

# Fort Union



**Historical Handbook Number Thirty-Five**

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# Fort Union

National Monument  
by Robert M. Utley

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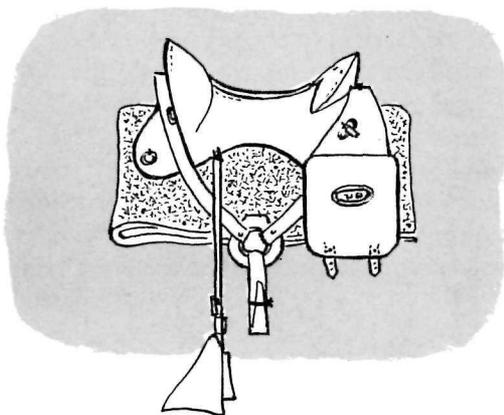
*The National Park System, of which Fort Union National Monument is a unit, is dedicated to conserving the scenic, scientific, and historic heritage of the United States for the benefit and inspiration of its people.*



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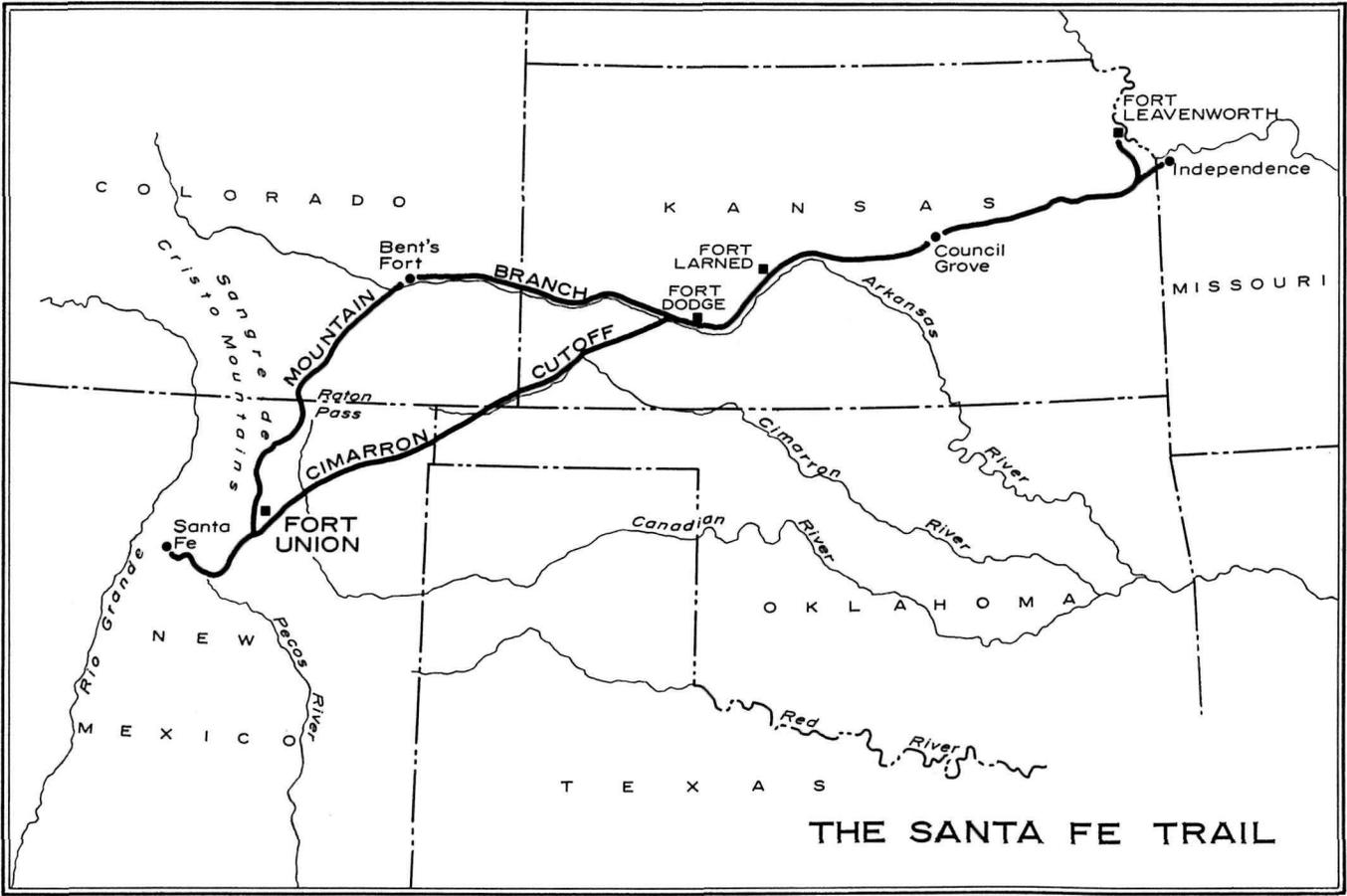


**T**HE RUINS OF FORT UNION graphically commemorate the achievements of the men who won the West. Located on the route of the Santa Fe Trail where the mountains meet the plains, the fort is centered in a region full of historic events and brimming with the romance of the frontier. As a base of operations for both military and civilian ventures in New Mexico for 40 years, 1851 to 1891, Fort Union played a key role in shaping the destiny of the Southwest.

The historic features to be seen at Fort Union in fact expose a cross section of the entire sweep of 19th-century history in the Southwest. The site of the first fort, built in 1851, illustrates the formative years of New Mexico Territory. American newcomers at this time were imposing their institutions on the patterns of life evolved by native New Mexicans during 250 years of Spanish and Mexican rule, and the first halting attempts began at tearing down the Indian barrier that stretched north to Canada and barred the paths of westward expansion. The earthen star fort, built in 1861, illustrates the troublesome Civil War years, when loyalties of Americans and native Spaniards alike were violently tested and the Confederacy made a vigorous attempt to conquer New Mexico. The ruins of the third fort, begun in 1863, illustrate the stirring drama of subjugating the Indians of the Great Plains and Southwestern deserts. In 1890 the frontier passed out of existence. Appropriately, Fort Union was abandoned in February 1891.

*Post of Fort Union (right) and Fort Union Depot (left). Santa Fe Trail runs parallel fort on opposite side. Ruts in center represent timber roads to the Turkey Mountains.*

PHOTO BY LAURA GILPIN.



THE SANTA FE TRAIL

The grasslands around Fort Union are deeply marked with the wagon ruts of the Santa Fe Trail. Indeed, throughout much of the High Plains region, the marks of the trail have remained undisturbed for more than a century. This wilderness highway provided a channel through which 19th-century Americans expressed the great motivating ideal of Manifest Destiny. First, the trail bore a commerce that within the short span of 25 years linked New Mexico so firmly to the United States that annexation was but a question of time. Next, in 1846, it bore an army of conquest that brought New Mexico under the American flag. Finally, it served until the coming of the railroad as the lifeline of New Mexico. The ruts of the Santa Fe Trail and the ruins of Fort Union recall a procession of people and events that enormously influenced the course of United States history.

### *The Santa Fe Trail\**

Capt. Zebulon M. Pike went west in 1806 to explore the Rocky Mountains, part of which the United States now owned as a result of the Louisiana Purchase. Wandering through the mountains in midwinter, Pike and his handful of men camped in January 1807 on the headwaters of the Rio Grande, in Colorado's San Luis Valley. They built a stockade and hoisted the American flag—over soil belonging to His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain. Spanish dragoons hauled the American officer before José Real Alen-

*Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail approaching Fort Union from the north.  
The fort can be seen in the center, arsenal at right.*

PHOTO BY LAURA GILPIN.



caster, Governor of the Province of New Mexico, in the Royal Capital of Santa Fe. Here and in Chihuahua, to the south, Pike had several bad months. The Spanish finally freed him in June 1807, and he went home to write of his adventures.

The Pike journals, published in 1810, gave Americans their first glimpse of the people and way of life behind the wall of secrecy Spain had erected on the frontiers of New Mexico. Missourians were quick to detect commercial opportunities in overland trade with Spanish settlers on the Rio Grande. All goods not produced locally in New Mexico had to be hauled from Vera Cruz, Mexico, across 2,000 miles of Indian-infested desert. Only 800 miles of level prairie separated the Missouri River from Santa Fe. But Spanish authorities distrusted the aggressive Yankees and wanted none in New Mexico. A few who tested the possibilities suggested by Pike's narrative wound up in the *calabozo* adjacent to the ancient Palace of the Governors. Then in 1821 revolution broke out in Mexico. Spain lost her hold on the American colonies. The infant Mexican nation tore down the frontier barriers and welcomed American traders to Santa Fe.

In this same year several enterprising Missourians inaugurated the Santa Fe trade. William Becknell lashed trade goods to some mules and headed west. So did Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler. Robert Baird and James McKnight, released from prison in Santa Fe, hastened to Missouri and returned with pack trains. In 1822 Becknell cast the mold of the Santa Fe trade by hitching mules to three wagons loaded with merchandise and driving them across the plains

*"Indian Alarm on the Cimarron River." Artist unknown.*

DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN COLLECTION.



to the New Mexican capital. Other merchants saw and took heed. By the closing years of the decade, caravans annually pushed west from the Missouri River destined for a summer of "adventuring to Santa Fe."

In 1825 the Federal Government lent a hand by sending a surveying party under George C. Sibley to mark out a suitable road. But in the end the wagonmasters, following the most direct and easy path, showed the way. The wagon wheels cut deep ruts in the prairie sod. The ruts broadened into a trough, often several hundred feet wide, that still scars long stretches of grassland in Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. By 1830 the traveler had no difficulty following the great wilderness highway called the Santa Fe Trail.

It began on the west bank of the Missouri River, first at Franklin, later at Independence, still later at Westport. Striking southwest by way of Council Grove, it met the Arkansas River and followed the north bank into western Kansas. At the Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas River, the trail forked. The shorter and more popular route, the Cimarron Cutoff, turned southwest and headed in a direct line for the New Mexican frontier at the junction of the Mora and Sapello Rivers, near present Watrous. It took the traveler across a parched desert, dreaded because of infrequent waterholes and constant danger of a Kiowa or Comanche war party lurking beyond the next hill. The Mountain Branch offered more water and fewer Indians, but it was almost 100 miles longer and included a rough passage through the Raton Mountains. It followed the Arkansas up to the trading post of Bent's Fort, then turned southwest across the treacherous barrier of Raton Pass, and dropped into New Mexico at the foot of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The two branches reunited in a single stem at the crossing of the Mora and Sapello Rivers, then swung south to thread the mountains at Glorieta Pass, gateway to Santa Fe.

Each spring at Franklin, Independence, or Westport the traders assembled to make ready for the trek to New Mexico. Wagons backed up to warehouses, each to have 5,000 to 7,000 pounds of merchandise packed tightly into its bed. Master products of Pittsburgh and St. Louis wagon builders, these vehicles were especially adapted to plains travel. Built of the lightest, toughest wood obtainable, they were designed for rapid travel over a rough but level terrain. Unlike the famous Conestoga, the floor of its high-sided box had only a slight curve, for on the Plains cargo did not often shift. The iron-tired wheels were universally painted bright red, the bodies light blue. Canvas stretched over arched hickory bows and fastened to the bodies protected the cargo from driving rains. Ten or twelve New Mexican mules or six Missouri oxen drew the heavy wagons.



CENTURY MAGAZINE, JULY 1891.

*"Long-Tom Rifles on the Skirmish Line," by Frederic Remington. The infantry often saw action, too.*

Usually the traders rendezvoused at Council Grove, where they organized into caravans for mutual protection. The drivers mounted the box, cracked their "Missouri pistols"—long saplings with a slightly shorter lash ending in a buckskin thong—and the trains crawled west onto the rolling prairie.

The 800-mile journey took about 2 months. There was hardship and danger. Rain and hail beat down. Wagon wheels churned the sodden road into a muddy quagmire. Teamsters endured wet clothing and sleepless, fireless nights. Scorching winds whipped across the prairie, and wagons bounced on a rutted trace that damaged cargo and vehicle alike. Clouds of dust hung heavy on the caravans, burning eyes and caking throats. The wheels dried and shrank, and constant repairs were necessary. On the Cimarron Desert the men suffered anxiety over water and Indians. Always thirst tortured them; sometimes, when the springs ran dry, it killed them. Kiowa and Comanche warriors often swept down on a train, exacting a toll in killed and wounded, occasionally capturing a weakly defended train and slaughtering its attendants. In one particularly bad year, 1829, a battalion of United States infantry escorted the caravans to the Cimarron Crossing and turned them over to Mexican troops for the rest of the trip to Santa Fe. Relief came only at the fringes of New Mexican settlement—in the early years San Miguel, later Las Vegas, and in the 1840's the Mora and Sapello Crossings.

On the benchland above Santa Fe the Missourians paused to make themselves presentable for a gala entry. As the caravan worked its way down the narrow dirt streets, the populace stormed noisily from flat-roofed adobe houses to greet *los Americanos*. Wagons were parked on the plaza in front of the Palace of the Governors, and for a full night the town rang with merriment as traders and townspeople celebrated the occasion. Fandangos, gambling, and liberal quantities of "Taos lightning" and "Paso wine" made men forget the aches of the trail.

Next morning they got down to business. Payment of import duties came first. This was always an exciting contest between merchants trying to reduce the exorbitant Mexican duties and customs officers trying to extort the maximum bribe the traffic would bear. Ordinarily the dispute ended in a friendly compromise, each side winning somewhat less than desired. The traders temporarily rented storerooms and laid out their goods—brightly colored calico and other yard goods, leather goods, hardware of all kinds, crockery, and fancy foods. The customers paid in coin or, as money became scarce, in mules, hides, and furs. Traders tied up their silver coins in green skins that, dried next to a fire, shrank as tightly "as if the metal had been melted and poured into a mold." As the Santa Fe market became increasingly glutted in the 1820's, many of the merchants continued south to towns in Chihuahua and Durango, but this was a long way and required much time. With their profits, the Santa Fe traders were back in Missouri by late autumn. They spent the winter buying another stock of goods, and the following spring once more faced west.

*"Arrival of the Caravan at Santa Fe." Artist unknown.*

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When war broke out in 1846 between the United States and Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail became a military highway. While American armies fought on the lower Rio Grande and in Mexico, Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny led the Army of the West from Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, over the Santa Fe Trail. His objective was the conquest of New Mexico and California. Kearny chose the Mountain Branch, and on the night of August 12 his troops—regular dragoons and Missouri volunteers—camped at the ponds of water just south of where Fort Union later stood. In bloodless triumph the Americans paraded into Santa Fe on August 18 and raised the American flag over the historic plaza at the end of the trail. With part of his army, Kearny rode on to California. In October the occupation force received reinforcements when Col. Sterling Price and another regiment of Missouri volunteers, having followed the Cimarron Cutoff of the Santa Fe Trail, arrived in the New Mexican capital. Throughout the war long strings of freight wagons crawled across the plains to supply the Army in New Mexico.

The Mexican War turned the international highway into a national highway, linking the States with the new Territory of New Mexico. The tariff vanished, and at the same time the market expanded enormously as Americans settled on the Rio Grande and the Army built scattered mud forts to protect the citizens from hostile Indians. Stagecoaches of the Independence-Santa Fe Mail made their way back and forth across the plains, sharing the road with long files of white-topped freight wagons. The merchant-speculators of the 1820's and 1830's gave way to freighters specializing in hauling government and company goods under contract. "Kearny's baggage train started a new era in plains freighting," wrote the historian Frederick Paxson. "It became a matter of business, running smoothly along familiar channels." The volume of business dwarfed the pre-war trade. The value of goods hauled over the trail rose from \$15,000 in 1822 to \$45,000 in 1843 and to \$5,000,000 in 1855. In the single year of 1858, 1,827 wagons crossed the plains to deposit in New Mexico warehouses almost 10,000 tons of merchandise, much of it destined for the Army.

The trail also bore wagons of immigrants from the States. In 1848 James Marshall discovered gold in California. Many gold seekers pointed their teams west on the Santa Fe Trail. Some tired of the journey or lost their enthusiasm and settled in New Mexico. Most went on to the Pacific by way of the Gila Trail or the Cooke Wagon Road, which the Army of the West had opened in 1846 and 1847.

The Santa Fe Trail carried the heaviest traffic of its history during the Civil War years, 1861-65, for New Mexico was the major

far-western theater of the war. But these were also the last years of the trail's importance. In 1866 the Kansas Pacific Railroad reached out from the Missouri River. As the rails advanced west, they pushed the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail from railhead to railhead. Part of the Mountain Branch continued in use even after the railroad reached Denver. Then in 1878 the Santa Fe Railroad surmounted Raton Pass. Two years later the first engine steamed into Lamy, station for the New Mexican capital, and the Santa Fe Trail passed out of existence.

### *The Founding of Fort Union*

With the acquisition of New Mexico, the United States inherited an Indian problem of frightening magnitude. For two and a half centuries Apaches and Navajos had terrorized the Rio Grande settlements, and travelers who ventured beyond the eastern borders of the province courted death at the hands of Kiowas and Comanches. The promise so lightly given by General Kearny to protect the people from marauding Indians took 40 years to fulfill. By 1851 almost 1,300 soldiers served in the Territory of New Mexico, and during the 1850's the number rose steadily. They were scattered among 11 tiny outposts at settlements throughout the territory. The headquarters was Fort Marcy in Santa Fe.

Secretary of War C. M. Conrad was unhappy with the performance of the troops in New Mexico. They cost an immense amount of money and made no apparent progress toward solving the Indian problem. On April 1, 1851, he directed Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner, 1st Dragoons, to take command in New Mexico and "revise the whole system of defense." "It is believed," wrote Conrad for Sumner's guidance, "that material changes ought to be made . . . both with a view to a more efficient protection of that country and to a diminution of expense." One material change seemed evident. The Secretary believed that "both economy and efficiency of the service would be promoted by removing the troops out of the towns . . . and stationing them more toward the frontier, nearer the Indians."

