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THE MANY BATTLES OF GLORIETA PASS:
STRUGGLES FOR THE INTEGRITY
OF A CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD

THESIS

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By

William Edward Hull, B.B.A., J.D.

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This study focuses on modern-day attempts to preserve the site where Union volunteers from Colorado defeated a Confederate army from Texas at the 1862 Battle of Glorieta Pass to curtail Confederate expansion westward. When construction workers in 1987 accidentally uncovered remains of the war dead, a second battle of Glorieta Pass ensued. Texas and New Mexico officials quarreled over jurisdiction of the war casualties. Eventually Congress authorized the National Park Service to expand the Pecos National Park through purchase and donation of land to include the battlesite.

Sources include local records, newspapers, federal and state documents, and interviews with preservation participants.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1862, a group of Texans under the flag of the Confederate States of America invaded the Territory of New Mexico. Their short-range goal was the conquest of the land and people of that region. This maneuver was the initial step in an ambitious plan to establish the Confederacy in the western United States. The grandiose plan also anticipated providing the Confederacy with an outlet to world markets to obtain sorely needed goods to support the Confederate cause. An additional part of the plan called for the capture of the goldfields in the American West from which gold could be extracted to fund these foreign purchases.

Following a succession of victories that took the Confederate troops to the brink of capturing New Mexico, a stunning reversal came in two bloody, brutal engagements with a Union force composed largely of volunteers who had rushed southward from Colorado to stop the advancing Texans. Not only were the Texans stopped from further advances, they were forced to retreat back over the ground they had so recently won. Abandoning not just weapons but food, clothing, and most of their means of transportation, the defeated Texans endured a horrible return trip on foot to El Paso through the dry, desolate New Mexico desert.

The three days the Confederate troops and the opposing Union army spent in Glorieta Pass near Santa Fe, New Mexico, are significant to the results of the Civil War; yet, few people know of, or recognize, the importance of this confrontation that occurred in those cold days in March, 1862. A major turning point in the war, the Battle of Glorieta Pass, as the struggle is known, continues to be largely unrecognized and under appreciated. Little has been done to memorialize or adequately commemorate the battle. The current state of development within the canyon that is today's Glorieta Pass may prevent the achievement of those results. The state of New Mexico and the federal government have taken steps to protect and preserve the sites of the battle, but inaction on the part of the state of New Mexico to acquire battlefield land when it was readily available before the Glorieta area became heavily settled; lack of sufficient acquisition funds, particularly immediately after the battlefield was designated a national park, to buy land from private landowners; road issues; and private landownership seem to be the major impediments to any meaningful preservation of the battlefield. Several individuals have worked diligently to accomplish the recognition the battle deserves, but the general public continues to overlook its significance. The most visible recognition given the battle has been commemorative enactments of the engagement performed by Civil War enthusiasts and "living history" proponents. A permanent reserve of land was not set aside in time to preserve any of the significant locations where the fighting occurred. Today, only one dilapidated shack remains of what were several significant structures at the center of much of the fighting. In general, little has been done to preserve the area where the battle occurred, much less to denote its importance.

The purpose of this study is to review briefly the Battle of Glorieta Pass and point out its significance in the history of the Civil War and our nation. After reiterating its importance, an evaluation of the efforts, or lack of effort, to set aside or recognize the sites of the battle will be offered. This evaluation will be made in three ways. The actions of the state of New Mexico, the United States government, and individual citizens that have affected the battlefield will be examined and the current status of the area reviewed. Perhaps a better course of action will become evident in the future that will lead to a collaborative effort to raise the public's awareness of the battle and promote its importance to the level it deserves.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST BATTLE OF GLORIETA PASS

The Battle of Glorieta Pass is abundantly documented; however, it is necessary to reiterate briefly the facts surrounding the battle in order to understand its importance. Known by various names other than Glorieta Pass, the confrontation has been captioned by authors and historians as the Battle at Valley's Ranch, Pigeon's Ranch, or Apache Canyon.¹ Official United States government records refer to the battle as the skirmish at Apache Canyon fought on 26 March 1862, and the engagement at Glorieta or Pigeon's Ranch, New Mexico on 28 March 1862.² All these names have some basis in the facts dealing with the battle, and as the story of events surrounding the battle unfolds their place in history will become clear.

To appreciate fully the significance of the battle, which most authorities on the American West and the Civil War have at one time or another termed the "Gettysburg of

¹Mark Simmons, ed., The Battle at Valley's Ranch (n.p.: San Pedro Press, 1987), 13.

²The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), series I-volume IX, 530, 532.

the West,³ one must take note of the ultimate goals of the Confederacy in undertaking such a campaign. In short, why were the actions necessary and why was the resultant defeat so devastating to the Confederacy?

The Confederate leaders placed significant hopes and ambitions on the efforts of their troops in New Mexico. They were to be the spearhead of a fledgling nation that was to stretch from coast to coast. In May 1861, following his resignation from the United States Army, General Henry Hopkins Sibley convinced the president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, of the merits of his plan to raise an army of Texans to invade the West. Sibley's plan was to take his army into New Mexico first. His initial motivation was the addition of the large territory comprising the American Southwest and the northern states of Mexico to the Confederacy.⁴ There he planned to gain support from Confederate sympathizers, capture Union supplies and munitions, and march onward to Colorado, Utah, and ultimately the West Coast. Sibley painted a picture of capturing the riches of gold in Colorado and California, which would fund the coffers of an already financially stressed Confederacy. The flow of gold and silver to the Confederacy would have an additional benefit to the South in that the captured wealth would be diverted from the Union and no longer available to fund the war in the North. Gold would not be the only

³Don E. Alberts, The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 173; Ray C. Colton, The Civil War in the Western Territories (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 49; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., The Civil War in the American West (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1991), 61; Robert Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta: the Gettysburg of the West (Boulder, CO: Johnson Printing Company, 1992), 225.

⁴Charles S. Walker, "Causes of the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, VIII, no. 2 (April 1933): 97.

prize of the conquest Sibley outlined for Davis. Perhaps equally important would be the seaports in California, which, if under Confederate control, would provide an outlet to desperately needed supplies in Europe. Confederate cotton and other trade goods could sail from the blockade-free ports in California to England and France and return with weapons and other manufactured goods already in short supply in the South.⁵ In addition, Confederate leaders believed conquest and control of such an immense land area would surely gain European recognition of the Confederacy as a legitimate nation. Peripheral benefits would include securing western Texas from invasion and gaining control of the Santa Fe Trail and its access to the Far West for the Confederacy while depriving it to the Union.⁶

For his strike force, which he called the “Western Expeditionary Force,” Sibley chose Texans. One of the more interesting aspects of the Battle of Glorieta Pass is that, while fought on the soil of New Mexico, the battle was primarily fought between Texas and Colorado volunteers. Texans seemed a perfect choice to lead the Confederate invasion.

In addition to the physical proximity of the westernmost member of the Confederacy to New Mexico, Texas was a former republic born from its own revolution against Mexico. Perhaps there were old grudges yet unresolved; perhaps it was the heritage of the Texans, a country created by violent revolutionary conflict; or, perhaps the

⁵Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 28-31.

⁶Allan C. Ashcraft, Texas in the Civil War: A Resume History (Austin: Texas Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962), 13.

Texans' zeal for the Confederate cause, but whatever the motivation Texans responded in numbers to Sibley's call to arms. As one author has said, Texas was "born in battle,"⁷ so their response was not a surprise. For whatever reasons, Texans eagerly joined Sibley's Brigade. Estimates of the number of troops under Sibley's command range from 2,500⁸ to 3,500⁹ men. Well equipped, with wagons loaded with food, weapons, clothing, blankets, and black powder, Sibley assembled his force at Fort Bliss in El Paso. He began his march to New Mexico in December, 1861.

The Confederate forces rapidly achieved a victory at Mesilla, New Mexico on Christmas morning when they occupied the town without firing a shot. Other significant victories were achieved at Valverde (the Battle of North Ford) on 21 February 1862, where Union forces were sealed off at Fort Craig; Socorro on February 27; Albuquerque on March 2; and Santa Fe on March 10.¹⁰ These victories gave the Confederates possession of the capital of New Mexico and positioned them for the final push into Colorado and its rich gold fields. Only the small federal garrison at Fort Union stood in their way. Or so they thought.

⁷Donald S. Frazier, Blood & Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 5.

⁸Robert M. Utley, Report on the Integrity of Glorieta Pass Battlefield, New Mexico (Santa Fe, NM: United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, 1960), 1.

⁹Joseph, Civil War in American West, 91.

¹⁰Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 101-102.

In one of the numerous ironies of the Civil War, General Sibley's foe in the New Mexico campaign was his friend, West Point classmate, and brother-in-law, Colonel Edward R. S. Canby. Canby, eventually promoted to general and charged to defend New Mexico, held a strong belief in the federal cause and remained loyal to the Union following the outbreak of the war. Canby was faced with a defense force largely composed of five companies of New Mexico volunteers. His regular troops had been sent back to the eastern United States to staff Union forces there. The remaining troops, nearly 2,500 men, were primarily New Mexico volunteers who were poorly trained, had few weapons and supplies, and, perhaps most importantly, were not trusted by Canby.¹¹ The loyalty of these volunteers to the United States was questioned because of their possible rebellious feelings which were feared owing to the seizure of New Mexico by United States forces in 1846. These troops were not only poorly trained and widely distrusted, they were at an extreme disadvantage when it came to the basics of communicating with each other. The two forces, Union regulars and New Mexican volunteers, under Canby's command did not speak the same language. The Anglo forces and their officers spoke English; the New Mexican natives spoke Spanish.¹²

Recognizing their desperate situation, Canby and commanders at Fort Union sent pleas for help to then Colorado Governor William Gilpin.¹³ Pointing out the implications

¹¹Ibid., 67.

¹²Josephy, Civil War in American West, 63.

¹³Calvin Horn and William S. Wallace, eds., Confederate Victories in the Southwest: Prelude to Defeat (Albuquerque, NM: Horn & Wallace, Publishers, 1961), 193.

of a Confederate victory in New Mexico and the effect it could have on Colorado, Canby asked Gilpin for troops and supplies.

The Coloradans responded in force. Recruiting disillusioned gold field workers, drifters, and some true believers in the Union course, Gilpin put together a tough body of fighters known as the First Colorado Volunteers. At the head of this volunteer army, Gilpin appointed a staunch pro-Union supporter, Denver attorney John P. Slough. Gilpin gave Slough the rank of colonel as he searched for more leaders for the fledgling army. Gilpin found another fervent supporter in a church pulpit. John Chivington was a prominent Denver preacher and an elder in the largest Methodist-Episcopal church in Colorado. Declining an offer to become the unit's chaplain, Chivington insisted on becoming, and was appointed, a major in the cavalry of the First Colorado Volunteers.

Following a period of hanging out at Camp Weld near Denver, Colorado and harassing the citizens of that town, the bored, rowdy members of the volunteers reached the limits of their patience awaiting some sort of military action. The local citizenry was, in kind, anxious for them to go elsewhere for their raucous, destructive diversions. With each Confederate victory in New Mexico, the calls for assistance to the officials of Colorado became more urgent. Finally, on 22 February 1862, the troops near Denver headed south.¹⁴ Nine hundred men and their officers under the command of Colonel Slough and Major Chivington set out for New Mexico.¹⁵ Only half the men had horses while the remainder walked. Tormented by blizzards and frigid conditions, Chivington

¹⁴Ibid., 77.

¹⁵Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 118.

spurred his troops onward with the same type of fiery oratory he previously blasted from the pulpit. In one of the most remarkable, but largely unheralded, forced marches of any war, the Colorado volunteers made their way to the remaining New Mexico stronghold at Fort Union. Pushing and pulling wagons through snow drifts, the support troops and infantry struggled to keep up with Chivington's calvary vanguard that covered over forty miles a day, often by stealing replacement horses and mules from ranchers along the way. Finally, 120 miles from the fort, Chivington admonished his troops to discard all their possession except rifles and ammunition for one final dash to beat the Confederate forces to Fort Union. In thirty-six hours, over rough, hilly terrain in harsh winter conditions, Chivington and his calvary men covered over ninety miles.¹⁶ In one amazing day Chivington's troops covered an astounding sixty-four miles in one twenty-four-hour period.¹⁷ The infantry covered sixty-one miles in the same heavy winter conditions, albeit at an obviously slower pace since they were not mounted. On the morning of 11 March 1862, Chivington's units reached the fort. Half a day later, the infantry walked into the fort.¹⁸ On the trek, the 950-man Colorado force had covered an incredible 400 miles in thirteen days in cold winter conditions.¹⁹ The Union forces supported now by the

¹⁶Josephy, Civil War in American West, 77.

¹⁷Colonel John M. Chivington, "The First Colorado Regiment," 18 October 1884, typewritten transcript of writing by Chivington in the Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 5.

¹⁸Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 123-125.

¹⁹Josephy, Civil War in American West, 77.

Colorado volunteers were in place and ready to confront the approaching Confederate troops. The stage was set for the battle for New Mexico and the American West.

The Confederates led by Sibley and his officers had no idea the Colorado volunteers were as close they were. Sibley never dreamed a march into New Mexico could be achieved so soon under the weather conditions that existed. He knew, however, the importance of capturing Fort Union as soon as possible, and, therefore, ordered his men to proceed to the fort via the fastest, most direct route--through Glorieta Pass, which lies just east of Santa Fe.

After resting one day and night at Fort Union, the Union troops moved southward through Las Vegas, New Mexico toward Santa Fe, down the most direct route--through Glorieta Pass. Chivington may have been a little confused at the exact sequence of events at this time as he reported them subsequent to the battle. In his later writing of the history of the First Colorado Regiment then under his command, Chivington provides that "on the night of the 25th, we went into camp at Bernal Springs, some 40 miles this side of Santa Fe."²⁰ Previously, in his official report of the battle, Chivington submitted that his 418-man force "marched from Bernal Springs for Santa Fe at 3 o'clock p.m. of the 25th instant After a march of 35 miles and learning we were in the vicinity of the enemy's pickets, we halted about midnight."²¹

Despite this discrepancy in the exact time of his march to the pass, Chivington consistently noted that at 2:00 a.m. on March 26 he was in the pass and sent twenty men

²⁰Chivington, "First Colorado Regiment," 5.

²¹War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 530.

forward to surprise the Confederate pickets he had heard were in the area. His men accomplished this objective, capturing the Confederates around 10:00 a.m.²² Clearly, however, Chivington and his troops were at Apache Canyon early in the day on March 26.

Three ranches in the Glorieta area figured significantly in the battle fought in the canyons that compose the pass. First was Kozlowski's Ranch, a stage stop along the Santa Fe Trail, which was owned by Martin Kozlowski, a strong Union supporter. He housed and fed the Union troops while his ranch served as headquarters and hospital for the Union forces in the area for the duration of the battle. Second was Johnson's Ranch, which was located at the village of Canoncito. It became the wagon park and main camp of the Confederate troops while in the Glorieta Pass. This site was the scene of the destruction of the Confederate supplies and munitions which proved to be the decisive turning point of the New Mexico campaign. The third ranch was Pigeon's Ranch which was the site of some of the most furious fighting in the Glorieta battle.

