

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA IN CIVIL WAR DAYS

By Percival J. Cooney

California was fortunately spared the horrors of actual fighting during the Civil War period, but, nevertheless, soldiers were very much in evidence, and nowhere was partisan feeling more bitter. And there is much reason for believing that there was a widespread conspiracy to deliver southern California to the Confederacy, a conspiracy that was frustrated by the prompt action of the military authorities.

No comprehension of the time or the events can be had without first taking a bird's-eye view of the land and the people as they existed in '61 to '65. Los Angeles was a town of less than 2,000 persons; San Gabriel a village of a few hundred. Between San Gabriel and San Bernardino there was but one settlement of note—El Monte—where, on the subirrigated lands of the San Gabriel Valley, the American pioneers who had come out on a wagon train in 1852 were clearing the swampy land and establishing homes. There was a native California village at the site of the old mission at the turn of the river a mile or two north of Montebello and a tiny hamlet at Cucamonga. The great cities of today—Pasadena, Glendale, and the beach towns—did not exist. The whole territory from the west end of the San Fernando Valley to San Bernardino was devoted to but two industries—cattle and grain raising. But it was primarily a cattle country; there was no fencing law—that is, a man engaged in farming was obliged to fence his land to protect it from the encroachments of the half-wild range cattle. Through this sparsely settled land ran the San Bernardino road, which later has become the Valley Boulevard. San Bernardino was a town of about 1,000 people, composed of Mormons and southerners.

The entire population south of Tehachapi was not more than 12,000. Three-fourths of these were southerners by birth and ancestry. Until October, 1861, news arrived by pony express from the east to San Francisco and was wired to Los Angeles. Stages ran two or three times a week, and later daily, eastward by Warner's Ranch, the Imperial desert, and to Yuma.

The events of the early months of 1861 brought home to the people of California that matters in the east were

approaching a crisis. Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, and Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President of the Confederacy four days later. The eyes of the State were fixed on the California Legislature, and a sigh of relief went up from all Union men when, on April 4, 1861, it elected McDougall, a Union man, as United States senator.

On April 26 came the news of the firing on Fort Sumter, and in May, after a prolonged and fierce debate, the California Legislature passed loyal resolutions placing the State squarely behind the Lincoln government.

The rage of the southern sympathizers at these last two events was so violent, their denunciations so bold and defiant, that even the military authorities were amazed and anxious. Brigadier-General Sumner, writing on April 28, 1861, to the Adjutant General at Washington, said:

I have no doubt that there is some deep scheming to draw California into the secessionist movement. The troops now here will hold their position on all government property, but [and this admission is significant, coming from the general of the military district] if there should be a general uprising of the people it would be impossible to put it down.

Santa Barbara reports that the native population of California will join the secessionist movement to a man. Captain Hancock, in Los Angeles, states "that persons who have been influential in politics are active in encouraging acts of hostilities." The Bear Flag (then considered an assertion of state's rights) was paraded through the streets of El Monte, and a company known to be secessionists was said to be drilling. Editor Sherman of a San Bernardino paper reports that "secret meetings in San Bernardino and El Monte are being held by secessionists; the Stars and Stripes are openly cursed," and he begs that a company of cavalry be sent to San Bernardino.

In 1862 we find, in a report from Major Carlton, who was in command of the troops later stationed at San Bernardino, the first reference to an unusual congregation of miners in the mountains, particularly in Bear and Holcomb valleys. He estimated their numbers at from 1,000 to 1,800 men. Attempts to form a Union club failed and the streets in the evening rang with cheers for Jeff Davis.

San Bernardino and El Monte were regarded by the authorities as the two dangerous spots. Troops were kept at San Bernardino until the end of the war and were stationed at El Monte intermittently.

Henry Willis of San Bernardino reports, on August 5, 1861, that a man named Kelsey, a man "enterprising,

cautious and brave," has held meetings in Holcomb Valley. A friend of Willis, by arrangement, attended as a spy and reported to him that the purpose of the meetings were to ascertain the fighting force of the seceders in the county, and enroll them as a force to act in connection with other forces throughout the state, having for its object the seizure of public property here and to raise the standard of rebellion, and bring on a civil war in the state.

