
California and the Civil War

A Bibliographical Essay

By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN GILBERT

INTRODUCTION

WHEREAS HISTORIANS of the national picture have overlooked California in the Civil War, California historians have not neglected the role of their state in the war. This paradox is partially explicable because of the distance of California from the scene of major warfare. While the nation observes the Civil War Centennial, it is worthwhile to discuss historical writings and sources treating the role of California in that classical conflict. Fiction and poetry are not discussed herein, but one may refer to chapter four of Franklin Walker's *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939).

Both authoritative and polemical historians and writers have often disagreed about certain aspects of California and the Civil War. For example, the question of California's loyalty to the Union was debated prior to the outbreak of the war, during its course, and ever since. Closely related to this issue was the extent of Confederate sympathy. Another matter, often presented differently by writers, is the Russian naval visits to San Francisco. This article discusses these issues and a few others, but its main purpose is to provide a selective guide to some of the published and unpublished sources. While Hubert H. Bancroft, Theodore H. Hittell, and Zoeth S. Eldredge have made a few errors about California and the Civil War, some other writers in more specific studies of the period have made more. Particularly errors committed by Elijah R. Kennedy in his *The Contest for California in 1861: How Colonel*

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E. D. Baker Saved the Pacific Coast to the Union (Boston, 1912) have been repeated and compounded by later writers. Because of their frequent use in this essay the following abbreviations are used: *C.H.S.Q.* for *California Historical Society Quarterly*; *O.R.* for *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, D.C., 1880-1901); *P.H.R.* for *Pacific Historical Review*; and *Q.H.S.S.C.* for *Quarterly of the Historical Society of Southern California*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

The scholar interested in California and the Civil War has to rely largely upon his own ingenuity and imagination; however, there are a few bibliographical aids of value. One is the *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War, 1861-1866* (Washington, D.C., 1913), which devotes seven pages to California. Oscar O. Winther's *A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West (1811-1957)*, (Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 275-76, lists articles on California and the Pacific Northwest. In the *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902-1940* (Washington, D.C., 1956), there are fifteen items listed under California pertaining to Civil War troops. Useful as aids to archival sources are *The List of National Archives Microfilm Publications 1961* (Washington, D.C., 1961) and the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1948). Although there is no guide to the California State Archives, one may acquire an inkling of its contents from reading the article by Edwin L. Head, "Report on the Archives of the State of California," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1915* (Washington, D.C., 1917), pp. 281-309. For the location of California newspapers one may consult Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937) and in the California Section of the State Library at Sacramento one may use the newspaper card index as a valuable reference tool to material in a file of San Francisco newspapers. (See note p. 307.)

LOYALTY OF CALIFORNIA

With Lincoln's election as President in 1860, the question arose of California's course should the Southern states secede. Many contem-

poraries and most of the first writers on the subject contended that a secessionist plot existed and that General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Southerner in command of the Department of the Pacific, was the arch-conspirator. Such was the view of William G. Morris, who had served as adjutant of the Second California Cavalry, in his *Address Delivered Before The Society of California Volunteers at Its First Annual Celebration* (San Francisco, 1866). This charge was repeated by Hugh A. Gorley in 1893, in "The Loyal Californians of 1861," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, *War Papers* No. 12 (n.p., n.d.) and by others. Kennedy in his *Contest for California in 1861*, pp. 79-84, implied that William M. Gwin had arranged to place Johnston in command to implement a plot. Thirty years later James A. B. Scherer in *Thirty-First Star* (New York, 1942), pp. 253-74, took Kennedy to task for his attack on Johnston. In my article, "The Mythical Johnston Conspiracy," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXVIII (June, 1949), 165-73, I attempted to explode the myth of a Johnston conspiracy and another defense of the Southern general has been made by Avery C. Moore in his *Destiny's Soldier* (San Francisco, 1958). However, Moore in the introduction of his book claimed that Johnston saved the Pacific Coast from civil war. Actually no single individual saved either the Pacific Coast or California for the Union, although Thomas Starr King and Edward Dickinson Baker too have been so credited.

On the eve of the Civil War, California faced four courses of action: secession, neutrality, separation and independence, and union. Arguments and counterarguments were presented from all viewpoints and some people were in doubt as to which course to follow. After Confederate batteries fired on Fort Sumter, the immediate repercussion in California was an increased hostility toward the Pacific Republic movement and the Confederate cause, and a renewed wave of loyalty swept over the state. Although California was isolated from the conflict in the East and despite diversified political beliefs of her people, Unionist sentiment was overwhelming when actual warfare forced a decision. Republican and Union Democratic leaders expressed unconditional loyalty, and Union civic and military meetings and processions were held. Yet California's attitude was still of grave concern to Northern supporters, who were not at ease until the election of Leland Stanford in September,

1861, as the first Republican governor. The Unionist candidates polled over two-thirds of the votes. Although the loyalty of the state appeared evident, home guards were activated, loyalty oaths were required for certain groups and individuals, and occasional military arrests were made to insure loyalty.

