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JOINING UP WITH THE UNION:
CALIFORNIA'S PLACE IN THE NATION AND THE MEANING OF MILITARY SERVICE IN THE CIVIL WAR

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JOINING UP WITH THE UNION:

CALIFORNIA'S PLACE IN THE NATION AND THE MEANING OF MILITARY SERVICE

IN THE CIVIL WAR

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

Prior to the start of the Civil War, California had been a state for less than a dozen years and was populated by a diverse group of people from around globe, many of whom had been lured to the state by the call of gold. Up to that time, these residents did not have much need to define their or their state's allegiance to the rest of the far-off nation. When news of the outbreak of Civil War in 1861 reached California by Pony Express, residents loyal to the Union immediately called for their own men to enlist in President Abraham Lincoln's growing army. Because of California's geographic isolation, Union armies initially rebuffed the Californians' offer to rush east. Even so nearly 16,000 Californians, including recently settled white Americans and Europeans, and native Californios, voluntarily enlisted. They garrisoned western forts protecting California from local sympathizers, safeguarded the Southwest from Confederate invasion, and pursued Native peoples who allegedly impeded white settlement in this region. Finally, nearly 500 men eventually joined troops fighting in the East. In the vein of "new military history," my thesis examines letters, diaries and reminiscences of approximately forty soldiers who enlisted in California to consider how these volunteers, whether serving in California, Arizona or Appomattox, saw their service as fulfilling masculine duty to state and country. Historical evidence shows that California soldiers believed that their service reflected both patriotism for their adopted home and dedication to unity even when their postings were not in the East. In this way, these Union volunteers served as a crucial factor in helping to define California's relationship with the United States.

Cast of Characters (in order of appearance)

EDWARD E. AYER, from Illinois, Company E, 1st Cavalry C.V. Served in: Southwest

ALONZO E. DAVIS, from New York, Company I, 4th Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

JAMES BERRY BROWN, from Ohio/Iowa, Company H, 2nd Infantry C.V. Served in: California

GEORGE SPAFFORD EVANS, from Michigan/Texas, Company E, 2nd Cavalry, C.V. Served in: California and Utah

GEORGE E. YOUNG, from New York, Company G, 2nd Infantry C.V. Served in: California

JOHN T. BEST, Company A, 1st Mountaineers C.V. Served in: California

DUANE M. GREENE, Company E, 6th Infantry C.V. Served in: California

ROYAL AUGUSTUS BENSELL, from Wisconsin Territory, Company D, 4th Infantry C.V. Served in: Oregon

JAMES E. LITTLETON, Company I, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Served in: California and Nevada

GREENLEAF CURTIS, Company G. 2nd Infantry C.V. Served in: California

HENRY C. HASKIN, from New York, Company K, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Served in: Utah Territory

HIRAM SINCLAIR TUTTLE, from Maine, Company K, 3rd Infantry C.V. Served in: Utah Territory

JULIUS C. HALL, from Connecticut, Served in Company K, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

ELI WARNOCK HAZEN, from Pennsylvania, Company E, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

THOMAS AKERS, from Company B., 5th Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

JARED T. KIMBERLY, from Connecticut, Company K, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

MOSES PATTERSON, from Pennsylvania, Company I, 1st Cavalry C.V. Served in: Southwest

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON GARRITT, Company E, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

GEORGE O. HAND, from New York, Company G, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

GEORGE W. OAKS, from Ohio, Company I, 1st Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

CLARENCE E. BENNETT, from New York, 1st Cavalry C.V. Served in: Southwest

JOHN W. TEAL, from Canada, Company B, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Served in: Southwest

ANDREW RYAN, Company A, 1st Battalion of Veterans Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

EDWARD TUTTLE from New York, Companies A, H, and F, 4th Infantry C.V. Served in: Southwest

JOHN AYERS, from Massachusetts, Company D, 1st Cavalry C.V. Served in: Southwest

SAMUEL JAMES CORBETT, from Massachusetts, Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

GEORGE WASHINGTON TOWLE, from Maine, Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

CHARLES ROBERTS from Canada, Company F, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

SAMUEL L. BACKUS from New York, Company L, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry,

OSBORN AYER, from New York, Company L, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

CHARLES L. JENKINS from Ohio, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

GEORGE W. BUHRER, from Germany, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

SAMUEL HANSCOM, Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry,

VALORUS DEARBORN Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry

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Introduction

Hurried across the continent by the Pony Express, the news of the bombing of Fort Sumter, South Carolina and President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops made headlines in an extra of San Francisco's *Daily Alta California* twelve days later on April 24, 1861. The next morning on the streets of California's leading city, emigrants from eastern states, from Pennsylvania to New York to Maryland, were in a "fever of excitement."[1] For the next few weeks, more particulars trickled in of the regional animosity let loose and the rush to arms by men of the North and the South. Like their fellow countrymen, San Franciscans prepared for war emotionally and militarily.

Both the armed forces and the general population in San Francisco responded quickly to the events in the East. Deeming Fort Point on the San Francisco side of the Golden Gate as the "Sumter of California," United States military officials quickly shifted United States Regulars and guns already assigned to the region around the San Francisco Bay's five forts to better defend the harbor. Public demonstrations of Union sentiment became common.[2] The grandest early display of patriotism came less than a month after the news of Fort Sumter's bombing and surrender. Before the May 11, 1861 gathering, the *Alta* insisted that "the sidewalks and windows should be occupied by ladies and children; the men should make it a point to swell the ranks, and form a monster procession, such as has never been seen in California."[3] A photograph and the paper's description show that this enthusiastic display of Union support indeed came to pass. An enormous banner hung from a building at a junction of Market, Post and Montgomery Streets,

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[1] "The Fort Sumter News – How it was received in San Francisco – Intense Excitement," *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco) [hereafter *DAC*]. 25 April 1861.
[2] "More Troops for Alcatraz," *DAC,* 26 April 1861. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California. Vol. VII*, *1860-1890.* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 263 discusses how long the news took to get to California.
[3] "The Union Demonstration – All Union Men Up!," *DAC,* 11 May 1861.

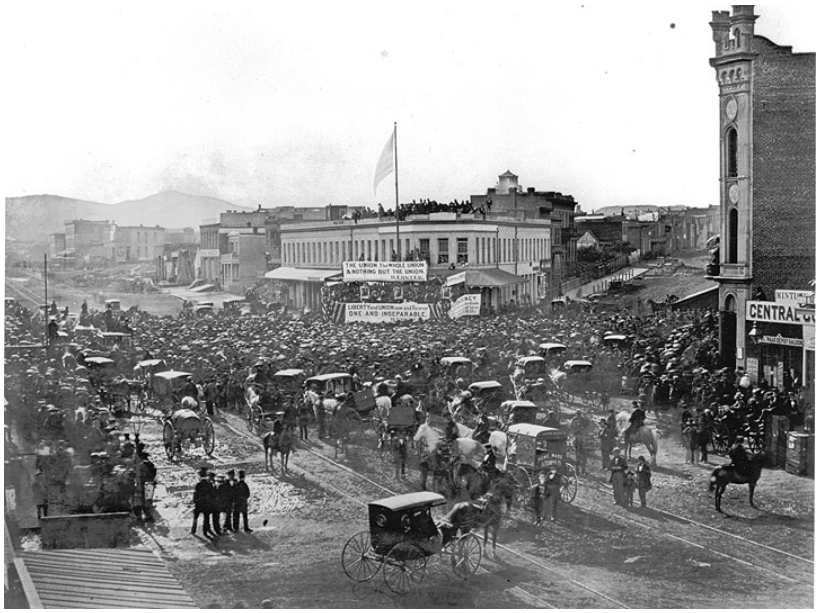

Figure 1: Pro-Union rally, San Francisco, 1861, Hurley, California and the Civil War, 54

three of San Francisco's main thoroughfares to this day, and at least 20,000 of San Francisco's 56,000 citizens attended or participated. After eighteen speeches given by men of all political parties, a parade of military personnel, eight hundred in number, strode through downtown. The paper approvingly described the scene of "thousands of flags, and banners and streamers… waving to and fro in the gentle wind…as if the very bunting was delighted with the beautiful scene."[4]

While outwardly displaying enthusiasm for preserving the Union, the personal responses of many San Franciscans ranged from indifference to outright opposition to the Union cause. The *Alta* reminded its readers in the wake of Fort Sumter that "you can look upon this crisis in affairs at a distance, and give it the benefit of cool reflection, may derive consolation from the fact that it is not at your doors, however sadly you may contemplate the evils of your friends and relations."[5]

In fact, many vocal former Southerners in California applauded the attack. Just days before San Francisco's pro-Unionist gathering, a group of Southern sympathizers from Texas in Monte, Los Angeles County raised the Bear Flag as a sign of protest against the U.S.

[4] "The Great Union Demonstration," *DAC,* 12 May 1861; California census, 1860.
[5] "Civil War Commenced - Hostilities Between the Federal Government and the Jeff. Davis Secessionists," *DAC,* 30 April 1861.

government. The *Alta* explained this community was "known to be farther from loyalty than those of any other township in the State." The group tried to march into Los Angeles with their makeshift banner, described as "a deep red flag, with a black bear painted on it," based on the symbol of California's 1846 very brief "independent republic." The San Francisco press called it a "secessionist rag," and the flag's public exhibition at this tense time fostered alarm and disagreements across the state over its meaning as participants tried to pass off the display as a joke.[6]

Even though California was geographically distant from the areas of rebellion, some San Francisco citizens acknowledged the need for "efficient organization of our citizen soldiery" to counter the potential actions of Southern sympathizers in a somewhat apathetic state and to assist in the East. Military meetings hosted by local militia invited all Union supporters to join, and an opinion piece in the *Alta* in May 1861 urged "the opening of a volunteer militia roll" so that the "State of California might in this way show to the world her position in this emergency, and prove herself true to the Union."[7]

San Francisco's first response was a call to create a military unit to go fight in the East. But did the distant and well-populated Northern states even need more troops at that time and would California's perhaps fragile Union leanings survive without these steadfast men? Commenting on the May 11 Union rally, the *Alta* suggested that the people of San Francisco were "conscious of our inability at this distance to take part in the great drama." Concerning the role California would thus play, the editor explained that the state was "on the verge of

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[6] "Bear Flag Raised in Los Angeles County – Election in Los Angeles," *Sacramento Daily Union,* 11 May 1861;"Continued Misrepresentation," *San Joaquin Republican* (Stockton), 26 May 1861; "The Account of the Bear Flag at Monte," *DAC,* 22 June 1861; John Mack Faragher, *Eternity Street: Violence and Justice in Frontier Los Angeles* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2016), 386-7. The Stockton paper compared the Sacramento and Los Angeles' reporting of the incident, in favor of the Democrat *Los Angeles Star's* calling it "mere wantonness of a holiday frolic." Debate also concerned if the flag had been made by painting over an American flag.

[7] "Military Meeting Today," *DAC,* 5 May 1861; "Meeting of the First Infantry Battalion and Union-Loving Citizens," *DAC,* 6 May 1861; UNION, "A Good Suggestion," *DAC,* 8 May 1861.

civilization, where great events are hereafter to occur…and much that is destined to make the United States the first commercial nation in the world." Citing California's economic strength meant that "the position, then, of California citizens is no means an insignificant one. We need not regret that we cannot take an active part in the struggle."[8] Nonetheless, four days later, a muster for volunteers in the First Regiment of California Volunteers, ready for Federal service in the East, began. The *Alta* hoped that idea would "be abandoned" because, as the paper editorialized, it was more judicious to keep California resources within the state, and not "weaken ourselves by needless and costly expeditions to the opposite side of the continent."[9]

The Federal government answered Californians' questions about military responsibility only three months after the start of the Civil War. In the week following the disastrous Union defeat at the hands of Confederate forces at the Battle of Bull Run in July 1861, President Lincoln called for one million more troops.[10] Instead of exempting California because Lincoln was "well supplied with troops [and] has not deemed it proper to call upon us for soldiers," as the editors of *Daily Alta California* reported in mid-May, on July 24, 1861 at 8:30 p.m., Secretary of War Simon Cameron sent a telegram to California Governor John G. Downey "accept[ing]… one regiment of infantry and five companies of cavalry," some 1,500 men, to fulfill their quota.[11] On August 4, 1861, the *Alta* recorded how eagerly Californians answered the government's call and the California Home Guards now hoped to be sent East.[12] Thus the first rolls of California

[8] "The Grand Union Meeting To-morrow," *DAC,* 10 May 1861; Bancroft, *History of California. Vol. VII*, 279.
[9] "First Regiment of California Volunteers," *DAC,* 14 May 1861.
[10] James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 348.
[11] "First Regiment of California Volunteers," *DAC,* 14 May 1861; Leo P. Kibby, "California Soldiers in the Civil War" *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40, no. 4, Civil War Commemorative Issue (December 1961): 343-50. Kibby offers a concise chronology of when each California Volunteer unit mustered into United States service; Simon Cameron to John Downey in Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1867* (Sacramento: State Office, 1890), 12.
[12] "California Guard – They Want to Go East," *DAC,* 4 August 1861.

troops were mustered into Federal service that summer of 1861 for terms of three years, just like their Eastern brethren. The rub was where Lincoln actually wanted these men deployed.

Like any other enthusiastic Union supporter, nineteen-year-old Edward Everett Ayer, currently of San Francisco and formerly from Harvard, Illinois, eagerly enlisted. He quit his job and along with "four or five of us boys working in the planing mill…immediately went down and enlisted in a cavalry company" to fill California's new quota of men. Ayer had only recently made California his home, arriving in San Francisco just three months before the April 1861 bombing of Fort Sumter. When he recounted his feelings in 1918 about that day long ago, he recalled putting his name down because:

> "This was going to be a long war and it was my duty to participate to the fullest extent, and… it would be very difficult for me to maintain my self respect in all the years after the war if I did not participate, and still a greater one was I wouldn't dare to go home and face my father and mother if I had neglected the first opportunity of giving the Government my services."[13]

Aiming to make his family and country proud, young Edward Ayer enlisted in the Union Army in Company E of the First California Cavalry on October 14, 1861. He would serve for three years, primarily in New Mexico Territory.

Ayer's experience was typical of most California Volunteers during the Civil War. From the beginning, "giving the Government my services" did not mean traveling East. Secretary Cameron's original order bid California soldiers to "guard the overland mail route from Carson Valley to Salt Lake," and the majority of the nearly 16,000 California men who would don Union blue in two cavalry regiments, two battalions, and eight infantry regiments during the conflict did not make it farther east than the Utah Territory. Approximately five hundred men *did* serve in the main theaters of action in east Virginia when they joined the 2nd Massachusetts

[13] "Reminiscences of the Far West and Other Trips, 1860-1918," Edward Everett Ayer papers, MS 45, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Orton, *Records of California Men,* 122.

Cavalry through a deal with said state, but the rest remained in California and the surrounding territories west of the Mississippi River, an area which was already torn by skirmishes with Native peoples.

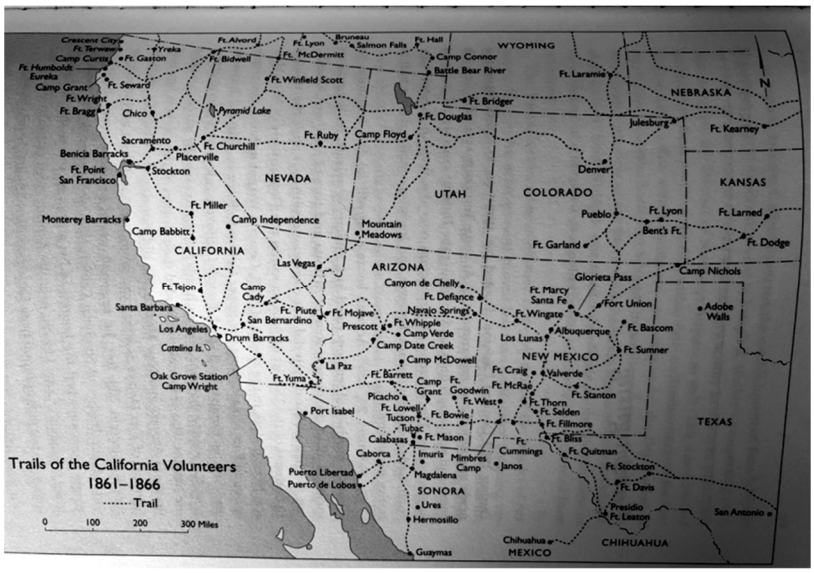

Figure 2: Trails of California Volunteers (except 2nd Mass. Cavalry in Virginia), Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona*, 55.

Early California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft emphasized in 1890 that "California had few men on the battle-fields where most blood was spilt, not because they were not offered, but because they were not wanted there." He explained further that "the volunteers of this sparse population were entrusted with the labor of aweing avowed secession at home, guarding against foreign interference and fighting numerous Indian tribes from Oregon to New Mexico."[14] Of the character of the state, however, he pronounced antebellum California "still the elf-child of the union, never regularly baptized into the family of the states," and that the state could have "betray[ed]" the "federal sisterhood" in this moment of national strife.[15] Bancroft's assessment evokes both the willingness of many young men to volunteer – and all Californians were

[14] Bancroft, *History of California, Volume VII,* 314.
[15] Ibid., 260.

volunteers[16] – and their wide range of duties as well as the state's uncertain position within the Union when the war began.

This study considers how the voluntary service of California's Civil War soldiers was perceived as a manifestation of California's support of the Union by the soldiers themselves, fellow Californians and the North. By analyzing the both the contributions and rhetoric of soldiers and the people who wrote about them, I argue that the participation of the California Volunteers helped connect California to the rest of the nation. Even when the California soldiers were simply manning forts or participating in raids against Native peoples, instead of directly fighting Confederates, their descriptions of why they served shows how they believed they were contributing to the goals of unifying the country, spreading Union values, and allowing for further expansion of white settlement across the continent. The 500 men who served in the East brought these beliefs across the country with them. Incorporating a discussion of the experiences of the Californian soldier into the history of Civil War military service, brings a deeper understanding of the national scope of the conflict, and how the soldiers were able to assert their badge of California identity while bringing California into a closer relationship with the nation.

The importance of Civil War engagements in the Far West, defined as conflict west of the Mississippi River, remains a subject often disregarded in Civil War historiography and in United States history. Early military histories of this time period and place point out the importance of contributions made by soldiers in the distant Far West, but they treat their service, complicated by Indian affairs, as local more than national concerns.[17] Recently scholars have debated whether

[16] There were rumors that California would have a draft, just like other Union states in 1863. This drew consternation from many people, especially pro-secessionists, but ultimately did not occur. See "The Draft to be Enforced! - 8000 Conscripts in California," *Los Angeles Star* [hereafter *LAS*], 2 April 1864. When enlistment began to drop off in 1864, California offered bounties of $160. Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1867* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 126.

[17] Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific: Its Operations in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, plains region, Mexico, etc., 1860-1866* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark

the Civil War in the Far West, including the conflicts with Native peoples, was a "separate war," or if the Civil War made the West a more integrated part of the nation rather than a distant, almost international space.[18] Military interactions in the Far West have occasionally been given more serious consideration. In 1998, Sherry L. Smith argued for the reintroduction of military history into racially diverse and nuanced New Western Histories to study the "complex (and perhaps overlooked) understandings of the past, particularly regarding matters of political and military domination and its consequences." Seventeen years later, historian Stacey L. Smith, in her more specific literature review on the east and west United States during the Civil War, urged scholars of the Civil War to look to the West, as one does to the South, for being "a laboratory for testing federal power, critical to understanding the construction of the U.S. nation-state, [which] has always been a foundational theme in the field of western history."[19] Acknowledging the pigeon-holed assumptions of Western military and Civil War categories, both scholars suggest that the military actions in the West during the Civil War period can be evaluated as means to examine larger issues of the evolution of Federal power and Federal engagement nationwide.

My study contributes to this emerging scholarship on Civil War service in the West by revealing how California volunteers serving in both the western and eastern United States saw their actions as part of the process of knitting together the union. I consider the acts and

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Company, 1951); Ray C. Colton, *Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Oscar Lewis, *The War in the Far West, 1861-1865.*(Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

[18] Thomas E. Cutrer, *Theater of a Separate War: The Civil War West of the Mississippi River, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Carol L. Higham, *The Civil War and the West: The Frontier Transformed.* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013); Andrew E. Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands, 1861-1867* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).

[19] Sherry L. Smith, "Lost Soldiers: Re-searching the Army in the American West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 29 (Summer 1998):155; Stacey L. Smith, "Beyond North and South: Putting the West in the Civil War and Reconstruction" *Journal of the Civil War Era* 6, no. 4 (December 2016): 568.

sentiments of individuals as being a window into what this nation-building meant on the ground. These personal accounts show the connections Californians had with their nation, even while most were geographically distant from the main theaters of the Civil War. That these accounts often appeared in letters or were printed in newspapers means that many Californians learned of these attitudes. The activities and writings of California's Civil War volunteers are manifestations of Californians' intentional engagement with what had been a distant nation up until that point.

To understand the state-building effects of California Civil War volunteer soldiers' service, I explore how soldiers and civilians expressed nationalism at that time. I also assess how concerns about masculinity informed feelings of duty and patriotism. Nationalism, being defined as the expression of an "imagined political community" with a shared identity within a broad, yet finite, physical space, is a useful construct for understanding the actions and sentiments of Union-supporting California citizens.[20] Not only male soldiers felt emotionally connected to the East through news of the War, but Union-supporting citizens actively participated in local patriotic rallies and money-raising balls, all of which contributed to a national war effort, especially the Sanitary Commission. The shipments of gold and generous donations – amounting to over $40 million – prompted Union General U.S. Grant to say in 1864 that "I do not know what we would do in this great national emergency were it not for the gold sent from California."[21] This outpouring of generosity is part of what historian Eric Lohr calls "war nationalism." He contends that wars, often precipitated by "ruptures" like "state or empire collapse" create moments when "nationalism [is] mobilized." The application of this concept to the Civil War, when the threat of a permanent disunion galvanized those loyal to the U.S.

[20] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* .(London: Verso, 1991), 5-6.
[21] Glenna Matthews, *The Golden State in the Civil War: Thomas Starr King, the Republican Party, and the Birth of Modern California.* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3; Quoted in Leonard L. Richards, *The California Gold Rush and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 230.

government to enlist and donate funds, shows how violent conflict can quicken the pace of vocal support for the nation, part of Lohr's term, "sudden nationalism."[22]

Distance, however, threatened that feeling of unity with the rest of the nation, as state residents also worried about Confederate, Indian, and international invasion of the West while the East focused on the main war theaters. For the soldiers themselves– as historian Ricardo A. Herrera points out – the "military ethos of republicanism…illustrates American soldiers' faith in an inseparable connection between bearing arms on the behalf of the United States and holding citizenship in it."[23] California volunteers, many of whom reasoned that their recent decisions to move to the Far West severed their connection to the core of the United States, felt physically and psychologically isolated. Unlike Eastern recruits, they had already made the physical and emotional break with their families. Instead of leaving for war with Victorian "sentimental fantasies" of heroism, most of those who enlisted in California regiments often had left their homes in the 1850s, or earlier, for gold and adventure and marched to war without a family's farewell. Thus, the deed of enlisting can be viewed as an act of joining up rather than the separation experienced by soldiers in the East.[24]

California soldiers' sense of masculine duty during the Civil War also reveals considerations about being brave and worthy of honor like men serving in other regions. Historian Amy S. Greenberg lays out two modes of masculinity for white American males, the "martial" and "restrained" forms of manhood, and it was the former that supported "aggressive

[22] Eric Lohr, "War Nationalism," in *The Empire and Nationalism at War.* Eds. Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semyonov, and Mark von Hagen. (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2014), 93.
[23] Ricardo A. Herrera, *For Liberty and the Republic: The American Citizen as Soldier, 1775-1861* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), x.
[24] Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War America.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 20.

expansionism" westward.[25] Adding to Greenberg's analysis, in 2018 Christopher Herbert asserted that California gold miners in fact reflected a mixture of these modes. As "products of the Victorian era," Herbert reminded the reader, American white men who came to mine gold understood the social capital placed on "restrained manhood." When they left, they became separated from the "moderating influences of women, parents and other figures of authority… [and] many miners…had little desire to entirely reproduce the values of the East." This gave California's new residents a reputation as debauched and lazy citizens. Interactions with the racially-diverse residents of gold rush towns, however, compelled Easterners to "impose the middle-class racial and gender values" to maintain supremacy. The miners' freedom from the constraints of home clashed with more restrained behavior implying racial superiority, thereby creating a tenuous balance.[26] These two foci of nationalism and masculinity situate potential California soldiers as tethered to the eastern nation-state, in that they still reflected the political and social beliefs about America and duty from the States, while preserving a claim to a distinct experience of living in the less "civilized" Pacific. How this duality manifested itself in Federal military service, along with home-front activities of raising money and feting soldiers, complements the investigation of how the Civil War years allowed for visible expression of how California was part of the far off Union.

To draw out these themes, I examine the experiences and reactions to California's contingent of federal Union volunteers who served both in the West and East. Luckily, as historian Aurora Hunt pronounced in 1951, "as though the volunteers of the Army of the Pacific had foreseen that their services would be forgotten by future generations, they left their own

[25] Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 11-2, 14.
[26] Christopher Herbert, *Gold Rush Manliness: Race and Gender on the Pacific Slope* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 7-8.

record."[27] In addition, preserved in newspapers and in archival collections, a sketch of the Civil War California Volunteers becomes clearer. In all, I have located the letters, diaries, or reminiscences of forty-five individual Union volunteers in archives in California and Arizona, thirteen of whom served in Virginia, along with newspapers from the west and east coasts, local and federal military records, and photographs and descriptions of public displays of support for the military and the Union. All but three of the men whose records I use survived the war. This casualty percentage, 6.7%, is somewhat greater than the percentage of total fatalities by California's 16,000 men – 575 or 3.5%. [Chart 1][28]

This is not to say that California only contributed *Union* soldiers to the Civil War. Like the nation, 1850s California divided into a more populous and developed North, centered around San Francisco, and a smaller and agrarian South, centered on the town of Los Angeles. Northern California was the more Union area, but there were still Confederate sympathizers there. Notably, Californian Confederates included Judge David S. Terry and California Senator Daniel Showalter, who killed both U.S. Senator David Broderick and California State Senator Charles W. Piercy, respectively, in political duels before the Civil War began. Former Department of the Pacific commander General Albert Sidney Johnston would be killed in 1862 during the Battle of Shiloh fighting alongside Confederate Colonel Harry Innes Thornton, Jr., a California senator originally from Alabama.[29] During the War, the pro-secession newspaper, *Los Angeles Star,*

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[27] Hunt, *The Department of the Pacific,* 28.
[28] James M. McPherson similarly compares his sample of Civil War soldiers fatality rates to those of soldiers as a whole in *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), ix.
[29] Pro-Southerner Daniel (Dan) Showalter shot and killed anti-secessionist Charles W. Piercy in Marin County with a shotgun from forty paces. This was the final "notable" duel in California history. Showalter's flight across the Southwest to Texas will be part of Chapter 3. Clarence C. Clendenen, "Dan Showalter – California Secessionist." *The California Historical Society Quarterly* 40, no. 4, Civil War Commemorative Issue (December, 1961): 310-3; Harry Innes Thornton, Jr. "Recollections of a Confederate Officer from California," *Southern California Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (September 1963): 195-218.

periodically updated its readers on the goings on of certain "Confederates of California."[30] Aside from these examples of those who donned gray during the Civil War from California, Confederate Californians are not well-recorded like their state-supported comrades in blue, and so will not be part of this story.

Peter S. Carmichael's 2018 study on Civil War soldiers, *The War for the Common Soldier,* provides a model of analyzing the earlier careers and experiences of California's enlisted men and how the Gold Rush drew them west from their states of origin.[31] While a California regiment was created mostly of locally-born Hispanic Californios, and one Californio made his way to fighting in Virginia*,* the majority of California enlistees were recent white American migrants. Using the diaries, letters, military records and memoirs of California's Union soldiers, I consider how, when, and why the men were in California, and how those experiences might have influenced why they volunteered and how they perceived their time in uniform as part of a national crusade. Newspapers played two different roles: reporting on how civilians felt about the Volunteers and printing letters from the soldiers themselves.[32]

While stationed in Fort Craig, New Mexico, Sergeant Ayer requested his resignation papers in 1864, as the "longed for time had arrived when [he] could start home." For him, this, in fact, meant Illinois, not his adopted state California, from which he had been away for far longer. Serving in New Mexico Territory, fighting Apaches and Navajos and not Confederates, clearly constituted sufficient military commitment to face his family with honor upon his return home to Illinois. In this way, representing the state of California still exemplified in his eyes

[30] See "Californians in the Confederate Army," *LAS,* 12 December 1863.
[31] Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier.* I plan to go further than this work in discussing the pre-1861 experiences of soldiers. Paul N. Beck, *Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers, Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions 1863-1864* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013) and Peter Guardino *The Dead March: A History of the Mexican-American War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017) also helped me conceptualize how to describe soldiers' experiences.
[32] There is much scholarly debate about the usefulness or lack thereof of including "reminiscences" in Civil War studies. Given my particular focus on a small soldiering population, I consider all available materials.

"participat[ing] to the fullest extent" in the Civil War.[33] Similarly, the experiences of other California volunteers, supported by much of the population, reveal how Californians' dedication to the Union helped to redefine the state as an integral player in national affairs.

This investigation is divided into four chapters. The first explores how the history and characteristics of Californian identity since American ownership in 1848 influenced the ethos of individuals in California volunteering to join the military during the Civil War and how their California background was distinct from most other Union comrades. Chapter two considers the way soldiers serving in the regions in or near California described their contributions of monitoring possibly seditious white populations and "unruly" Native peoples. Moving to the Southwest, chapter three analyzes how California soldiers depicted their Union mission of facing Native and Confederate enemies, along with a trying climate. Chapter four follows California's soldiers sent to the Eastern Theater in Virginia, and considers how their early celebrated status waned as they were included into a Massachusetts regiment and fought in obscure corners of the War. Serving from San Francisco to Salt Lake City, and from Albuquerque to Appomattox Courthouse, the California Volunteers described experiences that illuminate how these men saw themselves as representatives of their state which supported the nation as a whole.

[33] Ayer, "Reminiscences of the Far West and Other Trips," 41, 16. While Ayer lived and made his fortune in Illinois, he maintained a strong connection with California, owning a winter home in Pasadena where he died in 1927.

Chapter 1: Becoming Californians and Then Soldiers, 1848-1861

California Identity, Foreign California

Prior to American victory in the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848, a "Californian" identified one of partial or full Hispanic heritage, or an Indigenous person. When California entered the Union as the 31st state, and one free from slavery, in 1850, it was home to former residents of all of the other United States and numerous countries from China to Chile. Granted citizenship through Article I, Section 17 of California's 1849 State Constitution, all "foreigners who are, of who may hereafter become bona fide residents if this State … [were deemed to] enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession, enjoyment, and inheritance of property, as native born citizens."[34] Suddenly, a "Californian" could be a Chinese miner, a French prostitute, a slave-owning American Southerner, or a Yankee carpenter. Although voting rights were only extended to "white male citizens of the United States" and "white male citizens of Mexico, who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States," the moniker of Californian seemed to be broad.[35] In defining a new Californian community, this label of "citizen" followed philosopher Ernst Renan's assertion that gaining citizenship in a country would unite those of different lineages into a common name.[36] In this case, however, such a label could only go so far.

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[34] "1849 - California Constitution" (2019). *Miscellaneous Documents and Reports*. 108.https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/hornbeck_usa_3_d/108

[35] Voting rights were nearly given to Indigenous Californians as well, but the measure failed by one vote at the Constitutional Convention. Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873.* (Hartford, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 153. On the eve of the Civil War, approximately two-thirds of eligible voters were "natives of foreign countries" with the most coming from Ireland, Germany, and the British Isles, in descending order. Of ineligible voters, Scandinavians, French, and southern Europeans and Chinese were the largest groups. Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50.

[36] Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?", text of a conference paper delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882, in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-cequ'unenation?*,translated by Ethan Rundell (Paris: Presses-Pocket, 1992), 4. http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf Renan claims that being a French citizen removed distinctions between a "Burgund, an Alain, a Taifala, or a Visigoth."

