different routes. Sumner traveled the Cimarron Route to the Arkansas River and took the Dry Route east from near where Fort Dodge, Kansas, was later established. Garland took the Wet Route west of Pawnee Fork and later followed the Aubry Route from the Arkansas River into

the present Oklahoma panhandle. When Sumner's party camped on the Dry Route on July 11, several miles west of Pawnee Fork, they learned from "Delgado's train" that Garland and his troops were camped approximately three miles away on the Wet Route near the river. Sumner, Lt. Joseph N. G. Whistler, and "Mr. Papin" rode to Garland's camp and visited with Garland for a time before returning to their own camp late that night. [247]

Garland assumed command of the Ninth Military Department on July 20, 1853, as soon as he crossed the Arkansas River. He was accompanied by the new territorial governor, David Meriwether (who had joined the caravan along the trail), [248] Meriwether's son Raymond, James J. Davenport the new chief justice for New Mexico, new Indian agents Edmund A. Graves and James M. Smith, a civilian surgeon named Dr. Jacobs, Colonel Mansfield of the inspector general's department, Captain William A. Nichols who served as Garland's adjutant, Assistant Surgeon David C. DeLeon, Major Cary H. Fry of the paymaster department (with $300,000 in specie), 212 troops (many new recruits) under command of Major Electus Backus, Third Infantry, a large number of dragoon horses under the charge of Lieutenant William D. Smith, Second Dragoons, and a train of 51 wagons under command of Captain L. C. Easton, quartermaster department. Other officers making the trip included Captain Macrae, who was accompanied by his family and became commander of Fort Union, Captain Oliver L. Shepherd, Lieutenants William B. Johns and Henry B. Schroeder, Second Lieutenant Horace F. DeLano, and Brevet Second Lieutenants Matthew L. Davis, Alexander M. McCook, and Charles H. Rundell. They arrived at Fort Union on July 31 and the first two days of August. [249]

Meanwhile Lieutenant Colonel Miles had been left to deal with the Navajos. Garland later provided his views and an explanation of what happened: "I say, with as much regret as sorrow, that Col. Sumner, my predecessor, embarrassed me not a little, by placing an order on the books of the Department for a campaign against the Navajoes which he had not the means of carrying out, and in this state of things left the Department." Miles had avoided the campaign by sending Captain Henry Lane Kendrick with a smaller command to meet with some Navajo leaders who restored the stolen property and promised to deliver the guilty party, who had taken refuge among the Ute Indians, when he returned to their nation. [250] Troops from Fort Union were not required to join in that effort. Garland was to learn many other things about Sumner's administration in the department as he and Colonel Mansfield evaluated conditions there.

Mansfield was satisfied that Fort Union was "well located for a depot for the supply of the northern posts" in New Mexico Territory. The site was "well adapted for keeping beef cattle and supernumerary dragoon horses and mules &c &c." Regarding the availability of local supplies, the inspector reported that "flour, corn and hay and fuel are obtained from the neighbouring valleys as conveniently as at other posts in New Mexico and on reasonable terms." Finally, he believed that "the buildings of all kinds are as good as at any post and there seems to be enough of them to satisfy the demands of the service." Expressing no objection to Fort Union as a supply depot, Mansfield was concerned about the defensive position of the post. "It is too close under the Mesa for a tenable position gainst an enterprising enemy," he warned, "unless the immediate heights can be occupied by a block house which could readily be done." [251] That was never done, however, and the post was moved approximately a mile away from the mesa during the Civil War in an attempt to secure a tenable position. Mansfield completed his work at Fort Union on August 6 and proceeded to other posts in the department while Garland established department headquarters at Albuquerque.

After Garland was settled at Albuquerque, he was concerned about the delay in the delivery of mail from the states to his office. Because the mail coaches stopped at Fort Union on the way in, he directed that the mail for headquarters be removed there and sent directly by an

"expressman" to him. A few days later, in order to expedite communications among all the posts in the department, Garland set up a monthly system of expresses designed to distribute and collect mail as efficiently as possible. After the express from Fort Union reached Albuquerque, he carried dispatches to Santa Fe and then back to Union. Other riders communicated with the remainder of the posts from Albuquerque and Santa Fe. [252] Garland obviously wanted to be kept informed. He was not especially pleased with what he learned.

Garland, as noted above, was not satisfied with the military farms and terminated those operations the following year, except for grazing and haying on the Ocate. As Garland became more aware of conditions in New Mexico, and especially after Mansfield completed his inspection tour, he realized that Sumner had left the department nearly impoverished and poorly arranged for defense against Indians. The posts, including Fort Union, were poorly constructed and in constant need of repairs. Garland was especially concerned about the location of Fort Union depot and the suit of Barclay and Doyle regarding the property on which the post stood. He thought several forts in the department should be relocated, including Union. [253] In 1856 Garland reported to army headquarters that the troops in New Mexico were "in good condition for service, notwithstanding the constant labor required of them in repairing decayed Military Posts and in constructing new ones." [254]

When Captain Easton reported the deteriorated condition of the quartermaster store house at Fort Union and requested authorization to build a new, solid structure, Garland responded: "No additional buildings will be put up at Fort Union. The building erected for a smoke house can be fitted up for temporary use." His views on the future of the depot at Union were indicated by instructions to Easton to move all the supplies intended for Fort Defiance, Albuquerque, and all posts south of Albuquerque to the depot at Albuquerque for storage. In addition, if "fair contracts" could be made with freight contractors delivering to Fort Union to carry the goods on to Albuquerque "without re-handling *at Fort Union,"* Easton was to make such arrangements. [255]

A few weeks later Garland informed army headquarters that "Fort Union is entirely out of position for a depot, and it has been decided, by a Court of Law, that the title to the land is in an individual. He may at any time claim damages or eject us. I have, under these circumstances, determined to withdraw the supplies and have ordered the principal Quarter Master and commissary of subsistence to a more convenient point, Albuquerque, leaving the present garrison there for the winter." The medical depot was transferred from Fort Union to Albuquerque the following summer. Only the ordnance depot remained at Union. Although the future of Fort Union appeared to be tenuous at that time, the post remained active, albeit less important, and it served the department as a subdepot for several years and later became the main depot again. Garland questioned the judgment that had made Fort Union so important, and he questioned the economizing decisions of his predecessor. [256]

Within three months after assuming command, Garland was appalled with conditions of the department. He felt obligated to inform his superiors and, as noted above, could not be as concise as Katie Bowen.

> It is never considered in good taste to attack one's predecessor, but I am forced to do it, else, the odium of bad management, extravagant expenditures, &c &c will fall upon me, however much my course may be blameless. I am restrained too, in some degree, from the fact that my predecessor is an *old friend* and acknowledged throughout the Army to be one of the most efficient and gallant officers in the *field,* he is also a man of untiring industry, but his energies have been misapplied, and he has left the Department in an impoverished and crippled condition, wanting in many of the essentials for undertaking a successful

> enterprise. His great and sole aim appears to have been to win reputation from an economical administration of his Department, in this, he will be found to have signally failed, if all his acts are closely looked into, his economy run into parsimony, the result of which, was the loss of a vast number of horses and mules. He found here an abundance, a plethora of every essential for a military enterprise, and makes capital out of it. In order to make a fair exhibit of the expenditures in the department under his administration of it, it is but fair that he should be charged with everything that has been ordered here to supply his exhausted coffers, Qr. Mrs. Stores, subsistence, ordnance, granaries &c, especially wagons and mules. I found a number of Dragoons mounted on the ponies of the country, to the exclusion of Dragoons horses, which should have been sent here, in place of those which perished for want of forage.
>
> The subsistence stores arrived so late and our means of transportation so limited, that some of the articles of supply were exhausted before others could be got to the remote posts. [257]

The next day Garland informed Lorenzo Thomas that "the empty store houses left by my predecessor are not yet filled." [258]

The Ninth Military Department was in need of major changes within, and on October 31, 1853, it received a change from without. With the reorganization of military departments throughout the nation, the Ninth Department became the Department of New Mexico, comprised of New Mexico Territory east of 110 degrees west longitude. A few weeks later the boundaries were revised to include the Post at El Paso, Texas, and New Mexico Territory east of 120 degrees west longitude. Little had been changed except the name. Department headquarters remained at Albuquerque until September 6, 1854, when Garland moved to Santa Fe. [259]

Garland, like Sumner before him, was concerned about the absence of many officers from the companies. He informed army headquarters in January 1854 "that there are not a sufficient number of company officers in this Department for ordinary camp and garrison duty." [260] Noting the effect this had on "the condition of this Department," he requested that officers, especially dragoon officers, be directed to New Mexico. Garland observed that "there is undoubtedly a strong disinclination to serve in New Mex. both on account of its discomforts and the high rates which the officers have to pay for the most common necessaries." [261] Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, Second Dragoons, commanding Fort Union, reported in February 1854 the shortage within his regiment. Only three officers, "two young second Lieutenants and one 1st Lieut, who is sick & unfit for duty, it is supposed permanently," were present with the four companies of Second Dragoons stationed in the department. This meant that ten of the officers were absent. None had arrived in the department by June 1. By October Second Lieutenant Alexander McD. McCook, Third Infantry, was assigned to lead Company H, First Dragoons. [262]

Cooke was also concerned about the treatment of dragoons from Fort Union who served as express riders in the department, making "journies of four or five days in all seasons & weather." They were unable to carry all the provisions needed, but no arrangements had been made for their food, lodging, or fuel. Most were unable to spend their own money for such essentials. The result, said Cooke, was that "they are at the charity of New Mexicans & hang about kitchens and outhouses, or stables, on sufferance or as trespassers, all of which I respectfully represent, is unjust, impolitic and very degrading to the soldier." [263] It is not clear what if anything was done for the express riders. The outbreak of Indian hostilities a short time later demanded most of the attention of troops at Fort Union. The system of expresses was modified in November 1856, with provisions that two mounted men would

comprise an express and the men and horses would be changed at every post. [264]

With most of the troops, including the post surgeon, in the field in the spring of 1854, Fort Union commander, Captain Macrae, was concerned about the health of the garrison. He informed department headquarters on April 4 that 16 men were on the sick list "and no medical officer at this post." In case of an emergency the closest medical officer was at Santa Fe. An inadequate supply of medical officers was just one more deficiency in the department. Macrae was authorized to employ a citizen physician if he could find one who would take the job. None was available and the post remained without the services of a medical officer until Dr. Byrne returned in May. At the end of July Garland directed that the medical depot at Fort Union be moved to Albuquerque, where the quartermaster and commissary depots were located and from where the medical supplies could be distributed throughout the department. [265]

While Garland considered Albuquerque the best location in the department for the distribution of equipment and provisions, he disliked it as a place to live. He requested permission to change department headquarters from Albuquerque to Santa Fe. "Albuquerque," he declared, "is the dirtiest hole in New Mexico,and is only occupied from necessity." [266] The move was authorized and made in September. In just a little over three years department headquarters had moved from Santa Fe to Fort Union, to Albuquerque, and back to Santa Fe. There it remained until the Civil War, and Santa Fe was the command center for both military and civil officials in the territory. [267]

While department headquarters were being moved, Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy, First Dragoons, assumed command of Fort Union on September 18, 1854, at a time when the garrison was the smallest in its pre-Civil War history. He named Second Lieutenant W. T. Magruder of his regiment to serve as post adjutant and placed Magruder in charge of the commissary department at the post. So few soldiers were available to cut hay required for the public animals at the post, Fauntleroy authorized the post quartermaster, Major Rucker, to contract for what was needed. [268]

Soon after Brigadier General Garland arrived in the department he reported that Fort Union was improperly located, directed that no additional new buildings were to be constructed there, and removed the supply depot from that place. In 1856 he began to search for a location where a new fort could be built. He directed Captain Easton and Captain W. A. Thornton, ordnance department, to investigate the area around the junction of the Mora and Sapello rivers and around Wagon Mound for a possible site to build a new military post. The site was to include adequate wood, water, and grass, and have sufficient land for an arsenal. If they located a suitable place they were to determine who owned the property, discern if the land could be secured for a post, and find out a price to purchase or lease the land for 20 years. [269] Easton was no stranger to this assignment; he had been sent by Colonel Munroe in 1851 for the same purposes. As in 1851 no suitable location was found. Fort Union was going to stay put for the time being.

Garland continued to study the situation, and he was not satisfied that Fort Union should remain an active post. In October 1856 Garland left the department on a leave of absence, placing Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, Third Infantry, in command in New Mexico. Garland returned and resumed command in May 1857. [270] The site of Fort Union remained active, but the political administration of the territory soon changed again.

Governor Meriwether left New Mexico in May 1857 although his term did not end until October. He may have been furnished an escort for his trip. Acting Governor W. W. H. Davis departed from Fort Union for the states in October with the eastbound mail. Lieutenant J. H. Edson and 25 mounted riflemen escorted the mail coach and governor from the

Canadian at least as far as the Arkansas River. The new governor, Abraham Rencher from North Carolina, arrived in Santa Fe with his family on November 12, having traveled over the Santa Fe Trail with a military escort comprised largely of dragoon recruits for the department, commanded by Lieutenant Charles Griffin, Second Artillery. Other recruits for New Mexico, under command of Major Daniel T. Chandler, Third Infantry, arrived at Fort Union where Brigadier General Garland met them on November 4 and distributed them among the companies stationed in the department. [271]

General Garland, because of ill health, relinquished command of the department to Colonel Bonneville in September 1858. [272] Garland had planned, when he left New Mexico, to return as soon as his health improved. He was not sent back although he lived until 1861. Bonneville served as "temporary" department commander from September 15, 1858, to October 25, 1859, when Colonel Fauntleroy returned to the department as the commanding officer. Garland, as noted, had never been satisfied with the location of Fort Union and had done little to improve conditions there. During Bonneville's tenure Quartermaster General Jesup informed him that funds had been appropriated to repair or rebuild Fort Union, and Captain Fred Myers, post and subdepot quartermaster, prepared plans to rebuild the post. Bonneville appointed a board of three officers (Colonel Loring, Major James L. Donaldson of the quartermaster department, and Captain John G. Walker, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen) to examine the plans and estimates, determine if the funds available ($13,400) were sufficient for the work planned, and to make recommendations regarding the site for the new post. [273]

This board reported within a week that the funds appropriated were, in their opinion, "sufficient for the completion of the necessary quarters, barracks and store houses, . . . provided the plans . . . are strictly adhered to." They had modified the plans to fit the funds available. They recommended that the new post be built approximately four miles from the original site which they believed had an inadequate supply of water from the spring on which the garrison was dependent, especially for the purpose of fighting fires at a post comprised of buildings which were virtual tinderboxes. The cost of hauling water in wagons from the spring to the post "at a considerable expense" could be saved. They also argued that the present post was too far removed from good timber, which was hauled from the Turkey Mountains, and that the situation of the post in a depression in Wolf Creek valley was poorly drained during the rainy season. They saw nothing but advantages to be gained by relocation to their recommended site. [274]

> The location we recommend is immediately upon the bank of the Moro creek, a beautiful Mountain Stream which will afford in addition to an accessible abundance of water for all the ordinary purposes of a large post, would furnish an abundance of water power for propelling mills and other machinery. The hills overhanging the stream are clothed with an abundance of pine timber suitable for fuel and lumber for building. Stone for building can be procured within a few hundred yards of the post, and lime can be burned near at hand. The grass is excellent, and during the past summer a large part of the stock of the post was driven to the vicinity of the proposed post and kept there during the summer, in preference to herding near the post.
>
> As an additional reason for the proposed removal we would mention that buildings of the Ordnance Depot are falling into decay, and altho' there has been for some time past money on hand for repairing the buildings here, Fort Union has been considered so unsuitable a place that it has not been thought advisable to expend the funds in this manner. In the event of the post being removed as we recommend, a site for the Depot or Arsenal will be secured, which for convenience of water power and abundance of all necessary material, cannot be

> excelled we believe in the Department. In addition, it would have the advantage of being a Depot where it would be possible to keep the stores of the Ordnance Department, without endangering the lives of an entire garrison.
>
> In regard to the practicality of procuring a sufficiency of land for the purposes of the post, we have from good authority that the owners of the land upon which we propose to have the post erected, are willing to donate perpetually to the United States a quantity sufficient for all the purposes of the Post and Ordnance Depot.
>
> In conclusion we beg leave to call the attention of the Colonel Comd to the dilapidated condition of the Quarters here and to express the hope that such prompt, action may be taken in the matter as to insure the speedy completion of the post on the site we have recommended, and as any delay in this matter will necessarily postpone the completion of buildings so much needed for the health and comfort of the troops, until the return of the building season next year, we earnestly recommend the building be commenced at once. [275]

Of all the places recommended over the years for the relocation of Fort Union, this was probably the best one offered. Even so, the post was neither moved nor rebuilt in 1859. Bonneville, who agreed that Fort Union was in such a state of disrepair as to be almost uninhabitable, hoped to find a site where the garrison and the ordnance, quartermaster, and commissary depots could all be located, convenient for the receiving and transshipment of stores, suitable for repair shops to maintain government supply trains, and, if possible, on public rather than private land. Colonel Joseph E. Johnston was sent in the summer of 1859 to inspect the posts in the Department of New Mexico and to determine if Fort Union should be rebuilt or relocated. [276]

Johnston spent July 7 and 8, 1859, at Fort Union where the buildings, except for the ordnance magazine and the quartermaster storehouse, were in such bad condition that they were not "worth repairing." The magazine was the only building not in need of repair. The quartermaster storehouse, still "worth repairing," was in its present condition "an unfit depository for valuable property." He recommended against rebuilding the post and for relocation. He considered the proposed site on the Mora River a better position than the one occupied by the post, but neither placed troops where they could provide better protection for frontier settlements such as the ranches developing along the Pecos and Canadian river valleys. He suggested it would be best to find a site near the Pecos so the garrison could protect the settlers from the Comanches. [277]

General in Chief Winfield Scott made his views known through an endorsement by his adjutant, Lorenzo Thomas, on a letter from Bonneville to Thomas: "Fort Union presents no very important bearing upon any of the Indian relations of New Mexico, and the troops could be better employed at a more suitable position within the Department, perhaps on the Pecos, as suggested by Col. Johnston." [278] Colonel Fauntleroy, who arrived to command the department in October of that year, was at Fort Union from October 29 to 31. [279] He did not want to rebuild Fort Union at the original site or the site recommended by the board of officers. He planned to reorganize the department and build a new post to replace Fort Union and a build a new depot someplace else at a site to be determined, perhaps on the Canadian or Pecos. The result was further delay and further deterioration at Fort Union.

Post Commander Robert M. Morris requested authority from department headquarters in August to employ "citizen mechanics" to make necessary repairs to quarters and "make this *post* habitable." He was informed that reports regarding the rebuilding of the post had been sent to army headquarters and all improvements to present structures were suspended until instructions were received from Washington. Morris apparently thought the condition of the

buildings was not understood at Santa Fe, and responded that the quarters for Company G, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was in such a dangerous condition that the building had been vacated. The troops from that company were temporarily housed in the quarters of Company H which was then in the field. When this company returned, the men of Company G would be forced to live in tents or be sent to another post for the winter unless repairs were made. Post Quartermaster William K. Van Bokkelen wrote a similar letter. Departmental Chief Quartermaster Donaldson was sent to Fort Union to see what could be done. What repairs were made, if any, has not been determined. In December 1859 one company of the garrison was transferred from the post. [280]

While Fort Union awaited improvements, the topographical engineers, under Captain J. N. Macomb, improved the road from Fort Union to Santa Fe. This included widening, grading, and the construction of bridges. Travel for army freight wagons as well as for civilian freighters and travelers was made easier by these improvements. During the spring of 1859 destitute emigrants who were part of the Colorado Gold Rush began to arrive at Fort Union, many in need of food and medical care. Major John Smith Simonson requested authority to provide relief. Authorization in this instance was not located, but it was common practice for the army to give aid under such circumstances. Civilians were treated at the post hospital in 1859. [281]

In June and July 1860 Captain McFerran, Lieutenant John Pegram of the Second Dragoons, Lieutenant Joseph G. Tilford of the Regiment of of Mounted Riflemen, and Second Lieutenant William Kearny of the Tenth Infantry brought 48 recruits (29 dragoons and 19 infantry) and 158 horses for the mounted service in New Mexico. They had left two dragoon recruits "in the town jail at Leavenworth City" and had lost two horses along the way. They arrived at Fort Union on July 5. The department was still in need of 289 horses for the mounted troops (dragoons and riflemen). [282]

It soon appeared almost certain that, at last, Fort Union would be relocated or abandoned and replaced. Colonel Fauntleroy intended, as noted, to make major changes in the organization of the Department of New Mexico, and he would have done so had not a combination of Indian campaigns, insufficient funds, and the outbreak of the Civil War forestalled his efforts. Following recommendations made by Garland, Bonneville, and Johnston, Fauntleroy intended to retain only four of the twelve posts in the department. He planned to abandon four others and relocate the remaining four, including Fort Union. Almost no one since Sumner had defended the position of Fort Union, and Fauntleroy, who had commanded the post, was determined to replace it with two new posts, the exact location of each to be determined by thorough exploration. One would be a garrison post at some point along the Canadian River (where Sumner had sent Ewell to investigate in 1851 and no suitable place had been found) to provide protection to both major routes of the Santa Fe Trail, protect the settlements in northeastern New Mexico Territory (including part of present Colorado), and help bring the hostile Indians of the plains under control. The other, located farther down the Canadian near the mouth of Ute Creek, would serve as the department depot for quartermaster, commissary, medical, and ordnance stores, provide protection to the Fort Smith road, protect settlements in the Canadian and Pecos river valleys, and deal with the Kiowas and Comanches. [283]

Fauntleroy's recommendations found favor at army headquarters, and in March 1860 orders were issued by General Winfield Scott, among other things, to abandon Fort Union and replace it with a new post (although the location of the new post seemed somewhat undecided): "A post will be established on the Gallinas, at or near where the Fort Smith road crosses that stream, or, preferably, if a suitable location can be found, east of that point, on or near the Canadian. It will be the depot for the Department, have a garrison of four mounted and two Infantry companies, and be called Fort Butler." [284] Colonel Fauntleroy wasted no

time in implementing the order. On April 10 he designated two companies (E and K) of the Eighth Infantry "to form the infantry garrison of Fort Butler" and directed them to "proceed to Hatch's Ranch and await further instructions." [285]

During April 1860 Fauntleroy, along with several officers on his staff, examined the Gallinas, Pecos, and Canadian river valleys to "select a site for the contemplated post of Fort Butler." Before leaving he declared a ten-mile square military reserve at the junction of Ute Creek with the Canadian River. In his search he, like others before him, did not find a suitable position, but he found many places that would not fulfill the requirements. The Gallinas River where the Fort Smith road crossed "is wholly unsuited on account of the total deficiency of wood for any purpose whatever, and a frequent deficit of water." The Pecos River where Tecolote Creek joins "would not answer for a post as it is desirable to have it located as much to the east as possible & this would be about fifteen miles within the Gallinas." The Canadian River "has not sufficient timber either for buildings or fire wood and the position will not suit, so far from the posts of the Dept, either on the score of convenience or economy." [286] The reserve on the Canadian was reduced from 100 square miles to 18 square miles. [287]

Although only one post had been authorized to replace Fort Union, Fauntleroy returned to his idea of two posts. The depot could be placed at the community of Tecolote, where the road to Santa Fe crossed Tecolote Creek southwest of Las Vegas, or at the abandoned Pecos Pueblo west of the Pecos River, also on the road to Santa Fe. What advantage either of these locations held over the Mora River valley was not stated. Storehouses would have to be erected at either location. The military post could be located at Hatch's Ranch which might be rented or purchased. Alexander Hatch had a ranch a few miles above the junction of the Gallinas and Pecos rivers, approximately eight miles above the point where the Fort Smith road crossed the Gallinas, on the Antonio Ortiz Grant. It frequently served as an outpost for troops from Fort Union, sometimes for months at a time. Fauntleroy believed that the "extensive buildings" there could "be made to accomodate six companies." The buildings could provide storerooms to safeguard supplies until additional structures were erected. Fauntleroy asked permission to rent Hatch's Ranch "for even a year" during which time the search could continue for a more desirable location. [288]

When a proposal to locate the ordnance depot on the Mora River and expand it into an arsenal reached Fauntleroy, he was adamant in his opposition. "The Moro is not the place under any circumstances, either from the special locality or its general position with regard to the Department intended to be supplied, which should be selected for one moment as the site of the arsenal." He claimed that the river ceased to flow during the season "when water is most required." The location was "the greatest distance from the greatest number of posts in a most exposed situation & wholly unsafe without troops." A garrison located there would be a considerable and unnecessary expense. [289] Despite such opposition Fort Union remained and a few years later the department arsenal was reconstructed along side the first Fort Union.

Fauntleroy's recommendations were not implemented. On closer investigation it was determined that Hatch's Ranch did not have sufficient water or space for a post and depot, and a clear title to the property appeared impossible to obtain. The point where Tecolote Creek entered the Pecos River, Tecolotita, about three miles north of Anton Chico and fifteen miles west of where the Fort Smith road crossed the Gallinas, was considered too far removed from the settlements needing protection, and there were too many settler claims in the area to permit the selection of a suitable site for a post. Fauntleroy lamented the fact that it appeared to be "impossible to determine the site for Fort Butler in time to commence [building it] this season." A combination of circumstances, including a severe drought which caused prices to rise, two expensive Indian campaigns (one against the Kiowas and Comanches and the other against the Navajos), and the increase in costs to maintain more

troops in the department, forced further delay of reorganization plans. Because of the drought Fauntleroy reported a "scarcity of grain" and stated that "the poor people of the Territory are said to be in a starving condition." [290]

Despite the shortages and high prices, contracts were let to furnish provisions for the proposed Fort Butler, and a sutler was appointed. Fort Union Sutler William H. Moore, who was apparently to be the sutler for the new post, raised a pregnant question when he inquired of Major Donaldson, "Where is Fort Butler?" [291] The post had a garrison, reservation, supplies, and a sutler, but a location had not been selected. [292] When Fauntleroy was informed in November that funds for the construction of a new post were not available, he declared he was at a loss of what to do. "I was this very day," he wrote Adjutant General Cooper, "on the even of departure for the Red [Canadian] River and that region of the country with the view of at once, locating Fort Butler and putting it in the most active state of erection. . . . I had fully determined to proceed forthwith with the establishment of the Post mentioned, somewhere, so as to meet the requirements of your Orders, at once, all effort having failed to procure the site which I preferred. . . . The cost, however, of the post must now compel me to pause, and to ask instructions." [293]

Fauntleroy did not give up on Fort Butler; he apparently did not wait for instructions. On November 11, 1860, he directed Captain Benjamin S. Roberts, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, to take his company from Hatch's Ranch to locate a site for Fort Butler along the Canadian River, near the Fort Smith road, and "within about sixty miles of Hatch's Ranch." If he succeeded in finding a suitable site for a six-company post and the department supply depot, he was to mark off a ten-mile square reserve and report to the department commander. Fauntleroy later sent word to Roberts not to take time to lay out a reservation but return to Hatch's Ranch and report. [294]

Roberts selected a place on the Canadian River near Mesa Rica, approximately 60 miles east of Hatch's Ranch, about 10 miles downstream from where the Fort Smith road crossed the river, and about seven miles from that road. This was a suitable location for a military post, but Roberts stated it was not a good place for a depot. He suggested that Hatch's Ranch was a much better location for storing and distributing military provisions. As soon as he reported to Fauntleroy, Roberts was directed to "take measures at once for establishing the Troops under your Command" at Fort Butler. He was instructed to "make out your estimates for all that you will now require" and draw supplies from Fort Union. In addition 40 soldiers from Fort Union were sent to reenforce Roberts's command. [295]

Fauntleroy, on the basis of Roberts's investigation and ignoring the captain's recommendation that the depot should be someplace else, declared that an abundance of water, grass, and fuel were present at Fort Butler, all of "excellent quality." Everything needed to build and maintain a large post, including a depot, was there "except perhaps, building timber." This was the same area which Fauntleroy had described in April as deficient in timber for any purpose and too far from the other forts in New Mexico to serve efficiently as a depot. As he had said of the Mora Valley, the colonel might also have described the site chosen for Fort Butler as "the greatest distance from the greatest number of posts" in the department. Fauntleroy seemed almost relieved to have settled on a long-sought location for Fort Butler "which seems to me to meet the views of the Department better than any others thereabouts." A "large military reserve" (120 square miles) was set aside, and he expected to have adequate storehouses built by the time supplies were shipped to the department the following spring and summer. [296]

Roberts was apparently delayed in moving his command to Fort Butler because of Indian troubles in the area. Then the companies of the Eighth Infantry which were to comprise part of the garrison of the new post were transferred to Texas. On January 20, 1861, Fautnleroy

ordered Roberts to "suspend for the present all measures whatever with reference to the establishing and building of Fort Butler." Two weeks later Lieutenant Colonel George B. Crittenden, commanding at Fort Union, requested that the 40 men sent from his garrison the previous December to help establish Fort Butler be returned. Only 30 were sent back, and the other 10 were kept at Hatch's Ranch. In February a company of the Fifth Infantry was moved to Hatch's Ranch, "intended to form part of the Garrison of Fort Butler." [297] There was still the unresolved problem of inadequate funds to establish the new post. Before the plans could be carried into effect, Fauntleroy was relieved of command of the department and the secession of some states, followed by the outbreak of the Civil War, disrupted most of his grand design. Colonel William W. Loring, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, who had previously commanded Fort Union, replaced Fauntleroy as commander of the department on March 22, 1861. Fauntleroy resigned from the army a few weeks later and fought for the South. Loring also resigned to join the Confederates, and Colonel Edward R. S. Canby, Nineteenth Infantry, became commander of the Department of New Mexico on June 23, 1861. [298]

Colonel Loring directed the removal of the troops and supplies at Hatch's Ranch to Fort Union. He considered the site of the proposed Fort Butler to be an "excellent" location for a military post "on account of the influence it will give us over the Comanches," but he requested authority to find a better place for the depot. Meanwhile he sent Lieutenant Alexander McRae, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and 25 men of his regiment from Fort Union to establish a temporary camp east of Hatch's Ranch to protect the settlers of the area. [299] The Civil War changed everything. Colonel Canby considered Fort Union of more importance to the department than anyone had since Sumner established the post, and in July 1861 Canby directed that the general supply depot for the department (except for the medical depot which was placed at Santa Fe) be established at Fort Union. Albuquerque would remain a subdepot. Fort Butler was forgotten in the shuffle. [300]

Fort Butler was a phantom fort to which troops were sent and supplies were shipped, it even appeared on maps, but it never really existed except on paper. Fort Union, condemned to oblivion by the same order which created Fort Butler, survived for 31 more years. It gained renewed importance with the coming of the Civil War, when a new defensive earthwork was built. Fort Union had been established in 1851 to serve as more than the departmental supply depot and headquarters. Its garrison was to help protect the Santa Fe Trail and settlements of the region from Indians. The military operations of the troops at the first Fort Union, when they were not engaged in the construction and maintenance of the post, were of prime importance in the history of Fort Union and the army in the Southwest.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

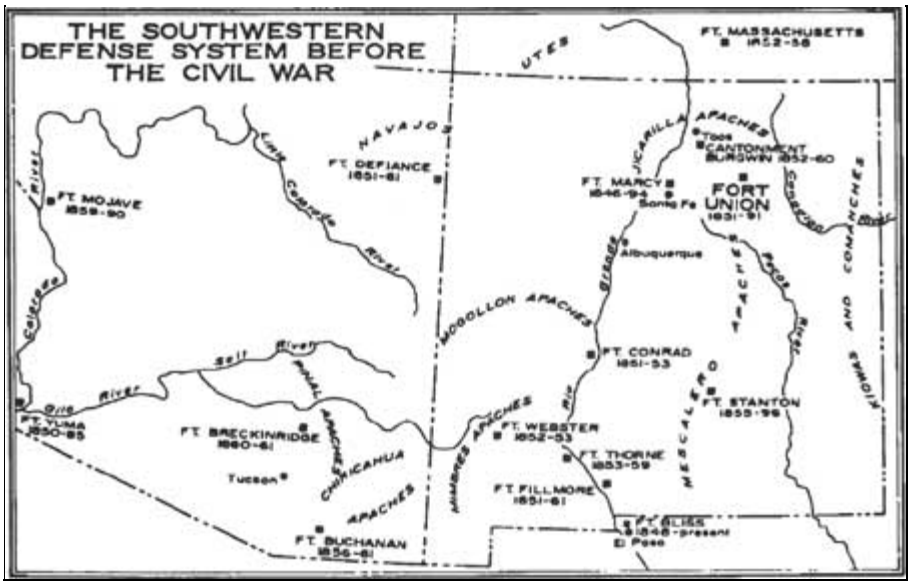
CHAPTER THREE:

MILITARY OPERATIONS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

The primary mission of the army in the Southwest was to keep the peace and, in the event it became necessary, to make war. Essentially, then, in New Mexico the soldiers provided protection for settlers and travelers from Indian raiders. Troops stationed at Fort Union were engaged in such military operations during much of the history of the post. One consideration in the selection of the location for Fort Union in 1851 was its proximity to the main route of the Santa Fe Trail (which in 1851 and after was sometimes referred to as the "Cimarron Route"), the Bent's Fort Trail (also known as the Raton Route and, much later, called the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail), [1] and the frontier settlements. The line of communication and supply with the eastern states was vital to the army and the developing economy of New Mexico Territory and, of all the military posts established in the Southwest, Fort Union was the one most responsible for protecting the mails, government supply trains, and merchant caravans traversing the plains. Special escorts were provided for government officials traveling to and from New Mexico Territory. Troops from Fort Union were sent with military expeditions throughout the region, and they were called upon especially when Indian troubles threatened in the area close to the post. [2]

The success or failure of these military operations provided the grounds by which the larger public judged the contributions of the army to the safety and development of the Southwest. Only military personnel understood that routine garrison duties, construction and maintenance efforts, procurement and distribution of supplies, dietary provisions and health care, all those details which took most of the soldiers' time and about which the general public understood little, were indispensable prerequisites for military operations to occur. Field service required little time of any particular soldier, in comparison with other responsibilities, but it was the ultimate purpose of his presence in the Southwest and at Fort Union.





Southwestern Defense System before the Civil War. Source: Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument*, 34.

Until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 the primary objective of military operations focused on Indians—prevention of attacks and raids if possible (scouts, patrols, escorts, and sometimes reconnaissance parties and exploring expeditions) and the pursuit and punishment of parties guilty or presumed guilty of hostile activities (search-and-recovery or search-and-destroy missions, campaigns against specific marauding parties or members of a particular tribe in general, and expeditions into selected areas designed to force Indians to stop raiding, sign peace agreements, and/or relocate to a specified reserve). Occasionally the military was called upon to help enforce civil law and order in the territory. Whatever was required to keep the peace the army was expected to do. The soldiers who served at Fort Union, like soldiers everywhere, were usually evaluated in the short-term by how effectively they made war, but in the long-term it was even more important how effectively they kept the peace. It was relatively easy to determine success or failure in warfare, but it was virtually impossible to determine the potency of the army in preventing conflicts. The military, an agency of the Anglo-American penetration of New Mexico, was only one of several parties in the complex and fragile structure of ethnic intercourse in the region.

Indian-white relations were difficult on every American frontier during the nineteenth century but especially so in the Southwest because of two and a half centuries of Hispanic Indian associations prior to annexation of the region by the United States. Although Hispanics and Indians had frequently destroyed life and property in their conflicts, they had developed a system of mutual survival in a harsh environment. The infusion of Anglos disrupted those patterns, and the Indians eventually found the survival of themselves and their cultures threatened. Diseases to which Indians had little if any resistance decimated their numbers, while Anglo settlers wanted to obtain title to the land. Indians and Hispanics felt the heavy hand of Anglo domination, the "Americanization" of their societies. [3]

Indian-white relations were complicated by a number of factors, the most important being that few if any members of one society understood the culture of the others. It was difficult, perhaps impossible, for most people to transcend their cultural heritage and values, resulting in the tragedy of what ethnohistorian Calvin Martin called "mutual incomprehension." [4] The three cultural groups in the Southwest had different concepts of family life, personal values, social relations, religion, uses and ownership of land and other property, how best to obtain the provisions of life, and warfare.

Anglo-American thinking was dominated by ideas of ethnocentric superiority, private property in land, a market economy, individual opportunity, democracy, Protestant Christianity, and especially the idea of progress (usually conceived as economic development). Indians stood in the way of progress and, by Anglo standards, they were also in need of it. Indian culture was considered by Anglos to be substandard or deficient in civilization, but that could be improved if not cured by adapting Anglo institutions and values, particularly the English language, Christianity, private property in land, and anything else that would cause them to cease being Indians and be more like Anglos. The central issue of conflict between Indians and Anglo-Americans was land—the Indians had it and Anglos wanted it—and there lay the essence of the struggle. The non-Pueblo Indians were considered to be the major obstacle to the Anglo exploitation and development of New Mexico. [5]

Indian cultures especially experienced new pressures and threats to their traditional ways after the Mexican War, and Indian leaders considered how to react. The complexities of the problem were expressed by literary scholar Richard Slotkin: "The Indian perceived and alternately envied and feared the sophistication of the white man's religion, customs, and technology, which seemed at times a threat and at times the logical development of the principles of his own society and religion. Each culture viewed the other with mixed feelings of attraction and repulsion, sympathy and antipathy." [6] Indian resistance in New Mexico became more determined after the Anglo invasion because their ways of life and their land bases were threatened. Some Indian leaders feared resistance would lead only to destruction of their culture and hoped to survive and preserve some of their traditions by accommodating to Anglo desires. Over time acculturation resulted as all three cultures influenced the others, including changes in values, attitudes, institutions, and material culture. The most obvious and far-reaching changes were experienced by Indians who eventually lost much of their traditional culture or preserved it subrosa while appearing to become more like Anglos. Indians became dependent on trade with whites, but some commodities supplied, such as guns and alcohol, contributed to the difficulty of keeping the peace. Fewer changes affected the Hispanics, but many of them also lost their land and absorbed some Indian and Anglo characteristics. The Anglo culture experienced the least change as it became dominant during the last half of the nineteenth century but was also influenced by the other cultures.

The Indian policies of the United States were not constant because of changes from one presidential administration to another, the willingness or unwillingness of Congress to approve treaties and pass appropriations bills, [7] and the division of authority over Indian relations between the War Department and the Department of the Interior. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established as a part of the War Department in 1824 but was transferred to the newly-organized Department of the Interior in 1849. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was primarily responsible for obtaining land title from Indians and administering the affairs of the Indians after they surrendered their lands. In each territory there was a superintendent of Indian affairs, usually the territorial governor. Indian agents were appointed to deal directly with specific tribes or bands of tribes and to administer Indian reservations when established.

The army was responsible for maintaining the peace, protecting settlements from Indians, safeguarding Indians from illegal encroachments on their lands, punishing Indians who were hostile, bringing recalcitrant Indian leaders and bands to the negotiating table, and rounding up Indians who left the reservation. The lines of authority between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the army were not clearly drawn. The officials of the war and interior departments often failed to cooperate, leaving Indians confused and victims of conflicting demands and promises. Besides Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and the army, other parties influenced Indian-white relations, including licensed and unlicensed Indian traders (Pueblo, Hispanic, and Anglo), hunters who entered traditional Indian hunting lands, missionaries of varying religious persuasions, merchants who benefited from unsettled conditions, settlers

who lost (or claimed to have lost) property to Indian raiders, and politicians who saw Indian problems as issues to be exploited for election purposes. By benefit of hindsight the outcome of Indian-white relations was virtually inevitable because of the tremendous disparities of population, resources, technology, and resistance to diseases, but the outcome of the so-called "Indian problem" in the Southwest was not decided until the 1880s. Troops and supply trains from Fort Union were directly involved in the events which yielded that conclusion.

During the 1850s, despite the signing of many treaties by leaders of tribes in New Mexico (which were, as noted, not approved by the Senate nor funded by Congress), the army was expected to keep the peace and punish offenders. As historian Robert Utley explained,

> the history of Indian relations in New Mexico during the 1850s is largely a military history. Even consistent, well-financed civil policies could not have overcome the patterns in which generations of hostility had locked both Indians and colonists—patterns of raid and counterraid, of plunder and pillage, and of enslavement of captives by both sides. From the little forts . . . the troops campaigned against the elusive foe. [8]

As soon as Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner established Fort Union, he directed troops there and throughout New Mexico to participate in military operations against Indians. He arranged for better protection of the Santa Fe Trail and continued preparations for the campaign against the Navajos. On August 2, 1851, in the same order naming Fort Union, Sumner directed that "in order to afford protection to travel and commerce between the Missouri frontier and this territory, Major Carleton's Company K 1st Dragoons, will be kept in motion this summer and fall along the Cimarron route, between this place and the post below the crossing of the Arkansas river [Fort Atkinson], returning finally to this post." [9] The primary mission of these patrols was protection of the stagecoaches and mail they carried, giving some protection directly or indirectly to other travelers and freight caravans on the trail.

Later, when the possibility of Indian attacks on the mail coaches threatened, the patrols were replaced with escorts which accompanied the eastbound mails from Fort Union to the Arkansas River in Kansas Territory and the westbound coaches (if connections were made) from the Arkansas River to Fort Union. Sometimes the escort of approximately 20 soldiers was mounted and rode near the mail wagons or coaches; other times the escort rode in wagons which accompanied the mails. Only rarely were these armed patrols or escorts attacked by Indians. Beginning with Carleton's first patrol in 1851, military commanders considered these efforts successful in protecting the Santa Fe Trail.

Carleton and his command left Fort Union on August 3, 1851, and followed the Cimarron Route to Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River, where a mail station had been established. He was instructed to move slowly along the Santa Fe Trail, remain at Fort Atkinson for one week, and return at a leisurely pace over the same route. He was to watch for Indians along the way, show "great kindness" to those who were peaceable, and promptly punish any who were considered hostile. After recuperating at Fort Union for approximately 10 days after making the first trip, the same troops were to make a second patrol under the same directions. [10]

Sumner reported several weeks later, "that no depredations, whatever, have been committed on the road to Missouri, since Major Carleton has been upon it." [11] This system of patrols operated until November 4, 1851, when Carleton's command returned to Fort Union for the winter months, and was repeated during part of the following summer. Later, when escorts replaced patrols, the troops from Fort Union operated in conjunction with Fort Atkinson until that post was abandoned for the last time in October 1854. [12] After Fort Larned was established in Kansas Territory in 1859, a system of escorts was coordinated between that

post and Fort Union. In this way, one of the missions of the Fort Union garrison, protection for the Santa Fe Trail, was achieved.

The Santa Fe Trail may have been clear of Indian raids in the summer of 1851, but much of the Territory of New Mexico was without adequate protection. Sumner led a large force against the Navajos on August 17 and established Fort Defiance near their homeland on September 18, but members of that tribe slipped around those troops in the field and raided unprotected settlements near the Rio Grande Valley. [13] Before Sumner returned from the Navajo campaign, which failed to engage the enemy, additional attacks were made on New Mexican settlements. [14] In the fall of 1851 Indian Agent John Greiner reported from Taos that some of the Utes and Jicarillas were bragging about their raids and how many settlers they had killed. [15]

After Sumner returned to Fort Union, New Mexico Governor James S. Calhoun, in response to citizen requests, asked Sumner to authorize the issue of military arms for a volunteer militia unit in the territory so the people could better protect themselves from destruction at the hands of Indians. After some delay, Sumner authorized Captain Shoemaker to issue 75 flintlock muskets, with ammunition and necessary accouterments, to the governor for the use of a militia unit to be led by Captain Preston Beck. [16] Sumner placed two restrictions on the "loan" of arms; one, that they would "be immediately returned whenever demanded by the Commanding Officer of the 9th Dept., and secondly that they are never to be used in making hostile incursions into the Indian Country unless this volunteer company is acting in conjunction with the regular troops." [17] These restrictions were unacceptable to Captain Beck, and the arms were refused. [18] A period of strained relations between Sumner and Calhoun followed. [19] When Governor Calhoun became too ill to perform the duties of his office, he appointed Indian Agent Greiner to act as superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory. Greiner and Sumner were unable to cooperate either. [20] Despite those problems, however, the Indians of the territory were reported to be quiet early in 1852.

Colonel Sumner was satisfied that the new posts he had established closer to the Indians' homelands were having a "favourable influence" on relations between citizens and Indians. In late January 1852 he declared that the Jicarilla Apaches and the Utes "have been perfectly quiet" because of the presence of Fort Union. When Fort Massachusetts was established some 80 miles north of Taos in the heart of Ute country the following spring, he believed that the presence of troops would ensure "their permanent submission." [21]

Sumner hoped to have a similar impact on the Mescalero Apaches to the south of Fort Union. On February 3, 1852, Captain Carleton and his Company K, First Dragoons, total of 61 men, departed Fort Union on a reconnaissance to Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River, with a stop at Anton Chico to pick up forage for the horses. The corn purchased there was still on the ear, and the soldiers spent much of their time for a few days shelling the corn by hand to make it easier to transport. As they marched to the Bosque Redondo, they cached some of the corn to provide forage for their horses on the return trip. Carleton reported there was little grass along the way. On the return march, the troops found that one place where they had cached corn had been found by "Mexican" hunters who had taken the entire amount. [22]

Carleton's company was to watch for Indians, particularly Mescalero Apaches, and try to impress upon them the "necessity" for peaceful behavior. [23] They saw no Indians during the entire trip but learned from "Mexicans" that Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas gathered at Bosque Redondo in the spring to recruit their ponies and carry on a lively trade among themselves and with "Mexican" buffalo hunters. Carleton was impressed with the region, especially the Bosque Redondo. He described at length the lay of the land along the Pecos River, the rich bottom lands at and below the Bosque Redondo with potential for successful agriculture, an abundance of trees, grass, sunflowers, wild grapes, and large flocks of wild

turkeys. Carleton saw it as an ideal location for a military post, especially for a cavalry garrison. The presence of troops in that area, he predicted, would be quickly followed by "Mexican" settlers who would develop the potential of the land. [24] Carleton returned to Fort Union on February 24 with a total command of fifty-seven, four less than he started with three weeks earlier. He reported that three men had deserted and one, Private Patrick O'Brien, had died. [25]

In March 1852, following reports of raids by Gila Apaches at San Antonio on the Rio Grande between Valverde and Soccoro, where two New Mexicans were killed and livestock was stolen, Governor Calhoun requested 100 muskets and ammunition from Sumner to issue to a militia unit at San Antonio. Sumner directed Captain Horace Brooks, Second Artillery, commanding Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, to turn over the requested weapons, 5,000 cap and ball cartridges, and 300 flints to the governor to be used by citizens at San Antonio led by Estanislas Montoya. Calhoun asked Brooks to deliver the items to San Antonio. Brooks was unable to fulfill the order because he did not have the muskets at Santa Fe, and he informed Calhoun that he did not have available transportation to deliver the weapons if he had them. Calhoun, so ill that he was unable to fulfill his duties, appealed to Sumner, who ordered Brooks to obtain the necessary arms and ammunition from Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot at Fort Union. [26]

With the coming of spring, troops at Fort Union and throughout the department renewed their efforts to control the Indians. On April 3, 1852, Second Lieutenant Joseph Edward Maxwell and his Company D, Third Infantry, were ordered from their station at Fort Union to department headquarters at Albuquerque for "field service against the Apache Indians." The quartermaster at Fort Union was required to "furnish the necessary transportation for the movement" of the company. [27] On April 20, Carleton and his company of dragoons were directed to leave Fort Union to patrol the Santa Fe Trail to Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas River. They were to remain at the destination for a few days to rest and "recruit" the horses, then march back to Fort Union. [28] Because of other Indian troubles in the department and the shortage of troops at Fort Union, it appears that this order was not carried out. Carleton assumed command of Fort Union on April 22, 1852, and his company was present for duty there until August 3. In August Carleton and his company of dragoons patrolled the trail as far as Fort Atkinson and escorted the new territorial governor from that point back to Fort Union. [29] In October 1852 an escort was provided from the garrison at Fort Union to accompany Major Francis A. Cunningham, paymaster, and Major and Mrs. Philip R. Thompson as far as Fort Atkinson. [30]

During April 1852 two companies of First Dragoons and one company of Third Infantry, under command of Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake, First Dragoons, were sent to establish Fort Massachusetts "in the country of the Utah Indians." [31] The new post was located on Ute Creek, a tributary of the Rio Grande, near the San Luis Valley on June 22, 1852. It was occupied until June 24, 1858, when the garrison was moved to a nearby site and Fort Garland was established. [32]

While troops were marching to establish Fort Massachusetts in the spring of 1852, a council was held with some Jicarilla leaders at Pecos, followed by further discussions in July. [33] There were no reported attacks by Jicarillas on the New Mexican settlements during the year, but in August a Jicarilla war party went onto the plains to fight the Kiowas. The Kiowas had, according to two Jicarillas met by soldiers at Ocate, recently killed three or four Jicarillas. [34] Although the Indians were peaceful, military protection continued.

The provision of military escorts by troops at Fort Union for departing Governor Calhoun and the coming of Governor William Carr Lane in 1852, also part of military operations, were covered in the previous chapter. [35] For whatever reasons, including Sumner's redistribution

of the troops in the department and efforts by Bureau of Indian Affairs officials to negotiate treaties of peace with tribes in New Mexico, a brief period of unprecedented peace was experienced in the department in 1852. Greiner declared at the end of June 1852, *"Not a single depredation has been committed by any of the Indians in New Mexico for three months.* The *'oldest inhabitant'* cannot recollect the time when this could have been said with truth before." [36] Colonel Sumner reported in September that "all things continue quiet in this department" and attributed this to his reorganization of the department. [37] It appeared to military and civil officials that opportunities existed to negotiate peace treaties and make arrangements to locate the Indians on their own reservations, providing them help with subsistence provisions while they made the transition from hunters and raiders to farmers and ranchers.

Governor Lane, new territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, became a strong advocate of peace. Perhaps persuaded by Greiner, Lane concluded that it was more economical to feed Indians than to fight them. He proceeded, without approval of higher authority, to negotiate treaties with several New Mexican tribes, including the Jicarilla Apaches. He promised to feed the Indians for five years and give additional aid if they would stop raiding, settle in a specified location, and take up agriculture. He spent, without authorization, between $20,000 and $40,000 to implement the agreements, and several hundred Indians were reported to be settled on potential reservations. When the Senate rejected the treaties and Congress refused to fund the expenses incurred, the distribution of rations had to be stopped and the Indians felt betrayed. All crops planted by the Indians in 1853 failed. They began to raid in order to survive and in retaliation for the broken promises. Lane was criticized for his actions and resigned from office. [38]

During the interim when one governor left office and another arrived, Colonel Sumner was replaced by Brigadier General John Garland as department commander. Before he left New Mexico, Sumner directed preparations for a campaign against the Navajos which included most of the troops at Fort Union (all the artillery and dragoon companies stationed there plus most of the company of infantry). The dragoons were directed to lead their horses until they reached the heart of Navajo country, so the animals would be in good condition for battle. As noted in the previous chapter, the campaign was never conducted because the issue with the Navajos was resolved by the troops at Fort Defiance. [39]

If Carleton and his company of dragoons had gone on the planned expedition, they might not have experienced an Indian raid on their horse herd. On July 29 the dragoon horses were grazing in a cañon in the Turkey Mountains about five miles northeast of Fort Union when five Utes attempted to stampede the herd but succeeded in stealing only one horse. Carleton and a detachment of his company followed the trail for four days before losing it in the mountains. The horse was not recovered. The leader of the Ute party was understood to be Chief Tamooche. Carleton was furious that this had happened near the post and under the watch of troops and exclaimed, "Had I caught or killed these Indians, dead or alive I should have hung them upon the trees at the point where they stampeded the horses." [40]

Governor David Meriwether arrived to replace Lane in August 1853, and he, like Lane, wanted to feed the Indians in order to keep the peace. Meriwether, like his predecessor, was unable to secure funds to do so. The Indians continued to raid in order to survive, and Meriwether called for additional military support to protect the settlements. In September 1853 a party of Jicarillas came to Fort Union, ostensibly to trade, and remained most of the month. They were apparently checking on the strength of the command, and they suddenly left and were raiding in the area a few weeks later. Late in the year Jicarillas killed a rancher, Juan Silva, and his son near Las Vegas and stole his herd of cattle. A detachment of dragoons was sent from Fort Union but was unable to find the Indians or the stolen cattle. [41]

Governor Meriwether notified Brigadier General Garland in January that Indian disturbances in the northern part of the territory were increasing and requested additional military vigilance in the area. Garland sent orders to Lieutenant Colonel Cooke and Major Blake, the commanding officers at Fort Union and Cantonment Burgwin, to investigate all reports of Indian depredations and to punish the delinquents. Garland was of the opinion that the primary cause of heightened Indian troubles was attributable to "large armed parties of New Mexicans" who "are in the habit of going into the Indian Country, or perhaps more properly speaking, their hunting grounds, where they kill off the very game upon which the Indians depend for subsistence." This left the Indians in the desperate situation of either "starving to death" or "depredating upon the settlements." [42]

That New Mexican hunters were contributing to the Indian problems in the territory was confirmed by an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the reported loss of property by a party of hunters from San Miguel. The hunters informed Governor Meriwether, who in turn notified Garland, that Indians had attacked their camp on the Canadian River, killed one of the hunters, stolen some of their property, and prevented the survivors from recovering their wagons and other supplies at the camp. Garland directed Lieutenant Colonel Cooke at Fort Union to send troops to investigate and escort the hunters to their wagons and assist in the recovery of their property, punishing any Indians found along the way. In addition Cooke was to examine the reported murder of two Anglo men near Las Vegas, possibly by Indians. The inquiry gathered evidence quite contradictory to the initial reports. [43]

Cooke, who wondered why the hunters had not informed him of their losses, sent Lieutenant Joseph E. Maxwell and a detachment troops from Fort Union to gather information and assist the men from San Miguel in the recovery of their *carretas* and other property. Cooke observed, before the facts were collected, that the hunters "were probably intruders on indian lands." Maxwell learned that the two men killed near Las Vegas had been the victims of New Mexican thieves rather than Indians, and one of the murderers had been apprehended and then released. He ascertained that the hunting party of Pedro Gonzales of San Miguel had gone far beyond the Canadian River where the Indians had repeatedly warned them to leave, stating that a few hunters were not a problem but many hunters with wagons were not welcome. The hunters claimed that the Indians, believed to be Cheyennes, took some of their horses and later returned them. At a time when Gonzales was not at the camp, several of the hunters killed two Indians and wounded a third who escaped. One of the hunters was killed. The hunting party, fearing revenge by the Indians, had abandoned their camp and were afraid to go back to recover the wagons and supplies. Cooke strongly urged that "these particular hunters be judicially investigated on the charges of murder" and for illegal intrusion on Indian lands. Considering the murder of two men near Las Vegas, the unprovoked killing of two Indians, and the illegal activities of New Mexican hunters, the commander of Fort Union observed, "It would seem that white men and Indians are at present most in need of our protection." [44]

A series of events that led directly to war began in February 1854 when Samuel Watrous, one of the beef contractors for Fort Union, reported the loss of several cattle to Indians. The cattle were herded about 60 miles from Fort Union, apparently along the Canadian River. A party of Jicarillas and Utes were suspected of stealing the animals. Lieutenant David Bell was sent with a detachment of 33 troops of his Company H, Second Dragoons, from Fort Union on February 13, with Watrous's son-in-law William Tipton as guide, to attempt to find and recover the lost stock. They did not find Indians or cattle and returned to Fort Union after one week. [45]

Lieutenant Bell and 35 enlisted men of Company H, Second Dragoons, accompanied by Lieutenant George Sykes, Second Dragoons, and Second Lieutenant Joseph E. Maxwell, Third Infantry, were sent from Fort Union on March 2 to "make a scout" for hostile Indians

and stolen livestock on the Canadian River and "to protect the frontier." On March 5 they picked up a trail and followed it to a point near a Jicarilla encampment, about 70 miles from Fort Union beyond the Canadian, where they were met by several mounted Indians. Following an attempt to talk with these Apaches about the stolen cattle, which they denied having anything to do with and suggested the Utes were probably guilty of the theft, Bell accused them of stealing the cattle and demanded that the thieves and cattle be delivered to him. The soldiers were directed to take Chief Lobo as a prisoner until the demands were met. [46]

Lobo resisted and a brief skirmish followed. The Indians fought only a few minutes and then scattered, but Bell did not pursue them because he suspected a possible ambush. The Jicarillas lost five men killed, including Chief Lobo, and several wounded. The soldiers had two killed (Privates William A. Arnold and James Bell) and four wounded (Bugler Adam T. Conalki and Privates Edward Golden, John Steel, and William Walker). An express rider was sent to Fort Union to report, and Post Surgeon John Byrne was dispatched from the post with an ambulance to meet the detachment and attend to the wounded on the way back to the post. They returned to Fort Union on March 7 without further attempts to recover the cattle. The soldiers were especially pleased to have killed Chief Lobo who was considered the leader of the attack on the White party in 1849, the killer of Mrs. White, the leader of the attack on the mail party at Wagon Mound in 1850, and other outrageous acts. [47]

The next day a raiding party of Utes and Jicarillas killed two herders and drove off approximately 200 cattle of the Fort Union depot herd which were being grazed by a contractor within 20 miles of where the fight occurred on March 5. The raiders were prevented from stealing the entire herd by a small band of friendly Utes led by Chief Chico Velasquez, an act which Lieutenant Colonel Cooke called "extraordinary." [48] A platoon of 25 dragoons was sent under Lieutenant Bell on March 9 to recover the stock and punish the guilty Indians but returned a few days later without finding either Indians or cattle. Reinforcements, 60 dragoons under command of Lieutenant Samuel D. Sturgis, were sent to Fort Union from Albuquerque, and Cooke was directed to keep the Santa Fe Trail open, escorting the mails and wagon trains as required. An escort was sent on March 15 to meet the westbound mail and see it safely through the region of recent hostilities. On March 22 Sturgis led a detachment of his company of First Dragoons to the Canadian River to see if any of the missing cattle could be located. The following day Lieutenant Bell left with another detachment to go to the Pecos River on a similar mission. Neither force was successful in locating the Jicarillas, but the dragoons under Lieutenant Sturgis found fourteen of the missing cattle and brought them to Fort Union. [49]

Most of the Jicarillas and Utes were still friendly in early March 1854, and about 45 lodges of peaceful Apaches camped about three miles from Mora. A company of dragoons was sent from Cantonment Burgwin near Taos, at Cooke's request, to keep watch over this camp and prevent them from joining in the hostilities. A New Mexican, who apparently wanted the Indians to leave the area, told these Jicarillas that the troops planned to attack them if they remained there. They left and scattered, some going toward Taos, some toward the Rio Grande, and others to join another peaceful encampment near Picuris Pueblo. Indian Agent Kit Carson, recently appointed to the Taos Agency to deal with the Utes and Jicarillas, was sent to meet with some of the peace leaders. On March 25 he held council with eight Jicarillas, including Chief Chacon, who proclaimed peaceful intentions and asked for protection and provisions if they remained in their camps. Governor Meriwether was on an extended leave of absence, and Carson urged Acting Governor William S. Messervy to send a special agent to live with the peaceful Jicarillas and to provide them with provisions. [50]

Because of the division of authority between the army and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the peaceful Indians were under control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the hostiles were

under control of the army. It was not always possible, however, to determine who was hostile and who was friendly. The peaceful camp near Picuris was to receive rations so long as they stayed put, but for some reason they fled while Carson was at Santa Fe. They met Major Philip R. Thompson's detachment of dragoons, marching from Fort Union to Cantonment Burgwin, and Thompson asked for four Jicarillas to accompany him as hostages to guarantee that the band remained peaceful. They did as he requested, but the following day the band and the hostages escaped and were no longer counted among the peaceful Indians. [51]

Lieutenant John W. Davidson and a company of dragoons from Cantonment Burgwin were sent to follow the fleeing Jicarillas on March 30. This company was attacked by a force of Jicarillas and Utes (estimated to number from 100 to 250 warriors) near Cieneguilla (present Pilar) about 25 miles south of Taos. The Indians apparently ambushed the soldiers. Messervy declared of the Jicarillas, "the whole plan of their operations was to draw our troops into an ambush, destroy them, and then invite the Utahs to join them in a general massacre of our citizens." [52] In a hard-fought three-hour battle Davidson's troops suffered 22 killed and 36 wounded and lost most of their supplies and 22 horses to the Indians. Lieutenant Davidson and Assistant Surgeon David L. Magruder were among the wounded. [53] All the Jicarillas were now considered at war and the army was given responsibility for punishing them until they sued for peace. [54]

Lt. Davidson's conduct in the tragic engagement, when his troops were attacked by a force of superior numbers, was praised by Brig. Gen. Garland: "The troops displayed a gallantry seldom equalled in this, or any other country and the Officer in Command, Lieut. Davidson, has given evidence of soldiership in the highest degree creditable to him. To have sustained a deadly control of three hours when he was so greatly outnumbered, and to have retired with the fragment of a company, crippled up, is amazing and calls for the admiration of every true soldier." Garland to Thomas, April 1, 1854, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1,* 33 Cong., 1 sess. (Serial 747), pt. 2, pp. 33-34.

Lt. David Bell later charged that Davidson could have avoided the engagement and had exhibited poor leadership, thereby losing many of his men unnecessarily. Garland was incensed and called a court of inquiry to meet at Taos on March 10, 1856, to consider Bell's charges and to assess Davidson's conduct during the battle. Col. B. L. E. Bonneville and Captains James H. Carleton and William N. Grier were detailed for the court, with Lt. Henry B. Clitz as recorder. Orders No. 1, HQ DNM, Feb. 9, 1856, DNM Orders, v. 36, p. 346, USAC, RG 393, NA.

The court concluded that Davidson could not have avoided the battle (meaning he was attacked and not the instigator of the engagement) and "that in the battle he exhibited skill in his mode of attacking a greatly superior force of hostile Indians; and prudence, and coolness, and courage, throughout a protracted engagement; and finally, when he was obliged to retire from the field, owing to the great odds opposing him, the losses he had sustained, and the scarcity of ammunition; his exertions to bring off the wounded men merit high praise." Garland approved the findings and observed that Bell's "accusations present the appearance of malicious criticism." Orders No. 3, HQ DNM, Mar. 26, 1856, ibid., 348-349.

Kit Carson later testified to Davidson's bravery: "Nearly every person engaged in, and who survived that day's bloody battle, has since told me that his commanding officer never once sought shelter, but stood manfully exposed to the aim of the Indians, encouraging his men, and apparently unmindful of his own life. In the retreat, he was as cool and collected as if under the guns of his fort. The only anxiety he exhibited was for the safety of his remaining men." Quoted in James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback, Santa Fe and Back: A Summer Tour* (1866; reprint, Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, Publishers, 1966), 104.

Lieutenant Colonel Cooke left the command of Fort Union to Captain Nathaniel C. Macrae and took charge of a campaign against the Jicarillas. His force included Company H, First Dragoons, Company H, Second Dragoons, and Company D, Second Artillery, from Fort Union, with additional troops from Cantonment Burgwin. A Spy Company recruited among civilians around Taos (including many Pueblo Indians), led by Captain James H. Quinn, served as guides and scouts to pursue the Jicarillas. Indian Agent Carson also accompanied Cooke. On April 7 Garland sent word to Cooke that the leader of the Jicarillas who had attacked Lieutenant Davidson's command, Flechas Rayada, had offered to return all the horses and arms captured in that fight if peace could be made. Garland was opposed to negotiations. Carson later declared that he thought the Jicarillas around Taos "were driven into the war, by the actions of the officers & troops in that quarter." He believed that, "thinking there will be no quarter or mercy shown them, they will resort to all desperate expedients to escape any sort of pursuit & they have scattered now in every direction." He urged that peace negotiations be attempted. [55]

The Jicarillas fled westward across the Rio Grande, and Cooke started after them from Taos on April 4, 1854. The troops carried rations for 30 days, including beef and mutton on the hoof. Brigadier General Garland enjoined Cooke to "listen to no proposition for peace until these marauding Apaches have been well whipped, give them neither rest nor quarter until they are humbled to the dust." Jicarillas and soldiers struggled through rugged terrain and spring blizzards. On April 8 the troops came upon a Jicarilla camp, believed to include Chief Chacon and more than 150 of his followers, beside the Rio Caliente, tributary of the Chama River, and attacked. The Indians were driven from their camp which the soldiers destroyed. Some Jicarilla women and children (one source said "a large number of their children") and at least two of the Indians' horses drowned while trying to cross the stream. It was later learned that four or five Jicarillas were killed and five or six were wounded in the attack. The soldiers lost one killed and one wounded. Because of the loss of their camp and supplies, the Indians suffered from exposure and seventeen women and children perished in the snow. Although Chief Chacon had professed for peace and claimed he and his followers had participated in no raids or attacks, he and his band were the ones overtaken and punished in retaliation for the earlier raids and the attack on Lieutenant Davidson's command. [56]

A portion of Cooke's command, Captain William T. H. Brooks and a company of Third Infantry, tried to overtake Chacon's band which fled farther into the mountains, while Cooke continued the search for other bands with the remainder of the troops. Both commands ran into deep snow which forced them to abandon the chase and return to Taos. Cooke and the dragoons from Fort Union returned to that post in May. On May 23, following reports of Jicarillas moving into the Sangre de Cristo Mountains north of Taos, Cooke sent Captain James H. Carleton with one hundred men, including the Spy Company and Carson, in pursuit. They followed the trail across the mountains to the plains. On May 31 a grizzly bear "tore one of the Pueblo spies badly." The bear was killed. The Indian trail led them to Raton Pass. They climbed Fischer's Peak near the north end of the pass on June 4 and surprised a camp of 20 Jicarilla lodges on the mesa, under Chief Huero. The Jicarillas, whom Carleton described as "panic-stricken," escaped but lost their entire camp which was destroyed and 38 horses which were captured and given to the Spy Company. A few soldiers and spies remained near the camp when the main body of troops left and killed a few Jicarillas when they came back to see what remained of their camp. No other Indians were found on the march back to Taos. [57]

During May Acting Governor Messervy called into service for three months a battalion of militia to include 200 volunteers. These were stationed in northeastern New Mexico to protect the settlements "from the invasion of the Indians." In addition to the hostilities of the Jicarillas, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes were reported to be raiding in San Miguel County where fourteen New Mexicans were killed. Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, back at Fort

Union, declared that the attacks by the plains tribes "is reasonably to be expected & in retaliation of serious depredations committed by the Inhabitants of the territory on them: viz, the annual destruction of buffalo within their country." Garland attributed the murders in San Miguel County to the unprovoked killing of plains Indians by buffalo hunters the previous winter. "These Indians," he wrote, "as is their custom took their revenge." [58]

Troops from Fort Union continued to investigate reports of Indian raids. On May 20 Second Lieutenant Robert Ransom, First Dragoons, led 96 dragoons from the post to pursue and punish Indians reported to be killing herders and stealing sheep between the Pecos and Canadian rivers. They went via Las Vegas to Alexander Hatch's Ranch on the Gallinas River, where they were informed that the Indians had attacked the herders and taken the sheep of Juan Perea, located about 40 miles east of Hatch's Ranch. Leaving the pack train in camp with a guard, Ransom took the remainder of his detachment to the scene of the raid. They found about 3,000 sheep without herders and drove them back to the settlements to be claimed by their owners. Because of recent rains, they found no sign of Indians. When they returned to the Gallinas with the sheep, the soldiers met some herders with the remainder of Perea's sheep. They claimed that Indians had stolen 6,500 of their sheep and killed one herder. [59]

It was possible the Indians had driven the sheep toward the Pecos or Canadian River. Ransom picked up the pack train and headed down the Pecos in search of Indians. On May 25 his command overtook a small party of Indians, believed to be Mescalero Apaches, with a herd of stolen cattle and gave chase for about four hours. The Indians killed many of the cattle and fled. Ransom was forced to abandon pursuit when the dragoon horses became exhausted. He reported that the Indians had "scattered, no two taking the same trail; throwing away every article that would at all retard their flight." The next day the detachment went beyond Bosque Redondo and found no Indians. They then headed toward the Canadian River, hoping to find the sheep stolen from Perea. They found a trail of a large flock of sheep and the carcasses of many sheep that had been killed, but they were unable to overtake the Indians. Ransom blamed the poor condition of the horses for the failure to catch Indians. The troops recovered about 2,000 sheep that the Indians had abandoned and drove them to Las Vegas where they could be claimed by the owners. The identity of the Indians who stole the sheep was unknown, but Ransom thought they were from the plains. The detachment returned to Fort Union on June 3. [60]

On June 30 fifty-eight men of Companies D and H, Second Dragoons, from Fort Union, under command of Lieutenant Sykes and Second Lieutenant Maxwell, both Third Infantry, who had been joined in the field by two small parties of New Mexican militia from Las Vegas, pursued a small band of Jicarillas who had been raiding in the vicinity of Las Vegas. They followed the Indians along the Mora River and overtook them at a point about 35 miles from the post near where the Mora joins the Canadian River. Maxwell was in the lead of a few soldiers who chased the Indians up a hill. At the top Maxwell was killed immediately by a volley of arrows. Four Indians, including at least one of those who shot Maxwell, were killed in the engagement. At least two dragoons were wounded. [61]

At this point both sides stopped fighting and Brigadier General Garland reported that "the Jicarilla Apaches are pretty thoroughly subdued" and "making overtures of peace." They had learned, Garland stated, that "they are not safe from pursuit in the most inaccessible parts of the Rocky Mountains." Garland had high praises for all the officers and troops involved in the war against the Jicarillas, and expressed delight that he and Acting Governor Messervy had "acted in perfect harmony." Most of the militia volunteers were released before their term of service expired because it was believed the Jicarillas were ready to end the conflict. Chief Chacon offered to make peace in August and met with Governor Meriwether in September. But Chacon did not represent all the Jicarillas, many of whom were not yet ready to give up

without further struggle. No peace agreement was concluded and preparations were begun at Fort Union, where Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy replaced Cooke as post commander on September 18, 1854, to resume the campaign against the Jicarillas and the Utes in the spring of 1855. [62]

During the winter of 1854-1855 the Jicarillas and Utes began raiding because they needed food, hoped to destroy some of the frontier settlements, and possibly saw it as a way to alleviate the frustrations of encroachments on their territory and way of life. They committed acts of desperation before surrendering to the inevitable. In November they drove off a herd of cattle and several hundred sheep about 25 miles southeast of Fort Union. Although Fort Union was undermanned and some of the troops were in tents because the quarters were unsafe, Fauntleroy sent a detachment which recovered some of the cattle and sheep. In December troops were sent from Los Lunas and Fort Fillmore to investigate reports of raids by Jicarilla and Mescalero Apaches along the Pecos River. [63] The New Mexico Territorial Legislature reported at the end of 1854 that during the previous year Indians had killed 50 citizens and destroyed property worth $100,000. [64]

Although most of the Ute Indians of northern New Mexico Territory had refused to join with the belligerent Jicarillas during the campaigns of 1854, they permitted many Jicarillas to join their camps around the San Luis Valley during the autumn and winter. Soon Jicarillas and Utes were joining together in raids on the settlements, and the army had to conduct military operations against both tribes during 1855. On December 25, 1854, a combined force of Jicarilla and Ute warriors attacked the settlement of Pueblo on the Arkansas River in present Colorado, killing fourteen men, wounding two men, capturing one woman and two children, and taking 200 head of livestock. [65]

This assured that a major campaign would be organized against them as soon as possible in the spring. Major Blake, commanding at Cantonment Burgwin, was called to Santa Fe by Garland on January 12 to help arrange for a campaign against the offenders. Captain Horace Brooks, commanding Fort Massachusetts, was informed that an expedition would be organized and directed to use troops from his garrison to gain information about the Indians' "whereabouts." On January 13, 1855, Captain Carleton, commanding the Post at Albuquerque, was directed to prepare his company of dragoons for "active field service" and to join later with other troops in the department in a campaign against Indians (Carleton was used in the campaign against the Mescaleros instead of the one against the Utes and Jicarillas). Colonel Fauntleroy would lead the expedition, including troops from Fort Union. [66]

While preparations were being made, the raids continued. On January 11, 1855, Mescalero Apaches attacked at Galisteo (about 25 miles south of Santa Fe), "killed one man, wounded another, stripped a dozen women and drove off seventy mules." Fauntleroy was directed to send troops from Fort Union to cut off the raiders if they headed toward the Canadian River. A detachment was out four days and found no signs before returning to the post. Troops were also sent from Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, and they overtook the raiding party, killed three, and wounded four before the Indians escaped. On January 19 a combined force of Utes and Jicarillas again struck at Pueblo, killing four citizens and stealing approximately 100 head of livestock. The combined force of Captains Richard S. Ewell and Henry W. Stanton, which had been searching for hostile Mescaleros, attacked a Mescalero camp in the Sacramento Mountains of southeast New Mexico on January 20 and killed twelve Indians, including three chiefs. Captain Stanton and two privates were killed in the engagement. [67]

Colonel Fauntleroy led a detachment from Fort Union on January 25, 1855, to see if he could locate the Jicarillas and Utes who had attacked Pueblo. He returned on February 5 without success. Nothing much could be done until winter was over and a large command could take

the field, and the raids continued. On February 8 a party of New Mexicans were attacked at Ocate by eight Indians who killed one of their party and stole five or six horses. A small detachment was sent from Fort Union the following day to investigate. They found the dead citizen but saw no Indians. Fauntleroy also received reports of Indian raids near Las Vegas. Kit Carson reported from Taos on February 28, 1855, that the Jicarillas and Utes were raiding without restraint, and the following day he wrote that they "have been committing thefts, robberies and murders upon the stock and inhabitants of this northern portion of the Territory." [68]

In preparation for a spring offensive Governor Meriwether, at the request of Brigadier General Garland, called for a militia battalion of mounted volunteers to join with the regular troops against the Indians. Lieutenant Colonel Ceran St. Vrain commanded the six companies of volunteers who were outfitted at Fort Union. Colonel Fauntleroy was placed in charge of military operations in the area, including troops at Fort Union, Fort Massachusetts, and Cantonment Burgwin. Captain Daniel Rucker, quartermaster at Fort Union, was named quartermaster of the campaign. The Jicarillas and Utes increased their attacks along Ocate Creek, the Canadian River, near Las Vegas, and in the San Luis Valley, stealing several thousand head of livestock. [69]

One of the mounted volunteers was First Sergeant Rafael Chacon, Captain Francisco Gonzales's Company B, whose memoirs covering much of his remarkable life, 1833-1925, have been published. Soon after the volunteers received their arms and equipment at Fort Union, before the campaign began, Chacon was part of a detachment sent from Fort Union in pursuit of Jicarillas who had seized a herd of horses from Juan Vigil of La Cueva, located between Fort Union and the village of Mora. The volunteers followed the trail of the stolen horses past Wagon Mound and through the Raton Mountains to what is presently known as Long's Canyon, a side canyon of the Purgatoire River in present Colorado, where they caught up with the thieves. As Chacon recalled, "the Indians fled from us, abandoning their camp where they had been making a meal on horse meat. Our own provisions at this time had been exhausted, and we ate the meat which the Indians had left." The Indians got away with the stolen horses which were not recovered. [70]

The Indians had split up, dividing the stolen horses, and the volunteers also separated to pursue them. "I got lost," Chacon remembered, "with four soldiers, and on the following day we killed a wildcat, which, for lack of better food, we were obliged to eat." Unable to regain the lost horses, "we returned to the fort to provide ourselves with a fresh supply of food and ammunition in order to continue the campaign." [71]

On February 20, 1855, Fauntleroy left Fort Union under command of Captain Joseph Whittlesey, traveled to Taos where he made additional preparations for the campaign, and proceeded the following month to Fort Massachusetts where he gathered his force of 500 men, including two companies of dragoons, four companies of mounted volunteers, and thirty spies and guides under command of Captain Lucien Stewart from Taos. Indian Agent Carson accompanied the campaign. [72]

Fauntleroy led his troops into the field on March 14, heading into the San Luis Valley. The primary mission of the campaign was to find and punish the bands led by Ute Chief Blanco and Jicarilla Chief Huero, believed to be the ones responsible for the attacks on Pueblo. After traveling approximately 100 miles northwest of Fort Massachusetts the troops had a brief engagement on March 19 near Saguache Pass with a camp of Utes and Jicarillas, during which seven Indians were killed. The Indians had seen the soldiers coming and resisted until their families made good their escape. As the soldiers followed the trail the Jicarillas split from the Utes and soon scattered, making it impossible for the troops to pursue all the Indians. The command followed the largest group (Chief Chacon and his followers) to a

camp on the headwaters of the Arkansas River. There the troops captured most of the Indians' horses, but the Jicarillas managed to escape. [73] Fauntleroy did not follow because his men needed supplies, and he returned the expedition to Fort Massachusetts via Mosca Pass. Carson returned to his agency at Taos. [74]

As soon as his command was ready to march again, Fauntleroy took part of them back to the San Luis Valley to try to find the Utes, and St. Vrain led the remainder of the force across the Sangre de Cristo range in an attempt to locate the Jicarillas in present Colorado. Fauntleroy picked up the trail of Chief Blanco's Moache Utes and pursued them. His soldiers attacked the Indians in camp near the Arkansas River about 20 miles from Poncha Pass on April 28. The Indians had been up all night celebrating a scalp dance and were completely surprised. The soldiers, as Fauntleroy reported, "swept the enemy like chaff before the wind," killed an estimated forty Utes, wounded many more, and captured six children, thirty-five horses, twelve sheep and goats, six rifles, five pistols, twenty-five bows with arrows, and all the baggage, including over 200 buffalo robes and 150 pack saddles. Only two soldiers had been wounded, one of whom died later after his leg was amputated. A soldier was killed after the battle while attempting to pursue the fleeing Utes. Chief Blanco escaped with the rest of his band, and the soldiers followed and attacked a portion of the Ute band on May 1 and 2, killing four more Indians and capturing thirteen horses. Blanco and most of his people again escaped with the troops in pursuit. Chief Blanco appeared on a high ledge and asked to make peace, but one of the soldiers shot at him. The Indians then eluded the soldiers and scattered, making further pursuit fruitless. Fauntleroy returned to Fort Massachusetts in May. He rejoined the garrison at Fort Union in July and resumed command of the post on July 20. [75]

Meanwhile St. Vrain's command had followed the trail of the Jicarilla Apaches in present Colorado. They attacked a camp of Jicarillas on Bear Creek, a tributary of the Cucharas River, [76] killing and wounding thirteen, from where the survivors fled to the Purgatoire River. On the Purgatoire they struck the Jicarillas again, killing four and taking six women and children prisoners who were sent to Fort Union to be held until the conflict had ended. [77] In May the volunteers searched for Jicarillas along the Canadian River without success. They marched to Fort Union for supplies and prepared to take the field again. In June they caught up with a party of Jicarillas in the mountains of present southern Colorado and attacked, killing six, capturing seven, and taking thirty-one horses. The remainder of this band reportedly scattered, making pursuit impossible. A party of Jicarillas reportedly killed eight or ten New Mexicans in the mountain settlements between Cantonment Burgwin and Mora, but the offenders were not found. The enlistment period for the volunteers expired at the conclusion of six months and they were discharged at the end of July 1855 with high praises from Brigadier General Garland. [78]

The Jicarillas and Utes were tired of running and ready to make peace. They were practically destitute and were eating their mules. In August 1855 Governor Meriwether met with a delegation of Jicarillas and Moache Utes, and peace treaties were signed with the Moache Utes on September 11 and with most leaders of the Jicarillas on September 12. The Indians agreed to stop raiding and to give up claims to all lands except for reservations to be established for them. In addition to protected reserves, they were to receive rations, blankets, clothing, household utensils, agricultural implements, and seed. The treaties of 1855, like those of a few years earlier, were not approved by the Senate. New Mexicans, who did not want the Indians located close to the settlements, petitioned President Franklin Pierce to reject the treaties. Even though the agreements were not implemented, most of the Indians stayed near their agencies at Abiquiu and Taos, drawing their rations which were continued even though the treaties were rejected. The rations were considered a temporary expedient until permanent reservations were established. A few Jicarillas who refused to make peace continued to raid periodically near Mora and Rayado. One of the Jicarilla chiefs, Apache Negro, refused to participate in the peace arrangements in September 1855 but came to Santa

Fe in March 1856 and promised to abide by the treaties. The Jicarillas did not receive a permanent reservation until 1887. [79]

In 1861 the Taos agency was moved to the Cimarron agency, and Indian Agent Carson was replaced by William F. N. Arny. Lucien Maxwell leased a two-square-mile area to the agency and contracted to supply rations to the Jicarillas. Arny hoped to get the Jicarillas to farm, but his successor in 1862, Levi Keithly, was not interested in farming and distributed rations from Maxwell's flour mill at Cimarron. Troops from Fort Union were temporarily stationed at Cimarron from time to time to help keep the peace and oversee the distribution of rations. [80]

By the time the Jicarilla Apaches and Utes were brought under control in 1855, the Comanches were causing alarm in New Mexico. They began visiting ranches along the Pecos River in the late spring months, taking livestock for their food supply. They took 200 sheep from Maxwell's Ranch at Rayado in July. Upon receipt of a report in September that 250 Comanches were destroying crops and livestock near Hatch's Ranch on the Gallinas River (33 miles southeast of Las Vegas and 13 miles east-northeast of Anton Chico), Fauntleroy sent Lieutenant Robert Johnston, First Dragoons, with 30 dragoons from Fort Union to the area with 12 days' rations to provide protection for settlers. Garland considered the Comanche threat serious because he believed they were being pushed out of their traditional lands in Texas. He sent Captain William T. H. Brooks, Third Infantry, with 45 men from Fort Marcy and Captain Carleton with 80 dragoons from Albuquerque to join the other troops at Hatch's Ranch. Garland directed the officers to attempt to meet the Comanche leaders "to warn them of the necessity of departing from New Mexico and returning to their own country." He directed Captain Brooks, senior officer and commander of the troops at Hatch's Ranch, to "open a communication" with the Comanches and "inform them, explicitly, that they will not be permitted to remain in this territory." Brooks was directed to avoid hostilities with the Comanches if at all possible, but punish them if necessary. Other than stealing some green corn and a few beef cattle, the Comanches caused no other destruction and left the territory within a few days. The troops sent to Hatch's Ranch returned to their previously-assigned stations. Garland reported at the end of October that all the Indians in the department had been quiet the preceding month, "not even a theft has been committed." Hatch's Ranch was considered to be a strategic location in the area because it was close to the Pecos River settlements, near the Fort Smith route to Albuquerque, and in an area through which Comanches and Kiowas often entered the settled regions of New Mexico. The ranch become a military outpost in the department the following year. [81]

The Indians remained quiet during the winter of 1855-1856, except for the Gila Apaches in southwestern New Mexico, and in February the mail escorts by troops from Fort Union on the Santa Fe Trail were discontinued because their was no apparent threat to travelers. When the February westbound mail failed to arrive in New Mexico, the cause was severe snow storms, not Indians. A detachment was sent from Fort Union as far as Rabbit Ear Creek to provide relief for the mail party but returned without meeting the mail because of the "immense fall of snow." It was later learned that the mail party had turned back to Missouri because of the weather. [82]

Despite the severe winter, which caused many Indians to suffer for want of provisions and tied them down because of the difficulty of traveling through deep snow, there were still many reports of Indian depredations which had not in fact occurred. Brigadier General Garland declared, "there is, I regret to say, an obvious desire to keep up, on the part of some of the citizens, an Indian excitement, and in consequence, we are annoyed by many false rumors." [83] Nevertheless, reports of Indian hostilities had to be investigated in case they were true. Alexander Hatch, as will be seen, was an example of someone who profited from the presence of troops.

Military operations took many forms and were not always directed at Indian problems. In March troops were sent from Fort Union in an attempt to catch deserters and recover property they had stolen when they took early leave from the army, apparently at Albuquerque. Lieutenant Johnston and 20 dragoons left Fort Union during the night of March 24 to take an indirect route to Point of Rocks (or as far as Rabbit Ear Creek if necessary) in order to get ahead of the wagon trains that had recently left for Missouri. The troops were to march back toward Fort Union, examine each train they met for deserters and stolen military equipment, arrest any deserters, and take possession of any government property they found. They examined eight trains and found nothing. They returned to the post on March 30. [84]

The Navajos began raiding during the summer of 1856, but most of the other tribes that had signed treaties the previous year were quiet. In June seven unarmed New Mexicans were killed by Indians near Mora, and a band of Jicarillas were charged with the outrage. Garland, however, was assured by the agent at Abiquiu that the parties blamed had not been absent from that area. The department commander believed that the deed may have been done by a large war party of Cheyennes and Arapahoes who had crossed the Sangre de Cristos to attack the Utes, killing fourteen of them. He concluded before the facts were known that "it is quite probable that a fragment of this war party visited the Moro settlement on their return and committed the murders attributed to the Jicarillas." Apparently no troops were sent in pursuit. A month later Garland confirmed that the guilty parties were "the Indians of the Arkansas River, not within this Department." [85]

Sometimes the Indians were blamed for what they did not do. In the autumn of 1856 a report reached Fort Union that a number of sheep had been killed near Wagon Mound, presumably by Indians. A detachment was sent out by the new post commander, Lieutenant Colonel W. W. Loring, to investigate and found the report was true. The perpetrators left a trail which was followed to Mora, where it was found that a party of New Mexican hunters and traders were responsible. A short time later, Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville (who was serving as department commander while Garland was on leave of absence) stated that "the Indians, generally, are quiet, except occasionally a few thefts, committed by roving bands or by Mexicans." [86]

Comanches and Kiowas returned to New Mexico in September 1856, taking food from the ranches as they passed through the Pecos Valley area. One party of warriors from the two tribes pushed beyond the Rio Grande to attack the Navajos and lost many of their horses. When they returned to the plains, they took some livestock from the settlers. Mostly they took enough for their food supply but did little other damage. [87]

According to historian Charles Kenner, the Comanches had come into New Mexico for decades to trade and "helped themselves to foodstuffs." They did not consider this raiding, and the New Mexicans had tolerated such behavior. The Anglo ranchers, such as Alexander Hatch, Preston Beck, and James M. Giddings, considered the taking of food to be raiding and called on the army for protection. [88] When the Comanches and Kiowas took corn from Hatch's Ranch in September, Hatch requested that troops come to the area as they had the year before. Garland, just before he left the territory, sent Captain Washington Lafayette Elliott and his Company A, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, to search for a suitable location to station troops near Hatch's Ranch and to establish quarters there for the winter to protect the area. [89]

Captain Elliott inspected Beck's Ranch and found the road bad, wood scarce, and the water of poor quality. He found Hatch's Ranch to be the best place for troops. There were enough buildings to "afford comfortable shelter for my company, men & horses for the coming winter." There was plenty of wood and water, and Hatch had, despite his claims that the Indians had destroyed his crops, "corn sufficient to supply the company until about Apr. 1st

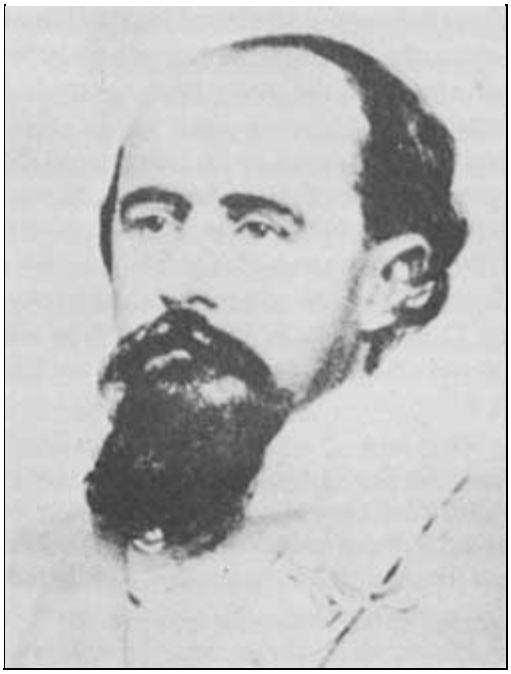
next." There were more settlers around Hatch's Ranch than at Beck's, so troops stationed at Hatch's Ranch would be better positioned to protect the livestock in the vicinity. Lieutenant Colonel Loring, regimental commander of the mounted riflemen and commanding officer at Fort Union, endorsed Elliott's choice and sent Elliott's company from Fort Union on November 4 to take station at Hatch's Ranch. [90]

Captain Elliott, Lieutenant William B. Lane, Second Lieutenant John H. Edson, and 73 enlisted men of Company A, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, established the post, which Elliott called Fort Biddle, on November 7, 1856. His proposed name was not approved and the post was known as Hatch's Ranch. It was occupied off and on, depending on the threat of Indian troubles, into the Civil War. It was generally considered an outpost of Fort Union, from which troops and supplies were typically sent, and the activities of the garrison at Hatch's Ranch were often coordinated with the actions of troops at Fort Union. For example, on December 26, 1856, department headquarters appended the following note to a letter to the commander at Fort Union regarding plans for a possible campaign against the plains Indians: "It is understood, as a matter of course, that Captain Elliott's Company [at Hatch's Ranch] is under your instructions, as regards any service you may deem proper to require of it." Even so, Hatch's Ranch had its own commanding officer who ordinarily reported directly to the commander of the military department. Just prior to the Civil War the post at Hatch's Ranch was considered as a possible replacement for Fort Union. [91]

Hatch's Ranch was located about 65 miles from Fort Union on a flat area about one-half mile west of the Gallinas River, approximately one-quarter mile south of where Aguilar (Eagle) Creek joins the Gallinas. Hatch had called his place Eagle Ranch for a short time but soon changed it to Hatch's Ranch. Hatch furnished land for the post and apparently some buildings used by the troops without charge or for a nominal payment but made his money supplying corn and hay for the garrison. Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, in charge of improving the Fort Smith road, spent almost two months at Hatch's Ranch in late 1858 and early 1859. He described Hatch as "being a shrewd man" who "makes large profits by taking contracts for the delivery of grain or selling it at his house." Beale noted that Hatch had "some ten thousand bushels of corn which he was selling at over one dollar a bushel *to the government* and others." Hatch was later appointed post sutler for the troops stationed at his own ranch. He and his neighbors benefited from the protection of the troops. More settlers came into the area, and New Mexicans established the village of Chaparito about three miles north of Hatch's Ranch. The new community served as a base for *Comancheros*, buffalo hunters, and herders, and it provided entertainment for the troops at Hatch's Ranch. [92]

The troops at Hatch's Ranch spent the first several weeks erecting shelter for themselves and their horses. Although Elliott had implied in his initial report that Hatch would provide buildings for the men and horses, he may have only provided the space for them to construct their own quarters and stables. The buildings were completed on December 15. It is not clear what building materials were used at that time, but the quarters at Hatch's Ranch were later described as built of stone. The garrison remained there, sending out an occasional scouting party to keep a watch for hostile Indians, until March of 1857 when they returned to Fort Union. [93]

One of the inhabitants of the post was Lydia



William Wing Loring, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Spencer Lane, wife of Lieutenant Lane, and author of *I Married a Soldier,* a source on the social life of the army in the Southwest. Lydia Lane was a sister to Valeria Elliott, wife of Captain Elliott, commanding officer at Hatch's Ranch. The Lanes had a one-year-old daughter. Mrs. Lane probably expressed the feeling of many of the troops, too, when she later wrote of Hatch's Ranch: "When we saw the ranch we felt somewhat melancholy at the prospect of spending the winter in such an isolated spot, so far from everywhere." The Lanes and Elliotts lived together in the same building occupied by Hatch and his wife, "a long, low, adobe house, with a high wall around it, except in front." [94]

There was no surgeon assigned to Hatch's Ranch, Mrs. Lane noted, "so we tried to keep well." Some nonprofessional medical care was available: "A Mexican man and his wife went about sometimes to officiate in particular cases. . . . I think their performances would have made the scientific physicians of the present day open their eyes." The Lanes felt isolated but survived the winter at Hatch's Ranch without incident. Lydia and Valeria were fortunate to have each other's companionship at the outpost. "We passed a very quiet, though pleasant, winter;" recalled Lydia Lane, "but we were by no means sorry when the company was ordered to Fort Union in the spring." [95]

At the same time plans were being made in the autumn of 1856 to station troops at Hatch's Ranch, Kiowa Indians were threatening Bent's New Fort on the Arkansas River where the army had stored supplies. This also resulted in the involvement of troops from Fort Union. William Bent had abandoned and destroyed Bent's Old Fort in 1849, and he built Bent's New Fort near Big Timbers on the Arkansas River in 1853. Bent continued to trade with the plains tribes. In October 1856 Bent returned from a trip to Missouri and discovered that the man he had left in charge of the trading post while he was gone had been giving whiskey to the Indians. This was illegal under the Indian trade and intercourse act of 1834, and Bent knew he could lose his license to trade. This occurred while James Ross Larkin was at Bent's New Fort, and Larkin left a record of what happened. [96]

On October 14, 1856, Bent dismissed the employee (identified by Larkin only as "a Frenchman"). Some Kiowas, who had received whiskey from and were friends of the discharged man, protested to Bent and made trouble, even threatened to kill Bent. The Cheyennes present defended Bent and his trading post, moving inside the fort to assist in case the Kiowas attacked. Bent's wives were both Cheyennes and he had many friends

among the members of the tribe. He had traded with them for over 20 years. An uneasy impasse remained at the trading post when Larkin left on October 26. [97]

A few days later, on November 1, the peace was broken. Bent wrote to his friend and former partner, Ceran St. Vrain, whom he addressed as colonel because of his rank in the New Mexico volunteers, "to inform you and the U.S. Troops that the Tug of war is now at hand, this evening we was attacted by the Kiowa Indians." The Cheyennes had repulsed the attack, killed one Kiowa, and taken several horses from them. Bent praised his defenders, "the Cheyennes are doing all they can to protect the whites and the Fort." Although St. Vrain lived in Mora, the letter was sent to Fort Union where St. Vrain arrived on November 8. Bent especially wanted to "notify you and the U.S. Troops what is going on, as U.S. have a great many stores in my warehouse and no one here to protect them, but myself, a few men, and the Cheyennes." [98]

Bent expressed concern that "I shall have an awful time here this winter, with the Kiowas." Although the Cheyennes promised to fight the Kiowas, Bent stated "I would like to have some of the Troops come over and see what is going on, as war is going to rage in this part of the Country to some extent." Bent warned, "should not the Troops attend to this amediately it will be very trouble some traveling across the plains next season." Clearly he hoped troops from Fort Union would come to his assistance. [99]

St. Vrain sent the letter to Colonel Bonneville at Santa Fe, who directed Lieutenant Colonel Loring to send two officers and twenty enlisted men to Bent's Fort "with instructions, ostensibly, to look into the Commissary stores at that place. . . . The principal object, however, is to ascertain the state of affairs at that point in regard to Indian matters." Bonneville cautioned that the "strictest secrecy should be observed, that in the event of a campaign against the Kiowas, they may be taken by surprise." The officer in charge of the reconnaissance was to gather as much information as possible about the numbers, location, and disposition of the Indians. If it appeared the presence of troops at Bent's New Fort was required for the safety of the post and the government stores, the troops were to remain there and send an express to Fort Union. Otherwise they were to return to Fort Union as soon as practicable. [100]

Mounted riflemen were called from other posts to Fort Union to comprise the detachment sent to Bent's New Fort. A corporal and six privates were picked from Hatch's Ranch, and Second Lieutenant Alexander McRae, with one non-commissioned officer and fifteen privates, was called from Cantonment Burgwin. McRae was in charge of the reconnaissance. These troops returned to Fort Union on January 8, 1857, and reported that the situation was quiet at Bent's New Fort. [101] McRae also provided details about the Kiowas, who had gone to the Cimarron River about 200 miles from Fort Union for the winter, and what would be required to mount a campaign against them. Colonel Loring passed this information on to department headquarters, noting that a force of 400 to 500 well-mounted soldiers, with 100 Ute Indian guides, 50 wagons for supplies, and rations for three months should be sent in February if a successful campaign was to be made against the Kiowas. The commanding officers at all posts in the department were directed to be prepared for "active operations in the field . . . as soon as the grass will permit," if such became necessary. [102] If the Kiowas remained quiet, however, there was no immediate need for a campaign to punish them. But other Indian problems might require the services of troops in the department. [103]

Because the January mail coach from Independence had not arrived in New Mexico and there was apprehension that the Kiowas might attack the mail party leaving New Mexico for the states in February 1857, an escort of two officers and forty enlisted men was ordered to accompany the mail from Fort Union to the Cimarron River and as far as Walnut Creek on the Arkansas River if required. The escort was to travel in wagons, and the soldiers were to

be especially alert for information about the Kiowas. If they found the westbound mail in need of assistance, they were to provide protection. They were not to attack Indians unless provoked. If the plains Indians proved to be "friendly," the word could be passed along to those planning to cross the plains in the spring that they could "start out without fear of being molested." [104]

Lieutenant Hyatt C. Ransom, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was placed in command of the escort which left Fort Union on February 4. According to the department commander, they "found the Kiowas and all other prairie Indians friendly." Since there was no need to go farther, the escort had returned after seeing the mail safely to the Cimarron River. They arrived back at Fort Union on February 25 after traveling an estimated 550 miles. [105]

With assurances that the Santa Fe Trail was safe from Indian hostilities, eastbound wagon trains began leaving New Mexico during February. Some traders departed before the mail escort returned, apparently assuming that the presence of such a large body of troops would help assure peace along the route. One of these trains, led by Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton [106] and owned by Joseph B. Doyle (a trader who had been previously been a partner with Alexander Barclay at Barclay's Fort) and others, was reported to the commanding officer at Fort Union to be carrying at least ten kegs of gunpowder. Colonel Loring immediately protested "the impropriety of so small a party passing through the Indian Country with so large a quantity of powder" which was surely "destined for trade with the Indians." Given "our present relations" with the plains tribes, Loring declared this to be "criminal." He charged that trading such quantities of powder to the enemy would encourage them to raid, and proclaimed that "none has done more to impress their hostilities than Mr. Wooten, the man in charge." Doyle and his partners were going to be "held responsible" if any of the powder ended up in Indian hands, and Loring promised to "report your conduct to the proper Authorities both here and in the States." [107] Loring may have been something of an alarmist in this instance. Whether or not the powder was traded to Indians has not been determined, but the Indians caused few problems along the trail. Wootton recalled, "I made four trips across the Plains in 1857-1858, but as the Indians were on their good behavior at that time I had no more thrilling experience than being caught once in a Kansas blizzard." [108]

There were few Indian problems in eastern New Mexico in 1857, during which time the expansion of settlements continued and reached into the Canadian River valley. Apparently no troops were stationed at Hatch's Ranch during the remainder of the year. It turned out to be a time of transition in the region. The conflicts with the Jicarillas and Utes were practically over because most leaders of those tribes were convinced that further resistance was futile. The conflicts with the plains tribes (especially the Comanches and Kiowas) were preparing to erupt as they began to mount an effective resistance against the eastward expansion of the New Mexican line of settlements. [109] The troops stationed at Fort Union probably looked forward to a respite from Indian-fighting activities. This was not to be because of Indian troubles in western New Mexico Territory. As a result of the capture and murder of Indian Agent H. L. Dodge by Gila Apaches, Colonel Bonneville ordered a large campaign against the Gila, Mogollon, and Coyotero Apaches in 1857, with Colonel Loring in command and including mounted riflemen stationed at Fort Union. [110]

After Colonel Loring and most of the mounted riflemen left Fort Union in April 1857 for the Gila Apache Expedition, [111] the new post commander, Captain Llewellyn Jones, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, reported to department headquarters that "the command left here for duty is so small and of such worthless material" that it was difficult to operate the post and repair quarters. There were no troops available for field service against Indians should that situation arise. If military operations became necessary, Fort Union would require reinforcements. [112] No Indian troubles were anticipated in the area. Brigadier General

Garland returned to the department on May 12 and resumed command, relieving Colonel Bonneville who went to lead the Gila Expedition. At the end of June Garland reported that the Mescaleros, Jicarillas, and Utes were all quiet. Late in July the Gila Expedition was considered at an end, after a number of Indians were killed and captured, with good results. [113]

On July 6 Alexander Hatch sent an express to Fort Union, informing the commanding officer that seventeen Kiowa warriors were at his ranch en route to Navajo country and requesting that troops be sent to protect settlers in his area. Captain Jones, "by making drafts upon the guard house and Band," was able to send a sergeant and ten privates from the undermanned garrison the next day. Jones doubted that a few Kiowas would cause much trouble. The detachment returned from Hatch's Ranch on July 10 and reported there was no problem there. The sergeant who had gone to investigate told the commanding officer that there were sufficient men in the area, approximately twenty at Hatch's Ranch and nearly a hundred at the community of Chaparito, that "it was hardly necessary, except for some *ulterior object* to have called upon this command for protection." Hatch, like many other ranchers, would not hesitate to exaggerate Indian problems with the apparent hope of selling supplies to the army, a common practice when troops were in the field. [114]

There were reports of Kiowas and Cheyennes menacing travelers on the Santa Fe Trail in September 1857, and Garland directed that a strong escort be provided from Fort Union for the first eastbound October mail coach. [115] Lieutenant William B. Lane and 25 mounted riflemen were selected to protect the mail and other travelers who wished to accompany them at least as far as the Arkansas River, farther if Indian troubles threatened. They planned to join the mail party as it passed Fort Union, but that plan was changed slightly. [116]

On October 2 an express rider from the plains (neither the rider nor his point of origin were identified) arrived at Fort Union. He was carrying a message for Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston, First Cavalry, who commanded several companies of troops then engaged in surveying the southern boundary of Kansas Territory. [117] The rider had encountered two parties of Kiowas and Cheyennes (60 Indians in one and 40 in the other), who had taken all his provisions and clothing and threatened his life. He had not been able to locate Johnston and came to Fort Union for protection. [118]

Colonel Loring determined to send the best guide he had at Fort Union, Frank DeLisle, and three others with the express rider to find Johnston. To give these men as much protection as possible, Loring ordered them to travel with the mail escort until they could ascertain, if possible, approximately where Johnston's command might be. Rather than wait for the mail coach to arrive from Santa Fe, the escort was sent ahead on October 4 to the Canadian River crossing to await the arrival of the mail. This would protect the guides that far and possibly place them in a position from which they could reach Johnston. [119] The mail party encountered no Indian problems, but it was not determined if the express reached Lieutenant Colonel Johnston.

The mail escorts in the autumn of 1857 were provided by mounted riflemen, whose provisions and camp equipage, as well as some forage for their horses, were carried in two wagons. Lieutenant Lane recalled many years later that the "mail outfit" was comprised of two stages and a baggage wagon, each pulled by four mules. The mail party also had a few "extra mules, to replace any in the teams which might become broken down or lame." There were no stage stations in 1857 between Fort Union and Walnut Creek in central Kansas Territory, a distance of approximately 400 miles. [120]

According to Lane, the mail and the escort followed a routine schedule, starting at daylight and traveling "at a six-miles-an hour trot." They stopped for breakfast after going

approximately 15 miles, giving the animals a break to graze for about an hour. The same rate of travel was resumed until they found another place to rest, where water and grass were available. Several such stops were made during the day, including one for supper before sundown. Usually, after the evening meal, they traveled another 10 or 15 miles before camping for the night. Each of the wagons carried a keg of water, and firewood was taken from the Turkey Mountains. The passengers furnished their own bedding, and everyone (passengers, mail party, and escort troops) slept on the ground where they camped. Guards were posted to keep watch through the night. [121]

Lane remembered there were only two or three passengers on the trip he escorted. They arrived at the Arkansas River without encountering any Indians. There the troops met the westbound mail and accompanied it back to Fort Union. Because the pace of the mail coaches was difficult to maintain by the mounted riflemen's horses, several of the horses were lost, "broken down and worn out, and they had to be shot to prevent their falling into the hands of the Indians." The troopers who lost their horses rode in the wagons back to Fort Union. The following year it was decided to send the mail escorts in wagons pulled by mules rather than to break down more cavalry horses. Although the return trip of Lane's escort "was very disagreeable, on account of the cold and snow," they met no Indians. [122]

Another special escort was sent from Fort Union with the second October mail. Acting Governor W. W. H. Davis and the territorial chief justice, with their families, took the mail coach to Independence. They requested an escort. Second Lieutenant John H. Edson and 25 enlisted men were sent out on October 17 to proceed to the Canadian River and there wait for the mail and its passengers. The troops were to go as far as the crossing of the Arkansas River, farther if they "should discover any probability of the Mail being menaced by the Indians." The troops were directed to travel from 25 to 30 miles per day. [123] No Indian problems were encountered, and Brigadier General Garland noted at the end of October that Indians throughout the territory were quiet. The new territorial governor, Abraham Rencher, and his escort under command of Captain Daniel T. Chandler, Third Infantry, including recruits for the department, arrived at Fort Union on October 31. Governor Rencher reached Santa Fe on November 12. [124]

In December 1857 troops from Fort Union were sent back to Hatch's Ranch to help provide protection for a surveying party. Platoons of 25 mounted troops and one officer were to be rotated monthly from Fort Union to the station at Hatch's Ranch. A similar arrangement of troops from Fort Stanton to Preston Beck's Ranch was established for the same purposes. In addition to protecting the surveying party these troops were to safeguard the settlements from "roving bands of Indians." Troops at the two ranches were to establish a system of communication and cooperate as necessary. [125]

Lieutenant Lane was in charge of one of the platoons rotated from Fort Stanton to Beck's Ranch every other month. Lane did not mention the survey party during his first month there, but noted that the troops were directed "to keep the Kiowas and Comanches from entering farther into New Mexico." He was not so sure, however. "The real reason (some thought)," Lane recollected, "was, the man who had charge of Beck's Ranch had corn to sell, and as Mr. Beck was a prominent merchant in Santa Fe, and, besides, an agreeable man, we young fellows thought the whole object was to eat up Mr. Beck's corn without giving him the trouble and expense of hauling it to market." [126]

This was not the only time such beliefs were expressed. Lane tempered his statement by adding, "of course we were not certain of all this, but believed it at the time." With 30 horses for the troops and 12 mules for their two supply wagons, Lane observed there were "forty-two animals to be supplied with corn after reaching the ranch." In addition, "there were no signs of Indians of any nation during the whole month we were at the ranch. And this proved

to be the state of affairs for the whole winter." [127]

Lane remembered, too, that service at Beck's Ranch "was fearfully lonely and dreary. . . . We had no mails, did not see a strange face for the entire month, and the hunting was not good." During his second monthly stay at Beck's Ranch, because the nearest surgeon was some 80 miles away at Fort Union, Lane secured a supply of medicines with instructions to treat his men if they became ill. Fortunately, according to Lane, his command enjoyed good health. "My skill as a medical man was not often called into requisition," he wrote many years later, "and although I may not have cured any one, I had the consolation of knowing that I *killed* nobody." [128]

It was during his second stay at Beck's Ranch that the "monotony" was broken by an order "to protect a surveying party which was working not far from us." The platoon left the ranch and accompanied the surveyors "for some time." Then, being told by the head of the group that the troops were no longer needed, Lane's detachment went back to their station at Beck's Ranch until relieved. Lane left them under charge of a sergeant and rode to Santa Fe to request a leave of absence, which was denied. He rejoined his detachment at Fort Stanton. [129]

Records have not been found to indicate when the troops were withdrawn from Beck's and Hatch's ranches. The survey was apparently completed by August 1858, when Garland informed army headquarters, "the Country east of the Pecos river as far as the Canadian has been recently surveyed down to the Western boundary of Texas." Garland recommended that a military post be established in the region near the mouth of Ute Creek on the Canadian to protect settlers who would expand into the area as soon as they felt safe from the incursions of Kiowas and Comanches. [130]

At the end of March 1858 the troops then stationed at Beck's Ranch were ordered to leave and proceed, via Hatch's Ranch, to the Canadian River to accompany a surveying party under R. E. Clements until further orders. These troops drew subsistence provisions from Fort Union. Fearing that 25 mounted riflemen might not be a sufficient force in case of an Indian attack on the surveying party, Garland sent an entire company from Fort Stanton to replace the platoon that had been at Beck's Ranch. The company carried provisions for two months. [131]

With part of the garrison at Fort Union assigned to Hatch's Ranch, Colonel Loring requested more troops for Fort Union. He could not keep the troops at Hatch's Ranch and provide regular mail escorts from the garrison comprised of only two companies of mounted riflemen (because of the mail schedule and time it took to complete an escort trip, one detachment was required to accompany the next mail before the troops with the previous mail returned, keeping two officers and seventy-eight men constantly in the field). A third company of riflemen joined the post in January 1858, and Loring was authorized to recall the troops from Hatch's Ranch if they were essential to continued provision of mail escorts. He was reminded, however, that Hatch's Ranch was an important position from which to keep watch on the Kiowas. [132]

This was verified at about the same time when a large party of Kiowa warriors came past Hatch's Ranch on their way to raid settlements along the Rio Grande. They were going to retaliate for an attack on their fellow tribesmen by troops from Fort Craig on December 10, 1857. The troops had surprised a party of Kiowas (who had been on a raid against the Navajos) near Valverde, attacked them (killing several and taking a wounded chief captive), and forced them to return to the plains. The wounded Kiowa chief was taken to the Fort Union hospital, where he was treated by the post surgeon and held prisoner. When the troops at Hatch's Ranch spotted another party of Kiowas heading the Rio Grande, the commanders

at Albuquerque and Forts Stanton and Craig were immediately informed and directed to send the Kiowas out of the area, by force if necessary. [133]

Loring continued to press for more manpower and more horses to provide escorts for the mail. He noted that the escort duty was especially hard on the horses. "The mail stages," he wrote, "being supplied with fresh animals at their stations, enables them without much loss—to make the trip, while that of the Government is subject to the whole distance without relief, over roads covered with snow." Garland informed Loring that no more troops were available in the department. Garland sent a request to the adjutant general for more troops and horses, noting "that no mail has been lost since my administration of this Military Department—four years and a half," because of the protection provided by the troops at Fort Union. [134]

The early-warning system provided by the troops stationed at Hatch's Ranch apparently worked successfully and the Kiowas were forced to return to the plains. They soon retaliated and attacked a small party of *Comancheros* who were on the plains to trade with the Comanches, killing two "Mexicans," taking a third captive, and stealing their trade goods. The Kiowas also threatened the westbound mail party on the Santa Fe Trail (between Upper Spring and Cold Spring in present Oklahoma) when it fell behind the escort. Commander of the escort, Second Lieutenant John Van Deusen DuBois, stated that the conductor of the mail disobeyed DuBois's orders when he "halted a few miles behind the escort. . . . The mail party reported that when the escort was absent the Kiowa spies signaled their movements, and by the time they were again on the road about one hundred mounted Kiowas charged upon them, and followed them until they approached the escort again." The Kiowas threatened, according to Comanche informants, to avenge the attack on their party near the Rio Grande and the holding of their captured chief. [135]

Brigadier General Garland decided to release the Kiowa prisoner and send him back to his people with a strong message designed to encourage the Kiowas to keep the peace. He was to tell his people that the soldiers would "protect the lives and property of the Americans, as well as the Mexicans who live in New Mexico." Any Kiowas caught west of the Pecos River were to be considered hostile and driven back. The prisoner left Fort Union on March 17, as Loring reported, "he expressed himself satisfied with the treatment he has received and promised to carry his people, the 'talk' given him." [136]

At the same time the mail escorts were needed to meet the Kiowa threats in March 1858, it became more difficult to keep them in the field. Colonel Loring reported that there was not sufficient grass along the route to sustain the horses pulling the escort wagons (mounted troops could not keep up with the mail during the winter months) and grain had to be sent with every detachment. In addition the horses were unable to keep up the pace of 40 miles a day for the 600-mile round trip made by each escort. One of the escorts was stranded on the plains 200 miles from Fort Union because of "broken down teams," and another had left the post with animals that should not have been sent. Unless more horses were provided, Loring explained that the escorts would have to stop for want of public animals. Garland reported to army headquarters that, if the system of escorts was to be continued, more men and animals were required. Also he requested that orders be issued to require the mail coaches to keep pace with the troops rather than the escort being forced to keep up with the mails. [137] It soon became evident that the Indian threat was getting worse.

By 1858 the Comanches and Kiowas were ready to increase their opposition to the expansion of ranches into eastern New Mexico Territory, especially along the Canadian River. Samuel Watrous, settled at the junction of the Sapello and Mora rivers, had sent some of his employees to establish a ranch on the Canadian River approximately 130 miles from Fort Union. Watrous apparently realized that the Indians would resist and asked for an army cannon from the ordnance depot at Fort Union to protect his ranch on the Canadian. Brigadier

General Garland authorized Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot to provide Watrous with a mountain howitzer (including powder and shot) if one was available that was not suitable for field service. When Watrous heard from Pueblo traders that the Comanches planned to destroy his ranch, he requested that troops be stationed on the Canadian to protect it from Indians. [138]

A party of Comanches visited the ranch foreman, a Mr. Bumham, and warned him to abandon the project. Burnham refused and the Comanches later killed him, burned the buildings, and drove off all the livestock. Second Lieutenant Laurence S. Baker, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, in command of the platoon from Fort Union at Hatch's Ranch, was ordered to examine the scene of the attack. Baker was accompanied by Watrous. In addition the company of mounted riflemen with the survey party on the Canadian River was sent to assist with the investigation. [139]

When the troops arrived at the site, approximately 50 miles east and 10 miles south of Hatch's Ranch on the south side of the Canadian River, everything at the ranch was destroyed and the livestock were gone. Baker estimated that Watrous had suffered a loss of property worth at least five thousand dollars. From the extent of the improvements, Baker concluded, "the settlement was evidently intended for a permanent one." The lieutenant was able to piece together the circumstances of the "outrage." A few days before the attack three "Mexican captives" who had lived with the Comanches came to the ranch "as spies" and may have been employed by Burnham. The evening before the assault four Comanches arrived "on pretence of trading" and spent the night. "The settler having been thus put off his guard, was easily decoyed from the house unarmed by the three spies and became an easy victim to his treacherous foes, who then consummated the work of destruction." [140]

The "Mexican" employees at the ranch were not harmed by the Indians, partly out of respect for the long tradition of friendship between the Comanches and New Mexicans and partly because they wanted them to deliver a message. They were told to return to the settlements and tell the Anglos, as Colonel Loring understood it, that they must not settle along the Canadian, that the Comanches "would kill any who attempted it." [141] From Indian traders Baker learned that the Comanche leaders had decided in council that they would not accept any settlements east of Hatch's Ranch or others "on the Rio Gallinas, but will kill all persons attempting to make them and destroy their property." They had also pledged themselves to destroy, if possible, all such places where settlements were already established "including Fort Union." [142] Brigadier General Garland's response was to request more troops to defend the eastern frontier and to advise Watrous not to send his men so far from military protection. [143]

Although Utah and the Mormons seemed far removed from the eastern frontier of New Mexico and Fort Union, the so-called Mormon War, 1857-1858, involved troops from the post. Troops were sent from Fort Leavenworth to Utah Territory to enforce federal laws, and the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints prepared to resist. Some of the supply trains of the U.S. Army were burned by the Mormons and many of the oxen and some of the horses were stolen. On November 27, 1857, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the Department of Utah, sent Captain Randolph B. Marcy with a small force from Utah to New Mexico to purchase 1,500 horses and mules for the troops in Utah. The animals were needed to pull the supply trains of the quartermaster department and to remount the troops. It is interesting to note that the troops of New Mexico were unable to find sufficient horses in the department for military purposes, while the commander in Utah considered it the closest supply for his troops. [144]

Colonel Johnston later requested Brigadier General Garland to furnish an escort for Marcy's command and the animals on the trip back to Utah. Garland directed that 25 mounted troops

from Fort Union, joined by troops from other garrisons, be sent as an escort to Utah. Captain Shoemaker was ordered to provide the necessary ammunition for the trip, and the quartermaster department was to furnish the transportation needed to carry provisions and supplies. Marcy and the horses and mules he had purchased went to Fort Union in preparation for the trip. The party had been on the road from Fort Union only a few days when Garland was informed that the Mormons had threatened to intercept Captain Marcy on his return. [145]

Garland immediately ordered Colonel Loring to lead a relief column to join Marcy, including 60 more troops from Fort Union and 150 from Albuquerque. A medical officer or civilian contract physician was authorized for the journey. Loring was to assume command of the entire escort, approximately 400 troops, when he reached Marcy. Provisions for two months were to be carried along and, because the garrison at Fort Union was so reduced in size, escorts for the mail to the states was discontinued until more troops could be stationed at the post. Loring requested permission to hire "Watkins LaRue" (probably Antoine Leroux), considered to be "the best mountaineer" in the country, at $150 per month to guide his command to Utah and back. Loring's column left Fort Union on April 7 and 8 to join Marcy's party which had halted on the north side of the Arkansas River not far from the site of Pueblo to wait for the reinforcements. Captain Andrew J. Lindsay, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, assumed command of Fort Union when Loring left. He was ordered to discontinue the mail escorts on the Santa Fe Trail. [146]

The details of the escort to Camp Scott, Utah Territory, are beyond the scope of Fort Union history. The command arrived at its destination on June 11, 1858, after a journey of approximately 765 miles, much of it through snow and under extremely cold conditions. The troops performed well and the animals Marcy brought arrived in good condition. [147] On the same day that Loring arrived at Camp Scott, negotiations began at Salt Lake City by which church leaders agreed to submit to federal authority. The "Mormon War" had not become a military engagement and peace was achieved by agreement. [148] Colonel Loring's column returned to New Mexico early in September and he resumed command of Fort Union on September 14, 1858. [149]

Indian troubles were few in eastern New Mexico during the summer of 1858, but the Navajos began raiding among the Rio Grande settlements again. In preparation for a campaign into Navajo country, the two companies of mounted riflemen stationed at Fort Union were sent to serve under Colonel Bonneville, commander of the expedition. When it became necessary for Brigadier General Garland to leave the department for health reasons and for Bonneville to replace him, Lieutenant Colonel D. S. Miles, Third Infantry, was placed in command of the Navajo campaign. The ordnance depot at Fort Union was ordered to supply ammunition for the planned campaign, enough for four companies of infantry, five of mounted riflemen, and one company of spies and guides. Because the troops sent to Utah with Colonel Loring were needed to conduct a campaign against the Navajos, the expedition could not begin until those troops returned to New Mexico. A detachment of recruits, marching from Fort Leavenworth, was also needed to fill the ranks of the companies in the department. By action of the Navajos, the fighting began on August 29 before most of the troops had arrived in Navajo country. [150]

Garland left for the states in September 1858, accompanied by Captain L. C. Easton, Lieutenant William A. Nichols (who had served as assistant adjutant general in the department for several years and later served as assistant in the adjutant general's office in Washington, D.C.), and an escort of one non-commissioned officer and five mounted riflemen from Fort Union. Because of Garland's ill health, Assistant Surgeon Letterman accompanied him to St. Louis, and civilian contract surgeon J. H. Bill was hired to replace Letterman at Fort Union. Before Garland left Santa Fe, he called Colonel Bonneville from his

command of the post at Albuquerque to consult about the affairs of the department. When Garland left New Mexico (September 15) Bonneville assumed command (September 16) of the department and continued plans for a Navajo expedition. [151]

Colonel Bonneville had his own views about the Indian problem in New Mexico and again recommended the early establishment of defined reservations for the tribes. "As there are no reserves for Indians in this Territory," he wrote, "the Indian has no home, no place of refuge, where he may remain unmolested by traders, and settlements with their numerous herds of cattle and sheep." In addition the traders supplied Indians with whiskey. For these reasons, Bonneville explained, "many of the difficulties with the Indians may be ascribed to the fact, that they come to the settlements to trade, become intoxicated, and in their drunken frolics act badly." The solution, he concluded, was for Congress to assign "reservations, within the limits of which they may be restrained and protected from promiscuous traders, and from the encroaching settlements and herds." Meantime, he predicted, the army would be required to continue facing one Indian problem after another. [152]

Early in October additional troops, including one company of mounted riflemen from Fort Union, were sent under Major Electus Backus, Third Infantry, to comprise a second column (in addition to that led by Colonel Miles) in the campaign against the Navajo. Thus three companies of mounted riflemen from Fort Union were active in the Navajo war, and they were carried on the post returns as being on detached service from the post. Bonneville warned Backus not to be misled "by trails and appearances of giving a general battle." He recommended that the troops seek the families and herds of the Navajos, and then the Navajos would stand and fight. When they were defeated, peace would be possible. [153]

Colonel Loring, at Fort Union, was reportedly disappointed that he had not been selected to direct the war against the Navajos. His case was presented to the public by a member of the staff at the fort. A lengthy article by "Civis," the work of post chaplain William Stoddert and highly critical of the conduct of the campaign against the Navajos, was sent in October to the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, D.C., and appeared in the November 28 issue. Among other things, "Civis," who identified himself as "an outside civilian," charged that the army had "blundered" into an unnecessary war with the Navajos and then kept Loring, whose regiment of mounted riflemen was involved in the conflict, from commanding his troops. He implied that Loring was the most capable officer to lead mounted troops in New Mexico. Stoddert was later forced to resign as chaplain because of this indiscretion. [154] The Navajo war continued without Colonel Loring. After a series of engagements in which the Navajos suffered losses of life and property and a number of their warriors captured, the Navajos offered to sign a peace treaty. A cease-fire was declared until negotiations could take place. An agreement was signed and the Navajo war of 1858 was declared over on December 25. The power of the Navajos had not yet been broken and the peace did not last. [155]

While the army was busy with the Navajo campaign in western New Mexico, troubles began on the plains to the east. At the end of September 1858 there were reports of Comanches "committing depredations" in the area around Hatch's Ranch, Anton Chico, and along the road from Fort Smith to Albuquerque. Mail coaches had recently begun regular service over that road to California along a route surveyed the previous year by Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, U. S. Navy. [156] In 1858 Beale was in charge of a party making improvements along the road from Fort Smith to Albuquerque, and his workers approached New Mexico in the autumn. They were accompanied by an escort of 137 recruits for the Department of New Mexico under command of Lieutenant Alexander E. Steen, Third Infantry. Colonel Loring, commanding officer at Fort Union, was directed to station a few troops at Hatch's Ranch to watch along that road and report on Indian activities. This was done. Loring was instructed to "take charge of the settlements, in that neighborhood, and if the Indians are depredating on the inhabitants, punish them." Troops from Fort Stanton were also ordered to "scout in that

neighborhood" and report to Colonel Loring, but there were not sufficient troops at Stanton to spare any for the assignment. Loring was authorized to employ 30 spies and guides to assist the troops, and they began service on November 15. [157]

The soldiers and spies scoured the region from Hatch's Ranch to the Canadian River and from Anton Chico to the Cimarron River, looking for hostile Comanches. They met none. In November a party of *Comancheros* arrived at Hatch's Ranch to report that, according to a Comanche who was involved, Comanches had attacked Lieutenant Beale's construction camp and the eastbound mail coach on the Fort Smith road someplace in northern Texas. A big fight had followed in which the escort of recruits forced the Indians to retreat. The Comanche informant stated that "a great many Indians were killed." It was believed that Beale's camp might need additional troops to insure its safety although no definite information had been received about it. In addition the Comanches might be expected to attack some of the frontier settlements. Loring requested more troops for his Fort Union garrison and authorization to provide assistance where needed. Colonel Bonneville considered the battle with Comanches in Texas outside the jurisdiction of his department, but notified Loring that the Indians along the Canadian were restless and his troops were responsible for protecting the settlements of eastern New Mexico Territory. Several scouting parties were kept in the field, as Loring reported, and "all the lurking places of the Indians were visited and watched." [158]

When Santa Fe Postmaster David V. Whiting requested that an escort accompany the next mail coach sent eastward on the Fort Smith road, he was informed that troops were not available. The soldiers and spies already sent to watch for Indians along that road could provide assistance to the mail if needed. The mail went through without any problems. The Comanches had left the area along the Fort Smith road and the Canadian River and had established a camp on the Cimarron River north of Fort Union. Lieutenant Beale's road-building crew arrived and set up camp at Hatch's Ranch on December 28, 1858, from which point they resurveyed the area between the Canadian River and the ranch. They had constructed nine bridges since leaving Fort Smith. The recruits escorting Beale went to Anton Chico and were distributed from there to their assigned companies. As soon as the troops returned to Fort Union from the Navajo campaign, the ancillary force of spies and guides was discharged. Beale's survey and construction crew left Hatch's Ranch on February 26, 1859, to improve the route from there to Albuquerque and on west to the Colorado River. Increased travel on the Fort Smith road eventually led to more encounters with plains Indians and additional field service by troops from Fort Union. [159]

There were few Indian problems during the winter of 1858-1859, but a band of Utes, who according to DuBois "numbered some sixty lodges or 180 fighting men," were granted permission by their agent, Kit Carson at Taos, to camp on Wolf Creek a few miles downstream from Fort Union "between Barclay's Fort and the Wagon Mound" early in 1859. DuBois wrote they were situated about twelve miles from the post "in a most beautiful spot." They caused no trouble and the troops at the post monitored their activities. Ranchers in the area feared they might start stealing cattle and sheep. Colonel Loring agreed that was bound to happen if they remained and also believed these Indians would be blamed for any "depredations" in the area, no matter who was responsible. With the approval of department headquarters, Loring directed the Utes "to return to their own country." [160]

Second Lieutenants DuBois and Ira W. Claflin and six enlisted men from Fort Union went to the Ute camp on January 23 and ordered them to leave. DuBois stated their "lodges were built like those of the prarie indians but of canvas instead of skins." There were few men in the camp because most of them were on a retaliatory raid against the Arapahos, who had reportedly attacked a small party of Utes on the Sapello River and "wounded one of their warriors." DuBois disclosed, "I gave them the order and though I doubt their obedience, still I hope they will get in no trouble." [161]

The Indian camp remained and reports came into the post that these same Indians were killing cattle and sheep in the vicinity of the village of Sapello, a small community on the river by the same name southwest of Fort Union. Loring led a detachment of mounted riflemen from the fort to Sapello on January 29 to remove the Utes. The soldiers arrived near the village after dark and set up camp. They had departed the post in such a hurry that they had "nothing except what they had fastened to their saddles." DuBois explained that he and Lieutenant Claflin "doubled our beding or our two blankets & tried to sleep but the ground was yet wet with snow & we became so cold that even comfort was impossible, must less sleep." DuBois recalled, "we thought it would never be day — Daylight at length came & with it a cup of coffee. About 9 A.M. we found an indian village." It turned out to be "only a small portion of the band," but Colonel Loring had a "talk" with them. [162]

Loring warned them that, if they did not leave, his troops would force them to go. The colonel reported that the Utes were "very much alarmed" by the presence of the soldiers and he expected them to move. A few of the Utes were taken back to Fort Union on February 1, apparently as hostages in case the rest of the camp committed any hostile acts. On February 3 Captain Robert M. Morris, with a detachment of mounted riflemen, took the Utes at the post and went to the Indians' camp "to see that they all leave for Taos." [163]

The Utes started on the way to Taos, accompanied by Morris's command, when a party of Utes and Jicarillas, estimated to be nearly 200 warriors, appeared "with evident hostile intent." Morris had the Utes he was escorting establish their camp near the village of Mora and sent to Colonel Loring for assistance. Loring took every available trooper at the post to Mora on February 5, where he learned that Agent Carson had been sent for and was expected the next day. Loring decided to wait for Carson before taking any further action against the Utes. Loring had "ascertained beyond doubt that they have been killing stock in these settlements" and were "otherwise disposed to be troublesome." He thought they should be held to account and punished to prevent further trouble with them and to encourage the Jicarillas to remain peaceful. [164]

Loring talked to the principal chief of the Ute camp, Ka-ni-ache, on February 6 and discovered that the presence of more troops had the desired effect. The chief promised to take his people home without further trouble. On February 7 the Utes were given some wheat that had been stored in Mora for them, and they were preparing to leave for Taos when Carson arrived. Carson "reiterated to them the necessity of moving at once" and accompanied them back to his agency. Not long after the Utes had left Mora a party of Jicarillas arrived there and reported to Loring that the Utes had "robbed them of their entire stock, between 50 and 100 horses." According to DuBois, the Utes who had wanted to fight but were overruled took out their frustrations by stealing the horses of the Jicarillas, "with whom they had been living for months as friends." Loring requested Carson to try to recover the horses and warned the Jicarillas not to commit hostile acts or the army would have to deal with them. The troops returned to Fort Union, leaving the agent to deal with the Utes and Jicarillas. "Thus ended," DuBois recorded, "the glorious campaign of 1859 against the Muwatche band of Utahs." Citizens who had complained to the army about the presence of the Utes in the Mora Valley were told that the army had sent the Indians back to their agency and they should make their objections known to the superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory. The division of authority between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the army was frustrating to citizens as well as Indians. [165]

Because of potential Indian troubles, few government survey parties traveled without a military escort in New Mexico. Captain John Pope, Topographical Engineers, who had accompanied Sumner to New Mexico in 1851, had been involved in a search for artesian water on the Llano Estacado for several years and, in 1859, was assigned to continue the search along routes of travel in New Mexico Territory. Second Lieutenant Christopher H.

McNally, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was in charge of an escort assigned to Pope's expedition in the territory. The enlisted members of the escort were one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty privates from the garrison at Fort Union. These troops left Fort Union on February 11, 1859, to join Pope's expedition at Galisteo. In March Second Lieutenants DuBois and Claflin were sent with a detachment to Galisteo to bring the horses of the escort back to Fort Union. DuBois and Claflin left their detachment at Galisteo and made a four-day side trip to Santa Fe to "enter into the gayities," but DuBois was sick all the time they were there. They and their detachment arrived back at Fort Union with the horses on April 3. [166]

The Comanches remained in camp on the Cimarron during the winter and early in March they were blamed for stealing horses from Dr. J. M. Whitlock at Sapello. By the time Whitlock notified Colonel Loring of the loss, it was too late to pursue the raiders. Loring promised that the troops would pursue hostile Indians if they were given "timely notice." Although the Comanches got away with the horses in this instance, if they were the guilty party, the incident was a portent that the settlements in eastern New Mexico might expect renewed Indian opposition in the spring. [167]

In anticipation of hostile behavior by the Comanches and Kiowas, Colonel Bonneville determined to station a small force at Hatch's Ranch and establish a supply depot there to serve as a base for a battalion of mounted riflemen sent to scout along the Fort Smith road and the Canadian and Pecos valleys during the summer months. Lieutenant Matthew L. Davis, Third Infantry, was sent to command Hatch's Ranch late in May, where he also performed the duties of quartermaster and commissary of subsistence. Hatch provided storerooms for the provisions at no charge and sold corn to the army for $3.00 per *fanega.* [168] The army probably paid rent to Hatch for quarters for the few troops, but no figures were located to indicate the amount paid. That Hatch was ready to turn a profit from the soldiers was later confirmed by Captain Thomas Claiborne who reported "that Mr. Hatch sold so much liquor to my men at his ranche as to cause great annoyance to my command." [169]

Captain Claiborne, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and two companies of his regiment stationed at Fort Stanton were sent into the field during the summer to attempt to open a wagon road between Fort Stanton and Hatch's Ranch, scout for Indians, and provide protection for travelers and settlers on New Mexico's eastern frontier. They were at Hatch's Ranch for supplies early in July. Claiborne assigned 20 men from his command to serve as escort to U.S. Deputy Surveyor R. E. Clements, who was working along and east of the Canadian River. In July, when Claiborne reported that the Comanches near the Canadian River were hostile, more troops were sent into the area and they drew rations at Hatch's Ranch. In addition, the escort for the boundary commission surveying the Texas border in 1859, one company of Eighth Infantry, was authorized to draw some provisions from the temporary depot at Hatch's Ranch. Some of the supplies stocked at Hatch's Ranch were hauled from the subdepot at Fort Union and some were brought from the depot at Albuquerque. In July, 31 mules were ordered from the subdepot at Fort Union to the temporary depot at Hatch's Ranch. [170]

During the summer of 1859 approximately 100 troops from Fort Union were sent to escort a survey party laying out a wagon road from Abiquiu to the San Juan River in northwestern New Mexico. Major John Simonson left the command of the post to Captain Morris and commanded the escort which left Fort Union on June 7, 1859. Other officers with the battalion included Captains John G. Walker and Henry B. Schroeder, Acting Assistant Surgeon J. H. Bill, and Second Lieutenants DuBois, Edson, and Claflin. Upon completion of the survey, Simonson led this force to Fort Defiance and assumed command until fall. He and some of the troops who accompanied him returned to Fort Union on October 23. DuBois did not arrive at Fort Union until December 6, and he was immediately sent to Fort Bliss for

court-martial duty. [171]

The garrison at Fort Union was much reduced when the Comanches became hostile early in July, and all the troops that could be spared from Cantonment Burgwin were sent to reinforce the garrison and take the field against the Comanches if that became necessary. At the same time a company of spies and guides was authorized to be raised at Mora under Jose Maria Valdez and sent to Fort Union where they would be supplied with arms and ammunition and prepared to join troops in the field against the Comanches. The commander at Fort Union was directed to have every available soldier ready to march at a moment's notice when needed. Before Valdez could enlist a company of spies and guides, he was notified that their services would not be needed. Before more troops were sent against the Comanches, an attempt was to be made to find a peaceful settlement. The troops from Cantonment Burgwin were sent back to their post. [172]

Clements's survey team arrived on the Canadian River and began work about 100 miles east of the settlements before the troops assigned to escort them arrived. The Comanches, who had previously threatened to prevent all settlements east of Hatch's Ranch, probably understood that settlers would follow the surveyors. They captured the survey team and held them prisoners for five hours, during which time they threatened to kill Clements. Clements promised to abandon the survey if they would let him go, and his New Mexican employees also urged the Comanches to spare their boss. After warning Clements not to resume the survey and taking some of his property (blankets and provisions), the Comanches released them. Clements did not resume the survey in 1859. There was no hurry to complete a survey so long as the Comanches controlled the area. [173]

Before war broke out with the Comanches an attempt was made to discuss a peaceful arrangement. New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs James L. Collins had already been planning to meet with Comanche leaders to discuss a peace treaty. Missouri Congress man J. S. Phelps, who was especially interested in seeing that the mail parties crossing the plains were not molested by Indians, came to New Mexico to participate in the negotiations. These two officials were joined by Colonel Bonneville in pursuing that effort. These peace seekers were accompanied by Inspector Joseph E. Johnston and an escort of 130 soldiers from Santa Fe on July 18 to Hatch's Ranch where Claiborne's column joined the escort, and from there they planned to go to the Canadian River in an attempt to meet with Comanche leaders. Lieutenant Davis was assigned the task of sending messengers to the Comanches to invite them to the meeting. Collins had also sent some *Comancheros* to invite the Indians to a council. [174]

The Comanches were unwilling to meet, apparently fearing they would be punished by all the troops gathering in the area for capturing the surveying party. Bonneville speculated that the presence of the surveyors had alarmed the Indians, causing them to fear that they were about to be driven from their lands. Whatever the reason, the Comanches fled eastward out of New Mexico Territory and the U.S. team and its escort followed down the Canadian River as far as Ute Creek before abandoning the effort. Congressman Phelps went back to Missouri with an escort of 30 riflemen. Bonneville and Collins and the remainder of the escort returned to Hatch's Ranch and from there to Santa Fe. Bonneville showed considerable understanding of the past relations between the New Mexicans and Comanches when he observed that "Mexicans" have traded successfully with the Comanches "for a long time" and "it would be unfortunate to interrupt this intercourse without proper cause." The department commander may have been ready to leave the region to the Indians, for he "found the country we passed over . . . to be perfectly worthless." [175]

On July 31, before leaving Hatch's Ranch, Bonneville directed that the troops and supplies located there be moved to Fort Union as soon as possible. Captain Claiborne was relieved of

the command of his column, and Second Lieutenant William H. Jackson replaced him. Jackson was charged with finding a wagon road between Hatch's Ranch and some point on the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail between Rabbit Ear Mountain and Point of Rocks. This was to be a determined effort: "Should the attempt prove unsuccessful it will be repeated until a route suitable for wagons is found, or until it is satisfactorily ascertained to be impracticable." Bonneville was obviously looking for a way to ship supplies directly to Hatch's Ranch, perhaps even considering it as a replacement for Fort Union. Hatch's Ranch was considered a good location from which to deal with the Comanches. Jackson located what he considered a good wagon road between Rabbit Ear Mountain and Anton Chico and was at Fort Union the later part of August on his way back to Fort Stanton. [176] The map Jackson submitted with his report is reproduced on the following page. It is possible that William Becknell followed a route from near Rabbit Ear to the region of Anton Chico when he took the first wagons from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1822. [177]



"Sketch of the Country traversed over by 2d Lieut. W. H. Jackson's (Rifles) command from 7th August 1859 to 21st August 1859," Map US 57, Cartographic Branch, RG 77, National Archives. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

During the autumn of 1859 the Comanches began to raid the Anglo and Hispanic ranches in eastern New Mexico. They destroyed livestock and other property but killed none of the New Mexicans. They eluded every military force sent out to punish them for the next several months. The Comanches and Kiowas also attacked travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. The mail from Missouri expected in New Mexico early in October failed to arrive, creating concern in New Mexico that it may have encountered Indian problems on the plains. Colonel Bonneville decided it was time to reestablish escorts for the mails. A detachment of 35 riflemen were ordered from Fort Union under command of Lieutenant Andrew Jackson, Third Infantry, to accompany the eastbound mail until they met the westbound mail or reached "the settlements." If they met the westbound mail, they were to escort it to Fort Union. A revision of orders two days later increased the detachment to 50 troops and directed them to proceed to the Arkansas River in advance of the eastbound mail and find out the reason for the interruption of mail service. Further changes were made the following day when the escort was increased to two officers (Captain Morris and Lieutenant Jackson) and seventy-five men, with Captain Morris in command, and they were directed to accompany the eastbound mail as far as necessary to assure its safety. The escort was accompanied by twelve wagons for

provisions, and the teamsters were furnished arms. [178]

The westbound mail had been attacked in Kansas Territory where Kiowas and Comanches posed a serious threat to travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. Traffic along that route had increased dramatically in 1859 with the gold rush to western Kansas Territory (present Colorado). As Indian Agent William Bent wrote, after meeting an estimated 2,500 Kiowas and Comanches near Walnut Creek (east of present Great Bend, Kansas) in September 1859: "A smothered passion for revenge agitates these Indians, perpetually fomented by the failure of food, the encircling encroachments of the white population, and exasperating sense of decay and impending extinction with which they are surrounded." [179]

During the summer of 1859 three companies of First Cavalry were sent from Fort Riley to establish a summer camp near old Fort Atkinson and protect the trail. When the mail contractor, Jacob Hall & Co., attempted to establish a new stage station at Pawnee Fork that same year, the Kiowas and Comanches threatened to destroy it. Hall requested military protection for the station, which resulted in the establishment of Camp on Pawnee Fork (later Fort Larned) in October. Before the founding of this post which was destined to play a major role along the trail and in the region, a Kiowa chief named Pawnee was killed by soldiers near William Allison's Ranch on Walnut Creek. Pawnee had led a party which attempted to murder the proprietors of Allison's Ranch. The Kiowas were determined to avenge the loss of Pawnee, and their first opportunity came with the westbound mail to New Mexico. [180]

The mail coach, with a crew comprised of brothers Michael and Lawrence Smith and William H. Cole and no passengers, was escorted as far as Pawnee Fork by a detachment of 30 men under command of Lieutenant Elmer Otis, First Cavalry. The mail party continued without the escort on September 24 and had gone only a few miles when they were attacked by fifteen Kiowas. The Smith brothers were killed and Cole was wounded but escaped and made his way back to Lieutenant Otis. Otis and his detachment went to the scene of the attack, buried the Smith brothers, and recovered the mail. The eastbound mail party which had left Santa Fe without an escort on September 19 learned of the attack on the westbound mail from a wagon train going to New Mexico. They turned back and stayed with that caravan until they met a train of the Majors and Russell Company going to Missouri, which they joined until safely through the region of threatened hostilities. Camp on Pawnee Fork was founded on October 22 and began protecting the mail coaches traveling both directions. Later the escorts were coordinated between that point and Fort Union from which escort service resumed, as noted, during the same month. [181]

The increased wave of violent opposition by the Kiowas and Comanches continued. On October 15 a party of 30 Comanches threatened the camp of hay cutters under direction of Fort Union post sutler, George M. Alexander, working at Ocate Creek about 25 miles from the fort. When the hay cutters were able to get into camp and take up their arms before the Comanches could attack any stragglers, the Comanches stated they were searching for a band of Utes. The next day the Comanche war party returned past the Ocate camp and reported they had had a fight with the Utes. They had about 100 horses with them they had captured. The Indians headed toward the Canadian River, but the commanding officer at Fort Union notified department headquarters that the Comanches appeared to be "in open hostilities." No troops were sent in pursuit from the post. [182]

On October 22 Major John S. Simonson, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, arrived and assumed command of Fort Union. Lieutenant Herbert M. Enos, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was directed to lead a detachment from Fort Union to escort Captain John N. Macomb, Topographical Engineers, who was working on the improvement of roads in New Mexico Territory. This was a safety precaution in view of the increasing raids of Kiowas and Comanches. No small party was considered safe from possible attack. Captain Macomb and

the escort left Fort Union on October 31. [183]

During this time of troubles the new department commander arrived to take charge. Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy assumed command on October 25 on the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail approximately 150 miles from Fort Union. He had met the mail escort under Captain Morris and changed the orders under which the escort operated. Lieutenant Jackson and 35 of the troops were sent on with the eastbound mail, directed to go as far as the Arkansas River or until they met the next westbound mail, whichever occurred first. If they met the westbound mail, they were to escort it to Fort Union. If they reached the Arkansas River without meeting the westbound mail, they were authorized to wait there for two or three days for the mail before returning. Captain Morris and the remainder of the force returned to Fort Union with Colonel Fauntleroy. Fauntleroy and his escort had brought the first westbound mail in a month across the plains. They had seen only two small parties of Indians, five Kiowas in one and sixteen Comanches in the other, but a boy riding a mule with the mail coach was killed by the Kiowas when he ventured, in violation of strict orders, too far in advance of the party. The mail conductor had tried to rescue him without success. Colonel Fauntleroy, Captain Morris, and the escort arrived at Fort Union on October 29 and Fauntleroy left for Santa Fe on October 31. He relieved Bonneville at department headquarters on November 2. [184]

Fauntleroy immediately asked directions from Commanding General Winfield Scott regarding the use of troops in pursuing and punishing Indians in New Mexico. Fauntleroy was convinced "that many of the claims set up against the Indians for plundering and stealing stock, etc., are either wholly fabricated or to a considerable degree exaggerated." He was reluctant to send out troops to investigate every reported loss and planned to utilize troops mainly in cases of "instant pursuit" for verified depredations. He expected to treat "claims for thefts" with suspicion but to send troops whenever "unprovoked murders" were reported. He requested "to be instructed" if the troops were to do more. Because of the difficulties of campaigning during winter months, Fauntleroy planned to delay any major troop movements until spring. Approximately 100 officers and men from Fort Union, who had been sent to participate in the Navajo conflicts, returned to Fort Union on November 26. [185]

The mail escorts were continued. The mail which left Santa Fe for Independence on November 15 was to be accompanied from Fort Union to the Arkansas River or until they met the westbound mail by two non-commissioned officers and fifteen privates. They were to wait two days at the Arkansas for the westbound mail before returning without it. Sergeant Francis McCabe, Company H, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was placed in charge of the escort. The troops encountered cold weather and some of the men had ears, fingers, and toes badly frozen. After waiting two days at the Arkansas the escort started back to Fort Union without the mail coach for New Mexico. The westbound mail was escorted by troops from Fort Larned and arrived at the crossing of the Arkansas two days after the soldiers from Fort Union started back. The mail train caught up with the troops two days later. [186]

The escort and mail party were attacked by about 20 mounted Kiowas on the night of December 4 at Cold Spring, and most of the Indians were driven off in a matter of minutes. About 10 Kiowas on foot were hiding in some rocks near the camp and kept up a sporadic fire on the camp for several hours. The next morning the Kiowas set fire to the grass near the camp and tried to burn out the soldiers and mail party. Sergeant McCabe led his men out to fight, encountered a few Indians near the road about 600 yards from the camp, and attacked and drove them away. The sergeant believed several of the Indians may have been killed and wounded. Private Isaac Baker was slightly wounded, the only casualty for the troops. McCabe praised the "coolness and courage of his men" and singled out Corporal Thomas M. Brierly of Company G, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, who "particularly distinguished himself." New Mexican traders informed McCabe that the Kiowas had declared they would

kill every white man who came their way. [187]

Because of the continuing Indian threats to safe passage of the mails from Independence to Santa Fe, Colonel Fauntleroy recommended that official correspondence from army headquarters to department headquarters be sent on the overland mail from St. Louis to El Paso. At the same time, in response to rumors that plains Indians would cause problems along the Fort Smith road and in the region near Anton Chico, a company of mounted riflemen were sent from Fort Union to Hatch's Ranch in December. They carried provisions for 30 days and were to remain there until further orders. They were to draw additional supplies from Fort Union as needed. Corn and fodder for the horses were available from Alexander Hatch. Company H, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, comprised of 47 men, was sent to Hatch's Ranch under command of Second Lieutenant Ira W. Claflin on December 19. [188]

Before this company had departed from Fort Union, Major Simonson requested another company of riflemen to be transferred there because of the need to provide protection from possible Kiowa raids to settlers at Ocate, Rayado, and Cimarron. In addition the garrison was expected to continue sending escorts for the mail to Independence. Apparently no escort was sent with the early December mail from New Mexico, which traveled with a large merchant caravan to Missouri. An escort was authorized to accompany the late December eastbound mail from Fort Union as far as Rabbit Ear Mountain, but Major Simonson reported there were insufficient men and transportation available at the post and none was sent. [189]

The commanding officer at Fort Larned, Second Lieutenant David Bell, was anxious to establish a reliable linkage with escorts from Fort Union. He was frustrated by the failure to make regular connections and, on December 26, sent an escort with orders to accompany the westbound mail all the way to Fort Union if no troops from New Mexico were met along the way. He also sent a message to Colonel Fauntleroy, requesting cooperation and proposing where and when the escorts should meet and relieve each other so that the mail coaches traveling both directions would have constant protection across the plains. Arrangements were completed for the mails and escorts to meet at Lower Cimarron Spring on the first of each month, beginning February 1, but it was not easy to keep the mail coaches on schedule during winter months and the connections were not always made. The January escort from Fort Union was comprised of three non-commissioned officers and 22 men of Company H, Third Infantry, sent from the garrison at Fort Marcy because of insufficient manpower at Union. The mail trains were protected, but other travelers on the routes across the plains continued to experience Indian troubles. [190]

By the end of 1859 it was clear that the Kiowas and Comanches were virtually unrestrained in their raids and were causing unprecedented destruction in New Mexico and on the plains. Officials in the war and interior departments were convinced that a strong military force would be required to defeat these tribes in the field before they would settle down. A possible three-pronged attack in the spring of 1860, with columns converging on the Kiowa and Comanche homelands from New Mexico, Texas, and Kansas was being discussed as a conceivable way to crush their power. [191] Until that could be done, there was the ongoing need to coordinate the escorts of the mails between Fort Union and Fort Larned and to protect the settlements along the eastern frontier of the territory.

The troops from Fort Union that were sent to Hatch's Ranch may have provided some security from Indian raids, but they also contributed to the loss of life by New Mexicans. Some of the mounted riflemen sent to Hatch's Ranch were permitted to visit "grog shops and fandango rooms," probably at the community of Chaparito, early in the new year. They became intoxicated, got involved in a fight with some New Mexicans, and killed an unspecified number of citizens. Lieutenant Claflin was rebuked for permitting the incident to happen and an investigation was conducted into the affair. A detachment from Hatch's Ranch

did provide an escort for Brevet Second Lieutenant Orlando G. Wagner, Topographical Engineers, engaged in survey work in the vicinity. The remainder of the company was transferred back to Fort Union, arriving there on January 29. Some of the soldiers involved in the fight with New Mexicans were charged with murder and sent to Santa Fe. [192]

In February 1860 Colonel Fauntleroy began organizing the troops in the department for a major campaign against the Navajos, and he expected to utilize all the mounted riflemen, including the two companies comprising the garrison at Fort Union. He also planned to use the Third Infantry and requested recruits to fill the many vacancies in the regiment. Major Simonson was in poor health and declined to command the mounted riflemen on the campaign. He was left at Fort Union to direct military operations in that region while Fauntleroy devoted attention to the Navajos. [193]

Colonel Fauntleroy may have considered the Navajos the major problem in New Mexico, but in his preoccupation with them he had neglected the threat of the Kiowas and Comanches to his department and to communications with the states. Despite all his plans to whip the Navajos into submission, army headquarters directed on February 25 that all preparations for a campaign against the Navajos cease. A few days later Fauntleroy was directed to have the troops in his department ready to march against the Kiowas and Comanches "as early in the spring as the grass will permit." [194]

The Kiowas and Comanches had continued their raids on travelers on the plains and on the settlements of eastern New Mexico. In February there was a rumor that they were on their way to attack Fort Union, perhaps the only time that there was actual fear of an Indian attack at the post, and Major Simonson increased security arrangements immediately. The night guard was increased to 24 privates and three non-commissioned officers, and a picket guard of seven men was stationed on the high ground east of the post beyond Wolf Creek (perhaps in the area where the third fort was later built) to help guard the quartermaster and commissary corrals and to oppose any Indians advancing toward the garrison. Plans were made to repel a direct attack on the post, with stations assigned for every soldier, including the members of the band. All arms were kept loaded and everyone was on alert, "ready to repair at once to his post on the sounding of the assembly." The civilian employees of the quartermaster department were issued arms and assigned to help protect the property in that department. Everything was ready but the Indians never came. After three days of anticipation that an attack was imminent, it was learned that the Kiowas and Comanches were camped on the Canadian River with no intention of striking the post. [195]

The Kiowas and Comanches posed no danger to the garrison at Fort Union, but they were a potential threat to all travelers and settlers in eastern New Mexico Territory and on the plains to the east. The Kiowa-Comanche campaign of 1860, as earlier discussed, was comprised of three independent columns: one of four companies of cavalry from Fort Riley, Kansas, and two companies of dragoons from Fort Kearny, Nebraska; the second column was composed of six companies of cavalry from the Department of Texas; and the third included six companies of mounted riflemen (A, C, D, F, H, and K) from New Mexico. Each column was to be supplied from its department of origin, "but in an emergency may draw from any post where it may be necessary." [196] By relentless pursuit of the Indians in their own country, the army hoped to break the power of the two tribes and force them to settle on reservations. It was one thing to declare war, however, and quite another to find the elusive Indians in the vast region in which they were at home.

Fort Union, although under orders to be closed and replaced by Fort Butler, was designated as the rendezvous and outfitting point for the column of mounted riflemen from New Mexico, and Major Charles F. Ruff was assigned to command these troops in the field. Some of the troops assigned to the campaign never went to Fort Union but stopped at Hatch's Ranch

which was designated as the point where the expedition would start for the plains. Two companies of the Eighth Infantry, intended eventually to garrison the new Fort Butler, were temporarily stationed at Hatch's Ranch to provide protection to the settlements in that area during the campaign. Hatch's Ranch was also expected to become the point of supply for the column as Fort Union was closed. By mid-April Fauntleroy, concerned that the large encampments of Kiowas and Comanches reported to be in eastern New Mexico might be more than six companies of riflemen could handle, requested that the other two columns of the campaign be sent to the department and combined into one force to overwhelm the Indians. This was not done and the three columns continued to operate independently. None of them had much luck finding the Indians. [197]

Major Ruff assembled the companies assigned to the Kiowa-Comanche campaign at a camp near Hatch's Ranch during May, where there was good grass for the horses. Before leaving Fort Union, Ruff requested that 60 of the new Colt revolving rifles be issued to the 10 best riflemen in each of the six companies to see how the weapons would perform in the field. [198] To replace the mounted riflemen withdrawn from Fort Union for the campaign, other troops were sent. Cantonment Burgwin was abandoned late in May and the garrison, under command of Captain Thomas Duncan, was sent to Union. One of the companies of Eighth Infantry at Hatch's Ranch was sent to Fort Union in June. [199]



Charles F. Ruff, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

The expedition to the plains was to begin from Hatch's Ranch as soon as everything was ready and the grass was sufficient for grazing the horses. Because of a severe drought the grass did not start growing as usual and corn was not available to feed the horses on this campaign. Other supplies for the column were being shipped to the new depot at Hatch's Ranch. After the troops were in the field, a subdepot for their provisions was to be established on the Canadian River some 70 miles east of Hatch's Ranch. Captain Morris, who was not part of Ruff's expedition, took a company of riflemen to Giddings's Ranch south of Hatch's Ranch, where he found good grass and water. He remained there to provide protection because Kiowas and Comanches were reported to be gathering to the south along the Pecos River. [200]

When the Kiowas and Comanches were reported to be concentrating near Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River and raiding the settlements in the region, Fauntleroy sent three companies of the Third Infantry, then being transferred to the Department of Texas, along the Pecos River to discourage those Indians from raiding. He also directed Ruff to lead or send some of his mounted riflemen in that direction, "to the neighborhood of Gidding's Ranch and below, if necessary, and chastise these marauding parties." No record was found to show that any troops, other than Captain Morris who was camped near Giddings's Ranch, were sent. Captain Andrew Porter, second in command of the Kiowa-Comanche column, did lead a squadron of mounted riflemen toward Anton Chico to investigate reports of Indian attacks there and discovered that no Indians had been to Anton Chico. Instead, he reported, the inhabitants of Anton Chico were mainly interested in keeping some soldiers there so they could sell supplies to them. At the end of May Fauntleroy ordered Ruff to take the field and attack the Kiowas and Comanches where he could find them. Ruffled the six companies of riflemen

from Hatch's Ranch on June 1 to establish a camp on the Canadian and then head toward Bosque Redondo where the Kiowas and Comanches were reported to be camped in large numbers. [201]

Captain James L. Donaldson, chief quartermaster of the department, when writing to Major Ruff about his supplies and to inform him that Mrs. Ruff had arrived safely at Fort Leavenworth without any difficulty crossing the plains from Fort Union, also made a prophetic statement about his campaign. He told Ruff not to expect to find the Indians who always seemed to be able to avoid troops sent after them. [202] The mounted riflemen never had a fair chance to find the hostile bands of Kiowas and Comanches because their horses were suffering greatly from "black tongue" disease, as well as malnutrition because of the drought, and were unable carry the troops where or as fast as they needed to go. In addition the *Comancheros* deliberately gave false reports to the officers, sometimes causing them to travel far from where the Indians were located.

Ruff's column left Hatch's Ranch with as many provisions as could be transported in the few wagons assigned to the command and established a camp and subdepot on June 4, called Camp Jackson, about 65 miles east of Hatch's Ranch near the Canadian River. It was opposite the site of Watrous's ranch that had been destroyed in 1858. The troops of Company H were left to protect Camp Jackson because their horses were in the worst condition. The other five companies left on June 8 with provisions for 20 days to go to Bosque Redondo and attempt to find the Comanches and Kiowas reported to be located there. Finding no signs of Indians there, Ruff continued down the Pecos River for several days and found no Indians. Ruff was frustrated and angry, certain that the *Comancheros*, more fearful of the loss of trade and reprisals from the Comanches than they were of the army, had deliberately lied about Indians being in that vicinity. The time and resources wasted in checking on stories that proved to be "false in every particular" was made worse by the failure of the horses. [203]

By the time the column had returned to Hatch's Ranch for provisions on June 26, 69 of the 293 horses with the expedition had died and of the 224 still alive only 128 were serviceable. Thus many of the troopers had to walk, and the column had only been able to travel about twelve miles per day. The horses suffered from the lack of good grazing, all the grass being dried up from lack of precipitation, but many of them also had contracted "black tongue" disease. How this disease was acquired was not understood, but it began about the time the column left Hatch's Ranch on June 1 and spread among the herd. Ruff vividly described the results: "This disease, affecting the glands of the throat, also denudes the tongue, lips, and gums of all skin, creating putrid sores, and rendering these parts extremely sensitive, so that the animal is unable to eat any but the softest food." Under these conditions it was virtually impossible for the horses to eat the dry grasses. These horses were so broken down that they could not be used and many of them would probably die if not removed from service, given proper treatment, and fed bran for a time to be followed by nutritious grass and grain. Without grain the remaining healthy horses were not in condition for a hard campaign. With many of his troops on foot, Ruff was limited in what he could do the remainder of the summer. He did draw rations at Hatch's Ranch where he was able to acquire a little corn for the horses, and the column returned to Camp Jackson on July 3. By that time he was able to report that the "black tongue" had "almost entirely disappeared" among the horses. If it would rain so the grass could grow, Ruff predicted many of the horses might recover. If they did, however, they would not be ready for service for several months. He was also dismayed that the column had marched over 400 miles and found no Indians. [204]

The Indians were practically impossible to find. No sooner had Ruff led the column south to find the Kiowas and Comanches than those same Indians were reported to be located about 60 miles north of Fort Union along the road to the states. According to the New Mexican traders who reported to Simonson, these Indians professed a desire for peace but warned that

if any troops attacked them they would strike Fort Union. Major Simonson thought they might be spying on the strength of the troops at Fort Union and waiting for the arrival of supply trains from Fort Leavenworth. He was certain the New Mexicans were providing the Indians with intelligence about the strength of his garrison. He requested that Fauntleroy send more troops to Fort Union, and this was when the company of infantry from Hatch's Ranch joined the garrison at Union as noted above. In July a company of Second Dragoons was sent from Fort Garland for temporary duty at Fort Union. After the arrival of four officers with forty-eight recruits at Fort Union on July 5, the company of infantry from Hatch's Ranch was sent back to that station a few days later. [205]

Fauntleroy authorized Ruff to select the company in his column that was most in need of treatment for its horses and send it to Fort Union to recuperate. In return Captain Duncan and his Company E of riflemen would be sent to Camp Jackson as replacements. The available records show that this switch did not occur. Because of the unavailability of enough horses or of forage for the horses with the column, Fauntleroy suggested that all the horses with the expedition in need of recuperation be left at Camp Jackson "until they are fit to resume active service in the Field." This meant that many of the troops would not be mounted for the duration of the campaign. Ruff requested a map of the region and that a responsible guide who knew the country be sent to join his column. He did not trust New Mexicans who had been Indian traders, but no one else was available. [206]

The expedition continued to face hardships and failure. Ruff led 225 men of his command down the Canadian River on July 10 to continue the search for Indians. Second Lieutenant DuBois and 40 men were left at the subdepot. Ruff's battalion found a camp of approximately 300 Comanches on July 15. The Indians had sufficient notice of the approach of the soldiers to escape, and the horses of the troops were so weakened they could not pursue the Comanches. They did destroy the camp and much Indian property (buffalo robes, weapons, ammunition, and other items) that had been left behind, and they killed three of the Comanches who attempted to stampede the army horses. It was not the type of blow to the Comanches, however, that would cause them to abandon their raids and beg for a peace agreement. Ruff followed the trail of the Indians, hoping to surprise them with an attack during the night. He went as far as the old adobe fort of the Bent brothers, commonly known as Adobe Walls, without finding the Indians. DuBois was certain they "would have had a pretty fight if the guide had not told them falsely about the country." Because so many of his horses were unable to continue, Ruff returned to Camp Jackson. He had only 139 horses fit for service in the six companies. [207]

Some of the Comanches who avoided contact with the expedition left their camps on the Conchas River and moved to a point about 10 miles from Hatch's Ranch in July. They were reportedly visiting the small New Mexican settlements in the area to purchase arms and ammunition. On July 23 about 100 Comanche warriors attempted to visit Hatch's Ranch, presumably to trade, but the commanding officer there, Lieutenant Lafayette Peck, Eighth Infantry, forbade them to come to the ranch. The Comanches came anyway and were engaged by the available troops of the two companies of Eighth Infantry stationed there, led by Second Lieutenant Robert T. Frank. The Indians were driven away with three or four killed and others wounded and reportedly headed for the Canadian River. The troops had one man injured. The supply train for Camp Jackson was at Hatch's Ranch but was not forwarded because there were not sufficient troops to provide an escort. Troops from Camp Jackson were requested to come and protect the provisions on the road to their camp. Lieutenant Joseph G. Tilford and 25 men of Company E of the mounted riflemen were sent by Major Simonson from Fort Union the following day to reinforce the garrison at Hatch's Ranch. The same day, July 24, Fauntleroy ordered Captain Duncan and the remainder of Company E to go to Hatch's Ranch, with Duncan taking command of all troops there until the Indian threat was gone. As soon as possible Duncan's company was to return to Fort Union. The

Comanches had left the vicinity of Hatch's Ranch and the mounted riflemen were back at Union on July 31. [208]

Other Indians, Navajos, soon threatened more New Mexican settlements and resulted in further calls on the troops at Fort Union. On July 30 Indians were raiding near Pigeon's Ranch at the eastern entrance to Glorieta Pass. A detachment was sent from Fort Marcy at Santa Fe to investigate, and when Lieutenant John Pegram, Second Dragoons, confirmed the raiders had killed citizens and stolen livestock only a few miles from Santa Fe, the troops at Hatch's Ranch and Fort Union were notified. Any citizens in Santa Fe who volunteered to help deter these raiders were provided with horses, mules, and equipment. Some of the volunteers attacked a party of Navajos near Galisteo on August 1, reportedly killing and wounding 20 Indians while suffering 10 casualties. The troops at Albuquerque were alerted and directed to attempt to catch the Indians when they headed west. [209]

Lieutenant Tilford and 25 mounted riflemen were ordered from Fort Union on August 2 to proceed to Johnson's Ranch near the western entrance to Glorieta Pass, clearing the road to Santa Fe of Indians on the way if necessary, and provide protection in that area until the Indian threat was gone. After completing the assignment, Tilford was to take his detachment to Hatch's Ranch and, if they were not needed there, return to Fort Union. Before that could be done, however, additional orders were received. On August 4 Captain Duncan and his company (including Tilford's detachment) were ordered to travel via Anton Chico to Manzano southeast of Albuquerque, where Indians were reported to be raiding settlements in the Manzano Mountains. Tilford's detachment was diverted from its mission to Johnson's Ranch to Manzano via Galisteo, and Duncan and the remainder of the company proceeded a few days later via Anton Chico. The Navajos escaped back to their homeland west of the Rio Grande before the troops caught up with them. A detachment from Albuquerque did engage a small party of the Navajos near the Rio Grande and inflicted four casualties on the Indians. Captain Duncan's company returned to Fort Union in late August. Fauntleroy was soon planning an expedition against the Navajos for later in the year. [210]

The troops who had remained at the posts were seeing as much if not more activity in the field against Indians as those with the Kiowa-Comanche expedition. Upon his return to Camp Jackson at the end of July, Major Ruff was too ill to continue in command of the campaign. Captain Porter was placed in command of the expedition, and Ruff returned to Fort Union and assumed command of the post on August 15 because Major Simonson's health had deteriorated to the point that he was sent to Fort Leavenworth for treatment. A detachment of troops from Fort Union accompanied Simonson as far as Fort Larned, providing some protection for other travelers on the Santa Fe Trail at the same time. Late in August one of the companies of infantry at Hatch's Ranch was sent to Fort Union to replace the mounted riflemen being sent to participate in the Navajo campaign. Early in September the company of infantry from Hatch's Ranch comprised the entire garrison at Fort Union. [211]

Captain Porter took command of the New Mexico column of the Kiowa-Comanche expedition just in time to benefit from requests made by Major Ruff. Five guides, three Pueblo Indians and two New Mexican buffalo hunters, were sent to help the troops locate Indians. Major Donaldson sent 5,000 *fanegas* of bran and some corn for the horses on the campaign. The arrival of 158 horses with the party of recruits which arrived from Fort Leavenworth at Fort Union on July 5 made it possible to assign approximately 10 horses to each mounted company in the department. Thus 60 remounts were made available to the troops with the Kiowa-Comanche expedition in August, and Captain Porter came to Fort Union to obtain the horses and refit his command for the field. Porter had moved his base from Camp Jackson to a point closer to Hatch's Ranch, which he called Camp Winfield Scott (exact location unknown). The paymaster came to Camp Winfield Scott and paid the

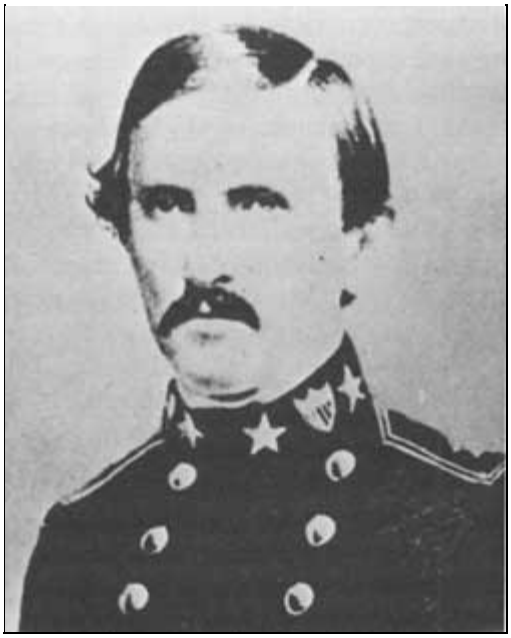
members of the expedition. Colonel Fauntleroy requested more horses and recruits for the mounted riflemen, noting that 315 members of that regiment were eligible for discharge before November 1, 1860. [212]

When Porter left Fort Union with the column on September 8 to seek out the Kiowas and Comanches, the troops and horses were in the best condition since the campaign began. The column boasted 250 horses "fit for active service." DuBois had obtained the services of one of the best guides in the territory, Antoine Leroux, who became the chief guide for the battalion. They were confident they would find the Comanches. The results, however, were the same because the Indians continued to avoid contact with the troops. Porter led the column along the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail to Rabbit Ear Mountain, then to the southeast as far as the Canadian River. They arrived back at Fort Union after being gone one month, during which time they had not seen a Kiowa or Comanche. Their sole accomplishment had been to capture "two horse thieves who were returning to Texas with thirty stolen horses." When the column returned to Fort Union, Fauntleroy declared the expedition "suspended for the present." [213]

Lieutenant Colonel George B. Crittenden, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, commanding at Fort Union, was placed in charge of the column and directed to send the six companies to garrison duty at several forts (three of the companies remained at Fort Union). After several months of almost fruitless search for Indians by the column from Fort Union, the Kiowas and Comanches had not been seriously challenged. They continued to harass travelers on the plains and at frontier settlements. The army could not punish what it could not find. Fort Union had been active for almost a decade but the Indian problems in the territory remained as threatening as when it was founded. Military operations continued to occupy the garrison. [214]

Before the Kiowa-Comanche column returned to Fort Union, for a short time in September, there was no company of troops present and available for "the ordinary details" at the garrison. Lieutenant Colonel Crittenden assumed command on September 17, after the company of infantry from Hatch's Ranch had been sent back to its station, and found only the regimental band of the mounted rifle regiment, 12 men from the companies in the field (left behind but subject to call to join their command), and 69 recruits (who had accompanied Crittenden to Fort Union and who, by order of the department commander, were "not detailable for duty") at the fort. One other regimental officer, Lieutenant Enos, was present and performing the duties of post and subdepot quartermaster and commissary of subsistence, regimental adjutant, and post adjutant. The post surgeon and the new chaplain, Samuel B. McPheeters who arrived with Crittenden, were also present. Crittenden requested another regimental officer and a company or part of a company of troops be assigned for duty at Fort Union until the men absent on field duty returned. Brevet Second Lieutenant Joseph Wheeler, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was sent as the officer and detachments of infantry and mounted riflemen were temporarily assigned for duty. Crittenden, despite his lack of manpower, found it necessary to send some of his small garrison into the field. On October 1 Wheeler and eighteen men were detailed with six days' rations to go to Ocate in pursuit of a party of Indians reported to be raiding there. On October 5 an escort of infantrymen was sent with Assistant Surgeon W J. Sloan as far as Fort Larned. The garrison was shorthanded until Captain Porter returned with the column of mounted riflemen on October 7. [215]

The Kiowa-Comanche expedition had been unable to locate the Indians, but the Indians continued to visit New Mexican settlements. On October 3 Captain Edmunds B. Holloway, Eighth Infantry, commanding at Hatch's Ranch led 25 men from his garrison to the village of



George B. Crittenden, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Chaparito where about 100 Comanches had come to trade. Holloway was convinced that the "constant trade" between the New Mexicans and the Comanches was how the Indians obtained ammunition. The soldiers arrived while the Comanche party, including women and children, were at the village and attacked. They killed two and wounded two of the Indians, and captured thirty-two horses, nineteen mules, and a "considerable amount" of saddles and other horse equipment. The troops had no losses. The captured horses were sold at Las Vegas. [216]

Because the horses that had been on the Kiowa-Comanche campaign were in poor condition, those belonging to the three companies of mounted riflemen stationed at Fort Union were sent to a grazing camp on the Cimarroncita a few miles west of Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron to recuperate. All mules at Fort Union not in use were also taken. Crittenden personally selected the location for the camp. The horses were protected by two companies of riflemen who camped with them, and grain for the horses was purchased from Maxwell. The horses received ten pounds of grain per day and the mules received nine pounds. These horses were reported to be "doing well" at the end of the month. They returned to Fort Union early in November. [217]

The horses had more than adequate protection, but a party of Comanches, probably in retaliation for the attack at Chaparito, stole the government beef herd of 460 cattle located on the Conchas River (under a contract herder, John L. Taylor) and some cattle from a private ranch, a total of about 1,000 head. The cattle were reportedly being driven toward Mesa Rica near the Canadian River close to its crossing of the eastern boundary of New Mexico Territory. A combined force of mounted riflemen from Fort Marcy and Fort Union were sent via Hatch's Ranch to attempt to recover the livestock. Lieutenant DuBois and 21 men were dispatched from Union on October 31. The cattle were not recovered because, as DuBois recorded, at Mesa Rica the trail "split up into fifty different trails." The troops followed what appeared to be one of the most prominent trails and ended up at Anton Chico. They had followed a party of *Comancheros* returning from "trading powder & lead to the indians for skins." DuBois and his detachment returned to Fort Union on November 10. Their horses were "totally ruined" by the 300-mile expedition. [218]

The campaign against the Navajo resulted in several battles in which the troops were successful, but the overall effect on the Navajo people was negligible. Captain George McLane, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was killed in battle with the Navajos on October 13. Major Ruff was detailed on November 13 to head an escort of nine enlisted men from Fort Union to accompany McLane's widow and children to Fort Leavenworth. The escort troops were to go only as far as Fort Larned and return to Union. This assignment provided Ruff a chance to secure additional medical treatment for his illness. Ruff was also responsible for taking Second Lieutenant Edmund Freeman, Fifth Infantry, who was declared to be insane, to Fort Leavenworth where some of his family was to meet and care for him. If the

family was not there, Ruff was authorized to see Lieutenant Freeman to the farm home of his family in Illinois, not far from St. Louis. [219]

On December 15 a squadron of 40 dismounted riflemen from the garrison at Fort Union was sent to report to Captain Benjamin S. Roberts at Hatch's Ranch. They were to assist Roberts in establishing Fort Butler on the Canadian River, which never happened as explained in the previous chapter. [220] They remained at Hatch's Ranch until the following February. Most of the troops available for field duty at Fort Union left the post on December 27 to scout for Kiowas and Comanches who were reported to be raiding travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. Lieutenant Crittenden commanded the force of 88 mounted riflemen, accompanied by civilians George M. Alexander and Edward Shoemaker, leaving Lieutenant Enos in command at Fort Union. Perhaps this was an opportunity to find and defeat some of the Indians who had eluded the column in the field during the previous summer and fall. Crittenden's command surprised an encampment of Kiowas and Comanches about 10 miles north of Cold Spring on the Cimarron River on January 2, 1861. They captured the camp of about 175 lodges, killed 10 and wounded an undetermined number of Indians, captured 40 Indian horses, and destroyed the village and its contents. According to the regimental adjutant, who was not present at the engagement, "not a woman or child was hurt." Three or four soldiers were slightly injured. This was a severe blow to the inhabitants of the camp who lost most of their supplies in the middle of winter. It marked the greatest achievement of the campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches. Some of the Comanches offered to talk about a peace agreement. [221]

Crittenden hoped to put together a larger force and inflict further punishment on the Kiowas and Comanches, but hostilities by the Mescalero Apaches in southeastern New Mexico required more immediate attention. Crittenden was selected to lead a campaign against the Mescaleros in March 1861. The campaign against the Navajos had just reached what Fauntleroy and other officers considered a successful conclusion, with the Navajos agreeing to sign a peace treaty, and some of the troops who had been involved against the Navajos were sent to participate in the efforts against the Mescaleros. Others were assigned to join in a campaign against the Apaches in southwestern New Mexico, led by Major Isaac Lynde, Seventh Infantry. Crittenden was given authority to draw troops from Fort Union and Hatch's Ranch as needed, as well as from Forts Stanton and Fillmore. Crittenden took most of the mounted riflemen from Fort Union with him on March 11. [222]

Crittenden was still organizing his expedition against the Mescaleros when Colonel William W. Loring took over the command of the department from Fauntleroy on March 22. Loring immediately started cutting back on transportation expenses, which affected Crittenden's plans. Of the three companies of mounted riflemen from Fort Union originally scheduled to serve under Crittenden, two were called back to Fort Union. Hatch's Ranch was abandoned and the troops and supplies there were sent to Fort Union. Even though his force was reduced, Crittenden marched into Mescalero country and pursued them ceaselessly. No battles were fought but within six weeks the Mescaleros promised to stop raiding and to meet to negotiate a peace agreement later in the summer. The company of mounted riflemen from Fort Union who had served with Crittenden returned to Fort Union. Crittenden had compiled a good record against Indians in New Mexico Territory, but he, like many of the other officers from the southern states serving in the department, resigned his commission to join the army of the Confederate States of America. [223]

With no idea what the unsettled conditions between the states might bring, the army and officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in New Mexico sought peace agreements with all the Indians possible in the spring of 1861. Until an arrangement could be made with the Kiowas and Comanches, Loring decided to keep a scouting party of 25 men from Fort Union on patrol to help protect the settlers at Chaparito, Hatch's Ranch, Anton Chico, and Giddings's

Ranch and to help safeguard travelers on the Fort Smith road. Each detachment was rationed for 30 days, at the end of which time one unit was to be replaced by a fresh squadron from Fort Union. Soon after the first detachment left under command of Lieutenant Alexander McRae, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, it was reported that Comanches had stolen cattle from Giddings's Ranch, and McRae went to investigate. The second detachment sent out to replace McRae's squadron was increased to a full company of troops in anticipation of further hostilities. [224]

While these troops were in the field, agreements were signed with the Navajos and Comanches in May. An agreement was signed with the Mescaleros later in the summer. The treaties were not honored by the United States or the Indians. The negotiators with the Comanches, Captain Robert A. Wainwright and Superintendent of Indian Affairs James L. Collins, were accompanied by two companies of mounted riflemen from Fort Union. One of these companies was to replace the detachment in the field on scouting duty after the conference, and the other was to relieve that company a month later. [225]

The conference with the Comanches was held on May 10 and 11 at Alamo Gordo Creek, a tributary of the Pecos River. In return for peace, the Comanches promised to stop raiding along the Santa Fe Trail, stay away from the settlements of eastern New Mexico, and trade only at places approved by the government. The agreement was broken a few days later when one of the Comanche chiefs, who probably did not understand the meaning of the agreement about approved places to exchange goods, came with his people to Chaparito to trade. The Anglo-Americans had never accepted the trading relationship between the Comanches and the New Mexicans. Captain Duncan, camped near Hatch's Ranch, ordered the Comanches to leave Chaparito and, when they did not do so, forcibly drove them away, killing one, wounding three, and capturing two. The peace was broken and the settlers feared retaliation from the Comanches. [226] The Comanches left the area and remained east of New Mexico during much of the rest of the year. When the troops in New Mexico were preoccupied with the Civil War, the Comanches returned to "their old-time relationships" with the New Mexicans. [227]

The mail coaches between New Mexico and Independence were following the Bent's Fort or Raton Route (also commonly known, later, as the Mountain Route) of the Santa Fe Trail in February and March 1861, taking advantage of the protection provided by the establishment of Fort Wise near Bent's New Fort the previous year. The size of escorts for the mail had been reduced to the number of soldiers who could ride in the coach. Three soldiers went with the mail from Fort Union to Fort Wise in late February, but there was room for only one of the soldiers on the return trip. The others remained at Fort Wise until the next westbound mail, which presumably had room for them. [228] Colonel Loring was a passenger on the westbound stage in March, and Second Lieutenant DuBois was on the eastbound coach the same month, beginning a leave of absence. They met and talked at the crossing of the Arkansas River near Bent's Old Fort. [229]

In addition to protecting the mails on the trail, Colonel Loring offered protection to families of officers and other persons desiring to go to Fort Leavenworth because of the impending outbreak of war between the states. An escort comprised of soldiers whose term of service was about to expire was scheduled to leave Fort Union on April 25, and everyone who wished to travel with it was invited. The date of departure was later changed to May 20. [230]

Just as the Civil War was breaking out and many officers in New Mexico were resigning to join the Confederate Army, several of the Indian tribes in the territory were temporarily at peace. The peace would not last because the conditions which caused hostilities had not been removed and the army had not established effective control over several tribes. The series of conflicts between soldiers and Indians had seldom been decisive, and Indian troubles would

continue to occupy the army in the Southwest during and after the Civil War. The Civil War would bring new tensions between Indians, Hispanos, and Anglos in New Mexico.

