

STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly


Volume 31
Number 2 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 31,
Issue 2

Article 3

1952

St. Augustine During the Civil War

Omega G. East

 Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

Recommended Citation

East, Omega G. (1952) "St. Augustine During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 31 : No. 2 , Article 3.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol31/iss2/3>

ST. AUGUSTINE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by OMEGA G. EAST

Three days before Florida seceded from the Union about 125 state artillerymen marched resolutely on Fort Marion's Federal garrison as ordered by Governor M. S. Perry.¹ The action which resulted cannot be recorded as one of the major engagements of the war, if we are to believe Private J. Gardner (a member of the expedition), who reminisced: "We took possession of the fort, and captured the entire garrison, consisting of one lonely sergeant, well advanced in years, who surrendered very graciously."²

The ladies of St. Augustine were busier than the men that 7th day of January 1861, as they were already scurrying about raising funds for a flagpole to fly their "national flag of Florida" in the Plaza.³

For awhile it appeared the artillerymen would be busy at the back-breaking job of mounting the 63 cannon found at the fort; but Gen. Robert E. Lee, who commanded the coastal defenses of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida in 1861, saved them from this task when he ordered that

Reference note: Official reports are extensively used herein; they will be found in the Government publications. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, or the companion volumes for the Navies. Citations of these sources will be abbreviated to *O.R.A.* or *O.R.N.* as the case may be, with its series and volume numbers, name of subscribing officer and addressee, together with the date the report or letter was written.

1. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 333, Ord. Serg. Henry Douglas, U.S.A., to Col. H. K. Craig, Jan. 7, 1861; Dorothy Dodd, "Edmund Ruffin's Account of the Florida Secession Convention, 1861," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 76.
2. J. Gardner, "St. Augustine in Wartime," *The St. Augustine Evening Record*, July 15, 1914 (The Record Company, St. Augustine). Gardner was one of the 25 volunteers from Fernandina who helped "capture" Fort Marion.
3. Dorothy Dodd, "The Flags of the State of Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 166; *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Feb. 11, 1861, p. 265 (St. Augustine Historical Society library).

cannon at St. Augustine be moved to more important places.⁴ Since Confederate intelligence reports emphasized the possibility of a Federal attack on Fernandina, four of Fort Marion's cannon were sent there; four went to a battery at the mouth of the St. Johns River, while others were sent elsewhere until Fort Marion was left with only five cannon mounted in the water battery to defend the city.⁵ With virtually no cannon to use, the St. Augustine Blues and the Jefferson Beauregards, two companies of the 3rd Florida Infantry, from Jefferson and St. Johns counties took over the garrison duties at St. Augustine from the artillerymen.⁶

Though adequate railway facilities were not available, the port of St. Augustine was used by a few Confederate blockade-runners such as the *Garibaldi*, or the *St. Mary's* during 1861.⁷ And, manned mainly by Floridians, the *Jefferson Davis*, one of the twenty privateers commissioned by the Confederacy to prey upon Northern commerce, sent several prizes into her home port of St. Augustine during its four-month cruise in the Gulf Stream before running aground at St. Augustine harbor.⁸

The St. Augustine and Jupiter Inlet lighthouses stopped blinking friendly beams to Federal commerce when the garrison at St. Augustine removed their lenses. This blow to

-
4. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 327, Gen. R. E. Lee to Gen. S. Cooper, Nov. 21, 1861; *Id.*, Vol. LIII, p. 171, Gov. M. S. Perry to Sec. of War L. P. Walker, May 17, 1861.
 5. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. C. R. P. Rodgers to Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont, March 12, 1862; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville Florida and Vicinity 1513 to 1924* (The Florida Historical Society, 1925), pp. 116,459; Gardner.
 6. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 470, Col. W. S. Dilworth to L. P. Walker, Aug. 2, 1861; Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-and Spanish American Wars* (The Board, 1903), p. 100.
 7. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 622, Buckingham Smith to Wm. H. Seward, Feb. 26, 1862; Letter, Harriet B. Jenckes to Mary M. Reid, Jan. 7, 1862 (St. Augustine Historical Society library).
 8. *O.R.N.*, Ser. II, Vol. 1, p. 257, see Jefferson Davis: *Id.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 622, Buckingham Smith to Wm. H. Seward, Feb. 26, 1862.

Union shipping led one Federal naval officer to estimate that "their loss for a single night would be disastrous."⁹

The main determinants which led to the Federal capture and occupation of the city were based upon the use of the local harbor. Blockade-runners were a decisive factor though Federal gunboats also needed the harbor as a blockading station. With the city occupied the potential threat of Fort Marion as a factor which might provide a safe harbor of refuge for privateers would be eliminated, along with other interference with Federal shipping in local waters.¹⁰

To the Federal Navy Department fell the responsibility of enforcing Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade on Southern coasts. This, it soon became apparent, was a difficult duty to perform, especially since the few available blockading ships operated too far from friendly harbors. A committee, appointed by Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to advise him on measures for effective blockade of the South Atlantic Coast, recommended that Fernandina and Port Royal be seized as harbors of refuge and coaling stations for the use of the squadron.¹¹ At Hampton Roads an army of about 15,000 men commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas W. Sherman joined Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont's South Atlantic Blockading Squadron to accomplish this mission. On November 7, 1861, Port Royal in South Carolina fell to the combined land

9. *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Jan. 23, 1861, p. 262; *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, pp. 207-8, Com. T. A. Craven, U.S.N., to Sec. of Navy Gideon Welles, Sept. 6, 1861.

10. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 225, Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan to Maj. Gen. T. W. Sherman, Feb. 14, 1862, wherein McClellan ordered: "St. Augustine might as well be taken by way of an interlude, while awaiting the preparations for Charleston." Thus McClellan correctly minimized the importance of the harbor. See also, *Id.*, p. 243, Gen. H. G. Wright to Col. Thomas Whipple, March 9, 1862. For a discussion of northern newspaper charges of Confederate filibustering expeditious, the Confederacy as a "buccaneering community," and charges of Spanish or British attempts to regain Florida see George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2.

11. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, pp. 195-206, Reports of Conference to Welles, July 5, 16, 26, 1861.

and water attacks which were to prove so damaging to Confederate hopes for outside aid and supplies.¹²

General Lee's expectations of holding the Atlantic Coast became the casualty of Confederate defeats in Tennessee. In February 1862, Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin ordered Lee to withdraw troops from the seaboard and send them west to protect the railroad line from Memphis to Richmond. "The only troops to be retained in Florida," the Secretary directed, "are such as may be necessary to defend the Apalachicola River, as the enemy could by that river at high water send his gunboats into the very middle of the State of Georgia."¹³

By-passing Confederate strongholds at Forts Sumter and Pulaski, three infantry regiments and two sections of light artillery of the Federal force swept down the coast to find Fernandina virtually deserted when they arrived in February 1862.¹⁴ Likewise Jacksonville was undefended, though by this time Lee had clarified Florida defense to include holding the interior of the state.¹⁵

At Jacksonville elaborate plans to capture St. Augustine were formulated by the Federal command. They would send two infantry regiments with a section of light artillery up the St. Johns River. Landing at Picolata, the troops were to march on St. Augustine's rear while Federal gunboats in the Atlantic blockaded the harbor.¹⁶ The plans were elaborate, but unnecessary. Lee had already suggested that the small force posted at St. Augustine "serves only as an invitation to attack."¹⁷ So it was that the night before Du Pont arrived off

12. *Id.*, p. 208, Lincoln to Welles, Sept. 18, 1861; *Id.*, p. 214, Welles to Du Pont, Oct. 12, 1861; *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 188, