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Fort Union and the Economy of Northern New Mexico, 1860–1868

Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint

For seventeen years, from 1861 to 1878, Fort Union and Union Depot funneled an unprecedented amount of cash to Hispanos of northern New Mexico. During that period more than a thousand native New Mexicans worked for U.S. Army assistant quartermasters at the Fort and Depot principally as laborers and teamsters, as well as in other capacities. Many other Hispanos supplied forage, fodder, and other agricultural produce to the army at Fort Union, either under direct contract or through middlemen.

Our goal in this study has been to detail the scope and volume of this flow of cash into New Mexico's Hispanic community by specifying how many Hispanos were in the employ of or had delivery contracts with the Fort and Depot during the period and who they were. In addition, we provide data on

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their pay levels and employment capacities and contrast that information with corresponding data for non-Hispanic employees and contractors. The picture that emerges is one of hundreds of Hispanic men seasonally drawing relatively low cash wages as laborers at Union Depot, probably to supplement their traditional economic activities. Other hundreds had longer-term employment as teamsters, employment which occasionally stretched over several years. Also, there was a smaller number of Hispanic contractors who delivered corn, fodder, and hay to the Depot, a few of whom from time to time reaped handsome returns supplying their agricultural products to the army.

Following U.S. occupation and annexation of the northern provinces of Mexico in 1846, the U.S. Army established posts in several New Mexican towns including Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Cimarron, Rayado, and Las Vegas. By 1851 federal authorities deemed the presence of garrisons in civilian settlements to be disruptive of civil peace and military discipline as well as inconvenient for execution of the army's evolving principal mission, defense of the territory from hostile actions by various, principally nomadic Indian groups such as Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. Accordingly, in July 1851 Bvt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner, the newly assigned commander of the Ninth Military Department, ordered the headquarters and principal depot moved from Santa Fe to a new fort on Wolf (Coyote) Creek near the Mora River north of Las Vegas. The post, called Fort Union, comprised a reservation of eight square miles not far from the junction of the Mountain Branch and the Cimarron Cutoff of the Santa Fe Trail. The first fort structure built there in 1852 was constructed of peeled logs and could accommodate a garrison of about 250 soldiers.

From its beginning in 1851 and continuing for three quarters of its forty-year life, Fort Union was the hub of U.S. military activity in the Territory (and military Department or District) of New Mexico. For the first decade of its existence, the primary functions of Fort Union's troops were to control nomadic Indians, protect traffic on the Santa Fe Trail, serve as departmental headquarters, and supply the five other posts in the department.[1] For nineteen years (1851–1853 and 1861–1878) the general supply depot for the entire military department or district was located at Fort Union. From very early on Fort Union stimulated the local cash economy in a major way with the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments purchasing millions of dollars of stores—flour, hay, oats, corn, and beef, and building materials. In addition, the distribution of stores to the far-flung posts in the department and construction of Union Depot itself from 1863–1868 necessitated the hiring of hundreds of civilian employees—freighters and construction workers—nearly half of whom were New Mexico natives from relatively nearby settlements.

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 radically altered Fort Union's military role. The installation became headquarters of Union defense of the Southwest against invasion by the Confederacy, but the original fort had not been designed to withstand assault from a modern conventional army. Therefore, in anticipation of such an eventuality, the Union Army constructed a large fortified earthwork, known as the Star Fort, across Wolf Creek from the original fort and moved the garrison and supplies there.

Seeking access to mineral wealth and an ocean port in California, a Confederate army—the Army of New Mexico—did invade New Mexico early in 1862. That force advanced up the Río Grande Valley from Texas, overcame U.S. Army opposition at Valverde, and planned to attack Fort Union. As the Confederate Army moved from Santa Fe toward Fort Union, it met U.S. regulars and volunteers from New Mexico and Colorado at Glorieta Pass. During the battle, the volunteers circled behind and destroyed the Confederate supply train at Cañoncito, resulting in rout of the army and its retreat into Texas. The overall engagement, known as the Battle of Glorieta Pass and often called the "Gettysburg of the West," effectively ended the Civil War in the Southwest three years before fighting concluded in the eastern United States.[2]

Following the Civil War, Fort Union's role reverted to controlling nomadic Indians. With no further need for defense from a conventional force, the Star Fort was obsolete. Between 1863 and 1867 the U.S. Army replaced it with a sprawling adobe military compound covering approximately four hundred acres and given over largely to supply functions and troop barracks.[3] Great warehouses and transportation facilities dominated the new post. The Fort furnished supplies for the abortive attempt to resettle Navajos at Bosque Redondo during the mid 1860s. Until the ultimate defeat of the Comanches in 1875, Fort Union was a base of punitive operations against that tribe as well as against Apaches, Utes, and Kiowas.

With completion of the railroad to Las Vegas in 1879 and to Santa Fe in 1880, Fort Union's location as a supply depot, miles from the rail line, became untenable. With the threat of Indian hostilities gone on the Southern Plains, the Fort was an anachronism. Largely reduced to a jail for military and Indian prisoners, it continued to function with a shrinking garrison through the 1880s. Finally, on 18 February 1891, the army transferred the Fort's final complement of troops and prisoners to Fort Wingate in western New Mexico.

For seventeen years beginning in 1861, however, Union Depot was the main engine of the civilian cash economy of New Mexico Territory.[4] In that

role, the Depot was a powerful agent in the ongoing transformation of the traditional economy of subsistence agriculture and barter into a predominantly cash-dependent system, particularly in northern New Mexico. The Depot's transformational role, however, was uneven. Peak activity lasted from the Depot's return to Fort Union from Albuquerque early in the Civil War until completion of the third (adobe) Fort Union in 1868. During that time the Fort's garrison reached its height at 1,600, as did the roster of the Depot's civilian employees at nearly 600. The decades on either side, roughly the 1850s and 1870s, were times of much reduced local purchase and employment. In addition, the succession of assistant quartermasters in command of Union Depot showed consistent preference for recent immigrants to New Mexico and former soldiers over resident Hispanos as suppliers of stores and as employees. The rapid approach of the railroad to New Mexico terminated Fort Union's mission as a general supply base for the department in 1878 and Union Depot's role as the major employer and purchaser of supplies in the region.

Sources of Data

Published in 1861, *Revised Regulations for the Army* stipulated, "All officers and agents having money and property of the Department to account for, are required to make the monthly and quarterly returns to the Quartermaster-General. . . ." Those reports then had to be submitted on a quarterly basis to the appropriate office in the Treasury Department for settlement of the accounts.[5] Of principal interest for this study are the required reports submitted monthly on Form 2, Report of Persons and Things Employed and Hired; and quarterly on Form 11, Abstract A, Abstract of Purchases Paid; Form 13, Abstract B, Abstract of Expenditures; and Form 15, Voucher to Abstract B, Pay for the Period.[6] General Order No. 19, issued from headquarters in Santa Fe on 15 July 1861, reiterated the required submittal of nine reports each month from the Quartermaster's Departments at the posts throughout the Department of New Mexico.[7] Specifically mentioned in the general order is the "Report of persons and articles employed and hired." This and other forms were required to be submitted on a regular basis by the successive acting assistant quartermasters who served at Fort Union and Union Depot.

Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, preserved in the National Archives, is a lengthy, if incomplete, series of the forms submitted from Fort Union and all other army posts. Principally, the documents researched in this study are located in Record Group 217, Entries

730A and 730B, Quartermasters' Abstracts and scattered throughout its 314 archive boxes. In May of 2000 we located in the National Archives 149 reports of payroll and purchases submitted by acting assistant quartermasters at Fort Union and Union Depot from January 1860 through December 1868.[8]

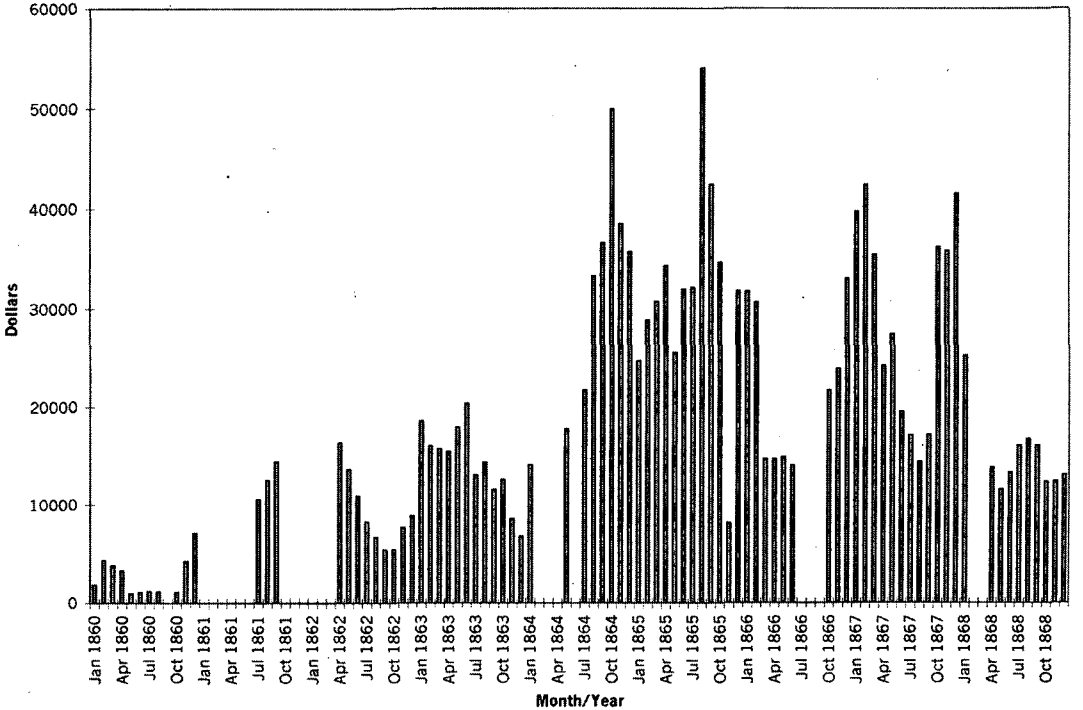
With occasional gaps, the data obtained from these reports cover the entire 108-month period that is the focus of this study. Nevertheless, the data remain fragmentary and incomplete. For instance, Abstracts B, Abstracts of Expenditures, which report information on civilian payrolls, commonly list aggregate payroll totals but do not list employees individually. Despite the large amount of payroll data that exists, actual rosters of civilian employees have been located for only six of the 108 months of the study period. Of those six only three reflect employment at Union Depot. Thus, the most extensive of those three reports, one submitted by Col. Herbert M. Enos for August 1865,[9] takes on extraordinary significance in this study.[10] With regard to reports on the purchase of quartermaster stores at Fort Union and Union Depot, there is reasonably thorough coverage from January 1860 through June 1866. After that time, though, we located only three reports within the period of the study, and none dating from after April 1867.

Gaps and lacunae in the data make absolute quantitative summaries and conclusions impossible with regard to civilian employment and purchase of stores at Fort Union during the study period. Nevertheless, there is a wealth of highly suggestive information about employees and contract suppliers, and the degree to which native New Mexicans were included within the Fort's economic orbit.

Civilian Employment Levels

From guides and interpreters to clerks, carpenters, and teamsters the army routinely hired civilians to perform nonmilitary tasks. This practice was especially the case in the storage and transportation of supplies. Thus, one would expect to find a sizeable civilian work force at an important supply center such as Union Depot. Indeed, in January 1867 the commander at Fort Union reported approximately one thousand employees at the Depot and Arsenal combined.[11] In light of the extant quartermasters' abstracts that may be an inflated number. Nevertheless, the apogee of civilian employment at the Fort was reached in the mid 1860s. Nationwide economy measures undertaken by the army mandated a reduction of those numbers to no more than 126 (including the Quartermaster's Department at Santa Fe) by 1 July 1869.[12]

Figure 1
Civilian Payroll, Ft. Union, 1860–1868
Three-Month Moving Average



The general trend in civilian payroll at Fort Union from 1860–1868 is apparent in figure 1. The chart reflects data from all surviving reports for both Union Depot and Fort Union, although until June 1864 those data are heavily skewed toward the post and thereafter toward the Depot. The survival of records for the two has created this distribution. To render the general trends clearer and to minimize the clutter of wide month-to-month fluctuation in reported payroll, the data in figure 1 are presented as a three-month moving average.[13]

From minimal payrolls, averaging just over $1,900 per month throughout 1860, the reports show a step upward with the return of the Depot to Fort Union in 1861, when surviving payrolls for the third quarter averaged $10,500 per month. In the wake of the unsuccessful Confederate invasion of New Mexico in the first half of 1862, payrolls at Fort Union again moved higher. From April 1862 through December 1863 surviving civilian payroll data at the Fort show an average outlay of just under $12,800 per month.

Construction of the third and final fort complex, including the very large depot facility, began in 1863, but the effects on civilian payroll are not evident in the surviving records until the summer 1864. At that point the civilian payroll took a quantum leap to a level from which it did not descend until mandatory work-force reductions began in late 1868. Leo Oliva has noted, "Opportunities for employment at Fort Union increased when construction of the new department depot began in 1862 [technically construction did not begin until 1863] and continued until the third fort was completed in 1868."[14] From July 1864 through April 1868 combined surviving payrolls of Union Depot and Fort Union averaged over $29,100 per month. As summarized in an 1889 report to the Quartermaster General in Washington, D.C., the following buildings were erected at the Fort during 1864 and 1865, just when this remarkable increase in civilian payroll is first evident:

Company officers' quarters
Commanding officer's quarters
Infantry barracks
Military prison
Guard house
Field officers' quarters
Quartermaster's office
Subsistence office
Clerk's office
Mechanics' shops

Quartermaster's storehouses
Ice house
Grain houses[15]

Numbers of civilian employees are, generally speaking, not evident in the quartermasters' settlement records, for they report only total payroll amounts. There are, however, six surviving employee pay rosters filed among those records, three from Fort Union in 1860 and one from Union Depot in each of the years 1865, 1867, and 1868. These few rosters list employees by name and amount of pay. The rosters from 1860 indicate a very small civilian work force at the post, perhaps no larger than thirty individuals in any month.[16] Significant employment of native New Mexicans at Fort Union did not begin until the district depot returned from Albuquerque in 1861. For instance, the three surviving lists of persons hired in 1860 show only three Hispanos—all teamsters—in the Fort's employ.

During 1863, with post and depot construction underway, the monthly count of civilian employees ranged from just over 200 to slightly under 400. Spring of 1864 found the roster of civilian employees standing at 419 at the Depot alone.[17] By 1865 the payroll at Union Depot had increased to 534. Hispanos comprised almost 60% of the civilian employees that month and received some $7,930 in wages.[18]

Leo Oliva, summarizing an October 1867 order from Lt. Col. Langdon Easton to the Union Depot quartermaster, reports a maximum authorized civilian payroll of 596 for the Depot at that time.[19] That level may never actually have been reached, for Dist. Qm. Henry Inman's Report of Persons and Articles Hired for June 1867 lists only 160 civilian employees.[20] In March of the next year there were only 137 civilians on payroll at the Depot. Not only did the total number of employees decline, but so did the Hispanic share of the work force, standing at just 3.13% in June 1867 and 10.95% in March 1868.[21]

Based on the settlement records examined in this study, the peak of civilian employment at Fort Union and Union Depot appears to have been in late 1865 and early 1866, despite the commanding officer's January 1867 report referred to previously. Particularly striking among the quartermasters' reports are those for October 1865 and February 1866, showing payrolls of $92,005.02 and $75,506.15, respectively. The October 1865 level was never approached in any other month on record, while payrolls roughly equivalent to the February 1866 total did occur one month each during 1864 and 1867.

