



Citations

Prologue

Alerted to Baylor's plans...¹

Two days later, Lynde abandoned...²

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico called Lynde's surrender "treacherous and cowardly"...³

In spite of being somewhat overlooked...⁴

¹ The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union And Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume IV, 4,17. Hereafter cited as "O.R."

² O.R. Volume IV, 3,15,17. The surrendered Union troops outnumbered Baylor so badly that he paroled them, citing his inability to simultaneously guard prisoners and continue the campaign.

³ Wilson, John. When the Texans Came: Missing Records from the Civil War in the Southwest, 1861-1862. University of New Mexico Press, 2001. 77.

⁴ Major T.T. Teel. "Sibley's New Mexico Campaign – Its Objects and the Causes of its Failure," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 1888, 700.; Tate, Michael L. (1987) "A Johnny Reb in Sibley's New Mexico

The area was heavily contested...⁵
In 1858, gold was also...⁶
Rumors spread that it could...⁷
Davis, like many Southern leaders...⁸
As part and parcel of that effort...⁹
As Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis pursued...¹⁰
The blockade was only...¹¹
Much like the Confederate offensives...¹²
Sibley and other Confederate leaders...¹³

Chapter 1

Excitement buzzed in the town of Mesilla...¹⁴
“The vast mineral resources of Arizona...”¹⁵
In July 1861...¹⁶
“If you wish the town and my forces...”¹⁷
After two United States artillerymen...¹⁸
Finally, with barely 100 men...¹⁹

Campaign: Reminiscences of Pvt. Henry C. Wright, 1861-1862, Part I," East Texas Historical Journal: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol25/iss2/7>.

⁵ "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848)," National Archives, last modified September 20, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo>.; "The Discovery of Gold," Library of Congress, last accessed March 4, 2026, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/california-first-person-narratives/articles-and-essays/early-california-history/discovery-of-gold/>.

⁶ Whitlock, Flint. *Distant Bugles, Distant Drums: The Union Response to the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico*. University Press of Colorado, 2006. 6.

⁷ O.R. Volume IV, 23.

⁸ Waite, Kevin. *West of Slavery: The Southern Dream of a Transcontinental Empire*. University of North Carolina Press, 2021; Frazier, Donald. *Blood & Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest*. Texas A&M University Press, 1995, 6-10.

⁹ Waite, Kevin. *West of Slavery: The Southern Dream of a Transcontinental Empire*. University of North Carolina Press, 2021.

¹⁰ Waite, Kevin. *West of Slavery: The Southern Dream of a Transcontinental Empire*. University of North Carolina Press, 2021; Johnson, F. B. *The Last Camel Charge: The Untold Story of America's Desert Military Experiment*. Berkley Caliber, 2013.

¹¹ Neil P. Chatelain. "Blockade, Privateering, and the 1856 Declaration of Paris," *Emerging Civil War*, 2022.

¹² Teel, 700.

¹³ O.R. Volume IX.

¹⁴ Pittman, Walter Earl. *New Mexico & the Civil War*. History Press, 2011. 13.

¹⁵ Colton, Ray. *The Civil War in the Western Territories*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 4.

¹⁶ Armstrong, A. F.H. "The Case of Major Isaac Lynde." *New Mexico Historical Review* 36, 1 (1961). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol36/iss1/2>

¹⁷ Frazier, 57.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 57-58.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 60-61.

Chapter 2

“Sir: In view of...”²⁰

A month later...²¹

Sibley was born...²²

“armed with squirrel guns...”²³

“little more than the...”²⁴

“Our arms consisted...”²⁵

“composed the loose edges...”²⁶

“seized the bull...”²⁷

The next unit to be organized...²⁸

The final regiment...²⁹

“A finer brigade of men and horses...”³⁰

“We come as friends...”³¹

In the vacuum they left behind...³²

The pair also knew each other...³³

More recently, they helped lead...³⁴

“a fine looking man all of six feet...”³⁵

“General Canby is usually seen...”³⁶

Canby quickly began...³⁷

That concentration was dealt...³⁸

Captured letters between...³⁹

Even as they prepared...⁴⁰

²⁰ Hall, Martin Hardwick. *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign*. University of New Mexico Press, 2000. 32.

²¹ Hall, 34.

²² Hall, 21.

²³ Thompson, Jerry. *Civil War in the Southwest: Recollections of the Sibley Brigade*. Texas A&M University Press, 2001, xv.

²⁴ Thompson, xv.

²⁵ Thompson, 7.

²⁶ Frazier, 86.

²⁷ Hall, 35.

²⁸ “Thomas Green: Military Leader of the Texas Revolution,” Texas State Historical Association, last modified November 5, 2019, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/green-thomas>.

²⁹ Hall, 35-36.

³⁰ Hall, 28.

³¹ Frazier, 127-128

³² Thompson, 164-167.

³³ Thompson, 297.; Warner Jr, Ezra. *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders*. LSU Press, 1964. 617.

³⁴ “Edward R. S. Canby: A Profile of a Civil War General,” Texas State Historical Association, last modified September 9, 2020, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/canby-edward-richard-sprigg>.

³⁵ Mumey, Nolie. *Bloody Trails Along the Rio Grande: A Day-by-day Diary of Alonzo Ferdinand Ickis*. The Old West Publishing Company. 1958. 69-70.

³⁶ Hollister, Ovando James. *Boldly They Rode: A History of the First Colorado Regiment of Volunteers*. The Golden Press. 1949, 101-102.

³⁷ “Edward R.S. Canby,” National Park Service, last modified June 18, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/people/edward-r-s-canby.htm>.

³⁸ O.R. Volume IV, 62-63.

³⁹ O.R. Volume IV, 55-56.

⁴⁰ Wilson, 113-114.

““In the early part of [1861]...⁴¹
“If California and Oregon declare...”⁴²
Similarly, a “union meeting”...⁴³
“The malignant secession element...”⁴⁴
That estimate is unrealistically high...⁴⁵
“The trains en route...”⁴⁶
After the war, Daniel Conner...⁴⁷
Another Texan and Confederate sympathizer...⁴⁸
More concerning for Canby...⁴⁹
“A plain duty lies before us...”⁵⁰
“Citizens of New Mexico...”⁵¹
“Capt Abreu’s Company of volunteers...”⁵²
Kit Carson quickly volunteered...⁵³
“a low, square-set...”⁵⁴
“Should the Texans attempt...”⁵⁵
“volunteers of American origin”⁵⁶
“I hope you will not think...”⁵⁷
“the best 90 men in the service...,”⁵⁸
As 1862 dawned...⁵⁹
“On Wednesday a company...”⁶⁰

⁴¹ Wilson, 292.

⁴² Santa Fe Gazette, December 8, 1860.

⁴³ Santa Fe Gazette, April 13, 1861.

⁴⁴ O.R. Volume IV, 73.

⁴⁵ Smith, Duane A. *The Birth of Colorado: A Civil War Perspective*. University of Oklahoma Press. 1989. 12.

⁴⁶ O.R. Volume IV, 68,74.