Various estimates have been made of the number of pro-Confederates in California. On August 28, 1861, a large group of San Francisco businessmen dispatched a plea in the form of a lengthy letter to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, in which they expressed their objection to a rumored report that 5,000 Californians were to be enlisted for service against Confederate forces in Texas. This letter (Robert C. Rogers, *et al.*, to Simon Cameron) appeared in *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. II, pp. 589-91), and the remonstrators argued that the Pacific Coast would become another Missouri if troops were withdrawn from California. After asserting that a majority of state officials were secessionists and that the governor (John G. Downey) was pro-Southern, the letter stated: "About three-eighths of our citizens are natives of slaveholding States, and almost a unit in this crisis." Moreover, the businessmen claimed that 16,000 were organized in the Knights of the Golden Circle and implied that native Californians of Spanish descent and squatters were allied with the disunionists.

William D. Simonds in his *Starr King in California* (San Francisco, 1917), p. 53, quoted this letter, but somehow the figure of natives of slave-holding states was changed from "three-eighths" to "three-fifths." Four years later, Charles W. Wendte in his *Thomas Starr King* (Boston, 1927), p. 154, wrote that forty per cent of the people of California were Southern born. In an address on the Civil War home guard of San Francisco, of which he had been a member, Horace Davis portrayed California's position as that of a border state and claimed that "a large element" was pro-Confederate. This address was given before the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress in 1915, and was published in *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York, 1917), edited by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, pp. 363-72.

In reality less than seven per cent of California's population had migrated from the seceded states. In my "The Confederate Minority in California," *C.H.S.Q.*, XX (June, 1941), 154-70, I contended that only

a small Confederate minority existed in California. Writing in 1943, the late James A. B. Scherer tended to disagree with my view or at least he refused to commit himself, although he considered "all the available evidence." Today I still adhere to my original contention of an overwhelming Unionist sympathy despite small pockets of Confederate sentiment in such locations as Visalia and despite strong Southern political leadership on a state-wide basis in the decade before the war. To my way of thinking the census returns of 1860 are a more reliable indicator of Southern nativity than the wild assertions of certain hysterical eyewitnesses in 1861.

There is some evidence that certain individuals within the Republican party or Union party, who were enjoying their first political fruits, were willing to exaggerate the degree of pro-Confederate sympathy for a variety of reasons. Besides possessing vivid imaginations, they probably wanted to appear more patriotic during a vicious civil war. More concretely they probably exaggerated and even fabricated Confederate plots to weaken the Democratic party, to hasten federal approval of a transcontinental railroad, and to assure adequate appropriations for local defense.

CONFEDERATE SECRET SOCIETIES AND SYMPATHIZERS

According to Kennedy, the secessionist secret order, Knights of the Golden Circle, had a membership of 18,000 in California in 1860. The letter of the San Francisco businessmen to Secretary Cameron gave the figure as 16,000. Another secret society was the Knights of the Columbian Star. Charles M. Dustin in his article, "The Knights of the Golden Circle," *Pacific Monthly*, XXVI (November, 1911), 495, said that membership in both societies numbered 100,000 in California. These numbers were grossly exaggerated, and to what degree the secret orders had any influence is difficult to determine. Reports of the government detective, Gustav Brown, of Clarence E. Bennett, an informant at San Bernardino, and of a few others convey the only known intelligence data concerning their activities. The two mentioned reports appear in *O.R.*, Brown to Captain A. Jones Jackson, October 16, 1864, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. II, pp. 1018-19, and Bennett to General E. V. Sumner, August 6, 1861, Pt. I, pp. 556-58.

The reliability of this evidence is questionable because the informants

were usually not trained and presumably some submitted unsolicited information. From reading the letters of some informants the impression is gained that they were attempting to prove their own patriotism or report unfairly about personal enemies. Most reports were vague and seemed to view all Democrats as pro-Southern. An interesting study of a loyalty investigation in the community of Oroville appeared in Harold M. Hyman's article, "Oroville's Reputation Redeemed: A Loyalty Investigation in California, 1862," *P.H.R.*, XXVI (May, 1956), 173-78.

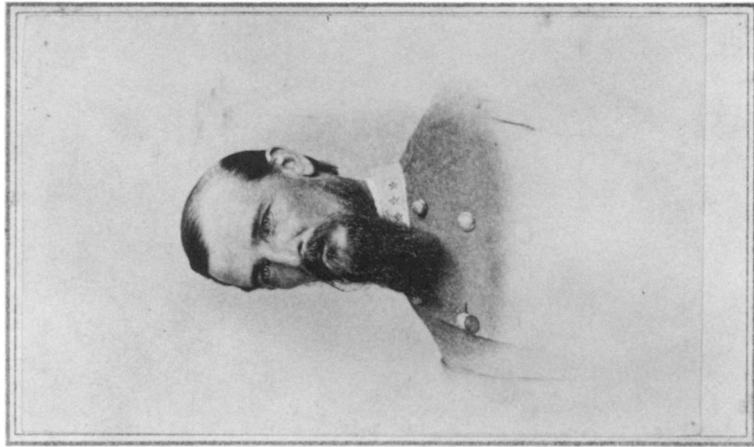
Contemporary California newspapers seldom mentioned any pro-Southern organizations probably because of their secrecy and ephemeral nature. Nonetheless, the societies were considered a threat to the security of the state, particularly its southern part. As a checkmate to their activity home guard organizations were vigilant and federal troops were constantly shifted around to prevent any disturbance. Besides the published army records and the article by Dustin, data on the secret societies has been authored by several writers. Arthur Woodward wrote about them in the *Pony Express Courier*, IV (August, 1937), and in *Westerners Brand Book* (Los Angeles, 1949). Their activities in the San Bernardino area has been told by George W. and Helen P. Beattie in *Heritage of the Valley* (Pasadena, 1939).