Characteristics of the Civilian Labor Force

From the quartermasters' settlement records we have compiled an aggregate list of 1,053 civilians who were employed at Fort Union or Union Depot at one time or another between January 1860 and December 1868. Missing reports for both the Fort and Depot prevent the list from being exhaustive, but it represents a large sample of the actual total of employees.

Because the aim of this study is to gauge the impact of quartermaster expenditures on the local Hispano economy of New Mexico, its focus is largely on employees with Hispanic surnames.[22] Our concern here is with the 531 Hispanic-surnamed employees who make up 50.43% of the aggregate list (see appendix 1). The distribution of those 531 workers by type of employment is as follows:

teamsters	204
laborers	108
contract freighters	31
guides	8
cooks	6
retrieval of livestock	6
court martial services	5
expressmen	4
herders	4
wagon repair	1
carpenter	1
mason	1
interpreter	1
notary public	1
contract supplier	1
apprehension of deserter	1
unspecified	148[23]

With the exception of the single mason and carpenter, the Hispanic-surnamed employees whose occupations have thus been determined occupied the lowest salary levels among the Fort Union and Union Depot work force. The higher paying positions such as clerks, wagonmasters, blacksmiths, stonemasons, and other skilled occupations all went to non-Hispanos.[24]

Even among teamsters and laborers, Hispanos were mostly confined to the lowest-paid positions, earning at the rate of $30 per month. Both teamsters and laborers were compensated on a two-tiered pay scale with a lower

Table 1 County of Origin of Hispanic Employees of Fort Union and Union Depot

County	Number of Hispanic Employees	County	Number of Hispanic Employees
San Miguel	28	Valencia	6
Taos	27	Doña Ana	2
Mora	18	Bernalillo	1
Santa Fe	13	**Total**	95

Sources: see appendix 1, and Bureau of Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1864), index.

rate of $30 and a higher rate of $35 per month. Nearly all Hispanic teamsters and laborers were paid at the lower rate.[25] However, 146 of the 211 (69.19%) non-Hispanic employees in those same jobs were paid over $35 per month.[26] Nevertheless, the several hundred Hispanic-surnamed individuals in the employ of the Fort and Depot, earned substantially more than they would likely have been able to in wage labor unconnected to the military. Susan Calafate Boyle, for instance, reports a monthly wage of only $6–$8 for muleteers in New Mexico in the 1860s.[27] At the same time even the lowest-paid laborer received more than most noncommissioned officers in the army.[28]

The data on longevity of employment provided by the August 1865 roster indicate that the work of laborers, involved primarily in construction, was more seasonally restricted than that of teamsters. The longest employed Hispanic laborer had held his position only since March 1865, or just 6 months. Meanwhile, fully 77 of the 107 Hispanic laborers employed in August 1865 had been on the payroll only 2 or fewer months. On the other hand, a number of teamsters enjoyed continuous employment at the Depot for many months and even years. The teamster with the most longevity on the job was a Felipe Sánchez, who, in August 1865, had been employed at Union Depot for 40 months, or since May 1862 (almost from the transfer of the Depot to Fort Union). At the time, 31 other Hispanic teamsters had been driving wagons for the Quartermaster Department for 15 months or longer.[29]

Of the 531 Hispanos identified as employees of Fort Union and Union Depot during the nine years covered by this study, we have been able to identify the likely county of origin of 95 through comparison of the aggregate employee roster and the 1860 U.S. census index (see table 1).[30] This comparison reveals that the great majority of Hispanic civilian employees (90.52% of those identified in this study) came from the four northern New Mexico counties of San Miguel, Taos, Mora, and Santa Fe. The full distribution generated by comparison of the two lists is shown in table 1..

In sum, Hispanic civilian employees at the Fort and Depot constituted a substantial group that traveled significant distances from their hometowns to work often for months at a time and to earn cash wages—modest by standards outside New Mexico. It seems likely that most laborers and many teamsters sought only to supplement their traditional livelihoods through work at Fort Union. In these cases male members of households migrated seasonally to work at the Fort or Depot, while other family members remained at home to pursue traditional routines of farming and ranching. This employment cycle maintained considerable continuity with earlier and ongoing practices in the Santa Fe–Chihuahua and Missouri-Chihuahua trade, as well as with activities of the *ciboleros* (bison hunters) and *comancheros* (traders to Comanches and other Plains Indians). Thus, employment at Fort Union probably did not mark a significant departure from longstanding habits for many northern New Mexico families, although the pay thus obtained was likely considerably higher than in previous years. During the brief period from 1862 to 1866 hundreds of Hispanos took advantage of the opportunity of cash wages offered by the U.S. Army at Fort Union.

Purchase of Stores, Trends, and Data

To keep mid-nineteenth-century army posts viable in New Mexico and other frontier regions, the U.S. Army had to provide for the sustenance and well-being of the myriad livestock on which those stations depended for food and for the transportation of supplies, equipage, and personnel. In addition, the army had to maintain hardware appropriate to transportation and livestock husbandry as well as supplies required for record keeping. While the third fort and new depot were under construction at Fort Union, there was a further need for building materials. These myriad tasks were the responsibility of the assistant quartermasters.

Relatively cheap but bulky perishables such as hay, corn, and fodder were generally too costly to ship to places like New Mexico from U.S. suppliers in the Mississippi-Missouri River drainages and farther east until the completion of railroad lines to western frontiers in the 1870s and 1880s. As a result, the task of the quartermaster of Union Depot during the period of this study was to acquire thousands of tons of forage annually from local suppliers. On the basis of substantial though admittedly incomplete information, we can say that Fort Union and Union Depot purchased considerably more than seventeen thousand tons of corn, hay, fodder, oats, and barley from local suppliers from January 1860 through December 1868.

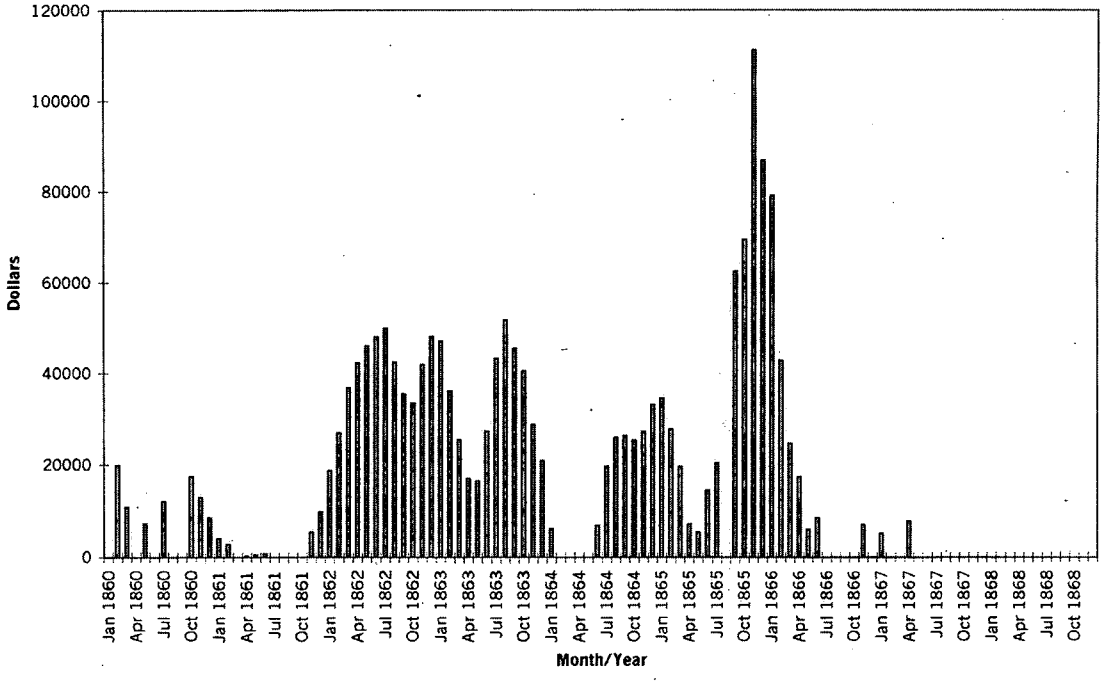
Prior to the coming of the U.S. Army, New Mexico had produced sufficient quantities of livestock feed to sustain local herds. However, following the army's arrival, military authorities encouraged the expansion of production by native New Mexican farmers or the establishment of new farming operations by recent immigrants from the East.[31] The assistant quartermasters at Union Depot, therefore, were constantly recruiting local civilian contract suppliers. In cases in which farmers did not contract directly with the army, their produce was actively sought by other suppliers, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, who contracted to supply greater amounts than they themselves could produce. In this latter group fell William H. Moore, John and Andrew Dold, William Kroenig, Pablo Antonio Sena, Faustín Baca, and numerous others.

