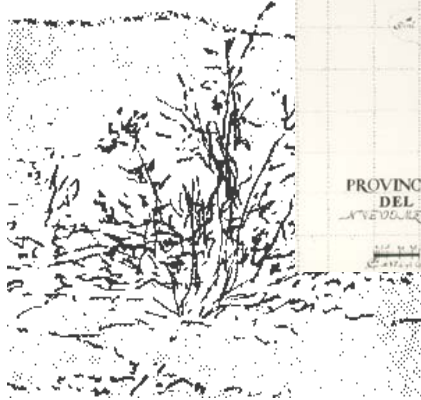




Fort Union National Monument Ethnographic Overview and Assessment



MACK & CORTELL

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FORT UNION NATIONAL MONUMENT ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

Introduction

Fort Union National Monument was established in 1954 by active citizens of nearby communities, many of whom were descendents of families who participated in the development of the military fort during its hey-day in the nineteenth century. In many ways, Fort Union has always been about both the community it served and the community that served it. Yet, in the larger picture, Fort Union and the people in its surrounding area participated in the economic development and settlement of New Mexico. But the area also reflects earlier settlement patterns particularly by Hispanics and Native Americans. Indeed, Fort Union National Monument continues to be about relationships with the communities that are tied to its history.

As an historical place, Fort Union embraces the history of many people. Historical data points to an early Hispanic presence that can be traced to the 16th century. In the early nineteenth century, Hispanic settlers expanded eastward from the mountains to the New Mexican edge of the Great Plains. Following the Mexican War (1846-1848), Anglo-Americans began to move into the area. In 1851, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner established the fort for the protection of travelers from the Great Plains to the mountain west along the Santa Fe Trail. Nineteenth century militarists argued that the greatest threat to the security of travelers along the Santa Fe Trail came from Indian warriors who attacked their wagon trains. Reflecting its origins, the history of Fort Union has tended to be from a military perspective at the expense of the multicultural significance of the area and the dynamic influences that various ethnic groups brought to the region.

In the context of the larger region outside of Fort Union little has been compiled about the collective American Indian influence in the area. This critical lack of perspective is one of the primary reasons for this study. Equally important is the prominent influence of Hispanics in this region. They had historically lived in the region through the transitional governments of Spain and Mexico through which they had developed an infrastructure ready to meet and adapt to the changes of the new territorial government of the United States.

In this study the importance of Fort Union and the surrounding area emerges through the lenses of anthropology, history and ethnography, and covers a long stretch of time from the indigenous pre-contact period to the present day. Specifically the sources included studies that revealed archeological evidence, historical primary source materials, written histories, diaries and oral interviews. The primary focus of this study was on tracing the regional involvement of Hispanics and American Indians and how they helped shape and influence the surrounding physical, historical and cultural landscape of Fort Union.

Methodology

It is particularly noteworthy that the United States takes special care to preserve the historical and cultural foundations of the nation's heritage through collective or individual perspectives. Consequently, heritage preservation provides a strategy for the conservation of historical landscapes, cultural resources, and stories that form our national history. Within the

framework of heritage preservation, ethnography involves, at least, the organized collection of data about the cultural, religious, and traditional patterns of contemporary ethnic groups. To that end, the present ethnographic overview and assessment of Fort Union National Monument was conducted by the National Park Service as part of its continuing effort to preserve the heritage of the community it serves.

The two major objectives of this study were:

1) To search extensively among primary and secondary documentation that would provide materials for an ethnohistoric overview of the dynamic involvement of Native Americans and Hispanics at Fort Union National Monument and the surrounding area.

2) To provide an overview of the information gathered through 13 oral interviews with representatives of affiliated ethnic communities which might reveal traditional, historic and contemporary ethnographic use of the resources at Fort Union National Monument and the surrounding area.



Figure 1 - In 1979 the city of Las Vegas, New Mexico celebrated 100 years of service for the railroad, the Las Vegas Optic newspaper, and the telephone. Records indicate that I. H. Hurlbert of Las Vegas strung a telephone line between his Plaza Drug Store and his branch store on another street in 1879. (From the private collection of Epifanio Gurulé)

PART I HISPANIC AMERICANS AND FORT UNION

Introduction

The relationship between Fort Union and neighboring Hispanics, whose families had been in northern New Mexico since the late sixteenth century began almost immediately after the fort was established in 1851. With the political, social, and economic changes ushered into Southwest by the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, New Mexico, in particular, would once again undergo a transition from one government to another. The transition would impact native New Mexicans and provide unique challenges to the new government itself. Military officials at Fort Union would be faced with challenges far beyond the purview of their usual military responsibilities.¹

Outnumbered by their ethnic counterparts, Anglo-Americans were initially frustrated in their efforts to communicate with them. For example, in his report to the Secretary of War in 1851, Governor Calhoun noted that "of a population of 60,000 not 500 speak English." Effective communication by Anglo-Americans with the local Spanish-speaking inhabitants proved difficult. Difficulties related to language and cultural differences impacted Anglo-American authority and ultimately dictated which objectives the United States government and military could readily accomplish. Searching for a solution, Calhoun lamented that he was in need of "bilingual circulars to communicate with the people; but there is no budget to pay for them."² The situation was even more complicated when Calhoun realized that besides the need to communicate with residents who spoke and read only Spanish, there were a number of dialects utilized by culturally diverse Native American tribes, including the Apache, Navajo, Kiowa and Comanche. Among them were the various Pueblos, who lived primarily in Santa Fe and along the Rio Grande Valley.

Fort Union quickly became an integral part of a culturally diverse region. At the time of the fort's establishment, the Hispanic communities of northern New Mexico represented a 250-year-old cultural enclave whose roots emanated from Spain and Mexico. Over two centuries, the Hispanic culture of New Mexico evolved with an identity that was uniquely New Mexican. During that period many Hispanic frontiersmen expanded in all directions from the Rio Grande. By the late eighteenth century, settlers moved into the mountains toward Mora. Among the early pioneers were adventurers, entrepreneurs, or miners. In time, however, the most common occupations in the area were tied to ranching, farming, and trading. Energetic, hard-working, and driven to improve their livelihoods, Hispanics were employed directly at the fort as freighters, teamsters, laborers, laundresses, and skilled craftsmen. Over the next few decades, thousands participated as members of the volunteer militia regiments and as scouts, guides and trail bosses.

Fort Union, itself, was as culturally diverse as its surroundings. Among the enlisted men at the fort, a significant number of foreign born recruits were found, including Irish, German,

¹ The role of Fort Union during its initial establishment encompassed an eclectic array of responsibilities, including military intervention against marauding Indians; providing basic necessities, such as food and clothing for Indians held as prisoners of war at the fort; agricultural practices; and providing escort services for civilians and government officials. The fort was required to intervene in the complex political, economic, and social relationships which evolved among Anglo-Americans and native Hispanics and Indians with little or no knowledge of local customs and traditions, nor personnel with the diverse language proficiencies to serve as translators.

² Letter from Gov. Calhoun to C. K. Conrad, Sec. of War, Washington, D.C., 3 August 1851. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 132.

French, Scandinavian, Italian, and other Slavic peoples.³ Another prominent group included African Americans, who were present at the fort as Buffalo soldiers. By the 1840s and 1850s, a relatively large number of German Jews came into the area and established themselves as merchants and homesteaders. By mid-century, Chinese laborers migrated from the west coast to seek economic opportunities as well. However, the largest ethnic groups present in and around Fort Union during most of its history were Hispanic New Mexicans and Native Americans from the Navajo, Apache, Pueblo, Ute and Comanche tribes.

The lot of Native Americans, in relation to the fort, was different. The overwhelming majority of Indians were held at the fort as prisoners, and this included a substantial number of women and children. There were times when Indian prisoners were held at the fort for months, and even years as in the case of the San Carlos Apaches during the Geronimo era; however, the majority of these Indians were not confined in the usual manner. Although there was the need to constrain many in the guardhouse under lock and key, most were found in tents and other makeshift facilities scattered around the fort's premises. At times they were even given "passes" to leave the fort to visit their children at the Santa Fe Indian schools or to hunt and fish. Many Native Americans were present at the fort as contract laborers, scouts, guides and trailers as well.

In essence Fort Union evolved from a traditional military outpost into a cultural mosaic. The fort's diverse communities were each an integral part of the fort's history. The three primary groups of the fort were non-Hispanic U.S. citizens serving in the military or as commercial suppliers to the military, New Mexican Hispanics who served as soldiers, volunteers and as suppliers, interpreters, packers and guides, and Native Americans, who were present as both military foes and as allies. Each of these groups contributed in their own way, to the blending of the cultural landscape with Fort Union as its focal point. The new structure that was emerging would transform traditional ways for Hispanics and indigenous groups as they began to reflect and incorporate the influences the fort and the new territorial government imposed.

³ Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, (Southwest Cultural Research Center, Professional Papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993.), 184.



Figure 3 - Military Reconnaissance Map of the Rio Pecos area, 1850. It was the product of a survey ordered by Brevet Colonel John Monroe. The names of the Utahs (Utes) and Jicarilla are visibly depicted in the upper portion of the map near Fort Union.

Hispanic Contributions to the New Political, Social and Cultural Order

In adapting to the culturally diverse and environmentally different landscape military officials would have to adopt local customs to accomplish military objectives associated with Indian hostilities. Indian relationships with Hispanic New Mexicans and other Territorial citizens had evolved in a complex manner. The sedentary Pueblos endured under Spanish and Mexican rule as they adapted and incorporated Hispanic culture into their own. New Mexicans had more in common economically and culturally with agricultural Pueblos than differences, and adjustments were incorporated on the part of both cultures to coexist peacefully after the early part of the eighteenth century.

With the non-sedentary and semi-sedentary tribes such as the Navajos, Apaches, Utes, Kiowas and Comanches, however, conflict was inevitable, and they often raided Hispanic and Pueblo communities. Throughout the centuries, conflict with Plains Indian tribes and Navajos predominated relationships with the Hispanics and Pueblos. Still, there were established cultural and economic ties between all of the groups. Although open warfare among them did occur, it was rare. For the most part, however, New Mexicans, Pueblos, and non-sedentary tribes were each culturally and economically well-established and passed through the Spanish colonial and Mexican periods primarily because of adaptive strategies which allowed each to persevere.

The situation began to change after 1846 with the arrival of the United States into the region. The initiation and expansion of the American presence impacted the non-sedentary tribes in a number of significant ways almost from the beginning. First of all, traffic along the Santa Fe Trail increased substantially. Caravans of wagons, people, and livestock in unprecedented numbers crept across the prairies and open plains. With the influx of settlers, merchants and miners, a whole new population arrived, seeking land, minerals, and commercial opportunities. As one interviewed respondent from Watrous relates, many people from the east were told that much of the land in this region was partitioned into land grants. One objective of astute Anglo-American males, continued the respondent, was to marry a woman that belonged to a land grant and thereby acquire a portion of land. Thus, through this method, certain individuals became part of the land grant with rights to raise and graze animals.

Conflict erupted almost immediately and was fueled by the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers and entrepreneurs. Problems with the Indians and other difficulties needed to be addressed and resolved. With the Anglo-American population came new ways of looking at political organization, land tenure, and technology. Most of these new ideas were compatible with the resident sedentary communities, although conflict materialized with the Pueblos and Hispanics as well. However, it would be the Plains tribes and the Navajos who would be most impacted, as there would be less flexibility for non-sedentary people to be accommodated. Traditional resources found on the lands and waters of the region were encroached upon, and in time were no longer available to nomadic populations. Another source of conflict revolved around the policy that enforcement of laws prohibiting trade with the Plains tribes fell on the shoulders of the Fort Union command.

In many respects the Hispanic population and the tribes, offered solutions to a host of problems, including the need to build a volunteer militia, the agricultural demands of an arid (dry land farming) environment, and the need for interpreters, guides, spies, packers, and commercial supplies. The military groped for increased manpower, food to feed the troops (and captive Indians), commercial supplies, bilingual services and guides for direction in an alien landscape. Even though trading with the Comanche, more commonly known as *comanchero* trading, was

discouraged by the military. They restrictively allowed it to continue and these traders became a resource out on the plains, where it counted most, as they relayed information on encroaching Texans during the Civil War, and intervened on behalf of the military in dealing with nomadic and hostile tribes. Within the Hispanic community, the military found a culturally deep-rooted society in the region, which had mutually beneficial social and economic relationships with the sedentary and nomadic indigenous groups. Hispanics would prove to be an essential resource in dealing with those groups who resisted Anglo-American rule.

New Mexicans offered resources which were integral to the military in a number of ways. They were familiar with the environment and possessed knowledge and skills necessary to function with limited resources. In a number of areas their expertise and proficiency in solving problems simulated what has become known as appropriate technology. For example, they possessed the unique agricultural skills to grow crops--honed over many generations as farmers in the arid southwest—and which included knowledge of irrigation systems. The fort's farm was a perennial disappointment as far as productivity was concerned during the 1850s. Unfortunately, military farming methods had not improved by the time the Bosque Redondo reservation was established at Ft. Sumner in the 1860s. In 1865, frustrated by crop failures during the two previous growing seasons, and thousands of starving Navajos, General Carleton came up with an obvious solution. He informed Gen. Marcellus Crocker, commanding officer at the reservation, that he had procured "the services for one month" of a certain "Mr. Gallegos from San Miguel County, to instruct [military personnel] on irrigation of lands [and directed him to provide] all the force and tools he may need."⁴

The use of Hispanics to resolve other issues was prevalent. On one occasion an officer at the fort put in a request to the Quartermaster that two New Mexican packers be contracted to accompany a scouting operation he was organizing for a ten-day period. He noted that the [New] Mexicans were unique in working with livestock, being especially proficient as packers and "possessing peculiar knowledge in the use of the lasso."⁵ New Mexicans who were hired as spies, especially during the Civil War, could act as *comancheros* or traders on the plains to avoid the suspicion by Confederate troops who might happen upon them.⁶ Hispanic residents were utilized by the military to recruit volunteers. On one occasion the Commander at Ft. Union was notified that "an influential [New] Mexican has been sent out to stimulate the population" to join the militia.⁷ Joining the volunteer militia had its rewards for some New Mexicans, especially those who were destitute. On August 10, 1861, Colonel E. R. S. Canby ordered that New Mexican Volunteers be furnished with clothing and shoes and that they be charged for the provisions "at cost" to be withdrawn from the first muster role payments. In fact Canby even accommodated the families of the volunteers, noting that they should be provided with half rations as well.⁸

⁴ Letter from District Commander, General James H. Carleton to Brg. Gen. Marcellus M Crocker, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 16, 23, 28 January 1865.

⁵ Letter from Captain J.H. Whittlesey, Ft. Union to Bvt. AA Quartermaster, George Sykes, 11 June 1855. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 89.

⁶ Letter from Lt. A. L. Anderson to Lt. Col. William Chapman, 9 June 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 7, 168.

⁷ Letter from A. L. Anderson, AA General to CO Chapman, Ft. Union, 6 August 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 7, 198.

⁸ General Orders issued by Col. E. S.B. Canby, 10 August 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 7, 205.



Figure 4 – Section of an 1864 Map of the Military Depot of New Mexico. The map was drawn by Capt. Allen Anderson under the direction of Brig. Gen James H. Carleton. The Bosque Redondo Reservation appears here as “Reservation of Navajos and Apaches.”

José Pata Taffalo exemplified the versatility and uniqueness of the skills native New Mexicans possessed. Taffalo was described as a "Mexican" civilian, who had been imprisoned at Fort Sumner. He was locked up in the guardhouse after being charged with "purchasing a pair of cavalry boots." Scouts on the plains to the north reported that a very large group of Comanches were heading to that fort. Based on reports coming in from the field the commanding officer could not determine if the large party of Indians posed a threat to his command. However, when the fort's commanding officer learned that Taffalo was the only person at the fort who could speak the Comanche language, he was released and sent off with a cavalry detachment to confront the Comanches on the plains. He was informed that all charges against him would be dropped if he "fulfilled his duties."⁹ He was expected to translate for the cavalry and discourage the Indians from approaching the fort. Taffalo's success was evident, for the Comanches bypassed the fort and headed east to the open plains.

From within New Mexico's Hispanic and Native American populations, an essential human resource emerged. Fort Union and the forts it supplied were thrust upon a much more complex cultural landscape than the civil or military administration could conceive. Their responsibilities taxed their resources extensively, and without the assistance of Hispanics, the military would have had a much more difficult challenge in carrying out its mission.

As has been noted above, native New Mexicans, usually referred to as "Mexicans" by the Anglo-American civilians and military personnel, were associated with Fort Union in many ways. They worked as laborers and as craftsmen at the fort; lived in the immediate vicinity of the fort either in villages or on homesteads and many were shepherders, ranchers, and farmers. A significant number were merchants in the nearby towns, and others served as contractors, supplying raw materials and agricultural products to the fort and its affiliated outposts through the Quartermaster Depot. The products they supplied included corn, hay, barley, wheat, beef, pork and beans, fruit, and wood, among other necessities. In the oral interviews conducted for this study there is some mention of cabbage and sauerkraut being supplied to the fort. Another respondent mentioned that his direct ancestor participated in supplying Fort Union as a "fletero" or a freighter.

Hispanics were frequently contracted as interpreters, guides and spies, wagon masters and a host of other special activities. New Mexicans made up a large number of the militias organized by the fort and many enlisted as regular soldiers. In addition to Kit Carson, a number of native New Mexicans served as officers at Fort Union as well, including at least one, Francisco Abreu, who served as commanding officer at Fort Union. One of Abreu's direct descendants commented in an interview that he was the only Hispanic commander of Fort Union.

Throughout its existence, Fort Union had direct ties to Mexico. Mexican nationals, including many from the State of Chihuahua, had a long tradition of trade relationships into the New Mexico/Texas region via the Chihuahua Trail, a portion of the old Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. The veil of nationality, however, did not make it any easier to distinguish them from native New Mexicans. The border was porous and exchange between these groups continued well into the Territorial Period. During the 1880s the Apache campaigns intensified, and Fort Union supported—through personnel and material supplies—military ventures to the south, including incursions into Mexico.

⁹ Request from Captain, 5th U.S. Infantry to Asst. Adjutant General at Military Headquarters to have charges dropped against Jose Pata Taffalo, 23 Sept. 1864. National Archives, Headquarters Records, Fort Sumner Files-Letters Sent, Microfilm Reel 1, Frame no. 213, (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

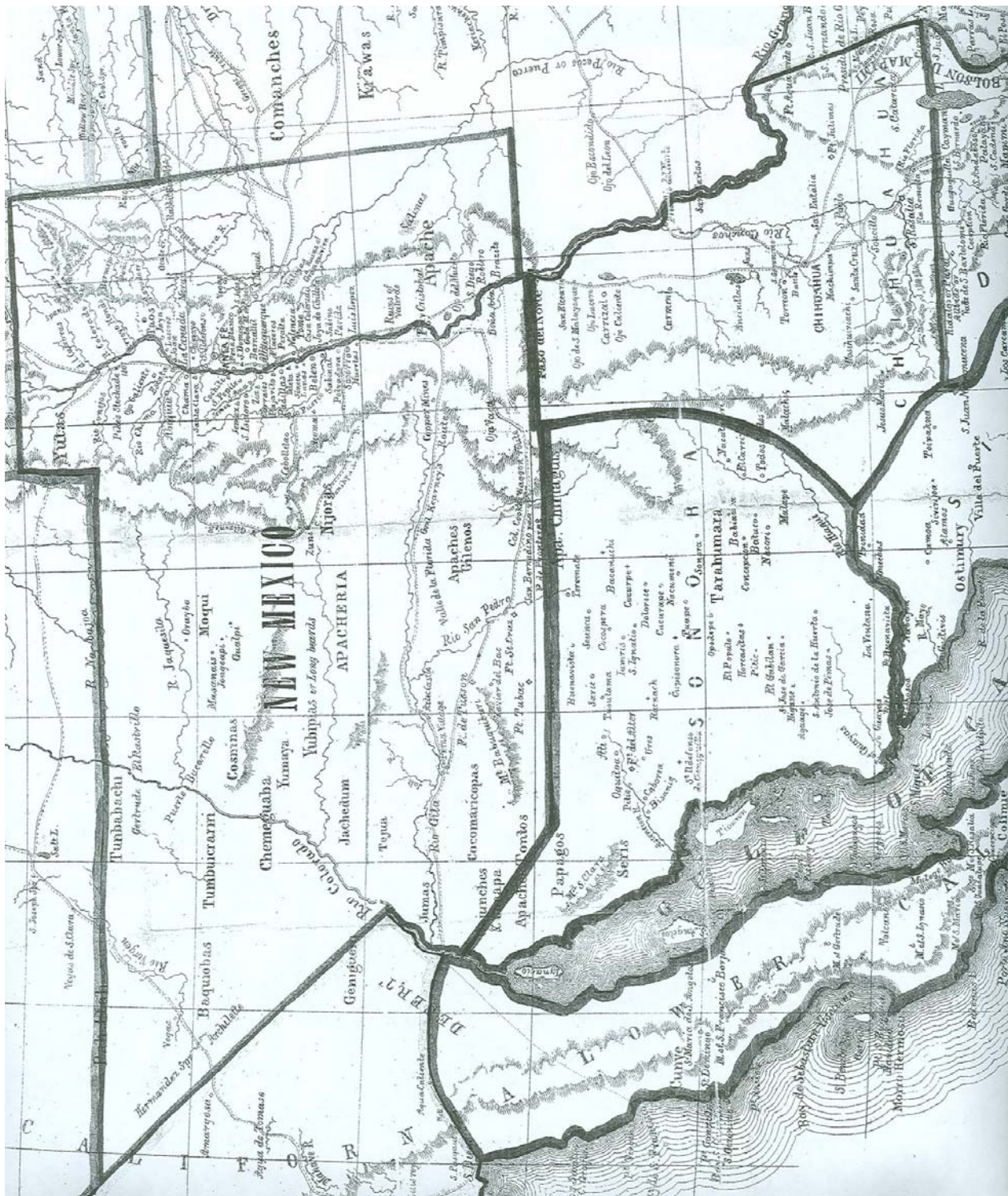


Figure 5 – Detail from an 1863 Map of Mexico and California by Julius Hutawa showing the regions of New Mexico and Chihuahua.

Auxiliary Services: Hispanics as Guides, Spies, Trailers, and Packers

As the quartermaster's headquarters was located at Fort Union, contract arrangements for services were administered at the fort. The quartermaster hired civilian employees which included Indians. In 1857 Governor Meriwether informed the Military Headquarters for the Department of New Mexico that he would be able to assist the military in "recruiting" Indians to serve as auxiliaries in the campaign against the Mogollons. Lt. R.V. Bonneau from Fort Union was selected to handle the arrangements for recruiting, and was given a budget to carry out the plan. In addition, he drew upon the services of a native New Mexican child to assist with the military campaign. Bonneau learned of the child through a letter from his commanding officer. His instructions read: "A Mexican boy here [in Santa Fe] who was formerly a captive among the Mogollons...will be directed to join you and give such aid as may be necessary in pointing out the country and in finding the enemy, etc. etc."¹⁰ Military assistance by Hispanics came in many forms.

Contracting services took on a variety of employment possibilities. During the 1860s at Fort Union wages for spies, scouts, and interpreters ranged from twenty to eighty dollars per month. Spies, for example, were paid \$2.00 per day.¹¹ According to one author the Indian scouts were enlisted as regular "soldiers" for a six-month period. They were paid upon their discharge, depending on their performance. On enlisting, a scout was "given a Springfield rifle, a field belt and ammunition, canteen and can. To his belt [was] attached a small brass tag with his number and the letters of his company. For clothing ... he [drew] a dark blue shirt and a blouse. Out in the field he was to wear a piece of white cloth tied around his head to distinguish him from hostiles."¹²

When "rumors" of Texans coming "up the Pecos or through the Canadian" surfaced, Kit Carson was authorized to "hire as many Mexicans, Pueblos and Utes as necessary to protect Fort Union."¹³ The commanding officer at Fort Union was instructed to "issue provisions to the families of the Ute Indians in service to the United States."¹⁴ Later, he was ordered by Military Headquarters to keep "the scouts and spies from Fort Union... constantly in the field, watching every route by which your post could be threatened."¹⁵ On June 30, 1854, the General commanding the District of New Mexico wrote a report to the Adjutant General, lauding the

¹⁰ Letter from Brv. Major W. A. Nichols Headquarters of the Military, Department of the Army in Santa Fe to Lt. Bonneau, 3rd Infantry, Fort Union, February 24, 1857, Meketa Collection, Roll 2, Letters received, Fort Union. Documents listed chronologically.

¹¹ Report of number of wage positions allocated to the fort, 5 February 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 40; Indian labor to be utilized in building new Fort Union, 3 June 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 13; Request to General Getty on hiring needs, 2 Sept. 1869, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 23, 201; report of spy wages, 29 Jan. 1855, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 14.

¹² F. Stanley, *Fort Union, New Mexico*, (F. Stanley: 1953), 114.

¹³ General Commanding, Headquarters to Commanding Officer, Fort Union, 5 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98). Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents listed chronologically.

¹⁴ Headquarters to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, Col. Chapman, 9 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98), Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents listed chronologically.

¹⁵ Commanding Officer, Territorial Military Headquarters to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, Col. Chapman, 13 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico), Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98), Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents listed chronologically.

performance of one volunteer company of New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians, noting that "all speak in the highest terms of praise for the [New] Mexicans and Pueblos employed as trailers, spies, etc..." referring to the recently completed Jicarilla Apache campaign.¹⁶



Figure 6 - Photograph of Candido Alona and Felicita Mascareñas on their wedding day Raton, New Mexico. Candido Alona's father was the owner of the Sweetwater Ranch, south of Rayado. Felicita's father Antonio was a member of the New Mexico Spies and Guides (*Photograph courtesy of the Abreu family*).

¹⁶ Report from M.Garland Brig., Gen., Commanding, Headquarters, Santa Fe, to AAG, New York, Lorenzo Thomas, 30 June 1854, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 2, 202-202a.

Hispanics as Comancheros and Ciboleros

The *comancheros* (Hispanic New Mexican traders) had well-established trade relationships with the Comanches. Although it was a risky business, profits from such ventures could be high. The Comanches benefited from these trade relationships as well. The buffalo hunted by the Comanche and other Plains tribes provided everything from water-proof hides for their lodges to robes and meat. Still, they coveted items from the Hispanic and the Pueblo communities. The hard bread, sugar, and coffee these traders brought to the plains supplemented the diets of Plains tribes. Firearms, kettles and metal tools increased their dependency on trade goods long before they became reservation Indians.¹⁷ Overall, New Mexican ties with the Plains Indians were much more diversified than the commonly held perceptions of bellicose Plains tribes who raided for livestock and slaves. There was economic and cultural exchange which became part of New Mexico's unique and diversified history.

In his memoirs Rafael Chacon wrote about the intricate system of trade which had been a New Mexican tradition long before the United States established the new economic order, and which continued afterward. He described the formalities associated with his meetings with Comanche chiefs in the 1850s, and the types of supplies he traded for, focusing on those which would be of interest and benefit to the women and children of the tribe. His trading party would frequently be targeted by hostile tribesmen, so accommodating the chief's needs was critical to survival and to success. The potential for profit during these risky ventures was quite high. He described one occasion in which he bought fifteen wild horses, paying one *piloncillo* (a cone of unrefined Mexican sugar weighing a pound) for each horse.



Figure 7 - Drawing of a buffalo hunt from *Panoramic Spanish for Elementary Pupils*

¹⁷ William Hagan, *United States- Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 13.

Upon returning home he sold each one for ten to twenty bushels of wheat, and sold the wheat for three dollars a bushel. Additional items for trade included flour, bread, cookies, and cornmeal for coffee (apparently the Comanches had access to large amounts of coffee during the 1850s) and meat, buffalo robes, and chamois.¹⁸ To be sure, by the middle eighteenth century, the Spanish disrupted the Pueblo-Plains relationships to a certain extent, which increased Comanche raids on their villages. But by the end of the eighteenth century, and through the 1840s, Pueblo-Hispanic-Comanche relationships were stabilized in part through the proliferation of *comanchero* and *cibolero* trade.¹⁹ After independence, Mexico pursued a new accord with the Comanches which would revive their late colonial legacy. Historian Elizabeth A.H. John writes that Anglo-Americans never comprehended that an imperfect peace existed that was mutually useful to Comanches and New Mexicans. She clarifies that "Anglo-Americans perceptions of Indians [were] radically different from those rooted in the Hispanic tradition, [and] would be acted upon so precipitously in the succeeding era as to destroy even the memory of peaceful coexistence."²⁰

In addition, the Plains tribes were frequently warned against contact of any form with merchants coming through the Santa Fe Trail.²¹ However, the military did grant authority to traders on occasion. In 1851 Benjamin J. Latz was "granted license to trade with any tribes between Santa Fe and the White Mountains" in hopes of finding the captive child of Mrs. J. M. White who, along with several others from her party, was killed by Apaches on the Santa Fe trail in 1849.²² The killings had become a *cause célèbre*, and although Latz was unable to find the White child, by June he did arrange for the release of a captive "Mexican boy."²³

The new laws were not considered to be in the vested interests of the *comancheros* and the Pueblos who continued to pursue economic exchange with the nomadic tribes. In July 1851, military officers at Fort Union accused Santo Domingo Indians of having an "affiliation" with Comanches;²⁴ on another occasion a group of Indians from Isleta were captured by soldiers from Fort Union, and accused of trading livestock with the Comanches. The Isletas defended their actions, claiming they were unaware of such restrictions. One group of New Mexicans, who had been denied a license to trade with the Comanches, was arrested after they were found trying to trade with the Comanches near Wagon Mound.²⁵ The limitations of free trade imposed on the Comanches directly impacted their livelihood. The policy only served to increase the necessity to raid livestock, including the holdings of sedentary Indian communities in New Mexico as well.²⁶ The military was charged with arresting and prosecuting offenders. Many were imprisoned at Fort Union as a result. Even during the Civil War years, when military resources were stretched to their farthest realms, aggressive campaigns were unleashed against New Mexicans and Pueblo

¹⁸ Jacqueline Dorgan Meketa, *Legacy of Honor: The Life of Rafael Chacón, a Nineteenth-Century New Mexican*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 104-106.

¹⁹ Charles Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indians Relations*, (Lincoln: University of Alaska Press), 212.

²⁰ Elizabeth A. H. John, "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 59, No. 4, October, 1984, 365.

²¹ Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indians Relations*, 154.

²² Letter from Lt. L. McLaws, AAAG to Col. E. B. Alexander, 20 March 1851, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 51, 324.

²³ Letter from John Munroe to Major General Jones, 29 June 1851, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 79-80.

²⁴ Correspondence from Col. Brooks to Lt. McLaws, 2 July 1851, re: Santo Domingo Pueblo affiliation with Comanches, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 88; see also Report of IA on Pueblo trade with Comanches, 3 March 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 7, 54.

²⁵ Order from Gen. Carleton to Capt. Plympton, Fort Union, 30 Oct. 1862, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 10, 307.

²⁶ Cris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 318.

Indians who ventured out onto the Plains. The military capitalized on the use of native New Mexicans to bring to justice those New Mexicans who traded with the tribes. As the commander of a New Mexican volunteer regiment, in December 1861, Col. J.G. Gallegos was notified that "an unauthorized expedition is being organized by F. Montoya y Silva in the Neighborhood of Anton Chico for the purpose of going into the country of the Mescalero Apaches." He was ordered to Hatch's Ranch where he was to intercept the expedition and warn them that "all such expeditions are in violation of the laws of the United States and will not be permitted." If they refused to cooperate he was to arrest the leaders of the party and send the others back to their homes. He was ordered to send a "discreet officer and a sufficient force to prevent any attempt at resistance...you will impress upon the people of Anton Chico and the neighboring country the illegality of all expeditions of this kind into the Indian country, and that every exertion will be used by the troops to protect them."²⁷

In August 1861, a group of five New Mexican traders were confined at the Fort Union guardhouse and were interviewed by military officials. The following document which was produced at that time is quite revealing for a number of reasons. In essence it is a "Statement" of the [Hispanic] prisoners at Fort Union as interpreted by Lt. Col. Chaves "for trading with the Plains Indians of New Mexico" and reads as follows:

Pedro Urioste: There are five of us, Phillipe Madrid, Antonio Gallegos, Juan de Dios Tapia, Manuel Urioste. There are a great many [New Mexicans] coming from all parts of the territory, going and coming. I do not know them... I went among the Indians to purchase animals, dressed skins, buffalo robes, and things of this kind. The goods we took in exchange for these articles consisted of *biscocho*, corn, shirts, blue drilling, vermillion, and knives. We took no arms or ammunition of any kind. I purchased all these things from Don Miguel Sena y Quintana. Phillipe Madrid says the same thing as Pedro Urioste, but adds that his object was to get two *burras* from the Indians, the property of Miguel Garcia. [from Las Vegas] I took no powder or ammunition of any kind. My men were poorly armed. I purchased my trading articles [from] Antonio Jose Gallegos. Tapia says I purchased my goats [from] Lorenzo Lopes merchant at Las Vegas. Manuel Urioste got two small rifles from the Indians. [and said] I bought my goods from Maxwell at Vegas. Pedro Urioste and his brother live at La Puebla and the others at La Cuesta [Villanueva].
[signed] H.B. Bristal, 1st Lt. 5th Infantry. [August, 1861]²⁸

The document provides a snapshot in time of the relationships between Native New Mexicans and the Plains Indians which were nurtured over many generations. First of all, the

²⁷ Correspondence from W. Nicodemus, Dept. Headquarters, to J.G. Gallegos, 3rd Reg., N.M. Volunteers, 10 Dec. 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 8, p. 190.

²⁸ Report of Pedro Urioste to Lt. H.B. Bristol, August 1861, Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98). Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents listed chronologically.

New Mexicans were not English speaking and an interpreter was utilized to take their statement. The five New Mexicans were somewhat uneasy about the Indians and the leader noted "my men were poorly armed" to venture out onto the Plains, and not only trade with them, but to retrieve "two *burras*" which belonged to a known third party, "Miguel Garcia." The goods which were exchanged reflect the needs of the groups involved, and obviously food was important to the Indians, whereas the products which they produced, especially from the buffalo, were prized by the New Mexicans. The goods which were traded to the Indians were obtained from Hispanic and Anglo merchants in Las Vegas. The group was released on November 25, 1861.²⁹ The document reflects the day-to-day economic activity and cultural relationships during a transitional period in the Southwest.³⁰

By the 1870s New Mexicans were still actively involved in trade with the Comanches, and Fort Union continued to dispatch troops out on the plains to monitor the illicit activity and pursue offenders. On February 27, 1871, Captain James M. Randlett of the 8th Cavalry stationed at the fort, was provided with "60 horses fit for active service" and ordered to scout the Llano Estacado east of Hubbell's Ranch. In late May of that year he encountered a "wagon train of 23 mules with ten [New] Mexicans, one Indian warrior, and a "Comanche squaw guiding the pack train," on their way to trade at a Comanche camp out on the Plains. The New Mexicans claimed to be residents of Santa Fe, San Miguel and Mora. Randlett ordered all of the animals shot and the goods destroyed. The squaw, male Indian, and the ten New Mexicans were sent to the Fort Union guardhouse.³¹

Captain Nicodemus of the 12th Infantry, stationed at Fort Union attempted to incorporate a trade agreement with the Comanches as part of a treaty. His goal was to keep the Indians away from settlements and other communities, while accommodating their economic needs. On July 21, 1862 Nicodemus notified Lorenzo Labadie, the Comanche Indian agent that the military was in the process of obtaining supplies to establish a trading post on the plains where the Comanches "could carry on trade." However, they were warned that "they were not allowed near settlements as it will cause trouble."³² The problem with such arrangements was that different bands of the same tribe were not always aware of such negotiations, nor did they feel obligated to abide by agreements which they, themselves, were not party to.

Labor at Fort Union: Hispanics Contributions to the Trades

In 1868 the following labor categories existed at the fort: civilian engineers, clerks, interpreters, forage master, yard master, assistant wagon master, wheelwright, blacksmith, saddler, carpenter, blacksmith striker, watchman, messenger, expressman, hostlers, teamster, and

²⁹ Follow-up report by Lt. H. B. Bristol, 25 November 1861, Arrott Collection, vol. 8, 165.

³⁰ During this time a common item utilized in trade was the metal token. Tokens were in popular use among Indians and many of the Anglo and Hispanic traders; they were good for rations and other trade items and appeared at the post sutler's store at Fort Union. The traders had borrowed the idea from the sutlers themselves. See Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 83.

³¹ Report from Lt. Hennissee on prisoners, 27 Feb. 1871, vol. 25, 56; See the *Daily Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 5, 1871; and Lt. Hennissee dispatch to Ft. Union on status of prisoners, 22 May 1871, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 55, 213.

³² Correspondence from Captain W.J.L. Nicodemus to Lorenzo Labadie, 21 July 1862, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 10, 40.

general laborer.³³ In 1868 clerks at the fort were paid 150 dollars per month, followed by blacksmiths and carpenters at 75 dollars per month; interpreters earned 60 dollars and cooks and laborers were paid 25-35 dollars per month.³⁴ There were 185 teamsters on payroll each receiving 35 dollars per month. It is important to recognize that Indians were also employed at the fort as wage earners, and were contracted out in the field for a variety of tasks.

For Native Americans, their return to their traditional lands in 1868 was as difficult as the journey to the Bosque four years before. Carpenters were contracted through the Fort Union quartermaster at four dollars per day to prepare a crossing at the Rio Grande in Albuquerque to assist Navajos "to cross the swollen river."³⁵ Hispanic civilian wagon masters were contracted through the Quartermaster at Fort Union to transport provisions needed at the reservation as well.

Hispanic Agricultural Practices and the Needs at Fort Union

The military had responsibility for developing agricultural endeavors at Fort Union which included a garden adjacent to the post and a larger farm located 23 miles to the north at Ocaté. The land for the farm was leased from Manuel Alvarez shortly after the establishment of the fort in 1851.³⁶ In September 1852 Governor William Carr Lane visited the fort and reported on the products grown at the farm. According to his description, "pumpkins, corn, berries, turnips, peas, parsnips, cabbage, cucumbers, radish, okra, beets, indigenous potatoes, onions, peppers, asparagus, carrots, and melons were found at the farm. He noted that "Irish potatoes, tomatoes, and melons did not do well." Indigenous potatoes were naturally found in the area, and were discovered growing on the site when the farm was initially developed. The governor went on to describe the irrigation system as "a chain of ponds and clear water-scooped out of the volcanic rock from the surrounding mountains. The water is elevated so as to irrigate the garden by means of the power of six mules by baskets fastened to an endless chain revolving upon a drum."³⁷ The farm was not profitable (even though written reports listed it as having the best record of all of the posts in the Southwest), and the garden at the fort itself was not very successful as evidenced by the endemic problem with scurvy that the troops suffered. Local New Mexican farmers were usually more successful than the military farmers, and plants indigenous to the region provided the fort with some of their dietary needs.

One undated report focused on the positive:

Among the useful indigenous vegetable production is the *humudus lupulus* or common hop. This plant grows in the greatest profusion along the mountain streams [in the vicinity of Fort Union)... and of the very best quality. The post bakery is supplied with hops from this source, A wagon and some men were sent out September last (no year indicated) and in a few hours returned with a wagon load

³³ Retention of civilian employees, 13 Jan. 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 13.

³⁴ Report of number of wage positions allocated to the fort, 5 February 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 40.

³⁵ Utilization of Indian labor to build a new post, 30 June 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 288.

³⁶ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 78.

³⁷ "Historical Sketches of Governor William Carr Lane" in Historical Society of New Mexico, Nov., 1917, No. 24, 45-50, no author.

of hops which the post bakery pronounced of the very best quality being very rich in lupulin. All the ordinary cereals can be grown wherever water is available for irrigation. The wheat is of inferior quality. All the ordinary existent vegetables except potatoes succeed well; the onions are good.³⁸

Climatic conditions and the inadequacies of maintaining functional irrigation systems impeded yearly output. In the vicinity of the Mora Valley there was conflict over the use of water from the Mora River with local land owners.

As time went on, however, the "stores" at Fort Union's depot diminished significantly, exasperating the problems associated not just with the transportation of the Indian captives, but in provisioning the Bosque Redondo until agricultural production was developed at that site. Strategic planning for the Bosque Redondo was undertaken primarily by officers at Fort Union, which played a key role in the on-going administration and supply of the reservation throughout its existence. In essence Fort Union was the lifeline to Fort Sumner with virtually all resources emanating from the fort's official command and Quartermaster Depot.

In addition to poor planning, the ability of the U.S. Army to successfully undertake an agricultural project was highlighted in a report submitted by the Commanding Officer at Ft. Sumner to General Carleton on December 22, 1866. The Commanding Officer informed Carleton that the "dam on the Pecos River is inadequate... there is no building material such as rock available to reinforce the dam... the *acacias* are in poor condition... and there is no adequate supply of wood for [Navajos to construct shelters nor] for fuel." He recommended that at least three New Mexican "farmers" be brought in to salvage the agricultural potential.³⁹

He once wrote to officers, instructing them in the proper way to cut corn, suggesting that he had "heard that the Mexicans use something like a big knife called a machette."⁴⁰ On another occasion he informed the commanding officer that he once visited the South and learned about two different types of rice that can be grown: "Be sure to use the one that would work well at Ft. Sumner!" he directed.

Hispanics and Others as Commercial Suppliers

Many New Mexican farmers, ranchers, millers and sheepherders supplied Fort Union throughout the period of its existence. A Hispanic respondent who now lives in Albuquerque told the story of her German ancestor Jacob Fuss who originally constructed what is today the Cleveland Roller Mill. The mill, she said, supplied Fort Union with ground flour towards the end of the 19th century.

An interesting phenomenon occurred in the region as a number of German Jews migrated to New Mexico in the 1840s, 50s and 60s. They came to stay and adapted culturally and economically to local communities. They acquired skills in Spanish and indigenous languages

³⁸ Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives (39-1).

³⁹ Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner to General Carleton, 22 December 1866. Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 1 (of 5), Frame no. 110-112, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

⁴⁰ Letter from Gen. Carleton to Col. Enos, Quartermaster at Fort Sumner, 26 August 1865. Arrott Manuscript Collection vol. 17, 158.

which served them well in expanding their business endeavors throughout the region. In one of the interviews a respondent mentioned that some of the Jewish and Arab immigrants who ventured into these areas began by selling goods such as needles, pots and pans that they carried on horseback or on pack animals. Among these new immigrants were merchants like Arthur Morrison who served as the Fort Union sutler or military storekeeper during the 1850s, but eventually became a military officer reaching the rank of major. In a video-taped interview, a Hispanic descendent of Morrison shared her genealogy which traced Morrison's lineage back to a city in Germany. It is important to note that many of these groups intermarried with Hispanics and Native Americans as the years passed. Today many of these families often consider themselves Hispanics, yet they are also mindful of their ancestry, which frequently leads back to Europe and other parts of the world. This observable fact reflects the common recognition of the broader ethnic heritage of the regional population. Yet within this framework, the centuries old Spanish cultural influences continue to define much of Northern New Mexico.

In addition, the Spiegelbergs and Charles Ifeld entered the region during this period, and became large scale merchants and suppliers to the military forts throughout the region. Ifeld established his general merchandise store at Las Vegas in 1867 and quickly developed a business which was able to fill the military contracts and expand into the civilian market as well. Both families were very successful in New Mexico because they established themselves among the diverse cultures that Indians, Hispanics and Anglo-Americans represented.

Wherever Ifeld did business, "thousands of pounds of his freight were entrusted to respected Spanish-speaking mayordomos who, with full responsibility, conducted their cargos across lonely land...These and many others represented a great variety of non-Jewish agents and personalities who extended Ifeld's normal range of Jewish merchant-banking associations."⁴¹ Ifeld subcontracted with many Hispanic farmers, shepherders, ranchers, and other suppliers, such as those providing timber and even coal to meet the needs of the forts throughout the region. He purchased huge amounts of grain from the Mora Valley to keep on hand for the military market whose needs were sporadic but at times exorbitant.⁴² Ifeld rented a facility at Tecolote and established a forage area to accommodate the military's livestock needs on their many treks between Ft. Union and military headquarters at Santa Fe.⁴³ He utilized the services of many native New Mexicans in all of his business ventures that required their skills.

The Spiegelbergs successfully integrated the Indian market when one of the family Soloman Bibo, married the daughter of the chief of Acoma. Bibo later became governor of that pueblo. Navajo Sam, whose real name was Sam Dittehofer, was a clerk for the Spiegelbergs who set up a trading post in Navajoland, learning the Navajo language fluently. In later years he served as an interpreter for the military.

Company records from the Ifeld business provide insight into how that company reached out to the Hispanic community all over the state, and especially in the villages surrounding Fort Union, such as Mora, Loma Parada, and Watrous. About 20% of the 2,000 purchase requests made to the Ifelds originated from small land owners, ranchers, herders and farmers who placed their orders in Spanish.

⁴¹ William J. Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900," Paper read at The University of New Mexico Sixth Annual Research Lecture, (May 1, 1959); published in *New Mexico Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Autumn, 1959, 328.

⁴² William Parish, "Charles Ifeld, Sedentary Merchant of the Arid Southwest, 1865-1884," Dissertation, Harvard University, 1949, 59-76.

⁴³ Parish, "Charles Ifeld," 78-79.

Coins and paper money were scarce in New Mexico in the 1860s. Ifeld printed paper bills called "scripts" to be used in lieu of money. He was authorized to print up thousands of Spanish language coupons with monetary value to compensate for the lack of currency available in New Mexico during and after the Civil war. The coupons were used in lieu of currency and were published with a face value as low as five cents. It appears that the coupons could be made available to the recipients on a barter basis. Ifeld was able to acquire products from the herders and farmers, such as corn, oats, hay, pigs, cattle, etc., compensating the sellers with these coupons, which in turn could be used for future purchases. This benefited Ifeld because it allowed for a high turnover of merchandise, which in turn allowed him to purchase in larger quantities at reduced rates from suppliers in St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. There were perennial shortages of supplies for their biggest customers, the military and the Office of Indian Affairs, and business boomed when they could meet those demands. Samples of these coupons are found in the Ifeld Collection in the Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, at the University of New Mexico. These coupons were made available in Spanish.

Ifeld was one of the primary contractors with Fort Union, doing a great amount of business as a large scale supplier of oats, corn, wheat, bran, hay, lumber, cattle and sheep. Additionally, he filled the needs of the post trader and the individual needs of the military and civilian personnel living at the fort. Extant records document that Ifeld owned property in the Fort Union area and rented houses to civilian employees at places such as Watrous.

The industrious Ifeld ran a very successful mail order business. Many individuals used his various catalogues to mail order requests for the sundry products stocked at his Las Vegas general merchandise store. The collection includes dozens of requests by residents at the fort, especially in the 1880s. Most of the requests come from the wives and daughters of military officers. The merchandise which most interested them were baking flour, shoes, curtains, shades, rugs, buttons, and other material for making dresses. Attached to many of the written purchase orders are numerous samples of ribbon and other material that the purchaser desired. Women were very precise in their needs; when the wrong shade was sent from the store in Las Vegas, it would be immediately returned with the request to correct the mistake.

The sheer number of purchase requests over the period 1882-1888 suggests that numerous social functions took place at the fort during this period, including an array of dances, weddings, and formal dinners. One order for "opera slippers" reveals the nature of some of the entertainment which was prevalent including opera, plays, and other musical events. Children of every age lived at the fort, as the parental requests for clothing and shoes frequently noted the age of their child.⁴⁴ Census records indicate that fifty-nine of the 91 civilian residents at the fort in 1880 were women and children.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Charles Ifeld Collection, (Center for Southwest Research/ University of New Mexico), Box 2, Folder 4.

⁴⁵ Territorial Census of New Mexico. 1880 Census of Ft. Union (Precinct 11), Microfilm T9, Roll no. 803, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

Relationships with Hispanic Communities

The drain on the fort's medical resources was, in part, due to its responsibilities for providing assistance to travelers along the Santa Fe Trail and civilians from the local area.⁴⁶

Fort Union also provided medical care to people from the surrounding communities as noted in the post's hospital records for 1871. Some of the patients treated there during that year included: "Private John N. Meahon [who] was eventually transferred to an insane asylum on March 13; citizen Jose Antonio Chavez-a Mexican teamster from Manzano, New Mexico, [who] died of 'gastro entritis;' a destitute citizen was treated at the hospital; [and the report noted that white troops [were] treated separate from 'colored.' One Josepha, a Mexican woman in employ of a laundress died of chest congestion. [She] did not seek medical attention;"⁴⁷

Hispanics contributed to Fort Union's economic needs from as far away as southern Colorado. The ties with the Hispanic community went beyond the nearby social, political, and economic relationships but stretched far beyond its jurisdiction. It became part of an extended and culturally diverse community which was characteristic of the Southwest during the period. It procured grain and livestock from the surrounding Hispanic communities to meet some of their needs. One local supplier was Casimiro Barela who would become prominent in later years as a Senator in the Colorado Legislature. During the 1860s Barela set up a mercantile store in El Coyote (also known as Los Luceros). By 1864 he began freighting goods on government contract to Fort Union, including corn from as far away as Trinidad, Colorado.⁴⁸ Anglo-Americans and Hispanic merchants capitalized on the Santa Fe trade, and were directly integrated into the fort's economy which included opportunities to become an integral part of its labor needs as well. Civilian employment at the fort itself reached its highest levels during the 1860s with 1,050 paid workers identified in one study; however, there were sporadic requirements for very specialized labor at the fort. The fort had very extensive economic links to Northern New Mexico, and drew heavily from the region to meet its labor needs.⁴⁹

Hispanics in the New Mexico Volunteer Militia

The first territorial militia unit was organized by Ceran St. Vrain in 1846 at Santa Fe. His unit of 65 volunteers, which he drew from veteran militiamen in the Hispanic community who had served during the Mexican Period, was organized in Santa Fe, and saw limited action at Taos, Santa Cruz, and Embudo during the Taos Rebellion which began in January 1847.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ambulance needs, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 20, 287 and vol. 2, 30; Cholera, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 114 and vol. 20,287,288; Sanitary report for Fort Union, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 330; Physician needs, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 2,143; deaths of Apache squaws of dysentery despite medical care at fort, Arrott manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 79; smallpox, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 8,224; destitution, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 5, 93, 94; scurvy outbreaks, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 10, 33, 58 and 198.

⁴⁷ Microfilm records of the Adjutant General's Office (National Archives), Hospital Records from Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1878. Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico. Surgeon reports are listed monthly.

⁴⁸ Jose Emilio Fernandez, *The Biography of Casimiro Barela*, Translated by Gabriel Melendez, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003),11

⁴⁹ Richard and Shirley Flint, "Fort Union and the Economy of Northern NM," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 77 #1 Winter 2002, 27-55.

⁵⁰ John Pershing Jolly, *History of the National Guard of New Mexico*, (Santa Fe: State Planning Office, 1964), 10.

As they had during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, during the 1850s numerous militia units were organized, primarily to undertake campaigns against the Apaches, Navajos and Utes. When the War Between the States broke out in 1861, militia regiments were hastily organized and hundreds of New Mexican volunteers, mostly Hispanics, were recruited. The New Mexico militia at the beginning of the Civil War consisted of the First Regiment of New Mexico Cavalry under the command of Col. Kit Carson and the First New Mexico Infantry Regiment, commanded by Col. Miguel Pino. Two other regiments were organized in early 1862, the Third New Mexico Regiment of Cavalry at Fort Craig, and the Fourth New Mexico Regiment of Cavalry at Fort Union.⁵¹

Information on militia uniforms during the first decade of territorial government in New Mexico is scarce. Extant records related to the organization of the regiments during the 1850s suggest that the regiments may not have had formal uniforms, but were sometimes provided with clothing and boots. Usually, they were required to furnish their own horses and weapons. By the time militia regiments were organized for the Civil War, this had changed. All volunteers were clothed and armed by the government. Monthly pay for privates started at twenty dollars per month, which was more than regular army soldiers received.