⁴⁷ Conner, Daniel Ellis. *A Confederate in the Colorado Gold Fields*. University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. 134.

⁴⁸ Whitlock, Flint. *Distant Bugles, Distant Drums: The Union Response to the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico*. University Press of Colorado. 2006, 45.

⁴⁹ O.R. Volume IV, 54-55.

⁵⁰ Santa Fe Gazette, September 7, 1861.

⁵¹ Santa Fe Gazette, September 14, 1861.

⁵² Santa Fe Gazette, July 6, 1861.

⁵³ “Kit Carson,” National Park Service, last modified July 3, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/people/kit-carson.htm>.

⁵⁴ Peticolas, A.B. *Rebels on the Rio Grande: The Civil War Journal of A.B. Peticolas*. Edited by Don Alberts. University of New Mexico Press, 1984. 120.

⁵⁵ Wilson, 173.

⁵⁶ O.R. Volume IV, 66,78-80.

⁵⁷ Mumey, 28.

⁵⁸ Mumey, 47-55.

⁵⁹ Mumey, 30.

⁶⁰ Santa Fe Gazette, January 18, 1862.

Chapter 3

“preparations have been greatly...”⁶¹
A staff officer in the department headquarters...⁶²
Similarly, Union correspondence...⁶³
The Union command structure...⁶⁴
For all of his other...⁶⁵
“Many of the regular troops...”⁶⁶
“The troops are becoming...”⁶⁷
“every effort is being made...”⁶⁸
“If these reports as to the money...”⁶⁹
Carson was correct...⁷⁰
“The New Mexican volunteers...”⁷¹
“no matter how many...”⁷²
“These Mexican volunteers...”⁷³
“Accordingly, Canby planned...”⁷⁴
From early in the campaign...⁷⁵
“The past two years...”⁷⁶
Union leaders laid plans...⁷⁷
“I have been creditably informed...”⁷⁸
“troops are badly provisioned and armed...”⁷⁹
“An army under my command...”⁸⁰
But those same vast distances...⁸¹
“We were on half-rations...”⁸²
“By this time our beef cattle...”⁸³

⁶¹ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 74.

⁶² Wilson, 55-56

⁶³ Wilson, 67,77.

⁶⁴ Wilson, 85.

⁶⁵ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 78.; Wilson, 218.

⁶⁶ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 75.

⁶⁷ O.R. Volume I, 599-600

⁶⁸ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 109,135.

⁶⁹ Wilson, 211.

⁷⁰ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 86-87. Wilson, 212-213.

⁷¹ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 78-80.

⁷² O.R. Volume IV, 4, 66.

⁷³ Wilson, 69.

⁷⁴ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 83. Wilson, 207.

⁷⁵ Wilson, 134.

⁷⁶ O.R. Volume I, 606.

⁷⁷ Wilson, 143, 210.

⁷⁸ Wilson, 172.

⁷⁹ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 89.

⁸⁰ O.R. Volume IV, 4, 89-90.

⁸¹ Thompson, 18-19.

⁸² Thompson, 53.

⁸³ Campaign: Reminiscences of Pvt. Henry C. Wright, 1861-1862, Part I," East Texas Historical Journal: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol25/iss2/7>.

The weather had also started...⁸⁴
"I remember one time..."⁸⁵
"poorly armed, thinly clad..."⁸⁶
Another Confederate soldier recalled simultaneous...⁸⁷
"The place is quite defensible..."⁸⁸
"commanding points on the river bluffs..."⁸⁹
"we thought the ball was going to open..."⁹⁰
"Ge whilikens captain..."⁹¹
"Not a muscle moved..."⁹²
"The reconnaissance proved..."⁹³
There's an old saying...⁹⁴
If successful, this would...⁹⁵
"a few harmless cannon-shots"⁹⁶
"Col. Carson thinks..."⁹⁷
"Kit [Carson] had been a man that Texans..."⁹⁸
Army mules are famously...⁹⁹
The shells exploded between...¹⁰⁰

Chapter 4

"We had now been..."¹⁰¹
"animals were exhausted..."¹⁰²
"at as early an hour as possible..."¹⁰³
"prevent the enemy from reaching the water..."¹⁰⁴
"As we were marching..."¹⁰⁵

⁸⁴ Sibley May OR 507

⁸⁵ Campaign: Reminiscences of Pvt. Henry C. Wright, 1861-1862, Part I," East Texas Historical Journal: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol25/iss2/7>.

⁸⁶ Wilson, 301.

⁸⁷ Thompson, 19.

⁸⁸ Wilson, 115.

⁸⁹ Wilson, 132.

⁹⁰ Thompson, 23.

⁹¹ Thompson, 23.

⁹² Mumey, 74.

⁹³ O.R. Volume IX, 507.

⁹⁴ Thompson, 23.

⁹⁵ Wilson, 302.

⁹⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 488.

⁹⁷ Wilson, 67, 71-73, 76-77, 80, 88.

⁹⁸ Thompson, 36.

⁹⁹ Capt. George H. Pettis. "The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 1888, 103-111.

¹⁰⁰ Canby OR 488, Thompson, 53.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, 52.

¹⁰² Thompson, 45.

¹⁰³ O.R. Volume IX, 513.

¹⁰⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 497.

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, 61.

As the Confederates rode down toward the Rio Grande...¹⁰⁶

"I had been under the impression..."¹⁰⁷

"up to their arms in its water."¹⁰⁸

The Confederates brought up...¹⁰⁹

"running horse-races with body lice..."¹¹⁰

The delayed march...¹¹¹

What came next was nearly unique...¹¹²

As both sides in the Civil War...¹¹³

"in gallant array"¹¹⁴

The Texans "cheered lustily"¹¹⁵

"Steady there my brave mountaineers..."¹¹⁶

"We sent forth a volley..."¹¹⁷

The Texans were staggered...¹¹⁸

The momentum of their charge...¹¹⁹

Green remembered it...¹²⁰

"if they didn't damage..."¹²¹

At a considerable cost in blood...¹²²

"squirrel guns, bear guns, sportsman's guns, shotguns,"¹²³

"mostly armed with double-barrel shotguns..."¹²⁴

"Up until four o'clock..."¹²⁵

"This was the first and only time..."¹²⁶

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, 27.; O.R. Volume IX, 488.

¹⁰⁷ Thompson, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Mumey, 75-76.; O.R. Volume IX, 495.

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, 29-31; O.R. Volume IX, 523-524.

¹¹⁰ Thompson, 25.

¹¹¹ Thompson, 53.; O.R. Volume IX, 506-507.

¹¹² As the war progressed, some of the most talented and innovative officers developed uses for cavalry on the battlefield that took advantage of their mobility, and especially the firepower that could come with repeating carbines. By 1863 and later, Forrest, Sheridan, Thomas and Wilder, just to name a few, would wield cavalry in ways that had the potential to be decisive. But Sibley's New Mexico campaign was fought in early 1862, well before the armies had developed the expertise to utilize mounted troops to their full potential.

¹¹³ Wilson, 218.

¹¹⁴ Hollister, 110.

