CHAPTER IV: THE PRESIDIO AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1866

A. A Prize Above All Others

Beginning in late December 1860 southern states seized federal property including coastal forts and arsenals. On February 9, Jefferson C. Davis, former U.S. Secretary of War, became the provisional President of the Confederacy. U.S. President-elect Abraham Lincoln arrived clandestinely at Washington, D.C., on February 23, 1861. On April 12 Confederate guns bombarded Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The American Civil War had begun.

At San Francisco, population 60,000, sympathies lay divided between North and South. Because of divisions among the Democrats in 1860, Lincoln carried the state. The Republican majority increased, and Republican Leland Stanford won the governorship of California in 1861.[1]

Lt. James McPherson, constructing fortifications on Alcatraz, wrote to Washington in May 1861 saying he believed California supported the Union, "The Union element of this state, irrespective of party, has come out in the most decided manner . . . and today there is one of the grandest and most enthusiastic "Union Demonstrations" in this city that I have ever witnessed." He added optimistically, "I think there is no danger to be apprehended on this coast." The day after this grand mass meeting, the "Committee of Thirty-Four" formed to aid in the suppression of treasonable activities.[2]

Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Colonel, 2d Cavalry, arrived at San Francisco in January 1861 to take command of the reconstituted Department of California. His sympathies lay with the South but he honored his oath as an officer of the United States Army and took steps to safeguard military resources in California. He ordered the removal of 10,000 rifled muskets from Benicia Barracks to Alcatraz Island for safekeeping and he asked the Engineers to hasten the readiness of the fort at Fort Point for troop occupancy.[3]

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1. Robert J. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," *Salvo, Journal of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association*, 6 (Spring 1990): 6-13.

2. Ibid., McPherson, May 11, 1861, to OCE, Letters Received 1838-1866, OCE, RG 77, NA. McPherson was killed in the Battle of Atlanta, July 1864.

3. AAG W.W. McCall, February 17, 1861, to Lt. J. McAllister, Benicia, Department of the Pacific Letters Sent, 1848-1866, U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA;

Capt. Charles S. Merchant, 3d Artillery, commanding the garrison at the humble Presidio in January 1861, counted his total strength as being four officers and ninety-one men. Two other officers, the 3d Artillery's regimental adjutant and regimental quartermaster also occupied the officers' adobe, now one man to a room. In February he received Johnston's orders to march Company I over to the new fort at Fort Point, leaving only twenty-eight soldiers to man the Presidio. The company returned, however, in March when artillery troops from Fort Vancouver arrived to occupy the fort.[4]

This rapid manning of the fort may have resulted from the "ridiculous canard" circulating that "certain conspirators" intended to capture Fort Point and Alcatraz. A newspaper reporter visited the point, "The fort commands the entrance to our harbor so effectually that fifty guns can be brought to bear on any object, the size of a hogshead, within the mouth of the Golden Gate." As to the "absurd" rumor, "both fortifications are amply prepared for any such demonstration."[5]

The early months of the war brought the rapid movement of officers and troops units on the West Coast. Brig. Gen. Edwin Vose Summer replaced Johnston in April. In June Merchant found himself commanding eight officers and 323 men of the Regular Army, including units of the 3d Artillery and the 4th and 9th Infantry. Among the officers were future generals George Crook, 4th Infantry, and E.O.C. Ord., 3d artillery. Another officer, Lt. Lawrence Kip, 3d artillery, was the son of the ardent Unionist, San Francisco's Episcopalian Bishop William Ingraham Kip.[6]

That same month Engineer McPherson made a military reconnaissance of the coast from San Francisco to Monterey. He noted that enemy troops could land near Lobos Creek (Baker Beach). Although Fort Point could observe that area, fortifications on Redoubt (Telegraph, Rob) Hill and Presidio Hill (behind the post) would be necessary to cover that area. Ocean Beach, farther south, had heavy surf and he thought it probably too hazardous for an enemy landing, San Francisco, he said, was "the

(..continued)

ORs, Series 1, volume 50, part 2, pp. 444-45 and 448.

4. Post Returns, PSF, 1861.

5. *Alta California*, February 14, 1861.

6. Gen. W. Scott, March 22, 1861, to Brig. Gen. E.V. Sumner, in U.S. Senate, 50th Cong. 2d sess., Senate Executive Document 70. Johnston joined the Confederate Army. He was killed at the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, in 1862.

> greatest commercial emporium of the Western Coast, possessing a magnificent harbor sufficient to accommodate the fleets of the whole world, the centre of trade for the Pacific Coast, and the point to which all those rich streams of gold dust tend that have given . . . California's world wide fame, would be a prize above all others to call forth the energy and daring of a bold, active enemy. . . . He would of course land as near the city as possible . . . gain possession, levy a contribution . . . and return to his ships, for he could not expect to hold the city, with the Forts commanding the entrance to the Harbor in our possession. . . . To accomplish the above object by making a forced march, it would be necessary to land in the vicinity of Point Lobos, on the "Ocean Beach," or to the north of Pt. San Bruno.

He continued with recommendations for a land defense including redoubts on the Presidio hills, defenses on the San Bruno Turnpike, and works at other strong points. Few, if any, of his recommendations came to fruition as the early excitement subsided; the redoubts on the Presidio reservation did not materialize.[7]

Union sentiment ran high in San Francisco during these months. On February 22, 1861, the 3d Artillery band played "Washington's March," "Hail Columbia," and "Yankee Doodle" at a Union mass meeting in the city. The 3d Artillery band also played at the large meeting on May 11 that McPherson described. Brigadier General Sumner and staff also attended the meeting, which the *Alta California* described as "The Great Union Demonstration," "California Unconditionally for the Union," "The Pacific Coast for the Stars and Stripes," and "20,000 People in Mass Meeting." The Presidio army band also played at benefits for the United States Sanitary Commission in its efforts to care for sick and wounded soldiers.