During the 1880s militia regiments were raised throughout the territory on a regular basis. Letters found in the Edward L. Bartlett Manuscript Collection often reveal the concerns of the time. In a letter from Nicanor Vigil to AG Bartlett, Captain Vigil wrote in Spanish about the process of organizing and training a volunteer militia group at Peñasco. He references a "Military Tactics Training Manual" in Spanish which has not been found to date. It is probable that Vigil served at Fort Union during the Civil War period as the leader of a volunteer militia group. There are additional references in this collection to similar men who were former Civil War volunteer militia leaders from other locations in Northern New Mexico. These leaders were also in communication with Bartlett during the early 1880s and were involved in the organization of new volunteer groups. In the Vigil letter there is also commentary about the need for a militia group to intervene at Mora due to problems with "bandits" on the roadways in that area which suggests that the volunteer, militia and regular military personnel were used to deal with civil as well as military matters.⁵²

Thousands of New Mexicans, the majority Hispanics, served in the New Mexico Militia between 1847 and 1897. Although they served in the military campaigns against the Apaches, Navajos and Ute campaigns, their most historically significant contribution occurred during the Civil War period. As natives to the New Mexican landscape, they were very effectively utilized as spies and guides out on the plains, oftentimes with Pueblo Indians; they fought at the two major Civil War battles at Valverde and Glorieta where they served with honor. In the post Civil War period they were frequently called into service to deal with the Apache problems and with civil disorder throughout the territory. Many were mustered into service at Fort Union, and a significant number operated out of Fort Union. The records of the units, such as that listed in the next section under "Territorial Militia", are preserved on microfilm as part of the collection of the Territorial Archives of New Mexico. Additionally, the extant records provide not just the

⁵¹Jolly, *History of the National Guard of New Mexico*, 12-13.

⁵² Letter from Nicanor Vigil to AG Barlett, August 6, 1883, Folder 2. Edward L. Bartlett Manuscript Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

names of the captains, officers and enlistees, but include narrative summaries of the activities which were associated with many of the campaigns themselves as is exemplified below.

Territorial Militia⁵³

Captain Ceran St. Vrain, Revolt of 1847, 57 militia members (50 Anglos/7 Hispanic)
Major Edmunson, 1847 Apache Campaign, Battle of Cañon Largo de Mora, 28 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Ramon Luna, Los Lunas, Navajo campaign, 1847, 5 officers, 118 privates (all Hispanic)
Captain Marcial Tafoya, Taos, Ute and Apache campaigns, 1848, 50 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Jose Maria Valdez, Taos, 1848 Ute and Apache campaigns, 105 members (all Hispanic)
Captain John Chapman, Santa Fe, Navajo campaign 1849, 73 members (11 Hispanics)
Captain A. Papin, San Miguel, 62 members (59 Hispanics)
Captain Henry L. Dodge, Santa Fe, 72 members (67 Hispanics)
Captain Vicente Romero, Mora, Apache campaign, 1850, 80 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Ramon Sanchez, Los Lunas, Navajo campaign 1851, 86 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Anatasio Garcia, Navajo campaign 1851, 84 (all Hispanic)
Captain Anatasio Lucero, 1851 Navajo campaign, 81 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Charles Deus, Santa Fe, Apache and Ute campaigns, 91 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Deus, Ute/Apache campaigns 1855, 25 members (all Hispanic)
Captain Miguel E. Pino, Santa Fe, 87 members (all Hispanic)
Jose Maria Chaves, Apache Campaigns, 1851-52
Manuel Herrera, Apache Campaigns, 1851-52
Antonio Maria Vigil, 1855
Captain Pedro Leon, 1855
Cpt. William S. Cunningham, 1855
Cpt. Charles Williams, Ute and Apache campaigns, 1855
Francisco Gonzales, Ute and Apache campaigns, 1855
Jesus Velasquez, 1860
Francisco Leiva, 1860
Francisco Santisteban, 1860
Andres Tapia, Navajo campaign, 1860
Juan Gutierrez, Navajo campaign, 1860
Francisco Chaves, Navajo campaign, 1860
Juan Gallegos, Navajo campaign, 1860
Cpt. Ygnacio Baldez, Navajo campaign, 1860
Juan B. Patron, Lincoln County disturbances, 1879
Nicanor Vigil, Co E, 2nd Reg, 1883, 40 members (all Hispanics)

The above list demonstrates the Hispanic New Mexican involvement in the military from the 1840s to the 1880s and in part suggests that there were many more Hispanics than is

⁵³ Records of Volunteer Union soldiers who served in organizations from the Territory of New Mexico. Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Reel 85, National Archives & Record Service, Compiled Service. List of militia leaders occur alphabetically. Note: By 1862, the Adjutant General ordered that in the New Mexican companies one or more of the officers “shall be persons that speak both the English and Spanish languages.” Adjutant General Report, Headquarters Department of the Army, Santa Fe, N.M. May 10, 1862. General Orders, No. 44.

suggested in some of the contemporary literature on Fort Union. The census records for Precinct 11 for Fort Union and the vicinity for the years 1860, 1870, and 1880 indicate that Hispanics and Indians were indeed in the minority in Precinct 11 as shown in the following table.

Territorial Census Records- Precinct No. 11 Fort Union and Vicinity⁵⁴

Census of 1860:	Census of 1870:	Census of 1880:
Those with identified occupations:	Those with identified occupations:	Those with identified occupations:
farmer 1	keeping house 27	Blacksmiths 2
saddler 1	children 47	Saddler 1
keeping house 3	carpenter 3	Tinsmith 1
children 11	machinist 1	Teamsters 6
stage driver 4	laundresses 4	Housekeepers 29
laborer 7	forage master 1	Wheelwright 1
cook 1	postmaster 1	Machinist 1
stock tender 1	farmer 6	Cooks 2
blacksmith 1	gardener 2	Watchman 1
herder 1	seamstress 1	Barber 1
carpenter 2	laborers 9	Clerk in store 2
forage master 1	book keeper 1	Forage master 1
wagon master 1	cook 9	Musicians 2
tailor 1	servant 1	Tailor 1
teamster 27	miller 1	Hospital Assistant 1
baker 1	butcher 2	Servants 3
plasterer 1	wagon master 4	Merchants 2
merchant 1	teamster 44	Butcher: 1
clerk 1	painter 2	Asst. Postmaster 1
servant 3	watchman 5	Laborers 4
unknown occupation 10	clerks/Qmtr 3	Quartermaster clerks 4
	saddler 2	Lt. 15 th Infantry 1
	blacksmith 5	Soldiers 21
	wheelwright 4	Sergeant 1
	tinner 1	Captain, AA Quartermaster 1
	sail maker 1	Col., US Army 1
	chief herder 1	Chaplain 1
	herders 3	Post surgeon: 1
	packer 1	Children 27
	stage driver 5	Occupation not identified 19
	superintendent of woolen factory: 1	
	stonemason 1	
	ordnance mechanic 1	
	Unknown occupations 17	
Civilians working at, or living near Ft. Union: 80	Civilians working at, or living near Ft. Union: 217	Civilians working at, or living near Ft. Union: 140
Hispanic surnamed civilians: 3	Hispanic surnamed civilians: 97	Hispanic surnames individuals: 29
Anglo surnamed civilians: 77	Anglo surnamed civilians: 119	Anglo surnamed individuals: 87
	Black civilian: 1	Black civilians: 4
Soldiers (all Anglo surnamed): 83	Soldiers (all Anglo surnamed): 272	
	military storekeeper: 1	
	Quartermaster: 1	
	Asst. Quartermaster: 1	
	Ordinance sergeant: 1	

Total of census records, 1860, 1870, 1880, Civilians employed at Ft. Union; family members of employees and others living in immediate vicinity of the fort.

Hispanic surnamed individuals: 128
 Anglo Surnamed individuals: 283
 Blacks: 5

The total population of the Territory, even as late as 1880 revealed that most of the population remained predominately Indian and Hispanic. The population of the Territory of New

⁵⁴ Territorial Census of New Mexico. 1880 Census of Ft. Union (Precinct 11), Microfilm T9, Roll no. 803, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

Mexico was recorded in the Census of 1880 to be "119,563...[Of this total] more than one-half [were] Mexicans, and about 9,000 [were] Pueblo Indians...Besides the Pueblo Indian...[were] the large tribe of the Navajos, numbering 11,850;...the Jicarilla Apaches, 627 in number...and the Mescalero Hot Spring Apaches, number[ed] 1,350. Besides these there [were] small bands of wandering Indians, more or less hostile, whose numbers ... [were] known to be small."⁵⁵ In reality, native New Mexicans and Indians in the Southwest were mainstream and predominant groups, but became foreigners in this old land with a new government when the United States entered the region.

Muster Roll of Captain Buenaventura Lovato's Company

Commanded by Colonel Guadalupe Gallegos called into the U.S. Army under the Proclamations of the President of Mexico (the place of General Mendizabala) to serve from the 1st of June to the 31st of September, 1861, unless sooner discharged. The Company was organized by Captain Lovato in the month of June, 1861, and marched to Fort Union, New Mexico, September, 1861, a distance of fifty-seven miles.

No.	Name	Rank	Age when joined	Where	By whom
1.	Buenaventura Lovato	Capt.	40	Sept. 21/61.	21 June, Capt. Lovato.
1.	John Canney	Priv.	27	" "	" " " "
1.	José Romero	2	" 40	" "	" " " "
1.	José Valencia	Priv.	28	" "	" " " "
2.	José Montoya	"	26	" "	" " " "
3.	José González	"	28	" "	" " " "
4.	José Antonio Montoya	"	25	" "	" " " "
5.	José Antonio Martín	"	30	" "	" " " "
1.	Francisco Martín	Corp.	30	" "	" " " "
2.	José Santos León	"	31	" "	" " " "
3.	José Domingo López	"	30	" "	" " " "
4.	Carlos Vargas	"	24	" "	" " " "
1.	Lucas Benito	Priv.	34	" "	" " " "
2.	Antonio Concepción	"	30	" "	" " " "
3.	Carrillo Juan	"	25	27/61	Capt. Lovato
4.	Carrillo Juan	"	27	" "	" " " "
5.	Juan Sosa	"	44	25/61	" " " "
6.	Agustín Francisco	"	22	" "	" " " "
7.	González Juan	"	32	" "	" " " "
8.	González Juan	"	40	" "	" " " "
9.	González Juan Santos	"	30	" "	" " " "
10.	González Juan Incarnación	"	30	" "	" " " "
11.	González Manuel Nuncio	"	30	" "	" " " "
12.	San Bartolomé	"	25	" "	" " " "

Figure 8 - The document is titled "Muster Roll of Capitan Buenaventura Lovato's Company" and was organized in 1861. This company was commanded by Colonel Guadalupe Gallegos and called into the draft of the U.S. Army.

⁵⁵ Robert P. Porter, *The West: From the Census of 1880*, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1882), 453.

PART II NATIVE AMERICANS AND FORT UNION

Introduction

Missing from the material are the voices of the largest constituency associated with the fort's forty year history: the Native Americans of the Southwest. Despite stereotypical images and misconceptions that the tribes were one culture, the tribes of the Southwest, like their counterparts elsewhere, were and are culturally diverse. They served as both allies and formidable adversaries of the military over the forty-year time span of the fort's life. They were scouts, spies, trailers (trackers), interpreters, traders, and supplied the fort with labor. Its resident Indian community frequently included women and children along with their combatant husbands, sons, brothers, and fathers as prisoners.

The historiography of Europeans in the Americas rarely reveals the influence which Indians have had in shaping that history. Native Americans were directly affected by Fort Union's presence, but were not passive participants in the fort's policies directed towards them; in many cases they played a direct role in how those policies were developed and implemented. The Plains Indians--the Comanches, Kiowas, Utes, Apaches and the Navajos provided the impetus for the fort's establishment, and, along with the sedentary Pueblos, would become the largest ethnic groups associated with the fort's activities. In essence Fort Union evolved from a traditional military outpost into a cultural mosaic. Its constituent communities were each an integral part of the fort's history. The three primary constituents of the fort--the military personnel, the New Mexican Hispanics, and the Native Americans each contributed in their own way, to a "hybrid" cultural landscape with Fort Union as its focal point. The new order would retain and incorporate some of the region's traditional ways; but would cast aside other essential parts of local culture.

Sherry L. Smith has noted that "Traditional histories of the military west... have been slow to incorporate ethnohistorical methods that would include Indian points of view and a prominent place for Indian perspectives in the synthesis of material... Most of the work on Indian resistance to Anglo expansion... derives from anthropologists and scholars who define themselves as Indian, rather than military, historians."⁵⁶ But the focus on "resistance" is not sufficient. Thomas Dunlay adds that the importance of Indian history cannot be considered simply from Eurocentric perspectives of white contact. Other factors encompass their role: Indians were "never simply enacted upon by whites. They [also] acted upon the whites; furthermore, individual Indians and groups acted upon each other as well."

The Indian scout in service to the United States Army in the latter half of the nineteenth century is a case in point. Dunlay characterizes the service of the scouts as an essential part of both "American and Indian history." Navajo, Ute and Apache scouts exemplified the diversity and complexity of the Indian role in the formation of Anglo-Indian alliances, and demonstrates how Indians, themselves, took the initiative to facilitate Indian-white relationships. The military depended on the service of the scouts, and also employed Indians as interpreters, trailers, and guides. These alliances existed within a relationship with a government who sought to "dispossess and dominate" their own native peoples. Despite the paradoxical nature of such

⁵⁶ Sherry L. Smith, "Lost Soldiers: Re-Searching the Army in the American West," in *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), 152.

associations, this particular phenomenon essentially negates the narrow idea of what it is to be Indian and allows for the possibility of change and variation within various indigenous groups.⁵⁷

Although Fort Union was a military establishment, it eventually became an inherent part of New Mexico's diversified cultural surroundings.⁵⁸ Sherry Smith has observed that the army, "perhaps more than any other identifiable group or institution, related to and interacted with Indians across the region in a variety of contexts and with an assortment of results."⁵⁹ Given the varied kinds of interactions between them, Smith calls these relationships "bicultural events". Yet, the Native American view of the same history has not been adequately addressed. She maintains that analysis from an indigenous perspective may not alter the fact that the "army won, and the Indians lost" the war. Smith does contend, however, that historians should strive to conduct research which produces a more complex understanding of the past and a more balanced synthesis.

Fort Union's role with the Indian communities was much more complex than simply friend or foe. Apart from its military role, the scope of its responsibilities was quite diverse, encompassing issues associated with civilian affairs and regional development on behalf of the new territorial government of the United States.

New Mexico was indeed a cultural mosaic and, as its role diversified, the military at Fort Union formed a hybrid society that interacted similar to how the Native Americans and Hispanics had learned to co-exist in the new economic and political order brought upon them by U.S. occupation. The Anglo-American presence resulted in a new order; and, the Hispanic and Indian communities contributed substantially to its formation.

The Plains tribes were perceived by most nineteenth century settlers as the primary problem stalling settlement and development. It was from these communities that manpower and resources which provided solutions for many of the problems were drawn. Indian scouts, guides, and trackers were at the forefront of the Indian campaigns against Navajos, Apaches, Utes, Kiowas and Comanches.

Similarly, Hispanics offered solutions to a host of problems, such as those related to agricultural needs, and served as interpreters and as guides for the military that groped for avenues of communication and direction in an alien territory. Even the *comanchero* became a resource on the plains, where it counted most, to spy on Texans during the Civil War, and to intervene on behalf of the military's dealings with the nomadic tribes. Within the Hispanic community the military found a society culturally well-established in the region, and which had mutually advantageous social and economic relationships with the sedentary and nomadic indigenous groups.

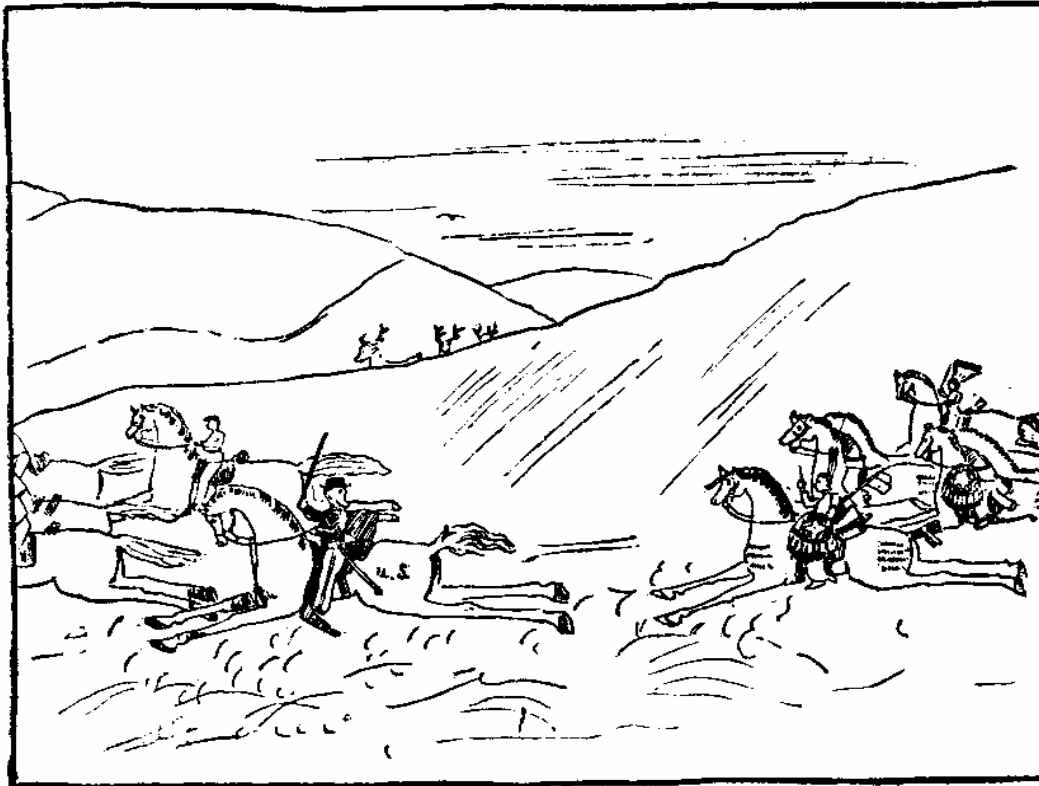
To the Native Americans of the Southwest, the second half of the nineteenth century brought profound changes. A massive infusion of Anglo-American settlers appeared, and with it came the beginning of the end of the nomadic lifestyle of the Plains Indians. The newcomers,

⁵⁷ Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 1-5.

⁵⁸ Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Native Americans and the Civil War" in *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. IX, Fall 1985, Number 4, 398-400; the Indian population in New Mexico at the time is not easy to determine, but according to the Territorial Census of 1867 there were 7,880 Navajos (7,380 were at Bosque Redondo) and 500 still at large 1867; the Pueblo population was listed at 6,412 in 19 villages; there were 4 Ute bands, totaling 2,820; the Jicarilla Apaches totaled 730; and the Mimbres and Mogollon Apaches were listed as 900; there were 1,700 Kiowas and Comanches along the Eastern border of New Mexico; and Mescalero Apaches were listed at 450. The grand total was 20,892. (See Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 343).

⁵⁹ Smith, "Lost Soldiers: Re-Searching the Army in the American West," 156.

both civilian and military, were strangers in a foreign land, and native peoples were pushed into conflict with them from the very beginning of contact.



IN PURSUIT OF U. S. TROOPS.

Figure 9 - Drawing of Indians in pursuit of U.S. troops drawn by an Indian child taken to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. From *Young People's New Pictorial Library of Poetry and Prose*, 1888.

The buffalo was of the utmost importance to Plains tribes and key to understanding the cultural behavior of the Indians in their relationships with Anglo-Americans and the native New Mexicans. The bison herds provided "food, clothing shelter, and raw materials for making everything from combs to weapons."⁶⁰ On the other hand, to the Anglo-Americans, the west provided opportunities for mining, trapping, timber, and land for cattle and homesteading all based on concepts of land tenure which were totally alien to Indians whose economy centered on the buffalo.

⁶⁰ Jason Hook and Martin Pegler, *To Live and Die in the West*, (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2001), 8.



AN INDIAN BOY'S DRAWINGS. — A BUFFALO HUNT.

Figure 10 - Indian child's drawing of the buffalo hunt. From *Young People's New Pictorial Library of Poetry and Prose*, 1888.

The issue of the buffalo--its role in the Plains Indian horse culture and economy, and ultimately its depletion--has been one of the important focal points around which the domination of Anglo-America over the nomadic tribes has been predicated. Dan Flores has approached the topic from an environmental perspective. He asserts that the demise of the Plains economy was much more complex with roots preceding the arrival of Anglo-Americans in the region. He challenges the traditionally held view that the arrival of the United States government and the subsequent effects of disease and warfare with the encroaching whites caused Indian numbers to dwindle after 1850. He argues that the American presence simply tipped the scales at a critical period, accelerating a dynamic process which had already been set in motion, beginning with the adoption of the horse by the Plains tribes, and which would ultimately change their economy forever.⁶¹

Flores asks: "If the bison herds were so vast in the years before the commercial hide hunters, why were there so many reports of starving Indians on the Plains by 1850?" Comanches were reported to be eating their horses in great numbers, and a significant increase in raids into Mexico and Texas were noted in the early years of the 1840s. Flores analyzes the situation from an environmental standpoint, conjecturing: How successful were the horse Indians in creating a dynamic ecological equilibrium between themselves and the vast bison herds that grazed the plains?" Were their hunting practices sustainable? "Had the Plains Indians established a society

⁶¹ Dan Flores, "Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains, 1800-1850" in Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson, editors, *Major Problems in American Indian History*, (Lexington, Massachusetts : D.C. Heath and Company, 1994), 257-271.

in ecological equilibrium, one whose population did not exceed the carrying capacity of its habitat, maintaining a healthy, functioning ecology that could be sustained over the long run?"⁶²

The answers to the last two questions would be speculative, primarily because external forces ultimately decided the fate of the Plains Indians before an assessment of their practices could be undertaken. Flores describes which internal factors were already at play in 1850 directly affecting the economy of the Plains Indians.⁶³ By 1850 the bison herds had been weakened in a number of ways. First of all, they were now competing with an increasing number of horses for pasture and water; also exotic bovine diseases had a significant effect as well. Anthrax had been introduced from Louisiana as early as 1800 and tuberculosis and brucellosis were later brought into the Plains by stolen cattle from Texas and stock on the overland trails. According to Flores all of the bison that were saved in the late nineteenth century had high rates of infection with these diseases. Wolf predation had a significant effect as did the poison which was introduced into the ecosystem by trappers using it to kill wolves for their furs. In addition, there was a notable change in the climatic cycle.

Prior to 1846 an exceptionally high rainfall period in the south had increased the carrying capacity of the land and this was followed by a significant increase in southerly migrations of bison and Plains Indians. However, by 1846 a nine-year drought set into the southern plains, but the bison herds found that migration to the north was impeded by the substantial growth of settlement populations which had occurred in the interim. Finally alterations in the "historical circumstances" of the Southern Plains had a significant impact as well.

The near extinction of buffalo herds was hastened by man. According to Flores, "traders along the Santa Fe Trail shot into, chased and disturbed the herds; *ciboleros* continued to take fifteen to twenty-five thousand bison a year; and the United States' removal of 50,000 eastern Indians into Oklahoma increased the hunting pressure on the bison herds along the southern Plains."⁶⁴ It is clear that the collapse of the Plains' economy was not simply the result of Anglo-American expansion. Consequently, it is more likely that the arrival of a new population merely hastened the demise of an economy which was hampered, in part, by environmental conditions out of the control of the nomadic tribes.

Relationships between the Pueblos, Hispanic Communities and Plains Tribes in Earlier Periods

Paleo Indian groups are believed to have initially entered New Mexico's eastern plains as early as 13,000 years ago in pursuit of bison,⁶⁵ and other prey. In addition to bison, early indigenous groups hunted small game and collected wild plants. As early as A. D. 200, there is evidence of corn production and the use of pottery in the region. The Tecolote-Ribera area, just to the south of Fort Union had a significant population density, as did the Watrous Valley and the Mora/Ocaté region within the immediate vicinity of Fort Union, as evidenced by excavated house mounds.⁶⁶

⁶² Flores, "Bison Ecology," 264.

⁶³ Flores, "Bison Ecology," 264-265.

⁶⁴ Flores, "Bison Ecology," 267-268.

⁶⁵ A number of the bison herds encountered by early hunters along the plains are now extinct.

⁶⁶ David E. Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico Background for Survey*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 305.

Interactions between Plains groups and Pueblos began around A.D. 1300 indicated by Plains-types artifacts present at Pueblo sites and Pueblo pottery at Plains sites.⁶⁷ There is some evidence linking the Kiowa language to the Tanoan languages (Towa, Tewa, Tiwa) and it has been noted as well that the Jicarilla and Kiowa Apache languages are very similar.⁶⁸ However, it has not been determined with certainty just what these relationships were during the prehistoric period and to what extent these tribes share similar cultural origins.

Established ties between Pueblo and Plains tribes in later periods complemented each other's needs. Even during times of conflict, commercial exchange, for example, existed. S. Lyman Tyler writes that cotton mantas and corn were exchanged at Taos for tanned hides brought by Plains tribes and Utes. South of there, Apaches carried on an active trade with Pecos Pueblo.⁶⁹ To be sure, Plains Indians frequently raided the pueblos for crops and livestock. Each of the groups, however, controlled resources coveted by others.

Why and when raids occurred is a subject of much educated conjecture. Charles Kelley has concluded that war and peace between Pueblos and Plains tribes had a direct correlation to precipitation. When there was adequate rainfall, he opined, there was also peaceful trade. Drought, on the other hand, brought raiding.⁷⁰ In support of that conclusion, C. L. Kenner analyzed the theory more intensely, looking at the relative annual precipitation from A. D. 1500 to 1820 and the "incidents of skirmishes or raids" between Plains tribes (particularly, Apache and Comanche), Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists. Kenner found that most Apache raids correlated with periods of drought.

The hypothesis has contradictions. Between 1663 and 1670, epidemics occurred during which time an abundance of Apache raids took place. Oddly, the years between 1770-1780 are well documented as drought years—despite tree ring evidence to the contrary. Yet, Comanche depredations increased during that time. Consequently the correlation between drought as a consistent cause for increased raiding activity has not yet been firmly established.⁷¹ The earliest reported year of mounted Apaches in New Mexico is 1626. Earlier, when Spanish explorers reached New Mexico in 1540, they learned that Plains tribes had been recently at war with the pueblos in the Galisteo Basin and at Pecos Pueblo. However, trading relationships between Plains tribes and the pueblos had concurrently evolved between war. At eastern pueblos along the edge of the Great Plains in New Mexico such as Taos, Pecos, Galisteo, and Salinas, Apaches traded meat and hides for corn. A number of Apaches became increasingly sedentary and began building small pueblos all along the eastern slopes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, while others continued to retain their mobile existence hunting along the plains. Early Spanish

⁶⁷ A. D. Krieger, "Cultural complexes and chronology in north Texas with extensions of Puebloan datings to the Mississippi valley," (University of Texas Pub. No. 4640, Austin, 1946), and C. H. Lange, "Relations of the southwest with the plains and great basin," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1979), 201-205, as noted in Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico*, 316.

⁶⁸ K. Hale and D. Harris, "Historical Linguistics and Archeology" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, 170-177 (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1979) as noted in Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico*, 313.

⁶⁹ S. Lyman Tyler, "Some Economic Aspects of Indian Contacts in the Spanish Southwest" in Albert H. Schroeder, *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*, (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1973), 35.

⁷⁰ Charles Kelly "Factors Involved in the Abandonment of Certain Peripheral Southwest Settlements" in *American Anthropology*, NS 54 (July, 1952), 384-386, as noted in Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 12.

⁷¹ Kenner, *History of New Mexican—Plains Indians Relations*, Table VII.4, as noted in Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico*, 316.

documents describe Apache pueblos east of Taos, with ditches and canals to irrigate their fields."⁷² It is probable that Apache settlements evolved during the Spanish Colonial Period.

The settling of Jicarilla Apaches in agricultural villages during the eighteenth century suggests, in part, that population pressure was forcing more intense food production methods. They eventually became the targets of later Comanche raids, and reverted back to their nomadic economy along the Plains. The Glasscock site near Ocaté was a Jicarilla Apache Pueblo and contains "seven contiguous adobe rooms with artifacts of shards, Pueblo and Mexican tradewares, lithic tools, manos and *metates* and projectile points." An additional common dwelling typically found out on the Plains, but uncovered near Las Vegas as well were "tipi rings." Although they are composed of a stone foundation, they represent a much more mobile (hunting) lifestyle than the older pueblo style ruins found in the vicinity.⁷³

The later historical record is also mute on the point of Apache settlements. In the nineteenth century, what may very likely be a reference to their formerly sedentary lifestyle, Velarde, one of the Jicarilla Apache leaders, went to Santa Fe to request permission to settle a band of Jicarillas in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Col. Grierson notified the Assistant Adjutant General in Arizona that the group had abandoned their reservation, and noting that "these Indians were here some time ago and were assured by Governor Ross that they had a right to come here and take up land."⁷⁴ It is not totally clear whether the document refers to a previous visit to Santa Fe by Velarde or to the presence of sedentary Apache communities in the region in previous times.

By the arrival of the Spanish, Indian slavery was already an ancient occurrence. Commonly warfare against sedentary tribes resulted in human captives, which, in turn, fostered the development of slave trading. The Europeans also introduced their practices of slave raiding as well. Tyler notes that Spaniards in New Mexico recognized the existing economic relationships established by the indigenous groups and "ascertained means by which they could best profit from this trade." Spanish law, notwithstanding, placed restrictions on slave taking. *Bandos* or formal decrees issued by Spanish officials banned the trade of indigenous slaves. In spite of numerous proclamations, this type of trade, however, did not stop as long as there was profit to be made by all parties.⁷⁵

Among the tribes in New Mexico, the Navajos had the most contentious relationships with other tribes; and a state of endemic warfare existed between them and the Utes and the Apaches. Even the Comanches and Kiowas preyed on them while captive at the Bosque Redondo. The Navajos and the Pueblos had a "live and let live" attitude towards each other. At any particular time a group of Navajos could be at war with a Pueblo community, while remaining on trade terms with other Pueblos.⁷⁶

Other tribal groups entered New Mexico along the plains. There is evidence that even the Blackfeet from as far away as Montana and the Gros Ventre Indians ventured into the far

⁷² Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico*, 315.

⁷³ Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico*, 313.

⁷⁴ Telegram from Col. Grierson to AAG, Arizona, 24 Nov. 1886, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 175.

⁷⁵ Tyler, "Some Economic Aspects of Indian Contacts in the Spanish Southwest," 41.

⁷⁶ Raymond Friday Locke, *The Book of the Navajo*, (Los Angeles: Mankind Publishers, 1989), xii.

Southwest on raids as early as the eighteenth century;⁷⁷ At least four other plains tribes have been identified as having direct links to the settled communities in New Mexico.⁷⁸

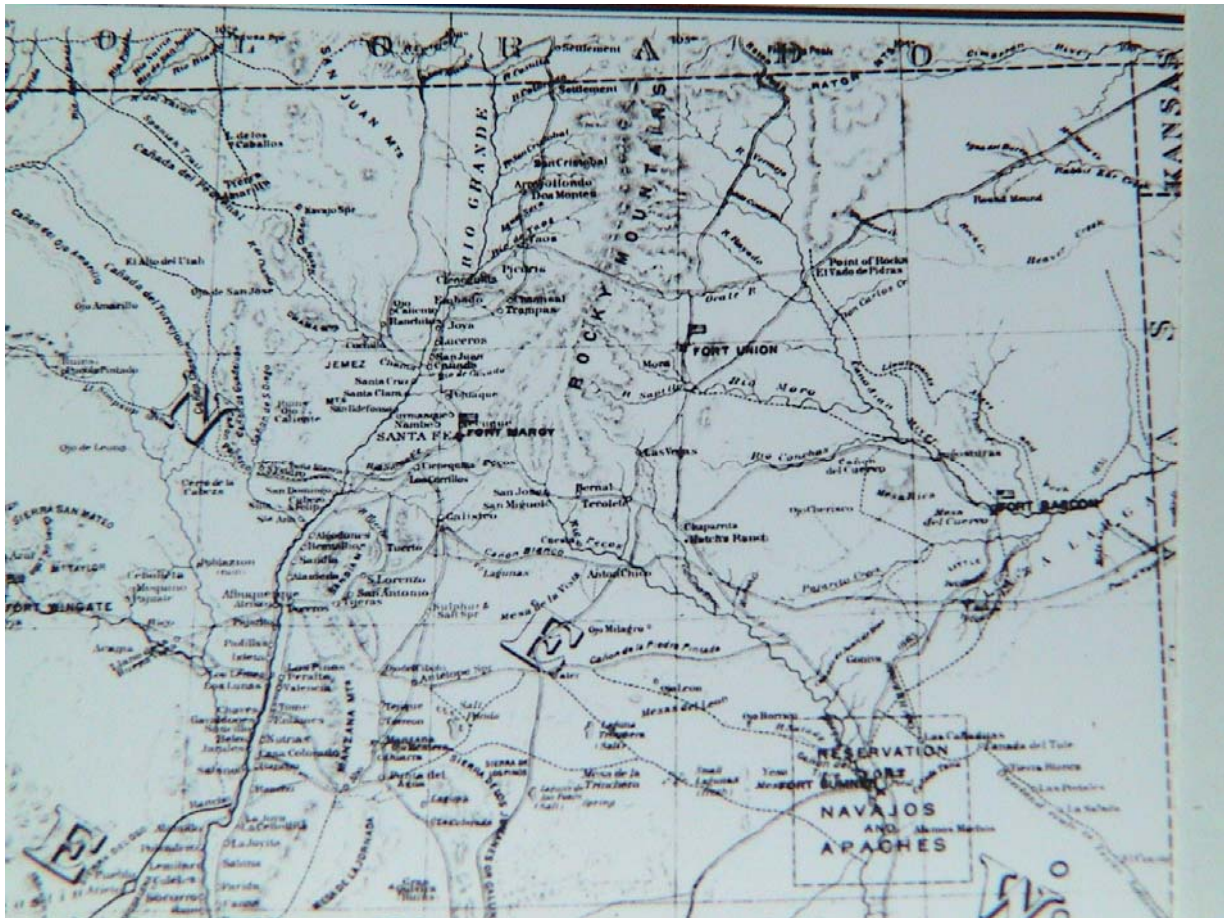


Figure 11 - Section of Northeastern New Mexico from a military map of New Mexico and Arizona, 1864.

⁷⁷ Paul M. Raczka, "Traditions of Northern Plains Raiders in New Mexico" in Albert H. Schroeder, *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians*, 47.

⁷⁸ Marc Simmons includes the Crows, Shoshones, Arikaras and Osages in the list of tribes that had regular contact with New Mexicans as raiders and traders. See Marc Simmons, "The Mysterious 'A' Tribe of the Southern Plains" in Albert H. Schroeder, *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians*, 75.

A Cultural Mosaic

One of Fort Union's primary missions was the control of nomadic Indians. To accomplish this mission its role took on multifaceted characteristics as the most important military post in the West, housing the Quartermaster's Department, the Commissary of Subsistence and the Ordinance Depot. The fort purchased millions of dollars of stores and was responsible for their distribution to other forts and lesser posts throughout the region; it contracted for services, goods and employees. At its heyday it employed over 1,000 civilians in a wide variety of trades and professions. The post command designed, supported and carried out numerous military campaigns against the Comanche, Navajo, Kiowa, Ute and Apache Indians; and it served as the base of supplies for the region's defenses against the hostilities from these tribes.

The American presence established itself in a way which would change economic and cultural relationships between communities with centuries-old traditions of dependency as well as rivalry. Due to its role, both in military and civilian affairs, Fort Union interacted with a wide variety of individuals and groups in nineteenth-century New Mexico. It is noteworthy that the fort functioned within a socially dynamic and multicultural landscape; sometimes requiring that it abandon traditional "military ways" and utilize local resources or "indigenous ways," drawn from its diversified community. A look at just who these groups were sheds light on both the availability of resources, and the challenges which the fort faced to carry out its mission.

First of all, the fort provided support for the newest group of immigrants to come into the Southwest. These Anglo-American pioneers who were ranchers, farmers, miners and merchants, and others entered the region to take advantage of perceived economic opportunities made available with the acquisition of new political territory. The Santa Fe Trail was the lifeline for the Southwest, supporting economic ventures in the region, and was the principal source of supplies for the fort itself. The fort provided escort and protective services along the trail, and its other activities throughout the region constantly drained its personnel. Fort Union also housed both the Quartermaster and Ordinance Depots, and the associated procurement responsibilities that civilian contractors presented added substantially to its administrative functions. All of this activity was undertaken on behalf of a network of lesser forts scattered throughout the region as well. Fort Union was their principal source of both human and material supplies.

Native New Mexicans usually referred to as "Mexicans" by the Anglo-American civilians and military personnel, were associated with Fort Union in myriad ways. They worked as laborers and as craftsmen at the fort; lived in the immediate vicinity of the fort either in villages, and many were shepherders, ranchers, and farmers. A significant number were merchants in the nearby towns, and others served as contractors, supplying raw materials and agricultural products to the fort and its affiliated outposts through the Quartermaster Depot. Hispanic agricultural practices were initially disregarded, but eventually were recognized as more productive in the desert Southwest. Hispanics, many of whom had ties to the indigenous groups, were also contracted as interpreters, guides and spies, wagon masters and in a host of other activities, such as support to projects like the Bosque Redondo reservation. New Mexicans made up a large number of the militias organized by the fort and many enlisted as regular soldiers. A number of New Mexicans served as officers at Fort Union as well, including at least one as commanding officer. New Mexicans had other experiences at the fort. These included incarceration on occasion, because as *comancheros* and *ciboleros*, they traded with Plains Indians which was prohibited. It was Fort Union's responsibility to enforce this prohibition.

There were direct associations with Mexican nationals as well, although distinguishing them from non-English speaking New Mexicans was virtually impossible. Nevertheless, Mexicans particularly those from neighboring Chihuahua, had a long tradition of trade relationships into the region; their ties to the Plains Indians were considered illegal, but in many respects the border was porous and pockets of trade relationships continued for a while into the territorial period. During the 1880s the Apache campaigns intensified, and Fort Union supported—through personnel and material supplies--military ventures to the south, including incursions into Mexico.

The Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande valley were sedentary agriculturalists and, consequently, were able to adapt to the new political order with much less difficulty than had the nomadic Indians. Pueblo Indians were utilized by the military early at Fort Union, serving as guides, trackers, spies, scouts and interpreters. There were occasional episodes of mutually beneficial relationships between both the U.S. Army and the Pueblos, such as in the case of the Navajo campaign of 1863. They were the only indigenous group in New Mexico which was not involved in warfare against the United States during the territorial period. However, their economic ties to the Plains Indians was a violation of territorial law and, consequently, the Pueblos were frequently targeted by the military, harassed or arrested because of those issues.

The Navajo Indians had a tradition of contentious relationships with the more sedentary Pueblos and the Hispanic communities in New Mexico. There were periods of widespread warfare with those groups and with other traditional enemies, such as the Apaches and Utes. The coming of the Anglo-Americans intensified the already strained relationships with the Navajos primarily because their lands were encroached upon by a new community of homesteaders and miners, and other entrepreneurs. Conflict erupted into an all out military campaign unleashed against the Navajos, which resulted ultimately in their relocation to the Bosque Redondo. After 1868, despite previous clashes with the Anglo-Americans, the Navajos adjusted to reservation life and took on many of the same roles with Fort Union and the other military posts as had other tribes. Navajos were prisoners and wage earners at Fort Union during the Bosque Redondo years, but afterwards became scouts, spies, guides, interpreters, and trailers as well. They actively participated in the Apache wars of the 1880s and during that time were acknowledged as among the best scouts which the U.S. Army had ever employed.

The Comanche and Kiowa Indians were impacted severely by the Anglo-American presence in New Mexico. The growing numbers of pioneers, ranchers, farmers, miners, and other homesteaders along the eastern plains impacted these tribes, threatening their traditional economic relationships with native New Mexicans and other indigenous groups. Conflict was inevitable and depredations against wagon trains increased substantially. The plains tribes were less integrated into Fort Union, although there is record of their participation in the military as auxiliaries. Nevertheless they had a very obvious presence at the fort and within the surrounding communities as prisoners and as rationed reservation Indians.

The Utes provided a special resource to the fort in campaigns against the Plains Indians and the Navajos. Kit Carson frequently utilized their services as scouts, trackers, spies and guides. He referred to them as among the best of his auxiliaries calling them "the best shots." He insisted that they be supplied with the same rations and arms as the regular cavalry on military campaigns, assuring that they be "treated as equals." On one occasion he requested rations for the families of the Ute Indians who were out in the field "in service to the government of the United States."

The Jicarilla and Mescalero Apache Indians were prominent warriors and tested the military's resources to their full extent. In the end it was the effectiveness of the scouts, spies, interpreters, guides and trailers from those same tribes that ultimately resulted in their pacification. Most noteworthy in this respect was the final military campaign into Mexico, and the assistance that Apache scouts provided in pressuring Geronimo to surrender.

The fate of the Apache tribes, nonetheless, can be found in the annals of military forts across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. At Fort Union, for example, Apache Indians, including women and children, from the San Carlos reservation in Arizona were frequently held as prisoners, especially during the latter years of the Apache wars. Their experiences at Fort Union are detailed below.

Expectations and demands upon the fort were profound, as its jurisdiction included a large segment of the Southwest. The variety of responsibilities varied considerably: "The army was accountable for maintaining peace (including law enforcement issues associated with the civilian population), protecting settlements from Indians, safeguarding illegal encroachments on Indian lands, punishing Indians who were hostile, bringing recalcitrant Indian leaders and bands to the negotiating table, rounding up Indians who left reservations, and providing escort services to [myriad groups, such as] surveyors, miners, wagon trains, settlers, and commercial entrepreneurs."

Relationships between authorities at Fort Union and the various Indian agencies were less than desirable. Lines of authority between the "Indian Affairs Office and the army were never clear... officials often did not cooperate... [and] other parties influenced Indian-white relationships, [such as] missionaries, traders, and merchants."⁷⁹ The actual method for implementing policies associated with the issues over the long term were poorly articulated and left to the imaginations and resources of the fort's commanders and officers in the field. This was the case from 1863 to 1868 when the fort furnished supplies for the abortive attempt to resettle Navajos and Apaches at Bosque Redondo.

The Bosque Redondo travesty exemplified, more than any other single event in the fort's 40-year history, just how difficult a task the military had above and beyond traditional military responsibilities and duties. The military was unfamiliar with Navajo culture and this deficiency in conjunction with the inadequacies of resources, resulted in the project's demise.

On the plains, the fort was frequently stretched far beyond its limits, having direct responsibility to provide protective and escort services and to direct military campaigns over a vast and inhospitable region where nomadic tribes reigned for centuries. Requests from ranchers, miners and travelers along the plains came in on a regular basis. Usually the complaints were against Indians; however, Indians were not always the culprits. In one instance, the commanding officer at Fort Union, Col. J. Irvin Gregg, downplayed the accusations of cattle thefts against Kiowas from ranchers along the Dry Cimarron. Gregg had good reason to suspect that Indians were not really involved, having received previous information that "Mexicans" were reported to be rustling cattle in that region. At any rate, it would take the cavalry "12-14 hours" time to get there and the thieves were already reported to be heading away from that area. Considering the vastness of the territory within Fort Union' jurisdiction, Gregg did not have the resources to investigate and follow through on every allegation made against Indians or other groups.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 116-117.

⁸⁰ Report from Col. J. Irvin Gregg to District Headquarters, August 17, 1871. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, New Mexico Superintendency, 1871. Microfilm Reel 558. University of New Mexico General Library Collection. Documents listed chronologically.

Fort Union's role with Indians, however, was not always contentious or hostile. Periodically it was responsible for supplying food and agricultural supplies to feed thousands of starving Indians. Many were ushered onto reservations where they were to be provided with rations until the Indian Affairs Office assumed responsibility. At least that was the standard operating procedure to be pursued. Unfortunately, the reservation system was flawed. There was a contentious relationship between the military and the Indian Affairs Office over who had responsibility over the tribes, and supplies were always inadequate.

Indians, Hispanic New Mexicans and Anglo-Americans all violated established agreements on a regular basis. Indians would leave the reservations and raid, and non-Indians would encroach on reservation lands in violation of formal treaties which the military had responsibility to enforce. Frequently these transgressions were undertaken by miners who were usually given a free reign in such matters by civil authorities, despite occasional protests by the military itself.

From 1851 to 1891 Fort Union served as the largest military post in the Southwest and played an important role in the political and economic foundation of Territorial New Mexico. Fort Union had a profound impact on the new settlement patterns initiated by the Anglo-Americans in a region where traditional cultures had been well established for centuries. The fort was established on the edge of the plains, encompassing an area where Plains Indian tribes focused their economy on buffalo migrations and trade with other groups, and where native New Mexicans cultivated crops and raised livestock. After 1850 a growing number of Anglo-Americans entered the territory and were integrated into the region's cultural and economic diversity. The fort's strategic location along the unsettled plains of eastern New Mexico provided a military presence to control the hostilities between nomadic Indians and ranchers, farmers and the increasing caravans of wagons coming through the Santa Fe Trail. In addition to the threat imposed by Indians, the American government was concerned with the potential for civil unrest, and the new territory remained under martial law during the early territorial period.

Initially established as the primary supply center for all of the forts in the Southwest, Fort Union's role was an integral part of U.S. military dominance in the region.⁸¹ In 1863-64 the fort supported Kit Carson's military campaign against the Navajos. From 1863-68, moreover, the fort was responsible for supplying the Bosque Redondo reservation where the tribe was held in captivity. In addition, it provided support for other defeated Indian tribes under the military's jurisdiction, which at times included the rationing of food to men, women, and children, and defending their reservation boundaries.⁸²

At the local level Fort Union developed agricultural production, provided military escorts, transportation development, and housed the largest hospital in the Southwest with two surgeons and a capacity of 36 beds that could be doubled to 72. Its services were frequently made available to people from the surrounding communities. It assumed direct charge in issues pertaining to civil disorder which materialized from within the indigenous, New Mexican, and Anglo-American communities.

For the most part, historians have neglected the role which New Mexico's diversified communities have played in Fort Union's history. Its historiography has included administrative histories, primarily constructed from government and military documents, especially those related to the Indian wars of the nineteenth century, and the Civil War, which briefly touched New Mexico. Additional sources on the fort's history come from the commercial activity

⁸¹ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 301.

⁸² Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 301-302.

associated with its sutlers, and the contractors, farmers, ranchers and merchants from throughout the region, all of whom benefited from economic opportunities fostered by the fort's presence.

The common thread which binds most of the literature published on the fort's history has been its role in the military campaigns designed to subdue the Plains tribes, and the numerous political and civilian issues which it inherited. The literature reflects the achievements and failures of its military commanders, and has promoted through fact, legend and lore, historical figures such as Kit Carson. Highlighted within the literature are the many skirmishes with the Plains Indians (one author identifies the 156 "official skirmishes" from 1852-1883⁸³), and the cruelty and violence which was perpetuated by both the United States military and the Native Americans upon one another. Not as abundant, but just as important are the historical sources made available from personal correspondence and diaries, written by travelers, military personnel or family members which provide insight into aspects of the fort's social history.

Only a few studies have addressed aspects of the fort's social history,⁸⁴ the issues of cultural diversity, civilian roles at the fort, and its ties to the local community. The few exceptions are noteworthy. Social and cultural aspects of life at the fort have been brought to light by first hand accounts supplied by personal manuscript collections, diaries, letters, and newspaper articles.

Of special note are the contributions by women who have provided keen insight into social and cultural experiences at the fort. Having no part in the military campaigns, women provided first hand experiences on other topics—daily life at the fort, personal characteristics of people living there, diet, and environmental conditions. In essence, they provide insight into the fort's social history and the rigors of everyday life, and frequently the benefits as well, for soldiers, family members, laborers, the captive Indians and visitors at the fort. Their autobiographical accounts describe experiences through their assignments with husbands and fathers in the military, and in one case, from the unique perspective of the daughter of the fort's chaplain in the 1880s.⁸⁵

Olive Colvin Ennis, the wife of a military officer at the fort in the 1860s, wrote an eyewitness account from the perspective of a participant. In later years she wrote an article, published in the *Las Vegas Optic*, about her years at the fort with her husband. In the post-Civil War years Fort Union was considered one of the most desirable stations to which officers could be assigned. Ennis described the "gay winters and the delightful summers." There was always social activity, camaraderie among the officers and wives, and the presence of children from the younger officers' families made the fort feel like home. Many officers and their families remained lifelong friends after they left Fort Union, as evidenced by Ennis' accounts of where many of the families had ventured; her report on who, of the fort's officers and wives, were still living, and what became of their children.⁸⁶ In essence life at Fort Union formed a bond among the families of officers, and in later years many former residents remembered their time there with nostalgia.

⁸³ Stanley, *Fort Union*, Chapter 11.

⁸⁴ Dale Frederick Giese, "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, N.M., 1851-1891," Diss., University of New Mexico (June, 1969); and Thomas J. MacLaughlin, "History of Fort Union, New Mexico," MA Thesis, University of New Mexico (June, 1952).

⁸⁵ Genevieve LaTorrette, "Fort Union Memories 1877-1891," Diary published in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 26, No. 4, Oct., 1951.

⁸⁶ Olive Colvin Ennis, "Something readable about the early days at Fort Union by one who was there," *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, December 21, 1888.

By the 1880s Fort Union had become a cultural center in Northern New Mexico with a post library, athletic competitions, and a very active theatre group which sponsored a regular series of performances by singers, actors and comediennes from afar. The activities were described by a local correspondent in the biweekly "Fort Union Happenings" column published in the *Las Vegas Optic* during that period.

Other ethnic groups were present at the fort including African Americans, who were there in the beginning as "servants and slaves" of some of the officers. In addition, Black Buffalo soldiers were stationed at Fort Union as well as many other posts in southern New Mexico. Noteworthy among them were the 9th and 10th cavalries and the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry whose ranks were filled with 3,500 African Americans between the years 1866 to 1900 in New Mexico. Their record was exemplary, not only because of their role in the Indian wars, but because of their performance in a variety of related assignments despite "below standard food and racial prejudice."⁸⁷ African Americans at Fort Union provided escort services for stagecoaches and other travelers, protected settlers from cattle thieves and robbers, built military roads, repaired post buildings and built new ones, and protected civilians working in the mines. While stationed at Fort Union in the 1870s and 80s the Ninth Cavalry's Band won acclaim for its frequent performances at the Santa Fe Plaza.⁸⁸

Other groups in the immediate vicinity of the fort among them, Chinese laborers, contributed to the diversity of the area. All of the diverse groups, whether physically present on the fort's grounds, or as part of the extended community, had ties to Fort Union and their stories offer important perspectives on the fort's history.

Anglo-American Domination and Indigenous Accommodation and Resistance

Within a decade after the entry of the United States into the Southwest it was apparent that the plains tribes were suffering as so aptly described by Carleton. Their resource base was depleting and they were destitute. Coinciding with the impoverished situation of the Indians was the endemic warfare between those tribes and the Anglo-Americans. By the early 1860s the situation had reached a crisis. With reference to the Navajos at Bosque Redondo, General James Carleton, writing on March 12, 1864, addressed the problem to Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the United States Army in Washington. Of the deprivation suffered by the Navajo, he stated:

These 6,000 mouths must be fed and these 6,000 bodies must be clothed. When it is considered what a magnificent pastoral and mineral country they have surrendered to us, a country whose value could hardly be estimated, the mere pittance in comparison which must at once be given to support them, sinks into insignificance as a price for their natural heritage.⁸⁹

⁸⁷LaNelda Rolley, "Buffalo Soldiers Ride Again" in *New Mexico Magazine*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July 1994, 27

⁸⁸Rolley, "Buffalo Soldiers Ride Again," 26-30.

⁸⁹Letter from General James H. Carleton to Lorenzo Thomas, Assistant Adjutant General, Washington, 12 March 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 13, 175-178.

The situation, however, had not abated. Having learned that the destitution was prevalent among the other tribes confined to reservations, Carleton re-addressed the problem a year later. This time, he described the situation among the Utes and the Apaches. Ordering that they be fed, he noted that:

I find that the Ute and Apache Indians who reside near this place are wholly destitute of food, the game has entirely gone; and they are forced to steal the stock of the people or starve... In this matter the Indian cannot be blamed... The Indian Department does not feed them, and there is really but one alternative for the Indian... We cannot make war upon a people driven to such extremities. We have taken possession of their country; their game is all gone... I have directed that wheat meal and fresh meat be purchased to feed [them].⁹⁰

Indeed, Carleton's concern exposed the meaning and cost, in terms of lives, of Westward Expansion.

As pressures to survive increased among the tribes confined on reservations, trouble spots increased. The Cimarron region to the northeast of Fort Union became a focal point. One author has noted that the northeastern plains of New Mexico were strategically located "where the hunting and raiding territories of numerous tribes overlapped... [with] Cheyennes and Arapahos allied to the north, [and] Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches allied [to the south]... Warfare had become an absolute necessity for the competing tribes... [and] raiding to acquire horses was crucial to facilitate buffalo hunting."