The troops at Fort Union had been extensively involved in military operations in the region throughout its first decade of occupation. Even when some of the soldiers were serving in the field, there was a community life at the post regardless of the size or composition of the garrison. The routines of the frontier post may have been less dramatic than looking for and pursuing Indians, but those everyday activities required the majority of the time of officers and enlisted men. There were many other people besides military personnel at any army installation, including officers' wives and children, laundresses, civilian employees, merchants, and camp followers. The story of life at Fort Union before the Civil War is a subject worthy of consideration before examining the ramifications of that tragic conflict on the army at the post and in the Southwest.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER FOUR:

LIFE AT THE FIRST FORT UNION

The structure and nature of society at Fort Union had much in common with every other military post in the country during the same era but little in common with society in any other place. Military organization, with its officer class and rigid rules of behavior for both officers and enlisted men, fostered a closed society that was, at least in theory if not in practice, less free and more highly structured than almost any other institution except, perhaps, some religious orders. By Congressional action the army had its own code of justice and military courts to try offenders of every rank. Everybody in uniform had a place in the hierarchy that was determined by assigned rank (a bureaucratic system in which promotions were difficult to earn and slow to accumulate), and dependents shared the status of the soldier of whose family they were a member.

Class lines between officers' row and the enlisted men of the garrison were almost as sharply drawn as the demarcation between slave owners and slaves. Most officers and their families considered themselves to be part of an aristocracy and made every pretense to emulate the privileged classes. The enlisted men were thought of and often treated as a servile force who made the upper-class status of commissioned officials possible. Some officers apparently thought enlisted men were devoid of the full range of human emotions. Lieutenant Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, was shocked to discover in 1850 that the members of his company, serving at the Post at Las Vegas in New Mexico, were opposed to being split up and some of the men assigned to another unit. To Department Commander John Munroe, Judd wrote: "With such men the idea of separations from old and tried associations is like hushing up this whole current of life's pleasures. I had no conception until it came to the test that men of their class felt so deeply the ties which have bound them to each other." As a result, Judd requested that his company not be split, declaring that "the remaining detachment will be utterly useless and inefficient as a distinct body." [1]

That rigid structure was modified by the Civil War, after which the military society of the prewar years was looked back upon by some officers as "the good old days." William B. Lane served at Fort Union before and after the Civil War and held fond recollections of the relationship of officers and men during the 1850s. His views confirmed the attitudes of officers noted above. Looking back at the era before the Civil War from the perspective of the 1890s, two decades after his retirement from active duty, Lane (who was not a West Point graduate but had risen up from the ranks of enlisted soldiers of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen during the Mexican War) wrote that the "faith, or confidence of the enlisted men in their officers, and the almost universal kind feeling of the officers for the men, in the old days, added much to the discipline and efficiency of our little army, and made things comfortable for both sides." [2]

By contrast with what happened to the discipline of enlisted men and a decline in status of the officer class, resulting from the changes brought about by the service of millions of volunteers during the Civil War, Lane declared of the prewar army that those "were the days before the enlisted man had to be 'smoothed down' with wire-bottom cots, the mattress, and

the pillow." In addition, an enlisted man then was not "allowed to indulge in the doubtful pleasures and advantages of corresponding *direct* (and probably did not want to) with higher authority than his immediate commander, and the delight of an *anonymous* letter was unknown to him." [3] In lamenting what had disappeared, Lane verified the importance of enlisted men knowing their place, obeying their officers, and performing their duties.

On the other hand, the army provided every soldier with food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and periodic cash payments for military service. There was something of a balance involved; economic security was available for the surrender of some freedom, abiding by the rules, and working at whatever tasks were assigned. Those who could not adapt to these conditions frequently escaped from their obligations by deserting the army. Those who served out their terms of enlistment accommodated themselves to the system and followed orders most of the time. The large number of courts-martial would indicate, however, that many soldiers and officers were frequently in violation of one or more of the hundreds of army regulations.

The losses to desertion plagued the army throughout the nineteenth century. Statistics on desertion at Fort Union may be found in Appendix D. Although some were caught and returned to duty, many deserters succeeded in getting away. The escape of four enlisted men from Fort Union in 1852 resulted in tragedy. In September of that year four privates in the Third Infantry (last names were Hassey, Marodi, Paulus, and Phister; no first names were given) deserted from the post and headed for Missouri. They got as far as Wagon Mound the first night and followed the Cimarron and Aubry routes of the Santa Fe Trail. They had few provisions and depended on killing game for subsistence. Their weapons consisted of a musket and a revolver. [4]

At Bear Creek on the Aubry Route the deserters got into an argument about who should carry the weapons and other items. Private Paulus had the revolver and shot and killed Private Marodi. Paulus then attempted to kill Phister, but Phister and Hassey got the revolver away from Paulus and shot him in the head, killing him. Phister and Hassey proceeded to the Arkansas River, where they were apprehended and returned to Fort Union. Private Hassey escaped again but was quickly apprehended, and he and Phister were placed in irons and kept under guard. Hassey attempted to commit suicide by "cutting his throat" but survived. Carleton recommended that the two prisoners be turned over to civil authorities for further investigation of the murders, but the final disposition of their cases was not found. [5] Not all deserters were so unfortunate, and the fact that soldiers continued to escape military duties in large numbers was indicative that army regulations were not acceptable to all enlisted men.

Whatever the assignment, there was a strict chain of command throughout the military system. Orders came from the top down, and reports went the opposite direction. Almost nothing was done without benefit of an order, and almost every duty required the ubiquitous report plus the endorsement of officers up the bureaucratic chain. Among officers rank always had its privileges, constantly evident at a military post. Quarters, for example, were assigned to officers by rank, not by size of family. Any officer who outranked another could claim the housing of a subordinate. An unmarried officer of higher rank than a married officer was entitled to occupy the choice of available facilities without regard to the needs of the married officer's family. The dependents of officers had no legal status in the army. Whenever a new officer arrived at a post, he could take the housing of any officer who was subordinate in rank or seniority. The officer turned out could then expel any of his subordinates from their quarters, sometimes forcing the lowest ranking officer (and his family if he had one) to live in a tent. It was sometimes compared to a game of musical chairs.

One officer's wife, Mrs. Orsemus Boyd, who lived at Fort Union in 1872 and 1873, described the practice as she experienced it at a post in Texas. The process was similar at all posts, but not everyone was as accommodating as Mrs. Boyd.

> Fifty times, perhaps, there was a general move of at least ten families, because some officer had arrived who, in selecting a house, caused a dozen other officers to move, for each in turn chose the one then occipied by the next lower in rank. We used to call it "bricks falling," because each toppled that next in order over; but the annoyance was endured with great good nature.
>
> . . . An onlooker would doubtless have found the anxiety experienced by the officers' wives amusing; for though prepared for the worst we were, of course, solicitous. [6]

Mrs. Boyd managed to avoid being ranked out on one occasion, but only temporarily. The Boyds occupied fairly commodious quarters which were wanted by an unmarried captain on his arrival at the post. Mrs. Boyd was expecting her third child, and the post surgeon "declared I could not be moved." She delivered a son the following day. While she recovered, Mrs. Boyd "indulged a delusive hope that the officer who had chosen our home would be content to remain" in his small quarters. "I felt," she asserted, "that a bachelor could live less inconveniently in one room than could a family of five." Nevertheless, she disclosed, "the very day baby was four weeks old we were obliged to move." The Boyds resided in that one room for the next two years. [7] Their situation was not unique.

Although the quarters provided for the few women laundresses who were wives of enlisted men were small and inferior in comparison to officers' quarters at Fort Union, the laundresses usually were not subject to such practices as "ranking out." In addition, laundresses received official military recognition while officers' wives did not. The military acknowledged a need for laundresses, and regulations permitted up to four per company (it was not unusual, however, for there to be more than four). Most laundresses were wives of enlisted men, who were only permitted to marry with the permission of their commanding officer. That permission was seldom given unless the enlisted man's intended wife agreed to serve as a company laundress. Occasionally an enlisted man's wife was permitted to work as an officer's servant. Some laundresses were not married. [8]

Laundresses were provided quarters and rations. When buildings were erected at Fort Union, the laundresses' quarters were north of the hospital. Laundresses were authorized to charge each soldier so much for washing his clothing and bedding (approximately $1.00 per month on average). Some laundresses supplemented their income by engaging in prostitution, a "profession" always in demand at a military post where most of the enlisted men were single and forbidden to marry. Other women camp followers also provided such services to the troops. Army regulations were quite tolerant. The only offense for which they could be banished from contact with troops was venereal disease infection. [9] Some laundresses had children, who were also a part of garrison life. Laundresses were always present at Fort Union, but almost nothing has been found about them. Occasionally there was mention of a laundress in the records.

In 1873 one laundress at Fort Union was moved so her quarters could be assigned to another laundress (this was similar to ranking out, although rank apparently played no part in it). On May 16 the post quartermaster was directed to move Mrs. Ramis, laundress for Troop L, Eighth Cavalry, from room fourteen to room thirteen and assign rooms fourteen and fifteen to Mrs. Montgomery, laundress for Company C, Fifteenth Infantry. Mrs. Montgomery was the wife of Private John J. Montgomery, who was assigned to duty as a nurse in the post hospital. Although no explanation was given for changing quarters for Mrs. Ramis, it should be noted that the post commander, Captain H. A. Ellis, was an officer in the Fifteenth Infantry. Perhaps he was simply making certain that laundresses for his regiment were given preference over laundresses for the Eighth Cavalry. [10]

The daily life at the post was regulated by a strict schedule, which usually began at daylight when a cannon was fired and the flag was raised. The calls to various activities and duties were sounded by drums and bugles. After morning assembly came the call to breakfast, which was followed by sick call and calls to duty assignment, drill, target practice, or other jobs. At noon came the call to dinner, followed by more work during the afternoon. The supper call at evening was followed, at sunset, by the lowering of the flag and firing of the cannon. The soldiers were to be in their quarters when retreat was sounded, and the day ended with taps. This routine was interrupted for special inspections, dress and undress parades, and other periodic ceremonies. [11]

The soldier, officer or enlisted man, spent only a part of his time performing military duty and had considerable leisure time. The nineteenth-century army provided few if any activities for free time, leaving each individual to do as he desired within certain limitations. Absence from the post, for example, was restricted to permission. Soldiers engaged in numerous activities for recreation and relaxation, including drinking of intoxicants (drunkenness was a serious problem for the army throughout the time Fort Union was an active post), gambling, playing cards, patronizing prostitutes, racing, boxing, wrestling, swimming, dancing, fishing, hunting, picnicking, presenting and attending dramatic performances, visiting, storytelling, reading and writing for those who were literate, and watching nature. [12]

The stories of vice, of soldiers in trouble and in violation of military regulations, are abundant because of the numerous courts-martial, topics that will be considered in a later chapter. Unfortunately for students of social history, except for those court proceedings which provide a distorted view of humanity by focusing only on misconduct, official military records reveal little about the daily lives of soldiers and citizens who resided at military posts, particularly what they did with their own time that was not depraved, criminal, immoral, illegal, impure, dishonest, or evil. One must search for the few remaining personal letters, diaries, journals, and reminiscences to gain some understanding of the ordinary and everyday activities of a few individuals and to draw general conclusions about the larger society in which those individuals functioned. At best, the results are often cursory and anecdotal. Because of the paucity of records kept by enlisted men, much more is known about the lives of officers and their families. This imbalance of reliable information contributes to the difficulty of telling the story of the private soldier except in generalities. It is much easier, because of more sources, to provide an understanding of some individuals among the officer class.

The difficulty of explaining the living conditions of enlisted men is exemplified by the lack of solid information about such basic items as the furnishings of their barracks during the 1850s. According to Arthur Woodward's 1958 report on Fort Union, apparently based on data gathered about a number of similar frontier military installations, the men slept in two-tier wooden bunks with wooden slat bottoms, constructed along the walls. While it was typical of the military at the time to have four men sleep in each bunk (two up and two down), one can only speculate that this was the situation at Fort Union. The bed sacks were periodically filled with dried grass or straw. Rolled up clothing might serve as pillows. Each soldier was issued two blankets which he used in quarters and on field duty. [13]

Other furnishings in the barracks, including chairs, tables, and desks, were fashioned from packing crates, boxes, barrels, and other available materials. The quarters were apparently lighted by candles and heated by fireplaces. Exactly how the barracks were arranged, how the kitchens and mess rooms were furnished, how personal hygiene was accomplished (what bathing facilities, if any, were provided), how the latrines were equipped and situated, and all the other details that would shed light on the daily life of the enlisted men at the first Fort Union remain virtually unknown. [14]

It is known that a variety of nationalities were represented in the army and made up the polyglot society at all military posts, including Fort Union. In addition to Anglo- and Hispano-Americans, there were large numbers of Irish, German, and British soldiers. Representatives from a number of other countries and ethnic groups were often present, including French, Scandinavian, Italian, Slavic, and others. Afro-Americans were present at Fort Union as slaves and servants before the Civil War and as soldiers and employees after that conflict. The army, perhaps more than any other American institution of the era, exemplified the ethnic diversity of the nation.

The initial garrison of Fort Union, when established by Major Edmund B. Alexander on July 26, 1851, was comprised of one company of infantry (Company G, Third Infantry) and two of dragoons (Companies F and K, First Dragoons). These soldiers were joined the following day by Company D, Third Infantry, making a total aggregate garrison of 339 officers and men. Because of troops absent on assignments, on the sick list, or under arrest, the number of troops available for duty and extra duty at the post at the end of July 1851 was only 197. [15]

Until buildings were erected at Fort Union, officers and their families, enlisted soldiers, and employees lived in tents, and the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores were protected only by canvas covers and armed guards. Many of those who had been stationed in Las Vegas and Santa Fe were not happy with the move from what, by comparison, had been comfortable quarters. The tent accommodations, however, were intended to be temporary, and the construction of quarters held top priority at the new post.

Inadequate quarters were not the only thing about which some military officers could be unhappy. Some officers held an exalted view of their own position and were determined not to associate on the same level with the common people. Lieutenant J. N. Ward, Third Infantry, had been in the army for ten years and had served enough time in New Mexico that he was granted a furlough late in 1851. He planned to travel to the states, perhaps to visit his family in Georgia, but was disappointed with the travel accommodations available.

Ward complained to Lieutenant John C. McFerran, quartermaster department and adjutant to Colonel Sumner, that the "man in charge" of the wagon train "in which I was to have left for the United States" expected the officer to pay 25 cents per pound for his baggage. Even worse, "I was to perform guard duty on the trip with the teamsters, and was to assist *in guarding and hitching up animals at all times."* Although he wanted to take his furlough, Ward declared "I can not consent to travel in such manner." [16]

Ward's class-conscious snobbery was confirmed when he wrote, "if I were with a Government train, with men whom I could command, I would not object to perform any duties however arduous, but I can not think of associating myself as an equal, with the class of men who compose the teamsters of the plains, if I never go on furlough." "There is," he remarked, "no gentleman that I know of, going in with the train which leaves today." Therefore Ward requested that Sumner issue orders for him "to remain at Fort Union, or wherever else he may select on temporary duty . . . until such time as an opportunity offers for my leaving for the U.S." [17]

Sumner's response to Ward's plea was not located, but the lieutenant was a passenger on the mail coach conducted by William Allison which left Santa Fe on December 2, 1851. The mail party was stopped by blizzards at McNees Creek and Fort Atkinson. Lieutenant Ward left the coach at Fort Atkinson because he was too ill to travel. He remained there until Francis X. Aubry came by with a train of twelve wagons in January 1852 and traveled with Aubry to Independence, arriving there February 5. [18] Presumably Allison and Aubry were "gentlemen" with whom Ward did not mind associating.

Not everyone complained about the common people or conditions in New Mexico or Fort Union, although some officers' wives were apparently uninformed about both. One historian of frontier military social life claimed that "Army women were not well informed." Informed or not, an officer's wife faced many adjustments and difficulties. The same historian declared, "a woman who married an Army officer led a grueling life that usually shocked her at first and then tested her mettle as surely as ever the pioneer woman was tested." [19]

Some of the officers' wives at Fort Union probably would have agreed. Among the early residents of Fort Union was Catherine (Cary) Bowen (commonly known as Katie), wife of Captain Isaac Bowen, in charge of the department commissary stores. They accompanied the supply train that followed Colonel Sumner's column from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico, arriving at the new Fort Union on August 21, 1851. In letters to her parents, Mrs. Bowen (23 years old when she arrived at Fort Union) provided some insight into life at early Fort Union, especially the private and social activities of the officer class. Her letters were generally characterized by a spirit of happiness and well-being. Occasionally Isaac Bowen wrote to his parents and added perspective on life at Fort Union. [20]

Following their arrival at the post, Katie wrote her mother, "at last at our destination, safe in every particular, in health, and our goods in as good order as anything could possibly be after the hard journey they have had." She had enjoyed the trip over the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth. For her "the time did not seem long, for everything was pleasant, weather and country." [21]

Fort Union, she observed, was "located particularly with a view to extensive farming operations, and certainly it is well adapted, plenty of water, abundance of wood, and, to all appearances, a fertile valley, with mountains on two sides of us." Of the pine trees, she observed they made "good lumber and fire wood and will not fail a supply in thousands of years." The post "is supplied with a delicious spring and we have its water brought twice a day. For the stock and for irrigation there are several ponds and one lake. The river Moro runs six miles below us." The post office was still at Barclay's Fort on the "Moro." Katie considered the area "a pretty country" and obviously enjoyed being there. [22]

Isaac Bowen was a little less enthusiastic, declaring "We anticipated no very great enjoyment or pleasure from our residence in New Mexico and I am not certain that we have found anything worse than we expected." He described Fort Union as "about a hundred miles from Santa Fe . . . with plenty of wild prairie, mountains close in rear and in the distance front & left, good water, a fine bracing, healthy & salubrious climate." They had adjusted well to their new station. "Since we arrived here," he informed his father, "we have had no time to feel unhappy or scarcely grumble or find fault." Still, he had no appreciation for the land. "We will endeavour, however, to submit with a spirit of becoming resignation to whatever hardships may be our lot during the period of our residence here and when we leave the country, it will be with the wish that we may cast its dust from our feet forever." Speaking for himself and Katie, Isaac disclosed that "one great drawback is the want of mails. Could we hear from our friends oftener we would be better satisfied." [23] That view was probably shared by most officers and soldiers who had come from the East to serve in the unfamiliar land of New Mexico.

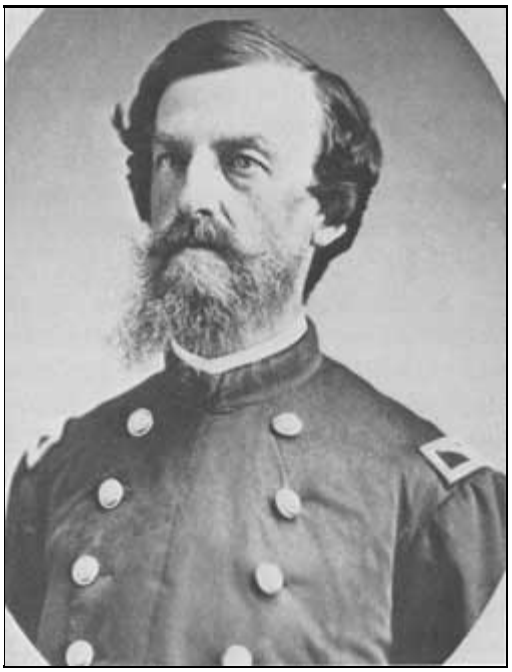
Katie, on the other hand, was very positive about the area and was happy that other officers' wives were at the new post when she arrived. She wrote to her mother that "the morning I came in, Mrs. Sibley took me to her house, or rather tents, and entertained me in the kindest manner." [24] A few days later she noted that "we were serenaded last night by the young gentlemen and kept awake so long that our nap this morning was longer than usual." "We will be," she predicted, "a very social garrison as soon as we are a little better acquainted." She was especially impressed with the young post surgeon, Thomas McParlin, describing him

as "one of the pleasantest Men I have met for a long time and said to be very skillful." [25]

Until quarters were built, the Bowens lived in three "very nice" tents. [26] They were situated close to two other officer families, and Katie Bowen became close friends with Charlotte (Mrs. E. S.) Sibley and Mrs. E. B. Alexander (Mrs. Alexander's first name is unknown). [27] A few weeks after arriving at Fort Union, Katie informed her mother that "Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Sibley and myself live on three sides of a triangle and the gentlemen make a great deal of sport of the triangular meetings." "In truth," she confessed, "we are nearly all the time together, if one is in the kitchen, the other two bring their sewing into the kitchen." At other times, "when we are dressed in the afternoon, we sit with our sewing sometimes at the house of one and sometimes at another." She explained to her mother, "I tell you these particulars that you may know that we do not give way to despondency or allow the better establishments of our friends in the states to make us unhappy." Any variety they had in their lives was the result of their own efforts, for Katie noted that "one day is very much like another here." [28]



Isaac and Katie Bowen, *courtesy* of their granddaughter, Gwladys Bowen.



Dr. Thomas McParlin, *courtesy* of Maryland State Archives.

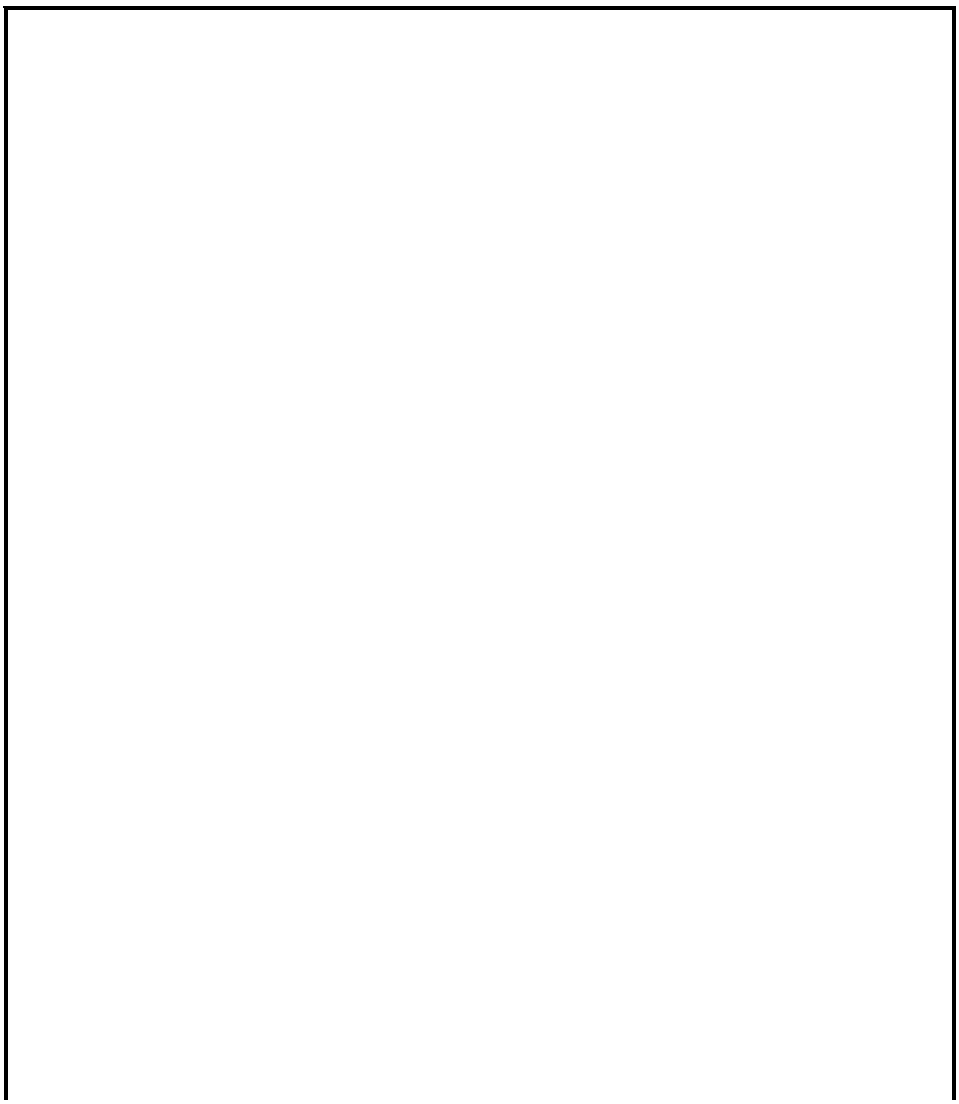
Mrs. Sibley also adapted well to tent living, as she informed her cousin: "We are living very comfortably in our tents. . . . My husband is an old soldier and understands perfectly the management of all things connected with Army life." She was apparently proud of her situation, stating that "Our tents are put upon frames and are floored and carpeted. I have arranged them so that the word 'Cozy' would more properly apply in description of the interior than any word else." Of her life at the first Fort Union, Charlotte Sibley wrote, "My books, sewing, and visiting with the other ladies employ my leisure moments in the morning." [29]

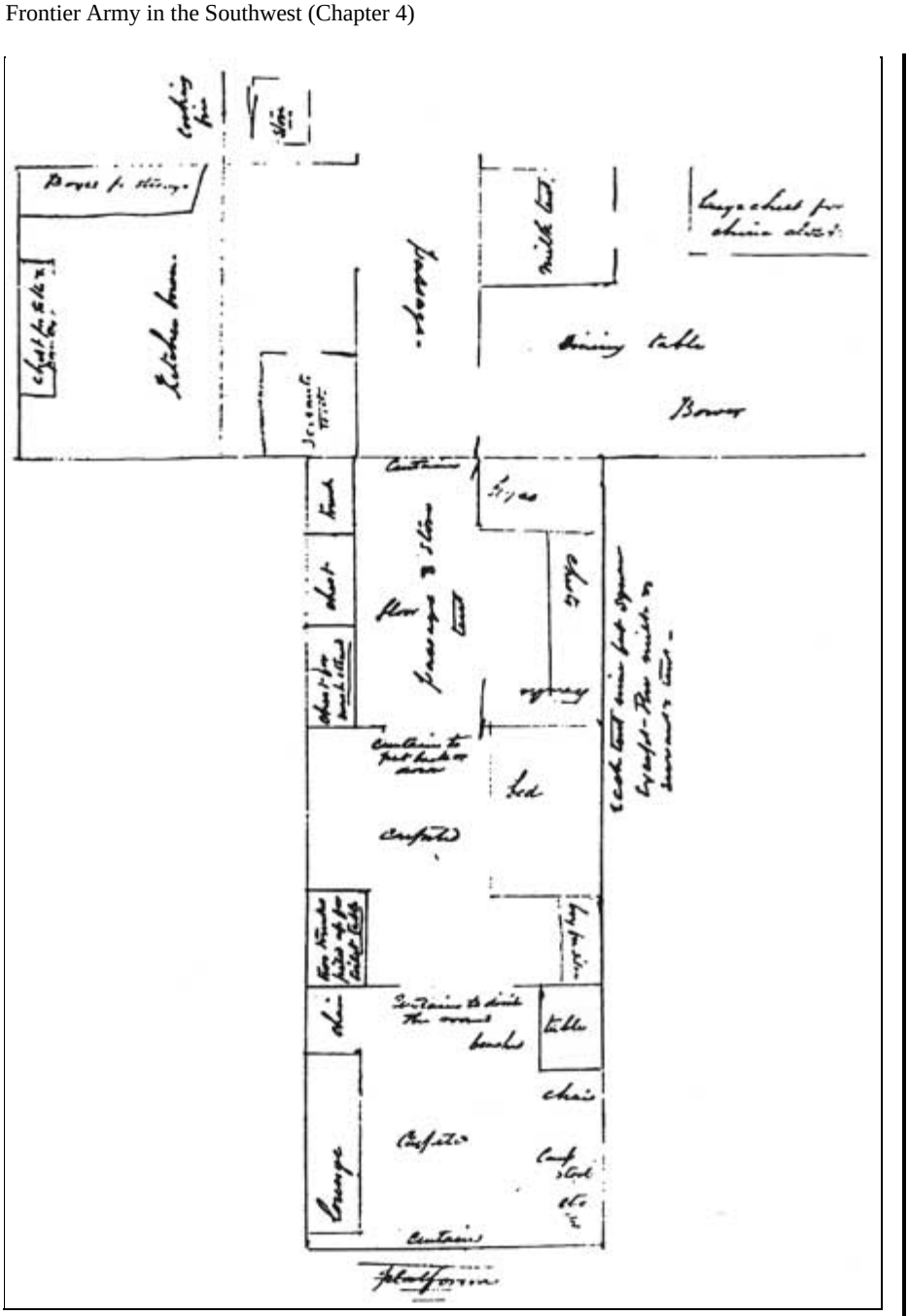
Sophia W. Carleton, 22 years old and expecting her second child, [30] was staying at Barclay's Fort, where rooms were available, while her husband, Captain James H. Carleton, was on patrol. Besides Sophia Carleton, Katie Bowen and Charlotte Sibley were also pregnant. Mrs. Alexander, wife of the post commander and apparently several years older than the others, was a part of their little circle. Located at an isolated post, these women

relied upon each other and shared experiences. Each apparently had a servant. The Bowens owned a young female black slave, Margaret. [31] Katie later wrote that Margaret "is a very good girl and cooks nicely, as well as being an excellent house servant. . . . Her mother is a free woman in Louisville and able to buy her, so if possible [when transferred from New Mexico], we will carry her to her mother or set her free." [32] Captain and Mrs. Carleton brought at least two slaves with them to Fort Union from Missouri (Hannah, age 28, and Benjamin, age 21), both of whom they later sold to Governor Lane. [33]

Katie watched her money carefully and managed her household scrupulously, sewing most of her own clothing and making other needed items. She noted that Charlotte Sibley "went into the extravagance of buying nice furniture." Katie, however, was proud of her own "home made lounges and benches" and explained how she was covering some extra pillows with "turkey red" to make their "two easy chairs," the frames of which they had had made at and brought with them from Fort Leavenworth, "charming." [34]

There were no gardens at Fort Union when they arrived because it had been occupied so late in the season, but vegetables were obtained from Las Vegas and the post garden at Rayado. The Bowens purchased some chickens at Las Vegas so they would have their own eggs, and they brought a milk cow with them from Fort Leavenworth. Katie did complain about the high cost of basic items in New Mexico, noting that butter sold for 75 cents a pound, sugar at 15 cents a pound, corn from $3.00 to $4.00 per bushel, and flour $20.00 to $22.00 per barrel. Everything officers bought from the commissary department included an additional eight cents per pound for freight from Fort Leavenworth. [35]





Katie Bowen sent this drawing of the arrangement of their tents at Fort Union to her parents, and this copy was generously provided by Gwladys Bowen, granddaughter of Katie and Isaac Bowen. The three tents, each nine feet square, were placed on a platform and the floor was carpeted. The servant's tent and the milk tent were smaller. The kitchen and dining bowers were outside, as were the stove, cooking fire, and other items. The three tents were divided by curtains. This served as the home of the Bowens until quarters were built.

Like everyone else who came to New Mexico in government service, the Bowens found the cost of living to be high. Katie declared, "It is rather tough for with what we pay for the commonest things here would buy us luxuries in the States." Because the only available place to buy rations was the commissary department, where "we are allowed to buy one ration for every member of our family which leaves us nothing for hospitality," Katie joined her peers in condemning Colonel Sumner's orders, in the name of economy, to have the cost of transportation added to the contract price of everything shipped from the East. [36] This was a new practice, an economy measure instituted by Colonel Sumner, but it was later rescinded because of the opposition.

When the sutler's store was opened by Jared W. Folger, however, Katie declared his prices "exceed anything I ever heard of. Happily we are independent of him." The Bowens had brought many commodities with them from Leavenworth, some of which they had purchased in Philadelphia and St. Louis. They were supplied with everything except "fresh meat and flour," and they were preparing an order for supplies from Philadelphia for the needs of the coming year. [37] Regarding local food supplies, she later noted that "the Mexicans bring in venison, wild fowls and onions and we manage to set a very comfortable table." [38] Katie took pride in her household management abilities, declaring "we live plain and well and have plenty of clothes." [39]

Katie was competitive and enjoyed making do. "I had a pint of cream yesterday," she boasted in her first letter from Fort Union, "and stirred up nearly a pound of butter in a tin cup just to say that I had made butter before Mrs. Sibley, who has been *fixed* a month and lived without butter and the milk of two *cows* and I have but one at present." Katie had brought 30 pounds of melted butter from Fort Leavenworth but just wanted "to have new butter." A few days later she made plum preserves. [40] Soon Katie and Charlotte Sibley shared a stone butter churn, butter paddle, and earthware pan for working butter, one using these on Tuesdays and Fridays and the other on Wednesdays and Saturdays. [41] In January 1852 she wrote, "I make plenty of butter yet and our hens lay finely we have 17." [42]

Katie was pleased with her accomplishments. "All of us ladies have had a great time making plum jelly to see who would succeed best. I never made jelly before, but never will be beat at anything." She was also proud of her "four mince pies" which "really tasted like home and did not cost a cent hardly." "All the husbands," she confessed, "cry out about making jelly with sugar at 20 cents a pound, but I sweetened the mince meat with molasses to pay for it." [43]

The Bowens liked to entertain, often having guests (including "strangers" just "passing through") for dinner, supper, or tea. [44] When an impromptu dance was held for the garrison, a hospital tent was set up, some of the young soldiers furnished the music, and Katie and her close friends provided food, including ham, biscuits, cakes, and coffee. Although there were seven officers' wives at the post, only Katie, Charlotte Sibley, and Mrs. Alexander prepared the food. Some of the single men had ordered peaches and grapes that arrived the same day from El Paso and provided these for everyone to enjoy. Katie "played matron in the way of presiding at the supper table pouring coffee, etc." The first dance held at Fort Union "went off well and everybody seemed delighted." [45] A dance was one of the few occasions where officers and enlisted men enjoyed some social contact while off duty.

Life was not especially easy in tents at an isolated outpost, but Katie made the best of it. The first time they attempted to wash clothes they found that their stove, standing in the open, would not "draw quite well enough to keep a hot fire." They cooked on an open fire and had erected a bower under which they ate unless it was raining. Katie was sewing drawers and night shirts for her husband and "a winter house dress of the calico" for herself. She spent time socializing with her neighbors and declared, "I am not going to worry myself about work, but live easy and go back to the states as good as new. I am as well off as my neighbors and I have no ambition to shine in New Mexico." [46] She must not have wasted much time, nevertheless, for she wrote not quite two weeks later that "I have been very busy, have got our servants winter clothes all made and nearly all of Isaacs sewing done and this week I am going to alter my cashmere double gown." [47] In one of her few observations about the New Mexican people, Katie observed that "the Mexican women at Vegas 25 miles distant, sew beautifully and cover their own clothes with embroidery, but I am not going into that kind of extravagance." [48]

The officers' wives enjoyed maintaining a degree of fashion, even while living in tents at a remote location. "All the ladies wear woolen double gowns till 11 o'clock and then come out in bareges [49] or some other gossamer thing." [50] Another time Katie observed that "all the ladies here dress very prettily and from outward appearance you would not imagine we were so far from fashion and civilization." [51]

Katie sometimes wrote about what was going on at the post, commenting on the progress of construction of quarters and other buildings as well as other developments. "The head farmer here is cutting hay for winter use but has not more than 30 tons as yet and there are 900 head of cattle, besides several hundred horses and mules to winter." [52] She also relayed the sad story of how Major Philip R. Thompson, while intoxicated, had shot a man at Barclay's Fort. Thompson was arrested and, if the victim died, would be turned over to civil authorities. Katie felt sorry for Mrs. Thompson, who was staying at Barclay's Fort. [53] Major George A. H. Blake, who was camped about three miles from Barclay's Fort, investigated the incident and placed Thompson under arrest. He referred the matter to Colonel Sumner for a decision. [54] The man Thompson shot at Barclay's Fort survived, and Thompson was ordered to pay him $600 damages and join the temperance society in Santa Fe. Katie Bowen reported that the officer "broke the pledge so soon that the society expelled him." [55] Thompson continued to battle with liquor and was frequently unable to perform his assignments. He was eventually cashiered from the service, after appearing intoxicated at a court-martial, on September 4, 1855. He died June 24, 1857. [56]

For the most part, however, existence at Fort Union was fairly routine. Life in the tents at Fort Union was less comfortable on October 11, 1851, when, as Isaac Bowen wrote to his father, "we awoke this morning and found the ground covered with snow and the storm still raging with considerable violence." Both he and Katie had been sick with colds, chills, and fevers. Unlike his optimistic wife who seemed to find good in whatever life brought to her, Isaac expressed his opinion of their situation differently: "I wish we were to accompany the train [soon to leave] to the states, for if ever there was a country which our creator had deserted, forsaken and left to its own means of salvation, that country must be New Mexico." Again, he rationalized their situation: "However, we anticipated but little pleasure, enjoyment or comfort during our residence here, but that little may be less than we anticipated." [57]

Both Isaac and Katie were in better spirits by the end of October, when they were out of the tents and enjoying their new quarters, escaping "the constant dust if nothing more." Katie declared the unfinished rooms "vastly preferable to tents." She proclaimed that "our rooms are very tidy and comfortable having large stone fireplaces that give us genial warmth and cheerfulness." [58] She had a carpet on the floor, "made up by a dragoon tailor," and felt "quite settled." She also gloated that "Mrs. Sibley's and our house fronts the south and we have the bright sunshine nearly all day and we are vain enough to think that our rooms are pleasanter than the other ladies'." To her parents, she wished: "How I would like that you could look in and see how primitive we are in our log houses white washed—logs overhead, chinked and covered with earth to shed snow and rain." [59] By the end of November the Bowens had their third room finished, which served as their bedroom, and Isaac had completed a barn and chicken coop and was working on "other out door conveniences." [60]

The Bowens, and presumably the other residents at the small post, felt quite secure at Fort Union. Katie never thought about Indians and had not heard of any in the area. [61] "Mexicans," she wrote, "only come in with donkey loads of vegetables and fruits for sale and we are so quiet that no sentinels are posted except over the provision and clothing tents." Regarding their own household, Katie stated, "Our big dog takes care that no cattle come about the house, and they are the only nuisance we are likely to dread." [62]

Naturally, in a time when diseases and accidents claimed the lives of people of all ages, Katie

Bowen was concerned about medical care. Isaac was injured when his horse fell and rolled over him at the end of October 1851. Katie, in her seventh month of pregnancy, reported in the same letter telling of Isaac's accident that "I have escaped all ills and never felt better in my life." Even though there were military surgeons at the post, she was also prepared to deal with illness. "I have," she wrote, "one chest full of jellies, cordials, roots and materials of every descriptions to make gruels and refreshment for the sick, if we should be so." In addition, Major Francis A. Cunningham, department paymaster, "sent me three bottles of *old London brown stout* the other day. I would not have a cork drawn but went immediately and locked it up in my chest, not forgetting how much good it did me when I was at home and the time may come when I will need it again. If so, it will be on hand." [63]

Katie fretted about other things besides health. Captain Bowen, in charge of the commissary of subsistence for the entire department and required to purchase large quantities of foodstuffs, was responsible for "considerable sums of public money." Isaac, as did other such officers in Department of New Mexico where there were no places of security before safes were provided, kept the funds under their bed. Katie was not happy about this, especially when Isaac was sent away from the post, and worried in her own amusing way that she might "spend it all *for onions."* [64] Later she noted that Captain Sibley was away on an inspection tour and that Isaac had the quartermaster funds ($110,000.00) as well as the commissary funds (amount not given). The quartermaster funds, all silver in boxes, occupied a space four feet by four feet by four feet in the corner of the Bowen's bedroom. [65]

Despite such responsibilities, the Bowens made the best of life at Fort Union. They not only had to deal with conditions at the post but with an earlier tragedy as well, the death of their daughter. Katie wrote little about this until early November 1851: "Yesterday was Isaac's birthday and although a sad anniversary in one particular, I tried to make it cheerful for him, but he was gloomy all day. Tomorrow will be a year since we last saw our darling baby." [66] The cause of death and the age of their daughter when she died have not been determined. The Bowens had been married for five years, so the child could have been an infant or several years old. Katie was not a person to dwell on misfortune, however, and continued with her sprightly attitude, looking forward to the birth of their next child and enjoying her friends at the post.

On Christmas Day 1851, according the Katie, "Isaac gave a dinner to everybody [meaning the officers and their wives] at the post." It was a beautiful day, "mild, no snow and plenty of sunshine." Katie reported that the 16 guests at their table as well as all the help in the kitchen "had a nice time and an excellent dinner, a roast of pig, a saddle of *venison a month old, . . .* a fillet of veal, cold roast fowls with jellies, and all the *fixins."* They finished the first Christmas dinner celebrated at Fort Union with coffee and fruit cakes baked by Katie. [67]

The good times of the season at the new post were interrupted on December 31 by quite a serious accident" involving two of the children of the commander of the ordnance depot at Fort Union. The boys, Frank (age eight, a mute) and Samuel (age six), sons of Captain and Mrs. Shoemaker, were riding on a load of hay. Somehow, when the teamster was off the wagon, the mules ran away and threw the boys from the load. Frank "was cut badly on the back of the head and had his front teeth broken." Samuel had what appeared to be internal injuries, and both surgeons at the post worked to save his life. [68] Fortunately both boys recovered.

On the last day of 1851 Colonel Sumner returned to Fort Union from his tour of the department, and there was a big celebration on January 1, 1852. Sumner "brought a crate of quinces from the lower country," and gave some to each of the officers' wives. Katie got seven pounds. She described the events of the day as follows: "The companies had a review this morning and after it, the gentlemen were invited to lunch at Col. Alexanders, afterwards

they called upon all the ladies." The Bowens received New Year's guests "with a tureen full of egg-nog and some nice cake," plus some apples which had just arrived from the states. On the evening of January 1, 1852, the Bowens were evening guests of the Alexanders, where they "played whist [a card game similar to bridge] and ate ice cream." [69]

Because Katie was nearing the time for delivery of their baby, Isaac wanted to be present. He had been assigned to court-martial duty at Galisteo, where some of the dragoons had established a grazing camp for the horses, but Captain Sibley offered to go in his place because he had to go to Santa Fe anyway. Katie was attended by Surgeon McDougal and a midwife, Dr. McDougal's "housekeeper who has had a large family and . . . [is] considered an excellent nurse." [70]

On January 6, 1852, Katie "made out a few mince pies and boiled custard for company that dined with us at 4 o'clock." At 1:00 a.m. that night she delivered a son they named William Cary, after her father. He was the first child born at Fort Union. The wife of one of the civilian mechanics at the post, a woman who "came across the plains with us," stayed with Katie for almost three weeks, "taking excellent care of baby." When baby Cary was a month old, Isaac had to leave to accompany Colonel Sumner to Albuquerque and then inspect the commissary department at the various posts in the territory. [71]

Although her husband would be gone, Katie assured her parents she was all right. "I am very well fixed. Our servant is a host in herself and will sleep on the floor to keep fires for me. Mr. Martin will sleep in the parlor." In addition, someone was looking after their cows and other livestock "and the prisoners supply us with wood, so I think I am very well cared for." She rejected an offer from Sophia Carleton to live together while both their husbands were away from the post on duties. "I prefer to take my chances alone," Katie declared, "rather than enter into *partnership* with any one except my husband. She [Mrs. Carleton] has a child and an ugly slave and I will not allow our girl to associate with the black." As a final word of assurance, Katie admonished, "Do not feel anxious for me. I shall get on well and will take good care of myself." [72]

Katie did manage well while Isaac was on his inspection tour of the department, but she was not happy that he had to be away so long. She blamed Colonel Sumner, for whom she already held some enmity. "Nobody but Col. Sumner sees the necessity of inspecting supplies at these outposts, as every pound of provisions goes through the commissary's hands at this post, and forwarded on, so of course all the statements are here, but Col S likes to see everybody on a move and as uncomfortable as possible." In another of her rare comments about the people of the territory, she reported that "Isaac writes that the Mexicans are very hospitable." [73]

Regarding her own situation while Isaac was away, Katie assured her parents, "I have no trouble in his absence. All the out of door work is done by the police party and a man in Isaacs department takes care of the horse, cows, pigs and chickens. The dog oversees the whole and watches at night." The baby was healthy and growing, "hearty and strong as a young antelope." There were soon to be more babies at Fort Union. "Mrs. Carleton, Mrs. Shoemaker and Mrs Sibley are to *add to our society* in a little while. Surely this is a growing country." [74]

Isaac returned on the evening of April 1, having completed his tour to the satisfaction of Colonel Sumner. He brought Katie several items made of silver from the mines south of New Mexico, including mugs, plates, glasses, and other table pieces weighing a total of six pounds. The price was $1.25 per ounce. He also brought her "some Monterey chocolate," a peck of pinon nuts, and some wine. Although he had only been home one day, Isaac "must be in the office till 11 o'clock tonight in order to finish up his accounts to send them off." He

truly took his responsibilities seriously. "He has a most faithful clerk," Katie explained, "but never trusts money accounts to be sent unless he goes over every figure himself." [75]

Major and Mrs. Alexander left Fort Union to return to the states late in April. They had spent three years in New Mexico, and Major Alexander was taking a six-month leave before joining his regiment in Texas. Katie said of Mrs. Alexander, "we ladies will miss her exceedingly for she is ever ready to lend a hand at anything if there is fun going on none is merrier than herself, but if her friends are sick, she is the first one to be on the spot." Although the Alexanders had hoped to join a military patrol on the Santa Fe Trail for protection across the plains, their first opportunity to travel with a group was to join a "Mexican merchant train that is going to Independence for goods." Katie sent her letter with them, noting that "they will go very rapidly as the train is empty." [76]

Captain Carleton became the post commander on April 22, 1852, when the Alexanders departed. As troops from the garrison at Fort Union were assigned to other posts or on detached duties away from the fort during the spring and summer of 1852, [77] Carleton became concerned about fulfilling the many duties of the "depot-post." Early in August 1852 he requested that Colonel Sumner send more troops to Fort Union to assure that the following assignments were done: loading and unloading wagon trains of stores; piling, packing, and overhauling stores at the depot; blacksmith work for needed repairs; carpenters to roof and finish the buildings at the post; burning lime for plaster; herding mules and cattle; employment at the farm on the Ocate; cutting and stacking hay; hospital steward, cook, and attendant; tending the post garden; hauling corn; cutting and hauling sawlogs and firewood; keeping the sawmill running; and standing guard (a larger guard was needed to protect the many commodities stored outside of buildings). [78] It was a long list, and Carleton was leaving the following day with a patrol to the Arkansas, reducing the garrison even further. While he was away, Captain William T. H. Brooks, Third Infantry, served as post commander. The garrison was increased to an aggregate of 238 in September, with the addition of Company D, Third Infantry, on September 5, under command of Second Lieutenant Joseph E. Maxwell. [79]

The size of the garrison was of little concern to Katie Bowen, who was feeling good in the spring of 1852 because her husband was home again and their young son was doing well. She described herself as "very happy" and wrote of baby Cary that "a better child never lived." She was proud of their economic well-being, too, praising Isaac for his skills. "We have forty-seven chickens, three little porkers and a calf, beside the large stock and never were living more comfortably." [80] The Bowens had adapted well to their station at Fort Union.

Late in May 1852 Captain Bowen was assigned the task of transporting $40,000 of silver specie from the family bedroom to the paymaster at Santa Fe. Mrs. Bowen was concerned about his safety, noting that he would camp overnight at "Old Pecos church." Then, "if nothing happens to him," he would reach Santa Fe the next day and return home two days later. She admitted, "I am sorry to have him travel about the country with a small escort." She never indicated who she thought might attempt to rob him but, the underlying implication was that it was not safe to travel in New Mexico without sufficient protection. [81]

There was an element of mistrust and disdain in her attitude toward New Mexicans. She made it clear, when it came time for baby Cary to be vaccinated for smallpox, "I would not let the Doct put in any matter till he told me that it was from the arm of a healthy American child, belonging to a clergyman's wife in Santa Fe." After the first vaccination showed no sign of taking effect after several days, Cary was vaccinated a second time. Then both of the inoculations "took" and he was a sick child for several days. [82] Because she had lost one child, Katie was much concerned about the health of her son. She was convinced that catnip was "a medicine for all baby ailings" and planted some in her herb garden. She also requested

some catnip be sent to her, in case "the seed does not grow," to make sure she always had a supply on hand. [83]

The Bowens continued to entertain at their home. Early in July 1852 Katie wrote, "I cannot write much to you by this mail as the military train, ladies, officers and recruits came in on Tuesday and every day we have had a table full and I must of course do most of the cooking." She observed that the officers were restricted to 250 pounds baggage on this trip, while she and Isaac had brought 2,000 pounds when they came the previous year. Her explanation was that "every year some mean law is passed to the discomfort of the army." An important event at the post was the opening of the ice house on July 1, making it possible "to treat our friends to cool water, butter and cream." Katie was planning to make ice cream to serve the next day, when she intended to open a jar of strawberries she had brought from home a year earlier. [84]

While everything seemed to be satisfactory with the Bowens, Katie was concerned about her close friend, Charlotte Sibley. Neither Charlotte nor her baby seemed to be in good health. "Mrs. Sibley is like a rail and her boy is not at all healthy. The Doct wants her to go home for he says she will die if she stays with the Maj." Charlotte was much younger than her husband, and she was his third wife. Katie did not approve. "I should not think a girl would marry any man who had had two wives, one is bad enough. I am sorry for her and do all I can for her." Katie made no effort to hide her contempt for Sibley. "Maj. Sibley is not a man that can assist a woman at all and will poke about his office all day instead of being at home to relief her of the baby for an hour." [85] Katie's friendship with Charlotte Sibley was soon to pay off, and Charlotte was able to reciprocate for the care she had received from her friend and neighbor.

On September 27, 1852, Katie Bowen tripped in a small drainage ditch outside their home while carrying Willie (the Bowens had stopped calling their son Cary and henceforth referred to him as Willie or, occasionally, Willie Cary). She held onto her son but suffered two fractures of her left leg between her ankle and knee. It was a serious injury, as Isaac described it, "the flesh was considerably lacerated by the sharp edges of the broken bone." It was later discovered that "the ankle suffered a violent sprain and has been, as well as the limb, very much swollen." Post Surgeon John Byrne attended her, and Katie was confined to bed for several weeks. During that time Charlotte Sibley "attended faithfully to Willie, washing, dressing and undressing him every day." [86]

By January 1853 Katie was able to "walk a little about my room" and reported that "the swelling in my limb is gradually disappearing." Isaac was away on his annual inspection tour, but Katie was getting along with the help of others. She had employed a "Mexican" woman after breaking her leg, but stated that "Isaac left for Santa Fe and as a matter of course, my Mexican woman had to follow the men." Her prejudices against New Mexicans came out again as she rationalized, "I am better off than if I had kept the woman." She was sure the woman had been stealing from her, declaring "they all consider stealing fair profit, but are so cunning that they are never found out." She also let go another blast at her favorite nemesis, the department commander. "If anyone asks your opinion of Col. Sumner tell them he is an old fool for because I got hurt and Isaac did not go with him three months ago, he now sends him all alone to punish him." [87]

She communicated this same attitude to Governor Lane, "I gave Col Sumner credit for some kindly feeling, but discover that his *'buzzom'* is too contracted to contain one drop of sympathy." Katie's sarcasm continued, "It is *manly,* in a person wielding power, to punish a husband because the wife is unfortunate." Then, after stating "I heartily despise these annoyances," Katie concluded with a precautionary tone: "My pen is too military and afraid to speak its sentiments for fear of being *court-martialed."* [88]

On the bright side, Katie reported that Mrs. Sibley had been feeding goat milk to her sickly child, Fred, and "he has got as fat as anybody's baby." Another change occurred with the arrival of the new post commander, Major Gouverneur Morris, and his wife Anna Maria in mid-December 1852. "We are prepared," Katie declared, "to like himself and wife very much." [89] Anna Maria Morris and Katie became friends, but not as close as Katie and Charlotte Sibley. Mrs. Morris kept a diary all the time she was in New Mexico, and her comments while at Fort Union add to the observations of Katie Bowen. Mrs. Morris had a black female servant, probably a slave, named Louisa. Mrs. Morris had no children, but Louisa had an infant son, Carlos. [90] The Morrises' arrival at Fort Union was part of a change in the garrison.

In December 1852 Company G, Third Infantry, was transferred from Fort Union and Company D, Second Artillery, joined the garrison for duty. On December 18 Major Gouverneur Morris, Third Infantry, superseded Captain Carleton as commander of the post. Except for changes of commanding officer (Captain Horace Brooks, Second Artillery, on June 30, 1853, and Captain Nathaniel C. Macrae, Third Infantry, on August 3, 1853), the garrison was comprised of the same units until October of 1853 when Company H, Second Dragoons, replaced Company K, First Dragoons. The size of the garrison averaged 242 officers and men during that time. [91] Major and Mrs. Morris seemingly enjoyed their term of service at the post.

Anna Maria Morris already knew some of the officers' wives at Fort Union, but she apparently met Katie Bowen for the first time a few days after her arrival. Because Katie was confined with her broken leg and sprained ankle and because Isaac was away on tour, Katie was not able to participate in the welcoming activities for the new commander and his wife. On December 18, the day after Major and Mrs. Morris arrived at Fort Union and the day the major assumed command of the garrison, Mrs. Morris was a guest in the home of E. S. and Charlotte Sibley. Anna Maria noted that Caroline Shoemaker visited her during the day. The only comment Mrs. Morris had about Fort Union was the "very high wind." She visited Katie Bowen on Christmas Day. [92]

Major Morris was ill on December 30, 1852, but Anna Maria was a supper guest and enjoyed a party at the Shoemakers' home that evening. The major attended muster the following day, although he was still quite sick. Mrs. Morris reported that, on January 1, 1853, "the officers & ladies called during the day." She received some gifts, including a ring from Dr. Byrne and a pair of gloves from Charlotte Sibley. Dr. Byrne "passed the evening with us, the Maj is confined to his bed." [93] Major Morris was soon able to be back to work, but Anna Maria became ill later in the month. There was no clue in her diary as to what either of them may have been suffering.

Anna Maria Morris mentioned Katie Bowen a number of times and provided as much information about the latter's recovery as Katie did herself. On January 5 Anna Maria "called on Mrs. Bowen who is still confined to her bed with her broken limb." The next afternoon she "met Mrs. Bowen at Mrs. Sibleys the first time she has been out since her accident." On January 21 Anna Maria visited Charlotte Sibley in the morning and "passed the afternoon with her & Mrs. Bowen." The next day she recorded that "Capt. Bowen returned." Just two days later "I called at Mrs. Bowens found her preparing for a party the next evening." On January 25, "went to the party at Mrs. B's in the eve and enjoyed it very much." [94]

By January 27 Anna Maria was "not at all well" and two days later was "sick in my room." She called Dr. Byrne to see her again on January 31 and recorded that she "was pretty well the rest of the day" and "all the ladies called." After feeling "pretty sick" again on February 3, Anna Maria recovered. She "passed the afternoon" of February 7 with Katie and Charlotte and they "passed the afternoon" with her on February 9. Clearly Anna Maria Morris had

taken her place in the small circle of close friends among the officers' wives, and Katie Bowen was improving in health. [95]

By the end of January Katie reported that she was able to "walk about a good deal although the limb swells always when I bear my weight upon it." She was "living again according to my desire" because Isaac had returned from his tour of inspection. "I go out every warm day with the Capt. in the carriage and the rest of the time sew or read." [96]

Anna Maria Morris kept a summary record of what was happening among the members of her class at Fort Union while she was there. On Monday, February 14, Captain Shoemaker, Lieutenant Sykes, and Surgeon Byrne went to Las Vegas to "shoot ducks." They returned two days later and gave some ducks to the Morrises. That same afternoon Major Morris and his wife went for a ride. On Thursday, February 17, Anna Maria was "busy all day." She hosted a party that evening and "they danced till 1 O'cl." [97]

By this time, after being in New Mexico for over three years, Anna Maria's diary entries were terse. On Monday, February 21, she wrote: "Col. Sumner arrived took tea with us, after tea the mail arrived." February 22: "Col. S. breakfasted with us dined at Maj Carletons. I passed the morning with Mrs Sibley & Bowen in the afternoon I made a pair of under sleeves. Capt Sykes was arrested in the morning." [98] She provided no clue as to why Lieutenant (Brevet Captain) Sykes was arrested, but it was because he had punished improperly two prostitutes who were plying their trade at the post. The complete story of the arrest and court-martial of Sykes is found in chapter ten.

Despite her sparse notations, Anna Maria Morris gave some flesh to what was an otherwise meager skeletal outline of life at the post. February 24: "Col Sumner & the Maj were invited to Maj Carletons to play whist. I passed the evening with Mrs. Sibley." During that afternoon Major Morris had taken his wife, Katie Bowen, and Charlotte Sibley for a "ride." February 25: "Col. Sumner breakfasted with us and then went to the farm at Ocate. Mrs. Shoemaker called in the morning & Lt Maxwell [and] Dr. Byrne after dinner." February 26: "Col. Sumner returned took tea with us and in the evening we played whist. Maj Carleton passed the evening with us." Sunday, February 27: "Inspection & drill, a very windy dusty day. The Col. dined at Maj Carletons [and] took tea with us." February 28: "Muster day. Dr Byrne called. Col Sumner the Maj & I took tea & passed the evening at Capt Shoemakers." [99]

On March 1 Colonel Sumner ate breakfast and dinner with Major and Mrs. Morris "and then took his departure for Albuquerque." Their supper guests included Jared W. Folger (post sutler and postmaster), Ceran St. Vrain (former partner in Bent, St. Vrain & Co. that built and operated Bent's Fort and now a miller, trader, army contractor, and sometime colonel of New Mexico volunteers), "Mr. Hubble" (perhaps Santiago L. Hubbell, a New Mexican trader who operated wagon trains over the Santa Fe Trail), Captain Peter Valentine Hagner (ordnance department, who was on his way to Fort Massachusetts), and "Mr. Cassin" (who was accompanying Captain Hagner to Fort Massachusetts). They were all joined in the evening by Dr. Byrne and Captain and Mrs. Shoemaker. The following day Dr. Byrne came by to invite Captain Hagner and Mr. Cassin "to dine at the Mess the next day." [100]

On March 4 "the Maj started on his journey to Taos at 10 O'cl. Maj Hagner & Mr Cassin left for Fort Massachusetts an hour after. Caroline Shoemaker called. I took a siesta after dinner." Sunday, March 6, was "a fine day. . . . I took a siesta after dinner. When I got up I found the old hog had eaten up five of my little chickens." [101]

While her husband was gone, Anna Maria Morris spent a portion of her time reading James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy*, a patriotic novel about the American Revolution. [102]. This was one the few times that someone at Fort Union identified a book being read. When Major

Morris returned from Taos on March 14, he came "with the mules well loaded with vegetables." [103] Anna Maria Morris usually said little about food at Fort Union, while Katie Bowen mentioned it often.

According to Katie, a second ice house was constructed at the post before winter commenced, and both were "filled to the top with ice" by early March "which gives us a prospect for cool butter next summer." [104] Katie frequently wrote about food, was proud of the variety and quality of what her family had to eat, and summarized the menu she served for a few friends late in March. "Our dinner consisted of roast pig (the whole hog or none) and *baked potatoes*, [105] Mexican beans and macaroni with pickles and bread and butter—for dessert the *last* of my mince pies—boiled custard and preserved cherries and cheese." She and Isaac had concluded that they truly liked being stationed at Fort Union, "where we can live on our pay and have good health." They feared being "stationed in some unhealthy city." [106]

Fort Union still had no chaplain, which seemed not to matter to Katie. She reported that "Sundays here are very like any other day. We have no service to attend but can read our good books in peace here as in any other country." The surgeon, however, was a more important officer in her life and in the lives of the rest of the garrison. [107] Anna Maria Morris confirmed this, for her diary was filled with references to the post surgeon. She noted on March 20 that the surgeon reported the "narrow escape" that Ebenezer, Charlotte, and Fred Sibley had experienced while out riding. The mules became frightened and ran away with the ambulance, which upset. Although no one was seriously injured, Mrs. Sibley was "much frightened" and worried about little Fred. The next day Anna Maria noted that Charlotte Sibley "is a little injured by the upset." [108] Dr. Bryne was in contact almost daily with the officers and their families, and both Anna Maria and Katie noted that Dr. Byrne was absent on court duty early in April, serving at the trial of Lieutenant Sykes. Dr. O. W. Blanchard, a contract physician from Wisconsin, took his place at Fort Union. [109]

Everything was quiet for several weeks; according to Katie Bowen "there is nothing going on." [110] Anna Maria Morris spent some of her time reading another Cooper novel, *The Pilot*, an adventure story on the high seas. She also made some clothes for Louisa and her son, Carlos, and did some sewing for herself. Major Morris spent some time fishing, but what luck he had was not recorded. [111]

There was some excitement at the post on April 14, when it was discovered that the hospital storeroom had been robbed of eight cases of wine. Major Morris rode out "to see if he could find it in a train that left for Albuquerque" early that morning. Unfortunately, the saddle girth broke and the major was dumped from his horse. Somehow the horse stepped on Morris's leg and "hurt him very much." He soon recovered but the wine was not found. He and Anna Maria went fishing a few days later at "Coyote seven miles" and "caught a good bit of fish." [112]

Social activities picked up in the spring of the year. On May 4, according to Anna Maria Morris, "we had a very pleasant little dancing party at the adjutants offices to which the ladies all contributed we had a nice supper." A number of officers and their families were gathering at Fort Union in preparation for a trip to the States, and this added to the visiting going on there. A winter storm, including snow, interrupted the spring weather on May 7, but spring returned quickly and Mrs. Morris picked her first bouquet of flowers the next day. [113] Regarding the departure of officers from New Mexico, Sophia Carleton informed Governor Lane, "Our garrison is becoming dull as can be. Every body leaving and no one coming." [114]

Anna Maria Morris seldom mentioned military affairs, but on May 9 she recorded that Colonel Sumner had sent an express from Fort Massachusetts, directing Major Morris to hold

all troops at Fort Union in readiness to march at an hour's notice. Sumner expected some difficulty at El Paso with troops from Mexico. The anticipated trouble did not occur. Except for "a very high wind and dust blowing in every direction," things remained quiet at Fort Union. Major Morris spent much of his spare time fishing, often with good results. He also made a trip to the post farm at Ocate. He returned to find that two of his mules were gone and spent several days looking for them, without success. A few days later the mules were caught by a civilian near Las Vegas, who notified Major Morris, and two men were sent to retrieve them. [115]

On June 6, 1853, Charlotte Sibley delivered another baby boy, named Henry Saxton. The new child seemed to be healthy, but Fred Sibley still had problems and was often sick. [116] Although Charlotte and E. B. Sibley thought little Fred was "splendid," Katie Bowen observed that "he has a big head that looks to me very much like rickets and hangs to one side as though it was too heavy to carry." Never one to hide her opinions, Katie declared that Charlotte, "if she keeps on . . . will lead a slaves life instead of being an *old man's darling,* as the saying goes." Captain Sibley was 47 years old the day the new baby was born, an old man in Katie's view. Of the new Sibley child, on whom she "served first apprenticeship to dressing a new born baby," Katie asserted "it is mortal *ugly."* Charlotte "says she is not going to have another baby till next year." [117]

Major Morris was awaiting orders to relieve him of command at Fort Union and grant him a leave of absence. As soon as possible, he and Anna Maria planned to travel to the states. Mrs. Morris was disappointed on June 7 that they were not yet able to leave. "A Mexican train," she wrote, "started from Barclays Ft this morning. A number of discharged soldiers went with it and we have lost a first rate opportunity of going in as they had plenty of transportation." She was enlivened a few days later with the arrival of several officers from the East, coming to serve in New Mexico, and was pleased "to hear all the news they brought." On June 22, Anna Maria recorded: "The flag at half mast today and salutes being fired for the death of Mr. W. Rufus King late Vice President of the U.S." [118] Vice-President King had died on April 18, 1853, and it had taken over nine weeks for the news to reach Fort Union.

Major Morris received his awaited orders to leave New Mexico on June 24, and the about 25 discharged soldiers. They traveled quickly and without difficulty, arriving at Fort Leavenworth on July 22, 1853. [119]

With the departure of Anna Maria Morris, Katie Bowen again was the primary source of information about life at Fort Union. Katie's broken leg was still mending in early July, and she noted that her ankle "gains strength every day." She was able to wear a boot on the disabled limb and was becoming more mobile. She and Willie had accompanied Isaac on a trip to Tecolote in June 1853. "The mountain scenery was fine and we enjoyed the drive very much." Because of the drought, which was destroying the gardens and drying up the irrigation ponds at Fort Union, Katie witnessed some additional aspects of New Mexican culture (which she neither understood nor approved). [120]

At Tecolote "the Mexicans were parading their saint through the streets (erected upon a kind of bier) to the music of fiddles, drums, singing and pop guns, imploring the divine giver of all things to send them rain before they famished." To Katie, who believed in her own cultural superiority, "it was a ridiculous sight but no one could have the heart to laugh at what they deem religion." After seeing Las Vegas and Tecolote, Katie commented that "Mexican towns very much resemble large brick yards tho not as good looking as the one near our Arsenal." On the return trip she was appalled to see "the Mexican population, men, women and children . . . celebrating St. John's day by riding yelling and pulling live chickens to pieces like so many devils." In addition, "there were many fine horses run to death that day

and the women were as bad as the men." Katie enjoyed the land of New Mexico but was disparaging about the people. [121]

The drought was broken during July, with the advent of the rainy season. According to Katie, "some heavy rains that have fallen lately injured the garden very much but improved the grass." The arrival of the new department commander, Brigadier General John Garland, was considered an improvement by the Bowens, and they were assured by Garland that they would remain stationed at Fort Union for the time being. Katie wrote that "it affords us great pleasure to remain." [122] They also were pleased with the new post commander, Captain Nathaniel C. Macrae, who brought his wife, two daughters, and a piano across the plains. Katie was glad to see another woman at the post, for E. B. and Charlotte Sibley, and their two sons, soon left Fort Union to return to the states. Katie would miss Charlotte Sibley, but she expressed sorrow for that poor woman even as they departed. "Mrs. Sibley got started at last . . . and such another mess as they went in, you never saw. Nothing packed - nothing in order - and everything thrown together in a hurry." She wondered if they would make it. "To be a *quartermaster* and go as the Sibleys did - I would not expect to live till we reached half way." [123]

When General Garland arrived at Fort Union from Fort Leavenworth on July 31, 1851, he was accompanied by Colonel Mansfield, inspector general for the department, who was under orders to conduct a thorough examination of all the posts in New Mexico Territory. The day after he arrived at Fort Union, Mansfield began his investigation of the department, spending six days probing into Fort Union, including the quartermaster and commissary depot, medical depot, ordnance depot, and the farm at Ocate. It was the primary inspection of the post since it was constructed, and his report and accompanying map provided an informative but uncritical overview of the first Fort Union. Perhaps, because this was his first inspection duty in New Mexico, Mansfield was positive about almost everything he observed. As he proceeded through the rest of the department, he became more critical in his judgment of conditions and of Sumner. During the course of the inspection at Fort Union the command of the post changed when Captain Macrae, Third Infantry, replaced Captain Brooks, Second Artillery, on August 3. [124]

Mansfield had nothing but praise for the troops at Fort Union, declaring that the garrison was "in a high state of discipline and every department of it in good order." All companies, artillery, infantry, and dragoons, were "in excellent efficient order." Their clothing and equipment were worn but "serviceable." All the soldiers were "well instructed in drill." Mansfield recognized that this was not an easy task at a frontier post. "Much credit," he wrote, "is due to these officers, . . . when it is taken into consideration that the labour of building quarters, getting timber, wood, hay, farming, escorting trains, and pursuing Indians is all performed" by the same troops. The officers, too, faced a difficult task when only one officer per company was present. [125]

The inspector said little about the buildings at Fort Union, but remarked that the company quarters "were in a good state of police, and the comfort of the troops studied in all the details." The men were "well fed" and "there is a good post bakery here." There was an adequate supply of clothing except for shoes. The hospital was "comfortable." The dragoon horses were "well provided with safe and good accomodation." In all Mansfield presented a positive image of the post and its occupants. He noted however that the troops had not been paid for five months and saw "no good reason for so much delay." He also observed that "this is a Chaplain Post, but the Council of Administration have not succeeded in getting a Chaplain to conform to their peculiar views." [126]

The quartermaster depot, under Captain Sibley since the post was founded, was declared to be in the competent hands of "an officer of distinguished merit." The storehouses are as good as

circumstances would admit." The property for which Sibley was responsible "is in a good state of preservation, and the corrals and stables for public animals, suitable and secure." The supplies for the whole department were delivered to Fort Union from Fort Leavenworth by contract freighters, "a very good arrangement and the cheapest for the Government." Mansfield did not explain how supplies were distributed to the other posts in the department. There was "an excellent mule power circular saw mill which supplies all the boards, planks, and scantling required." Considering all the complaints recorded about the sawmill, Mansfield must have appeared at a fortuitous time. [127] Within a few days after Mansfield inspection, Sibley was replaced as departmental quartermaster by Captain Langdon C. Easton, whom Sibley had relieved of that same office two years earlier, and Sibley departed for the states. [128]

Although Sumner had fired most civilian employees when he arrived in the department two years earlier, Mansfield found 28 citizens working at the depot, including a clerk, carpenter, wagon master, forage master, principal teamster, saddler, and 23 teamsters and herders. In addition 39 soldiers were employed on extra-duty for 18 cents per day. They were performing such tasks as artificer, carpenter, blacksmith, wheelwright, sawyer, hay cutter, and other unspecified jobs. Mansfield encouraged the use of soldiers in this manner, although he suggested that they be rotated often "to give all the men an opportunity and to keep them well instructed in their military duties proper." [129]

The commissary department, under Captain Bowen, "is well conducted by him." An adequate supply of everything was in the storehouse except for rice and coffee. Coffee was being borrowed from the post sutler until a new shipment arrived. Bowen had ordered enough, but his order had been "cut down." Flour was obtained by contract from Ceran St. Vrain's mills at Mora and Taos Valley. Beans and salt were purchased locally. Beef cattle were driven from Missouri and some were obtained in New Mexico. There was at the post "an excellent slaughter house." The system of distribution to the other posts was not explained. Colonel Sumner's farming experiment, carried out under orders from the war department, had affected the commissary accounts. "The farming interest in this Territory is represented to be 14,460.08 dollars in debt." [130]

The medical depot was supplied with everything required. Because Assistant Surgeon John Byrne was on detached service, a civilian physician, Dr. O. W. Blanchard, was temporarily in charge of the depot and the post hospital. There were seventeen men on the sick list when Mansfield visited the post, and he reported they were "well cared for in hospital." The system of distribution of medical supplies to other posts was not mentioned. [131] Mansfield made no mention of the need for an ambulance, but someone had the idea. On August 23 Garland directed Easton to "purchase a suitable ambulance for the accommodation of the sick, and for the transportation of Officers under orders, from one post to another within the limits of this Department." [132]

Military Storekeeper William R. Shoemaker was in charge of the ordnance depot "for the whole Territory." The supply of ordnance and ordnance stores was found "ample under the present aspect of affairs, and all in good order and state of preservation." The quarters and storehouses were considered "sufficient," and a new gun shed was under construction. The depot employed one civilian armorer and twelve extra-duty enlisted men, some of whom were cutting hay and others were building the gun shed. Mansfield recommended that the employees of the ordnance depot should be repairing arms and making cartridges. [133]

There were many demands for labor from the troops. In August 1853 a plea was sent to all posts in the department for stonemasons to work on the construction of a new seat of government in Santa Fe. Congress had appropriated the money but there was a shortage of masons. Up to six soldiers were to be granted furloughs for 60 to 80 days to work for the

contractor, receiving $2.50 per day. Apparently Privates Freidman and Haviland, Company D, Second Artillery, at Fort Union indicated an interest and were specifically requested. Captain Macrae sent Friedman immediately, but Haviland was in the guardhouse until September 16. When released he left the post without authorization and "got drunk." Macrae refused to grant the furlough until Haviland had been tried by court-martial, "unless the Comdg Genl disapproves of my conduct." [134]

Macrae declared that he considered both Friedman and Haviland to be "imposters." "It was not known," he informed Garland, "that these two soldiers had any pretensions to a knowledge of stone masonry 'til the receipt of his order." He told Garland that, if any of his command were stonemasons, their services were needed at Fort Union and should not be sent to work at Santa Fe. [135] No record has been located to determine if Haviland was ever sent to Santa Fe or if Friedman learned the craft he was sent to perform. Macrae, Garland, and everyone else had more important considerations.

As life began to settle down in the fall from all the changes at the post during the summer, Katie Bowen reported that her ankle was still giving problems and she was off her feet as much as possible. "There is no occasion now for my using it," she noted, "for we have no company at this season of the year and Margaret does all there is to do." Margaret "cooks, washes, and irons, makes the butter, cleans the house and oftentimes looks after Willie by the hour - good nature is her peculiarity." While their household was running smoothly, trouble came in the back yard. "For a week we have been tormented beyond endurance by the nightly visitation of a pole-cat to our chicken house. The dogs set up a fuss . . . and then, odors for all noses. Last night they had a pitched battle and Willies little dog got one of his eyes torn out - while the other dogs are so offensive to themselves that they have howled all day." [136]

She also reported that a party of Indians had run off the quartermaster herd of mules from the post farm at Ocate. The theft may not have been a big loss. "The animals were so poor and worthless that the Q.M. laughingly said that he would shoot any Indian or white man who dared to bring them back." [137]

During October 1853 the Bowens and "nearly every family at the post" made an overnight visit to the town of Mora, New Mexico. They stayed with families in the town and attended a "real fandango." Katie noted that "the women dressed very prettily" for the dance. "The most awful music is produced from a violin, a guitar and clarionette and sometimes the men sing." Willie was unable to sleep because of the noise, but Margaret enjoyed it. Katie could not contain her prejudices about the New Mexicans. "After staying all night, sleeping on the floor and eating Mexican cooking - we thought it worthwhile to hasten to our comfortable houses - and praise providence that we were not born Mexicans." She was somewhat dumbfounded when some of the men at Mora "wanted to know if we were all married and if not - would it be possible for them to get a white wife." [138]

Although the cultural gulf was too large for Katie to bridge, she did provide some details about the place they stayed in Mora:

> The man whose house we stayed at is rich and his wife's father was an American. He is a Spaniard, born in old Spain and bears about him tastes and refinements unknown among the Mexicans of this latitude. His house was hung with valuable pictures and there were 14 large mirrors in the room that we ladies occupied - cushions are piled all around the immense room - high enough to sit upon - and at night these same cushions are spread on the floor for beds. I saw but two chairs in the house and the mistress sat all day on a rug by the fire wrapped in her reboso smoking. She was young and pretty and covered with jewelry. [139]

Late in October 1853 Captain Bowen received orders to transfer the department commissary office to Albuquerque, and Katie was sorry to leave Fort Union. She did not dread the move, however, knowing that her husband would handle everything with care. As for herself, Katie declared, "I am not going to worry myself about anything - and mean to take this life easy." [140]

In her last letter from Fort Union, Katie Bowen told of their preparations to move:

> I am nearly fixed to start on our journey. . . . We have five fine porkers and I am going to make *one* into sausage meat. We can sell the rest at a good price. The hospital took 50 chickens for 20 dollars and we still have enough left to eat while we stay and cook plenty to carry for luncheons. All of our things are in good order. Willie is very hearty. . . . My ankle continues to swell but gains strength although I use it very little. It seems as though I would rather stay in a healthy country forever than go to a climate like New Orleans. . . . I have nothing more to tell at present. We will be five days on our trip and hope for fair weather. We have an excellent man to drive the cows and milk them and Margaret will have all the care of Willie during the day. He is very fond of her. Have no fears for us - this climate is very good. [141]

With those words, the intimate thoughts of Katie Bowen and the only extensive collection of primary source material of life at Fort Union during the first few years of its occupation ended. There is nothing so comprehensive about any other period in the entire 40 years that Fort Union was an active post, although the letters written by an enlisted man, Eddie Matthews, in the early 1870s are of comparable significance and even more unique. Katie and Isaac Bowen resided in New Mexico several more years, stationed at Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and had two more children. They were sent to New Orleans in 1857, where they had another child, and Isaac, Katie, and the youngest child died of yellow fever in 1858. Willie Cary Bowen, the first child born at Fort Union, survived and had his own military career. His daughter, Gwladys Bowen, was still living in 1991 and had in her possession additional correspondence of the Bowens. Someday the complete story of Isaac and Katie Bowen will be available, including much about life in the frontier army in the Southwest.

The Bowens were not the only family that had been present since the early days of Fort Union to be reassigned. In October 1853 Captain Carleton and his Company K, First Dragoons, were also transferred to Albuquerque. Carleton's wife, born Sophia Garland Wolfe, was General Garland's niece, [142] which may or may not have influenced the transfer to the general's headquarters. Sophia Carleton and Katie Bowen were able to continue their friendship at Albuquerque.

When the Carletons and Company K, First Dragoons, left Fort Union, Company H, Second Dragoons, joined the garrison. On November 4, 1853, Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke assumed command of the post, and he retained command, except when he was in the field, during a series of conflicts with Indians during much of 1854. With two companies of dragoons at the post, Cooke instructed the quartermaster to utilize extra-duty soldiers to construct "a log picket stable without separate stalls . . . for the shelter of the horses of Co. 'H' 2d Drag." Company H, First Dragoons, arrived at the post in March 1854, and Company D, Second Dragoons replaced that company in May of that year. Company H, First Dragoons, returned in September 1854 when both companies of Second Dragoons transferred out. On September 18, 1854, Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, First Dragoons, took command of the post. Accompanying him was the regimental band, the first military band to be stationed at Fort Union. [143]

Fauntleroy's command included Sergeant Percival G. Lowe, Company B, First Dragoons, one

of the few enlisted men at Fort Union during the 1850s who wrote about his experiences. Lowe was especially delighted with the way the soldiers of his company performed on the march from Fort Leavenworth to Union:

> I was as proud of it as I ever have been of anything under my immediate charge. On every hand the troop attracted attention—the manner of marching, care taken of their horses, appearance of horses and men, the short time necessary to put up their tents, and the lightning speed with which they were struck, folded and loaded in the wagons, the neatness and dispatch in everything, and the quietness and lack of confusion on every hand, seemed a wonder to many of the officers of long experience. [144]

Many hunting stories were told by soldiers who served in New Mexico, and Lowe related one of the best. When Fauntleroy's entourage was near Raton Pass on the way to Fort Union, Sergeant Langford M. Peel rode a mule out hunting. When he was some distance from camp, a thunderstorm struck, the wind howled, and it poured down rain and hail. Sergeant Peel and his mule took refuge under a thick cluster of pines. There he found a flock of turkeys, also seeking protection from the storm, and proceeded to shoot seventeen of them, "hitting every one in the head." Amazingly, the big birds remained close by and were not frightened. Then he wounded one, which flew away, and the others followed. "Peel came into camp about dark," Lowe reported, "with all that his mule could stagger under."

Sergeant Lowe was not assigned to the garrison at Fort Union. His company was soon to proceed to station at Fort Stanton, so they camped approximately two miles from Fort Union. Because Lowe's term of enlistment would soon expire, he remained encamped near Fort Union until he joined Lieutenant Colonel Cooke's party on the way to Fort Leavenworth a few weeks later. Before he left, the two married men in his company (Sergeant Langford Peel and Sergeant Espy, first name unknown) and their wives gave Lowe a farewell dinner. Peel and Lowe must have been close friends, for Peel's only son was named Percival Lowe Peel. Lieutenant David Hastings, of Lowe's company, and his wife, upon hearing about the farewell dinner, provided "some delicacies not to be had otherwise." Lowe left the service at Fort Leavenworth and spent the next few years as a wagonmaster for the quartermaster department. [145] He may have found that job more rewarding than a sergeant's pay.

The soldiers at Fort Union and throughout the army received an increase in pay during 1854. The rate for privates was increased to $13.00 per month (it had been $7.00 for infantrymen and $8.00 for cavalrymen), although $2.00 was held back each month until the soldier completed his enlistment (an unsuccessful attempt to entice the men to remain in the service and not desert). Each soldier was taxed 12.5 cents per month for the support of the United States Soldiers' Home. From what was left, he had to pay the laundress and sutler. The sutler could take up to one-sixth of a soldier's salary each payday to satisfy the enlisted man's indebtedness (a claim that was abolished in 1861). [146] The additional pay may have improved the attitudes of many soldiers toward military life, but those at Fort Union would also have appreciated some improvements in their quarters.

By late 1854 the buildings at Fort Union were deteriorating badly. The roofs of the company quarters were "in such a bad state as not to afford protection from the weather." Because there was no lumber at the post and no one available to operate the sawmill, Fauntleroy directed Quartermaster Rucker to "use the tents condemned by a Board of Survey" to make temporary repairs to the roofs. A few weeks later Rucker was directed to employ a civilian to operate the sawmill, have lumber sawed as soon as possible, and use it to repair the company quarters. Keeping the buildings habitable at Fort Union became a major task for the quartermaster department. Fauntleroy's experiences with such problems while he was post commander probably influenced his decision, when he became department commander in

1859, to close Fort Union and find another place for a military post and depot. [147]

The musicians at Fort Union were issued dragoon sabers to wear at inspections and dress reviews. Because these weapons were "too heavy for the musicians to wear on foot parades," the post adjutant requested permission from department headquarters in January 1855 to permit the musicians to dispense with wearing the sabers. Permission was also solicited to turn in the weapons to the ordnance depot, where they might be issued to dragoons for service in the field. [148]

Many of the troops stationed at Fort Union in 1855 were sent into the field to participate in the campaigns against Indians. A regiment of New Mexican Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ceran St. Vrain, was armed and equipped for field service at the post. Because so few officers remained with the garrison, Second Lieutenant Robert Williams, First Dragoons, was assigned the duties of both the post quartermaster and post commissary offices. For some reason, perhaps because of the Indian wars, by June of 1855 the troops at Fort Union had not received any pay for seven months and were much in need of money. [149]

During 1855 the garrison at Fort Union averaged 135 officers and men. Because Fauntleroy was absent on field duty much of the time, several other officers commanded the post for short durations, including Captains N. C. Macrae and Joseph H. Whittlesey and Major Horace Brooks. In August a large party of recruits arrived from Fort Leavenworth under command of Captain Israel B. Richardson, Third Infantry, to fill the many vacancies in companies in the department. Brigadier General Garland met the recruits at Fort Union and arranged for their distribution from that point. He was disappointed in their condition. "They were in a bad plight," he wrote, "having lost most of their clothing by fire on the plains." Many of them suffered from scurvy. The recruits for the infantry were described by the general as "about the poorest set of recruits I have ever seen." [150]

When Governor Meriwether returned to Kentucky in September for a visit, he was escorted across the plains by Captain Ewell and thirteen dragoons from Fort Union, a non-commissioned officer and twelve privates whose terms of service were soon to expire. This escort was also responsible for the delivery of four prisoners from the Fort Union guardhouse to Fort Leavenworth. The four were privates of Company F, First Dragoons, who were "sent out of New Mexico in irons to "be put to labor with ball and chain at Fort Leavenworth." The prisoners were to ride in the wagon with provisions for the escort. [151] It became common practice to send the most intractable prisoners from the Department of New Mexico to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth.

The rest of the troops at Fort Union continued with their duties. During 1856 the average garrison included 140 officers and men and the commanding officers were Lieutenant Magruder, Colonel Fauntleroy, Captain William N. Grier, Lieutenant Henry B. Clitz, Third Infantry, and Lieutenant Colonel William W. Loring, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Regiments represented included the First Dragoons, Third Infantry, and Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. By the end of the year three companies of mounted riflemen comprised the entire command. With the appointment of Reverend William Stoddert, who arrived at the post on June 12, 1856, Fort Union had its first chaplain and schoolmaster. [152] The post council of administration had apparently found someone, as Mansfield had stated, "to conform to their peculiar views. Two officers who were to have outstanding careers in their respective fields arrived in 1856 to serve at Fort Union. Captain John C. McFerran became the quartermaster for the post and subdepot in January, and Assistant Surgeon Jonathan Letterman became post surgeon in June. [153] Although the major quartermaster depot was at Albuquerque, huge quantities of military stores were still brought to and distributed from Union. [154]

Captain McFerran reported the buildings of Fort Union were in such a state of decay that it would be easier to build a new post than to repair the old one, but if repairs were to be made they should be done immediately. According to Captain Grier, "even with such repairs as can be made to the Quarters, they will be barely tenable, but not really comfortable or very safe for another year." He suggested that, if another post were to be built at or near the site of Fort Union in 1857, the lumber could be cut during the coming winter and be seasoned by the time it was needed. No decision was made to build a new post and repairs on the buildings continued. One of the company quarters was torn down because it was in danger of collapsing on its inhabitants. Letterman corroborated everything Easton and Grier had said, declaring: "Badly laid out and badly built, it is now essential that the post be rebuilt, and buildings erected with some regard to the welfare of those who are destined to occupy them." [155]

Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville found the ordnance depot at Fort Union in the same condition as the rest of the post. He reported that some of the buildings had "already fallen to the ground in a late storm" and many "others made of upright sticks, are propped to keep them standing." He urged army headquarters to act quickly on Garland's recommendation that a new site be found for the ordnance and quartermaster depots and a site be determined for relocation of the garrison at Fort Union. [156] Somehow the post survived far beyond 1856.

The year 1856 turned out to one of many changes at the post. The post sutler and postmaster, Jared W. Folger, died on April 21 and Ceran St. Vrain, a merchant and contractor who operated flour mills and also served as the commander of New Mexican volunteer troops, became the new post trader. Colonel Fauntleroy requested that St. Vrain be appointed postmaster at the fort. Evidence was not located to show that he served as postmaster, and St. Vrain resigned as post sutler on December 4, 1856. His replacement was George M. Alexander who was selected on December 31. Changes also occurred in the department. On October 11 Garland took a leave of absence and placed Colonel Bonneville, Third Infantry, in command of the Department of New Mexico. Garland left Fort Union with a small escort to travel across the plains to Fort Leavenworth. He returned to New Mexico in May 1857. [157]

The garrison at Union remained fairly stable during 1857 with troops of the Regiment of Mounted Rifles present the entire year. The aggregate number of officers and men averaged 229. The post commanders were Colonel Loring and Captain Llewellyn Jones, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Captain William B. Lane was transferred from Hatch's Ranch to Fort Union in the spring of 1857. His wife Lydia was there a few months before she went east to visit family and friends. He served at Fort Union until November 1857, when he was transferred to Fort Stanton. Brigadier General Garland resumed command of the department on May 12 when he arrived at Fort Bliss. He found the companies in the department were over 700 men short of being filled to authorized capacity and requested recruits to be sent as quickly as possible. The department was also in need of horses. At Fort Union Captain McFerran again recommended that the post be rebuilt; Captain Jones endorsed the recommendation; but no action was taken. The need for repairs was emphasized by a request from Post Commander Loring for more blank report forms because those in his office were "nearly all damaged by rain leaking through the roof." [158]

In January 1857 Major Albert J. Smith, paymaster, arrived at Fort Union to pay the troops. This was a routine, though often tardy, part of life at the post. Major Smith had recently employed a young traveler from St. Louis, James Ross Larkin, as a civilian clerk to assist him in paying troops in the department. Larkin kept a diary of his travels in New Mexico and described activities at the post, including how the pay was issued, during his short stay there. [159]

Larkin left Santa Fe with Major Smith, riding in an army ambulance pulled by four mules, on December 31, 1856. They were accompanied by George Alexander, new post sutler at Fort Union, and an escort of ten soldiers. The group arrived at Fort Union early in the afternoon of January 2. Major Smith stayed at the quarters of Captain Llewellyn Jones. Larkin had a room at "Alexander's store." This was Larkin's first visit to the post (he had bypassed it when he came into New Mexico), and he provided his view of the place. "Fort Union is beautifully situated on a large plain, protected on both sides by mts. . . . The house, dwellings for officers & soldiers, are built of logs (filled up with mud), & present quite a handsome appearance, with their whitewashed fronts."

Larkin named the officers at the post whom he met, including Colonel Loring, Captain Llewellyn Jones, and Lieutenants John P. Hatch, George McLane, Robert M. Morris, Roger Jones, Hyatt C. Ransom, and Edward Treacy, all Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and Surgeon Jonathan Letterman, Captain James C. McFerran (quartermaster department), and Captain Shoemaker in charge of the ordnance depot. He was impressed with the daughter of Llewellyn and Mrs. Jones, and wrote in his diary, "in the evening I called on Miss Freddy Jones."

The next morning Major Smith and Larkin began "making out pay accounts & pay rolls," using Dr. Letterman's house as their office. This was Larkin's first assignment with Major Smith and described the work as "a rather tedious and confining operation." Larkin was a dinner guest at the home of Llewellyn Jones and family. The food was exquisite, "reminding me of city life." The captain's daughter was also a hit. "Miss Fred as she is called is a very lovely lady, & gave us some capital songs. I passed the time very agreeably." That evening Lieutenant McLane raffled off a horse at the sutler's store, where Larkin was quartered. "Quite a jolly time among those interested."

The following day, Sunday, January 4, the mail passed through Fort Union on the way from Santa Fe to Independence. Smith and Larkin continued "making out the pay rolls." As a result, Larkin regretted, "I . . . do not have much leisure today." He was so busy he "Almost missed dinner." He ate with Lieutenant Ransom. On Monday, January 5, "Being ready with our Roll, we commenced paying off the troops." They dispensed nearly $10,000 in specie. As soon as the troops were paid, Larkin dined again with Lieutenant Ransom, and then he and Major Smith departed for Las Vegas, where they arrived that evening. Larkin did not remain at the post long enough to observe the celebrating that followed payday. It would be interesting to have his comments, especially since he was quartered at the post sutler's store where the enlisted men most likely would have spent their new cash. Like most observers of the frontier army, Larkin revealed little about the life of the enlisted men.

The department was much in need of additional recruits to fill the ranks of enlisted men, as General Garland emphasized, but the quality of the soldiers recruited for service in New Mexico was not always the best. During May 1857, while Colonel Loring and most of the garrison at Fort Union were on an Indian campaign, temporary post commander Captain Jones reported that varied duties required of the men could not be completed by the few soldiers left. Among the duties he listed were post guard, stable guard, herding parties, and "the labor essential for putting the quarters in repair before the rainy season." For all these tasks he had available four non-commissioned officers, one bugler, and thirty-two privates. Regarding the privates, Jones declared, "they would be more appropriately in their vocation *under* than *on* Guard." [160]

Lydia Spencer Lane provided a few lines in her memoirs about her first stay at Fort Union in 1857. She was the youngest daughter of Major George Blaney, U.S. Engineers Corps, who had died in 1835. In May 1854 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, she married William B. Lane, a native of Kentucky who was promoted to first lieutenant a few months before. Lydia and her

sister, Valeria Elliott, had been together at Hatch's Ranch and came to Fort Union with their husbands in April 1857. The two families had lived together at Hatch's Ranch and continued to do so at Fort Union. According to Lydia, "the quarters being large enough to accommodate us all, we remained with Captain and Mrs. Elliott." Fort Union was quite a change from the small garrison at Hatch's Ranch. "The post seemed very gay to us," she recalled, "with the band and so many people. We had seen no one but each other for such a long time, we were quite bewildered with all the stir and bustle about us." [161]

A few weeks later Lydia Lane and her two-year-old daughter, Mary (called Minnie), joined Captain Benjamin S. Roberts, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and his family, and some discharged soldiers on a trip across the plains. They traveled with "an empty train of Mexican wagons." Lydia and Mary had "a great big ten-mule wagon in which we were to travel and sleep." They lived in that wagon for 24 days before they reached Westport. Captain Roberts had two wagons for his family. Lydia ate meals with the Roberts family, "some of the discharged soldiers cooking for us." [162] Lydia Lane was at Fort Union again in 1860 for a few months. She passed through the post in 1861 and later returned in 1867, when her husband was commander of the post. Lydia enjoyed frontier military life and would be sorry when her husband retired, but her sister Valeria grew tired of it after three years in the Southwest. In 1860, both Valeria and Lydia visited their family at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Lydia recalled, "my sister . . . never returned to the frontier. She went to housekeeping in Carlisle, where Captain Elliott joined her some time afterwards." [163]

When Lydia and Mary Lane departed from Fort Union in 1857, Lieutenant Lane accompanied on horseback the caravan in which they traveled for three days. He wanted to see them as long as possible and assure himself that they were safe and well cared for on the trip. The first encampment after leaving the post was at a spring near the north end of the Turkey Mountains, some ten miles from the fort, where a "milk ranch" had been established (operated by two or more African-Americans) to supply dairy products to Fort Union. This was one of the first mentions of a dairy which supplied the post. This same milk ranch was noted by a Santa Fe Trail traveler, William B. Napton, in the same year. There apparently were other dairies near the post at different times. [164]

Lieutenant Lane had arranged for one of the soldiers in his company to meet him at the milk ranch with a fresh horse on his return trip four days later. The caravan carrying Mrs. Lane and the child camped beyond the Canadian River the second night, and they stopped approximately 60 miles from Fort Union at the end of the third day. On the morning of the fourth day, the lieutenant bade his family goodbye, watched them head east, and began his lonely ride back to the post. He recalled later that there had been rumors of Indian troubles "in the vicinity" and he rode toward his home station as fast as his horse could safely travel. He was relieved when he arrived at the milk ranch "some time after dark" without difficulty and "found the soldier with my fresh horse anxiously expecting me." [165]

Lane was disturbed to learn from the proprietor of the ranch and the soldier that a party of Indians had attacked a New Mexican along the trail between the ranch and Fort Union that same day and that one of the men from the ranch ("also a negro") had gone to Fort Union for supplies and had not yet returned. Despite the threat, Lane was determined to reach the post that night and proceeded with the soldier. After traveling some three or four miles, they "heard a noise which at first was faint, but rapidly grew louder." They stopped and listened until "we were both satisfied" the sound "was made by pots and pans and other traps pertaining to an Indian outfit, which were fastened to lodge-poles and dragged by Indian ponies." It became clear that the "supposed . . . small party of Indians with their families" were coming toward them on the same trail. [166]

Lieutenant Lane thought "the night was too dark and the ground too rough . . . to attempt to

go off the road and around the party." Finally, he "determined to make a dash at the noise on the road and to get by on the other side, so as to have a clear run for the fort." He and his companion charged, "making as much noise as possible by yelling, and firing our pistols" so as "to so astonish the Indians by our sudden attack that we would get by safely and be well under way for the fort before they could do much harm by firing on us or discover our numbers." Everything went off according to plan, except the party was not Indians, and "the anxiously expected negro of the milk ranch was scared almost into fits." [167]

The man from the ranch had been to the sutler's store at Fort Union, where he purchased buckets, pans, cups, and other items needed for the dairy operation. He had loaded these items on a pack horse, according to Lane, "in a way to produce the greatest variety of sounds." Before leaving the post, this man had also heard about the Indian attack and "was anticipating all sorts of horrors." Lane realized the situation and, greatly relieved himself that there were no Indians, went back to assure the dairyman that he was safe. Having frightened the man almost to death, Lane declared, "had it not been a natural impossibility every hair on his head would have 'stood on end.'" After all concerned had calmed down from this "interesting affair," the parties went there respective ways. Lane concluded that "in little over an hour about the longest and most miserable day's ride I ever remember came to an end, and I entered again my *very* empty room at Fort Union." [168] Another ride recalled by Lane, and detailed below, was even more memorable and the outcome at least as humorous. Lieutenant Lane was not short of excitement in his life while his family was away.

It is possible that Lydia Lane met a westbound traveler from Missouri, William B. Napton, who was making his first trip to New Mexico over the Santa Fe Trail at the age of 18 in 1857. Napton later published his recollections of the venture. He stopped briefly at Fort Union, which he noted "had no appearance of a fortified place." He saw the post as "substantial and comfortable barracks, stores and warehouses," all of which "had a look of military precision, neatness and cleanliness about it not seen elsewhere in New Mexico." He also told of the ranch mentioned by Lieutenant Lane, located some ten miles northeast of Fort Union, which operated a dairy and "supplied the fort with milk and butter." Napton was impressed with the spring house at the ranch, "supplied with water by a cold and bold spring running out of the foot of the mountain." There "the milk was kept in large open tin pans, set in a ditch extending around the room, constructed so as to allow a continual flow of cool water about the pans." [169]

Napton did not mention in his reminiscences whether or not he met Lydia Lane on the trail or her husband, Lieutenant William B. Lane, at Fort Union. He did note the abundance of antelope along the Santa Fe Trail and in New Mexico and recalled some of his experiences, not all of which were pleasant, while hunting them. [170] Lieutenant Lane was also fascinated with the hunting of antelope and, while he was at Fort Union in 1857 and most likely while his wife was away, had one of the most memorable adventures of his life. [171]

Lane prided himself as being a good hunter and was impressed that he "could, from the front door of my quarters at the old post up against the bluffs at Fort Union, see at one time nearly any and every day several hundred antelope on the plain between the post and the Turkey Mountain." At the time, however, he was "having very bad luck in hunting." Not only that, but Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot at Fort Union "had been killing an antelope, and sometimes two, nearly every time he went out, which was once or twice a week." Lane was competitive and "determined to go beyond and on the east side of Turkey Mountain for a day's hunt, . . . hoping to find the game less wild than nearer the post." The result, he recalled, demonstrated "how a hunter can have an interesting and exciting day without killing game, or even getting a shot,—that is, if he is in a rattlesnake country." [172]

Lane rode his horse across Maxson Crater at the south end of the Turkey Mountains and

along the east side of that small range without seeing any antelope, curious as to why the game was so scarce on that particular day. He was determined to bring back an antelope and continued his search. At a point some 15 miles northeast of the post, he finally spied "a large herd of antelope quietly grazing, and as the cover and wind were all in my favor, my hopes were high for game." As he was driving in a picket pin for his horse, using a stone for a hammer, Lane was struck by a more immediate concern than the antelope. [173]

Almost 40 years later, Lane could recall the incident as though it had happened only a short time ago. "After about the third stroke with the stone I felt a sharp sting on the back of my left hand, and at the same moment heard the rattle of a snake, and saw within a few inches of my hand the last half of a large and horrid-looking rattlesnake just about to disappear in a hole in the ground." Lane found two small punctures on his hand, was convinced these were the result of a snake bite, and "was of course frightened almost out of my wits." He immediately mounted his horse to return to the post and its surgeon, declaring that "shooting at the antelope I don't think entered my head." Uncertain "how best to proceed," Lane took a flask of brandy from his saddlebag and *"took a drink,* and a *big one."* [174]

He headed "at a gallop" around the north end of the Turkey Mountains and along the main trail to Fort Union. He imagined his left hand was swelling: "I thought I could see it was getting larger." In addition, Lane "began to feel *very warm,* which was to my mind evidence that the poison was doing its deadly work." After riding awhile, he "halted long enough to take another drink, knowing if I could get thoroughly under the influence of the brandy there would be a chance for me. This time I took 'a whopper.'" [175]

Fearing that he was soon to die, Lane rode on and thought about "being found on the prairie by my friends, swelled up like a dead toad, and black and ugly from the effect of the snake-bite." He determined not to look at his hurting hand in an attempt to subdue his sensation of terror. As the brandy permeated his system, Lane began to feel "very *familiar* and *good."* It occurred to him that he "had felt that way on some other occasion" although he "had never before been snake-bitten." As he began "feeling so much more cheerful and hopeful," Lane resolved to look at his left hand again. "I slowly raised the hand," he remembered, ". . . and realized that there was *no hope!* The hand appeared to be much swollen, and my whole body seemed to take on a feeling of weariness and lassitude that I thought preceded immediate death." [176]

Then he decided to compare his two hands and discovered the true nature of his situation. "To my amazement the right one was just as large as the left, and not only that, there seemed to be several pairs of hands; in fact, the air was full of them, and all badly snake-bitten." He realized at this point that he was *"very drunk."* He was also convinced that he could not have been poisoned by the rattlesnake "or the brandy would not have taken effect so soon." He concluded, correctly as time proved, that he had injured his hand while driving the picket pin (because a piece of stone broke off, hit his hand, and "made the blood come") and had assumed he was bitten because the snake had been nearby. "When it fully dawned on my benumbed brain that I was not bitten," Lane recollected, "I gave one wild, joyous whoop, and then broke out into a series of Indian yells. I leaned forward, or rather fell, on my horse's neck and began to laugh, and *roared,* in a drunken way, until I was almost exhausted." He attempted to "brace up and look sharp" but found that was more than he "could manage with dignity and ease" until the effects of the brandy diminished. "My whole mind was given to my horse and rifle, and to keep from falling off." [177]

His mood changed again as the brandy began to dissipate, and "a feeling of *pathos* crept over me. I wanted to *weep,* and felt *religious."* He also "was growing *very sleepy."* A few miles from Fort Union, Lane saw some geese on a small lake and concluded that he should shoot one so as not to return to the post empty-handed. Foregoing the use of his picket pin, he tied

his horse to a rock. Before getting a shot at the geese, he saw three or four men on horseback heading his way. Fearing they might be Indians or "Mexican" bandits, Lane determined to ride quickly to the safety of the post. He was only partially mounted when his horse raced off, "which left me hanging on his side" while the "horse went thundering across the plain." Lane eventually made it into the saddle and arrived back at Fort Union without further incident. [178]

Lane recalled that he "had had what one might call 'a full day.' I had ridden over thirty miles, been bitten, as I supposed, by a rattlesnake, got drunk and sober, was at the point of death and had recovered, and all this within twelve hours." Upon reaching the post, "I rode quietly to my quarters, dismounted, sent my horse to the stable, and *went to bed*, feeling thankful." [179] That day was the one Lane remembered most from his assignment to duty at the first Fort Union, but the earlier incident with the dairyman from the milk ranch must have been a close second. Lane was transferred, in November 1857, to Fort Stanton, where his wife and daughter rejoined him the following year. He returned to the third Fort Union as the post commander after the Civil War.

Although Fort Union was located in rattlesnake country, apparently very few people were victims of snake bite. Cattle, horses, and dogs were occasionally bitten. In 1858, during the march of officers and recruits over the Santa Fe Trail to Fort Union, a dog owned by Lieutenant Gordon Granger, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was struck on the nose by a rattlesnake near Ocate Crossing on the branch between the Cimarron Route and Fort Union. According to Major John S. Simonson, commanding the troops, the surgeon "scarified the place and applied externals, and also poured down a pint of Whiskey internally." The dog became "much swollen about the neck" but survived the bite and the treatment and made it to Fort Union. [180]

Not much changed at Fort Union in 1858. The post commander, Captain Andrew J. Lindsay, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and quartermaster, Captain Fred Myers, reported again that the buildings of the post were "rotten," "unsafe," and practically beyond repair. The amount of space per soldier in the barracks was only about half of what army regulations specified. The quartermaster and commissary storerooms were "insufficient in capacity and afford but little protection to the property stored in them." A request to rebuild the post, perhaps of adobes, was sent through the chain of command one more time. Somehow the request was introduced into Congress and funds were appropriated the following year to rebuild Fort Union. [181]

Meanwhile the garrison, comprised of mounted riflemen, put up with the conditions as best they could. Many of them apparently turned to intoxicants to help assuage their situation. Because whiskey could be purchased at the post sutler's store, restrictions were placed on soldiers' access to the business during 1858 in an attempt to quell drunkenness. By order of the new post commander, Captain Robert M. Morris, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, "no Enlisted man" was "permitted to enter the Sutler's store, except" during specified hours. The restrictions were not severe, however, and the results were apparently negligible. [182] More stringent restrictions were imposed by Major William Chapman, Second Dragoons, in 1861: "The abuse of the indulgence granted to enlisted men by previous commanding officers to purchase intoxicating liquors at the Sutler's Store, has become so great an evil as to demand its prohibition in future except in orders signed by Company Commanders." [183] No record has been found to show if this was more effective than the rules issued in 1858. [184]

The post commanders during 1858 included Colonel Loring, Captains Andrew J. Lindsay and Robert M. Morris, and Second Lieutenant Herbert M. Enos, all of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. The average aggregate number of officers and men at the post in 1858 was 290. Some were assigned to field service against Indians and others served as an escort to horses

and mules sent to Utah for the troops engaged in the "Mormon War." General Garland, because of ill health, relinquished command of the department to Colonel Bonneville in September. An escort of mounted riflemen from Fort Union accompanied Garland across the plains. Surgeon Letterman went with Garland to St. Louis as his attending physician. Garland's party had a difficult trip to Fort Leavenworth because prairie fires had destroyed the grass. As a result many of the horses became weak and some had to be abandoned. From the Arkansas River an express was sent to Fort Union for provisions for the men and corn for the horses. It was immediately sent out and the party eventually reached Fort Leavenworth. [185]

Among the officers who arrived at Fort Union in 1858 was Second Lieutenant John Van Deusen DuBois, Company K, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. DuBois kept a journal during the time he was in New Mexico which provides another source of information and perspective on the post and the army in the Southwest. [186] His journal included service at some other posts in the Southwest and travels to several areas. Some of his observations on those ventures, as well as his brief time at Fort Union, add to an understanding of the life of the soldier in New Mexico.

DuBois was part of an expedition from Fort Bliss, Texas, against the Apaches and Navajos in present Arizona in 1857, led by Lieutenant Colonel Miles, Third Infantry. The troops carried their supplies on pack mules. His description of the beginning of that adventure was probably typical of many other experiences with pack mules. "Our 'start' was very ludicrous," he wrote. "The mules packed for the first time scattered in every direction - Some kicking their cargoes off other carried away by the cargoes - Tin pans and camp kettles rattling - mules braying - drunken men singing fighting & swearing - formed as strange a mingling of sweet sounds as one hears generally." One of DuBois's pack mules ran away and was not recovered until late the next day. [187]

The officers apparently carried a supply of whiskey. During a freezing rain on the third day out, DuBois and the surgeon "emptied several flasks of pure whiskey which seemed weak as water - we were so nearly frozen." The enlisted men had their liquor too. At one camp a mounted rifleman killed an infantryman in a fight, "no cause known except rum." [188]

Captain George Sykes joined the expedition in the field, having left Fort Fillmore just one day after his child had died. Syke's was assigned to escort the paymaster to Tucson, leaving behind his dead child and grieving wife. DuBois knew this was "very hard," but an officer had to do his duty. "The ladies of the Army," DuBois recorded, "must pass many miserable hours alone or else own a husband who thinks but little of his reputation." The young officer concluded that he was fortunate not to have a wife at this stage of his career. [189]

DuBois completed the expedition and returned to Fort Bliss in the fall of 1857. On December 16 of that same year he began his march to Fort Union. At the first camp, he noted, "It is very cold - camp life in the winter is not pleasant." A severe winter storm followed for several days. When the weather warmed, camp life improved. On the sixth day out, "I passed a pleasant evening reading - my little stove keeping my tent as warm as was comfortable - A hot punch & a pipe were companions." [190]

A few days later, while camped near Socorro, "A wagon from Fort Craig arrived bringing me a captive indian chief of the Kiowa's - he was severely wounded but all his flesh wounds (three in number) had closed and a shattered elbow joint alone pained him now. His pain should have been intense but I never saw him change his expression - I could not but pity him." [191] This was the Kiowa prisoner who was treated at the Fort Union hospital and returned to his people as an envoy for peace in March 1858. [192]

DuBois and his company reached the community of Algodones on January 3, 1858, "a good camp." That evening "a party from Albuquerque arrived & we were very jolly for an hour in the corn agents." These agents, employees of the quartermaster department, were important to the successful operation of the army in the vast territory. They were stationed throughout New Mexico, many in small communities such as Algodones where there was no post. Their primary duty was to purchase and store feed for livestock, thus their designation as "corn agents." According to Robert W Frazer, "they were entrusted with purchasing corn, fodder, and other commodities, and with renting facilities, supervising storage, and a variety of other tasks." [193] The feed they kept for the military was used by traveling units, such as that led by DuBois. Some of the agents also owned their own mercantile business and a few operated a tavern. Most of the corn agents were Anglo-Americans, as DuBois confirmed: "All these little towns are alike in every respect. Some American makes all the money." [194]

DuBois added to the folklore of the region when he visited the ruins of Pecos Pueblo, declaring that from the mission church, "a ghost is said to stalk at every half hour of the night & cry in grave-yard tones - 'Long time between the drinks.'" He also provided a description of how the pueblo looked 20 years after it was abandoned by its last Indian residents. He mistakenly identified the kivas, religious chambers of the Indians, as "large tanks for water." With his soldier eye, DuBois declared the military position of Pecos Pueblo, with its commanding view of the surrounding area, to be "perfect." [195]

Although DuBois and his fellow officers consumed considerable amounts of whiskey and he mentioned drunken officers and soldiers several times, he maintained a sharp double standard regarding intoxication. On the day his party reached Las Vegas, DuBois wrote: "I saw a drunken woman to day the first I ever saw in the territory. How it did disgust me." [196]

On January 9, 1858, after 25 days on the road and 443 miles from Fort Bliss (by his count), DuBois and company arrived at Fort Union early in the afternoon. He was pleased to be at his destination.

> Col Loring and Capt Lindsay met me - The company was quartered - my goods unpacked & I was *home* once more - not "my home" but home theoretic - The place looks like a log village the houses are scattered in every direction - The quarters are all of logs but are very comfortable [197] - I hope to enjoy myself here but suppose I will not - The regimental band is now playing - it is a great addition to a post.

DuBois did not write in his journal again until late February 1858, when he recorded "All January I passed my time in arranging my room - transferring the command of 'K' Company to its first Lieutenant - A McRae [198] - and calling upon the ladies of the post." His initial view of life at Fort Union continued: "I was perfectly delighted with my new home - We were like a band of brothers. I could not have selected from the regiment a more choice band of companions." [199] DuBois, like Katie Bowen before him, tended to accentuate the positive side of life at the post.

On February 3, 1858, DuBois was "detailed with twenty three men to escort the mail party." Such escort duty was a routine assignment for troops stationed at Fort Union, and DuBois provided one of the few records of that aspect of a soldier's life. The young officer had not been on the route of the Santa Fe Trail before, but he was provided with written directions, including estimates of miles between water sources and suggested places to camp. The soldiers rode in wagons, which also carried their camping gear and supplies. From DuBois's comments, it appears that his escort traveled in four wagons pulled by mules. Because it was difficult for escort wagons to keep up with the rapid pace of the mail party, it was common practice for the escort to start a few days ahead of the mail, travel at a leisurely speed until

the mail caught up, and then attempt to stay with the mail until the escort assignment was completed. [200] DuBois was to escort the eastbound mail until he met the westbound mail or reached the Arkansas River.

The escort detail started from Fort Union in the middle of the afternoon of February 3, and stopped "at a point of timber" at the edge of the Turkey Mountains to load firewood for the trip. They carried their own supply of firewood because of the scarcity of timber at most campsites along the trail. The men had supplied themselves well with whiskey before leaving the post, and DuBois recorded that they "arrived in camp at Burgwin Springs some time after dark with as drunken a set of men as I ever saw." It was still winter. "The night was very cold and the sudden change from a warm room & good bed to a wagon & a few blankets was not as agreeable as it might have been. The duty was a most disagreeable one." [201]

The next day the troops "arrived in camp early" at the Rock Crossing of the Canadian River. They saw herds of antelope. DuBois was disheartened because, "for hours I attempted to get a shot without success." The mail party had not yet overtaken the detail and DuBois "felt in some doubt as to the propriety of my going further without them. After sleeping upon the subject I concluded to push on and not wait for it until near the Cimmaron river," approximately another 120 miles. He obviously did not anticipate any trouble with Indians on that portion of the route. [202]

They "encamped the next night at Willow Creek near Apache Spring." It was another cold day and they suffered through rain, snow, and wind during the night. The following day, February 6, they reached Rabbit Ear Creek, "a warm camp." By this point, DuBois confessed, "I was somewhat alarmed about the mail but would not alter my determination." He continued with the assumption that the mail was safe and would overtake the troops in due time. Actually, DuBois was moving quite rapidly, having covered approximately 90 miles in a little more than three days. He apparently had doubts that the troops could keep up with the mail party when it did arrive. At the same time, so long as he was ahead of the mail, the troops would provide clear warning to any Indians intent on mischief that protection was at hand. [203]

The next day DuBois became somewhat lost, something that may have happened to many overland travelers although most never admitted it. "I intended camping at Cedar Spring," he confided to his journal, "but after a long days march I followed a trail to the left as directed by my table of distances & after looking every where for Cedar trees I finally saw some cotton woods and on reaching them found a good camp with water and grass." That was all he and his troops required, but "I did not know where I was as this spring is not mentioned on my directions." He was not truly lost because all he had to do was return to the main trail and follow it toward the east. Soon after getting back on the trail the next morning, DuBois was relieved when he "saw the mail behind us." [204]

He did not slow down, however, but traveled ahead of the mail party to his camp at "Enchanted Spring," also known as Upper Cimarron Spring and Flag Spring. He considered this "the only pretty spot I had seen since leaving Fort Union. The spring encircles a large rock making a border of about two feet in width and extending beneath the rock nearly that distance." After setting up camp, DuBois and some of the soldiers went hunting. They returned to find "the mail party and passengers collected around my fire." [205]

DuBois was still determined to keep ahead of the mail party. The following morning "I started very early at half past three A.M. & came on to 'Deadman's hollow' to breakfast." The escort waited there "until the mail was in sight before starting." They kept ahead of the mail all day, stopping for dinner at the "lower crossing" of the Cimarron River, where they crossed and rested "about an hour." They pushed on and made camp for the night at Middle Spring

on the Cimarron River (north of present Elkhart, Kansas), where the mail party caught up and joined the camp. "The mail party collected around my fire at night," DuBois noted, "& being quite jovial were some alleviation to the cold & snow." [206]

The next morning the soldiers broke camp and departed ahead of the mail, stopping to fix breakfast at the "foot of 18 mile ridge." "In crossing this ridge - which as the name imparts is eighteen miles long - we saw our first buffalos." They stopped for dinner at the "Head of 18 mile ridge" at a point called "the barrels." This was a point on the Cimarron River, which DuBois declared "only runs above ground in a few places," where some travelers had sunk some barrels into the sandy bed of the stream to collect water (some travelers called this Barrel Spring). The escort camped at Lower Cimarron Spring (later known as Wagonbed Spring because a box from a freight wagon was set into the spring to collect water), where the mail party again joined their encampment. [207]

Because two of the escort teams were "no longer able to travel forty miles per day," DuBois left two teams and wagons with the sergeant and eleven men at Lower Cimarron Spring to recuperate until the rest of the soldiers with the other two wagons accompanied the mail to the Arkansas River and returned. The next morning, February 11, DuBois again started ahead of the mail, stopped for breakfast at Sand Creek, "stopped again about midday to hunt buffalo - again to dine and encamped near the Battle ground." He described this location as "where a fight took place between the Texans & New Mexicans before either belonged to the United States." The battle had occurred in 1843. On the way that day, DuBois recalled, "where we stopped to hunt buffalo is a place called the Bone yard." This he described at the place "where a train of over three hundred animals was once all frozen to death in one night." [208]

There were at least two separate losses of mules to winter storms that could have produced the "Bone yard." The first occurred in 1844 to a caravan of wagons belonging to Edward Glasgow and Henry Connelly. That was the year of the big floods in present-day Kansas, when many Santa Fe traders were unable to cross the plains in the spring and early summer because of high water. These wagons left Independence for Santa Fe in mid-September. On October 12 they were caught in an early blizzard south of the Arkansas River, where many of their mules froze to death. The teamsters managed to save some of the mules by driving them to some timber approximately 15 miles away. The site where the mules perished may have been what DuBois called the "Bone yard." It should be noted that another wagon train, belonging to Albert Speyer, was a few days ahead of Glasgow and Connelly's train. When the blizzard struck, Speyer was caught near Willow Bar on the Cimarron River in present Oklahoma, where he reportedly lost most of his mules in one night. The leaders of both caravans had to go to New Mexico and obtain more mules, and they did not arrive in Santa Fe until late November 1844. [209]

The second great loss of mules occurred in 1850, when a military contract wagon train belonging to Brown, Russell & Co. (James Brown, William H. Russell, and John S. Jones) was caught by a fall storm. They started late in the season because of an increased need for military supplies in New Mexico and because an attempt to transport supplies through Texas to New Mexico had not been successful. The contract to deliver 600,000 pounds of freight was signed on September 4, 1850, and the supplies were sent in five separate wagon trains which departed from Fort Leavenworth between September 14 and October 2, 1850. One of these trains was forced to stop at the crossing of the Arkansas River because of deep snow and cold conditions. The teamsters set up temporary winter quarters and intended to wait until warmer weather returned. A messenger from New Mexico arrived to request that the supplies be brought to Santa Fe as quickly as possible. The train of 30 wagons headed south from the Arkansas. The first day they had nice weather, but the second day another winter storm struck and forced the train to go into camp. This would place them near the point where the 1844 wagon trains had first lost mules to a blizzard. The 200-300 mules in the

1850 train were herded into a temporary corral where they allegedly all froze during the night. Some of the firm's other trains were caught by a snowstorm in New Mexico and also lost many mules. James Brown, who went in advance of the trains to Santa Fe, died there on December 5, 1850. The surviving partners (Russell and Jones) later (in 1854) received $38,800 from Congress to help pay for their losses. [210]

When William B. Napton traveled the trail from Missouri to New Mexico in 1857, less than a year before DuBois's escort, he noted "a great pile of bleached bones of mules that had been thrown up in a conical shaped heap by the passing trainmen." Napton believed them to be from the Brown, Russell & Co. tragedy. [211] It is probable that DuBois described the same place. Whichever incident contributed the bones that DuBois and Napton saw, the "Bone yard" was a vivid reminder of the hazards of traveling the Santa Fe Trail during the winter season.

On the morning of February 12, DuBois recalled, "we breakfasted at a water hole in the sand hills & by one o'clock P.M. reached the crossing of the Arkansas." Of the country through which they had just passed, he wrote, "from Enchanted spring to the Arkansas is not even a bush for fuel and on the Arkansas there is no wood within twenty miles of the crossing." The mail party had problems crossing the Arkansas. "The river was frozen over but not hard enough to bear the mail wagons." Everything was taken from the wagons and carried "over by hand." The mules were driven across to "cut a road for the wagons." The escort started their return trip before the crossing was completed, and DuBois "returned to where the Road reachs the River." There his troops "encamped in a severe snow storm." [212]

The westbound mail had not arrived, so DuBois started back to the rest of his command at Lower Cimarron Spring on February 13, stating "I had only two days provisions to reach the party I had left behind in charge of every thing." He expected the westbound mail to overtake the escort along the way within a few days. DuBois and his men camped the next night at "the Bone yard" and "rejoined my party" at Lower Spring "by ten o'clock" on February 14. He was pleased to note, "Every thing was in good order - they had killed two buffalos and the mules had much improved." [213]

DuBois, up to this time, "had not seen an indian & I felt no alarm for the safety of the mail party." However, at mid-morning the following day, February 15, the westbound mail crew and passengers arrived "and informed me that two or three hundred indians were at Sand creek hunting." Sand Creek was just a few miles north of Lower Spring. DuBois soon had the escort ready to accompany the mail on the road toward Fort Union, and they all camped that night at the barrels. The following day the soldiers killed a buffalo and the mail and its protectors "were very late on the road." They traveled approximately 50 miles before halting for the night at the lower crossing of the Cimarron River. [214]

DuBois apparently headed out the following morning ahead of the mail. While the troops were eating breakfast, "the Comanches came into my camp & informed me that the Kiowas were unfriendly & had killed three mexicans who had come to the Cimaron to trade with the Comanches." DuBois stopped the escort to eat dinner at his favorite spot, "Enchanted Spring," where he was visited by the Comanches again. DuBois expected the mail party to join him there, having "given them orders to come on to this spring to dinner." However, "I waited at this place until sun down - The mail not arriving." By evening he "feared that something might have happened." [215]

DuBois then thought "that they might have kept to the main road," because Enchanted Spring was at least one-half mile north of the main route of the Santa Fe Trail. "I started & just as I arrived in camp at Cold Spring I heard the cracking of their whips & on they came on a run reporting that they were followed for some distance by a hundred mounted Kiowas." The

mail party was frightened and "had some amusing tales to tell." DuBois was not amused, however, and declared "I concluded that they would never desert their escort again." [216]

The Kiowas did not threaten the mails accompanied by troops. The soldiers and the mail left Cold Spring early on February 18 and stopped for breakfast at Cedar Spring. There DuBois left the two teams that had been left earlier at Lower Spring because they were no longer able to keep up with the mail. The other teams and half the escort accompanied the mail wagon to Cottonwood Creek and camped for the night. The next morning they reached Rabbit Ear Creek, where DuBois had left feed for his mules on the return trip. He discovered that his "cache of corn at this place had been robbed by the Mexicans." [217]

DuBois was worried that he might not be able to keep up with the mail. "I was out of corn and my mules growing rapidly exhausted." By stopping to rest four times during the day, the escort managed to stay with the mail to Rock Creek. There, after resting awhile, the mail conductor decided to proceed without the escort. Before the mules were hitched to the mail wagon, the eastbound mail and its escort, led by Lieutenant Alfred Gibbs, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, arrived at Rock Creek. Both mail parties and their escorts "remained together that night." [218]

DuBois "begged a feed of corn" for his mules from the eastbound escort and thereby managed to stay with the westbound mail the approximately 40 miles to the Canadian River on February 20. The mail conductor chose to attempt a night drive without the escort from the Canadian River, but a winter storm struck that evening. When DuBois and his troops reached Ocate Creek the next morning, they found the mail party in camp with their mules "nearly broken down by their nights drive." After resting awhile they proceeded slowly because of the storm and "reached Burgwin Spg . . . [at] four o'clock P.M." By this time "the snow was four inches deep - my mules were tired." [219]

DuBois again divided the remainder of his command, leaving one wagon at Burgwin Spring and taking the other and several of the soldiers to continue with the mail wagon in an attempt to reach Fort Union. "It became very dark," he recorded. "We lost the road & wandered around in the snow for some time within two miles of the post." After searching for some time, they "saw some black object in the snow towards which we directed our course & by hunting the trail on foot reached Fort Union at 9 P.M." on February 21, "having traveled 87 miles in two days." [220] Thus ended DuBois's first escort duty at Fort Union. He did not reveal when the three wagons and soldiers he had left behind reached the post, but they presumably made it through in a few days after they were no longer forced to keep pace with the mail wagon. Other escorts continued to be sent to safeguard the mails. DuBois next assignment, as noted in chapter three, was to help escort Captain Randoph B. Marcy and a large herd of horses and mules to Utah. He arrived back at Fort Union from that adventure on September 13, 1858.

DuBois soon settled into the routine of life at the garrison, commanding his company of riflemen and recording in his journal some of what was happening there. At the end of September 1858 he noted that General Garland, Surgeon Letterman, and others had recently passed through Fort Union on their way "to the states." This left Colonel Bonneville, for whom DuBois had little respect (revealed in his description of the colonel as a "gallant and experienced indian fighter?"), in command of the department. A civilian contract surgeon, Joseph Howland Bill, arrived to replace Dr. Letterman. "Next came the fall exodus of recruits," who had recently crossed the plains from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union, to their assignments at posts throughout the Department of New Mexico. They were accompanied by Major John S. Simonson and Lieutenants Gordon Granger, Roger Jones, Ira W. Claflin, and John Henry Edson, all Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. [221]

Before these officers left Fort Union, DuBois noted, "We gave them a ball in the Quartermasters storehouse & did all we could to make them comfortable." [222] Major Simonson provided a detailed description of that event, worth quoting in its entirety because it reveals how entertainment was dispensed at Fort Union in the late 1850s:

> On the 21-22 & 23d we were in camp at Fort Union. Maj Backus [223] reached Fort Union from the Ratoon and Fort Bent route on the 22d. Same night the officers at Fort Union gave us a party - (I say us meaning the ladies and officers of our command) - the party was gotten up—arrangements, invitations, decorations, and supper, all in one day, - (same day it was given) and was in Elegant Style, and most lavish in *good things* in the eating and drinking way.
>
> The room for dancing, promenading &c was in the Quartermaster Storeroom — the supper room was the quartermaster's office — a small room on the left of which was the Ladies dressing room, and another on the right the gentleman's. The dancing hail or room was highly decorated — being first lined on Each Side with white paulins [224] — The dirt floor also having a canvass paulin for carpet and to dance on — The ceiling also was canvass — on the white paulins sides of the room were Six or Eight circular saw blades as reflectors, with 3 candles in front of Each — between these reflectors were crossed Sabres — festooned with red sashes tastefully interwoven — There were also company guidons on their staffs in conspicuous position — and at the lower end of the Hall centre, was the New Regimental flag of the Rifle Regt, — at the upper end cenre, was the dear old Flag which we carried in Mexico perforated and torn by Musket balls, — The very flag that was first at the Gareta de Belen and first on the palace, the celebrated halls of Montezuma!
>
> The Orchestra or Musick, was at the lower end on Elevated Seats, and behind curtains — two Brass Howitzers on their carriages graced the lower corners of the hall — and stacks of Rifles at suitable distances all round next to the walls. There were some fine paintings, pictures, and maps, apparent on the sides amid the cross Sabres and reflectors — company assembled at 1/2 past 8 oclock evening — The parson, myself and another member of the church were there! — we however were merely *lookers on* — I left before 12 the Suppertime, after renewing my acquaintances with several persons — but understood that everything went off well and pleasant. [225]

Following the departure of many officers and the recruits to other stations and the dispatch of two companies of riflemen stationed at Fort Union to field duty against the Navajos, DuBois, "the only line officer of the post," reported at the end of October 1858 that "we are very lonely here now." For a time "Lt. Edson remained at the post with his wife & they add very much to our little society." [226]

At the end of November DuBois noted "this month has been like all the others I ever passed at military posts, quiet & uneventful." Another officer, Captain John G. Walker, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, joined the garrison during November, accompanied by his wife, whom DuBois called for some unexplained reason "the Madame." The only activity DuBois recorded in his journal was a hunting trip with Captain Shoemaker, Paymaster Major Thomas G. Rhett, and Rhett's brother. "We killed game enough to eat," he noted, "but no more. Remained absent four days & returned." [227]

In December DuBois accompanied Major Rhett and his brother to Santa Fe. "It was my first visit and I did enjoy it." He remarked about the numerous gambling tables and the "baile rooms," and declared that "the fair ones of Santa Fe though not pretty are pretty enough to

dance with." He observed that Colonel Bonneville left his headquarters at Santa Fe the day after DuBois arrived in the city, heading for the "Navajo War." Like many of his fellow officers, DuBois was no fan of Bonneville. Of "Bonny," he stated "rumor says that the Colonel intends interfering with the preliminaries of peace agreed to by Col. Miles — By making the condition so hard that the indians cannot fulfill them." The "Navajo War," he concluded, ". . . promises to create quite a furor." [228]

Back at Fort Union, the arrival of Lieutenant Julian May, regimental quartermaster of the mounted riflemen, "produced no change in the unvaried monotony of Post Life." When DuBois heard from his sister that another of his boyhood "sweethearts" had recently married, the bachelor officer declared, "I must be getting old." Although he provided no details, DuBois reported that "Christmas passed off pleasantly. We had all the luxuries of the frontier, and were sorry when evening came." A few days later he related that "New Years Eve passed like Christmas pleasantly and quietly." [229]

Activity increased at Fort Union in mid-January 1859 with the return of the two companies of mounted riflemen from the "Navajo War." Even before the troops returned, DuBois "had heard of the signing of the treaty and the immediate distribution of the companies." The return of several officers to the post made it possible to conduct a general court-martial. Prisoners were brought from Fort Garland to stand trial along with those at Fort Union. DuBois revealed that "the Court was in session a week during which I enjoyed myself very much." [230] It was not clear if he enjoyed the sessions of the court or the opportunity to spend time with the other officers whom he had not seen for several months, but probably the latter.

At Fort Union the three companies of mounted riflemen continued to man the post during most of 1859, with an average aggregate garrison of 264. Commanding officers included Colonel Loring, Captain Walker, and Major Simonson, all Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Several changes in personnel occurred during the year. In January the post council of administration selected W. H. Moore as the sutler to replace George Alexander. The actual transfer of the sutlership apparently did not take place until late in 1859. Moore served as sutler at Fort Union during and a few years after the Civil War. Captain Van Bokkelen arrived in February to serve as post and subdepot quartermaster. In August Assistant Surgeon Elisha I. Baily replaced the civilian contract surgeon, Dr. J. H. Bill, who had served as the post surgeon since the previous September. In October Reverend Stoddert took leave from his office as post chaplain at the request of Colonel Bonneville. It had been verified that a lengthy article in the *National Intelligencer* the previous year, which was highly critical of the army's war against the Navajos and signed by "Civis," had been written by Stoddert. He had not, after all, agreed with the "peculiar views" of the post officers. Stoddert, probably as requested, submitted his resignation in December, and it was readily accepted. [231]

Throughout the first decade of life at Fort Union, the post sutler's store was an important fixture, providing many items for sale to officers, enlisted men, civilian employees, and visitors at the site. This official general store was licensed by the army and protected from competition on the military reservation. In return the sutler paid a fee for the privilege (usually so much per soldier in the garrison), and those tolls went into a post fund to provide items for the troops which the military budget did not supply (such as newspaper and magazine subscriptions, books for the post library, song books, music for the band, and special food items on occasions). The sutler was selected by a council of officers at the post and appointed by the secretary of war. The post council of administration (usually comprised of the three senior officers of the garrison) also set the price the sutler could charge for each item. These prices were apparently fixed in consultation with the sutler, taking into consideration the cost of the item, transportation expenses, and a fair return to the merchant. Katie Bowen provided a few of the post sutler's prices in 1851. [232]

The merchandise available at the sutler's store included a variety of processed food items (much of it canned for preservation, including vegetables, fruits, meats, and seafoods), fresh vegetables and fruits in season, dried fruits, eggs, butter, cheese, crackers, beans, corn meal, flour, baking soda, sugar, coffee, tea, salt, spices, jelly, candy, chocolate, vinegar, molasses, soap, coffee grinders, coffee pots and cups, pots and pans, basins, pitchers, buckets, churns, stoneware, tinware, cookware, glassware, tableware and utensils, tooth brushes, cloth, canvas, leather, needles, thread, buttons, beads, laces, pins, awls, nails, scissors, combs, mirrors, razors, cologne, watches, clocks, brooms, brushes, wash boards, clothespins, candles, lanterns, lamps, towels, handkerchiefs, underwear, socks, trousers, shirts, skirts, vests, coats, caps, hats, gloves, neckties, shoes, boots, belts, wallets, blankets, pencils, pens, ink, paper, notebooks, playing cards, fish hooks, pocket knives, guns, ammunition, axes, padlocks, matches, tobacco, pipes, cigars, beer, wine, champagne, whiskey, patent medicines, epsom salt, turpentine, rope, horse liniment, horse gear (saddles, halters, bridles, curry combs, etc.), and fodder for livestock. [233]

Not much specific material has been located about the post traders and the extent of their business at Fort Union prior to 1861. Considerably more documentation is available about the business operations of these favored merchants during and after the Civil War, especially that of Sutler William H. Moore. The appointees to the office of sutler at Fort Union, 1851-1861, have been identified in this chapter, as have the dates of their appointments. Most of the sutlers served as postmaster for the garrison during their tenure, and the post office was apparently housed in the same building as the store. The facility also had a room or rooms to rent, available to visitors at the fort.

According to Colonel Mansfield's plan of the post, 1853, the sutler's store was located near several other buildings (north of the parade ground behind one set of enlisted men's barracks, east of the ordnance depot, south of the laundresses quarters, and northeast of the hospital), within walking distance of all quarters on the base. [234] The structure, which was the only privately-owned building permitted on the military reservation, was presumably erected by Jared Folger, the first sutler, and sold along with its remaining stock, to each subsequent appointee to that office by his predecessor. In addition to the store, post office, and rooms to let, the building also served as the residence for the post trader and/or his employees.

One of the interesting civilians connected with Fort Union before the Civil War was Hezekiah Brake, an English immigrant who worked for Sutler George M. Alexander from 1859 to 1861. Brake later published his reminiscences, in which he provided information about his activities at and around Fort Union. Brake had come from England and settled in Minnesota, which he left with his wife, Charlotte (called Lottie), and daughter, Lizzie, to seek work in St. Louis. There he was hired by Alexander, who was in the city to buy supplies for the sutler's store at Fort Union, to go to New Mexico and manage Alexander's ranch and dairy a few miles from the post. While Alexander was in St. Louis, the post council of administration at Fort Union selected William H. Moore to be the new sutler. It was late 1859 before the new appointee was confirmed and the store at Union was actually transferred. Alexander continued to operate his ranch to supply the post with food and fodder even though he was no longer the sutler. Brake stayed with Alexander until the coming of the Civil War, when he moved his family to Council Grove, Kansas, where he remained the rest of his long life. [235]

Brake left his wife and child at St. Louis (they joined him a few months later) and accompanied Alexander's wagon train over the Santa Fe Trail during February 1859. [236] Brake went to Alexander's ranch, located eight miles west of Fort Union and ten miles east of the town of Mora, in the Mora River valley where another stream, which Brake called Rio Coyote, joined the Mora. This was a large operation with labor provided by Negro slaves and "Mexican" peons. Brake was expected to oversee the planting of a large irrigated garden,

wheat, corn, Hungarian grass, oats, and barley (the barley was for beer). He was also in charge of a herd of cattle, from which he was to select cows to start a dairy to produce milk, butter, and cheese to sell at Fort Union. [237]

Within a few weeks, Brake had vegetables in the garden that were ready to peddle. He "decided to take them to the store at the Fort." His arrival with the produce at Fort Union, zigzagging his team of mules and wagon about during a hail storm and with a wash tub inverted over his head for protection, may have provided one of the strangest apparitions ever seen at the post, if, indeed, anyone saw him. When he had left the ranch the weather was clear, but along the way the storm stuck with "the most fearful torrents of rain, mixed with the largest hailstones I ever saw." He forgot about his mission for money and sought to save his life. "With one hand I tried to hold the rearing team," he recalled, "and with the other caught the tub, turned out the green stuff, and put the inverted vessel over my head. I had to zigzag about on the prairie in order to save the mules. . . . My green stuff was all lost or spoiled, and my labor and my first prospective ten dollars were floating around on the prairie in a new kind of soup, to my own regret and that of the ladies in the Fort." [238]

Brake, perhaps because of his English origins, was less prejudiced against the New Mexicans and New Mexico than were many of his contemporary Anglo-Americans, whether civilians or soldiers. Of the land, he wrote, "the healthfulness of the country, the beauty of the scenery, and the advantages of soil and climate, cannot, in time, fail to make New Mexico a noted member of the sisterhood of States." While he regretted "there was hardly a respectable white [Anglo] resident near me" and that most of the "half-breed Mexicans, Indians and negroes" could not be trusted, Brake found most of the New Mexicans to be "kind-hearted, hospitable, and temperate." "The hospitality of the Mexicans," he declared, "was truly remarkable. They freely entertained friends or strangers, and disdained payment for their courtesy." Brake was amused when he inquired of a "Mexican" laborer, who had spent four days hauling flour to the ranch and charged "only two dollars, . . . how he could work so cheaply." The man replied it had cost him nothing along the way because "friends feed a Mexican for nothing." [239]

During the summer another hail storm destroyed most of the crops Brake had planted and killed some pigs and calves. According to Brake, "Mr. A.'s [Alexander's] loss was heavy, but, as I was to receive one-half of all the profits, mine was irreparable." After the loss of the crops, "the dairy business now was our last resource." They were milking 40 cows. Charlotte Brake looked after the making of butter and cheese. Alexander, who was soon to be replaced as sutler by Moore, headed for the Colorado gold fields, "where he lost thirty thousand dollars." Thus, "his ranch was all the property that he had left." By the autumn of 1859 the Brakes had produced 800 pounds of butter and 500 pounds of cheese which were sold at the fort. The cows were not milked during the winter months. Most of the crops had failed, but Brake sold some fodder at Fort Union for $30.00 a ton and had 250 bushels of corn to sell. The cabbages grown in the garden were made into 100 gallons of sauerkraut, which was sold at the fort for $1.00 per gallon. Approximately 100 cauliflowers were sold for 50 cents per head at Santa Fe. Brake had several bushels of barley, from which he brewed "an excellent porter [a dark-brown beer similar to light stout]." He reported, "I bottled some of the product, and the ladies at the Fort were greatly pleased with it." [240]

During the winter of 1859-1860, Brake worked part-time as a forage agent for the quartermaster at Fort Union, going into the countryside to purchase fodder for the livestock at the post. He "received three hundred and twenty-five dollars in gold" for the hay he hauled to Fort Union. In the spring of 1860 Brake again oversaw the planting of a garden and other crops and started milking cows again. During the year they sold 700 pounds of butter for "fifty cents per pound" and 600 pounds of cheese "at high prices." All the crops were sold at good prices, too. As usual, Brake had difficulty keeping reliable employees at the ranch.

[241]

Brake was not only a historian but a collector of New Mexican folklore. One of his experiences deserves repeating. Brake could not find a dependable herder for the swine at the ranch and finally hired "a superannuated priest" for the job. "The loss was as bad as before," according to Brake, because the hogs "strayed away while he prayed." So the old priest was dismissed. Brake later was told that the old padre "became so thin . . . that he either vanished or the wolves ate him." When Brake suggested that the man may have died, "the Mexicans shook their heads. An old physician who had just offered me his practice for forty dollars, said: 'They don't die in this healthy climate, unless they get killed. Otherwise, they just dry up and vanish.'" [242]

After the wheat crop was harvested with "sickles," threshed by "some Mexicans" who drove horses around a circle where the wheat was placed, and winnowed through "a sieve [made] of rawhide," Brake sent it to mills for grinding into flour. Brake lost 25 bushels "of this expensive grain" by entrusting a former commissary sergeant from the fort to deliver it to a mill. The man "got drunk and peddled it all out, and spent the money for whisky." The hay and sauerkraut were sold at Fort Union, and the cauliflowers were sent to Santa Fe. In all, it was a more profitable year for the Brake family than the previous one. [243]

In the autumn of 1860, according to Brake, there was fear of an Indian uprising in the area. "Pickets were stationed around Fort Union," he recalled, "and the outside *rancheros* were cautioned to be constantly on the alert." They were to report any information about Indians to the fort. Brake stated that he made several trips "over the lonesome road to the post." One night while returning home, he was "followed by a gang of Indians or disguised Mexicans." He was riding a horse or mule and they were on foot. They were near him before he saw them, and "as they began to throw stones at me, I fired four shots at them, and galloped homeward." He never told his wife about it, "and in a few days the alarm died away without harm to anyone." [244]

Early in 1861, with rumors of an impending civil war, Brake resigned his position with Alexander and moved his family to the new State of Kansas, settling at Council Grove. He had been in New Mexico exactly two years when he left. The Brakes spent one night at Fort Union, enduring a terrible windstorm, before they left New Mexico. [245] During the time that the colorful Brake was associated with the post sutler and produced commodities for the post, several changes had taken place at Fort Union.

Lieutenant DuBois remained at Fort Union until June 1859, during which time he continued to confide to his journal what was happening. In February "rumors came . . . that eight men had been killed on the Arkansas by the Comanche indians & 1000 sheep stolen by them." Since it was at least third-hand information, "there is no certainty even in this story." The Comanches were expected to cause trouble because they were "irritated by the defeat they experienced from troops under Major Van Dorn - in which they lost from fifty to one hundred men & the troops several including my class mate & friend Van Camp." [246] Because of the rumors about the Comanches, there was concern when the westbound mail was two days late. As it turned out, the mail "had been detained by bad weather & snow." DuBois was disappointed that "it brought no news - no letters from home." [247]

A few weeks later, DuBois again complained of "a perfect dearth of news." He then proceeded to record all kinds of news, including possible military conflict with Mexico over the boundary dispute, the expected admission of Oregon as a state, the interest of France and Britain in Mexico's economy, and letters from a friend who was in Paris and from his family at home. DuBois was upset to learn that another West Point classmate, Second Lieutenant Henry M. Lazelle, Eighth Infantry, had been seriously wounded ("shot through the lungs") in

a recent fight with Mescalero Apaches in Dog Canon in the Sacramento Mountains far to the south of Fort Union. [248]

Lazelle, stationed at Fort Stanton, New Mexico Territory, had been in command of 20 mounted riflemen at the time of the engagement. His wounds were so severe that "doubts are expressed of his recovery." Three of his command were killed in the losing fight and six were wounded, including Lazelle. "There is much indignation in the regiment," DuBois testified, "at an infantry officer having been sent in command while the Rifle officer remained at the post." He was happy to report a few days later that "Lazelle has recovered. . . . I am rejoiced to hear it." The thought of having "two classmates killed in one year is enough blood for us to offer in these insignificant indian wars." [249]

During late March and early April 1859, DuBois was gone from Fort Union for twelve days. He and Lieutenant Claflin were sent with a small contingent of troops to Galisteo to bring back some horses belonging to the mounted riflemen. He and Claflin spent four days in Santa Fe "to enter into the gayities of the Capitol," but DuBois was sick the entire time. He recovered when it was time to start back to the post, and "our return was pleasant." At Fort Union DuBois had a letter from "Ed Reed - written more than a year ago." That was an unusually long delivery time for the mail, even in New Mexico, but the letter "had been to Mexico - Chihuahua & ever where." He was happy to receive it and "answered immediately." After spending several months in garrison, DuBois was "waiting now anxiously to learn if we are to make an expedition this summer." [250] He took the field in June as part of Major Simonson's escort to a survey party laying out a new road west of Abiquiu.

Meanwhile life at Fort Union remained monotonous. "Change is stamped on all things," DuBois wrote in May 1859, "except Fort Union." He informed his mother that "there is a perfect dearth of news. . . . No war. No trains going in to or away from the states. No news from Europe or America . . . and no news at my own post." He did comment on the weather: "All the past month we have enjoyed wet & cold weather. Snow fell yesterday accompanied by rain & wind." Like his comrades, DuBois always welcomed letters from home. "Write as often as you can," he told his mother, "I am always anxious as each mail arrives & disappointed when I receive no letter." [251]

The "perfect quiet" was interrupted for a few days with the gathering at the post of officers from throughout the department who were going to the states. Some were promoted and heading for new assignments, some were sick or injured, some were going to get married, and others were just taking a leave of absence. DuBois was especially pleased to see Second Lieutenant William Woods Averell, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen and another of DuBois's classmates at West Point, who "was walking on two sticks" because of a broken leg he received during the "Navajo War." While awaiting his departure to the states, Averell "made his home in my room & being nearly helpless has occupied all my time and attention." DuBois avowed "it was a luxury to talk over old times with Averell." [252]

Averell told DuBois about their mutual friend, Lieutenant Orren Chapman, First Dragoons, who had died of illness at Albuquerque early in 1859. In his memoirs, Averell described Chapman as "an extraordinary man in his irrepressible spirits and power to entertain. He seemed never to admit a serious view of life." The following story about Chapman was recorded by both Averell and DuBois (who heard it from Averell). While Chapman was "at Albuquerque on his way to the states to die," he became so weak that he realized he would not leave New Mexico alive. He sent for Captain Daniel Henry Rucker, quartermaster, and asked him if he would paint a sign and put it up over the door of Chapman's room. Rucker agreed to do it and asked what kind of sign Chapman wanted. The sick man replied, "dying done here by O. Chapman." Then, his sense of humor still intact, Chapman added, "Many die & leave no sign." Chapman died January 6, 1859. When the officers heading for the states

left Fort Union, DuBois confided, "now Averell has gone I feel very lonely." [253]

Among those going to the states was Colonel Loring, which left Major Simonson in command of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Simonson was planning to come to Fort Union, organize an escort for the survey party, and lead that escort during the summer of 1859. DuBois was critical of the government's Indian policy in New Mexico, believing it was based on "blunders." "For years the government have been furnishing the indians with rifles," he wrote, "they now have learned to use them. . . . we all expect an uprising." [254]

While waiting for Major Simonson to arrive at Fort Union, DuBois noted that the paymaster visited Fort Union on May 14 and paid the troops. He made no mention of any celebrating afterward. He sent his father $500 with instructions to "set it at work if you can or use it if you want it." He commented about one development in the social life of the post. "The non-com officers of the command gave concert last week," he observed; "it was not a success in itself but certainly was a move in the right direction." [255]

A few days later DuBois was sent to Santa Fe to turn into headquarters the map of the Navajo country on which he had been working for several months and to accompany Major Simonson to Fort Union. DuBois enjoyed the chance to visit Santa Fe. Regarding Simonson, he wrote that he was "detained two days to get the old man sober." While they were on the road to Fort Union, "Major S told me I would go with the command this summer." DuBois was pleased to leave garrison life for field duty early in June. He did not return to Fort Union in the fall but went to Fort Defiance. He was at Fort Union briefly in December 1860, on his way to garrison duty at Fort Bliss. [256]

Major Simonson returned to Fort Union on October 23, 1859, and commanded the post until August 15, 1860. The mounted riflemen continued to man Fort Union until May 1861, when the Civil War had begun in the East and would soon be known about in New Mexico. They were assisted occasionally by a few infantrymen who were temporarily at the post. During 1860 and the first four months of 1861 the garrison averaged 273. In addition to Major Simonson, commanding officers during that time included Major Charles F. Ruff, Lieutenant Colonel George B. Crittenden, and Captain Thomas Duncan, all Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Dr. Robert Bartholomew joined the garrison as post surgeon in September 1859. At the same time, a new post chaplain and schoolmaster, Samuel B. McPheeters, arrived to replace Chaplain Stoddert who had resigned the previous year. [257]

Among the officers who arrived from the East in August 1859 was Lieutenant Dabney Herndon Maury, regimental adjutant of the mounted riflemen. He was a native of Virginia and would join the Confederate army during the Civil War. Lieutenant Maury had been in charge of moving approximately 500 cavalry horses from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union in the summer of 1859, with the help of 200 cavalry recruits and "a fine set of young officers not long from West Point." Maury's family and slaves and the wives and children of several officers serving in New Mexico accompanied the expedition. The officers' families traveled in carriages and the camp equipage, supplies, and soldiers' effects were carried in wagons. [258]

The line of march was carefully organized for the comfort and safety of the party. A herd of beef cattle and a few milch cows were sent ahead of the main column early each morning, accompanied by a small escort. When the column took the trail, led by an advance guard, the order of travel was the carriages for the officers' families, the mounted riflemen who were not on guard duty or accompanying the horse herd, the herd of horses, and the rear guard. Maury explained how the remount horses were driven across the plains by the troops under his command:

> The horses which were not under saddle were driven out in strings, each string being made up of thirty animals and placed in charge of its own squad of men. The picket rope of the string was secured to one end of the wagon, in which was hauled the tent of the squad, with their clothing and rations, etc. A pair of heavy, steady wheel horses were hitched to the wagon and driven by the teamster. Then came the led horses in spans, each secured by a short halter to the picket rope. The string was led off by a pair of steady leaders, hitched by a swingletree to the end of the picket rope, the whole thus presenting a team of about twelve or fifteen pairs of horses. The management of this team required no little skill on the part of the drivers and outriders of the squad. In the party there were a dozen or more of these strings, and they made the Indians' mouths water, I suspect, but they never got a horse. [259]

Maury maintained "extraordinary vigilance" because of the possibility of Indian raids aimed particularly at the horse herd and the cattle. Except for the theft of some of the personal property of the escort with the cattle herd, the Indians caused no problems for Maury's command. The only loss of life occurred during a buffalo hunt when one of the soldiers accidentally shot and killed a Sergeant Bowman in the excitement of the chase. The remainder of the march was routine, and Maury recorded "we reached Fort Union in good time and with all of our horses in fine condition." [260]

Maury said little about conditions at Fort Union, except that there was "very little to occupy us beside the usual routine of a frontier cavalry post, which allowed us plenty of leisure for hunting and wolf chasing." He recalled that "game was so plentiful then on the western frontier that there were few days in which we could not have good sport." Like many officers, Maury liked to hunt and had a fine hunting dog, a setter named Toots. He also enjoyed telling hunting stories. One of the young officers at Fort Union, Second Lieutenant William Hicks Jackson, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was the subject of one of these exploits. During the campaign against the Comanches in 1859, when "all hunting and shooting was strictly forbidden," a grizzly bear "crossed the route of the column." Lieutenant Jackson, "armed only with his sabre," rode his horse out to meet the grizzly. Jackson's horse was blind in one eye and, by keeping the bear on the horse's blind side, the officer was able to get close enough to use his weapon. When the grizzly stood up on his hind legs to fight, "Jackson cleft his skull with his sword." Maury concluded that "it is doubtful if such an exploit was ever elsewhere attempted or accomplished." [261]

One of Maury's hunting companions at Fort Union was Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot. Shoemaker kept greyhounds and had an outstanding pack leader in a greyhound named Possum. Maury described Possum as "the longest and tallest dog I have ever seen, and of great fleetness and power." Possum "always led the pack of ten greyhounds, which I was enabled to make up and keep in the Commissary's corral, under charge of Corporal Thomson, a bright young Virginian and an ardent hunter." Maury, Shoemaker, and others took the greyhounds out three times a week to hunt wolves, coyotes, and antelope. The wolves and coyotes usually headed toward the Turkey Mountains, where the timber provided them with safe cover, but the greyhounds often caught them on the prairie between the post and the mountains. [262]

The greyhounds hunted as a team. Possum, as leader of the pack, "would thrust his long snout between the wolf's hind legs as he closed on him, and toss him over his back, where he would hold him until the rest of the pack came up, when he was soon killed." Possum caught antelope the same way. Once Maury's dog Toots chased an antelope out of Wolf Creek valley near the fort, with Maury close behind, into the view of the pack of greyhounds out on the prairie. The "bewildered" antelope stopped and Toots grabbed a hind leg and hung tight. Maury dismounted, grabbed the antelope by a horn, and killed him with a knife before the

greyhounds reached the scene. [263]

According to Maury, "Toots was a wonderful dog, occasionally too zealous, as when one day he killed a polecat in our kitchen." The Maury family was forced to vacate their quarters at Fort Union for a week, during which time they moved in with their "good friends," Post Surgeon Elisha J. Bailey and his wife. Toots learned his lesson from that incident. Later, after Possum and the greyhounds ran a wolf four miles before the wolf escaped into the Turkey Mountains and the hunters were returning to the post, Toots saw another skunk. Maury claimed his dog came "running in towards us, his ears thrown back in alarm," escaping from "a polecat, with tail erect, ready for action." The greyhounds, however, "had yet to be initiated into the mysteries of that animal" and attacked and "rent him asunder." There followed what Maury called "the high jinks; such tumbling and whining and rubbing of noses and general gymnastics no ten dogs ever set up at the same time." Maury and Corporal Thomson "nearly rolled off our horses with laughter, and Toots sat off beyond polecat range, laughing as if he would split his sides. Evidently, he enjoyed the joke more than any of us." [264]

Lieutenant Maury served at Fort Union until the spring of 1860. While he was there, he recalled years later, "we heard the news of John Brown's capture of Harper's Ferry." Then, for several weeks, "the Indians cut off mail communication" and troops in New Mexico could only wonder what was happening in the East. A system of escorts between Fort Union and the new Camp on Pawnee Fork (also called Camp Alert and then named Fort Larned) in Kansas Territory eventually reopened the mail route. The first mail, wrote Maury, "brought me a letter from Lieutenant Jeb Stuart, congratulating me upon my promotion to a captaincy in the Adjutant-General's department, with orders to repair to Santa Fe." Maury's rank of brevet captain was dated April 17, 1860. The Maurys moved to Santa Fe and remained there until the outbreak of the Civil War when he resigned (effective June 25, 1861) and joined the Confederate army, in which he served as a major general. On his way back to the East in May 1861, Maury and his family went to Fort Union where a wagon train was made up to cross the plains. There, he remembered, several officers who were his friends but were loyal to the Union, treated him and his family with "every consideration and respect." Some wished him well, one gave him a horse, and a trader at the post offered cash. Maury fondly remembered his sojourn in New Mexico and life at Fort Union, 1859-1860. [265]

During 1860 Lieutenant William B. Lane and his family returned to Fort Union. William and Lydia had spent several months in the East on leave and traveled the Santa Fe Trail to Fort Union. They now had two daughters, Mary (age 5) and Susan (age 1). This was Lydia's third trip across the plains, and she enjoyed it. They accompanied several other families on the way to Fort Union, including Captain Andrew Jackson (Jack) Lindsay and wife, Dr. Bartholomew and family, and Chaplain McPheeters and family. [266]

This time Lydia Lane provided a brief description of their quarters and life at the post. "The quarters assigned to us," she recalled, ". . . were built of logs, and old, but cosey and homelike." It would be interesting to know if the Lanes occupied the same quarters where Maury's dog Toots encounted the polecat. Like most other officer families, the Lanes had servants (two black women who may have been slaves). "With our good cook and nurse, we enjoyed housekeeping after our weeks and weeks of travel." The cook must have been a testy woman. Lydia remembered, "by discreetly keeping away from the kitchen and giving as few orders as possible to the cook, the peace of the household was undisturbed. When obliged to speak to her, I made known my wants in a meek voice and beat a hasty retreat." [267]

Compared to some of the other posts where the Lanes had been stationed, Fort Union "was a large post, with many pleasant people." Lydia enjoyed the society of the officers and their families there but provided no details of their activities. Before the end of 1860, Lieutenant

Lane was transferred to Fort Craig, New Mexico, and his family moved with him. They spent Christmas day, 1860, as guests of Lieutenant and Mrs. Dabney Maury in Santa Fe [268] and arrived at Fort Craig on January 4, 1861. A few months after the Civil War began, Lydia and her daughters and servants, passed through Fort Union on their way East to escape from the war in the territory. While traveling on the Santa Fe Trail a fire burned through their camp and destroyed most of Lydia Lane's possessions. The Lanes returned to Fort Union after the Civil War. By that time things had changed thoroughly from what they were like during their brief stay in 1860. [269]

During the summer and fall of 1860, many of the troops stationed at Fort Union were in the field as part of a campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches, and some of the mounted riflemen from Fort Union were in the engagement with members of those tribes early in January 1861. Second Lieutenant DuBois participated in the campaign of 1860, during which he was at Fort Union briefly on several occasions. He became the acting regimental quartermaster after the campaign and was attached to Union. Early in 1861 DuBois observed that "the papers are all filled with secession." He understood what this meant, declaring "our glorious union will at last prove a failure because man must needs have a brother man for a slave." He was granted a six-month leave of absence in March and left Fort Union for the states on March 17, 1861. While traveling across the plains, DuBois learned that some southern states were "in open arms to resist what they call invasion." He predicted "this will be a long & bloody war. It will last five years at least & may not be a success." He feared many of the southern army officers would leave the Union and lead the rebel forces. His party traveled from Fort Union to Westport, Missouri, in twelve days. In three more days he was home in New York. Within two weeks his leave was canceled and DuBois was ordered to report at Washington for duty. [270] The outbreak of Civil War not only divided the Union, but it divided the troops, especially the officers, stationed at Fort Union and throughout the Department of New Mexico. No other event of the nineteenth century had such an important and far-reaching effect on the nation, the army, and Fort Union as did the tragic war, 1861-1865. Life at the post on Wolf Creek, after a decade of comparative solitude, soon underwent innumerable alterations. Many other changes, including the construction of two new complexes, took place at Fort Union during the Civil War.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER FIVE:

FORT UNION AND THE ARMY IN NEW MEXICO DURING THE CIVIL WAR

While the nation was splitting in two and the opening stages of what developed into the tragic Civil War were unfolding in the East, there was considerable discussion about the future of the Union among officers stationed at Fort Union and throughout the Department of New Mexico. Many of them faced and made the difficult decision of whether their primary obligation was to the nation or their home state. Those who chose the latter left the U.S. Army and departed from New Mexico. The beginning battles of the Civil War seemed far removed from the territory. For the troops at Fort Union and in the rest of the department, the primary concern, until Confederate troops invaded southern New Mexico in the summer of 1861, remained the protection of transportation routes and settlements from Indian raids. After the Confederate threat was repelled, the Indians were again the principal challenge.

As it became clear in the spring of 1861 that a war between the Union and the seceded states (soon to be known as the Confederate States of America) had begun, there were numerous rumors in New Mexico that Confederate Texans (Texas seceded in February 1861) were coming to capture the territory and Fort Union. This post was considered a prime target because of the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance depots, holding all kinds of supplies, weapons, and ammunition that were crucial for the Confederate volunteer troops. [1] There was also fear that Texans might attack the indispensable supply trains coming to Fort Union from Fort Leavenworth, and the commander at Union was directed to hold a mounted force in readiness for action on the Santa Fe Trail if that became necessary for the protection of the freighters. [2] Before long the rumors of a Texan invasion proved to be true, and attention of all troops at Fort Union was focused on defending the post from attack. Meanwhile, the composition of the troops in the department changed.

When the Civil War began in the East, many units of the regular army were transferred from their stations in the West and Southwest to the region of conflict. Shortly after armed conflict began, General-in-Chief Winfield Scott directed that all companies of the Fifth, Seventh, and Tenth U. S. Infantry stationed in New Mexico Territory and at other western forts be sent as soon as possible to Fort Leavenworth for reassignment. Colonel Canby persuaded the war department to leave most of those troops in New Mexico Territory to face the Confederate threat until volunteers had been enlisted and trained to replace them. [3] When the infantrymen departed, only four companies of dragoons and the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen would be left to represent the regular army in New Mexico. These were augmented by volunteers raised in the territory. Volunteer regiments were raised in each state and territory to help with the war effort and provide protection for transportation routes and settlements. Throughout the years of the protracted struggle, New Mexico volunteers (joined by volunteers from Colorado and California) provided much of the manpower for the army in the territory. These troops performed laudable service for the Union cause.

Very few people, in the East or in New Mexico, understood that New Mexico Territory might

be a key factor in the ultimate success or failure of the Confederate States of America. As it turned out, the Confederacy, without a good portion of the American West, could not establish a viable nation. It is impossible to know if the war for secession would have turned out differently had the Confederate States of America gained control of the territories of New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah and the State of California, perhaps even the northern provinces of Mexico, thereby creating a large, two-ocean country, but that conquest undoubtedly would have made a major difference. The key to the Southwest for the Confederates was New Mexico Territory.

Some Confederate leaders mistakenly assumed that the New Mexicans could easily be dissuaded from their attachment to the Union. Many inhabitants of southern New Mexico Territory, especially at Mesilla, and in the present state of Arizona were disaffected and easily won over to secession. But the bulk of New Mexicans (except for a few secessionist sympathizers), residing along the Rio Grande from Socorro north, held no fondness for Texas or Texans and many would join Union troops to resist an occupation force comprised primarily of volunteers from Texas. Confederate leaders failed to understand that New Mexico was tied to the Union by the small thread of Santa Fe Trail, and they apparently never appreciated how easy it would be to cut that thread and isolate New Mexico from its source of supplies and reinforcements. At the same time, most Union leaders had little if any understanding of the significance of western territories in the outcome of the conflict. Little was done to meet the needs of the Union troops in New Mexico until Confederate troops invaded the territory, and even then the efforts were negligible.

Despite the miscalculations made by both sides, the Confederate invaders of New Mexico, although initially successful, were eventually repulsed on the Santa Fe Trail not far from Santa Fe, and the ultimate fate of the Confederate States of America was sealed before the conflict was a year old. The troops at Fort Union, mostly volunteers from New Mexico and Colorado territories, were primarily responsible for the first significant defeat of Confederate troops in the department. Although the eventual outcome of the bloody carnage known as the Civil War was determined by what happened on eastern battlefields, the possibility for Confederate victory was improbable after the battle at Glorieta Pass and Johnson's Ranch on March 28, 1862. Prior to those battles, however, it appeared that New Mexico might, indeed, fall to the Confederacy.

Horace Greeley alleged that Secretary of War John B. Floyd, a southerner, assigned the command of the Department of New Mexico to Colonel William Wing Loring, a known secessionist, early in 1861 for the purpose of debasing the allegiance of the troops to the Union. Greeley concluded that Loring and Crittenden (colonel and lieutenant-colonel, respectively, of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen) intended to lead the troops into Texas and offer them "to the service and support of the Rebellion." [4] That may have been speculation on the part of Greeley. It is impossible to find evidence of such plans in the records of Colonel Loring's administration of the department. However, Loring, Crittenden, and other southern officers soon cast their lot with the Confederacy.

When it was learned in New Mexico Territory that secession had begun, most officers of southern nativity evaluated their loyalty. Within a few months, many elected to resign their commissions in the U.S. Army and offer their services to their native states or the incipient Confederacy. By law, officers in the army could resign their commissions. [5] Thus, for those who chose to do so, it was simply a matter of submitting a letter of resignation to the department commander, who forwarded it to the secretary of war for approval by the president. As soon as a letter of acceptance was returned, the officer was free from his obligations to the Union Army. Enlisted men, however, enjoyed no such privilege. They enlisted for a specified period of time and could not resign. An enlisted man who wished to leave the army and join a rebel force could do so only by desertion (a crime punishable by

law if the deserter were apprehended). Because of these regulations, a higher proportion of officers than enlisted men left the Union Army. [6] Mrs. Lane recalled that "very few soldiers left the army, while in New Mexico, to join the Southern Confederacy." [7]

At Fort Union, Second Lieutenant DuBois (a native of New York and solidly committed to the Union "whether wrong or right") recorded in his diary that "the soldiers are loyal. Most of the officers going south themselves." He observed that even the officers "going south," with the exception of Longstreet, "urge their soldiers to remain true." As for himself, DuBois wrote, "I became involved in several bitter political discussions here & threatened if an effort was made to seduce my regiment from its allegiance I would assume command myself & fight it out." There was pressure placed on all officers to join the southern cause. DuBois noted that "high positions were offered me" to join the "southern army." He "declined, although it is hard to fight as a 2d Lieutenant when I might have a much higher rank." The pressure continued on officers, and DuBois wrote a few days later that "tremendous efforts are being made to coax them South." He remained steadfast for the Union and departed from Fort Union on his long-awaited leave of absence on March 17, 1861. [8]

It was difficult for officers from southern states to resist the call to join the secessionist cause. Among those in New Mexico, most of whom had been at Fort Union at one time or another, who resigned their commissions for that purpose were Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy, Major Henry Hopkins Sibley, and Captain Richard Stoddert Ewell, First Dragoons; Lieutenant John Pegram and Second Lieutenant Benjamin F. Sloan, Second Dragoons; Colonel William Wing Loring, Lieutenant Colonel George B. Crittenden, Lieutenant Laurence Simmons Baker, and Second Lieutenants Henry C. McNeill and Joseph Wheeler, [9] Regiment of Mounted Riflemen; Lieutenant Lucius Loomis Rich and Second Lieutenants Robert Clinton Hill and Bryan Morel Thomas, Fifth Infantry; Captain Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox, Seventh Infantry; Lieutenants William Kearny and Henry Brooke Kelly, Tenth Infantry; Major James Longstreet, pay department; and Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury, assistant adjutant general. Several of those officers rose to high ranks in the Confederate service. Sibley, who was the commanding officer at Fort Union in May and June 1861, led the Texas volunteers up the Rio Grande valley the following year, a major objective of which was the capture of Fort Union for the Confederate States of America. McNeill was one of the officers in Sibley's Brigade.

There can be little doubt that the resignation of more than a dozen officers in the department had consequential psychological effects on the remaining officers and enlisted men. Some of those who switched sides had commanded for a number of years. A military leader with a reputation, who had earned the loyalty of those he commands, was difficult to replace. At the very least, the loss of these officers created disarray among officers and confusion among enlisted men. If new officers could be secured, they had to demonstrate their talent and earn the respect of fellow officers and enlisted personnel. Those effects were enhanced in New Mexico with the impending transfer of several companies out of the territory and the raising of volunteer troops to fill the void.

As Colonel Loring awaited a decision on his resignation, the command of the department was gradually changed. Colonel Ernest Richard Sprigg Canby, Nineteenth Infantry, who had recently led an expedition against the Navajos and was in command of Fort Defiance, was called to Santa Fe in June 1861 and placed in command of the northern portion of New Mexico Territory by Loring. [10] Loring then left department headquarters at Santa Fe and moved south to Fort Fillmore to await the decision of President Abraham Lincoln on his application for resignation. Canby was confirmed as department commander with the departure of Loring. It has been claimed that Canby and Sibley, leaders of the opposing forces in New Mexico, were related by marriage, but there appears to be no verification of this. [11]

Upon assuming command of the department, Canby was especially concerned about the "disabled condition of the mounted companies from the want of horses, and of the Quartermaster's Department from the want of draught animals." He noted that the previous two years of drought in New Mexico resulted in "great scarcity, almost famine." A combination of "the scarcity of water, grass, and forage, and constant hard service," he reported, "have destroyed a large proportion of the animals in the service." The same factors had also reduced the supply of horses in the private sector of the territory. He requested "that the estimates heretofore made for remounts and for draught animals may be filled from the East." [12] Colonel Loring had requisitioned 400 remounts for the department in April. [13] The shortage of horses to mount troops in New Mexico, both regulars and volunteers, remained a problem throughout the era of the Civil War.

Before any volunteers were raised in New Mexico, it was imperative to have sufficient equipment for them. Since there was not time to request and transport ordnance and other supplies from the East during the first months of the Civil War, the volunteers had to be equipped from what was available at the depots at Fort Union and Albuquerque. Canby asked Captain Shoemaker, military storekeeper at the ordnance depot at Fort Union, how many volunteers he could arm. Shoemaker responded that he could outfit two regiments of volunteer infantry, although some of the equipment would be used and of an outdated style. [14] Shoemaker was directed to ship arms and ammunition to Albuquerque and Forts Craig and Stanton, where some of the volunteers were to be mustered into service and outfitted. Canby directed that the First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteer Infantry was to be inducted as follows: four companies at Fort Union, four at Albuquerque, two at Fort Craig, and two at Fort Stanton. [15] The qualifications for volunteers required that they be between 18 and 45 years of age. According to war department regulations, "all officers and men must be sound and active, free from all malformation, defects of sight, hearing, ulcers, piles, rupture, fracture, dislocation, and disease of any kind." Interestingly, however, "the lack of, or defect in, the left eye, or slight injury of the left hand, will not reject the man." Furthermore, "foreigners and stammerers must not be received, unless they can understand and speak rapidly." [16]

The Hispanic men of New Mexico were not foreigners, but many of them could not speak or understand the English language. This created innumerable problems for the troops and, especially, the commanding officers in the department. Many orders and communications had to be translated into Spanish, and English-speaking officers had to utilize translators when directing Hispanic troops. It became necessary for the department commander to direct that "whenever troops speaking different languages are thrown together, all details will be made so that those speaking the same language may serve together." In addition, whenever possible, privates were to serve under non-commissioned officers who spoke their language. [17]



E. R. S. Canby, U. S. Signal Corps Photo, *courtesy* National Archives.

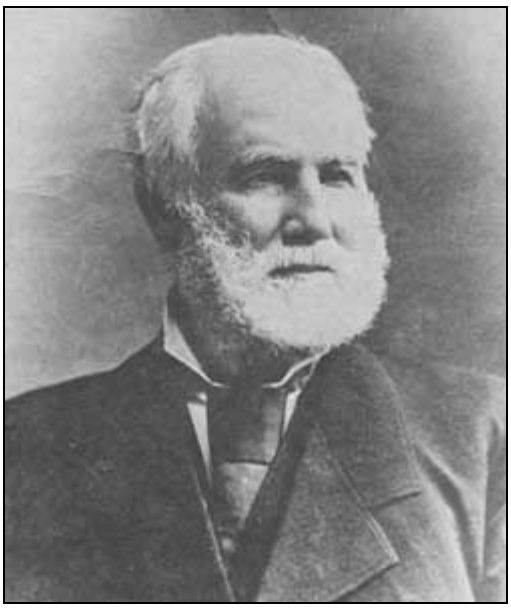
The language barrier was the most obvious division between Anglos and Hispanos, but there were deep-seated prejudices on both sides. New Mexicans saw the Anglos as conquerors who had captured their land and

were in the process of destroying their culture. Many Anglos considered all New Mexicans to be inferior and not good material for soldiers. The situation was further complicated by a superiority complex of professional officers and regular troops in their views of volunteers. Many of the New Mexican volunteers did seem to be inadequate as soldiers because of the language barrier, lack of military experience, and, for some, an inordinate fear of Texans. They possessed many strengths, however, that were seldom utilized because of Anglo prejudices: understanding of the environment (routes of travel, locations of springs, and utilization of native plants) and the Indians, experiences of endurance in the face of obstacles, and courage in the midst of battle (especially against Indians). Many New Mexicans performed admirably in the service of the U.S., but most Anglo officers did not give them proper credit because of their preconceptions about "Mexicans" and volunteers. [18]

Each community of sufficient population in the territory was encouraged to raise a company for the volunteer service. The primary reason New Mexicans joined the army was for the pay ($13.00 per month) and a bounty of $100 for those who signed up for three years. One immediate problem in New Mexico, peculiar to society there, was how to deal with peons who enlisted in the volunteers. The owners insisted that their property be returned, while some of the peons saw military service as a way to freedom. Colonel Canby did not endear the army to the wealthy class of New Mexico when he ruled that peons who enlisted in the volunteers were not to be released for that reason except by writ of habeas corpus from the U.S. courts in the territory. The local courts were not permitted any jurisdiction in these cases. [19] A month later Canby suspended the writ of habeas corpus throughout the department. [20] The writ of habeas corpus was also suspended throughout the Union by order of President Lincoln. The suspension continued in New Mexico Territory until July 4, 1865, when General James H. Carleton, restored the writ for the civil courts. Because of the frustrations of legal problems arising from the enlistment of peons, recruiting officers in New Mexico were directed in September 1863 to enroll any peon "without the consent of his master." [21]

The enlistment of volunteers proceeded quickly in New Mexico, although some companies had difficulty filling their quotas. The colonel of the First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, Ceran St. Vrain, was assigned to Fort Union, where the volunteers would be trained. A second regiment of volunteer infantry was also authorized in the territory, and a battalion (four companies) of mounted volunteers was raised. As soon as the volunteers were enlisted and equipped, Major William Chapman, Fort Union commander, was directed to establish a camp of instruction near the post, where the volunteers would receive their basic training. [22]

The camp of instruction for volunteers, soon to be named Camp Chapman after the commanding officer at Fort Union and later known as Camp Cameron (to honor Secretary of War Simon Cameron), was established in July 1861 under the command of Captain Francisco S. Abreu, senior officer of the volunteers present. The camp was set up like a separate command, although everyone there was under the jurisdiction of the commander of Fort Union, with its own adjutant, sergeant major, guards, and details. The volunteers were housed in tents. They were ordered to excavate a sink or latrine for the use of the camp, "which will be surrounded by brush to screen it from view." The camp was to be "thoroughly policed" (kept clean and orderly) immediately after reveille each day. Each morning one captain or lieutenant was designated to serve as officer of the day and one second lieutenant was assigned as officer of the guard. For guard duty, three sergeants, seven corporals, and fifty-nine privates were detailed each day. One of those privates was selected to serve as orderly to the camp commander. A special picket guard, comprised of one sergeant, one corporal, and three privates was stationed each day "near the Spring to prevent any improper use of the water, such as washing or bathing in the Spring or the irrigating pond adjacent to it and to protect the public gardens from depredation." [23]



William Chapman, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

At the camp of instruction the volunteers were drilled daily, beginning at 5:00 a.m. with the school of the soldier. The volunteers, except those on guard duty, were required to attend drill each day from 5:00 to 6:30 a.m., 10:00 to 11:30 a.m., and 4:30 to 6:00 p.m. They were to learn about following orders, discipline, how to march, care and use of their weapons, inspection, and everything else required to turn them from civilians into soldiers. During the remainder of the day they were to perform their other duties. Major Gabriel R. Paul, Eighth Infantry, was appointed inspector general and charged with the duty of superintending the instruction and discipline of the volunteers at the camp. At the request of Major Paul, Second Lieutenant Peter McGrath, Third Cavalry, was assigned to the camp to assist with the training of the mounted volunteers. [24] At the end of July 1861 there were six companies of New Mexico "foot volunteers" and one company of "mounted volunteers" at Fort Union. [25] More volunteers arrived as the companies were filled with recruits.

Additional rules were laid down for the volunteers at Fort Union to keep close watch over "arms, accoutrements and ammunition" issued to them and to prevent them from leaving the post without permission. To assure that the ordnance equipment and supplies were not being disposed of by the volunteers and that their weapons "are at all times in proper order for immediate service, a thorough inspection of them will be made every day at Retreat and at 8 o'clock A.M. on Sundays." No volunteer was permitted to be absent from the post for longer than "six hours without a written pass naming the Company & Regiment to which he belongs, Signed by the Capt. or Company Commander, Countersigned by the Comdg Officer of the Camp, and approved by the Comdg. Officer of Fort Union." [26] These rules were founded on the premise that the volunteers might trade items of issue for food, whiskey, or prostitutes, and that they might desert if permitted to absent themselves from the post without close supervision. Any volunteer who lost or damaged any item issued to him was to be charged for that article on payday. [27] The trading firm of Spiegelberg and Brothers at Santa Fe was designated as the sutler for the New Mexico Volunteers, providing the same commodities to these troops in camp and in the field as the post sutler provided for the garrison. [28]

While volunteer troops were being raised to protect New Mexico Territory from Indians and Confederates, the need for such protection was made clear by the theft of the army's beef cattle herd being pastured near Galisteo on June 4, 1861. Lieutenant Claflin and 25 mounted troops were sent from Fort Union to attempt to recover the lost stock, believed to have been run off by Indians. Claflin investigated and concluded that the cattle were stolen by a band of thieves headed by a Mr. Taylor from the Galisteo area, who took the cattle and blamed the Indians, causing trouble for everyone. Claflin was convinced that reports of "Indian depredations" had been "proved to be totally false." As far as he was concerned, "the Indians who infest the valleys of the Gallinas & Pecos are white men and Mexicans." [29] Regardless of who the perpetrators were, the need for military protection was evident and more troops were required to protect government property and settlers. At least one company

of dragoons, detached from the garrison at Fort Union, was kept posted at Hatch's Ranch to protect that area and scout south and east for Indians and Texans who might threaten the settlements. The troops at Hatch's Ranch were directed, if "threatened by a superior force" to retreat to Fort Union rather than fight. [30]

There was also need to protect the Santa Fe Trail, the vital line of communications and supply from the East. Major Chapman, commanding at Fort Union, was directed by Colonel Canby to send, as soon as the volunteers were equipped for service, at least 100 mounted troops and two companies of volunteer infantry under command of Captain Duncan to protect the trail between Fort Union and the crossing of the Arkansas River in Kansas. They were to travel in wagons and take rations for 30 days. A party of ten spies and guides were to accompany the troops. This force was to make certain that the mails and supply trains were not interrupted by Indian or Texan raiders. Because it was feared that the Cimarron Route of the Santa Fe Trail would be less safe than the Mountain Route, the commander at Fort Larned was requested to advise all wagon trains passing his post to follow the Raton Route, which Captain Duncan's command would protect. [31] Many freighters chose to use the Cimarron Route, despite the warnings, because it was shorter and easier to travel with large wagons. [32] The leaders of many supply caravans assumed there was safety in numbers of well-armed teamsters and took their chances on the more threatened course.

With the organization of the first two companies of New Mexican Volunteers at Fort Union, comprised of Company A raised at Mora and under command of Captain Jose Maria Valdez and Company B raised at Las Vegas and under command of Captain Arthur Morrison (a total of 180 officers and men), Major Chapman promised to send them with Captain Duncan to protect the route of travel as soon as possible. [33] On July 7, Captain Duncan led three officers and 102 mounted riflemen and six officers and 174 New Mexican volunteers, plus nine spies and guides, from Fort Union to protect the Mountain Route as far as Fort Wise, Colorado Territory. [34] It was an impressive force but may not have been necessary. Additional protection was provided along the Santa Fe Trail later in the summer when a number of troops being transferred from the Department of New Mexico assembled at Fort Union to march to Fort Leavenworth "in columns of sufficient strength to defend themselves." They were well supplied with ammunition in case of an encounter with hostile forces. [35] Their presence on the trail would help deter any would-be attackers on the supply wagons.

The feared threats to the supply trains did not materialize in 1861, and the crucial supply route to troops in New Mexico remained open throughout the early months of the Civil War. The military contract supply trains, at least five of which came over the Cimarron Route, began arriving at Fort Union on July 18. Because these wagon trains had experienced no hostility from Indians or Texans along the way and reported that additional trains were behind them on the Cimarron Route, Major Chapman sent an express rider to direct Captain Duncan, who had gone on the Mountain Route, "to return with his command to this post." They arrived back at Fort Union on July 30, and Duncan reported that "nothing unusual was seen or heard on this trip." [36] Perhaps this early return of Duncan's large command was also in response to renewed concerns about a possible Texan invasion of the territory.

By July constant rumors reached Fort Union that Texan forces were on the way to capture the territory and the post. Some of the Comancheros reported that they had seen the Texans headed toward New Mexican settlements. At the same time, the New Mexican and Pueblo spies sent from Fort Union to watch over the routes from the Arkansas River and the road from Fort Smith reported that they had found no signs of Texans or Indians along those trails. Still the rumors of imminent invasion continued. Many of the reports claimed the Texans were coming up the Pecos Valley and their main objective was Fort Union. For example, an Apache Indian reportedly told a civilian guide at Fort Craig, who informed the commanding

officer at that post, who in turn sent the details to Colonel Canby at Santa Fe, that a "large body of Texans" was traveling up the Pecos Valley to capture Fort Union. According to the Indian, the Texans "encampment and stock covered near three miles of ground," and "they had Artillery with them." Captain Robert M. Morris, commanding at Fort Craig, believed this report might be true. Canby forwarded the information to the commanders at Hatch's Ranch and Fort Union, stating he did not consider it "reliable." [37] It was not "reliable." Additional spies were employed by Lieutenant Enos at Fort Union, both New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians who were disguised as Comancheros, to keep watch over all possible avenues of invasion, and they continued to report no Texans sighted. Lieutenant Ebenezer Gay, in command at Hatch's Ranch, informed Major Chapman on July 28, "as far as can be ascertained there are no Texans enroute for Fort Union." Still the rumors persisted. [38]

The reports of a Texas invasion continued to reach Fort Union. In preparation for a possible attack on the post, Major Chapman determined that more training was needed in the firing of artillery pieces, pieces that might be the key to a successful defense. He ordered that all men not attending to other assigned duties were to participate in artillery drill from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. each day except Sunday. The instructors for artillery drill were Second Lieutenant John F. Ritter, Fifth Infantry, and Second Lieutenant Robert W. Hall, Tenth Infantry. [39]

To further strengthen the garrison at Fort Union, the camp at Hatch's Ranch was abandoned and the company of Second Dragoons there returned to Union. [40] The defense of the post was critical because of the supplies stored there and the importance of keeping those stores out of the hands of the Confederates. The ordnance stores alone were valued at more than $270,000 (not including the cost of transportation to New Mexico). [41] Colonel Canby informed Major Chapman that Fort Union "must be held at all hazards." He also requested that Chapman report "what measures you have taken and what additional measures you consider necessary for the security of your post." [42]

Although there had been much debate just prior to the Civil War about relocating the quartermaster and commissary depot and subdepot in the department and the garrison and ordnance supply depot at Fort Union, Colonel Canby concluded soon after taking command of the department that Fort Union was the best position from which to supply the other posts in the department. He directed that Fort Union be designated the general depot for the distribution of all supplies shipped in via the Santa Fe Trail, except medical provisions which would be issued from Santa Fe, "to the several posts and commands in the Department." A subdepot was established at Albuquerque "to meet contingencies at posts west and south of that place, and to supply passing troops and trains." Any supplies procured in the territory were to be collected and distributed from the most convenient places. [43] This order made Fort Union, just as Sumner had originally planned in 1851, the major shipping point in New Mexico Territory, a position it held until the railroad arrived nearby in 1879. It also made the post the most important objective for Confederate forces hoping to capture the territory.

Confirmation of the Texas invasion of New Mexico came to Fort Union on August 4, 1861, when word arrived of the surrender of the garrison of Fort Fillmore by Major Isaac Lynde, Seventh Infantry, to the rebel forces commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, Second Texas Mounted Rifles, CSA. [44] Baylor had recruited volunteers from the towns and farms of central Texas and led them to Fort Bliss, which had been abandoned by U.S. troops when Texas seceded in February 1861. Colonel Canby was apprised of the possible invasion of his department from Fort Bliss and concentrated troops from several southern New Mexico posts (Forts McLane, Breckenridge, and Buchanan) at Fort Fillmore, under command of Major Lynde. He also requested additional volunteers from the governors of New Mexico and Colorado territories. He hoped to turn back the Texans before they could establish a foothold in New Mexico.

Baylor led approximately 500 Texans into New Mexico Territory on July 3, 1861, bypassed Fort Fillmore, and occupied the nearby town of Mesilla. Major Lynde, convinced that Fort Fillmore was indefensible against artillery because of its location, decided to destroy what supplies his troops could not carry away and abandon the post. On July 27, 1861, Lynde led his troops from Fort Fillmore and headed north to Fort Stanton. It was reported that the soldiers had filled their canteens with whiskey instead of water, and as they marched across the desert they became intoxicated and suffered greatly from want of water. As Lynde's troops approached San Augustin Springs, Baylor's Texas force arrived on the scene. Lynde surrendered his entire command (seven companies of Seventh Infantry and two companies of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen) plus Captain Alfred Gibbs and 70 troopers who were escorting a beef herd to Fort Fillmore and had met up with Lynde just prior to Baylor's approach. [45] These troops were paroled, which meant they could return to their homes but could not participate in military operations, and moved to a camp near Fort Union to await transportation to the States.

Lynde's surrender left the lower Rio Grande valley open to Confederate advance as far as Fort Craig at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto, approximately 30 miles south of Socorro. Canby directed that Fort Stanton be abandoned, and Major Benjamin S. Roberts, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen and commander at Stanton, led his command to Albuquerque. Other troops were concentrated at Fort Craig, making it the primary point for the defense of the settlements along Rio Grande valley to the north. Canby kept a large force at Fort Union to protect the route of supply and to meet any invasion of Texans from the east. Most of the troops in the department were stationed at Craig, Albuquerque, and Union. A small force remained at Fort Marcy at Santa Fe to protect the department headquarters. [46]

The news of the fall of Fort Fillmore and capture of Lynde's forces put Major Chapman into a panic operation at Fort Union. He considered the site of the post indefensible because of the nearby bluffs and immediately started construction of the second Fort Union, an earthwork located approximately one mile east of the original post. He explained everything to department headquarters.

> I will endeavor to enroll and arm all the reliable citizens in this neighborhood. I have taken no steps toward fortifying this post, as I found upon examining the ground on the bluff in rear of it, that I could not spare a sufficient force to defend any work I might erect there for its defense that would not be commanded by higher ground in the rear and on both flanks. An enemy once in possession of the bluff in rear, would render this post untenable and in attempting to defend it, I would lose all the ordnance stores, provisions &c. I have determined to cross to the East side of the creek out of range of field pieces & small arms and construct an entrenched camp with a bomb-proof Magazine and store houses sufficient to contain all the stores. It will be necessary in case of an attack by a superior force to burn this post lest the enemy should get possession of it. Capt. [Cuvier] Grover will have charge of the working party on the entrenched camp and it will be pushed forward day and night to completion. I will defend it at all hazards. The men off duty have been drilling at Artillery for several days and are progressing very well. . . . Lt. Enos sends tonight to Las Vegas for additional shovels to expedite our work.
>
> It will be necessary to have more tents as all the troops will have to encamp in the work. These Mexican volunteers are more afraid of the Texans, than they are of death, and in case of an attack by the latter, I cannot rely upon them. If I can use them in constructing the proper defenses and station them behind entrenchments they may render good service. [47]

The decision to build a new post, approved by Colonel Canby and the quartermaster general, may have been made in response to the Confederate threat, but it also was considered necessary because the first Fort Union so badly decayed. Only a few weeks earlier, Second Lieutenant Enos, quartermaster department, had filed his report of an inspection of the post. He found that the buildings were "with scarcely a single exception rotting down; the majority of them almost unfit for occupation and in fact, all of them in such a dilapidated state as to require continual and extensive repairs to keep them in an habitable condition." He found many troops living in tents because of "the lack of quarters." In addition, "the Hospital, Commissary and Quarter Master's Buildings are entirely unfit for the purposes for which they are required." [48] There was no doubt that new facilities were indispensable at Fort Union.

Captain Grover, Tenth Infantry, apparently was responsible for designing the earth work as well as overseeing its construction. He was assisted in superintending the work by Lieutenant William Joseph Leonard Nicodemus, Eleventh Infantry. Chapman's plans for the defense of Fort Union were "fully approved" by Colonel Canby. The new post was a square-bastioned fortification, surrounded by a ditch and earthen breastworks. On each side of the square were demilunes, housing quarters and storehouses, with earthen breast-works and a ditch on the outer sides. The square fortification, with a V-shaped demilune on each side, formed an octagon. Because the design had eight points, it was later called and is still often referred to as the "star fort." That name is incorrect for the design of the second Fort Union. At the time of its construction and use, it was known as the fieldwork.

Regarding Chapman's request for more tents, Canby informed him that no additional tents were available for the troops at Fort Union but observed that "very good temporary shelters can be made from the remains of the old fort." [49] Canby's remark seems to confirm the dilapidated condition and questionable habitability of the original structures at the post. Chapman apparently could not spare any men from the construction of the earthwork to work on temporary shelters.



Cuvier Grover, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Major Chapman reported that, on August 4, two men on "American horses" and believed to be Texas spies were seen near the post with spy glasses by a soldier encamped a few miles from Fort Union. The two men had also asked the soldier about the post, especially wanting to know how many companies were there. The next day the soldier led two officers from the post to the point where the "spies" had stood to observe. There they discovered tracks which they followed for several miles. Chapman had "no doubt they were Texan Spies" and assumed they were gathering information to plan an attack. He was confident, "if we have time to entrench the command we can defend ourselves against a much superior force." [50] In order to free as many troops as possible to work on the new post, Chapman sent Lieutenant Colonel Kit Carson and Captain Albert H. Pfeiffer, First New Mexico Volunteers, to Taos and Abiquiu to hire as many Utes and New Mexicans considered necessary to perform herding, scouting, and other duties at Fort Union. [51] Canby authorized the employment of Ute auxiliaries as soon as possible to harass any Texans they could find in the area. [52] On

August 7 Carson and Pfeiffer left Fort Union to attempt to hire 100 Utes for duty. Because the army would have to feed the families of the Ute warriors while they were employed, Chapman authorized the purchase of additional beef and flour to do so. [53] A week later Carson returned with 20 Utes, and more were expected as soon as they received their annuities. The post quartermaster at Fort Union was directed to provide a few cooking utensils for the Utes. [54]

On August 7 Chapman informed department headquarters that approximately 200 men were employed "every four hours day and night on the entrenchments." It was not clear how many different units of 200 worked each day nor how many soldiers total were engaged in construction. If each unit of 200 men worked two shifts in 24 hours, which seems likely, there would have been 600 at work. However many were assigned to the task, Chapman was pleased to report that the work was "progressing very well, and in a day or two more it will be sufficiently advanced for defense." [55]

Because most of the soldiers were occupied in construction, Chapman had established "mounted pickets out five or six miles from the post on the North, East and South, occupying prominent points for their lookouts, from which they can see a large extent of country." If an enemy force were sighted by these pickets, they could quickly warn the entire command and preparations for defense could be made. No Texans had been seen, except for the spies of a few days earlier. In fact, Chapman explained, he had received no information about an invading force from the spies that were operating along the Santa Fe Trail and the Canadian route to Fort Smith. Fort Union did not appear to be in immediate danger. [56]

As each day passed, Chapman expressed relief that there was no news of an advancing Texan force. This left his command free to pursue the construction of the earthwork. The round-the-clock efforts on the defensive entrenchments at the second Fort Union produced the desired results. On August 8 Chapman informed department headquarters that "our work is progressing well, and in a few days more will be in a state to be occupied by troops. It can be defended now." [57] Apparently this meant that the entrenchments and earthen mounds thrown up were defensible against an artillery attack, that artillery could be fired from within the earthwork, and that the troops could reside in tents within the walls. The construction of quarters and storehouses within the facility remained to be done. Those efforts could proceed at a more leisurely pace once the defensive framework was done.

The volunteers raised in New Mexico were required to furnish their own clothing. Many of them were unable to purchase sufficient clothing for their needs because they had no money and had not been paid for their service. As a corrective to the "destitute condition" of the volunteers, Colonel Canby directed that they be issued clothing as needed with the cost to be deducted from their first receipt of pay. Some of the immediate families of volunteers had followed their soldiers to their station, such as Fort Union, and were living at or near the post. Because it was difficult for these families to find food, Canby authorized the selling of rations to the immediate families of volunteers, the cost to be deducted from their pay. [58] Such action was considered necessary to prevent the desertion of volunteers and to help with the recruitment necessary to fill some of the volunteer companies. According to Major Chapman, the company captains of the New Mexico Volunteers were having a difficult time recruiting, noting they "have scoured the country thoroughly to fill their companies." [59]

Rumors of Confederate soldiers on the way to Fort Union continued. When word reached Canby on August 10 that Texans had reportedly been seen on the Canadian River near the Texas-New Mexico boundary, he sent a party of Pueblo spies to investigate and report. As soon as the men could be spared from duty at Fort Union, Chapman was ordered to send two companies of New Mexico Volunteers to Hatch's Ranch. If none could be spared, he was directed to send two companies of a new regiment of New Mexico Mounted Volunteers,

being raised to serve for only six months, as soon as they were available. The troops sent to Hatch's Ranch were to protect that area from Indians as well as any Texas invaders and keep scouting parties out along the Canadian and Pecos valleys to watch for any movements. These troops were to report to Major Chapman. They were to draw supplies from Fort Union. In anticipation of a possible military threat to Fort Union, Canby directed that the women and children at the post were to be sent to Mora or Las Vegas whenever their continued presence would interfere with operations and defense of the installation. If this became necessary, rations were to be provided for the women and children from the stores at Fort Union. [60] Colonel St. Vrain, who had a home and grist mill at Mora, reported a few days later that quarters for women and children could be had at Mora if needed. [61]

The demands on the commissary supplies at Fort Union were temporarily increased in late August when the officers and men who surrendered near Fort Fillmore arrived there. Captain Alfred Gibbs, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was in charge of these parolees. The temporary camp was under command of Captain Joseph Haydn Potter, Seventh Infantry. They remained at Fort Union until organized into a column for the march across the plains in September. [62] Major Chapman was instructed to establish a camp for the paroled troops near enough to Fort Union that they could be supplied from the storehouses but far enough away from the garrison to prevent interference with its duties. The camp was situated approximately one mile north of the site of the first Fort Union. [63]

On August 14, 1861, an agent called Mr. Perrin (first name unknown) of the war department assigned to assist with the raising of volunteers arrived at Fort Union on his way to Santa Fe. Chapman filled him in on what had been done at the post regarding recruitment and training of New Mexico volunteers. Perrin informed Chapman that a full supply of clothing and camp and garrison equipage for 200 volunteers had been sent from Fort Leavenworth for New Mexico on July 22. [64] These supplies would help outfit a portion the volunteers raised in the territory. That a shortage existed was pointed out by Major Chapman, who declared "there is not a tent at this post for issue to the Vols. or other troops who may arrive." [65] Colonel Canby replied that, until the supply wagons arrived, the troops at Fort Union would have "to bivouac under such temporary shelter as can be provided." To help, he ordered all the supplies, clothing, and camp equipage in the department to be sent immediately to Fort Union. [66] Fortunately for the Union troops in the department, the supply trains from Fort Leavenworth kept coming. At least five contract trains had arrived at Fort Union between July 18 and early August. On August 17 the first of seven more supply trains reached Fort Union, and the rest arrived during the next few weeks. At least two of the trains had followed the Cimarron Route, and it was believed the others might do the same. It was later learned, however, that the other trains had been diverted to the Mountain Route by the commander at Fort Larned. Some of those trains came over Raton Pass and others came via Fort Garland. Chapman held troops in readiness at Fort Union to march to the assistance of any of these trains if needed. [67]

In addition to keeping a close watch on the Santa Fe Trail, Chapman kept small parties of the New Mexico Mounted Volunteers out along the Canadian and Pecos rivers to watch for Texans and Indians. He found the volunteers to be as reliable as the spies that had been employed for that purpose. By August 15 these parties had seen "no body of Texans, Indians nor their trails." [68]

As the number of volunteer troops increased in the department, some of the regular army companies were transferred. On August 15 Colonel Canby ordered Major Chapman to send two companies of mounted riflemen from Fort Union to Fort Wise, Colorado Territory, where they were needed to help protect the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail. These could be spared because Chapman had four companies of New Mexico Volunteers (three foot and one mounted) "prepared for service on the plains for the protection of the trains as they approach

Fort Union." [69] Until volunteer troops at Fort Union were required in the field, Chapman determined that "the work . . . on the entrenchments will go on as usual." [70] Colonel St. Vrain was requested by Chapman to designate the four companies to be utilized to protect the supply trains, if that became necessary, and Lieutenant Colonel Carson was suggested by Chapman as the "appropriate" commander for those troops in the field. Because the fieldwork held highest priority, "the men however will continue to work in the trenches, until official notice is given of their march." [71]

Major Chapman became concerned about his position in relation to the officers of the New Mexico Volunteers. Colonel St. Vrain and Lieutenant Colonel Carson both outranked him, and Chapman worried that they might be given command of Fort Union or that he would be unable to give orders to them if necessary. He attempted to avoid giving them a direct order but simply requested or suggested what he wished they would do. It was not a good arrangement. He asked Colonel Canby for clarification of who was superior. Canby informed Chapman that the volunteers were not assigned to Fort Union for the purpose of commanding the post, but "in any combined operations the senior must command." Canby declared that "officers of the regular army will be assigned to duty according to their brevet rank which will remove to some extent the difficulties in the way of command." [72] Major Chapman was a brevet lieutenant colonel. [73] The issue of rank may have seemed trivial, but it was later to be an important factor in the defense of Fort Union and the defeat of Confederate forces in New Mexico.

The lookout for Texans in New Mexico continued. A few days after Fort Stanton was evacuated, a Union spy reported that the site had been occupied by about 200 Texans. Approximately 25 of those Texans, "with pack mules," were believed by the informant to be headed toward Fort Union. Major Chapman sent Captain Pfeiffer and the Utes who had been employed by Carson to investigate the report that some 25 Texans were coming from Fort Stanton and, if they found them, to "annoy this party." At the same time, a detachment of Company D, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, under command of Lieutenant Joseph Tilford, was sent from Fort Union "with pack mules in the direction of Fort Stanton with the view of cutting off a scouting party of Texans known to be in route from Fort Stanton in the direction of this post." [74] If the Texans really were there, Chapman hoped one of these parties would catch them.

Colonel Canby believed that the Texans reportedly moving north from Fort Stanton would more likely attempt to capture the supply trains coming from Fort Leavenworth than move against Fort Union. The supplies in the wagon trains, if they could be diverted to the Confederates, would help outfit more Texan soldiers, and many more Texans would be required to make a successful assault against the post. It was essential to provide protection for those supply trains and see that the commodities reached Fort Union. Major Chapman was directed by Canby to make every effort "to protect these trains but without reducing your command below what is necessary to place the defense of Fort Union upon a sure footing." This meant that the troops should be kept working on the earthwork until the spies reported evidence of a threat to the wagon trains. Canby enjoined Chapman to keep the "Utes and Spies and Guides . . . out in all directions and every means used to harass and retard their approach." [75] Chapman reported on August 19 that he had "heard nothing more of the Texans." The next day he notified Canby that one of the scouting parties, which had been down the Pecos Valley and within 65 miles of Fort Stanton, returned to Fort Union with good news. "They saw no Texans, nor trails of them or any body of men and everything was quiet on their route." [76]

With no report of an immediate Confederate threat, work continued around the clock on the entrenchments at the second Fort Union. Until the trenches and earth walls were completed, little else was done at the post. Chapman reported to Canby on August 17 that work on new

storehouses for the quartermaster and commissary supply depots would begin as soon as it was no longer "necessary to employ the whole force of the Command on the defenses of the Post." He suggested to the department commander that the fieldwork was "well suited for an Ordnance Depot" and recommended rebuilding that facility there, "where temporary storehouses might be commenced at once." [77] Everything seemed to be going well at the fieldwork except for a shortage of wagons at the post, which according to Chapman, "will necessarily retard our work to a considerable extent." [78] Every day that passed without word of a Confederate advance permitted the construction work to proceed.

Captain Pfeiffer and the Ute scouts returned to Fort Union on August 21, after conducting a thorough search south and east of Hatch's Ranch for the Texans reportedly moving north from Fort Stanton. They "saw no signs whatever of them." Major Chapman hoped to keep the Utes in the field, protecting the wagon road between Anton Chico and Albuquerque, but the Utes decided to go home and refused to go on another expedition. Carson tried to persuade them to stay but the Utes declined, stating that sickness in the chief's family required them to return home. Three parties of New Mexican spies were sent to keep watch along the Canadian and Pecos rivers and the country south of the road between Anton Chico and Albuquerque. Although there appeared to be no Texan threat in the vicinity or along the Santa Fe Trail, as a precautionary measure Lieutenant Colonel Carson left Fort Union with four companies of New Mexico Volunteers on August 23 to provide "protection of Government trains on the Cimarron route." [79] Perhaps these troops could be spared because the entrenchments at the fieldwork were nearing completion.

On August 26, 1861, Major Chapman notified Colonel Canby that the earthwork, begun just over three weeks before, "is now ready for occupation, but some parts of it require dressing off." Apparently none of the quarters or storehouses in the fieldwork were completed, but the artillery could be placed inside the walls and the troops could reside in tents inside the enclosure in the event of an attack. Chapman reported that a supply train arrived on August 30 and unloaded at the fieldwork, indicating that some sort of cover (perhaps only tents) was available to protect the commissary provisions in that train. [80] As a defensive position, the new fieldwork appeared secure. Work on the other structures could proceed at a more leisurely pace, without working 24 hours per day. Chapman praised Captain Grover and Lieutenant Nicodemus for overseeing the construction. He described the facility to Canby:

> It is not as capacious as it might have been under other circumstances, but considering the time at which it was commenced, the necessity for its rapid completion and the force to be employed upon it, we have accomplished more than I expected and I believe with a Garrison of 600 good and reliable troops it can be defended against any force likely to be brought against it. [81]

Although not all were present at the post for duty, the aggregate garrison of Fort Union at the end of August was 1,325, representing a total of 19 companies (11 of which were New Mexico Volunteers). [82] Upon receipt of Chapman's report on the new facility, Colonel Canby immediately sent words of thanks and praise for all who labored on the fieldwork. [83]

Canby directed that all public property at the original Fort Union be moved as quickly as possible to the fieldwork. Major Chapman believed that perishable commissary items should be kept in the old storehouse until adequate facilities were completed at the fieldwork or an emergency situation arose (such as an imminent attack on the post), when the commodities could be moved to the fieldwork "in a *very short time.*" The post commissary officer, Second Lieutenant Asa Bacon Carey, Seventh Infantry, requested instructions from the department chief of commissary, Captain John Porter Hatch, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, as to whether he should leave the subsistence supplies in the old storehouse or move them to the

fieldwork immediately. [84]

Hatch referred the matter to Canby, who resolved the issue and directed that the completion of the "storehouses at the field work be prosecuted as rapidly as possible." Meanwhile, the most perishable commodities, "such as sugar &c that require shelter will be kept in the present storehouses until the new ones are finished or until there is a pressing necessity for removing them." [85] A similar request for direction from Captain Shoemaker at the department ordnance depot at the original Fort Union elicited a similar response. Canby directed Shoemaker to leave any perishable stores in the old storehouses until secure facilities were completed at the fieldwork. [86] Major Chapman was awaiting the pending arrival of Captain John C. McFerran, assistant quartermaster, to oversee the construction of new storehouses at the fieldwork. [87]

While all the changes that came with the outbreak of the Civil War were occurring at Fort Union and within the Department of New Mexico, there was also a change in the civilian government of the territory. When New Mexico Territorial Governor Abraham Rencher, a southerner by birth and secessionist by choice, left New Mexico for the States at the end of August 1861, he and his family were furnished at Fort Union with transportation, a military escort, and "such other facilities as may be necessary for the safety and accommodation of his family in crossing the plains." The quartermaster department was to provide transportation and camp equipage. The commissary department was "authorized to sell the subsistence stores that may be needed by the Governor and his family." [88] Dr. Henry Connelly, a Santa Fe trader who had married a widow of a prominent New Mexican merchant family, was inaugurated as the new territorial governor on September 4, 1861. Connelly did his best to stimulate loyalty among the New Mexicans and to encourage them to enlist in the volunteer regiments. He warned them not to listen to Confederate partisans, pointing out that the Texans were old enemies of New Mexico.

Colonel Canby authorized the troops in New Mexico to arrest citizens who were suspected of being Confederate sympathizers or spies. Major Chapman sent a detail from Fort Union to the nearby town of Loma Parda on August 27 to arrest two men "upon information received from Albuquerque" that they might be Texas spies. Chapman questioned the men and concluded they had come to Loma Parda primarily to gamble with the soldiers who went there while off duty to drink, gamble, and patronize prostitutes. The captives were released after taking an oath to the Union and promising "that they would immediately leave the vicinity of this post." [89]

On orders from Colonel Canby that David Stuart and J. R. Giddings at Anton Chico were suspected of spying for the Confederates, Chapman dispatched 25 dragoons with pack mules, under command of Lieutenant Gay, to arrest the pair. Gay was warned to avoid being seen along the way, if possible, and not to engage any force encountered. "Run no unnecessary risks," Chapman ordered, "as your only object will be to arrest the above named persons, and it should be effected as quietly and expeditiously as possible." [90] Gay succeeded in capturing Giddings at Anton Chico, but learned there that Stuart had sold everything and left the town ten days previously. Stuart was considered an agent for the rebels, who had gone to join them. Giddings, who apparently implicated Stuart as being a Confederate spy, was brought to Fort Union and held in confinement until his case could be decided. [91]

Giddings was later released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States. [92] A few days later some of the officers of the First New Mexico Volunteers, who were recruiting at Anton Chico, reported that Giddings was there telling the New Mexicans not to enlist. He "openly declared himself a pure Texan and opposed to the U.S. Government, and has by his great influence with the Mexicans in his neighborhood prevented many from joining the volunteers as they desired to do." Major Chapman ordered that a detail from the volunteers

stationed at Hatch's Ranch be sent to arrest Giddings and return him to Fort Union. [93] Giddings was tried by a military commission on October 28, the results of which were not found. [94]

Late in August a civilian named Griffith (first name unknown) was arrested at one of the encampments beside Fort Union, questioned about his loyalty, and detained. Griffith claimed he had come to Fort Union for the purpose of joining a train bound for the states. Chapman kept him under arrest, however, surmising he might be a spy who would endeavor to report to Confederate officers if released. [95] Another civilian, Robert Speakman, was arrested at Tecolote and brought to Fort Union after being charged by some New Mexicans with spying for the Texans. Other citizens claimed that Speakman was "a good character and believe the accusation false." Chapman held Speakman in arrest at Fort Union, awaiting Canby's decision on his case. [96] After reviewing the situation, Canby ordered that Speakman be held until his case could be decided in the territorial courts. [97] Speakman was released several weeks later after he swore an oath of allegiance to the United States. [98]

Because it was uncertain when Captain McFerran would arrive at Fort Union to undertake erection of storehouses, Canby urged Major Chapman to proceed. "It is important," Canby directed, "to lose no time in getting the store houses for supplies in readiness." He suggested to Chapman that the storehouses might best be placed in the demilunes, but left the placement to the post commander. [99] Canby later directed Chapman to follow the plan for barracks and storehouses at the fieldwork as Captain Grover originally planned, placing them in the demilunes. The quartermaster department was directed to provide the necessary materials. Chapman was to utilize any volunteers available for work on the structures. He was short of manpower until Carson returned from his expedition on the Cimarron Route.

Carson had led the four companies of volunteers from Fort Union as far as the Cimarron River, finding no Texans, Indians, nor supply trains on the route. Surmising that the contractors' trains had gone via the Mountain Route, Carson returned to the post. On the return march, he sent a scout of eight volunteers to travel down the Canadian River valley as far as the mouth of Ute Creek, near the New Mexico-Texas border, to watch for Indians or Texans and report back to Fort Union when they found something or completed the assignment. [100]

Upon Carson's return to Fort Union in mid-September, Colonel St. Vrain resigned as colonel of the First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteer Infantry. Carson was promoted to fill the vacancy. A few days later the First Regiment was changed from infantry to mounted volunteers. Those who could supply their own horses were compensated for doing so, and those who had no horses were provided mounts by the quartermaster department. [101] Although the first volunteers had been mustered in for a term of one year and later recruits had been signed for six months, a few for only three months, all new volunteers were to be signed up for a term of three years. All the short-term volunteers were offered the opportunity to extend their enlistment for three years when their original time expired. If the Confederate threat increased, as expected, more troops would be needed to defend the territory. By the end of September the aggregate garrison at the post was 1,679 (1,439 available for duty), including troops of 18 companies (mostly volunteers), the highest ever recorded in the history of the fort. [102] That did not include the large camp of parolees who had surrendered at San Augustin Springs.

Their camp was located along Wolf Creek more than one mile north of the original Fort Union, below a spring and small ranch belonging to Captain Shoemaker of the ordnance depot. Shoemaker irrigated a garden at his ranch, and the encampment of surrendered troops discovered on September 14 that they had no water supply in the bed of Wolf Creek. The camp commander, Captain Potter, discovered that Shoemaker had diverted the water from the

spring to water his "cabbage garden." Potter stationed a guard at the spring to see that the water flowed past the camp and protested to Major Chapman. Chapman asked Shoemaker about his right of possession, and apprised Potter of the reply. "Capt. Shoemaker informs me he has been in undisturbed possession of his garden for ten years past, and no one has ever interfered with his property before." Shoemaker had constructed a building, planted the garden, and built the irrigation dam "at his own expense." Because Chapman found no record of a military reservation, although a reservation extending two miles in each direction from the flag staff of the post had been established in 1852, he concluded that the property in question was Shoemaker's "private property." Potter was not to interfere with Shoemaker's spring. [103] Chapman apparently requested that Shoemaker not shut off the water for the temporary camp, but no record was found to indicate whether or not he complied.

Except for the parolees, who would soon depart for the States, [104] the primary task for the troops at Fort Union continued to be the construction of quarters and storehouses at the fieldwork. The prolonged engagement in labor on the new fort reduced the time available for military training. Chapman wanted them to be good soldiers as well as good laborers. He was concerned about the lack of decorum among the troops, especially the volunteers, and interrupted construction work at noon on Saturday, September 21, to allow the men time to prepare for a "thorough and rigid inspection" the following morning. He ordered all company commanders to carry out the inspection, "and every man found out of order in any particular will be placed in charge of a non-commissioned officer, who will see the deficiency repaired, and the men will be inspected again at Retreat by his Company Commander." [105] The inspection was intended to improve the military qualities of the men. Chapman also wanted improvements in their labor.

The men were back at their construction duties on Monday, September 23. Captain Grover and Lieutenant Nicodemus were still in charge of construction. They were directed by Major Chapman to report all soldiers who failed "to perform their duties properly, that they may be brought to trial and punishment for their neglect." Chapman was determined to push the project to completion as quickly as possible. He made his position clear to everyone at the post: "Much laborious work has already been accomplished, but much is yet to be done before the commencement of winter, and it is expected that every officer & soldier will exert himself in a faithful performance of his duties until the defenses, store-houses &c are completed." [106] When some of the volunteer companies completed their training and were assigned to other stations, Chapman became concerned about the loss of labor. Even though the quartermaster department was authorized to hire mechanics and laborers to help with construction, Chapman wanted to keep "several hundred of the volunteers" on extra duty there until "the commencement of winter." [107] Canby granted the request, noting that "it is expected that as much as possible of the work . . . will be done by the soldiers." The commander of the camp of instruction was instructed to furnish "any detail for mechanics and laborers" that might be needed. Four companies of the First New Mexico Volunteers were assigned from the camp of instruction to the garrison of Fort Union, where they could continue to labor on the fieldwork. [108] The urgency of finishing the new fortification was increased with the arrival of news that Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley, in command of three regiments of Texas Volunteer Cavalry (approximately 2,700 officers and men), was preparing to march from San Antonio to Fort Bliss, from where they would join the Confederate forces already in New Mexico. [109] Sibley had commanded Fort Union only a few months before and knew better than any Confederate officer the trove of supplies located there and the importance of capturing the post.

When Captain McFerran arrived to take charge of the department's quartermaster depot at Fort Union in early October, he assumed control over the workers at the fieldwork. Captain



Henry Hopkins Sibley, *courtesy* of Library of Congress.

Grover, who had designed the new fort and had been in charge of its construction from the beginning, objected to being superseded. Chapman, who as post commander had no authority over the department quartermaster or depot, requested Colonel Canby's intervention so "the work may go on as rapidly as possible." [110] Canby ruled that construction of defensive works was under the engineer rather than quartermaster department and Captain Grover would continue to oversee construction until he was transferred (within a few days) from Fort Union, at which time Captain McFerran would be appointed. Grover had been assigned to another station, but his move had been delayed to allow him to continue with the project. [111]

Who was in charge of construction was only one problem causing delays. Unauthorized persons were bringing whiskey onto the military reservation and selling it to the troops, especially the volunteers. Some of the volunteers were unable to work because of intoxication. Major Chapman asked Canby for authority to clean out the whiskey traders. Canby's directions were clear: "The whiskey is entirely in your own hands. You can clear out every one living on the reservation who sells it, prohibit its introduction except by authority and confiscate all that is brought in in violation of orders." In addition to the liquor, Chapman was authorized to confiscate all the wagons and animals used to bring whiskey onto the reservation without his permission. Anything seized could then be sold and the proceeds used for the hospital and care of the "infirm." [112]

To add teeth to his instructions, Canby issued an order to deal with the problem:

> The unauthorized introduction, sale, or disposal in any manner whatever of spirituous or intoxicating liquors, within or about the military reservation at Fort Union is forbidden. All intoxicating liquors introduced without authority, and all wagons and other vehicles, animals or other property, used in carrying on this illicit traffic, will be seized and sold, and the proceeds applied to the benefit of the sick at the post and camp. If the seizure is made upon information one-half of the proceeds will go to the informer. . . . In addition to this forfeiture the offender will be liable to such punishment as may be inflicted by the sentence of a Military commission. [113]

A short time later Spiegelberg & Bros., sutler for the New Mexico Volunteers, was accused of violating the rules prohibiting the sale of liquor to the troops at Camp Chapman. The firm declared that their agent had been "repeatedly given instructions . . . not to Sell or dispose of a drop of any kind of intoxicating liquor to any of the soldiers." If the agent had disobeyed, Spiegelberg wanted to know. He promised to replace the agent "immediately" and pledged that his firm was not in the business of violating military rules. [114] Chapman informed Spiegelberg that his agent had been selling whiskey illegally to the troops and had been ordered to stop. If he failed to do so, Chapman declared he would close the Spiegelberg store and remove the agent from the post. [115] When further violations were discovered the following year, the Spiegelbergs were ordered to keep "no liquor in decanters or other small

quantities" at the store. The new post commander, Colonel Paul, warned that failure to comply would result in "having your store closed." [116] In July 1862 Solomon Beuthner, who may have been an employee of Spiegelberg & Bros., was appointed the sutler for the New Mexico Volunteers. [117]

There seemed to be plenty of whiskey at Fort Union, but other supplies were running short. On October 9 Major Chapman reported to department headquarters that there was no flour left at the post. He was awaiting a shipment from the mill at Mora, but until it arrived rations were short. Some of the companies ready to depart for other stations were being held at Union until flour arrived so they could carry their subsistence with them. The flour arrived on October 10, and the companies moved out the same day. The department quartermaster was directed to investigate why there was a "deficiency of flour." [118] There was also a shortage of ammunition in the department. Colonel Canby directed that "until the new supply of ammunition is received target practice in this Department is suspended." [119] A few days later the sale of commissary provisions to officers at Fort Union was limited to one ration per day because of the shortage of supplies. [120] Some relief was provided as the number of troops at Fort Union was reduced. At the end of October 1861 the aggregate garrison was 676 (554 available for duty). [121]

When that reduction occurred by transfer to other stations, Colonel Canby directed that Major Chapman exercise "the utmost vigilance . . . in watching the country east of Fort Union," especially the Canadian and Pecos valleys. Constant patrols were to be kept in the field from Fort Union and Hatch's Ranch to avoid any surprises by the Texans. [122] There continued to be unconfirmed rumors that Texans were heading toward Fort Union along the Pecos and Canadian rivers and into Colorado Territory along the Arkansas River. [123] If the troops found anyone suspected of giving aid to or sympathizing with the Confederates, they were to arrest them and bring them to Fort Union for trial. The number arrested continued to grow.

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Major Chapman became concerned about the adequacy of the guardhouse at Fort Union as an increasing number of suspected Confederate partisans were brought to the post. He pointed out to Colonel Canby that the old guardhouse was "small, inconvenient and crowded." It was in a "dilapidated condition" and not secure from escape. Chapman suggested to Canby that citizens who were arrested might be better kept at the jail in Mora or some other town. [124] An adequate guard detail from the garrison could keep the prisoners confined, regardless of the facilities. Canby decided the best way to deal with the problem was to convene a military commission as soon as possible at Fort Union to hear the pending cases. [125] The following day Colonel Canby declared martial law throughout the territory, giving the military jurisdiction over all citizens accused of any crime or violation of orders. Thus a military commission, after hearing witnesses, could decide and punish any citizen who gave support of any kind, covert or public, to the Confederacy. [126]

Fort Union continued to be responsible for protecting the vital route of supply from the Missouri River from Indian or Texan raids. The supply trains were still encouraged to follow the Raton or Mountain Route because it was considered safer, especially since the establishment of Fort Wise (later Fort Lyon) near Bent's New Fort at the Big Timbers in late

August 1860. The wagonmasters, however, preferred to follow the shorter Cimarron Route to avoid the difficult road over Raton Pass. There was concern that winter snows would close Raton Pass. Captain McFerran, in charge of the quartermaster depot at Fort Union, requested authorization from the chief quartermaster in New Mexico, Major James Lowry Donaldson at Santa Fe, to utilize volunteer soldiers to work on a new, more direct road east of Raton Pass and to make it "passable for wagons" between Forts Union and Wise. McFerran believed that a company of volunteers from each post, working from each end of the proposed route, could do the necessary cutting down of banks and improve the stream crossings in approximately one month. He hoped such improvements would make the route acceptable to freighters and "soon be the only route used." This would help ensure the safe arrival of supplies for the department.' [27]

Colonel Canby approved the proposal and directed Major Chapman to detail a company of volunteers to begin working on the road as soon as possible. Company C, First New Mexico Mounted Volunteers, commanded by Captain Francisco P. Abreu, was sent "to open the proposed new route" on November 20. Canby requested the commanding officer at Fort Wise, Captain Elmer Otis, Fourth Cavalry, to do the same. McFerran was directed to furnish the detail "with the necessary tools and transportation." He was to send a guide to assist the work party from Fort Wise. [128] The new route between Forts Union and Wise was later found to be 165.5 miles long, considerably shorter than the approximately 238 miles via the Mountain Route over Raton Pass. Canby sent Otis a map of the proposed route, which has not been located, and gave detailed instructions for "opening a *practicable road for heavily loaded trains."* [129] Lieutenant John Pope had found a passage between the Canadian River and the Big Timbers in 1851, [130] and his route may have been the path for this wagon road developed in 1861.

On December 22, 1861, Captain Abreu and his company returned to Fort Union. Abreu reported that they had "made a very good road, shortening the distance &c." [131] It is not known if this route was used by the supply trains. William H. Moore, the post sutler during the Civil War, recalled years later that supply trains continued to follow the Cimarron Route more than any other during the years of that conflict. [132] A train of 40 wagons, carrying clothing, camp and garrison equipage, and ordnance, which apparently followed the Cimarron Route, arrived at Fort Union on November 27. [133]

While troops were working on improving the route of supply to New Mexico, Canby reorganized the military department. He established six military districts, each under an assigned commander, to administer the territory. Each district was responsible for enforcing martial law, keeping an eye on the Indians, and dealing with Confederate troops should they appear. Fort Union was in the second or eastern district, encompassing the region "east of the Pecos river, Moro Peaks and Sangre de Christo Mountains, and north of Anton Chico." The camps of instruction and depots at Fort Union and Albuquerque remained under direct control of the department commander. [134] Major Chapman, as commander of Fort Union, was in charge of this district. Chapman was also assigned the duties of acting inspector general at Camp Cameron (formerly Camp Chapman), the camp of instruction at Fort Union, when Major Paul was transferred to Santa Fe. [135] Chapman soon communicated to department headquarters, "I find it impossible to perform my duties with the Mexican Vols. and militia without an interpreter and ask authority to employ one." Permission was granted the next day. [136]

Language was only one of the problems Chapman had with a blend of Anglo and New Mexican troops, compounded by the combination of regulars and volunteers. When the troops began moving into quarters at the fieldwork, Lieutenant Colonel J. Francisco Chavez, First Regiment New Mexico Mounted Volunteers, charged that the quarters assigned to himself and other officers of his regiment were "unfit for any officer or gentleman to occupy." He

also declared that the regular troops had discriminated against the New Mexican volunteers, who had been "slighted in nearly every respect," and used "insulting language" toward volunteer officers. Canby, who demonstrated little respect for Hispanics, ordered a board of survey to examine the quarters at the fieldwork. Chapman, who claimed he was "not aware that any distinction had been made in the treatment of Regulars and volunteers at this post," informed Chavez that some of the volunteer officers had been guilty of "misconduct." Also, the volunteer officers should have arrested and preferred charges against any regulars who insulted them. Chapman virtually denied any discrimination had occurred and then disparaged the volunteers. "I venture to say," he wrote to Chavez, "that the volunteer soldiers of your command have never been so well fed, clothed and quartered as at present, and never will be again after they leave the Service of the U. States." [137]

Chapman may not have known that he was addressing a member of one of the wealthiest and most influential families in New Mexico. Chavez was the son of a former governor and the stepson of the current Governor Connelly. He had been educated at St. Louis University and had studied medicine at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. It could hardly be said that he had not known a better quality of life. On the other hand, for many of the New Mexican volunteers, Chapman's derogatory remark may have been true. The validity of Chavez's complaint was impossible to determine, but the exchanges that occurred confirmed that prejudice prevailed in New Mexico.

There were varieties of prejudices, between Anglos and Hispanics on one hand and between regulars and volunteers on the other, factors which make it difficult to assess accurately the extent of actual, as compared to imagined, discrimination. Clearly, however, relations were sometimes strained and often sensitive. After the board of survey had met and reported to Canby, and other information had been gathered about the situation, the department commander informed Chavez nothing had been found "upon which a complaint can reasonably be grounded." He noted that, according to the report of the board of survey, "the quarters complained of are greatly superior to any that have been occupied by the regular troops at Fort Union during the past three winters, and far above the average of those that are usually occupied on frontier service." He lectured Chavez that any soldiers who "enter the service with the expectation of carrying with them the luxuries, or even the comforts of a home, it is an idea of which they cannot too soon divest themselves." After pointing out that "the greater portion of the troops in the Department will be obliged to pass the Winter in huts or tents," Canby was very disappointed to hear that the "comfortable shelter" at Fort Union was "not properly appreciated." [138] Canby improved the comfort of the volunteers who occupied quarters at the fieldwork when he directed that bed sacks be issued to them. [139]

The troops at Fort Union not only moved into new quarters; they received a new commanding officer. On December 9, 1861, Major Gabriel R. Paul was selected by New Mexico Governor Connelly to serve as the colonel of the Fourth New Mexico Volunteers (infantry). Paul then outranked Major Chapman and was assigned to command Fort Union and the eastern district of New Mexico. Paul also took charge of training volunteers at the camp of instruction at Camp Cameron. [140] Colonel Paul arrived at Fort Union and assumed command on December 13. He was not unfamiliar with the post and its environs, having served as inspector general at the camp of instruction for several months. Major Chapman departed Fort Union on December 17, traveling by stage to Missouri on the way to join his regiment. [141]

Paul was a stickler for rules and regulations. His first official act as commanding officer at Fort Union was to issue an order requiring all volunteer officers, "when on duty at this post, to wear the uniform and insignia of their respective rank." [142] Because the military instruction of the volunteers had been "very much neglected in consequence of the constant labor of the troops on the Field work at this Post," Colonel Paul hoped to reach a point in the

construction work soon which would permit the men to stop for a time so the troops could "resume their drills." All that remained to make the fieldwork secure for the time being, according to Paul, was to dig "a ditch around the quarters" and throw "so much of the dirt against the outer sides as will make them cannon proof." Then, he suggested, the work might be "suspended" until spring. [143] He wanted to see the volunteers become good soldiers, not just manual laborers. Without waiting for the suspension of construction work, Paul directed that the volunteers who were "not engaged at the works" would begin daily drills (except Sunday) on December 16. [144]

Canby granted a temporary suspension of work for some of the volunteers so they could receive more training. Paul assigned the prisoners at Fort Union to work under guard each day at the new fort (from 7:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon and 1:15 p.m. to sunset). Others also continued to labor on the fieldwork until June 1862. Then, after the Confederate advance had been countered successfully, Captain McFerran was directed "to suspend the work of building at Fort Union until further orders." [145] One of the few descriptions of the fieldwork, the second Fort Union, was provided by a Confederate reporter. The writer was not identified but must have received information from someone who had seen the fieldwork. The report, published in the *Mesilla Times*, December 12, 1861, was reprinted in a New Orleans paper a few weeks later. Because this was the most comprehensive narration found, even though it overrated the defensibility of the post and made it seem quite formidable, it follows as originally printed:

> New Fort Union, situated one mile due east of the old fort, is considering its position and the material at hand, one of the best pieces of engineering ever done in America. It is an octagon, situated on an open ridge, two miles on each slope, to the valley. The walls are double rows of large pine logs en palisade, 12 feet between the rows, and filled with sod. The ditch is 20 feet wide at the top, 16 feet at the bottom, and 12 feet deep.
>
> The abattis is firmly studded with dwarf cedar trees, the branches trimmed short, case hardened with fire and sharpened to a point. These are firmly driven in, and present a bristling array upon which it would be impossible to force cavalry. The cannon enfilade the ditch at all points, and there is no cover for the approach of an attacking party within cannon shot. The magazine, quarters and all the garrison buildings are half basement, bomb-proof buildings. Some of these are entirely under ground. Four large bomb-proof ware-houses have been built, fronting the salient angles of the fort, and in the shape of a wedge. There are in this post two years supplies of all kinds for two regiments. Ten 12 pounders are mounted, and several guns of larger calibre were being mounted. [146] Kit Carson's volunteer regiment, and about a regiment of regulars are stationed at that point. [147]

A description of the fieldwork was provided by an observer from the other side when Ovando J. Hollister, First Colorado Volunteers, arrived in March 1862:

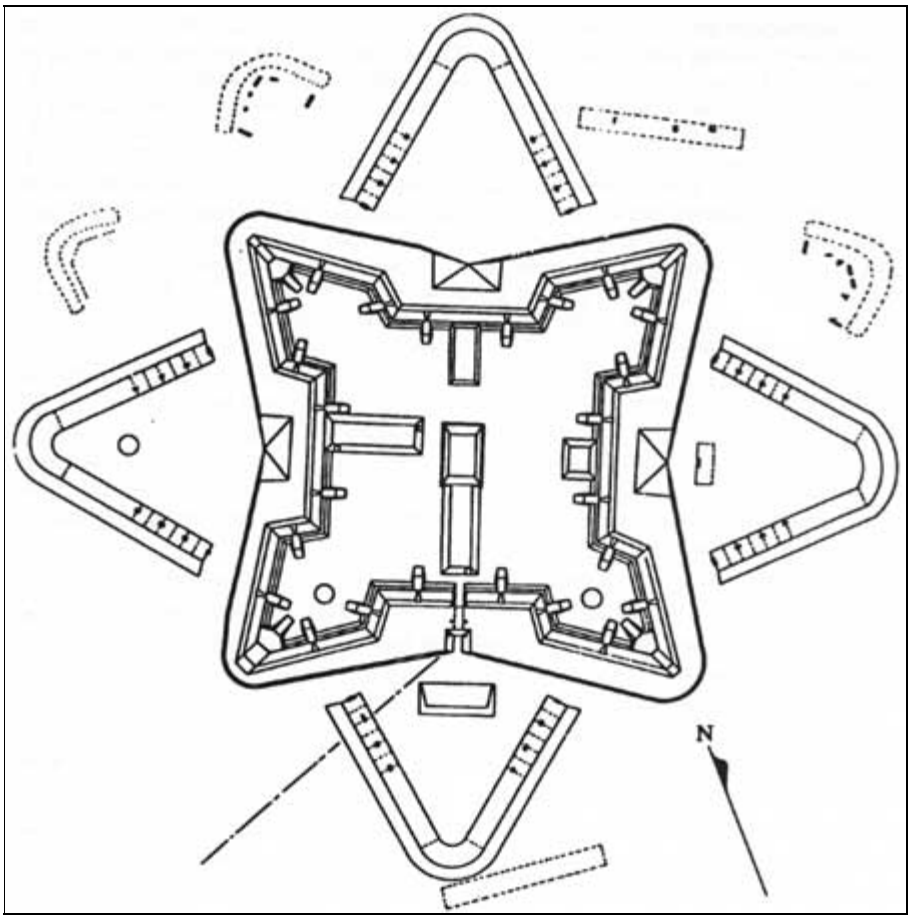
> A simple field-work of moderate size, with bastioned corners surrounded by dirt parapet and ditch, with a slight abattis at exposed points. The armament is poor, consisting mostly of howitzers, but the supply of ammunition is deemed sufficient for any emergency. It has bomb-proof quarters in and surrounding it forming part of the works, sufficiently large to accommodate 500 men besides the necessary room for stores. [148]

It may have been significant that such reports claimed the fieldwork could not be easily breached. Apparently both Union and Confederate officers believed that to be true. This

probably gave the garrison at the post a feeling of security, while enemy troops were led to believe that the best way to deal with the situation was to lure the command away from the post for engagement. Because the troops left Fort Union and defeated the Confederates before they could reach the post, the defensive capacity of the fieldwork was not tested in battle. It was, however, tested by a new post commander, Captain Peter William Livingston Plympton, Seventh Infantry, in June 1862.

Plympton suspected that the fieldwork had not been moved far enough from the bluffs overlooking the original post to be safely beyond artillery fired from the cliffs. Unlike everyone connected with the relocation of the post, Plympton placed a six-pound gun and a twelve-pound howitzer in position and fired them in the direction of the fieldwork. The six-pounder was situated at the base of the hills and the twelve-pounder at the crest. Both weapons were "fired at least three times" and hurled shells beyond the fieldwork. In addition, "the work has a 'dip' towards these hills which causes its whole interior to be revealed." The shells could be lobbed over the walls into the fort. [149]

Plympton also fired a six-pounder from the western bastion of the fieldwork toward the hills to see if it was possible to reach the positions from which the weapons had been fired at the post. "With the greatest elevation that could be given it," he reported, "the ball only reached about midway of the hills from which the howitzer was fired." [150] Clearly, the fieldwork was indefensible against artillery. Plympton studied the site and concluded that there was no way, except moving it farther away from the mesa, to make it safe. This officer was not pleased that the site had been so improperly selected, and he found much else about the fieldwork to distress him.



This representation of the design of the Fort Union fieldwork is based on archeaological evidence, aerial photography, and written descriptions. No plans for

this earthwork have been found. The magazine was in the center, gun placements were around the perimeter of the central earthwork, and quarters were in the demilunes. National Park Service Drawing, Fort Union National Monument Archives.



This photo of the second Fort Union, the earthwork erected during the Civil war, was taken after the new depot and third post were under construction, seen in the background. Although it is very dim, the flag is flying on the flag staff constructed of two poles at right of center. U.S. Signal Corps, *courtesy* National Archives.



This is reportedly one of the structures connected with the second Fort Union or earthwork, no date. It was camouflaged with tree branches. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University.

> The quarters are very objectionable, being built of unseasoned materials which are shrinking under the effects of the heat, and they are low and badly ventilated. The store houses being like the quarters, mere shells afford but little protection to their contents, and are damp and without floors. The magazine, I am informed, is unfit by reason of its dampness for the reception of ammunition; if such is the case now, what must be its condition during the rainy season? [151]

The second Fort Union, like the first, had been constructed in haste by unskilled soldiers

using inadequate materials readily at hand, following a plan that was not carefully adapted to the environment. The fieldwork, unlike the original, was designed to meet an emergency situation in wartime. Soon after the crisis passed a more permanent, third Fort Union was begun. Undoubtedly, it was Plympton's revelations about the precarious position of the post that caused Colonel Canby to suspend further construction at the site in June 1862. Before that happened, most of the Civil War battles in New Mexico had been fought.

After Lieutenant Colonel Baylor had taken possession of the southern part of New Mexico Territory, he proclaimed on August 1 the Confederate Territory of Arizona (comprising approximately the southern half of the present states of New Mexico and Arizona, everything south of 34° north latitude) and himself as military governor. Without sufficient troops to push northward toward the Rio Grande settlements in New Mexico, Baylor contented himself with establishing Confederate control of his new territory. The conquest of the rest of New Mexico was left for others. Brigadier General Sibley, with his "Sibley Brigade" of Texas Cavalry, was given that task.

On December 25, 1861, Colonel Roberts, commanding at Fort Craig, informed the rest of the department that his spies had discovered the movement of approximately 2,000 Texans, "well supplied with artillery," northward from Fort Bliss. Their destination was unknown, but the enlarged invasion had apparently begun. [152] This was probably just one regiment, less than 1,000 in number, of Sibley's Brigade. They encamped about 25 miles north of Fort Bliss to await the rest of Sibley's troops.

Colonel Canby had moved department headquarters to Fort Craig in anticipation of Confederate intrusion, hoping to stop the rebels before they could reach the rest of the Rio Grande valley. If the Texans chose to bypass the settlements and strike directly at Fort Union, the troops at Union would have to push them back. After receiving word of the pending Confederate thrust, Colonel Paul suggested to Canby, if there were too many Texans for the troops at Fort Craig to handle, that they all "fall back on Fort Union." He also assured the department commander, "I am making preparations to receive them, in case they intend to pay me a visit." As the year 1861 came to a close, the aggregate garrison at Fort Union was 733 (597 available for duty) and Paul was confident the fieldwork was virtually unassailable. [153]

On January 1, 1862, Colonel Canby notified the department from Fort Craig that "information from below states that 1200 men with 7 pieces of artillery are on the march to this place." [154] On the same day, Canby requested Colorado Territory Governor William Gilpin to send "as large a force of the Colorado Volunteers as can possibly be spared" to Forts Wise and Garland to assist "in defending this Territory." [155] Canby was especially concerned about protection of the Santa Fe Trail, the life line without which Union forces could not hope to win in New Mexico. Colonel Canby continued to arrange his forces in the department to meet any attack the Confederates could initiate. [156]

At Fort Union, labor continued on the fieldwork. Colonel Paul reported that "nearly all" the quartermaster and ordnance stores had been moved into the new fort. After the collapse of a lengthy tunnel (later described as "several thousand feet" long) [157] from the earthwork to a spring on Wolf Creek, a well was being dug inside the fortification to supply water for the garrison in case of siege. He remained assured that "every arrangement has been made to receive the enemy properly should they come here." [158] There was no immediate threat, as Paul reported: "Everything in this neighborhood is quiet & there is no confirmation of the presence of any enemy for many miles." [159] Supplies continued to flow through Fort Union to the rest of the department.

Throughout New Mexico, recruitment of more volunteers continued. Everywhere the the

troops were making preparations and waiting for the Texans to commit themselves to a definite line of attack. Despite continued Indian problems in the territory, most efforts were concentrated against the Texans. Canby promised to turn the attention of his troops to the Indians "as soon as the present emergency has passed away." Although it appeared Sibley was going to bring his Texas brigade up the Rio Grande and make contact with the troops at Fort Craig, there were rumors that other Texans might be coming up the Pecos and Canadian valleys. Colonel Canby, who had moved his headquarters to Belen between Fort Craig and Albuquerque, informed the adjutant general of the army that "all the different approaches to the country are closely watched by scouts and spies and I have no apprehension of the approach of the enemy without receiving several days notice." [160] Sibley concentrated his brigade at old Fort Thorn some 80 miles down river from Fort Craig. They were ready to start moving north in early February. By that time some of the New Mexican troops were getting weary from waiting and wondering when the Texans would come.

Because the troops in New Mexico had not been paid for several months (in fact, some of the volunteers had not yet been paid at all), Canby requested that everything possible be done to get the paymaster and money to New Mexico from Fort Leavenworth. This was essential if the loyalty of New Mexicans was to be held by the Union. Canby, who placed little trust in New Mexican soldiers, made his opinions clear: "The Mexican people have no affection for the institutions of the United States; they have strong . . . hatred for the Americans as a race." In addition, "there are not wanting persons who . . . have secretly and industriously endeavored to keep alive all the elements of discontent and fan them into flames." Therefore, Canby believed, any further delay in paying them would result in "a marked and pernicious influence upon these ignorant and impulsive people." [161] Despite such pleas, many of the New Mexican troops were not paid for several more months. [162] Canby's fears were not unfounded.

On January 16, 1862, a total of 28 men of the Second New Mexico Volunteers stationed at Socorro, all Hispanos, "mutinied and afterward deserted and fled to the mountains." The reason they gave was that "they have not been paid and clothed as they were promised." Canby believed they had been incited by Confederate sympathizers among the New Mexicans. It was feared the mutineers might join the Texans or carry information about the Union troops to Sibley's command. A patrol was sent from Fort Craig in an attempt to apprehend them. All other commanders of volunteers in the department were enjoined to watch for them and to prevent, by whatever means necessary, any more revolts. [163]

Also on January 16, an attempted "revolt" in one of the militia companies at Fort Union was discovered and quickly suppressed by Colonel Paul. Paul was convinced "that the officers of the Company are to blame in the case, . . . although I could procure no positive proof against them." He acted quickly "to prevent the spread of the mutiny." He "set the company at hard labor until night & then" discharged the commissioned officers, reduced the non-commissioned officers to privates, and distributed "all the enlisted men among the other companies of Militia, at the post." The results were satisfactory, as Paul concluded: "I am happy to say that the excitement, very great at first, has subsided, and all appear to be ready and willing to attend to their duty." Canby assured Paul that "a sufficient force of regular troops will be kept at Fort Union to prevent or control any similar disorder in future." [164]

In February 1862 the positioning of opposing armies in New Mexico set the stage for the most dramatic engagements of the Civil War in the Southwest. Sibley started his brigade northward from Fort Thorn on February 7 in units and approximately 2,300 Texans were concentrated a few miles below Fort Craig by February 15. At Fort Craig Canby had concentrated 3,800 Union troops. More aid was on the way. Lewis Weld, the acting governor of Colorado Territory, directed that the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers under command of Colonel John P. Slough, a Denver attorney, march to New Mexico Territory as

quickly as possible. [165] They began arriving at Fort Union on March 10, the same day that an advance of the Texas Volunteers reached Santa Fe.

The first major battle in New Mexico occurred at Valverde, near Fort Craig, on February 21. Sibley realized that he would have difficulty capturing the stronghold at Fort Craig and hoped to draw the troops away from the post for an engagement. After failing initially to lure Canby's troops into battle south of Fort Craig, the Texans decided to bypass the fort on the east side of the Rio Grande. It would be dangerous to have a large number of the enemy to the rear, but this action might draw the troops out to battle. The engagement came at Valverde ford, approximately six miles north of Fort Craig. The Confederates won the day, with heavy losses for both sides. [166] Among the dead was Union Captain Alexander McRae, Third Cavalry, a native of North Carolina who had served at Fort Union before the war. It was later reported that, the night before he was killed, McRae declared "he had nothing to live for, his family having disowned him on account of his adherence to the Union." [167] The Texans did not capture Fort Craig and the supplies they needed, however, and proceeded toward Albuquerque with what was left of Canby's command to their rear. Fort Craig, on the other hand, was cut off from its supply line. Canby calculated that he had sufficient provisions there to last until late April, if necessary. [168]

The Confederates marched up the Rio Grande, capturing towns and supplies as they went: Socorro on February 25, Belen on March 1, Albuquerque on March 2, and Santa Fe on March 10. The Union troops located along the way attempted to destroy what supplies they could not carry with them and retreated ahead of the Texans. The federal soldiers escorted what supplies they escaped with to Fort Union, last stronghold for the Union and major objective of the Confederate forces. The leaders of both sides understood that Fort Union and its supplies held the key to the fate of the territory. [169]

At least one Union officer realized that the territory held the key to the ultimate fate of the Confederate States of America. Acting Inspector General Gurden Chapin, Seventh Infantry, understood that the Confederate conquest of New Mexico was "a great political feature of the rebellion. It will gain the rebels a name and a prestige over Europe, and operate against the Union cause." He predicted that, if the Confederates captured New Mexico, they would "extend their conquest toward old Mexico and in the direction of Southern California." He concluded that the present threat "should not only be checked, but . . . rendered impossible." [170] A Confederate officer on Sibley's staff, Captain Trevanion T. Teel, First Regiment of Texas Artillery, later confirmed Chapin's fears. According to Teel, Sibley intended to use New Mexico as a base for the conquest of California and northern Mexico. [171] What might have happened if that had occurred would be pure speculation, but there is no need to hypothesize. The troops from Fort Union stopped Sibley before he could even subdue New Mexico. [172]

The staff at Fort Union received news of the battle at Valverde on February 25. Colonel Paul immediately sent three companies from the garrison to proceed to the front and provide whatever assistance they could. He directed the troops at Hatch's Ranch to evacuate that outpost and fall back to Fort Union, bringing their supplies with them. [173] Major Donaldson, commanding at Santa Fe, directed all the supply trains heading south to turn around and return to Fort Union with their cargoes. He planned to ship all the supplies from Santa Fe to Fort Union as quickly as possible. Donaldson also sent an express to Denver to request that the Colorado Volunteers be marched to Fort Union as fast as possible. [174] When Santa Fe was abandoned by Union troops, Governor Connelly and the territorial government moved to Las Vegas. [175]

Because Canby was still at the isolated Fort Craig, Colonel Paul assumed command of all the Union troops in the department "not under the immediate command of . . . Canby." This was

to be in effect "during the present emergency and until communication be re-established with" Canby. [176] Paul sent Major Donaldson to Washington, D.C., "to represent in person the interests of the department of New Mexico, and to urge upon the President of the United States the necessity of immediate and prompt measures for its relief from present embarassments." During Donaldson's absence, Captain McFerran was to serve as chief quartermaster and Captain Herbert M. Enos, quartermaster department, was placed in charge of the depot at Fort Union. [177]

Paul continued to make preparations to resist the impending Confederate attack. [178] A light battery was organized at Fort Union to be sent into the field against the Texans if needed. Commanded by Captain John F. Ritter, Fifteenth Infantry, it was comprised of a total of 49 officers and men detailed from various companies of regular troops at the post. They were assigned two six-pounder guns and two twelve-pounder howitzers. The horses were taken from the Second Cavalry. [179] A few days later another battery, with four mountain howitzers, was organized under command of Lieutenant Ira W. Claflin, Sixth Cavalry. It had a total of 30 officers and men. [180] Captain William H. Lewis, Fifth Infantry, was assigned immediate command of the fieldwork and the troops garrisoned in it. [181] Other changes were made, especially after it was learned the Texans had occupied Santa Fe and the Colorado Volunteers arrived at the post.

Two of the Colorado Volunteers, Privates Ovando Hollister and Charles Gardner, reported that the weary soldiers in their unit were happy to reach Fort Union after a forced march of 90 miles with very little rest along the way. They were not impressed with their reception. Gardner explained that "our *very obliging* and *considerate* Col. [Slough] rode ahead and told the Commandant of the post (who was having tents pitched and supper prepared) that it was entirely unnecessary; for his men were all old mountaineers and accustomed to all kinds of hardships & privations." Hollister explained that the Colorado troops were marched to the front of Colonel Paul's quarters, where both Paul "and Governor Conelly [Connelly] welcomed us in rather unintelligible words to their assistance." According to Hollister, "they commended the zeal with which we had accomplished the march from Denver, but said nothing of the battle of Val Verde or of the whereabouts of the enemy at present; subjects that might naturally be supposed to slightly interest us." [182]

Hollister probably expressed the sentiment of all his comrades when he declared, "I thought they might as well have permitted the boys, hungry and tired, to go to their camp near the fortification as to have perpetrated this farce." Because Colonel Slough had stopped Colonel Paul's efforts to have tents and supper waiting, Gardner disclosed, "we were compelled to lie out all night, exposed to a severe, cold March wind, without a mouthful to eat." Because the exhausted volunteers complained about conditions, each company was provided with three gallons of whiskey. Hollister claimed that the Colorado Volunteers spent much of their time at Fort Union finding whiskey and getting drunk. [183]

A tragic incident occurred during their brief stay at Fort Union when Lieutenant Isaac Gray, Company B, First Colorado Volunteers, attempted to arrest Sergeant Darias Philbrook for drunkenness. Philbrook shot Gray in the face. According to Hollister, Philbrook shot five times and hit Gray once. Gray survived but Philbrook was sentenced to death by a court-martial board. [184] The night before the Colorado troops departed to meet the Texans, Hollister wrote, "the boys broke into the sutler's cellar and gobbled a lot of whisky, wine, canned fruit, oysters, etc." [185] Keeping the volunteers sober was not the only problem for the post commander.

When Colonel Paul discovered that Colonel Slough, commander of the Colorado regiment, had been appointed to the rank of colonel first and outranked him, Paul was incensed and immediately complained to army headquarters. "Upon the arrival of Colonel Slough," he

wrote, "I had the mortification to discover that his commission was senior to mine, and thus I am deprived of a command which I had taken so much pains to organize and with which I expected to reap laurels." He pointed out that Slough had been in the service for six months. Paul had graduated from West Point in 1834, been in the service since, and "has frequently been tried in battle." He begged to be promoted to the rank of brigadier general of volunteers. [186] There was no time for that to happen before the Texans arrived. Colonel Paul, loyal soldier that he was, accepted the situation and assigned a column of regular troops (including the two recently-organized batteries, three companies of cavalry, and three companies of infantry) to "act in conjunction" with the Colorado Volunteers, all under command of Colonel Slough. [187] Paul remained in command of the eastern district and Fort Union while Slough commanded the troops in the field.

Colonel Paul had conceived a plan to take the bulk of the troops ("1,200 Americans and four guns") at Fort Union on March 24 and bypass the Confederates in the Rio Grande valley by marching to Anton Chico in an attempt to join up with Canby's troops from Fort Craig on March 26 or 27. Paul would bring provisions for the combined force, which could then seek and destroy the Texans. [188] Canby initially approved that arrangement but later changed his mind, declaring that "Fort Union must be held and our communication with the East kept open." He advised Paul, "do not move from Fort Union to meet me until I advise you of the route and point of junction." [189]



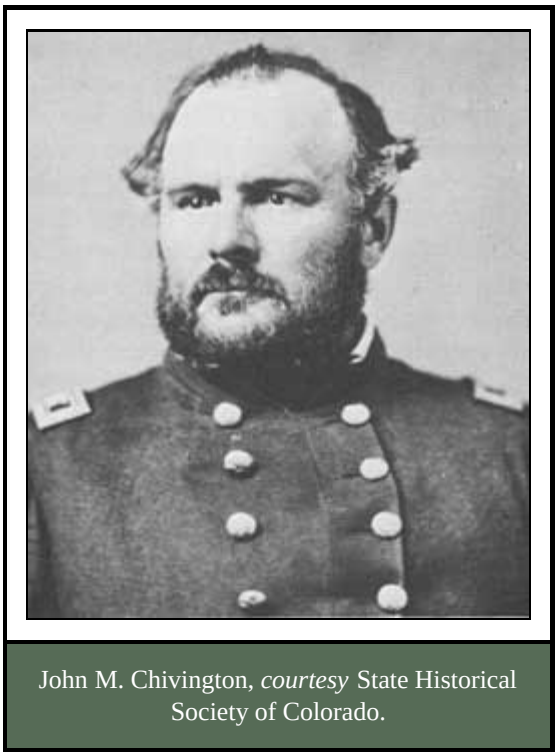
John P. Slough, *courtesy* State Historical Society of Colorado.

Colonel Paul and Colonel Slough disagreed about how best to meet the Confederate threat. Paul, following Canby's latest instructions, wanted to retain the troops at Fort Union to defend the post until additional orders were received from Canby. Slough, on the other hand, wanted to take most of the troops and move toward Santa Fe, noting that "instructions from Colonel Canby are not only to protect Fort Union, but also to harass the enemy." They would engage the Texans in the field or drive them from Santa Fe if possible, with Fort Union to furnish supplies and serve as the point to fall back on if necessary. This intervening action would not expose the fort to the Texans immediately, and it might defeat or disable the Confederate troops. If the Texans were not turned back, much of the fight might at least be taken out of them before they reached the post. Colonel Slough had his way because his appointment as colonel predated that of Paul. [190] As noted above, this may have been critical because the fieldwork could (as later demonstrated) be taken by artillery placed on the mesa behind the old post.

Colonel Paul protested to Slough that the latter's plans were "in violation of Colonel Canby's instructions, and, if unsuccessful, must result in the entire loss of the Territory." "With due deference to your superior judgment," Paul declared, "I must insist that your plans . . . must inevitably result in disaster to us all." He concluded with strong words: "I protest against this movement of yours . . . in direct disobedience of the orders of Colonel Canby." [191] In order to absolve himself of any blame for what might happen, Paul explained the circumstances to the adjutant general of the army in order "to throw the responsibility of any disaster which may occur on the right shoulders." [192]

At the same time, Governor Connelly, who had been advocating an offensive against the Texans, supported Colonel Slough's decision. Connelly thought Slough's column could "curtail the limits of the enemy, and mayhap lead to the expulsion of the enemy from the capital." The governor predicted that "this slight difference of opinion and movement will lead to no unfavorable result." Connelly also hoped Canby would march from Fort Craig to join in the offensive. [193] Canby was not moving, however, and the defense of the territory fell primarily on the troops at Fort Union. The Colorado Volunteers, sometimes called the "Pike's Peakers," were ready to fight and confident of victory.

The Texans were not nearly as well organized as most of the officers at Fort Union believed. [194] Sibley's brigade was spread out from Albuquerque to Santa Fe, where only about 250 to 300 Texans, under command of Major Charles L. Pyron, Second Regiment of Texas Mounted Rifles, held the territorial capital. Sibley was reportedly ill; some said he was often drunk. He was not providing much leadership for his brigade, leaving that to other officers. [195] He had some of his troops at Albuquerque to deal with Canby if he moved out of Fort Craig. Others were watching the routes east of the Rio Grande, in case Canby tried to slip around and join the troops at Fort Union. The Confederates were still searching for supplies to sustain their drive toward Fort Union and were not yet prepared to undertake further offensive action. They were, despite their striking successes, still in dire straits. They needed to capture the supplies at Fort Union soon, or they would be unable to sustain themselves in New Mexico. The Texans, who had not yet been defeated in New Mexico, remained confident of victory, exhibited high morale, and were ready to fight hard when required.



John M. Chivington, *courtesy* State Historical Society of Colorado.

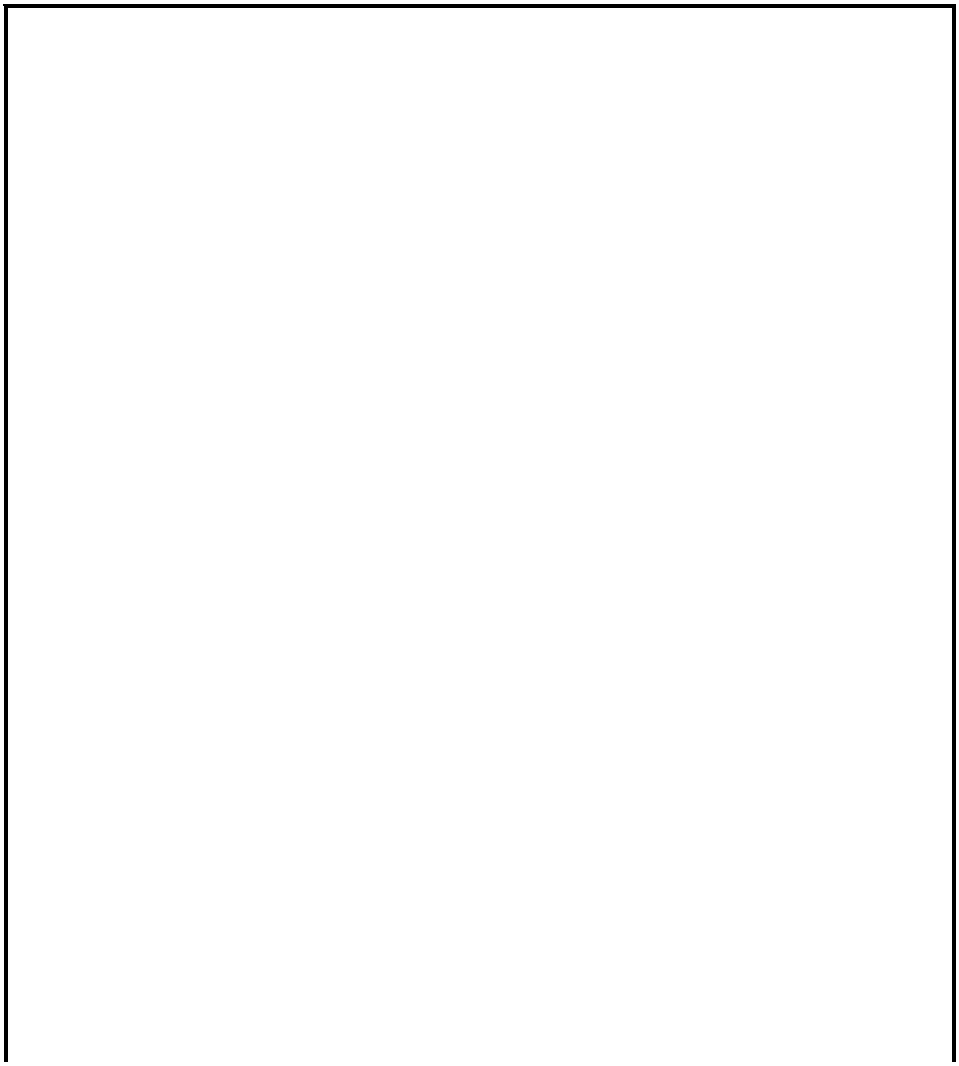
The showdown came on the Santa Fe Trail at Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass, March 26 and 28, 1862. [196] Colonel Slough left Fort Union with 1,342 volunteers and regulars, including Ritter's and Claflin's batteries, on March 22. Colonel Paul remained in command of the post with 257 serviceable troops. Slough's command encamped the first night on the Sapello, the second at Las Vegas, and gathered at Bernal Springs (approximately 45 miles from Fort Union) on March 24 and 25. Major John M. Chivington (a Methodist Episcopal preacher turned soldier), First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, was sent ahead with 418 men "toward Santa Fe, with a view of capturing or defeating a force of the enemy reported to be stationed there." Chivington's command marched toward Glorieta Pass, halting about midnight of March 25 at Martin Kozlowski's Ranch (near the abandoned Pecos Pueblo). [197]

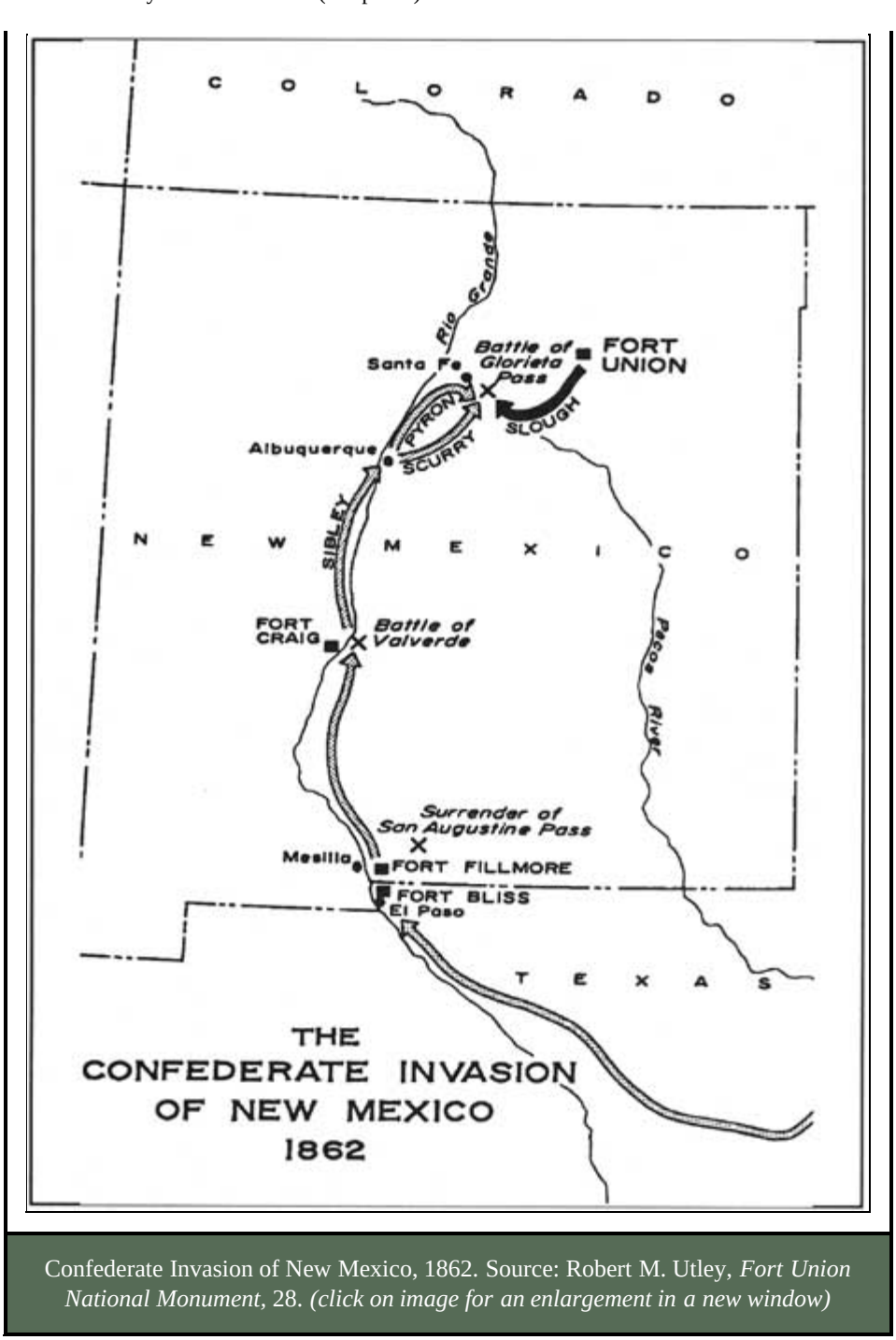
On the same day Confederate Major Pyron at Santa Fe, having been informed that troops were advancing from Fort Union, marched most of his command from the city with two six-pounder guns to meet the federal troops. They camped that night at Anthony P. Johnson's Ranch (present Canoncito) at the western entrance to Apache Canyon, the western approach to Glorieta Pass. Pyron sent four scouts ahead to keep a watch for the troops from Fort Union. With sufficient warning from those pickets, Pyron hoped to be able to place his command in a position to defeat his adversary. Chivington, after establishing camp, sent 20 scouts ahead at 2:00 a.m. to try to capture Pyron's pickets, who were reportedly about five miles away at Pigeon's Ranch (owned and

operated by Alexander Valle) at the eastern entrance to Glorieta Pass. They were successful early in the morning of March 26 and brought all four Confederate scouts to Chivington's camp. [198]

Chivington led his command over Glorieta Pass that same day. He apparently did not learn from the captured pickets where the Texans were located, but he had deprived Pyron of a warning of his presence in the area. Pyron, meanwhile, left Johnson's Ranch about noon to lead his command over the same route. Both forces were probably surprised to meet each other in Apache Canyon about mid-afternoon. Pyron soon had his six-pounders set up and firing at the Union troops. Chivington had no artillery but enjoyed superior numbers and a position above the Texans. He deployed some of his men up each side of the canyon, above the elevated range of the artillery, from where they fired down on the Confederates. The rough terrain and trees helped to render the artillery ineffective.

In the three-hour battle at Apache Canyon, the Confederates retreated from the field. As they fell back they destroyed a small bridge, hoping it would stop the Union pursuit. A company of 103 mounted Colorado Volunteers was ordered to jump their horses across the sixteen-foot chasm, and all but one made it. [199] After capturing 71 prisoners, Chivington decided to stop the pursuit because the sun was setting and he feared that Confederate reinforcements might be near. He reported his own losses in the engagement as 5 killed and 14 wounded and the Confederate losses as 32 killed, 43 wounded, and 71 prisoners. After agreeing to a truce until the following morning to bury the dead and treat the wounded, Pyron returned to Johnson's Ranch and Chivington set up camp at Pigeon's Ranch. The engagement at Apache Canyon was the first defeat of the Texans since they had invaded New Mexico.



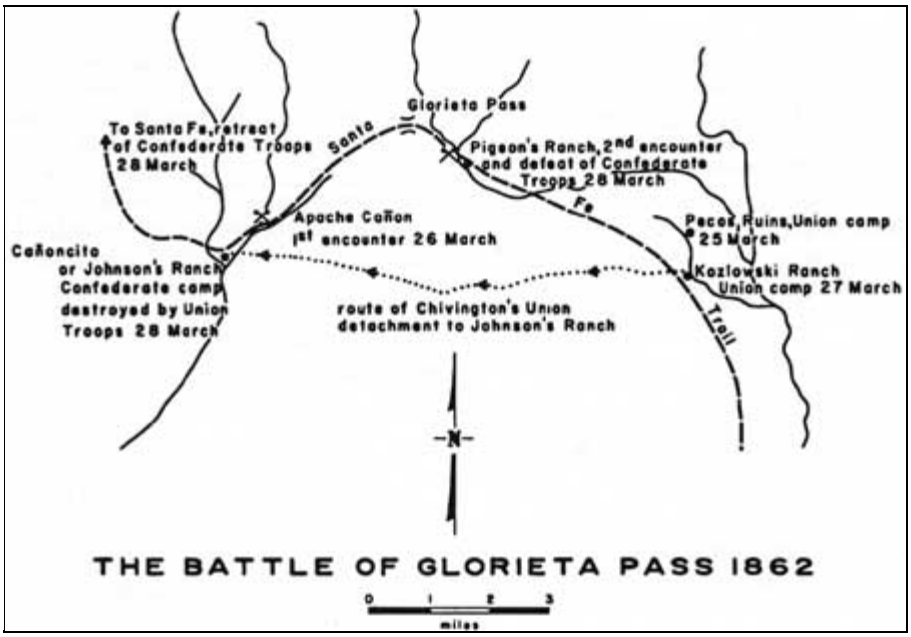


Confederate Invasion of New Mexico, 1862. Source: Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument*, 28. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

One of the Texan volunteers, Private George M. Brown, who was among the prisoners taken at Apache Canyon, later explained the impact this reversal had on the rebels. He was with Pyron's troops at Santa Fe, planning to "march on and take Fort Union, which, we thought, was ours already." Of the engagement on March 26, he wrote: "Out we marched with the two cannons, expecting an easy victory; but what a mistake. . . . They were regular demons, upon whom iron and lead had no effect, in the shape of Pike's Peakers, from the Denver City gold mines. The Texans thought the Colorado volunteers "seemed to have a charmed life." Nothing turned them back. After seeing some of his comrades killed and maimed, Brown declared, "Such a sight I never want to see again." [200] He was taken to Fort Union and later paroled to return to Texas.

When Brigadier General Canby, still at Fort Craig, received word that Colonel Slough had led the troops from Fort Union and that an engagement had been fought at Apache Canyon, he was not pleased. He said Slough's advance was "premature, and is at variance with my

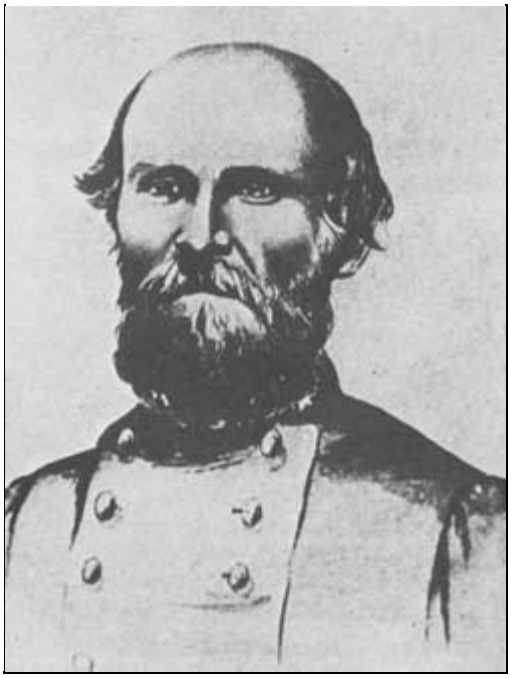
instructions." "It may," he predicted, "involve serious consequences." Therefore, Canby determined to take most of the troops at Fort Craig and move north to join in the conflict, leaving Colonel Carson and 11 companies of New Mexico volunteers to defend Craig. Canby realized that the Confederates could be caught between two Union forces and forced to fight on two fronts at the same time. Then, as soon as possible, he would unite with the troops from Fort Union. "When united," he concluded, "the force under my command will be sufficient to expel the enemy from the country north of this post." [201] Perhaps Canby was fearful of what would happen to Slough's command, or perhaps he was fearful that Slough might get credit for a victory while he was sitting tight at Fort Craig. Whatever the case, Canby was too late to affect what happened east of Santa Fe.



Battle of Glorieta Pass, 1862. Source: Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico*, 37.

On March 27 Chivington moved his command back to Kozlowski's Ranch, and he and Pyron were both joined by reinforcements. Colonel Slough moved the remainder of his force to Kozlowski's Ranch, and Confederate Lieutenant Colonel William R. Scurry [202] brought more Texans from his camp at Galisteo to Johnson's Ranch. Scurry spent the day at Johnson's Ranch, expecting an attack at any moment. [203] Private Gardner claimed that Colonel Slough had sent a message to the Confederates at Johnson's Ranch on the morning of March 27, announcing "that the Armistice was up, and we would attack them soon, but we didn't intend to attack them that day at all." [204] On March 28 Scurry, determined to wait no longer, led about 700 men with three pieces of artillery over Glorieta Pass to attack the enemy. On the same day Slough, in a daring two-column offensive, had sent Major Chivington with 430 men on a back road over Glorieta Mesa to the heights overlooking Apache Canyon and Johnson's Ranch. Chivington's force, guided by Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Chavez of the New Mexico Volunteers, was to harass the Confederates from the rear while Slough and the remaining 900 Union troops moved over the Santa Fe Trail.

Slough, to give Chivington time to travel the longer distance, moved to Pigeon's Ranch and waited there, unaware that the Confederates had advanced to a position in Glorieta Canon about a mile west of Pigeon's Ranch. When



William R. Scurry, *courtesy* State Historical Society of Colorado.

that was discovered about 10:30 a.m., the Union troops were rushed forward to form a battle line. They were met by the fire of Confederate artillery. Both sides utilized artillery; the Confederates had three pieces and the Union troops had eight. The Texans enjoyed an element of surprise and forced Slough's troops to retreat several times during the day. Slough abandoned the field soon after 5:00 p.m. and retreated to Kozlowski's Ranch. Captain Enos, quartermaster, was credited with saving the Union supply and ammunition train during the retreat. [205] Confederates were too exhausted to pursue, but must have felt they had achieved an important victory.

It is impossible to determine accurately the losses of either side because of the conflicting reports. Colonel Slough estimated Union losses at 28 killed, 40 wounded, and 15 prisoners, and Confederate casualties of at least 100 killed, 150 wounded, and several prisoners. Colonel Scurry reported 36 killed and 60 wounded in his command and stated that Union killed must have exceeded 100.

The apparent Confederate victory at Glorieta Pass was deceptive. Chivington's command had delivered what proved to be the decisive blow to the Confederate invasion of New Mexico at Johnson's Ranch. There his troops captured and destroyed a piece of artillery that Scurry had left behind and burned the supply train of approximately 70 wagons containing food, ammunition, clothing, baggage, forage, medical supplies, and other items. Chivington later recalled that the "wagons and supplies were run together and set on fire and kept under guard until the ammunition had all exploded and the supplies had all been consumed, nothing remaining excepting the irons of the wagons." [206] At Johnson's Ranch, three Texans were killed, several were wounded, and 17 were captured. One Union soldier, Private Simon Ritter, Company A, First Colorado Volunteers, was injured when the Confederate ammunition exploded. Chivington's command was guided by Padre Polaco (the Reverend Alexander Grzelachowski) over a different route back to the camp near Kozlowski's Ranch, where they arrived about 10:00 p.m. [207]

The impact of the destruction was felt by the Texans. Confederate Private Brown later informed his "dear wife," "our whole train of seventy wagons was burned by the enemy. In one of the wagons was that trunk of clothing you sent me. . . . It was burned up with the rest." [208] Confederate Private H. C. Wright recalled many years later, "it was a great shock to us to find that after we had won the battle we had lost the victory by our supplies having been destroyed." [209] Wright also remembered it was a "dreadful blow. We were left shorn of everything, with three or four hundred dead and wounded men on our hands and no means to care for them." [210] Chivington later claimed that his men bayoneted over one thousand mules which had pulled the Confederate supply train, an apparent exaggeration. [211] The uncertainty of how many mules, if any, were killed that day remains an interesting footnote to the history of the engagement at Glorieta Pass. [212]



Samuel D. Raymond, bugler with First Colorado Volunteers at Glorieta, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Colonel Scurry, his entire supply train destroyed and his men extremely low on ammunition, was unable to follow up his success on the field at Glorieta Pass. [213] If they had captured the Union supply wagons and ammunition, which the quick action of Captain Enos prevented, Scurry might have had a second chance. [214] His men, however, suffered intensely from want of food, blankets, and medical supplies. It turned cold and snowed on them during the night after the battle. They had to retreat to Santa Fe for supplies. [215] It was the beginning of the end of Confederate occupation of New Mexico. [216] The engagement at Glorieta Pass and Johnson's Ranch was the turning point of the war in the Southwest, referred to by some historians as the "Gettysburg of the West." Brigadier General Sibley was forced to abandon his planned attack on Fort Union, and his brigade was driven from New Mexico during the late spring and early summer of 1862. The troops from Fort Union, led away from the post by Colonel Slough in violation of Canby's orders, had saved the territory for the Union. The post on Wolf Creek had truly lived up to its name.

The soldiers left behind at Fort Union, some of whom continued to labor on the fieldwork and others were engaged in shipping supplies to troops in the field, must have been anxious for news of Colonel Slough's column. Their initial reaction, upon learning that the Confederates had driven the column from the field at Glorieta and Pigeon's Ranch, was undoubtedly one of apprehension that the fight might soon be at their doorstep. When they heard the news of Chivington's destructive blow at Johnson's Ranch, the anxiety and suspense were transformed into celebration and relief. It was unlikely that anyone who had worked on the fieldwork was disappointed that its walls were not tested in battle.

A temporary hospital was established at Kozlowski's Ranch at the time of the battle at Glorieta Pass, under the direction of Surgeon Joseph C. Bailey. The wounded were treated there until they could be moved to Fort Union. During the time the troops were at Kozlowski's place some of his fences were used as fuel, amounting to about 25 cords of wood. Some doors, shutters, and other lumber was used for coffins, bunks, and benches for the sick and wounded. Dr. Bailey had authorized the appropriation of property for the benefit of the soldiers. Kozlowski later submitted a claim for compensation, asking for $300 for the loss of fences and $150 for the other materials used. Since the damage occurred under supervision of the medical department, Captain McFerran needed a statement from Dr. Bailey, whom he could not locate, or the surgeon general to certify that the payment should be made. McFerran observed that Kozlowski would probably be satisfied with $200 to $250 for the fences and $100 for the other lumber. [217] Kozlowski was most likely paid but the exact amount was not found.

Colonel Slough's column returned to Fort Union on April 2, as directed by Canby. Slough, whom Canby charged with violating orders by marching his troops away from Fort Union, resigned his commission effective April 9. [218] Major Chivington was promoted to the rank

of colonel to replace Slough. Colonel Paul, who had been so upset when he discovered Slough outranked him, now took command of operations. [219] Paul placed Captain Asa B. Carey, Thirteenth Infantry, in command of the post and led most of the troops at Fort Union back toward Santa Fe, hoping to join up with Canby's troops from Fort Craig at some point to continue pushing the Texans out of the territory. Governor Connelly was confident that this would happen soon. [220] When Canby's troops appeared at Albuquerque, the Confederates at Santa Fe were called there to join Sibley's force in an attempt to hold the city. Troops from Fort Union reoccupied Santa Fe, where they found the Confederates had left behind their wounded comrades. [221] Governor Connelly moved the seat of his government back to the capital on April 12. [222] Canby traveled east of the mountains around Albuquerque and joined up with Paul's troops from Fort Union at Tijeras, and the combined force pursued the fleeing Texans down the Rio Grande valley. There was a small skirmish at Peralta and the Texans continued to retreat. There was an exchange of some prisoners, [223] and Canby paroled and sent out of New Mexico the remaining Confederate prisoners ("about 500"). Those who were wounded were treated until they could travel. [224]

One of those parolees, Private Brown, explained what had happened to Sibley's brigade in a letter to his wife. After the victory at Valverde, he wrote, "we felt like heroes." With renewed confidence, he recalled,

> . . . we were marching up the country with the fixed determination of wrenching this country from the United States Government and we all thought it would soon be in our hands. But what a mistake. Having marched to within eighty miles of Fort Union, we were again met by the enemy from Fort Union, and after three battles with them, all of us who were not killed or taken prisoners were obliged to destroy everything they had, and flee to the mountains for their lives, and get out of the country, the Lord only knows how. We were among those taken prisoners. [225]

Brown, while at Socorro, explained that "some of the prisoners were sent to the States; the rest of us have been started home this way." He revealed that they were paroled "by swearing never to take up arms against the United States again, which I was very glad to do." He was sorry to have lost, and reiterated, "had it not been for the devils from Pike's Peak, this country would have been ours." He also had his fill of war, warning "if brother John has not joined the volunteers yet, keep him away for God's sake." Without explaining why, Private Brown considered Sibley largely responsible for what had happened to the Texas volunteers in New Mexico. "I hope the day is not far distant," he asserted, "when Gen. Sibley will be hung." [226] He was not alone in that opinion. Private Wright declared that Sibley "proved himself incompetent" and "shirked his duty." [227]

Captain Teel, who did not concede that the troops from Fort Union had beaten the rebels in battle, blamed Sibley's ineptitude for the Confederate failure in New Mexico Territory. "General Sibley," he later declared, "was not a good administrative officer. He did not husband his resources, and was too prone to let the morrow take care of itself." Sibley did not pay enough attention to his supply line and relied too much on the hope of capturing provisions as needed. Teel believed the Texans did not succeed primarily because of "the want of supplies." "Under such circumstances," he concluded, "failure was inevitable." Teel believed that, if Baylor had been in charge, "the result might have been different." [228] That may have been Teel's rationalization, but it was also credible.

While the residue of Sibley's Brigade was retreating toward Fort Bliss, Colonel James H. Carleton, First California Volunteers, who had served at Fort Union during the early 1850s, led a column of some 1,500 California Volunteers into present Arizona. They forced the Confederate troops, who had occupied Arizona Territory under Baylor, to retreat back to

Texas, as well. By mid-July 1862, even Fort Bliss was back in the hands of Union troops. As soon as Canby was assured that Carleton's California Column would be able to clear the Confederates from Arizona and southern New Mexico, he made plans to return the Colorado Volunteers to their home territory. [229] Canby wrote to his counterpart in the Department of Kansas, "I do not think that an invasion of this country by the Rio Grande will again be attempted, but it may be by the Canadian or the Arkansas, if our troops in the South should meet with any serious reverses." [230] The major threat Canby anticipated was the attempt "to cut off or destroy the supply trains coming to this country." [231] He turned his attention to the protection of the Santa Fe Trail and the New Mexican settlements from Indians. These were missions the troops at Fort Union and throughout the department had been engaged in for more than a decade, and now the volunteers joined in the ventures. [232] In addition, the troops at Fort Union, with the help of civilian employees, continued to receive and ship out prodigious quantities of provisions for the entire department.

The condition of Fort Union was evaluated at the end of June 1862 by the post quartermaster, Lieutenant Alexander W. Robb, Second Colorado Volunteers. He found neither the old nor the new post satisfactory for housing soldiers or commodities. His report to Major Henry Davies Wallen, Seventh Infantry, a native of the South who chose the Union cause and was the current post commander, included a detailed description of the fieldwork.

> First. The old post built in 1851 is in a state of dilapidation having been reported some years ago unfit for occupancy: there are a few buildings which have been repaired and are now temporarily used as Quarters and Storehouses.
>
> Second. The new post which is being built according to plans of Capt. C. Grover was commenced in 1861 and is not completed as orders were received from Dept. Head Qrs. to discontinue the work. The four angles [demilunes] designed for Storehouses and Company Quarters are completed, each wing is 200 feet in length and 26 feet in depth which is subdivided into a storehouse 100 feet in length and 6 rooms [approximately 16 x 26 feet] designed for the use of one Company. The condition of these houses are good, being just completed, but being partly underground when heavy rains occur the roofs leak badly and the water collects and runs in at the doors.
>
> According to the plan there should be eight sets of Officers Quarters two of which are occupied, the rest not being completed each set forms an angle and is composed of eight rooms.
>
> One side of the angle is composed of 3 rooms, two of which are 16 feet by 18 feet and one 12 feet by 16 feet, the other side is composed of five rooms, two of which are 14 feet by 16 feet, one 12 by 16 feet, one 16 by 16 feet, and one 8 by 16 feet. They are built partly underground, and during heavy rains the rooms are subject to inundation.
>
> The parapet forming the breast work is fast washing away and filling up the ditch around the works, this cannot be prevented unless the slopes are sodded. There are two sets of Company Quarters and one set of Officers' Quarters of four rooms, inside the work which are put up temporarily, which to render substantial buildings would have to be rebuilt: the only board floors in the Garrison are in the two set of officers outside the field works, all the rest are dirt floors. I would respectfully state that the buildings forming the officers Quarters, Company Quarters & Storehouses, cover the curtain of the field work to such an extent as to weaken the defense of the place, and as stated before all being under ground and without ventilation are unhealthy to men, and subject all the Stores placed in

them to damage. [233]

Major Wallen added the following endorsement to the report, leaving no doubt about the state of the recent construction and recommending the construction of new facilities.

> I have carefully examined the buildings at the post and find their condition as expressed in the above communication. The log huts at the old post are very much decayed and not susceptible of being repaired - the Quarters and Storehouses inside the field works are damp, badly ventilated and not fit to be occupied except in an emergency. I have recently moved two companies from the work and encamped them, have increased the allowance of Quarters for those remaining as a precaution against diseases.
>
> I would respectfully urge the necessity of erecting Quarters & Storehouses at this point, or in this vicinity, as those now in use are in every respect wholly unfit for the purposes for which they were designed. [234]

Wallen's proposal to build new facilities later resulted in a decision to begin work on the third Fort Union. From Robb's report, it was not clear how the officers and men of the six companies comprising the garrison were quartered, but apparently some were at the old post, some at the field work, and some in tents. It was not a satisfactory arrangement. The post hospital was located in one of the buildings at the old post. The post surgeon, James Thomas Ghiselin, reported "that the building used for a Hospital at this post is old and so badly out of repair the sick are made very uncomfortable after every rain storm by the excessive dampness of the walls and flooring." Dr. Ghiselin believed it would be "less expensive to the Government, and more comfortable for the sick - to erect an entirely new building than repair the old one." [235]

Major Wallen endorsed the surgeon's recommendation and forwarded it to Colonel Canby, noting that he had "carefully examined the building now in use & find that it is very much decayed and not susceptible of being made comfortable for the sick." After noting that "there are so many men constantly at the Hospital, some of them with Small Pox," Wallen requested that the depot quartermaster "be instructed to erect a suitable building for a hospital with a room or ward somewhat removed for patients with contagious diseases." [236] Some of the patients at Fort Union and other posts in the department had been sent to a new general hospital established at the hot springs near Las Vegas. [237] Everything at Fort Union, as Wallen had stated, was "wholly unfit."

The criticism of the fieldwork and other buildings at the post was not confined to military reports. Soon after Captain Plympton completed his experiment with artillery, which exposed the vulnerability of the fieldwork, and filed his critical evaluation of the new structures on June 20, 1862, [238] Second Lieutenant Gerald Russell, Third Cavalry, an acting assistant adjutant general in the department, leaked the report to the *Santa Fe Republican.* Additional information was apparently pried from one or more soldiers. The July 5, 1862, issue of the *Republican* carried an acerbic article titled "Fort Building in New Mexico."

With feigned praise for the "model" fortification at Fort Union, "truly a beautiful structure" where "the ditch is on the right side," all "the angles are skillfully placed, and the interior arrangement is more than could be desired," the article scathingly declared that "Ungenerous Captain" Plympton's artillery demonstration had revealed "humiliating facts." Plympton had shown the *"seventy thousand dollars"* spent there had been wasted on "fine feats of engineering skill" proven to be "worse than worthless." The post, which had recently been "the only fort in New Mexico held by United States troops," had given false security to the people of the territory.

The article speculated that "the skillful engineer who planned and constructed" the earthwork had "elicited the admiration" of the war department and "led to the promotion which we are informed he has received." Then, in biting commentary, observed: "The invention of an underground tunnel several thousand feet to the spring, which having been finished caved in, when water was found within the fort a few feet below the surface by digging wells, denoted singular foresight." That was the kind of foresight that placed the *"seventy thousand dollar earthworks"* within artillery range of the bluffs.

Colonel Canby was furious and immediately used his authority to stop public criticism of the army. Lieutenant Russell was reprimanded. The editor (former territorial secretary, James H. Holmes) and publisher (Putnam O'Brien) of the *Republican* were arrested and held for trial because they refused to reveal the source of information in the article. Under martial law, they had no right to publish military information that might aid the enemy. They were apparently found guilty and given a suspended sentence. When Putnam was released was not determined, but Holmes was "discharged from custody" on July 24. [239] Canby had made it clear that military records revealing conditions at Fort Union were not for publication.

Despite or because of the controversy over the location and condition of Fort Union, Colonel Canby requested that the defects in the fieldwork be corrected, that a redoubt be placed on the mesa above the old fort to prevent enemy artillery from being planted there, and that adequate quarters and storehouses be erected beyond the fieldwork ("beyond the range of any but rifled cannon"). He believed Fort Union was the best location in the department for the general supply depot and appealed for authority to begin construction of necessary buildings. [240] Canby started Captain McFerran working on the plans for a third Fort Union, which was to be built of adobes set on stone foundations and have pitched roofs covered with shingles. The first building, a large storehouse, and some new quartermaster corrals were begun before Canby left the department in September. [241]

On September 18, 1862, Brigadier General Carleton replaced Canby as the commander of the Department of New Mexico, and Canby soon accompanied many of the regular troops from Fort Union to Fort Leavenworth for service in other parts of the country. Most of the companies of the First, Second, and Third Cavalry and the Seventh and Tenth Infantry in the department, which had been permitted to remain in New Mexico until volunteers were raised and the Confederate challenge was crushed, were leaving for other theaters. [242]

Carleton, like Canby, was satisfied with the location of Fort Union and the general depot for the department. He had no objection to building new quarters and barracks near the fieldwork. He was concerned, however, about the "gradual disappearance of neighboring pools *[Los Pozos],"* and "the drying up of springs in the vicinity." In order to be fair, Carleton requested that a board be appointed to select the best site for a depot, declaring that the issue had been up in the air for a dozen years and "the result is we have no depot - and have spent money enough to make two or three." At the same time, he held a certain affection for the post where he had served a decade before. A few weeks after assuming command of the department, Carleton requested Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs to evaluate and approve the plans for the



James H. Carleton, *courtesy* Museum of New

third post. [243] The construction of the third Fort Union is described in chapters six and seven.

Mexico.

Meanwhile, Carleton selected a company of infantry from the post garrison to serve as an artillery battery, commanded by Lieutenant George S. Hollister, Seventh Infantry, to be in charge of the defense of Fort Union. [244] A few weeks later, when renewed rumors of another Texan invasion were rife, Carleton directed that abattis for the demilunes be cut in the Turkey Mountains, the limbs to be pointed after they were hauled to the post. [245]

Carleton, because of his earlier experience in New Mexico and his attention to duty, also understood the department and its people better than most other department commanders. He was committed to making the lives of citizens secure and expanding the areas of settlement in the territory. He was determined to deal with Indian problems as quickly as possible, settling the Indians on reservations, by force if necessary, where they could be fed and closely watched. He considered Colonel Carson, First New Mexico Volunteers, capable of leading successful expeditions against bands that refused to submit peaceably. [246]

There had been few reports of Indian troubles in the region of Fort Union during the time of Confederate invasion and retreat. By September 1862, however, there was increasing evidence of Indian assaults. Several New Mexicans were reported killed, some captured, and large numbers of cattle stolen near Wagon Mound. Indians were believed responsible for the theft of more than 100 mules and horses from a merchant's wagon train near Rabbit Ear Mountain on the Cimarron Route. Indians or "guerrilla parties composed in part of Mexicans" were presumed to have raided near Anton Chico. Troops were dispatched to investigate, provide protection, recover stolen livestock, and punish the guilty parties if possible. [247] Second Lieutenant George L. Shoup, Second Colorado Volunteers, led a detachment of 45 men from Fort Union to attempt to recover the animals stolen from the wagon train near Rabbit Ear. They were gone 41 days and recovered 92 of the stolen animals. The Indians, tribe not identified, who had perpetrated the theft promised to stop raiding supply trains. [248] Other tribesmen, however, continued to make forays against wagon trains and livestock herds.

Carleton believed the Mescalero Apaches were perpetrators of many foul deeds in southeastern New Mexico, and he sent Colonel Carson with five companies of the First New Mexico Volunteers to reoccupy Fort Stanton and turn it into a base of operations against the Mescaleros. Carleton directed his old friend, Captain Shoemaker at the ordnance depot at Fort Union, to outfit Carson's command with arms, ammunition, and equipment needed for a campaign. Carleton sent four companies of the First New Mexico Volunteers, under Lieutenant Colonel Chavez, to establish Fort Wingate in Navajo country. To keep a watch for Indians and Texans along the Pecos River, Carleton placed one company of the Second Colorado Volunteers in camp at Bosque Redondo. [249] For similar duty on the Canadian route, he sent one company of the Second Colorado Volunteers to establish and occupy a temporary camp near the mouth of Ute Creek on the Canadian "until spring." This was named Camp Easton, which later became Fort Bascom. [250] Fort Union was to protect the Santa Fe Trail and handle the distribution of supplies. Other units were stationed along the Rio Grande valley. In short order, Carleton effected a redistribution of the troops in the department to place them in position to deal with Indians as well as Texans, should they attempt another invasion. [251]

Carleton did not approve of a general hospital at the hot springs near Las Vegas, far from any military post. He ordered that it be discontinued and the patients, medicines, and hospital supplies be transferred to Fort Union. The quartermaster at the post was instructed to "prepare a building for the reception of these sick and wounded . . . in case the capacity of the present

Hospital at that post is not sufficient for their accommodation." [252] Given the condition of facilities at Fort Union, it was doubtful that these additional patients could be easily sheltered. Their presence would magnify the need for a new hospital at the post.

As Colonel Carson prepared to lead his battalion from Fort Union to reoccupy Fort Stanton and deal with the Mescalero Apaches, Carleton issued broad orders: "You will attack the Mescaleros and Navajos wherever you find them until further orders." [253] Carleton sent two other columns, each independent commands comprised of two companies of California Volunteers (one led by Captain William McCleave [254] and the other by Captain Nathaniel J. Pishon), into Mescalero country to assist in their defeat. These troops were also supplied from Fort Union. Carleton believed that winter was the best time to campaign against the belligerent Indians. All troops sent against the Mescaleros were ordered to kill all men and take women and children prisoners until the tribe had surrendered to Carleton. There were to be no negotiations and no peace until the Mescaleros were soundly defeated. [255]

At the end of October Brigadier General Carleton, a decade after his first expedition to Bosque Redondo and observation that it was a good location for a military post, ordered the establishment of Fort Sumner, to honor Edwin V. Sumner, at that place. This new post on the Pecos would encourage settlers to locate in the area and block the Pecos route against Kiowas, Comanches, Mescalero Apaches, and Texan invaders. [256] Later, Fort Sumner watched over an Indian reservation for the Mescaleros and Navajos. The post was founded by Captain Joseph Updegraff, Fifth Infantry, on November 30, 1862, and was active until August 30, 1869. During all that time, it was supplied from Fort Union. [257]

Colonel Carson's campaign against the Mescaleros began to bring favorable results in November 1862. All the Mescaleros who agreed to surrender to Brigadier General Carleton were directed to the Bosque Redondo, where they would be fed and protected by the troops at Fort Sumner. Carson was directed to continue his expedition and send all Mescaleros who wanted peace to go to Bosque Redondo. Carleton believed that, "eventually, we shall have the whole tribe at Bosque Redondo, and there we can conclude a definite treaty with them." [258] Rumors of a renewed Texan invasion, which proved untrue, caused an interruption of the campaign against the Mescaleros late in 1862.

The same rumors caused a flurry at Fort Union to make additional repairs to the defense of the earthwork in case it should be attacked by a Confederate army. Abattis were cut for the exposed sides of the demilunes, as noted above. Additional work, the nature of which was not revealed, was to be done by the troops, "having one whole company - officers and all - detailed on fatigue one day, and another company the next day, and so on, until the work is done, commencing at once." [259] The depot quartermaster, Captain William Craig, was assigned the added duties of post quartermaster and placed in charge of the work. He was directed by Carleton to use any of the materials gathered for the building of the new depot that might be needed to strengthen the defense of the post. Craig was authorized to hire 30 citizen laborers to complete the magazine inside the fieldwork and, after that, perform other "necessary labor." [260] Ceran St. Vrain brought 100 volunteer workers from Taos to Fort Union, where they worked 20 days "with pickaxes and spades, free of pay, the Government feeding them." [261] While beefing up the defense of military installations throughout the territory, Carleton also gave attention to possible dangers among the populace.

Because several federal officials in New Mexico had fled from the territory during the Texan invasion in the spring of 1862, Brigadier General Carleton took steps to prevent further defections in case the anticipated infiltration occurred. Captain Plympton at Fort Union was directed by Carleton to detain any citizens attempting to flee "to the States . . . unless they have passports signed by myself." [262] If they slipped past Fort Union, the commander at Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory, was requested to send them back. [263] Carleton had no use

for people he considered cowards or, even worse, disloyal to the Union cause. He forbade purchases by procurement officers from merchants whom he considered "indifferent . . . to . . . efforts to maintain the Union." [264] Carleton was alert to untrustworthy citizens within as well as enemy attacks from without New Mexico.

The expected Confederate attack never materialized, but a party of southerners from the Colorado gold fields were captured, while making their way along the Canadian River to Fort Smith, by the troops at Camp Easton and brought to Fort Union. Second Lieutenant Shoup led the detachment of Second Colorado Volunteers that caught the party of 24 led by Green Russell from Georgia, the man credited with discovering gold in western Kansas Territory (Colorado Territory after 1861) in 1858 and setting off the Pike's Peak rush of 1859. There were six orphan children in the group, and at least three cases of smallpox among the prisoners were under the care of Dr. Levi J. Russell, a member of the party. They were leaving Colorado Territory where their Confederate sympathies were not appreciated. Shoup, who had enlisted some Comanche allies to capture what he suspected was a party of Confederate guerrillas, was surprised when he discovered who his captives were. He took them to Fort Union to let higher authority decide what should be done. Three of the prisoners died from smallpox on the way to Fort Union and others, including all the children, contracted the disease. Carleton wrote to Adjutant General Thomas for instructions for handling such cases. Over $20,000 worth of gold was taken from the party but later restored to them. The Green party received medical aid and was released to return to Georgia in February 1863. While the party remained at Fort Union, the citizens of Santa Fe and soldiers in the department contributed several hundred dollars for the "comfort and support" of the children. [265]

By the end of January 1863 Carleton, who had visited the troops from Santa Fe to Franklin in Texas, was confident that an imminent invasion was not going to happen. He informed Governor John Evans, Colorado Territory, "I do not believe any considerable force from that state [Texas] will attempt to invade this country again, at least for the present." Unless the Confederacy should win the war in the East, Carleton considered the chances of another attempt to expand westward to be remote. If the Confederate States of America established their independence, however, he considered such a move to be "more than probable." [266] Carleton's views proved to be correct.

Carleton informed Adjutant General Thomas that the probability of another Texas invasion was "so remote as to justify me in employing the troops under my command in chastising the hostile tribes of Indians" in the department. Carleton believed the Mescalero Apaches were already "subdued," and over 350 members of that tribe were at or soon to be at Fort Sumner. Carleton planned to place the Mescaleros on a reservation and have them plant crops in the spring. An expedition against the Mimbres Apaches in southwestern New Mexico had resulted in the death of Mangus Colorado and many of his followers, and Carleton hoped to have the Mimbres Apaches on a reservation soon. In the spring of 1863 he planned to send a major expedition against the Navajos and force them onto a reservation. [267] In all these efforts, Carleton relied on supplies shipped through Fort Union.

Captain Plympton, post commander, and Captain Craig, depot quartermaster, apparently came to a disagreement over the allocation of storehouses at Fort Union between the depot and the post. Carleton urged them to make peace in the interest of the public service. To settle the situation, Carleton directed Captain McFerran, chief quartermaster in the department, while McFerran was at Fort Union on other business, to oversee the arrangements of "rooms for public stores arriving from the States." Carleton believed there were sufficient buildings at the post to accommodate the present needs of the depot and the fort. He did not want the enmity between the two officers at Fort Union to disrupt the operation of either facility. He urged them to "shake hands over the matter and let it pass by." [268] A few days later

Carleton requested authorization from Quartermaster General Meigs to continue with construction of the new depot at Fort Union in the spring. [269]

Perhaps, in part, to placate Captain Plympton, Carleton ordered the construction of a new commanding officer's quarters near the fieldwork. This was to be a temporary structure, to serve until the third fort was built, located where Captain Plympton desired. Captain Craig was instructed to "tear down the old house on the hill, known as Col. Sumner's house - which was formerly used as a Hospital at Fort Union" to obtain "the lumber and doors and windows now in it to make a set of officers quarters, say four rooms and a Kitchen, with a yard &c, complete and comfortable." The quarters were to be "built of logs, and will be plastered on the inside, with blinds to the windows and a gallery running along its front, say ten feet broad." The roof was to be made of the materials comprising the roof of the old house. The chimneys were to be of stone. Craig was to assign as many workers to this task as "you can spare to complete the building." [270] The exact location of these quarters in relation to the fieldwork is unknown.

The need for more secure storehouses at Fort Union was emphasized on the night of March 29, 1863, when "some person or persons" broke into the commissary depot and stole three sacks of flour and four barrels of whiskey. A board of inquiry decided that the storehouse was "a very insecure building" and absolved Captain Carey, depot commissary officer, of any "neglect" in the loss of provisions. [271] The provisions were needed throughout the department. When the commander at Camp Easton, Captain E. H. Bergmann, First New Mexico Volunteers, was authorized to begin construction of permanent quarters, he was directed to obtain equipment and supplies from the depot at Fort Union. [272] Later, Captain Plympton was transferred from Fort Union to command the post and oversee the construction at Camp Easton. [273]

Fort Union was not only the source of supplies for most of the troops in the department, but it became the supply center for defeated Indians as well. By March 1863 Carleton was satisfied that the Mescalero Apaches were sufficiently subjugated to proceed with the establishment of a reservation for them at Bosque Redondo near Fort Sumner. Carleton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs James L. Collins, and Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy of Santa Fe went to meet with the Mescaleros and work out the details for their reservation. Provisions for these Indians were secured from Fort Union until the Bureau of Indian Affairs could provide subsistence. Colonel Carson and his battalion of First New Mexico Volunteers were directed to begin preparations to move to Navajo country and undertake a campaign designed to bring that tribe to reservation status as well. [274] When Carson led his troops out of Mescalero country, they were replaced by troops from Fort Union who continued to pressure the remaining Mescaleros to move to the reservation. [275]

The new commanding officer's quarters at Fort Union were ready for occupancy on April 10. At the same time Captain Plympton moved from the old post to these quarters, all enlisted men and laundresses belonging to the garrison were moved into quarters in the demilunes of the fieldwork. If there were not sufficient rooms in those quarters, the overflow was to be quartered in tents near the fieldwork. Only the post surgeon and general staff officers were permitted to remain in quarters at the old post. The unoccupied structures at the original post were assigned to the quartermaster and commissary depots to be used until the new storehouses were erected. [276] Permission was later granted to permit the hospital matron to continue in quarters she occupied at the old post. [277] Captain Shoemaker and the ordnance depot were apparently still located at the old post, although some of the ordnance supplies were stored in the magazine inside the fieldwork. Shoemaker was charged with outfitting Carson's expedition against the Navajos.

Colonel Carson was ordered to begin his campaign against the Navajos on July 1, 1863.

Three of the nine companies of the First New Mexico Volunteers which comprised his command were from the garrison at Fort Union. Provisions for the expedition were also from the supply depots at Fort Union. Captain Carey, depot commissary officer at Fort Union, was assigned to serve as the expedition quartermaster. [278] The details of the Navajo expedition, which lasted into the spring of 1864, and the additional roundup that followed are beyond the scope of Fort Union history. As the more than 8,000 Navajos surrendered and were placed on the reservation at Bosque Redondo with the Mescalero Apaches, troops from Fort Union assisted with the transfer of the captives, some of whom were brought to Fort Union before being sent on to the reservation. Provisions were sent from the depots at Fort Union to subsist the Indians until the Bureau of Indian Affairs could assume responsibility for them. Several plows were fabricated at the quartermaster shops at Fort Union to be used by the Navajos to prepare ground on their reservation to plant crops. Carleton often argued, regarding the Indians, that "you can feed them cheaper than you can fight them." [279]

When Captain Plympton left Fort Union for Camp Easton, on August 4, 1863, Lieutenant Colonel William McMullen, First California Volunteer Infantry, became commanding officer at Fort Union. While on his way to Fort Union in July, McMullen's ambulance and escort were attacked by Indians near Paraje, a few miles south of Fort Craig. The Indians killed two soldiers, a surgeon and a private of the California Volunteers, and stole McMullen's horse. The Indians lost three killed and an unknown number wounded. Undoubtedly McMullen was relieved to reach the safe confines of Fort Union. There he found many other responsibilities besides watching out for Indians. [280]

One of the first things McMullen reported to headquarters at Santa Fe was that there were no citizen prisoners in confinement at Fort Union. This may have been the first time since the Civil War began that civilians were not held in the guardhouse at the post. Because of reports that Indians were stealing sheep, cattle, and horses in the area, McMullen was directed to take "particular care" to protect livestock (public and private) within a 50-mile radius of Fort Union. A few days later Indians attacked herders working for the quartermaster depot near Fort Union and drove off 18 mules. Because of his own recent narrow escape, McMullen quickly complied with orders to provide an escort of one corporal and six privates for Major Wallen and his family from Fort Union to Denver. [281] Carleton later made it clear to McMullen that he had no jurisdiction over the supply and ordnance depots located at Fort Union, "except to defend" them "from any enemy whatever" (including fire and flood as well as Indians and thieves). [282]

Troops at Fort Union were also expected to help maintain civil peace. In anticipation of civil disturbances (which were widely expected) at Las Vegas on election day, September 7, 1863, Carleton sent 20 soldiers under command of Captain Nicholas S. Davis, First California Volunteers and assistant quartermaster to Captain Craig at the depot, from Fort Union "to see that no citizen, of whatever party he may be, is improperly interfered with when he proceeds to the ballot box to deposit his vote." Anyone caught interfering with the election process was to be arrested and held "until further orders." Carleton hoped no arrests would be necessary and that the mere presence of the troops would prevent disruption. He asked Chief Justice Kirby Benedict to provide any advice he might have for Captain Davis on this assignment. [283] Apparently there was no trouble on election day.

Carleton reorganized the department late in August 1863, establishing four districts which were mainly designed to facilitate the payment of troops. The district of Fort Union included that post and the ordnance depot and Forts Bascom, Sumner, and Stanton. [284] Carleton was always concerned about the lengthy delays between paydays and hoped to establish regular and efficient distribution of compensation to the troops. He was convinced that systematic payment was good for morale. He also believed that an adequate supply of provisions was helpful. He welcomed Captain William H. Bell, commissary department, as the commissary

officer at the depot at Fort Union, to replace Captain Carey who was sent on the Navajo expedition, to oversee the distribution of rations to the troops in the department. [285]

Because of the shortage of regular army troops in New Mexico, another regiment of New Mexico Volunteers was enlisted to help deal with the Indian problems in the territory. Major Henry R. Selden, Thirteenth Infantry, was selected to serve as colonel of the new regiment of infantry. Some of these troops were outfitted and trained at Fort Union. Lieutenant Colonel McMullen, apparently content with the way things were going at Fort Union, was shocked when he learned the results of a routine inspection of the post. Major Wallen, at the time serving as Carleton's inspector general, was examining all the posts in the department. He was not pleased with the situation he found at Fort Union. In addition to numerous shortcomings Wallen found, most of which were soon forwarded to McMullen, Wallen was furious about conditions at the fieldwork:

> I cannot speak in flattering terms of the police of the post; the surroundings of the Field Work are exceedingly unmilitary. Camp followers have been allowed to build huts, pig, and calf pens, in close proximity to the ditches, and the military appearance of the work is almost entirely destroyed. I recommend that these objectionable features be removed & none of a similar character permmitted to exist at the post. [286]

Carleton communicated the weaknesses to McMullen and recommended that steps be taken immediately to improve conditions. Among the numerous faults Wallen found were "dirty" arms in the mounted units, "bad" clothing, "unsoldierly" military bearing of the command, "indifferent" appearance of the troops, "lax" discipline, "loose" instruction of troops, "bad" accommodations at the hospital, "bad" sanitary conditions at the post, and "imperfect" policing of the facility. McMullen "seldom" inspected his command, "seldom" had the articles of war read to the troops, did not have recitations of regulations and tactics, did not require the officers and men to wear the prescribed uniforms, and permitted officers and men to use public animals for private business. McMullen was ordered to make all appropriate corrections, after which Major Wallen would again be sent to inspect the garrison. [287]

McMullen was incensed, believed that Wallen was out to destroy his reputation for personal reasons, and tried to explain each criticism away. For example, he noted that the mounted troops had just arrived from field duty when they were inspected and had not been permitted time to clean their weapons nor themselves. Carleton, however, was not interested in excuses. He ordered McMullen to get things shaped up and stand another inspection. Fort Union was serving the department in an important supporting role, and Carleton wanted it done well.

When needed, Carleton wanted the troops at Fort Union to be ready to take the field to deal with Indians. In December Anastacio Sandoval, of Santa Fe, reported that some 7,000 sheep he had under herders in the vicinity of Mesa Rica near the Canadian River in eastern New Mexico Territory had been stolen by Indians. A detachment from Fort Union was sent, accompanied by Sandoval, to recover the sheep. This may have been the same flock of sheep of which more than 5,000 were recovered by troops from Fort Sumner after a lengthy battle with Navajos (with heavy losses for the Indians; at least 12 killed and many more wounded) near the Pecos River some 35 miles north of Fort Sumner. [288]

Carleton had other problems to contend with besides Indians. Early in 1864 he sent two ill men to Fort Union to be cared for until they could be sent eastward in the spring. One was "an insane soldier named Fitzgerald" of the First California Volunteers, who was to be sent to the military insane asylum in Washington, D.C. The other was a civilian, a Mr. Thornton (first name unknown) from Kentucky, whose illness was not identified but may also have been mental. He had been under the care of the surgeon at Franklin, Texas, since the Texans

had been driven out in 1862. Of Thornton, Carleton stated, "we cannot turn him loose to perish." He was to be returned to his family and friends in Kentucky. Meanwhile, the commander at Fort Union was "personally" charged with seeing that the two were "properly, safely, and humanely cared for in all respects." [289] Such human tragedies provided distractions from the larger challenges of the times.

While some of the tribes in New Mexico were being subjugated, some of the plains tribes began to increase their opposition along the routes of travel during 1864. Colonel Chivington notified the commanding officer at Fort Union, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco P. Abreu, First New Mexico Volunteers, who had temporally replaced McMullen, in April that "the long anticipated difficulties with the Indians . . . appear to have reached a crisis." [290] This added to the duties of the troops at Fort Union, who were primarily responsible for guarding the western portion of the supply line from the East. At the same time, however, Brigadier General Carleton reduced the garrison at Fort Union to utilize the recently-trained volunteers and a company of regular troops at other points in New Mexico. This was necessary because of the transfer of several companies from various posts to join a campaign against the Apaches in Arizona Territory. [291]

Despite Chivington's warning, the outbreak of major warfare on the plains came later in 1864. Even so, there were raids on the supply trains beginning in April. A detachment from Fort Union was sent to accompany a supply train of commissary stores, traveling on the Mountain Route, into the post. They encountered no problems, and the supplies were soon unloaded at the depot. [292] Indians were not the only threat along the trail. A small New Mexican merchant train going to the States, owned by Manuel A. Otero, was surprised on May 21, 1864, near Cold Spring on the Cimarron Route by a party believed to be Texans. The attackers took approximately $10,000 in cash, the teamsters' provisions, weapons, some of their clothing, and 67 mules, leaving the wagons stranded. The party reached Fort Union on May 25 to report what had happened. The Texans had reportedly gone southeast toward a camp the teamsters believed to be some 10 days' travel away. [293] A few days later a New Mexican wagon train on the Fort Smith road, camped near Palo Duro Canyon in the Texas panhandle, was raided by what was believed to be the same outlaws. According to a member of that party, there were 48 attackers, "all Americans." They killed at least one of the herders with the train and headed south. [294]

McMullen was directed to select 50 of his "best men" to investigate and, "if possible, overtake these robbers and recapture the property and money." They were to have the best horses available. Troops were also dispatched eastward from Fort Bascom to cut off the retreat of the bandits if they were heading for Texas. The response from Fort Union was incredibly slow in getting started, but on June 10 Captain Nicholas S. Davis, First California Volunteers, led 50 men from Fort Union with 100 rounds of ammunition each and rations for 40 days. Their supplies were carried in three six-mule army wagons and on six pack mules. [295]

Captain Davis spent more than five weeks, traveling a distance of approximately 750 miles, searching for the robbers but found neither Texans nor Indians during that entire trip. The trail of the bandits had been obliterated by rains and all reports of them, received from New Mexicans on the plains, were either false or the troops were too many days behind to catch them. The troops from Fort Union did go to the Canadian River and follow it a considerable distance. They discovered the trail of the troops sent from Fort Bascom, which they followed until they realized they were on the trail of soldiers. Because he found no evidence of the raiding party going into Texas, Captain Davis concluded that they probably had gone to Kansas or Colorado Territory. [296] The identity of those who robbed Otero's train was not determined and Otero's property was not recovered. Additional troops were sent to Fort Union to provide better protection of the Santa Fe Trail, where Brigadier General Carleton

understood "that the Indians of the plains are very troublesome and menace the safety of the trains coming to New Mexico." [297]

Captain Davis was sent from Fort Union with 100 soldiers (50 infantrymen and 50 mounted troops), two mountain howitzers, and rations for 50 days to provide protection of the Cimarron Route as far as the Upper Crossing of the Arkansas River in Kansas. He was to provide whatever aid was required by wagon trains on that road. Carleton directed that Davis camp near the Upper Crossing and have *"carte blanche"* for this assignment. These troops, carrying 100 rounds of ammunition each and 50 rounds for the howitzers, left the fort on August 4. [298] At the same time, escorts were being provided for the mail coaches traveling the Mountain Route between Fort Union and Fort Lyon in Colorado Territory. The troops at Fort Larned, Kansas, were escorting the mails from Walnut Creek to Fort Lyon.

Indian raids were increasing along the routes of transportation and in New Mexico. On August 1 two herders were killed and an estimated 6,000 sheep were driven off near Anton Chico. The next day, a few miles southeast of Chaparita and Hatch's Ranch, a party of approximately 60 Indians killed nine men, captured five herders, and took "several thousand" sheep and some cattle. Other reports of lost sheep placed the total at 10,000 to 15,000 head. Lieutenant Sullivan Heath, First California Volunteers, led a detachment of 25 soldiers from Fort Union to Hatch's Ranch and beyond to investigate and recover the livestock if possible. They found the Indians were heading down the Pecos several days ahead of them. Upon learning from a "Mexican" that troops had been sent from Fort Sumner to intercept the thieves, Heath returned to Fort Union. [299] The guilty parties were not caught.

During August 1864 the Kiowas and Comanches increased their raids. As Captain Davis marched his command to the Arkansas, he met or overtook several wagon trains that had been victims of attacks. Indians had killed five Americans with a wagon train near Lower Spring on the Cimarron Route in southwest Kansas and took five wagons belonging to a Mr. Allison (first name unknown). The remains of the dead teamsters at Lower Spring were buried by Davis's troops. Another train had 130 mules stolen. The wagonmaster of a government contract train had been killed, and all the oxen stolen. Other trains had lost about 100 additional oxen to the Indians. [300]

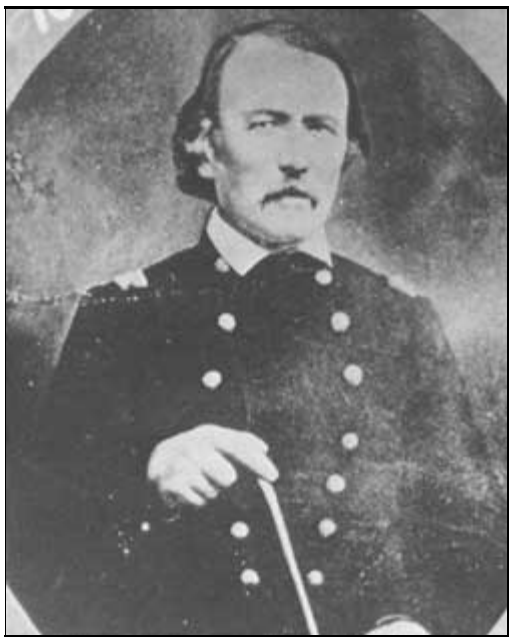
Carleton ordered an additional 100 troops from Fort Union, under command of Major Joseph Updegraff, Ninth Infantry, with rations for 60 days to establish a camp near the Lower Spring. Captain Bergmann, with 50 troops of the First New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry from Fort Bascom and 30 infantrymen from Fort Union, was directed to encamp near Upper Cimarron Spring (also known as Enchanted Spring and Flag Spring) as additional protection for the Cimarron Route. Assistant Surgeon Harvey E. Brown was sent with Updegraff to attend the sick and wounded of his, Captain Bergmann's, and Captain Davis's commands. A regular system of communication was to be established among the three camps. [301] Bergmann's command left Fort Union on September 3, and Updegraff started from there two days later. Davis, situated on the Arkansas River, encouraged westbound wagon trains to follow the Mountain Route and provided protection to Fort Lyon for those who agreed. Captain Davis, joined by a company of troops that had been sent out from Fort Larned after hearing of the attack at Lower Spring, accompanied the eastbound trains that had joined him along the way as far as Fort Larned. From there he escorted the westbound trains back toward Fort Union. On September 20 Davis's command, "escorting a large number of citizen & government wagons" joined Updegraff's camp at Lower Spring. Additional protection was provided by troops from Fort Larned, who escorted supply trains westward from that point until they met up with troops from Fort Union. [302]

Because the garrison at Fort Lyon was insufficient to provide the needed protection along the Mountain Route for supply trains, Carleton sent two companies of the New Mexico

Volunteers to serve along that road in Colorado Territory. [303] These were in addition to the regular escorts provided for the mail parties. Since the Colorado Volunteers had come to the aid of New Mexico during the Texan invasion, Carleton was returning the favor in this way. All the troops that could be spared from New Mexico were out on the two main routes of the Santa Fe Trail. They all carried supplies from the depots at Fort Un ion. [304]

Carleton renewed his request for more troops to be sent to New Mexico, where the enlistment terms of many volunteers were expiring. Many of the California Volunteers, whom Carleton had led to New Mexico during 1862 and who had contributed greatly to the defense of the department, were being mustered out of the service. Lieutenant Colonel McMullen gave up the command of Fort Union on September 1, 1864, because his term expired. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Abreu, New Mexico Volunteers, who had served as temporary commander when McMullen was absent from the post on other assignments. Abreu was superseded by Colonel Selden, First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, when he arrived at Fort Union on September 26. [305] Some of the New Mexico Volunteers were also nearing the completion of their enlistment. Three companies were transferred from Fort Craig to Fort Union to assist with "the hostilities of the Indians of the plains." [306]

Carleton informed Adjutant General Thomas that 2,000 *"efficient* men from the States" would make it possible to deal effectively with the Kiowas and Comanches. He asked for the Second Regiment of Colorado Volunteers as part of the reinforcements. He assured Thomas that, "once we can get all our supplies in, and get the merchants trains off the road, we can commence upon the Indians in earnest." For emphasis, he reiterated that his first concern was defensive, "the preservation of the trains." "When they are secure," he repeated, "the offensive may be begun in earnest." [307] To lead that offensive, Carleton turned to his reliable Indian campaigner, Colonel Carson.



Kit Carson, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

He asked Carson, a former Indian agent for the Utes, to recruit a band of that tribe from their reservation to join the troops in a march against the Kiowas and Comanches in the autumn. Carson would, of course, be in command of that expedition, to be organized and outfitted at Fort Union and, from there, proceed to Fort Bascom to begin the journey in search of the Kiowa and Comanche villages. The commander at Fort Bascom, Captain Charles Deus, First New Mexico Volunteers, reported that large parties of Kiowas and Comanches were located east of that post. They were expected to establish winter camps in the Texas panhandle. Soon after Colonel Selden took command of Fort Union, Lieutenant Colonel Abreu was sent from Fort Union to take command of Fort Bascom and report "all information you can learn of the whereabouts and probable numbers" of the Kiowas and Comanches. [308]

Carleton requested of the adjutant general that no peace be made with the plains tribes "until they are soundly whipped." Even though representatives of some tribes were asking for peace, Carleton advised that "the winter time is the time to make war upon them. They are then in large villages, obliged to keep on streams where grass and timber can be found, and

being encumbered by their families and by their stores of food, are easily overtaken." The Indians, he declared, "know this" and will make a peace that will last only until spring, predicting they "will be sure to commence their depredations upon the trains the moment the winter has gone by." Carleton asked for reinforcements, if possible, to join the upcoming campaign. [309]

As the arrangements were made for the campaign, Carleton expressed every confidence in Carson. "I believe," he wrote to Carson, "you will have big luck." At Fort Union, two mountain howitzers were prepared for field service (an important decision as events were to prove). Carson brought the Ute and Jicarilla Apache recruits to Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron (present Cimarron, New Mexico) where they were supplied with clothing and blankets as well as arms and ammunition from the depots at Fort Union. The troops for the campaign gathered at Fort Union, where Captain Shoemaker was directed to issue everything required "to fit out troops now preparing for active field service at Fort Union." [310]

There was hope that a force would march from Fort Larned, at the same time Carson took the field, to pursue the Kiowas and Comanches. [311] Carleton believed it would "disconcert them, finding troops coming from different directions." For Carson's column, Carleton had approximately 350 soldiers and 75 Indian auxiliaries. Lieutenant Colonel Abreu was to command the infantry, and Major McCleave was responsible for the mounted units. Lieutenant Charles Haberkorn, First New Mexico Volunteers, was in charge of the Indian allies. The surgeon was George S. Courtright. The entire command was to "concentrate at once at Fort Bascom, and have that post as their base of operations." All *Comancheros* were to be prohibited from going to the plains where they might warn the Indians about the campaign. Frank DeLisle, a noted scout and guide who was on the Cimarron Route with Captain Bergmann, was to join Carson at Fort Bascom as chief scout. Carson was to do whatever was necessary to inflict punishment "for the atrocities they have already committed." His directions to Carson were clear: "You know where to find the Indians; you know what atrocities they have committed; you know how to punish them. The means and men are placed at your disposal to do it, and now all the rest is left with you." [312]

Carson's column left Fort Bascom on November 12, 1864, heading for old Fort Adobe (the remains of which were commonly called Adobe Walls), an abandoned trading post built by Bent, St. Vrain & Co. in 1845-1846 north of the Canadian River in the central panhandle of Texas. There Carson planned to leave his wagon train of supplies and proceed with pack mules to attack the Kiowas and Comanches in their winter camps. The column encountered their enemy a few miles before reaching Adobe Walls and attacked a Kiowa village of about 150 lodges early in the morning of November 25. The Kiowas were driven from their camp and took a stand at Adobe Walls, where they were dislodged by artillery fire. Carson then occupied the old trading post. The Kiowas secured reinforcements from Kiowa and Comanche camps farther down the Canadian River, and came back to attempt to surround Carson and cut him off from his supply train and the abandoned Kiowa village. [313]

Surgeon Courtright set up his hospital within the old fort, behind the remains of adobe walls which he recalled as being "between three and four feet high." He estimated that 3,000 Kiowas and Comanches were in the vicinity, odds of more than ten to one (part of Carson's force had been left with the supply train). With the aid of the mountain howitzers, Carson broke away from Adobe Walls and, after a bitter contest, burned the captured Kiowa village. At that point, near sunset, the Kiowas and their comrades fled from the scene. Carson returned his troops to the supply train, which had been left with a guard of infantrymen. Without the artillery, given the overwhelming number of Indians faced, Carson's command would probably have been wiped out during the engagement. [314] He reported losses of two soldiers and one Indian ally killed, ten soldiers and five Indian allies wounded, and many horses wounded. He estimated the Kiowa losses at not less than 60 killed and wounded.

Courtright estimated the enemy losses at "nearly 100 killed and 150 wounded."

Because his horses were "broken down" and the enemy had scattered in all directions, Carson started back to Fort Bascom on November 27. The column returned to Bascom on December 20, ending the campaign. Carson was permitted to go to his home at Taos. Many of the troops were sent to quarters at Fort Union. [315] The destruction of the Kiowa village was a serious blow because of the approaching winter, but the Kiowas and Comanches had not been punished as Carleton hoped. [316] They would continue to raid along the supply lines to New Mexico for several more years. Carson had not been provided sufficient manpower and equipment to overhaul the plains tribes as his troops had done the Mescalero Apaches and the Navajos. Even so, the Adobe Walls campaign of 1864 was an important contribution to the defense of the Department of New Mexico and its routes of supply during the Civil War. Fort Union had been a integral part of the operation, providing equipment and supplies for the troops in the field.

At Fort Union, on November 25 (the same day of Carson's engagement at Adobe Walls), the commanding officer's quarters were destroyed by fire. Colonel Selden reported that the fire started in a room occupied by a guest, where a servant had placed "too much fire upon the hearth." There was no adequate water supply at the post for fighting a fire. Every effort was made by the men of the garrison "to extinguish the flames," but the entire building was destroyed. Selden had permitted three other officers to occupy rooms in his building, and they all lost their quarters, too. Other rooms at the post had to be pressed into service for the unfortunate officers. [317]

A few days after the fire and the battle at Adobe Walls, Colonel Chivington led his infamous attack on the Cheyenne and Arapaho village of "peaceful" Indians located on Sand Creek in Colorado Territory. It was clear that the overland trails were not going to be safe in 1865. In January Carleton began to concentrate troops at Fort Union in preparation for guarding the routes between Fort Union and the Arkansas River early in the spring. He planned to send troops to encamp at Lower Cimarron Spring, Cold Spring, Rabbit Ear Creek, and Whetstone Creek, from which points they could assist supply trains from the Arkansas to Fort Union. Carleton requested Major General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding the Department of Kansas, to provide similar protection from Fort Larned westward. Without such action, Carleton predicted "there will be many lives sacrificed, and much property destroyed." [318]

Indians were probably far from the minds of the troops at Fort Union when they celebrated the opening of 1865 with a gala event designed to escape from the conditions and isolation of their situation. Paymaster Simon Rufus Marston, a native of New Hampshire, was "shocked" when he arrived at Fort Union on the evening of Sunday, January 1, 1865, "to find a Baile in full blast." His shock was apparently because it was Sunday, a day his New England upbringing held sacred from such profane indulgences. He described the event: "In one of the largest rooms of the Q. M. department Co. A 5th U.S. Infantry were giving the most brilliant baile of the season. Senoritas gorgeously arrayed and gallant Senors ready to do or die, were tripping the light fantastic toe beneath the protecting folds of the star spangled banner." The only "excuse for such hilarity," Marston discovered, was that it was "New Years day." [319] Marston undoubtedly called upon Post Commander Selden while he was at the post.

Selden died at Fort Union on February 2, 1865, and was buried in the post cemetery the following day. The cause of his death given only as "sickness," and he was apparently ill and unable to perform his duties for at least two weeks before his demise. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Abreu, who took command of Fort Union and was also promoted to the rank of colonel. [320] Despite the loss and change of command at Fort Union, Carleton continued to plan how the troops stationed there would make the Santa Fe Trail safe for travelers in 1865.

Because it appeared that no wagon train would be secure without military protection, Carleton announced that a company of troops would leave Fort Union on the first and fifteenth of each month, beginning March 1, to escort all parties wishing to cross the plains as far as Fort Larned or until troops from Fort Larned were met on the way. The escorts would alternate between the Mountain and Cimarron routes, the companies leaving on the first of each month taking the former and those on the fifteenth following the later. The same troops would escort westbound caravans on their return to Fort Union. All travelers were invited to accompany the soldiers. [321] Carleton requested General Curtis to start similar escorts from Fort Larned on the same dates and that the escorts return to their respective posts from whatever point they met on the trail. [322]

The importance of such arrangements was supported by rumors of increasing Indian threats to the Cimarron Route. According to some Comanches who came to Fort Bascom in March, the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were combining "to waylay all trains on the Cimarron route . . . *in a very short time."* [323] Carleton was confident that his plans would prevent the success of such endeavors, should they in fact occur. "We must not have the commerce of the country stopped by *rumors,"* he declared. "We must go ahead; and, if worse comes to worst, fight it out." [324] Although Carleton was confident the soldiers would be victorious in such a conflict, he was disappointed in efforts being made, especially at Fort Union, to keep the troops prepared for battle.

When Colonel Nelson H. Davis, assistant inspector general, completed his review of conditions at Fort Union in January 1865, he found that little had changed since the inspection of 1863. Davis found that "military affairs at this post, had for some time been indifferently attended to." Davis noted that "there was a decided improvement" after Abreu became the post commander, but still found the officers "exhibited too much apathy and lethargy in their duties, were too much given to personal ease and indulgences, calculated to promote inefficiency." The records of public property required of some officers were not properly kept. The enlisted men "in the Mexican companies, look as if they were recruited to make the number required, and were available only for the consumption of rations." Instruction of the troops was often "incorrect and incomplete." The quarters "were not properly inspected and policed." The bedding was "bad." The post was filthy. "In the absence of suitable sinks, the ditches of the field works and outskirts of the post were used by the command as substitutes therefor." The horses of the mounted troops were "insufficiently groomed and fed." Clearly, this was not the garrison of an efficient fighting force. [325]

Carleton directed Abreu to get everything in order and be prepared for another inspection "soon." He emphasized that officers "are paid for doing their duty, not for wasting the time that belongs to the United States." Every soldier was to be carefully examined by the post surgeon, and a special report was to be made on everyone unfit for active duty in the field. Abreu was responsible for seeing that everyone performed "his whole duty" and that "the standard of discipline and efficiency" was improved. [326] Carleton looked forward to the end of the Civil War and the return of regular troops to replace the volunteers in the department. The troops he sent on the Santa Fe Trail were effective in protecting the commerce of the prairies beyond the era of the Civil War.

The upheaval of the Civil War ended in the spring of 1865 with the defeat of the Confederacy. Carleton directed Captain Shoemaker at the Fort Union Arsenal to send sufficient powder and primers to Santa Fe to fire 200 guns at department headquarters, as directed by the war department, in celebration of the surrender of Robert E. Lee. [327] On July 4, 1865, Carleton ended martial law and lifted all wartime restrictions on citizens in New Mexico Territory. [328] The territory and the nation spent the better part of a generation recovering and binding up the wounds engendered by that dreadful conflict between the North and the South. The army in New Mexico continued to work for a solution to the Indian

problems. The era of the "Indian wars" continued for another decade on the plains and longer in the Southwest. During much of that time, as Carleton complained in 1865, the war department and the department of the interior were frequently in conflict over the best methods of dealing with the Indians. [329] In addition to dealing with raiders on the plains, Carleton was working desperately to find enough provisions to feed more than 8,000 Navajos and Mescaleros at Bosque Redondo and combating Indian Agent Steck's opposition to his efforts.



Seated, l to r: Daniel H. Rucker, Kit Carson, and James H. Carleton. Standing, l to r: E. H. Bergmann, Charles P. Cleaver, Nelson H. Davis, Herbert M. Enos, Basil K. Norris, and John C. McFerran. Photo taken at Masonic Temple, Santa Fe, by Nicholas Brown, December 26, 1866. All these men, except Cleaver (who was adjutant general of New Mexico Territory and, later, delegate to Congress), were army officers who had served at Fort Union. Carleton, Enos, and Carson had commanded the post. Rucker, Enos, and McFerran had headed the quartermaster department. Norris had been post surgeon. Davis inspected the fort. Bergmann also commanded Fort Bascom. *Courtesy* Museum of New Mexico, neg. no. 9826.

For the most part, the troops in New Mexico ended the Civil War years as they had begun, protecting the routes of supply and the settlements from Indian attacks. Such would continue to be their mission for more than another decade. Throughout the Civil War years the element of supply was the key to the success of Union troops in dealing with Confederates and Indians. The story of the supply depots at Fort Union during the war may be found in chapter nine. As noted above, the building of the third Fort Union was begun in 1862 before the fieldwork was completed. The erection of the final Fort Union, along with the military operations of the troops stationed there after the Civil War, constitute the subjects next considered. After more than a decade, facilities at Fort Union were finally provided that were commensurate with its missions.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER SEVEN:

THE THIRD FORT UNION: CONSTRUCTION AND MILITARY OPERATIONS, PART TWO (1869-1891)

The third Fort Union, despite efforts to diminish or phase out its missions, remained active over two more decades. The recommendations of General Sheridan and Adjutant General Townsend did not go unchallenged. District Commander Getty held a different view of the situation. In his report on the District of New Mexico in October 1869, Getty (who, unlike Sheridan, had seen the post), provided a brief overview of the facilities at Fort Union. In addition to the supply depots and arsenal, he noted that Fort Union's "commodious buildings, stables &c, and the good quality and cheapness of forage renders it a good cavalry post, and one where cavalry can be schooled and drilled, the horses well cared for and yet be available in cases of emergency." The potential for emergencies in the district was considerable. Getty observed that, "with 30,000 Indians in or near the District and a native population very hostile to them, and continually giving rise to quarrels, it is obvious, that a permanent military force is necessary in the Territory." He also declared that, "in case of a general outbreak among the Indians in northern New Mexico," Fort Union "would be of great importance." [1] Whatever its importance, or lack thereof, Fort Union had not yet reached the half-way point of its years as an active post. Thus, recommendations for improvements, such as those offered by Lieutenant Colonel Davis, were important to its future.

Before a system of water distribution was installed, a fire in the family quarters of the depot commissary (designated as No. 2 Depot), Captain Andrew Kennedy Long, on November 15, 1871, damaged three of the eight rooms, a portion of the hall, and the veranda. The cause of the fire could not be determined but arson was suspected. The damage was estimated at $1,100. [2] This was not a major loss, but it likely spurred responsible officers to proceed with plans for a water system at the post, which was installed a few years later.

By 1870 the practicality of tin roofs was seriously in question. Post Surgeon Peters observed that tin roofs, "in this climate, do not answer for the reason that where artillery is used, the firing springs the nails and solder, and severs the attachments." In addition, "the adobe settles and causes the tin also to loosen. The tin rusts; the high winds detach it, and in every respect it is more expensive and less serviceable than shingles." [3] The post commander, Colonel John Irvin Gregg, Eighth Cavalry, explained the situation to the depot quartermaster, Captain Andrew Jackson McGonnigle, as follows: "Some of the roofs have been painted, but the paint blisters, and owing to the settling of the walls of the buildings, the soldering is broken in places on the roofs." Gregg concluded, "the consequence is that all the roofs leak more or less, and the plastering scales off from the ceilings, and to such an extent, as to render the occupation of Quarters unsafe." [4]

McGonnigle immediately requested permission from the district quartermaster at Santa Fe, Captain Augustus Gilman Robinson, to purchase some Tascott's enamel paint "for trial on the roofs of the public buildings at this Depot and Post." This paint was advertised to form "a perfectly Water-proof Covering," be "unaffected by changes in temperature," be "superior"

for "roof paint," and "will not crack, peel, blister or chalk off." The paint could be purchased for $1.80 per gallon. [5] Despite the claims, the paint did not solve the problems of leaking roofs at Fort Union, which became more of a problem each year. A tinsmith was required almost constantly to repair the solder joints of the tin roofs. The penetration of moisture caused the plaster to crack and fall, requiring frequent repairs by a plasterer. [6]

In 1869 and 1870 the garrison at Fort Union was reduced during the spring and summer months when troops were sent to other places where they were needed to deal with Indians. For example, some of the cavalrymen were sent to Fort Bascom, where field duty was frequent during the warm months, and returned to Fort Union, where provisions for men and horses were more abundant, during the cold season. The small command at Fort Union was kept busy with routine duties and occasional escorts. The outpost was continued at Cimarron, where Lieutenant Ennis, Third Cavalry, died on August 12, 1869, "from injuries received by being thrown from his horse." He was buried at the Fort Union cemetery. [7] Accidents and diseases always claimed more lives of the troops than did warfare.

Among the changes at Fort Union was the transfer of Chaplain Woart to Dakota Territory in August 1869. Post Commander Grier requested that Rev. James Armour Moore La Tourrette be appointed as the new chaplain, "provided the Secretary of War should think it proper to appoint any Chaplain to this Post." Although Grier apparently preferred La Tourrette (since he asked for him), he reported that a majority of the officers at the post preferred Rev. William Vaux. Neither was appointed at the time. Chaplain David W. Eakins arrived at Fort Union on September 5, 1870. He served until granted sick leave on January 17, 1876. Chaplain Eakins died on March 5, 1876, at Philadelphia, Penn. He was followed by Chaplain George Washington Simpson, August 15, 1876, to August 4, 1877, when he was granted sick leave. On September 20, 1877, Rev. La Tourrette arrived. He served as post chaplain until he retired on March 23, 1890, being the chaplain with the longest tenure at Fort Union. John S. Seibold was the last chaplain to serve at the post, arriving August 26, 1890, and departing April 20, 1891. [8]

The westward expansion of the railroad after the Civil War affected the way things were done at Fort Union. Before the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, built westward in Kansas, the annual supply of recruits for the companies in the District of New Mexico were marched from Fort Leavenworth over the Santa Fe Trail each fall, under command of officers who were assigned to or were returning to duty in the territory. In 1869 Post Commander Grier was directed to send two officers from his garrison to the railroad at Sheridan, Kansas, to meet 110 recruits for the Third Cavalry and conduct them back to Fort Union. [9] From that time on, recruits arrived in small numbers throughout the year, since it was no longer necessary to wait for a large number to make the overland trip from Fort Leavenworth feasible.

The railroads also facilitated the shipment of horses to the district. Late in September 1870, Captain Augustus W. Starr, Eight Cavalry, led a detachment of 56 enlisted men, a veterinary surgeon, and a hospital steward, with four army wagons and two ambulances, from Fort Union to the railroad at Kit Carson, Colorado Territory, to receive and return with 200 horses. They encountered bad weather and two horses became sick and unable to travel. They returned to Fort Union with 198 horses on October 20. The horses were turned over to the quartermaster depot. [10] Another 200 horses were received at Kit Carson in September 1871. [11] As the railroads built closer and closer to Fort Union, reaching the nearby community of Watrous (formerly La Junta) in 1879, the transportation of personnel and supplies became faster, cheaper, safer, and more reliable. The coming of the railroad and all that went with it (including expansion of settlements, founding of new towns, economic enterprise, tourism, and the final solution to Indian interference) eventually made the military occupation of New Mexico unnecessary and the third Fort Union a non-essential appendage.

Until that happened, Fort Union continued to contribute to the keeping of the peace in New Mexico. In December 1869 the Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches at the Cimarron Agency at Maxwell's Ranch became "unsettled and hostile." This was the result of the department of Indian affairs decision to withhold annuities from these people and plans to place them on a reservation in Colorado Territory. Colonel Grier was directed to send at least 100 cavalrymen to reinforce the outpost at the Cimarron Agency. The troops were instructed "to avoid, if possible, a collision with the Indians." They were to be there, "in the event of hostilities, to be prepared to drive them west of the mountains, and to follow them up promptly." The troops were supplied from Fort Union. Surgeon Longwill was sent from Fort Union to serve as medical officer at Cimarron. [12] Trouble was averted when the annuities were delivered to the Utes and Jicarillas, and they were permitted to remain at the Cimarron Agency. The troops sent from Fort Union returned to the post.

The Third Cavalry was transferred from New Mexico in the spring of 1870. Some companies were sent to Arizona Territory and Nevada, and the others went to Wyoming Territory. The regiment was replaced in New Mexico by the Eighth Cavalry. In May Captain Charles Hobart, Eighth Cavalry, succeeded Colonel Grier as post commander, and the garrison was comprised of two companies of the same regiment. In June Colonel Gregg, Eighth Cavalry, again became post commander. Private Eddie Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, had recently arrived at Fort Union. He noted that Gregg, "from all accounts is a very fine man to soldier under, he is about seven feet tall." [13] By the end of the year, the garrison included four companies of Eighth Cavalry and one of Fifteenth Infantry. Except for changes in the office of post commander and seasonal variations in the number of troops at the fort, the garrison of Eighth Cavalry and Fifteenth Infantry remained fairly stable for more than five years. [14]

It was typical of most new commanding officers to make changes and correct conditions that had apparently been neglected by their predecessors. Problems that older residents had learned to live with stood out to the newcomer, demanding that something be done. Captain Hobart had not been at Fort Union one week when he reported that the officers' quarters and enlisted mens' barracks were "greatly in need of whitewashing and that the plastering also requires repairing." He was determined to improve conditions but had "no soldiers in my command competent to perform the duties." He therefore requested that the depot quartermaster be directed by the district commander to have the work done by depot employees. [15] The response was not located.