Within a year of the adoption of California's state Constitution, legislators claimed rights of full citizenship only for those like themselves, being male, white, and of Anglo- or Hispano-American origin. They feared the social order of California would not properly adhere to their concepts of "work, race, and citizenship," which politicians understood as the underpinnings of republican government, and thus reimposed the label of "foreigner" to many non-whites.[37] Even though California's new definition of who was a citizen were limited by race, realities of social and political life in the West fostered identifiable Californian traits for many of its residents, most of whom participated in the Gold Rush. These shared experiences for California residents such as engaging in hard labor and closely interacting with a racially and a sectionally diverse population in turn translated into particular views and behaviors for the state's Union soldiers.

From 1846 to 1849, the population of California burgeoned from 700 non-natives, mostly Americans, to 100,000 foreigners from around the world.[38] The Gold Rush created enormous competition for mineral and social resources amongst miners of different nationalities, leading to legal battles to maintain white male authority in the mines and in government. The act of discovering placers, the free-floating gold deposits that could be found with a simple pan in a riverbed, constituted the ideal of equal and individual labor. Hawaiians, Chileans, Chinese, Californios, and even Miwok women participated. For American-born miners, however, the story of the California Gold Rush remained an all-white narrative of male successes and failures.[39]

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[37] Herbert, *Gold Rush Manliness,* 48.
[38] "The California Gold Rush," *American Experience,* PBS. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/goldrush-california/
[39] Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000)*,* 100-30, 162-74,212, 322. Johnson points out that in reality, men lived and performed domestic tasks with one another, and danced together in their leisure time.

Observing the true nature of multiculturalism among miners caused the first California legislature quickly to limit the free-for-all nature of gold mining and preserve the hope of success for whites. In 1850, they passed the first Act for the Better Regulation of the Mines and the Government of the Foreign Miners to tax anyone not a white American.[40] This tax allegedly claimed to keep slave laborers from mining in free California. Selectively enforced, the tax effectively banned all foreign-born miners, and its 1852 iteration blocked Chinese miners by making their fees exorbitantly high.[41]

More than merely financially excluding "foreigners" from the mines, white Americans also forcefully removed anyone they did not want. Cultural prejudices against Native peoples by the new white citizens fostered aggressive and disorganized violence against California Indians even as white Americans still had only tenuous claims to the region. The idea that Indians were a "frightful" and barbaric enemy was already well-established in Anglo-American tradition. Brought up with stories of Indigenous peoples as biologically inferior and innately vicious, white miners and later Civil War soldiers saw no inhumanity in targeting Native peoples.[42] The 1850s California government openly advocated their eradication in the name of America's manifest destiny. The state paid residents to undertake expeditions against California Natives. As historian Benjamin Madley catalogs, the California "killing machine" began in April 1850 as the California militia system approved both a compulsory and a volunteer militia organization. The latter companies were the more robust of the two, with 35,000 Californians serving from 1851 to 1865. Without oversight for individual actions, "almost any excuse could trigger the mass killing

[40] Herbert, *Gold Rush Manliness,* 53-4.
[41] Herbert, *Gold Rush Manliness,* 54; Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013)*,* 93, 107; Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* 210. Fees were as high as $20 for a claim.
[42] Wayne E. Lee, *Barbarians and Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)*,* 2-4; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2008), 40, 43-8; Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 46-9.

of California Indians…suggest[ing] that their routinized massacre…was part of a larger project of annihilating them in order to take possession of their lands and natural resources."[43] By the beginning of the Civil War, California was awash in military organizations and many men were trained in using guns from conflicts in mines and hunting Indians. The national conflict presented not as much the start of war but mobilization of a community primed for violence.

While preventing non-whites from mining through the Foreign Miner's tax, and killing Native peoples may have brought white men in California together, the question of African American slavery and free labor that consumed national politics also led to California's own bitter divisions. At the 1849 California Constitutional Convention, some delegates proposed refusing African Americans entrance to the state, but they were opposed by former Southerners who aimed to bring their slaves to work in the mines.[44] When California entered the Union as part of the Compromise of 1850, its formal free-state designation did not guarantee harmony among its politically-diverse population, which, like the country as a whole, was geographically split north and south. The state's divided allegiances were also embodied in the men initially chosen to represent California in the United States Senate: John C. Frémont, who considered himself a Free Soil Democrat and later became the first Republican presidential candidate, and William Gwin, a Democrat of the Southern "Chivalry" or "Chiv" party, who continued to hold slaves in Mississippi while living in California.[45]

Some of these political conflicts turned violent. Just as U.S. Senate Republican Charles Sumner faced the cane of Democrat Preston Brooks in response to Sumner's harsh words castigating the Southern bedfellows of "the harlot, slavery," California politicians disputed the

[43] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 174-8.
[44] Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* 189-90.
[45] Matthews, *The Golden State in the Civil War,* 13-4.

same slavery question in a similarly aggressive manner.[46] The climax of California's sectionalism of the 1850s occurred when a member of the California State Supreme Court, the Kentuckian David Terry, insulted the California's Free Soil Democrat Irish-American U.S. Senator David Broderick over Broderick's position against the pro-slave Kansas Lecompton Constitution. Heated rhetoric between the two men led to a duel on the border between San Francisco and San Mateo counties. Before a crowd of more than eighty individuals, Terry shot Broderick on September 13, 1859, and the senator died three days later.[47] His death stirred the state's new Republican Party to press its citizens to stand with the Union, and by 1862, the Republican Party led the state.[48]

Local politics helped California's residents create their own "imagined community" in the West which drew in features from Northern and Southern values, as well as those shaped by white Americans' experiences as miners and interactions with Native people in the West. A 2014 dissertation analyzed the creation of a uniquely "Western identity" termed "frontier localism" which was just coming into its own in 1860. A brief list of these Western values includes some ethnic toleration, anti-slavery beliefs, and a shared understanding of Native people as their "common negative reference group."[49] While such an imagined political community is defined by the locale, I extend the idea that an affirmed Western identity became an identifiable set of

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[46] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 150.

[47] Arthur Quinn, *The Rivals: William Gwin, David Broderick, and the Birth of California.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1994), 264-70; Jack K. Williams, *Dueling in the Old South: A Social Vignette* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1980), 150.

[48] Matthews, *The Golden State,* 80. President Lincoln's friend and Oregon Senator Edwin Baker's eulogy of Broderick was one of his most powerful speeches in California on behalf of the Union. During the Civil War, California had three Union-supporting governors, John Downey (D, slave-owning), Leland Stanford (R), and Frederick F. Low (R).

[49] Bryan Anthony Carter. "A Frontier Apart: Identity, Loyalty, and the Coming of the Civil War on the Pacific Coast," (PhD dissertation in History, Oklahoma State University, 2014), 21 Tristan Shamp has also taken into consideration the formation of Southern identity in central California during the Civil War in Tristan DuVal Shamp, "Nationalism, California, and the Civil War: The Divided Town of Visalia." (MA thesis in History, California State University, Fresno, 2009); and Daniel Lynch has considered Californio/Southern identity during this same time period: Daniel Brendan Lynch, "Southern California Chivalry: The Convergence of Southerners and Californios in the Far Southwest, 1846-1866" (PhD dissertation in History, University of California, Los Angeles, 2015).

values adopted by the young men who signed the rolls as California Civil War volunteers. Even those who did not participate personally in the trials of the Gold Rush still incorporated the collective past experience learned from those around them. In so doing, they added a California "Western identity" into the identity of being a Union soldier and a member of the United States.

Lead Up to Civil War

As California received the news that the long-feared war between North and South had begun in the East, the *Daily Alta California* of San Francisco proudly touted the special role its young citizens would have to play in the war as soldiers. Writing in May 1861, one month after the bombing of Fort Sumter, the editors emphasized:

> "We wish it understood in the Atlantic States that such is the sentiment of our people. Let it be borne constantly in mind, that we have in this State 120,000 voters, most of whom are young men, used to handling arms, their hearts full of adventure and enthusiasm; who take hold of whatever they have to do with an energy of purpose *peculiarly Californian*"[50]

Even though by the 1860s more white women began to make California home, the region could still boast of being a "recruiters' paradise" with 46% of residents being men of military age.[51] The advent of war meant an immediate reorganization of the U.S. Army's Department of the Pacific, as the already small number of Regular soldiers were called east from their western frontier posts.[52] For this reason, the "peculiarly Californian" residents had to take their places.

Between the U.S.-Mexican War and the Civil War, the vast territory acquired in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo meant new policing difficulties for the United States, which had

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[50] "The Great Union Demonstration; California Unconditionally for the Union; The Pacific Coast for the Stars & Stripes," *DAC,* 12 May 1861. Emphasis added.
[51] Richard Hurley, *California and the Civil War* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2017), 58.
[52] Glenn Thomas Edwards, Jr., "The Department of the Civil War in the Civil War Years." (PhD dissertation in History, University of Oregon, 1963), 4. Edwards explains that the Department of the Pacific was first established in 1853, then was split in 1859 into the Departments of California and Oregon, only to be recombined in 1861. (The Department of New Mexico since 1853 remained its own entity.) For simplicity, I will only refer to this military unit as the Department of the Pacific.

only a limited standing army. These troops were stretched thin west of the Mississippi River and outposts rarely enjoyed full military capacity. At the time of the Treaty, these soldiers were the only agents of the United States government in the Far West, and the addition of 1.2 million square miles of territory from Mexico did not mean the immediate approval of more soldiers to man the new frontier regions. During the 1850s, the army's presence in the Far West doubled, but this force was still relatively sparse.[53] Jefferson Davis, then-Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce, confirmed that "this force [was] entirely inadequate to the purposes" of protecting U.S. interests.[54] Even so, the army built over seventy-five forts, including over forty in California, all in the hope of securing lands for American settlers at Native peoples' expense.[55] Many of the Civil War's best-known generals on both sides made their starts on such duties in the Far West, including Ulysses S. Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman, and George Pickett. These officers, like many of their enlisted men, migrated east as trouble brewed.[56]

As the Civil War spread the U.S. Army ever more sparsely over the Far West, Confederate schemes to expand the Southern hold over these new territories filled those loyal to the United States with fear. The most famous filibusterers, Tennessee-born William Walker and former California Senator Henry A. Crabb, set their sights on Mexico and countries farther south to expand both the territory of the United States and slavery. Both men met bloody ends, with

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[53] Durwood Ball, *Army Regulars on the Western Frontier: 1848-1861* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), xii, xx-xxi; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian 1848-1865.* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1967), 19. Utley explains, using his example of the Army's size in June 1853 from the military's *Annual Report*, that the "authorized size of the Army was 13,821, the actual size was 10,417, and of the 8,342 officers and men in unites stationed on the western frontier, 6,918 were actually at their posts."
[54] Quoted in Matthews, *The Golden State,* 107.
[55] Ball, *Army Regulars,* 13, 38; Herbert M. Hart, *Old Forts of the Far West* (Seattle, WA: Superior Publishing Company, 1965), map on end paper. Counted are forts built between 1849 and 1859. There was an explosion of fort building in the 1860s.
[56] Matthews, *The Golden State,* 108.

Crabb using southern California as his base of support.[57] Within California, as early as 1857 when the Democratic Party split into Northern and Southern wings, there were whispers of California and the Oregon Territory establishing their own "Pacific Republic," and this idea only gained steam as South Carolina announced its exit from the Union in December 1860. Even though California narrowly supported Republican Abraham Lincoln in his first election, the "Pacific Republic" had the approval of some elected officials from California's Democratic Party. Democratic Senator Gwin and Democratic Governor Milton S. Latham supported the idea, with the former already planning its "eastern boundary" as the Rocky Mountains in case of "dissolution." The pro-secession *Los Angeles Star*'s editor enthusiastically repeated their arguments, spreading the idea in the less populous southern part of the state.[58]

The support for a Pacific Republic within the state caused the Federal government to question both the military preparedness and the loyalty of the officers stationed in California. In particular the allegiance of the commander of the Department of the Pacific, General Albert Sydney Johnston, a Kentucky-born Texan, immediately came under suspicion. Allegedly, representatives of the local secessionist "Band of 30" approached Johnston on the subject of using his post to help California become her own republic and then join the Confederate cause.[59] Despite this plea, Johnston did all in his power to protect California's Union flag and served

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[57] Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood,* 31-3, 42-3, 168-9; James E. Moss, "Henry A. Crabb, Filibuster, and the San Diego Herald," *The Journal of San Diego History* 19, no. 1 (Winter 1973).

[58] Hurley, *California and the Civil War*, 31-2; John W. Robinson, *Los Angeles in Civil War Days: 1860*-65 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 34; Rachel St. John, "The Unpredictable Nature of William Gwin: Expansion, Secession, and the Unstable Borders of Nineteenth-Century North America." *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 6, no. 1 (March 2016): 67. Gwin in particular continued to press for expanded land for slavery. Other pro-slavery representatives from Los Angeles also "led yearly legislative campaigns to divide off California into a separate state." See Smith, *Freedom's Frontier,* 126.

[59] Asbury Harpending, *The Great Diamond Hoax and other Stirring Incidents in the Life of Asbury Harpending* (San Francisco: James H. Barry Co., 1913, repr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 23-4. There was a published rumor that "certain conspirators" planned to take command of the newly-completed Fort Point. "Fort Point and Military Matters," *DAC,* 14 February 1861.

honorably until General Edwin Vose Sumner arrived on April 25, 1861. Johnston then left the state to join the Confederate Army.[60]

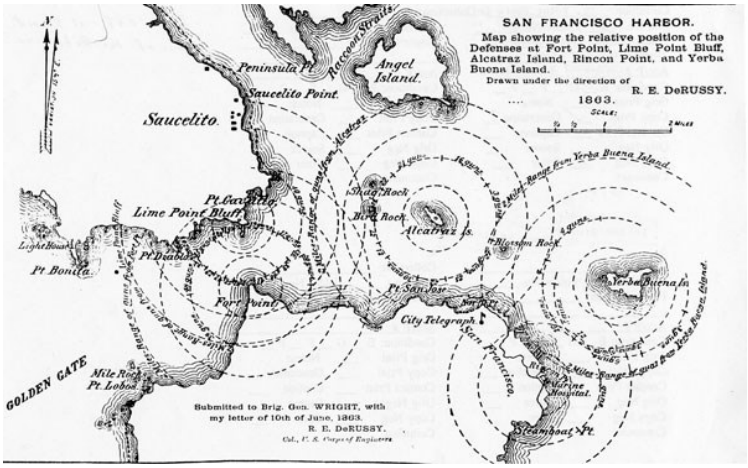

Figure 3: San Francisco Harbor defenses, 1863, National Park Service

The need to employ new soldiers to protect California and the West from possible Confederate invasion or internal Confederate-inspired rebellion against government officials and California's greatest asset, gold, became immediately apparent. By Christmas 1861, two-thirds of the regulars had been reassigned to the forts east of the Mississippi, leaving the American West "in crisis"; only the 9th Infantry, 3rd Artillery (at Alcatraz) and an ordnance detachment remained in the Pacific for the duration of the War.[61] The Department of the Pacific, headquartered in San Francisco, had forts spread across California. Northern California's main fortification, Fort Point, located on the southern side of the Golden Gate at the entrance to San Francisco Bay (now directly beneath the southern anchorage of the Golden Gate Bridge), was designed to guard the water route to the goldfields.[62] In Los Angeles, "fortifications" had been erected in the 1850s further inland to protect against Indians, with the farthest east being Fort Yuma on the Colorado River, but as war became imminent the ongoing

[60] Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 43-6;William G. Morris suggested that General Johnston may not have acted loyally while wearing his U.S. Army title given Johnston's later service. See William G. Morris, *Address delivered before the Society of California Volunteers, as its first annual celebration, at San Francisco, April 25th, 1866* (San Francisco, CA: Commercial Steam Publishing House, Francis, Valentine & Co.,1866). The rumor that General Johnston aimed to "bring off a coup" was repeated into the 1980s; see Joe Doctor, "Keeping Visalia in the Union" *Exeter Sun,* March 12, 1980.

[61] Matthews, *The Golden State,* 111; Josephy, *The American West in the Civil War,* 34, 241.

[62] Hart, *Old Forts of the Far West,* 92-5; Matthews, *The Golden State,*106-112; "Civil War at the Golden Gate," *NPS.* February 2, 2016, Accessed May 9, 2018. https://www.nps.gov/goga/learn/historyculture/civil-war-at-golden-gate.htm. While no longer under the command of the U.S. military, Fort Point, Fort Mason, the Presidio, and Alcatraz remain popular tourist attractions today, maintained by the National Park Service. For more information on these structures during the 1860s see John P. Langellier, "The Union Forever: Bay Area Military Maneuvering in the Civil War," *The Californians: The Magazine of California History*3, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1985): 8-13.

reality of violent altercations between citizens and the government began to take on a more pressing aspect. For example, during the years 1860 to 1865, resentment of the Union intensified, resulting in the local birth of a branch of the shadowy pro-Confederate "Knights of the Golden Circle."[63] Outside California, the new Confederate States had their eyes on the Pacific by way of New Mexico Territory and southern California in order to extend their territory and opportunities for acquiring a port.

To protect vulnerable Californians, General Sumner began moving Regulars still in the field to strategic locations near urban centers. He deployed soldiers in the northwest to the San Francisco Bay Area, and men from Fort Mojave in the Mojave Desert and Fort Tejon on Grapevine pass to Los Angeles before the U.S. government authorized the first regiments of California Volunteers to protect the Overland Trail through Utah.[64] Recruiting began slowly because some potential volunteers hoped a later call for Californians to travel east would take the place of postings in the West.[65] In some ways they were correct that there would be new calls for men to serve in a wider variety of regions, but, almost uniformly, not in the East. Collectively, the "California Volunteers," shortened on their records to "C.V.," in fact served all over California, the Northwest, the Great Basin (inland areas of California and adjacent territories), and New Mexico Territory (which included Arizona formally separated in 1863[66]), with eight

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[63] Faragher, *Eternity Street*, 385, 394-400; Robinson, *Los Angeles in Civil War Days*, 55, 77. The Knights of the Golden Circle was a national pro-Confederate organization started in Indiana that saw the "golden circle" as slavery's realm extending west into California and south into Central America. See David C. Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle: Secret Empire, Southern Secession, Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014). Robinson's estimate of 253 members comes from Gustav Brown, who entered the organization as a spy in 1864. Other contemporary sources claimed that there may have been as many as 16,000 California members. See Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "California and the Civil War: A Bibliographical Essay." *The California Historical Society Quarterly* 40, no. 4, Civil War Commemorative Issue (December 1961): 289-307 for the history of this debate. Today, consensus among California historians is that membership numbers rested in the range Brown discovered. Since the KGC was a secret organization, however, one will never truly know.

[64] Matthews, *The Golden State,* 109; Edwards, "The Department of the Pacific in the Civil War Years," 63-5, 76

[65] "Service on the Plains," *DAC,* 11 August 1861.

[66] The Confederacy created Arizona Territory first in 1862, then the United States Congress made it a separate territory from New Mexico in early 1863.

additional companies of Californians mustered on behalf of Washington Territory. In late 1862, five hundred men did earn the honor to serve in the elite California 100 and California Battalion, units specially selected to join the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Only they fought in the East.[67]

Almost all of the C.V. soldiers were white men from California, with a few originating from Nevada Territory, which did not have its own Federal military unit until 1863, shortly before Nevada became a state in 1864. The majority of soldiers were Americans, with some Europeans, Canadians, and the Native Battalion comprised of Californios. These men signed muster rolls across the state with major centers in San Francisco and Sacramento. While the C.V. did not enlist any African American Californians as privates, San Francisco's black community wanted to form a "colored regiment" as soon as President Lincoln allowed free black enlistment in 1863. Some African Americans were formally mustered as undercooks in California regiments as provisioned by the congressional militia act of 1862 that allowed blacks to join up in roles for which they were deemed "competent".[68]

The effort of preparing green recruits for potential battle required new training camps overseen by the few Regulars still in the region, and the provisioning of clothing and equipment for the soldiers. This westernmost state thus experienced the sudden appearance of men dressed in blue, drilling in open spaces just as in communities farther east. Photographs of these activities in Oakland and Hayward could easily be mistaken for those from Boston or New York.

[67] Orton, *Records of California Men,* 5.
[68] "The Lecture and War Meeting," *Pacific Appeal* [San Francisco], 6 June 1863. The *Pacific Appeal* was an African American newspaper. For an example of enlisted African Americans, see Orton, *Records of California Men*, 233; Quoted in McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 564.

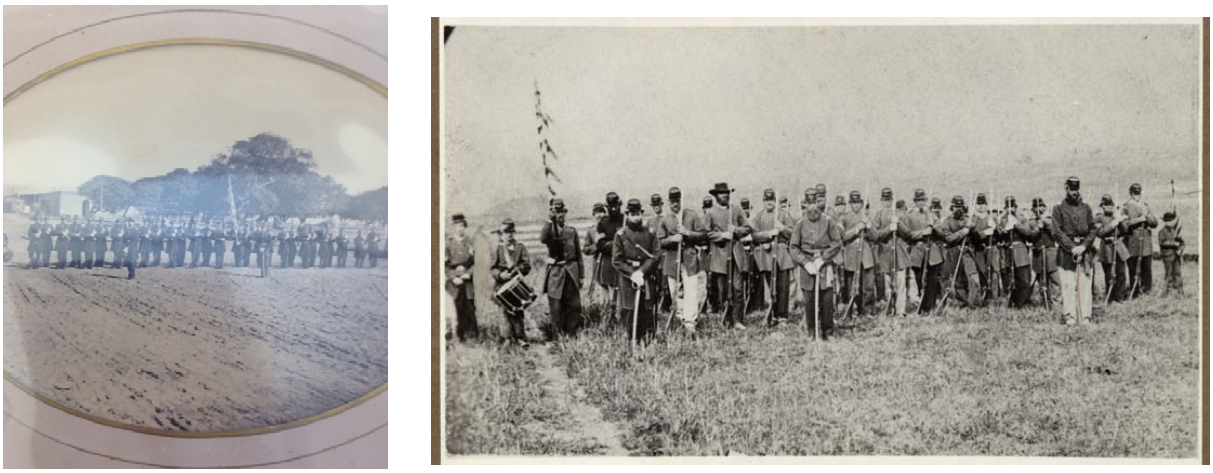

Figure 4: Left: Union soldiers in Oakland, Bancroft Library; Right: Union soldiers in Hayward, Hurley, *California and the Civil War*, 72

Concurrently, the California state government began to organize new and bolster existing state militia companies to protect the state from political disruption or Southern invasion. In 1862, Republican Governor Leland Stanford raised the number of desired militiamen to 8,000, and there were 123 state-sponsored militias by 1863.[69] One militia, the San Francisco Home Guard, was organized on the same day as the grand Union demonstration in May 1861, and from August to September 1861 over 1,100 San Franciscans signed their names, home and work addresses, and their "arms on hand" to an enlistment roll. Future governor of California, F.F. Low and the editor of the *Alta California,* F. MacCrellish signed this roll, but many enlistees worked at industrial jobs. Surprisingly, most signees recorded that they possessed no weapons.[70] Weapons were therefore a constant need, leading to many records noting shipments as well as pleas for armaments.[71] These militias, made up only of local citizens were supported by local taxes. When the militias were active, they engaged in Indian fighting and did so alongside

[69] Matthews, *The Golden State,* 110. A full list of the militia units can be found at "California Military History: California and the Civil War." http://www.militarymuseum.org/HistoryCW.html

[70] San Francisco Home Guard roster and muster rolls, 1861, BANC MSS C-A 119, Box 1, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. Examples included the Miners Foundry, Pacific Foundry and Cordage Factory.

[71] "Arms and Accoutrements receipt, San Pablo Contra Costa Guard," 10 September 1864, Folder 29, Box 1, Militia Company Records, 1849-1880, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA; George W. Chase to William Kibbe, 5 September 1863, Folder 10, Box 1, Militia Records, California State Archives, Sacramento.

Federal soldiers, many of whom were former militiamen.[72] They also enjoyed periodically participating in balls to celebrate national holidays and the guard companies.[73] In these ways, local militias provided another avenue for Californians to play a part in protecting the state and serving the Union without leaving home.

Other men journeyed east to enlist. After seven years as a California resident, William F. Prosser returned to his native Pennsylvania upon hearing of the start of the war, stating in 1900 that he "ha[d] no special ties to keep [him] in Trinity County." He left on boat to the East Coast through Panama in July 1861 along with "a number of others who were on their way to service, some of them in the armies of the Union and others in those of the Confederacy." Upon arriving in the East, Prosser joined Colonel Edward Baker, the former Californian and Oregon senator who named his Pennsylvania men the "California Regiment." Twenty-one year old painter Alden Finney Brooks had only lived in California a little over a year when the war broke out. He "got a letter from [his] brother Charlie stating that he had enlisted and my two other brothers had also enlisted" in the way their forefathers had during the Revolutionary War. Once he had "money enough," he returned to Ohio and served in the 108th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in which he was wounded three times over his three-year enlistment.[74] Pushed by their strong sense of duty to ones' state and family further east, Prosser and Brooks represented a group of men who believed that the best way to contribute during the conflict was to depart from the Far West.

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[72] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 299-300. Because of the intertwined nature of militias with the Federal Volunteers, their story will not be heavily highlighted in this paper.
[73] "Ball by the Napa Guard," *Napa County Reporter* [hereafter *NCR*]*,* 21 February 1863; "The Military Versus Fire Company," *NCR,* 20 February 1864; "Guards! Up and at Them!" *NCR,* 27 February 1864. This exchange regards whether more money should be give to the local fire brigade over the militia due to the harder work of the former.
[74] William F. Prosser, "The Story of a Paroled Prisoner: A Chapter of Personal Experiences in the Civil War," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 35, no. 209 (May 1900): 435-6; Alden Finney Brooks, "Grand Trip Across the Plains." PAM 2353, California Historical Society, San Francisco. Baker's regiment will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

For others, California's remoteness allowed them to escape the horror of war, a safety that some coveted and others disdained. Henry J. Johnson, a Unionist in Virginia, considered going to California to avoid comingling with freed African Americans should abolitionists have their way, while Jotham Newton, a Unionist living in California, wrote to his Southern friend Miss Carrie Rutledge that he was "glad I am away off here and out of harm's way." Newton intended to remain where he was – in the Sierra Nevada mountains – and "find a hole under some of these rocks" and not enlist.[75] On the other hand, California's politically and sectionally diverse populace produced those who, given their Southern origins and sympathies, quickly left for the newly-formed Confederate States. In these ways, California's soldiers represented a society that was becoming aware of its responsibilities toward the Federal government be it through enlistment in the Union forces in the West or East or service with local militias that supported Federal goals. In addition, the self-selected removal of some Confederate supporters to the South meant that some of California's sectionalism was diminished.

Even though they felt a range of loyalties, nearly 16,000 California men volunteered their bodies and took oaths of allegiance to the Union as quickly as their comrades did in the East. Along with the adventurous attributes of the Westerner, their correspondence and reporting also exhibited national concerns about family honor, masculine duty, and patriotism.

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With the enlistment age of 18, many of the men who joined the Union Army from California would have been small children when California gold was discovered. Some of them

[75] Mitchell Reid, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 15. Jotham Newton to Carrie Rutledge, 9 April 1861, "A Glimpse into the Life of Carrie Rutledge," 1859-1897, BANC MSS 2005/204, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. Newton and Rutledge's relationship was an interesting one – I believe they were in-laws through Rutledge's sister and Newton's brother. In the same letter he avowed his Unionism, in the face of her virulent assertion that she wanted to return to South Carolina to make bullets to kill Yankees, he said he would be a secessionist to save himself. Jotham Newton to Carrie Rutledge, 27 January 1861.

had made the journey west as boys along with their fathers, while others had only very recently traveled to California. The characterization of the West as a land of opportunity and freedom had reached and influenced an eastern audience, and it primed most newcomers to adopt a "Western identity" when they arrived.

New Yorker Alonzo Davis was nine years old when gold was discovered, and eight years later he left his home for the Golden State. His brother Robert, who was sixteen years Alonzo's senior, had set off for California in 1856 with his young family to try his hand at mining. Alonzo followed in his older brother's footsteps a year later, traveling from Rochester to New York City to board the *Illinois* to Panama, thence on the *Golden Gate* to the Pacific Coast. In California, he went from San Francisco to the mines east of Sacramento where, like Robert, he gave up on mining and took up teaching. This also did not suit him for he "could hardly bear the confinement in that little country schoolhouse in blooming, booming California." He then became a cowboy and learned to ride "California bronchos [sic]."[76]

Alonzo Davis still yearned for adventure. Despite that exciting, romantically Western-sounding job, he confessed that he was "almost jealous" of the "glory" bestowed on his twin brother Edwin after the latter had participated in the First Battle of Bull Run, and Alonzo, being "naturally and intensely patriotic" like Edwin, wrote two poems on tyranny and the American experiment. One of them, "The Eclipse," was an allegory of secession eclipsing the "sun of empire" that stretched "from western plains to the eastern sands."[77] In the summer of 1862, Alonzo began building a cabin in Butte County and intended to help improve and farm the

[76] Alonzo E. Davis, "Pioneer Days in Arizona, by One who was There," Folder 1, MS 209, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, 33. Due to the inconsistent spelling used by many of the soldiers, "[sic]" will not be used to note spelling error, but only for substantive errors. Andrew E. Masich, "Alonzo Davis" in *Soldiers in the Southwest Borderlands, 1848-1866.* Ed. Janne Lahti (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 95-117. Provides a full overview of Davis' lineage, life and service in the Civil War.
[77] Davis, "Pioneer Days," 35.

surrounding eighty acres. Instead, he fell into trouble over politics. When he loudly defended U.S. General Benjamin Butler whose orders in fall 1862 commanded his troops to treat all women in New Orleans who taunted Union soldiers as "common women" (that is, prostitutes) Davis was almost hanged for "speaking [his] mind pretty freely" in front of Southerners in Lynchburg, Butte County. Outraged, the group threatened violence. Alonzo Davis had to be saved by Tom Holloway, a Texan, who stood up for his character and helped him leave town. Finally convinced, Davis decided to trade in his regular costume for "two suits of clothing…of course both suits were blue and blazed with brass buttons." When he saw a sign in Oroville posted under an American flag asking for volunteers in the 4th Infantry of the California Volunteers to be "sent to the Front at once," he enlisted as a sergeant in Company I on October 9, 1862.[78]

Dexterously changing professions, and impulsively joining the army after nearly finding himself in a noose, Alonzo Davis' first years in California followed the trajectory of a new Western citizen. Like the political duel between Broderick and Terry, his brush with death came about because of national issues. As a soldier, he served for three years in the Southwest keeping watch over alleged members of the Knights of the Golden Circle in California and Confederate troops occupying Arizona and New Mexico Territories. All the while he hoped that he and his fellow comrades would get to go east. Frustrated, Davis explained that being stationed at this desert post "was not what we had enlisted for" and that:

> "We had been promised we would be taken East to join in the big struggle that was taking place. Our desire to get to the front was what had animated every California volunteer soldier to enlist, and to be taken out on the desert frontier to do garrison duty, caused us to feel almost rebellious at our fate."[79]

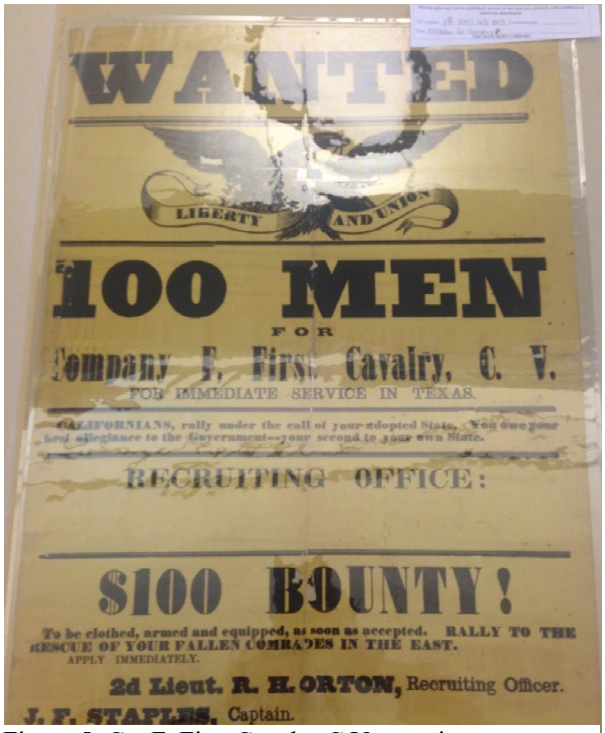
[78] Davis, "Pioneer Days," 37-9, Orton, *Records of California Men,* 657.
[79] Davis, "Pioneer Days," 52;"Doings at Camp Drum," *LAS,* 11 April 1863.

Instead of mass desertion or mutiny, that "rebellious" energy of the California Volunteers was employed in the work of capturing and killing Native peoples. Thus did service in the U.S. Army set Alonzo Davis on a course paved by many white Californians had done before them.

Three thousand miles from Washington D.C., few California volunteers shared experiences with their comrades in Massachusetts or Michigan. California men had already been changed by their California lives from the moment they headed out by foot, boat, or wagon westward. Travel to the gold mines and habitation in California in its early years of statehood created collective experiences quite different from what those in the East experienced, Easterners moreover often magnified these differences. People who never visited the Pacific state viewed it as dangerously aberrant from the social, gender, and labor values of the United States. In 1863, Henry David Thoreau denigrated those who had traveled west for gold as being no better than gamblers and "enem[ies] of the honest laborer," and the Eastern imagination created stories of Californian vice that could lead a man morally astray to commit robbery and murder of non-whites and women.[80] For a Union California soldier like Alonzo Davis, California's wicked reputation, like that expressed by Thoreau, created the impetus to prove that they were manly, respectable, and capable of being a true member of the U.S. nation, while still possessing an independent Western identity.

[80] Henry David Thoreau, *Life Without Principle* (1863, repr. London: Arthur C. Fifield, 1905), 14; Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* 317-22. Johnson identifies Eastern perception of California during the Gold Rush as a "world standing on its head" for reasons of social disruption from Eastern standards of gender and race. She uses *Two Eras in the Life of Grovenor I. Layton,* written in 1852, and other similar crime stories written and circulated in the East to understand their conceptualization of the California gold mines.

An 1863 recruitment poster for a California infantry regiment articulated the men's dual roles as U.S. soldiers and as citizens of California. It told them to "rally under the call of your adopted State. You owe your first allegiance to the Government – your second to your own State."[81] California Volunteers had very different service from their "fallen comrades in the East," as the poster also suggested. Most groups served within or close to California, being posted along the Overland Trail to Utah. Others served in the Southwest as far east as Texas. Only a small and elite minority served in Virginia with the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Even for the men sent to the East, these locations involved sporadic fighting in close quarters, not participation in grand battles. Nonetheless, all these men became active parts of Union control of the country and worked together in adverse environmental conditions in the West to secure the country for white settlers, often at the expense of Native peoples. At the time and in later years, these men explained their service by identifying themselves as brave and indefatigable men of California who were proud to enlist and serve their country under the Union banner.


WANTED

LIBERTY AND UNION

100 MEN

FOR

Company F, First Cavalry, C. V.

FOR IMMEDIATE SERVICE IN TEXAS.

CALIFORNIANS, rally under the call of your adopted State. You owe your first allegiance to the Government—your second to your own State.

RECRUITING OFFICE:

$100 BOUNTY!

To be clothed, armed and equipped, as soon as accepted. RALLY TO THE RESCUE OF YOUR FALLEN COMRADES IN THE EAST.

APPLY IMMEDIATELY.

2d Lieut. R. H. ORTON, Recruiting Officer.

J. F. STAPLES, Captain.

Figure 5: Co. F, First Cavalry C.V. recruitment poster, 1863, Bancroft Library

[81] "Wanted: 100 Men for Company F, First Cavalry C.V. for immediate service in Texas," pfff E497.W3 1863, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

Chapter 2:"'Ennui,' banishment, and pent up impatience":
Serving in California and its Surrounding Environs, 1861-1866

Every time James Berry Brown boarded a steamship he got seasick. He had traveled to California by the overland route, so he would have not known that his career as a soldier in Company H, 2nd Infantry C.V., which involved multiple voyages up and down the California coast would cause him so much discomfort. Well-educated, adventurous, and upstanding, twenty-two year old Brown caught "Pike's Peak fever" in 1859 and traveled with his brother Jesse and a friend to Colorado's new gold fields. The affliction ran in their blood as their father had already traveled to California in 1849, only to return demoralized. The brothers did not linger long in Colorado before carrying on to California where they tried mining, then sheepherding, and finally farming.[82]

Brown voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860, attended the grand Union celebration in San Francisco on July 4, and enlisted on November 26, 1861 at the Presidio in San Francisco as a sergeant. He hoped that his company would be sent to the East Coast. Instead, it was moved south to Santa Barbara, which he pronounced "the dullest place [he] ever saw," in preparation for heading east to Confederate Texas, then returned to San Francisco by mid-April 1862.[83] Briefly stationed at Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, he spent the time watching the members of the 3rd Artillery, U.S. Regulars practicing their drills designed to protect San Francisco from a Confederate invasion by sea, and getting his appetite back. Then, Company H got its orders to

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[82] James Berry Brown, *Journey Across the Plains in 1859.* Ed. with an introduction by George R. Stewart (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1970), x.
[83] W.W. Elliott & Co., *History of Humboldt County, California : with Illustrations Descriptive of its Scenery, Farms, Residences, Public Buildings, Factories, Hotels, Business Houses, Schools, Churches, etc., from Original Drawings, including Biographical Sketches* (1881), 292; James B. Brown Civil War diaries, 1862-1863, SMC II Boxes 14-15, California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento [hereafter Brown diary], 31 January 1862; Orton, *Records of California Men,* 428.

travel by steamer up to Fort Humboldt in Eureka in far northern California, where he would spend the rest of his three-year enlistment. When he left Alcatraz, Brown wrote in his diary, "Embarked early on the steamer 'Oregon' our destination being the northern coast to fight Indians. Sea sick all day, ate little."[84]

At Fort Humboldt, Brown spent his days monitoring disorderly privates while being ready to attend to troublesome local secessionists. Daily, Brown recorded his thoughts and experiences in his leather-bound memoranda journals such as when he was put "on guard," drilling, or undergoing inspection. As soon as his company arrived in Eureka, Brown complained of his comrades being "noisy and quarrelsome" during their three-day furlough, and registered his disappointment in the men's tendency to drink away their pay: "The boys going through with their greenbacks at a fast rate. I never saw such a mob of drunkards."[85] Only once did he think they would police secessionists in northern California instead of merely themselves. On October 22, 1862, he wrote that he "received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to embark for Crescent City at an hour's notice" because of "difficulty with settlers in Southern Oregon where they are generally 'Secessionists.'" But two days later, this alert was called off as the "disturbance …quieted down."[86] Maintaining the discipline of soldiers and white locals in northern California often gave way to multi-day expeditions to attack and confine Native peoples.

Brown's company sought out Native peoples who had perpetrated "depredations" against white residents to enact violent retribution, or to confine them to reservations. Just before his first mission, he heard that an Indian had killed an old friend from his California journey. That episode limited his sympathy even for Native women and children, whom he called "poor

[84] Brown diary, 16-17 April 1862, 19 April 1862.
[85] Ibid., 20 April 1862, 22 July 1863. He disparaged the privates for "throwing away their money on gamblers and saloon keepers" on another occasion.
[86] Ibid., 22 October 1862, 24 October 1862.

miserable half naked half starved wretches."[87] On two occasions, he left the fort to investigate rumored attacks and to locate and then remove Indians to Fort Humboldt or the Smith River Reservation. The trip in winter 1863 lasted almost seven weeks, and involved days of marching through local ranches, many of which were abandoned because of past attacks. The troops still encountered some of the storied mountaineers and hunters of the region who joined them as guides. Brown reported seeing and shooting at Indians while they were fishing. They missed the Indians but ate their abandoned salmon. Every other time he mentioned seeing "signs" of Native peoples, they turned out to be either campsites being used by whites or already abandoned Native villages. When orders came to return to Fort Humboldt on February 10, they began their journey back to camp during a winter storm. On the way, the party was increased by the Indian prisoners captured by locals and held on ranches until soldiers arrived. Brown wrote that "we traveled slow to day on account of the squaws and children who could not travel fast being barefoot…I pittied the little Indian children in the storm. They would huddle together to keep it off but it was hard."[88] This operation was only the first of other multi-month long sanctioned attacks on Native peoples in northwest California in early 1863. Governor Leland Stanford and General George Wright acted in concert with white locals who demanded Federal aid so that the ongoing project of removing California Natives from their land would be executed by California Volunteers like Brown, instead of local militia groups as had been done in the 1850s. In the far north of California, Indian fighting became a defining activity of being a Union soldier.[89]

Brown's primary method of staving off boredom between expeditions was hunting in the woods of northern California. In a moment of restraint, he decided not to shoot a bear while it

[87] Brown diary, 31 May 1862, 9 May 1862.
[88] Ibid., 13 January 1863-21 February 1863. Brown's description of who held these prisoners and how they were captured is vague.
[89] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 316-7.

was eating "as he departed in peace," but normally Brown did not hesitate.[90] As a former teacher, a profession he would resume after the War, he also picked up the habit of reading. While lazing in summer 1863, he read, over the course of a couple of weeks, Charles Dickens' *Little Dorritt* (1857), Henry Cockton's *Sylvester Sound: The Somnambulist* (1844), Mrs. Henry Wood's *Life's Secret* (1862), and Emerson Bennett's *The Pioneer's Daughter: A Tale of Indian Captivity* (1851). This last book may have contributed to his already-troubling view of Native peoples.[91] Brown also received news about his playmates from boyhood in the more active theaters of the Civil War who were "no more."[92] That he had time for these diversions confirmed his claims that his duty was "dull" and without the danger his friends in the East faced on the front lines.

When Brown finished the year 1862, he sent his diaries to his sister and penned his longest messages of the year. He reflected on his past year in the army, which had left him with feelings "of 'ennui,' banishment and pent up impatience." Even though he did not "upbraid it [1862] for not furnishing me with more interesting material to fill my 'diary' for the year is rife with events that will live in the history of our country," he still "deplor[ed] the fate that has sealed me up in this obscure region while the cause that my whole heart is interested in is being so severely tried by the demon of secession." His insistence that service in California did little to stamp out secession shows an internal struggle for those who had signed up to fight to preserve the Union but found themselves on a "desolate coast" far away from the action."[93]

Brown, even while expressing distaste for not being involved in the thick of battles over secession, witnessed a wide range of nation-building duties facing those who remained in California during the Civil War. From observing wartime San Francisco with its bristling

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[90] Brown diary, 11 February 1863. The introduction of *Journey Across the Plains* notes that Brown's interest in hunting was "almost carried to an extreme" during the trek across the country.
[91] Ibid., 18 June -1 July 1863. He recorded *Life's Secret* as being by "Mrs. H. Ward."
[92] Ibid., 2 October 1863.
[93] Ibid., 31 December 1862.

defenses at Alcatraz Island, and visiting southern California, to experiencing months of garrison duty engaged in pursuing Native peoples and hearing rumors of secessionist sympathizers, California's Civil War provided different opportunities to assert the Union's military might and define the duties of a Volunteer to protect the state from alleged enemies within and without.

With the state as divided between north and south like the country as a whole, the army was tasked with oversight of specific, potentially troublesome communities.[94] While San Francisco did have a population of Southern émigrés, only one incident necessitated military intervention there. The *Chapman* piracy affair, an attempted plot by Confederate sympathizers to commandeer the ocean shipments of vast mineral wealth shipped out of San Francisco Bay particularly tested the Unionism of the city. The capture of the perpetrators did not involve California Volunteers, however, but rather Navy Regulars and local police.[95] The pro-secession movement in Los Angeles and its surrounding environs and in the central California town of Visalia instead required intervention by California's volunteer forces.

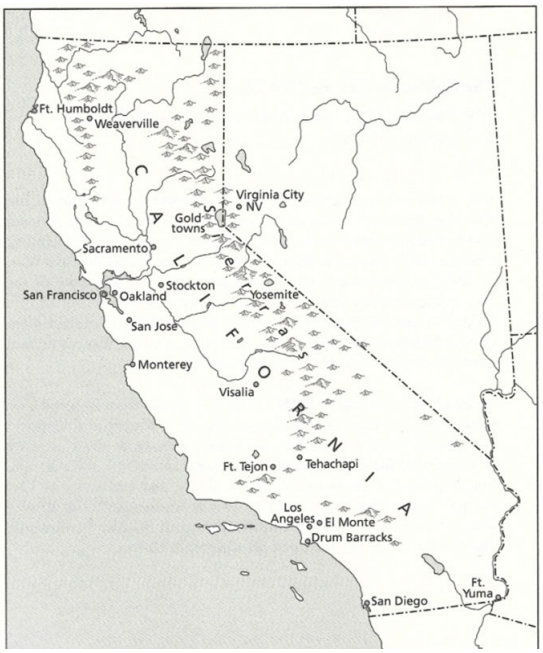

Figure 6: Major cities/forts in California
Matthews, *The Golden State*, ii

[94] Occasionally pro-Southern language was thrown around by California residents in the northern regions of the state, and led to open violence in such towns as Yreka, on the Oregon border, where "Southern roughs, who lived in the mountains" attacked the U.S. government, saying they "would like to see Abe Lincoln and all his followers hung" in 1861, and in 1864 a "secesh desperado" was attacked and arrested in Ukiah. These occurrences were less prevalent, however, than in regions farther south that had closer connections to the South. "Arrest of a Secesh Desperado," *Trinity Journal,* 26 March 1864.

[95] For full discussion of the *Chapman* piracy affair, see *United States v Greathouse et al.*, 17 October 1863; "The Argument in the 'Chapman' Pirate Case," *Daily Evening Bulletin*[San Francisco]*,* 10 October 1863; Harpending, *The Great Diamond Hoax,* 50-3; Matthews, *The Golden State,* 190-2; Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "Confederate Privateers in the Californias," *The Californians: The Magazine of California History.* (Jan./Feb. 1985): 19-23.

Most volunteers faced Native peoples identified as threats to California and to people and mail traveling along the Overland Trail. Volunteers stationed in specific areas along the route to respond to attacks on wagon trains and white American settlements in regions already scarred by white-Native conflict from the past decade. Northern and eastern California and the road to Utah Territory became hotspots of egregious violence against American Indians ordered by the Federal government. Indian fighting within the context of the Civil War became the main reason that Californians were deployed in the Far West.

The experiences of those posted in California, Oregon, Nevada, and in Utah were distant from those fighting in the East. Bored, the troops became irascible from drink and a desire to prove themselves. Armed young men felt a particular frustration about their service and yearned to be closer to the main action of the Civil War, but while stationed in the West, they insisted on being respected as honorable men for their service. Although it consisted of taming random pro-secessionist exploits or dominating Native peoples, who were in no way parties to the War itself, the soldiers used language of manliness to explain their actions. Maintaining good discipline, often insisted on by officers, and identifying Natives as cunning foes thus became imperative. The removal of most Regulars from the Far West meant that California Volunteers wanted to be recognized for taking on this protective role for this outlying part of the nation.

Southern Sympathy and Soldier Intervention

The ink was barely dry on the announcement of President Abraham Lincoln's first election victory in November 1860 when blood spilled in the streets of Los Angeles over the results. Post-election politics, mixed with personal vengeance, led to an exchange of gunfire and blows between Henry Hamilton, the editor of the pro-Southern *Los Angeles Star*, and Charles R.

Conway of the Unionist *Southern News*.[96] Such behavior had more deadly results two hundred miles to the north in Visalia. In November William Gouveneur Morris, a contributor to the Republican *Visalia Sun*, mortally shot the editor of the Democratic *Visalia Delta,* John Shannon, in a haphazard duel. The *Sun* folded later that year, and the *Delta* became Visalia's Unionist newspaper.[97] Remarkably similar, these two bloody incidents were troubling reminders of how divided some of California's towns were as the Civil War began, and the propensity for violence between neighbors so far removed from the national fields of honor in the East.

In response to the growing threats of violence within Los Angeles and Visalia, General Edwin V. Sumner, commander of the Department of the Pacific, and George Wright after him, felt that building forts and garrisoning troops at strategic locations was imperative to the safety of California. Within months of the start of the Civil War, the U.S. military created Camp Fitzgerald in Los Angeles, Camp Drum/Drum Barracks in San Pedro, and Camp Babbitt in Visalia to police these pro-secessionist locales.[98] These locations were also staging grounds for other expeditions, either to quell pro-Confederate activity in the surrounding regions or Native disturbances. Looking at Los Angeles and Visalia as nodes of Union occupation of politically-volatile populaces offers a window into soldier treatment and self-perception of their purpose as representatives and protectors of U.S. interests. The animosity between whites and Hispanos in Los Angeles, and between soldiers and civilians in Visalia, takes on the aspect of warfare in that

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[96] Faragher, *Eternity Street*, 384-5. In their public confrontation, Hamilton began beating Conway severely with a cane, and Conway defended himself by shooting and wounding his assailant. The assault continued until Hamilton fainted; both men were fined, released and survived.

[97] "A Card," *Visalia Sun,* November 15, 1860; "Fatal Affray," *Visalia Weekly Delta* [hereafter *VWD*], November 24, 1860; Albert Shumate and Robert A. Clark, *The Stormy Life of Wm. Gouverneur Morris in California and Alaska* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1993), 45-6. The fight began in Morris' office, before the conflict moved outside. There, according to the naturally-biased *Delta,* Morris "took deliberate aim and fired, the ball striking Mr. Shannon in the abdomen." Shannon died "about an hour and eighteen minutes" later in the *Delta* office. While the killing was deemed a justifiable homicide, Morris decided to leave town and later joined the 2nd Cavalry C.V.

[98] Faragher, *Eternity Street,* 386-8;*VWD,* November 1862 in Katherine Edwards Small, *History of Tulare County California, Volume I.* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1926)

acts of small scale violence committed to address personal affronts to Unionism and national identity were dealt with in localized and sometimes deadly ways.

By the opening of the Civil War, Los Angeles was already drenched in blood from confrontations among a diverse populace whose political alliances transformed during the 1850s. As historian John Mack Faragher details, the town's early years create a chronicle of "conquest and ethnic suppression" through incredible violence in this politically-diverse and racially-heterogeneous community.[99] In 1860, Los Angeles was Democrat-leaning and Southern. Overall, white Southerners made up only 8.1% of the total Los Angeles County population, but 51.9% of the white population. [Chart 2][100] Like the uproar caused by President Lincoln's election in the South, his victory immediately incensed Los Angeles' strong Southern contingent, and their reactions worried California Unionist civilians and those in the military. A spirited ball held at the Bella Union hotel a month before the election by supporters of Democratic candidate John C. Breckinridge had already put authorities on alert. The May 1861 rumors of an insurrection by a pro-Confederate group in Monte caused action by General Sumner, who quickly called in the1st Dragoons, U.S. Regulars from Fort Tejon to the north of Los Angeles and from Fort Mojave to the east.[101] The military presence calmed matters simply through the show of disciplined troops,

Figure 7: Bella Union Hotel, Los Angeles, 1865, Robinson, *Los Angeles in Civil War Days,* 37

[99] Faragher, *Eternity Street,* xi-xiii.
[100] Lynch, "Southern California Chivalry," 225.
[101] Robinson, *Los Angeles in Civil War Days,* 54-8. The Bella Union would remain a headquarters of pro-secessionists.

but orders for these Regulars to go east to the warfront in July meant a new set of men would be needed to subdue potential sectional unrest in Los Angeles.

Figure 8: Drum Barracks decorated and "artillery drill," June 2019. Photos by author

Regular U.S. troops remained in the Los Angeles area until the new volunteer troops arrived and a new base erected near the port not too far from the main area of the city. Captain Winfield Scott Hancock (who later earned accolades at the Battle of Gettysburg) expressed his desire to be allowed to stay a bit longer in southern California so as to help secure the area. He was sent east in August, and California Volunteers began pouring into the area by September and October. At the same time, Camp Drum or Drum Barracks, as it was ultimately named, was constructed as a new base for Union operations in San Pedro, offering proximity to Los Angeles, access to the ports and a main training garrison for volunteer troops.[102] The convenient position

[102] Robinson, *Los Angeles in Civil War Days,* 59-70, 78-91; Don McDowell, *The Beat of the Drum: The History, Events and the People of Drum Barracks Wilmington, California* (Santa Ana, CA: Graphic Publishers, 1993), 29.

of Drum Barracks also made it the first stop for soldiers heading east against Confederate incursion into the Southwest.

Confederate forces never attacked Camp Latham, Drum Barracks, and other smaller posts around Los Angeles. Soldiers stationed there were thus on hand to provide aid during disasters such as the explosion of the steamship *Milton Willis* (known in Los Angeles as the *Ada Hancock*) near San Pedro in 1863. They rescued the wounded and others from the water, causing even the *Star* to praise the Union men.[103] The few regional Confederate plots did not require military action, but were carefully investigated. One assignment in southern California involved Union soldiers from Drum Barracks being sent to Santa Catalina Island, nearly thirty miles from the coast, to investigate a suspected Confederate scheme. A company of the 4th Infantry C.V. occupied the island and remained for nine months.[104] Evidence for secessionist behavior was tenuous at best, but was enough to put the military on alert. Correspondence by General Wright about the island's Native populations at the time, suggested that he believed that the military actually wished to scout the island for an Indian reservation. Officially, the army told the press that Confederate fears provoked the occupation, a story that was repeated through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[105] Here, alleged Confederate activity could be used as a cover for other less war-related actions, like dispossessing Indians, which had little or nothing to do with the sectional conflict over slavery.

Soldiers instead used their military training amongst themselves to assert their masculinity and sometimes their racial superiority, such as when a company of Californio

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[103] "Horrible Catastrophe! Explosion of the Steamer Milton Willis at New San Pedro!! Twenty-six Lives Lost! Several Wounded and Missing!!" *LAS,* 2 May 1863. An earlier similar incident also drew praise from the *Star.* CIVIS, "San Bernardino Correspondence," *LAS,* 22 February 1862 which noted "the heroic conduct of some of the volunteers in rescuing some families from the drowning element demands admiration of all true men."
[104] Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., "The Occupation of Santa Catalina Island During the Civil War." *The California Historical Society Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (December 1967):347, 355.
[105] Ibid., 348-54.

soldiers came to live at Drum Barracks along with white Anglo Union troops. Military discipline records expose conceptions of manliness of Northern men who did not otherwise leave written accounts of their activities.[106] Occasional reports of disciplinary incidents were reported in the local newspaper, including an account of a fight while "inebriated, on fighting whiskey" with knives that landed one soldier in the hospital and the other in the guard house. A list of court martial proceedings from Drum Barracks gives a glimpse of the types of misconduct committed by soldiers, including desertion, drunkenness, neglect of duty, and other "riotous and disorderly conduct."[107]

One of the incidents involved the confrontation between a Californio soldier and an Anglo-American. By the time of the Civil War, most wealthy Californios had dropped their political alliance with Southern Democrats, which had been forged from shared values of landownership, strong patriarchal societies, and a desire to maintain their own Indian slave-owning way of life. The splintering of the Union and a concurrent civil war in Mexico drove a wedge through their coalition as Southerners sided with French designs on Mexican sovereignty.[108] With the partnership broken between Southerners and Hispanos, four companies of Californios joined the Union Army, making up a Native Californian Battalion, known colloquially as the "Californio Lancers" for their distinctive weapons. These mostly Hispano soldiers "played a symbolic and instrumental role in Unionizing Southern California."[109] The earliest recruitment leaders and commissioned officers even came from well-established

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[106] Lorien Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Manhood, Honor, and Violence in the Union Army.* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 6-7.
[107] "Sentences of Disorderly Soldiers," *DAC,* 29 November 1865.
[108] Lynch, "Southern California Chivalry," 14-5, 159.The United States' tacit if not active support of the republican Mexican government under Benito Juarez endeared Californios to support the Union more than the Confederacy which condoned the French imperialist grab of Mexico under Emperor Napoleon III in order to get foreign recognition.
[109] Ibid., 16. 192. Lynch wrote about their lances and identity in Daniel Lynch, "On the Border of Empires, Republics and Identities: De la Guerra's Sword of the War and the California Native Cavalry," in *Empire and Liberty: The Civil War and the West*, ed. Virginia Scharff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 105-21.

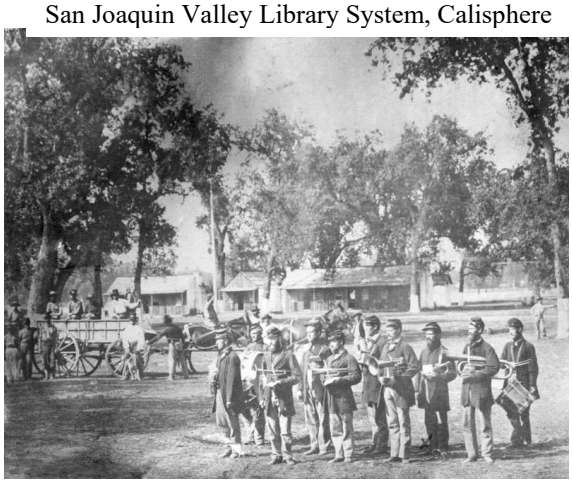
Californio families, showing the embrace of Unionism by the group's wealthy and influential members.[110] Until Californios patrolled the U.S.-Mexican border, as they did from mid-1865 through 1867, the Native Californian Battalion participated in policing duty with white American Union comrades, which sometimes led to less than amiable relations. An argument between a Californio bugler and an Anglo-American soldier in February 1865 erupted over a linguistic misunderstanding between their Spanish or English native tongues, respectively. In the end, the Anglo-American shot the Californio soldier.[111]

Visalia was another trouble spot. When the Civil War began, sectional lines between residents of the small central California town ramped up over the increase of caustic remarks in the press. The 1860 census from Visalia shows a nearly equal distribution of white adults from the "Northern," "border," and "Southern" states. Northerners from fifteen states made up 38% of the population, while 22% of the population was born in one of the eleven states that joined the Confederacy in 1861, and 27% were from the nation's border states. [Chart 3][112] Sectional name-calling and threats required that the town be overseen by troops of California Volunteers. Starting in 1862, the *Equal Rights Expositor,* a pro-secession newspaper edited by Lovick Pierce "Long Primer" Hall, of Mississippi, and Samuel Jones Garrison, of Alabama, printed increasingly forceful material. Hall and Garrison asserted that their sheet was "a medium through which the wants of the people of this section can be made known," the assumption being that a significant portion of the population shared Southern sympathies, even as they believed

[110] Tom Prezelski, *Californio Lancers: The 1st Battalion of Native Cavalry in the Far West, 1863-1866.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 26-34. Commissioned officers included Salvador Vallejo, who along with his brother Manuel were arrested by John Fremont during the 1846 Bear Flag Rebellion, and José Ramón Pico, nephew of US-Mexican War veteran and former California state congressman, Andrés Pico.
[111] Ibid., 99-101.
[112] Tulare County 1860 census.

California should remain within the United States.[113] Such pronouncements to tacit loyalty did not satisfy Union General Wright as he embraced a two-fold method of containing unchecked Southern sympathies: cancelling distribution of the *Expositor* through the mail in September 1862 and establishing Camp Babbitt in downtown Visalia in October 1862.

Figure 9: Visalia, California, 1863, San Joaquin Valley Library System, Calisphere



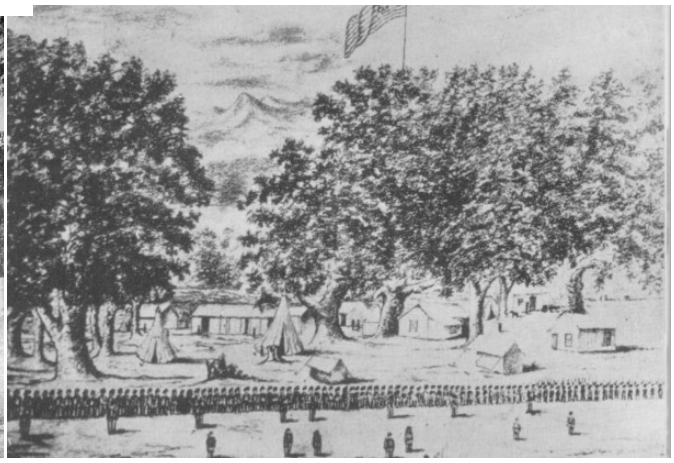


Figure 10: Left: Musicians at Camp Babbitt, ca. 1865; Right: Camp Babbitt, 1864, by George Young

Camp Babbitt occupied a conspicuous position in this small inland town. It was located only half a mile from Main Street, which led to a mixed reception from town residents as lively young men under Lieutenant-Colonel George Spafford Evans (Co. E, 2nd Cavalry, C.V.) took up

[113] "To the Reader," *Equal Rights Expositor* [hereafter *ERE*], 30 August 1862.On October 18, Hall and Garrison answered the *Delta*'s direct inquiry regarding their loyalty, saying that "if obedience to the laws constitute loyalty, we are loyal." See "Questions Answered," *ERE,* 18 October 1862.

residence among them. For Unionist residents of Visalia, the arrival of the California Volunteers, primarily of the 2nd Cavalry, merited a praiseworthy estimation of their physical capabilities. The *Visalia Delta*, the pro-Union paper, reported that "the men are a determined looking set of fellows, above the average size, and looked well able to stand the hardships of a soldier's life."[114] In Visalia, however, the "hardships of a soldier's life" consisted only of boredom and discipline. According to the *Delta,* the soldiers alleviated the former by holding the premier "Union ball" during their first week of being garrisoned; they demonstrated the latter by controlling their tempers as they monitored seditious activities of the town's residents.[115]

Secessionist sympathizers were far less sanguine about the Union soldiers among them. In that winter of 1863, the *Expositor* published news about pro-secessionist social balls and the acquittal of a California senator accused of anti-Union treason. The paper saved its most inflamed rhetoric to attack California's soldiers near and far.[116] Editors Hall and Garrison painted the Camp Babbitt men as a destabilizing and repressive force. The troops first took action against the *Expositor* for the paper's anti-Lincoln tirades by arresting the editors in January 1863, but both men were quickly released. This did nothing to change the "character of the paper."[117] On March 5, the editors published their most provocative piece yet, insulting in no uncertain terms California's most elite regiment, the prestigious California 100 serving with the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry in the East. The disparaging article flipped the meaning of the regiment's

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[114] "…Company I, 2d Cavalry," *VWD,* 23 October 1862.

[115] "…The Union Ball," *VWD,* 6 November 1862.

[116] "Mark of Respect," *ERE,* November 1862. On the floor of the California Senate in 1861, Ohio-born (but of Virginian ancestry) Col. Thomas Baker spoke unfavorably about Lincoln's suspension of *habeas corpus* (a contentious issue since May 1861), and "discourag[ed] enlistment" in the Union Army. His quick release on a $5,000 bond only emboldened the editors of the *Expositor* who deemed his quick trial at Camp Babbitt a "miserable failure." Sen. Baker returned to the San Joaquin Valley after he finished government service, and he became the namesake of the city of Bakersfield. "The Case of Col. Baker – His Acquittal – Malignity and Untruthfulness of his Accusers" *ERE,* November 8, 1862; "The Ball," *ERE,* 6 December 1862.

[117] "Military Tyranny in Tulare," *ERE,* 9 January 1863; "On Monday evening…,"*VWD,* 8 January 1863; S.J. Garrison, "My Arrest and Release," *ERE,* 9 January 1863.

moniker as the "California Cossacks" by denouncing them as "a class of bandit warriors" who "*hire* out their services," instead of being soldiers of honor.[118]

In response, that night "the town was aroused by crashing and smashing, which was soon ascertained to proceed from the building occupied as the printing office of the *Equal Rights Expositor*…on each street and alley intersecting the block were found sentinels with cocked pistols, who informed them that 'no citizens were allowed inside the lines!'"[119] This action, in which Camp Babbitt soldiers destroyed the printing operation of the *Expositor* in fifteen minutes, allegedly was not sanctioned by the U.S. military. The *Delta* published a letter from an anonymous "Soldier" who explained that:

> "[T]he motives which led to the destruction of the printing office were of a private and personal character, and were not participated in by what may be properly termed the military of Camp Babbitt; but on the contrary the act has been deplored by them as one which must be frowned down by every honest man."[120]

Denying involvement, the Volunteers perhaps aimed to improve the military's reputation. Assuming the action was in fact undertaken by the military, as believed by all secondary sources, the Volunteers asserted a strong connection between themselves and comrades

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[118] James McLean, *California Sabers: The Second Massachusetts Cavalry in the Civil War*(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 10 explains that the term "Cossack," in reference to Russia's famed horsemen, was meant as a compliment to these skilled cavalrymen; "Cossacks of California," *ERE,* 5 March 1863.

[119] "…On Thursday evening last," *VWD,* 12 March 1863; Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "California and the Confederate Minority." 164 soldiers participated, while others say only about 30 soldiers attacked. Hart, *Old Forts of the Far West,* 44-5.

