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Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, New Mexico,1851-1891

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SOLDIERS AT PLAY

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SOLDIERS AT PLAY: A History of Social Life
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SOLDIERS AT PLAY

A History of Social Life

at

Fort Union, New Mexico

1851-1891

BY
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
in the Graduate School of
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PREFACE

As the historian at Fort Union for several years in the early 1960's I became interested in the lives of the soldiers stationed there. Although the military life of these men and the significance of the post during the Indian Wars are important aspects of the story, I felt I wanted to learn more about their personal lives. Having lived for more than four years a short distance from the barracks and having experienced some of the same type of weather, isolation, and loneliness, I developed a feeling of kinship with the men who had once lived there.

Without having experienced the never-ceasing wind rustling the grama grass in the valley, one cannot fully comprehend what it was like to have lived as a soldier at Fort Union. Even to this day, standing at Fort Union ruins, one can look in all directions and see, with only a few additions, what those soldiers saw one hundred years ago. The mountains, canyons, and grassy plains have remained the same for the past century, and hopefully the scene will remain unchanged for many years in the future.

Official correspondence revealed little of the social life at the post, but New Mexico newspaper issues of this period brought to light hundreds of incidents relating to the soldier's leisure activities. Personal interviews with some older residents of local communities and with persons who had lived at the post during their youth, enabled me to ask them specific questions about certain incidents revealed

in the records. I am particularly indebted to Colonel Aubrey Lippincott, U. S. Army retired, who lived at the post with his parents in the 1880's.

Research trips to the Bancroft Library, West Point Military Academy, Yale University Library, and the Library of Congress provided useful material. Miss Sarah Jackson of the National Archives was most helpful as was Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of the New Mexico State Archives and Records Center. Special thanks are due to Mr. Norris Maxwell and Mrs. Joan Hyatt of the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico. The Arrott Collection at New Mexico Highlands University was an invaluable source, and Librarian William S. Wallace was extremely helpful, allowing me to use the Bowen Letters in the Rodgers Library. Mr. Homer F. Hastings, Mr. Nick Bleser, and Mr. Ramon Garduño all of Fort Union National Monument were of great assistance with this project.

Professor Donald C. Cutter was of the greatest aid, carefully reading the manuscript and offering valuable criticism. To him, above all others, I am most deeply indebted.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Although much has been written about the United States Army and its participation in the Indian Wars, relatively little attention has been devoted to the soldier's recreational life at some of the isolated army posts at which they served. Fort Union, New Mexico, one of the largest military posts in the Southwest, had hundreds of soldiers and civilians living together at this garrison. During Fort Union's forty-year period of existence, the soldiers and civilians employed numerous recreational activities to keep themselves occupied during their leisure hours on New Mexico's frontier.

Much material for this project was gleaned from official documents in the National Archives in Washington, D. C., but, more importantly, local newspapers revealed much of the soldier's activities at this time. Personal interviews with people who had lived at the post during its latter period of existence brought to light interesting information that could have been easily overlooked.

This work covers all aspects of the lives of the officers and enlisted men who lived at Fort Union. Included is information on religion, education, fraternal organizations, clubs and theatrical societies, housing, food, games and sports, drinking, prostitution, crime, and funerals.

The question posed is: Was life at Fort Union boring and monotonous or did the multitude of extra-curricular activities fill the social void in the lives of the soldiers

at this duty station?

Sadly enough for the soldiers, all of these recreational activities did not dispel the ever-present monotony at Fort Union, but they did help to make life at the post a little more pleasant than it would have been without them.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In 1846 the "Army of the West" brought New Mexico under the American flag. The new commander of the Ninth Military Department, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, was ordered to provide efficiency and economy in his new command as well as to revise the entire system of defense in New Mexico. One of his first priorities was to move the existing military forces away from the evil influences of towns and out toward the frontier and consequently closer to the Indians.

As a dragoon commander under General Stephen Watts Kearny, Sumner had camped at the future site of Fort Union in early August 1846. Remembering the grassy plains with good wood and water near the junction of the Mountain and Cimarron Branches of the Santa Fe Trail, it was only logical that he should decide to build Fort Union there in 1851. In addition to protecting travelers on the Santa Fe Trail and the nearby settlers from hostile Indians, Fort Union was designated as a supply depot and received military equipment and provisions from the States and forwarded them to distant posts throughout the Southwest.

After a decade of use, the government decided to abandon the first Fort Union in stages, and to replace it with an earth fortification. Troop labor hurriedly constructed the second fort with its trenches, parapets, and bomproofs in anticipation of the Confederate invasion.

of New Mexico. This Star Fortification, as it was known, was complete by late 1861. An urgent appeal brought the First Colorado Volunteers to defend Fort Union. With increased numbers, the Union forces were strong enough to strike the enemy in Glorieta Pass just east of Santa Fe. After destruction of his Confederate supply train, General Henry H. Sibley had no alternative other than to retire back to Texas.

When the Confederate threat had passed, the army needed to expand Fort Union to serve its growing number of troops and to supply other posts throughout New Mexico and Arizona. Building operations commenced in 1863, and by 1867 the army had completed the third and last Fort Union.

Though the soldiers constructed the first fort close to a piñon clad ridge west of the valley, they built the second fort more toward the center. The third fort, by far the largest of the three, was built adjacent and to the north of the second fort. From this new post, the army launched several campaigns against the Indians, but these expeditions never reached the number or proportion of those from the first fort.

The iron rails of the Santa Fe Railroad soon stretched across the plains reaching Watrous, Fort Union's neighboring town to the south, in 1879. The post continued as a garrison and a supply depot, but the Santa Fe Trail soon felt the railroad's challenge as a more efficient means of transportation. Subsequently, Fort Union gradually

declined in importance, and the army finally abandoned the post in the spring of 1891.

A few authors have attempted to reconstruct the military history of Fort Union with slight attention to the social life, but no one has ever tried to study solely the non-military activities of this post over its forty-year period of existence.

The soldiers stationed there, most of them from eastern cities or even foreign shores, found themselves on a rough and wild frontier. Long months of inactivity and the ever present boredom and monotony made their lives very lonely and depressing. The United States Army did not furnish any recreation for the men, and consequently the soldiers had to develop their own forms of amusement.

These men were from many countries and had joined the army for a multitude of reasons. To be found at the post were Swedish, Irish, German, English, French, Mexican, and even Chinese.[1] Others were the dregs of eastern society, fugitives from justice, failures in business, and those who sought high adventure on the frontier.

Although it was the objective of Lieutenant Colonel Sumner to move the troops away from the lures of towns, the hamlets near the post grew and prospered by meeting the needs of the pleasure-seeking soldiers. Many men, upon completion of their enlistment, married local women and settled in these towns.[2]

Watrous, formerly La Junta, was eight miles from the military reservation and had a population of only one

hundred in 1880.[3] Within a year of this date Watrous developed a first-class livery stable, two hotels, and a drug store.[4] Although the arrival of the railroad two years before had ruined the stagecoach business, Watrous had hundreds of acres of hay, wheat, oats, and corn under cultivation to meet the needs of Fort Union.

Tiptonville, just north of Watrous, had an even larger population. There a newspaper, the Mora County Pioneer, was published for many years. Eighteen miles to the west of the post was the county seat--Mora. It was to Mora that the soldiers went to attend to their legal matters such as filing mining claims, procuring licenses for sales on and off the post, and filing law suits in the courts.

Las Vegas, twenty-eight miles to the south of Fort Union, had a population of 8,000 in 1883. It claimed to be the largest city in New Mexico or Arizona and had street railways, telephones, gas works, foundries, and water works.[5]

Loma Parda, about six miles west of Fort Union, did not offer the legal services of Mora or the luxuries of Las Vegas. Instead, it provided the single enlisted soldier with a place to enjoy gambling, whiskey, and female companionship. Loma Parda was soon to become the thorn in the side of the post's commanding officers.

The troops began building the first fort in August 1851. Although it was customary for the army to employ civilian labor to construct its frontier posts, Secretary

of War C. M. Conrad's economy drive precluded this. Assistant Surgeon Jonathan Letterman commented on the some thirty hastily constructed log buildings that the soldiers had built during the winter of 1851-1852. Letterman, in 1856, wrote that:

> the entire garrison covers a space of about eighty or more acres, and the buildings being of necessity, widely separated, causes the post to present more the appearance of a village, whose houses have been built with little regard to order, than a military post. Unseasoned, unhewn, and unbarked pine logs, placed upright in some and horizontally in other houses, have been used in the erection of the buildings, and as a necessary consequence are rapidly decaying. In many of the logs of the house I occupy, an ordinary sized nail will not hold, to such an extent has the timber decayed, although several feet above the ground. One set of the so-called barracks have lately been torn down to prevent any untoward accidents that were liable at any moment to happen from the falling of the building; and yet this building was erected in 1852.
>
> The unbarked logs afford excellent hiding places for that annoying and disgusting insect the Cimex lectularius /bed bug/, so common in this country, which it is by no means backward in taking advantage of, to the evident discomfort of those who occupy the buildings-the men almost universally sleeping in the open air when the weather will permit. The building at present used as a hospital, having a dirt roof, has not a room which remained dry during the rain in the latter part of September last, and I was obliged to use tents and canvas to protect the property from damage.[6]

The star fortification, or second Fort Union, was

little or no better than the first so far as living conditions were concerned. Because it was built partly underground to withstand artillery fire, the rooms were damp during rainy weather and the air was bad. Under these conditions, the soldiers much preferred sleeping under the stars.

Fort Union's third fort was indeed a most attractive duty station. It consisted of the Post of Fort Union, the Fort Union Quartermaster Depot, and the Fort Union Ordnance Department. The ordnance depot or arsenal was constructed on the site of the first fort in the western part of the valley, and the post and quartermaster depot were built near the star fort. The post and depot shared a common parade ground that ran in a northwesterly by southeasterly direction.

Built of adobe on stone foundations with a brick coping on top of the walls, the buildings represented the New Mexico "territorial" style of architecture. To prevent moisture from dissolving the adobe walls, the army coated the buildings with a lime plaster. The bulk of the material used for building came from local sources, but items such as nails, fire bricks, window glass, and tin for the roofs were transported over the Santa Fe Trail by wagon from Missouri.

The Post of Fort Union was designed to quarter either four troops of cavalry or four companies of infantry--one in each of four barracks. Adjacent to the barracks were a bakery, chapel, guard house, military prison, and quarters for laundresses. Beyond these were quarters for married soldiers, band quarters, and two post corrals with a capacity

for two hundred horses. The post hospital, southeast of Fort Union, served not only the soldiers and their families, but also any civilians on or off the post who might have needed its services. On the opposite side of the parade ground from the barracks were the officers' quarters. Four houses stood on either side of the commanding officer's home. Each of the eight houses in officers' row was intended to house two families, giving each family three rooms apiece. Usually, only one family occupied each building with its six rooms and its wide hall down the center. Behind each officer's home was a backyard with a woodshed, outdoor toilet, and perhaps a shelter for chickens, a cow, or a team of horses or mules.

The Fort Union Quartermaster Depot consisted of six quarters adjacent to the post officers' quarters but on the northwestern portion of the common parade ground. Across from the depot quarters, which were used by officers as quarters and administrative offices, were five large storehouses. There the army stored supplies and food for Fort Union as well as for other posts in the Southwest. Just east of these storehouses the army built a series of shops known as the Mechanics' Corral. These were for the blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, machinists, and even the telegrapher. These men, mostly civilians, also lived in government quarters in this same compound. Behind the storehouses and the Mechanics' Corral, the army constructed a Transportation Corral. This area was larger than the Post Corral, and it was designed to include wagonsheds, horse

stables, water troughs, feedracks, haystacks, grain houses, quarters for teamsters, and even an ice house.

Although the post and quartermaster depot were separated by a fence mid-way across their common parade ground, a series of underground water pipes connected the two divisions. A steam-driven pump forced water from a well located in the mechanics' corral into two large water tanks. From these the water flowed by gravity throughout the fort allowing the officers and enlisted men to have running water in their quarters. The military also connected fire hydrants to this system.

The sutler's store, later to be known as the post trader's store, was just southwest of the quartermaster depot officers' quarters. Civilians and army personnel built additional structures around the post trader's business establishment, and indeed, around the entire fort. The commanding officer, with an eye toward the fort's appearance, had many of these unauthorized buildings razed from time to time.

Although this is only a brief account of the three Fort Unions and their surrounding country and towns, more detailed attention will be given to description as we examine the social life of its occupants.

Chapter I

FOOTNOTES

[1] Robert L. Reiter, "The History of Fort Union, New Mexico" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of California, Los Angeles, 1950), p. 128.

[2] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Democrat, August 2, 1890.

[3] Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), p. 783f.

[4] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Morning Gazette, March 20, 1881.

[5] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Daily Gazette, December 12, 1883. Hereinafter known as Daily Gazette.

[6] Robert M. Utley, Fort Union, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 35 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER II

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES

Religion

Although not every post was able to have a chaplain, Fort Union did have one during most of its occupation. This officer was always of one of the Protestant denominations. For this reason, the soldiers of the Roman Catholic faith were infrequently given the opportunity to worship at the post since it was only occasionally that a Roman Catholic priest would visit there to hold services. They could, however, worship off-post when they were granted passes to visit some of the surrounding towns.

Katie Bowen, the wife of Captain Isaac Bowen, was one of the first women ever to live at Fort Union. She arrived in late August 1851 and stayed in a tent until the first fort quarters were constructed. Nearly two years later, March 1853, she wrote that there were no church services on Sundays and that she read good books as a substitute.[1]

Father Joseph Projectus Machebeuf, later the first Roman Catholic bishop of Denver, visited Fort Union in 1856. At the post he said Mass and heard confessions in one of the barracks. At a later date when he visited the post, he invited the residents of a small Spanish-American town to attend Mass in the post chapel.[2]

Father Machebeuf commented that:

> I visit Fort Union and all other Military posts of New Mexico. There is no one else to do it, and the soldiers must have a chance to go to their duties. You will be surprised to see the faith of these soldiers and it is a pity that they cannot be attended better. Catholic soldiers have to be relieved from duty in order to take advantage of a rare opportunity for Confession and Communion.[3]

Father Robert Garrassu was a Roman Catholic parish priest in Mora in the 1880's. Many years before, Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy had recruited him from his native France. Lamy visited Garrassu while on a campaign to raise money to complete the cathedral in Santa Fe. Since it was a poor year for the farmers in the Mora Valley, Lamy was unable to secure the aid he desired. Garrassu, determined to aid his friend, pleaded with Lamy to spend a few more days in Mora as his guest. Father Garrassu then borrowed a little money from him and left Mora for several days. Upon his return he handed Lamy a bag filled with gold coins amounting to about two thousand dollars. The astonished Lamy asked who the donors were, but Garrassu said that they preferred to remain anonymous.

Years later, the then Archbishop Lamy asked Father Garrassu about the source of the two thousand dollars. With the passage of time Garrassu was now not afraid to reveal that he had won the money while playing poker with the army officers at Fort Union.[4] It seems that the Father had joined the French Foreign Legion before taking his holy

orders, and there he learned the fine art of poker playing.

In 1884, there were two Roman Catholic fathers stationed in Watrous. One of the soldier correspondents writing for a local newspaper suggested that at least once a month, one of them could stir the slumbering faith of the Roman Catholic soldiers at Fort Union. Some of the more dedicated Catholics decided to call this to the attention of Bishop Lamy. They suggested to him that although some of the fathers had come to the post and were disappointed with the small number of communicants, that this should encourage these fathers to try even harder in the future.[5]

Besides these Roman Catholic fathers in Watrous, the parish priest from Tiptonville and the Roman Catholic priest from Las Vegas also celebrated Mass for the military personnel and civilians at Fort Union. Bishop George K. Dunlop, an Episcopalian, also held a communion service for the Protestant soldiers whenever he was able to go to the post.[6]

Speaking of religion, Sergeant George Neihaus said that this subject was seldom mentioned among the enlisted men.[7] Colonel Aubrey Lippincott, whose father was the post surgeon at Fort Union, lived at the post during his early boyhood. He told this author that he did not remember the chapel at Fort Union in the 1880's, and: "I don't believe any of them knew how to say their prayers up there in those days."[8]

In 1867 there was still no chapel to be used as a

place of worship. Post Chaplain John Woart forwarded to his superior a plan for a small chapel to be built at the post. Feeling very strongly about his building plans, he presented his program directly to the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton.[9] In this letter he told how he officiated in the building used for meetings of the Temperance Lodge, and said that there were many inconveniences in joint occupancy. Undoubtedly, Chaplain Woart was not a member of this temperance group, and records reveal that he would not have been permitted to join the organization even if he had wanted to do so.[10]

Apathy toward religion was great among many of the soldiers at the post, but a few of the men took their religion seriously. One of these wrote a letter to the Las Vegas Daily Optic suggesting that religious tracts and good religious reading matter be distributed among the troops for Sunday reading. This material, he said, would cause more hymns to be sung on Sundays, replacing the usual lewd songs.[11]

While some of the post chaplains were content to hold Sunday services, others were anxious to win converts to their own denominations. The post hospital was a good place for these zealots to find a captive audience. Chaplain George W. Simpson, a Baptist, apparently tried to convert a Mr. Emery, a Roman Catholic. The discussions between these two so depressed Emery that the post surgeon was forced to ask the commanding officer to restrain the good chaplain.[12]

Fortunately, the chaplains at Fort Union found many of the officers' wives willing to aid him with the services. With the help of a colonel's wife, Mrs. Pashe, the struggling church grew in the 1880's. She helped to organize a church choir, and one of the bandsmen played the newly acquired organ.[13] With these added "attractions" the attendance increased on the following Sundays.

Before they purchased an organ, the choir members relied on other instruments for accompaniment. Mrs. Lydia Spencer Lane, wife of one of the former commanding officers, played her small melodeon.[14] The choir members must have used one of the two pianos at the post in the 1880's.[15]

Besides the weekly church services on Sundays, chaplains held special religious services for Christmas and Easter. During Lent in 1885 the chaplain held semi-weekly services for the men, but, because many of them had to work during the service, attendance was light.[16] Dances, known as hops in the army, ceased during the Lenten period.

A Father Raevel from Watrous went to Fort Union in 1883 and celebrated a High Mass in the post chapel. Preceding him was a Father Marra from Las Vegas College who celebrated a Low Mass. Many of the soldiers attended both Masses, and the 23rd Infantry Orchestra played Coneone's Mass in F. Miss Cornelia Black, daughter of the commanding officer, led the choir. Father Marra's sermon for his Mass was from the text-- "Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it."[17]

Chaplain James A. M. La Tourrette was one of the best known and well liked officers at the post. He arrived at Fort Union in 1877 and stayed thirteen years. His two daughters, Mary and Genevieve, married officers at the post, and Genevieve later wrote an excellent account of the social life there. La Tourrette served a total of twenty years as a chaplain in the United States Army. He was an Episcopalian, and he served as the president of the Standing Committee of the Episcopal Church and as the Prelate of the Commandery of the Knights Templars in Las Vegas, New Mexico.[18] He left Fort Union shortly before it was abandoned in 1891.

Chaplain John S. Seibold was the last religious officer to serve at Fort Union. Following La Tourrette there, he remained until Fort Union was abandoned. During most of his seven month stay he held religious services in the post library room twice each Sunday except during the times when he officiated at Watrous. Seibold continued these services up until the time the main garrison left which was about a month before the army finally abandoned the post.[19]

Education

At Fort Union as well as the other army posts, there was always a need for educating the children and some of the enlisted men. When schools were not available, the mothers would assume this responsibility for their children, and the

more literate soldiers would hold informal sessions in the barracks for some of the enlisted men.

As early as 1856, there are references to a school at the post under the direction of the post chaplain, William Stoddert who served as Fort Union's chaplain from 1856 to 1859.[20] Fort Union's school led a precarious existence as it was established and discontinued many times when the troops would leave for, and then return from, campaigns. During the periods when the troops were in the field, the school overseer or teacher would be relieved of his responsibility and reassigned to his company. When the troops returned, he would resume duties as teacher.

The chaplains at Fort Union were designated either as school teachers or school superintendents. One of the chaplains, David W. Eakins, was physically unable to perform this duty in 1874. For this reason, the commanding officer wrote to the adjutant general to determine whether a substitute teacher could be hired and paid from the Council of Administration funds.[21] Sources do not indicate whether a replacement was employed at this time, but later the teachers at the post were paid salaries, or at least room and board, and some of these teachers were civilians.

Since the teachers' salaries were not always monetary, a few of them taught in return for their room and board. Sometimes parents paid tuition for their children to attend school, and for some of them this was most difficult on the meager army pay. The teacher would board with a family and during this time that particular family would not have to pay tuition.[22]

Just as the school opened and closed with the movement of troops, so the location of the school changed frequently from one building to another. In 1877 the quarters next to the post bakery were used as a school room.[23] During part of the following summer, when school was in session only four days a week from nine until twelve each morning, the time and place often varied. Later the school sessions were held in a front room of a building in the quartermaster depot. Colonel Aubrey Lippincott, then a boy at the post, attended this school with the other officers' children. Although their ages varied, they all took the same course. Lippincott remembers that their instructor, Private Plum, spent much of his time puffing on his large pipe. He also remembers the school call being played for the beginning of school each day.[24] It was played either on a cavalry trumpet or an infantry bugle, depending on which unit occupied the post. Since Major Henry Lippincott, Aubrey's father, was a member of the Medical Department, he did not transfer with any units but independently of them.

In the spring of 1879 there was a determination on the part of the post commander to open the school once again. He ordered supplies, such as 6 slates, 72 copy books, 12 First Franklin Readers, 6 Second Franklin Readers, and 144 slate pencils. Because these items could not be purchased locally, they had to be ordered from the "States." Later the slate order was cancelled because they could not be shipped without breaking.[25]

Although the records do not reveal the length of each school session, classes stopped before the end of each calendar year. The commanding officer saw to it that the school began again the next spring, by writing to the chaplain outlining the army regulations concerning post schools. These regulations stated that the enlisted men were to be instructed in the "English Branches." The commander also told him that at least twenty children residing on or near the post should be required to attend school beginning in the spring of 1880.[26]

Lieutenant Colonel Nathan A. M. Dudley, the post commander, laid down some rules and regulations concerning his school, which was to begin in April 1880. It was to be under the immediate control of an enlisted man to be paid for teaching, and was to have the chaplain as superintendent. With the exception of Saturdays and Sundays, the school was to be held daily from 9:30 a. m. to 12:00 noon and from 1:00 p. m. to 3:00 p. m. All of the children were to be neatly dressed and prepared for the bugle sounding School Call which was to be played fifteen minutes before school time. The instructor was to report all absences to the post adjutant, who then informed the parents.[27] Since the children of the officers and those of the enlisted men attended class together, their teacher was asked not to show favoritism toward the officers' children. Although he was allowed to reward and punish them, he would not be permitted to whip any student.[28]

The enlisted men also attended school in the same building, but in a separate room. The implication was that

they participated during the same hours as the children, but perhaps this would have interfered with their military duties. These adult students had supplies such as a 4' x 8' table, 8 barrack chairs, a 6' x 3½' blackboard, 2 water buckets, a sprinkle pot, a tin cup, 1 broom, ½ lb. of chalk, a 3-ounce sponge, and 1 office duster.[29]

The commander ordered that the post school room was to have 18 chairs for the children with seats 11", 12", and 16" high; 3 desks 10' long with tops slightly inclined toward the seats, with a small shelf beneath for slates and books.[30] With this arrangement, the children would be divided into 3 groups according to size with each group sharing a common table. This school began in April 1880, and closed the following September because the troops were on campaign in Southwest New Mexico and Southern Arizona in pursuit of Victorio's band of Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches.

Even though the school both for the enlisted men and the children had to be discontinued many times, it was a worthy goal. It is significant that civilians' children from outside the post were invited to participate, and without this, they would have had very little schooling, if any. Undoubtedly, the enlisted men who took advantage of this opportunity benefited. This must have been especially true of those soldiers of foreign extraction who had difficulty with the English language. The school was indeed an asset to those in and around Fort Union.

Library

It is hard to imagine that a library offered roughhewn

soldiers a diversion from monotony at the post. It was here, perhaps, that some studied tactics under the guidance of a superior officer, and there were undoubtedly soldiers who studied to obtain a promotion or to pass an examination in order to leave the post on a furlough.[31] Whatever their reasons, the soldiers did appreciate and use their library.

As early as 1870, the commander decided that a need existed for separate reading rooms in each of the barracks. Using troop labor as an economy measure, he ordered the post quartermaster to furnish every troop commander the necessary lumber and nails to make benches and tables for these rooms.[32]

In the early years of the library, the post chaplain had the duty of librarian as well as that of school overseer. Later, the army relegated the function of librarian to one of the officers or an enlisted man.[33] A ground plan of Fort Union shows the post library to be somewhat smaller than what might be imagined. The dimensions of the building were twenty by fifty feet with a ceiling twelve feet high.[34]

Besides being used as a library and reading room, this building took on additional functions some years later. The officers and their friends used it as a meeting place in the mornings after guard mount.[35]

One of the librarians at the post must have used his position in such a way as to instill hatred and anger in many of the men. To show their dislike for this individual, one of the correspondents wrote that:

> some of these fine moonlight nights a crowd of long-suffering and patient soldiers will take the present post librarian from his little bed, and disturb his peaceful dreams by holding him under one of the fire-plugs and let the chilly water

gently trickle over his swelled cranium, displaying thereby the illusions it contains as to his right to bully and insult the boys here....[36]

In time, the number of volumes the library contained grew until by 1888 they had 326 books. Many persons donated books, and the post trader's fund was used to buy the remainder. The quartermaster department furnished three daily and eleven weekly newspapers.[37] Although there were many subscription changes for newspapers and magazines in the 1880's, subscriptions included:

The Saturday Evening Post
The Leavenworth Times
The New York Times
The Temperance Vindicator
The Temperance Journal[38]

Interocean
Sunday Herald
Denver Daily Tribune
Army and Navy Journal
The New York Herald[39]

Harper's
Leslie's Pictorial Weekly
Godey's Ladies Book[40]

Rocky Mountain News /Denver, Colorado/
New York Daily Tribune[41]

Kansas City Times[42]

Burlington /Iowa/ Hawkeye
New York Clipper
Pilot /Boston, Massachusettes/
Times Democrat /New Orleans/
Times /Philadelphia/[43]

Argonaut /San Francisco, California/
Army and Navy Register /Washington, D. C./
Cincinnati Graphic
Danbury /Iowa/ News
Harper's Weekly /New York/
Judge /New York/
Life /New York/
New York Ledger
Puck /New York/
Spirit of Times /New York/
Sunday Herald /Washington, D. C./
Chicago Tribune
Cincinnati Enquirer
Courier Journal /Louisville, Kentucky/[44]

New York Times (Sundays included)
St. Louis Globe Democrat[45]

San Francisco Chronicle
Irish World /New York/
New Yorker Staats Zeitung Sunday /New York/
Texas Siftings /New York/
Washington Star
Detroit Free Press
Decks Sunday /Milwaukee, Wisconsin/
Washington Sunday Herald
Harper's Monthly
Frank Leslie's Illustrated
The Century
Philadelphia Times
Forest and Stream
Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly
Boston Globe
Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States
United States Monthly[46]

Friends and relatives sent many newspapers which the men donated to the post library. In order to conserve money, Fort Union had an exchange program for periodicals. They accomplished this by using a list from which they selected newspapers and magazines held by other posts in the Southwest.[47] In turn, they placed their surplus materials on this list.

Although the army had a good system for circulating material among their posts, those at Fort Union frequently failed to share some of their newspapers among their own fellow comrades. In 1863 the Rio Abajo Weekly Press of Albuquerque, New Mexico received subscriptions amounting to thirty dollars in one week from Fort Union.[48] It is interesting to note that when privates were only earning thirteen dollars a month, they could use all but three dollars of this monthly wage for a one-year subscription to newspapers such as the New York Daily Tribune.[49]

So eager were the men for news that one man saw in it a sufficiently lucrative business possibility. Edward W. Shoemaker asked for and obtained permission to carry on the business as Fort Union's news dealer in 1870.[50] He sold newspapers, magazines, and those six-cent novels so popular with the troops.

During excavations at Fort Union in the late 1950's, archeologists discovered some pages from one of a series of romantic novels entitled "Lil." This novel was written by Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh and published by F. Lupton in

New York City for the New Series of the Leisure Hour Library in 1884.[51] No doubt, this furnished a lonely soldier many pleasant hours of entertainment during his stay at Fort Union.

There was one other library at the post, and it was part of the post hospital. Since it contained material of interest only to the surgeon and his assistants, the average soldier did not use it. Here were books and publications such as the New York Medical Record, Philadelphia Medical Times, The Practitioner, and the Medical and Surgical Reporter.[52] All of these publications date in the 1860's and 1870's.

Fort Union's soldiers not only consumed the news of the nation, but they also helped to make it. As on many other posts, they had their own reporters who infrequently sent articles to local newspapers. Since many of their articles were not complimentary to the post's image in the community, this news source must not have been censored. Fort Union's correspondents wrote under pen names such as "Two stripes," "philo," and "Gus." "Two stripes" was identified only as a Corporal Scarlet of F Company, 10th Infantry.[53] "Gus" was either one of two persons. In all probability he was Dr. William Thornton Parker, who was a noted Indian Wars surgeon and writer. The other possibility was A. L. Quesinberry who is mentioned as Gus in the Las Vegas Daily Gazette.[54] "Gus" wrote many articles from Fort Union, and the majority of them appeared in the Las Vegas Daily Optic. Through his eyes we are able to see some of the daily happenings at Fort Union which would otherwise

have been lost to history.