August 6, 1861, Charles Bennet reports from San Bernardino:

They are enlisting all they can. The headquarters is in Holcomb Valley. . . . They expect to go via Texas to the Jeff Davis Confederation. They are to go in squads, and to travel in the night.

It will be noted how close a resemblance this plan—which will be treated of again—bears to that of Judge Hastings, with whom we shall deal later.

The two Los Angeles papers at the time were the *Star* and the *Southern News*. The *Southern News*, oddly enough, supported the government in a rather mild manner, while the *Star* openly stated that Lincoln was responsible for "this unholy, unjust, unconstitutional and unjustifiable war." It criticized Lincoln's immortal first inauguration speech as "not meaning anything in particular."

The principal hotel at the time in Los Angeles was the Bella Union (now the St. Charles block on Main Street). It was a gathering place for the southern chivalry, and guests wearing the uniform of the United States were treated with such scant courtesy that the military authorities finally ordered the soldiers to cease patronizing it. On one occasion a large picture of General Beauregard was displayed and hung in the hotel with much acclaim. These events doubtless led to the organization of the Home Guards in Los Angeles, the moving spirits in which were Don Abel Stearns and Henry Barrows, United States Marshal.

Visalia, in the San Joaquin Valley, was another town where secession spirit ran rampant.

"It is an everyday occurrence," writes the officer in charge of Visalia in 1862, "for them to cheer in the streets for Jefferson Davis and follow it with groans for the Stars and Stripes. They insult the soldiers by calling them 'Lincoln's hirelings.' Dr. Russell, one of their leaders, paid his license and posted it in his window with this notation: 'I pay this license to help murder my people back east.'" He further reports that fist fights between soldiers and citizens are of daily occurrence and in the previous week a soldier had been shot and killed.

The election which took place in September, 1861, saw a near-riot on the streets of San Bernardino. Captain Davidson, in command of the soldiers there, says:

I drove to the polls in a buggy about the time of their closing and found a mob of two or three hundred people standing around, most of them with sticks in their hands. They began shouting: "Hurrah for Jeff Davis! Hurrah for the Southern Confederacy!", in spite of the fact that my men were only 300 yards away. Most of them had revolvers as well. One of them shouted at me that "If the Union men felt they were stronger than they could start in"—that they could beat them robbing and burning any day.

The captain stood up in his buggy and denounced them as enemies of the country. Then whipping up his horses, he drove straight into the crowd; and he adds, rather naively, "that he believes that he rode over one man." He returned in a few moments with a squad of dragoons on horseback and spoke to the crowd from the saddle, warning them that treasonable sentiment would not be tolerated. This brought a cheer from a small group of Union men who had gathered about, and the crowd sullenly dispersed.

September 30, 1861, General E. V. Sumner, in command of the Pacific Department, with headquarters at San Francisco, gave the following orders to Colonel Wright at Camp Drum (as the military post at Wilmington was called):

The secession party in the state numbers about 32,000 and they are very restless and zealous, which gives them great influence. They are congregating in the southern part of the state, and it is there they expect to continue their operations against the government. . . . Put a stop to all demonstrations in favor of the rebel government, or against our own. You will establish a strong camp at Warner's Ranch and take measures to make Fort Yuma perfectly secure.

### **The Knights of the Golden Circle**

Behind all these apparently sporadic outbursts was undoubtedly the consciousness that the disturbers had back of them a wide-spread organization, the Knights of the Golden Circle. At a comparatively early date, however, the government was well informed about this organization, partly through detectives employed for that purpose and partly through Union men who, pretending to be southerners, succeeded in entering their lodges.