Hobart apparently thought that Fort Union had gone to the dogs and issued an order declaring "no dogs will be allowed to run at large at this Post." The method of enforcement was direct and uncomplicated. "All dogs found loose about the garrison will be killed at once." The sergeant of the guard was responsible for seeing that the order was "strictly enforced." [16] Surely someone at the post mused about who was supposed to inform the dogs. A few weeks later, Surgeon Peters discovered a good reason to enforce the order. A rabid dog was killed at the quartermaster depot. Peters, apparently unaware of Hobart's earlier orders, recommended "that all loose dogs found on the Reservation be killed and orders be given to keep any dog of value chained." [17]

Hobart was not the only commanding officer wanting to make changes. General Pope again became commander of the Department of the Missouri in 1870, and he (in a view similar to that of General Sheridan) recommended, among many other suggested changes in New Mexico, that Fort Union be abandoned and supplies be shipped directly to the posts for which they were intended. That did not set well with District Commander Getty, who wrote a splendid defense of the depots and the post at Fort Union, pointing out that closing them would necessitate a much greater expense in supplying the district. [18] Whether Pope was convinced by Getty's economic arguments or some other reason, Fort Union and the depots

survived another proposal to shut them down.

During the summer of 1870 there were reports of attacks by Indians, believed to be Cheyennes and Arapahos, near Fort Bascom. Company F, Eight Cavalry, commanded by Captain Dudley Seward, was sent from Fort Union to strengthen the garrison at Bascom for several months. The mission of these soldiers was "to prevent hostile incursions into this District." The commanding officer at Fort Bascom was directed to keep cavalry scouts "constantly in the field" watching for Indian signs. Pickets were also to be located along the Fort Smith Road, giving protection to travelers if required. [19] Later in the summer, when it was feared there might be trouble with the Utes at the Cimarron Agency, Company D, Eighth Cavalry, commanded by Captain Starr, was transferred from Fort Bascom to Fort Union to increase the garrison there in case of an "emergency" with the Utes. [20]

On August 28, 1870, a scouting party comprised of troops of Company L, Eighth Cavalry, were sent from Fort Union to the Cimarron Agency, where they found, according to Private Matthews, a member of the detachment, "everything quiet." A portion of the company was sent from Cimarron to search for livestock thieves northeast of Cimarron into Colorado Territory. They went to the infamous Stone Ranch, where Samuel Coe had been arrested a few years earlier, expecting to find a new gang of thieves led by a man named Arbuckle. Private Matthews reported that the 30 troopers rode hard to reach Stone Ranch and charged the supposed hideout at dawn "as fast as our horses could carry us." He continued, "Saw the Ranch and made a gallant charge with carbines drawn and loaded. Surrounded and took the Ranch without firing a shot or loosing a man, but on entering the building found it full of emptyness. Not a living thing could we see. . . . So we had to return as empty handed as we come." [21] Matthews was pleased that the troops had not had to fight either Indians or horse thieves and returned safely to Fort Union.

A few weeks later, after additional rumors of troubles between the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches near Cimarron, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, commanded by Captain Hobart, was sent to encamp at the Cimarron Agency until the crisis was resolved. [22] Captain Hobart reported the situation "quiet" when he arrived at Cimarron, and attributed most of the trouble to a few drunken Indians. He suggested that, if the whiskey traders were "caught and punished," there would probably not "be the slightest trouble with the Indians." [23] Private Matthews reported that the log quarters at Cimarron were "in a bad condition" and there was little to do except "to drill twice a day." He noted that a party of recruits arrived at Cimarron on their way to Fort Union, and that one of the new soldiers died of starvation and was buried at Cimarron. Matthews lamented, "It don't sound very well for a Regular U. S. Soldier to die of starvation in a country where there are plenty, but it is actually the truth." Because the log quarters were dilapidated, the soldiers moved into tents for the remainder of their month's stay at Cimarron. [24]

On Saturday, October 15, 1870, some of the soldiers at the camp attended a New Mexican fandango in the community of Cimarron. There a fight broke out and one of the soldiers was stabbed in the back with a knife, but the wound was not serious. A New Mexican was shot and killed by another trooper named Ford, who claimed the New Mexican threatened him with a knife. This soldier was arrested by the local sheriff. Additional troops, including Private Matthews, were marched quickly from the camp to the town to restore order and return all the soldiers safely to camp. This was done, except for the soldier confined by the sheriff. That soldier was released to his commanding officer the following day but deserted a short time later, assisted by some of his fellow soldiers. Matthews denounced the violence that frequently occurred in civilian communities and declared, "For my part I stay away from those places. There's plenty of fighting to do with Indians without going to these dances to be shot, or cut up with Knifes." A few days later, on November 1, the company returned to Fort Union. The company stationed at Fort Bascom rejoined the Fort Union garrison a couple of

days later. [25]

The service at Fort Bascom and Cimarron Agency provided an opportunity for troops from Fort Union to participate in field duty, almost always a welcome relief from the tedium of garrison life. These troops encountered no Indian troubles, but their presence may have prevented Indian resistance. When the troops returned to Fort Union in the fall, they discovered further improvements in progress.

Colonel Gregg, in the interest of sanitation and appearance of the post, ordered that "all hogs found running loose within and around this Post will be taken up by the Guard." The hogs, unlike loose dogs, were not to be destroyed (they, of course, were not rabid either). The owners who claimed the hogs were to be charged a fee, the amount to be set by the post council of administration. [26] Later, when eight hogs captured by the guard remained unclaimed, Gregg ordered them to be sold at public auction a few days later, unless claimed before that time. [27] When it was discovered that cows were also "running loose," they were also directed to be confined. [28]

Another reform came with directions that "smoking (except on the porches in front of the Officers' Quarters) within the limits of the parade ground, and in the corrals and stables, and around the storehouses of this Post, is strictly forbidden." This was not the result of concern about the health of those who used tobacco but part of a fire prevention program. The commanders of troops were to have the smoking regulations "read at different times to the men" at the post. [29]

Additional improvement at the post was achieved with orders that neither officers nor enlisted men were to walk across the parade ground except on one of the established "walks." This may have been a sort of keep-off-the-grass policy, but there may have been little or no grass growing on most of the parade. Decorum was to be further enhanced with the requirement that all officers and enlisted men were, when crossing the parade and "in the vicinity of the guard," required to "have their blouses or coats buttoned." The officer of the day was charged with enforcing these orders. There was one exception. "Enlisted men on extra duty in the Qr. Mr. Dept. whose duties require them to pass and repass the Guard are exempted from compliance with Par. 4," which required that blouses or coats be buttoned. [30]

Colonel Gregg was a stickler for convention. When it was reported to him that some laundresses had used "violent and abusive language," Gregg "announced that if the parties so offending are again reported they will be sent beyond the limits of this Military Reservation and deprived of the ration now allowed them." [31] Gregg also decided that Sunday was to be a day of rest at Fort Union. Following a Sunday morning dress parade and inspection, the officers and enlisted men were to be free from duties so they could "repair to their quarters, reading room or Chapel as their inclination may prompt them." In addition, "all places of business and amusement in the vicinity of this Garrison will be closed on the Sabbath Day." He did concede that "reasonable amusements within the limits of the Garrison are not prohibited." He never defined what he meant by "reasonable." Gregg also directed that a "reading room" be set aside in each company quarters. The room was to be furnished with tables and benches constructed by the soldiers. [32] Later Gregg directed that those who wished to attend church would be excused from regular Sunday morning inspections. [33] The fact that commissioned and non-commissioned officers devoted time to controlling loose pigs and cows, preventing smoking, enforcing sidewalk rules, seeing that blouses were properly buttoned, punishing laundresses who cursed, and keeping the Sabbath was indicative that they were not much occupied with serious military decisions. Other than routine garrison duty and assistance to the supply depots, there was not much demand on the soldiers at Fort Union after 1870.

The need for other posts declined as the Indians were settled onto reservations. Fort Bascom was abandoned in the fall of 1870, and the garrison and all supplies at Bascom were transferred to Union. A small guard was left to protect the vacant post. The guard was considered to be part of the garrison at Fort Union, "absent on detached service." [34] About the same time, the outpost at the Cimarron Agency was closed and those troops returned to Fort Union. [35] Before the troops left Cimarron, a detachment of 21 men was sent under command of Second Lieutenant Edmund M. Cobb, Third Cavalry, from that outpost to assist civil authorities at Elizabethtown in "quelling a disturbance among the citizens of that place." [36]

In December 1870 a special guard detail was organized at Fort Union, comprised of 20 men (five from each company of Eighth Cavalry at the post) including Private Eddie Matthews, to be held in readiness for service when needed. Each man was issued 50 rounds of carbine ammunition and 18 rounds of pistol ammunition. The assignment for this detail was not revealed, and Matthews noted that "considerable curriossity is manifested by every body to know where we are going." Among the speculations were special assignment in Santa Fe, a search for horse thieves, and escort duty for Brigadier General John Pope, department commander. Everyone was surprised when, on December 23, the detail was assigned to guard a shipment of six million dollars being transported to the U. S. Bank at Santa Fe. [37]

Matthews enjoyed the assignment and wrote to his family about it. "Talk of your Rich men," he declared, "none of them ever slept on a more costly bed than I have. I spread my blankets down on the boxes of money and slept as sound as would were I in my bed at home." Because they were on the road on Christmas day, the men of the detail missed out on turkey dinner served at the post. Matthews reported that the detachment "dined on sow bacon and hard tack." Matthews was not impressed with Santa Fe, a "dull and miserable place," where his party arrived the day after Christmas. They were back at Fort Union on January 4, 1871. Matthews was pleased to rejoin the garrison and return to his quarters. [38]

The quarters at Fort Union were filled beyond capacity when the troops arrived from Fort Bascom in the autumn of 1870. Some of the troops from Fort Bascom were quartered "in the Forage Room, Blacksmith Shop, Coal Room and small rooms used for saddlers Shops by the cavalry companies." Some of these rooms had only dirt floors and "the roofs leak badly." Some windows were broken out of the blacksmith shop. Plans were immediately made to repair the windows and roofs and install wooden flooring where required. There was also need for more laundresses' quarters than were available. A total of 20 rooms were made available to the laundresses of four companies and the regimental band, and troop commanders were responsible for the specific assignments. [39]

By 1870 the buildings at the third fort, although some were only four years old, were in constant need of repairs. Colonel Gregg was concerned about the plaster ceilings which kept cracking and falling down. He directed Lieutenant George F. Foote, post quartermaster, to prepare an estimate for lumber to install board ceilings in all the quarters and offices at the post. Foote calculated the cost to be approximately $2,350 for materials. The expense was denied and the improvements were not made. [40] Until the leaking roofs could be sealed, the ceilings would continue to be exposed to moisture.

The ceilings were not the only problem. In November Colonel Gregg reported to district headquarters that "the walls of the public buildings at this Post, in consequence of not being plastered outside, are liable to fall." The walls of many of the buildings had "a tendency to settle outwards, and the constant action of the mud and rain on the soft and pliable adobe will increase this tendency." Gregg did not know what should be done, but he recommended that "a competent mechanic or architect" examine the buildings recommend what repairs were needed. Gregg reported that the mason who had been making repairs to the buildings

believed that many of the buildings at the post might fall down within "a year or two." [41] The plight of the structures was overstated, but it was clear that preventative steps were required soon. Adobe buildings required periodic plastering of the exterior if they were to be protected from erosion.

The chief quartermaster for the district, Major Joseph Adams Potter, traveled to Fort Union from Santa Fe to investigate the conditions of the buildings. He concluded, "after a careful examination," that there was "no evidence of a tendency to fall." He found a few places where the adobes had eroded, causing "a slight bulging out." These he considered to be minor problems and declared "in all other particulars the buildings are perfect." They all were in need of replastering on the exterior and some needed to be replastered on the interior. He recommended that the plastering be done as early as possible the following spring. Colonel Getty approved the recommendation and ordered that enlisted men would do the plastering "as early next spring as the season will permit." [42]

Colonel Gregg replaced Colonel Getty as district commander on February 1, 1871. Gregg served until the arrival of Colonel Gordon Granger, Fifteenth Infantry, who assumed the duties on April 30, 1871. [43] Gregg was relieved as commandant of Fort Union on January 31 by Captain Horace Jewett, Fifteenth Infantry. Jewett and Major David Ramsay Clendenin, Eight Cavalry, rotated irregularly as post commander during much of the following year, and Colonel Gregg returned to head the post for brief periods in 1871 and most of the first quarter of 1872. Throughout that time the garrison was comprised of four companies of Eighth Cavalry and one of Fifteenth Infantry. [44]

There was some thought of reoccupying the outpost at the Cimarron Agency in the spring of 1871, but Colonel Gregg decided against it. The primary need for troops at the agency was to oversee the distribution of provisions on issue day. He decided it would be less expensive to send a detachment of one officer and 15 enlisted men from Fort Union "to arrive at the agency on the evening previous to the issue day and . . . return on the day following." [45] Gregg believed that certain interests wanted the troops at Cimarron so they could profit from the soldiers. He was not going to accommodate them. He noted that troops from Fort Union could be on the scene in 12 hours, if needed, and that most of the troubles at the agency resulted from illegal sales of whiskey. He urged that the whiskey traders be controlled by civil authorities. [46] There was even more concern about controlling the New Mexican *Comancheros* who traded with the plains Indians.

The abandonment of Fort Bascom encouraged many New Mexicans to attempt to reopen the old trading relationships with the Comanches. By late winter 1871, the small guard left to protect the buildings at Fort Bascom reported that "considerable numbers" of New Mexicans were going to Indian Territory. [47] In response, two companies of Eighth Cavalry (D and F) from Fort Union, under command of Captain James F. Randlett (later under Major Clendenin), were assigned to patrol the area between Fort Union and old Fort Bascom and between that point and old Fort Sumner during the spring and summer of 1871. They used old Fort Bascom as their base of supply (supplies sent there by wagon trains from Fort Union) and operations. Their primary mission was to stop any New Mexicans "engaged in illegal trade with the Indians" and to confiscate the property of such traders. They were also to watch for and attempt to prevent any Indians coming from the east into New Mexico Territory. Farther east, two companies from Camp Supply, Indian Territory, were assigned to similar duty in the region between Camp Supply and Round Mound near the Santa Fe Trail in northeastern New Mexico Territory. [48] These patrols saw few plains Indians but were able to catch more than 30 *Comancheros.* Their presence probably deterred others from going to Indian Territory. It was a good year for the troops from Fort Union. It was the beginning of the end of the *Comanchero* trade.

Randlett reported early in May that "no trails of Indians have yet been found and no reports of depredations commited by them have been reported by citizens." [49] That situation remained true through the summer season. A few days later, on May 9, Lieutenant Andrew P. Caraher, Eighth Cavalry, and 28 men captured 22 *Comancheros* (mostly Pueblo Indians from Isleta) and confiscated approximately 700 head of cattle, 10 ponies, and a pack train of 57 burros loaded with trade goods. Many of the cattle were lost because the small detachment had its hands full looking after the prisoners and other property, but they held onto some 300 head until they reached Fort Bascom. The prisoners and their property were taken to Fort Union, during which time another 100 head of cattle were lost, and then to Santa Fe where they were turned over to the superintendent of Indian affairs. [50] On June 12, 1871, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Nathaniel Pope at Santa Fe received 21 prisoners, 198 head of cattle, 46 burros, and 11 horses. The brands on the livestock were recorded so they could be returned to their owners if possible. [51]

On May 28 Captain Randlett and his detachment, guided by Frank DeLisle, captured 11 *Comancheros,* a Comanche woman who was guiding them, and a pack train of 23 burros carrying ammunition, cloth, bread, trinkets, whiskey, and other trade items. The trade items were destroyed and the burros were killed. The *Comancheros* claimed to be residents of Santa Fe, San Miguel, and Mora. The following day Randlett's party captured a herd of some 500 cattle, which may have been stolen in Texas by the Comanches to trade to the New Mexicans. Only one of the New Mexican herders with the cattle was captured, the rest escaped. There were also 26 burros with the cattle herd which were captured; 14 of these burros were killed. The cattle, remaining burros, and prisoners were taken to Fort Bascom, then the prisoners and some of the cattle were sent to Fort Union. The prisoners were held until civil authorities could prosecute them for violation of laws prohibiting trade with the plains Indians. The livestock and other property were held by the army, to be claimed by the legal owners if such ownership could be substantiated. [52]

The commissary officer at Fort Union was authorized to slaughter any of the captured cattle that were "fit for issue to the troops." He was to keep a record of brands and weights so legal claimants could be compensated. [53] The captured cattle that were kept at Fort Bascom were also slaughtered and issued to troops under the same orders. [54] In November 1871 some 400 captured cattle, which had not been claimed or slaughtered, were sold at public auction at Fort Union. [55]

The prisoners were turned over to civil authorities at Santa Fe in July so a grand jury could consider the charges against them. They were indicted for "carrying whiskey into Indian Country." The cases were all dismissed because of the ineptitude of U.S. District Attorney S. M. Ashenfelter. [56] The remaining property held at Fort Union and Fort Bascom was turned over to the U.S. Marshal for the territory, John Pratt. [57]

The capture and punishment of *Comancheros* were applauded by a Santa Fe newspaper:

> We trust that the good work may go on until this nefarious trade is most thoroughly broken up. It has long been a disgrace to our Territory, and the cause of untold loss and suffering to the frontier settlers of Texas. Let the troops be kept in the field, and summary justice be meted out to all traders found in the Indian Country, and in a short time they will find out that the profits attending such unlawful expeditions will not compensate for the risk incurred. [58]

A week later the same newspaper reported more favorable results:

> The vigorous campaign opened by the military authorities upon the Comanche Traders is already showing its effect. We learn from Las Vegas that a number of

> parties who left the settlements to trade with the Comanches have returned without effecting their object, hearing of the recent captures . . . they made all haste back to their homes with a firm resolve to make a living in some other and more lawful manner than trading with Indian thieves, as long as the scouts were kept in the field and their illgotten booty liable to be taken from them every minute, and they themselves made amenable to law. Let the troops be kept moving, and let every trader caught be made to suffer the extremest penalty of the law. [59]

An additional company of Eighth Cavalry was sent from Fort Union to join the two companies operating out of old Fort Bascom in August. [60] The patrols along the eastern portion of the territory were increased because of rumors that many *Comancheros* had evaded the troops in the field and gone into Indian Territory. There was also fear that the Kiowas and Comanches might attempt to raid some of the eastern settlements in New Mexico. In addition, the troops were to escort a railroad survey party when it arrived in the area in September. With the approach of the winter season, the troops operating out of Fort Bascom were directed to return to Fort Union by November 15. Although they had continued to patrol the region after the capture of *Comancheros* in May, no more traders were encountered by the troops. They arrived at Fort Union on November 18. A small detachment, one officer and fifteen men, was left to guard Fort Bascom. [61] The *Comanchero* trade was virtually destroyed the following year by troops and citizens in Texas, the main victims of the Indians who stole their livestock to trade to the New Mexican traders.

During the summer of 1871, while many of the troops from Fort Union were away on field duty, another bathhouse was authorized. The adobes were to be made by prisoners, the lumber and other materials were to be purchased by the quartermaster department, and the depot quartermaster was to be in charge of construction. [62] The size and location of this bathhouse were not determined, and it may not have been built at all. Almost a year later the new post surgeon, Blencowe Eardley Fryer, requested that a suitable building be erected at Fort Union "to be used as a bath house for the enlisted men." Until that bathhouse was completed, he recommended that the men be "marched to the spring creek [Wolf Creek] below the Post at least twice a week & there be made to wash their bodies thoroughly." [63] In 1871 lumber was also purchased to build covers over the cisterns at the post hospital. The protective platforms on the cisterns may have been a safety measure decided upon following the death of a prisoner, Private John Mitchell, who fell into a well in the post quartermaster's corral and died on July 29.[64] Other improvements included the construction of partitions for the stalls in one of the cavalry stables. [65]

For the most part, the troops at Fort Union enjoyed a quiet winter, 1871-1872. On February 2, Captain Hobart and a detachment of Eighth Cavalry were sent to Trinidad, Colorado Territory, at the request of the sheriff, to aid in the enforcement of law and order. The cause of the problem was not explained, but the troops were directed to remain until they were no longer needed. The detachment returned to Fort Union on February 17.[66]

In the spring of 1872 Colonel Gregg and three companies of the Eighth Cavalry were ordered to march from Fort Union to the vicinity of Fort Bascom at "a suitable place on the Canadian River" to perform patrol duties, as were done in 1871, during the warm season. If possible, they were to bring to an end the centuries-old trade between New Mexico and the Comanches. A guide and packer were employed to assist the troops. The troops were supplied from Fort Union. Colonel Gregg planned to take his command into Texas and stop the illicit trade. [67] Eddie Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, was among the troops encamped near old Fort Bascom during the summer of 1872. There he served as a clerk and, in letters to his family, described the encampment and activities of the troops stationed at that outpost. [68]

During the spring of 1872 there were outbreaks among the Utes in northwestern New Mexico and among Apaches in southwestern New Mexico, but troops from Fort Union were not involved. [69] While Gregg's command was in the field, he received orders to send one of the companies to the area of old Fort Sumner to try to capture "the horse and cattle thieves now supposed to be there." [70] Eddie Matthews was a member of the scouting expedition and kept a detailed journal. He pronounced the campaign a "failure" and concluded: "We accomplished nothing, and the cost of the expedition will greatly add to the 'National Debt'." [71]

In June an officer and 15 men were sent from Fort Union to establish an outpost at Cimarron for two months. They were to watch for horse thieves and outlaws and assist civil officers as requested. Lieutenant Edmund Luff, Eighth Cavalry, was in command. The supplies came from Fort Union. [72] The results of their efforts were not found. A month after they were sent to Cimarron, Luff's detachment was directed to leave that outpost and join Gregg's brigade on the Canadian River. [73] Company M, Sixth Cavalry, under command of Captain William Augustus Rafferty, was transferred to New Mexico and assigned to occupy the outpost at Cimarron to assist civil authorities in catching "desperados." These troops were under the command of the post commander at Fort Union and were supplied from Fort Union depot. In August the troops at Cimarron were sent to help search for cattle thieves south of old Fort Sumner. [74]

In the summer of 1872 a party of approximately 90 Texan citizens, led by rancher John Hittson, headed for New Mexico, determined to recover as many cattle as possible that had been stolen in Texas by Indians, traded to the *Comancheros*, and disposed of in New Mexico. Colonel Granger encouraged their efforts, provided them a letter of introduction to Colonel Gregg, urged Gregg to loan the Texans weapons if needed (or make arrangements for Captain Shoemaker at the Fort Union Arsenal to loan weapons), and directed that the troops "co-operate with these gentlemen in securing such of their cattle as may be found." [75] For several weeks, Hittson's company traveled in New Mexico and claimed approximately 6,000 head of cattle. They violated the civil and property rights of citizens, with the apparent approval of the army, and took cattle without benefit of legal authority or due process of law. On August 1 District Commander Granger changed his views on the Texans and directed the troops at Fort Bascom "take no part in the matter . . . except to prevent bloodshed if possible." [76]

Many New Mexicans protested the loss of their livestock, and the citizens of Loma Parda near Fort Union resisted the Texans when they attempted to inspect cattle in the area. On September 10, 1872, about 60 Texans attacked the village of Loma Parda, killed two citizens (Edward Seaman, who was chief of police and postmaster at Loma Parda, and Toribio Garcia), wounded several others (including the alcalde), and took any cattle they believed to have come from Texas. The New Mexicans then turned to the courts for relief and stopped the invaders, some of whom were arrested for the murders at Loma Parda. The accused killers escaped from jail and were not brought to justice. [77]

The Hittson raids, focusing on the receivers of cattle acquired by the *Comancheros*, helped to end the trade. The presence of Gregg's command also contributed. The troops found neither *Comancheros* nor stolen cattle during 1872, indicating that the trade had either been repressed or the New Mexican traders had been able to avoid detection. Gregg did lead his troops far into Texas, in the area of Palo Duro Canyon, where they were attacked by a party of Kiowas. The troops suffered one man injured, three horses killed, and lost the cattle herd they brought with them for food. The Kiowas reportedly had four killed and eight wounded. Gregg found no evidence of New Mexican traders on the plains during his expedition. [78] The troops at Fort Bascom returned to Fort Union in October, and one non-commissioned officer and three privates were left to guard the vacant post on the Canadian. [79] The *Comancheros* continued

to decline and were of little significance after 1872. The illegal trade ended with the defeat of the Comanches in the Red River War, 1874-1875. The troops from Fort Union were a significant factor in the termination of traditional relations between New Mexicans and the Indians of the southern plains.

Colonel Gregg was to send one company of Eighth Cavalry troops from Fort Union to Fort Bascom early in March 1873 because the Kiowas and Comanches were reportedly raiding ranches in the area. Another company was to be kept "ready to move at a moment's notice." [80] Second Lieutenant Alfred Hibbard Rogers, Eighth Cavalry, was assigned command at Fort Bascom and ordered to keep scouts out in search of Indians. Lieutenant Luff arrived and assumed command a few days later and another company of cavalrymen followed. Captain Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, Eighth Cavalry, took command at Fort Bascom in May. The soldiers, assisted by a guide and civilian packers, were kept in the field to help protect the herds of ranchers in the region. The troops at Bascom were supplied from Fort Union. This required transportation for 250,000 pounds of freight. [81]

There was at least one engagement between troops and Kiowas. A small detachment of Eighth Cavalry and several citizens pursued a party of 17 Kiowas that had raided a ranch near Fort Bascom. They overtook the Indians encamped in a small canyon and attacked, killed five, wounded several more, and captured considerable property. According to Eddie Matthews, this was "the first time for years that any of these marauding parties have been caught and chastized." [82] That engagement and the continued presence of the troops at Fort Bascom, and in the vast area which they examined through a system of constant scouting, apparently caused the Indians to leave the area. It was frustrating work for the soldiers, but the resulting peace was rewarding. The troops from the "summer camp" returned to Fort Union in October. A small guard was left at Fort Bascom. [83]

Major Andrew J. Alexander, Eighth Cavalry, served as commanding officer at Fort Union during the winter of 1873-1874. He was absent from the post between March 23 and April 13, 1874, because of the death of his mother at St. Louis. When Alexander received a telegram on March 23 that his mother was dying and requesting him to come immediately, the eastbound stage had been gone from Fort Union only about 10 minutes. The major set out in an ambulance a short time later and caught the stage about 10 miles from the post. The stage carried him to the railroad in Colorado Territory, and he quickly crossed the plains. It was not determined if he reached his mother before her death. He was back at Fort Union within three weeks. [84]

Major Alexander organized a school of instruction for signaling at Fort Union, selecting three men from each company stationed at the post to learn the skills of communication developed by the Signal Corps. [85] Soldiers from other posts in New Mexico were also sent to Fort Union for signal training. It was not possible to determine from available records how effective signaling was in field operations, but it may have assisted the troops in dealing with Indian adversaries. Indian resistence to the loss of their homelands continued.

In March 1874 there were rumors that the Kiowas were "hostile and would be troublesome." This information came from some Comanches who proclaimed that "they were friendly & were not going to war this summer." [86] Early in May Major Alexander and three companies of the Eighth Cavalry were sent from Fort Union to establish a summer camp at or near old Fort Bascom, as had been done in previous years. They were to watch for any Indians off the reservations and were authorized to attack such Indians and force them back to their assigned reserve. These troops received supplies from Fort Union. [87] In June two of the companies were recalled to Fort Union from Fort Bascom. [88] It was anticipated that Indians might leave their reservations and strike at settlements during the summer of 1874, but it was not known where such attacks might occur. Most of the raids occurred on the

plains of Kansas and Texas, but a few extended into New Mexico Territory.

The first report to reach Fort Union in 1874 indicated that Indians had struck settlers along Vermejo Creek several miles east of the village of Cimarron on July 5, killing two men and stealing about 20 horses. It was thought they were Cheyennes, perhaps a party of 60 men. Major Alexander led a detachment from Fort Union to pursue those Indians and capture them if possible. On July 7 it was reported that Indians had killed three "Americans" and run off about 200 horses near the Canadian River. A few days later a civilian traveler arrived at Fort Union and reported that a party of about 60 Cheyennes and Arapahos had escaped down the Cañon of the Dry Cimarron with considerable amount of stock a day or two ahead of Alexander's command." Alexander returned to Fort Union on July 13, having seen no Indians. [89]

Major Alexander had gathered information along the way and reported that there were an estimated 400 Indians, including Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches, who had attacked settlers on the Vermejo, Canadian, and Dry Cimarron about the same time, killing altogether 23 men, capturing one "Mexican woman," and stealing an undetermined amount of livestock. He had pushed his command on their trail toward Rabbit Ear Creek but returned when it became clear that the troops could not overtake the Indians. Colonel Gregg directed Major Alexander to send two companies of the Eighth Cavalry to patrol the region between Fort Union and C. O. Emery's Ranch on the Dry Cimarron River, along the road to Kit Carson, Colorado Territory, that passed through Trinchera Pass (also known as Emery Gap), and to the east of that road toward Rabbit Ear Creek. Alexander sent Second Lieutenant Richard Algernon Williams and 37 men of Company B, Eighth Cavalry, toward Emery's Ranch on July 17. Company M, Eighth Cavalry, was held at Fort Union until some of its members, who had been sent to watch along the Cimarron and Canadian rivers, returned. Alexander was directed to take command of the troops in the field himself and see that "frontier settlements" were protected. [90] These troops contributed to the safety of the region, but raids were reported outside the areas patrolled.

On July 8, at Stone's Ranch southeast of Las Vegas, an estimated 12 Indians drove off the horse herd of the ranch. Captain Louis Thompson Morris, Eighth Cavalry, who was at Fort Bascom, was sent with a detachment of cavalrymen in pursuit of that raiding party. [91] These Indians were not found. To assist the troops, Colonel Gregg authorized the recruitment of 25 to 30 Indian scouts among the Jicarillas and Utes at the Cimarron Agency. The number of scouts, by orders from department headquarters, was reduced to 10. As soon as these Indians were outfitted with arms and ammunition at Fort Union, they were sent, on July 28, to Emery's Ranch to join the troops in that area. [92]

On July 22, the same day Major Alexander left Fort Union to lead his command toward Rabbit Ear Creek, word arrived that some 400 to 500 Comanches had been seen near a ranch on the Dry Cimarron where they were "driving off stock of the settlers." A courier was sent to inform Alexander. [93] A company of Eighth Cavalry stationed at Fort Garland was sent to report to Alexander and to patrol along the road between Emery's Ranch and Granada in Colorado Territory. [94] Alexander and his troops found no evidence of Indians, and Alexander believed the recent reports of Comanches on the Dry Cimarron were false. [95]

In case they were not false, Major William Redwood Price, Eighth Cavalry, commanding at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, was ordered to bring "all available Cavalry at your Post to Fort Union." From Fort Union they could be dispatched quickly to scenes of trouble. [96] Still no Indians were found by the troops in the field. Their presence in northeastern New Mexico Territory may have caused the Indians to seek plunder elsewhere.

The outbreak of Indian warfare developed into what became known as the Red River War,

1874-1875, the final series of conflicts in the wars of the southern plains. The offensive was orchestrated by Generals Sheridan, Pope, and Christopher C. Augur. Similar to the winter expeditions of 1868-1869, the Red River campaign was a multi-pronged attack against tribes in Indian Territory, including columns from Fort Union, New Mexico (commanded by Major Price), Fort Dodge, Kansas (led by Colonel Nelson A. Miles, Fifth Infantry), two units from Texas (commanded by Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie, Fourth Cavalry, and Lieutenant Colonel George P. Buell, Eleventh Infantry), and a column from Fort Sill, Indian Territory (Lieutenant Colonel John W. Davidson, Tenth Cavalry, who had served at Fort Union in the 1850s).[97]

Major Price and the four companies of Eighth Cavalry (a total of 225 officers and men, plus six Indian scouts and two guides) he led from Fort Union on August 20, 1874, to old Fort Bascom and down the Canadian River played only a small role in the Red River War but, as part of the "surround" of the Indians, that part was important. These troops were not involved in any major engagements, yet their presence prevented the Indians from having a route to escape from some of the other, larger columns. Fort Union also contributed to the effort by sending supply trains to the troops in the field. There were not enough army wagons to carry the required commodities, and a private wagon train was contracted to haul the excess freight. [98] Price also drew provisions from Camp Supply, Indian Territory, when in that area. The Fort Union Arsenal contributed arms, ammunition, and a mountain howitzer. [99] Price's column returned to Las Vegas on January 25, 1875, from which point the companies were sent to join post garrisons (one to Fort Union, two to Fort Wingate, and one to Fort Stanton).[100] After the Red River War, there was no further need for soldiers at Fort Union to be called out to face plains warriors. The railroads and overland routes to New Mexico were no longer threatened, the first time since Fort Union was established in 1851.

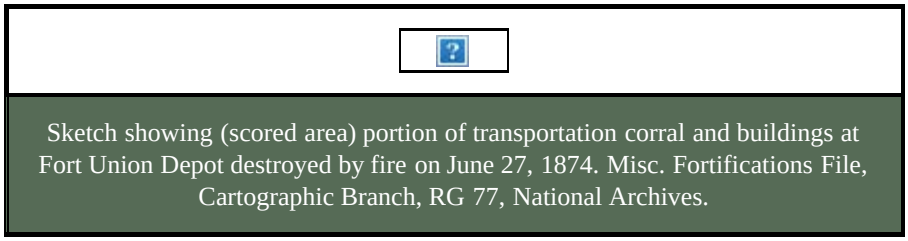
Because of Colonel Gregg's poor health, he was temporarily replaced as department commander by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Devin, Eighth Cavalry, on October 22, 1874. On October 26 Captain Young returned to Fort Union from his station at Emery's Ranch and assumed command of Fort Union. Lieutenant John Wesley Eckles, Fifteenth Infantry, who had been commanding the post since Major Alexander left on May 5, questioned Young's authority to usurp the position. An appeal to Lieutenant Colonel Devin at Santa Fe elicited an immediate response that Young was officially assigned to duty at Emery's Ranch and could not take command of Fort Union. Young then claimed he had brought the Ute scouts in to be mustered out of the service and would return to Emery's Ranch. Eckles remained as commanding officer until Major Alexander returned on November 22, 1874. [101]

Alexander noted the "wretched condition" of quarters, barracks, and stables at Fort Union, which were deteriorating badly. He appointed a board of officers to examine and report on the situation. The board confirmed the seriousness of the state of the structures and urged "the necessity of immediate action." Alexander emphasized that "a year or more delay in repairing will place most of the quarters past repair." He was convinced that, if repairs were not made soon, the rear wall of the commanding officer's quarters would fall down. Also, "the ceilings in all quarters are continually falling endangering lives and property." He believed it was "a hopeless task to attempt to get any money" for improvements, Alexander felt obligated to "represent the facts" of the problem. [102]

His feeling of hopelessness was borne out when his request for funds was not approved. He renewed a plea for repairs a few months later, pointing out that "there is not a house in the Post that does not leak and I do not think there is one that has not some sickness in it in consequence." [103] A few weeks later, more frustrated that nothing was done, Alexander requested that district headquarters send an inspector to look at the condition of the buildings. He reiterated the urgency of doing something. "If it is the intention to maintain the Post some prompt measures should be taken to repair it. The buildings are washing away. The roofs

worthless, fences & gates rotting away, and the whole place out of repair." [104] In less than a decade after most of the buildings of the third post was built, the evaluations of their condition sounded remarkably similar to the analyses of the buildings at the first post during the late 1850s.

While the post was badly in need of repairs, the quartermaster depot was constructing a "new corral, stables, shops &c." [105] That was necessary because a fire at the depot on June 27, 1874, had destroyed a large portion of the transportation corral along with the corn house, mule sheds, buildings where oats and bran were stored, wagons, ambulances, and teamsters' quarters. No animals had been lost. The loss of forage was extensive, including 604,195 pounds of corn, 57,318 pounds of bran, and 15,244 pounds of oats. Transportation equipment destroyed included five ambulances, three escort wagons, four army wagons, one traveling forge, and "a number of other articles." The fire apparently started in the corn house or a privy beside the corn house about noon and spread quickly, engulfing an area some 600 feet long and 300 feet wide. It took twenty minutes to get the fire engine working, and the fire was finally checked about 2:30 p.m. from spreading into other parts of the depot while the area on fire burned itself out. Captain Gilbert C. Smith, depot quartermaster, planned to rebuild with adobe. [106] The replacement, the "new corral, stables, shops &c.," were what Alexander noted.



Sketch showing (scored area) portion of transportation corral and buildings at Fort Union Depot destroyed by fire on June 27, 1874. Misc. Fortifications File, Cartographic Branch, RG 77, National Archives.

Soon after his return in the fall of 1874, Major Alexander was assigned to inspect that work and report to district headquarters. [107] Given the condition of the buildings at the post, which received no attention while the quartermaster corral was being built, Alexander must have thought about the criticism of the quartermaster department that had been popular since the Civil War, "the quartermaster department thinks the army exists for its benefit rather than vice versa." He asked Captain Shoemaker, who "has had great experience in this kind of work," to assist with the inspection. Alexander found the work to be "the most economical work I have seen in this country," and stated that the adobe wall of the new corral "will last as long as any adobe wall at this Post." [108]

There were still occasional calls to investigate Indian depredations. Following the theft of some 5,000 sheep along the Pecos River near Anton Chico by unidentified Indians, Captain Young and 35 cavalrymen were dispatched from Fort Union on December 20, 1874, to attempt to capture the Indians and recover the sheep. Young returned to Fort Union on December 29, having lost the trail of the Indians and sheep because of deep snow. [109]

The raiders were believed to be Mescalero Apaches. The troops from Fort Stanton were in the field and more were needed. Captain Young was assigned to command a detachment of 35 cavalrymen, outfitted for field duty and sent from Fort Union to proceed down the Pecos Valley, help search for Mescaleros, and "clean out all Indians you find off reservations." [110] The troops from Fort Union were not involved in any of the engagements with the Mescaleros which resulted in most of them returning to their reservation by early April. [111]

While some soldiers were chasing Indians, others were requested to deal with civil disturbances. Because of the presence of a large lawless element at Cimarron and the inability of local authorities to keep the peace, the attorney general of New Mexico Territory, under directions from Governor Marsh Giddings, requested troops from Fort Union to help

Sheriff Isaiah Rinehart restore order at Cimarron. Lieutenant Colonel Devin requested instructions from department headquarters and was informed that troops could be used in civil affairs only by a request from a U.S. Marshall or by orders from the president. [112] No troops were sent at that time, but troubles continued at Cimarron that eventually required military intervention.

There was a brief Indian scare in the spring of 1875 when a group of Cheyennes left the reservation in Indian Territory and headed north. It was feared they might raid in northeastern New Mexico, as they had done the previous year, and 50 mounted troops were sent from Fort Union under command of Captain McCleave to the Dry Cimarron to keep watch. They were to leave a detachment at Emery's Ranch and proceed to Willow Spring Creek some 50 miles farther east. From there, the troops were to scout the area as far north as the Arkansas River. When it was later learned that the Cheyennes had crossed the Arkansas in Kansas on their way northward, the troops were called back to Fort Union. [113] There would be other false alarms.

An incident at the St. James Hotel in Cimarron in early June 1875 resulted in the death of one soldier and the wounding of two others, heightening tensions that were already intense, as will be shown later. The fight occurred during a monte game, in which Francisco "Pancho" Griego was dealing for several soldiers of the Sixth Cavalry. Difficulty arose over the betting, and one of the soldiers grabbed part of the money on the table. Griego quickly gathered the rest of the money, and some soldiers attempted to take it from him. Griego drew a pistol and a Bowie knife and the troopers fled. Griego fired after them, killing Private Shien (first name unknown) and wounding two other privates. The men who were shot had not been involved in the fracas. Some soldiers went to their camp and got their weapons, but Griego escaped. [114] Griego was soon to be a victim in the Colfax County War.

Meanwhile, on June 7, 1875, Colonel Gregg returned from sick leave and resumed command of the District of New Mexico. A few days later Gregg was notified that his regiment, Eighth Cavalry, would soon be sent to Texas and the Ninth Cavalry (a regiment of black soldiers commanded by white officers), then in Texas, would be assigned to New Mexico. The transfer occurred in stages, a few companies at a time, over a period of several months. During the same time, the Fifth Cavalry traveled across New Mexico from Arizona to Kansas and the Sixth Cavalry was sent from Kansas to Arizona. Most of those troops stopped briefly at Fort Union; some of them exchanged horses and transportation at the post. General Pope and his staff visited Fort Union on the way to Santa Fe in July. At the beginning of November Colonel Granger returned to Santa Fe and replaced Colonel Gregg as district commander. The first troops of the Ninth Cavalry arrived at Fort Union on December 20, and Major James Wade of that regiment assumed command of the post. [115]

The next demand for troops at Fort Union resulted from developments at the Maxwell Land Grant, the breakdown of law and order in the community of Cimarron, and the precarious situation of Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches who resided on the grant. An overview of the complex circumstances is necessary to understand the participation of the soldiers in events that should have been resolved by civil authorities and the department of Indian affairs. [116] The Jicarilla Apaches and Moache Utes had been permitted to remain on the Maxwell Land Grant and had not been assigned a reservation. They considered the area their homeland and drew rations at the Cimarron Agency. They supplemented those provisions by hunting, but game became scarce in the area as the numbers of ranchers, farmers, and miners increased on the grant.

The Indians' situation on the Maxwell land was changed for the worse with the discovery of gold on the grant at Elizabethtown in the late 1860s and the sale of the grant by Maxwell to the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company (a corporation backed by British and Dutch

capital) in 1870. The new owners wanted the Indians moved off their property and they wanted all settlers, except those who purchased land from the company, to remove themselves or be forced off the grant. The settlers wanted title to the land they had claimed, and they also wanted the Indians moved someplace else. The turmoil created by the struggle between the managers of the company and the people they considered to be squatters added to the frustrations of the Indians, who wanted nothing more than to remain where they were.

Some of the directors of the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company were territorial officials, including Governor William A. Pile (until he left New Mexico in 1871), T. Rush Spencer (surveyor general for the territory), and Stephen B. Elkins (territorial delegate to Congress and the company's attorney). Also connected with the company were John S. Watts (former territorial chief justice) and U.S. District Attorney Thomas B. Catron. These and others came to be known in New Mexico as the Santa Fe Ring, and their power was influential in much of the territory. Governor Samuel B. Axtell (1875-1878) was accused of collaborating with the Ring. The vigorous attempts of some of those officials (who, with their supporters, were known as the Grant party) to eject ranchers, farmers, and miners, as well as Indians, from the Maxwell Grant created a vocal opposition (known as the Anti-Grant party), including two former employees of the company (William R. Morley and Frank W. Springer) who published a newspaper in Cimarron and a circuit-riding Methodist preacher (Rev. Thomas J. Tolby). Tolby was a correspondent for the New York *Sun*, a reformist newspaper. He referred to the Santa Fe Ring, in an article published in the *Sun* on July 5, 1875, as "a many-headed monster." Tolby even went so far as to claim that the Maxwell land really belonged to the Utes and Jicarillas. Tolby was warned by New Mexico Chief Justice Joseph G. Palen (considered to be a part of the Santa Fe Ring) to stop writing such objectionable articles. Tolby declared he would continue. The civil authorities in Colfax County, including Sheriff Rinehart, were considered Grant men, and a number of well-armed Anti-Grant supporters converged on Cimarron. The scene was set for violence.

On September 14, 1875, Rev. Tolby was found murdered on the road between Cimarron and Elizabethtown. His Anti-Grant friends assumed the Grant party (the Ring) was responsible although the case was never solved. It was rumored that he was killed by a hired gunman. Governor Axtell offered a $500 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderer. Rev. Oscar P. McMains, a Cimarron preacher and friend of Tolby, led efforts to find Tolby's killer and provided leadership for the Anti-Grant forces. He suspected that a Cimarron constable, Cruz Vega, was involved in Tolby's murder. Some of McMains's partisans captured Vega, tortured him, and hanged him from a telegraph pole outside of Cimarron on October 30, 1875. [117]

Pancho Griego, involved in the fight with soldiers at Cimarron in early June and a friend of the slain Vega, declared he would avenge Vega's murder. Griego was in the St. James Hotel bar in Cimarron on November 1, making threats against several people. Griego believed that R. C. (Clay) Allison, who was present, had been involved. Griego provoked a fight with Allison, who shot and killed Griego. [118] Allison was not charged with any crime since he was defending himself. Before Vega had been killed he implicated Manuel Cardenas of Taos, Dr. Longwill (former contract surgeon for the army and Indian agent at Cimarron, was the probate judge at Cimarron and considered by some to be the leader of the Santa Fe Ring in Colfax County), W. M. Mills of Cimarron (member of the territorial legislature), and Florence Donahue (mail contractor for the route between Cimarron and Elizabethtown, described as "an old and respected citizen") in the murder of Tolby. [119] Later, Rev. McMains was tried for the murder of Vega, found guilty of fifth-degree murder by a jury, and fined $300. His conviction was set aside on a technicality. Another trial was scheduled for McMains but the judge dismissed the charges for inadequate evidence.

Following the murder of Vega, troops were called from Fort Union to investigate and help

restore order in Cimarron. Second Lieutenant George Anthony Cornish, Fifteenth Infantry, was sent from Fort Union with 20 men. Upon arrival at Cimarron, he reported that feelings were "very bitter" and "a large number of Texans" were there, "all armed." He placed his detachment under the direction of the U.S. Marshal, who wanted to arrest the four men whom Vega had named as participants in the murder of Rev. Tolby before the mob could get them, find those responsible for Vega's death, and stop the conflict before more people were destroyed. [120] He was partly successful.

Longwill escaped to Fort Union and Santa Fe, after informing Cornish that he was afraid to go to Cimarron where "they would hang him." Whether he had any connection to the death of Tolby was not determined. Mills and Donahue either surrendered to authorities or were arrested. Their preliminary hearing before the justice of the peace at Cimarron on November 10 resulted in the clearing and release of Mills and the holding of Donahue until he could raise $20,000 bail. Cardenas, an escaped convict who had been found guilty of murder at Taos in 1864, was arrested and confessed to the murder of Tolby. He was killed by an armed mob of some 15 to 20 gunmen on the evening of November 10 while being taken to the jail in Cimarron. Lieutenant Cornish reported that he had his soldiers at the scene within five minutes "but everybody had disappeared." [121]

After Cardenas was killed, the situation at Cimarron quieted down. Cornish reported that "the Texans have almost all left town apparently satisfied." It appeared that the civil officials were again in control. "I think," Cornish telegraphed to district headquarters, "there is very little use of my staying any longer." Cornish was ordered to leave Cimarron on November 13. [122] The Maxwell Land Grant feud was far from over, but the soldiers returned to Fort Union. Troops were soon called back to Cimarron because the Jicarillas at the Cimarron Agency became belligerent.

The Utes and Jicarillas at the Cimarron Agency had resisted all efforts to place them on a reservation in some other location. As noted above, troops had to be sent to Cimarron in the winter of 1869-1870 when these Indians became "hostile" because the superintendent of Indian affairs had withheld their annuities and tried to force them to go to a reservation in Colorado Territory. Peace was bought by permitting them to remain. During the winter of 1871-1872 New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs Nathaniel Pope tried to persuade the Moache Utes to move to a reservation in northwestern New Mexico where other bands of Utes were settled and the Jicarillas to move to the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. The Indians refused to go.

Superintendent Pope understood that almost everyone on or near the Maxwell Grant, except the Indians, wanted the Utes and Jicarillas removed because their "presence was and is a constant source of trouble, and a cause for a general feeling of insecurity among the people of the neighborhood." Because of the growing tensions in the area, Pope was convinced that Cimarron is not a suitable place for these Indians, and that they are surrounded by influences that render their proper control almost an impossibility." They had become "overbearing" and "unruly." Pope hired Dr. R. H. Longwill, former contract surgeon for the troops stationed at the Cimarron outpost in the late 1860s, to serve as a temporary agent for the Jicarillas and Utes, "for the purpose of feeding and otherwise caring for them until they can be moved." [123]

The Indians were poor and the government rations were insufficient. The Jicarillas and Utes had always hunted game for a part of their food supply, but the increasing settlements in the region and the slaughter of the buffalo on the plains made it more and more difficult for them to supplement their government rations with game. A combination of hunger and pressure to abandon their traditional lands resulted in frustrated resistance in the autumn of 1875. Some of the Indians went to hunt buffalo, but there were no buffalo. On November 16, 1875, when

Indian Agent Alexander G. Irvine was distributing beef rations, some of the Jicarillas claimed the meat was spoiled and threw it at the agent. It was not clear how the protest was elevated to violence, but pistol shots were exchanged. Agent Irvine was wounded in the hand and at least two Indians were wounded. The Jicarillas threatened to make war and burn the town of Cimarron. Irvine immediately requested troops from Fort Union. [124]

Lieutenant John Lafferty, Eighth Cavalry, was sent with a detachment and arrived at Cimarron on November 18. Because the Eighth Cavalry was preparing to leave the district and the Ninth Cavalry from Texas had not arrived yet, there were not many cavalrymen available for service at Cimarron. Lafferty had only 15 enlisted men in his outfit. He reported that Agent Irvine wanted the troops to arrest three of the Indians that had been involved in the shooting and to disarm one band that had "become insubordinate." The following day Lafferty demanded the surrender of the three Indians, but he speculated there was "a fair prospect that they will resist the demand." He hoped his troops could "check any hostile demonstration" and declared "things are red hot here." The Jicarillas came into the town of Cimarron, carrying their arms, and presented "a defiant and a determined manner." Agent Irvine understood they had sent for some of the Utes to come to Cimarron from their camps. Somehow one of the three Indians wanted had been taken into custody. The leaders told Irvine that, if the soldiers wanted the other two men requested, they could "go and take them." Irvine requested more troops. [125]

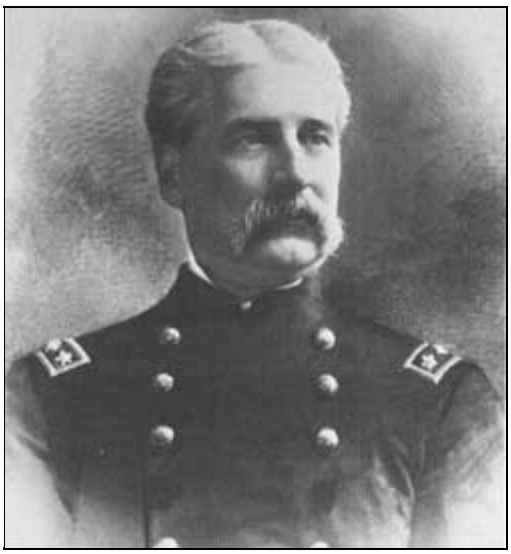
Irvine also informed district headquarters that the Jicarillas had taken their women and children into the safety of mountains, indicating to him that they were prepared to fight. He estimated that the Jicarillas had approximately 250 "warriors" at Cimarron and that the Utes could increase that to 450. [126] Colonel Granger ordered Captain McCleave to take all available cavalrymen from Fort Union to Cimarron to try and preserve the peace. McCleave was instructed: "Actual hostilities will be avoided if possible." McCleave and the 14 remaining men of the Eighth Cavalry, plus Second Lieutenant Cornish and 16 men of the Fifteenth Infantry and a hospital steward, Peter Cornell, reached Cimarron on November 21. [126] William R. Morley (a former employee of the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company, the army forage agent at Cimarron, and partner in the publication of a newspaper at Cimarron) raised a party of volunteers among the citizens at Las Vegas and requested 10 guns and 1,000 rounds of ammunition from Fort Union. The request was approved by Colonel Granger. General Pope, when he learned of this, directed that no more arms were to be provided to citizens. The citizens could, however, purchase arms from the Fort Union Arsenal. He declared, "if they will quit selling whisky to Indians it is not believed they will need arms". [128]

The Jicarillas moved away from Cimarron into the mountains when McCleave arrived. McCleave knew the Indians would have to do something to obtain food since they were not receiving their government rations. General Pope started two companies of cavalry from Fort Lyon to Trinidad to be available if needed at Cimarron, and he directed Colonel Granger to get himself to Cimarron and "settle this Indian trouble." The new chief medical director of the district, Surgeon McParlin who had been the first post surgeon at Fort Union in 1851, reported that Granger had suffered a stroke on November 19 and was incapacitated by paralysis of his left arm and leg. Granger was not able to go to Cimarron. [129]

Pope did not believe "that violence" was "at all necessary" but recommended that a Gatling Gun be sent from the Fort Union Arsenal to Captain McCleave at Cimarron, in case it should be needed. This apparently was done. More provisions were also sent from Fort Union for the troops at Cimarron. Because Granger was not available, General Pope sent Colonel Miles, who had performed so well during the Red River War, to Cimarron to take command of all troops and resolve the troubles with the Indians. [130] Miles arrived at Cimarron on December 11, 1875, and saw the deplorable condition of the Indians. They were in no

condition to fight and needed food. He immediately ordered an issue of rations to them, including the best beef that was available. He informed the Indians they would not be harmed if they settled into their camps near Cimarron for the winter, where they would be fed. He also promised they would not be moved to a reservation before the following spring or summer. Actually, they were not removed for more than two years. By then the Indians realized the hopelessness of their situation and complied. [131] Captain McCleave and his cavalrymen arrived back at Fort Union on December 20. One of his men, Hospital Steward Cornell, had deserted while the troops were at Cimarron.

Lieutenant Cornish was left at Cimarron with a detachment of Fifteenth Infantry to keep watch over the Indians and supervise the distribution of rations. Cornish was also designated as the temporary Indian agent for the Jicarillas and Utes at Cimarron Agency. The commanding officer at Fort Union was in structed to watch the situation at Cimarron, make periodic inspections there, "see that peace is preserved with the Indians," and do whatever "the best interest of the Government and of the Indians may require." The Fort Union commander was also directed to begin estimates of the cost and preparations for the removal of those Indians the following year. [132] Meanwhile Lieutenant Cornish and his detachment settled into the building rented by the Indian department at Cimarron to keep their watch over the Indians. On December 30, 1875, the Ninth Cavalry began arriving at Fort Union. [133]



Edward Hatch, Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Colonel Granger suffered another stroke and died on January 10, 1876, at Santa Fe. His body was taken to Fort Union, where it was embalmed by Post Surgeon William H. Gardner, and then shipped to his wife at Lexington, Kentucky. Major James Franklin Wade, Ninth Cavalry, commanding at Fort Union, was transferred to Santa Fe to serve as district commander until Colonel Edward Hatch, Ninth Cavalry, arrived to take permanent command of the troops in New Mexico on February 8. Hatch spent the night of February 4 at Fort Union. Captain Francis Moore, Ninth Cavalry, served as the commander of Fort Union until Major Wade returned on February 10. The garrison at Fort Union was small, comprised of one company of Ninth Cavalry and one of Fifteenth Infantry. [134]

Lieutenant Cornish was having problems at Cimarron, not with the Indians but with those who were to provide provisions for them. The contractor of provisions for the Indians had not sent a representative to Cimarron to issue supplies. Cornish notified Major Wade that, if a contractor's agent did not arrive by January 19, 1876, supplies would have to be purchased in the open market to feed the Indians. In addition, the clerk that had been left in charge of the former agent's store was "on the verge of Delirium Tremens." The clerk was leaving for Trinidad, and Cornish had no choice but to close the store and place it under military guard until someone was authorized to take charge of it. [135]

Cornish was undoubtedly gratified when the new Indian agent, J. E. Pyle, arrived at Cimarron on January 21 and relieved Cornish of his extra assignment. Wade directed Cornish to "remove all the troops from there except such as may be absolutely necessary for his [Pyle's] protection." [136] Lieutenant Cornish concluded that seven soldiers, including a non-

commissioned officer, were sufficient at the agency and returned to Fort Union with the rest of his detachment on January 25. While those troops were on the road, Governor Axtell requested Major Wade to leave troops at Cimarron to assist Sheriff Rinehart of Colfax County "to protect the lives and property of citizens in that county, and aid and assist the civil authorities in preserving order and enforcing the laws." The governor's request was prompted by the destruction of the newspaper office and press of the *Cimarron News and Press* (an anti-Grant and anti-vigilante paper published by Morley, Frank Springer, and Will Dawson). [137] Major Wade responded that he could not authorize the use of troops in civil affairs without authorization of higher authorities. [138]

Governor Axtell then appealed to President Ulysses S. Grant who authorized the use of troops. Early in February General Pope directed that a detachment of cavalry from Fort Union be sent to Cimarron "to aid the civil officers of Colfax County New Mexico, in arresting outlaws and criminals, or executing process of the courts as are directed against such offenders." [139] Because of the inability of civil officials in Colfax County to handle the situation, the territorial legislature passed a law that attached Colfax County to Taos County for judicial purposes, so that all court actions would take place at Taos. Warrants for the arrest of some of the men suspected of participating in the murder of Vega and Cardenas (including, among others, Rev. McMains and Clay Allison) were issued by Judge Henry L. Waldo. District Attorney Benjamin Stevens was sent from Taos to make the arrests. Stevens was promised the aid of soldiers from Fort Union.

The troops were not sent from Fort Union for several weeks because orders were not issued from district headquarters, whether by oversight or design cannot be determined. Colonel Hatch recommended that, because of the troubles at Cimarron and the need for large guard details at Fort Union to keep watch over the supply depots as well as the post, the garrison at the fort be increased to full capacity, with two companies of Fifteenth Infantry and two of Ninth Cavalry. This was accomplished with the arrival of a second company of Fifteenth Infantry on April 9 and another troop of Ninth Cavalry on May 5. [140] During 1876 remodeling was done to some of the rooms connected with the cavalry corrals, making them into suitable barracks to accommodate two additional companies at the post. Although Carleton had requested and received permission to expand the third fort, at the time of construction, from a four- to six-company post, that had not been done. In 1875 Brigadier General Pope directed the expansion because he planned to abandoned Forts Craig and Selden and wanted to transfer some of the troops from those posts to Fort Union. [141] Sometimes there were five and occasionally six companies stationed at Fort Union, but most of the time the new facilities were not needed. Even when there were six companies assigned to the garrison, a considerable number of men were often absent from the post on detached duty.

On February 13, 1876, the planing mill, engine house, and a small shed at the depot were destroyed by fire which began at 3:00 a.m. All were frame structures. The cause of the fire was unknown. The mill contained two planing machines, one sash machine, one scroll machine, one tenoning machine, a turning lathe, other tools and equipment, shafts and belting, and about 8,000 feet of dressed lumber. About 20,000 feet of rough lumber, piled near the mill, was also destroyed. The engine house enclosed the steam engine, which provided power for the mill as well as the water pump and other equipment at the depot. The steam engine was not damaged and was expected to be operating soon. The shed near the mill was burned along with two privately-owned horses within. Other nearby sheds containing charcoal and other supplies were saved. [142]

By the time Colonel Hatch took command of the district in February 1876, the federal government was on another economy drive. Congress wanted to reduce the military budget. Hatch acknowledged that he understood clearly "that strict economy would be expected in all

matters pertaining to expenditures in this District." He objected, however, to the suggestion that the general depot at Fort Union be closed, declaring "it would only compel the creation of another at some Post under control of a Post Commander." Hatch argued for the retention of Fort Union. "If it is the intention to repair trains, recuperate animals, or to hold a small reserve of Transportation in the case of an emergency, I know of no place at present preferable to Union." [143]

On March 13 Colonel Hatch sent a telegram to Major Wade at Fort Union, inquiring what he had done about sending troops to Cimarron. Wade replied that he had been trying to find out who was to be sent and would dispatch troops as soon as ordered. [144] The next day Captain Moore and 30 men of Company L, Ninth Cavalry, started for Cimarron. The seven infantrymen who had been left at the Cimarron Agency in January were attached to Moore's command. With the help of the soldiers, both McMains and Allison were arrested. McMains, as noted above, was later tried for the murder of Vega. Allison was not charged with any crime and was released.

Moore had only been at Cimarron a few days when he and 15 cavalrymen of his detachment were ordered back to Fort Union to meet the paymaster. Moore was needed to "render his returns" and witness the payment of his troops. [145] Before Moore could leave Cimarron, three of his command (Privates George Small, Anthony Harvey, and John Hanson, all Ninth Cavalry) were killed, according to Moore, in "a sort of a barroom fracas." The death of these black troopers was more the result of racism than the feud going on at Cimarron.

The details of the events that led to their deaths remain obscure. Basically, Captain Moore had requested that his soldiers stay out of the saloons in Cimarron and had asked the saloonkeepers not to sell liquor to any soldiers. At least two of the cavalrymen went to a saloon and got into an argument with some Texas cowboys (including David Crockett, nephew of the famous Davy Crockett who died at the Alamo, Henry Goodman, and Gus Heffron) who had been outspoken against the presence of black troops and their part in the arrest of McMains and Allison. Supposedly Crockett had threatened to kill the black soldiers. Later that evening, defying orders from Captain Moore, three black troopers went to the bar at the St. James Hotel operated by Henry Lambert, probably to buy whiskey and, perhaps, to pick a fight with Crockett and Heffron who were there. A gunfight broke out and the three soldiers were killed. Captain Moore reported that Crockett and Heffron had shot the troopers but his troops were unable to find and capture them. The bodies of the three troopers were taken to Fort Union and buried in the post cemetery. [146]

A short time later another of the black soldiers at Cimarron, William Breckenridge, murdered and robbed two citizens, William and Emmett Maxwell. He was arrested, tried, and convicted by a jury at Taos. He was sentenced to be hanged at Cimarron on May 8, 1876. A crowd of 400 people was reported to be present to see the execution. Before he died Breckenridge confessed to the crime and declared his motive had been robbery. It was not known where he was buried. Dr. W. R. Tipton, of Tiptonville a few miles south of Fort Union, served as an aid to the official hangman's physician. According to testimony given later during a court-martial trial at Fort Union, Dr. Tipton exhumed Breckenridge's body and dissected it.

Following the death of the three soldiers at Cimarron, more troops were sent from Fort Union. Lieutenant Cornish left the post with the remainder of Company L, Ninth Cavalry, on March 26. Crockett and Heffron continued to elude capture. The following summer the two men were arrested and charged with murder of the three soldiers. They claimed self-defense and the charges were dropped for lack of evidence. In the autumn of 1876 Crockett and Heffron returned to Cimarron and became drunk and disorderly. A sheriff's posse tried to arrest them, managed to capture Heffron who was wounded, and killed Crockett when he resisted. The violence in Colfax County continued and the troops from Fort Union were

periodically involved.

Late in March 1876 Colonel Hatch had some evidence that the telegraph messages between his office and Fort Union and Cimarron were being tapped. In order to prevent information from leaking out about planned troop movements and military orders, Hatch instituted a code for the messages going back and forth about the situation at Cimarron. [147] Hatch also sent Captain Chambers McKibbin, Fifteenth Infantry, and a detachment of 15 men from Fort Marcy at Santa Fe to Taos to assist the court and civil officials in dealing with cases against "offenders in Colfax County." [148]

In April 1876 the troops from Fort Union stationed at Cimarron were advised that they were to provide assistance to no civil officers except District Attorney Stevens or Sheriff Rinehart. Also the forage agency at Cimarron was abolished and the troops at Cimarron were authorized to purchase forage and fuel in the open market as needed to supplement what was sent from Fort Union. On April 14 Company L, Ninth Cavalry, returned to Fort Union. Lieutenant Cornish and the few infantrymen at Cimarron went to Fort Marcy. [149]

During the lull in affairs at Cimarron, some troops in the garrison at Fort Union were detailed to make repairs on the cavalry stables, officers' quarters, and barracks. The construction of a band stand was also undertaken in the spring of 1876. Captain Moore, commanding in May, complained that all the carpenters had been pulled off the band stand to work on the stables and buildings. He requested that the band stand be finished before the men were sent to other projects. The band stand was completed during May and served the garrison so long as a band was stationed at Fort Union. The Ninth Cavalry band, stationed at the post, was sent to Santa Fe to participate in the July 4 centennial celebration of American independence, after which it returned to Fort Union. Captain Edward William Whittemore, Fifteenth Infantry, became post commander in June. Colonel Hatch inspected Fort Union during the same month. [150]



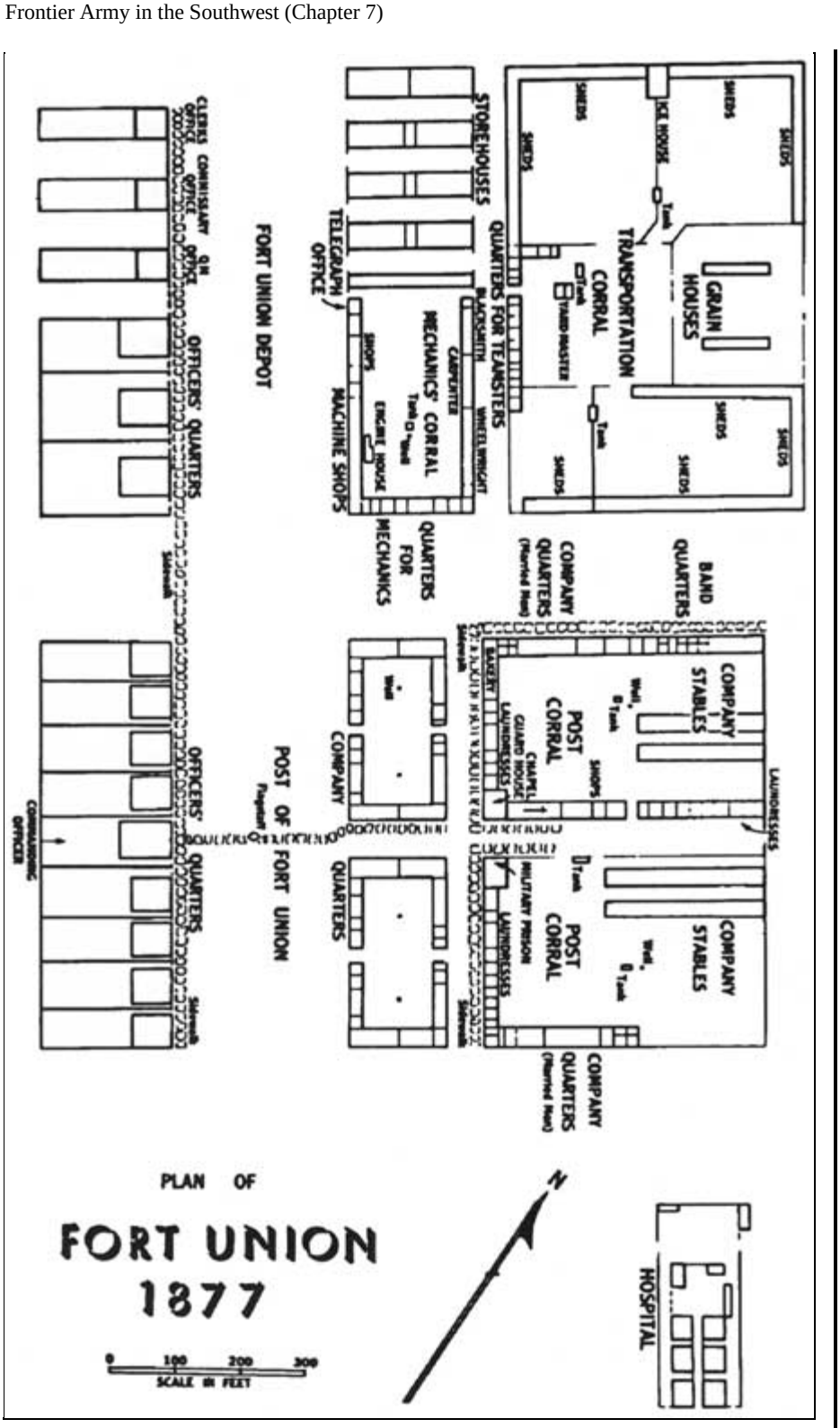
Nathan A. M. Dudley, *courtesy* United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

In July 1876, when the troops of the Fifth Cavalry in garrison at Forts Lyon and Wallace were sent to Montana to participate in the Sioux War, two companies of Ninth Cavalry were sent on detached service from Fort Union to serve temporarily at Forts Lyon and Wallace. Major Wade resumed command of Fort Union on August 2, having completed his assignment to purchase horses for the Ninth Cavalry regiment. He left again in October to serve on inspection duty, and Captain Whittemore again took command. Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley, one of the more colorful and controversial figures of the frontier army, arrived and assumed command of Fort Union on November 18. [151] The routine of garrison duty was interrupted briefly in November when the mail coach from Santa Fe was robbed about twelve miles south of Fort Union. A detachment under Lieutenant Gustavus Valois, Ninth Cavalry, was sent to pursue the bandits. When it was found that their trail led south, Lieutenant Cornish and a small party of troops from Fort Marcy were sent to attempt to intercept the thieves. With the cover of a snowstorm, they escaped. [152]

There were few demands on the troops at Fort Union during the early months of 1877 and, in addition to routine duties, they engaged in repairs and improvement to the post. A flagstone walk was installed along the front of the laundresses' quarters, prison, and guard house. A carriage road was built in front of the officers' quarters. Repairs were made to the stables, and the ventilation of the cells in the prison "were improved by having the doors perforated." Refurbishing done at the post hospital included the steward's quarters, laundry, furnace, matron's quarters, kitchen, dining room, two wards, fireplaces in all wards, cistern cover, windows, front porch, and exterior plaster and woodwork, and other general repairs. Post Surgeon Carlos Carvallo reported that "a large number of the officers and ladies of the post inspected the repairs and improvements of the hospital and was pronounced in an excellent condition." A new weather vane was installed on the hospital in April. [153] The post bakery was relocated at the north end of the laundresses' quarters, in May, and the post oven was rebuilt. The room next to the bakery was fixed up as a school room. [154]

In the spring of 1877 troops from Fort Union were sent to southern New Mexico to participate in the war against the "renegade Apaches" who had left their reservation. Major Wade, in command of Fort Union while Lieutenant Colonel Dudley was away on court-martial duty, was sent to command a column of troops that marched from Fort Craig. Companies E and K, Ninth Cavalry, were also sent from Fort Union, fully equipped for field service and provided with pack mules, to Fort Craig to serve under Major Wade. Other companies of the regiment were drawn from other posts in the district to join in the campaign against Apaches led by Geronimo and Victorio. They were to work closely with Indian Agent John Clum. Clum arrested Geronimo before the troops arrived. The troops assisted with the transfer of the Indians to a reservation in Arizona Territory. The action was far from Fort Union and was not conclusive, but it demonstrated that troops from Fort Union were still called upon to face Indian threats in the district and contribute to the eventual defeat of the Apaches a decade later. After this mission was accomplished early in May, Major Wade and the two companies from Fort Union were assigned to other military posts. [155]





Plan of Fort Union, 1877. Source: Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument,* 55. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

In September 1877, when some of the Apaches left their reservation in Arizona Territory, troops were again sent from Fort Union to join those from other posts in the quest for the so-called renegades. [156] All the Ninth Cavalry troops stationed at Fort Union were away from the post on detached service by the end of September. The Indians were rounded up again by November, and the troops from Fort Union assigned to other stations closer to the Apaches in case of further troubles. The number of troops left at Fort Union at the end of 1877 was 45, and of those only 37 were available for duty. Because Fort Union was so far from the scenes

of military operations in the district, the number of troops available for duty at the post averaged less than 100 for the next four years. During the last half of 1880 the average was only 17, hardly sufficient to guard the post without performing any other duties. [157]

As the need for military intervention declined in its vicinity the post became less and less important to military operations in the District of New Mexico. As the railroad approached the territory the role of Fort Union as a supply depot and transportation hub also became less significant. With reliable year-round delivery by rail to points from which each fort in the district could be supplied as required, there was no need to stockpile huge quantities of provisions and equipment at Fort Union for redistribution within the district. Likewise the need for freight wagons, draft animals, and repair shops decreased. [158] In February 1878 General Pope, who had recommended phasing out Fort Union earlier, again announced intentions to close the quartermaster and commissary depots at the fort. Colonel Hatch immediately defended the facility. [159]

Hatch conceded that the large storehouses and redistribution equipment were no longer required, but argued that was "but a part of the usefulness of the Depot to this District." He noted that it was still valuable for fitting up teams and wagons and outfitting "field trains" for campaigns. Fort Union was equipped to make repairs to worn equipment. It had a large reservation of good grass where animals could recuperate, and grain and hay for livestock was less expensive at Fort Union than anywhere else in the district. Hatch believed "it absolute economy to continue it." He offered to "reduce the expenditures if required to do so," and concluded he did not "think it advisable to give up the Depot at present." [160]

General Pope took Hatch at his word, and directed that the distribution of supplies from Fort Union be phased out and the depot reduced, as Hatch instructed the depot quartermaster, Captain Amos S. Kimball, "to a mere place where repairing which cannot be done readily at posts, may be made to transportation and where good grazing may be had to recuperate animals." As the provisions in the storehouses were shipped out or issued at Fort Union, they were not to be replaced. In time, thereafter, only the items required for the garrison at the post would be stored there. The number of employees at the depot was to be reduced accordingly and expenses were to be "kept down to as low a point as possible." [161] A more complete history of the supply depots is included in chapter nine.

A few weeks later, on May 29, General Pope recommended the abandonment of Fort Union, as well as Garland, Selden, and Craig in the district. Hatch did not object to Selden and Craig, but he thought Garland should be occupied until a new post was decided upon in the area of the Ute reservation in the San Juan region [162] and that Union should be occupied by a small force to protect government property so long as the arsenal and storehouses were occupied. [163] Despite Pope's recommendations, the forts remained active for several more years. Fort Garland was closed in November 1883, Fort Craig was active until September 1884, Fort Selden lasted until 1890, and Fort Union until 1891. In 1881 there was a rumor that everything at Fort Union would be moved to Las Vegas in order to be on the railroad, and the Las Vegas newspaper praised the idea and extended welcome to the army. [164] It never happened.

Some changes did occur. The cavalry troops at Fort Union were transferred to other posts in 1881, there being no further need of their presence in the area. The four cavalry stables at the post were torn down to salvage all the one-inch-thick lumber that could be used in the construction at Fort Bliss, Texas. Other lumber from the stables and "all the long pieces of dunnage in the subsistence storehouse" that could utilized was milled into flooring at the depot shops and sent to Fort Bliss. [165] Fort Union was in a era of descent.

The depot at Fort Union was being phased out during and after 1878 and the number of

troops at the post was inadequate to provide detachments for dealing with Indian or civil problems. Clearly the post was in the nadir of its existence. Even so it was occupied for another 13 years before it was closed completely. During most of that time little was demanded of the garrison beyond routine duty and making constant repairs to deteriorating buildings. Soldiers who had been at Fort Union continued to be involved in other theaters. Colonel Dudley, for example, was the commanding officer at Fort Stanton where he and some troops of the Ninth Cavalry were involved in the events of the Lincoln County War. [166] Troops that had once been stationed at Fort Union were sent to Fort Garland in 1878 to participate in the pacification of the Utes who threatened to leave their reservation in northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado. Fort Union commander, Major Albert P. Morrow, Ninth Cavalry, and Veterinary Surgeon Samuel Burdett, Ninth Cavalry, were both called from Fort Union to join in the Ute campaign. Morrow was given command of the expedition. [167] The depot at Fort Union supplied wagons and teams for some field activities. [168] When the army arrived on the scene the Utes "begged for peace" in early May. [169]

Following the campaign, Major Morrow returned to Fort Union with two companies of Ninth Infantry in September 1878. [170] The companies were soon sent to other posts where they were needed more than at Union. With a few exceptions, because it was on the periphery of events, Fort Union had no direct connection to most military operations in the district. The post was expected to be utilized during the removal of the Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches from Cimarron during 1878, but the Indians finally moved without military assistance. The Moaches eventually accepted life on a reservation with other bands of Utes, but the Jicarillas kept returning to the Maxwell Land Grant.

After many delays, the Bureau of Indian Affairs determined to place the Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches on reservations away from the Cimarron Agency in 1878. Initially, the agent at Cimarron thought a military escort would be needed to assure that each group went to its assigned reserve (the Moaches to the Southern Ute Agency in Colorado and New Mexico and the Jicarillas to the Mescalero reservation in southeastern New Mexico). Plans were laid to make the move in June. [171]

Thus two companies of the Ninth Cavalry (Company F from San Elizario and Company L from Fort Bliss) were ordered to travel to Fort Union to be outfitted to assist with the removal of the Indians. Captain McKibbin was sent from Fort Marcy to Fort Union and on to the Cimarron Agency to locate where the Utes and Jicarillas were camped, determine their numbers and condition, and devise a plan to make sure they all were rounded up when the removal took place. [172]

The need for careful planning for the control and transfer of these Indians, who were still reluctant to leave their "homeland," was made obvious when some of the Indians went to Cimarron, obtained whiskey, and started fighting some of the residents. According to reports from Cimarron, two of the Indians were killed and two were wounded in the "drunken row." The following day one of the Indians shot at their agent, without effect. On that day the businesses in Cimarron were closed and the citizens were "on guard all day." When the whiskey wore off the Indians lost their desire to fight. By the following day the situation was quiet at Cimarron. Captain McKibbin and Second Lieutenant George Herbert Kinzie, Fifteenth Infantry, from Fort Union, led a small detachment of troops from Union to the Cimarron Agency to witness the issue of beef to the Indians a few days later. They found the Indians settled down and returned to Fort Union on May 4. [173]

On May 10 General Pope directed that the removal of the Indians at Cimarron was to be suspended by order of the secretary of war until Congress had voted on a bill to provide compensation to the Utes and Jicarillas for moving. The two companies of Ninth Cavalry that

had been ordered to Fort Union were already on the way and arrived at the post about two weeks later. They were directed to turn around and return to Forts Stanton and Bliss, which they did in early June. [174]

In July Indian Bureau Inspector E. C. Watkins started the Utes at Cimarron on the way to the Southern Ute Agency in Colorado and the Jicarillas to the Mescalero Reservation in southeastern New Mexico without the aid of any troops. Hatch believed they were going without resistance because Congress had appropriated $5,000 to buy presents for them if they moved. [175] Members of both groups returned to Cimarron in 1879. The Moaches returned to their assigned reservation and, with a few exceptions, remained there after 1879. The Jicarillas kept coming back to Cimarron and resisted removal until they were granted a reservation on the Maxwell Land Grant northwest of Cimarron in 1887. [176]

Although troops from Fort Union were not required to assist the removal of the Indians from Cimarron in 1878, there were a few occasions which offered temporary relief from garrison duty. On August 29, 1878, Second Lieutenant Kinzie was ordered to the railroad at El Moro, Colorado, to receive and conduct 150 recruits to Fort Union, from where they were distributed to their assigned companies. Sufficient transportation for the recruits followed Kinzie, who left on August 30. On this assignment some of the soldiers of the garrison were able to spend a few days in the field. [177] In October Lieutenant Louis Henry Rucker, Ninth Cavalry, escorted 45 cavalry recruits from El Moro to Fort Union from where they were sent to their assignments. [178] Several times each year recruits were brought to Fort Union for distribution. As the railroad built closer the transport of recruits became more efficient, eliminating the necessity for troops to travel farther than the closest railroad station.

In 1879 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad built over Raton Pass and into New Mexico Territory, reaching the community of La Junta, renamed Watrous, approximately eight miles from the post. With the arrival of the railroad at Santa Fe in 1880 the Santa Fe Trail came to an end, although portions of it were used for local traffic. Beginning in 1879 supplies for Fort Union were brought by rail to the town of Watrous and transferred by wagon to the post. Soldiers and recruits also traveled by rail to Watrous to reach Fort Union and from Watrous to the states or to other assignments where rail service was available. Horses for the cavalry in the district were brought by rail to Watrous and taken to Fort Union for distribution. [179] The district supply depot at the fort was closed down as the stores were shipped out or consumed at the post. There were few opportunities for the garrison to join in military operations, and the troops must have relished those experiences.

At the end of August 1879 a company of Ninth Cavalry, commanded by Captain Charles Parker, was stationed at Cimarron to protect settlers and livestock from the Jicarilla Apaches and Moache Utes who had returned to the area and were stealing food because they were not receiving government rations. The soldiers attempted to persuade the Indians to return to their reservation, without success. The Indians refused to go. The troops were directed to protect the settlers and "not to provoke hostilities" until Colonel Hatch could arrive and seek a resolution to the problem. Hatch was slow in reaching Cimarron because he was engaged in several other problems at the same time. He was facing a Ute uprising in New Mexico and Colorado, an outbreak of Victorio's Apaches in southwestern New Mexico, and the on-going Lincoln County War. Before Hatch reached the Cimarron area, the Moache Utes decided to return to their reservation, probably to secure food from their agency and to save their horses. They had been warned their horses would be taken from them if they did not remain on the reservation. [180]

Colonel Hatch discovered there were about 500 Jicarillas near Cimarron who were supposed to be on the Mescalero Reservation. He found them determined not to be sent back and estimated it would take at least four companies of cavalry to force them to go. The Jicarillas

were starving, according to Hatch, and were surviving mainly on stolen cattle. So long as the Indians were hungry the potential for violence was immense. Hatch, as Carleton had done in an earlier era, recommended that the Jicarillas be fed, by the army if the Indian Bureau would not send rations, and that a detachment of troops remain at Cimarron to watch the situation. He suggested, since there was no longer an agency at Cimarron, that provisions might be issued to the Jicarillas from Fort Union. [181]

Captain Charles Steelhammer, Fifteenth Infantry, and a detachment often soldiers from Fort Union replaced Captain Parker and his command at Cimarron early in October. Steelhammer reported that the Indians were still in need of food and the citizens in the area were becoming angry at the state of affairs. He found that some of the Indians were ready to give themselves up as prisoners of war so they could be fed. Frank Springer requested and received 36 rifles and 3,600 rounds of ammunition from Fort Union to arm a group of volunteer citizens in case they were needed to deal with the Indians. The danger of an explosion was defused several days later when Indian Agent Benjamin H. Thomas distributed rations and agreed to feed the Indians if they would move to his agency at Tierra Amarilla west of the Rio Grande. The Jicarillas went but, as noted above, they later returned to the Maxwell Grant. The detachment of soldiers at Cimarron returned to Fort Union on November 9. [182]

There were occasional contacts between Fort Union and the Jicarilla Apaches. In February 1881 a band of about 40 Jicarillas, under Chief Santiago Largo, left their reservation and encamped at the north end of the Turkey Mountains about eight miles from the post. They applied for a permit to go to the plains and hunt buffalo, which was denied. There were no buffalo left to hunt. A couple of days later some of the Indians came to Fort Union and asked for food. They were given rations and sent on their way. Nothing more was heard from them. [183]

In August 1881 Captain Whittemore and a small escort from Fort Union were sent to accompany M. T. Conway, as directed by the commanding general of the army, to seek a suitable location for a colony of "colored people." The party left the post on August 13 and returned August 27, but no mention was made about a possible site for a black settlement. Perhaps Conway went someplace else in search of a good location. [184]

In October 1881 four companies of the Twenty-Third Infantry arrived to garrison Fort Union, and Colonel Granville O. Haller of that regiment assumed command of the post. Haller appointed a board of officers to examine carefully all the buildings and prepare a statement about the condition of each, noting what repairs were needed and what the renovation would cost. He wanted to make sure that the troops were properly housed and comfortable. The report was not located. When all the men of the four companies arrived, the aggregate garrison of the post, which had been less than 60 for seven months, rose to over 200 and remained at that level for the next seven years. [185] It was not clear why these troops were stationed at Fort Union. They participated in few military operations. Occasionally some of them were sent on detached service to other places.

The changes at Fort Union were accompanied by changes in the district. Colonel Hatch's wife died in Washington, D.C., early in February and he was granted a leave of absence and left Santa Fe on October 4. Colonel Luther Prentice Bradley, Third Infantry, was appointed temporary commander of the district until Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie, Fourth Cavalry, arrived to take over in late October. [186] In 1881, as part of the periodic rotation of troops among military districts, the Twenty-Third Infantry replaced the Fifteenth Infantry and the Fourth Cavalry replaced the Ninth Cavalry in the District of New Mexico. Colonel Haller retired from the service on February 6, 1882. He was replaced by Henry Moore Black, a lieutenant colonel of the Eighteenth Infantry, who was promoted to rank of colonel of the Twenty-Third Infantry on the same date. When Black arrived in New Mexico later in the

year, he took command of Fort Union. [187]

Sometime each year some of the Jicarilla Apaches returned to their old hunting grounds around Cimarron and created problems, especially when they killed cattle for food. In July 1882 a band of Jicarillas was reported to be near Springer, where the Cimarron River was crossed by the railroad. Agent Thomas had requested those Indians to return to their reservation. The Indians had promised to go back but had not. Thomas then asked for military assistance. Captain George K. Brady and two companies of Twenty-Third Infantry (total of 62 officers and men), accompanied by Lieutenant Abram E. Wood, Fourth Cavalry, with a detachment of 21 men of his company, were sent from Fort Union on August 1 to find, disarm, and bring the Jicarillas to Fort Union. Provisions for the troops were sent in wagons from the post, and enough additional wagons were provided that the infantrymen could ride about one-third of the time. As soon as possible, the Jicarillas were to be sent back to their reservation. [188]

The Jicarillas apparently learned the troops were coming and split into small groups and headed into the mountains west of Cimarron. Captain Brady and Agent Thomas received permission to employ guides and scout for the Indians. If they caught them, they were to bring them to Fort Union as prisoners. If it appeared the Jicarillas were heading back to their reservation, the troops were to let them go and return to Fort Union. The soldiers captured 39 Jicarillas (12 men, 18 women, and 9 children) and 48 ponies. They destroyed the Indians' weapons. The main portion of the band was headed back to the reservation, led by Chief San Pablo "as fast as he could go." Brady's command brought the captives to Fort Union on August 8. Brady had found no evidence that the Indians had committed any depredations. The captives were returned to their reservation by a guard of 16 soldiers a few days later, leaving Fort Union on August 14. [189] The Jicarillas really were not hostile; they just wanted to return to the Maxwell Grant.

During the last decade of Fort Union's occupation, Indian prisoners were sometimes incarcerated there. The Indians were closely guarded and provided with food and shelter. Their presence required that more soldiers at the post were engaged in guard duty. A Mescalero Apache prisoner, Muchacho Negro, was being transferred to Fort Union (where he was to be imprisoned) by Paymaster George F. Robinson and his escort when the prisoner escaped early in August 1882. Post Commander Brady was directed by Colonel Mackenzie to investigate "the circumstances attending the escape." Robinson was found to be responsible for "carelessness and neglect" in not keeping a proper military guard over the prisoner at all times. Mackenzie reprimanded Robinson but said he would not hold him to as "serious account" as he would an officer of the line in a similar incident. Muchacho Negro was considered a renegade who would return to his people and continue to cause trouble. [190] He was captured in June 1883 and imprisoned at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. [191]

Because some of the Mescalero Apaches were raiding off their reservation in September 1882, a short time after Muchacho Negro had escaped from Robinson, troops from Fort Stanton were sent under command of Major James Judson Van Horn, Thirteenth Infantry, to round them up and capture the leaders. The four ringleaders (Roman Chiquita, Hosthea, Horse-Thief, and Maria's Boy) were captured and sent to Fort Union to be imprisoned. Because Muchacho Negro had escaped while being transported to Fort Union, Mackenzie directed that these prisoners be shackled with "double irons" and "placed in charge of some one who will be responsible for their safe keeping and that every precaution be taken to prevent their escape." He emphasized "that they must not escape." Mackenzie later decided to keep Hosthea at Fort Stanton because the Indian agent wanted to file criminal charges of murder against him. The others were moved to Fort Union. [192]

When these three prisoners arrived at Fort Union, they joined 26 other Indian prisoners (one

man, fourteen women, and eleven children) being detained at the post. [193] Roman Chiquita, Horse-Thief, and Maria's Boy were soon sent to Fort Riley, Kansas, to get them farther away from their homeland. According to the new post commander at Fort Union, Colonel Henry M. Black, a guard of 14 soldiers commanded by Captain Brady, accompanied the Indian prisoners to Fort Riley. At the same time, they delivered 10 military convicts from the prison at Fort Union to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth. Escorting prisoners across the plains on the railroad was much different "field duty" than had been performed by soldiers from Fort Union a few years before. [194]

The buildings at Fort Union were not kept in the best of condition because General Pope hoped to close the post as soon as it could be done and refused to allot funds to purchase materials for more than the most essential repairs. In addition to minimal upkeep, the forces of nature (including rain, hail, and wind), continued to batter the structures. A violent windstorm that "surpassed anything known to the oldest inhabitant" struck from the northwest at midmorning on January 29, 1883, and continued until the next morning. The flag staff was blown over and struck one of the infantry barracks, knocking a hole in the roof. The chimney of the bakery was "blown down," sheds at the quartermaster corral were "partially un-roofed," and part of the adobe wall around the corral was destroyed. Some of the roof of the post trader's home was "blown off." Several outhouses were "unroofed." The pressure of the wind on some of the quarters was so strong that the walls were propped up to keep them from toppling. There was lesser damage to other structures. Despite the destruction to property, no one was injured. During the storm, Post Surgeon Joseph H. Collins died from a spinal disease and inflammation of the brain, an illness which had tormented him a "long time" and had no connection with the tempest. [195]

A superstitious observer might have concluded that the storm was an omen of what was to become of Fort Union. Certainly the days of the post as an active installation were numbered. Fort Union had survived numerous attempts to move or abandon it since the 1850s, and it continued its charmed existence into the next decade. Later in the year after the windstorm General Mackenzie declared that only four posts were of major importance in the District of New Mexico (Fort Lewis in Colorado and Forts Bayard, Wingate, and Stanton in New Mexico Territory). He recommended that Fort Union "be kept for a time for the shelter of troops." [196] A year later the new district commander, Colonel Bradley, recommended that "it would be an economy of men and money to break up Forts Union and Selden." [197] He made the same recommendation the following year. [198]

Since the quarters at Fort Union were deteriorating, it was only a matter of time until the post would no longer provide adequate "shelter of troops." Mackenzie was not around to see. He was transferred from the district on October 27, 1883. The new district commander was Colonel David Sloan Stanley, Twenty-Second Infantry, who was promoted to brigadier general a few months later. [199] A few days after Stanley took command, he received a request from the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri: "Telegraph what Military purpose Fort Union serves, also, its capacity for sheltering troops." [200] Stanley replied, "there are five companies at Fort Union, room for no more." He stated, "the post has no military influence over any Indian reservation, but is a healthy and good place for troops." [201] That was not a strong recommendation to maintain the establishment. Colonel Black later reported that the garrison at Fort Union was "held in readiness for the field at all times." [202] They may have been ready but were seldom required.

A few days after Stanley's feeble response additional queries came about the buildings at the arsenal, prompted by a request from the secretary of the interior department to the secretary of war that the old arsenal be turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for use as an Indian school. [203] From department headquarters came three questions: "Is the Ordnance Depot at Fort Union used for any Military purposes? What stores are there and who is in charge?"

[204] Stanley replied, "the Ordnance Depot at Fort Union is not used for any military purpose. There are no stores there." Captain Shoemaker, retired, still occupied his home there as authorized when the arsenal was closed. Shoemaker had voluntarily assumed responsibility for the "general supervision of the buildings of the former arsenal. [205]

A transfer of the arsenal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs was apparently authorized by the secretary of war but, for some reason not determined, the transfer did not occur. Indian prisoners were sometimes kept at the site of the arsenal. In 1890 there were 68 Apache prisoners (men, women, and children) from the San Carlos Reservation at Fort Union. They had arrived on March 21, 1890, and were initially quartered in an unidentified building, possibly at the old arsenal. By August 1890 the Apaches had established a camp "about half a mile from the Post, towards the old arsenal." Those prisoners were not kept under guard, at that time, and were permitted to have guns and ammunition for hunting. The district commander, who thought Fort Union should be abandoned, suggested the Indian prisoners could be returned to their reservation at San Carlos or held at some other post. [206]

The reasons for the confinement of the Apaches was not explained, except for a telegram sent to the commanding officer at Fort Union to inform him that "about 100 disaffected Apaches Indians, men, women and children, will be removed by troops from San Carlos in next 24 hours and transferred for temporary confinement." Some of the prisoners, sixteen men, arrived in shackles, which were soon removed. The prisoners were issued quartermaster stores and commissary rations from the post. Some of the Indian children were taken from their parents and sent to school, although the parents "bitterly opposed" the separation. [207]

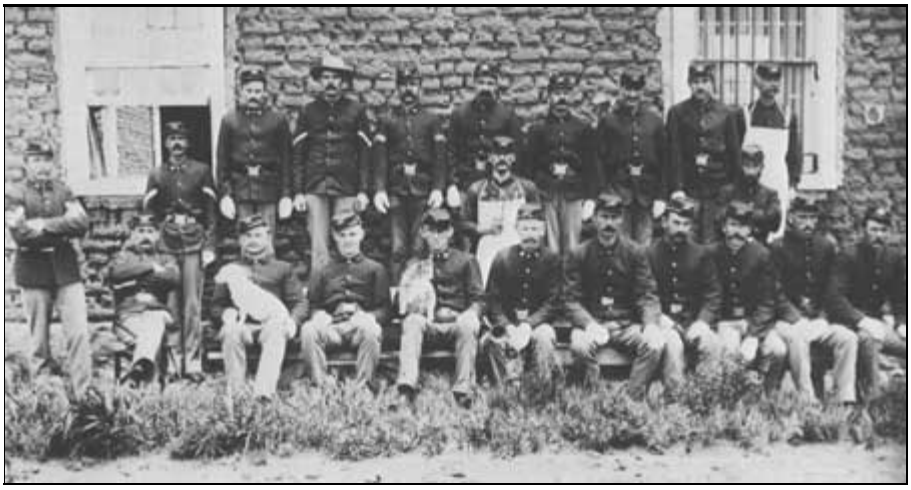
On September 26, 1890, the Indian prisoners were assigned quarters in the "Old Arsenal, on the recommendation of the Post Surgeon for sanitary reasons & for the purpose of giving them shelter." A corporal and four to six privates were assigned to guard the Apaches, with the privates being relieved every ten days. On January 21, 1891, thirty-six of the Apache prisoners departed from Fort Union, escorted by Second Lieutenant Matt Ransom Peterson and ten enlisted men of the Tenth Infantry, to return to San Carlos. The balance of the prisoners, who numbered twenty-four at the time Fort Union was abandoned, remained at the old arsenal for another month. On February 21, 1891, they accompanied the last two companies of Tenth Infantry from Fort Union to Watrous, from where the troops and Indians were transported by rail to Fort Wingate. [208] The Indians were the last occupants of the site of the first Fort Union. The arsenal had not been turned over to the department of the interior. The abandonment of Fort Union was simply a confirmation of Colonel Stanley's acknowledgement seven years before that the post served no vital military purpose.

In April 1884 Colonel Stanley was promoted to brigadier general and transferred to Texas. Colonel Bradley, who had earlier served as interim commander of the district, arrived at Santa Fe on May 1 and assumed command as Stanley's replacement. [209] In June 1884 the Twenty-Third Infantry and the Tenth Infantry exchanged military departments, [210] and companies of the Tenth regiment comprised the major part of the garrison at Fort Union from that time until the post was abandoned in 1891. During June five companies of the Twenty-Third Infantry marched to the railroad station at Watrous and headed for their assignment in the Division of the Atlantic. They were replaced by five companies of Tenth Infantry, who arrived by rail, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry R. Mizner became post commander. [211] Such massive replacements of population were unique to military installations and marked another way in which they were so different from civilian settlements. An entire regiment from another region was thrust into the unique culture and environment of New Mexico. The shock to the soldiers and the civil population of the region was not exactly conducive to tolerance and understanding.

The civil authorities continued to call on the military when needed. In March 1885 at

Springer a "mob of cowboys" had two deputy sheriffs "corralled in the jail." From what could be learned in the sketchy details provided, it appeared that two or more prisoners at the jail were wanted by a mob. It was not clear if the gang wanted to rescue the prisoners from the system of civil justice or to punish them without waiting for the legal process to work. Whatever the motive, a band of desperados headed by Dick Rogers attacked the jail, guarded by two deputies (Lee and Kimberly, first names unknown). During the fight Rogers and two of his band were killed and an innocent bystander was wounded. The mob then increased to include 70 to 75 "cowboys." They terrorized the town and threatened to break into the jail. On March 16 acting Territorial Governor Samuel A. Losch, on the recommendation of M. W. Mills (assistant district attorney at Las Vegas), asked Colonel Bradley to send troops from Fort Union to rescue the deputies and their prisoners. Bradley requested authority from the department commander, Brigadier General Christopher Colon Augur. [212]

Losch was informed that he would have to apply to the president for military aid, which was quickly done. Meanwhile Bradley sent Captain Joel T. Kirkman and Lieutenant Stephen Young Seyburn, Tenth Infantry, with 20 men from Fort Union so they would be on the scene if the president approved. The troops left the post at 6:00 p.m. on March 16 and traveled to Springer by rail from Watrous. Bradley explained that "any delay might have been fatal," and gave orders to the troops to protect the lives of civil officials. On March 17, before an answer was received from Washington, a telegram was sent to Bradley from Springer that the immediate threat there had dissipated. It may be assumed that arrival of troops had caused the mob to disperse. Troops were still required, Losch argued, to escort the civil officials while they transported the prisoners to Las Vegas, where they could receive a fair examination and trial. Losch had gone from Santa Fe to Las Vegas and offered to send a special train to carry the prisoners and the escort. Colonel Bradley approved the escort, instructing Captain Kirkman, "under no circumstances will you permit your command to become engaged in conflict with the mob." The prisoners were delivered to the sheriff of San Miguel County at Las Vegas on March 18. The troops returned to Fort Union at 11:30 p.m. the same day. The next day Bradley telegraphed to department headquarters, "quiet restored." The presence of troops had again assisted the enforement of law and order in a society prone to violence. Because they were able to travel by rail, they were absent from the post only a short time (53.5 hours, during which they traveled 157 miles). [213]



Company B, Tenth Infantry, at Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

There were other opportunities for soldiers to perform duties away from the post. During April and May 1885 Lieutenant Edward Hinkley Plummer, Tenth Infantry, and eight enlisted

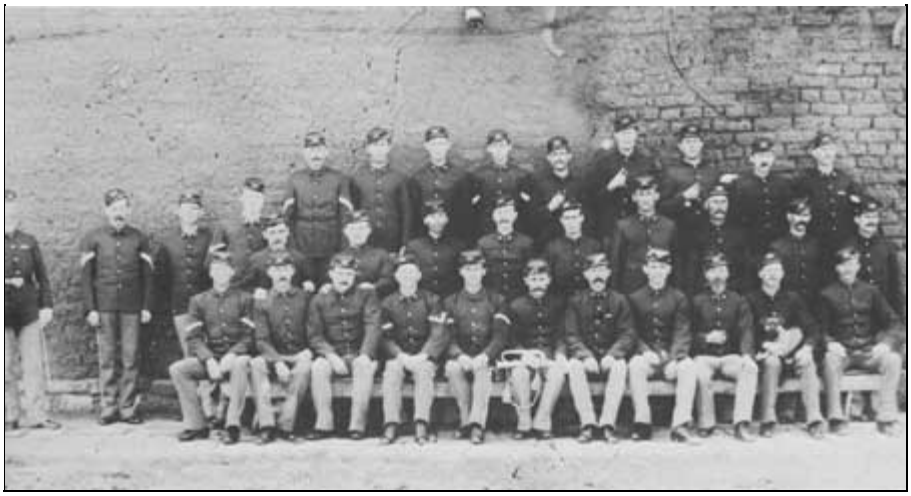
men measured various mail routes from Las Vegas to points southeast and east, going as far as Fort Elliott in the Texas panhandle. They left Fort Union on April 13 and returned on May 22. After measuring alternate routes with an odometer, Plummer reported the distance by the best road from Las Vegas to Fort Elliott to be 317.81 miles. [214]



Company C, Tenth Infantry, at Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

In July 1885 three solders of the Tenth Infantry at Fort Union were selected, because of the quality of their marksmanship, to participate in department rifle competition at Fort Leavenworth the following month. They traveled by rail from Watrous. [215] The results of their efforts in the contest were not located, but the fact that they were selected from competition at the post and traveled so far to compete against marksmen from throughout the Department of the Missouri indicated that rifle practice and excellence in shooting were emphasized to a degree unknown in earlier years. This promotion and rewarding of proficiency at military skills was part of the military reform that created a more professional army. Those talents were occasionally required in the field.

During the summer of 1885 Companies F and I (commanded by Captain John Franklin Stretch and Lieutenant Thomas Jacob Clay respectively), Tenth Infantry, were sent from Fort Union by rail to southern New Mexico to serve under direction of Brigadier General George Crook in the campaign against Geronimo's Apaches. A total of five officers and 65 men marched from the post to Watrous on the morning of July 4, where they boarded the train. They were assigned to guard Crook's supply camp at Lang's Ranch in the San Luis Mountains. Lieutenant Plummer served the battalion as quartermaster and commissary officer, and Assistant Surgeon Norton Strong accompanied them to his field assignment as medical officer for a battalion of Eighth Cavalry near Hillsboro, New Mexico Territory. During their absence Colonel Henry Douglass, Tenth Cavalry, arrived at Fort Union and assumed command of the post. Douglass was appointed colonel of the regiment on July 1 to replace Colonel Henry Boynton Clitz, who retired on that date. [216]



Company F, Tenth Infantry, at Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

Lieutenant Clay and Surgeon Strong returned to Fort Union for medical treatment during the summer. Colonel Douglass departed on a two-month leave of absence on October 5. While he was gone to Pennsylvania the command was held by Tenth Infantry Major Charles L. Davis, October 5 to November 15, and Lieutenant Colonel Mizner, November 15 to December 2. The two companies of infantrymen remained in southwestern New Mexico during the winter of 1885-1886. In April 1886 Company C, Tenth Infantry, was sent to field service on Datil Creek in New Mexico Territory. This left only one company of Tenth Infantry present for duty at Fort Union. Colonel Douglass left the post on May 7 to go to Fort Bayard and other points where members of his regiment were located. He returned and resumed command of Fort Union on June 8. Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles, commander of the Department of Arizona to which the District of New Mexico had been transferred from the Department of the Missouri on November 30, 1885, inspected Fort Union on June 26. He arrived at 10:30 a.m. and departed at 5:00 p.m. the same day. [217]

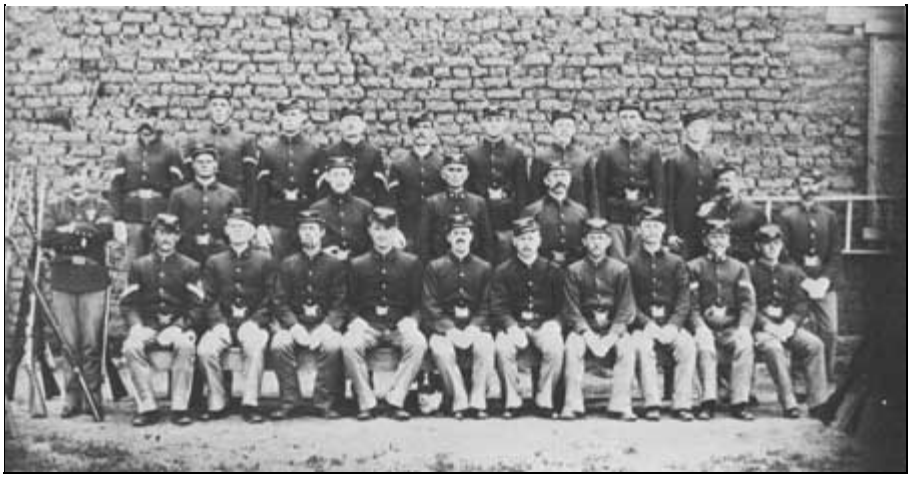
When the companies of the Tenth Infantry that had been sent from Fort Union to participate in the Apache roundup completed that assignment some were sent to other posts and some returned to Fort Union. Company F went to Fort Bliss at the end of July 1886. Company I returned to Fort Union on August 10, and Company C returned in October. During the same month Companies C and H, Tenth Infantry, Company I of the Ninth Infantry, and Company E of the Sixth Cavalry were transferred to Fort Union. The troops of the Sixth Cavalry were quartered at the old arsenal. [218] The quarters were filled with troops whose services were not required beyond the post. In addition to garrison duty, some soldiers were periodically sent to drive unauthorized livestock off the military reservation and to chase wood choppers out of the post's timber reserve in the Turkey Mountains. Detachments were occasionally sent on training exercises, performing what was called "practical service in the field." Sometimes problems arose in the performance of those limited assignments.



Company H, Tenth Infantry, dressed in fatigue uniforms, at Fort Union, about 1887, *courtesy* Jerome Greene.



Company H, Tenth Infantry, in dress uniforms and ready for inspection, at Fort Union, about 1888, *courtesy* Jerome Greene.



Company I, Tenth Infantry, at Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

In 1887 retired General Benjamin F. Butler, who had purchased the land surrounding Fort Union, complained to the secretary of war that the commanding officer at Fort Union was interfering with the grazing of Butler's cattle on the military reservation. At the time Post Commander Douglass had "instituted a daily cavalry patrol with instructions to drive off the reservation all animals not belonging to the Post." Douglass explained that, if Butler's cattle were permitted to graze on the post, "the reservation would be useless to the post as a grazing ground, and the word 'reservation' be an absurd misnomer." Douglass pointed out that army orders issued in 1883 prohibited civilians from grazing livestock on any portion of a reservation and concluded "that the request of Mr. Butler cannot be granted without injury to the interests of the Government." [219]

The reservation remained off limits until the post was abandoned. That did not mean, however, that there were no problems with Butler's livestock. During a severe blizzard early in 1891, hundreds of cattle crowded into the post where many of them died. [220] Following the removal of troops from the post in the spring of that year, Butler's ranch occupied the entire site. The quartermaster department kept a custodian at the buildings until April 1, 1894, but cattle were permitted to graze around them. Following the removal of the caretaker, all that remained of Fort Union was turned over to Butler's estate. [221] The post was occupied mainly by livestock and wildlife for the next 60 years.

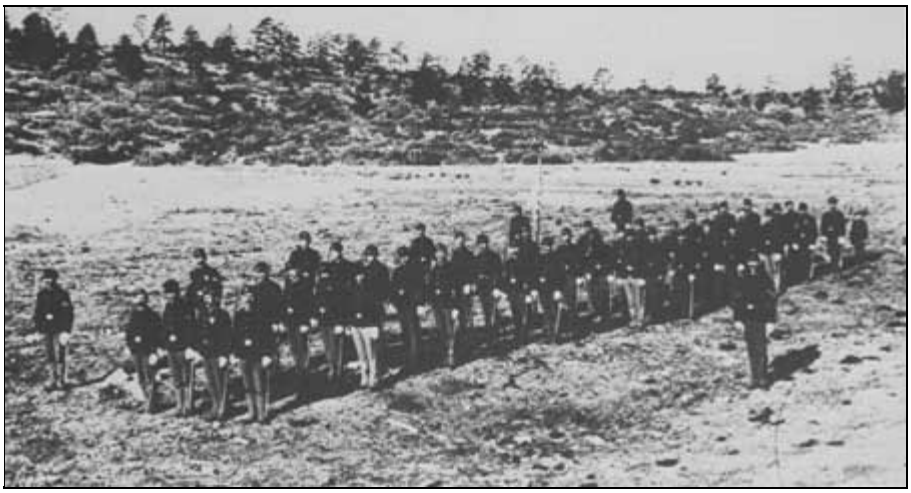


Troop E, Sixth Cavalry, mounted and in formation near the bluffs west of Fort Union,

about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

In addition to livestock troubles in 1887, the training exercises planned that year by Colonel Douglass, "a ten days practical march," had to be curtailed because there were not enough mules at the post to provide the necessary transportation. Although he had planned to send one company of the Tenth Infantry into the mountains west of Mora and another company of the same regiment into the mountains west of Ocate, the post quartermaster "lacked 14 mules" needed. For "want of transportation," Douglass reported, he could not provide all the field experiences he had "determined to do." The troops apparently went as far as they could, and one of the companies "encountered very bad weather and snow in the mountains." [222] Douglass was undoubtedly relieved to know that the Indian troubles in the region were over and that his troops would not be required to take the field under such conditions.

At the conclusion of the Indian wars in the District of New Mexico, Colonel Bradley retired from active duty in December 1886. His place as district commander was filled by Colonel Benjamin Henry Grierson, Tenth Cavalry. Grierson's son, Lieutenant Charles Henry Grierson, Tenth Cavalry, served as his adjutant at district headquarters in Santa Fe. Grierson rose to commander of the Department of Arizona in November 1888 and was replaced as district commander by Colonel Eugene Asa Carr, Sixth Cavalry. Carr served until the district was dissolved in August 1890. [223]

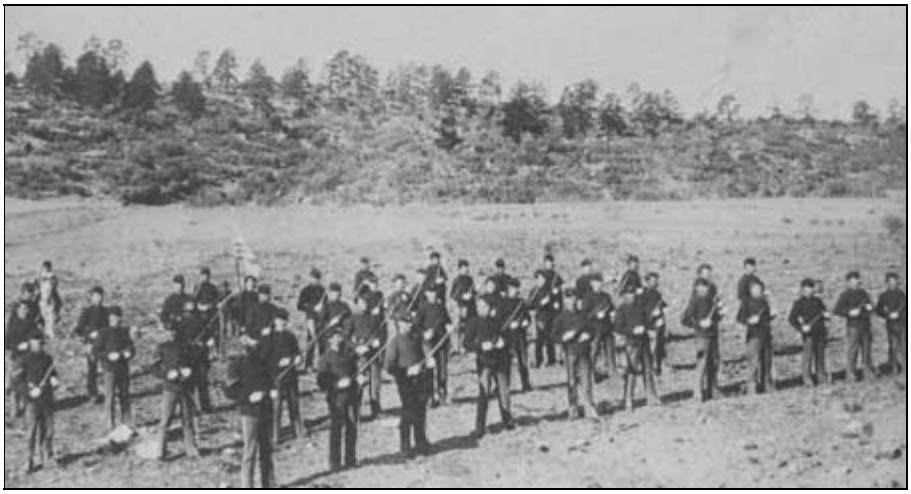


Troop E, Sixth Cavalry, dismounted and in formation near the bluffs west of Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

The structures at Fort Union continued to deteriorate. Colonel Douglass explained the situation in 1886, noting that the exterior plaster had disappeared and left the adobe walls exposed to the elements. The brick coping atop the walls, intended to protect them, was actually contributing to the decay. Moisture ran off the bricks and eroded the softer adobe underneath, "weakening the walls very much, and the superincumbent weight of the coping renders the wall very insecure." Douglass concluded that "corners of buildings crack and fall out, whole sides of buildings fall out, occasionally." [224]

Lieutenant Colonel George Hall Burton, inspector general's department, found conditions had declined even more at the time he inspected Fort Union in April 1889. The least impaired building at that time was the hospital, which had a pitched roof receiving new shingles at the time of inspection. The officers' quarters were all listed as "in poor repair, [and] all leak." The barracks were described as "barely habitable" and "tumbling down." They were "more or less propped up with poles." In addition, "the roofs all leak." The prison was "old and tumbling

down." The quartermaster storehouses (old depot) were "more or less out of repair," but "one main building is in fair repair." The commissary storehouse was also "in fair repair." Burton's overall assessment of the post structures was that they were "in general ruin." He noted that, "should it be desired to undertake a general repair, it would be difficult to determine where to begin or where to end." [225]



Troop E, Sixth Cavalry, in formation with swords drawn, near the bluffs west of Fort Union, about 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

A few months later Lieutenant Colonel Albert P. Morrow found conditions much as Burton had described. Morrow also observed that the old arsenal buildings were "unoccupied and will soon go to pieces." One important improvement had been achieved at the post when some of the roofs were coated with coal tar and sand, reducing the number of leaks. [226] Later in 1889 Lieutenant Frederick Wooley, Tenth Infantry, submitted a report on the conditions of the post buildings to the quartermaster general's office. He tersely evaluated the officers' quarters as "fair" and the three occupied barracks as "bad." One former barracks served as the post library which also doubled as the post chapel. Another former barracks housed ordnance property, and the third abandoned barracks contained the post bakery and some ordnance property. The guardhouse and the prison were both "bad." The storehouses, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, ice house, and two grain houses were listed as "fair." [227]

Wooley explained the uses to which some of the other buildings at the post had been assigned. One of the old depot officers' quarters was used as the post school, and two others were vacant. The depot quartermaster's office building contained the offices of the post commander, adjutant, and quartermaster. The former subsistence office was vacant, as were several other buildings. The old machine shop served as the telegraph office. Although Burton had mentioned that one unidentified vacant building had been outfitted as a gymnasium for the soldiers, Wooley did not mention it. Even though Morrow indicated that the repairs to the roofs had improved conditions, Wooley declared that the roofs on most buildings "leak very badly." [228]

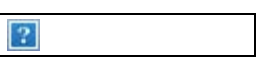


Detachment of Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, field camp near Fort Union, about 1888, Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Less than a year later District Commander Carr inspected the post and declared "it is not too much to say that the Post is totally unfit for habitation." He reported that the windows and doors were so loose in the barracks and some of the other buildings that, during a blizzard in February 1890, the floors were covered to the depth of one foot with snow and sand. Because "Fort Union is now of no strategic importance," Carr saw no reason to make repairs nor to continue to inhabit the post. [229] A few months later the post was abandoned.

During the last decade at Fort Union the garrison was occupied mainly by routine duties at the post. [230] Although not many troops from Fort Union were directly involved, those who served at the post undoubtedly were pleased to learn of the outcome of conflicts with Indians in other parts of the district over the years, including the defeat of Victorio by Mexican soldiers in Chihuahua in 1880, the capture of the leaders of the "renegade" Mescalero Apaches in 1883 and 1884, and the final surrender of Geronimo in 1886. The destruction of native cultures, because the Indians fought to keep their homelands from being taken by Anglo-Americans and followed traditions and values alien to the Euro-Christian invaders of their territories, was viewed as progress by the soldiers and the vast majority of the citizens of the nation they represented. Only later, when more objective and reflective wisdom was possible, did it become clear that a great tragedy had been inflicted on admirable human beings in the Southwest during the expansion of the nation. Most individual soldiers had little contact with Indians, especially on the battlefield.

One of the last military operations by troops from Fort Union involved duty on the side of rather than against Indians. When the Jicarilla Apaches were permitted to return to northern New Mexico in 1887, illegal settlers on their lands were ejected. Some of those settlers were determined to reoccupy their claims. In October 1887 a detachment of cavalry, one officer and 15 enlisted men, was ordered, at the request of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to proceed to the Jicarillas' reservation to prevent the return of those settlers. Lieutenant John Nelson Glass, Sixth Cavalry, was placed in command of the unit. The troops were directed to make "frequent patrols" to keep out fraudulent settlers, intruders, and livestock that did not belong to the few bona fide settlers. The soldiers were supplied from Fort Union. Lieutenant Glass and his detachment returned to Fort Union on December 29, 1887. [231]



An unidentified Sixth Cavalry trooper and his horse at the mechanic shops area

of Fort Union, about 1888, Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Another detachment, comprised of Lieutenant James Reed Cranston, Tenth Infantry, and eight enlisted men of his company and twelve enlisted men of the Sixth Cavalry, was sent to perform the same duty in the spring of 1888. Some of the settlers who had been ejected the previous year had returned to their claims and planted crops. It was also found that both legal and fraudulent settlers had "committed depredations against the Indians." In addition to providing troops to expel the illegal settlers and stop the encroachments by legal settlers, Colonel Grierson urged that the Bureau of Indian Affairs purchase all the legitimate claims from the settlers and clear the reservation of all outsiders as quickly as possible. [232]



View of Fort Union from the bluffs west of Wolf Creek valley, about 1885, with the Turkey Mountains in the background. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Museum of New Mexico.

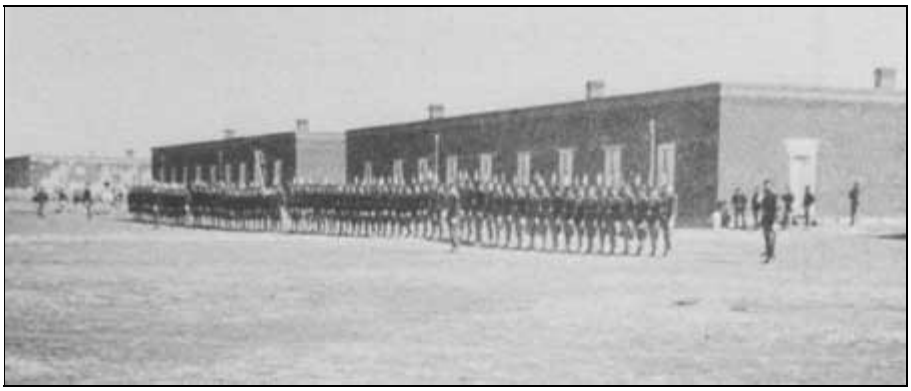
On August 23 Lieutenant Cranston died "from congestive chill" while serving on the Jicarilla Reservation. He was the last casualty from Fort Union while serving in the field. Lieutenant Seyburn was sent from Fort Union on August 28 to take command the soldiers at the reservation. The detachment returned to Fort Union in October, completing the last military operation conducted by troops from Fort Union. [233] It was an ironic twist of fate that the soldiers from Fort Union, who had years before protected settlers from the Jicarilla Apaches, ended up safeguarding the Jicarillas.

It should be clear by now that most of the soldiers' time on the southwestern frontier was spent doing almost everything but fighting Indians. Occasionally they were in the field, searching for Indians and others who were a threat or potential threat to life and property. On rare instances some of them fired a weapon at an enemy. The soldiers at Fort Union had performed countless other tasks. They built and repaired buildings and roads, transported supplies and provisions, unpacked and repacked commodities for distribution, herded livestock, hauled water, chopped wood, cultivated gardens, harvested hay, cooked food, collected and disposed of trash and garbage, fought fires, helped build and maintain the telegraph lines, served untold hours on the ubiquitous guard duty, practiced military tactics and maneuvers, cared for and learned to handle their weapons, and performed numerous other routine assignments. When they were not on duty they sought relief in leisure activities, some of which were destructive. The lives of soldiers and the people around them were

neither as romantic nor as bellicose as fiction, movies, and television programs have portrayed. The story of life at the third post supports that conclusion.



Officers' quarters at Fort Union post (left) and depot (right), 1876, U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88019, *courtesy* National Archives.



Battalion parade in front of barracks at Department, Denver Public Library. Fort Union, no date, *courtesy* Western History.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER EIGHT:

LIFE AT THE THIRD FORT UNION

Life at the third Fort Union from the days of the Civil War until the post was closed in 1891, as at other western posts, was characterized by a rigid stratification of personnel and strict schedule of routine activities, including roll calls, guard mount, company drill, target practice, guard duty, fatigue details (including the daily supply of water and wood, seasonal work in the gardens, and cutting ice during winter months), kitchen police, maintenance work, sanitation chores, teamster duties, cleanup assignments, dress parades, and inspections. [1] Fatigue details continued to provide a labor force for the army, leading to much criticism by enlisted men who felt such work had little to do with soldiering and that they were exploited as laborers without adequate compensation. [2]

The common labor expected from soldiers may have been a critical factor in the high rate of desertions. Private Charles J. Scullin, who spent considerable time in the guardhouse at Fort Union, including punishment for at least three attempts at desertion, wrote to a Las Vegas newspaper in 1885 and reported that nine out of ten who deserted did so because they had enlisted to be soldiers instead of "flunky laborers." After interviewing other deserters who had been captured, Scullin reported that they had joined the army to carry a gun rather than a pick and shovel. [3] Some observers noted, however, that the soldiers seldom worked hard, managed to kill much time without accomplishing much, [4] liked to complain, and were compensated with extra-duty pay under certain conditions. [5] Abuses of extra-duty pay came by working them less than ten consecutive days. Civilian employees were often present to provide part of the labor required.

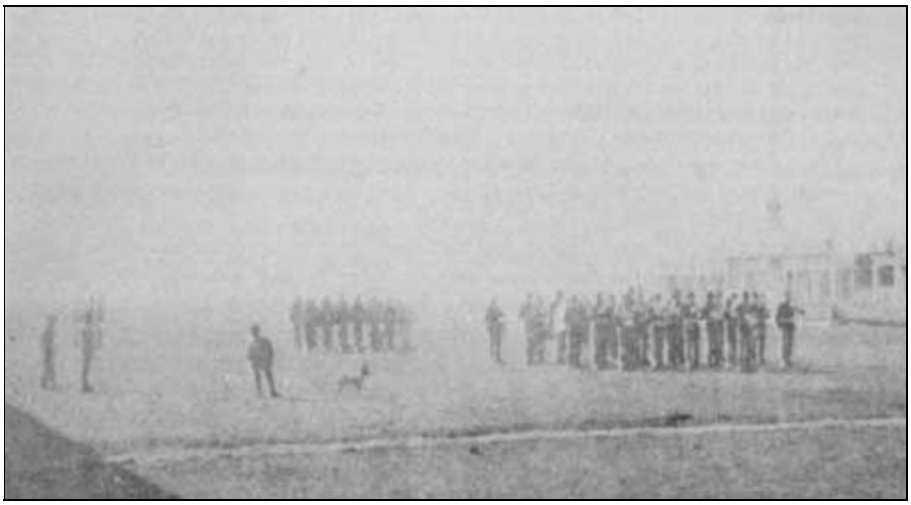
Fatigue details were assigned to construct buildings and corrals, build and maintain telegraph lines, construct and repair roads, renovate facilities, and almost everything else that needed to be done. Captain George F. Price, Fifth Cavalry, reported in 1884 while serving in New Mexico that many soldiers deserted because they were too "often in logging camps, making adobes, constructing quarters, building telegraph lines, opening wagon roads, etc." instead of performing "their [military] duties." [6] As a leading scholar of the frontier army stated, "drudge labor occupied most of the time and energy of the troops." [7] Some enlisted men were utilized as servants (known as "strikers") by officers, receiving extra pay of five to ten dollars per month for their services. [8] One soldier, William Edward Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, refused an offer to serve as an officer's servant. As Matthews explained to his parents, "I thanked him very kindly and said I did not enlist for a waiter, I enlisted for a Soldier." Matthews's view of the military caste system was expressed in his observation about officers, that "we are too much of a slave for them now, without going [to work] in their houses." [9]

Soldiers also complained about the omnipresent guard duty, which required them to be on watch for a period of 24 hours every few days (the frequency depending on the number of men available for duty at the time). Private Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, explained how onerous guard duty could become after his arrival at Fort Union in 1870, when only 12 men of his company were available for duty. Six of those troopers were required to stand

guard every other day, and the other six were assigned that duty on the alternate days. Matthews declared, "This thing of only one night in bed would Kill the oldest man living." [10]

Matthews explained to his family the duties of a private soldier in his company under those circumstances at Fort Union, a lengthy description worth quoting in his own words:

> Here you get one night in bed. For instance tonight you are on Guard, tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock you get relieved. At nine one hour after coming off Guard you have to Saddle up and go on Herd. Come in with the Herd at 4 P.M. spend one hour grooming your horse, then get your supper. At sundown the Bugle calls you to "Retreat" to answer your name, and hear who are detailed for Guard on the morrow. As there is only 12 men in the company for duty and six on Guard each day, you are not surprised to hear your name called to be ready for Guard at 8 O'clock tomorrow, from Retreat till Tattoo "2 hours", you have to shine your belts, clean your gun, and brasses so they shine like a dollar gold piece in the dark. Next morning at break of day you fall in ranks for Reveille, answer your name, and then march to the stables, spend half hour on the . . . horses, come back, swallow your Breakfast, and then put on all your good cloths, comb your hair, pull on white gloves that after one wearing will stretch large enough to pull on your feet instead. Put on all your Belts, Shoulder your carbine, and then you are ready for Guard Mount with all a Cavalry Man's traps on he would make any pack mule, or donkey, blush to see a poor man carrying more than they could. At the first sound of the bugle, you rush in ranks to be inspected first by your first Sergt. In case he should find a speck of dust on your belts, or in your gun, you are hurryed back in quarters and through the aid of numerous brushes assisted by a Spy Glass you are able to see and remove the troublesome speck. You then rush back in ranks, all in a perspiration and then are marched over to the Sergt Major. He stands as a marker, for you to dress by. Soon as all the details arrive on the ground and form a line, he sings out, right dress, you all cast your eyes to the right. If you can see the second button on the second mans jacket, on your right, you are hunky dorey. But if by accident you should get one foot over the alinement, your liable to have it cut off by the Sergt Major's Saber falling on it with considerable force. The S. M. then brings his saber up in front of his face, which is called a present, and sings out to the Adjutant, who stands some thirty paces in front. The detail is correct Sir. The A. then draws his sword and says very well Sergt. take your Post, the Sergt finds a Post on the left of the detail and hangs up there till his honor the A. inspects your Gun, Belts, then opens your shirt collar to see if that bit of apparel has been to the Laundresses in the course of a couple of months. When he is satisfyed that you are not, to use a soldiers expression "Crummy Lousy", he goes to the next man, and so on till the guard is inspected, the cleanest man is chosen Orderly for the commanding officer. The A. then marches to his Post and brings the guard to a present arms, then he salutes the officer of the day, that worthy, says at the same time raising his hat, March the Guard in review to their Post, the Band strikes up those patriotic tunes. . . . You are then marched to the guard house. During the day you escort prisoners around camp, emptying swill Barrels &c. At night you are put on guard over a stable, lot of wagons &c, with these orders, take charge of this post, and all Government property in view. . . . That is soldiering in a nut shell.
>
> I have spent some time and perhaps wasted some paper foolishly, but that is about as fair a description of our duty here as I can give. . . . This thing of standing Guard every other night, is not very pleasant. [11]



Guard mount on Fort Union parade ground, about 1880, showing guard detail and band near the flag staff with some of the officers' quarters in the background. it appears there is a band stand constructed around the base of the flag staff. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

It was not unusual for soldiers to feel that their lives were deprived and their work unappreciated. Private Scullin complained that "a soldier's life is a dismal, thankless one to say the least." [12] Many enlisted men and some officers, even officers' wives, characterized existence at the forts as monotonous, dull, boring, and isolated. Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, informed his folks at home in the summer of 1870 the he anticipated being sent into the field on scouting duty in the near future, an assignment he would welcome. "It is so miserable dull here," he wrote, "that a trip for a month would liven us up a little." He also noted that "we never mount our horses except when get a mounted pass, that is very seldom." [13] Matthews was not sent on scouting duty, however, but he did serve periodically as orderly to the post commander. Even though he had not completed the first year of his five-year enlistment, the young private was homesick and ready to quit military life. He wrote the folks back home, "Would like ever so much to be at home, am tired of Soldiering and Soldiers life." He apologized that he could "find nothing of interest to write you . . . but here it is the same old routine, every day." [14] Matthews testified to the boredom and the relative isolation of garrison life. At the end of his enlistment, as he was preparing to leave Fort Union and return to his home in Maryland, Matthews wrote that he was "tired of the Army and everything connected with it." [15]

As Don Rickey noted in his masterful study of enlisted men in the post-Civil War era, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* (1963), "the rank-and-file regular was psychologically as well as physically isolated from most of his fellow Americans." [16] At the third Fort Union, however, this isolation was not as severe as it had been prior to the Civil War. The boredom and monotony, on the other hand, were about the same as earlier, and soldiers welcomed any type of diversion from their routine existence.

At the third fort they had better facilities and quarters than their predecessors had endured, better even than many of their contemporaries at other forts in the Southwest. An inspection officer declared in 1868, "Fort Union is, beyond doubt, out of proportion to all other Posts in the District, in point of the comforts which have been heaped upon it. They are so far the more fortunate who chance to be stationed there." [17] In 1871 Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, provided a brief description of the enlisted men's barracks, quoted here because it was the only such description found.

Our Quarters are plastered inside. In each room are seven upright posts, and

> places around each post for eight Carbines and Sabers, also place to hang belts on. In each room, "two large rooms for each Company" are about thirty single bunks. First thing after coming from stables in the morning, you roll your bed sack up [and] place it at the head of your bed, fold your blankets up nicely and lay them on the bed Sack. All the bunks look the same. Have one large Leviathan Stove in the room, which will heat all parts of it. [18]

Later improvements added to comfort and convenience. In 1875 the wooden single bunks were supplanted by individual iron cots in the barracks. The completion of the railroad in the area in 1879, an event that contributed to the obsolescence of the post by bringing to an end military freighting on the Santa Fe Trail, facilitated the supply and travel of troops. In 1881 oil lamps replaced candles for lighting of quarters, offices, library, and hospital.

In 1873 Matthews was a clerk in the subsistence department and shared a room with a quartermaster sergeant at Fort Union. [19] He again provided an illustrative description of his quarters, a rare glimpse into living conditions at the post. He recounted the furnishings as he entered the door and walked counterclockwise around the room. The items included (1) "a good size and pretty looking glass" hanging on the wall beside the door; (2) a "small table" below the mirror that was covered with a blue blanket and on which were kept combs, hair brushes, clothes brushes, and brushes for cleaning weapons; (3) a window with calico curtains; (4) a washstand in the corner, with soap and water and "a bench for blacking our boots upon"; (5) on the wall between the washstand and fireplace hung a framed picture (two feet by two and a half feet) entitled "Harvest," representing "a farmer bringing in his grain from the fields"; (6) a fireplace with "a cheerful fire burning," with a mantle on which were kept a half dozen smoking pipes and above which hung "a real pretty picture (steel engraving) called 'Horses in a thunderstorm,'" depicting "two beautiful horses terrified by thunder and lightning"; (7) Matthews's bed on which were kept a bed sack filled with straw, a pillow made of wool in a pillow case, his great coat "folded to give the pillow the requisite height," and five army blankets, and under the bed he stored two pairs of boots, a pair of gaiters, a nose bag, one lariat, one set of horse hobbles, a canvas bag to "carry my clothes when scouting," and "a large bottle of genuine 'Bears Oil,' which . . . is elegant for the hair"; (8) at the head of the bed was a box in which he kept his clothes, above which he had displayed on the wall 14 photographs of his family and friends; (9) on the side wall above his bed hung a picture entitled "Evening of Love," which depicted "a young lady in a pensive mood"; (10) another window which looked out onto the parade ground, with calico curtains; (11) beneath the window a box which held his belts and a collection of items he had gathered during his travels; (12) his roommate's bed, "a nice bed, much better than mine," was beyond that window; (13) on the wall above this bed hung a picture entitled "Morning of Love," showing a young girl with a "happy countenance"; (14) near the head of his roommate's bed hung a pictured titled "Open Your Mouth and Shut Your Eyes"; (15) at the head of the sergeant's bed was a box for his clothing, above which was a collection of pictures, including photographs of his family and friends; (16) on the wall where the door was located was a large clothes' rack covered with a curtain, in which were found stable frocks, two caps and a hat, two sabers, two carbines, two bridles, a saddle blanket, a canteen, and, on the floor, a "box for trash"; and (17) in the center of the room was a table "with a collection of papers, books and other trash too numerous to mention," around which were two chairs and a bench. The size of the room was not given, but it must have been cozy. [20]

The men spent much time in their quarters, but they sought other activities too. Except when they were on guard duty, enlisted men had considerable leisure time available in the arrangement of routine duties. At the same time, however, few recreational opportunities were offered at the post except for the library and whatever pastimes the soldiers provided themselves. Some time was spent at the post sutler's store, where a variety of items could be purchased and recreation was sometimes available. When opportunities were presented, the

men left the post to visit entertainment enterprises (providing liquor, gambling, and prostitutes, and euphemistically known as "hog ranches") available nearby. The community of Loma Parda, a few miles from Fort Union, was a favorite hangout for soldiers.

The composition of the enlisted ranks was similar to what it had been prior to the Civil War, with many recent immigrants (particularly from Ireland, Germany, and England, and lesser numbers from Canada, Scotland, France, and Switzerland) volunteering for service. [21] The number of Hispanos was reduced markedly from what it had been during the Civil War (when they were found predominantly in volunteer units), but the postwar regular army enlisted more New Mexicans than had been enticed into the prewar ranks. A new element in the regular army, a direct result of the Civil War experience, was the African-American soldier, serving in segregated regiments under white officers. [22] There was evidence of discrimination against Hispanic and black soldiers by Anglo officers and enlisted men. [23] Most enlisted men, regardless of national and ethnic ancestry, were from the bottom of the economic class structure, predominantly unemployed and unskilled laborers. In most companies there were a few skilled laborers and, less often, professional men (including teachers and lawyers). A large number of soldiers in the late 1860s were veterans, having served in regular or volunteer units during the Civil War.

The quality of military personnel was often deplored by officers and even enlisted men. Eddie Matthews had been in the cavalry only two months when he bemoaned the fact that,

> I left my dear home and all that is dear to me in the world to associate myself with the scrapings of the world, for I do think that the Army is composed of the scrapings of Penitentiaries, Jails and everything else combined to make an Army suitable for this Government, both Officers and men. The Officers steal from the men and the men steal from each other. Everything is steal, steal, steal. Well I have only 58 months to serve yet. [24]

Throughout the postwar era, there was a large turnover in enlisted personnel. Thus the regiments were comprised of many (from one-fourth to one-half) inexperienced soldiers at any given time. A small number of troops died each year. The term of service expired for approximately 20% of the enlisted men every year, and only about one-fifth of them signed on for another term. The greatest loss was to desertion, with about one-third of the soldiers departing before the completion of their five-year enlistment. During 1871, the year after a pay reduction, nearly one-third of the troops deserted. The following two years were nearly as bad. When all losses were combined, from 25% to 40% of the enlisted men were lost each year. This was a great waste of manpower and money, and it affected, as Utley expressed it, the "morale, discipline, and efficiency" of those who remained. It also made recruitment of new soldiers a vital part of the army's responsibilities. Good recruits were hard to attract to the rigors and low pay of military life. [25]

After the Civil War the army continued to recruit men between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five for a five-year period. Volunteers under age twenty-one were required to have permission of a parent or guardian, but this prerequisite was frequently neglected. Enlistment and reenlistment were possible at recruiting stations, mostly located in larger cities and at military posts. Fort Union periodically had a recruiting officer. New recruits were not permitted by regulations to have a wife or child, although a soldier could marry during his term of service with the consent of his company commander (wives of enlisted men often served as company laundresses). The ability to read and write was not mandatory until after Fort Union was abandoned. A medical examination was required. [26]

Despite the restrictions on married soldiers serving in the army, and official discouragement of enlisted men being married, the records show that a number of soldiers at Fort Union were

permitted to marry. The vows were usually taken before the post chaplain, but some couples were married by civil officials in nearby communities. Virtually no information has been found about most of the parties involved in matrimony in the frontier army, but one such couple at Fort Union has been documented from records and photographs. [27] On August 3, 1873, Private Patrick Cloonan, Company B, Eighth Cavalry, married Bridget Molloy at the post. Both had immigrated from Ireland. Like many of his fellow countrymen, Cloonan enlisted in the army until something better was available. Molloy may have been a servant for an officer's family, but it was not determined how she came to New Mexico.

When Cloonan completed his first enlistment in 1873, Colonel J. Irvin Gregg noted on his discharge papers that Cloonan was "an excellent soldier and most reliable man." Private Cloonan reenlisted in April, married Bridget in August, and was promoted to corporal in December 1873. A few months later he was advanced to sergeant. Bridget served as a laundress for Company B, a common practice, holding the only position for women recognized by the army. The Cloonans remained at Fort Union until January 1876, when Company B was transferred to another station. Sergeant Cloonan received his final discharge in April 1878.



Bridget Molloy married Patrick Cloonan at Fort Union, August 3, 1873, and she served as a laundress for his company until they were transferred in 1876. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* William Duggan.



Patrick Cloonan, Company B, Eighth Cavalry, in his corporal dress uniform, late 1873 or early 1874, at Fort Union. He held that rank only two months. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* William Duggan.

Many other soldiers were permitted to marry while in the service, and there were a few exceptions to the rule that a married man could not enlist. One such case at Fort Union, in which a recruit had children as well as a wife, was described by Private Matthews, who wrote the following to his family in the summer of 1870:

> We have a new Laundress in the Company. Her husband enlisted a few weeks

> ago. He was raising stock in the country, and was doing very well till last fall when Indians ran away six hundred head of Cattle for him. . . . They have been very kind to me, have taken several meals in the house. While I was sick, made Tea and toast for me, and sent it to me. Am to take some Ice Cream with them soon as finish this. They are both young and have two children. [28]

The unidentified soldier Matthews described had enlisted because of economic hardship. Many young men joined military ranks because other employment was not available. William Edward (Eddie) Matthews left the home of his English-immigrant family at Westminster, Maryland, in 1869 and traveled to Cincinnati, Ohio, with two companions in search of gainful employment. Without success, the two friends returned home, but Matthews informed his family of his decision to join the army:

> We have all been unsuccessful in getting anything to do. I have tried most everything but in every instance was unsuccessful, and as a last resort went down to the Recruiting Office for the purpose of enlisting in the regular Cavalry for 3 years, but found out that they were only taking men for 5 years. [29]

Matthews declared he had little desire to serve in the army, and "if I possibly could get anything let it be what it may I would take it, but there is not much chance for anything else here." [30] He later declared that "more men enlist in Cincinnati, than any other in the United States. If you once get strapped in the miserable place you are bound to enlist." [31] He served a large portion of his term of enlistment in Company L, Eighth Cavalry, at Fort Union, where he continually counted and reported to his family, in letters that averaged nearly one per week, the number of years, months, days, and hours remaining until he would be free from the army. He found conditions to be deplorable, causing many of the soldiers to desert. At one point, irritated by the way soldiers were treated, Matthews declared that "every man in the Regular Army would be justifiable in deserting according to my idea." [32] Matthews, however, was determined to honor his commitment for the entire five years, which he did.

Matthews did not enjoy "the common duty of a Soldier" but declared "I will try to make the best of a bad bargain. And do my duty like a man." [33] He had the good fortune to be selected to serve most of his tenure as a clerk, because he was literate and practiced good penmanship, which exempted him from many of the routine duties of most soldiers. His extensive correspondence to his family, copies of which were presented to Fort Union National Monument Archives in 1993, provided the best view of life in the post-Civil War frontier army by an enlisted man that has been found to date. [34]

Matthews periodically informed his family that his enlistment had been a blunder and he was sorry he had done it. In 1873, after serving more than three years of his term, he wrote to his folks as follows:

> What a great mistake I made when I left home. And to make bad worse turn around and enlist in the Army for five years. Had only I bound myself down to some good man, who would have been willing to take and learn me some trade, how much better off would I be now. But regrets will do no good in the present case. I will have to sleep in the bed I made for myself, but I tell you it is a hard bed. [35]

Many other soldiers must have had similar feelings and wondered why they had joined the army. Almost everyone who volunteered was accepted. The screening of potential recruits was not stringent, in order to fill the ranks. Physical requirements for service were specified in regulations for medical examination of recruits, but these were laxly enforced:

> In passing a recruit the medical officer is to examine him stripped; to see that he

> has free use of all his limbs; that his chest is ample; that his hearing, vision, and speech are perfect; that he has no tumors, or ulcerated or extensively cicatrized legs; no rupture or chronic cutaneous affection; that he has not received any contusion, or wound of the head, that may impair his faculties; that he is not a drunkard; is not subject to convulsions; and has no infectious disorder, nor any other that may unfit him for military service. [36]

As important as the selection of recruits was their training, which was generally deficient. Until 1881, when four months of basic training was established at recruitment depots, rookies received most of their training after assignment to the unit with which they were to serve. As noted in the previous chapter, recruits for the District of New Mexico were usually brought to Fort Union and distributed to their respective posts from that point. They generally were delivered with only a rudimentary understanding of basic military skills at best. The introduction to the authentic life of a soldier, when he finally reached his assigned company, most likely terminated any delusions about the romance of military life which some enlisted men may have entertained.

Captain Gerald Russell, a native of Ireland who had entered the service in 1851 as an enlisted man, spent several years as a first sergeant before being promoted to a commissioned officer, and who was stationed at a number of posts in New Mexico Territory (including Fort Union) before, during, and after the Civil War, greeted a body of recruits to his company of Third Cavalry at Fort Selden in 1869 as follows:

> Young Min! I conghratulate yiz on bein assigned to moi thrupe, becos praviously to dis toime, I vinture to say that moi thrupe had had more villins, loyars, teeves, scoundhrils and, I moight say, dam murdhrers than enny udder thrupe in de United States Ormy. I want yiz to pay sthrict attintion to jooty—and not become dhrunken vagabonds, wandhrin all over the face of Gods Creashun, spindin ivry cint ov yur pay with low bum-mers. Avoide all timptashuns, loikewoise all discipashuns, so that in toime yiz kin become non-commissioned offizurs; yez'll foind yer captin a very laynent man and very much given to laynency, fur oi never duz toi no man up bee der tumbs unless he duz bee late for roll-call. Sarjint, dismiss de detachmint. [37]

Such an introduction, indicative that pitiless discipline would bring retribution for the slightest infractions of rules and regulations, provided little help for the newcomers. It may have inspired them to regulate their behavior but shed little light on what was expected beyond submission. Without special training in basic military decorum and discipline, the new soldiers were expected to discover their status and obligations in the service through observation and emulation of the veterans, attention to routine activities, instruction, and drill. They were, as one scholar noted, "in a system far more rigid and austere than any environment most of them had previously known." They learned much of what they needed to know from the older men in the company [38]

They learned to obey orders and perform assignments or pay the penalties. Teresa Griffin Viele, wife of Lieutenant Egbert L. Viele (First Infantry) who served on the Texas frontier, proclaimed that "prompt obedience is the first lesson a soldier must learn" and quoted a brief rhyme to illustrate the point:

> Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die. [39]

Eddie Matthews quickly discovered after his enlistment in 1869 that "Officers are very strict,

but you can get along very well if you only pay attention." He informed his parents, "I am trying to do right in my new duty." Even so, he wrote, "Every little thing you do the Officers curse you for it, and call you all kind of names," Matthews was pleased that "I have not missed one roll call or had a cross word spoken to me yet. I have made up my mind to do what is right." [40] His efforts were successful. During his time at Carlisle Barracks Matthews was twice excused from guard detail "for being the cleanest man." [41]

Although enlisted men did not need to know why they were to conform, they needed to understand what they were to obey. To help in that regard, army rules and regulations were periodically read to all troops, many of whom were illiterate. Commencing in 1884, every man was issued a copy of *The Soldier's Handbook,* a pocket-sized guide that detailed most things a soldier needed to know. [42] The guide may have been helpful, but it was difficult to discover the elements of soldiering in a book. Most continued to learn the essentials from the members of their company.

A soldier lived in barracks in close association with the men of his company, enjoying little, if any, privacy. The company, usually not filled to legal capacity and comprised of 40 to 50 (sometimes fewer) enlisted men, was the soldier's "family" during his term of service. The small number of soldiers in a company fostered cohesiveness. The men of a company usually developed a loyalty to the unit and counted among its members their closest comrades. Many soldiers were known to their companions by nicknames, often the result of physical appearance or behavioral traits. As Don Rickey observed, "the company tended to be a self-contained social as well as military unit." With the officers and men of his company, each soldier "would live, eat, sleep, march, brawl, and possibly die." [43] As one soldier declared, "the company is everything to a soldier." [44]

Many soldiers complained about their officers, often with justification. While some officers who had served before and after the Civil War complained about the lower quality of enlisted men after the war compared with those before, [45] other officers deplored a similar decline in the character of the officer class. Duane M. Greene, a retired lieutenant, wrote in 1880 that "it is worthy of remark that the chivalrous spirit which had attained its full perfection in the Army before the Great Rebellion of 1861 is nearly extinct." He explained what had happened, in his opinion.

> The present organization lacks that ambition—that *esprit de corps*—which characterized the Army prior to the war. Some of the senior officers still maintain among them a remnant, though feeble and mutilated, of the essence of the "good old time." . . . Degeneracy has been increased by the appointment of men who have not received a military education. Add to these the "graduates" whom a superabundance of black bile has rendered unsusceptible of refinement beyond the limited demands of civility, and the sum comprises so much of the unit that the remainder is a negative power. The homogeneity that should characterize the military establishment has been destroyed by the mingling of incongruous elements. The contact of the truly meritorious professionals with non-professionals has given rise to arrogance, and has almost annihilated the spirit of chivalry. [46]

The result, as Greene saw it, was that many officers exhibited a "haughty assumption of superiority." He continued:

> Rank is the shield behind which they stand to heap tyranny upon insult and wrong. They do not regard inferiors has having rights which they should respect, and by the tyrannical exercise of authority, they extort a slavish obedience from those over whom they are placed. They look upon a private soldier as a machine

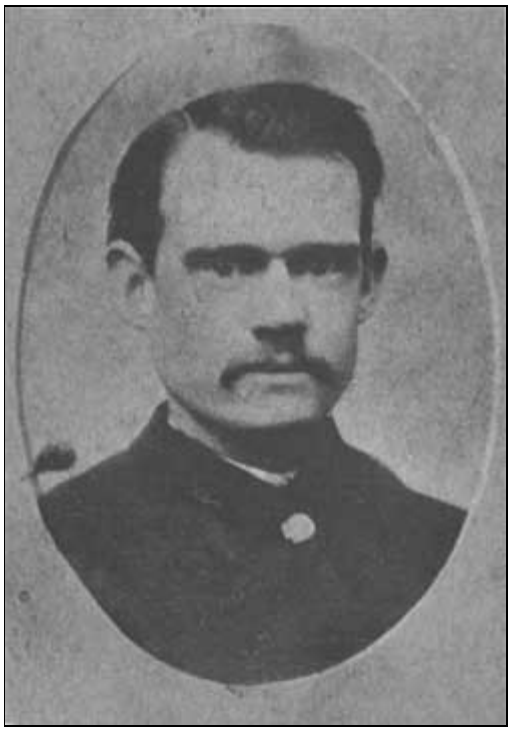
> —animate, yet without sense of justice or wrong; exacting of him the offices of a menial—a serf—degrading him even in his own estimation. [47]

While that may have been true of many officers, there were rare expressions of loyalty and respect for some officers who understood and sympathized with the conditions of enlisted men. In what was undoubtedly an uncommon demonstration of affection for a commissioned officer, in 1870 forty men of Company L, Eighth Cavalry, including Private Eddie Matthews, "put in one dollar each, and bought a very handsome Saddle, Bridle, and Saddle Blanket, and presented it to our Second Lieut." This was Second Lieutenant Edmund Monroe Cobb, who graduated from West Point in 1870 and joined his company at Fort Union in September of that year. Matthews declared that Cobb was "the finest Officer I ever saw that came from that place [West Point]." He was pleased to report that Cobb had "received the present and thanked us very highly for it." Matthews did not record his feelings when Cobb was transferred to the Second Artillery the following year. [48] It may be presumed that the change in personnel affected the emotions of the men in the company.

Each company contained a variety of personalities and backgrounds, a cross-section of humanity. Although there were exceptions, many soldiers had a tendency to consume too much alcohol as a form of escape from the realities of army life. Drunkenness was a problem at all military posts, including Fort Union. The failure of the army to provide leisure activities fostered visits by soldiers to gambling dens, saloons, and brothels in nearby communities, such as Loma Parda just off the Fort Union reservation. Soldiers, and sometimes officers, also developed sporting activities. Fort Union soldiers played baseball in the post-Civil War era. Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, noted that some of the men in his company organized a baseball team at Fort Union in 1871. He was selected team captain. When they were sent on scouting duty, they took their "bats and balls along with us, and have been amusing ourselves and passing away the time playing ball." [49] One place where officers and men breached the rigid distinction between their respective classes was at the meetings of Masonic and other lodges, where members of both sides met as equals and followed the rituals and rules of the fraternal orders. Such fraternization seldom extended beyond the gatherings of the lodges.

Among enlisted men, as among officers, rank was important and had its privileges. The commissioned officers had little direct contact with enlisted soldiers and relied upon the noncommissioned officers to handle the daily affairs of the men. The company was primarily managed by the first sergeant who, in turn, depended on the duty sergeants and corporals. They kept the soldiers in line, saw that duties were performed, and enforced discipline. According to Rickey, "if a single word were chosen to describe the noncommissioned officers, . . . that word would have to be—*tough."* [50] Rickey also emphasized that the noncommissioned officers were the "backbone" of the army. [51] Other noncommissioned officers at military posts included an ordnance sergeant, quartermaster sergeant, commissary sergeant, hospital steward, and a sergeant major who assisted the post adjutant and oversaw the daily change of the guard. Most of the noncommissioned soldiers had a long record of military service, often ten years or longer. A few of them had even served previously as commissioned officers.

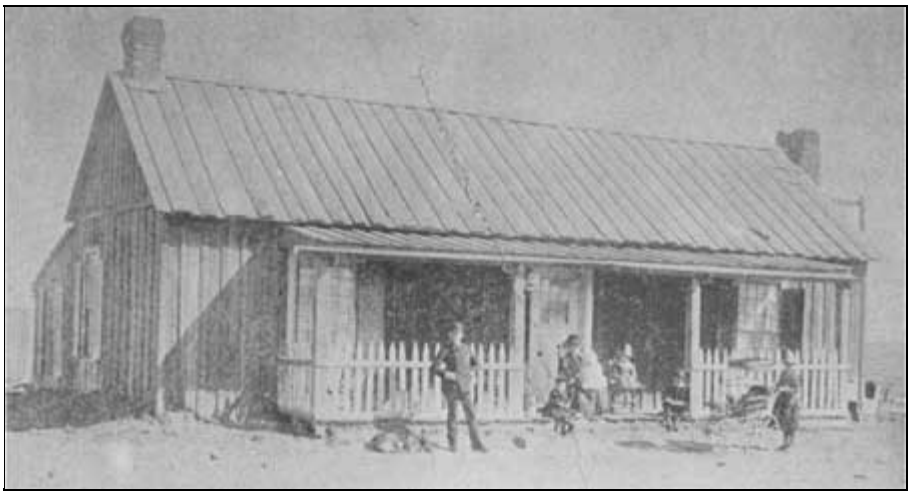
Information about most noncommissioned officers who served at Fort Union was as elusive as records about other enlisted men. Thomas Keeshan, who served as commissary sergeant at Fort Union, 1884-1889, was an exception, and his story provides an example of those who filled similar positions in the post-Civil War army. [52] Keeshan was born in Queens County, Ireland, in 1846. He enlisted at New York City on June 21, 1865, when he was 19 years old. He was five feet three and one-half inches tall, with red hair and blue eyes. His occupation at the time of enlistment was musician.



Thomas Keeshan, about 1885. He lived until 1943. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

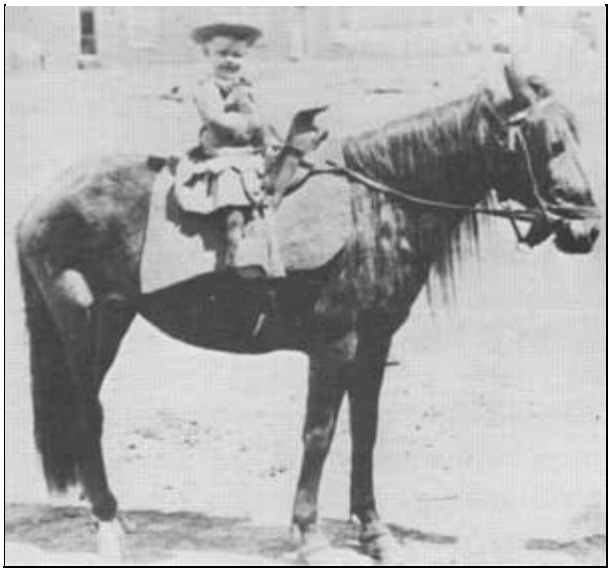


Robina Keeshan, about 1875. She died in 1920. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.



Thomas and Robina Keeshan with their children (five of their six children survived) at the post commissary sergeant's quarters at Fort Union, about 1887. These board and batten frame quarters were located north of the depot storehouses. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Keeshan served in several infantry regiments, ending up in Company C, Sixteenth Infantry, with the consolidation of the army in 1869. He was appointed corporal on September 1, 1867, was promoted to company



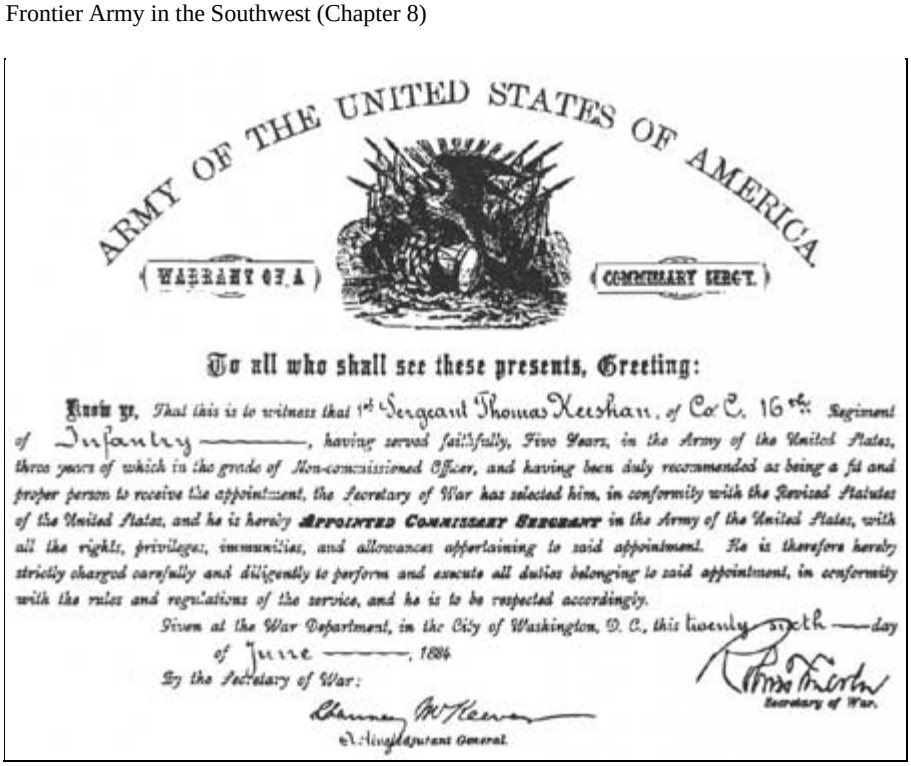
Walter Keeshan, son of Thomas and Robins, at Fort Union, about 1887. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

quartermaster sergeant, December 10, 1868, and became first sergeant, October 3, 1873. He married Robina Gibson, born in Scotland in 1859, at Little Rock, Arkansas, on August 6, 1875, when he was 29 and she was 16. They had six children, some of whom were born at Fort Union.

In 1883, while serving at Fort Concho, Texas, Keeshan applied for an appointment as commissary sergeant, and the letters of recommendation submitted to support his application revealed a dedicated, competent, and loyal soldier. His company captain, Thomas E. Rose, wrote on November 23, 1883:

> I have known Sergeant Keeshan personally since March 20th 1870. . . . I have found him thoroughly efficient in the performance of every duty that has ever been assigned to him. Intelligent, energetic active & indomitable, he has ever been more than any other soldier I ever saw. In garrison or in the field he has ever been ready for the most important service and was never known to be unequal to any task.
>
> . . . He is a man of thorough business habits, careful active infallible, and his appointment to the position of Commissary Sergeant would make a most valuable acquisition to that branch of the service. [53]

On March 7, 1884, Captain Rose submitted another letter of recommendation, similar to the first but with additional information. Keeshan, he stated, "is a good shot and has been for years back a marksman." More relevant to the duties of a commissary sergeant, Rose continued, "He has for more than ten years done all the clerking of the Company keeping the books records & returns in a good and presentable condition." Keeshan also had improved his knowledge. Rose declared, "From 1870 to 1874 he studied Mathematics under my own tuition during which time he showed remarkable proficiency in Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Analytical Geometry, Differential & Integral Calculus & Mechanics." [54]



ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WARRANT OF A — COMMISSARY SERGT.

To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:

Know ye, That this is to witness that 1st Sergeant Thomas Keeshan, of Co C, 16th Regiment of Infantry ———, having served faithfully, Five Years, in the Army of the United States, three years of which in the grade of Non-commissioned Officer, and having been duly recommended as being a fit and proper person to receive the appointment, the Secretary of War has selected him, in conformity with the Revised Statutes of the United States, and he is hereby APPOINTED COMMISSARY SERGEANT in the Army of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and allowances appertaining to said appointment. He is therefore hereby strictly charged carefully and diligently to perform and execute all duties belonging to said appointment, in conformity with the rules and regulations of the service, and he is to be respected accordingly.

Given at the War Department, in the City of Washington, D. C., this twenty sixth day of June ———, 1884

By the Secretary of War:

Robert T. Lincoln
Secretary of War.

Channcey McKeever
Adjutant General.

Thomas Keeshan's appointment as commissary sergeant, June 26, 1884, when Robert Todd Lincoln was secretary of war. Thomas Keeshan File, Fort Union National Monument Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

Lieutenant William V. Richards, post quartermaster and commissary officer at Fort Concho, stated on November 27, 1883, that he had known Keeshan for 15 years and found him to be "a most excellent 1st Sergeant, a thoroughly reliable, temperate, and responsible man." He noted that Keeshan had "a large and most interesting family, of which he takes most excellent care, and as the time approaches for educating them, the Sergeant naturally wants to improve his condition." Richards concluded by noting that Keeshan was also "an excellent accountant and would make a most excellent Commissary Sergeant." [55]

Keeshan was appointed commissary sergeant on June 26, 1884, and assigned to duty at Fort Union, replacing post commissary sergeant William Bolton. Keeshan and his family lived at the post until he was transferred to Fort Clark, Texas, on October 22, 1889. He later served at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and retired from the service there on September 29, 1894, having served almost 30 years. He settled at Junction City, Kansas, near Fort Riley where he had once served, and operated a greenhouse for many years. He died in 1943, when he was considered to be the oldest army veteran in the United States on the retired list.



Lucy Margaret Keeshan, in 1887, youngest daughter of Commissary Sergeant Thomas and Robina Keeshan, was born at Fort Union on May 19, 1886. She died at Manhattan, Kansas, January 1988. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.



Walter Keeshan, in 1887, was born at Fort Concho, Texas, October 14, 1883. He lived with his parents at Fort Union, 1884-1889. He died at Junction City, Kansas, September 7, 1984. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Lucy Margaret Keeshan, daughter of Thomas and Robina born at Fort Union on May 19, 1886, reported in the late 1960s a story that was part of her family heritage, about how her father kept cash for the commissary department at Fort Union hidden in sacks of beans at his office. Once, when the paymaster came to pay the garrison but the shipment of money had not yet arrived, the paymaster explained his predicament to the post quartermaster and commissary officer. This officer suggested that the paymaster borrow the required funds from Sergeant Keeshan and replace them when the shipment of money came. Keeshan opened some sacks of "beans" and counted out $5,000 to pay the troops. A few days later the payroll funds arrived and the paymaster and Keeshan counted the required $5,000 and concealed it back in the bean bags. Whether folklore or fact, it was a good story. [56]

There may have been some friendship between the commissary officer and Sergeant Keeshan, but most likely they were parts of two different worlds. Just as before and during the Civil War, there remained a vast gulf between the officer class and enlisted men. [57] The Civil War, with its thousands of volunteers and futile carnage, had helped to weaken some of the earlier aristocratic pretensions of many officers and their wives. Countless officers of volunteer units were appointed from civil life and therefore had not been indoctrinated, as some soldiers believed, "by teaching the officer-enlisted man caste system as if it existed by divine right." [58] Nevertheless, as Duane M. Greene, a former officer in the frontier army who wrote a book on military social life in 1880, declared, "the Army is a little domain of its own, independent and isolated by its peculiar customs and discipline; an aristocracy by selection and the halo of tradition." Greene argued that the army was not the paragon "of morality, honor and chivalry that many believe." [59] Although Greene wrote primarily about officers and their wives, he understood the unique station of the ordinary soldier.



Commissary Sergeant Thomas Keeshan's full dress uniform jacket. Museum Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

The enlisted men of the postwar era, whether veterans or newcomers, were somewhat less servile as a class than their prewar counterparts. Even though they were legally subservient to commissioned officers, many enlisted men expected to be treated fairly and with respect. As Rickey asserted, "reciprocal loyalty between officers and men was vital." [60] The rate at which they were subjected to courts-martial for various offenses and the high rate of desertion, however, indicated that military discipline was still harsh (even capricious) and many soldiers failed (by choice or nature) to adjust to the conditions and discipline of the army. [61] At western military posts the conduct of officers strongly influenced the behavior of enlisted men. Drunkenness, for example, was a problem for many men of both classes. Officers and their wives continued to provide more details about military life at Fort Union than did enlisted men, so that much of the information available contains a deliberate or involuntary officer bias. An exception was Eddie Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, whose prolific correspondence represented the viewpoint of an enlisted man at the post during the early 1870s.

Following the Civil War, a parsimonious Congress reduced the military budget to a point that funds were sometimes insufficient for fundamental activities. The army became a virtual skeleton as the authorized strength of the postwar regiments was reduced from 57,000 (in 1866) to 25,000 officers and men (by 1874). The number of military posts was reduced from a peak of 255 in 1869 to 96 in 1892, the year after Fort Union was abandoned. Sufficient funds were not provided to maintain adequately even the reduced number of military posts and authorized troops. In fact, most companies operated with fewer than the authorized number of enlisted men for many years (in 1881 the cavalry regiments averaged 82% of authorized strength and the infantry averaged 85%, and those figures included the sick, prisoners, and others unfit for duty—many infantry companies did not have 25 men available for duty). [62] The provisions and equipment left over from the Civil War, regardless of condition and serviceability, were utilized by the army for approximately the next decade. At times the availability of ammunition was so limited in the immediate postwar era that the men could not participate in target practice. Marksmanship received much emphasis in the 1880s, a time when there were few military demands on the troops at Fort Union.

The soldiers' pay had increased during the Civil War, part of the inducement to recruit needed volunteers. At the end of the war the base pay for privates was $16 per month, with one dollar deducted and kept until discharge (a forced savings plan to provide a new veteran with a small lump sum to begin life as a civilian and to discourage desertion because soldiers who departed early did not receive it), and a deduction of 12.5 cents for maintenance of the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D.C. Soldiers continued to dispose of their pay in many ways, including payment of debts, sending money to their families, newspaper subscriptions, personal items, additional food, tobacco, alcohol, gambling, prostitutes, and obligations to the company laundress, [63] tailor, cobbler, barber, and others. After the Civil War the army did a better job of fulfilling its promise of paying troops every two months, another practice

designed to reduce desertions. Even so, many soldiers borrowed money to make it from one payday to the next, pledging their future pay (a process that took a portion of each payment immediately and necessitated borrowing again, keeping them almost perpetually in debt). In comparison to other jobs (many paying two, three, and four times the amount provided by the army), the soldiers' cash pay looked inferior after the war. When their food, clothing, shelter, and medical care were included, however, the disparity was not as great as it appeared.

Eddie Matthews explained in 1869 that recruits were not paid until they were assigned to a regiment and had served for several weeks. [64] Meantime each new soldier was given $3.00 worth of scrip to be used at the sutler's store "to buy the little necessaries to keep clean and eat." These included "a quart cup, tin plate, knife and fork, and spoon, blacking amp; brush, pr of white gloves, towel and soap, plate powder to clean your plate and buttons, a little thread, for that you pay 2.30." Matthews did not purchase a button brush and used his toothbrush for that purpose. With the 70 cents remaining, he "bought ten sheets of paper and that many envelopes, a little looking glass for ten cents, a comb, some tobacco and mailed one letter." He promised to send his parents "just as much money as I possibly can" after each payday, which he faithfully did during his five-year term. [65]

Matthews sent his family $20 after he was paid in July 1870, stating that it was "not much I know." He explained that, after the deduction for his revolver and payment of the laundress, tailor, and "several others," he had "run pretty short." He commented that he was most ashamed to send so small an amount, but have only kept 5.00 myself to have some pictures taken." [66] Matthews was apparently more concerned than most enlisted men about sending home as much of his pay as possible.

In 1874, near the end of his term of enlistment, Matthews explained in detail how enlisted men spent what money they received. He considered the purchase of supplemental food and the alteration of clothing issued by the army to be primary expenses. Beyond those were many other expenditures:

> Then comes your Laundry bill $1.25 each month, and . . . your barber bill is another $1.00 per Mo. . . . One cannot wash his hands and face with Gov't Soap, and this takes a few more dimes. Nearly every soldier wears paper collars in Camp 40 cents a box. . . . Then comes combs, hair and tooth brushes, a little hair oil occasionally (for bacon grease won't answer). . . . The Gov't does not provide you with towels and one cannot always use his shirt tail. Nearly every soldier wears fine boots on stated occasions such as Inspections, Musters, Sundays and many other times. . . . This article of itself in this country costs a months soldiering. . . . These boots will not look well all the time without they are blackened, . . . and then you cannot blacken them without a brush, (a horse brush Gov't issue won't do the work). . . . (1) cloths brush 75 cents then you need several little brushes for cleaning your arms and equipments. . . . Paper, envelopes, stamps, pens, ink and paper are an expense to some. . . . Another little necessary and indespensible article is *tobacco,* most every soldier uses it. It is one of the greatest comforts we enjoy. . . . Cigars are too expensive and Uncle Sam has failed to supply us with pipes, so you see this is an expense that could not *possibly* be avoided. . . . There are many other little necessaries to be purchased with our little $13.00 per month, and when it is all added up it leaves a balance of $000,000. [67]

In 1870, in an economy drive in Congress, the base pay was reduced (effective July 1, 1871) to $13 per month with the same deductions noted above. The primary reaction of the troops was a marked increase in desertions. Over 32% of all enlisted men in the army deserted in 1871 and the rate remained high for several years. [68] At Fort Union 84 soldiers deserted in

1871. That was 20% of the average aggregate monthly garrison that year. [69] To help combat desertions, Congress established a schedule of longevity pay increases in 1872. The soldier who completed his required five-year enlistment received an additional one dollar per month for the third year of service, two dollars per month for the fourth year, and three dollars for the fifth year, all of which was retained until the soldier was discharged. The retained funds also collected 4% simple interest. [70] Longevity pay was not sufficient incentive, however, for many soldiers to put up with harsh discipline and other conditions for five years, and desertion remained a serious problem for the army. The tightfisted Congress refused to spend money to reform and improve military life. A retirement plan for enlisted men was not provided until 1885, and it required 30 years of service. [71]

There were idiosyncrasies in the system of pay. Eddie Matthews, who served in the Eighth Cavalry from 1869 to 1874, resigned his noncommissioned office of sergeant in 1873 to become a private and a clerk in the subsistence department. Because he received extra-duty pay for being a clerk, in addition to his private's salary, Matthews was paid $4.20 per month more in that position than he had received as a sergeant. As he explained to his parents, to whom he sent as much of his pay as he could spare, "I am after the dollars and cents, instead of rank." In addition, he noted, "My duties are less bothersome now than they were as Sergt." [72] An anomalous and parsimonious military system affected more than salaries.

Technological improvements in weapons, communication, clothing, accouterments, and other areas were not utilized or were introduced slowly because of the costs involved and the stocks of supplies left over from the Civil War. Army reforms came ponderously slow, too, because changes required revenues and the bureaucracy was inherently reluctant to innovate. Officer promotions were exceedingly retarded because vacancies in the finite positions seldom occurred, and the abundance of brevet ranks continued to cause confusion. [73] Second Lieutenant George B. Duncan, Ninth Infantry, began his duties as a newly commissioned officer at Fort Union in 1886. He described the post commander, Lieutenant Colonel Henry R. Mizner, Tenth Infantry, as "a relic of the Civil War, as were all the captains and many first lieutenants, probably good soldiers in their day but stagnated with inactivity and slow promotion." [74]

The lack of incentives and rewards for outstanding performance of duties was not unique to officers. Because of low pay and low esteem for soldiers, the enlisted men, according to Utley, did not "rise above mediocrity." [75] Some soldiers had little desire to risk their lives for the compensation provided. Perhaps Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, summed up the sentiment of many of his fellow soldiers when he penned his thoughts during a potential engagement with Indians while on a scouting expedition in 1872:

> I knew what had to be done in case we met the Indians. My own life was at stake as well as the Generals or any of the command, and I was willing to risk that life with the rest, but not foolishly. I have too much to live for. Too many bright hopes for the future to recklessly run myself into danger. . . . As regards myself, cant say that I felt very rejoiced at the prospects of a fight with the Indians, $13.00 a month is not an incentive to throw ones life away. And as to my patriotic feelings, I candidly say, I have none. I have never been blessed with the inspiration. [76]

Later, after the Indians his detachment were pursuing had retreated and the officers ordered the troops to withdraw because of a possible ambush, Matthews declared:

> And we turned and marched back to Camp. Many were the countenances which brightened up and many were the hearts made glad by this Command. I also experienced a feeling of relief when saw we were marching back to Camp, for

> have had all the Indian fighting I wish for the remainder of my life. [77]

Throughout the postwar years the capability and efficiency of the nation's military arm stagnated and deteriorated. Fortunately the demands on the army decreased as the Indians of the West were subdued, and places like Fort Union were active but nonessential during the last years of their existence. Significant reform of the nation's army came in 1890 and after, when Fort Union was abandoned. Life at the third Fort Union, without a driving mission, was certainly less exciting than when military action was required, as during the Indian campaigns or Confederate invasion of New Mexico. Even so, the story of people and activities form an important part of the history of the post.