Figure 2 shows the general trend in combined expenditures of the Fort and Depot for the nine years of the study period. Data are adequate to justify conclusions only until June of 1866. Almost no quartermasters' purchase reports have been located for the final eighteen months of the period of study. As with employment expenditures, a modest level of purchases held until reestablishment of the Depot at Fort Union, averaging just $8,477 per month in 1860 and 1861 for the months having extant reports. From March 1862 through December 1863, however, reported purchases more than quadrupled, running at a monthly average of just over $38,500. A similar purchase level ($31,778 per month) was again maintained during the seven-month stretch from September 1864 through March 1865. The surviving data suggest that each twelve-month period saw a substantial rise in purchases during harvest and for some months afterward lasting from fall until early spring.

The same peak of activity in the purchase of stores dominated late 1865 and early 1866 as did the civilian payroll data. That spike lasted from November 1865 through February 1866, when purchases totaled an astounding $391,269, nearly double the total of any other four-month period on record.[32] During those four months Andrew Dold, Ceran St. Vrain, and William Kroenig sold an unprecedented 2,225,325 pounds of corn to Union Depot and Fort Union, almost all of that going to the Depot and accounting for most of the purchase total.[33]

Throughout the entire study period and for nearly all suppliers, corn was the commodity furnished in largest volume to Fort Union. During the nine years well over 16 million pounds of corn were sold to the Fort and Depot by local suppliers.[34] Corn was followed in volume respectively by hay, fodder, oats, and barley. Four Hispanic suppliers named in the extant reports supplied lumber to Fort Union. One of them, Pedro Valdez, made two very large sales totaling 262,395 board feet, for which he was paid $9,052.62.[35]

Figure 2
Purchases of Quartermaster Stores from Civilians, Ft. Union 1860–1868, Three-Month Moving Average



From 1860 through 1868, through such purchases, the quartermaster departments at the Fort and Depot paid well in excess of $1.8 million to local civilian suppliers. Although lack of documentation prevents definitive illustration, a major share of that amount probably reached the hands of native New Mexican growers either as direct payment or through middlemen. In excess of a million dollars was likely transferred from Fort Union to Hispanos of northern New Mexico through the sale and purchase of quartermaster stores during the nine years covered by this study. That huge infusion of money represented a tremendous economic boon to the region.

Contract Suppliers

Named in the surviving quartermasters' settlement records for 1860–1868 are 575 civilian suppliers of stores, of which 231 (40.17%) are Hispanic-surnamed (see Appendix 2). Of the total amount of $1,835,418 reported as paid for stores during the period, 9.6% went directly to those 231 Hispanos. Pablo Antonio Sena of San José was the Hispanic supplier who received the highest compensation during the period: $18,235.05. Sena was listed as a farmer in the San Miguel County census of 1860. Clear from the composition of his household, which included at least one teamster, and his status as the most well-to-do individual in San José is that he probably also did business as a middleman in the supply of Fort Union. Sena was an active supplier to the Fort and Depot throughout the years for which records are available during the study period.[36] Also, on at least one occasion he was paid to repair a wagon at Fort Union, another indication that he probably engaged in freighting in addition to farming, his principal occupation.[37] Six other Hispanos earned very substantial sums of money by supplying quartermaster stores: Jesús G. Abreu, Juan Ignacio Alire, José Manuel Baca, Jesús María Barela, Pedro Valdez, and the partnership of Shafer and Gutiérrez. Each person or entity was paid over five thousand dollars.

From the surviving records, however, most Hispanic suppliers seem to have directly sold their produce only infrequently to Union Depot and Fort Union. For instance, according to records, José D. Trujillo made only one sale for $11.44.[38] Eighty-two other Hispanic suppliers are reported to have earned $100 or less through direct sales to the army over the entire nine-year period. This may well understate their total receipts as suppliers to the Fort and Depot; many of them also undoubtedly sold farm goods to larger producers who acted as middlemen, probably even to Sena and others among the

largest Hispanic suppliers listed above, as well as to William H. Moore, John and Andrew Dolds, William Kroenig, Henry Birnbaum, and other non-Hispanos.[39] Deliveries by Hispanos to the Depot were generally much smaller than those of their non-Hispanic counterparts, mainly appearing to be wagonloads of stored grain and hay.

In comparison to even the largest Hispanic suppliers, Moore's business with Fort Union was immense. In addition to serving as post sutler throughout the study period, he earned in excess of $364,245, or twenty times the income of Pablo Antonio Sena, furnishing quartermaster stores as an individual and through various partnerships from 1860–1868.[40] Moore's most profitable period as sutler came in 1863–1864, just when he was also reaping the greatest return from the sale of stores.[41] By the end of the decade he was among the wealthiest individuals in New Mexico Territory.

Cross-referencing with the 1860 New Mexico census index allows identification of the probable county of origin of 44 of the 231 Hispanic suppliers to Fort Union and Union Depot. As with civilian employees, the great majority (70.45%) of them haled from the *Río Arriba* counties (San Miguel, 14; Mora, 10; Taos, 5; and Santa Fe, 2). Still, a significant number (29.55%) came from the *Río Abajo* counties (Valencia, 7; Socorro, 3; Bernalillo, 2; and Doña Ana, 1).[42] This latter figure substantially varies with the county of origin of Hispanic civilian employees, who preponderantly seemed to travel shorter distances to secure income at the Fort. In part, this situation reflects the concentration of Hispanic merchants/freighters in the Chihuahua trade in the Río Abajo. With the establishment of Fort Union, some simply diverted at least a portion of their energy and stock from the southern market to the closer northern one.[43] Again, their reorientation would suggest a considerable continuity with past commercial behavior on the part of native New Mexican growers and merchants, and also a pragmatic readiness to shift market loyalties.

In contrast to Hispanic laborers, local Hispanic farmers likely developed an early reliance on the demand of Fort Union and Union Depot for forage and increased planting and production of corn, the crop most in demand.[44] The Fort and Depot served as an unprecedented outlet for farm production in northern New Mexico. Particularly for growers in San Miguel and Mora Counties, the army market meant something of a bonanza while it lasted. However, William Parish has pointed out that, for most Hispanic suppliers, selling to the army also resulted in increased dependence on and economic domination by merchants and middlemen, who quickly came to control the lion's share of supply contracts.[45] Whether by design or not, the business of

army supply was a powerful, enduring, and attractive force working to integrate significant numbers of native New Mexicans into the cash economy that already held sway in the older states and territories of the United States.