Clarence E. Bennett of San Bernardino, by means of a friend who posed as a secessionist, in August, 1861, secured a copy of their pledge and constitution, and forwarded it to General Sumner of San Francisco. It reads as follows:

*Whereas*, a crisis has arrived in our political affairs which demands the closest scrutiny and strictest vigilance of every true patriot as an American citizen; and *whereas*, we view with regret and heartfelt sorrow the existence of a civil war now waged by one portion of the American people against one another; and, *whereas*, we also believe that this war has been called into requisition by the present executive of the United States without the guarantee of the constitution and without the consent of either branch of the American Congress in their legislative capacity, and believing this is an unjust, unholy, iniquitous war; therefore be it

*Resolved*, that we, as a portion of the citizens of the United States, will support the constitution as it now stands, together with the amendments thereunto appended, and that we will strictly adhere to the decisions of the United States supreme court made under said constitution where a difference of opinion has heretofore or may hereafter occur between the citizens of one state and those of another, or between the state and the federal government, foreign citizens, subjects, etc. Second, be it further

*Resolved*, that, in our opinion, the president has violated the most sacred palladium of American liberty by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and thus depriving an American citizen of having the cause of his imprisonment inquired into by the proper tribunal. Third, be it further

*Resolved*, that we are in favor of sustaining the southern states of the American Confederacy in all their constitutional rights; that we believe an unconstitutional war is now being waged against them to subject them to a taxation enormous and unequal and to deprive them in the end of their species of property called slaves. Fourth, and be it lastly

*Resolved*, that we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our property, and our sacred honor to sustain our brethren of the southern states in the just defense of their constitutional rights, whether invaded by the present executive or by a foreign foe.

#### OBLIGATION

I, (.....), here in the presence of these witnesses, before Almighty God promise and swear that I will not divulge or reveal any of the secrets of this institution to anyone except I know him to be a brother (or to instruct candidates). I furthermore swear that I will obey the proper authorities when ordered to do so, and that I will assist a brother of this institution in his rights, individually or constitutionally, when required of me by him, if need be with my life. All this I solemnly swear to obey under penalty of being shot.

Not only the ritual, as given above, but the grip, the pass words, and the words of recognition used by members of the order were discovered by the detectives and are to be found in their reports. The words of recognition ran as follows: "Do you know Jones?" "What Jones?" "Preacher Jones." "Where does he live?" "At home." "Where is his home?" "In Dixie."

#### Memories of Pioneers

The memories of the men now living give ample corroboration of the events touched upon in the records. Henry Guess of El Monte, now well over 70 years of age, says:

I remember well the meetings that used to be held at my house and at other houses in those days, and dozens of times my father woke me up in the night with orders to "Get up and get that fellow a horse; he is going to fight the Yankees."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Dodson of El Monte, who was 20 years old at the time, recalls meetings being held in the houses about El Monte.

One man still living, who took part in these stormy times, is "Toooh" Martin of Pomona. Mr. Martin is 87 years of age, with a mind as keen and active as a man of 40. During the '80's he served a term as one of the Los Angeles County supervisors. He was one of those who took part in the famous Bear Flag parade in El Monte during '61.

We had formed a home guard in El Monte, and every one of them were Southerners. Our first purpose was to protect our property, for we feared a general confiscation in case of a Union victory, and of course, our sympathies being with the South, if the Confederacy had captured Washington we would have struck a blow here. We were ready and determined and well organized. Our home guard asked Governor Downey for guns. Being a Democrat, we believed he was secretly with us, but probably we were mistaken in that. At any rate, the governor sent the arms—so we were informed—but the army officers at San Pedro discovered the truth and we never got them. I took part in that Bear Flag parade. There were about 200 of us, and we carried the Bear Flag. We marched around Jonathan Tibbetts' house in the moonlight, as we wanted to give him a scare. He was a Black Republican, and we knew he was giving information to the government.<sup>2</sup>

In July, 1861, I had finished a year as teacher of the little one-room school in El Monte, right where the cement bridge is now, but before the trustees would employ me for another year they demanded that I take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Being a Texan, of course I refused, and they refused to pay me my last half year's salary, \$119. I was only 17 at the time, so I went up-state to Healdsburg, where I had relatives, and went six months to the high school there. I organized a lodge of the Knights of the Golden Circle—of which I was already a member—in Healdsburg. We had a big lodge in El Monte, almost everyone belonging to it except the three or four living down on what was known then as "Black Republican Alley"—the Durfees, the Johnsons and a few others. I returned to El Monte in 1863. Gettysburg had been fought and Vicksburg had been taken, and there wasn't much chance of the South winning, so I took the oath and got my \$119.

"Do you know Jones?" I inquired.

"What Jones?" he answered promptly.

"Preacher Jones."