[120] "Correspondence," *VWD,* 15 March 1863. All of the secondary sources consulted that touch on this attack say that the Camp Babbitt soldiers were the attackers. The matter of responsibility for the assault upon the newspaper's office remained past the war's conclusion. In 1870, Hall and Garrison finally succeeded in getting a state statute passed permitting them to "prosecute…against the County of Tulare, to recover any damages they may have sustained for the destruction…of their newspaper office and business at Visalia"; while they received this acknowledgment, a suit was never filed as the soldiers who they wished to name were under Federal jurisdiction. See *The Statues of California Passed at the Eighteenth Session of the Legislature, 1869-1870, Began on Monday the Sixth Day of December, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Nine, and Ended on Monday the Fourth Day of April, Eighteen Hundred and Seventy.* (Sacramento: D.W. Gelwicks, state printer, 1870), 624-5.

serving in the Civil War's main theater. Regardless of its origins, the attack on the *Expositor* put the paper out of business.

The destruction of the *Equal Rights Expositor* silenced the openly secessionist editors, but did not stem the Union soldiers' propensity for trouble and altercations with civilians. Twice, a California Volunteer lost his life in a gunfight with an open secessionist in Visalia. One incident occurred in August 1863 and opened a spate of retributive violence.[121] James L. Wells, in the words of the *Delta*, a "notorious secessionist," shot and killed Sergeant Charles C. Stroble while arguing with another Union soldier. Wells then fled on horseback, eventually evading authorities and making his way to Mazatlan, Mexico.[122] With Wells on the run, some unnamed men sought revenge by setting fire to Wells' home. The *Delta*'s coverage of the arson and other crimes claimed it was a "mystery" and "hope[d] no Union man has been guilty of conduct worthy of Jeff Davis' guerrillas."[123] The drama of the events, and lack of serious repercussions, captivated people in California and beyond, with an exaggerated account appearing in the *New York Times.*[124] The *Delta*'s defense of the soldiers' unrestrained behavior wore thin, however. The newspaper's coverage of the antics of Camp Babbitt's men in 1864 suggested that the troops were less occupied with "law enforcement" than with drinking. By the Fourth of July, the *Delta* called out the soldiers "disorderly, ungentlemanly, and even disgusting scenes enacted on the

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[121] The first shooting occurred on November 29, 1862 when five Camp Babbitt soldiers entered the "rebel" Fashion Saloon on Main Street. Some of them were already intoxicated and one man displayed "his pistol, out of the scabbard." After an exchange of demands and short words, shooting ensued, killing Private Eugene Vogle when the intended target "dodged, and caused [Vogle] to receive the ball." "The Affray at the Fashion Saloon," *ERE,* 29 [November] 1862; "Coroner's Inquest," *VWD,* 4 December 1862.

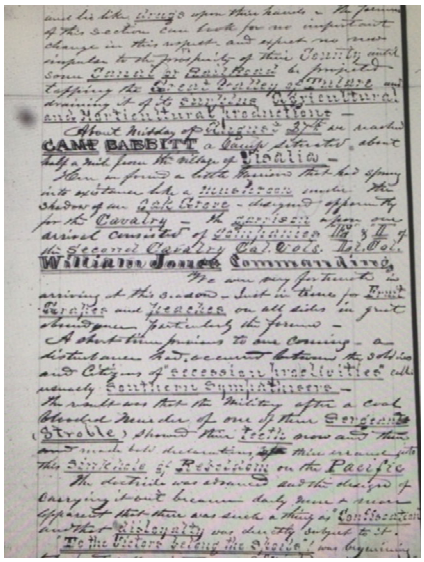
[122] "Assassination of another soldier," *VWD,* 13 August 1863; "Letters have been received…,"*VWD*, October 1863; According to Private James Donahue, who witnessed the event, he was arguing with Wells. Donahue drew his pistol first to challenge Wells' insolence. Wells lied about being armed for long enough to then fire first at Donahue, but instead hit Stroble, who was "leaning…against a post." Eventually, Wells returned to the United States. He was tried for murder in Merced County, but was acquitted. For a full account of this shooting, see also Terry L. Ommen, *Wild Tulare County Outlaws, Rogues and Rebels.* (Charleston, SC: History Press, Inc., 2012), 65-70.

[123] "On Friday night last…,"*VWD*, 13 August 1863.

[124] "Important from California: Trouble with Secessionists in the Southern Counties," *New York Times*, 13 August 1863.

Fourth."[125] Nonetheless, soldiering in Visalia might have consolidated a feeling a pro-Union sentiment and camaraderie. At the same Fourth of July, the soldiers "aroused our citizens to the fact that it was the Fourth" by firing off "'big guns'" at sunrise, and forced everyone to display appropriate patriotic decorations even if they were "unwilling and sullen." As the hosts of dances, they also helped gather monetary contributions for the Union's Sanitary Commission.[126].

Soldiers serving at Camp Babbitt wrote about the solidification of the pro-Union sentiment among the troops. Private George E. Young (Co. G, 2nd Infantry, C.V.), recorded in his decorative "Journal of Company G" that when his company arrived at Camp Babbitt in August 1863, it was still the "sinkhole of Rebeldom on the Pacific." He called the killing of Sergeant Stroble a "cold-blooded murder," and described an incident during which a group of men from the countryside around Visalia came to town and gave a "huzza for Jeff Davis" near the guard house. Someone fired a gun, and one secessionist fell from his horse. Young noted that "the boys won't stand it [disloyal behavior]!" Young praised the treatment of the troops by their commander Lieutenant-Colonel William Jones, writing that he "treat[ed] his men as though he felt that they had enlisted to be useful to the Country in her afflictions and not come into the army to sponge a living from the Government."[127]


CAMP BABBITT
Visalia
William Jones Commanding
Figure 11: Page from George Young's diary about Visalia, 1863. Bancroft Library

[125] "One day last week," *VWD*, 21 January 1864; "Rowdyism on the Fourth," *VWD*, 7 July 1864.
[126] "The Fourth," *VWD,* 7 July 1864; "The Calico Ball," *VWD,* 21 September 1864. This event raised $150 for the Sanitary Commission.
[127] George E. Young, "George E. Young journal of Company G, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers, 1861-1864, 1879." BANC MSS C-F 105 FILM, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. Emphasis original. Colonel William Jones himself would be court martialed and discharged for illegally using government horses. Lt. William Jones papers, Box 1, BANC MSS 2002/188 c, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

Union troop behavior in Los Angeles and Visalia reinforced the proposition that serving in these areas helped create a sense of unity of purpose among these men and even those serving in the East, while, at the same time, unleashing violent behaviors. Historian Daniel Lynch said that California in 1860 was "perhaps best characterized as a borderland border state, especially in its lower half" with its intersection of politically and racially mixed populations.[128] What first was a fight between politically-driven newspaper editors spilled over to the troops charged with protecting these regions. The continuation of antagonistic behavior by select pro-Southern residents, along with the Union soldiers' lack of seemingly meaningful or dangerous fighting led to acts of violence that tarnished the reputations of the soldiers as they asserted their masculinity. They hoped to prove to their commanders and country that they actively confronted disloyal voices in California, even when such actions were excessive. In addition to suppressing treason, the soldiers could also find common cause with the Federal government by making the West available for increased white settlement by perpetrating violent acts against Native populations.

Soldiers Fight Native People and Their Own Image

At the same time that California soldiers occupied cities deemed hostile to the U.S. government, military men, sometimes the same ones, posted in California, southern Oregon and western Nevada managed the long-simmering issue of Native American populations that challenged white control over the land. The Civil War made this issue a federal more than a state project, as part of preserving California's place in the Union meant ensuring current and new settlers would be able to fully occupy the state.[129] Understanding this connection between the local situation and national policies, soldiers assigned to control Native populations emphasized

[128] Lynch, "Southern California Chivalry," 141.
[129] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 300.

the danger they faced and the way their service fit into the larger scenario of making land safe for American ownership.

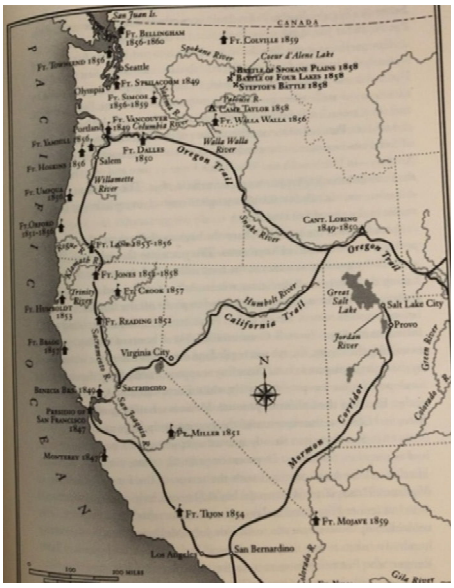


Figure 12: Trails in California, Northwest and Utah, Ball, *Army Regulars,* 91

Performing Indian scouting duties while having signed up to defend the Union resulted in a range of reactions from soldiers. Local support for removing Indians in far northern California was strong. Communities that experienced cycles of livestock theft had already funded expeditions to destroy Native food sources, kill Native men, and kidnap Indian women and children through the 1850s.[130] In the 1860s, the soldiers themselves, including those who ascribed to beliefs in Manifest Destiny and notions of white superiority, rarely expressed repulsion at the idea of treating Native peoples as less human. By signing up to serve the ailing Union, the California Volunteers nonetheless held different expectations from the militiamen who had come before them as Indian fighters because the Volunteers also supported the national agenda.

Private John T. Best, a member of the 1st California Mountaineers, a volunteer unit made expressly for service in California and which ultimately only participated in Indian warfare, had been part of a California militia group, the Eureka Rifles, before joining the Federal Army in 1863. He emphasized the ruggedness of his fellow soldiers. Upon leaving for an "indian Scout," he stated, "the men were in good cheer and left camp quiet…[and] god pity the diggers [Native peoples] if they meet any desperate weak will fellows as they are hardy…[mountaneers?]." After news of Union victory in the Battle of Gettysburg in summer 1863 reached him, Best paired in

[130] Lindsay, *Murder State*, 179-209.

one sentence the "defeat of Lee" with a report of "a short skirmish" between Indians and Best's California comrades, which had also ended in victory for the Union soldiers.[131] Similarly, a report by Captain Duane M. Green (Co. E, 6th Infantry C.V.), also fighting Indians in northern California, reported that men "started on the war path, cheering and cheered as they left the Camp."[132]

In stark contrast to Best's and Greene's responses was Corporal Royal Augustus Bensell's (Co. D, 4th Infantry C.V.) disgust with being garrisoned in western Oregon near Salem. He had been a California resident since 1854 when he arrived at age 16 with his widowed father and two sisters, and a year in the army left him feeling that he had "left home…to serve [his] country" but with "not an armed Rebel having shown himself…we have not conquered an enemy but ourselves, learned to obey…[and] effect a perfect discipline."[133] He could not see how his duties were in any way comparable to the War in the East. Even though all three men participated in similar duties of tracking, killing, and imprisoning Indians, their personal reflections and official correspondence showed different views of how fighting Native peoples measured up against news from their Eastern comrades fighting Rebel forces.

Newspapers approved of the Union troop aggressions towards Native peoples, reporting that these actions were a worthy use of Federal resources. Lieutenant-Colonel Evans was sent with a troop of California Volunteers inland to the Owens Valley to investigate reports of "Indian

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[131] John T. Best diary, 1860-1865, BANC MSS 99/138 c, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, 13 July 1863. For an example of Mountaineers fighting and capturing Native peoples, see "Indian Troubles in Trinity," *NCR,* 3 October 1863.

[132] "Report," 17 February 1865 and "Report," 8-18 March 1864, Duane M. Greene papers, 1863-1892, BANC MSS 2013/103, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. In central California, surveyor William H. Brewer wrote that soldiers at Camp Babbitt in 1864 "were anxious to get into the mountains and begged me to make the requisition [for a soldier escort]" to protect him from Indians. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer.* Ed. Francis P. Farquhar. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 513.

[133] Royal Augustus Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill: The Civil War in Oregon: The Journal of Corporal Royal A. Bensell, Company D, Fourth California Infantry.* Ed. Gunter Barth (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1959), 187, 53. Entry: 16 September 1862.

difficulties" between Natives and settlers.[134] To his surprise, Evans' party encountered a well-armed and entrenched force of Native peoples. After a couple of days, he admitted "that there was no possible way to dislodge the Indians without making a great sacrifice of life and perhaps not then."[135] The *Los Angeles Star* tallied the loss of nine white men before they fell back.[136] Only a month later, Evans returned to the area with more soldiers. Evans' men temporarily ended the fighting by destroying the Natives' winter food supply and setting up a permanent army post, Camp Independence.[137] Peace was short-lived, however, and war soon became more violent.

When hostilities recommenced in spring 1863, Captain Moses A. McLaughlin, stationed at Camp Babbitt in downtown Visalia, left on April 12 for the Owens Valley with forty-two enlisted men and two officers, and abundant armaments and provisions. With these materials, his men opened fire and killed thirty-five unarmed Natives who they determined belonged to the Kawaiisu, Tehachapi, or Tübatulabal tribes. Later Californians called this event the Keyesville Massacre. McLaughlin explained that "this extreme punishment, though I


Figure 13: Keyesville Massacre site, Lake Isabella, Wofford Heights, CA, *Bakersfield Californian*

[134] "Anticipated Indian Difficulties," *LAS,* 15 March 1862; "Indian Troubles – Need of Military Assistance," *LAS,* 26 April 1862.
[135] George Evans, "Memorandum of trip from Camp Latham to Owens Lake," 6-9 April 1862, Bohnett-Evans Family papers, 1853-1994, Carton 7, BANC MSS 99/388, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley [hereafter B-EFP]. Evans was a part of the Texas Rangers in the U.S. Mexican War. He claims to have joined the Army in 1861 because he was in need of money to support his growing family. He recorded in his small diary the resistance they faced as "the Indians captured some 15 animals, some provisions & surrounded the whites with some 500 warriors, at least 100 of whom had guns & pistols." The abundance of weapons in the possession of the Natives was blamed on Visalians. "Visalia Items: White Men to Blame," *Stockton Independent,* 6 May 1862.
[136] "Battle with Indians, Nine Lives Lost," *LAS,* 26 April 1862.
[137] George Evans to Fannie Evans, July 1, 1862, B-EFP; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. II –Correspondence etc. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 146 [hereafter *OR*] "From Owens River and the Coso Mines," *VWD,* 17 July 1862.

regret it, was necessary" as an example to end fighting in the Owens Valley and hasten the elimination of Native peoples generally.[138] In July, a hundred 2nd Cavalry C.V. soldiers marched the captives to the San Sebastian (or Tejon) Reservation, a location set aside for Native peoples near Fort Tejon since the 1850s.[139] Approximately 250 of the 1,000 Indians who set out on the march died before reaching the reservation.[140]

Figure 14: Fort Tejon State Park, Lebec, CA, May 2019. Photo by author

Contrary to viewing this as an atrocity, much of the white press commended the saga of killing and relocating Indigenous peoples in the Owens Valley. The *Visalia Weekly Delta* declared that the recent attack revealed the soldiers' physical luster as "the boys look rugged and hearty, as though Indian fighting agreed with them."[141] A correspondent for San Francisco's *Daily Alta California*, calling himself "Viejo," connected their work as being part of the Civil War's goal of returning good order within the country. Viejo asserted that California Volunteers "suffer[ed] more privations, and endure[d] more hardships, with about the same risk of losing their lives, without any hopes of acquiring distinction" than their comrades in the East. Looking

[138] Orton, *Records of California Men,* 181-3
[139] "The entire body…," *VWD,* 23 July 1863. "A History of American Indians in California: Tejon Indian Reservation, Kern County," https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views1h92.htm
[140] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 315.
[141] "…Co. E, 2nd Cavalry," *VWD,* 27 August 1863.

forward to a time when Union soldiers would earn praise for their actions in Indian conflicts, he further elaborated:

> "If those who successfully fight the battles of their country are entitled to the thanks of their countrymen, how much more are the men who steadfastly guard us from the treasonable elements in our midst, and protect our miners and the frontiers of the State from savage barbarities. It is to be hoped that those who have been kept at home in the performance of a more toilsome and disagreeable duty, will not be overlooked and forgotten in the glorious thank-offering which a rescued people and Government will hereafter place in the hands of the fearless defenders of the birthright of thirty-five millions of people."[142]

Connecting the work of those across the state of California engaged in Indian fighting as contributing to the protection of the Union as a whole showed how much California residents hoped the actions of their men would be acknowledged as worthy of national recognition.

Even if the press lauded Indian massacres as a boon for the Union, a few soldiers worried that treatment of women and Natives might ruin their image. Twenty-two year old Sergeant James E. Littleton (Co. I, 2nd Cavalry C.V.) sent his observations of life at Camp Bidwell in Chico, California, to his seventeen year old brother, Eugene, who lived with their parents in Sacramento. Unlike James Brown, Littleton did not find a problem with imbibing alcohol while in military service. After he and his comrades polished off holiday "egg knogg," he called his fellow soldiers "all hard laboring men[,] men that are not afraid of getting their hands a little dirty."[143] Of the fair sex, he claimed early on that "there are some very pretty girls hear in this place and around in the country." However, the combination of young civilian ladies in the vicinity of "hard laboring men" led to sexual violence. On March 10, 1865, James told Eugene that the camp had just held a "drum Court Martial…on account of one of the men who has been caught trying to and not only trying to but actually tampering with young girls between the ages

[142] Viejo, "Letter from Los Angeles," *DAC,* 6 August 1863.
[143] James Littleton to Eugene Littleton, 23 December 1863. Littleton Family Collection, Box 230, California State Library, Sacramento, CA [hereafter LFC]

of 8 and 12 years of age…he was caught before he accomplished his design." Because of the attempted rape of a young girl by one of his fellow soldiers, Littleton expressed his certainty that this action would "keep [the residents] thinking that we are a sett of villains."[144]

Bensell also expressed personal revulsion for the open sexual liaisons between members of his company and Native women. He had little sympathy for "Pvt. [Zachariah] Reed, [who] in a scuffle with a Squaw, received a very bad wound under and over the right eye with a pair of Ladies Scissors."[145] Bensell saw that the actions of even a single soldier could sully the local perception of the whole group. A newspaper from Oregon claimed that California Volunteers "demean themselves as demons" by breaking civilian property and that "five thousand Northern Indians would be less dreaded than these white barbarians."[146] Such unease also made Bensell sensitive to any perceived disrespect from superior officers. He called out his commanders for not affording their military inferiors the respect due to them as soldiers and men. He declared Captain Lyman Scott and Second Lieutenant James Davison "highly unmilitary" for being unnecessarily rude to the men, saying that "common politeness only begets respect…Scott would have every Soldier forget his manhood, his self respect…[and] Davison is a Granny and a tool, a company clown."[147] By accusing Scott of demeaning the common soldiers and feminizing Davison, Bensell asserted the gravity he saw in service to his country.

Fighting Native peoples around the state and just beyond California's borders did not match the glamour of Eastern battles, but it could create a sense of shared purpose. During the Civil War, the men who fought Natives were usually not locals to the specific areas in which

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[144] James Littleton to Eugene Littleton, 10 March 1865, LFC. Soon after this incident, a favorite officer was murdered, which probably did not endear the men to the community. James Littleton to Eugene Littleton, 7 May 1865, LFC.
[145] Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill,* 26, 37.
[146] "Speaks Hard of Them," *LAS,* 12 June 1862.
[147] Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill,* 51.

they fought, rather, they moved in from enlistment centers in Sacramento or San Francisco. Nonetheless, they joined in common cause to defeat a foe defined by years of past altercations in California's countryside. While often glorified in the press, some were still tormented about whether their sacrifices would be understood and appreciated as masculine defense of their country and if they were fulfilling the Civil War duty for which they had originally signed up. Indeed, some soldiers earned their due for meritorious and patriotic Union service as Indian fighters. For example, Captain William Hunt wrote to Governor Leland Stanford personally to recommend his sergeant Greenleaf Curtis (Co. G., 2nd Infantry, C.V.) for a promotion, calling twenty-six year old Curtis a man "of *good moral & sober habits* a faithful Officer true to the Union and loyal to the flag."[148]

Utah Service and Printing Their Own Story

Colonel George Evans informed his wife Fannie he had arrived at Camp Douglas, Utah Territory, in a letter dated January 10, 1863. While he was satisfied with the situation, he told her that all of the wives of officers who had been allowed to travel with their spouses were unhappy with "this climate and country." Nonetheless, Evans wanted her to join him: "If I remain here…it is my intention to have you with me."[149] The new headquarters for the Department of Utah might have been difficult for Fannie Evans and her two young daughters because of tensions between Mormons and "gentiles," as non-Mormon whites were called. Even though Mormons were nominally U.S. citizens with Unionist leanings, the Federal government did not trust them to protect California's overland connection to the rest of the country. For this reason, the government deployed a full regiment of California Volunteers to manage Indian issues along the

[148] Military Documents for Greenleaf Curtis, 1861-1864, MS 509, California Historical Society, San Francisco. Emphasis original; Orton, *Records of California Men,* 427.
[149] George S. Evans to Fannie Evans, 10 January 1863, B-EFP.

Central Overland Mail Route. The companies of the 3rd Infantry and 2nd Cavalry, C.V. populated Camp Douglas, a fort overlooking the Mormon capital of Salt Lake City, a position that suggested the military's lack of trust in Mormon leaders' Union loyalty.[150] Policing the Overland Trail from alleged Indian attackers, and informally keeping watch over Mormons did not however keep the troops entirely occupied.

California Volunteers who arrived in Utah Territory executed the original orders from the U.S. Secretary of War for California's soldiers to "guard the overland mail route from Carson Valley to Salt Lake," the main conduit to the West Coast for travelers and for messages too long to send by telegram. In the summer of 1862 seven companies of Californians made their way over the Sierra Nevada Mountains to fulfill this role.[151] Their leader, Colonel Patrick E. Connor, was a veteran of the U.S.-Mexican War and displayed contempt for Latter Day Saints. Such derision was reciprocated by the Mormon community, including from Mormon leader Brigham Young who only "liked" Connor because he did not hide his feelings behind niceties.[152] Private Henry C. Haskin (Co. K, 2nd Cavalry C.V.), a correspondent for the *Napa County Reporter*, reflected on his first month in Utah by pronouncing that "the opinion which our men form…is anything but a favorable one." He chafed especially at the way Young told his "subjects" that Californians were not to be trusted. Of his commander, Haskin had greater admiration, calling Connor "a man well suited to the position." He "believ[ed] most of us are better satisfied with a soldiers life than we were in California, but would be better pleased to know we were going farther East in the Spring."[153]

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[150] Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 107-8, 151fn.53.
[151] Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 246-51.
[152] Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 253*;* James F. Varley, *Brigham and the Brigadier: General Patrick Connor and his California Volunteers in Utah and Along the Overland Trail* (Tucson, AZ: Westernlore Press, 1989), 273.
[153] H.C. [Henry Haskin], "Letter from Camp Douglas, U.T.," *NCR,* 20 December 1862.

The Californians in Utah were quite impatient to fight in the East, but they followed orders from the Federal government to support the Union cause wherever needed. Early in their service on their march through Nevada Territory, Colonel Connor wrote to Major-General Halleck saying that his infantrymen were well-drilled, and that their skills would be better employed fighting in the East than protecting the mail service on the Overland Trail. They offered to give up their wages, collectively amounting to $30,000, to pay for their passage, if only because "the men enlisted to fight traitors." Corporal Hiram Sinclair Tuttle (Co. K, 3rd Infantry C.V.)" signed $50.00 toard the passage of this rig to the Seat of war in the East." They were refused this offer, and carried on to Utah Territory, where they remained for the rest of their service.[154]

Even if those Californians in Utah wanted to go to east, concerns over Shoshone and Bannock unrest on the Overland Trail gave them a task. An attack on a wagon train in Nevada compelled Connor to send a detachment under Major Edward McGarry, who, like Private Haskin, hailed from Napa, on a punitive expedition with orders to hang all male perpetrators. Such endorsement of violence could have arisen from an ethnic fear common amongst Irish immigrants as explored by historian Louis Warren, who asserts that Irishmen, such as Connor, did not want to be seen as weak and therefore inferior to American-born whites.[155] The mission also included rescuing a young white boy who had been captured years before. McGarry executed four Shoshone prisoners, thus exacerbating relations with the Native tribe and worrying the Mormon community that more trouble would arise.[156] Haskin wrote favorably of McGarry's

[154] Patrick Connor to Henry Halleck, 24 September 1862, *OR,* 133; Hiram Sinclair Tuttle diaries, and related materials, typescript, 1860-1869, BANC MSS C-F 169, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley [hereafter H.S. Tuttle diary], 24 September 1862; Hunt, *The Department of the Pacific,* 191.
[155] Louis S. Warren, *God's Red Son: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 337. Warren mentions Connor as a comparison to the contemporaneous Irish mob which attacked free black men during the Draft Riots of 1863 in New York City.
[156] Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*, 255-6; Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 110-1.

bravery for their hometown audience, saying McGarry rode into the "rugged cañons with bullets whistling around him" without fear.[157] The transition from the original order of protecting the Overland Trail as a defensive measure to actively pursuing Natives took only a matter of months.

The Bear River Massacre, a slaughter of Shoshone peoples under Chief Bear Hunter by California Volunteers, was a culmination of antagonisms brewing since the fall of 1862. The January 1863 murder of white miners north of Salt Lake City was assumed to be the work of the same Shoshones.[158] Corporal Tuttle wrote sparingly in his daily journal, including entries about the lead-up to the Massacre later that month. He recorded "snow," for January 22 when his unit left camp. His was the smaller contingent of Colonel Connor's two-pronged plan to surprise the encampment of Shoshones, dancing to encourage the arrival of spring near Bear River, 115 miles north of Salt Lake City in Washington Territory (today's southern Idaho). The larger group of soldiers marched at night in dangerously frigid conditions, seventy-five men suffering from frostbitten toes by the time they arrived at Brigham City.[159] The rest pressed on and joined Tuttle's group after an unsuccessful assault on the Shoshone village killed a score of Californians. Joining forces after that failure, the infantrymen and cavalrymen surrounded and fired upon the Indians in a four-hour slaughter,

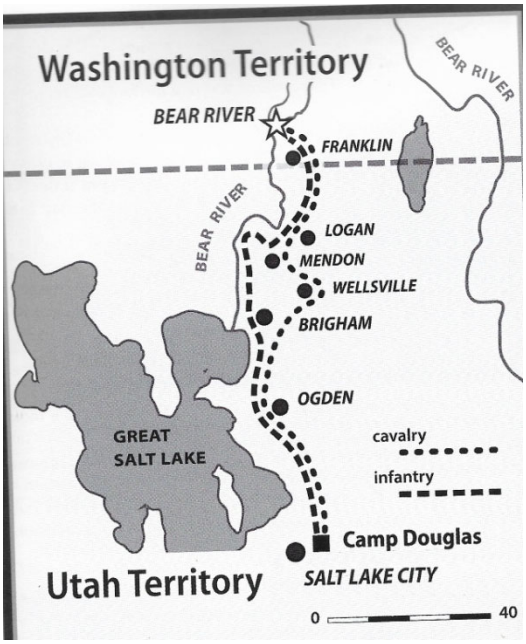

Figure 15: Bear River Massacre map: Hurley, *California and the Civil War*, 113

[157] H.C. [Henry Haskin], "Letter from Camp Douglas, U.T.," *NCR,* 20 December 1862. McGarry's expedition simultaneously made the news in New York. "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times,* 21 December 1862.
[158] Tom Generous, "Over the River Jordan: California Volunteers in Utah during the Civil War." *California History* (Summer 1984): 205.
[159] H.S. Tuttle diary; 22 January 1863; Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 112.

which drained the Shoshones of their ammunition. The soldiers then turned on the now-unarmed Natives, mercilessly killing men, women, and children, brutally finishing off the wounded with physical and sexual violence. They also stole horses, torched the village, and left but a small amount of grain for the few survivors. Tuttle glossed over the violence and carnage. He merely noted on January 29, 1863 that his party "left Franklin [ten miles from Bear River] and went to the indian camp commenced the fight at daylight," and listed a tally of U.S. military casualties.[160]

Newspapers across the country lauded the Bear River Massacre as a heroic victory. While the names of the approximately 250 Shoshone victims were not recorded, the names of the twenty-three California Volunteers killed and the forty-one wounded were diligently printed and distributed widely.[161] Tuttle mentioned, without identification, the days of burying their dead, but a correspondent for the *Daily Alta California*, writing under the name "Verite," offered a full report for the public in San Francisco. This correspondent took care to identify every detail possible about the military casualties, including the location of their injuries, saying "not a friend, relative, or family interested in California Volunteers would have been satisfied with learning that 'he was wounded.'" With his evidence displayed, Verite wrote that the "list is painfully interesting. The character of the wounds show, more forcibly than could our feeble pen exhibit…the daring, heroic, indomitable will of the Volunteers [who]… stood up against the well directed fire of the Indians." When the list of dead made its way to the *New York Times,* their correspondent in Utah proclaimed proudly that "our Indian war is over, short, sharp and decisive," even as he urged "conciliation" to curtail future killings by Indians who might now

[160] Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 258-9; Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 113-7. Josephy includes the report of a Mormon who accompanied the groups and recorded the atrocities of the "fanatic Indian haters of the Californians." H.S. Tuttle diary, 29 January 1863.
[161] Josephy,*The Civil War in the American West,* 259. A contemporary article notes "224 Indians, whose bodies we found." "Battle with the Indians - 224 Savages Killed," *NCR,* 7 February 1863.

attack white settlements in retribution.[162] Colonel Connor was promoted to brigadier general for his part in the massacre, wrote his brief report on the "desperate battle" on January 31, making it to presses in California the following week. A congratulatory message arrived from his superior officer on February 6, commending his valor and assuring that the fallen will "by his heroism [add] new laurels to the fair escutcheon of the State [California]." From San Francisco, General R.C. Drum issued General Orders No. 6 the next week, which offered Connor official acclamation. U.S. General Henry Halleck in Washington, D.C. praised his "gallant and heroic conduct" two months later.[163]

The Massacre, occurring within the context of the Civil War, became part of the struggle for national unity and new concerns with making the West safe. During the War, removing Native peoples became a patriotic activity. As historian Ari Kelman explores in his study of the Sand Creek Massacre, an attack by Union Colorado Volunteers on unarmed Cheyenne and Arapaho people almost two years later, the perpetrators purposefully made "bloodletting not just a triumph in the Indian Wars but of the Civil War" and "raised questions about the interwoven projects of preserving the Union and settling the West."[164] Military officials and the press made the Bear River Massacre into a similar undertaking for Californians who participated.

After returning from Bear River, tense relations with Mormons continued as the California Volunteers settled into life in Salt Lake City. Connor told his superior, General

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[162] Verite in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 175-81; "Important from Utah…" *New York Times,* 22 February 1863. As a participant, Haskin also wrote a lengthy letter for the press on the Bear Creek Massacre. "Letter from Henry C. Haskin," *NCR,* 28 February 1863.

[163] "The following dispatch…," *LAS,* 7 February 1863; Wm. D Ustick to P.E. Connor, 6 February 1863 in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 180; "General Order No. 6," 19 February 1863, pE78.W4.U67, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley; H.W. Halleck to George Wright, 29 March 1863, in *OR,* 368-9.

[164] Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013),16, 24. The Sand Creek Massacre occurred on November 29, 1864. McPherson points out that the Homestead Act of 1862, one of the acts of the productive 37th Congress working after the South's departure, made protecting the region more important as it would encourage settlement once the war concluded. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 450-1.

Wright, that "Mormon guards patrol the city nightly" and seemed to want to provoke an attack. He described meetings at the Mormon Tabernacle in which Brigham Young spoke vigorously against the U.S. government, and claimed that the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith had foretold the troubles of the Civil War. When on a mounted patrol outside of the town, he heard Young's son giving a cheer for Jeff Davis. Instead of going on another Indian expedition during the "favorable season for that service," Connor explained that he would "forego such duty" in light of Mormon agitation.[165]

A letter from Henry Haskin, written before the Bear River Massacre, sheds light on the everyday grievances between Mormons and the soldiers who occupied their city. He wrote of a ball the soldiers hosted, and the tongue lashing Brigham Young gave to Mormon ladies who attended for "'promenading arm in arm with, and suffering yourselves to be wheeled' around in the mazy dance in the embrace of the Devils.'" When the soldiers opened their own Camp Douglas Concert Hall, the ladies were stopped from coming to their first ball: "our boys who were thus malignantly treated, returned to Camp feeling quite cheap." In light of these antagonisms, Haskin concluded by saying the soldiers planned to start a newspaper with the financial aid of commanders and local gentiles, which would show the moral integrity of the troops and would be the entire responsibility of those soldiers setting the type. In July 1864, Connor sent a telegram saying that the "excitement is abating" as Mormons were standing down, aided by a change in territorial leadership, but the idea of a newspaper written, printed and distributed by the California Volunteers went forward.[166]

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[165] George Wright of R.C. Drum, 14 March 1863 in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 509-10; Patrick Connor to R.C. Drum, 15 March 1863 in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 510-1.