Sumner followed these suggestions to the letter, breaking up the posts at villages all over New Mexico and founding new ones closer to the Indian country. His first action after taking command in July 1851 was to order department headquarters and the principal supply depot moved from Santa Fe, "that sink of vice and extravagance," to a spot on the eastern frontier of New Mexico. He had already chosen the location, in the vicinity of the same prairie ponds where as Kearny's dragoon commander he had camped



*Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner, 1st Dragoons, established Fort Union in 1851. This picture was taken about 12 years later, after he had risen to the rank of major general.*

U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO (BRADY COLLECTION), NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

on August 12, 1846. The site was strategically situated near the junction of the Mountain and Cimarron Branches of the Santa Fe Trail, 100 miles from the demoralizing temptations of Santa Fe. It had wood, grass, and water. Next to a spring beneath the brow of a pinyon-clad mesa on the west side of the valley, the troops in August 1851 began building Fort Union.

Ordinarily, civilian artisans employed by the Quartermaster Department built the frontier posts. But in the spirit of Conrad's economy drive, Sumner discharged these men and put his soldiers to work on Fort Union. The 30 or more buildings that resulted were what might be expected of unskilled labor, as Assistant Surgeon Jonathan Letterman made unmistakably clear in October 1856:

The entire garrison covers a space of about eighty or more acres, and the buildings being of necessity, widely separated, causes the post to present more the appearance of a village, whose houses have been built with little regard to order, than a military post. Unseasoned, unhewn, and unbarked pine logs, placed upright in some and horizontally in other houses, have been used in the erection of the buildings, and as a necessary consequence are rapidly decaying. In many of the logs of the house I occupy, an ordinary sized nail will not hold, to such an extent has the timber

decayed, although several feet above the ground. One set of the so-called barracks 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.

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. The building at present used as a hospital, having a dirt roof, 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 canvas to protect the property from damage.

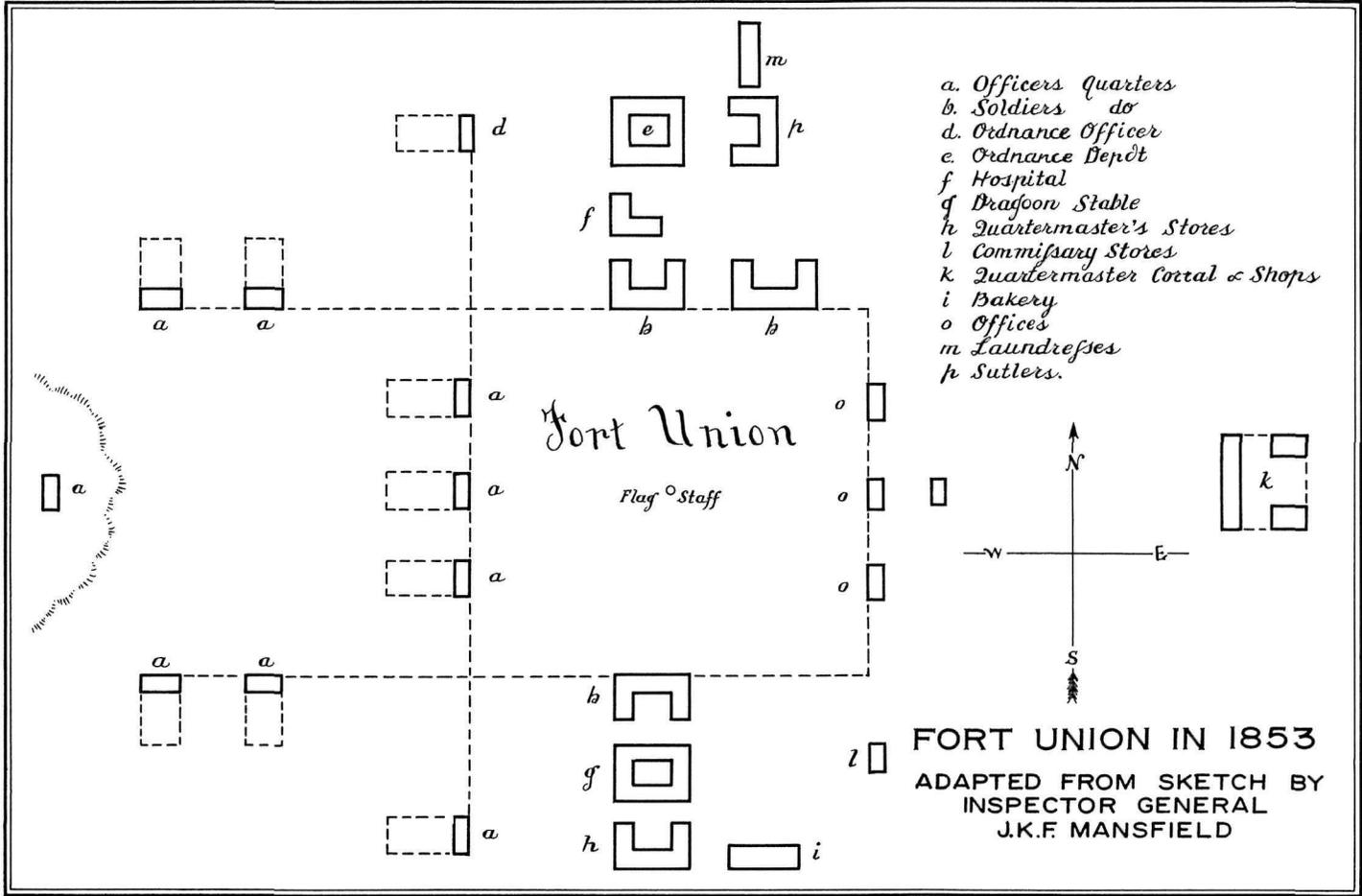
Despite the distressing picture of living conditions painted by Dr. Letterman and others, not until late in 1862 did the Army get around to authorizing construction of more habitable quarters. By then the log buildings were in such terrible disrepair that, for the health and safety of the garrison, they had to be torn down.

Even before completion of the fort, Colonel Sumner in January 1852 found it "indispensably necessary" to move his headquarters to Albuquerque, for most of the current Indian troubles were west of the Rio Grande. The troops at Fort Union were not left idle. Besides construction of the fort, economy required them to cultivate gardens and harvest as much of their subsistence as possible. They had also to take over the jobs formerly done by civilian clerks, blacksmiths, teamsters, herders, and road builders.

Throughout the 1850's only a handful of men garrisoned Fort Union, usually one to three companies of infantry, dragoons, or mounted riflemen. Since the fort at times served as the headquarters of a regiment, however, a full colonel could often be found as post commander. With all their housekeeping duties, it is surprising that the soldiers found time for soldiering. But somehow they managed to participate in several Indian campaigns and also to protect the Santa Fe Trail.

### *The Apache War of 1854*

The Jicarilla Apaches roamed over much of northern New Mexico. Nominally at peace during the early 1850's, they grew increasingly restive. Small war parties raided outlying settlements as well as caravans on the Santa Fe Trail northeast of Fort Union. By 1854 their forays approached open war.





*The first Fort Union. Joseph Heger sketched this view from the bluffs to the west in 1859.*

ARIZONA PIONEERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



*Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, 2d  
Dragoons, made war on Jicarilla  
Apaches in 1854.*

ARTHUR H. CLARK CO.

Late in February 1854 Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, commanding Fort Union, sent Lt. David Bell and a company of the 2d Dragoons east to the Canadian River to investigate reports of Jicarillas plundering the cattle herd of Samuel Watrous, who supplied Fort Union with beef. On March 2 Bell's 24 horsemen clashed with an equal number of Apaches under Lobo Blanco, killed five (including the chief), and wounded more before the Indians fled. A month later a large force of Apaches ambushed a company of 62 dragoons under Lt. John W. Davidson on the road between Taos and Santa Fe. Davidson left the field with 22 dead and 36 wounded. These incidents impelled the department commander, Brig. Gen. John Garland, to launch a full-scale offensive against the offenders.

Within 3 hours after learning of the Davidson disaster, Colonel Cooke had set the garrison of Fort Union in motion for Taos. There he organized a force of 200 dragoons and footmen and enlisted 30 Pueblo Indian scouts. Guided by Kit Carson, agent for the Utes, the command crossed the Rio Grande and plunged into the forbidding mountains, still white with the last touches of winter. On April 8 the pursuers overtook a band of 150 Indians under Chief Chacon, who had posted his men among rocks and trees on a slope at the foot of which ran the snow waters of the Rio Caliente. The troops waded the icy stream and swarmed up the mountainside, Lieutenant Bell's company swinging to the left and

catching the enemy line in the flank. Resistance dissolved and the warriors scattered through the timber with casualties of five killed and six wounded. The attackers lost one killed and one wounded.

For a month Cooke marched and countermarched in a vain effort to overtake the Indians once more. The rugged mountains, swept by blizzards, cloaked in fog, and buried under drifts of snow, soon exhausted and sickened the command. Himself ill, Cooke called off the chase.

The Apaches were scarcely less worn out. Many gave up, but a few diehards continued to terrorize the countryside. The following July, Capt. George Sykes and 58 dragoons from Fort Union picked up the trail of one such war party and followed it into the mountains west of the fort.

*Jicarilla Apache man and woman, Abiquiu Agency, New Mexico, from a photograph by T. H. O'Sullivan, Wheeler Expedition, 1874.*

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

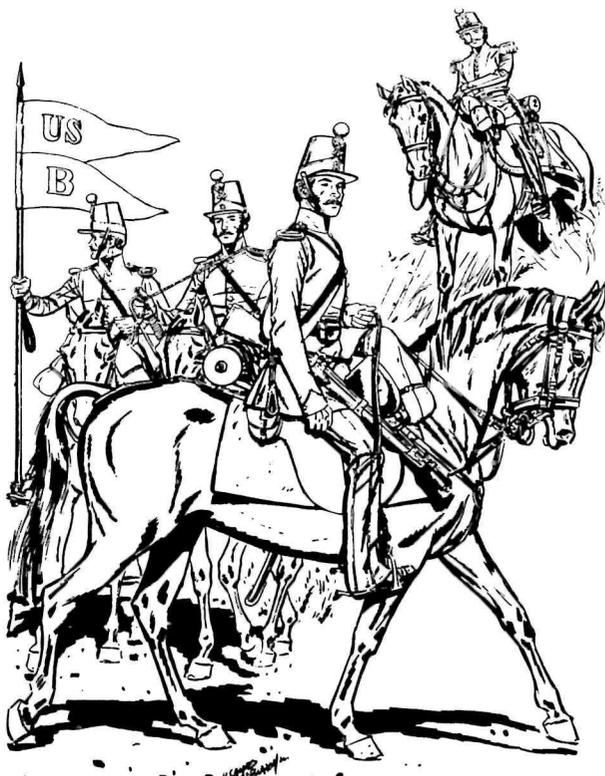


Riding down the floor of a canyon, they flushed 10 or 15 Indians, who spurred their ponies up the side of the gorge. Lt. Joseph Maxwell and 20 dragoons charged up the slope in pursuit. The lieutenant and four men reached the top first and found themselves suddenly in the midst of eight warriors hidden among some rocks. As Maxwell swung his saber overhead, the Apaches loosed a volley of arrows. Two found their mark and killed him instantly. The war party made good its escape, and the dragoons returned to Fort Union with the body of the young officer. "I have no words," Captain Sykes reported to Colonel Cooke, "to express my feelings in making this announcement. A braver, gallant or more high-toned gentlemen & soldier never drew sword."

### *The Ute War of 1855*

Many of the Jicarillas whom Cooke's campaign had failed to subdue took refuge with the Ute Indians, who lived in the mountains bordering the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado (then part of the Territory of New Mexico). Hardly had the Jicarilla troubles subsided than the Utes went on the rampage. On Christmas Day 1854 about 100 Utes and a few Jicarillas descended on the settlement of Hardscrabble, which later became Pueblo, Colo. They killed 15 men, captured 2 women, and ran off all the stock. Then

COMPANY OF MILITARY COLLECTORS AND HISTORIANS



*"The Second Dragoons, 1853-1854," by H. Charles McBarron, Jr.*



*Headstone at grave of Lt. Joseph E. Maxwell.*

they crossed the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and attacked a settlement recently founded in the San Luis Valley near where Alamosa now stands. General Garland decided to treat the Utes as he had the Jicarillas.

Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy and units of the 1st Dragoons had replaced Cooke and the 2d Dragoons at Fort Union. Strengthened by regular companies from other forts and six companies of New Mexico volunteers under Lt. Col. Ceran St. Vrain, Colonel Fauntleroy took the field with some 500 men early in February 1855.

Establishing a base of operations at Fort Massachusetts, on the eastern edge of the San Luis Valley, Fauntleroy scoured the basin and surrounding mountains for hostile camps. Men and horses suffered from intense cold and deep snow such as plagued Cooke a year earlier, but relentless pursuit yielded results. On March 19 the troops skirmished with a war party near Poncha Pass, killed eight warriors, and after a 4-day chase captured the party's entire pony herd.

Next, Fauntleroy split his command. While he and the regulars continued to search the San Luis Valley, St. Vrain's volunteers rode to the plains east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to look for Utes. On April 25 the New Mexicans jumped a band of 60 In-



*Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, 1st Dragoons,  
led the campaign against the Utes in 1855.*

MESERVE COLLECTION.

dians on the Huerfano River, killing or capturing 13 and putting the rest to flight.

Fauntleroy, too, tasted victory. On the night of April 28, his men crept undetected into positions on 2 sides of a Ute camp estimated to contain 150 warriors. Bonfires illumined the village, and the Indians were in the midst of a riotous war dance. Suddenly the blackness at the edge of the village erupted with rifle fire that raked the lodges with devastating effect. It "swept the enemy like chaff before the wind," Fauntleroy recalled, and they scattered in fright in the opposite direction. The soldiers charged through the village and for about 25 minutes pressed the surprised dancers in a running fight. Then they returned to burn the lodges, food, and other supplies in the village. The colonel counted 40 Utes slain by the murderous fire of his men.

This battle broke Ute resistance. There were several more skirmishes, but in July 1855 the Indians sued for peace. Fauntleroy returned to Fort Union, and the volunteers were mustered out of the service.

### *Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail*

Yet another enemy summoned the Fort Union garrison to frequent field service. For 30 years the Kiowas and Comanches who

roamed the Plains to the east had made travel on the Santa Fe Trail a perilous undertaking. An important and continuing duty of Fort Union was to lessen this danger.

No sooner had Colonel Sumner selected the site of Fort Union in the summer of 1851 than he dispatched Capt. James H. Carleton and Company K, 1st Dragoons, to make regular patrols of the trail between the fort and the Arkansas River. Carleton performed sim-

*Ute tribe. Encampment at Los Pinos, Colorado. Photograph taken by William H. Jackson in 1874.*

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ilar duty during the summer and autumn of 1852. Thereafter the escort system was used. The freighters whose caravans were reaching New Mexico in mounting numbers felt no need of escorts. They understood the conditions of the trail and organized their own defense. Not so the stagecoach drivers of the Independence-Santa Fe Mail, who with one or two light wagons had to make their way across the Indian-infested Cimarron Desert. Whenever company or postal officials sensed danger, they called upon the commanding officer at Fort Union for help.

The escort usually consisted of an officer and 20 to 40 men, later of a sergeant and 15 to 20 men, who accompanied the stages to the Arkansas River and returned to Fort Union with the next west-bound mail. The soldiers, infantry or dismounted horsemen, rode in wagons. This method was adopted in 1857 by General Garland because it afforded better defense in the event of attack and because of the scarcity of grass in the Cimarron Desert. Even so, the mules drawing the escort wagons frequently broke down and always had trouble keeping up with the mail coaches. The stage company had relay stations with fresh animals on the Mora and the Arkansas, but the army mules traveled more than 600 miles, from Fort Union to the Arkansas and back, without relief.

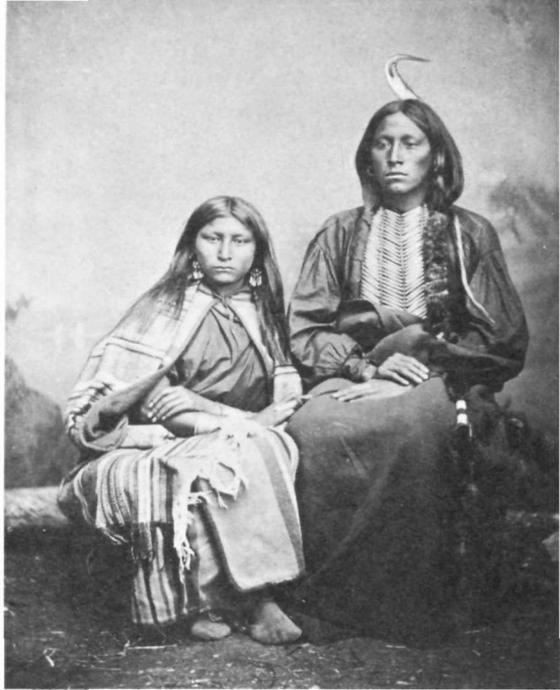
Occasionally the Indians tested the defenses. On December 4, 1859, for example, 20 Kiowa warriors swept down on the mail wagon and its escort at Cold Springs, in the Oklahoma Panhandle. Though driven off after wounding one soldier, they kept the troops pinned down with long-range rifle fire for several hours.

### *Chasing Kiowas and Comanches, 1860-61*

Depredations multiplied in 1860, and from Kansas to New Mexico traffic on the Santa Fe Trail moved under almost constant danger of Kiowa and Comanche attack. In March 1860 Army headquarters in New York ordered three columns to operate independently in the Kiowa-Comanche country during the summer. One was to come from Fort Riley, Kans.; one from Fort Kearny, Nebr.; and a third from New Mexico. Six companies of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen rendezvoused at Fort Union in May 1860 and rode out in search of the hostiles.

