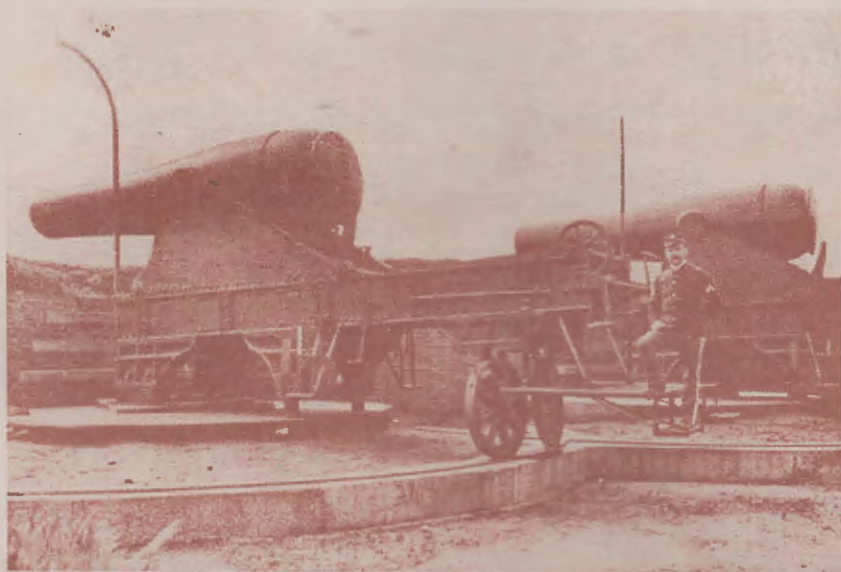




The Journal of America's Military Past

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During the Civil War, and on into the first decade of the 20th Century, Alcatraz Island was one of the lynchpins for the defense of San Francisco Bay. This photograph depicts only a small part of the armament that this natural fort boasted. *National Park Service.*

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Civil War Defenses of San Francisco Bay

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San Francisco was separated from the scene of conflict of the Civil War by hundreds of miles of sparsely settled territory and two great mountain ranges. It was 11,000 miles away by sea. California seemed to be too far from the fighting to be actively involved. But, while the majority of Californians remained loyal to the Union, there was a vocal minority who for a time openly advocated secession. When it became inadvisable, if not actually dangerous, to openly avow sympathy with the Confederacy, expressions of disloyalty assumed different and more subtle forms, which created fear among many of San Francisco's residents. Two prominent, secret, pro-Confederacy organizations, the Knights of the Columbian Star and the Knights of the Golden Circle, were believed to be active in the state and possess considerable numerical strength.¹

There was uncertainty regarding the loyalty of the commander of federal troops on the West Coast. The outgoing administration of President James Buchanan had dismayed pro-Union citizens in November of 1860 by combining the Army's Departments of California and Oregon into a single Department of the Pacific and giving command of it to Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston, a Texan who was suspected of being a Southern sympathizer. Johnston arrived in San Francisco on January 14, 1861, and the next day assumed command of the huge new Department.

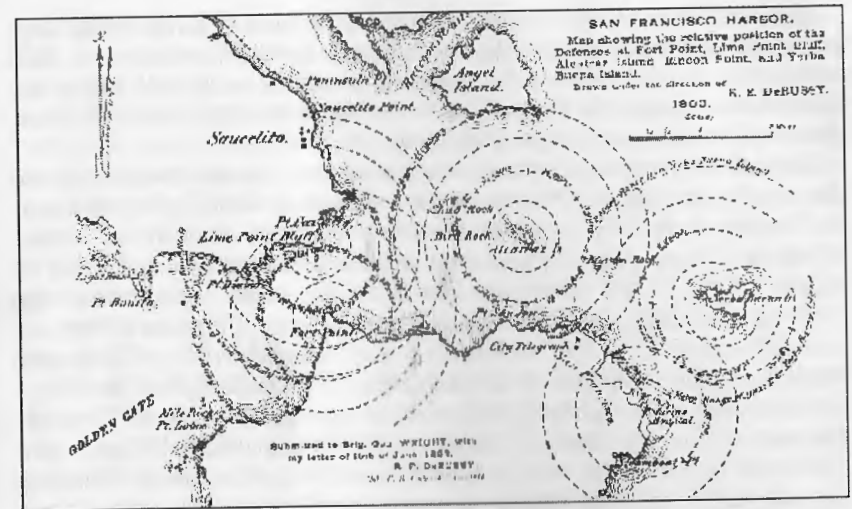
Despite the Unionists' concern, Johnston carried out his duties loyally. Responding to orders from General Winfield Scott, he brought in troops from some of the posts in the field to garrison and strengthen San Francisco's unfinished harbor defenses at Fort Point. He also transferred 10,000 rifled muskets from Benicia to Alcatraz and ordered the commander of that island fortress to be on full alert and defend it "against all efforts to seize it." Nevertheless, shortly after his

