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*THE THIRD FORT UNION:
ARCHITECTURE, ADOBE, AND THE ARMY**

DWIGHT T. PITCAITHLEY

FOLLOWING THE CONFEDERATE REVERSAL at Apache Canyon in March 1862, Fort Union, New Mexico, entered its third and final phase. Established in 1851 as a way station on the Santa Fe Trail and supply depot for southwestern forts, the initial collection of hastily constructed log huts was augmented ten years later by a massive (if no less hastily constructed) earthen fort designed in an eight-pointed "star" configuration. The anticipated Confederate force under the command of Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley never reached the fort, however, and its dank interiors quickly became physically intolerable and strategically superfluous. Recognizing that neither the by-now decrepit log fort nor the progressively sodden "star" fort was adequate for the storage and disbursement of supplies to New Mexico's military posts, the army promptly approved plans for a new, greatly expanded post and quartermaster depot that would satisfy all logistical needs and present a more commanding appearance than either of its predecessors.¹

Designed by Capt. John C. McFerran, chief quartermaster of the District of New Mexico, and refined by depot quartermaster Capt. Henry J. Farnsworth, the new complex consisted of three military entities: the post proper, an elaborate quartermaster depot, and a detached arsenal. The post possessed a row of nine officers' quarters that faced, across a wide parade ground, four sets of U-shaped barracks. Behind the barracks were two rectangular structures with long ells at the north and south ends that housed the post laundresses, the guardhouse, the prison, the bakery, and the post quartermaster storerooms. Immediately behind these

buildings were the post corrals. The depot, adjacent to and immediately north of the post, contained a row of six structures that served as officers' quarters and depot offices. Across another wide parade ground were an extensive mechanics' corral and, to the north of it, five large rectangular storehouses. Behind these buildings spread the transportation corral, which serviced teams and transportation vehicles. The post hospital sat several hundred yards southeast of the post and constituted a complex of its own with a steward's quarters, washhouse and kitchen, bathhouse, and assorted other structures. The arsenal was located west of the post and depot on the site of the first Fort Union.

With its vast array of storehouses, corrals, maintenance facilities, barracks, and officers' quarters, the third Fort Union, upon its completion, presented an imposing collection of territorial style military buildings. The spaciousness of the quarters, the distinctive facades, and the grand scale of the depot's operation imparted a heightened sense of determination and purpose, of stability, and of permanence. Beneath its dramatic exterior, however, the complex possessed structural defects rivaling those of log and earth forts it replaced. Those defects, and the inability of the army to remedy them, vexed every commanding officer of the post between 1867 and 1891 and was a far greater irritant to the troops than the specter of Indian foes. But in 1863, as construction commenced, the possibility of the general deterioration of Fort Union's structures seemed as remote as the possibility of a railroad between nearby Las Vegas and Santa Fe.

Work began on the fort in April, but progress was slow. Two years passed before the completion of the hospital, and not until early 1867 were the officers' quarters ready for occupancy. Indeed, it was late 1867 before the post and depot were functional and operating according to plan.² William A. Bell, who viewed the almost completed post in August 1867, found it a "bustling place."

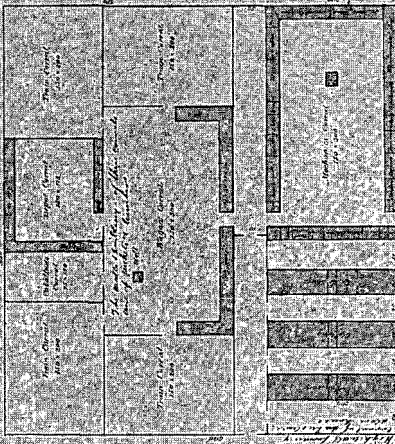
It is the largest military establishment to be found on the plains, and is the supply centre from which the forty or fifty lesser forts scattered all over the country within a radius of 500 miles or more, are supplied with men, horses, munitions of war, and often with everything needed for their support. It is not in the least fortified,

as, of course, such a precaution would be useless; but it is a vast collection of workshops, storehouses, barracks, officers' quarters, and offices of all kinds belonging to the different departments. The dwellings, although built, as are all the other buildings, of sun-dried bricks, are most comfortable[.] They are roofed with thin iron sheeting, covered with earth. The rooms of the officers are lofty and well-furnished. The hospital, containing about 120 beds, is a very fine building, to which two resident surgeons are attached.³