First under Maj. Charles F. Ruff, later under Capt. Andrew Porter, the Fort Union column marched and countermarched in the plains bordering the Canadian River. The elusive Indians stayed out of reach. While the command was on the Pecos River, far to the south, word came that the Comanches were in the north and preparing to attack Fort Union itself. Reinforcements hastened to strengthen the defenders, but no enemy appeared. While the troops

*Kiowa tribe. Eonab-pab, or Trailing the Enemy, and wife. Photograph taken by William S. Soule in 1870.*

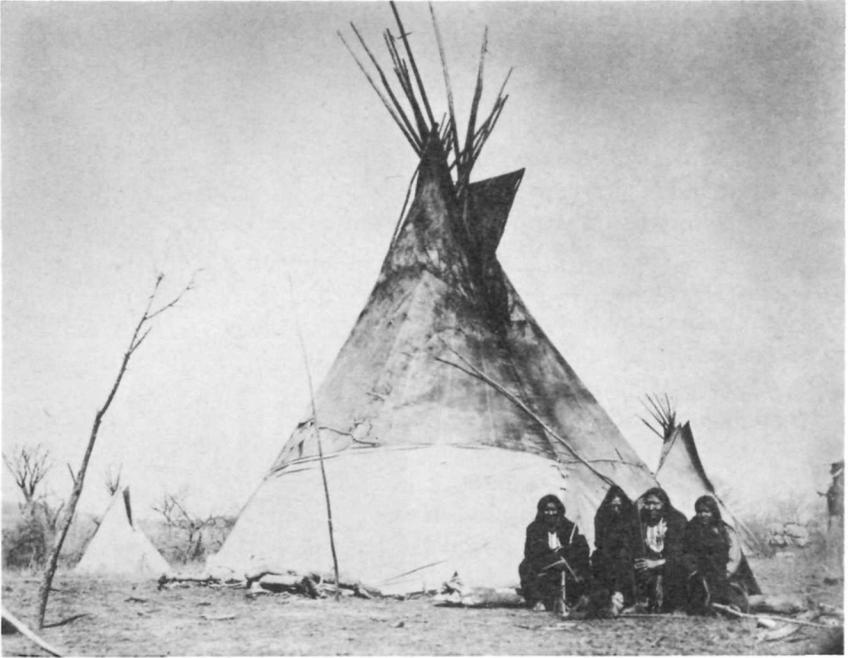


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scouted the country east of the Canadian, however, Comanches swept down on a temporary supply camp, only to be driven off by the two companies of infantry posted as guard. In July the Mounted Riflemen stumbled on a hostile village, but the occupants had sensed danger and fled. Finally, in October, the department commander suspended further operations.

For 5 months the Fort Union column had pressed an arduous search for the Plains marauders, yet the chief result was a collection of broken-down horses suffering from overwork, malnutrition, and the ravages of a disease known as "black tongue." Smarting under the failure, the officers looked forward to another chance. It came in December when Lt. Col. George B. Crittenden, commanding Fort Union, learned that a war party of Kiowas and Comanches was harassing traffic on the Mountain Branch of the trail about 70 miles north of the fort.

With 88 men of the Mounted Rifle Regiment he marched up the trail. The Indians, however, had moved east and were menacing the Cimarron Branch. The troops followed the trail night and day and, on January 2, 1861, charged a village of 175 lodges on the Cimarron River 10 miles north of Cold Springs. The Indians were driven from their camp with a loss of 10 killed and an unknown number wounded. Crittenden had three men wounded. The soldiers destroyed the village and its contents and returned to Fort Union with 40 captured horses.



BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

*Comanche tribe. Paro-o-coom, or He Bear's Camp. From a photograph by William S. Soule, 1867-74.*

Colonel Fauntleroy, now department commander, was elated, and in March reported that the Comanches had withdrawn from the borders of the territory. Some of the chiefs, in fact, came to a conference with military authorities on the Pecos River and promised to give no more trouble.

Fauntleroy next turned to the Mescalero Apaches, who had terrorized central and southern New Mexico for many years. He sent Colonel Crittenden south from Fort Union to operate against these Indians. No battles were fought, but Crittenden harried them so relentlessly that by late May Fauntleroy could report that "The Mescaleros have sued for peace, [and] seem disposed to refrain from future hostilities against the settlements."

Actually, neither the Mescaleros nor the Kiowas and Comanches had been pacified, but other matters were absorbing the attention of the Army in New Mexico.

### *Outbreak of the Civil War*

As the 1850's drew to a close, the great debate waged by statesmen of North and South echoed at Fort Union and other military

installations on the southwestern frontier. Part of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen garrisoned Fort Union. Most of the officers of this unit were Southerners, and they planned to go with the South if war broke out. On February 11, 1861, Lt. John Van Deusen Du Bois wrote in his diary, "Nothing but secession talked of at the post. Of all the officers here only Lt. McCrae of North Carolina, Capt. Shoemaker, M.S.K. [Military Store Keeper], and myself are thoroughly loyal." And a month later "I became involved in several very bitter political discussions & threatened, if an effort was made to seduce my regiment from its allegiance I would assume command myself and fight it out." Efforts were in fact made to seduce the enlisted men from their allegiance, but virtually all of them remained loyal to the Union.

War came in April 1861. When news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached New Mexico, many of the top-ranking officers resigned from the U.S. Army and hastened south to join the armies of the Confederacy. Among them were Col. William W. Loring, Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, Lt. Col. George B. Crittenden, Maj. James Longstreet, Capt. Richard S. Ewell, and Maj. Henry H. Sibley, last prewar commander of Fort Union. After a short period of command chaos, Col. Edward R. S. Canby took charge of United States forces in New Mexico.

*"Early Dawn Attack," by Charles Schreyvogel, typifies several engagements with the southern tribes.*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.





U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

*Col. E. R. S. Canby defended New Mexico against Sibley's Confederate invasion in 1862. This photograph was taken shortly after his transfer to the East and his promotion to brigadier general.*



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

*Brig. Gen. Henry H. Sibley led the Confederate invasion of New Mexico in 1862.*

Major Sibley hurried to Richmond and persuaded President Jefferson Davis to sanction the opening of a theater of war in the West. Sibley left Richmond with a commission of brigadier general and authority to raise a brigade of Texas Mounted Rifles. Although his immediate objective was the invasion of New Mexico and capture of the stores of Federal arms, ammunition, and provisions at Albuquerque and Fort Union, he had much larger plans. He confided to one of his officers his determination to drive on to Colorado and California, thus bringing enormous mineral resources to the Confederate treasury and affording the Confederacy an outlet on the Pacific Ocean.

Meanwhile, Lt. Col. John R. Baylor and 300 mounted Texans occupied Fort Bliss, at El Paso, Tex., and pushed north into southern New Mexico. In July 1861 he seized Mesilla and nearby Fort Fillmore. At San Augustine Pass, he received the surrender of 500 Federal soldiers who had abandoned Fort Fillmore and were trying to escape to Fort Stanton. On August 1 Baylor established the Confederate Territory of Arizona, consisting of all the present states of New Mexico and Arizona south of the 34th parallel, and proclaimed himself governor. While Baylor held this salient, Sibley organized 3 regiments, about 2,500 men, at San Antonio. By December 1861, he had assembled the brigade at Fort Bliss.

Colonel Canby concentrated available Federal troops at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande 140 miles north of Fort Bliss, to meet the

Confederate threat. In his rear, Fort Union hummed with activity. Officers struggled to build a citizen army around the nucleus of regulars remaining in New Mexico. Recruits poured in on the fort, and ultimately four regiments of New Mexico volunteers were formed. Most of the companies were sent south as soon as organized to reinforce Canby. Others remained to guard the Santa Fe Trail, now the vital artery of supply for Federal forces. Determined that nothing cut his lifeline, Canby kept troops from Fort Union constantly on patrol and sent a spy detachment southeast into Texas to give timely warning if the Confederates struck from that direction. Freight trains from Fort Leavenworth pulled into Fort Union and unloaded great piles of military supplies.

### *The Star Fort*

Other troops busied themselves constructing a massive earthen field work designed to block the Santa Fe Trail to Confederate advance from the south. Located in the valley east of the log fort, it began to take shape in July 1861, shortly after the fall of Fort Fillmore.

Earth parapets formed a square with angles shaped like arrowheads jutting out 200 feet from each corner. In these angles were storehouses, company barracks, and officers' quarters. Other quarters and a magazine occupied the quadrangle. The parapets supported firing platforms and artillery emplacements. Four more earthen angles projected from the sides of the square as curtains against enemy fire. In geometric design the fortification resembled an eight-pointed star, and thus became known as the star fort.

A newly arrived officer pronounced the star fort "as fine a work of its kind as I ever saw" and vowed that "all Texas can't take it." Later, another officer reached a different conclusion. Firing cannon at the fort from the top of the mesa to the west, he demonstrated that "The work has a dip toward these hills which causes its whole interior to be revealed." Not only could enemy artillery rake the interior, but guns mounted on the parapet could not reach the brow of the mesa, where attackers would logically place their cannon.

The star fort afforded no improvement in living conditions. Like the old fort, the quarters and storehouses of the new were built of unbarked pine logs that quickly rotted and housed nesting places of insects. Built partly underground, the rooms were damp, unventilated, and consequently unhealthy. In heavy rains, water seeped through the roofs and ran in the doors, turning the dirt floors to mud. The unsodded parapet began to erode, filling the surround-

ing ditch with soil. Rather than live in such hovels, most of the troops camped in tents outside the fortification.

Work continued intermittently on the star fort until June 1862. By then the issue in New Mexico had been decided. There was no further need for a fortification.

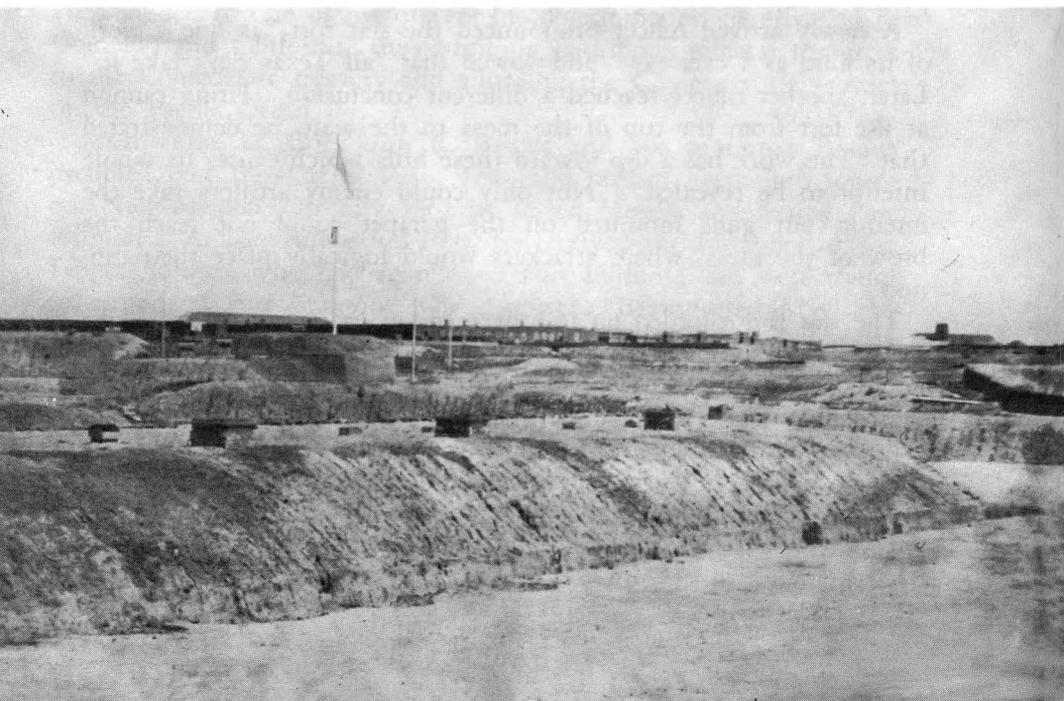
### *The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico*

Sibley's brigade marched north from Fort Bliss in January 1862, aiming for Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Fort Union, and ultimately Denver. At Fort Craig, Canby now had about 3,800 men, largely untested volunteers. The Texans tried to slip around the fort, but Canby sent his men to the east side of the Rio Grande to bar the way. On February 21, 1862, the two armies fought the Battle of Valverde. Although badly outnumbered, the Texans drove the Federals back across the river and into the fortifications of Fort Craig, then pushed north. The quartermaster detachment at Albuquerque burned the military stores and withdrew. On March 5 the garrison at Santa Fe evacuated the capital and fell back on Fort Union. Sibley occupied the two towns. Only Fort Union stood between him and Denver.

Coloradoans had not failed to appreciate their danger. A regiment of volunteers had already been recruited, and late in February marched out of Denver in response to Canby's pleas for help. On March 5, the day Santa Fe was evacuated, components of the regi-

*The Star Fort, about 1866.*

U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.



ment rendezvoused on the Arkansas River and struck south on the Santa Fe Trail. Impelled by news of Sibley's victory at Valverde, they embarked on a dramatic forced march to save Fort Union. Covering an average of 40 miles a day, the Coloradoans surmounted snow-choked Raton Pass. On the other side they learned that Albuquerque and Santa Fe had fallen and that Fort Union stood in daily peril. Responding to a plea from their officers, the "Pike's Peakers" pushed on until, after a march of 92 miles in 36 hours, exhaustion finally compelled them to stop for rest. Two more days of marching, in the face of a furious blizzard and dust storm, brought the brigade, at dusk on March 11, to Fort Union.

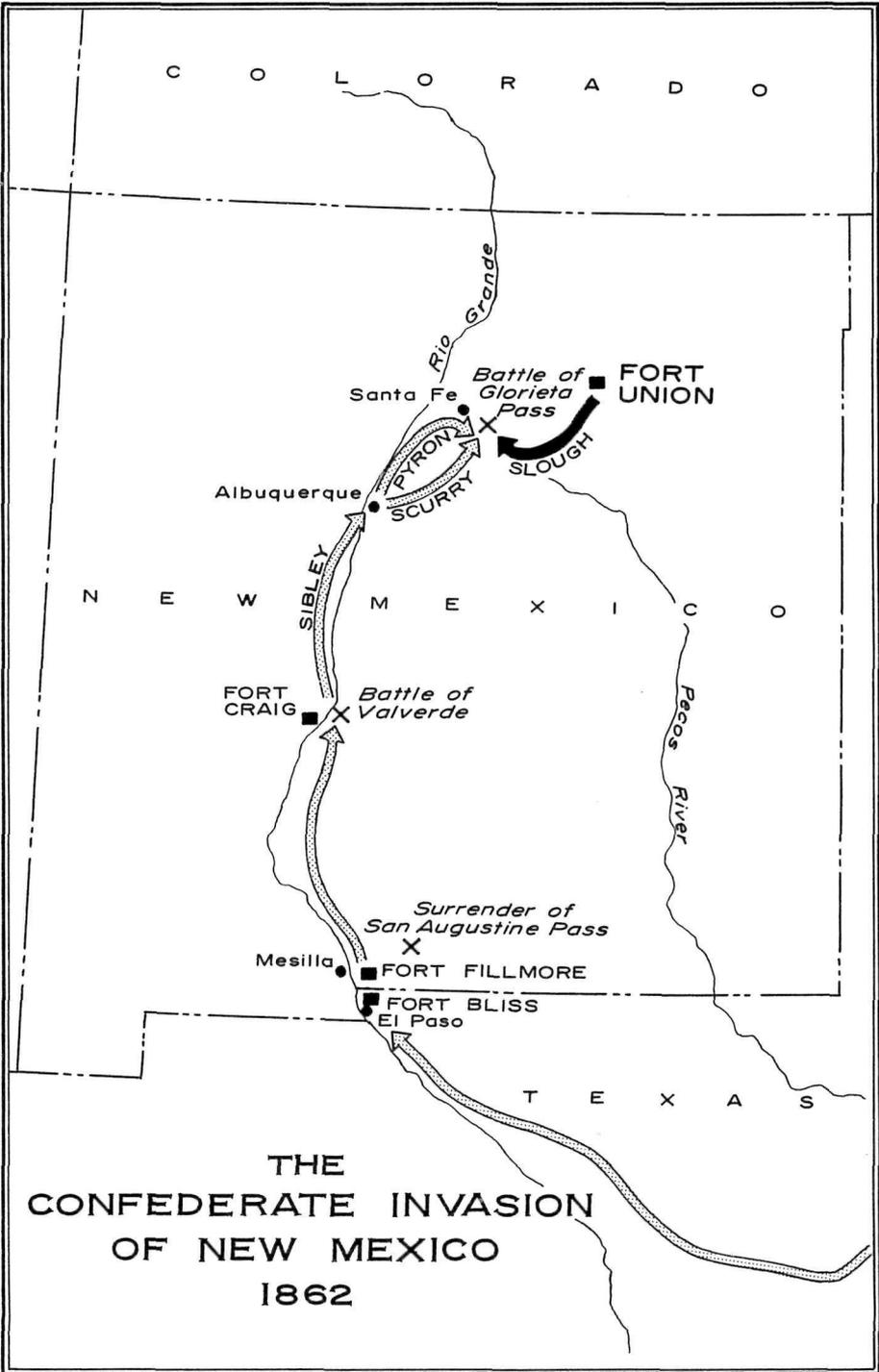
The commander of the Colorado regiment, Col. John P. Slough, went into conference with the commander of the regulars at Fort Union, Col. Gabriel R. Paul. Slough wished to take the initiative. Paul pointed out that Canby's orders were to hold Fort Union and harass the Confederate advance. Slough argued that only by moving against the enemy could they be harassed. Comparison of the dates on their commissions revealed that Slough ranked Paul. The Coloradoan promptly claimed command of all units at Fort Union and laid plans for advancing to meet the enemy. On March 22 he moved out on the road to Santa Fe with 1,342 men—his own regiment, a battalion of regular infantry, 1 of regular cavalry, and 2 batteries of artillery. Three days later he was at the eastern end of Glorieta Pass.