home state of Texas seceded from the Union, Johnston resigned his commission on 10 April 1861, but agreed to continue in his post until his successor arrived. When General Edwin V. "Bull Head" Sumner arrived and assumed command of the Department of the Pacific on April 25, 1861, a great burden of anxiety was lifted from the minds of many loyal citizens.²

Since control of San Francisco Bay was tantamount to control of the Pacific coast, as well as control of the shipment of California's gold, defending the city had actually been a concern long before the Civil War. San Francisco was the place of the greatest economic and strategic value on the entire West Coast. That is why military and naval installations had been located there ever since the early days of the U.S. occupation.³ Nevertheless, during the Civil War, San Francisco's residents feared that it could not be successfully defended against an attack in force by sea or land.

The Plan of 1850 called for forts to be constructed on both sides of the Golden Gate to prevent enemy ships from entering the bay. As a result, one of the earliest steps toward defending San Francisco was the building of Fort Winfield Scott, better known as Fort Point, on the northernmost tip of the San Francisco peninsula (which was also the south side of the Golden Gate). The spot, which had first been fortified by the Spanish in 1794, who christened the small adobe gun battery "Castillo de San Joaquin," had been abandoned since Mexican independence in 1821. Fort Point had been undergoing construction since the mid-1850s. By 1861, the construction was virtually finished. However, the armament behind its three-foot-thick walls was hopelessly antiquated. When Company I of the 3rd U.S. Artillery Regiment moved into the fort in February 1861, it became the keepers of a fort without any cannons. The fort would not receive its guns for the casemates or barbettes for nearly three months. Since Confederate sympathizers boasted that they could easily capture the fort, when the first cannons arrived they were placed on the barbette tier facing south to repel a land attack rather than north to fend off an enemy fleet. By the end of 1861, however, additional cannons arrived and were placed in the casements and the barbette facing the channel.⁴

The Plan called further for the establishment of an ancillary fortification inside the bay on Alcatraz Island. When the war began the strongest of the harbor's fixed defenses was Alcatraz, the steep-sided rock island in mid-bay, about 1.5 miles from the city. The first steps towards fortifying the island were taken in 1854, but little progress was made until 1860, when work began to proceed more quickly. On December 30, 1859, Captain Joseph Stewart, in command of Company H, 3rd Artillery, occupied Alcatraz with his troops.



A map of San Francisco defenses showing the Golden Gate Narrows, Alcatraz (in the center of the bay), and the city proper to the south of that island.

By the time the Civil War started in 1861, Alcatraz had seventy-seven smoothbore cannon, rows of open gun emplacements carved out of the island's slopes, and a fortified gateway, or sally port, protecting the road to the brick citadel that crowned the island's highest point. In addition to encircling batteries, it had a three-story-high barracks and three bombproof magazines that each held 10,000 pounds of powder. Other buildings included a large furnace for heating cannon balls, and a 50,000-gallon cistern for fresh water. By 1862 the Army decided to increase the armament to 124 cannon, including massive 15-inch Rodman guns. The first of these new cannons was not mounted until July of 1864. In August of 1861 Alcatraz was designated as the military prison for the Department of the Pacific and became the Army's first long-term prison. It would also serve as a detention center for political prisoners during the Civil War. By the end of the war more than 400 soldiers would be stationed on the island, and cannon batteries guarded nearly every side.⁵

About twenty-five miles northeast of San Francisco, on an arm of San Pablo Bay, was the Mare Island Naval Shipyard, founded by U.S. Navy Captain David Farragut in 1854. It was the only facility on the Pacific coast where oceangoing ships could be repaired and refitted. Nearby was the Benicia Arsenal, which also dated from the 1850s and which housed large stores of arms, ammunition, clothing, food, and an assortment of other military supplies.⁶

The presence of these installations alone would have made San Francisco and its environs a tempting prize for the Confederacy. But within the city itself were other prizes, among them the U.S. Mint, the Customhouse, and the Post Office, all likely to contain gold and silver that the Confederacy desperately needed.