Each soldier had the opportunity to accept or reject the guidance of religion and education. However, a majority of the enlisted men had not reached the level of education needed to motivate them to accept more education or to learn much about religion. The officers, on the other hand, did benefit from these institutions particularly in the case of the church, which they strongly supported. Fortunately, the chapel and the school acted as stabilizing influences at a post which harbored a multitude of disuniting forces.

Chapter II

FOOTNOTES

[1]Bowen Letters, March 29, 1853, Arrott Collection, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico. James West Arrott, originally from Pennsylvania, became interested in Fort Union as a hobby and collected approximately 130,000 pages of documents, letters, photographs, etc. on the post. Among these papers is a collection of letters written by Katie Bowen, wife of Captain Isaac Bowen, from Fort Union in 1851-1853. Hereinafter known as Bowen Letters.

[2]Father Stanley, Fort Union (Denver: The World Press, 1953), pp. 81-82.

[3]Ibid.

[4]William A. Keleher, The Fabulous Frontier (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1942), pp. 153-154.

[5]Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Daily Optic, April 2, 1884. Hereinafter known as Optic.

[6]Las Vegas /New Mexico/Sunday Gazette, March 28, 1886. Hereinafter known as Sunday Gazette.

[7]"Interview with Indian Wars Veterans," questionnaire filled out by Sergeant George Neihaus, see Social Life, Fort Union Document File, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, 1954. Hereinafter referred to as Neihaus.

[8]Colonel Aubrey Lippincott, interview with author in Tucson, Arizona, October 17, 1968. His father, Major Henry Lippincott, was the post surgeon. Aubrey was born at West Point in 1877 and lived at Fort Union in the mid-1880's in post quarters number nine.

[9]Arrott Collection, op. cit., May 27, 1867.

[10]Robert L. Reiter, "The History of Fort Union, New Mexico" (Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of California, Los Angeles, 1950), p. 139.

[11]Optic, October 23, 1885.

[12]Medical History of Fort Union, Volume 52, June 1877, p. 319, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[13]Optic, July 8, 1884.

[14]Lydia Spencer Lane, I Married A Soldier (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1910), p. 164.

[15]Chaplain James A. M. La Tourrette and Major Henry Lippincott, surgeon, each had a piano in their quarters in the mid-1880's.

[16]Optic, March 14, 1885.

[17]Daily Gazette, February 27, 1883.

[18]Librarian's Office File, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico.

[19]Arrott Collection, Medical History, April 21, 1891.

[20]Ibid., letters dated June 19 and 29, 1856.

[21]Ibid., May 31, 1879.

[22]Interview with Miss Bessie Lodge, October 5, 1962, tape recorded and stored at Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico. Miss Lodge was born at Fort Union in 1888.

[23]Medical History of Fort Union, Volume 52, May 1877, p. 316, University of New Mexico Zimmerman Library, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[24]Lippincott, Interview.

[25] Arrott Collection, May 31, 1879.

[26] Ibid., April 13, 1880.

[27] Ibid., April 15, 1880.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] "Army Information Digest" (Alexandria, Virginia: U. S. Army, Cameron Station, 1961), p. 71.

[32] Arrott Collection, Orders Number 127, October 8, 1870.

[33] Arrott Collection, May 17, 1871.

[34] Fort Union Ground Plan, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[35] Arrott Collection, July 8, 1884.

[36] Optic, June 3, 1885.

[37] Arrott Collection, April 18, 1888.

[38] Reiter, op. cit., p. 131.

[39] Arrott Collection, April 12, 1880.

[40] Arthur Woodward, "Fort Union -- Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail" (paper prepared for the National Park Service, 1958), p. 129.

[41] Arrott Collection, Medical History, April 1878.

[42] Ibid., March, 1885.

[43] Ibid., June 18, 1888.

[44] Ibid., May 27, 1887.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., April 9, 1883.

[47] Ibid., April 12, 1880.

[48] Rio Abajo Weekly Press /Albuquerque, New Mexico/, February 17, 1863.

[49] Medical History of Fort Union, Volume 53, p. 4, April 1878, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[50] Arrott Collection, July 3, 1870.

[51] Woodward, op. cit., p. 129.

[52] Medical History of Fort Union, Volume 52, p. 65, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[53] Optic, July 31, 1884.

[54] Daily Gazette, February 6, 1883.

CHAPTER III

POST ORGANIZATIONS

Masonic Order

R. W. Joab Houghton, the District Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order in the State of Missouri, granted a dispensation for the organization of Chapman Lodge at Fort Union on March 28, 1862. Charter members named this lodge in honor of Colonel William Chapman who was a dedicated Mason and commanding officer of Fort Union. Other officers included Henry Allen, Worshipful Master; Frank Phelps, Senior Warden; and Charles S. Hopkins, Junior Warden. The new lodge held its first meeting in a structure which was later flanked by the star fortification and the post hospital. A flourishing temperance organization on the post, the Good Templars, lent their building, Washington Lodge, to the Masons.[1]

The Grand Lodge of Missouri chartered Chapman Lodge Number 95 on June 2, 1866. It was both before and after this time that the members met in the Good Templars' building. Almost one year after their charter had been granted, the army asked them, for military reasons, to move outside the government reservation. On that same day Chapman Lodge held a special meeting and decided that it would be in the best interest of the organization to move the lodge to Old Las Vegas.[2] They held their first meeting there on August 14, 1867.[3]

For nearly seven years the Masons were exiled to Old Las Vegas, and the faithful who did attend meetings had to journey approximately fifty-five miles, round-trip. In January 1874, the Chapman Lodge members in Las Vegas granted permission to Masons at Fort Union to again establish a Masonic Lodge at the post. The new order was Union Lodge Number 480, and it was instituted under a dispensation of the Grand Lodge of Missouri on June 24, 1874. The officers were: Morris Bloomfield, Master; Lachonius Frampton, District Deputy Grand Master; and William W. Griffin.[4]

Military regulations had only slightly relaxed at the post, and on December 11, 1875 the Masonic Lodge once again had to move. This time the Masons did not move so far, but went only to Tiptonville, which was about six miles away. In order to allow the Fort Union personnel to make this six-mile journey as comfortably as possible, the Masons decided to meet only on nights having a full moon. Union Lodge Masons continued to hold their meetings at Tiptonville until the time Fort Union was abandoned in 1891. After this, the remaining Masons constructed in Watrous, New Mexico a new stone building which still stands but is no longer used.[5]

Theatrical Societies

Because the army did not provide recreational facilities, the men organized these for themselves. One line of endeavor which they purused for themselves with great

enthusiasm was the organization of theatrical societies. The enlisted men did most of the work in sponsoring these performances, although the officers encouraged them and sometimes participated.

The Fort Union Dramatic Society was one of the most successful of the groups at the post.[6] It performed one of its most interesting presentations in the spring of 1883 in the Las Vegas Opera House. The advertisement appearing in the Las Vegas Daily Optic, capturing the spirit and purpose of the society, read:

OPERA HOUSE

Wednesday & Thursday, Oct. 17, 18

GRAND DRAMATIC
--and--
Musical Entertainment

-By The-

Ft. UNION DRAMATIC CLUB

Assisted by the

23rd INFANTRY BAND

The most complete Dramatic & Musical organization that has ever visited Las Vegas. Every feature a special attraction, and every member first-class

---

POPULAR PRICES OF ADMISSION

SINGLE TICKETS.....50 cents
RESERVED SEATS.....75 cents

Box sheet now open at Schafer's drug store, new town, and GRISWALD'S drug store, old town

---

The performance is for the benefit of the post school, and to advance the cause of education in the army. It is for the benefit of little children whose parents are soldiers, and who have no educational advantages whatever.[7]

The advent of this company's trip to Las Vegas was one of the highlights of post life for the participating soldiers. The commanding officer must have looked upon the affair as a community relations project, for he sent the Twenty-third Infantry Band along with the troupe. The band paraded on the streets before each of the performances.[8] After the first evening's show, the band played for a dance and on the second night it played in the opera house for a grand ball.[9]

The performance took the form of a variety show and included:

"Paddy Mile's Boy," a farce which brought down the house.
A comic recitation.
Plantation song and dance.
"The Haunted House," a Negro impersonation.
Contortion act.
Stump speech.
Long Barney - a song.
Club swinging.
"The Irish Attorney."[10]

Sergeant William F. Granlee, the Fort Union Dramatic Society business manager, placed a notice in the newspaper

on the day after the last performance. He expressed the appreciation of the Society members and for the Las Vegans' attendance and fine treatment of the soldiers during their stay at the Windsor Hotel.[11]

Once back at the post it would have seemed that the men faced a long, hard, monotonous winter. Their correspondent had a different outlook on fort life and expressed the opinion that the five companies of soldiers there, including two theatrical societies and an excellent band, would have a lively time.

The other theatrical group, of which he spoke, was the Fort Union Comedy Company. This company, like the Dramatic Society, performed at the post and in Las Vegas. One of their more spectacular performances was a minstrel show with some singing and jokes.[12] In May 1884, the Fort Union Comedy Company changed its name to the Fort Union Minstrel Troupe. This troupe had a director as well as a full orchestra to acompany them. Competition between these two performing companies must have been keen, for one correspondent praised the Minstrel Troupe's full orchestra, and in the same article downgraded the "lame fiddle and organ" used by the Fort Union Dramatic Society.[13]

During the summer of 1885, the "G. W." Minstrels gave two performances at the post in a one-week period. In an effort to gain more enthusiasm for the troupe, one correspondent wrote that:

> if all efforts of the troupe to relieve monotony of the post were a little more appreciated, and the officers encourage them by their presence at the shows, considerable talent now lying dormant would be awakened into activity, and we would soon

boast of having the finest organization of the kind in the Territory.[14]

In October 1885, the Fort Union Dramatic Society presented "Ben Bolt," a melodrama. The "opera house," as the post building then used for production was called, had standing room only. One soldier commented that, although "Ben Bolt" would not have passed a critical audience, it was good enough for the garrison.[15] Four months after "Ben Bolt" by the Dramatic Society, there was a new organization on post, or perhaps an old one with a new name. This was the Acme Comedy Company, and their first production entitled "Uncle" was performed the following month.[16]

In addition to these local entertainments, there were traveling shows that came to the post. Some of these were mediocre, one-night stands. Visscher and Crawford brought the men a program entitled "60 minutes in the war." During the supposedly exciting blood-and-thunder portion of the show, the soldiers became very bored with the second-rate performance. Being soldiers in a rough environment on the frontier, it did not bother them in the least if they insulted the performing cast. Unable to stand the show any longer, they invited one of their comrades, J. F. Sweeney, to perform an imitation of Pat Rooney for them. Since Sweeney was so far superior to the traveling show, the soldiers decided they did not want any more "Wild West" shows at the garrison.[17]

Professor Willio was another of the traveling showmen who stopped at the post. Of all the members of his group,

the soldiers liked Willio the best, especially for his card tricks. The men were asked to choose cards from Willio's deck and then return them. Then one soldier placed the deck, complete and with the chosen cards mixed in, inside a goblet situated on the head of another soldier. The audience then called the cards they had chosen, and one by one each card rose from the goblet.[18] One of his other tricks involved placing a glass of water on his forehead and then bending over backwards until his head and shoulders touched the floor. After this, he raised himself up slowly to his former position. Willio was so well liked that the men asked him to stay over for a performance the next night.

Another traveling team, Hewett and Osborne, appeared at the post the following month. Their show consisted of songs, accompanied by a violin and clarinet, and a blindfold act. In this the woman sat blindfolded with her back to the audience and described the articles which her partner held up. They closed with a mother-in-law skit, and the next evening they performed an entirely different show. Hewett and Osborne would have had more patrons at their shows had they not come just before pay day.[19]

Some showmen even brought paintings to the post, but most had a team of a few people who performed comedy skits, magic tricks, contortion acts, or ventriloquist specialties. Although most of them stayed but one night, some of them were cordially invited to stay longer because their acts were considered especially fine. The performers who stopped at Fort Union were never among the greats who toured the West, but even the lesser entertainers were appreciated at the post.

Band

As a regimental headquarters post, Fort Union had a band stationed there. It was financed through contributions and money from the post fund. Fort Union bands were good, and the commanding officers swelled with pride when asked to lend their bands to the surrounding communities, as far away as Santa Fe. Many of the band leaders were either Austrian or German, and Lippincott spoke very highly of their talents at Fort Union.[20]

A soldier could join the band whenever there was a vacancy, and then he could rejoin his unit when he tired of being a bandsman. Because being in the band had obvious advantages over those of his fellow infantrymen or cavalrymen, he really enjoyed diversions such as playing for Fourth of July celebrations, weddings, parties, grand openings, and political rallies, as well as trips to surrounding towns. Just about every soldier wished he had the ability to play a musical instrument because it was a way to escape some of the boredom and monotonous living at the garrison.

At times the band would serenade visiting officers and their wives. Such as the case with Mrs. Lydia Spencer Lane and Colonel William B. Lane, the former commanding officer, when they re-visited Fort Union after having transferred to another post. The men of the Third Cavalry Band played for them and drank to their good health.[21]

The band played for daily dress parades in 1883, and also for battalion drill on Thursdays. Although the

officers' wives enjoyed these ceremonies, it was the band concert they loved. These concerts were held in a bandstand located in the center of the parade ground.[22] Over the years the commanding officers had many bandstands constructed, but each time the quartermaster was annoyingly slow to complete the project. The depot quartermaster, although subordinate to the post's commander, was always resentful of the commander's authority over him. In many cases, the post commander had to ask his own commander in Santa Fe to order the quartermaster to complete the task. This was the case when a bandstand was finally completed in 1876 after a long delay.

In 1885, the band played on their bandstand every Thursday evening,[23] but when the weather was inclement they held their concerts in the post library.[24] The band played the "Barnyard Polka" at one of their outdoor concerts in 1886. Even though Fort Union was isolated from many aspects of life in the States, the garrison always tried to be as up-to-date as possible. One of their proudest achievements in 1885 was the playing of themes from "The Mikado." One soldier said that even though they were isolated from civilization in some things, music was not one of them.[25]

When the Ninth Cavalry Band members went to Santa Fe in 1876, their orders required them to travel as lightly as possible in two ten-man wagons. They took rations for five days, their instruments, fatigue suits, caps, and ornaments.[26] They left behind extra baggage, weapons, and women. The implication here is that the wives and friends were sometimes permitted to go on these trips.

Sometimes the band members were organized into separate groups in order to play for parties or dances on or off the post. Eight members formed a group under the direction of an M. A. Luca to perform in Watrous,[27] and four others joined forces to play at the Cowboy's Dance in Wagon Mound.[28] In the spring of 1883, part of the band went to Raton where they played for the Odd Fellows' Ball.[29]

The Fort Union Band occasionally played at the Montezuma Hotel near Las Vegas. The directors of the Santa Fe Railway had purchased this hotel in 1880 and changed its name from the Las Vegas Hot Springs Hotel to the Montezuma Hot Springs Hotel. This three-story stone building contained nearly three hundred rooms, a vast wine cellar, a dining room seating five hundred people, and a casino for one thousand customers. With oak paneled walls, Axminster rugs, marble fireplaces, and imported furniture, this building was one of the showplaces of New Mexico. On January 8, 1884, a fire completely destroyed this hotel.

The Santa Fe Railway directors lost no time in building a new hotel near the burned Montezuma but on a slight elevation. Officially named the Phoenix, most people referred to it as the Montezuma Hot Springs Hotel. With its architecture of the Queen Anne period, it boasted billiard tables, bowling alleys, archery, lawn tennis, croquet, and cricket grounds. Near the hotel was a beautiful park with fountains, walks with shade trees, flowers, and even blue grass brought from Kansas. For three to four dollars a day, guests could enjoy all of these features plus the hotel's mineral hot springs.[30]

Fort Union's Twenty-third Infantry Band played at the Hot Springs Hotel (Montezuma) for one of their most elaborate parties given in 1882. The gala was called "mid-summer night festival," and it was attended by at least one thousand guests including Fort Union officers and their wives, prominent officials and their ladies from New Mexico Territory and the State of Colorado, and guests from many eastern states. Santa Fe passenger trains operated all during the night at two-hour intervals between Las Vegas and the hotel.[31]

At the east end of the hotel the management had constructed an outdoor pavilion one hundred feet long and seventy feet wide. Canvas was stretched around this entire enclosure to protect the dancers and the members of the Fort Union band from the cool night air. The walk from the railroad depot to the pavilion was covered with canvas and the entire path was lined with evergreens.

The display of lights around the hotel grounds kept a small army of men in readiness in the event of fire. There were two thousand lanterns strung along the walk, and the hotel and bath houses were beautifully illuminated. Five hundred flambeaus or torches decorated the flower beds and fountains. The hotel management even placed tar barrels on the surrounding mountain peaks and lighted them to illuminate the summits making them look like living volcanoes.[32]

Fort Union personnel made up some of the eight hundred guests that took supper that night at the Montezuma, and the menu consisted of:

HOT

Bouillon Royal, en tasse
Chicken Croquettes, a la Careme
New York Oysters, Fricasseed
Deviled Crabs

Spring Chicken, au Cresson
Lobster Salade
Westphalia Ham
Mayonnaise of Chicken
Sandwich Varies

COLD

Filet of Beef, a la Mecedoine
Boned Turkey, a la Jele
Lamb's Tongue, a la Ravigotte
Smoked Buffalo Tongue

DESSERTS

Vanilla Ice Cream
Charlotte Russe
Assorted Cakes
Ladies Fingers
Fruits

Lemon Water Ices
Wine Jelly
Macaroni
Pretty Kisses
Coffee

WINES

G. H. Mumm's Extra Dry
Widow Cliquot, Yellow Label
Dry Monopole 33

This was one of the most elegant parties to which the Fort Union band had ever been invited. Life at the Montezuma had no parallel at Fort Union for the enlisted men. The officers and their wives did attend some elite social functions in Las Vegas and at the Montezuma, but their world was far different from that of the common soldier. For the band members who played at the Montezuma Hotel or elsewhere for parades, or other occasions, these unique experiences gave them an insight into a world they would never come to know in the United States Army.

Clubs

While some of the officers belonged to clubs in Las Vegas, the enlisted men formed their own organizations at the post. For the most part, they organized these clubs to sponsor dances and parties although there were a few clubs devoted to other activities.

The Agassiz Association was a club named after Louis Agassiz, a geologist and biologist who taught at Harvard. Some of the children of Fort Union formed this chapter in August 1884, just eleven years after the death of Agassiz. It was one of hundreds of chapters throughout the United States and Europe dedicated to the study of nature. Walter Mizner, son of the commanding officer, served as its president. Other officers' children included Joseph Drum as secretary, David Parks as treasurer, and Willie J. Parker Jr. as curator. The chapter's objective was to "investigate the anatomy of grasshoppers, crickets, and other wild beasts."[34]

The Fort Union Debating Club probably had the fewest members of any of the post's organizations. In ridicule of the club members, one of the soldiers remarked that in October 1885, they were debating whether macaroni grew on trees or bushes.[35]

Troop E of the Tenth United States Infantry decided to organize a literary society known as Kramer's Literary Association. The group met on the post in a large reading room which housed the latest periodicals. All of its members subscribed to a fund which the group then used for the purchase of this material.[36]

The Young Men's Social Club sponsored as many hops as possible for the soldiers. One of the men in this organization said that life at Fort Union was very monotonous, and that anything that enlivened it was welcomed with a great deal of enthusiasm. Attending one of the club's dances was Frank Lidell of Las Vegas. He was impressed enough to state that "the boys" outdid even the "bloods" of Las Vegas.[37]

The Crystal Social Club, founded by members from companies C and F of the Tenth Infantry, gave a ball in the post library in July 1884. Colonel Henry R. Mizner, Fort Union's commanding officer, led the grand march. By August, the members decided that the hops should be given monthly, so they gave their second dance that same month. When September arrived, they all decided that since the dances were so popular, they should be held every Saturday night. Some of the soldiers became such good dancers that it was said, if they ever went to New York, they would astonish Dodsworth Cartier, who was the Arthur Murray of the 1880's.

The Crystal Social Club members held elections the following April and elected officers for a three-month period.[38] During that spring meeting they decided to continue their weekly hops which had proved so successful the previous year. In June, the club dissolved because of a dispute among the officers probably concerning the charging of admission.[39] Harry Grady and four of the other charter members organized another club in June, and decreed that they would charge admission.

Apparently, the new club lost much of its support at the post because of the admission charge, and, in the fall, some of the soldiers organized the Excelsior Social Club to further the social interests of the "minions and minionesses." At a committee meeting for the newly formed club, the chairman explained that he wanted to place advertisements in local newspapers to give all of the community people in Las Vegas, Watrous, and Wagon Mound an opportunity to attend the club's future hops, balls, germans,[40] and soirees.[41] It was also the intention of the club members to have semi-monthly Saturday night hops during the winter in the library hall.[42]

Although the literary club and debating societies appealed to some of the soldiers, it was the social clubs, solely dedicated to providing dances which the soldiers actively supported. Had these organizations not been permitted to function as effectively as they did, the commanding officer undoubtedly would have had even more drunkenness and desertion. On the other hand, had the army sponsored activities of this nature at that time, as they now do, they could have provided an outlet for the men and prevented much crime.

Chapter III

FOOTNOTES

[1]Masonic, Fort Union Fact File, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[2]Old Las Vegas is today known as Old Town or West Las Vegas. It is a separate community adjoining, but west of Las Vegas, New Mexico.

[3]Masonic, op. cit.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Daily Gazette, March 13, 1883.

[7]Optic, October 17, 1883.

[8]Ibid., October 16, 1883.

[9]Ibid., October 18, 1883.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., October 19, 1883.

[12]Ibid., October 16, 1883.

[13]Ibid., April 17, 1884.

[14]Ibid., March 23, 1885.

[15]Ibid., October 30, 1885.

[16]Ibid., March 5, 1886.

[17]Ibid., March 23, 1885.

[18]Ibid., January 30, 1884.

[19]Ibid., February 26, 1884.

[20] Lippincott, Interview.

[21] Lane, op. cit., p. 164.

[22] Arrott Collection, May 15, 1876.

[23] Optic, March 28, 1885.

[24] Reiter, op. cit., p. 131.

[25] Optic, November 5, 1885.

[26] Arrott Collection, June 27, 1876.

[27] Optic, May 6, 1885.

[28] Daily Gazette, February 9, 1886.

[29] Ibid., February 24, 1883.

[30] Milton W. Callon, Las Vegas, New Mexico--The Town That Wouldn't Gamble (Las Vegas, New Mexico: The Las Vegas Publishing Company, Incorporated, 1962), pp. 129-135.

[31] Daily Gazette, August 16, 1882.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., August 16, 1884.

[35] Daily Gazette, October 5, 1885.

[36] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ News, April 29, 1887.

[37] Daily Gazette, January 17, 1883.

[38] Optic, April 2, 1885. The elected officers were Harry Grady, president; William Stubley, vice president; Frank Head, recording secretary; James Williams, treasurer; and John Ardner, sergeant at arms.

[39] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1885.

[40] A german is a dance where partners are frequently changed and waltzes are played with other types of music.

[41] A soiree is an evening party.

[42] *Optic*, October 23, 1885.

CHAPTER IV

QUARTERS, RATIONS, AND SERVANTS

Housing

Katie Bowen and her husband Captain Isaac Bowen lived in a tent when they first arrived at the future site of Fort Union in the summer of 1851. Although many women would have bitterly complained about these living conditions, Mrs. Bowen consistently expressed her happiness with life at Fort Union in letters to her parents. She mentioned that the tents had a double thickness of firm duck, light frames, and that the sides rolled up for ventilation. Furthermore, they did not leak during the heavy rains that fell.[1]

Katie Bowen, Mrs. Alexander (wife of Lieutenant Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, the commanding officer), and Mrs. Sibley (wife of Major Henry Hopkins Sibley) had their tents on the side of a common triangle. They shared a kitchen, and spent much of their time together, especially in the afternoons when they did their sewing. In the fall when the weather became cool, they built large fires in the fronts of the tents for warmth.[2]

At the end of September the troops were building the hospital and twelve sets of quarters. These were for the coming winter, and the workmen planned more buildings for the following summer. Mrs. Bowen and her husband planned to move into their new log home at the end of October 1851.

Their allowance was three rooms, and each of these was to be either 18' x 18' or 18' x 20'.[3] By November, she and Isaac Bowen had moved into their new home. Because of the meager post facilities, it was necessary for each of the officers to keep army funds in vaults under their bedroom floors. Once while Major Sibley was on a short tour of duty away from the post, the Bowens kept his share of the funds in their bedroom. The boxes of money, taking up four by four feet and piled the same in height, amounted to $110,000.[4]

Even after the houses were built, either the army or the occupants constantly made improvements in them. Mrs. Bowen mentioned that she hoped to have a cellar in her yard by the summer of 1853 where she could store milk.[5] She bought a new rug for the hall that was to serve as a dining room as well. The bedroom opened from the hall on one side, and the parlor from the other. In addition to these rooms they had a kitchen, storeroom, and servants' sleeping quarters for their Negro slave. The ceilings had vigas (overhead logs) which they whitewashed. Cheerful and pleasant, the Bowen and Sibley homes faced south and had the sun shining on them all day.[6]

Mrs. Bowen did not mention the bedbugs of which Assistant Surgeon Jonathan Letterman spoke, but she did dislike two aspects of the new post -- the mice and the water. The water had a tendency to rot clothes after a few washings, and she had to be making replacements constantly.[7] The mice, she said, "bother us to death." One night they ate

both laces out of her shoes and big holes in her curtains.[8]

The star fortification, or second Fort Union, completed in 1861, was designed primarily as a defensive work to be used in the face of Confederate attack. For this reason, the underground rooms were hastily built and not designed to be used for any length of time. Many of the troops erected and used tents near the star fort, and there were still buildings at the first fort in use at this time.

Troops occupied the third fort when it was completed in 1867, and they remained here for nearly twenty-five years. It was a large fort containing a supply depot and a post. The quarters were far better than those of the first fort, but in the later years they all badly needed repair. By the middle and later 1880's the army realized that the post would soon be abandoned, and for this reason they were reluctant to spend any money on repairs or improvements. The roofs were covered with tin, and by the 1880's the tin had corroded and they leaked badly. Aubrey Lippincott remembered that in his home during one storm, his father had sixteen vessels in his bedroom just to catch the dripping water.[9]

The leaking roofs are easy to understand in the 1880's, but not twenty years before when the houses were brand new. Mrs. Lydia Spencer Lane had a dinner party one night in her home in 1867 when the building was no more than six months old. On this particular evening she had cooked a meal for seventeen people. Just when all the food had been placed upon the table, the plaster on the ceiling cracked, fell, and filled all the dishes to the top. After clearing the

debris, she cooked a second dinner.[10] On another occasion the plaster fell on Mrs. Lane's maid while she was asleep, and her screams awakened the entire garrison.[11] In Lane's quarters as in many of the others, the new ceilings fell one by one as the plaster dried.

The officers lived in duplexes, and when conditions were crowded they were required to share accommodations with another family. A large hall divided one side from the other, and each side had three rooms. A second lieutenant was entitled to one room, a first lieutenant to two rooms and so on up the line. When a new officer came to the post he had his choice of quarters of all those officers whom he outranked. The evicted officer would then evict until the second lieutenant with least seniority settled for what was left. This "turn out system" made some officers devise clever ways of retaining their homes. One ingenious captain at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was fortunate in having a stone house, but when it was built the basement was dug into an underground spring. The captain then capped the spring so that he use his basement. Whenever he heard of the arrival of a new senior officer at the post, he would rush to his home, uncap the spring, and flood his basement. When the new arrival got around to inspecting his home, the captain would show him the flooded cellar and explain the many problems he had with sickness, danger to the children, and dampness. In this clever way he was able to keep his residence for many years.[12]

For the most part, the officers at Fort Union in the 1880's occupied their entire duplex. Each of these quarters cost $14,122 to construct. Each of the barrack buildings

designed for fifty men, cost $12,113.[13] Originally the officers' homes had no closets or storage space, and until the quartermaster built some, the residents had to store their belongings on the floor.[14] One other problem they had was the acquisition of furniture for the new quarters. Because of the post's isolation on the frontier, the quartermaster ordered a set of plain furniture to be made for each set of officer's quarters. This was to consist of two wardrobes; two bureaus; one dining table; two kitchen tables; one center table and one side table for each room except the dining, kitchen and servant's room; and three washstands and three bedsteads. This furniture was branded Q. M. D. and numbered for each set of quarters.[15] When the post was abandoned in 1891, much of the remaining material including furniture was sold or auctioned, and some of this furniture can be found today in homes in the vicinity of Fort Union.