At this time the Confederate brigade was divided. Part of the 5th Texas occupied Albuquerque. The rest had passed through Santa Fe and, under Maj. Charles L. Pyron, were marching toward Glorieta Pass on the road to Fort Union. At Apache Canyon, west of the pass, Pyron expected to unite with Lt. Col. W. F. Scurry, then camped at Galisteo with the 7th Texas and part of the 4th, all dismounted. General Sibley was in Albuquerque.

Between the Federals and the Confederates lay Glorieta Pass, a rugged defile through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains by which the Santa Fe Trail swung south to avoid the main range of mountains and gain access to the capital city. Here the two armies fought the decisive battle of the Civil War in the Far West.

### *The Battle of Glorieta Pass*

On March 25 Colonel Slough ordered Maj. John M. Chivington and 400 men, part infantry and part cavalry, to conduct a reconnaissance in force toward Santa Fe. Next morning, as Chivington descended the western slope of Glorieta Pass into Apache Canyon, he ran into Major Pyron's Confederates, four dismounted companies of the 5th Texas, entering the western end of the canyon. Py-



ron planted his two mountain howitzers on the Santa Fe Trail and opened fire. By sending flanking detachments to the slopes on either side of the canyon, Chivington twice forced the enemy artillery to pull back. As the guns were unlimbering the second time, he sent his cavalry charging down the road. The bridge across Apache Creek had been destroyed, but the horsemen jumped the ditch and piled into the disorganized Texans. The charge broke Confederate resistance and scattered the Texans to the rear. As night was approaching, Chivington assembled his command and returned to Pigeon's Ranch, just east of the summit of Glorieta Pass.

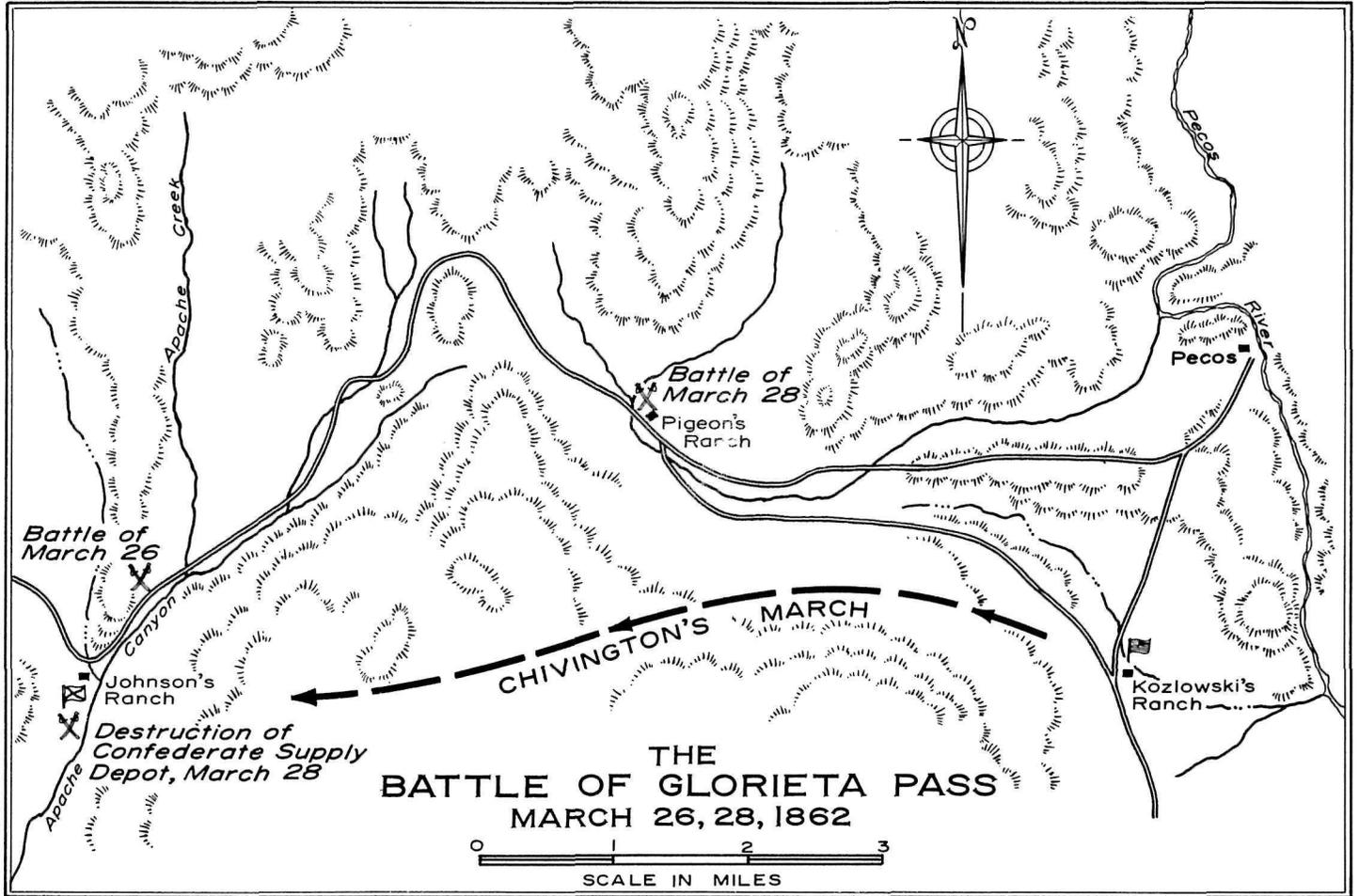
Major Pyron set up camp at Johnson's Ranch, outside the canyon, and sent a messenger to Colonel Scurry at Galisteo asking for help. Scurry's men made a forced march and reached Johnson's Ranch at about 3 a.m. on March 27. They parked the 80 supply wagons and, expecting a Federal attack, organized a defense perimeter. Scurry waited all day, then on the morning of the 28th decided to take the offensive. Leaving a guard with his supply wagons at the ranch, he entered Apache Canyon with about 700 men.

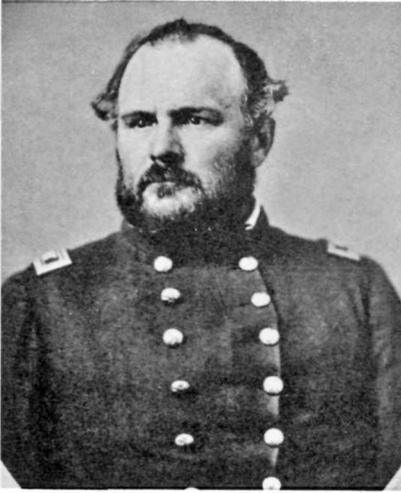
Slough had also decided to take the offensive, and with 900 men and the artillery he advanced toward the summit of the pass. The other 400 he had sent with Major Chivington to slip around the Confederates and strike them in the rear. Slough and Scurry collided at Pigeon's Ranch at 10:30 a.m. The Federals set up a defensive line. Scurry mounted repeated assaults, first on one flank, then on the other, next on the center, and finally on all fronts at once. Twice the Federal line fell back to new positions. By late afternoon both sides were exhausted.

Meanwhile, Major Chivington had left the road and led his men into the timbered mountains south of the pass. At 1:30 p.m. he emerged on the brow of a steep bluff. Below was Johnson's Ranch and the Confederate wagon park. His troops poured down the bluffs and quickly took possession of the supply depot. A cannon opened fire, but sharpshooters silenced it by picking off the gunners. The Federals burned the 80 wagons, containing ammunition, food, clothing, and forage; slaughtered 30 horses and mules found in a corral; spiked the field piece; and withdrew with 17 prisoners.

Scurry had all but won the battle at Pigeon's Ranch when a courier galloped up with word of the disaster that had befallen his supply base. He sent a flag of truce to Slough asking for a cease-fire, which was gladly granted. The Union troops retired to Kozlowski's Ranch, while the Confederates remained on the field through the following day.

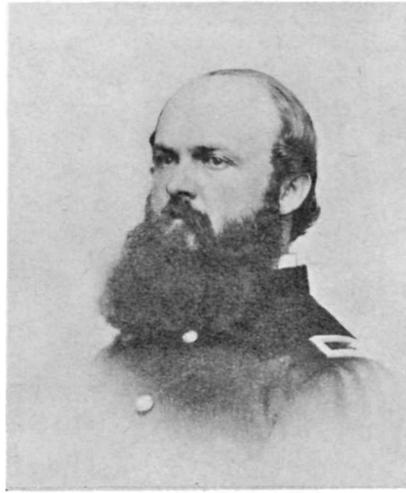
Confederate casualties were 36 killed, about 60 wounded, and 25 taken prisoners. Colonel Slough reported losses of 29 killed, 64 wounded, and 13 prisoners, although other Union participants gave





STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF COLORADO.

*Maj. John M. Chivington, 1st Colorado Volunteers, played the decisive part in defeating the Confederates at Glorieta Pass.*



STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF COLORADO.

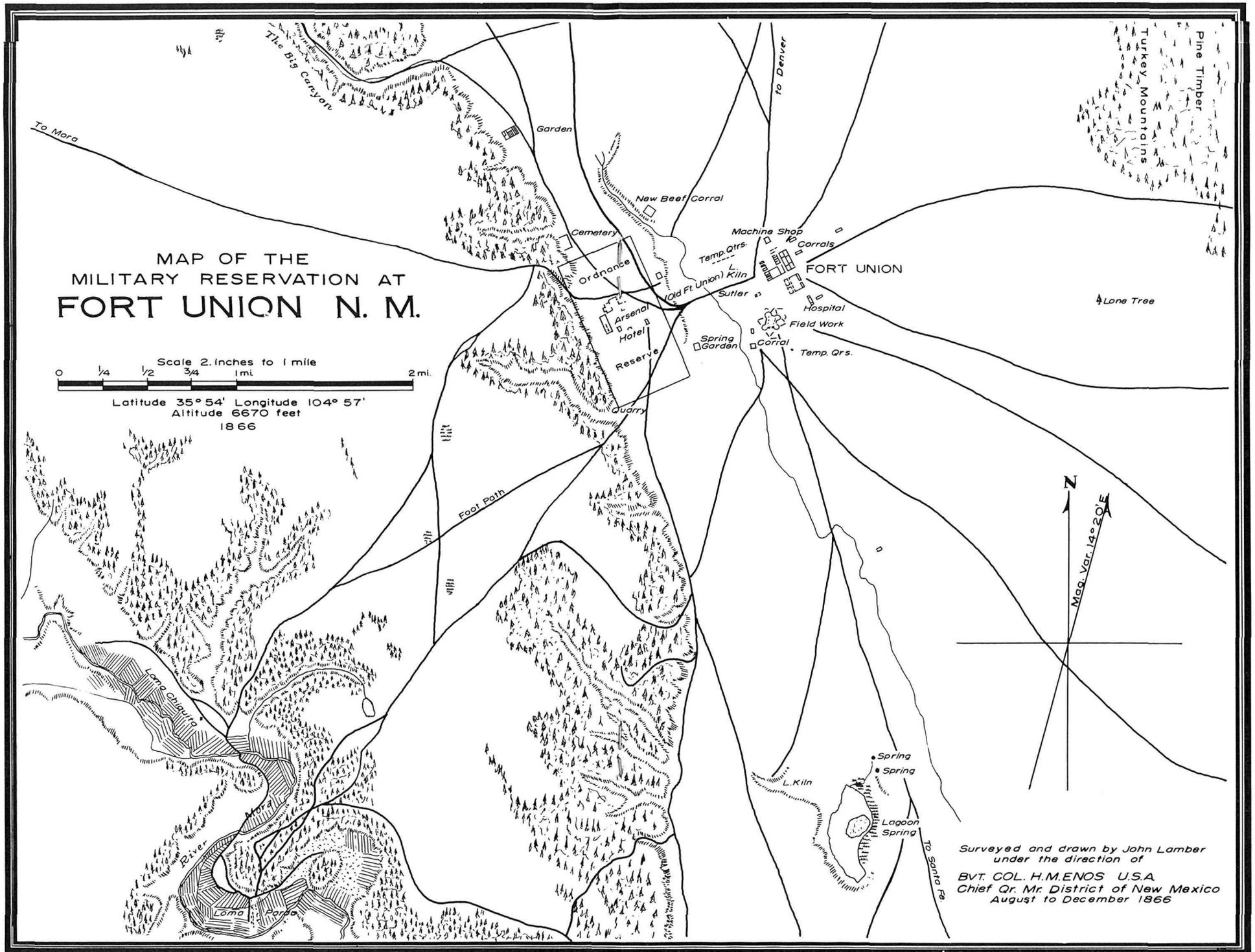
*Col. John P. Slough, 1st Colorado Volunteers, commanded Union forces at the Battle of Glorieta Pass.*

higher figures. Considering the total number involved in the battle, it had been a bloody affair.

Loss of the supply train dashed Sibley's hopes and in the end destroyed his grand design for the Confederacy in the West. Sibley withdrew to Albuquerque and, harassed by Canby, began a desperate retreat through rugged, waterless mountains to his base at Fort Bliss. Baylor's Territory of Arizona also collapsed. Ultimately even Fort Bliss was abandoned. As one of the Texans wrote to his wife, "If it had not been for those devils from Pike's Peak, this country would have been ours."

### *A New Fort*

Sibley's departure coincided with the arrival of fresh troops. California had responded to Canby's appeal for help in the defense of New Mexico by rushing a brigade of volunteers across the deserts of southern Arizona. The "California Column," Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton commanding, reached Mesilla in July 1862, too late to help drive the Confederates out of the territory. The Colorado Volunteers went home to fight Indians, and the California Volunteers stayed in New Mexico to fight Indians. On September 17, 1862, Canby turned over command of the Department of New Mexico to General Carleton and left for a new assignment in the East.

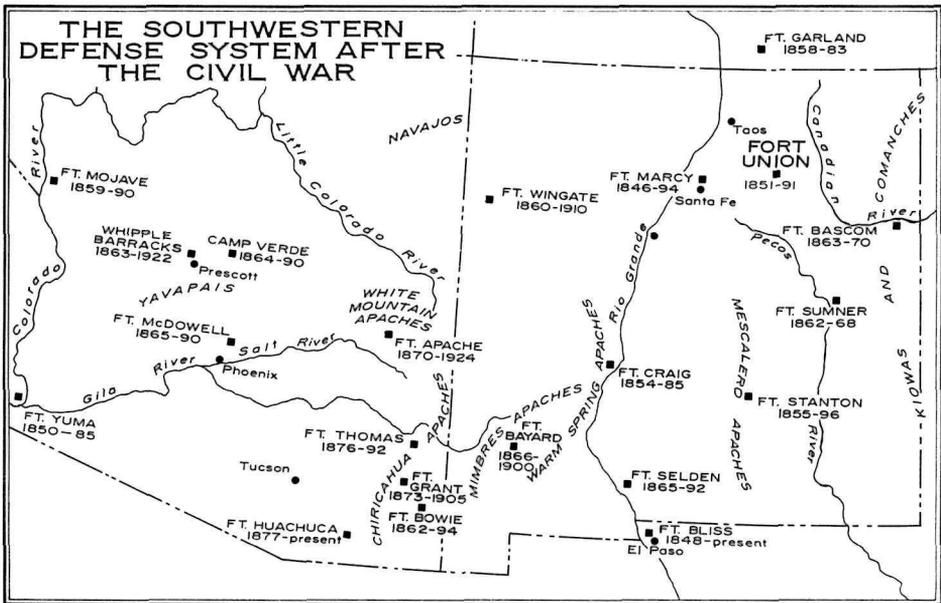




Mora and from two mills on the Sapello River. Later the Army acquired its own planing mill, and logs cut from the Fort Union timber reserve in the Turkey Mountains were dressed at the fort. Such items as tools, nails, window glass, fire bricks, and roofing tin had to be hauled over the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth.

The Post of Fort Union was laid out to accommodate four companies—cavalry, infantry, or a combination of both. The nine houses that made up officers' row lined a spacious parade ground on the west. In the center of the line stood the commanding officer's home. Flanking it on either side were four houses, each divided by a wide hall into apartments for two families. Across the parade ground to the east were four sets of barracks for enlisted men. Behind the barracks were quarters for laundresses and married soldiers, administrative offices, bakery, prison, guardhouse, chapel, storehouses, and corrals with wooden stables for 200 horses. Just south of this complex of buildings stood the 36-bed hospital, which served all the personnel at Fort Union.

The parade ground extended north into the Fort Union Quartermaster Depot, which supplied all the New Mexico forts. In line with the post officers' quarters were the depot officers' quarters and administrative offices. Across the parade ground, in line with the post barracks, were four large storehouses and the mechanics' corral, which consisted of shops and quarters for blacksmiths, carpenter-



ters, and wheelwrights. Behind this group of buildings was the transportation corral, with sheds for freight wagons, storage houses for grain, and quarters for the teamsters. As the Army supply center for all New Mexico, the Fort Union depot boasted a much larger physical plant than the post of Fort Union, and it employed considerably more men, mostly civilians.

By comparison, the Fort Union Arsenal, which served the ordnance needs of the department, was a modest establishment. It consisted of an officer's house, a barracks building, storehouses, shops, and magazine, all surrounded by a wall 4,000 feet square. Capt. William R. Shoemaker, who had been at Fort Union since Colonel Sumner's time, presided over this part of the fort.

Water for all three units of the fort came from wells and storage cisterns spotted among the buildings. All the buildings were heated by fireplaces and lighted by spacious windows by day and candles or oil lamps by night.