Early in the war San Franciscans feared an overland invasion from the south and east. Arizona settlements had little sympathy for the Union, considering themselves to have been abandoned to the Apaches. On August 1, 1861 the Confederacy had annexed what it called "the Arizona Territory, Confederate States of America." In December of that year Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley of Louisiana arrived in the Mesilla Valley of Arizona with artillery and three mounted regiments of Texans. Sibley's plans included invading California and raising the Stars and Bars over San Francisco. Toward the end of March, 1862 Confederate forces got within 80 miles of California before they were stopped by a Union Column at Stanwix Station along the Gila River. News of the Stanwix Station incident caused the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* to note, "The Secesh are bringing the war pretty close." However, after Sibley's defeat at Glorieta Pass east of Santa Fe on March 28, 1862, he began a long retreat back to Texas. With his departure from New Mexico, the fear of an overland attack disappeared.

Even so, San Franciscans still feared that a fast and determined ship could easily slip through the Golden Gate, under cover of fog, sail past Alcatraz and seize the Mare Island Naval Shipyard and the Benicia Arsenal, or possibly turn its guns on the city. They also feared that Confederate troops could easily dash down the Napa Valley for the same purpose. The commandant of Mare Island was given authority to erect earthworks for the defense of the Navy yard.

In 1861, an inspection of the harbor's defenses was so dismaying that it was not made public. It revealed that the harbor was short of at least 200 guns and the appropriate ammunition that it needed at least 1,550 artillerymen to man its defenses, and that most of the defenses had yet to be built.⁸ Both Fort Point and Alcatraz artillery were to be ready for instant action. If any vessels were spotted flying the Confederate flag, they were to be immediately stopped or "fired into and sunk." However, San Francisco's military commanders were not that confident. In September 1862, Captain William A. Winder, commanding Fort Alcatraz, complained that his storehouses were not sufficient in number, his prisoners were too numerous, and his water supply was insecure in the event of any enemy attack.⁹

The fortification of the north shore of the Golden Gate was never completed. Work on fortifications at Lime Point would not begin

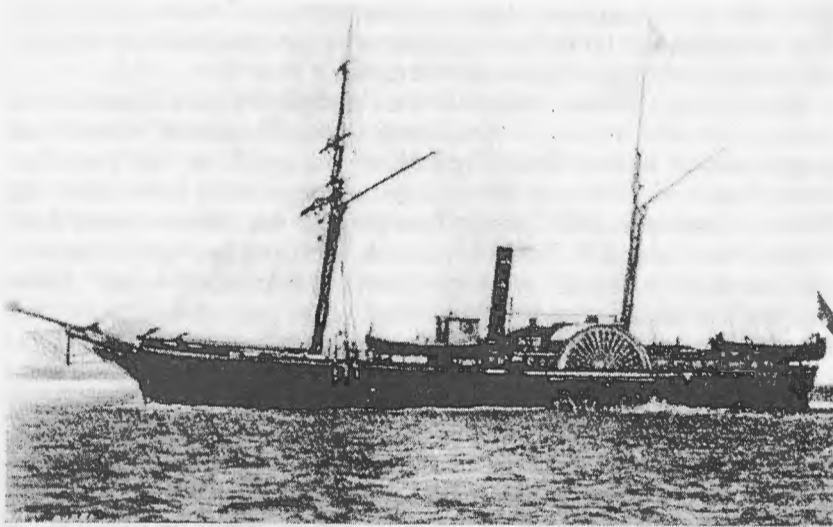
until 1868 and was suspended soon after the initial excavation began. The landowner of Lime Point and the government could never agree on a price, and that fort was never built.

The Plan of 1850 also called for the construction of an inner-line of batteries located inside of the Golden Gate. It included defenses on Angel Island¹⁰ and at Point San Jose on the northern San Francisco waterfront.¹¹ However, cannons were not mounted at either site until 1864. In February 1863 Commodore Thomas Selfridge, commandant of the Mare Island Naval Shipyard, suggested placing a battery of guns at Rincon Point on Yerba Buena Island. This would allow a crossfire on any vessel that might get past Alcatraz on the city side.¹²

When the Civil War began, the U.S. Navy was unable to contribute to the defense of this vital city and its port. The Pacific Squadron consisted of only six vessels scattered all over the Pacific Ocean, protecting merchant shipping. Traveling at the rate of nine to thirteen knots, these ships cruised along the coast from San Francisco to Panama, sailing as far north as Alaska and south to Chile. They also visited Hawaii to guard the U.S. whaling fleet. Along the coast of China and Japan they protected the U.S. commerce from piratical Chinese junks. Even Australia and the South Seas were included in their itinerary.