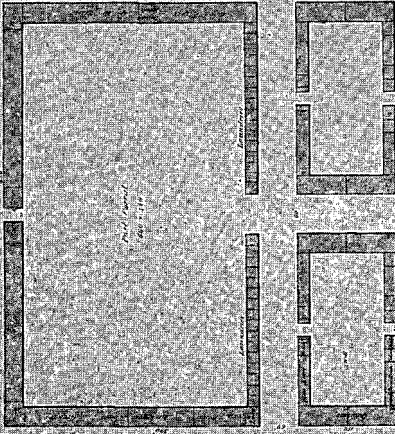
In spite of its complex design, however, the new Fort Union never possessed several structures usually considered essential to frontier military life. Throughout its existence, the fort lacked a school building and a chapel. A structure that would have served both uses was proposed in February 1867, but Gen. Ulysses S. Grant rejected the idea with the admonition that "such buildings should be postponed until the troops had been provided with more comfortable quarters."⁴ Religious services and school classes were consequently conducted in unused rooms in various buildings within the post.⁵ In addition, the army never constructed or apparently even contemplated a headquarters building for the post. The post commander occupied an office in the depot quartermaster's office.

Once completed, the structures at Fort Union changed very little. Only three events modified the use and shape of the fort in its twenty-five-year existence: the arrival of two additional permanent companies of troops and two devastating fires. On 15 July 1866, Gen. James H. Carleton requested permission to modify the initial plan of the post so that he could quarter two companies of infantry troops there along with the original complement of four troops of cavalry.⁷ The request was approved, but conflicting opinions concerning the desirability of cavalry over infantry garrisons for frontier service prevented the alterations from taking place until nine years later.⁸ By the mid-1870s, the dilemma had resolved itself, and in September 1875 depot quartermaster Capt. Amos S. Kimball prepared plans for augmenting the garrison by two infantry companies. Kimball proposed converting the unused storeroom buildings of the post into squadrooms and mess facilities.⁹ The plan received official approval, and the necessary modifications were completed by the following summer.¹⁰

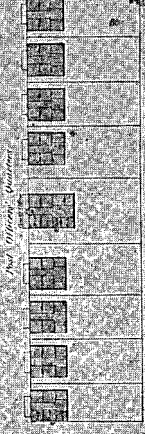
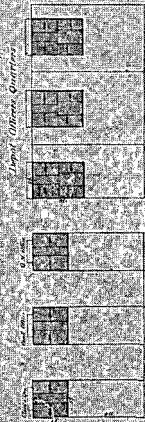
FORT UNION. N.M.



Dept. of Commissary, Clothing & Qr. Mr. Stores



Garrison



Fires in June 1874 and in February 1876 further altered the appearance of the fort. The earlier blaze destroyed the eastern half of the transportation corral and prompted its reconstruction on a much more modest scale.¹¹ The second fire destroyed the depot's detached lumber yard and machine shop; it did not, however, damage the steam engine which, along with the salvaged and repaired woodworking equipment, was relocated in the southwest corner of the depot mechanics' corral.¹² Following these structural modifications, the fort remained relatively unchanged until the late 1880s when several structures were dismantled because of their deteriorated condition.¹³

Indeed, from their completion in the 1860s until their abandonment in 1891, the fort's adobe structures were in an almost constant state of deterioration. The territorial style of architecture proved to be inadequate on the exposed plains of eastern New Mexico. The flat, tin-covered roofs could not provide sufficient protection from the wind-driven rain and hail storms that plagued the level, open country. As a result, cracks developed, water seeped through the roofs and walls into the adobe, walls separated from the roofs and threatened to collapse, and floors and foundations rotted. Two additional factors hastened the decline of the structures: the inability of the troops to perform the necessary repairs at a time when strict economy measures prohibited the employment of citizen craftsmen and a pronounced unwillingness on the part of army officialdom to appropriate sufficient funds for annual maintenance. Because the structural decay was apparent as early as 1867 and continued throughout the life of the post, its causes warrant further analysis.