The water system relied on a steam driven pump to draw water from a well and force it into two water tanks. One tank held 19,000 gallons and the other held 13,000. By gravity flow it drained from the tanks through pipes to the buildings throughout the post to supply kitchens, bathrooms, and it also went to fire hydrants. In 1886 the quartermaster supplied the enlisted men with bathtubs, and a report in 1887 revealed that the bathrooms in Companies B, C, and I, 10th Infantry, and Troop E, 6th Cavalry were in good condition. For some reason the unfortunate men in Company F did not have a bathroom, although one was planned for them.[16]

Strangely enough, the officers did not have bathrooms in their quarters in 1886 when the enlisted men got their first tubs. The surgeon recommended that tubs be furnished the officers' quarters since the enlisted men had them and because the water was already there. Records do not reveal whether the surgeon was successful in obtaining these for the officers.[17]

Lighting by oil lamps and oil lanterns not only provided illumination but also presented a fire danger. For this reason the commanding officer posted a schedule for illumination, but the rules did not include officers' quarters. During the summer of 1884 he authorized oil lamps and lanterns from 7 p. m. to 9 p. m. in the company and band quarters, reading room, school room, offices of the post adjutant, acting assistant quartermaster, acting commissary of subsistence, hospital dispensary, hospital ward and kitchen. The hospital hall, water closet, and guard house could have light from 7 p. m. to 5 a. m. In addition, oil lamps were carried in posting sentinels, and a total of nine lanterns were used for illuminating the walks and grounds.[18]

The quarters were heated by either wood or coal stoves at the third fort. One of the many duties of the soldiers was to cut wood in the Turkey Mountains. They then cut it into the proper length for burning in the stoves by using a steam saw mill at the depot. If the men were not able to cut enough wood, the quartermaster would purchase it on contract. The soldiers delivered wood to the officers' wood

sheds located in their back yards. Coal, the other fuel used for heat, was supplied by contract from Raton, New Mexico. In 1882, Browne and Manzanares Company of Las Vegas had a contract to deliver three hundred tons of bituminous coal to Fort Union. Each ton, consisting of 2,240 pounds of coal free from slack, slate, and dirt, was to be dug from the Raton coal banks. The quartermaster obligated himself under the contract to pay $12.50 for each ton of coal.[19]

Commanding officers always had some ticklish problems, and a Mrs. Brent furnished Captain Thomas Smith more than his share. Mrs. Brent operated the Fort Union post office in the last set of quarters in the supply depot. She had six rooms up until March 1882, but at this time the commander used three of her rooms for housing the chief musician, the quartermaster sergeant, and the commissary sergeant. Shortly after this, Captain Smith received orders from headquarters in Santa Fe directing him to allow Mrs. Brent to occupy her entire house by removing the three enlisted men then living there. His superior reminded Smith that Mrs. Brent was a widow ofan officer and the mother of another and deserved every kindness that he could furnish.[20]

Captain Smith replied to his commander in Santa Fe telling him that the other men had moved from her quarters and now Mrs. Brent had six rooms, which would be sufficient. As diplomatically as possible, he then told his district commander that:

> ...of course, it is impossible for me or anyone else to control the social relations of Mrs. Brent with other members of the Garrison, or to regulate the degree of intimacy that shall exist between them.[21]

From the tent of 1851 to the six-room quarters of the third post made a world of difference to the families at Fort Union. Franklin stoves in the rooms were far superior to fires in the front of tents, and running water and bath-tubs were much better than icy streams and ponds. Although the progress that came with the building of the third fort brought the commander situations such as Mrs. Brent, all of the men, as well as the officers and their families, welcomed the improvements.

Food and Rations

Katie Bowen and the other officers' families were permitted to draw rations for each family member amounting to thirty-two cents per person for each day. This was the amount of food the army supplied to the Bowens while Captain Bowen served in the United States Army. If she chose, Mrs. Bowen could have drawn money in lieu of food, but this would have amounted to only twenty cents for each member of her family.[22] In November 1851, Captain Bowen ordered from Philadelphia food enough to last two years.

Beans and bacon were the staple foods at the first fort, because the prices at the commissary were so high. To the cost of food, the government had to add the cost of transportation from the States which amounted to eight cents for every pound. This made the cost of American flour $11.78 per hundred pounds, as compared with local Mexican flour at $4.00 per hundred.[23] Using flour, the women were able to make their own bread, cakes, and doughnuts. The price of imported corn was three to four dollars a bushel,

and sugar was fifteen cents a pound.[24]

Because of the high cost of transporting food from the States, the army decided to make farmers out of the Fort Union soldiers. They selected an area near the first fort for their garden. Located in the most depressed part of the valley where pools of clear water had collected, they used six mules attached to a chain revolving around a drum to irrigate the soil. Here the soldiers raised pumpkins, corn, berries, turnips, beets, peas, parsnips, cucumbers, radishes, okra, onions, peppers, asparagus, carrots, cabbage, and buster beans.[25] For some reason they were not successful in growing Irish potatoes, but indigenous potatoes, the size of musket balls (69 calibre), grew very well. William Carr Lane, on his way to Santa Fe to become governor in 1852, stopped at Fort Union and visited the post garden. His assessment of the farming methods was that although the experiment was started late in the season, and the inexperienced soldiers had poorly cultivated the ground, the vegetables grew abundantly.[26]

An advance that Fort Union soldiers needed to aid them with their garden was a hothouse, and this is exactly what they built at the first fort in 1853. It was fifty feet long by twenty feet deep, and the entire southern front was made of glass. A gardener's house was attached to the hothouse, and it was his duty to keep the fires going day and night. Although the new structure was not built along scientific lines, Mrs. Bowen wrote that it would be a big asset in transplanting to the garden which she believed would be far superior to the one the year before.[27] The soldier-farmers raised lettuce, cabbage, onions, and

even potatoes in this new hothouse experiment.

The country around Fort Union abounded with wild fruits, and the women from the post picked strawberries, raspberries, apricots, peaches, and wild plums from which they made jam. Morton Fisher[28] camped a few miles from the post in 1855 and reported lots of wild fruit including plums, cherries, grapes, and currants.

In addition to raising or picking their own fruit and vegetables, the residents at the post had the opportunity to buy produce from Mexican vendors. Riding donkeys guided only by a short club, the Mexicans brought large grapes, pears, peaches, onions, and beets.[29]

In the fall, Katie Bowen made preserves from her apricots, plums, pears, peaches, and quinces. The grapes were much too sweet for preserves, so the Bowens used them only for eating. Although the Fort Union wives liked to make jelly from much of the fruit, their husbands were very unhappy about the cost of the sugar which they needed to use -- now twenty cents a pound.[30]

While the Bowens were still living in their tent before the first fort was built, they used to cook their food on a fire built on the ground since their stove did not draw very well. When the weather was nice, they also ate their meals outside.[31]

One of the great moments at the post was the time the soldiers completed the ice houses in July 1852.[32] Mrs. Bowen was then looking forward to the following summer when she could serve her friends cool water, butter, cream, and be able to use the ice for ice cream on which she planned to use her strawberries. By the following March the soldiers had filled the two ice houses to the top, packing the ice in sawdust for insulation.[33]

Animals such as pigs, cows, and chickens supplied the families with animal products. Cattle were allowed to roam freely over the post, and the Bowens had some big dogs which kept the cattle away from their home.[34] They had two cows which gave a gallon of milk apiece at each milking. Later that spring, one of the cows was bitten by a rattlesnake,[35] and this precluded drinking her milk. Their other cow was dry, but Katie Bowen expected her dry cow to have a calf in a few days, and then she could return a cow they had borrowed.

Mrs. Bowen and Mrs. Sibley took turns using a stone churn to make butter. Katie Bowen churned on Tuesdays and Fridays, while her neighbor took her turn on Wednesdays and Saturdays. When they lived in tents, before having the convenience of a cellar or ice, these women used a cool tent for storing their milk and butter.[36]

In their backyard, the Bowens kept five pigs, and occasionally Mrs. Bowen made one of them into sausage. They also had a chicken coop, and in May 1853 they had eighteen chickens old enough to eat and thirty-three chickens one week old. Their hens kept them well supplied with eggs, and at one time she had sixteen dozen on hand. Katie Bowen solved the problem of storing eggs by using them in fruit cakes, which would keep a long time. Once they had eighty chickens, but fortunately the hospital bought fifty of them for twenty dollars.[37] Chickens were inexpensive, and the post residents could always buy large, live ones from the Mexicans for twenty-five cents each.[38] One of the tricks they learned from their Mexican neighbors was that of aiding their hens to keep laying by feeding them red

pepper.[39]

One of the problem animals for the Bowens and others at Fort Union was the polecat. These animals visited the chicken houses, keeping the dogs barking all through the night. In one of the nightly battles between these animals, one of the Bowen dogs lost an eye, and the other dog which was sprayed carried his invisible wound for many weeks thereafter.[40]

Captain Bowen owned a black horse named Mae, which Mrs. Bowen disliked and claimed was wild. Bowen's two mules were his favorites, and he devoted far too much time caring for them and painting their carriage. At least these were the sentiments of Mrs. Bowen which she expressed to her parents in a letter.[41]

With the improvement of transportation over the Santa Fe Trail, rations improved considerably at the third fort. The cost for one ration for a soldier in 1868 was about 34 cents, but eight cents of this amount went for transportation. By 1883, the ration allowance had risen to a little over 40 cents.[42]

Even though most enlisted soldiers would have been very surprised to see a list of the foods Fort Union received, they would have been even more surprised if they had been served some of this food in their company mess halls. The following is a list of food and supplies sent under special orders from Fort Union to various posts in the Southwest in 1877 and 1878. The list included:

250 lbs. citric acid	10 tins Alb. biscuits
365 lbs. bluing	5 lbs. grand seal smoking tobacco
184 cans milk	50 lbs. hops
12 Holland cheese	24 cans pears

45 tins Alb. (Albert) biscuits
96 cans milk
50 lbs. hops
30 gal. fine pickles
24 bottles of curry powder
200 lbs. of assorted smoking tobacco
100 tins sardines
20 lbs. of B. C. soda
72 bottles lemon extract
5 Holland cheese
30 hops
50 lbs. macaroni
48 cans plums
24 bottles olives
60 box Alb. biscuits
100 lbs. bluing
40 boxes raisins
120 cakes assorted toilet soap
48 cans raspberry jam
279 cans green corn
350 lbs. dried apples.
100 can asparagus
48 cans lobsters
96 cans oysters
100 tins sardines[43]

bacon
green tea
black tea
brown sugar
ham
nutmeg
pears
tapioca
States flour
gelatin
vanilla extract
lemon extract
lard
American peas
can pineapple
can soup, assorted
French peas
cranberry sauce
cracked wheat
bi-carb soda
can clams
castile soap
raspberry syrup
cream of tartar[44]

hard bread
beans
peas
rice
rio coffee
breakfast bacon
lima beans (cans)
chocolate
clams
java coffee
soda crackers
jars of ginger
deviled ham
can-red currant jelly
macaroni
mackerel
tongue
mushrooms
mustard
pears
peaches
preserved damson
prunes, raisins
salmon
wor. sauce
corn starch
laundry starch
granulated sugar
syrup
tomatoes
yeast powder
saleratus
corned beef[45]

It is hard to believe, but when Sergeant George Neihaus was questioned about the food at Fort Union, he replied, "rough." The routine diet was bacon, pork and beans, bread, and coffee without sugar or milk. On campaigns, the army took only beans, potatoes, and flour. Neihaus said that the men spent a good deal of their time grumbling about the food, and many of them spoke of how they planned to make up for these deprivations once their term of enlistment had ended.[46]

Officers' wives, for whom most of the diverse food was ordered, had their grocery shopping simplified for them by 1884. Enlisted men would take daily orders for food at 9 a. m. and then deliver the provisions to the officers' quarters. Lieutenant Colonel Henry R. Mizner, the post commander, brought about these new conveniences for officers' wives, and, needless to say, the women appreciated the new service even if the enlisted men did not.[47]

The idea of farming did not die when the troops moved into the third fort. There was a post farm about three miles from the new post, and soldiers were detailed to work there. In the 1870's some of the enlisted men were assigned to work on the farm who were not well enough to go on campaign. In all probability, the farm consisted of four or five gardens, each farmed and used for the benefit of a particular troop of cavalry or company of infantry.[48] Aubrey Lippincott remembered that each unit at the post had a garden, and these were probably located north of the warehouses. Mention is made of the gardens as late as 1887, so the army probably farmed at Fort Union up until the time it was abandoned

in 1891.

Officers were permitted to keep animals in their backyards such as chickens, cows, horses, and mules. The only stipulation was that they keep their yards clean by policing them every morning and evening. The officers were to see that their servants performed this duty, and then the post prisoners would remove the manure.[49] Even with regulations governing the care of animals, there were cows, hogs, and dogs running all over the post and supply depot. Dogs, probably the worst offenders, were ordered shot if they were allowed to run freely.[50] Hogs, were too valuable to shoot, so the guard captured them and the owners paid a fine for their return. There were eight unclaimed hogs in the corral in 1870, so these were sold at public auction.[51] While dogs and hogs were running freely about the post, cows were doing their share of damage by eating forage in the cavalry stables. Although the owners did not mind their animals consuming government feed, the commanding officer forbade cows to enter these stables in the future.[52] Even though the cows were not permitted to enter the cavalry stables, they apparently had license to roam wherever else they pleased.

The beef contractor, either a local citizen or the post trader, bought local beef, branded it, and sold it to the post quartermaster. Werner Fabian, the post trader, held this position in 1884. Every morning a board of survey examined his beef, and if they found it unfit for some reason they sent to Las Vegas for more.[53]

In 1870, the following prices prevailed for the sale of meat to officers and employees of the government:[54]

Beef	per pound	8 1/3¢
Mutton	do	8¢ fore quarters
Mutton	do	10¢
Pork	do	20¢
Pork Sausage	do	25¢
Meat Sausage	do	25¢

Every year the soldiers would devote about two weeks to cutting and hauling ice to fill the third fort's several ice houses. The main ice house in the supply depot was the basement under the commissary storehouse. The men cut ice on Coyote Creek which is located about one hundred and fifty yards southwest of the post. They built a dam on the creek in 1875 to enlarge the surface area for cutting which usually began in March.[55]

When it came to food, as in all other aspects of army life, it was far better to be an officer than an enlisted man. The enlisted men ate pork and beans, whereas the officers drew rations they liked from the commissary or drew their rations allowance in money, which they could spend for food where they pleased. The enlisted men did not have this choice. Farming the post gardens was a fine attempt at economy, besides giving the men a variety of fresh vegetables which they normally would not have had. The same is true of the raising of animals although the soldiers usually had some fresh beef. Both the officer and the enlisted man had enough food to eat; however, the officer had a much greater variety.

Servants and Marriage

Before the Civil War, there were officers at Fort Union who had Negro slaves. Margaret, a slave owned by the Bowens,

cooked well, and she was an excellent house servant according to Mrs. Bowen. Margaret's mother was a free woman living in Louisville. Katie Bowen wrote that she would be sorry to lose Margaret should they ever transfer to a free state, but if that happened they would either sell her to her mother or set her free.[56] The Bowens also employed a local Mexican woman to do housework for them. They paid her eight dollars a month, but Mrs. Bowen remarked that they ran the risk that she would steal twice that amount in a month's time.[57]

Aubrey Lippincott remembered an elderly woman named Refugia and her son, who lived with the Lippincotts in quarters number nine. Refugia did the cooking and housework, and her eighteen-year-old son took care of the horses and the yard. Young Aubrey was very fond of Refugia and always claimed that, in time of sickness, a Mexican woman is superior to most others in nursing.[58]

Mrs. Lydia Spencer Lane had a young Mexican man, a Mexican child, and an English maid to help her with the household chores. José, the man, carried wood and water, scrubbed the floors, and milked the cows. Since he had been captured by Indians as a small boy, he was a favorite with Lydia Lane's children telling them many thrilling stories. The Mexican child, Haney, had the duty of playing with the children and keeping them out of trouble. Because the maid was sick much of the time, José also cooked, washed dishes and did some of the cleaning.[59]

Cooks received about ten dollars a month, but when civilians were not available for this duty, the officers

customarily employed a soldier who then became known as a "striker." These soldiers volunteered to be cooks, and there was usually a long waiting list for a few available positions. In the 1880's strikers were paid five additional dollars a month, and, in addition, they had to perform all of their regular duties as a soldier. Lippincott said that these men were invaluable to an officer's family. They would light the fires in the morning, keep the fireplaces clean, see that the woodshed was kept filled, and help in the kitchen. Although they would usually take their meals with their company or troop and sleep in the barracks, they had the opportunity to share in family life, and many of them became very attached to this family.[60] Martha Summerhayes, another officer's wife, knew some strikers who had their own rooms with the families for whom they worked.[61]

In addition to this domestic help, many of the families employed Chinese men as cooks at the post. In fact, at one time, all but two of the officers' families had Chinamen to serve as cooks and do general housework. Before this time, the officers had employed female servants from cities such as Denver, Kansas City, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The officers would pay their transportation to the post, which was quite expensive. After staying a short period of time, these girls would accept marriage offers from the soldiers. The officer then would have lost not only his servant, but sometimes nearly two hundred dollars which he had paid for her transportation to Fort Union. In an effort to solve this costly problem, they employed Chinese men.[62]

With the scarcity of females on the frontier, there was keen competition for even the most ill-tempered and ugly woman who might be at the post. Mrs. Lane had this to say about the cook, old Martin:

> The cook, ugly as she was, won the hand - I cannot say the heart - of a stone-mason at Fort Union, almost immediately, how, I never understood. She was old as well as ugly, and not at all pleasant-tempered, and, to crown all, a wretched cook. When she was disagreeable, she always showed it by reading her Bible,-always a sure sign of ill temper with her. The man must have needed a housekeeper badly to marry old Martin.[63]

Knowing the servant situation at Fort Union, Mrs. Orsemus Boyd, wife of a future Fort Union officer, hired one of the ugliest women available in New York before starting their trip West. She said that:

> we soon discovered the fallacy of our belief that her plainess would prevent the possibility of a lover. Women were so scarce, and men so plenty, that no matter how old, or ugly, a woman was not neglected, and our unprepossessing nurse had scores of suitors for her hand. She had not been in the fort three days before the man who laid our carpets proposed to her. It required little time in which to become aware of her own value, and on learning that he was intemperate she quickly discarded him.
>
> The one whom she finally married was brave in every sense of the word. Trusting to the old adage, 'Faint heart ne'er won fair ladie,' that man engaged a carriage at Las Vegas for the wedding trip before ever having seen her. He was a soldier belonging to Fort Union, who had been away on

> distant service for months, and, hearing that we had a girl from the East with us, made the necessary preparations for their marriage while en route to the post....three days after his return she accompanied him to Las Vegas, where they were united for life....
>
> So greatly however, had the girl deplored the situation, that I wondered that she thought to better her condition by marrying a soldier, who can often give his wife no shelter whatever; in fact, unless permitted to marry by consent of his officers, she is not allowed to live in the garrison.[64]

When some of the soldiers did receive permission to marry and to live on post, their wives sometimes took on the duty of laundress or hospital matron. The couple then lived on Soap Suds Row which was directly across from the officers' quarters. Lippincott remembers some of the married enlisted men living in shanties behind the officers' quarters on Coyote Creek.

Even though many of the soldiers married Mexican women who lived in the surrounding communities such as Loma Parda, the Mexican men rarely married the Anglo servants at the garrison. When Katie Bowen attended a fandango in Mora, some of the Mexican men asked her if all the women at Fort Union were married. If they were not married, these men wanted to know the possibility of getting a "white wife."[65]

In the 1880's it seemed as though most of the servants were either planning to, or in the process of, getting married. Genevieve La Tourrette, the chaplain's daughter,

said that her father was marrying so many couples that her home was known as the "Marriage Agency." Chaplain La Tourrette and the padre at Tiptonville performed most of these marriages, and one of the soldiers remarked that if the state of affairs continued, the post would soon lay claim to having the largest married contingent in the service.[66]

One of the favorite courting grounds for the soldiers was on the banks of Coyote Creek. One evening a conversation, as overheard and reported by a soldier, between a married woman with children and a soldier went like this:

> Well may I hope then, darling, that at some time I may have the pleasure of making you my wife? Yes, I hope so, I am sure, she replied, I am tired of suing these civilian fellows for breach of promise.[67]

In 1882, Genevieve La Tourrette married Doctor Joseph H. Collins, the post's assistant surgeon. Bishop George K. Dunlop, Episcopal Bishop of New Mexico, officiated at the ceremony. The officers attended in their full dress uniforms, and friends came from Watrous and Las Vegas. The couple spent their two-week wedding trip at the Montezuma Hotel near Las Vegas. Upon their return to the garrison, they found that their friends had decorated the hop room with greens and flags to welcome them. This was the usual custom in receiving new brides into an army post, although it was just a homecoming for Genevieve.[68]

Many of the Fort Union records were consolidated when the post was abandoned. Chaplain John S. Seibold arrived at Fort Union in September 1890 from Fort Gibson.

In March 1891, he was transferred from the garrison to Fort Logan, Colorado. During his short stay he listed all of the marriages which took place beginning in 1872, and these are as follows:

1872 Captain Kaufman to Miss C. Caufron.
Anton Shonberger to Miss Mary Kenniston.
J. Stabb to Emanula Moore.
1873 Second Lieutenant H. Weeks to Miss Julia Shoemaker.
Private William Myers to Miss Bertha Kell.
William Scott to Mary Joyce.
Theodore Rutenbeck to Miss Mary Lingenuyr.
1874 William H. Moore to Mary C. Magruder.
Henry F. Swope to Emanula Hopkins.
Private James Morrissey to Sarah Ann Medill.
De Wit C. Whitney to Laura M. Hattler.
1875 Mr. Jose Apodacca to Miss Matilda Molla.
1876 Patrick Straw to Mary Gonzales.
Elijah Mason to Ella Flumbold.
Stephen Taylor to Mattie H. Stuart.
1877 Robert Marshall to Mary Tipton.
Charles Livzey to Lupey Martin.
Edward McBeau to Lucinda Belha.
1878 Hans Hansen to Caroline Dryer.
Samuel L. Shoemaker to Miss Nellie R. Houghland.
George Wilson to Jeanne Bessy.
1879 Frank Yeager (Jager) to Sophronia Adelia Gregg.
Samuel Lord to Mary Springer
1881 Lieutenant William A. Nichols to Alice May Haller.
1882 Robert Modie to Mrs. Elisabeth Mackintosh, Travis.
Doctor Joseph H. Collins to Genevieve La Tourrette.
~~1883 Price Buckler to Mary Drane.~~
1884 Lieutenant John Rossier Claggett to Cornelia M. Black.
Charles Tipton to Sarah Thorp.
Robert Ross to Laura Shaver.
John Macintyer to Miss Cordelia Nubanks.
Josiah Pishon to Mary Emmett.
1885 Lieutenant John M. Stotsenberg to Mary G. La Tourrette.
Milton William Kirk to Ethel Lucy Kirkman.
1888 Private Michael Radigan to Belle Morrison.
1889 Albert G. E ald to Jeanette Shott.
Augustine Kroenig to Martha Meyers.[69]

There are a few marriages which this list does not include from an earlier period, and some which are missing from this period. They include:

1869 James Towson to Pauline Nafera.
Colonel William Breeden to Grace Baker.
Jesus Chavez to Bernino Salizar.
1878 Doctor William R. Tipton to Miss Lizzie Duncan.
1879 F. Carpenter to Miss Johnson.
George Wilson to Miss Eldrige.
1888 Mr. Mils Hoadley to Miss Anna M. Malm.
1890 Mr. Charles Hunter to Miss Jeanne Elliott.
Mr. C. Wildenstein to Miss Belina Watrous.[70]

The girls from the East who came West to be servants for officers' families often married shortly after arriving at Fort Union. Once doomed to be old maids, they quickly found many soldiers competing for their hand in marriage. Although being married to a soldier had many liabilities, many of these women found happiness with their new husbands living at Fort Union.

As was the case on most army posts, the officers, enlisted men, and civilians depended on the post sutler for food and equipment not furnished by the military. For most of its forty year history, Fort Union had either a sutler or post trader doing business at the post.

The Post Sutler

The post sutler was considered a member of the officer class although he did not hold a military rank. Before the Civil War, sutler were given the rank of cadet with its privileges but none of the duties. These men had the franchises enabling them to operate stores on military

reservations. Not only did the soldiers buy luxury items from the sutler, sometimes on credit, but they also borrowed money, cashed checks, and deposited their savings at the sutler's store.

In 1866 the government decided to abolish the post sutler system because of the sutler's many corrupt practices during the Civil War. In 1867, the military permitted each post between the 100th meridian and California's eastern boundary to have a post trader. Three years later the Secretary of War authorized one or more trading establishments to be maintained at any frontier post where cities or towns were not close by. The trader's function was to sell goods to military personnel, freighters, emigrants, and citizens. Between March 30, 1867 and July 15, 1870 the commanding general of the army permitted sutlers to remain at certain posts, but after July 15, 1870 only the Secretary of War had this authority.[71] In 1889, the post tradership at Fort Union was abolished, and in October 1890 a post canteen was established and operated until the post was abandoned.

The names of the Fort Union sutlers and post traders, and the date of their operations, are as follows:[72]

1.J. W. Folger	Sept.27,1851 to Sept.26,1854
2.Ceran St. Vrain	Oct.6,1854 to Aug.11,1856
3.G. m. Alexander	Dec.31,1856 to Dec.31,1859
4.William H. Moore	Mar.26,1859 to Dec.31,1866
5.C. W. Adams	April 17,1866 to Apr.17,1869
6.John C. Dent	Oct.6,1870 to Apr.12,1878
7.Crayton H. Conger	Apr.9,1878 to death, no date
8.Arthur W. Conger	July 17,1880 to Sept.28,1881
9.Frank G. Jager	Sept.28,1881 to Feb.8,1882
10.Arthur W. Conger	Feb.8,1882 to Jan.17,1884

11. Werner Fabian Jan. 17, 1884 to Feb. 27, 1885
12. Arthur W. Conger Feb. 27, 1885 to Oct. 14, 1885
13. Edward P. Woodbury Oct. 14, 1885 to no date given

Katie Bowen spent much of her time making clothes for her family, which had increased, with the addition of Willie, in 1853. For Willie, she made short-sleeved aprons, dresses and mantillas for herself, and underwear and socks for her husband. For the material, she had to depend on the post sutler, who charged what she considered ruinous prices, exceeding all she had ever known. Calico was twenty to thirty cents a yard, and the calico dresses that he imported were, according to Mrs. Bowen, fit only for Mexicans.[73] She was fortunate in having her mother send some silk from Philadelphia, as silk was not obtainable from the sutler.

The sutlers at the first fort stocked only a meager supply of food and clothing. The Bowens were fortunate in being able to bring two thousand pounds of household items with them. About a year after they arrived, this allowance was cut by the army down to two hundred and fifty pounds. Mrs. Bowen recorded that she thought this rule was mean and made only to discomfort those in the army, but actually it was only part of an economy effort that affected all aspects of the army.

For this reason, the families had to make their own furniture out of packing cases and rely on the sutler for those items they could not obtain through the commissary. The Bowens were relatively independent of the sutler, and the only things they had to buy were fresh meat and flour. As mentioned before, they sent to Philadelphia for a large

quantity of groceries and clothing.

For many years, the post sutlership was operated by Moore, Mitchell and Company. William H. Moore operated the store at Fort Union while his partner, William C. Mitchell, acted as the purchasing agent in St. Louis. Moore, Mitchell and Company, besides operating the Fort Union store, included a store at Fort Bliss, Texas and another store at Tecolote, New Mexico.

William H. Moore was a transitional sutler who moved from the first fort to the second, and then to the third post during the more than ten years he spent at Fort Union. His government-owned building at the third fort resembled a fortress, with the walls enclosing a large patio where the heavy wagons were unloaded. This adobe building was two stories high, and in the front of the store was a room for the safe. The Fort Union store was the general supply station for the firm's other two stores, and it carried a stock of general merchandise valued at $350,000 to $500,000.[75]

Often the sutlers were politically very powerful men, and Moore was not an exception. William H. Ryus, one of Moore's clerks, recorded that Moore once ordered General James Henry Carleton, the Ninth Military Department Commander, to pay the soldiers and mechanics at Fort Union through him. By doing this, Moore could deduct the amount the men owed to his firm. Sutlers were not permitted to take more than one sixth of the total pay from a soldier on pay day. The

quarterly payroll at the garrison sometimes reached $65,000 to $75,000.[76]

The army placed a tax on each sutler for every enlisted man and officer at the post. For each man at Fort Union, the sutler paid ten cents per month for his privilege of monopoly. This "contribution" went to make up a post fund that was to be used for the good of every soldier at the post. The Post Council of Administration, composed of a group of officers, determined whether the tax was to be paid oftener, and it also regulated the prices the sutler could charge for items. The council members took into consideration the wholesale cost, transportation, insurance, and overhead, and then computed a fair price which would give the sutler a reasonable return on his investment.