Commodore Charles H. Bell, who took command of the U.S. Navy's Pacific Squadron on January 2, 1862, described San Francisco's defenses in a letter he addressed to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on April 4, 1862, shortly after assuming command. He noted that there was only one fort on the southern side of the harbor entrance (Fort Point) and none on the northern side, but that Alcatraz Island was fortified. These were the only fortifications and Bell argued that a few large enemy steamers could easily pass the forts and that "... the City of San Francisco is key to the whole of California and ... [if] the possession of a formidable power, the state might be lost to the Union."¹³ Bell recommended assigning a single steam-ram to the harbor, with a few heavy guns mounted on it.

On February 3, 1863, the Mare Island Naval Shipyard Commandant acknowledged a telegram from the Secretary of the Navy authorizing use of the *Independence*, then at Mare Island, "or any other measures necessary for the protection of the City of San Francisco from attack."¹⁴ The 190-foot *Independence* was the first ship-of-the-line commissioned in the U.S. Navy. Launched on June 22, 1814, the *Independence* had entered Mare Island Navy Yard in 1857 to serve as a receiving ship. The old *Independence* was obviously not suited to guard San Francisco harbor, so Mare Island Naval Shipyard Com-



The small, delicate-looking lighthouse tender *Shubrick* was a mainstay of the city's defensive flotilla. USCG photo.

mandant Thomas Selfridge wrote to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on behalf the city's citizens, stating that because

...apprehensions exist in regard to the passage of a rebel steamer by the forts in San Francisco Harbor in a fog, or in a dark night, I deem it important that a man of war be anchored in those waters to cooperate with the forts against attack, and to afford protection to that part of the city lying beyond the range of the fort's guns...¹⁵

Several months later Commandant Selfridge would send another request to the Secretary of the Navy.

The mercantile community of San Francisco has expressed much anxiety in regard to the disturbance of commerce on this coast by rebel steamers, and in consequence of this expression I was induced to say in my telegram that more steamers were required to check privateering. If there could be a larger naval force of steamers in these waters it is very probable that it would deter, at least, the equipment of privateers.¹⁶

Welles did not agree with Commandant Selfridge's concerns. He stubbornly opposed withdrawing vessels from the blockading squadrons to guard any city against what he considered largely

imaginary perils. Welles would divert only a few ships from blockading southern ports to scour the seas in search of the Confederate raiders.¹⁷ San Franciscans believed throughout the war that ships of the U.S. Pacific Squadron would be more frequently seen in Panama or Valparaiso than at San Francisco. At the beginning of the war Welles had ordered the commander of the Pacific Squadron to concentrate his force on the route of the mail steamers from San Francisco to Panama, not on protecting San Francisco Harbor.¹⁸

The only armed government vessel available to protect San Francisco was the U.S. Revenue Cutter *William L. Marcy*, a 94-foot topsail schooner. In April 1861, following the firing on Fort Sumter, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase ordered that the *Marcy* be fitted for sea as part of the blockade of the Confederacy. However, it soon became apparent that the cost of repairs and armament would exceed what it had cost to build the vessel.¹⁹

In August 1861, the lighthouse tender *Shubrick*, a 140-foot side-wheel steamer, was transferred from the Lighthouse Service to the Revenue Marine Service. *Shubrick* carried a crew of thirty-five and under sail was rigged as a brigantine. Her armament included two 12-pounder guns, two 12-pounder brass Dahlgren guns, one 24-pounder brass Dahlgren gun, and one 30-pounder Rifled Parrott gun. For most of the Civil War, the *Shubrick* acted as the guard ship for San Francisco Harbor while continuing to carry out its normal peacetime duties of assisting vessels in distress, putting down mutinies, and enforcing the revenue laws.

The small *Shubrick* seemed inadequate to defend the city from an enemy warship that might pass through the Golden Gate. San Franciscans feared not only enemy warships but also privateers being fitted out in French-occupied Mexico or British Columbia, where British and United States troops both occupied parts of San Juan Island since 1859 because of a dispute over which nation owned the island. The British reinforcement of Vancouver Island had ignited fears the British forces might attempt to seize California while the United States was preoccupied with the Civil War in the east.²⁰ San Juan Island would be under joint military occupation until 1871. The British Navy had fourteen of its warships in the Pacific in 1862.