The daily life of the soldier was affected by the quarters in which he lived [78] and the clothing, food, and equipment he was issued. Clothing left from the Civil War, although much of it was of inferior quality, was issued to troops for almost a decade after the war ended. Dress uniforms underwent periodic style changes during the 1870s and 1880s, but the basic dress remained the same: woolen trousers, shirts, blouses, socks, long underwear, forage caps and campaign hats (later helmets), and shoes for the infantry or boots for the cavalry. [79]

In December 1873 Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, described the changes in clothing just issued to his regiment, the new style being "taken from the Prussian Soldiers." He was pleased with the results.

> We have received our New Uniform and are very well pleased with it. It consists of a Helmet with Cords, bands and plume with a large brass Eagle in front, the Cords, bands and plume are yellow. . . . The dress coat is very nice, is trimed with yellow (buff)[,] pants same as before. . . .
>
> We all turned out this morning for Inspection in full rig for the first time and made quite a display. [80]

A few days later he expressed further pride in the attire: "We cut a dashing appearance in our New Uniforms and look quite flashy." [81]

Footwear was poorly constructed and did not fit the shape of many soldier's feet. One soldier recorded that the proper method for breaking in new shoes was to walk in the creek until they were soaked and keep them on until they had molded to the shape of the foot and dried completely. Much of the clothing issued required modifications before it fit the size and shape of the individual. Each company usually had a soldier who performed the duties of tailor in his spare time, altering and repairing uniforms for pay. Many companies also had a cobbler who repaired shoes and boots. [82]

Matthews explained the necessity and expense of utilizing the services of a company tailor:

> The great trouble with the clothing is it will not fit you, and for one to dress in Government issue without having it altered is to make yourself a ridiculous looking object, and to feel generally uncomfortable. And to have your clothing altered costs considerable. In fact it costs more to have them made over than the original price of the article. . . . If we did not have them altered for our own comfort, the officers would make you have them so for appearance sake. [83]

If the post did not have a barber, someone in the company who had some skill at the trade was able to earn fifty cents per haircut in his spare time. [84] Shaving and trimming beards and mustaches, also a part of the appearance of the soldier, was usually performed by each individual. Personal hygiene was often ignored by many soldiers because bathing facilities

were limited. Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, provided a rare description of bathing at Fort Union in December 1870 in a letter to his folks back home:

> Have just taken my Saturday evenings *bath.* And as feel somewhat refreshed, concluded would try and write to you. The manner in which we get a bath now reminds me of home and my little brothers. We borrow a *tub* from one of the Laundresses, put on a large pot of water. When it is warm enough put it in a tub and jump in. Wash yourself as well as you can in front, then get one of the boy's to wash your back. That done you step out of the tub and walk forth a *cleansed* man. [85]

Many of the soldiers did not attend to personal cleanliness as carefully as Private Matthews, but their clothing and bedding were regularly scrubbed by laundresses (except when they were in the field). [86] Even so, the smell of the barracks where unwashed men were crowded together in compact conditions with limited ventilation added to the unpleasantness of the lives of enlisted men. Most, however, complained more about the food they received than the scent of quarters and companions.

Most soldiers reportedly grumbled about how their rations were prepared. An example of their grievances was provided by Eddie Matthews while on a scouting expedition in 1872:

> Our Cooks (kind hearted fellows) thought they would treat us to some soft bread. So last night they baked. At breakfast this morning I was handed something which from its color and weight I presumed must be part of a brick, but was told by the cook that it was my ration of bread. Now I believe my digestive organs are about as strong as the majority of the white race and I would no more attempt their powers on that piece of bread, than I would on a 12 lb solid shot. I politely thanked our gentlemanly cook, but declined eating any of his fresh bread, prefering "hard tack" which had been baked in some mechanical bakery in the first year of the late Rebellion. [87]

Matthews also testified that the soldiers did not always receive full rations as regulations required. In 1874, when his company quartermaster sergeant was shorting the enlisted men on beef and bread at Fort Union, Matthews complained to his company captain, Louis T. Morris. Captain Morris investigated the complaint and, finding it to be true, ordered the errant sergeant to see to it that full rations were issued "hereafter." Matthews, who had only six months left to serve, explained to his parents:

> This is the first time during my service that I made a report of the kind. And would not have made this one, only the living was getting too bad. And as my time was getting short did not want to die of starvation at this stage of the game. The men of the Company have been praising me all day for making such a change in their living. And say had any other man in the Company made the same report very likely he would have been put in the "Guard House" and no change made after all. [88]

The quality of food issued remained much as it had been prior to the Civil War. From the war years through the early 1890s, the basic army menu included hash (comprised of meat and desiccated potatoes, sometimes with other vegetables such as onions), slumgullion stew (meat and vegetables), beans, fresh beef, hardtack, salt bacon, coffee, vinegar, molasses, and bread. Bread was baked for the garrison at the post bakery and by designated cooks when troops were in the field. [89] Fresh vegetables were provided in season by post and company gardens (gardens were cultivated at Fort Union until the post was abandoned). Occasionally dried fruits (especially apples and prunes) were issued and usually cooked for serving. As

before the war, fresh milk, eggs, and butter were not issued, and company funds (raised primarily from the sale of surplus rations issued to the company) were sometimes used to purchase these when available. Other purchases with such funds included, when available, fresh fruits and vegetables, poultry, pickles, sauerkraut, raisins, and condiments. [90]

The soldiers usually were treated to special meals on holidays, a pleasant break from the usual fare. Eddie Matthews described the "elegant dinner" served to the 20 men of his company present at Fort Union on Thanksgiving Day in 1873: "Had four roast turkeys, (nice ones) none of your old Gobblers, two hams, . . . biscuits, butter, pickles, (Cucumber and Beet), Coffee, bread and for desert pudding and pies in abundance. . . . We had enough left for our supper and breakfast." [91] Matthews always expressed appreciation for good food, and he was also critical of unsavory fare.

Enlisted men, as well as officers and their families, could spend some of their pay for produce brought to the post by New Mexican farmers and gardeners. In the summer of 1870 Private Matthews reported that raspberries, apples, and peaches were available from local citizens, but he complained that the berries were expensive and the apples and peaches were small, about the "size of a plum." [92] Soldiers were also able, at their own expense, to purchase all types of food from the post sutler's store, where a wide variety of basic foods and delicacies (including sardines, canned oysters, and candy) were available. After 1866 the commissary department was authorized to supply to enlisted men as well as officers, at cost, a number of foods not issued as part of the regular ration (including such items as canned fruits, vegetables, and meats). The post sutlers generally opposed this because they considered the sale of such items to be competitive and an invasion of their monopoly trade rights. Canned tomatoes and other canned vegetables were added to the regular rations issued to the soldiers in the late 1880s. [93]

Matthews testified that many soldiers spent a portion of their pay to supplement the rations they received, and he confessed that he had "spent more money perhaps than I should have since have been in the Army." He justified what he had spent to augment the army rations of "plain and substantial food" of which "one tires," and noted that a soldier "in five years will spend considerable money for little extras which help his health and living wonderfully, and which added to his government rations one can live very well." [94]

Throughout the postwar era, as before, the quality of the food was affected by the skills of the cooks. Soon after his arrival at Fort Union in 1870, Private Eddie Matthews, was "elected for a turn in that disagreeable business" of the "Cook House" for a period of ten days. He informed his family back home that,

> I am very much opposed to working in the Cook House, but under the present circumstances am better off than would be, were I in the company for duty. Out of 56 men, we have only 12 for duty. Those twelve have to go on Guard every other day, only get one night in bed [out of two]. And it will be that way for two months, and perhaps more. . . . Another advantage I have in the cook house, is I always get enough to eat. And can always make some fancy little dishes to coat the appetite. At least something better than Hard Tack, and Pork. But I must say we are living very well since we came here. In the morning have Beef Steak, Bread and Coffee. Dinner Beef, Bean Soup and Bread. Supper, Coffee, Syrup Bread and Pickles. Splendid cucumber pickles. The 1st Sergt, Quarter Master Sergt & three Cooks, mess by ourselves. We always have something extra. Such as Eggs, Milk, Butter, Bread Pudding, Doughnuts &c. How is that, don't that make your mouth water. Eggs are worth 25 cts doz., Butter 50. Beef Steak 10 cts. lb., Milk 10 cts Qt. Prices here for everything is very reasonable. Very much the same as prices in the States. So different from miserable Arizona. [95]

When he was not assigned to kitchen police, however, Private Matthews frequently complained about the quality of the meals. For example, he facetiously informed his family on Sunday, June 12, 1870, that he had "just finished devouring a sumptuous repast composed of *tough* roast Beef and burnt beans." [96] In April 1874 he described his dinner, which included a piece of roast beef "about the size of a small sized mouse." He continued in his typical style:

> And that little piece of meat contained about as much toughness as anything of its size I ever saw, not excepting rubber. I hardly think there is a dog in the Garrison (and there are about five hundred) that could make an impression on that bit of meat. Am sure he could not eat it and live. Then I had soup, soup that would make an invalid die to look at, and a well man sick to indulge in. This soup was composed of three nearly equal parts, namely cabbage, rice and sand, if there were any perceptible difference in the equalization of the ingredients it was in favor of sand. Of course I enjoyed the soup, for desert we had dry bread, so you imagine how good I feel at the present moment. It is a singular thing that here in one of the best stock raising countries in the world we get the poorest meat. One would imagine from the toughness of the meat served up to us that we are consuming some of the old pioneer cattle that crossed the plains in 49. And I guess some of it did. [97]

Later, after serving several weeks in the field and subsisting on a diet in which the principal ingredient was beans, Matthews wrote:

> When I say we have had bean soup for dinner, and baked beans for supper every day for the past month and that I have eaten heartily of them at every meal, and that I like them, I only tell the truth. Still when one has beans for about a thousand meals in succession the thing becomes monotonous and considerable on the order of sameness. And I have no doubt but that I would fight if any person said beans to me when I leave this bean bellied Army. [98]

Food was always something about which soldiers could grumble. One veteran, Sergeant George Neihaus, recalled that the food at Fort Union was "rough." He remembered that the enlisted men constantly complained about the vittles and discussed how they would redress the privations endured when they returned to civilian life. [99] Eddie Matthews frequently disclosed his plans to eat well when he returned home, often expressing his desire for a chicken dinner. After the meal of tough beef and sandy soup he described above, Matthews concluded: "If I don't make those chickens wish they had never come out of their shells when I come home, it will be because I can't run fast enough to catch them." [100]

One might conclude from the sparse accounts of enlisted men which have survived that grumbling was a major leisure-time activity of frontier soldiers. Undoubtedly, complaints (real and imagined) were common subjects of conversation. How soldiers relaxed when not on duty varied considerably, but Don Rickey derived general conclusions from his interviews with veterans active during the era of the last three decades of Fort Union history, and the records of Fort Union contribute additional details. Rickey concluded that, for the enlisted personnel, "the principal barracks relaxation was visiting and talking among themselves," which would have included the ubiquitous complaining. [101]

A popular pastime for many soldiers was playing cards in the barracks, at the post trader's store, or at saloons and other places off the military reservation. Some card games involved betting and others simply provided entertainment and an atmosphere for affable conversation. Popular games without stakes included euchre, cribbage, casino, and pinochle. Whist was enjoyed by a few enlisted men, but it was a game more common among officers and their

wives. The favorite gambling card games were stud and draw poker, three-card monte, and black jack. Although all forms of gambling were prohibited among soldiers, Rickey noted that some soldiers regularly "squandered all their pay in gambling." In addition to cards, dice were sometimes used for betting. Horse racing was popular among soldiers and frequently involved wagers. Despite the ban on all gambling, Rickey found that "the average low-stake barrack room games, however, were usually not rigidly policed." [102]

A rare mention of gambling at Fort Union appeared in the post records for 1886, when Post Commander Henry R. Mizner issued an order declaring that all types of gambling were prohibited "among the enlisted men." [103] It may be assumed that the order was a response to information that there was widespread gambling among the troops. The order was probably ineffectual. Aubrey Lippincott, who spent part of his youth at Fort Union as the son of the post surgeon, 1887-1891, recalled many years later that "there was always gambling." [104]



Horseback riding was a popular pastime at Fort Union, especially for officers and their families. Here an unidentified couple, officer and woman, are on the bluffs west of the post, which is barely visible in the background. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* B. William Henry.

The soldiers also engaged in many other types of recreational activities. Rickey noted the growing importance of athletic contests after the Civil War, including "foot racing, jumping, weight-throwing, horseshoe pitching, and field sports." Baseball became one of the most popular sports in the 1870s and 1880s. [105] Other sports included boxing, horse racing (a race track was built at Fort Union in the late 1870s), lawn tennis, [106] billiards (billiard tables for officers and enlisted men were available at the post trader's store at Fort Union soon after the Civil War), bowling (Adolph Griesinger built a bowling alley in connection with his restaurant in 1868), [107] hunting, and fishing. Hunting was popular throughout the history of the post. Second Lieutenant Duncan recalled of his time at Fort Union, "I spent much of my time on horseback, hunting and riding over the country, not a fence impeded progress in any direction." [108] There was at least one sleigh at Fort Union in the winter of 1873-1874, apparently used by officers and their families for pleasure trips. [109]

A soldier-correspondent at Fort Union in the late 1880s wrote in an area newspaper that entertainment at the post included good trout fishing, duck hunting, band concerts, theater, and visits to Loma Parda, Tiptonville, and the hot springs near Las Vegas. [110] In the 1880s bicycling became a popular pastime for a few people at the post. Additional forms of recreation included dominoes, chess, checkers, practical jokes, story telling, and humorous

tales. Some of the officers and their families played croquet. [111] Other diversions included singing, musical instruments (banjo, guitar, violin, and harmonica), variety shows, minstrel shows, and dances.



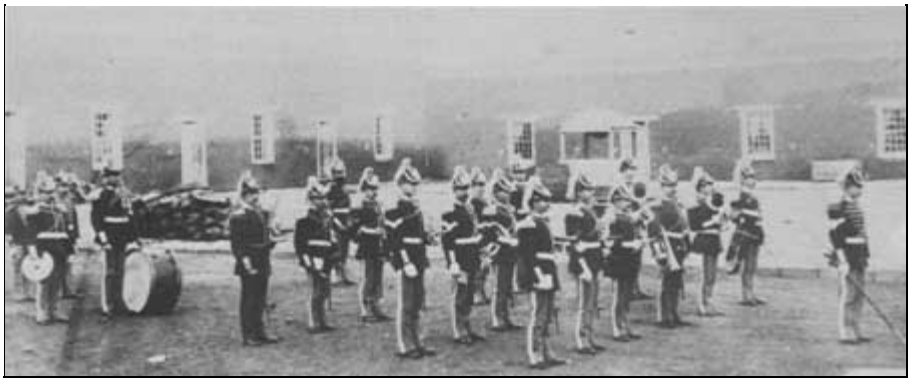
Musician Philip Herrier, Third Cavalry band at Fort Union, about 1807. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* of Grace Winterton.



Private C. E. Borden, Tenth infantry bands man at Fort Union, about 1887. J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

Almost everyone who wrote about life at Fort Union, including enlisted men and officers' wives, testified to the popularity of dances. In February 1873 Sergeant Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, noted that there had been four "grand balls" at the post during the winter. Three of those had been hosted by three companies of his regiment, respectively, and the other was sponsored by the Good Templars, in which Matthews was an active leader. [112] In November 1873 the Good Templars sponsored a dance the night before Thanksgiving. Matthews reported the details to his family.

> Had our Hall decorated very nicely with Flags and pictures. At 8:30 nearly all the Officers and Ladies of the Post came in and opened the Ball for us, they danced one Quaddrill and one Waltz, thanked us for the pleasure and departed. Soon as they made their exit, dancing commenced in earnest and was kept up until 12. Lunch in abundance consisting of Bread, Biscuits, butter, Ham, tea, Coffee, Cake, Lemonade, Candy and Cigars to wind up with was then served. One hour was very pleasantly spent in that kind of pastime and then dancing resumed and kept up until 6 A.M. . . . Thirteen ladies (nearly all married) and about three times that many men composed the party. And I must say it was the most pleasant little party I have seen since leaving home. [113]



Twenty-Third infantry band at Fort Union, 1883, *courtesy* Fort Sam Houston Museum, Department of the Army.

The Good Templars sponsored another dance on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1873. Matthews attested, "We had a real delightful time." He again provided details:

> Danced from 8 to 12 M and then got on the outside of a good substantial supper. At 1 A.M. resumed hostilities and kept it up until 5 A.M. I don't think there was one in the Hall that night but what enjoyed him or herself, and I guess they all felt like me: "tired but satisfied". I was quite an important individual in the affair, was one of the Committee on Invitations, Music, and the only Floor Manager we had, besides served as Head Waiter at Supper, and in fact made myself generally useful. [114]

Music for dances was usually provided by the post band. The presence of an army band at any post was a source of entertainment for enlisted men as well as officers and their families. After the Civil War Fort Union was fortunate to have a regimental band assigned to the garrison much of the time. The bands played regularly at the post, provided music for dances and special occasions (such as weddings, welcome and farewell parties, birthday parties, and holiday festivities), and frequently gave concerts in outlying communities. In 1870 the Eighth Cavalry band from Fort Union performed for the July 4 celebration in Las Vegas. A few weeks later ten additional bandsmen and a new band leader joined the regimental band at Fort Union. Private Matthews exclaimed, "We have much better music now." [115] A few years later the Ninth Cavalry band, at that time stationed at Fort Union, presented a Fourth of July concert in Santa Fe in 1876, the centennial of American independence. A permanent bandstand was erected at the post in 1876 (there may have been temporary bandstands earlier), and weekly concerts (held inside when the weather was intemperate) were popular with enlisted men, officers and their families, and civilians. After the railroad was available for transportation, the bandsmen were invited to play for dances and other diversions in communities as far away as Denver to the north and Albuquerque to the south. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway acquired the resort hotel at the hot springs near Las Vegas in the early 1880s, and the band was repeatedly invited to perform there for tourists and health-seekers. The musicians provided a popular form of entertainment on and off the post. [116]

The resourcefulness of enlisted men in providing their own entertainment at the post blossomed forth in various types of dramatic presentations, ranging from comedy to serious drama. In 1870 Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, noted that some members of his and another company of the regiment had presented "a Variety Theatre performance here a few



Interior of quarters of Musician Joe Nevins and his wife at Fort Union, about 1887. Keeshan Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

nights ago." He observed they had "done very well, they took in about one hundred dollars." The participants planned "to have a performance once a week," but Matthews, who did not want to spend his austere pay for entertainment, declared, "Don't think I shall go soon again." He went one more time, however, and concluded not to go again because "the performance is very poor." [117] The officers usually encouraged play acting and occasionally joined in the act. Sometimes the actors organized a dramatic club and sometimes a group of volunteers would present a program without a formal association. Now and then a traveling show would perform at the post. The plays, regardless the sponsors and the talents of the players, were usually enjoyed by residents at the post. Once in awhile, during the latter years of Fort Union, enlisted men gave performances in nearby communities, especially Las Vegas.

In 1883 the Fort Union Dramatic Club, assisted by the Twenty-Third Infantry band stationed at the post, presented a two-night variety show in Las Vegas to raise funds for the post school. Tickets were 75 cents for reserved seats and 50 cents for general admission. After each show the band played for a dance. In 1885 the Club gave a performance of a melodrama titled "Ben Bolt" to a standing-room-only audience. Another group of enlisted men organized the Fort Union Comedy Company (later Fort Union Minstrel Troupe) which also performed in Las Vegas as well as at the post. [118] The Fort Union Minstrel Troupe was active and popular in 1888, giving performances at the post library on Monday evenings. [119]

In the 1880s, and perhaps earlier, several clubs were organized for entertainment and edification of the members, providing recreation for themselves that the army failed to offer. The recreation provided by those organizations was a more desirable alternative to the dissipation provided by saloons, gambling dens, and brothels nearby. The most popular groups, supported by many of the troops, were the social clubs, such as the Young Men's Social Club, the Crystal Social Club, and the Excelsior Social Club. The social clubs were founded primarily to sponsor hops (dances) on a regular basis at the post. Some clubs arranged for monthly hops and, at times, the dances occurred semimonthly or even weekly on Saturday nights. Most soldiers participated in these hops because the dances were an enjoyable diversion from the monotony of routine post life. [120]

In 1884 a Mr. Cory (first name unknown) offered dancing instructions for soldiers willing to pay to learn the popular steps. Apparently Cory had obtained the services of women to serve as partners for the lessons, and some of the soldiers were willing to pay for the instruction because of the opportunity to meet a female. Because of the shortage of women at the post, citizens from surrounding communities (such as Watrous, Wagon Mound, and Las Vegas) were sometimes invited at attend. Because there were always more men than women, it was

common practice at the hops for some of the men to assume the identity of "ladies" (usually by tying a handkerchief around their arm) for the evening and serve as dancing partners for other men. [121] The dearth of unattached females was a chronic complaint. Most soldiers would have agreed with one of their number who bemoaned "there are few single women in the Post." [122] The hops were apparently the most popular form of entertainment at the post for enlisted men, perhaps because they usually included young women from the area, and they were also enjoyed by officers and their wives.

There were also organizations that appealed to the interests of smaller groups of enlisted men. The debating club, which apparently invited anyone interested to listen to its disputations, argued about current events and social issues as well as humorous questions. One topic was "resolved, it is better for a man to have a good mule than a wife." One soldier reported in 1885, probably in jest, that the club was debating whether macaroni grew on bushes or trees. [123] There were literary societies (one organized in 1887 was known as Kramer's Literary Association, named to honor Captain Adam Kramer, Sixth Cavalry, [124] designed to encourage reading and discussion, usually of materials contained in the post library. Literary societies also raised funds to purchase books, magazines, and newspapers. There were music clubs organized to play and sing popular music, [125] and there may have been sports clubs to encourage racing, wrestling, boxing, and baseball. Fort Union had a baseball team that competed against teams from other communities, including Las Vegas, Wagon Mound, Mora, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque. Although officers and enlisted men usually did not fraternize in sporting events, some officers did join the enlisted men to play baseball. [126]



Fort Union Baseball Club, taken at Las Vegas about 1888. Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

The recreational activities formulated by the soldiers, in the absence of programs provided by the military, were not sufficiently fulfilling for many soldiers who sought further escape from the monotony of garrison life in saloons, gambling houses, and establishments of prostitution which opened shop near every military post, including Fort Union. The consumption of alcohol, usually available at the post trader's store as well as shops in communities off the military reservation, was heavy among frontier soldiers. As one soldier expressed the widespread opinion of drinking, "it is too much the impression among us that whisky justifies

anything, and that a free use of it is a necessary qualification of a gentleman." [127]

A similar viewpoint was expressed in 1880 by a retired officer, Duane M. Greene, who wrote:

> The officers still cling to that antiquated idea that the hospitality of a gentleman is not complete without liquor, and therefore they keep it in their houses. They entertain generously, and the guest who drinks the greatest quantity of spirits without losing control of his senses is generally looked upon with favor. [128]

Greene noted that intoxication of officers and enlisted men was common. He concluded that "the blighting curse of intemperance destroys ninety per cent more of the Army than powder and ball." He believed the major source of alcohol for the troops was the sutler's store. "Virtually," he wrote, "the Army is a school of dissipation; and it really seems as if the establishment were kept up chiefly for the benefit of the Post Traders." He declared of post traders, "their chief business is to sell intoxicating liquors to the troops." As a result, "they get rich in a short time—rich by destroying the bodies and souls of human beings,— and their occupation is dignified by the guarantee and protection of the Government!" [129]

Greene observed that some soldiers had joined the army because they were "inveterate drunkards" who were "unable to obtain employment at their trades." And if they were not heavy drinkers when they joined, the pressures to consume were powerful. Greene explained:

> Young men not inclined to intemperate habits before entering the service soon acquire them after joining. There are some who enlist through patriotic motives, expecting soldier life to be one grand gala day of hunting, bugles and "shoulder arms, but find the reality quite different from their ideal. They are compelled to associate with uncongenial people. . . . They find themselves companions of debauches of the lowest order, and are greeted on every side with prison slang and oaths. On pay-day, they see that drunkenness is almost universal—seemingly an obligation—and, unwilling to shirk anything that pertains to duty, they join in the common revelry with a vigor that soon begets the title of 'veteran.' Such is the force of example when it is constantly before a man's eyes." [130]

Although excessive consumption was disruptive and dangerous, a moderate use of alcohol was considered to be beneficial. A small issue of whiskey was a part of army rations, although not regularly provided, until 1865. [131] Before and after 1865, many soldiers purchased and consumed alcohol intemperately. Drunkenness contributed to problems of discipline and created headaches for officers (commissioned and noncommissioned) as well as the imbibers themselves. As Rickey explained, "sutlers and traders carried on a heavy whisky business immediately after payday, and high spirits rose still higher." [132]

The favorite beverage was beer, usually sold in quart bottles. The price per bottle at the trader's store on post ranged from fifty cents to one dollar, and the prices off post were about the same. After the office of post trader was abolished in 1889, post canteens, operated by the army, offered beer and wine at lower prices (from eighteen to fifty cents per drink). Although plans were made to establish a canteen at Fort Union in 1889, Commander A. P. Morrow reported in the spring of 1890 that "no Canteen has been established at this Post for the reason that the Commanding Officer was officially notified that the Post would soon be abandoned." [133] The post trader's store was destroyed by fire on December 1, 1889, and reopened in another building a few days later. Although no date has been found to indicate when the trader's store was closed at Fort Union, it apparently ceased to operate during the early months of 1890 and was not immediately replaced by a canteen for the reason noted above.

Sometime later, however, because of the depressed disposition (and accompanying disciplinary problems) of many soldiers who stagnated at the condemned post which offered neither an opportunity for rewarding action nor a place to relax and revive their spirits, the post council of administration authorized the establishment of a post canteen on October 9, 1890. Lieutenant John M. Shollenberger, Tenth Infantry, was placed in charge of the new service which included a "bar-room, billiard-room and lunch counter." Sergeant Mathias Smith, Company I, Tenth Infantry, was appointed canteen steward. Major Edward William Whittemore, Tenth Infantry, commanding Fort Union, praised the results: "The effect on discipline of the post has been marked; confinements and trials have been reduced more than one half." He attributed "the success of the canteen in a great measure to the interest taken in the same by" Shollenberger. [134] A soldier at the post, reporting on the canteen for a Las Vegas newspaper, confirmed the improvements and reported that "the men are more content now than previous to its establishment." Regarding what drinks were served at the canteen, the soldier stated that "beer is sold freely to the men; nothing stronger." [135] The availability of hard liquor had undergone several changes at the post.

Whereas the sale of whiskey at Fort Union by the post sutler was restricted during the Civil War, it was legally available for a few years thereafter. Occasionally there were restrictions. For example, Post Commander William B. Lane addressed the following instructions to William H. Moore, post sutler, at 10:20 a.m. on July 4, 1867: "There are at this early hour in the day so many evidences of drunkenness and disorder, you will please not sell or give away any more liquor to soldiers or citizens, during the day." [136] It was a day of national celebration, and an opportunity for brisk sales at the trader's store, but Moore apparently complied with the request.

Except for temporary restrictions, liquor was available at the trader's store until 1881, when President Rutherford B. Hayes, by executive order, prohibited the sale of hard liquor at all military posts. That was part of a national prohibition reform movement that swept the nation during the 1880s and after, leading eventually to the prohibition amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1919. What was not available on post, however, could be obtained at nearby drinking establishments. Sometimes the quality was inferior, even dangerous, but that did not stop the intemperate consumption and concomitant complications of drunkenness. [137] At Fort Union periodic efforts were made to remove peddlers of spirituous liquors from the reservation. As late as July 1890 that was being done, as shown in an order issued by Post Commander Albert Morrow: "1st Lieut. John N. Glass 6th Cavalry with a suitable mounted detachment will search the reservation for persons illegally engaged in the sale of liquor and if any person is found, thus engaged Lieut Glass will destroy all liquor found, together with all buildings occupied by said person or persons." [138]

Rickey discerned that "drinking can hardly be considered an approved form of recreation, but certainly it was an important relaxation and pastime for many frontier regulars." He noted that there were soldiers who refused to consume alcohol and some who drank moderately but found that "large numbers were accustomed to heavy drinking, and many spent most of their pay for beer and whisky." Despite the ramifications of excessive drinking, "the army's general attitude was one of tolerance, because officers realized that liquor provided an escape or, at least, an artificial and temporary amelioration of the dull, hard, and lonely lives of the men." [139] One Fort Union soldier, Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, pledged to his family "never to drink one drop of intoxicating liquor while I am in the Army." [140] He kept that promise and was active in temperance efforts at Fort Union. He was, however, in the minority regarding the consumption of alcohol. In 1870 he reported that, "Since Pay day, the Guard House had been full of drunken Soldiers." [141] The court records at Fort Union revealed literally hundreds of cases in which intoxication was a factor.

Many officers were just as inclined as enlisted men to consume intemperate quantities of

liquor. In 1886 Second Lieutenant George B. Duncan, Ninth Infantry, who joined his regiment at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, fresh from the military academy at West Point, was offended by the drunkenness of officers and enlisted men following pay day. For "five or six days," he recalled, "intoxication was evident on all sides." Duncan recoiled from "this introduction" to army life which "made a deeply unfavorable impression and a regret that I had not resigned after graduation and taken a job which had been offered me on the New York Central Railroad." The young shavetail was soon in garrison at Fort Union, where he "began to enjoy army life" and "decided to take my profession seriously and fit myself for its responsibilities." He commented on the prevalence of pay-day intoxication at the post. "On pay day and for two days thereafter not even fatigue duty was attempted as the men were expected to get drunk and they did." [142]

At Fort Union periodic efforts were made to control the liquor traffic on and off the military reservation, with limited success. [143] The problems associated with drinking by soldiers had not been resolved by the time Fort Union was abandoned. In 1868 Colonel William N. Grier, Third Cavalry and commander of Fort Union, directed J. E. Barrow, operator of the post trader's store, to stop selling liquor to enlisted men at his "Billiard Saloon." Grier declared that the daily consumption of alcohol easily obtained there tended "to keep men in the Guard House away from duty." Somewhat apologetically, Grier recognized that this would affect the post trader's profits, and he wrote "I also understand that the Saloon pays better than the Store." [144] The trader's profits, however, were secondary to the problems created by the liquor. The success of the order could not be determined from available records. There were other sources of supply off the post, not nearly as convenient, however, as the "Billiard Saloon."

Drunkenness remained a problem despite the restrictions. In addition to preventing soldiers from performing their duties, disrupting the routine of garrison life, and increasing the population of the guardhouse, the intemperate consumption of alcohol contributed to violence, including murder. On July 6, 1869, Private Lanaghan (first name unknown), Third Cavalry, let a New Mexican into quarters to sell eggs. It was common practice for citizens in the area to sell produce to soldiers. For an unknown reason, except that he was "drunk at the time," Lanaghan "got mad" at the vendor and began to break the eggs. He then chased the New Mexican from his quarters with a pistol and shot him dead outside. [145] In spite of such tragedies, intoxication remained an inveterate problem. Such destructiveness undoubtedly persuaded temperance and prohibition advocates to intensify their campaigns.

Soon after Frank G. Jager became the new post trader at Fort Union in 1881, following President Hayes's prohibition order, Jager was directed by the post commander to close the saloon connected with his store and "see that no intoxicating Liquids of any description are sold or in any manner disposed of from your place of business until permission for doing so shall have been obtained from the Comdg Officer of the Post." [146] This was not an outright prohibition but a requirement of authorization for the sale of whatever items did not fall under the president's category of "hard liquor." The post commander presumably received clarification and Jager apparently made the proper request, for on November 1, 1881, he was granted permission "to sell beer and light wines." [147] Three weeks later Jager was provided with precise guidelines regarding the sale of those refreshments. Colonel Granville O. Haller, Twenty-Third Infantry, commanding the post, directed the post trader to close "the saloon, or drinking establishment, connected with your place of business immediately" and, thereafter, to have it open only between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and noon. In addition, Jager was forbidden to "sell, or give, to any soldier, more than three drinks of beer or wine in any one day." [148] Again, the results were not available.

The sale of hard liquor by the post trader was restricted but not always halted entirely. Rarely did evidence surface to prove that it was dispensed illegally. In the summer of 1886,

however, Private David Nelson, Tenth Infantry, filed a complaint with the post adjutant against the post trader for selling him "a pint of whiskey yesterday." A. W. Conger, the post trader, declared that his barkeeper was "a reliable man" and accused Nelson of lying. Post Commander Douglass investigated the incident and concluded that Private Nelson's story was confirmed by a member of the band named Riddell (first name unknown). Riddell attested that the bartender at Conger's store sold him "a pint of whiskey for . . . fifty cents, money furnished by Nelson." Douglass then directed Lieutenant Robert C. Van Vliet, post adjutant, to inform Conger of the facts "in order that he may give special instructions to his Bar Keeper, to sell no spirituous liquors of any kind either by the drink or in quantity, under penalty of removal from this Reservation." [149]

The sale of beer continued to be the prerogative of the post trader. In 1887 a private in Company B, Tenth Infantry, requested permission to set up a company canteen in the billiard room of the company and sell beer. Colonel Douglass refused the petition and stated that the sale of beer "seems to be the exclusive privilege of the Post Trader." Moreover "the sale of beer, would be in violation of orders prohibiting any liquor in Company quarters." Douglass also argued that granting the request would set "a bad precedent, for all other companies would claim the same privilege." The increased availability of beer, Douglass believed, "would operate injuriously to discipline and good order." [150] Drunkenness was a problem to be contained as much as possible.

Attempts were periodically made by a few officers and other concerned individuals to promote temperance or abstinence. Some soldiers who had a problem with alcohol promised to stop drinking. An example was Private Thomas Howard, Company J, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. In 1857 he was in confinement at the Fort Union guardhouse with a ball and chain because of drunkenness and insubordination while intoxicated. Post Commander Llewellyn Jones, shorthanded at the post because so many soldiers were in the field, requested permission to remit the remainder of Howard's sentence. He reported that "Howard a good man and efficient soldier when sober, makes me very solemn pledges, to abstain entirely hereafter from drinking, and I feel confident that the Public interests would be subserved, by taking him from the baneful associations of this guard house, and restoring him to duty under these pledges." [151] It was not determined if Howard made good his promises. Others continued to imbibe.

The efforts of officers to combat intoxication was aided by at least one temperance society. The Independent Order of Good Templars was founded in Utica, New York, in 1851, the same year that Fort Union was established, to promote temperance, peace, and brotherhood of all men. This fraternal organization was part of the wave of temperance reform that began in the 1820s and slowly increased in influence until nation-wide prohibition was inaugurated in 1919. The Good Templars constituted one of the strongest temperance societies during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, with thousands of lodges in the United States and several other nations by the end of the Civil War. Its influence was later superseded by the Women's Christian Temperance Union founded in 1874. Membership in the Good Templars was open to all races and creeds, and affiliates were expected to practice temperance and encouraged to abstain from the consumption of alcohol altogether. The regular meetings of the lodge members were designed to support each individual in avoiding intemperance and to seek new members. By the time of the Civil War Good Templars lodges had been established at several military posts.

The Good Templars came to Fort Union with Company K, First California Volunteer Cavalry, in 1863. As one of the soldiers in the company reported to a Santa Fe newspaper in 1864, "we were once known as the 'Drunken Ks,' & deserved it. But a good Templar lodge in our Co. has effected a radical change in our character giving us the title 'Bully Ks.'" Before leaving California, the men of Company K had organized a couple of lodges there. At Fort

Union they started three Good Templar lodges, one in another company of their regiment, one in a company of the Eleventh Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and the third as the post lodge. The Fort Union lodge was a vigorous association by late 1864, when officers and enlisted men met frequently in the evenings to promote "the cause" of temperance. [152] The location of those meetings was not determined.

The results were gratifying to the reporting soldier, who avowed that the consumption of liquor at Fort Union had decreased and drunkenness was on the decline. He enjoined his "fellow readers" to consider the merits of the Good Templars. He asked them to "contemplate the sad effect of alcohol," to "pause and reflect" on the destruction brought by intemperance, and to "resolve that you will never present an order for whiskey." [153] The validity of the claims of dwindling incidents of drunkenness were difficult to confirm, and the number of soldiers in the guardhouse as a result of infractions of regulations while under the influence of alcohol were not significantly different after the establishment of the lodge at the post. The excessive consumption of alcohol did not disappear, and the sprees after payday continued.

The Good Templars continued their efforts, usually with the support of the commanding officer because any reduction in drunkenness would benefit the garrison. In the spring and summer of 1865, when the lodge (named Washington Lodge) was reportedly "flourishing" at Fort Union, the 70 to 80 members (including civilians as well as soldiers) built a lodge hall for their meetings (a structure that apparently was also used at times as the post chapel and meeting place for other fraternities, particularly the Freemasons). The hall, the construction of which was aided by Post Commander Abreu and Quartermaster Enos, was located between the hospital and the old earthwork. [154] The lodge remained active for several years, and no record has been found to indicate when it ceased to function.

Eddie Matthews was an active member of the Fort Union Good Templars in the early 1870s. He reported in 1873 that the lodge membership included approximately 50 men, mostly soldiers, and about 15 women. [155] Later that year, the day after a lodge meeting, he wrote: "Ten men members were added to our number and still the cause is progressing." [156] Matthews was elected Worthy Recording Secretary of the Fort Union Good Templars, and he proclaimed, "It is an elegant Office but don't pay anything." He saw it as just another clerking job. [157] The following year he was elected Worthy Vice Templar. [158] The effectiveness of the Good Templars in reducing drunkenness could not be determined from available records. Matthews was pleased to report, without giving any reason for the unusual conduct, that on January 1, 1874, "New Year's day passed off quietly and was an exception to most holidays seen in the Army. As no drunken Soldiers were seen meandering about the Garrison." [159]

In February 1874 the Fort Union Good Templars sponsored a lecture by Acting Assistant Post Surgeon C. M. Clark, apparently expecting him to further their cause. They were sadly disappointed, however, as Matthews explained:

> The Monotony of Garrison life was disturbed a little by the Lecture delivered by Dr. Clark, Acting Post Surgeon, this evening. Subject "A trip to the Moon". The Hall was crowded, and every person anticipated a Comic Lecture, for the subject would naturally impress one as being if not Comic (rather flighty).
>
> Finally the Lecturer arose with a pile of Manuscript before him which looked like he intended business, but alas for great expectations, for a sillier discourse I never listened to. Neither sense or nonsense could be heard. Nothing but the foolish ideas of an idiot who's small brain was destroyed altogether from the influence of liquor. After listening to this lunatic for an hour we returned to our homes feeling something like I suppose a dog would that had been caught in the

act of sheep stealing. We were badly *sold.* [160]

Perhaps Dr. Clark's aberrant behavior convinced some of the listeners of the deleterious effects of excessive drinking. According to Matthews, following a lodge meeting a few weeks later, the Good Templars continued "in a flourishing condition and increasing in number every meeting night. Initiated three new members tonight and received propositions for membership of two others." [161] Two weeks later Matthews reiterated the lodge's success: "The Lodge is in a flourishing condition and new members joining every meeting night. We meet again tonight and will have four or five to initiate." [162] Clearly, Matthews believed in the cause and was convinced the lodge helped to deal with a serious problem. The Good Templars may have reduced the consumption of liquor, certainly they did in some cases, but inebriation of enlisted men and officers continued to be a problem so long as troops were stationed at Fort Union.

Because of various restrictions on the sale of liquor at the post, much of the drinking was done off the reservation, especially at the community of Loma Parda, approximately six miles away. [163] Loma Parda was an irrigation farming and grazing community established about the time Fort Union was founded as part of the expansion of Hispanic settlement along the Mora River. The farmers sold produce at Fort Union throughout the life of the post. The area was noted for its fine vegetables and fruits. It was Loma Parda's proximity to the garrison that made it an attractive site for soldiers and civilian employees at Fort Union to obtain what was not available on the military reservation. Although Loma Parda was the premier retreat for soldiers with a pass to leave the post, a number of other communities were also visited. These included Tiptonville, La Junta (later Watrous), Mora, Las Vegas, and Wagon Mound. As David Keener noted in his thorough study of Loma Parda, the "interaction" between New Mexicans and soldiers in these communities developed "the cultural amalgamation characteristic of the American Southwest." [164]

Some citizens of Loma Parda, including Hispanos and Anglos, catered to the desires of soldiers seeking pleasure. There were saloons, dance halls, gambling joints, and prostitutes. The town also had a mill, general store, repair shops, school, and church. In 1870 the town and surrounding community had a population of 412, and occupations represented besides farmers and housekeepers were merchant, stonemason, miller, tailor, baker, butcher, carpenter, tinsmith, freighter, and laborer. [165] The town received economic benefits from Fort Union, and it declined after the post was abandoned. During the four decades of affiliation between the fort and the town, which Keener called "a relationship of mutual exchange," Loma Parda was a favored spot for soldiers to unwind. It was, for that reason, also a headache for commanding officers.

Interestingly, no references to Loma Parda were found in military records until the time of the Civil War. One of the First Colorado Volunteers who served in New Mexico in 1862, Ovando J. Hollister, later recalled the activities in the town which he called *"Lome."* After explaining that some members of his regiment broke into the sutler's "cellar and gobbled a lot of whisky, wine, canned fruit, oysters, etc." the night before they departed from Fort Union to meet the Rebels at Glorieta Pass, Hollister left a vivid description of the departure on March 22, 1862: ". . . the command was scattered from Dan to Beersheba, burying plunder, drinking, fighting and carousing with Mexican women, at the *Lome,* a small 'Sodom' five or six miles from Union." [166]

A few days after the engagement at Glorieta, the troops returned to Fort Union only to leave a day later to help chase the Confederates from the territory. Hollister's company camped the evening of April 5 at Loma Parda. The following day five men of the company deserted, and on April 7 a detail was sent "back to Lome to see if our supposed deserters might not possibly be there on a spree." [167] They were not found. Later in the summer the Colorado

Volunteers returned to Fort Union, and Hollister described the enticements of Loma Parda.

> The small Mexican town called Lome . . . became the rage. Fandangos, Lome lightning, and *Pecadoras* [sinners] were the attractions, and rows of considerable magnitude were of nightly occurrence. The guard-house was filled with Lome cadets, and the hospital with Lome patients. The hole was an unmitigated curse to the soldiers, but was most generously patronized nevertheless. [168]

Later, when one of the volunteers killed a man on the march to Denver, Hollister stated "the act was laid to the Lome 'rot,' in which he had soaked himself for the last few weeks." [169]

One incident at Loma Parda had international ramifications. A citizen of the village, José; Miguel Bernadet, presumably a Spanish national, complained to the minister plenipotentiary of Spain at the nation's capital that some of the Colorado Volunteers had attacked his residence on June 21, 1862, and inflicted $4,101.17 in damages (this figure apparently included the theft of valuable bill of exchange). Bernadet begged for assistance in obtaining compensation from the U. S. government. The grievance was sent to Secretary of State William H. Seward, who informed the war department. In due course, over one year later, Brigadier General Carleton was directed to investigate, and he sent Captain William H. Rossell, Tenth Infantry, to examine the facts and "so conduct the investigation as to shew the character . . . of the complainant . . . [and] to shew the disreputable character of Loma Parda, and its inhabitants generally." [170]

Captain Rossell gathered statements under oath from the complainant, Bernadet; the post commander, Captain Peter Plympton; Justice of the Peace José M. Nabardo; a notary public in Mora County, Thomas H. Thompson; and the following citizens: J. A. LaRue, William Krönig, William A. Bransford, Patrick Phelan, José C. Archuleta, and Juaquin Rodrigues. The contents of those statements were not found, but they apparently attested that Bernadet's claim was unsubstantiated." [171] Exactly what damage, if any, was inflicted on his property by the Colorado Volunteers was not determined. It is important to note, however, that Carleton's instructions emphasized the military department's view of the village as a disreputable place.

Other incidents contributed to that perception. In August 1862, Major Henry Wallen, commanding Fort Union, reported to department headquarters that he received information that "a riot was going on at Loma Parda." He sent troops to assess the situation. They found that a recently-discharged soldier named Esler (alias Curley) had shot and wounded another discharged soldier. Esler, described as "a desperado" who had "the reputation of having killed one or two men," was apprehended and incarcerated in the post guardhouse. Major Wallen requested instructions regarding Esler, wanting to know if he should be tried by a military commission or released. [172] The response was not located, but the report confirmed that the village beside the reservation was a troublesome site.

The drinking, fighting, and other disruptions caused by the purveyors of refreshments at Loma Parda brought intervention by the post commander, Captain Peter Plympton, Seventh Infantry, in March 1863. He secured a bond of $1,000 from three businessmen of Loma Parda: Martias Baca, Antonia Montoya, and Julian Baca. The latter operated the famous dance hall at Loma Parda and the others presumably managed saloons or similar establishments. The three agreed to forfeit the $1,000 if they violated the terms of the bond, "to sell no Liquors of any kind whatsoever to the U. S. troops or to Army followers during the present rebellion." [173] If the parties kept the terms of the agreement could not be determined, but liquor continued to be available in Loma Parda during the remainder of the Civil War and after. The town remained a source of affliction in the eyes of military authorities.

Even though most of the residents of Loma Parda were engaged in agriculture and legitimate businesses, the disreputable enterprises made the entire community an object of contempt to officers concerned about the deleterious effects on soldiers who patronized them. Apparently all efforts to prevent enlisted men from frequenting Loma Parda failed. Some officers were known to sojourn there. Near the close of the Civil War the department inspector general, Colonel Nelson H. Davis, in his report of an inspection of Fort Union, noted his objections to Loma Parda and recommended that something be done about it. Davis described Loma Parda as "a Mexican village" which was "a vile immoral and demoralizing place, and a festering nuisance to this Post." It was not clear if Davis had visited Loma Parda or was reporting what the officers at the post told him. His condemnation was harsh. "Whiskey and women," he declared, "curse this locality." He stated that "some fifteen soldiers, more or less, are reported to have been shot at this place." The provost sergeant stationed at Loma Parda had recently been shot in the leg. Davis strongly urged that "some means . . . be devised to abate this evil." [174]

Colonel Davis and Department Commander Carleton soon conceived a plan "to break up that great nuisance to the post and depot at Fort Union, viz: Loma Parda." After consulting with a territorial judge, Joab Houghton, regarding the possible solution, Carleton directed Major Herbert M. Enos, quartermaster department, to attempt to lease the entire village of Loma Parda from its owners for "a nominal rent." If leases could be arranged with all the property owners, Enos was authorized to do so. [175] Enos was unable to conclude such arrangements. Even if he had, most likely the businesses that profited from the soldiers would have found new locations near the military reservation and continued to offer the same products and services.

In fact some civilians came to the post, in violation of army regulations, to offer their disreputable professions to enlisted men and officers. In May 1865 the new post commander, Lieutenant Colonel Edward B. Willis, First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, directed the provost marshal at Fort Union to notify all citizens "within the limits of the garrison not in Government employ," to remove themselves within 24 hours. Any who remained were to be arrested and placed in the guardhouse. The order especially applied to "any citizens at the Post for the purpose of gambling either with officers or enlisted men" and to "females without legitimate business." [176] It would seem that not all soldiers had to visit Loma Parda to engage the services of gamblers and prostitutes, although such orders, if strictly enforced, may have made that necessary at times.

Frank Olsmith, an eighteen-year-old private soldier who later recorded his recollections of escort duty with the Doolittle Commission to New Mexico in the summer of 1865, was attached to the garrison at Fort Union when those restrictions were in effect. [177] He characterized life at the post during the time of transition from the earthwork to the third fort, which he described as "located in a dreary, treeless and practically grassless plain," as "monotonous and uninteresting." He found the place lonely and dreary. "There was a great dearth of white feminine society, no provision whatever being made for comfortable housing of ladies, and very little for the officers and men." Olsmith commented on leisure activities and the popularity of Loma Parda.

He noted that "gambling with cards, dice, and now and then horseracing formed the principal recreation." He also observed, in contrast to the conception of many officers, that "there was little drunkenness at any time." The reason, he believed, was that "whiskey was so scarce and hard to get that it was better to stay sober." Perhaps the various restrictions on the availability of alcohol were being effectively enforced at the time. Olsmith confirmed that "a little village called Loma Parda, within a half hour's ride of the post, was the chief recreation center." His recollections, similar to those of other soldiers and apparently oblivious to the fact that Loma Parda was predominantly a village of agriculturalists, were that "the population derived their

subsistence largely from catering to the desires of the troops for social entertainment, amusement, wine rooms and restaurants." He remembered that "dancing pavilions, most of them with gambling places in connection, were plentiful and were for the most part well patronized from early eve to dewy morn."

> The music was very good, exclusively of the Spanish type. At the fandangoes, as the balls were termed, the New Mexican girls were adept at waltzing. The young fellows our command found it all most enjoyable. [178]

Olsmith retained favorable attitudes toward the natives and observed that, "for amusement they depended chiefly on dancing, music and gambling."

> It was this trait, I grieve to say that made Loma Parda one of the principal resorts for pleasure of our command. Every night parties were formed with consent and often the participation of our commanding officers, where we danced, smoked and indulged in flirtations with the native damsels over glasses of white Mexican wine, until the approach of dawn in the Eastern sky. With it all there was little drunkenness, the utmost of good humor. [179]

According to Olsmith, Loma Parda was a fountain of pleasure for many soldiers, a refreshing escape from the lackluster life at the post. "For many of them," he reminisced, "it was the one place in all that country that they left with a feeling of regret." Before the summer was over and Olsmith's unit was sent to escort Carson, he avowed that several soldiers "had acquired sweethearts among the damsels of Loma Parda and were loath to leave them." Those feelings were reciprocated "by a number of the young women." In fact, Olsmith claimed, when some of the women heard the soldiers were leaving, they "packed their possessions in a bundle, brought them to our camp, and with tears of sorrow streaming down their cheeks, besought Captain Hyde for permission to share our march to the states, with their lovers." But, Olsmith concluded with a tone that hinted he may have been personally involved rather than merely a disinterested reporter, the pleas were "to no avail. Permission could not be granted, for under regulations no provision is made for taking along the wives of soldiers on a march through enemy country." [180]

Few other enlisted men had provided such detailed information about the enticements of Loma Parda. Olsmith's perspective was generally more moderate and positive about the community than were the disapproving opinions of some officers. The latter, on the other hand, responsible for discipline and safety of the troops, were often justified in their attitudes. Because some of the soldiers had appetites for the offerings at Loma Parda and similar places beyond their meager pay, they misappropriated government property which they traded or sold in order to support their habits. [181] The losses were sufficient cause to police the traffic from the post to the village. In addition, there were acts of violence, usually fueled by consumption of too much alcohol, that resulted in injury, sometimes death, destruction of property, and hard feelings.

On the night of May 20, 1866, two soldiers from Fort Union were badly wounded in a fight with citizens at Loma Parda. Major John Thompson, First New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry, who assumed command of Fort Union on April 27, 1866, [182] went to Loma Parda to investigate. He concluded that the soldiers had been attacked by citizens "without any provocation on the part of the soldiers." Thompson requested the alcalde to arrest the guilty citizens. The alcalde responded with a requisition that a number of soldiers be turned over to him to charge with "a breach of the peace." [183]

Thompson considered the complaint against the soldiers to be an attempt to shield the guilty citizens at Loma Parda. He reported to district headquarters that "it is a notorious fact, that a

majority of the residents of the place are *thieves* and *'Cut-throats'* subsisting entirely, upon what they can procure from the Soldier, and do not hesitate to resort to any means, however infamous to procure it." Thompson considered the motive to arrest soldiers to be a scheme to make more profits from their presence in the town. "Should I accept the statement of these notorious characters," Thompson wrote, "charging soldiers with offences; and permit them to be taken to Loma Parda for trial by the Alcalde, this post would be largely represented at the place." Once there, the commander predicted, "the soldiers would be detained, so long, as a dollar, or a dollar's worth of property could be gleaned from them." He refused to surrender any soldiers to the alcalde. [184]

After the episode of May 20, Thompson was determined to do everything possible to stop soldiers of the garrison from visiting Loma Parda. First, he sent a small detachment of soldiers to the village to "arrest and send to the Post of Fort Union any and all soldiers who may visit the Loma Parda, N. M." Second, he issued an order prohibiting any enlisted men at the post "from visiting the Loma Parda, N. M. under any pretext whatever." He promised that violators would "be severely punished." [185]

The threat of punishment did not prevent soldiers from going to Loma Parda. On July 15, 1866, Major Thompson learned that Sergeant José M. Martinez and six privates Nicolas Apodaca, Rafael Baca, José I. Gonzales, José Cordero, Jesus Paz, and Polonio Paz) of the First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry had gone to Loma Parda, where they were arrested and detained by the alcalde. Thompson sent Lieutenant Thomas Clancy, First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, with a detail of soldiers to investigate and demand the release of the troops. Clancy was unsuccessful, and the alcalde stated he would hold the soldiers "until he saw fit to try them." [186]

Clancy reported that the alcalde exclaimed "that he did not care a damn for me, the Commanding officer, or any other Military authority (or words to that effect)." Clancy's request to be informed "as to the cause of the detention of the soldiers" went unfilled, except the alcalde "alleged that they were under charges for a breach of the peace." It appeared that the alcalde, after failing to obtain the surrender of troops from the post commander, had taken it upon himself to arrest troops who came to Loma Parda. Because of the clash between the military and the alcalde, Clancy recommended that a special guard be established at the Loma Parda to prevent soldiers from going to that resort of "thieves and Cut-throats." [187] Lieutenant Clancy did not state how the guard was to be kept from patronizing the shops at the town.

Further confrontation over this particular incident was avoided when the detained soldiers were quickly tried at Loma Parda, on July 16, acquitted of all charges of breaking the peace, and released. As soon as the seven soldiers returned to Fort Union, they were confined to the guardhouse for being absent from the post without leave and violating the ban on visiting Loma Parda. They were likely punished by courts-martial, although the records of their trials were not located. The recommendation to station a guard at Loma Parda was sent to district headquarters, and Brigadier General Carleton rejected the idea. [188] Thompson probably was relieved when he was transferred from Fort Union in August 1866, leaving the problems of Loma Parda to his successors and the district commander. Brigadier General Carleton, who had encouraged all efforts to close down Loma Parda, was replaced in March 1867.

Before new commanders were prepared to deal with the notorious (and reviled) community, Lieutenant Charles Speed, Fifth Infantry, who was stationed at Fort Union and a product of excessive consumption of liquor and patron of the unscrupulous pleasures at Loma Parda, was dismissed from the service. A native of England who entered the army as a private in 1855 and became an officer during the Civil War, Speed became a wretched and irresponsible troublemaker following his defeat by demon rum. Two senior officers of his

regiment, Major Elisha G. Marshall and Captain Henry C. Bankhead, brought a series of charges against Speed (Bankhead preferred the charges which were approved by Marshall), which resulted in his dismissal by approval of the war department on January 29, 1867, and effective March 1 of that year. [189]

Major Marshall described Speed as a "Miserable man . . . of the most disreputable character." Speed was guilty of "vicious conduct" who had "made threats" against his superior officers. Marshall also reported that Speed was "a dishonorable and disreputable person" who refused to "pay his mess bill and . . . his commissary and Sutler's Accounts." After his trial it was learned that Speed "was also guilty of visiting the Town of Loma Parda, and gambling with Qr. Mr. Employes and Enlisted men, being absent without leave and returning without hat, coat or pants in almost a nude state to his quarters at the Post." [190] That statement implied that Speed's reputation was further tarnished (if that were possible) by his association with Loma Parda, as though somehow the infamy of the community made those who went there disgraceful. The insinuation was that the mere name of the community was a synonym for contemptible behavior.

Certainly Speed was a contemptible being, whether he went to Loma Parda or not, and he did not take his dismissal calmly. He preferred charges against Bankhead and Marshall, accusing them, among other things, of filing false reports, making false musters, keeping private horses in government stables, having soldiers neglect their public duties in order to perform private duties, and illegally using soldiers as servants. Although Speed dated his charges with February 28, 1867, which was the day before his dismissal was effective, he did not offer the charges until March 3. It appeared Speed had backdated his letter. His charges were not taken seriously because the records did not substantiate nor would any soldiers corroborate them. No other officer endorsed them because, as Marshall stated, "Speed's reputation in the 5th Infantry is so well known that he was Coventry [ostracized] by all officers who have served with him." [191] It was revealing that the unfortunate case of Speed's behavior was associated with Loma Parda.

When Colonel George W. Getty became district commander in 1867, and Captain Lane was commanding at Fort Union, Getty thought he may have found a solution to the problem of Loma Parda. On some maps of the Fort Union military reservation, it appeared that the village was on the reserve. Getty directed Lane to determine if that were true and, if so, to shut down all businesses in the village for violating army regulations that prohibited the sale of any item by civilians (except appointed sutlers) on military reservations. It seemed to be a feasible solution, if Loma Parda were on the reserve. Of that fact, however, Captain Lane had serious doubts. [192]

Lane had a map that had been drawn in 1866, which had apparently never been approved by proper authority, showing a portion of Loma Parda within the reservation. On that map, according to Lane, Loma Parda was shown "to consist of between two and three hundred people, some four or five stores, and numerous places for the sale of liquor." "In the vicinity," he continued, "there is quite a quantity of land under cultivation, a large portion of which is included in the map referred to." Lane feared the 1866 map was not an accurate reflection of the reservation that had been established years earlier, and was hesitant to try to evict anyone from Loma Parda. He explained his apprehensions and gave his views on the place:

> In view of all these facts, I do not feel authorized to act so far as to close stores, or remove the inhabitants of a town (Loma Parda) of comparatively long standing, without instructions, especially when such action on my part, would probably, be met with resistance, and be the subject of litigation for years to come.

> The town itself is a nuisance to the Post, and although there are doubtless some good people in it, its general character is that in the male population there is a large majority that are rascals, thieves, and murderers, and as regards the women, they are very much abused, if a majority are not prostitutes of the lowest class; I do not however speak from experience.
>
> It is proper to add however that the bad name of the place is increased from the fact, that it is a favorite place for the blackguards of this vicinity (This Post and Depot included) to meet and concoct schemes of rascality, and to fight out old and make new quarrels. [193]

Lane confirmed what many officers thought about Loma Parda, but a resolution for the problem seemed beyond the reach of the army.

Some officers believed that Loma Parda might be a temporary hideout for deserters. Rarely, however, were soldiers who had decided to separate prematurely from the army found there. Undoubtedly some potential deserters decided to flee while at Loma Parda or as a result of the temerity they acquired there. In 1869 two deserters from Fort Bascom, Privates Walter F. Woods and Henry Rauscher, Third Cavalry, were apprehended at Loma Parda. [194] Instead of encouraging desertion, however, the pleasures available at Loma Parda may have provided sufficient relief from the tedium of garrison life to help combat the propensity to escape from the service.

So long as there were no blatant offenses associated with Loma Parda, it seemed easiest to most commanders to look the other way and permit the soldiers to visit the village, provided they had a pass to leave the post. It was virtually impossible to enforce regulations placing Loma Parda off limits. An incident, involving an attack against New Mexican citizens by soldiers, in September 1870, engendered the next crackdown. Details of the incident were provided by Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, who was not present although troopers of his regiment were involved. Matthews described Loma Parda as "a Mexican town seven miles from here" where "there are several drinking saloons and two dance halls" and "plenty of Mexican Women in the town to dance." [195]

The trouble began, according to Matthews, on the evening of September 11, 1870, when a bugler of Company D, Eighth Cavalry, was beaten at Loma Parda by "a couple of Mexicans." There was no explanation as to how this fight had occurred. When it was learned at the post, "about forty Soldiers" slipped away from Fort Union "after Tat-too, . . . all armed with Revolvers, with the intention of taking the two Mexicans that whiped the bugler out and hanging them." They found the accused New Mexicans at a wake being held for a child that had died, captured them, and headed toward Fort Union with the prisoners. The local alcalde attempted to halt the proceedings with a drawn revolver, but he was disarmed and made prisoner as well. At some point on the military reservation the party stopped and decided on the punishment of the prisoners. Some of the soldiers wanted to hang them, but the majority determined to whip them as a warning. Each of the three prisoners, including the alcalde, was given "fifty lashes on the naked skin" with a soldier's belt. [196]

The New Mexicans were then warned that, "if any man of the 8th Cavalry was ever touched again by any of them, they would come over and hang every Mexican in the town." Matthews believed that the point had been made effectively. However, one or more officers at the post had seen the troopers leaving the post without leave and had conducted a roll call to determine who was not present in quarters. The following day all those who had been absent, including four sergeants, were confined to the guard house for several hours. [197] Colonel Gregg, commanding Fort Union, declared on September 13 that "the disgraceful and unlawful proceedings of a few of the Non-Commissioned Officers and private soldiers of this

Garrison on Sunday last [September 11] at or near Loma Parda" made it necessary to issue an order regarding soldiers' behavior and to request the assistance of the alcalde at Loma Parda in its enforcement. [198]

The new orders specified that no enlisted man could go to Loma Parda "without express permission of the Commanding Officer." An ordinary leave of absence was not sufficient. Those who received permits were forbidden "to carry with them any public arms." The soldiers were also instructed "to be of such a character as to command the respect of the people." These orders were to be read to the garrison daily at retreat. The circular admonished each soldier "to uphold the laws, not to violate them; to protect the citizen, not to outrage and maltreat him." Gregg warned that a soldier who "permits himself to be hurried into such excess of outrage and cruelty as that of Sunday night he justly loses the respect of all good citizens and the confidence and sympathy of his Officers." [199]

The alcalde was asked to "rigidly enforce the civil law against Soldiers from this Garrison who may visit the town," and to apprehend any found in violation of the new orders. Gregg carefully explained his motives to the alcalde: "It is not my intention to forbid all intercourse between the citizens of Loma Parda and the Garrison, but in a repetition of the disgraceful occurrences of last Sunday night, it is necessary that the intercourse should be guarded by rigid rules." [200] How cooperative the alcalde was could not be discerned. Most of the soldiers followed the regulations, including the restrictions on weapons.

At least one enlisted man was caught and convicted of violating the rules. Undoubtedly there were others. Private John Raerick, Troop L, Eighth Cavalry, was charged with visiting Loma Parda without proper permission, December 24-28, 1870, and being absent without leave. At his trial on January 6, 1871, Private Raerick pled guilty to both charges and was sentenced to forfeit one month's pay, to be confined to the limits of the garrison for the same period of time, and to perform whatever extra police duty his troop commander directed during that month. [201] In January 1871 Private Matthews informed his family that he had missed seeing a horse race at the post because he had been "on Patrol after absent Soldiers in Loma Parda." [202]

There were occasional incidents of violence at Loma Parda. A member of the Eighth Cavalry band, stationed at Fort Union, was murdered near Loma Parda in October 1871. It was believed he was killed for his clothes and any money he may have possessed. His body was found nude and mutilated. Two "natives" were arrested and charged in the case. [203] In November 1882 Private James Gay, Company A, Twenty-Third Infantry was assassinated at Loma Parda. After spending "the greater portion of the night in the company of a Mexican woman," Gay was shot in the back of the head when he left her house. [204] The violence was compounded when some of Gay's fellow soldiers went to Loma Parda to avenge his death. They lynched the man they thought was guilty and committed an even greater crime in the process. They later discovered they had hanged the wrong man. [205]

In 1887 Sergeant Winfield S. Hamilton, Company B, Tenth Infantry, was found dead at Loma Parda. The cause of death was not determined, and there was no evidence of foul play. [206] Several other deaths of soldiers and citizens of Loma Parda were reported but not confirmed. [207] The prostitutes at Loma Parda were also sources of venereal diseases, which Rickey found "were the most common and widespread serious illnesses among the rank and file." [208]

In December 1877 an outbreak of smallpox at Fort Union was traced to prostitutes at Loma Parda. [209] The following month, because of the dangers of that disease, the post commander, Major Albert P. Morrow, Ninth Cavalry, directed that residents of the post who had not been vaccinated were to be inoculated by the post surgeon, and "officers, servants,

and camp followers" who had been vaccinated were to be revaccinated. Morrow also prohibited "all communication between this post and Loma Parda." How long Loma Parda was to be off limits was not specified, but presumably the ban was enforced until the smallpox outbreak was over. Morrow put some teeth in his interdiction by providing that "any violation of this order will be punished by General Court Martial in cases of enlisted men, or expulsion from the Reservation in cases of Civilians and Laundresses." [210]

Despite the risks of violence, disease, and death, as well as the many restrictions placed on getting there, Loma Parda remained the popular place for soldiers to unwind. And the townspeople usually welcomed the soldiers because the money they spent contributed significantly to the local economy. In the 1870s, and perhaps before and after, some resourceful merchants in Loma Parda and enterprising individuals from the area provided taxi service for troops going to and from Loma Parda. The going rate was fifty cents one way. When taxi service was not available, the soldiers usually walked to and from the village. Sometimes as many as 20 to 25 soldiers would go to Loma Parda at the same time. [211]

There was no record that Loma Parda was again placed off limits to soldiers after 1878. The policy of restricting passes, as was done in 1870 (see above), was periodically revised by commanding officers. In 1881 Colonel Granville O. Haller, Twenty-Third Infantry, soon after taking command of Fort Union, issued "rules relating to the performance of military duty" at the post. [212] Included were details on passes, designed to constrain the soldiers' visits to Loma Parda and other such places. Enlisted men were "positively forbidden to go beyond one mile from the flag-staff . . . (except when upon military duty,) for any purpose whatever, without passes duly signed by their immediate commanding officer." Passes were to be issued to individuals only and include the place or purpose of the permit. If a soldier planned to go to Loma Parda, for example, that would have to be designated on his pass. Any enlisted man found beyond the limits prescribed by his pass or without a pass was to be arrested for desertion. [213]

When the soldier returned to the post from authorized leave, he was to report to the guardhouse and surrender the pass to the noncommissioned officer in charge of the guard. That officer was to "inspect each soldier as to sobriety and cleanliness" and record his findings on the pass. The results of that inspection were significant. Colonel Haller made it clear that, while he would make passes available to those who followed the rules, "any one returning in a demoralized condition, or who has behaved badly, will be deprived of the privileges of again leaving the post on pass." [214] The order did not specify how long the ban would be in effect, which doubtless meant it was at the discretion of the commanding officer. As always, it should be noted, some soldiers failed to follow regulations and were arrested for being absent without leave, confined to the guardhouse until a court-martial tried their case, and punished by loss of pay, special duty assignments, or both. Repeat offenders usually received more severe penalties.

The urge to visit Loma Parda remained strong and at least one additional restriction was imposed to reduce unauthorized ventures at night. In the autumn of 1885 Colonel Henry Douglass, post commander, inaugurated a curfew at the post which required all enlisted men to be in bed in their barracks at 9:00 p.m. To enforce the rule, noncommissioned officers were ordered to conduct bed checks. Sergeant Neihaus recalled that, for some soldiers, the desire to visit Loma Parda was so powerful that they placed dummies in their bunks to fool inspecting sergeants. [215] In 1888 Private John Nolan, Company F, Tenth Infantry, was found guilty by court-martial as follows: "Having been refused permission by his Company Commander to be absent from his company barracks after taps, did, with intent to deceive and prevent his absence from barracks being discovered, persuade a Recruit to sleep in his bunk." [216] Another soldier remarked that the curfew meant that "the mashers, who used to walk their girls through the sagebrush under the silvery moon, must now go to sleep at 9:00."

As a result, he asserted, "the girls are now happy for they can get a little rest at night." [217]

Soldiers continued to visit Loma Parda so long as they were stationed at Fort Union. Among many officers, the little village remained synonymous with evil and wickedness. David Keener, in his comprehensive investigation of the history of the town, concluded that the incidents of violence at Loma Parda "have been exaggerated out of proportion and beyond what can be documented." He found insufficient evidence to show that Loma Parda was more violent than other communities in the region. The army caused as many problems for the citizens of Loma Parda as the unscrupulous dispensers of pleasure there created for the military. Neither the army nor the law enforcement officials in Loma Parda were able to control rowdy elements. The town had a reputation that it did not entirely deserve. [218] It undoubtedly was maligned more than other towns around the military reservation because it was the closest and most convenient community to the post.

Loma Parda, unlike the many "hog ranches" associated with frontier military posts, was not founded primarily to provide entertainment for the troops. It had done that because it was conveniently situated and entrepreneurs were always available to cater to military personnel. The village, it must be emphasized, existed as a viable agricultural community during and after the time Fort Union was an active post, and it became a ghost town in the twentieth century, long after the post was abandoned, as did many other small agricultural communities in the region. [219] It needs to be emphasized, too, that gambling, prostitution, and alcohol were often available at Fort Union, usually illegally (except for the alcohol in some periods) to be sure.

In October 1867 John Smith and Andrew Cameron were caught selling whiskey to soldiers on the military reservation. They were also purchasing clothing, arms, and other military equipment from the soldiers. Post Commander John R. Brooke, Thirty-Seventh Infantry, confiscated all their property, including a wagon, two ponies, three mules, harness, and a "number of articles." These were held at Fort Union awaiting word from the district commander regarding disposal. Brooke believed that Smith and Cameron were "part of the gang of horse thieves infesting this country." [220]

In June 1870, in another case involving alleged thieves, Post Surgeon DeWitt C. Peters endorsed a complaint from Adolph Griesinger, who operated a restaurant and bowling alley at Fort Union, to Colonel John Irvin Gregg, Eighth Cavalry, commanding the post, as follows:

> I have the honor to inform the Commanding officer that I reported the Market House next to Griesinger's Restaurant as being the resort of thieves vagabonds and the worst class of Mexican Prostitutes - who plying their various vocations contaminate the garrison. . . . I would recommend that the Officer of the day and guard visit the place daily and cause these bad characters to leave as a sanitary measure. [221]

Colonel Gregg immediately ordered that, "the Mexican Market, . . . having been reported as a nuisance and resort of thieves and gambling, hereafter the Officer of the Day will cause the place to be visited frequently during the day and night by patrols, whose duty it will be to prevent loafing and gambling." [222] Later that same year Colonel Gregg took action against other vendors of joy at the post. He instructed the commander of Company L, Eighth Cavalry, to "direct Citizen Charles _____ and Mrs. Charles _____ the latter a Laundress in Troop 'L' 8th Cavy, to leave this military reservation at once, and not to return, the former for selling whiskey, and the latter for allowing women of bad character in their quarters." [223]

Thus it was not always necessary to reach Loma Parda or some other facility off the

reservation for such diversions as drinking, gambling, and prostitution. The various restrictions on such activities at the post, on the other hand, must have contributed to the attractiveness of Loma Parda, a place some officers considered, like the Mexican Market, to be "a nuisance and resort of thieves and gambling." Such claims were indubitably exaggerations. The assertion of Major Thompson in 1866 that a majority of the citizens of Loma Parda were cutthroats and thieves was untrue, as the census of 1870 confirmed. [224] Despite its reputation, a good portion of which was apparently undeserved, the town outlasted the fort. The relationship of Loma Parda and the soldiers at the post formed an important component of life at Fort Union. It was one of the few places where officers and enlisted men intermingled. The prime opportunities for fellowship between military classes was found in fraternal orders, such as the Good Templars (see above) and Freemasons.

Many army officers and some enlisted men were members of Masonic organizations prior to their assignment to duty in New Mexico. They provided the leadership in getting a Masonic lodge organized at Fort Union during the Civil War. Since there was no Grand Lodge in the territory, they sought and received authorization from the Grand Lodge of Missouri to organize Chapman Lodge (named to honor the post commander, Colonel William Chapman, who was a steadfast Mason) at Fort Union in 1862. Joab Houghton, New Mexico territorial judge, was a district deputy of the Grand Lodge of Missouri and started the work of Chapman Lodge. This lodge operated under special dispensation from the Missouri Grand Lodge (officially known as Chapman Lodge Under Dispensation) for several years. They conducted meetings in various buildings at the post during the next few years, including the lodge hall of the Good Templars, a former officer's quarters at the site of the first post, a vacant room in a set of former quarters in one of the demilunes at the earthwork, and possibly others. Marion Russell recalled that, in 1864, she and her mother "lived in a long, low adobe house whose six rooms were all in a row. The eastern room of that house we rented to the Masons for a lodge room." She also noted that Masonic lodges traditionally met in an upper-story room but, since "there were no upper stories in Fort Union," special permission "was obtained from the mother lodge in Missouri to use the ground floor as a lodge room." [225]

Many officers and some of the enlisted men transferred their membership from their home lodges to Chapman Lodge, and new members were initiated from both ranks. Civilians at the post, such as the post sutler and employees of the quartermaster department, were also welcome to membership. Among the new members of Chapman Lodge was Kit Carson. Mrs. Russell, whose close friendship with Carson has been noted before, recalled "the discussions that we had pro and con when Colonel Kit Carson applied for membership. His wife, 'little Jo' was a Catholic, and he had been married within the Catholic Church; yet he did become a member." [226] It is interesting to note that a lodge in New Mexico was later named for the famous frontiersman. Kit Carson Lodge No. 326 was founded in Elizabethtown, New Mexico, sometime in the 1870s. [227] Other than his marriage in the church and the fact that his wife was Catholic, Carson apparently had little connection with the denomination. Actually, there were no Masonic rules prohibiting a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church from joining the lodge. The church, on the other hand, discouraged its members from becoming Freemasons.

If Marion Russell's recollections were accurate, there was an ironic relationship between the church and Chapman Lodge. "The first altar cloth my mother made for the Masons," Marion reminisced, "was made from a fragment of one of Bishop Lamy's robes." She explained that the "cloth had come all the way from Leavenworth by ox team" and "factory woven cloth was precious." Whenever someone had such cloth "left over from the making of a garment, they were permitted to put it back in store at Santa Fe for reselling." Marion's "mother bought the beautiful remnant on one of her trips to Santa Fe and from it made the altar-cloth. I am told," Mrs. Russell concluded, "that old altar-cloth is preserved at Wagon Mound today. It is under glass on the wall of the Masonic Lodge there." [228]

After several years of activity under dispensation, Chapman Lodge No. 95 received its charter from the Grand Lodge of Missouri in 1866. The following year the lodge was directed, for reasons not explained, to move its meeting place off the Fort Union military reservation. Marion Russell believed that the meeting room at the post was partially destroyed by fire sometime after the Civil War, [229] and the need for a lodge hall may have been a consideration in the move. It should be noted, too, that District Commander James H. Carleton, an active Freemason, was replaced in 1867 by Colonel George W. Getty (whose views on Freemasonry have not been determined). Getty's appointment and the decision to relocate the lodge may or may not have been coincidental. Captain William B. Lane was post commander during much of 1867, and available records do not indicate his views on Freemasonry. Regardless of who was responsible or the reasons, the membership voted in May 1867 to move the lodge to Las Vegas as soon as a building could be obtained. The last meeting was conducted at Fort Union on July 27, when one of the members was expelled. The official home of Chapman Lodge was transferred to Las Vegas, where the first meeting was held on August 14, 1867. For the next seven years Masons at Fort Union, when they were able to attend, traveled to Las Vegas for regular and special meetings of the order. [230]

In 1874 the members at Fort Union requested permission to organize a new lodge at the post. Colonel Getty, incidentally, had been replaced by Colonel Gordon Granger in 1871. Chapman Lodge agreed to the plea and the new lodge was founded under dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Missouri in June 1874, and it received its charter from Missouri as Union Lodge No. 480 in October of that year. It has not been determined where on the post this lodge conducted its rituals, but the room was consecrated and dedicated at the first meeting under the new charter on November 14, 1874. [231]

The initial membership of Union Lodge included more civilians than soldiers, and most of them had been members of Chapman Lodge (several were initiated into the rites of Masonry in Chapman Lodge). The master of Union Lodge was Morris Bloomfield, a clerk in the quartermaster department. The senior warden was Lachonius Frampton, a stonemason at the post. Both had received their Masonic degrees in Chapman Lodge in 1864, and both had gone through the progression of offices and served as master of Chapman Lodge. Bloomfield had also been a member of Kit Carson Lodge at Elizabethtown just prior to the organization of Union Lodge. Jeremiah W. Heeps, a saddler at the fort, was junior warden. He had joined Chapman Lodge in 1863. The treasurer was John Longmuir, an employee of the quartermaster department who had joined Chapman Lodge in 1868. [232]

The secretary was Charles Bowmer, a surgeon and a native of England who had received the degrees of Masonry before coming to America. He transferred to Union Lodge from Montezuma Lodge No. 109 at Santa Fe. Albert F Bruno was senior deacon, and he was a gunsmith at the arsenal. The junior deacon was Lieutenant John W. Eckles, Fifteenth Infantry, post commander at Fort Union. Eckles transferred from Alamo Lodge No. 44, San Antonio, Texas. The tyler was Carl W. Wildenstein, who may have been associated with the post sutler's store. He had joined Chapman Lodge in 1870. The other two initial members were T. Bainbridge, a saddler, and F J. Kearny, blacksmith. Both had also been members of Chapman Lodge. The first petitioner to seek initiation into Union Lodge, Joseph B. Morris (occupation unknown, but a "resident of the post"), was rejected (blackballed). Thomas Henderson (trade not known) was the first candidate to receive degrees. [233] Visitors from other lodges were welcome at the meetings.

During 1875, again not known by whose order or for what reasons, this new lodge was enjoined to move off the reservation. Union Lodge No. 480 made the village of Tiptonville, some six miles from the post, its official location in December of that year. The regular meetings of the fraternity were scheduled on what was called "moon schedule," the Saturday

night on or before the full moon; the intent was to make travel at night as safe as possible. The last official function of Union Lodge before moving to Tiptonville was to conduct Masonic funeral ceremonies for member George W. Cole, who was buried in the private cemetery of Ceran St. Vrain at Mora. After the Grand Lodge of New Mexico was formed in August 1877, Union Lodge 480 surrendered its charter to the Grand Lodge of Missouri and was chartered by the New Mexico Grand Lodge as Union Lodge No. 4 in October 1877. Chapman Lodge 95 at Las Vegas became Chapman Lodge No. 2. [234]

Following the abandonment of Fort Union, Union Lodge No. 4 moved to the town of Watrous in May 1891, where a stone building served as the hall. The membership in Watrous later declined until, in 1919, the lodge could only hold meetings when members from the community of Wagon Mound made the trip to Watrous. Because the preponderance of the membership was in Wagon Mound, the lodge was relocated there in June 1919. The lodge had several halls in that community, including the second story of an old opera house (1919-1929), the second story of the telephone building from December 1929 until that structure was destroyed by a wind storm in May 1930, after which the lodge purchased an adobe building that had once served as a saloon. This was probably the home of Union Lodge No. 4 when Marion Russell noted in her memoirs that the lodge was still active at Wagon Mound and that "the lodge room is still on the ground floor." [235] This structure was destroyed by fire in 1934 and later that same year, with the insurance money and additional funds raised by the members, a new adobe building was constructed by the lodge. [236] Union Lodge No. 4 was still active in the same building in 1992. The traditions of Freemasonry, started in New Mexico by military lodges from Missouri during the Mexican War and permanently established by soldiers and civilians at Fort Union during the Civil War, continued to live at Union Lodge in Wagon Mound. Freemasonry was one of several fraternal organizations at the post designed to improve the mind and quality of life of at the post.

Such institutions were usually encouraged by officers as beneficial to the enrichment of civilization. The army practice of providing chaplains, schools, and libraries at military posts embodied the most visible attestation of government sponsorship of improvement of spiritual and intellectual life of military personnel. The efforts were somewhat sporadic, as shown by the intermittent presence of chaplains at Fort Union, and the results difficult to measure objectively.

Rickey concluded from his interviews with veterans that "Post Chaplains seem to have exercised little influence on the soldiers, and some of them were not respected by officers or soldiers." Even where "church services were conducted regularly . . . and . . . enlisted men were welcome to participate," he noted, "the services were held mainly for the benefit of the officers and their families." Even though some enlisted men were religious and participated in chapel liturgies, Rickey concluded that "formal religion was apparently not a very significant factor in the lives of rank and file regulars." [237] In 1870 Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, noted soon after his arrival at Fort Union that the post had a chapel but no chaplain. He observed that it was "strange not to have a minister at such a Post as this one." [238] Matthews's interest was apparently academic, for he made no mention when a new chaplain arrived at Fort Union a few months later and subsequently stated that he had not attended church since his enlistment. Near the end of his term of service Matthews informed his family that he had "not attended divine service since August 1869 [in Cincinnati], except on three funeral occasions when heard the Episcopal burial service read and nothing more." [239] Of the last chaplain at Fort Union, Rev. G. S. Seibold, a soldier declared in 1891 just prior to the abandonment of the post: "He preaches some fine sermons, but possibly pours theology into unwilling ears." [240] Chaplains were usually in charge of post schools, where they may have exerted more influence for transformation than in chapel.

The army encouraged the establishment of schools at military posts to provide basic education

for enlisted men and for the children who resided there. At Fort Union it was usually the responsibility of the post chaplain to oversee the operation of the school. As noted in chapter four, the first post chaplain, Reverend William Stoddert, started a post school in 1856. [241] Thereafter the school was discontinued and reestablished several times, depending on the presence of sufficient numbers of students and teachers, the whims of the many post commanders, and the availability of a place for classes to be conducted. The post school apparently was neglected during the chaotic era of the Civil War.

After the war, with the arrival of Chaplain John Woart in 1866, the post school was resumed. Woart thought the requirement that he teach the post school interfered with his ministerial duties. He was not pleased when the adjutant general's office sent word that post chaplains were required "to perform the duty of school masters." The same communication clarified some other questions about the status of chaplains. They were to have a captain's allowance of quarters and were ineligible for assignment to courts-martial, boards of survey, and other military responsibilities. Woart reluctantly accepted the decision that he teach school. [242] A little over a year later a private soldier, Henry Edgar, Third Cavalry, was designated as a schoolteacher at Fort Union, so, perhaps, Rev. Woart's prayers were answered. [243]

Soon after Chaplain David W. Eakins arrived at Fort Union in September 1870, the post school was established under his supervision. The post chapel was to serve as the school room. The children at the post were taught basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Enlisted men who wished to learn to read and write were instructed at other times, usually in the evenings. The prisoners at the post were assigned the task of custodial work at the school, "under the charge of the guard at such hours as will not interfere with the school." [244]

Major Andrew J. Alexander, Eighth Cavalry, served as commanding officer at Fort Union during the winter of 1873-1874. In February, on behalf of the post council of administration, he contacted the adjutant general's office in Washington, D.C., to inquire if it was permissible to pay a schoolteacher at a post that had a chaplain. Rev. Eakins was "physically unable" to serve as a teacher as well as post chaplain. Major Alexander reported that there were "a great many children and enlisted men at this Post who are much in need of instruction." Army regulations specified that a post chaplain was to "perform the duties of Schoolmaster." If possible, they wanted to hire a teacher. [245] The response was not located. Because enlisted men had been detailed to serve as a schoolteacher before at Fort Union and were so designated later, it was likely that such an arrangement was again permissible. [246] In 1878 the war department issued orders that enlisted men detailed as teachers were to receive extra-duty pay of thirty-five cents per day. The same decree stipulated that the enrollment of enlisted men was voluntary, but children were required to attend. [247] At the beginning of September 1884, Private Robert L. Farr, Company B, Tenth Infantry, was relieved from extra duty as the post schoolteacher and Private James O'Hara, same company, was appointed to take his place. [248] The extra-duty pay for teachers was increased to fifty cents a day in 1885. Congress was reluctant to provide adequate funds for schools. [249]

The major inadequacy of the post schools, according to a recent study, was "the lack of competent teachers." [250] Another problem was the paucity of materials. The availability of books and school supplies was difficult to determine from the records. There undoubtedly were educational materials, some provided by the families of students and some by the post council of administration. For example, in December 1878, the post council of administration authorized the expenditure of $12.61 for school books and supplies (including six slates, twenty slate pencils, ten copy books, and Franklin's Reader—twelve first readers and six each of the second and third readers). These items were ordered from "the States." The order for the slates was canceled because "they could not be shipped by mail, without breaking." The books were received and "exceeded the price estimated by Council." A few weeks after the books arrived, the post school was closed in May 1879 because there were so few troops

at the post that it was not feasible. [251]

When Lieutenant Colonel Nathan A. M. Dudley, Ninth Cavalry, assumed command of Fort Union the following year, he directed Chaplain James LaTourrette to conform to orders issued by the headquarters of the army in 1878 relating to post schools. That directive, Dudley explained, "makes it the duty of the Post Chaplain to instruct the enlisted men in the English Branches." The commanding officer did not know if there were "sufficient enlisted men, at the Post, to warrant the establishment of a class," but he enjoined the chaplain to "ascertain" that information. Dudley also "believed that there are some twenty children who reside at or near the Post, who should be required to attend School." He requested a report from LaTourrette on the subject of a post school "with as little delay as practicable." [252]

Chaplain LaTourrette confirmed the need to reopen the post school, and Dudley directed the post quartermaster, Captain Thomas Hunt, to have built in the quartermaster shop at Fort Union, within ten days, the necessary furniture for two school rooms, one for children and the other for enlisted men. The children's room was to receive eighteen chairs (built at three different heights for children of different ages) and three ten-foot-long desks (also at different heights), with the desk tops "slightly inclined towards seats" and with shelves underneath for books and supplies. The furnishings for the enlisted men's room included one table, eight chairs, one blackboard and one-half pound of chalk, two water buckets, one tin cup, one broom, and one sponge. [253]

The school began on April 26, 1880, in the center set of officers' quarters at the quartermaster depot. Chaplain LaTourrette was the superintendent (charged with visiting the school "daily"), and an enlisted man, Private Arthur Brus, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry, was detailed as teacher with extra-duty pay. The children at the post attended classes Monday through Friday, from 9:30 a.m. to noon and 1:00 to 3:00 p.m. The enlisted men presumably attended classes at other times, not specified but probably in the evening, and they had a separate room. The children were "required to be neatly and cleanly dressed." The "School Call" was sounded fifteen minutes before classes began each day. To prevent truancy, absentees were reported to the post adjutant, who informed the parents. [254]

Lieutenant Colonel Dudley established rules for the teacher. For example, "no favoritism will be shown towards officers' children." Regarding discipline, "rewards and punishments of a mild character will be allowed but no whippings." The commanding officer also made it clear that the school would continue only so long as the parents sent their children "promptly and regularly" and the enlisted men attended. Regarding the latter, Dudley declared that the school offered "every enlisted man at the Post an opportunity to learn to write a good hand in a short season, a chance that may not again occur in the lifetime of a soldier." [255] Because many of the enlisted men were illiterate and a number of them were foreigners who had difficulty with the English language, the school was, indeed, an opportunity.

The records do not show how successful the school was. In December 1881 Colonel Haller directed Chaplain LaTourrette to "assume general charge and control of the Post School." At the same time Haller detailed Private George M. Mason, Company B, Twenty-Third Infantry, on extra duty to teach the enlisted men and children of the post and to "report for duty to the Post Chaplain." [256] In 1882 a new post commander, Captain Thomas Smith, Twenty-Third Infantry, requested that a schoolteacher be assigned to Fort Union because no soldiers at the post were qualified for that duty. [257] A similar request was made by Post Commander Henry Mizner in 1886, when he noted there were six companies stationed at Fort Union and "no soldier in the command to perform the duty of school teacher." [258] Mizner must have found a teacher, for on December 13, 1886, he issued an order proclaiming that school would meet daily, Monday through Friday, with the children of the post attending from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. and enlisted men attending "immediately after retreat." [259]

The post school continued, off and on, through 1889, when the war department decided to require the attendance of enlisted men in need of basic education as part of their military duty. [260] Lieutenant Colonel Albert P. Morrow, Sixth Cavalry, commanding Fort Union in 1889, directed the "Superintendent of Post Schools" (who was Chaplain LaTourrette) to inaugurate a new school session "at once" and to recommend "a competent enlisted man" to serve as the teacher. Morrow noted that Private W. H. H. Pope, Company H, Tenth Infantry, "has been highly spoken of as a School teacher." The superintendent was also directed to take an inventory of school equipment and supplies and to requisition anything additional "needed to properly furnish the school." [261] Private Pope was detailed on extra duty as the schoolteacher. He was relieved of that duty in December 1889. He was replaced briefly by Private John Walton, Company H, Tenth Infantry, who was succeeded by Private Fletcher R. Tilton, Company C, Tenth Infantry. Tilton was replaced by Private Charles Buckles, Company C, Tenth Infantry, as the schoolteacher in January 1890. Buckles had earlier served as the telegraph operator at the post. He served as the schoolteacher until July 9, 1890. He was relieved because he was found intoxicated on that date. Private Alonzo Plumb, Company C, Tenth Infantry, was detailed to extra duty as the schoolteacher on July 11. Private Tilton returned to that assignment in November 1890, replacing Plumb. [262]

There were few reports about the school during the final years. The annual inspection report of the post in March 1890 indicated that there were eight soldiers and five children attending at that time. [263] No statistics on enrollment after that time have been located.

Private Tilton continued to serve as schoolteacher until February 20, 1891. [264] The quality of education dispensed at the intermittent post schools from the 1850s through 1890 cannot be verified but undoubtedly varied from time to time. Overall, according to Bruce White, "a considerable number of soldiers learned to read and write." [265] The opportunity for basic education was probably important in the lives of countless enlisted men and children at the post. Aubrey Lippincott, son of Surgeon Henry Lippincott, attended school at Fort Union during the final years. He recalled some eighty years later that one of his teachers (an enlisted man), among other things, spent much of his time smoking a big pipe. He remembered that there were about fifteen children enrolled and that they learned little or nothing. The young Lippincott's education must have been adequate, in spite of or because of the school, for he rose to rank of colonel in the army before he retired. [266]

In addition to schools, the post library enhanced the quality of life at Fort Union. [267] Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, made good use of the library during his service at Fort Union and periodically commented to his family about the books he had been reading. [268] There a sizable collection of newspapers, periodical magazines, and books (fiction and non-fiction) available to those who could read, providing news, information, and entertainment, as well as a diversion from the monotonous routines of garrison life. Most library holdings were purchased by the post council of administration with some of the tariffs collected from the post sutler, but company funds and individual contributions were occasionally used. Some books were donated. Several lists of library holdings appeared in the post records, including over 300 volumes (mostly history, biography, and popular fiction). [269] Table 3 on the following page lists the newspapers and periodicals, with annual subscription rates, received at Fort Union in 1883.

Table 3
Newspapers and Periodicals Received at Fort Union Post Library, 1883 [272]

Newspapers & Periodicals	Annual Cost
Army and Navy Journal, weekly	$6.00

Army and Navy Register, weekly	3.00
Atlantic Monthly	2.00
Boston Globe, weekly	1.00
The Century, monthly	4.00
Chicago Times, daily	13.00
Detroit Free Press, weekly	2.00
Forest and Stream, weekly	4.00
Frank Leslies Illustrated, weekly	4.00
Frank Leslies Popular Monthly	3.00
Harper's Monthly	4.00
Harper's Weekly	4.00
Journal of the Military Service Institutions of the U.S.	2.00
Leavenworth Times, daily	5.00
New Mexican, daily	10.00
New York Graphic, daily	12.00
New York Herald, daily	10.00
New York Ledger, weekly	3.00
New York Times, semiweekly	2.50
Philadelphia Times, weekly	2.00
Puck, weekly	5.00
San Francisco Chronicle, weekly	2.00
United Service Monthly	3.00
Washington Sunday Herald, army & navy edition	1.50

The post librarian, usually an enlisted man selected for the duty, was responsible for keeping the collection in good order and making it available to patrons. The location of the library changed from time to time. In 1873 it was moved from an unidentified location into "quarters No. 4," probably in one room in that set of officers' quarters. It was unusual to place a post library on officers' row. At that time Private Charles Bugbee, Troop H, Eighth Cavalry, was assigned to serve as librarian and to catalogue the collection. A short time later Corporal William H. Andy, Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, was appointed librarian. He was relieved of that duty on April 15, 1873. [270] Since no records were found to indicate the utilization of the library, it was not possible to assess the effects it had. Like the post school, however, it was a commendable service provided by an army which otherwise showed little interest in the leisure activities of its soldiers. Rickey found in his interviews with veterans from the era that "library facilities were appreciated and used by some of the men." [271] That undoubtedly was true at Fort Union.

The generalizations about military life help illustrate a portion of what enlisted men and officers experienced. Details about individual personalities, points of view, and events, however, bestow a comprehension unavailable in any other form. As in the early era of the history of Fort Union, the writings of officers' wives and other observers contributed much to an understanding of life at the third post. One aspect of that life was the widespread influence of rumors and gossip, typical of such outposts. One young officer found the post rife with hearsay and started a rumor for the fun of it. Soon the entire garrison was "excited" that one of the regiments in New Mexico was supposedly going to be sent to serve in Alaska. [273] Fortunately some writers were able to reveal much more than rumors about garrison life.

Larsen was a Danish immigrant who, like many other young men upon their arrival in the

United States, enlisted in the army. He joined in 1884 and was assigned to Company G, Sixth Cavalry. He saw service in the Geronimo campaign and, after the end of that conflict in 1886, his troop was sent to Fort Union. Because the quarters at the post garrison were filled at the time, Troop G occupied the site of the first Fort Union which had served as the Fort Union Arsenal from the Civil War era until the early 1880s.

The soldiers stationed at Fort Union were photographed by J. R. Riddle, a photographer who visited the post in 1887 and 1888 and perhaps other times as well. Larsen collected photos of many soldiers, most of whom he never identified, and some of his collection was donated to Fort Union National Monument by his descendants.

Troop G, including Larsen, and the entire regiment of Sixth Cavalry were transferred to the Sioux country of South Dakota in December 1890 to assist with putting down the so-called Ghost Dance movement. They were present in that area when the era known as the Indian Wars came to an end at Wounded Knee during the last days of 1890.

Among of the Fort Union residents who wrote about their experiences was Marion Sloan (later Mrs. Richard D. Russell), who arrived to live at Fort Union with her mother, Eliza Mahoney, in 1864. Her charming memoirs, *Land of Enchantment*, as noted in a previous chapter, provide a woman's perception of life on the Santa Fe Trail, at Camp Nichols and Fort Union, and pioneer life in New Mexico and Colorado. Marion first visited Fort Union, with her mother and brother, in 1852 when the fort was merely one year old and she was only seven. They had accompanied a caravan of two wagon trains of supplies from Fort Leavenworth, one an army supply train and the other led by a leading Santa Fe Trail merchant and freighter, Francis X. Aubry, who was the friend and, perhaps, the lover of Eliza Mahoney. There were also 200 horses for the troops at Fort Union. [274] Marion was at Fort Union many times thereafter and proclaimed some 80 years after that first visit that "my own life story and the story of Fort Union have been strangely interwoven." [275]



Sergeant Strupp, first name unknown, Company G, Sixth Cavalry, Fort Union, 1888. Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.



Trooper identified only as "Bismark" Company G, Sixth Cavalry, Fort Union, 1888. Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.



Private William Walton, Company F, Tenth Infantry, Fort Union, 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.



First Sergeant Huffman, first name unknown, Company F, Tenth Infantry, Fort Union, 1887, J. R. Riddle photo, *courtesy* Kansas State Historical Society.

There is a mystery connected with Eliza Sloan Mahoney and her family that remains to be unraveled. Eliza's first husband, the father of Will and Marion, was an army surgeon, William James Sloan. In her memoirs Marion stated that her father was killed at the Battle of Monterey during the Mexican War, and that was probably what her mother told her. Marion was born in 1845 and never knew her father. Eliza and the surgeon were most likely separated, and Eliza married a soldier, Jeremiah Mahoney. Marion recalled of her step-father, "I do not know why I was not taught to call him 'father.' To me he was always Mr. Mahoney." That made sense if her father were alive, which he was until 1880, an army surgeon until his death. Marion stated in her reminiscences that Mr. Mahoney was killed by Indians when she was about five years old. That turned out not to be true either, and Mahoney lived until 1899. [276]

Eliza Mahoney took her children over the Santa Fe Trail the first time when Marion was seven. Although Marion was not aware of it, her father, Dr. Sloan, served as the chief medical officer of the Department of New Mexico from 1856 to 1860. One wonders if Eliza knew, and if his presence was the reason she left Santa Fe soon after he arrived and returned about the time he left. Equally important, was Dr. Sloan aware that his children resided in Santa Fe while he was serving there? Did he perchance see "Little Maid Marian" on the plaza at Santa Fe? Did she see him? [277]

Marion did not explain why her mother moved to Fort Union in 1864, but she operated a boarding house (something she had done at Santa Fe) and cooked for officers who pooled their rations and hired her to prepare them. Marion recalled, "we lived in a long, low adobe house whose six rooms were all in a row." This seems most likely to have been one of the sets of quarters erected in the demilunes of the earthwork. One of their rooms was rented to the Masonic Lodge at the post. [278] For Marion, age 19, the importance of Fort Union in her "life story" was that there she met the man who became her husband. The history of Fort Union was comprised of innumerable stories, including this delightful romance recorded by this remarkable woman.

It was at Fort Union in the year of 1864 that I first met Lieutenant Richard D.

> Russell. I was rounding a corner rather suddenly, my green veil streaming out behind me. The wind was blowing my hair in my eyes and I was trying to keep my long skirts where they belonged when suddenly he stood before me. That was the moment the whole wide, world stood still. My tall, young lieutenant stood and smiled at me while I struggled with my skirts, veil and hair. Then on he marched with his company, taking my ignorant young heart right along with him. [279]

That was the beginning of the most renowned love story at what was usually considered an unemotional place. The enamored young woman declared:

> Love, they say, is like the measles: We take it only once. Cupid spends no second arrow on our hearts. I am sure that was true in my case, for from that August day when I met Richard on the streets of old Fort Union, to that other August day twenty-three years later when an assassin's bullet took him from me, my love never faltered. Indeed, that love is a living part of the soul of me today, although the grass has waved over my lieutenant these forty years and more. [280]

Richard Russell was born in Canada in 1839 and grew up in Illinois. At age 16 he ran away from home and went to California where he tried prospecting and had a ranch until he joined the First California Volunteers early in the Civil War. He came to New Mexico with Carleton's California Column and ended up at Fort Union, where he joined the New Mexico Volunteers upon expiration of his term of service with the California troops. He was as smitten with Marion Sloan as she was with him. Marion's mother, Eliza, who had tried unsuccessfully to match Marion with a Kansas City merchant, hoped her daughter would do better than marry a soldier. She discouraged the budding relationship. A few weeks later Mrs. Mahoney took Marion back to live at Santa Fe. "I was sick at heart," Marion remembered, "because so far she had never permitted Richard and me a moment alone together." [281]

At Santa Fe Marion pined for her "tall lieutenant." When she saw a wagon train arrive from Fort Union, Marion expected there would be a letter from Richard. She "dressed up a bit and walked to the post office," only to be told "there was no letter for Miss Marian Sloan." A disheartened young woman "turned sadly from the post office window and was starting homeward when some one came up behind me and drew my hand through his arm. I turned quickly. It was Richard. He had come with the emigrant train from Fort Union." Their courtship began in earnest and "six months from the day of our meeting Richard and I were married in the little military chapel at Fort Union; that was in February 1865." The exact location of the chapel at the post on that date has not been determined. There was no post chaplain in 1865. Possibly the Good Templars' building was utilized as a chapel, for it was used for that purpose after the arrival of Chaplain John Woart in 1866. A nostalgic Marion professed decades later, "that day at the post office lies in my memory as faint and sweet as the scent of old lavender." [282]

Of her matrimony at Fort Union, she confessed, "I am afraid that I did not hear a great deal of our wedding ceremony, for something sacred and triumphant was going on in my heart." The young couple "lived in Fort Union. Our honeymoon in the old fort was a happy one." It was not clear if they resided at the first post or the earthwork, but probably the latter. A few weeks after their marriage Richard accompanied Kit Carson to establish



Lieutenant Richard Russell and Marion Sloan were married at Fort Union in 1865. She held fond memories of life at the post, which are included in her *Land of Enchantment*, from which this photo was copied.

Camp Nichols, and Marion joined him there later, as recorded in a previous chapter. How she persuaded her dear friend Carson to let her go is also part of the story of life at Fort Union. [283]

She "knew that Colonel Carson would not think it was very safe" and began conspiring how she could obtain his consent to join her husband at Camp Nichols. She hosted a dinner party, with Carson as the guest of honor, knowing that "he liked my cooking." She did her best. "I prepared the pot-roasted buffalo meat the way I knew that he loved, with the red chili pods mixed with it." Carson enjoyed the meal but was not persuaded. "I think that he saw through my little ruse," Marion recalled, "but enjoyed it." Before she could even beg for his permission, Carson informed her, "I promised your mother I would look out for you, Marian. You are safer here than at Camp Nichols." [284]

Carson, she remembered, "stood under the hanging coal oil lamp in our quarters, a slight man with a frown between eyes that showed an infinite capacity for tenderness." What good food could not achieve tears were able to accomplish. With no sense of shame or guilt, Marion proclaimed, "when he saw the tears that were gathering he said, 'Little Maid Marian, believe me, I will take you out to Camp Nickols as soon as it is safe for you there.'" Within a month, as she remembered, "Colonel Carson, true to his word came to get me." He could not deny his "Little Maid Marian." [285]

Marion was apparently the only officer's wife at Camp Nichols. A soldier was assigned to cook for the Russells, leaving the young bride free time to read and go riding. There were at least four other women at the little post, "two Mexican laundresses" who were wives of New Mexico Volunteers and "two Indian squaws" who were wives of Indian scouts. Marion had little to do and spent part of her time watching "the Mexican women pounding dirt out of the soldiers clothing" or "the squaws tanning buckskin." Richard and Marion returned to Fort Union when Camp Nichols was closed in September 1865. [286]

They were soon transferred to Fort Bascom, where their first child, a girl, was born in March 1866. The child, Hattie Eliza Russell, died five months later. The Russells returned to Fort Union and remained there until Richard was mustered out of the service in 1867. Mrs. Russell experienced the problem of drunkenness and the punishment for it before they left Fort Union. Looking back some 60 years, she recalled:

> I remember my last Fourth of July at Fort Union. Some of the soldiers had free whiskey given them. One that had been assigned us as cook became intoxicated

> and wandered away. I went ahead with the cooking for I know what Independence Day meant to the soldiers. Louis was a good boy and Independence Day came but once a year. However, that evening a drunken private came to our quarters where I was alone. He ordered me in a loud insulting voice to prepare supper for him. An officer who happened to be passing heard his loud voice. He came in and broke his cane over the drunken private's back. That private was sentenced to thirty days of the California Walk. I tried hard to harden my heart against him, but I was glad when he was mustered out of the army before his punishment ended. [287]

Marion had earlier observed and described the "California Walk," used to punish enlisted men found guilty of disciplinary infractions. A soldier sentenced to this particular punishment carried a "four-foot length of green log" on his shoulders and marched "around the flag pole from daylight until dark. One hour of marching was followed by one hour of rest." Marion believed the name had been given to this sentence by members of the California Volunteers who had made the difficult march from California to New Mexico during the early part of the Civil War. Marion had great sympathy for the lives of enlisted men. She probably echoed the opinion of many soldiers when she commented that "the stern military discipline seemed cruel to me." [288] She liked almost everything else about the army, however, and was sorrowful when they left military life and Fort Union.

"At last there came a day," Marion reminisced with a combination of fondness and sadness, "when we left Fort Union forever; Fort Union that had sheltered and protected me since I was seven. I tried not to look back, for a new life was beginning for me." For five years, with a partner (Joseph A. DeHague, a former lieutenant who had served with Russell in the army) they operated a trading post in Tecolote, a village on the Santa Fe Trail about 35 miles southwest of Fort Union. They provided some supplies (including salt) for Fort Union and served as the army forage agent at Tecolote for a while. [289]

After "Mr. DeHague had absconded with much of our money," Marion related, she and Richard sold their store in Tecolote in 1871 and settled on a ranch at Stonewall, Colorado. Marion bore a total of nine children, "admitting the fact that . . . it seems that must have been too many." As noted above, Richard was murdered in 1888. When Marion dictated her memoirs her living descendants included six children, sixteen grandchildren, twenty-two great-grandchildren, and four great-great-grandchildren. She declared, as she "watched my young descendants swimming" at a family reunion: "Surely all these young amphibians could not have resulted from that old Fort Union marriage." Marion, who never forgot her close ties to the military post and the Santa Fe Trail, died on Christmas Day in 1936 after being stuck by an automobile on the route of the old Santa Fe Trail in Trinidad, Colorado. Because of her famous reminiscences, the popular *Land of Enchantment*, Marion Sloan Russell is one of the best-known residents of Fort Union and, undoubtedly, the most-recognized woman connected with the history of the post and the Santa Fe Trail. [290]

A short time before Richard and Marion Russell left Fort Union in 1866, Captain Andrew Jonathan Alexander, Third Cavalry, and his wife, Eveline Martin Alexander, arrived at the post en route to duty in the district. They were nearly newlyweds, having been married on November 3, 1864. Captain Alexander, a native of Kentucky, had received his first appointment as an officer from civilian life early in the Civil War. While serving in New Mexico, Alexander received notice of his promotion to major in the Eighth Cavalry (he apparently declined an appointment as major in the Ninth Cavalry). Mrs. Alexander, daughter of a prominent New York family, kept a diary of their service in New Mexico, 1866-1867, and sent copies of it to her family to keep them informed of military life on the frontier. The diary was published over a century later. [291]

Eveline Alexander, 23-year-old daughter of Enos and Cornelia Martin, was well educated, class-conscious, and wedded to the traditions of her respectable and religious upbringing. She did not entirely approve of army life. On the way to New Mexico, she wrote, "it distresses me to travel on the Sabbath and to see the day so little regarded as it is in the army." There was no chaplain with the regiment, "which I regret" she noted, but she and Andrew "had a service" in which she read from "the Dutch church liturgy" and the Bible. Eveline's sense of propriety was greatly incensed when a lieutenant in her husband's regiment had "forgotten himself so far as to be profane in my presence, which I cannot but consider the greatest possible insult a gentleman can offer one, and which I always resent." [292]

She also found the environment difficult. On the march to New Mexico, she recorded that "it was too hot to wear a dress, and during the march I rode in the ambulance in a white wrapper and managed to survive." [293] Undoubtedly Eveline accommodated herself to military conditions because her diary does not show her as being constantly resentful or uncomfortable. In fact, she apparently enjoyed camping out, even during the winter in New Mexico. "A winter camp," she wrote, "was quite a novelty to me and presented a beautiful picture with the numerous campfires lighting up the pines, or the huge cottonwoods, and the white tents gleaming in the moonlight." On the trip from Fort Union to Fort Bascom, she continued, "we had a Sibley tent and stove and were quite comfortable, though the weather was right cold for camping out." That was several months after she had arrived in New Mexico. By the time she left New Mexico in 1867, Eveline was looking forward "to be living again in the open air. . . . I shall be glad enough to exchange my comfortable bedroom for a tent." [294] She had adapted well since she came West the previous year.

After a 68-day march with a column of troops from Fort Smith, Arkansas, the Alexanders arrived at Fort Union on August 14, 1866. On August 20 Captain and Mrs. Alexander left the post, with three companies of troops (one company of Third Cavalry and two companies of Fifty-Seventh Colored Infantry), to establish a new military post, Fort Stevens, in Colorado Territory. During the few days she was at Fort Union on this occasion (the Alexanders returned later), Eveline briefly described the third post which was still under construction. "The new Fort Union . . . has very fine officers' quarters that have just been completed [actually, only some of them were completed]. They are built of adobe with zinc roofs and are very comfortable and nice looking." [295]

She also visited the remains of the first post "to return the calls I had received from Captain Shoemaker's family." The original buildings had been reassigned to the district arsenal, commanded by Shoemaker. Mrs. Alexander was amused to discover that "some of the old houses had quite a flower garden, which had sprung up from the mud on their roofs." She also noted that some of the original quarters had "been torn down." Near the first post she "saw the house where George and Mary had lived, which was partly in ruins." This was the old sutler's dwelling, where Captain Alexander's brother George M. Alexander and his wife had resided while George was the post sutler, 1856-1859. [296] The fact that the sutler's home near the first post was abandoned would indicate that a new sutler's complex must have been built by 1866 closer to the third fort. George Alexander died in 1866, presumably prior to the arrival of Andrew and Eveline. [297]

Before the new Fort Stevens was established it was abandoned. Captain Alexander and his command were engaged in combat with a band of Utes in Colorado and then joined the garrison at Fort Garland where Colonel Carson was in charge. It is interesting to note that almost every officer's wife in New Mexico during and immediately after the Civil War, whose diaries or memoirs have been published, had an occasion to spend some time with the legendary Carson. Eveline saw him to be "a most interesting, original old fellow." He told her much about Indians. In November 1866 the Alexanders returned to Fort Union for a few weeks. They spent some time in Santa Fe, returned to Fort Union in time to celebrate

Christmas, and were sent to Fort Bascom at the end of the year. [298]

At Fort Union they were provided quarters in the home of the post commander, Major Marshall. This was before the new commanding officer's quarters were completed at the third post. Eveline described Mrs. Marshall as "a very pretty woman." She noted that Major Marshall was "very much an invalid, the result of wounds received during the war." Because of those injuries, Marshall was retired from the service the following year. Eveline also met Mrs. Henry Bankhead, who would die of cholera at Fort Wallace, Kansas, the following year. [299]

During the short time the Alexanders were at Fort Union Eveline enjoyed horseback riding around Fort Union with Andrew, and he appreciated the opportunities for wolf hunting there. Eveline noted that "the country around here is very fine for running wolves, as it is smooth and not undermined by prairie dogs." In one diary entry she recorded: "Andrew had a successful wolfhunt today and brought home a fine skin." She also remarked that "running wolves and foxes is the only amusement one has here, . . . and I am sorry to say the frequent windstorms and dust make any outdoor exercise almost impracticable." [300]

The Alexanders were present when the annual caravan of officers and recruits arrived from the states on November 24, 1866. Among the newcomers were Rev. John Woart and family, the new post chaplain. Although Eveline and Andrew had been at Fort Union less than three weeks, they opened their small quarters (three rooms and a kitchen), as was the army custom, to some of the visitors. Captain Joseph G. Tilford, Third Cavalry, his wife, baby, nurse, and sister-in-law, shared the Alexander's quarters. In addition, Eveline noted that four other guests "take their meals with us, so we have quite a houseful." [301] Fortunately, the visitors were soon assigned to their own quarters at Fort Union or another duty station.

Meanwhile, on November 29, Thanksgiving Day, the Alexanders "had quite a dinner party." The usual diners were joined by Chaplain Woart and family, Mrs. Charles J. Whiting, and Captain Henry Inman (quartermaster). Eveline proudly stated: "We had a very successful dinner and all seemed to enjoy themselves." Although she was not lonely amidst such numbers, Eveline expressed a longing for her family back home with whom she had enjoyed Thanksgiving the previous year. [302]

In December the Alexanders made a trip to Santa Fe in an ambulance on official business. There Andrew received his promotion to the rank of major in the Eighth Cavalry. Eveline described the trip and confirmed the reputation of Kozlowski's Ranch for serving fine food. "They gave us a delightful supper and breakfast consisting of trout, broiled turkey, omelette, potatoes, etc." She toured the historic sites of Santa Fe and noted the Americanization that was taking place. "The city," she wrote, "is not as curious and interesting in appearance as Taos, as here the American element is decidedly visible." [303]

Eveline and Andrew enjoyed New Mexico although their initial stay was destined to be brief (approximately nine months). In a letter to her mother, December 16, 1866, Eveline wrote: "To hear many of the officers' wives here talk you would think New Mexico was a purgatory, and their husbands are no better." She assured her mother, "on the contrary I have enjoyed myself exceedingly here, and have never had a sad hour." [304]

The Alexanders were back at Fort Union in time for Christmas, but it was a hectic day for them since they were leaving the next day to move to Fort Bascom. Eveline and Andrew attended chapel, which she described as "very prettily trimmed with greens and looked really like Christmas." The Alexanders "had all the noncommissioned officers of G Company to take eggnog and lunch with us. A sort of farewell to G Company. It passed off very successfully." They were at Fort Bascom before the end of the year. [305]

In the spring of 1867, when Andrew was sent on an inspection tour in the district, Eveline moved back to Fort Union and lived with the Shoemakers at the arsenal for about a month. There she was "comfortable and contented." She enjoyed visiting with Captain Shoemaker and declared "I am quite contented with the old gentleman." Shoemaker was a good host and always popular with officers' wives. "Captain Shoemaker," Eveline recorded, "has a buggy and pair of horses, with which he takes me to drive whenever the wind does not blow too hard." Eveline spent much of her time at the arsenal "sewing and mending, as my clothes are beginning to give out a little." [306]

Because the Alexanders were planning to travel to the states as soon as Andrew's inspection tour was completed, Eveline had her "things packed." As was common practice, she disposed of some items. "I sold my stove and my crockery," she wrote, "as I thought the money was easier to pack around than the articles; at all events the transportation would cost less." She had paid $20 for the stove at Little Rock, Arkansas, had used it for a year, and sold it for $15. "You see," she concluded, "I am getting to be quite a manager. I am now trying to sell my ambulance!" After all, Andrew had "to attend to Uncle Sam's interests, and it is as well for one of us to look after the family affairs." [307] In the spring of 1867 the Alexanders left New Mexico and traveled the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail to the states. They later served at other posts in Arizona and New Mexico, and Andrew was the member of the special board that revised army regulations in the early 1870s. In 1873 and 1874 the Alexanders returned to Fort Union, when Andrew served as post commander (September 15, 1873, to March 23, 1874; April 13 to May 5 and November 22 to December 12, 1874). [308]

If Eveline kept a diary during that time, it has not been found. It would be interesting to have her observations from that time to compare with her earlier observations of life at the post. Unfortunately, the memoirs of Marion Russell and the diary of Eveline Alexander do not compare in content of information about the post and the daily lives of its inhabitants with the unpublished letters of Katie Bowen at the first Fort Union. There was no one like Katie Bowen at the third Fort Union, no similar body of letters about life at the post, but a few officers' wives besides Marion Russell and Eveline Alexander provided some in sights. [309]

One of these was Lydia Lane, who with her husband William had been stationed at the first Fort Union in the 1850s (see chapter four) and returned in 1866 and 1867. After crossing the plains from Fort Leavenworth on the Santa Fe Trail in 1866, the Lanes spent several weeks at Fort Union "camping in a house, and awaiting assignment to a station." While there they called on Andrew and Eveline Alexander, during the Alexanders' brief stay at the post. [310] After a few months as commander of Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, Major Lane, Third Cavalry, returned to command Fort Union from February to October of that year. Mrs. Lane, apparently similar to Katie Bowen, Marion Russell, and Eveline Alexander in temperament, was also a spunky woman with strong opinions and whose writing was both fascinating and revealing. [311]

While the Lanes were waiting at Fort Union in 1866 for William's assignment, Mrs. Lane recalled with some delight a gathering of several officers' wives in the same situation at her quarters when General Pope arrived. Many of the other wives inquired of the department commander where their husbands were to be stationed in the District of New Mexico, and Pope asked each one where she would prefer to be located. Each, naturally, selected a post that she had heard would be a good place. Lydia Lane, however, "knowing how useless it was to make a choice," refused to choose and declared it made no difference where her husband was stationed. When Major Lane was assigned to command Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, the other wives, "mad with envy," believed that was Lydia's reward for not selecting a post. Lydia, however, dismissed such claims, explaining that "the likes and dislikes of the wives were not taken into consideration, or even remembered, when their husbands were assigned for duty at a post." Nevertheless she was pleased to live at Santa Fe, despite the inadequate

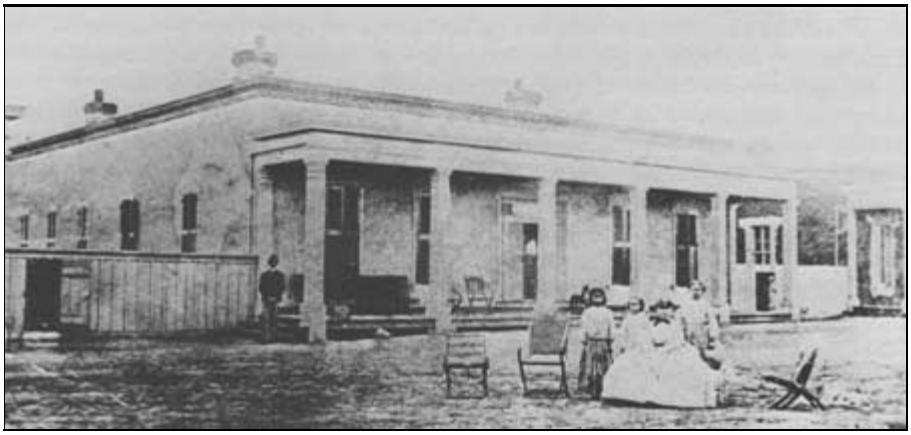
quarters, until her husband was assigned to Fort Union. [312]

Mrs. Lane suffered a loss common to many officers' wives who accompanied their husbands to western military posts. One of her female servants was quickly lost through marriage to a man in a society where there was a disparate ratio of eligible women to men. Mrs. Lane, like many of her counterparts, was also amazed that her cook was claimed at all, let alone almost immediately following her arrival at Fort Union in 1866. Only Mrs. Lane's words do justice to the situation, and she clearly had no comprehension of the law of supply and demand where the sexes were concerned.

> The cook, ugly as she was, won the hand—I cannot say the heart—of a stone-mason at Fort Union, almost immediately,—how, I never understood. She was old as well as ugly, and not at all pleasant-tempered, and, to crown all, a wretched cook. When she was disagreeable, she always showed it by reading her Bible,—always a sure sign of ill temper with her. The man must have needed a housekeeper badly to marry old Martin. [313]

Lydia, adapted to the situation and found domestic help less likely to be claimed by marriage, including a young New Mexican man when she returned to Fort Union.

Eddie Matthews, who served at Fort Union in the early 1870s, presented his views on nearly every subject, so it was not surprising that he commented on this topic. Matthews may not have understood the reasons any more than Mrs. Lane, but he succinctly stated the fact that all women, including the unattractive and unpleasant, were acceptable candidates for a hasty marriage in the hinterland: "The frontier is the best place in the world for Old Maids or *fat* women to migrate, they can always get a husband, and will always be admired by the rough frontiersman and boys belonging to Uncle Sams outfit, whether they are pretty or not." [314] Undoubtedly, Lydia Lane would have agreed.



Lydia Spencer Lane and her children in front of the commanding officer's quarters at Fort Union, where they lived with their husband and father, Major William B. Lane, in 1867. *Courtesy* United States Army Military History institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

In February 1867 the Lanes, with three children, were early (perhaps the first) occupants of the new commanding officer's quarters at the post (the house which had been rejected as unfit for habitation by Major Marshall in December 1866 and which he may or may not have inhabited before the Lanes arrived). Mrs. Lane recalled, "we proceeded to Fort Union, where we found new quarters awaiting us. Their appearance was imposing, but there was no comfort in them." [315]

The Lanes may have been the only family that had lived in the officers quarters at both the first and third posts, and Lydia was the only one known to compare the two. Despite all the accounts of the inadequacies of the quarters at the first post during the 1850s, Mrs. Lane strongly stated her preference. "We liked the old log quarters, up towards the hills, much better than the new adobe houses, planted right down on the plain, which was swept by the winds all summer long." [316] Perhaps she had forgotten that the wind blew at the first post, as many residents had verified, but Lydia cared little for the new quarters.

> The house we occupied, built for the commanding officer, consisted of eight rooms, four on each side of an unnecessarily wide hall for that dusty, windy country. They were built of adobe, and plastered inside and out, and one story high, with a deep porch in front of the house. There was not a closet nor a shelf in the house, and, until some were put up in the diningroom and kitchen, the china, as it was unpacked, was placed on the floor. After great exertion and delay the quartermaster managed to have some plain pine shelves made for us, which, though not ornamental, answered the purpose. [317]

Because William Lane's military career meant frequent moves and adapting to all sorts of dwellings and conditions at various military posts, the Lanes, Lydia recalled, "were quite at home in a short time." [318] Additional problems with the new quarters soon developed. "As the plaster dried in our new quarters the ceilings fell one by one." This created several unpleasant experiences. "At least a bushel came down one night on my maid as she slept, and she nearly roused the garrison with her wild shrieks, although she was not hurt the least bit." [319] The servant was a woman from England who remained in New Mexico when the Lanes left the territory late in 1867 because of the captain's health.

A more disastrous episode with the ceiling plaster occurred in the dining room. As Lydia explained, she often fed large numbers of guests because her husband, "as commanding officer, seemed to feel obliged to entertain everybody who came to the post." This, for Mrs. Lane, was not always an easy task, especially since the cook she brought to New Mexico had almost immediately been claimed as a wife by "a stone-mason at Fort Union." The nurse was drafted for cooking duty. According to Lydia, "I had to teach her everything. . . . We managed not to starve." It turned out the nurse was not much help in the kitchen because she "was useless half the time with rheumatism." With the aid of a young New Mexican man, identified only as Jose, who "helped me in many ways, washing dishes, preparing vegetables for cooking, etc.," Lydia did the cooking herself. She doubted the results, recalling that "as our servants were inefficient and there was no market at hand, it was very difficult to have things always to please us, and, I fear, to the satisfaction of our guests." [320]

Mrs. Lane fed the many guests because it was her duty as a commanding officer's wife, but she resented that some guests were ungrateful. She felt somewhat handicapped because "house-keeping on the frontier had its drawbacks." Her memories were bittersweet. "We had plenty to eat, such as it was, but we thought it not always dainty enough to set before our visitors." On the other hand, in her opinion, some guests did not deserve anything better than she had to offer. "Our friends appreciated our efforts in their behalf; but we entertained many people we never had seen before and never met again." Some of their guests, Lydia commented, "were so situated that they could have returned our hospitality later, but they never did, nor did they even seem aware of our existence." With a note of sarcasm, Lydia remarked: "We are told to take in the stranger, as by so doing we 'may entertain an angel unawares.' I do not think that class of guests often travelled in Texas and New Mexico, at least while I was out there; if they did, their visits were few and far between, and their disguise was complete." [321]

With this insight into Mrs. Lane's attitudes, it is difficult to assess what must have been her

somewhat mixed emotions when the dining-room disaster struck. Only her words can effectively portray the occasion.

> One day I had cooked a dinner for a family of seventeen, including children. It was on the table, and I was putting the last touches to it preparatory to retiring to the kitchen. I could not sit down with my guests and attend to matters there at the same time. I was stooping over to straighten something when I heard an ominous crack above my head, and, before I could move, down fell half the ceiling on my back and the table, filling every dish with plaster to the top. The guests had just reached the dining-room door in time to see the catastrophe and finding I was unhurt they retired until the debris was cleared away and a second dinner prepared. Fortunately, I had plenty of food in reserve, and it was soon on the table and disposed of by my friends with apparent relish. I, in the solitude of my kitchen, could not do justice to the subject, so kept quiet. [322]

The demands on Mrs. Lane to cook for a constant succession of visitors eventually affected her wellbeing. "My efforts to entertain an old friend at Fort Union cost me dear," she asserted. "I became overheated in the kitchen and had an attack of pleurisy, which left me with a cough and so weak the doctor advised me to go to Santa Fe for a rest and change." With maid and children, Lydia traveled with an escort of "tried and trusty soldiers in whose care we were perfectly safe, and who would have stood by us in any emergency." After a few weeks of rest and relaxation in Santa Fe, Lydia reported, "I was quite well, and we returned to Fort Union." [323]

Mrs. Lane made several trips between Fort Union and Santa Fe, and while traveling back to the post from one of her visits to the territorial capital she found among her traveling companions "no less a person than Kit Carson—then having the rank of general." Her recollections about this military leader and legendary frontiersman, whom she "never saw . . . again after we reached Fort Union," help to provide additional insight into his character and humanity.

> To see the quiet, reticent man, you never would dream that he was the hero of so many romances. I believe he would rather have faced a whole tribe of hostile Indians than one woman, he was so diffident. But had she required assistance, he would have shed his last drop of blood in her defence.
>
> We travelled and ate at the same table together for three or four days, and I never met a plainer, more unpretentious man in my life. [324]

Back at the post, Mrs. Lane declared, "we had a pleasant garrison at Fort Union in the summer of 1867." Despite her domestic servant difficulties, Lydia (who considered many of the natives to be savages) appreciated the New Mexicans the family employed. José "brought wood and water, scrubbed floors, etc., besides telling the children the most marvelous tales ever invented. When a little boy he had been captured by the Indians, and, if he could have spoken English better, would have had many a blood-curdling story to relate. The children understood his jargon better than I did, and adored him." Lydia's maid, "being English, called him 'Osay. She was an endless source of amusement to him, and he tormented her beyond endurance." A New Mexican girl helped look after the Lane children. "The Mexican child, Haney, was a fine playmate for the children; she was good-natured, and suffered in consequence, and when the play became too rough she ran to 'Mama,' as she called me, to complain." Lydia was amused at the way her children and the girl communicated. "Their language was a wonderful mixture of Spanish, English, signs, and nods, but each understood it perfectly." [325]

Lydia was witness to a small part of the ethnic amalgamation that the army in the Southwest fostered in the region. By a matter of some degree, impossible to fix precisely, Mrs. Lane at the third Fort Union in the late 1860s was less prejudiced and more tolerant of New Mexicans than Mrs. Bowen had been at the first post in the early 1850s. If each could be considered representative of their class in the two eras, a combination of close social contacts, economic relationships, and the overall "Americanization" of cultures in New Mexico (especially during the Civil War) had resulted in a blurring of rigid distinctions in less than two decades. The differences would remain until the end of the twentieth century, but an atmosphere of increasing accommodation of counterparts by both Anglo and Hispanic peoples was apparent over time at Fort Union. The post was a vehicle of Anglo intrusion and eventual domination of the territory.

Lydia Lane was unaware that she was documenting the social evolution of southwestern cultures, and most of her writing was concerned with more mundane matters, such as finding capable servants and obtaining clothing for the family. Like Katie Bowen, who ordered cloth from the East to make her families' garments in the early 1850s, Lydia purchased cloth and ready-made clothing from the states in the late 1860s. Both complained about the high costs of transportation to New Mexico in those pre-railroad days. According to Mrs. Lane, "while on the frontier we received a great deal of our clothing through the mails, as express charges were very high, often amounting to more than the cost of the article received." [326]

Like Katie Bowen, who kept a close eye on the family budget, Lydia did what she could to protect family finances and secure provisions for her own household. While at Fort Union, Lydia recalled, "I spent much time making pickles and plum-jam of the wild fruit that grew abundantly in New Mexico." Like Mrs. Bowen, Mrs. Lane also took pride in her homemaking skills and described the results as "delicious." The Lanes kept cows for milk, cream, and butter. They apparently had a vegetable garden and probably kept chickens for eggs. [327] Like many officers' wives, Mrs. Lane also had interests beyond domestic labors and family.

Lydia enjoyed music and ordered a melodeon (a small keyboard organ, similar to a harmonium, in which tones are produced by pedal-operated bellows forcing air through metal reeds) from Philadelphia while she was at Fort Union. "There was not then a piano at the post," she recalled, "and, although a melodeon is a mournful, grunty, wheezy instrument, a cross between an accordion and an indifferent organ, it was much better than nothing." She also remembered that the cost to ship the melodeon was more than the price of the instrument. "The box was marked distinctly, 'to be sent by first *wagon-train* from Fort Riley, Kansas, to Fort Union, New Mexico.' By some blunder it was sent out on the stage as express matter, and the charges were 'fifty-three dollars.' The melodeon cost fifty." [328]

Mrs. Lane avowed that "the pleasure it gave me more than compensated for the large amount paid for getting it out." While she was at Fort Union the melodeon was used to accompany singing at Sunday chapel. She "and several ladies" comprised a choir. She remembered that they "made the music, which perhaps was not the finest, but was not bad." Sometimes, as during the Easter service in 1867, the singers forgot the correct words but improvised the "sweetest music." Lydia did "not believe the congregation knew" of the mixup. When the Lanes left New Mexico a few years later, Lydia sold the melodeon "for *one hundred dollars,* to be used in a Protestant church in Santa Fe." [329]

It was common practice for officers and their families to sell many household items when transferred in order to reduce the expenses of moving. Officers were responsible for their own relocation expenditures. Because of high transportation charges to move bulky objects in the Southwest prior to the coming of the railroad, after the Civil War the quartermaster depot shops at Fort Union manufactured furniture which was allocated to officers' quarters and

remained there to serve whomever the occupants were. Even so families still had many articles of necessity which were easier to sell at one station and replace at the next military post than to transport. Public auction became the almost universal practice.

Lydia was experienced with the system and lamented that "it required a great deal [of money] to travel to and from a country as far away as New Mexico." The Lanes had not recovered from the burden of the move to New Mexico in 1866 when Major Lane, whose health was not good, was told by the Fort Union surgeon in 1867 that "he must apply for a leave and go East." Mrs. Lane noted that to move again so soon "was a serious drain on our finances." She prepared to sell at auction "such things as we did not require for the road." [330]

Lydia made careful preparations for the sale and declared, "I was well aware how all the articles would be examined by my army sisters for spots and specks, and I was determined they should find neither." She "hired a man to come daily to scrub and scour until everything shone." She was "quite indignant," as she remembered, "when one of the ladies called to see me and take notes . . . [and] whispered to me to remember how much better things sold *'when clean!'"* Despite the putdown, most items sold well. "In several instances things brought far more than they were worth." A short time later the Lanes departed from the post. "We had not been particularly comfortable at Fort Union," Lydia remembered, "but we were sorry to leave." [331] In less than two years they were back in New Mexico. They sold more items at auction whenever they were transferred.

Mrs. Lane was one of the few participants in frontier army life who provided details about the prevalent auctions associated with almost every transfer of station. In 1869, while stationed at Fort Selden in New Mexico, Major Lane's health again deteriorated and he was directed to move once more. The family sold almost everything that was not "absolutely necessary" to keep. Because of their financial condition, the result of frequent transfers, Lydia was pleased when the sale "made money." She had mixed emotions about the results. "The high prices realized at our sale were absurd, and I was actually ashamed when articles were bid up far beyond their value. Our cook-stove, which cost us about forty-five dollars, sold for eighty. My sewing-machine, for which I paid less than forty, brought one hundred dollars, and everything went at the same rate." [332] The Lanes lived at Santa Fe for a time before leaving New Mexico. At Santa Fe Mrs. Lane conducted her last sale in the territory, disposing of her melodeon as noted.

In the autumn of 1869 the Lanes moved to Fort Union to prepare for their seventh trip across the plains. Lydia remembered, "we remained at Fort Union some days. Before we left we were serenaded by the band of the Third Cavalry. . . . After the music was over the soldiers drank to the health of their old officer and, as they expressed it, 'his lady.'" It was the end of their service in New Mexico. Because of health problems, Major Lane retired in December 1870, to Lydia's "great grief." She enjoyed military life, declaring "I liked it," including "nine moves in eighteen months in New Mexico." William and Lydia Lane visited New Mexico after the railroads were built and always held a special affection for the area and Fort Union. [333]

Looking back on her military life in New Mexico from the perspective of the 1890s, Lydia, who had by her calculation traveled more than 8,000 miles in army ambulances, asked and answered her own question: "Army quarters are better, distance is annihilated by steam, transportation is excellent, even to remote stations; but yet, with all these advantages and so-called modern improvements, are army officers and their families happier than those of thirty or more years ago? I tell you, nay!" [334] In the 1890s William Lane published some of his recollections of life at Fort Union in the 1850s. [335] He died in 1898 and she in 1914. Lydia Lane may not have been a typical officer's wife because of her obvious love for military life, but she was one of a rare few (and a good storyteller too) who provided valuable information

and understanding of society at Fort Union and other posts in the Southwest.

Before the Lanes left Fort Union in 1869, Captain Andrew K. Long, commissary department, arrived there. He was soon joined by his wife, Elizabeth Foster Long, and year-old daughter, Mary. Mrs. Long dictated her memoirs in the 1920s. [336] She and Mary traveled to Fort Union by rail to Sheridan, Kansas, and by stagecoach the rest of the way. Elizabeth was the only woman passenger, and there were nine men. She remembered, "as I was the only woman on the coach and the baby was a great pet, the men took turns in holding her in order that I might have a rest, which kindness I appreciated very much." Several of the men got off at Trinidad, Colorado, and more men and an elderly woman who talked continuously got on there. The woman was not nearly as pleasant company as the men. "After passing a day and night shut up with a creature like that," Elizabeth divulged, "I was utterly exhausted." [337]

Mrs. Long witnessed the issue of rations to the Indians at Cimarron while the coach stopped there. She testified that "the beef was issued in a herd alive and the Indians would kill them and eat their flesh while it was still warm, entrails and all." To her it was "a sickening and repulsive sight." She was somewhat taken aback when some of the Indians offered to trade some of their possessions for baby Mary. Elizabeth was glad to get beyond Cimarron, and she arrived at Fort Union the following night. The Longs resided in the depot commissary quarters, which she described as "delightful" and "quite large," with a big hall, spacious rooms, and wide porch. Elizabeth, like many other officers' wives, thought the "climate was simply perfect" except for the wind and "sand storms." "The skies," she remembered, "were the most beautiful blue I have ever seen." She also loved the nearby mountains, wild flowers, shrubs, and trees which "lent enchantment to these mountains." [338]

The Longs went to Las Vegas "to do some shopping, as it was the only place near where there were any stores." [339] Las Vegas had, indeed, become one of the most important mercantile centers in the territory since it was founded on the Santa Fe Trail in 1835. Private Matthews affirmed that in 1870 after he was sent there with a small detail to recover three government horses that had been stolen by deserters. He declared, "Las Vegas has about two thousand inhabitants, principally all Mexicans. Some Jews and Americans. There are some very fine stores there. It is a kind of supply depot, for Country Merchants. They can buy what they want there cheaper than could have it brought from St. Louis." [340]

Elizabeth Long, like some other officers' wives, was fascinated with the New Mexican people, and she described the Penitentes of the region with some understanding. When the Longs found it was difficult to obtain reliable servants at Fort Union, they sent for the young black servant, Albert, they had when stationed at Fort Harker, Kansas, and he traveled to New Mexico with a company of soldiers. Albert was "a good cook, waiter and nurse." The child, Mary, had a tendency to run off, so they "kept her tied to the front porch when she was alone." [341]

Elizabeth recollected a frightening experience that occurred with Mary. An employ in the commissary department, "in whom we had the greatest confidence," offered to take Mary and the daughter of the depot quartermaster, Bella McGonnigle, same age as Mary (two or three years at the time) for a ride in the Longs' buggy.

> I consented [said Elizabeth] and told him not to go far. They left about one o'clock p.m. and as the day wore on and they did not come back we became alarmed, and after retreat we were almost distracted, the post commander sent out men in all directions to look for them, and as nine, ten and eleven o'clock came and no news of them, another set of men were sent out. About midnight one of them discovered a buggy standing in the middle of a creek, the man drunk and asleep in it with these two little girls asleep also. They turned the man out in

> the road and brought the children home safely, but it was almost morning when they arrived as they were about 15 miles from the fort. [342]

Andrew and Elizabeth Long practiced the customary hospitality at frontier posts and took fellow officers and their families into their home as guests when the visitors were passing through or awaiting the availability of quarters. In the spring of 1870 Captain William P. Wilson, who was at the time attached to no regiment but had been specially assigned to oversee the distribution of rations to the Utes and Jicarillas at Cimarron, [343] along with his wife and baby son, Alan, requested permission to live at Fort Union because the quarters at Cimarron were inadequate. Captain Wilson's brother, Frank, a captain in the Third Cavalry, was stationed at the post at the time. When permission was received, Frank went to Cimarron with an ambulance and carried his brother and family to the fort. [344]

Mrs. Wilson, who had experienced a difficult trip to New Mexico with an infant son and a black servant, Rachel, and had briefly endured the one-room cabin at Cimarron, was ecstatic when they were taken in by the Longs. She reminisced:

> I shall never forget the blessed sight of that big regular parade ground at Union with the flag flying and the band playing and, most beautiful of all, such a welcome from perfect strangers. Colonel and Mrs. Long's quarters to which we were invited seem to me as I look back to have been the airiest, neatest, prettiest house I was ever in. . . . I remember the guest room where I was put had Mexican rugs and a great bed with fluted pillow shams, and, most wonderful of all, an ice pitcher on a stand with ice in it which clinked and tinkled as I walked across the floor. [345]

The Wilsons remained with the Longs until quarters were available, and they were entertained by the other officers and their families. As Mrs. Wilson remembered, "every one was very good to us and called and gave dinners for us and made up riding parties and made us feel generally as if our presence was the one thing necessary to complete the Post life." In addition to her praises for the Longs and others, Mrs. Wilson left some brief vignettes about a few individuals at the post.

Colonel William N. Grier, Third Cavalry, was post commander when the Wilsons arrived. Mrs. Wilson described the 58-year-old Grier as "a fine, courtly man with a good deal of rather pompous humor." She delighted in his response to her query if he were related to Supreme Court Justice Robert G. Grier: "'Very distantly, very distantly indeed, Madam,' he replied, drawing himself up and expanding his chest. 'Judge Grier was the eldest and I the youngest of eleven children.'" [346] Colonel Grier left Fort Union a few weeks after the Wilsons arrived, and he retired from active duty later in 1870. [347]

Like many other officer's wives, Mrs. Wilson found Captain Shoemaker of the Fort Union Arsenal to be "a perfectly delightful officer." She noted that the story was told of Shoemaker, who had been at the post since it was founded in 1851, that he had been at Fort Union so long that "the Government had forgotten him." Her recollections of Shoemaker add to an understanding of that popular officer:

> He was a widower and very deaf, yet one of the most delightful hosts I ever met. His dinners were very choice affairs and his quarters were the finest at the Fort; partly because he had been there so long and partly because he was lucky enough to have a spring on his grounds. He irrigated the place and made a superb garden. . . . He had a beautiful Arabian horse that he used to ride himself and a dapple sorrel named Julieka that he lent me. I suppose we rode with him nearly every day, the Colonel [Captain Wilson] and I. He had been terribly in

> love with his wife and yet he never spoke of her, though the garden, indeed all that he did, was more or less a kind of going over the things she loved. He showed me her miniature once, a thing he had never done to anybody else out there, then. . . . He never came East again. Perhaps it was true that the War Department had forgotten him." [348]

Mrs. Wilson enjoyed visiting with many officers' wives but gave only brief descriptions of them. It is difficult to determine how long the Wilsons stayed with the Longs, but they were there until after Colonel Grier left the post on May 22, 1870, and had moved into other quarters before Colonel J. Irvin Gregg, Eighth Cavalry, arrived to command Fort Union on June 16 of that year. [349] As Mrs. Wilson remembered, as "kind and hospitable as the Longs were, we could not just stay with them indefinitely." Colonel Gregg and William Wilson were cousins and friends, and Gregg was a bachelor. When the Wilsons learned that Gregg was coming to command the post, the spunky Mrs. Wilson disclosed, "we did the very cheekiest thing that can be done in the army. We moved into his quarters . . . and put down carpets and tacked up curtains and arranged furniture and started housekeeping." [350]

Fearing what Gregg might think on his arrival, she recalled, "I must say my heart was in my mouth at the audacity of the thing." Had Gregg chosen to do so, he "could have ranked us out the minute he crossed the threshold." The Wilsons went to meet Colonel Gregg when he arrived and rode with him to the post. Gregg inquired where they were quartered and, Captain Wilson, without revealing the whole story, invited the new commander to "come stop with us for the night, Irvin." The colonel replied, "Indeed I will gladly, if you will have me." He confessed that he dreaded "starting up a makeshift of a home in my lonely barracks of a Commandant's quarters." And, as Mrs. Wilson concluded, "nothing could have been pleasanter than to escort him into his own house." Their gamble paid off and Gregg permitted the Wilsons to remain. [351] He probably welcomed their company but may have felt obligated, too.

Mrs. Wilson and Alan sometimes accompanied Captain Wilson to Cimarron on issue days, and she provided a synopsis of what she considered to be a deplorable event. After explaining that the region where the Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches lived was "too poor either for cultivation or hunting to support life," Mrs. Wilson reported that "the Government had to feed them." She continued, with more details than Elizabeth Long had provided from her glimpse of issue day:

> Every ten days they came to the station at Cimarron and got their rations. Each living soul was entitled to considerably more than even a U. S. soldier got. The flour, meal etc. were dealt out by the pound and the meat, beef generally, was given on the hoof, as they termed it. That is, the live animals were driven into the enclosure, one animal being apportioned to so many persons. Within an hour the cattle would be killed, generally with arrows, cut and hacked apart and eaten raw, down to the very innards. Indeed most of the rations meant for a fortnight were eaten on the spot within 24 hours, after which the tribe would generally sleep for another forty-eight hours, then disappear until the next date came around. [352]

On the return trip to Fort Union after one issue day, the Wilsons were confronted by a party of Indians who demanded at gunpoint that the captain issue tobacco and whiskey to them. Their threatening disposition frightened Mrs. Wilson, who tried the best she could to promise the Indians whatever they wanted. She never forgot that, "after the very fiercest talk in which our lives plainly hung in the balance, they lowered their guns and let us drive on." The Wilsons were unharmed, but she and William decided that she and Alan would no longer accompany him to Cimarron. He usually found other officers at the post who were willing to

make the trip, for "the general fun of the thing," so he did not have to go alone. [353]

The Wilsons enjoyed their opportunity to host guests, and visitors were always welcome. Mrs. Wilson remembered that one of "the most amusing and altogether memorable" visitors were Captain and Mrs. Augustus G. Robinson. Captain Robinson had been district quartermaster, and he and Mrs. Robinson were at Fort Union for about a week, preparing for their trip to the States. They stayed with the Wilsons. Mrs. Wilson explained that "the whole colony entertained them from morning until night, indeed far into the night." What impressed and amused Mrs. Wilson were the disparate personalities of the Robinsons, as she perceived them. She described their characteristics in her own inimitable way. Captain Robinson "was big and easy-going and delighted to be visiting about." His wife "was a nervous much-wrought-up-over-small-things woman." Mrs. Wilson also described some of the quarrels the Robinsons got into over silly little things. [354] In many ways, Mrs. Wilson exhibited some of the same delightful traits as distinguished Katie Bowen, Marion Sloan Russell, and Lydia Lane. It was too bad that Mrs. Wilson did not record more of her memories of Fort Union. Captain William Wilson resigned from the service in October 1870, and the family, after living in New Mexico for approximately six months, returned to the East. Mrs. Wilson never forgot the generosity of Andrew and Elizabeth Long when they arrived at Fort Union.

The Longs had another daughter, Emily, born at Fort Union in 1871. When Emily was one month old, Elizabeth took the girls back to her family home in Pennsylvania. Captain Long accompanied them to the railroad at Kit Carson, Colorado, and returned to his duties. A few months later, in November 1871, Elizabeth and her daughters rejoined Andrew at Fort Union. They traveled from Kit Carson in an army ambulance with a detachment of troops from Fort Lyon, and they were caught in a severe snowstorm. It took them over two weeks to reach Fort Union. The day after they arrived, the Longs' quarters caught fire. They lost most of their belongings (except for some baggage that had not yet arrived) and the interior of the house was mostly destroyed. [355]

The other officers' families at the post shared clothing and household items until replacements could be ordered from the States. The Longs moved into the quarters adjoining their old ones and borrowed beds from the post hospital and obtained "what odds and ends of furniture we could get from the Quartermaster." Despite their losses, Elizabeth recollected, "we passed a charming winter at the post. . . . I had never seen such beautiful weather, and such blue sky, and we had many ways of making the time pass pleasantly." The bachelor officers visited often and frequently brought food for "midnight suppers." On June 15, 1872, the Longs left Fort Union for service at the commissary depot in Wyoming. Elizabeth found the quarters there to be considerably inferior to what they had enjoyed at Fort Union and was happy when they were "ranked out" and had to move to Fort D. A. Russell. The Longs had two more children in Wyoming, where they lived until 1876. Captain Long was assigned to duty in Washington, D. C., at that time and died in January 1878. Mrs. Long held fond memories of their time at Fort Union. [356]

About the time the Longs left Fort Union, Frances Anne Boyd (wife of Lieutenant Orsemus Bronson Boyd, Eighth Cavalry) arrived with her husband who was assigned to duty there for a few months in 1872. Mrs. Boyd's memoirs, *Cavalry Life in Tent and Field* (published in 1894), covered the years from 1867 until her husband's death in the Apache campaign in 1885. She confirmed much of what other officers' wives experienced and added her unique perspective to army life and Fort Union. She was a native of New York City who, like many others of her background, adapted well to conditions of the frontier. After a few years in New Mexico, she proclaimed, "I love the West." Unlike Lydia Lane, Frances Boyd (according to Darlis A. Miller, the editor of her memoirs) "disliked the frequent moves and uncertainties of army life." But she appreciated the land and portrayed Indians and Hispanos "in a positive light." She "found happiness" in the West and "reserved her highest praise for the men and

women of the frontier army." [357]

Frances Boyd noted that most officers' wives wanted to be with their husbands, regardless of the conditions and hardships they had to endure. She lamented the fact that wives had no status in the view of the army. "It is notorious," she declared, "that no provision is made for women in the army. Many indignation meetings were held at which we discussed the matter, and rebelled at being considered mere camp followers." She saw a serious contradiction between military regulations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the "recognized fact that woman's presence—as wife—alone prevents demoralization, and army officers are always encouraged to marry for that reason." [358] If the army had made "provisions" for officers' wives, their living conditions might have been more desirable.

Another point of view on officer's wives was expressed by Duane M. Greene, a former lieutenant in the frontier army who wrote a book about military social life in 1880, in which he was less than complimentary to women who married officers:

> In our Army the enlisted men are restrained, but the officers marry at their option. However agreeable may be the presence of ladies, it is a noticeable fact that the lack of discipline is most conspicuous at stations where the number of ladies is greatest. They monopolize the time of the bachelors as well as the time of their husbands, and, consequently, those little attentions which are indispensable to the welfare and comfort of the enlisted men are neglected. The married officer is more prone to shirk duty than the unmarried. [359]

Greene also argued that officers' wives used their influence with superior officials to advance and protect the careers of their husbands.

> The *morale* of the Army is seriously depreciated by the influence of women. A lady of fine social qualities, whose husband may be an irredeemable drunkard, a disgrace to the Army, and a fraud on mankind, insures his commission by the adroit manipulation of her admirers. If he stands condemned before a court-martial, she may be the means of his salvation. Her artfully-planned supplications seldom fail to excite sympathy for herself, and to restore her profligate lord to all the dignity of his former rank and position. Thus the Nation, as well as the Army, feels her power. [360]

Many observers noted the importance of post surgeons at the remote outposts in the Southwest, and most officers' wives expressed admiration for them. Frances Boyd declared she had "the greatest regard for physicians." The surgeon's "constant presence in cases of emergency gives one a feeling of comfort and security nothing else can afford." She was also impressed that the army doctors "displayed so warm an interest in my children." In fact, she believed that children "thrive so much better" on the frontier than in large cities. [361]

Mrs. Boyd passed through Fort Union in the autumn of 1871, on her way from Fort Stanton to Denver (her husband accompanied her that far) to travel home for a visit and to deliver her second child. She said little about the post but commented on the land and people, giving a more favorable view of both than had most officers' wives who were in New Mexico prior to the Civil War. Frances declared that "the country between Forts Stanton and Union was simply superb in its wild grandeur and beauty." The one thing which gave her "so much trouble" was the cactus plant, for which she had no good words. Of the New Mexicans, she recalled, "We stopped every night with Mexican families, who in their simple kindness were most truly hospitable. They made us welcome, and yet exacted no reward for the time and attention bestowed." [362]

Lieutenant Boyd joined his family in New York after the baby was born and accompanied

them back to New Mexico in 1872. Frances declared that the expenses of a visit back home were so excessive (almost $1,300 in their case) that it was almost impossible for army officers to visit "home and relatives in the East." Lieutenant Boyd did so by going into debt, a debt that "involved him for years afterward in difficulties." As a result, the Boyds did not "again come East until compelled to do so on account of our children's education." [363]

Frances Boyd had what was almost a universal experience with a female servant (apparently her first, having utilized enlisted men for servants previously). While in New York she "found a servant willing to return West with us, which seemed desirable, as a nurse would be needed on that long journey." Like others who feared the quick loss of a female servant who might "desert us for matrimony," Frances rationalized, "we congratulated ourselves on the servant's appearance, which was so far from pleasing it seemed safe to take her." Perhaps feeling compelled to justify the risk, Mrs. Boyd provided further details. "The girl," she continued, "was almost a grenadier in looks and manners; and although not absolutely hideous, was so far from pleasing that we were confident of retaining her services, so made a contract for one year." [364]

The results, however, were too familiar. The family and servant traveled by rail to Cheyenne, Wyoming, and then by ambulance to Fort Union, where Lieutenant Boyd was assigned. Their trunks were delayed, and when they finally arrived it was found they had been left in the rain and the "contents were saturated with water and had mildewed." The servant wept and mourned and could not be comforted because "all her finery was ruined." Frances found everything "delightful in every respect . . . but for the sour face of our nurse." While Mrs. Boyd viewed Fort Union as "a pleasant home," the girl "preferred New York." [365] The conclusion to the story was best told by Mrs. Boyd.

> Having known the pangs of homesickness, I sympathized with her deeply; but she kept up so continuously her wail of despair over the discomforts of our life generally, and it became so tiresome, that when, five months afterward, she married a soldier, I was rather glad than otherwise, and returned with a sense of relief to the faithful men for service.
>
> We had soon discovered the fallacy of our belief that her plainness would prevent the possibility of a lover. Women were so scarce, and men so plenty, that no matter how old or ugly, a woman was not neglected, and our unprepossessing nurse had scores of suitors for her hand. [366]

Unlike her servant, Frances Boyd was pleased with Fort Union. Although aware that "many ladies greatly dislike Fort Union," Mrs. Boyd considered it a beautiful place. "Every eye is said to form its own beauty. Mine was disposed to see much in Fort Union, for I had a home there." "We had," she wrote, "clean, sweet, fresh quarters, which to me seemed perfect." She called their quarters "a dear little house" and went on about "new carpets and curtains, and the absolute freshness of all." Still, some things did trouble her. In addition to "the discontent of our servant," two other things disquieted Frances during the summer of 1872 at Fort Union: the absence of her husband on field duty and "the load of debt that was constantly worrying me." The worry took its toll. "Before the summer was over," Mrs. Boyd remembered, "I had lost twenty-five pounds." [367]

Except for the debt, things looked up in the autumn. The servant got married and Lieutenant Boyd returned from the field. "We were always delighted to welcome back the troops from their Indian reconnoitering," she exclaimed, because "life was so dull without them." She noted the garrison was much reduced in size (the number of troops available for duty at Fort Union averaged 75 from June to October 1872, and it averaged 225 from October to December that year), with only a small group of officers present, including "of course a

doctor, who was our mainstay, and to whom we rushed if only a finger ached." During the summer of 1872, "even the band was in the field, so we had no music to cheer us." [368]

The return of the troops and the band was cause for celebration, and "we inaugurated a series of hops that were delightful." The wide hallways in the officers' quarters at Fort Union were "superb for dancing." According to Mrs. Boyd, "we had only to notify the quartermaster that a hop was to be given, when our barren hallway would immediately be transferred into a beautiful ballroom, with canvas stretched tightly over the floor, flags decorating the sides, and ceiling so charmingly draped as to make us feel doubly patriotic." [369] The band provided the music and the officers' wives served refreshments. Dancing was one of the most popular leisure activities at the post.

Frances Boyd was contented with life at the post. "We were so happily situated that I hoped to remain at Fort Union, but as usual springtime saw us on the wing." She recalled, "we were looking forward to a long stay at our pleasant post, when an unexpected order came." Lieutenant Boyd was sent to Fort Bayard, New Mexico, to oversee the construction of officers' quarters. Frances remembered that her husband did not tell her of his new orders when they arrived because she "was deeply engrossed in preparations for a hop to be given at our house that evening, and he did not wish to spoil my pleasure." Unfortunately, "the first guest who arrived effectually dampened my spirits" by expressing his sorrow that the Boyds were leaving Fort Union. "I was too unhappy," Mrs. Boyd recollected, "to enjoy a single moment of the festivities which followed." Later she "packed our household belongings with a heavy heart." [370] Frances Boyd visited Fort Union again in 1886, the year after her husband died in Arizona, and in 1894, when her memoirs were published, she still held fond memories of life at the post. Presumably she cherished those remembrances until her own death in 1926.

Not all memories of Fort Union were pleasant, of course, especially those of problems with the conditions of living quarters. In 1877 Post Surgeon Carlos Carvallo and his family had an encounter falling plaster, showing that the hazard faced by the Lanes a decade earlier was not unique. Dr. Carvallo reported the incident on July 11, 1877:

> . . . A portion of the plastering of the ceiling in one of the front rooms of my quarters fell down yesterday afternoon, it having been previously loosened by the severe concussion daily produced by the morning and evening gun. The rain of the last three days probably moistened the loosened portions to such a degree as to cause them to fall. My child providentially escaped serious injury as he stood, at the time, scarcely two feet from the spot where the plastering fell; the remainder of the ceiling is eminently dangerous, and to avoid any catastrophe resulting either by the morning or evening gun or the rain knocking it down, I urgently request that it be taken down without delay. [371]

Officers' wives and officers were important sources of information about life at Fort Union. Occasionally the children of officers recorded their recollections of the post. Genevieve LaTourrette, daughter of Chaplain James A. M. LaTourrette (who served at Fort Union from 1877 to 1890), later wrote about the things she remembered. Genevieve came to Fort Union with her parents and a brother and a sister (two older sisters had previously married). She described their trip from Chaplain LaTourrette's previous station, Fort Lyon, Colorado, as "one long picnic." [372]



The Fort Union quarters of Post Chaplain James A. M. LaTourrette and his family, 1884, with an assemblage of men, women, and children from the post included. Rev. LaTourrette is standing at the left of the open door. Mrs. LaTourrette is seated, the fourth person left of her husband. The post commander, Lieutenant Colonel Henry R. Mizner, Tenth Infantry, is standing at left side of lamp post (fourth person right of Rev. LaTourrette). Genevieve LaTourrette Collins is the last person seated on the right, in front of a standing woman. The other people have not been identified, although a granddaughter of Lieutenant Edward Plummer, Tenth infantry, believes Lieutenant Plummer may be the sixth person from the left, seated by the porch column. If so, it is possible that Mrs. Plummer and their two children are also in this photograph. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

The LaTourrettes received a "hearty welcome" at Fort Union. According to Genevieve, "a new arrival in a garrison in those days was an eventful occasion." Her family had the good fortune to arrive at the time the post trader, John Dent (brother of Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant), and his family were "leaving for the East." As was customary, the Dents were selling their household goods so they would not have to pay transportation charges. Chaplain LaTourrette purchased much of what the Dents had for sale, including "quite a good deal of their furniture —among it a bedroom set, the four poster of which they said Gen. Grant had often slept on." [373]

In 1882 Genevieve married Dr. Joseph H. Collins, Fort Union post surgeon, which made her an officer's wife as well as an officer's daughter. Dr. Collins died there a few months later, on January 30, 1883, leaving a young widow and a daughter who apparently remained at Fort Union, living with Genevieve's parents. Late in her life (which ended in 1930), Genevieve penned her brief memoirs. Despite the tragic loss of her husband at Fort Union, she held pleasant views of the land and people at the post. [374]



Interior view of LaTourrette family quarters at Fort Union, about 1885. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

She described the family quarters as "most comfortable both in winter and summer owing to the very thick walls and spacious rooms." She declared "the climate is most bracing and healthful, so conducive to health and comfort." She thought the post was "the safest place in the world to bring up children." From the perspective of the era after World War I, Genevieve held a nostalgic feeling for her days at Fort Union during its last decade. "The social atmosphere in a frontier post, such as Fort Union, in those days, and the happy freedom of all out-of-door life, as well as in, presented an altogether different view with that of the present day." Like many other residents of the commodious officers' quarters, she found them "well adapted for entertaining—with halls extending from the front door to the back, with large rooms on either side." [375]

Chaplain LaTourrette, the only clergyman in the vicinity, was often called upon to perform weddings for civilians as well as soldiers. Genevieve recalled, however, that during his thirteen-year tenure at Fort Union there were only five weddings of members of officers' families at the post, and two of those were her sister's and her own. The wedding ceremonies of the daughters of Chaplain LaTourrette were not presided over by their father but by the Episcopal bishop who resided at Las Vegas. According to Genevieve, "a military wedding is a brilliant affair." [376]



Another view of the LaTourrette family quarters at Fort Union, about 1885. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

Recalling her own and her sister's wedding (February 11, 1885), Genevieve noted that the wedding ceremony took place in the decorated central hall of the family quarters. The post band provided music, "playing both wedding marches and gay music." All guests were dressed in their finest for the occasion. Her sister, Mary, and her husband, Lieutenant J. M. Stotsenburg, Sixth Cavalry, "left for the East immediately after their wedding amid the playing of the band, shoes and plenty of rice being thrown after them." When Genevieve married Dr. Collins, they spent their two-week honeymoon at the famous Montezuma Hotel at the hot springs near Las Vegas. When they returned to Fort Union, "the hop room had been beautifully decorated with flags and greens for a reception by the whole garrison—the usual custom on such occasions." [377]



Genevieve LaTourrette Collins in the chaplain's quarters at Fort Union, about 1885. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

Despite his position at the post and the chance for association with the families of the officers stationed there, Chaplain LaTourrette "led a very lonely life" because there was not another "clergyman nearer than Las Vegas." His daughter recalled that "he enjoyed anyone he could find to talk to." He delighted in "getting into conversation with Mexicans and Indians who came around selling vegetables, blankets, etc." The chaplain spoke only a little Spanish, but the vendors "seemed to enjoy him and always made it a point to see him, and he always bought something from them whether he needed it or not." [378]



Officers' row at Fort Union, about 1887. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Genevieve documented that, during "the latter years at Fort Union, the quarters needed renovating badly." She explained how perennial requests for funds to make needed repairs were not forthcoming until an officer came to inspect the post during "one of the worst rain storms we ever experienced at the post." Genevieve had to put the top up on the carriage in which her infant daughter was placed in order to keep the child dry. After witnessing the leaking roofs and the occupants using umbrellas inside the quarters to keep dry, the inspector had "a better idea of the condition of the quarters. It was not long before an appropriation was forthcoming and all put in perfect condition." [379]

Joseph and Genevieve Collins had the same experiences with servants as many of their colleagues. After trying to keep young women servants brought from Kansas City or Denver, only to see them married to soldiers "as soon as possible," most of the officers' families at Fort Union secured "Chinamen for cooks and general housework." This was a satisfactory arrangement for the officers and their families, but the enlisted men protested the change because there were not enough young women left at the post "to continue their weekly dances" and the supply of potential wives was gone. Thus, according to Genevieve, the enlisted men "threatened to get rid of these chinese servants by frightening the poor things almost to death." They chased the servants at night, threatening to kill them if they did not leave. [380]

In 1888 one of the enlisted men of Company H, Tenth Infantry, was convicted by court-martial of attacking a Chinese servant employed by Lieutenant J. R. Cranston, Tenth Infantry. The specific charge against John McCormick was that he "did without provocation assault & strike, kick and otherwise maltreat Loui Way Yang, a Chinaman." [381] According to Genevieve Collins, the retaliation against the Chinese servants was effective, and "it was not long before every one of them was gone, and one by one each family returned to their women servants, and the band played on with their dances." [382]



Unidentified people in front of one of the officer's quarters at Fort Union, about 1887. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas.

The bachelor officers also had difficulty finding dependable servants, and many utilized enlisted men as strikers as noted above. Second Lieutenant Duncan, stationed at Fort Union in 1886, recalled that "two other second lieutenants and I lived together. We kept house with the wives of two soldiers as domestics, their husbands as strikers." They found the arrangement to be "expensive" and complained that "both women bossed their husbands and us and gave a small party to their friends nearly every night." The two women wanted a milk cow and found one for the officers to buy. They "corralled" the cow in the "back yard," but found she was "excited and refused to eat." They had great difficulty milking because the cow was so "wild." After a few days they discovered the reason. The cow belonged to another officer, who thought she was lost, and he had the cow's "young calf in his stable yard." The cow was turned loose to "go home." [383] Perhaps the cow had been sold to them as a practical joke.

The general popularity of practical jokes was confirmed by Aubrey Lippincott, another officer's child whose recollections of life at Fort Union have been recorded. The young Lippincott and George Douglass, son of Post Commander Henry Douglass, once disrupted a band concert. In 1887 the band gave an outdoor concert at 5:30 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week. [384] The boys, Lippincott recalled, tied tin cans to the tails of two burros to make them run so they could have a race. They rode the burros with cans clanging across the parade ground during the performance. [385] He and George were "troublemakers." They once got into Colonel Douglass's cigars and smoked until they were sick. Lippincott declared his punishment was the only whipping he ever received. He recalled playing at the site of the abandoned earthwork, which had all caved in by the late 1880s, and the abandoned arsenal where Indian prisoners were sometimes kept. He remembered visiting the Apache prisoners and noted they suffered from the cold during the winter months. Looking back some 80 years later, he considered the Indian policy of the United States to have been "outrageous." [386]



Interior view of quarters of Lieutenant Edward Plummer, Tenth infantry, Fort Union, 1885, showing his wife, Georgia, and their daughter, Bessie, and son, Edward, neither of whom was able to sit still long enough for the exposure and are blurred. *Courtesy* Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas. According to a granddaughter of Edward and Georgia Plummer, their daughter, Bessie, enjoyed her childhood at the post. She recalled going to the post bakery to pick up fresh bread, visiting the hospital where the post surgeon gave her licorice, and catching the train at Watrous. The Plummers' son, Edward, died when he was 12 years old.

Lippincott reminisced that the trumpeter at Fort Union, an Englishman, was "very talented" and played the various calls, such as reveille, tattoo, and taps, with admirable skills. He was especially impressed that the trumpeter could run while playing fire call when the post trader's store burned on December 1, 1889. The store, operated by Edward P. Woodbury (the last post trader of record), was remembered by Lippincott as a big "general store" with counters on both sides of the main store room and a saloon attached. He also testified to the drunkenness that occurred after pay day, to the deficiency of recreational facilities, to the boredom and monotony of garrison life, to the popularity of dances, and to the fact that soldiers visited nearby communities for drinking, gambling, and prostitutes. [387]



Unidentified infantry and cavalry officers, a regimental sergeant major, a regimental quartermaster sergeant, and one man in civilian dress in front of the post headquarters

at Fort Union, late 1880s. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Dogie Jones.

Lippincott remembered some things about his home life at the post. The family had a "Mexican" woman for a cook. They purchased fresh vegetables from "Mexicans" in the area. His mother had a piano and he liked to lie on the couch and listen to her play. He remembered that Christmas was celebrated at the post with decorations in quarters, a tree, and a big meal. [388] There was a big celebration on July 4, including races and other competition. [389] Aubrey enjoyed the dramatic presentations of the soldiers and appeared in some of their plays when they needed a boy character. All in all, he held fond memories of the four years his family lived at Fort Union. [390]



Troopers of Company G, Sixth Cavalry, lounging on rocks at the base of the bluffs west of Fort Union, 1888. Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Almost everyone who recalled life at the post noted the need for recreation and entertainment. Sometimes pleasure was combined with benevolent endeavors. While Rev. LaTourrette was chaplain at Fort Union, some of the women at the post undertook to raise funds to purchase an organ for the chapel in 1884. Cornelia Black, daughter of Post Commander Henry M. Black, arranged a Japanese tea party as the primary fundraising project. She headed a committee that decorated the room at the post used for hops with Japanese ornaments and invited all officers and enlisted men to attend one of three evening programs where refreshments were served, donated items were sold, and contributions were solicited. The series of tea parties netted about $400 to assist with the acquisition of the organ. [391] Later in 1884 Cornelia Black married Lieutenant John Rosier Claggett, Twenty-Third Infantry, in ceremonies at the post conducted by Rev. LaTourrette. [392]

Weddings, tea parties, dances, band concerts, and other leisure activities helped to allay the tedium of garrison life and to enrich the lives of everyone at the fort. Second Lieutenant Duncan provided a favorable, and somewhat idyllic, summary of existence at Fort Union:

> The life of the garrison at Fort Union was typical of all our western posts. Officers and wives were simple in taste and dress, satisfied with their homes, entertaining their friends in wholesome ways, frugal in expenditures, trying to save something for the education of children, loyal to the traditions of the service, its honor and good name. In such an intimate life squabbles would occur over the neighbors' dogs or children or chickens, but withal life was an open page. . . . Young girl relatives were usually guests in the post; they seemed to

> arrive about the time a bachelor lieutenant reported. Propinquities and opportunities took a hand and soon settled the affairs of the heart for the young officer and the relative soon joined the circle of army wives. Due to the isolation and life, such marriages were usually happy and contented. Such a thing as a divorce or a domestic triangle was unheard of. [393]

The congenial social atmosphere among the officers and their families lasted as long as Fort Union was active. Despite the absence of any military mission for the troops, beyond occasional training exercises, the enlisted men continued the daily routine of garrison duties (including guard duty) [394] and sought entertainment wherever they could find it. In February 1888, Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, stationed at the old arsenal, gave a "brilliant ball." The Tenth Infantry band provided music and there were plenty of young women for partners. A correspondent at the post informed a nearby newspaper that the dance lasted until 6:00 a.m. and a good time was had by all. In another issue of the same paper he jokingly commented that not all the women who came to the post were as young as they pretended to be, describing one of the "belles" as having "a beautiful crop of hair, [and] a perfect sunshine of glory purchased at a high cost from a tonsorial artist in Las Vegas." Of her age, he surmised, "I feel certain her certificate of birth would show the four figures which represent two girls alongside of two dudes: 1818." [395] The same correspondent wrote a series of humorous fictional accounts about life at Fort Union, in which he always referred to the post as "Fort Windy." He probably entertained some residents of the area as well as some of the soldiers. [396]

Even so, for the most part, post life for enlisted men continued to be humdrum and dreary according to Private Richard F. King, serving in the hospital corps at Fort Union, in a series of letters to his niece, Gabriella King, written from late 1888 to early 1890. Many of his letters expressed a feeling of lonesome isolation, and he constantly indicated his thanks for letters he received from family and friends. He apparently saw few single women and often revealed his desire to find a wife, even enlisting the aid of his niece and other relatives in the search. [397] In addition to yearning for a mate, King revealed a few things about life at Fort Union. He probably spoke for many of his fellow soldiers when he wrote, "you do not know how lonsom I am out hear." He explained, "it was not so bad a few weeks ago, but now it is horible[,] 2 company's left hear the other day with the Band and Head Quarters." He made similar statements frequently, including the following: "You know it is so lonsom out hear that I almost go mad once and [in] a while, and probley you would not believe me but then it is so all the same. I did not see one woman for a year and 2 months except the oficers wifes." He was especially pleased when he was sent to Santa Fe to work temporarily in the hospital at Fort Marcy during the last week of 1888 and the first week of 1889. Another time he informed Gabriella that, if she and other family members "were to stop writing to me, I should go crazy out hear, which I sometimes think I will any way." [398]

Private King frequently requested photographs of family members, and he had his picture taken by a photographer at the post in the spring of 1889. He promised to send prints as soon as he received them, warning it might be awhile because the photographer sent everything to Topeka, Kansas, to be printed. [399] In addition to thanking Gabriella for sending pictures of herself and family, King expressed gratitude to her for sending flower seeds which he planted in a window box in his quarters. In May 1889 he informed her that the "flowers are in bloom now and look awfull nice. I have my window full." [400]

In earlier years itinerant photographers periodically came to the post to take pictures of those wanting the service. In 1888 and 1889, perhaps earlier and later too, a photographer set up a studio at the site of the old arsenal along with a couple of other businesses. They occupied the former residence of Captain Shoemaker, which a reporter at the post described for a newspaper at Wagon Mound as follows: "The exterior of this house has a dilapidated and

worn out appearance, but the interior is properly decorated and would suit any business man in civil life." With a jocular pun, declaring there were " no shoemakers in it," the correspondent reported that the old house was home to three businesses, a photographer, a barber, and a tailor. [401] King undoubtedly patronized that photographer.

Periodically King reported about other things that broke the monotony of his life at Fort Union. He was overjoyed when his lottery ticket won $1,000. [402] There must have been some excitement when the post trader's stored burned in the early hours of December 1, 1889, but King only mentioned it in passing when he informed Gabriella that he had planned to get her something for Christmas "but the Trader-Store was burnt down the other night, and I can't get any thing." [403] The store, including the post office, was completely destroyed, and the loss was estimated at $10,000 to $12,000. The trader had insurance to the amount of $9,000. Although the destruction of the store was a good excuse for King's failure to send a Christmas present, Woodbury reportedly was open for business in another building within two weeks. [404]

King's greatest delight while at Fort Union, according to his letters, was the 1890 New Year's dance. "I had a splendid time," he proclaimed. "I danced all night. We Soldiers gave a Ball, and it was just grand." He explained how the hall was adorned with evergreen boughs, decorations for each branch of the service represented at the post (infantry, cavalry, and hospital corps), "all the flags in the Post up on the walls," and "arms at diferent points about the hall." He did not say how many women were present but implied there were dancing partners. He noted that "the 'Grand March' was lead by us Soldiers in full-dress." The party did, indeed, last all night, with supper at midnight, lunch at 4:00 a.m., and the end of the dance at 5:00 a.m. [405] King affirmed that dances were an important leisure activity as long as the post was active.