Information about Confederates in southern California and about the Dan Showalter expedition may be found in Percival J. Cooney's article, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, XIII (1924), Pt. I, pp. 54-68. A recent article on "Confederates in Southern California" by Helen B. Walters appeared in *Q.H.S.S.C.*, XXXV (March, 1953), 41-54; in my opinion it seems to give undue strength to alleged secessionist sympathizers.

Among Southern sympathizers in California were several churchmen. John B. Astles has written about the most noted one, "Rev. W. A. Scott, A Southern Sympathizer," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXVII (June, 1948), 149-56. The military arrest of a Confederate suspect, Bishop H. H. Kavanaugh, has been told by Oscar P. Fitzgerald in his *California Sketches* (Nashville, 1883), pp. 214-28.

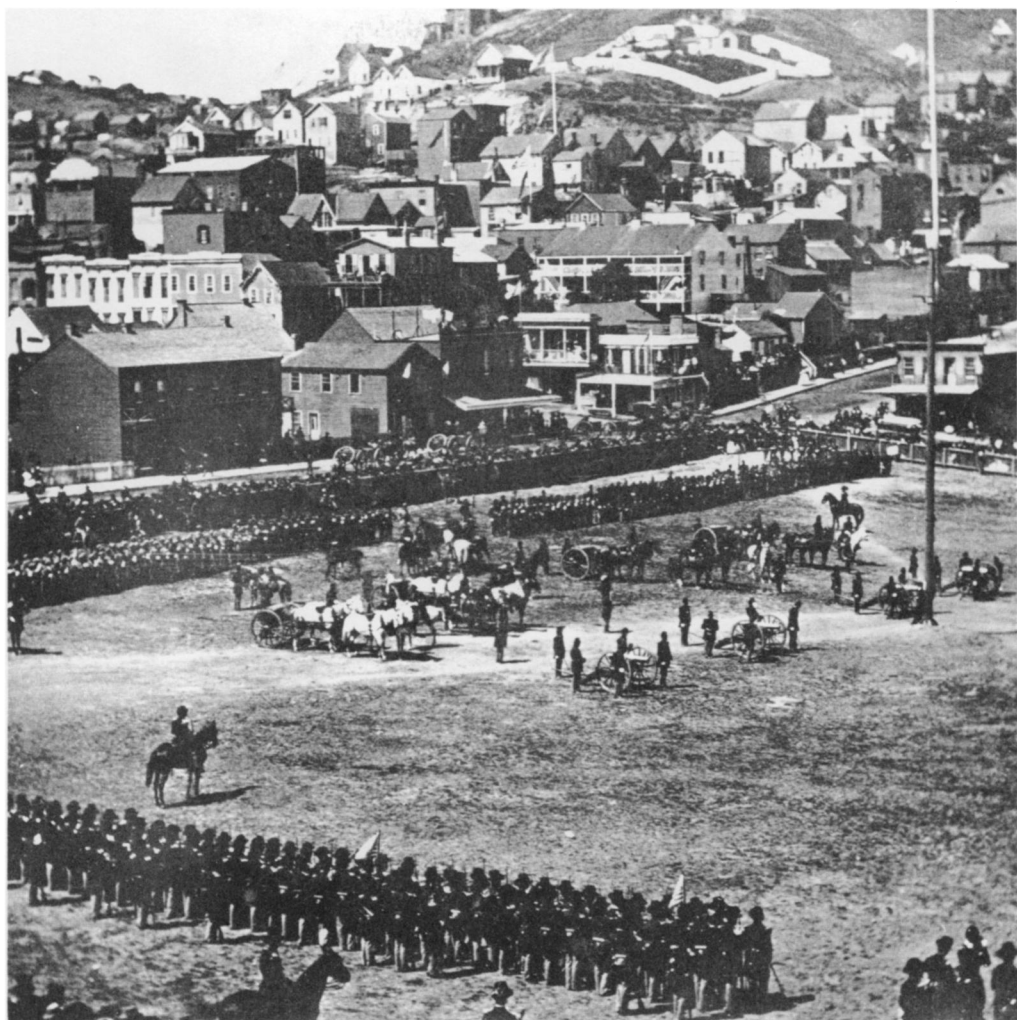
CIVIL LIBERTIES

Some interference with civil liberties occurred in California during



Joseph Lancaster Brent, Confederate General from Southern California, ca. 1864; William Tecumseh Sherman, famous Union general, was at Coloma 1848-1849, and returned to California 1853-1857. Bancroft's Pioneer Register notes that "he has often revisited California and taken a deep interest in pioneer matters."