To assure the citizens of San Francisco that the harbor's defenses were on the alert, General Sumner led a group of distinguished citizens on a tour of Fort Point in July:

> The entire party went ashore at the [engineer] wharf. . . . A stroll along the bay side for a quarter of a mile was brought to an abrupt termination by the frowning fortress, through the portals of which the party passed, sentinels on each side saluting their peaceful visitors. Up winding staircases, to the lofty parapet, all continued their steps, and continuous acclamations of delight could be heard as glimpses were caught of the gorgeous panorama spread out before the spectator. A pavement of solid granite, and concrete as smooth as ice, and as cleanly as a sanded floor, encircles the parapet, whilst the vacant centre space is tastefully sodded, and here and there adorned with flowers. The bristling sixty-eight pounders, showing their black bodies above the wall, and the

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7. McPherson, "Memoir of a Military Reconnaissance of the Coast and the Coast routes from San Francisco to Monterey Cal[a] . . . June 1861," Letters Received 1838-1866, OCE, RG 77, NA.

> conical piles of balls nestling at their feet, are, however, suggestive of war rather than peace. The cannon are not all yet mounted en barbette, for a dozen stout fellows were yesterday busily employed in getting one of the great guns into its future berth.[8]

One of the more significant events affecting the Department of the Pacific in 1861 was the completion of the transcontinental telegraph on October 24. One of the first war bulletins received over the wire announced the death of Col. Edward D. Baker at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Virginia, on October 21. Baker, a close personal friend to Abraham Lincoln, had been an early California Republican, an outstanding orator, and most recently a U.S. Senator from Oregon.[9]

General Sumner spent the summer of 1861 organizing his forces: the two Regular Army regiments – the 3d Artillery and the 9th Infantry, and the newly formed volunteer units. Because of inadequate facilities at the Presidio, several tent camps sprang up in the San Francisco area. Before their departure to the East Coast, seven companies of the 4th Infantry Regiment from northern California and Oregon set up Camp Sumner in July immediately adjacent to the Presidio (but exactly where remains unknown). Also, the 2d California Volunteer Infantry Regiment trained there for a month prior to leaving for the Pacific Northwest. South of the city Camp Lyons on Hunter Point and Camp Alert on the Pioneer Race Track near Mission and 25th streets became active, their occupants most likely being volunteer units.[10]

In June 1861 Sumner ordered seven of the 9th Infantry's companies in the Pacific Northwest to transfer to the critical Bay Area "with the greatest possible dispatch." This required the withdrawal of the company that, by international agreement, occupied San Juan Island near Washington Territory jointly with a company of British Royal Marines. The War Department quickly ordered Sumner to reinstate the 9th on

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8. *Daily Alta California*, February 24, May 12, July 21, 1861, October 3, 1862, and November 11, 1863.

9. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 7; Sifakis, *Who Was Who*, pp. 27-28. Sifakis contends that only Lincoln's friendship saved Baker from censure for his tactical decisions at Ball's Bluff. It has been held that Baker Beach at the Presidio received its name in honor of Colonel Baker. Historian Stephen Haller, NPS, has pointed out, however, that in 1869 the major property owner adjoining the Presidio, south of Lobos Creek, was Mrs. J.H. Baker.

10. Post Returns, PSF, 1861; Anon "The Presidio of San Francisco, 1776-1976," p. 12; Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific, Its Operations in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, plains region, Mexico, etc., 1860-1866* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1951), pp. 17-18 and 48-49. During the Civil War some 17,000 volunteers were mustered in California. See Richard H. Dillon, "California's Expeditionary Forces," *Salvo, Journal of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association*, 4 (Spring 1990): 18-27.

the island.[11]

In September Washington ordered Sumner to send all the 9th Infantry and six of the ten companies of the 3d Artillery to New York by steamer. The four remaining companies of the 3d would be stationed thus: Company B at Fort Point, Companies H and I on Alcatraz Island, and Company D at Fort Vancouver. Sumner reported that he was concentrating the regulars as fast as volunteers could relieve them. He asked if he should ship them East as fast as he collected them.[12]

General Sumner's tour on the West Coast ended abruptly in October 1861 when he too hurried East to lead Union troops into battle. Col. George Wright, 9th Infantry, the leader whom Captain Keyes had so admired in the Pacific Northwest in 1858 and Sumner's brother-in-law, arrived at San Francisco that same month to command the Department of the Pacific. The orders appointing Wright directed him to "retain in his command the Ninth Regiment of Infantry, which is now under orders transferring it to the Eastern coast." Wright replied that he had seven companies of the 9th at San Francisco. He planned to keep two others in Washington Territory (San Juan Island). Company E, however, had already departed by steamer for the East.[13]

A California newspaper recorded the arrival of two of the 9th's companies from Fort Vancouver:

> They are composed of as fine a body of soldiers as we have ever seen under arms. Their martial bearing, and the perfect precision of their movements elicited . . . admiration from the thousands who saw them parade through the streets on their way to the Presidio, where they go into camp. When the companies arrived opposite the army headquarters [742 Washington St.], they counter-marched and complimented the officers therein with a salute. A splendid band preceded the troops.[14]

The 9th Infantry first established camp at Camp Wright, also adjacent to the Presidio. Most likely Camp Wright occupied the same site as the earlier Camp Sumner, the only difference being the name change of

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11. *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 503, 506-07, 512, and 519.

12. E.D. Townsend; AAG, Washington, September 16, 1861, to Sumner; Richard C. Drum, Department of the Pacific, October 14, 1861, to Merchant; Sumner, October 2, 1861, to Townsend, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 620-21, 645, and 659.

13. *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 730, 741, and pt. 2, p. 2.

14. *Daily Appeal*, Marysville, CA, November 16, 1861.

the department commanders. The first commanding officer of Camp Wright was Capt. Frederick T. Dent, brother-in-law of Ulysses S. Grant.[15]

General Wright's troop disposition during the war called for the bulk of the 9th Infantry being concentrated at the Presidio of San Francisco, from where it could be dispatched when necessary. From November 1861 to September 1863 from five to seven companies of the 9th remained at the Presidio. A smaller element of the 9th, three companies, maintained stations in Washington Territory, principally occupying San Juan Island with the British Marines. He kept three companies of the 3d Artillery at Bay Area batteries and one company on the Columbia River. Volunteer units maintained the peace in both northern and southern California and in the Pacific Northwest, particularly in Idaho Territory where gold had been discovered on the Nez Perce Indian reservation. Two large expeditions of volunteer troops guarded the Central (Brig. Gen. Patrick Edward Connor) and Southern (Brig. Gen. James Henry Carleton) Overland Mail routes.