Conclusions

As a major employer of construction workers and laborers, the tenure of Fort Union was relatively brief, lasting just six building seasons, 1863–1868. Most Hispanic laborers were fully aware of the temporary nature of the employment opportunities available through the Fort. In general, laborers used that employment to supplement their traditional livelihoods. For them, wage labor at the Fort usually did not involve a long-term change of residence or revolution in mode of living. Rather, for hundreds of Hispanos army employment resulted in a short-lived influx of cash that allowed purchase of goods beyond their usual means or accelerated purchase of common big-ticket items such as wagons and furniture.

For teamsters and suppliers on the other hand, the situation was more complex. Some teamsters and producer/merchants had already likely been involved in freighting and commerce as comancheros and as parties in the Missouri–Santa Fe–Chihuahua trade. For such individuals the appearance of Fort Union and Union Depot as a nexus of supply and trade activity meant only a change of venue for their usual pursuits. For others, though, such as the farmers of northern New Mexico, the sudden establishment of a huge nearby market precipitated the refocusing of work energy and impelled a shift away from self-contained communities toward linkage with and increasing dependence on economic and social entities outside the local area, entities generally based on foreign cultural assumptions.

Supplying the relatively long-term commodity market at Fort Union, one lasting fully seventeen years until the arrival of the railroad opened easy access to even wider markets, prompted fundamental change in the lives of farmers. The shift from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture, once made and reinforced season after season, was all but irreversible. Children grew to adulthood knowing nothing else. By the time the district/department depot was removed from Fort Union in 1878, their family's reliance on commercial agriculture was the norm in northern New Mexico.[46]

Clearly, economic activities generated by Fort Union and Union Depot had a significant economic and social impact on Hispanos in northern New Mexico. Although the data extracted from the quartermasters' settlement

records are sufficient to provide this general overview of the effect of quartermasters' expenditures at Fort Union on northern New Mexico's economy, additional research would be necessary to shed light on the details of that impact. For instance, examination of the lives and activities of individual Hispanos who worked at or supplied the Fort would shed light on the effects of the end of employment opportunities at the Fort once construction ended. Still surviving in many cases are family records and stories that could illuminate such inquiries. Business records of firms that supplied Fort Union could suggest the strength of the merchants' grip on the Hispanic agricultural community as a whole and individually. A new look at travelers' reports might help gauge the speed and geographical extent of changes engendered by economic involvement with the Fort.

All in all, the present study offers jumping-off points for in-depth investigation of what were clearly significant and long lasting economic and social changes that Fort Union and Union Depot triggered among Hispanos of northern New Mexico.

Notes

1. Two basic historical works on Fort Union are Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest*, Professional Papers No. 41 (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1993), and Chris Emmett, *Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965).
2. For accounts of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, see Martin Hardwick Hall, *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign* (1960; reprint, with a foreword by Jerry Thompson, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), and Donald S. Frazier, *Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995).
3. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 531.
4. Darlis A. Miller has written, "During these years [1846–1886], as a direct result of the army's presence, corn, wheat, beans, and cattle production doubled in New Mexico. Also, new mines were opened; lumber mills erected; and flour mills established." See her *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861–1885* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 353. For additional comments on the army's stimulation of the economy in northern New Mexico, see also Jane Lenz Elder and David J. Weber, eds., *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853–1861* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996), xx; Oliva, *Fort Union*, 531; and Robert W. Frazer, *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846–1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 1–2.

5. U.S. Department of War, "Public Property, Money, and Accounts," *Revised U.S. Army Regulations of 1861* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1863), article 41, pars. 1039–40. The quotation is from article 42, pars. 1169–71.
6. The sample forms and abstracts are in *Revised U.S. Army Regulations*, 174–75, 184, 186, 188.
7. Department of New Mexico, General Order No. 19, 15 July 1861, pp. 159–62, "Department of New Mexico: Letters, Reports, and Orders, January–August 1861," vol. 7, *Arrott's Fort Union Collection*, Special Collections, Donnelly Library, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas [hereafter *AFUC*].
8. The quartermasters' settlement records used in this study, plus others from before and after the study period, have now been microfilmed at our request. Available to researchers, the microfilm is curated at Fort Union National Monument.
9. Col. Herbert M. Enos, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," August 1865, Box 24, Entry 26, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Record Group 393, National Archives [hereafter RG 393].
10. Other components at Fort Union besides the post and depot Quartermaster's Departments had economic impact on the region. The district arsenal was also at Fort Union and had a civilian payroll. The commissary of subsistence had the responsibility of feeding and clothing the troops stationed at the fort, purchasing very large quantities of foodstuffs such as flour and beans from local suppliers with effects likely similar to those of the purchase of quartermaster stores. The commissary also hired civilian employees. Leo Oliva reports that two civilian clerks, a watchman, and nine laborers were employed by the Commissary Depot in 1868. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 728.

    Nor are the ubiquitous civilian laundresses covered in this study, a topic that raises the largely unstudied issue of women wage earners at Fort Union. Darlis A. Miller states, "In the mid-1860s the army allotted four washerwomen to each company, furnishing the women with transportation, rations, lodging, fuel, and medical attention. The women also received cash payments from the individuals for whom they washed, with laundry rates being established by post councils of administration." Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 269.

    Furthermore, the impact on neighboring communities such as Loma Parda, Watrous, and Las Vegas of personal spending by soldiers at Fort Union has yet to be adequately studied.
11. Maj. Elisha G. Marshall to the Quartermaster General, Washington, D.C., 18 January 1867, p. 23, "District of New Mexico: Letters, Reports, and Orders, January–July 1867," vol. 20, *AFUC*.
12. 1st Lt. William A. Kobbe, General Orders No. 23, 10 June 1869, p. 130, vol. 23, "District of New Mexico: Letters, Reports, and Orders, 1869," vol. 23, *AFUC*.
13. We use a common statistical technique, the moving average, to clarify the overall trend in payroll. In this case, we are using a three-month moving average, meaning that the payroll total shown for any given month is the mean (arithmetical average) of the actual reported totals for that month plus the two immediately succeeding months. Thus, the total shown in figure 1 for July 1861 is one-third of the sum of the

amounts reported for July, August, and September. Without recourse to such a statistical technique, the long-term trend in payroll is much more difficult to detect because of the "clutter" of wide month-to-month variation in the reported payroll.

14. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 554.
15. 1st Lt. Frederick Wooley to the Quartermaster General, Washington, D.C., 9 October 1889, pp. 355–60, "District of New Mexico: Letters, Reports, and Orders, 1886–1892, 1894," vol. 41, *AFUC*.
16. 1st Lt. Roger Jones, Receipt Roll of Hired Men, 1st Quarter 1860, R. Jones, No[.] 10, Abstract B, 2nd Quarter 1860; and R. Jones, No[.] 14, Abstract B, 2nd Quarter 1860, Box 93, Entry 730B, Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, Record Group 217, National Archives [hereafter RG 217].
17. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 545–46.
18. Col. Herbert M. Enos, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," August 1865, Box 24, Entry 26, RG 393.
19. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 547.
20. Dist. Qm. Henry Inman, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," June 1867, Entry 26, Box 24, RG 393.
21. Asst. Qm. George W. Bradley, Abstract B, March 1868, Box 19, Entry 730B, RG 217.
22. Our assumption is that individuals with non-Hispanic surnames are very likely to be recent arrivals in the territory, a large number of them attracted in part by the prospect of employment at the Fort. Thus, information about their employment would have little direct and immediate bearing on the native economy.
23. The roster of employees for August 1865, the most complete extant monthly list, suggests that these 148 unspecified employees were almost entirely teamsters and laborers. In the August 1865 list, those two occupations accounted for 96.85% of the 317 Hispanic-surnamed employees that month. Col. Herbert M. Enos, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," August 1865, Box 24, Entry 26, RG 393.
24. The high-paying positions and higher wages were the following: clerks up to $100 a month; storekeepers, $80–$85; wagonmasters, $70–$80; tinsmiths, $50–$85; blacksmiths, $65–$85; wheelwrights, $75–$85; watchmen, $40; quarrymen; $40–$45; stonemasons, $65–$85; painters, $75; and plasterers, $75–$85.
25. What the official criteria were for differential pay is not known, although ethnicity was not among them. Darlis Miller noted the same Anglo dominance in the higher pay tiers at Fort Cummings: "Typical of civilian payrolls during the mid-1860s was the January 1866 payroll for Fort Cummings, New Mexico. . . . All the higher paying jobs were filled by Anglos, while eight of thirteen men receiving $30 in wages [the lowest pay rate] were Hispanos." Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 257.
26. A breakdown of this figure is the following: 78% (156 of 200) of all Hispanic teamsters and 93.46% (100 of 107) of all Hispanic laborers. Col. Herbert M. Enos, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," August 1865, Box 24, Entry 26, RG 393.
27. Susan Calafate Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 46.
28. In 1860 the highest paid noncommissioned officer, a sergeant major, received only twenty-one dollars per month in cash (supplemented, of course, by in-kind payment of rations and housing). Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 152.