As his troops moved in the direction of Johnson's Ranch in Apache Canyon, Chivington again sent a detachment forward under Lieutenant George Nelson. Nelson's mission was to locate the Confederates coming up the canyon. At 2:00 p.m. on March 26, this advance party rounded a bend in the trail and came face to face with a mounted scouting party of Confederates. The Union soldiers captured all thirty of the Confederates in this party without firing a shot.²³ Four Confederate scouts were captured the night

²²Ibid.

²³Chivington, "First Colorado Regiment," 6; Colton, Civil War in Western Territories, 50-51.

before and, as with those scouts, these captives also boasted of the invincibility of their army and freely disclosed that the Confederate force was headed for Fort Union up the canyon through Glorieta Pass. Their disclosures also confirmed the date of the planned march, Wednesday, March 26, just as the scouts captured the previous night had divulged.²⁴

Sibley had chosen Colonel William R. Scurry to lead an advance party of 500 men up Glorieta Pass on March 26. Scurry, in turn, passed direct responsibility for the mission on to two of his subordinate officers, Majors Charles Pyron and John Shropshire. Scurry remained with the main body of troops at the bottom of Apache Canyon as Pyron and Shropshire moved their men up the canyon.

Despite the Confederates' boasts, their confidence in their total lack of vulnerability, and their advice to the Coloradans to turn tail and flee because a large force of Texans were on their way up the canyon, Chivington moved forward. Upon hearing these boasts, Chivington immediately spread the word to his troops to prepare for a fight.²⁵

With Pyron's and Shropshire's troops moving up the canyon and Chivington's Colorado volunteers moving down the canyon, the inevitable battle occurred in mid-afternoon on 26 March 1862. The skirmish occurred in a relatively small open space, or glen, in the lower canyon of Glorieta Pass known as Apache Canyon, hence the reason it is often referred to as the Battle of Apache Canyon. Following their exhausting climb up the

²⁴Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 135.

²⁵Ibid., 140.

pass, the Confederate troops were resting at the lower end of the glen when suddenly the Colorado forces led by Chivington appeared at the upper end of the glen, probably less than 500 yards away.²⁶

Both sides immediately scrambled in preparation for the imminent battle. The startled Confederates seized their rifles, unfurled their battle flag, and opened fire on the Union forces with all the firepower they could muster.²⁷ The surprised Coloradans also quickly rose to the challenge. Forming their battle lines, they fired down on the Rebels from their uphill position. Climbing the hillsides bordering the road, the Union forces outflanked the Confederates. This finally forced the Confederates into a short retreat across an arroyo at their rear. Once on the other side of the arroyo, the Confederates again held their ground with heavy fire generated by both sides.

A stalemate of positions in the canyon with an extended exchange of gunfire appeared to be probable, but Chivington continued his flanking maneuver and led a daring charge by his cavalymen, all ninety-nine of them by his count²⁸, across the valley floor straight into the Confederate troops. Following a spectacular leap on horseback across the arroyo to get at the Confederates, the Union cavalry closed into them. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting quickly ensued. Slowly the Confederates gave ground, then their

²⁶War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 531.

²⁷Chivington, "First Colorado Regiment," 6. Differing accounts of the Battle of Apache Canyon question whether the Confederate forces had cannons with them during their advance up the canyon. Chivington is clear in his recollection of the conflict when he states "They had artillery, we had none."

²⁸Ibid., 6-7. War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 530-531.

slow retreat stiffened. The battle continued until dusk when the exhausted troops on both sides could fight no more. As darkness covered the battlefield, both sides faded back in the respective directions from which they had come. The Confederates withdrew down and out of the canyon to Johnson's Ranch. The Union forces withdrew up the canyon to Pigeon's Ranch.

The Texans clearly suffered the worse from the day's fighting. In his journal of his experiences in the New Mexico campaign, Alfred Brown Peticolas, a Confederate trooper who had moved up from the reserve camp near Galisteo to Johnson's Ranch on March 26, recorded that following the skirmish in Apache Canyon "Pyron had two men killed and 3 wounded."²⁹ This account is in sharp contrast to Chivington's official report that claimed thirty-two Confederate soldiers killed, along with forty-three wounded, and seventy-one taken prisoners, while he admitted losses of five killed and fourteen wounded.³⁰ Another author placed the Union losses at five killed, fourteen wounded, and three missing, with Confederate losses of thirty killed, forty wounded, and seventy captured.³¹ Other estimates of the casualties range from claims that six to seventy Texans lay dead on the battlefield that day while only five Coloradans were reportedly killed. When the percentage of casualties to the relative size of the forces involved in the battle are considered, these numbers, plus those of the troops wounded, take on much more

²⁹Don E. Alberts, ed., Rebels on the Rio Grande: The Civil War Journal of A. Battle Peticolas (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 76.

³⁰War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 531.

³¹E. R. Archambeau, Jr., "The New Mexico Campaign, 1861-1862," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 37:3-32.

significance. Estimates indicate that only about 5 percent of the Colorado force were casualties in the battle, but nearly 50 percent of the Confederate force engaged in the battle were either killed, wounded, or captured.³²

That night a strange sight, the irony of which must surely not have been lost on the participants, unfolded as the two opposing forces that had fought so ferociously to destroy each other just a few hours earlier in the day worked side by side clearing their dead and wounded from the battlefield. Also, the battle did not resume the next day, which struck some of the participants as strange. On March 27 both sides regrouped, trying to anticipate the others next move and planning for the next engagement.

Chivington's Union forces withdrew on the night of March 26 to Pigeon's Ranch. The next morning they rejoined Slough at Pecos church, apparently at Kozlowski's Ranch³³, although Chivington refers to it as Maxwell Ranch in his writing of the incident.³⁴ There the Union officers conceived a daring plan. Chivington would take a force of approximately four hundred men, attempt to work around the Confederate troops, and attack them from the rear as the remaining Union force engaged the Confederate force from the front.³⁵

³²Scott, Glory, Glory, Glorieta, 147-148.

³³War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 532.

³⁴Chivington, "First Colorado Regiment," 7.

³⁵Ibid.

Slough wrote in his official report of the Battle at Glorieta that he left Kozlowski's Ranch at 8:00 a.m. on 28 March 1862, with a force of 1,300 men.³⁶ He confirmed that Chivington, with a body of 430 men, was to push forward to Johnson's Ranch while he took the main force of approximately 870 men down the canyon.

As happened two days before, the two groups moved on a collision course along the Santa Fe Trail because the Confederate troops were marching toward the Union camp. The advance detachments of the two opposing forces met each other approximately one mile east of Glorieta Pass. Slough's main force was at Pigeon's Ranch, and most of the day's battle would be in that area.

Pigeon's Ranch, a hostelry constructed in 1851 on the Santa Fe Trail, consisted of several adobe buildings on both sides of the road. Peticolas described the area as hilly with heavy masses of rock and low, dense timber.³⁷

On the morning of March 28, Union and Confederate scouts suddenly encountered each other around a bend in the road. Most of the Union troops had not even left Pigeon's Ranch as the day's fighting erupted barely half a mile away.

Starting with an exchange of artillery and rifle fire, the ferocity of the battle escalated and soon became hand-to-hand. Pitched individual fights with knives, sabers, and pistols ensued. Rifles became clubs as there was no time to reload the weapon for the next shot before enemies were upon each other. As each side attempted to outflank the other, fighting became even more ferocious. Individual groups of men broke off from the

³⁶War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 533 (Slough report).

³⁷Alberts, Rebels on Rio Grande, 78.

main body and, as one author put it, engaged in “a contest of skirmishes.”³⁸ Gradually, the superior size of the Confederate force pushed the Union position back; not once but twice. The battle raged up to, then beyond, the buildings at Pigeon’s Ranch itself. Owing to its immediate proximity to the ranch, this second battle is often referred to as the Battle of Pigeon’s Ranch.

With their second retreat, the Union forces found a stronghold that afforded them protection from the Confederate fire and required the Texans to cross open ground to get at them. There the Union forces stiffened and made a stand. The Texans charged the Union position six times under murderous fire that day but could not push the Union troops back.

Finally, as dusk approached, both Union and Confederate leaders sought a break in the fighting to gather their wounded and bury their dead. The men on both sides were exhausted. The fighting had started, by Slough’s account, at 10:00 a.m. and lasted until 4:00 p.m.³⁹ Peticolas remembered his part in the fighting as beginning about 11:00 a.m. and lasting until 4:00 p.m.⁴⁰ Neither side had taken time to eat or, even in some cases, to drink water. Also, the Confederate force was a great distance from their supplies and badly needed ammunition. As the Union forces retreated a considerable distance over the course of the day, their last stand managed to hold long enough to allow an orderly withdrawal. Slough’s command retreated all the way to their headquarters at Kozlowski’s

³⁸Frazier, Blood & Treasure, 216.

³⁹War of the Rebellion, series I-vol. IX, 533.

⁴⁰Alberts, Rebels on Rio Grande, 85.

Ranch. There Scurry's messenger bearing a flag of truce finally caught up with a Union officer who agreed to a one-day truce to allow removal of the wounded and burial of the dead on both sides.⁴¹ The Confederates collected their wounded and buried their dead in makeshift graves. They remained at Pigeon's Ranch, believing the Union troops were in retreat.⁴² They had painfully gained ground from the Coloradans, but soon thereafter relinquished it without further fighting.

Both sides suffered grievously from the day's combat, but as usual the accounts differ. Slough in his official report on March 29 indicated Union losses as approximately 20 killed, 50 wounded, and 30 missing. He estimated Confederate losses at 40 to 60 killed, over 100 wounded, and 25 prisoners taken.

By contrast, Peticolas, whose only position for estimating such losses was his personal observations, stated in his journal that the Confederates had 35 killed and 33 wounded versus 60 to 100 Union soldiers killed and 1 to 300 wounded.⁴³ Don Alberts, in a footnote to his presentation of Peticolas' journal, listed Confederate casualties as 36 killed, 60 wounded, and 25 captured. Admitting that the Union losses are less known, Alberts indicated these totaled 38 killed, 64 wounded, and 20 captured.⁴⁴ These numbers

⁴¹Martin Hardwick Hall, Sibley's New Mexico Campaign (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1960), 153.

⁴²Raymond V. Ingersoll, ed., "The Battle of Glorieta Pass, 1862," Archaeology and History of Santa Fe County. New Mexico Geological Society Special Publication No. 8, 1979.

⁴³Alberts, Rebels on Rio Grande, 85.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, footnote 55, p. 85.

track the official reports of the battle by various Union officers who participated.

Irrespective of the great loss of human life from the battle as they left the scene of the battle, the Texans soon learned of a much more devastating tragedy--they had failed in their objective of securing a Confederate stronghold in the western United States.

The Confederate supplies, food, clothing, blankets, ammunition, and even personal items had been left under minimal guard in a base camp at Johnson's Ranch in a canyon far to the rear of the fighting in Glorieta Pass. Chivington, pursuant to the plan conceived by the Union leaders to attack the rear of the approaching Confederate force, left the Union camp at Kozłowski's Ranch early in the morning on March 28. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Chavez, one of the few New Mexico soldiers who saw action at the Battle of Glorieta Pass,⁴⁵ Chivington's mission was to cross over the mountains and through the passes in an effort to get behind the Confederate forces and attack them from the rear. Instead, he stumbled on the Confederate's main camp. Peering down at the Confederate camp from high on a bluff above the camp, Chivington hastily formed a plan to have his troops scale down the mountainside into the canyon floor.

Chivington and his men almost reached the floor of the canyon before the small Confederate guard detail discovered them. With only a small detachment of trained fighters guarding the supplies, along with rear echelon non-combatants such as the sick and wounded, cooks, wagon drivers, and camp guards,⁴⁶ the Confederates offered minimal

⁴⁵Darlis A. Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War in New Mexico: A Reconsideration," New Mexico Historical Review, 54, no. 2 (1979): 115.

⁴⁶H. C. Wright, a Confederate soldier who fought at Glorieta Pass, to Thomas L. Greer, then owner of Pigeon Ranch, 9 September 1927, typewritten transcript of letter

resistance. Chivington's force made quick and short work of their defense. His men either drove the Confederates from the camp or captured or killed those that resisted.

Destruction of the Confederate supplies was an easy task. The flames of the fires his men set took care of that. Chivington's men also made another discovery that was, however, much more difficult to resolve. They found hundreds of Confederate mules and horses in a box canyon at the rear of the camp. Realizing the tactical necessity of eliminating the Confederates' means of transportation, Chivington knew what had to be done. As he anguished over the western frontiersman's knowledge of how precious a commodity horses were at that time, Chivington ordered every single horse and mule in the camp killed. Whether by shooting or by bayonet, Union troops destroyed hundreds of the animals that day in what can only be pictured as a scene of incredible carnage.

Chivington recalled the incident twenty-two years later as "the hardest task I had during the war" when he had his men bayonet 1100 mules.⁴⁷ H. C. Wright, in a letter written 65 years after Chivington's raid when Wright was 87 years old, disputed some of Chivington's claim, and that of most historians, by stating the Confederates did not have over 500 mules and that he never saw or heard of a dead one. Wright wrote that the Union force captured the mules and drove them off.⁴⁸ This contention makes his claim somewhat suspect because Chivington's men returned to the Union camp the same way

located in Battle of Glorieta Pass Collection in Museum of New Mexico Manuscript Collection, Box 693.

⁴⁷Chivington, "First Colorado Regiment," 8.

⁴⁸Wright to Greer, 9 September 1927.

they came--over the mountains. This route up and over the bluff left no feasible way to take the live animals with them when the Union party left the Confederate camp.

The Confederates, as they worked their way from the day's battle back down the canyon, found their camp totally destroyed. Despite Scurry's claim of victory issued on 29 March 1862,⁴⁹ Confederate plans for conquering New Mexico, Colorado, and California were finished. Scurry and the remaining Confederate soldiers retreated back to Santa Fe in anticipation that the Union forces would follow up the destruction of the Confederate base camp with an immediate attack. The Coloradans hesitated to attack, however, perhaps because they did not comprehend how crushing a blow Chivington's actions had been for the Confederates. Instead of rapid pursuit, the Coloradans agreed to an extension of the 18-hour truce that settled over the Glorieta battlefield. The Union forces withdrew to Fort Union to regroup and assess the situation.

At Fort Union, Union forces collected information on Confederate activities and finally, realizing their advantage, pressed southward. Holding up for brief periods in Santa Fe and then Albuquerque as they moved southward, Confederate forces retreated across the New Mexico land so easily taken just a few short months before. The broken, tired, dirty, hungry, and thirsty remnants of Sibley's Brigade staggered back into Texas over the next several weeks. Retreating not as an organized army but as individuals trying to stay alive long enough to get home, this remnant of the force sent to conquer the West

⁴⁹General Order No. 4 issued by Headquarters, Advance Division, Army of New Mexico on 29 March 1862, by Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Scurry, Commanding, as published in the Santa-Fe Gazette, vol III, 26 April 1862, number 45 (New Series); typed transcript of the paper located in "Glorieta Pass/ Pigeon Ranch," History File #15 at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

returned to Texas a broken army. The grandiose plan Sibley and the Confederate leaders had set in motion ended in ruin as the result of the two-day encounter with Union forces in Glorieta Pass, New Mexico.