As the war progressed, units of the 9th Infantry transferred from the Presidio to various posts, particularly in the north, and Volunteer troops replaced them. By February 1865 nearly 2,000 volunteers occupied the Presidio, together with Wright's 9th Infantry headquarters and band.[16]

B. Growing Pains

Little new construction occurred at the Presidio during the first half of the momentous year 1861. At the end of the government's fiscal year, June 30, 1861, the traditional annual inspection of the buildings took place. The regimental quartermaster, Horatio G. Gibson, undertook the task. He used both

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15. Post Returns, PSF, 1861. Constituted in 1855 the 9th Infantry Regiment was organized at Fort Monroe, Virginia. It has participated in campaigns in the Civil War, Indian Wars, War with Spain, China Relief Expedition, Philippine Insurrection, World War I, World War II (Europe), Korean War, and Vietnam. Its motto: "Keep up the Fire." John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Infantry, Part 1: Regular Army*. Army Lineage Series (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 255-258.

16. Post Returns, PSF, 1861-1865; *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 1168-1170; pt. 2, pp. 505-507, 884-886, and 1272-1274; Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 7; Dillon, "California's Expeditionary Forces," pp. 19 and 23-25. In 1861, one hundred of the "best" men from different companies of the 9th Infantry Regiment were stationed on the east side of the Bitterroot Mountains escorting Lieutenant Mullan's Military Road Expedition. Because of deep mountain snows they did not reach the Presidio until July 1862. ORs, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 461-462, 649, 745, 790, 956-957, and 1136-1137.

a numbering and a letter system to identify the structures:

1A. *Officers' Quarters*. Built "1776." One building, today's officers' club, 50, containing six rooms and three kitchens in tolerable condition in the rear. Quarters for one captain and four subalterns. No kitchens for two officers. Condition – bad. Low ceilings poorly lighted, badly ventilated, damp. Repaired at a great waste of public money in 1847, '49, '56, '59, and '60.

2B. **Barracks**. A cheap frame structure built in 1854. Unsightly. Four barrack rooms, two mess rooms, two kitchens, and two orderly rooms. Holds two companies. Too close to officers' quarters. Condition very bad.

3C. **Storehouse and Laundresses' Quarters**. Adobe. Capacity: contains sixteen spaces, not *rooms*, for occupation and storage. It is more dilapidated than the officers' quarters. A portion of the building was torn down during the year to prevent injury to the occupants and the public property from the falling of the walls. Another portion, on account of its dilapidated condition and its proximity to the hospital, which it keeps in a damp state, will be removed. Repairs made to the interior and the gable ends.

4D. **Hospital**. Cheap frame structure built in January 1857. Fair.

5E. **Carpenter and Blacksmith Shops**. Adobe. Unsightly. The *bakehouse* in the rear of the shops is damp, dilapidated, and entirely unfit.

6F. **Small Shanty**. Occupied by one laundress. Very bad. Unfit for repairs.

7G. **Stable**. Fifteen animals. Fair. *Harness shed* and *corral* now being constructed near the stables for the animals of Light Company C, 3d Artillery (which arrived in July).

8I. **Guardhouse and Office**. Adobe. Three rooms. Utterly unfit for use. Insecure. Close and damp.

A few days later Gibson enlarged on the guardhouse, "A dilapidated condition and but one window can be cut in it. That will not furnish the necessary ventilation, and cannot be made in the adobe walls sufficiently secure to prevent prisoners from breaking out. The cells cannot be ventilated by any means.

The floor is rotten and damp, and can never be kept in good condition." He urged construction of a new guardhouse.[17]

The year 1861 closed with troops of the 2d California Volunteer Infantry occupying the Presidio while the 9th Infantry found a home at Camp Wright next door.[18]

While the record is silent concerning new construction in 1861, some activity probably occurred toward the end of the year. The January 1862 post return bore the notation, "The Headquarters of the Command were removed from Camp Wright . . . to the Post of the Presidio." West Pointer Lt. Col. Caleb C. Sibley, 9th Infantry, commanded the garrison composed of six 9th Infantry companies and one 3d Artillery company, a total of thirteen officers and 361 men.[19]

All or nearly all of the command must have continued to occupy tents for wood frame quarters became available only as the year advanced. The original Spanish square was extended to the north so as to create a parade ground approximately 1,600 feet long from north to south, and 400 feet wide. That summer a row of twelve officers' quarters sprang up along the eastern side of the new parade. The officers occupied these simple T-shaped buildings on September 1. Each housed three officers (no families at that time) although one building was probably set aside for Colonel Sibley's use.

The building plan described them as being built of rough boards set upright and weather boarded. The ground floor contained a parlor, one bedroom, hall, dining room, kitchen, and closets. Two bedrooms and a garret occupied the upper floor. A veranda extended along both sides of the one-story ell. During the war bathrooms were added to the southeast corner of each set.

Undoubtedly, soon after construction, unfunded additions began to appear at the rear (east) of these quarters – privies, storage, servant quarters, and the like. These irregular appendages were typical of officers' quarters at all frontiers army posts. Sometimes the post quartermaster would scrounge the

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17. Lt. H.G. Gibson, PSF, June 30, 1861, to the QMG, and July 2, 1861, to the Post Adjutant, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

18. Post Returns, PSF, 1861.

19. Ibid., January 1862.

necessary materials. At other times, individual officers would have these outbuildings erected at their own expense. An 1870 map of the Presidio showed a variety of outbuildings to the rear of the row.

One other feature on officers' row remains – the "alameda." Midway on the row, the army constructed a formal entrance to the parade ground. An oval "alameda" on which plants grew beautified this entrance and to the east of it, an ornamental arch spanned the entrance road.