In 1866, when Brevet Brigadier General Christopher Carson was Fort Union's commander, the Post Council of Administration set some of the sutler's prices below his actual cost. Since this council had taken seven full days to deliberate and assign the sutler his new low prices, Carson detailed one lieutenant to rectify their mistakes as quickly as possible. Using War Department General Orders Number 27 of March 21, 1862 and Number 35 of February 7, 1863 as guidelines, Lieutenant James W. Tanfield listed the cost of freight, insurance, and the original invoice price of the items he was to price. To the total cost of the goods delivered to Fort Union, he added thirty-three and one-third percent which was to be the profit the sutler received.[77]

During the last two years of the Civil War, a partial

listing of prices at Moore's store included:

Boots, pair	$ 12.00
Brandy, bottle	2.50
Champagne, bottle	1.50-5.00
Coal oil (kerosene), gal.	3.50
Coffee, pound	.75-1.25
Cup, tin	.25
Flannel, per yard	1.25
Handkerchief, cotton	1.00
" linen	1.25-1.50
Hose, women's, pair	1.00
Lamp chimney	1.50
Matches	.25
Oysters, tin	1.50-2.50
Pipes	.75 & up
Sardines	--
Seidlitz powders	.75
Soap	.25
Sugar, lb.	.50-1.00
Tea, lb.	3.00
Tobacco, plug	1.50
" smoking, box	2.00
Umbrella	2.50
Whip	2.50
Whiskey, bottle	2.50
Whiskey, pint	2.00
Wine, port, bottle	2.50[78]

Ryus mentioned other items in his books which were sold at Fort Union, and these included: bacon, soda, calico, domestic linsey, jeans, leather, gingham, tin buckets, officers' clothing, wooden tubs, coffee post, iron skillets, iron bars, crowbars, shovels, plows, harness, molasses, quinine, oil, turpentine, vermillion, and indigo blue. Ryus sold calico for one dollar a yard, and common bleached muslin sold for two dollars a yard.[79]

James E. Farmer also worked for Moore during the Civil War years at Fort Union. In September 1863, Moore sent

Farmer to St. Louis to aid Mitchell with details in purchasing goods for the company, and from there Farmer accompanied Mitchell to Washington, D. C. Moore was a very loyal supporter of the government, and Farmer wrote that officials in Washington accepted his view on the administration of New Mexico and Arizona. While Mitchell and Farmer were in the office of the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, President Lincoln came in and shook hands with Mitchell. After introducing Farmer to Lincoln, Mitchell left with Farmer to continue their business. When Farmer returned to Washington in the spring of 1864, he again met President Lincoln, who had not forgotten him.[80]

Moore, as the sutler at Fort Union, handled many government contracts mainly because he was the only one in the Territory who was rich enough to post bonds, and he also knew the figures of all the other bidders. Farmer stated:

> I would approach him in the morning that the bids were to be opened and tell him that I was going to bid on certain articles such as a wood, lime, or charcoal contract. He would ask what my bid was, then I would tell him he would laugh and say too high. After some talk I would suggest another figure, he would then say you could do better or you could shave it a little. I would finally get it down right and under bid the others. Later I would get them to take it off my hands, agreeing to pay me 10%.[81]

In many instances, politics played a large part in securing post sutlerships and traderships. On October 7, 1870, the Secretary of War appointed John C. Dent as the new Fort Union post trader, and Dent retained this position for nearly eight years. Being the brother-in-law to

President Ulysses S. Grant was no small asset in obtaining this tradership.

Even though the sutlers and traders made a large profit from their sales, there were certain risks involved that sometimes cost them dearly. During the Civil War, many volunteer units arrived at Fort Union to help defend it against General Henry Hopkins Sibley's Confederate Army. The First Colorado Regiment of Volunteers reached the post on the night of March 11, 1862. Being very tired and hungry, they expected some provision for their arrival, but none had been made. One of the companies went to the sutler's store and purloined six cases of champagne, some cheese, and crackers. After their feast, they spent the night with the horses in the corral.[82]

Eleven days later some of the troops broke into the cellar of the sutler's store and stole a large quantity of whiskey, wine, canned fruit, and oysters. A squad of soldiers was sent after the culprits, but the pursuers were sympathetic toward them and careful not to discover the volunteers with their booty. Many of the soldiers in New Mexico, as well as in other parts of the West, had very little respect for the sutler. Private Ovando J. Hollister, writing about Fort Union sutlers, said that:

> all the sutlers in New Mexico are traitors at heart. Still they meanly fatten on the government they would destroy. Their property is lawful "loot" to Union soldiers in my way of thinking.[83]

Besides the post sutler and his operation, there were other business men at Fort Union who operated concessions such as a restaurant, hotel, billiard room, bowling alley,

and beer saloon. In 1868, Adolph Griesinger asked the commanding officer at Fort Union for permission to establish a restaurant and bowling alley in the vicinity of the post trader's store. For a character reference, he offered the recommendations of the regimental officers under whom he served at Fort Union. Griesinger's Restaurant and Bowling Alley, he explained, would be for the convenience of the officers of the post, but he made no mention of the enlisted men or whether they would be permitted to use his establishment. General George Washington Getty, District Commander, and Major General Philip Sheridan, Department Commander, both approved Griesinger's request in October 1868.[84]

As some of the entrepreneurs bought and sold their interests in New Mexico businesses, so these concessions at Fort Union often changed hands. About four years after Griesinger built his restaurant, he sold it to Thomas Lahey and Edward McDonald. Although the restaurant was mentioned, the bowling alley had apparently been replaced by a beer saloon. Lahey and McDonald planned to continue using the building as a hotel for the officers of the garrison and officers from other posts. In addition, they assured the garrison commander that the hotel register would be open to his inspection at any time.[85]

As previously mentioned, the post traderships were abolished in 1889, and a canteen was established during the last days of October 1890. As early as 1887, a Fort Union private requested permission to establish a canteen in the billiard room of his company barracks where he planned to sell beer. The post commander informed him that this would

be against orders prohibiting any liquor in company quarters, and that the post trader had the exclusive privilege to sell beer.[86] When the post canteen was finally established in late 1890, the commanding officer expected it to benefit greatly the discipline of the enlisted men.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was instrumental through legislation in having post traderships abolished on military reservations because of the hard liquor the traders served. The post canteens replaced this hard whiskey with light wine and beer, pies, cakes, sandwiches, and canned delicacies. Not only did the tone of the post improve, but the canteen's profits went to company messes, and for other rooms where the men could relax, smoke, play games, and escape the loneliness of the barracks.[87]

The sutlers, post traders, and other businessmen at the post all contributed to the comfort and recreation of the officers and enlisted men. They collectively were an asset and provided certain luxuries; but a profit of thirty-three percent was difficult for many of the men to understand. The post canteen was a happy compromise because the profits could be used for the benefit of all the men instead of one individual. However, these early entrpreneurs fulfilled a need at the post, and life at Fort Union would have been considerably more lonely for the soldier without them.

Chapter IV

FOOTNOTES

Quarters, Rations, and Servants

[1]Bowen, Letters, August 24 and September 2, 1851.

[2]Ibid., September 28, 1851.

[3]Ibid., September 28 and October 1, 1851.

[4]Ibid., November 2, 1851.

[5]Ibid., January 30, 1853.

[6]Ibid., April 28, 1853.

[7]Ibid., September 3, 1853.

[8]Ibid., August 1, 1852.

[9]Lippincott, Interview.

[10]Lane, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

[11]Ibid., p. 160.

[12]William S. Nye, Carbine and Lance (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 359.

[13]Reiter, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

[14]Lane, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

[15]Arrott Collection, October 29, 1866.

[16]Inspection Reports, 1887, Document File, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[17]Medical History, op. cit., October 1886.

[18]Arrott Collection, July 6, 1884.

[19]Coal Contract, January 10, 1882, photostat, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[20]Arrott Collection, March 16, 1882.

[21]Ibid., May 6, 1882.

[22]Bowen, Letters, August 24, 1851.

[23]Ibid., April 28, 1853.

[24]Ibid., August 24, 1851.

[25]Lane, op. cit., pp. 47-49, and Bowen Letters, op. cit., May 28, 1852.

[26]Ralph Emerson Twitchell, Biographical Sketch of William Carr Lane together with his Diary of his Journey from St. Louis to Santa Fe, July 31, 1852. Historical Society of New Mexico, Biographical Series Number 4, Publication Number 20, pp. 47-49.

[27]Bowen, Letters, March 3, and April 28, 1853.

[28]Morton Fisher Letters, 1855-1857, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Fisher wrote a series of letters to his brother in New York from La Cueva, Las Vegas, and Mora, New Mexico. Although they do not directly relate to Fort Union, they do contain a good deal of information concerning the area near the post.

[29]Bowen, Letters, October 1, 1853.

[30]Ibid., September 3, 1853.

[31]Ibid., September 2, 1851.

[32]Ibid., July 2, 1852.

[33]Ibid., March 3, 1853.

[34]Ibid., November 2, 1851.

[35]These are prairie rattlesnakes which grow to about twenty-five to thirty-five inches long. Today, there are still a number of these reptiles living in and around Fort Union.

[36] Bowen, Letters, September (no day), 1851.

[37] *Ibid.*, October 31, 1853.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*, November 28, 1852.

[40] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1853.

[41] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1853.

[42] Reiter, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[43] Arrott Collection, Orders Number 8, February 8, 1877.

[44] *Ibid.*, Orders Number 59, August 30, 1877.

[45] *Ibid.*, Orders Number 5, January 10, 1878.

[46] Neihaus, Questionnaire.

[47] *Optic*, July 8, 1884.

[48] Arrott Collection, May 19, 1871.

[49] *Ibid.*, March 13, 1869.

[50] *Ibid.*, Orders Number 53, May 28, 1870.

[51] *Ibid.*, Orders Number 117, September 22, 1870 and October 10, 1870.

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[52] *Ibid.*, October 10, 1870.

[53] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1889.

[54] *Ibid.*, Orders Number 149, November 8, 1870.

[55] Medical History, Volume 52, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, p. 294.

[56]Bowen, Letters, February 29, 1852.

[57]Ibid., January 2, 1853.

[58]Lippincott, Interview.

[59]Lane, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

[60]Lippincott, Interview.

[61]Martha Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1908), pp. 88-89.

[62]Genevieve La Tourrette, Fort Union Memories (Las Vegas, New Mexico: Fort Union Incorporated, no date) pp. 7-8. This is a reprint of New Mexico Historical Review, Volume XXVI, Number 4.

[63]Lane, op. cit., p. 141.

[64]Orsemus B. Boyd, Cavalry Life in Tent and Field (Boston: C. J. Peters and Son, 1894), pp. 199-200.

[65]Bowen, Letters, October 31, 1853.

[66]Las Vegas /New Mexico/ News, February 4, 1888.

[67]Ibid., October 4, 1885.

[68]La Tourrette, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[69]Arrott Collection, Medical History, April 21, 1891.

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[70]Book of Marriage #1, Mora County Archives, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. The 1879 Wilson-Eldrige marriage is taken from this book, and entry was made at the time of union. The 1891 entry showing that George Wilson married Jeanne Bessy is probably in error.

[71]Arrott Collection, Act of July 15, 1870, Section 22.

[72]Fort Union Files, H30-HH, November 28, 1967. Taken from National Archives Record Group 393, Item number 333.

[73]Bowen, Letters, September 3, 1853.

[74]Ibid., July 2, 1852.

[75]William H. Ryus, On The Santa Fe Trail (Kansas City, Missouri: Frank T. Riley Publishing Company, 1913), p. 124.

[76]Ibid., p. 125.

[77]Sutler, Fort Union Document File, March 29, 1866.

[78]Sutler, Fort Union Fact File, 1864-1865.

[79]Ryus, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

[80]James E. Farmer, My Life with the Army in the West, Dale F. Giese, ed. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Stagecoach Press, 1967), pp. 53-54.

[81]Ibid., p. 56.

[82]Ovando J. Hollister, Boldly They Rode (Lakewood, Colorado: The Golden Press, Publishers, 1949), p. 52.

[83]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[84]Arrott Collection, September 15, 1868 and October 24, 1868.

[85]Ibid., November 1, 1872.

[86]Ibid., April 11, 1887.

[87]Summerhayes, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

CHAPTER V

POST PASTIMES

Dinners and Parties

As with any society, there were scandals, romances, and feuds at Fort Union. Regardless of their problems, there was an "army mystique" which united these military people, a bond not found in civilian communities. Basically, it was a caste society with a rigid distinction between the officers and the enlisted men. One very basic social function common to the officers and their families was the opportunity to have dinner with their neighbors.

Even with the austere conditions at the first fort, the officers and their families often exchanged dinners. During the winter of 1853, Mrs. Sibley gave many dinner parties and even dances on several occasions. The wives all helped with the preparation of these affairs, making it much easier to have company. At one of Katie Bowen's dinner parties she served wild turkey, ham, tongue, salad, ice cream, cakes, jelly, and preserves.[1] The families enjoyed group singing at these dinners, and they were fortunate when the new commanding officer, Captain Nathaniel C. MaCrae, and his family brought a piano with them in August 1853.[2]

Everyone was eager to learn as much news from the States as they possibly could. For this reason, in many of the more isolated military posts strangers who were just passing through were invited to dinner so that their hosts could

extract as much information from them as possible. Katie Bowen did just this with travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. After they had pitched their tents and made their fires, she would invite them for tea or dinner.[3]

In the 1880's when the Indians were much less of a threat than at the time of the first fort, the officers' social life improved greatly. Officers were not compelled to fraternize with their fellow comrades, but they could spend a weekend in Las Vegas or attend social functions at the Montezuma Hotel. The officers' friends from towns occasionally came to the post, but since Las Vegas was thirty miles away, they came only for major social functions.[4]

One of the foods which became a status symbol at the dinners was the oyster. An oyster dinner at Fort Union has been described as a "state affair." Martha Summerhayes bought oysters which were canned in Baltimore for one of her dinners at Camp Apache, Arizona. She paid about two dollars a can for them, but this price varied as to location and time of year.[5] Many cans of seafood, including Baltimore oysters, were packaged in the east and shipped by railroad to various points in New Mexico. Lippincott described oysters he remembers at Fort Union as coming in flat can measuring six inches by four inches and being two inches high. Archaeologists have found a number of these oyster cans at Fort Union, and they can still be found today near the post on the surface of the ground.

Occasionally, some of the post women gave benefit parties to raise money for worthwhile projects at the garrison. There was a need for a new pipe organ in the post chapel in

1884. Miss Cornelia Black, the daughter of the commanding officer, Colonel Henry M. Black, organized a Japanese tea party to raise money for the project. She sent out invitations two weeks in advance to both officers and enlisted men. Miss Black held her party in the hop room, which she had decorated with Japanese trinkets and ornaments. For three successive nights her guests enjoyed the party as well as the refreshments she served in Japanese dishes while they purchased a multitude of articles which were offered for sale. When it was over, Miss Black had made a profit of four hundred dollars toward the purchase of the new organ.[6]

Speaking for the enlisted men, Sergeant George Neihaus said that the fort was situated nine miles from a town and that the men never came in contact with the town people. He was speaking of either Watrous or Loma Parda, which were both about this distance from the post. For good community relations, some commanding officers found it to their advantage to keep the enlisted men near the post. There were exceptions such as when enlisted men attended dinners, balls, or parties in Watrous. Rarely is there mention of any enlisted men going to Las Vegas except as deserters. Tiptonville had some attraction as did Watrous, but the favorite towns for the enlisted men was Loma Parda. Neihaus' record reveals he was not a drinker and therefore not the type of soldier who would have enjoyed the gaiety of Loma Parda, but many of his comrades did enjoy this type of life in Loma Parda and did visit there frequently.[7]

Because of the rigid class lines separating the officers from enlisted men, and because most of the officers had their families with them and the enlisted men did not, the dinners and parties were mostly among the officer class. After some of these dinner parties, the guests often danced, but to those in the army these were not dances but hops.

Hops

One of the earliest recorded hops at Fort Union, if not the first, took place in September 1851. Major James H. Carleton had some guests visiting him, and they asked if they could attend a hop before leaving. To honor their request, the officers had some of the enlisted men pitch a twenty-by-thirty-foot hospital tent. Here they held their hop to the music provided also by the enlisted men. Refreshments, served by the officers' wives, included cakes, boiled ham, butter, biscuits, and hot coffee.[8]

One October evening in 1853, nearly all of the officers and their families went to a dance in Mora, which was about eighteen miles distant. Mrs. Bowen described the dance, known to the Mexicans as a fandango, in one of her letters to her parents. She said that the Mexican women dressed, for the most part, in American fashions. The men, on the other hand, wore patched pants, and dirty shirts with faces and hands to match. When a man wanted to dance with a woman, he motioned to her and she responded by jumping up to join him. Their band consisted of a violin, guitar, clarinet, and sometimes there were men singing.[9]

James F. Meline traveled along the Santa Fe Trail on horseback just one year after the Civil War. It was his custom to ride thirty-three miles every day and then to record his notes before sleeping that night. One night he attended a baile or dance in Mora and left a detailed account of it in his diary. Meline noted that these dances used to be called fandangos, but at that time the Americans referred to them as bailes. Meline recorded:

> On our arrival in the evening, a baile was immediately gotten up in our honor....Being expected, we young fellows went, and were received in a large, rough-looking room, scarcely recovered from its astonishment at the hasty washing it had just received. I need scarcely say that the room was on the ground floor, where all is ground floor, and cellars. Second floors and attics are unknown. Our 'hall of dazzling white' had a few dim lights of oil and candle on the wall, and a 'Timotheus on high' with two or three assistants on a table at the upper end. The ladies fair, meekly sitting on benches and chairs along one side of the room, occasionally refreshing themselves with a cigarito, then and there fashioned and shaped and filled by their fair hands; men with hats on or hats off, smoking or not smoking, as best suited them; the women all well and modestly dressed, and of perfect propriety in a demeanor and behavior -- the Spanish or Mexican costume evidently yielding to Americanization, a preference for reds, yellows, and the strong shades evidently prevailing, -- the tints they were called upon to adorn being chocolatewards in their tendency.
>
> The gentleman's invitation to dance (which were quadrilles and Spanish waltz, neither gallop nor polka)--no introduction needed--being the merest intimation, as going up, and, without parley, leading off the damsel, or,

possibly standing in the middle of the floor, and beckoning her to come to him. After each dance, lady led out by cavalier to what is equivalent to a bar, for refreshments. This part of the festivity, strictly obligato.

To do the fair one justice, she is usually moderate, vino or dulces being her stereotyped answers to 'What will the Senorita have?'

Dulces is generally a stick or two of candy, which is carefully bestowed in the handkerchief for future consumption.[10]

One of Meline's companions had an interesting but expensive experience at the bar when his lady friend requested vino. In a very short time he had to pay four dollars for a small bottle of vile-tasting champagne.[11]

Although the owners of these dance halls made a profit on admission charges and refreshment sales, they had to obtain a county license amounting to ten dollars for a three-month period.[12] For all retail or wholesale transactions in the County of Mora, whether on the military reservation of Fort Union or not, merchants had to purchase a license from the Territory of New Mexico and from the County of Mora. This county license applied to bailes, but there was an exception in the case of a territorial license for dances. Even though the Territory licensed whiskey, beer, wine, billiards, and bowling, it did not license the bailes.

Some of the surrounding towns taxed dance halls that were run for a profit. In 1883, the Las Vegas City Council passed a tax of five dollars per day or night on

any dance hall operated for a profit.[13] The year before, a Raton newspaper reminded the citizens that the Revenue Law of New Mexico levied a tax of ten dollars for each day or night a dance hall was operated for profit or where liquor was sold.[14]

Even though the enlisted men and officers liked to attend dances away from the post, the officers' wives much preferred their hops in the comfort of their own garrison. One such dinner and dance given by the ladies of the post, was in honor of the officers of Company I, Tenth Infantry. The band furnished music for the hop, but there was one problem facing the enlisted men who attended -- a lack of young ladies with whom to dance. A number of the soldiers solved this problem by tying white handkerchiefs around their right arms, thereby designating themselves as young ladies and increasing the supply of partners.[15]

In their attempt to imitate eastern society or to make Fort Union a "little New York or Washington," the post wives had the problem of importing gowns or buying expensive material with which to make them. Because of dressmaking problems, it was considered the duty of every officer's wife coming from the States to or through Fort Union to show their clothes to the post wives. In this way, these isolated women could get a pattern from those dresses they liked.

When the officers held dances in their own homes to entertain other officers and their families, they would sometimes have invitations printed by the post printer. The quartermaster had the responsibility of decorating, and

he would have his men stretch canvas very tightly over the large hall floor which divided the duplex. The guests could dance in the spacious hall and in and out of the adjoining rooms.[16]

Some enlisted men felt very uncomfortable on the dance floor, and for them Fort Union offered dancing instruction at its own dancing school. A Mr. Cory opened the school, and many of the enlisted men attended hoping to make some progress under his direction. One of the soldiers remarked that he thought that the classes would bring about a marriage or at least a love affair between some of the soldiers and single girls living at the post. If not, he would be willing to swallow a gross of St. Jacob's oil.[17]

Hops on the post, or bailes and fandangos at some of the surrounding towns, always provided a form of escape for the enlisted men and a diversion for the officers. Some of the local celebrations such as birthday parties and national holidays also gave the men an opportunity to forget their daily routine, if only for a few hours or a day.

Holidays and Celebrations

Birthday parties constituted one of the many types of celebrations, and some of the more popular and respected post residents received a party at the post opera house. When Sergeant William F. Granlee, Company A, 23rd Infantry, reached the age of 31, his friends gave him a party at the "opera house" and presented him with a cigar holder, gold pen and case, two smoking sets, writing materials, a pocket

book, a Chinese pin cushion, a meerschaum pipe, six silk handkerchiefs, a toilet set, and finally a fruit cake. After a multitude of speeches, the guests danced into the early hours.[18]

On Valentines Day the soldiers exchanged cards with their sweethearts back home and their girl friends on or near the post. George Washington's birthday was one of the holidays the men liked particularly well, for on this day all unnecessary work halted. The army provided some amusements and a wonderful dinner. In sharp contrast to the regular food consisting of pork and beans, the cooks served turkey, duck, venison, as well as many vegetables which were not to again make their appearance until Christmas.[19]

Many of the garrison residents celebrated Easter Sunday by attending a chapel service. At one of these services in 1883, Chaplain La Tourrette delivered a particularly fine sermon, and the chapel choir sang several Easter hymns.[20]

One of the celebrations in which the men most earnestly participated was the Fourth of July. This day, above all others, was the day they loved the most, for at this time all of the civilians, including pretty girls, from surrounding towns were welcome to visit the post. These town people would watch the soldiers parade, listen to a band concert, and then enjoy a free meal provided by the government.[21]

The members of the Tenth United States Infantry, because they were still busily engaged in getting settled

at their new duty station, celebrated a comparatively quiet Fourth of July in 1884. This "quiet" observance consisted of a thirteen gun salute at daybreak, a thirty-eight gun salute at noon, and fireworks in the evening. Appropriately, the firing party was commanded by Lieutenant Thomas J. Clay, who was the grandson of the distinguished Henry Clay.[22]

Lippincott remembers that Fourth of July celebrations at Fort Union were called Field Days. Some of the activities during this day included the one hundred yard dash, broad jumping, and bronco riding. Some of the soldiers painted themselves as clowns, dressed in funny clothing, and rode burros around the post. Lippincott remarked that their actions would seem pretty crude today, but at the time they were humorous.[23]

In 1887, the soldiers celebrated the Fourth with a baseball game played on their own parade ground. The challenging team traveled from Albuquerque, New Mexico, but lost to Fort Union by nineteen to five. On this same day, the Fort Union Band journeyed to Las Vegas to lead the Las Vegas Fourth of July parade down Lincoln Avenue.[24] A few years later, Fort Union's commander granted leave to any soldier who wanted to celebrate the Fourth of July in Las Vegas.[25]

Although the residents of Fort Union and Las Vegas enthusiastically celebrated Independence Day in all the 1880's, one of their greatest Fourths was in 1882. All nationalities, including Germans, Italians, Spanish-Americans, and Americans, competed to make it a success. Business houses were gaily decorated with red, white, and blue

streamers, and the citizens had placed the United States flag all over Las Vegas. Many of the business firms hired men and wagons to go into the mountains to cut trees to beautify their buildings, and evergreens lined the streets. All four of the town's streetcars were waiting at the train depot to take passengers to the city. The town fathers even borrowed cannons from Fort Union, and in the early morning hours loud booms awakened the Las Vegans.[26]

The Twenty-Third United States Infantry Band from Fort Union was invited to march in the procession and make music throughout the day. The procession formed opposite the depot on Railroad Avenue at one p. m.[27] They then marched, band playing, flags flying, to the plaza in Old Town where some of the town dignitaries made speeches and someone read the Declaration of Independence in Spanish. After the band played a few more appropriate selections, the procession marched to Railroad Avenue where it disbanded. That evening the Las Vegans were treated to a grand display of fireworks and a firemen's Ball at the St. Nicholas Hotel.[28]

One of the features of the day was the industrial parade displaying floats prepared by the town's business men. The lead wagon was gaily decorated and carried thirty-nine young ladies representing the goddess of liberty surrounded by the states of the Union.[29]

The soldiers always enjoyed Thanksgiving, because on this day, as on Washington's Birthday, the army suspended all unnecessary work details at the post. The chaplain usually held a chapel service for those who wanted to attend,

and the company cooks prepared special foods for the men.[30]

For most of the men, Christmas was one of the loneliest times of the year. On this special day each man often thought of his family and friends so many miles away. Regardless of how rough and uncouth these frontier soldiers were, they always remembered their loved ones at this time and exchanged gifts with them.[31]

On Christmas Day, the post chaplain held a religious service, and, contrary to most other services, almost all of the soldiers did attend. Some of the chaplains concerned themselves with the civilians living in some of the surrounding towns as well as the spiritual welfare of the garrison soldiers. Chaplain George W. Simpson raised money one season to purchase a Christmas tree and presents for the children. With a fund of sixty dollars he purchased gifts for the children who lived on the post and for the youngsters who lived off post.[32]

Post traders were always appreciative of the business they received from the soldiers during the year, and at Christmas time they contributed turkey, fruit, and other favorite foods for the soldiers' Christmas meal. Lippincott remembered those Christmas meals of turkey, ham, and venison which the enlisted men ate in their decorated mess halls. The quantity to food served to them on this day was always about four times as much as they could consume.[33]

The New Year's Eve party of 1884 was for officers and their wives. The wives planned the party and decorated the

opera house, and the Twenty-Third Infantry Band played for them. There were many people who attended the party, and all of them wore comical costumes.[34]

While the officers were having their party, the enlisted men had their own New Year's Eve celebration. The soldier correspondent who attended both parties commented favorably on the officers' party, but added that the enlisted men's celebration was much better.[35]

A soldier from Santa Fe attended one of the New Year's Eve parties at Fort Union near the end of the Civil War. He recorded that:

> Passing the night thus comfortably, the morrow' sun must find us on our way to Fort Union. This last day's drive being with me of necessity on Sunday, I was not a little shocked on arriving at Fort Union about seven P. M. to find a '<u>Baile</u>' (dance) in full blast. In one of the largest rooms of the A. M. Department Company A, 5th U. S. Infantry were giving the most brilliant baile of the season. Señoritas gorgeously arrayed (after their style) and gallant señors ready to do or die, were tripping the light fantastic too beneath the protecting folds of the Star spangled banner. Allow me here to remark that 'New Years Day' was their excuse for such hilarity.[36]

These celebrations were greatly anticipated and long remembered in the routine and monotonous lives of the Fort Union enlisted men. As for the officers, it was a different story since they had their families and were contained in a somewhat complete society. In addition, the officers had the opportunity to visit Las Vegas to attend dinners and parties with their friends. Sometimes the commander gave the enlisted men passes to visit nearby towns, but in many

cases this was denied to them. As with other aspects of social life at Fort Union, these highlights were seized with pleasure, but their infrequency made the enlisted soldiers resent the army more and more.

Chapter V

FOOTNOTES

Post Pastimes

[1] Bowen, Letters, March 3, 1853.

[2] Ibid., August 15, 1853.

[3] Ibid., September (no date, but obviously in 1851).

[4] La Tourrette, op. cit., p. 3.

[5] Summerhayes, op. cit., p. 94.

[6] Optic, April 2, 1884 and April 23, 1884.

[7] Neihaus, Questionnaire, p. 6.

[8] Bowen, Letters, September 28, 1853.

[9] Ibid., October 31, 1853.

[10] James F. Meline, Two Thousand Miles on Horseback (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1868), pp. 105-107.

[11] Ibid., p. 107.

[12] Mora County, 1880, Book #2, p. 70, Mora County Archives, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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[13] Daily Gazette, January 25, 1883.

[14] /Raton/ New Mexico News and Press, March 25, 1882.

[15] Optic, July 8, 1884.

[16] Boyd, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

[17] Optic, January 28, 1884.

[18] *Ibid.*, January 7, 1884.

[19] Arrott Collection, February, 1877.

[20] *Daily Gazette*, March 30, 1883.

[21] Interview with Mr. Onofre Aldarete, Fort Union Fact File, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[22] *Optic*, July 8, 1884.

[23] Lippincott, Interview.

[24] *Las Vegas News*, *op. cit.*, July 8, 1887.

[25] *Las Vegas Democrat*, *op. cit.*, June 7, 1890.

[26] *Daily Gazette*, July 4, 1882 and July 6, 1882.

[27] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1882. The procession formed in the following order:

1. Grand Marshall and assistants.
2. Carriage carrying the president of the day.
3. Twenty-Third United States Infantry Band.
4. Trinidad Fire Department.
5. Las Vegas Fire Department.
6. Secret societies.
7. Citizens on foot.
8. The various branches of trade represented on wagons.
9. Mardi-gras cavaliers.
10. Citizens in carriages.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Daily Gazette*, July 4, 1882.

[30] Arrott Collection, Medical History, November, 1877.

[31] *Optic*, December 28, 1883.

[32] Arrott Collection, Medical History, December, 1876.

[33] Lippincott, Interview.

[34] *Optic*, January 7, 1884.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] New Year's Dance, 1864, Social Life, Fort Union Fact File, *op. cit*.

CHAPTER VI

GAMES AND SPORTS

Games and Gambling

When we think of games today, we think in terms of what various service clubs, or the army itself, provide in recreation halls for the servicemen. This was far from the case with the frontier soldiers serving during the Indian Wars in the last century. As Lippincott remarked there were no facilities for games as today, "not a damn thing.... Troops were stationed out in these isolated, God forlorn spots with nothing to do."

As a general rule, all construction was done with troop labor. The army granted money for improvements at the various posts only if it was to be used for material, and not for labor. Although many soldiers had joined the army to train and fight, the majority were used as laborers in digging trenches, painting, making adobes, and policing the garrison. It was boring, tedious, and monotonous to be a soldier, and many of them, when they had an opportunity for recreation, chose bunk fatigue--lying down on their bunks and sleeping.[1]

Some of the more energetic men spent many hours playing whist,[2] cribbage,[3] dominoes, chess, euchre, twenty-one, poker, and pinochle. Only a few of the enlisted men played whist, but this was a favorite with the officers. The

officers had a special room at the post trader's store, where the bachelor officers spent many of their evenings playing this game.