The seasonal movements of buffalo resulted in the periodic presence of large numbers of Indian hunters congregating in the region especially during the winter months. It was not unusual for as many as 5,000 Indians to be encamped along the Dry Cimarron. There, increasing numbers of traders and emigrants along the Santa Fe Trail⁹¹ gathered, as it was located within the transportation corridor where Kiowas, Arapahoes and Cheyennes entered New Mexico from the Arkansas River country. Along their path, they stole livestock and confronted Utes and Apaches on a regular basis. They claimed hunting rights in New Mexico and penetrated to the edge of white settlements in San Miguel County. Comanche intrusions also increased substantially at this time, and at one point they even petitioned the governor for the right to remain in New Mexico, claiming that they had been pushed out of traditional lands in Texas. After their request was denied they increased depredations within Mora and San Miguel counties, and ventured as far west as the northern portion of the Rio Grande Valley.⁹²

First hand information about Indian culture during this period came from child captives who had been liberated. The story of a Hispanic child who was kidnapped by the Kiowas near Fort Union in 1866 was published years later when he was returned to his family. He spent twenty years with the Indians on the Plains and provided information on diet, herbal remedies,

⁹⁰ Letter from General James H. Carleton to 1st Lt. George J. Campbell, of the U.S. 3rd Cavalry, 25 August 1865, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 18, 210-211.

⁹¹ Joe Winter, *Stone Circles, Ancient Forts, and Other Antiquities of the Dry Cimarron Valley*, (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Program, 1988), 119.

⁹² William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 136-37 n 85.

and marriage and social customs.⁹³ Another white captive, raised with the Comanches between 1868-1873, published the memories of his young adult life with that tribe. As a first hand observer, he noted that Apaches traded for captives on a regular basis with the Comanches and the Kiowas.⁹⁴ Aside from captured children, a number of Anglo and Hispanic women had also been forced to live with their Comanche and Kiowa captors. Some appeared to be completely assimilated into Indian culture; others less so.

There was regular contact with Hispanic New Mexican traders, coming onto the Plains in large numbers. From the trade engagements, the Comanches obtained "iron for arrow spikes, brass kettles, whiskey, tobacco, coffee, and ground corn."⁹⁵ They, in turn, furnished horses, mules, and buffalo robes to the New Mexicans. It was common for the Comanches to obtain rations from the military forts even during periods when they were actively involved in raiding white settlements and travelers on the plains. A number of strategically hidden caches provided resources for these Plains Indians as they operated throughout vast areas of West Texas and Eastern New Mexico.⁹⁶ Over many generations, Plains tribes established and maintained access to specific resources within well-defined zones of exploitation. To them, the ever-expanding, complex geo-cultural landscape became the stage where economic relationships were very important along with the ability to wage warfare when necessary.

The Plains Indians and the Apaches were erstwhile allies. At times, they could be formidable enemies. Apache warriors were considered the fiercest of combatants, and so were their women. One military officer described their role in warfare: "Many of the women delight to participate in predatory excursions, urging on the men and actually taking part in conflicts. They ride like centaurs and handle their rifles with deadly skill...in the estimate made [of the Apache resources] no account is taken of the fighting women, who are numerous, well trained and desperate, often exhibiting more real courage than the men."⁹⁷

Within this dynamic plains economy, the United States entered the region, leaving no room for inclusion of preexisting economic alliances and conditions, especially those tied to the Plains Indians whom they regarded as uncivilized. To be sure, the Anglo-American occupation of the area disrupted the relationships between sedentary tribes and New Mexicans. It would be the nomadic tribes, such as the Comanches, Utes, Apaches, Kiowas, and the semi-sedentary Navajos, moreover, that would be most impacted by the onslaught of the new immigrants of ranchers, farmers, miners, merchants and other entrepreneurs. Ultimately, the lifestyle and culture of these native groups would come under direct assault, and they would suffer, as their traditional lands would be targeted for integration into the needs imposed by the new ruler.

The "Indian Problem" manifested itself as a major stumbling block for a nation in the throes of unprecedented expansion. General James H. Carleton (infamous for the Bosque Redondo concentration camp) held a common view about Indians. He believed that:

⁹³ J. J. Methvin, *Andele, or the Mexican Kiowa Captive*, (Louisville: Pentecostal Press, 1899).

⁹⁴ J. Marvin Hunter, Hunter, *The Boy Captives*. Clinton L. Smith provided detailed descriptions of the nomadic lifestyle which he experienced during his five years in captivity.

⁹⁵ Hunter, *The Boy Captives. Recollections of Clinton L. Smith and Jeff D. Smith*, (Hackberry, Texas: Clinton L. Smith, 1927), 57-59.

⁹⁶ Hunter, *The Boy Captives. Recollections of Clinton L. Smith and Jeff D. Smith*, (Hackberry, Texas: Clinton L. Smith, 1927), 57-59.

⁹⁷ Lt. John C. Cremony quoted in Sherry Robinson, *Apache Wars*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 11.

All Indians except for the Pueblos (who lived in villages) should be placed on reservations under the control of the army, where they would be protected from encroachment and where they could be carefully monitored, fed if necessary, and taught to become self sufficient on a limited land base. He opposed outright extermination [a concept which had supporters even within the ranks of government], believing in the more widespread view commonly known as assimilation. He argued [that] it was wiser and cheaper to feed them than to go to war with them, except when necessary. He was opposed to making bargains with them and urged that negotiations be carried out from a position of military authority. He also believed that the government should keep any agreement made. He had little use for the Department of Indian Affairs, most Indian agents, and military officers who disagreed with him.⁹⁸

In the context of the time, these comments were representative of the mixed thoughts among the Anglo-Americans whose history of expansion from the east coast now covered over two centuries.

Land tenure issues, more than anything else, fueled conflict between Anglo-Americans and the native populations in the west after 1848. Although hundreds of legal petitions were filed by Hispanics to protect their lands, Native Americans would face a different trial.

The impact on Indian lands was felt initially on the open buffalo range and in regions with mineral deposits. The buffalo herds declined minimally at first; however, this quickly changed. By the 1870s the herd's population would be impacted significantly resulting in their almost complete demise. Miners encroached on Indian lands wherever the prospect of riches gave promise. Fort Union expanded to eight square miles as early as 1852, and the plains around the fort grew into stock ranges. Commercial ventures soon replaced subsistence agriculture in the highlands, especially as the potential to bid on lucrative military contracts materialized.

The "thirst for commercially valuable land created spectacular possibilities for opportunists who threatened the small Hispanic *ranchero* as well."⁹⁹ There were a number of issues which the fort had to address throughout the region on behalf of "Mexican" land claims.¹⁰⁰ The Plains Indians were now experiencing the pressures on their economy exerted by the American presence, the effects of which resonated along the settlements of the Rio Grande Valley. As for their neighbors, Pueblo tribes faced issues seemingly less complex from a legal standpoint because they were considered wards of the state. Their lot would be much more devastating from a practical perspective. Unlike the Hispanics, they had no legal recourse to address their problems.

What did Anglo-American settlers consider to be Indian land? When they pushed onto the Great Plains, and eventually New Mexico, Anglo-American settlers established homesteads on lands that they considered vacant. Ranchers, homesteaders, farmers, miners, townsfolk,

⁹⁸ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 343.

⁹⁹ Robert Utley, *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail*, (El Paso: Texas Western Press, Southwest Studies Series No. 89, 1989).

¹⁰⁰ Correspondence between James S. Calhoun and Judge Lea, 4 May 1851, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 55-57; Orders from Col. Sumner to Lt. McFarren, 11 May 1852, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 255-256.

merchants and others entered an area, which, in their opinion, was suitable for settlement and economic ventures. To them the Plains tribes were simply nomads with no interests or needs associated with a sedentary lifestyle. Too, they considered them barbaric. In order to enhance the potential for exploiting resources and to "develop" the land compatible with their needs, the newcomers called for military action against predatory Indians. "Indian country" was being redefined in the process.¹⁰¹ Over time the "Indian problem" was transferred from the plains to the forts. Their calls went directly to Fort Union.

One solution was Indian removal, a policy akin to apartheid. Historian Robert Utley noted that the United States government had one fundamental objective related to Indians--the implementation of the "Peace Policy." Utley wrote that the "Peace Policy" mandated "placing all Indians on reservations, where they could be kept away from settlements and travel routes and where ultimately they could be civilized." Utley concluded that "Virtually every major war of the two decades after Appomattox was fought to force Indians onto newly created reservations or to make them go back to reservations from which they had fled... In the end the relative fighting qualities of the opponents made little difference... despite all of the wars of the Peace Policy the Indians did not succumb to military conquest. The army contributed to the final collapse of Indian independence with continuous campaigns that "hastened an outcome ordained by more significant forces...more than the army, railroads, settlements, and all the numbers, technology, and other trappings of an aggressive and highly organized society brought defeat to the Indian... Every white advance came at the expense of resources, especially wild game, essential to the Indian way of life. Indian resistance was met with an armed response from the military."¹⁰²

The fort was called upon to directly intervene in issues which materialized as a result of increasing contact between whites and Native Americans. Frequently, Indians were required to vacate lands claimed by settlers or invaded by miners.¹⁰³ The issue of what actually constituted Navajo, Comanche, or Apache lands was difficult to comprehend. Anglo-American land tenure custom rested on the traditional concepts of private ownership, characterized by very defined physical boundaries. Spanish law, which prevailed within the Hispanic tradition and recognized as precedence in American law contained concepts alien to Anglo-Americans. Spanish and Mexican land tenure policies, for example prescribed "common areas," which were not part of Anglo-American definitions of land entitlement.

The role of the military, however, was not always consistent. When reservations were established for the non-sedentary tribes, the military, in accordance with policy, frequently responded to protect the interests of the Indians. In 1887, for example, troops were sent to the Jicarilla Apache reservation on two occasions to evict "fraudulent settlers."¹⁰⁴ Still, in line with the expectations of settlers, the military, in contradiction to policy, just as frequently evicted Indians from lands which had been set aside for them as reservations.

¹⁰¹ Correspondence between Col. Thomas and John Garland, Col. Thomas noted that "It is virtually impossible to know what is Indian country," 30 Aug. 1854, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 2, 213.

¹⁰² Robert M. Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy, 1869-1886" in Hurtado, *Major Problems in American Indian History*, 355-357.

¹⁰³ See for example, Gen. James H. Carleton memo of support for miners, 6 Sept. 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 19, 21; Gov. report of miners on Indian reservation lands, 20 April 1878, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 32, 137; miners' complaints against Apaches, 4 Dec. 1879, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 34, 251; Indians fear losing lands to miners and whites, 4 June 1880, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 35, 273; incursions by miners and other whites at Ojo Caliente, 29 Dec. 1880, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 36, 393; incursions by miners, 29 Dec. 1880, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 40.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas McLaughlin, "History of Fort Union, New Mexico," 94.

The military response to Indian affairs varied. By the late 1850s there were numerous Plains tribes receiving rations from Indian Affairs agents as food supplies and other resources began to dwindle. At the same time other indigenous groups intensified raiding activity. Conflict grew substantially. Reports of “starving” Indians coming into the Indian Affairs Office were commonplace. In collaboration with the Indian Affairs Office, the fort facilitated the establishment of a network to begin rationing food to starving Indians.

Meanwhile, responsibility for feeding reservation Indians deprived of means and places to hunt and raise crops became a contested issue between the Interior Department and the War Department. The issue would not be resolved for years to come. The disagreement between the War Department and the Interior Department’s Indian Affairs Office was based on the question of who ultimately was responsible for these Indians. Their views differed as to whether they were considered Indian captives of reservation Indians. If they were Indians captives, they were the responsibility of the War Department and if they were considered reservation Indians, they were the responsibility of the Interior Department.

Through the 1860s friction escalated between the two Departments when a Ute Indian was killed by a settler. The incident unraveled when the Ute requested a piece of meat from a rancher who, feeling threatened by the Indian, shot and killed him. The Commanding Officer at Fort Union was called to intervene. In an attempt to pacify the situation, he requested that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs compensate the dead man's brother with four hundred dollars to avoid more bloodshed.¹⁰⁵ Appalled by the request, the Superintendent clearly recognized that relationships with the military had reached a breaking point, and would continue to deteriorate as a result.

The conflict reached the highest levels of Washington. Politicians aggravated the "Indian problem" took sides on both the local and national levels. In Washington, D.C., lobbyists associated with the railroad industry were an especially powerful and destructive force for the Indian Affairs Office. The issue between the U.S. Army and the Office of Indian Affairs would not go away soon.

Election promises played a role in the succeeding events. On behalf of Rutherford B. Hayes' election campaign in 1876, a lobby headed by Grenville Dodge, chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad, persuaded many Southern congressmen "that the construction of the proposed route of the railroad from East Texas to the Pacific was dependent on Republican victory."¹⁰⁶ When the Union Pacific Railroad began to lay track right through the Ute reservation on the New Mexico-Colorado border on its trajectory to the Pacific coast, the Indian agent for the tribe brought the matter to court and won a judicial decision to stop the project.

In turn, officials of the railroad decided to "collect on the 1876 election debt." The railroad argued that treaties could be nullified if a threat to the security of the United States existed. The president, bending to the premise, agreed that the security of the United States was threatened. Shortly, he issued a declaration announcing that the completion of the railroad was deemed necessary to national security, and the reservation boundaries were declared null and void.

On the heels of the directive, Fort Union ordered a number of military actions against Indians beginning with the Jicarilla Apache and Ute campaigns of 1854-1855. The Navajo campaigns between 1863 and 1867 followed and thousands of Navajos were sent to the Bosque

¹⁰⁵ Frank Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 13 # 2 April, 1938, 170.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Morris, ed. *Encyclopedia of American History*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1953), 253.

Redondo reservation. During this same period the Fort Union troops were summoned into action against Mescalero Apaches, Kiowa and Comanche in a series of campaigns in 1860, 1864, 1868, and 1874.¹⁰⁷ Later campaigns, most noteworthy those against Cochise and Geronimo, were undertaken by the forts in the southern part of the district. Fort Union played a significant role in support of those campaigns, for it was called upon to provide supplies, personnel, and incarceration facilities for the Apache warriors and their families.

Native-American support was not without its complications. Although Navajos known as the "Christian Navajos" or as "Sandoval's" band from the Mount Taylor region assisted the U.S. cavalry as spies and guides against the Apaches as early as 1857, others did not. Farther west, Navajos refused to campaign against the Apaches.¹⁰⁸ Antagonisms between the Utes and the Navajos intensified after 1850. The military utilized the services of each group in operations against the other, and eventually against the Apaches and Kiowas, and Comanches.¹⁰⁹

On the other hand, both the Utes and Pueblos were avid collaborators with the United States cavalry during the Navajo campaigns of the 1860s. They were rewarded with Navajo livestock for their participation.¹¹⁰ Still, the Jemez Indians had a unique relationship with the Navajos as evidenced by the fact that Navajo women were known to hide out at Jemez Pueblo during Carson's incursion onto Navajo lands. They were even dressed as Pueblo women to disguise themselves from the military.¹¹¹ Also, the Lagunas sheltered Navajos near Paguate during this period.¹¹²

The Pueblos participated in military operations against marauding bands that sporadically struck their settlements. They served the U.S. military as scouts, guides, interpreters, spies, and trackers.¹¹³ Given their historical antagonisms with the Navajos, the military placed restrictions on the Pueblos. Although they were permitted to retrieve stolen livestock, for example, they were prohibited from all out warfare against the Navajos.

As a resource to the U.S. military the Pueblos were invaluable. On one occasion, soldiers leaving Fort Union to begin the Navajo campaigns of 1863 passed through Zia Pueblo on there way west. At the pueblo they learned that one of the Pueblo Indians living there had been captured by Navajos as a child and spoke the Navajo language fluently. He was recruited to serve as a guide and interpreter.¹¹⁴ Such encounters were common.

¹⁰⁷ Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union National Monument*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No. 35, (Washington, D.C., 1962), 43.

¹⁰⁸ Frank Reeve, "Puritan and Apache, A Diary" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, No. 24. 24, Jan., 1949, 24 n 41. Reeve edited an 1857 diary, the original copy of which is housed at the University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research. The diary was written by Lt. Lazelle during the Bonneville campaign in the Spring of 1857 in Southern New Mexico. There were 15 Navajos who served as scouts in this campaign from Sandoval's Band.

¹⁰⁹ Report from W. A. Nichols to Major W. Y. H. Brooks 11 March 1858, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 4, 59-60; Report W. Craig Major Brooks, 22 July 1858; Report from W. Craig to Major Brooks concerning relations with the Navajos, July 22, 1858. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 4, 159-161; Letter J. Garland to Major Brooks, re: Navajos, 11 March 1858; Letter from J. Garland to Major Brooks, July 26, 1858, Arrott Manuscript Collection.

¹¹⁰ L. R. Bailey, *The Long Walk*, (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1964), 166.

¹¹¹ *Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project*, Tom Ration interview with Oakee James (April, 1969) Roll 2, Tape 288, Frame no. 5.

¹¹² Crawford R. Bruell, "The Navajo Long Walk: Recollections by Navajos" in Schroeder, Albert H., *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians*, 175.

¹¹³ Lt. Wilkins Fort Union letter to Lt. Whisler, Los Lunas, 13 Nov. 1858. Wilkins noted that "Pueblos have a right to pursue their stock, but not to make war." Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 4, 302.

¹¹⁴ Anonymous Zia Informant, interviewed by Jerome Brody, 20 April 1968, "Discussions of Pueblo History," in the *Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project*. Doris Duke Foundation, University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research. Tape no. 131.

From a cultural standpoint, the Navajos were much more complex and diversified than the traditional Anglo-American perception and historiography would suggest. It goes without saying that not all Navajos were the same. Although not hierarchically structured, for example, the existence of "*ricos*" among them demonstrates social class differentiation within clan groups. In general, the Navajo were peaceful unless antagonized.

Contradictions to the "peaceful" Navajo were often created by isolated examples given out of context. Often the tribe took the blame for a violent few who strayed from the reservation. Interviewed in 1968, a 104-year old Navajo spoke about the time when he was a child captive at Bosque Redondo. He told about the punitive expeditions undertaken against his tribe by Kit Carson. According to the information which was passed down from his family "four individual Navajos caused most of the trouble" in the Fort Wingate area, harassing ranchers and miners, and led encroachments into the Pueblo communities during the 1850-60s. They attacked Utes and Mexican shepherders, stole livestock, and killed miners. The Pueblos were not spared either, for they were also attacked on a regular basis. The wealthier they got, the more they raided, bringing the wrath of other Indians, Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans upon the majority of their neighbors who, according to the informant, were peaceful Navajos.¹¹⁵

The Apache, believing they fought for survival and defense of the tribal homelands, suffered the same misperceptions. During the 1860s and 70s, Cochise led his Apache warriors through a period of endemic warfare against the U.S. military, Anglo-American and Hispanic settlers, and their counterparts on the Mexican side of the border. Although the number of his warriors never surpassed 200 men, thousands of infantry and cavalry relentlessly pursued him. In the end, Cochise, tired of warfare, agreed to settle on the *Cañada Alamosa* reservation (near present day Monticello in Southwestern, New Mexico).

Civilian political agendas, however, upset the arrangement. Shortly after establishing the reservation the military was pressured into moving the Apaches to a new reservation site near Tularosa, a plan which was opposed bitterly by Cochise and other leaders of the Chiracahua Apaches. General Gordon Granger, one time commanding officer at Fort Union, and now in charge of Military Headquarters at Santa Fe, called a council with Cochise at the *Cañada Alamosa* reservation in March 1871 to try and persuade the Apache leader to move his people to a site near Tularosa, New Mexico. Cochise was intimidated by the military at this stage in his life due to incessant rumors that the military planned to assassinate him. He spoke cautiously, but adamantly refused to move his tribe. At times he sounded like a defeated leader; at other times he eloquently described how he perceived himself in the quagmire with the military. Although the quotation is lengthy, it is worth quoting it in full to demonstrate how Cochise and others felt about their situation at the time:

The sun has been very hot on my head...but now I have come into this valley and drunk of these waters...and they have cooled me. ..I have come ...to live in peace with you. I speak straight and I do not wish to deceive or be deceived...When God made the world he gave one piece to the White man and another to the Apache... Why did they come together?.. The white people have looked for me long. I am here. What do they want? ...If I am worth so much why not mark when I set my foot and look when I spit? ... I am no

¹¹⁵ Unnamed Navajo informant interviewed by Mike Smith, 21 August, 1968, *Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project*, Roll 1, Tape 158.

longer chief of all the Apaches... There are Indians who go about killing and robbing. I cannot command them... I came in here because God told me to do so. I was going around the world with the clouds, and the air, when God told me to come in here and be at peace with all... When I was young I walked all over this country, east and west and saw no other people than the Apaches. After many summers I walked again and found another race of people had come to take it... Why is it that the Apaches wait to die...The Apaches were once a great nation; now they are few and because of this they want to die...They roam over the hills and want the heavens to fall on them.... Tell me, if the Virgin Mary has walked throughout all the land, why has she never entered the wigwam of the Apache? Why have we never seen or heard her? ...When I was going around the world, all were asking for Cochise. Now he is here—you see him and hear him—are you glad? If so, say so. Speak Americans and Mexicans, I do not wish to hide anything from you nor have you hide anything from me; I will not lie to you; do not lie to me. I want to live in these mountains; I do not want to go to Tularosa... The bad spirits live there... I have drunk of these waters and they have cooled me; I do not want to leave here.¹¹⁶

Cochise not only refused to move his people to a new reservation, but he declined an invitation to go to Washington to meet with government leaders there. He ignored numerous pleas by Granger and other military officials who assured him that he would not be harmed.

Despite growing fervor of hostility against the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico by citizens, the press, and local officials, the military resisted taking punitive action against him, and tried desperately to get him to cooperate.¹¹⁷ The reason for restraint on the part of the military was the pressure emanating from congressional leaders in Washington who were still troubled by the 1871 Camp Grant massacre in Arizona in which 100 Apache old men, women and children were slaughtered. Cochise eventually left the Cañada Alamosa and retreated to his mountain stronghold.

Encroachment on Indian lands continued through the end of the nineteenth century. In 1882, for example, General Grierson ordered the eviction of Anglo and Hispanic intruders on the Jicarilla Apache reservation along the South Fork near Tierra Amarilla.¹¹⁸ Five years later, troops were again sent to the reservation on two occasions when new intrusions occurred.¹¹⁹ Encroachment issues appeared never ending.

Given the complexity of enforcing policies, problems persisted in other areas. The military, for example, was saddled with the additional responsibility of implementing a Plains

¹¹⁶ "Remarks made to General Gordon Granger during a conference on the matter of going to a reservation," in 1871 by the Apache leader, Cochise in *Great Documents in American Indian History*, Wayne Moquin, ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 214.

¹¹⁷ "The Recent Talks with Cochise," in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 30, 1872."

¹¹⁸ "Ramona Days" 1887 Newsletter, published by Ramona School, Santa Fe, Inventory of the University of New Mexico (Santa Fe) Collection 1878-1888, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

¹¹⁹ McLaughlin, "History of Fort Union, New Mexico," 94; and Kenner, *A History of New Mexican- Plains Indians Relations*, 136.

Indian policy which included prohibitions on trade with them. The territorial government banned trade with the Plains Indians from the very beginning. The goal was to limit access to resources, which the tribes obtained, from native New Mexicans and the sedentary Indians, especially the Pueblo communities.

In the 1870s, New Mexicans actively participated in trade with the Comanches, forcing Fort Union to dispatch troops out on the plains to monitor the illicit activity and pursue offenders. On February 27, 1871, Captain James M. Randlett of the 8th Cavalry stationed at the fort, was provided with "60 horses fit for active service" and ordered to scout the Llano Estacado east of Hubbell's Ranch. In late May of that year he encountered a "wagon train of 23 mules with ten [New] Mexicans, one Indian warrior, and a "Comanche squaw guiding the pack train," on their way to trade at a Comanche camp out on the Plains. The New Mexicans claimed to be residents of Santa Fe, San Miguel and Mora. Randlett ordered all of the animals shot and the goods destroyed. The squaw, male Indian, and the ten New Mexicans were sent to the Fort Union guardhouse.¹²⁰ New Mexicans did not readily forget Randlett's harsh treatment of them. From the military perspective, trade relationships with the Plains Indians were a sensitive issue primarily because of the potential for these Indians to obtain arms as a result.

The military attempted to control all economic ties with Plains tribes. For the most part, these attempts were futile. On one occasion Captain Nicodemus of the 12th Infantry, stationed at Fort Union attempted to incorporate a trade agreement with the Comanches as part of a treaty. His goal was to keep the Indians away from settlements and other communities, while accommodating their economic needs. On July 21, 1862, Nicodemus notified Lorenzo Labadie, the Comanche Indian agent that the military was in the process of obtaining supplies to establish a trading post on the plains away from major settlements where the Comanches "could carry on trade." However, they were warned that "they were not allowed near settlements as it will cause trouble."¹²¹ The problem with such arrangements was that different bands of the same tribe were not always aware of such negotiations, nor did they feel obligated to abide by agreements to which they, themselves, were not a party. There is no information to confirm that the trading post was ever established but the military feared that direct contact with settlers would cause conflicts as had happened in the past.

Fort Union and the "Long Walk"

Particularly, from 1863-1868, when the Bosque Redondo reservation was established for the retention of 10,000 Navajo and Mescalero Apaches, did Fort Union's history merge with that of Fort Sumner. Historically, the three sites became indelibly tied to one another. Known at the time as General James H. Carleton's "experiment," the Bosque Redondo reservation was planned to "civilize" the nomadic Indians, and teach them to become economically self-sufficient through sedentary agricultural pursuits. Fort Union was an integral part of the Bosque Redondo from its inception, serving as its principal source of material supplies. Many of the military and civilian personnel required for its day-to-day operation passed through Fort Union.

¹²⁰ Lt. Hennissee dispatch to Ft. Union on status of prisoners, 22 May 1871, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 55, 213; *Daily Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 5, 1871.

¹²¹ Correspondence from Captain W.J.L. Nicodemus to Lorenzo Labadie, 21 July 1862, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 10, 40.

A number of critical events in New Mexico preceded the establishment of the Bosque Redondo reservation. Those events caused social, cultural and political instability, affecting the sedentary Indian and Hispanic communities, the newly arrived Anglo-Americans, and the Plains Indians. The first of these events was the Civil War which came to New Mexico in 1861 with the invasion of the Confederate Army. The war prompted a full-scale build up of Union forces in New Mexico. Initially the distraction of warfare gave the Plains Indians an opportunity to expand raids on settlements, and caravans along the Santa Fe Trail. The supply trains dispatched to New Mexico were constantly preyed upon by Comanches and Kiowas along the eastern plains.

Next, the eventful march on New Mexico by Confederate troops exacerbated the situation further. As confederate soldiers moved into New Mexico, they provoked Indians along the way, especially the Mescalero Apaches. They retaliated by increasing raids against Hispanic, Anglo-American, and sedentary Indians along the Río Grande.

Following a number of early Confederate successes, climaxing with the captures of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, the Union army succeeded in defeating the Confederates with decisive victories at Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass. From that time on, New Mexico would remain in a state of intense military occupation for the war's duration, a pattern that would remain in the post war period. In essence, the civil war produced a thorough militarization of the West that significantly impacted the Indian tribes.¹²²

The military build up coincided with an increasing presence of ranchers and farmers in the Southwest that resulted in trouble between them and the various tribes. Depredations against settlers by Navajos increased at an alarming rate. Boldly, Navajo warriors attacked settlers within the vicinity of Fort Union itself.¹²³ In the fall of 1863, Navajos raided ranches in the Mesa Rica area within 50 miles of the fort. The presence of bands of Navajos on the eastern Plains surprised militarists because the majority of the tribe was enduring the brunt of Carson's campaign in the four corner's region.

In the course of their offensive, the Navajos found an advocate in the outspoken Federal Judge J.G. Knapp, one of General Carleton's biggest critics. In a letter to the *Santa Fe Gazette*, Judge Knapp wrote that the interests of miners and those investing in such ventures drove the military campaigns against the Navajo. He stated that the mountainous area targeted by the military "contained the richest deposits of gold as can be found on this continent."¹²⁴

Whether Knapp was correct in his assessment of the mining potential of the region probably did not matter. By that time, Anglo settlers were exasperated by the conflict between the groups involved. They demanded military action. Such attitudes gave Carleton impetus to undertake an intensive campaign in 1863 in which 500 Mescalero Apaches were subdued and sent to a new reservation. Next, the Navajo campaign quickly followed on the heels of success against the Mescaleros. Kit Carson directed the assault on the Navajo homeland; destroying and confiscating the Navajo food supply (livestock and crops) to starve the Indians into submission.

Although Carson's "scorch and burn" campaign is credited with subduing the Navajos, it is undeniable that the Navajos had currently experienced the same devastation of other tribes in

¹²² Gibson, "Native Americans and the Civil War," 396.

¹²³ Estelle Bennett Burton, "Voluntary Soldiers of New Mexico" in *Old Santa Fe*, Vol. I, 1913-1914, (Santa Fe: Old Santa Fe Press, 1914), 397-398; see also, Correspondence, General Carleton to Lt. Col. McMullen, 18 December 1863, Arrott Collection, vol. 12, 381; and taped interview with Harry Myers, Joseph Sanchez, and Jerry Gurule, June 10, 2003.

¹²⁴ Letter to *Santa Fe Gazette* from Judge J.G. Knapp, November 12, 1862 in J. Lee Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History (A Chronological Record of the Navajo People from Earliest Times to the Treaty of 1868)*, Window Rock: Navajo Heritage Center, 1979, 6 volumes, vol. IV, 247-248.

the Southwest: starvation. For a number of years the Navajo people were subjected to severe food shortages reaching catastrophic levels prior to the 1863 military assault undertaken against them. By the time Carson's campaign was barely two months old thousands of Navajos simply walked into Forts Canby and Wingate and other collection points throughout the region, wisely avoiding direct confrontation with the military.

The Navajo tribe was on the edge, and Carson simply tipped the scales just enough to break their resistance. Thousands of Navajos, many of whom were never involved in depredations against settlers, surrendered to the military. According to the author, William A. Keleher, the most devastating act against the Navajo people undertaken by Carson was the destruction of the peach orchard cultivated at Canyon de Chelly. It was estimated in 1860 to comprise over 1200 trees and was a precious and a beloved part of Navajo culture apart from its importance as a dietary supplement. To the Navajo people the cutting down of the orchard was noted more as a vicious and cruel act of vandalism than as military strategy.¹²⁵

In the end, Carleton's military plan was carried out with complete success. A plan was now required to accommodate the Navajos and the previously defeated Mescalero Apaches. Carleton had selected a site which he, personally, had already surveyed along the Pecos River, and proceeded with his plans to relocate the defeated tribes onto the remote reservation known as the Bosque Redondo or *Hwéeldi* to the Navajos.¹²⁶

Prior to the relocation of Indians to Bosque Redondo, an advance team of officers from Fort Union, after having spent time in the field, recommended to Carleton that a different site at the junction of the Agua Negra and Pecos Rivers be considered for the reservation. According to an environmental report the water and soil were superior, and the alternative site had a better supply of wood for fuel. Carleton was infuriated. He was not interested in an alternative site. All he wanted at that moment was for them to approve Bosque Redondo which he had previously visited and identified.¹²⁷

On November 4, 1862, an angry and impatient Carleton ordered the advance team of officers to finalize the boundaries of the reservation within the originally designated zone. Not only was he adamant about Bosque Redondo as the only acceptable location for the reservation, he wanted the hostile Navajos and Mescaleros located far from their traditional enclaves as soon as possible.¹²⁸

Indeed, the officers at Fort Union played a key role in the logistical planning for the Bosque Redondo experiment. The fort was the center of the on-going administration and supply of that reservation throughout its existence. In essence Fort Union was the lifeline to Fort Sumner with virtually all resources emanating from the fort's official command and Quartermaster Depot.

The military escort and relocation of thousands of Navajos to the banks of the Pecos River adjacent to Ft. Sumner is sadly known in history as the "long walk." In actuality there were a series of "long walks." Groups of Navajos were congregated at Forts Canby and Wingate periodically where they were organized and escorted to the reservation at the Bosque Redondo

¹²⁵ Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 489 n 48. The actual destruction of the peach orchard at Canyon de Chelle may not have been committed while Carson was in charge of the campaign against the Navajos, but was undertaken during the time Carson was reassigned to the eastern plains wars. Nonetheless, he has been credited with the feat as he had initiated the "scorch and burn" policy and had personally participated in its implementation from the outset.

¹²⁶ Bailey, *The Long Walk*, 174-175.

¹²⁷ Lynn Baily, *Bosque Redondo: An American Concentration Camp*, (Pasadena: Socio-Technical Books, 1970), 75-76.

¹²⁸ Special Orders No. 193, Fort Union, November 4, 1862. Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. IV, 242.

throughout a four-year period. The groups moved slowly with some individuals riding in wagons, and others herding livestock along the way; most, however, made the entire journey on foot, taking from four to eight weeks to complete the trek. Some groups were delayed at a number of designated stops along the way, primarily because of a lack of sufficient supplies to support the captives. Provisions had to be acquired from throughout the district to feed the starving men, women, and children before they could proceed. The last large group of Navajos to undertake the trip to the Bosque Redondo arrived in the spring of 1867.

One of the many routes of the "Long Walk" passed through Santa Fe. Even though the Santa Fe route added additional mileage to the trip, Carleton ordered many of the Navajos be escorted through the capital.¹²⁹ Upon leaving Santa Fe, many of the caravans were directed north to Fort Union, which served as one of the major stops where fresh provisions could be obtained. Typically, they spent one or two days at the fort where they were fed and supplied with clothing or blankets when available. Frequently a new military escort would be assigned to transport the captives for the final leg of the journey. Civilian wagon masters, contracted through the Quartermaster at Fort Union to transport provisions needed at the reservation, accompanied the tired and dusty caravan of walkers, wagons, livestock and soldiers. However, as time went on the "stores" at Fort Union's depot diminished significantly, exasperating the problems associated not just with the transportation of the Indian captives, but in provisioning the Bosque Redondo until agricultural production was developed at that site.

Initially Carleton was very optimistic, and looked on with hopeful anticipation as he prepared the first groups of Navajos to be escorted to the Bosque Redondo. He ordered detachments of soldiers to escort prisoners from Fort Wingate to Fort Sumner and on to Fort Union where supply trains were organized to support the captives in the final stretch to the reservation.¹³⁰

The first group of Navajos sent to Bosque Redondo went by way of Fort Union. Carleton had ordered Lt. Thomas Holmes to escort the captives first to Fort Union. In anticipation of their arrival at Fort Union, General Carleton ordered the commanding officer there to "treat the Indians ... with great kindness while at the fort. You will see that suitable provisions are made for their subsistence there ... you will inform the depot quartermaster and commissary that ...supplies [be sent] to Fort Sumner with this same escort."¹³¹ It was the first group of captive Indians to go through the process, and Carleton wanted assurances that the Navajos would be accommodated along the way according to his plan.

The order, written by Carleton on September 6, 1863, was the last recorded communication on the Bosque project that would reflect a pleasant tone. In it, there is no suggestion by him that the Bosque project was in trouble. Neither did he reveal any indication of crisis to come. From that point forward, the problems at Bosque Redondo would increase for the captive population. Never again would any correspondence emanate from the General's hand

¹²⁹ Upon their release from the Bosque Redondo in 1868, escorts were also assigned from Fort Union to accompany the Navajos back to their homeland.

¹³⁰ Special Orders Sept 4, 1863, Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 3, 352, 397-409. There are numerous accounts of Navajos being sent to the Bosque Redondo via Fort Union through 1867. Along with the prisoners, the military escorts brought tents, medical supplies, agricultural tools, and food. The supplies were frequently inadequate, especially the tents which had been stored at the Fort Union Depot and were substantially worn; there were severe limitations on the availability of food as well, especially corn which was the grain of choice of the Navajos.

¹³¹ Special Orders, Sept. 6, 1863, Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 3, 354.

which did not resonate with the mounting concerns, the difficulties, nor the urgency which new groups of destitute men, women, and children presented at his doorstep.

The Navajos brought to the Bosque reservation varied in size. Some were quite large with reports ranging as high as 2,500,¹³² especially during the initial stages of the campaign. After 1865, the groups were composed of much smaller numbers. Between the summer of 1863 and December 1866, a total of 11,468 Navajos were sent to the Bosque Redondo. This figure is not reliable, as it includes individuals who had deserted and later decided to return to the Bosque, or were captured after having escaped from the reservation previously.

Those groups brought in from the farthest reaches of the Navajo homeland suffered tremendously during the walk. Not all made it. The weakened immune systems of the general Navajo population resulted in a staggering death toll among the tribe during the long treks.¹³³ It is estimated that twenty-five percent died either during the trip or during the time they were at the reservation.¹³⁴ For that reason the military estimates of Navajos taken to Bosque Redondo, and the daily head counts of the residents, recorded in the fort's documents cannot be trusted. The best estimate is that 8,000 Navajos were captive at the Bosque at one time or another. It is believed that as many as 5,000 Navajos never surrendered. They either stayed within their traditional lands or drifted to the west, far beyond the grasp of Carson's ever reaching clutches.

The effectiveness of the military campaign against the Navajo food supply had far reaching consequences, and would actually complicate the Bosque Redondo plan. The overwhelming majority of the Navajo population was almost completely destitute by the time the military's campaign had been initiated, and this combined with the effects of the long journey to the Bosque found them debilitated to the point of starvation. They frequently arrived at the primary collection centers of Forts Canby and Wingate with inadequate clothing, and most were in rags. Many were ill long before they even began the trip east. Most were expected to walk the entire distance with the exception of the few "ricos" who owned wagons and livestock.

Navajo accounts of the Long Walk and the impact on their traditional diet is quite revealing. During the trek from Fort Wingate, Navajos were provided with flour, bacon, and green coffee beans. They were not familiar with these foods and did not know how to prepare them properly which not only exasperated illness among the tribe, but actually resulted in severe cases of gastrointestinal illness and death. At times they would come upon indigenous potatoes which they could boil with salt. They also encountered *tsinbijeeh* (spruce pitch) which was used for blisters on their feet. Many were inadequately clothed, however, and suffered severely during the walk.¹³⁵

The status of prisoners proved a perennial concern to the military. Usually the military treated captured Indians well; however, the military was expected to manage the retention, and the transport and the rationing of formerly combatant Indians. Holding the warriors, as well as their women and children, complicated the matter considerably. Despite the best of intentions, the military was poorly prepared to deal with the removal of Indian people to Bosque Redondo.

During the relocation of thousands of Navajos to the Bosque Redondo, the military officers in charge in the field realized early on that provisions were inadequate. A number of

¹³² McNitt, "The Long March," in Schroeder, *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians*, 150.

¹³³ Correspondence from General Carleton to Lorenzo Thomas, Asst. Adj. General Washington, D.C., 24 April 24 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 13, 326.

¹³⁴ McNitt, "The Long March," 156-159.

¹³⁵ Pattie Chee, et al., ed. *Oral History Stories of the Long Walk*, (Crownpoint: Diné of the Eastern Region, 1990), 81.

captives froze to death along the roadside, and among the debilitated, those who stopped and were unable to continue were shot and their bodies left behind.¹³⁶ The escorting officers expressed concern and frustration at the lack of adequate resources to support the contingents of elders, men, women, and children who were congregated for the journey which could be anywhere from 350 to 590 miles, depending on the route taken. Some of the prisoners were held in chains, but most were unencumbered.

Oral accounts recorded from the descendants of Navajos who participated in the "Long Walk" describe how soldiers shot the weak and the sick that straggled behind the walkers, wagons and livestock. The soldiers claimed that the weak slowed down the march and put all of the captives in peril. Complicated by the inadequate supplies of food, they claimed that a certain pace had to be kept. When the Navajos heard gunshots in the rear, they knew that stragglers were being shot. One elder recounted a story which is well known among the Navajo people—that of the young pregnant Navajo girl who was unable to keep up with the caravan:

They were just south of Albuquerque near *K'aalogii Dzil* (Butterfly Mountain) when his ancestors asked the soldiers to 'hold her up for a while and let the woman give birth.' But the soldiers wouldn't do it. They forced my people to move on, saying that they were getting behind the others. The soldiers told the parents that they would have to leave their daughter. 'Your daughter is not going to survive anyway; sooner or later she is going to die'...'go ahead the daughter said to her parents. Things might come out all right with me.' But the poor thing was mistaken, my grandparents used to say. Not long after they had moved on, they heard a gunshot from where they had been a short time ago... 'Maybe we should go back and do something, or at least cover the body with dirt,' one of them said. By that time one of the soldiers came riding up from the direction of the sound. He must have shot her to death. That's the way the story goes.¹³⁷

Oral tradition, not the written word, preserved the atrocity.

The lack of preparation of the military to support the captives at rest stops became increasingly evident. At Los Pinos (today Peralta, south of Albuquerque), the captives were herded into corrals like livestock, and found that few if any provisions were available for their consumption. By October of 1864 the ever growing number of Navajo prisoners at Bosque Redondo restricted the number that could be brought. Carleton ordered one officer to "keep your group of Navajos at Los Pinos... [purchase] sheep and have them make wool into blankets for their children."¹³⁸ Aside from hardship and death, disappointment and frustration characterized the falling morale of both captor and captive.

The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that there was very little food available when they arrived in Bosque Redondo. In addition to the Navajos, there were already 500

¹³⁶ Bailey, *The Long Walk*, 164-166.

¹³⁷ Interview from an unnamed Diné elder (recorded in 1973), in Ruth Roessel, ed. *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, (Navajo Community College Press, 1973); see also Albert L. Hurtado, *Major Problems in American Indian History*, 328-330.

¹³⁸ Letter from General Carleton to Lt. Butler, 28 Oct. 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 147.

Mescalero Apaches at the reservation. The number of Indians was too large to support with the inadequate resources available. It would be a whole year before the first agricultural harvest could materialize. Meanwhile, the starving men, women and children required immediate nourishment and Carleton had no solution.

During the trips to Fort Sumner, the Navajos suffered other calamities. There were numerous reports of kidnappings of women and children by New Mexicans and Indians along the route to Fort Sumner.¹³⁹ Along the way there were raids upon their livestock and food supplies. One report told of three Navajo children being sold at Isleta Pueblo during the march from Los Pinos to Santa Fe.¹⁴⁰ On January 17, 1864 Sergeant Thomas Farley reported that he lost five Navajo children at San José who were being escorted to Fort Union. He informed the Post Commander that he believed "the children did not run away because they were left sleeping in a corral and it was very cold that night. They hardly had any clothes on." He went on to describe how, as they had passed through communities during the previous week, many civilians made admiring remarks about the children, commenting that they thought they were "very nice" and to "give us some." During the evening there were a number of "drunk soldiers" who were in and out of the corral, and he believed that they sold the children at San José. The children were later recovered in the town.¹⁴¹ There were other towns in which Navajos were assaulted and they included Tecolotito, Apache Springs, and Anton Chico during the long walk. On one particular trek, citizens from these villages stole four horses and kidnapped three Navajo children.¹⁴²

As mentioned previously, Navajo Indians were usually escorted to the Bosque Redondo through Fort Union.¹⁴³ General Carleton's orders to officers in charge of the escorts verify this fact. One document describes a two-day stop at Fort Union for Navajo captives during the summer of 1866.¹⁴⁴ As late as 1867, military records reveal that groups of Navajos were being organized at Fort Wingate and sent to Fort Sumner through Fort Union.¹⁴⁵ The reasons for sending the Navajos through Santa Fe and Fort Union are not completely clear. These routes could add as much as 170 extra miles to the trip increasing travel time and draining limited supplies.

From his orders, it is evident that Carleton had reasoned that additional supplies to support those on the march could be obtained at Fort Union. The stores from the quartermaster's depot at Fort Union, however, could very easily have been transported separately to other points along the way, such as Chililí, Antelope Springs and the Hatch and Gidding ranches which served as *de facto* military outposts. On the other hand, Fort Union could supply Bosque Redondo more efficiently without the added burden of escorting prisoners. Combining the two functions increased both the time that the captives would have to spend en route, and the amount

¹³⁹ McNitt, "The Long March 1863-1867," 146; see also L. R. Bailey, *The Long Walk*, 164-166.

¹⁴⁰ McNitt, "The Long Walk," 161.

¹⁴¹ Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 13, 37, Report of Sgt. Thomas Farley of Co. A New Mexico Volunteers, January 17, 1864, (National Archives, no citation).

¹⁴² McNitt, "The Long Walk," 151.

¹⁴³ General Commanding, Headquarters at Santa Fe to Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner, 17 Oct. 1863, National Archives, Fort Sumner Files--Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 3, Frame no. 39 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁴⁴ Correspondence between Post Adjutant, Fort Union and Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner, August 30, 1866. National Archives, Headquarter Records of Fort Sumner Files- Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 3 Frame no. 575 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁴⁵ Correspondence between Commanding Officer at Fort Wingate and Lt. Edward Hunter at Fort Union, Nov. 13, 1867, National Archives, Headquarter Records of Fort Sumner Files-- Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 3 Frame no. 953 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

of rations needed to sustain them for the added period of time it entailed. Carleton knew that detachments transporting goods from Fort Union could average 25 miles per day. Those same detachments would only average 10-13 miles per day if they were required to accompany the captives.¹⁴⁶ Obviously the entire process was not very well planned from the beginning.

There were variations to the routes of the Long Walk that were utilized for escorting Navajos to the Bosque Redondo reservation near Fort Sumner. From Forts Canby and Wingate, the two primary gathering places for Navajos, the trek passed through Agua Azul before arriving at the upper Rio Gallo crossing. From there, the route proceeded south to cross the Rio Gallo a second time before arriving at Cubero. Next, it went past Laguna Pueblo before heading southeast to Los Pinos on the Rio Grande; from that point, the march would proceed north to Santa Fe, and eventually on to Fort Union before turning southeast for the final leg to Bosque Redondo.

Carleton ordered a change in the route to be followed after the initial groups of Navajos were sent to the reservation. Likely, the route, while longer and indirect, had more water. Upon leaving Los Pinos, the escorts directed the Navajo captives through Tijeras canyon east of Albuquerque. From the canyon they marched along the northeastern slopes of the Sandias and the mountain canyons and arroyos along present San Antonio, Golden, Tuerto Arroyo. From there, the captives proceeded to a point north of Ortiz Pass where they followed the drainage to Galisteo. Otherwise, the captives followed the Tuerto Arroyo at Golden northeast to the Galisteo basin. From Galisteo the route picked up the old Santa Fe Trail at Kozlowski's ranch; a few miles northeast of Tecolote near Romeroville the trail abruptly turned south, dividing into two alternative branches of equal length. One branch stayed to the west and passed Apache Springs and skirted the settlements of Tecolotito and Anton Chico; the other passed Tecolotito and Anton Chico, but picked up the Rio Gallinas to Alexander Hatch's ranch, three miles south of Chaparito. The two roads then merged near where the Fort Smith Road crossed the Gallinas. From there the trail ran along the east bank of the Pecos River to Fort Sumner.

Other routes existed. By 1865 another route had developed. Running along the present day Highway 66 from Albuquerque, it proceeded through Tijeras Canyon, Gutierrez and Cañon Blanco to Anton Chico. Finally, the least used route documented proceeded from Tijeras south to Chililí and on to Antelope Springs (near present day Estancia and McIntosh); following Cañon Piedra Pintada, it continued east until it came to Gidding's Ranch and crossed the Pecos near Puerto de Luna. Those routes did not replace those to the north, including the one through Fort Union that was used throughout the entire time of Bosque Redondo reservation's existence. The two most southern routes were only sporadically used primarily because they suffered "for want of fuel and of shelter of bluffs and groves."¹⁴⁷

At Bosque Redondo, the captive Navajos found themselves in a vulnerable situation. First of all Carleton's plan for housing both Apaches and Navajos together was an ill-conceived plan which would have disastrous results. Carleton mistakenly believed that the tribes shared similar cultural origins, and would be compatible. The Mescalero Apaches and the Navajos at the Bosque Redondo clashed from the very beginning. Most Apaches fled the Bosque within the first year of the arrival of the Navajos.

¹⁴⁶ McNitt, "The Long March," This article describes the five routes utilized as part of the "long walk" to the Bosque Redondo, and the travel conditions along each route are described in detail.

¹⁴⁷ Lynn R. Baily, *Bosque Redondo: The Navajo Internment at Fort Sumner, 1863-68*, Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1998), 102-103.

The Plains Indians posed an even more serious threat. Initially unarmed, the Navajos fell prey to the raids of Comanches, Utes, and other tribes, losing livestock on a regular basis. After one attack by Comanches, Major General George Getty at Military Headquarters notified the Commanding officer at Ft. Sumner that he had ordered the Quartermaster at Fort Union to send 200 rifles and carbines with ammunition for the Navajos to use in self-defense.¹⁴⁸

Some occurrences were shrouded in mystery. On one occasion, Ute Indians who served as scouts to the military visited the reservation, and were warmly received by the military and the Navajos. Only after they left the following day did the Navajos report that they lost about 25 horses to the Utes who were housed overnight in one of the corrals. Unaware of the accusation, the Utes proceeded to Fort Union near where they were apprehended by troops from Fort Union. They had none of the Navajo horses with them and were released.¹⁴⁹ Had they hidden the horses along the way for a later time? Or, did someone else take them?

Officers and Indian agents documented noteworthy first hand cultural observations of the Navajos and Mescalero Apaches of the period. The reservation placed the Navajos and Apaches in close physical proximity, exposing cross-cultural issues among those tribes. In a report to General Carleton, the Commanding Officer at Ft. Sumner wrote:

There is no friendly feeling between the Navajos and the Apaches. They are continuously committing small depredations against each other, killing stock, and the latest and most serious difficulty grows out of a superstition of the Navajos that toes and finger nails of a dead enemy procured secretly are an effective charm for the curing of sick in the hands of the doctors. To procure this charm the Navajos in the night time hunt up the Apache dead and mutilate them. This has been the cause of serious and repeated complaints on the part of the Apaches.¹⁵⁰

This cultural detail was more than an anomaly; it was part of a general pattern of beliefs that separated the two.

During their captivity, the Indian people were basically studied for ethnographic and linguistic purposes by certain individuals in charge of their incarceration. One officer, Lt. John Cremony, developed an Apache language dictionary while stationed there, and was asked by General Carleton to submit his findings to Professor Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution while the former was in New Mexico to study indigenous groups.¹⁵¹ Another observation was made by Major H.D. Wallen who recorded his impressions from first-hand experiences with the Navajos and Apaches. In the twentieth century, John Wilson transcribed

¹⁴⁸ General Getty, Headquarters to Commanding Officer Major Charles Whiting at Fort Sumner, September 18, 1867, National Archives, Headquarter Records of Fort Sumner Files--Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 3, Frame nos. 843, 844 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁴⁹ Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner to Military Headquarters, Sept., 1867, National Archives, Headquarter Records of Fort Sumner Files--Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 3, Frame nos. 871-873 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁵⁰ Commanding Officer, Fort Sumner to General Carleton, Military Headquarters, June 3, 1864, National Archives, Fort Sumner Files--Letters Received, Microfilm Reel 1, Frame nos. 147-151 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁵¹ Correspondence between Gen. Carleton and Professor Baird, 29 June 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 312.

and published one of Wallen's reports written to the Adjutant General at Santa Fe in 1864.¹⁵² The report is, in essence, an ethnographical summary, providing a "snapshot in time" of the Bosque Redondo reservation and its inhabitants. Wallen, a keen observer, prefaced his account regarding the captives by writing: "Of their manner and customs it is difficult to form a correct idea. They have been so long in the habit of regarding the white man as their foe, that they are cautious about giving us any information regarding themselves, and I am therefore entirely dependent upon such observations as I have been able to make in person."¹⁵³

Wallen noted that the Navajos lacked the "taciturnity so generally...ascribed to the Indian character... [as] they are great talkers...[they] collect in groups, gossiping with ... earnestness and gusto... and when they ...visit [me] they ...seat themselves on the floor with lighted *cigarros*, ready for a long talk, and I have never known them to break up a conversation themselves."¹⁵⁴ However, it is interesting to note that information contained in oral history collections of the tribe addresses an interesting variation on this very topic.¹⁵⁵

Information derived through oral history endeavors offer glimpses of survival tactics that may be gleaned but never fully understood by non-tribal researchers. During the Carson campaign in the 1860s, the Navajo and other tribes learned ways to avoid detection. Crying babies, for example, could give away a hiding place. The Navajo, in particular, conditioned their babies and young children to stop crying in a manner which, while seemingly extreme, was perceived as necessary for survival. Accordingly, one respondent noted that mothers prepared their children with an oral command, while holding shut the mouths and noses of their children so as to cut off their oxygen intake. After such conditioning, the oral command would suffice to quiet a wailing child.¹⁵⁶ Thus, when the time came, hidden Navajos could avoid detection from soldiers who hunted them. Their survival depended on the many ways the Navajo had learned to elude their captors when they could.