Across the new parade, a row of eight wood-frame, one-story barracks sprang up, also most likely in early 1862. They too faced on the parade ground. In addition, the old wood-frame, two story barracks constructed in 1854 remained in use. And in 1865 the army constructed five new, two-story barracks at the south end of the row – three in line with the older barracks, the fourth and fifth at right angles to the rest (because of the topography) and forming a small L. Immediately to the west of the fourteen barracks stood nine kitchens for the enlisted men (the five new two-story barracks had kitchens and messes in their basements.

The old adobe, 2, that had housed laundresses, storerooms, and a guardhouse, had now been reduced in length and remodeled to create three sets of officers' quarters (one duplex, one single), each one story with three rooms. The old ramshackle, wood frame, two-story hospital, built in 1857, now served as officers' quarters. Described now as "worm eaten" it contained four rooms and a kitchen. Also in line with the barracks and toward the south stood the wood frame, one-story adjutant's office (i.e., post headquarters) and the wood-frame, two-story guardhouse. A small bakehouse lined up with the kitchens and behind the northernmost barracks. A wood-frame building, 30 feet by 80 feet, housed quartermaster and commissary supplies, but its location has not been determined. Also unidentified was a wood-frame gun shed.

A stone magazine, erected in the summer of 1863, stood a short distance to the west of the guardhouse. Its interior dimensions measured 17 feet by 20 feet. A space for ventilation was built into the interior of the stone walls and a wooden lining within the vault allowed for further ventilation as well as providing a precaution against sparks resulting from contact with the stone walls. A domed roof of lighter construction covered the magazine. In the event of an accidental explosion the energy would have been

exerted skyward rather than sideways.[20]

To the north of the parade ground four stables had a capacity of 200 animals. West of the post beyond an intermittent stream a row of nine wood-frame laundresses' quarters occupied approximately the site of today's red-brick barracks on Montgomery Street. When the garrison increased greatly in late 1864 and early 1865, new construction included the five barracks noted above and a large building containing bachelor officers' quarters (BOQ). This two-story, wood-frame structure having a full basement, stood at the south end of officers' row. It contained thirty-two rooms, three messes, and four kitchens. Officers quickly nicknamed the building "the Corral". Other new construction in 1865 consisted of two laundresses quarters, each 30 feet by 60 feet, and a shed for fifty mules.[21]

By 1863 the Department of the Pacific decided that general hospitals were needed in the Bay Area because of the increased number of posts and their garrisons. It selected the Presidio of San Francisco and Benicia Barracks to be the locations for two such establishments. At the Presidio the old post hospital located on the west side of the parade and dating from the 1850s was converted to much-needed officers' quarters and a new building, christened the Wright General Hospital and located at the north end of officers' row slightly apart from the residences, came into being in 1864. The department quartermaster later reported that of the twelve bidders for the contact, H.E. Peny's proposal of November 20, 1863, had been accepted. His bid of $2,798 was not the lowest, but the most acceptable.

The wood-frame, two-story building, with a brick-walled basement, faced west towards the parade ground. Verandas on both floors lined both the east and west elevations. An ell on the east side contained a brick morgue at the basement level and a prisoners' ward stood above it. The new hospital contained ten rooms, kitchen, and dining room, and had a bed capacity of fifty. Its existence as an army general hospital, however, was of short duration. In September 1864 the Department issued Special Orders 211:

> The hospitals at the Presidio of San Francisco and Benicia Barracks, heretofore known as Wright and Barnes General Hospitals, respectively, are, upon the recommendation of the medical inspector, attached to and will form part of these posts as post hospitals,

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20. Laura Soulliere Harrison, *Presidio Physical History Report, Building Inventory, Presidio of San Francisco* (1993), 3: Ammunition Magazine. Harrison noted a cannonball incorporated into the stonework on the west wall of the structure.

21. W.F.R. Schindler, RQM, 2d California Volunteer Infantry, Annual Inspection Report of Public Buildings, PSF, June 30, 1865, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

under the same control of the commanding officers as other hospitals at military posts.[22]

The 1865 inspection report omitted a new structure at the Presidio – the post chapel, constructed about 1864. Located at the south end of the parade ground between the new BOQ and the adobe officers' quarters, the chapel appears to have been constructed without the benefit of governmental funds. At that time most army officers favored the Episcopalian faith. Historian Edward M. Coffman has written, "within the army, the Protestant Episcopal church was the most influential sect." He added, "the tradition, the order and formality of the Episcopal service made this church more congenial to the military."

The new post chaplain the Rev. Daniel Kendig, Episcopalian, had arrived at the Presidio in July 1863 from Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory, where he had served the needs of the 9th Infantry. It is probable that Kendig, supported by the officers and influential members of the Episcopal Diocese, succeeded in raising funds for the construction of the chapel. As originally constructed, the small one-story, wood-frame building measured 24 feet by 45½ feet. A small steeple surmounted the gable roof.[23]

Only a few records of the day to day activities at the Presidio of San Francisco during the Civil War have survived. Were it not for the Post Returns, little would be known concerning that period. One item of interest showed that in January 1862 the post commander received a directive ordering him to prepare a plan for leasing out Presidio grounds for grazing purposes during the coming year. The letter reminded him that the existing lease was about to expire.[24] Little notice concerning the civilian post trader, or sutler, for the Presidio's earliest history has yet to be recovered. In 1865, however, the sutler, one J.D.

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22. Schindler, Annual Inspection Report, 1865; *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 996, SO 211, Headquarters, Department of the Pacific, September 30, 1864. One must assume that the Presidio hospital honored the name of the department commander, Brig. Gen. George Wright. As for Barnes General Hospital, the most likely candidate was Brig. Gen. Joseph K. Barnes, then the Surgeon General, U.S. Army. The term "Wright Army Hospital," still found in use, appears not to have had official sanction.

23. Coffman, *The Old Army*, p. 78; Anon "Chapels of the Presidio", researched by Linda Jackowski and Sgt. Jerry D. Mason (n.d.); Post Returns, PSF, 1863; The Episcopal Bishop of California at that time, William Ingraham Kip, believed firmly in the separation between church and state and would not have formally and officially raised money for a chapel on government property. He may have privately encouraged the raising of funds. Records of the Diocese of California were destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. Correspondence from the Rev. John Rawlinson, Diocesan Archivist, Episcopal Diocese of San Francisco, January 4, 1994. Chaplain Kendig remained at the Presidio until his retirement in 1888.