Fine as the elaborate new Fort Union appeared, it too had been hastily constructed. The main trouble lay in faulty roofing, which admitted water to the adobe walls and started an eroding action that made repairs constantly necessary. There were those, too, who questioned its utility for any purpose. Among them was Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, a very important person indeed, who wrote in

*Fort Union, as it is and as it was.*



1869 that Fort Union "has grown into proportions which never at any time were warranted by the wants of the public service. Quartermasters and Commanding Officers have gone on increasing and building up an unnecessary post, until it has become, by the unnecessary waste of public money, an eye sore. I do not accord with the opinion of any one as to its military bearings for protection of field operations, nor do I see any necessity for it as a Depot." Necessary or not, Fort Union continued to grow for another 20 years and to serve as a tactical base and supply depot on the New Mexico frontier.

### *Carleton's Operations, 1862-66*

To meet the Confederate threat to New Mexico, Colonel Canby stripped the frontier forts and concentrated his forces on the Rio Grande. In the white man's family quarrel, the Indians of the Southwest saw a chance to pillage ranches and settlements without much danger from pursuing soldiers. By the time General Carleton and the California Volunteers reached New Mexico in 1862, Apaches and Navajos were raiding unchecked through the territory, and Kiowas and Comanches were striking viciously at the Santa Fe Trail and the eastern fringes of New Mexican settlement. Although they had enlisted to save the Union, the Californians joined with the New Mexico volunteers in an attempt to crush the hostiles. For the rest of the war, 1862-65, they campaigned ceaselessly.

General Carleton was a tough, aggressive officer with plenty of frontier experience. He believed in relentless pursuit and harsh punishment. In orders to a subordinate, he summed up his doctrine of Indian fighting: "All Indian men . . . are to be killed whenever and wherever you can find them. The women and children will not be harmed, but you will take them prisoners."

Carleton's principal field commander was himself no novice at Indian fighting. Kit Carson, now colonel of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry, was the mailed fist with which the general struck at the hostiles.

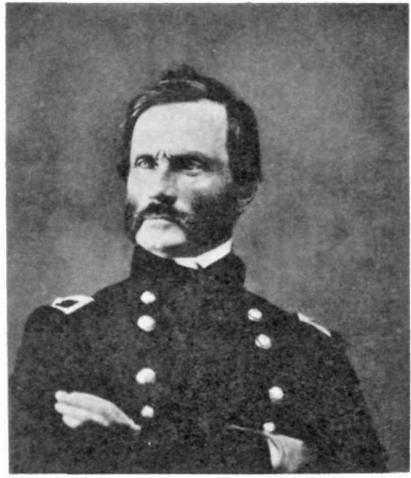
Carleton garrisoned the abandoned forts and built new ones. In the winter of 1862-63 he sent Kit Carson to Fort Stanton, in south-central New Mexico, to war on the Mescalero Apaches. By March 1863 Carson had subjugated the tribe and moved 400 warriors with their families to a new reservation on the Pecos River, in eastern New Mexico. Here Carleton built Fort Sumner to stand guard. Carson moved to Fort Union to await further orders.

In June 1863 Carleton turned his attention to the Navajos, for 250 years the scourge of New Mexico. Colonel Sumner tried to con-



MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

*Kit Carson, colonel of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry, 1862-66.*



MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO.

*Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton commanded the Department of New Mexico from 1862 to 1866 and prosecuted a relentless war against the hostiles.*

quer them in 1851 and 1852, and failed. Colonel Canby tried again in 1860, also with disappointing results. Now Carleton ordered Kit Carson to march west with the three companies of cavalry at Fort Union and rendezvous with the rest of the 1st New Mexico Regiment for a campaign in the Navajo homeland.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1863, Carson marched and countermarched in the Navajo country. Not once did he fight, but he captured stock, destroyed crops, and gave the quarry no rest. In January 1864 he invaded the awesome depths of Cañon de Chelly, bulwark of the Navajo homeland. It was a shattering psychological blow to the Navajos. Nowhere, they now realized, could they be safe from Kit Carson. Tired, discouraged, and destitute, the bands one by one drifted south to surrender at Forts Canby, Defiance, and Wingate. By the summer of 1864, 8,000 had given up. Carleton had them marched east to Fort Sumner and colonized with the Mescalero Apaches.

The Fort Sumner experiment did not work well. The land would not support so many Indians, who were not especially interested in farming anyway. Moreover, the Apaches and Navajos disliked one another. The Apaches finally broke loose and were not finally subjugated until the late 1870's. For the Navajos, the confinement at Fort Sumner, far from their beloved homeland, was a terrible ordeal. It utterly broke their aggressive spirit. They went home in 1868, resolved never again, no matter what the provocation, to challenge the white man.

On the east the Kiowas and Comanches had grown increasingly troublesome. By 1864 the plains were in the throes of a disastrous war, and caravans on the Santa Fe Trail traveled in constant peril. Carleton took steps to guard his supply line. During the travel seasons of 1864 and 1865, detachments of cavalry rode out of Fort Union to establish camps at strategic points on both the Mountain and Cimarron Branches of the trail. For a time, too, Carleton offered escort service. Trains collected at Fort Union and once a week moved out with cavalry guards. The escort went as far as the Arkansas River, then waited for a west-bound train to accompany back to Fort Union. This service, however, required more troops than could be spared and soon had to be abandoned.

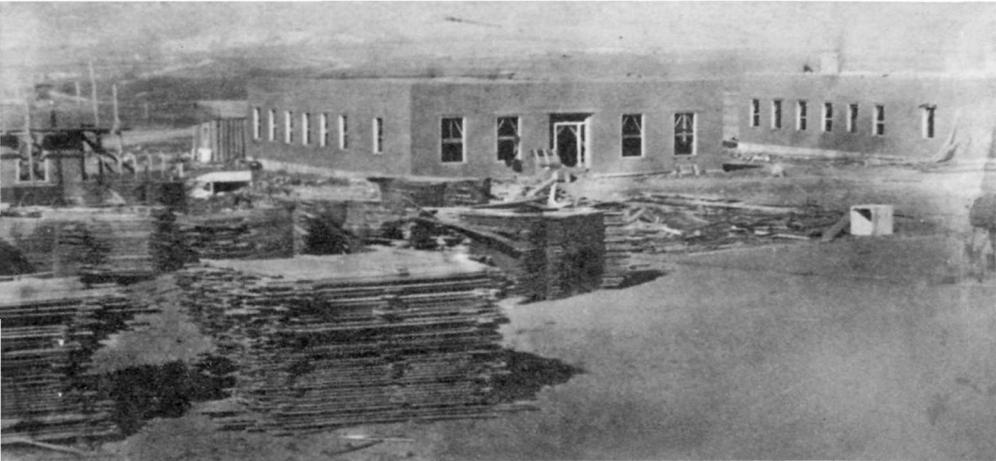
Never one to stay long on the defensive, Carleton decided to strike at the home country of the Indians who were raiding the Santa Fe Trail. In November 1864 he sent Kit Carson and his regiment into the Texas Panhandle, heart of the Kiowa-Comanche country. On November 26 the troops attacked a large camp of Kiowas on the Canadian River near the ruins of a trading post once operated by William Bent. Joined by Comanches, the Kiowas counterattacked and besieged Carson in the ruins. The Battle of Adobe Walls raged all day, but mountain howitzers kept the Indians at bay. At dusk the troops burned the Kiowa village and withdrew.

In the East the long Civil War finally ended at Appomattox Court House in April 1865, and the victorious Union armies dissolved. On the western frontier, the volunteer regiments that had struggled against Indians instead of Confederates one by one went home to be mustered out. Once more the regulars came west to garrison the forts and fight Indians. By autumn of 1866 the California and New Mexico volunteer regiments had been released, and General Carleton had relinquished his command.

### *The Mescalero Scout of 1867*

After bolting from the Fort Sumner Reservation in 1865, the Mescalero Apaches hid themselves in the canyons of the Guadalupe and Sacramento Mountains of southern New Mexico. In small, swift-riding bands their warriors darted from the mountain hideouts to plunder, burn, and kill. Settlers and travelers along the Rio Grande and the Pecos from Texas to north-central New Mexico lived in daily terror of Mescalero raids. Although Fort Stanton played the key role in contending with these Indians, Fort Union mounted one memorable offensive against them.

In September 1867 a Mescalero war party ran off 150 head of

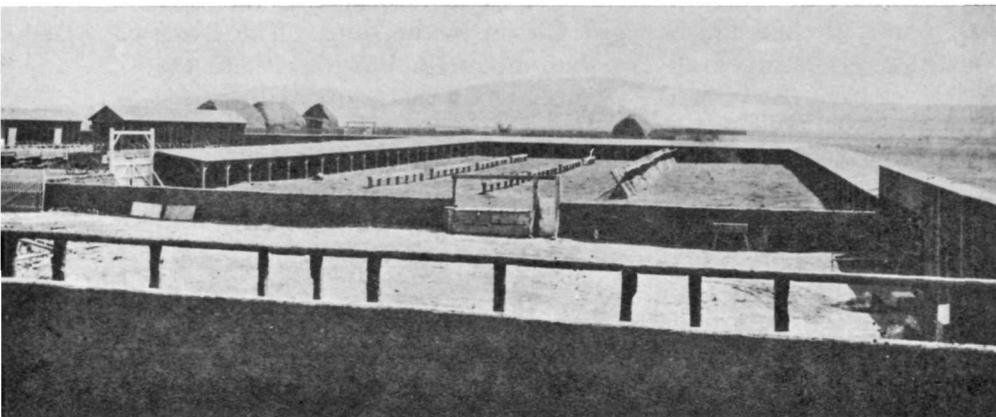


U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

*Officers' Quarters under construction in 1866.*

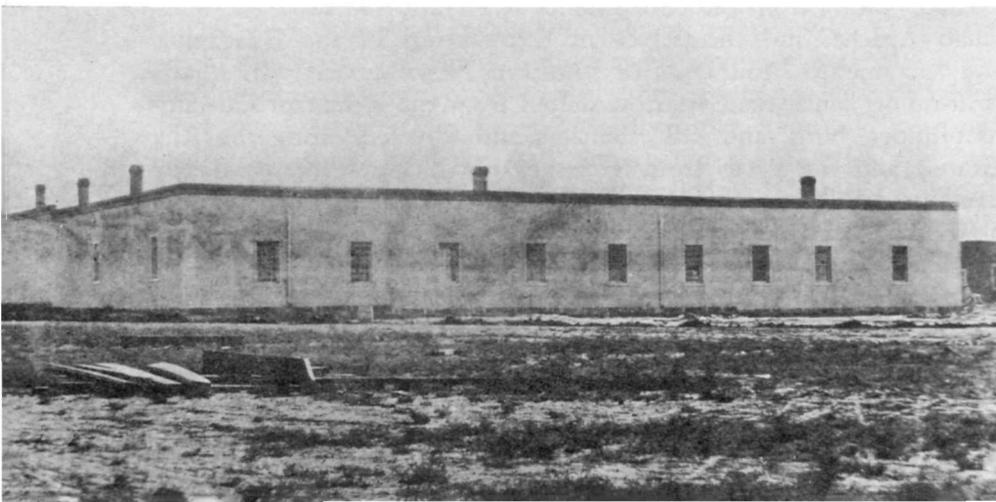
*The Herder's Corral, east of the Quartermaster Depot, about 1880.*

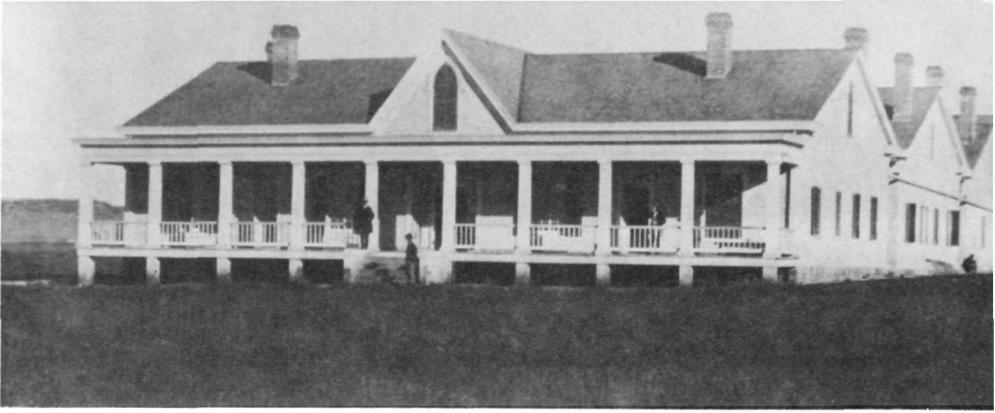
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*Barracks at Fort Union, 1866.*

U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.



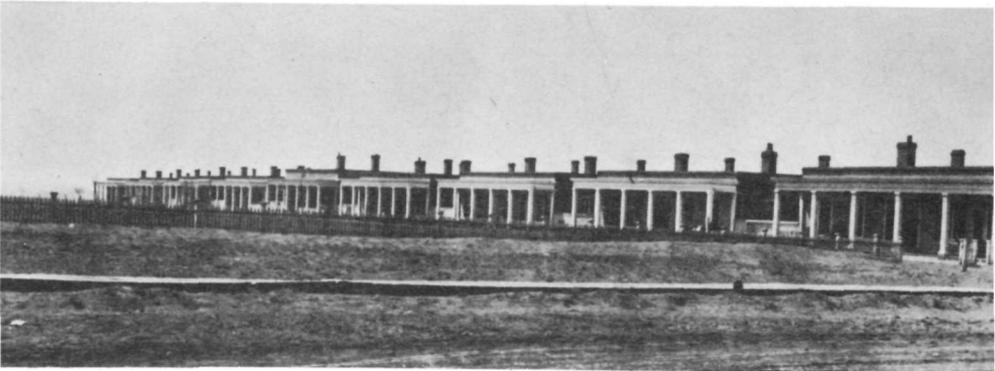


U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

*Fort Union Hospital in the 1870's.*

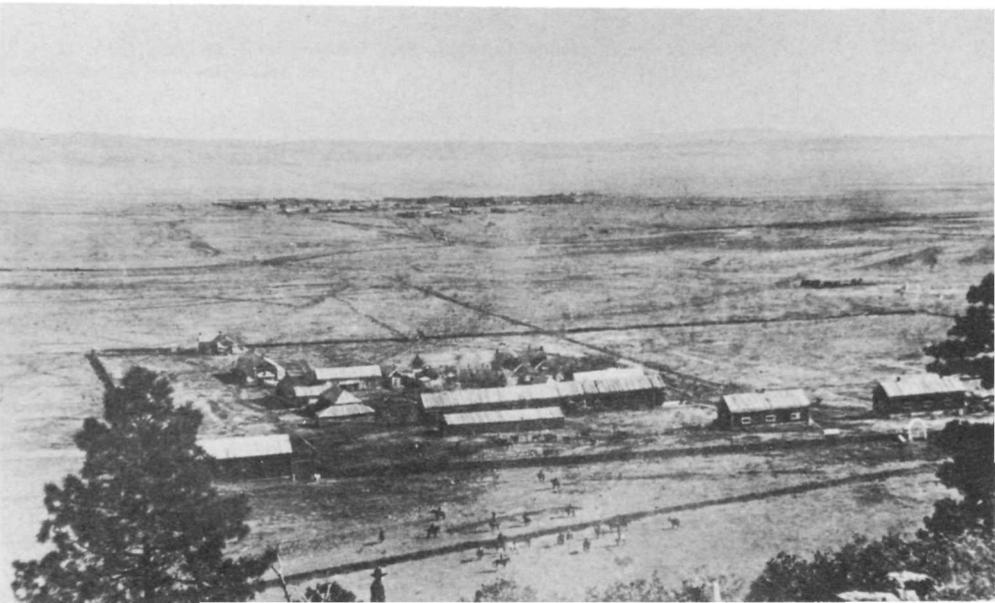
*Officers' Row, Post of Fort Union, in the 1870's.*

U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.



*Fort Union Arsenal in 1879, photographed from the bluffs west of the post.*

ARIZONA PIONEERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



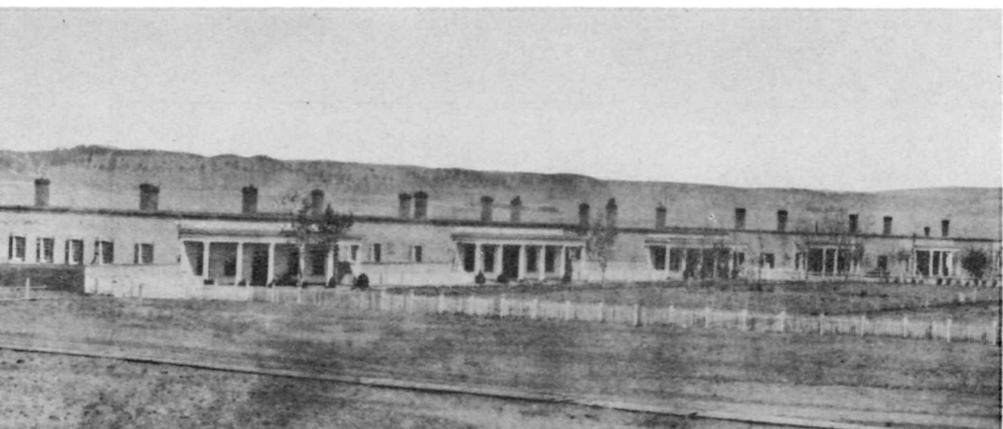


U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

*Quartersmaster Clerk's Office, Fort Union Depot, in the 1870's.*

*Quartersmaster Officers' Quarters and Administrative Offices, Fort Union Depot, in the 1870's.*

U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.