Naively, Wallen described the Navajo form of government as "patriarchal" with each head of a family as an autocrat and, although there are "chiefs," submission to them is strictly voluntary. The observations suggested to Wallen that as clan groups organized into a confederation, the political structure, itself, probably contributed to the many treaties which were broken by the Navajos primarily because no centralized authority existed within the tribe to negotiate treaties, nor to enforce individual accords which had been made. Their laws were "few and simple, and might more properly be termed compacts or agreements among themselves."

Wallen described their housing patterns, their diet ("they prefer cornmeal to flour"), their clothing, and their "wonderful" blankets. He noted that contrary to the general belief among non-Navajos, they did comprehend the basic principles of agriculture (irrigation, cultivation methods, etc.). He also described the gender division of labor within the tribe; and noted the caring and loving relationships within families and extended kin groups. On a less flattering note, he calls

¹⁵² Major Henry Davis Wallen Report to the Assistant Adjutant General, Santa Fe, April 26, 1864, as noted in John Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," in *El Palacio*, 74(1) Spring, 1967, 14-28.

¹⁵³ Major Henry Davis Wallen Report to the Assistant Adjutant General, Santa Fe, April 26, 1864, as noted in Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," in *El Palacio*, 74(1) Spring, 1967, 14-28; also Wallen Report to Military Headquarters, Santa Fe, June 3, 1864, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, New Mexico, 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 1 (of 5), Frame no. 147-151, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

¹⁵⁴ Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," 15.

¹⁵⁵ Interview of Marietta Wetherill by Louis Blachly, *Inventory of Pioneers Foundation Oral History Collection*. (UNM Center for Southwest Research), Reel 7, Tape 448 (1953).

¹⁵⁶ Interview of Marietta Wetherill by Louis Blachly, *Inventory of Pioneers Foundation Oral History Collection*. (UNM Center for Southwest Research), Reel 7, Tape 448 (1953).

the Navajos "great thieves," insisting that "not just in their relationships with Mexicans and Americans, but even among themselves, they steal as well." He described, in more detail, gender relationships, marital customs, religion and superstitions, although he admitted that the later two are very difficult to perceive as an outsider.¹⁵⁷

Wallen described the Navajos as the most "industrious laborers either on the post or the reservation." The quartermaster at Fort Sumner corroborated Wallen's observation by reporting that he employed them for that capacity before soldiers or citizens: His "clerks ask for them in the unloading of grain or removal of stores... officers speak of them as worth double any other laborers detailed to get fuel for the garrison."¹⁵⁸

Of the Apache at Bosque Redondo, Wallen provided similar information about them. Equally so, he was very adept in his observations, noting that "although Spaniards, Mexicans,¹⁵⁹ and Americans have been in frequent contact and communication with the Apaches for many years, scarcely anything whatever is absolutely known about them. Their religion, manners, habits, mode of government, laws and traditions are almost sealed books." In describing their behavior at the fort, he lauded their honesty, noting that "although permitted free access to the quarters of the officers and men, I have never heard that an article was stolen or unlawfully appropriated by these savages." He labeled Apaches as "savages," but Navajos were elevated to "barbarian" status, which in this particular ideological framework placed them closer to "civilization" than the Apaches...¹⁶⁰ He described the Apaches as "very brave, but cruel in battle."¹⁶¹ Apparently, Wallen turned a blind eye to how the Long Walk had been handled by American officers and men.

Although Wallen's report is insightful, a word of caution is appropriate. He took advantage of a controlled environment to observe behavior where captive Navajos and Apaches were forced to interact with each other, as well as, with their military guards and caretakers. He recognized that as an outsider he could never hope to truly understand the complexities of the alien cultures in captivity. The observations were flawed because the cultures were not observed in their free state. Wallen, on the other hand, utilized a comparative analysis based on his observations that add some credence to his interpretations, and validate his methodology from an anthropological framework. In effect, he recognized his limitations, but at the same time extracted information as his subjects were observed interacting among themselves as captives and with other constituent groups at Bosque Redondo.

That Wallen concerned himself with cross-cultural understanding at all is admirable and revealing. His assignment was to administer a poorly planned project with limited resources for thousands of captives. Perhaps his growing awareness of the difficulties at Bosque Redondo, and the anticipation of the arrival of additional groups to be inadequately housed there were humbling. That thought, in a sense, may have moved him, at times, to step out from his role of military commander. From his report, he obviously anticipated the challenges of carrying out the responsibilities. Although he viewed the captives as "savages and barbarians," he also saw them as human beings. He wanted to know who the Indians really were outside of their role as enemy

¹⁵⁷ Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," 15-20.

¹⁵⁸ Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 5, 66.

¹⁵⁹ Note that Wallen distinguished pre- from post-colonial residents of New Mexico, i.e. "Spaniards" and "Mexicans."

¹⁶⁰ Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," 22-24.

¹⁶¹ Wallen Report to Military Headquarters, Santa Fe, June 3, 1864, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM, 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 1 (of 5), Frame no. 147-151, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

warriors. He appears to be genuinely groping to understand their cultures, and sensed the hopelessness that pervaded the Bosque Redondo "experiment".

The planning process at Bosque Redondo was a nightmare. The captive Indians were expected to raise their own food, but agricultural conditions did not facilitate crop production. However, the geographic remoteness of the site was a mixed blessing. On the one hand it was far removed from most of the Hispanic and Anglo-American settlements in New Mexico, minimizing contact between the groups. Its remoteness from Fort Union, on the other hand, presented logistical supply problems. The resident Indians suffered miserably from the heat in summer and the cold in winter, more often from the lack of fuel. Malnutrition was endemic and combined with the poor agricultural potential, the captives were on the verge of starvation and illness most of the time. Although the U.S. Government was responsible for providing for the thousands of relocated Indians,¹⁶² the problem of supply was even difficult for the forts to supply themselves. Indeed, Fort Union suffered from its own agricultural deficiencies and food supplies.¹⁶³ The fort's agriculture near Ocaté was not enough to sustain the fort. Consequently Fort Union was supplied primarily by Fort Leavenworth and by contractors from the region. Still, in an effort to assist the captives at Bosque Redondo, personnel at the fort manufactured agricultural equipment, such as plows. In either case, Carleton became desperate for clothing supplies and food, and submitted numerous requests to Fort Leavenworth to provide "hundreds of thousands" of pounds of rations, grains, blankets, and other necessities between April and October, 1864.¹⁶⁴ On April 12, 1864, Aide-de-Camp Cyrus DeForrest was authorized to provide Kit Carson with one thousand dollars "in coin" to purchase beef from the Pueblos to supply Bosque Redondo.¹⁶⁵

Obtaining the necessary supplies and equipment for agricultural production was another nightmare for the reservation administrators. No clear plan to transport equipment on a regular basis to the reservation existed. A good example of this situation is evident in the correspondence between two agents who wished to get some equipment from Santa Fe to Bosque Redondo. On June 28, 1863, J.M. Edgar, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Santa Fe, complained to Indian Agent Labadie that he had four dozen spades, five dozen hoes, and a large prairie plow for Bosque Redondo but he "could not find anyone to take them there." A week and a half later, on July 9, Edgar notified Labadie that a local rancher, José Lucero y Gonzales was willing to transport the equipment to Labadie's ranch at Anton Chico, up river from Fort Sumner.

¹⁶² Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 301; and Bailey, *The Long Walk*, 175; See also, Correspondence between Col. Collins and HQ at Fort Union to Col. Collins 29 May 29 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 245.

¹⁶³ The Arrott Manuscript Collection is filled with commentary on the issue. There are many references to the deficiencies of the fort's agriculture; and orders to give priority for rations to the soldiers; the need to move Indian women and children off the fort to other areas until the food supply was enhanced; and the endemic problems with scurvy and other medical problems which materialized on a regular basis due to the inadequate diet which affected the health of the soldiers as well.

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Gen. James H. Carson to Assistant Adjutant General for New Mexico, re: underestimated number of Navajos to feed, 3 April 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 13, 244; see also Correspondence from Gen. Carleton to Military Headquarters, Washington, D.C., on the growing Navajo population at the Bosque to feed, 27 March 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 14, 469; and vol. 13, 269.

¹⁶⁵ Letter from Cyrus DeForrest, District Hdq. to Kit Carson, authorization to purchase beef from Pueblos, 12 April 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 13, 292.

From there Labadie could travel the additional 75 miles from Fort Sumner to retrieve the agricultural supplies,¹⁶⁶ thence transport them the rest of the way to Bosque Redondo.

While the Navajos suffered at the whims of nature, greedy merchants capitalized on their misfortunes and victimized them. From the beginning, the Navajos complained about the poor agricultural potential of the soils along the Pecos. One captive noted that "the ground was not productive... we planted but it did not yield... all of the stock [horses and sheep] brought there were nearly all dead... [and he noted how he] was ashamed to go to the commissary for food." Crop failure was related to "hail storms [and] worms eating the corn and pumpkins." The wood supply was depleted quite early in the endeavor and he lamented that they "had to walk very far to get wood and carry heavy loads of it back."¹⁶⁷ Not just the weather, but human greed contributed to exasperating the situation when civilian "speculators" began buying up available supplies of wheat in the rest of the region in order to cash in on the potential to increase its market value.¹⁶⁸

The Navajo was not often credited for the farming skills they possessed. One soldier's diary is in part a first hand account of the Navajo campaign during the early 1860s which ultimately led to their confinement at the Bosque Redondo reservation. Apart from the military exploits, the information describes the Navajo crops which were discovered. The military turned their livestock loose on cultivated plots. On many occasions the fields were so extensive that there was not enough time to destroy and "devour" the corn and other crops which were encountered as they pursued the Navajos from one location to another. In one account, the diary describes how the military "came upon an Indian farm of large extent... with corn, fine wheat, beans, pumpkins, and melons... [the] corn was excellent, [as was] the water supply...[and] there was plenty of wood." Two days later, on August 6, the soldier notes that the "animals and the troops" were still "feeding on the crops," while they labored to destroy the rest of the crops.¹⁶⁹ This account contradicts the traditional literature which depicts the Navajo as having learned agricultural technology at the Bosque Redondo. In fact they possessed this knowledge long before.

The scarcity of basic necessities took its toll among the captive Navajos. Fort Sumner had an established hospital on its premises for care of the Indians, but most refused to utilize its services. The family lore of descendants of those held at Bosque Redondo affirms the reluctance of Navajos to use medical resources at Bosque Redondo. Perhaps, as descendants of Navajo captives explained, their ancestors spoke only of their hope to return to their homeland and the use of the many herbal plants which were available there to cure their ailments.¹⁷⁰ That would be reason enough to avoid the white man's medicine and hospitals.

¹⁶⁶ *The Michael Steck Collection*, (9 Rolls of microfilm at the University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research), Box 1, Folder 13.

¹⁶⁷ Herbert Ration Interview- April, 1969, "Memories from his grandfather who was a captive at Bosque Redondo," in *Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project* collection, recorded by Tom Ration, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research.

¹⁶⁸ Request to Hon. T. Dole for food for 6000 Navajos at Bosque Redondo, 16 Sept. 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 31; correspondence from Gen. Carleton to Col. John McFerran, re: need for 300,000-400,000 pounds of wheat, 15 Nov. 1864, vol. 15, 175.

¹⁶⁹ Anonymous diary from soldier in Company B, 1st New Mexico Volunteers, 4-6 August 1863 in the *Ritch Papers Collection*, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, (Huntington Library, San Marino, California on Territorial New Mexico) reel 4, document no. 1513.

¹⁷⁰ *Doris Duke Oral History Project*. Many of the Navajo interviewees have discussed the numerous remedies and dietary sources drawn from herbs, *Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project* collection, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research.

Sexually transmitted diseases were common at Bosque Redondo. There, venereal disease became a major problem for the Indian population. Soldiers from Fort Sumner infected Indian women with syphilis and gonorrhea, contributing to the debilitation of the tribe over time. Capt. W.H. Bell commented that "Syphilitic disease is spreading among the Indians to an alarming extent and it is not an infrequent thing to see children of both sexes of not more than fourteen years of age afflicted with disease of this character."¹⁷¹ At Bosque Redondo many preferred to rely on their own healers. One military officer recognized some value in the native remedies, noting that "Indian doctors" effectively used herbs to cure syphilis and other venereal diseases. For many ailments, wrote Bell, the Indians used "feathers, stones, charms, roots leaves, antelope toes, cranes' bills, and sometimes they paint themselves with charred wood. They also used sweat houses built of poles covered with grass and dirt, or small excavations in the earth, having previously been filled with red hot stones."¹⁷² By September of 1865, the situation was so critical, officers in the field were ordered not to send more captives to Bosque Redondo until further notice. Hundreds of Navajos were detained at Los Pinos near Albuquerque. The decision to halt the transfer of captives to Bosque Redondo impeded the long line of prisoners headed in that direction from as far away as Fort Wingate.

The situation at Bosque Redondo quickly evolved into a contentious political issue as the reservation and Carleton's policies came under relentless attack. Prominent adversaries included the controversial and outspoken Judge Knapp, Michael Steck, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe, and Miguel Romero y Baca, the probate judge at Las Vegas. Romero y Baca opposed the Bosque Redondo experiment because he believed that New Mexican sheep men were losing grazing land along the Pecos to reservation activities. He complained that local herders had to remove their stock from the Pecos area for fear of mixing them with the Navajos.¹⁷³ Newspapers editorialized against Carleton, while officers in the field expressed resentment about having to escort and guard sick and dying Indians without adequate supplies. In addition, they were under constant orders to pursue runaway Indians or they spent too much time in the field attempting to retrieve kidnapped Navajo children. Another resentment at Fort Union grew from the reduction of military rations as a result of the need to feed the captive Indians at the Bosque Redondo.

The Navajos were not in control of their environment, for they were at the mercy of nearly all non-Navajos around them. During four years of captivity, depredations against the Navajos continued both on and off the reservation. They were harassed and pursued by U.S. soldiers under orders by Carleton to "destroy" all Navajo men found off the reservation.¹⁷⁴ The plight of a Navajo couple who attempted to escape Bosque Redondo reveals the futility faced by the captives. When the Navajo couple escaped from Bosque Redondo within the first year of their confinement, they fled westward. On the open plains west of the reservation, local inhabitants killed the husband. The wife was captured by her husband's killers and sold to Juan Ysidro of Bernalillo for "a cow and ten sheep."¹⁷⁵ Other Navajos met similar fates.

¹⁷¹ Report of Capt. W.H. Bell to Asst. Adjutant General, Military Headquarters, Reel 1 (of 5), August 5, 1864, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, Reel 1, Frame no. 187-188, National Archives, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

¹⁷² Robert Tennert, *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 32.

¹⁷³ Gerald Thompson, *The Army and the Navajo*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 44.

¹⁷⁴ Orders issued by Gen. Carleton, 28 March, 1866. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 18, 49.

¹⁷⁵ Report from Capt. William Calloway to McCabe, Commanding Officer, Albuquerque Post, Oct. 28, 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 17, 1.

The Plains Indians spared no measures to kill Navajos escaping from Bosque Redondo. On one occasion, for example, three Navajo men, who had escaped eastward from Bosque Redondo, were killed and scalped by Comanches and Kiowas. They had not gotten far from the reservation.¹⁷⁶ Given the deteriorating conditions on the reservation, the risks associated with flight did not necessarily outweigh the option to remain at Bosque Redondo.

Despite the dangers involved with escape from Bosque Redondo, Navajo and Apache continued to run away in order to survive the appalling situation on the reservation. In order to stop the Navajos and Apaches from escaping, Carleton ordered a punitive expedition be detailed from Fort Union. The military units were to attack "all Navajo and Apache men found without passes and destroy them."¹⁷⁷

Resources at Fort Union were not particularly conducive to outfitting punitive expeditions as Carleton learned. Resources were limited and that included horses. When Carleton gave his order to find and destroy recalcitrant Navajos and Apaches, the expedition was delayed because the horse herd at Fort Union needed to be reconstituted. Indeed, the fort had recently acquired 35-40 horses that were out to pasture, recovering from strenuous operations in the field. As soon as it appeared that they could be reactivated, the commanding officer was ordered to "reshod them" and form a company of cavalry. The shortage of supplies prompted him to specify exactly how many rations and rounds of ammunition would be allotted per man. The lack of supplies at Fort Union and the other forts reflected the even poorer conditions on the reservations in general.

Other disturbing incidents occurred that further dropped morale at Bosque Redondo. In May 1865, a captive Navajo woman at Bosque Redondo became hysterical over the pronouncements of one José Maria Sena. Her concerns were not taken lightly by the fort's commanding officer. Sena was accused of "inciting Indians" and imprisoned at the fort after telling her that "the reason many Indians were dying there was that the government had ordered the soldiers to sprinkle white stuff—poison—on the beef they consumed."¹⁷⁸ Caught between Anglo-American dominion and Sena's irresponsible remarks, the morale of the captives sank even further as they believed that their precarious situation was worse than what they had heretofore thought.

Conditions at Fort Union were not much better for retaining captive Indians than at Bosque Redondo. As the number of captives continued to increase at Bosque Redondo, Fort Union felt the backlash. As Indian prisoners headed for Bosque Redondo by way of Fort Union, they were often detained there. They resisted their capture at every turn and did not look forward to going to Bosque Redondo. On one occasion in 1863, as soon as one party began its march on the last phase of their journey to Bosque Redondo, sixteen of the twenty-one captives escaped from Fort Union. The cavalry shot one and recaptured two, but the remaining eighteen were successful in their escape.¹⁷⁹ On another occasion in February 1865, three Navajo women

¹⁷⁶ Report from Capt. Bristol, 2 June 1865, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 2 (of 5), Frame no. 34,

¹⁷⁷ Order from General James H. Carleton, Military Headquarters, Santa Fe, to Commanding Officer at Fort Union 7 Nov. 1865, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 3 (of 5), Frame nos. 442-445, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

¹⁷⁸ Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner to Capt. Ben C. AAG, Military Headquarters at Santa Fe, May 3, 1865, National Archives, Headquarters Record of Fort Sumner Files- Letters Sent, Microfilm Reel 1, Frame no. 71, (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico).

¹⁷⁹ Report from Lt. E. E. Latimer, 31 Oct. 1863, in Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 3, , 397.

escaped from Fort Union when given permission to go to Guyano Spring for water. A detail of cavalry spent the next few days searching for the three women who eventually escaped.¹⁸⁰

By 1868 it was clear to military officials, politicians, and Indian agents that the Bosque reservation had failed dismally. An outcry ensued among them and others that the removal of Carleton would be a prerequisite to end the project. There were many factors contributing to its failure, but the principal reason was the military's inability to supply 10,000 captives with the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter had caused much suffering among the captives. Finally, it was recognized that a number of contributing factors doomed the project from the outset.

Looking back on the failure of Carleton's Bosque Redondo experiment, historians have focused on common factors. There were, for example, incompetent and, at times, fraudulent practices by government officials and contractors who were to supply the reservation. Additionally, jurisdiction over the captives resulted in a rift between the military and the Indian Affairs Office over who should feed and care for the captives. That resulted in the suffering at Bosque Redondo. The unresolved question of jurisdiction revolved around two questions: were the Indians, prisoners of war? Or, were they reservation Indians? As stated earlier, the former status would keep responsibility for their care under the military's jurisdiction; the latter, of course, placed them directly under the responsibility of the Indian Affairs Office.

The issue came to a head almost immediately after the experiment began. In September 1863 Michael Steck, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe, was notified by General Carleton that 51 Navajos were en route from Fort Union to the Bosque Redondo.¹⁸¹ Steck immediately contacted the Indian Agent, Lorenzo Labadie, in charge of the Apaches at Bosque Redondo. He directed Agent Labadie to refuse to accept responsibility for the 51 Navajo men, women, and children escorted by the military.¹⁸² Steck insisted that the Navajos were "prisoners of war" and, as such, the military had the responsibility to feed them. Carleton countered that the military did not have responsibility for the physical welfare of the Indians once they were settled on a reservation. The confrontation initiated a heated, public feud between Steck and Carleton that would not abate until Steck left his position as Indian Superintendent four years later.¹⁸³ Lack of cooperation between the military and the office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs doomed the project early on and resulted in failure to requisition and move supplies to the reservation at Bosque Redondo.

Historians generally agree that General Carleton's personality contributed to failure at the Bosque Redondo as much as any other issue. Carleton was a strong military leader, but, typical of most nineteenth-century military officers, was not very tactful in dealing with the array of individuals and groups outside the army, each of whom had a vested interest in the Bosque project. He was perceived as arrogant and autocratic. His civil and military powers were absolute at the time. Since the Civil War and the ensuing escalation of widespread Indian raids, New Mexico Territory was in the state of martial law.

Carleton changed when he came under political assault from a number of quarters. As criticism mounted he became more authoritarian, promulgating a litany of orders on a daily and weekly basis. He was self-absorbed with the idea that success would be possible only if the

¹⁸⁰ Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 4, 245.

¹⁸¹ Gen. Carleton to McMullen, Commanding Officer at Fort Union, and to Steck, 6 Sept. 1863 in J. Lee Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. III, 354-356.

¹⁸² Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, 354.

¹⁸³ Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, 355.

officers in charge would follow his explicit instructions. He frequently ranted, articulating life experiences on every pertinent topic from agriculture to healthcare; he offered detailed technical information that, he assured his officers, would guarantee the project's success. He frequently disregarded recommendations to modify the project, even when offered "scientific information" presented to him, such as those related to water quality and the potential for long term fuel supply. In short, he considered unsolicited information as an assault on his authority. As Commander at Military Headquarters rotating between Santa Fe and Fort Union, Carleton penned memos, official orders, reprimands and detailed recommendations on both mundane and more critical issues, with the day to day management of Bosque Redondo at the forefront of his agenda.

Carleton's view was that his command was ill prepared to create solutions to the problems at Bosque Redondo. The command at Fort Sumner, for example, was tutored on a weekly basis on the basics of general agricultural theory, irrigation, and crop harvesting by Carleton. On occasion, he even instructed the officers on the details of "animal parts which could and could not be disregarded," describing which parts the Navajos would consume in contrast to the Apaches.¹⁸⁴ He once wrote to officers, instructing them in the proper way to cut corn, suggesting that he had "heard that the Mexicans use something like a big knife called a machete."¹⁸⁵ On another occasion he informed the commanding officer that he once visited the South and learned about two different types of rice that can be grown: "Be sure to use the one that would work well at Ft. Sumner!" he directed.

Carleton's need to know everything about the men in his command caused him to become personally aggressive with his men. For example, he listened attentively to the "gossip" coming from Fort Sumner, and focused on the details of minute daily happenings, such as talk "behind the backs" of officers at Bosque Redondo. For just that reason, he informed a second lieutenant that a certain sergeant was the object of talk by his men. To that end, Carleton issued exact details on how to deal with the sergeant and the enlisted men. He constantly wrote about enlisted men and officers—naming names—of those who should be reprimanded, replaced, or punished. He left no doubt he kept tabs on everyone under his command.

The Bosque Redondo project stressed the fort's material resources tremendously. At one point the quartermaster at Fort Union was ordered by Carleton to "unload" all of the beans and cornmeal in stock and have it sent to the Bosque. He kept personal tabs on the stored comestibles on hand at Fort Union, specifying the amounts—to the pound—of a given item which were to be sent to the Bosque; he ordered that rations to the soldiers at the fort be cut if required.¹⁸⁶ On another occasion he informed an officer of the "waste that is taking place." He then ordered him to assign a private to go around the post on a daily basis and pick up every single kernel of corn that had been discarded because they could not afford to allow one kernel to go to waste until agricultural production improved. No detail escaped Carleton's eye.

In addition to the depletion of material supplies, there was a constant drain on military personnel, many of whom were constantly deployed from Fort Union to attend to the needs of peaceful reservation Indians as well as to those of the hostile Indians throughout the region.

¹⁸⁴ Letter from Gen. James H. Carleton to Col. Enos, Chief Quartermaster at Fort Sumner, 9 August 1865, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 17, 130.

¹⁸⁵ Letter from Gen. Carleton to Col. Enos, Quartermaster at Fort Sumner, 26 August 1865, Arrott Manuscript Collection vol. 17, 158.

¹⁸⁶ Letter from Gen. James H. Carleton to Capt. Copp, Depot Commissary at Fort Union, 7 Sept. 1865, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 17, 176.

During this period, the overwhelming demands placed on Fort Union's military and civilian contractors emanated from Bosque Redondo.

The Bosque Redondo experiment proved to be a failure as far as long-term resettlement and economic independence of the Navajos. The journey back to their traditional lands in 1868 was as difficult as the journey to Bosque Redondo four years earlier. Carpenters were contracted through the Fort Union quartermaster at four dollars per day to prepare a crossing at the Rio Grande in Albuquerque to assist Navajos "to cross the swollen river."¹⁸⁷ However, despite the arduous journey, first hand accounts of the trip described the Navajos as being in a state of euphoria, with overwhelming emotions, and periodic "singing" as familiar landscape views unfolded to the west. The soldiers who escorted them noted afterwards that they too were overtaken by the elation which the Navajo expressed. Such was the emotional outpouring that one Indian became temporarily "deranged" at the glorious sight of *dinetah*, the Navajo homeland.¹⁸⁸

Indians as Prisoners at Fort Union

The imprisoned population at Fort Union included many women and children, who were captured and brought to the fort on a regular basis as part of a precarious military strategy. The policy of holding women and children as prisoners was utilized in hope of pressuring warriors from the same families or tribes to surrender. Fort Union's resources to hold extended family members as prisoners proved inadequate. The fort seldom had enough food and clothing on hand for destitute Indians, and although it had one of the best hospitals in the Southwest, the health care needs of the sick, especially Indian women and children were extensive, and could not be adequately met at the fort.

The utilization of the fort as a prison for Indians had its roots in the early period of the military presence in New Mexico as part of an ill defined Indian policy. During periods of endemic warfare with the Plains Indians, tribal leaders were frequently sent there as prisoners simply as a matter of policy; military officials simply had no other plan for dealing with indigenous leaders. One case in point serves as an example of how the Military Department and the Indian Affairs Office functioned in this transitional period when "Indian policy" was being developed.¹⁸⁹

In early 1869 eight thousand Comanches and Kiowas were reported to be on the edge of the Staked Plains, and they were assumed to be responsible for the recent killing of eight New Mexicans from a wagon train in that area. In March of that year a party of seven chiefs and two women of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes traveled to Santa Fe to talk to George W. Getty, the Major General Commanding Military Headquarters. They came in "ostensibly to make a treaty of peace," or so the General was informed. The chiefs included Quaipe, Marvai, Buffalo Robe, Wild Horse, Nentura, all Comanches; and Spoken Robe and Two Axes, both of whom were Kiowas. The Indian Affairs Office at Santa Fe notified Getty that they preferred to contact their Headquarters in Washington before he took any action against the chiefs. Getty became "suspicious" of the motives of the officials at the Indian Affairs Department and immediately

¹⁸⁷ Utilization of Indian labor to build a new post, 30 June 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 288.

¹⁸⁸ Howard Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*, (New York: W.W. Horton, 1970), 129-130.

¹⁸⁹ Maj. Getty, Report to Brig. Gen. McKeener, Fort Leavenworth, 13 March, 1869, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 23, 59.

contacted the commanding officer at Fort Union about the Indians. He informed the commanding officer that he would be sending these chiefs to the fort to be imprisoned until he (Getty) decided what to do with them. Records show that the Indians were imprisoned at Fort Union on March 16 and remained there for approximately two months. On May 13 they were transferred to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth.¹⁹⁰



Figure 12 - Detail of a military map showing the Llano Estacado or the “Staked Plains,” 1864.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from Major General George W. Getty, New Mexico Headquarters, to Commanding Officer at Fort Union notifying him that he is sending nine Indian prisoners to be confined at Fort Union, 19 March 1869, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 23, 51, 59-60.

The document is quite revealing in a number of ways. To begin with, the military was "suspicious" of the motives of the Indian Affairs Office. Obviously the two agencies, which clashed vehemently at Bosque Redondo, were still not collaborating. Additionally, there is no evidence brought forth that the chiefs in question were responsible for the wagon train massacre, only speculation. Despite the lack of proof, they were "imprisoned" at Fort Union, ostensibly to keep the Indian Affairs Office removed from the process. Later on, the chiefs were sent to Fort Leavenworth, which served as a back up facility for more dangerous Indians. The reason for incarceration at Fort Leavenworth is unclear in the documents, but it appears that the nebulous Indian policy facilitated violation of the rights of Indians in the hands of governmental authorities.

Over time it became routine for Indian women and children to be held at the fort along with their combatant husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. In fact, there are numerous accounts of troops being ordered to assemble women and children on the reservations and to bring them to Fort Union as prisoners.¹⁹¹ Why were they there? For how long would they stay? What would be done with them? Officers at Fort Union queried their superiors continuously. The immediate need required removing Indians from lands which were now part of new settlement and transportation corridors. Too, reservation lands were targeted by outside groups who pressured the government into changing reservation boundaries on a regular basis.

A long-term plan for the prisoners was nebulous at best. Many of the captives were peaceful relatives of hostile Indians. The plan was to keep them imprisoned in order to pressure their dissident family members to surrender. This policy was haphazard and resulted in the transport of women and children into captivity on an on-going basis. This was especially true for members of the Apache tribe. As late as February 1891, just two months before its official closing, there were still scores of Apaches held captive at Fort Union.¹⁹²

Commanding officers at the fort groped for alternatives and were in a perpetual state of indecision and inconsistency in their actions. In this context, religious groups, such as the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians entered the region and established Indian schools for children, which included those children imprisoned at Fort Union with their parents. Those children were especially vulnerable as prospective, albeit unwilling, candidates for the schools. Many were taken from their families and sent off to the boarding schools.¹⁹³ The officers complained that facilities at the fort were inadequate for holding Indian prisoners. Over time, they argued, it drained the fort's resources. It simply was not designed, nor supplied, to accommodate the large number of men, women, and children prisoners. As the numbers grew,

¹⁹¹ Fort Union was established as a military prison, and many Indians were housed there as captives. During the Navajo campaign of the early 1860s many of the Navajos were sent to Fort Union on their way to the Bosque Redondo. The Arrott Manuscript Collection includes many records which confirm that Fort Union was indeed one of the stops along the itinerary to Fort Sumner and the Bosque reservation. There is only scant reference to this fact in most of the secondary literature; and there are no references to Ft. Union in the oral history interviews which have been conducted among descendants of the Navajos who were captives at the Bosque Redondo. During its latter years (1885-1891), many Apaches were held captive at Fort Union, mostly from the San Carlos reservation in Arizona.

¹⁹² Report from J. C. Kelton, AG Washington to Commanding General Los Angeles, 11 February 1891. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 417.

¹⁹³ The Indian schools established in the latter half of the nineteenth century, such as the Carlisle School, and schools at Ft. Lewis and the Ramona School in Santa Fe, offered one solution-- "acculturation" to address the Indian Problem.

many were redirected to other forts. Those captives perceived as the most dangerous were sent to Fort Leavenworth.¹⁹⁴

Communications with Army headquarters at Fort Leavenworth also reflected the nature of the problem concerning prisoners. Fort Leavenworth served as the principal source of provisions, including food and clothing, and in addition it served as the last stop where Indian prisoners might be referred.¹⁹⁵ New Mexico Territory was stretched to the limit, but Fort Leavenworth, could not respond in a timely fashion to the perennial needs associated with the nebulous philosophy pertinent to the status of prisoners.

If Fort Leavenworth officials could not clarify policies regarding adult Indian prisoners, policies dealing with the status and welfare of captive or reservation children were equally nebulous. The question of what to do with orphaned Indian children surfaced frequently. In September 1862, one officer from Fort Union wrote to an Apache Indian agent, notifying him that they held four Apache Indian children whose parents were killed. Unless the Indian agent disagreed, they would house the children among "families from the fort."¹⁹⁶ Some officers and their families stationed at the fort had expressed an interest in adopting Indian children, but were discouraged by Washington officials. In a June 30, 1864, War Department memo sent to Fort Union Headquarters, the commanding officer was informed that "it is forbidden [for] any military to adopt Indian children."¹⁹⁷ In 1875, after a two-year assignment at Fort Union, Captain S. B. M. Young found himself in a skirmish with Apaches in Arizona. After the fight he found a baby trying to nurse on her dead mother. Although he never formally adopted the child, he did take in the baby, and this child lived with his family until she died at age four.¹⁹⁸ Caring soldiers found ways to resolve issues created by the frigidity of certain policies.

As with every other issue dealing with the Navajo and Apache tribes, policies dealing with Indian children were administered in inconsistent ways. Between December 1862 and February 1863, for example, officers at Fort Union raised funds from the troops totaling 668 dollars for the "relief of sick and orphaned Indian children" housed at the fort.¹⁹⁹ By the 1880s and 1890s the situation had not changed much. Indian children were still classified as prisoners along with their adult guardians or parents. In one case 26 Apaches were transferred to Fort Union from the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, including 1 man, 14 women and 11 children. They were held as prisoners from May 1882 until the spring of 1885. Just before their release one of the fort's officers noted that they "committed no depredation before they surrendered, and have been perfectly docile and obedient since their confinement; altogether their conduct has

¹⁹⁴ Letter from Col R. S. Mackenzie to Acting AG Fort Leavenworth 13 August 1882. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 38, 299; also letter from Joseph Dorst, Acting Assistant AG to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, 1 September 1882. Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 38, 317.

¹⁹⁵ See, for example, the request from Indian Agent, Christopher Carson on status of Ute children taken as prisoners 2 Sept 1855, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 119; and the request for a report on prisoners from AAG, Fort Leavenworth, 18 Apr. 1882, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 38, 51.

¹⁹⁶ Letter from Major Wallen to Lorenzo Labadie, Indian Agent, Anton Chico, 16 September 1862, in *The Michael Steck Collection*, Box 1, Folder 12 (Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico)

¹⁹⁷ Letter from General Commanding to Lt. Coult, 30 June 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, Collection, vol. 14, 126.

¹⁹⁸ Sherry L. Smith, *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1990), 72-73.

¹⁹⁹ Correspondence from General Carleton to Capt. Plympton, 5 Dec. 1882, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 10, 405; donation from Lt. Bennett on behalf of six orphan children at Fort Union, 22 Feb. 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 72.

been honest and friendly."²⁰⁰ On March 21, 1890 another group of Apache men, women and children from San Carlos were transferred to Fort Union. By August they had established a camp about one-half mile from the post. They were not placed under any military guard, and had access to guns and ammunition for hunting. In February 1891 an additional 100 Apaches from the San Carlos Reservation were sent to Fort Union. Seventy-five of them were relatives of the Apache Kid, and were sent to Fort Union because they were believed to be a potential source of aid for him as he ran from the law and the military. It was also thought that their detainment at Fort Union might entice him to surrender. The plan did not work, but twelve of the children were taken from their parents and sent to the Ramona Indian School in Santa Fe. Eventually the adults were returned to the San Carlos reservation in Arizona.²⁰¹

Treatment of prisoners at Fort Union varied substantially; except for the inadequate food and clothing supplies available to prisoners, most Indians were dealt with fairly. The fort's prison--or more appropriately its guardhouse--was not utilized to punish or carry out judicial sentences against Indians; it was primarily employed as a holding facility consistent with the poorly defined Indian policy described above. Most Indian prisoners were not even physically constrained. Only aggressive males were placed into very restrictive quarters. Violent prisoners might be held "in chains" which were removed only when they were put to work on "cultivating crops, digging trenches," and other projects deemed necessary to maintain facilities at the fort.²⁰² It was common practice to provide "passes" to Indians, allowing them to leave the fort for a certain period of time.²⁰³ This was true especially during the last few years of the fort's existence when Indian parents were occasionally allowed to go to Santa Fe to visit their children at the Ramona Indian School.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 413 n 193.

²⁰¹ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 415; and Earle Forrest and Edwin Hill, *Lone War Trail of Apache Kid*, (Pasadena: Trail's End Publishing Co. 1947).

²⁰² See, for example, the letter from Gen. James H. Carleton to Capt. Selden, 23 Feb. 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 74.

²⁰³ Letter from Gen. Carleton to Capt. Updegraff, 18 July 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 334.

²⁰⁴ Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*, 403.

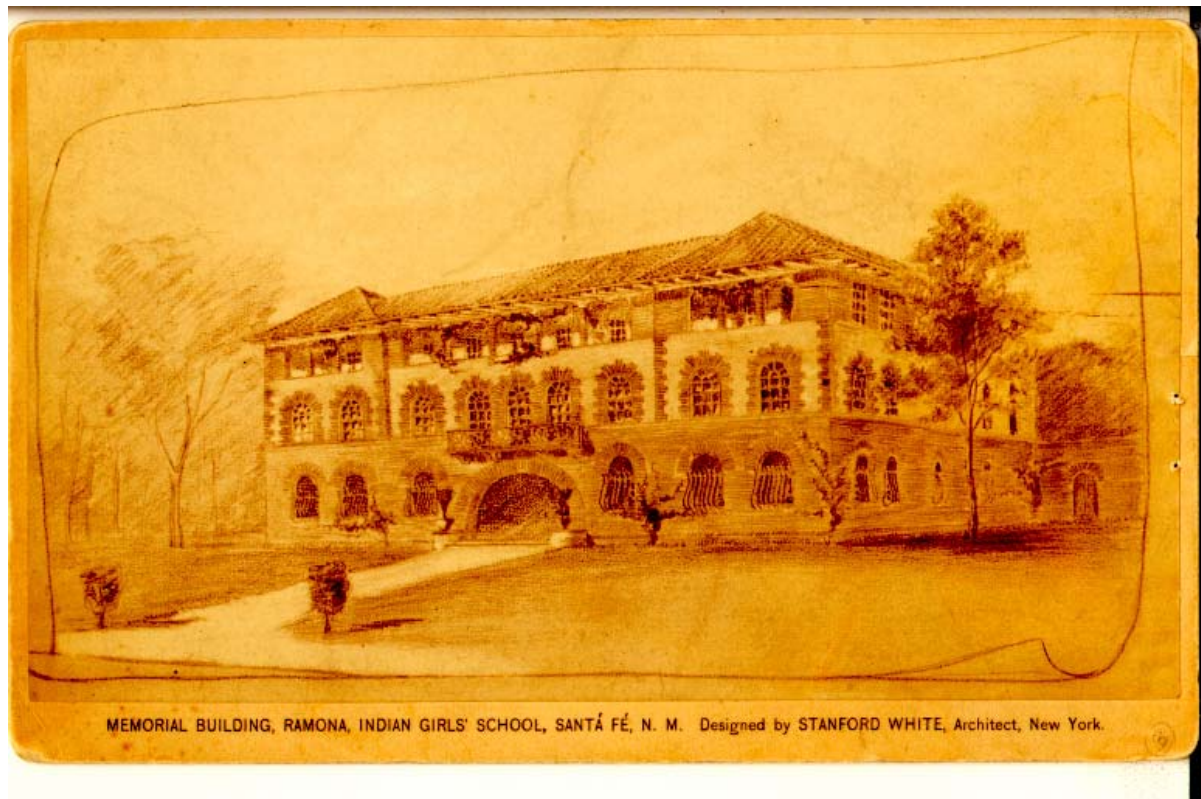


Figure 13 - Ramona Indian Girls' School in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Ladd Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

Imprisonment of Indian captives at Fort Union sometimes took on the character of being under house arrest. Before the fort was finally extinguished, its structures were in a terrible and dilapidated condition, and little maintenance was being done to fix leaking roofs or repair the facilities that served as guardhouses. While being held captive in 1890, a group of Apache prisoners were housed in tents. The Indians had virtually no clothing and military rations were inadequate to support the men, women, and children. In September of that year, the commanding officer at Ft. Union noted that the Indians were starving and without clothes and requested permission from the Adjutant General to obtain "54 blankets, 54 pairs of shoes, or hides for moccasins, 75 yards of cloth, and flour" from the Quartermaster for the Indian captives.²⁰⁵ Periodically, the men were allowed to leave the fort's premises with guns and ammunition for hunting; and at times were allowed to fish in nearby streams. In order to provide income for basic necessities, the Indians produced baskets and other articles which they sold at nearby railroad stations, and through the post trader.²⁰⁶

Although many Indian captives successfully escaped from Fort Union, some were not as fortunate. One clandestine gravesite, excavated by archaeologists in the 1970s, uncovered the remains of four male skeletons who appeared to be Hispanic and/or Native Americans. The

²⁰⁵ Letter from Lt. Col. Morrow to AAG, Department of Arizona, 15 September 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 399 and 400.

²⁰⁶ Report of Commanding Officer Col. E. A. Carr, Fort Wingate to Assistant Adjutant General, Division of the Pacific, San Francisco, Calif., based on visit to Fort Union, 1 August 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 387-393.

location of the grave and the wounds on the skeletal structures suggested an execution.²⁰⁷ There are frequent references to Indians escaping from the fort, which was not usually a very difficult thing to do. However, during the 1860s, Navajos housed at Fort Union on their way to Bosque Redondo were usually shot when they attempted to escape. On his way to Bosque Redondo, in December of 1863, Lt. E. Latimer lost 14 of 21 prisoners who escaped shortly after leaving Fort Union; seven of the escapees were eventually recaptured and sent to the reservation.²⁰⁸ In her diary Genevieve LaTorrette, the daughter of the chaplain at the Fort in the 1880s described an escape of two Indian prisoners. A large manhunt for them ensued and covered searching through homes and barns, but the Indians had escaped in a heavy fog.²⁰⁹

Sometimes escapes were entirely unsuccessful and resulted in the deaths of escapees. An unusual story, for example, emanated from New Mexico's Civil War period which was published in the July 1874 issue of the *Overland Monthly*. It seems that three Pueblos were recruited at Isleta to serve as spies on behalf of the Confederates as that army invaded New Mexico along the Rio Grande Valley. Spies of Pueblo origin were as plentiful in the Confederate as well as the Union Army. After the Battle of Glorieta the three Isletas were found at Fort Union's guardhouse along with 30 other criminals. There was no plan to prosecute the Isleta Indians; in fact they were to be released the following day. Post Commander, Major Plympton was disinclined to any harsh treatment of a class of men whom he considered as possessing very little knowledge of the political issues which fueled the war to begin with. They were to be held in safe keeping only and in fact were left together and in possession of their bows and arrows. It was planned to release them after a few days' confinement, and send them back to their pueblo.

While they were imprisoned at Fort Union there were other prisoners in guardhouse with them. One of the prisoners was an accused murderer who was executed during the time that the Isletas were there. Meanwhile, other prisoners convinced them that they too would be executed in like manner. The following day in an attempt to escape, they killed two guards and wounded seven other soldiers who attempted to subdue them. The entire guardhouse was informed that they could save their lives if they would come out and all the prisoners did, except the three Isletas. An assault on the guardhouse followed. A twelve-pound shell was dropped into the guardhouse from the roof and two of the three warriors were killed in the explosion. The third was wounded but tried to fire an arrow and was shot by another soldier from the destroyed guardhouse.²¹⁰ Unfortunate though was the incident, it was, by all measures of the history of Fort Union, unusual at best.

The policy of using Fort Union as a prison was confusing for the Indian families.²¹¹ Kin-de-lay was one of the Indians from the San Carlos Reservation who was sent to Fort Union in 1890. He was interviewed on July 27, 1890 at Fort Union. Kin-de-lay was distraught by his experiences at Fort Union, complaining that the Apaches did not like it there:

²⁰⁷ Charles Randell Morrison, "A Historical Multi-Burial at Fort Union, New Mexico: An Exercise in Forensic Archaeology" in Theodore Frisby, *Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Ellis*, (Santa Fe: The Archaeology Society of New Mexico, 1975), 381-406.

²⁰⁸ Letter from Lt. Col. McMullen to Capt. Ben Cutler, December 1863, Arrott Collection, vol. 12, p. 420.

²⁰⁹ Genevieve LaTourrette, "Fort Union Memories," 1877-1891," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4 Oct, 1951, 277-86.

²¹⁰ George Gwyther, "The Three Pueblo Spies, A Reminiscence of the Late Civil War" in *The Overland Monthly*, Vol. XIII, no. 4, July, 1874, 337-341.

²¹¹ *Las Vegas Optic*, May 12, 1885. See also, Letter from Commanding Officer, Fort Union to Lt. Fornance, 4 May 1885, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 40, 38.

... no work ...no money, nothing to do. I work at San Carlos, raise grain, buy sacks, and sell barley and corn at sutler store; and then buy calico and shoes. Buy nothing here. I like money. No got any money. Here we have no blankets, quilts, hats, shoes or anything. All worn out. At San Carlos work heap and buy more....All the time sick here...Captain Bullis put me in the *calaboose* for making *tizwin*... I don't know why they sent me off here. Me no kill white man. These men all good men. we all good men...At Fort Union [we] are unhappy because [we] do not know how our friends are... [we] do not know what has become of [our] ponies and wagons and crops at San Carlos... of the Indians were sent back [they] would not help Kid (referring to the Apache Kid)...would report and help to catch him if he should come back to village...would like to see him suffer for bringing trouble to other Indians.²¹²

People like Kin-de-lay never received a satisfactory explanation why they suffered through the travails of removal.

Health Care at Fort Union

With the exception of those captives who were considered belligerent, many of the civilians expressed concern for the treatment of Indians at Fort Union. In her diary, LaTourrette noted that the fort was a "center for caring for Indian prisoners until their return to their reservations."²¹³ Perhaps she saw things differently, as the daughter of a minister. But Indian health care at forts was never adequate, and usually Indians had little confidence in the white man's medicine. Occasionally embellished stories flitted from one post to another describing miracle cures. In his history of New Mexico published in 1962, Warren Beck included the following story. The narrative told of an Indian captive who was cared for at the post. The Indian was reported to be dying, but was saved by the medical care given at the Fort Union hospital and acknowledged his gratitude with a gift. Upon recovery, he left the fort, and returned with a "pretty rock" which upon examination proved to be a gold nugget.²¹⁴ The story did not necessarily reflect reality.

Although medical care and doctors were not always available, even for the soldiers themselves, Fort Union and Fort Sumner made many efforts to care for captive Indians. One example occurred in August 1867, when one doctor from Fort Union received a request to go to the Maxwell Ranch to "examine sick Indians". By April of the following year assistant Post Surgeon, R. H. Langwell was assigned to the Maxwell Ranch on a regular basis.²¹⁵ At the Bosque Redondo a hospital existed at Fort Sumner for care of the captive Indians. Perhaps the hospital did offer one amenity, there all of the captives were given blankets.²¹⁶

Ailments at the Fort Union hospital ran from simple illness to those of epidemic proportions. The most typical health related problems affecting Indians at the fort were

²¹² Report of Col. Carr, 1 August, 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 390.

²¹³ LaTourrette, "Fort Union Memories," 277-286.

²¹⁴ Warren Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1962), 245-246.

²¹⁵ Cyrus DeForest request for surgeon from Commanding Officer, Fort Union, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 21, 42.

²¹⁶ Gen. Carleton order to Col. Williams, Commanding Officer at Fort Union, December 12, 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 12, 369.

identified as cholera, malnutrition, dysentery, smallpox, venereal disease, and scurvy.²¹⁷ As they had easier access to vaccinations, soldiers who similar ailments had tended to suffer less from smallpox than the Indians. Occasionally, vaccination against smallpox was administered to Indians at the fort, and to residents in the surrounding towns and villages. Resources were limited, however, and many of the Indian and Hispanic communities, for that matter, did not have access to the vaccine at the levels available at Fort Union and other forts in the Southwest. On the other hand, the drain on the fort's medical resources was, in part, due to its responsibilities for providing assistance to travelers along the Santa Fe Trail and civilians from the local area.²¹⁸

Undeniably, Indians did have access to healthcare at the fort, although they did not always take advantage of it. In 1875, post surgeon, Dr. Moffatt, observed the lack of participation in the fort's health care facilities. He reported that among all of the resident communities at the fort, "gonorrhoeal and syphilitic affections are probably the great scourge we have to deal with." Although he had numerous white male patients, he added that he had "not been called upon to treat a single native man or woman for cures of these affections." He believed that the Native Americans did not seek his help because "they use two native plants which have a very high local reputation in these diseases."²¹⁹ Dr. Jonathan Letterman who was one of the post surgeons at Fort Union in the 1850s claimed that the Navajos used white hospitals only as a last resort due to "an age old belief in the magic of their medical men."²²⁰

The "magic" of Navajo healers was time tested within their culture. Based on herbs, the Navajo and other tribes used an assortment of plants that covered a number of ailments. Marietta Wetherill, a pioneer who lived among the Navajos in the late-nineteenth century, described some of the herbs they used for dietary and medicinal purposes.²²¹ Unfortunately for them, many of the herbs that were used as dietary supplements and remedies were not available in the vicinity of Fort Union or Bosque Redondo.

Many Indian children housed at Fort Union prior to and during the Bosque Redondo years were orphaned. On one occasion 35 sick Navajos were housed at the Fort Union hospital on their way to Bosque Redondo. One of the captives was an orphan child who was badly burned and was retained at Fort Union for treatment. In August 1890, the post surgeon at the post was unable to save Gus, an Apache, who died at the fort of "congestion of the brain." He was buried

²¹⁷ Health care needs identified, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 5, 154, 156, 159; support for sick Indian children, vol. 10, 405; vol. 11, 41, 44, 72; vol. 14, 219; vol. 16, 174; vol. 19, 229.

²¹⁸ Ambulance needs at Fort Union, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 20, 287; vol. 2, 30; Cholera, vol. 1, 114; vol. 20, 287, 288, 290, 292, 294; vol. 43, 99, 230, 233-234; Sanitary report for Fort Union, vol. 3, 330; Physician needs, vol. 2, 143; deaths of Apache women of dysentery despite medical care at fort, vol. 3, 79; smallpox, vol. 8, 224; needs of destitute miners, vol. 5, 93, 94; scurvy outbreaks, vol. 10, 33, 103; vol. 58, 198.

²¹⁹ Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 8, 1875, as cited in Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army*, 605-606.

²²⁰ Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 491 n. 48.

²²¹ Marietta Wetherill noted a number of herbal remedies, such as pig weed for snakebite, and puffballs which are found around cedar bark to stop bleeding; weed pepper, with a little round green ball, was used for flavoring and seasoning; wild spinach (lamb's quarter) was gathered up in the Spring, and was used to cook meat; lemonade bush (squaw bush) had berries which were used to make a type of lemonade. Wetherill admitted that she had difficulty recognizing most of the herbal foods and remedies since many of the plants had Navajo names which she did not understand. *Inventory of Pioneer's Foundation Oral History Collection*, Tape 451.

at the post cemetery on the very same day.²²² Caretakers at the hospital considered children to be special patients.

As noted in the post's hospital records for 1871, Fort Union also provided medical care to people from the surrounding communities. Separate but equal facilities were the rule at the fort hospital. For example, not only were Indians separated from the general hospital where whites were housed, blacks were kept in separate units. Indeed, one record describes the diversity of patients there. A certain Private John N. Meahon was eventually transferred to an insane asylum on March 13. At the same time, José Antonio Chavez-a Hispanic teamster from Manzano, New Mexico, died of "gastro entritis." The report noted that while a destitute person of color was treated at the hospital, white "troops [were] treated separate from 'colored.'" On the other hand, some people refused medical treatment at the fort. Josepha, a Hispanic women employed as a laundress died of chest congestion. She was one who did not seek medical attention.²²³ With all of its promise, the Fort Union hospital was there to offer assistance to all who asked for medical services.