San Franciscans did breathe a little easier on February 16, 1863 when the 132-foot sloop, the U.S.S. *Cyane*, arrived at San Francisco, under the command of Lieutenant Commander Paul Shirley. The oldest vessel in the Pacific Squadron, launched in 1837, the *Cyane's* orders were to anchor in a location that would enable it to defend a portion of the city which could not be covered by the guns of Fort Alcatraz, and to remain there until relieved by the U.S.S. *Saginaw*. At

last, it seemed, a Navy warship would be defending the city and its harbor. The *Cyane* would end up helping to foil a plot by Confederate sympathizers.

About a year earlier, around the middle of 1862, a group of Confederate supporters in San Francisco decided on a daring plan that would help their cause. The plan was to buy a fast sailing vessel, man her with a crew of adventurous young Southerners, and after secretly arming her, slip out of the harbor before federal authorities discovered what was going on. Once on the high seas, they planned to intercept and capture one of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company vessels which carried California's gold to the east coast. They would transfer their armament to the captured ship and continue on their way, acting as a Confederate privateer, attacking every Union merchant vessel they encountered.

On February 17, 1863, the privately-owned schooner *J. M. Chapman* arrived in the city from New York in the record-breaking time of only 130 days. A former Kentuckian named Asbury Harpending purchased the schooner, hired a crew, and hauled supplies aboard. Inside the boxes ostensibly for a mining company in Mexico were arms and ammunition. To avoid suspicion the Confederates had a Mexican friend purchase the shipment. Unfortunately for Harpending, the skipper he hired for the *Chapman* talked, and his words soon reached interested ears. Shirley, commanding officer of the U.S.S. *Cyane*, and his Marine officer, Lieutenant Charles H. Daniels, got two boatloads of Marines armed and ready to go. On Friday, March 15, 1863, Harpending and his crew boarded the *Chapman*. The loose-lipped skipper, William C. Law, was still ashore, apparently enjoying liberty. When the planned midnight sailing time arrived and Law was still not aboard, Harpending finally concluded that Law had turned against him and prepared to make a run for it without the captain. But no sooner had the schooner left the pier than Harpending discovered two boats full of Marines in hot pursuit, while the *Cyane's* guns aimed at the *Chapman*, and another small boat steamed out, full of local police and government officials. In a few moments the *Chapman* was captured by so many people there was hardly room for them all. A search of the *Chapman* revealed not only arms and ammunition, but also incriminating documents.²¹

The *Chapman* incident caused San Franciscans to think again of their exposed state. Rumors spread that other privateering vessels were being fitted out to prey upon California commerce or attack the city. Articles about the harbor's lack of defenses and the danger from within and without appeared in city newspapers on almost a daily basis for several months, heightening the anxiety of city residents. The



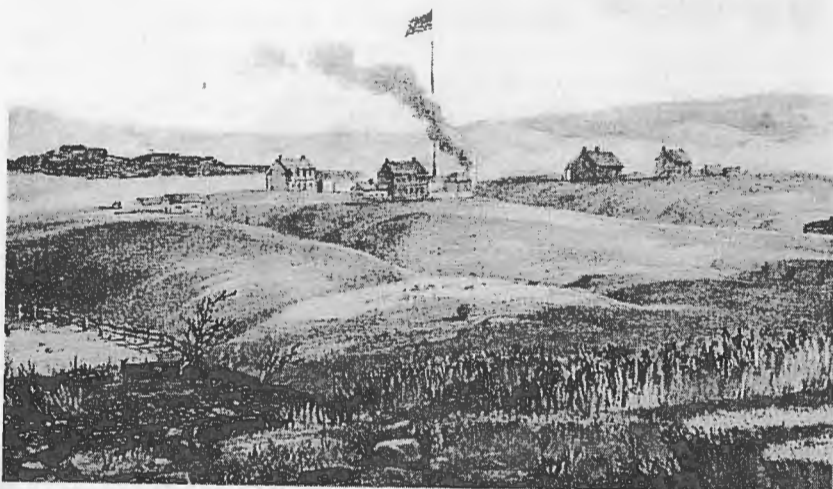
Alcatraz Island began as a formidable part of San Francisco's harbor defenses.