24. AAG Richard Drum, Department of Pacific, January 20, 1862, to Commanding Officer, PSF, in Box "Department of California," Presidio Army Museum, hereinafter cited as PAM.

Stephenson, swore to "support protect and defend the Constitution and Government."[25]

The post returns for the Civil War provide additional information concerning the garrison. Lt. Col. Caleb C. Sibley, 9th Infantry, commanded the post from January 1862 to September 1864, with only one four-month interruption. Maj. Thomas F. Wright, 2d California Infantry and the son of General Wright, succeeded Sibley, commanding until the cessation of hostilities. He joined the Regular Army at the close of the war, only to be killed fighting Modoc Indians in April 1873.

As the 9th Infantry Regiment departed in 1863, California volunteer units arrived – 2d California Infantry, a United States Volunteer Company, Native California Cavalry Battalion (1st Lt. Crisanto Solo, commanding), and the 7th California Infantry. The strength of the garrison varied from month to month but its approximate size during the war years consisted of:

1861 – 5 officers and 100 men
1862 – 13 officers and 280 men
1863 – 8 officers and 250 men
January-September 1864 – 8 officers and 175 men
October-December 1864 – 25 officers and 835 men
January-April 1865 – 50 officers and 1,360 men.[26]

As the war progressed General Wright found it increasingly difficult to keep the 9th Infantry up to full strength. Potential recruits on the West Coast found the volunteer units much more attractive than signing up for lengthy enlistments in the regulars. Wright wrote the War Department in 1863 complaining of this problem and suggesting that recruiting stations for the regulars be closed. As of then one company of the 9th occupied Fort Vancouver, one garrisoned San Juan Island, two occupied Alcatraz Island, and the remainder served at the Presidio "as a reserve to meet any sudden call." These men, he said, were all old soldiers. Because they were as well trained in artillery tactics as they were in infantry, he recommended their conversion to light (mounted) artillery. Washington said no. The 9th remained infantry.[27]

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25. J.D. Stephenson, Sutler, "Presidio Barracks," February 3, 1865, microfilm "Presidio of San Francisco," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

26. Post Returns, PSF, 1861-1865.

27. Wright, May 1, 1863, to the AG, Washington, in **ORs**, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 418.

C. San Francisco and the War

From the beginning of hostilities, the majority of San Franciscans supported the Union cause. Following an 1862 election Governor Stanford wrote President Lincoln, "Our general election was held yesterday. The result is a triumphant and overwhelming victory in favor of the Union and the National Administration."[28] Throughout these years each post celebrated all national holidays with a federal salute (one gun for each Union state) at sunrise and a national salute (twenty-one guns) at noon. Alcatraz Island announced each Union victory with a 100-gun salute. The year 1864 witnessed Brig. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah Valley in September and again in December when Alcatraz's 100 guns boomed in celebration of Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's "march to the sea" in Georgia and South Carolina. All Bay Area posts' artillery fired a salute on June 17, 1863, in honor of an earlier war – the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.[29]

When he assumed command in 1861, Wright established his headquarters in offices at 742 Washington Street. He and Mrs. Wright took rooms at the Metropolitan Hotel. The Subsistence (food) Department maintained offices and a warehouse at 208 and 210 Sansome. The Quartermaster (supplies, uniforms, etc.) Department occupied a corner at California and Montgomery streets. The Corps of Engineers, not part of the department, maintained its offices at 37 Montgomery Street.[30]

Wright did not enjoy the San Francisco climate. His asthmatic condition became intolerable in November 1862 and he asked the War Department's permission to move at least part of his headquarters to Sacramento. It is not believed that the move was authorized but, from time to time, Wright's correspondence bore a Sacramento address. In 1864, however, General Wright received an opportunity to reside in Sacramento when the Army transferred him from the Department of the Pacific (Districts of California, Oregon, Humboldt, Utah, and Southern California) to commander of the District of California (harbor defenses of San Francisco Bay, provost guard in San Francisco, and the several posts in Northern

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28. Leland Stanford, Sacramento, September 4, 1862, to Abraham Lincoln, *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 99.

29. [Sixth U.S. Army], "History of the Presidio," p. 44; Department of the Pacific, G.O. 21, June 10, 1863; AAG Drum, September 26, 1864, to CO, Alcatraz; and Department of the Pacific, S.O. 282, December 29, 1864, all three in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 479, 991, and 1108.

30. Henry G. Langley, *1862 San Francisco Directory*, p. 572.

California). Replacing him as department commander came Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell.[31]

Raised in France and graduated from West Point, McDowell became an artillery officer in 1838. Experienced in the Mexican War, he rose to brigadier general in 1862. Confederate forces forced McDowell's untrained troops into a rout in the first Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) (July 21, 1861). Alas, he also received part of the blame for the second Bull Run disaster (August 1862). That marked the end of his combat experience in the Civil War. But McDowell possessed considerable administrative abilities and the future would bring those skills to bear on the Presidio in no uncertain terms. Shortly after McDowell's arrival the Secretary of War wrote that he seemed to be getting along well with the local officials, "McDowell has been in command for a very short period. He is believed to be an officer of good administrative faculty, although unfortunate in the field, and to be rigidly honest." No sooner than taking command on July 1, 1864, McDowell announced he would inspect the post and the troops of the Presidio and the other Bay Area installations. The general made a public appearance at the July 4 celebration at Washington Square. The crowd was anxious to see the new commander fresh from the fighting in the East. The orator of the day, Henry W. Bellows, president of the United States Sanitary Commission, denounced slavery and called for kind treatment of the Chinese. Presidio troops did not march on this occasion but eighty members of the city's Provost Guard did attend.[32]

McDowell, accompanied by California's Governor Frederick Law, inspected the harbor defenses on steam tug *Goliah* on July 13, 1864. Two companies of soldiers and an artillery salvo greeted the visitors at Fort Point. The fort's guns fired six rounds at targets mounted at Lime Point. Regrettably, the shells exploded soon after leaving the muzzles. The cause of the premature explosions was attributed to ten-year-old fuses that had deteriorated.[33]

McDowell had only one year of this sojourn to exert his influence on the Department. In June 1865, peace returning to the nation, the Army underwent yet another reorganization, creating a new Military

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31. Wright, November 8, 1862, to the War Department; Wright, Organization of the Department of the Pacific, 1862; and Headquarters of the Pacific, July 5, 1864, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 210-11, 272, and 891.