King occasionally mentioned his duties at the post hospital, where he served under Surgeon Henry Lippincott. In December 1888 he reported, "we got a new Steward hear today and I have been relieved and sent to a ward for duty. I like it much better than putting up prescriptions all day I can lay down on my bunck and read novels to my hearts content." The following month he wrote that he helped Surgeon Lippincott with the hospital records, spending about an hour each day in the office while "the rest of the time I have to myself." He was not happy that Lippincott had made him quit smoking his pipe but disclosed that he managed to sneak occasional puffs without getting caught. [406]

King never complained about the condition of quarters, the food he received, nor the amount of pay. He was delighted that the army provided his medical care, especially after he was sick for three months during the previous year and "had no doctor bill to pay or I would of been paying it yet." [407] King was appointed to the hospital corps in October 1887, when he was a private in Company H, Tenth Infantry. [408] For the most part he enjoyed the assignment. His least favorite task was working in the dispensary because, as he explained, "I have nothing to do, and I must set in the office the live long day - that is all I do." [409]

King was busy at other times, for example when many soldiers of the garrison were sick and the hospital corps was reduced to himself. "I have all the patients to look after," he wrote, "and I assure you that they keep me busy." The long hours were unpleasant, and he declared, "I am so sleepy that I can hardly keep my eyes open. I am up part of ever night and all day but once and [in] a while I catch a snooze in the rocking chair when no one is looking at me." [410] Another time King noted that the hospital steward was gone and he "had his duty to do along with mine [and] it has given me plenty to do." [411] His own health must not have been good, for he wrote in the spring of 1890 that he had again "been sick for a long time." [412]

Early in 1890 King mentioned that smallpox was in the area and Lippincott feared that it might strike the garrison. He wrote about the serious threat with a degree of humor, rather typical of the way many people discuss life-threatening topics.

> We are expecting to have some fun here pretty soon with the Small-Pox. They are all around the Post and the Doctor is running around like an old woman, one would think the whole world was going to have it from the way he acts. And what makes me so out of sorts is that the old man wants me for his Orderly and I would rather have any other job then that, but he always takes me for any thing that comes along. [413]

King, like everyone else who wrote from or about Fort Union, commented on the weather. In January 1889 he related that it was "very cold . . . so cold that I haft to stay in by the fire to keep warm, and the snow is 2 feet deep and has been for some time, and it wont get any warmer like it should." He was relieved two weeks later when he observed that "the snow is melting now and it is quite warm to day." [414] In March 1890 Private King, along with Corporal David Davis, Company H, Tenth Infantry, escorted Private Henry Courtney, Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, to the military hospital for the insane at Washington, D.C. King and Davis returned to Fort Union. [415] The last letter in the King collection was written in April 1890, one year before Fort Union was abandoned. In it King mentioned that he had requested a transfer to Fort Reno, Indian Territory. [416] Perhaps his request was granted, which would explain why he wrote no more from the post.

Unfortunately only a few such records remained from the final years of Fort Union, possibly because so little happened that inspired journals or memoirs, but the information in this chapter elucidates the essence of social life among enlisted men and the officer class at the third Fort Union. During all the time that Fort Union was an active post, there were other important aspects to life and duty there. Several auxiliary departments (including the quartermaster and subsistence depots, the ordnance depot and arsenal, medical services, and judicial system) made possible the military activities and the way of life of the garrison. The purposes and records of those departments round out the essential history of Fort Union.

FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER NINE:

MILITARY SUPPLY & THE ECONOMY: QUARTERMASTER, COMMISSARY, AND ORDNANCE DEPARTMENTS

The soldiers in the frontier army could be effective only if properly supplied with food, clothing, shelter, medical care, arms and other equipment, ammunition, and transportation. The quartermaster department was responsible for all those components, except food (which was procured and distributed by the commissary of subsistence department), medical supplies (handled by the medical department), and arms and ammunition (furnished by the ordnance department). The major portion of the military budget went to those subsistence and maintenance departments. Each purchased huge quantities of material and took care of vast amounts of property. Civilian employees were hired to assist all three, most of whom worked in the quartermaster service. [1]

When Major Andrew W. Evans, Third Cavalry, wrote in his inspection report in 1868 that "the Quartermaster Depot of Fort Union is an extensive establishment," it was almost an understatement. Some comprehension of what he intended may be found by reading the reports in appendices L, M, N, and O. The huge complex (covering approximately 400 acres of land) of quarters, offices, storehouses, granaries, repair shops, corrals, stables, hay stacks, and wood piles, which included the commissary department and the department of clothing, camp, and garrison equipage (a division of the quartermaster department), required the shipping of thousands of tons of supplies into and out of Fort Union and the labor of many people. For a time Fort Union, including these operations, was the largest economic establishment in New Mexico Territory.

In fact, throughout most of the era Fort Union was active, the army was the major business enterprise and the primary employer in New Mexico. Economic development of the region was thoroughly affected by military purchases of commodities, services, and labor. [2] Because Fort Union was the supply depot for the region during much of its occupation, and a subdepot during a portion of the 1850s, it was at the center of storing and distributing equipment and provisions, as well as military transportation, for a large territory. It was also predominant in contracting for products and services and hiring civilians for numerous tasks. The construction of the first, second, and third posts at Fort Union and the supply depot (covered in chapters 2, 5, 6, and 7) was done under the direction of the quartermaster department, and keeping buildings repaired was a constant task. The Fort Union ordnance depot (later arsenal) served the military department (later district) from 1851 to 1882. Its services were vital to the field operations of the army, but its economic influence was markedly less than the quartermaster and commissary departments because it spent few funds in the territory beyond a small labor force and minor purchases of forage and other supplies.

The expansion of the United States and the military occupation of the American West during the late 1840s increased transportation costs of the army more than fifteen times. The total transport expenditures of the army in 1846 was $130,000. In 1851, the year Fort Union was

established, transportation costs exceeded $2,000,000. The cost of shipping supplies to the troops in the West was far greater than the value of the supplies. The cost of maintaining draft animals in New Mexico was almost seven times greater than feeding them at Fort Leavenworth. While it cost less than $50 a year to keep a horse or mule at Leavenworth, it required about $330 in New Mexico. [3]

Transportation had become the largest single item in the military budget, accounting for almost one-half of the entire army appropriation by the early 1850s. [4] That remained true until the Civil War. Military freight sent to New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail accounted for a considerable part of the total. That important overland route, which had been utilized primarily by merchant-traders from 1821 to 1846, became flooded with military freight thereafter. As Frazer noted, "the army had no choice but to import because New Mexico afforded so few of the goods that it required." [5] The transportation of military equipment and supplies comprised the greater part of traffic on the Santa Fe Trail from the time of the Mexican War until the railroad superseded the historic wagon route more than three decades later.

Soon after the close of the Mexican War the quartermaster department phased out its freighting operations and began to contract with civilian firms for the transportation of supplies from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico. The rates were reduced but still costly. The quartermaster department estimated that it was spending an average of $14.75 per hundred pounds of stores carried from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1848. That same year James Brown of Independence, Missouri, agreed to carry freight from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe for $11.75 per hundred pounds. The following year Brown formed a partnership with William H. Russell, and they contracted to freight supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe for $9.88 per hundred, with an additional 5% for the transport of bacon. In 1850 two contractors (David Waldo and the firm of Brown, Russell and Company) agreed to move 750,000 pounds of freight from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe at the rate of $14.333 per hundred (total value of those contracts was over one million dollars). [6]

In 1851, the year Fort Union was established, the army sent 452 wagons loaded with supplies to New Mexico. The rate was $8.59 per hundred to Santa Fe and $7.875 to Fort Union. The rates changed little until 1853, after Garland took command of the department. Distressed by the deficiency of supplies in department storehouses, Garland, despite the lateness of the season, urgently appealed for the shipment of more provisions from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union as quickly as possible. Contracts were signed in September 1853 with three freighters (Alexander Majors, James B. Yager, and the firm of Russell, Waddell & Co.). Because of the hazards of crossing the plains at a time when grass was dormant and freezing temperatures and snowstorms were possible, the rates were more than double those most recently obtained, $16 per hundred pounds. [7]

The following year, when contractors were able to depart from Fort Leavenworth in the spring, rates returned to about what they had been before 1853. In 1854 the rate to Fort Union was $7.96 per hundred pounds. In 1855 the army contracted with the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell to transport supplies to New Mexico from Fort Leavenworth for two years, with rates set at so much per hundred pounds per hundred miles and adjusted to the season of the year. The rates ranged from a low of $1.14 for goods shipped from May 1 to July 31 to a high of $3.60 for supplies sent between December 1 and February 28. The distance between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Union was determined to be 728 miles, so rates to the post were calculated at 7.28 times the established rate per hundred pounds per hundred miles. Thus the rate per hundred pounds from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union at the low end of the scale was $8.30 and at the high end it was $26.20. This method of setting rates was retained in subsequent contracts, each of which had a slightly lower rate through 1860. In 1860 Russell, Majors and Waddell sent 837 wagons with over five million pounds of freight to New

Mexico. [8]

Not only was it costly to transport supplies to New Mexico, there was the additional problem of distribution among the posts in the department. Colonel Sumner, in his economy drive in New Mexico in 1851-1852, attempted to have only quartermaster wagon trains handle transportation within his department. He soon found it necessary, however, to employ civilian teamsters and to contract with civilian freighters to accomplish the distribution. By the spring of 1852 Sumner admitted failure to achieve his goal of military freight being moved only by the army in New Mexico, and he declared the department was "very much pressed for transportation." [9] He purchased draft animals where he could find them, employed civilian teamsters, and hired a civilian wagon master to oversee transportation at the Fort Union depot. [10] Even so, the posts throughout the department were inadequately supplied so long as Sumner commanded the department.

Soon after Brigadier General John Garland took command of the department, the general depot (for quartermaster and commissary departments) was moved from Fort Union to Albuquerque. Fort Union retained the ordnance depot and remained a quartermaster and commissary subdepot until the Civil War. The costs of distribution within the department were reduced, although not significantly, and the cost of transportation from Fort Leavenworth increased because of the added distance from Fort Union to Albuquerque. Garland, unlike Sumner, ordered adequate supplies for the posts of New Mexico and paid the costs incurred. He also directed that supplies coming over the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth be distributed from the subdepot at Fort Union.

In 1857 Lieutenant William B. Lane, subsistence officer at the subdepot, wrote that, "in view of the anticipated arrival of the annual supplies for this Department," he needed a detail of troops from the post "to overhaul and ship these supplies." Post Commander Llewellyn Jones was shorthanded and recommended that civilians be employed for the duty. A clerk and six laborers were authorized for the subdepot. [11] After the provisions were sorted and repacked they were shipped to other military installations throughout the department. This required many wagons, draft animals, and teamsters. Transportation costs remained a major part of the military budget in New Mexico. Some funds were utilized to open new roads and improve old ones, benefiting both military and civilian traffic. Sometimes civilians were employed to work on the roads.

Wages paid to civilian employees, however, formed only a small portion of total military expenditures in the department. Colonel Sumner had reduced the number of civilian employees in the department (1851-1853) as part of his economy measures, much to the detriment of the troops stationed in New Mexico. When Sumner left the New Mexico, the entire department had only 29 civilian employees. Sumner's successor, Garland, increased the number during his administration (1853-1858) to approximately 250. The wages paid also increased during Garland's tenure as the following tables show. In both time periods most of the employees were teamsters. [12]

Table 4
Wages Paid Civilian Employees in the Department of New Mexico, 1853 [13]

Position	Monthly Salary
Clerks	$65.00 to 75.00
Wagon Master	58.25
Assistant Wagon Master	30.00
Teamsters	20.00

Table 5
Wages Paid Civilian Employees in the Department of New Mexico, 1858 [14]

Position	Monthly Salary
Clerks	$85
Wagon Masters	50 to 60
Carpenters	50
Wheelwrights	50 to 55
Millwrights	50 to 85
Blacksmiths	50 to 55
Saddlers	50
Strikers	30
Sawyers	30
Interpreters	45
Ambulance Driver	25
Hostlers	25
Messengers	20
Expressmen	100
Storekeepers	30
Yardmaster	40
Labor Superintendent	40
Teamsters	25
Laborers	20 to 30
Herders	10 to 25
Ferrymen	10 to 45

Most civilian employees also received one ration of food per day, although the ration was occasionally exchanged for cash at the rate of twenty cents. Other positions were also filled by civilians. In December 1854, for example, the quarters at Fort Union "being in need of repairs and there being no lumber at the Post," the post quartermaster was directed to "employ a man capable of running the sawmill & have lumber sawed out as soon as practicable." [15] New Mexicans were hired to serve as packers when pack mules were used to carry supplies in the field. In June 1855 Fort Union Commander Whittlesey directed Post Quartermaster George Sykes: "In consequence of the necessity of having the benefit of the peculiar knowledge of the use of the lasso and the art of packing possessed only by Mexican packers, you will please employ two temporarily to accompany the train of 12 pack mules required for the scout of ten or twelve days directed to be made by Co. 'H' 1st Drags." [16]

It should be noted that New Mexicans were not actively recruited for enlistment in the regular army during the early 1850s, although they were encouraged to enlist in short-term militia units and volunteers. There was no known policy against their recruitment, but there was a concern about their ability to speak and understand English. A captain in the Third Cavalry felt it necessary to request permission from department headquarters to enlist "Mexicans" in his company before doing so. Brigadier General Garland replied that he could "see no objection to their enlistment, to the extent of four or five to a company, and for special duties." [17] Few Hispanos served in the regular army in New Mexico before the Civil War. It was easier for them to secure employment as civilians than as soldiers.

The army employed civilian guides, spies, and interpreters as needed. The pay for these services was usually $1.50 to $2.00 per day ($3.00 for a principal guide) plus rations, with the employee providing his own horse and arms. These temporary positions were often filled by New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians. Indian auxiliaries, as noted in chapters three, five, six, and seven, were often employed to assist troops in the field. Sometimes they were paid and other times they were permitted to retain captured booty in lieu of payment. [18] As a result of the increasing numbers of civilians and the rise in wages, by 1860 the monthly army payroll to non-military employees in the department was almost $8,000. [19]

Altogether, however, wages paid to civilians were small when compared to funds expended by the army in New Mexico for payment of troops (more than $750,000 during fiscal 1860-1861), [20] transportation, and the purchase of food, forage, livestock, and fuel. Of all the materials required by the army in the department, only a few could be supplied by the people of New Mexico. That was the major reason the costs of transportation, as previously noted, consumed such a large portion of army appropriations. The items that could be procured in New Mexico during the 1850s were usually higher in price than at Fort Leavenworth, but they were considerably less expensive than the cost of shipment from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico. Thus, until the coming of the railroad reduced overland transportation to only a fraction of what it was by wagon train, the army purchased whatever was available within the department.

During the 1850s only a few items of the soldiers' rations were sufficient in quantity among New Mexicans to provide even a portion of the army's demands. Beans, flour, and beef on the hoof could be bought, although not always in quantities required. Military purchases stimulated the growth of wheat production, flour milling, and ranching in the territory. By 1853 most of the flour utilized by troops was produced in New Mexico. Beef, on the other hand, was still principally driven to the territory from Missouri. Salt, abundant in New Mexico, was usually bought from citizens and occasionally gathered by soldiers. Corn, mostly utilized to feed draft animals rather than human consumption, was also bought in large amounts, thereby encouraging increased production. Hay and other forage (mostly corn stalks and wheat straw and occasionally oats) for livestock were usually obtained by contract with civilians after Colonel Sumner's farming operations failed. Apparently the first contract issued for hay at Fort Union was authorized by Garland in October 1854. Other livestock besides beef cattle were purchased, including sheep, oxen, mules, and horses when they could be obtained in the area. Sheep were always in ample supply, but the army only substituted mutton for beef in its rations on a limited basis. Mules were also abundant in New Mexico, and the army bought many of them to use for draft animals and, in some cases, to ride in place of horses. [21] Firewood was provided by troop labor and, increasingly as time passed, by contract. Other items purchased from New Mexicans included vinegar, candles, charcoal, lime, lumber, [22] and buckskins.

Corn and flour comprised the major New Mexican agricultural products purchased under contracts. Most of the contractors were Anglos, but they purchased corn and wheat from uncounted New Mexican farmers. The quantities and prices of these items are summarized in the following tables.

Table 6
Corn Contracts at Fort Union, 1851-1859 [23]

Year of Delivery	*Fanegas* [24]	Price Per Fenega
1851-1852	2,000	$2.9675
1852-1853	4,500 (shelled)	3.85

1853-1854	4,500	3.50
1855	5,000 (shelled)	1.80-2.40
1855-1856	10,000 (shelled)	3.00
1856-1857	5,300 (shelled)	3.10-3.28
	1,500 (cob com)	3.00-3.15
1857-1858	9,600 (shelled)	2.31-2.82
1858-1859	1,500	3.00

Table 7
Flour Contracts in Department of New Mexico, 1853-1859 [25]

Year Contracted	Quantity (Pounds)	Price Per 100 Lbs. [26]
1853	600,000	$7.00-10.00
1854	820,000	5.45-9.50
1855	110,000	8.00
1856	1,176,000	5.50-9.50
1857	1,161,000	6.00-12.50
1858	1,157,900	5.80-12.50
1859	546,000	4.99-12.00

Because of the investment required in flour milling, the number of contractors in New Mexico was limited to a few enterprises. During the 1850s four millers filled almost all contracts for flour produced in the department: Ceran St. Vrain, with mills at Talpa and Mora; Simeon Hart's mill at present El Paso, Texas; Antonio José at Peralta; and Joseph Hersch at Santa Fe. Corn and hay contracts included a wider variety of firms. Frazer found that, between 1851 and 1860, thirty-two distinct individuals or partnerships received contracts for corn and twenty-eight had hay contracts. Most hay was harvested from native grasses. [27] Corn and hay were used to feed cavalry mounts, quartermaster draft animals, and commissary cattle herds.

The number of cattle in New Mexico at the time Fort Union was established was inadequate to supply the needs of the army. The commissary department paid a good price for what beef was available, thereby stimulating an expansion of cattle ranching. The presence of the troops also provided protection for the extension of the industry into the rich grasslands of eastern New Mexico. Even so, for some time cattle were imported. In 1852, for example, a herd of 1,340 cattle were driven from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union for issue to the troops in the department. Civilians were hired to herd the cattle nearby at a cost of forty cents per head per month. The cattle were distributed to other posts by contract as needed. [28]

Throughout the 1850s the army kept most of its cattle herds near Fort Union, where grazing was good, and drove them to other posts as they were needed. From 1854 to 1858 the contract to herd the beef cattle was held by Moore and Rees of Tecolote. During 1854 and 1855 they received thirty-two cents per head per month. In 1854 Michael Gleason contracted to drive the cattle from Fort Union to other posts in the department for $3.00 per head. The following year, Moore and Rees agreed to deliver cattle to any post as needed for $1.50 per head. In 1857 their contract reduced the rate of herding to ten cents per head per month while the delivery price remained $1.50. In 1858 the herding contract, at a slightly higher rate, was awarded to Dr. John M. Whitlock of Las Vegas. The following year Whitlock and John L. Taylor, who had a ranch near Anton Chico, held the contract. [29]

By the late 1850s the army was able to purchase more cattle in New Mexico, mostly from expanding ranches east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains along several streams, including the Cimarron, Mora, Canadian, and Pecos rivers. Generally the cattle purchased in New Mexico were in better condition than those driven from Fort Leavenworth or Texas. Because the army did not have facilities to weigh cattle, they were bought at so much per head (ranging from $25 to $40). By 1861 cattle were priced per pound on the hoof or per pound on the block (butchered carcass, also called fresh beef). [30]

In addition to livestock, New Mexican farmers also sold vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, eggs, and other products to officers and enlisted men. It was not possible to document the economic effects of purchases made by military personnel in the territory because most transactions were not recorded, but the army and its soldiers slowly changed the system of exchange in rural New Mexico from barter to cash transactions.

Colonel Sumner, a myopic Anglophile and mercantilist to the core, condemned the dependence of New Mexicans on the army, which he failed to understand had been caused by the military establishment, and saw no hope for economic development in New Mexico. He had no concept of the traditional, somewhat feudalistic Hispanic way of life that originated during the colonial era. "The truth is," Sumner declared, "the only resource in this country is the government money. All classes depend upon it." He believed there could "never be any profitable agriculture" in New Mexico because there was no market except for the local economy and the army. "No agricultural product," he concluded, "would ever pay transportation from this remote country." [31] Without a railroad, Sumner was correct on that point. Ironically, when the railroad reached New Mexico, it became cheaper to import agricultural products into the territory and the army's demand for New Mexican production declined.

Sumner's views were supported by the opinions of other officers and confirmed by events during the 1850s. Captain L. C. Easton, department quartermaster in 1854, informed Quartermaster General T. S. Jesup: "With the exception of forage, building materials, and a few minor articles, your Department here will have to look to the United States for all its supplies, and judging from the character of the country this will forever be the case." [32] The army was, as Frazer demonstrated, an important "economic impetus." It was "an essentially nonproductive element for which goods, services, and facilities of many kinds were required." Moreover, "it injected comparatively large sums of money into what had been primarily a barter economy." The effects were far reaching. "The money was widely, if unevenly, distributed, reaching all segments of the population, including the Pueblo Indians." [33] At the same time, because army requirements frequently exceeded New Mexican supplies, inflation resulted and reduced the purchasing power of New Mexicans who were being forced into a market economy. Sometimes there was an inadequate supply of specie in the territory, creating further hardships for citizens. [34] All factors combined to make prices high in New Mexico, in comparison to the eastern states, and most Anglos who came to the territory (military and civilian) complained about the exorbitant cost of everything. [35] Frazer found that the expenditures incurred in sustaining troops in New Mexico "was proportionately higher than in any other department of the United States, and surprisingly high considering the small number of troops in New Mexico and their relative lack of success in controlling the Indians." [36] Protecting settlers and the routes of transportation from Indians was the primary reason the army was there.

When the troops at Fort Union furnished escorts for the mail coaches, the quartermaster department was responsible for the transportation. In 1858 the escort troops were provided mules and wagons to accompany the mail parties to the Arkansas River. The mails usually traveled at a fast pace, making it difficult for the escorts to keep up and resulting in damage

and destruction to the soldiers' transportation. Captain McFerran, in charge of the subdepot at Fort Union and responsible for escort transportation, reported to Department Commander Loring the problems encountered.

The first escort left Fort Union on January 4 with five wagons and thirty mules, two of which died, two were lost, and many of the remainder were unfit for duty. The second escort left on January 17 with five wagons and thirty mules, none of which were lost but returned in poor shape. The third escort left February 4 with the same number of wagons and mules, and two mules died and most of the others were broken down. The fourth escort, February 17 with the same number of wagons and mules, had one mule die and had to leave two teams behind with two wagons and part of the escort to recover before they were able to return by slow marches. The fifth escort, March 3, lost one mule the first day and sent back for another. At that point, McFerran reported, the quartermaster department had lost eight mules, at $150 each, and had thirty-five to forty mules unfit for service. He had sent from 5,500 to 6,000 pounds of corn with each escort. The army mules could not keep up with the mails. McFerran recommended that the escorts be stopped because he was about out of mules. [37] The request was sent to the department commander and the escorts were discontinued in May. [38]

Because of a severe drought on the plains and in the Southwest during 1859 and 1860, the cost of many supplies increased because of scarcity. The army paid twice as much for corn in 1860 as the previous year, and the costs of hay and flour went up but not as much. [39] Military purchases from the reduced supplies affected the citizens of New Mexico, many of whom could not obtain adequate provisions because they were not available or were priced beyond their means. Just as the army stimulated the standard of living when crops were abundant, it contributed to scarcity when conditions were adverse. Because the army had more purchasing power than most civilians, it sometimes deprived them of subsistence items. Fortunately, the army could also import provisions from Fort Leavenworth and provide relief to destitute citizens during such times. On the eve of the Civil War, as Frazer succinctly stated, "the great bulk of the stores required by the army were still freighted to New Mexico." [40] That remained true as long as Fort Union was occupied.

The ultimate consequence of military occupation and growing Anglo dominance in New Mexico was a transformation of Hispanic society from primarily subsistence farming to a combination of the production of some products for a cash market and the increase of wage labor. The few wealthy Hispanic landowners adapted and endured, often profiting from the new structure. [41] Some even contracted to supply the army. [42] Many small farmers, on the other hand, could not generate sufficient cash income and were unable to survive in the expanding capitalistic system. Many New Mexicans lost their traditional way of life as well as their land. Some retained their land by supplementing their farming with employment for wages. The army and army contractors offered a considerable portion of such job opportunities.

The trend, however, was for land ownership to become more consolidated, frequently in the hands of recent immigrants into New Mexico (mostly Anglos), [43] and the dispossessed Hispanos who could not find employment formed the nucleus of a new class of unemployed who lived in poverty. Some of those, as noted, found jobs, frequently only temporary positions, with the quartermaster and commissary departments or contractors who supplied those departments. Others provided a reservoir of cheap labor for the economic development of the territory which came with the building of railroads, growth of towns, expansion of ranching and mining activities, increase of logging and lumber mills, and other changes. The Anglo leadership in New Mexico and in the eastern states considered the alteration, which some called the "Americanization" of the region, including the frequent exploitation of available workers, to be a sign of progress. The army was not the only factor in that

transformation, but it was the catalyst and major contributor.

Robert Frazer found that the army annually expended more than $1,750,000 in the Department of New Mexico by 1860-1861. In contrast, the treasury department of New Mexico Territory spent only $10,000 per year. Frazer's superb study of the army and the economy in the Southwest, 1846-1861, demonstrated clearly that, as he wrote, "the army was the single most significant factor in the economic development of the Southwest." From the Anglo viewpoint, Frazer concluded that "the money spent by the army per se and by military personnel stimulated the growth of the economy and directly or indirectly benefited all segments of the settled population." Also, military protection provided "a climate more conducive to economic expansion." [44] Fort Union was a factor in the changes that occurred prior to the Civil War. Its influence increased dramatically following the outbreak of the Civil War, when in July 1861 it again became the supply depot and procurement center for the army in New Mexico. [45]

The outbreak of the Civil War was accompanied by many changes in New Mexico, including a switch in contractors carrying military supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union and the rest of New Mexico. The firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell was bankrupt and unable to meet the terms of its contract. The firm of Irwin, Jackman and Co., headquartered at Leavenworth City, Kansas, had been retained in anticipation of the failure of Russell, Majors and Waddell. Irwin, Jackman and Co. delivered the goods to New Mexico during and after 1861. [46] From May to December 1861 the new contractor successfully shipped fifteen trains of military supplies, each with an average of twenty-five wagons and cargo in excess of 140,000 pounds, to Fort Union. They began arriving at Fort Union on August 17. The rates ranged from $1.30 to $1.50 per hundred pounds per hundred miles, depending on the time of year. [47] With most of those supplies at the Fort Union depot, the Confederate design to capture Fort Union promised tremendous rewards.

Also during 1861 quartermaster and commissary supplies at the old depot in Albuquerque were moved to Fort Union and other posts in the department. When the depot quartermaster, Captain John C. McFerran, arrived at Fort Union from Albuquerque, he found the new depot in disarray. The storehouses were inadequate and supplies were piled at various points around the old post and the new earthwork. Some items were damaged from exposure and others were stolen because it was impossible to guard everything all the time. Shipments from Fort Leavenworth had been mixed up with those from Albuquerque. An accurate inventory was impossible. Efforts to complete more storehouses were frustrated by other demands on soldiers' time. In addition, orders had to be packed for shipment to other posts in the department. [48] Understandably, McFerran was perplexed by his responsibilities. He was, also, one of the most competent officers in New Mexico and soon brought order out of chaos.

In 1861 the quartermaster department obtained few commodities in New Mexico. The commissary department, on the other hand, contracted for more provisions within the territory than any time previous, summarized in the following table. In all cases, except beans, prices were lower than during the previous year of drought.

Table 8
Commissary Contracts in New Mexico, 1861 [49]

Product	Quantity	No. of Contractors	Price Range During Year
Flour	1,499,000 pounds	7	$8.00-14.00 per hundredweight
Vinegar	5,000 gallons	5	0.6875-1.50 per gallon

Beans	1,400 bushels	8	3.50 to 6.00 per bushel
Beef Cattle	1,098 head	6	6.74-11.00 per hundredweight
Sauerkraut	unspecified	4	1.12-3.00 per gallon
Pickles	unspecified	2	2.00-3.00 per gallon
Corn Meal	unspecified	6	5.50-9.50 per hundredweight
Onions	unspecified	4	5.50-1 0.50 per hundredweight
Salt	unspecified	3	2.00-4.00 per bushel

In addition to the above, the commissary department and the quartermaster department each contracted for delivery of 100 tons of hay at Fort Union in 1861. The commissary paid $35.00 per ton while the quartermaster paid $45.00. The depot quartermaster also contracted for firewood (hardwood at $7.50 per cord and pinon at $3.75) and horses (1,400 head at $90 to $150 per head). [50]

The army was expending more money than ever before in the department. During fiscal 1860-1861 the commissary department dispersed over $265,000 and the quartermaster department over $580,000. Supplies continued to flow from Fort Leavenworth and proved to be adequate in New Mexico to provide the needs of a much enlarged military force in the department during the Civil War. The economic relationships established between the military and civilian sectors before 1861 contributed to the effectiveness of the Department of New Mexico during the crisis of the Confederate invasion.

A major problem for the army in New Mexico during the early days of the Civil War was a shortage of specie. Many people who sold items to the commissary and quartermaster departments, as well as civilian employees, would not accept government certificates of indebtedness and insisted on being paid with silver or gold. Captain McFerran, depot quartermaster, used some of his own money to pay employees and requested the loan of gold and silver from sutlers, merchants, and wealthy New Mexicans. William H. Moore, Fort Union sutler and contractor for military supplies, accepted certificates of indebtedness for all the specie he could raise, including what he received in his own business and what he could borrow on his personal note. McFerran later praised Moore for making possible the victory over the Confederate invaders of the territory, declaring that Moore "furnished us with every dollar we used at the time." McFerran also borrowed thousands of dollars in specie from affluent Hispanos. [51]

By the time McFerran replaced Colonel James L. Donaldson as chief quartermaster in New Mexico in the fall of 1862, the quartermaster department in the territory was in debt over $800,000. McFerran sent Captain William H. Rossell, Tenth Infantry, to Washington to plead with Quartermaster General Meigs for funds and pointed out that if something was not done quickly the army might have to abandon New Mexico. Captain Rossell returned with funds, amount unknown, which McFerran reported were exhausted by April 1863. McFerran explained that government certificates of indebtedness were practically worthless in New Mexico because people refused to accept them. He requested that no more certificates be sent to him and implored Meigs to send money. [52]

After the Texans were turned back in the spring of 1862, the department was strapped by a shortage of numerous supplies. McFerran virtually begged for additional funds as well as shipments of commodities from Fort Leavenworth. The limited amounts of grain and forage in New Mexico had mostly been consumed. Privately-owned wagons and draft animals were impressed into government service to assist with transportation of supplies throughout the department. Clothing, horses, and other needs were obtained wherever they could be found. [53] It is interesting to note that somehow a camel came into the possession of the depot quartermaster at Fort Union in 1862. This was one of a number of camels brought to the

Southwest several years before to test as a possibility for transporting military supplies. The camels were not deemed satisfactory and were mostly turned loose. Someone apparently found one and turned it into the quartermaster department. Captain McFerran did not attempt to use it to alleviate the transportation problems in the department. The animal was sold to William Krönig who did try to utilize it for transportation, with what success was unknown. [54]

The critical supply situation in New Mexico was relieved with the arrival at Fort Union of four wagon trains (three quartermaster trains and one owned by Irwin, Jackman and Co.) from Fort Leavenworth in June 1862. There were twenty-five wagons in each train. Altogether they delivered over a half-million pounds of equipment, clothing, and subsistence. Soon more trains arrived at Fort Union. Before the end of summer 1862 the quartermaster department sent two additional trains of twenty-five wagons and Irwin, Jackman and Co. sent another eighteen. The troops in the department then had an abundance of most items. [55] Large numbers of civilian employees were required to unpack, store, and repack materials for distribution to other posts.

Because of the shortage of flour and beef within New Mexico, Captain Amos F. Garrison, department commissary of subsistence, requested that more than a million pounds of flour and 4,000 cattle be imported to keep the troops fed. [56] Fort Union was one of three posts designated to receive flour and beef. In July 1862 Garrison awarded contracts to supply Fort Union with 200,000 pounds of flour, 500 head of cattle, and an unspecified quantity of fresh beef. Other contracts were let for beans, corn meal, pickles, and sauerkraut. [57]

Captain McFerran imported 1,668,000 pounds of corn for the quartermaster department in the summer of 1862 and purchased as much within New Mexico as possible. In December 1862 McFerran contracted for the delivery of an additional 530,000 pounds of corn from the East. He found hay within the department, much of which was purchased in small quantities from individual farmers. He did contract with four suppliers to deliver 135 tons of hay to Fort Union at $45 per ton. [58] Many necessities had to be imported into New Mexico for the duration of the Civil War because demands exceeded local supplies.

Everything was in short supply in New Mexico in 1862, including laborers. In December Brigadier General Carleton requested that citizens work for twenty days without pay to strengthen the defense of Forts Union and Craig. Ceran St. Vrain brought 100 residents of Taos to Fort Union to help with the fieldwork, apparently the only favorable response to Carleton's plea. [59] The increased number of troops and subsequent growth in demand for supplies led to additional employment opportunities. Many New Mexicans obtained jobs with military contractors, especially with those who supplied forage, fire wood, and salt.

Opportunities for employment at Fort Union increased when construction of the new department depot began in 1862 and continued until the third fort was completed in 1868. When more workers were needed in the spring of 1863, after a winter break in construction, the quartermaster department advertised for a dozen carpenters (at $50 per month) and fifty laborers (at $25 per month). [60] By April 1864 the quartermaster in charge of the project reported there were at work twenty carpenters (at $65 per month) and a hundred laborers (at $30 per month). In addition to construction workers, an increasing number of civilians were hired to handle the large volume of equipment and supplies flowing through the depot as well as the many other tasks connected with the quartermaster and commissary departments. In February 1863 there were 209 citizen workers with a total monthly payroll of $6,310. Civilians were also employed at the military post. In December 1863 the total number of hired workers at the post and depot was 389. In April 1864 the count at the depot was 419 civilian employees with a payroll of 15,570. [61]

Among the employees there was a printer. Sometime during the Civil War, the quartermaster depot at Fort Union acquired a printing press. It was used to print forms and letter heads, and to publish circulars, orders, tables of distances, pamphlets, and other items. Carleton thought the press might be better used at department headquarters in Santa Fe, and suggested to the chief quartermaster that the press and paper be moved. [62] Colonel Enos must not have agreed with Carleton, for the press was still operating at the Fort Union depot several years later.



Eliza St. Clair Sloan Mahoney, mother of Marion Sloan Russell, cooked for an officers' mess at Fort Union in 1864. She requested the use of a stove from the quartermaster depot, but no record was found to Indicate if she received it.

The quartermaster department occasionally received requests from civilians to obtain equipment from the storehouse. In 1864 Eliza Mahoney, mother of Marion Sloan and the cook for an officers' mess at Fort Union, wrote to Chief Quartermaster McFerran about borrowing a stove from the department. She promised to use it "expressly for the use of the Officers Mess, my mess is large and I have but a very small Stove to cook by, which makes it very hard work and very inconvenient every way." She explained that Samuel Price, the storekeeper at the quartermaster warehouse, had told her "there are a great many stoves in the store room, and I thought I would take the liberty to write to the Col. to see if you were willing for me to borrow one for my mess during my stay here." She assured McFerran that she would return it "in as good condition as I would receive it." Price had offered to "go my security" if she could borrow the stove. [63] No record was found to indicate whether or not she received the stove, but her solicitation was worthy. McFerran did have more serious problems to occupy his time.

In the spring of 1865 Chief Quartermaster McFerran was unable to hire the necessary skilled workers within the military department to fill the jobs available on the buildings being erected at the Fort Union Depot. He requested that a number of craftsmen, including carpenters, tinners, and plasterers, be sent from Fort Leavenworth to do the job, with the army providing transportation and an attractive salary ($85 per month, compared to the $65 paid to artisans already on the job). In addition, enlisted men who possessed the necessary skills were released from military duty and employed to work on the depot. While so engaged they received the same wages as civilian employees instead of their military pay. Soon after the craftsmen arrived from Fort Leavenworth, in September 1865, the employees already on the job objected to the gap between their pay and that of the new workers. The issue was resolved by raising their pay to the same level. [64]

The number of civilians employed at the Fort Union Depot remained at a high level until construction of the third fort was completed. The following table shows the number and classification of the 596 civilian employees authorized for the depot in 1867.

Table 9
Civilian Employees Authorized at Fort Union Depot, 1867 [65]

Position	Number	Position	Number
Clerks	9	Chief Carpenter	1
Storekeeper	1	Carpenters	34
Assistant Storekeeper	1	Blacksmiths	10
Forage Master	1	Blacksmith's Strikers	8
Master of Transportation	1	Wheelwrights	5
Superintendent	1	Quarrymen	6
Engineer	1	Stone Masons	10
Wagon Masters	10	Bricklayers	3
Assistant Wagon Masters	12	Chief Mason	1
Tin Smiths	4	Masons	24
Painters	4	Plasterers	4
Saddlers	3	Brick Molders	4
Yard Masters	2	Printer	1
Watch men	6	Sail Maker	1
Messenger	1	Foremen of Laborers	3
Cooks	20	Chief Herder	1
Packers	3	Assistant Chief Herder	1
Expressmen	3	Herders	15
Cooper	1	Hostlers	5
Laborers	155	Teamsters	220

The number of civilians employed at the depot peaked in 1867 and declined as construction neared completion. In January 1868 there were 407 citizens on the payroll. The following month there were 396 receiving pay as follows: clerks, always the highest-paying position, received from $100 to $150 per month; skilled workers (carpenters, masons, tinners, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and saddlers) received $75 per month; and unskilled laborers (teamsters, herders, cooks, and manual laborers) received $35 per month. By June of that year, after the post was finished, the quantity of civilians employed had decreased to 265, apparently the number required for the many duties connected with the depot. [66] The need for civilian employees continued to decrease and by 1881, when the depot performed few functions, only eighteen workers remained, as shown in the following table.

Table 10
Civilian Employees & Salaries at Fort Union Depot, 1881 [67]

Position	Number	Monthly Salary
Clerk	1	$100.00
Storekeeper	1	100.00
Watch man	1	30.00
Wagon Master	1	60.00
Teamsters	6	30.00
Herder	1	30.00
Cook	1	25.00
Machinist	1	72.00
Blacksmith	1	72.00

Assistant Blacksmith	1	40.00
Wheelwright	1	72.00
Saddler	1	72.00
Painter	1	72.00

The amount of military funds paid to workers in the department had declined markedly since the bustling days of the Civil War era.

The enlarged number of troops in New Mexico during the Civil War had, in addition to requiring more citizen workers, increased the amount of government funds expended in the department. The quartermaster department spent almost two million dollars per year by 1864, almost half of which went for livestock feed and forage. The subsistence department spent over one million dollars a year for foodstuffs, most of which went for beef and flour. Those amounts did not include the items imported over the Santa Fe Trail to Fort Union. With combined budgets in excess of three million dollars, the quartermaster and commissary departments produced far-reaching economic effects in New Mexican society. Darlis Miller found that military expenditures were "widely dispersed, further conditioning residents to the government's patronage and strengthening their economic ties to the military." [68] The amount expended for subsistence increased markedly during the period from 1864 to 1868 when the Navajos were held on their reservation at Bosque Redondo, administered by Fort Sumner. Over $400,000 was required to feed the defeated tribe in 1864. [69]

During the Civil War, when there were shortages of cattle, the commissary department purchased sheep and replaced beef with mutton in some army rations. Juan Perea, wealthy Hispanic rancher near Bernalillo, supplied more than 3,000 sheep during 1863 and 1864. [70] Shortages of many other materials in the department were covered by importing from the East. At the same time, the army encouraged New Mexicans to increase the production of their farms and ranches. With a ready military market available, agricultural production was expanded during and after the Civil War. The army continued to provide the primary market for most commodities, and military contracts remained a significant component in the economy of the region.

The importance of contracts for fresh beef and flour used by the army has been thoroughly documented. The army was also in the business of feeding Indians in New Mexico, and the contracts let for those provisions provided additional funds for the private sector. The Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches at Cimarron Agency were fed by contracts issued by the quartermaster and commissary departments of the army, rather than by arrangements of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Troops from Fort Union were stationed at Cimarron to oversee the issue of rations there and help maintain peace. The Indians and the troops were living on the extensive holdings of Lucien B. Maxwell who, in 1866-1867, held the contract to supply fresh beef and wheatmeal (ground at Maxwell's mill at Cimarron) for the Indians and fresh beef for the company of cavalry stationed there. [71] That contract, signed for the army by Captain Howard J. Farnsworth (Fort Union Depot quartermaster), had been awarded without public advertising or competitive bids. It provided for the issue of one-half pound of fresh beef and one-half pound wheatmeal per day for each Indian. The soldiers received twenty ounces of fresh beef per day. When Captain Charles McClure became chief commissary of subsistence officer in the department, he tabulated what his department had spent under that contract. His recommendations were to increase the daily ration to the Indians. Maxwell's contract was undoubtedly important to his enterprise. The actual amount he received is shown in the following table. [72]

Table 11

**Amount Paid to L. B. Maxwell, 1866-1867,
for Contracted Provisions at Cimarron** [73]

Date	No. of Indians Fed	Beef Issued Lbs.	Wheatmeal Issued Lbs.	Cost to U.S. for Indians	Cost for Beef for Cav. Co	Total Amt Paid to Maxwell
Sept 1866	650	9,750	9,750	$1,560.00	$115.36	$1,675.36
Oct 1866	600	9,300	9,300	1,488.00	196.98	1,684.98
Nov 1866	1,400	21,000	21,000	3,360.00	83.50	3,443.50
Dec 1866	1,200	18,600	18,600	2,976.00	215.80	3,191.80
Jan 1867	1,200	18,600	18,600	2,976.00	226.80	3,202.80
Feb 1867	1,300	18,200	18,200	2,872.00	195.00	3,067.00
Mar 1867	1,300	20,150	20,150	3,184.00	182.12	3,366.12
Apr 1867	1,350	20,250	20,250	3,240.00	154.60	3,394.60
May 1867	1,350	20,925	20,925	2,929.50	144.50	3,074.00
June 1867	1,350	20,250	20,250	2,835.00	138.00	2,973.00
July 1867	1,350	20,925	20,925	2,929.50	249.72	3,179.22
Aug 1867	1,398	21,669	21,669	3,033.66	blank	3,033.66
Total Paid to L. B. Maxwell to date				$33,383.66	$1,902.38	$35,286.04
Average amount paid L. B. Maxwell monthly						$2,940.50

Maxwell furnished approximately 600 head of cattle to fill that contract. The expansion of the cattle industry in New Mexico, the direct result of the stimulus provided by military purchases, was dramatic after 1870. There were few cattle left in New Mexico when the Civil War ended because the army had acquired all it possibly could while also importing cattle from other regions. In 1870 there were only 21,343 cattle in New Mexico Territory. The army was supplementing its purchases of local cattle with herds driven from Texas. In 1880, the year that the railroad reached Santa Fe, there were 137,314 cattle in the territory. By 1885 the number had increased to 543,705 head. [74] The large herds near Fort Union were encroaching on the post reservation by 1880, when livestock were found grazing on reserved grasslands, destroying fences at the post, and polluting the spring which supplied some of the water for the garrison. Post Commander Dudley faced the problem by having all stray cattle impounded and charging a fee for owners to reclaim them. [75]

During and after the Civil War the army continued the practice of contracting for the herding and grazing of cattle and horses and for the care and feeding of livestock during winter months. The contractors provided herders, made sure the animals had access to water and good grass during the growing season, and provided forage during the cold season. William Krönig held the contract at Fort Union in 1866-1867 to care for cattle and horses on his large ranch along the Mora and Sapello rivers near the post. He was equipped to handle large numbers of livestock, with two flowing streams for water, excellent grasses, and four stone corrals. [76] He provided corn (at rate of $4.75 per hundred pounds) and hay (at $40.00 per ton) for the government animals. During the month of March he received approximately $8,900 from his contract, and the number of animals he cared for was not specified. [77] Lucien Maxwell at Cimarron and Vicente Romero at La Cueva also contracted to care for public animals. During the winter of 1867-1868 Romero provided feed and care for 400 to 700 head of livestock, receiving $1.78 per hundred for corn and $20.00 a ton for hay. [78]

There were only a few contractors who cared for large government herds, thereby marketing some of the forage products of New Mexico. A larger number of individuals benefited from the army's need for forage and livestock care by serving as forage agents, who also provided

fuel. These agents, appointed annually by the quartermaster department, were usually located along the major routes of travel. They provided hay for government draft animals and the horses of cavalrymen, officers, scouts, and couriers. The army depended on them to feed the animals of traveling parties so that forage would not have to be carried along or provided by government-operated supply stations along the way. In New Mexico the practice began before the Civil War and continued until 1882, although the number of agents decreased dramatically with the arrival of the railroads. Military leaders in the department considered the forage agencies essential to the service in New Mexico where long distances had to be traveled and a ready supply of livestock feed was rare. Because these agents were found throughout the military department, Darlis Miller concluded that "forage agencies symbolized the military's symbiotic relationship with the local populace." [79]

Forage agents were required to supply forage for livestock and wood for fuel at rates set by the quartermaster department. In 1875 the rates in the "Fort Union District" were $4.75 per hundred for corn, $35.00 per ton for hay, and $6.00 a cord for wood. The firewood was provided without remuneration for teamsters hauling army freight and military escorts up to a certain size (ten unmounted soldiers or twenty mounted troops).



Lucien B. Maxwell.

In addition they provided corrals for public animals at no charge. Army express riders received free meals. Quarters and meals were required for officers at "reasonable charges" to the individual, and similar accommodations could be made available to enlisted men and employees if they chose to pay for them. Otherwise soldiers and teamsters were provided a place to camp and cook. Agents were paid for such services as stabling horses for express riders, repairing wagons and other equipment, shoeing horses and mules, and storing public property. The agents also guarded government property, cared for ailing men and impaired animals, helped recover lost or stolen livestock and other public property, circulated advertisements for the quartermaster department, and whatever other assistance the army might require. [80]

Agents were advised not to issue forage to any "unauthorized persons" or "to any enlisted man, wagon master or teamster, except upon a written or printed order signed or countersigned by a commissioned officer." Payment would not be made without properly-signed receipts and vouchers. The amount of government money an agent received depended entirely upon military traffic at a particular location, which varied from season to season. Some of them used the same facilities to provide stations for the stage and mail lines and to accommodate private travelers and freighters. Most agents supplemented their income by selling supplies and whisky to patrons. Several had ranching operations. It must have paid well to be appointed a forage agent because there was intense competition to receive the appointments. In order to secure or keep such a position some agents built fine corrals for livestock and quarters for travelers, harvested and stored quality hay and other forage, and assured a supply of clean water. Some agents were veterans who may have been rewarded by the quartermaster department's policy of employing former soldiers when possible. Several agents were women. There were few records of how any particular individual agent fared, but some concept of the total funds dispensed to agencies was revealed in the request of the

chief quartermaster for the District of New Mexico for $49,000 to purchase forage and fuel from agents during the period from December 1, 1875, to June 30, 1876. [81]

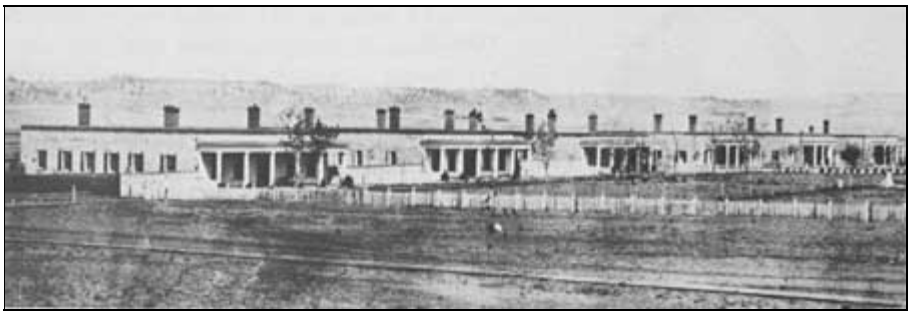
A number of agents were located in the area of Fort Union. William Krönig was the agent at Sapello. There is reason to believe that the large stone corral located beside the route of the Santa Fe Trail near the Sapello River southwest of present Watrous, New Mexico, commonly known as the "Fort Union Corral," was probably the site of Krönig's forage agency. He reportedly had four stone corrals when he held the contract to care for cattle and horses, 1866-1867. [82] The following table lists the agents in the region in the 1875.

Table 12
Forage Agents in Fort Union District, 1875 [83]

Forage Agent	Location
Francisco Lopez	Stone Ranch, New Mexico
W. G. Rifenberg	Trinidad, Colorado Territory
Jas. E. Whitmore	Gallinas Springs, New Mexico
A. J. Calhoun	Ocate, New Mexico
Wm. Krönig	Sapello, New Mexico
Jno. L Taylor	Apache Springs, New Mexico
R. L Wootton	Raton Pass, Colorado Territory
Roman Lopez	San Jose, New Mexico
M. Heck	Sweetwater, New Mexico
J. O. Dimmock	Dimmock's Ranche, Colorado Territory
J. A. Foster	Apishapa, Colorado Territory
Fred Walsen	Walsenberg, Colorado Territory
John Odam	Conchas Station, New Mexico
H. E. Blattman	Las Garces, New Mexico
W. R. Morley	Cimarron, New Mexico
Chas. Ilfeld	Tecolote, New Mexico
T. F. Chapman	Las Vegas, New Mexico
Jno. G. Self	Cucharas, Colorado Territory
T. Meloche	Vermejo, New Mexico
E. T. Mezick	Red River, New Mexico
Chas G. Burbank	Chico Springs, New Mexico
C. H. Bartlett	Willow Springs, New Mexico
Tracy McCleavy	La Garita, New Mexico
A. W. Johnson	Butte Valley, Colorado Territory
Geo. W. Gregg	Olgin Hill & Alamacita, New Mexico
B. Chandler	Rock Crossing Red River, New Mexico
O. K. Chittenden	Chittenden's Ranch, New Mexico
Benson & Slate	Bent's Cañon, Colorado Territory
Thos. L. Johnson	Johnson's Ranche, New Mexico
Jas. T. Johnson & Bro.	Cherry Valley & Canon Largo, New Mexico

Forage agents and other government contractors and employees benefited from the military

expenditures in New Mexico. The army was a key factor in the economy of the region from the late 1840s to the 1880s. There were, however, hazards for an economy that was largely dependent upon a single customer. When the number of troops in New Mexico was reduced after the Civil War, the military budget decreased and, with that, the demand for what New Mexicans produced declined. For example, the total budget for the army in New Mexico was $4,433,884 for fiscal 1865, and it declined to $2,779,294 for fiscal 1867. [84] The result, naturally, was a reduction of prices for items in ample supply. Competition became rigorous and some contractors suffered losses. For instance, in 1876 Joseph B. Collier, who farmed in Mora County, offered to deliver more than a million pounds of corn to the Fort Union Depot for only seventy-nine cents per hundredweight. That was less than half the price of any corn contract in the preceding three years. Collier won the contract but was unable to fulfill the terms at that price. He delivered almost 90% of the corn promised, apparently at considerable financial loss, and was released from responsibility for the remainder because of his losses and the fact that Fort Union had a sufficient stock of corn to last until new contracts were negotiated. [85]



Quarters and offices of Quartermaster and Commissary Depot at Fort Union, 1876. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

The bidding for the hay contract at Fort Union became so competitive in 1874 that the leading producers and contractors combined to fix prices and refused to sell hay to anyone who underbid them. The contract for hay went to H. V. Harris for $18.50 per ton, but the "combination" (including John Dent, John Pendaries, M. Rudolph, J. B. Watrous, W. B. Tipton, Charles Williams, Charles Fraker, F. J. Ames, S. Valdez, and Fernando Nolan) had agreed to sell no hay for less than $19.50 per ton. Harris was forced to request release from the agreement because he was unable to find hay at the price he had bid. The quartermaster department opposed the "combination" but refused to release Harris from his contract because it might destroy the system of competitive bidding. Harris, unable to find the hay he had promised, let a subcontract for $18.50 per ton to Samuel Kayser of Las Vegas (who apparently had hay and was not a party of the "combination"). The army contracted with Kayser for additional hay, frustrating the plans of the "combination." Competition defeated those trying to fix prices, and in 1875 Trinidad Romero contracted to furnish hay at $13.90 per ton. J. B. Watrous, a member of the "combination" the previous year, offered 100 tons for only $12.00 per ton. [86] Competitive bidding continued to be the primary method of obtaining supplies in New Mexico.

The variety of commodities furnished the Fort Union Depot may be seen in the following table of contracts let in 1875.

Table 13
Contracts at Fort Union Depot, 1875 [87]

Contractor	Product	Quantity	Price
J. B. Wasson	Charcoal	1,000 bushels	$0.175 per bushel
G. W. Gregg	Charcoal	1,000 bushels	0.175 per bushel
R. Romero	Firewood	1,300 cords	5.625 per cord
Trinidad Romero	Hay	900 tons	13.90 per ton
Joseph B. Watrous	Hay	100 tons	12.00 per ton
R. Romero	Bran	50,000 pounds	0.95 per hundredweight
Trinidad Romero	Corn	740,000 pounds	1.83 per hundredweight
Willi Spiegelberg	Corn	300,000 pounds	1.79 per hundredweight
Willi Spiegelberg	Corn	200,000 pounds	1.83 per hundredweight
Charles Ilfeld	Corn	200,000 pounds	1.71 per hundredweight
May Hays	Corn	200,000 pounds	1.75 per hundredweight
G. W. Gregg	Corn	250,000 pounds	1.82 per hundredweight
May Hays	Oats	50,000 pounds	2.25 per hundredweight
Joseph B. Watrous	Oats	60,000 pounds	2.50 per hundredweight

After the railroad (treated below with transportation developments in New Mexico) built into Colorado in the 1870s, and especially after it reached New Mexico in 1879, the army found that it was usually less expensive to import quartermaster and subsistence stores, mostly from Kansas but also other places for some items, than to purchase them in New Mexico. The result was a dramatic reduction in contracts for New Mexican products, including flour, [88] forage, beans, fuel, and salt. The railroad, it should be noted, brought positive changes to the New Mexican economy, too. The decrease in transportation costs reduced the prices of imported commodities to all consumers. The railroad also provided cheap transportation for New Mexican products shipped to distant markets. A major beneficiary was the cattle industry. The importance of the military market continued to decline in New Mexico and virtually ceased to exist when all military posts in the territory except one were closed by the early 1890s. Until that time, however, the army continued to be a factor, for good or ill, in the territorial economy. It affected workers as well as contractors of supplies.

The number of civilian employees also declined after the Civil War, as noted above, but the army remained the major employer in the territory well into the 1870s. Darlis Miller concluded: "For many western men the military must have provided a certain amount of psychological security. If no better offer came along, they could always find a job driving teams or mixing adobe at an isolated military fort." [89] After the Civil War the army gave preference to former soldiers when it hired citizens. The availability of civilian jobs, however, continued to decrease as Congress, as it had before the war, curtailed the military budget during almost constant campaigns to economize.



Depot quartermaster office, Fort Union, 1866. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88008, *courtesy* National Archives.

On July 1, 1869, the total number of civilian employees in the nation's quartermaster department was slashed by more than half, from 10,494 to 4,000. Of those 4,000 the District of New Mexico was allotted 153, of whom 96 were assigned to the Fort Union Depot (35% of the 265 positions at the depot just one year before). Employees in the subsistence department were reduced at the same time. The commissary department in the district was permitted a total of fourteen civilian workers after July 1, 1869, of whom twelve were allocated to the Fort Union Depot. [90] Congress also reduced the wages of civilians employed by the army. Skilled workers were paid $2.20 per day; unskilled workers were paid $24 per month; and teamsters were paid according to where they were employed ($25 per month with wagon trains and $30 at the depot). Congress had also established an eight-hour day for citizen workers. [91]

Although the pay for civilian employees was still considered good in comparison to other available jobs in the region, the security of those positions remained tenuous. In 1870 Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, stationed at Fort Union, noted that about 200 laborers and mechanics were employed at the depot. He was concerned when, as he stated, "for some cause about fifty or seventy five are to be discharged today." The young soldier expressed rare compassion for their situation, declaring he did not "know what they will do, there is nothing else around here for them to do." He doubted that many of them had "money enough to take them to the Rail Road." In comparison to the lot of such unemployed citizens, Matthews declared, "a Soldier's life at the most is a very rough one, but is much preferable to me. . . . Those employed by the Government do very well, as long as they can keep their situation, but when they loose that, they have it very rough." [92]



Interior street at Fort Union Depot, no date, with teamster and employee quarters on the left and storehouses on the right. The depot corrals are left of the quarters. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 87999, *courtesy* National Archives.

In February 1874 the entire quartermaster department had to make drastic reductions of civilian employees to keep within its budget. Lieutenant Colonel Fred Myers, chief quartermaster in the District of New Mexico, was forced to reduce the monthly payroll for civilians in the district from $5,789 to $1,455 until the beginning of the new fiscal year on July 1, 1874. That meant nearly three-fourths of the 109 employees in the district, most of whom were at the Fort Union Depot, had to be discharged. [93] In April 1874 Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, explained that all the civilian employees had been discharged at Fort Union and, in their place, all the infantrymen stationed at the post were on extra-duty in the quartermasters department. [94] Presumably many of the civilian positions were filled

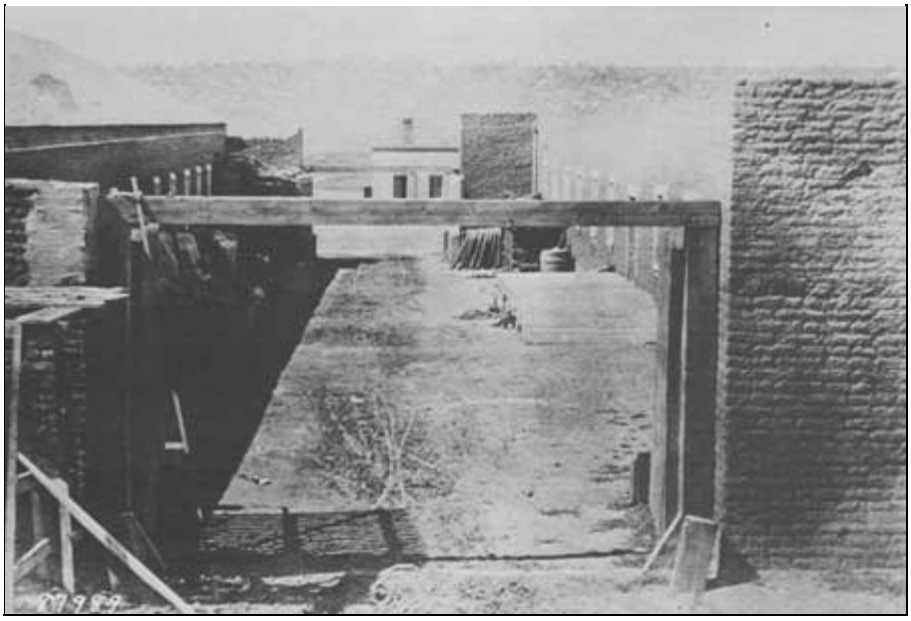
again after July 1. The transportation corral at the depot was destroyed by fire on June 27, 1874. Because employees were not available to build a replacement a contract was let to William Hoberg of Cherry Valley in October 1874 to make adobe bricks and build the new corral and associated buildings. A total of $3,000 that had been appropriated to repair quarters at Fort Union was diverted to the corral project. Hoberg employed "about fifty men" who turned out "nearly ten thousand adobes per day." [95]



View between two Fort Union Depot storehouses, probably in 1866, with the depot quartermaster office In background. The storehouse on the right was nearing completion; note scaffold, bucket, and trowel. It was the only large storehouse with a gable-style, shingled roof. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 87992, *courtesy* National Archives.

More than 50,000 bricks had been laid when the work was interrupted by winter weather. Hoberg was financially strapped and requested to be paid for what he had done so he could hire workers to complete the job the following spring. The quartermaster department refused to pay until the contract was fulfilled and requested that Hoberg post bond to cover the project. Hoberg refused but promised he would finish the job. The post sutler, J. C. Dent, loaned Hoberg sufficient funds in 1875 to complete the corral wall and buildings. Dent also offered to post bond and oversee the completion of the project. The contract was transferred to Dent and extended to September 30, 1875, but was not completed by that date. Dent received another extension to complete the work in the spring of 1876. The adobe structures were finished in 1876, but Hobert and Dent both lost money on the contract. [96]

In 1877, as the military budget was squeezed ever tighter, the quartermaster department again reduced the number of civilian employees. Some men who had been employed by the army in New Mexico for many years were terminated. In March 1878 Samuel Price, a watchman at Fort Union Depot, was discharged. Price, age 62, had enlisted in the army in 1836 and served more than twenty years as a soldier. From 1862 to 1878 he was employed at the depot where he filled a variety of positions, including storekeeper, superintendent of the wood yard, and watchman. Colonel Edward Hatch, district commander, requested permission to keep Price on the job because of his "long and faithful service." The request was denied because the district would not be permitted to exceed its appropriation. [97]



Another view between storehouses, with the gable-roof building under construction on the left, about 1866. Note the scaffold, small area to which exterior plaster has been applied, office in background, and freight wagons in the distance at left of office. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 87989, *courtesy* National Archives.

Many officers in addition to Hatch objected to the cuts in hired labor because, as always, enlisted men had to be assigned to the vacated positions. Soldiers with needed skills were not always available and extra-duty assignments took them away from military assignments. Using enlisted men as laborers rather than soldiers undermined morale and contributed to desertion. Brigadier General John Pope stated the problem succinctly in 1877 when he declared that the nation's military posts were "garrisoned by enlisted laborers rather than soldiers." [98] Such complaints, however, were negated because extra-duty pay was cheaper than hiring civilians. Soldiers who performed skilled labor received thirty-five cents a day (if assigned to the task for more than ten days) until 1884 and fifty cents a day thereafter. Soldiers who performed unskilled labor received twenty cents per day until 1884 and thirty-five cents per day afterward. [99]



Fort Union Depot transportation corral during construction, about 1888, including sheds, corn cribs, stables, and hay yard in left background. U.S. Signal Corps Photo, *courtesy* National Archives

A few times, in efforts to economize, the military budget was so deficient that the number of soldiers assigned to extra-duty labor in the quartermaster department was reduced. In 1874 the entire quartermaster department, in order to keep from exceeding the funds appropriated and in addition to reducing the number of civilian employees as noted above, released all enlisted men from extra-duty assignments except for a few critical positions (mostly clerks). In 1876 and 1883 the District of New Mexico was again compelled to discharge, temporarily, enlisted men from extra-duty except for a few clerks. [100] The system of extra-duty pay was sometimes abused because of the rule requiring an enlisted man to be assigned to an extra-duty task for ten or more days to receive the pay. When soldiers were assigned to extra-duty for less than ten days they were not paid for the labor. That saved the army money but increased soldiers' grievances. The necessary reforms and appropriations to resolve the problem were not enacted until after Fort Union was abandoned. Civilian employees were utilized until the end.

Darlis Miller thoroughly studied the employment of civilians by the army in the Southwest during and after the Civil War. She found that employees with lengthy tenure, such as Samuel Price, were the exception rather than the rule and that there was generally a "rapid turnover." In 1870, at the Fort Union Depot, for example, twenty-four of the thirty-seven teamsters employed had been on the job less than six months and only five had been there more than two years. Most of the employees of the quartermaster department in the District of New Mexico in 1870 were Anglos, with less than 20% being Hispanos. There were seventeen Hispanos employed at the depot: one cook, one laborer, two herders, and thirteen teamsters. They received the same wages as their Anglo counterparts. All the skilled positions, however, were held by Anglos. Only a few black workers were identified. [101]



Another section of transportation corrals at the depot, late 1880s. U.S. Signal Corps Photo, *courtesy* National Archives.

All civilian employees were expected to abide by military standards of behavior and were subject to discharge if they disobeyed army regulations. Miller found that "the major cause for dismissal was drunkenness, but other causes included theft, disobedience of orders, general worthlessness, mistreatment of animals, and contributing to riots." While the army was "quick to discipline," it was generally slow in paying civilian workers. Some workers "often waited months for their pay." In December 1872 the teamsters at Fort Union, who had

not been paid for "several months," had to beg for financial aid to purchase clothing for the winter months. [102]

After Congress established an eight-hour day in 1868, there was confusion at Fort Union over the implementation of the new rule. In October 1868 the employees at the quartermaster depot were working eight hours a day while the employees at the nearby arsenal were working ten hours each day, and the workers at both places received the same daily pay. [103] After a rumor circulated that the depot employees would be paid less for working only eight hours, they petitioned to work ten hours to avoid a cut in wages. [104] Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs did not approve, stating that the eight-hour day was "fixed by law." He instructed the depot quartermaster to "pay no more wages for a day's work than may be necessary to secure the services of good workmen. . . . If at Fort Union men can be hired at lower rates it is the duty of the officer to take advantage of these lower rates." At the same time, however, he refused to approve a reduction in pay for those who had converted from a ten- to an eight-hour workday. "It is not for the officers of the U.S.," Meigs concluded, "to so apply it as to convert a gift into a punishment." [105]

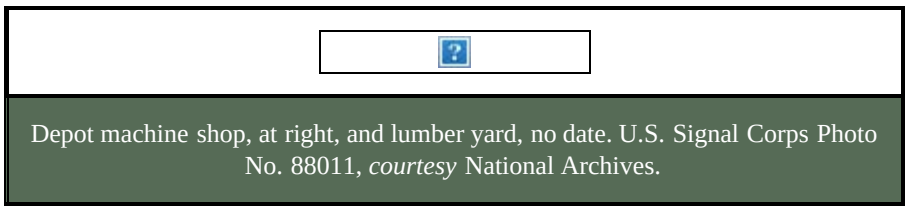


Depot transportation corral, 1876. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

A general reduction in pay for quartermaster employees was effected the following year, based on the eight-hour day, and employees who were required to work overtime were to receive additional compensation. Effective April 1, 1869, throughout the Department of the Missouri, which included the District of New Mexico, all "workshops and places of labor" were to "be open ten (10) hours each day, except Sundays. All civil employees who choose may work that number of hours, and will be paid for over-work at the same rate as for the legal day's labor of eight hours." Despite the eight-hour law, most civilian employees usually worked ten hours per day. In addition, the army never applied the eight-hour law to citizens employed by the month, such as clerks, herders, and teamsters. [106]

The army had effectively circumvented the intention of Congress to establish an eight-hour day for government employees. Most employees were opposed to it, too, if it meant a reduction in pay. Periodically Congress or the president attempted to bring the army into compliance, without success until 1872-1873. On September 11, 1872, all shops in the Department of the Missouri were ordered to be open only eight hours per day with no extra time or additional pay available. The workers still feared a reduction in pay, since they had been working ten hours each day. To allay their concerns, in March 1873 all civilian workers in the department were to receive the same pay for an eight-hour day as they had previously received for a ten-hour day, plus additional compensation for overtime. [107] Basically the change amounted to a raise in pay. The amount of overtime available was unknown. The situation changed and confusion returned in 1877 after the Supreme Court ruled that the eight-hour law did not prevent the army from making contracts with workers which established a workday longer than eight hours. Within a few months the quartermaster department set the official workday at ten hours at the same wages employees had been

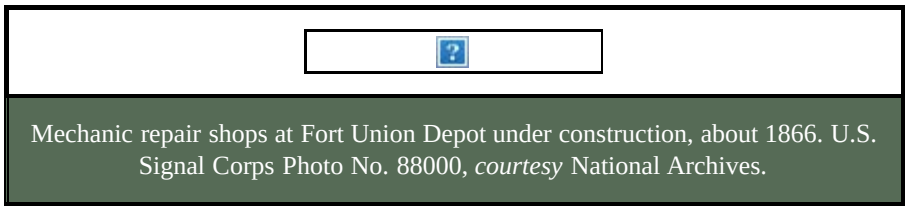
receiving for working eight hours (a pay reduction). There the matter stood so long as the Fort Union depot remained active. [108]



Depot machine shop, at right, and lumber yard, no date. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88011, *courtesy* National Archives.

The operation of the Fort Union Depot and the supply of troops throughout New Mexico was closely connected with and affected by developments in transportation. The bulk of equipment and supplies continued to come over the Santa Fe Trail, which was slowly replaced by the railroad, and were then distributed to other posts from the depot. As noted above, contract freighting had replaced most army freighting by the time of the Civil War. During and after the war the quartermaster department provided some transportation, keeping wagons and draft animals at the depot and military posts to haul some supplies and local items (fuel, water, forage, and camp equipage). Troops on field duty were usually accompanied by army wagons, although contract freighters were frequently required for lengthy campaigns. The depot used its transportation to augment freight contractors in distributing materials in the district.

After the Civil War much of the traffic on the Santa Fe Trail, including the shipment of military supplies and the movement of troops and quartermaster wagons, followed the Raton Pass Route (later known as the Mountain Route). Wagon traffic over the difficult Raton Pass became easier after Richens Lacy (Uncle Dick) Wootton completed a toll road there in 1865. In addition to cutting grades, Wootton had constructed bridges in the narrow valley on each side of the pass in which wagons had to shift from one side to the other of the rock-strewn streams. Eveline Alexander traveled Wootton's toll road in 1867 and reported that it crossed the streams a total of fifty-seven times. [109] The quartermaster department agreed to pay Wootton quarterly for military uses of his toll road. As was frequently the case with all its contractors, the quartermaster department was slow in making payments. In the spring of 1875 Wootton notified the Fort Union Depot quartermaster that, if overdue payments were not made by May 1, he would require cash payment before military personnel or wagons could use his road. [110] The railroad later built over Raton Pass. The quartermaster department continued to distribute supplies.



Mechanic repair shops at Fort Union Depot under construction, about 1866. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88000, *courtesy* National Archives.

The depot at Fort Union had approximately 250 six-mule teams and wagons in 1867. The number of wagons and mules decreased at the depot as more and more freight was consigned to civilian contractors. Periodically the quartermaster department sold surplus equipment and livestock at public auction, usually at moderate prices to civilians in the area. A soldier in the Fort Union garrison, Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, noted in the summer of 1870 that "there is quite a large Sale here today, selling off two or three hundred mules, wagons &c. Some very nice Stock among them." [111] In 1872 the depot had about 130 wagons and just over 300 mules. [112] The primary goal of the army was to reduce the costs of transportation, something that was achieved with the building of the railroads. As the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division (later the Kansas Pacific Railroad) built westward across Kansas after the Civil War, the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail moved closer to New Mexico. In 1866

wagon trains departed from Junction City, Kansas, and the following year they loaded at Hays, Kansas. The farther military supplies could be carried by rail, the cheaper the remaining wagon trip to New Mexico became. In 1868 the wagons loaded at Sheridan, Kansas, and the following year at Kit Carson, Colorado Territory. The Kansas Pacific reached Denver in 1870. In 1872 the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad connected Denver with Pueblo, Colorado Territory. Wagons were loaded at Pueblo for shipment to New Mexico. Later the Denver and Rio Grande reached El Moro, five miles north of Trinidad, Colorado Territory. In the 1870s the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad built along the old Santa Fe Trail, shortening the wagon road with the completion of each section. In succession, wagons were loaded at Granada, West Las Animas, La Junta, and Trinidad. In 1879 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe was completed over Raton Pass and reached Watrous (formerly La Junta, the closest railroad station to Fort Union) and Las Vegas. In 1880 it reached Santa Fe and the Santa Fe Trail ceased to function as an overland route of supply. Wagon trains were still required for the distribution of military supplies into areas not served by rail.



Interior area of mechanic repair shops, commonly known as the mechanics' corral, about 1870. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88010, *courtesy* National Archives.

Throughout the years of Civil War and the time the railroads were building toward and into New Mexico, contract freighters carried military supplies in wagon trains to Fort Union Depot and other posts. Irwin, Jackman and Co., which replaced Russell, Majors and Waddell as the contractor for freight shipped from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico on the eve of the Civil War, dominated that route during most of the war. Other contractors who entered the business included Andrew Stewart of Steubenville, Ohio, in 1864 (rate of $1.97 per hundred pounds per hundred miles) and William S. Shewsbury of Council Grove, Kansas, in 1865 (rate of $2.05 per hundred pounds per hundred miles). In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, Quartermaster General Meigs reported that his department paid $1,439,578 to contractors transporting supplies to and within New Mexico Territory. [113]



Depot mechanics' corral, 1876. The steam engine was housed in the building at the right. Note fire-fighting equipment in center of photo. U.S. Signals Corps Photo No. 88018, *courtesy* National Archives.

Freight costs decreased in 1866, partly because the railroad shortened the distance wagons had to travel to reach Fort Union, and partly because competitive bidding reduced the rates. George W. Howe of Atchison, Kansas, held the contract in 1866 at the rate of $1.38 per hundred pounds per hundred miles. Other savings were made by reducing waste of commissary provisions through better packing and reducing theft along the route. Freight rates also continued to decrease. In 1867 John E. Reeside of Maryland was awarded the contract to carry freight from the railroad in Kansas to Fort Union for $1.28 per hundred pounds per hundred miles between April and September and for $2.34 during the remainder of the year. Reeside failed to fulfill his contract, however, and Richard Kitchen of Leavenworth County, Kansas, received a special contract to carry some of the freight for $1.45 per hundred pounds per hundred miles. Later in 1867 Kitchen and a partner, Henry S. Bulkley, agreed to deliver additional freight to Fort Union at a rate of $2.165. Rates varied only slightly in the next few years. Percival G. Lowe, who had earlier been at Fort Union as a soldier, held the contract in 1868. [114]

While the contracts to ship military freight to New Mexico were usually awarded to residents living in the states, the contracts for distributing supplies within New Mexico were awarded to people in the territory. In 1864, for example, Epifanio Aguirre received a contract to deliver five million pounds within the department at $2.00 per hundred pounds per hundred miles during spring and summer months and $2.25 during other times of the year. [115] A Santa Fe newspaper declared that Aguirre was "the first large Mexican contractor" in New Mexico. [116] Darlis Miller explained that Aguirre was "a good example of the Hispanic capitalist who tapped into the military's reservoir of federal dollars." [117] In 1865 the contract to distribute supplies from Fort Union Depot was awarded to the Fort Union post sutler, William H. Moore. Another New Mexican who carried freight for the quartermaster department during the late 1860s was Vicente Romero of La Cueva. [118]

Alexander Grzelachowski, the Polish priest who helped guide Chivington's battalion at Glorieta Pass in 1862 and had later become a merchant at Las Vegas, received the contract to distribute supplies from Fort Union Depot in 1870 at the rate of $1.235 per hundred pounds per hundred miles. Grzelachowski subcontracted most of the hauling to Hispanos. Moore secured the contract in 1871 at a rate of $1.00 during spring and summer and $1.25 during fall and winter. [119] The amount of freight distributed from Fort Union decreased after 1870 because most supplies were often transported directly from the railroad to the posts for which they were intended.

In 1870 Brigadier General Pope, commanding the Department of the Missouri, recommended that the Fort Union Depot be closed and that military supplies be shipped directly to their ultimate destination. Not only would that be more convenient, it would save money. [120]

Pope had earlier communicated the same suggestions to District of New Mexico Commander Getty, who wrote a detailed justification of the depot. The following excerpts from Getty's defense provide insight into the functions of the depot as well as his reasons for keeping it open.

> In regard to the advisability of breaking up the Depot at Fort Union, I believe, that aside from the necessity for it in case of emergency, its being abolished would result in a great additional expense to the United States. The principal objection to shipping supplies direct to posts, is the want of facilities at most posts for the proper storage of such large amounts as would of necessity have to be brought to each post in order to meet all possible demands. At the Depot there are excellent Storehouses, where supplies can be kept for years if need be, without danger of loss by exposure, deterioration or otherwise, and I am assured that the expense of maintaining the Depot is far below the probable losses which would be incurred from want of proper care of stores at the different posts.
>
> The cost of reshipping stores at Depot, is I think, more than covered by the difference in price of freight. Freight within the Territory, at present, is six cents less, per hundred pounds per hundred miles, than from the terminus of the Rail-Road to the Depot. It is necessary to have in the District a herd of mules, and there is no post where they can be kept as safely and cheaply as at the Depot. . . .
>
> Unserviceable stores of all kinds are sent to the Depot and exchanged for serviceable. The former are for the most part sold, and bring better prices at Fort Union than at any other point in the District.
>
> The advantage of the Depot, indeed its absolute necessity, where cooperation or independent action in the field on the part of the troops is called for, (as quite recently in Colonel Evans expedition on the Canadian River [Winter Campaign, 1868-18691) - is so obvious that I deem it unnecessary to further ask your attention to it.
>
> In this Territory where Indian hostilities are frequent, and occur in different quarters, at different times, it is difficult to make any garrison a permanent one. A post with Infantry today may need Cavalry tomorrow, and that at a time when, without a Depot, the Cavalry would find a years supply of Infantry equipments on hand at its new station. Supplies can now be drawn from Depot whenever wanted, involving little inconvenience or expense.
>
> If the Depot at Fort Union is not kept up, many more animals must be kept at the posts, as it would be long before they could be got out from the States to supply losses, and make up for those temporarily disabled.
>
> There are fine cellars at Union Depot where many articles of perishable Subsistence Stores can be kept, and nothing of the kind at other posts. Few, or none of the posts have sufficient Storeroom for a years supply. If the Depot is broken up, Storerooms must be built at considerable expense, which are not necessary under the present system.
>
> A large proportion of the Stores are sent from Depot to the several posts by Government teams, and the number of these teams cannot be reduced much, as they are required for emergencies. They can frequently, while at Depot be used for delivery of supplies which, were the Depot broken up, must all be delivered by contract teams.

> At many of the posts, particularly the southern ones, supplies deteriorate so rapidly, that if the system of annual instead of semi-annual supply is adopted, the loss would be far greater than it is now, as these same things can be kept without deterioration in the cooler climate at the Depot. [121]

Getty invited Pope to come and see the Depot for himself. Getty's pleas may have induced Pope not to break up the depot immediately, but it was only a matter of time until the railroad would make it obsolete.

The contractor for delivery of freight from the railroad to the District of New Mexico in 1871 was Eugene B. Allen of Leavenworth City, Kansas. He delivered most supplies directly to posts in the district and, in addition, roved supplies remaining at Fort Union to other posts. Some items were stored at Fort Union Depot because the storehouses at some of the posts were inadequate for large shipments. The depot also received the supplies used by the post at Fort Union. Slowly, however, the depot fell into disuse. [122] In 1876 Major Edward R. Platt, assistant adjutant general in the Department of the Missouri, declared that "Fort Union is now nearly valueless as a depot of supply for the District of New Mexico, almost all the stores for the District being shipped hence direct to the New Mexican posts." [123]

For some unknown reason, beginning later in 1876, the quartermaster department reverted to its former ways and shipped all supplies to Fort Union Depot from where they were distributed to the other posts. A year later, in 1877, the shipments from the railroad were again sent directly to the posts in the district and the depot was virtually phased out by the time the railroad reached Watrous. From 1871 until the railroad was completed to Watrous and Las Vegas in 1879, most freighting contracts were awarded to freighters in Kansas, including Allen, Henry C. Lovell, and Edward Fenlon. In 1875-1876 Jacob Gross of Granada, Colorado Territory, received the contract to freight military supplies from the railroad to various posts in New Mexico. In 1876-1877 Gross held the contract for freight from El Moro to Fort Union. In 1878 F. F. Struby of Garland, Colorado, received the contract to deliver directly to the various posts. [124] Throughout the 1870s most freight wagons were drawn by oxen. Captain Charles P. Eagan, chief commissary officer in the district in 1875, observed that 90% of the subsistence stores were brought to the posts in New Mexico by ox trains. [125]



Chick, Browne & Co., Las Vegas, New Mexico, early 1880s. This was a major forwarding and commission business that helped direct and deliver military freight to Fort Union and other posts. *Courtesy* University of New Mexico Library, Albuquerque.

The various contractors engaged the services of forwarding and commission houses to supervise their arrangements at the places where freight was transferred from the railroad to

wagon trains. The major enterprises providing those services were Otero, Sellar and Company and Chick, Browne and Company. Marcus Brunswick and Eugenio Romero of Las Vegas also served as agents for some contractors. Each commission house required the services of many clerks. Sometimes they had an agent at Fort Union and other posts to oversee the proper distribution of freight. When necessary, they hired the services of local freighters to help transport government stores. Brunswick and Romero were also engaged in freighting in New Mexico. [126]

In 1874 Eugenio Romero and his brother, Trinidad, contracted with the quartermaster department to provide a train of twenty-four six-mule wagons at the rate of $10 per wagon per day to carry the supplies for the troops sent from New Mexico under Major William R. Price, Eighth Cavalry, to participate in the Red River War. The fee of $10 per wagon each day seemed reasonable. The only other offer, by a Mr. Baca, was for $12 per wagon per day. The Romero brothers had to pay and supply their teamsters, herders, and other employees, plus the fact there was considerable wear and tear on the wagons and mules. By the time the campaign ended, the wagon train had been in the field from August 27 to December 15, 1874, more than 100 days, and the army owed the Romero brothers $25,730. Although several officers praised the services of their wagon train (Lieutenant John H. Mahnken testified that it "was the most efficient of any in the campaign" and Captain Gilbert C. Smith, quartermaster department, stated that no other "equal amount of transportation could at that time be had for less money"), other officers considered the fee to be excessive and pointed out the army could have bought a wagon train for the amount due. After an investigation the Romero brothers were paid. During 1876-1877, when military supplies were again concentrated at Fort Union Depot for distribution, Trinidad Romero received the contract to deliver stores to the other posts. He was paid a fixed rate per hundred pounds to each post, depending on the distance from Fort Union. [127]



Post trader's store at Fort Union, probably late 1860s. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 87966, *courtesy* National Archives.

When it became clear that the railroad would soon build into New Mexico, plans were made to close the Fort Union Depot. In February 1878 Captain Amos W. Kimball, depot quartermaster, was informed that District Commander Hatch had been "directed to as rapidly as possible reduce the Q.M. Depot at Union to a mere place where repairing which cannot be done readily at posts, may be made to transportation and where good grazing may be had to recuperate animals." Any "goods in depot" were "to be shipped to posts as will need them." The "balance, if any, may be retained for issue at Union." Civilian employees "not absolutely required" were "to be *at once discharged*, and expenses kept down to as low a point as possible." [128] By 1879 the railroad superseded the army in the amount of business conducted in New Mexico. Within a few years most posts in New Mexico were within twelve miles of a railroad (Fort Stanton was an exception, 118 miles from a railroad). Contractors transported commodities from the railroads to the posts. In 1885-1886 Ferdinand Schmidt of Mora County hauled supplies between Watrous and Fort Union for eleven cents per hundred

pounds. Almost all military supplies were imported and only a few items, mainly beef, were purchased within the district. [129] The contractors continued to make money from the army but not much of it benefited the rest of the people in New Mexico.

Even after the quartermaster depot ceased to operate as a warehouse and transportation center for the region, the post at Fort Union still had to be supplied. The quartermaster continued to contract for fuel and forage even though most of these products were imported by rail. In 1888 the following contracts were awarded:

Table 14
Contracts at Fort Union, 1888 [130]

Contractor	Product	Quantity	Price
Conger & Woodbury	Firewood	2,000 cords	$2.38 per cord
Conger & Woodbury	Coal	550 tons	6.10 per ton
Conger & Woodbury	Corn	100,000 pounds	1.18 per hundredweight
Conger & Woodbury	Corn	100,000 pounds	1.23 per hundredweight
Conger & Woodbury	Corn	100,000 pounds	1.28 per hundredweight
Conger & Woodbury	Oats	50,000 pounds	1.20 per hundredweight
Ferdinand Schmidt	Oats	75,000 pounds	1.30 per hundredweight
Conger & Woodbury	Bran	10,000 pounds	1.18 per hundredweight
R. P. Strong	Bran	10,000 pounds	$1.15 per hundredweight
W. P. Strong	Meadow Hay	1,000 tons	$8.40 per ton
W. P. Strong	Baled Hay	1,000 tons	$10.80 per ton
Ferdinand Schmidt	Bottom Hay	250 tons	$8.80 per ton
Ferdinand Schmidt	Baled Hay	250 tons	$11.00 per ton
H. D. Reinken	Straw	100 tons	$7.20 per ton
H. D. Reinken	Charcoal	180 bushels	$0.40 per bushel

The quartermaster depot continued to perform other functions. A vital part of the quartermaster department at Fort Union Depot was a collection of repair shops, including blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, saddlers, and laborers who repaired all types of equipment, especially transportation equipment, for the entire military department or district (some horse equipment was also repaired at the ordnance depot and arsenal). Wagons and other conveyances could be completely rebuilt at the shops, if necessary, and harnesses, ox bows, chains, saddles, pack frames, and all other gear connected with transportation were repaired. [131] The shops also made repairs for buildings, stables, and corrals, manufactured furnishings for quarters and offices as well as storehouses and shops, fabricated windows and doors, and kept all types of machinery in running order. Draft animals and, sometimes, cavalry horses were shod at the repair shops even though cavalry regiments typically had their own farriers. The shops usually employed a number of civilians. Even after the supply depot was closed, except for storage of provisions for Fort Union, the repair shops continued to operate until a short time before Fort Union was abandoned.



Fort Union post trader's store operated by Conger and Woodbury, 1880s. Photo Collection, Fort Union, *courtesy* Museum of New Mexico.

Fort Union, unlike most other military posts, had a unique situation with the presence of quartermaster and subsistence departments (and also the ordnance department) for the larger department or district located on the same reservation. The depot quartermaster and commissary officers were not under the jurisdiction of the post commander, except when they also served as post quartermaster or commissary officer simultaneously (during most years the depot and post quartermaster were the same person; that was also true of the depot and post subsistence officers) but were directly under the department or district commander and the chief quartermaster and commissary of subsistence at the department or district headquarters in Santa Fe. When the same person held the department and post position, the post commander's authority was limited to only the post duty.

Because the duties of the quartermaster and subsistence officers were similar, they were able to substitute for each other temporarily without difficulty. There were times, especially at the post rather than the depot, when the quartermaster and subsistence offices were assigned jointly to one officer. Much of the work in the post quartermaster and subsistence offices was performed under the direction of a quartermaster sergeant and commissary sergeant (office created in 1873). From 1875 on, the offices of depot quartermaster and commissary officer were combined into one. During the summer of 1875 Lieutenant John Lafferty, depot commissary officer, vacated that position and the depot quartermaster, Captain Amos S. Kimball, added subsistence duties to his responsibilities. Kimball was also the post quartermaster and subsistence officer. Given the variety of arrangements, it was probable that confusion and, periodically, conflict would result.

It was natural that post commanders and other officers at the garrison expected the depot to provide for the post because of proximity. The department commanders and chief quartermaster and commissary officers held the position that the depot was no more under the authority of the post at Fort Union than any other military post in the department. It was equally natural that depot officers felt independent from the garrison command. Problems arose over such issues as enforcing post orders at the depot, assigning depot officers to post duties such as boards of survey and courts-martial (as noted above), assigning garrison soldiers to guard duty at the depot, storing post property in depot facilities, determining how quartermaster mules and wagons were to be allocated between the post and depot, and a host of other things. Most of the time, however, relationships were friendly and cooperative.

In 1853 Fort Union Commander Nathaniel C. Macrae was reprimanded by Department Commander John Garland for assigning the depot and post quartermaster, Captain L. C. Easton, and the depot and post subsistence officer, Captain Isaac Bowen, to serve on a board of survey at the post. Garland declared,



Fort Union Post Traders token, probably from late 1860s or early 1870s. McNitt Collection, No. 6981, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

"these officers are the chiefs of their respective departments in New Mexico." Macrae was further notified, "they are not subject to detail in matters relating to the post of Fort Union—their duties pertain to the Department—and their station being at the principal depot does not subject them to duty at that post." Macrae inquired if the two officers were permitted to perform the duties of quartermaster and subsistence officers at the post. Garland sent word that he "did not intend that these officers should be relieved from duty at the post of Fort Union, connected with their own department." On the other hand, he continued, "they should not be subject to detail in matters relating to the post of Fort Union, and not connected with their department, such as Garrison Courts, Boards of Survey &c. &c." [132]

When Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke succeeded Macrae in 1853, he was also uncertain how the system worked. Even though the quartermaster and subsistence depots were being transferred to Albuquerque, the depot quartermaster and commissary officers were still at Fort Union and continued to serve as post quartermaster and commissary officers, too. Cooke asked Garland for some clarification about his relationship to those officers. They were his subordinates at the post, yet they were not under his control as depot officers. Cooke worried primarily about the chain of command and whether the two officers could bypass him by appealing directly to the department commander for services to be provided by the troops at Fort Union. He did not appreciate having his authority circumvented. Garland informed Cooke that he was not being bypassed but simply had no place in the chain of command between the department commander and the depot officers. [133] The problem was resolved a short time later when the two depot officers transferred to Albuquerque.

Another difficulty arose in 1856 when Captain John C. McFerran was appointed to serve as depot quartermaster and post quartermaster at Fort Union. Technically, Fort Union was a subdepot to Albuquerque, but it had been found more practical to receive and distribute military freight from Fort Leavenworth there than at Albuquerque. McFerran discovered that the temporary post commander was Lieutenant William T. Magruder, First Dragoons. McFerran was incensed, after Magruder assigned him to a board of survey at the post, that his actions were "subject to be approved or disapproved by my junior." He had complied, however, "for the sake of harmony." He requested that he not be subject to orders, except for strictly post quartermaster business, from the lieutenant post commander. Magruder was uncertain about his responsibilities and agreed not to exercise any authority over McFerran until the department commander informed him differently. [134] This issue died when Colonel Fauntleroy resumed command of the post about two weeks later. He clearly outranked McFerran.

In 1859 Captain William K. Van Bokkelen, subdepot and post quartermaster, requested Post Commander John Walker to detail three additional extra-duty soldiers to serve as carpenters and a blacksmith. Walker refused because he did not have the manpower to spare. Walker

was willing to permit extra-duty men to perform quartermaster duties for "post purposes" but not "for Depot work." He further observed that he thought it was "injudicious, to allow the depot, which happens to be here, to absorb so large a number of Soldiers, and thus injure the efficiency of the command for Military purposes." [135] It was not an uncommon complaint. A few weeks later Post Commander Robert M. Morris recalled six extra-duty soldiers from the subdepot because they were needed for guard duty at the post. Two weeks later Morris explained that, if he were required to send more troops into the field, he would have to withdraw all extra-duty men from the subdepot. He was concerned that the quartermaster and subsistence officers would be left shorthanded "as trains of stores are arriving, and reshipments of stores are occuring daily." Morris urged department headquarters to approve more civilian employees for the subdepot. [136] It was not determined if more civilians were employed.

In 1866 District Commander Carleton issued orders to prevent "misunderstanding between the Commanding and Depot Officers at, and on, the Fort Union Reservation, and on the Ordnance Reservation, with regard to their respective prerogatives and authority." The depots were "under the exclusive control of their respective Depot Officers, and independent of the post commander." The commanding officers of the depots and the post were each "responsible for the proper conduct of the men and control of the animals, within their several commands." The depot quartermaster was given control of grazing and the camping of wagon trains on the military reservation. [137] Lines had been drawn but confusion and conflict arose in specific situations. Many post commanders resented their lack of authority over the quartermaster depot. In 1877, when Lieutenant Colonel Dudley was post commander and Captain Kimball was depot and post quartermaster, the petty feuding over who was in control of such things as inspecting buildings, authorizing repairs of buildings, and assigning jobs to extra-duty soldiers, resulted in charges being filed against Dudley and his trial by court-martial. [138]

The problems of jurisdiction were frequently humorous, but sometimes they were deadly serious. During an outbreak of smallpox in the area around Fort Union in 1877, including Las Vegas and La Junta, Post Surgeon Carlos Carvallo requested authority to place the post, depot, and arsenal under quarantine. Post Commander Dudley approved the request and authorized Carvallo and his associate, Dr. Joseph S. Martin, to set up the quarantine. Martin was appointed "Quarantine Surgeon" and issued the notice of quarantine for the post and depot (no mention of arsenal because Captain Shoemaker had long insisted the post had no control over the arsenal, which had its own reservation within the post reservation), prohibiting the admission of all persons without being first examined by a medical officer. "All vendors of eggs, chickens and other merchandise and pedlers of every description are forbidden to enter the Post or Depo. until further notice." Two soldiers from the garrison were assigned to assist Dr. Martin in enforcing the quarantine. [139]

The following day the district commander notified Lieutenant Colonel Dudley that neither he nor the post surgeon could establish a quarantine that included the depot or arsenal over which they had no authority. The post quarantine could, of course, prohibit communications with both the depot and arsenal. The result was absurd from a medical viewpoint but necessary from an administrative point of view. One day later Captain Kimball, depot quartermaster, requested that Post Surgeon Carvallo extend the quarantine to include the depot. Carvallo, unsure of the line of authority, asked Post Commander Dudley for a clarification of the surgeon's duties (specifically, could he use the two soldiers from the post to enforce the quarantine at the depot?). The post surgeons had been providing medical service to soldiers and civilians serving at both the depot and arsenal, admitting them to the post hospital when necessary, and Carvallo wanted to know what should be done. Dudley sidestepped the issue by explaining he had no jurisdiction over the depot and arsenal and, therefore, could not authorize the use of men from the post garrison to enforce a quarantine at

the depot. Kimball informed Carvallo that a quarantine of the post without a quarantine of the depot was "useless" and requested Carvallo and Martin to enforce it at the depot. Carvallo replied to Kimball that he would not establish a quarantine at the depot "unless you place at my disposal men of your command for that object, having received orders not to use men of the Post for Depot quarantine." [140] Apparently the problem was resolved when Kimball agreed to provide men to enforce the quarantine. Because of or in spite of the quarantine, an outbreak of smallpox was avoided at Fort Union. The problem of jurisdiction remained. It should be noted, too, that the confusion was compounded by the fact that Kimball served as post quartermaster as well as depot quartermaster. [141]

As the duties of the quartermaster and commissary depots were reduced in the 1870s, some of the buildings were used for other purposes. In 1875 one of the officer's quarters at the depot became vacant when Lieutenant Lafferty, subsistence officer, turned over his department to the depot quartermaster, Captain Kimball, and left the post. Jane W. Brent, widow of Captain Thomas Lee Brent, was serving as the postmaster at the Fort Union post office at the time. She considered her quarters at the building which housed the post office to be inadequate to her needs and requested permission to occupy the quarters vacated by Lafferty. The post office was located in a building owned by Edward Shoemaker, son of Captain William Shoemaker, which was located "on the main road passing Fort Union . . . between the hotel, on the one side, and the store of the Post Trader on the other." Captain Kimball permitted Mrs. Brent to move into the former commissary officer's quarters until an officer should require the space. She was still there in 1884. In 1877 an additional two sets of vacant officers' quarters at the depot were opened to officers at the post. [142] On November 28, 1877, the day before Thanksgiving, the post and depot quartermaster office of Captain Kimball was destroyed by fire. The cause of the fire was not known. [143] No records were located to indicate where the office was located after the fire. The burned office was not renovated until April 1879. [144]

The post cemetery was the responsibility of the quartermaster department. No references to the cemetery were found until after the Civil War. In 1866 Lieutenant Harry Mumford, post quartermaster, reported that the cemetery, in use since 1851, was located approximately one and one-half miles west of the third post. Mumford did not know that the first person to be buried at Fort Union cemetery in 1851 was Private William Davidson, Company F, First Dragoons, who was struck by lightning on August 18. He was joined one day later by Private James Newell, Company G, First Dragoons, who succumbed to acute dysentery. [145]

Mumford reported that the cemetery was an area approximately 50 by 300 yards and had no fence around it. The number of graves was estimated at 155, most of which were unidentified. Headboards existed at approximately one-fifth of the grave sites and no cemetery records could be found at the post. Mumford recommended that the cemetery be fenced. [146] The quartermaster general's office directed that the cemetery be fenced and headboards placed on all graves. Unidentified grave sites were to be marked as "U.S. Soldier, name unknown." A list of all names that could be identified was to be sent to the quartermaster general. The work was done by the depot quartermaster. The fence was constructed of boards and painted. [147] Periodically fatigue details were sent to work at the cemetery. On April 17, 1869, for example, Corporal Philip Werner, Company G, Third Cavalry, and nine privates selected from various companies at the post were "detailed on daily duty for the purpose of putting the Cemetery at this Post in proper order." They were relieved from that duty on May 11, 1869. [148]

In 1870 Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, reported that while serving on guard duty at Fort Union he "was sent in charge of six prisoners over to the Cemetery to dig a grave for a poor soldier who accidentally shot himself while on duty." While the prisoners were at work, Matthews looked at a number of graves and read information on the headboards. He noticed

that more than 40 graves were marked "unknown," which he found distressful. He implied that the army might at least have identified the men who died in the service of their country. [149]

In 1873 Captain Andrew J. McGonnigle, quartermaster department, submitted a summary report on the post cemetery to the quartermaster general's office. The cemetery was described as located about one mile northwest of the post, encompassing an area 150 feet by 700 feet, and enclosed by a picket fence. A total of 223 interments were listed. Of those, 103 were counted as unknown soldiers. Of the soldiers listed by name, two were officers and the remainder were enlisted men. Several civilians and a few children were noted. In 1877 Chaplain Simpson requested that an adobe wall be constructed around the cemetery, but it was rejected as too expensive. [150] The cemetery was used until the post was abandoned, and the last burial was that of Private Richard van Schranendyk, Company H, Tenth Infantry, who died of pneumonia on May 9, 1891, just six days before the troops marched away from Fort Union forever. The remains of those buried at the post cemetery were later disinterred and moved to Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery. Of a total of 286 removed, 146 were unknown and the remaining 140 were identified. [151]

The quartermaster and commissary departments were an integral part of the history of Fort Union and the frontier army in the Southwest. Fort Union, more than any other post in the area, was closely identified with military supply because of the establishment of the depot there. That was also true of the ordnance department (later arsenal) which was located at Fort Union from its founding in 1851 until the arsenal was closed in 1882. During most of that time Captain William R. Shoemaker, military storekeeper, was in command of the ordnance depot and arsenal, until his retirement in 1882. The story of the ordnance depot, which should be treated as "Shoemaker's Domain," was an essential part of Fort Union history.

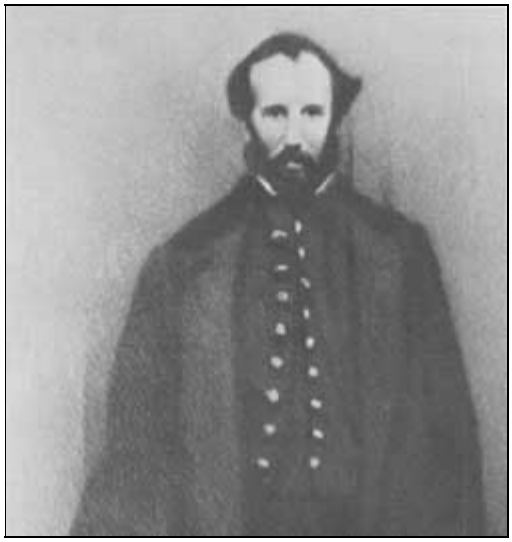
The ordnance department was responsible for all arms, ammunition, and related equipment. The department selected and purchased or manufactured all types of weapons, including swords, muskets, rifles, revolvers, and cannon. Ordnance officers tested new firearms, or had them tested in the hands of troops, and made improvements when appropriate. An ordnance depot was primarily a storehouse for arms and ammunition to be issued to troops as required. The staff at an ordnance depot, usually a combination of enlisted men and civilian employees, repaired arms, loaded and reloaded ammunition, and fabricated ammunition boxes, slings, belts, and other items related to weapons. Because they had the equipment to work leather, the ordnance depot sometimes repaired and fabricated horse equipment, shoes, and boots. Although small in staff and personnel, the ordnance department was critical to the fighting effectiveness of troops in the field.

The ordnance depot of the Ninth Military Department, under command of Captain Shoemaker, was transferred from Santa Fe to Fort Union when the new post was established in 1851. Shoemaker had been appointed a military storekeeper of ordnance in the army in 1841 and continued in that position until his retirement. Shoemaker and his large family built a home on the Fort Union military reservation which he was permitted to keep after his retirement. He was popular among most Fort Union officers and their families as many of the officers' wives attested. He had the reputation of being one of the finest hunters at Fort Union. He looked after the ordnance depot and arsenal with reverence and determination. For the most part he kept his domain independent from the post at Fort Union, occasionally clashing with commanding officers who attempted to extend their jurisdiction over his operations. He and his staff kept the troops in New Mexico equipped with arms and ammunition.

Before Colonel Sumner arrived to take over the Ninth Military Department in the summer of 1851 Shoemaker had recommended to Captain William Maynadier, ordnance department, that

the ordnance depot in New Mexico be located someplace besides Santa Fe, preferably on the Rio Grande. Within two weeks after Sumner arrived and ordered the relocation of the ordnance depot Shoemaker reported that one-half the ordnance stores, fifty wagon loads, were on the road to Fort Union. The remainder would have to await transportation. Shoemaker was not pleased with the location of the new depot and was especially miffed that there were no buildings at Fort Union to protect his stores. He feared the ordnance stores might end up with those of the quartermaster and declared "I shall endeavor to keep my Depot as separate & distinct from the other departments as possible." [152] On that promise Shoemaker made good.

Before he left Santa Fe Shoemaker issued arms and ammunition to the troops comprising Sumner's Navajo campaign. Shoemaker moved to Fort Union on August 24, 1851, where he placed the ordnance stores under tents. He and his ordnance detachment of twelve men, assisted by some troops from the post, began immediately to erect quarters and storehouses. The ordnance detachment was so busy with moving and construction that it was unable to prepare sufficient ammunition for the troops. Shoemaker ordered cartridges from the East to supply the department until his department had the time to load those required. He also ordered a supply of carbine cartridges because "the Dragoons are so dissatisfied with the Musketoon that they have in some cases adhered to the Carbine." The musketoon was unsatisfactory, in part, because the cartridges were *"too small"* and fell "out at the muzzle when [the weapon was] carried in the sling." Also, the musketoon needed another spring on the underside of the barrel "to keep the ramrod from falling out." Shoemaker also needed to know if he could obtain 1850 model officers' swords and a lower price on more Colt pistols. [153]



William Rawle Shoemaker, military store keeper and captain ordnance department, was at Fort Union most of the time from 1851 until his death in 1886. The ordnance depot and arsenal at Fort Union were truly "Shoemaker's Domain." Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Francis R. Shoemaker.

Shoemaker announced that the team of horses belonging to the ordnance depot had died, he thought because of "the climate," and he had obtained a team of mules which he considered to be "better adapted to this climate." It is not known what Shoemaker thought of his theory when one of his mules died. Early in November 1851 he reported the construction of quarters and storehouses for the ordnance department progressing well and expected to move into them in two weeks. The buildings were "very temporary ones" and the ordnance stores left in Santa Fe for want of transportation were going to remain in Santa Fe until needed or until a better location had been found to build an arsenal. The ordnance detachment was in quarters and loading ammunition early in 1852 when Shoemaker ordered 500 pounds of lead to mold balls. He also requisitioned a year's supply of paper, ink, pencils, steel pens, and quills for the ordnance office, noting that "the steel pens & quills sent last year were good for." [154]

Colonel Sumner directed Shoemaker to obtain, if possible, twenty Wesson Rifles, a heavyweight carbine with a range of 400 to 600 yards. Sumner wanted the long-range weapons "for a special purpose" which was not revealed. Although Shoemaker had hoped the ordnance depot might be relocated at Albuquerque, Sumner ordered him to erect more

storehouses at Fort Union so the inventory left in Santa Fe could be moved there. Shoemaker needed a heavy wagon to haul materials for construction and spent $900 for a wagon, six mules, and six sets of harness. He paid close attention to details in everything he did. To protect the ordnance buildings, Shoemaker ordered lightning rods and cables. He requested a bell to "call the men in the morning & to sound the work hours &c." [155]



The President of the United States of America,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, fidelity and abilities of William R. Shoemaker I have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him a MILITARY STOREKEEPER in the service of the United States from the third day of August eighteen hundred and forty one. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of MILITARY STOREKEEPER by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly charge and require him to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as he shall receive from me, or the future President of the United States of America, or the General, or other superior officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of May in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty four, and in the sixty eighth year of the Independence of the United States.

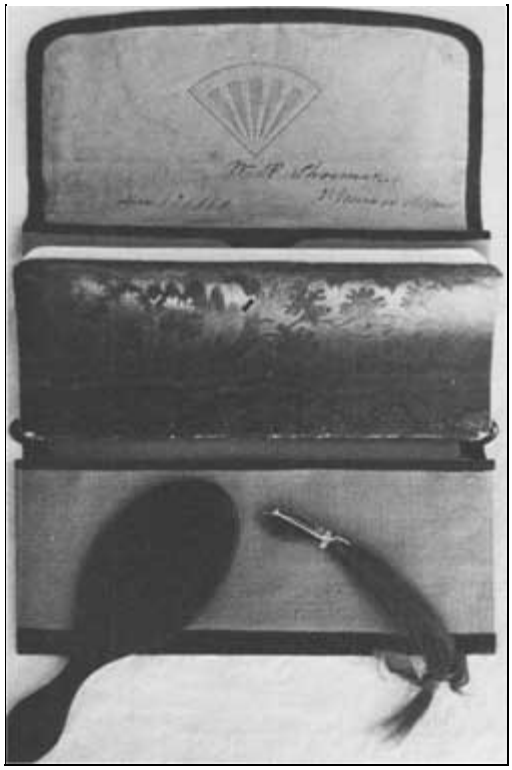
By the President, John Tyler

Wm Wilkins Secretary of War.

William R. Shoemaker's appointment as a military storekeeper, August 3, 1841, when John Tyler was president and William Wilkins was secretary of war. Shoemaker File, Fort Union National Monument Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

The ordnance depot had been without an armorer for several months because the previous one had completed his term of enlistment. Because no one had been found to enlist, Shoemaker requested a civilian employee to serve as armorer. In the summer of 1852 a Mr. Burke, a citizen, was sent from St. Louis Arsenal to serve as the Fort Union armorer at a salary of $3.00 per day. Shoemaker thought that was excessive and urged that an enlisted armorer be sent as quickly as possible. None was found. Shoemaker found it virtually impossible to enlist men into the ordnance detachment in New Mexico. Burke remained for the two years he agreed to stay when hired and then hired on indefinitely. In addition to his salary he was permitted to purchase rations from the post commissary at cost. In August 1853 Shoemaker reported that his detachment of twelve enlisted men was engaged as follows: one was in charge of the garden, five were harvesting hay for the public animals, and six were engaged in building shops and performing the regular duties of the ordnance depot. Armorer Burke was the only civilian employed. [156] Shoemaker was reluctant to hire civilian workers because of the cost, but he later requested permission to hire laborers to manufacture and lay the adobe bricks for the ordnance magazine because his detachment did not have the time. [157]

Because Captain Carleton wanted to take two twelve-pound mountain howitzers into the field when his dragoons were sent to patrol the Santa Fe Trail, Shoemaker ordered carriages for the weapons in the department. He wanted enough to provide each company of dragoons with two howitzers. He gathered up all the howitzers he could find in the territory, some of which had apparently been there since the



William Shoemaker's wallet, including a hand mirror and a lock of hair from his wife, Julia. Museum Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

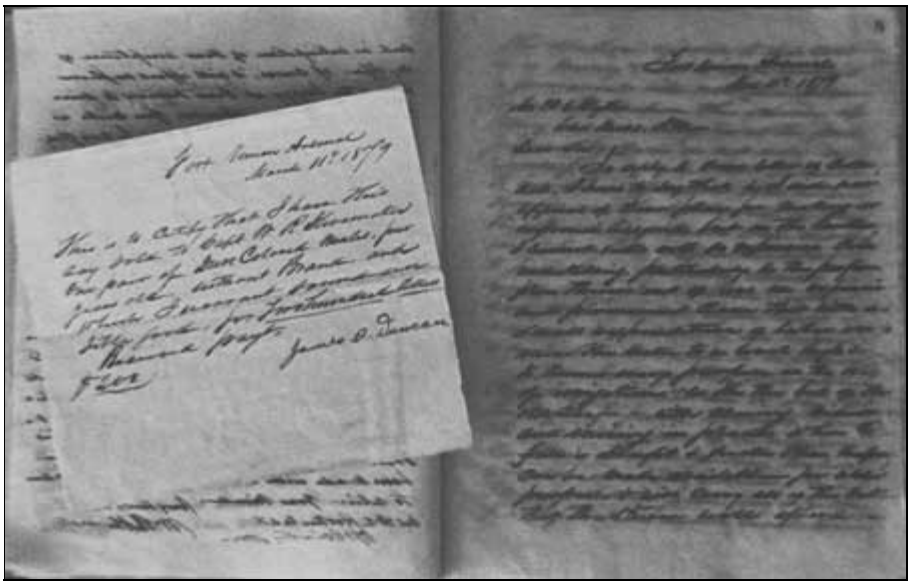
Mexican War, to prepare them for field service as soon as the carriages arrived. Later more carriages were requisitioned for the artillery troops in the department. [158] In addition to fixing up artillery pieces, the ordnance depot was directed in 1853 to "cause the old cartridges now on hand to be at once worked over and made serviceable for the percussion musket." [159] In that way obsolete armaments were salvaged and utilized with technological improvements in ordnance.

After the ordnance buildings were completed Shoemaker requested permission to retain the wagon and mules to haul fuel and other supplies. The ordnance detachment had to supply its own firewood at that time. The quartermaster department was unable to provide fuel for the ordnance depot because it had so few employees, being dependent on the extra-duty labor of troops at the post for most tasks. Firewood was cut four to five miles from the fort. Shoemaker considered the wagon "indispensable." He did not consider the time his detachment spent obtaining fuel a waste, noting that it would cost much more if he had to hire civilians. Shoemaker was worried that he could not enlist enough men in his department to keep the detachment at its authorized strength of twelve. In 1854 he urgently requested the St. Louis Arsenal to enlist for him "a few good men" because, as enlistments expired, the detachment was reduced to eight. When he was told that the St. Louis Arsenal faced the same problem, Shoemaker requested authority from the ordnance department to transfer four recruits intended for one of the regiments in New Mexico to the ordnance depot, at least on a temporary basis. [160] Presumably that was done.

In 1855 the ordnance detachment was making repairs to the quarters and storehouses, including new roofs. Shoemaker noted that the buildings had been erected so hastily in 1851 that "they are very frail structures and require constant attention & repairs to make them answer until more permanent houses can be built." He again requested that funds be appropriated to construct new buildings. Shoemaker apparently had resigned himself to staying at Fort Union because he stated that "a site within a very short distance of our present location would answer every purpose for the Depot." [161] Within a few years he became so attached to the site that he spent the remainder of his life there.

The ordnance detachment was so busy with its duties that an additional armorer was required by late 1855. Burke was still there, and Shoemaker considered him to be the best mechanic in New Mexico and recommended an increase in his salary. Shoemaker had information that David Chapman, an armorer until recently employed at the St. Louis Arsenal, was willing to travel to Fort Union and work at the depot. He recommended that Chapman, if approved, be sent to New Mexico on the mail stage to save time. Chapman never arrived, however, and

neither did anyone else. By the spring of 1856, when the repair of horse equipment had been transferred to the ordnance department, Shoemaker again requested more help to handle the "immense amount of work of all kinds" that had accumulated. [162] One of the duties performed at the arsenal was the reloading of ammunition cartridges. Because of a shortage of powder in 1856, Shoemaker was directed by the chief of ordnance to remove the powder from the large supply of pistol shells and use it with powder on hand to load rifle shells. Also, to save powder, the rifle shells were to be filled with only 50 grains of powder instead of the usual 60. [163] That situation was temporary until more powder arrived.



A page from William Shoemaker's private letter book and a receipt for his purchase of a pair of mules. Museum Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

It was not clear in the records if more workers were assigned to the ordnance depot before the arrival of another armorer (George Berg) in October 1856. Shoemaker's major concerns were the shortage of workers and the condition of the buildings. By the late summer of 1856 he was again requesting permission to erect new buildings. He wrote, "the deplorable state of our present houses leaves us at the mercy of the elements." Most, he thought, were beyond repair. The log foundations of the storehouses were "decayed & giving way." The buildings were "supported by props." [164] No relief was provided.

Captain William A. Thornton, chief of ordnance for the military department, advised Shoemaker not to approach Department Commander Garland on the subject of a new arsenal or even a new building. "The General has no particular good feeling for Fort Union, and its neighborhood" Thornton wrote, "and therefore he will not recommend the expenditure of a cent, until a site has been determined on." The problem was further complicated by the fact that much of the land was privately owned, making it difficult to find a site for an arsenal. Shoemaker was requested to bide his time and do his job until a decision could be made on the location for new facilities. [165]

Occasionally the ordnance depot was involved in the testing of new weapons. In 1856 the ordnance department sent sixty-four Sharps Carbines to New Mexico to be tested by troops in the field. The Sharps was being considered as a replacement for the musketoon. It was a sturdy breech-loading single-shot using a paper cartridge. The weapons were distributed among the mounted riflemen and Shoemaker was charged with gathering reports on the performance of the test weapons and communicating that information and suggestions for improvements to his superiors. [166] Shoemaker's final report on the Sharps was not located,

but Colonel Bonneville later recalled that troops under his command, involved in testing the Sharps, found the carbines to be "greatly preferred as an arm for the Dragoon service." The weapon was adopted and was popular among mounted troops before and during the Civil War. Later the Sharps was superseded, temporarily, by the Spencer repeating carbine. Bonneville stated that an experimental "double breached Pistol" was tested at about the same time in New Mexico and found to be "of no account." [167] A few Colt revolving rifles were issued to some of the mounted riflemen in New Mexico in 1859. It was not recorded what the troops or their officers thought of the Colt weapons, but Department Commander Fauntleroy ordered them turned in to the ordnance depot and stated the weapons then in the hands of the mounted riflemen would not be changed. [168] In 1860 Shoemaker sent sixty new Colt revolving rifles into the field with the mounted riflemen for evaluation. [169] Again, the results were not found. Even if new weapons performed well, the army was slow to change because of the reluctance to change built into the highly bureaucratic system and, perhaps more important, because it cost money to switch, money that Congress was disinclined to disburse.

In 1857 Burke, who had served well as a civilian armorer at the ordnance depot since 1852, resigned. Shoemaker immediately requested that "another armorer may be sent out as soon as practicable." The amount of firearms to be repaired required the services of at least two armorers. Armorer Berg was still there. No record was found to indicate that a new armorer was sent in 1857. The following year Shoemaker had his detachment building new quarters for Berg's family because Berg threatened to leave unless provisions were made for his family at the depot. Shoemaker observed that it was cheaper to erect another log house than to try to hire another armorer. [170]

The tasks of the ordnance depot were increased in 1858 when it was assigned responsibility for storage and distribution of rope and picket pins for the army, products that had previously been handled by the quartermaster department. This was done because the ordnance department was handling and repairing most of the horse equipment by that time. In preparation for this Shoemaker requisitioned 2,500 pounds of rope and 2,000 pounds of 5/8-inch iron rod. The picket pins were fabricated at the ordnance depot. The ordnance detachment had designed and was manufacturing holsters and cartridge boxes for the "Navy pistol." This required a large supply of leather. During 1858 Shoemaker ordered 1,000 pairs of dragoon spurs and straps. The ordnance depot handled a variety of military items in addition to armaments. [171]

The ordnance depot acquired a sawmill in 1858, needed because of the large amount of lumber required to make constant repairs on the quarters and storehouses. Shoemaker purchased four mules to power the mill. Because his repeated requests for a new arsenal in the department (Shoemaker had decided the best location was on the Mora River at Tiptonville) had been ignored, he resigned himself to repairing the buildings at Fort Union. Department Commander Garland had opposed the site at Tiptonville and recommended that Fort Union be relocated. Until that was decided, Shoemaker understood that the ordnance depot would remain where it was. Shoemaker was confident that, with the sawmill, his force could make the depot last for "several years" if necessary. [172] It was necessary.

Shoemaker requested permission to visit the ordnance headquarters in Washington in 1858, hoping that he could explain in person what was difficult to communicate in writing about the conditions of the depot and the need for a new arsenal in New Mexico. Brigadier General Garland had to approve the request. For some reason, whether intentional or not, Garland treated Shoemaker's application for leave to visit Washington as a request for permanent transfer to Washington. On this assumption, Garland refused to let Shoemaker leave the department until a replacement had been appointed. Shoemaker was flabbergasted when he learned what Garland was doing and immediately let everyone know he had no intention of

leaving his position in New Mexico. He had expected to visit Washington and "return immediately to the Depot that I have had charge of through so many difficulties." If going to Washington would cost him his position, he would not go. [173]

The ordnance depot received a shipment of 1,100 "new model rifled muskets" (.58 caliber, designed to be used with Maynard primers) in 1858. They were known to be defective and the hammers were to be altered by the ordnance detachment at Fort Union before they were issued. The detachment was shorthanded because one of the men from the ordnance depot had deserted along with two mounted riflemen from the garrison at Fort Union. They took two mules belonging to the ordnance depot which were later recovered by a "Mexican trader" on the plains. Shoemaker paid a reward of $50 for the return of the mules, which he apparently considered to be more valuable to the work of his department than the man who had deserted. Shoemaker requested approval of the reward, noting that the man who deserted had nearly that amount due him in back pay. [174]

The alterations on the hammers of the new rifled muskets began in October and went quickly, requiring only a little time on the lathe. While overhauling the weapons many of them were "found to be unfit for issue, and many completely coated with rust that cannot be removed without defacing the arm." The bayonets were also badly rusted. The weapons had been shipped from Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and some boxes had been damaged. Some of the problems were the result of flawed manufacturing. In nearly 10% of the muskets the screws fastening the rear sights were too long and caused a "bulge on the inside of the barrel" which prevented the ball from loading properly and the hammer head from passing that point. Such weapons were useless without further alterations, which were performed. Shoemaker feared some of them might still cause problems in the hands of soldiers and was displeased that his command had to remedy what should have been done correctly at the factory. Nevertheless he pledged that the new muskets would "go into the hands of the troops in good condition and as quickly as possible." They were completed by early December 1858. When the troops found that the Maynard primers frequently failed, Shoemaker issued regular caps in their place. [175]

In 1859 a new adobe magazine was constructed at the ordnance depot at Fort Union. Before it was completed Second Lieutenant Moses J. White, ordnance department, arrived to take command of the ordnance depot at Fort Union. This was done so Shoemaker could travel to Washington as he had requested the previous year. Shoemaker left Fort Union early in September 1859. He did not return until June 1860. Captain Robert A. Wainwright, chief of ordnance at department headquarters in Santa Fe, who had not been able to command Shoemaker, attempted to exert his authority of White. White fought back and Wainwright complained to ordnance headquarters in Washington, declaring that Shoemaker had "considered himself & Depot beyond the control of the chief officer of his Corps in the dept." Wainwright continued, "unfortunately Lt. White has imbibed some of his ideas and . . . denies my right to give him instructions or order supplies from the Depot." White had refused to send arms by direction of Wainwright because, White argued, he could only issue arms upon receipt of regulation requisition forms submitted by the officers receiving the arms. [176]

Wainwright declared that, if White were permitted to be so impudent, Wainwright would be "helpless in the conduct of ordnance matters and a mere cypher at Headquarters." Colonel Bonneville had been called upon to set White straight "in consideration of Lt. White's youth and inexperience." Wainwright observed that White was "not in good health, being subject to epileptic fits that do at times impair the action of his mind and in my opinion render him unfit for the duties devolving upon him." Bonneville ordered White to Santa Fe "to bring him if possible to a sense of his duty." Wainwright concluded, "should this fail other steps will be necessary." The results of Bonneville's efforts were unknown, but White requested a leave of

absence on account of sickness a few weeks later. Colonel Fauntleroy (who returned to command of the department) appointed Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, to take charge of the ordnance depot at Fort Union in January 1860. [177]

It may be assumed that Maury tendered adequate respect for the authority of Captain Wainwright. Maury took his responsibilities seriously at the ordnance depot and designed a new style cartridge box for infantrymen and a different style cartridge box for cavalrymen. He recommended that changes be made in the government-manufactured cartridges issued for Colt pistols, stating that "they contain too much powder and the Ball is slightly too great in diameter." The size made it difficult for troopers to reload Colt pistols "while mounted and in motion." Maury had the potential of a good ordnance officer, but he returned to his regiment and was appointed to serve as Fauntleroy's adjutant after Shoemaker resumed command of the depot in June 1860. [178]

Fauntleroy had hoped that Shoemaker would not return and, when he did, he attempted to keep him from resuming command of the ordnance depot. Fearing Shoemaker might just go to the depot and inform Maury he was relieved, Fauntleroy directed Maury to "retain command of the Ordnance Depot at Fort Union until relieved by orders from these Head quarters; and that you will not recognize any other authority except such orders as you may receive from the Head Quarters of the Army and the Secretary of War." It was not enough. Colonel William Craig, chief of ordnance for the army, sent instructions to Lieutenant Maury to turn over the depot to Shoemaker on his arrival. Fauntleroy, although defeated, filed his protest. "I desire to put on record my dissent from the course taken by the Chief of Ordnance, as contrary to the Regulations of the Army and detrimental in the highest degree to the public service." [179]

Shoemaker had personally overseen the shipment of ordnance stores from St. Louis before traveling to Fort Union. He was accompanied by two "master workmen" and two enlisted men to fill up the detachment at the ordnance depot. He hoped to receive approval for the construction of a new arsenal for the department at a point on the Mora River. Shoemaker and Wainwright clashed over the site for a new arsenal and almost everything else. Wainwright, most likely encouraged if not instigated by Department Commander Fauntleroy, was determined that Shoemaker would submit to his authority. Fauntleroy, who had named Lieutenant Maury the department adjutant, instructed Wainwright to "allow no steps to be taken with regard to the instructions on securing a site for the Ordnance Depot, or making any change in the present position of that Depot without authority from these Head Quarters." Further, he ordered Wainwright to "replace Military Storekeeper, W. R. Shoemaker in charge of the Ordnance Depot." [180] He could not overrule Chief of Ordnance Craig who kept Shoemaker in charge.

Wainwright harassed Shoemaker, perhaps hoping to force him to leave. He transferred a team of mules and a wagon from the depot to Fort Leavenworth, over Shoemaker's objections, so Shoemaker purchased another team and wagon. Shoemaker stated that Wainwright warned him he could "order *all* of the mules away." Wainwright, according to Shoemaker, was interfering with the "internal arrangements & opperations of the Depot." Shoemaker asked that ordnance headquarters "define the official relations of Capt. Wainwright & myself as to prevent the possibility of a collision, for under existing circumstances it will be impossible for me to continue to perform my duties advantageously to the public service, or with any peace, or satisfaction to myself." [181] The two strong-willed men tolerated each other until Wainwright left New Mexico early in the Civil War.

Shoemaker continued to hope for approval to erect a new depot and arsenal. In anticipation his detachment cut lumber to cure and experimented with the production of fired bricks. His command built a small kiln and a hired brick maker oversaw the production of 12,000 bricks.

These were evaluated by "the best judges here, & pronounced good and durable." The bricks produced were used to repair chimneys and ovens at the depot, but production could be resumed whenever necessary for construction of new buildings. A carpenter was fabricating window frames and other items for a new depot. Clearly Shoemaker was going to be ready when and if new facilities were authorized. Any plans for a new depot, however, were held up pending the location and establishment of Fort Butler. [182] Then the Department of New Mexico was disrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. After the war Shoemaker's longstanding plans for a new arsenal were implemented at the site of the first Fort Union. [183]

Heavy demands were placed on the ordnance depot during the Civil War, and the detachment there was uncommonly occupied in keeping Union troops supplied with arms and ammunition. In 1861 a portion of a shipment of arms intended for New Mexico was stolen at Kansas City, Missouri. The losses were not critical. During the spring and summer of 1861 the ordnance depot outfitted the New Mexico Volunteers. Not all units received the same weapons, however, because they had to take what was available at the depot. Problems arose later in supplying the proper ammunition because several different calibers were represented among the issue (for example, some companies required .54 caliber ammunition, some .58 caliber, and others .69 caliber). Other items furnished the volunteers, such as belts, slings, and cartridge boxes, were something of a hodgepodge. An example of the contribution of the ordnance depot may be seen in its activities during the month of July 1861, when a total of twenty-three companies of volunteers were supplied from the depot and ten cannon were provided for Forts Union and Fillmore. Shoemaker was confident that the depot still contained sufficient arms and ammunition to meet the needs of the department for the next year. Shoemaker estimated the value of ordnance supplies in excess of $270,000. [184] Such a stockpile would have been extremely valuable to the Confederate troops.

After it was clear that Texas troops were invading New Mexico, Shoemaker provided fourteen pieces of artillery to protect the earthwork constructed at Fort Union. He expected to move all the ordnance stores into the earthwork when it was ready for occupancy. If the Texans arrived before that was accomplished, he was prepared "to destroy all the present buildings, and possibly, much property." He was determined that "nothing shall fall into the hands of the enemy." [185] Texas troops never reached Fort Union. The history of the Civil War in New Mexico was covered in chapter five.

Because of the need for powder and lead to supply ammunition to all the troops in the department, Colonel Canby authorized the purchase of those items from merchants. Ordnance officers or agents were sent throughout the territory to gather powder and lead, which was shipped to Shoemaker at Fort Union. Shoemaker was to pay for the supplies and have his detachment manufacture ammunition required for the weapons in use among the soldiers. At the same time the private sale of ammunition was prohibited. [186] The total amount purchased was not determined but it was invaluable to the army. Later in 1862, when the supply trains arrived from Fort Leavenworth, the ordnance depot was permitted to store some of its supplies in the old hospital building at the first post. [187] This was apparently done until the new magazine was completed inside the fieldwork.

In 1864 Shoemaker, always conscious of maintaining the independence of the ordnance depot from other departments and the post of Fort Union, noted that the quartermaster and commissary depot at Fort Union was being called Fort Union Depot. In order to avoid confusion he recommended that the ordnance depot be designated as "Union Arsenal, New Mexico." Shoemaker continued to refer to it as Union Arsenal and, eventually, his desires were made official when the ordnance depot became Fort Union Arsenal. [188]

Regardless of the name, the duties were the same: supply and repair arms and horse

equipment. When Colonel Carson's column left on the campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches in the autumn of 1865, Shoemaker was directed to see that each company had "at least 5,000 rounds of ammunition . . . besides twenty rounds per man in Cartridge Boxes." [189] That amount of ammunition probably required special transportation, but the command had enough firepower to destroy all the Indians on the southern plains if used accurately. In addition the ordnance depot furnished the expedition with two mountain howitzers and necessary projectiles. [190]

Shoemaker continued to make improvements at the arsenal and to request funds for a new complex. He apparently erected an adobe storehouse and either rebuilt his own quarters or built new quarters for his family prior to 1866. On May 8, 1866, Fort Union Arsenal was established with a military reservation one mile long and one-half mile wide, including the site of the first Fort Union at the center, located within the larger military reservation of the post of Fort Union. [191] Shoemaker and the ordnance department had fought long to secure this, and they had been opposed by District Commander Carleton and Department Commander Pope. [192] Construction of the new arsenal also began in 1866. The first structures were two new magazines, completed in the summer of that year, to which the stores of powder were quickly moved from the damp, underground magazines at the earthwork. A large storehouse was completed before the end of the year to receive the stores held in the old ordnance depot storehouses. [193]

At the beginning of 1867 Shoemaker reported that the arsenal had a sufficient supply of stores on hand for the troops in the district. He noted that 1,200 Spencer Carbines (.50 caliber repeaters) were on order for the Third Cavalry. There was a large amount of horse equipment at the arsenal in need of repair. Shoemaker requested permission to employ additional workmen for that purpose. A new armorer arrived at the arsenal in January and proved to be incompetent. A mason was employed to construct two cisterns, each with a capacity of 15,000 gallons, to store water in case of fire. Precipitation was collected from the roofs of the buildings at the arsenal to fill the cisterns. The cost of the cisterns was estimated at $500 each. Once the cisterns were done, Shoemaker wanted pumps, fire engines, and hose to complete the fire-fighting equipment. [194]

The cisterns were completed in July 1867. Additional construction work at the arsenal continued during the year, with the completion of a new carpenter's shop and the laying of stone foundations for other buildings to be completed later. [195] Major Alexander inspected the new structures at the arsenal in 1867 and had praises for Shoemaker and the buildings. Shoemaker had supervised the construction of adobe buildings, which Alexander considered to be "the best constructed I have seen and cost a fraction less than two thirds as much as the same sized houses built by Captain Farnsworth for the Quartermasters Depot at Fort Union." Alexander continued, "the interior of the warehouses are models of neatness, the ventilation is perfect and the security against fire as great as can be effected with the materials." He recommended that Shoemaker, whose long career with the ordnance department had received no official appreciation for his "courage and steadfastness," be awarded the rank of brevet colonel. [196] No such honor was forthcoming, although Shoemaker had been appointed to the rank of captain and ordnance storekeeper on July 28, 1866 (previously he was a military storekeeper which carried no rank but was considered the equivalent of a captain in pay, and he was commonly known as Captain Shoemaker). [197]

During 1868 additional buildings were erected at the arsenal, including barracks for the enlisted men and employees. The regulations reducing the workday to eight hours was not enforced at the arsenal, as Shoemaker explained, because the workers feared a reduction of hours would be accompanied by a diminution of pay. By their choice the employees continued to work ten hours per day. Several years later several of those employees petitioned to receive overtime pay for the hours they had worked beyond eight per day. All

were denied because they had elected to work a ten-hour day. In 1869 construction work was planned on the adobe wall surrounding the arsenal and quarters for married employees, a civilian armorer, and an employed foreman. Not much was done, however, for lack of funds. Shoemaker ordered a new office clock in 1869, pointing out that the old clock, in use at the depot for eighteen years, was "completely worn out and irreparable." A new clock was soon received. In 1873 a sundial was made and set on the grounds of the arsenal. [198]

In 1869 the Third Cavalry exchanged the Spencer Carbines it had been issued two years before for remodeled Sharps Carbines. The Sharps, although a single-shot instead of repeater like the Spencer, had been altered to use a .50-caliber metallic cartridge. Shoemaker, echoing the cavalry officers, declared the Sharps to be "infinitely superior to 'Spencers.'" [199] Some of the enlisted men held a different opinion. The following year the Eighth Cavalry received the Sharps. Private Matthews, Company L, observed: "We have turned in our Spencer Carbines and have drawn in place the Sharps improved. Don't like them half so well as the seven shooters. The Sharps are more dangerous than the Spencer. They are much easyer cleaned though." [200]

The used Spencer Carbines joined a growing inventory of old equipment and arms that were no longer needed in the department. Shoemaker sought ways to sell some of those items to citizens in New Mexico and in Chihuahua. He also complained that the arsenal had become a dumping ground for old and useless equipment in the hands of regimental and post commanders. Shoemaker persuaded Colonel Getty, district commander, to issue orders that no ordnance or ordnance stores could be sent to Union Arsenal without the permission of district headquarters except for items in need of repairs that could not be made by the troops. [201]

On September 8, 1869, the arsenal offered many obsolete items at public auction, including arms (muskets, rifles, carbines, pistols, swords, and sabers), parts and repairs for arms, horse equipment, ammunition of "every kind and calibre to suit the above arms, metalic cartridges, percussion caps &c.," tools, and a fire engine. The sale was advertised in newspapers, but almost no one showed up to bid. Most items were not sold, and the amount received from what was sold amounted to $1,075. The sale was disappointing. Of 6,942 firearms offered only 139 were sold. Thousands of items received no bids. A few items of horse equipment (saddles, bridles, halters, curry combs, brushes, lariats, picket pins, saddle bags, saddle blankets, and spurs) were sold, but most were not. Small quantities of ammunition and tools were delivered to bidders. In all, however, less than one percent of the inventory was disposed of by the sale. Shoemaker concluded that "there are no parties in New Mexico that are possessed of funds that they can apply to the purchase of arms." [202] An inventory of .58-caliber rifled muskets at the arsenal on September 21, 1869, showed a total of 734 new and 967 used pieces. Some of the used rifled muskets had been repaired but most were unserviceable. [203] Shoemaker was at a loss of what to do to market obsolete equipment. Clearly it would have to be sold someplace besides New Mexico.

Shoemaker requested funds to complete the construction of the enclosing wall and quarters at the arsenal in 1870. This was approved and construction was completed on the quarters and the wall was partially done. During that year the arsenal received fire extinguishers, adding to the protection of the buildings and stores. Shoemaker continued to take an interest in horse equipment and designed an improvement of the McClellan curb bit which was patented and became known as the Shoemaker bit, which was widely used. A summary of operations at the arsenal during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870, included the fabrication of 128 Sharps Carbine cartridge boxes and the repair of artillery pieces, small arms, and other equipment. Shoemaker had developed a method of repairing rawhide cavalry saddles wherein a leather cover was placed on top of the rawhide, making a superior saddle. A total 366 saddles had been repaired and covered during the year. [204] One of the recipients at Fort Union, Private Matthews, Company L, Eighth Cavalry, declared that the leather-covered saddles were "very

nice." [205]

In September Shoemaker received notice that, because of insufficient funds, all hired employees at the arsenal were to be released immediately. Since the enlisted detachment was practically non-existent, most workers were hired citizens. Shoemaker's requests to keep some of what he considered to be the best workmen in New Mexico were not approved. Not one to be easily confounded, Shoemaker requested by telegraph that he be permitted to open a recruiting station at the arsenal to fill the ranks of the detachment. When that was approved he enlisted most of the recent employees, thereby keeping his work force. His detachment was filled to the authorized capacity of thirteen and the work at the arsenal continued. The only position Shoemaker was unable to fill was that of sergeant of ordnance. He remedied that the following year with the enlistment of former Sergeant Joseph Horn. [206]

The construction work at the arsenal was continued in 1871 on the commander's office, clerk's office, outhouses, and the remainder of the enclosing wall. Another weapon improvement reached New Mexico the same year, affecting both infantry and cavalry regiments stationed there. The 1868 model Springfield breech-loading .50-caliber musket, considered the standard weapon at the time for infantrymen, was sent to the Fort Union Arsenal from the Fort Leavenworth Arsenal. A total of 1,000 of the modified muskets were issued to the Fifteenth Infantry in the district, replacing the 1866 models with which they were armed. The 1866 models which were turned in were sent to the Fort Leavenworth Arsenal. For the Eighth Cavalry in the district, 1,000 altered Sharps Carbines (.50-caliber) were sent. They arrived at the arsenal without swivel bars, without which they were "useless for Cavalry." The cost of repairing them at Fort Union Arsenal was considered prohibitive and, besides, there was no armorer there at the time. Shoemaker requested that the faulty weapons be replaced with complete ones. [207] No record was found to indicate when the Eighth Cavalry received the new weapons.

In 1872 construction work at the arsenal was completed and a well was drilled to supply water for the facility. Until that time all water had been hauled by wagon from the spring approximately one-half mile away. Good water was found at a depth of seventy feet. A horsepower force pump was installed. The detachment at the arsenal continued to perform the usual duties and repaired and covered several hundred saddles. [208] Several years later, at the request of Stephen B. Elkins, New Mexico Territory delegate to the House of Representatives, the cost of the buildings at Fort Union Arsenal was reported to be $46,500. Colonel Daniel W. Flagler, in an inspection report in 1880, gave the cost as $47,000. [209]

Tragedy struck at the arsenal when one of the enlisted men was murdered while performing his duties. Corporal James Tarpy, who had served there for several years as a messenger between the arsenal and Fort Union and had carried the mail for the arsenal, was shot in the back by a deserter on the afternoon of November 13, 1872, while returning from the post to the arsenal. It was Shoemaker's opinion that the assassin wanted Tarpy's horse, but the wounded man managed to ride to the arsenal before he fell off and died. Tarpy's remains were buried in the post cemetery. The guilty party and an accomplice were captured and placed in the guardhouse at Fort Union. Shoemaker stated it was the only casualty suffered in his department during his twenty-one years at Fort Union. A few days later the prisoners were turned over to the sheriff of Mora County. Soon after they left the military reservation a mob overwhelmed the sheriff's posse and lynched the prisoners. [210]

The work of the arsenal continued without interruption during the next several years. A major activity remained the repair and covering of saddles. Repairs to facilities were made as required and the operations of the facility functioned smoothly. The enlisted detachment was fixed at fourteen men (one sergeant, two corporals, six first class privates, and five second class privates) and the number of civilian employees averaged three to four. As the railroads

built toward New Mexico transportation costs for the arsenal and the time of delivery were reduced, just as for the other supply departments. Another change of weapons occurred in 1874 when the Eighth Cavalry was supplied with Colt Pistols altered for .45-caliber metallic cartridges and 1873 Springfield Carbines (.45-caliber). [211] The infantry regiments serving in New Mexico were soon supplied with 1873 Springfield Rifles (also .45-caliber) and the same pistols. These remained the standard weapons so long as Fort Union was an active post.

In 1875 the duty of supplying horse equipment to cavalry regiments was transferred from the ordnance to the quartermaster department, where it had been prior to 1856. The ordnance department had been assigned the handling of cavalry horse equipment because it had responsibility for artillery horse equipment. The reasons for transferring it back to the quartermaster department were economy and convenience. Each post had a quartermaster whereas there were few ordnance depots or arsenals. It was less expensive to supply cavalrymen at the post where they were stationed than to secure those items from a distant arsenal. The cavalry horse equipment at Fort Union Arsenal was transferred to the quartermaster at the Fort Union Depot in 1877. [212]

The economic effects of the ordnance depot and arsenal were, as noted above, considerably less that those of the quartermaster and commissary departments. Nevertheless the ordnance department did employ a few civilian laborers and contract for a few supplies. In 1877 there were three civilian employees: clerk ($4.37 per day), blacksmith ($4.25 per day), and saddler ($3.00). In 1878 the arsenal let four contracts: William B. Tipton of Tiptonville held the contract for hay and corn; John Pendaries, Rincon, pine lumber; Abe Berg, La Junta, lime; and Elafio Duran, La Cueva, charcoal. The total expenditures were approximately $4,000 per year. [213]

Conflicts of jurisdiction occasionally flared up between Shoemaker and another department or the post commander. Shoemaker never hesitated to administer the ordnance depot as though it were independent from the post. He was not always successful. In 1856 Colonel Fauntleroy, commanding the post, discovered that the ordnance detachment had taken "a number of the logs 'intended for the erection of a Dragon stable at this Post' . . . without his consent or authority." Shoemaker was directed to "have these logs returned to the place from whence they were taken without delay." Shoemaker argued that he had received permission from Lieutenant John T. Mercer, First Dragoons, who was in charge of building the dragoon stable. Fauntleroy angrily informed Shoemaker, through his adjutant, that excuse was "by no means satisfactory" and declared he would not "acknowledge the right, for you to pull and carry off considerable portions of the stable already built." Shoemaker was warned that Fauntleroy "will expect that the logs be returned and the building put in the same shape it was before the trespass was committed upon it without further correspondence." [214] The logs were returned. Why they were taken in the first place was never explained. One possibility was that Captain McFerran, new commander at the quartermaster subdepot at Fort Union, stopped supplying firewood for the ordnance depot. The ordnance detachment, forced to find its own supply, may have appropriated the logs for that purpose.

Shoemaker preferred to have the last word in any exchange, however, and several days later he requested that Fauntleroy return to the ordnance department the two pieces of artillery that stood by the flag staff at the post. Fauntleroy immediately complied and dampened Shoemaker's victory with his reply. The post adjutant conveyed his commander's message: "he directs me to say in reply, that you are at liberty to remove whenever you may see fit, the two guns near the flag-staff, which were found in that position on his assuming command of this post." [215] That was not the end of their conflicts, however. Both men were stubborn and continued to butt heads.

In June 1856 Fauntleroy returned to Fort Union from a temporary absence for court-martial

duty to discover that Shoemaker had achieved another triumph in the growing battle of jurisdictional disputes. For some time past the quartermaster department had been hauling by wagon the daily water supply from the spring near Wolf Creek to the ordnance depot. Captain McFerran, subdepot and post quartermaster, informed Shoemaker that he did not have sufficient employees to continue that practice. Shoemaker requested, without consulting the post commander, approval of Brigadier General Garland to have the extra-duty men at the post who hauled water for the garrison also to haul water for the ordnance depot. Garland had approved. Fauntleroy was incensed that Shoemaker had not made the request to him, but Shoemaker, of course, considered himself independent of the post commander and directly under the department commander. [216]

Fauntleroy declared there was no military precedent which would require the soldiers of one post to haul water for another post. Shoemaker should not be permitted to have it both ways; that is, be independent from the post at Fort Union in all ways except for delivery of water. Fauntleroy was annoyed that the ordnance detachment never furnished any men for fatigue or police details, never furnished any hospital attendants although they used the post hospital, and were exempt from all such duties at Fort Union. He argued that, if the two places were distinct as Shoemaker and the department commander maintained, the garrison at the post should not be required to haul the water. Fauntleroy requested that the dispute be submitted to the commanding general of the army for settlement. [217] There was no evidence that Garland considered changing the order or forwarded the appeal. The soldiers at the post hauled water to the ordnance depot.

Fauntleroy, determined to retaliate, decided that, since the ordnance depot was considered to be separate from the post and the new post chaplain and schoolteacher (Rev. William Stoddert who arrived at Fort Union on June 12, 1856) was required to serve only the post to which he was appointed, Shoemaker's children and any other children at the ordnance depot would not be permitted to attend the post school. This was the first time a school was established at the fort. Shoemaker, naturally, refused to accept Fauntleroy's decision and appealed directly to Department Commander Garland for permission to send children from the ordnance depot to Rev. Stoddert's school. Garland again approved Shoemaker's request, noting that the Fort Union post council of administration, rather than Fauntleroy, should supervise the post school. Fauntleroy pointed out that the post council "had the power to make regulations touching the point in controversy, but did not." He protested Garland's judgment on the issue, as best he could, and again requested that the matter be sent to the commanding general of the army. [218]

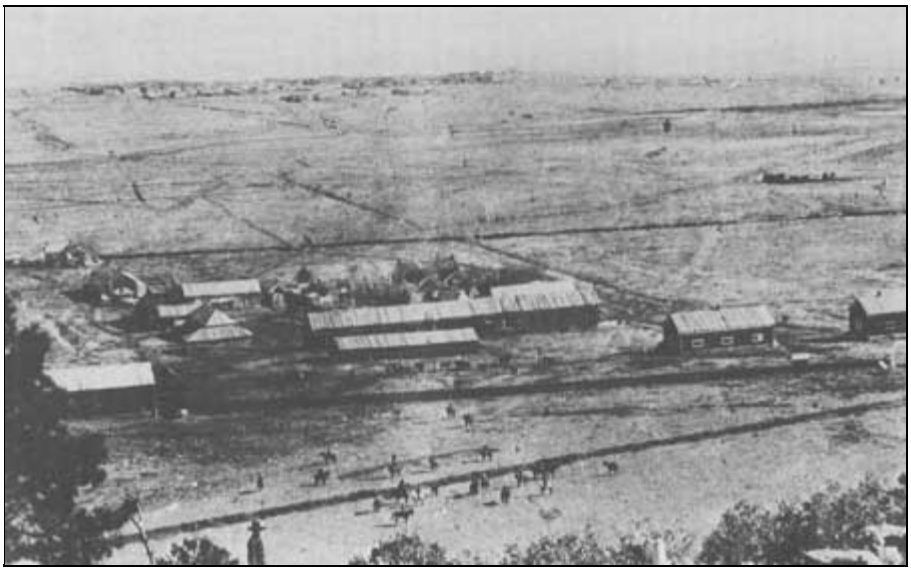
As a parting shot, Fauntleroy pointed out what he considered to be the absurdity of the situation.

> But is it just at any rate that the school should be thus subjected, as the Ordnance does not contribute in any manner to the support of the post fund, by which the expenses of the school are to a considerable extent met and paid. The Mil. Storekeeper does not allow his flour to be baked at the post bakery, nor are the enlisted men at the Ordnance taken into consideration in taxing the Sutler as the Depot is separate. [219]

The children from the ordnance depot attended the post school. Fauntleroy was undoubtedly relieved to relinquish command of Fort Union on June 29, 1856, leaving Shoemaker to be the thorn in the side of his successors. The two would clash again when Fauntleroy was department commander, 1859-1861.

Despite Shoemaker's general popularity with most of the officers who served at Fort Union, there had to be a few who despised him. Fauntleroy was undoubtedly one of them. The

feeling was probably mutual. It was, perhaps, understandable why Shoemaker extended his leave of absence from the department (the only one in his long tenure in New Mexico) during 1859 and 1860 while Fauntleroy was department commander. Fauntleroy, for his part, tried to prevent Shoemaker's resumption of command at the ordnance depot and then rejected Shoemaker's proposals for a new arsenal. They may well have been each other's greatest nemesis, to the credit of neither. Shoemaker did not always win his engagements but seldom was he totally defeated in "Shoemaker's domain." Sometimes he lost.



Fort Union Arsenal in foreground, about 1879, with depot (left), third post (center), and remains of earthwork (right) in background. The arsenal occupied the site of the first Fort Union. *Courtesy* Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.

In January 1857 Shoemaker permitted his son, Edward Shoemaker, to set up a store at the ordnance depot to trade with enlisted men. The new post sutler, George M. Alexander, immediately complained to Post Commander W. W. Loring that this violated his rights as a sutler. Loring, perhaps learning from Fauntleroy's experiences, sent the complaint to Brigadier General Garland for decision, with a brief statement: "It is important, situated as we are that we should have a sutler and that he should be supported in his just rights." On the other hand, he noted, "the ordnance are few in number and cannot require much." Loring went out of his way to get along with Shoemaker, declaring "I have not interfered so far with the Ordnance, and shall not if I can help it, but will leave the matter to the Commanding Officer of the Department." [220] Department Commander Garland ruled in favor of the sutler and issued directions "that the unauthorized sutler's store be immediately closed." Even though the ordnance depot was not a part of the post, Garland declared, "the Ordnance depot at Fort Union is embraced within the limits of that post, and is considered separate only as regards its interior management." [221] Clearly, the line between the post and ordnance depot, just as between the post and quartermaster depot, was fuzzy. Edward Shoemaker attempted similar efforts under later department commanders, but always with the same result.

Captain Shoemaker was usually successful when defending the independence of the arsenal. In 1866 he successfully fended off an effort by District Commander Carleton to exert control over the arsenal. Carleton directed that all contracts made and funds expended at the arsenal were to be approved by him. Shoemaker argued that he was responsible only to the chief of ordnance in Washington, D.C., and appealed to Chief of Ordnance Alexander B. Dyer to seek an opinion from the commanding general of the army. He did and Lieutenant General

Ulysses S. Grant upheld Shoemaker, declaring that the commander of the arsenal "will not be interfered with by district commander in the proper discharge of his duties." [222] Shoemaker never accepted being "interfered with."

In 1879 Colonel James Belger, quartermaster department, became commander of the Fort Union Depot. Although it had been the practice for years for the depot to deliver firewood to the arsenal, Belger decided that the men from the arsenal should come to the depot and haul their own firewood from the wood yard to the arsenal. Never one to back down, Shoemaker protested. When Belger refused to budge, Shoemaker appealed to the secretary of war to settle the dispute. His request was forwarded through the ordnance department and the quartermaster department. Quartermaster General Meigs determined that the quartermaster department "should deliver the wood at the barracks of the detachment." The secretary of war concurred and the quartermaster department was compelled to accede to Shoemaker's request. The firewood was delivered to the arsenal. Belger escaped further confrontation with Shoemaker by retiring during the time of the appeal. [223]

Shoemaker found it impossible to recruit men for the arsenal detachment in New Mexico in 1879. He requested that one of the arsenals in the East enlist two men (one with rough carpentry skills and the other a laborer) to serve at the Fort Union Arsenal. The Rock Island Arsenal in Illinois enlisted one carpenter and one laborer and sent them to New Mexico. They arrived on October 10, Shoemaker reported, "presenting a good appearance." In this way the authorized strength of the ordnance detachment at Fort Union was kept filled. [224]

The Hotchkiss magazine gun, a 2-pounder, 1.65-caliber, rapid-fire steel rifle, was a technological step in the development of more mobile artillery weapons with swift-firing capabilities and long range. The only reference to this weapon in the records of the Fort Union Arsenal was a request (accompanied by a check for $20) from Captain George Shorkley, Fifteenth Infantry, in 1880 to purchase a Hotchkiss gun. Shoemaker sent the request to the ordnance department to inquire if the weapon could be sold to an individual and, if so, at what price. The chief of ordnance declared "the Hotchkiss magazine arm will not be sold to officers for their personal use." Shoemaker informed Shorkley and returned his check. That did not end the matter. Shorkley informed Shoemaker that he already had a Hotchkiss gun which he had modified so it could be used by a left-handed man and had made other changes "disqualifying it for service use." He simply wanted to pay for what he already had. The chief of ordnance reiterated that the gun could not be sold to an individual and ordered that it "be returned to the custody of the United States." [225] Whether a Hotchkiss gun was ever sent to the Fort Union Arsenal was not determined.

The routine life at the arsenal continued with only minor changes. Shoemaker reported that the arsenal had a library of some thirty technical publications relating to ordnance information. In July 1880 the arsenal and post were cut off from all railroad and mail communications for a week because of floods which destroyed railroad bridges and embankments. In 1881 the civilian saddler was relieved from duty because the stockpile of repaired and covered saddles was sufficient for the department for some time. In his place Shoemaker hired a storekeeper and packer to assist with the ordnance stores because the enlisted man who had done that work had been discharged. In 1881 another development in ordnance technology arrived at Fort Union in the form of the Gatling gun, forerunner of the machine gun. The first Gatling guns had been sent to the arsenal in the mid-1870s, but they were soon sent to the northern plains following George A. Custer's defeat in 1876. Apparently only one Gatling gun was ever issued to troops from the arsenal, and that was to troops operating in Colorado. At least one was kept at the post after the depot was closed. In 1885 Lieutenant Thomas J. Clay, Tenth Infantry, acting ordnance officer at Fort Union, received approval for the use of 546 rounds of ammunition "in experimental firing with the Gatling gun in the fourth quarter 1884." Another invention, more useful to individual

soldiers, was the woven cartridge belt which replaced the cumbersome cartridge boxes. [226]

By 1880 Shoemaker again found that the loss of enlisted men in the ordnance detachment could not be filled by his own recruitment efforts. He lamented the loss of almost half his force, some of whom had "lived here with me for ten & fifteen years." He appealed to Colonel Daniel W. Flagler, commandant of the Rock Island Arsenal and who had recruited men for Shoemaker's command before, to enlist for service at Fort Union "as many as *four* first rate men suitable for the place." Flagler agreed to do as asked, after securing approval of the ordnance department, and promised the "men will be sent as soon as they can be enlisted." The chief of ordnance, when granting the request, directed Flagler to make an inspection of Fort Union Arsenal. [227]

Colonel Flagler immediately traveled to New Mexico, conducted a thorough inspection, and filed a fairly detailed report on the arsenal (unfortunately his plat of the arsenal filed with the report has not been located). Excerpts from Flagler's report, the only known description of the entire complex at the peak of its occupation, are printed in Appendix O. He found the entire complex "in excellent order and condition" and praised Shoemaker "for the great ability, economy and efficiency exercised by him in the construction and care of the Arsenal, and in its administration, and in supplying of troops and the administration of the affairs of the Ordnance Department in the Territory of New Mexico during the past 30 years." At the same time, from the perspective of military needs in the Southwest and the efficient operation of the ordnance department, Flagler recognized that the necessity of maintaining an arsenal in New Mexico was limited and the time was near when Fort Union Arsenal would be obsolete. The fact that the arsenal was several miles from a railroad was deleterious. The constant expansion of railroads, he understood clearly, foreshadowed the demise of posts and arsenals such as Fort Union. He recommended waiting a year or two, during which time the railroad network would continue to expand, before making any decision on the future of the arsenal. [228]

Flagler recommended the disposal of large quantities of obsolete and unserviceable materials at the arsenal. Those that could be broken up and used in the manufacture of new items should be shipped to Rock Island Arsenal. Stores that were "worthless," not worth the cost of transportation, were to be used or destroyed at the arsenal. The inventory at Fort Union Arsenal should continue with an abundant quantity of items required by troops in the region. The chief of ordnance approved Flagler's suggestions. Shoemaker and his command shipped 373,109 pounds of obsolete items, seventeen rail carloads, to Rock Island before the end of the year (at an estimated cost of $13,000). While cleaning out the storehouses, Shoemaker noted, they found "a very large bulk of old stores that have been accumulating for many years, some of them since the close of the Mexican War, as I issued them to the troops under the late Genl. S. W. Kearny for the conquest of this Territory in 1846." [229]



Company G, Sixth Cavalry, occupied the former arsenal in 1888. Some of the men of that troop are shown with part of the old arsenal. Neils Larsen is seventh from left, with white tie. Larsen Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

Shoemaker, who had been in New Mexico since before Fort Union was founded, also realized that the need for the arsenal would soon expire. With more than forty years in the service, he chose to retire on June 30, 1882, at the age of seventy-three. He was succeeded in command by Lieutenant William F. Rice, Twenty-Third Infantry, who served temporarily until Lieutenant Andrew H. Russell, ordnance department, arrived to oversee the closing of the arsenal. [230] One of Shoemaker's last acts was to provide the use of a field gun from the arsenal for the town of Las Vegas to fire a national salute during its July 4 celebration. It was an indication of how far things had come during his tenure at Fort Union. Instead of sending weapons to defend citizens in the area, he was helping them celebrate the freedom that the army had brought to the nation as well as the region. [231] Shoemaker was permitted to live in the house he had occupied at Fort Union, serving as caretaker of the abandoned arsenal, where he survived until 1886. [232]

The Fort Union Arsenal was closed shortly after Shoemaker retired. In fact, just three days after he stepped down, orders were issued closing the arsenal and establishing a new depot at Fort Lowell, Arizona. That was warranted because most of the shipments of arms and ammunition during the previous year had gone to Arizona Territory. The ordnance and ordnance stores at Fort Union were distributed between the Lowell Ordnance Depot and the Rock Island Arsenal. The buildings and grounds of the Fort Union Arsenal were turned over to the quartermaster department for the use of the army. It took several months for Lieutenant Russell to transfer the stores and close the arsenal. A public auction was conducted to dispose of some items and some (including a large safe weighing 3,500 pounds and built into the house where it stood) were transferred to the quartermaster department at Fort Union. The employees and detachment of soldiers at Fort Union Arsenal were transferred to the new ordnance depot in Arizona, except for a blacksmith who chose not to go, one soldier who was transferred to the Rock Island Arsenal, and four soldiers who were discharged. Russell followed the stores to Fort Lowell where he was to establish the new ordnance depot. The facilities at Fort Lowell were grossly inadequate, however, and the depot was canceled. On March 27, 1883, the order establishing the ordnance depot at Fort Lowell was revoked and all the stores remaining at Fort Union Arsenal were ordered sent to Rock Island Arsenal. [233] The transportation to haul everything from the arsenal to the railroad was provided by Dr. William Sparks. [234]

Lieutenant Russell, in one of his letters from Fort Union to Colonel James M. Whittemore (on staff at the ordnance department at Washington, D.C., and the brother of Captain Edward W. Whittemore, who was commanding officer at Fort Union on several occasions during the late 1870s and early 1880s and in 1890-1891), relayed information about the former commander of the arsenal:

> Captain Shoemaker is active as ever, but it is a sad thing for him to see all his precious stores pass from under his eyes, and the idea of having Ordnance buildings *turned over to the Q. M. Dept. and the line of the army* goes quite against his grain. He is very much pleased, however, at having his house left to him; and he is very grateful to the Chief of Ordnance for his kind action. [235]

Shoemaker died at his home at Fort Union on September 16, 1886. He had arrived at Fort Union in 1851 and was present during thirty-five of its forty-year history. It was an uncommon record of tenure at one location (one the longest known of any military officer or enlisted man in the entire history of the army) in an era when the post commanders served an average of only a few months. [236] Shoemaker experienced more of what happened at Fort

Union than any other being and had been friends with most of the officers and their families stationed at the post. During all that time, except for one extended leave of absence, he was in charge, truly in charge, of the ordnance depot and arsenal, "Shoemaker's domain." His professional career and remarkable life, so interwoven with the story of Fort Union, deserve more attention.

By the time of his death Shoemaker had been a resident of the area so long that he was widely known. A Las Vegas newspaper announced the passing of Shoemaker and paid him tribute.

> He was well known to many of our older citizens, but the increasing infirmity of deafness prevented his making many acquaintances in the last few years. He was a great hunter, and passionately fond of dogs and fine horses. Of the latter he always kept the best the country could afford. As a man he was courteous and affable, as an officer firm and faithful. Upright in all his dealings, never was a breath of slander upon his name. He will be buried at Fort Union tomorrow, the funeral taking place from his late residence. [237]

The death of Shoemaker was the end of an era, and the post at Fort Union soon followed him and the arsenal as part of history. The ordnance depot and arsenal, along with the commissary and quartermaster departments and depot, provided the essential supplies to permit the army at Fort Union and in the region to accomplish its missions. Those departments had fulfilled their responsibilities to the soldiers and, at the same time, had produced far-reaching and immeasurable effects on the economy and society of New Mexico. From the perspective of a century later it was impossible to determine whether the army performed its most enduring contribution as the protector of travelers and settlers or as the precursor of Anglo-American development of the region. In either case the outcome, whether interpreted to be admirable or adverse, was overpowering and irreversible. The story of military supply and the economy was unquestionably an important chapter in the history of the Southwest, the frontier army, and Fort Union. Not everything done by and for the army produced such ramifications outside the military structure. The soldiers at the post were affected by other military departments and rules and regulations. The contributions and significance of the medical department and the story of military discipline and justice will complete the study of Fort Union and the frontier army in the Southwest.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

CHAPTER TEN:

FITNESS AND DISCIPLINE: HEALTH CARE AND MILITARY JUSTICE

Life is more than work and leisure, even at a frontier military post. The fitness and discipline of every soldier contributed to the effectiveness of each military unit and the overall mission of the army. The health of every enlisted man and officer was affected by diet, water supply, sanitary conditions, protection from the elements, and medical care provided by surgeons and their staffs. Illnesses and injuries were constant threats and claimed the lives of many more soldiers than did battle casualties, of which there were few. The army provided free medical and dental care for every soldier, and a surgeon was almost always assigned to each military post. A surgeon frequently accompanied troops into the field on extensive campaigns.

Healthy soldiers could be most effective in all duties assigned to them, too, if they were well disciplined, followed prescribed patterns of action, and obeyed their commanding officers. Military regulations were numerous and precise, and soldiers were regularly punished for breaches of conduct. Health care and military justice were indispensable components of army life, essential to the physical and social potency and performance of officers and enlisted men. The capability and fortitude of every military unit resulted from the combined fitness of each individual and the structure and teamwork of all those who comprised it. The functions and contributions of the medical department (post surgeons, hospitals, and medical staff) and disciplinary actions (usually implemented through the institution of courts-martial) comprise salient elements of the history of Fort Union and the army in the Southwest.

The post surgeon and hospital were important to the health and well being of the garrison, troops in the field, and citizens (employees, residents of nearby communities, emigrants, and others). [1] Sometimes the surgeons left the post to treat civilians. In 1875 Post Surgeon Peter Moffatt, as he put it, attended "a case of midwifery at Mora." [2] Occasionally the post surgeon was called on to treat Indians. [3]

The Fort Union hospital served many patients in addition to those from the garrison, depot, and arsenal, as Post Surgeon Moffatt explained in 1875:

> For the reason that this post is located on the thoroughfare to and from New Mexico, and that it is the base of supplies of the district, it occurs that there are at almost all times men in the hospital not belonging to the command at Fort Union, but who have been taken sick or hurt while *en route* to or from other points, and been detained at this post for treatment or discharge on surgeon's certificate of disability. [4]

This factor explains why the Fort Union hospital was the largest and best equipped such facility in the region.

It should be noted that not every soldier who reported to the post surgeon was actually ailing. According to Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, who frequently denounced shirkers and

deserters in his letters to his family, "a great many soldiers go on the sick report just to get excused from duty, half of them are not sick." [5] The surgeon had assistance from hospital stewards, matrons, and enlisted men assigned temporarily to duties at the hospital. Many of the attendants were assigned on a rotation basis from the companies stationed at the post. Thus most were inexperienced when assigned to duty and were rotated off duty about the time they gained essential experience. Their duties included nursing care for the sick and wounded, administering medications, preparing meals, providing proper diet, changing bandages, bathing hospital patients, changing bedding, and cleaning. In 1874 the secretary of war was authorized to appoint hospital stewards who became permanent members of the medical corps. [6] This policy was instituted at Fort Union in 1887. [7]

The surgeon and hospital attendants had other duties in addition to seeing patients, diagnosing and designing treatment, prescribing and mixing medications, and performing surgery. The surgeon and his staff were responsible for such health-related duties as sanitation at the post, living conditions in the barracks and guardhouse, diet, examination of recruits, issuing certificates of disability which authorized the medical discharge of soldiers, sending severe cases of mental illness to appropriate institutions, and maintenance of medical records. In addition, the surgeon was required to administer the hospital, supervise all other medical personnel, dispense drugs, act as coroner, keep zoological and botanical records of the region, and record daily weather conditions. The primary concern, however, was always the health of soldiers and their families. Overall, the health of the Fort Union garrison was good, especially in comparison to some other forts in New Mexico, [8] and the health care facilities were the best in the Southwest. For a few years after the Civil War, the Fort Union hospital was the best equipped such facility between Fort Riley, Kansas, and California.

Diseases and injuries affected many more soldiers and resulted in far more fatalities than did gunshot wounds. A few soldiers were hospitalized for gunshot wounds, but some of those were not inflicted by enemy combatants. A few resulted from fights with other soldiers and civilians, many were from accidents, and some were self-inflicted. After a Fort Union soldier died from a gunshot wound in the head that occurred during a drunken brawl in 1873, Eddie Matthews wrote: "It is too bad that a young man should be killed in that manner, but nearly all the deaths among Soldiers on the frontier occur in that manner. Very few die from sickness or at the hands of Indians." [9] Actually, Matthews was mistaken about the statistics regarding the causes of death, except that few soldiers died from engagements with Indians. In New Mexico, during the period from January 1849 through December 1859 (which included Fort Union, 1851-1859), a total of 40 soldiers died from gunshot wounds. During those eleven years less than two percent of all soldiers in the department received gunshot wounds and fewer than one-third of those were fatal. By comparison, during the same years, 249 soldiers died from diseases and injuries (or, put another way, gunshot wounds were the cause of death in fewer than one of every seven deaths recorded). Combat, as noted in previous chapters, was a rare experience for most enlisted men, and it was a minor cause of disability and death. During the period identified, 1849-1859, 30 soldiers died from fevers, 59 from digestive diseases, and 41 from respiratory diseases. The remainder, 119 men, succumbed to other causes. [10]

Many health problems resulted from the environment. Crowded and poorly ventilated quarters fostered respiratory illnesses, unsanitary water induced diarrhea and fevers, [11] inadequate bathing facilities contributed to boils, and the prostitutes at and near the post spread venereal diseases (considered by some historians to be the most common affliction of soldiers). [12] Post Surgeon Moffatt confirmed that, when he wrote: "Gonorrhoeal and syphilitic affections are probably the greatest scourge we have to deal with." Although he treated many white males for these afflictions, he noted that he had "not been called upon to treat a single native, man or woman, for either of these affections." He believed the reason they did not come to him was because "they use two native plants which have a very high

local reputation in these diseases." [13]

A ready supply of liquor, as noted in previous chapters, contributed to drunkenness and alcoholism. There were occasional fights while under the influence, resulting in injuries and even death. Cavalrymen were injured by their horses. There were a few epidemic diseases that occasionally affected the garrison, including smallpox and cholera. No cases of cholera were reported in New Mexico prior to the Civil War, and there were very few afterward. On a few occasions the post was quarantined, mostly for smallpox. Inoculation was available for smallpox, which tended to affect more natives of New Mexico than soldiers who received vaccine.

The epidemic diseases were rare, however, and other problems usually confronted the medical staff, such as blisters, cuts, bruises, colds, bronchitis, coughs, tonsillitis, influenza, pneumonia, fevers, diarrhea, dysentery, constipation, ulcers, rheumatism, hemorrhoids, broken bones, venereal diseases (predominantly gonorrhea and syphilis), nervous disorders, and many others. [14] During the period from 1849 through 1859 a total of 3,470 cases of venereal disease were treated among troops stationed in New Mexico, of which only seven were fatal. In those same years a total of 4,908 wounds and injuries were treated, of which 63 were fatal (40 of those fatalities, as noted above, resulted from gunshot wounds). With an annual average death rate from all causes of 21.4 per 1,000 troops stationed in New Mexico during those eleven years, soldiers in the department fared as well as the general population in the nation which had an estimated death rate of 21 to 22 per 1,000. [15]

A summary of the medical records of troops garrisoned at Fort Union, 1868-1869, revealed that a total of 852 were treated for diseases by the post surgeon during those two years. The statistics did not include injuries. The cases were categorized as follows: tonsillitis, 1; scurvy, 2; tuberculosis, 11; malarial diseases, 32; rheumatism, 94; diarrhea and dysentery, 147; venereal diseases, 152; and respiratory diseases, 170. Only four soldiers died during that time. [16]

The death rate at Fort Union was lower than at many other frontier posts. It should be noted that the remains of those who died were quickly interred in the post cemetery, usually within 24 to 48 hours, because of rapid deterioration. Little was written about funeral ceremonies or burials. Private Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, reported in the autumn of 1870 that a soldier of the regimental band had died of typhoid fever at Fort Union. The day after this death, Matthews wrote to his family, noting that the remains were "to be buried this evening." He continued, "While am writing can hear the Band practicing the funeral dirge. Oh how solemn it sounds. There is nothing that makes me feel so sad, and home sick, as to hear the Band playing in front of one of their comrades, the Dead March. All the Soldiers in the Garrison have to turn out for this funeral this evening." [17] The medical department, however, was mostly concerned with the health of the living rather than the disposal of the dead.

Another perspective on the health of the garrison was provided in a compilation of consolidated sick reports at the Fort Union hospital, 1871-1874, summarized in the following table. [18]

Table 15
Fort Union Consolidated Sick Report, 1871-1874

(Note: Statistics show number of cases treated; deaths are shown in parentheses.)

Year	**1871**	**1872**	**1873**	**1874**
Mean Strength of Post	322	222	164	195

Accidents & injuries	92	79 (1)	46	55
Alcoholism	12	16	10	7
Diarrhea & Dysentery	99 (1)	81	33	67
Gonorrhea	31	14	3	9
Gunshot Wounds	4	2(1)	7	5
Hernia		5		4
Homicide	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)
Other Diseases	8	1	4	3
Other Fevers	150	51	39	56
Other Local Diseases	250	130 (1)	52	117
Respiratory Ailments	160 (1)	84	21	72
Rheumatism	97	24	8	26
Suicide				1 (1)
Syphilis	59	33	16	18
Tuberculosis	3	1		
Typhoid Fever	9 (4)		3 (1)	
TOTAL	974 (7)	522 (4)	239 (2)	439 (4)

Because diet is so important to health (for example, Vitamin C deficiency causes scurvy, a disease that at times plagued troops everywhere, including Fort Union), military posts and post hospitals were required to plant gardens to provide fresh vegetables. Fort Union had gardens most years it was occupied, but the results were not always satisfactory. Even the most successful gardens produced fresh vegetables for a small portion of the year. Citizens from the surrounding area sold vegetables, fruits, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and other produce at the post to those who could afford it. Improvement in diet, with foods containing antiscorbutics, was the major treatment for scurvy.

In the summer of 1855 three recruits arrived at Fort Union from Fort Leavenworth with severe cases of scurvy. They remained in the post hospital while the other recruits were assigned to their stations. When the three were able to report for duty they were sent to department headquarters at Santa Fe for assignment. Post Commander Fauntleroy encouraged Department Adjutant Nichols to provide the three recruits with a couple of months' pay "to enable them to purchase some little necessaries fruits, &c, as they have had the Scurvy very badly, and have not yet quite recovered." [19]

Even though the health of the soldiers was considered of prime importance in the army, facilities provided for hospitals were frequently inadequate until after the Civil War. At the first Fort Union the post hospital suffered from the same problems as most of the other structures built of unbarked logs without adequate foundations or roofs. When the building originally planned for the hospital in 1851 did not, as the post quartermaster explained, "exactly answer the purposes for which it was intended," another hospital was erected. The building first designated as a hospital became a storehouse. [20]

Construction of the second building designed as the post hospital at Fort Union was completed in late 1851 or early 1852. Post Surgeon Thomas McParlin performed his duties in a hospital tent until the permanent hospital was occupied. It was a log structure, 48 by 18 feet, with a wing, 46 by 16 feet. It originally had an earthen roof which was later covered with boards. Although Inspector Mansfield described the hospital as "comfortable" in 1853, [21] others declared that it was, like the other buildings at the first post, "badly built" and

constantly in need of repairs. Post Surgeon Letterman complained in 1856 that the "dirt roof" leaked whenever it rained. He stated that, during the late summer rainy season, "not a room . . . remained dry . . . and I was obliged to use tents and canvass to protect the property from damage." Presumably tents were also used to protect the patients. [22]

In addition to the post hospital, the department medical depot was maintained at Fort Union for a few years. Although the medical depot and chief medical officer were left in Santa Fe at the time Fort Union was established in 1851, the depot and chief surgeon soon joined the other department depots (quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance) at the new post. [23] Soon after Brigadier General Garland transferred the quartermaster and commissary depots from Fort Union to Albuquerque in 1853, he directed that "the medicines, hospital stores, bedding, surgical and other instruments, books, stationery, dressings &c of this Department will be transferred from Fort Union to the depot at Albuquerque." The chief medical officer was also moved to Albuquerque. [24] A few months later the medical depot was relocated at Santa Fe, where it had been prior to the founding of Fort Union and where Garland established department headquarters. The post surgeon at Fort Union was not affected by those changes, except that his requested supplies and medicines were not so readily available.

The Fort Union post hospital was left without a surgeon in the spring of 1859 when Acting Assistant Surgeon John H. Bill was sent into the field with troops. Major Simonson, post commander, requested Dr. W. W. Anderson at Cantonment Burgwin near Taos to come to Fort Union to see about "a patient affected with a very dangerous illness." [25] Anderson was unable to go because he could not leave the number of sick soldiers at his post. Ten days later the new Fort Union commander, Captain Robert M. Morris, begged department headquarters for permission to hire a civilian surgeon (Dr. J. M. Whitlock of Las Vegas) to treat "a non Commissioned officer lying at the point of death, thirteen men on the sick report, in addition to these there are several Officers and their families here, who may require medical attendance." [26] Morris received no reply.

On July 3 Captain Morris appealed to Surgeon Anderson at Camp Burgwin to "come with as little delay as possible" to treat "Mrs. LeRoy a camp woman at this Post" who was "in a *very critical condition."* The woman had been sick for about two weeks. [27] The situation was more critical by late July when Morris again requested a surgeon for Fort Union and reported that there were "now two dangerous cases in Hospital and have lost two from the want of proper Medical attendance." On July 31 he wrote to department headquarters, "I now for the third time earnestly and respectfully ask the attention of the Colonel commanding the Department to send a Medical Officer immediately to this Post, or grant me the authority asked for" to hire Dr. Whitlock. He enclosed a list, not located, of those who had died without benefit of a surgeon. Almost 10% of the garrison present was on the sick list. [28]

A response was finally sent in August. The director of the medical department sent the callous word that "it is absolutely impossible to furnish a Medical Officer to each Post and every Detachment in the field, in this Department, nor do I know of a Citizen Physician who would give up his business and go to Fort Union." He recommended that Surgeon Anderson be sent, "temporarily," to Fort Union. That would leave Cantonment Burgwin without a physician. Apparently Anderson never went to Fort Union. On August 11 Captain Morris sent an urgent request to Dr. Whitlock to come to Fort Union and treat Captain Wainwright, department chief of ordnance, who had what the hospital steward believed was "billious fever." He also had the quartermaster make a "Mosquito bar" to protect Wainwright. Captain Whitlock was again called out two weeks later to attend a man with a compound fracture of the leg. The absence of a post surgeon was alleviated when Assistant Surgeon Elisha I. Baily arrived about September 1, 1859. [29]

In November 1859 Lieutenant Julian May, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, became ill while

returning to Fort Union from Santa Fe. He died at Tecolote on November 22 under the care of Dr. Whitlock, who had been sent for at Las Vegas. The cause of death was apoplexy (commonly known as a stroke). [30] In 1860 the department medical director, Dr. William J. Sloan, recommended that arrangements be made at the Fort Union hospital to supply the sick with vegetables. The department commander, Colonel Fauntleroy, directed that a hospital garden be planted and a gardener from the garrison be detailed for that purpose. [31] The hospital garden was in addition to the post garden.

By the time of the Civil War the Fort Union hospital had deteriorated until it was considered uninhabitable. While the earthwork was under construction, the old commanding officer's quarters at the first post became the post hospital and the "old hospital building" was assigned to the ordnance department in 1862 to store ordnance supplies arriving for the department. [32] The old officer's quarters were an improvement, but that structure was also in a bad state of repair and inadequate for the medical demands of the Civil War era.

The increase in military activity and in the number of troops stationed in New Mexico during the Civil War placed increased demands on the post hospital and other medical facilities in the department. Surgeons accompanied troops into the field. A temporary field hospital was established at Kozlowski's Ranch after the engagements at Glorieta in March 1862. The wounded were treated there until they could be moved to the hospital at Fort Union. The old commanding officer's quarters at the first post were inadequate for the enlarged task. In 1862 Post Surgeon James T. Ghiselin reported that "the building used for a Hospital at this post is old and so badly out of repair the sick are made very uncomfortable after every rain storm by the excessive dampness of the walls and flooring." He recommended building a new hospital because the old one was practically beyond repair. Post Commander Wallen endorsed the request, mentioning the "decayed" condition of the building and the need for a ward to isolate patients with contagious diseases. There were several cases of smallpox at the hospital at that time. [33]

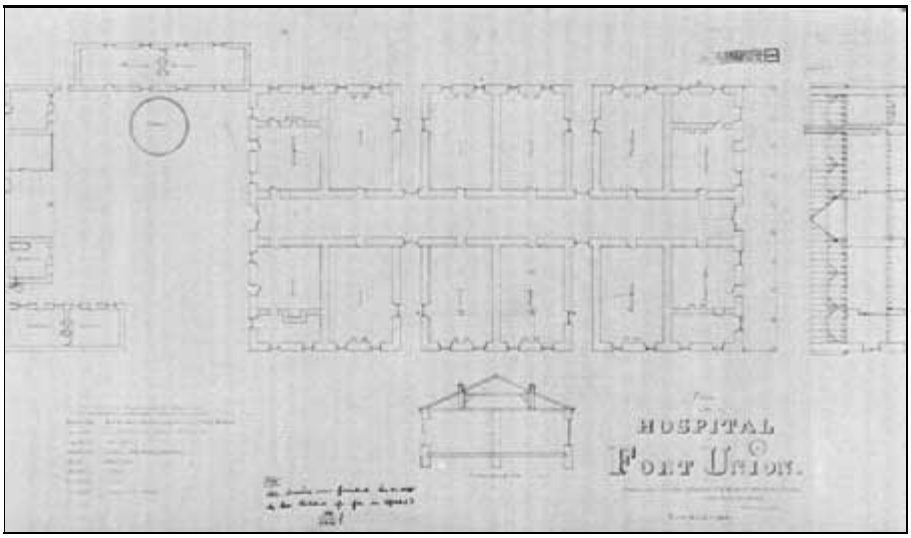
The overcrowded conditions of the Fort Union hospital were partially relieved by sending some patients to a military hospital which was established at the hot springs near Las Vegas. The hot mineral waters there had been visited for some time by people with a variety of ailments, including venereal diseases, who believed the soothing effects of bathing in the warm waters cured or helped cure their diseases. The site was destined to become a popular spa after the Civil War and especially after the railroad built into New Mexico. Some army surgeon or surgeons also must have considered the hot springs to have therapeutic benefits and persuaded Colonel Canby to authorize a general hospital there. A structure near the springs that had been built for other purposes was converted into a hospital, and plans were made to build a new hospital there to serve troops from throughout the department. [34]

Those plans changed when Brigadier General Carleton became department commander in September 1862. Carleton opposed the concept of a general hospital which was not located near a military post, and he directed that the facility at the hot springs be closed as quickly as practicable. Everything there, including equipment, supplies, medicines, patients, and medical staff, were sent to Fort Union. Because the post hospital was inadequate, Carleton directed the quartermaster at Fort Union to prepare additional facilities "for these sick and wounded." [35] It was not determined where the additional patients were accommodated at Fort Union, but their arrival amplified the need for a new hospital at the post. [36]

In June 1863 Carleton appointed a board of officers to design and select a site for a new hospital at Fort Union. [37] The result, an adobe structure set on a stone foundation with a shingled gable roof, was completed in the spring of 1865 at an estimated cost of $57,000. The conditions at the old hospital, during the time it took to erect the new facility, were "bad." The new hospital, as noted above, was the largest and best equipped medical center in the

region. In 1866 a "dead house," 52 by 13 feet, was added to the post hospital. Other additions were made later. [38]

The basic structure comprised a large central hall running the full length of the building, 147 feet, with three wings adjoined on each side and an open space between each wing. There was a covered veranda on the front of the building. Each wing was divided by an adobe wall, providing a total of twelve large rooms, each of which had a fireplace. The two rooms in front and the two rooms in back were also divided in two and served special purposes. The front rooms on the west side of the hall comprised the surgeon's office and examination room, and the front rooms on the east side were used for the dispensary and storage of medicines and medical supplies. The rear rooms on the west side were used as the kitchen, and the rear rooms on the east were used for dining. The hospital initially had a capacity of 100 patients [39] (120 in case of emergencies), but later, when the needs were less, some of the rooms were used for storage and the number of beds per ward was reduced until there were six beds in each of six wards, a total capacity of 36 patients (figure shown on plan of hospital drawn in 1878, reproduced on the following page).



Plan of the hospital at Fort Union, 1878, Misc. Fortifications File, Cartographic Branch, RG 77, National Archives. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The hospital complex eventually included quarters for hospital stewards and hospital matrons, a cistern to store water, laundry, bath house, and an adobe wall around the compound. In 1866 a windmill and pump were requisitioned and approved by Post Commander Thompson to be placed at a well near the hospital to pump water to irrigate the hospital garden. [40] It may be presumed that the windmill was installed and operated but no confirmation was found in the records.



View of Fort Union hospital from the south, 1866. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88007, *courtesy* National Archives.

While the records of the Fort Union hospital prior to 1863 have not been located, the records from that year until the post was closed in 1891 have been gathered at the National Archives. The medical history kept by the post surgeon, also preserved at the National Archives, covered the period from 1873 to 1891. A list of post surgeons at Fort Union is included in Appendix B. Additional information about health and medical care has been gleaned from other post records. For example, late in 1866, army medical officers were directed to "furnish to civilian employes the necessary medical attention and medicines, without additional compensation therefor." [41] Prior to that time civilian employees had been required to pay for such services. Selected examples from medical records and other sources provide some understanding of health and medical care at Fort Union.

In October 1866 the chief medical officer of the district, Dr J. C. McKee, requested permission to authorize additional hospital attendants at Fort Union. McKee noted that "there are at present in the Hospital at Fort Union some fifty sick and wounded men, some of them very bad cases." Army regulations provided for assigning hospital attendants on the basis of the number of troops in the garrison. McKee explained that the Fort Union hospital had "to receive many sick from passing troops not belonging to the post." The small garrison, therefore, was "not sufficient in numbers to give these men the attention they require." He asked District Commander Carleton to "furnish as many attendants as the wants of the sick require." Carleton approved the request. [42]

In November 1866 the number of soldiers treated at the Fort Union hospital was given by Post Commander E. G. Marshall as "about 100 sick men from all parts of the Territory." He noted that a library had been established in the hospital. [43] The number of patients continued to be high into the following year, requiring additional nurses. When Surgeon Henry A. DuBois requested that a patient at the hospital, Private Thomas King, Company I, Fifth Infantry, be assigned as a nurse when he was well enough to perform such duties, the surgeon justified the need as follows: "I report 84 beds, and have patients in five separate wards, and I cannot diminish the No. of wards occupied without placing white and black patients, and contagious cases in the same wards." At least one nurse was required for each ward. The request was approved. [44] A variety of cases was under treatment.



View of Fort Union hospital from the east, 1866. U.S. Signals Corps Photo No. 87994, *courtesy* National Archives.

Approximately twenty cases of scurvy were treated at Fort Union in 1866. Most of these were "recruits who had just arrived from the States and had been for months without fresh vegetables and the scurvy existed to an alarming extent." Post Surgeon DuBois directed Major Charles McClure, commissary officer, to purchase vegetables for these patients, which was done. The men quickly recovered with the proper diet. [45] Unfortunately, some diseases and injuries were not so easily treated.

James Keller, a recently discharged soldier of Company G, Third Cavalry, died at the post hospital at Fort Union on February 26, 1867, from a "fracture of skull and compression of the brain." The fracture appeared to have been inflicted by "a blow given from behind," although "it might have been caused by a fall on a rock, or by a stone thrown." Surgeon DuBois could do nothing to save the patient, but he urged the post commander to arrest "the guilty parties, if any." [46] No record was found to indicate if Keller had been murdered or was the victim of an accident.

In the summer of 1867 there was an outbreak of epidemic cholera along the Santa Fe Trail and other overland routes, with a large number of cases and many deaths in Kansas, and two companies of the Thirty-Eighth Infantry coming to New Mexico from Kansas carried the disease with them. Post Commander William B. Lane established a board of health at Fort Union in July 1867 "to establish rules and regulations to prevent the introduction of this scourge into this Post and Territory." The members of the board were Surgeon DeWitt C. Peters, Assistant Surgeon Henry A. DuBois, and Lieutenant Francis B. Jones, Thirty-Seventh Infantry. These officers were authorized to keep close watch on the disease, enforce rules of sanitation and health, and report regularly to Lane. Strict sanitary regulations were established at the post on July 27. [47]

Surgeon DuBois left Fort Union by stage to meet the diseased troops along the road. Those troops were halted at Ocate Creek before they reached Fort Union. They encamped there, approximately nine miles from A. J. Calhoun's ranch and stage station, under quarantine until the disease had run its course. This prevented cholera from affecting the post and settlements in the area. Major W. C. Merriam, commanding the two companies of Thirty-Eighth Infantry, reported to Lane early in August that his troops had developed no new cases of cholera since they left the Arkansas River on July 24. His command was suffering from scurvy. Surgeon Peters and Second Lieutenant Scott H. Robinson, Third Cavalry, visited the camp on August 9. Robinson had been sent earlier to help enforce the quarantine. Dr. Peters examined everyone in the camp, which included 220 enlisted men and six officers (two with their wives), six laundresses, and twenty-two civilians employed as teamsters and herders. He found no evidence of cholera. He believed it was safe to permit the command to proceed to Fort Union as soon as the troops had recuperated. [48]

Another battalion of Thirty-Eighth Infantry, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Cuvier Grover, came from Kansas and joined the quarantine encampment on the Ocate on August 25. The quarantine was lifted on September 20, and the companies detained there proceeded to their stations at posts in New Mexico. They passed Fort Union but none was stationed there. [49] There were no cases of cholera at Fort Union. The precautions would likely have prevented that, but the disease had ceased before the soldiers of the Thirty-Eight Infantry reached New Mexico Territory. The fear of cholera, which stimulated a thorough cleaning up at Fort Union, improved the sanitary conditions of the post and, perhaps, made it a more healthy place in general.

Surgeon DuBois was granted a leave of absence in the summer of 1867. He was replaced by Surgeon DeWitt C. Peters. Peters requested additional medical staff to handle the "fully 100 patients under medical treatment and a large number of families in the Garrison." Not only

was he responsible for the health of the garrison, but the post hospital was the only place the 600 employees of the quartermaster department could receive medical assistance. Additional staff was approved, including more surgeons. At least three other medical doctors served at the post hospital before the end of the year. [50] Peters also found the supply of firewood for the hospital to be inadequate and requested "an ample supply of fuel" to "prevent suffering." He noted that "twenty fires are needed during the cold weather" to heat the hospital and cook the food. This required, in his estimation, two cords of wood per day. [51]

Mental illness, usually called "insanity" in the nineteenth century, affected soldiers and their performance of duties and required the attention of post surgeons. It also affected officers' wives and other civilians. In 1873 Fort Union Post Surgeon Peter Moffatt sent Private John Anderson, ordnance detachment at Fort Union Arsenal, to the "Insane Asylum at Washington" after treating him for several months in the post hospital. Moffatt observed that Anderson's "insanity . . . continued to grow more and more aggravated." He explained that Anderson's affliction "was not maniachal in character but was of the busy mischievous and vigilant type." Unable to help the patient, the surgeon sent him to the army's institution for the mentally ill. [52] The post medical records identified several such cases through the years, most of which were resolved in the same manner.

One of the most interesting cases of mental disturbance, about which only a portion of the story has been found and for which the conclusion remains unknown, was that of Mrs. John Lafferty, wife of the post and depot subsistence officer in 1873 and 1874. Also her husband, Lieutenant Lafferty, Eighth Cavalry, had suffered wounds in combat which were an intriguing part of army medical history. The story of this couple, including their medical and mental problems, was unique in the annals of Fort Union but worthy of being recorded for the widespread fascination among people of all eras in aberrant behavior and scandalous conduct. Because the tale loses much of its flavor in being retold, excerpts from the documents have been quoted.

John Lafferty, born in Oneida County, New York, August 23, 1835, had served as a lieutenant in the First California Volunteer Cavalry, 1864-1866. He was appointed a second lieutenant in the regular army, Eighth Cavalry, in July 1866 and was promoted to first lieutenant one year later. He received "a severe gunshot wound" in the right jaw in a battle with Apaches at Chiricahua Pass, Arizona Territory, October 20, 1869. The bullet tore away a portion of his lower jaw, took out twelve lower and four upper teeth, destroyed a portion of his tongue and lips, and left him unable to masticate his food properly. He suffered, according to Surgeon W H. Gardner in 1875, "almost constantly with Dyspepsia and is unable to digest any kinds of solid food without great pain and difficulty, the destruction of a portion of the tongue and lips also interferes materially with articulation." Remarkably, despite the pains he suffered, Lafferty continued on active (although sometimes limited) duty until he retired in 1878. He lived until October 15, 1899. [53]

Lafferty's troubles included a wife who caused considerable problems for him and many others at Fort Union in 1874. Lieutenant John W. Eckles, Fifteenth Infantry, submitted the following to the temporary post commander, Captain Henry A. Ellis, Fifteenth Infantry, on November 17, 1874:

> I have the honor to call your attention to a very unpleasant subject. I do it most unwillingly but necessity compels me to lay before you the extremely unladylike conduct of Mrs Lafferty wife of Lieut John Lafferty 8th Cavalry. For the good of the service generally and particularly for the best interests of the Military Garrison of Fort Union some action must be taken in this matter. The conduct of Mrs Lafferty for this past several months has been of such a nature as to create scandalous gossips, both among the enlisted men of the garrison and citizens

> living in the immediate neighborhood. The wives of the Officers of the garrison are actually afraid to go on the sidewalk alone for fear of meeting this woman.
>
> That she would attempt to do them bodily harm I do not believe but that they fear it I know. When Mrs Lafferty came to this Post she was most kindly received by all the Officers families of this Post - but her conduct since has been of such a nature as to bar out all intercourse between them and other families.
>
> She is in the habit of invading officers private quarters on the pretense of looking for her husband if the doors are not barred against her. She makes an attempt to batter them down or break in the windows. The Traders Store Billiard Saloon has been attacked by her several times - in one instance the door and entire casings would have been carried away by her enormous weight had they not been securely propped in the inside, and this the door of a private saloon not in the Post.
>
> I happened in the quarters of an Officer a few evening ago - shortly afterwards there was a great banging at the door, on its being opened Mrs Lafferty came bolting into the room. I spoke to her and told her she should refrain from such conduct - that her conduct was creating talk and Scandal and if she persisted in it I would feel compelled to make an official report
>
> - Whereupon she replied in a terrible rage shaking her fist in my face that I could report and be dammed.
>
> Lieut Lafferty has told me on several occasions that no one could imagine his anguish of mind on account of his wife's conduct but that he had no control over her - that he had done everything he could to pacify her but all was of no avail and that he was really afraid of her
>
> - In submitting this letter I desire it understood that so far as I know Mrs Lafferty's Virtue is not questioned.
>
> There is one thing certain if an Officer should keep a Garrison in such a state of commotion he could not stay in this army twenty four hours and for the sake of good order - friendly feeling social intercourse Mrs Lafferty should be removed from the Garrison. The details of her conduct further than is already stated I refrain from repeating on paper. [54]

On the same date Captain Ellis forwarded the above to department headquarters, adding the following cover letter:

> I have the honor to invite attention to inclosed letter of Lieut J. W. Eckles 15th Infantry concerning the conduct of Mrs. John Lafferty. The scandal caused by this womans course of action and the abortive attempts of her husband to stop it is something that cannot be understood by anyone but a resident of this Post. Lieut. Eckles informs me that Lieut. Lafferty told him he had been trained as a prize fighter but being smaller than his wife I am told he only succeeded in blacking her eyes, bruising her body and partly obliterating her features without accomplishing the desired end. Being in but temporary Command by a Court of Inquiry I can do nothing in this unpleasant matter but report it to Hd Qrs. of the Department for such action, if any, that may be deemed necessary. [55]

If any action was taken, the records have not been found. Lieutenant Lafferty continued to serve at Fort Union until granted sick leave late in 1875. Whether his wife remained there

until that time was unknown. He was promoted to rank of captain in 1876 and was recommended to the appropriate military board for retirement because of his wounds. He served in California until that recommendation was approved, and he retired on June 28, 1878. He later was accorded brevet rank for "gallant service against Indians" in 1867 and 1869. Whether it was the same Mrs. Lafferty or another, he was, according to the notice of his death in 1899, survived by "his widow and children." [56] Perhaps additional material will eventually surface to resolve the unanswered questions.

Surgeon Moffatt, who was present during a portion of the time Mrs. Lafferty was creating havoc, made no mention of her in his reports, nor did his successor. There were more pressing cases that required their attention. Moffatt treated successfully "a case of concussion of the brain of great severity" in the autumn of 1873. The soldier was not identified but "was struck upon the head with a shovel felling him to the ground with great violence" on October 27, 1873. He was able to return to duty one month later on November 27. [57] Such serious cases stood out in the medical records, exceptions to the routine diseases and injuries. Gunshot wounds, mostly accidental or self-inflicted, were of special interest to army surgeons.

An unidentified soldier suffered a gunshot wound to the thigh on November 16, 1873, which grazed the femoral artery. The wound was apparently an accident. The victim survived. Private John McCaffery, Company M, Eighth Cavalry, was not so fortunate. On December 12, 1873, he was "shot and killed accidentally by a pistol in the hands of another man" while on detached duty at Johnson's Ranch at the western entrance to Glorieta Pass. McCaffery was shot between the eyes and the bullet passed through his brain, resulting in instant death. On January 22, 1874, Private Michael Cullen, Company M, Eighth Cavalry, "committed suicide by shooting himself through the chest in the vicinity of the heart with a carbine." [58]

Epidemic diseases occasionally reached Fort Union. In December 1873 the wife and seven children of a civilian employee in the quartermaster department experienced an outbreak of scarletina (scarlet fever), resulting in a miscarriage for the woman and the death of three of the children, ages two, four, and six. The older children had a milder form of the disease, as Surgeon Moffatt reported, "the severity of the disease seemed almost in inverse ratio to the age of the patients." In fact, "in the oldest of the family aged 16 the affliction was so mild that it was not necessary to confine the patient to bed." The children who died, however, suffered rapid deterioration of the nervous system and expired within forty-eight to seventy-two hours. The surgeon declared that their "convulsion movements, constant tossing to and fro upon the bed, the throwing of the limbs about, and moaning with delirium were painful to witness." Moffatt speculated that the origin of the outbreak may have come from "associating a good deal with the Mexicans from the surrounding localities" where scarletina was reported to be present with "great fatality in their respective communities." A few other cases were reported at the post, none of which was fatal. [59]

The surgeons were not exempt from ailments and sometimes became patients in the post hospital. Surgeon Moffatt received two "simple fractures" of the tibia and fibula of the left leg when his horse fell and rolled over him in February 1874. [60] Acting Assistant Surgeon C. M. Clark applied plaster and splint and performed surgeon duties at the post while Moffatt recuperated. Moffatt was able to resume some of his responsibilities in March 1874, although he was "disabled with fracture." He was replaced as post surgeon by W. H. Gardner the following month, on April 9. Gardner began his assignment with a report on the "sanitary condition of Fort Union." [61]

Surgeon Gardner was critical of what he found. He described the adobe buildings at Fort Union, most of which had been erected within the previous decade, as looking "dilapidated and old" with the exterior plaster "falling off." The interior conditions were equally adverse.

"In nearly all the rooms I have entered," wrote Gardner, "the ceiling is down in one or more places and I am informed that there is not a roof in the Post that does not leak badly." In addition he found the post "to be in a bad state of police, particularly in regards to sand and dirt." He was not sure that could be helped, however, "for during the two days that I have been here there has been a constant cloud of dust, which has penetrated every crack and crevice and now lays embanked against the north fence of the parade ground from three to four feet deep." Finally, he declared, "the drainage of the post is very bad." [62] Despite the unsanitary conditions, Gardner found the health of the garrison to be satisfactory. Most patients treated at the post hospital were "afflicted with ephemeral diseases, such as catarrh, tonsillitis and bronchitis, probably in a great measure due to the inclement weather." During the month of April, Gardner recorded, the weather was "cold, windy, and disagreeable," with "frequent snow storms." In the summer Gardner found that "the hot weather has increased the number of cases of Diarrhea and Dysentery." [63]

On November 21, 1874, Major A. J. Alexander and two companies of Eighth Cavalry returned to Fort Union from the field, and one of the soldiers with the command had typhoid fever. This man, "nearly moribund when admitted to the hospital," died a week later. A post mortem examination showed that, in addition to typhoid, the victim's gall bladder contained 215 gall stones. This specimen was sent to the Army Medical Museum, Washington, D.C. No one else contracted typhoid fever, but there were "many cases" of diarrhea and dysentery at the post, especially among children, during the same month. [64]

In October 1875 Surgeon Thomas A. McParlin, who had served as the first post surgeon at Fort Union in 1851, spent two days at Fort Union on his way to Santa Fe to assume his assignment as chief medical officer for the District of New Mexico. He replaced Surgeon J. P. Wright in that capacity. Surgeon Wright spent two days at Fort Union on his way to Fort Leavenworth later the same month. [65]

Surgeon McParlin attended District Commander Gordon Granger at Santa Fe when Granger suffered a paralytic stroke on November 19, 1875. Colonel Granger, Fifteenth Infantry, succumbed to another stroke on January 10, 1876. His remains were taken to Fort Union by Lieutenant Thomas Blair, Fifteenth Infantry, who had served as Granger's adjutant. Post Surgeon Gardner embalmed the body at Fort Union, which was sent to Granger's wife at Lexington, Kentucky, for interment. [66] The reason the body was sent to Fort Union for embalming was not stated, but it may have been because the hospital there was best equipped for the procedure.

Colonel Edward Hatch, who replaced Granger as district commander, stopped overnight at Fort Union on February 4, 1876, on his way to Santa Fe. A few days later it was learned at Fort Union that Captain Henry Ellis, Fifteenth Infantry, former commander of Fort Union and absent from the post on a surgeon's certificate of disability on account of valvular disease of the heart, had died at San Francisco, California, on January 25, 1876. Acting Assistant Surgeon J. S. Martin reported for duty at Fort Union on February 29, 1876, joining Surgeon Gardner's staff. A month later, on March 28, 1876, Dr. Martin, assisted by Dr. John Shout of Las Vegas, operated on Surgeon Gardner for internal hemorrhoids. During the same month the bodies of three troopers of Company G, Ninth Cavalry, who were killed in a brawl at Cimarron, New Mexico Territory, were brought to Fort Union for interment. Post-mortem examinations on these bodies were conducted by Dr. Martin. [67]

Another army surgeon was operated on at Fort Union in April 1876 for internal hemorrhoids. Assistant Surgeon Carlos Carvallo, post surgeon at Fort Stanton, New Mexico Territory, was sent to Fort Union by the district commander for the surgery. Surgeon Gardner, assisted by Dr. Martin, performed the operation on April 28. On May 22 Dr. Carvallo left Fort Union to return to his station. He was accompanied by Surgeon Gardner, who was detailed for court-

martial duty at Fort Stanton. [68] One wonders if the surgeons discussed their respective operations during the trip. Travel by army ambulance may not have been comfortable for either of them.

Dr. Martin was left in charge of the hospital at Fort Union during Gardner's absence. Martin helped host and entertain District Commander Hatch, who inspected Fort Union on June 21, 1876. Gardner arrived back at the post on July 1. Gardner continued to request improvements in the sanitary conditions at Fort Union, pointing out that the "drainage is bad, the quarters of the troops are in great need of repair, of proper and efficient means of ventilation, and especially of some means of bathing facilities for the men." He lamented that, "for more than two years, these evils have been constantly brought to the notice of the various commanding officers," little had been done "from want of means, (men and money)." He also reported that the hospital was "in sad need of repairs and is badly constructed for the requirements of the command." Nevertheless, and in spite of sanitary conditions, he was pleased to report that, "with all the adverse circumstances the health of the post has been remarkably good, and for the last two years has been free from any epidemic disease." During that time only two soldiers had died at the post, one of typhoid fever and the other from an aneurysm of the aorta. [69]

Another death occurred soon after Gardner's September report. On October 4, 1876, John Sullivan, a civilian employee in the quartermaster department, was admitted to the post hospital "with severe contusion of chest and fracture of ribs." The cause of the injuries was not reported. Sullivan died the following day. Surgeon Carvallo reported for duty at Fort Union on October 4, the same day of Sullivan's accident, and replaced Dr. Gardner as post surgeon on October 6. Carvallo reported, in contrast to his predecessor, that "the hospital was clean and in good condition, the files of orders, publications, and journals in satisfactory state, the supply of medicines, stores and other hospital supplies and property abundant." He also declared that "the post was well policed." Surgeon Carvallo ordered a printing press for the hospital, sending $60.00 to the firm of S. P. Round in Chicago, leaving a balance due of $19.00 at 10% interest. The balance of $19.25 was paid the following month. [70] The need for a printing press at the hospital was not explained.

Surgeon Carvallo reported the names of the medical staff at Fort Union who were under his command. Dr. Martin continued as his assistant. There were two hospital stewards: Charles Hoffmier (medical corps) and John V. Noel (private, Company C, Fifteenth Infantry). The hospital cook was Private Emil Fisher, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry. The two nurses were Private John Thornton, Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, and Private John Weaver, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry. There were three hospital matrons: Mary Hoffmier (wife of Steward Hoffmier), Sylvia Francisco, and Guadalupe Garcia. Carvallo provided detailed monthly reports about activities at Fort Union during his tenure at the post. He noted about the social life of the garrison soon after his arrival, "several very agreeable gatherings took place during the month, harmony reigns supreme at the post." The following month he reported that on Thursday, November 30, "all the companies and the hospital had extra dinners for Thanksgiving." [71]

Surgeon Carvallo regularly inspected the guardhouse and prison at the post as well as the quarters, kitchens, and sanitary conditions inside and outside the buildings. He noted in November 1876 that the average daily occupancy of the guardhouse was 9.23 and the average daily occupancy of the military prison was 2.33, for a total prisoner population of 11.56 per day. [72] During the same month the average daily occupancy of the post hospital was 3.53 and the average number of soldiers treated daily in their quarters was 6.47, for a total patient load of 10 per day. During the month 39 new cases were seen by the surgeon, and seven cases were carried over from the previous month. Of the 46 total cases, 35 were returned to duty and 11 remained under doctor's care at the end of the month. That was in a garrison

comprised of 106 white officers and enlisted men and 100 black enlisted men. [73]

Surgeon Carvallo recorded details of events connected with the medical department at Fort Union. On November 4, 1876, Emma Beeks, a black servant employed by Dr. Carvallo, "gave birth to a male child." Following a "severe snow storm and cold snap" on November 21 and 22, Carvallo recommended that the convicts held in the military prison be permitted to "have a straw bed sack in their cells," which was done. One of the prisoners, a convicted deserter named Henry Everts, was taken to the hospital, November 23 to 26, for treatment of a fever. On December 5, 1876, two laundresses (Mrs. Ferrell and Mrs. Marshall, first names unknown) and their families were quarantined at the post hospital "on account of having chicken pox." They returned to their quarters on December 12. An enlisted man was diagnosed with chicken pox on December 9 and returned to duty December 14. [74]

Also on December 14 the hospital steward second class, name not recorded, who was in charge of the dispensary, took "two grains of morphine with intent to commit suicide." Dr. Carvallo reported that the patient was unconscious for more than six hours, during which time he was in and out of a coma. The procedures used, according to the surgeon, included "stomach pump, electricity, hypodermic injections of atrophine, counter irritation, and constant rousing for over six hours finally cured him." Some people were trying to end their lives at Fort Union while others were bringing new lives into the world. On December 17 the wife of the post adjutant, Second Lieutenant George H. Kinzie, Fifteenth Infantry, gave birth to a daughter. A few weeks later, on January 6, 1877, Mrs. Nicholson, wife of the master mechanic, gave birth to twin boys. Children were considered an important part of society. In December 1876 Post Chaplain Simpson raised funds for a Christmas tree and to purchase "over $60.00 worth of presents for the children in and about the post." Although it was not a Christmas present, Surgeon Carvallo received a rain gauge on December 26, which he had ordered a month earlier. This helped with the accurate recording of weather records, part of his duties. [75]

In addition to the rain gauge the post surgeon had a thermometer and barometer. Each day he recorded the direction of the prevailing wind, high and low temperature, barometric pressure, and precipitation (including form and amount), and these were summarized and averaged at the end of every month. Severe storms, including high winds and hail, were also noted. On January 3, 1877, a "new house for safe keeping of Meteorological observations was erected." [76]

Weather records, births, and deaths comprised a part of the surgeon's monthly reports and medical history. On January 8, 1877, John Allen, who had recently been discharged upon completion of his term of service as a private in Company A, Ninth Cavalry, died at the quarters of Jane W. Brent, postmistress at Fort Union, where he was employed. An inquest into the "causes of the sudden death of John Allen" was held the following day by a board comprised of Drs. Carvallo and Martin, Post Trader John C. Dent, and H. V. Harris, a civilian. The cause of death was "hemorrhage from the lungs, originating in an abscess in the posterior lobe of left lung." Allen's remains were buried in the post cemetery on January 10 "with Hospital shirt, drawers, and stockings, he having no friends from whom they could be obtained." [77] Although Allen, a civilian, had received no medical care from the post hospital, he was the beneficiary of the hospital in death.

A civilian who was treated at the post hospital the same month was Dr. John L. Gregg, a 48-year-old physician who was emigrating to Arizona Territory. He had suffered a fracture of the left femur by an accidental shot of his pistol at La Junta, New Mexico Territory, on July 24, 1876. He had been treated at La Junta by Dr. Martin from Fort Union. Because the "surroundings not being favorable there for his recovery, he was brought to hospital where he could receive suitable attention." Dr. Gregg was required to pay the cost of his rations (thirty

cents per day) but his medical treatment was provided without charge. He remained a patient until April 16, 1877, when he "was discharged from the hospital much improved in general health." His leg, however, still had a "running wound." [78] It was common procedure to charge civilian patients for their rations.

Another civilian at the post hospital was Alcetus J. Scorse, late private of Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, who received a medical discharge from the service for spasmodic asthma on September 13, 1876. Scorse was "in destitute circumstances" and had been admitted to the post hospital on December 3, 1876, for treatment of his asthma. Being destitute and a former soldier, he was not charged for his rations. His condition deteriorated and he died of asthma complications and cardiac "derangements" on February 9, 1877. He was buried at the post cemetery on February 11. His remains were disinterred on November 16, 1877, at the request of his sister, were "thoroughly disinfected and packed under the supervision of Post Surg.," and were sent to the sister at Niles, Michigan, on November 21. [79]

Mary Strass, wife of Private Patrick Strass, Ninth Cavalry band, was admitted to the post hospital in January 1877 with a venereal disease, chancroid, and she was "quarantined to prevent contagion among the troops." She was still under treatment at the end of February 1877 and no further mention of her case appeared in the records. [80]

Another outbreak of scarletina occurred in March 1877. Royal Lackey, nine-year-old son of a civilian employee at the post, was the first case, reported on March 4, and his family was immediately quarantined. Royal's younger brother, Willie, age seven, died of the disease on March 19. Another boy at the post, son of Private and Mrs. Cunningham (first names and his regiment unknown), showed symptoms of scarlet fever on March 5, and the family was "at once isolated in one of the Hospital wards and their house thoroughly disinfected." No other cases were reported and there were no further fatalities from the disease. Surgeon Carvallo declared that "measures taken to prevent further cases of contagion were very successful in this instance and prove what can be done by vigilance." [81]

Carvallo had better luck with his treatment of scarletina than he did with the hospital cook, Private Emil Gashot, Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, who had to be relieved from that extra-duty assignment. In April 1877 Gashot had "got drunk" and broken some of the kitchen ware, for which he was tried by garrison court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be confined for thirty days and forfeit $10.00 of his pay. Carvallo's choice for a replacement cook from the men of Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, was denied by the company commander, Captain Casper H. Conrad, who detailed Private Edward J. Cahota to be the new cook. [82] The hospital's milk supply was another problem faced by the post surgeon.

On May 6, 1877, one of the two hospital cows failed to come in. A mounted detail was sent to search for her. She was found, with a newborn calf, in the Turkey Mountains on May 8. In November 1877 Surgeon Carvallo was authorized to sell the two hospital cows and their two calves and to place the money received into the hospital fund. Hospital Steward Charles Hoffmier paid $45.00 for the entire hospital herd. [83] Carvallo never explained from where the hospital acquired milk for patients following the sale, but it was possible that Hoffmier sold milk from his cows to the hospital.

There seemed to be no end to the problems faced by a post surgeon. Another epidemic disease came near Fort Union in May 1877, when smallpox was reported at some of the villages in the area and it was believed that two cases of the disease had passed through the post. Information also reached the post that "two or more trains en route from Santa Fe N.M. to El Moro Col. are infected with small pox." Post commander Dudley immediately ordered that "all parties in any way attached or belonging to the garrison of Fort Union or residing on the reservation are hereby prohibited from visiting or going near any trains that may pass this

post going north the next ten days." A non-commissioned officer was charged with seeing that "all trains coming from the South pass the garrison either east or west instead of the usual travelled road [in] front of Post Traders." In addition, the post was quarantined on May 5, although the quartermaster depot and arsenal refused to cooperate (as explained in the preceding chapter), and a number of people residing at the post were revaccinated. No cases of the disease were reported at the post, and the quarantine was discontinued on May 25. [84] Smallpox did reach Fort Union later in the year.

Alma Sanchez, fourteen-year-old daughter of Manuel Sanchez, a civilian quartermaster employee, was diagnosed with smallpox on November 26, 1877, and the home of the family was quarantined. Surgeon Carvallo reported that "the contagion was supposed to have been brought to the reservation by Sylvia Francisco, Lt. Col. Dudley's servant who visited Loma Parda where the disease prevailed at the time." [85] On December 12 the two sons of Manuel Sanchez were found to have smallpox and they were sent away from the reservation (where not recorded). On December 16 J. D. Davis, the post trader's black servant, was placed in the "quarantine hospital" with smallpox. This was a hospital tent set up to be used only by smallpox patients. Davis remained there until January 27, 1878. Surgeon Carvallo believed that Davis "contracted the disease from his concubine Lulu, a Mexican woman who visited Loma Parda, a small Mexican village 4 miles distant from the post, with frequency." On December 22 Corporal Lewis Nehren, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry, was also placed in the quarantine hospital with the disease. He also remained there until January 27. Carvallo traced this case to Loma Parda, too, and noted that Nehren had "gone to Loma Parda on a two days pass, and spent his time in the bar room and with a Mexican woman." [86]

The patients at the quarantine hospital, location not indicated in the records, were tended by Private John McMahon, Company C, Fifteenth Infantry, who had previously had smallpox. As an added precaution, Surgeon Carvallo directed that all enlisted men, quartermaster employees, and women and children at the post be revaccinated. Also, the post commander forbade all communication between the post and Loma Parda. At least one additional case was reported. Private Daniel Green, Company E, Ninth Cavalry, was admitted to the quarantine hospital with smallpox on February 23. Carvallo believed the source of Green's disease was the village of La Junta. Green died of the disease on March 5. In order to remove all traces of smallpox from the post, all medical property used by smallpox patients and the quarantine hospital were "destroyed by fire March 8th." Surgeon Carvallo was proud that "the precautions and sanitary measures taken" at Fort Union had successfully limited the effects of smallpox, especially "considering the fatality in the neighborhood and throughout the Territory." [87]

Many of the serious cases treated at the post hospital were civilians. L. T. Emery, age 30, was admitted to the hospital on May 9, 1877, "with necrosis of left femur" which resulted from a case of typhoid fever several years previous. A large, discharging abscess remained on his thigh. It was surgically removed and the rough bone of the femur, which was irritating the flesh, was smoothed with a chisel. Emery paid for his rations. On May 12 Remedio Apadaca, a "Mexican" citizen, was admitted "with constitutional syphilis." According to Carvallo, "the disease had four years ago deprived him of his virile member." For treatment, "the ulcers were freely cauterized with pure bromine and poultices, and supporting treatment given." Because Apadaca was "a pauper he is treated gratis." He was released "with ulcerations healed up" on June 26. Isaiah Louisburg, a 26-year-old civilian suffering from "enteritis complicated with liver abscess" was admitted to the post hospital on June 8 and died June 21. [88]

Mr. Emery remained a patient and was declared a destitute citizen on July 14, meaning his rations were provided thereafter without charge. Before that, Post Chaplain Simpson was directed by the post commander, at the request of Dr. Carvallo, "to refrain from speaking on

religions to . . . Emery as they had the tendency to depress him." In August 1877 Rev. Simpson, who had been granted sick leave for four months, and his family left Fort Union. Simpson was later relieved of his duties at Fort Union, [89] and Rev. LaTourrette arrived to serve as post chaplain on September 30, 1877. His relationship with Emery was not recorded, and no indication was found that LaTourrette was restricted from visiting the patient. Rev. Simpson was back at Fort Union, December 5-7, 1877, from his sick leave at Baltimore, as a witness in the court-martial trial of Lieutenant Colonel Dudley, but he was not placed on the witness stand. It would be interesting to know if he visited or attempted to visit Emery, who was still a patient at that time. Emery never recovered and was treated at the post hospital until his death, May 1, 1878. [90]

Meanwhile there were some severe cases at the hospital involving soldiers. On September 7, 1877, Private John Conviss, Company D, Ninth Cavalry, was admitted to the post hospital "with severe concussion of brain, nervous shock, compound fracture of left humerus, lower 3rd and simple fracture of 2nd rib, right side." His injuries resulted from "being dragged, by a chain twisted around his right wrist, by a horse who pulled him down and dragged him 600 yards around the cavalry corral." Private Conviss never regained consciousness and died forty-two hours after the accident. He was buried in the post cemetery. [91]

Lieutenant Horace P. Sherman, age 38, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry, who served as post commissary officer and post treasurer, "was taken sick Sept. 26 with pleurisy of right side which was followed Oct. 1st by pneumonia." He died October 6 of pleuro-pneumonia and asthma. His remains were embalmed and placed in an oak coffin. Following a brief funeral service at the post surgeon's office on October 10, the coffin was packed into "an outer coffin, with saw dust, wedge coppers, lime, charcoal, and permanganate of potash, and securely hooped" for shipment to his family. His remains were escorted to the railroad at El Moro, Colorado, by five soldiers. In his honor the garrison flag flew at half mast and the officers agreed to "wear mourning for 30 days." According to Surgeon Carvallo, "Lt. Sherman was a universal favorite among the post inmates and his untimely death is deeply lamented." [92]

There were two more deaths at Fort Union in January 1878, both civilians. Manuel Francis Carvallo, three-month-old son of Post Surgeon and Mrs. Carvallo, died of spinal meningitis, following surgery for "Opima bifoida." He was buried in the post cemetery. Josepha, a "Mexican" woman who was employed as a servant by a laundress at the post, died of congestion of the lungs without having requested medical treatment. Her remains were "turned over to her relatives at La Junta, N. M." A soldier and two more children died in February 1878. Private Edward Armstrong, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry, succumbed to pneumonia on February 16. A one-year-old child (probably one of the twins born in 1877) "of Mr. Nicholson," an employee in the quartermaster department, died of unknown causes on February 27. On the same day a five-year-old child "of Mr. Harris," a former clerk in the quartermaster department, died of "inflammation of the Bowels." [93]

The post surgeon oversaw the end of life for some and the beginning for others. In April 1878 the wife of Post Commander Whittemore gave birth to a son who was named James Whittemore. In August the wife of Private John W. Harper, ordnance detachment at the arsenal, delivered "a fine living female child." In November Surgeon Carvallo's wife gave birth to a daughter. During the following year seven more babies were born at the post hospital. Throughout that time the health of the garrison was good, but there were a few fatalities (including civilians). [94]

In addition to the death of L. T. Emery in May, the following occurred. In August the two-month old adopted daughter of Manuel Sanchez and his wife died of unknown causes. On September 30 Jose Antonio Chavez, who was freighting supplies from the railroad at El Moro, Colorado, to the San Carlos Indian Agency in Arizona, was admitted to the post

hospital "in a moribund condition," suffering from gastro-enteritis. He died a few hours later. Surgeon Carvallo declared there was "no hope of his recovery." In November 1878 David Lewis, an unassigned recruit of the Ninth Cavalry, died at the post hospital from gastro-enteritis which Carvallo believed Lewis had contracted before leaving St. Louis to travel to New Mexico. Private Leven Louds, Company K, Ninth Cavalry, was struck by lightning on November 7 while traveling from Fort Union to Fort Garland, Colorado. He received no medical care because of the distance from the post hospital. He died the following day and was buried at Willow Springs, New Mexico. [95]

Post Chaplain LaTourrette was granted a year of sick leave in November 1878, suffering from several ailments. Surgeon Carvallo issued the certificate of leave and noted that LaTourrette had chronic rheumatism, cardiac "irritations," and spasms. The combination of afflictions, according to Carvallo, had so "impaired his general health and that in consequence thereof his condition is unfit for duty." In 1878 two soldiers received discharges on the surgeon's certificate of disability. Musician Charles F. Wood, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry, and Private Bernard Levy, ordnance detachment at the arsenal, were both discharged because of hernias received "in the line of duty." Surgeon Carvallo and his staff examined fifty-eight recruits during 1878, and twenty-six were rejected as unfit. [96]

On March 10, 1879, Emma Beeks, a black female servant employed by Surgeon Carvallo, who had worked occasionally as a nurse at the post hospital, died of "peritonitis and hemorrhage from criminal abortion." This happened while Dr. Carvallo was absent from the post at Santa Fe. [97] Carvallo suspected that Margaret Berry, a black woman who served as hospital matron, assisted with the abortion. Berry had been involved in other abortions. The cause of death, loss of blood and infection, resulted from a puncture in the wall of the vagina by a sharp instrument, such as a needle. Beeks, a native of Georgia, was thirty-five years old at the time of her death. She was unmarried and had worked for the Carvallo family for eight years. She resided on laundresses row at the post. When Carvallo discovered that Margaret Berry, who also lived on laundresses row, had appropriated some of Beeks's property for herself, he saw that Berry was removed from the military reservation. [98]

In April 1879 Assistant Surgeon Walter Reed, who was serving as post surgeon at Camp Apache, Arizona Territory, stopped overnight at Fort Union on his way to the terminus of the railroad, April 17-18, and on his return to his station, April 28-29. [99] Dr. Reed was later to achieve international recognition as head of the U. S. Army Yellow Fever Commission, which established by experimentation on human subjects that the disease was transmitted by mosquitoes. This led to the control of yellow fever. Later, Walter Reed Army Hospital was named to honor the work of the famous surgeon.

On May 27, 1879, James Whittemore, infant son of Captain and Mrs. Whittemore, died of diarrhea, "result of teething and cerebral effusion." It was the last death presided over by Post Surgeon Carvallo at Fort Union. He was relieved from duty there on May 31, 1879. He was replaced by Acting Assistant Surgeon W. H. Comegys, who was succeeded by Assistant Surgeon John J. Kane on August 6, 1879. Acting Assistant Surgeon Joseph H. Collins joined the medical staff at Fort Union in February 1880, replacing Dr. Kane. Kane returned December 21, 1880, and administered the post hospital, until March 19, 1881, when Assistant Surgeon Frederick W. Elbrey became post surgeon. [100]

The garrison at the post was reduced in number during much of 1880 and 1881, resulting in fewer cases treated at the hospital. In June 1881 Surgeon Elbrey recorded: "No births, no deaths, and no vaccinations this month." During that month he had seen a total of nine patients, three of whom carried over from the previous month. In July there were five new patients, in August five, and in September none. With an increase in the size of the garrison in October, the number of cases treated increased. There were thirteen new cases in October,

twenty-six in November, and thirty-five in December. Even so, Surgeon Elbrey considered the health of the troops to be "good." The prevailing illness was catarrh (inflammation of the mucous membrane of the breathing passages). Elbrey was most concerned about sanitation. "In the immediate vicinity of the post," he informed the post adjutant in November, "there still lie many heaps of offal, forming, indeed, an unsanitary corridor as it were, around the post." He recommended that garbage be "carted to a greater distance from the post." He reported the situation much improved a month later. [101]

Post surgeons were not immune from accidents and diseases. On March 21, 1882, Surgeon Elbrey fell down the stone steps in front of the post hospital and struck the right side of his head behind the ear on one of the steps. He was in a coma for an unspecified time and suffered paralysis of the left side. Dr. Kane was brought from Fort Craig to treat Elbrey and serve temporarily as post surgeon. Dr. Collins returned to Fort Union on April 14 to serve as post surgeon, and Kane returned to Fort Craig the following day. Dr. Elbrey remained at Fort Union until July 1, 1882, when he was relieved from duty at the post. He departed for Washington, D.C., on July 6. His condition at that time was not revealed. Major Surgeon Albert Hartsuff became post surgeon on August 12. Dr. Collins died on January 30, 1883, from "active inflammation of the brain membranes." His remains were shipped to Topeka, Kansas. Acting Assistant Surgeon Fred S. Dewey joined the medical staff to replace Collins on February 15. Major Surgeon Peter J. A. Cleary relieved Hartsuff as post surgeon on May 11, 1883. [102]

The medical histories recorded by these surgeons and their successors were usually routine in nature. Occasionally details were provided about a specific case. On January 22, 1883, twenty-six-year-old Private Leon Gingras, Company E, Twenty-Third Infantry, a native of Quebec, was severely burned on the "head, body and extremities by explosions of powder while refilling cartridges in magazine." He was treated at the post hospital for 459 days and given a medical discharge in May 1884, according to Surgeon Cleary, by reason of being "incapable of performing the duties of a soldier because of loss of power of both hands and extensive scars on hands and face and body owing to burn from explosion of powder." He was certified as totally disabled. [103]

Some soldiers were incapacitated in the line of duty. Others were unable to face their military responsibilities and took their own lives. On April 30, 1884, twenty-nine-year-old Sergeant Francis C. Rinn, Company I, Twenty-Third Infantry, a native of New York, committed suicide by shooting himself three times with a revolver. He directed two shots "to the upper part of his head right side. The balls were found imbedded in the scalp, entirely flattened against the skull." Finding his head too hard, Rinn directed his next shot at his heart. "The third ball entered the thorax near the left nipple and penetrating left ventricle of heart proved fatal at once." [104] Surgeon Cleary provided additional details about Sergeant Rinn in his consolidated report for May 1884:

> Deceased had been absent from Post and drinking for several days immediately preceding his death. The night before his death he returned to the post and though apparently perfectly sane showed that he had been drinking. Next morning at reveille he was found dead in his room adjoining Company quarters, an English bulldog pistol with 3 chambers empty by his side. . . .
>
> Post mortem 5 1/2 hours after discovery of his body and probably not over 6 hours after death. Rigor mortis commencing. Upon the head and right parietal region three inches above right ear are two bullet wounds, one above the other about an inch apart. The hair around the wounds is somewhat burned with powder, indicating close contact with the weapon used. On the thorax two inches in a straight line to the right of the left nipple is a third bullet wound. Shirt at

> point of penetration blackened with powder. An incision extending from the right ear upwards across the head discloses two bullets, flattened to a remarkable extent, and embedded in the soft parts. Parts surrounding the wound on head slightly swollen and infiltrated with blood. The skull is neither broken or indented.
>
> Examination of the thorax. Pericardium distended with semi-coagulated blood. The heart weighs ten ounces. A large bullet wound is found completely penetrating the left ventricle obliquely backwards. The left lung present strong pleuritic adhesions. At its root is found the third bullet, slightly scratched by contact with the rib in it passage to the heart. Right lung normal. Other viscera not examined. Heart and three bullets preserved. [105]

The post surgeon witnessed the end of those who chose to commit suicide, the beginning of newborn life, and the loss of those who struggled to survive. On May 2, 1884, Ellen Killeen, wife of Private John Killeen, Company A, Twenty-Third Infantry, gave birth to a son who was named Joseph. The surgeon noted that the parents were Irish, the father was "aged 40, mother 28 and is fourth child by this mother." The child died two days later from "cerebral compression during labor." [106] Surgeons also witnessed and recorded information about other events.

The surgeons usually kept detailed records of the weather and commented on calamitous storms. A "terrific gale" hit the post on January 30, 1883, the day Dr. Collins died. Much damage was done to buildings and the flag staff was destroyed. A severe thunderstorm, with hail and more than two inches of rain, struck on July 12, 1883. On May 31, 1884, "a terrible hailstorm with 'hailstones as large as hens eggs'" damaged the post. At least "375 window panes were broken in the hospital and stewards quarters by the hail." The "roof leaked very badly during the time, in many places." Such damage, of course, required expenses for repairs. [107]

Assistant Surgeon Norton Strong reported for duty at Fort Union on October 15, 1884, replacing Acting Assistant Surgeon William Parker, whose contract with the army was terminated. [108] On October 25 Private Charles Humphrey, Company I, Tenth Infantry, died in the hospital "of Peritonitis resulting from inflammation of the bowels." [109] Like most deaths of soldiers that occurred at Fort Union, Humphrey's illness was not directly related to his military service. In fact that was true of many cases treated at the post hospital.

During the Civil War army surgeons perfected the amputation of limbs, but there were few such operations performed at the Fort Union hospital. Surgeon Cleary, who began his career as a military surgeon in 1862, found it necessary in the case of Private Frederick K. Walter, Company C, Tenth Infantry, in 1884. Private Walter entered the post hospital on July 20 with sarcoma (malignant tumor) of the right thigh. The tumor, which weighed seven ounces, was removed on August 30. A few weeks later another tumor appeared on the same thigh. Surgeon Cleary decided "to resort to amputation with a view to prolong and possibly save his life." This operation was performed October 28, removing the leg at the "lower third of thigh." Private Walter recuperated at the post until April 28, 1885, when he was granted a medical discharge for total disability. [110]

Surgeon Cleary declared in January 1885 that the health of the garrison was good, with most patients being treated for injuries rather than diseases. He declared that "the general sanitary condition of the post is good." However, there was one problem: "I desire to call attention to the fact," he wrote, "that . . . some policing could be done to advantage—in the rear of the laundresses quarters and more particularly around the hospital where the melting of the snow has revealed a number of beer bottles (empty) and tin cans." There were also "old shingles

and general debris on the hospital premises caused by the recent repairs done at the hospital." A potential disease problem existed at the nearby community of Watrous. Cleary reported, "diphtheria prevails to some extent in Watrous and vicinity; it would be well to have the men cautioned against going into any house in that neighborhood." He especially recommended that soldiers not visit "in the store of Mr. Watrous as the family of Mr. Watrous was severely afflicted with that disease." [111]

There were two deaths at the post in March 1885, one civilian and one soldier. Timothy O'Brien, a citizen under treatment at the hospital for "consumption" (tuberculosis), died March 25. His remains were buried at the Catholic Cemetery at Tiptonville. The soldier, Private Patrick Murtagh, Company I, Tenth Infantry, committed suicide. His body was found about seven miles west of the post on March 31, "his rifle lying between his knees, muzzle towards his head, a string passing from the trigger to his foot, the boot of which was off, and bullet wound passing from the upper and anterior aspect of neck to upper and back part of head, shattering the skull." It was believed "he had been dead at least a week when found." He had been absent from the post since March 17. His remains were interred in the post cemetery on April 1. [112]

Activities at the medical department at the post were routine for several months, with few serious cases noted. In June 1885 Surgeon Cleary reported: "No marriages, births, deaths, recruits examined." The general health of the garrison continued to be "good." In July Sergeant Willis W. Warren, Company I, Tenth Infantry, received a medical discharge because of diabetes which rendered him totally disabled. There were only five new cases treated at the post during July, none of which was serious. In October Musician Ludwig Dietrich, Company I, Tenth Infantry, was granted a medical discharge for "Jaundice," his degree of disability being three-fourths. In the same month Dr. Strong was treated for "acute Rheumatism." Strong was transferred to Fort Marcy at Santa Fe the following month. [113]

On January 1, 1886, two military convicts at the post, while on a work detail, overpowered the guard and escaped. One of them froze to death the night after they escaped, when the thermometer at the post recorded -9° F., and the other (James McEvoy) had "both feet frost bitten." He was captured at the house of a "Mexican" about six miles from the post on January 6. The body of the frozen convict was found approximately four miles from the post on January 7. His remains were buried at the post cemetery. A soldier from the garrison suffered frostbite of both feet in January, "returning from a neighboring village through a violent snow storm," and "he recovered without any permanent injury." Convict McEvoy was treated at the post hospital until March 11, when he made good his escape. There were ten military convicts gathered at the Fort Union prison and sent, on April 1, 1886, to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth. [114]

Post Trader A. W. Conger was the only civilian treated at the post hospital in July 1886. He suffered from "Acute Dysentery." There were only two new cases treated during the same month, one for hemorrhoids and the other for "acute alcoholism." There were two patients in the hospital from the previous month, one with pneumonia and the other with tuberculosis. There seemed to be little need for additional surgeons at the post. Nevertheless, on September 12, Assistant Surgeon Charles Anderson and Acting Assistant Surgeon Emil I. Pring, joined the medical staff. Acting Assistant Surgeon Prescott L. Rice joined them the following month. Although there was no connection with the increase in surgeons at the post, five people died there during September and October. [115]

Colonel Lewis Cass Hunt, Fourteenth Infantry, died at the post hospital from "Chronic Dysentery" on September 6. He arrived at the post on August 31 "in a dying condition." He had suffered with "chronic bowel affliction, contracted during the Mexican War, a disease of which he has never been wholly free from since." Hunt was buried in the post cemetery.

Captain Shoemaker, retired military storekeeper of ordnance, died at his residence at the old arsenal "from enlarged Prostate, chronic Cystitis and General Senile Debility" on September 16. His funeral was conducted "at Fort Union Arsenal" on September 18, and he was buried beside his wife at the site of his private home northwest of the post on the reservation. Bertha Fogarty, wife of First Sergeant Martin Fogarty, died from typhoid fever on September 25. She was buried in the post cemetery. Private John Maher, Company B, Tenth Infantry, died at the post hospital from tuberculosis and pneumonia on October 18. Private James S. Williams, of the same company, died from a gunshot wound to the chest on October 24. He was supposedly shot by "a soldier of the 10th Cavalry, following a gambling quarrel." [116] It was ironic that his death occurred just ten days after Post Commander Mizner issued the following order: "Gambling of every species among the enlisted men within the limits of this post is prohibited." [117]



Fort Union hospital courtyard, 1889, showing steward's quarters at left and the rear of hospital on right. Water was collected from the roots and piped into the cistern in front of the steward's quarters. The second person from the right is believed to be Post Surgeon Henry Lippincott. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.

Dr. Pring's contract with the army was "annulled" January 1, 1887. Dr. Anderson was ill with acute rheumatism the same month. Dr. Pring signed another contract in February and continued to serve at Fort Union. Additional deaths were recorded at Fort Union, none of which was connected with military duties. On February 24 Chief Musician Thomas Rogers, Tenth Infantry band, died in the post hospital of acute meningitis. On March 14 Musician John Pyne, Company E, Sixth Cavalry, "was found dead in his bed." An autopsy revealed the cause of death to be "congestion of the right lung, . . . due indirectly to alcohol." On March 16 Sergeant Winfield S. Hamilton, Company B, Tenth Infantry, "died suddenly at Loma Parda, N. M. while absent on pass." His body was returned to the post for autopsy. "The body was too far advanced in decomposition to warrant an intelligent post-mortem examination." [118]

Surgeon Anderson was granted sick leave in March 1887 and was sent to serve in Arizona Territory when he returned to duty in May. Dr. Rice's contract was "annulled" May 1, leaving Surgeon Cleary and Dr. Pring the only medical doctors at the post. Cleary declared the health



Major Surgeon Henry Lippincott was the last surgeon to serve at Fort Union, 1887-1891. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Aubrey Lippincott.

of the garrison and sanitation of the post to be "excellent." On July 8 Surgeon Cleary was ordered to transfer to a post in Wyoming. Before he left, his orders were changed, and there was another death. On July 17 Private John R. Rickley, Company B, Tenth Infantry, succumbed to acute pneumonia involving both lungs. He was interred in the post cemetery. Cleary was relieved of his duties at Fort Union by Major Surgeon Henry Lippincott on August 8, 1887. Lippincott served there until Fort Union was closed. Cleary left Fort Union on September 2, 1887, to serve as post surgeon at Fort Huachuca, Arizona Territory. Surgeon Lippincott kept thorough records during his tenure at Fort Union. He found the health of the garrison and sanitary conditions at the post to be "very good." [119]

Under Surgeon Lippincott two reforms in the medical department were instituted at Fort Union. Selected privates from regular regiments were appointed to the hospital corps by the secretary of war. The first appointees at the post were Privates Adam Delman, Charles L. Noblett, and Max Rothschild of Company E, Tenth Infantry, and Private Richard F. King, Company B, Tenth Infantry. The other change was the appointment and training of litter bearers (officially called "company bearers") for each company of soldiers. Four bearers were selected for each of the five companies stationed at Fort Union in October 1887, and these twenty men were trained by Surgeon Lippincott "in 'litter bearing' and in rendering first aid." A classroom was established at the post hospital for this purpose, and Surgeon Lippincott requested anatomical charts and other materials to assist with the training. At the end of November 1887 Lippincott reported: "Members of Hospital Corps and Co. bearers were instructed every Friday, during the month, from 1 to 2 P.M. in rendering first aid to sick and wounded, litter bearing and in ambulance drills, they have made excellent progress." [120] Although there would be few opportunities for them to use these skills at Fort Union, this was part of the reform movement to create a more efficient army, undertaken by the government in the 1880s and 1890s.

There were few events connected with the hospital beyond routine activities during the final years of occupation of Fort Union. In January 1888 several children at the post had measles. In February a cavalry recruit arrived at the post with measles and he "was immediately isolated." In April 1888 Surgeon Lippincott granted a medical discharge to Private John H. Russell, Company I, Tenth Infantry, "on account of very frequently recurring palpitation of the heart and marked tendency to Asthma." Lippincott, perhaps anticipating what later army surgeons would conclude, declared that the heart trouble was "due to excessive use of tobacco." In September 1888 Private William H. Shannon, Company F, Tenth Infantry, was discharged "on account of confirmed lameness of both feet." This resulted from "being run over by a dumpwagon while he was performing his duty as teamster in the quartermaster's dept. driving said wagon on the 17th of Nov. 1887. On sick report since injured." Shannon's disability was determined to be three-fourths. Hans Schroeder, hospital steward, was also discharged in September "on account of loss of power of right wrist caused by sleeping on

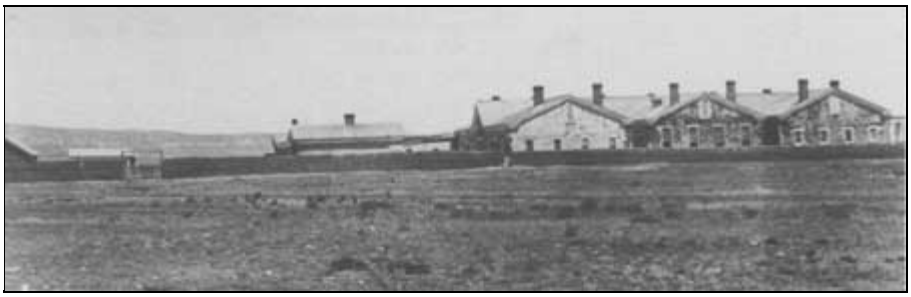
right hand in a cramped position on night of August 6, 1888, and in the line of duty." His disability was considered "total." His character was "excellent when sober." [121]

Classroom at Fort Union hospital, 1888, established by Surgeon Lippincott to train litter bearers in basic medical knowledge. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.

Dr. Pring's contract with the army was "annulled" on September 13, 1888. On the same date Private Samuel R. Newman, Company F, Tenth Infantry, "died in the orderly room of his company." The cause of his death was given as "asphyxia from smothering in bed and consequent upon inordinate use of alcoholic liquor and opium." His remains were buried in the post cemetery the following day. Acting Assistant Surgeon Samuel T. Weirick reported for duty at Fort Union in October 1888. The health of the garrison was "excellent" until June 1889, when diphtheria appeared. Several children in one family contracted the disease in July and August, and all survived. Another child in the same family was diagnosed with diphtheria in November and recovered. An outbreak of influenza struck the post December 26, 1889, and lasted until February 25, 1890. Approximately one-fourth of the garrison and civilian population at the post were affected. Lippincott noted that men experienced more cases which were of greater severity than those of women, and persons between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-five "seemed to suffer most." All patients recovered. [122]



Rear view of Fort Union hospital complex, 1889. Note adobe wail around the area. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.



Side view of medical facilities, 1889. Note that plaster has fallen off the buildings. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.

Surgeon Lippincott remained at Fort Union and closed the post hospital on April 20, 1891.

For almost forty years post surgeons and their staffs had provided medical care for the garrison and civilians in the area. The records indicated that their duties were performed well, that health care was beneficial and adequate (with few exceptions), that the hospital (especially the facility at the third post) was sufficient to excellent, and that the health of soldiers and civilians at Fort Union was usually good to excellent. The medical department contributed significantly to the performance of the soldiers at the post and the army in the region. Military discipline and justice also influenced the efficiency and well-being of the army.



Front view of Fort Union hospital, 1889. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument, *courtesy* Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.

Soldiers could be effective in combat and other missions only if they were well disciplined, followed prescribed patterns of action, and obeyed their commanding officers. It was traditional in the army, especially among some officers, that harsh discipline made good soldiers. It also, unfortunately, made many unhappy soldiers. Military historian Jack D. Foner concluded: "For many years, American military penal philosophy was dominated by the concept that severe punishment alone could preserve order and deter potential offenders. Therefore, the sentences imposed by the military tribunals reflected an emphasis on harsh and cruel treatment." [123] Soldiers were punished for breaches of military regulations (of which there were many), including absence without leave, sleeping while on duty, drunkenness, theft, desertion, and conduct prejudicial to good order which covered a multitude of sins from insubordination to swearing. Guilt and punishment were determined by courts-martial. [124]

Military regulations authorized any officer to charge any enlisted man with a breach of conduct and to order the soldier to be confined pending disposition of the alleged violation of rules. If the post commander or commander of the regiment considered the soldier's behavior should be tried by court-martial, formal charges were filed and the case was heard when the court was convened. The accusations comprised a charge or charges against the defendant, which identified the offense with which he was charged (for example, desertion), and a specification (which summarized the details of when, where, and what was alleged to have occurred). Foner found that "since even the slightest breach of discipline could become the basis for court-martial action, the number of army trials reached staggering proportions." During fiscal 1888 there were 13,542 trials conducted, when the size of the army was 24,110, giving the appearance that more than half the entire number of enlisted men were brought up on charges in one year. This was somewhat misleading, however, because there were a number of repeat offenders. [125] Many officers may have been assigned to serve on a court about as often as enlisted men were detailed for guard duty. Reform of the system of military justice did not occur until after Fort Union was abandoned.

There were three types of courts-martial. A garrison court-martial, ordered by the post commander and tried by a panel of officers from the post (who served as both judge and

jury), determined guilt or innocence and set the penalties for most offenses by enlisted men. Garrison courts-martial were held as often as once a month or as needed. A regimental court-martial was similar in organization and jurisdiction (but rarely used), except that it was ordered by the commander of the regiment. Major offenses of enlisted men and charges against officers were tried by a general court-martial, which was ordered by the department or district commander or higher officer and included officers from other posts. After hearing the charges and specifications against the accused, the court listened to testimony, questioned witnesses, and provided the alleged offender an opportunity to respond. If the defendant were found guilty as charged, the court established the penalties. [126]

Punishments included confinement in the guardhouse or prison for a specified period, forfeiture of pay for a given time, reduction in rank, hard labor, walking a prescribed pattern while carrying a heavy weight for several hours each day, a sentence in a penitentiary (such as Fort Leavenworth), dishonorable discharge, disfigurement (branding, for example), and occasionally execution. A few soldiers were executed at Fort Union during the Civil War. A garrison or regimental court was limited in the cases it could try, for example it could not hear a capital case, and was restricted in the penalty it could assess. They could not "inflict a fine exceeding one month's pay, nor imprison, nor put to hard labor, any non-commissioned officer or soldier for a longer time than one month." [127]

Punishment often varied for the same crime, and was frequently severe. In February 1851 a general court-martial in Santa Fe tried the cases of several Second Dragoons charged with forming a secret society in New Mexico known as the "Dark Riders," which included among its objectives "robbing and desertion." Of those found guilty, one was sentenced "to forfeit twelve dollars of his Pay, to work under charge of the Guard for one month & then be returned to duty." Two others received a much stronger sentence, "to forfeit twenty five dollars of his pay, to walk a ring daily six hours for one month twelve feet in diameter, then to labor two months with Ball & Chain attached to his Leg under charge of the Guard & be returned to duty." Each of four others faced the much more severe sentence "to forfeit all pay and allowances that are now or may become due him, to have his Head shaved, to have his face blackened daily and placed standing on a Barrel from 9 to 12 O'clock A.M., and from 2 to 5 O'clock P.M. daily for twenty days, then placed under charge of the Guard at hard Labor, with Ball & Chain attached to his Leg until an opportunity affords to be marched on foot carrying his Ball & Chain to Fort Leavenworth and there be drummed out of the Service." [128]

Sometimes, after reviewing a case, superior officers objected to the severity of punishment or reduced the sentence. Private John Donavan was found guilty of desertion by a garrison court-martial at Fort Union in April 1852. Donavan had been sentenced to forfeit part of his salary for one month and to "walk in a ring for 15 days from reveille to retreat, with 15 minutes interval for each meal." General in Chief Winfield Scott later reprimanded Post Commander Carleton, declaring the punishment "was excessive and unreasonably severe, and ought not to have been approved and executed by you." [129] By the time that communication reached Fort Union, Donavan had already served the sentence. General Scott's protest presumably was considered in other similar cases.

The military court had considerable control over punishment, regardless of what superior officers thought. The rules of military discipline and punishment were found in the "Articles of War," published in the *Revised Army Regulations.* The salient articles specified the behavior that subjected the offender to the judgment of a court-martial. These included any enlisted man or officer who displayed "contempt or disrespect toward his commanding officer" (Article 6); any enlisted man or officer who offered "any violence" against or disobeyed "any lawful command of his superior officer" (Article 9); desertion, for which the penalty could be death in time of war (Article 20); being absent without leave (Articles 21

and 41); selling or wasting ammunition (Article 37); selling, losing, or damaging "his horse, arms, clothes, or accoutrements" (Article 38); being found drunk while on duty (Article 45); and being found asleep while serving on guard duty or abandoning his post while on guard duty (Article 46). Article 99, under which numerous soldiers were charged and tried, provided that "all crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the foregoing articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offense, and be punished at their discretion." Virtually any minor offense could be construed to include "the prejudice of good order and military discipline." [130]

The articles of war provided that enlisted men who were charged with any crime were to "be confined until tried by a court-martial, or released by proper authority." Frequently, if they were confined for some time before their case was heard, that period of confinement was considered part of their punishment. Thus, for example, if a soldier charged with an offense was held in the guardhouse for thirty days before his trial, and the court found him guilty and sentenced him to confinement for thirty days, his sentence was considered served by the time of his pre-trial confinement. Soldiers who committed a crime against a civilian were not tried by court-martial. They were turned over to civil authorities for judicial purposes. [131]

Because desertion was a constant problem in the nineteenth-century army, additional regulations applied to that crime. A reward was authorized for "apprehension and delivery of a deserter to an officer of the army at the most convenient post or recruiting station." The rewards and other expenditures which resulted from the apprehension of deserters were, at the discretion of the court, deducted from the guilty soldiers' pay. An apprehended deserter received no pay for the time he was absent nor for the time he was awaiting trial in confinement. Deserters who were apprehended were required to serve the length of time they were absent in addition to the term of their enlistment, and deserters were not to be returned to duty "without trial." [132] Some deserters, usually repeat offenders, were dishonorably discharged. When Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, arrived at Fort Union in 1870, he found there were 29 prisoners in the guardhouse, "most all for desertion." [133]

The amount of the reward paid to those who captured deserters varied over time. A minimum of $5.00 was authorized but rewards as high as $50.00 were given. In 1857 the reward was $30.00 at Fort Union. In that year Private Michael J. Frayne, a deserter from Company B, Third Infantry, was caught at Las Vegas and taken to Fort Union. While in confinement at the Fort Union guardhouse, awaiting trial, Frayne escaped but was captured the next day. A reward of $30 was paid for his apprehension. [134] A few weeks later Private John M. Forrest, Company A, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, deserted from Fort Union. He was caught and brought back the following day, and $30 was paid to his captors. [135]

Desertion was considered a serious crime because almost always the departing soldier took government property and, sometimes, the property of other soldiers with him. For example, in 1867, Private Eugene Smithline, Company I, Fifth Infantry, deserted from the post hospital at Fort Union, "carrying with him three blankets, two bottles of Brandy, one bottle of Whiskey and one bottle of Sherry Wine." He also stole "a number of watches, chains, and rings belonging to parties unknown." Post Surgeon DuBois notified the post commander and requested that "a party of men be detailed and ordered to search for the said Smithline with as little delay as possible." [136] Smithline apparently made good his escape, for no record of his capture was found. Had he been caught, he would most like have been tried by a general court-martial and kept at the Fort Union guardhouse.

Soldiers convicted of serious crimes in New Mexico Territory were often incarcerated, at least temporarily, at Fort Union. In the fall of 1855 Captain Richard S. Ewell, First Dragoons,

headed an escort of twelve soldiers to accompany Governor David Meriwether across the plains via the Santa Fe Trail. Ewell was also charged with the transport by wagon of four prisoners, who had been convicted of mutiny, were incarcerated in the Fort Union guardhouse, and were ordered "sent out of New Mexico in irons" and to "be put to labor with ball and chain at Fort Leavenworth." [137]

Another example of this procedure, selected from a later era, occurred in late 1877. Then Sergeant John N. Davies, with two corporals and seven privates, Company H, Nineteenth Infantry, served as the guard to conduct eight convicts (six from Ninth Cavalry and two from Fifteenth Infantry) from the prison at Fort Union to Fort Leavenworth Military Prison. They were transported by wagon to the railroad in Colorado and traveled by rail the rest of the way. [138] Information about the crimes for which the convicts had been found guilty and the terms of their punishment were not located.

It was common practice during most of the history of Fort Union to gather the most callous prisoners from throughout the department or district at that post, pending their delivery to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth or, occasionally, other places. If the soldiers were discharged from the service as part of their punishment, they were usually sent to a state prison. In 1868 thirteen prisoners were sent to the Missouri State Penitentiary. This practice explains why the third Fort Union had a guardhouse, to detain members of the garrison who committed minor violations of army regulations, and a prison with stone cells and iron bars, to secure those convicted of major crimes. Indian prisoners were occasionally held at Fort Union. The Fort Union guardhouse was also used, on request of civil authorities, to house civilian criminals temporarily. [139]

There were times when the prison population exceeded the capacity. In 1871 Post Commander Gregg complained that there were forty-nine prisoners assigned to Fort Union. The prison, with ten cells, had been designed for ten prisoners. It was possible to place two prisoners in each cell, but there was no way they could accommodate four or five each. Some of those prisoners were kept at the post guardhouse and, apparently, others were kept in other buildings under constant guard. Many of the prisoners were bound by shackles and chains. [140] Some of the prisoners were serving terms assigned by a court-martial and others were awaiting trial. [141]

There were hundreds of enlisted men and several officers at Fort Union who were tried by courts-martial during the forty-year history of the post. A perusal of the records could lead to the conclusion that virtually every soldier, at some time or other (in some cases many times), appeared before a panel of judges to face charges for some offense. There were, of course, officers and enlisted men who were never tried, but a majority of them were participants in military justice. Something so pervasive deserves further consideration. A few of the cases tried at Fort Union illustrate the operation and importance of military discipline and justice. [142] Some of those examples, especially the testimony presented during the trials, also reveal other aspects of army life and provide insights into the way the military organization was structured and functioned. In addition, disciplinary problems, the importance of rules and regulations, and the significance of the guardhouse and prison, as well as the trials, may be better understood by examining the records (the numerous cases of absence without leave and drunkenness have not been included unless other circumstances were involved). [143]

One of the first cases at Fort Union involved drunkenness, disobedience of orders, and death. Captain Carleton led his company of dragoons from Fort Union in February 1852 to investigate and report on conditions along the Pecos River and at Bosque Redondo, as detailed in chapter three. The last night of the expedition was spent at the town of Las Vegas, where some of the soldiers attended a fandango and became intoxicated. On the final day of that reconnaissance mission, February 24, one of those soldiers, Private Patrick O'Brien, died

on the way from Las Vegas to Fort Union. A court of inquiry at Fort Union was appointed to examine the circumstances. [144]

Carleton explained that on the morning of February 24, at reveille, several of the men from his command were absent. They eventually showed up while the other dragoons were tending their horses and, according to Carleton, "appeared to be generally sober, yet looked as if they had been drinking freely." After breakfast several of the men, including the quartermaster sergeant (who had disappeared) and a teamster, were found to be drinking again and intoxicated. Two of the intoxicated soldiers, Privates McCleave and Feely, refused to obey orders and were taken in hand by the guard. McCleave then said he was ashamed of his behavior, but the obstinate Feely was tied to a wagon. Carleton concluded that "there was a determination on the part of many of the men of my company to throw every obstacle possible in the way of my leaving Las Vegas that morning." [145]

It was a windy, dusty day, and Carleton thought some of the men were feigning drunkenness so they could ride on the supply wagons back to Fort Union. As the company mounted and rode into the plaza and the two wagons were brought to that place, another soldier, Private Patrick O'Brien, fell or tried to make Carleton "believe that he fell off" his horse. Carleton ordered that O'Brien be tied to the back of the wagon with Feely, and McCleave was tied to the back of the other wagon. These men had to walk or be dragged along behind the wagons. Feely reportedly cursed Carleton and threatened to shoot him, and Carleton had the man gagged. Feely managed to get the gag out of his mouth within a couple of minutes, and it was not replaced. The prisoners were, according to Carleton, "all tied by putting the rope around under their arms: so that they could rest their hands upon the feed-box, but so that they could not lay down again in the road, or lag behind." [146]

When all was ready, Carleton recalled, "the wagons preceded the column, the prisoners walking behind them." Carleton watched them leave the plaza on the way to Fort Union. Carleton remained behind to visit briefly with his friend, Judge Herman Grolman, in whose home Carleton had spent the previous night and to ask Grolman to attempt to get the missing quartermaster sergeant and drunken teamster to return to Fort Union when they were sober. Approximately ten minutes after the column left the plaza, Carleton rode out to join his company. He reached the wagons after they had crossed the Gallinas River, and recalled that the prisoners appeared to be too drunk to walk and had been dragging behind the wagons. They had been dragged though the small stream. Carleton thought they were "feigning drunkenness," kept them tied to the wagons, and insisted that they walk. [147]

McCleave and O'Brien continued to drag on the ropes. After passing the cemetery outside Las Vegas, estimated to be from one-half to one mile from the plaza, Carleton had these two prisoners placed in the feed boxes at the back of the wagons. Later, after traveling perhaps seven or eight miles, Carleton "came to the conclusion that they were really very drunk, and ordered them to be put up on the loads." Feely continued to walk behind, sometimes dragging in his rope. Another private, Mahoney, fell from his horse and declared he could not ride. Carleton had him tied behind the wagon on which McCleave rode. In this way they continued until within sight of and approximately four miles from the Sapello River, when Feely and Mahoney were placed on the loads to ride the rest of the way to Fort Union. Carleton explained what followed:

> After proceding some two (2) or three (3) miles further, I being ahead near the column, and the wagons some half (1/2) mile behind - Sergeant Wells rode up to me and reported that O'Brien was dead. . . . I went to the wagon felt the man's pulse . . . and found that he was dead. . . .
>
> I came on to the post and reported the fact to the Commanding Officer, and

> requested the Assistant-Surgeon of the post, that evening to make a "post mortem" examination of O'Brien's remains. [148]

In another statement to the court, Carleton declared, "I had no intention of injuring the man. I had no motive for doing so. I was trying my best to fulfill my orders and to keep the service respectable and efficient so far as my individual company was concerned." A variety of testimony supported the general facts of the case, with each of the witnesses declaring that Private O'Brien had been extremely intoxicated, and the court of inquiry concluded, as had the surgeon, that "the death of the late Patrick O'Brien of Company 'K' 1st Dragoons, was caused alone by the poisonous effects of the alcohol he had taken during the night of the twenty third (23d), and on the morning of the twenty-fourth (24th) of February 1852." Colonel Sumner approved the decision of the court, and the case was closed. [149] There was no trial, no one was charged with misconduct, and no one was punished.

Later in 1852, when Captain Carleton commanded Fort Union, Private Robert T. Baines, Company G, Third Infantry, was charged with desertion, tried by a general court-martial, and found guilty. He, along with five of his fellow soldiers found guilty of the same offense, was sentenced to forfeit pay and to be whipped. Private Baines was sick at the post hospital when the other five were whipped. Carleton requested direction from Colonel Sumner when Private Baines was released from the hospital, inquiring if the whipping should be administered. Carleton stated that, since the whipping of the five others had undoubtedly made the desired impression upon the rest of the troops, there was little to be gained by whipping Baines, Carleton requested that the whipping portion of Baines's sentence be remitted. [150] Sumner directed that "no part of the sentence of Private Baines will be remitted." [151]

There were occasions when all or a portion of a sentence was remitted. Territorial Governor William Carr Lane appealed successfully to General of the Army Scott to change the punishment of some military convicts in New Mexico. Lane objected to the practice of shaving the heads of deserters and other criminals "before they are drummed out of the service." This marked them so they were unable to find work in the territory and, "being destitute of means to get through the Desert back to the States," forced them "to steal, or rob" to survive. Lane requested that "criminals of this kind . . . be kept in custody, until they reach the States." General Scott, unwilling to transport the discharged criminals to the States, directed Colonel Sumner to "please remit such portions of their sentences as directs their heads to be shaved, or places upon them any other distinctive marks that would render them objects of suspicion or distrust to the inhabitants of that territory." [152]

Some of the inhabitants of the territory were engaged in criminal activities at or near Fort Union, providing whiskey and prostitutes for the soldiers. [153] When Lieutenant George Sykes, Third Infantry, ordered two of those citizens (both women) to be punished, Sykes was charged with conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. His trial by general court-martial, convened at Albuquerque in April 1853, provided information about illegal activities at the post. As with many courts-martial, the information about social life at the post was more revealing and significant than the actual charges against the accused and the decision of the court.

Sykes was prosecuted for ordering two "Mexican women" (Maria Alvina Chaires, commonly known as Jesusitta or Black Sus, and Maria Dolores Trujique y Rivale, commonly known as Dolores), who had been arrested for prostitution, selling whiskey, and receiving stolen military property at their place of residence in the caves in the bluffs overlooking the post, to be shorn of their hair, publicly whipped, and drummed off the reservation by the guard detail. This allegedly occurred on January 17, 1853, when Sykes was officer of the day. The two women, both of whom were reported to have helped spread venereal diseases among the garrison, had been arrested the day before and placed in the post guardhouse overnight. All

testimony confirmed that the women were shorn, whipped, and driven from the post, but Sykes denied that their punishment was inappropriate and pleaded not guilty to conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. [154]

Testimony also confirmed that the two women had been engaged in the activities ascribed to them. Corporal James Cowan, Company D, Second Artillery, stated: "I have known the woman Jesusitta for upwards of three years, in Santa Fe she was a common prostitute about the streets, acting badly there but much worse at Fort Union." When asked if the two women lived in the caves near the post and if soldiers from the garrison visited them there, Cowan replied, "Yes Sir they did, the men did visit them day and night." Private Alexander Lavery, Company D, Third Infantry, was a member of the guard that punished the two women, and he testified that he had briefly whipped them by order of Lieutenant Sykes and that "the hair was also cut off their heads with scissors." Lavery also testified, under cross examination, that one of the women had given him venereal disease, that the women sold whiskey to soldiers, and that they received army property in payment for their services. [155]

Other members of the guard detail who had witnessed the events on January 17, including Private Robert Collum, Company D, Third Infantry, and Private George Mapon, Company D, Second Artillery, confirmed the details of how the women were treated. Attempts to locate the two women and have them testify were not successful. In his defense, Lieutenant Sykes called Post Surgeon John Byrne, who entered into the record a list of items stolen from the medical department. Sykes also submitted a list of items lost by the commissary department, a sworn affidavit by Captain Bowen. [156] His argument was that the activities of the two women were criminal and in violation of military orders. The question to be decided, implied by Sykes, was whether the punishment of the women was appropriate or not. [157]

Surgeon Byrne testified that the "Mexican prostitutes" and whiskey peddlers around the post were "a source of annoyance to the garrison." He stated that sixty cases of venereal diseases had been treated among the soldiers during the first year after Fort Union was established, and he attributed the sources of most of those cases to the "Mexican women living in the rocks." Byrne summarized earlier efforts to remove the "nuisances" by civil authorities, without success, and explained that the theft of government property at Fort Union was so excessive that "honest merchants said that they had to shut up their grocery stores, because dishonest ones who bought stolen commissary provisions from Fort Union, under sold them." [158]

The surgeon also explained that Lieutenant Sykes had come to him for advice regarding the "Mexican women confined in the guard house," noting that they had been arrested a number of times before and then released to continue their illegal operations. Byrne told the court that he had recommended to Sykes "that if he would give them a few light blows before discharging them they would be frightened and not return." He reported that Sykes "replied that he did not like to whip women, to which I answered certainly not so as to hurt them, but only to frighten them." Byrne further testified that, to his knowledge, from the time the two women were whipped and sent from the post until after Lieutenant Sykes was arrested, "there were no women about the rocks" near the post plying their trade. [159]

Captain Carleton also appeared to testify in defense of Lieutenant Sykes. Carleton declared that, when he commanded Fort Union during much of 1852, "the command was exceeding intemperate," in fact, "more so than any command of the same size that I have ever seen in the service." Sykes asked Carleton, "Did not intoxication and crime exist to an alarming extent among the troops?" Carleton responded, "In my opinion it did." He declared that the quantity of military property stolen "was enormous" and attributed many of the desertions at Fort Union to the influences of alcohol obtained illegally. He noted that "numerous

groggeries" had been established near the post and that he, Carleton, had assisted the territorial marshal in arresting some of the proprietors. He explained that, during the process of arresting those offenders, he had seen several women "which I supposed to be prostitutes. I soon afterwards heard that some caves in the bluffs which overhang Fort Union, were infested with these women, and I ordered the Sergeant of the guard to take them off the military reserve." [160]

Carleton explained that prostitutes and whiskey peddlers had been removed from the reserve a number of times, but they had quickly returned. Carleton was officer of the day when the two women involved in the case were arrested, and he noted that three men were arrested at the same time. He had not witnessed the punishment of the two women and knew nothing about, except that it had apparently been effective. Carleton, like Dr. Byrne, confirmed that the garrison had not "been annoyed either by whiskey sellers or depraved women after the punishment said to have been inflicted on the latter" until after the arrest of Lieutenant Sykes. [161]

Sheriff Richard M. Stevens of Santa Fe County and the deputy U.S. Marshal was called to testify by Lieutenant Sykes. The sheriff estimated that twenty prostitutes were routed out when the proprietors of the saloons were arrested in May 1852. He also testified that he had seen large quantities of government property in the possession of whiskey sellers and prostitutes, including saddles, bridles, guns, axes, and sugar candy. Corporal Cowan was recalled to testify about the severity of the punishment. He stated that the whipping "was trifling, slightly laid on." The two women had their clothes on and were whipped lightly over their shoulders. [162]

Other soldiers were called by Lieutenant Sykes to establish the criminal activities of the two women. Corporal John Einseidel, Company D, Third Infantry, stated the "Mexican women" were "notorious as pimps and whores." In response to a question about how long he had known the women, Private Einseidel replied: "One of them I have known since I came into the territory nearly four years, and the other ever since Fort Union was established about a year and half ago." During that time they were "constantly selling whiskey to the troops and receiving their clothing rations &c. in exchange." He responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you not know that many of the troops were diseased by Mexican women at Fort Union and would not report themselves as such at the hospital?" He also stated that the women had not returned to the vicinity of the post until after the arrest of Sykes. [163]

Lieutenant Sykes, as part of his defense, read into the record portions of the laws of the Territory of New Mexico relating to the punishment of pimps. Whether male or female, persons found guilty of procuring "women for the purpose of lascivious connection with men" were to "be publicly whipped, receiving thirty lashes." Women who were convicted could also be made to perform "three months service in a house to which they may be assigned with a shackle on their foot." Sykes then called Musician Michael Salmon, Company D, Third Infantry, who swore the two women, one of whom he had known nearly four years and the other since Fort Union was established, were "notorious as pimps and whores." He had received venereal infection from one of them. He confirmed the testimony of other soldiers regarding the payment of these women with stolen government property. He stated that the whipping was "very trifling" and "I think it would not have hurt a child." Likewise, he affirmed that the two women had not returned to the vicinity of the post until after Sykes was arrested. He stated that one of the women "returned about five days after Captain Sykes arrest." Salmon had "asked her if she was not afraid to come back, she said no because Captain Sykes was arrested, and that nothing more would be done to them." [164]

In conclusion of his defense, Lieutenant Sykes presented a written statement, portions of which follow:

> I had hoped that no occasion could arise in which my honor as a gentleman, or my conduct as a soldier could be impeached; least of all, that acts done for the welfare of the Service, & the dignity of the profession, could be construed into a departure from all that invests Military men with any claim to consideration or respect. The object of my defence has been to justify my conduct, and to show the necessity of the acts set forth in the specification against me. If discipline and the good of the Service rendered them necessary - they cannot be unbecoming an officer, if the preservation of good morals required them - they cannot be unbecoming a gentleman. [165]

In the same statement Sykes summarized the degradation that had befallen the new post that Sumner had removed from the vice and corruption at Santa Fe. At Fort Union, he continued,

> Large quantities of provisions, clothing, medical supplies, material for building forts, for transportation &c were collected there. Soon after, numerous groggeries were erected by citizens for the sale of whiskey to the troops. To all of them swarmed in great numbers, probably the very refuse and dregs of the population of the Territory - thieves, gamblers, and villains of desperate character. Loathsome and abandoned prostitutes were added by the score - Desertions became frequent - the hospital was filled with diseased men - the guard house overflowed with the debauched - Intemperance, disease & crime went hand in hand until nearly the whole garrison by association with such vile and infamous persons became demoralised to an alarming extent - A regular system of stealing was carried on. The public stores which had been gathered there at so great an expense were the pay of a motley assemblage of scoundrels and strumpets. They hovered around the depot like vultures around a carcass. So low did the sense of duty of many of the troops descend by contact with this maelstrom of iniquity, that sentinels were seduced of their integrity, their fidelity, purchased or drowned in liquor, until Subsistence stores by the wagon load, clothing by the bale, medical supplies in large quantities and Quarter Masters Stores by the box were stolen and sold in open market in the towns and villages of New Mexico. Whole teams of mules six at a time were run off by deserters and their confederates outside the garrison and never again recovered. The accounts of the officers responsible for this property exhibit a loss amounting to from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. [166]

All efforts to deal with the problem had been thwarted. Sykes summarized the arrests and destruction of property carried out by civil authorities and the attempts to prevent citizens from invading the reservation. "Every effort was made by the Military to avoid collision with the citizens." They were warned they would be driven from the reservation. In response, however, "they laughed such warnings to scorn and publicly boasted that they would pursue their traffic in defiance of every one." And they had. The loss of property was so great that "the soldiers at this moment are destitute of many necessary articles of clothing and that an officer was sent to Santa Fe to purchase at the high prices of that market subsistence stores for the positive wants of the troops." [167]

In light of all that had happened, Sykes was distressed that his effort to deal with the problem had resulted in a "great outcry" against him. Despite the fact, according to Sykes, that his efforts had resulted in the fleeing of all whiskey traders and prostitutes from the military reservation, "that the hospital was empty; and sobriety common throughout the command," he was arrested and charged with misconduct. He noted that Post Commander Gouverneur Morris had refused to prefer charges against him and that Colonel Sumner, the department commander, had done so. Sykes swore that within a week after his arrest, "the same prostitutes and their gang were infesting the rocks near Fort Union, bringing back their old

atmosphere of demoralization & disease, openly avowing that Col. Sumner's course to me had caused their return, and, for the future, would be a warrant to them against all molestation from the authorities at the Post." If what he had done constituted conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman, Sykes believed he was in the wrong profession. He requested that he be acquitted. He was found not guilty by the court. [168] Sykes went on to have a distinguished military career and, after the Civil War, commanded the District of New Mexico for a brief time in 1867. The testimony at his trial revealed much about the seamy side of life at Fort Union. As noted elsewhere, the problems of whiskey and prostitution plagued Fort Union until the post was abandoned. There were other problems, of course, which were related to discipline and justice.

Sometimes, with the many changes in commanding officers at Fort Union and the shuffling of companies from one post to another, prisoners were overlooked. When Colonel Fauntleroy took command at Fort Union in September 1854 there were two privates (H. Donahue and R. Roache), Company K, First Dragoons, in the guardhouse, "confined for desertion." Fauntleroy could find no charges against the two soldiers and asked Brigadier General Garland for "instructions relative to them." [169] Within a few days Garland ordered a general court-martial to convene at Fort Union and enclosed charges against Donahue and Roache as well as five other soldiers. [170] The records of the trial were not located. Donahue and Roache had been held in the post guardhouse for more than six months before charges were filed against them. Justice was not always swift in the military.

Officers, as shown above, were also charged and tried for violations of military regulations. In March 1857 Captain George McLane, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, was placed in arrest at Fort Union by Post Commander Loring and charged with "disrespect and contempt towards his commanding officer" and "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline." A general court-martial was conducted at Santa Fe to try the case. McLane was incensed because he thought Colonel Loring was going to send him on a scouting expedition so he could not be present when the post council of administration (on which McLane served) voted on the sutler's tax. Apparently, McLane wanted to reduce the tax and Loring did not. Loring denied in writing that he had planned anything to prevent McLane from meeting with the council. McLane returned the letter, stating "this communication is offensive and insulting. I therefore decline to receive it." Also, McLane had threatened Loring in the presence of other officers, stating that if Loring tried to prevent him from sitting on the council he would prefer charges against Loring. [171]

McLane pleaded "not guilty" but the court found the captain guilty of all charges. McLane was reprimanded by the department commander, suspended from command for four months, and confined to the limits of Fort Union for the duration of his suspension. Colonel Bonneville, department commander, declared he was "surprised that Captain McLane, possessing so many qualities to command, should so far forget himself as to deserve the severe reproof given him by the court." [172] McLane served his sentence and returned to duty with his regiment. He was killed in action with Navajo Indians on October 13, 1860. [173]

The decisions of a garrison court-martial were subject to review by the post commander, who occasionally disapproved all or a part of the court's actions. On June 27, 1858, Sergeant Archibald E. Evans, Company H, Regiment of Mounted Rifles, was arrested while serving as sergeant of the guard at Fort Union and charged with falsely reporting that two prisoners who had been sentenced to "walk the ring" as punishment were too drunk to perform that task. Evans was also charged with failure to salute and of speaking disrespectfully to an officer. The court, presided over by Surgeon Letterman, found Evans guilty on all counts. His sentence was reduction to the rank of private. Captain Andrew J. Lindsay, post commander, reviewed the case and found that the testimony given supported the contention that the two

prisoners had, indeed, been intoxicated. He disapproved the verdict on those counts, and approved the charge of disrespect for an officer. Lindsay reduced the sentence to a week's confinement to quarters without reduction in rank. [174]

Sergeant Evans was in court again a few days later, charged by Captain Thomas G. Rhett with conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline by entering the post adjutant's office without saluting or removing his cap and speaking to Acting Sergeant Major Thomas Thompson, thereby interrupting the conversation in progress between Rhett and Thompson. Although Evans pleaded not guilty, the court found him guilty as charged and sentenced him to reduction to the rank of private. Captain Lindsay reviewed the case, approved the verdict, and reduced the sentence to "one months confinement to the Garrison . . . and attending to all his duties during that time." [175] Evans surely considered himself lucky to retain his sergeant's stripes.

In December 1858 Privates James Bruce, Edward Cullivan, James M. Waddell, William Hardin, John J. Spann, John O'Donald, George Stickney, and William B. Sheets, all of Company K, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, were tried by court-martial under charges of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline. They were all found guilty of entering the company kitchen after taps on the night of December 1 and cooking and eating "fresh pork not obtained from the rations" of the company. Private Bruce was assigned to duty as a cook at the time and was also charged with permitting the use of the kitchen after hours. Bruce, Cullivan, and Spann were sentenced to forfeit $8.00 of their pay for one month and be confined at hard labor for two weeks. Private O'Donald pleaded guilty and was sentenced to hard labor cutting wood for two weeks, with no loss of pay. Private Waddell was found guilty only of being present and not of "cooking and eating." His sentence was to "perform three extra tours of stable duty." Private Hardin, who was determined to be the main cook of the after-hours feast, and Privates Stickney and Sheets, who were charged with but not found guilty of obtaining and killing the pig in addition to the other charges, each received a sentence of loss of $8.00 pay for one month and hard labor cutting wood for the post for thirty days. [176]

The owner of the pig which furnished what proved to be an expensive meal for eight troopers was not identified. The incident, undoubtedly, was the cause of a post order issued by Colonel Loring, post commander, a few days later: "All enlisted men, camp women, & Government employes at the post are hereby positively prohibited from owning or having hogs in their possession." [177] That order gave the appearance of blaming the hog rather than the men for the fresh pork dinner. As everyone knew, only those who were caught in violation of military regulations were tried and punished. The ban on hogs may have been only temporary. Less than a year later another order was issued at the post prohibiting hogs "from running loose through the garrison." Any hogs found running loose were to be destroyed. [178]

Private Sheets found himself in more trouble before he had completed his sentence for eating the pig. He was absent without leave at roll call on the evening of December 12 and morning of December 13, 1858. In addition he was charged with the theft of a great coat from a fellow private in his company and the sale of that garment to a member of the band on December 25. Sheets again escaped from the guard on January 1 and was absent from the post until the following day. He was found guilty of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline and of all accusations except being absent on January 1-2, 1859. His sentence was to be confined at hard labor with a ball and chain for one month, "to be drummed round the garrison after guard mounting every Sunday during his confinement, wearing a placard with 'thief' printed on it," and to forfeit ten dollars of his pay. [179] Sheets's offenses were minor but chronic. There were many repeat offenders in the records.

No matter what the system or how it was arranged, someone usually figured a way to beat it.

There were a few men, usually of foreign birth, who developed a scam, the purpose of which was not clear. They would enlist in the army, serve a short time, then receive an advertisement placed in a newspaper by someone in their native land seeking the person in question. The newspaper urged the person to return home to look after a family business, secure an inheritance, care for a sick parent, or some other crisis that demanded the presence of the soldier. This information would be sent to the consul from that country with a request to intercede with the war department to secure the discharge of the named soldier. Often the soldier would claim he had been forced to enlist because of poverty, had been induced to enlist while intoxicated, or had in some way ended up in the service without his consent. The consul would intervene and the soldier would be discharged. Some of them did it again and again, using a different name each time. [180]

Fort Union apparently had one of these cases in the person of Christian Bartholomus, private in the band, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. He was discharged by Major Simonson at the post on June 30, 1860, after serving about one year. He claimed to be a native of Saxe Weimar and appealed to the consul of that country in St. Louis for his discharge. He had received a furlough for sixty days before his request for discharge was processed, and he had left the post on furlough on May 6. Simonson explained that Bartholomus had seduced the wife of a fellow bandsman, Private Henry Ebert, before he left. Several days after Bartholomus departed on furlough, Mrs. Ebert robbed her husband and ran away to join Bartholomus, leaving behind two small children. Simonson condemned the "swindle" but could do nothing about it. [181] Most cases of desertion were considered criminal, however, and the deserter was punished if caught.

An unusual case of desertion arose during the Confederate invasion. A hospital attendant at Albuquerque deserted and took a supply of hospital stores to the enemy. He joined the troops of the Confederacy and was captured at the engagement at Apache Cañon on March 26, 1862, and taken to Fort Union with other prisoners. When it was discovered he was a deserter from the Union army, he was confined to the guardhouse and charged with desertion. [182] The record of Jackson's trial was not found.

As Union victory in the Civil War became clear an attitude of leniency pervaded the army. In celebration many prisoners were released. On April 28, 1865, at Fort Union, Post Commander Abreu directed, in accordance with directions from department headquarters, that "all noncommissioned officers and privates in arrest or confinement at this post are hereby released." These men were to rejoin "their respective companies at the earliest practicable opportunity." [183] The guardhouse did not remain empty long. By May 13 four soldiers had been arrested and held for trial. They were found guilty as charged and confined in the post guardhouse as part of their punishment. [184]

Later in 1865 one of the soldiers assigned to the garrison at Camp Nichols was tried by court-martial at Fort Union for being absent without leave and the loss of his pistol. Private José-de-los-Angelos Aragon, Company C, First New Mexico Cavalry Volunteers, while serving on escort duty from Camp Nichols to Fort Union, "did absent himself from his escort without proper permission," and remain absent until after said escort had left Fort Union for Camp Nichols. Aragon pleaded guilty to that charge and to the loss of his Colt's army pistol. He was fined ten dollars and "confined at hard labor in charge of the guard for the period of thirty days." Private Antonio Sanchez, of the same company, faced the same two charges plus being charged with selling his great coat. He also pleaded guilty and received the same sentence as Private Aragon. When Fort Union Commander Willis reviewed the cases, he remitted the period of confinement for Private Aragon. [185]

Occasionally the soldiers assigned to guard prisoners violated military regulations and ended up facing charges. In September 1866 Sergeant David W Smith, Company I, Fifth Infantry,

while in charge of the guard detail, left the guardhouse without any guard and permitted a prisoner charged with desertion to escape. Smith admitted his guilt and was reduced to the rank of private and forfeited ten dollars of his pay. Lance Corporal John Russell, of the same company, was charged with neglect of duty while serving on guard detail by playing cards with a citizen prisoner, A. L. Stanley, on September 1, and permitting Stanley to escape on September 2. He pleaded guilty to playing cards and not guilty to allowing Stanley to escape. The court agreed with his pleas and sentenced him to reduction in rank to private, to forfeit twelve dollars of his pay, and be confined at hard labor for fifteen days. [186]

Given the findings of the court, it appeared that playing cards with a prisoner was a more serious violation of regulations than permitting a prisoner to escape. That was not necessarily so, however. Private Walter Akins, same company, was also on guard duty when Stanley escaped, and he was charged with and pleaded guilty to permitting that to happen. The court agreed with his plea and sentenced Akins to forfeit twelve dollars of his pay and be confined at hard labor for thirty days. [187] Because Akins was already a private, he could not be reduced in rank as had Smith and Russell.

Soldiers convicted of selling government property were given harsh punishment on the assumption that making an example of them would discourage other soldiers from committing the same offense. Privates Jesus M. Trujillo, Geronimo Romero, Juan Lopez, Pedro Ignacio Trujillo, José de Jesus Papia, and José Jaramillo, Company A, First New Mexico Volunteers, were all charged with selling the Remington pistol issued to them. All were found guilty. For an unexplained reason, the sentences were not the same. Privates Jesus Trujillo, Romero, and Papia were sentenced to pay the value of the pistol, be confined in the guardhouse for ten days, and walk a ring fifty feet in diameter near the guardhouse (carrying a log weighing forty pounds every alternate two hours from reveille to retreat) for the period of their confinement. Private Lopez was sentenced to pay the value of the pistol, be confined for thirty days during which time he was to wear a ball weighing twenty-four pounds attached to his left leg by a chain four feet long. The sentences given Privates Pedro Trujillo and Jaramillo were the same as that of Lopez, except their chains were only three feet long. [188]

Military regulations applied to civilians who were present at any fort. Civilians who were employed by the army or were servants for officers were permitted to live on the post. Those who had no military connection were not authorized to be there without special permission. Because of problems, including criminal activities, unauthorized citizens were periodically removed from the military reservation. Late in 1866 Post Commander Marshall directed that all civilian employees who left their job or were discharged from their duties were to leave the reserve "immediately." He asked the commanders at the quartermaster depot and the arsenal to enforce similar rules. [189]

Marshall directed the removal of two unauthorized women a few days later. "Annie McGee, for being a vagrant, and a notoriously drunken and bad character, prowling around the garrison and entering officer's quarters" was to be "immediately sent from the reserve." The other was Cruz Benner, "a Mexican woman, late a Laundress" for Company G, Third Cavalry, who had been discharged "for being a woman of bad repute." [190] A few months later, Daniel Gillon, a discharged sergeant of Company I, Fifth Infantry, who had remained at the post to seek employment, was ordered off the reserve because of "improper conduct, and abuse of officers." [191] Periodically other citizens were removed from the reservation. In 1878, for example, Mrs. Maria Mason was ordered "to leave the Reservation at once and under no circumstances return to the same." [192] It was the responsibility of the officer of the day and the guard detail to see that unauthorized citizens were kept away. Unlike the soldiers, such citizens had no right to a hearing.

Some soldiers were innocent of charges filed against them. Occasionally a court-martial trial was unable to convict the accused because the key witness was not secured or was not called upon to testify. Two members of the guard detail at Fort Union on March 21, 1867, were charged with permitting one of the prisoners to obtain "spiritous liquors" and become intoxicated while under their responsibility. Private George Smith, Company I, Fifth Infantry, and Private Charles Bryan, Company D, Third Cavalry, were acquitted of the charges because Private Daniel J. Sheehan was not called by the court. Sheehan was the prisoner who had obtained the whiskey and become "drunk." His testimony could have convicted them. Post Commander Lane was not pleased with the result, but he approved the decision of the court. [193]

Sheehan must have been a troublemaker. A few weeks later another sentinel, Private Ernest Snyder, Company I, Fifth Infantry, was charged with permitting Sheehan, while on a prison work detail, "to force open the door, and enter the chicken coop of an officer and did permit or fail to prevent him (Sheehan) killing a number of chickens belonging to said officer." The court found Snyder guilty and sentenced him to forfeit ten dollars of his pay. [194] No record was found to indicate that Sheehan was punished for destroying the chickens. Neither was it clear if Sheehan was sober or had again obtained some whiskey.

The availability of liquor was an incessant problem at the post, as noted numerous times. Two citizens, John Smith and Andrew Cameron, were caught selling whiskey on the reservation in October 1867. They, along with a friend, William McGuire who happened to be at their establishment, were arrested and their supply of whiskey, mules, pony, burro, wagon, and harness were confiscated. [195] Cameron claimed that he was "a commissioned pedler of the second class which permits me to sell throughout this Territory all kinds of merchandize except jewelry." He also claimed that he had received permission from Post Commander Brooke to sell to quartermaster employees and soldiers at the post. Brooke, he declared, had told him he could "sell whatever and to whom you please." Cameron protested the arrest, stating "I do not know what we were arrested for," and the loss of his property (which he valued at $1,500). [196] McGuire was released a short time later he having no connection to the business. Cameron and Smith were held for over a month, at which time their property was returned and they were ordered "off the reservation never to return." [197]

Numerous attempts were made to control the consumption of alcohol, as noted in previous chapters. In 1878 Post Commander Edward Whittemore attempted to reduce drunkenness by prohibiting "the sale of intoxicating liquors, by the bottle, by the Post trader to any person on the Reservation on paydays and for four (4) days thereafter." Several weeks later this was extended to cover every day, with liquor available only by the glass (except to civilian travelers passing through the post) throughout the month. At the request of Captain Shoemaker the rule was expanded to include the ordnance detail at the arsenal (a rare occurrence of cooperative action between the post and the arsenal). [198]

None of the rules was effective. In the summer of 1886 Post Commander Henry Douglass made yet another effort to resolve the problem. His order was comprehensive:

> Enlisted men of this Command are prohibited from bringing spirituous liquors of any kind upon this reservation or of purchasing or otherwise obtaining the same at this post from any party, except by prescription of Post Surgeon, any enlisted man who solicits the Post Trader or any other party to sell or give him whiskey, or other spirituous liquors, will be considered as violating the spirit of this order and punished accordingly.

Like all earlier attempts, this one failed. Drinking to excess remained a problem as the garrison and general court-martial records revealed.

Private Thomas Mason, Company D, Third Cavalry, was charged with being intoxicated on duty and tried by a general court-martial because his offense occurred while on field duty in September 1867. The charges filed against him included being "so drunk as to be totally unable to perform his duty as a soldier while on a scout after Indians." He was also charged with "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline" because, while disobeying orders on the scout, he "did say, 'from the Lieutenant down, may kiss my ass' or words to that effect." Mason was tried only for drunkenness while on duty, the other charge being considered loose and vague. He was found guilty and sentenced to be confined at hard labor for four months and to forfeit ten dollars a month from his pay during the same period. [199] A garrison court-martial, as noted above, could not have inflicted a penalty for the same offense that was greater than one month at hard labor and the loss of pay for one month.

In 1870 Private Eddie Matthews, Eighth Cavalry, reported that a garrison court had recently tried 11 soldiers at Fort Union, several cases of which involved being intoxicated. After summarizing the results, Matthews declared: "If these officers would only Court Martial themselves for being drunk, it would consume all their time sitting on each others cases." A teetotaler active in the Good Templars, Matthews was especially estranged by the conduct of inebriated officers. "A more drunken set I never saw," he continued. "The more I see of their drunkenness the more I become disgusted with liquor and stronger my resolutions are to abstain from using it." [200] However, many of his fellow soldiers, like the officers he described, continued to abuse strong drink and suffer the consequences.

During the late 1860s and the 1870s the trial records showed that soldiers were predominantly charged with conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline and with being absent without leave (both frequently connected with the consumption of alcohol). Soldiers left the post to obtain alcohol when it was not readily available, and while they were under the influence they were prone to misconduct. In 1873 Post Commander John I. Gregg, obviously weary of frequent trials of soldiers who had been absent without leave and the apparent ineffectiveness of the loss of pay or a portion of pay for one month and confinement at hard labor and other punishment of brief duration (less than one month), declared that "hereafter any enlisted man found beyond the limits of the Military Reservation without proper authority will if arrested be considered a deserter and tried as such." [201] A deserter could be tried by a general court-martial and a more severe punishment inflicted. There was no apparent reduction in the number of soldiers who were absent without leave at Fort Union as a result of that order. General court-martial records for the district during that time were not located. Desertion, as noted elsewhere, was also a perennial problem.

Colonel Gregg tried another approach to the problem of soldiers taking leave without permission a few weeks later. He issued an order which stated that "the enlisted men of this garrison are hereby cautioned against the violation of the following Articles of War, viz. 21, 41, 42 & 43." These all concerned absence without leave. Soldiers were commanded to obtain permission from their commanding officers before being absent from the garrison. Gregg also directed that company commanders were to read those articles to the troops at retreat, so all would know the rules. [202] The effects appeared to be negligible. Perhaps the men were bored, with few duties to perform and insufficient leisure activities to keep them occupied. With time on their hands, many soldiers sought pleasures where they were available and flaunted regulations. The number of cases of soldiers being temporarily absent without leave decreased in the spring, especially after field duties provided a welcome break from the monotony of garrison life for some of the troops. Desertions, however continued.

On April 28, 1873, Captain H. A. Ellis, Fifteenth Infantry, with one non-commissioned officer and three privates, left Fort Union to go to Trinidad, Colorado Territory, to conduct three deserters who had been captured at Trinidad back to the post. This party was also

charged with searching for two other deserters and for stolen government mules while on the road. They were rationed for fifteen days and carried additional rations for the prisoners. Captain Ellis was directed to take a "sufficient supply" of handcuffs and leg shackles for the deserters. [203] The deserters would be tried later by a general court-martial.

Officers at Fort Union must have spent much of their time in hearing cases. When they were not sitting on a general court-martial, which frequently took them away from the post, they were repeatedly serving on a garrison court. The number of cases was staggering, and it would be interesting to know how many manhours were spent in court each year by officers, soldiers charged with violation of military regulations, and soldiers called as witnesses. The post orders at Fort Union for 1876, a typical year for which complete documentation was available, contained the records of thirty-eight sessions of garrison courts-martial, in which were tried a total of 129 cases. The monthly average aggregate garrison at the post during 1876 was 268 officers and men, of whom an average of 108 were absent on detached service, leaving 160 present. Even though a number of cases involved repeat offenders, a good portion of the garrison was in court at one time or another during the year. [204]

The numerous cases of enlisted men tried by courts-martial revealed little that was new to what has been related above. The occasional case of an officer however, was illuminating. One of the most disputatious officers who commanded Fort Union (during portions of 1876, 1877, and 1880) was Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley, Ninth Cavalry, whose long military career (1855-1889) was studded with controversy and trials by courts-martial. Dudley was true to form while serving at Fort Union, and his conduct there resulted in a series of charges and a court-martial trial which disclosed substantial information about conditions at the post. The trial was especially important for the testimony regarding the relationship between the military post and the quartermaster depot and operation of the latter. [205]

Dudley was particularly troubled by the fact that the depot quartermaster Captain Amos H. Kimball, was not under Dudley's direct command (except when Kimball was acting as post quartermaster) but was under the district commander Colonel Edward Hatch. There had been bad blood between Dudley and Hatch over an incident that had occurred in Texas in 1869. Dudley was determined to gain control over the depot, if possible, but Hatch would have none of it. [206]

General Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri, which included the District of New Mexico, filed charges against Dudley, accusing him of disobedience of lawful commands of his superior officer (Colonel Hatch and General Pope), conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, disrespect toward his commanding officer and drunkenness on duty. The specifications accused Dudley of preventing Captain Kimball from making repairs on buildings at Fort Union that had been ordered by Hatch, of refusing to submit a report on an inspection of the buildings at Fort Union as ordered by General Pope, of complaining that he had no authority over the post quartermaster (Captain Kimball) to assist with an inspection of the buildings because the department commander had placed Kimball outside Dudley's orders, of malicious intent to vilify and prejudice Captain Kimball in the estimation of his fellow officers by falsely accusing Kimball of fraudulent practices, of defamatory statements about Kimball that he had falsified his records at the depot, of charging Colonel Hatch with covering up Kimball's fraudulent activities, of charging that Hatch and Kimball had conspired to prevent Dudley from having any authority over the post quartermaster of making defamatory and untrue statements about Post Surgeon Carvallo, of "unlawfully and riotously" threatening William B. Tipton (a civilian medical doctor residing at Tiptonville) at his home in Tiptonville and at the home of Enoch Tipton at Boon Valley, of asserting that Colonel Hatch had conducted the affairs of the department "in a loose and irregular manner" of using

disrespectful language against Colonel Hatch, and of being intoxicated while on duty on April 27 and May 12, 1877. [207]

The testimony in the case, which lasted from November 29 to December 18, 1877, was extensive and included more than sixty witnesses. Much of it related to the confusion regarding the relationship of the quartermaster depot and the post. Dudley had attempted, without success, to establish his authority over the depot quartermaster, Captain Kimball who, as noted, also served as post quartermaster. Dudley employed the services of two well-known attorneys in New Mexico, Thomas B. Catron and W. T. Thornton, to serve as his counsel. The statements made by various witnesses confirmed some of the charges made against Dudley, who had apparently made accusations he could not prove. Officers who held some loyalty to Dudley downplayed the significance of some of the accusations directed at the post commander. Thus, some witnesses testified that Dudley had been intoxicated on several occasions and others stated they saw no signs of intoxication on those same occasions. [208]

Considerable time was spent during the trial collecting testimony over what Dudley had actually said about other people, such as Hatch and Kimball. Much of what Dudley had said was petty and, generally, harmless. The threats that had been made against Dr. Tipton concerned charges by Lizzie Simpson, daughter of the post chaplain, that Tipton had seduced her. Other testimony, however, indicated that she had been promiscuous and may have contrived the charges to retaliate against Dr. Tipton or to force him to marry her. Dudley, who apparently believed Miss Simpson's sworn statement that she had been raped by Tipton and had threatened suicide, determined to confront Tipton and see that he either married the girl or was punished, although it was not his affair. Some witnesses believed that Dudley had implicated Dr. Tipton so as to cover up similar charges by Lizzie Simpson against Second Lieutenant Ballard S. Humphrey of Dudley's regiment. Humphrey had served as Dudley's post adjutant. The truth of the matter concerning Miss Simpson was not determined. [209]

In all, the testimony and documents assembled for the court-martial provide a mine of information about Fort Union and the quartermaster depot (which was actually being phased out at the time). The resentful, inane, and spiteful images of several of the people who testified, as well as of Dudley himself, did not reflect favorably on the military establishment of that era. Perhaps, more than anything, the evidence produced during that trial indicated strongly that the army was in serious need of reform. The court found Dudley not guilty of most accusations, including drunkenness while on duty, and guilty of the following charges and specifications: (1) conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentlemen for false statements made about Captain A. S. Kimball; (2) conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman for false statements made about Colonel Edward Hatch, (3) conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, and (4) disrespect toward his commanding officer for remarks made at the time of his arrest. Dudley was suspended from his rank and command with half pay for three months, after which he was transferred to command Fort Stanton, New Mexico Territory, where he played a role in the infamous Lincoln County War 1879, resulting in another court-martial, and he returned to command Fort Union during a portion of 1880. His somewhat hapless military career continued until his retirement in 1889. [210] Robert Utley provided an incisive portrait of Dudley, describing him as

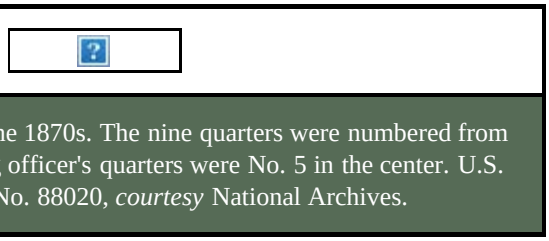
> "a man whose genuine professional dedication consistently fell victim to a small intellect and a huge vanity. He suffered from muddled thought and bad judgment, the result of mediocre endowments impaired by years of dissipation. He got drunk often, and whiskey more or less influenced most of his actions. He compensated for his deficiencies with pomposity, bellicosity, petty despotism, and an extraordinary aptitude for contention. Quick to resent a slight, whether real or imagined, and quick to criticize, whether justly or not, Dudley rocked from one controversy to another throughout his career." [211]

During the last years of the occupation of Fort Union, when there were few diversions from routine garrison duties, the cases tried by courts-martial included mainly the same charges as before: absence without leave, conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and disobedience of or disrespect for a superior. The abuse of alcohol remained a contributing factor. For example, in November 1886, Private Jacob Morris, Company H, Ninth Infantry, was tried and found guilty of being intoxicated and disobeying orders. According to the court-martial record, Private Morris, who had been "detailed as room-orderly, did become much under the influence of intoxicating liquor, as to be unable to properly perform his duties and having been found by a Non-Commissioned Officer of his Company at the Post Trader's store and having been ordered to return to his quarters, did fail to comply with said orders." He was sentenced to forfeit all his pay for one month and to be confined in the guardhouse and perform "hard labor" for one month. [212]

The same court found Private Charles Dussell, Company I, Ninth Infantry guilty of "drunkeness and unsoldierly and disrespectful language in his Company Quarters, refusal to keep quiet, when ordered to do so by a Non-Commissioned Officer of his Company, with a clenched fist." He received the same punishment as Private Morris, but the remainder of his period of confinement was "remitted" after he had served ten days. Another case decided at the same time was that of Private James Murry, Company I, Tenth Infantry, who was convicted of being absent without leave from company drill on the afternoon of November 9, 1886, and of being intoxicated. The specification of his charge for drunkenness stated, "that having been refused, by his Company Commander permission to [be] absent from drill, did become drunk, with the avowed purpose of being placed in the Guard house." He achieved his purpose. Private Murry was sentenced to forfeit ten dollars of his pay and spend ten days in confinement at hard labor. [213]

Some cases of intoxication were especially ill-timed and unbefitting the occasion. In July 1887 Corporal David Davis, Company F, Tenth Infantry, was assigned to conduct the "firing party" which was detailed to fire the appropriate salute at the funeral of Private John R. Rickley, Company G, Tenth Infantry. Davis "was found drunk while in command of said firing party and utterly unable to perform that duty." He was found guilty of drunkenness by court-martial. His punishment was reduction to the rank of private. [214]

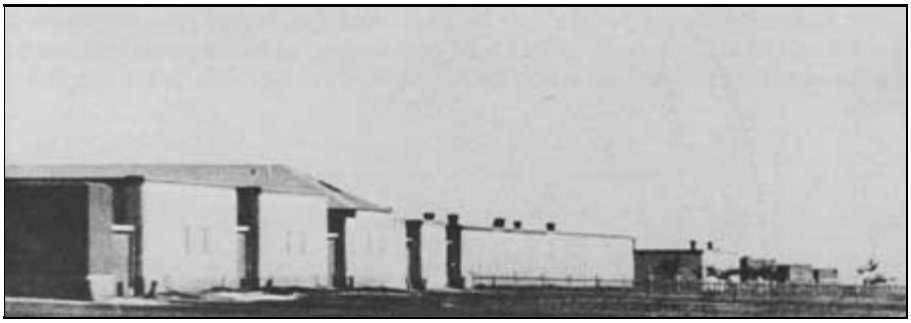
Occasionally malicious actions or attitudes were exhibited by soldiers against Hispanos and other ethnic groups. Sometimes that behavior resulted in trial and punishment. In 1888, as noted in chapter eight, a soldier was convicted of assaulting a Chinese servant at Fort Union. In 1889 Private John Lydon, Company H, Tenth Infantry, was found guilty of "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline" for making disparaging remarks about Hispanos. Private Lydon was "a sentinel in charge of two prisoners, who had been duly directed to unload certain wagons, driven by Mexicans, and containing Quartermasters stores." He was charged with stating, in the presence of the prisoners and of Sergeant John W. Lambert, Company C, Tenth Infantry, "The damn Mexicans should be made to unload their wagons. If I were a prisoner I would try to make them delay a half a day." Lydon's punishment was to forfeit ten dollars of his pay for one month and to be confined at hard labor for ten days. [215]



Officers' row, Fort Union, in the 1870s. The nine quarters were numbered from right to left. The commanding officer's quarters were No. 5 in the center. U.S. Signal Corps Photo No. 88020, *courtesy* National Archives.

Acts of violence and bigotry rarely showed up in the court records of Fort Union, but they were not uncommon. There were also a considerable number of assaults by soldiers against their comrades in arms. One of the last cases tried at Fort Union involved an attack on an "assistant to the canteen steward" at the new post canteen. It was an unusual case in that there was no mention of alcohol or intoxication in the court record (beer was available at the canteen). Private James Boyd, Troop G, Sixth Cavalry, was the perpetrator according to the court. Boyd "did without just provocation strike Private Edward Moran Troop G 6th Cavalry on the head with a billiard cue, thereby inflicting a severe wound." Boyd was sentenced to forfeit ten dollars of his pay. Moran was relieved of his duties as canteen steward and treated by the post surgeon. [216] Such fighting was the only combat soldiers at Fort Union had seen in years. Various types of misbehavior continued to keep the officers busy serving on courts-martial.

There were over 120 cases tried by court-martial at Fort Union during 1890, a year during which the aggregate garrison averaged 160 men. Most of the cases involved charges of drunkenness. There were also a number of instances of absence without leave, insubordination, and brawling. The last court-martial of record occurred on December 9, 1890, when Private Thomas Fitzgerald, Company H, Tenth Infantry, was convicted of being absent from duty without leave on December 6 and "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline" in that he was "drunk and disorderly" and "insubordinate" on that same day. His sentence was to forfeit seven dollars of his pay for one month. If all the courts-martial trials during the active years of Fort Union history were placed in perspective, it would be clear that Colonel Sumner's design to remove the troops from the influences of sin and vice in 1851 had failed, and failed consistently.



This portion of an undated photo of Fort Union shows, left to right, the depot storehouses, mechanics repair shops, company barracks, and the small building at right is believed to be the Good Templars hail which was also used as the post chapel. U.S Signal Corps Photo No. 88005, *courtesy* National Archives.

While much about the army appeared the same during those final years as in the past, the army was beginning to change. During the 1880s and after, the national government and military commanders made stronger efforts to provide enlisted men with better training and living conditions, instill an *esprit de corps*, and develop a more professional army. Less time was devoted to manual labor and assigning soldiers to extra-duty chores *ad infinitum;* more time was spent on drill, field practice, and mastery of specialized tasks. Education, rewards, competitive skills (such as marksmanship, signaling, and litter bearing), and worthy leisure activities began to replace harsh punishment and neglect. [217] Even so, the practice of strict discipline and punishment by courts-martial continued to be central to the enforcement of military regulations.

The army reform movement continued through the war with Spain in 1898, into World War I, and beyond. The results of those changes were felt by the garrison at Fort Union during its

last years. Clearly, the representatives of the United States Army who marched away from Fort Union when it was closed in 1891 were a far different set of soldiers than those who had established the post forty years before. Throughout that entire period, as the records of Fort Union verify, health care and military discipline had contributed to the fulfillment of missions assigned to the troops at Fort Union and throughout the region. By the 1890s the Anglo-American frontier of expansion and conquest of the land was ended and the need for a frontier army had disappeared in the process.

Within two generations the Southwest had been acquired and firmly attached to the nation, Indian resistance had been subdued, Anglo-American institutions had been planted in the region, railroads had replaced the thread-like connections of the Santa Fe Trail and other overland routes with strong bands of steel, and Anglo-American migration and power foretold the eventual consolidation of the Hispanic Southwest into the larger nation. The rich blend of Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo cultures gave the region its distinctive identity and heritage. Fort Union had been a vital part of the history of that expansionist era, but it had no further objectives to perform. Like the Anglo-American frontier cycle it represented, the military post at *Los Pozos* on Wolf Creek, once the knot on the thread that had tied the Southwest to the nation and for a time the largest military installation in the region, was closed.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

EPILOGUE:

RETREAT, TATTOO, AND TAPS: THE LAST DAYS AND AFTER

For the last two decades of its occupation, as noted in chapter seven, Fort Union was a candidate for abandonment by the army. Periodically commanders of the department in which the District of New Mexico was located suggested that it was far removed from areas of conflict, while the defenders noted that the post protected the supply depot and arsenal. After the railroad reached New Mexico in 1879, the depot and the arsenal were phased out. The only argument for retaining the post after the early 1880s was that it was a comfortable place to house troops whose services were not immediately required in other places, and it was economical because it was already there and provided good grazing for livestock. In 1886 General Sheridan recommended that Forts Union and Lyon be closed, and declared "these posts have outlived the wants of the country surrounding them, and there is no necessity of keeping them except to furnish shelter for the troops." The troops, he concluded, could be quartered less expensively elsewhere. [1] There were undoubtedly citizens in the area, including contractors who supplied the post, who argued that the post should be retained because it contributed to the economy. There were still minor concerns that a possible Indian outbreak or civilian conflict would require swift action by the troops. Most soldiers and civilians who were aware of the post likely understood it was only a matter of time until Fort Union and most of the other frontier posts would be closed because, for the most part, the frontier no longer existed. None of the problems they were established to resolve remained, in part, because of the efforts of the soldiers assigned to them and, mostly, because the expansion and development of the Anglo-American economy and society had changed forever the unsettled world which required their presence.

The commanding general of the army, John M. Schofield, notified the commanding general of the Division of the Pacific, Nelson A. Miles, in October 1889, that plans should be completed to abandon Fort Union "at this time, or in the near future." Miles was instructed to decide where the troops remaining at Fort Union should be sent. Miles recommended that "the post be garrisoned until next spring," and the three companies remaining at the post be distributed among Fort Huachuca, Arizona Territory, and Forts Stanton and Wingate, New Mexico Territory. Schofield approved the plan. [2] For some unknown reason there was a delay of another year before the final step was taken.

In December 1890 Brigadier General Alexander McDowell McCook, commander of the Department of Arizona which included the former District of New Mexico, inspected the posts in his department and noted in his report on Fort Union that the post could be "abandoned as soon as the Apache prisoners are returned to their reservation." Major General Schofield added his endorsement: "The abandonment of Fort Union has already been authorized by the Secretary of War and is only suspended pending its occupation by Apache prisoners." The new secretary of war Stephen B. Elkins, approved the abandonment on January 6, 1891. Elkins also requested McCook to report as to whether Fort Marcy at Santa Fe might not be abandoned at the same time. On February 4 McCook reported that "the

abandonment of Forts Marcy and Union can be made with the interests of the service fully subserved." He recommended that the two companies of Tenth Infantry at Fort Union and the Apache prisoners be transferred to Fort Wingate. Secretary Elkins approved. [3]

On February 12, 1891, McCook issued the proper orders and telegraphed instructions to the commander of Fort Union, Major Whittemore, directing him to transfer the garrison and prisoners to Fort Wingate and to leave an officer and twenty enlisted men at Fort Union to ship the remaining government stores and other property to Fort Wingate as soon as possible. Whittemore responded the same day, stating that the two companies (C and H, Tenth Infantry) and Indian prisoners would be ready to leave on February 21. Lieutenant John H. Shollenberger, Sergeants George B. Adams and John W. Lambert, and Privates William L. Adams, Daniel Callaghan, Jerry Collins, Michael Curtis, August Fitting, Alexander Forsyth, Daniel Foster, Henry Herule, William Joyce, Franklin Marker, Frederick Mathys, Peter Meyer, Martin Miller, Edwin L. Miner, Mark Murphy, John W. Myers, James Riley, and Richard van Schranendyk were selected to comprise the final garrison and close the post. Ten of the enlisted men belonged to Company C and ten to Company H. [4]

On February 21, as planned, the troops remaining at Fort Union (except the above twenty-one, Commissary Sergeant John Thomas Barratt, Ordnance Sergeant Michael Fetters, Chaplain Seibold, Surgeon Lippincott, Hospital Steward Frederick Schumacher, four enlisted men in the hospital corps, three enlisted men of the Sixth Cavalry, and three civilian employees) and the Apache prisoners marched to Watrous and took the train on their way to Fort Wingate. Fort Union was passing away in good company, for on that same day the funeral of General William T. Sherman, who had compiled admirable records during the Mexican and Civil wars and the Indian campaigns and had served as general in chief of the army, was conducted in St. Louis, Missouri. Although all military posts had been notified to honor the dead general by wearing badges of mourning, firing seventeen-gun salutes every half-hour, and performing no other duties on that day, the designated soldiers left Fort Union on schedule. [5]

One of the soldiers, using the pen name "Philo," described the preparations and travel to a new station for a Las Vegas newspaper. On February 18 he wrote, "The last few days have told a terrible tale on Fort Union; four days ago, everything was in running order; now it's upside down and inside out." Everyone was busy packing and shipping virtually everything. The men had to sleep in barracks in which bunks and bedding had been removed. [6] A few days later he described the trip. At 11:30 a.m. on February 21 the two companies and Indian prisoners marched away from Fort Union to Watrous, where they boarded a train "with three special coaches attached." There was a coach for each company and one for the Indians.

The soldiers sang favorite songs as they passed through the countryside, including "There's a Land that is Fairer than This." At Lamy the Tenth Infantry band, which had been stationed at Fort Marcy, boarded the train on their way to Fort Stanton. The troops and bandsmen traveled together as far as Albuquerque, where they arrived at midnight and the band gave a concert on the depot platform. Philo and his compatriots continued on their way at 2:00 a.m. and reached Wingate station the next day. The three-mile march to the post was made in deep mud and the soldiers dubbed it "Fort Mud, or Mud gate." They received a hearty welcome from the cavalry troopers already there. [7]

Coincidentally, another sign of Fort Union's passing in good company occurred just four days before the troops left the third Fort Union. Frank Weber, a veteran who was among the soldiers who established and built the first post in 1851, was buried on February 17, 1891, near the village of Golondrinas in the Mora Valley a few miles away. Weber (1822-1891), native of Prussia, had served in the Third Infantry under Captain E. B. Alexander from 1849 to 1854. After his discharge he settled near the Mora River and, according to the friend who

eulogized him (H. H. Green of the town of Mora, who used the pseudonym "Old Fogy" and was also present at the founding of Fort Union, having come to New Mexico with Colonel Sumner's command in 1851), "lived the quiet, but laborious, life of a farmer and gardener." Perhaps he had sold vegetables and other produce at the post through the years. Certainly he was close enough to the fort to be aware of all that happened during a period of four decades. "He was," his long-standing friend professed, "part and parcel of our history." Although not directly associated with the fort, except in its beginnings, Weber spent even more years in the vicinity than Captain Shoemaker and his life spanned, within a few days, the entire history of Fort Union as an active post. [8] The Old Fogy lasted even longer and realized the final closing of the fort. [9]

The few troops left at Fort Union in February 1891 were engaged in packing and shipping the remaining supplies, equipment, and records of the post during the next few weeks. [10] In April a sale of condemned property (condemned by Major Adna R. Chaffee, Department of Arizona inspector general) was held at Fort Union. Dr. Lippincott and Hospital Steward Schumacher remained to provide medical care for the garrison and to pack and ship meteorological instruments, hospital equipment, and all medical supplies to Fort Stanton. Sometime during March the four men in the hospital corps were transferred to other places. The medical library was sent to the medical storekeeper at St. Louis. The medical and hospital records were forwarded to the surgeon general. Hospital Steward Schumacher left the post in April for temporary duty at Fort Grant, Arizona Territory. The post hospital was officially closed on April 20, 1891. Chaplain Seibold remained at the post awaiting assignment. On March 23, 1891, he was directed to go to Fort Logan, Colorado, and left Fort Union sometime after April 20. During April Sergeants Barratt and Fetters departed for new assignments, Barratt was transferred to Fort Bliss, Texas, and Fetters went to Fort Keogh, Montana. [11] The three civilian employees, an engineer, a blacksmith, and a teamster, were discharged on April 30. Sergeant Lambert and Private Foster departed Fort Union for Fort Wingate on May 12, 1891. The remaining garrison received orders to depart on May 15. [12]

On May 9 Private van Schranendyk died of pneumonia and was buried in the post cemetery. The records do not indicate whether Surgeon Lippincott was still at the post or had already departed for his new assignment at Fort Adams, Rhode Island. Thus it is impossible to know if the dying soldier was attended by a physician during his final hours. His funeral was one of the last acts performed by the troops at the post. On May 15 Lieutenant Shollenberger and his remaining command abandoned Fort Union and took the train at Watrous for the trip to Fort Wingate. Samuel E. Shoemaker, son of the late Captain William R. Shoemaker, who resided about a mile up the valley of Wolf Creek from the site of the first post and arsenal (at the spring where Captain Shoemaker had irrigated his garden) was employed by the quartermaster department to watch over the buildings and prevent looting until the property could be transferred to the department of the interior. [13]

It was soon discovered, again, that the post, military reservation, and timber reserve were not on public lands and, therefore, could not be assigned to the department of the interior. The property, in due course, would revert to the landowners. As soon as possible the quartermaster department wanted to be relieved of responsibility for the buildings and other government property. Samuel Shoemaker served as custodian at the abandoned post for about a month and was replaced by Sergeant Morgan Robinson, Company D, Tenth Infantry. He was assisted by two men who apparently volunteered their time in return for the privilege of living at the old post and herding a few cattle nearby. M. C. Needham was a veteran of the Twenty-Third Infantry, who had served at Fort Union. After he was discharged he was employed as a machinist at the post. A. E. Bowen had been employed at Fort Union as a teamster and wagon master. Sergeant Robinson reported that the two men were "of service to him in protecting the public property." [14]

Soon Benjamin F. Butler, on behalf of the owners of the real estate (the Union Land and Grazing Company), requested that the government remove its property from the site and surrender possession to the owners. Also, questions were raised about how well Sam Shoemaker had protected the public property during the month he was custodian. Because of Butler's demands and the charges by a citizen, W. B. Brunton, that Shoemaker had sold some material and permitted the removal and destruction of other government property at the abandoned post, Captain William S. Patten, quartermaster department, was sent to investigate and to inspect the remaining buildings and other public possessions. He was also directed to recommend what might be done with the residual. As expected, he found the structures in various stages of decay but noted that considerable property, including doors, windows, flooring, lumber, roofing, and bricks, might be sold to residents in the vicinity. He recommended that everything removable be offered for sale after being advertised in newspapers and by posters placed in area stores and post offices for thirty days. Buyers, he advised, should have thirty days to remove their purchases, after which the remains and the reservations could be turned over to the owners of the property. [15]

When Patten inspected the buildings at the former post, depot, and arsenal, he found that the water pipes had been torn out of most structures and that doors and windows had been removed from a few buildings at the post and depot and some of the sheds had been dismantled and the lumber removed. The buildings at the old arsenal had "been completely gutted of doors, windows, mantles, water-pipes, fixtures, &c." Patten investigated the alleged unlawful disposition of property, gathered testimony from various witnesses, and concluded that several residents in the area had in their possession materials from the post. Lumber from the cavalry stables had been used to build a fence at the residence of Mrs. J. T. Johnston at Cherry Valley. A closet removed from officer's quarters no. 4 was at the residence of Frank Carpenter at Cherry Valley. Carpenter also had downspouts and windows from buildings at the post. The fence which had stood in front of the hospital was at a residence in Tiptonville. A workbench and fire bricks from the blacksmith shop were at a shop in Watrous. Some 800 pounds of copper had been hauled to Watrous and shipped to Las Vegas. Sam Shoemaker and M. C. Needham had shipped a rail car load of scrap iron, lead, and copper to the Albuquerque Foundry and Manufacturing Co. on February 19, 1892. The two men claimed that Lieutenant Shollenberger gave them the material in return for fifteen days' labor for which he had no funds to pay them. [16]

Patten was unable to determine when the pilfering had occurred but was convinced that some of it happened before the troops left in May 1891 and some thereafter. He was assured that "the dismantling of buildings at the arsenal has been going on for some years." Both Shoemaker and Needham testified that the water pipes had been removed from the buildings while Shollenberger was in command. They also informed Patten that some of the materials had been removed during the time of the sale of condemned property in April 1891. Patten concluded that the damage done to the buildings was "considerable were it contemplated to re-garrison the post; but if the buildings are to be sold as suggested, the loss to the United States is not great." He saw little cause for alarm but requested that his report be sent by the secretary of war to the attorney general to determine if any legal action should be taken. [17] No records were found to indicate that a sale, as recommended by Patten, was conducted or that any legal recourse was pursued.

The inspector general's office also investigated the situation at the abandoned post with similar results. In addition to the specific items noted by Patten, Major Chaffee, who had inspected and condemned property at Fort Union prior to the sale in April 1891, reported that the flooring and floor joists had been removed from the storehouses at the arsenal. The thieves had been seen by Shoemaker, who reported to Sergeant Robinson, and the property was recovered. All in all, the inspector observed, regarding the charges that had been directed against Shoemaker, "I don't see that any great wrong was committed." [18] Apparently no

formal charges were filed against anyone.

The army continued to delay the transfer of Fort Union to the owners of the land. Ben Butler died on January 11, 1893, before his requests for the return were honored. In March 1894 the administrators of Butler's estate were informed by Quartermaster General R. N. Batchelder that the secretary of war had ordered the army to vacate the site of Fort Union and withdraw the custodian on April 1, 1894, on which date the land of the military reservation and timber reserve and the buildings would be turned over to an agent designated by the estate. The chief quartermaster of the Department of the Colorado was assigned responsibility for the transfer. He reported soon after the day designated for the relinquishment "that the Fort Union reservation, with the buildings, were entirely abandoned on the 1st instant, nobody appearing to receive the same. The custodian was discharged on the 1st instant." [19] The national government, which had never held title to the property, was finished with Fort Union, as it turned out, only temporarily. Sixty years later Congress designated it a national monument and the department of the interior acquired ownership of the site because of its historic value.

During the interval the remains of Fort Union were partially demolished and the adobe structures, their roofs, doors, and windows gone, slowly melted back into the earth from which they had come. It required the efforts of many people to stimulate interest in preserving the vestiges of the historic fort and eventually to *see* that goal achieved. In 1934, when she was 89 years old, Marion Sloan Russell "made a pilgrimage" over the Santa Fe Trail and visited the sites of Camp Nichols and Fort Union, hoping she might find "one golden moment spilled from the hand of time." Her visit to the old post on Wolf Creek was like an extraterrestrial experience.

> At Fort Union I found crumbling walls and tottering chimneys. Here and there a tottering adobe wall where once a mighty howitzer had stood. Great rooms stood roofless, their whitewashed wails open to the sky. Wild gourd vines grew inside the officers' quarters. Rabbits scurried before my questing feet. The little guard house [stone prison] alone stood intact, mute witness of the punishment inflicted there. The Stars and Stripes was gone. Among the heap of rubble I found the rums of the little chapel where I had stood—a demure, little bride in a velvet cape—and heard a preacher say, 'That which God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' I found the ruins of my little home where Colonel Carson once had stood beneath a hanging lamp. I heard or seemed to hear again his kindly voice, 'Little Maid Marian, you cannot go [to Camp Nichols]. I promised your mother to take good care of you.' The wind moaned among the crumbling ruins and brought with it the sound of marching feet. I saw with eyes that love to look backward, a wagon train coming along the old trail. I saw a child in a blue pinafore. It was little Maid Marian on the seat of an old covered wagon. [20]

Mrs. Russell, in the wisdom of her old age and sharp memory of how her "own life story and the story of Fort Union have been strangely interwoven," paid as fine a tribute to the heritage of Fort Union as anyone could express. "Workmen were busy tearing down the old fortification. They tore my heart down with it. Why not let the old walls stand. Around each crumbling wall, each yawning cellar hole, are gathered precious memories of young America." [21] No soldier, no officer, no historian could have stated it more poignantly nor with more comprehension.

Marion Russell would undoubtedly be pleased to see the preservation efforts of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, at Fort Union National Monument and to know that she contributed to the understanding of its historical lore. There is no doubt that she possessed special insights and communicated effectively her inner feelings. The final paragraph of her *Land of Enchantment*, following the description of her "pilgrimage,"

revealed the significance of keeping history alive, if only in the remembering of people and events gone forever.

> I live now in the little apple-green valley, and I walk there as one walks in a dream. The faces I love, I see only dimly. The voices I love come from afar, I cannot hear them clearly. . . . The inner chamber of my heart is open wide, its pearls of memory just inside. My thoughts move slowly now like motes behind a faded window blind. I stand listening for the sound of wheels that never come; stand waiting for the clasp of arms long crumbled into dust. [22]

At some point every cognizant adult human being can identify with her attachment to the experiences of life which are collectively called history. Like her, they will hope for the preservation of records and artifacts that make it possible for the people of each generation to remember and understand their constantly receding progenitors.



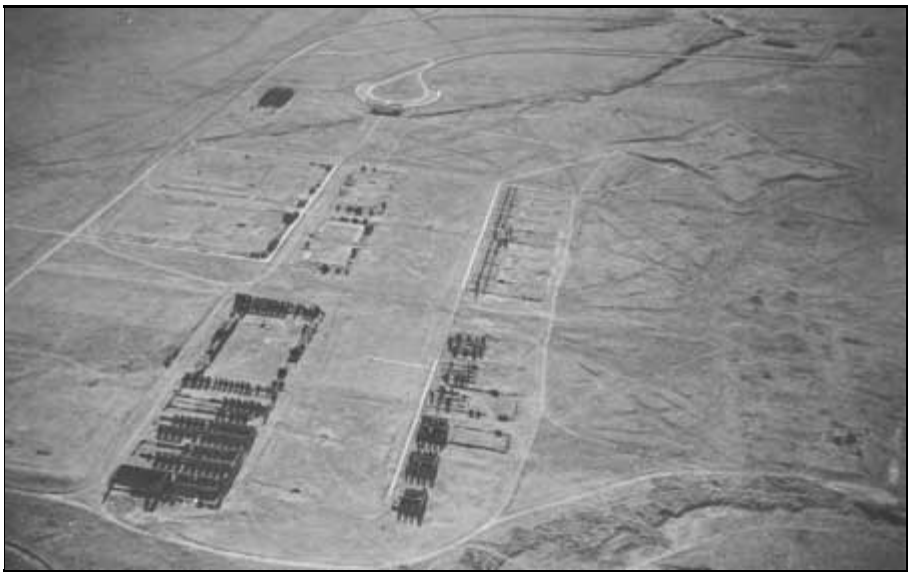
Remains of officers' row at Fort Union, with the walls of other structures visible in the background. Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

The protection of the remains of Fort Union came too late to save more than fragments of what had once been the largest and most important military post in the American Southwest. For many years after abandonment and reversion of the old military reservation to private landowners, the natural deterioration caused by the elements was accelerated by the looting of citizens who could make use of portions of the old buildings (tin roofs, floors, doors, windows, lumber, and hardware) and livestock. The increased exposure of the adobe walls hastened their erosion with each passing storm, be it wind, rain, sleet, snow, or hail. It was not amazing that so little of the three Fort Unions survived but that any portions of them remained in evidence a century after the post was closed by the army.

The efforts to conserve whatever outlasted the ravages of the seasons and thieves was also part of the Fort Union story. By the time Marion Russell paid her last visit to the site in 1934 and lamented what was happening there, other voices were being raised to rescue the remnants and create a commemorative monument to the legacy of 40 years of military occupation of the post on Wolf Creek. In fact, the Freemasons began the long struggle to preserve the site where two Masonic lodges had been founded. On January 23, 1929, the members of Chapman Lodge No. 2 at Las Vegas (one of the lodges which had its origins at

Fort Union in 1862) selected a committee to "have Fort Union declared a national monument." The Masons persuaded the New Mexico Legislature to petition the U.S. Congress, in 1929, to that end. New Mexico Congressman Albert G. Simms introduced legislation in 1930 which died in committee. [23]

The National Park Service gathered information and investigated the site in the 1930s and pursued the possibility of obtaining the property for a national monument. Negotiations were opened with the Union Land and Grazing Company in 1939. Disagreement over terms of a transfer agreement delayed further action for another decade. When it was discovered the owners were planning to demolish the remains of the fort in 1949 a campaign of revitalized interest was sparked. Immediate leveling of the chimneys and walls was averted and serious negotiations were renewed. The government and the corporation were dead locked, however, until the State of New Mexico started procedures to condemn the land under the right of eminent domain in 1953. Within a short time terms were agreed upon by both sides and legislation was introduced in Congress to establish a national monument. It became law on June 28, 1954. A non-profit corporation, Fort Union, Inc., began raising the $20,000 necessary to compensate the Union Land and Grazing Company. The owners accepted $10,000 and donated the property in 1955. Fort Union National Monument was created on April 4, 1956. [24]



Fort Union National Monument, showing remnants of earthwork (upper right), third post (center), depot (lower left and center), hospital (upper left), and visitors' center and museum (upper center). Photo Collection, Fort Union National Monument.

In 1954 while efforts were underway to have old Fort Union designated a national monument, Alexander Forsyth, a member of the last detail at the post in 1891, was living in New York City. It was believed he was the last survivor of the post garrison. Forsyth, age 84, wrote to the *Las Vegas Optic* after receiving an issue of the paper containing an article about Fort Union. He stated that he was the youngest soldier among the last to serve there, having enlisted in February 1890. The only recruit



Invitation sent for the commemoration of the centennial celebration of the closing of Fort Union. Author's copy.

assigned to Fort Union after completing his basic training, he had arrived by railroad at Watrous and traveled to the post by wagon, where he joined Company H, Tenth Infantry. He recalled that the barracks were "in bad condition. The outer walls in places had large holes in them where the adobe bricks had fallen out." After nearly sixty-three years, he had fond memories of the place. "I will never forget Fort Union as long as I shall live. The country round about everywhere was indeed beautiful." [25]

The land was, indeed, beautiful, but the remnants of the historic fort required herculean preservation efforts and an access road had to be constructed. The site was opened to visitors on June 8, 1956, and rehabilitation efforts continued for several years. The national monument was dedicated on June 14, 1959. Stabilization and maintenance of the relic were constant and ongoing. In time exhibits and interpretive programs were designed to reveal the story and significance of Fort Union to visitors from many cultures. Its public visibility was enhanced with the designation of the Santa Fe National Historic Trail in 1987, resulting in belated publicity of the fort and the trail. Visitation to the national monument, several miles off the major highway network, increased. In 1991 Fort Union National Monument received the coveted Lou Garrison Gold Award for the best interpretive program in the Southwest Region of the National Park Service. [26]

On May 15, 1991, the National Park Service commemorated the centennial of the abandonment of Fort Union as an active military post with a special public ceremony and brief addresses by Fort Union National Monument Superintendent Harry C. Myers and New Mexico Highlands University Professor of History Michael Olsen. Fort Union National Monument Ranger-Historian T. J. Sperry and a group of historic reenactors replicated the last retreat flag ceremony of the official closing of the post. [27] With continued preservation efforts and enhanced interpretive techniques by the National Park Service, remnants of the physical fort and a sense of feeling for the spirit of the history of the once-active, bustling, sprawling, almost mystical ghost fort will be available for visitors to enjoy at the time of the bicentennial of the closing of what had been the preeminent military post, as well as the end of an era in the story of the frontier army, in the American Southwest.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

APPENDIX A:
COMMANDING OFFICERS OF FORT UNION [1]

Officer	Rank	Regiment	Term in Office
Edmond B. Alexander	Captain	Third Infantry	July 26, 1851-April 22, 1852
James H. Carleton	Captain	First Dragoons	April 22, 1852-August 3, 1852
William T. H. Brooks	Captain	Third Infantry	August 3, 1852-September 28, 1852
James H. Carleton	Captain	First Dragoons	September 28, 1852-November 16, 1852
William T. H. Brooks	Captain	Third Infantry	November 16, 1852-November 22, 1852
James H. Carleton	Captain	First Dragoons	November 22, 1852-December 18, 1852
Gouverneur Morris	Major	Third Infantry	December 18, 1852-June 30, 1853
Horace Brooks	Captain	Second Artillery	June 30, 1853-August 3, 1853
Nathaniel C. Macrae	Captain	Third Infantry	August 3, 1853-November 4, 1853
P. St. George Cooke	Lt. Colonel	Second Dragoons	November 4, 1853-March 31, 1854
Nathaniel C. Macrae	Captain	Third Infantry	March 31, 1854-May 7, 1854
P. St. George Cooke	Lt. Colonel	Second Dragoons	May 7, 1854-June 23, 1854
Nathaniel C. Macrae	Captain	Third Infantry	June 23, 1854-June 30, 1854
P. St. George Cooke	Lt. Colonel	Second Dragoons	June 30, 1854-September 18, 1854
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	September 18, 1854-January 25, 1855
Nathaniel C. Macrae	Captain	Third Infantry	January 25, 1855-February 5, 1855
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	February 5, 1855-February 20, 1855
Joseph H. Whittlesey	Captain	First Dragoons	February 20, 1855-June 11, 1855
Horace Brooks	Captain	Second Artillery	June 11, 1855-June 28, 1855
Joseph H. Whittlesey	Captain	First Dragoons	June 28, 1855-July 9, 1855
Horace Brooks	Captain	Second Artillery	July 9, 1855-July 10, 1855
Joseph H. Whittlesey	Captain	First Dragoons	July 10, 1855-July 20, 1855
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	July 20, 1855-January 7, 1856
William T. Magruder	First Lieut.	First Dragoons	January 7, 1856-February 15, 1856
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	February 15, 1856-April 17, 1856
John T. Mercer	2nd Lieut.	First Dragoons	April 17, 1856-April 29, 1856
	First		

William T. Magruder	Lieut.	First Dragoons	April 29, 1856-May 7, 1856
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	May 7, 1856-May 25, 1856
William T. Magruder	First Lieut.	First Dragoons	May 25, 1856-June 16, 1856
Thomas T. Fauntleroy	Colonel	First Dragoons	June 16, 1856-June 29, 1856
William N. Grier	Captain	First Dragoons	June 29, 1856-August 21, 1856
Henry B. Clitz	First Lieut.	Third Infantry	August 21, 1856-September 27, 1856
William W. Loring	Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	September 27, 1856-April 19, 1857
Lewellyn Jones	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	April 19, 1857-September 27, 1857
William W. Loring	Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	September 27, 1857-April 8, 1858
Andrew J. Lindsay	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	April 8, 1858-August 21, 1858
Herbert M. Enos	2nd Lieut.	Mounted Riflemen	August 21, 1858-September 14, 1858
William W. Loring	Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	September 14, 1858-September 25, 1858
Robert M. Morris	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	September 25, 1858-October 5, 1858
William W. Loring	Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	October 5, 1858-January 31, 1859
John G. Walker	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	January 31, 1859-February 1859
William W. Loring	Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	February 1859-April 23, 1859
John G. Walker	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	April 23, 1859-May 31, 1859
John S. Simonson	Major	Mounted Riflemen	May 31, 1859-June 7, 1859
Robert M. Morris	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	June 7, 1859-October 22, 1859
John S. Simonson	Major	Mounted Riflemen	October 22, 1859-August 15, 1860
Charles F. Ruff	Major	Mounted Riflemen	August 15, 1860-September 17, 1860
George B. Crittenden	Lt. Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	September 17, 1860-December 27, 1860
Herbert M. Enos	2nd Lieut.	Mounted Riflemen	December 27, 1860-January 8, 1861
George B. Crittenden	Lt. Colonel	Mounted Riflemen	January 8, 1861-February 26, 1861
Thomas Duncan	Captain	Mounted Riflemen	February 26, 1861-May 18, 1861
Henry Hopkins Sibley	Major	First Dragoons	May 18, 1861-June 4, 1861
Donald Chester Stith	Lieutenant	Fifth Infantry	June 4, 1861-June 13, 1861
William Chapman	Major	Second Infantry	June 13, 1861-December 13, 1861
Gabriel R. Paul	Colonel	Fourth N.M. Vol. Inf.	December 13, 1861-April 6, 1862
Asa B. Carey	Captain	Thirteenth Infantry	April 6, 1862-July 11, 1862
Peter W. L. Plympton	Captain	Seventh Infantry	July 11, 1862-August 1862
Henry D. Wallen	Major	Seventh Infantry	August 1862-September 25, 1862
Peter W. L. Plympton	Captain	Seventh Infantry	September 25, 1862-August 4, 1863
William R. McMullen	Captain	First Calif. Vol. Inf.	August 4, 1863-April 1864
Francisco P. Abreu	Lt. Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	April 1865-May 1864
William R. McMullen	Captain	First Calif. Vol. Inf.	May 1864-August 1864
Francisco P. Abreu	Lt. Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	August 1864-September 24, 1864

Henry R. Selden [2]	Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	September 24, 1864-February 2, 1865
Francisco P. Abreu	Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	February 2, 1865-May 1865
Edward B. Willis	Lt. Colonel	First N.M. Vol Inf.	May 1865-June 1865
Francisco P. Abreu	Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	June 1865-September 26, 1865
Edward B. Willis	Lt. Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Inf.	September 26, 1865-December 24, 1865
Christopher Carson	Colonel	First N.M. Vol. Cav.	December 24, 1865-April 24, 1866
John Thompson	Major	First N.M. Vol. Cav.	April 24, 1866-August 12, 1866
Elisha G. Marshall	Colonel	Fifth Infantry	August 12, 1866-October 30, 1866
H. C. Bankhead	Captain	Fifth Infantry	October 30, 1866-November 1866
Elisha G. Marshall	Colonel	Fifth Infantry	November 1866-February 20, 1867
William B. Lane	Major	Third Cavalry	February 20, 1867-October 12, 1867
John R. Brooke	Lt. Colonel	Thirty-Seventh Inf.	October 12, 1867-May 12, 1868
Charles J. Whiting	Major	Third Cavalry	May 12, 1868-June 10, 1868
John R. Brooke	Lt. Colonel	Thirty-Seventh Inf.	June 10, 1868-July 12, 1868
William N. Grier	Colonel	Third Cavalry	July 12, 1868-September 11, 1869
William Hawley	Captain	Third Cavalry	September 11, 1869-October 11, 1869
William N. Grier	Colonel	Third Cavalry	October 11, 1869-May 22, 1870
Charles Hobart	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	May 22, 1870-June 16, 1870
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	June 16, 1870-August 29, 1870
Samuel P. Smith	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	August 29, 1870-September 11, 1870
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	September 11, 1870-January 31, 1871
Horace Jewett	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	January 31, 1871-February 25, 1871
David R. Clendenin	Major	Eighth Cavalry	February 25, 1871-May 3, 1871
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	May 3, 1871-May 29, 1871
David R. Clendenin	Major	Eighth Cavalry	May 29, 1871-June 10, 1871
Horace Jewett	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 10, 1871-July 1, 1871
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	July 1, 1871-July 13, 1871
David R. Clendenin	Major	Eighth Cavalry	July 13, 1871-July 20, 1871
Horace Jewett	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	July 20, 1871-July 30, 1871
David R. Clendenin	Major	Eighth Cavalry	July 30, 1871-September 26, 1871
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	September 26, 1871-October 5, 1871
David R. Clendenin	Major	Eighth Cavalry	October 5, 1871-December 17, 1871
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	December 17, 1871-March 8, 1872
Horace Jewett	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	March 8, 1872-March 29, 1872
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	March 29, 1872-April 24, 1872
Henry C. Bankhead	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	April 24, 1872-April 27, 1872
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	April 27, 1872-May 16, 1872
Henry C. Bankhead	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	May 16, 1872-May 31, 1872
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	May 31, 1872-June 12, 1872

Henry H. Humphreys	First Lieut.	Fifteenth Infantry	June 12, 1872-July 4, 1872
Henry A. Ellis	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	July 4, 1872-September 21, 1872
John W. Eckles	First Lieut.	Fifteenth Infantry	September 21, 1872-October 5, 1872
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	October 5, 1872-December 29, 1872
Henry A. Ellis	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	December 29, 1872-January 4, 1873
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	January 4, 1873-April 28, 1873
Charles Hobart	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	April 28, 1873-May 4, 1873
J. Irvin Gregg	Colonel	Eighth Cavalry	May 4, 1873-June 3, 1873
Henry A. Ellis	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 3, 1873-August 25, 1873
John W. Eckles	First Lieut.	Fifteenth Infantry	August 25, 1873-September 15, 1873
Andrew J. Alexander	Major	Eighth Cavalry	September 15, 1873-March 23, 1874
Louis T. Morris	Captain	Eighth Cavalry	March 23, 1874-April 13, 1874
Andrew J. Alexander	Major	Eighth Cavalry	April 13, 1874-May 5, 1874
John W. Eckles	First Lieut.	Fifteenth Infantry	May 5, 1874-November 22, 1874
Andrew J. Alexander	Major	Eighth Cavalry	November 22, 1874-December 12, 1874
Henry A. Ellis	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	December 12, 1874-February 16, 1875
Andrew J. Alexander	Major	Eighth Cavalry	February 16, 1875-July 9, 1875
Henry A. Ellis	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	July 9, 1875-November 21, 1875
James M. Ropes	First Lieut.	Eighth Cavalry	November 21, 1875-December 20, 1875
James F. Wade	Major	Ninth Cavalry	December 20, 1875-January 13, 1876
Francis Moore	Captain	Ninth Cavalry	January 13, 1876-February 10, 1876
James F. Wade	Major	Ninth Cavalry	February 10, 1876-April 29, 1876
Francis Moore	Captain	Ninth Cavalry	April 29, 1876-June 6, 1876
Edward Whittemore [3]	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 6, 1876-August 2, 1876
James F. Wade	Major	Ninth Cavalry	August 2, 1876-October 31, 1876
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	October 31, 1876-November 18, 1876
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	November 18, 1876-February 8, 1877
Ambrose E. Hooker	Captain	Ninth Cavalry	February 8, 1877-February 12, 1877
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	February 12, 1877-February 13, 1877
Ambrose E. Hooker	Captain	Ninth Cavalry	February 13, 1877-February 22, 1877
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	February 22, 1877-March 28, 1877
James F. Wade	Major	Ninth Cavalry	March 28, 1877-April 2, 1877
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	April 2, 1877-May 30, 1877
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	May 30, 1877-June 14, 1877
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	June 14, 1877-June 18, 1877

Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 18, 1877-June 23, 1877
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	June 23, 1877-June 30, 1877
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 30, 1877-July 14, 1877
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	July 14, 1877-August 23, 1877
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	August 23, 1877-September 3, 1877
Albert P. Morrow	Major	Ninth Cavalry	September 3, 1877-April 4, 1878
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	April 4, 1878-September 9, 1878
Albert P. Morrow	Major	Ninth Cavalry	September 9, 1878-November 26, 1878
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	November 26, 1878-January 14, 1880
Nathan A. M. Dudley	Lt. Colonel	Ninth Cavalry	January 14, 1880-June 28, 1880
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 28, 1880-July 15, 1880
Harrison S. Weeks	First Lieut.	Eighth Cavalry	July 15, 1880-October 25, 1880
John B. Parke	Captain	Tenth Infantry	October 25, 1880-November 1880
Harrison S. Weeks	First Lieut.	Eighth Cavalry	November 1880-December 9, 1880
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	December 9, 1880-February 25, 1881
Nathan W. Osborne	Major	Fifteenth Infantry	February 25, 1881-June 11, 1881
Edward Whittemore	Captain	Fifteenth Infantry	June 11, 1881-August 10, 1881
James J. Van Horn	Major	Thirteenth Infantry	August 10, 1881-September 14, 1881
Harrison S. Weeks	First Lieut.	Eighth Cavalry	September 14, 1881-October 21, 1881
Granville O. Haller	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	October 21, 1881-February 8, 1882
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	February 8, 1882-April 29, 1882
Thomas MacK. Smith	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	April 29, 1882-July 12, 1882
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	July 12, 1882-October 16, 1882
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	October 16, 1882-June 9, 1883
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	June 9, 1883-June 23, 1883
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	June 23, 1883-July 12, 1883
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	July 12, 1883-August 5, 1883
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	August 5, 1883-October 17, 1883
James Henton	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	October 17, 1883-October 20, 1883
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	October 20, 1883-December 10, 1883
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	October 20, 1883-December 10, 1883
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	December 23, 1883-March 23, 1884
George K. Brady	Captain	Twenty-Third Inf.	March 23, 1884-April 13, 1884
Henry M. Black	Colonel	Twenty-Third Inf.	April 13, 1884-June 6, 1884
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	June 6, 1884-October 25, 1884
John B. Parke	Captain	Tenth Infantry	October 25, 1884-October 30, 1884
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	October 30, 1884-March 4, 1885

Charles L. Davis	Captain	Tenth Infantry	March 4, 1885-March 5, 1885
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	March 5, 1885-April 13, 1885
Charles L. Davis	Captain	Tenth Infantry	April 13, 1885-April 18, 1885
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	April 18, 1885-June 5, 1885
Charles L. Davis	Captain	Tenth Infantry	June 5, 1885-June 23, 1885
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	June 23, 1885-August 10, 1885
Henry Douglass [4]	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	August 10, 1885-October 5, 1885
Charles L. Davis	Captain	Tenth Infantry	October 5, 1885-November 15, 1885
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	November 15, 1885-December 2, 1885
Henry Douglass	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	December 2, 1885-May 24, 1886
Joel T. Kirkman	Captain	Tenth Infantry	May 24, 1886-June 8, 1886
Henry Douglass	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	June 8, 1886-September 25, 1886
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	September 25, 1886-November 11, 1886
Emil Adam	Major	Sixth Cavalry	November 11, 1886-November 17, 1886
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	November 17, 1886-February 9, 1887
Henry Douglass	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	February 9, 1887-December 31, 1887
Henry R. Mizner	Lt. Colonel	Tenth Infantry	December 31, 1887-January 1888
Henry Douglass	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	January 1888-June 29, 1888
Charles L. Davis	Captain	Tenth Infantry	June 29, 1888-July 17, 1888
Henry Douglass	Colonel	Tenth Infantry	July 17, 1888-December 31, 1888
Albert P. Morrow	Lt. Colonel	Sixth Cavalry	December 31, 1888-October 29, 1890
Edward Whittemore	Major	Tenth Infantry	October 29, 1890-November 1890
Albert P. Morrow	Lt. Colonel	Sixth Cavalry	November 1890-December 2, 1890
Edward Whittemore	Major	Tenth Infantry	December 2, 1890-February 21, 1891
John H. Shollenberger	First Lieut.	Tenth Infantry	February 21, 1891-May 15, 1891

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

2. Selden died in office, February 2, 1865.

3. Whittemore served as post commander a total of 15 times, the most of any officer, but he did not have the longest tenure in that office.

4. Douglass served as commanding officer six times and had the longest combined tenure of all officers, 32 months in all.

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FORT UNION

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APPENDIX B:
SURGEONS AT FORT UNION [1]

Assistant surgeons were regular army personnel and acting assistant surgeons were civilian medical doctors employed as contract surgeons. In one case, that of John H. Bill, a doctor was first employed as an acting assistant surgeon and was later appointed to the rank of assistant surgeon. Dr. Robert E. Smith was [2] promoted from acting assistant to assistant surgeon while he was serving at Fort Union. A major surgeon was the regular army rank above an assistant surgeon, usually given after several years' service as an assistant surgeon.

Assistant Surgeon Thomas A. McParlin, 1851-1852
Assistant Surgeon John Byrne, 1852-1855
Acting Assistant Surgeon O. W. Blanchard, 1853
Assistant Surgeon Eugene H. Abadie, 1855
Assistant Surgeon Bernard J. D. Irwin, 1856
Assistant Surgeon Jonathan Letterman, 1856-1858
Assistant Surgeon William W. Anderson, 1857
Acting Assistant Surgeon J. C. McKee, 1857
Acting Assistant Surgeon John H. Bill, 1858-1859 (later served as an assistant surgeon in 1862)
Assistant Surgeon Elisha I. Baily, 1859-1860
Assistant Surgeon Glover Perin, 1860
Assistant Surgeon Roberts Bartholow, 1860-1861
Assistant Surgeon Kirtley Ryland, 1861 [3]
Assistant Surgeon Joseph C. Baily, 1861
Acting Assistant Surgeon Alfred H. Crane, 1861-1862
Assistant Surgeon James T. Ghiselin, 1861-1862
Acting Assistant Surgeon J. M. Whitlock, 1861
Assistant Surgeon Basil Norris, 1862
Acting Assistant Surgeon D. A. Holden, 1862
Assistant Surgeon John H. Bill, 1862
Acting Assistant Surgeon J. J. Saville, 1862
Assistant Surgeon John C. C. Downing, 1862-1863
Acting Assistant Surgeon Charles Leib, 1863
Acting Assistant Surgeon Thaddeus P. Seeley, 1864
Acting Assistant Surgeon John H. Shout, 1864-1866
Acting Assistant Surgeon Henry Duane, 1865-1866, 1872
Acting Assistant Surgeon John W. Foye, 1866
Assistant Surgeon Henry A. DuBois, 1866-1867
Assistant Surgeon DeWitt C. Peters, 1867-1871
Assistant Surgeon Ely McClellan, 1867
Acting Assistant Surgeon Robert H. Longwill, 1867-1869
Acting Assistant Surgeon B. R. S. Boemond, 1867-1868
Acting Assistant Surgeon William Armour, 1869
Acting Assistant Surgeon Jules LaCarpentier, 1870-1871

Assistant Surgeon Alfred Delany, 1871
Acting Assistant Surgeon Henry G. Tidemann, 1871-1872
Acting Assistant Surgeon Charles C. Arms, 1871-1872
Assistant Surgeon William J. Wilson, 1871-1872
Major Surgeon Blencowe E. Fryer, 1872-1873
Assistant Surgeon Peter Moffatt, 1873-1874
Acting Assistant Surgeon C. M. Clark, 1873-1874
Acting Assistant Surgeon W. O. Taylor, 1874
Assistant Surgeon William H. Gardner, 1874-1876
Acting Assistant Surgeon George A. Benjamin, 1874
Acting Assistant Surgeon John S. McLain, 1874-1875
Acting Assistant Surgeon Loren N. Clark, 1875
Acting Assistant & Assistant Surgeon Robert E. Smith, 1875
Acting Assistant Surgeon Joseph S. Martin, 1876-1878
Assistant Surgeon Carlos Carvallo, 1876-1879
Assistant Surgeon John J. Kane, 1879-1882
Acting Assistant Surgeon W. H. Comegys, 1879
Acting Assistant Surgeon Joseph H. Collins, 1880-1883 [4]
Assistant Surgeon Frederick W. Elbrey, 1881-1882
Major Surgeon Albert Hartsuff, 1882-1883
Acting Assistant Surgeon Fred Dewey, 1883-1884
Major Surgeon Peter J. A. Cleary, 1883-1887
Acting Assistant Surgeon William Parker, 1884
Assistant Surgeon Norton Strong, 1884-1885
Assistant Surgeon Charles L. G. Anderson, 1886-1887
Acting Assistant Surgeon Emil I. Pring, 1886-1888
Acting Assistant Surgeon Prescott L. Rice, 1886-1887
Major Surgeon Henry Lippincott, 1887-1891
Acting Assistant Surgeon Samuel T. Weirick, 1888-1889

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA; Medical History, Fort Union, 1873-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA; and List of Medical Officers at Posts, 1860-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

2. Acting Assistant Surgeon Robert E. Smith reported for duty at Fort Union on June 7, 1875, "having just passed the Army Medical Examining Board at New York City." One month later, July 7, 1875, he was appointed an assistant surgeon. Medical History, Fort Union, June-July 1875, AGO, RG 94, NA.

3. Surgeon Ryland died at Fort Union on Sept. 22, 1861. Orders No. 83, Sept. 23, 1861, HQ FU, FU orders, RG 393, NA; and Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 855.

4. Dr. Collins died at Fort Union on Jan. 30, 1883.

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APPENDIX C:

CHAPLAINS AT FORT UNION [1]

William Stoddert, 1856-1859
Samuel B. McPheeters, 1860-1861
John Woart, 1866-1869
David W. Eakins, 1870-1876
George W. Simpson, 1876-1877
James A. M. LaTourrette, 1877-1890
John S. Seibold, 1890-1891

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

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APPENDIX D:

FORT UNION POST SUTLERS AND TRADERS [1]

These merchants were officially known as post sutlers until 1867 and as post traders until the system was abolished at the end of the 1880s. The position of post trader at Fort Union was abolished in 1889, but the last trader may have operated there into 1890. In October 1890, just a few months before Fort Union was abandoned, a post canteen (operated by the army to replace the old trader system and forerunner of what became the post exchange) was established at the post and functioned until the post was closed in 1891.

Jared W. Folger, September 27, 1851 to September 26, 1854
Ceran St. Vrain, October 6, 1854 to August 11, 1856
George M. Alexander, December 31, 1856 to December 31, 1859
William H. Moore, March 26, 1859 to December 31, 1866
C. W. Adams, April 17, 1866 to April 17, 1869
John C. Dent, October 6, 1870 to April 12, 1878
Crayton H. Conger, April 9, 1878 to death, no date
Arthur W. Conger, July 17, 1880 to September 28, 1881
Frank G. Jager, September 28, 1881 to February 8, 1882
Arthur W. Conger, February 8, 1882 to January 17, 1884
Werner Fabian, January 17, 1884 to February 27, 1885
Arthur W. Conger, February 27, 1885 to October 14, 1885
Edward P. Woodbury, October 14, 1885 to no date given [2]

1. Compiled by Dale F. Giese, Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1851-1891 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1969), 71-72.

2. Woodbury's store was destroyed by fire in December 1889. The business opened in another building and operated until sometime in 1890.

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APPENDIX E:

FORT UNION MONTHLY AGGREGATE GARRISON

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1851							339	315	310	211	266	267
1852	252	243	239	150	146	141	193	179	238	268	272	269
1853	269	266	258	252	238	224	217	233	190	247	249	233
1854	231	225	307	211	195	165	167	168	83	175	165	164
1855	156	117	115	112	106	263	238	193	185	176	143	136
1856	131	120	116	116	87	154	126	54	150	305	268	262
1857	186	209	253	249	245	242	237	233	227	225	222	216
1858	276	277	298	293	311	283	281	258	383	285	270	260
1859	262	259	259	257	260	252	259	334	280	278	271	191
1860	233	272	290	304	286	301	223	204	282	311	299	287
1861	289	307	206	274	452	427	1021	1325	1669	676	1055	733
1862	791	583	691 [2]	673	378	603	530	477	637	606	432	440
1863	407	266	334	467	440	190	260	257	327	381	349	464
1864	457	496	589	562	576	676	722	761	739	710	680	675
1865	642	82	822	910	610	680	705	549	446	386	345	402
1866	383	368	368	278	258	174	167	402	694	275	406	200
1867	277	243	236	276	222	244	186	381	288	431	503	490
1868	506	464	459	428	411	360	405	483	488	391	464	475
1869	471	467	453	377	174	193	166	166	213	284	279	523
1870	346	348	197	193	163	175	190	192	353	399	461	537

1871	487	481	468	471	450	447	434	441	367	349	326	307
1872	249	248	287	217	310	308	290	301	280	321	317	303
1873	289	258	268	257	248	239	228	280	286	275	298	317
1874	369	381	357	316	295	291	286	284	290	294	280	285
1875	261	258	256	250	239	238	139	105	101	98	166	203
1876	194	167	159	208	299	315	300	297	295	292	352	345
1877	331	335	333	326	288	260	251	257	263	228	222	144
1878	144	153	150	153	220	147	148	153	220	226	162	142
1879	145	144	256	137	142	131	138	136	117	173	123	124
1880	122	110	114	114	110	114	119	119	123	117	116	107
1881	106	106	45	44	55	53	56	58	57	195	186	223
1882	221	233	232	227	220	220	203	206	210	222	219	217
1883	207	213	195	225	217	215	231	228	219	266	258	258
1884	256	261	260	288	288	278	226	226	223	228	222	222
1885	207	201	199	194	187	203	215	219	208	204	201	199
1886	225	225	223	222	213	212	175	176	143	292	286	288
1887	285	335	333	327	322	321	313	257	317	265	261	252
1888	246	275	233	287	279	284	276	276	258	261	259	152
1889	153	162	155	147	156	165	161	158	151	147	152	150
1890	151	151	148	145	167	159	161	187	183	178	175	109
1891	109	27	25	20								

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

2. The March 1862 Field Return for the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers showed that 58 officers and 1287 men of that regiment, a total of 1345, were encamped at Fort Union but were not part of the post garrison. They comprised the major force that engaged the Confederates at Glorieta Pass on March 28, 1862.

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APPENDIX F:

MONTHLY GARRISON STATISTICS, FORT UNION [1]

Year & Month	Aggregate	Absent	Sick	Under Arrest	Present for Duty & Extra Duty
1851 July	339	119	19	41	97
1851 August	315	50	30	14	221
1851 September	310	43	31	13	223
1851 October	211	17	18	2	174
1851 November	266	28	32	4	202
1851 December	267	36	26	5	200
1852 January	252	35	15	13	189
1852 February	242	31	21	11	179
1852 March	239	34	15	11	179
1852 April	150	23	16	10	101
1852 May	146	66	3	4	73
1852 June	141	52	3	3	83
1852 July	193	75	10	8	100
1852 August	179	49	7	6	117
1852 September	238	51	10	16	161
1852 October	268	75	19	11	163
1852 November	272	26	9	9	228
1852 December	269	47	15	19	188
1853 January	269	46	6	19	198
1853 February	266	40	13	11	202
1853 March	258	46	15	11	186
1853 April	252	33	14	16	189
1853 May	238	42	18	12	166
1853 June	224	37	24	8	155
1853 July	217	65	17	6	129
1853 August	233	70	10	11	142
1853 September	190	36	8	12	134
1853 October	247	57	11	10	169
1853 November	240	40	11	16	173
1853 December	233	16	13	21	183

1854 January	231	17	14	12	188
1854 February	225	12	14	19	180
1854 March	307	202	18	7	80
1854 April	211	109	15	5	82
1854 May	195	109	6	7	73
1854 June	165	72	4	6	83
1854 July	167	30	7	13	117
1854 August	168	30	6	13	119
1854 September	83	10	9	3	61
1854 October	175	33	10	11	121
1854 November	165	32	10	9	114
1854 December	164	32	8	11	113
1855 January	156	36	5	9	106
1855 February	117	35	4	5	73
1855 March	115	71	5	4	71
1855 April	112	37	2	5	68
1855 May	106	32	2	4	68
1855 June	263	84	7	10	162
1855 July	238	62	7	10	159
1855 August	193	61	15	9	108
1855 September	185	36	8	10	131
1855 October	176	37	5	4	130
1855 November	143	32	5	3	103
1855 December	136	32	7	3	94
1856 January	131	24	9	5	93
1856 February	120	17	4	2	97
1856 March	116	12	4	1	99
1856 April	116	15	5	3	93
1856 May	87	9	4	2	72
1856 June	154	53	4	2	95
1856 July	126	35	7	3	81
1856 August	54	0	2	3	49
1856 September	150	7	2	9	132
1856 October	305	28	20	4	253
1856 November	268	39	23	0	204
1856 December	262	56	23	20	163
1857 January	186	18	23	13	132
1857 February	209	17	14	12	166
1857 March	253	16	14	28	195
1857 April	249	152	10	10	77
1857 May	245	141	8	13	83

1857 June	242	143	7	128	0
1857 July	237	142	6	10	79
1857 August	233	136	6	5	86
1857 September	227	125	7	6	89
1857 October	225	55	11	9	150
1857 November	222	19	19	11	173
1857 December	216	40	19	10	147
1858 January	276	35	24	26	191
1858 February	277	48	27	12	190
1858 March	298	67	21	11	199
1858 April	293	107	12	10	164
1858 May	311	136	17	8	150
1858 June	283	144	9	91	21
1858 July	281	113	11	8	149
1858 August	258	160	5	15	278
1858 September	383	72	24	9	78
1858 October	285	135	17	7	126
1858 November	270	120	13	11	126
1858 December	260	117	10	11	122
1859 January	262	136	13	7	106
1859 February	259	48	16	14	181
1859 March	259	50	12	8	189
1859 April	257	42	21	9	185
1859 May	260	40	12	9	199
1859 June	252	150	10	2	90
1859 July	259	135	10	4	110
1859 August	334	135	9	8	182
1859 September	280	136	8	5	131
1859 October	278	155	5	5	113
1859 November	271	36	3	24	208
1859 December	191	72	7	8	104
1860 January	233	26	4	15	188
1860 February	272	19	3	25	225
1860 March	290	81	9	18	182
1860 April	304	117	13	9	165
1860 May	286	152	11	5	118
1860 June	301	156	10	9	126
1860 July	223	76	13	12	122
1860 August	204	138	10	3	53
1860 September	282	133	13	7	129
1860 October	311	247	9	4	51

1860 November	299	109	10	12	168
1860 December	287	206	8	6	67
1861 January	289	119	9	41	57
1861 February	307	61	13	10	223
1861 March	206	77	5	10	114
1861 April	274	81	20	11	168
1861 May	452	98	24	5	325
1861 June	427	92	23	9	323
1861 July	1021	114	35	12	860
1861 August	1325	463	58	21	783
1861 September	1679	148	66	26	1439
1861 October	676	68	31	23	554
1861 November	1055	151	22	16	866
1861 December	733	109	12	15	597
1862 January	791	72	28	22	669
1862 February	583	241	30	12	300
1862 March	691	370	55	9	257
1862 April	679	363	55	8	253
1862 May	378	43	37	9	289
1862 June	603	93	26	1	483
1862 July	530	156	38	10	326
1862 August	477	220	43	29	185
1862 September	637	152	39	31	415
1862 October	606	124	70	26	386
1862 November	432	104	62	31	235
1862 December	440	44	56	17	323
1863 January	407	56	63	12	276
1863 February	266	39	23	11	193
1863 March	334	48	46	27	213
1863 April	467	52	60	34	321
1863 May	440	45	40	40	315
1863 June	190	8	12	18	152
1863 July	260	17	31	9	203
1863 August	257	51	18	3	185
1863 September	327	60	43	22	202
1863 October	381	72	16	21	272
1863 November	349	65	15	8	261
1863 December	464	77	17	9	361
1864 January	457	65	20	12	360
1864 February	496	11	13	12	460

1864 March	589	40	23	24	502
1864 April	562	38	23	26	475
1864 May	576	27	20	30	499
1864 June	676	102	21	24	529
1864 July	722	65	27	31	599
1864 August	761	243	27	19	472
1864 September	739	441	19	15	264
1864 October	710	472	10	12	216
1864 November	680	234	21	25	400
1864 December	675	240	20	32	383
1865 January	642	170	18	28	426
1865 February	824	217	40	22	545
1865 March	822	279	40	19	484
1865 April	910	394	42	8	466
1865 May	610	418	24	4	164
1865 June	680	251	32	5	392
1865 July	705	298	37	12	358
1865 August	549	136	36	27	350
1865 September	446	161	18	21	246
1865 October	386	142	11	19	214
1865 November	345	100	17	14	214
1865 December	402	131	16	15	240
1866 January	383	112	17	17	237
1866 February	368	116	23	8	221
1866 March	368	115	24	3	226
1866 April	278	85	9	5	179
1866 May	258	50	13	4	191
1866 June	174	54	7	4	109
1866 July	167	40	18	13	96
1866 August	402	75	42	10	275
1866 September	694	416	48	23	207
1866 October	275	84	26	11	64
1866 November	406	103	39	13	251
1866 December	200	94	15	8	83
1867 January	277	137	16	14	110
1867 February	243	82	15	28	118
1867 March	236	77	16	25	118
1867 April	276	72	10	29	165
1867 May	222	78	13	19	112
1867 June	244	80	16	13	135
1867 July	186	66	24	11	85

1867 August	381	94	52	17	218
1867 September	288	168	50	14	56
1867 October	431	161	65	21	184
1867 November	503	109	63	21	310
1867 December	490	106	50	15	319
1868 January	506	118	43	23	322
1868 February	464	120	47	12	285
1868 March	459	162	40	16	241
1868 April	428	180	43	9	196
1868 May	411	182	26	24	179
1868 June	360	145	26	25	164
1868 July	405	140	36	21	208
1868 August	483	130	34	18	301
1868 September	488	121	33	28	306
1868 October	391	237	23	16	115
1868 November	464	280	18	18	148
1868 December	475	303	17	19	136
1869 January	471	297	14	19	141
1869 February	467	119	27	22	299
1869 March	453	122	27	26	278
1869 April	377	92	19	24	242
1869 May	174	23	6	7	138
1869 June	193	31	8	10	144
1869 July	166	33	6	10	117
1869 August	166	25	4	11	126
1869 September	213	57	5	9	142
1869 October	284	47	14	14	209
1869 November	279	44	15	16	204
1869 December	523	117	13	11	382
1870 January	346	106	16	15	209
1870 February	348	101	23	12	212
1870 March	197	28	8	11	150
1870 April	193	19	10	14	150
1870 May	163	22	11	27	103
1870 June	175	26	6	26	117
1870 July	190	33	6	20	131
1870 August	192	65	7	17	103
1870 September	353	81	24	34	214
1870 October	399	28	29	24	318
1870 November	461	24	37	41	359
1870 December	537	102	26	28	381

1871 January	487	57	26	27	377
1871 February	481	40	22	23	396
1871 March	468	61	12	36	359
1871 April	471	218	10	41	202
1871 May	450	187	12	28	223
1871 June	447	218	4	25	200
1871 July	434	181	13	25	215
1871 August	441	185	13	24	219
1871 September	367	198	11	15	143
1871 October	349	124	15	14	196
1871 November	326	84	11	11	220
1871 December	307	52	9	4	242
1872 January	249	52	11	8	178
1872 February	248	51	9	12	176
1872 March	287	46	13	5	223
1872 April	217	27	9	1	180
1872 May	310	123	12	21	154
1872 June	308	202	15	11	80
1872 July	290	194	16	8	72
1872 August	301	204	15	2	80
1872 September	280	190	18	4	68
1872 October	321	41	25	8	247
1872 November	317	51	27	17	222
1872 December	303	59	21	18	206
1873 January	289	34	22	14	219
1873 February	258	50	18	9	181
1873 March	268	74	23	3	168
1873 April	257	121	14	3	119
1873 May	248	178	8	7	55
1873 June	234	152	11	7	64
1873 July	228	152	9	2	65
1873 August	280	195	14	2	69
1873 September	286	195	12	8	71
1873 October	275	87	7	23	158
1873 November	298	66	12	17	203
1873 December	317	42	20	16	239
1874 January	369	54	15	18	282
1874 February	381	62	13	5	301
1874 March	357	83	15	10	249
1874 April	316	52	15	6	243

1874 May	295	223	11	3	58
1874 June	291	223	4	2	62
1874 July	286	224	7	3	52
1874 August	284	211	5	3	65
1874 September	290	222	9	6	53
1874 October	294	214	10	7	63
1874 November	280	161	9	9	101
1874 December	285	161	8	7	105
1875 January	261	89	21	17	134
1875 February	258	80	16	11	151
1875 March	256	111	12	7	126
1875 April	250	105	15	5	125
1875 May	239	101	14	6	118
1875 June	238	84	15	8	131
1875 July	139	19	9	7	104
1875 August	105	20	6	4	75
1875 September	101	22	8	5	66
1875 October	98	38	5	5	50
1875 November	166	75	2	4	85
1875 December	203	51	6	3	143
1876 January	194	43	15	3	133
1876 February	167	30	9	5	123
1876 March	159	81	8	4	66
1876 April	208	45	11	8	144
1876 May	299	117	13	9	160
1876 June	315	130	13	9	163
1876 July	300	187	6	6	101
1876 August	297	131	7	10	149
1876 September	295	140	5	5	145
1876 October	292	127	8	6	151
1876 November	352	136	9	16	191
1876 December	345	129	16	8	192
1877 January	331	123	12	5	191
1877 February	335	124	7	7	197
1877 March	333	128	4	9	192
1877 April	326	218	0	6	102
1877 May	288	198	1	1	88
1877 June	260	194	1	0	65
1877 July	251	155	3	4	89
1877 August	257	156	1	6	94
1877 September	263	186	4	7	66

1877 October	228	157	2	2	67
1877 November	222	157	1	11	53
1877 December	144	100	5	2	37
1878 January	144	98	2	2	42
1878 February	153	101	2	2	48
1878 March	150	109	2	2	37
1878 April	153	107	3	2	41
1878 May	220	105	0	6	109
1878 June	147	108	0	2	37
1878 July	148	108	1	2	37
1878 August	153	108	3	4	38
1878 September	220	71	9	8	132
1878 October	226	74	5	7	140
1878 November	162	35	3	8	116
1878 December	142	40	4	7	91
1879 January	145	38	6	11	90
1879 February	144	26	7	7	104
1879 March	256	26	11	9	210
1879 April	137	83	3	4	47
1879 May	142	86	0	4	52
1879 June	134	84	0	2	48
1879 July	138	84	2	2	50
1879 August	136	85	4	3	44
1879 September	117	69	3	3	42
1879 October	173	93	4	2	74
1879 November	123	70	7	8	38
1879 December	124	59	6	6	53
1880 January	122	58	5	6	53
1880 February	110	60	3	1	46
1880 March	114	63	2	1	48
1880 April	114	63	2	0	49
1880 May	110	73	2	0	35
1880 June	114	78	1	1	34
1880 July	119	98	0	7	14
1880 August	119	104	0	1	14
1880 September	123	103	1	4	16
1880 October	117	103	0	2	12
1880 November	116	102	0	1	13
1880 December	107	68	2	1	36
1881 January	106	67	3	1	35

1881 February	106	67	2	2	35
1881 March	45	4	0	1	40
1881 April	44	4	1	2	37
1881 May	55	3	1	5	46
1881 June	53	2	1	3	47
1881 July	56	2	1	6	47
1881 August	58	3	1	5	49
1881 September	57	34	1	2	20
1881 October	195	21	7	4	163
1881 November	186	19	6	7	154
1881 December	223	16	14	10	183
1882 January	221	33	9	11	168
1882 February	233	15	11	13	194
1882 March	232	21	9	11	191
1882 April	227	NA	NA	NA	NA
1882 May	220	144	6	2	68
1882 June	220	141	4	3	72
1882 July	203	52	8	13	130
1882 August	206	80	6	4	116
1882 September	210	61	4	5	140
1882 October	222	17	7	3	195
1882 November	219	13	9	6	191
1882 December	217	15	12	6	184
1883 January	207	21	13	6	167
1883 February	213	18	8	8	179
1883 March	195	14	6	12	163
1883 April	225	11	3	13	198
1883 May	217	11	7	10	189
1883 June	215	31	5	9	170
1883 July	231	32	8	10	181
1883 August	228	14	5	10	199
1883 September	219	23	4	8	184
1883 October	266	26	6	13	221
1883 November	258	20	9	16	213
1883 December	258	19	14	14	211
1884 January	256	20	13	14	209
1884 February	261	18	8	10	225
1884 March	260	16	11	14	219
1884 April	288	12	7	14	255
1884 May	288	14	7	10	257
1884 June	278	14	4	2	258

1884 July	226	13	2	1	210
1884 August	226	14	7	1	204
1884 September	223	28	6	3	186
1884 October	228	12	7	7	202
1884 November	222	13	10	9	190
1884 December	222	11	6	4	201
1885 January	207	14	6	9	178
1885 February	201	9	6	7	179
1885 March	199	10	5	4	180
1885 April	194	19	7	0	168
1885 May	187	18	2	1	166
1885 June	203	8	4	9	182
1885 July	215	80	4	3	128
1885 August	219	73	7	3	136
1885 September	208	69	4	7	128
1885 October	204	70	4	5	125
1885 November	201	70	6	8	117
1885 December	199	76	2	5	116
1886 January	225	85	8	4	128
1886 February	85	225	6	5	129
1886 March	84	223	5	3	131
1886 April	121	222	5	4	92
1886 May	125	213	2	2	84
1886 June	122	212	1	2	87
1886 July	88	175	1	3	83
1886 August	54	176	9	2	111
1886 September	50	143	2	2	89
1886 October	28	292	18	2	246
1886 November	8	286	9	3	266
1886 December	15	288	3	1	269
1887 January	285	13	4	3	265
1887 February	335	10	7	4	314
1887 March	333	11	13	5	304
1887 April	327	10	8	7	302
1887 May	322	25	12	6	279
1887 June	321	14	8	9	290
1887 July	313	14	9	4	286
1887 August	257	11	8	4	234
1887 September	317	19	6	13	279
1887 October	265	30	7	6	222
1887 November	261	27	4	8	222

1887 December	252	11	6	8	227
1888 January	246	23	7	6	210
1888 February	275	11	9	7	248
1888 March	233	10	9	4	210
1888 April	287	18	10	9	250
1888 May	279	38	11	6	224
1888 June	284	41	6	4	233
1888 July	276	59	8	4	205
1888 August	276	49	6	6	215
1888 September	258	122	5	5	126
1888 October	261	16	1	4	240
1888 November	259	19	7	4	229
1888 December	152	15	3	1	133
1889 January	153	12	4	1	136
1889 February	162	13	2	5	142
1889 March	155	9	4	1	141
1889 April	147	9	2	7	129
1889 May	156	17	4	5	130
1889 June	165	8	2	2	153
1889 July	161	15	1	0	145
1889 August	158	11	1	3	143
1889 September	151	8	1	2	140
1889 October	147	8	2	1	136
1889 November	152	11	4	2	135
1889 December	150	10	3	3	134
1890 January	151	7	4	1	136
1890 February	151	11	3	1	139
1890 March	148	12	3	6	127
1890 April	145	11	4	3	127
1890 May	167	9	2	3	153
1890 June	159	16	6	6	131
1890 July	161	21	4	3	133
1890 August	187	23	5	6	153
1890 September	183	24	4	9	146
1890 October	178	25	3	5	145
1890 November	175	14	2	6	153
1890 December	109	7	1	3	98
1891 January	109	17	1	3	88
1891 February	27	1	0	0	26
1891 March	25	0	0	0	25

1891	April	20	0	0	0	20

Fort Union was abandoned on May 15, 1891

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA. The figures represent the situation on the last day of each month.

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APPENDIX G:
REGIMENTS REPRESENTED AT FORT UNION [1]

Regular Army

Third Infantry, 1851-1856, 1860
First Dragoons, 1851-1856 (became First Cavalry in 1861)
Second Artillery, 1852-1855
Second Dragoons, 1853-1854, 1861 (became Second Cavalry in 1861)
Mounted Riflemen, 1856-1861 (became Third Cavalry in 1861)
Eighth Infantry, 1858, 1860
Second Cavalry, 1861-1862
Third Cavalry, 1861-1862, 1866-1870
Fifth Infantry, 1861-1867
Tenth Infantry, 1861, 1884-1891
First Cavalry, 1862-1863
Seventh Infantry, 1862-1864
Third Artillery, 1858, 1865-1866
Fifty -Seventh Colored Infantry, 1866
Thirty-Seventh Infantry, 1867-1869
Eighth Cavalry, 1870-1876
Fifteenth Infantry, 1870-1881
Ninth Cavalry, 1876-1881
Twenty-Third Infantry, 1881-1884
Ninth Infantry, 1886-1887
Sixth Cavalry, 1886-1890

Volunteer Troops

First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, 1861, 1863-1866
First New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry, 1861, 1865-1866
Fourth New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1862
New Mexico Militia, 1861-1862
Spies and Guides, New Mexico Volunteers, 1861-1862
First Colorado Volunteer Infantry, 1862
Second Colorado Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1863
Ninth Wisconsin Battery of Light Artillery, 1862
Kansas Volunteers, 1862
First California Volunteer Cavalry, 1863-1866
First California Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865
Eleventh Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, 1863-1864
First California Veteran Volunteers, 1865

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

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APPENDIX H:

DESERTIONS AT FORT UNION

These numbers were reported on the monthly post returns and are presumed to be the number of soldiers who escaped and were not captured.

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1851							0	0	3	2	4	1	10
1852	4	4	5	1	0	5	0	5	5	0	2	2	33
1853	1	0	7	0	0	2	2	1	3	0	1	0	17
1854	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1855	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1856	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
1857	4	1	5	4	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	21
1858	0	0	0	3	3	2	6	2	7	0	10	1	34
1859	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	4	0	9
1860	1	0	11	1	1	0	1	2	0	3	3	1	24
1861	1	2	1	1	2	6	0	21	20	4	6	3	67
1862	20	1	74	58	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	1	160
1863	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	3	0	0	0	10	14
1864	3	0	21	NR	9	3	5	8	NR	NR	NR	NR	49
1865	NR	NR	2	0	0	0	5	11	0	0	1	4	23
1866	0	9	6	7	5	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	35
1867	2	10	7	7	1	2	0	4	3	0	2	2	40
1868	3	14	13	21	15	5	3	3	2	3	2	1	85
1869	1	0	7	4	6	3	5	10	2	0	5	2	45
1870	1	5	5	6	1	3	5	0	1	4	3	1	35
1871	18	7	24	0	10	2	11	2	2	8	0	0	84
1872	1	2	4	1	3	5	13	2	4	2	9	6	52
1873	17	8	12	3	3	6	2	0	2	2	2	1	58
1874	6	6	7	2	16	1	3	0	2	1	1	1	46
1875	20	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	29
1876	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0	8
1877	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1878	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	6
1879	0	0	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	12
1880	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
1881	0	1	7	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	4	18

1882	2	1	5	NR	5	1	15	7	5	9	3	0	53
1883	4	0	8	0	4	1	16	4	12	1	3	1	54
1884	2	0	7	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	9	2	25
1885	2	3	1	4	8	0	2	0	11	1	6	0	37
1886	0	1	2	1	7	0	2	1	1	2	3	1	21
1887	2	1	0	0	3	2	7	1	0	5	3	1	25
1888	1	0	4	2	8	1	5	1	9	1	1	0	33
1889	2	0	4	5	0	2	4	3	1	0	1	0	22
1890	0	0	1	3	3	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	12
1891	0	3	0	0									3
Total	119	81	253	137	122	64	128	96	103	72	88	50	1313

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

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APPENDIX I:
SAMPLES OF DAILY SCHEDULES AT FORT UNION

March 1864 [1]

The routine of daily duty will be as hereinafter specified commencing on Monday 28th inst.

Reveille	Day Light
Drill Call	6:00 am.
Sick Call	6:30 am.
Recall from Drill	7:00 am.
Breakfast Call	7:00 am.
Guard Mounting	8:00 am.
Drill Call	9:00 am.
Recall	10:30 am.
Dinner Call	12:00 noon
Orderly Call	1:00 p.m.
Drill Call	2:00 p.m.
Recall	3:00 p.m.
Dress Parade— 1st call	5:30 p.m.
Tattoo	8:45 p.m.
Taps	9:00 p.m.

II. The Garrison Fatigue for Wood party, will be composed of the Old Guard, relieved on the day previous and will report to the Officer of the Day immediately after Guard mounting. The meals of the companies will be served at the hour designated; the details for Guard & Fatigue excepted. . . . Cooks will be relieved every 10 days.

III. At Guard mounting the Guard will invariably be marched in review when the state of the weather will permit of their formation on the Battalion parade. The officer of the day will be excused from drill & parade and will be responsible for the good order and police of the Garrison; he will have the duties of sentinels contained in article 33 Revised Reg, read to his Guard; he will superintend the firing of his Guard and will see that all the pieces are discharged, or the charges drawn before the Guard dismissed. The prisoners will be kept after work from Reveille until Retreat, allowing 30 minutes for each meal, and will not be permitted to leave the Guard house between Retreat & Reveille under any pretense whatever.

IV. Citizens will not be allowed to enter the company Quarters without permission from the company commander, and such permission shall be granted only between Guard Mounting & Retreat. Leave of absence not to exceed 24 hours may be granted to not more than three men of the same company at one time; all papers will require the approval of the Commanding Officer and must be sent to the Adjutants Office with the morning report of their respective

companies for such approval.

V. Officers are required to attend recitations in Tactics at the quarters of the commanding officer on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, commencing at 7 P.M. Company Commanders will have recitations by their Non Commissioned officers on alternate evenings - viz Monday, Wednesday & Friday.

VI. The attention of Company commanders is called to Paragraphs 234 235 & 236 Revised Regulations [requiring roll-calls at reveille, retreat, and tattoo; directing police of quarters and grounds immediately after reveille roll-call; and requiring morning reports of companies to be submitted to the post adjutant before 8:00 a.m.] which will be strictly enforced.

VII. Company commanders will keep a copy of the foregoing orders posted in their company Quarters.

October 1881 [2]

Assembly of Trumpeters for Reveille	5:50 a.m.
Reveille	6:00 a.m.
Breakfast and Stable Calls	6:30 a.m.
Sick Call	7:00 a.m.
Fatigue Call	7:30 a.m.
Guard Mounting—Assembly of Trumpeters	8:50 a.m.
Guard Mounting—Assembly of Guard Details	8:55 a.m.
Guard Mounting—Adjutant's Call	9:00 a.m.
Recall from Fatigue	11:45 a.m.
Dinner Call	12:00 noon
Fatigue Call	1:00 p.m.
First Sergeant's Call	1:30 p.m.
Recall from Fatigue	4:15 p.m.
*	
Assembly of Trumpeters for Retreat	10 minutes before sunset
Assembly	5 minutes before sunset
Retreat	sunset
Assembly of Trumpeters for Tattoo	7:55 p.m.
Tattoo	8:00 p.m.
Taps	8:30 p.m.
On Sundays	
First Call for Inspection	8:50 a.m.
Assembly	9:00 a.m.
Guard Mounting—Assembly of Trumpeters	9:20 a.m.
Guard Mounting—Assembly of Guard Details	9:25 a.m.
Adjutant's Call	9:30 a.m.

*No time was designated for supper call. The explanation was found in another order issued by Post Commander Granville O. Haller a few days after the above daily-schedule order was promulgated: "The meal hours will be indicated by

> breakfast and dinner calls, when the men will fall into line, and be marched by the senior non-commissioned officer to the table. No soldiers will be permitted to be seated or take their meals prior to being marched to the table. The evening meal will be regulated by the captains of companies, who will not permit their men to take their supper for at least fifteen minutes after re-call from fatigue in the afternoon, and must not interfere with retreat roll-call." [3]

1. General Orders No. 9, Mar. 25, 1864, HQ FU, FU Gen. Order Book, 1864-1866, p. 8-9, RG 393, NA. This document has been edited for publication here. Note that no time was specified for supper, which was served at a time set by company officers so as not to interfere with other scheduled events.

2. Orders No. 67, Oct. 28, 1881, HQ FU, DNM Orders, v. 46, pp. 124-126, RG 393, NA.

3. Orders No. 75, Nov. 6, 1881, ibid., p. 135.

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APPENDIX J:

CAVALRY HORSES AT FORT UNION [1]

The total number of serviceable cavalry horses listed in the monthly post returns is accompanied, in parentheses on the line below, by the number of horses listed as present but unserviceable. NR indicates no report was listed, and a blank indicates no cavalry were stationed at Fort Union that month.

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1851							NR	69	69	NR	51	50
								(0)	(1)		(0)	(0)
1852	46	30	30	30	30	41	41	40	40	40	62	71
	(6)	(19)	(19)	(21)	(21)	(10)	(10)	(8)	(6)	(5)	(6)	(8)
1853	69	69	66	65	40	39	37	45	24	50	41	43
	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(8)	(0)	(5)	(0)	(0)
1854	43	43	113	85	98	82	72	81	63	80	80	72
	(0)	(0)	(4)	(7)	(9)	(20)	(30)	(11)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1855	100	91	96	92	96	166	206	161	164	148	146	107
	(3)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(0)	(0)	(20)	(20)	(5)	(4)	(4)	(2)
1856	105	105	105	104	83	150	125	0	32	65	159	163
	(3)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(5)	(8)	(0)	(48)	(135)	(38)	(34)
1857	110	111	135	131	141	141	141	129	122	65	176	111
	(28)	(24)	(38)	(37)	(27)	(27)	(27)	(38)	(35)	(67)	(60)	(30)
1858	166	157	161	168	157	170	158	155	156	166	141	104
	(29)	(29)	(38)	(35)	(35)	(33)	(32)	(34)	(30)	(19)	(20)	(51)
1859	123	123	110	114	107	115	115	190	188	179	94	107
	(24)	(24)	(28)	(31)	(36)	(26)	(6)	(4)	(5)	(17)	(77)	(25)
1860	86	108	93	96	129	128	75	79	114	163	179	184
	(45)	(13)	(28)	(25)	(35)	(36)	(36)	(30)	(8)	(89)	(83)	(56)
1861	147	145	56	84	201	187	227	187	440	92	249	124
	(70)	(68)	(41)	(51)	(38)	(62)	(30)	(6)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(2)
1862	119	127	116	163	80	183	154	154	260	264	47	93
	(12)	(7)	(9)	(11)	(9)	(7)	(11)	(11)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1863	91	NR	NR	NR	133	NR	NR	NR	53	53	63	63
	(0)				(0)				(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1864	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	31	142	NR	149	144	83	69
						(34)	(9)		(5)	(15)	(8)	(0)
1865	60	123	119	177	86	86	NR	NR	NR	79	4	11

	(0)	(14)	(16)	(31)	(0)	(0)				(3)	(14)	(9)
1866	0	NR	NR	73	48	48	31	NR	NR	81	122	84
	(9)			(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)			(0)	(45)	(0)
1867	162	135	139	133	130	130	NR	NR	213	218	196	208
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(6)	(6)	(5)			(5)	(5)	(10)	(2)
1868	208	207	NR	NR	194	125	118	156	202	NR	208	208
	(2)	(2)			(6)	(13)	(12)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	
1869	208	108	98	194	82	89	93	86	128	164	159	163
	(2)	(8)	(13)	(64)	(61)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(11)	(13)	(13)	(10)
1870	163	158	73	67	106	103	51	50	42	102	152	153
	(2)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(2)	(5)	(8)	(8)	(18)	(12)	(12)	(16)
1871	155	155	160	145	145	117	125	142	138	208	241	238
	(16)	(16)	(14)	(21)	(21)	(33)	(32)	(17)	(17)	(9)	(12)	(13)
1872	179	177	112	121	75	208	208	178	205	199	196	186
	(9)	(9)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(10)	(8)	(7)	(4)	(8)	(8)	(0)
1873	69	161	176	171	177	185	215	213	210	168	144	171
	(122)	(30)	(15)	(19)	(14)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(26)	(30)	(1)
1874	NR	134	142	138	138	133	133	190	NR	NR	49	NR
		(37)	(20)	(21)	(21)	(25)	(25)	(34)			(20)	
1875	127	126	126	NR	176	NR	61	NR	40	40	NR	66
	(60)	(61)	(61)		(68)		(0)		(0)	(0)		(0)
1876	268	60	69	60	158	147	150	161	170	170	230	226
	(0)	(6)	(6)	(2)	(1)	(10)	(8)	(6)	(4)	(4)	(10)	(11)
1877	226	225	223	225	169	169	168	156	156	132	132	93
	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(10)	(10)	(6)	(6)	(5)
1878	93	93	95	93	85	75	73	78	121	121	98	55
	(5)	(5)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(15)	(15)	(10)	(12)	(4)	(2)	(1)
1879	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	53	105	11	11
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1880	51	10	25	25	25	1	0	9	9	9	9	9
	(1)	(36)	(33)	(33)	(33)	(36)	(36)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)
1881	40	40										
	(15)	(15)										
1882												
1883												
1884												
1885												
1886										48	49	14
										(3)	(3)	(38)
1887	14	47	43	43	52	49	49	63	50	50	50	47

	(36)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)
1888	44	44	44	44	44	44	36	36	36	34	34	34
	(8)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(8)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1889	32	32	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	21
	(0)	(0)	(8)	(8)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(3)
1890	21	21	39	39	39	40	40	40	50	50	50	27
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1891												

1. Compiled from Post Returns, Fort Union, 1851-1891, AGO, RG 94, NA.

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APPENDIX K:

RULES AND REGULATIONS AT FORT UNION, 1881

BY COL. GRANVILLE O. HALLER, POST COMMANDER [1]

The following rules relating to the performance of military duty at this post are hereby published for the information and guidance of all concerned; they will be strictly adhered to until modified or changed by competent authority:

GUARD DUTY, DISCIPLINE AND POLICE

1. In all matters pertaining to military ceremony and the performance of guard duty, Upton's Tactics and the Revised Army Regulations, together with instructions issued by the Commanding Officer from day to day shall govern.

2. Garrison prisoners who shall have been in confinement two days, without having charges preferred against them, shall be released by the old officer of the day.

3. Charges and specifications will be forwarded as soon as practicable after confinement of prisoners, to these Headquarters, through the officer of the day, to the end that he may make a note of the same on the guard report book.

4. Whenever a deserter, or general prisoner, not of the garrison, is placed in confinement, the officer of the day will ascertain the full name of such deserter or general prisoner, and the company and regiment, or other organization, from which he deserted, or to which he belongs, together with date and place of desertion, and any other data that may be necessary to a correct understanding of the case, and make a written report of the same to these Headquarters on the completion of his tour.

5. The officer of the day will make daily inspections of the company quarters and messes, and of the general police of the garrison, and render, on the completion of his tour, a report of said inspection. He will also make a written bill of fare of the dinners of the different company messes, and hand the same in with his report.

6. The officer of the day will be held responsible for the correctness and accuracy of the guard report, and for the safety of prisoners.

7. In entering the sentences of confinement in the guard report, the following rule shall apply: "In cases where the sentence of court-martial involves confinement for a definite period, the confinement shall be considered as commencing at the date of the promulgation of the sentence in orders, (if the person sentenced is in custody at the time,) unless the time for its commencement is otherwise expressly fixed by the sentence of the court, or in the order promulgating the proceedings." Should the person sentenced not be in custody at the date the sentence is published in orders, then the sentence shall be considered as beginning at such subsequent date as the person sentenced shall have been placed in custody.

8. When a man in confinement, (belonging to or attached for rations to any company of the garrison,) is admitted into the hospital, that fact will be noted on the guard report, and the company commander notified by the post adjutant.

9. No smoking will be allowed in any of the stables, nor in the corral, neither will matches be lighted in the same, except in rooms in which fires are authorized.

10. The officer of the day will be careful to note and report any neglect of duty or irregularity on the part of members of the guard posted as sentinels at stables.

11. All persons owning cattle, horses, or other stock, in the vicinity of the post, are hereby notified to take the necessary precautions to prevent their straying on the parade ground; and it is made the duty of the officer of the day, the commander of the guard, and the officer and sergeant of the general office, to turn such animals into the quartermaster's corral; where they will be held until a fine of one dollar per head shall have been paid; if held more than one day, an additional fine of one dollar will be charged for each animal each day.

12. The general police of the garrison shall be under the supervision of an officer specially designated for that purpose, and who will report daily to the commanding officer for orders.

13. Prisoners will be worked under charge of a police sergeant, who will report daily to the officer in charge of the general police.

14. Officers will procure, and place in rear of their respective quarters, in places accessible to the police party, barrels into which slops from the kitchens will be emptied.

15. No wood shall be taken from the wood-yard, nor coal from the coalshed, except upon order from the commanding officer or A.A.Q.M., or in presence of the provost sergeant.

16. Weather permitting, the troops garrisoning this post will be paraded under arms for the publication of orders every Monday evening: to indicate that the battalion is to be formed, camp colors will be placed on the line of formation. Should the weather be unfavorable for forming the battalion under arms, companies will close in on one previously designated by the adjutant, when orders will be read.

REPORTS, RECORDS AND RETURNS

17. Company commanders will see that the morning reports of their respective companies are handed into this office not later than 45 minutes after sick call.

18. The monthly returns of companies will be forwarded to this office not later than 9 o'clock a.m. on the first day of the succeeding month; monthly statements of ordnance and ordnance stores, no later than the third day of the succeeding month; and quarterly statements of ordnance and ordnance stores, no later than the fourth day of the succeeding month.

19. Official communications referred from these Headquarters to officers of the command, and which are required to be returned, will be returned by an endorsement.

20. Company commanders may report on daily duty one non-commissioned officer in charge of their respective company messes, and two privates as company cooks; kitchen police will not be reported on daily duty.

21. Company commanders may report an enlisted man on daily duty as company clerk during the first and last five days of each month.

22. Company commanders will see that their first sergeants report daily, at the proper call, at the adjutant's office, and make copies of all orders emanating from post Headquarters in relation to their respective companies.

23. Company commanders will forward to this office every Sunday morning, a report of the extra and daily duty men of their respective companies, giving their names, and describing the duty on which engaged.

24. The sick of each company will be marched, if practicable, at sick call, to and from the hospital by a non-commissioned officer detailed for the purpose daily.

25. Applications for the detail of enlisted men for extra and daily duty must be made in writing.

26. Staff officers under whose supervision enlisted men belonging to the several companies of the garrison are doing duty, will make written application to this office to have these men excused from such roll calls, drills, inspections, etc., with their respective companies, as the necessities of the case require, otherwise the men will attend to all duties.

27. When any officer of this post is temporarily relieved from duty with his own, and assigned temporarily to duty with another company, he will—while both companies remain at the post—be accounted for on the returns, etc., of the company to which he *permanently* belongs, *as present on special duty.*

Should the company to which he is thus temporarily attached leave the post during the continuance of the detail, he will be reported on the records of his own company *as absent on detached service.*

28. When an enlisted man is placed in confinement, or a non-commissioned officer in arrest, the soldier's immediate detachment or company commander shall be notified of the same as soon as practicable, by the officer or non-commissioned officer ordering the arrest or confinement.

29. Hereafter, when enlisted men are discharged at this post, they will be dropped on the company morning report of the day the discharge is forwarded to this office for the signature of the commanding officer.

30. To enable company and detachment commanders to comply with note on muster rolls, the post surgeon will enter on the company sick report book, the nature of sickness or injury in the case of any officer or enlisted man reported sick.

31. Recruits after joining their companies—if they have not served a previous term in the regular army—will be carried on the company morning reports as *recruits* for the period of one month, during which time they will not be subject to any duty but drills, police, and roll-calls; at the expiration of the month—or sooner, if the company commander shall deem them sufficiently instructed—they will be carried for duty as privates.

32. Officers desiring to be absent from the post for a less period than 24 hours will register their names in a book which shall be kept at the adjutant's office for that purpose, stating hour and date of departure, probable hour and date of return, and probably whereabouts during absence.

Company officers before absenting themselves under this order must first obtain permission of their company commanders.

In case there should be but one officer for duty with a company, special permission must be obtained from the commanding officer in person.

33. The line officer next in rank to the commanding officer shall be *ex officio* instructor in target practice, unless otherwise ordered.

34. Whenever there is but one officer for duty with a company, and he is officer of the day at the time, he shall attend Sunday morning, and monthly inspection, parade under arms, and muster with his company.

Should there be more than one officer for duty with a company, one of whom is officer of the day at the time, and the others are so engaged as to prevent their attendance with their company during the ceremonies referred to, then the officer of the day shall attend.

35. Previous to reviews the sergeant major shall ascertain from first sergeants the number of files with their respective companies, after which he will direct the transfer of files from one company to another, so as to equalize the companies for review. The review being over, company commanders will direct men thus transferred to fall out and join their proper companies for inspection.

36. The officer receiving reports of companies, detachments, etc., at roll-calls, shall take his position between the flag-staff and the barracks, on the walk leading from the commanding officer's quarters to the barracks; and officers and non-commissioned officers reporting the result of roll-calls shall take position in front of the officer receiving the reports and on the walk already indicated—first having dismissed their companies or detachments.

The officer of the day shall receive the reports of the guard, companies and detachments at reveille roll-call.

37. At fatigue call on Saturday mornings the several companies shall be reported, each by a non-commissioned officer, to the provost marshal for general police.

38. The old guard—non-commissioned officers and privates—on the day next succeeding that on which it marches off, shall constitute a fatigue party, and shall be reported at fatigue calls by the senior non-commissioned officer to the provost marshal; and for this purpose the several members of the old guard shall report at the hours fixed to the senior non-commissioned officer, on the walk leading from the flag-staff to the barracks. Should no non-commissioned officer of the old guard be present at the time fixed, then the police sergeant, who shall be present, shall take charge of the party.

39. At parades, reviews, and inspections, the line officer next in rank to the commanding officer shall command the battalion; he shall also take his post as reviewing officer, except when the commanding officer is on the ground.

40. The meal hours will be indicated by breakfast and dinner calls, when the men will fall into line, and be marched by the senior non-commissioned officer to the table. No soldiers will be permitted to be seated or take their meals prior to being marched to the table. The evening meal will be regulated by the captains of companies, who will not permit their men to take their supper for at least fifteen minutes after re-call from fatigue in the afternoon, and must not interfere with retreat roll-call.

RATIONS AND RATION RETURNS

41. In the column of remarks on the company ration returns, will be entered the strength present, from which will be deducted those who, although reported present, mess apart from

the company; such as men in hospital from any cause; married men who are drawn for separately, etc., each class being entered under a proper heading.

42. When men are *attached for rations* and drawn for, a remark showing the number so attached will be made in the column of remarks. Men absent without leave will not be included on any ration return while they are so reported, nor will rations in any case be drawn to cover the time of such absence. Men reported on detached service will not be drawn for while so reported; when they return to their companies a return will be made out to cover the case.

43. As a rule, ration returns will be forwarded to this office for the signature of the commanding officer, on the 10th, 20th, and last day of each month, to cover the succeeding ten days.

44. When men are temporarily attached for rations, and are not likely to be at the post but a few days at a time, they should not be drawn for until after their departure; by this will be avoided the returning or deducting of rations which might otherwise be overdrawn in such cases.

45. When an enlisted man is admitted to the hospital, in the interval between regular issue days, his company commander will, on the first subsequent issue day authorize the A.A.C.S. to deduct from the company's ration return, and credit the same to the hospital, *rations sufficient to cover the number of days (in the preceding ten days)* during which the man has *been in the hospital.*

46. In like manner, when an enlisted man is returned from "sick in hospital" to his company, in the interval between regular issue days, the post surgeon will, on the first subsequent day of issue, authorize the A.A.C.S. to deduct from the hospital ration return, and credit the same to the proper company, a *number of rations sufficient to cover the number of days* (in the preceding ten days) *that the man, although drawn far as "in hospital,"* has been messing elsewhere.

PASSES

47. Soldiers are hereby positively forbidden to go beyond one mile from the flag-staff of Fort Union, N.M., (except when upon military duty,) for any purpose whatever, without passes duly signed by their immediate commanding officer, and by other persons whose permission to be absent is required.

Hereafter, passes will be made out for each enlisted man, separately, specifying the place, or object of the pass, and be duly signed by the proper officers. Each soldier will carry with him, his pass, and, if found beyond the limits therein prescribed, or without such pass, will be liable to arrest for desertion.

Each soldier returning from pass will present himself at the guard house and deliver up his pass. The non-commissioned officer in charge of the guard shall inspect each soldier as to sobriety and cleanliness, note on each pass the facts in each case, and be responsible for the accuracy of each report by signing the same.

When required by citizens, in a civil and respectful manner to show their passes, soldiers will comply with such request, otherwise may be liable to apprehension as deserters.

Soldiers are hereby reminded that while the commanding officer is desirous of indulging all, when practicable, with passes, anyone returning in a demoralized condition, or who has behaved badly, will be deprived of the privileges of again leaving the post on pass.

MILITARY RESERVATION

48. Citizens will not be permitted to reside on the military reservation of Fort Union, N.M., except by proper written authority. A book shall be kept in the quartermaster's office in which shall be registered the names of all civilians living upon the reservation by authority.

All animals not authorized to graze within the limits of the reservation and found trespassing upon the same, will be proceeded against agreeably to the laws in such case made and provided, or by the authority vested in the commanding officer in charge of the reservation.

The post trader having civilians in his employ, and whose business renders the presence of such employees at or near the post necessary, will apply to this office for a pass in each individual case; and upon the discharge of such individual, said pass shall be returned to this office by the person at whose request it was issued.

POSTAGE

49. Officers desiring to have the postage on their official mail prepaid at this office, will endorse on the envelope the words "Official Business," and affix thereto their official signature, and cause the same to be handed in during office hours—i.e., between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.

FIRES AND FIRE ALARMS

50. In case of an alarm of fire, a gun will be discharged; should the alarm occur at reveille or retreat, the gun will be discharged twice. The officer of the day will see that blank cartridges for the purpose herein indicated are in readiness.

51. Immediately on the alarm of fire being given, companies will fall in (with such fire buckets and axes as may be at hand) on their respective company parades; each company will then be marched in double time, by the senior commissioned officer present, (or by the senior non-commissioned officer present, should their be no commissioned officer of the company on the ground,) to the scene of the fire, where it will await further orders from the fire marshal.

52. The post quartermaster will at all times have everything arranged for moving the water wagons promptly to the place of fire.

53. The axes which are placed in quarters to be used in case of fire will not be used for any other purpose whatever.

54. The post quartermaster will provide if possible old coal scuttles, or other unserviceable tin or iron vessels, to keep the ashes in until removed by the police party. Wooden vessels should not be used.

55. As an additional precaution against fire, it is ordered that when ashes are taken from officers' quarters or other buildings a the post, particular attention be given to the extinguishment of the embers, and that water be poured on the ashes for this purpose if necessary. Officers will see that their servants and others under their charge comply strictly with the foregoing.

GARRISON COURTS-MARTIAL, BOARDS OF SURVEY, AND CORRESPONDENCE

56. Proceedings of garrison courts-martial will be forwarded to these Headquarters on the day following the completion of trial.

57. Official letters of every description forwarded to, or through these Headquarters, will be briefed as required by G.O. No. 22, A.G.O.; series of 1871.

58. Recorders of boards of survey, in making up proceedings of such boards, will be guided by instructions contained in G.O. No. 9, 22, and 25, 1880, and G.O. No. 4, current series, Headquarters Department of the Missouri.

59. All orders or parts of orders, heretofore issued from these Headquarters, and which conflict with the foregoing, are hereby revoked.

By order of COLONEL HALLER, Commanding

1. Orders No. 75, Nov. 6, 1881, HQ FU, FU orders, v. 44, pp. 133-136, RG 393, NA.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

APPENDIX M:

FORT UNION CLOTHING & EQUIPAGE DEPOT, 1868

Excerpts from Report of Major Andrew E. Evans [1]

Fort Union, N.M., June 16, 1868

Acting Assistant Adjutant General
Headquarters District of New Mexico

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Depot of Clothing & Equipage at Fort Union, under charge of Capt. Hamilton Lieber, M.S.K. U.S.A. [Military Storekeeper United States Army] was inspected by me on the 1st inst., and the books & papers of the office, the Storehouse & Stores, the general condition of the property, the amount on hand, and the care taken of it, examined into as closely as circumstances would admit.

Capt. Lieber entered upon the duties of this place on 16th of July 1867. He employes three citizens; one clerk, one packer, and one laborer, and five enlisted men, upon extra-duty. The latter are paid by the Dept. Qr. Mr., who is furnished with a copy of the Rolls for that purpose.

The Storeroom is one of the warehouses of the Depot, having two rooms; fitted and arranged as the other buildings of the sort at the Depot. The office is in the same house with the Commissary Office, and has also two rooms; of which the front one alone appears to be used as an office. It is furnished with desks, safe, &c.

The principal books were found as follows:

Book of transportation of all Articles:

Invoice Book: Copies of Invoices:

Packers Book: being lists of Stores sent:

A small *Endorsement Book:* received & sent:

Letter Received Book: alphabetically arranged

Property Book; in form of a separate Dt. & Cr. Account of each article with the M.S.K.

Letter Book: press copies; from which it would appear that all required papers had been forwarded, including the Returns &c. for April.

Cash Book: Cash accruing from Sales of clothing. All monies are sent to Santa Fe for deposit, or rather transferred to the Chief Qr. Master; and no funds were on hand. Beside

clothing sold to officers, it appears that, by authority, it is also sold to Qr. Master employees; such sales being at present limited to the single article of bedsacks. All Invoices are made in quadruplicate; one sent direct to Washington, and one to Dist. Hd. Qrs.

By letter of the Auditor it was shown that Capt. Lieber's papers have been settled to include February 1868, with the single error, many months back, of dropping 4 blank-books, which was afterwards taken up & accounted for.

The Returns, with vouchers for March & April were examined & found correct. Also those for May, which were completed, but not then forwarded. . . . All books & papers found to be well & neatly kept. Files of orders were on hand, generally complete, but none from District Hd. Qrs. for this year. . . .

Statement of Clothing, Camp & Garrison Equipage, at Fort Union Depot, on hand June 1st, 1867

Article	**Quantity**	**Article**	**Quantity**		
Hats	5,260		Caps, Forage	3,018	59 condemned
Cap, Covers	13,857	2,597 condemned	Caps, Art. Unif	100	
Caps Art. Ornaments	120		Hat Ornaments	Large quantity	
Letters & Numbers	Large quant.		Coats, Uniform, Inf	6,496	
Coats, Mus	11		Coats., Uniform, Ord	65	
Jackets, Cav. Pvt & Mus.	7,931	& 293 Rifle pattern	Jackets, St. Art. Pvt & Mus.	337	
Scales	11,300		Chevrons	Large quantity	
Sashes	88		Lacing Cord	4,488 yards.	
Trousers, Cav.	5,055	278 condemned	Trousers, Inf	9,75	408 condemned
Drawers	12,231	804 condemned	Shirts	17,568	674 condemned
Boots, Cav.	1,612		Bootees, Inf	24,715	
Stockings	2,527 pairs	2 condemned	Leather, Stocks	8,398	
Great Coats, Cav.	2,275	203 condemned	Great Coats, Inf	4,020	315 condemned
Great Coat Straps	1,037		Flannel Sack Coats, lined	1596	
Mittens	988		Poncho, painted	96	
Poncho, rubber	1,990		Blankets, wool	5,619	
Blankets, rubber	1,889		Knapsacks & Straps	3,774	
Knapsack Straps	1,357		Haversacks	4,733	
Canteens	4,697		Stable Frocks	2,313	39 condemned

Buttons	100 gross		Buckles	95 gross	
Thread	Large quantity on hand		Lace	Large quantity on hand	
Bedsacks, double	3,137		Axes	2,177	
Bedsacks, single	4,823	2 condemned	Axe Slings	75	
Hatchets, Camp	921		Hatchet, handles	2,106	
Hatchet slings	99		Spades	1,229	
Camp Kettles	549	6 condemned	Mess Pans	1,503	9 condemned
Flags, Garrison	16		Iron Pots	40	
Flags, Storm	9		Trumpets	not counted	
Flag, Halliards	94		Bugles	not counted	
Flags, Recruiting	29		Cords & Tassels	not counted	
Guidons	12		Wall Tents	153	2 condemned
Camp Colours	9		Wall Tent Flies	179	2 condemned
Fifes	57		Wall Tent Poles	125	
Drums	47		Common Tents	1,714	& Poles for them
Drum cases	57		Hospital Tents	63	
Drum heads	not counted		Hospital Tent Flies	66	
Drum Sticks	not counted		Shelter Tents	7,059	& Poles
Drum Cords	not counted		Sibley Tents	5	2 condemned
Sacks	63		Sibley Tent tripods	23	
Pick Axes	932		Sibley Tent Stoves	91	1 condemned
Pick Axe handles	1,748		Sibley Tent Stovepipe	310	1 condemned
Tent Pins	32,988		Tent Cords	8,490	
Blank Record Books	not counted				

It is believed that Capt. Lieber has on hand all property for which he is accountable. . . . Stores were generally in very good order, and well cared for. Much of the clothing here has been on hand a long time, and is much infected by the *moth.* If it could all be taken out & carefully brushed great damage would be prevented. Storerooms were crowded with boxes & bales nearly to the vigas; dry, well, ventilated, and walls unplastered. Buckets of water & axes are distributed throughout. Tablets are hung upon pillars intended to define the kind & quantity of articles opposite them; but are not always filled out. In addition to the warehouse there is an issue room in an adjoining building, arranged with shelves & bins, and freshly painted. Here was displayed nearly every article of Clothing & Equipage, neatly folded and

placed, boxes marked &c. and the whole in admirable order. Camphor is used freely in the bins; and sometimes in the boxes, in the warehouse. Cap Covers, Knapsacks, haversacks, & ponchos, are kept in a small frame shed adjoining the wareroom; and tent poles are stacked in the yard, and apparently suffering slightly from weather. Capt. Lieber seems well fitted for his position, and a careful & correct Officer.

1. Evans to AAAG DNM, June 16, 1868, LR, OIG, RG 159, NA. The Clothing & Equipage Depot was part of the Quartermaster Depot, under charge of a military storekeeper. The table included has been edited.

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FORT UNION

Historic Resource Study

APPENDIX N:

FORT UNION COMMISSARY DEPOT, 1868

Excerpts from Report of Major Andrew W. Evans [1]

Fort Union, N.M., June 14, 1868

Acting Assistant Adjutant General
Headquarters District of New Mexico

Sir:

I have the honor to report an Inspection made by me, on the 30th ult. of the Subsistence Depot, Fort Union, & the Post Dept. connected with it, under charge of 2nd Lieut. Francis B. Jones, 37th Inf., A.C.S. [Acting Commissary of Subsistence]. In the Depot is the office, of two rooms, and the Storerooms, two large warehouses, each of two rooms, having a cellar under one. In the Post are an issue room & two Storerooms.

It might be sufficient to state that everything in the Dept. was found in admirable order, reflecting great credit upon Lieut. Jones, who seems to be perfect in all the details of his business; and whose fitness for it is unmistakable.

The books and papers of the office were examined & seemed to be principally as follows:

A *book of Lists of Stores* received by trains.

2nd *Book of Stores transferred* from Depot to Post of Fort Union.

3rd *Book of Invoices* of Stores from the States, alphabetically arranged.

4th *Book of Bills* of Lading of trains: amounts checked off on arrival.

5th *Book of daily cash Sales* at Post of Fort Union, and of expenditures. Amounts of sales are large; the officers of the Post paying at the end of the month.

6th *Book of Copies of Vouchers* not paid for, mostly for beef.

7th *Book of Citizen employees* (12 at time of inspection)

8th *Book of Letters Received,* Kept upon a neat and good plan under Heads of Post s& Heads of Depts., with blank leaves for each; and a column devoted to endorsements & action taken, in red ink. The letters received were neatly filed away in wrappers, properly labelled &c.

9th *Private Cash Book.* Cash now on hand was $16.08, which was counted, all moneies are sent to the Chief Comissary at Santa Fe. . . .

10th *The Commissary Book of the Post,* and *Book of of Commissary Property* both correct.

11th Letter Book, of press-copies, by which it appeared that all required Returns, Reports &c. had been forwarded, and that the April papers had been delayed by the non-receipt of funds. Weekly Statements are made of monies on hand. . . .

. . . Two clerks, a watchman, and nine laborers are employed; all citizens. The office, with desks safe &c. was in neat & good order. Inventories & Certificates are made quarterly. Lists of reports and papers are kept on file, but not hung up. Files of orders are on hand, generally complete. The rear office is used as a private room by the clerks.

Can fruits received from the States are found almost invariable to have been opened on the road by the freighters, who find this a cheap means of supply even at the advanced rates charged against them. Nothing will stop this practice of breaking bulk but making it too expensive for them.

The arrangements of stores & property in the warehouses was strikingly neat & orderly, and the rooms clean. The construction of the buildings, their dryness & good ventilation are presumed to be well known. Each article was piled by itself, and in casks, sacks, boxes, or barrels arranged with geometrical exactness, rending the count an easy task. Upon each pillar was placed a tablet, containing a statement of the stores just in front of it; and throughout were placed buckets of water and axes for the emergency of a fire. A small room boarded off in one warehouse contained stationery of all kinds, & tools, measures and other articles of Commissary property.

The bacon, vinegar, syrup & molasses were in the cellar; large, cool & dry. The arrangement of the bacon is peculiar & excellent. Racks are constructed of scantling, three or four tiers high and numbered in rows; and upon these the sacks are placed, causing no other pressure but that of leaning against each other. Next to the hanging up of each separate piece of bacon upon a hook, this is doubtless the best system, and the saving by it ought to be considerable. At all other Posts, and particularly in the Fort Craig Storehouses the piling of the sacks upon each other to a considerable height causes the pressure of the lower layers to dryness, and a stream of grease to run down the floor. Sometimes layers of plank could be placed between the strata, adding so much to the general weight.

There was here 120,000 lbs. of new fresh bacon from the States and 60,000 lbs. of the old or Fort Craig bacon. Much of the latter was condemned; more in proportion than at any other Post, but the inferior quality of the article, and the universal complaints & reports of it were thought to render this action advisable.

. . . There can be no doubt that Lieut. Jones has all the property for which he is responsible.

Statement of Subsistence Stores at Fort Union Depot & Post, on hand, May 30, 1888

Article	Quantity at Depot	Quantity at Post
Bacon	120,000 lbs	56,673 lbs.
Ham	5,126 lbs	1,700 lbs.
Flour	216,600 lbs	15,000 lbs.
Hard Bread	55,019 lbs	890 lbs.
Beans	19,900 lbs	600 lbs.
Rice	38,285 lbs	95 lbs.
Hominy	13,026 lbs	160 lbs.
Coffee	82,700 lbs	2,100 lbs.
Tea	2,255 lbs	100 lbs.

Sugar, Brown	130,236 lbs	1,300 lbs.
Candles	16,483 lbs	216 lbs.
Soap, Common	15,650 lbs	550 lbs.
Soap, Bar	108 doz	0
Soap, Officers	174 lbs	264-1/4 lbs.
Salt	19,664 pounds	Some
Pepper	2,950 lbs	50 lbs.
Syrup	496 gals	13 gals.
Molasses	561 gals	19 gals.
Dessicated Mixed Vegetables	47,180 lbs	1,220 lbs.
Dessicated Potatoes	1,800 lbs	600 lbs.
Cornmeal	2,058 lbs	0
Tobacco	21,378 lbs	3,582 lbs.
Dried Beef	2,920 lbs	Some
Lard	3,979 lbs	231 lbs.
Pickles	62.5 gals	45 gals.
Cod Fish	0	2,200 lbs.
Dried Apples	0	150 lbs. & 9 barrels
Dried Peaches	0	100 lbs & 2 barrels
Mackerel	0	22 kits
Green Corn	6,320 cans	64 cans
Green Peas	2,600 cans	5 cans
Tomatoes	6,504 cans	14 cans
Oysters	1,656 cans	11 cans
Peaches	2,136 cans	17 cans
Jellies	860 cans	65 cans
Jams	840 cans	65 cans
Milk	0	629 cans
Lobsters	1,632 cans	0
Vinegar	4,000 gals	3 gals & some in casks

At the end of May but four trains had arrived with Sub. Stores from Fort Harker, one of them on the day of Inspection. The loads were largely of bacon; some being put up in various experimental ways.

1. Evans to AAAG DNM, June 14, 1868, LR, OIG, RG 159, NA. The table included has been edited; for example, three types of coffee have been listed together as coffee. All but 3,000 pounds of bacon listed in the table as being at the post commissary was condemned by Major Evans. Also 10 gallons of pickles, 8 cans of green corn, 2 cans of green peas, 4 cans of tomatoes, 3 cans of oysters, 8 cans of peaches, 2 cans of jelly, and 2 cans of lobster were condemned.

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APPENDIX O:

FORT UNION ARSENAL, 1880

Excerpts from Report of Colonel Daniel W. Flagler [1]

Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois, September 23, 1880

Chief of Ordnance
U.S. Army
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in obedience to your instructions of the 2d inst., I have visited and inspected the Fort Union Arsenal, New Mexico. I left my station on the 8th inst. and returned to it on the 18th inst.

Description of Buildings and Grounds

I send herewith a plat of the Arsenal [this drawing has not been located] . . . to show you the general character of the Arsenal, and the arrangement and capacity of the buildings.

The buildings have all only one story, except that the Commanding Officer's Quarters have a large roomy attic, or half second story, and a portion of the main storehouse has a good basement 34' by 90'. Except two wooden sheds and the houses over cisterns and wells, the walls of all the buildings are built of adobes, but have good stone foundations, extending from two to four feet above the level of the ground.

The Commanding Officer's Quarters, the barracks and the clerk's quarters have good tin roofs. The other buildings have the ordinary flat adobe roofs, or ceilings, but over these are slant [gable] roofs covered with pine boards. These roofs are all in good condition, and the buildings perfectly dry but it will be seen that these board roofs are cheap and temporary in character, and require constant attention to keep them in good condition. Small leakage, however, only penetrates to the adobe roof and ceiling below, and does no harm.

The Arsenal and all its buildings are in excellent order and condition. I was informed that the total cost of all the buildings at the Arsenal was only $47,000. The Arsenal was laid out and constructed entirely by its present commanding officer, Capt. W R. Shoemaker, M.S.K.

Ord. Dept., and I believe the highest credit is due to Capt. Shoemaker for the great ability, economy and efficiency exercised by him in the construction and care of the Arsenal, and in its administration, and in the supplying of troops and the administration of the affairs of the Ordnance Department in the Territory of New Mexico during the past 30 years.

My measurements make the capacity of the storehouses 13,000 sq. feet of floor space, and the magazines 3,720 sq. feet of floor space.

Shops

The two buildings marked on the map as carpenter and saddler's shops, are now used as storehouses. They could at any time be quickly cleaned out and used as shops, if required. Besides these there is a good building now used as a smith's and general repair shop.

The barracks have good, ample accommodations for 20 men, with good bakery and kitchen.

The Commanding Officer's Quarters is a large, pleasant well arranged house.

As shown on the map, only the small enclosure about the Commanding Officer's Quarters and the office is irrigated. In this enclosure, good grass and trees are cultivated. The rest of the grounds are barren. They have only the scant grasses that grow on the plains, and trees cannot be grown except by irrigation.

Water Supply (see map). There are two cisterns of about 20,000 gallons capacity each. These are filled, in the rainy season, by water shed from roofs, and the water is kept for fire protection. In the house ever each cistern is a force pump, and fire hose, and the pumps are worked by mule power. An inexhaustible supply of water has been obtained by sinking a well below the level of a good spring which is nearly a half mile from the Arsenal. The well is 70 feet deep. Water is raised by mule power and stored in a tank in the house over the well. It is then distributed about the post in a water wagon.

If the Arsenal is retained, I would recommend that a modern wind mill be substituted for pumping this water and that a few pipes be laid for carrying the water to points where it is required. The cost of the improvement would be about $400—and it would save from 4 to 6 of the mules now required for the service of the post. The mill could also be used for sawing wood.

Post Garden. The garden is in the vicinity of an excellent spring on the Ordnance reservation, about a mile from the Arsenal. The spring furnishes a plentiful supply of water for irrigation, and an ample supply of vegetables for the command is raised.

Climate

The annual rainy season at the Arsenal usually lasts about six weeks beginning in the early part of August. There is little or no rain during the rest of the year. The atmosphere is so dry that powder and arms can be stored indefinitely without material deterioration.

The climate is exceeding pleasant and healthful. There is no hot season and the winters are mild, though there are generally a few weeks of cold about Christmas in which the mercury falls below zero, and in which ice can be obtained. The ground does not freeze to a greater depth than 12 inches.

Location of the Arsenal

The railway station nearest to the Arsenal is Watrous on the main line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R.R. The distance is 9 miles. The wagon road is good throughout the year, but all stores that go to the Arsenal for storage must be hauled over this road and all issues to the Army must be hauled back again. This hauling is done by the Quartermaster at Fort Union, one mile distant. In times of Indian wars, when an excessive amount of transportation has been required, Ordnance stores have, of course, had to wait their turn. This has, I believe, sometimes caused vexatious delays, injurious to the reputation of the Ordnance Department.

It is improbable that in many years any railroad will be built which will pass nearer to the Arsenal than the present line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. On this account, I believe you will decide eventually to abandon the Arsenal, or remove it to some point on the line of the railroad more advantageously situated for the transaction of business. If you should decide to abandon the Arsenal and substitute for it a temporary Ordnance depot for supplying troops and posts in New Mexico and adjacent parts of Texas and Arizona, then I think the depot should certainly be placed at Santa Fe.

For many reasons, however, I believe it may be for the interest of the service and the Ordnance Department to maintain a small permanent Arsenal for storage and repairs in New Mexico. The rapid development of new railroad facilities will make such an Arsenal a good point from which to supply not only the troops and posts in New Mexico, but also those in portions of Texas and Arizona. It is probable that these posts will have to be maintained for many years on account of the Indians, and afterwards it is probable that posts will have to be maintained indefinitely along the border of old Mexico. The proposed Arsenal would be the most advantageous point from which to supply the latter posts.

If you should decide to establish and maintain such an Arsenal the rapid changes and development of business in the country are such that I believe it would be unwise or impossible to determine immediately the best point for its location. It appears certain, however, that it should not be placed further south than Santa Fe.

Watrous is on the Mora river, and is, in some respects a good site. It has an ample supply of water which could be made available without special constructions. This was the site originally selected by Capt. Shoemaker for the Arsenal, but he was prevented from building there. It would have resulted in great benefit to the Department, if his plans could have been carried out. As this point is only 9 miles from the present site of the Arsenal, its removal to this point could be more easily and economically effected than to any other.

Recommendations

If you should decide to remove and re-establish the Arsenal at some other point—for reasons given in this report—I would recommend that action in the matter be deferred for one or two years, until the railroad and other facilities in the country have been so developed that the best point for its location can be determined with certainty. In the meantime, the affairs of the Department are being well administered, and I think you can feel assured that the Fort Union Arsenal furnishes good and ample facilities for the supply of all the troops that need to be supplied from that point. Its distance from the railroad is not so serious a drawback as to necessitate haste in the matter.

The Arsenal itself, although ample in capacity and in excellent order and conditions, is so cheaply built, and its buildings are of such temporary character, that its abandonment or removal, whenever it may be deemed necessary, would not involve serious loss to the United States.

Ordnance & Ordnance Stores

In view of the probable continuance of the campaign against Indians in New Mexico, I enclose, herewith, an estimate marked C, of stores which I respectfully recommend to be sent to the Fort Union Arsenal for issue to the Army. The storehouses and magazines at the Arsenal are now pretty well filled. A large portion of the obsolete and unserviceable stores will never be required at the Arsenal and cannot be used there. I have therefore made and send herewith an Inspection report, marked D, of stores which I respectfully recommend to be dropped, broken up, and shipped to the Rock Island Arsenal, to make room for new stores.

A portion of these stores are practically worthless. They cannot be sold where they are, and are not worth the cost of transportation—about 3-1/2 cents per lb—to Rock Island. These I recommend to be dropped, and such of them as are of any value can be used up at the post.

I was informed by the Commanding Officer of the Arsenal that he could break up the unserviceable artillery ammunition with his enlisted men. I recommend on the report that this ammunition be broken up, and that the cartridges be converted into blank cartridges for issue to the Army; the serviceable projectiles to be held at the Arsenal; the unserviceable and obsolete projectiles to be converted into scrap. This scrap and the scrap obtained from worthless artillery carriages, and other stores broken up, cannot now be sold at the post; but the railroad company will, in a year or two, have a rolling mill and foundry in the vicinity, and the scrap can then be sold at high prices.

I have also recommended on the report that a considerable quantity of stores, the greater portion of which are unserviceable or obsolete, and none of which can ever be required at the Arsenal, and which are worth transportation, to be sent to Rock Island Arsenal, to be overhauled and repaired, broken up, or held for issue.

I also enclose, herewith, a list marked E, of unserviceable and obsolete stores, principally arms and Grimsley saddles, not on my inspection report—which have been already condemned, advertised for sale on the last catalogue of condemned ordnance and ordnance stores, and are now held for sale at the Arsenal. I was informed by the Commanding Officer of the Arsenal that he cannot sell these stores to buyers in the vicinity for anything at all. As they can be sold to Eastern buyers only and as these buyer are generally unwilling to purchase without first seeing the stores, and they are prevented from seeing them by the cost of the journey, which is $135 from here to Fort Union and return, and also by the great cost of freights, this list and those facts are respectfully submitted in case you should wish to transfer these stores to Rock Island Arsenal to be held for sale.

1. Flagler to Chief of ORD, Sept. 23, 1880, LR, ORD, RG 156, NA.

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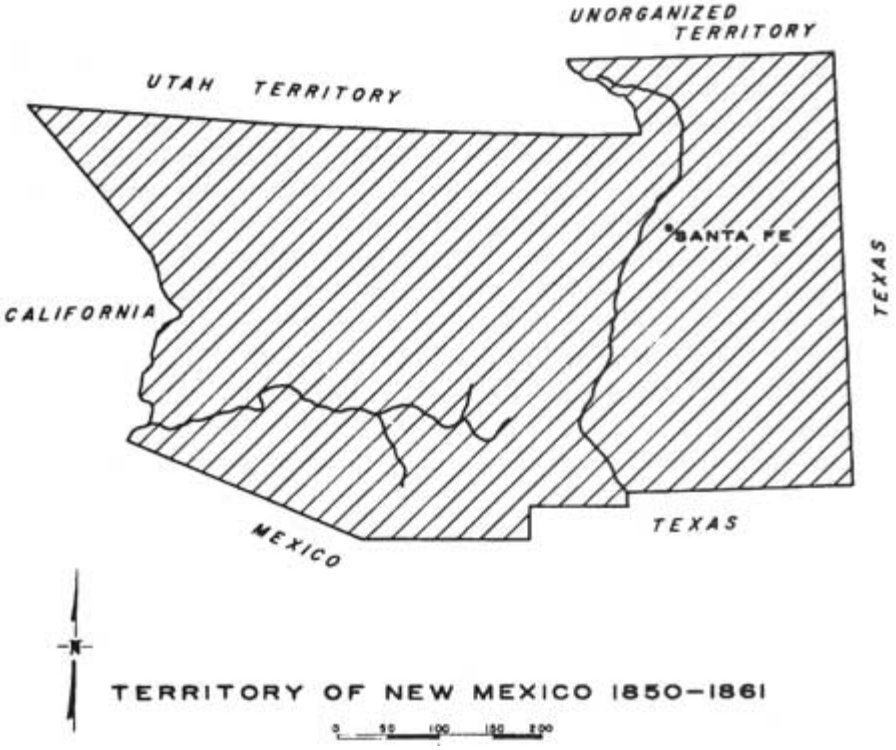
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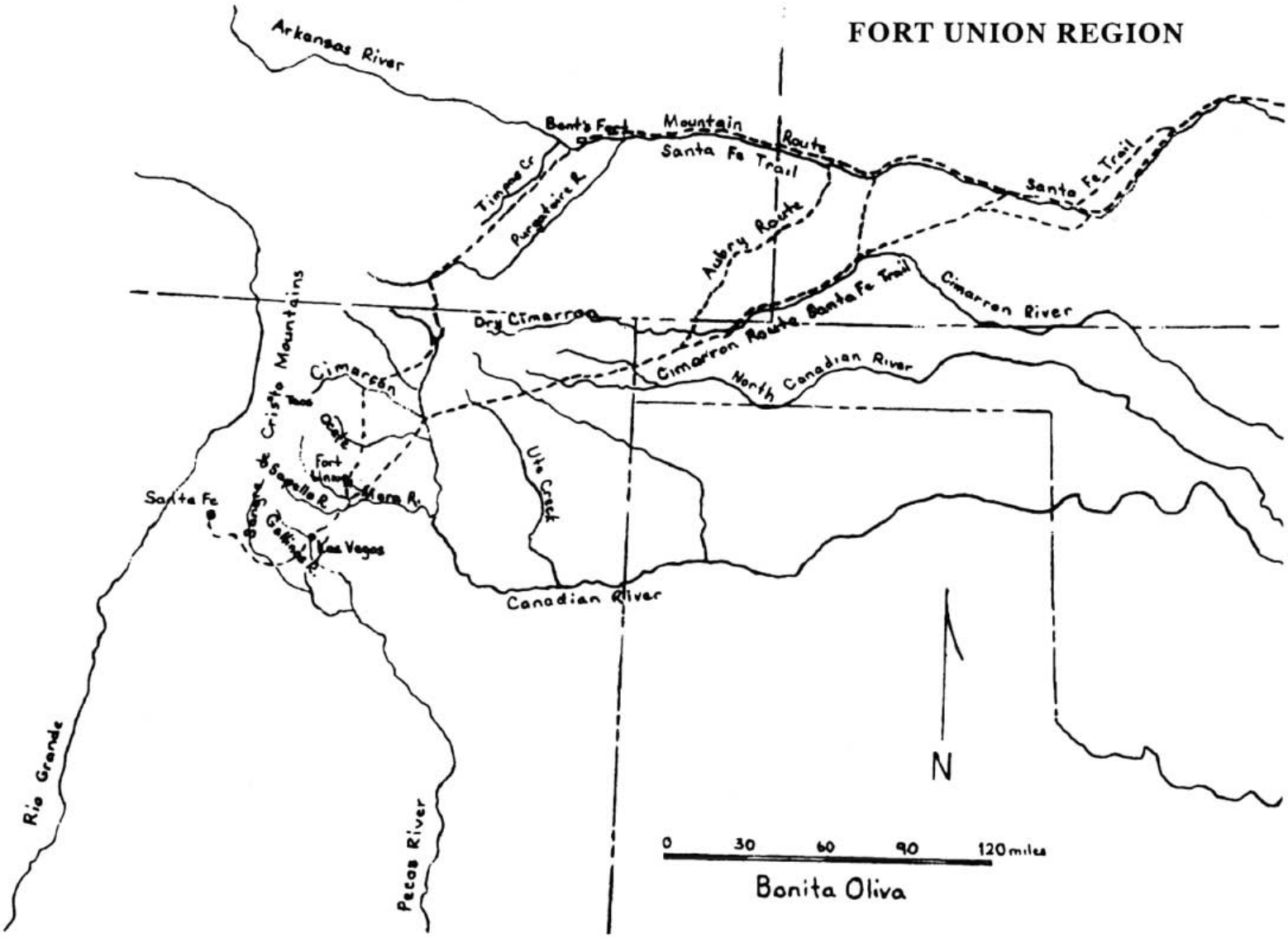
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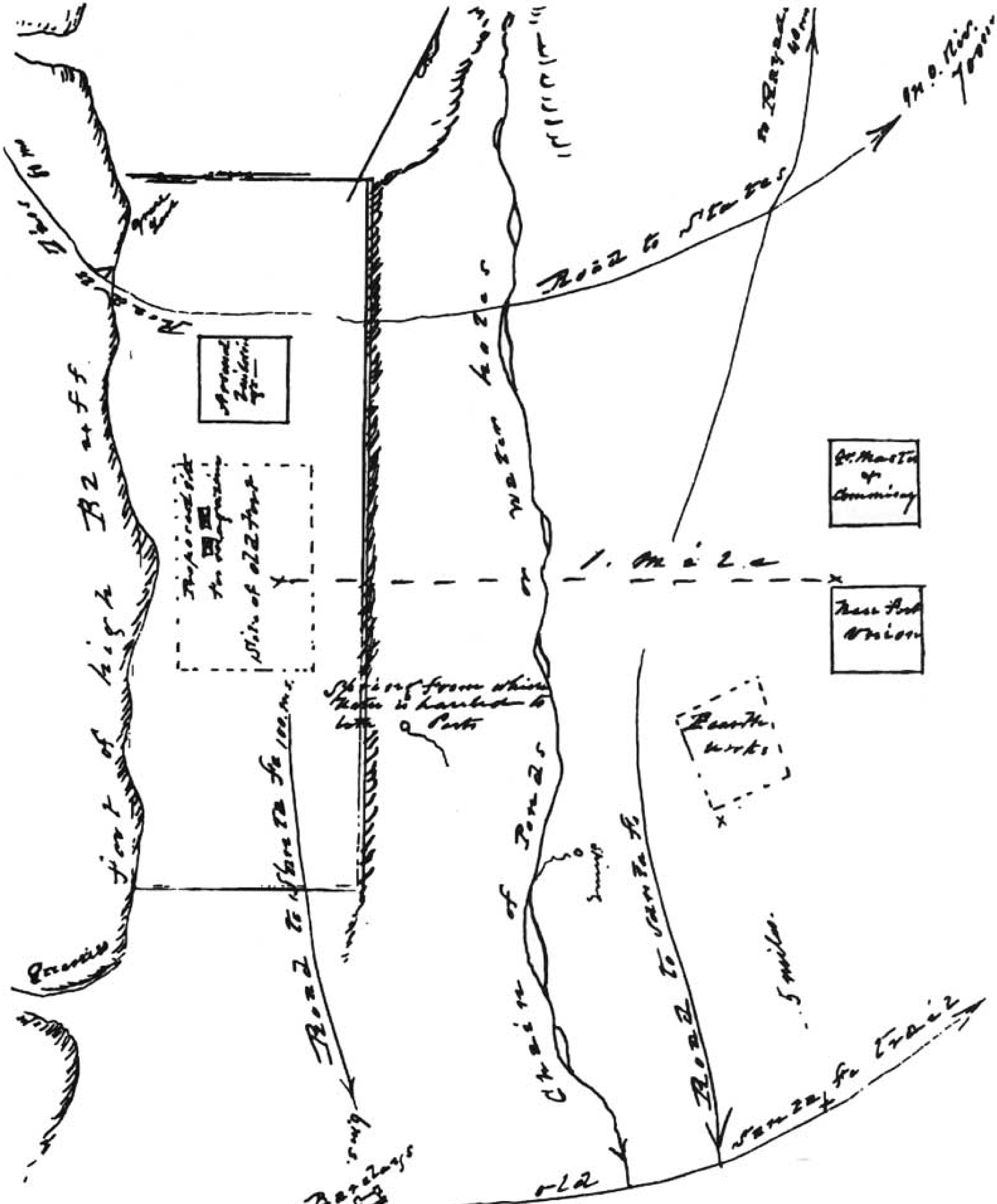


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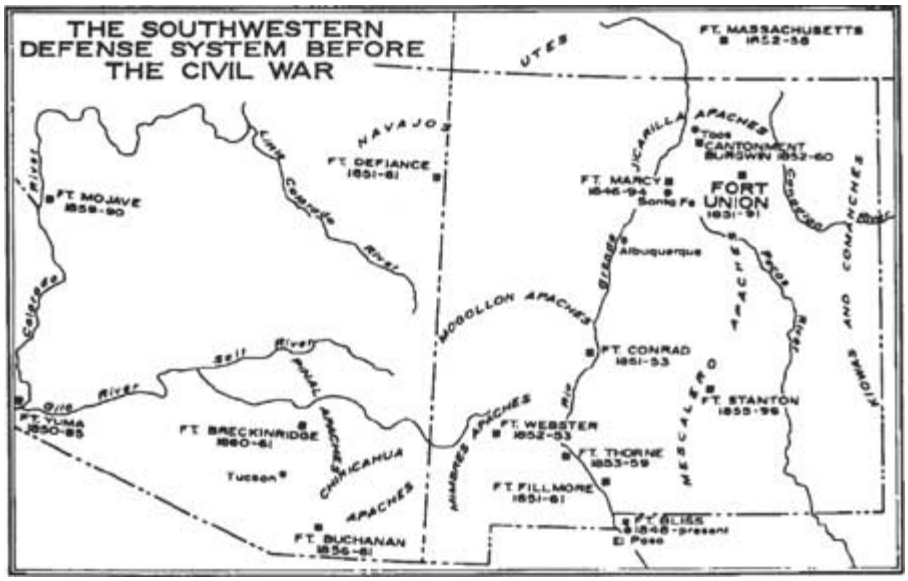
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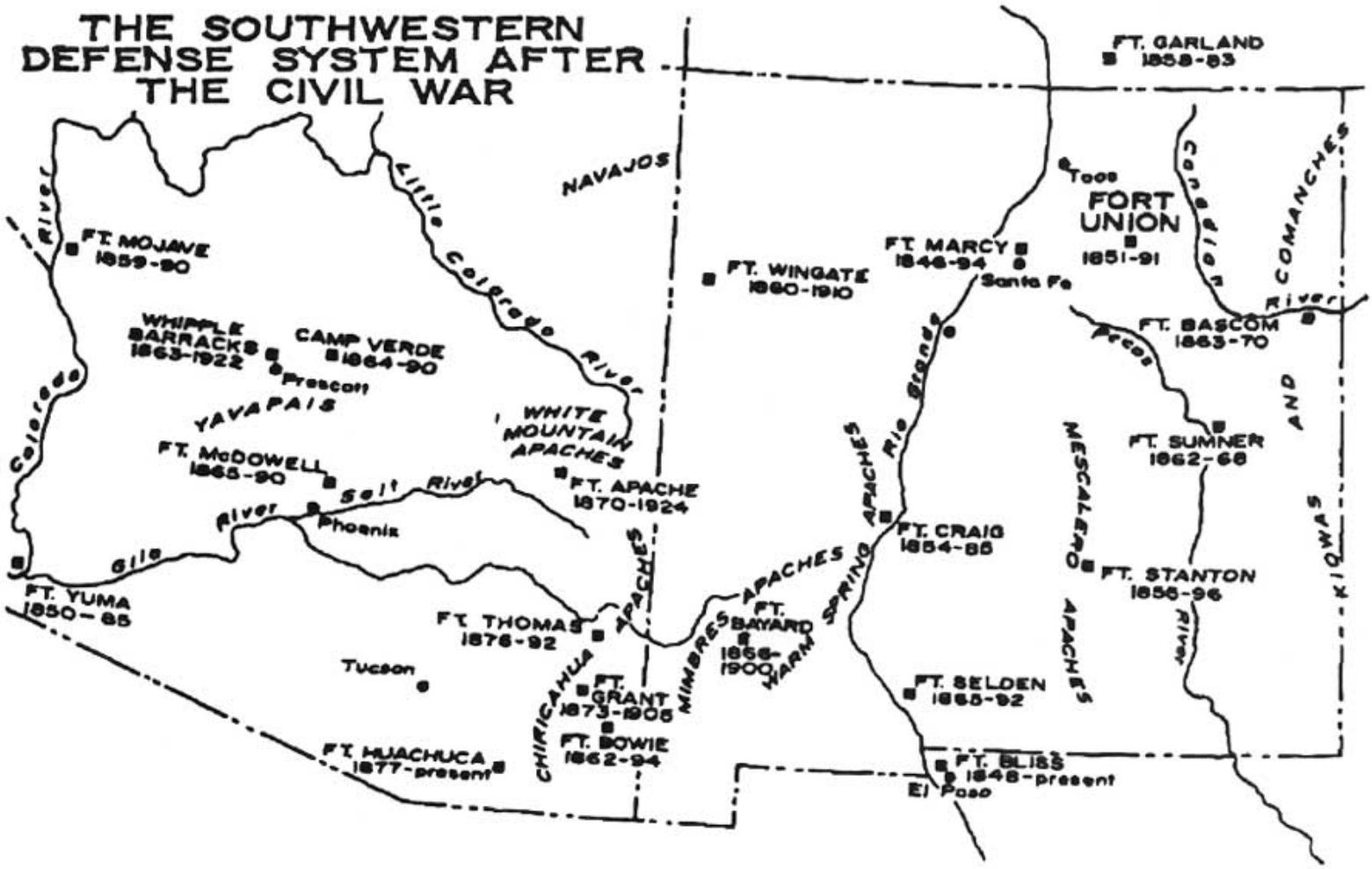
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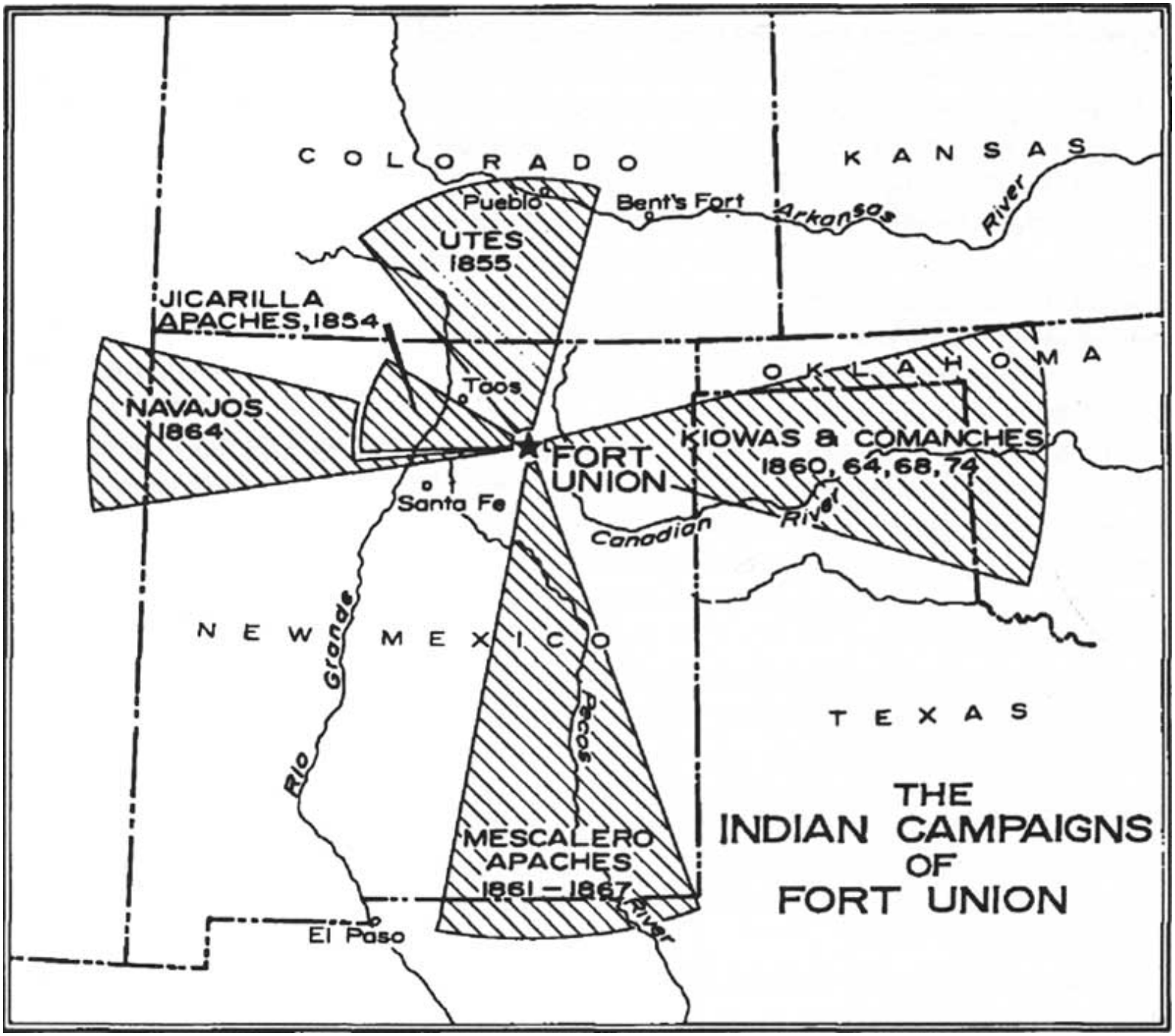
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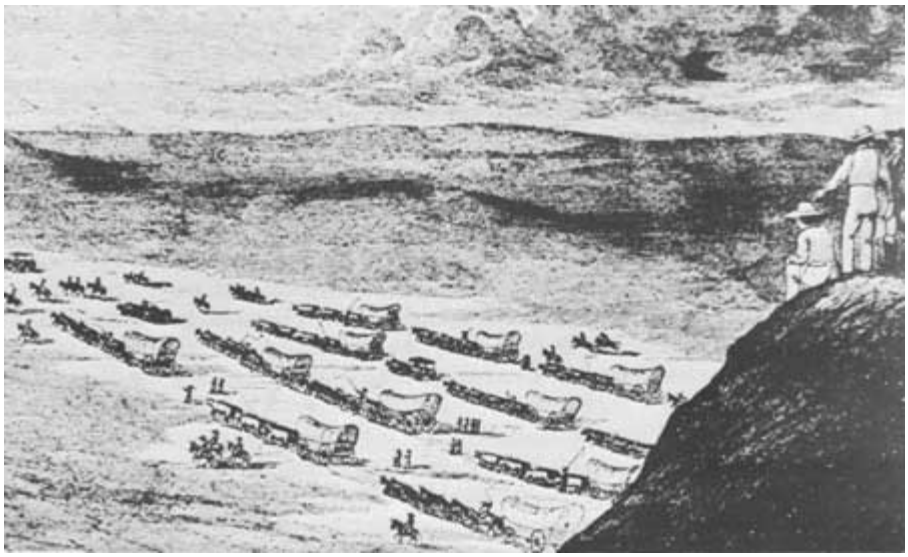
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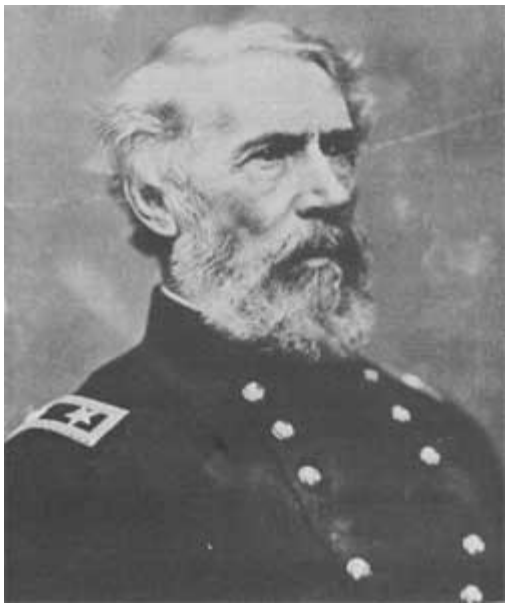
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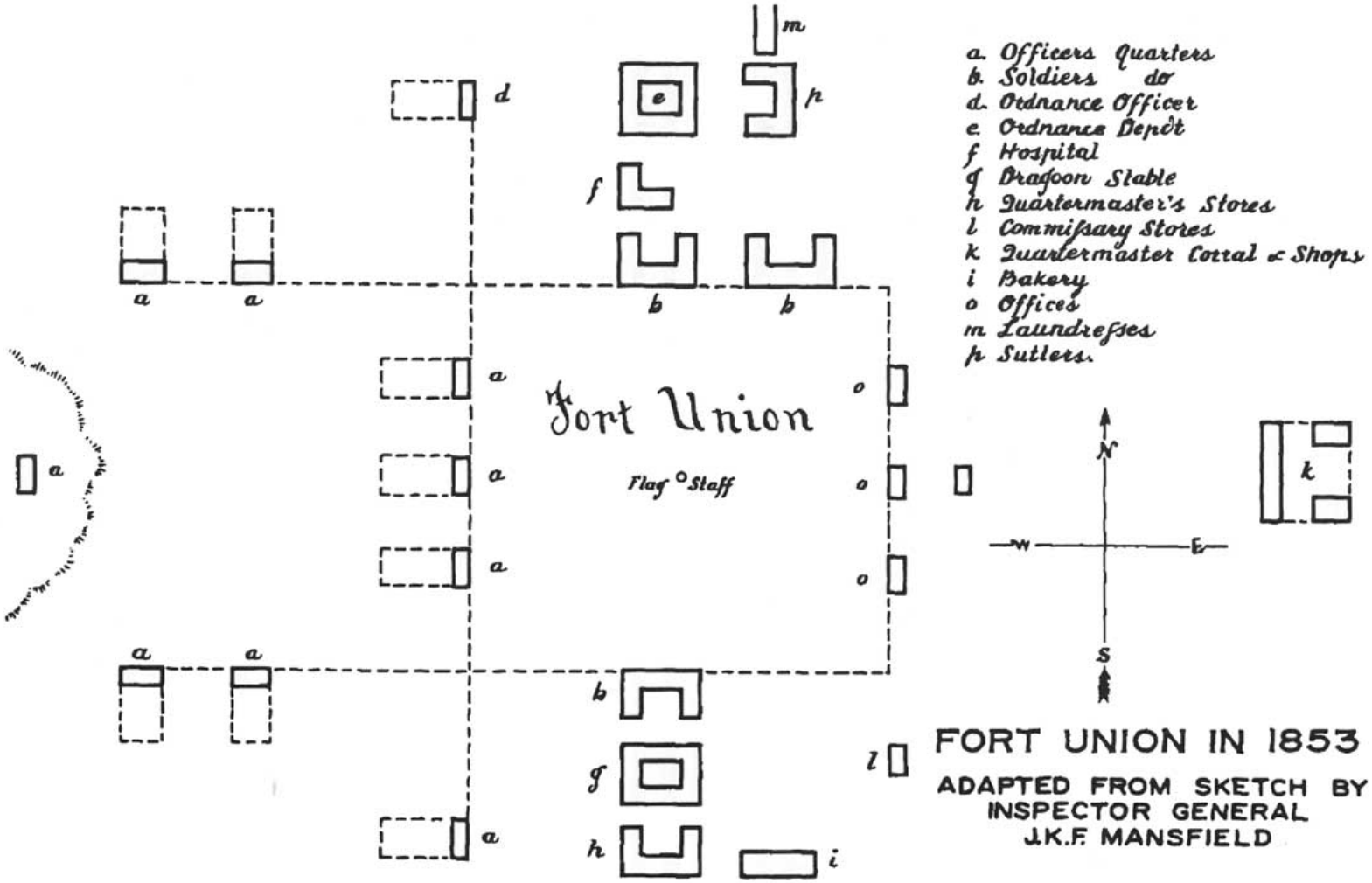












FORT UNION IN 1853

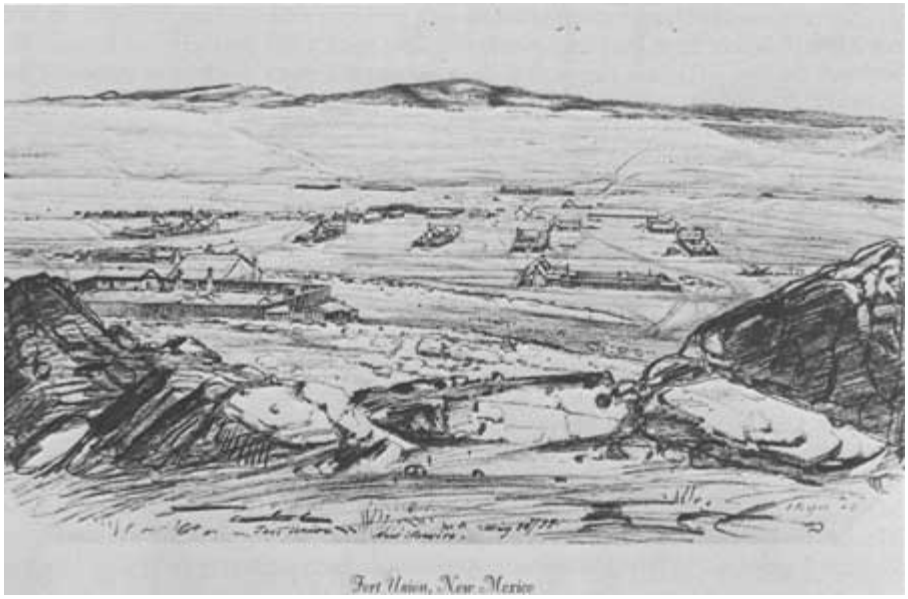
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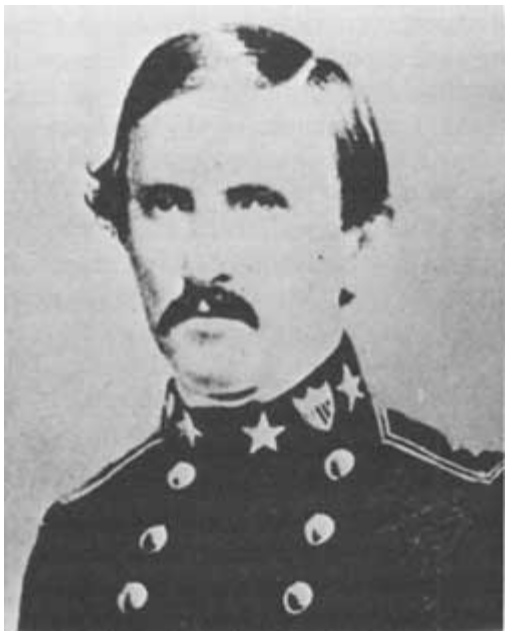




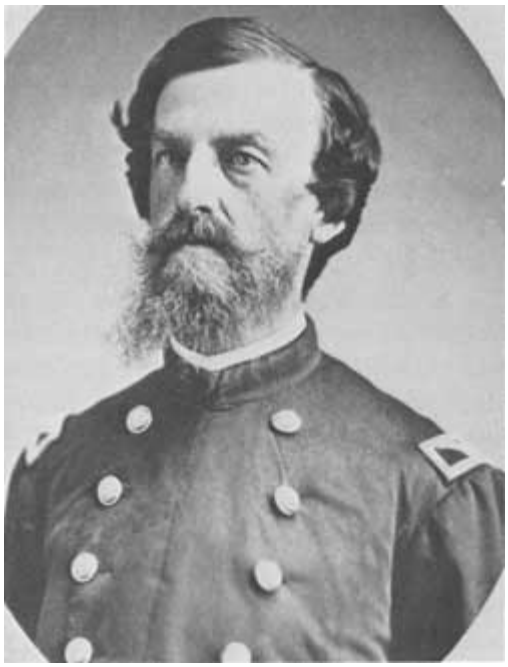
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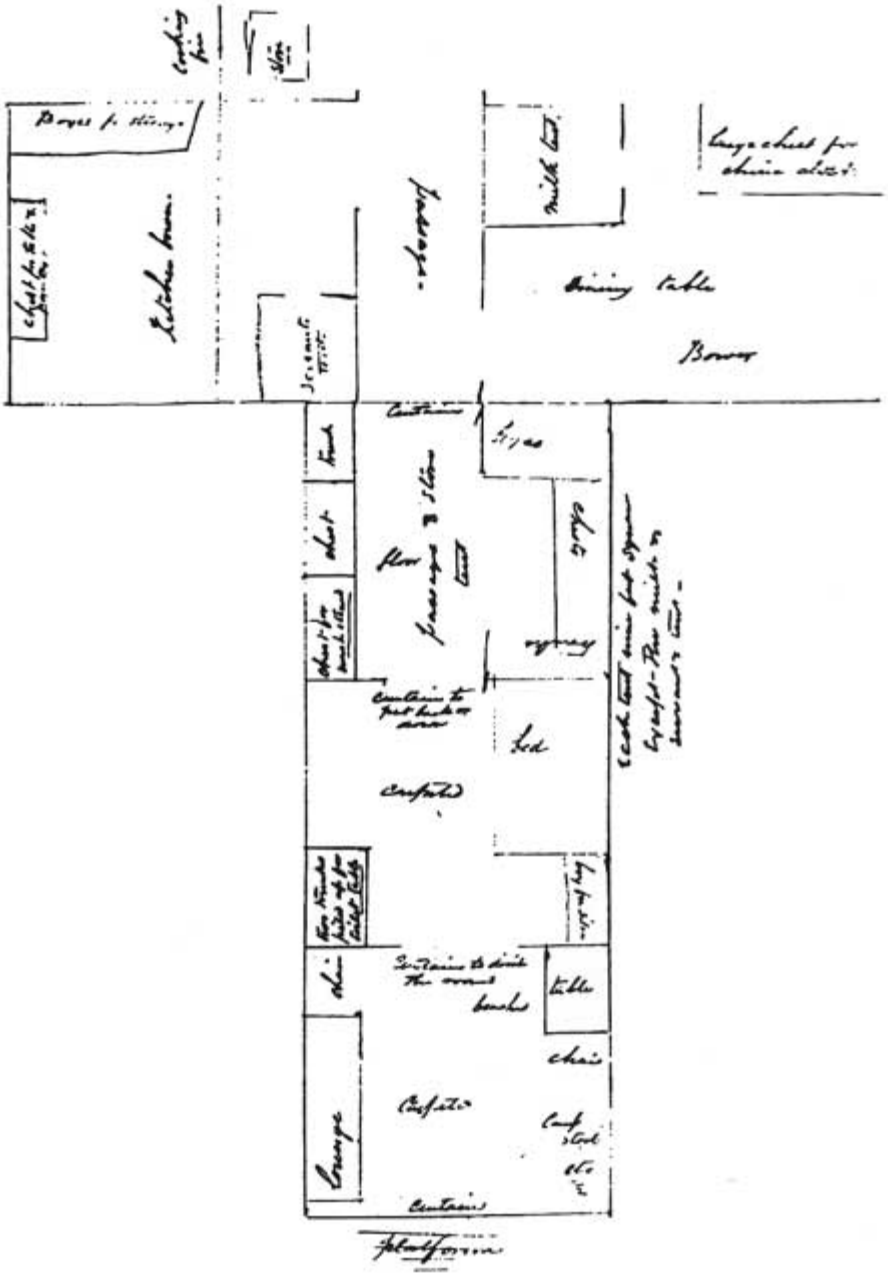






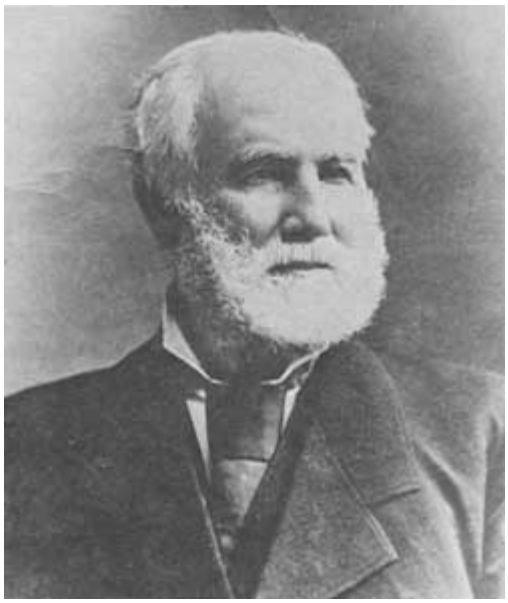






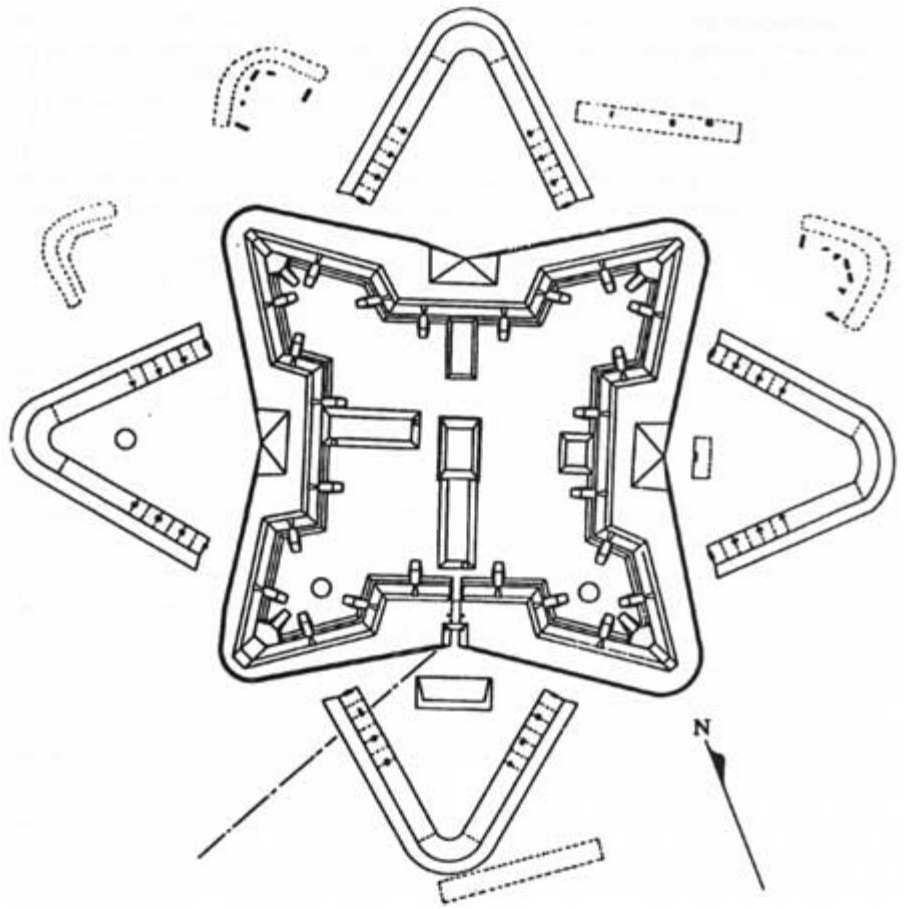
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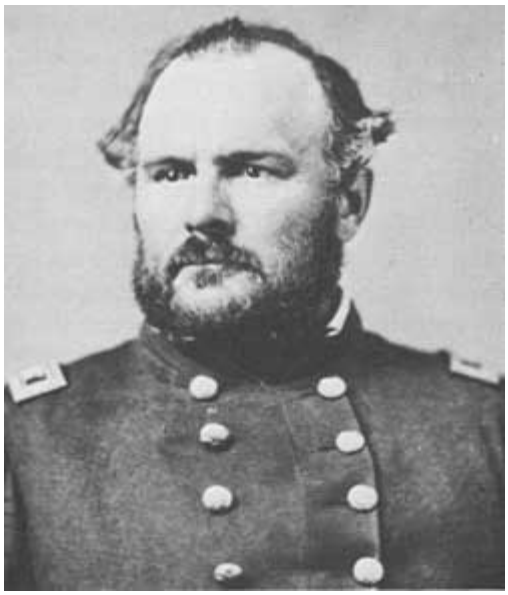


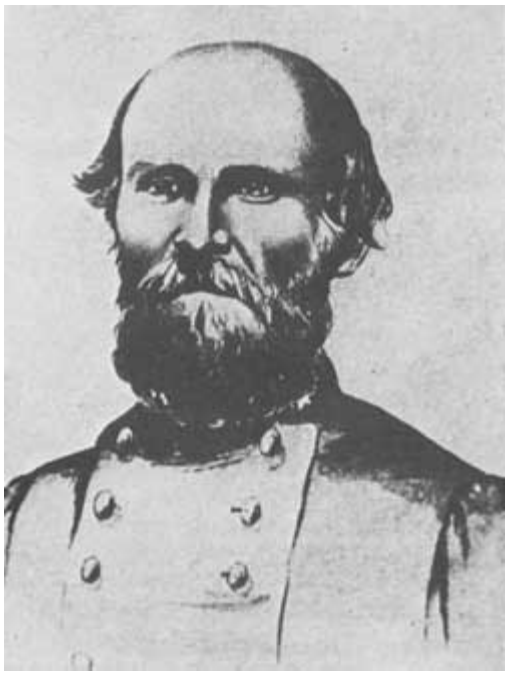

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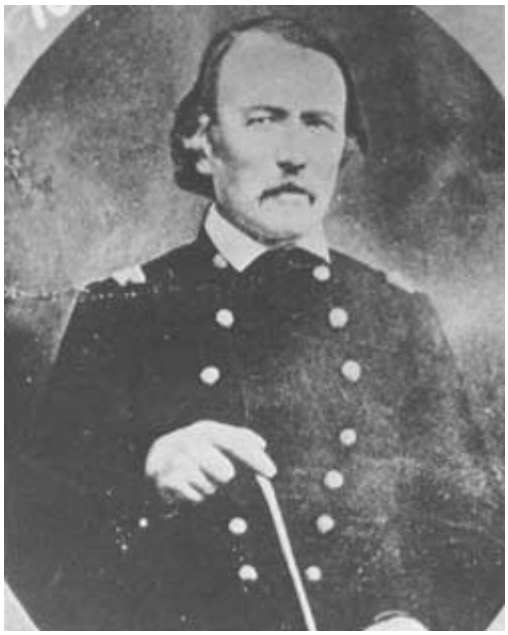










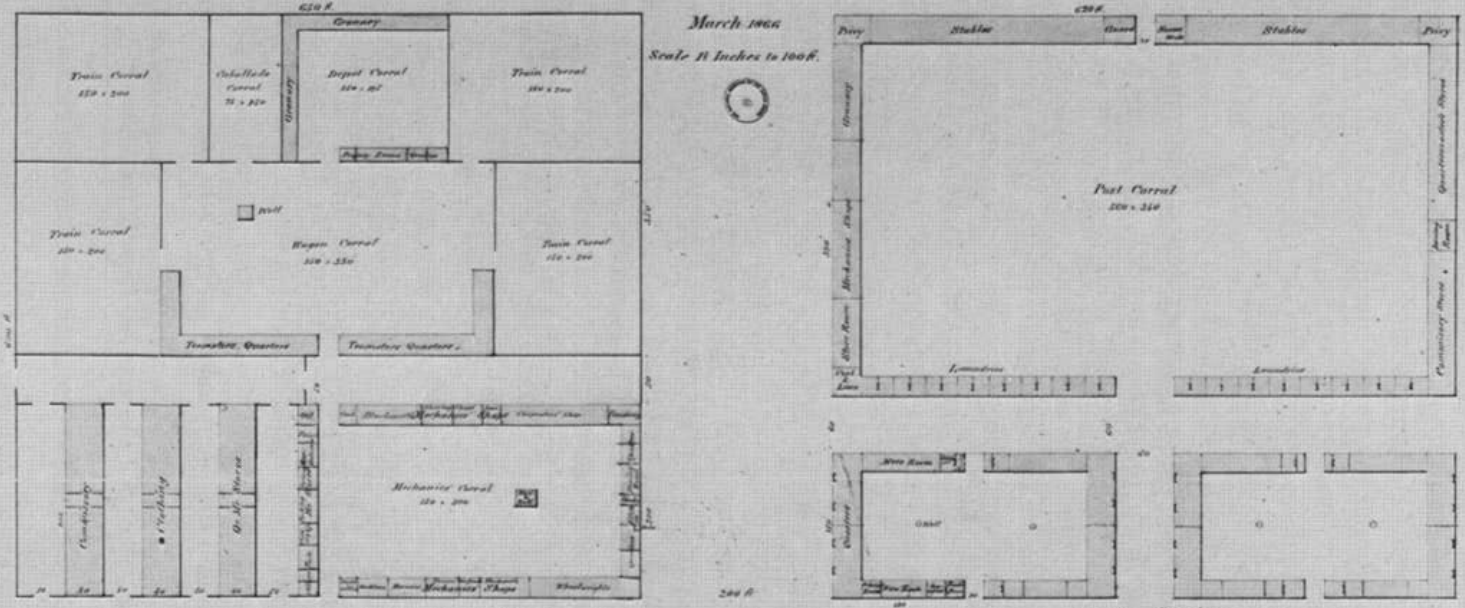






FORT UNION. N. M.

Building under the direction of CAPT. H. J. FARNSWORTH, U. S. V. Depot Quartermaster



March 1866

Scale 8 Inches to 100 ft.

Depot of Commissary, Clothing & Qr. Mr. Stores

Walls of Adobe on Stone foundations

A true Copy.

H. J. Farnsworth

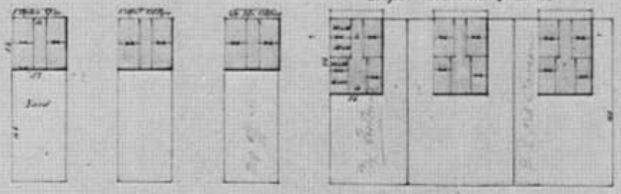
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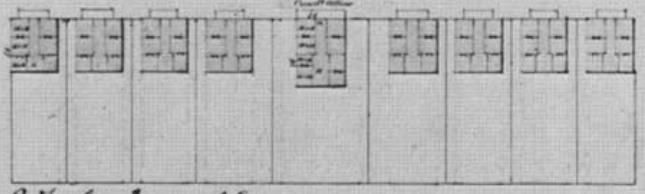
Garrison

Walls of Adobe on Stone foundations

Depot Officers' Quarters



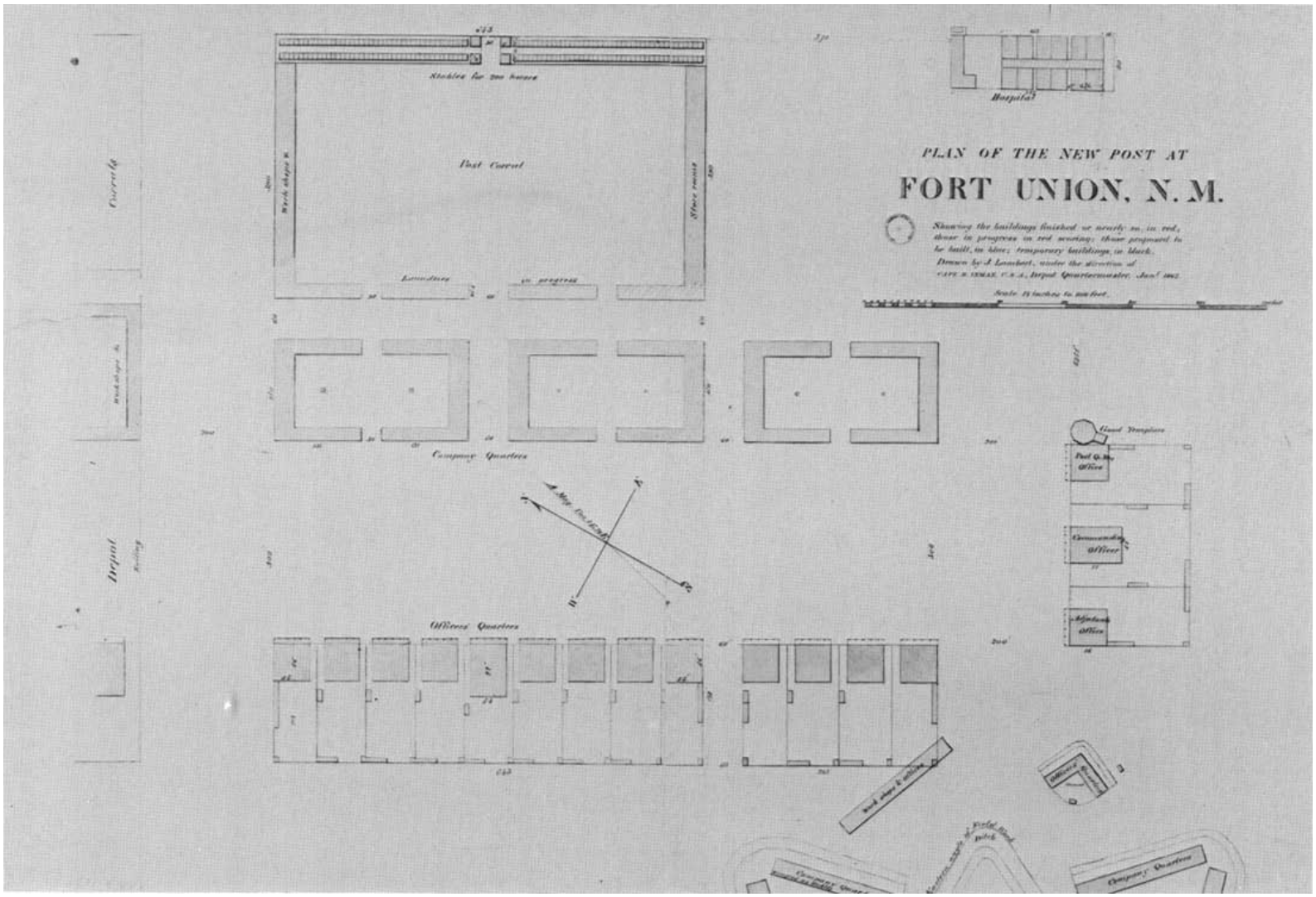
Post Officers' Quarters



drawn by Capt. Farnsworth's
Quartermaster Clerks

Rec'd from Capt. Farnsworth Esq
Z. Westfield Chautauqua Co
Sept 1866. N.Y.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig32.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:13 AM]



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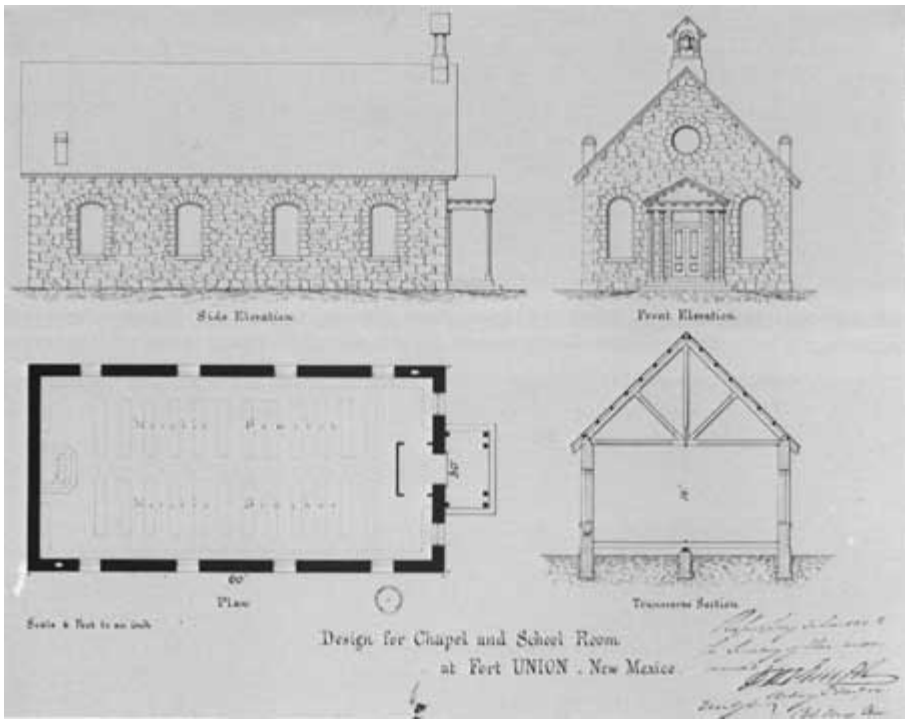






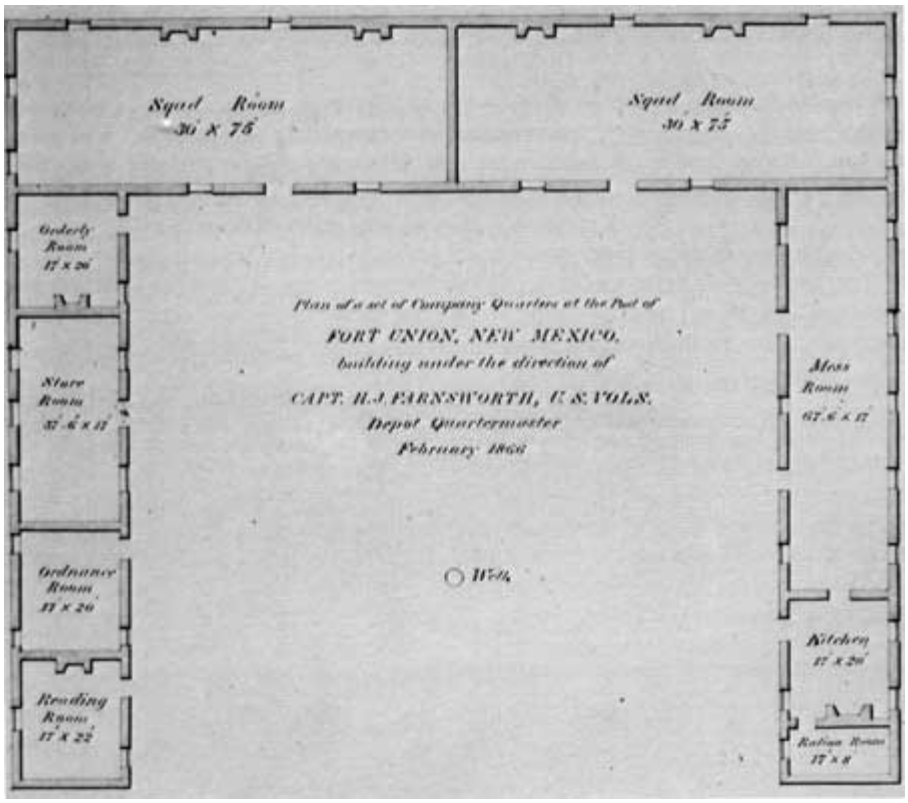






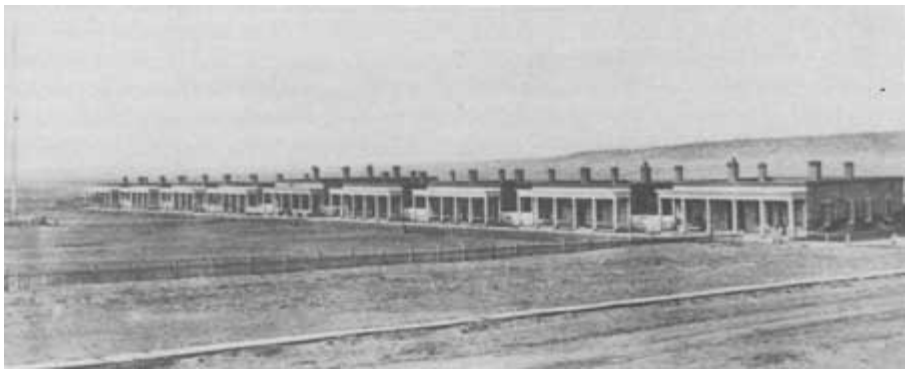
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http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig39.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:27 AM]

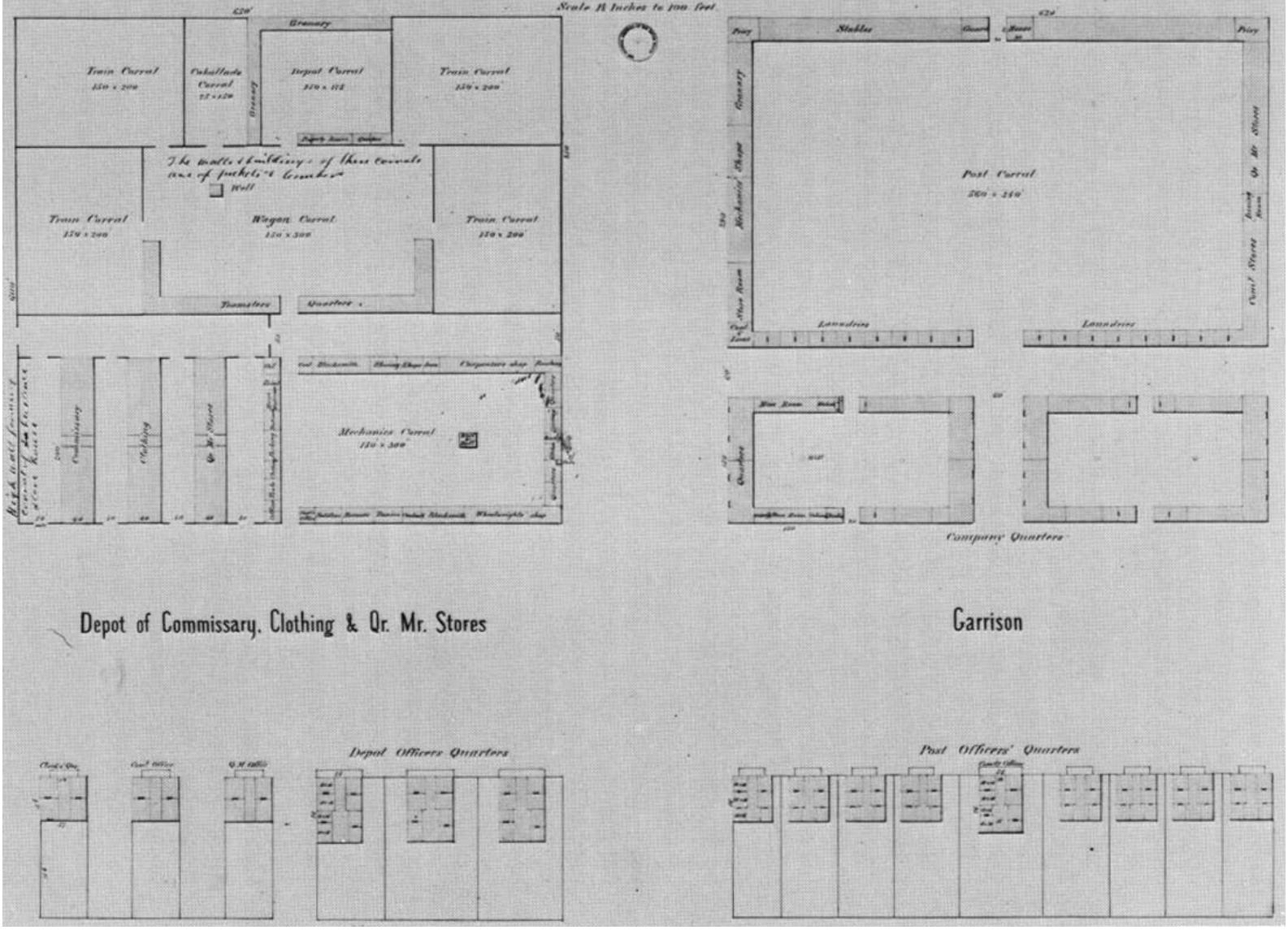




FORT UNION. N. M.

Walls of Adobes on Stone foundations

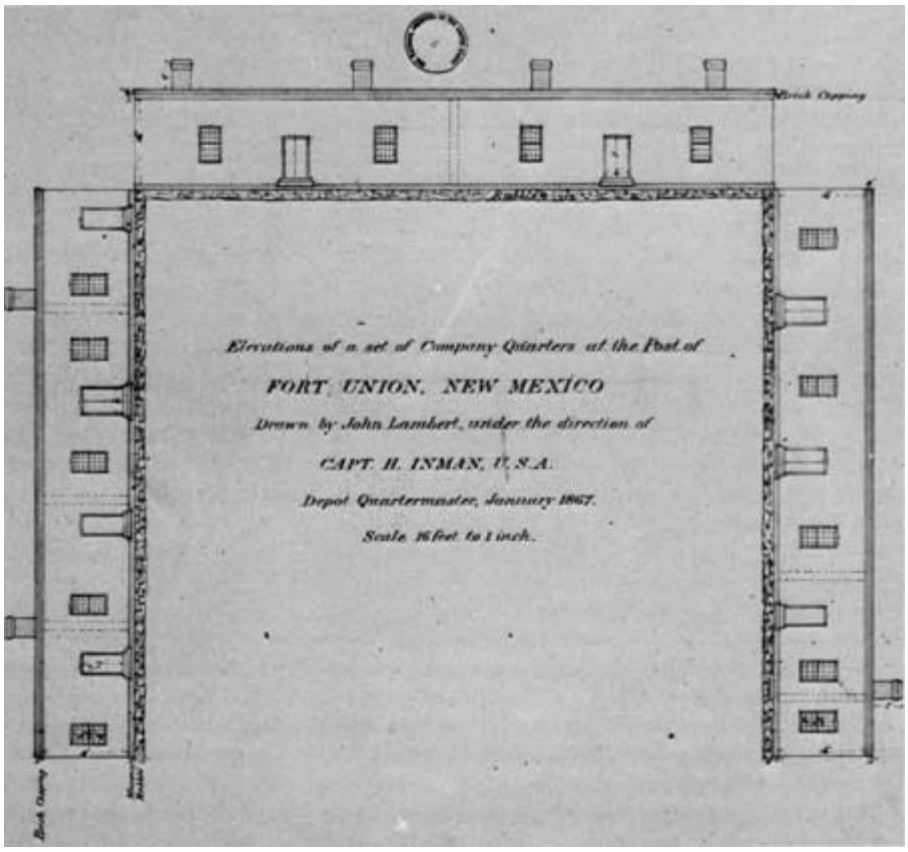
Scale 8 Inches to 100 feet.



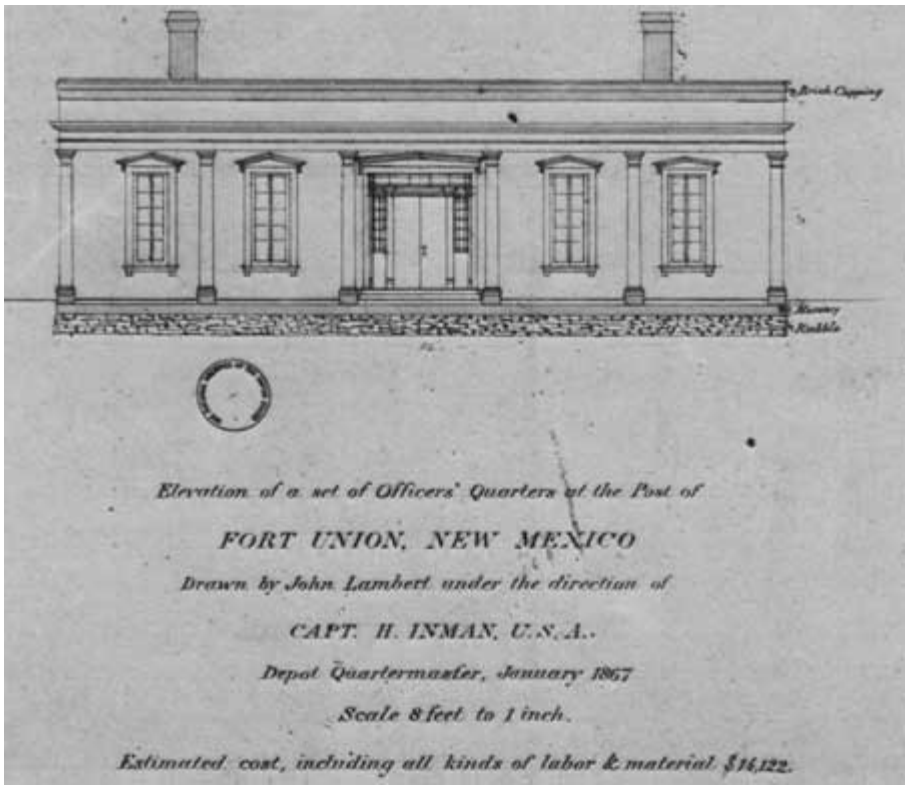
Depot of Commissary, Clothing & Qr. Mr. Stores

Garrison

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig42.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:34 AM]



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig43.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:35 AM]



Elevation of a set of Officers' Quarters at the Post of

FORT UNION, NEW MEXICO

Drawn by John Lambert under the direction of

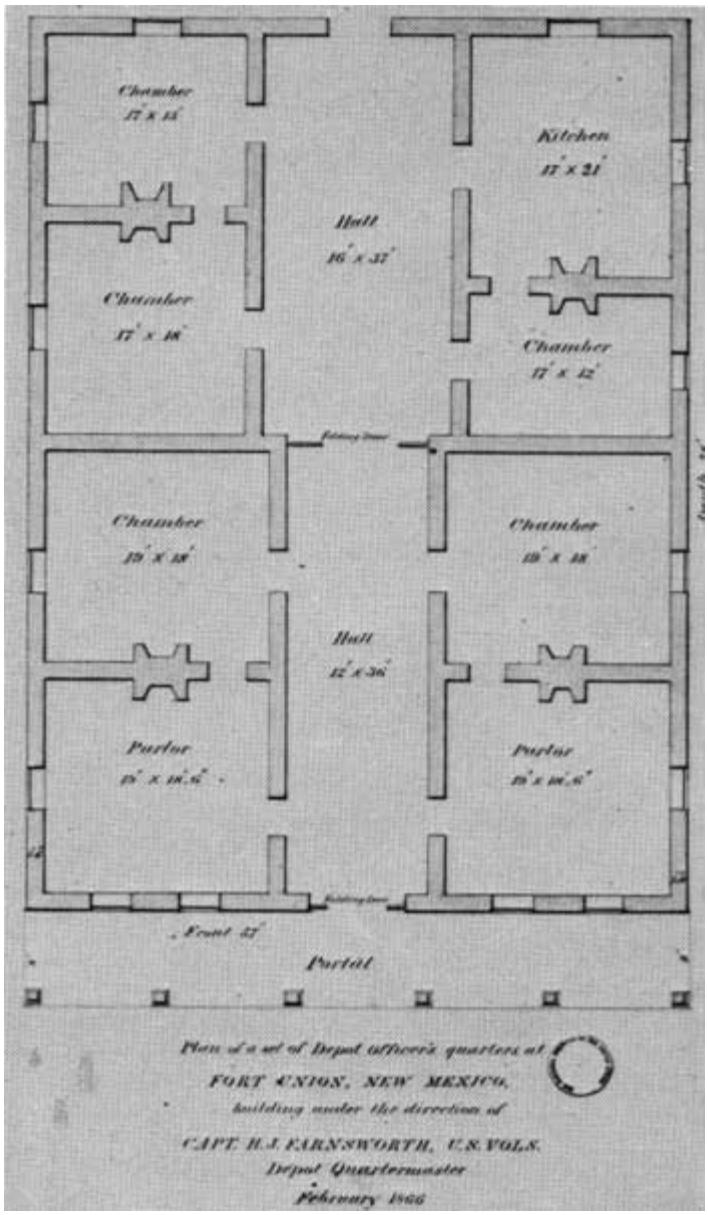
CAPT. H. INMAN, U.S.A.,

Depot Quartermaster, January 1867

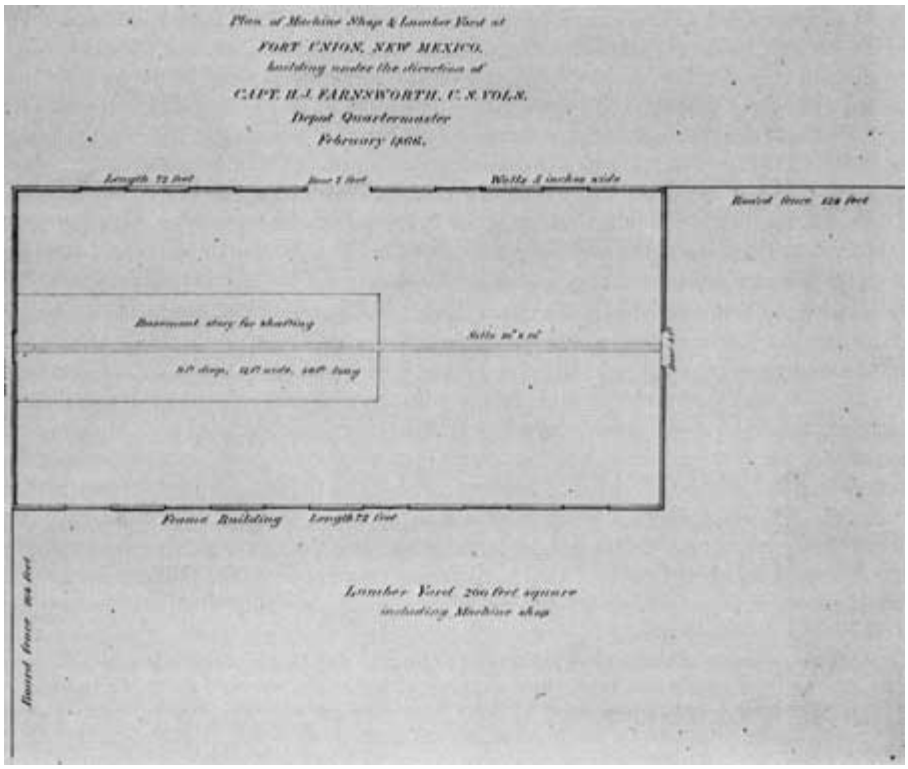
Scale 8 feet to 1 inch.

Estimated cost, including all kinds of labor & material $14,122.

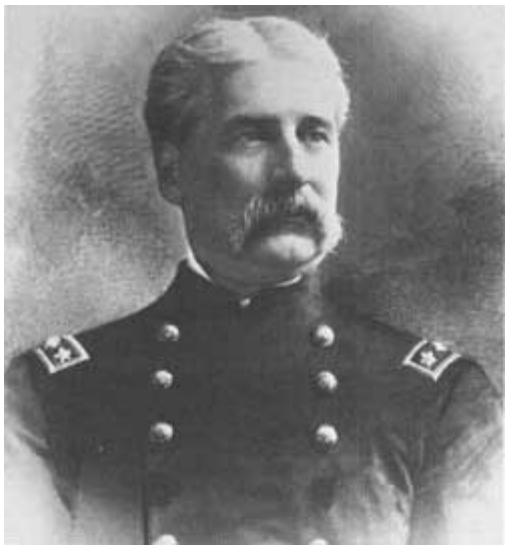
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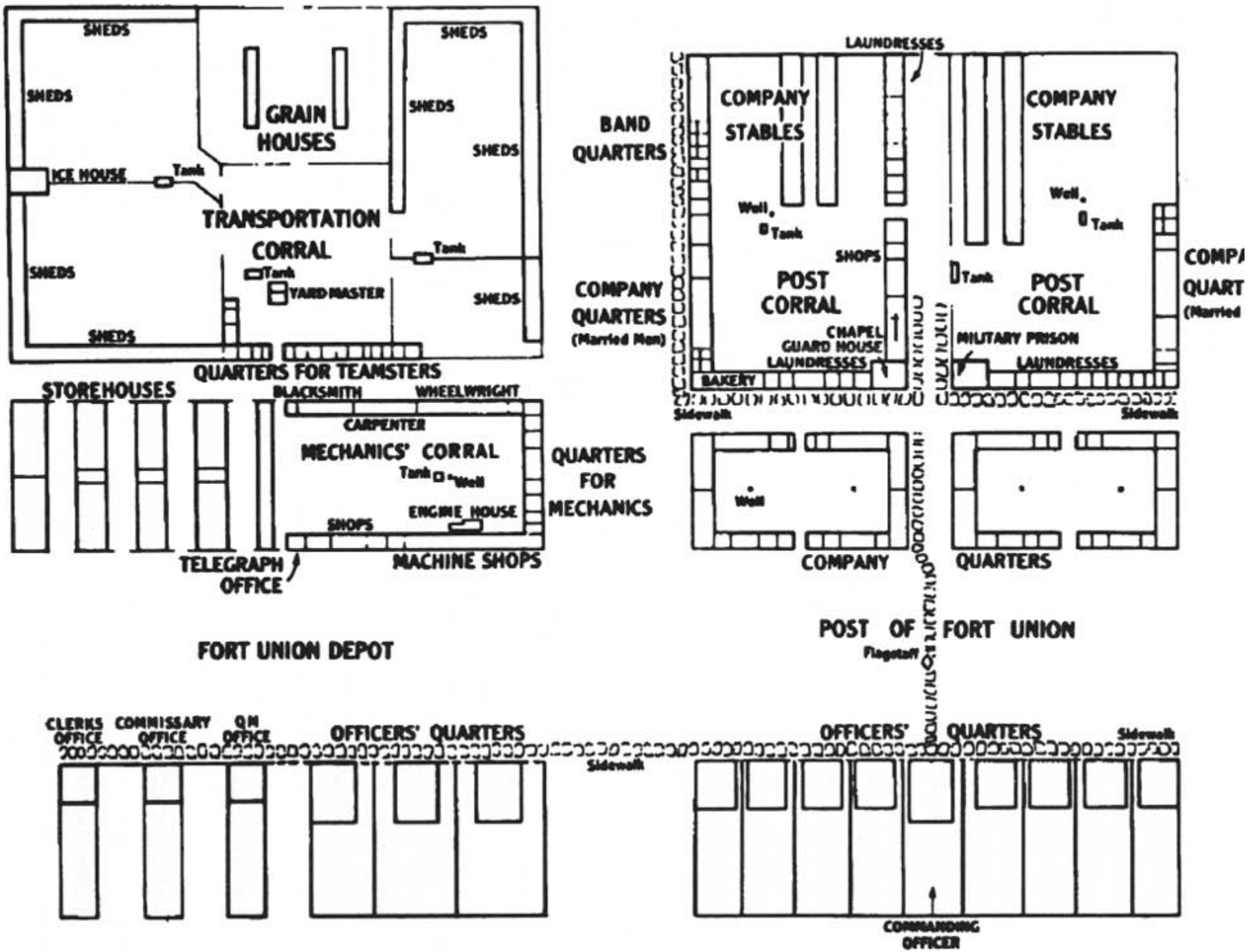
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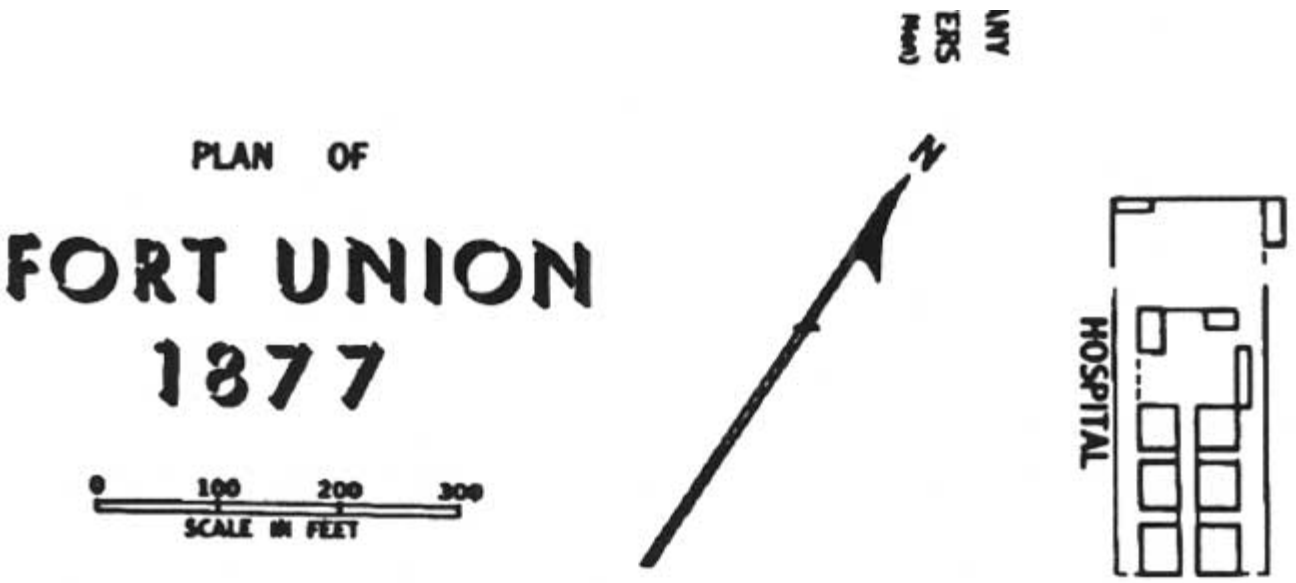
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig47.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:43 AM]







http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig51.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:46 AM]



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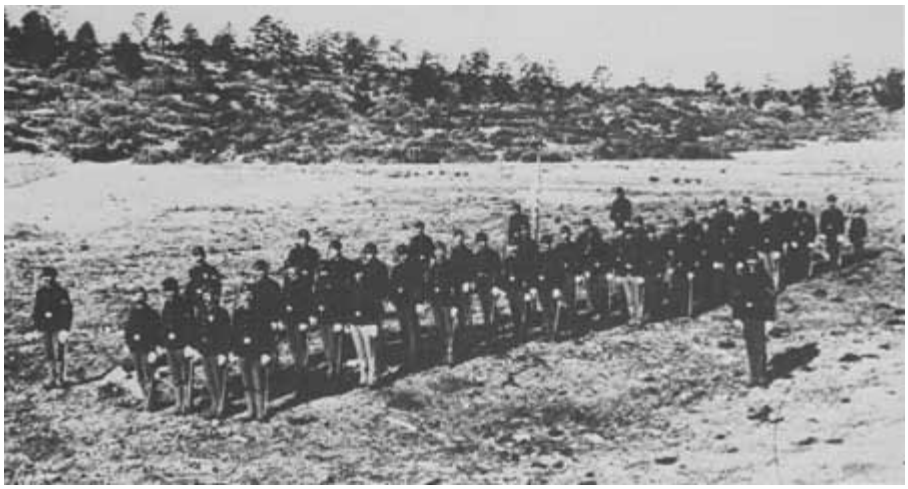





Company "E" 20th U.S. Infantry.
Fort Union New Mexico.





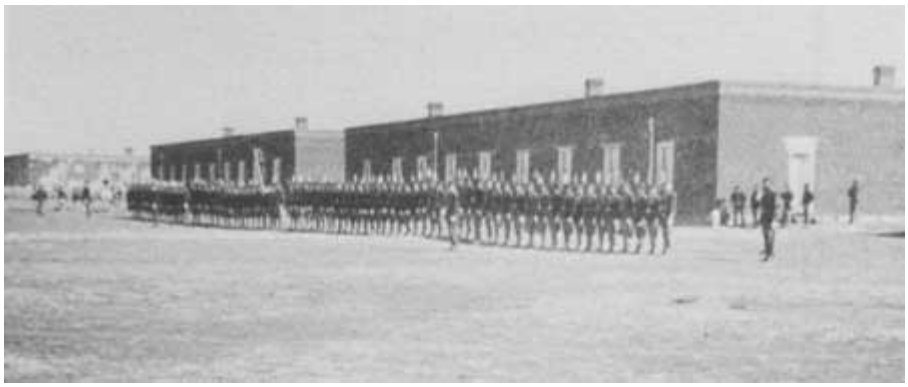


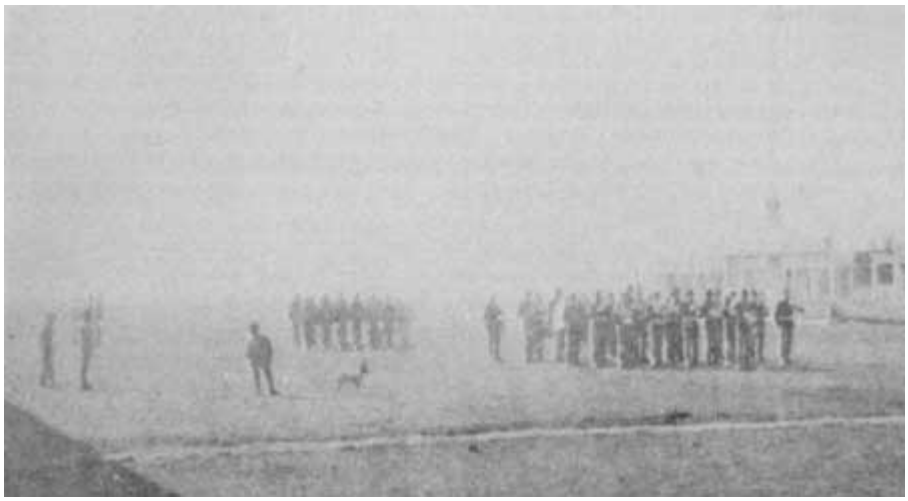






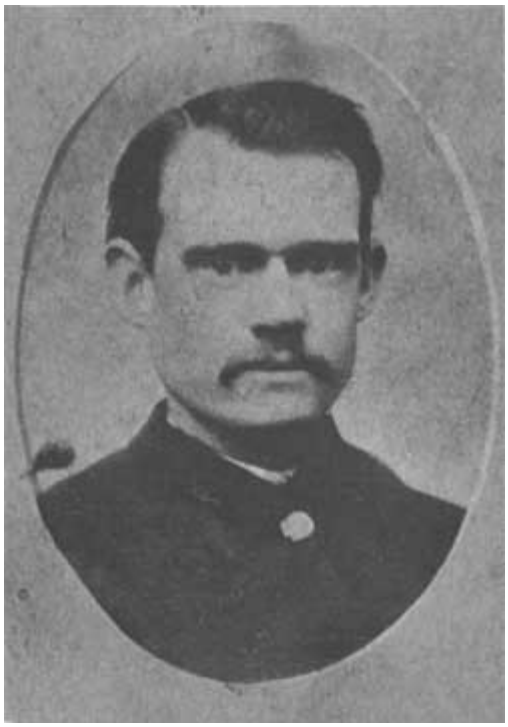






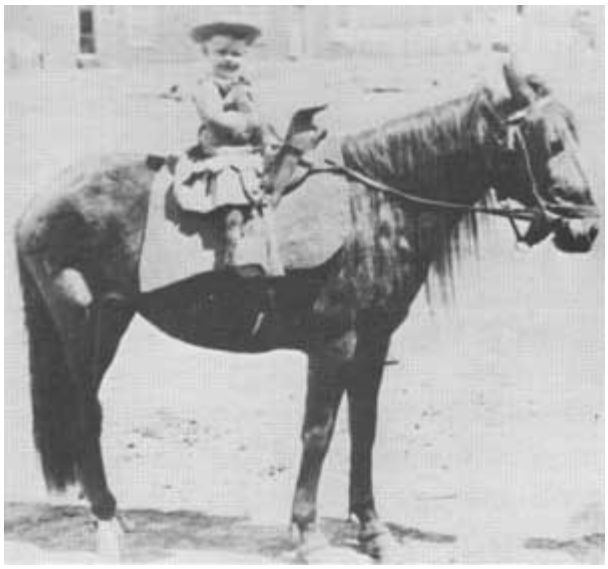














To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:

Know ye, That this is to witness that 1st Sergeant Thomas Keenan, of Co C, 16th Regiment of Infantry ———, having served faithfully, Five Years, in the Army of the United States, three years of which in the grade of Non-commissioned Officer, and having been duly recommended as being a fit and proper person to receive the appointment, the Secretary of War has selected him, in conformity with the Revised Statutes of the United States, and he is hereby **APPOINTED COMMISSARY SERGEANT** in the Army of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and allowances appertaining to said appointment. He is therefore hereby strictly charged carefully and diligently to perform and execute all duties belonging to said appointment, in conformity with the rules and regulations of the service, and he is to be respected accordingly.

Given at the War Department, in the City of Washington, D. C., this twenty sixth — day of June ———, 1884.

By the Secretary of War:

Channcey McKeever
Adjutant General.

Robert Todd Lincoln
Secretary of War.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/foun/images/fig73.jpg[6/4/2013 10:11:56 AM]



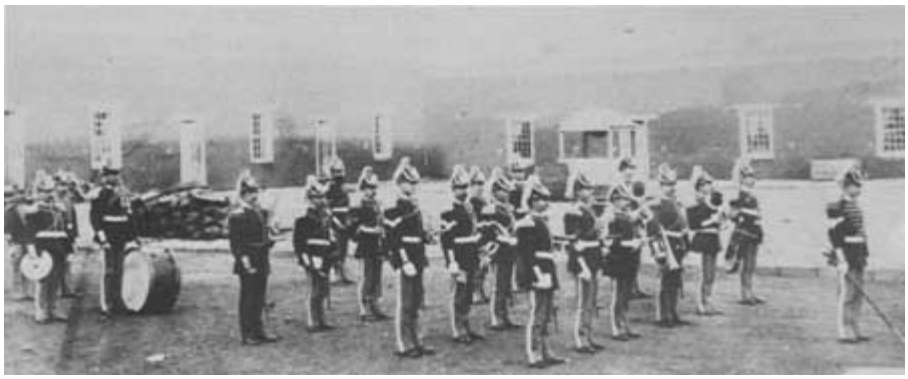















F U



































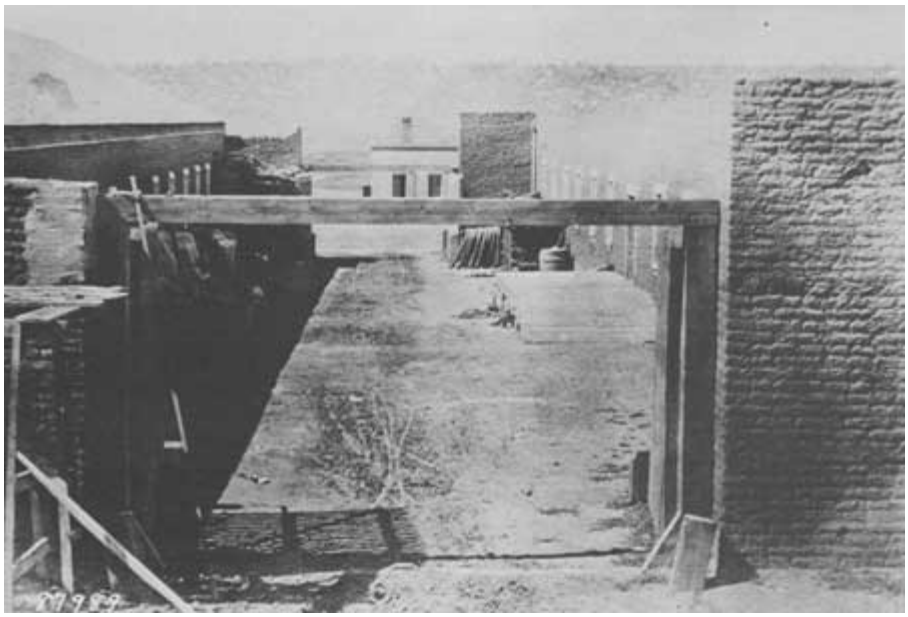




















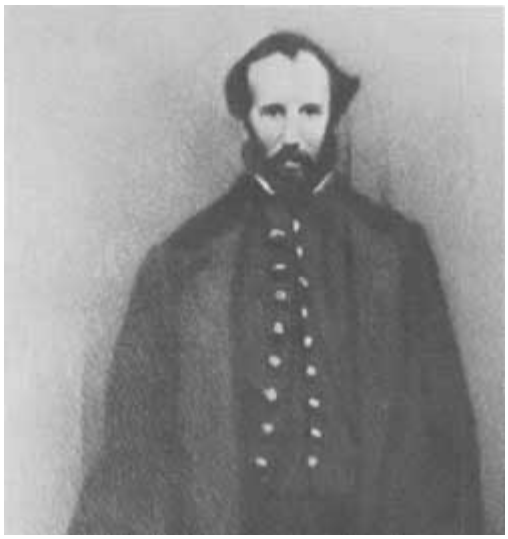


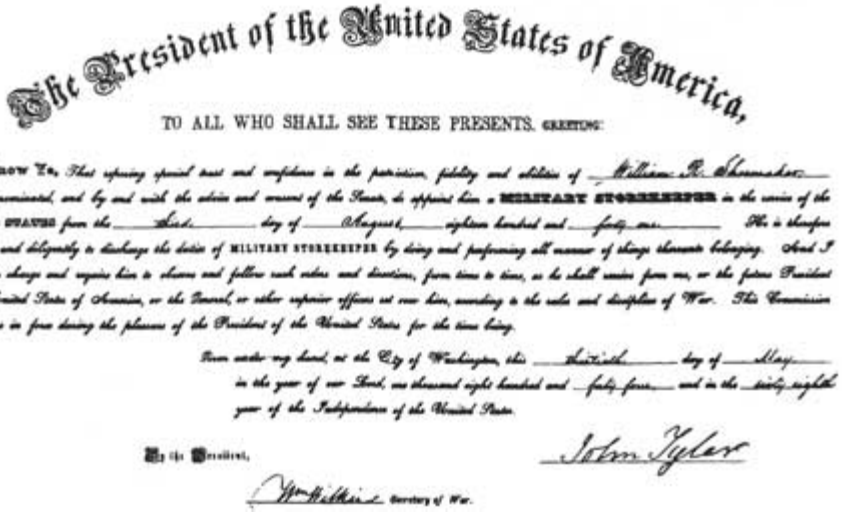







POST
TRADERS
FORT
CM
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The President of the United States of America,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, fidelity and abilities of William R. Shoemaker I have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him a MILITARY STOREKEEPER in the service of the UNITED STATES from the 2nd day of August eighteen hundred and forty one. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of MILITARY STOREKEEPER by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly charge and require him to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as he shall receive from me, or the future President of the United States of America, or the General, or other superior officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being.

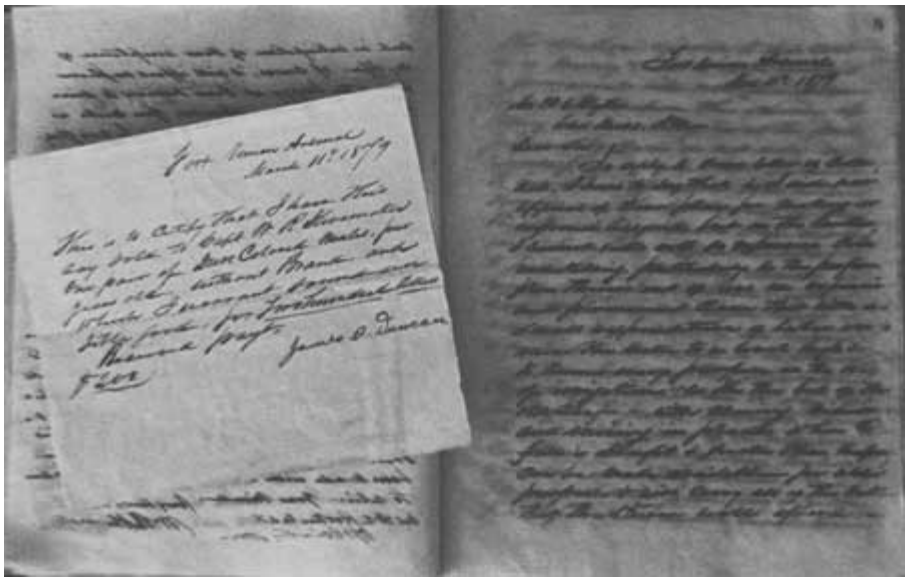
Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of May in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty four and in the sixty eighth year of the Independence of the United States.

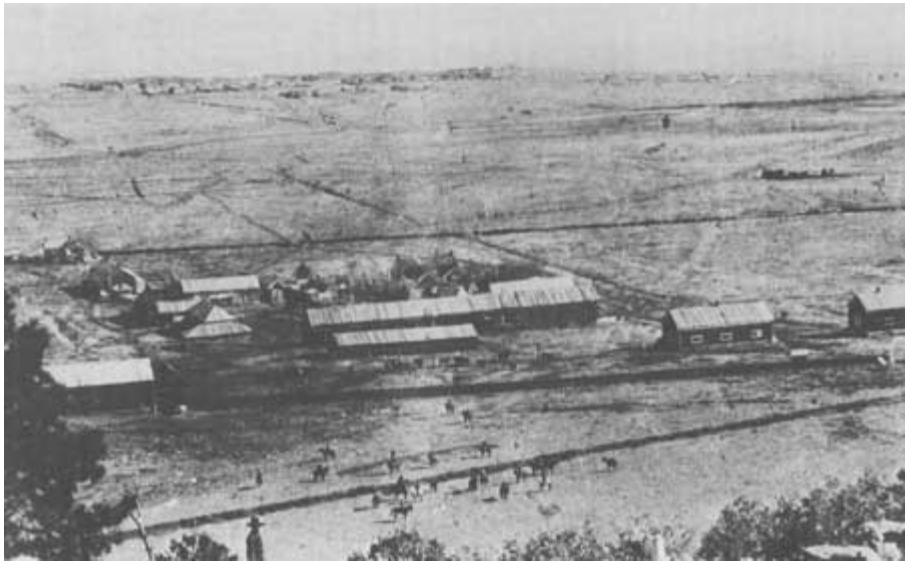
By the President, John Tyler

Wm Wilkins Secretary of War.

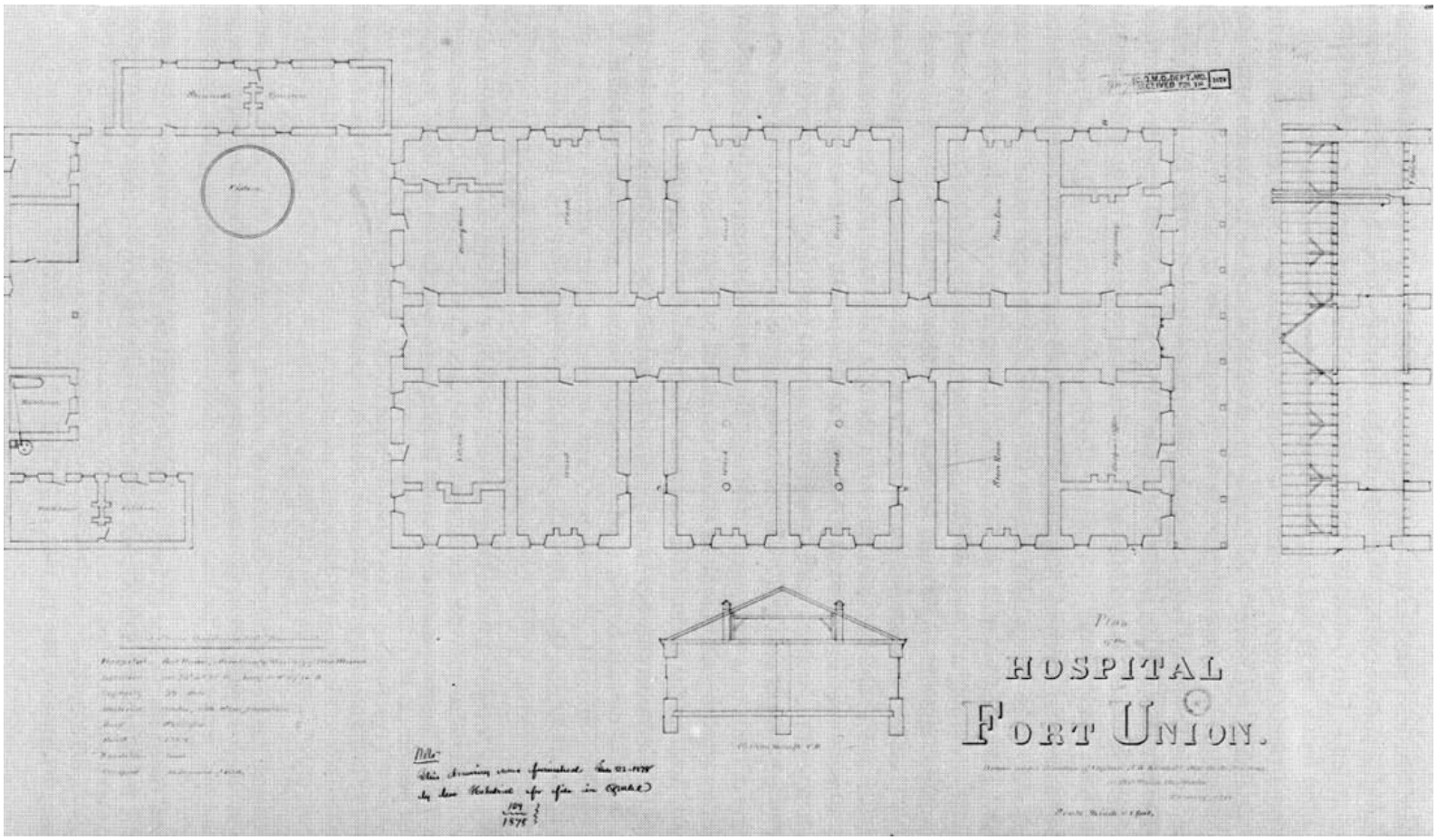
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HOSPITAL
FORT UNION.





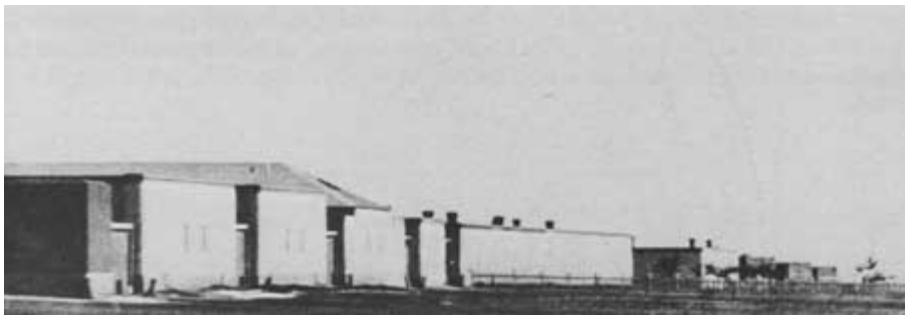




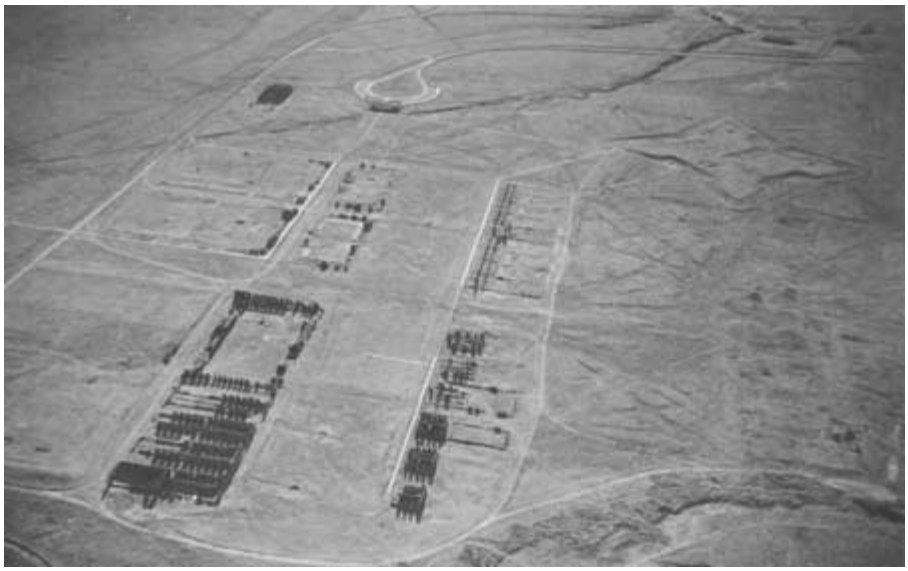













You are cordially invited to attend the
Centennial Observance
of the abandonment of
Fort Union, New Mexico
by the United States Army, May 15, 1891
to be held
May 15, 1991 at 7:00 o'clock p.m.
at
Fort Union National Monument
Mora County, New Mexico