From the Society's collection



Stereoscopic view of California troops at Washington Square,
San Francisco, July 4, 1862
From the Society's collection



Civil War cartoon from a contemporary California journal
From the Society's collection

the war. In 1862, James H. Hardy, judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District of California, was impeached and removed from office for his seditious and treasonable language. The official report of the trial appeared in the *Senate and Assembly Journals*, 1862, Appendix (Doc. 37). After the war, the 1869-70 Democratic legislature vindicated Hardy. The incident has been related by Frank M. Stewart in "Impeachment of Judge James H. Hardy," *Southern California Law Review*, XXVIII (December, 1954), 61-69.

In October, 1862, Assemblyman E. J. C. Kewen was arrested for uttering treasonable language. On June 1, 1865, John McCall was arrested at Potter Valley for using grossly abusive language in expressing his approval of Lincoln's assassination in one speech and then for denying in another speech that Lee had surrendered or that Lincoln had been assassinated. McCall was brought 150 miles under military guard to Fort Alcatraz where he was confined for six days and compelled to perform manual labor for committing "military offenses." A summary of his trial appeared in *The Federal Cases: Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States* (St. Paul, 1894-98), Case No. 8673, *McCall v. McDowell*, pp. 235-38.

A scholarly article concerning Civil War loyalty oaths is authored by Harold M. Hyman, "New Light on *Cohen v. Wright*: California's First Loyalty Oath Case," *P.H.R.*, XXVIII (May, 1959), 131-40. At times pro-Confederate and anti-Lincoln newspapers were destroyed by mob action and on occasion the commanding general of the Department of the Pacific denied certain journals described as "disloyal sheets" the use of the mails and express offices.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Considerable data concerning politics during the Civil War may be found in Winfield J. Davis's *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893). The most recent detailed study is the unpublished doctoral thesis by William P. Moody, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics*, completed at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1951. Several master theses at the University of California also relate to the political situation, particularly the studies made in 1929 by Etta O. Powell on *Southern Influences in California Politics* and by Francis L. Latimer on *California and the Civil*

War. One by John J. Earle, *The Sentiment of the People of California with respect to the Civil War* (1904), relates to public opinion. A summary of this thesis appeared in the American Historical Association *Annual Report* for 1907, Vol. I, pp. 123-35. Another useful article on public opinion is Imogene Spaulding's "The Attitude of California to the Civil War," in *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, IX (1912), 104-31. Important for a study of the state's relations with the federal government is the published doctoral thesis by Joseph Ellison entitled *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (University of California Press, 1927). This study also covers some economic aspects of California during the Civil War with regards to mineral lands, the railroad, and legal tender notes.

As an introduction to Lincoln's relations with California there is the useful book by Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and California* (Stanford University Press, 1943). Also helpful are the articles by John D. Carter, "Abraham Lincoln and the California Patronage," *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (April, 1943), 495-506, and by William Zornow, "California Sidelights on the Presidential Election of 1864," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXXIV (March, 1955), 49-64. Shutes has also written "Republican Nominating Convention of 1860, A California Report," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXVII (June, 1948), 97-103. Considerable California material may be found in the book by Harry C. Blair and Rebecca Tarshis, *Lincoln's Constant Ally: The Life of Colonel Edward D. Baker* (Portland, 1960). Lincoln's problem with the New Almaden quicksilver mine is covered in Shute's book and in Samuel C. Wiel's *Lincoln's Crisis in the Far West* (San Francisco, 1949).

Several articles on California journalism shed some light on the Civil War political scene. For example, Benjamin B. Beales has written about "The San Jose *Mercury* and the Civil War," in *C.H.S.Q.*, XXII (September-December, 1943), 223-34, 355-64, and Ralph S. Kuykendall has written about Lovick P. Hall, editor of the Visalia *Equal Rights Expositor* in his article, "A California State Rights Editor," *Grizzly Bear*, XXIV (January, 1919), 3-4. An account of the destruction of San Francisco newspapers by mob action upon receipt of the news of Lincoln's assassination was told by Oscar Wegelin in his article, "Etienne Derbec and the Destruction of His Press at San Francisco, April, 1865,"

New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII (January, 1943), 10-17.