29. Col. Herbert M. Enos, "Report of Persons and Articles Hired," August 1865, Box 24, Entry 26, RG 393.
30. A match between the two lists was recognized when, first, the full name on the employee roster exactly matched that of a single individual recorded on the census index or, second, as in the case of more than one matching name on the census list, the individuals having that name resided in the same county. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1864), index.
31. Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 1–2.
32. A significant reason for such a huge increase at this time is that the Depot was supplying food to the Navajos who had recently been interned at the Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. By spring 1865 the total number of Navajos relocated there exceeded nine thousand. Robert A. Rossel Jr., "Navajo History, 1850–1923," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 10, *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 513.
33. Asst. Qm. Henry J. Farnsworth, Abstract A, November 1865; Abstract A, December 1865; Abstract A, January 1866; Abstract B, January 1866; and Abstract A, February 1866, Box 61, Entry 730B, RG 217.
34. There is no way of ascertaining from the settlement records whether all corn and other agricultural products sold to the Fort and Depot by local suppliers were actually grown in New Mexico. Most suppliers, however, made relatively small deliveries scattered throughout the year. That pattern of activity suggests that they were not hauling the products from Fort Leavenworth, but either raised them locally or purchased them from farmers who did so.
35. Dist. Qm. Henry Inman, Abstract A, 31 January 1867, and Abstract A, April 1867, Box 90, Entry 730B, RG 217.
36. San Miguel County Census, 1860, unpublished tabular database compiled by Harry C. Myers.
37. Asst. Qm. John C. McFerran, Abstract B, June 1862, Box 26, Entry 730B, RG 217.
38. Asst. Qm. John C. McFerran, Abstract A, June 1862, Box 26, Entry 730B, RG 217.
39. Darlis A. Miller, "The Perils of a Post Sutler: William H. Moore at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1859–1870," *Journal of the West* 32 (April 1993): 9–10.
40. The various commercial entities in which William H. Moore appears in the quartermasters' settlement records for 1860–1868 are W. H. Moore, W. H. Moore and Company, Moore and Mitchell, and Moore and Reese. The total payments made for supplies to these entities for the period 1860–1868, as recorded in the quartermasters' settlement records, was $364,245.
41. Miller, "The Perils of a Post Sutler," 13.
42. Of the Hispanic suppliers to Fort Union for whom county of origin has thus been identified, Epifanio Aguirre came the farthest distance, traveling from Las Cruces in Doña Ana County.
43. According to Susan Calafate Boyle's data, the 1860 census shows New Mexican merchants concentrated in the Río Abajo. Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 101.
44. There is abundant evidence of increased production by New Mexico farmers in response to army demand. For instance Darlis Miller writes, "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." Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132.

45. William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company, a Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 44.
46. Oliva, *Fort Union*, 541.

Appendix 1

Combined Roster of Hispanic Civilian Employees at Ft. Union, 1860–1868

Acosta, Juan
Aguilar, José Cayetano
Aguirre, Epifanio
Aguirre, Epifanio & Bros
Alamandra (Almendares?), Manrique
Alarid, Marciál
Alderete, Ramón
Alire, Santiago
Alviar, Refugio
Alviar, Alejo
Anaya, Anastacio
Antón, Mateo
Anzures, Juan (1)
Anzures, Juan (2)
Anzures, Leonisio
Apodaca, Albino
Apodaca, Antonio
Apodaca, Christopher
Apodaca, Donato
Apodaca, Enerio
Apodaca, José
Apodaca, José (1)
Apodaca, José (2)
Apodaca, José Domingo
Apodaca, Juan
Apodaca, Nestor
Apodaca, Simón
Aragón, Davíd
Aragón, José Antonio
Aragón, Ramón
Archibeque, Pedro
Archibeque, Peter
Archuleta, Agapito
Archuleta, Cayetano
Archuleta, José R.
Archuleta, Mateo
Archuleta, Mariano
Archuleta, Tomás
Archuleta, W.
Argüello, Loreto
Armijo, Ambrosio
Armijo, Antonio José
Armijo, Jesús
Armijo, José N.
Armijo, José Víctor
Armijo, Pablo
Armijo, Pedro
Arnelas, Fernández
Arvada, Francisco
Arvada, Juan
Atencio, Cornelio
Atencio, Noberto
Avalos, José
Ayortiz, José
Baca, Antonio
Baca, Antonio & Bro.
Baca, Asención
Baca, Faustín & Co.
Baca, Juan María
Baca, Manuel
Baca, Pablito
Baca, Santiago
Baca, Simón
Baca y Salazar, Jesús María
Baldonado, Locario
Barela, Anselmo
Barela, Jesús María
Barela, Juan

Barela, Logino
Barela, Manuel
Barnes & Aguirre
Barrio, Juan
Benavídez, Francisco Esteban
Bernal, Lovino
Bernal, Manuel
Bío, Nicolás
Bueno, José Mateo
Bueno, Juan Isidro
Bueno, Rafael
Bustos, José Antonio
Bustos, José María
Butres, José
Campo, John
Candelaria, José
Candelaria, José Francisco
Candelaria, Melquíades
Candelaria, Santiago
Candelaria, Santos
Caravajal, Manuel
Carena, Antonio
Carrillo, Juan
Carrión, Gregorio
Carrión, José
Carrión, Porfirio
Casonse, Juan
Castro, Donaciano
Castro, Juan Inocencio
Cavada, José
Cevados, J.T.
Chaves, Ambrosio
Chaves, Jesús José
Chaves, Thomas
Chávez, Dennis
Chávez, Domingo
Chávez, Jesús (1)
Chávez, Jesús (2)
Chávez, Juan
Chávez, Juan
Chávez, Manuel (1)
Chávez, Manuel (2)
Chávez, Negro
Chávez, Rafael
Chávez, Victoriano
Colungo, Cipriano
Cordero, Francisco
Cordero, Juan
Cordo, Juan
Córdova, Florencio
Córdova, Francisco
Córdova, José Manuel
Cortez, Francisco
Cruz, Antonio María
Dávila, Julián
de la Cruz, José
De La O, Fernando
de Vega, Gerónimo
Delgado, Susano
Domingos, Feliciano
Durán, Antonio
Durán, Guadalupe
Durán, José
Durán, José Francisco
Durán, José Guadalupe
Durán, Juan William
Durán, Lorenzo
Escarita, José Arias
Espinosa, Adelpho
Espinosa, Albino
Espinosa, Antonio
Espinosa, José Arias
Espinosa, Juan Jesús
Espinosa, Tomás
Esquibel, Eugenio
Esquibel, Fernando
Esquibel, Juan Andrés
Esquibel, Miguel
Esquibel, Pablo
Esquibel, Tomás
Fernández, Desiderio
Fierro, Sabino
Flores, Hilario
Flores, Lorenzo
Flores, Romaldo
Fresco, José Candelario
Gallego, José María
Gallego, Juan
Gallegos, Francisco
Gallegos, Jesús (1)
Gallegos, Jesús (2)
Gallegos, José Dolores
Gallegos, Miguel
Gallegos, Ramón
García, Alejandro
García, Ambrosio