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1. Henry Guess of El Monte, states that the soldiers under a Captain Hancock were camped just west of El Monte on the Taylor tract, recently subdivided. Chance Lewis remembers well that at a later period they were camped on the spot where the ice cream factory now stands, east of El Monte on the highway. Both of these pioneers were boys at the time.

2. This Bear Flag parade is mentioned in the histories of Bancroft, Guinn and others, and many times in the military records. The Tibbetts homestead about which the parade took place was located west of El Monte, on the corner of Valley Boulevard and Walnut—an old red building which was torn down about a year ago.

"Good Lord!" the old man gasped. "Where did you get that? I thought that everyone who knew about it was dead but me." I told him of the reports of the government detectives, and he remarked: "Well, we suspected as much at that time, but we couldn't tell who they were."

Jonathan Tibbetts of Riverside, a son of the Jonathan Tibbetts mentioned by Mr. Martin, confirms the story of the El Monte Bear Flag parade:

I was only a boy, but I remember it well. My father, I think, must have been in the secret service. He traveled about the country buying cattle, taking me with him, and he was always in consultation with army officers. "Tooch" Martin was always an incorrigible old "reb," but he is right about my father giving information to the government. That night one of the paraders mounted the high fence about our place and dared him to come out. Dad put a gun out the window and called, "Get down, Bill; I know you. Get down or I will shoot you off that fence." Bill got down.

### **The Showalter Expedition**

Among the leaders of the Southern element in California there were undoubtedly some who grew impatient, and among these was Dan Showalter, an interesting and remarkable character. Though born and raised in Pennsylvania, he was an ardent secessionist. He was a member of the legislature in 1861, and in the debates on the resolution which finally placed California on the side of the Union, he took a prominent part. Bitter, indeed, must have been this discussion, for, on May the 23rd, Showalter and a Union member of the legislature from San Bernardino County, named Piercy, met in a duel on the outskirts of Sacramento. Piercy was shot through the heart.

The election of 1861, which resulted in the victory for the Union forces in California and the election of Leland Stanford as governor, evidently determined Showalter to leave the State and join the Confederate army. There was nothing new in this move, as will be seen later. Young Southern sympathizers had for many months previous been making their way out of the State over the trail through Temecula, Warner's Ranch, and across the desert to Yuma. There was little difficulty in this, the official reports of army officers to their superiors show, as nearly all of the residents along the route were Southern sympathizers.

Immediately after the election, Showalter organized at El Monte, in November, 1861, an expedition of eighteen men and started south, giving out publicly that they intended to cross the border and engage in mining operations in Mexican territory. This plan of escape bears an evident

resemblance to the plan of Judge Hastings, to be dealt with later. They probably would have made good their escape, as they traveled by night and rested during the day, had they not made the fatal mistake of taking a Union man into their confidence. One E. M. Morgan, an avowed Southerner, one day in the last week of November, 1861, brought to E. E. Cable, living at Temecula, a letter and requested that he should deliver it to one Sumner, who was to arrive in a few days. Morgan must have been unaware of Cable's real sentiments, for he immediately forwarded the note by messenger to Major Riggs, who was in command of a detachment of the First Volunteer California Cavalry, stationed at Oak Grove, a few miles away. Riggs opened the note and found that it was from Showalter warning Sumner (whom Showalter's party had evidently expected to find in Temecula) that the party had already passed that point and instructing him to follow as soon as possible. Major Riggs at once sent out the force under Lieutenant Welman and, guided by a native Californian named Ocampo, they located Showalter and his armed men concealed in a grove on the Winter's Ranch, not far from Warner's.

The party put up a bold front and at first refused to surrender, as they claimed to be innocent miners on their way to Sonora. Showalter announced that he was willing to fight it out then and there, but was finally overruled by his men, and the expedition surrendered. When brought into the camp of the cavalry at Oak Grove, they were all found to be armed with a rifle and two revolvers each, and every one except Showalter himself was a native of a seceding state. A number of letters captured on their persons and addressed to friends in the State showed that they had intended to cross the Colorado River thirty miles below Yuma. In one letter, which was addressed to Allison Powell and written by Showalter himself, there were instructions to "Get in touch with Sam Brooks in Sacramento." This indicates how far the conspiracy had gone, as Sam Brooks was at that time comptroller of the State of California. Major Riggs, in his report of the affair, called the attention of his superior to this and said: "Brooks, one of the State officers, who is to vacate his office soon, is as deep in the mud as they are in the mire."