32. Sect. of War Edwin N. Stanton, August 18, 1864, to Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant; Headquarters, Department of the Pacific, Circular, July 5, 1864, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 891 and 949; Sifakis, *Who Was Who*, pp. 414-415; McHenry, ed., *American Military Biographies*, p. 263; *Alta California*, July 6, 1864.

33. *Alta California*, July 14, 15, and 22, 1864.

Division of the Pacific. Maj. Gen. Henry Wager Halleck (who also had soldiered in California) arrived to take command. McDowell climbed down the ladder a bit and took over the Department of California, pushing aside Wright who now became commander of the Department of the Columbia, from where he had come. He did not get to see the Pacific Northwest again; General and Mrs. Wright drowned on board SS *Brother Jonathan* when she wrecked and sank en route to the Columbia in July 1865.[34]

Southern sympathizers existed throughout California during the Civil War. Although they (or their voices) never amounted to a significant number in the Bay Area, General Wright followed War Department orders and arrested those giving "aid and comfort to the enemy" or for "any other disloyal practice."[35] To aid efforts in keeping the peace, Wright established a provost guard in San Francisco in February 1862. Quarters and stables for twenty-five men of the 2d California Cavalry were erected on Harrison Street. This guard kept tabs on the military as well as on trouble-makers. Newspapers announced that "all soldiers visiting the city, either passing through or under special orders will immediately report at the office of the Provost Marshal.[36]

A variety of units and their officers composed the guard during the war years. When Maj. Thomas Wright transferred from northern California to San Francisco in 1864, he first served as assistant provost marshal before taking command of the Presidio. The guard reached its maximum size in April 1865 during the funeral observations for President Lincoln (Companies F and G, 9th Infantry; Company A, 6th California Infantry; and Companies B and H, 2d California Infantry; total eight officers and 206 men). The very next month these outfits received orders to return to their respective stations. The war was over, but the provost marshal kept his office open until July.[37]

The Confederate ship *Alabama* created a scare in San Francisco early in 1863. The British had built this crack commerce raider and secretly transferred it to the Confederacy in September 1862. Under her

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34. E.D. Townsend, Washington, June 25, 1865, to Halleck, and June 27, 1865, to McDowell, *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1266-1267; Hunt, *Army of the Pacific*, pp. 361-362. The Wrights were buried in the City Cemetery, Sacramento. Son Thomas's body was also buried there.

35. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 6.

36. *Daily Appeal*, Marysville, February 11, 1862.

37. Post Returns, PSF, 1864-1865. There are returns for the Provost Guard for these two years only.

brilliant captain, Raphael Semmes, she had significant successes in the Atlantic before sailing around Africa, as far as Singapore. A concerned General Wright wrote Washington in January 1863 that *Alabama* was wreaking havoc somewhere on the high seas and "apprehensions [are] entertained that enemy steamers may threaten harbor of San Francisco. Troops in forts on the alert. War steamers necessary to co-operate with forts in harbor. No government vessels at San Francisco." Wright also wrote the commander of the Mare Island Navy Yard asking for assistance. But the Navy could not help nor could the Collector of Customs. Neither had vessels. *Alabama*, however, did not approach San Francisco, and the crisis passed.[38]

Following the *Alabama* scare came the *J.M. Chapman* incident. General Wright explained it to Washington in March 1863. For weeks he had been suspicious that rebel cruisers were being outfitted to prey on Pacific commerce, particularly on gold-carrying steamers. One particular schooner, *J.M. Chapman*, attracted attention. Finally she cleared customs allegedly heading for Manzanillo, Mexico, with a cargo of machinery and merchandise, with an ordinary crew and no passengers. The port collector, Ira Rankin, thought otherwise and requested USS *Cyane* to seize the vessel before she left the bay. The boarding party discovered fifteen passengers, a cannon, and ammunition. All the men were confined to Alcatraz Island, "The persons arrested will be considered military prisoners. No one, other than [army officers] is permitted to see them." One of the passengers turned state's witness and declared that the ringleader had shown him a letter of marque signed by President Jefferson Davis, CSA. The whole affair created a great alarm in the public; but calm returned eventually. As far fetched as it seemed, this incident was about the closest thing to Civil War activity that came to San Francisco.[39]

The Confederate commerce raider *Shenandoah* captained by Ltr. James I. Waddell, formerly U.S. Navy, created the only real cause for alarm in the Pacific when it destroyed the New England whaling fleet in the north Pacific in 1865. A Confederate agent purchased the vessel (then named *Sea King*) in England in 1864. Lieutenant Waddell took command of the renamed CSS *Shenandoah* off Madeira where it had

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38. J.G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1953), pp. 588-590; Wright, telegram, January 31, 1863, to War Department, Senate Executive Document 70, 50th Congress, 2d session; Wright, January 26, 1863, to CO, Navy Yard, Mare Island; and Ira P. Rankin, Custom House, San Francisco, February 12, 1863, to Wright, last two in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, p. 2, pp. 294-295 and 311.

39. Wright, March 24 and April 14, 1863, to War Department;R.C. Drum, March 16, 1863, to CO, Alcatraz, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 363-364, 355, and 391-392.

been clandestinely outfitted and armed that fall. His mission was to damage and disperse the great American whaling fleet, "a source of abundant wealth to our enemies and a nursery for their seaman." Setting sail, *Shenandoah* quickly captured and sank her first enemy, American bark *Alina*, on October 30, 1864. By the summer of 1865 she had reached the Sea of Okhotsk off Siberia and between June 21 and 28 destroyed or ransomed twenty-one whalers, virtually wiping out the whaling fleet. Waddell next planned to attack San Francisco but learned from a passing British ship that the Confederate government had collapsed in April. *Shenandoah* made a run for England and docked at Liverpool November 6, 1865. Waddell remained in England until the United States granted amnesty.