García, Anastacio
García, Antonio
García, Antonio José
García, Camilo
García, Desiderio
García, Donaciano
García, Faustín
García, Francisco
García, Jesús María
García, Juan
García, Juan
García, Juan (1)
García, Juan (2)
García, Juan Albino
García, Juan B.
García, Juan Ignacio
García, Juan Pablo
García, José (1)
García, José (2)
García, Lino
García, Manuel
García, Mateo
García, Miguel
García, Rafael
García, Ramón (1)
García, Ramón (2)
García, Reto
García, Romaldo
García, Simón
García, Teodoro
García, Timoteo
Gómez, Aniceto
González, Alejo
González, Bonifacio
González, Dionicio
González, Esquípula
González, Francisco
González, José María
González, José Miguel
González, Juan
González, Juan Isidoro
González, Nasario
González, Pedro
González, Peter
Gordona, Matías
Gregorio, Saturnino
Griego, Antonio José
Griego, Esquípula
Griego, Gregorio
Griego, Juan P.
Griego, Pedro
Griego, Romaldo
Gurulé, Antonio
Gurulé, Francisco
Gurulé, José G.
Gurulé, Juan José
Gutiérrez, Alopeta
Gutiérrez, C.
Gutiérrez, Felipe
Gutiérrez, Gregorio
Gutiérrez, Juan José
Gutiérrez, Vidal
Herrera, Antonio
Herrera, Edward
Herrera, José María
Herrera, José Rosalio
Herrera, Marcelo
Herrera, Marcos
Herrera, Niberto
Herrera, Rosalín
Herrera, Santos
Hidalgo, José
Jaramillo, Facundo
Jaramillo, José de la Cruz
Jaramillo, José María
Jaramillo, Pablo
Jaramillo, Refugio
Kano [Cano], Simón
Lalas, Nerio
Lández, León
Laniasino (?), Juan Antonio
Leal, Leonicio
Leal, Pedro
Leyba, Candelario
Leyba, Rafael (1)
Leyba, Rafael (2)
López, Albino
López, Antonio
López, Dolores
López, José (1)
López, José (2)
López, José de la Cruz
López, Julián
López, Seferino
López, Severiano
López, Santos

Lorenzano, Pedro
Lovato, Alcario
Lovato, Antonio Domingo
Lovato, Gabriel
Lovato, José María
Lovato, Juan
Lovato, Teodoro
Lucero, Cruz
Lucero, Félix
Lucero, Isidoro
Lucero, Juan
Lucero, Lorenzo
Lucero, Nasario
Lucero, Pablo
Luján, Juan
Luján, Nepomoceno
Madrid, Juan
Madril, Agapito
Madril, Encarnación
Madril, Faustín
Madril, José
Madrino, Albino
Maes, José Dolores
Maestas, Elophia
Maestas, Francisco
Maestas, Cándido
Maestas, José León
Maestas, Manuel Antonio
Maldonado, José
Manchego, Francisco
Manzaneros, Ambrosio
Mares, Juan
Mares, Mariano
Marina, José Encarnación
Marina, Milton
Márquez, Belindo
Martín, Agapito
Martín, Antonio
Martín, Antonio José
Martín, Antonio Juan
Martín, Elenor
Martín, Elselso
Martín, Esquípula
Martín, Esterbo
Martín, José Antonio
Martín, José Felipe
Martín, José Miguel
Martín, Juan
Martín, Juan de Dios
Martín, Juan E.
Martín, Juan Jesús
Martín, Juan Manuel
Martín, Leandro
Martín, Manuel Antonio
Martín, Mariano (1)
Martín, Mariano (2)
Martín, Pedro $30.00
Martín, Ramón
Martín, Roque
Martínez, Luis
Martínez, Ramón
Mascareñas, Antonio
Mascareñas, Jesús María
Mascareñas, Crecencio
Mata, Bata
Mata, Pablo
Medina, Antonio Domingo
Medina, José Domingo
Medina, José Francisco
Medina, Juan
Medina, Juan de los Ríos
Medina, Juan Francisco
Medina, Juan P.
Mejías, Tranquilino
Mermadas, Jesús
Meyers, Juan Francisco
Miranda, Lesandro
Mondragón, José de la Cruz
Mónico, Dolores
Montaño, José
Montaño, José María
Montes, Eduardo
Montes, Faustino
Montes, Leonardo
Montoya, Atanasio
Montoya, José
Montoya, Juan
Montoya, Juan Bautista
Montoya, Juan de Jesús
Montoya, Juan Jaramillo
Montoya, Luis
Montoya, Pablo
Montoya, Pedro
Montoya, Seferino
Montoya, Trinidad
Mora, Fernando

Morales, Jesús
Moreno, José Vacilio
Morough [Moro], Félix
Moya, Juan
Muñeca, Francisco
Núñez, Geraldo
Núñez, Tamislado
Núñez, Víctor $35.00
Ochoa, Stephan
Oconor, Juan Pomoceno
Ojolo, Juan Rese
Olguín, Cruz
Olguín, Luis
Olivas, Atanacio
Orozco, Facundo
Ortega, Eusebio
Ortega, Sebastián
Ortiz, Antonio
Otero, Santiago
Pacheco, Jesús
Pacheco, Juan Antonio
Padilla, Casimiro
Padilla, Donaciano
Padilla, Eugenio
Padilla, José
Padilla, José Amicio
Padilla, José de Jesús
Padilla, Juan de la Cruz
Padilla, Juan
Padilla, Juan Isidro
Padilla, Pablo
Paguet, Francisco
Parra, Joseph
Peralta, José Lino
Peralta, Santiago (1)
Peralta, Santiago (2)
Perea, Francisco
Perea, José
Pino, Jesús
Quintana, José María
Quintana, Tomás
Rael, José L.
Ramírez, José Fernández
Ramírez, Nepomoceno
Real, Jesús
Ribera, Juan Rafael
Ribera, Francisco
Rodríguez, Antonio
Rodríguez, Genovevo
Rodríguez, Leonardo
Rodríguez, Manuel
Romero, Andrés
Romero, Benito
Romero, Esquípula
Romero, Francisco
Romero, Gerónimo
Romero, Jesús
Romero, José
Romero, José Eugenio
Romero, Juan Isidro
Romero, Juan Miguel
Romero, Leandro
Romero, Manuel
Roybal, Cecilio
Roybal, Tereso
Roybal, Juan José
Saavedra, Nabor
Saiz, Alejandro
Saiz, Nasario
Saiz, Pedro
Salas, Pedro Antonio
Salas, Tomás
Salazar, Diego
Salazar, Francisco Antonio
Salazar, José Rafael
Salazar, Juan P.
Salazar, Miguel
Salazar, Nicanor
Salle, Santos
San Esteban, Juan C.
Sánchez, Crecensio
Sánchez, Felipe
Sánchez, Francisco
Sánchez, Francisco Antonio
Sánchez, José Ignacio
Sánchez, José Manuel
Sánchez, José María
Sánchez, José Mariano
Sánchez, Juan
Sánchez, Lorenzo
Sánchez, Manuel
Sánchez, Pablo
Sánchez, Santiago
Sandoval, Antonio
Sandoval, Davíd
Sandoval, Felipe María