CHAPTER III

NEW MEXICO AND ITS CITIZENS STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE

A PURPOSE FOR THE SITE OF THE BATTLE

On 29 March 1862, Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Scurry, commanding officer of the Confederate troops at the Battle of Glorieta Pass, issued an official declaration of victory to his troops. In his General Order No. 4, Scurry proclaimed the battle would “take its place upon the roll of your country’s triumphs, and serve to excite your children.”¹

Scurry’s presumptuousness in issuing such an order as the Confederate army faced a torturous retreat to Texas was exceeded only by the absence of the honors he anticipated. As noteworthy as the Battle of Glorieta Pass was, the accolades so elegantly predicted by Scurry do not exist.

The Glorieta area is approximately twenty miles southeast of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Its name comes from the Mexican expression for a tree shaded, notable place to rest, sleep, and replenish oneself while on a journey. The town of Glorieta is a small community just beyond the railroad tracks a short distance off Interstate 25. Most of the

¹General Order No. 4 issued by Headquarters, Advance Division, Army of New Mexico on 29 March 1862, by Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Scurry, Commanding, as published in the Santa-Fe Gazette, vol III, 26 April 1862, number 45 (New Series); typed transcript of the paper located in “Glorieta Pass/ Pigeon Ranch,” History File #15 at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

homes are non-descriptive structures clustered near the railroad tracks. Other homes are across Interstate 25 and scattered along New Mexico Highway 50. The most noticeable structure in the area is the Glorieta Conference Center. Located on the opposite side of the highway from the cluster of houses that is Glorieta, the conference center traces its beginning back to 1950 when New Mexico Baptists purchased an 880-acre ranch to serve as the core of the center.² The Baptists later added 400 adjacent acres, developed the property fully, and expanded the operation into a complex with 440 hotel-style rooms and 60 meeting rooms to serve as a popular conference center, particularly with religious organizations.

Glorieta is not listed on the current table of City Population Estimates as prepared by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of New Mexico. The village of Pecos is the community closest to the main Glorieta battlefield at Pigeon's Ranch on the University of New Mexico list. The most current estimates on the list were released 18 November 1997 and are current as of 1 July 1996. All estimates are based on the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates Program. The latest information estimates the village of Pecos population at 1,135. Pecos is approximately 4.5 miles from the sole remaining structure at Pigeon's Ranch. Numerous households are scattered up and down Highway NM 50, which connects Pecos to Interstate 25 and passes through the heart of the Glorieta battlefield at Pigeon's Ranch. One residence is approximately one hundred yards away.

²F. Stanley, The Glorieta, New Mexico Story (Pep, Texas: n.p., 1965), 18, 19. Located under call number 978.9 c937gl l.c. in the Museum of New Mexico, Palace of the Governors, Fray Angelico Chavez History Library, Santa Fe.

Local boosters initially touted Glorieta as a stop for train passengers traveling from Las Vegas, New Mexico to Santa Fe, but this opportunity passed the town by when railroad officials altered their route to Lamy farther south. Glorieta settled for a brief period of fame as an end-of-track town as the railroad worked its way through the area.³ It got a post office on 17 December 1880,⁴ and prospered for the next few years with several businesses opening there.

The main battlefield at Pigeon's Ranch is located only approximately 1.5 miles from the interchange at Interstate 25 and Highway NM 50, the same cutoff leading to the community of Glorieta, which is on the opposite side of the interstate. The entire area is fairly well developed, and both Interstate 25 and Highway NM 50 support heavy traffic.

Which of the sites and locations of the events that occurred during the time from 26-28 March 1862 remain? What has happened to those places where the drama of the Battle of Glorieta Pass was played out? How has time treated and reflected on those somber moments of death for so many soldiers on both sides?

Alexander Valle, a Frenchman who settled on the land in approximately 1850, was the first recognized owner of Pigeon's Ranch, perhaps the best known site of the Battle of Glorieta Pass. While his ownership of the land was never disputed, Yvonne Oakes, an archaeologist with the Museum of New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies, contends that "no documents have been found that establish his purchase or ownership of

³Ibid., 14, 15.

⁴Ibid., 15.

the land.”⁵ Best information indicates Valle purchased what has become known as the Alejandro Valle Land Grant in 1851. On 10 April 1886, the property became part of the Valley Ranch Company.⁶

Valle sold his ranch to George Hebert in 1865⁷ and filed a claim against the United States for damages allegedly done to the property during the Battle of Glorieta Pass. Valle claimed the Federal troops used his home as a hospital for their wounded as well as a stockade for Confederate prisoners of war. He further claimed corrals, barns, and other assorted outlying buildings were taken over by the Federal soldiers. In total, Valle claimed \$8,529.37 in damages on 25 July 1870.⁸ Despite a lengthy presentation of

⁵Yvonne R. Oakes, Pigeon's Ranch and the Glorieta Battlefield: An Archaeological Assessment (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies, 1995), Archaeology Notes 123, 15. The succession of land ownership in the Pigeon's Ranch area is cited to Oakes archaeological study instead of county deed records because of the unavailability in some cases of such records and the uncertainty of records that exist. The area touched by the Battle of Glorieta Pass is split between two counties, Santa Fe and San Miguel. This split jurisdiction alone compounds the problem of determining historical land ownership. Within the Pigeon's Ranch Sub-Unit of the Pecos National Historical Park there are 38 tracts of land of various shapes and sizes owned by 17 different private landowners, some of whom own more than one tract. Additional owners include the Conservation Fund, the state of New Mexico, the Museum of New Mexico, and the U.S. Forest Service. All this diversity creates a confusing array of land titles in the area. Based on the author's interviews with Natasha Williamson, assistant archaeologist with the New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies, cited later in this thesis, Oakes' presentation appears to be the best source of reference for the early succession of land ownership because she utilized the assistance of state land professionals for the title changes she cited.

⁶Ibid., 16.

⁷Ibid., 64.

⁸Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG92, from National Archives, Washington, D.C., as cited in Oakes, Pigeon's Ranch, 61.

evidence and affidavits to support his claim, the U.S. Army never validated Valle's claim and it apparently went unpaid.

A similar claim was filed by A. D. Johnson, the owner of Johnson's Ranch, for damages he alleged occurred in March 1862 at the hands of the Confederates as they occupied his ranch at Apache Canyon. Johnson claimed the loss of a horse, two oxen, various staples, clothing, harness, saddles, farm utensils, and damages to the property totaling \$4,075.00.⁹ No record was found indicating any payment made toward the claim. This is not surprising because the claim was for damages done by Confederate soldiers and not filed until 1866. By then the Confederacy had ceased to exist and the Union government was certainly not likely to pay for claims against the Confederate army.

George Hebert held the property until 3 June 1887, when he transferred it by quit claim deed to William B. Taber.¹⁰ Taber claimed the property as his homestead in August 1887 and received a homestead patent. Pigeon's Ranch remained in the Taber family until 1925. William Taber passed the property to his son Walter Taber who, upon his death, passed the property to his widow who sold the Pigeon's Ranch property to Thomas L. Greer in 1925.¹¹

Thomas Greer was an entrepreneur and showman who turned Pigeon's Ranch into a major tourist attraction. By 1935, Greer had converted the sole remaining building of

⁹Photocopy of typed transcript of sworn affidavit signed by A. D. Johnson on 14 February 1866, located in the Civil War/ New Mexico file at the State of New Mexico Library, Santa Fe.

¹⁰Oakes, Pigeon's Ranch, 64.

¹¹Ibid., 67.

the original Pigeon's Ranch into a trading post. There he sold Indian goods, such as pottery, rugs, and other artifacts, to tourists drawn to the complex by Greer's questionable claim of the site as the location of the "Oldest Well in the U.S.A." and provided entertainment with his trained dancing bears.¹²

In addition to the trading post housed in the last original Pigeon's Ranch building, Greer constructed on the premises his residence, a garage and gas station, pens for the bears he kept, a pond for fishing, and a substantial number of signs describing parts of the complex as the "old" or "oldest" this or that, such as the Old Pigeon's Ranch, Old Glorieta Battlefield, and Old Indian Caves, among others.¹³ During this period, no one made an ardent effort to preserve the true historical aspects of the Pigeon's Ranch area; instead, entrepreneurs promoted the site solely for the tourist trade with garish signs and statements of questionable validity.

In 1971, Greer sold Pigeon's Ranch to William Mahan who planned to restore the facility to its appearance at the time of the Battle of Glorieta Pass.¹⁴ Mahan hoped to obtain sufficient backing to complete the project, then deed the complex to the federal government or the state of New Mexico as a historic site.

In addition to stabilization of the last remaining building of the original ranch complex, Mahan removed several of the buildings erected on the property by Greer.

¹²Reproduction of ca.1930 postcard, located at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, Image #13643.

¹³Oakes, Pigeon's Ranch, 80.

¹⁴Ibid., 83, 85.

Mahan also collected many Civil War artifacts on the site, which he attributed to the Battle of Glorieta Pass. Mahan's ambitions and noteworthy goals were not to be. Unable to gain the necessary financial backing needed to continue with his plans, Mahan sold the Pigeon Ranch property in 1979 to Santa Fe attorney Julian Burttram.¹⁵

Having survived several owners with differing objectives and various uses of the property over a hundred-year period, only a small part of the ranch complex remained intact for the coming struggles to preserve the character and integrity of the site of the original battlefield.

The need to save certain battle sites in the Glorieta area for their historical value got some notice in the early 1980s. In an April 1983 editorial, historian Marc Simmons pointed out the significance of physical sites as a part of our American heritage. Unlike Independence Hall, the Alamo, the Palace of the Governors, and other such prominent places where major United States historical events happened, lesser-recognized sites do not receive the attention, and hence funding, for maintenance and restoration. Simmons pointed out this lack of perceived importance is the case with Pigeon's Ranch.¹⁶

Simmons noted that Kozlowski's Ranch, which was a base camp for the Federal troops, has been changed beyond earlier recognition, and Johnson's Ranch, where Confederate troops deposited their supplies that Major Chivington's raid destroyed, has been obliterated. Of the three significant locations associated with the Battle of Glorieta

¹⁵Ibid., 85.

¹⁶Marc Simmons, "Saving Pigeon's Ranch," Santa Fe Reporter, 20 April 1983, 16.

Pass, only a small part of Pigeon's Ranch survived. Simmons provides "it is the only building in New Mexico directly associated with the Civil War campaign which remains."¹⁷

Simmons is well known to anyone who has studied the Glorieta Battlefield. In 1981, the new owner of the Pigeon's Ranch property, Linda Frye, granted the State of New Mexico Historical Preservation Bureau a protective covenant containing important deed restrictions guaranteeing protection for Pigeon's Ranch. Simmons was promptly selected president of the Pigeon's Ranch Preservation Committee. The immediate goal of the committee was to preserve the sole remaining building on the historic site of Pigeon's Ranch. The building was abandoned in the early 1960s and suffered severe deterioration due to weather and vandals. Mahan had done some stabilization, but the heavy spring snow of 1983, coupled with a strong wind, collapsed one of the building's walls and took the building to the edge of complete ruin.¹⁸ Simmons and other committee members stepped in and erected temporary supports for the collapsing roof. They called in a professional contractor who began repairs in earnest. Letters and contributions poured in from approximately half the 50 states following news articles concerning the fight to save the historic site.¹⁹ Volunteers from Albuquerque and Santa Fe pitched in and stabilized the building sufficiently to save the sole remaining structure on Pigeon's Ranch for the time being.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Maria Higuera, "Wall of Historic Adobe Collapses," Albuquerque Journal North, 9 April 1983, D-3.

¹⁹Marc Simmons, "The Miracle of Pigeon's Ranch," Santa Fe Reporter, 27 July 1983, 17.

With the most immediate risk to the last remaining building on Pigeon's Ranch resolved for the moment, attention turned to access the situation as a whole. A formal study by Santa Fe Planning Associates concluded the site should be preserved, and recommended \$106,000 be spent to improve it. These proposed expenditures included stabilizing the one remaining building, paving a parking area, landscaping the site, adding a picnic area, and erecting interpretive displays of the battle.²⁰ Interested parties also planned to place and maintain a monument at the site. Despite all these proposals, little action occurred to accomplish any of these goals.

The Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc. did raise a considerable amount of money--\$12,000 from private donors and \$12,000 in matching federal funds. The society used these funds to install concrete footings under the remaining building, re-roof it, replace some of the missing adobe bricks, and re-plaster the structure. This activity stabilized the building and helped retard further deterioration.²¹

While these efforts helped to maintain the 130-year-old building, a more serious situation threatened its existence. The building stands within six feet of New Mexico State Highway 50. Vibrations from traffic, particularly truck traffic, on the road threatened to shake the building to pieces, right down to its foundation.

²⁰John Chilcott, "Pigeon's Ranch Deserves Preserving, Study Says," Albuquerque Journal North, 29 June 1983, 3.

²¹Susan Basquin, "The Battle for a Civil War Shrine," Santa Fe Reporter, 5 August 1987, 3.

The New Mexico Highway Department conducted a required environmental study concerning whether the highway should be moved.²² Again, the Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc. stepped in to plead the case to protect the building and potential buried artifacts in the area. The society also sought to protect three large trees that dated back to the Civil War period and served “as significant landmarks for interpretation of battlefield and Santa Fe Trail sites.”²³

In addition to protection for the trees and building itself, the society asked that the proposed right-of-way be cleared of artifacts before the new highway construction commenced. This request was especially important because the proposed alignment of the roadbed was near the center of the site of repeated charges by Confederate infantry against a Union artillery emplacement.²⁴ At this point, the society got an assist in their argument from the Museum of New Mexico.

Refuting statements in the Environmental Assessment of Project RS-1416(1) section on cultural resources and remains at the Glorieta battlefield site, Yvonne R. Oakes, then acting director of the research section of the Museum of New Mexico, noted that a study of the area by her organization recovered a number of Civil War artifacts from

²²U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, New Mexico Division and New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department. Project RS-1416 (1) Environmental Reassessment (Santa Fe: 1987).

²³Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc. to W. L. Taylor, Environmental Program Manager, New Mexico State Highway Department, 2 March 1987. Copy in Project RS-1416(1) Environmental Reassessment file at University of New Mexico Library.

²⁴Ibid.

the proposed highway right-of-way. She indicated these relics included “approximately 25 artifacts, such as mini-balls, shell casing, a military uniform button, and horse accoutrements.”²⁵ Searchers discovered a U.S. belt buckle and several more mini-balls just outside the planned right-of-way.

In her letter, Oakes pointed out several activities that had damaged the area from a historical perspective. Greer, owner of the property in the 1930s, had graded off part of the surface to level it for his house, bear pens, an auto garage, and parking lot. Creation of a fish pond by Greer also disrupted the integrity of the site for future historical study. All this activity diminished the number of material cultural objects in the area, not to mention the scores of relic hunters who over the years scoured that area of the battlefield with metal detectors.²⁶ To compound the damage done to the battlefield by these previous activities, the planned roadway was too much to allow. In closing her letter, Oakes termed the area a “highly significant site.”²⁷ Fortunately, the New Mexico Highway Department agreed. Officials decided to reroute a portion of the highway approximately 40 feet away from the building and leave the three large trees intact. A small victory had been won in the effort to preserve what remained of the battlefield.

On 23 June 1987, an event occurred that brought unprecedented publicity to the Battle of Glorieta Pass and the site where it was fought over 125 years earlier. Historian

²⁵Yvonne R. Oakes to William L. Taylor, Environmental Program Manager, New Mexico State Highway Department, 27 March 1987. Copy in Project RS-1416(1) Environmental Reassessment file at University of New Mexico Library.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

Don Alberts, then president of the Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc., said “nothing on this scale (from the Civil War) has ever been found.”²⁸ On that date, a backhoe operator began digging the foundation for a new home for Kip and Beth Siler and set in motion major political, archaeological, and historical events.