The entire membership of the party expressed themselves as willing to take the oath of allegiance. This was done and they were taken to Fort Yuma, where they were held for a while and later released. We shall hear more of this Showalter later on in a more pleasing guise.



### **Californians Reconquer Arizona**

This incident aroused the military authorities to the necessity of more effectually closing the road to Arizona. The forces along the trail were immediately strengthened; all boats and ferries on the Colorado were seized; Yuma was reinforced and orders were given that all crossings of the river should be guarded and that no one should be permitted to cross without a pass from the military authorities.

During the latter months of 1861 small forces of Confederates had entered Arizona and taken charge of it in the name of the Confederate government. The attempt of the Showalter expedition was responsible probably, for the organization of the California Column. No draft was ever necessary in California during the Civil War, as her volunteers exceeded the number of men called for. The California Column was composed, not of regular troops, but of Californians who had voluntarily enlisted,—a regiment of infantry, one of cavalry and some artillery, about 1,500 men. They marched on the San Diego road on April 13, 1862, following the trail through Temecula, Warner's Ranch, Cariso Gorge, and across what is now Imperial Valley. By September 20, 1862, they had reoccupied all of southern Arizona and New Mexico. The small Confederate forces in the territories either scattered or withdrew before their advance. While there were no battles of serious importance except occasional brushes with marauding Apaches, the march of 1,500 men through this stretch of arid country, carrying with them their baggage, in the hottest season of the year, was a remarkable military feat, and one which has elicited the admiration of military experts. It effectually closed the eastern gate to southern California.

### **Jefferson Davis Asked for Help**

Widespread as were the organizations of Southern sympathizers, yet, when they found themselves face to face with the continued military occupation of all towns and strategic points in California, they hesitated to act. It was plain by the middle of 1863 that an armed uprising would not have much chance of success, but they still held their organization intact until the end of the war, as is evident from the reports of detectives late in 1864. The continued concentration of miners in the San Bernardino mountains, the numerous reports of camps in the canyons filled with idle men who eked out an existence by hunting,

trapping, and possibly a little placer mining, all indicate that the sympathizers from the South in southern California were still in hopes that something would happen which would give them an opportunity to strike a blow for the Confederacy.

That this is not a speculation is shown by the fact that an emissary from California did actually visit Richmond and solicit aid from Jefferson Davis. This was not known at the time, but it was strongly suspected by Union men who knew of the increased number of miners in Bear Valley, in Holcomb Valley, and in the San Gabriel, San Antonio and other canyons. There are intimations to be found everywhere in the records that the discontented, especially about San Bernardino, seemed to be awaiting a chance to "cut loose." What they were undoubtedly waiting for can be found in the Confederate records which were captured in Richmond when the Union troops entered there in 1865, and from which this information is taken.

The man who carried the appeal for help to the president of the Confederacy was Judge L. M. Hastings of Los Angeles. He arrived at Shreveport, Louisiana, on Sept. 18, 1863, having come by the way of Guymas, Mexico, and El Paso, Texas. At Shreveport he interviewed General E. Kirby Smith, in command of that Confederate military district. Smith, however, was suspicious of Hastings, and says, in his communication to Seddon, Confederate secretary of war in Richmond, that Hastings "has failed to satisfy him as to the propriety of trusting him in so important a matter." Smith also advised Hastings to proceed to Richmond and lay his proposal before the Confederate government.

Hastings, not at all discouraged, arrived in Richmond in December, 1863. In order to secure access to Davis he prepared a long letter of introduction and recommendation, which was signed by several names, among which was that of M. H. McWhite, the territorial delegate from Arizona to the Confederate Congress. Whether the others were Californians or congressmen from Southern states is not clear, but the letter strongly indorses Hastings and concurs in the "necessity and feasibility of Judge Hastings' plan," and states further: "Judge Hastings has resided in California upward of twenty years and has been a prominent and influential citizen of that State, holding various important positions of public trust."