California had three Civil War governors: John G. Downey, Leland Stanford, and Frederick F. Low. The most complete account of Downey's administration is the unpublished master's thesis by Mary Purdy, *The Governorship of John Gateley Downey of California, 1860-1862* (Stanford University, 1933). For a description of materials on his life in the Bancroft Library one may consult Julia H. Macleod's article, "John G. Downey as one of the 'Kings,'" *C.H.S.Q.*, XXXVI (December, 1957), 327-31. Stanford's career as war governor is described by George T. Clark in chapter five of his biography, *Leland Stanford* (Stanford University Press, 1931). Manuscripts pertaining to the third war governor, which are deposited in the Bancroft Library, have recently been edited by Robert H. Becker, *Some Reflections of An Early California Governor Contained in a Short Dictated Memoir by Frederick F. Low . . .* (Sacramento, 1959). Other data about the duties of the war governors may be gleaned from the legislative journals and their appendices, from *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pts. I and II, and from archival sources which are described elsewhere in this essay.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

The most detailed book about the military operations of California units is Aurora Hunt's *The Army of the Pacific* (Glendale, 1951). She has also written "California Volunteers on Border Patrol, Texas and Mexico, 1862-1866," in the *Q.H.S.S.C.*, XXX (December, 1948), 265-76. Her latest book is a biography of *Major-General James Henry Carlton* (Glendale, 1958), who commanded the California Column. Several early studies of the California Column were made by George H. Pettis, an officer in Company K, First Regiment of California Infantry. Besides writing a brief history of his company entitled *Frontier Service during the Rebellion* (Providence, 1885), he wrote "The California Column," *Historical Society of New Mexico*, Publication No. 11 (Santa Fe, 1908).

A recent article on the California Column is authored by Leo P. Kibby, "With Colonel Carleton and the California Column," *Q.H.S.S.C.*, XLI (December, 1959), 337-44. A lengthy unpublished manuscript by Irene E. Newton, *The Column From California*, is deposited in the California

State Library. Another study is the master's thesis by Hugh E. Killin, *The Texans and the California Column* (Texas Technological College, 1931). A few recent books relating incidentally to the service of California volunteers in the Southwest are: Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1959); Max L. Heyman, Jr., *Prudent Soldier: A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby* (Glendale, 1959); Robert L. Kerby, *The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona, 1861-62* (Los Angeles, 1958); and Martin H. Hall, *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign* (University of Texas Press, 1960). Mention should also be made of the scholarly article by W. H. Watford, "The Far-Western Wing of the Rebellion, 1861-1865," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXXIX (June, 1955), 125-48.

An excellent account of the services of California troops in guarding the overland route is told by Fred B. Rogers in his *Soldiers of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1938), a Grabhorn Press publication. A survey of the role of California soldiers in both Western and Eastern operations may be found in the recent popular book by Oscar Lewis, *The War in the Far West* (Garden City, 1961), which contains other "informal history."

After Captain J. Sewell Reed had recruited the "California Hundred," Major Dewitt C. Thompson raised the "California Battalion." Both these units became part of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry and participated in Eastern military operations. These are described by Thompson in *California in the Rebellion* (San Francisco, 1891). Interestingly at the time of the Spanish-American War the California State Historian, Winfield J. Davis, wrote the story of the "gallant" service of these soldiers in a lengthy article appearing in the *Sacramento Record Union* of July 31, 1898. As the Civil War Centennial approached Leo P. Kibby reached a national audience with his concise article, "Some Aspects of California's Military Problems During the Civil War," in *Civil War History*, V (September, 1959), 251-62.

Among published military records the O.R. constitute the prime source. These and many more unpublished records are in the National Archives. Likewise essential to all students of the military role of California is the state publication compiled by the Adjutant General of California, Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War*

of the Rebellion (Sacramento, 1890). Another useful California state publication for determining the assignments of California soldiers is the *List of Electors, Resident of California in the Military Service of the United States . . .* (Sacramento, 1865), prepared by Adjutant General George S. Evans.

For data on harbor defenses there are pertinent military correspondence and reports in the *O.R.* as well as the California legislative journals, particularly in the governors' messages. This writer authored "San Francisco Harbor Defenses During the Civil War," in *C.H.S.Q.*, XXXIII (September, 1954), 229-40. Actually few secondary accounts, except for the third chapter of Hunt's *The Army of the Pacific*, have been written about military camps and installations in Civil War California and data must be sought in the primary sources. However, some miscellaneous information may be found in J. S. and Richard J. Whitney, *Forts of the State of California* (Seattle, 1960). Also useful is "A Guide to the History of the U.S. Army Installations In Arizona, 1849-1886," by Ray Brandes in *Arizona and the West*, I (Spring, 1959), 43-65, since California volunteers operated extensively in Arizona. A few facts about Camp Cady during the Civil War are in Leonard Waitman's "The History of Camp Cady," *Q.H.S.S.C.*, XXXVI (March, 1954), 49-91.

The entertaining story of military resistance rendered by Californians opposing French intervention in Mexico both during and after the Civil War has been told by Robert R. Miller in his article, "Californians Against the Emperor," *C.H.S.Q.*, XXXVII (September, 1958), 193-214.

NAVAL OPERATIONS

The United States Pacific Squadron, whose main base was at Mare Island Navy Yard, defended a long coastline extending from the Straits of Magellan to Vancouver Island. Its warships guarded sea lanes, defended harbors, protected American citizens and commerce, and aided communication projects. Confederate privateers and "pirates" attempted to capture California gold shipments, but the Navy assisted in frustrating their efforts in San Francisco, Vancouver, and Panama.