Building their own house on land that had been in his family since 1926 was something Siler and his wife had eagerly anticipated. They selected a site for the foundation that turned out to be near the center of the mass grave of thirty-one Confederate soldiers. Historians believed the grave to be in the area and had looked for it off and on for over the century since the battle. Two circumstances contributed to the failure to find the grave despite concerted efforts to do so in the past. First, a journal entry by a participant in the battle indicated the grave was to the west of Pigeon’s Ranch. This direction was opposite to where the grave actually was located. Also, the traditional method of locating artifacts using a metal detector was ineffective due to the depth of the grave.

As luck would be that day in June 1987, the backhoe had already reached the desired depth for the foundation’s crawl space and “wasn’t really digging at that point, but just scraping the ground, when it uncovered something that looked like two skulls.”²⁹ This excavation procedure precluded the type of digging that previously would have seriously disrupted or destroyed the grave and its contents. Instead, the excavation of the

²⁸Don Alberts as quoted in Susan Basquin, “The Battle for a Civil War Shrine,” Santa Fe Reporter, 5 August 1987, 5.

²⁹Kip Siler quoted in *ibid.*

grave site was handled in a careful, professional manner by archaeologists and volunteers associated with the Museum of New Mexico under the supervision of Yvonne Oakes.

Replacing the backhoe with dental picks, trowels, and brushes, Oakes's crew slowly and carefully worked to reveal the remains of the Confederate soldiers. One of the members of the crew working the dig was Natasha Williamson who spoke of the "profound effect" the discovery of the remains of the Confederate soldiers had on her life.

Working as a volunteer at the Museum of New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies, Williamson, whose home is on the edge of the park's property and near the discovery site, was keenly interested in the exhumation of the bodies. Eagerly she joined the crew working on their removal. She explained that the crew worked with a sense of urgency because of a lack of funds to support the operation and concern over grave robbers who might loot the site for its artifacts. The crew consisted of five museum staff members and five or six volunteers who worked quickly to remove the remains in approximately nine days.

From the beginning of the archaeological dig, Williamson said she and all the others at the site felt "a real presence" all about the remains as they carefully removed them from what had been their grave for the past 125 years. Williamson herself was so moved by the experience that she jumped at the opportunity to work on the team that would clean, categorize, and study the remains before their reinterment. So changed were her personal goals and interests that she and her husband became Civil War reenactors in addition to her employment as a full-time assistant archaeologist at the state office where she started as a volunteer. She attributes this new career largely to her experience

working on the dig and being with “the boys,” as she refers to the Confederate soldiers, after years of working with their remains and being with them at their eventual reburial.³⁰

Searchers at the mass grave initially thought the number of bodies totaled 22.³¹ Other reports indicated 32 bodies were found.³² Another account provided the total at 33.³³ The official Museum of New Mexico archaeological report indicated the number was 31, 30 from the mass grave and 1 from a separate grave located near but southeast from the mass burial site.³⁴ The remains varied from those in excellent to poor condition, with most deemed fair to poor. The degree of completeness of the skeletons also varied from 13 nearly complete to those with missing or severely damaged components.³⁵

In addition to the bones of the deceased, the archaeological team uncovered numerous artifacts, including buttons, buckles, bits of fabrics and leather, and, most significant to the forensic archaeologists studying the remains, the projectiles associated with the dead soldiers. Seventeen projectiles were recovered from the remains with their

³⁰Interview with Natasha Williamson, Assistant Archaeologist, Museum of New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies, 9 February 1999 and 22 February 1999 in Santa Fe, NM.

³¹Sam Atwood, “Mass Grave,” Santa Fe New Mexican, 30 June 1987, A-1.

³²“More Confederate Skeletons Found as Total Rises to 32,” Albuquerque Journal North, 3 July 1987, 3.

³³“Bones of Confederates to remain in New Mexico,” Santa Fe New Mexican, 18 July 1987, A-5.

³⁴Douglas W. Owsley, Bioarchaeology On a Battlefield: The Abortive Confederate Campaign in New Mexico (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies, 1994), Archaeology Notes 142, 13.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 13.

burial locations duly noted.³⁶ These projectiles provided significant evidence of the cause of death for several of the soldiers.

A study of the remains confirmed some statistical data that might be anticipated based on archival sources and general knowledge of the combatants. All 31 individuals were male. At least 26 were white. The race of each of the remaining 5 was not determined because the bones necessary for such determination were missing. The age range, based on osteological analysis of the remains, was from 17 to over 40. The mean and median ages were in the 20-24 range.³⁷

The grave site also revealed some interesting glimpses into the past lives of these soldiers of the Confederacy. They were laid to rest with care, each with arms crossed over their chest and in alternating order; i. e., head to toe, toe to head. Their personal possessions, consisting of pocket knives, pipes, pens, combs, mirrors, were buried with them. A pouch containing seven dollars in silver coins with dates ranging from 1853 to 1859 was found tied to the leg of one individual. Obviously, friends buried their comrades with all the respect and dignity their meager conditions afforded them. The grave site also confirmed the longheld belief that Confederate soldiers often outfitted themselves in castoff or captured Union clothing. Bits of dark blue cloth, indicating Union uniforms,

³⁶Ibid., 15.

³⁷Ibid., 17.

were found among the remains, as well as some Union belt buckles, which were worn upside down.³⁸

The discovery of the mass grave at Glorieta peaked interest in the battlefield not only among archaeologists and historians, but the general public and politicians as well. Six days after the discovery of the grave site, the Associated Press carried the news to all its affiliated newspapers. As the archaeologists worked to identify and catalog the remains, the debate over what to do with them began.

Thomas A. Livesay, director of the Museum of New Mexico, reviewed guidelines previously adopted on 20 March 1986 by the museum's board of regents regarding the collection and display of sensitive materials. The specific rule stated:

Whenever possible, curators will make a serious effort to obtain the approval of the cultural group involved before acquiring or placing sensitive materials in the collections. If there are serious objections to sensitive materials in the collections, the Museum of New Mexico will consider legal return or exchange of such items upon written request from groups having a legitimate historical claim upon the objects.³⁹

Livesay accordingly called the Texas Historical Commission. For his actions, Livesay later received sharp criticism from Don E. Alberts, president of the Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc. for purportedly discrediting the Society's preservation effort. After Alberts' caustic condemnation of Livesay's alleged undermining and slander of the society's preservation efforts, he recommended to Governor Garrey Carruthers that Livesay be replaced as the museum's director and be "returned to Texas instead of the

³⁸Robert Storey, "Glorieta burial site reveals details on Confederates," Santa Fe New Mexican, 13 July 1987, A-5.

³⁹Cheryle Mitchell, "The Second Battle of Glorieta," El Palacio, March 1991, 27.

Confederate remains.”⁴⁰

With Livesay’s inquiry the disposition of the soldiers’ remains became a major issue. Texas Governor Bill Clements inquired about the situation and what would be necessary for the remains to be returned to Texas. Clements proposed that the soldiers be reburied in the Texas State Cemetery in Austin, Texas.⁴¹ The Sons of Confederate Veterans, whose members must trace their ancestry back to participants in the Civil War, also entered the dispute over disposition of the remains.⁴²

Quickly the philosophical battle lines were drawn. The Texans, supported by the Sons of Confederate Veterans, wanted the remains reinterred in Texas. New Mexicans, supported by the Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc., local historians, and the New Mexico Economic Development and Tourism Office, advocated reburial on the battlefield site or at the national cemetery in Santa Fe. The remains had become a proprietary issue between the two states and their citizens.

On 23 July 1987, one month after the backhoe tore open the grave on Kip Siler’s property, the board of regents of the Museum of New Mexico met to consider the disposition of the remains. Livesay reported Siler “had relinquished to the Museum all claim to the human remains.” The decision on what to do with the remains rested with the

⁴⁰Don E. Alberts, President, Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc., to New Mexico Governor Garrey Carruthers, 18 August 1987. Photocopy in the Civil War - New Mexico vertical file in the Southwest Collections of the New Mexico State Library, Santa Fe, NM.

⁴¹Chuck McCutcheon, “Gov. Clements Wants Glorieta Soldiers’ Remains Returned,” Albuquerque Journal, 17 July 1987, B-2.

⁴²El Palacio, 27.

board of regents. Hearing arguments from both sides, but persuaded by the possibility that a formal, dedicated battlefield historical site would be created and the remains could be reinterred there, the board of regents voted to postpone their decision concerning the final resting place of the bodies.⁴³

As it turned out, despite the seemingly clear directives of their own policies and the request of the governor of Texas and the verbal concurrence of the New Mexico governor calling for the return of the remains to their native Texas, the regents' decision to postpone further discussion of the issue lasted almost one and one-half years. Following the July 1987 postponement by regents, New Mexico Senator Jeff Bingaman and Representative Bill Richardson introduced legislation to create a national historic site on land where the Battle of Glorieta Pass was fought. The proposal did not specify the exact amount of land to be set aside. All parties recognized however, that most of the area was in the hands of private landowners or covered over by Interstate Highway 25. For these reasons, everyone anticipated the dedicated area would be between forty-five and fifty acres of land. None of the land where the bodies of the Confederate soldiers were discovered would be included under the proposal.⁴⁴ This initial effort failed, but the same legislators later reintroduced similar legislation.

Finally, after waiting fourteen months, the museum's board of regents again placed the issue of the disposition of the soldiers' remains on their agenda. On 23 September

⁴³Minutes, Museum of New Mexico Board of Regents meeting, 23 July 1987, 5, 6.

⁴⁴"Bill Would Create Glorieta Historic Site," Albuquerque Journal North, 6 August 1987, 1.

1988, the board heard from several individuals interested in the disposition of the Confederate soldiers. Advised that the long delay to bring the matter to this point was necessary so as to allow sufficient time to study and analyze the remains and artifacts, board members heard Yvonne Oakes explain that further studies were still required. She estimated these tests would take at least another year. Various proponents representing interested organizations were heard. Most wanted the remains reinterred at the Glorieta site if it ever became a national battlefield site. Some regents supported returning the remains to Texas. Texas Governor Bill Clements had sent a letter to the Governor of New Mexico on 8 September 1988 seeking the return of the remains to Texas, while supporting the plan that the artifacts discovered with the bodies should stay in New Mexico.⁴⁵ After some discussion, the regents were presented with three options. These were: (1) reinterment of the remains at Glorieta, (2) reinterment at the National Cemetery in Santa Fe, or (3) reinterment at the State Cemetery in Austin, Texas. First, the vote was taken on reburial in Texas. This proposal failed by a vote of 3 to 2. The board then noted they wanted the remainder of the forensic tests completed as soon as possible to avoid any further delays. Alicia Mason, an assistant attorney general for New Mexico, advised that a transfer of the Confederates' remains to the National Cemetery in Santa Fe would nullify jurisdiction of the board of regents. The federal government would then decide their disposition. The board of regents then voted unanimously to reinter the remains in the National Cemetery in Santa Fe within eighteen months unless their legitimate descendants

⁴⁵William P. Clements, Governor of Texas, to Garrey E. Carruthers, Governor of New Mexico, 8 September 1988. Photocopy in the Civil War - New Mexico vertical file in the Southwest Collections of the New Mexico State Library, Santa Fe, NM.

wanted otherwise, or, in the event Congress created a national historic battlefield at Glorieta prior to their reburial, to place the bodies there.⁴⁶ Clearly, wherever they were to end up, the Confederate soldiers would not return to Texas in death as they had so wanted in life.

Word of the regents' decision spread quickly to Texas.⁴⁷ Reaction to the decision was swift from concerned Texans. The men had been part of a Texas-based regiment, their names came off Texas muster rolls, records of their demise came from Texas casualty lists at the time of the battle, and their death notices were carried in a San Antonio newspaper following the battle. All these factors, plus the prolonged bickering over the remains, had persuaded at least one New Mexico historian, Marc Simmons, to believe Texas had a "valid moral claim to see their return."⁴⁸ Governor Clements's aide, Jay Rosser, termed the decision not to return the remains to Texas "a blow" as he expressed his dismay at the result.⁴⁹ Despite this outcry, no one made a formal appeal or persuasive argument to the museum regents, and their decision stood.

⁴⁶Minutes, Museum of New Mexico Board of Regents meeting, 23 September 1988, 4-6.

⁴⁷Houston Chronicle News Services, "Texas will not get remains of soldiers," Houston Chronicle, 24 September 1988, 2-A; Post News Services, "Soldiers' bones to remain in New Mexico: Bodies of Confederates won't be brought back to Texas," Houston Post, 24 September 1988, A-7; "New Mexico to keep remains of Texas Confederate soldiers," Austin American-Statesman, 28 September 1988, B3.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹"N.M. Keeping Bones 'A Blow' to Texans," Albuquerque Journal North, 27 September 1988, 3.

During this period of political bickering and emotional outcries regarding the bodies of the Confederate soldiers, archaeologists had been working diligently on the remains. In January 1990, the bones of three of the soldiers were identified as: Private S. L. Cotton, age 20, based on the inscription on a ring he wore into the battle; Private Ebenezer Hanna, age 17, based on his age, type of wounds, and the journal and writing implements he carried as the official historian of Company C, 4th Texas Regiment; and Major John S. Shropshire, age 28, based on his height, the fact he was in a separate grave from the enlisted men, and his boots and spurs.⁵⁰ Shropshire was easier to identify than the others because his burial was separate from his men, as befitted an officer during that time. In addition, he was over six feet tall, which was somewhat unique and further differentiated him from the other officers slain in the battle. The other deceased officers were placed in coffins and buried later in Santa Fe. Shropshire was too tall to fit in any of the available coffins; therefore, he was wrapped in a blanket and buried on the battlefield next to the dead enlisted Confederate soldiers.⁵¹

Forensic specialists identified three other bodies by circumstantial evidence with a reasonable degree of certainty. James Manus, age 37, was identified based on his age, body build, and medical conditions, i.e., osteoarthritis, associated with what was known of him. Private William Straughn, age 17, died of a gunshot wound to the head. He and Hanna were listed as the two youngest soldiers killed during the battle. Based on the age of the remains and the massive damage to the cranium of one of the bodies, the

⁵⁰El Palacio, 28, 29; Museum of New Mexico Archaeology Notes 142, 45-49.

⁵¹Museum of New Mexico Archaeology Notes 142, 45.

archaeologists concluded certain remains were those of Straughn. At the other end of the list of those killed at Glorieta is G. N. Taylor, who at 42 was the oldest man killed on the Confederate side during the battle. Based on the age of one of the corpses and dental pathology associated with those remains, one of the bodies found in the mass grave was believed to be Taylor.⁵² The remaining bodies could not be conclusively identified. Some identification of the dead narrowed possible choices to a couple of the remains in the mass grave, but not enough evidence existed for scientists to label a given burial as that of a particular individual killed in the battle.

Of those remains identified, only Shropshire's were claimed for reburial elsewhere. On 12 May 1990, the International Society of Shropshires announced the society would rebury his remains beside his parents in the family cemetery near Valley Forge, Kentucky, where he was born. Later that summer, Shropshire was reburied with a 21-gun salute.⁵³

In November 1990, Representative Richardson obtained federal recognition of the Glorieta Pass battlefield, which guaranteed some measure of protection for the area. The 101st U.S. House of Representatives approved on 27 June 1990 a proposal to change Pecos National Monument to Pecos National Historical Park.⁵⁴ On 8 November 1990, Congress adopted the Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990 which added

⁵²Ibid., 49-54.

⁵³Ibid., 48; El Palacio, 29.

⁵⁴Establishment of Pecos National Historical Park, U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 410rr (1990).

key battle sites to the park as the Glorieta Unit.⁵⁵ This measure granted federal protection to a 682-acre tract around the site of the battle. The administration of the Glorieta site was to be incorporated under the then existing management of the Pecos National Historical Park. The law directed the U.S. Department of the Interior to acquire, with the owners' consent, privately-held land around Glorieta for the designated site.⁵⁶

On 17 January 1991, the board of regents of the museum again met to discuss the continuing issue of what to do with the remains of the Confederate soldiers. The National Park Service advised the regents that it had not addressed the topic and would not for at least two years. While the park service anticipated the establishment of a Glorieta Unit as part of the park, the regents had to determine a course of action. They agreed to await the federal agency's decision, provided such a decision came prior to their January 1993 meeting.⁵⁷ This time they wanted to address the possible reinterment of the remains in what they thought would become the Glorieta Battlefield within Pecos National Historical Park as Representative Richardson's bill authorized.

What the board of regents overlooked, and what continues to be an impediment to the establishment of the battlefield memorial today, is the difficulty of acquiring the land to create the memorial. Adopting legislation authorizing the acquisition of the land is one

⁵⁵Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990, U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 1410rr-7 (1990).

⁵⁶Katie Hickox, "House approves protection for Glorieta Pass battlefield," Santa Fe New Mexican, 11 October 1990, A-3.

⁵⁷Minutes, Museum of New Mexico Board of Regents meeting, 17 January 1991, 3.

thing; funding that acquisition and getting landowners to agree to the purchase was, and is, another. The land designated as the Glorieta Battlefield Unit of the park totaled approximately 682 acres, consisting of 336.72 acres covering Cañoncito and Johnson's Ranch plus 345.04 acres surrounding Pigeon's Ranch. While the U. S. Forest Service controlled part of the designated land, private individuals owned the majority of the targeted area. These landowners wanted to be compensated fairly for their property; therefore, federal budget issues became another factor in efforts to acquire the land to preserve the site of the battle.

Linda Stoll, Superintendent of Pecos National Historical Park in 1991, raised other important issues. A key question was whether the designated land, if and when acquired, would be an appropriate place to bury the remains of the dead Confederate soldiers. Other questions involved whether the priority should be acquisition of all the land to establish the entire battlefield unit at once or whether to take the land in parcels as donated or as it could be purchased. A National Park Service representative noted the acquisition of the entire 682 acres designated as the Glorieta Battlefield Unit could take ten to fifteen years. Also, the Park Service could and would only take control of parcels that owners might donate to the unit when it had funds to manage the unit properly. This responsibility included caring for any remains that might be buried there.⁵⁸ Obviously, this process would be a long one before the museum board of regents made a decision.

In 1993 the Museum of New Mexico transferred the remains of the Texas Confederate soldiers to the Department of Veterans Affairs. Finally, after six years of

⁵⁸El Palacio, 30.

intense debate and scientific study, on 26 April 1993 at 10:00 a.m. the U. S. Park Service finally laid to rest the remains of the Confederate soldiers in the Santa Fe National Cemetery in a Confederate Memorial Day Ceremony. The reburial was preceded by a four-day encampment in the courtyard of the Palace of the Governors by the Sons of Confederate Veterans.⁵⁹ The press, Civil War buffs, and politicians focused their attention on the dead Confederate soldiers in particular and the Glorieta Pass battle in general. The weekend events included the dedication of the Confederates' headstones, a three-day encampment by Civil War reenactors, and a panel discussion with historians and archaeologists reviewing what they had learned from the discovery of the grave and the remains of the dead.⁶⁰ The deceased received full military honors at their reinterment according to the 1863 "Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States." The remains of privates Hanna and Cotton were buried in pine coffins made by an Albuquerque cabinet maker, Earl Mount, whose great-great-grandfather was a Virginian who served in the Confederate army.⁶¹ A steel burial vault held the remains of the other twenty-eight deceased Confederates.⁶²

⁵⁹Tom Sharpe, "130 Years Later, Rebel Soldiers Will Be Reburied," Albuquerque Journal North, 15 January 1993, 1, 3.

⁶⁰Museum of New Mexico, "Reburial of Civil War Dead Slated: Confederate Honors for the Battle of Glorieta Dead," Museum of New Mexico News Service, 8 February 1993, 1.

⁶¹Josh Kurtz, "Laying Civil War Bones to Rest--After 131 Years," Santa Fe Reporter, 21-27 April 1993, 22.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 3.

The Confederate bodies were buried with great respect and dignity, and in the same spirit of loving care as when their comrades placed them to rest 131 years before in the cold ground of Glorieta Pass. Hanna was buried with paper and a pen staff, a note from the reenactors present at the reburial, and a bouquet of Texas bluebonnets. Cotton was laid to rest with a live 58-caliber, hand-rolled paper cartridge, and yellow rose. The vault containing the remains of the other twenty-eight soldiers contained a sheaf of wheat. Within the coffins and the vault, the archaeological staff who had cared for the Confederate skeletons placed the remains in muslin sacks sown by the ladies' auxiliary of the Sons of the Confederacy Chapter in Albuquerque.⁶³ The attendees at the burial provided the deceased soldiers with rifle-shot salutes, kind words acknowledging their sacrifice, and traditional "peak roof" Confederate headstones, which contrasted with the rounded headstones marking graves of Federal troops. Despite this "second shot at glory,"⁶⁴ as these tributes to the honored dead echoed off into the distance, popular support for the battlefield also faded away.

In 1990, during the period of greatest interest in recognizing the battlefield, the Glorieta Battlefield Preservation Society, Inc., acquired a part of the former Pigeon's Ranch in an effort to keep some of the land in public ownership.⁶⁵ The organization believed that with more than thirty landowners involved in the federal government's plan

⁶³Interview with Natasha Williamson, 22 February 1999.

⁶⁴Ibid., 9 February 1999.

⁶⁵Steve Torrell, "Sources say Glorieta battlefield land bought," Santa Fe New Mexican, 26 May 1990, B-1.

to acquire the large tract, a more realistic goal would be the acquisition of fifty to eighty acres and the creation of a core battlefield comprised of the more important sites, such as Pigeon's Ranch.⁶⁶ This approach reiterated the sentiments of historian Marc Simmons as presented a year earlier.⁶⁷ In late 1992, the preservation group through its conservation fund turned over to the National Park Service ten acres of land that included the area known as Sharpshooter Ridge and Pigeon's Ranch.⁶⁸ At least it was a start at acquiring the land needed to preserve some of the battlefield.

On 12 July 1993, the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission released a report listing twenty "Class A" Civil War endangered sites that needed protection from residential and commercial development. Glorieta Pass was included on that list.⁶⁹ At that time, the National Park Service held only sixty-two acres of the 682 acres previously authorized for the Glorieta Battlefield Unit of the Pecos Historical Park. To acquire less than 10 percent of the designated land had required the expenditure of all the original appropriation of funds to create the battlefield memorial; at that time no new funding was anticipated.⁷⁰

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Robert M. McKinney, ed., "Smaller start better at Glorieta battlefield," Santa Fe New Mexican, 1 August 1989, A-9.

⁶⁸"Glorieta Pass among Civil War sites endangered by development," Albuquerque Journal North, 14 July 1993, 3.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

Not only is lack of funding to complete the Glorieta Battlefield Unit frustrating to historians and the governmental bodies attempting to accomplish the task, it has stalemated the plans of many owners of the land affected by the park. Jimmy Rivera, a current landowner just down the road from Pigeon's Ranch, first had the idea of creating a Glorieta battlefield museum in the 1950s. In 1985 his plans approached reality when he purchased property one mile east of the interchange of highways I-25 and NM50 at Glorieta. In 1988, 250 yards from the mass grave of Confederate soldiers and Pigeon's Ranch, he built the privately-owned Glorieta Battlefield Museum.⁷¹ Initially excited at the prospect of the purchase of the battlefield site by the federal government, Rivera's enthusiasm waned as the process dragged on. In 1990, with the Congressional declaration of 113 of his 125 acres as part of the national historic site, Rivera's plans to develop the museum were put on hold. By 1999, he remains in limbo. He has refused to sell the land to the National Park Service because he feels the offered price to be too low, yet no one wants to buy the land because of the restrictions resulting from the park service designation.⁷² Eight years after the delineation of the area as a national park, one source claims twenty-eight landowners still hold property awaiting park service offers for their acreage.⁷³

⁷¹Danielle Cass, "Battlefield Museum: One of a Kind," Santa Fe Reporter, 22 August 1990, 9, 14.

⁷²Ray Rivera, "Land Locked by the National Park Service," Santa Fe New Mexican, 29 March 1998, A-1.

⁷³Ibid. National Park Service records indicate seventeen different private landowners have tracts awaiting purchase.

For the time being, the acquisition of land to preserve the Glorieta Battlefield is at a standstill. This inaction may change in the near future, however, because in December 1998 Congress approved and allocated \$600,000 to acquire fifty-two acres designated for the battlefield. Distribution of the funds and the determination of which land to purchase remains, but the action is moving forward to the ultimate creation of this much deserved battlefield memorial in New Mexico.⁷⁴

⁷⁴Ben Neary, "Congress OKs \$1 million for MacLaine land," Santa Fe New Mexican, 23 December 1998, B-3.

CHAPTER IV

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKES ON RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BATTLEFIELD

On 8 November 1990, the federal government took a significant step to recognize and protect the Glorieta battlefield. On that date Congress approved the addition of the “Glorieta Unit” to the Pecos National Historical Park. The clearly stated purpose of the action was “to preserve and interpret the Battle of Glorieta for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations.”¹

The Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act recognized the Battle of Glorieta Pass as the decisive battle of the Civil War that ended the war in the West. It established the Glorieta Unit of the Pecos National Historical Park. Congress provided the Glorieta Unit was to be comprised of approximately 682 acres and modified the existing park boundaries to include the additional acreage.²

Management of the Glorieta Unit was incorporated into the general management plan for the Pecos National Historical Park. One important provision of the new law provided for the acquisition of “lands, waters, and interests therein within the boundaries

¹Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990, U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 1410rr-7 (1990).

²Ibid.

of the Glorieta Unit by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange.”³ The act practically eliminated use of the doctrine of eminent domain or condemnation for the park when it stated that land could not be acquired without the consent of the owner unless the Secretary of the Interior determined the property in question had or threatened to have an “adverse impact” on the Glorieta Unit or its management. Congress authorized the appropriation of funds for the site’s establishment in general terms, but failed to specify an amount.⁴ This initial action began the process of recognizing and memorializing the battlefield. From its beginning, the project experienced several obstacles to prevent the fulfillment of the new park’s promise as anticipated by the act. Funding to acquire land from private landowners within the park boundaries would be a continuing challenge, as would be issues dealing with the road through the park and landowners reluctant to sell their homes.

When U.S. Congressman Bill Richardson introduced the act expanding the newly-created park as H.R. 4090 on 22 February 1990, the Glorieta Pass Battlefield was already listed on the National Register of Historic Places.⁵ At that time, the state of New Mexico administered a small part of the battlefield under an agreement with local landowners, but

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ronald M. Greenberg, ed., The National Register of Historic Places, 1976 (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1976), 483.

a large part of the actual battlefield still remained in the hands of private landowners with some private residences on the battlefield.⁶

The relationship between the federal government and the Glorieta Pass battlefield pre-dates its addition to Pecos National Historical Park by almost three decades. The federal government recognized the significance of the Glorieta Pass battlefield as early as 1961, twenty-nine years prior to taking steps to preserve it as part of Pecos National Historical Park. On 5 November 1961, the National Park Service designated the battlefield a National Historic Landmark.⁷ That determination meant the site possessed “exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States . . . [and is] associated with events that have made a significant contribution to . . . the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.”⁸ Although the National Park Service would not move again to protect the battlefield until 1990 when it added the site to the Pecos National Historical Park, by selecting the area as a National Historic Landmark, the federal government at least deemed the battlefield site “worthy of preservation.”⁹

⁶Congress, House, Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990, 101st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 4090, House Reports, nos. 811-867, U.S. Congressional Serial Set, serial no. 14020, Report 101-828 (October 9, 1990).

⁷History Division, National Park Service, Catalog of National Historic Landmarks, 1987 (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1987), 162.

⁸*Ibid.*, ii.

⁹*Ibid.*, iii.

On 28 June 1965, Congress established what was to become the Pecos National Historical Park as Pecos National Monument. This designation did not address the status of the Glorieta battlefield, but illustrates the park was established in advance of the addition of the battlefield and includes much more than that site alone. This action established as a national monument the remains and artifacts of a seventeenth century Spanish mission and an Indian pueblo.¹⁰ This new national monument did not include the Glorieta battlefield, but it set the stage for its addition in 1990.

Twenty-five years later, on 27 June 1990, Congress repealed the act establishing the Pecos National Monument and established the Pecos National Historical Park. The new determination included the former Pecos National Monument and an additional 5,500 acres of the Forked Lightning Ranch, which included Koslowski's stage stop. The legislation expanded the mission of the facility to recognize a multi-theme history to include cultural interaction of groups of people in the Pecos area and passage on the Santa Fe Trail from the Great Plains to the Rio Grande Valley. Also, the National Park Service was to interpret and preserve the cultural and natural resources of the Forked Lightning Ranch.¹¹ On 8 November 1990, Congress expanded the park to include the 682-acre Glorieta Unit. Specifically, the federal government wanted "to preserve and interpret the Battle of Glorieta Pass and to enhance visitor understanding of the Civil War and the Far West."¹²

¹⁰Pecos National Monument Act. Statutes at Large. 104, sec. 279 (1990).

¹¹Pecos National Historical Park Act. Statutes at Large. 104, sec. 279 (1990).

¹²*Ibid.*, 104, sec. 2368.

The Pecos National Historical Park is located approximately twenty-eight miles southeast of Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the upper Pecos River valley, which for centuries has served as a pass through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Its primary features are the Santa Fe Trail, Koslowski's stage stop, Forked Lightning Ranch, Pecos River, and Glorieta Battlefield. The park is divided into two units, the Pecos Unit and the Glorieta Unit. Following designation of the national park, the National Park Service prepared its Draft General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Impact Statement for Pecos National Historical Park. This document "describes and analyzes alternatives for the management and use of the Pecos and Glorieta units of Pecos National Historical Park."¹³ The purpose of the document was to provide a guide for the protection of cultural and natural resource management of the park, its use by visitors, and general park administration. All these aspects were to be balanced in a comprehensive way to provide for each without overshadowing the others.

In its plan, the National Park Service proposed three alternatives for the management of the Glorieta Unit. The most significant differences between these alternatives revolve around the situation with regard to New Mexico Highway 50. Two state highways, NM 50 and NM 63, and Interstate Highway 25 run through the park's lands. Heavy traffic on these thoroughfares, coupled with private land ownership within the park boundaries, present the most significant challenges facing the development of the Glorieta Unit of the park and the fulfillment of the park's mission.