¹¹⁵ Thompson, 62.

¹¹⁶ Mumey, 30-32.

¹¹⁷ Mumey, 30-32.

¹¹⁸ Mumey, 75-80.

¹¹⁹ Mumey, 75-80.

¹²⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 519-520. Some sources record Lang's death as a suicide, which if true, his commanding officer would have been unlikely to put into official reports (B&T)

¹²¹ Thompson, 62.

¹²² Thompson, 53.

¹²³ Thompson, xv.

¹²⁴ Thompson, 29.

¹²⁵ Thompson, 63.

¹²⁶ Thompson, 63.

While Sibley was confined to an ambulance...¹²⁷
He arrived by midafternoon...¹²⁸
Canby kept up the pressure...¹²⁹
In response, Green ordered...¹³⁰
As Carson's regiment poured fire into them...¹³¹
The charge had bought Green...¹³²
At the same time that Canby...¹³³
They were supported by many...¹³⁴
Green didn't know who...¹³⁵
"Under all military rules and science we were whipped..."¹³⁶
"The iron hail..."¹³⁷
For almost half a mile...¹³⁸
"Follow, and stick by your flag boys!"¹³⁹
Under the furious Confederate onslaught...¹⁴⁰
"armed with double-barreled fowling pieces and revolvers..."¹⁴¹
McRae's battery poured...¹⁴²
"Volley after volley of grape and canister..."¹⁴³
As the charge reached the battery...¹⁴⁴
Captain McRae died, as he had lived..."¹⁴⁵
"The death of Captain McRea..."¹⁴⁶
"The gallant McRae and his men..."¹⁴⁷
By one account...¹⁴⁸

¹²⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 496.

¹²⁸ Thompson, 54.

¹²⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 489.

¹³⁰ Thompson, 31.; O.R. Volume IX, 489, 503.

¹³¹ O.R. Volume IX, 503.

¹³² O.R. Volume IX, 519.

¹³³ O.R. Volume IX, 489.

¹³⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 489.

¹³⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 496.

¹³⁶ Thompson, 33.

¹³⁷ Thompson, 56.

¹³⁸ Thompson, 68.

¹³⁹ Thompson, 37.

¹⁴⁰ Thompson, 63.

¹⁴¹ O.R. Volume IX, 491.

¹⁴² Thompson, 49, 72.

¹⁴³ Thompson, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Mumey, 75-80.

¹⁴⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 492.

¹⁴⁶ Santa Fe Gazette, May 3, 1862.

¹⁴⁷ Thompson, 77.

¹⁴⁸ Mumey, 32-33, 79-80. It's not clear that a revolver shot would detonate a caisson, though it's conceivable at point blank range. Davidson's account recalls the caisson exploding, but doesn't corroborate the rest of the story.

Canby scrambled to restore...¹⁴⁹
As the Union army fell back...¹⁵⁰
"A large number of the enemy..."¹⁵¹
The Confederate army was already...¹⁵²
The officer was escorted to Green...¹⁵³
The battle was a costly tactical defeat...¹⁵⁴
Sibley and Green brought...¹⁵⁵
Approximately 200 were...¹⁵⁶
But despite Valverde being...¹⁵⁷
"More than 25 years have passed..."¹⁵⁸

Chapter 5

"infamous coward and..."¹⁵⁹
Deciding to continue...¹⁶⁰
In Sibley's view...¹⁶¹
"Too prone to let the morrow take care of itself."¹⁶²
"Before the battle I felt..."¹⁶³
"From Socorro we proceeded..."¹⁶⁴
Citizens of Albuquerque...¹⁶⁵
"Burning bacon, brandy and whisk..."¹⁶⁶
On March 2, 1862, the first...¹⁶⁷
In another brazen move...¹⁶⁸
"deceived by designing officials and interested citizens."¹⁶⁹

¹⁴⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 487, 491.

¹⁵⁰ Thompson, 36.

¹⁵¹ O.R. Volume IX, 520.

¹⁵² O.R. Volume IX, 518.

¹⁵³ O.R. Volume IX, 508, 521.

¹⁵⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 488, 492.

¹⁵⁵ Hall, 71.; O.R. Volume IX, 488. Canby goes as high as 2600; Confederate accounts are in the 1750-2250 range

¹⁵⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 533.

¹⁵⁷ Thompson, 1,76.

¹⁵⁸ Thompson, 60.

¹⁵⁹ Alberts, Don. The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West. Texas A&M University Press, 2000. 9.

¹⁶⁰ Sibley ORs 508, Wilson, 304.

¹⁶¹ Wilson, 302.

¹⁶² Alberts, 9.

¹⁶³ Tate, Michael L. (1987) "A Johnny Reb in Sibley's New Mexico Campaign: Reminiscences of Pvt. Henry C. Wright, 1861-1862, Part I," East Texas Historical Journal: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol25/iss2/7>.

¹⁶⁴ Thompson, 79.

¹⁶⁵ Hall, 113.

¹⁶⁶ Noel, Theophilus. A Campaign From Santa Fe to the Mississippi. Legare Street Press, 2022. 61.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, 115.

¹⁶⁸ Frankfort, Kentucky is the other.

¹⁶⁹ Hall, 117.

Although Albuquerque and Santa Fe...¹⁷⁰
Unfortunately for Sibley...¹⁷¹
“the men as they woke...”¹⁷²
“Headquarters is generally...”¹⁷³

Chapter 6

Santa Fe was largely...¹⁷⁴
Fort Union was a common...¹⁷⁵
The initial fort was made quickly...¹⁷⁶
“as fine a work of its kind as I ever saw”¹⁷⁷
“all Texas can't take it.”¹⁷⁸
But a fort is only...¹⁷⁹
“one of the few never cursed by soldiers.”¹⁸⁰
“There is a general panic...”¹⁸¹
Colorado as we know it...¹⁸²
Many of Colorado’s new residents...¹⁸³
Gilpin was eager...¹⁸⁴
Before coming west...¹⁸⁵
Without cash on hand...¹⁸⁶
While the unauthorized spending...¹⁸⁷
To lead the regiment...¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁰ Hall, 121.

¹⁷¹ Hall, 121.

¹⁷² Frazier, 200.

¹⁷³ Alberts, 19.

¹⁷⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 527

¹⁷⁵ “Fort Union National Monument,” National Park Service, accessed via Internet Archive:

https://web.archive.org/web/20250207093627/https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hh/35/hh35h.htm

¹⁷⁶ Wilson, 2001. 69.

¹⁷⁷ “How the Star Fort Got Its Shape,” National Park Service, last modified January 14, 2021,

<https://www.nps.gov/foun/learn/historyculture/star-fort.htm>.

¹⁷⁸ Hollister, 51-52.

¹⁷⁹ “Class of 1834,” Cullum’s Register, last updated March 31, 2018,

https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/767*.html

¹⁸⁰ Hollister, 102.

¹⁸¹ O.R. Volume IX, 646.

¹⁸² Whitlock, 2, 9-13.