When Capt. John Courts McFerran, chief quartermaster of the District of New Mexico, prepared the initial plans of Fort Union, he indicated that all structures were to have shingled roofs, which by definition would be pitched.¹⁴ But on 26 April 1863 General Carleton requested that the roofs of the new fort be covered with tin, reasoning that "tin occasionally painted, will last for a great many years, [and] is secure against water and against fire."¹⁵ Authority for the change was soon forthcoming, but the redesigned roofs possessed a mere six-inch pitch.¹⁶ The tin panels that covered the roofs were soldered together and finally painted in an attempt

to protect the metal and to create a waterproof seal.¹⁷ The army failed on both counts. Almost from the beginning the paint peeled, the solder cracked, the tin panels separated, and water seeped into the walls and the ceiling plaster.¹⁸

Lydia Spencer Lane, wife of commanding officer Maj. William B. Lane, experienced the effects of the faulty roofs one evening as she prepared a dinner for seventeen. Just after she called her guests to the table and turned to make a final adjustment to the setting, she heard an "ominous crack." Before she could move, the plaster ceiling collapsed dealing her no physical harm but "filling every dish with plaster to the top."¹⁹ Similar experiences occurred later in the fort's history, but Mrs. Lane's misfortune is memorable because the commanding officer's quarters had recently been completed.

Throughout its twenty-five-year campaign to solve the problem of leaking roofs, the army tried coating the tin panels with ordinary paint, with asbestos paint, and finally with a combination of coal tar and sand.²⁰ While each application may have been temporarily successful, the result was always the same. Three years after Lydia Lane's evening of embarrassment, the district quartermaster reported that "all the roofs leak more or less."²¹ From then until 1891, the occupants of the fort enjoyed only sporadic relief as the roofs continued to deteriorate.²² Perhaps it was because of the sodden condition of the buildings in 1875 that assistant surgeon Peter Mofatt was prompted to inquire whether adobe quarters were a "fruitful source not only of rheumatism, but sciatica, and other forms of Neuralgia."²³

The incessant wind that harassed the fort and regularly preyed on wooden privies, woodsheds, sections of adobe walls, the post flagstaff, gates, and portions of the tin roofs hastened the decline of the buildings. In early November 1885, for instance, sentry box no. 1 blew away in a blizzard.²⁵ During dry periods, blowing sand accompanied the driving winds. The powdery substance not only filtered into the quarters and lodged "round the windows and doors in little yellow mounds," but also accumulated in drifts large enough to obstruct the road leading into the shop and warehouse area of the depot.²⁶ So severe was the problem in 1872 that the depot quartermaster requested permission to build an adobe wall across

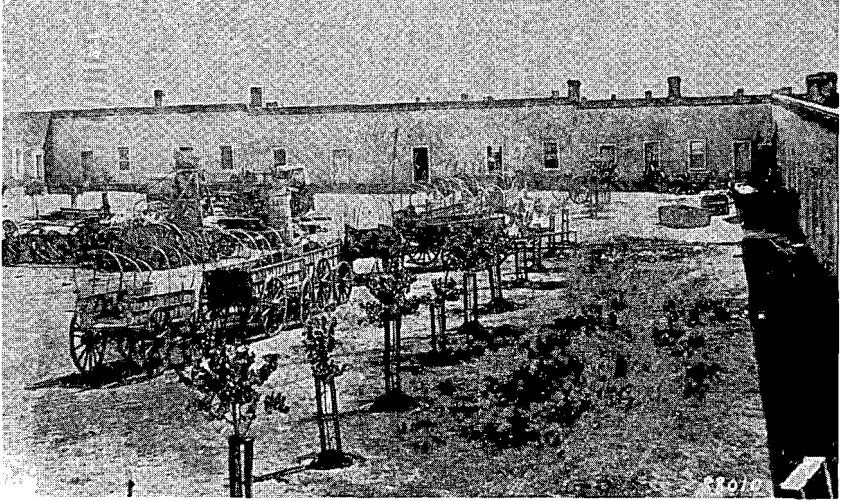
the northwest side of the depot grounds.²⁷ Authority was not forthcoming, however, and the drifts continued to pose problems for everyone except the post children.²⁸