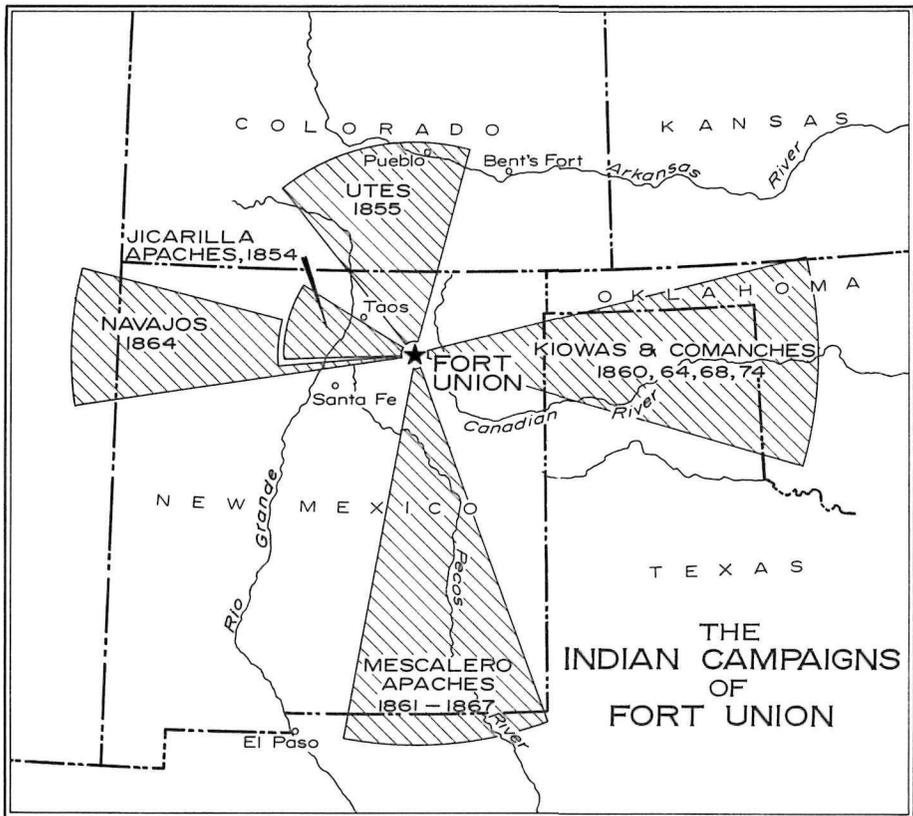
*Interior of the Mechanic's Corral, Fort Union Depot, in the 1870's.*

U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO, NATIONAL ARCHIVES.



stock near Mora, in the mountains west of Fort Union. With Troop D, 3d Cavalry, Capt. Francis H. Wilson rode out of Fort Union in pursuit. The trail led south, toward the Mescalero homeland. Reinforced by another troop of the 3d Cavalry from Fort Stanton, Wilson now had 107 men. The march led them to forbidding Dog Canyon of the Sacramento Range, then across to the Guadalupe, and finally south into Texas.

The rugged peaks of the Sierra Diablo rise starkly from the desert of West Texas, and here on October 18 Wilson finally caught up with the raiders. He surprised 30 to 40 warriors, dropped 6 in the first fire, and galloped off in pursuit of the fleeing survivors. The cavalrymen kept up the chase for 15 miles, then suddenly stumbled on a winter camp of 300 to 400 Mescaleros. While the women worked frantically to move the winter food supply to safety, the warriors fought off their assailants. For 3 hours the battle raged back and forth in the canyon. Wilson's men took casualties of 7 wounded, but killed or wounded 25 to 30 of the enemy before the Indians dissolved into the mountains.





*"A Reconnaissance," by Frederic Remington.*

CENTURY MAGAZINE, JULY 1891.

Wilson led his command to Fort Bliss for supplies and medical attention, then marched back to Fort Union. He arrived on November 12, having covered more than 1,000 miles of mountain and desert in less than 2 months. Although he had dealt the Mesqueros a severe blow, not for more than a decade were they conquered for all time.

Meanwhile, the Kiowas and Comanches once more turned the attention of the Fort Union garrison to the east.

### *The Campaign of 1868*

The plains war raged on through 1866 and 1867. Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes ravaged the settlements of Kansas and eastern Colorado. Military operations focused in Kansas, thus drawing the hostiles away from the lower end of the Santa Fe Trail and affording New Mexico relief from the plains warriors. But Fort Union did not remain untouched by the war.

In the autumn of 1868, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan decided to organize a winter campaign against the plains tribes. He planned to have four columns converge on the winter campgrounds of the

hostiles in what is now western Oklahoma. One was to come from New Mexico. Maj. A. W. Evans organized the New Mexico column at Fort Bascom, 130 miles southeast of Fort Union. It consisted of six troops of the 3d Cavalry, three of which were from Fort Union, a company of infantry from Fort Union, and a battery of four howitzers. (Two hundred Utes also joined up to fight their old enemies, but after drawing arms, ammunition, and clothing at Fort Union, changed their minds and with their new treasures went back home.) Evans began his thrust down the Canadian River on November 18, 1868.

Building a supply depot 185 miles down the Canadian, Evans spent an exhausting month scouring the country to the east. He found abundant sign of Indians but could locate none to attack. Finally, on Christmas Day, he sent Capt. E. W. Tarlton and his troop to pursue two warriors who, from distant hills, had been watching his movements for several days. The chase led into the narrow valley of the North Fork of Red River, on the western flank of the Wichita Mountains. Suddenly the 34 cavalrymen met head on a charging mass of about 100 mounted Comanches. A volley dropped four and turned the charge.

Tarlton sent for help. Joined by two more troops and two howitzers, he pushed down the river. In 2 miles he came upon a village of 60 Comanche lodges belonging to Chief Arrow Point. The tepees covered the left bank of the river on the edge of a grove of timber. Low mountains rolled off to the north. The Indians were working frantically to remove their possessions from the camp, but fled precipitously when a howitzer shell burst in their midst. The cavalry rushed through the village and formed among some rocks atop a ridge on the opposite side. In their front, the warriors took position among rocks on a parallel ridge.

Evans now arrived with the balance of the command. But the Comanches, too, received reinforcements. About 100 warriors from a Kiowa camp located farther downstream joined the fight. Some strengthened the Comanches exchanging fire with Tarlton, while others threatened his right and rear from across the river. Evans extended the line along the river to meet the new threat. He later estimated that about 200 warriors now opposed him. His own force numbered about 300, one-fourth of whom were detailed to hold the horses. While the two sides skirmished, troops were pulled from the line and sent to destroy the village and its contents, including the band's entire winter food supply.

The Indians showed no desire to close in a serious contest and fell back every time the troops advanced. Major Evans knew that he could not sustain a long pursuit with his wornout horses. As night approached, he decided to break off the battle and withdraw.

The infantry company, however, occupied a position from which it could not retire without exposing itself to a destructive fire. Evans therefore ordered Tarlton's three troops of cavalry to drive the enemy from their ridge. As the advance began, the warriors ran down the reverse slope of the ridge and mounted their ponies. Before the Indians could scatter, the cavalry reached the top of the ridge and, from a range of only 150 yards, poured a devastating fire from Spencer repeating carbines into the compact mass of Indians below. On Tarlton's left, Capt. Deane Monahan and his troop caught another party of warriors at exactly the same disadvantage. In each group about a dozen men were seen to fall, but their comrades carried them from the field. All opposition now dissolved, and the enemy galloped up the canyon leading to Soldier Spring. Evans pulled out that night.

In the Battle of Soldier Spring, Major Evans estimated that he killed 20 to 25 warriors and wounded an unknown number. His own loss was one man mortally wounded. In the destruction of their food supply, the Comanches suffered a serious blow. Rather than face starvation, most drifted east and surrendered to General Sheridan. Evans was back at Fort Bascom by the end of January 1869, and the Fort Union units returned to their home base.

The Battles of Soldier Spring and the Washita, where on November 27, 1868, Lt. Col. George A. Custer surprised the winter camp of Black Kettle's Cheyennes, broke the resistance of the Plains tribes. They agreed to give up the warpath and settle on reservations.

### *The Red River War, 1874*

Sheridan's successful winter campaign of 1868-69 failed to produce lasting peace. Confined to reservations at Fort Sill, Darlington, and Anadarko, in present Oklahoma, the Indians grew increasingly defiant as the years passed. More and more they indulged a favorite pastime of raiding settlements on the northern frontier of Texas.

In the summer of 1874, a Kiowa and Comanche war party besieged some buffalo hunters in the same Adobe Walls where Kit Carson fought the Kiowas in 1864, but the high-powered rifles of the hunters drove off the attackers. A group of Kiowas conducted a vicious raid into Texas and clashed with a detachment of Texas Rangers. Kiowas also attacked the agency at Anadarko. Murders multiplied in the vicinity of Fort Sill. General Sheridan finally won permission to separate the good Indians from the bad and to launch a full-scale offensive against the latter.

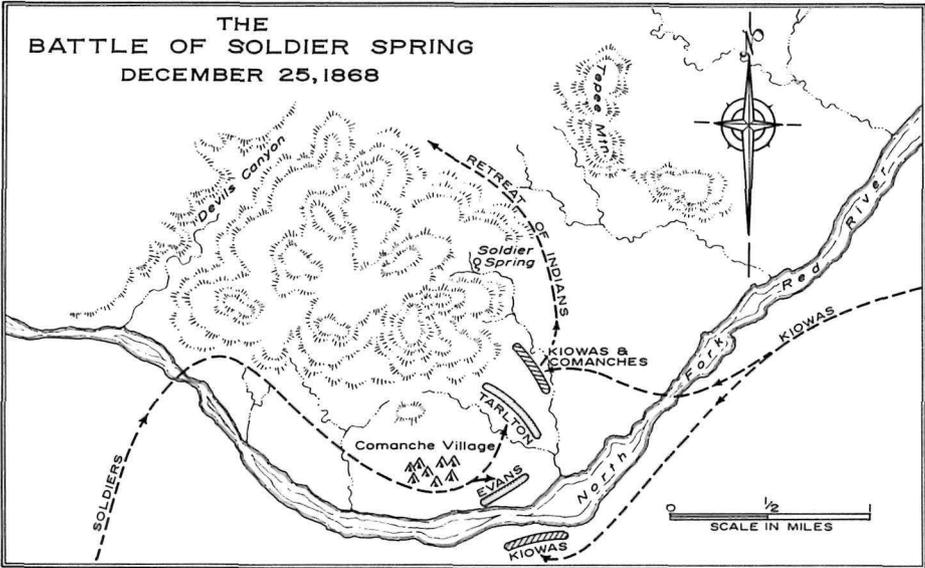
The hostiles—Kiowas and Comanches joined by a few Cheyennes

and Arapahoes—took refuge in the sterile, forbidding reaches of western Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle. On the vast table of the Staked Plains and in the surrounding maze of arroyos, canyons, and buttes, the Indians had usually been safe from soldiers. But Sheridan, repeating his strategy of 1868, put columns into the field to converge on this region from five directions. The commanders had orders to keep the Indians always on the move, allowing them no time to rest or hunt for game. As Kit Carson had shown in the Navajo campaign, war of this kind so wore out the Indians that their surrender was but a matter of time.

One of the five columns came from New Mexico. Three troops of the 8th Cavalry, Maj. William E. Price commanding, left Fort Union on August 20, 1874. At Fort Bascom, Price picked up another troop of the 8th Cavalry. With about 225 men, including 5 Navajo trailers, 2 howitzers, and a long wagon train, he pushed down the Canadian River.

Drouth had parched the land and dried up the waterholes. Soldiers and horses alike suffered intensely from heat and thirst. Then on September 7 the weather suddenly changed, and for several days torrents of cold rain drenched the column. Every arroyo ran full to the brim, and horses and wagons mired in the sodden prairie.

Besides the Fort Union column, a large force of infantry and cavalry under Col. Nelson A. Miles was operating in the region, and Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie with the 4th Cavalry was approaching from the southeast. Major Price cut loose from his supply train and scoured the valleys of the Canadian and Washita Rivers. On



September 12 he discovered a band of hostiles moving across his front. Some 150 warriors drew up in line on a ridge to cover the flight of the women and children. The cavalry charged, and the Indians pulled back to another position. Again Price charged, and again the Indians retreated. In this manner the two sides skirmished for 3 hours over a distance of 6 or 7 miles before the warriors, having given their families a chance to escape, scattered in all directions. Price lost several horses but no men and estimated that he killed about eight of the enemy.

The next day, as Price's command paused for lunch, a lone white man made his way on foot into the lines. He was the well-known scout, Billy Dixon. He told how he and scout Amos Chapman, accompanied by four soldiers, had been carrying dispatches for Colonel Miles. Surrounded by Comanches on the morning of the 12th, they had sought cover in a buffalo wallow full of water. All day and night they held out, until the approach of Price's cavalry frightened off the Indians. The rest of the party, one dead and three badly wounded, still lay in the muddy water. Price immediately sent help. In the history of the Indian wars, the Buffalo Wallow Fight has earned almost legendary fame.

During the afternoon of the 13th, Price and his men heard faint sounds of firing. Pickets went out to investigate and saw men on a distant ridge. They were scouts from the wagon train of Capt. Wyllys Lyman, whose 36 wagons, bearing supplies for Miles, had been under siege for 5 days by swarms of Kiowas and Comanches. The approach of Price's column had caused them to withdraw, but both Lyman's scout and Price's pickets took each other for Indians and beat a hasty retreat. Price continued on his way, and Lyman had to wait another day for relief.

Their country now swarming with soldiers, the hostiles had to keep always on the move and guard constantly against surprise. Some bands grew heartily sick of such a life, and Woman's Heart, Satanta, and Big Tree led their people east to surrender. Others, under Lone Wolf and Mamanti, made their way to Palo Duro Canyon, a great gash in the caprock of the Staked Plains. Even here they were not safe. Colonel Mackenzie's troopers found them and at dawn on September 27 charged into the sleeping camp. The Indians managed to flee with almost no casualties, but Mackenzie destroyed the tepees and their contents. He also slaughtered 1,400 captured ponies, a shattering blow to the Indians.

The Battle of Palo Duro Canyon utterly demoralized the hostiles. They scattered over the plains in small groups, many of which headed east to give themselves up. Other columns, under Lt. Col. John W. Davidson and Lt. Col. George P. Buell, joined Miles, Price, and Mackenzie. Mopping-up operations continued for another 3 months. By the end of the year the Red River War was over.

*"A Typical Cavalry Sergeant of the 1870's and 1880's," by Frederic Remington.*



CENTURY MAGAZINE, JULY 1891.

General Sheridan's strategy had worked. Between mid-August and late December 1874, the troop fought 25 separate skirmishes or engagements (in 4 of which the Fort Union column participated). In terms of bloodshed, none was decisive; in fact, the whole campaign produced remarkably few casualties. But the Army had hounded the Indians so remorselessly that the detested reservation grew increasingly preferable to the terrible insecurity of fugitive life. Never again did the tribes of the southern Plains make war on the white man.

### *Military Supply*

General Kearny's bloodless conquest of New Mexico in 1846 opened the era of military freighting on the Santa Fe Trail. Throughout the Mexican War, 1846 to 1848, the supply trains ate into the immense store of provisions on the wharf at Fort Leavenworth and, winter and summer, made their way across the plains to Santa Fe.

Thereafter, with a sizable army retained in New Mexico to fight Indians, military freighting grew to impressive proportions.

The need for a depot on the eastern frontier of New Mexico to receive and distribute these goods among the scattered outposts seemed evident to the military authorities. Partly for this reason, Colonel Sumner chose a site near the junction of the two branches of the Santa Fe Trail to found the first fort in his program of revising the frontier defense system. His order of July 16, 1851, establishing Fort Union also designated it the principal supply depot for the department.

But the big campaigns of the 1850's, those that required elaborate logistical support, were conducted in the southern and western reaches of the territory. The Fort Union depot therefore proved less satisfactory than hoped, and throughout the 1850's the chief quartermaster kept busy shifting his headquarters and supply stores between Fort Union and Albuquerque.

Nevertheless, plans for the new fort begun by General Carleton in 1863 provided for a sprawling quartermaster depot, complete with commodious warehouses and well-stocked repair and maintenance facilities. Fort Union became and remained the supply center of the Army in New Mexico. Not until the arrival of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1879 did its supply functions begin to diminish.

A large force of civilian employees and quartermaster personnel staffed the installation. Indeed, they often outnumbered the garrison of the adjacent post of Fort Union, and the chief quartermaster often ranked the post commander. Friction between the two officers seems to have been a permanent condition of life at Fort Union.

Many items the quartermaster obtained locally, but the bulk of goods—food, clothing, arms and ammunition, tools and building materials—came over the Santa Fe Trail. At the Fort Union depot, the wagons were unloaded and the freight repacked and assigned as needed to posts to the south and west. Sometimes, when wagons or entire trains contained shipments for one fort only, they continued directly to the destination without unloading at Fort Union.

The Army did little of its own hauling. Virtually all military freighting was performed under contract by civilian companies. Waste and inefficiency had characterized the Quartermaster Department's logistical support of Kearny's Army of the West, and in 1848 the Government turned to the contract system. For \$11.75 per hundred, James Browne of Independence agreed to transport 200,000 pounds of supplies to New Mexico. The next year, in partnership with William H. Russell, he contracted to haul all government stores over the Santa Fe Trail for \$9.88 per hundred. In 1850, 278 wagons laden with military freight passed over the trail.

In 1853 another freighter made his appearance. Alexander Majors made two round trips to New Mexico, one with a consignment of goods from Independence to Santa Fe, the other under government contract from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union. In 1854 he sent 100 wagons in 4 trains from Leavenworth to Union.