A summary of some of the wartime duties of the Pacific Squadron appears in the twentieth chapter of Hunt's *The Army of the Pacific* and data on Mare Island during the Civil War may be found in chapter five

of Arnold S. Lott's book, *A Long Line of Ships: Mare Island's Century of Naval Activity in California* (Annapolis, 1954). Two chapters on privateering in the Pacific appeared in the study by William M. Robinson, Jr., *The Confederate Privateers* (Yale University Press, 1928). Another early study of this subject was made by Brainerd Dyer in his "Confederate Naval and Privateering Activities in the Pacific," *P.H.R.*, III (December, 1934), 433-44.

A large part of the naval story relates to California and is detailed in the present writer's unpublished doctoral thesis, *Naval Operations in the Pacific, 1861-1866* (University of California, 1951), directed by Professor Lawrence Kinnaird. Two of the chapters were first published in preliminary form in historical journals and four chapters were published after completion of the thesis. In 1940 appeared "Kentucky Privateers in California," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, XXXVIII (July, 1940), 256-66, which was an account of the efforts of Asbury Harpending, Ridgeley Greathouse, and Alfred Rubery, to outfit the *J. M. Chapman* as a Confederate privateer at San Francisco in 1863. Harpending's *The Great Diamond Hoax* (San Francisco, 1913) told his version of the abortive affair in his reminiscences. This entertaining book, edited by James H. Wilkins, was republished in 1958 by the University of Oklahoma Press and carried a foreword by Glen Dawson. Unfortunately, the Asbury Harpending papers stored at the California Historical Society do not cover the Civil War period.

A sketch of Greathouse, authored by Effie Ballard, appeared in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, XXXIII (July, 1935), 273-75. The proceedings of the trial of the privateers is summarized in *U.S. v. Greathouse, et al., The Federal Cases: Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the U.S.* (St. Paul, 1894-98), Bk. XXVI, Case No. 15,254, pp. 18-30. After their brief imprisonment, Harpending and Greathouse were released under the provisions of an amnesty act, but Greathouse was later rearrested and imprisoned in New York until his escape. However, Rubery, an Englishman, who did not qualify for release under the terms of the amnesty act, was pardoned by President Lincoln at the instigation of John Bright. The pardoning has been told by the late F. Lauriston Bullard, a well-known Lincolnian authority, who wrote "Lincoln Pardons Con-

spirator On Plea of An English Statesman" in the *American Bar Association Journal*, XXV (March, 1939), 215-20. Although this article was not documented, its bibliography has been added recently to Bullard's Lincoln collection at Boston University. Besides the chapter in Robinson's book, chapters of the *Chapman* incident have also appeared in William M. Camp's *San Francisco, Port of Gold* (Garden City, 1947) and Richard H. Dillon's *Embarcadero* (New York, 1959).

Shortly after the failure of the *Chapman* plan, many rumors circulated that Confederate privateers eyed California gold shipments from British Pacific waters and the present writer has uncovered that story in his "Rumours of Confederate Privateers Operating in Victoria, Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (July-October, 1954), 239-55, using sources primarily from the Archives of British Columbia. An account of the fruitless efforts of seven enlisted men in the Confederate Navy to capture a steamer at Panama for the purpose of raiding California gold ships and their subsequent trial at San Francisco and imprisonment at San Quentin has been related by the present writer in his recent article, "The Salvador Pirates," in *Civil War History*, V (September, 1959), 294-307.

Fears of privateers harassed California merchants and shippers throughout the war and even briefly after it when two shiploads of survivors from the depredations of the Confederate raider *Shenandoah*, operating in the North Pacific and Arctic, reached San Francisco. In August, 1865, Captain James I. Waddell, unaware of the war's end, planned an attack upon the city. This is revealed in Waddell's papers in the National Archives which have recently been edited by James D. Horan, C.S.S. *Shenandoah* (New York, 1960). Repercussions felt in San Francisco by the destruction of the whaling fleet are related by Murray Morgan in his *Dixie Raider* (New York, 1948), pp. 255-64, and more recently by Lloyd C. M. Hare in his *Salted Tories: The Story of the Whaling Fleets of San Francisco* (Mystic, 1960), pp. 32-40.

British, French, Russian, and Spanish warships called at California ports, particularly San Francisco, during the Civil War. Local Army, Navy, and civilian authorities extended the usual courtesies to these visitors. At times the British and French warships were viewed suspiciously because of the fear of intervention in the war by those powers.

Moreover, the United States was concerned about French intervention in Mexico and Spanish intervention in Chile and Peru. Although all foreign warships were accorded friendly receptions at San Francisco, the two Russian naval squadrons which visited the port and obtained repairs at Mare Island Navy Yard were given more elegant treatment.

As a result of Russian naval visits to San Francisco and New York rumors spread of an alliance with Russia and the legend of Russian aid to the United States during the Civil War developed. Although the legend was disproven by Frank A. Golder in his scholarly article, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, XX (July, 1915), 801-12, it still persists in a few unreliable histories and an occasional newspaper story. A brief account of the San Francisco visits was related by the present writer in his "Welcome to the Czar's Fleet," in *C.H.S.Q.*, XXVI (March, 1947), 13-19. Two more recent accounts of the Russian visits may be found in William E. Nagengast's "The Visit of the Russian Fleet to the United States: Were Americans Deceived?," *Russian Review*, VIII (January, 1949), 46-55, and in chapter nine of Albert A. Woldman's *Lincoln and the Russians* (Cleveland, 1952).