¹⁸³ Whitford, William Clarke. Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War. The State and Natural History Society of Colorado, 1906. 40-42.; Whitlock, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Whitlock, 45-46.

¹⁸⁵ Whitlock, 42.

¹⁸⁶ “William Gilpin,” Colorado State Archives, effective March 7, 2026,

<https://archives.colorado.gov/collections/governors/william-gilpin>

¹⁸⁷ Whitlock, 217-219.

¹⁸⁸ Whitlock, 19.

Slough had no particular...¹⁸⁹
“We ‘fell in’ and gave the Colonel...”¹⁹⁰
“SOLDIERS WANTED. The undersigned...”¹⁹¹
Most of the regiment was...¹⁹²
Tucked along the South Platte River...¹⁹³
In addition to the usual...¹⁹⁴
“In camp, a slack-rope was stretched for gymnasts...”¹⁹⁵
“At our first camp, on St. Vrain’s Creek...”¹⁹⁶
Despite the recruits’ initial enthusiasm...¹⁹⁷
“had been public accused as...”¹⁹⁸
News of Sibley’s invasion...¹⁹⁹
send any and all possible...²⁰⁰
“It has had, of course...”²⁰¹
On March 1, news of...²⁰²
“Poets have sung the beauties...”²⁰³
“Soon after we started...”²⁰⁴
All told, the regiment marched...²⁰⁵
“we could imagine rather than see...”²⁰⁶
“On the arrival of Colonel Slough...”²⁰⁷
Canby was hundreds of miles...²⁰⁸
He had no intention of letting...²⁰⁹
Slough hadn’t marched all this way...²¹⁰
“rapidly swelling [Sibley’s] ranks.”²¹¹

¹⁸⁹ “John P. Slough,” American Battlefield Trust, effective as of March 7, 2026, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/john-p-slough>

¹⁹⁰ Hollister, 47.

¹⁹¹ Whitlock, 63.

¹⁹² Hollister, 3-6

¹⁹³ Whitlock, 79.

¹⁹⁴ Whitlock, 83-84.

¹⁹⁵ Hollister, 15.

¹⁹⁶ Hollister, 9.

¹⁹⁷ Whitlock, 85.

¹⁹⁸ Hollister, 7.

¹⁹⁹ Gilpin had traveled east to try and convince the Lincoln administration to pay the expenses he had accrued, and not to fire him. Whitlock, 88-89.

²⁰⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 630.

²⁰¹ O.R. Volume IX, 632.

²⁰² Hollister, 45.

²⁰³ Hollister, 45.

²⁰⁴ Hollister, 49-51.

²⁰⁵ Hollister, 45-48.

²⁰⁶ Hollister, 48.

²⁰⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 646.

²⁰⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 633.

²⁰⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 649.

²¹⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 649.

²¹¹ Hollister, 54.

A flurry of letters flew back and forth...²¹²

“we left in direct opposition to the wishes of Gen. [sic] Canby.”²¹³

“My objection in this communication...”²¹⁴

Chapter 7

“Morning broke, bright and lovely...”²¹⁵

He was looking at the ruins...²¹⁶

The Union forces had camped for the night...²¹⁷

“I must state here that the country...”²¹⁸

“We thought likely we would meet...”²¹⁹

Slough and his men had just marched...²²⁰

On the morning of the 26th...²²¹

The detachment was led...²²²

Chivington reportedly turned down...²²³

Lieutenant Colonel William Scurry’s 4th Texas...²²⁴

“As we rose [atop] one mountain...”²²⁵

By March 22, 1862, a mere two days...²²⁶

Trekking out of the mountains...²²⁷

“The mountain scenery...”²²⁸

As the Texans observed the open pits...²²⁹

To the northwest of Scurry’s command...²³⁰

“defined the limits of the fighting.”²³¹

Unfortunately for the Confederates...²³²

Chivington now had a general idea...²³³

²¹² O.R. Volume IX, 652.

²¹³ Gardiner, Charles. “The Pet Lambs at Glorieta Pass.” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 1976.

²¹⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 652.

²¹⁵ Hollister, 59-60.

²¹⁶ “Pecos Mission Church,” National Park Service, last modified March 18, 2025, <https://www.nps.gov/places/pecos-mission-church.htm>

²¹⁷ Frazier, 6-7.

²¹⁸ Wilson, 260.

²¹⁹ Hollister, 61.

²²⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 534-535.

²²¹ O.R. Volume IX, 530.

²²² Whitlock, 64-65.

²²³ Whitlock, 65.

²²⁴ Thompson, 89-90.; Noel, 62.

²²⁵ Frazier, 202.

²²⁶ Hall, Martin Hardwick. *Sibley’s New Mexico Campaign*. University of New Mexico Press, 2000, 131.

²²⁷ Frazier, 203.

²²⁸ Frazier, 203.

²²⁹ Hall, 131.

²³⁰ Colton, Ray. *The Civil War in the Western Territories*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 49.

²³¹ Alberts, 44.

²³² Hall, 133.

²³³ Hall, 134.

“We’ve got them corralled this time...”²³⁴
Chivington’s command shimmied out...²³⁵
“The night passed off...”²³⁶
“rudely awakened from our slumbers...”²³⁷
“That tremendous event...”²³⁸
“were attended by a company...”²³⁹
Before the shelling could force...²⁴⁰
“a deep trench, worn by the water...”²⁴¹
This arroyo was up to 15 to 20 feet...²⁴²
They posted their artillery...²⁴³
“Major Chivington, with a pistol in each hand...”²⁴⁴
As the Texans began to fall back...²⁴⁵
The road was so narrow...²⁴⁶
The company had deployed with 88 men...²⁴⁷ T
“swept down the cañon like a hurricane.”²⁴⁸
All but one horse...²⁴⁹
“We were riding at a fast gallop..”²⁵⁰
The Confederate line broke apart...²⁵¹
“I see him now around the camp fire...”²⁵²
Informed that the company was largely...²⁵³
The cost had been terrible...²⁵⁴
“a cessation of hostilities”²⁵⁵
On the Union side...²⁵⁶
Tragically, one of those deaths...²⁵⁷

²³⁴ Hollister, 61.

²³⁵ Hall, 134.

²³⁶ Thompson, 81.

²³⁷ Thompson, 81.

²³⁸ Hollister, 61.

²³⁹ Hollister, 61-62.

²⁴⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 530-531.

²⁴¹ Hollister, 63.

²⁴² Whitlock, 177.

²⁴³ Hollister, 62.

²⁴⁴ Hollister, 62.

²⁴⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 531.

²⁴⁶ Wilson, 261.

²⁴⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 530.

²⁴⁸ Hollister, 64.

²⁴⁹ Whitlock, 177.

²⁵⁰ Wilson, 261.

²⁵¹ “John Samuel Shropshire: Confederate Officer and Lawyer,” Texas State Historical Association, May 31, 2011, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/shropshire-john-samuel>.

²⁵² Thompson, 82.

²⁵³ Thompson, 82.

²⁵⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 531-534.

²⁵⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 531-534.

²⁵⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 531-534.