[166] Patrick Connor to R.C. Drum, 16 July 1864 in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 517; Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 262. The original proposed name of the newspaper was, naturally, *California Volunteer*.

Figure 16: *Union Vedette* office. Generous, "Over the River Jordan," 211

The four-page first issue of the *Union Vedette* was available on November 20, 1863 and displayed an illustrated banner on its masthead, with an eagle above the phrase "Published by Officers and Enlisted Men of the California Volunteers." The phenomenon of a company-run newspaper was not uncommon during the Civil War. Soldiers used any location available, whether a camp tent, hospital, or prison to set up a press and produce newspapers that recorded their activities.[167] The California Volunteers in Utah had the advantage of a permanent post and plenty of time. Their office was in a log cabin built at Camp Douglas. Haskin's letters indicated how he and his compatriots spent their time: reading, performing minstrelsy theater, and writing songs "full of local 'bits.'"[168] The writers explained they were printing the paper to inform and entertain Unionist readers about local and California happenings, and it serves as a remarkable source to understand what soldiers felt about their service.[169] This paper also "furnish[ed] the means of recreation to our soldiers…if we shall add another voice to the great Union cause,

[167] Earle Lutz, "Soldier Newspapers of the Civil War." *The Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America* 46, no. 4 (1952): 373-4. As of Lutz's publication date, he had identified 100 different newspaper titles.
[168] H.C. [Henry Haskin], "Letter from Camp Douglas, U.T.," *NCR,* 20 December 1862; "From Camp Douglas," *NCR,* 11 April 1863. Varley, *Brigham and Brigadier,* 166-7. Varley describes the minstrel troupe and their theater, which was also used as a schoolhouse. They also had a baseball team at Camp Douglas to keep themselves amused.
[169] Weekly "California Telegraphic Summaries" in particular connected soldiers with their home because "while every local eye watches with interest the noble deeds of our brethren in arms on the Rapadan or at Chattanooga, the California column in Utah is anxious to know what is transpiring at home." "Our Special California Dispatches," *Union Vedette* (Camp Douglas, U.T.), 4 December 1863.

induce one spear of grass where the desert holds sway, we will have accomplished something."[170]

The paper defended the actions of California Volunteer officers and offered connections for the readers to events in the local region. Repeatedly, the *Vedette* justified Connor's language and orders regarding the Mormons to its gentile Unionist audience. General Connor was instructed by his superior officer in July 1864, however, to keep his men from interacting with Mormons so as to prevent another warfront.[171] Otherwise, the paper provided a way for readers to learn about topics important and amusing for soldiers and other Union gentiles by reprinting stories from across the country, a key feature of growing nationalist sentiments, according to scholar Benedict Anderson.[172] Acknowledging their connection to their fellow comrades in the Civil War and home in California, the *Vedette* showed the dual understanding the soldiers had of themselves as national citizens and Westerners. The editors of the *Vedette* also wanted to foster friendship between themselves and all citizens of Utah to perhaps improve their reputations with the region's politically uncertain Mormons' population.[173] Interest was reciprocated by California newspapers that encouraged their readers to subscribe to the *Vedette* as an enterprise taken on by their state representatives, such that they could consider their subscription fees a donation to the Union cause. California newspapers also sometimes republished *Vedette* reports on conditions in

[170] "Salutary," *Union Vedette,* 20 November 1863; "Ourselves," *Union Vedette,* 20 November 1863. By January 1864 the newspaper had a daily and weekly version, the latter of which was sent out to its more distant subscribers while the daily was for local readers. "The Weekly Vedette," *Union Vedette,* 8 January 1864.
[171] "'Gen. Connor and the Mormons' – Protection of the Mines," *Union Vedette,* 19 February 1864; R.C. Drum to P.E. Connor, 16 July 1864 in *OR,* 909-10; Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 262-3.
[172] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37-8, 61. Specifically, Anderson focused on power of mass literacy and print culture as a key factor in unifying peoples within in a nation, which would include stories which were spread across a larger community. He also pointed out that due to Benjamin Franklin's promotion of newspapers, "the printer's office emerged as the key to North American communications and community intellectual life," something especially true in nineteenth-century Western towns.
[173] "Salutary," *Union Vedette,* 20 November 1863.

Utah.[174] The paper persisted through California Volunteer occupation of the region, ending finally in 1867. It allowed California soldiers stationed away from home a way to promote the Union cause and celebrate California's contributions.

The Californians in Utah Territory could find some consolation in what their service accomplished for Union interests. The Bear River Massacre was one of the most violent single attacks on a peaceful group of Natives in American history, but as Connor and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah saw things, "all routes of travel through Utah Territory to Nevada and California…may now be used with safety."[175] Tuttle similarly connected the Indian killing with their mission to protect the Overland Trail. On the two-year anniversary of the Massacre, he wrote that the death of his comrades "gave freedom to thousands of travilers who seek for new homes amid the western wildes."[176]

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James Brown mustered out exactly three years after he had enlisted in San Francisco. Despite finding the far northern region of California dull, Brown made one more queasy voyage up the California coast to settle permanently in Humboldt County, raising a family and becoming a pillar of the community as a teacher, principal, and member of the local school board. When he passed away in 1921, his obituary called him a "conspicuous figure in public life for nearly half a century and Civil War Veteran" who had acquired a "favorable opinion" of the region due to his service, and continued to participate in local military matters by being part of the National Guard

[174] "A Soldier's Newspaper," *Union Vedette,* 11 December 1863. This article included a notice from the *Sacramento Bee* urging its readers to consider subscribing. "The Bannock Mines," *LAS,* 26 March 1864; "The Union Vedette," *Union Vedette,* 12 January 1864.
[175] Quoted Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West,* 261. In 1865, Connor would wage another campaign against the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux in the region during the Powder River Campaign. While displeased, the Californians remained loyal. Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 118.
[176] H.S. Tuttle diary, 29 January 1865.

and a "charter member" of the veteran society, Grand Army of the Republic, post in Eureka.[177] Similarly, Royal Bensell settled in Yaquina Bay, Oregon, just fifty miles from Fort Yamhill. He was an "Indian farmer" at the Coast Indian Reservation, and became a public servant, serving four terms the mayor of nearby Newport. His biographer noted that "for fifty-seven years [Bensell] lived and worked close to the scenes so frequently scorned in his war journal."[178] Even though they complained about their service, men like Brown and Bensell kept reminders of their service alive and benefitted from the removal of Native peoples by death or confinement undertaken during the Civil War.

The soldiers sent to California locations in the far north and the Central Valley or to the Great Basin were denied the opportunity to fight Confederate enemies as they hoped. They instead defined their service through their policing of pro-Confederate whites and exterminating Indians. Because these engagements did not conform to the experiences of their comrades in the East, so California Volunteers highlighted the danger of their positions and how their actions supported the Union cause. In letters to local newspapers and their family and friends, they identified pro-Southern white residents, elusive Native peoples, and adverse environmental conditions as formidable foes, and argued that they merited admiration for their service. By putting their work in the context of protecting California from Confederate influence and securing the West for American settlement, everything from destroying a secessionist newspaper press, holding Union balls in Mormon strongholds and committing atrocities against Native peoples became part of California's effort to preserve the Union.

[177] "Jas. B. Brown Passes Away at his Home Here at 84," *Daily Humboldt Times,* 24 February 1921.
[178] Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill,* 194-6. Today this is the Siletz Reservation. Bensell also passed in 1921.

Chapter 3: "The dreary deserts of Arizona, [and] the wilds of New Mexico": Californians in the Southwest, 1862-1866

Julius C. Hall readily acknowledged that he had a strong case of wanderlust when, in 1861 at the age of twenty, he traveled to California with his best friend, Jared Kimberly. Julius wrote to his younger sister Harriet in Connecticut that he had "never been sorry for taking this trip for you know I always had a great desire to see the Far West and should never have been satisfied untill that desire had been accomplished so I thought the sooner it was made the better."[179] Within a year of arriving in the Far West, and after having a frightful encounter with Native peoples in Petaluma (40 miles north of San Francisco), the two young men enlisted as privates in Company K of the 1st Infantry, California Volunteers, part of what colloquially became known as the "California Column." They were stationed in the Southwest to keep Texan Confederate forces from reaching the Pacific Coast.[180]

Hall's decision to enlist was met by surprise from his family, however. Julius' stepmother, Ursula Palmer Hall, wrote "you must have changed your mind some respecting the war. For when you went away, I thought you would be the last one to enlist. Consequently I was quite surprised when I heard you had entered the service." She ended with encouragement for her stepson: "I hope and trust you will be a good soldier. And while you are fighting for your country, may I not hope you will enlist as a soldier of the cross, and fight manfully, the good fight of faith."[181] Perhaps it was Julius' lighting out for California when the country was at war that caused her to question his patriotism, but to him, enlisting seemed a piece of his Western

[179] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 13 November 1863, Folder 4, Box 1, Julius Hall and Jared Kimberly papers, C 1447, Firestone Library Special Collections, Princeton University [hereafter JH, JK].
[180] He described this incident in August 1861 both in a letter to J. Atwater on 4 April 1862 and in his "Memoirs of Service in the 1st California Regiment, Company K," written in 1913.
[181] Ursula Palmer Hall to Julius Hall, 27 November 1863, Folder 5, Box 1, JH, JK.

adventure. After finding California unprofitable, he and Kimberly "had a desire to see more of the U. States and could at the same time be of some little benefit in backing up this unjust Rebellion [so] we Joined the Vol., which I have never regretted."[182]

Instead of participating in the "more stirring scenes…of the East," Hall and his comrades marched across the Mojave Desert to liberate Tucson, Arizona Territory and then occupy forts in New Mexico. Equipped with the uniforms of Union soldiers, they traveled by steamship from San Francisco to Camp Drum in San Pedro in spring 1862, and then set off eastward.[183] In the beginning of their journey to Fort Yuma, a garrison on the Colorado River, Hall reported that his company "passed through a number of Indian Villages" and "found twenty Secessionists prisoners taken by the Soldiers while trying to make the way to Texas" from southern California.[184] After leaving Fort Yuma, rumors swirled that "savage Apaches" and "quite a large force" of Confederate soldiers under General Henry Hopkins Sibley lay ahead.[185]

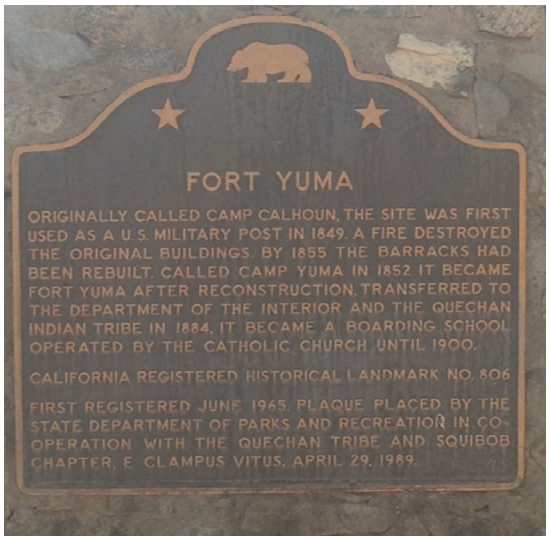

Figure 17: Fort Yuma, officers' quarters and plaque, Winterhaven, CA, May 2019. On land owned by the Quechan Tribe since 1884. Photos by the author

[182] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 2 March 1862, JH, JK.
[183] Orton, *Records of California Men,* 333-4. Hall explains that he was one of 20 men of Company K who went ahead with members of Company A; thus his timeline does not match his full company until New Mexico.
[184] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 2 March 1862, JH, JK.
[185] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 2 March 1862, JH, JK; Julius Hall to J. Atwater Hall, 4 April 1862, JH, JK.

Hall expected sectional drama, but primarily he engaged in fruitless scouting missions aimed at retaliating against Native peoples in New Mexico. In one letter to his sister Harriet he described a thirty-day scout that had been ordered after Navajos killed a white doctor and his escort. The month-long trip in the heat of summer resulted not in fighting but a forced returned to Fort Craig because of a lack of water and ruined shoes.[186] His letters only record encounters with Indians about which he heard secondhand, while he found himself disappointed for having only "seen hundreds of Indians who are peaceable, [and]…never yet saw one real savage wild one."[187]

Living in this environmentally and culturally foreign locale compelled Hall to describe his surroundings for his siblings. He highlighted the physical difficulties of living in this arid region and some surprising opportunities. He explained that "the great American Desert which is entirely destitute of Vegetation and water is only procured in many places by wells dug in the sand and most of that is poor."[188] One promising attraction, especially for those previously from California, was the newly discovered gold deposits in Arizona and New Mexico.[189] Along with gold mining, Californians enjoyed drinking and dancing at fandangos in nearby "Mexican towns," such as Paraje, New Mexico, where Julius admitted to his brother that he and the other "boys" had a "pretty drunken old time."[190]

Even while drinking and mining, Julius worried about whether or not his soldiering in the Southwest would mean he fought "manfully," as his stepmother hoped. He wrote to his sister from Fort Craig, New Mexico that he was in the best health and gaining weight, meaning he was avoiding physically draining service. He was disappointed, however, to have missed out on "join[ing] the Regt with my brother [J. Atwater Hall] and go[ing] to the war with him." On

[186] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 30 August 1863, JH, JK.
[187] Julius Hall to J. Atwater Hall, 13 December 1863, JH, JK.
[188] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 2 March 1862, JH, JK.
[189] Julius Hall to J. Atwater Hall, 13 September 1863, JH, JK.
[190] Julius Hall to J. Atwater Hall, 13 December 1863, JH, JK.

second thought, he reflected that had he been with their brother in the 5th Connecticut Infantry, he might not be in such a comfortable position. "But perhaps it was all for the best that I done as I did," he wrote, "for had I not I might have been now in my grave on some battle field in Vir[ginia]."[191] J. Atwater Hall thought differently. After reading a newspaper article about Julius' regiment, he instead connected Julius' experiences with his own, determining that his brother in the Southwest had "suffered much on some of [his] long marches, and especially for want of water." In comparison to the hundreds of miles traversed by Julius, the most J. Atwater had ever "marched any one day was thirty five miles" when being pursued by Rebels.[192]

Julius Hall's experiences as part of California's expedition into the Southwest encapsulates many of the uncertainties, encounters, discoveries and frustrations of General James H. Carleton's "California Column," who occupied the Southwest from 1862 until 1866. In fact, much of the important action of the Civil War in the Southwest had already occurred before the Californians arrived; the region was scarred by two battles between Union and Confederate forces, as well as violent altercations with and among Hispanos and Native peoples. The California Column only shepherded the last Confederates from the region back to Texas and then returned to be garrisoned in New Mexico where it participated in sporadic skirmishes with Native peoples (primarily with Navajos and Apaches) and explored newly discovered mineral districts.

Historians of the Southwest Civil War have primarily focused on the Confederate actions of the War, and only recently have begun to incorporate the contributions of the California

[191] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 13 November 1863, JH, JK.
[192] Harriet Hall to Julius Hall, 25 June 1862, Folder 2, Box 1, JH, JK; J. Atwater Hall to Julius Hall, 27 November 1862, Folder 3, Box 1, JH, JK (perhaps responding to his letter of 2 March 1862).

Column.[193] The traditional narrative focuses on summer 1861 to spring 1862. As part of the South's effort to extend slavery westward, 3,500 Confederate Texan Mounted Volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor swept into New Mexico Territory in summer 1861. They captured U.S. Regulars, established Mesilla as the capitol of the new Confederate Territory of Arizona on August 1, and proclaimed Baylor governor. By early 1862, Baylor was joined by Major Sherod Hunter and General Henry Hopkins Sibley, who led more companies of Texas cavalry.[194] Since newly-enlisted California soldiers were monitoring seditious activity in southern California, U.S. Regulars of the Department of New Mexico under Colonel E.R.S. Canby, which included many Hispano Americans, with additional help from Colorado Volunteers, responded to Confederate movements through New Mexico. The Battle of Valverde and the Battle of Glorieta Pass, in February and March 1862, respectively, were the two major battles in the region. The first, taking place in present-day Socorro County, New Mexico, was a Confederate victory. Glorieta Pass, later nicknamed the "Gettysburg of the West," in present-day Santa Fe County and San Miguel County, New Mexico reversed the earlier result and successfully "stopp[ed] the Confederate threat in the borderlands and the Pacific" by defeating the Confederates and destroying their supplies.[195] Neither battle resulted in more than one hundred deaths per side. Even though the Confederates initially grabbed a large amount of southwestern territory, their defeat at Glorieta Pass, their troubles with getting more provisions,

[193] Donald S. Frazier, *Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 21-2. A more recent piece also focuses on the Confederate invasion: Megan Kate Nelson, "Death in the Distance: Confederate Manifest Destiny and the Campaign for New Mexico, 1861-1862" in *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States.* ed. Adam Arenson and Andrew R. Graybill. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 4; Megan Kate Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War: The Union, the Confederacy, and Native Peoples in the Fight for the West* (New York: Scribners, 2020), xx.
[194] Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 48-51.
[195] Ibid., 84-100. Masich offers full descriptions of the military particulars of these two battles.

and their lack of support from the Mexican government – which had recently been overtaken by the French Empire – combined to force them to flee back east.[196]

The Column's sole engagement with Confederates came at Picacho Pass, Arizona on April 15, 1862, when twelve cavalrymen of the 1st Cavalry, C.V. under Lieutenant James Barrett, met ten Texan Confederates. The skirmish resulted in six Union Californian causalities, with Lieutenant Barrett numbered among the three dead. The Californians did capture three rebels, but the rest of the Confederates escaped. Californians considered this a scar on their record.[197]

Figure 18: Picacho Pass Battlefield, May 2019. The battlefield itself is inaccessible to the public. Photo taken from Picacho Peak State Park, Arizona, by the author.

[196] Ibid., 99-100, 52-3.

[197] Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 76-9. Masich's first book offers a dramatic description of Barrett's death to begin the work. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 3-5. Barrett, (age 28, Co. A), and the two privates killed, George Johnson (age 25, Co. A) and William S. Leonard (age, 25 or 26, Co. D) were all originally buried at Picacho Pass. Johnson and Leonard were later reinterred at the cemetery at the Presidio in San Francisco. Barrett was honored with a briefly occupied fort under his name in Arizona. Of the three men wounded, one was discharged because of his injury. Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 342 n13-4.

Other than Picacho Pass, California causalities in the Southwest came from accidents, illness, or skirmishes with Native Americans. Faced with both Confederate and Native enemies, the Column had to explain their more violent conduct towards Indians during a time when the rules of warfare were tending towards restraint in "brother's wars."[198] Proving their worth as soldiers to themselves and others meant using language of endurance, necessity, and independence while describing their travel, engagements with Native peoples, and discoveries of gold in the Southwest desert. Such rhetoric appealed to common sentiments of suffering for and devotion to the nation to which they yearned to belong and for which they hoped, still, to fight.

Experiencing the Southwest

The total distance between Drum Barracks in San Pedro, California and Fort Craig, New Mexico is over 800 miles. Most undertook the approximately forty-day journey entirely on foot. Given that many of these future Union soldiers had made their way to California by boat or across the prairies from Midwestern states, the exotic landscape made a strong impression.[199] The desert's formidable size, limited water and sparse animal forage made the march itself a struggle to survive. Considerations included how many men would travel in each group, where they would stop each day, and the amount and weight of clothes, provisions, and weapons they could carry.[200]

[198] Lee, *Barbarians and Brothers,* 233-4.
[199] Ibid., 128. Number of days from the average of twenty miles per day. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 43.
[200] Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 60-9. Masich offers a detailed account of their uniforms and weapons they carried to New Mexico.

Figure 19: California Column map, Wikipedia, adapted from California State Military Museum

Some soldiers took meticulous notes about how far they had marched each day on this journey. Private Eli Warnock Hazen (Co. E, 1st Infantry C.V.) noted in two columns the distance marched between points and the total for his military career. Not counting his maritime voyage from San Francisco to San Pedro, Hazen had walked 867 miles by the time he arrived in Tucson; his journal ends on January 12, 1863 with the mileage totaling 1,881 miles, with still another year before his enlistment concluded.[201] Private Thomas Akers (Co. B, 5th Infantry C.V.) also recorded the number of miles per day his company marched along with daily notes on weather, geography, and landmarks or residences passed. He describes a characteristic day:

> "Marched at 6 am over a level and dusty road to Antelope Peak Station and camped at 1 pm on the river banks at the foot of a high rocky peaks, on which was a flag or signal flying – we here found some Infantry soldiers in charge of hay &c. day very warm – distance this day 15 miles."[202]

[201] Eli Warnock Hazen, "The California Column in the Civil War." Edited by James E. Moss. *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1976). https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1976/april/civilwar/ [hereafter Hazen diary].
[202] Thomas Akers diaries, 21 April 1862, AZ 300, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson [hereafter Akers diary].

Of most interest to soldiers was the desert itself and the Native peoples who lived there. Whether writing in personal journals or for an audience, the soldiers' consistently colorful descriptions of the flora revealed the novelty of what they saw just as Anglo American visitors to the region before them.[203] Private Jared Kimberly (Co. K, 1st Infantry C.V.) filled over half a page to Julius Hall's brother, Henry, describing "one of the most eminent curiosities" in Arizona, the cactus, which he called a "tree… guarded by thousands of standing Bayonets."[204] While a cactus may have inspired awe, more often the desert annoyed the soldiers for its endlessness, heat, and, in their eyes, uselessness. Private Moses Patterson (Co. I, 1st Cavalry C.V.) noted in his diary that this region "in the best of season…is of little value" and that it "presents one of the most cheerless prospects that could well be imagined." He also remarked upon the "intense heat," which at one point reached as high as 126 degrees. This, to be sure, did not improve his opinion of the region.[205] After having lived at a garrison in the Southwest for a year that he would "rather be in Hell with my back broke than here."[206]

Such hot and dusty conditions gave the California Column a claim to being tried and hardened soldiers like their comrades in the East. In July 1864, sweating in the Arizona sun, Alonzo Davis, a *Daily Alta California* soldier-correspondent during the Civil War, humorously, but not completely facetiously, compared the toughness of his comrades directly to those of men facing bullets in the East, saying that "the veterans of the Potomac – brave though they have proved themselves many times, under fire – I doubt their meeting one of the hot breezes in the

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[203] Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscapes and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 56-73. Hyde discusses how surveyors and journalists described the Far Western deserts for their Eastern audiences in the 1840s through 1860s. Of a saguaro cactus, one observer in the 1850s found them "singular" and "strange" yet oddly beautiful.
[204] Jared Kimberly to J. Atwater Hall, 9 June 1863, Folder 16, JH, JK.
[205] Moses Patterson diary, 1864-1866, RHRR [Biography] 318, California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento. [hereafter Patterson diary].
[206] "Bravo" [Jared Kimberly] to Henry Hall, 21 July 1863, Folder 16, JH, JK.

Colorado Desert, so unflinching as can the Salamanders of Company I."[207] Such parallels between the heat of battle and the heat of the "Great American Desert" equated conquering the elements to that of a deadly foe.

California soldiers were also curious about Native peoples of the region. The white men wondered how anyone survived this "uninhabitable" area, and expressed interest in Native subsistence and living habits. The first tribes encountered east of Los Angeles were the Pima and Maricopa peoples. For centuries they had farmed the lands along the Gila River with the assistance of "a large network of acequias," and for their agricultural tradition earned the admiration of the California soldiers.[208] Hazen called the "Maricopas and Pimas…two of the finest tribes of Indians I have ever seen the Women are strictly virtuous and their lands are well cultivated," while Patterson noted that they have "always been friendly to the whites."[209] Private William Henry Harrison Garritt (Co. E, 1st Infantry C.V.) was less impressed, however. When California soldiers stopped at Pima Villages on their march to Fort Yuma, he wrote to his sister in Sacramento that "8 hundred or a Thousand Indians around us but they are all peaceful while I am writing they are all around me and I have to keep an eye on them and one on the paper for fear that they will steal it from under my pen they are a dirty degraded set."[210]

Most California soldiers saved their alarm and suspicion for Apaches, Navajos, Mojaves, and other tribes who were known to the U.S. military and other Native groups in the Southwest as expert horsemen and raiders. Fighting these groups thus became part of Southwest soldiers' Civil War duties. When Union soldiers entered this region, ongoing warfare between sedentary

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[207] "Letter from the California Volunteers on service in Arizona," 4 July 1864, in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 289.
[208] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 129.
[209] Hazen diary, 31 May 1862; Patterson diary, 16 May 1864.
[210] William H.H. Garritt to Sister [Sidney Garrett McCleery], 28 October 1861, William H.H. Garritt letters, Box 361, California Room, California State Library, Sacramento. [hereafter WHHG].

and semi-nomadic Indigenous peoples was about competition for resources and social power, a political economy of which Anglo-Americans were not a part of.[211] To the Anglo soldiers seeing the region for the first time, rumors of Apaches and Navajos raiding cattle, sheep, or other supplies and of the occasional killing of a white traveler became the impetus for week- or month-long scouting missions – or, worse, the justification for the capture, imprisonment, or killing of Native people themselves. A raid on a herd of animals while soldiers celebrated Fourth of July at Fort Craig resulted in "a fight" in which "the Volunteers [Californians and New Mexicans] brought back to the post all the herd that had been run off and some [four?] indian scalps."[212] In distinguishing between peaceful and raiding Indians, soldiers learned about which Southwestern Native groups were threats to themselves and the safety of the region they understood as being American property.

Fighting in the Southwest

As a military force, the duty of the California Column was to remove intruders and to defend U.S. interests. In the Column's limited encounters with Confederates, soldiers rarely incarcerated or killed Rebels. During their more frequent altercations with Native tribes, however, Union troops often killed them. How soldiers described the reasons for these different actions influenced how family members and the public, primarily in California, accepted the patriotic nature of their service. By explaining their actions in uniform against Confederates and Native peoples, they tied encountering Rebels and killing Indians as both being within the context of the Civil War.

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[211] Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 29-37; Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* xvii; Lance Blythe, "Kit Carson and the War for the Southwest: Separation and Survival along the Rio Grande, 1862-1868" in *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States.* Eds .Adam Arenson and Andrew R. Graybill. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 57.
[212] Akers diary, 4 July 1863.

The earliest incidents with Confederates or Southern sympathizers occurred at the beginning of the Column's journey east. Former California State Senator and pro-secessionist Daniel Showalter was on the run for having shot and killed fellow State Senator Charles W. Piercy in Marin County in 1861. Making his way south through California, members of the California Volunteers captured Showalter. Sergeant George O. Hand (Co. G, 1st Infantry C.V.) was in charge of guarding Showalter and his party when one of the prisoners escaped from his watch and had to be retrieved. When the prisoners were secured at Fort Yuma five months later, Hand recorded smugly that "in the presence of…the whole command, [they] took the Oath of Allegiance to the United States Government…[and] if there was a good 'secesh' in the party it must have been hard to swallow."[213] After taking the oath, the prisoners were set free. Confederate forces made a valuable capture by apprehending U.S. Captain William McCleave (Co. A, 1st Cavalry C.V.) and eight or nine other Union soldiers in March 1862, as soon as the Californians entered Arizona.[214] "Like true and loyal men [they] refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy, consequently they have been taken to Tucson," asserted a southern California newspaper correspondent, and later Rebel forces took McCleave to New Mexico. It would not be until August 1862 that Californians made it to Fort Thorn, New Mexico, and freed the prisoners.[215]

Prisoner returns were the most common way that Union and Confederate forces interacted in the Southwest. Focused on individuals, these interactions reveal the non-combative tenor of contact between Blue and Gray in the Far West. When Californians did make it to

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[213] George O. Hand diary, 27 November 1861 and 13 April 1862. Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. Upon taking the oath to the United States Showalter was released, only to serve as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army, fighting in Texas.
[214] Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 31-3.
[215] CIVIS, "Camp Wright: April 25th 1862," *LAS,* 3 May 1862; Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 109. It is unknown how many men were captured along with McCleave as people later recorded different numbers. Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands,* 340n90.

Texas, it was on brief trips to return wounded Confederates abandoned at Fort Fillmore.[216] Starving, the Texans in the summer of 1862 ransacked the countryside for anything to eat. They also killed twenty Mexicans in Mesilla as part of that rampage, enraging locals.[217] The Confederates then left ninety-five of their own wounded men to the mercy of the California soldiers. Eli Hazen recorded that, instead of taking their revenge for two Union soldiers who had been hanged by Sibley's Brigade in Las Cruces, a more humane incident occurred regarding the Rebel prisoners' time in Union hands:

> "[The prisoners] were agreably surprized at the treatment they received at our hands, for they were laboring under the false impression which their leaders had imbued them with, that the California troops were but little better than Cannibals who would torture if not eat their Prisoners our good treatment so won upon them that some of them wept at parting, and swore they would never bear arms against us again."[218]

An outlandish claim, this Confederate belief in Californian inhumanity and possible cannibalistic tendencies could perhaps be tied to the latter's more frequent military experience with Indians who Union and Confederate alike believed to be barbaric. Nevertheless, as Private George W. Oaks (Co. I, 1st Infantry C.V.) remembered the incident in the early twentieth century, he was alarmed by General Carleton's kindhearted decision to release the prisoners. "Most of us would have told the Confederates, 'Get out or get killed,'" he claimed, "but not Carleton. He even gave one bunch [of released prisoners] an escort towards San Antonio."[219] At the time, Lieutenant-Colonel Clarence E. Bennett (Field & Staff, 1st Cavalry C.V.) recorded in his diary that he was "surprise[d]" to learn "that among 95 Rebel Prisoners sent down here…They are to be sent on

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[216] This Franklin, Texas was located less than 50 miles from Las Cruces, NM next to El Paso, not to confused with Franklin, Texas northeast of Austin. This fort had been surrendered to the Confederates early in the war as they made their way into the Southwest. "[By Pony Express] Surrender of Fort Fillmore – How it was done," *Sacramento Daily Union,* 17 September 1861.
[217] "Disastrous Retreat of the Confederates from Arizona," *Marysville Daily Appeal,* 13 August 1862; Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*, 90-1.
[218] Hazen diary, 10-11 August 1862.
[219] George Washington Oaks, *Man of the West: Reminiscences of George Washington Oaks 1840-1917.* Recorded by Ben Jaastad. Edited and annotated by Arthur Woodward (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1956), 27.

into Texas as liberated on parole"[220] A soldier-correspondent for the *Daily Alta California* wrote in a letter dated August 2, 1862 of Colonel Edward Engle Eyre's (Field & Staff, 1st Cavalry C.V.) impressive march to "raise the Stars and Stripes" over Mesilla and other Confederate-held positions, but wrote nothing about plans for paroling the prisoners.[221] For many troops on the ground, even if some disapproved, paroling and returning captured Confederate soldiers nonetheless shows the beginnings of reconciliation. Such sentiments of leniency did not apply to Native peoples.

The need to restrain and remove Native peoples was not difficult to explain to California residents in the 1860s. Violently "punishing" Indians was an accepted response to everything from killing travelers, stealing stock, or even reluctantly serving white domiciles. Siotha Bennett, the wife of Lt.-Colonel Bennett wrote to him from San Bernardino, California that her Native servant, Jimmy, was being a "nuisance" and she had come to "the conclusion [to] whip him to death."[222] Beliefs about the natural violence of Apaches and Navajos only inflamed an already bloodthirsty Western populace. In the context of the Civil War, however, and especially for those writing to relatives in the States, fighting Native Americans in the Southwest instead of Confederates needed more explanation as to why doing so was a patriotic duty.