¹³National Park Service, Draft General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Impact Statement (Denver: NPS D-37, 1995), iii.

NM 50 runs immediately next to the sole remaining structure of Pigeon's Ranch. Although a guard rail has been installed to protect the building, an errant driver could easily obliterate this entire historic structure. This obvious danger does not consider the more subtle erosion of the building by the frequent traffic throwing snow, ice, and water up against the building and washing away the adobe that comprises its exterior. Historian Marc Simmons commented that the guard rail actually serves a dual function in affording some measure of crash protection for the building as well as serving as a splash guard. He recalled that when he and his volunteers worked to stabilize the building in 1983, one task involved repairing six to eight inches of adobe that had washed out at the base of the building on the side facing the road.¹⁴

As it now exists, traffic on NM 50 presents a real danger to the Pigeon's Ranch structure, plus it precludes the possibility of any sort of quality visitor experience at the site. The narrow two-lane road, which has a posted speed limit of 45 miles per hour, is heavily traveled by cars, trucks, and machinery often traveling at a high rate of speed to and from the nearby village of Pecos and the numerous private homes in the area. This situation creates a hazardous problem for park visitors, which the park officials recognized as they proposed three alternative actions in their management plan for development of the Glorieta Unit.

Alternative One proposed no action for the Glorieta Unit. In other words, no new facilities would be developed at either Pigeon's Ranch or Cañoncito, which was the site of

¹⁴Historian Marc Simmons (Ph.D. University of New Mexico), conversation with author, 17 February 1999, Santa Fe.

Johnson's Ranch where Chivington destroyed the Confederate supplies. Under this proposal, no public facilities or access would be provided at Cañoncito, and NM 50 would continue to pass through the heart of Pigeon's Ranch. Visitors would not be encouraged to stop there, and any presentation of materials or interpretation of the site would be provided at the park's current visitor center over five miles away.¹⁵ This alternative describes the way park management presents Pigeon's Ranch and the Cañoncito area to visitors today.

The second alternative proposed by the National Park Service focused on Pigeon's Ranch. The Cañoncito area would be serviced under this proposal by an interpretive exhibit placed on an overlook developed off the access road from Interstate 25.¹⁶ Due to the lack of historical integrity as it relates to Johnson's Ranch in this area, this plan seems an appropriate treatment. Pigeon's Ranch, on the other hand, would receive significant revitalization.

Under this alternative, the National Park Service identified a "core battlefield zone" consisting of Pigeon's Ranch, Sharpshooter's Ridge, Windmill Hill, and Artillery Hill.¹⁷ Recognizing that preservation of the entire historic site was preferred, but realizing the impracticality of that approach, the National Park Service believed the core battlefield zone would provide adequate interpretation of the battle and satisfy the primary objectives for the establishment of the Glorieta Unit. Although somewhat larger in size and scope,

¹⁵National Park Service Draft Management Plan, 75.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 78.

this approach resembles the earlier recommendation by historian Marc Simmons for an 80- to 100-acre park in the center of the battlefield.¹⁸

This alternative proposed the removal of all structures and other features not present at the time of the battle, plus the stabilization and preservation of the landscape and present structures. This scheme would obviously include the Pigeon's Ranch building. This plan also called for a three-mile loop trail to interpret and visualize the battle and the presence of the Santa Fe Trail. Such action would incorporate walking trails, panoramic views, and interpretive exhibits to play out the battle in visitors' minds as they contemplate how the Confederate troops moved from the west against the Union forces below.¹⁹

The third alternative in the National Park Service management and development proposal incorporates essentially all the elements of Alternative Two, plus it provides for a new visitor facility with restrooms to be constructed at a previously disturbed site near the Pigeon's Ranch building. Existing water and sewer systems would be upgraded to accommodate the new facilities and the increased number of anticipated visitors. A short quarter-mile trail would lead visitors around the Pigeon's Ranch structure. Overall, this plan would get viewers closer to the battlefield itself and provide a more intimate look at Pigeon's Ranch.²⁰

¹⁸Robert M. McKinney, ed., "Smaller start better at Glorieta battlefield," Santa Fe New Mexican, 1 August 1989, A-9.

¹⁹National Park Service, Draft Management Plan, 77, 78.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 80.

With three options presented, why has no action been taken to improve the condition of the Glorieta battlefield? Three responses immediately come to mind: money, Highway NM 50, and local private landowners, which leads back to money. Park officials have, however, made significant progress toward achieving their ultimate goal for the development of the battlefield unit of the park. The progress is simply not visible, and the ultimate achievement of the park's mission is a long, slow process.

Comparing the respective development costs of the three alternatives proposed by the National Park Service for the Glorieta Unit, each proposal clearly bears an expense commensurate with what is to be achieved. Alternative One, which calls for no action and is the current plan in effect, reflects a zero development cost. The second alternative carried a 1995 development cost estimate of \$958,600, while the expanded version including new visitor facilities boosted the cost to \$1,298,500. While certainly expensive, these costs do not seem outrageous or unreasonable; therefore, initial funding to create the facilities as proposed should be attainable. To gain a better understanding of the issues and elements necessary to achieve a higher level within the alternatives proposed, the simple answer of lack of initial funding does not seem to be satisfactory. Other issues must also be in effect.

Road issues clearly are a factor concerning improvement of the Glorieta Unit of the park. As noted previously, NM 50 runs through Pigeon's Ranch, passing as close as six feet from the front of its sole remaining building. This proximity has a major negative effect on the enjoyment of the facility, poses a danger to the structure itself, and severely limits the opportunities for interpreting the site. The Cañoncito site is also negatively

affected by the noise and visual intrusions of the heavy traffic on Interstate 25, which passes within a hundred yards of the location of Johnson's Ranch.

To alter the pathway of Interstate 25 is not practical due to the rough terrain, high hills, and more than adequate roadway that exists today. In addition, none of the land in the Cañoncito (Johnson's Ranch) area is owned by the federal government. Virtually 100 percent is owned by private individuals. Together, these factors make any major changes in that area questionable at best.

New Mexico 50 is a bit of a different story. It is a heavily-traveled, two-lane state highway that runs from the village of Pecos to an intersection with Interstate 25 near the town of Glorieta. As previously mentioned, a portion of NM 50 runs through the heart of the battlefield at Pigeon's Ranch. The state of New Mexico had plans to widen the existing roadway of NM 50.

On 29 January 1987, the Federal Highway Administration approved an environmental assessment for the proposal, known as Project RS 1416(1), and circulated it to state and federal agencies, and made it available to the general public. At that time, Pigeon's Ranch and the Glorieta battlefield were on the New Mexico Register of Cultural Properties and the National Register of Historic Places. Individuals, conservation organizations, and governmental organizations all commented on the project. Those comments and proposed changes to Project RS-1416(1) went to the Federal Highway

Administration on 2 October 1990, a little over a month before Congress added the area in question to the Pecos National Historical Park.²¹

The letter of reassessment pointed out that the roadway of NM 50 consisted at that time of two eleven-foot paved driving lanes with narrow unpaved shoulders. The proposal was to widen the current road to two twelve-foot-wide driving lanes, add two eight-foot-wide shoulders, and make a realignment of the roadway within a 120-foot-wide right-of-way, which would place the roadway directly over a pond area at Pigeon's Ranch.²²

In response to the environmental reassessment, New Mexico officials proposed to move the roadway at Pigeon's Ranch approximately 110 feet south instead of 50 feet as originally planned. This action would result in covering over the pond but avoid removal of certain large juniper trees considered historically significant, and would save the "oldest well in the U.S.A.," as touted by Greer in the 1920s. The revised proposal went on to note certain structures unrelated to the battle would be acquired and either destroyed or moved for the new right-of-way.²³ The realignment of the highway would have also addressed the recommendation of the earlier seismic report that the road be moved at least

²¹W. L. Taylor to Reuben S. Thomas, Federal Highway Administration, 2 October 1990. Copy in Project RS-1416(1) Environmental Reassessment file at University of New Mexico Library.

²²*Ibid.*, 1.

²³*Ibid.*, 2, 3.

thirty feet from the Pigeon's Ranch building to reduce vibrations from the traffic on the road to an acceptable level.²⁴

Following federal approval on 8 November 1990 to add the Glorieta Unit to the Pecos National Historical Park, New Mexico highway officials halted plans for the widening of NM 50 and its realignment.²⁵ On 16 August 1991, New Mexico highway officials with the approval of the Federal Highway Administration circulated a new environmental assessment addressing Project RS1416(1). That proposal scaled back the planned widening of NM 50 from the 6 miles originally proposed to 4.3 miles. This reduction in the length of the project placed its beginning point "at approximately 500 feet east of the east boundary of the National Historical Park" and extended down the road from there to the village of Pecos.²⁶ The effect of this movement of the starting point for the work on the highway east of the Glorieta Battlefield area precluded adverse impact on the historical site by the roadwork.

As stated in the Pecos National Historical Park's general management plan, "the National Park Service would support any alternatives that relocate NM 50 from the Pigeon's Ranch area."²⁷ While, as pointed out previously, under the Alternative One (No

²⁴Ibid., 4.

²⁵Ben Neary, "Glorieta Battlefield Blocks Project To Widen NM 50," Albuquerque Journal, 21 February 1991, 1.

²⁶U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, New Mexico Division and New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department. Project RS1416(1) Environmental Assessment (Santa Fe: 1991), 4.

²⁷National Park Service, Draft Management Plan, 21.

Action) submitted in the National Park Service's general management plan, NM 50 continues to pass through the heart of Pigeon's Ranch and the battlefield. This route is not the preferred alternative. Alternative One is simply the only choice at this time. Alternatives Two and Three propose a rerouting of NM 50 before it reaches the park boundaries at Pigeon's Ranch and the battlefield area to a new interchange with Interstate 25. To date, this has not happened. Should it ever occur, the plan calls for using the remainder of the former NM 50 to take visitor traffic to a vehicle parking lot near the east boundary of the Glorieta Battlefield. The National Park Service would turn that part of the road passing through the battlefield into a gravel footpath similar to the old Santa Fe Trail as it passed across Pigeon's Ranch.²⁸

Roadway issues will continue to be a challenge for the National Park Service as it goes about its mission preserving, protecting, and interpreting the Battle of Glorieta Pass. While the preferred approach would be to have the heavily traveled NM 50 not pass through the heart of the Glorieta Battlefield, the truth is that it does. This complicates issues with landowners in the area as well as diminishing the enjoyment and experience of visitors to the battlefield, plus it precludes any real development of the facilities to enhance contact with the area. Also, homeowners must have access to and from their homes within the area. Currently, NM 50 provides the mainline access between the village of Pecos and Interstate 25 as one heads toward Santa Fe, and no change appears probable for this situation in the near future.

²⁸Ibid., 77, 80.

In little more than a year after the establishment of the Glorieta Unit of the Pecos National Historical Park, issues over land-use restrictions came to the forefront of discussions between landowners within the newly-created park boundaries and the National Park Service.²⁹ These issues resulted from the landowners previously unfettered rights to do as they pleased on their land versus the enacting legislative directive to the Department of the Interior, of which the National Park Service is a part. That directive was to assume administration of the lands within the identified area of the park and “preserve and interpret the Battle of Glorieta for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations.”³⁰ Landowners complained of an inability to expand, renovate, and improve their property, coupled with threats of condemnation as a result of this action.³¹

The act authorizing the establishment of the Glorieta National Battlefield and adding the Glorieta Unit to the Pecos National Historical Park was clear with regard to acquisition of land within the Glorieta Unit. Condemnation or rights of eminent domain are not routine options under the act. Land, waters, and interests within the area can be acquired only by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange. The act clearly stated that land could not be acquired for the park without the consent of the owner; however, a fourth method, one providing for involuntary acquisition, was

²⁹Bob Quick, “2nd Glorieta battle pits 38 landowners against Park Service,” Santa Fe New Mexican, 22 November 1991, B-1.

³⁰Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990, Statutes at Large, 104, sec. 3(a), 2368 (1990).

³¹Bob Quick, “2nd Glorieta battle pits 38 landowners against Park Service,” Santa Fe New Mexican, 22 November 1991, B-1.

provided in the act. This exception provides property that is “subject to, or threatened with, uses which are having, or would have, an adverse impact on the Glorieta unit or on the management of the Glorieta unit”³² may be acquired irrespective of the owner’s wishes.

In situations where the National Park Service is responsible for private or other non-federal land within its jurisdiction, the park service must prepare a land protection plan. These regulations provide for protection in a manner consistent with the guidelines and stated purpose for the creation and administration of the park. In July 1993, the National Park Service published the Land Protection Plan for Pecos National Historical Park. It remains in effect today.

The document stated that as of June 1993 the park contained 6,608.12 acres, of which non-federal entities, i.e., the state of New Mexico and private individuals, owned 9 percent.³³ When reviewed on a unit-by-unit basis, however, the ownership was considerably more swayed toward private ownership for the Pigeon’s Ranch and Cañoncito sub-units. None of the Cañoncito (Johnson’s Ranch) sub-unit was owned by the federal government. This is still the case today. Almost all the acreage in that area, 99 percent of the 331.58 acres designated as park land, was and is held in private ownership.³⁴

³²Pecos National Historical Park Expansion Act of 1990, Statutes at Large, 104, sec. 3(c), 2369 (1990).

³³National Park Service, Land Protection Plan Pecos National Historical Park (Office of Assistant Regional Director, Planning: SWRO, 1993), 3.

³⁴Ibid., Appendix E.

Within the 346.14 acres of the Glorieta sub-unit, i.e., Pigeon's Ranch and the main battlefield, individuals owned 245.16 acres (70.8 percent) when the government printed the land protection plan. At the same time, the state of New Mexico owned 14.08 acres (4.1 percent).³⁵ Today, individuals own approximately 109.78 acres (31.7 percent) of the land within the Glorieta sub-unit. This means less than half the land that was in the hands of private landowners in 1993 remains in private ownership today.

Shortly after Congress included the Glorieta Unit in the park, it appropriated approximately \$400,000 in the 1991-92 fiscal year budget for land acquisition. By early 1993, the National Park Service had spent its allocated funds.

By October 1995, the landowners went public again with their dissatisfaction over the National Park Service restrictions affecting their property. At that time, then Pecos National Historical Park Superintendent Linda Stoll said the National Park Service owned 55 percent of the battlefield area and all purchases had been from willing sellers. The park however had no money to acquire more land. This lack of funds to purchase land even from willing sellers, and the limitations placed on use of the land, began to frustrate many homeowners. Claiming no one else would buy their land subject to the rights of the National Park Service, which did not have the money to buy it for the park, many owners cried they were stuck with no way out of the situation until the National Park Service could act.³⁶

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Doug McClelland, "Battlefield owners chafe at rules," Albuquerque Journal North, 21 October 1995, 3.