An account of the blockade of Mexico's western ports by France and the presence of her warships at San Francisco and Santa Barbara has been related by the present writer in his article, "French Warships on the Mexican West Coast, 1861-1866," *P.H.R.*, XXIX (February, 1955), 25-37. To date little has been written in secondary accounts about the visits of British and Spanish warships to California waters during the Civil War; however, reference might be made to the book by Carlos E. Grez Pérez, entitled *Los Intentos de Unión Hispano-Americana y La Guerra de España en El Pacífico* (Santiago, Chile, 1928). Further data may be found in other books in Spanish and in contemporary newspapers and naval and diplomatic records.

SANITARY COMMISSION

Information about the Sanitary Commission, sometimes referred to as the "Red Cross of the Civil War," may be found in Charles J. Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia, 1866) and in the twenty-first chapter of Hunt's *The Army of the Pacific*. President Henry W. Bellows assisted in organizing its California branch



Bradley and Rulofson photograph of Mme. Mezzara in nurse's uniform ca. 1862. She served throughout the Civil War and her sculptor husband made the first statue ever to be made of Lincoln. It stood in front of the Lincoln Grammar School in San Francisco, and was destroyed during the earthquake and fire of 1906. The thumb of the statue, however, is in the possession of the California Historical Society.

From the Society's collection

in 1864, with Governor Frederick F. Low as president. Two articles concerning the commission appeared in the *C.H.S.Q.* as follows: Dorothy H. Huggins, "Women in War-Time, San Francisco, 1864: The Ladies' Christian Commission Fair," XXIV (September, 1945), 261-70, and William C. Miller, "Mark Twain at the Sanitary Ball—And Elsewhere," XXXVI (March, 1957), 35-40. The auctioneering of the famous sack of flour by Reuel C. Gridley for the benefit of the sanitary fund has been told by several celebrated writers such as J. Ross Browne and Mark Twain.

A recent detailed account appeared in chapter four of Oscar Lewis's *The Town That Died Laughing* (Boston, 1955). Also worthy of mention is the forty-page pamphlet, *A Tribute to the Memory of Reuel Colt Gridley*, published in 1883 at Stockton to assist in raising money for a monument. Contemporary California newspapers also contain considerable information about the Sanitary Commission and Christian Commission and their fairs to raise funds.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The most neglected aspect of California's Civil War history has been the economic. Perhaps this too is a reason Civil War historians tend to bypass California. Although we know a great deal about the railroad and other means of transportation and something about mining and agricultural history, we know little about the growth of manufacturing and of commercial and maritime developments, except for John H. Kemble's *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (University of California Press, 1943).

Joseph Ellison wrote "The Currency Question on the Pacific Coast during the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (June, 1929), 50-66, and covered this and other economic issues in his *California and the Nation*, but further studies are required. Surely there is a need for a comprehensive study of the importance of California gold to the Union and the state's role as an exporter of mining machinery. Historians of California history should perform painstaking research in the economic phases of the Civil War. I presume one would have to consult the available manuscript census returns, the files of numerous newspapers, public documents, and manuscripts including materials still retained by private business and industrial companies.

OTHER PRINTED SOURCES

Besides the studies about California and the Civil War already mentioned under topical discussions, there are several other interesting items. For example, in the *C.H.S.Q.* the articles by: John H. Kemble, "Andrew Wilson's 'Jottings' on Civil War California," XXXII (September and December, 1953), 209-24, 303-12; Clarence C. Clendenen, "The Expedition That Never Sailed: A Mystery of the Civil War," XXXIV (June, 1955), 149-54; and J. M. Scammell, "Military Units in Southern California, 1853-1862," XXIX (September, 1950), 229-49. Some data on the occupation of Santa Catalina Island because of the fear of secessionists there may be found in J. M. Guinn, "The Lost Mines of Santa Catalina," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, IX (1912-13), pp. 43-48.

Miscellaneous data relating to the Civil War may be found in *Up And Down California In 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer* (Yale University Press, 1930), edited by Francis P. Farquhar. Five chapters of William B. Rice's *The Los Angeles Star, 1851-1864* (University of California Press, 1947), edited by John W. Caughey, deal with the Civil War years as they affected that newspaper. Chapter six of Leo J. Friis's *The History of Royal Arch Masonry In California* (Anaheim, 1948) relates how the war influenced various chapters of this fraternal order.

In addition to the published reminiscences of Asbury Harpending, previously mentioned, some data may be found in other such books, but they should be carefully scrutinized. James J. Ayers in his *Gold and Sunshine: Reminiscences of Early California* (Boston, 1922) has a chapter on the Civil War and one on the war governors. Amelia R. Neville in her *The Fantastic City* (Boston, 1932) devotes a chapter to Civil War days in San Francisco and Major Horace Bell in his *On The Old West Coast* (New York, 1930), edited by Lanier Bartlett, has a chapter entitled "Los Angeles During the Civil War."