Waddell proudly described his adventure,

> "The *Shendandoah* was actually cruising but eight months after the enemy's property, during which time she made thirty-eight captures, an average of a fraction over four per month.
>
> She released six on bond and destroyed thirty-two.
>
> She visited every ocean except the Antarctic Ocean.
>
> She was the only [Confederate] vessel which carried the flag around the world. . . .
>
> The last gun in the defense of the South was fired from her deck on the 22d of June, Arctic Ocean. . . .
>
> I claim for her officers and men a triumph over their enemies and over every obstacle, and for myself I claim having done my duty.[40]

Confederate ambitions to seize portions of northern Mexico and gold steamers came to naught. Union forces in the Bay Area would gladly have taken the credit for thwarting rebel schemes. But *Shenandoah* must have given San Franciscans a scare.

During the war years several international visitors came to San Francisco. In September 1863 Rear Adm.

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40. *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Series 1, 3: 749-838. See also Brainerd Dyer, "Confederate Naval and Privateering Activities in the Pacific," *Pacific Historical review*, 3 (1934): 432-443. In postwar years Waddell sailed for private shipping companies. On May 16, 1877, his ship, *San Francisco*, on the Pacific Mail's San Francisco-Yokohana run, struck at reef and sank – no loss of life. The sailor died in Annapolis, Maryland, on March 15, 1886. *Webster's American Military Biographies*; Douglas S. Brooks, "The Navy in the Civil War in California," *Salvo* (Spring, 1990), pp. 34-35; Griffith H. Williams, "The Last Shot of the Civil War," *Alaska Magazine* (July 1988), pp. 37-38.

John Kingcome, commander in chief of Her Majesty's considerable Naval Forces in the Pacific, flagship *Sutlej*; paid a visit. *Sutlej* failed to observe wartime regulations concerning identification and the commanding officer of Alcatraz (and probably the commander of Fort Point) fired an empty round across her bow. An angry admiral demanded an explanation, but failed to receive adequate satisfaction.[41]

The Russians received a different reception. Shortly after the *Sutlej* incident a Russian squadron of six ships under Rear Adm. A.A. Popov (Popoff) arrived at San Francisco. Alexander II of Russian held a sincere friendship for the United States and the dispatch of his navy was meant to show his respect for President Lincoln. But the real reason was for the czar to have his fleet at sea in case diplomatic disputes with France and Britain caused by their sympathy for the Poles exploded into a European war. The Russian government had severely repressed the Polish people during the preceding winter of 1862-1863. San Franciscans warmly welcomed the visitors and when the foreign sailors helped to extinguish a fire in the city, their welcome intensified. A ball climaxed the visit:

> The Citizens of San Francisco desiring to give expression to the feelings of amity and respect which they entertain towards Russia as a Nation, respectfully tender to Admiral A.A. Popoff and Officers of H.I.M. Squadron a complimentary ball to be given at Union Hall on Tuesday Evening November 17, 1863. You are cordially invited to attend.

Brig. Gen. George Wright, USA, served on the Committee of Arrangements.[42]

The French occupation of Mexico caused a flurry of activity at San Francisco in the fall of 1864. The United States had enacted a prohibition against the export of arms during the war. That did not stop San Francisco merchant Nicholas Larco from assisting a Mexican agent to collect munitions and transports to aid the republican government forces in Mexico. The climax occurred in the fall when Charles James, Collector of the Port of San Francisco, seized the vessels *San Diego* and *Haze* and their cargo. With the support of Washington, he did not return them until the close of the Civil War.[43]

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41. Schlicke, *Wright*, p. 284; *Daily Alta California*, October 2, 1863; John A. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz, Guardian of the Golden Gate* (Kailua: Pacific Monograph, 1990), pp. 44-46.

42. Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1971), pp. 202-203; Invitation, McDowell Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Randall, *Civil War*, p. 475; Hunt, *Army of the Pacific*, p. 310. A second Russian squadron visited New York.

43. In addition to 20,000 rounds of ammunition on the vessels, the authorities seized 529 cases of ammo in the city. The Mexican minister to Washington was furious,

A last alert during Wright's regime occurred early in 1864. On February 26, the commanders of the Presidio and the other posts received a message that read, "The department commander desires you to exercise the greatest watchfulness to guard against a surprise of the post under your command. No body of men will be permitted to land on any island occupied for military defense, or come within any military reservation." All officers were to be with their commands between tattoo and reveille. Not until three weeks later did the probable cause of these orders appear. Wright informed California's governor, F.F. Low, that a French fleet had blockaded Mexican ports on the Pacific and that France was sympathetic to the Confederacy. He said that a French occupation of Sonora would imperil California, which the French coveted. At this same time San Francisco newspapers alarmed citizens by saying Confederate ships would attack the city. As so often before, calm overcame any nervousness.[44]

In 1864 the War Department, alarmed by the breach in security, seized a series of photographs that showed the fortifications on Alcatraz Island. Six months later, the Quartermaster General, Brig. Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, issued a circular directing the taking of photographs of "hospitals, barracks, quarters or other building intended for or occupied by troops." In March 1865, when Col. Allen L. Anderson, 8th California Volunteer Infantry, commanded Fort Point, San Francisco photographers Bradley and Rulofson (the same who had photographed Alcatraz) took six views of the interior of the fort. Capt. James Ulio, 6th California Volunteer Infantry and commander of the San Francisco Provost Guard, seized the photographs on March 28. Unlike the Alcatraz incident, the Army returned the plates to the photographers two days later.[45]

A time of tension during General McDowell's first term as commander occurred during the federal elections in 1864. On November 7 the Department issued orders for "the troops at Fort Point, Presidio, Point San Jose, Alcatraz, and Angel Island, and on duty in San Francisco, will be held in readiness for

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claiming that San Francisco authorities had allowed a French transport to leave the harbor with munitions. "Correspondence, etc., Relating to the Attempted Export of Arms from San Francisco, 1864," McDowell Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

44. Drum, February 26, 1864, to all commanders; Wright, March 18, 1864, to F.F. Low, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 771 and 791-792; *Daily Alta California*, March 18, 1864. France withdrew its designs on Mexico in 1866.