²⁵⁷ Wilson, 262.; Hollister, 67.; O.R. Volume IX, 534.

Chivington had cleared most of the pass...²⁵⁸

Chapter 8

By late March, the Confederate Army of New Mexico...²⁵⁹

"We had had nothing to eat..."²⁶⁰

"Hell is brewing and not a mile off."²⁶¹

"Col. The enemy has moved down from Fort Union..."²⁶²

"All was bustle and confusion in a moment..."²⁶³

They slogged through cold, dark, and ankle-deep snow...²⁶⁴

As they licked their wounds overnight...²⁶⁵

"Between 10 and 11 o'clock that night..."²⁶⁶

As dawn broke on the 27th...²⁶⁷

Several miles to the east...²⁶⁸

When no Confederate assault materialized on the 27th...²⁶⁹

"The men were resting—some visiting the wounded in the hospitals..."²⁷⁰

As it happened, Scurry and Slough...²⁷¹

After the Southerners completed their meager breakfast...²⁷²

"suddenly made their appearance..."²⁷³

The Union left flank tried to anchor...²⁷⁴

"Our boys dashed down upon them..."²⁷⁵

Private Hollister of the 1st Colorado hunkered down...²⁷⁶

"Soon they appeared in front, encouraged..."²⁷⁷

²⁵⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 531.

²⁵⁹ Thompson, 89. On Google Maps, Galisteo to Canoncito (closest approximation of Johnson's Ranch) is 16.4 miles walking.

²⁶⁰ New Mexico Historical Review. "Confederate Reminiscences." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5, 3 (1930), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss3/1/>.

²⁶¹ New Mexico Historical Review. "Confederate Reminiscences." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5, 3 (1930), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss3/1/>.

²⁶² Thompson, 89.

²⁶³ Thompson, 92.

²⁶⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 543.; Hall 100

²⁶⁵ Thompson, 83.

²⁶⁶ Thompson, 83-84.

²⁶⁷ Peticolas, A.B. *Rebels on the Rio Grande: The Civil War Journal of A.B. Peticolas*. Edited by Don Alberts. University of New Mexico Press, 1984, 76-77.

²⁶⁸ Hollister, 68., O.R. Volume IX, 532-536.

²⁶⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 533.

²⁷⁰ Hollister, 68.

²⁷¹ Thompson, 89.

²⁷² Hall, 143-144.

²⁷³ Peticolas, 77.

²⁷⁴ Hall, 104.

²⁷⁵ Peticolas, 79.

²⁷⁶ Hollister, 69-71.

²⁷⁷ Hollister, 69-71.

“the four pieces played the liveliest Yankee doodle...”²⁷⁸
“a furious fire of grape, canister, and shell”²⁷⁹
The hills and forest made for poor visibility...²⁸⁰
For the moment, the Union line...²⁸¹
Arriving at the top, Tappan realized...²⁸²
“Lieut. Col. Tappan sat on his horse during the charge...”²⁸³
“pushed forward among the rocks..”²⁸⁴
During a lull in the fighting...²⁸⁵
“take a shot at them.”²⁸⁶
From the top of Artillery Hill...²⁸⁷
“Our brave soldiers, heedless of the storm...”²⁸⁸
“About the time the severest fighting was going on..”²⁸⁹
“Maj. Shropshire saw the ‘Yanks’...”²⁹⁰
The 29-year-old Texan was fatally shot...²⁹¹
“determined to die right there, rather than give up the battery.”²⁹²
But soon the Confederate fire...²⁹³
as Ritter pulled back...²⁹⁴
Seeing the rest of the army...²⁹⁵
“unalterable determination to overcome”²⁹⁶
“ze fight six hour by my vatch, and my vatch was slow!”²⁹⁷
Scurry, thinking he had won a great victory...²⁹⁸
There’s a great deal of controversy as to who guided the flank march...²⁹⁹
Chavez led Chivington’s troops...³⁰⁰

²⁷⁸ Hollister, 69-71.

²⁷⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 544.

²⁸⁰ Wilson, 270.

²⁸¹ New Mexico Historical Review. "Confederate Reminiscences." New Mexico Historical Review 5, 3 (1930), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss3/1/>.; O.R. Volume IX, 544.

²⁸² O.R. Volume IX, 536-537.

²⁸³ Hollister, 70.

²⁸⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 544.

²⁸⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 537.

²⁸⁶ Peticolas, 83.

²⁸⁷ Hall, 150.

²⁸⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 544.

²⁸⁹ Peticolas, 82.

²⁹⁰ Thompson, 134.

²⁹¹ Hall, 151.

²⁹² Wilson, 263.

²⁹³ Wilson, 266-269.

²⁹⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 540.

²⁹⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 536-537.

²⁹⁶ Hall, 152.

²⁹⁷ Hall, 153.

²⁹⁸ Hall, 153.

²⁹⁹ Hall, 109.

³⁰⁰ Hall, 109.

When they arrived at the western edge...³⁰¹
Captain Wynkoop of the Colorado Volunteers...³⁰²
These 60 to 80 wagons...³⁰³
“Every wagon contained from five to twenty-five...”³⁰⁴
After the battle, Col. Scurry accused the Union troops...³⁰⁵
As Chivington burned the wagons...³⁰⁶
“We were now taken by our guide...”³⁰⁷
As Chivington stumbled into camp in the middle of the night...³⁰⁸
The fighting had raged for five or six...³⁰⁹
“At any rate, when I think how...”³¹⁰
“The Colorados are willing to...”³¹¹
“The Texans had possession of the field...”³¹²
The Confederates admitted to fewer casualties...³¹³
Scurry’s report was 33 killed and 35 wounded³¹⁴
a “crippling” blow.³¹⁵

Chapter 9

As fighting died down...³¹⁶
“I do not know if I write intelligently...”³¹⁷
“Soldiers: – You have added another victory to the long list...”³¹⁸
“All were in the most destitute condition...”³¹⁹
Scurry admitted to Sibley...³²⁰
“I must have re-enforcements...”³²¹
He dispatched Captain T.P. Ochiltree...³²²
“We are resting...”³²³

³⁰¹ O.R. Volume IX, 538-539.

³⁰² O.R. Volume IX, 539.

³⁰³ O.R. Volume IX, 539.

³⁰⁴ Whitlock, 207.

³⁰⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 542.

³⁰⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 539.

³⁰⁷ Whitlock, 212.; Hall, 111. Hall credits Padre Ortiz with leading them back, but other accounts vary.

³⁰⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 534-535.; Hollister, 45-48.; Hall, 111-112.

³⁰⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 532-535.

³¹⁰ Wilson, 263-264.

³¹¹ Hollister, 71.

³¹² Wilson, 263.

³¹³ O.R. Volume IX, 533-535.

³¹⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 541-545.

³¹⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 541.

³¹⁶ Thompson, 86.

³¹⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 542.

³¹⁸ Peticolas, 90.; Santa Fe Gazette, April 26, 1862.

³¹⁹ “Military events in New Mexico,” Santa Fe Gazette, April 26, 1862.

³²⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 542.