Initial encounters with Apaches and Navajos frightened California soldiers because they had no idea how to fight in this desert landscape. Their rhetoric when describing such interactions mirrored reports of skirmishes fought in the East. One incident occurred when Californians marched eastward from Confederate-abandoned Tucson. Carrying supplies over two

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[220] Clarence E Bennett diary, 14 September 1862, Clarence E. Bennett papers, 1851-1894, MS 69, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
[221] Vedette, "Vedette's Letters from the California Column for Texas under Gen. Carleton… *Ojo de Vaca, Arizona,* Aug. 2, 1862," *DAC,* 31 August 1862.
[222] Siotha Bennett to Clarence E. Bennett, 3 April 1864, Clarence E. Bennett papers, 1851-1894, MS 69, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

hundred miles of desert, California Volunteers under Captain Joseph Roberts were ambushed by Chiricahaua Apaches at Apache Pass on July 15, 1862. Incapable of retreating from the well-planned attack Californians aimed cannons at the Apaches.[223] Eli Hazen recorded that "our ears were greeted with a volley of musketry accompanied by the war whoop of the Apache Indians who had attacked our train…the 1st volley the Indians killed one of our guard and wounded the hospital steward and one teamster."[224] Meanwhile, Private John W. Teal (Co. B, 2nd Cavalry C.V.) found himself cornered and abandoned by his comrades during the clash. Teal wrote that "self preservation the first instinct of nature [got] the better of their valor they galloped off, leaving me to take care of myself." Once he ran out of ammunition, "the indians…closed in around me...The chief or commander of the indians was armed...but was unwilling to fire at me without a rest."[225] An *Alta* correspondent told the story of Teal's survival in dramatic terms: Teal "found himself suddenly cut off by intervening savages," wrote the correspondent, and "the fight between Teal and fifteen savages (Apaches) continued from half an hour before sundown to-past eight o'clock that night, at which time he crawled off and made his way safely into…camp about eight miles off."[226] These descriptions echoed in tone narratives about military engagements in the East. Here, though, Apache war whoops took the place of Rebel yells as Union troops made their escapes. Whether Confederate or Native, an enemy in a time of war remained an enemy all the same.

More common, though less dramatically, the Column conducted retributive expeditions on Native peoples who had previously raided Union military supplies or attacked on civilian

[223] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 140-1; Hurley, *California and the Civil War,* 70-2.
[224] Hazen diary, 15 July 1862.
[225] John W. Teal, "Soldier in the California Column: The Diary of John W. Teal." ed. Henry P. Walker. *Arizona and the West* 13, no. 1 (April 1971): 40-1. Entry 15 July 1862.
[226] Vedette, "Vedette's Letter from the California Column for Texas," 16 August 1862, in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 240. This article offers a dramatic account of the ambush at Apache Pass.

white Americans. For Apaches and Navajos, raiding and "vengeance warfare" formed a major role in establishing the power structure among their warriors and masculine identification. Attacks thus increased as more Anglo-American soldiers entered the Southwest.[227] Orders from Union commanders directed their own vengeance on Apaches and other Native groups, and the scouting assignments offered California soldiers the possibility for of painting themselves as righteous defenders of the white American way of life.[228] Julius Hall wrote to his brother of an incident of trickery leading to the death of a soldier. Indians, he explained, "imitat[ed] the whistle of a wild turkey [and] they decoyed him into their trap and then filled him with arrows, killing him instantly." He added that all the men were on edge. A comrade of Hall's had mistaken "a few clumps of bushes" for hostile Natives in fear of another such scheme.[229] Emphasizing the deviousness of their foes, soldiers highlighted the bravery of California troops who faced unorthodox dangers peculiar to service in the Far West. Of course, California soldiers had an incentive to portray Native peoples as especially vicious in order to reinforce the perception of their own bravery and to validate their violent reprisals.

So as not to be perceived as brutal savages themselves, soldiers wrote to family about the conditions in the Southwest, and described the Native peoples with whom they came in contact in terms that identified them as intractable barbaric foes, not unlike the occasional descriptions of Confederates in the East. Soldier-correspondents underscored the geographical and cultural divide between West and East to defend the righteousness of their behavior. In May 1863, Private Andrew Ryan (1st Infantry C.V.) implored his sister, who was stranded in Confederate Tennessee that he "[did] not want you to think that we Californians are so inhumane but we think

[227] Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest,* 148-55.
[228] See Captain William McCleave to Colonel Christopher Carson [Kit Carson], 12 October 1862, "Papers and memories as officer, 1st Cavalry, California Volunteers, 1862-1904." BANC MSS C-B 300, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
[229] Julius Hall to J. Atwater Hall, 13 December 1863, JH, JK.

different about Indians out here than you would where you are." Perhaps he protested too much, for he then described that "they went down on the Gila and came upon a Ranchore [i.e. rancheria] or town of the Apaches and killed every one of them, men, women, and children."[230] Two months later, on July 1, as Union and Confederate forces faced off for what would be the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg, Jared Kimberly expressed similar sentiments and explanations:

> "There is only one course to persue with these indians! And that is to blot every one from the face of the earth. This taming the savage tribes is played out. It is impossible as it is to tame a Hyena! Many of the religious association in the states still intercede for them - and make a great cry about civilizing them for a benefit of the human race. And still continue to exclaim 'lo the poor indians.' There is only one method of civilizing them! And that is to give them musket balls and slash them with the sword freely."[231]

The California soldiers' exterminationist language showed how they defined their Native adversaries as absolutely unredeemable, a step even beyond most attitudes toward Confederate soldiers, except in very specific instances of atrocity.[232] This is not to say that all California soldiers unquestioningly killed Natives. Alonzo Davis realized the dire and long-lasting consequences of unchecked violence against Native peoples when he looked back at the service of California's soldiers. He noted that the killing of one man for another "brought war, cruel, relentless war that raged for two years, and many a victim of both white and red paid the penalty with their lives."[233] Nonetheless, the lengthy explanations of why they condoned eliminating

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[230] Andrew Ryan to Amanda Ryan, 3 May 1863 in Andrew Ryan, *News from Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863: Civil War Letters of Andrew Ryan, with the First California Volunteers.* (Santa Fe, NM: Stagecoach Press, 1966), 40. In this incident, 25 Apaches were killed.

[231] Jared Kimberly to J. Atwater Hall, 1 July 1863, JH, JK.

[232] Both the Union and Confederacy described their enemy as savages at different times. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers,* 24-5.The Fort Pillow Massacre perpetrated by Confederates on African American Union soldiers on April 12, 1864 was one instance of identifiable evidence of the barbarity of Southern men, but generally, men of North and South followed more restrained treatment of foes as befitting a "brother's war." See Lee, *Barbarians and Brothers,* 237.Alonzo Davis pointed out the Southerners' "record of barbarity, cold-blooded malignity…from bloody Manassas to Fort Pillow."Cal. Volunteer [Alonzo Davis], "Letter from the California Volunteers in Arizona," *DAC,* 4 July 1864 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 290.

[233] Davis, "Pioneer Days in Arizona," Folder 1, 32, AZHS.

Natives, regardless or sex or age, reveal that Ryan and Kimberly walked the fine line between upholding their heroism in preserving American access to the land, and trying not to appear unnecessarily brutal. In this way, they attempted to bring themselves within the constructs of the Eastern Civil War – a war in which killings of defined enemies were considered justified in the name of national unity.

Most common during the Civil War was the continuation of mid- nineteenth century confinement of hundreds of Native peoples at forts or on reservations. Reservations were commonly used by the United States to undertake "large-scale removals of Native Americans from their homelands…far from white communities," where they would then be "converted into full-time farmers and Christians."[234] The largest reservation in eastern New Mexico at Fort Sumner – renamed Bosque Redondo – was opened in 1864 by General Carleton with President Lincoln's approval and $100,000 in funds from Congress. This reservation is remembered for causing the forced Navajo "Long Walk" from Arizona in cold winter conditions, starving and freezing many to death, and for being regarded as a tragic failure by 1866 when such inhumane conditions persisted.[235] Soldiers did not appreciate being stationed at Bosque Redondo either, complaining of wind and bad water, but Julius Hall asserted after witnessing over a thousand Navajos walking to Bosque Redondo that "I think the time when the North American Indian will be extinct is fast approaching."[236] Participating in the confinement of Indians during the Civil War, California soldiers in the Far West were, again, able to rationalize and enhance their actions

[234] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 188.
[235] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 203, 196; Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 132.
[236] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 20 March 1864, JH, JK. John Teal was also briefly stationed at Fort Sumner before marching back to California, saying "This place (that is, Ft. Sumner) is horrible in windy weather." Teal, "Soldier in the California Column," 62, entry: 9 March 1864.

by characterizing the Native captivity as an integral part of the consolidation of Federal power that desired to put Indians safely in the past.[237]

In April 1865, Alonzo Davis complained in a letter to the *Daily Alta California* about those "persons at a distance" who blamed recent Indian "depredations" along a trail on a failure by "Uncle Sam and his emissaries." Yet those same acts of blame revealed how white Easterners had come to believe that the Federal government and its soldiers were responsible for policing and securing areas in the West.[238] Still, such brutality toward Native peoples had to be explained to the general public in both cosmopolitan San Francisco and in the East, because this type of duty was unfamiliar to readers in urban, Western and Eastern areas. Davis reported confidently on the state of affairs in Arizona in four months earlier that over the year 1864 the region had changed with regard to government and judicial systems due to the presence of white Americans. "The numerous ruins of [Native?] forts and lodges…are evidence that the country once supported a large population," he wrote. "And there can be no doubt that under the superior culture of the white man it can be made to do so again." Removing Native peoples from the land, by incarceration and genocide, left the space open for the "superior culture" to take root. Davis next informed his readers that "we are at the mercy of capital" to achieve this, but the nation's finances were also a problem that California soldiers were working to improve.[239]

Mining in the Southwest

To temper the Federal government's concern about the costs of fielding Far Western soldiers and feeding Native peoples recently confined to reservations, California soldiers proudly

[237] Blythe, "Kit Carson and the War for the Southwest," 67; Masich, *Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands*, 240.
[238] "Our Letter from Arizona Territory," *DAC,* 3 April 1865 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 324-5.
[239] Cal. Volunteer [Alonzo Davis], "Interesting Letter from Arizona," *DAC,* 29 January 1865 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 314-5. Davis was also in a particularly good and hopeful mood while writing this because he had just met his future wife at Fort Mojave's New Year's Ball.

advertised that they could pull money from the ground. Lucrative mining was possible if Arizona and New Mexico were secured for the nation. As if reenacting the path to quick riches they had imagined when many of them had originally traveled to California, whether they arrived in 1849 or later, they enthusiastically took to mining explorations during their Civil War tenure. Officers supported this side-project by allowing groups of soldiers' furlough trips away from the forts to partake in this quintessentially Western and masculine activity. The U.S. War Department also saw great financial benefit to approving soldiers' mining while in the service of the Union. Even President Lincoln, in December 1862, in the midst of contemplating how to pay for this increasingly expensive war, considered the "scientific exploration of the mineral regions in those Territories" an asset and worthy of the soldiers' time.[240] Finding lodes in Arizona could fill Union coffers and provided an activity that utilized the particular skills already held by many of these men.

Soldiers showcased their mining finds to family and to the public. Lieutenant Edward Tuttle (Co. A, H, and F, 4th Infantry C.V.) enthusiastically told his sister in Auburn, California about claims he located while in Arizona, and he maintained his "lodes" after his discharge as they were still producing handsomely.[241] Alonzo Davis publicized the potential mining districts in the territories in his letters for the *Daily Alta California*. In every letter he wrote, he promoted mining "Districts" in Arizona to his San Francisco audience. In his memoir, he remembered getting a pass along with his comrades and, "taking ten days rations of hard-tack, pork and beans…explor[ing] the region for mineral wealth." Clearly, mining was both useful and a

[240] Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 87-8; Quoted in Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 177. From Second Annual Address to Congress, December 1, 1862; Matthews, *The Golden State,* 121-2.
[241] Edward Tuttle to Sister [Catherine Slade], 4 April 1864, 19 April 1866, 29 April 1866, AZ 514, Edward D. Tuttle Papers, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson. With each promotion, Tuttle changed companies. He was in the service from 1861-1863, and again in 1865. During the year he made his claims, he was not in the Army, but had traveled to Arizona due to his service. Orton, *Records of California Men,* 601, 637, 651; Matthews, *The Golden State,* 121-2.

diverting experience for the men.[242] Davis claimed that in his Company I, 4th Infantry C.V. "nearly all hope to be discharged here, as it will save them a tedious trip, and most all intend to stick to the country, for they feel confident that have got their 'golden-egged goose' cooped, sure."[243] This wartime boosterism helped the white population of Arizona grow dramatically from 1863 to 1866, and some California soldiers became interested in settling in the area they had just recently maligned.[244] The California soldiers' Arizona mining efforts could thus be celebrated as a positive gain for national war efforts in that it brought Americans to the land and grew the national economy.

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California Volunteers in the Southwest avidly followed the war news from the East and noted how their actions corresponded to the political agenda. Out in the desert, California Volunteers cheered loudly in July 1863 when "the Eastern mail came in with the news of the fall of Vicksburg and the battle of Getysburgh. Everyone is jubilant over the new of the success of our armies," a pleased John Teal wrote. The soldiers enjoyed "two gal[lons] of whiskey to each company from the commissary." The Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 further influenced California soldiers as they undertook freeing indebted wage laborers or "peons." Private John Ayers (Co. D, 1st Cavalry C.V.) recalled that "our troops were here and the people gave up their peons, the courts were more open and the law enforced when necessary."[245] Soldiers' anger towards Copperheads, Pro-peace or Democratic Unionists, also emerged from

[242] Davis, "Pioneer Days in Arizona," Folder 253, AZHS.
[243] Cal. Volunteer [Alonzo Davis], "Our Letter from Arizona," *DAC,* 6 August 1864 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 297. Masich noted that "none of the soldiers spent more time and energy prospecting, promoting and staking claims than Davis." Masich, "Alonzo Davis," 107.
[244] Andrew Masich argues that this vigorous exploration of mines in Arizona made many California soldiers eager to stay and settle in Arizona as miners and other professions. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 129-30.
[245] Teal, "Soldier in the California Column," 20; John Ayers, "A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico," 1884, BANC MSS P-E 6 FILM, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. See Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016) for a history of Native American slavery conditions in California and the Southwest from the Spanish Empire to early 20th century.

newspaper reports. Andrew Ryan was particularly vicious towards Copperheads, telling his sister that if they showed themselves to California soldiers, "*Hemp* would raise in value. They would rather hang traitors of that description than an out and out Secesh, for they do more harm under the cloak of loyalty."[246] Much to his dismay, Ryan's older brother, Corydon, seemed to be advocating for an early peace with the South. In one letter between the men, Andrew expressed unequivocally that he was "satisfied with the conduct of Abe Lincoln in every sense of the word, as every good Union man that has the well fare of his country at heart should be," just after re-enlisting in Company A, 1st Battalion of Veteran Infantry C.V.[247]

California soldiers' release from service in the Southwest caused joy for some who wanted to go east, and consternation for others even among those otherwise dedicated to the Union. The issue became contentious as commanders mustered out men not in California, but in the middle of New Mexico, hundreds of miles from any conveyance back to California or the East. Julius Hall did not mind the situation. He was happy to leave "the sublime and lofty mountains of California…the dreary deserts o Arizona, [and] the wilds of New Mexico" behind, for his "mind turn[ed] to New England as the most beautiful [location] of…all." He was thus pleased not to "march back again, over those burning deserts" and instead return to Connecticut and fulfill his remaining "desire to see the Great West" upon military discharge.[248] "Vide" strongly articulated the opposite position in a letter printed in October 1864 in the *Daily Alta California*. He derided the government for abandoning the men "in the midst of a desert country, infested with hostile savages, and unsafe to traverse…fifteen hundred or two thousand miles from their homes, with the necessaries of life at starvation prices, and allowed only the pitiful

[246] Andrew Ryan to Amanda Ryan, 3 May 1863 in Ryan, *News from Fort Craig,* 40.
[247] Andrew Ryan to Corydon Ryan, 27 July 1864 in Ryan, *News from Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863,* 72; Orton, *Records of California Men,* 388.
[248] Julius Hall to Harriet Hall, 3 January 1864, JH, JK.

sum of eighty dollars for rations and transportation back to the place of their enlistment." He concluded that California's men had been "unjustly…treated at the close of our military career."[249] General Carleton also stood up for his men, writing to his commander that they had "toiled and suffered so gallantly and unmurmuringly in the fulfillment of the requirements of their country," and claiming that "our citizens generally would consent to bear the burden of the slight taxation necessary to enable the State to refund the money expended by these soldiers of the Union under such peculiar circumstances," as had other state's residents; twenty-two soldiers signed a petition asking for this travel remuneration sent to the California legislature.[250]

Individual soldiers welcomed being released from the Army regardless of funds, but that release came with a loss of companionship and, for some, shared national purpose. William Garritt explained to his sister his mixed feelings on his long-awaited "emancipation" day, saying that he was "both Glad and Sorry [to be discharged]…I can now go where my service will be of some use with either Grant or Sherman." Nonetheless, he was still "Sorry to leave all of the boys…Sorry to think that we are to scatter all over the Country perhaps never to see any of them again."[251] While miserable experiences under poor officers and strong connections between comrades were common for many soldiers, the "scattering" of California soldiers "all over the country "was quite different from many of those discharged from Eastern regiments, which might be made of up of men from the same town.[252] Some remained with mining claims in the

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[249] Vide, "A Soldier's Letter from Arizona Territory," *DAC,* 17 October 1864, in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 306.
[250] "California Volunteers." Ex. Doc. House of Representatives, 39th Cong. 1st sess.; "General Carleton's Men Ask for Relief," *DAC,* 21 December 1865 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 330-1.
[251] William H.H. Garritt to Sister, 2 September 1864, WHHG. After his discharge Garritt re-enlisted in Company F, 55th Kentucky Infantry. His headstone in Iowa is inscribed with both of his Civil War units. Alonzo Davis remembered two comrades who deserted in New Mexico and re-enlisted in Washington. Davis, "Pioneer Days in Arizona," 52. Junius T. Turner served briefly in the Southwest before deserting and joining the California contingent fighting in Massachusetts. Matthews, *The Golden State,* 126.
[252] Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier,* 21. Many Civil War companies were "composed of men who were brothers, fathers, cousins, and childhood friends, typically from the same hometown or surrounding area."

Southwest, others returned to California, and still others east either to re-enlist or return to homes they had not seen for years.

With their last paycheck from the government, California soldiers dispersed, carrying their pro-Union convictions and Western perspectives across the nation. Scholar Ernst Renan's suggestion that a nation grows stronger through "having suffered, rejoiced, and hoped together," show how shared experiences could help knit the American nation together West and East as well as North and South.[253] In 1862, after California soldiers had passed through on their march across the desert, an *Alta* correspondent bemoaned how little credit his state received for its efforts for the Union. He declared that "every man seemed anxious to press forward, to get within reach of the enemy, and do something worthy of being engraved upon the historical record of California." In spite of their eagerness, with:

> "all our loyal sister States at the East hav[ing] borne their part in the brunt of this heart-rending conflict... the glory of California seems hidden under a cloud so far. True, they have borne fatigues, privations, and hardships altogether unknown to our Eastern brethren: but these things have no brightness in war, unless varnished in blood."[254]

Claiming to have similarly physically grueling marches and other "hardships," shows how Californians thought about experiences East and West together, even if they believed their service was not as worthy. Californians who served in the Southwest could rectify their perception as not participating fully when they spread across the nation, telling stories of how they supported the Union by encouraging commerce and protecting national interests while facing a hostile environment and implacable Native foes.

[253] Renan, "Qu'est-cequ'une nation?," 10.
[254] Vedette, "Vedette's Letter from the California Column for Texas," *DAC,* 31 August 1862 in Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona,* 249.

Chapter 4: "Iron-clad, clipper-built California boys!":
The California 100 and California Battalion in Virginia, 1862-1865

Less than four years after Samuel James Corbett penned in his diary, "hear we are in San Francisco harbor" after 166 days at sea, he was once again aboard a steamship in the San Francisco Bay.[255] When he embarked on the *Golden Age* as a newly mustered-in Union soldier on December 11, 1862, it was before a cheering crowd. He was a proud member of the "California 100," the name of this specially-selected unit of soldiers destined for the East Coast, renamed Company A of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry when they arrived. His company was escorted through downtown San Francisco to their docked ship by companies of California militiamen and a brass band. At the wharf, "a person in the crowd proposed three cheers for the Union, which were given by the soldiers and citizens with hearty goodwill. The band played *Sweet Home, Hail Columbia,* etc."[256] The same fanfare greeted them when they made it into port in New York City on January 3, 1863. The next day they went on to Boston and were "welcomed to camp by salute of battery," and then had a "surprise Party" with hot food, speakers, and the presentation of a flag made by Miss Abby A. Lord. That gift, a large American flag, was not carried into battle. Instead they carried with them their banner from California, one half emblazoned with "U.S." in gold thread and the other adorned with the painted image of a bear, the symbol of the state of California. This banner would remain one of their most cherished

[255] Samuel James Corbett diary, 22 February 1859, Samuel James Corbett papers, 1858-1890, BANC MSS C-F 95, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
[256] "The California Rangers," *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 11 December 1862, in Larry Rogers and Keith Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees: A Chronicle of the California 100 and Battalion in the Civil War from San Francisco to Appomattox* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 2001), 46.

Figure 20: Guidon, Company A (California 100), 2nd Mass. Cavalry. Owned by California State Capitol

possessions.[257] After a few days of furlough to explore Boston, Corbett and his comrades traveled south to Virginia, where they would spend most of their service time.

Hundreds of men in California wished to go east, but the privilege was first offered to only one hundred men in late 1862. A few months later, nearly four hundred more joined them, and became Companies E, F, L, and M of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, known collectively as the "California Battalion." Even in the East, Californians missed being in the thick of decisive battles. Instead of engaging in the best-known encounters, Corbett and his unit participated in the dangerous, but less newsworthy, business of hunting guerrilla rangers in the woods west of Richmond, Virginia. His brief diary entries listed the number of enemy casualties Californians inflicted, and tracked those of his unit who were killed while pursuing the elusive "gray ghost of the Confederacy," Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the leader of Mosby's Rangers, a guerilla group that directed lightning raids on Union troops.

[257] Madera Method Historians, eds., *The Civil War Diary of Samuel James Corbett.* (Madera, CA: Classroom Chronicles Press, 1992), 4 January 1863, 13 January 1863, 11. The original of Corbett's diary is held at The Bancroft Library. His diary, along with those of his comrades Valorus Dearborn and Wells Wallis West, was transcribed and published as part of a middle school project in Madera, California called the "Madera Method Project." Maps, important military reports, and careful research on every member of the California 100 make this an incredible and easy-to-use resource. I will cite it as *Corbett diary,* with the date of the entry and the corresponding page number of the published book. Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees*, 367; Thomas E. Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State: The Californians of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company Inc., Publishers, 2001), 32.

Raids and periodic confrontations persisted into the spring of 1864, with the California 100's commander, Captain J. Sewell Reed, dying in combat in February 1864. During this time, Corbett also became a member of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry band, playing horn; the band performed for Union leaders including President Lincoln, for whom they "played…several patriotic airs, which he acknowledged by waving his hat as he passed by."[258] In July 1864, the Californians were attached to General Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah. Daily travel and skirmishes marked March 1865 as Union and Confederate forces fought fiercely during the last gasps of the War. On March 31, during the Battle of Dinwiddie Courthouse, Corbett "was captured and taken into an earthwork." Still having the use of his horse, he made a painful break for freedom in which a broken stirrup caused him to "wrench [his] side terrible…but as there were six mounted Rebs after [him], [he] had no time to waste on small matters." In the escape, he dislocated two ribs. Safely back at camp, he "strapped them up with a carbine strap and took [his] place in the band."[259]

About a week later, Corbett camped at Appomattox Courthouse as Southern surrender was negotiated. After two years of traveling around the Eastern theater, riding hard for hundreds of miles, witnessing myriad deaths, being captured and injured, and then escaping to safety, Corbett arrived to witness "the rebel Army of Virginia under command of Gen. Robert E. Lee lay down their arms" in surrender to General U.S. Grant. When the terms to end the war were agreed to, Corbett paused, "being in no particular hurry…no firing and none of the music of war that we have been accustomed to for so long a time. The silence really seems oppressive."[260]

The experiences of Samuel James Corbett, one of nearly five hundred Californians who saw action in the Civil War's bloodiest region in northern Virginia, offers a sketch of the

[258] *Corbett diary,* 7 October 1863, 23; 26 March 1865, 144.
[259] *Corbett diary,* 31 March 1865, 146.
[260] *Corbett diary,* 10-11 April 1865, 150.

celebration that began the Californians' service in the East, and the danger those Californians faced in irregular combat with guerilla forces.[261] Being assigned to irregular warfare in pursuit of Mosby's Rangers disappointed soldiers who longed to engage in the more famous and reported upon battles. But the irregular engagements were ferocious too. Historian Aaron Sheehan-Dean points out that "when Federals or Confederates wanted to stigmatize their enemy…they accused each other of fighting like Native Americans," and Rebel guerilla warfare was one such instance where methods of ambushing an unaware enemy could lead to such accusations and sanction "draconian guerilla policies" by the North to combat them.[262] Among the most notable Confederate guerilla groups was Mosby's Rangers. Although Sheehan-Dean does not mention that the Californians were involved in these skirmishes with Mosby's men, it is interesting to note that this service was comparable to that of their California Volunteer peers in California, Utah and the Southwest who also faced enemies in guerilla warfare settings, and thus similarly neglected in the main retelling of the Civil War.

After the war, the California 100 and California Battalion felt poorly served by both the Federal government and the state of California. Just like discharged California soldiers in the Southwest, those who decided to return to California had to pay their own travel expenses and received little attention. From being celebrated and praised new recruits, this elite group had experiences during and after the War which unite them with units of the California Volunteers. While this group had less difficulty in proving to themselves that what they were doing directly related to the preservation of the Union, their struggle for recognition, especially as fighters of Confederate guerillas, and difficulties with returning home remained similar to their California

[261] The two most complete sources on the California troops of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, which include particulars of all of their operations, are McLean, *California Sabers*, and Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State.*
[262] Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence: How Americans Fought the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 70, 81.

comrades across the Far West. This sense of under appreciation spurred the group to help organize a veteran's organization where they could assert that their personal service, and that of Californians as a whole, had materially contributed to the national cause.

Choosing Californians

The push for a California unit for the East began in September 1862, when four men in San Francisco wrote to the Department of War asking if the government would pay for passage of 1,000 soldiers from Panama to the East Coast. Secretary Edwin Stanton agreed but never submitted official authorization.[263] Customs House collector in San Francisco, Ira P. Rankin therefore reached out to Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts. He explained Californians' good service in the Southwest and Utah, and observed that while they had "cheerfully and loyally gone where they have been ordered…[this service] is not that which they would have chosen." Rankin, however, lowered the request to only one hundred men. Governor Andrew heartily agreed to the idea, and began to make preparations. Massachusetts was able to fund the travel using the $200 bounty afforded to each recruit that the state provided under their quota.[264] Thus, these select men from California became part of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry.

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[263] Ibid.,26-7.Although, in 1861, former Californian and Oregon Senator Edward C. Baker had organized a group of "recruits [mostly] coming from the farms and factories of Pennsylvania and New York" calling themselves the "1st California Infantry," this group was not recognized by the Golden State as having any real ties to the state. This group would be officially called the 71st Pennsylvania Infantry after Baker's death in November 1861 at the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Originally it was part of California's quota until Pennsylvania claimed it. William F. Prosser, mentioned in the introduction, did travel from California to the east coast to be part of the group, but most soldiers had never even been to California. Prosser, "The Story of a Paroled Prisoner." The regiment participated in many of the Civil War's largest battles in the Army of the Potomac including repulsing the famous Confederate Pickett's Charge at the Battle of Gettysburg. A monument at "The Angle" is dedicated to the "California Regiment." "71st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment: 'California Regiment,'" *The Battle of Gettysburg: Stone Sentinels* http://gettysburg.stonesentinels.com/union-monuments/pennsylvania/pennsylvania-infantry/71st-pennsylvania/ Accessed 1 March 2020.

[264] Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 6-8.

Cavalry Company for the East.

THE UNDERSIGNED HAS BEEN authorized by the Secretary of War to raise a company of Cavalry for service in the East to make part of the Massachusetts quota.

A Roll of the company is at Assembly Hall, corner of Post and Kearny Streets, where persons desirous of joining can enroll their names.

No one need apply who is not a good horseman and in good health. Men from the country preferred. The Roll will be kept open a reasonable time before selections are made.

All expenses will be paid as soon as accepted.

Further particulars apply to Office, corner Post and Kearny street.

oc28 - 2ptf J. SEWALL REED.

Figure 21: California 100 advertisement, *Daily Alta California*, 28 October 1862

George Washington Towle, Jr., residing down the San Francisco Peninsula in the Santa Clara Valley, was not sure if he would be chosen for Captain Reed's "California 100." The advertisement, placed in the *Daily Alta California* on October 28, 1862, called for recruits for a "Cavalry Company for the East." Men were asked to gather in downtown San Francisco at the intersection of Post and Kearney Streets and the advertisement noted that "no one need apply who is not a good horsemen and in good health. Men from the country preferred."[265] Towle was only eighteen years old, "very much of a stripling, did not weigh more than 130 pounds," when he determined to enlist. Even though he heard "they desired older and heavier men," he traveled north to San Francisco where he underwent a medical examination. He remembered it as "a raw November day." His first test came when he was asked "to jump over a table." He recounted the story in humorous terms sometime later: "fortunately the man ahead of me had jumped on top of it and broken the table down, so that my jump was easy."[266] Over five hundred hopeful recruits applied for these one hundred spots. Recruiters took five weeks to fill the rolls.[267]

The recruits were treated as special by the state, whose leaders took seriously the task of selecting that first group of men to represent California in the Civil War. The insistence that only the fittest Californians could go to the East added a hurdle for becoming a member of the California 100 and the later California Battalion. To participate, all soldiers needed to be able to

[265] "Cavalry Company for the East," *DAC,* 28 October 1862.
[266] George Washington Towle, Jr., "Some Personal Recollections of George Washington Towle," BANC MSS C-D 5089A, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
[267] Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 21-2.

ride horses and stay healthy enough for the extensive journey – but that also meant that not everyone who felt ready to sacrifice for this assignment could do so. Only the strongest of an already young, active, and martial population of men were considered worthy to represent California to the rest of nation. The *Alta* printed a list of every man of the new company, along with his city of origin. A New York newspaper article boasted that this company had soldiers originating from every Union state, including one Californio, as well as from the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee.[268] Even so, fully two-thirds of the men listed California, itself, as their state of origin, and of those, 35% claimed San Francisco as home.[Chart 4][269] The California 100's leader, Captain James Sewell Reed was a Massachusetts native who came to California during the Gold Rush, and had been part of the local California militias since 1852. Smaller newspapers also proudly announced the acceptance of local men, such as the *Napa County Reporter*, which then followed the movement of hometown heroes Frederick Quant and Charles "Charley" P. Briggs, who sent letters to that paper to be published.

The first group of Californians going to Massachusetts received all manner of fanfare before their voyage, and praise upon their arrival in the East. In San Francisco, on December 9, 1862, a "Promenade Musicale and Ball" was held at Platt's Music Hall, and on December 10, just the day before their departure, the American Theater hosted a concert in which the proceeds went to the soldiers.[270] When they arrived in New York, the *Times* declared them to have "the finest appearance of any detachment that has ever passed through our City." In Massachusetts, the *Boston Herald* proclaimed them "a finer body of men we have not seen in a long time." These

[268] "California Volunteers," *New York Times,* 4 January 1863, in Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees,* 58. The Californio, "Santiago" or James Watson was the son of an Englishman and a *California* born in Monterey, California in 1840, prior to American possession. Madera Method, *Corbett diary,* 237; "Off for the War," *DAC,* 16 December 1862. There was also a planned California Battalion to go east, desired for their good horsemanship, but this regiment did not manifest. See "Native Californian Troops," *DAC,* 11 March 1863 98.
[269] http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/demographics.htm; "California Battalion," *DAC,* 23 March 1863.
[270] Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees*, 39, 42.

laudatory remarks not only helped provide some extra funds for the soldiers, but also offered a way to show appreciation for what the Massachusetts paper called the "noble young State of the Pacific."[271]

The California 100's good showing in Massachusetts quickly led to the approval of four more California companies to join the growing 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. These groups received less scrutiny and fewer patriotic displays when they arrived in Boston. Charles Roberts (Co. F, 2nd Mass. Cav.) seemed to decide suddenly that he wished serve in the Union Army in the East. He was a butcher in Virginia City, Nevada Territory, when on April 8, 1863, he had "a great notion of going East with the Cavalry that goes from San Francisco" after receiving a letter from a friend who had done the same. In a day, he "concluded to go & join my fellow comrades in battling for our country," and left for California over the Sierra Nevada Mountains. He enlisted in Company D of the California Battalion, which became Company F of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, without any trouble; of the five men who tried to enlist at the same time, Roberts included, four were accepted. On April 23, he started for Massachusetts with the good wishes of his father, while "Some of the boys had friends to see them off and some had none," a far cry from the crowds that watched the first company go east.[272] When he arrived in Boston in mid-May, the reception was calmer for the California soldiers were not the most noteworthy recruits at Camp Meigs, in Readville (a suburb of Boston). It was, rather, the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Infantry, newly formed "Colored Regiments."[273]

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[271] "California Volunteers," *New York Times,* 4 January 1863; "Second Massachusetts Cavalry, *Boston Herald,* 10 January 1863.
[272] Charles Roberts, "Lieut. Charles Roberts: 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry Co. F 1863-1865," http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/Hist-Roberts,%20Charles.pdf; Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 41-2.
[273] Roberts, "Lieut. Charles Roberts," 18.