The soldiers' children, and the children of the Indians sometimes played together. The Indians were San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches who were being held as hostages at Fort Union. Many young male Indians had left the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation in 1884 to raid in Arizona.[4] The remaining men, women, and children were sent to Fort Union to be held as hostages until the men returned. The last of these Indians were returned to Arizona when Fort Union was abandoned in 1891. Besides Apache children, there were some Navajo children who lived close to Coyote Creek. Their Navajo parents either worked for the post trader or as servants for the officers.

Two Navajo boys, whom John F. Drum knew when he was a youth living at Fort Union, spoke some English and played with the other children. These Navajos were expert with the bow and arrow, proving their skill by shooting a dime at a distance of twelve feet and hitting it nearly every time.[5]

The strong winds at Fort Union piled up large mounds of sand between the officers' quarters of the third fort. This was a favorite playground for the younger children, and Mrs. Orsemus Boyd wrote that:

> those sandbanks were famous playgrounds for the children. One little girl, whose mother was constantly upbraiding her for lack of neatness, contrasting her with our little daughter who was most painfully tidy, determined to be avenged, coaxed my child near

a large sandpile and threw her down on it, saying, as she again and again threw dirt over her:

> There now! I am glad to see you as dirty as I am!

Some of the older children and even the adults participated in a sport new at Fort Union in 1884--roller skating in the hop room. The post's young ladies enjoyed skating there since the flagstone walks were too rough. Even with such accidents as the commander's daughter fracturing her ankle, the sport continued to gain in popularity.[7]

Sergeant Neihaus remembered that the soldiers at the post engaged in many sports such as baseball, boxing, running, jumping, and throwing weights. Neihaus was a ball player, and he ran the hundred yard dash in ten seconds.[8] On Sunday afternoons some of the soldiers went to Loma Parda where the Mexicans played pelota. As spectators the soldiers enjoyed pelota; they liked to participate too, driving the hard rubber ball back and forth with bats. This game, similar to lacrosse, kept the ball in the air most of the time.[9]

Billiards were popular at Fort Union as early as the 1860's. One of the popular pastimes for the soldiers was to go to the sutler's store and watch the sutler, William H. Moore, and Colonel Christopher Carson, who was the commanding officer, play cards and billiards. "Kit" Carson was a fine card player and seldom lost, but he was always careful not to bet very much money.[10] Carson's skill at billiards was not as highly developed, for each time he hit the ball, he

would kick up his foot and say "A boys ay."[11]

By the 1870's, post trader John Dent operated the hotel, which had a billiard room. The bachelor officers boarded at the hotel rather than prepare their own meals. In the 1880's the enlisted men and the officers each had their own billiard table, and the enlisted men complained that their table at the post trader's store needed a replacement. While the soldiers played on the old, slanting table, it took two men to pick up the balls from the floor.[12] Shortly thereafter, the trader ordered a new table, but in the meantime the "knights of the cue" continued to play an uphill game.[13]

The new table ordered by the trader never arrived, so a competitor took advantage of the situation. Records reveal that a man known only as C. Carter opened a billiard hall at Fort Union in June 1885, and promised his customers a good table, good cues, reasonable rates, and good treatment. Within a week his business was so good that he ordered a pool table for his hall.

There was a great deal of gambling at Fort Union, with most of the money changing hands over chaw poker, and stud horse poker.[14] When the money ran out, the men played for matches, beans, socks, underwear, and other articles of clothing.[15] The soldiers did most of their gambling at Julian Baca's establishment in Loma Parda. He had monte and faro, which were legal in the early days, but illegal later.

Evidently, some of the soldiers pooled their resources to hold raffles for their comrades. The participants threw dice to see which had the highest or lowest number for the

evening. In 1881, Frank Hunt had a high of forty-eight, and with this he won a gold watch. The lowest throw by a man named Dempsy was twenty-one, and he was rewarded with a pistol.[16]

Although the fever of indoor gambling was ever present at the post and actually led to quarrels and even death for one soldier,[17] some of the men preferred to take their gambling out-of-doors to the post racetrack. In 1878, the soldiers built a five-mile racetrack just one mile northeast of the post hospital.[18] Although the enlisted men were not wealthy enough to own race horses or mules, some of the post traders and officers did. Edward Woodbury, the post trader, once owned a trotting mule that ran the mile in four minutes.[19]

A large crowd of spectators attended in 1881 to witness a race for a purse of four hundred dollars. In this event a sorrel colt owned by a Mr. Dumee beat a Mr. Gordon's horse, Jake. The purse for the second race had dwindled to fifty dollars. This five-hundred-yard race matched Gordon's thoroughbred colt against Doctor William Tipton's mare. Gordon's colt won the race by eight feet.[20] In all of these races there were many bets among the officers and among the enlisted men as to the outcome.

In the 1880's bicycling became very popular, and both children and adults rode bicycles at the post. The flagstone walks were ideal for this sport, and the unwieldy vehicles with their large front wheel and small back wheel needed the kind of surface these stone paths provided. Ben Bruhn, proprietor of the Fort Union Express Office in Watrous, even expressed a desire to purchase several bicycles to

carry passengers and mail between Watrous and Fort Union.[21] Since it would not have been practical, he did not put his plan into operation.

Some of the soldiers laid out a lawn tennis court in front of the post adjutant's office in 1885 and spent most of the day playing tennis there on the parade ground.[22] The next year some of the men played handball, but if one of the sergeants had not broken his leg during the game, there probably would have been no mention of this sport.

Lippincott's friend at the post was George Douglass, son of the commanding officer. These two boys spent all of their time playing together in and around the post. One day they corralled some unbranded burros in the yard of some vacant quarters and had a great deal of fun with their own rodeo. On another occasion they rode their burros during the evening band concert. To gain as much speed from these animals as possible they had ropes attached to five-gallon tin cans, and the closer they drew the noisy cans toward the burros, the faster they would run. Later that same evening when it was getting dark, the boys had a race making a "hell of a noise going down the parade ground." Forgetting the chain fence at the end of the parade ground, and not seeing it in the darkness, both boys and animals collided with the barrier. The result was total confusion during the concert.[23]

Not only did the youngsters have their unauthorized rodeo, but the enlisted men did the same thing. Near Fort Union there were about a dozen burros led by a large jack burro. After retreat, some of the men would catch this large burro, which had never been saddle broken, and take bets

as to how long they could ride him before they would be thrown. Without a saddle none of them managed to stay on very long. When the owner found out about this sport, he complained to the commander, who ordered the men to stop.[24]

In addition to his restaurant, Adolph Griesinger opened a bowling alley in 1870 which was for the use of the officers and their families. Major Peter J. A. Cleary, the post surgeon, was the most expert bowler at the garrison. The wife of a major held first place among the ladies as the most graceful and accomplished.[25]

Some of the soldiers felt they could excel in some sports above all of the other enlisted men. This was the case with Charles Wells who challenged all soldiers to a walking match by stating:

> I, the undersigned, do hereby challenge any enlisted men in this post to a twelve hour go as you please walking match, for the sum of $100. Anyone desiring to accept this, will cover the $50. forfeit which I have posted at the post traders store.[26]

None of the men accepted this challenge, but one of the soldiers remarked that when the men finished filling the ice houses, they would have more time to devote to sports.[27]

Horseback riding was one of the sports which the officers and their families liked very much, except for the cavalry officers who usually hated riding for pleasure. Mrs. Marian Russell used to ride close to the post; however, she would never ride alone but always with her officer husband because of the Apache Indians in the vicinity. Mrs. Orsemus Boyd and her husband liked to ride in the Turkey Mountains because

they loved the green grass and abundant trees to be found there.

Captain Isaac Bowen liked to ride horseback, but his wife, Katie, preferred to ride in a carriage drawn by their two mules. Every warm day, the two of them went for a carriage ride near the first fort.[28]

Lippincott and his friend, George Douglass, spent much of their time riding their ponies in the vicinity of the post. Aubrey's father, Major Henry Lippincott, always feared his son would get caught in the stirrup, so consequently he always made Aubrey ride without a saddle. To mount Baldy, his pony, Aubrey would place sugar or a ginger snap on the ground, and when the pony ate it, he would climb on her neck and then slide back when she raised her head. The post trader liked this trick so well that he invited young Lippincott and Baldy into the store to perform for his patrons. He would put sugar on the floor and then Lippincott would mount the pony when she bent over to eat the sugar.[29]

With these many games and sports, there was a great deal of gambling among the men. These contests also gave them an opportunity to settle petty disputes by challenging opponents to prove themselves. There was one sport, however, in which a man could prove that he was a man, and this was boxing.

Boxing

Lippincott recalls that sometimes deserted barrack buildings were converted into gymnasiums where the men worked

out on horizontal bars. Because the army did not provide proper recreational facilities, this gave the entrepreneur an opportunity to open a gymnasium and charge the soldiers to use it. Cohley and Woods opened a gym for the enlisted men and supplied it with boxing gloves and a boxing instructor, William Byer.[30] They also had fencing foils[31] for the men to use. By 1885, the gym was not nearly so popular with the soldiers as when it was first erected. The men had discovered, one soldier recorded, that it was much more pleasant to walk their girl friends during the autumn afternoons than to work out in the gym.[32]

On November 19, 1882, the soldiers at Fort Union witnessed one of the longest and hardest fought boxing matches they had ever seen. It was fought between William L. Seiner and William O'Reily, who had agreed to this fight three weeks before, in late October. At this October agreement, they had a preliminary boxing match during which Seiner beat O'Reily unmerifully when he was down on the ground. O'Reily had recently arrived from Ireland where he was used to the rules of the London Prize Ring. The two men agreed to another match under these rules three weeks later. Each man posted fifty dollars, signed the articles of the London Prize Ring, and trained vigorously for their next bout.

Under London rules men were to fight with their bare knuckles, in a ring twenty-four feet square, bounded with ropes. Kicking, gouging, butting with the head, biting, and low blows were all illegal. When a fighter went down, it was the end of a round, and he was helped to his corner. After

a thirty-second rest, he was to go unaided to a mark in the center of the ring, and if, after eight additional seconds, he was not able to be at this specified point, his opponent was declared the winner. London rules governed boxing in England and the United States from 1839 until nearly 1900.

For one hundred rounds during the fight on November 19, Seiner and O'Reily fought stubbornly on the grass before the cheering Fort Union soldiers. Their fight, lasting three hours and twelve minutes, left Seiner was a skinless nose, a cut face, and one closed eye. His opponent, O'Reily, had cut lips that were double their normal size. Each of the men weighed one hundred and eighty pounds. Seiner was taller, although his build was not as good as that of O'Reily. At Round Twenty, O'Reily had closed Seiner's eye, and at Round Sixty it was obvious that O'Reily would win the fight. Seiner stuck to his man like a bulldog with spirited tenacity, but at Round One Hundred and One, his seconds threw in the sponge, making O'Reily the winner. At the end of the fight the crowd cheered Seiner for his splendid courage throughout the long grueling battle. Before and during the course of the fight, it was estimated by one soldier that at least fifteen hundred dollars changed hands.[34]

From the time after the fight until he was discharged from the army at Fort Union, there was a marked change in Seiner's personality. Seiner became the bully at the post, doing such things as throwing bouquets of flowers at his fellow enlisted men after their theatrical performances. Because of his many morale destroying activities, Sergeant William F. Granlee gave Seiner a "Fair" on his conduct rating.

Seiner felt this was a great injustice and replied in the form of an open letter to the Las Vegas Daily Optic, bitterly complaining and condemning Granlee, and, in turn, Granlee justified his actions by writing to the same editor stating:

> In reply to a letter in your paper on the 19th, signed by W. L. Ceinar,[35] a soldier complaining that I have done him an injustice, etc. I wish to make the following remarks: Mr. Ceinar says that he does not deserve a "fair" character. During his five years' service in the army he has been under arrest over eight months. He was tried by four court-martials and was in each case convicted of the charges preferred against him. These charges were varied and ranged from missing a roll call to stealing some of the machinery belonging to the steam saw mill. Ceinar has been anything but a good soldier. He has been the leader of a gang of roughs for nearly two years and has kept the company of men, the most of whom were either sentenced to a term in the military prison or who deserted for fear of being tried for their misdeeds. Ceinar has just been discharged and I am happy to say there will be no more fires in the post. Neither will there be anymore safes stolen or hen roots robbed. The blackguard anonymous letters to young ladies in the post will now cease to come through the post mail. Ceinar was a man without principle. Wherever there was anything mean going on, there Ceinar could be found. His name was linked with crime while in the 23rd and future years will find his name linked with bad deeds. Such is the man, who accuses me of doing him an injustice. It was not in my power to have done so. The company commander is the person who gives a character to every discharged soldier, and company commanders know their men. If I were called upon to give Ceinar a character I would not give him "fair," but I would brand him as a man without principle, honor or character; a man who would not hesitate to to [sic] commit any crime, however low, or would never fail to boast of his success as a thief or of his mean immoralities.[36]

Even though most of the post boxing matches did not transform soldiers into criminals, they did give some of the men an opportunity to settle their disagreements without the use of firearms. These fights also gave the soldiers a chance to participate as spectators and to wager a little of their pay to back their friends. In addition to boxing, there were other outdoor sports for those who liked to go into the mountains to hunt and fish.

Shooting, Hunting, and Fishing

Whenever soldiers felt sufficiently competent in any activity, they liked to challenge their fellow enlisted men or even civilians. By becoming a recognized champion in a certain field a soldier could gain not only respect but perhaps a little extra cash besides. Sometimes shooting matches were arranged. A soldier named Rogers, of Company A, Twenty-Third Infantry, offered to shoot any man in New Mexico for any amount of money between fifty to five hundred dollars. Rogers' specialty was shooting bottles thrown in the air, but records do not reveal whether anyone accepted his challenge.[37]

To celebrate St. Patrick's Day in 1886 the officers contributed money to form a purse for an enlisted men's shooting match. The officers probably had a motive in mind in sponsoring the match, and this was to prevent a repetition of what happened the previous St. Patrick's Day. On the earlier occasion one of the correspondents had noted:

> I would advise the non-combatants who made a target of Senor Guecolas Guoreas's burro, on the "17th of Ireland," to put a little extra time on the range. It is not quite as expensive.[38]

As with all army posts in the United States, there was keen competition in the important work of target practice at Fort Union. Once a year there were teams selected from the posts to attend the matches at Fort Leavenworth; Lieutenant Thomas Clay and five enlisted men went there to compete for places on the army rifle team in 1884. One soldier said that if Clay handled his rifle half as well as his grandfather (Henry Clay) handled his tongue, he would be very successful.[39] Clay won the division medal for the Tenth United States Infantry.

The year before, two officers and two enlisted men attended the Fort Leavenworth competition. They were successful in placing three men on the twelve-man team representing the Department of Missouri.[40]

In 1885, Lieutenant Robert C. Van Vliet was the first in his regiment to earn the sharpshooter's badge. To earn this award he had to score eighty-eight percent at both the two- and three-hundred yard targets, and at the six-hundred yard distance. He also had to score seventy-six percent at both the eight-hundred and nine-hundred yard targets and at one thousand yards.[41]

Instead of spending their time on the rifle range, many of the men preferred to take their weapons on hunting trips. This not only provided them with a form of recreation, but also enabled them to take the game they killed back to their company mess halls for a much needed change of food. Some had their own rifles and shotguns. Many did not, but

these men could take their issued weapons with them. The supply sergeant would issue ammunition for hunting, but the men had to pay for this on pay day. Commanding officers occasionally issued passes to officers, enabling them to go on hunting trips lasting three or four days. Enlisted men obtained permission from their company commanders for hunting.[42]

In the early days of Fort Union, there was abundant game close to the post and even tame black-tailed deer and antelope in the garrison.[43] Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury and Captain William Rawle Shoemaker used dogs to hunt in the Turkey Mountains. Shoemaker owned greyhounds and kept them in the commissary corral of the first fort. "Possum" was the largest of the greyhounds and the leader of the pack. During the chase, Possum would place his snout between the legs of a fleeing coyote and throw him over on his back. In this same way he would catch antelope, and then the dogs would usually kill the animal before the hunters arrived. If the hunters arrived before the dogs killed their quarry, the officers would tie the animal and save it for another day's chase.[44]

Morton Fisher, who camped near Fort Union in 1855, reported that his party enroute to Fort Union killed twelve to fifteen buffalo each day, but only for their tongues. He said that antelope were plentiful, and that wolves would come into camp at night when the men were asleep.[45] Besides deer, antelope, and coyotes, there were bear, mountain sheep, wild turkeys, ducks, and geese in the vicinity of the post.

One of the hunting parties composed of enlisted men ventured into the mountains in the winter of 1883. On their return they brought five large deer, thirteen turkeys, and many other smaller animals. Being members of the band, they turned their venison and fowl over to the band's cook who prepared it for them.[46] Undoubtedly, some of these enlisted men were wise enough to share some of the game with their officers, thereby making the officers more inclined to grant permission for future hunting trips.

One sergeant who left the post on a two-day pass to hunt, returned with seventy ducks.[47] Another party returned triumphantly with a wagon loaded with game, but unfortunately they had to leave another wagon load, because they had no way to haul it back to the post.[48]

In addition to hunting, fishing was also a popular sport with the men at the post. Sometimes they fished in mountain streams and at other times they fished in lakes which had been stocked. Hough Loudin owned a large lake near La Cueva just west of the post. He stocked this large lake with fish and invited some of his officer friends from Fort Union to fish there.[49] William Kroenig had a ranch about a mile from Watrous, and on his property he had a large lake stocked with carp, which he imported from Washington, D. C. Although the demand for Potomac River carp has since diminished in Watrous, he allowed fishing and also planned to market these fish in Las Vegas and other towns in New Mexico.[50]

All of the men who went fishing from the post were interested in catching one type of fish--trout. These fish

were not large by later standards, and one captain caught the largest trout of the season in 1889 weighing two pounds and three and a half ounces.[51] Although many of the parties liked to fish along the banks of the Pecos River, some preferred the Black Lakes region north of the post and still others fished the North Fork of the Rio Pueblo.[52]

One party of seven from the post went over the mountains to the Pecos River for a week's fishing. The group included Captain Joel Kirkman, Lieutenant Robert C. Van Vliet, their children and servants, and one enlisted men to do the cooking and camp chores. Using Van Vliet's buckboard drawn by four mules to carry the camp equipment and food, the remaining passengers rode in a daugherty wagon also drawn by four mules. Upon arrival, the children caught a sufficient number of grasshoppers for bait while the men set up camp. Van Vliet and his servant caught one hundred trout in one day, and they consumed most of the fish they caught during their two daily meals--breakfast and dinner with only a snack for lunch. The part spent five days fishing, and in that period of time they caught nearly one thousand trout.[53]

Baseball

Baseball, an invention of Abner Doubleday in 1839, became a very popular sport in the West by the 1880's. Far from the peace and solitude which the hunters and fishermen found in their sport, the club members traveled to various towns in northern New Mexico to play baseball.

The Fort Union team played against organized baseball teams from Mora, Wagon Mound, Las Vegas, Santa Fe and Albuquerque, New Mexico. One of their first recorded games

was scheduled against the team from Mora in the summer of 1883. The Fort Union Nine, the name they gave to their team, traveled to Mora and beat the Mora team by thirty-five to ten. Feeling very confident after this victory, Fort Union considered issuing a challenge to Las Vegas and Santa Fe. One of the advantages these cities would have by playing the post team, one of the soldiers pointed out, was the enjoyment of the Twenty-Third Infantry Band which would accompany the team on these trips.[54]

Slightly more than two weeks later, the Mora team journeyed to Fort Union to relieve themselves of the burden of that terrible defeat they had recently suffered. Consistency was something that eluded the Fort Union Nine, and they lost to Mora by thirty-two to eleven.[55] The following spring, the Mora club was scheduled to play again at Fort Union. Reflecting on the Fort Union team's fitness for this game, one of the soldiers commented that if he had any money, he would bet on Mora.[56]

It is interesting to note that there was a prohibition against the officers and the enlisted men participating together in sports. They usually did not fraternize, but baseball was the exception. Lieutenant Van Vliet, a fine athlete, served at the Fort Union catcher, and there were other officers who served on the team with the enlisted men.[57]

In the later 1880's the Tenth U. S. Infantry and the Sixth U. S. Cavalry were both stationed at Fort Union together. An officer, Captain Adam Kramer of the Sixth Cavalry who had lent his name to the Kramer Literary Associa-

tion, also formed a baseball team in the summer of 1887. During the Fourth of July celebration of that year, the Kramer Troopers, representing the Sixth Cavalry, played the regular Fort Union team composed of the Tenth Infantry soldiers. The spectators who gathered on the parade ground to watch the game were described as the largest group of enthusiastic supporters who had ever assembled at the post. The regular Fort Union team won by twenty-two to fifteen.[58]

During the Fourth of July celebration in 1890, the Fort Union Nine traveled to Mora to play the Mora team. Before a large crowd of spectators, Fort Union won the game by ten to two. Mention was made of some of the Fort Union soldiers who played in this game, and they included:

Goode.....pitcher	McKelvey...first base
Farrington....short stop	Duffy.....right field
Hunter.....center field	Sayers.....second base
Herude.....catcher	Crossby....left field[59]
Callahan.....third base	

The citizens of Mora sponsored a dance that evening in the Old Town Hall, and the Fort Union team members really enjoyed themselves. Since this was the third game in which Fort Union had defeated Mora, the soldiers were anxious to play one of the strong Las Vegas teams.

Shortly after the Mora game, the Star Base Ball Club of Las Vegas issued a challenge to Fort Union to play in Las Vegas near the end of July. The Las Vegans guaranteed the Fort Union Nine their expenses for the trip. Although Fort Union was not able to accept this invitation, they were reimbursed for a trip to Las Vegas during the middle of the next month, and this amounted to twenty-seven dollars.

The Fort Union Nine regretted that they could not accept the first challenge, but at that time both their pitcher and their catcher, Lieutenant Van Vliet, were out in the mountains on a fishing trip.[60]

There were three baseball clubs in Las Vegas in 1890; the Las Vegas Blues, the Las Vegas Base Ball Club, and the Star Base Ball Club. When the Fort Union team defeated the "Stars" in August 1890 by eighteen to nine, it was the first time that any outside team had ever defeated this Las Vegas team.[61] The "Stars" were scheduled to play at Fort Union two weeks later, but records do not reveal the outcome of this game.

In September of 1890 the Fort Union Nine went to Las Vegas after accepting an attractive offer to play in that city. Fort Union agreed to play the Blue Stockings for a purse of fifty dollars and the gate receipts. The admission charge to this game was twenty-five cents, and the Las Vegas team won the purse by beating Fort Union twenty-four to five. Members of the Fort Union Nine were:

Hermle.....third base	Boyd.....right field
Good.....pitcher	Hunter....center field
Regan.....first base	Sager.....left field
Andrews.....second base	Duke.....short stop[62]
Leppencott....third base	

With the multitude of games and sports already mentioned, it might appear that the soldiers at this post were well endowed along recreational lines. It is important to remember that these activities were not organized by the army and that the soldiers themselves were responsible for the execution of any program. Much of their equipment was old, crude, or makeshift, and the men devised a number of the games

to while away their time. On-post recreation was better than none, but being able to get away from the army routine, including the food, such as on a hunting or fishing party, was ideal. The baseball team members usually had their travel and hotel expenses paid when they were invited to play against a neighboring team, and the town citizens invited them to celebrations or dances which they might be holding during their stay. In short, anything different from the army routine was a pleasant change and welcomed by the enlisted men as well as the officers.

Chapter VI

FOOTNOTES

Games and Sports

[1] Lippincott, Interview.

[2] This is a card game similar to bridge.

[3] Optic, December 27, 1888.

[4] Ibid., August 5, 1884.

[5] Arrott Collection, letter to James W. Arrott from John F. Drum, December 5, 1950.

[6] Boyd, op. cit., p. 206.

[7] Optic, April 2, 1884.

[8] Neihaus, Questionnaire, p. 5.

[9] Arrott Collection, letter to James W. Arrott from John F. Drum, January 3, 1951.

[10] Ryus, op. cit., p. 128.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Optic, March 28, 1885.

[13] Ibid., May 5, 1885.

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[14] Neihaus, Questionnaire, p. 7.

[15] Woodward, op. cit., p. 130.

[16] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Morning Gazette, February 6, 1881.

[17] Arrott Collection, Medical History, October, 1886.

[18] Ibid., November, 1878.

[19] Sunday Gazette, February 14, 1886.

[20] Optic, January 27, 1881.

[21] Optic, April 21, 1881.

[22] Ibid., February 23, 1885.

[23] Lippincott, Interview.

[24] Arrott Collection, letter to James W. Arrott from John F. Drum, December 5, 1950.

[25] Optic, February 23, 1885.

[26] Daily Gazette, January 12, 1883.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Bowen, Letters, January 30, 1853.

[29] Lippincott, Interview.

[30] Stanley, op. cit., p. 207.

[31] Fencing foil excavated at Fort Union in 1960. Fort Union storeroom, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[32] Optic, October 3, 1885.

[33] Las Vegas /New Mexico/ Gazette, November 22, 1882.

[34] Ibid.

[35] These two newspapers differ on the spelling of his name, but obviously they refer to the same soldier.

[36] Optic, January 23, 1884.

[37] Daily Gazette, January 17, 1883.

[38] Optic, March 23, 1885.

[39] Ibid., August 5, 1884.

[40] Ibid., October 16, 1883.

[41] Ibid., May 5, 1885.

[42] Woodward, op. cit., p. 132.

[43] Bowen, Letters, January 1, 1853.

[44] Woodward, op. cit., p. 133.

[45] Fisher, Letters, September 3, 1885.

[46] Daily Gazette, February 24, 1883.

[47] Ibid., April 16, 1886.

[48] Optic, October 23, 1885.

[49] Taped interview with Mr. Hough Loudin, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, May 6, 1960.

[50] Daily Gazette, February 2, 1883.

[51] Optic, August 14, 1889.

[52] Las Vegas Democrat, July 31, 1890.

[53] Arrott Collection, letter to James W. Arrott from John F. Drum, December 12, 1950.

[54] Daily Gazette, June 6, 1883.

[55] Ibid., June 28, 1883.

[56] Optic, April 2, 1884.

[57] Lippincott, Interview.

[58] Las Vegas News, op. cit., July 12, 1890.

[59] Las Vegas Democrat, July 12, 1890.

[60] Ibid., July 26, 1890.

[61] Ibid., August 9, 1890

[62] Ibid., September 13, 1890.

CHAPTER VII

SPREES AND BRAWLS

Drinking and Temperance

A favorite pastime of the soldiers was consuming large amounts of whiskey and beer. The army's attitude toward drinking was one of tolerance because the top brass realized that the men found in drinking a temporary escape from the hard frontier life.

Up until 1865, the army issued a whiskey ration to the soldiers, but in the summer of this year its distribution was suspended.[1] Even though whiskey was no longer supplied to the troops, they did have the right to buy it at the post trader's store, so long as these sales did not interfere with their duties as soldiers. The commanding officers,however, did find that much too often alcohol did interfere with the duties of enlisted men as well as officers.

In 1868, the post trader, J. E. Barrow operated a billiard saloon in conjunction with his store at Fort Union. Here he sold liquor to the soldiers by the drink, and this caused some of the soldiers to neglect their duties. The commanding officer, through his adjutant, in ordering Barrow to halt his liquor sales, said:

> I have also to earnestly recommend that the drinking connected with the Billiard Saloon at J. E. Barrow's Store be closed immediately. Liquor is sold there to soldiers, by the drink, to my own knowledge, daily and in my opinion it tends to keep men in the Guard House away from duty. I also understand that the Saloon pays better than the Store of which I have no doubt.[2]

Beer, the enlisted men's favorite beverage, was usually sold in quart bottles that came packed in straw-filled barrels. Sutlers and post traders asked from fifty cents to one dollar per quart for beer, but in later years the post canteens charged less.

Up to February 1881, the post traders, and the sutlers before them, had sold hard liquor by the bottle as well as by the drink. At this time, however, President Rutherford B. Hayes ordered the abolition of the sale of whiskey at military posts.[3] Strangely enough, it took the Fort Union commander many years to fully implement this order at his post. Although the post trader knew about the order, he continued to sell liquor to the soldiers, and when this fact was made known to the commander he directly ordered the post trader to halt these sales.[4]

Nearly eight months after the President's order forbidding liquor sales, the Fort Union commander received orders from the War Department allowing post traders to sell beer and light wine on the post after November 1, 1881.[5] Three weeks later the commanding officer ordered the post trader to restrict his liquor sales to certain hours, and in addition, told him he could not sell or give more than three drinks of beer or wine to any soldier in any day.[6]

Although most men preferred beer to whiskey, those who still wanted whiskey could buy the bootleg variety. This "rot gut" whiskey was composed of alcohol, burnt sugar, tobacco juice, red pepper, or other similar ingredients.

Usually it was made just off the military reservation and the men referred to this region near Fort Union as "Boiler Avenue." The drink which they made here the soldier's called "acqua fortis."[7]

Sergeant George Neihaus said that he once drank Mexican Muscatel and was "tied up for two days." After this horrible experience he said he never drank again in his life. Neihaus recorded another experience which happened to his friend who "got blind drunk." Neihaus afterwards told the soldier that he had placed him in a wheel barrow and pushed him across the parade ground in front of the officers' ladies and then dumped him in front of the guard house. After learning of this embarrassing experience his friend took Neihaus by the hand and said, "I will never drink a drop as long as I live." Neihaus added that the man did live up to his word.[8]

Anheuser, one of the favorite brands of beer at the post, was the forerunner of the present day Budweiser beer. The soldiers always enjoyed telling "drinking tales" that happened to some of their friends such as:

> GGG was hit by a cork, marked 'anheuser,' last night. Queer and Strange effects are produced from such an accident. GGG, we sympathize with you in your affliction; we do for a fact![9]

Schlitz beer also reached the post in the 1880's, and the soldiers referred to this as Schlitzer.