The restrictions the battlefield landowners complained of are found in the Land Protection Plan for the park. They are the guidelines the National Park Service published to determine what constitutes an “adverse impact” under the act establishing the park. The three primary methods by which land may be acquired for the park are donation, exchange, and purchase; however, in the event an adverse impact is determined, condemnation is an option.³⁷ The National Park Service publication defines an adverse impact to include “any physical destruction of, or significant damage to, a resource that results in a loss or reduction of the quality and integrity of that resource--especially irreversible loss or reduction.”³⁸

Activities are broken down into those with no adverse impact, potential adverse impact, and adverse impact. Actions may have an impact on the quality and integrity of a park resource, visitor experiences, or park management and still not be harmful enough to be deemed adverse. These actions include change in ownership without subdivision or lot split; lot line adjustments between existing, adjacent landowners; continuation of commercial uses already in effect on 8 November 1990 at a similar or lesser level of operation or small-scale home businesses that do not involve public access, even if established after 8 November 1990; routine maintenance of existing residences in place as of 8 November 1990; rental of land or existing residences; repair or modification of existing residences to comply with existing governmental safety and sanitation codes or regulations; maintenance, or minor realigning or widening of existing driveways and

³⁷National Park Service, Land Protection Plan, 21.

³⁸*Ibid.*, Appendix D, 4.

access roads; minor improvements to existing residences, with the limitation that additional square footage will not exceed an accumulative total of 25 percent more square footage than the principal structure as it existed on 8 November 1990; and destroying and replacing an existing structure so long as the replacement is essentially the same size, serves the same purpose, and occupies essentially the same site as its predecessor.³⁹

Potential adverse impact is determined to some degree by the area where the action occurs. Certain of the more sensitive areas are evaluated at a more stringent standard than more remote facilities. Adverse impact may be the result when attached or detached additions are made to existing structures if they exceed the 25 percent maximum cumulative limitation. Significant expansion of utility systems, or the addition of new ones, may create an adverse impact, as might significant road improvements to existing residences. Changes in landscaping or natural features, the keeping of livestock, or other uses involving ground disturbance or visual impact are all actions creating potential adverse impact.⁴⁰

Certain actions may be considered clearly adverse, but only if the result of the action is harmful to the quality and integrity of a park resource. Such harmful effects include disturbance of surface and subsurface cultural deposits; removal or damage to architectural remains, topographic land forms, and vegetation; degradation of water quality; or increasing erosion. Adverse acts include construction of improvements on lots where no structure existed on 8 November 1990, lot splits, addition of a second residence

³⁹Ibid., Appendix D, 1, 2.

⁴⁰Ibid., Appendix D, 2-4.

or guest house, an adverse effect on visitor experience (such as offensive visual or noise), adverse actions affecting the park unit management negatively, and any other actions resulting in an adverse effect on park operations, visitor experiences, or park resources.⁴¹

Within the park, landowners have the right to use their property in any way they choose, so long as that usage is in accordance with current federal, state, and county laws and regulations. These guidelines do not alter those laws and regulations, they are merely established to provide guidance on what actions are considered to be an adverse impact and susceptible to loss of property for an adverse impact on the Glorieta unit of the park as set forth in the law establishing the park.⁴²

The effectiveness of these guidelines has been tested and detested by various landowners. Park officials developed, revised, and implemented these guidelines as part of the Land Protection Plan after several meetings with landowners. Some persons object to them more than others. While the restrictions have affected property sales, they are not altogether prohibitive as evidenced by a new residence under construction just down NM 50 from Pigeon's Ranch. Erection of that building of the same size and type is proceeding on the foundation of a previous structure at that site.

Acquisition of land for the park generally must result from willing sellers, subject to the potential for acquisition resulting from a determination that an adverse impact on park resources has occurred as cited above. The National Park Service purchases land

⁴¹Ibid., Appendix D, 4, 5.

⁴²Ibid., Appendix D, 5, 6.

based on its fair market value as determined by an independent appraiser.⁴³ Certain priorities for purchasing property are established in the Land Protection Plan for the park. Priorities for the acquisition of land are based on the Glorieta unit's probable use by visitors and park resources within the unit. Again, acquisition will be from willing sellers as funds become available from Congress. First and highest priority is to acquire tracts in and around Pigeon's Ranch, Sharpshooter's Ridge, and Windmill Hill. This procedure includes eighteen of the twenty-eight tracts originally identified in that area. The next level of priority is to acquire the nine tracts of land that comprise the core area of the Cañoncito sub-unit, or the area of the Confederate camp up to the top of the ridge from which Chivington attacked the Confederate supply train. Secondarily under this level of priority is to acquire the remaining tracts at Pigeon's Ranch after the National Park Service has acquired the top priority land in that area. The third and lowest priority is to acquire the remaining property in the Cañoncito sub-unit. The National Park Service reserves the right to alter these priorities based on changes in the park's general management plan, future research, donations or partial donations of land, and the possibility of purchasing land with different priority levels if a landowner owns more than one tract and is willing to sell all tracts at one time.⁴⁴

Less than a year ago, certain landowners again took their ill feelings about the failure of the National Park Service to purchase their land to the press. As before, their

⁴³Ibid., 24; Superintendent Duane L. Alire, conversation with author, 19 February 1999, Pecos National Historical Park headquarters, Pecos.

⁴⁴Ibid., 23, 24.

claims centered on the homeowners' position that the National Park Service restrictions inhibit their ability to sell their property to anyone other than the park service and their belief that the park service's "fair market value" is too low.⁴⁵ In April 1998, President Bill Clinton sent a list of projects to Congress for approval of funding to purchase lands for national monuments, national forests, and national parks. One of these sites was the core area of the Glorieta battlefield.⁴⁶ Eventually, some eight months later, Congress approved the expenditures of \$600,000 to acquire land in the Glorieta battlefield part of Pecos National Historical Park.⁴⁷

Additional funds could be available later this year for land acquisition within the park if Congress approves the funding proposed by President Clinton in his February 1999 budget message. Within the \$1 billion Lands Legacy Initiative submitted as part of the budget proposal is a request for \$1.8 million for land acquisitions in Pecos National Historical Park. National Park Service officials are hopeful the proposal will receive Congressional approval and provide the money needed to close several transactions to buy land that have been in the negotiation stage for years.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Ray Rivera, "Land Locked by the National Park Service," Santa Fe New Mexican, 29 March 1998, A-1, A-7.

⁴⁶Sean Gorman, "Critics: Land buys stalled by Congress," Santa Fe New Mexican, 18 April 1998, B-1, B-3.

⁴⁷Ben Neary, "Congress OKs \$1 million for MacLaine land," Santa Fe New Mexican, 23 December 1998, B-1, B-3.

⁴⁸Wes R. Smalling, "Federal money would help Pecos National Park purchase Glorieta battlefield," Santa Fe New Mexican, 11 February 1999, C-1.

In the meantime, National Park Service officials continue their efforts to preserve park resources and educate the public about the battle. Guided tours describing the Battle of Glorieta Pass are conducted weekly with visits to each of the major battle sites. In a cooperative effort with the local school district, middle school students are producing a play depicting the battle.⁴⁹ By these means, the National Park Service attempts to fulfill its directives to maintain and preserve the battlefield for present and future generations.

⁴⁹Interview with Park Superintendent Duane Alire, Pecos National Historical Park Headquarters, 19 February 1999.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The Indians, Spanish, and Anglos have used Glorieta Pass as a major travel route for over 800 years. The Santa Fe Trail passed through its walled corridors as has the Santa Fe Railway. Viewers from its ramparts would have looked down on many historical events over the centuries. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado's expedition found its way through the pass in 1541; the men of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition were captured and imprisoned there in 1841; General Stephen W. Kearny's American Army marched through the pass headed southward on their way to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, and California in 1846; and the Battle of Glorieta Pass was fought there in 1862.¹

Each of these events is significant in its own way, but the most important event within the confines of the pass in terms of its direct effect on the course of history was the Battle of Glorieta Pass. As others have done, one author summarized the significance of the fight by stating "just as the 1863 Battle of Gettysburg stopped the Confederate thrust into the Federal states, the Battle of Glorieta turned the tide of Confederate intentions in

¹James M. Robertson, Anton J. Budding, Frank E. Kottowski, H. L. James, and Augustus K. Armstrong, New Mexico Geological Society Guidebook, 30th Field Conference, Santa Fe Country (n.p.; privately printed, 1979), 31.

the West.”² The significance of the battle is such that two books were published on the subject within the past year³. Why then, with such importance recognized, has the battlefield not received more attention and recognition? A visitor there today can hardly bring to mind any images of what took place in March 1862. Without guided assistance, it is virtually impossible to imagine what the scene of the battle looked like at that time. What lessons have we learned from the events that took place in this site over the past 130 years that preclude it from being more informative today?

First, efforts to preserve some part of the battlefield started too late. Key pieces of property associated with the battlefield were already in the hand of private landowners at the time of the battle itself. Most notable of these was Pigeon’s Ranch, the center of the fighting on 28 March 1862. Alexander Valle had settled on that land in approximately 1850. Subsequent to the battle, some or all the land passed through no less than seven owners. Each owner had his own agenda for the use of the land. Finally, part of it was acquired by preservationists intent on maintaining some of the integrity of the area until a legitimate historic use could be found.

Such a late start in preserving the battlefield is somewhat understandable. The battle occurred relatively early during the Civil War, less than a year after the attack on

²C. Morgan, “Civil War in the West Opens at Palace,” quote in Douglas W. Owsley, Bioarchaeology on a Battlefield: The Abortive Confederate Campaign in New Mexico, (Santa Fe: Office of Archaeological Studies, Archaeology Notes 142, 1994), 1.

³Don E. Alberts, The Battle of Glorieta: Union Victory in the West (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998); Thomas S. Edrington and John Taylor, The Battle of Glorieta Pass: A Gettysburg in the West, March 26-28, 1862 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

Fort Sumter. The country had not totally taken in the full impact of what was occurring. The First Battle of Bull Run had provided witness to the events that were to come, but that battle had been in July, 1861, and far to the east of the Western frontier where the events of the Battle of Glorieta Pass were shaping up.

The location of the battle is one reason Glorieta Pass did not get the attention it deserved even at the time it occurred. It was too far west. At the time of the battle, Santa Fe was remote from the rest of the country and New Mexico was not even a state. Overall, the area drew little attention from either the North or the South.

Even though the site of the battle was in New Mexico, it did not involve that many locals. The skirmish was more a fight between Texans and Coloradans. This lack of involvement by the citizens of New Mexico may be seen even today. With such a long and multiculturally rich heritage to draw upon, New Mexicans downplay the Civil War and tend to provide little merit to these three days within a history of hundreds of years. Understandably, the Battle of Glorieta Pass is not emphasized in the state where it occurred.

The Battle of Glorieta Pass is not even recognized as a major event of the Civil War by persons who write about that struggle. Every child's quick reference, The World Book Encyclopedia, does not list the battle in its "Highlights of the Civil War" section, nor are New Mexico, Texas, or Colorado even mentioned in the three pages covering, "The War in the West, 1862-1864."⁴

Other summaries and chronicles of the Civil War focus on the more recognized

⁴The World Book Encyclopedia, 1981 ed., s. v. "Civil War."

battles and events. This focus on battles in the East is part of what precluded the recognition the Battle of Glorieta Pass deserved. On 9 March 1862, the ironclads, the U.S.S. Monitor and the C.S.S. Virginia (aka Merrimac), were involved in a battle that set the stage for a revolution in naval warfare. A battle way out west some nineteen days later in a place no one had heard of had little chance of much coverage in the mainstream press, especially when the battle would be followed within a week or so by the Union victory at the Battle of Shiloh on April 6 and 7. Also, news from the West did not travel that fast to the East, if it was sent at all, and once it arrived, more important local events in the war received attention. This partiality to struggles in the East was true around the time of the Battle of Glorieta Pass and is understandable when one considers the location of the struggles and their primary combatants. After it occurred, the brief conflict in a remote mountain pass in New Mexico was lost in the shuffle of more dramatic events of the Civil War.

The battle was not that consequential to the local New Mexicans, so as the Texans retreated homeward and the Coloradans disbursed after pushing the Confederates southward out of New Mexico, things returned to normal rather quickly in Northern New Mexico and the Glorieta area. The succession of owners, each with their own unique impact on the land, continued over the decades. Little thought was given to preserving any of the sites associated with the battle.

Eventually, New Mexico State Highway 50 cut through the heart of the battlefield, and Interstate 25 buried other parts under its roadway. With a major thoroughfare running through the pass, preservationists are lucky more development has not occurred.

Fortunately, the national park designation extends some control over a large amount of land in the area, and this protection has precluded more development than might have occurred.

No significant interest was shown in preserving the Glorieta battlefield until the discovery of the mass grave of Confederate soldiers in 1987. Only then did the general public take any interest in what was happening to the site. Historians, archaeologists, Civil War hobbyists, park officials, and a few isolated individuals with monetary or proprietary interests in the land had focused on the need to preserve the battleground, but they were not sufficient to gain the political support necessary to get real action. Prompted, most likely, by the publicity concerning the mass grave and the reburial of the Confederate remains, the designation of land as part of Pecos National Historical Park was a significant step in preserving the scene of the battle. The lack of sufficient immediate funding to accomplish the acquisition of the land designated by Congress as part of the park was a shortcoming that impeded the fulfillment of the plans to create the park.

The site of the first skirmish of the battle on 26 March 1862, was in Apache Canyon, but part of that land is not included in the land area authorized within the park and eligible for purchase. Some of that land probably will never be included in the Glorieta Unit of the park. Today, certain important sites remain in the hands of private landowners, as much of the land sought by the park is still to be acquired. One park official was of the opinion that since it took ten years to convince Congress to designate the primary battle site, the March 28 fight at Pigeon's Ranch, as part of a national park, the same timeframe would follow for the Apache Canyon site if enough interest could be

generated to make the designation at all.⁵ Again, lack of public interest and necessary funding to purchase the land seem to be major impediments to actions needed to save the battlefield.

Not only did the efforts to save the Glorieta battlefield start too late with too little resources, but nothing in the way of a coordinated approach has been applied to the task. Three distinct groups must be factored into the land issues confronting those individuals wishing to preserve the battlefield. These groups are the private landowners who control the acreage needed to complete the reserve, the federal government, and the state of New Mexico. All must work in concert if the ultimate preservation of the land necessary to recreate the sites of the battle can be accumulated. The landowners must be given a fair price for their land and the purchases should be executed expeditiously so as to not tie up their property for long periods of time. The federal government has the framework in place to manage the acreage it acquires. The Park Service, however, needs adequate funding to acquire desired sites and employ adequate staff to manage them. Components of the state government must work together to bring a unified approach to the issues facing their part of the equation necessary to make the park a reality. The roadway issues particularly are compounded by the reality that NM 50 and the battlefield lands lie in two different counties and the highway is administered by two different highway districts.

Through a united effort, the task of preserving the Glorieta battlefield can be accomplished even at this late date over 130 years after it occurred. The key element that

⁵Ray Rivera, "Latest Battle in Glorieta," Santa Fe New Mexican, 25 March 1998, A-1.

has been missing in the past and must be a part of any efforts to reclaim this historic site is public awareness and interest in what happened in that canyon outside of Santa Fe in 1862. Until widespread popular interest and support can be raised, the task is a daunting one for those who would like to see it happen. The importance of the Battle of Glorieta Pass is obvious to anyone who has studied the confrontation. That importance must be pointed out for all to see. Such a task represents what is the last battle and hopefully the final victory for all individuals who have participated through the years in the many battles of Glorieta Pass.

APPENDIX
MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS



Figure 1: Map of the Rio Grande Valley from El Paso to Santa Fe. Military map issued by the War Department in 1857. Image #15067 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.