³²¹ O.R. Volume IX, 541.

³²² Wilson, 198.

³²³ Peticolas, 91.

When the Federals abandoned Santa Fe...³²⁴
The Texans soon found an unlikely...³²⁵
"Mrs. Canby won the hearts..."³²⁶
Private H.C. Wright of the 4th Texas agreed...³²⁷
"The place of concealment was undoubtedly revealed..."³²⁸
Canby could have played it safe...³²⁹
"We are here whiling the time..."³³⁰
As he marched north with Canby...³³¹
The Federal column did benefit materially...³³²
Canby brought just over 1,200 troops...³³³
The Confederates had started the day...³³⁴
Overnight they received significant reinforcements...³³⁵
"coffee, sugar, and other luxuries that we had long been deprived of."³³⁶
The head of the column left Santa Fe...³³⁷
"two pieces of artillery, ten men with good horses, and the lame men who could not keep up on the march."³³⁸
The oxen were so weak...³³⁹
"Oh the suffering..."³⁴⁰
Concentrating the army in Albuquerque was just the first step...³⁴¹
"The boys were busy writing home..."³⁴²
"Col. Slough was a man of undoubted ability..."³⁴³
The force sallying out of Fort Union was now led...³⁴⁴

³²⁴ Santa Fe Gazette, April 26, 1862.

³²⁵ Frazier, 232.

³²⁶ Thompson, 99-100.

³²⁷ New Mexico Historical Review. "Confederate Reminiscences." New Mexico Historical Review 5, 3 (1930), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss3/1/>.

³²⁸ Santa Fe Gazette, April 26, 1862

³²⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 658.

³³⁰ Mumey, 90.

³³¹ Mumey, 92.

³³² Mumey, 92.

³³³ O.R. Volume IX, 549-550.

³³⁴ Thompson, 102.

³³⁵ Hall 121-122, Thompson, 102.

³³⁶ New Mexico Historical Review. "Confederate Reminiscences." New Mexico Historical Review 5, 3 (1930), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss3/1/>, Hall 124

³³⁷ Davidson has them arriving on the night of the 9th, 102-103. Peticolas has it taking until the 11th, and his diary was recorded in real-time, whereas Davidson was writing years later. That's a pretty big gap, though, and Davidson is generally pretty accurate.

³³⁸ Thompson, 101.

³³⁹ Thompson, 102-103.

³⁴⁰ Peticolas, 97-98.

³⁴¹ Thompson, 118.; Peticolas 101, Hall 117-118

³⁴² Hollister, 79.; The march ends up actually starting on April 6.

³⁴³ Hollister, 86.

³⁴⁴ Hall, 125.

“Paul has a good train with him...”³⁴⁵
Canby’s original plan had been...³⁴⁶
“The silence of the night was...”³⁴⁷
“It being late at night when General Canby...”³⁴⁸
“The sky was clear, the weather mild...”³⁴⁹
As dawn broke, Union bugles brought...³⁵⁰
On the day before, the Confederate supply train...³⁵¹
They galloped toward the wagons...³⁵²
The Confederates in Peralta rushed to establish defenses...³⁵³
While its officers enjoyed their party...³⁵⁴
“for the first time in my life...”³⁵⁵
“They had waded the river...”³⁵⁶
Union skirmishers spent the morning...³⁵⁷
“While we were lying behind the wall...”³⁵⁸
The weather all day had been freezing cold...³⁵⁹
“The weather was extremely cold, slush and ice in the river...”³⁶⁰
“Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States of America...”³⁶¹
“While the regulars fight to avoid...”³⁶²
Canby saw it differently...³⁶³
“Those fellows [Texans] up in the hills aren’t either...”³⁶⁴
Instead of attacking aggressively...³⁶⁵
They were headed in the direction of Fort Craig...³⁶⁶
But the fort was just as formidable...³⁶⁷
Instead, cooler heads prevailed...³⁶⁸

³⁴⁵ Mumey, 97.

³⁴⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 550.

³⁴⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 551.; Hollister, 88.

³⁴⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 665.

³⁴⁹ Hollister, 89.

³⁵⁰ Hollister, 92.

³⁵¹ Wilson, 277.

³⁵² O.R. Volume IX, 551.; Hollister, 92-93.

³⁵³ Wilson, 278.

³⁵⁴ Thompson, 104-106.

³⁵⁵ Thompson, 105.

³⁵⁶ Thompson, 106.

³⁵⁷ Hollister, 95.

³⁵⁸ Thompson, 107.

³⁵⁹ Thompson, 105.; Hollister, 95.; Hall, 130.

³⁶⁰ Thompson, 119.

³⁶¹ Hall, 139.

³⁶² Hollister, 84.

³⁶³ O.R. Volume IX, 551.

³⁶⁴ Whitlock, 234.

³⁶⁵ Mumey, 35.; Hollister, 99.; Thompson, 119.

³⁶⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 510.

³⁶⁷ Thompson, 120-121.

³⁶⁸ Thompson, 120-121.

“We have been exposed in all weathers...”³⁶⁹
In reports to Washington...³⁷⁰
“The cavalry and means of transportation on both sides...”³⁷¹
Canby sent out mounted scouts...³⁷²
As the retreat continued...³⁷³
“bread and coffee to sustain life for seven days.”³⁷⁴
At times they went days...³⁷⁵
“we walked and staggered along like the reeling...”³⁷⁶
On April 21, the Texans were able to make...³⁷⁷
Exactly two months earlier...³⁷⁸
“Marched steadily all day beneath a hot sun...”³⁷⁹

Chapter 10

Sibley planned to refit and resupply his troops in Arizona...³⁸⁰
Months of hard campaigning...³⁸¹
Without gold or silver currency...^{382,383}
Soon smallpox and pneumonia...³⁸⁴
“to determine whether we should quietly...”³⁸⁵
They brought in expert witnesses...³⁸⁶
With his troops starving...³⁸⁷
“This was in July, the sun blazing down upon us...”³⁸⁸
“the skedaddling of a crowd of urchins who had been caught in a melon patch.”³⁸⁹

³⁶⁹ Hollister, 85.

³⁷⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 552.

³⁷¹ O.R. Volume IX, 663.

³⁷² O.R. Volume IX, 552, 669., Gardiner, Charles. “The Pet Lambs at Glorieta Pass.” Civil War Times Illustrated, 1976.; Peticolas, 109.

³⁷³ O.R. Volume IX, 672.

³⁷⁴ Thompson, 120-121.

³⁷⁵ Thompson, 123.

³⁷⁶ Noel, 63.

³⁷⁷ Thompson, 124.

³⁷⁸ Peticolas, 111.

³⁷⁹ Thompson, 124.

³⁸⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 510.

³⁸¹ The Civil War in West Texas & New Mexico: The Lost Letterbook of Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. Edited by John Wilson and Jerry Thompson. Texas Western Press, 2001, 167.

³⁸² Thompson, 125.

³⁸³ O.R. Volume IX, 722.

³⁸⁴ Peticolas, 118-119.

³⁸⁵ Wilson, 298.