The cumulative effect of violent rain, hail, and wind storms on the structures soon became readily apparent. As early as August 1869, exterior plaster began to fall off. Despite the temporary success of a coating of "yellow wash," 1st Lt. John Wesley Pullman, depot quartermaster, reported four years later that "the buildings are of adobes and[,] bare from all plastering[,] suffer more or less by each rain. . . ." Pullman further observed that if they were not quickly plastered, some of the structures would "be liable to fall down in less than one year."²⁹ The structures did not fall, but neither were they completely repaired. By the mid-1880s, water damage to many of the structures was so great that walls had to be supported by logs. In 1886, Col. Henry Douglass, after an annual inspection, reported that:

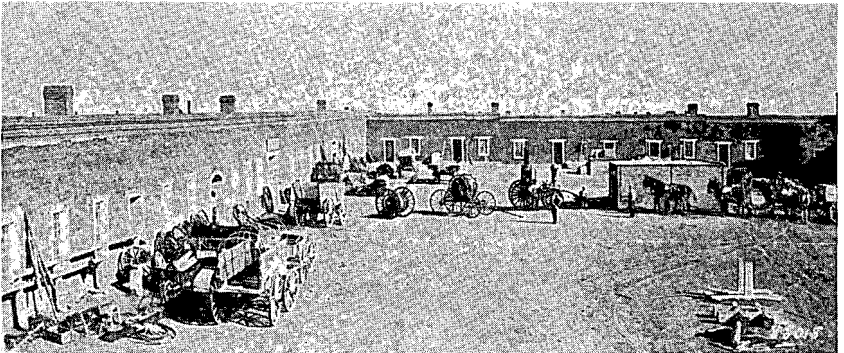
the adobe buildings at this post were originally plastered on the exterior to protect them from the washings of the violent storms which prevail here during the summer. This plaster has fallen off, leaving the walls exposed to the weather. There is a heavy brick coping on top of the walls and the wall underneath becomes furrowed and hollowed out, weakening the walls very much, and the superincumbent weight of the coping renders the wall very insecure. Corners of buildings crack and fall out, whole sides of buildings fall out, occasionally.³⁰

Indeed, during an inspection six months later, the side wall of a squadroom separated from the roof and threatened to collapse until the troops pushed it back into place and braced it with "heavy timbers."³¹

A vigorous program of regular maintenance could have prevented some of the major structural problems at the post had it not been for an interesting paradox: during the summer months—the season in which structural repairs could most easily be made—the garrison was on patrol and absent from the fort.³² It was the army's preference to have troops rather than skilled civilian labor perform



Mechanics Corral at Fort Union in the 1860s.



Mechanics Corral at Fort Union in the 1870s. National Archives photographs. Courtesy of Fort Union National Museum.

repairs to the structures. But not only were the troops regularly unavailable to work on the buildings; they also lacked the technical expertise needed to curtail the structural decline of Fort Union. In 1870, for example, commanding officer J. Irvin Gregg recommended that a "competent Mechanic or Architect be directed to examine the buildings" because Gregg did not "know of any repairs that can be made that will check this tendency [of the adobe walls settling outward]." ³³ Three years later depot quartermaster Pullman requested permission to hire four masons, two painters, and one carpenter to perform urgently needed repairs. He argued that the work could be accomplished in half the time (and at only a slightly additional cost) than if it were done by troops. ³⁴ With a classic display of army intransigence, the army's Quartermaster General, Brig. Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, denied the request and replied that:

if troops cannot keep buildings they occupy from tumbling down, then the law of Congress is inoperative. I do not think it impossible for a company of American troops to take care of their own quarters. The people of a Mexican village, less educated—not more apt—build their villages without recourse to the outside world, and even provide all the material, to shelter themselves. ³⁵

Thus, during the 1880s, troops imperfectly accomplished needed repairs without the aid of civilian skilled labor, and the buildings continued to deteriorate. By 1886, the condition of the buildings was so poor that the commanding officer again requested authority to hire "a citizen tin-smith for repairing leaky roofs, a citizen mason to repair walls and a citizen carpenter to repair wood work." ³⁶ But the request was never honored, and in 1890, following a specially ordered inspection, Col. Eugene A. Carr pronounced the fort "totally unfit for habitation." ³⁷ The following year Fort Union was abandoned.