On occasion popular articles relating to California and the Civil War have appeared in the *Grizzly Bear*, *Pony Express Courier*, and *Westways*. Recent issues of the journals of local historical societies have had articles about the Civil War. For example, the *San Diego Historical Quarterly*, VII (April, 1961), devoted its entire issue to the Civil War with articles by George Ruhlen, Bill Virden, and Jerry MacMullen.

ARCHIVAL AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The best archival materials for California during the Civil War are located in the California State Archives at Sacramento and in the National Archives at Washington, D.C. Few historians have used these sources, except for those items which have been published or micro-filmed.

In the Secretary of State record group of the State Archives are found many legislative papers (bills, petitions, and legislative material) and messages and reports to the governor which relate to the Civil War. For example, in the drawers containing petitions to the legislature there is one from citizens of San Mateo County, dated February 6, 1864, requesting proper equipment for the local home guard at Redwood City. A petition from Nevada County citizens of March 13, 1863, opposed the imposition of a tax to build the state capitol on grounds that it was not a war measure for defensive purposes!

Significant correspondence is found in the Military and National Guard files and among the letters received by the State Adjutant General. Also in the State Archives are several bound books relating to the California volunteers. For example, Book 10 is the *Register of California Volunteers* in the service of the United States from the President's call in 1861 to December 1, 1865. This volume gives the following data on the individual soldier: name, rank, company, regiment, arm of service, place of enlistment, time of mustering in, and remarks. Among other military records are the papers of the Civil War home guards where one may learn about the San Jose Zouaves, New Almaden Cavalry, and other local units.

At the Civil War Branch of the National Archives in Record Group 98 (Records of United States Army Commands) are numerous sources. As an aid to finding them there is a manuscript *Index of the Department of the Pacific* which covers various camps, forts, posts, barracks, and expeditions in California and elsewhere in the Far West. In addition to letters sent and received by the department this record group contains correspondence, post orders, and other data about units within the command. For example, Book 145 of Record Group 98 contained letters sent from September 17, 1863, to November 16, 1865, by the commanding officer of Camp Babbitt near Visalia.

Besides the above record group California materials are located in other classifications of army records. For example, in Record Group 110 (Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau, 1863-66) is a volume entitled *Descriptive List and Register of Men in the Department of the Pacific Who Have Served In The Rebel Army*. This list named and described fifty-five former Confederate soldiers. Among these was William M. Gwin, Jr., who had served as a private in the First Mississippi Cavalry until he was paroled in March, 1862.

In the Navy Branch of the National Archives may be found ship logs of the Pacific Squadron as well as the letters received by the Secretary of Navy from commanding officers of the squadron. Unfortunately, the log of the U.S.S. *Cyane* which participated in the capture of the *Chapman* privateer in 1863 is missing for that year before September and for 1862. Also in this branch are Mare Island Navy Yard records such as its log books and letters sent by its commandant to the Secretary of Navy. In the Fiscal Branch of the National Archives the abstract journals of the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Shubrick* reveals that vessel's important role in San Francisco harbor defense and her other wartime duties.

In the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress are the Thomas O. Selfridge papers which are a part of the Naval Historical Foundation Collection. Selfridge was commandant at Mare Island from 1862 to 1864 and his correspondence has considerable data on the wartime problems of the yard as well as materials about San Francisco harbor defense and the operations of the Pacific Squadron.

Among the manuscripts in the California Section of the State Library is the *Daily Journal*, 1863, kept by Delos J. Howe, an attorney at San Francisco, who later wrote for the *American Flag*. Howe was a keen observer and his journal made occasional references to the Civil War. Another manuscript in this depository worth mentioning is the typescript *Diary of Private Moses Patterson*, of Company I, First Regiment, California Cavalry, for the period December, 1863, to April, 1866.

Manuscripts pertaining to California and the Civil War are also located in the Bancroft Library, Huntington Library, and elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

Although California never enjoyed national fame for her role in the Civil War, many notables of the war such as John C. Frémont, Henry W. Halleck, Irvin McDowell, Henry M. Naglee, William T. Sherman, and even Pauline Cushman, the Union spy, had interesting California careers at one time. Much original research remains to be performed on the subject discussed in this article and infinite opportunities await the serious scholar whose purpose is not just to rework findings already published without contributing new data or revising interpretation.

Besides the suggested studies of the economic phases, many of the military and political aspects require further understanding. Moreover, a number of historical errors made in the past by several writers bear correction. This poses a serious problem because even when a historical error is corrected in a specialized monograph appearing in a scholarly historical journal, frequently the original error is still perpetuated by a popular writer who is often fallaciously publicized as an authority. The difficult solution is for the real historian to reach the popular audience. Let us hope that more interest in the subject might be stimulated during these Civil War Centennial years and that additional and more substantial historical narratives will lead us to an appropriate synthesis of California and the Civil War.

Note: The California State Library maintains a current union list showing complete world-wide newspaper holdings in all California libraries. It is, in effect, an expansion of the 1937 Gregory Union List.