³⁸⁶ Wilson, 307.

³⁸⁷ The Civil War in West Texas & New Mexico: The Lost Letterbook of Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. Edited by John Wilson and Jerry Thompson. Texas Western Press, 2001, 168.

³⁸⁸ Thompson, 127.

³⁸⁹ Noel, 63.

In late 1861, Sibley had marched for New Mexico...³⁹⁰
In the 5th Texas alone...³⁹¹
Arriving at Fort Craig after Peralta...³⁹²
“a fine body of men, capable of any endurance...”³⁹³
The arrival of 1,500 unexpected...³⁹⁴
Ultimately, the need for any serious...³⁹⁵
In late July 1862, Canby wrote to Washington, D.C....³⁹⁶
“successful and almost unprecedented evacuation...”³⁹⁷
“The Colonel commanding desires to express...”³⁹⁸
“The difficulty of procuring supplies of all kinds...”³⁹⁹
For the remainder of the war, rumors abounded...⁴⁰⁰
As late as March 1865...⁴⁰¹
Sibley’s invasion took this theory to the extreme...⁴⁰²
At least one Confederate soldier noted...⁴⁰³
After one town refused to relinquish....⁴⁰⁴
“Instead of fighting the Yankees since Sibley left...”⁴⁰⁵
Skirmishes over supplie...⁴⁰⁶
Confederate relationships were no better...⁴⁰⁷
After Sibley’s invasion, in the absence...⁴⁰⁸
Similarly, the 1st Colorado was redeployed...⁴⁰⁹
“I refused to fire and swore that none but a coward would.”⁴¹⁰

³⁹⁰ Thompson, 129; O.R. Volume IX, 678.

³⁹¹ Wilson, 307.

³⁹² O.R. Volume IX, 571, 674.

³⁹³ Wilson, 291.

³⁹⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 682-683.

³⁹⁵ Wilson, 311.

³⁹⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 687.

³⁹⁷ Peticolas, 135.

³⁹⁸ Whitlock, 239-40.

³⁹⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 670.

⁴⁰⁰ Blackshear, James Bailey. *Confederates and Comancheros: Skullduggery and Double-Dealing in the Texas–New Mexico Borderlands*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2021, 29-31.

⁴⁰¹ Frazier, 297.

⁴⁰² Teel, 700.; Wilson, 302-305.

⁴⁰³ Tate, Michael L. (1987) "A Johnny Reb in Sibley's New Mexico Campaign: Reminiscences of Pvt. Henry C. Wright, 1861-1862, Part I," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol25/iss2/7>.

⁴⁰⁴ Frazier, 280.

⁴⁰⁵ Wilson, 311.

⁴⁰⁶ Wilson, 287-288, 311-314.; *The Civil War in West Texas & New Mexico: The Lost Letterbook of Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley*. Edited by John Wilson and Jerry Thompson. Texas Western Press, 2001, 175.

⁴⁰⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 512.

⁴⁰⁸ Nelson, Megan Kate. *The Three-Cornered War: The Union, the Confederacy, and Native Peoples in the Fight for the West*. Scribner, 2021.

⁴⁰⁹ “Sand Creek Massacre: History & Culture,” National Park Service, last updated June 25, 2025, <https://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/index.htm>

⁴¹⁰ “The Life of Silas Soule,” National Park Service, last updated April 24, 2025, <https://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/the-life-of-silas-soule.htm>

By the time the Bosque Redondo project...⁴¹¹
“Never, perhaps, was an army brought into the field...”⁴¹²
“I feel that it would be unjust to the cause of humanity...”⁴¹³
After resigning his command...⁴¹⁴
Like many career army officers early in the war....⁴¹⁵
Sibley’s military career never recovered...⁴¹⁶
Tom Green, who took command of the Army...⁴¹⁷
“Our grand mistake was...”⁴¹⁸
“bravery worthy of a better cause.”⁴¹⁹
“He was the very last man on earth...”⁴²⁰
Major Trevanion Teel, who was close enough to Sibley...⁴²¹
“We all think that our operations out here...”⁴²²

California Column

By the end of the war...⁴²³
“I do not know what we would do in this great national emergency if not for the gold sent from California.”⁴²⁴
Throughout the 1850s...⁴²⁵
Davis and his allies pushed to establish...⁴²⁶
More exotically, Davis also imported...⁴²⁷
That spirit of separatism carried into the early 1860s...⁴²⁸

⁴¹¹ “Edward R.S. Canby,” National Park Service, last modified June 18, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/people/edward-r-s-canby.htm>.

⁴¹² Santa Fe Gazette, May 10, 1862.

⁴¹³ Thompson, 130.

⁴¹⁴ “John P. Slough,” American Battlefield Trust, effective as of March 7, 2026, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/john-p-slough>

⁴¹⁵ “Class of 1834,” Cullum’s Register, last updated March 31, 2018, https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/767*.html

⁴¹⁶ “Henry Hopkins Sibley: Life and Legacy of a Confederate General,” Texas State Historical Association, last updated August 1, 2019, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/sibley-henry-hopkins>

⁴¹⁷ Lang, Michael. Decisions of the Red River Campaign: The Fifteen Critical Decisions That Defined the Operation. University of Tennessee Press, 2025, 156.

⁴¹⁸ Thompson, 130.

⁴¹⁹ Hollister, 112.

⁴²⁰ Thompson, 5.

⁴²¹ Teel, 700.

⁴²² Frazier, 277.

⁴²³ Chatelain, Neil. Treasure and Empire in the Civil War: The Panama Route, the West and the Campaigns to Control America’s Mineral Wealth. McFarland, 2024, 71.

⁴²⁴ McGinty, Brian. Lincoln and California: The President, the War, and the Golden State. Potomac Books, 2023, 105.

⁴²⁵ Waite, 156-157.; Chatelain, Treasure and Empire, 26.

⁴²⁶ Waite, 82.

⁴²⁷ Johnson, Forrest Bryant. The Last Camel Charge: The Untold Story of America’s Desert Military Experiment. Dutton Caliber, 2012, 96, 320.; Masich, 28

⁴²⁸ McGinty, 131.

“In the southern portion of this State there are more sympathizers with the rebels than anywhere else.”⁴²⁹

“no doubt but there is some deep scheming...”⁴³⁰

If southern California was a political tinderbox in early 1861...⁴³¹

“If you want to fight, go South.”⁴³²

But in the chaotic whirlwind...⁴³³

“indispensably necessary to throw reinforcements”⁴³⁴

But troops with which to do that were...⁴³⁵

Since then, a significant number...⁴³⁶

Sumner, and his successor in command...⁴³⁷

Carleton took command...⁴³⁸

Word of Baylor and Sibley’s invasion...⁴³⁹

“The objects of the expedition you are fully aware of...”⁴⁴⁰

“I do not consider it necessary to be more minute...”⁴⁴¹

Ironically, the first problem to face...⁴⁴²

Thousands of lives were lost...⁴⁴³

“Every exertion has been and is still being made...”⁴⁴⁴

“what with unprecedented floods in California...”⁴⁴⁵

“At noon we had reached the summit...”⁴⁴⁶

“Such another scene of desolation does not exist...”⁴⁴⁷

For weeks, Carleton’s troops hopscotched...⁴⁴⁸

“Here was found a well that would have...”⁴⁴⁹

⁴²⁹ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 1041.