While the structures at Fort Union suffered from poor design and ineffective maintenance, they suffered equally from the belief of numerous high-ranking army officers that the sprawling complex was extravagant, expensive, and of little strategic importance. Beginning in 1870, these officials recommended that first the depot and later the post should be abandoned. ³⁸ When Col. Randolph B.

Marcy, inspector general of the army, visited the post during the summer of 1867, he expressed surprise at "the elaborate and expensive character of the buildings that have been and are now being erected at this post . . ." and further stated that the depot's officers' quarters were "far better than any officers' quarters that I have seen at any other frontier post."³⁹ During a subsequent inquiry into alleged unauthorized construction at Fort Union, Col. William A. Nichols, assistant adjutant general of the Division of the Missouri, more pointedly observed that "the post has been costly beyond its true value, and whilst severe economy has been necessary elsewhere, it was very wrong to be lavishing money there."⁴⁰ Two years later in 1869, Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, commanding officer, Division of the Missouri, caustically remarked 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."⁴¹ Following that censorious appraisal, Brig. Gen. Edward D. Townsend, adjutant general of the army, ordered a halt to any additional construction.⁴²

Perhaps the most conspicuous manifestation of this adverse viewpoint was the steady reduction of funds available for the maintenance of the buildings. Commanding officers of Fort Union after 1870 found it increasingly difficult to obtain funds even for minor repairs. In 1874, Maj. Andrew Jonathan Alexander summed up the sentiments of a number of commanding officers when, after requesting funds for repairs, he concluded, "I feel that it is a hopeless task to attempt to get any money for this purpose but I represent the facts as part of my duty."⁴³

Underlying the problem of structural deterioration at Fort Union was that beginning in the early 1870s, the strategic importance of the fort, as a depot and as a military outpost, began to diminish. Although during the first few years of its existence the third fort was the primary collection and distribution point for other forts in New Mexico, by 1872 supply trains from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, had taken over the role and regularly hauled their stores directly to the territory's other posts.⁴⁴ Fort Union thereafter

occasionally provided supplies to those posts but only on an emergency basis.⁴⁵ This diminution of the fort's logistical responsibilities affected directly the form and use of the fort's buildings. For example, the reconstruction of the transportation corral following the fire of 1874 reflected a significant reduction in the demands being placed upon it.⁴⁶ Furthermore, as the need for the Fort Union depot continued to decline, one of the extraneous warehouses became a gymnasium, bowling alley, and pistol range.⁴⁷

The extension of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad to Las Vegas in 1879 greatly accelerated the gradual erosion of the post's strategic importance. The railroad thereafter shipped supplies destined for New Mexico's forts, and the need for the services offered by the Fort Union depot no longer existed.⁴⁸ Indeed, the coming of the railroad marked the passing of an era. Freight wagons no longer creaked over the Santa Fe Trail and into Fort Union to be repacked or repaired. The spirited industry that characterized the depot during its initial years of operation had vanished. The post stood plaintive and muted, neglected by its creator and rendered obsolete by America's transportation revolution. Yet the territory's military commanders continually thwarted efforts to abandon the fort. Fort Union lingered on for an additional twelve years and at the end represented nothing more than a decaying relic from another age.

Although the army designed the fort on an elaborate scale and heavily financed it during the initial stages of construction, the third Fort Union became merely another unwanted western fort shortly after its construction. Haunted by official neglect and hostility, ineffective roofs, incessant winds, and drenching seasonal rains, the fort fought and lost a twenty-five-year battle against continuously foundering adobe structures. When the army finally and officially abandoned the fort in 1891, it was literally a shell of its former self. Many of the buildings had been abandoned for years, and the remainder were only marginally habitable. The troops who marched away from Fort Union on 15 May 1891 left behind a post that had clearly outlived its usefulness and that, for a variety of reasons, had been relegated to spend its last years as a frontier outpost in ignominious decay.

NOTES

*This article was prepared in conjunction with a historic structure report for Fort Union National Monument.