Alta California expressed the opinion of many San Franciscans when it printed an editorial entitled "Our Danger" which stated in part:

...some pirate, fitted up like the *Chapman*, gets out of the harbor, captures one our steamers, transfers her armament to her and proceeds to prey upon our commerce; or it may be a rebel privateer envelopes herself in smoke and during the prevalence of fog enters the Golden Gate and makes her way around the harbor to Goat Island; or, it may be, moves on with the tide of a star-light night, hugs the shore closely opposite Fort Point, and gains the inside of the harbor unnoticed. What would then be the result? A demand for five millions of dollars could not well be resisted. A bombardment of an hour would set the town, as it is for the most part built of wood, on fire in fifty places. If a high wind—not at all improbably in summer—should be added, there is no power that we possess that would be sufficient to save San Francisco from destruction a third time.²²

A few days later, the *Alta California* stated in another editorial entitled "Our Defenses" that San Francisco was "separated a long way from succor in case of need. We must depend on ourselves in great measure, exposed to pirates, from within and without, and traitors all around us."²³

Partly in response to the *Chapman* incident and the resultant fears, the Secretary of the Treasury, on July 1, 1863, issued an order that no vessel, other than a steamer or packet known to be engaged in regular



Benicia Arsenal, although some distance from San Francisco, was still an important regional storehouse.

lines, or in the employ of the Army or Navy, would be allowed to leave a United States port, including San Francisco, between the hours of sunset and sunrise. Additionally, all vessels, on entering port, would have to report to the Revenue Cutter or Guard Ship before proceeding to anchorage.²⁴

From that time on, with the exception of occasional absences of a few days on customs business, the little steamer *Shubrick* would usually be anchored at her post, midway between Meiggs' Wharf (between Mason and Powell Streets) and Fort Point, ready for any threats. A system of signals was arranged between the commanding officer of the *Shubrick* and the officers at Fort Point and Alcatraz by which the approach of a hostile vessel or fleet could be quickly communicated. On more than one occasion false alarms were given of the approach of a reportedly fearsome enemy that could destroy the city entirely and the vessels in the harbor. Once, after misreading a signal from Alcatraz Island, the *Shubrick* went on a cruise of some forty-eight hours in search of a suspicious vessel that no one had actually seen.²⁵

The spring and early summer of 1863 were difficult times for the Union. In early May the Confederates won at Chancellorsville, Virginia, at the cost of 17,278 killed, wounded, and missing Union

soldiers. By June, Robert E. Lee was driving his army northward into Pennsylvania. While the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg in early July would be Union victories, they were soon followed by the bloody Union defeat at Chickamauga in September. Meanwhile, Confederate commerce raiders, led by the *Alabama*, *Shenandoah*, and *Florida*, were destroying record numbers of Northern merchant ships.

During the summer and fall of 1863 the activity of these Confederate raiders reached their zenith. In August, the *Alabama* reached the South African coast and entered Cape Town. The following month she sailed into the Indian Ocean and captured Union ships. The *Alabama* then moved to the Far East to strike at Union commerce traffic in the China Seas, arriving at Singapore on December 21, 1863. The success of these Confederate ships not only impeded Northern commerce, it also spread panic to coastal cities like San Francisco.²⁶

The Confederate raid on Portland, Maine in June of 1863 made front page news. When this news reached San Francisco the fear increased that something similar might happen there. A Confederate cruiser, or Confederates disguised as merchant seamen, might enter San Francisco harbor and carry out a similar raid. On July 31, 1863, the *Alta California* commented that:

... [t]he loyal people of the Pacific Coast will be gratified to learn that strong and substantial earthworks are immediately to be constructed at various places in and about the city of San Francisco. One battery will be located on or near the corner of Beale and Harrison streets which will pretty effectually command the upper portion of the harbor. Then on Yerba Buena or Goat Island, there are to be two fortifications which will render the central portion of the bay secure against the attacks of any hostile armed vessel, which has run the gauntlet of Fort Point and Alcatraz. With three strong and well constructed earthworks at these points, and mounted with such guns as are now here and ready for use, little apprehension need at present be felt of damage to the city, from vessels which have entered the inner harbor.²⁷

The following day the *Alta California* noted:

The port of San Francisco, although so far removed hitherto from the seat of war, is at this moment liable to attack from one or more of the piratical craft of the rebels, which have inflicted such an incalculable amount of damage on the high seas and in the harbors of the ocean. Our comparatively defenseless condition has been for a long time known to the Government at Washington, and through the earnest and indefatigable

exertions of our Congressional delegation, together with the hearty cooperation of influential Californians, we are at last in a fair way of getting this great harbor on the Pacific coast, securely protected. [But] additional protection is needed beyond the fortifications at Fort Point and Alcatraz.²⁸

The article went on to discuss the government contract for the ironclad monitor *Camanche*. The 200-foot, 800-ton iron vessel was to be built on the East Coast, then disassembled and shipped to San Francisco for reassembly. San Franciscans desperately wanted an ironclad monitor to protect their harbor.