Indian Labor and Military Service at Fort Union

Fort Union housed a very diversified community, with social, political, and economic relationships that stretched far beyond its physical parameters. It was, after all, part of an extended and culturally diverse community which was characteristic of New Mexico during the period. It procured grain and livestock from the surrounding Hispanic communities to meet some of their needs. Anglo-Americans and Hispanic merchants capitalized on the Santa Fe trade, and were directly integrated into the fort's economy that included opportunities to become an integral part of its labor needs. Civilian employment at the fort itself reached its highest levels during the 1860s. There were 1,050 paid workers identified in one study as well as sporadic requirements for specialized labor at the fort. The fort had very extensive economic links to Northern New Mexico, and drew heavily from the region to meet its labor needs.²²⁴

Indians contributed substantially to Fort Union's needs. They were employed by the post traders and worked as servants to the officers at the fort.²²⁵ Captive Indians also worked at the fort as general laborers and in the cultivation of crops. One document, dated October 20, 1864, verifies the practice of paying Indian labor at the fort.²²⁶ The report recounts the capture of a Navajo Indian who had wandered away from Bosque Redondo. He had been "employed by one of the wagon masters from Fort Union by the name of Davis" a year and a half before. On one of his trips between forts Union and Sumner, the wagon master recognized the Indian and picked him up along the road about ten miles north of Bosque Redondo. Upon arriving at the vicinity of Fort Union, the Navajo once again obtained employment (the exact nature of this employment is

²²² Report from Fort Union, submitted by A. P. Morrow, Lt. Col. 6th Cavalry, commanding post, August 1890. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Post Returns-Fort Union, microfilm, Reel 147, 1884-1891.

²²³ Hospital Records from Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1878, Microfilm records of the Adjutant General's Office. Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

²²⁴ Richard and Shirley Flint, "Fort Union and the Economy of Northern NM," 27-55.

²²⁵ Giese, "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, NM," 103.

²²⁶ Letter from Capitan N. R. Kemp, Fort Union to Commanding Officer, Fort Sumner, re: Wagon master report, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 3 (of 5) 20 October, 1864, Frame 422, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

not specified, but he is described as being "employed by the govt"). Eventually he was identified as a Navajo escapee from Bosque Redondo. The wagon master was exonerated from any wrongdoing in helping an escapee, and the Navajo was returned to the reservation.²²⁷

As the quartermaster's headquarters was located at Fort Union, contract arrangements for services were administered at the fort. The quartermaster hired civilian employees which included Indians. In 1857, Governor Meriwether informed the Military Headquarters for the Department of New Mexico that he would be able to assist the military in "recruiting" Indians to serve as auxiliaries in the campaign against the Mogollons. Lt. R.V. Bonneau from Fort Union handled the arrangements for recruiting, and was given a budget to carry out the plan to:

... organize the trailers [trackers], spies, and interpreters to be had from the Navajo Indians in connection with the campaign about to be made against the Gila Indians... hire from 25 to 30 headmen at, say 30 dollars per month. Each one to bring three assistants. All will be rationed with beef and corn to be drawn [when you arrive at] Fort Defiance. They are expected to furnish their own arms, pack animals, etc... A Mexican boy here [in Santa Fe] who was formerly a captive among the Mogollons...will be directed to join you and give such aid as may be necessary in pointing out the country and in finding the enemy, etc. etc.²²⁸

Bonneau's efforts were successful because of the unemployed manpower in the area.

Salaries were a major attraction to new recruits at Fort Union. When Bonneau hired Pueblos and Navajos for the upcoming campaign, he paid them thirty dollars per month. The pay was substantial compared to the regular enlisted man's salary at the time. At one point Bonneau "interviewed 140 warriors" in Santa Fe to fill the ranks of the needed auxiliaries, and he was ordered to give them "some marking" so as to distinguish them as "friendly Indians."²²⁹ Earlier, in the 1850s, Indian Agent Kit Carson was authorized to hire Indians, contracting interpreters at about the same rate of two dollars per day.²³⁰

During the 1860s at Fort Union wages for spies, scouts, and interpreters ranged from twenty to eighty dollars per month. Spies, for example, were paid \$2.00 per day.²³¹ According to one author,²³² Indian scouts were enlisted as regular "soldiers" for a six-month period. They were

²²⁷ Letter from Capitan N. R. Kemp, Fort Union to Commanding Officer, Fort Sumner, re: Wagon master report, Headquarters Records of Fort Sumner, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 3 (of 5) 20 October, 1864, Frame 422, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

²²⁸ Letter from Headquarters of the Military, Department of the Army in Santa Fe, to Brv. Major W. A. Nichols and Lt. Bonneau, 3rd Infantry, Fort Union, Meketa Collection, Roll 2, Letters received, Fort Union. February 24, 1857, microfilm has no pagination; documents are listed chronologically.

²²⁹ Letter from AAG to Lt. Nichols, re: hiring scouts, 24, February, 1857 Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 278; Instructions to Lt. Nichols from AAG on preparing scouts for military campaign, March 27, 1857, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 3, 293.

²³⁰ Orders to Kit Carson from District Headquarters, Bancroft Library Collection (Documents related to New Mexico), Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Microfilm, Reel 10.

²³¹ Report of number of wage positions allocated to the fort, 5 February 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 40; Indian labor to be utilized in building new Fort Union, 3 June 1868 vol. 22, 13; Request to General Getty on hiring needs, 2 September 1869, vol. 23, 201; spy wages, 29 January 1855, vol. 3, 14.

²³² F. Stanley, *Fort Union*, 114.

paid upon their discharge, depending on their performance. On enlisting, a scout was "given a Springfield rifle, a field belt and ammunition, canteen and can. To his belt [was] attached a small brass tag with his number and the letters of his company. For clothing ... he [drew] a dark blue shirt and a blouse. In the field he wore a piece of white cloth tied around his head to distinguish him from hostiles."²³³



Figure 14 - Grand Army of the Republic Indian Scout Buckle. The Federal Government employed Native American in the Indians Wars of the 1870s. They were employed as guides and scouts and were attached to areas where trouble was feared. They were shown little gratitude for their work but were awarded the Grand Army of The Republic veteran's belt buckle. The buckles were of bronze and brass and made by Tiffany and Co. of London, England.

Pueblo Indians provided an especially important human resource to the fort.²³⁴ During the early phase of the American presence in New Mexico, the Pueblo communities became allies for military ventures and other activities as well. The Navajos and Apaches were considered a

²³³ F. Stanley, *Fort Union*, 114.

²³⁴ Assignment of Pueblo Indians as spies, 30 June 1862, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 9, 376.

mutual problem for the Pueblos and other sedentary agricultural communities. At Fort Union, the Pueblos were always welcomed. On May 25, 1856, the fort's commander, William Magruder invited Kit Carson, Indian Agent from Taos, to assist a certain Lt. Craig with a survey in the Raton Mountains. In his letter of invitation, Magruder's tone grew from cordiality into a formal proclamation of admiration for Carson, requesting that Carson "bring along two or three Pueblos to the fort," assuring him that he and the Pueblos would be accommodated in all of their needs, including "rations for thirty days."²³⁵

Pueblo warriors were recruited in 1860 to serve as "guides and spies" against the Comanches and Kiowas. On one occasion the fort's commander was notified that "three Pueblo Indians were on their way to Fort Union" for such purposes and would have "letters and papers to confirm their role." In addition two Hispanic buffalo hunters "were procured" as well and would be reporting to Fort Union.²³⁶ The Pueblos fit into the units well, even though there were occasional contentious issues with the new political administration, such as prohibitions on trade with Plains Indians. Nevertheless, the Pueblo Indians were considered allies, and as such benefited from opportunities for wage labor.

Pueblo Indians and Hispanics were quickly mustered in emergency situations. When, for example, "rumors" of Texans coming "up the Pecos or through the Canadian" surfaced, Kit Carson was authorized to "hire as many Mexicans, Pueblos and Utes as necessary to protect Fort Union."²³⁷ The commanding officer at Fort Union was instructed to "issue provisions to the families of the Ute Indians in service to the United States."²³⁸ Later, he was ordered by Military Headquarters to keep "the scouts and spies from Fort Union... constantly in the field, watching every route by which your post could be threatened."²³⁹ The relationship between the fort and the nearby communities solidified over mutual defense priorities.

The Pueblo Indians took pride in their service to Fort Union. They were often given important assignments. For example, they were utilized as spies at Hatch's Ranch and were periodically reassigned to the Plains to "to provide updates to the post commander on any contact with Texans on the Eastern Plains."²⁴⁰ In the early 1860s, the Commander of Fort Union hired [Pueblo] "Indians and Mexicans," as spies to protect the Santa Fe Trail against Confederate incursion. Posing as hunters and traders, they roamed the Plains at great risk to accomplish their mission. On one occasion a scouting party from Fort Union, with the help of a group of hired

²³⁵ Letter from William Magruder to Kit Carson, 25 May 1856, Bancroft Library Collection (Documents related to New Mexico), Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Microfilm Reel 9. Documents are listed chronologically.

²³⁶ Headquarters to Col. Porter (assuming command at Fort Union), 7 August 1860. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98). Letters sent and received, Fort Union. Documents are listed chronologically.

²³⁷ General Commanding, Headquarters to Commanding Officer, Fort Union, 5 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98). Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents are listed chronologically.

²³⁸ Headquarters to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, Col. Chapman, 9 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98), Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents are listed chronologically.

²³⁹ Commanding Officer, Territorial Military Headquarters to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, Col. Chapman, 13 August 1861. Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98), Letters sent and received Fort Union. Documents are listed chronologically.

²⁴⁰ Orders for hiring Spies and Guides, 3 August 1861, Meketa Microfilm Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98), Letters sent and received, Fort Union. Documents are listed chronologically.

Indians, apprehended a group of traders who were suspected of being Confederates. The party was spotted, watched and followed by the Indians who pretended to have an interest in trading with them. The Indians reported back to the military on the number of men and weapons, and provided a diversion for the soldiers to set up an ambush to apprehend them.²⁴¹ Typically, Indian scouts operated south of the Santa Fe Trail to warn of Confederate movements.²⁴² Sometimes Pueblo women accompanied their men on their missions. It was hoped that their presence might provide a less threatening cover for the group out on the plains.²⁴³ Service to them was a tradition. Since Spanish Colonial times, military service was their hallmark.

Like the Pueblo warriors, Ute tribesmen served with equal valor and fervor. When Kit Carson assembled 250 Ute and Apache warriors at Fort Union to fight the Comanches and Kiowas, he requested that they be supplied with rations and arms similar to what the regular cavalry received. Carson wanted to show that "there would be no distinction between them and my soldiers."²⁴⁴ Carleton declined his request, however, insisting that the "Indian Department should provide the provisions," agreeing only to provide "woolen shirts and blankets."²⁴⁵ Adamantly, Carleton informed Carson that those Utes and the "Apaches who have signed on will meet you at Fort Union to obtain said supplies for the campaign."²⁴⁶ Kit Carson was especially impressed with the Utes and actively recruited them whenever he could, identifying them as "brave, energetic and good shots."²⁴⁷

In October 1864, Carson again utilized Utes with Apaches out on the plains to launch attacks on the Comanches and Kiowas.²⁴⁸ Also, many Navajos from Bosque Redondo volunteered to support that expedition being organized by Carleton.²⁴⁹ The Navajos and Apaches were traditional enemies but, such impressions to the contrary, many Navajos volunteered to participate in the campaign in collaboration with Apaches. Although the U.S. military took advantage of the Apache volunteers, the Navajos were not utilized for this campaign. After the Bosque Redondo years, Navajos were hired by the military, serving as guides to Navajo country and as interpreters at the newly established reservation. Additionally, they were used as interpreters for Navajos imprisoned at Fort Union. During the 1880s a group of 75 Navajo warriors were mobilized by the military and hired to block the incursion of Apaches below Silver City.²⁵⁰

²⁴¹ Elma Dill Russell, "Famous Fugitives of Fort Union" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, June, 1957, 1-9.

²⁴² Utley, "Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail," 44.

²⁴³ Report from Lt. E. Gay, 2nd Dragoons to Col. Chapman at Fort Union, 28 July 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 7, 178.

²⁴⁴ Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes*, vol. 4, 285.

²⁴⁵ Letter from Gen. Carleton to Carson, 16, October 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 106.

²⁴⁶ Letter from Gen. James H. Carleton to Christopher Kit Carson, 20 October 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 5, 114-115.

²⁴⁷ Correspondence between Col. James L. Collins and Gen. James H. Carleton, 17 June 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection vol. 11, 280-281; correspondence between Kit Carson, Gen. Lorenzo Thomas and Gen. James H. Carleton 17 June 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, utilization of Utes as spies and guides during Navajo campaign, 25 May 1863, vol. 11, 239.

²⁴⁸ Correspondence between Kit Carson and Gen. Carleton re: utilization of Utes for Kiowa campaign, 18 September 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 37.

²⁴⁹ Correspondence between Kit Carson and Gen. James H. Carleton on provisions for Utes, 16 October 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 106-115.

²⁵⁰ Letter from Col. Bradley to Gen. Miles 27 May 1886, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 66; report of General Miles concerning 50 scouts assigned to Capt. Roberts, 26 May 1886, vol. 41, 79.

Chronic warfare existed between Navajos and Utes as they were "traditional enemies." During the Navajo campaign of 1863, Fort Union recruited Utes as scouts, spies and guides. In addition to wages, the Utes were compensated with the livestock of any Navajo who refused to surrender. Navajos who surrendered were permitted to take their livestock with them to Bosque Redondo. One soldier's diary²⁵¹ described how 20 Utes assisted Kit Carson to take numerous "Navajo captives and 1,000 head of sheep." They operated along some of the most difficult terrain in the territory where mules and other livestock frequently plummeted to their deaths along the steep and rocky trails. On one particular day the military contingent lost two horses, four mules, some sheep and goats and two sacks of flour. After scaling this particular canyon the soldier entered a note in his diary saying that "a lot of profane language was uttered by the troops in 'English, Spanish and Dutch.'"²⁵² Zuni scouts were hired during the Navajo campaign and even the Governor of that tribe Mariana y Salvadore was paid as an interpreter.²⁵³

At Laguna Pueblo a long tradition of mutual support existed between the Pueblos, Hispanics and, later, Anglo-Americans. In the eighteenth century, the Lagunas aided the Spanish against the *Indios bárbaros*. In the nineteenth century, under Mexico, the Lagunas continued their fight against the Apaches. Later, in the 1870s, they assisted the United States military as scouts. Their loyalty and abilities as warriors were well known.

After 1880, U.S. policy allowed the Pueblos to enlist as regular members of territorial militia units. One such Battalion was organized as a New Mexico Volunteer unit at Laguna Pueblo in 1882. The unit was formed by Walter Marmon, former military officer, and resident of Laguna. Marmon petitioned the governor of New Mexico Territory for military assistance due to Apache raiding in the area. The governor gave Marmon permission to form a militia group, and to serve as Captain of the Battalion with four full companies, one of which was entirely composed of Laguna Pueblo Indians. The other units included local New Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, commanded by Manuel Chaves, Robert Marmon, Dumas Provencher, and Gregorio Otero.²⁵⁴ Austin Leiby has noted that Laguna warriors "fought for their Pueblo culture and for the White man's civilization in company with New Mexican and United States military forces."²⁵⁵

Like their counterparts, they sometimes deserted taking their army weapons with them. Upon his return to Fort Union, one officer was ordered to account for five missing 58 caliber rifles, and reported that Indian deserters under his command took them after leaving Fort Bascum on November 12, 1864. Similarly, at the end of 1864, Colonel Carson had to account for 100 missing rifles, all of which were lost during encounters with Indians or through desertions by Indians and non-Indians.²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ Anonymous diary from soldier in Company B, 1st New Mexico Volunteers, August 10, 1863 in the *Ritch Papers Collection*, Reel 4. Documents listed chronologically. No pagination.

²⁵² Anonymous diary from soldier in Company B, 1st New Mexico Volunteers, August 10, 1863 in the *Ritch Papers Collection*, Reel 4.

²⁵³ Letter from Kit Carson to Gen. James H. Carleton, 6 December 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 12, 335-337.

²⁵⁴ Austin Nelson Leiby, "The Marmon Battalion and the Apache Campaign of 1885," in Schroeder, Albert H., *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*, (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1973), 213-219.

²⁵⁵ Leiby, "The Marmon Battalion and the Apache Campaign of 1885," 211.

²⁵⁶ Kit Carson report to Commanding Officer, 31 December 1864, Bancroft Collection (Documents relating to New Mexico), Reel 11.

Indians performed much of the same labor as other groups at Fort Union. At the fort, Indians were hired to assist with the construction of a new post (July 30, 1868), and to maintain existing facilities. Indian labor was also utilized in the fort's perennial agricultural needs, although most of the work on agricultural production was a mandatory part of work requirements for captive Indians.²⁵⁷

Indian scouts ended their careers like most other soldiers. In the end, Indian scouts were officially "mustered out" of service and paid for their services at Fort Union in formal ceremonies. On October 31, 1874, Captain S.B.M. Young brought his Ute scouts directly to Ft. Union for this purpose, but was confronted, as their term had not expired. He informed his superiors that the Indians had requested an early release so that they would have time to join their tribe's traditional buffalo hunt.²⁵⁸ In 1885, one officer included a query to the Adjutant General at Fort Leavenworth as to whether Indian scouts "killed in action were entitled to pensions for surviving families."²⁵⁹



Figure 15 - Troop F, Company I, First New Mexico Cavalry. Indian Scouts from Laguna Pueblo. Photo taken around 1960. Center for Southwest Research Photo Archive Collections.

²⁵⁷ Paid Navajo laborers reassigned to other duties, 22 June 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 227; vol. 23, 201, quota for employment of Navajos, 2 September 1869.

²⁵⁸ Correspondence from J.H. Mahnken to Lt. Eckles, re: mustering out process of scouts at Fort Union, 31 October 1874, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 29, 183.

²⁵⁹ Request for information from Col. L. P. Bradley to AG at Fort Leavenworth, 18 November 1885, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 40, 314.

Fort Union was a different place in the 1880s and 1890s than it had been when it started. Genevieve LaTorrette's diary describes Indians "selling vegetables and blankets" at the fort to soldiers during this period, noting that her "father always purchased items from them whether he needed them or not." He also invited Indian leaders into their home for "religious discussions on a regular basis."²⁶⁰ By the 1880s examples of indigenous labor relationships with the military were even more diversified and the implications of such labor are noteworthy.

Agriculture at Fort Union

The military had responsibility for developing agricultural endeavors at Fort Union which included a garden adjacent to the post and a larger farm located 23 miles to the north at Ocaté. The land for the farm was leased from Manuel Alvarez shortly after the establishment of the fort in 1851.²⁶¹ In September 1852 Governor William Carr Lane visited the fort and reported on the products grown at the farm. According to his description, "pumpkins, corn, berries, turnips, peas, parsnips, cabbage, cucumbers, radish, okra, beets, indigenous potatoes, onions, peppers, asparagus, carrots, melons were found at the farm. He noted that "Irish potatoes, tomatoes, and melons did not do well." Indigenous potatoes were naturally found in the area, and were discovered growing on the site when the farm was initially developed.

The farm was not profitable (even though written reports listed it as having the best record of all of the posts in the Southwest), and the garden at the fort itself was not very successful as evidenced by the endemic problem with scurvy that the troops suffered. Local New Mexican farmers were usually more successful than the military farmers, and plants indigenous to the region provided the fort with some of their dietary needs.

As emphasized above, providing adequate supplies of food to support soldiers and Indians at Fort Union, and at other locations where Indians were settled, was problematic throughout the nineteenth century. Consequently, Indians and soldiers alike suffered from scurvy, which was endemic due to the lack of fruits and vegetables in their diets. In 1861 the post surgeon at Fort Union recommended to the Commanding Officer that "scurvy could be cured by incorporating chopped cabbage soaked in vinegar into the diet of the troops."²⁶² Obviously, the recipe did not work because scurvy continued to be a problem at the fort for the next thirty years. Food requirements were excessive, and could scarcely be met to provide for the soldiers, let alone for the Indian captives. To assure the health of his men and due to diminished supplies, the fort's commanding officer ordered that priority be given to soldiers before food is distributed to the Indian children.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ La Torrette, "Fort Union Memories," 277-286.

²⁶¹ Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 78.

²⁶² H. A. DuBois to Commanding Officer at Fort Union, 29 August 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 18, 216.

²⁶³ Scarcity of water for irrigation purposes, 27 October 1851, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 143; report on productivity of farms, 18 January 1854, vol. 2, 89; Scarcity of corn requires reduction in rations, 24 November 24, 1859, vol. 5, 299.

Cross Cultural Considerations in Harmony and Conflict

During 22 years of experience as a soldier and cavalry officer in New Mexico, John G. Bourke took an interest in the Indians of the Southwest from an anthropological-perspective. He served as General George Crook's *aide-de-camp* for fourteen years, and was influenced by his views. Crook believed that the problems stemmed from "ignorance of Indians as human beings" by his soldiers. Subsequently he implemented a policy that every effort be made to "acquire knowledge of the rites and ceremonies, and the ideas and feelings of the Indians under his charge." Crook assigned Bourke to learn all he could about the tribes within his jurisdiction. It was a job Bourke carried out with enthusiasm.²⁶⁴ As a devoted scholar of their beliefs, customs, and traditions, Bourke was offered transportation with military escorts to "any tribes he wishes to visit" in order to undertake research. So academically solid did his work prove to be that he became a respected ethnologist.

Later—after retirement from the military—the Bureau of Ethnology published his studies.²⁶⁵ In one 1887 publication he offered this well-intentioned analysis:

The Caucasian population of the United States has been in intimate contact with the aborigines for a period of not less than 250 years... the White race has been slow to learn or the Red man has been skillful in withholding knowledge which if imparted, would have lessened friction and done much to preserve and assimilate a race that, in spite of some serious defects of character, will for all time to come be looked upon as 'the noble savage.'²⁶⁶

In a way, Crook would have raised an eyebrow at Bourke's conclusion.

Still, Bourke lamented that Americans believed Indians had never advanced above the stage of savagery and barbarism and wrote that a "wholly erroneous idea of ...[Apache] theology [had] prevailed and [was] still entertained."²⁶⁷ Bourke went on to describe in detail the complex evolution of the Apache "medicine man" to support his conclusions that indigenous culture was much more complex than what the white man recognized. He described the personality, the dress, and the powers and influence which the institution of the medicine man possessed. The ignorance of both whites and Indians about each other contributed to the conflict and bloodshed which would mark the era of Fort Union's existence. Yet, it was undeniable from the indigenous point of view that the white man came as an invader of their land. They were merely defending their lands and trying to survive the onslaught of invasive settlers.

In public discourse and in the formulation of government policy the "Indian problem" was frequently reduced to two options: "extermination" or "assimilation." The polemic issue fueled debates between proponents of either option and left no room for any other alternatives. In the generalized view of Anglo-Americans, the economy of the Plains Indians had no legitimacy.

²⁶⁴ Charles M. Robinson, III, *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003), 2-3.

²⁶⁵ Order from Commanding Officer at Fort Wingate to Lt. Loud, 16 May 1881, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 37, 134.

²⁶⁶ John G. Bourke, "The Apache Medicine Man," in Powell, ed., *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-1888*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1888), 451-495.

²⁶⁷ J.W. Powell, ed., *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-1888*, XLIII- XLIV.

Despite centuries old economic ties between them, other native groups likewise perceived their economy to be barbaric.²⁶⁸

Sociologist Robert Munkres posited that Indian-White conflict was deeply rooted in a number of cross-cultural issues which had as its basic tenet, ignorance about each other's culture.²⁶⁹ Munkres argues, furthermore, that there were practical differences, especially with respect to the white man's concept of land tenure.²⁷⁰ Munkres' study focuses on Plains Indians and white relations during the critical period of their encounter and how that relationship developed in the West between 1850 and 1870. To White society, conflict to resolution could have only happen through two alternatives: welfare or warfare. Contact between the two groups occurred within the context of a nation bent on westward expansion, and this left little room for accommodation. Indians justifiably perceived the new political order as a threat to their culture and livelihood.²⁷¹ Still, the aggressive U.S. policy of Indian removal—which required tribes to move to reservations or suffer consequences—did not concern itself with relationships.

In his academic analysis, Munkres proposes that language differences serve as a barometer to comprehend the severity of the problem. Based on his model, linguistic differences cause obvious procedural problems, and also reflect more profound cultural roadblocks. Procedural differences are easy to perceive, but the more important problems which emanate from cultural differences are not always as clearly understood by either side. As an example, Munkres focuses on the concepts of "war" and "peace," which were fundamental to Indian-White negotiations. Yet a clear and agreed upon mutual definition of these terms was never articulated as part of any peace process.²⁷² Historically, however, negotiations were rarely a two-way process—in the end, whose peace prevailed?

Anglo-American concepts of peace were rigidly tied to the idea of "assimilation" of Native Americans into mainstream American lifestyle. On the other hand, Indian resistance was tied to the retention of important cultural and economic resources. Munkres argues that each side assumed the other understood the respective vested interests in the matter. Munkres' assumption that conflict resolution models leading to peace mattered to the aggressors on either side, leaves much to be desired especially in the context of the policy of Indian removal.

Early Anglo-American experiences with the Navajo offer a case in point. Beyond the economic and material aspects of raiding by Navajos upon the settlers were cultural considerations that neither side truly comprehended. Consequently peaceful negotiations were futile. Raids were interpreted by the Anglos as the deliberate expression of a hostile attitude emanating from some indigenous authority. The..."purely local and spontaneous character of the raid was never clearly recognized among members of a culture (i.e., Euro-American). It was thought that "violence against foreigners must be instigated ... and sanctioned by [a] higher authority."²⁷³ Thus, the first response by Americans was to attempt to placate a tribe by negotiating a peace with an authority figure. Naively, initial Anglo-American efforts were successful because they were able to persuade a certain wealthy or influential Navajo to arrange

²⁶⁸ Robert L. Munkres "Indian-White Contact Before 1870: Cultural Factors in Conflict," in *Journal of the West*, vol. X, No. 3, July 1971, 449.

²⁶⁹ Munkres "Indian-White Contact Before 1870: Cultural Factors in Conflict," 449.

²⁷⁰ Munkres "Indian-White Contact Before 1870: Cultural Factors in Conflict," 449.

²⁷¹ Munkres "Indian-White Contact Before 1870: Cultural Factors in Conflict," 449, 458.

²⁷² Munkres "Indian-White Contact Before 1870, 439-473; cross-cultural communication is an important part of J. L. Bailey's thesis in *The Long Walk* as well.

²⁷³ Denis Foster Johnson, "An Analysis on Sources of Information on the Population of the Navajo" in *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin # 197*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1966), 33-34.

a cessation of depredations. However, he typically spoke for his family or grazing community, not for his "nation." In addition, his agreement was a "momentary attitude" not a long-term commitment.²⁷⁴ Navajo social organization did not encompass a centralized political structure integrating the population of an extended Navajo community that inhabited the region.

In a sense a "double mistaken identity" manifested itself, not unlike James Lockhart's model for early Spanish encounters with the Aztecs in Mexico during the sixteenth century.²⁷⁵ According to Lockhart, each group saw only similarities in the other's culture, and assumed it was seeing a similar phenomenon inherent within their respective cultures. This phenomenon allowed for a certain degree of assimilation on both sides, but it resulted in misconceptions which materialized into antagonism and conflict over the long run.

In the case of the Southwest during the mid nineteenth century, there were substantially fewer similarities, and so conflict erupted sooner. Anglo-Americans assumed that acculturation could only be achieved through the concentration of Indians on reservations, facilitating assimilation into agricultural and livestock endeavors. To Native Americans, their economy and culture had already been established on the open plains. Anglo-Americans, as had Hispanic frontiersmen before them, assumed that Plains Indians were simply nomadic "barbarians." The difference between Hispanic policy and that of the Anglo-American government, however, rested on economic collaboration with the Plains tribes by the former in hope of maintaining peace between them. On the contrary, there was no room for toleration or collaboration with marginal groups such as the Plains Indians within the Anglo-American view or economic structure. There were extreme cultural and ideological differences between Anglo-American and Indian cultures which crystallized into conflict on almost every front.

The concept of formal education as envisioned by Anglo-Americans reflected ideological differences and cross-cultural conflict as much as anything else in the experiences of the Native Americans. Education was believed by some to be the key component of a plan to acculturate the nomadic Indians. General James H. Carleton was among them. Carleton requested support from the church hierarchy in Santa Fe to establish a school at the Bosque Redondo. In 1864 Bishop Lamy announced that he would assign a chaplain and three lay brothers to administer to the needs of the captives there, including educational instruction. Resident Indians were immediately assigned to the task of making "adobes for the construction of eight classrooms, each for 100 students." Those who agreed to build the school houses would also be paid wages. Carleton also instructed the Commanding officer at Ft. Sumner to "put in a garden, so children can be taught [to grow] fruits and vegetables."²⁷⁶ Having notified the Secretary of the Interior, Carleton wrote, "the education of these children is the fundamental idea on which must rest all our hopes of making the Navajos a civilized and Christian people."²⁷⁷

The Navajo community at the reservation saw it differently. They simply did not cooperate with the plan, sending their children to the school only when they were assured they would be fed. Between 1885 and 1891 many of the Indian captives at Fort Union were pressured into sending their children to such schools as the Ramona School in Santa Fe. By sending the children to the school, the military was spared the responsibility of supporting them as captives

²⁷⁴ Johnson, "An Analysis on Sources of Information on the Population of the Navajo," 33-34.

²⁷⁵ James Lockhart, "Double Mistaken Identity" in *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New on Early Latin American History*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1999.

²⁷⁶ Letter Gen. Carleton to Capt. Henry Bristol, Commanding Officer at Fort Sumner, 17 July 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 14, 157.

²⁷⁷ Frank D. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico" in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 12, Number 3, (1937), 264-266.

at the fort, and could justify their actions on the grounds that the school provided an opportunity for the children to be assimilated into white society.²⁷⁸

Horatio Ladd founded the Ramona Indian Girls' School in Santa Fe during the 1880s. At the time it was one of the "Departments" of an institution which he named the "University of New Mexico" (there was no affiliation with The University of New Mexico which would later be established at Albuquerque). Ladd, a member of the Congregational Ministry, generated an extraordinary amount of support from East coast religious congregations who contributed many thousands of dollars to support "Indian education." The school was readied for instruction by 1885.

In correspondence with potential donors, Ladd printed a copy of a speech which was given at the territorial fair in Santa Fe in 1883 by San Juan, chief of the Mescalero Apaches. San Juan supposedly "begged for help to educate Indian children." The school's mission was "the civilization and citizenship of the Indian." It was accomplished through lucrative government contracts which paid the school 120 dollars per student per year, even though non-Indian students who registered to attend the "university" itself paid only \$3.00 per month as regular tuition. Non-Indian university students were housed with the families of the teachers who lived in Santa Fe. Although Ladd recruited Pueblo Indian children initially, he encountered opposition from the local Catholic Church, and eventually focused on the "nomadic" Apaches and plains tribes who had no advocates within New Mexican society.

During this period an official government policy on Indian education began to materialize. Indian schools demanded that a certain number of children be sent to their institutions from the reservations; they threatened retaliatory and legal measures against uncooperative parents, and were backed up by the Interior Department. The Secretary of the Interior could prevent the issuing of rations or the furnishing of subsistence of any kind to the head of any Indian family if its children between certain ages were not in school.²⁷⁹

In later years, Ladd described the children who attended the school: "Girls of these heathen tribes were taken at the age of eight or ten and by written contract with their parents, and the U.S. Indian Office, and kept from 3-5 years or longer."²⁸⁰ The school was located one-half mile west of the plaza in Santa Fe. Indian Commissioner, Atkins objected to removing children from their families, advocating schools be built on the reservations themselves.²⁸¹ There were 15 Apaches and 31 Pueblos in the first class. By 1887 the enrollment reached 200. Ladd justified the inclusion of girls at the school.

²⁷⁸ Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research, (Folder 19).

²⁷⁹ Veronica E. Velarde Tiller, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe, a History 1846-1970*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 143.

²⁸⁰ Frank D. Reeve, "The Old UNM at Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. VIII No. 3, July 1933, 207.

²⁸¹ Interview with Indian Agent Adkins in *Santa Fe New Mexican* (no date) Horatio Ladd Collection, Folder 19.



Figure 16 - Before and after photos of Indian children taken to the Ramona Indian Girls' School in Santa Fe, New Mexico. From the Ladd Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

The premise of the philosophy, which Ladd articulated in later years, rested on the concept that the education of Indian girls was critical to the mission of Indian assimilation into white society. He argued that Indian boys were being educated at schools (such as the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania), and would be returning to the reservations as "civilized" young men, without prospective wives from among the Indian maidens. Consequently the girls had to be

educated as well. His cultural assimilation philosophy resonated with potential donors who, according to records, contributed significant amounts to support Ladd's missionary endeavors.²⁸²

In private correspondence, Ladd reiterated his strong belief that both Hispanic New Mexicans and Indians were "heathenish as in Africa, and superstitious as in Old Spain." His goal was to teach "American citizenship" in order to promote the "civilized behavior" of Easterners in religion, education, law and customs which were lacking in the New Mexico Territory.²⁸³

Indian children of prisoners at the fort were prime candidates for placement at the school. During the period of the Geronimo campaigns and the depredations by the Apache Kid, (former Indian scout later pursued by the military), it was considered a humanitarian gesture to send the Apache children off to boarding school as the fort had inadequate facilities or provisions to care for the children. Parents were pressured into cooperating with the school officials and the military. The separation was very traumatic for both children and parents. "Passes" would occasionally be issued for parents at Fort Union to visit their children, but visitations were strictly controlled.²⁸⁴

Distance proved to be a singular barrier between Indian parent and child. Obviously travel was difficult for many of the parents even if they were allowed to visit. Parents who were captives at Fort Union were only allowed to leave the fort when given passes. For those parents living on the newly established reservations, obtaining transportation to Santa Fe was very difficult. One Apache mother wrote to her daughter, Alta, at the school in 1887: "I am so poor I cannot get a horse on which to go and see you... some of the people want to go to Santa Fe to see their daughters, and if I can find a horse I will go to see you then."²⁸⁵

In 1890, Ladd's replacement at the Ramona School, Elmore Chase broke many promises to the Apaches and even lied to the parents about the summer vacation period in an effort to keep the Indian children at the school. He feared that the children would not return in the fall, especially because they complained about their treatment on a regular basis. In addition, sanitation at the school was so bad that many children contracted tuberculosis and other serious health problems exacerbated by overcrowding. Chase's fears were self-fulfilled given his word could not be trusted. Many children did leave the school, and refused to return during the fall. He tried, unsuccessfully, to have troops arrest the parents and return the children.²⁸⁶

Indian parents bitterly opposed parting with their children, although Ladd emphasized in his correspondence to benefactors that each parent "signed" an agreement to send their children to the school.²⁸⁷ Recruiting children directly from the reservations was an almost impossible

²⁸² Horatio Ladd, Church Newsletter (Folder 19), no date. In 1888, Ladd was removed from his position as President of the University of New Mexico and the Department of Indian Education which became the Ramona Indian School. Accusations were made against him for defrauding Eastern investors of \$97,000 raised to purchase land in New Mexico (*Las Vegas Optic*, December 28, 1888, "A Bad Ladd").

²⁸³ Bohme, "Horatio Ladd" in *Congregational Church Newsletter*, 1934. University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research, Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection, Folder 19.

²⁸⁴ Report to Congregation, Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection, Folder 19.

²⁸⁵ Letter from Apache mother to her daughter, Alta, at the Ramona School, Feb. 3, 1887, published in *Ramona Days*, Indian Department of the University of New Mexico, Ramona Industrial School, Santa Fe, 1887-88, 24. The Ramona School noted in its publications that the parents' letters were translated and written by people in the home communities for the parents, but the responses by the children were all written by the children themselves, demonstrating their progress in the use of English at the school.

²⁸⁶ Veronica E. Velarde Tiller, *The Apache Tribe: A History*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 144.

²⁸⁷ Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*, 403.

task. On October 13, 1886, Capt. F.E. Pierce, Indian Agent at the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona wrote to the Head of the Ramona School:

It is utterly impossible to secure a single girl for school that is one that will go voluntarily, and with the consent of their parents and other relatives. Indians are very much attached to their children, especially their girls and they consider it the same as death for one to be removed from them for 3 or 4 years... I could probably force them to go, but I should dislike the task very much, and hope I will not be ordered to do so.²⁸⁸

It was shortly after this letter was written that many of the San Carlos Reservation Indians were imprisoned at Fort Union and their children were sent off to the Ramona School.

The unbending attitude among administrators and teachers of Indian boarding schools was in itself a form of cruelty. On May 17, 1887, an insensitive teacher at the school wrote that:

Professor Whipple left May 9 for Ft. Stanton to bring back 17 children, 13 boys and 4 girls... I am convinced that the government must use compulsory measures to secure Indian girls from the Apaches... [we] must send out the soldiers if we want to get the girls... Every girl should be taken at 6 years of age and put into a boarding school, and kept there until thoroughly civilized.²⁸⁹

Despite recognizing that parental attachments were as strong among Indians as they were among Anglo-Americans, boarding school administrators and teachers persisted in their demand to separate Indian families.

Military contracts were very lucrative for school administrators and they pressured civilian officials to provide recruitment opportunities through military authorities. In June 1880, the Commander of the 9th Cavalry ordered Captain F.T. Bennett at Fort Defiance to assist Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian minister. "Mr. Jackson has authority to obtain, if it can be done, twenty Navajo Boys for the School at Carlisle Barracks and visits Fort Defiance for that reason... and the manner of securing them must be left to your discretion."²⁹⁰ While there was money for contracts, budgetary constraints limited spending for food. Given the food shortages at the fort and Bosque Redondo Reservation, the commander at Fort Union welcomed the opportunity to send children to the Ramona School at Santa Fe because food and clothing supplies for the large number of captives were inadequate.

During the Apache wars of the 1880s hundreds of Indian men, women, and children were held as prisoners at the fort. On March 21, 1890, twenty-one Apache men and fifty-five women and children arrived at the fort from the San Carlos Reservation.²⁹¹ Within a few days an officer

²⁸⁸ F. E. Pierce, Capt. 1st Infantry and Agent to President of the University of New Mexico (Ramona School), *Ramona Days*, Indian Department of the University of New Mexico, Ramona Industrial School, Santa Fe, 1887-88, 22.

²⁸⁹ E.W., "Letters from our Teachers" published in *Ramona Days*, Indian Department of the University of New Mexico, Ramona Industrial School, Santa Fe, 1887-88, 20.

²⁹⁰ Correspondence AAAG, Santa Fe to Captain F.T. Bennett, 9th Cavalry, Ft. Defiance, 29 June 1880, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 35, 339.

²⁹¹ Report from A. P. Marrow Lt. Col. 6th Cavalry, commanding post, Fort Union, 24 March 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 372.

at the fort was ordered to bring some of the children to the Ramona School. Post records confirm that on March 25, 1890, Lt. John M. Glaso, Company G at Fort Union "left [the] post in charge of [the] escort, conducting eight Indian children here to the Ramona Indian School in Santa Fe per telegraphic instructions from Department Commander."²⁹² By April the commanding officer at the fort planned to send four more children to the school, but met resistance from the Apache parents. He sent a telegram to the Assistant Adjutant General, informing him of the opposition. "Indians are bitterly opposed," he wrote, "to parting with any more, four more children would have to be taken from women who have already sent children to the school--one of the four would be a child of six years--shall I send them by force if necessary?"²⁹³ Apparently he was ordered to do so because his April report confirmed that, in fact, eight additional children--not just four--were sent to the Ramona School during that month.²⁹⁴

Along with religious zeal and humanitarian ideals, economic interests drove the motivations of the administrators at schools such as the Ramona Indian School. Congress allocated funds, specifically to support the education of Indian children at schools in Ft. Lewis, Colorado and at Santa Fe. Outside fund raising also resulted in support from church followers, especially those from congregations in the East, many of whom were devout advocates of "civilization and assimilation" philosophies. One document which Ladd incorporated into his fund raising campaigns included an assemblage of striking "before and after" photographs. In one picture, fourteen Apache girls were pictured in their traditional Indian garb upon arrival at the school; two weeks later they were photographed again. This time the same girls were shown dressed in uniforms, common to East coast Anglo-American school children. The Apache children were on the road to "civilization" according to the accompanying information.²⁹⁵

It was not simply within the realm of education that cross-cultural exposure reflected the differences inherent within the Indian and non-Indian cultures. Oral proficiency in Spanish and the numerous Indian dialects was critical, and resources to facilitate communication between Anglo-American, Hispanic, and Indian communities were deemed an absolute necessity ever since the founding of Fort Union. Officers groped for ways to communicate with the indigenous people with whom they had close association, both as hostiles, as captives, and as allies. Interpreters were not always available, nor were they always of high quality.²⁹⁶ With time, problems related to cross-cultural interaction increased significantly between each of the fort's constituent groups.

Historical documents vividly describe situations where verbal communication was problematic.²⁹⁷ For example, military officers frequently had difficulty with the Indian scouts and guides during the numerous campaigns, especially on the fine details of the orders or desired strategies that were to be followed in a given situation. As peace treaties were negotiated, new

²⁹² Report from A. P. Marrow, Lt. Col. 6th Cavalry, commanding post, Fort Union, March 1890, Fort Union, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Reel 147, 1884-1891. No pagination.

²⁹³ Report from A. P. Marrow, Commanding Post, Fort Union to A. A. General, Los Angeles, 16 April 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 380.

²⁹⁴ Report from A. P. Marrow Lt. Col. 6th Cavalry, commanding post, Fort Union, to A. A. General, Los Angeles, 16 April 1890, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 380.

²⁹⁵ Report to Congregation, Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection, Folder 3.

²⁹⁶ See for example: the authorization from AAG W. Nicholas to Lt. Col. D. S. Miles to hire interpreters 17 February 1857, Arrott Manuscript Collection vol. 3, 271; Letter from Capt. Ben C. Cutler, AAG to Capt. J. Updegraff, Fort Union, 19 May 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 11, 232.

²⁹⁷ Circular from E. R. S. Canby District of New Mexico Headquarters, 26 October 1861, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 8, 106.

arrangements such as reservations were established, requiring compromises and accommodations.²⁹⁸ Additionally, Indians were housed and imprisoned at the fort, and worked at the fort for extended periods of time. As noted above at Bosque Redondo crude dictionaries of Navajo and Apache languages were developed to enhance communication with the resident Indians.²⁹⁹ Still, few soldiers had the time or the inclination to learn Indian languages.

Anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution took an active interest in the Southwest's Indian populations, among them were Spencer F. Baird (noted for his study of Apache culture and linguistics), and James Stevenson, who had served as a military officer. Upon his retirement, Stevenson pursued his interest in ethnology and visited the region in August and September of 1881. He came into New Mexico through Fort Union where he was provided with provisions and an escort to study the Zuni and Sia (Zia) Pueblos. He spent six weeks at the two communities and published his study in the Bureau of Ethnology's annual report in 1887.³⁰⁰

Edward Ladd, an Apache Indian child was sent to the Ramona School in Santa Fe in the 1880s. The Ladd surname probably came from the President of the school, Horatio Ladd. Little information about his childhood is available, but it is interesting to note that Edward eventually became fluent in English. In later years he worked in Santa Fe, becoming a very prominent interpreter for the Federal Court there. Ladd, a Jicarilla Apache, often dressed in very colorful Plains Indian garb. He was described as a very tall and handsome man who was well known in Santa Fe. Outspoken, he frequently expressed his pride in being Apache and in his tribe's superiority to the "feeble" Pueblos.³⁰¹ One particular photo of three Jicarilla Apaches, entitled "A trilogy of Jicarilla leadership, 1896" was uncovered in a recent publication by Veronica E. Velarde Tiller.³⁰² Ladd appears in the photo as Edward Ladd Vicenti, interpreter, along with Emmitt Wirt, post trader, and James Garfield Velarde, Chief of the Olleros. Velarde was one of the chiefs who cooperated with the military and the Indian Affairs Office in 1886, agreeing to send Apache children from his tribe to the Ramona School.³⁰³ In later years he sent his own children to the Indian School in Ft. Lewis, Colorado.

During the Navajo wars and the subsequent capture and relocation of thousands of that tribe to Bosque Redondo, many Navajo women and children were left vulnerable. A number of them were kidnapped during the trek to the Bosque and held "in servitude" by civilians. After 1867, the fort was saddled with the responsibility of reconciling the problem and thus initiated a campaign to recover Navajo children being held in servitude. One of the officers noted the need

²⁹⁸ One case described by John Kessell concerns the establishment of the Navajo Reservation after Bosque Redondo. Initial communication between the military and Navajo leaders on reservation boundaries was hampered by language and land tenure concepts which eventually reduced the actual reservation by approximately 50% from the plan the Navajos believed would encompass the reservation boundaries. John Kessell, "General Sherman and the Navajo Treaty of 1868: A Basic and Expedient Misunderstanding" in *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. XII, No. 3, (July 1981).

²⁹⁹ See, for example, printing needs for circulars, 31 August 1851, the Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, 132; description of Apache dictionary, 19 May 1863 and 29 June 1863, vol. 11, 232 vol. 11, 312.

³⁰⁰ S.W. Powell, ed., Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Wash., D.C., (The 1887-88 Report was published in 1892).

³⁰¹ Article in *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, no date, but post 1893, Horatio Ladd Collection, (Folder 18).

³⁰² Tiller, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe, a History 1846-1970*, 61.

³⁰³ See for example: Tiller, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe, a History 1846-1970*, 61. Wirt was not Apache, but as the post trader was well respected by the Apache tribe. One author wrote of him: "When the Apaches were starving to death and dying, Mr. Emmitt Wirt extended them unlimited credit at his trading post, and was thus referred to as the "guardian angel." Gertrude Van Roehel, *Jicarilla Apaches*, (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1971); also, Correspondence from Col. Grierson, Nov. 25, 1886, the Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41, 175.

to have circulars published and translated into Spanish so as to inform the Hispanic community of the law and the newly organized crusade to find these children.³⁰⁴

Not all cross-cultural contact was contentious. During the Navajo military campaigns of the 1860s, soldiers in the field were visited by "Moquis (Hopis) and Zunis" who were interested in trading with them for "old clothes--as they hardly wore anything except old blankets, and picking up anything thrown away."³⁰⁵ At Fort Union soldiers' children and the children of the Indians sometimes played together. Some of these Indian children were at the fort in 1884. They were part of a group of family members from the San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches tribes held at Fort Union as hostages, until their fathers returned from Arizona. There were also some Navajo children who lived close to Coyote Creek at the time. Their Navajo parents either worked for the post trader or as servants for the officers. The children spoke some English, and were reported to be good with bows and arrows, and did target shooting with the soldiers' boys.³⁰⁶ The son of the fort's Quartermaster lived at Fort Union in the 1880s and later revealed some of his experiences at the fort as a teenager. He had two Navajo friends there whose parents had been held captive due to recent outbreaks on the Navajo Reservation. The two brothers were expert marksmen with bow and arrow and displayed their skills by "hitting a dime at a distance of 12 feet."³⁰⁷

Children were one issue; teenage Indians presented a different problem to Anglo-American authorities. On one occasion during the summer of 1881, for example, soldiers were sent from the fort to pursue young "renegade" Indians who were harassing livestock. In her diary LaTourrette described them differently, saying that "they were just out for a good time." She did not think they were "worse than our young boys in large cities out for a lark."³⁰⁸ The struggle for LaTourrette seemed to be in the recognition of the disparity between ethnic groups and her evident evenhanded awareness of their similarities. Correctly, she feared others confused cultural similarities with the differences and reacted negatively against minority people—in this case, Indians and Hispanic New Mexicans.

³⁰⁴ Military intervention to address issues of Navajo women and children being held in servitude, 25 October-7 November 1868, vol. 22, 379, 394; need for Spanish and English circulars informing New Mexicans that holding Indian children in servitude was illegal, 22 September 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 326; troops were assigned to recover kidnapped Navajo children held in servitude throughout New Mexico, 15 November 1868, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 22, 401.

³⁰⁵ Anonymous diary from soldier in Company B, 1st New Mexico Volunteers, August 14, 1863 in the *Ritch Papers Collection*, Reel 4.

³⁰⁶ Giese, "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union" as reported in *The Las Vegas Optic*, August 5, 1884, 103.

³⁰⁷ John D. Drum personal correspondence with James W. Arrott, December 5, 1950.

³⁰⁸ La Tourrette, "Fort Union Memories," 277-286.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Fort Union had a far-reaching influence that seemed to grow through the passage of time. At first it provided an important military presence in the Southwest during the initial period of United States political authority in the region. Its primary mission was to control the nomadic indigenous tribes however, other demands materialized, including the Civil War and civilian issues which impacted its human and material resources. Its role diversified and as new challenges evolved, the fort's personnel assimilated into the culturally diverse landscape, incorporating Hispanic and indigenous "ways" into its ventures. The Fort Union years also encompassed a critical period for the diverse indigenous communities which had been an integral part of local culture for centuries.

The research and the interviews conducted reflect the predominant cultural influence of both Native Americans and Hispanics throughout the Fort Union region. The research also shows the depth of Fort Union's influence on its surroundings and the oral interviews confirm its effect on the economy and culture of the people and the region. The dynamics of trade from the Santa Fe Trail, for which Fort Union was originally charged to protect, brought new ethnic influences which often melded with Hispanic and Native American cultures. The research was particularly rich in the type of information encountered. The sections designated below represent the significant findings of this research:

➤ **Oral Interviews.**

The thirteen interviews of twenty-first century Hispanic subjects that were conducted during this study revealed the importance of the Fort Union National Monument area to near-by residents and to the respondents who had ancestral connections to the fort. The interviews reinforce much of what was discovered in the research and add new information on various topics such as the buffalo hunt, important buildings, herbal plants, agriculture, and mills.

Beginning in 1851, Fort Union's sphere of influence grew as it became increasingly involved in the military, social, economic, and cultural affairs of the area. Large communities of Hispanics, American Indians, and other groups were affected by the fort, and it left an enduring impact on the region and the people. Many of the interviews conducted as part of Fort Union National Monument's Ethnographic Overview and Assessment are reflective of this regional influence both past and present. Generally, the individuals who consented to the interviews had an important connection to the Fort Union area and live or lived in the environs that make up the northeastern section of New Mexico.

There were five interviewers who participated in the interviews. One of the interviewers was present for all of the interviews conducted and generally guided the discussions and provided the continuity throughout the interview process. Each of the other four interviewers participated in important ways to the success of the interviews they were specifically involved in. Eleven of the interviews consisted of one respondent and two interviewers. One interview consisted of three interviewers and one interviewee. There was also one interview with one respondent and one interviewer.

In the first interview the interviewers' familiarity with the respondent created an environment for the easy exchange of pertinent information about Fort Union National Monument from the perspective of its historical past and its historical present. One of the outcomes of the first interview was a list of names of potential interviewees. The respondent was quite knowledgeable about Fort Union and its surrounding area. In four of the succeeding interviews each interviewer was chosen for his or her familiarity to the respondents themselves or knowledge of specific subject areas such as mills.

The thirteen descendants (of Fort Union era individuals) contacted and interviewed as part of this study, ranged in age from early fifties to middle nineties. Two respondents were interviewed entirely in Spanish, and in some of the other interviews, Spanish was used sporadically. These dialogues took place in various places such as on the campus of Highlands University, Watrous, Fort Union National Monument, Santa Fe, and other locations.

These conversations were generally video-taped in people's homes and offices. The interviewees were very eager to share their information including, in some cases, articles, genealogies, photographs and of course their stories. The first interview was done on an audio tape while the other 12 used a combined video and audio tape format. Most of the interviews were introduced in a similar fashion. The interviews usually began with: "Good morning. We are here as part of Fort Union's Ethnographic Overview and Assessment." The names and titles of the two interviewers were given followed by the date, time, location, names of respondents, and their ages. The first question usually asked about the respondent's ancestral connection to Fort Union. The rest of the questions were generated from the responses given by the interviewees with periodic attempts to return to questions relating to Fort Union when the respondent digressed from the topic.

The questions varied between each interview, but the general subject areas were agreed upon by the interviewers prior to each interview. The general subject areas were ancestral involvement with Fort Union; plants and herbs in the area--past and present, land tenure, cultural events, architecture, agriculture, commerce, trade, geography, Spanish/English, old sayings, ethnicity, health, Indian or Spanish captivity and the buffalo hunt.

The single most important question was centered on eliciting the respondents' Fort Union ancestral involvement. In most cases their involvement was known but lacked the specific details and documentation that the interviews provided. Their early familial connections to Fort Union were varied, and generally, they confirmed in individual ways the general information gathered from other documentary sources. Sometimes the interviews provided new and additional information which led to further research. The generous sharing of information and photos by respondents was often visually depicted in the interviews.

As adults, most of the respondents had moved away from their childhood homes. As children, they grew up hearing stories and participated in the day to day aspects of life in the surrounding Fort Union area. For some interviewees, travel and opportunity took

them away from the area. It is not surprising then that travel and opportunity were also motivating factors for many of their ancestors who moved and adapted to various situations in the surrounding Fort Union region.

One respondent mentioned that he came from a long line of freighters and people involved in business. He noted that his great-grandfather, the “fletero” or freighter, transported goods to Fort Union and was involved in various commercial endeavors at the time. This interviewee, like others interviewed, spoke on such topics as “ciboleros” or buffalo hunters. Another respondent talked about the hunt and the methods used by these New Mexican lance hunters of the buffalo. Tragically, he also mentions the beginning of the buffalo’s demise and the reaction of his forebears upon seeing the many dead buffalo that no longer were killed just for sustenance.

Some of the interview conversations led to stories of New Mexico Volunteers, New Mexican participation in the territorial legislature, and fighting for the South during the Civil War and a consequent pardon from President Andrew Johnson. There were also stories of Indian captivity, of Juanita, wife of Navajo Warrior and Indian Chief, Manuelito, and a tale of Hispanic camaraderie with Billy the Kid. These were among the many topics discussed freely with respondents who often shared their historical documentation of the events they described on video.

The importance of wood in the area was mentioned by various respondents. Two examples of wood uses were coincidentally and unusually connected. One interviewee, for example, mentioned the importance of wood and lumber as in railroad ties, beams, and mine props. Another respondent, interviewed in Spanish, also mentioned its importance especially in the sale and transportation of “propas” or mine props. The example demonstrates the importance, not only of wood, but also of cross-cultural communication and mutual linguistic influences as words are Hispanicized or Anglicized to suit the occasion as in props or “propas.”

The interviews also led to discussions of plants and vegetables. There was mention of various healing herbs such as “cota” which was used as a tea. This knowledge correlates with what was discovered in documentary sources and is incorporated in the chart section of this study. One respondent spoke of the introduction of a new species of tree in the area of Fort Union. The tree thrived and grew rapidly and was originally introduced as a natural wind barrier. The discussions also led to many different subject areas such as ways to preserve certain fruits and vegetables underground, types of grains that were grown, various mills that were built in the area and even how hops was used in baking.

The individuals who consented to these interviews revealed an intimate interaction with the history of the area because it is also their history. The interviews themselves revealed some of the individuals involved in the making of the history of the region. They were the people the research spoke about in general terms. Some of these descendents also told the story of some of their ancestral participants who had often been ignored by the pages of history. This is exemplified, through the stern, yet quiet, woman of 90, who lamented the ignored New Mexico Volunteers who fought for the North during the Civil War.

These interviews were also about two respondents, who spoke in separate interviews, acknowledging their ancestral involvement in the territorial legislature of New Mexico. Neither of the two men interviewed knew that their ancestors must have known each other. The evidence came from a document submitted by one respondent showing his great-grandfather as a representative from San Miguel County. Next to his name in the document is the name of the other interviewee's ancestor, also from San Miguel County.

For another respondent, the interview was also about ancestral kinships developed cross culturally in a place away from her tribe's traditional homeland. It was a story of the Long Walk back from Bosque Redondo and of a Navajo woman, Juanita. It was about shared food with old friends at Zia Pueblo, and how Juanita and the Zia people agreed to an established kinship. In a kinship that began that day and from that day forward, she would be known as one from the Zia clan. This last interview was like those that came before. They were individual stories about individual people filled with singular strength and fortitude who participated in their particular way in the broad history of the period. Most important about their individual stories was the unspoken message all the respondents conveyed. It was a similar message. It was a message that silently radiated from within. With their spirits strong and their memories clear, they talked so that it would be remembered.

➤ **Early Human Occupation in the Vicinity of Ft. Union.**

There is ample archaeological evidence that around 1100 A.D. Pueblo peoples moved into the vicinity of the Watrous Valley, and established sites along the Mora River. W. A. Moorehead reports numerous Pueblo sites along the Mora River between Watrous and the town of Mora. In addition just north of Mora 21 circles of stone were found, the largest of which was 15 feet in diameter. These are believed to be teepee rings, and suggest the presence of the Athapascan-Apache people sometime before the arrival of the Pueblos. In addition, there is evidence of sedentary Apache communities along the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, but due to perennial encroachments by plains tribes they eventually resumed their nomadic lifestyles. According to one 1876 map the boundaries of the Ft. Union "Reservation" extended to the Mora River; consequently, it appears that Ft. Union actually encompassed lands, which during prehistoric times, were inhabited by Native Americans.

➤ **Agriculture.**

Hispanic New Mexicans had 250 years of experience in developing agricultural technology suited to the needs of the arid Southwest. Anglo-Americans came into the region not expecting the demands which the physical environment presented. Faced with crop failures in previous growing seasons, and thousands of starving Navajos at the Bosque Redondo, General Carleton informed the commanding officer at Ft. Sumner that he had procured the services of a Mr. Gallegos from San Miguel County to instruct the military personnel on land irrigation. The agricultural needs at Fort Union are part of the story for the economic development of that geographic sector.

➤ **Multicultural Aspects.**

Diversity of Fort Union presents a different perspective of its history. Not only were Hispanics, French, and many cultural and linguistic tribes residing in New Mexico Territory, troops stationed at the fort represented many nationalities. Hispanic New Mexicans were hired as spies, scouts, laborers, and commanders of troops, particularly those of the New Mexico Volunteers stationed there periodically. Indeed, one Hispanic, Francisco P. Abreú, served as commanding officer at Fort Union. As spies, particularly during the Civil War, Hispanics could pose as *comancheros* on the southern plains to avoid the suspicion of Confederate troops. The case of José Pata Taffalo exemplifies the versatility of the skills which native New Mexicans possessed. Described as a "Mexican" civilian with a history of ties to the Plains Indians, he was called upon to assist the military when a large number of Comanches threatened Ft. Sumner. His ability to function within three very distinct cultures, speaking Spanish, English, and the Comanche languages rendered him an important resource for the military.

➤ **Bilingual Communication.**

The multi-language characteristic of the Greater Southwest before the arrival of Anglo-Americans was already impressive. Upon the establishment of Fort Union, commanders at the fort cited language, as a barrier for communication. The remedy was to use translators. Thus, military records reveal that the need to communicate in Spanish and a variety of Indian dialects as well, presented difficulties in accomplishing its overall mission. One District Officer informed the Ft. Union Commander that "Whenever troops speaking different languages are thrown together, all details will be made so that those speaking the same language may serve together, and privates as far as practicable, may serve under non-commissioned officers speaking their own language." J. Howe Watts in an interview with H. H. Bancroft in 1886 mentioned that he had personally translated "a military tactics" training manual for use of the troops stationed at Ft. Union in the 1860s. However, Col. Chaves, one of the New Mexican militia leaders complained that his officers were unable to understand the translated "orders...[and] the Articles of War and those portions of the Regulations which have been printed in Spanish," and found it better to translate them himself orally from the English.

➤ **Community Relationships.**

One of the focal areas where relationships could be emphasized from a humane point of view was the hospital. Fort Union provided medical care to people from the surrounding communities as noted, for example, in the post's hospital records for 1871. Aside from soldiers and Indians residing in the fort, the fort opened its doors to the community at large. Travelers on the Old Santa Fe Trail used the hospital. Locally, some of the patients treated there included: "Citizen José Antonio Chavez, a Mexican teamster from Manzano, New Mexico, for 'gastro entritis' and another person Josepha, a Mexican women employed as a laundress, for chest congestion. There is also mention of one [unnamed] destitute citizen who was treated at the hospital." Indeed, the Fort Union hospital introduced an entirely new concept for medical care to the area.

➤ **New Mexico Militia.**

Thousands of New Mexicans, the majority Hispanics, served in the Territorial Militia between 1847 and 1897. The militia was called up by the Governor and could serve in

concert with the regular army, as in the case of the Civil War and in the major campaigns against Indians. On other occasions they operated independent of the military and might be assigned to deal with specific civil disturbances, such as to patrol the mountain roads of Northern New Mexico where "bandoleros" (bandits) were reported to be preying on travelers. The military tradition, while it had its origins during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican Period, took on a new character with the advent of Fort Union which ties to the present military tradition. Indeed, the tradition in surrounding areas for providing manpower for troops for U.S. military efforts continues from its origins at Fort Union.

➤ **The Route of the Long Walk via Ft. Union**

In addition to a number of alternate routes, the Navajo Indians were frequently escorted to Ft. Union on their way to the Bosque Redondo. At least four routes were utilized in what has become known as the "long walk," and information on these routes is detailed in the extant military records of the period. Fort Union was the principal source of supplies for the Bosque Redondo, and escorts of military personnel with supplies from the Quartermaster Depot were usually sent with the prisoners to Bosque Redondo.

➤ **Contract Laborers.**

Manpower needs were drawn from the general population surrounding Fort Union for a variety of tasks. Hispanic and Native Americans were hired to serve as scouts, guides, spies, trailers (trackers), and interpreters. Military records suggest that they were paid well. In fact many were paid higher wages than the enlisted men. For example, a private earned about 13 dollars a month. Hispanics and Indians could earn a daily wage of up to \$2.50 to serve as scouts. Indian scouts were officially "mustered out" of service and paid for their services at Fort Union in formal ceremonies. They were frequently hired for civilian jobs as well, including positions as teamsters and laborers.

➤ **Anthropology at Ft. Union.**

Ethnohistory for the surrounding area has its origins at Fort Union. At least four high ranking military officers at Fort Union were among a group of professional and amateur anthropologists who obtained oral histories, developed dictionaries of the Apache and Navajo languages, and published articles on Indian tribes of the Southwest. They included John Gregory Bourke, Major Henry David Wallen, Lt. John C. Cremony, and James Stevenson. Wallen studied the Navajo and Apaches cultures at the Bosque Redondo, and reported his findings. Bourke became a respected anthropologist after his military career ended and was associated with the Smithsonian Institution. Stevenson was provided with escort services from Ft. Union when he undertook studies of Zuni and Zia Pueblos; and Cremony developed an Apache dictionary and wrote reports which were published by the Smithsonian.

➤ **Navajos and Agriculture.**

Although traditional literature indicates the Navajo learned their agricultural skills at the Bosque Redondo, such was not the case. By that time, the Navajo were already skilled farmers. One soldier's diary sheds light on the issue. It is a first hand account of the Navajo campaign during the early 1860s which ultimately led to their "long walk" and confinement at the Bosque Redondo reservation. The diary describes the Navajo crops

which were discovered and destroyed by the military. The soldiers turned their livestock loose on cultivated plots, finding that on many occasions the fields were so extensive, there was not enough time to destroy the corn and other crops they found hidden in deep canyons. The diary describes how the troops arrived at a large Indian farm with lots of corn, fine wheat, beans, pumpkins, and melons. The area had a good water supply and plenty of wood. Thus, the Navajo, already a cultivator of the land, may have learned new methods at Bosque Redondo.

➤ **Ft. Union's Extensive Role in New Mexico Territory.**

Fort Union's role in New Mexico Territory was significant because it established the presence of the U.S. government. The fort, as a transmitter of Anglo-American culture, albeit in military form, introduced new forms of political, economic, educational, legal, and religious elements into the area. As far as its role in Bosque Redondo which was suggested by its commander, General Carleton, Fort Union's image emerged slightly tarnished except for the aftermath of the Long Walk. For the Navajos, the journey back to their traditional lands in 1868 was as difficult as the journey to the Bosque Redondo four years before. Carpenters were contracted through the Fort Union quartermaster at four dollars per day to prepare a bridge at the Rio Grande in Albuquerque to assist Navajos in crossing the river. The long trek back to their homelands was the new beginning for the tribes. Fort Union continued to serve New Mexico Territory until its closure in 1891.

➤ **Treatment of Prisoners at Fort Union.**

Treatment varied substantially; except for the inadequate food and clothing supplies available to prisoners. The fort housed thousands of Indian women and children along with adult men as prisoners. At times, they were congregated in makeshift shelters at a distance from the post. They were not placed under military guard, and had access to guns and ammunition for hunting, and fished in nearby streams. The fort's prison or guardhouse was not officially used to punish or carry out judicial sentences against Indians. There were a number of occasions when Indians were held in captivity for extended periods because the military was charged with their care. For the most part, only captives from military campaigns and other aggressive warriors were physically constrained. Some violent prisoners were subdued with chains which were removed only when they were put to work. It was common to provide passes to Indians that allowed them to leave the fort temporarily. For instance, Indian parents were occasionally allowed to go to Santa Fe to visit their children at the Ramona Indian School. During the late period, captive Apaches from San Carlos produced baskets and other articles which they sold at nearby railroad stations, and through the post trader.

➤ **Pueblo Indian alliances with the Confederates.**

In a published article in the July 1874 issue of the *Overland Monthly*, the story tells of three Pueblos recruited at Isleta to serve as spies on behalf of the Confederates as that army moved north during their invasion of New Mexico. The Pueblos were eventually captured and imprisoned at Fort Union. In an attempt to escape they killed two guards, and they, themselves, were killed. The account highlights the complexity of relationships among the various populations.

➤ **The Ramona Indian School.**

In the 1880s, Horatio Ladd, a Congregationalist minister, contracted with officials from the military and the Office of Indian Affairs to secure children for his boarding school. At Ft. Union this served the military's interest because they usually did not have adequate food and clothing to provide for the children, and saw the opportunity as a humanitarian gesture. Parents were pressured into cooperating with the school officials and the military. Ladd's cultural assimilation philosophy resonated with potential donors who, according to records, contributed significant amounts to support Ladd's missionary endeavors at the Ramona School.

The present ethnohistoric overview demonstrates the evolution of Fort Union from a traditional military post into a culturally diverse entity through the influence exerted by the various ethnic communities that were an integral part of the fort's history. Primarily the three groups were non-Hispanic U.S. citizens serving in the military or as commercial suppliers to the military, New Mexican Hispanics, who served as soldiers, volunteers and as suppliers, interpreters, packers, laborers, and guides, and Native Americans who were spies, laborers, prisoners, foes and allies. Their influences are reflected ethnographically in interviews conducted with some of their descendents. In some cases the respondents not only confirm the ethnohistory of the area, they also expand on aspects found in the historical documentation.

From an ethnographic perspective, the longevity of the surrounding communities attest to their perseverance and predominant cultural influences on the region to this day. Respondents speak of their historic ties to Fort Union and the region with interest and respect. After all, their historical past has formed an intricate part of their present. One respondent from Rayado, whose ancestor was a former commander of Fort Union, recounts the importance of the area to him and his extended family. For them, the church and cemetery at Rayado are meaningful places where baptisms, weddings and funerals brought them together.

Similarly, some family dwellings that housed Hispanic soldiers at Fort Union still exist. The continued importance of these dwellings to current family members reflects the cultural heritage and historical significance of Fort Union in their family traditions. These shared experiences resonate with other community members in their collective memories within the context of their centuries old geographical presence and perseverance in and around the environs of Fort Union.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

1. The research conducted with respect to Native Americans came from various sources including some oral interviews that were done in the past. Repeated attempts to contact potential respondents who have ancestral or traditional ties to Fort Union were generally unsuccessful. The obstacles encountered in this area are reflective of Fort Union's inherent military role. Given the history, the tendency for Native Americans to view Fort Union from a negative perspective is logical and understandable and not easily changed. An example of the wealth of information that can be gained from such interviews is one included in this current study. It is an interview with a descendent of the Navajo Indian leader Manuelito and his wife Juanita. The recommendation is to extend the project to achieve more interviews.
2. Research of Spanish language newspapers in New Mexico is an important endeavor as a significant resource for further study. These newspapers may shed light on an involved Hispanic community and Fort Union that is not reflected in other sources.
3. More study is needed to identify captivity narratives found in family lores of respondents. The Hispanic *comanchero* tradition is related and performed in stories found in ballads known as "inditas." There are rituals and other forms of Indo-Hispano captivity reenacted and interpreted in the music and dance of the various Hispanic communities. These types of influences are culturally important and may apply to Fort Union National Monument.
4. In the compilation of this research, one source was found that suggested the location of at least one *Penitente morada* near Fort Union. Further study is recommended which might indicate the presence of more *moradas* in the area and may reflect the influence of the quasi-religious brotherhood within Hispanic communities and on Fort Union's Hispanic past. If more do exist, it would be important to understand the cultural importance of the *Penitente* brotherhood in this region.
5. Ethno-botany is a subject that would shed light on the diets and medicinal practices among both Hispanic and Native American societies. Some publications refer to and list various plants utilized by many tribes in New Mexico and the Southwest. The researchers of this study did not find geographical references to the plants used by Indians at Bosque Redondo. Lacking is pertinent information associated with plant-species geography and how it relates to the different indigenous groups. A more complete ecological survey is recommended that would complement the ethnographic study of Fort Union and determine which plants existed and still exist in the immediate environs of the fort and how they relate to the communities that used them.
6. Documents found in the Arrott Collection reference information about the importance of ground flour and meal from the various mills which supplied Fort Union. Wheat and corn were grown in the surrounding areas near the fort and taken to the mills. Many of the mills in the Fort Union environs were owned and operated by Hispanics. Some of these mills are listed on the National Register. Further research is needed to show to what extent these mills influenced the development of Fort Union and the surrounding area.

Appendices

APPENDIX A PHOTO AND MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Horatio Ladd Photo Collection

Box 1 of 2 (Folder 1)

Photographs of Jicarrilla Apache parents visiting their children at the Ramona School in Santa Fe (1884).

Box 1 of 2 (Folder 3)

Numerous photos of Apache children at Ramona School (1884), mostly individuals and small groups with names.

Box 1 (Folder 4)

Photos of individual children, and large groups with names; names are mostly Anglo-American and some Spanish, including surnames: Grover Cleveland, George Pearson, John Milk, Juanita Brown, Guerito Thompson, Maggie Howard, etc. Girls are dressed in school uniforms; boys in formal Anglo-American attire. Additional photos are of the schoolhouses.

Albert Thompson Photo Collection

Center for Southwest Research Photo Archives (079)

Box 1 (Folder 4 of 7)

1869 photograph of Aztec Mill (Maxwell's Mill) at Cimarron

Ute Indians sitting around mill awaiting distribution of rations by Maxwell.

Dennis Chavez Photo Collection

Center for Southwest Research Photo Archives (000-394)

Box 2 of 4

Period photography of Ft. Union 1866-1876 of corral, fortifications, Depot general views, storehouses, and Ft. Sumner Indian commissary.

Center for Southwest Research Photo Archive Collections

New Mexico Magazine, July, 1994 Article, "Buffalo Soldiers Ride Again", by LaNelda Rolley.

Photograph of the Ninth Cavalry (Colored Troops) Band, playing at the Santa Fe Plaza, July 1880. At the time they were stationed at Fort Union, but traveled frequently to Santa Fe to perform. They were so well received by the citizens at Santa Fe that they requested that they be stationed there permanently, but that request was denied.

Troop I First New Mexico Cavalry. (General file, Photo 998-008)

Photograph taken in c.1929 of members of the Cavalry unit composed of Laguna Indian Scouts who participated in the pursuit of Geronimo in the 1880s. One of the scouts lived to be 117 years old, dying in 1942, according to information contained in the collection.

Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection
 Center for Southwest Research

(Folder 3) Before and after photo of Apache girls: Native American attire upon entering school; same children attired in school uniform dresses two weeks after arrival.



Figure 17 - Photograph and list of names of the first pupils of the Ramona School, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Ladd Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

APPENDIX B

ETHNOBOTANICAL CHARTS FOR FORT UNION AND ENVIRONS

Data from a number of diverse sources was incorporated into the charts presented in Appendix B. Specific ethnobotanical information was drawn from three of the publications produced by the prominent herbalist, Michael Moore, including *Medicinal Plants of the Desert and Canyon West*, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989); *Medicinal Plants of the Mountain West*, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003); and his revised edition of L. S. M. Curtain's *Healing Herbs of the Upper Rio Grande*, revised edition, Michael Moore, (Santa Fe: Western Edge Press, 1997).

Other publications that were consulted to synthesize the information for the charts include the works of Daniel E. Moerman, *Native American Ethnobotany*, (Portland: Timber Press, 1998); Edward F. Castetter. "Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest." *University of New Mexico Bulletin*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. [Nov., 1936; June, 1937; October, 1937; Dec., 1938; Dec., 1941]; and Alma R. Hutchens, *Indian Herbalogy of North America*, (Boston: Shambhala Press, 1991).

Pertinent information was drawn from archaeological field work undertaken in the vicinity of Fort Union, and include: Yvonne Roye Oakes, *The Cross L. Ranch Site (A Study in Plains Adaptation)*, Laboratory of Anthropology, Note No. 164, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1979; R. H. Lister, "Notes on the Archaeology of the Watrous Valley" in *El Palacio*, No. 55 (2): 35-41; and David E. Stuart, et al., *Prehistoric New Mexico: Background for Survey*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

Historical data on Mora County and Fort Union in the nineteenth century was developed from Robert Tennert, *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); George Vasey, "Report to the United States Agricultural Bureau, 1884, Ft. Union Library; William Kroenig, Commissioner of Mora County Report, Las Vegas, New Mexico: (Las Vegas: Daily Gazette Print, 1881); Anselmo Arellano, "Case Study: Acequias de la Sierra and Early Agriculture of the Mora Valley," (Guadalupita: Center for Land Grant Studies, 1994); "Historical Sketches of Governor William Carr Lane" in Historical Society of New Mexico, Nov., 1917, No. 24; Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 8, 1875, as cited in Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army, Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, Southwest Cultural Research Center, Professional Papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993.

Oral history interviews were consulted, such as the *Pioneer's Foundation Oral History Collection* (Marietta Wetherill Interview, Tape 451) but the most pertinent information was obtained from Sandra Schackel's botanical survey produced for the National Park Service entitled *Historic Vegetation at Fort Union National Monument, 1851-1983* (Santa Fe, 1983). Schackel studied contemporary reports of Ft. Union's historic period (1851-1891) to identify those plant species which were present during that time. She complemented the historical information with a contemporary field survey in 1983 to determine the nature of the extant vegetation at the fort. Schackel found that most of the species identified in the records were present in the late-twentieth century as well, particularly due to the fact that since its incorporation as a national monument the natural resources of the fort's grounds have been exposed to very minimal impact from human and environmental forces. Schackel's information was then compared with the material published on the traditional uses of herbs and other plants

in the Southwest by Native Americans and New Mexicans of Spanish and Mexican descent. The information presented reveals the presence of these plants on or near the fort from 1851-1891.

The ethnographical information included here came from a variety of sources. For example, first hand accounts describe the entrepreneurial activities of the San Carlos Apaches when they were housed at the fort from 1886-1891. According to these accounts, the Apaches sold their woven baskets to inhabitants and visitors at the fort and the nearby railway station. The charts reveal that native grasses found on the fort's premises were in fact accessible for fabricating baskets. Another example pertains to the presence on the fort of a diverse number of plants that were utilized as healing herbs by most of the Indian tribes who had direct associations with the fort, particularly the Navajos.³⁰⁹ Whether these grasses and herbs were, in fact, utilized for such activity cannot be ascertained with certainty; we can only surmise that despite its barren appearance revealed by nineteenth century photography, the environs of Fort Union did in fact encompass a variety of vegetative life that was known to both Native Americans and Hispanic New Mexicans during periods of their association with the fort. Reports written by the fort surgeon mention the use of herbal remedies by Indians who were ill at the fort during the 1870s.

In summary, the charts include plants that were primarily found at Fort Union and Mora County. However, information on the vegetation which existed at Fort Union during its historic period reveals that vegetation at the fort and its surroundings went through diachronic cycles. There were climatic periods when many types of plants flourished on or near the fort; at the same time, there was significant natural and human induced environmental impact on the terrain at, and adjacent to, the fort. Consequently, the presence of particular species of plants which existed at a given time cannot be ascertained with certainty. The charts merely encompass listings of those species which were commonly used by the ethnic groups of interest to this study. We know Native Americans and Hispanic New Mexicans had a very pronounced presence at the fort, and that many of the herbs and other plants which were traditionally utilized by them as consumables and for medicinal purposes were available to them within the immediate vicinity of the fort.

Please note that each of the bibliographic listings consulted for the charts in Appendix B are letter coded (A-Q). Accordingly, each botanical listing includes a "Source Code" followed by the corresponding letter(s) which identifies the sources utilized in preparing the charts.

Sources Used in the Compilation of These Charts:

Arellano, Anselmo. "Case Study: acequias de la sierra and early agriculture of the Mora Valley." Guadalupita: Center for Land Grant Studies, 1994. (Source Code A)

Early agricultural crops of the Mora Valley included beans, corn, onions, potatoes in the higher country, cabbages, peas, beets, squash, chile, lentils, radishes, turnips, French green beans, pinto beans, peas, and hops. The hops found growing naturally in the area were used in beer making and equaled the "best grown in New York." In addition, a native tobacco, *punche mexicano*, was also grown by a few families. The valley was well adapted to fruit growing and had many orchards bearing peaches, apricots pears and apples; wild plums (*ciruela cimarrona*) and choke cherries (*capulín*) were plentiful; Mora County was the first major agricultural area in New Mexico to be settled by American farmers as well as German, Irish and French immigrants, including many before 1850,

³⁰⁹ Robert Tennert, *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998; see particularly pp. 32-34 for a discussion of the Navajo's use of herbs.

(pp 8-10). After Ft. Union was established the "permanence of these newcomers became more pronounced and many intermarried among the Hispanic population,"(p. 9). These new settlers introduced different farming techniques and new varieties of fruit such as the German Prune and the Richmond Cherry which produced excellent fruit. Trade developed between farmers of the Mora Valley and Ft. Union, which was a major customer for grains, produce and fruit grown in the valley. Local farmers also provided many provisions for departing caravans on the Santa Fe Trail. Farmers concentrated on producing wheat, corn, oats, and fruits. Grist mills were erected, and for decades they ground the wheat grown in the valley and surrounding communities. Mora remained the leading agricultural valley in New Mexico until large companies began to develop irrigation and agricultural enterprises in the southern part of the territory by the beginning of the twentieth century,(p. 9). In its hey day, the Mora Valley produced 25 bushels of wheat per acre; 40 bushels of oats; and 28 bushels of corn; (pp 9-10). As the population grew during the latter half of the nineteenth century, local businesses began to prosper, including grocery stores, saloons, and dance halls. People sometimes bartered for clothing or merchandise they needed. The eventual closing of Ft. Union had a major impact on commerce in the region.

Castetter, Edward F. "Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest." *University of New Mexico Bulletin*. University of New Mexico Press. (Nov., 1936; June, 1937; October, 1937; Dec., 1938; Dec., 1941). (Source Code B)

Comprehensive study of plants and herbs traditionally used by Native American tribes in New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

"Historical Sketches of Governor William Carr Lane." Historical Society of New Mexico, Nov., 1917, No. 24. (Source Code C)

In September 1852, Governor William Carr Lane visited Fort Union and reported on the products grown at the fort's farm. According to his description, "pumpkins, corn, berries, turnips, peas, parsnips, cabbage, cucumbers, radish, okra, beets, indigenous potatoes, onions, peppers, asparagus, carrots, melons were found at the farm." He noted that "Irish potatoes, tomatoes, and melons did not do well." Indigenous potatoes were naturally found in the area, and were discovered growing on the site when the farm was initially developed. The governor went on to describe the irrigation system as "a chain of ponds and clear water- scooped out of the volcanic rock from the surrounding mountains. The water is elevated so as to irrigate the garden by means of the power of six mules by baskets fastened to an endless chain revolving upon a drum." (pp. 45-50).

Hutchens, Alma R., *Indian Herbalogy of North America*, (Boston: Shambhala Press, 1991). (Source Code D)

Illustrated encyclopedic guide to more than two hundred medicinal plants found in North America. Native American traditions are compared with traditional uses of the same plants among other cultures where herbalism has flourished.

Inventory of Pioneer's Foundation Oral History Collection (Marietta Wetherill Interview).
(Source Code E)

Some of the herbs used in diet and medicine have been described by Marietta Wetherill, a pioneer who lived among the Navajos in the late-nineteenth century. She noted a number of herbal remedies, such as pig weed for snakebite, and puffballs which are found around cedar bark to stop bleeding; weed pepper, with a little round green ball, was used for flavoring and seasoning; wild spinach (lamb's quarter) was gathered up in the Spring, and was used to cook meat; lemonade bush (squaw bush) had berries which were used to make a type of lemonade. Wetherill admitted that she had difficulty recognizing most of the herbal foods and remedies since many of the plants had Navajo names which she did not understand. (Tape 451).

Kroenig, William. Commissioner of Mora County Report. Las Vegas, New Mexico: Daily Gazette Print, 1881. (Source Code F)

Kroenig was an early settler in the Mora Valley, and later became a prominent civil official. This report describes the natural resources, including the flora and fauna, and discusses the history of the region. The prairie portion of county was primarily piñón and cedar trees; in addition there were also cottonwood, box elder, scrub oak, mesquite, and pineshack. Among the wild fruit were found mulberries, wild plums, cherries, grapes, currants, and gooseberries. The report noted that hops were of an excellent quality. Gramma and blue joint grass predominated the prairie. Fauna indigenous to the area included antelopes, turkeys, white tailed deer, quails, sage hens, and trout "up to five pounds in weight." The report notes that "The county shows evidence in many places of former occupation by an agricultural people; but the villages were of smaller dimensions than present day pueblos; excavations show earthenware pots filled with charred corn, arrowheads of flint and obsidian, *metates*, and canyons show remains of cliff houses." Archaeological information from the report has been corroborated by a number of contemporary field surveys and studies. The report notes that there was one vacant "woolen mill" for sale in the county, located on the Mora River 4 miles from the railroad station. It contained a three story stone building and an additional one story building with outhouses, stables, and included 200 acres of land. The mill was run on power supplied by "an overshot wheel."

Lister, R. H. "Notes on the Archaeology of the Watrous Valley." *El Palacio*, No. 55 (2):35-41.
(Source Code G)

Research presented in this study reveals evidence that prehistoric occupation of the valley lasted a long time. One particular site excavated in 1948 appears to be a large L-shaped pueblo located on the Lynam Ranch. It dates from 1300 A. D. and may have been inhabited in historic times. Archaeologists found large structures within the complex. Material culture finds at this site range from Yuma points through Pueblo and Plains material to projectile points of metal. Pueblo type pottery shards are of the Pueblo II and III cultural stages. Additional remnants uncovered included *metates*, *manos* and bone awls made from splinters of mammal bones.

Moerman, Daniel E. *Native American Ethnobotany*. Portland: Timber Press, 1998. (Source Code H)

Comprehensive encyclopedia of Native American plants and herbs. The entries include information on thousands of flora species which have been identified as important to 281 indigenous groups in North America. The author notes that there are 31,566 kinds of vascular plants in North America (seed plants which produce flowers, and the conifers); and spore bearing plants (ferns, club mosses, spike mosses and horsetails). American Indians used "2,874 of these species as medicines, 1,886 as foods, 230 as dyes, 492 as fibers (for weaving baskets, building materials, etc.)." In addition, they used 1,190 species for a broad range of additional purposes. Many species had multiple uses. The Southwestern tribes which were associated with Fort Union—the Kiowas, Comanches, Navajos, Apaches, Utes, Zunis, Hopi, and Pueblos—are all included in the volume. For each tribe the number of plants and their uses are identified.

Moore, Michael. *Medicinal Plants of the Desert and Canyon West*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989. (Source Code I)

Comprehensive listing of plants in the Southwest which have been identified as being of traditional medicinal value to Hispanics and Indians of the region.

Moore, Michael. *Medicinal Plants of the Mountain West*, Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003. (Source Code J)

Companion volume to Moore's work on the desert and canyon West, focusing on the mountainous areas.

Michael Moore. *Los Remedios de la Gente, A Compilation of Traditional New Mexican Herbal Medicines and Their Use*. Santa Fe, NM, 1977. (Source Code K)

A compilation of traditional New Mexican herbs and their use.

Oakes, Yvonne Roye. *The Cross L. Ranch Site (A Study in Plains Adaptation)*. Laboratory of Anthropology Note No. 164. Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1979. (Source Code L)

In 1978 excavations at the Cross L Ranch site yielded evidence of prehistoric Plains Indian adaptations in the Dry Cimarron River Valley of northeastern New Mexico from approximately A. D. 600-1000. Stone structures and other lithic remains were identified during the excavations. In addition, 95 plant species were observed and identified, and their potential nutritional and medicinal use was documented. The study area lies to the northeast of Fort Union proper, but many of the plants identified are native to the area around Fort Union according to the information which is synthesized in the Ethnobotanical Chart incorporated into this study.

Schackel, Sandra. *Historic Vegetation at Fort Union National Monument, 1851-1983*. National Park Service, Southwest Region, October, Santa Fe, 1983. (Source Code M)

Sandra Schackel has studied the various species of plants at Fort Union. According to her study, vegetative conditions at Ft. Union in the 1980s appeared similar to those documented in the historic records of the mid nineteenth century. The historical information utilized for the report was drawn from: "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Ft. Leavenworth, Missouri to San Diego in California in 1847." (Senate Ex. Doc., 30th Congress, 1st Session, No. 7, 1847); *Western America in 1846-47: The original travel diary of Lt. J.W. Abert who mapped New Mexico for the United States Army*. (John Galvin, ed. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1951); and George Vasey, "Report to the United States Agricultural Bureau, 1884, (Ft. Union Library). The valley possessed rich blue *grama* and other grasses interspersed with a great variety of beautiful wild flowers until the coming of US troops in 1851. The construction of buildings, gardens, corrals, and the parade ground gradually turned the once luxuriant pasture into a barren, dusty area." (p. 78) Grasses still dominate the valley though pasturage is not as lush as once described. During the incipient stage of the fort's existence, vegetation at the fort was at its climax, a stage when all indigenous plants could propagate due to minimal human ecological impact. Subsequent periods of human activity and climatic change (i.e., drought, excessive rainfall, overgrazing, use of horses and wagons, etc.), ushered in diachronic periods of vegetative decline. After the fort's abandonment, heavy grazing resumed up until the time that the fort was protected as a national monument. There were not many trees on the fort for most of its history, but there is photographic evidence of cottonwoods and deciduous trees during certain periods.

Stuart, David E. et al. *Prehistoric New Mexico Background for Survey*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996. (Source Code N)

The Tecolote-Ribera area, just to the south of Fort Union had a significant population density in prehistoric times, as did the Watrous Valley and the Mora/Ocaté region within the immediate vicinity of Fort Union, as evidenced by excavated house mounds. Early indigenous groups in the vicinity of Ft. Union hunted small game and collected wild plants. As early as A. D. 200, there is evidence of corn production and the use of pottery in the region. The settling of Jicarilla Apaches in agricultural villages during the eighteenth century suggests that population pressure forced these groups to pursue more intense strategies of food production. The Glasscock site near Ocaté was a Jicarilla Apache Pueblo and contains "seven contiguous adobe rooms with artifacts of shards, Pueblo and Mexican tradewares, lithic tools, manos and *metates* and projectile points." The presences of the later confirm sedentary agricultural practices at this site. (pp. 305-313)

Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 8, 1875, as cited in Leo E. Oliva. *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*. Southwest Cultural Research Center, Professional Papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993. (Source Code O)

Indians were provided with healthcare at Ft. Union, although they did not always take advantage of it as noted in one of the medical reports written by the post surgeon, Dr. Moffatt in 1875. He reported that among all of the resident communities at the fort, "gonorrhoeal and syphilitic affections are probably the great scourge we have to deal with." Although he had numerous white male patients, he added that he had "not been called upon to treat a single native man or woman for cures of these affections." He believed that the Native Americans did not seek his help because "they use two native plants which have a very high local reputation in these diseases." The plants were not identified in his report. (pp. 605-606).

Tennert, Robert. *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. (Source Code P)

At the Bosque Redondo many of the confined Navajos preferred to rely on their own healers. One military officer recognized some value in the native remedies, noting that "Indian doctors" effectively used herbs to cure syphilis and other venereal diseases. For many ailments the author writes, they also used "feathers, stones, charms, roots, leaves, antelope toes, cranes' bills, and sometimes they paint themselves with charred wood." They used "sweat lodges built of poles covered with grass and dirt, or small excavations in the earth, having previously been filled with red hot stones." Dr. Jonathan Letterman who was one of the post surgeons at Fort Union in the 1850s claimed that the Navajos used white hospitals only as a last resort due to "an age old belief in the magic of their medical men." (p.32)

Vasey, George. "Report to the United States Agricultural Bureau, 1884. Ft. Union Library. (Source Code Q)

Sandra Schackel utilized this report extensively for her 1983 survey. The report describes the ecological environment in the vicinity of Ft. Union. It notes that Fort Union sits between two life and crop zones. This transition zone covers the middle mountainous slopes of the high ranges. It includes Ponderosa Pine and the Upper Sonoran zone of Piñon Pine, Juniper, cedar, wild flowers, and blue *grama* covering most of the plains and foothill country. Wild licorice (*glycyrrhiza lepidota*) was plentiful in the Mora valley. In addition, common thistle, the little sandbur, cocklebur, and red pine are all listed.

Ethnobotanical Charts for Fort Union and Environs

PLANT →	Chokecherry <i>Prunus virginiana</i> (Source Code: A, D, H, I)	Yucca Amole; Banana Yucca <i>Yucca baccata</i> ; <i>Yucca glauca</i> (Source Code: B, H, J, K, L)	Common Juniper <i>Juniperus communis</i> (Source Code: B, H, J, K)	Cottonwood <i>Populus wislizeni</i> ; <i>Populus angustifolia</i> (Source Code: H, K)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: found in immediate vicinity of Ft. Union/ all mountainous regions of NM.	Location: high desert of New Mexico to 8000.' Found at Ft. Union proper.	Location: Found up to 8000' in New Mexico, frequently clustered with piñon; found at Ft. Union proper.	Location: Along river banks throughout New Mexico; attempts to introduce it at Ft. Union were unsuccessful.
Pueblo		Dried for use as food; used in bread and cakes; fiber for basket weaving; used as a beverage.		Bole of trunk used for drums.
Navajo	Fruit; dye; ceremonial items.	Ceremonial medicine; gastrointestinal aid; fiber used for basket weaving.		Buds used as chewing gum.
Zuni		Used as a fruit; fiber used for basket weaving		Buds used as chewing gum.
Apache		Antidiarrheal; bread and cake; arrow shafts; beverage; soup; fiber used for basket weaving. ³¹⁰		Buds used as chewing gum.
Kiowa	Winter use food.			
Spanish New Mexicans	Used as gastrointestinal aid; rheumatism; as a food source.	Used as a beverage in Penitente ceremonies; used as a food source.	Used as a tea for illness.	

³¹⁰ The San Carlos Apaches who were imprisoned at Ft. Union between 1886-1891 were reported to make baskets which were sold in the vicinity of the fort. See Genevieve LaTourrette, "Fort Union Memories, 1877-1891," diary published in *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4 Oct, 1951.

PLANT →	One Seed Juniper <i>Juniperus monosperma</i> (Source Code: B, H, L, I)	Agave American Century Plant <i>Agave Americana</i> (Source Code: B, H)	Corn <i>Zea Mays</i> (Source Code: A, B, F, G, H, N)	Cota Navajo tea <i>thelesperma gracile</i> . (Source Code: E, H, I, J, K)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: Throughout New Mexico, including Mora County.	Location: Principally found in southern New Mexico between 2-7000' elevation.	Location: Entire region of the Southwest.	Location: Found throughout New Mexico between 4500-7000' elevation.
Pueblo	Gynecological aid; antiheumatic aid, sore muscles; Gastrointestinal aid; cooked berries used as food; as seasoning with deer meat; used as a chewing gum.		Staple food; corn pollen for heart palpitations; ceremonial uses. Sedentary agriculturists cultivated maize in the vicinity of Ft. Union in prehistoric times.	For gastrointestinal use; beverage; diuretic; beverage; as a dye.
Navajo	Analgesic; used as a chewing gum.		Staple food; Corn pollen for heart palpitations; ceremonial uses.	Beverage
Zuni	Antirheumatic aid, sore muscles.		Staple food; Corn pollen for heart palpitations; ceremonial uses.	
Comanche		Staple food;	With lye as an intestinal antispasmodic	Beverage
Hopi			Staple food.	Beverage
Apache	Used as a chewing gum.	Staple food ; used for alcoholic beverage.	Staple food.	Beverage
Kiowa			With lye as an intestinal antispasmodic.	
Ute		Staple food; used for alcoholic beverage.	Staple food.	
Spanish New Mexicans	Used as a chewing gum.	Used as a food source.	Staple food; mush (<i>chaquegue</i>) used for gunshot wounds; in diuretic mixtures; also for asthma and coughs.	Used a regular beverage, and as a diuretic; for gastrointestinal purposes.

PLANT →	Escoba de la Víbora Snakeweed <i>Gutierrezia sarothrae</i> (Source Code: H, J, K, L, I)	Yerba Mansa <i>Anemopsis californica</i> (Source Code: H, K)	Common Hop <i>Humulus neomexicanus</i> (Source Code: A, F, J, K)	Wild Potato <i>Solanum jamesii</i> (Source Code: A, B, C)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: High, dry slopes, mesas, river bottoms in New Mexico to 9,000.' At Ft. Union proper.	Location: Wet alkaline seeps through most of the Southwest.	Location: Found growing naturally at the Ft. Union farm at Ocaté. ³¹¹	Location: high mountainous areas.
Pueblo	Dermatological aid; gynecological aid; for venereal disease.	Dermatological aid; burn dressing; disinfectant. (Note: Isleta, Acoma, Laguna)		Food-cooked.
Navajo	Dermatological aid; cathartic; eye wash; rattlesnake bite; veterinary aid; venereal disease		Used in cooking; cough medicine.	Food-boiled, baked or raw.
Zuni	Antidiarrheal; disinfectant; stomachache; urinary aid; veterinary aid; ceremonial items.			
Comanche	Muscle aches; diuretic.			
Hopi	Fiber used for brushes and brooms.			Food-used to make yeast.
Apache	Gastrointestinal aid;		Food: used to flavor wheat flour, potatoes and drinks.	Food-cooked.
Kiowa	Ceremonial items			
Spanish New Mexicans	Used for gynecological purposes; as a beverage; for rheumatism; and for gastrointestinal problems.	Used as a tea to aid with arthritis, rheumatism, gastrointestinal problems and to heal skin abrasions; for inflamed throats.	Used for beer and bread making and in a tea; its roots are boiled and used as a bathing solution for rheumatism; also used as a sedative.	Traditionally used as a staple in Northern New Mexican communities.

³¹¹ The common hop grew naturally in the region and was found on the Ft. Union garden, where it was harvested and praised by the bakers at the fort as one of the finest hops available for baking, as noted in a report from the commanding officer at Ft. Union in 1866. Commanding Officer at Fort Union to General Carleton, December 22, 1866. Headquarters Records of Fort Union, NM 1862-69, National Archives, Reel 2 (of 5), Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

PLANT →	Wild plums <i>Ciruela cimarrona</i> (Source Code: A, F)	Wild Cherry Capulín <i>prunus melanocarpa</i> (Source Code: A, F, K)	Timothy <i>Phleum pratense</i> (Source Code: H, M, Q)	Alfalfa <i>Medicago sativa</i> (Source Code: H, J, K, M, Q)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: Mora County	Location: Mora County	Location: Mora County; Ft. Union proper	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Navajo			Used for brushes and brooms; stems used for hair brushes.	Fodder.
Apache	Used as food.			
Spanish New Mexicans	Used as a food source.	Used as a food source.		Tea used as a gastrointestinal aid.

PLANT →	Western Wheat Grass <i>Pascopyrum smithii.</i> (Source Code: H, M)	Galleta <i>Hilaria jamesii</i> (Source Code: H, M)	Little Blue Stem <i>Schizachyrium scoparium</i> (Source Code: B, H, M)	Antelope Grass, Muhly <i>Muhlenbergia pauciflora</i> (Source Code: H, M, Q)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo	Used as insecticide.			
Navajos		Used as dietary aid and forage.		
Comanche			Used as venereal aid, i.e. stem ashes for syphilitic sores; ceremonial items in sweat lodge.	
Hopi		Used as ceremonial items, and baskets.		
Apache		Potential use for basket making.		For baskets and containers
PLANT →	Threeawn <i>Aristida</i> (Source Code: H, M)	Bottle Brush/Squirreltail <i>Elymus elymoides</i> (Source Code: H, M)	Sleepy Grass <i>Stipa robusta</i> (Source Code: H)	Sand Dropseed <i>Sporobolus cryptandrus</i> Source Code: H)
INDIAN	Location: Mora County and Ft.	Location: Mora County and Ft.	Location: Mora County and	Location: Mora County and Ft.

TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Union proper.	Union proper.	Ft. Union proper.	Union proper.
Pueblo	Burn dressing			Used for fodder.
Navajos	Grass used as fodder.	Used as fodder for sheep and horses.	Used as fodder for sheep and horses.	Seeds used for baking bread and cake.
Hopi	Used for brushes, brooms and ceremonial items.			Used as veterinary aid; seeds used in bread and cake.
Apache				Seeds used in bread and cake.
Kiowa				Used as fodder.
Spanish New Mexicans			Used as a tea for kidney problems; used for making brooms. Used ritually to ward off evil.	
PLANT → INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Buffalo Grass <i>Monroa squarrosa</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Alkali Sacaton <i>Sporobolus airoides</i> (Source Code: H, M, Q) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Vine Mesquite <i>Panicum obtusum/ Panicum virgatum</i> (Source Code: H, M, Q) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Big Blue Stem <i>Andropogon gerardii</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo			Dermatological aid, soap.	
Navajos	Ceremonial uses.		Used as fodder for livestock.	
Hopi		Used for starvation food.		
Apache		Used for containers.	Used as a gravy for food.	Dried for use in food preparation, and used for containers.

PLANT →	Wooly Plantain <i>Plantago patagonica</i> (Source Code: H)	Indian Paintbrush Flor de Santa Rita <i>Castilleja integra</i> (Source Code: H)	Evening Primrose Flor de San Juan <i>Oenothera Primiveris</i> (Source Code: H, K)	Fringed Sage <i>Artemisia frigida</i> (Source Code: H, L)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo	Used for headaches.	Used as a food preservative, and for ceremonial uses.		Used for gastrointestinal needs.
Navajos	Used for gastrointestinal problems, and ceremonial uses.	Used as burn dressing; gastrointestinal aid.	Used in ceremonial medicine.	Used as cough medicine, ceremonial uses.
Zuni				Ceremonial uses.
Hopi	Used for nervous conditions, and ceremonial activities.			Ceremonial uses.
Apache		Used as a dye.		
Spanish New Mexicans		As a tea for water retention.	As a kidney medicine; for menstrual cramps.	Used for gastrointestinal problems; menstrual problems.

PLANT →	Scurfpea <i>Pedimelum hypogaeum</i> (Source Code: H)	Western Ragweed <i>Ambrosia psilostachya</i> (Source Code: H, L)	Prairie Clover <i>Dalea purpurea</i> (Source Code: H)	Roth, Varas de San Jose <i>Penstemon barbatus</i> (Source Code: H)
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo			Root used as food.	
Navajos			Used as pulmonary aid, and the root as food.	Used for gastrointestinal and gynecological aid.

Zuni			Root used as food.	Root used for ceremonial activities.
Comanche	Root used as food.		Root used as food.	
Kiowa		Used as dermatological aid; fuel for sweat houses.		
Spanish New Mexicans			Hair rinse; chewing gum for sore mouths	Used for kidney problems and colds.

PLANT →	Beardtongue <i>Penstemon virgatus</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Moradilla, Verbena <i>Verbena bipinnatifida</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Cone Flower, Yerba de la Tusa <i>Lepachys tagetes</i> (Source Code: K) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Globemallow <i>Sphaeralcea</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓				
Pueblo			Used as a dermatological aid.	Used as gynecological aid.
Navajos	Whole plant or root used as "lifemedicine."	Used as dermatological aid.	Used as a dermatological aid.	Used as a cold remedy; ceremonial medicine; as a beverage; as a starvation food; as a gastrointestinal aid.
Comanche				Used as a dermatological aid.
Hopi				Used as a gastrointestinal aid.
Kiowa				Used as a decorative item.
Spanish New Mexicans	Used as an aid for kidney problems and colds; menstrual aid.	Used for rheumatism, back pain.	Used as a dermatological aid.	

PLANT → INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Nopal Plains Prickly Pear <i>Opuntia polyacantha</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Ball Cactus <i>Mammillaria sp.</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Dotted Gayfeather <i>Liatris punctata</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Groundsel Yerba del Chivatito <i>Pericome caudata</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo	Used as a winter food, formerly roasted; used for rheumatic inflammations.			
Navajos	Used as a poison for hunting, and as a dye.	Flesh and ripe fruit used as food.		Used for ceremonial items.
Comanche			Used as urinary aid.	
Hopi	Used for rheumatic inflammations.			Fibers for brushes and brooms.
Apache		Flesh and ripe fruits used as food.		
Kiowa			Used as a food.	
Spanish New Mexicans	Used for rheumatic inflammations.			Used for rheumatism; bedwetting.

PLANT → INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Curly Cup, Gumweed <i>Grindelia nuda</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Whorled Milkweed <i>Asclepias sp.</i> (Source Code: H, I, J, K) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Cholla <i>Opuntia imbrica</i> (Source Code: H, L) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Grama <i>Bouteloua oligostachya</i> (Source Code: H, M, Q) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.
Pueblo		Fiber used as string; enhance breast feeding.	Used as starvation food.	
Navajos	Used as a dermatological aid; insecticide.	Eaten as food.		Used as fodder for sheep and horses.
Zuni			Used for ceremonial items.	
Apache			Dried and used as food.	Used for ceremonial items.
Kiowa		Eaten as fruit.		
Spanish New Mexicans		Used as a food.	Used as a hair tonic; as a diuretic.	

PLANT → INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Wild Licorice <i>Glycyrrhiza lepidota</i> (Source Code: D, H, J, K, M) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Cocklebur <i>Xanthium strumarium</i> (Source Code: H, M) Location: Mora County and Ft. Union proper.	Lemita, Sumac, Squaw Bush <i>Rhus trilobata</i> (Source Code: H, L, E) Location: Moist canyonlands of New Mexico between 4,500-7000.'	Punche, Tobacco <i>Nicotiana attenuata</i> (Source Code: A, K) Location: Found throughout New Mexico in dry stream beds, including Mora County.
Pueblo	Used as a dermatological aid; cough medicine.	Used in ceremonial activity.		Sacred plant; used as an analgesic poultice; used for smoking.
Navajos	Used as a cathartic.	Used as a dermatological aid.	Used for black dye; basket making; lemonade.	Sacred plant; used for smoking.
Zuni		Used as a ceremonial item.	Basket making.	Sacred plant; used for smoking.
Hopi			Basket making.	Sacred plant; used for smoking.

Apache		Used in bread.	Basket making.	Sacred plant; used for smoking.
Spanish New Mexicans				Used for smoking; medicinal use in various forms for colds, rheumatism, kidneys, toothaches.