In 1855 Majors went into partnership with Russell, and the following year the new firm had 350 wagons on the trail to Fort Union. The company prospered and in 1858 added a third partner, William B. Waddell. Thus was born the most famous freighting concern in the history of the West. In this year, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell contracted to deliver all freight turned over to it by the Government and by 1860 and 1861 was the biggest company operating between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Union.

The trains left Fort Leavenworth early in the spring, in order to take advantage of the spring grasses. A typical train according to Majors, consisted of 25 wagons, and the company ran as many trains as necessary to haul the amount of freight under contract. Each wagon carried 3 to 3½ tons of merchandise. Although mules were occasionally used to draw the wagons, Russell, Majors, and Waddell preferred oxen. They were cheap, reliable, and, properly managed, could make the trip to New Mexico and back in one season. Four oxen were required for each wagon, but for a time in the 1850's eight were used and four left in New Mexico to furnish beef for the soldiers' rations. Skilled wagon masters capable of maintaining discipline among the teamsters, were a necessity. Majors chose them carefully, paying particular attention to the can-

*"On the March—The Advance Guard," by Frederic Remington.*

CENTURY MAGAZINE, JULY 1891.



didate's reputation for sobriety and morality. To them, he attributed much of his success as a freighter.

Large-scale military freighting, dominated by Russell, Majors, and Waddell, continued until 1866, when the railroad moved west into Kansas. Each railhead town served briefly as the port of embarkation for freight wagons. After the rails reached Denver in 1870, wagons continued to move supplies over the Mountain Branch of the trail between Pueblo and Fort Union, but after 1879 the great freight wagons ceased to creep across the rutted plains to Fort Union, and military freight now arrived at Watrous in railroad boxcars.

Supervised by Captain Shoemaker, the Fort Union Arsenal took care of the ordnance needs of the department. The large arsenals in the East, such as Frankfort and Springfield, sent weapons, ammunition, and related accoutrements to the Fort Union arsenal for distribution to field units. Old or damaged weapons were returned to the arsenal for repair or condemnation and disposal.

During his long service at Fort Union, Captain Shoemaker saw a striking transition in the firearms serviced by his staff. When he first came to the fort in the 1850's the dragoons were armed with the Hall breech-loading percussion-cap carbine and were just replacing the old Aston single-shot "horse pistol" (so-called because it was carried in a holster slung on the saddle pommel) with the new Colt's revolving pistol. Infantrymen carried heavy, muzzle-loading rifled muskets. All these weapons fired a paper or cloth cartridge, usually .58 or .69 caliber for shoulder weapons and .44 or .38 caliber for pistols. When Captain Shoemaker retired in 1882, the ordnance had changed drastically. Now the troops carried breech-loading Springfield rifles and carbines, caliber .45-70, and Colt's or Remington revolvers, caliber .45 or .44, all firing fixed metallic ammunition with greater accuracy, velocity, and speed.

As artillery often did good service in the Indian wars, the arsenal also serviced cannon. Light 6-pounder field guns and stubby 12-pounder howitzers, the latter with pack carriages for mountain use and high-wheeled "prairie carriages" for plains use, found great favor with Indian fighters throughout the period of Fort Union's active service. But, as a sign of progress, Captain Shoemaker on the eve of his retirement displayed to a delegation of Las Vegas citizens touring the arsenal two shiny new Gatling guns, forerunner of the modern machine gun.

### *Life at Fort Union*

Scouting, patrols, and campaigns relieved the tedium of a daily life that varied only in minor details throughout the year. The

official routine and the off-duty pastimes at Fort Union were duplicated at every frontier station in the West. Life was hard, but for many who served there the hardship only added to the nostalgia of later memories.

Of all Fort Union residents, the private soldier led the hardest life. Many were immigrants, chiefly German and Irish, only recently off the boat; others were the dregs of eastern society, those who lacked either ability or desire to find a better job; some were fugitives from justice, from business failure, from a shrewish wife, or from family responsibilities; a few were adventurers who liked soldiering. Meager pay, monotonous fare, hard work, and above all strict discipline made the private's lot an unenviable one. Officers and noncommissioned officers wielded awesome authority and awarded cruel punishment for minor infractions of the regulations. Desertions were common, and the deserter who failed to escape his pursuers suffered a retribution swift and severe.

Guard mount and the evening retreat parade, replete with field music, gold braid, and snapping guidons, roused a degree of martial ardor. But for the most part, the duties of the day seemed unheroic. The men drilled, practiced target firing, cared for weapons and horses, policed the grounds, and performed a variety of fatigue

*Ruins of the post bakery oven. Flagstone sidewalk in foreground was uncovered by excavation.*

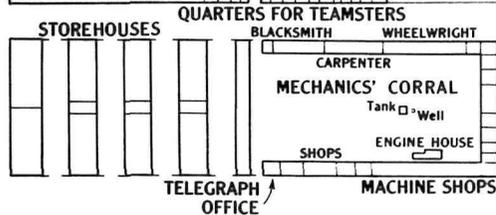
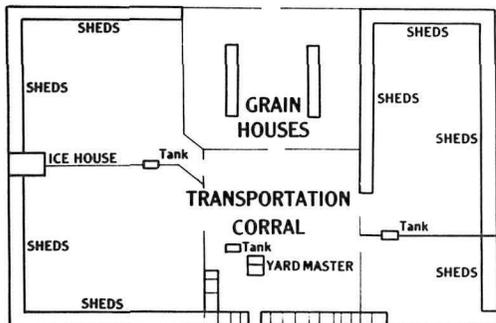


labors. Officers and noncommissioned officers supervised every activity. Lieutenants detailed as commissary and quartermaster officers carried out the necessary function of keeping the troops fed (beef, bacon, salt pork, beans, hardtack, desiccated vegetables, and coffee), clothed (rough, heavy woolens in all seasons), housed (communal barracks, grass-filled mattresses, springless wooden bunks), and supplied. Presiding over the whole from the headquarters building sat the commanding officer, and in an adjoining office two powerful voices of his authority, the adjutant and the sergeant major.

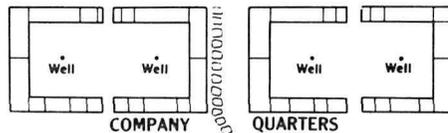
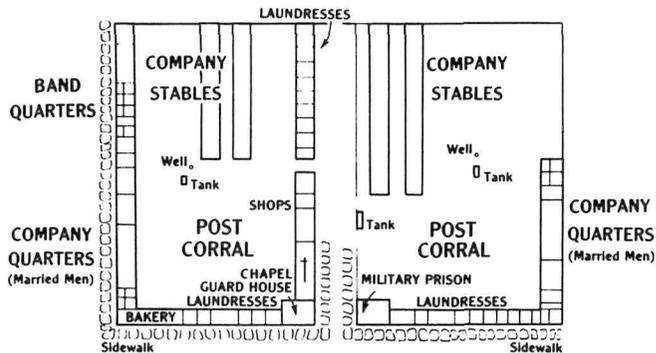
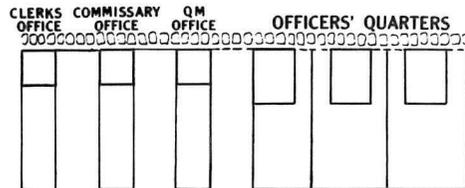
A typical day in garrison, regulated by the orderly trumpeter at headquarters, went like this:

Reveille . . . . .	Sunrise
Stable Call . . . . .	Immediately after
Sick Call . . . . .	7:15 a.m.
Breakfast Call . . . . .	7:20 a.m.
Fatigue Call . . . . .	7:50 a.m.
Grazing Call . . . . .	8:30 a.m.
Guard Mount . . . . .	8:45 a.m.
Water Mount . . . . .	9:30 a.m.
Drill Mount . . . . .	10:30 a.m.
Recall from Drill . . . . .	11:30 a.m.
Recall from Fatigue, dinner . . . . .	12:00 noon
Sergeant's Call . . . . .	12:00 noon
Fatigue Call . . . . .	12:45 p.m.
Drill Call . . . . .	1:00 p.m.
Recall from Drill . . . . .	2:00 p.m.
Water Call . . . . .	3:00 p.m.
Stable Call . . . . .	4:30 p.m.
Recall from Fatigue . . . . .	5:10 p.m.
Dress Parade and Retreat . . . . .	5:45 p.m.
Dinner . . . . .	7:00 p.m.
Tattoo . . . . .	8:00 p.m.
Taps . . . . .	8:30 p.m.

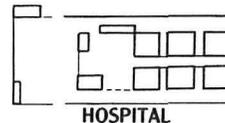
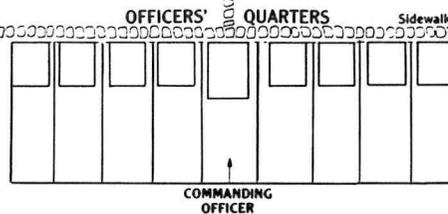
With promotion slow (lieutenants with 20 years service were not uncommon), officers jealously guarded the prerogatives of rank. A rigid caste system dominated human relationships. Rank determined one's privileges, authority, and social standing in the military community. When an officer reported for duty at Fort Union, for example, there might ensue a wholesale exchange of housing. A new officer had his choice of all quarters occupied by officers his junior in rank. A bachelor major might evict a captain with a large family from a 3-room apartment, thus leaving the captain to evict some hapless first lieutenant and his wife from a 2-room apartment. The



FORT UNION DEPOT



POST OF FORT UNION



HOSPITAL



NM-UN-7001 JUNE 1960

PLAN OF  
**FORT UNION**  
**1877**



lieutenant complied, however, for one day he too would wear the shoulder straps of a captain or perhaps even the gold oak leaves of a major.

The overriding condition of life at Fort Union, as at virtually every western post, was monotony. Field service occasionally relieved the boredom, and everyone except the wives eagerly anticipated it. But at other times the weeks seemed endless, all the more so because of the isolation. Las Vegas was 26 miles distant, Santa Fe almost 100. Residents of Fort Union had thus to entertain themselves.

Drinking and gambling headed the list of diversions. The post sutler's store, with its billiard and card tables and, when regulations permitted, its bar, was the center of this activity. For the enlisted men, the Mexican village of Loma Parada, 5 miles to the southwest, offered amusements to please every appetite. Primed with Army dollars, the town rocked with nightly revelry and drove many a post commander to the verge of distraction.

Also popular were hunting and fishing. Deer and antelope roamed the prairies surrounding Fort Union, and trout streams in the mountains beckoned the angler. Although enlisted men enjoyed these sports, officers were passionately addicted. They lavished much time and affection on their hunting dogs and horses and on their game rifles.

Reading was a favorite pastime. The post library subscribed to such periodicals as *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. It also provided many of the popular paperbacked novels of the day, together with some heavier reading for the more intellectually inclined. Everyone thirsted for news of the outside world, and newspapers, usually a month or more old, were passed from hand to hand until read to shreds.

The women organized social events on the slightest pretext. Most cherished were the times when general courts-martial convened at Fort Union, bringing friends from other posts, but at all times the officers and their wives were planning diversions of one kind or another.

Formal dinners, with fine silver, china, and linen assembled from several households and with champagne and tinned delicacies purchased at the sutler's store, were frequent occurrences. Much time and effort went into planning and staging amateur theatricals, called charades. Weddings were gala affairs, with the preparations absorbing as much enthusiasm as the ceremony and attendant festivities themselves.

If a regimental band happened to be stationed at the post, balls were regular and well attended. "The quarters at Fort Union," recalled an officer's wife, "had an unusually wide hall which was su-

perb for dancing, and three rooms on each side. We had only to notify the quartermaster that a hop was to be given, when our barren hallway would immediately be transformed into a beautiful ball-room, with canvas stretched tightly over the floor, flags decorating the sides, and ceiling so charmingly draped as to make us feel doubly patriotic." The men turned out in dress uniforms, the women in ball gowns fashionable when last they had been stationed in the East. Led by the impressively dignified bandmaster, the musicians poured forth marches, waltzes, and polkas. Between dances, the men gathered with cups and cigars at the punchbowl. Often, the festivities ended only with the approach of reveille.

Desperately and continuously, the Army people fought to overcome the monotony of garrison life. Never did they entirely succeed.

### *The Last Years*

On Independence Day 1879, the first locomotive of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad steamed into Watrous. The railroad ended one era and opened another in the Southwest. For Fort Union the handwriting was on the wall. The Indians had been

*Blacksmith forge in the Mechanic's Corral.*



conquered; as an artery of commerce the Santa Fe Trail had been replaced. Fort Union had outlived its usefulness.

For another 10 years, however, a garrison stagnated at the fort. An occasional chase after desperadoes offered the only field service, social events the only relief from the tedium of garrison life. The buildings continued to deteriorate, and a Quartermaster Department that could see the end in sight consistently refused to authorize repairs.

At least one officer found the life rewarding. Captain Shoemaker, now at Fort Union nearly 30 years, could tell the young West Pointers everything there was to know about the post. "That very courtly old gentleman," wrote the chaplain's daughter many years later, "could not be persuaded to ride on the Santa Fe R. R. . . . and had not been in Las Vegas for many years. He preferred his seclusive life within a certain radius of the Arsenal and the garrison, and was constantly in the saddle, a wonderful horseman, even though in his eighties." He finally retired in 1882 after 41 years of service, built a house near the fort, and died 4 years later.

In 1890 the War Department decided to abandon all the old frontier posts that no longer served a useful purpose, and Fort

*Stone cell block of the military prison, once surrounded by an adobe building.*



Union was included on the list. On February 18, 1891, the *Las Vegas Optic* reported that "The last few days have told a terrible tale at Fort Union. Four days ago everything was in running order, now everything is upside down and inside out. . . . The soldiers are busy packing government and private property." On the 21st, leaving behind a small caretaker detail, Companies C and H, 10th Infantry, formed on the parade ground and marched down the road to Watrous. Here they boarded a troop train that was to take them to Fort Wingate. Settling in their seats, rifles slung from overhead baggage racks, the infantrymen struck up a song: "There's a Land that is Fairer than This."

### *Fort Union Today*

After abandonment, Fort Union fell into ruins. With the roofs gone, rain, snow, and wind ate away at the adobe walls and caused rapid deterioration. In the late 1930's a movement was launched

*Ruins of the Laundress' Quarters.*



to save what had survived. Strong popular support, spearheaded by a local group called Fort Union, Inc., helped this movement at last to achieve its goal. With land deeded by the Union Land and Grazing Co., whose cattle ranges surround the ruins, Fort Union National Monument was established as a unit of the National Park System on April 5, 1956.

Crews working under the supervision of archeologists of the National Park Service immediately began a 4-year program to stabilize the ruins and halt further deterioration. They capped and braced the crumbling walls and sprayed the exposed adobe with water-resistant chemicals. Excavations yielded many artifacts.

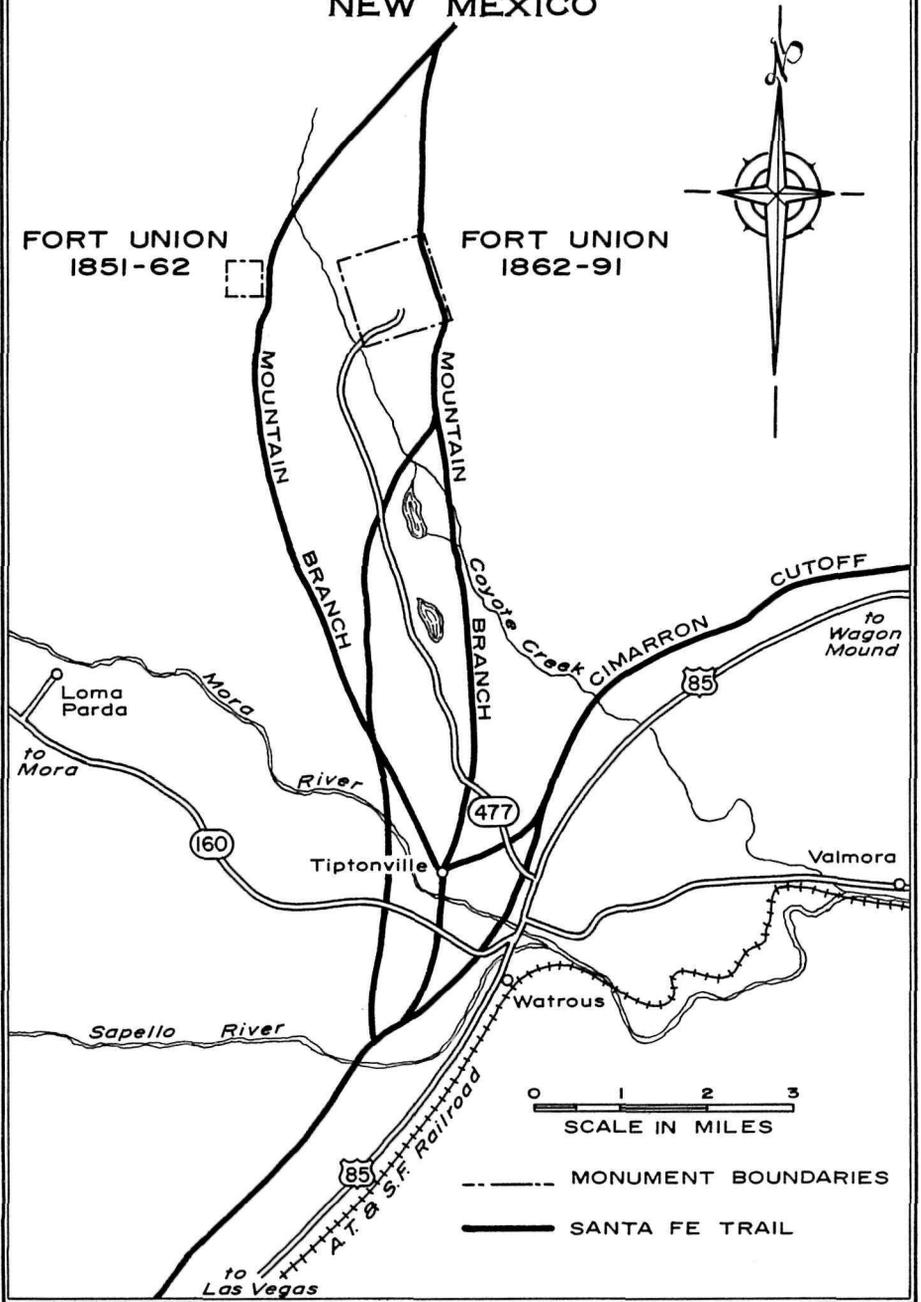
A visitor center and museum opened its doors on June 14, 1959.