1. The wisdom of locating New Mexico's primary supply depot in the far eastern portion of the territory seems somewhat questionable. The major Indian campaigns of the 1850s were conducted in the southern and western sectors of New Mexico—far from the effective supply capabilities of Fort Union. Some, including Gen. James H. Carleton, commander of the District of New Mexico, favored relocating the post and depot to Albuquerque. But the momentum generated over the previous ten years appears to have kept the fort in its original location (Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 35 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962], p. 50; Chris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965], p. 281).

2. Carleton to Montgomery C. Meigs, 26 April 1863, Arrott Collection, 1863, no. 2, p. 27, New Mexico Highlands University Library (NMHUL), Las Vegas, N. Mex.; Chief Quartermaster, Department of Missouri to Meigs, 1 February 1867, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group (RG) 92, National Archives (NA); Charles McClure to C. H. DeForrest, 6 May 1867, M24 IGO 1867, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

3. William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America. A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean during 1867-8* (1869; reprint ed., Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965), p. 122.

4. Arthur Woodward, "Fort Union, New Mexico—Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail" (n.p.: National Park Service, 1959), p. 246.

5. Henry Hollingsworth Humphreys, "Report of Inspection of Public Buildings at Post Fort Union, New Mexico, made in compliance with Par. 1092 R.A.R. 1863," 30 June 1872, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, RG 92, NA; Amos Samuel Kimball, "Plan of Fort Union, New Mexico," 30 June 1877, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, RG 92, NA; William Findlay Drum, "Report of an Inspection of the post of Fort Union, N.M., made by Lieutenant Colonel W. F. Drum, 12th Inf., Acting Inspector General, Department of Arizona, on the 16th, 17th, & 18th days of March, 1887," File 969 1887, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA; George H. Burton, "Report of an Inspection of the Post of Fort Union, N.M. made by Lieut. Col. Geo. H. Burton Inspector General, Division of the Pacific and Department of California, on the 3rd & 4th of April, 1889," File 977 1889, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

6. James Reed Cranston, "Annual Inspection Report of Public Buildings at Fort Union, New Mex on the 31st day of March 1885," Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

7. Carleton to Joseph McClellan Bell, 15 July 1866, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

8. Bell to Carleton, 16 July 1866, M117 DNM 1866, Letters Received, District of New Mexico, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, RG 393, NA; Woodward, “Fort Union,” p. 232.

9. Amos S. Kimball to Chief Quartermaster District of New Mexico, 16 September 1875, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

10. Kimball, “Plan of Fort Union, N.M.,” July 1876, Fort Union, New Mexico, No. 14, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, RG 77, NA.

11. Gilbert Cole Smith to Chief Quartermaster, District of New Mexico, 28 June 1874, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA; Kimball, “Plan of Fort Union, N.M.,” July 1876, RG 77, NA.

12. Kimball to Chief Quartermaster Fort Leavenworth, 13 February 1876, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA; Kimball, “Plan of Fort Union, N.M.,” July 1876, RG 77, NA.

13. “Plan of Fort Union, N.M.,” 1889, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

14. Carleton to Meigs, 3 November 1862, Letters Sent, Vol. 13, pp. 132–33, District of New Mexico, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA.

15. Carleton to Meigs, 26 April 1863, Letters Sent, Vol. 13, p. 417, District of New Mexico, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA.

16. Henry R. Mizner, “Inspection Report,” 5 September 1884, File 976 1884, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

17. Andrew J. McGonnigle to Augustus G. Robinson, 13 July 1870, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

18. Woodward, “Fort Union,” p. 255.

19. Lydia Spencer Lane, *I Married a Soldier or Old Days in the Old Army* (1893; reprint ed., Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1964), p. 146.

20. Kimball, “Report of additions, alterations, and repairs to public buildings required at the Post of Fort Union, New Mexico,” 30 June 1877, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA; Drum to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Arizona, 19 July 1888, File 736 1888, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA; John W. Pullman, “Estimates of Repairs required on Public Buildings at Fort Union Depot N.M. for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874,” Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

21. J. Irvin Gregg to McGonnigle, 13 July 1870, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

22. William H. Gardner, “Medical Record for the 9th of April, 1874,” Arrott Collection, Medical History, No. 1, p. 25, NMHUL; Andrew J. Alexander to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 29 March 1875, Letters Sent, Vol. 16, pp. 312–13, Department of New Mexico, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA; Genevieve LaTourrette, “Fort Union Mem-

ories," *New Mexico Historical Review* 26 (October 1951): 283; George H. Cook, map "Fort Union, N.M.," 1883, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

23. Peter Moffatt, "A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army with Descriptions of Military Posts," in *Circular No. 8*, Surgeon General's Office (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 306.