PLANT → INDIAN TRIBES & HISPANICS ↓	Pigweed/ Verdolaga <i>Amaranthus spp.</i> (Source Code: H) Location: Through New Mexico, including Mora County.	Lambs Quarter/Quelites <i>Amaranthus retroflexus</i> (Source Code: E, H) Location: Throughout New Mexico.
Pueblo	Used as a food source.	Used as a food source.
Navajo	Used as a food source	Used as a food source; meat flavoring.
Apache	Used as a food source	Used as a food source.
Spanish New Mexicans	Used a food source	Used as a food source

APPENDIX C
NOTABLE LANDMARKS IN THE VICINITY OF FORT UNION

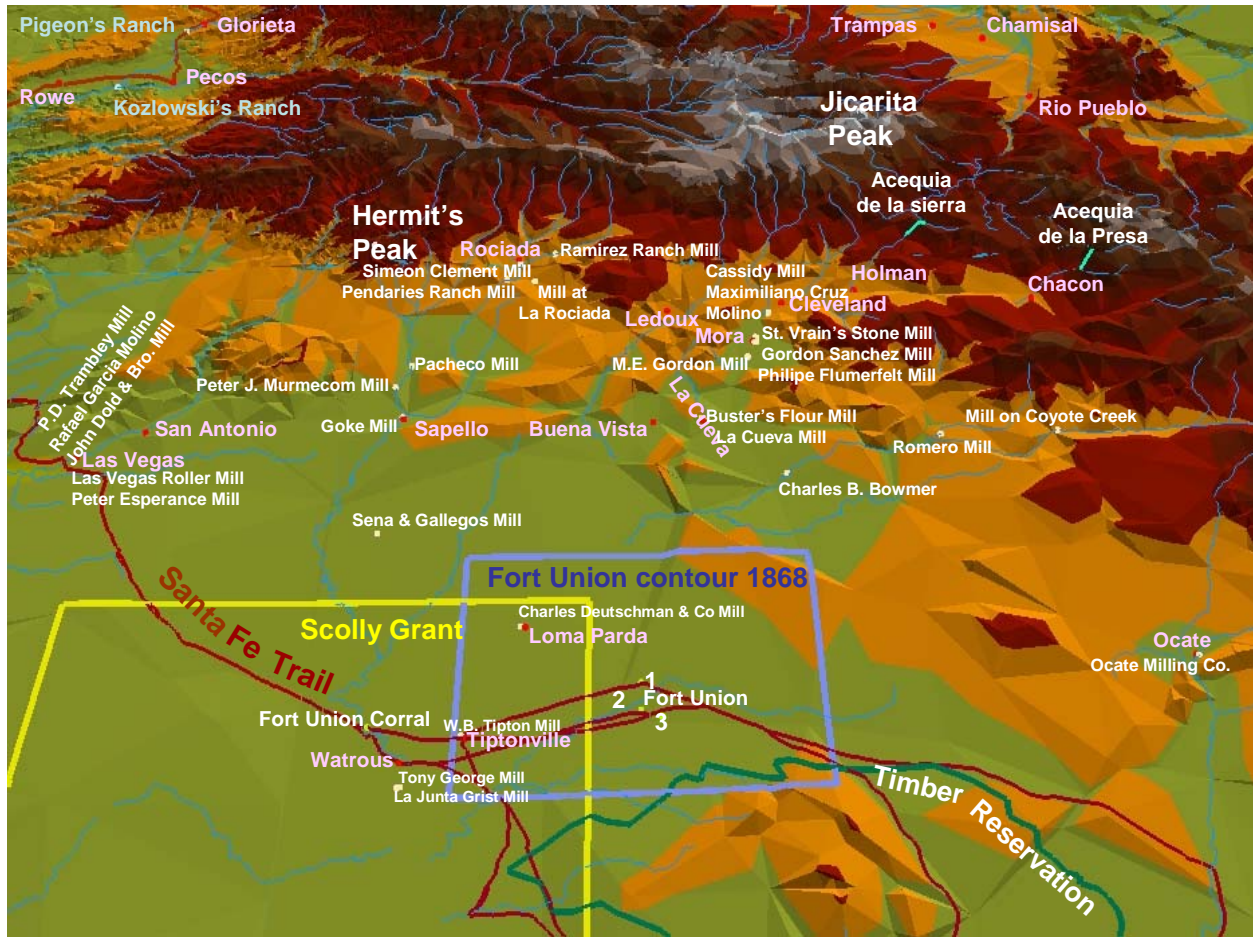


Figure 18 - This computer generated map shows the location of some of various placenames and notable landmarks in the surrounding area of Fort Union.

The Fort Union Military Reservation

In 1868 the President of the United States declared that Ft. Union Reservation was to encompass 54 sq. miles. According to congressional documents published in 1879, the actual size was closer to 51.5 sq. miles and stretched as far south as the Mora River; in addition, the Turkey Mountains were formally designated part of the reservation and encompassed approximately 53 sq. miles in area. To the southeast of the Ft. Union Military Reservation, and on the south side of the Mora River, a separate tract of land, containing 5,120 acres, was part of the reservation as well. It was initially allocated to the fort in 1857 and served as a farming area. Ft. Union also claimed a corral and forage area on the outskirts of the town of La Junta (Watrous). All of the land included in the reservation was within the Mora Land Grant.³¹²

³¹² From U. S. Congress, Senate Committee on Military Affairs "Title to certain military and timber reservations." S. Rept. 621, 45th (1878-79).

Turkey Mountains.

The Fort Union timber reservation embraced the entire range of the Turkey Mountains (53 sq. miles³¹³). Ft. Union established a wood camp in the Turkey Mountains where the military maintained quarters for assignments which could last for weeks at a time.³¹⁴ In Fort Union's latter period, the Turkey Mountains became a favorite recreation area for the fort's officers and their families who hunted there went on horseback riding excursions to the mountains on a regular basis.³¹⁵

Ramona School, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Many Apache children, particularly of the Jicarilla and San Carlos tribes, were enrolled at the Ramona School. Between 1884 and 1891 many Apaches were held prisoner at Fort Union to curtail the activities of the leaders of the bands who refused to cooperate with military and government officials. These included, but were not limited to, Geronimo and the Apache Kid. Only a small number of the captive Indians were physically constrained while at the fort, but could be confined to the fort's premises for months, or even years, at a time. The Indian parents from Ft. Union would be given "passes" to visit their children at the school, but visitations were restricted, and usually were limited to once or twice a year.³¹⁶

Information available in the "Papers of Horatio Ladd" Collection at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico provides the best clues as to the location of the Ramona School. The school was established as a special "Department" of the Old University of New Mexico at Santa Fe (no relation to the UNM of today) which was located on the corner of Garfield and Guadalupe Streets. The Ramona School, however, was not at the university, but a few blocks away on "the banks of the Santa Fe River, on property obtained from J. H. Taylor."³¹⁷ The land was composed of 5 acres and 60 fruit trees, and at one time was the site of an "adobe" plant. The school included three buildings, containing 17 rooms. One letter in the collection, written in 1921 by a student who had been at the school to Horatio Ladd, the president and founder of the school, described it as being within sight of the plaza on a hill close to the state capital building³¹⁸ (this reference would be to the original state capital building). The student, J. S. Candelario, described himself to Ladd, hoping he would remember him. In the letter he told Ladd that he was known as "Sito" (his Apache name) and that his best friend was Albert Ladd, another Apache (Ladd's namesake) who now lived in Dulce. Candelario sent Ladd the letter on

³¹³ Telegram from A. A. A. G. Col. Carr to Adjutant General, Los Angeles, 6 December 1889, as noted in Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 41-364.

³¹⁴ Correspondence from Lt. L. Wightman to Lt. James Riley, re: Charge of wood camp, 18 December 1867, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 21, 296; see also Dale Giese, "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union," Ph. D dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1969, 167.

³¹⁵ Dale Giese, "Soldiers at Play," 108-109, 115.

³¹⁶ Cris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 403; see also the Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection at the University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research. Ladd founded the Ramona Indian Girls School in Santa Fe in 1883. He was a member of the Congregational Ministry, receiving a significant amount of support from New England church groups to pursue missionary endeavors, including the establishment of the school. Folder 19 includes original brochures and correspondence concerning the school and its activities. Ladd developed lucrative contracts with the U.S. government to sponsor Indian children from Fort Union and teachers from the school conducted at least one recruiting trip to Ft. Stanton in an effort to obtain Indian students.

³¹⁷ Horatio Ladd, Newsletter to Congregationalist Church members, Boston, Mass., 1886, (Folder 19), "Papers of Horatio Ladd," Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

³¹⁸ Letter from J. S. Candelario to Horatio Ladd, 8 November 1921, (Folder 23), "Papers of Horatio Ladd."

the business letterhead of his company, "The Old Curio Shop" located in Santa Fe, claiming that he was now a very successful businessman in the capital city.

Moradas.

Moradas were chapels or chapter houses used by Penitente groups. During the summer of 1877 an unnamed army officer at Fort Union described a *penitente* ritual in detail. The officer noted that the group had two *moradas* located "at La Junta, New Mexico about two miles from Fort Union."³¹⁹ His narrative includes a detailed account of the activities which took place as the participants left the confines of the morada structure.³²⁰

Caves near Ft. Union.

Fort Union officials had difficulty maintaining order and discipline among its enlisted men. One author noted that shortly after the fort's establishment, a number of prostitutes, gamblers and whiskey sellers arrived in its vicinity and many set up their businesses in nearby caves. The caves were found to be a hidden repository for thousands of dollars worth of military supplies and equipment used as compensation for services rendered by the camp followers.³²¹

Acequias

The Mora Valley remained unsettled until the early nineteenth century, primarily due to perennial conflict between allied Spanish settlers and Pueblo Indians with the Plains tribes who predominated along the eastern flank of the Sangre de Cristo mountains. Most Spanish settlement remained confined to the Río Grande watershed. Antonio Olguín undertook the initiative to colonize the Mora valley sometime after 1816 when policies promulgated by the Governor of New Mexico gave impetus for colonists to open new settlements.³²² Olguín successfully petitioned the Picuris Pueblo for permission to divert water from one of the pueblo's streams. Ultimately he developed an innovative plan to cut an irrigation canal from a branch of the Río Pueblo into the Mora Valley, a project which was completed around 1818, permitting the settlers to establish homesteads at Holman and Chacón.³²³ Continuous attacks from Plains Indians, however, forced the abandonment of the settlements by 1832. It was not until after Ft. Union was established that settlers once again entered the valley. By 1865 the people at Chacón constructed another *acequia* drawing water from the northern branch of the Río Pueblo (today it is known as the *acequia de la Presa y la Sierra*). In 1879 another *acequia* was constructed, taking water from the third and southern branch of the Río Pueblo, diverting water into Agua Negra (Holman). After the construction of the third *acequia* the Picurís Indians took legal action against the residents of Agua Negra, claiming that the Pueblo had not granted permission for that *acequia*'s construction. They were unsuccessful in their lawsuit, and the *acequias* continue to supply water to Holman, Cleveland and Mora.³²⁴

³¹⁹ James B. Fry, "The Penitentes" in *Army Sacrifices, Briefs from Official Pigeon-holes*, (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Starpole Books, 2003), 99.

³²⁰ Fry, "The Penitentes," 101-104.

³²¹ David Keener, "Loma Parda, a Town Maligned," Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1988, 76. In addition, see Letter from General Carleton to Kit Carson, re: stolen goods, 18 August 1863, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 12, 48.

³²² Anselmo Arellano, "Case Study: Acequias de la Sierra and Early Agriculture of the Mora Valley," (Guadalupita: Center for Land Grant Studies, 1994), 2.

³²³ Arellano, "Case Study: Acequias...", 3.

³²⁴ Arellano, "Case Study: Acequias...", 4-7.

Grain Mills

During the nineteenth century the military's presence in New Mexico had a profound effect on the region's economy. One author noted that “The military demand for bread and meat literally created the milling and cattle industries in the Southwest....”³²⁵ The demand for agricultural crops impacted the local economy substantially. The military required large amounts of locally produced products to support growing military ventures. In addition, the army had a role in directly rationing Indians, particularly those considered prisoners of war. Relationships between the military and the Superintendency of Indian Affairs were contentious, and, as a result, the military was sometimes responsible for rationing reservation tribes as well.³²⁶

Earl Porter, an authority on the grain mills of New Mexico, described the horizontal Spanish mills, which produced 300-400 pounds of flour daily. They operated mostly in the Spring and Fall. Summer was used by the farmers for agricultural chores. Wheat was typically harvested in June, and the flour was threshed by driving animals over the grain. Then it was washed in a *canao* (trough) with holes in it, near the mill, and dried. The washing cleaned the grain of foreign matter, such as animal droppings, dirt and gravel, and raised the moisture content to a proper amount for milling.³²⁷ By the 1850s steam engines were introduced to run some of the mills, and during the 1870s turbine mills and roller mills were introduced. Roller mills had two rollers which turned at different rates and were more efficient at popping off the bran and cracking the grain into chunks of starch—middlings—and germ. There were setups with 3, 5 and 7 stands of rollers. The rollers further cracked and ground the middlings into flour.³²⁸ In 1880 the railroads began to arrive, ultimately putting an end to the use of water power for milling. The trains brought cheaper flour from the Midwest.³²⁹

Mills Operating During the Ft. Union Era

Ceran St. Vrain Mill.

St. Vrain built the first modern gristmill in New Mexico around 1850. The mill he constructed near the village of Talpa, a few miles south of Taos, used grain from the Taos Valley, the principal wheat-growing area in New Mexico. A second mill was erected at Mora and drew wheat from settlements east of the mountains. A third mill was constructed at Peralta. All three mills were powered by water.³³⁰ Records indicate that St. Vrain supplied the military with grain as early as 1851 to support Col. Sumner's planned military outpost near Taos.³³¹ St. Vrain was one of the largest New Mexico suppliers and contracted to support a variety of military sites throughout New Mexico.³³² During the early 1860s military contracts were worth hundreds of

³²⁵ Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*, (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1989), 130.

³²⁶ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 53-54; also information from Interview with Earl Porter, Larry Miller/Jerry Gurulé, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, NM.

³²⁷ Interview with Earl Porter, Larry Miller/Jerry Gurulé, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, NM.

³²⁸ Interview with Earl Porter, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, NM.

³²⁹ Interview with Earl Porter, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, NM.

³³⁰ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 131.

³³¹ Correspondence from Ceran St. Vrain to Col. Sumner, Santa Fe Military headquarters, 14 October 1851, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 50, 39.

³³² Esther A. Middlewood, “Grinding it out: Mills stand test of time” in *New Mexico Magazine*, Oct. 2003, 38.

thousands of dollars due to the need to strengthen New Mexico's military as a result of the Civil War, and to supply the 9000 Navajos at held captive at the Bosque Redondo. St. Vrain supplied both wheat flour and corn meal to Ft. Sumner and the Bosque Redondo Reservation.³³³ Lucrative military contracts made St. Vrain the first self-made millionaire in New Mexico.³³⁴ The mill was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

Aztec Mill.

This mill was built by Lucien B. Maxwell at Rayado in 1864, to supply flour for his ranch and Ft. Union. In addition, the Indian Agency set up a distribution center here to ration flour to tribes, such as the Jicarilla Apaches and the Utes.³³⁵ (See Cimarron Historic District).

Rio Chiquito Mill.

In 1858 Joseph Hersch, a native of Poland, erected New Mexico's first steam-powered gristmill on the Rio Chiquito in Santa Fe. The local press reported that it could grind "some hundred *fanegas*" of flour a day. The army's demand for flour coupled with the construction of these and other modern mills spurred New Mexico's farmers to more than double their output of wheat between 1850 and 1860.³³⁶

La Cueva Mill.

Vicente Romero's mill was established in 1851 near Ft. Union and for a period was the primary supplier to the fort. This was the period when Indian reservations were being established by the United States government and Romero's mill provided flour to the Indians as well.³³⁷ "The army devised various methods for testing the quality of contract flour, including the simple technique of chewing a small amount to detect grit ... [blind tests, such as] baking with contract flour and other brands and then comparing results." Flour samples from Romero and St. Vrain were so tested at Ft. Union in 1871, and it was noted that the quality was comparable.³³⁸ The overwhelming majority of military contracts in the Territory of New Mexico went to Anglos, primarily because Hispanic *ricos* (wealthy New Mexicans) had their finances tied up in land and sheep raising. Hispanic suppliers secured approximately 15% of the grain contracts between 1866-1880 in New Mexico, and Vicente Romero was one of the few who obtained large contracts, particularly with Fort Union.³³⁹ The mill was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

Pendaries Mill.

Constructed in 1875, Jean Pendaries' mill served as the primary agricultural and commercial center of the Rociado-Sapelló area for three generations. It was initially constructed to supply

³³³ Correspondence from Ceran St. Vrain to Col. Ben C. Cutler, AAG, Santa Fe, 8 October 1865, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 17, 226.

³³⁴ Interview with Earl Porter, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, N.M.

³³⁵ Middlewood, "Grinding it out: Mills stand test of time" in *New Mexico Magazine*, Oct. 2003, 42.

³³⁶ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 131.

³³⁷ Interview with Earl Porter. 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, N.M.

³³⁸ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 152-53; see also Report on Inspection of Flour at Ft. Union, 17 April 1871, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 25, 142-43.

³³⁹ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, (see Appendices 1, 2, 3).

flour to nearby Ft. Union.³⁴⁰ This mill was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1978.

El Molino Grande de Sapelló (Mill).

Originally built by the Pacheco Family, this mill was a major supplier of wheat for the military and the civilian population until the 1930s.

Molino Barelvas de Truchas.

Originally built by José de la Luz in 1873. During 1990-91 it was completely restored and returned to its near original operating condition. It is the only operational Spanish Colonial –style grist mill powered by a horizontal waterwheel in the U.S. and one of only about ten still standing.³⁴¹

Lauiano Córdoba Mill.

Constructed by Andres Córdoba in 1875, the mill stands on the Río Pueblo. It is registered as a historic site by the New Mexico Cultural Properties Division.

Loma Parda Mill.

Charles Deutschman was a millwright who was contracted to construct a number of mills in the Southwest in exchange for financing his own mill. He chose Loma Parda as the site for the mill whose primary customer was Fort Union during the 1870s-1880s. Evidence of the ditches utilized in the mill's operation and the foundation of the mill are still there.³⁴² According to one respondent this mill could grind 120 bushels a day. It could grind up to 120,000 bushels of wheat and 5,000 bushels of corn in a year.³⁴³

Cassidy Mill.

Built by Jacob Fuss in 1877, Fuss installed steel roller mill machinery in 1892. In 1914, he sold the mill to Daniel Cassidy. It is located southeast of Cleveland, and was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1978.

Mills Established After the Ft. Union Era

Gordon Sánchez Mill (1900-1949).

This mill was located at Mora and added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990.

Maximiliano Cruz Molino.

Located adjacent to the Cleveland Roller Mill Museum, it was built in 1890. A Norse-type horizontal waterwheel provided power to the mill.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ Middlewood, "Grinding it out: Mills stand test of time," 41.

³⁴¹ Middlewood, "Grinding it out: Mills stand test of time," 42.

³⁴² David Keener, "Loma Parda, a Town Maligned," 56-57.

³⁴³ Interview with Earl Porter, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, N.M.

³⁴⁴ Middlewood, "Grinding it out: Mills stand test of time," 41.

Other Landmarks

Loma Parda.

Loma Parda was a settlement on the north bank of the Mora River, 6 miles northwest of Watrous. It was a popular recreation spot for soldiers from Ft. Union who came here to drink, gamble, and visit its brothels. Attempts by the fort's commanders to place the village off-limits were not successful, and Loma Parda remained a popular place with Ft. Union's soldiers until the fort's closure in 1891. Among the ruins to be found at the site of the former community is **Julian Baca's Dance Hall**. This was a popular hang out for Ft. Union soldiers on their day's off. It was described as:

A long building the front of which was divided into two parts. The left section was used for dancing and the right side was the residence of the owner... Here [the soldiers] played monte... a game heavily weighted in favor of the house...³⁴⁵

Cimarron.

Cimarron was an important stop on the Santa Fe Trail, and became headquarters for the Maxwell Land Grant. Lucien Maxwell built the Aztec Mill here which supplied Ft. Union and the Ute and Jicarilla Apaches with flour. Cimarron was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

Cleveland.

Located three miles northwest of Mora, it was initially established in 1816. It was abandoned due to Indian raids, but reestablished in 1835 as part of the Mora Land Grant, and referred to simply as *lo de Mora* which designated the entire region, not just a particular settlement. The Daniel Cassidy established a commercial center here during the Ft. Union period which became known as the **Daniel Cassidy and Sons Merchandise Store** and was operated until 1924. In 1979 it was added to the National Register of Historic Places.

Mora Valley Archaeological Sites.

W. A. Moorehead reports numerous Pueblo sites along the Mora River between Watrous and the town of Mora. In addition one location just to the north of the town of Mora was found to contain 21 circles of stone, the largest of which was 15 feet in diameter. These are believed to be teepee rings, and suggests the presence of Athapascan-Apache people during the period that Pueblos had been established in the valley.³⁴⁶

Tecolote.

Charles Ilfeld rented a facility at Tecolote and established a way-station and forage area to accommodate the numerous military caravans traveling between Ft. Union and military

³⁴⁵ Keener, "Loma Parda, a Town Maligned," 42.

³⁴⁶ Warren King Moorehead, *Archaeology of the Arkansas River Valley*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), 116, 127.

headquarters at Santa Fe.³⁴⁷ He hired local native New Mexicans to operate this facility as he had done wherever he established enterprises throughout the territory.

Las Vegas.

Initially established as Nuestra Señora de Las Vegas in 1821, the town became an important stop on the Santa Fe Trail. It grew substantially when the railroad arrived in 1879, and was the largest urban center in the vicinity of Ft. Union. Numerous structures and sites within the community have been added to the National Register of Historic Places.

Point of Rocks.

Point of Rocks is located near Ute Creek and was an important landmark on the Santa Fe Trail. This locale was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1994.

Santa Fe (Ft. Marcy).

Ft. Marcy located in the territorial capital of Santa Fe served as the Headquarters for the Military District of New Mexico. For short periods, particularly during the Civil War, Ft. Union served as the District headquarters. Remnants of Ft. Marcy include the Hewett House which served as Officer's Quarters which was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975.

La Cueva.

Five miles southeast of Mora, La Cueva was established by Vicente Romero as a supply ranch for Ft. Union, and was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 (see La Cueva Mill).

LeDoux.

Originally the name of the settlement was San José, but the name was changed to recall a French trapper and guide who settled here in 1844. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990.

Weber.

Frank Weber, a German immigrant, served with the military at Ft. Union. Later, he settled in the vicinity of Buenavista and opened a mercantile business here. After other German immigrants arrived the community carried his name for a period of time.³⁴⁸

Mora.

The settlement has been known as Demora, lo de Mora, San Antonio de lo de Mora, and, ultimately, simply as Mora. It was settled in 1816, abandoned in 1833 due to Indian raids, and reestablished as part of the Mora Land Grant in 1835. Its historic district was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990.

La Junta/Watrous.

William Kronig, William Tipton and Samuel Watrous established cattle and freighting commercial ventures here in the early 1850s, and won lucrative military contracts with Ft.

³⁴⁷ William Parish, "Charles Ilfeld, Sedentary Merchant of the Arid Southwest, 1865-1884," Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1949, 78-79.

³⁴⁸ Robert Julian, *The Place Names of New Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.), 377.

Union.³⁴⁹ Watrous was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. **Gregg's Tavern** was a popular hangout for soldiers and travelers through the Watrous area. It became a regular stop along the stagecoach line, providing services for travelers between Santa Fe, Watrous and points north and east.³⁵⁰ Tiptonville is located 3 miles east of Watrous. It was settled in 1849, and was utilized as a grazing area for Hispanic and Anglo ranchers. Ft. Union had access to a grazing area nearby (see Fort Union Military Reservation). The **Tipton-Black Willow Ranch** Historic District was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2001.

Glorieta Pass Battlefield.

A well known landmark on the Santa Fe Trail, and the site of the decisive battle of Civil War New Mexico in 1862, this was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1966.

Auxiliary Posts and Ranches

Pigeons Ranch. (Glorieta Pass)

Pigeons Ranch was the largest and best equipped hostelry on the Santa Fe Trail between Las Vegas and the capital city. It was located near Glorieta Pass, the site of the decisive Civil War battle which preserved New Mexico for the Union.³⁵¹

Giddings Ranch.

The ranch, located about 40 miles south of Anton Chico, was settled by James Giddings in 1855. Giddings was very controversial, particularly during the Civil War period when he was accused of being a Southern sympathizer. The location of the ranch bordered on the eastern plains which was a vulnerable area due to attacks by Plains Indians on local settlements, and the anticipated threat of a Confederate invasion through this region. Consequently there was a perennial military presence there, and, at one point during the Civil War, the commanding officer at Ft. Union was ordered to destroy the ranch in order to prevent Confederate soldiers from occupying it.³⁵²

Kozloski's Ranch. (Glorieta)

This ranch served as a make-shift outpost for Army activity. It usually had a reliable source of water and forage for military livestock. During the Navajo's long walk to the Bosque Redondo it served as a rest area for one of the alternative routes.

Los Posos.

Los Posos was also known as "Holes [of water] in the Prairie." At the juncture of the Sapelló and Mora Rivers, it was visited by Kearny during the American occupation of New Mexico. He found water holes and a spring. Ft. Union was established near this point in 1851.

³⁴⁹ Alexia M. Kosmider, "Samuel B. Watrous," Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1983, 3-4.

³⁵⁰ Kosmider, "Samuel B. Watrous," 125.

³⁵¹ Julyan, *The Place Names of New Mexico*, 266.

³⁵² Correspondence from Major J. L. Donaldson, District headquarters of New Mexico to Col. G. R. Paul, Commanding Officer at Ft. Union, 4 January 1862, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 9, 17.

Hatch's Ranch. (Chapman, San Miguel County)

A military post was here in 1857, with barracks for a Mounted Rifles regiment from Ft. Union, due to problems between settlers and Indians in the region. Expeditions to the plains to address problems with Indians, comancheros, and the anticipated threat of Confederate troops during the Civil War were organized and supplied at the ranch. Afterwards the ranch served the military's needs as a reliable place for water and forage for livestock.

Johnson's Ranch. (Apache Canyon)

During the Navajo's long walk to the Bosque Redondo Johnson's Ranch served as one of the rest areas for the alternative route which came through Galisteo and Eaton's Ranch. It also served as a gathering place for soldiers undertaking military operations in the area.

Eaton's Ranch. (Galisteo)

This ranch was located along an important military road which connected Ft. Union with Tijeras Canyon and Albuquerque. It served as a provisional outpost for Army activity. During the Navajo's long walk to the Bosque Redondo it served as one of the rest areas for the alternative route through Galisteo.

Maxwell's Ranch. (Colfax County)

Located within the Maxwell Land Grant, Lucien Maxwell's mill and ranch headquarters were located in a strategic location along the northeast plains and became an important post for military expeditions in the region. As early as 1850 Maxwell rented facilities to the U.S. Army which included bunk houses, stables, forage areas and a military storeroom. Subsequently it served as an auxiliary post and retained a military presence throughout the period of Ft. Union's existence. In addition to its military role, it housed the Indian Agency quarters, and was the distribution center for rations allocated to the Jicarilla Apaches and Ute Indians who congregated there on a regular basis.³⁵³

Ft. Sumner and Bosque Redondo.

This is where the reservation which was established for the confinement of 500 Apaches and 8,000 Navajos between 1863-1867 was located. Although Ft. Sumner was responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Bosque, military officers from Ft. Union were actively involved in the planning process for its establishment and the Quarter Master had direct responsibility for supplying the reservation with food, clothing, blankets, and other essentials.

Ocaté (Fort Union farm).

Ocaté was located along the Santa Fe Trail near the well known Ocaté Creek Crossing. The military had responsibility for developing agricultural endeavors at Fort Union which included a garden adjacent to the post and a larger farm located 23 miles to the north at Ocaté. The land for the farm was leased from Manuel Alvarez shortly after the establishment of the fort in 1851.³⁵⁴

³⁵³ See Arrott Collection, Vol. 54, p. 7, (Ft. Union Files, Letters Received, National Archives, Department of New Mexico, June 17, 1850.)

³⁵⁴ Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, 78.

Additional land was reserved for agricultural activity southeast of the fort below the Mora River, but there is no evidence that this site was ever utilized for such purposes.³⁵⁵

Other Structures and Places of Historical Importance

Abreu House, Rayado, New Mexico.

The Abreu House was built by Jesús Abreu and dates from at least 1860. It is located near the Maxwell House in this community. The Abreu family sold part of their property to Lucien Maxwell and over time, the Maxwell Land Grant acquired all of the Abreu holdings in the area. The house was the principal residence for the Abreu family, one of the wealthier and most respected families in the area. The building served as a combination stage station and store operated by Jesús, and was headquarters for the large ranch which the family operated.³⁵⁶ Jesús provided accommodations for soldiers from Ft. Union on military ventures in the area,³⁵⁷ and also sold grain and hay to Ft. Union through the 1870s.³⁵⁸ The property is now located on the premises of the Philmont Scout Ranch. Historical information about the Abreu Family and the Abreu house has been provided by Dr. Jim Abreu who was interviewed as part of the Ethnographic Study of Fort Union. Dr. Abreu noted that Francisco Abreu was a prominent military officer, and served as commanding Officer at Ft. Union in 1865, the only Hispanic commander in the fort's history. Dr. Abreu also revealed that the chapel built next to the house, and a cemetery on the premises had been used through the twentieth century.³⁵⁹

Manuel Flores House, Las Vegas, NM.

The home was built after Manuel received the land in return for his service in the Union Army, and particularly for his role at the Battle of Glorieta. Originally built in the late 1860s, the house included two rooms, thirteen feet wide and eight feet high. Over the years the house was expanded to accommodate four generations of the Flores family.³⁶⁰ The House has been restored by Miguel Angel and has been added to the National Register of Historic Places. Historical information about the Flores Family and the Flores House has been provided by Pauline Sánchez who was interviewed as part of the Ethnographic Study of Fort Union.³⁶¹

³⁵⁵ U. S. Congress, Senate committee on Military Affairs "Title to certain military and timber reservations." S. Rept. 621, 45th (1878-79).

³⁵⁶ María Montoya, *Translating Property. The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002),54.

³⁵⁷ Letter from Capt. Felsenthal to Commanding Officer at Ft. Union, re: difficulty of travel, 9 November 1864, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 15, 168.

³⁵⁸ Letter from Capt. G. C. Smith to Assistant Adjutant General, Santa Fe, re: grain and hay contracts, 26 August 1874, Arrott Manuscript Collection, vol. 29, 145.

³⁵⁹ Interview with Dr. Jim Abreu by Jerry Gurulé/Angelica Sánchez Clark, 17 November 2003, Las Vegas, New Mexico.

³⁶⁰ Lyn Kidder, (Staff Writer, Citizens' Committee for Historic Preservation, Las Vegas, New Mexico), "Renovating Las Vegas," in *People and Places*, vol. no. 17, Issue 2, , Summer 2002), 3.

³⁶¹ Interview with Pauline Sánchez, by Jerry Gurulé/Angelica Sánchez Clark, 16 October 2003, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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Secondary Works:

Arellano, Anselmo. *Case Study: Acequias de la Sierra and Early Agriculture of the Mora Valley*. Guadalupita: Center for Land Grant Studies, 1994.

Concise summary of the development of the nineteenth century acequia systems in the Mora Valley, many of which are in operation today.

Emmett, Cris. *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Comprehensive study of the critical role Fort Union' played in the Indian wars and the American Civil War.

Fry, James B. *Army Sacrifices, Briefs from Official Pigeon-holes*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Starpole Books, 2003.

First hand accounts of military engagements and observations in the West.

Julyan, Robert. *The Place Names of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Compilation of 7,000 place names of geographic, cultural, and historical significance.

Kidder, Lyn. "Renovating Las Vegas," in *People and Places*, vol. no. 17, Issue 2, Summer 2002.

Las Vegas, New Mexico newsletter covering preservation news, published by the Citizen's Committee for Historic Preservation.

Miller, Darlis. *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

This book provides insight into the economic relationships between the military and the commercial entities (both small individual suppliers and large mercantile companies) that supplied material goods to the army in the Southwest.

Moorehead, Warren King. *Archaeology of the Arkansas River Valley*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931.

Summary of archaeological studies undertaken in Northeastern New Mexico.

Montoya, María. *Translating Property. The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Study of the endemic conflict generated by the Maxwell Land Grant during the territorial years of New Mexico's history. The author provides a comprehensive account of the grant and its contribution to colliding property jurisdiction fights, government collusion, expanding markets, and people's loss.

Oliva, Leo E., *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*. Cultural Research Center, Professional Papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993.

The most comprehensive study of Fort Union's history to date.

Dissertations and Theses:

Giese, Dale. "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1969.

The most comprehensive social history written of Ft. Union to date.

Keener, David. "Loma Parada, a Town Maligned," M. A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1988.

The author argues that the village of Loma Parada has been unjustly maligned by sensationalist writing and biased opinions which were fostered by military officials during its existence and perpetuated by writers since its demise.

Kosmider, Alexia M. "Samuel B. Watrous," M.A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1983.

Complementary study of Samuel Watrous whose commercial enterprises built the community in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Parish, William. "Charles Ilfeld, Sedentary Merchant of the Arid Southwest, 1865-1884," Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1949.

Excellent biographical study of one of the prominent commercial entrepreneurs of nineteenth century New Mexico.

Other Sources:

Arrott Manuscript Collection

This collection contains over 17,000 documents collected from the National Archives pertaining to Fort Union's history.

Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection. University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research. Ladd.

This collection encompasses the records, personal correspondence, and additional documentation pertinent to Ladd's career as minister, educator, and amateur anthropologist.

Interview with Dr. Jim Abreu by Jerry Gurulé/Angelica Sánchez Clark, 17 November 2003, Las Vegas, New Mexico.

This interview was conducted as part of the Fort Union Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.

Interview with Earl Porter. Larry Miller/ Jerry Gurulé, 14 June 2004, Santa Fe, N.M.

Mr. Porter has undertaken fifteen years of research on the grain mills of New Mexico.

Interview with Pauline Sánchez, by Jerry Gurulé/Angelica Sánchez Clark, 16 October 2003, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

This interview was conducted as part of the Fort Union Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.

Middlewood, Ester A. "Grinding it out: mills stand test of time" in *New Mexico Magazine*, Oct. 2003.

Short, but concise, article describing the grain mills of New Mexico.

Report, U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Military Affairs "Title to certain military land timber reservations." S. Rept. 621, 45th (1878-79).

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Books:

Alberts, Don E. *The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1998.

California ports and the gold of California and Colorado were ultimate goals of the Confederate campaign in the trans-Mississippi West. Obtaining the munitions and subsistence supplies of Fort Union would have substantially advanced the Southern cause in the West, which prompted the Confederate campaign to proceed from Mesilla, past Fort Craig, near where the Battle of Valverde took place, and through Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Troops from Fort Union, including New Mexico and Colorado volunteers halted the advance of the Confederate troops at Glorieta Pass on the Santa Fe Trail. Alberts used personal diaries, official documents and personal investigation of the sites and artifacts to present a convincing description and analysis of the battle that forestalled Confederate expansion in the West.

Baker, T. Lindsay and Billy R. Harrison. *Adobe Walls: The History and Archeology of the 1874 Trading Post*. College Station: Texas A & M University, 1982.

This publication incorporates historical documents to enhance the archaeological fieldwork at the trading post near Adobe Walls. The region was well known as the site of a number of military encounters with Kiowa and Comanche Indians. Like the study of Fort Craig, *Guardian of the Trail*, by Peggy A. Gerow, this work reveals information on the material culture unearthed by the archeological dig, which gives us insight into the lives and the diverse activities of those associated with the trading post.

Barr, Alwyn, ed., *Charles Porter's Account of the Confederate Attempt to Seize Arizona and New Mexico*. Austin, Texas: The Pemberton Press, 1964.

The account reveals the ethnocentrism prevalent in New Mexico during the early years of the United States presence in the region. Porter, a quartermaster sergeant, was present at the battle of Glorieta. He presents a generally negative portrait of New Mexico and its citizens as soldiers at Valverde and Glorieta.

Beck, Warren A. and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Some of the maps relative to the territorial history of New Mexico include routes of military expeditions (such as for exploration of routes, for roads, the railroad, etc.), the territory of New Mexico, Texas' land claims after the Mexican War, the division of Arizona and New Mexico, historical trails, and U.S. Military posts.

Bell, William A. *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 1867-68*. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly; New York: Scribner, Welford & Co, 1870. Reprint. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, Publishers, 1965.

Bell was the physician on the Union Pacific Railway survey of the southern route. While he was a survey member, he stopped at Fort Union and wrote a detailed description of the fort.

Bennett, James A. Eds. Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve. *Forts and Forays: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-56*. 1948. Rpt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Although Bennett spent little time in the area of Fort Union, his diary is typical of those of the period in terms of Anglo-American attitudes about New Mexicans, their customs, dress, etc., and such topics as the hardships of the life of a soldier in the West.

Billings, John D. *Hardtack and Coffee, or The Unwritten Story of Army Life*. 1887, Reprint. Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1973.

Topics include recruiting and enlistment, shelter, character of recruits, rations, crime and punishment, a typical day in camp, foraging, identification of badges and devices, inventions brought forth by the war effort, livestock, medical care, uniforms, transportation, engineers, and communication. Line drawings illustrate an abatis, as well as other defensive items made by cutting trees; scenes of Sibley tents and log huts, bombproof shelters, and even a piece of hardtack at actual size is illustrated. This work could serve as the Civil War's reenactor's handbook.

Boyle, Susan Calafate. *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

Calafate Boyle discusses the role of Hispanic New Mexicans in trade along the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trails. This complex international trade involved purchasing goods and supplies in Missouri, transporting them over the trails, and dealing with government officials and business agents at specific points. New Mexicans had an advantage in knowing the Spanish language and in being familiar with the land, its hazards, and customs. Anglo-Americans and Europeans were also involved in this trade, bringing their knowledge of U.S. trade practices with them. Some married into New Mexican families. Appendices include lists of Hispano merchants and traders involved in the Santa Fe trade.

Briggs, Charles L., and John R. Van Ness, editors. *Land, Water, and Culture: New Perspectives on Hispanic Land Grants*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Essays by the editors, and by Malcolm Ebright, G. Emlen Hall, Robert J. Rosenbaum and Robert W. Larson, and Sylvia Rodríguez deal with land grant history in general, Pueblo land grants, the environment and manner of subsistence, oral history as a research tool,

resistance to land grant decisions and development, and the specific case of land grant successors in the Taos area.

Carlson, Alvar W. *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Río Arriba*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Carlson, studies the geography of the Río Arriba area, its people, land, economy, and culture, from a "revisionist perspective... detached from any political or other cause," suggesting that common perceptions of the harm inflicted to land grant residents by Anglo-American government policies and incoming settlers was overrated.

Ebright, Malcolm. *Land Grants and Lawsuits in Northern New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c1994. 1st. ed. [Also accessible as an electronic book through NetLibrary, via Libros at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.]

Ebright points out the inequities associated with the United States' adjudication of land grants in not recognizing the traditional interpretations of affiliated law and common attitudes which were prevalent among the Hispanic inhabitants of New Mexico: the existence of common lands for use by all; sufficient water for use by all; and sharing in times of scarcity. The collected essays deal primarily with Río Arriba land grants.

_____, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants and the Law*. Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1989.

Reprint of July 1988 *Journal of the West* with an additional article. Eight articles by respected researchers in the field including Iris H. W. Engstrand, G. Emlen Hall, Clark S. Knowlton, and others, dealing with the topics of Spanish antecedents; common lands problems; Hispanic customary and civil law versus English common law and codified Anglo-American law, including the unjust application of laws.

Elder, Jane Lenz and David J. Weber. *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853-1861*. Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996.

The letters collected and extensively annotated in this collection provide a unique window into the daily life of the Santa Fe trade. Some footnotes identify traders, such as the Oteros and Felipe Delgado, and annotation and introductory material discuss the nature of the trade, how it was financed, among other aspects of it. In brief, though, the coming of the army boosted the area's economy. The Santa Fe market, becoming saturated with goods, gave way to long distance international trade into the Mexican towns of Chihuahua, Zacatecas, and Durango. The Webb and Kingsbury correspondence has references to Hispanic traders, freighters, and others involved in the Chihuahua trade and some references to Fort Union and military personnel.

Emmett, Cris. *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*. Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

The book is primarily a political and administrative history of the fort, focusing on the military importance of the Santa Fe Trail, the fort's establishment, its role with Indians, difficulties with civil authorities, social history (daily life at the fort), and the problem of "learning to live with a conquered people." Emmett was the first researcher to utilize the Arrott Collection in the preparation of this work. Additional sources utilized included documents from the New Mexico State Archives, manuscript collections, unpublished theses, government documents, newspapers, and over 140 secondary publications.

Faragher, John Mack, Mari Jo Buhle, Daniel Czitron, and Susan H. Armitage, *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997, 1994).

A general history of the United States.

Fernandez, Jose Emelio. *The Biography of Casimiro Barela*. Translated by Gabriel Melendez, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

The biography of Barela describes his career as a businessman, who would become prominent in later years as a Senator in the Colorado Legislature. The author traces Barela's efforts in the 1860s to establish a mercantile store in El Coyote (also known as Los Luceros). By 1864 he began freighting goods on government contract to Fort Union, including corn from as far away as Trinidad, Colorado.

Finch, L. Boyd. *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific: Major Sherod Hunter and Arizona Territory, C.S.A.* Tucson: The Arizona Historical Society, 1996.

Study of Gen. Henry Hopkins Sibley's New Mexico campaign, focused on the events in Arizona (which at the time included Mesilla and Southern New Mexico territory in general), and the life of Captain Sherwood Hunter and Company A, Arizona Volunteers, Provisional Army of the Confederate States of America.

Frazer, Robert W. *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1983).

Frazer's account deals with the period after the Mexican-American War and details how Fort Union and the military in the Southwest affected the economy of the region.

Frazier, Donald S. *Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University, 1995.

Frazier studies the genesis and development of the Confederate campaign in New Mexico territory; establishment of the Confederate territory of Arizona (the southern half of New Mexico Territory, below 34° Latitude); battles and skirmishes of the Civil War in New

Mexico; and the Rebel retreat. The author analyses the personalities and battles and concludes that "Sibley's failed adventure might have provided one of the few prospects for Southern independence. The creation of a Confederate empire would have secured western wealth and European recognition." Although there are various accounts of the principal battles from the Union point of view, this study also includes details on many of the lesser skirmishes and engagements.

Frost, Max, ed. *Personal narratives of the battles of the rebellion. Kit Carson's fight with the Comanche and Kiowa Indians. George H. Pettis, First Regiment of Infantry, California Volunteers*. Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico.

This is a longer version of Pettis' work listed above, which is divided into two sections. The first section pertains to the history of Company K, 1st California Infantry, and includes profiles of officers with photographs. The second section deals with the Comanche and Kiowa campaign and contains an early photograph of Pettis.

Gelbert, Doug. *Civil War Sites, Memorials, Museums and Library Collections: A State-by-State Guidebook to Places Open to the Public*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1997.

Among the locations included in this guide are: Old Town, Albuquerque; the Santa Fe National Cemetery where soldiers killed at Valverde and Pigeon's Ranch are buried; the Valverde Battle site, south of Socorro; and the Kit Carson home and museum in Taos, New Mexico. He notes that there were 75 actual "scenes of action" in New Mexico.

Giese, Dale F. *Echoes of the Bugle*. Tyrone, N. M.: Phelps Dodge Corporation, [1976].

Descriptions, brief histories, and maps of 50 New Mexican U. S. Army forts, camps, and posts.

Griffen, Robert A, ed. *My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains: The Newly Discovered Autobiography by David Meriwether*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1965.

Meriwether (1801-1886) was an Indian trader and was personally acquainted with Daniel Boone. He attempted to open trade with New Mexico in 1820, and was briefly incarcerated in Santa Fe for his efforts. Meriwether served as governor of New Mexico from 1853-1856.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1990.

Griswold describes the "promises" of the Treaty of Guadalupe as "largely unfulfilled." His study emphasizes the special relationship provided by the treaty, which, more than anything, promoted more symbolic recognition of Hispanic and Native American residents of the Southwest affected by the Mexican-United States War, the United States'

possession, and the aftermath. Chapter 5 describes citizenship status and how few land titles were recognized by the United States government.

Hagan, William. *United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

This book outlines the effects of reservation and assimilation policies undertaken by the U.S. government on the Comanche Indians, begun during the second half of the nineteenth century. The basic thesis: the Comanches lost virtually all of their land, and the basis for their culture, as a result of the Indian wars in the nineteenth century. The author's primary sources include manuscripts from the National Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society, in addition to material from Fort Sill and Fort Worth.

Hall, G. Emlen. *Four Leagues of Pecos: A Legal History of the Pecos Grant, 1800-1933*. New Mexico Land Grant Series. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

The Pecos Pueblo area, like the Rio Grande Valley, has a scarce resource, water. Hall's work may be instructive in investigating the importance of water, both in terms of the evolving land tenure practices brought by the Spaniards, and the ultimate resolution of ownership in the territorial period. The lack of understanding of such practices by territorial officials and manipulations by land speculators are examined.

Hammond, George P. *The Adventures of Alexander Barclay, Mountain Man: A Narrative of His Career, 1810-1855; His Memorandum Diary, 1845-1850*. Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock, Old West Publishing Co., 1976.

According to Hammond, Col. Edwin V. Sumner, knowingly established Fort Union (at Los Pozos) on private lands seven miles south of Barclay's Fort at La Junta. This account contains a biography of Barclay, his diary, and information on Barclay's efforts to contest government occupation of his land.

Hand, George O. Ed. Neil B. Carmony. *The Civil War in Apacheland: Sergeant George Hand's Diary: California, Arizona, West Texas, New Mexico, 1861-1864*. Silver City, New Mexico: High-Lonesome Books, 1996.

Hand was a member of Company G, 1st Infantry Regiment, California Volunteers, the organization known as the "California Column." This first-person account details the tedium and drudgery of the soldier's life, through its expedition to and ultimate posting in New Mexico. Although the column had arrived too late to assist in expelling the Confederate army from New Mexico, there were Indian campaigns to address. Hand displays typical Anglo-American ethnocentrism, but does describe New Mexico and its culture: volunteer militia groups, fandangos, agriculture, and religious celebrations among the locals. A map and illustrations (some contemporary, from publications of the period) add to the value of this work.

Harland, Marion, et al. *Young People's New Pictorial Library of Poetry and Prose Embracing History, Biography, Poems, Stories, Travels and Adventures*. New York, N.D. Thompson Publishing Co., 1888.

This collection of young people's literature, photos, and drawings reflect the various attitudes of the period. An important essay is one that features the Carlisle School for Indian Pupils in Pennsylvania. The school opened in 1879 and was run by Capt. R. H. Pratt who also appears in documents from the Arrott Collection at Highlands University Donnelly Library, Special Collections in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Captain Pratt came out west to recruit children for his school. At the end of this essay it mentions that Capt. Pratt will undertake the care of five boys and five girls from Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico. This school was quite similar to the Ramona Indian School established in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Harrison, Laura Soullieré, and James E. Ivey. *Of A Temporary Character: A Historic Structure Report of First Fort, Second Fort, and the Arsenal and Historical Base Map, Fort Union National Monument, Fort Union, New Mexico*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers, No. 43. Santa Fe: Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Region, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1993.

The first chapter provides a general history of Fort Union, followed by a chapter on the changing nature of shelter for soldiers—the use of tents, and army planning for more permanent structures. The remaining three chapters in the first part of the report deal with the construction of the First and Second Forts and the Arsenal. The second part includes Fort Union Historical Base Map, particularly useful for the additional information it provides about sutlers and traders at Fort Union, including their names and tenures.

Heitman, Francis B. *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*. Vol. 1, Government Printing Office, Washington: 1903.

List of officers of the United States Army and of the United States Volunteers from June 1775 to 1903, arranged according to grade and rank, with period of service of each.

Horn, Calvin, *New Mexico's Troubled Years: The Story of the Early Territorial Governors*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, Publishers, 1963.

History of the civil governors of New Mexico from James S. Calhoun, 1851-52, through the governorship of Lew Wallace, 1878-1881.

Jackson, W. Turrentine. *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1859*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952.

Chapter 9 describes the status of the New Mexican road system. Topographical engineers James W. Abert and William G. Peck reconnoitered the upper Rio Grande, made surveys, and compiled statistics. Routes were investigated and, later, congressional allocations

were sought for repair of the roads from Taos to Santa Fe; from Santa Fe to Doña Ana; between Fort Union and Santa Fe; and Tecolote to Albuquerque. Chapter 15 deals with Beale's 35th parallel wagon road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to the Colorado River, 1857-1859. Such a road would benefit the military, immigrants, and, ultimately, the railroad. Beale examined the area around Hatch's Ranch, Chaparito and Anton Chico in December 1858 and February 1859. This survey and road-building expedition included the well-known experiment with camels as pack animals.

Jolly, John Pershing. *History: National Guard of New Mexico, 1606-1963*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Adjutant General of New Mexico, 1964.

History of the New Mexican militia from the Territorial period to 1963. The militia bore various names such as volunteers, mounted volunteers, and so forth, and existed as both formally organized and unorganized units. This work chronicles the history of the organized militia.

Jones, Oakah L. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

Chapters 5-6 provide an introduction to patterns of settlement in New Mexico through the analysis of censuses and inspections, and to the life styles of the paisanos of New Mexico. It covers myriad topics, including: education, medicine, economic life, subsistence agriculture and livestock raising, trade, transportation, land grants and tenure, labor, religion, and occupations.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *The Civil War in the American West*. Vintage Civil War Library. New York: Vintage Books Division, Random House, Inc., 1991.

Josephy's work is an engaging history of the Trans-Mississippi Civil War. Topics include: Sibley's New Mexican Campaign; the Sioux Uprisings in Minnesota; battles in Missouri, Arkansas, the Indian Country and Louisiana (Red River and Mississippi); repeated attempts to blockade Texas and prevent cotton trade with Britain; protection of immigrant trails to Oregon and California, with subsequent Indian troubles; Carleton and the California Column's Indian campaigns in New Mexico; and the border state troubles in Arkansas and Missouri, with Indian troops fighting on both sides of the conflict.

Kendall, George Wilkins. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, Comprising a Description of A Tour through Texas and across the Great Southwestern Prairies, The Comanche and Caygüa Hunting-Grounds, with an Account of the Sufferings from Want of Food, Losses from Hostile Indians, and Final Capture of the Texans and Their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico*. Reprint, 1844. 2 vols. Austin: The Steck Company, 1935.

Wilkins' account does much to remind the reader of the Civil-War-era fear of Texans, of New Mexican nonchalant trade with Comanches for herds of stolen livestock, and of the enmity of Northern New Mexicans for the Texans who came hunting their livestock. This first-hand account deals with the private expedition (1841) of Mirabeau B. Lamar to

secure Texas' claim of the Rio Grande as its western boundary, which included Santa Fe, and most of the other more populous settlements of New Mexico. Encounters with Mexican Governor Armijo are painted in an unflattering light. New Mexicans, other than the military, are regarded as hospitable (the women), or deceitful and treacherous (the men).

Kennedy, Frances H. *The Civil War Battlefield Guide*. 2nd ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998.

This publication provides a succinct account of Sibley's New Mexico Campaign, and the map on pages 40-41 is very useful in understanding the series of events which transpired at the critical battles Glorieta and Cañoncito.

Kenner, Charles, L. *History of New Mexican—Plains Indians Relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1968.

The book sheds light on the relationships and trade patterns between the Comanches and New Mexico Hispanics and Pueblo Indians before United States dominion of the region. The *ciboleros* and the *comancheros* were key elements of this economy. It provides an excellent summary of the new order imposed on New Mexico after 1848, as Comanches were restricted in their traditional economic relationships in New Mexico; the author asserts that the Comanche economy was shattered by the harsh reality of the U.S. frontier military strategy. The military's goal was to restrict their associations with civilians and other Indian tribes. Primary sources include documents from the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, the U.S. War Department, and annual reports from the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1857-1879.

_____, *The Comanchero Frontier: A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*. Reprint, 1994. Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Kenner describes the relationships between comancheros, Hispanic traders to the Comanches, and U.S. military officials at Ft. Union. Before the Civil War, comancheros were used as go-betweens to communicate with the Comanches, and were actively involved in efforts to set up peace negotiations at the fort. At other times, military officials sought to distance the traders from the Comanches, outlawing all contact between them. Comancheros served formally as spies and scouts on behalf of the U.S. military, particularly during the Civil war.

Lamar, Howard Roberts. *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*. Reprint, 1966. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970.

Lamar divides his text into four sections: New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, and includes information on exploration, military and political topics, the economy, the quest for statehood and social concerns throughout the period. Key figures are profiled. A bibliographic essay evaluates different resources that may be of value.

Levine, Frances, Ph.D., and William Westbury, with contributions by Lisa Nordstrum. *A History of Archeological Investigations at Fort Union National Monument*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers, No. 44. Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1992.

The primary sections of this publication include the work undertaken to stabilize the ruins, and the excavations at the First and Third Forts, and the Arsenal. Summaries of work performed at each structure are included, as well as information on published studies and recommendations for future work at the fort.

McChristian, Douglas C. *The U.S. Army in the West: Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment*. Norman, Oklahoma and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

This publication focuses on the evolution and details of clothing, weapons, and equipment in the 19th century.

McNitt, Frank. *The Indian Traders*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

The book provides a detailed analysis of the *comancheros* and others who had active trade relationships with the Plains' Indians during the nineteenth century. Of particular interest is the description of the unique ties which the New Mexican *comancheros* had with these Indians and how these economic relationships evolved over many generations in the Southwest.

Meketa, Charles and Jacqueline Dorgan. *One Blanket and Ten Days Rations: 1st Infantry New Mexico Volunteers in Arizona, 1864-1866*. Globe, Ariz.: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1980.