With many soldiers buying so many quarts of beer from the post trader, there was always the problem of disposing of the bottles. Privies or latrines received more than their

fair share, and often containers were just tossed into the snow. When the sun began melting the snow, it exposed a great number of bottles and other containers about the post. The post surgeon, whose duty it was to keep the garrison as clean as possible, strongly urged that the post be "policed" as soon as possible.[10]

Mrs. Marian Russell recorded some of the activities at Fort Union during Fourth of July celebrations. She recorded that the army supplied the enlisted men with free whiskey and that one of the inebriated soldiers wandered into her house and demanded that she prepare dinner for him. One of the officers who happened to be passing by heard the commotion inside, entered the house, and subdued the private by breaking a cane across his back. The soldier's penalty was thirty days on "the California walk."[11] This punishment consisted of walking around the flag pole from dawn to dark and carrying a four-foot length of heavy green log. He was to have one hour on and one hour off, but all in the hot sun. This walk was named by the members of the First California Volunteers in memory of their long hot trek from California to New Mexico during the Civil War.[12]

Lippincott remembers many intoxicated soldiers, officers included, wandering past his home on their way back from the post trader's store on pay day. The penalties for becoming drunk varied according to each case, and some men received ten days in the guard house while others were sentenced to thirty days with a ten-dollar fine.[13]

Drinking to excess often caused death for some of the soldiers. Private Henry Fehler died of acute alcoholic

poisoning. Alcohol was also blamed for the deaths of other soldiers. Those returning from Loma Parda and other towns could freeze to death on the way. Even though there is practically no mention of narcotics being used by the soldiers, and no Chinese opium bottles have been excavated, there was one death attributed to alcohol and opium in 1888.[14]

Although drunkenness was a problem on pay day, it was not a great concern to the commanding officer during the rest of the month. With a private earning thirteen dollars a month, and with beer retailing for fifty cents a quart or ten cents a glass, it would take too much of a private's pay for him to buy beer and still have some money for other necessities.

There was another factor that helped the soldier spend less money on alcohol, and this was the Independent Order of Good Templars. This organization, originally founded in Utica, New York in 1851, became one of the strongest temperance organizations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It had lodges in the United States, England, Australia, Ireland, Canada, India, West Africa, and South America. At the outbreak of the Civil War, there were five hundred lodges in the state of Missouri alone, and after the war there was new growth until the Women's Christian Temperance Union drew away many members with the formation of their new organization in 1874.

The Good Templars had lodges at several western posts, and the objective was temperance and then eventual abstinence from the use of all alcoholic beverages. Since it was in

their own best interests, post commanders did everything in their power to aid this organization. The lodges acted as corrective agencies, and if a soldier became drunk, the commander would sometimes suspend his sentence, if he would agree to join the organization and take the abstinence pledge.

Company K of the First California Cavalry brought the Good Templars to Fort Union for the first time in 1863. "We were once known as the 'Drunken Ks', & deserved it - But a good Templar lodge in our Co. has effected a radical change in our character giving us the title 'Bully ks'."[15] Previously, this unit had organized lodges in San Bernardino, and at Drum Barracks, Los Angeles, California.

The Californians organized three lodges at Fort Union; one in Company H of the 11th Missouri Cavalry, one in Company A of the 1st California Infantry, and the last was the post lodge at Fort Union. By the end of 1864, many officers and enlisted men assembled almost nightly for the "promotion of the cause." Because of this new institution, one of the soldiers claimed that whiskey drinking at Fort Union was on the decline and that drunkenness was no longer one of the virtues. He asked that his:

> fellow readers, pause and reflect. Read your guard reports, proceedings of courts martial in this Dept., visit your burying grounds, and contemplate the sad effect of alcohol. Resolve that you will never present an order for whiskey.[16]

Although 1863 was the first time a temperance lodge was organized at Fort Union, some of the men belonged to the

lodge in Santa Fe more than ten years before this. Katie Bowen recorded that a Major Thompson became drunk and shot a man in the back, nearly causing his death. Civilian authorities fined Thompson six hundred dollars and ordered him to join the temperance society in Santa Fe. Although he did join and took the pledge to abstain from drinking, he later broke his oath and the society expelled him.[17]

By April, 1865, the Independent Order of Good Templars began building a temple near the post. At this time this organization had many new members and its condition was described as "flourishing." Washington Lodge was finished by August but not without great effort by the division quartermaster, Major Herbert M. Enos, and the post commander, Colonel Francisco P. Abreu.[18] Civilians and soldiers donated their labor to complete the lodge, and there were between seventy and eighty members when the building was completed.

Little mention is made of any temperace organization at Fort Union in the later years, possibly because President Hayes had picked up the temperance banner, mainly through the efforts of his wife. With temperance and abstinence enforced from outside, there was little desire on the part of the soldiers to continue their internal crusade.

The soldiers always enjoyed drinking at the post when they were permitted to do so, but with temperance societies and presidential edicts against drinking, they were forced to go off-post to resume this pleasure. Because of this, there grew up around most army posts some of the most vile and wicked towns, enticing the soldiers to partake of the

many varieties of sin which they afforded. Loma Parda was the popular town for the Fort Union enlisted man.

Loma Parda

Loma Parda, the number one pleasure town for the Fort Union soldiers, attracted its supporters with its liquor, dances, and women. Just seven miles from the post, this Spanish-American community was made up of farmers, freighters, herders, domestic servants, vegetable and wood peddlers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, seamstresses, and stone masons. Although most of the inhabitants made very little money, some of the residents were considered wealthy. Samuel and Martin McMartin owned several thousand dollars worth of real estate. Most of the inhabitants, however, raised goats, sheep, hogs, cattle, and crops such as corn and wheat. They took these items to Fort Union and sold them to the quartermaster or to individual officers and enlisted men.[19] The government, and some officers, made contracts with the residents to provide firewood for thirteen dollars a cord. Farm produce was not under contract, although either the army or the garrison personnel purchased all the farm products the people from Loma Parda could raise.[20]

When the soldiers went to Loma Parda they usually wore their uniforms and carried knives but not their rifles. The soldiers and the citizens usually got along well together, but occasionally there were disturbances and even murders. Although some of the men rode horseback or in wagons, most

walked to the town, where they stayed for the length of their one-, two-, or even three-day passes.[21]

Living in Loma Parda were two enterprising Canadians, Martin and Samuel McMartin who, besides investing in real estate, ran a general store between 1874 and 1879, doing between five and ten thousand dollars in business each year. During this time, they sold liquor at their establishment, and also operated a taxi service to and from Fort Union for the soldiers.[22]

This, however, was not the only taxi service in Loma Parda, for Toribio C. de Baca, the father of Roman C. de Baca, also offered a shuttle service for the soldiers. The wagon which C. de Baca drove held from eight to ten passengers and the fare was fifty cents one way or a dollar round trip. The "taxi" did not go directly to the post but met the soldiers on top of the ridge behind the arsenal buildings. Often on the return trip after a night of hard drinking in Loma Parda, the drunken soldiers would assault the driver. When Toribio's mother found out about the danger involved in her son's occupation, she made him discontinue his hazardous profession.[23]

In the mid-1860's a soldier named Frank Olsmith who was stationed at Fort Union recorded for his diary some of the soldiers' activities at Loma Parda saying that:

> for amusement they depended chiefly on dancing, music and gambling. It was this trait, I grieve to say that made Loma Parda one of the principal

> resorts for pleasure for our command. Every night parties were formed with consent and often the participation of our commanding officers, where we danced, smoked and indulged in flirtations with the native damsels over glasses of white Mexican wine, until the approach of dawn in the Eastern sky. With it all there was little drunkedness, the utmost of good humor....The young fellows of our command found it all most enjoyable. For many of them it was the one place in all that country that they left with a feeling of regret.[24]

Upon their departure under Colonel Christopher Carson, Olsmith commented that most of the soldiers welcomed the chance to leave except those who had lasting friendships with the girls of Loma Parda. Olsmith said that:

> this feeling was shared by a number of the young women, who having heard of our pending departure, packed their possessions in a bundle brought them to our camp, and with tears of sorrow streaming down their cheeks, besought Captain Hyde for permission to share our march to the states, with their lovers, but to no avail. Permission could not be granted, for under regulations no provision is made for taking along the wives of soldiers on a march through enemy country.[25]

Every year, commanding officers issued orders forbidding the soldiers from going to Loma Parda. In 1866, Major Thompson forbade any soldier from going there under any pretext whatever, and reminded them that any infringement of this order would result in severe punishment.[26] In 1870, Order Number Eleven specifically stated that no man from the post was to visit Loma Parda, and that ordinary leaves from the post were not permits to go to this town. The commander felt

so strongly about his order that he had it read to the soldiers daily at their retreats.[27] In 1881, Colonel Granville O. Haller, the post commander positively forbade any soldier from going one mile from the post flagstaff without a proper pass, and if a soldier was found beyond the limits without such a pass he was to be arrested for desertion. Haller even had those soldiers who returned with valid passes report to the guard house where they were inspected for sobriety and cleanliness. If any of them failed to pass this inspection, they were not granted future passes.[28]

By 1885, the commander had instituted a 9:00 p.m. curfew, requiring all enlisted personnel to be in their barracks and in bed by this time. He even went so far as to institute a bed check, and one soldier commented that:

> this means that the mashers, who used to walk their girls through the sagebrush under the silvery moon, must now go to sleep at 9:00. The girls are now happy for they can get a little rest at night.[29]

Sergeant Neihaus said that the urge to go to Loma Parda was so strong that the men used to put dummies in their bunks to evade the bed checkers.

In 1862, the First Colorado Volunteers having recently defeated General Henry Hopkins Sibley and his Confederate Army at Glorieta Pass, celebrated their victory with a party at Loma Parda. Their celebration, uknown to them at the time, was to have international repercussions in Washington, D. C. It seems that the home of José Miguel Bernadet was attacked by the volunteers and damaged to the extent of $4101.17. For some reason, Bernadet wrote to the Spanish

Minister about the matter, who in turn wrote to Secretary of State William H. Seward making claim against the United States for damages. Seward immediately asked General James H. Carleton to direct a full investigation. Carleton, realizing that he must protect his troops regardless of their actions, ordered that the report show the disreputable character of Loma Parda as well as the wickedness of its inhabitants. Records do not reveal if Bernadet ever received his money.[30]

Some eight months after this incident, the army decided that it would be in the best interest of the men to keep them from purchasing any liquor in Loma Parda. The army asked Martias Baca, Antonio Montoya, and Julian Baca who were all Loma Parda liquor dealers, to post a one thousand dollar bond binding themselves not to sell liquor of any form to any troops of army followers during the "rebellion." They all signed this bond on March 9, 1863 and apparently kept their word for the next two years.[31]

The McMartin brothers had originally built their store in Loma Parda where they sold food, clothing, liquor, and many other household items to the residents of the town as well as to the soldiers from Fort Union. Today this two story stone structure stands in ruins next to the Roman Catholic Church not far from the banks of the Mora River.[32]

Loma Parda also boasted a pool hall where the soldiers could enjoy this game away from the watchful eye of their officers. There were also two dance halls on the main street almost directly across the street from one another. One of these dance halls known as the cantina, was later used as the

Roman Catholic Church, up until just a few years ago. The other hall is on the north end of the west side of the main street and was owned by Julian Baca, Roman C. de Baca's uncle. Long since abandoned, Julian Baca's establishment consisted of a long building divided by a partition in the center. The dance hall was on the left as you entered from the front, the bar in the center against the back wall, and Julian's family lived on the right.[33] Baca's building continued to be used by the local residents as a dance hall almost until the World War II.

Julian Baca made some profit on the liquor which he sold and the dancing, but his main income was from gambling. For many years, he had the only gambling establishment in Loma Parda, and the Fort Union soldiers had "contributed" handsomely enough to enable Baca to light his cigarettes with dollar bills. Monte was the game most of the soldiers preferred, although most of them did not realize that it was heavily weighted in favor of the house. There were usually twenty to twenty-five soldiers in Loma Parda every night as well as soldiers in town during the day, who had previously served some night duty at the post. Many of these men spent all of their time at Baca's establishment until it was time to once again return to the post.

Court records reveal that several men were arrested and fined for illegally permitting monte in Loma Parda during the Civil War. These men, evidently competitors of Baca's, were Anson H. Shiloh and George W. Gregg, who, together, pled guilty and were fined fifty dollars.[35]

Bailarinas were the single girls who lived in Loma Parda and worked for the saloon owners. These young senoritas were employed by Baca and the McMartins to encourage the soldiers to spend time and money in the saloons. Besides dancing with the customers, the bailarinas sometimes spent additional time with a soldier in a small, private room behind the saloon. Some of these cribs, althoug partially in ruins, may present be seen behind the McMartin store.[36]

The "orchestra," at the Loma Parda dances usually meant a violin and a guitar. At one of the dances, the soldiers were fortunate in having a band from Mexico, and it stayed at one of the dance halls for several weeks. Sometimes there were even two bands in town producing music for the dances which went on day and night. One band would play for twelve hours and then the other would play while the first band rested.[37] Most of the soldiers enjoyed the waltz, but the square dance was their favorite. There were square dance callers at Loma Parda, and Vicente C. de Baca, Julian C. de Baca's relative, was the best liked of all of these men for the simple reason that he was the only man who called these dances for the soldiers in English.[38]

Spending accumulated savings in a short period of time in Loma Parda gave some of the soldiers much satisfaction. In 1885, two soldiers who had spent five years at Fort Union, went on a wild spending spree in this town. In the period of just a few days, they spent all of the money they had saved during their five year enlistment at the post. One of their comrades suggested that it took all types of

people to make a world, and that this also applied to the army.[38]

Some of the women from Loma Parda were particularly attractive, at least to a number of the isolated soldiers serving at the post. At times, the enlisted men were denied permission to marry these residents, and so rather than not get married, they would marry and desert the army. Such was the case with Private James Owens, Company F, 10th Infantry. After he had been absent without leave for several days from his duty station, his enlisted comrades knew that he had eloped with one of the Loma Parda "dusky beauties."[40]

If Loma Parda brought the soldiers joy, it also gave them disease and death. Smallpox was contracted there and then introduced at the post. There was a serious epidemic of smallpox at Fort Union in 1877, and this was introduced by J. A. Davis, the post trader's colored servant, who had contracted it from his concubine, Lulu, who brought the disease from Loma Parda.[41] Syphilis, another incapacitating disease, claimed soldiers and citizens alike. Those enlisted men who had syphilis, and could not join their units because of the disease, were put to work in the hospital as nurses. Others, who were considered incurable, were discharged from the army.[42] The high rate of disease among the troops, especially in the 1870's, made the commanding officers look upon Loma Parda in an even more unfavorable light.

Shortly after the Civil War, some of the men from the First New Mexico Infantry were detailed by the Loma Parda alcalde, or sheriff. The absence of this sergeant and six privates caused the commanding officer to send one of his

faithful Irish lieutenants to determine the cause of their detention. First Lieutenant Thomas Clancy reached Loma Parda after a ride of an hour and a half and went directly to the alcalde's office. Upon asking why the men had been detailed in Loma Parda, Lieutenant Clancy reported that the alcalde replied:

> ...that it was his business; and that he would keep them until he saw fit to try them, that he did not care a damn for me, the Commanding officer, or any other Military authority (or words to that effect). I then told him that I should hold him responsible for the safe return to the Post of the soldiers who were not convicted, to which he replied, that he would turn them loose, when he got through with them, and that they might go where they damn pleased, I could obtain no information in any form, as to the cause of detention of the soldiers, except that the Alcalde alleged that they were under charges for a breach of the peace.
>
> In this connection, Major, I have the honor to suggest, that a Provost Guard be established at the Loma Parda to prevent soldiers from going to that resort of Thieves and Cut-throats.[43]

The sergeant and six privates were acquitted at a Loma Parda hearing, but upon their return to Fort Union they were imprisoned for being absent without leave. It is ironic, but one of these men, Sergeant M. Martinez of Company K, was sent with three enlisted men to Loma Parda just about eight weeks before this incident to arrest and return any soldiers who visited that town. Apparently, Martinez enjoyed this Loma Parda assignment to such an extent that he decided to return at that later date.[44]

In 1882, one of the Fort Union enlisted men by the

name of Gay was murdered at Loma Parda. Seeking revenge, the soldier's comrades hastily journeyed to this pleasure spot, found the man they were looking for, and quickly dispatched him at the end of a rope and then burned his haystacks, corral, and his home. Although the soldiers felt justice had been served fairly, it was actually unfair. They hanged the wrong man. Quite naturally the residents became enraged over the incident and further prejudiced against the Fort Union soldiers.[45]

Loma Parda residents sometimes got their revenge on the soldiers. Some of the enlisted men died suddenly in Loma Parda for no apparent reason. Sergeant Winfield S. Hamilton, in Loma Parda on a pass, met his fate there in 1887. His body was returned to the post hospital for an autopsy, but since he had been dead for more than thirty hours, the surgeons found that his remains were too badly decomposed to determine the cause of death.[46]

Loma Parda's law enforcement officers included the alcalde and at least one deputy, who acted as the town policeman. For some reason, a particular deputy had a grudge against one of the enlisted men from Fort Union, and he was determined to kill this soldier. After this private entered one of the town's buildings with his comrades, the deputy climbed to the building's roof. When the soldiers left, the deputy shot and killed his victim from his vantage point above and behind the group of soldiers. The deputy was quickly apprehended and given a trial in the Justice of the Peace Court in Loma Parda. Although there were many witnesses who saw him shoot the soldier, he was acquitted. The army launched an investigation and then for awhile it seemed

as if the case had been forgotten. One day a group of soldiers from Fort Union came to Loma Parda to inquire where the deputy lived. Two of the town's citizens guided the party of soldiers to his home, which was about two miles from town. The soldiers took the deputy with them and started back to the post, going through Government Canyon just south of Fort Union. At the foot of this canyon there stood a lone pine tree, and this is where the soldiers dealt their justice to the murderer of their comrade.[47]

During another of these citizen-soldier encounters, Isidro Montoya's grandfather, Juan Luis Montoya, was mortally wounded by one of the knife-wielding soldiers. Fearing for his life, the enlisted man ran into the hills to hide, but the Loma Parda citizens soon caught and killed him Other soldiers came and took Juan Luis Montoya's son and another man to Fort Union to stand trial. Through an interpreter whom the army provided, the prisoners were able to convince the court that they were justified in taking the life of the soldier who had killed Montoya. After they were acquitted, the Fort Union commander told Montoya's son that he did have the right to kill this soldier or any other soldier who had committed such a crime as this against his family.[48]

During the fight, when Juan Luis Montoya was killed, there were other encounters with the soldiers. The Loma Pardans used all available weapons including bows and arrows. Martias Baca and his son, Tomas Baca, using their archery equipment, managed to strike one soldier in the nose and another in his rear with their sharp arrows. Fearing death at the hands of these soldiers after this incident, the father and son fled into the mountains near Mora, where they

stayed for nearly one year. Their fear was so great that these men did not return until after the post had been abandoned.[49]

In the midst of another battle between the soldiers from Fort Union and the citizens of Loma Parda, two soldiers were slain by two of the town people. In their effort to seek revenge, the soldier's comrades immediately began to pursue these two citizens. One of these residents, known only as Austin, returned to his home and hid under a stack of hay. In their anger to find Austin, the pursuing soldiers burned all of the hay stacks in Loma Parda. When they came to Austin's home and prepared to burn the hay under which he was hiding, Austin's wife pleaded with the soldiers not to burn the hay. She said the man they were looking for was not there. For some reason, the soldiers believed her and did not destroy her hay. Thus Austin was saved by his wife. The other man who was pursued by the soldiers fled to La Pardita, a small village up the Mora River from Loma Parda. It was at La Pardita that the soldiers caught up with this man and hanged him.[50]

There were many incidents such as these concerning skirmishes between the Loma Pardans and the Fort Union soldiers. Even with all of the trouble these enlisted men caused, they were still welcome in Loma Parda, not as friends, but as supporters of the local economy because of the money they brought with them and spent in the town. When the post was finally abandoned in the spring, of 1891, Loma Parda lost its economic base, and all but a few residents moved away.

Today, only one man lives near this former pleasuring

ground, and most of the buildings are in a sad state of repair. Loma Parda has now become a lonely ghost town, hiding all its memories in the shadows of its crumbling adobe ruins.

Daughters of Joy

Although mention has been made that the prime attraction Loma Parda offered the soldiers was women, liquor, and gambling, the gambling and drinking are documented much better than the women and the part they played in this town. Prostitution was rampant in all towns near army posts, and Loma Parda was not an exception. These daughters of joy plied their profession not only in Loma Parda, but on Fort Union's military reservation within a very short distance of the commanding officer's home.

In addition to the houses of prostitution in Loma Parda such as McMartins', the soldiers who went to Las Vegas on a pass had the opportunity here to visit several houses of ill fame. Chata Baca ran her establishment on Moreno Street, where the well known Annie Propper, "Blonde Annie," practiced her profession.[51] Segregation was practiced among these Las Vegas houses, and there were houses for white people and houses for Negroes. Miss Hallie Scott operated one of the houses for the whites on "halfway hill." When Scott's house was raided by the Las Vegas authorities, each of her "employees" was fined five dollars, which Miss Scott paid for each of them.[52] Near Miss Scott's place of business there was another house operated by Fannie Smith, and this house was for Negroes. When Smith's house was raided in 1883, the authorities apprehended

three of her guests. Miss Smith was later fined ten dollars for operating her business.[53] Interestingly enough, the police were careful to arrest only the Negro patrons at Fannie's place, but no mention was made of the white customers at Hallie's being taken into custody.

The Ninth Cavalry was stationed at Fort Union between 1876 and 1881. These Negro troopers who had white officers, were sometimes given passes to visit some of the surrounding towns including Las Vegas. Undoubtedly, Fannie Smith's profits greatly declined when this contingent of Negro troops left the post in the early 1880's just as business improved at Baca's and Scott's when the Negro troopers were replaced with whites.

Continuing their efforts to reduce prostitution in the town of Las Vegas, the police force arrested many prostitutes who were working on the west side of town. These included Emma Wilson, Ollie Page, Filomena Garcia, Frankie Rigney, Simonia Romero, Monica Jaramillo, Martina Martinez, Estona Valdez, Estoria Armijo, Clara McDonald, Lucy Frazier, May Robertson, Fina Edmunds, Refugia Atencio, and Jesusa Hinojosa.[54] All of these women were fined five dollars except the last four, who were dismissed after being given a strong lecture. All of the women were evidently employed in houses of ill repute with the exception of the last three who worked independently as street walkers.

Besides the prostitutes in the local towns, there were women who "entertained" the soldiers very close to the post and sometimes in the post itself. These fallen angels posed

a very great problem for the commanding officer in his attempt to operate a fort as efficiently and economically as possible. The women created such problems as causing the soldiers to steal military equipment to trade for their favors, lowering the men's morale, and lastly, weakening the fighting strength of the post by spreading disease.

In 1853, there was an eager young first lieutenant at Fort Union who was anxious to put an end to the prostitution then flourishing very close to the post. The lieutenant, who held the brevet rank of captain, was George B. Sykes, and he belonged to the Third U. S. Infantry.

One day in the spring of 1853, Sykes captured two "soiled doves" who were operating from small caves or shelters within one-half mile of the garrison's quarters. Maria Alvina Chaieres, known to the soldiers as Jesusitta or Black Sus, and Maria Dolores Trujigue Y Rivale, known to the men as Dolores,[55] were imprisoned by Sykes in the post jail. Sus was formerly a prostitute in Santa Fe, but she had gained a much worse reputation at Fort Union than she had in her former city. Sykes had both of these women whipped before the troops, and then he had their heads shaved before releasing them. All of this took place to the sounds of martial music and beating drums provided by the post band. After their punishment, the two soiled angels quickly left the post.

Quite naturally, word that army officials had whipped two women at Fort Union quickly reached newspapers in Santa Fe.[56] Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner ordered Fort Union's commander, Major Gouverneur Morris, to press charges against

Sykes, but Morris refused. Sumner then ordered a court martial to be convened in Albuquerque with ten officers present to hear the charges against Sykes. During the course of the one-month trial, Sykes successfully defended himself against the charges of conduct unbecoming a gentleman. He defended his actions by revealing that his men visited prostitutes, about twenty in number, both day and night. These women also sold liquor to the soldiers, for which the men gave their rations in return.

Besides this, the quartermaster had experienced a great loss in stolen clothing and other supplies. Continuing in his defense, Sykes explained that the whiskey shops near Fort Union had been destroyed three times, and the fourth time it happened he ordered these two women whipped.

To emphasize the tremendous loss the army suffered between January and July, 1852, Captain Isaac Bowen of the subsistence department reported that the following items were stolen during this period:

9,379 pounds bacon	1,313 pounds star candles
1,191 pounds ham	207 pounds soap
3,400 pounds flour	20 bushels dried peaches
7 20/32 bushels beans	70 gal. pickles
4,003 pounds coffee	37 bushels. of salt[57]
6,254 pounds sugar	
870 pounds crushed sugar	

In addition to the above items, there were medicines, instruments, hospital stores, bedding, and furniture which the soldiers sold to residents of the "grog houses" and "bawdy shops" near the post.

Katie Bowen, whose husband had lost much food from his subsistence department, wrote that the military authorities

requested the sheriff of Santa Fe to make the raid on the shanties and caves near Fort Union. The civil authorities burned the shanties down and imprisoned their owners for trial in Santa Fe. During the course of their raid they found a great deal of the quartermaster and commissary property, and the women who had worked as "entertainers" near the post scattered like sheep to avoid being caught. The Mexican people near the post were very angry with Major James H. Carleton, the post commander, for requesting the sheriff to conduct the raid.[58]

From the early days of the first fort down to the present time, the canyon just south of this early post was called "el cañon de las pelonas." Translated, this is the canyon of the bald women referring to prostitution in this area in either of two ways. The first is that it refers to the two women who had their hair shaved by Sykes. The second is the possibility that these prostitutes were compared with Roman Catholic sisters who also had their hair shaved and lived without husbands as the soiled angels did.

In the later days of Fort Union, prostitution took place much closer to the post than previously. Adolph Griesinger operated the restaurant on the post in the 1870's. Adjoining his restaurant was a market operated by some Mexicans. Griesinger complained to the commanding officer that these Mexicans had already stolen fifty of his chickens during the last six months. He mentioned that these inhabitants represented the worst class of "Mexican Prostitutes" who were plying their trade and contaminating the garrison. Griesinger suggested that the guard and the officer of the day visit

this market daily to rid it of its prostitutes.[59]

Not only did the commanding officer have the authority to eject undesirable people from the military reservation, but other officers had this authority as well. In 1870, the commander of Troop L, 8th Cavalry issued Order Number 158. This directed a man and his wife to leave the military reservation and never to return. Citizen Charles_____ was accused of selling whiskey to the enlisted men, and Mrs. Charles_____ was charged with having women of bad character in their quarters.[60]

In addition to the implication that a Mrs. Brent had a number of callers at her quarters as previously noted, the post chaplain also had his problems in the 1870's. In 1877, Chaplain Charles Simpson requested a transfer to another post. On Simpson's behalf, the commanding officer wrote to his superior in Santa Fe giving the reasons why the chaplain wanted to leave Fort Union as soon as possible and that:

> his eldest daughter has been seduced & she has sworn it on Dr. Tipton, Citizen Physician at La Junta. She is supposed to be pregnant.[61]

The fact that Simpson was the chaplain at Fort Union made his mortification over the matter even greater, and so it was imperative that the family transfer as soon as possible.

As in any small community, the people at Fort Union quickly learned everything that was going on around them in a very short period of time. The drinking habits of the officers and the enlisted men were soon common knowledge to all of the post residents. When the supply of alcohol was cut off at the post trader's store, the soldiers either brewed their own on "boiler avenue" or went to Loma Parda

for their whiskey. The temperance societies kept some men from becoming alcoholics, but with a large supply of beer on the post, the consumption of hard liquor and, consequently, drunkenness and crime usually diminished.

The Loma Parda problem was something which none of the commanding officers could solve. Regardless of the precautions and restrictions, enlisted men went there, even deserting to do so. In the 1870's and 1880's Loma Parda started coming to the post. The daughters of joy used post buildings thus eliminating for the enlisted men those rowdy taxi rides or even long walks to Loma Parda. Commanding officers were very powerful men, but they could not keep the soldiers from drinking alcoholic beverages nor could they stop them from visiting women who practiced the oldest of professions in and around Fort Union.

Chapter VII

FOOTNOTES

[1] Arrott Collection, August 5, 1865.

[2] Ibid., September 25, 1868.

[3] Daily Gazette, March 8, 1881. This refers to the order by President Rutherford B. Hayes halting the sale of alcohol on military reservations, February 22, 1881.

[4] Arrott Collection, August 28, 1886.

[5] Ibid., November 1, 1881.

[6] Ibid., November 22, 1881.

[7] Optic, October 12, 1885. He means aquafortis or strong water which formerly referred to a number of solvents, particularly nitric acid.

[8] Neihaus, Questionnaire.

[9] Optic, August 11, 1885.

[10] Arrott Collection, Medical History, January, 1885.

[11] Russell, Marian, "Memoirs of Marian Russell," The Colorado Magazine, Volume XXI, March, 1944, #2, p. 63.