Sandoval, Francisco
Sandoval, Hilario
Sandoval, José de Tiburcio
Sandoval, Marcelino
Sandoval, Narciso
Sandoval, R.
Schaffer & González
Sedillo, Juan (1)
Sedillo, Juan (2)
Sedillo, Luis
Sedillo, Miguel
Seelnor (?), José María
Sena, José María
Sena, José Vicente
Sena, Pablo Antonio
Serna, Francisco
Severino, Antonio
Sierra, Manuel
Sierra, Severiano
Silva, Antonio José
Silva, Margarito
Sisneros, Agustín
Suina, Nasario
Tafoya, Donaciano
Tafoya, Jesús
Tafoya, José
Tafoya, José de Jesús
Tafoya, Pedro
Tafoya, Rafael
Téllez, Juan
Torres, Doroteo
Torres, Francisco
Torres, Isidro
Torres, José
Torres, Juan
Trujillo, Agapito
Trujillo, Antonio
Trujillo, Antonio
Trujillo, Francisco
Trujillo, Gabino
Trujillo José Davíd
Trujillo, José María
Trujillo, Juan
Trujillo, Ramón
Trujillo, Ricardo
Trujillo, Teofilo
Trujillo, Tomás
Tully & Ochoa
Ulibarri, José Felíx
Ustes, Melquíades
Vaca, Pedro
Valdez, Antonio José
Valdez, Brígido
Valdez, Diego
Valdez, Henrique
Valdez, Juan Santos
Valencia, Antonio
Vázquez, Francisco
Velarde, José Francisco
Velásquez, Jesús
Velásquez, José Enerio
Vigil, Agapito
Vigil, Andrés
Vigil, Bartolo
Vigil, Isidro
Vigil, Jesús María
Vigil, Juan
Vigil, Juan de Dios
Vigil, Juan de la Cruz
Vigil, José
Vigil, José de Jesús
Vigil, José Desiderio
Vigil, Juan Isidro
Vigil, Lino
Vigil, Rafael
Villareal, Reto
Vivio, Beto
Zamora, José
Zamora, Juan

Appendix 2

Hispanic Suppliers to Ft. Union, 1860–1868
Aggregate List

Abeyta, Sylvestre
Abreu, Jesús G.
Abreu, Santiago
Aerts, Manuel & Co.
Aguirre, Epifanio
Alire, Juan Ignacio
Apodaca, Juan Pablo
Aragón, José María
Aragón, José Gregorio
Arce, Guadalupe
Archibeque, P.
Archuleta, A.
Archuleta, Bernabé
Archuleta, Toribio
Armijo, Francisco
Armijo, José
Armijo, Juan
Armijo, Salvador
Baca, Alexander
Baca, Antonio
Baca, Faustín
Baca, Faustín & Bro.
Baca, José
Baca, José Manuel
Baca, Juan de Dios
Baca, Juan María
Baca, Julián
Baca, Luís
Baca, Teodoro
Baca y Carrillo, José
Barceló, Antonio
Barela, Jesús
Barela, Jesús María
Barela, Manuel
Beita, Albino
Blea, Francisco
Brisal, Juan
Castillo, Anastacio
Castillo, José de Jesús
Chaves, Andrés
Chaves, Felipe
Chaves, Félix
Chaves, Jesús María
Chaves, J.B.
Chaves, Manuel
Chaves, Martín
Chaves y Trujillo, Julián
Chávez, Francisco
Chávez, José María
Chávez, Rafael
Córdova, José María
Córdova, Tomás
Corejón, Tomás
Crespín, F.
Dariro, José S.
de la Paz Naranjo, José Antonio
Delas, José María
Derary (?), Severino
Emeterio, Lorenzo
Espinosa, Donaciano
Estrada, Guillermo
Fernández, Felipe
Flores, Manuel
Florra, Leonardo
Gallego, José
Gallego, Manuel
Gallegos, Francisco
Gallegos, José
Gallegos, S.
García, Anastacio
García, José Antonio
García, Tomás
Gómez, Manuel
Gonesgas (?), Papa
González, Alejandro
González, Cipriano
González, Desiderio
González, Dionisio
González, Fernando
González, Hilario
González, H.
González, José
González, Juan
González, Manuel
González, Peter
González, Romaldo
González, Seferiano
González, S.

González, Tomás
Gregorio, Andrés
Griego, José Guadalupe
Griego, Vicente
Gurulé, Donaciano
Gutiérrez, Cecilio
Gutiérrez, F.
Gutiérrez, José
Gutiérrez, Juan
Gutiérrez, J.M.
Herrera, Jesús de
Herrera, J.J.
Jaques, José Rafael
Jaramillo, José
Jaramillo, Francisco
Labadí, Juan
Labadí, Lorenzo
Ledoux, José
Lerma, Antonio
López, Francisco
López, J.
López, J.R.
López, Juan José
López, Pedro
López, Prudencio
Lovato, Agustín
Lovato, Felipe
Lucero, José Urbano
Lucero, Tomás
Luján, Juan
Luna, Antonio José
Luna, Santiago
Luna, Venceslao
Maes, Nestor
Maestas, J.
Maestas, Luis
Mares, José
Mares, Vicente
Martín, José M.
Martín, Juan
Martín, Juan Antonio
Martín, Juan Dolores
Martín, Manuel
Martínez, Edwin
Martínez, Francisco
Martín[ez], Juan de Dios
Miguel, José
Montaño, José
Montoya, A.
Montoya, Antonio
Montoya, Bernardo
Montoya, F.
Montoya, J.A.
Montoya, J.M.
Montoya, Jesús María
Montoya, José Domingo
Montoya, L.
Naranjo, J.C.
Naranjo, Manuel
Naranjo, Paz
Olivas, Juan
Orse, Mauricio
Ortiz, Antonio
Ortiz, José María
Otero, Manuel
Otero, Vicente
O[lguín], Miguel
Pacheco, José Ignacio
Pacheco, Juan Andrés
Pacheco, Juan Ysidro
Padilla, Joaquín
Peña, Ramón
Pino, Ambrosio
Pino, Fernando
Pino, Gabriel
Pino, Juan Reyes
Rael, José
Rafealillo, Martín
Ramírez, José Serafín
Ramírez, Serafín
Ramírez, Sixto
Ribera, Salvador
Rivera, Jesús María
Rivera, M.P. (1)
Rivera, M.P. (2)
Rivera, Marcelino
Rodríguez, Juan Bautista
Romero, C.
Romero, Casimero
Romero, Cruz
Romero, E.
Romero, Hilario
Romero, Lorenzo
Romero, Miguel
Romero, Plácido
Romero, Rafael

Romero, Toribio
Romero, Trinidad
Romero, Vicente
Saavedra, Antonio
Sacón, José
Salas, José
Salas, D.
Salas, José Manuel
Salazar, A.J.
Salazar, Agustín
Salazar, Antonio
Salazar, Cruz
Salazar, J.R.
Salazar, Jesús
Salazar, Juan José
Salazar, Manuel
Sánchez, Antonio
Sánchez, Felipe de Jesús
Sánchez, Francisco
Sánchez, José Andrés
Sánchez, Juan Felipe
Sánchez, Manuel (1)
Sánchez, Manuel (2)
Sánchez, Merejildo
Sánchez y Luna, Desiderio
Sandoval, A.
Sarracino, Juan
Sena, Pablo Antonio
Sena Luján, Juan Alfonso
Shaeffer & González
Sisneros, Vivián
Trujillo, Francisco
Trujillo, J.A.
Trujillo, J.M.
Trujillo, José D.
Ulibarri, José Ramón
Ulibarri, Santiago
Valdez, Antonio José
Valdez, Faustín
Valdez, Lorenzo
Valdez, Nicolás
Valdez, Pablo
Valdez, Pedro
Valencia, Bernardo
Vallejos, Eusebio
Vázquez, Valentín
Vigil, Vidal