⁴³⁰ McGinty, 129.

⁴³¹ Smith, Timothy. *The Iron Dice of Battle: Albert Sidney Johnston and the Civil War in the West*, LSU Press, 2023, 29-30

⁴³² McGinty, 71-72.

⁴³³ Smith, 40-44.

⁴³⁴ McGinty, 128.

⁴³⁵ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 428.

⁴³⁶ Pettis, George. *With the California Column*. Leonaur, 2010, 16.

⁴³⁷ McGinty, 137.; Pettis 32-33

⁴³⁸ McGinty, 138.

⁴³⁹ Pettis, 17.

⁴⁴⁰ O.R. Volume IV, 90-91.

⁴⁴¹ O.R. Volume IV, 90-91.

⁴⁴² 300 x 20 miles, roughly, or 6000 sq. mi. Lake Ontario is 7,340 sq. mi.

⁴⁴³ Michael D. Dettinger & B. Lynn Ingram, “Megastorms Could Drown Massive Portions of California,” *Scientific American*, January 1, 2013. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/megastorms-could-down-massive-portions-of-california/>

⁴⁴⁴ O.R. Volume IV, 90-91.

⁴⁴⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 557.

⁴⁴⁶ Pettis, *California Column*, 67-68.

⁴⁴⁷ Pettis, *California Column*, 68.

⁴⁴⁸ Pettis, *California Column*, 68-69.

⁴⁴⁹ Pettis, *California Column*, 69.

“at the mercy of its sands and storms and burning sun.”⁴⁵⁰
While Carleton struggled to reach Fort Yuma...⁴⁵¹
Hunter’s orders were to maintain law and order...⁴⁵²
“You will also at the earliest moment possible...”⁴⁵³
Across the Colorado River in Fort Yuma...⁴⁵⁴
Carleton’s intention was, wisely, to cache...⁴⁵⁵
Even with those careful preparations...⁴⁵⁶
At the time, Sibley’s forces were huddled in the snow...⁴⁵⁷
Wheat wasn’t the only thing that Hunter captured...⁴⁵⁸
In late March, just after the battle...⁴⁵⁹
Carleton sent a separate, 272-man advance guard...⁴⁶⁰
On April 15, scouts alerted...⁴⁶¹
Just one day after Canby’s and Sibley’s armies skirmished around Peralta...⁴⁶²
“It required several weeks for the ‘Column’ to get to this point...”⁴⁶³
Both sides remained focused on Tucson...⁴⁶⁴
In spite of the steep odds against him....⁴⁶⁵
On May 15, Carleton’s advance guard...⁴⁶⁶
“The infantry marched in by the main street...”⁴⁶⁷
Capt. Hunter reportedly warned the residents...⁴⁶⁸
“Our arrival is hailed with great joy by all the people who remain.”⁴⁶⁹
The California Column also traveled light...⁴⁷⁰
The final march from Tucson to the Rio Grande...⁴⁷¹
Befitting his meticulous nature...⁴⁷²

⁴⁵⁰ Pettis, California Column, 68.

⁴⁵¹ “Sherod Hunter: Confederate Officer and Businessman,” Texas State Historical Association, April 14, 2011, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/hunter-sherod>.

⁴⁵² Wilson, 181-182.

⁴⁵³ Wilson, 181-182.

⁴⁵⁴ Wilson, 179-180.

⁴⁵⁵ Masich, Andrew. *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2006, 26.

⁴⁵⁶ Masich, 58.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilson, 185.

⁴⁵⁸ O.R. Volume IX, 708.; Wilson, 185.

⁴⁵⁹ Josephy, Alvin. *The Civil War in the American West*. Knopf Doubleday, 1993, 89-90; Finch, L. Boyd. *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific*, The Arizona Historical Society, 1996, 130.

⁴⁶⁰ Pettis, California Column, 19.; Masich, 35.

⁴⁶¹ Finch, L. Boyd. *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific*, The Arizona Historical Society, 1996, 141.

⁴⁶² Finch, 142.; Pettis, California Column, 20.; Wilson, 188.

⁴⁶³ Pettis, 20.; Wilson, 191.

⁴⁶⁴ Masich, 205.

⁴⁶⁵ Finch, L. Boyd. *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific*, The Arizona Historical Society, 1996, 143.

⁴⁶⁶ Pettis, California Column, 20-21, 73.

⁴⁶⁷ Pettis, California Column, 73.

⁴⁶⁸ Pettis, California Column, 73-74.

⁴⁶⁹ O.R. Volume IX, 553.

⁴⁷⁰ Pettis, California Column, 22; O.R. Volume IX, 554, 597, 602.; Masich, 24-26.

⁴⁷¹ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 121.

⁴⁷² O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 98.

Eyre left Tucson on June 21...⁴⁷³
“Immediately on making camp the national colors...”⁴⁷⁴
Their moment of triumph was short lived, however...⁴⁷⁵
“The rebel forces were so disheartened...”⁴⁷⁶
“The information is certainly very circumstantial...”⁴⁷⁷
In the meantime, Carleton continued...⁴⁷⁸
“No forage or food could be had...”⁴⁷⁹
Union forces also had to spend considerable time...⁴⁸⁰
“Starting at 5 p.m., we marched all night...”⁴⁸¹
Carleton approached the Rio Grande fully expecting to fight...⁴⁸²
“This is the time when every soldier...”⁴⁸³
On August 7, Carleton reached Fort...⁴⁸⁴
He soon learned that he was swinging at...⁴⁸⁵
Carleton pushed another 100 miles...⁴⁸⁶
Carleton soon replaced Canby...⁴⁸⁷
The California Column was dispersed...⁴⁸⁸
Ultimately, none of these threats...⁴⁸⁹
“The march of the column from California...”⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁷³ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 121-127.

⁴⁷⁴ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 124.

⁴⁷⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 566.

⁴⁷⁶ Pettis, California Column, 23.

⁴⁷⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 678.

⁴⁷⁸ Pettis, California Column, 22-23; O.R. Volume IX, 554.

⁴⁷⁹ Pettis, California Column, 22.

⁴⁸⁰ Masich, 80.

⁴⁸¹ O.R. Volume L, Part 1, 129.

⁴⁸² O.R. Volume IX, 555-556.

⁴⁸³ O.R. Volume IX, 555-556.

⁴⁸⁴ O.R. Volume IX, 687-689. (Other reports put this # higher).

⁴⁸⁵ O.R. Volume IX, 687.

⁴⁸⁶ O.R. Volume IX, 567.

⁴⁸⁷ O.R. Volume IX, 695-696.

⁴⁸⁸ Chatelain, 175.

⁴⁸⁹ Pettis, California Column, 82-84.

⁴⁹⁰ O.R. Volume IX, 570.