The memorandum of Hastings' plan which was pre-

sented personally to Davis (he refers to this in a subsequent note dated December 29) was as follows:

Hastings was to return to California via Guaymas, Mexico. As soon as he arrived in Los Angeles he would publish a pamphlet describing in alluring terms the mineral resources of Arizona and Mexico. He would then organize fake mining companies composed of sterling Southerners, who would immediately advertise extensively for men. None were to be chosen for the expedition, of course, except those known to be favorable to the Southern cause. All were to have their expenses guaranteed by the company—and here is a significant statement which connects Hastings' mission with the much wondered at concentration of miners in the San Bernardino mountains and the Knights of the Golden Circle:

These pamphlets will be published and distributed through the influence of secret organizations now existing throughout the state.

The men are to leave and cross the desert in small companies in order not to attract attention and to rendezvous near the Colorado river. When a sufficient number have arrived they will reduce Fort Yuma (Showalter and his companions were prisoners there at the time), release the Confederate prisoners, seize the three steamers plying between Yuma and the mouth.

Meanwhile another group, who, also disguised as miners, had taken ship from San Pedro to Guaymas, were to march overland through Mexico, carrying proper passports. They were to move in small parties as mining prospectors, avoid difficulties with the inhabitants, and to rendezvous south of the line not far from Yuma. When the proper moment arrived the two forces were to combine, attack Fort Buchanan and then move overland from the Rio Grande to El Paso, where they would place themselves at the disposal of the Confederate authorities.

That Hastings was confident that he could raise the required number of men in California under these conditions is shown by his statement:

I can raise in California from three thousand to ten thousand superior troops, and every six months I can throw an additional force into Arizona from California during this unholy war.

He then concludes by asking that the government supply him with sufficient funds to carry out this plan, which, as he detailed it, would not require a very large expenditure, as most of the men would supply their own horses.

Jefferson Davis, after a ten days' consideration of the project, referred it back to Seddon, Secretary of War, and Seddon reported against it. Hastings, in a letter to Davis, January 11, 1864, "regrets to learn that the government cannot enter upon the enterprise for lack of funds."

But Hastings was not a man who gave up easily, and he submitted another plan to Davis. He will return to California via Mexico, further perfect the "secret organiza-

tions" now existing, raise 1,500 men "without the financial support of the Confederacy." All he asked was that the Confederate government would give him a promise that in case of success they would reimburse himself and the members of the expedition for their outlay.

But it was too late. In January, 1864, the Confederacy had more pressing matters than the recapture of the road to the Pacific. Gettysburg had been fought; Vicksburg had fallen. Did Hastings receive this authorization from Davis or did he receive a final refusal? At any rate, nothing more of him is to be found in the Confederate records captured at Richmond, and the writer has found no further record of him in California. It is probably fortunate for California and Arizona that his mission was deferred until 1864, for, if he had arrived in Richmond earlier in the war, when the Confederacy was in the first flush of its early successes, his plan might have been adopted and history for southern California and Arizona might have had to be written very differently.

The frequent references made by Hastings to "secret organizations in California," the statement that they could be depended on to distribute his mining prospectuses, the men "gathering in camps" in the San Bernardino Mountains, the statement in one report of an army officer that boast had been made that "within a year you will be living under the finest government on earth—the Southern Confederacy," all indicate that these are not mere coincidences, but that the plan was well understood by the leaders and the rank and file, and that Hastings himself was an emissary of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Additional confirmation may be found in the fact that, six months after Hastings' failure at Richmond, Judge Terry (a prominent Democratic politician, who twenty years later was shot by a deputy sheriff in the northern part of the state, some time in the 80's) arrived in Houston, Texas, with a commission from Jefferson Davis, to raise a brigade for the rescue of Arizona, and the statement of Bennett of San Bernardino, in an official military report, that "the men are to leave in squads so as not to attract attention." That Terry later revived the Hastings plan is proved by the letter of J. A. Roberts, who was in Houston at the time Davis was there in 1864. He writes that "Terry has represented to Davis that 'if the road was opened to California he (Davis) could get in California an army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men.'" It is evident that Davis had as much confidence in the

Knights of the Golden Circle being able to supply the men as Hastings had.