[12] Ibid., Volume XXI, January, 1944, #1, p. 33.

[13] Neihaus, Questionnaire.

[14] Medical History, Volume 53, p. 313, Coronado Room, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[15] Santa Fe /New Mexico/ Weekly Gazette, December 31, 1864.

[16] Ibid.

[17]Bowen, Letters, May 1, 1852.

[18]Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, August 12, 1865.

[19]Roman C. de Baca, Loma Parda, New Mexico, March 18, 1963. Tape recording made by author and stored at Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, Mr. C. de Baca, who still resides at Loma Parda, was interviewed at his home. His father was born in 1851, the same year Fort Union was established, and died at the age of 96 in 1947. Roman's father used to sit around the fire in the evenings with the older children and tell them stories about the soldiers from the post. At other times he would sit and talk with the other men in Loma Parda about incidents concerning their town and its visitors from the military reservation.

[20]Interview with Mr. Isidro Montoya, 311 South Pacific, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 25, 1963. Tape recording made by the author and stored at Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico. Mr. Montoya was born at Loma Parda in 1869. He remembered many incidents which he personally witnessed, and he remembered stories which his mother and friends related to him concerning the soldiers at Fort Union. Mr. Montoya died August 13, 1963.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]C. de Baca, Interview.

[24]Sam Woolford, "The Pretty Girls of Old Fort Union," New Mexico Magazine (October, 1961), p. 11.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Arrott Collection, May 28, 1866.

[27]Ibid., Orders Number 11, September 13, 1870.

[28]Ibid., Orders Number 75, November 6, 1881.

[29]Optic, October 12, 1885.

[30]Fort Union File H2215, July 3, 1960, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[31]*Ibid.*, July 2, 1960.

[32]Montoya, Interview.

[33]C. de Baca, Interview.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]Mora County Record Book #3, April 5, 1865. There are many entries in these county records revealing fines for gambling ranging from thirty to fifty dollars.

[36]C. de Baca, Interview.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]Montoya, Interview.

[39]*Optic*, February 6, 1885.

[40]*Ibid.*, March 23, 1885.

[41]Arrott Collection, Medical History, December, 1877.

[42]*Ibid.*, October, 1879.

[43]Arrott Collection, July 16, 1866.

[44]*Ibid.*, May 25, 1866.

[45]*Optic*, November 24, 1882.

[46]Arrott Collection, Medical History, March 1887.

[47]Montoya, Interview.

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]*Ibid.*

[50] C. de Baca, Interview.

[51] Daily Gazette, May 12, 1883.

[52] Ibid., May 3, 1883.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Arrott Collection, Sykes Court Martial, March 5, 1853.

[56] Santa Fe /New Mexico/ Gazette, February 5, 1853.

[57] Arrott Collection, Sykes Court Martial, March 5, 1853, paper F.

[58] Bowen, Letters, no date.

[59] Arrott Collection, June 19, 1870.

[60] Ibid., Orders Number 158, November 28, 1870. The blanks are in the original.

[61] Ibid., July 31, 1877.

CHAPTER VIII

PASSES TO BARRACKS THIRTEEN

Larceny

Military equipment was much sought by some civilians in New Mexico, and there were many schemes to defraud the government. Weapons such as pistols and rifles were highly prized since their value was many times greater than the original manufacturing cost. Whenever a soldier deserted from his unit he had no trouble selling as much military equipment as he was able to take with him.

Not only did the prostitutes living in the caves near the first fort deal almost exclusively with stolen military equipment in place of cash, but later many of these same people moved into vacant quarters on the post of the third fort only to continue their same operations. In 1867, Commander William B. Lane ordered an inspection of the star fortification to determine the necessity of completely destroying it. The report revealed:

> The Old Post or Earthwork, consists of three rows of partially underground frame structures in a very delapidated state, fast falling to decay and ruin /Portions of them are/ occupied by citizens Employed in the Depot Quartermaster's Department who have Mexican women whom they represent to be their wives ..../Besides the quartermaster's employees and their consorts, there are/ a lot of Mexicans and unknown Americans harbored around these buildings-Gambling, Drinking and Prostitution seem to be the principal use to which many of the rooms are appropriated,--and soldiers of the garrison are enticed and harbored there to carouse all night. To such an extent have these orgies been carried on, drinking and fighting at all hours of the night, that the Guard have been compelled to make a descent upon and

arrest the inmates and conduct them beyond the Military reservation and forbid them to return.... No doubt deserters are harbored in these places, and schemes concocted to Rob the Government.[1]

In addition to these statements concerning the underground star fortification and the new use of the abandoned rooms, the report went on to list some of the unauthorized persons then living there. These included:

2 Rooms occupied by a carpenter in Depot Qm. Dept. Mexican woman Pictures of Rebel Generals & indecent subjects.

2 Rooms occupied by Painter in Depot Qm. Dept. 2 Mexican women.

3 Rooms occupied by Tinner in Depot Qm. Dept. 2 Mex. women & 1 Man Pictures of Rebel Generals.

2 Rooms occupied by a woman kept by a Mr. Magruder, Clk. in Sutlers Store--others in rooms.

1 Room occupied by a Colored woman.

2 Rooms occupied by One Muggins, in Depot Qm. Dept. had a Mex. woman.

2 Rooms occupied by a Printer, in Depot Qm. Dept. has a Mex. woman.

1 Room occupied by a Carpenter in Depot Qm. Dept. 2 men and two Mex. Women.

2 Rooms occupied by Taylor /sic/ - 2 men & ? women Mex.

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1 Room occupied by five Mexican men, have no occupation? Mex. Woman, Gambling.

1 Room occupied by Teamster in Depot QMD 1 Mex Woman.

1 Room occupied by Mexican and woman.[2]

On the basis of this report, Colonel Lane had the star fort destroyed thereby eliminating one source of crime at the post.

In speaking of the type of soldier at the post, Sergeant Neihaus said that many of them joined the army because of misdemeanors at home. They swore often, and character-wise some were good but some were very bad. Although the officers tried to help the enlisted men to become better soldiers, and in many instances they were successful, still the relationship between enlisted men and officers was only fair. Neihaus also mentioned that discipline at Fort Union was also only fair.[3] He recalled that one man was caught stealing, and that another was caught and sentenced for stabbing an army mule in the stomach. Neihaus personally took this second man to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth where he served his time for this crime.[4]

The taking of horses, cows, and mules was a very serious crime, but it happened frequently at Fort Union. Aubrey Lippincott remembers that one night two men attempted to steal his father's two horses, Tim and John, by sawing through the bars in their backyard. After this unsuccessful attempt, Major Lippincott placed barbed wire over his back gate to foil future attempts.[5]

The Santa Fe Gazette published some correspondence on the stealing of horses near Fort Union in 1867. The article called on the army and the civilian authorities near the post to stop the desperadoes and horse thieves who found it easy to hide in sparsely settled country like New Mexico. The correspondent then published a reward

notice which read:

$1,000 REWARD

The above will be paid by me for the conviction and summary punishment of the party or parties who, on the night of March 13, 1867, stole two private and one government mule, from the stable near the post at Fort Union.

Description

A dark bay mare, five years old, with a white star on the forehead, a black mane and tail, about 14 hands high....[6]

Sometimes robberies were committed only a short distance from the post such as the time a wagon driver was held up near the post garden. The driver had recently been paid, and it was reported that he probably was drunk at the time. It was believed that some deserters posing as highwaymen had overpowered this driver and had stolen all his money, the wagon, two mules, and the harness.[7]

There were a number of horse thieves and robbers in the vicinity of Fort Union, and one of the duties of the army was to apprehend these men so that they might be tried by civilian authorities. William Coe was the leader of a gang of desperadoes who operated near Fort Union and stole government wagons, horses, mules, and cattle. When some of the Fort Union soldiers were on patrol looking for Coe, they received word that he was to be found at the Emory Ranch. Quickly returning to this ranch which they had recently left, they captured Coe and turned him over to civilian authorities for trial in Pueblo, Colorado Territory. Before his trial,

some vigilantes from that community took Coe from his cell and hanged him.[8]

In the early 1870's there were two highwaymen who operated in the vicinity of Cimarron, New Mexico. These men were successful enough in their profession to have made the citizens of Cimarron post a $1200. reward for their capture-dead or alive. These robbers known as Taylor and Burns, went to a small community known as Loma Chiquita preparing to steal a horse. Hoping to collect the Cimarron reward were two men from Ute Creek known as McCurdy and Stewart. Having previously known the two thieves, and learning that these men were in Loma Chiquita, McCurdy and Stewart went to this town and conspired with the robbers to steal a horse near Fort Union. The four men went to Collier's Station, about six miles from Fort Union, where they prepared to spend the night. Seizing the opportunity for which they had been waiting, McCurdy shot Taylor through the forehead as he laid down to rest beside the fire, and Stewart killed Burns. The next day McCurdy and Stewart went to Mr. Ames' Ranch on the Ocate and borrowed a wagon to take their victims to Cimarron where they collected their handsome reward.[9]

In March, 1863, the post commander organized a board of survey to convene to investigate a robbery. Someone had cut a hole in the wall of one of the storehouses and had stolen three hundred pounds of flour, three barrels of bourbon whiskey (120 gallons), and one barrel of copper distilled whiskey (40 gallons). After the board had carefully deliber-

ated the case, they decided that Captain Asa B. Carey who was in charge of the warehouse, should not be held responsible for the loss.[10]

Sometimes thefts occurred or substitutes were made in commissary items before they reached the post. It was common for teamsters to empty whiskey barrels by boring a small hole under the barrel hoop and drawing off the contents through a straw. They would then refill the barrel with water, seal the hole, and replace the hoop. This feat would never cease to amaze the commissary officers, especially when they were called upon by their commanding officers to explain their shortage. One commissary officer received a box labeled 49 lbs. of tobacco, and when he opened it he found six bricks.[11]

Sometimes the soldiers would steal from one another, and then use the money to buy liquor or pay gambling debts. At other times, they would hold grudges against some of their comrades and then get even with them by stealing from them. Private W. Featherly of Troop L, 8th Cavalry wanted to know what happened to his Sharp's Improved Carbine taken from him in July, 1871. Evidently, one of his comrades relieved Featherly of this weapon, but to avoid being caught, was forced to hide it where it would not be found. Private Featherly never found his weapon, but it was excavated from one of the privies by the National Park Service in 1957.[12]

In conjunction with some of these robberies, there were murders which took place on and even away from the post.

Whenever possible, the post commanding officers liked to aid the civil authorities by apprehending criminals and holding them in the military prison until they could be transported to a nearby town for trial. Sometimes these men had their trial and met their justice long before they ever reached town.

Lynchings and Shootings

Mrs. Boyd wrote about an incident which began for her when she and her husband were horseback riding in the Turkey Mountains near the post. During the course of their ride, they encountered two dangerous looking men riding toward them. The two passed without speaking, but the men appeared ready to use their side arms. Fortunately, no incident occurred, but when the Boyds returned to the garrison they learned that these same two men had recently murdered one of the soldiers. This man who was killed was a messenger who carried mail between the garrison and the arsenal which is a distance of about one mile. The two killers had murdered him about fifteen hundred yards from the post, and his horse, which they had unsuccessfully tried to catch, galloped into the arsenal thereby alerting everyone to the murder. When the body of the messenger was discovered, the two murderers were still in sight riding toward the Turkey Mountains where they had passed the Boyds. The soldiers quickly organized a party, apprehended the criminals, and placed them in the post prison.[13] When Colonel Boyd returned to Fort Union, he saw the two men,

both of whom he recognized from his ride in the mountains.

That evening the civil authorities went to Fort Union to demand the prisoners be turned over to them for trial. In compliance with the sheriff's request, Commander Lane released his captives even though the killers pleaded to remain in the guard house. When the sheriff marched away with the prisoners, the angry crowd grew in numbers but had remained silent and passive until the party had reached the edge of the military reservation. Suddenly, the group overpowered the sheriff who offered little or no resistence. Coils of rope were produced and in just a few minutes the bodies of these murderers dangled from a telegraph pole and remained there for several days as a warning of the swift justice which might await future horse thieves and murderers.[14]

During the Civil War, there were numerous troops and civilians stationed at Fort Union numbering close to two thousand at one time. With all of these men living in close quarters with one another, crime increased in proportion to the growing numbers of residents. The whiskey sold to these men by the post sutler was of no small consequence in causing a number of these crimes. One evening, Sergeant Fillbrook of Company K, Colorado Volunteers, became intoxicated in the sutler's store. Lieutenant J. Grey of Company B, ordered Fillbrook to return to his quarters, but the sergeant refused. Just as Grey turned to call the guard to arrest him, Fillbrook fired his pistol but the bullet missed the lieutenant. The sergeant's second shot struck Grey

squarely between the eyes, but instead of entering his head, the ball glanced downward toward the floor. Grey was fortunate to be able to recover from such an encounter at close range, but Fillbrook stood trial for his actions. Although the court martial findings were kept secret, and sources do not reveal the outcome for this case, many garrison people then believed that the court had recommended the death penalty subject to Colonel E. R. S. Canby's approval.[15]

Other such murders at the post would have to be attributed to intoxication or insanity. One such homicide involved a soldier of the 3rd Cavalry by the name of Lanaghan who was highly inebriated in the vicinity of the officers' quarters. Lanaghan asked one of the Spanish-American salesmen to enter one of the buildings so the soldier could buy some eggs. Once inside, Lanaghan commenced breaking the eggs even though one of his soldier comrades pleaded with him to stop destroying the salesman's property without paying for it. Lanaghan then ordered the peddler to immediately leave the house and followed him to the back gate using his revolver to back up his demands. At this point, he shot the salesman through the back of his head; the ball severed a main artery and exited through the mouth.[16] Although Lanaghan was tried for the salesman's death, sources fail to indicate the results of his trial.

Sometimes murderers and those who had committed lesser crimes would go to Fort Union and seek employment in order to escape the civil authorities. A Negro by the name of

Logwood and his companion murdered a sheep herder in Lincoln County. Just about the time they were driving the sheep to their camp, the sheriff caught them and placed the pair in the Lincoln County jail. When some soldiers from Fort Stanton stormed the jail and hanged another prisoner who had murdered one of their comrades, Logwood managed to escape during the confusion. Logwood managed to make his way to Fort Union where he was employed, but the Lincoln sheriff found that his man was working at the post and went there to arrest him and return the prisoner to Lincoln.[17]

Shootings and homicides were more common during this period than they are today. Fort Union records contain many incidents where men were killed for their money, property, or even because of the color of their skin. Although some of these murders were recorded and their murderers were brought to justice, others were known only to those who committed the deed. Such as the unrecorded case when four men were murdered and buried in shallow graves close to the post. Their graves were not discovered until some construction began there in 1958, and later tests revealed that all of them had met violent deaths during the time Fort Union was in operation. The motive and other details of their murder is still a mystery.

Over the Plains

Many men enlisted in the army to be soldiers and thus avoid the work they normally did in civilian life. They wanted to drill, ride, train, and fight, but in too many

cases they were put to work digging trees and ditches, building and repairing quarters, and cutting wood. Many of the recruits became disgusted with this type of army life and after their first pay, they deserted. Then, as today, it was known to the soldiers as going over the hill.[18]

Desertion was a very serious problem for the army, and it was hard pressed to stop this crime on the thinly populated frontier. Every man, regardless if he was a deserter or not, was welcomed into the towns where he was looked upon by the residents as an asset to the community. Because of the routine and monotonous conditions at the posts, as well as the opportunity he had to settle in nearly any of the frontier communities, it is astonishing that more soldiers did not desert to take up a more rewarding and profitable life elsewhere on the frontier. During the Civil War a private was paid sixteen dollars a month, but later this was reduced to thirteen dollars thus causing many more desertions than had previously taken place.

According to a report by Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War in 1884, over one-eighth of the men in the regular United States Army deserted during 1883.[19] An article appearing in a Washington newspaper, which was read by some of the soldiers at Fort Union, said that there was no reason for the men to desert from the army. The Fort Union correspondent who wrote under the name of "Mars" read this article and commented that nine out of ten men who deserted did so because they joined the army to be soldiers and not laborers.

"Mars" interviewed a number of Fort Union deserters who had been captured and they all told him that they had enlisted to carry a gun and not to wield a pick and shovel. They had joined the army to be soldiers and not "flunky laborers."[20]

Captain George Frederic Price of the 5th Cavalry recorded his feelings on desertion stating that:

> my experience is less than 50% of our cavalry men have a fair chance to be instructed in their duties. They are often in logging camps, making adobes, constructing quarters, building telegraph lines, opening wagon roads, etc.
>
> During these periods of manual labor they rarely have a mounted drill or mounted inspection while in some instances the target practice allowed is had after recall from fatigue. We cannot expect to have first class cavalry under such circumstances. We need more mounted exercises in cavalry such as leaping bars, jumping ditches, swimming rivers, sabre exercise, target practice & cavalry school of instruction, where officers and men may be educated in all the essentials of the mounted service.[21]

One of the soldiers from Fort Yates, Dakota Territory wrote a letter to his local newspaper explaining why his comrades were deserting, if not justifying their actions in doing so. Many of the conditions were similar to those at Fort Union, and he recorded that:

> a great many deserted from this post last year. It was always a question what was the cause of it. So long as a soldier is rushed with hard labor, so soon as he enlists with pick & shovel and compelled to work from daylight till dark, digging ditches, working in saw mills, doing drudgery for officers and being abused by them, they are going to desert. The greatest number of soldiers at this post are continually at such labor.

> Some are sent from this post with tents to the woods to remain there & chop wood, no matter how cold or severe the weather is. There is no way of cooking a meal, so a piece of frozen bread has to answer for one. Is not a soldier compelled to desert under such treatment? When will the eyes of Uncle Sam be opened to see the real cause for desertion.
>
> A lad comes into the army to soldier, not to labor from one week's end to the other with pick & shovel.[22]

Sometimes soldiers who had deserted from other posts were apprehended in the vicinity of Fort Union and then held in the post's military prison. Private Charles Chambers deserted from Fort Wingate, but he was captured in East Las Vegas in the spring of 1889 and lodged in the Fort Union prison until his commanding officer could be notified.[23] There were many captured deserters temporarily detained at Fort Union indicating a very high rate of desertion from posts in New Mexico.

When a deserter was captured he could face a multitude of punishments ranging from several years in the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth to death. Most of the men who deserted served from one year to five years when they were captured. One of the pre-Civil War ceremonies for deserters seems rather harsh; however, it did not involve serving a long prison term. The deserter forfeited all his pay and allowances due him. He had his head shaved, and he was branded on the right hip with the letter D which was one and a half inches high. He then received fifty lashes on his bare back with a raw hide whip. After the buttons were removed from his uniform, the band played an appro-

priate tune such as the "Rogue's March" as he was escorted away from the garrison.[24]

In some instances it took many years to find deserters but even so, when they were found, they were sentenced and imprisoned. One soldier, known only as Kelly "the bum," deserted from the Thirteenth Infantry at Fort Union in 1876 and went to work in a Santa Fe dance hall as a "rustler." When it was discovered in 1881 that he had deserted from Fort Union five years before, he was arrested by the military authorities. The Fort Union correspondent believed that his sentence would be two years in prison at Fort Leavenworth.[25]

One of the desertions at Fort Union brought a temporary halt to the barber shop which was then in operation in Company C Barracks. Private James F. Sweeney and Corporal Henry Grady were partners in this enterprise in 1884. Sweeney deserted and took with him some of Grady's barbering equipment including one pair of hair trimming shears and four razors. Fortunately for Grady, Sweeney was later apprehended in Black's Saloon in Watrous just south of the post.[26]

There was one other way in which soldiers could show their displeasure for army life other than deserting, and this was by revolting. Some of the soldiers in one company of volunteers at Fort Union in 1862 did revolt because they failed to get the clothes or pay which had been promised them. Colonel Gabriel Rene Paul, commander of the Fourth New Mexico Infantry, quickly stopped this revolt at Fort Union, almost as quickly as it had started.[27]

Desertion was not the only way in which a soldier could be released from the army. Sometimes political

influence with the United States Army was the best avenue of approach. Samuel E. Davis of Company E, 234th Infantry, was an educated and intelligent young man who in some way had become convinced that he should join the army. In time, his affection for this newly adopted organization waned, and he realized that he was wasting his time on the frontier. Through the efforts of his father he was able to obtain a discharge well short of his five year enlistment period.[28]

The manner in which Private Chrstian Bartholomus obtained his discharge was quite unique. He was one of many soldiers of German extraction who served at Fort Union before the Civil War. Bartholomus was also one of a number of soldiers who joined the United States after coming from abroad and then using their nationality as an excuse to obtain a discharge.

Private Bartholomus' scheme to obtain his discharge began with a number of articles written for German newspapers notifying one Christian Bartholomus that one of his relatives had died, and that he should report to a certain place at a certain time to claim his inheritance. The stipulation was that he would have to appear in person to legally take possession of this fortune.

When these articles were printed in Germany, he had a friend clip and send them to him in the United States. Bartholomus then sent these notices with a very pathetic letter to the Consul of Saxe Weimar in St. Louis, Missouri. In his letter he stated that he had been tricked into joining the army because of his lack of knowledge of English, and that he now desired a discharge in order to settle his

legal affairs in Germany.

The Consul forwarded Christian's request and the notices to the War Department in Washington, D. C., and in turn John B. Floyd, the Secretary of War issued his discharge to the Consul in St. Louis. Bartholomus was then granted leave from Fort Union to travel to St. Louis where the Consul issued his discharge to him.

Major John S. Simonson, the Fort Union commanding officer, quickly realized this fraud, but only after Bartholomus had left the post. He reported that Bartholomus had seduced the wife of Private Henry Ebert who was his fellow bandsman as well as his fellow countryman. Mrs. Ebert, the mother of two small children, then robbed her husband of valuable papers and followed her lover, Christian Bartholomus, to St. Louis just about a week after he left. She not only deserted her husband, but her two children as well. For all of his planning, Christian Bartholomus not only received his discharge, but he also obtained some valuable papers and a future wife.[29] Private Bartholomus and at least nine others of foreign extraction were known to have been discharged from the United States Army in this clever manner.[30]

Barracks Thirteen

The military prison at Fort Union consisted of a stone cell block containing ten single cells with no way for a prisoner to look into any of the other cells. Each cell had a heavy wooden cell door with only three small triangles near the center and three small holes at the bottom to permit light and ventilation, including heat. The inner cell block

was enclosed by an outer adobe building which had windows and shutters. Completed by mid-June 1868, because so many prisoners were escaping from the guard house, the new military prison was known as barracks thirteen by the enlisted men. Here the army housed military deserters, thieves, and murderers, as well as civilian criminals who were to be bound over to local authorities for trial. When the prison became filled with army prisoners, the inmates were escorted to the United States Military Prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, after it was established in 1874.

Fort Leavenworth was an austere institution where strict discipline prevailed. Here, the prisoners supplied many items for the army such as shoes, cooking utensils, and harnesses. Although the convicts were not paid for their labor while at Fort Leavenworth, they were each given five dollars upon their release as a start for their new life.[31]

The more troublesome Fort Union prisoners were chained in their cells. Private Oliver Britton once escaped from the military prison, and when he was recaptured, the authorities made sure he would not escape again by placing him in chains for the next three years. Chaining a prisoner consisted of either fastening him to a ring in his cell wall or placing a shackle around his leg with a chain and heavy ball attached.[32]

Some of the prisoners bitterly complained about the chaining process, and in 1871, one of the post surgeons investigated the prisoners' charges. This physician checked on some of the numerous complaints such as the shackles being too tight as well as too heavy, of the inside links

and shackles rubbing the prisoners' legs, and of the attached ball being much too heavy. If indeed the surgeon did take any action on his findings, his recommendations are not to be found in his later reports.[33]

Private Silver, for some undisclosed crime, was sentenced to serve twenty-one days in prison. During this time he was placed in irons except for a three-hour daily exercise period. Contrary to the routine of most of the other prisoners, he was not permitted to leave the prison under guard to clean litter and debris around the garrison. Silver received the regular prison meals with the exception of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays when he was given only bread and water.[34]

Brevet Brigadier General John R. Brooke, the post commander in July, 1868, had the dubious distinction of having the first prisoners escape from his newly completed military prison. The new "stone prison" was ready for occupants about June 15, 1868, and eight days later two prisoners escaped. Hamilton Hardinger, Company C, 37th Infantry, asked to visit the latrine in the rear of the prison. As he was leaving this structure, he rushed past the guard and into the darkness failing to stop even though he was fired upon. The other prisoner to escape was Wilbur C. Ellis of the same company and regiment, who was in solitary confinement. Commander Brooke recorded that Ellis had the reputation of being adept at burglary and house-breaking and:

> ....It is thought in some manner he became possessed of a skeleton key, fitting to the lock of his cell and through some unknown

> contrivance succeeded in opening his cell door, which was both locked and bolted and at the moment the sentry's back was turned on his post, and aided by the darkness eluded the vigilance of the sentinel and escaped....Since the escape of these men most stringent orders have been given in regard to the confinement of the others.[35]

As was customary, the officers in the Medical Department kept records on the post prison and occasionally examined the prisoners and made recommendations to the commanding officer concerning their welfare. Throughout Fort Union's history, many commanding officers pleaded with their superiors to be allowed to send additional prisoners to Fort Leavenworth to alleviate the crowded conditions at the post. The military prison had ten cells, each designed for two men. In January of 1888, the post surgeon's report revealed that the minimum number of prisoners that month was eight and the maximum was thirty-six or nearly double its capacity.[36] With the increased number of prisoners, the commanders had to detail extra men as guards thereby cutting the effective post strength. In addition to this problem, these commanders greatly feared having to explain to their superiors in Santa Fe and Washington just why so many of their prisoners were escaping from one of the finest maximum security prisons in the territory.

In its long history of newspaper reporters, Fort Union had one reporter who probably spent more time inside a prison cell as a prisoner than any other soldier. His name was Charles J. Scullin, and he wrote under the pen name of "Mars." Based on his first hand knowledge, Scullin wrote many articles condemning the treatment his enlisted comrades

received in the military prison. He even went so far as to write a book, A Soldier's Wooing, which was supposedly sent to the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Upon writing this company, this author was informed that the company had no record of such a manuscript ever having been received.[37]

In another of Scullin's articles which he managed to have printed in the Las Vegas Daily Optic, he accused the the commanding officers, Lieutenant Colonel Henry R. Mizner, of having revoked the privilege of the prisoners to have writing materials, reading matter, or tobacco in their possession. Since Scullin realized that this directive was imposed to stop his highly critical letters from reaching the local newspapers, he suggested that the commanding officer could limit the letters the prisoners sent and received, but that he should never eliminate this privilege.[38]

One week later, Scullin wrote that:

> a soldier's life is a dismal, thankless one to say the least, & there should not be any extra endeavor on the part of a proud haughty officer, no matter what his rank many be, to eliminate all the sunny spot there from.[39]

There were three soldiers imprisoned at Fort Union for violating the 32nd and 33rd articles of war which encompassed unauthorized leave of absence and sleeping out of quarters. Scullin reported that their penalty was nine days' confinement in the military prison; the first six of which were under hard labor. During the last three days of their sentence the men were to carry knapsacks filled with bricks and march up and down in front of the

guard house from sunrise to sunset except for one hour allowed for meals. Upon later reflection, the commanding officer remitted the knapsack portion of the sentence.[40]

Scullin's original crime was desertion for a period of nearly two and a half weeks after which he claimed he really had no intention of deserting. During the course of his trial, he wrote a most convincing letter saying that he met "convivial companions" in Watrous who convinced him to go with them to Las Vegas to better enjoy themselves. Scullin claimed that under the influence of liquor he did not realize what he was doing, and that now he wanted to re-establish his character that he had so recklessly lost. In his closing plea he asked permission of the court to allow him to regain this self respect, and he also asked for mercy at their hands.[41] The court sentenced him to one year and a dishonorable discharge, but this was reduced to nine months hard labor at the post.