45 *Alta California*, March 31, 1865. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, pp. 47-49, describes the Alcatraz incident and the subsequent disappearance of the photographs and their discovery more than 100 years later.

service at a minute's warning from early tomorrow morning till the morning of the 9th instant. No officer or soldier will be suffered to be absent from his company or post." The officers and men from the Presidio and Fort Point assembled at the Fort Point engineer wharf at 7:30 a.m. on the 8th, ready to be transported to the city. The orders added that all soldiers eligible to vote would be allowed to do so. Following the election a relieved General Wright at Sacramento recorded, "the election yesterday passed off very quietly. No disturbance of any kind. The overwhelming majority for the Union ticket."[46]

The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln five months later plunged the city and the troops into deepest gloom. Col. Thomas Wright at the Presidio received orders to hold his troops in readiness to come into the city without delay if so ordered. He suspended all passes "until the existing excitement has subsided." That same day Mayor H.P. Coon asked McDowell to send in at least 500 troops. Companies from both the Presidio and Alcatraz proceeded to the provost guard establishment on Harrison Street where they came under the direction of the chief of police, M.L. Burke.[47]

Excitement in the city rose to great heights when news of the assassination spread. Angry mobs attacked Democratic and foreign newspaper offices. General McDowell allegedly approached an angry crowd besieging a French paper on Sacramento Street. He addressed the mob, "My Friends, while your course today was very wrong, it was very natural, and . . . you have . . . perhaps saved me some trouble. Now I want you to save me further trouble by dispersing and going quietly to your homes." They did.

A private in the California Volunteer Infantry described the mood of the city, "The Excitement is intents here. The [flags] are hanging from windows and doors and waving over house tops. . . . The[y] had to call the soldiers into the City to Suppress the difficulty, but I believe there was no lives lost. I went with my company, and we laid there till about one or two o'clock in the morning. All things have been quite [sic] since, but we [are] not allowed to leave the garrison, for there is a chance for an outbreak in the City at any moment.[48]

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46. Special Orders 242, November 7, 1864, Department of the Pacific; Wright, November 9, 1864, to Drum, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1048 and 1052-1053.

47. Drum, April 17, 1865, to CO, Presidio; McDowell, April 17, 1865, to Coon; Special Orders 85, April 17, 1865, Department of the Pacific, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1198-1199.

48. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 11; Pvt. George Orr, 2d California Volunteer Infantry, April 17, 1865, to E.W. Morse, Morse Papers,

The funeral parade for the dead president took place on April 19. Troops assembled at Washington Square at 10 a.m. Col. Thomas Wright commanded the parade; while the half-hour guns on Alcatraz Island boomed across the bay. All the other posts, including the Presidio and Fort Point fired 21-minute guns.[49]

Four years of civil war had resulted in the Presidio expanding physically into a major western post. In the beginning, General Wright concentrated his 9th Infantry Regiment at the post ready to be dispatched to wherever trouble arose. By the close of the strife, the Presidio's garrison consisted largely of California volunteers including the 2d and 7th California Volunteer Infantry, while the 9th Infantry was scattered over northern California and the Pacific Northwest, sometimes serving as artillery troops for which role it had trained. The newly-organized 7th California served at the Presidio in the Fort Point area from November 1864 to May 1865. Not having its own commissary officer, the 7th drew its rations from the 2d California Volunteers. Before long several California newspapers published letters from the 7th's enlisted men complaining that the daily ration "was not enough for one meal." One paper, the *American Flag*, directed charges of incompetence against General MacDowell and against Mrs. MacDowell, the latter for entertaining "hostile political elements" at a ball. The military at first attempted to ignore complaints from the "Hungry Seventh." Then, on February 4, 1865, MacDowell announced that he would inspect the Presidio. Shortly, the Army secured a new contractor, the food improved, and the complaints disappeared.[50]

Southern sympathizers did not cause significant problems in the Bay Area, but army troops proceeded to settle such problems that did occur. West Coast soldiers did not win the fame and glory of their eastern brothers, fame that led to the leadership positions in the postwar army. They did, however, do their duty and remained prepared through uncertain times.

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California Section, State Library, Sacramento.

49. Special Orders 86, April 18, 1865, Department of the Pacific, *ORs*, Series 1, vol 50, pt. 2, p. 1201.

50. Robert Joseph Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War, 1861-1865" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Riverside, 1978), pp. 358-361.

Eadweard Muybridge Photographs

A Folio

Eadweard Muybridge, 1830-1904, English-American photographer and motion picture pioneer. Christened Edward James Muggeridge, the Englishman became a photographer for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. In 1877 he settled an old argument by demonstrating with photographs that when a horse runs, there is a moment when all the animal's feet are off the ground. He published *Animal Locomotion* in 1887 – eleven volumes including 100,000 photographic plates.

Muybridge photographed the Presidio of San Francisco about 1867 or 1868, and Fort Point at the same time. The U.S. Army at the Presidio borrowed the Presidio photographs from the collections of the San Francisco College for Women, made copy negatives, and returned the original prints to the college. Some years later, the Bancroft Library, at the University of California at Berkeley, acquired the original Muybridge prints.

Althought the correspondence has not yet been found to prove it, Historian John Martini believes that the U.S. Army contracted with Muybridge to take all of these views. The presence of the Fort Point views in army records in the National Archives provides circumstantial evidence in that direction, and it is quite possible that Muybridge prints of the Presidio once were government property that passed into private hands. At the very least, Muybridge would have needed army permission to make those photographs on army posts, and the army would have extracted a set of prints in exchange for that permission. What happened to the Army's prints is not known, but many Presidio records are missing from the National Archives, apparently never having been sent there.*

**Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*, 18: 223; Gordon Chappell, March 14, 1995, to writer.