Although most traces of the first fort, 1851-63, have vanished, visitors may examine the ruins of the star fort and the fort begun by General Carleton in 1863. The last consists of the Post of Fort Union, the Fort Union Quartermaster Depot, and, on the site of the first fort, the Fort Union Arsenal. Extensive evidences of the Santa Fe Trail may also be observed.

*Fireplace in hospital interior.*



# FORT UNION NATIONAL MONUMENT NEW MEXICO





## *Appendix 1*

### *Commanding Officers of Fort Union, 1851-91*

<i>Officer</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Period served</i>
Edmond B. Alexander <sup>1</sup> . . .	Capt. and bvt. lt. col.	3d Infantry	July 26, 1851- Apr. 22, 1852.
James H. Carleton <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	1st Dragoons	Apr. 22, 1852- Aug. 3, 1852.
William T. H. Brooks . . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	3d Infantry	Aug. 3, 1852- Dec. 18, 1852.
Gouverneur Morris . . . . .	Maj.	3d Infantry	Dec. 18, 1852- June 30, 1853.
Horace Brooks . . . . .	Capt. and bvt. lt. col.	2d Artillery	June 30, 1853- Aug. 3, 1853.
Nathanial C. Macrae <sup>3</sup> . . . .	Capt.	3d Infantry	Aug. 3, 1853- Nov. 4, 1853.
Philip St. George Cooke <sup>4</sup> .	Lt. col.	2d Dragoons	Nov. 4, 1853- Sept. 17, 1854.
Thomas T. Fauntleroy <sup>5</sup> . . .	Col.	1st Dragoons	Sept. 17, 1854- June 29, 1856.
William N. Grier . . . . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	1st Dragoons	June 29, 1856- Aug. 21, 1856.
Henry B. Clitz . . . . .	1st lt.	3d Infantry	Aug. 21, 1856- Sept. 27, 1856.
William W. Loring <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	Col.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	Sept. 27, 1856- May 31, 1859.
John S. Simonson . . . . .	Maj.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	May 31, 1859- June 7, 1859.
Robert M. Morris . . . . .	Capt.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	June 7, 1859- Oct. 22, 1859.
John S. Simonson . . . . .	Maj.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	Oct. 22, 1859- Aug. 15, 1860.
Charles F. Ruff . . . . .	Maj.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	Aug. 15, 1860- Sept. 17, 1860.

[Note: Post commanders frequently were absent on field or detached service. At such times the next ranking officer acted as post commander. Acting post commanders are not shown on this list. At other times an officer senior to the post commander served for a short period at the fort and by virtue of superior rank took temporary command of the post until his departure, when the command reverted to the previous incumbent. These officers are not listed either. Brevet (Bvt.) ranks were conferred for gallant or meritorious service. If ordered by proper authority, an officer might serve and be paid in his brevet rank. This happened frequently before the Civil War but was rare after the war, when more high-ranking officers were available for top commands]

*Commanding Officers of Fort Union, 1851-91—Continued*

<i>Officer</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Period served</i>
George B. Crittenden <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	Lt. col.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	Sept. 17, 1860— Feb. 28, 1861.
Thomas Duncan . . . . .	Capt.	Regiment of Mounted Riflemen.	Feb. 28, 1861— May 18, 1861.
Henry Hopkins Sibley <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	Maj.	1ST Dragoons	May 18, 1861— June 13, 1861.
William Chapman . . . . .	Maj. and bvt. lt. col.	2d Infantry	June 13, 1861— Dec. 9, 1861.
Gabriel R. Paul . . . . .	Col.	4th New Mexico Infantry.	Dec. 9, 1861— Apr. 6, 1862.
Asa B. Carey . . . . .	Capt.	13th Infantry	Apr. 6, 1862— June 4, 1862.
Peter W. L. Plympton . . . . .	Capt.	7th Infantry	June 4, 1862— Aug. 1862.
Henry D. Wallen . . . . .	Maj.	7th Infantry	Aug. 1862— Sept. 25, 1862.
Peter W. L. Plympton . . . . .	Capt.	7th Infantry	Sept. 25, 1862— Aug. 12, 1863.
William R. McMullen . . . . .	Capt.	1st California Infantry.	Aug. 12, 1863— Sept. 1, 1864.
Henry R. Selden <sup>9</sup> . . . . .	Col.	1st New Mexico Infantry.	Sept. 1, 1864— Jan. 1865.
Francisco P. Abreu . . . . .	Lt. col.	1st New Mexico Infantry.	Jan. 1865— Aug. 1865.
Edward B. Ellis . . . . .	Lt. col.	1st New Mexico Infantry.	Aug. 1865— Dec. 23, 1865.
Christopher Carson <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	Col.	1st New Mexico Cavalry.	Dec. 23, 1865— Apr. 21, 1866.
John Thompson . . . . .	Maj.	1st New Mexico Cavalry.	Apr. 21, 1866— Aug. 12, 1866.
Elisha G. Marshall . . . . .	Col. and bvt. brig. gen.	5th Infantry	Aug. 12, 1866— Feb. 20, 1867.
William B. Lane . . . . .	Maj. and bvt. lt. col.	3d Cavalry	Feb. 20, 1867— Oct. 15, 1867.
John R. Brooke <sup>11</sup> . . . . .	Lt. col. and bvt. brig. gen.	37th Infantry	Oct. 15, 1867— July 12, 1868.
William N. Grier <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	Col. and bvt. brig. gen.	3d Cavalry	July 12, 1868— June 1, 1870.
J. Irvin Gregg . . . . .	Col. and bvt. brig. gen.	8th Cavalry	June 1, 1870— Aug. 28, 1873.
John W. Eckles . . . . .	1st lt. and bvt. maj.	15th Infantry	Aug. 28, 1873— Sept. 15, 1873.
Andrew J. Alexander . . . . .	Maj. and bvt. brig. gen.	8th Cavalry	Sept. 15, 1873— July 9, 1874.
Henry A. Ellis . . . . .	Capt.	15th Infantry	July 9, 1874— Nov. 21, 1875.
James M. Ropes . . . . .	1st lt.	8th Cavalry	Nov. 21, 1875— Dec. 20, 1875.

*Commanding Officers of Fort Union, 1851-91—Continued*

<i>Officer</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Period served</i>
James F. Wade <sup>13</sup> . . . . .	Maj. and bvt. brig. gen.	9th Cavalry	Dec. 20, 1875- Nov. 24, 1876.
Nathan A. M. Dudley <sup>14</sup> . . .	Lt. col. and bvt. col.	9th Cavalry	Nov. 24, 1876- Aug. 23, 1877.
Edward W. Whittemore. . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	15th Infantry	Aug. 23, 1877- Sept. 3, 1877.
A. P. Morrow. . . . .	Maj.	9th Cavalry	Sept. 3, 1877- Nov. 26, 1877.
Edward W. Whittemore. . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	15th Infantry	Nov. 26, 1877- Jan. 14, 1880.
Nathan A. M. Dudley. . . .	Lt. col. and bvt. col.	9th Cavalry	Jan. 14, 1880- June 1880.
Edward W. Whittemore. . .	Capt. and bvt. maj.	15th Infantry	June 1880- July 1880.
Harrison S. Weeks. . . . .	1st lt.	8th Cavalry	July 1880- Oct. 25, 1880.
John B. Parke. . . . .	Capt. and bvt. lt. col.	10th Infantry	Oct. 25, 1880- Nov. 1880.
Harrison S. Weeks. . . . .	1st lt.	8th Cavalry	Nov. 1880- Dec. 9, 1880.
Edward W. Whittemore. . .	Capt.	15th Infantry	Dec. 9, 1880- Feb. 25, 1881.
Nathan W. Osborne. . . . .	Maj.	15th Infantry	Feb. 25, 1881- June 11, 1881.
Edward W. Whittemore. . .	Capt.	15th Infantry	June 11, 1881- Aug. 13, 1881.
James J. Van Horn. . . . .	Maj.	13th Infantry	Aug. 13, 1881- Sept. 4, 1881.
Harrison S. Weeks. . . . .	1st lt.	8th Cavalry	Sept. 4, 1881- Oct. 21, 1881.
Granville O. Haller. . . . .	Col.	23d Infantry	Oct. 21, 1881- Feb. 8, 1882.
George K. Brady. . . . .	Capt. and bvt. lt. col.	23d Infantry	Feb. 8, 1882- May 29, 1882.
Thomas MacK. Smith. . . .	Capt.	23d Infantry	May 29, 1882- July 12, 1882.
George K. Brady. . . . .	Capt. and bvt. lt. col.	23d Infantry	July 12, 1882- Oct. 16, 1882.
Henry M. Black. . . . .	Col.	23d Infantry	Oct. 16, 1882- Jan. 6, 1884.
Henry R. Mizner. . . . .	Lt. col.	10th Infantry	Jan. 6, 1884- Aug. 10, 1885.
Henry Douglass. . . . .	Col.	10th Infantry	Aug. 10, 1885- Dec. 31, 1888.
A. P. Morrow. . . . .	Lt. col.	6th Cavalry	Dec. 31, 1888- Dec. 2, 1890.
Edward W. Whittemore <sup>15</sup> . .	Maj.	10th Infantry	Dec. 2, 1890- Feb. 21, 1891.
John H. Schollenberger. . .	1st lt.	10th Infantry	Feb. 21, 1891- May 15, 1891.

## Commanding Officers of Fort Union, 1851-91—Continued

<sup>1</sup> Although Fort Union was established by Col. E. V. Sumner, he remained department commander while Captain Alexander served as post commander. Alexander received a brevet of brigadier general in 1865 for meritorious service in recruiting Federal armies during the Civil War.

<sup>2</sup> Carleton played a conspicuous role in New Mexico history. After the outbreak of the Civil War, he raised and commanded a brigade of California volunteers that helped free New Mexico of Confederate invaders. As commander of the Department of New Mexico from 1862 to 1866, he prosecuted vigorous campaigns against the hostile Apaches and Navajos. At the close of the war he held commissions of major general of volunteers and brevet major general of the Regular Army, but in the post-war reduction of the Army received a regular commission as lieutenant colonel of the 4th Cavalry. He died in 1873.

<sup>3</sup> Macrae's career illustrates the slow promotion that was the lot of many frontier officers. Graduating from West Point in 1826, he was posted as 2d lieutenant to the 3d Infantry. Promotion to 1st lieutenant came in 1835, to captain in 1839. After 18 years as a captain he reached the rank of major in 1857 and retired in 1861, having served 35 years in the same regiment. In 1865 the Army recognized his "long and faithful service" by awarding him brevets of lieutenant colonel and colonel. He died in 1878.

<sup>4</sup> Cooke's career spanned almost the entire era of the opening of the West, and he himself played a prominent role in the westward movement. He graduated from West Point in 1827, and after 6 years as an infantryman became an officer in the 1st Dragoons. Thereafter he was identified exclusively with the mounted arm, whose organization, equipment, and concept of employment he profoundly influenced through published writings. One of Gen. Stephen W. Kearny's most trusted officers in the conquest of the Southwest during the Mexican War, Cooke led the Mormon Battalion in opening a wagon road from Santa Fe to San Diego, a road used by thousands of immigrants in the California gold rush. He became colonel of the 2d Dragoons in 1859 and brigadier general in 1861. One of the frontier army's outstanding officers, he proved less brilliant in the "civilized" combat of the Civil War. He retired in 1873 and died in 1895.

<sup>5</sup> Fauntleroy is chiefly remembered for his frontier service before the Civil War, especially in the victorious Ute Campaign of 1855. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he resigned from the U.S. Army and accepted a commission in the Confederate Army as brigadier general of Virginia volunteers. He died in 1883.

<sup>6</sup> Loring's career was diverse and colorful. He served as an officer in the Florida volunteers during the Seminole war in 1837; and in 1846, with the outbreak of the Mexican War, he received an appointment as captain in the newly formed Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Brevetted for gallantry at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec (where he lost an arm), he rose through the ranks to command the Mounted Riflemen. Resigning his commission in 1861, he cast his lot with the Confederacy and served with distinction as a major general. After Appomattox he led a group of ex-Confederates abroad to join the armies of the Khedive of Egypt. For 10 years Loring fought for the Khedive, rising to the rank of general of division before returning to the United States and retirement.

<sup>7</sup> One of the prominent Kentucky Crittendens, George B. Crittenden had been with the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen since 1846. Brevetted for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco in 1847, he had been cashiered from the Army the same year and reinstated the following year. He resigned in 1861 and became a major general in the Confederate Army. He died in 1880.

<sup>8</sup> Sibley was promoted to major, 1st Dragoons, on May 13, 1861, and on the same day submitted his resignation from the Army. Five days later, while awaiting action on the resignation, he assumed command of Fort Union. On June 13, acceptance having reached him, he turned over command of Fort Union to Major Chapman and left for the South. The following year, 1862, he was back in New Mexico as a brigadier general in the Confederate Army leading the abortive invasion of New Mexico.

<sup>9</sup> Colonel Selden died at Fort Union in 1865, and Fort Selden, established in the spring of that year on the Rio Grande at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto, was named for him.

<sup>10</sup> The legendary Kit Carson, trapper, hunter, explorer, guide, and soldier, led his New Mexico volunteer cavalry in several outstanding campaigns against hostile Indians during the Civil War years. Brevetted brigadier general of volunteers in March 1865 for gallantry in the Battle of Valverde and distinguished service against hostile Indians, Carson was mustered out of the volunteer service on Nov. 22, 1867. He died the following year.

<sup>11</sup> Brooke had risen from captain to brigadier general of volunteers during the Civil War and had been brevetted for gallantry at Gettysburg and Spotsylvania Court House. At the close of the war he accepted a Regular Army commission. As brigadier general in 1890-91, he managed the campaign against the Sioux Ghost Dancers at Pine Ridge

## *Commanding Officers of Fort Union, 1851-91—Continued*

Agency, S. Dak., and as a major general fought in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. He retired in 1902.

<sup>12</sup> As a captain, Grier had commanded Fort Union in 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Major Wade was the son of the powerful Republican senator from Ohio, Benjamin F. Wade. Later, in 1886, as lieutenant colonel of the 9th Cavalry, Wade managed the removal of the Chiricahua Apaches from San Carlos Agency, Ariz., to Florida, a move that proved instrumental in persuading Geronimo to surrender. During the Spanish-American War, Wade served as a major general of volunteers, and in 1903 attained the rank of major general in the Regular Army.

<sup>14</sup> The New Mexico historian W. A. Keleher says this about Dudley: ". . . stormy petrel of the military in the Southwest for over a decade. . . . On November 26, 1877, Dudley, then commanding officer at Fort Union, New Mexico, was tried before a court martial on several charges, including alleged disobedience of orders of Brig. Gen. John Pope, commanding the Department of Missouri; villification of and refusal to cooperate with Capt. A. S. Kimball, when ordered to do so by Col. Edward Hatch, commanding the Ninth Cavalry; drunkenness while on duty on April 27, 1877. Dudley was found guilty of some of the charges, not guilty of others, suspended from rank, relieved of command at Fort Union, and deprived of half-pay for three months. On March 8, 1878, Gen. W. T. Sherman ordered the unexecuted portion of the sentence remitted." This was Dudley's second court-martial, the first having occurred at Camp McDowell, Ariz., in 1871. In April 1878 he took command at Fort Stanton, N. Mex., and immediately became involved in the famous Lincoln County war between rival factions of cattlemen. His role in this affair is still controversial. He retired as colonel of the 1st Cavalry in 1889 and spent some years attempting to vindicate his reputation.

<sup>15</sup> Whittemore holds the record for number of separate tours as post commander at Fort Union, having served in that capacity eight times between 1876 and 1891.

## *Appendix 2*

### *Regiments whose Components were assigned to Fort Union*

#### *Regular Army*

2d Artillery (1852-55)  
3d Artillery (1865-66)  
1st Cavalry (1862-63)  
2d Cavalry (1861-62)  
3d Cavalry (1861-62, 1866-70)  
6th Cavalry (1886-90)  
8th Cavalry (1870-76)  
9th Cavalry (1876-81)  
1st Dragoons (1851-56)  
2d Dragoons (1853-54, 1861)  
3d Infantry (1851-56)  
5th Infantry (1861-67)  
7th Infantry (1862-64)  
8th Infantry (1860)  
9th Infantry (1886-87)  
10th Infantry (1861, 1884-91)  
15th Infantry (1870-81)  
23d Infantry (1881-84)  
37th Infantry (1867-69)  
57th Colored Infantry (1866)  
Regiment of Mounted Riflemen (1856-61)

#### *Volunteer*

9th Wisconsin Battery of Light Artillery (1862)  
1st Cavalry, California Volunteers (1863-66)  
1st Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers (1861, 1865-66)  
11th Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers (1863-64)  
1st Infantry, California Volunteers (1863-65)  
1st Infantry, California Veteran Volunteers (1865)  
1st Infantry, Colorado Volunteers (1862)  
1st Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers (1861, 1863-66)  
2d Infantry, Colorado Volunteers (1862-63)  
4th Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers (1861-62)  
Kansas Volunteers (1862-63, 1865)  
New Mexico Militia (1861-62)  
Spies and Guides, New Mexico Volunteers (1861-62)