The 1st New Mexico Infantry Volunteers, Companies A and I, were involved in the attempt to protect military and civilian personnel against Cochise's Chiricahua Apaches from 1864-1866. The majority of the volunteers were native New Mexicans, accustomed to the terrain and with long experience of dealing with Indians. After recruitment in Santa Fe, Company A, led by Capt. Nicolás Quintana, went to Fort Union for a period of training and other duties. Company I was recruited in the Taos area, and was led by Smith H. Simpson. Company I was at Fort Union for training in March and April of 1864, before leaving for Arizona. Lists of the soldiers and statistics are included for each company.

_____, *Legacy of Honor: The Life of Rafael Chacón, a Nineteenth-Century New Mexican*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Chacón's memoirs offer a snapshot in time of an important era, not only of New Mexico's history, but of Fort Union's role with the Plains Indians during the early years. Chacón served as a member of the New Mexico Volunteers unit which was called into action during the Ute War of 1855. Later he served the military during the Civil War in New Mexico, eventually becoming an officer even though he never mastered English. His memoirs include accounts of the experiences of the *ciboleros*. Although structured

around Chacon's memoirs, the book is complemented by personal letters, oral histories, and interviews with family members. Also included are military documents of the period.

Methvin, J.J. *Andele, or the Mexican Kiowa Captive*. Louisville: Pentecostal Press, 1899.

Biographical account of Andres Martinez, who was kidnapped by Apaches along with his brother on the outskirts of Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1866. He was sold to the Kiowas and spent twenty years with that tribe before returning to his family. Written from a religious perspective, Andres eventually returns home and "rejects" Indian religion to return to civilized society and "true" religion. The account, nonetheless, provides good insight into Plains' Indian culture and society in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Miller, Darlis A. *The California Column in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in collaboration with the Historical Society of New Mexico, 1982.

This work chronicles the activities of the California column in New Mexico. Of interest is the fact that some 340 of the 2,350 men who made up the California Column—California Volunteers who came to New Mexico under the command of Colonel James H. Carleton to confront the invading Confederate army remained in New Mexico and contributed to its post-war growth and development.

_____, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Miller's objective is to assess the economic impact of the military in the Southwest during and after the Civil War. The army had a significant impact on New Mexico. As the primary supply depot for most forts in the region, Fort Union was at the center of the commercial activity required to sustain the military and to provide political stability to the region. As depot for supplies, munitions, and the like, it was the focal point of a vast operation, and its requirements included contractual arrangements for food, fuel, forage, freighters building materials, and construction laborers. Local and outside farmers and millers were oftentimes unable to meet the needs which the army required.

Montoya, María E. *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, c 2002.

Details the events at Rayado, a settlement where soldiers were routinely stationed to protect the mountain branch of the Santa Fe Trail and local settlers. Arms from Fort Union had a role in quelling disturbances related to the Maxwell Land Grant.

Moore, Michael. *Medicinal Plants of the Desert and Canyon West*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Comprehensive encyclopedia of medicinal plants utilized for generations among the indigenous, Hispanic, and Anglo-American inhabitants of the West.

_____, *Los remedios de la gente: A compilation of Traditional New Mexican Herbal Medicines and their Use*. Santa Fe: M. Moore, 1977.

Moore lists various plants, flowers, roots barks and gums and their corresponding medicinal use. This booklet is a synthesis of the many plants etc. common to both Spanish and Native American groups in New Mexico and the southwest. The names of the plants etc. are given in Spanish, English and Latin.

Oliva, Leo E. *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*. Southwest Cultural Research Center, professional papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993.

This 700-page plus book is a comprehensive summary of Fort Union. There is demographic information, including period census reports. The book highlights the U.S. military's role in the Southwest during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Oliva, Fort Union had myriad responsibilities apart from the control of nomadic Indians, and the numerous military campaigns directed towards them; its officers were also responsible for escort service, land dispute mediation, civil law and order, the housing and care of thousands of Indian captives, agricultural development, road construction, curtailing the Confederate invasion into New Mexico, and the fort's officers were directly involved in the planning, support and implementation of the infamous Bosque Redondo experiment.

_____, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

This work is a history of the Santa Fe Trail from 1829 to the arrival of the railroad at Santa Fe in 1880, highlighting its importance as a military road. The book emphasizes the role which the army had in the development of the American West. The author integrates Fort Union into the history of the trail, emphasizing the myriad roles it had in stabilizing the region, militarily, politically, and economically.

Ortiz, Roxanne Dunbar. *Roots of Resistance: Land Tenure in New Mexico, 1680-1980*. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, and American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980.

Dunbar has written a socioeconomic interpretation of land tenure in Northern New Mexico. The author challenges earlier views of static, passive New Mexican villagers and Indians, and instead posits a dynamic populace involved in community activities related to irrigation and farming. She describes the traditional economic and cultural exchanges which characterized relationships between Indians and Hispanics.

Owsley, Douglas W. *Bioarchaeology on a Battlefield: The Abortive Confederate Campaign in New Mexico* Archaeology Notes, No. 142 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies, 1994).

This is a forensic study of human remains and associated artifacts in a mass grave found on the site of the Battle of Glorieta Pass in March 1862. Several individuals were

identified. The study reveals information about the military engagement which was based on the skeletal remains and other artifacts uncovered.

Perea Van Buskirk, Venturita. *Panoramic Spanish for Elementary Pupils*. n.p., 1960.

Perea Van Buskirk utilized the dichos, drawings, tales and oral histories of predominantly Hispanic school children in her primary school classes. She used these materials as instructional tools for the learning and teaching of Spanish.

Peterson, Harold L. *Round Shot and Rammers*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1969.

Peterson studies artillery from the earliest days of the American republic through the Civil War. In addition, he describes artillery found at Fort Union during that war, and the subsequent Indian Wars.

Pettis, George Henry. *Frontier Service During the Rebellion, or A History of Company K, First Infantry, California Volunteers*. Providence, Rhode Island: The Society, 1885.

Pettis describes the enlistment of the California Column, its travel to New Mexico and subsequent activities, such as the meeting with Kit Carson during the Navajo campaign, and later campaigns against the Comanches and Kiowas.

Rathbun, Daniel C. B., and David V. Alexander. *New Mexico Frontier Military Place Names*. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Yucca Tree Press, 2003.

Presented in dictionary form, this work also includes a brief chronology and site maps and descriptions of selected forts.

Remley, David. *Adios Nuevo Mexico, The Santa Fe Journal of John Watts*. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Yucca Tree Press, 1999.

The book is drawn from the diary of John Watts who spent his formative years in Santa Fe, and who returned as an adult to become a prominent member of the military and legal communities of New Mexico. In an interview with Bancroft in 1886, Watts claimed to have translated "a military tactics" training manual for use of the troops stationed at Ft. Union in the 1860s.

Shaw, Antony, ed. *The Civil War Catalog*. Philadelphia: Courage Books, Running Press Book Publishers, 2003.

Shaw provides a comprehensive summary of the Civil War's most pertinent themes, the military, weapons and artillery, the naval war, and veterans. The work is extensively illustrated with period photographs, other period illustrations and modern paintings.

Stoddard, Elwynn R., Richard L. Nostrand, and Jonathan P. West. *Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to the Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

This very useful work contains chapters written by specialists on the sources for the history of New Mexico and Colorado, Texas, California, and other states, as well as on specific topics, such as water, land grants, etc., written from the perspective of Borderland Studies.

Taylor, John. *Bloody Valverde: A Civil War Battle on the Rio Grande, February 21, 1862*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, published in cooperation with the Historical Society of New Mexico, 1995.

Taylor's work treats the first significant Civil War battle in New Mexico, a few miles north of Fort Craig, as a victory for the Rebels, but also a harbinger of their ultimate defeat. New Mexican volunteers and militia participated extensively, under the leadership of such men as Capt. Rafael Chacón, Lieutenant Colonel José Valdez, and Colonel Nicholas Pino. The battle is described minutely, with deployment of forces and actions, and analyzed from a military point of view, discussing tactics and logistics. Substantive annotation adds to the value of the work.

Turner, Henry S. *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner with Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846-47*. Ed. Dwight L. Clarke. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

This is the Adjutant of the Army of the West Turner's journals of the expedition and his letters to his wife. This record embodies the spirit of manifest destiny and allows one to see the prejudice of an Anglo-American confronted by the Hispanic world. His portraits of New Mexican priests and the character of New Mexicans and Californians are not flattering. The introduction traces Turner's career, thoughts on the Civil War and friendship with General William Tecumseh Sherman. There is some information on Governor Manuel Armijo.

Weber, David J., ed. *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973, 2003.

Weber illuminates the experiences of Mexicans who lived and continue to live in the area that became the American Southwest in 1848. This "borderlands" study consists of selections of primary and secondary sources with editorial introductions, including sections on anti-Mexican sentiment, which dates from the Spanish colonial period; the major conflicts of the Texas revolution and the Mexican War; the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its aftermath; the Mexican Revolution; and the 1910 legislation enabling statehood for New Mexico and Arizona.

_____. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

A good source for information on the Mexican-era government, policies, and events of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Westphall, Victor. *Mercedes Reales: Hispanic Land Grants of the Upper Rio Grande Region*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

Westphall defines the upper Rio Grande Region as extending from southern Colorado to Socorro, New Mexico. In this landmark monograph, the author details the history of settlement patterns, traces the history of the Spanish land grants and later extensive grants made under the Mexican government, the role of land speculators, and the ill fit of American land laws to the New Mexican landscape. It includes a case study of Thomas Benton Catron's career.

Wiley, Bell I. *The Common Soldier of the Civil War*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

The principal value of this work is the photographic material associated with the common soldier, which includes a photo ofhardtack. The text may be considered a supplement to Billings' first-person account.

Williams, Jerry L., editor. *New Mexico in Maps*, 2nd edition. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

New Mexico in Maps contains information on county boundaries and the creation of new counties from 1852 to 1986, as well as additional cultural, political, geographical, and other information about New Mexico.

Zhu, Liping. *Fort Union National Monument: An Administrative History*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers, No. 42. Santa Fe, N. M.: Division of History, National Park Service, 1992.

Zhu traces the establishment of Fort Union National Monument, covering the historical background of the fort, its abandonment and decay, civic activity regarding its preservation, acquisition of the site by the National Park Service, establishment of the monument, and rehabilitation. Some issues in modern park management are covered, such as vandalism, overflights and landing of aircraft, and public safety. Legislation, personnel, and visitation statistics are included in appendices.

Journal Articles:

Bailey, David T. and Bruce E. Haulman. "Patterns of Landholding in Santa Fe in 1860 and 1870." *The Social Science Journal* 13:3 (October 1976), pp. 9-19.

Bailey and Haulman study social mobility in Santa Fe, using the possession of real wealth as the basis for their statistical study, positing that important changes took place in Santa Fe from 1850-1900 that still affect the nature of New Mexican society today. The authors focus on demographic changes in New Mexico between the 1860s and 1870s, contrasting these changes with the ideas promulgated by Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis of the frontier (simply stated, the frontier shaped the American character).

Cheetham, Francis T. "First Term of American Court in Taos." *New Mexico Historical Review*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 1926).

Account of the first court session held at Taos during the early transition period during which the United States' solidified its political domination over New Mexico. This article sheds light on the early life of Jose Maria Valdez, who became a very prominent leader of a New Mexican Volunteer Militia Regiment stationed at Fort Union during the 1850s and 1860s, and is profiled in the narrative.

Cutter, Donald C. "The Legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 (1978), pp. 305-15.

Cutter identified this treaty as the "most important single document in Southwestern history." The treaty confirmed the United States' claims to Texas and provided for the United States' possession of New Mexico and California. Occupation was not without problems, including cultural conflict, boundary disputes, and conflict over land tenure. Cutter declares that the United States government has not complied with the treaty provisions and recommends the establishment of a "Hispanic Land Claims Commission" similar to the Pueblo Land Claims Commission.

Espinosa, Manuel, ed. "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico, 1848-1888." *New Mexico Historical Review*. Vol. 13, No.1, Jan. 1938.

Based on the experiences of Samuel Ellison who came to New Mexico during the Mexican War, and who became prominent in public life in New Mexico in later years.

Flint, Richard and Shirley. "Fort Union and the Economy of Northern NM." *New Mexico Historical Review*. Vol. 77 #1, Winter 2002.

The article discusses the impact which Fort Union had on the economy of Northern New Mexico, particularly during the 1860s when the civilian workforce at the fort exceeded 1000 contract employees. The Flints analyze the ethnic breakdown of the fort's employees based on surname. The authors note that Northern New Mexicans supplied the fort with needed material and agricultural products such as lumber, wheat, corn, etc., and many local farmers and commercial contractors supplied the fort as well.

John, Elizabeth A.H. "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review*. Vol. 59, No. 4, October, 1984.

This journal article provides a concise, yet comprehensive summary of the peace accord which materialized in the late eighteenth century between Spanish officials and Comanche leaders. Although the accord had periodic breakdowns, it was of mutual benefit and stabilized relationships between the two groups for two generations prior to the Americanization of New Mexico.

Jones, Charles Irving. "William Kronig First New Mexico Pioneer." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 19, no. 3, July, 1944.

The article is based on the memoirs of Kronig who was an early German immigrant to New Mexico. Kronig relates experiences with Indians, and describes his commercial activities after settling in the region near Watrous. He also supplied beef to Fort Union.

Utley, Robert M. *Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico*. National Park Service, Historical Handbook series, no. 35. Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1962.

Utley's history of Fort Union covers the period from its founding in 1851, its role during the Civil War in the West, and through post-War Indian campaigns. Utley details construction of the three forts of Fort Union and its importance as the Army quartermaster's and munitions depot. Public awareness of the site and the process of establishing it as a national monument are dealt with briefly at the end of the study. Appendices of officers in charge (with some biography of individual officers) and troops stationed there are included.

Walter, Paul. "First Civil Governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes." *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, January, 1933.

Article chronicles Charles Bent's tragic term as New Mexico's first United States' governor of the territory. It was during this period that Jose Maria Valdez became a prominent political and military leader, and who later would serve at Fort Union.

Manuscript Collections:

Highlands University Donnelly Library, Special Collections,
[Arrott Fort Union Manuscript Collection](#)

James W. Arrott developed the largest collection of documents (16,363) pertaining to Fort Union. The documents are housed at Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. According to one guide the collection may include as many as 50,000 documents pertaining to New Mexico territorial military history. Most of the material is drawn from the National Archives, and includes documents from the War Department, Office of Indian Affairs and Senate and Congressional records; in addition there are selections from newspapers of the period, and a small collection of secondary sources.

Highlands University Donnelly Library, Special Collections,
Finding aid for Arrott's Fort Union collection [electronic resource] [Las Vegas, N. M.: Thomas C. Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, 2002]. Excel database version of the Arrott collection catalog. Compact disc. This aid can be searched electronically, which makes a large number of resources much more accessible.

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico,
Bancroft Library Collection (Documents related to New Mexico), Microfilm Reels 1-12.

This collection includes seven reels of microfilm of New Mexico's colonial period and five of the Mexican and Territorial periods. Included are personal interviews of prominent people in New Mexico, such as government officials, military officers, and business community members. Two of the interviewees were former military officers at Ft. Union in the 1860s, Arthur Morrison and J. H. Watts.

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico,
Edward L. Bartlett Manuscript Collection

This collection includes the papers of Edward Bartlett who served as an Adjutant General of the Military District of New Mexico and as a practicing attorney in Santa Fe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The collection includes hundreds of letters between Bartlett and voluntary militia leaders who established regiments throughout New Mexico under the auspices of Bartlett. The militia groups were assigned to deal with both military and civilian issues. During the 1880s many regiments were established in Northern New Mexico, and one is documented through the very descriptive letters written in Spanish from Nicanor Vigil. Vigil operated militia groups in the Peñasco, Mora and Ft. Union area to deal with civil disturbances among the populace there in the 1880s. In one letter Vigil notes the use of a "Military Tactics Training Manual" written in Spanish.

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico,
Adjutant General's Office (National Archives), Microfilm Records, Hospital Records, Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1878.

The collection includes the records of the Fort Union surgeon for the calendar year 1878. The fort's surgeon prepared a monthly report which included the names of individuals treated at the hospital from among the military ranks as well as from the civilian community. In addition, the reports include an "Environmental" summary which describes the condition of the physical quarters, the water supply and the weather conditions for each month of the year.

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico,
Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Reel 85, National Archives & Record Service, Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union soldiers who served in organizations from the Territory of New Mexico.

The military forces of the Territory were known as the Territorial Militia until 1897 when the Legislative Assembly provided for the organization of the National Guard of New Mexico. Prior to 1897, the Militia was not a permanent organization, but was subject to call by the Governor in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief during periods of Indian uprisings, civil disturbances or depredations by outlaws. During the Civil War, the Territorial Militia acted in concert with the U.S. Army forces stationed in New Mexico. The Adjutant General, appointed by the Governor, administered the Territorial Militia and, after 1897, the National Guard.

Dissertations:

Giese, Dale Frederick, "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, NM, 1851-1891," Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, June, 1969.

Perhaps the first "social history" of Fort Union. It was written during the 1960s when social history began making inroads. The author describes the daily life of soldiers at the fort, including their leisure activities, education, religion, fraternal organizations, clubs and theatrical societies, housing conditions, food, games, sports, drinking, prostitution, crime and funerals. Along with archival sources the author incorporates newspaper articles and oral histories into his methodology. Information on Indians and Indian children and relationships with soldiers and civilians, noting that their presence was an important part of daily life at the fort.

Leary, David Thomas. "The Attitudes of Certain United States Citizens toward Mexico, 1821-1846." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1970.

Leary examines the attitudes of 15 different observers (including the diplomat Poinsett, Josiah Gregg, the writer and trader, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., sailor and writer, John Lloyd Stephens, adventurer and writer, as well as two Mexican writers) in Mexico, regarding the concept of popular rule, economic progress, education and the arts, religion, ethics, and race. Leary's conclusion was that these writers harbored an abiding ethnocentricity. They judged by their own standards, overlooked Mexican scholars and artists, were prejudiced against the religion, puritanical in regard to ethics and intolerant, and racist when it came to the diverse peoples who made up Mexico. This was a prevailing mindset at the onset of the Mexican-United States War and had not disappeared at the time of the founding of Fort Union.

Newspapers:

Santa Fe New Mexican

The Las Vegas Optic

Other sources:

Center for Land Grant Studies website. This electronic resource may be accessed via the Internet at <http://www.southwestbooks.org>. Some electronic texts, such as Malcolm Ebright's "Land Grants in a Nutshell," and others are available, plus a good bibliography of books available for purchase, related events, genealogical materials, and a list of unpublished manuscripts.

"Historical Sketches of Governor William Carr Lane." *Historical Society of New Mexico*, Nov., 1917, No. 24, 45-50.

The article describes Carr Lane's visit to Fort Union and his first hand account on the products grown at the fort's farm and its irrigation system.

Adjutant General's Office, Military Division of the Missouri. *Outline Descriptions of the Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri*. Chicago: Adjutant General's Office, 1876. Contains descriptions and plots of nine camps and posts in New Mexico in 1876, including Fort Union.

Native American Bibliography

Books:

Bailey, Lynn R. *Bosque Redondo: An American Concentration Camp*. Pasadena: Socio-Technical Books, 1970.

The author discusses the impact of confinement at the Bosque Redondo on the entire Navajo tribe. They underwent a number of traumatic experiences, but survived as a people primarily because their spiritual beliefs were strengthened as a result of their captivity. In essence the "ethos" of their culture became their survival mechanism. The author utilizes original correspondence between the military and the Office of Indian Affairs to "ferret out the truth" related to the period as well as other military documents from the National Archives.

_____, *The Long Walk*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1964.

The author studies the reasons for the Long Walk and the Bosque Redondo catastrophe. His thesis: blame for this embarrassing episode in American history is shared by both the Navajo (for their predatory activity) and the "stupid and careless administration" of Indian Affairs by the United States Government. His focus throughout the book is the contribution of cross-cultural differences to conflict. Sources include archival material from the U.S. National Archives and private collections, congressional records, newspapers, letters, and published secondary material.

_____. *Bosque Redondo: The Navajo Interment at Fort Sumner, NM, 1863-68.* Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1998.

In a revised edition of his 1964 publication, the author provides additional information on the experiences of the Navajo during the long walk and the Bosque Redondo experiment. Of specific interest is the detail included in descriptions of the various routes taken to the Bosque, (most of which included a stop-over at Ft. Union) and the experiences which the captives had along the way. Previous literature has focused on the predatory behavior of New Mexicans and other Indians towards the Navajos during the various treks; however Bailey has found a number of situations when local inhabitants along the way provided aid to the debilitated Navajos.

Beck, Warren. *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

A one volume history of New Mexico, whose strength lies in its utilization of a number of university theses and dissertations; however, according to one reviewer it contains a number of dubious or incorrect statements about New Mexico History.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West.* New York: Bantam Books, 1972.

This book appeared on the literary scene during the critical 1970s' period of social activism. Although considered controversial by some, others have viewed it as nothing more than a response to the biased historiography promulgated by non-Indian historians. In essence, the book is a review of the numerous treaties which were broken by whites, downplaying or justifying the fact that Indians broke treaties as well.

Correll, J. Lee. *Through White Men's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History (A Chronological Record of the Navajo People from Earliest Times to the Treaty of 1868).* Window Rock: Navajo Heritage Center, 1979, 6 volumes.

First hand accounts of primarily nineteenth century Navajo history, drawn from military correspondence, reports, treaties, newspaper accounts, etc. written by Anglo-Americans (politicians, military personnel, newspaper men, judges).

Deloria, Vine. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

An Indian manifesto. The book examines the interaction of Native Americans with the United States government, Hollywood, Christian churches and missionaries, and the social sciences.

_____. *God is Red*. New York: Dell, 1973.

Both this publication and the one above arrived upon the literary scene about the same time as Dee Brown's *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*. Deloria's books sparked an interest in an indigenous interpretation of history during a period dominated by social activism.

Dunlay, Thomas W. *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

This book, based on the author's dissertation, answers three very important questions: Why did the army become dependent on Indians to carry out its operations? How did Indian allies serve these needs? And why did the Indians choose to serve those who sought to dispossess and dominate their own people? The book examines, compares, and contrasts the role of the military and the Indian Affairs Commission to assist in answering these questions. The author asserts that Indians were not passive participants in relationships with whites, but that relationships were much more complex, proposing that Indian alliances with the United States government and military was an integral part of survival, and that resistance at all levels would have resulted in genocide.

Emmett, Cris. *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

The book is primarily a political and administrative history of the fort, focusing on the military importance of the Santa Fe Trail, the fort's establishment, its role with Indians, difficulties with civil authorities, social history (daily life at the fort), and the problem of "learning to live with a conquered people." Emmett was the first researcher to utilize the Arrott Collection in the preparation of this work. James W. Arrott, a Pittsburgh industrialist, collected a wide-ranging and extensive collection of documents, photographs, maps, and other material related to Fort Union. Additional sources utilized included documents from the New Mexico State Archives, manuscript collections, unpublished theses, government documents, newspapers, and over 140 secondary publications.

Hagan, William. *United States- Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

This book outlines the effect of reservation and assimilation policies undertaken by the U.S. government on the Comanche Indians, begun during the second half of the nineteenth century. The basic thesis: the Comanches lost virtually all of their land, and the basis for their culture as a result of the Indian wars in the nineteenth century. The author's primary sources include manuscripts from the National Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society, in addition to material from Fort Sill and Fort Worth.

Hill, Jonathan. *Rethinking Myth and History*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988.

The book is written from an American Indian perspective and focuses on the differences between Native American and Anglo-American cosmology. The author asserts that in order to comprehend how Native Americans view the world one must understand the relationship between "myth and reality." Myth as cosmology has very defining characteristics which contrast with Anglo-American or Hispanic traditions. Native American world view is imbedded in mythology having less concern with dates and historical periods, and more with timelessness and oral tradition.

Forrest, Earle R. and Hill, Edwin. *Lone War Trail of Apache Kid*. Pasadena: Trail's End Publishing Co. 1947.

This is a biography of the Apache Kid who was a scout for the military in Arizona in the 1880s during the Apache wars. Later he became a fugitive after a conviction for murder. He committed many depredations against white settlers in Arizona and New Mexico. Many Apaches were imprisoned at Ft. Union in 1890-91 because of fear by the civilian and military authorities that they secretly provided assistance to the Apache Kid.

Hook, Jason, and Martin Pegler. *To Live and Die in the West*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2001.

Authors discuss the inevitability of the clash of Anglo-American and Indian cultures in the nineteenth century American West. The authors assert that the buffalo is the single most important gauge in understanding the roots of conflict. Its importance in Native American Plains economy was completely disregarded by Anglo-American political and military policy on the Plains and in the Southwest.

Hunter, J. Marvin. *The Boy Captives* (Recollections of Clinton L. Smith and Jeff D. Smith, Hackberry.), Texas: Clinton L. Smith, 1927.

Informative account of two brothers' experiences as captives of Comanches and Apaches from 1868-1873. Of interest is the information on Plains Indian trade relationships with New Mexicans, Indian diet, and other daily life experiences which the boys were exposed to, and the cultural assimilation into Indian society and the subsequent re-assimilation to Anglo-American society.

Hurtado, Albert A. and Peter Iverson, editors. *Major Problems in American Indian History*. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994.

Collection of documents and essays which provide insight and unique perspectives on Indian history. One document is a transcription of an oral history recording of a Navajo elder who had been on the "long walk." Dan Flores' essay on "Bison economy" provides a revised interpretation of Plains Indian economy during the 1850s.

Keleher, William A. *Turmoil in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.

Comprehensive look at the significant issues pertinent to Indian relations in a critical period of New Mexico's history. Draws from reports from the Indian Commission, congressional records, newspapers, journal articles, and land grant records.

Kenner, Charles, L. *History of New Mexican—Plains Indians Relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

The book sheds light on the relationships and trade patterns between the Comanches and New Mexico Hispanics and Pueblo Indians before the United States came to the region. The *ciboleros* and the *comancheros* were key elements of this economy. Excellent summary of the new order imposed on New Mexico after 1848 when Comanches were restricted in their traditional economic relationships in New Mexico. The author asserts that the Comanche economy was shattered by the harsh reality of the U.S. frontier military strategy. The military's goal was to restrict their associations with civilians and other Indian tribes. Primary sources include documents from the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, the U.S. War Department, and annual reports from the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1857-1879.

Lamar, Howard. *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*. New York: W.W. Horton, 1970.

A general history of the Southwest with primary resource material which is especially useful in understanding the Navajo experiences at Fort Sumner and the Bosque Redondo.

Lewis, David Rich. *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment and Agrarian Change*. New York: 1994.

The article in this book by Sherry L. Smith, "Lost Soldiers: Re-Searching the Army in the American West," provides an important perspective of Native Americans responses to the presence of Anglo-Americans in the Southwest. According to Smith, Indians were not always victims. Instead, she asserts that they adapted, and contributed to the process whereby Indian policy was formulated. In addition, the military drew upon the resources which Indians themselves offered to successfully undertake military strategies against certain tribes.

Locke, Raymond Friday. *The Book of the Navajo*. Los Angeles: Mankind Publishers, 1989.

Provides a Navajo perspective of history.

Lockhart, James. *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New on Early Latin American History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

This is an important collection of essays whose value goes beyond our understanding of colonial history. It is of assistance to the ethnohistorian and researcher in understanding the formative period of Spanish domination in the Americas and its impact on the modern state building process which came after independence.

Meketa, Jacqueline Dorgan. *Legacy of Honor: The Life of Rafael Chacon, a Nineteenth-Century New Mexican*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Chacon's memoirs offer a snapshot in time of an important era, not only of New Mexican history, but it also sheds light on Fort Union's role with the Plains Indians during its early years of existence. He served as a member of the New Mexico Volunteers unit which was called into action during the Ute War of 1855. Later he served the military during the Civil War in New Mexico, eventually becoming an officer even though he never mastered English. The book is structured around Chacon's memoirs, but is complemented by letters, oral histories, interviews with family members, and military documents of the period.

Methvin, J.J. *Andele, or the Mexican Kiowa Captive*. Louisville: Pentecostal Press, 1899.

Biographical account of Andres Martinez, who was kidnapped by Apaches along with his brother on the outskirts of Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1866. He was sold to the Kiowas and spent twenty years with that tribe before returning to his family. Written from a religious perspective, Andres eventually returns home and "rejects" Indian religion to return to civilized society and "true" religion. The account, nonetheless, provides good insight into Plains' Indian culture and society in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Moerman, Daniel E. *Native American Ethnobotany*. Portland: Timber Press, 1998

Detailed reference guide (927 pp.) to 281 indigenous groups of North America and their utilization of over 3,000 plant species as medicines, foods, dyes, fibers, etc.

Moquin, Wayne, ed. *Great Documents in American Indian History*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

One of the documents is a transcription of a speech given by Cochise to a group of military officials at Cañada Alamosa in 1871 when he resisted their efforts to move him and his tribe to a new reservation.

Moore, Michael. *Medicinal Plants of the Desert and Canyon West*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Comprehensive encyclopedia of medicinal plants utilized for generations among the indigenous, Hispanic and Anglo-American inhabitants of the West.

Oakes, Yvonne Roye. *The Cross L. Ranch Site (A Study in Plains Adaptation)*. Laboratory of Anthropology Note No. 164, Santa Fe, New Mexico, published in 1979.

This is one of the few, but comprehensive archaeological studies undertaken along the Northeast Plains of New Mexico. The study reveals remnants of the material culture produced by tribes which exploited natural resources adjacent to the Ft. Union area.

Oliva, Leo E. *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*. Southwest Cultural Research Center, professional papers No. 41, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM, 1993.

This over 700-page book is a comprehensive summary of Fort Union. It contains demographic information, including period census reports. The book highlights the U.S. military's role in the Southwest during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Oliva, Fort Union had myriad responsibilities apart from the control of nomadic Indians, and the numerous military campaigns directed towards them; its officers were also responsible for escort service, land dispute mediation, civil law and order, the housing and care of thousands of Indian captives, agricultural development, road construction, curtailing the Confederate invasion into New Mexico, and the infamous Bosque Redondo experiment.

Pratt, Kenneth J. "Some Navajo Reflections to the Past." Papers from the 3rd, 4th and 6th Navajo Studies Conference, June-el Piper, ed. Window Rock: Navajo Nation Histories, 1993.

The Conference's focus was Navajo culture, and papers read included an eclectic selection of Navajo cosmology, conceptions of time (the absence of linear progression), and the complex role of religion in the accumulative experiences of individuals and groups.

Robinson, Sherry. *Apache Wars*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.

Provides first hand accounts of Apache warfare, including the important role which Apache women played in direct combat with the U.S. Army.

Margaret Connell Szasz, ed. *Between Indian and White Worlds*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

This publication includes chapters by a number of writers, focusing on bicultural and ethnohistoric topics. Its scope is comprehensive, including sections from the colonial through modern times.

Schroeder, Albert H. *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1973.

Excellent Anthology with articles addressing the diversity inherent within Native American culture and the adaptation to change during the critical nineteenth century. Chapters address relationships among Native Americans in New Mexico, and the changes which were brought about by the new political-economic order of Anglo-American authority. Especially noteworthy are the chapters by Austin Nelson Leiby on the Marmon volunteer militia at Laguna Pueblo to assist the military campaigns against the Apaches, the chapter analyzing the various trajectories of the "long walk" by Frank McNitt, and the chapter by Crawford R. Bruell on Navajo recollections of the long walk. The articles on the Plains Indians relationships with the sedentary New Mexican Pueblos reveals that, despite most of the extant literature, the Plains tribes did in fact have social, cultural and economic complexity, which was not necessarily inferior, but simply differed from the sedentary communities of New Mexico.

Sherry L. Smith. *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1990.

Smith has analyzed the writings of military officers and their wives during the Indian wars in the nineteenth century American West. She incorporates the perspective which the wives bring to the multifaceted experiences which characterized the clash of cultures which played out during a critical period in our Nation's history. Her original sources are drawn primarily from among the ranks of the lower level officers and their wives. She addresses issues related to perceptions of the officers and their wives of Indians; the role of the army with Indians; acculturation of Indians. Specific themes are broken down into: comparative analysis of cross-cultural relationships, gender relations, the "character" of the Indian, the Indians as ally, and thoughts on Indian policy. Sources include manuscript collections, personal letters, diaries, reminiscences, government documents, journal articles, theses and dissertations, along with a wide selection of secondary sources and books.

Stanley, F. *Fort Union (New Mexico)*. Publisher: F. Stanley: 1953.

This was the first book-length publication on the history of Fort Union. The book was privately published by Stanley himself. It brims with well articulated and extensive accounts and descriptions of conversations, and military trivia associated with the "glorious" military history of the fort. The bibliography is quite extensive including the mention of tourist type brochure publications on the fort and popular magazine articles. Primary sources include official government and military documents of the period, and newspaper articles. A limited number of historical journal articles round out the material incorporated into writing the book. The book includes a good discussion of New Mexico land grant issues, especially as they relate to the establishment of Fort Union. Chapters include the major events of the period in which the fort had a direct role, such as the Civil War and the Indian "problem" as perceived by the military and the Anglo-Americans. The essay on the Mexican-American War is not well developed. The lack of citations or

footnotes in the text hinders the understanding of the author's utilization of his source materials.

Stuart, David E., et al. *Prehistoric New Mexico Background for Survey*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

This publication is a comprehensive summary of the prehistoric archaeology of New Mexico. Chapter VII covers the Fort Union/ Mora/Watrous area. Surprisingly there is evidence of sedentary agricultural indigenous groups, whose sites were located adjacent to Fort Union, itself. In addition, there were many hunter and gatherer groups exploiting local resources in prehistoric times.

Thompson, Gerald. *The Army and the Navajo*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976.

Included in this publication is an excellent account of the Navajo experiences at the Bosque Redondo, and the political controversies which characterized the era.

Tennert, Robert. *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Narrative account of Navajo healing practices, and cross cultural conflict with military doctors, particularly at Bosque Redondo.

Uteley, Robert. *Fort Union and Santa Fe Trail*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, Southwest Studies Series No. 89, 1989.

This publication is based on Uteley's study conducted for the National Park Service in 1959. It is a brief, but concise, monograph which draws from government documents, historic maps, aerial photographs, and field observations. It provides extensive information of the trail's various routes, its traders, freighters, and stagecoaches, and the military's role in road construction and maintenance; in addition, it discusses land tenure changes associated with the new political order after 1848.

Van Roehel, Gertrude. *Jicarilla Apaches*. San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1971.

History of the Jicarilla Apaches, focusing on tribal leaders and the impact that their leadership had on tribal members during the turbulent nineteenth century.

Velarde, Tiller, Veronica E. *The Apache Tribe: A History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

One of the most comprehensive histories of the Jicarilla Apaches, written by an Apache historian.

Winter, Joe. *Stone Circles, Ancient Forts, and Other Antiquities of the Dry Cimarron Valley*. Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Program, 1988.

Comprehensive history of the Plains tribes and the diversity and complexities associated with Plains' Indian economy, including the importance of the buffalo.

Journal Articles:

Binford, Lewis and Sally. "Post Pleistocene Adaptations." *New Perspectives in Archaeology*. Chicago, 1968.

Lewis Binford is the father of the "New Archaeology" of the 60s and 70s. He incorporated ethnology into scientific archaeology. This particular article focuses on the lifestyles of nomadic communities and demonstrates how Eurocentric views are biased and fail to understand the social complexity inherent within non-sedentary communities; Binford maintains that these groups are able to more efficiently exploit environmental resources than their sedentary counterparts.

Bourke, John G. "The Apache Medicine Man." J.W. Powell, ed., *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-1888*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1888.

Bourke was a cavalry soldier and officer for 22 years in the Southwest. After leaving the military he became a respectable ethnologist. His essay entitled "The Apache Medicine Man" is an excellent account of Apache culture written from a non-traditional perspective.

Burton, Estelle Bennett. "Voluntary Soldiers of New Mexico." *Old Santa Fe*, Vol. I, 1913-1914, Santa Fe: Old Santa Fe Press, 1914.

The article discusses the increasing presence of ranchers and farmers among Indians in the Southwest, the build up of the U. S. military, and the increasing prevalence of Navajo depredations against settlers, including attacks very close to Fort Union.

Flint, Richard and Shirley. "Fort Union and the Economy of Northern NM." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 77 #1 Winter, 2002.

The article discusses the impact which Fort Union had on the economy of Northern New Mexico, particularly during the 1860s when the civilian workforce at the fort exceeded 1000 contract employees. The article analyzes the ethnic breakdown of the fort's employees based on surname. In addition, northern New Mexicans supplied the fort with needed material and agricultural products such as lumber, wheat, corn, etc., and many local farmers and commercial contractors supplied the fort as well.

Gibson, Arrell Morgan. "Native Americans and the Civil War." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. IX, Fall 1985, Number 4.

Thesis: The Civil War resulted in the militarization of the West and this had dreadful consequences for the Plains Indians.

Gwyther, George. "The Three Pueblo Spies. A Reminiscence of the Late Civil War." *The Overland Monthly*, Vol. XIII, no. 4, July, 1874.

First hand account by the fort's surgeon published in a period magazine, describing the experiences of three Pueblo Indians incarcerated at Fort Union.

Hale, K. and Harris, D. "Historical Linguistics and Archeology." *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 9, 170-177, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1979.

The article discusses the etymology of Plains Indians' languages.

Jacobs, Wilber R. "The Indian and the Frontier in American History—A need for Revision." *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1973.

The author argues for inclusion of the Indian perspective in writing history.

John, Elizabeth A.H. "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4, October, 1984.

This journal article provides a concise, yet comprehensive summary of the peace accord which materialized in the late eighteenth century between Spanish officials and Comanche leaders. Although the accord had periodic breakdowns, it was of mutual benefit and stabilized relationships between the two groups for two generations prior to the Americanization of New Mexico.

Johnson, Denis Foster. "An Analysis on Sources of Information on the Population of the Navajo." *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin # 197*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1966.

Drawn from the author's dissertation. Excellent analysis of the difficulties of undertaking indigenous demographic research. Records on Indian populations were fragmented and even during the time of the Navajo confinement at Bosque Redondo accurate population counts were not conducted.

Kessell, John. "General Sherman and the Navajo Treaty of 1868: A Basic and Expedient Misunderstanding." *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, (July 1981).

Author discusses the communication problems which resulted in boundary disputes between Navajos and the military officials involved in the establishment of the Navajo

Reservation after those Indians were allowed to return to their traditional lands from the Bosque Redondo.

Lange, C. H. "Relations of the Southwest with the plains and great basin." *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1979.

Archaeological study showing early relationships (A.D.1300) between Plains tribes and Pueblo Indians.

Martin, Calvin. "Ethnohistory: A Better Way to Write Indian History." *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 9 1978, 41-56.

Martin provides an excellent argument: First of all, Anglo-American historians have not incorporated the indigenous perspective into Indian-White history; secondly, Anglo-American perceptions of hunter-gatherer groups defined these groups as culturally inferior. He incorporates examples to justify his opinion that the agricultural practices of many North American Indian tribes have been unjustifiably underrated. For example, Martin demonstrates that such methods as slash and burn agriculture is more sustainable over the long run than traditional agricultural practices.

Martin, Calvin. "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History." *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 26, Number 2, Spring, 1979, 153-159.

Martin discusses how ethnocentric bias predominates Indian history written by the Anglo-American, and how Indians and white men have been "talking past each other for 500 years." Written history is handicapped by the inability of the white man to understand the Indian mystic, or the general cosmology which encompasses the basic belief structure of Native Americans.

Frank McNitt. "The Long March," Schroeder, Albert H., *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1973.

Author describes the logistics of the "Long Walk" of the Navajos to the Bosque Redondo in 1863. In reality there were numerous escorts of Navajo men, women, and children over a four-year period, not just one long walk. He provides detailed descriptions of the actual routes utilized.

Morrison, Charles Randall. "A Historical Multi-Burial at Fort Union , New Mexico: An Exercise in Forensic Archaeology." Theodore Frisby, ed. *Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Ellis*, Santa Fe: The Archaeology Society of New Mexico, 1975.

Morrison's investigation reveals the results of a dig at a clandestine grave site which uncovered the remains of four male skeletons who appeared to be Hispanic and /or Native Americans. The location of the grave and the wounds on the skeletal structures suggest an execution.

Powell, S. W. ed. *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Smithsonian Institution, Wash., D.C., 1892.

The Bureau of Ethnology published Annual Reports beginning in the 1860s. Native American communities of the U.S. comprised the majority of the reports, but studies of aboriginal communities from throughout the world are included. Among the anthropologists who published in the journal are at least two former military officials associated with Fort Union during their careers with the army, James Bourke and James Stevenson; other anthropologists who were provided escort services and provisions at Fort Union included, T.H. Safford, one professor Hayden, Henry C. McCook, Thomas Robinson, C.A. Harvey, and George Davidson.

Reeve, Frank. "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 13, Numbers 1-3 April, 1938.

This article is an excellent source for understanding the "official" U.S. government Indian policy during the most critical phase of the Indian Wars in the West.

Russell, Elma Dill. "Famous Fugitives of Fort Union." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, June, 1957.

Article discusses the role of Pueblo Indians as spies and scouts in capturing and imprisoning suspected Confederate spies during the Civil War.

Sherry L. Smith. "Lost Soldiers: Re-Searching the Army in the American West." *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, summer, 1998, 149-163.

The author analyzed the writings of military officers and their wives during the Indian Wars in the nineteenth century American West. She incorporates the perspective which the wives bring to the multifaceted experiences which characterized the clash of cultures which played out in the nineteenth century U.S. West.

Utey, Robert. "Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail." *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 36 # 1, June, 1961

A summary of Ft. Union's role in providing military protection along the Santa Fe Trail. Provides insight into the unique role which Indians had with Fort Union apart from the Indian wars.

John Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls," in *El Palacio*, Vol. 74, No. 1, Spring, 1967.

Article includes a transcription of Major Wallen's report to the Indian Affairs Office in Santa Fe on April 26, 1864, which is reflective of Indian culture at that point in time. Provides an ethnographical study of Navajos and Apaches imprisoned at Bosque Redondo.

Utley, Robert M. *Fort Union National Monument*. National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No. 35, Washington, D.C., 1962.

Includes list of Indian campaigns undertaken by military at Fort Union.

Manuscript Collections:

Highlands University Donnelly Library, Special Collections,
Arrott Fort Union Manuscript Collection

James W. Arrott developed the largest collection of documents (16,363) pertaining to Fort Union. The documents are housed at Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. According to one guide the collection may include as many as 50,000 documents pertaining to New Mexico territorial military history. Most of the material is drawn from the National Archives, and includes documents from the War Department, Office of Indian Affairs and Senate and Congressional records. In addition there are selections from newspapers of the period, and a small collection of secondary sources.

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico,
Bancroft Library Collection (Documents related to New Mexico), Microfilm Reels 1-12.

This collection includes seven reels of microfilm of New Mexico's colonial period and five of the Mexican and Territorial periods. Included are personal interviews of prominent people in New Mexico, such as government officials, military officers, and business community members. Two of the interviewees were former military officers at Ft. Union in the 1860s, Arthur Morrison and J. H. Watts.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico,
Edward L. Bartlett Manuscript Collection

This collection includes the papers of Edward Bartlett who served as an Adjutant General of the Military District of New Mexico and as a practicing attorney in Santa Fe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The collection includes hundreds of letters between Bartlett and voluntary militia leaders who established regiments throughout New Mexico under the auspices of Bartlett. The militia groups were assigned to deal with both military and civilian issues. During the 1880s many regiments were established in Northern New Mexico, and one is documented through the very descriptive letters written in Spanish from Nicanor Vigil. Vigil operated militia groups in the Peñasco, Mora and Ft. Union area to deal with civil disturbances among the populace there in the 1880s. In one letter Vigil notes the use of a "Military Tactics Training Manual" written in Spanish.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico
Horatio Ladd Manuscript Collection

Ladd founded the Ramona Indian Girls' School in Santa Fe in 1883. He was a member of the Congregational Ministry, receiving a significant amount of support from New England church groups to pursue missionary endeavors, including the establishment of the school. The school was begun in the early 1880s, and ready for instruction by 1885. The manuscript collection is composed of 19 folders, consisting of letters, diaries, newspaper articles, fund raising material, school brochures and photographs of the Indian children. It includes information on the curriculum, and costs. A number of newspaper articles and Church Newsletters, published in later years, reflected on the school and the philosophy which generated its development. The basic tenet of the school's philosophy rested on the belief that Indians were to be "assimilated" into white society and educated with those standards in mind. An important premise of this philosophy held that Indian girls should be educated as well as Indian boys, in order to provide "civilized" spouses for future marriage partners for the boys. Ladd developed lucrative contracts with the U.S. government to sponsor Indian children at the school who came from various forts, including Fort Union. During the late period 1885-1890, many Apache prisoners were housed at the fort and a number of their children were sent to the Ramona school.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico
Inventory of the University of New Mexico (Santa Fe) Collection 1878-1888.

This collection is a supplement to the Horatio Ladd Collection described above. It includes one copy of the "Ramona Days" 1887 Newsletter, published by Ramona School, Santa Fe. The University of New Mexico (Santa Fe) cited above is not the same entity as the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico
The Michael Steck Manuscript Collection

The collection includes nine Rolls of microfilm. Steck was a physician, Indian Agent, and served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in New Mexico during the 1850s and 1860s. He had a strong personality, complemented by very defined and forceful views on Indian policy matters. Consequently, he clashed vehemently with General James Carleton over the Bosque Redondo, and generally was very successful in advocating and promoting his views on what would become "official" Indian policy in New Mexico. He retired to Pennsylvania where he was elected Lt. Governor in the 1870s. The collection includes nine rolls each with approximately 250 documents. The documents include letters, reports, economic summaries, first hand-summaries and accounts of the Bosque Redondo episode, and the budgets established to support the supplies needed to sustain Indians who were settled on numerous reservations in addition to Bosque Redondo. Of interests are the descriptions of cross-cultural conflict between Navajos and Apaches, especially at Bosque Redondo, and the letters and reports written by Lorenzo Labadie. Labadie was a very interesting figure in New Mexico history (Indian Agent, census taker, rancher from Anton Chico). Initially supporting the Bosque Redondo project, Steck soon became its

biggest critic. He resisted General James H. Carleton on almost every issue pertinent to the reservation.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico,
Meketa Microfilm Collection Roll 2, Records of the U.S. Army Commands (Group 98).
Letters sent and received Fort Union.

The value of these documents lies in their reflection of the cultural relationships between New Mexicans, Indians, and Anglo-Americans as well as the multifaceted indigenous role with the Anglo-American government. New Mexicans had a tradition of trade with the Plains Indians for centuries before the arrival of the United States. The service that the Utes, Navajos, Apaches and Pueblo Indians provided on behalf of the United States during the entire Territorial period, and particularly during the Civil War, is noteworthy but has been ignored by historians.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.
Ritch Papers

The material in this collection includes 10 reels of microfilm from the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, on Territorial New Mexico drawn from the National Archives. The documents include many first hand accounts of life in Territorial New Mexico, including military diaries. Most of the material reviewed consists of formal correspondence between the Headquarters for Military Affairs in Santa Fe, the military forts throughout the Southwest, and the Indian Affairs Office in Washington.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.
Microfilm, National Archives, Headquarters Records of Ft. Sumner, NM 1862-69,
(Orders, Letters Sent, Letters received) 5 Reels.

Most of the documents included in this collection pertain to the period in which the Navajos were confined at the Bosque Redondo Reservation, administered by Fort Sumner. It includes "Letters Received, Letters Sent, Endorsements, Reports on Indian Affairs, and Court Marshall Records."

University of New Mexico, General Library,
National Archives, U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881. New Mexico Superintendency, 1871. Microfilm Reel 558.
The reel consulted for this study includes the correspondence received by the Indian agents assigned to work with New Mexican tribes.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.
Ramona Days, Indian Department of the University of New Mexico, Ramona Industrial School, Santa Fe, 1887-1888.

Compilation of letters and articles from the Ramona Indian School over a two-year period. This publication was sent to benefactors of the school, and also sent out to prospective donors, primarily targeting East Coast religious congregations.

Oral Histories:

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.

American Indian Oral History Collection, Doris Duke Foundation

This collection contains recorded interviews with and about Native Americans. There are 901 recordings which were collected by the University of New Mexico between 1967-1972. Each tape is transcribed and available on microfilm. The bulk of the interviews contain information on oral traditions, personal and family histories, tribal history, and land and water usage. The collection is divided into four sections: I Pueblo Interviews; II Navajo Interviews; III Miscellaneous Interviews; IV Newspaper Articles. There are a substantial number of recordings which include information on the Long Walk and Bosque Redondo. Tapes reviewed: (Roll 1) Tapes: 61, 147, 151, 158, 160, 176, 177, 179, 181, 196. (Roll 2) Tapes: 197, 285, 288, 294, 316, 317, 326, 327, 341, 352. (Roll 3) Tapes: 364, 370, 373, 375, 387, 388, 416. (Roll 4) Tape: 535.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.

Inventory of Pioneers Foundation Oral History Collection

There are over 600 transcribed tapes in the collection which include the stories of over 100 pioneers. They cover myriad topics such as the Lincoln County War, Billy the Kid and ethnographic information related to Southwestern Indian tribes. Louis Blachly, a reporter for the Silver City Enterprise, recorded the stories in the early 1950s.

Center for Southwest Research. University of New Mexico.

Chee, Pattie, et al., ed. *Oral History Stories of the Long Walk*, Crownpoint: Diné of the Eastern Region, 1990.

Approximately 50 individual interviews taken from descendants of the LongWalk to the Bosque Redondo.

Dissertations and Theses:

Giese, Dale Frederick. "Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, NM, 1851-1891," Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, June, 1969.

Perhaps the first "social history" of Fort Union. It was written during the 1960s when social history began making inroads. The author describes the daily life of soldiers at the fort, including their leisure activities, education, religion, fraternal organizations, clubs and theatrical societies, housing conditions, food, games, sports, drinking, prostitution, crime and funerals. Along with archival sources the author incorporates newspaper

articles and oral histories into his methodology. Information on Indians and Indian children and relationships with soldiers and civilians, noting that their presence was an important part of daily life at the fort.

McLaughlin, Thomas. "History of Fort Union, NM." Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, June, 1952.

This thesis is a military history of Fort Union, but in telling its story incorporates a fair amount of social history and the economic impact which the fort had on New Mexico and the Southwest. The fort served as a major point of exchange with the East, which changed forever the economic life of New Mexico.

Denetdale, Jennifer R. Nez. "Remembering Juanita through Navajo Oral Tradition: Out of the Shadow of Manuelito." Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1999.

Historical account of Juanita, the great-great grandmother of the author, and wife of Manuelito, the Navajo chief.

Published Diaries:

LaTourrette, Genevieve. "Fort Union Memories, 1877-1891." *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4 Oct, 1951.

Diary of LaTourrette, the daughter of the chaplain at Fort Union from 1879 to its closing in 1891. Her writing reflects a favorable attitude towards the Indians who were associated with the fort, offering sympathetic overtones. She provides a first hand account of daily life at the fort, and relationships with Indians. She minimizes the unruly behavior, especially among the Indian children, comparing them favorably with white adolescents. In addition, she also describes Indian activity at the fort such as peddling vegetables and blankets to soldiers. Indians were frequent visitors to her home. Her description of the events surrounding the escape of two Indian prisoners in a heavy fog is engaging.

Reeve, Frank. "Puritan and Apache, A Diary." *New Mexico Historical Review*. No. 24., Jan., 1949.

Reeve transcribed and published the diary of Lt. Lazelle. The original diary is housed at The Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico. It is a first hand account of the Bonneville campaign in the spring of 1857 in Southern New Mexico. It covers a two month period when 800 soldiers were assigned to pursue Apaches who had stolen sheep. Fifteen Navajo spies and guides were successful in locating the Apaches and retrieving most of the sheep. Of special interest are the descriptions of Navajo agriculture discovered by the military during their offensive.

Robinson, Charles M. III. *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003.

During the 22 years of experience as a soldier and cavalry officer in New Mexico, John G. Bourke took an interest in the Indians of the Southwest from an anthropological perspective. He served as General George Crook's *aide-de-camp* for fourteen years. Crook believed that the problems with the Indians were a result of "ignorance of Indians as human beings." Subsequently he implemented a policy that every effort be made to acquire knowledge of the "rites and ceremonies and the ideas and feelings of the Indians under their charge." Bourke carried out that policy with enthusiasm. He became a devoted scholar of their beliefs, customs, and traditions. In his post military years he became a respected ethnologist.

Newspapers:

The Las Vegas Optic:

August 5, 1884; May 12, 1885; December 21, 1888; December 28, 1888.

Santa Fe Gazette: November 12, 1862.

Santa Fe New Mexican: March 30, 1872.