24. George H. Cook to Post Adjutant, Fort Union, N.M., 24 April 1883, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA; LaTourrette, "Fort Union Memories," p. 278.

25. Woodward, "Fort Union," p. 285.

26. Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, p. 151.

27. Nelson Henry Davis, "Inspection Report of Fort Union, N.M.," 28 December 1872, 11 M1 1873, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

28. Dale Frederick Giese, "Social Life at Fort Union, New Mexico, in the 1880's" (Master's thesis, New Mexico Highlands University, 1964), p. 116.

29. Pullman to Quartermaster General United States Army, 30 June 1873, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

30. Henry Douglass, "Inspection Report of Fort Union, New Mexico," 5 September 1886, File 1036 1886, Letters Received, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

31. Drum, "Report of an inspection of the post of Fort Union, N.M.," RG 159, NA.

32. Davis, "Inspection Report," RG 159, NA; Pullman to Quartermaster General United States Army, 30 June 1873, Fort Union, RG 92, NA.

33. J. Irvin Gregg to William A. Kobbe, Regimental Adjutant, 21 November 1870, Arrott Collection, 1870, No. 3, p. 57, NMHUL.

34. Pullman to Quartermaster General United States Army, 30 June 1873, Fort Union, RG 92, NA.

35. Montgomery C. Meigs, 9th Endorsement (2 October 1873) of John W. Pullman to Quartermaster General United States Army, 30 June 1873, Fort Union, RG 92, NA. See also Robert Allen to Henry Rucker, 22 November 1874, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

36. Douglass, "Inspection Report of Fort Union, New Mexico," RG 159, NA.

37. Quoted in Emmett, *Fort Union*, p. 402.

38. Emmett, *Fort Union*, pp. 349, 385, 398-400; Thomas J. McLaughlin, "History of Fort Union, New Mexico" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1952).

39. Randolph B. Marcy, "Inspection Report," 25 June 1867, 1648 M 1867, filed with E151 1867, Letters Received (Main Series) 1861-70, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, 1780's-1917, RG 94, NA.

40. William A. Nichols, Endorsement (26 September 1867) of Marcy, "Inspection Report," RG 94, NA. See also John Pope, 2nd Endorsement (5 October 1875) of Kimball to Chief Quartermaster, District of New Mexico, 16 September 1875,

Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

41. Quoted in Woodward, "Fort Union," p. 254.

42. Edward D. Townsend to Meigs, 13 October 1869, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

43. A. J. Alexander to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, District of New Mexico, 4 December 1874, Letters Sent, Vol. 16, pp. 274–75, Department of New Mexico, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA. See also McGonnigle to D. H. Hiekes, 21 October 1873, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

44. Davis, "Inspection Report," RG 159, NA; Jeremiah Howard Gilman to Robert Macfeely, 14 November 1878, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA; Woodward, "Fort Union," pp. 277–79.

45. Gilman to Macfeely, 14 November 1878, Fort Union, RG 92, NA; Woodward, "Fort Union," pp. 278–79.

46. John D. Creighton, "Diagram of Transportation Corral at Fort Union Depot, NM," 4 August 1874, Fort Union, New Mexico, No. 12, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, RG 77, NA; Kimball, "Plan of Fort Union, N.M.," July 1876, RG 77, NA.

47. Kimball, "Plan of Fort Union, N.M.," July 1876, RG 77, NA; James R. Cranston, "Annual Inspection of Public Buildings at Fort Union, New Mexico on the 31st day of March 1885," 31 March 1885, Fort Union, Consolidated Files, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, NA.

48. The need for a large garrison of troops at the *post* of Fort Union was sharply reduced following the Red River war in 1874. This campaign so demoralized the Plains Indians that troops from Fort Union were no longer required to patrol the Southern Plains. From then until the abandonment of the fort, local disorders provided the only diversion for the isolated troops (Utley, *Fort Union*, pp. 49, 57–58).