### **A War-Time Romance**

It is interesting to find, amidst the dry military records of the time, a veritable romance. Reference has already been made in the article to Dan Showalter and the capture of his expedition in November, 1861. After being in prison at Fort Yuma for some months he was released, on what date is not clear, but he again appears in the records in the guise of a lover.

As previously noted, Arizona and New Mexico, and Texas as far as El Paso, had already been recaptured for the Union during the year 1862 by the California Column under Colonel Carlton. In January 1865, writing from Mesilla, Arizona, Carlton reports that one of his scouts had killed the notorious rebel spy, Skillman, and that on his body he had found a letter, which he forwards with other military papers, from Dan Showalter addressed to one Miss Anna Foreman. The letter had been evidently given to Skillman in the hope he would forward it by some friendly hand to California. The army officer notes dryly at the bottom of the letter: "This Anna Foreman is the daughter of Col. Ferris Foreman, formerly in command of Camp Drum in Los Angeles." Referring back in the records, we find this to be a fact. Col. Ferris Foreman was in command of the district of Southern California for some months in 1863, and he was suddenly relieved, and henceforth his name appears no more in the records. Showalter's letter to Col. Foreman's daughter indicates that he had just heard of the colonel's withdrawal from the service.

This letter is a very human document and a revelation of war-time psychology—a love letter from a northern born man who was devoted to the cause of the Confederacy—a man who though he had taken the oath of allegiance under duress, had ignored it and joined the Confederate Army—a man who had killed his enemy in a duel over a point of honor. At the time it was written, Showalter was at San Antonio, Texas, and had been in command of a regiment of cavalry operating along the border of Indian Territory.

He tells of his delight in meeting in San Antonio some people from California whom he had known in Sacramento, while a member of the legislature, and among these people was Mrs. Terry, wife of Judge Terry, before referred to. He speaks of receiving from Mrs. Terry "your most welcome message." He continues:

I would have written to you long since, but feared that it might bring you or your parents into trouble if it were known that you corresponded with an "arch rebel" like myself. Silent as I have been, I have often thought of you while walking my lonely beat at night and on the battle field when comrades were fast falling around me.

Pathetic and eloquent is his description of the gallant struggle the South was making:

The noble women of the land, unaccustomed to labor, working day and night knitting, spinning and weaving to clothe our gallant soldiers, taking the carpets from their parlors to make blankets, and surplus wearing apparel to make shirts.

Though even then the fortunes of the Confederacy were waning, he expresses no fear of the result:

Having purchased liberty at such a frightful sacrifice, they cannot be conquered—better that the last man should perish than live the despised serfs of a Northern despot.

Strange words, these, from a Pennsylvanian born and bred! He continues:

The enemy have landed at several places on the Texas coast, but we have determined to lay waste every field, burn every building, and leave to the invaders but the ruin of once happy homes, deserted fields and the mangled bodies of the slain.

Referring to her father's resignation from the service, he says:

I was truly gratified to hear of it. We were always firm friends and it pained me to think that we should be arrayed against each other.

Of himself and his family he speaks dispassionately:

I have never seen cause to doubt the wisdom or justice of the course I have taken. I fear my brothers in Pennsylvania have gone into the Northern army. If so, I can only pity; I have no desire to see them again.

The missive closes with a pleasing but restrained touch of sentiment:

If I had only twenty years to live I would give ten years to see and talk with you for but an hour. I may survive this war; if so, we will meet again, but should I fall you shall have the last kind thought, the last fervent prayer. Yours devotedly, Dan Showalter.

It is the letter of a man of education and fine feeling, and one cannot help hoping that, in some later and happier time, the "arch rebel" and the daughter of the blue-coated Yankee colonel found one another and happiness.

### Conclusion

The healing hand of time has been laid on the old fears, and the old hatreds, that once wrung the hearts of the pioneers of the San Gabriel Valley. The decree of Providence, made manifest through the stern judgment of

war, has given us one country and one flag with not a star missing. The men of the Golden Circle were honest and sincere according to their lights. And among the people of the southland none are more devoted to the flag and to the nation than the descendants of the men who misguidedly planned to snatch California from the Union in the day of the past.