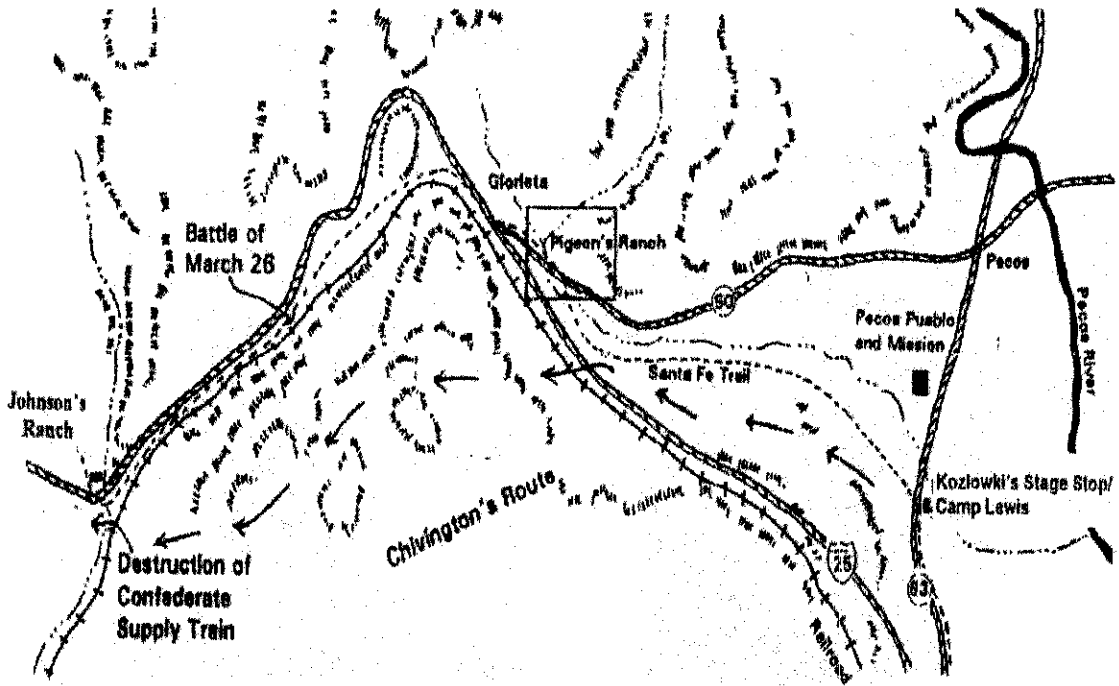


Figure 2: Map Showing Location of Major Battle Sites of Battle of Glorieta Pass. Map courtesy of National Park Service.

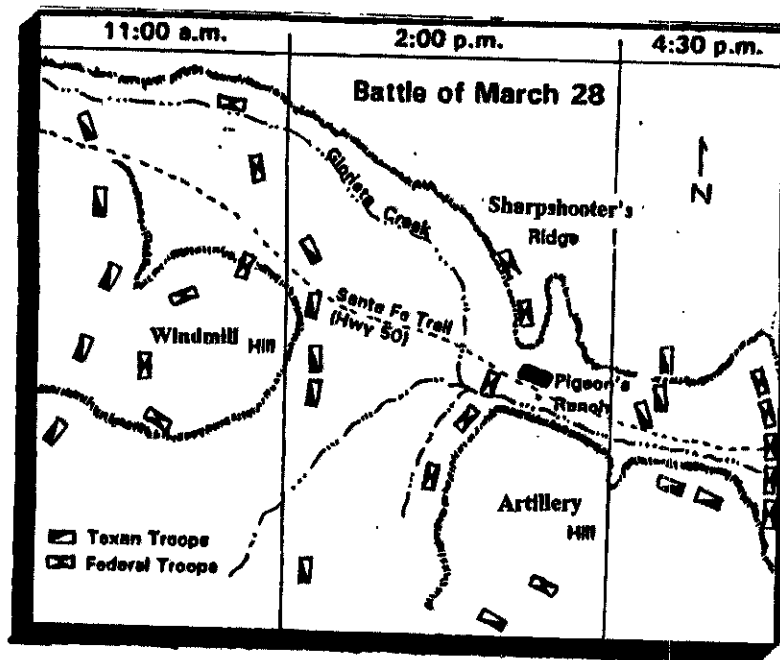


Figure 3: Significant Geographic Landmarks and Battle Lines at Pigeon's Ranch on March 28, 1862. Map courtesy of National Park Service.

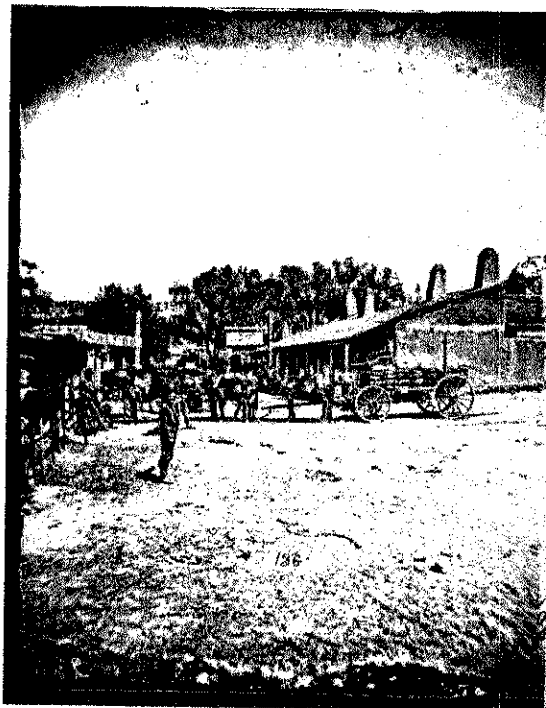


Figure 4: Pigeon's Ranch in June 1880. Photo by Ben Wittick. Image #15781 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 5: Bustling Pigeon's Ranch in June 1880. The structure remaining today is part of the building at right behind the covered wagon. Photo by Ben Wittick. Image #15783 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 6: Pigeon's Ranch Looking Eastward Along Santa Fe Trail, ca. 1884. Photo by J. R. Riddle. Image #76032 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 7: Pigeon's Ranch, ca. 1912. Photo by Jesse L. Nusbaum. Image #9351 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 8: Pigeon's Ranch, ca. 1925. Building is more like it appears today. Image #51738 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 9: Pigeon's Ranch, ca. 1925. "Oldest Well in U.S." is at left center of photo. Image #51739 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 10: Reproduction of postcard from the Thomas Greer promotion era, showing “dancing bears” and “oldest well,” ca. 1930. Image #13643 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 11: Pigeon’s Ranch as tourist stop, ca. 1935. Photo by T. Harmon Parkhurst. Image #9686 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.

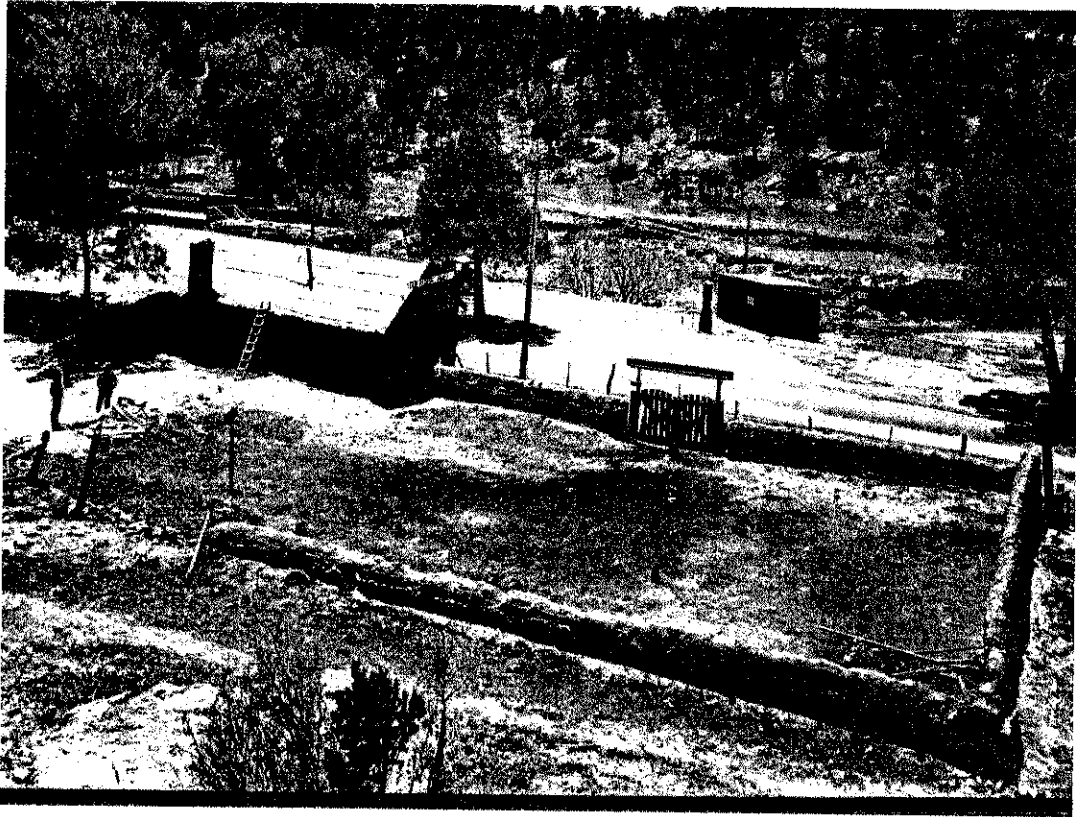


Figure 12: Pigeon's Ranch showing corral area, ca. 1935. For current view, see Figure 17. Photo by Ben Wittick. Image #9688 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.



Figure 13: Pigeon's Ranch showing deterioration over the years, ca. August 1951. Image #90717 at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.

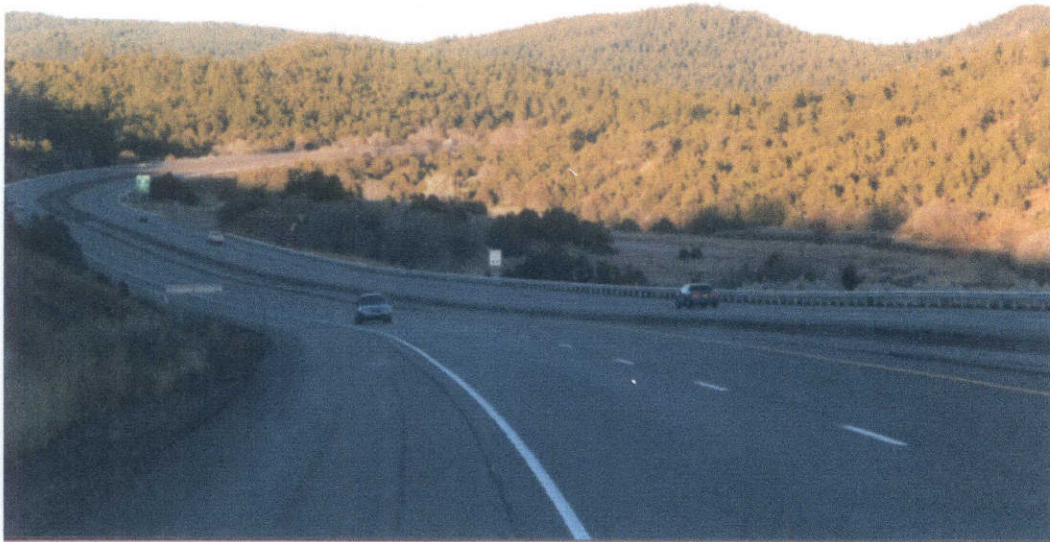


Figure 14: Interstate 25 as it cuts through Glorieta Pass today. Photo by author.



Figure 15: Sole remaining building at Pigeon's Ranch. Sharpshooter's Ridge is at right and remains of "Oldest Well in U.S." are at left by grove of trees. Photo by author.



Figure 16: Typical heavy traffic on Highway NM 50 as it passes through Pigeon's Ranch. Photo by author.



Figure 17: View of Pigeon's Ranch as it appears today from Sharpshooter's Ridge. See Figure 12 for same view in 1935. Photo by author.



Figure 18: Pigeon's Ranch building. Note the proximity to Highway NM 50. Photo by author.



Figure 19: The Pigeon's Ranch building with guard rail as sole protection against an errant driver. Photo by author.



Figure 20: Stone casing is all that marks the “Oldest Well in U.S.” today. Photo by author.



Figure 21: Pigeon’s Ranch building and Kip Siler’s house (where Confederate grave discovered) at left as seen today from Sharpshooter’s Ridge. Photo by author.

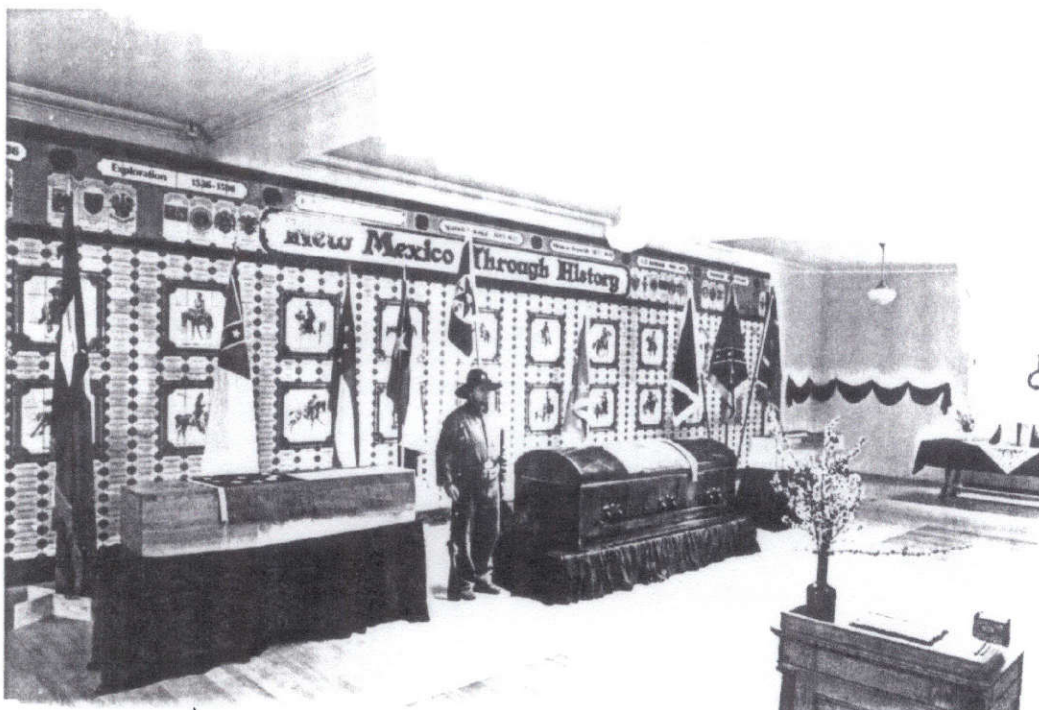


Figure 22: Confederate remains lying in state prior to burial ceremony. Photographer unknown. Image number unknown (located in Glorieta file at Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.).



Figure 23: Grave sites of Confederate soldiers. Note the bluebonnets at base of first marker and the "peaked top" of the headstones. Concrete block in center marks the burial vault of unidentifiable remains.

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