It was during this first imprisonment that he wrote his articles on writing materials, tobacco, and the haughtiness of the commanding officer. Nearly one year after his imprisonment, which had evidently been extended, he escaped and went to Wagon Mound, New Mexico about twenty miles to the northeast of Fort Union, where he was re-captured by Sergeant Cullinan and his men a short time later. Even during this second imprisonment, he was able to continue writing articles for the Optic. In spite of all the efforts of the commanding officer to stop his literary efforts, Scullin continued to smuggle these commentaries from his cell to the Las Vegas newspapers.[42]

By the next month, February 1886, Scullin was once again producing his scathing articles from his prison cell. He said that regulations at Fort Union were similar to the Spanish Inquisition and that the commanding officer still did not allow reading material, writing material or tobacco for the prisoners. He continued his article on prison life saying that:

> One man wears a pair of double iron shackles, welded tightly to his ankles, with two links of steel between them, and a chain of immense weight is fastened to them & then soldered to a ring in the wall. He has been in this position for over a month & the iron shackles have worn fully a half inch into his flesh. The CO (modern inquisitor) refuses to do anything to remedy this shameful abuse. Another is confined for 22 hours a day in a dark, damp, dismal cell, that suggests the French bastille....[43]

Food for the prisoners was served on the floor, and the men had to sit on the damp, cold and slimy stones to eat their meager meals. Scullin asked in another of his articles if the officials at Fort Union had marched with the advance of civilization. At least one of his articles did not reach the Las Vegas papers, for Scullin mentioned that his previous letters were silenced with "brutality and tyranny."[44]

Colonel Henry Douglas, Fort Union's commander between 1885 and 1888, decided that it would be in the best interest of everyone including his army career to transfer Scullin to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth. He wrote a letter to his superior asking permission to do this saying that the prisoner had been tried for desertion three times,

and that while he was awaiting his sentence for the second desertion, he assaulted the guard and again escaped. Douglas went on to say that:

> ...he is somewhat of a newspaper sharp and manages to send articles to the newspapers not very complimentary to the authorities here in spite of all precautions.
>
> My reasons for asking for authority to send these convicts at once to Fort Leavenworth is that on account of scarcity of men and insecurity of Guard House. I have to take extraordinary precautions to prevent their escape. They have confederates outside of the Guard House, and are from time to time provided with files, knives, watch spring saws, and other Jail Birds tools, and are constantly on the 'qui vive' for a chance to escape, and are a continual source of anxiety lest they should, in spite of all precautions, effect it.
>
> It would be a great relief to us here if authority asked could be consistently granted.[45]

Charles McMann was the type of soldier all commanding officers dreaded would some day be stationed at their posts. Not only was McMann a deserter and a horse thief, but he was also the type of soldier a commander would do almost anything to eliminate from the ranks. In fact, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Henry A. Ellis, the Fort Union commander in 1875, once lifted a sentence against McMann just so that he could be transferred to Fort Lyon, Colorado. Shortly, after McMann left, the commander discovered his mistake and immediately wrote a letter to the Fort Lyon commander asking to once again press the charges against this prisoner which he had dropped. His reason was that shortly after McMann left Fort Union it was discovered that he had done a great deal of damage to government property, and that he had drawn

an enormous amount of clothing and then sold it. Ellis estimated that the cost of damage combined with that of the clothing could not be replaced with one year's labor. McMann's madness is shown in the fact that when he left for Fort Lyon he threatened to some day return to Fort Union just to murder some of the officers' children.[46]

According to Ellis' request, Charles McMann was returned to Fort Union from Fort Lyon to begin serving his time in the military prison. Actually, Ellis made a mistake in requesting McMann return to Fort Union, and from that time forward he was to regret this action.

During the next month and a half, Charles McMann became so unmanageable that Ellis ordered him placed in irons in the military prison. The Adjutant General, Department of Missouri, learned about McMann and wrote to Ellis asking why it was necessary to place this prisoner in irons. In answer to this question, Ellis replied:

> I have the honor to acknowledge receipt a few moments since of communication from Head Qrs. Department of Missouri dated October 6th, 1875 calling for a report of facts in the case of prisoner Charles McMann particularly as to the necessity of ironing him.
>
> This man is of gigantic physical strength, a horse thief, deserter, Sneak thief and hypocritical scoundrel in general.
>
> His career during this past year that I have been at this Post, notwithstanding the fact that he has been a prisoner has been one of drunkedness violence and crime.
>
> With few exceptions the enlisted men of the Post were completely cowed by him.

When he desired to leave the Post, which he did from several days to several weeks at a time, he did so without leave or hindrance, on several occasions breaking his way through the wall sometimes of the Guard House sometime of the Military Prison and escaping in that manner.

Just previous to the departure of Major Alexander and the cavalry companies at this post he /McMann/ broke through the walls of the Military Prison and partly succeeded in breaking down the wall of the Cavalry corral apperaiently /sic/ endeavoring to Steal horses, not succeeding in this he left the Post unhindered.

At about Revielle Major Alexander Commanding, had a company of Cavalry mounted under command of Capt. Young and I heard him express his determination to pursue, Capture and kill McMann. It was not done however, why, I do not know.

A few days after Major Alexander left for Texas, McMann came back into the Post with an insolent swagger and delivered himself up.

A few nights afterwards he broke through the side of the Guard House and again escaped.

At daylight, the ground being soft, I struck his trail and sent a Sergeant and some mounted men in pursuit. They captured him at a Mexican town some ten miles from here in a state of semi-nudity, he having sold his clothes. He was brought back to the Post when he attacked and nearly succeeded in overpowering the entire Guard, and would have done so had he not been brought to submit by repeated blows by the butt end of their pieces.

A few days after this, the Sergeant of the Guard reported to me, that he had escaped from a Sentinel while cutting wood in the Officers yards, search was instituted but he could not be found, that night between ten and twelve o'clock the Post was startled by most frightful yells. The guard was turned out

and McMann was discovered near the Traders Store executing a war dance and swearing vengeance upon the Officers and men of this Post. On the approach of the Guard he attacked them in a savage manner but patience has ceased to be a virtue with the long suffering men of this Garrison and he was promptly pulpified into quiet and placed in a cell.

The next morning before Revielle he again aroused the Post by his diabolic yells, as his great strength prevented a sufficient number of men from entering the cell to iron him, he was again pulpified into silence. Violent conduct and brutal threats toward ladies and children of this Post and his publicly expressed determination to set fire to the Quarters and Stables of the Post Surgeon, the Stables and Hayricks of the Depot, Quartermasters, and to murder myself and Dr. Gardner immediately upon release from confinement I concluded to securely Iron him to prevent his carrying out his threats.

Capt. Kimball, A. Q. M. at this Post sent a Citizen Blacksmith to do the work of telling him in my presence that if McMann succeeded in getting the irons off he would immediately discharge him from his employ.

McMann became very abusive when getting measured for his Manacles threatening me with vengeance of his friend, General Pope and stating that I did not dare to put irons on him, that no Commanding Officer had dared to, that he would cut off any irons I could put on him with much more language of a similar nature, all this in sight and hearing of the Guard.

When the irons were made they were brought to my Quarters and examined and approved by Dr. Gardner, the Post Surgeon, and his assistant, Dr. McLain.

I instructed to have them put on the Prisoner the next day, but that evening just after Retreat Dr. Gardner came to my quarters and earnestly reccommended that they be put on immediately as he had been told

McMann intended to break out of the Guard House that night and put his threats of murder and arson into execution. The irons were at once put on by candlelight.

Some two days afterwards he went on Sick Report and Dr. McLain informed me that he was endeavoring to get an inflamatory action set up in his hands by causing the irons to fall with undue pressure upon his wrists. I asked if the irons should be removed, to which the Doctor answered, 'decidedly not,' when he found he could not humbug the doctor here as he boasted of having repeatedly done at other Posts telling the men that Doctors & Chaplains were his pet game no more complaints were heard from him.

A few days afterwards while passing the Guard House, I met him going to the rear with one hand he drew a pocket hand-kerchief from his pocket and waved it at me in a insolent manner, at the same time placing the thumb of the other hand upon his nose, he gyrated the rest of his fingers into the air in a manner usually intended to be particularly exasperating.

I merely mention this latter circumstance to show that the sturdy vagabond did not seem to be at all inconvenienced by the weight of his irons.

The above are but samples of his every day life while at this post.

When the Dept. Commander was here a few weeks since, I fully informed him of most if not all of the preceding facts, also told him of the ridiculous claim of intimacy with him set up by McMann and requested he be taken from the Post and sent to the Military Prison at Leavenworth. The commanding General took notes appeariently of my conversation upon the back of an Official Envelope, and promised compliance with my request.

> I think this man's character has been sufficiently made plain, and on several occasions Butcher Knives, files, duplicate keyes of the prison Locks and duplicate keys of Patent Shackles have been taken from his person and from among his blankets. I, myself, discovered and removed a large axe...[47]

Presumably Charles McMann was transferred to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth or, more logically, to the army insane asylum in Washington, D. C. where this type of soldier was usually sent.

As in other posts in the Southwest, Fort Union had its share of soldiers who committed all of the crimes found in any of the surrounding towns. Loma Parda was an added source of concern to the commanding officers not only because of disease, but also because of the robberies, shootings, and murders there committed by and upon the soldiers. When a soldier decided to desert his unit, he was always welcomed in Loma Parda as well as in almost any of the frontier towns. Although most of Fort Union is today in ruins, the ten cells of barracks thirteen are still in excellent condition. Although handicapped with its many problem prisoners, Fort Union still managed to maintain a stabilizing influence on New Mexico's frontier.

Chapter VIII

FOOTNOTES

[1]Chris Emmett, Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 332-333.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Neihaus, Questionnaire.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Lippincott, Interview.

[6]Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, March 23, 1867.

[7]Arrott Collection, July 15, 1871.

[8]J. Evetts Haley, Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1936), pp. 222-224.

[9]The Republican Review /Albuquerque, New Mexico/, November 4, 1871.

[10]Arrott Collection, March 30, 1863.

[11]Ibid., July 10, 1871.

[12]Fort Union catalog number 400, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[13]Boyd, op. cit., pp. 207-209.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Rocky Mountain News /Denver, Colorado/ April 4, 1862.

[16]Ibid., July 7, 1869.

[17]Optic, October 2, 1883.

[18]Lippincott, Interview.

[19] Optic, January 8, 1884.

[20] Ibid., February 25, 1885.

[21] Ibid., January 11, 1884.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Arrott Collection, May 5, 1889.

[24] James A. Bennett, Forts and Forays, a diary edited by Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reave (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), p. 38.

[25] Daily Gazette, July 15, 1881.

[26] National Archives Record Group 153, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Department, Registry of Trials by General Courts Martial, RR-SS, 1884-1890, Box 15, RR #897.

[27] War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Communication from Colonel E. R. S. Canby to Adjutant General, IV, January 20, 1862, p. 86.

[28] Optic, January 28, 1884.

29 Emmett, op. cit., pp. 228-230.

[30] Woodward, op. cit., p. 171.

[31] Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 178.

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[32] Reiter, op. cit., p. 144. These balls weighed approximately twenty-five pounds each.

[33] Arrott Collection, Medical History, June 17, 1871.

[34] Ibid., October 9, 1890.

[35] Arrott Collection, July 2, 1868.

[36] Medical History, Volume 53, op. cit., January, 1888.

[37] Optic, March 5, 1886.

[38] Ibid., February 10, 1885.

[39] Ibid., February 17, 1885.

[40] Ibid., March 26, 1885.

[41] National Archives Record Group 153, Registry of Trials by General Courts Martial, op. cit., RR numbers 897 and 7639.

[42] Daily Gazette, January 28, 1886.

[43] Optic, February 26, 1886.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Arrott Collection, March 3, 1886.

[46] Ibid., August 28, 1875.

[47] Ibid., October 23, 1875.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOSPITAL

Disease

There were two hospitals at Fort Union--one at the first fort and one at the third fort. Although the first hospital was small as compared with the second, it served a useful purpose. The third hospital accommodated thirty-six patients comfortably, but could be expanded to house many more in case of epidemic. Not only army personnel used this facility, but civilians in need of medical services were also welcome.

The hospital staff was in charge of all sanitary conditions at the post, such as the water supply and latrines. Health of the prisoners, and even details such as the number of baths the enlisted men took were under medical supervision. Besides these duties, the staff recorded the wind direction, maximum and minimum temperatures, and the amount of rain and snow.

In the United States Army, there were three types of physicians. The first was the surgeon who ranked with majors of the line. Second, came assistant surgeons ranking with line captains. Third, were the acting assistant surgeons who were usually civilians working for the army under contract. According to Sergeant Neihaus, there was a citizen physician assigned to his unit while it was stationed at the garrison, but he did not accompany it when on campaign.[1]

The surgeons and assistant surgeons who served at Fort Union were a part of the Medical Department. For this reason, they did not transfer with the infantry, cavalry,

or artillery units, but rather these physicians transferred independently of these units.

Although the surgeons and assistant surgeons were officers, they usually had the welfare of the enlisted men at heart. As part of their regular duties, they attempted to upgrade the food the enlisted men ate, saw that company quarters were comfortable and that water supply and sanitary facilities were as modern as possible, and regularly checked to see that even the prisoners received proper treatment.

The soldiers received free medical treatment, but the civilians, such as those travelers using the Santa Fe Trail and the citizens living close to the post, could use the hospital facilities if they paid for them. The cost ranged from fifteen cents to one dollar a day depending on ability to pay. Between January 1st and December 31st, 1878 a total of 428 civilians used Fort Union hospital.[2]

In his desire to improve the sanitary facilities of the enlisted men in 1872, the post surgeon asked the commanding officer to build a bath house for the men. The surgeon wanted the men to have ten bath tubs and two additional tubs to be used only by those men who had syphilis. Until the building could be constructed, the doctor suggested that during warm weather the enlisted men be marched down to Coyote Creek below the post and be made to wash themselves thoroughly.[3]

Syphilis was one disease, common to soldiers and civilians alike, which the post physicians treated. There were two classifications of syphilis--primary and constitutional. Those soldiers with primary syphilis who were not well enough to join their troop, were either assigned to the post

garden or to the hospital as nurses. The soldiers who had reached the constitutional stage or who did not respond to treatment for their disease, were discharged from the army.[4]

In 1877, smallpox was prevalent at Fort Union. Although all of the enlisted men had been vaccinated against this disease, the post surgeon re-vaccinated them during the epidemic. The same was also true for the officers, the officers' servants, and others at the post. During the epidemic, there were few deaths at the post, but 250 people died in Las Vegas, 134 succumbed in La Junta (Watrous), and nearly 300 perished in Mora.[5]

When there were epidemics of this nature, the post hospital could not accommodate all of the soldiers and civilians who needed its facilities. The post surgeon then had tents erected near the hospital for use of his extra patients. When the disease had run its course, these tents were burned to prevent spread of the disease. Major Henry Lippincott, the post surgeon during the later 1880's, became involved with a diphtheria epidemic at Fort Union. Knowing that he could easily transmit the disease to his family, he erected a tent in his backyard where he slept and took his meals for nearly a two-month period. During this time, he not only treated soldiers and civilians at the hospital, but he often drove his buckboard many miles from the post just to care for civilians who needed help during the epidemic.[6]

When surgeons were not able to cure some of the more difficult cases, they would send their patients elsewhere

for treatment. In the case of Fort Union, the surgeons sent them to the Montezuma Hotel near Las Vegas where they believed the hot mineral waters would help some of these men.[7] If this rest and treatment at the Montezuma proved ineffective, the enlisted men would be given a medical discharge.

When officers became ill or were injured in accidents, in the line of duty, they were permitted to go to their homes to recuperate. Chaplain La Tourrette was granted several leaves to go East to regain his health, and the Secretary of War once authorized him to take one year's leave to recuperate from his heart trouble. Lieutenant Thomas J. Clay became very ill at the post in 1885. He was granted permission to return to his home in Kentucky where he stayed for ten months while recovering from his illness.[8] With better medicine and more modern facilities, the post surgeons could have effected more rapid cures. When they were not able to do this, these physicians realized the psychological if not actual advantages in sending these patients to their homes for recovery.

Realizing that Fort Union would be abandoned in the later 1880's or early 1890's the War Department only allocated money for hospital and other repairs in emergencies. Slowly this facility, as with other buildings at the post, fell into a very sad state of repair in its final days. The army officially abandoned the post hospital on April 20, 1891.

When soldiers realized that they had an incurable disease, or when life at Fort Union seemed too unbearable,

some of them took their own lives. There were a number of soldiers who committed this form of self destruction near Fort Union, and some of the enlisted men who were reported as deserters had actually committed suicide and were never found.

Suicides

The drudgery and monotony of army life combined with the fact that a soldier had a five year enlistment before he could be discharged, made some of the soldiers believe that suicide was the only answer to their dilemma. The usual form of suicide was by use of their army weapons away from the post, but occasionally a soldier would shoot himself at the post.

Sergeant Francis Rinn of Company I, 23rd Infantry was considered by his fellows to be one of the more unstable soldiers at the post. Since he had very few friends, he found his consolation in alcohol. One Saturday evening, after a wild drinking spree in Tiptonville, he returned to the Company I orderly room and secluded himself in the storeroom section where he had planned to commit suicide. Using a mirror and a bull-dog revolver he was unsuccessful in two attempts to shoot himself in the head. Failing in this, he finally managed to shoot himself through the heart. His comrades did not learn of his death until the next morning at reveille. The army buried Sergeant Rinn in the post cemetery giving him full military honors.[9] The practice of giving military honors in the case of suicide is still followed today provided the man has served his country honorably up to the time of his death.

Private Patrick Murtagh, Company I, 10th Infantry was one of the Irish soldiers at Fort Union who had become increasingly disillusioned with army life. On Saint Patrick's day in 1885, far from his friends, he felt more remorseful than he had ever felt in his life. It was at this time he decided to commit suicide. Murtagh walked to a spot two miles south of Loma Parda where he sat down and took off one of his boots. Tying one end of a string to his toe and the other end to the trigger of his army rifle, he pointed the muzzle at his head. When he discharged the weapon, the bullet passed through the upper part of his neck and shattered his skull. His comrades did not find his body until the last day of March, and the following day they buried him in the post cemetery.[10] Even though most of the soldiers did commit suicide with firearms, this was not always the case. Using a popular form of suicide, Private Samuel R. Newman, Company F, 10th Infantry, mentioned earlier, took his life with opium. Although it could have been accidental, the opium combined with alcohol he had been drinking caused asphyxia while he was asleep. Newman, like the others who had committed suicide before him, was buried in the post cemetery.[11]

Several hundred soldiers and civilians died at Fort Union during its forty year history. Most of these were buried in the post cemetery. However, some were transported to their home towns for burial.

Funerals

One of the buildings attached to the third fort hospital was the dead house. To this building, the bodies of those who had died were taken for preparation before burial in the post cemetery. Embalming, a practice which became common with the military during the Civil War, was performed at Fort Union after 1865, if not before this time. When there was some question as to the true cause of death such as when soldiers died at Loma Parda, the post surgeon performed an autopsy.

The post cemetery was about one mile northwest of the first fort. Military personnel and civilians from the first fort were buried there, and the subsequent posts used the same cemetery. The cemetery is located on a small rise near the mouth of one of the many canyons emptying into the Fort Union Valley. From this point, one can see for many miles across as well as up and down this grassy plain.

When civilians died who did not have enough money for a proper funeral, the United States Government provided certain necessities for them. John Allen was employed by the postmaster, Mrs. Brent. He died in January, 1877 not even owning clothes considered decent enough for burial. Since he did not have friends who could donate these, the army provided him with a hospital shirt, drawers and stockings.[12]

Sergeant Patrick Reilly, Company D, 23rd Infantry, was very sick in the post hospital in 1883. Realizing that soon he would probably die from tuberculosis, a Roman Catholic father was summoned from Watrous. The priest

administered last rites to Reilly shortly before he died. Reilly was highly respected by the men in his company, and upon his death these comrades purchased his casket for him. With full military honors, the army buried him in the post cemetery.[13]

Private Ad. J. Scorse, Company C, 15th Infantry, died from a cardiac disorder and was interred in the post cemetery in February, 1877. Many months later his sister requested the army to send his body to his home in Michigan. He was then disinterred the following November and taken to the dead house. The post surgeon supervised the disinfection and packing of the body for its trip to Niles, Michigan which began by wagon to El Moro, Colorado followed by railroad from there to Niles. The army bore the entire cost of transporting his remains by wagon and train to Michigan. An article appearing in a local Michigan newspaper reported that "there had been a military funeral at Fort Union, New Mexico, but a Christian committal among his family and friends was appropriate."[14]

The post band played for military funerals, and Martha Summerhayes records that they played a cheerful tune upon returning from the grave. She remembered that the trumpeters usually played "The Girl I Left Behind Me" to brighten the saddened soldiers. At one of the military funerals at a post in Texas witnessed by Lydia Spencer Lane, it was impossible to procure new lumber for coffins. She remembered that the soldiers had to use old commissary boxes which were hastily fastened together. During one funeral, she noticed "200 lbs. bacon."[15]

First Lieutenant Horace P. Sherman had served as a hospital steward during the Civil War and had earned the rank of second lieutenant after the war. While he was stationed at Fort Union in 1877, he died from pneumonia. His remains were embalmed and placed in an oak coffin, and the next day, the post surgeon held a brief funeral service in his office for the officers and the ladies of the post. The post flag was flown at half mast from the time Sherman died until the time his body left the post. Because the body was to be shipped, additional arrangements had to be made in packing. The entire coffin was placed within an outer coffin, and sawdust, wedged coppers, lime, charcoal, and permanganate of potash were all used as packing materials. The outer casket was then securely strapped with iron hoops.[16] Sherman's body, as others before him was transported by wagon to El Moro, Colorado and from there by railroad to its destination.

Post chaplains not only officiated at burials on post, but they were also called upon to officiate at funerals in some of the surrounding towns. With the death of one of the prominent residents of Watrous, Doctor William B. Tipton, in 1888, Chaplain James La Tourrette was asked to participate in the service. Thirteen Knights Templar acted as escort, and five Blue Lodge Masons were in charge of the body. Some nine hundred people attended his funeral in the small cemetery just north of Tiptonville.[17]

The Masonic Fraternity also had charge of the funeral for Colonel Ceran St. Vrain in 1870. He died and was buried in Mora with full military honors. A troop from the Eighth

Cavalry acted as escort, and most of the officers from Fort Union attended. The post regimental band furnished the music, and General John Irvin Gregg and his staff acted as the pall bearers. Nearly two thousand people attended St. Vrain's funeral.[18]

In compliance with orders from the War Department, the soldiers at Fort Union held a formal ceremony when ex-president Grant died in 1885. The troops, wearing their white helmets, paraded at 9:00 a.m. to pay him tribute. The flag was flown at half staff, and the regimental colors were draped in black. Beginning at dawn there was a thirteen-gun salute, and from then until sunset there was one gun fired every thirty minutes. At sunset there was a thirty-eight gun salute -- one for each state in the Union.[19]

With the abandonment of Fort Union in 1891, the land upon which it stood reverted back to private ownership. In 1892, the army exhumed approximately two hundred and ninety bodies from the post cemetery. All of these were sent to the National Cemetery at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they were reinterred. Today, the site of the post cemetery is very difficult to distinguish from most of the rest of the Fort Union Valley which is now used as a large cattle ranch.

Chapter IX

FOOTNOTES

[1]Neihaus, Questionnaire.

[2]Arrott Collection, Medical History, December, 1878.

[3]Ibid., June 24, 1872.

[4]Ibid., October, 1879. There are many cases of syphilis in the Fort Union medical records.

[5]Medical History, Volume 52, op. cit., December, 1877, pp. 342-343.

[6]Lippincott, Interview.

[7]Arrott Collection, Medical History, July 14, 1871.

[8]Ibid., September, 1885; October, 1885 and July, 1886.

[9]Optic, April 23, 1884.

[10]Arrott Collection, Medical History, March, 1885.

[11]Ibid., September, 1888.

[12]Ibid., January, 1877.

[13]Daily Gazette, March 30, 1883.

[14]Arrott Collection, Medical History, December 6, 1877.

[15]Lane, op. cit., p. 126.

[16]Arrott Collection, Medical History, October, 1877.

[17]Optic, February 29, 1888.

[18]Fort Union File H2215, September 1, 1962, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico.

[19]Optic, August 11, 1885.

CHAPTER X

"THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME"

The Final Parting

It was during the second month in 1891 that the main garrison left Fort Union for Fort Wingate. At 11:30 a. m. two companies of troops marched the eight-mile distance to the railroad station in Watrous. Since there was a certain sadness in abandoning an army post, the band played the cheerful melody "The Girl I Left Behind Me." Waiting for them at the Watrous depot were three special coaches -- one for each company and one for the Indian prisoners who were accompanying them.

Once aboard their coaches, the soldiers began to sing those songs showing their happiness in departing Fort Union and in leaving some of their bitter memories behind. They sang songs such as "I's Gwine Back to Dixie," "No More I's Gwine to Wander," "There's a Land That's Fairer than This," and "We'll Reach It Bye and Bye."[1]

After the main contingent of troops left the post, there was still a group of nineteen soldiers who remained at the garrison in caretaker status. This last group of men, under the command of First Lieutenant John H. Schollenberger, abandoned Fort Union on May 15, 1891.

Shortly before the main garrison departed from Fort Union, one of the soldiers wrote the following about the post they were about to leave forever:

> Fort Union, may the pale moon and shining stars look down upon thee and cheer thee until thou shalt, by unseen power, sink into everlasting oblivion.[2]

Conclusion

During Fort Union's forty-year span there were recreational opportunities for the soldiers, even though the quality of these was far from modern standards. The soldiers' degree of participation as well as the number of soldiers who did participate seems to indicate a degree of apathy depending upon the educational level of the individuals. The officers and the non-commissioned officers did support these post activities, but many of the privates did not.

Although religious and educational institutions were available for the men under the direction of the post chaplain, most of the men did not take advantage of them. The enlisted men were not very religious, and the officer class almost totally supported the chapel. As for the post school, while some of the enlisted men did attend, it was obligatory for all post children. The library facilities seemed adequate, and the publications received were superior to those in most other libraries on the frontier at that time. The Masonic chapter provided additional intellectual and spiritual values for this group of isolated men.

There were a number of organizations which the men could join, and those who did found that the time passed much more quickly for them. Theatrical societies helped the men to lose themselves in group action, and their presentations at the post or in Las Vegas gave them an added feeling of accomplishment. The same was true for

the band members who took trips to the surrounding forts and towns, giving them a needed change from routine at the post. All of these activities not only served to sharpen the interests of the soldiers but it also sparked their enthusiasm which would have otherwise been dampened by monotonous garrison life.

There were two worlds at Fort Union -- one for the officers and one for the enlisted men. The officers usually had their families with them, and consequently their interests centered around dinner parties, dances and trips to Las Vegas to visit their friends. The enlisted men, on the other hand, were interested in alcohol, gambling, and women, and they enjoyed all of these on and off the post.

For those soldiers interested in sports and games, Fort Union offered a variety from which they could choose. Bowling, boxing, horse racing, hunting, and fishing were among the favorites. Since Fort Union had its own baseball team, it hosted and was hosted by teams from other towns. This sport provided many hours of enjoyment for the players and for the great number of soldier spectators.

Loma Parda, supported by army dollars, thrived during Fort Union's existence. Money derived from army contracts, alcoholic beverages, gambling, and prostitution all made the residents fear the day when Fort Union would be abandoned. When the time did come, most of the Loma Pardans left for greener pastures in other communities.

Army posts were rarely free from crime, and Fort Union was not an exception. The criminal element was always to be found in the ranks plaguing the post with burglaries,

shootings, and murders. Desertion, a much more popular crime then, as compared with rates today, was used by many soldiers as the only possible way for them to get out of the army. Those men who broke army regulations were housed in "Barracks 13" until a sufficiently large number could be escorted to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Fort Union's hospital served civilians and soldiers who came with broken bones, small pox, diphtheria, and venereal disease. The post surgeon ran the hospital and also was in charge of the post's sanitation and the welfare of the enlisted men. When the military personnel had incurable impairments or diseases, they were usually given a medical discharge from the service.

In addition to desertion, those men who could not bear the army's discipline and its monotonous routine sometimes destroyed themselves by committing suicide. Some were unstable, others lonely, and still others had nowhere to turn from the harsh frontier life but to this form of self destruction.

If monotony can be defined as a time when a man finds life empty, lonely, and boring, then soldiering at Fort Union would serve as a prime example. It would appear that since Fort Union was a very large post, among the greater number of troops one would find varied personalities, talents, and sufficient ideas and material for the creation of varied social functions. To a limited extent, this was the case at Fort Union, but even with the multitude of these activities,

as entertaining as they may appear, this was not the case. To the soldiers, these periods of recreation were only rare jewels which could never fully compensate for the overriding boredom and monotony at the post.

Fort Union was unique among the posts in the Southwest in several respects. Its territorial style of architecture with its plastered adobe walls and brick coping, its underground water supply system, and its regimental band made it exceptionally attractive as a duty station. Besides being the largest fort in the Southwest, it was situated on the Santa Fe Trail where it became the major supply depot in the Southwest. During the Civil War it became the objective of the Confederate Army under General Henry Hopkins Sibley and one of the main reasons why he invaded New Mexico. All of these qualities made it different from its sister posts operated by the United States Army.

While it had distinct features, it was similar in many ways to other posts. Fort Union, like most other garrisons was not constructed along defensive lines, and therefore it was not surrounded by a wall. As other posts in the Southwest, it was constructed of adobe and situated many miles from the nearest community. The men, women, and children at Fort Union and in other posts constituted a community, but they had within this group sharp class lines between the officers and enlisted men. All of the garrisons had their share of crime and internal disorder, but Fort Union with the others struggled to carry out its mission on the frontier.

Alexander Forsyth, one of the young soldiers, appropriately described Fort Union when he said:

I will never forget Fort Union as long as I shall live. The country round about everywhere was indeed beautiful. I remember distinctly how we used to sit outside the men's quarters in the evening, on benches we had made, in the more than beautiful moonlight of New Mexico. I shall never forget the great beauty of the bright and glittering Heavenly stars with everything still, quiet and calm--no more beautiful setting could be visualized, and I mean every word of that. We would sit there drinking in the wonderful and clear air of life, which did for us--all young soldiers that we were--worlds of good in health.

Chapter X

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Optic*, February 27, 1891.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 13, 1891.

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Dale Frederick Giese was born on January 8, 1936 in Baltimore, Maryland. He attended Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania between 1954 and 1958 and upon graduation was employed by the National Park Service at Carlsbad Caverns National Park near Carlsbad, New Mexico. He was promoted to the historian position at Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, where he completed the requirements for his master's degree in history at New Mexico Highlands University in 1964. As the historian at Fort Union for more than four years, he became interested in the recreational activities of the soldiers who once lived at this abandoned army post.

In 1965 he was promoted to the supervisory historian position at Petersburg National Battlefield near Petersburg, Virginia. While there, he and others decided that he should continue his education at the University of New Mexico. During his three-year residence at the university, he held a National Defense Education Act Fellowship and, in addition, he was a teaching assistant.

Dr. Giese has written a number of articles and book reviews, and he has edited a book by James Farmer entitled, My Life with the Army in the West, published in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1967.