With this outpouring of support and interest in their movements, California newspapers, and even some soldiers, regretted not being named a "California" regiment, instead of being attached to Massachusetts' quota. This group felt great pride, expressed through their dress, with being identified as Californians. Their kepi hats and blankets were stamped with "C.A.L. 100."At least one Burnside carbine even has this insignia stamped into its stock.[274] A California newspaper averred that a desire for the Californians to distinguish themselves from their Eastern brethren showed a lack of appreciation that they all were working to preserve the Union. Sacramento's *Daily Bee* found the pronouncements from the *Alta* and *San Francisco Call* that California should insist on its own units "strange, for a Union paper." The editors asked "what matters it to Union men whether Californians fight in Massachusetts regiments or California Regiments under the national banner?" They answered the question with a plea for national unity: "the cause is one - the suppression of rebellion…the glory will belong alike to all, and the benefits accrue alike to each."[275] Once in Massachusetts, however, the complaints continued. A member of the California Battalion wrote to the *Alta* that "Massachusetts has treated us in a scandalous and shabby manner" and "we would take more pride in making our battalion an honor to California." This same article, reprinted in the Democratic, pro-secession *Los Angeles Star*, included a preface to the soldier's remarks that pointed out that such sentiments might "discourage

Figure 22: Unidentified soldier with his C.A.L. 100 hat. Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State*, 54

[274] Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 32; "California Hundred Burnside Carbine," http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/Artifacts/Burnside.htm. Accessed 29 February 2020.
[275] "Battalion, *DAC,* 16, January 1863; "The New Troops," *Sacramento Daily Bee,* 22 January 1863.

enlistments, and so give aid and comfort to the rebel cause." The editor wryly called for the *Alta* to be suspended from the mail as the *Star,* after all, already had been banned.[276]

Even the kepis with the California designation created controversy. A Massachusetts officer issued General Order No. 8 in May 1863, which insisted that "commanders will see the men wear on the forage cap only the insignia of the corp."[277] In the field, Californians still sometimes identified themselves with their adopted state over their unit. Private Samuel Backus (Co. L, 2ndMass. Cav.) recalled that, when asked by a passersby in summer 1863 to what unit they belonged, men answered "California 100," "California Battalion" and the "2nd Massachusetts Cavalry," confusing the questioner. "We soon overcame this folly, and to say we belonged to the Second Massachusetts was honor enough in our minds," he wrote. "We however indulged ourselves in the thought that Californians really did constitute a regiment, and with this idea we felt satisfied that we would not completely lose our identity."[278] Despite such disagreements and misunderstandings, California's soldiers remained within the Massachusetts unit for the duration of the war, serving alongside a shared "national banner." They sublimated state pride for national unity on the battlefield.

The care taken to choose Californians paid off as New Yorkers and Bostonians alike took note of the physical prowess and ethical integrity of this sample of men sent from across the country. Having different concerns than their Eastern comrades, the Californians fought for the Union in order to prove that they did not and would not shirk national duty. In fact, their

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[276] T.H.M., "Letter from the California Volunteers in the Massachusetts Contingent," *DAC,* 30 May 1863; T.H.M., "California – Massachusetts Contingent," *LAS,* 6 June 1863.
[277] Quoted in Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 90. Other mutiny rumblings arose amongst the Californians who desperately wanted to join the Army of the Potomac, when rumors emerged their companies would be distributed amongst Massachusetts regiments, and when California officers were made less likely to be awarded promotions. Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 57-8, 90.
[278] Samuel W. Backus, *Californians in the Field: Historical Sketch of the California "Hundred" and "Battalion," 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. A Paper Prepared and Read Before the Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, December 17, 1889* (California?, 1889?), 9.

apparent manliness, which earned them the dashing nickname "California Cossacks," bestowed upon them a fearful reputation even before engaging in battle.

Californians Chase the Gray Ghost

The same day the *Golden Age* pushed off in San Francisco on December 11, 1862 with the California 100 aboard, Union forces under General Ambrose Burnside started building their pontoon bridge across the Rappahannock River in northern Virginia. Two days later, when storms battered the *Golden Age* off the coast of the Gulf of California, the fateful Battle of Fredericksburg began. An overwhelming Confederate victory decimated Union lines, leaving a "carpet of bodies" before the Confederates impregnable defenses, and sent General Burnside into exile to the quieter Department of Ohio.[279] By the time the first Californians arrived in the East, the Emancipation Proclamation was in effect, and Union forces had dug in at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Californians read about all these grand battles almost as soon as they happened thanks to the recent completion of the transcontinental telegraph wire in October 1861. The events in which their California soldiers would be involved occurred on a much smaller scale.

Even though the California 100 was stationed in war-torn Virginia by February 1863 (and the California Battalion companies joined them by May), they did not engage in the large set-piece battles and sieges that famously characterized the latter half of the War. While the Union Army of the Potomac faced off against the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia at the Battle of Gettysburg, Californians were assigned to harass Confederate cavalry officer J.E.B. Stuart's march north to Pennsylvania, and then make General Lee's retreat back south through the

[279] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 570-4; *Corbett diary*, 14 December 1862, 9.

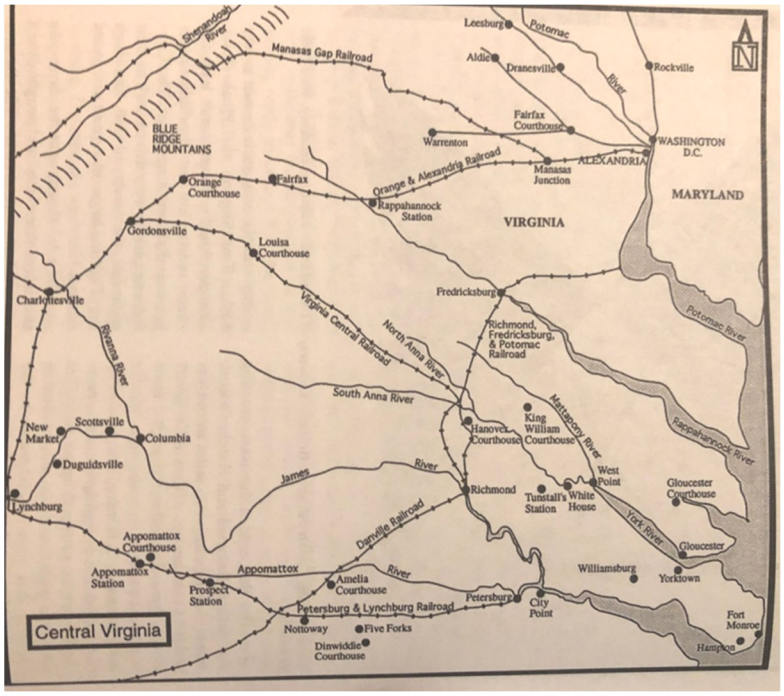

Figure 23: Map of Central Virginia, with battles participated in by Cal. 100, Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State*, 188

Shenandoah Valley more cumbersome. They thus missed the main battle.[280] Small scale skirmishes and attacks represented most of the Californians' duties. They participated in defending communications between Washington, D.C. and the Army of the Potomac in Virginia, fighting John S. Mosby and his elusive guerilla rangers in northern Virginia (June 1863-July 1864), General Philip Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (August-October 1864), and the Appomattox Campaign (March-April 1865). These grinding marches through wooded areas punctuated by small, surprise battles (as opposed to the concurrent sieges taking place in key Confederate cities) against hidden enemies were trials of endurance and very dangerous. They were also more difficult to cover by the press for those same reasons.

Finding and attacking Mosby and his partisan cavalry was the Californians' task from summer 1863 to summer 1864. They roamed the countryside between the Blue Ridge and Shenandoah Mountains of northeast Virginia. Confederate President Jefferson Davis signed the Partisan Ranger Act in 1862, and sanctioned outfits such as Mosby's Rangers, a group that

[280] D.W.C. Thompson to George S. Evans, 15 November 1867, in Orton, *Records of California Men,* 849. Thompson wrote that "Orders to join Lee's army – then at Gettysburg – made Stuart's cavalry hurry forward and pay but little attention to the small forces about them; otherwise, his veterans would have made the Californians more distant and respectful in their attentions."

blurred line between legal "partisans" and illegal "guerillas," who fought for personal gain. Officially, Mosby's men were the 43rd Battalion-Virginia Cavalry, but they "operated in a decentralized fashion, rarely wore uniforms, and often retreated back into civilian life" unlike the regular Confederate Army members. Mosby also depended on civilians more than the army for provisions and did not report to General Lee.[281] This irregular manner of dress and atypical method of procuring food changed the rules of war for the Union soldiers searching them out. To find these Rebels, Union forces had to enter civilian houses, and to defeat these Rebels, those Union troops had to increase their own "destructiveness." Thus did Southern civilians in the region come to perceive Federal soldiers – and the Californians in particular – as "bent on a war of extermination."[282]

When the warring troops did meet, it was in small battles contained in mountain passes, such as in the skirmish at Dranesville, in which Captain Reed was killed. Such battles were usually followed by days of tracking through the region. In the Dranesville confrontation "Mosby had posted three men in the road to act as bait" while other Confederates hid behind trees.[283] Private Osborn Ayer (Co. L, 2nd Mass. Cav.) wrote in a letter that their "pursuit [of Mosby's Rangers] was not successful in overtaking them as they were much more acquainted with the Roads and cut-offs," revealing one of the partisans 'greatest strengths.[284] In each letter, Ayer mentioned weeks of skirmishing with Mosby's cavalry. Nor was he the only one who did: an epistle published in the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* by Private Backus described being "in

[281] Sheehan-Dean, *The Calculus of Violence*, 328-34.
[282] Ibid.,73, 330, 333-4.
[283] Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 105. Not to be confused with the Civil War Battle of Dranesville, December 20, 1861.
[284] Osborn Ayer to Friends at Home, 17 June 1863, Osborn Ayer Gold Rush letters and Civil War letters, 1853-1866, SMC II Box 12, California Room, California State Library, Sacramento [hereafter O. Ayer letters].

the saddle ten hours at a stretch without dismounting for anything."[285] These were hardly bloodless encounters; both Confederate and Union soldiers were killed and taken prisoner. Ayer explained to his family the pattern his regiment had fallen into. "2nd Mass I fear is destined to see but little greatest struggle of the war," he admitted, "but a day may change one seeming quiet to the fierce strife of battle."[286] The sudden attacks and enemies skilled at finding cover in familiar territory were not unlike the altercations Colonel Evans faced in the Owens Valley, or Captain Roberts at Apache Pass. Justifying the importance of this type of fighting, while easier than in far western posts, showed that Californians felt they needed to prove themselves.

The stories of California soldiers held in Confederate prison camps offered examples for a Western audience of horrific experiences shared by men from across the country. Two hundred and sixty men of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, as a whole, were taken from the woods of battle to prisons across the South, including to the infamous Andersonville Prison in Georgia. In all, thirty Californians died in these camps, and some others wrote of how they survived.[287] Corporal Charles M. Jenkins (Co. E, 2nd Mass. Cav.), the only Los Angeleno who joined the northern Californians of the California Battalion, spent a year in Andersonville before being returned to his regiment. After his release, he wrote his mother, Elizabeth Dalton, in California, that he had "arrived…yesterday after fifteen mounths Imprisonment suffering everything but death… had I not had an Iron constitution I should not lived in through, for there are over forty-thousand

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[285] S.W.B., "The California Hundred in the Field: Hardships of Campaigning in Virginia," *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 1 December 1863 in Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees,* 201-3.
[286] Osborn Ayer to Friends at Home, 1 June 1864. O. Ayer letters.
[287] Data from Orton, *Records of California Men,* 854-70. Some did not make it very long after their release, however. William H. Pringle died the day that President Lincoln did, six days after surrender. A member of the California Battalion, Company E, also helped convict the Confederate Henry Wirz, who was charge of Andersonville Prison and the one of only two Confederate officials executed for war crimes. He also told the Secretary of War about those who had allegedly pledged oaths to the Confederacy in order to be released, including four from California units. See James McLean, "John Cain's Andersonville Testimony," http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/cains_andersonville.htm. For more on Civil War prison conditions and its effects on soldiers, see Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers,* 36-55.

prisnors dide in the time that I was heald prisnor. I presume that you thought that I was dead but you cannot get ridd of me so easy."[288] Even so, evidence of privation during his imprisonment showed up in his later diary entries; sometimes he described not being able to sleep while other times he confessed he had trouble staying mounted on his horse. Jenkins lived to be 93 years old, spending his later years back in Los Angeles, but he continued to experience the ill effects of his wartime experiences.

Letters from prisoners during the war were also valuable to their comrades still in the field. Corporal George W. Buhrer (Co. E, 2nd Mass. Cav.) noted when his comrades received word that "all but six men of Co. M, that were captured last February are dead" from confinement in Savannah, Georgia. Occasionally letters about the prisons made it into California newspapers.[289] The recently exchanged prisoner of war Private William Morris of Minersville, California wrote to his brother about the hard march to Richmond's Libby Prison, as well as the deplorable sleeping quarters, abominable food, and outbreak of measles he suffered once he arrived. The *Mariposa Weekly Gazette* described Morris' appearance: "hip bones and shoulder blades worn through the skin when he reached Annapolis [hospital]." Another article reflecting on his release instructed readers in the Pacific State to "take the worst accounts you get in print, and believe them, for nothing can be more horrible than the treatment received by our sick and

[288] Paul R. Spitzerri, "The Historical Society of Southern California's Hidden Treasures, Including an Angeleno's Civil War Diary and Letter" *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 155-6."Survivors of Andersonville," *DAC,* 2 April 1866 encouraged those Californians and recent residents who had shared these experiences to come together. In the same year, the *Southern California Quarterly* also published transcriptions of Jenkins' full 1865 diary. The first half covers the end of his wartime service to leaving the East Coast, while the second part of describes Jenkins' return to California and meeting some of the numerous ladies he kept up correspondence with after his imprisonment. Charles M. Jenkins, "Transcription of a Diary of Charles M. Jenkins, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, 1865, Part One." ed. Paul M. Spitzzeri. *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 98, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 342-71 and Charles M. Jenkins, "Transcription of a Diary of Charles M. Jenkins, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, 1865, Part Two." ed. Paul M. Spitzzeri. *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 98, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 396-428.

[289] George W. Buhrer, "Journals and Colt Army Pistol – George W. Buhrer," http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/Artifacts/BuhrerDiaryColt.pdf, 1 November 1864.

wounded soldiers at the hands of' their 'Southern brothers.'"[290] The stories of prison casualties and survivors formed a part of the Civil War completely different from that experienced by Californians stationed across the West, but they brought this troubling reality of the Civil War to Western audiences.

Even though California troops faced extreme suffering during the war, their service in random fights against Rebel guerillas did not generally lend itself to storied grandeur. A correspondent for the *Trinity Journal* wrote succinctly after the 2nd Massachusetts had been relegated to the back of the Gettysburg march and to tracking Mosby's Rangers that "still our battalion, as Californians, would prefer to do some bold act, and acquire fame. We want California to feel 'that she sent out men to do something, and that they did it.'"[291] As representatives of the state who reported back to family, friends, and strangers in California, the soldiers' accounts provided a direct link to the action in the East. Nonetheless, their aching sense of inadequacy shows how simply being present in the East did not mean that they or California earned the recognition for their dedicated volunteer service.

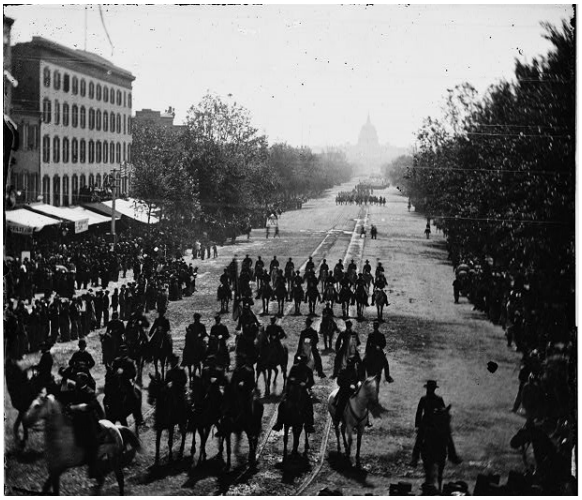
Figure 24: Matthew Brady, Washington, D.C. The Grand Review of the Army [Cavalry?] passing on Pennsylvania Avenue near the Treasury, LOC

Californians Come Home

The last month of Californians' service involved unrelenting fighting as Union and Confederate armies closed in on one another,

[290] "A San Joaquin Soldier in Grant's Army," *Mariposa Weekly Gazette,* 30 July 1864; [James H.] EBY, "Letter from the Army in Virginia," *Trinity Journal*(Weaverville, CA)*,* 2 January 1864. Minersville is now considered a ghost town and was flooded to make Trinity Lake in the 1950s.
[291] [James H.] EBY, "Letter from the Army in Virginia," *Trinity Journal,* 2 January 1864.

and Confederate strongholds began to fall. As participants in the final battles and heavily symbolic ceremonies of the end of the Civil War at Appomattox Courthouse, Californians could say they were actively involved in the re-unification of the country. Buhrer excitedly wrote that "we can't hardly realize the quietness, there is prospects that we dont have any more fighting. Our joy is great over the victory," and Jenkins noted that "Every body weares a Smile both femail and mail."[292] As the Rebels laid down their flags and began to go home, the Californians anticipated going back west. Instead, they were detailed to march south to oversee the surrender of Confederate General Joseph Johnston in North Carolina, then back to Washington, D.C. to participate in the final Grand Review of Union soldiers on May 23-24, 1865. They, with thousands of others, marched down Pennsylvania Avenue before cheering crowds, and paraded in front of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Meade, and the new President Andrew Johnson. Samuel James Corbett wrote that such "a scene like this will never be witnessed here again," even as he lamented how the recently assassinated President Lincoln "could not have lived to see this grand culmination of his good work."[293]

Rumors of when they would be discharged abounded, including one that they would be sent to Mexico or elsewhere out west.[294] Yet they remained in Virginia until they were mustered out of the Union Army on July 20, 1865 at Fairfax Courthouse. The soldiers eventually returned to Boston for formal discharge, but were offered no financial support to go back to California. Not all of them wanted to return to California, but many still had emotional and familial connections with the West.

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[292] Buhrer diary, 9 April 1865; Jenkins, "Transcription of a Diary of Charles M. Jenkins, Pt. I," 11 April 1865, 366.
[293] *Corbett diary*, 23 May 1865, 167. For a full description of the Grand Review, soldiers' reactions, and a reinterpretation of it as the first occasion for a strained relationship between veterans and civilians, see Brian Matthew Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and their Unending Civil War.*(New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2014), 10-40.
[294] Buhrer diary, 17 May 1865 and 17 June 1865.

While the defeated Confederates could make their way back to their ravaged homeland fairly easily, Californians experienced great difficulty in getting the funds to travel west. Discharging 800,000 Union soldiers naturally took months after Appomattox to perform, and efforts were made to ease their journey home by rail or steamship, some aided by itineraries from a quartermaster.[295] Telegrams passed between the Massachusetts state government and the Federal government regarding assisting men from the Pacific coast, but none of requests were "favorably considered."[296] Representatives from the California Battalion unsuccessfully tried to petition to have a personal meeting with Governor Andrew.[297] Dismayed, Californians of the 2nd Massachusetts bought steamship passages in New York using their own final pay and left the matter with a lawyer in Boston. Buhrer remarked, however, that "a number of the Californians have not money enough to go back to California."[298] While some Californians were back in the Golden State by September, it would not be until October that the regiment received their due from Massachusetts and the Federal Government. Only then did the rest of the Californians return home, as some were "unable to pay the rates of fare demanded" on their own. All hoped, though, "their services will, we trust, not soon be forgotten by their fellow-citizens."[299]

Earlier, Corbett wrote that "one young lady [in Virginia] that I was talking with thought I was quite a curiosity, being from California…and wished that I would settle in this part of the

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[295] Jordan, *Marching Home,* 29-30. Interestingly, Jordan mentions that soldiers going to the "far west" would take the rails to the Ohio River, then could get steamships in Cincinnati. Otherwise he does not address those going farther than Iowa.
[296] Asst. Adjt. General Thomas M. Vincent to Adjt. General W. Schouler, 4 August 1865 in Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees*, 361. Corbett's and Buhrer's diaries mention denied telegram inquiries.
[297] S.S. Drew, *The California Battalion Claim: Argument Before the Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, on Military Claims, in the case of Henry H. Wyatt and others, members of the California Battalion, for state bounty, March 19, 1866* (Boston?, 1866?). This pamphlet has copies of all the letters and telegrams from the months of effort to get money for transportation.
[298] Buhrer diary, 5 August 1865.
[299] *Solano Herald,* 15 September 1865; "Payment of the California Battalion-Freedmen's Bureau," *Sacramento Daily Union,* October 1865; *DAC,* 2 November 1865.

country when the war is over."[300] This was not a wish that he shared. Corbett did not want to remain a "curiosity" in the East, but needed to return to the West. He suffered from signs of post-traumatic stress disorder, which he described as "nervous prostration," including a discomfort with sleeping indoors. He claimed to be physically stifled by the East Coast, "faint[ing] dead away" during a church service, which proved that he was a "badly used up soldier – and that [he] must get back to the Pacific slope as soon as possible."[301] He used what money he had and left for San Francisco. Despite these difficulties, Corbett asserted that "I am glad to have had this experience. I am glad that I was so fortunate as to be one of the defenders of this grand Republic," and was happily back in California on October 24, 1865.[302]

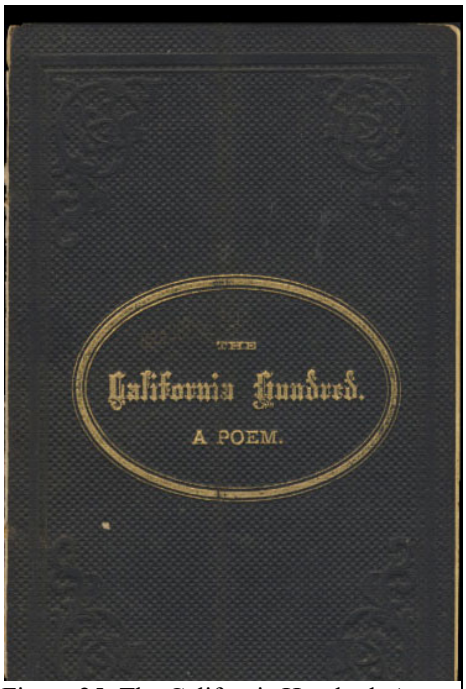

Figure 25: The California Hundred: A Poem, J. Henry Rogers, 1865, AbeBooks

The writer J. Henry Rogers captured the story of the California 100 and California Battalion in 1865, when he published the hundred-page narrative poem, *The California Hundred: A Poem.* The piece has as its protagonist Captain J. Sewall Reed and it traces the war from the time when California received the news of the bombing of Fort Sumter "swift and silent o'er the [telegraph] wire [actually, by Pony Express]," to Captain Reed's death in a fictionalized account of the Battle of Dranesville. Rogers' highly-symbolic patriotic epic captures the distinction between those who "bless'd the land that intervenes / Between them and the war's bloody scenes" and those others in California

[300]*Corbett diary*, 26 November 1864, 124.
[301]Ibid., 8 August 1865, 13 August 1865,150. He further wrote that "had [the war] lasted two weeks longer I should have left it all on the sacred soil of VA."
[302]Ibid., 6 August 1865, 24 October 1865, 150, 183.

who "could not stand tamely by / And hear the Eastern battle-cry / Nor listen to the Southerners sneers / Which daily fell on patriot's ears." Particularly vexed by this situation was Captain Reed. As the poem tells the reader, he decided to "[take] / One hundred men – each had a look / Of desp'rate courage in his eyes" from the "sturdy ranks" of "ten thousand sinewy warriors" ready to join. The author concludes by hoping that a "stronger lyre than mine will tell the story" of the California 100.[303]

By December 1865, this "stronger lyre" was taken up by the new Society of California Volunteers, which held its first annual meeting on April 25, 1866, the anniversary of when General Sumner took command of the Department of the Pacific from the late Confederate General A.S. Johnston.[304] The desire to preserve California's place in the narrative of the Civil War, as well as their identity as Californians and as soldiers, was a concern of all of the Society's members. It was especially the concern of those who had fought in Virginia under Massachusetts' banner.

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Unitarian Reverend Thomas Starr King, a tireless and beloved voice for California and the Union, could not attend the ceremonies that sent the California One Hundred off on their journey east to the bloody seat of war. However, he still offered the travelers a parting message, which was printed in San Francisco's newspapers as well as in the *Boston Evening Transcript* once the Californians arrived. He equated the service of the new soldiers with that of their California comrades serving in the Southwest, saying that "Wherever these men serve the country's cause – whether in Texas or in Virginia – may Heaven's blessing attend them…and

[303] J. Henry Rogers, *The California Hundred: A Poem* (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1865), 17, 22-3, 37, 97, 100.
[304] "The Norther and Cold Weather – Society of California Volunteers – British Acknowledgment – Railroad Application Denied – Outrage – Deaths," *Sacramento Daily Union,* 4 December 1864.

honor the American Republic!"[305] A peeved volunteer of the California Battalion complained in a letter published in his local *Solano Herald*, almost a year later that they had not gotten their fair bounty, and had untrustworthy officers to boot. Nonetheless, they "showed their valor and won a proud name" in battle. They were willing to fight anywhere, he claimed, because they had not:

> "enlisted…to lay around a city and be Starr King soldiers, for that will not save the country; to do that, we have to go after the rebels like men – show them that they are fooled whenever they think they have a good thing on us, for we can't be whipped – make them think we are 'iron-clad, clipper-built' California boys!"[306]

Comparing the masculine strength and abilities of the soldiers specially chosen to go east to military ships, these representatives of California felt they had a mission beyond that of protecting the nation. Generally, they did not want to be remembered as being subsumed within the Massachusetts cavalry but as men apart, even as they fought for a common cause. They held strongly onto their identification as part of California units through their uniforms, maintained communication with those interested in their movements in the West, and, one soldier wrote, there was always a "hearty welcome" available for visitors from California at their camp in Virginia.[307]

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[305] "The Ovation to the California Rangers," *DAC,* 10 December 1862; *Evening Transcript* [Boston], 10 January 1863. King's incessant travel and speaking engagements around the state of California on behalf of the Union, and especially raising money for the Sanitary Commission led to his early death in 1864 at the age of 39 from pneumonia and diphtheria. His funeral drew a crowd of 20,000. Matthews, *The Golden State,* 231-3. From 1931 until 2009, when he was replaced by Ronald Reagan, King was one of the two Californians memorialized in the National Statuary Hall at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. The King statue is currently in Sacramento's Civil War Memorial Grove on the state capitol grounds.

[306] James M. Hawkins, "A Letter from a Soldier," *Solano Herald,* 10 October 1863.

[307] T.H.M., "Letter from the Californians with the Army of the Potomac," *DAC,* 25 April 1865.

The safety that they gave up in California by traveling to one of the most active theaters of the Civil War was not lost on the men. A letter written by John Winship to the grieving mother of the deceased Corporal Samuel Hanscom (Co. A, 2nd Mass. Cav.) acknowledged that they had left "the peaceful shores of California to help our country in her hour of trial and need," causing her son to be pierced by a "fatal rebel bullet."[308] Californians, including Hanscom, had been ordered not only to fight but to accomplish gut-wrenching acts – acts such as pulling the dead and wounded from the burned forest of the Battle of the Wilderness. Corporal Valorus Dearborn of San Francisco (Co. A, 2nd Mass. Cav.), who lost his life in the Battle of Berryville, wrote in his diary: "Here is a sight one scarce beholds. The roadside is strewn with decayed bodies. If any doubt the bravery of our boys, let them visit this place."[309] One Californian earned a Medal of Honor for his bravery in the Battle of Cedar Creek, the largest conflict in which these volunteers fought.[310] A square, fringed banner made after they finished active duty and presented by the survivors to the State of California, and was designed by Colonel Caspar Crowinshield, one of the Californians' officers from Massachusetts. The flag lists twenty-

Figure 26: California Battalion standard, 1865, California State Capitol

[308] John Winship to Elizabeth Hanscom, 25 July 1864 in "Corporal Samuel C. Hanscom's Letters Home: Co A 1863-1865." http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/hanscom.htm
[309] Valorus Dearborn diary, 11 June 1864, in *Corbett diary*, 65.
[310] "Capt. Henry H Crocker. Co. E, 2nd MA," *The Hall of Valor Project.* https://valor.militarytimes.com/hero/1305, accessed 7 April 2020.

five conflicts in which they participated, with Appomattox Courthouse being the most recognizable today. These battle names surround the California seal and the words "Eureka" and "2^{d} Mass. Cavalry."[311]

Of the 484 Californians who were members of the California 100 and California Battalion, seventy-nine lost their lives in the War. Many others suffered damage, both physical and mental, as they had participated just like other troops from the East. When it came to returning home, these soldiers emphasized to the Massachusetts and Federal governments that, while fighting as part of Massachusetts' volunteer quota, California was their home.

[311] "The Flags of the California Hundred," *DAC,* 2 November 1865 in Rogers and Rogers, *Their Horses Climbed Trees*, 367-8. This article was also published in Sacramento's two newspapers. Parson, *Bear Flag and Bay State,* 198.

Conclusion

The California Volunteers carried out their Civil War service in locations as far west as San Francisco's bay and as far east as Virginia's battlefields, with most garrisoned in the vast in-between – in the redwoods of northern California and Oregon Territory, the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico Territories, and the arid plains of Utah Territory. A majority would never see a Confederate enemy, but they had worn the same Union blue and drawn an equal Federal soldier's paycheck as any Easterner. But, as soon as the California Volunteers finished their enlistments in 1865 or 1866, many were stranded in the field – whether in Utah Territory, New Mexico Territory, or the state of Massachusetts.

At its twenty-seventh annual meeting held in 1893, Major Charles Albert Woodruff addressed the Society of California Volunteers, an organization started by California's soldiers before 1865 was out, and boasting of 265 members by 1887.[312] While Woodruff was a Vermont native who had only recently made his home in Berkeley, California, he shared experiences with the men assembled before him. A veteran of the Civil War, serving in the Army of the Potomac, and "frontier service" in the 1870s, he expressed the injustice done to the similarly accomplished individuals in his audience whose deeds were not well-known because of where they had served.

[312] Historian Brian Matthew Jordan notes that in the absence of civilian understanding of the struggles of veterans to understand and preserve their sacrifice, local organizations emerged quickly that would annually commemorate individual units, particular battles, or experiences such as wartime imprisonment. Jordan, *Marching Home,* 69, 80-2. An 1887 register identified 265 members, which included those who had already passed, spread over all of California's regiments, "miscellaneous" members, eldest sons and honorary members including former California governors Leland Stanford and F.F. Low. J.B. Whittemore, *Register of the Society of California Volunteers, Compiled from the Latest Data* (San Francisco: C.W. Nevis & Co., 1887). There were also 203 Grand Army of the Republic posts, the national Union veteran order, in California/Nevada, Each post had some California Volunteers, but also many veterans of other Civil War units who moved west after the War. "California" *Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War* http://www.suvcw.org/garrecords/garposts/ca.pdf; *Roster: Department of California, Grand Army of the Republic: 1883* (San Francisco: Geo. Spaulding and Co., Book and Job Printers, 1883). Courtesy of California Historical Society. California became home for many Confederate veterans as well.