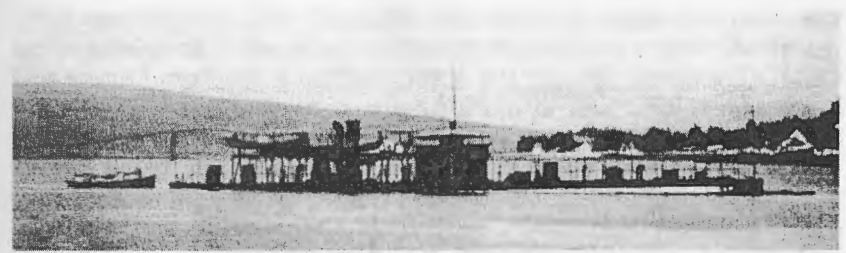
It would be the fall of 1863 before the monitor *Camanche* finally arrived in San Francisco, disassembled on board *Aquila*. Unfortunately the *Aquila* sank at her dock as a result of a severe storm on November 14, 1863, with the disassembled *Camanche* still on board. Eventually salvaged from *Aquila's* hulk, the *Camanche* was finally assembled in San Francisco and launched on November 14, 1864. She would not be commissioned until after the Civil War ended, in August 1865.²⁹

During this fearful period the city fathers found it comforting that Russia's Pacific Squadron was in San Francisco and would remain there for almost a year. The Russians appeared willing to help fight Confederate forces if they should attack the city. Rear Admiral Andrei Aleksandrovich Popov, commander of the squadron, issued orders to his officers that should a Confederate raider enter the port, the ranking officer of the squadron should at once give the signal "to put on steam and clear for action." At the same time, according to these instructions, an officer should be dispatched to the Confederate cruiser to hand to its commanding officer the following note:

According to the instructions received from His Excellency Rear-Admiral Popov, commander in chief of His Imperial Majesty's Pacific Squadron, the undersigned is directed to inform all whom it may concern, that the ships of the above mentioned squadron are bound to assist the authorities of every place where friendship is offered them, in all measures which may be deemed necessary by the local authorities, to repel any attempt against the security of the place.³⁰

If no attention was paid to this warning and the Confederate vessel should open fire it should be ordered to leave the harbor, and in case of refusal it should be attacked.

When Russian ambassador Edouard de Stoeckel learned of Popov's instructions, he immediately cabled the admiral. The



The monitor *Camanche*—which did not enter service until the war was over.

ambassador stated that the activities of Confederate corsairs in the open sea did not concern the Russians, even if they fired on the city's forts. It was Popov's duty to be strictly neutral. In case a Confederate raider passed the forts and threatened the city, Popov would then have the right, in the name of humanity and not for political reasons, to prevent this misfortune. Stoeckel hoped that the naval strength of Popov's squadron would defuse any potential clash and that Popov would not be obliged to use force and involve the Russian government in a situation that it was trying to avoid.³¹

Meanwhile, California's Adjutant General William C. Kibbe, in his report to Governor Leland Stanford of December 3, 1863, prepared a novel plan for the protection of San Francisco harbor. He proposed that revolving towers be constructed on each side of the Golden Gate. He specified that these towers be 100 feet in diameter and pierced for two tiers of guns, allowing ample space for thirty guns in each tier. Casemated guns were planned for the foundations of the towers. After completion of the towers, massive chains were to be laid across the Golden Gate. These chains, when raised by windlasses operated by steam engines, would check the speed of any enemy vessel and bring it under the fire of the guns in the towers. Kibbe argued that if the proposed plan would be followed, any navy in the world would be prevented from entering San Francisco harbor.³²

A Confederate privateer never entered the harbor, although the C.S.S. *Shenandoah* was planning to do so and caused the last scare for the city during the war. The Confederate commerce raider, under Commander James Iredell Waddell, CSN, had been in the Pacific Ocean, attacking and destroying most of the U.S. whaling fleet, since early 1865. News of General Robert E. Lee's surrender in mid-April traveled slowly and had not reached the vessel by late spring.