He praised foremost how Californians had "husband[ed] their rich mineral resources" for the Union and then went on to list the multitude of their military duties:

> "crushed open disloyalty…and made these [Western] states and territories stand up squarely for the Union; subdued the hostile Indians, incited as they were by our enemies, over an extant of territory larger than France, Germany and Austria combined; maintained communication with the east by two overland routes; soothed the rebellious Mormons…and after that historic march, of nine hundred miles across the drifting, burning sands of Southern California and Arizona, in the face of rebels and hostile Indians…the Rio Grande was reached, and the rebels, whose real object was the invasion of California … were driven in confusion from New Mexico, and the Confederate dream of securing the gold of California, with an immense seaboard on the Pacific, and recognition by the European powers…was dispelled by a rude awakening to the fact that the Pacific Coast was solid for the Union."[313]

In this long inventory, Woodruff covered the numerous activities Californians performed over an enormous amount of western territory. Later in his speech, he also mentioned the contributions of the California 100 and California Battalion in Virginia who "formed a creditable portion of a fine Regiment, [and] that did excellent service."[314]

Major Woodruff's sharpest words were reserved for the ways that Californians participated in their own historical erasure. He explained that their own California school curriculum neglected to accurately describe their Civil War contributions:

> "I examined your 'State Series' of Histories and Readers…not a word in honor of California's expenditure of moral, mental, and physical strength in the war; not a word of praise or gratitude even for those who preserved this great commonwealth …no microbe of national patriotism nor state pride: not one word tells your children what you and your comrades did and suffered in order that California should remain a part of the great government of ours."[315]

Such a neglect remains today in classrooms as the highlights of California's history in the state's 4th grade curriculum skips blithely from its golden appearance on the national stage in 1848 to

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[313] Charles A. Woodruff, "The Work of the California Volunteers as seen by an Eastern Soldier," 25 October 1893, 5.
[314] Ibid., 7.
[315] Ibid., 10. A California textbook from 1905 offers a one page description of the state's Civil War participation in the separate "History of California" chapter at the end of the book. State Text-book Committee, *Introductory History of the United States.* California State Series. (Sacramento: W.W. Shannon, 1905), 358.

the twentieth century. When the Civil War is mentioned within the guide, it lists the state's monetary contribution, "individual supporters" of the war effort, and the "role of the California Brigade in the Battle of Gettysburg," which was *not* an official California unit.[316] Californians also failed to receive compensation for the money spent to field and equip their men. The state pressed for reimbursement for nearly a century until a dismissed 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case (*California v. U.S.*), and efforts into the 1990s remained futile.[317]

In California *during* the Civil War, however, the sons of the state serving the Union government were the pride of their population. Civilians filled dancehalls and parade grounds to see their men off to war. California's soldiers did not join up in units reflecting their childhood communities as in Eastern locales, but joined simply as Californians. In this way, they represented the character of the state itself, which presented a common interest despite differing backgrounds. Noncombatants also came together during the war effort, especially with regard to providing newspaper coverage, donating an enormous amount of money to the Sanitary Commission, and signing up for militias to be ready in case of invasion.

San Franciscan E.D. Shaw wrote in a mid-1862 letter that he knew California Unionists understood "the stern and dreadful warfare going on in the Eastern and Southern sections of our country" meant that they had a duty to help. He believed that even conservative Californians would step up and support the "annihilation of slavery" and reunification of the country, saying

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[316] *History Social Science Framework for Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve.* (Sacramento: California Department of Education, 2017), 69, 83.The guide records the state's history as " pre-Columbian settlements, European settlement, the mission period, the Mexican-American War, the Bear Flag Republic, the Gold Rush, California's admission to statehood in 1850, and the state's rapid growth in the twentieth century."

[317] Brainerd Dyer, "California Civil War Claims," *Southern California Quarterly* 45 (1963): 2, 18-9; Kyle S. Sinsi, *Sacred Debts: State Civil War Claims and American Federalism, 1861-1880.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 171-2. Even Nevada, which was not a state until 1864, received recompense from the Federal government. Diane E. Greene, A.G., *Nevada Claims: Legislative Reports, 1888-1900.* (Heritage Books, 2008).

"if everyone needs to take up a gun we will."[318] As citizens often closely and recently connected to the East, supporters of the U.S. government felt they needed to make material and personal sacrifices to support what seemed like the far-away Union. Approximately 16,000 men voluntarily abandoned their livelihoods to shoulder a gun. They sometimes grumbled and expressed disappointment at their assignments, but Californians nonetheless fanned out across the West in the name of their nation in numbers that exceeded their state quota.

From the days of the Revolutionary War, martial activity has been central to U.S. national identity. Warfare was a "signal ingredient" in the "creation of a national identity, and…national character" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[319] In the chronology of U.S. warfare, the Civil War also holds the distinction of asking how much bloodshed was acceptable to defeat slavery and keep the nation together. Men died by the thousands upon their convictions about that question. Prior to the Civil War, California, admitted as a free state under the provisions of the Compromise of 1850, and insulated from the main theaters of conflict by thousands of miles, did not have the same immediate connection to the sectional issues plaguing the nation in the East. But when the call came to serve the nation, California Union soldiers responded. California, which according to Bancroft had lived in a "pastoral" Edenic state chose not to distance itself from national issues, but, instead, voluntarily sent soldiers and money to support the Union war effort.[320]

While many of these men participated in duties outside the canon of typical Civil War experiences, they persisted in developing their role as brave, manly defenders of the Union regardless of place or enemy. California Volunteers advocated for their classification as

[318] E.D. Shaw letter, 24 August 1862, SMC Box 972, California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento.
[319] Herrera, *For Liberty and the Republic,* 3.
[320] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. V, California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: History Company Publishers, 1888).

Californians just as any soldier might proudly identify with their state of birth, but were willing to follow orders and sublimate that to the national cause. The assertion of soldiering for the nation that continued among veterans put California in the same conversation as other Union states. In this way, their service drew all 370,000 residents into closer ties with rest of the U.S, and proved California to no longer be the "the elf-child of the Union" but an equal partner within the family of states.

Appendix A: Soldiers' Records - including (as available) regiment, dates, age at enlistment, correspondents, and gravesite information. (Some ages +/- 1 year.)

1. Thomas Akers Company B, 5th Infantry C.V.
Served in Southwest
Source: Thomas Akers diary, AZ 300, University of Arizona, Tucson

2. Edward Everett Ayer (1841, Wisconsin T. – 1927, Los Angeles, CA – buried: Harvard, IL) Company E, 1st Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 19
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/61074080/edward-everett-ayer
Source: Edward Everett Ayer papers, MS 45, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson

3. Osborn Ayer (1827, New York – 1902, Nebraska), Company L, 2nd Massachusetts. Age at enlistment: 35
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/55312904/osborn-ayer
Source: Osborn Ayer Gold Rush letters and Civil War letters, 1853-1866, SMC II Box 12, California State Library, Sacramento

4. John Ayers (1827, New York – 1906, Mexico City, Mexico) Company D, 1st Cavalry C.V., Major. Age at enlistment: 37
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/14740035/john-ayers
Source: John Ayers, "A Soldier's Experiences in New Mexico," 1884, BANC MSS P-E 6 FILM, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

5. Samuel Woolsey Backus (1844, New York – 1930, San Francisco, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, Company F, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 18
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/3519877/samuel-woolsey-backus
Source: correspondence in *Daily Alta California* and Backus, Samuel. *Californians in the Field: Historical Sketch of the California "Hundred" and "Battalion," 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. A Paper Prepared and Read Before the Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, December 17, 1889.*" 1889.

6. Clarence E. Bennett (1833, New York – 1902, Ft McPherson, GA) buried Arlington Cemetery, Field & Staff, 1st Cavalry C.V.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clarence_Edmund_Bennett;
Correspondent(s): Wife: Siotha Whitlock Bennett (1835, Missouri-1922)
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/49120561/clarence-edmund-bennett
Served in Southwest
Source: Clarence E. Bennett papers, 1851-1894, MS 69, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson

7. Royal Augustus Bensell (1838, Wisconsin T. – 1921, Yaquina Bay, OR) Company D, 4th Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 23
Served in Oregon
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/6419543/royal-augustus-bensell
Source: Royal Augustus Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill, the Civil War in Oregon: The Journal of Corporal Royal A. Bensell.* Edited by Gunter Barth. Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1959

8. John T. Best (1841 – 1917, Los Angeles, CA) Company A, 1st California Mountaineers. Age at enlistment: 23
Served in northern California
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/106474339/john-t_-best
Source: John T. Best diary, BANC MSS 99/138 c, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

9. Alexander Grayson Bowman (1839, New York – 1915, Farmington, NM) Company B, 5th Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 22
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/8218676/alexander-grayson-bowman;
Source: Alexander Grayson Bowman diary, AZ 001, Special Collections, University of Arizona libraries, Digital Collections, http://www.library.arizona.edu/contentdm/bowman/index.php

10. Charles "Charley" P. Briggs (1825, Massachusetts – 1885, Napa, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 37
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/17979320/charles-phelps-briggs
Source: correspondent for *Napa County Reporter*

11. James Berry Brown, (1837, Ohio – 1921, Eureka, CA): Company H, 2nd Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 24
Served in California
http://www.onlinebiographies.info/ca/humb/brown-jb.htm;
Source: James B. Brown Civil War diaries, 1862-1863, SMC II Boxes 14-15, California State Library, Sacramento

12. George W. Buhrer (1834, Stuttgart, Germany – 1918, Butte, MT) Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 29
Served in Virginia
Source: http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/Artifacts/BuhrerDiaryColt.pdf

13. Samuel James Corbett (1837, Oneida Co., NY – 1893, San Francisco, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 25.
Served in Virginia
Source: *The Civil War Diary of Samuel James Corbett:* Edited by the Madera Method Historians of Kentfield, Madera, and Modesto, CA, with a special preface by Irving Stone. Madera, California: The Classroom Chronicles Press, [1992]

14. Greenleaf Curtis (1836, Maine – 1920, Crescent City, CA) Company G, 2nd Infantry C.V.
Age at enlistment: 25
Served in California
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/33506957/greenleaf-curtis
Source: Greenleaf Curtis papers, California Historical Society, San Francisco

15. Alonzo E. Davis(1839, New York – 1915, Los Angeles, CA): Company I, 4th Infantry C.V.
Age at enlistment: 22
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/73136059/alonzo-e_-davis
Source: Alonzo E. Davis papers, MS 209, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson

16. Van B. deLashmutt (1842, Iowa – 1921, Spokane, WA), Company G, 3rd Infantry. Age at enlistment: 19
Served in Utah
Source: Van B. deLashmutt dictation and biographical material, Portland, Oregon 1888-1889, BANC MSS P-A 16-171 FILM, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

17. Valorus Dearborn (1838, Maine – 1864, Virginia) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 23
Served in Virginia
Source: http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/dearborn.htm

18. George Spafford Evans, **(1826, Michigan – 1883, San Francisco, CA)** Company E. 2nd Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 35
Correspondent: Frances (Fannie) E. Markham Evans (1839-1914, Stockton) married 1857
Served in California/Utah
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29829496/george-spafford-evans
Source: Bohnett-Evans family papers, Diary, March-April 1862,

19. Edward Engle Eyre (1823, Pennsylvania – 1899, California) Field & Staff, 1st Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 38
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/171232238/edward-engle-eyre
Source: *Edward E. Eyre: California Pioneer.* Based on research, text and notes by Andria S. Daley. Edited by Peter Farquhar. Washoe Valley, NV: Edward E. (Ned) Eyre, 2006.

20. William Henry Harrison Garritt, **(1839 – 1928, Iowa)** Company E, 1st Infantry C.V., Company F, 55th Kentucky Infantry. Age at enlistment: 22
Correspondent: Sidney Garret McCleery (1825-1897)
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/55068158/william-h_h-garritt
Source: William H.H. Garritt Collection, 1861-1864, California State Library

21. Duane Merritt Greene (1842 – 1918, Los Angeles, CA) Company E, 6th Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 21
Served in California
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7923853/duane-merritt-greene
Source: Duane M. Greene papers, 1863-1892, BANC MSS 2013/103, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

22. Julius C. Hall (1840, Connecticut – 1913, Connecticut) Company K, 1st Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 21
Correspondent: J. Atwater Hall (1838-1900), Harriet Hall (b.1843), Ursula Palmer Hall (d.1903)
Served in Southwest
Source: Julius Hall and Jared Kimberley papers of the 1st California Regiment, C 1147, Firestone Library, Princeton University

23. George O. Hand (1830, NY – 1887, Tucson, AZ) Company G, 1stInfantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 31
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/20024774/george-o_-hand
Source: George O. Hand diary, MS 326, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson

24. Henry C. Haskin (1831 – 1887, Salt Lake City, UT) Company K, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 30
Served in Utah
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/46141635/henry-c-haskin
Source: correspondence for *Napa County Reporter*

25. Samuel C. Hanscom (1834, Maine – 1864, Aldie, VA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 28
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7325184/samuel-c_-hanscom
Source: http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/hanscom.htm

26. Eli Warnock Hazen, **(1838, Pennsylvania – 1908, Pennsylvania)** Company E, 1st Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 23
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/157016640/eli-warnock-hazen
Source: https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1976/april/civilwar/

27. Charles M. Jenkins (1839, Ohio – 1933, Los Angeles, CA) Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 24
Served in Virginia
Correspondent: Elizabeth Dalton (1813-1884)
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/9623840/charles-m-jenkins
Source: Jenkins, Charles M. "Transcription of a Diary of Charles M. Jenkins, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, 1865, Part One." Edited by Paul M. Spitzzeri, *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 98, no. 4 (Fall 2016) and "Transcription of a Diary of Charles

M. Jenkins, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, 1865, Part Two." Edited by Paul M. Spitzzeri, *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 98, no. 4 (Winter 2016).

28. William Jones, **(1817, New York – 1877, Placerville, CA)**, Company E, 2nd Cavalry C.V.
Age at enlistment: 46
Served in California
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/9125638/william-jones
Source: Lt. William Jones papers, BANC MSS 2002/188c, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

29. Jared T. Kimberly, **(1840, Connecticut – 1917, Connecticut)** Company K, 1st Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 21
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/83819632/jared-t-kimberly
Source: Julius Hall and Jared Kimberley papers of the 1st California Regiment, C 1147, Firestone Library, Princeton University

30. James E. Littleton (c.1844 – 1883, Gilroy, CA) Company I, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 20
Correspondent: Eugene Littlton (1846-1869)
Served in California/Nevada
Source: Littleton Family Collection, Box 230, California State Library, Sacramento

31. George W. Oaks (1840, Ohio – 1917, Tucson, AZ) Company I, 1st Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 21
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/14152635/george-washington-oaks
Source: *Man of the West: Reminiscences of George Washington Oaks 1840-1917*

32. Moses [Martin?] Patterson (1837, Pennsylvania – 1903, Michigan Bar, CA) Company I, 1st Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 27
Served in Southwest
Source: Moses Patterson diary, 1863-1866, California State Library, Sacramento, CA

33. George H. Pettis, Company K, 1st Infantry C.V.
Served in Southwest
Source: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/28951#download

34. William H. Pringle (c.1837 – April 15, 1865, York, PA) Company L, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry Age at enlistment: 26
Served in Virginia, died of effects of imprisonment
Source: "Private Pringle's Final Days"
http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/PringleLetters.htm

35. Frederick J. Quant (1840 – 1916, Madera, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry.
Age at enlistment: 22

Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/36076038/frederick-j_-quant
Source: Frederick J. Quant diary, 1864-1865, BANC FILM 2095, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

36. Charles Roberts (c.1841 New Brunswick, Canada – 1896, Oakland, CA), Company F, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 22
Served in Virginia
Source: http://www.2mass.reunioncivilwar.com/References/Hist-Roberts,%20Charles.pdf

37. Andrew Ryan, **(1832, Pennsylvania – 1902, Red Bluff, CA)** 1st Infantry C.V. / Company 1st California Veterans Battalion. Age at enlistment: 29
Served in Southwest
Source: Andrew Ryan, *News from Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863: Civil War Letters of Andrew Ryan, with the First California Volunteers.* Santa Fe, NM: Stagecoach Press, 1966

38. John W. Teal (1827, Ontario, Canada – 1880, Ontario, Canada) Company B, 2nd Cavalry C.V. Age at enlistment: 33
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/107783615/john-w_-teal
Source: Teal, John W. "Soldier in the California Column: The Diary of John W. Teal" Edited by Henry P. Walker. *Arizona and the West* 13, no. 1 (April 1971): 33-82.

39. George Washington Towle, Jr.(1843, Maine – 1921, Turlock, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 19
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/77078641/george-washington-towle
Source: George Washington Towle, Jr. "Some Personal Recollections of George Washington Towle," BANC MSS C-D 5089A, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

40. Edward D. Tuttle (1834, New York – 1928, Los Angeles, CA) Companies A, H and F, 4th Infantry C.V. Age at enlistment: 26
Served in Southwest
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/200904972/edward-d_-tuttle
Source: Edward D. Tuttle Papers, AZ 514, University of Arizona

41. Hiram Sinclair Tuttle (1833, Maine – 1908, Oakland, CA) Company K, 3rd Infantry, C.V. Age at enlistment: 29
Served in Utah
Gravesite: https://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/hiram-sinclair-tuttle-24-48b2s0
Source: Hiram Tuttle Sinclair diaries, 1860-1869, BANC MSS C-F 169, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

42. George Wallace 3rd Infantry C.V.
Served in Utah

Source: George Wallace papers, 1853-1881, MS 2241, California Historical Society, SF

43. Wells Wallace West (1836, Illinois – 1924, Lakeport, CA) Company A, 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry. Age at enlistment: 26
Served in Virginia
Gravesite: https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/22448623/wells-wallis-west
Source: *Corbett diary* and "Autobiography of Wells Wallis West: From 1836 to the Close of the Civil War in 1865," West and Benson family papers, BANC MSS 80/152 c, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

44. George E. Young (c.1820, New York – 1873?, Arizona) Company G, 2nd Infantry C.V.
Age at enlistment: 41
Served in: California
Source: George E. Young, Company G

45. Unknown Company C, 4th Infantry C.V.
Served in Southwest
Source: Iowa University

Totals: 45

Served in--**California/Oregon/Nevada/Utah:** 13**; Southwest:** 19**; Virginia:** 13

Appendix B: California Volunteer Units - all information from Richard Orton, based on post returns. List of all distinct regions the company camped. They moved to different forts in each location. Also many men did not go to all these locations as the first three-year enlistments expired in 1864.
Wyoming Territory and Idaho Territory did not exist during the Civil War, but these designations are accounted for in this 1890 source, and offer a better understanding of where Californians stationed for today's reader.

First Cavalry – California Column

A: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas – New Mexico T. – California. – Arizona T. (1861-1866)
B: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1862-1866)
C: Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas – New Mexico T. – Arizona T. – New Mexico – Texas – New Mexico T. (1862-1866)
D: Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas – New Mexico T. (1862-1864)
E: Arizona T. – New Mexico T.– Texas – Arizona .T. – New Mexico T. – California (1862-1865)
F: California – Arizona T – New Mexico T. – Texas – Kansas (1863-1866)
G: California – Arizona T.– New Mexico T. (1863-1866)
H: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1863-1866)
I: California – Arizona T. (1863-1866)
K: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1863-1866)
L: California – Arizona T. (1863-1866)
M: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1863-1866)

Second Cavalry

A: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1866)
B: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Nevada (1861-1866)
C: California (1861-1866)
D: California – Nevada (1861-1866)
E: California (1861-1866)
F: California (1861-1866)
G: California (1861-1865)
H: California – Nevada – Idaho T. – Utah T. (1861-1866)
I: California – Nevada (1861-1865)
K: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1866)
L: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1866)
M: California – Wyoming T. – California – Arizona T.– Utah T. – Idaho T. (1861-1866)

First Native California Battalion

A: California – Arizona T. (1864-1865)
B: California – Arizona T. (1864-1865)
C: California – Arizona T. (1864-1865)
D: California – Arizona T. (1864-1865)

First Infantry – California Column

A: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1862-1864) * many of these troops transferred to Veteran Battalion
B: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1862-1864)
C: California – Arizona T.– New Mexico T. – Texas (1862-1864)
D: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1861-1864)
E: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T.– Texas (1862-1864)
F: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1862-1864)
G: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1862-1864)
H: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1862-1864)
I: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1862-1864)
K: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1862-1864)

First Battalion of Veteran Infantry – California Column

A: New Mexico T. (1864-1866)
B: New Mexico T. (1864-1866)
C: New Mexico T. - Colorado T. (1864-1866)
D: New Mexico T. (1864-1866)
E: New Mexico T. – Texas (1864-1866)
F: New Mexico T. (1864-1866)
G: New Mexico T. – Texas (1864-1866)

Second Infantry

A: California – Oregon – California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
B: California – Oregon – Washington T. –California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
C: California – Washington T. –California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
D: California – Washington T. – California (1861-1866)
E: California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) * Arizona after CW ended

F: Nevada – California (1861-1866)
G: California – Arizona T. – California (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
H: California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
I: California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
K: California – Arizona T. (1861-1866) *Arizona after CW ended

Third Infantry

A: California – Nevada – Utah T. – Colorado T. – Utah T. (1861-1866)
B: California – Nevada –California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1864)
C: California – Nevada – Utah T. – Idaho T. –Utah T. (1861-1866)
D: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1865) *consolidated with Co. C
E: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861-1864) *consolidated
F: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861 -1864) * consolidated
G: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861 -1864) * consolidated
H: California – Nevada – Utah T. – Idaho T. –Utah T. (1861 -1864) * consolidated
I: California – Nevada – Utah T. –Wyoming T. – Utah T. (1861 -1864) * consolidated
K: California – Nevada – Utah T. (1861 -1864) * consolidated

Fourth Infantry

A: California – Washington T. – California (1861-1865)
B: California – Washington T. – Oregon California (1861-1866)
C: California – Washington T. – California (1861-1864)
D: California – Oregon – California (1861-1865)
E: California – Washington T. – California (1861-1866)
F: California – Arizona T. – California (1861-1865)
G: California – Arizona T. –California (1861-1865)
H: California (1861-1865)
I: California – Arizona T. – California (1861-1865)
K: California (1861-1865)

Fifth Infantry – Joined California Column

A: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
B: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas (1861-1864)
C: California – Arizona T. – New Mexico T. – Texas – New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
D: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864) *joined Co. D 1st Vet. Inf. Bat.
E: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
F: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
G: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
H: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. – Texas – New Mexico T. – Texas (1861-1864)
I: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864)
K: California – Arizona T. –New Mexico T. (1861-1864)

Sixth Infantry

A: California (1861-1865)
B: California (1864-1865) *Benicia Barracks only
C: California (1863-1865)
D: California – Nevada – California (1864-1865)
E: California (1863-1865)
F: California (1864-1865) *Benicia Barracks only

G: California (1864-1865)
H: California (1864-1865) *Benicia Barracks only
I: California – Nevada – California (1864-1865)
K: California (1864-1865) *Benicia Barracks and SF

Seventh Infantry

A: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
B: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
C: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
D: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
E: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
F: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
G: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
H: California (1864-1866)
I: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended
K: California – Arizona T. – California (1864-1866) *Arizona after CW ended

Eighth Infantry

A: California – Washington T. – Oregon – California (1864-1865) * Fort Point, SF during CW
B: California – Oregon – California (1864-1865) *Fort Point, SF during CW
C: California (1865) *Fort Point, SF only
D: California (1865) *Fort Point, SF only
E: California (1865) *Alcatraz Island, SF only
F: California (1865) *Angel Island, SF only
G: California (1865) *Alcatraz Island, SF only
H: California (1865) *Alcatraz Island and Fort Point, SF only
I: California (1865) *Fort Point, SF only
K: California (1865) *Fort Point, SF only

First Battalion of Mountaineers

A: California (1863-1865)
B: California (1863-1865)
C: California (1863-1865)
D: California (1863-1865)
E: California (1863-1865)
F: California (1863-1865)

Second Massachusetts Cavalry (California 100 and California Battalion)

A: California – Massachusetts – Virginia (1862-1865)
E: California – Massachusetts – Virginia (1863-1865)
F: California – Massachusetts – Virginia (1863-1865)
L: California – Massachusetts – Virginia (1863-1865)
M: California – Massachusetts – Virginia (1862-1865)

*Californians also made up eight of ten companies of the 1st Washington Territory Infantry Regiment, stationed in Oregon, Washington Territory and Idaho Territory, mustered in at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco.

Appendix C: Charts

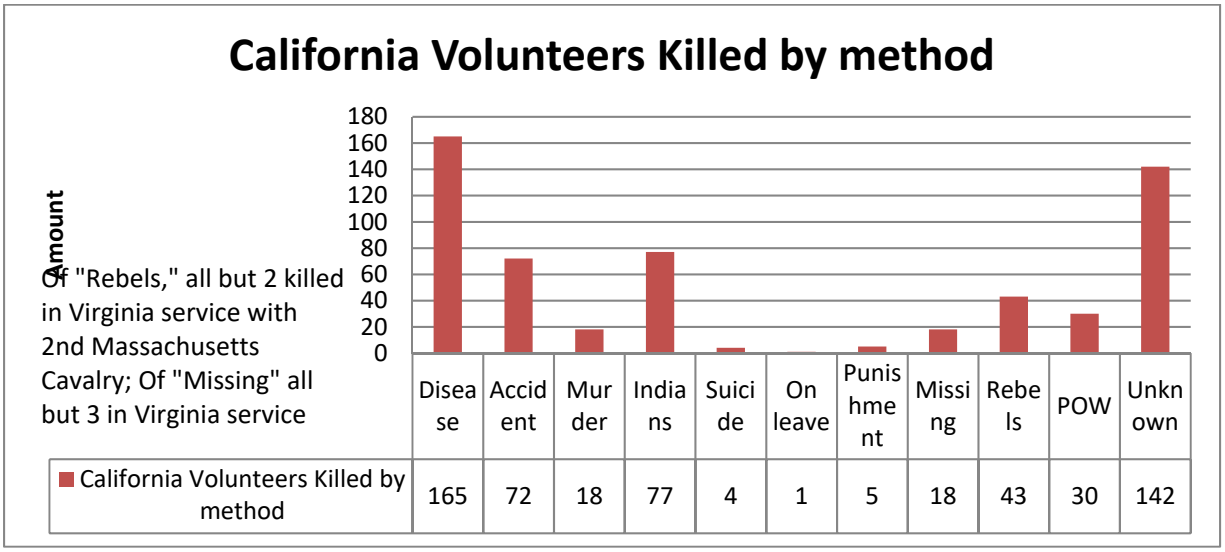


Chart 1: Based on Data from Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1867.* Sacramento: State Office, 1890.), 871-83.

Chart 2:

Los Angeles County population by place of birth, 1860. Data is derived from 1860 US Census manuscripts. Ancestry.com. *1860 United States Federal Census* [database]. Los Angeles County. Provo: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.

Region/nation of birth	Count	Percentage
California (includes births before and after 1848)	4544	40.1%
Mexico (excludes births in Mexican Alta California)	1715	15.1%
US southern states*	922	8.1%
US northern states*	856	7.6%
Elsewhere	3296	29.1%
Total for Los Angeles County, 1860	11,333	100%

Source: Daniel Lynch, "Southern California Chivalry."

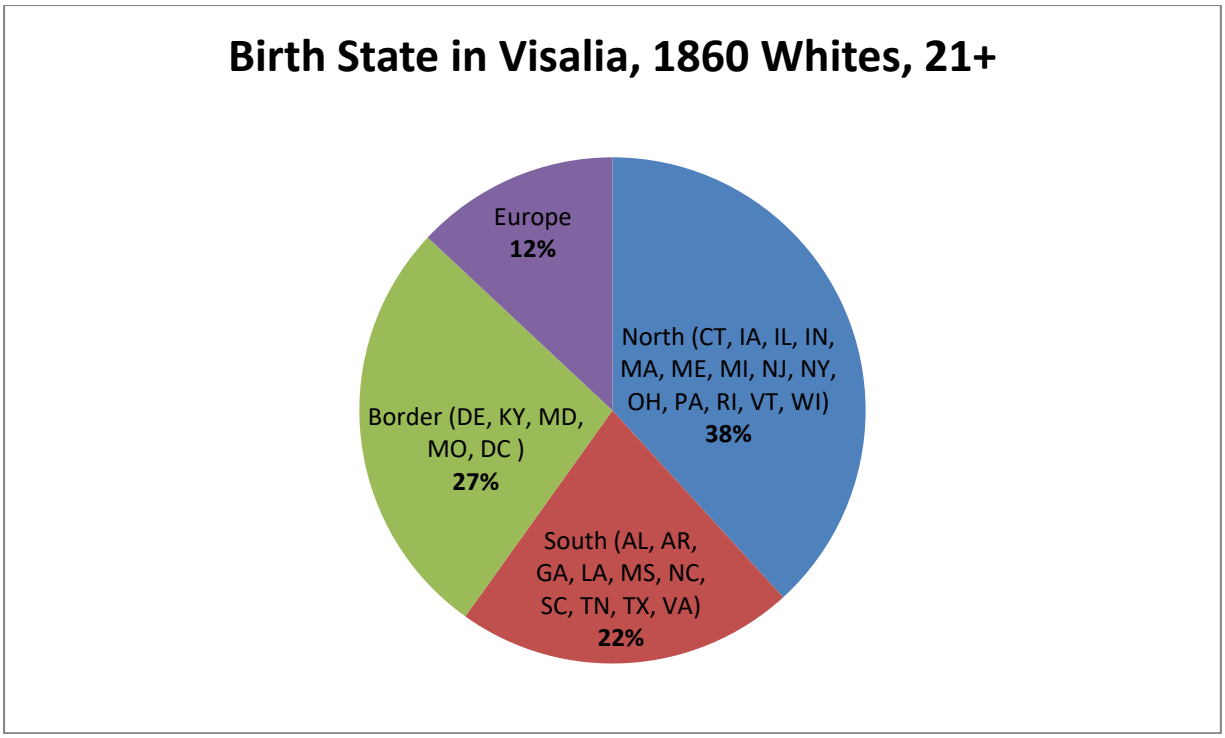
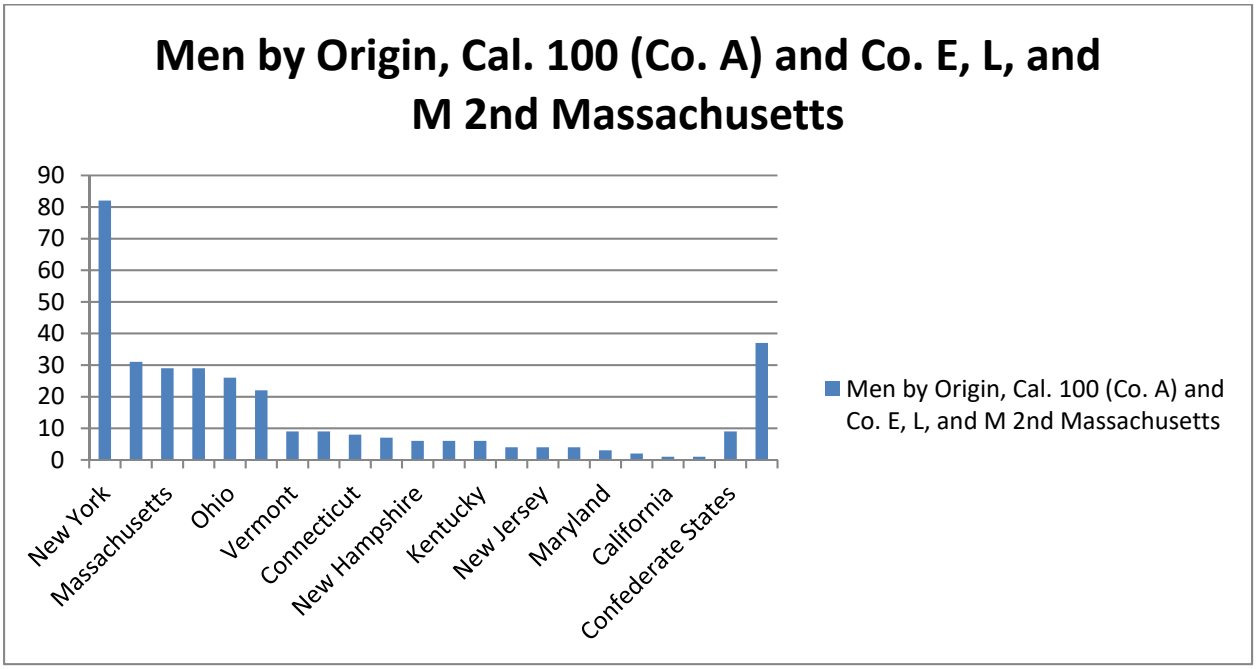


Chart 3: Source: 1860 Tulare County census.

Chart 4:



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Alonzo E. Davis papers, MS 209
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