In San Francisco, the story of the *Shenandoah's* exploits began to emerge. In June 1865, the *Shenandoah* captured a ship named the William Thompson, whose captain told the *Shenandoah's* captain that

the war was over. Commander Waddell did not believe him, suspecting that it was just an attempt to persuade him to release the vessel. The *Shenandoah* left the Arctic whaling grounds in August and headed for California, considering a plan to attack San Francisco. San Franciscans learned this frightening news on July 20 when a ship named the *Milo* limped into San Francisco with the crews of ten whalers, victims of the Confederate raider. Just as soon as the shock over the arrival of the *Milo* subsided, another ship, the *General Pike*, limped into port with more tales of Confederate depredations.³³

The *Shenandoah* was sailing south toward San Francisco in August 1865 when her captain changed his plans, not out of fear of San Francisco's homeland defenses, but because he had learned, for certain, that the war had ended and that the Confederacy no longer existed. Having destroyed twenty-one vessels and bonded four others after the war had ended made the *Shenandoah* a true pirate ship, no longer a Confederate raider. The *Shenandoah's* focus shifted from aggression to survival. Evading capture, the *Shenandoah* sailed into Liverpool on November 5, 1865, and surrendered to British authorities. Thus ended the last threat to San Francisco during the Civil War.

Throughout the Civil War San Francisco residents feared that their defenses would be inadequate if they were ever attacked. In addition to their various forts manned by the U.S. Army, they relied on the USRC *Shubrick* as the harbor's guard ship, the occasional U.S. Navy vessels that would be in port and also believed that the Russian Navy's Pacific Squadron, which was in their port for almost a year, would come to their defense. The ironclad monitor that they had worked for would never be operational until after the war had ended. Fortunately, this vital city and its harbor defenses were never needed.

ENDNOTES

1. Detailed descriptions of these bodies and accounts of their proceedings can be found in *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. L., part 1, pp. 496, 556, 629, 759, 879; part 2, pp. 107, 130, 453, 521, 930, 938, 1018. The 1860 census revealed the population of San Francisco to have been 56,802 and it had continued to grow since then, ultimately reaching 160,000 by the end of decade.
2. Albert Sydney Johnston was made a general in the Confederate Army and given command of the western theater of operations. He was killed at the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862.
3. The United States had taken over the former Mexican region during the War with Mexico (1846-1848).

4. John A. Martini, *Fort Point: Sentry at the Golden Gate* (San Francisco: Golden Gate National Parks Assoc., 1991), 7-13.
5. James P. Delgado, *Alcatraz: The Story Behind the Scenery* (Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1865), 13.
6. Arnold S. Lott, *A Long Line of Ships* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1954), pp. 71-89.
7. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, April 28, 1862, 1.
8. Herbert M. Hart, "Ring Around the Golden Gate" (Sacramento: The California Military History Museum, www.militarymuseum.org/Ring.html, 2003), 1.
9. James P. Delgado, *Alcatraz: Island of Change* (San Francisco: Golden Gate National Park Association, 1991), 28.
10. Camp Reynolds, named in honor of Maj. Gen. John Reynolds, who had been killed in action in the Battle of Gettysburg, was constructed on Angel Island in late 1863. This was the largest island in San Francisco Bay at 640.2 acres. Three artillery batteries on Angel Island were completed by late July 1864 at Points Stewart, Knox, and Blunt.
11. Point San Jose (presently known as Fort Mason) was located on the north shore of San Francisco, near to Alcatraz Island. A company of the 9th Infantry Regiment was sent to occupy the point. San Franciscans who owned well-built residences on the point were not pleased. Eventually a 12-gun battery was placed on the western side of the point, in position to intersect the shots fired from Alcatraz. The company of infantrymen was finally replaced late in 1864 when a battery of the 3rd Artillery was transferred from Alcatraz.
12. Letter, Thomas A. Selfridge to Secretary of the Navy, February 10, 1863, p. 1, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Letters Sent, RG 181, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (San Francisco), San Bruno, California (hereafter cited as NARA PR (SF)).
13. Letter, Bell to Wells, April 4, 1862, Letters received from Pacific Squadron, December 14, 1861-October 25, 1864 in National Archives, Washington, D.C., cited by Robert Erwin Johnson, *United States Naval Forces on Pacific Station, 1818-1923*. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1956).
14. Telegram, Commandant, Mare Island Naval Shipyard to Secretary of the Navy, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Letters Sent, RG 181. NARA PR (SF).
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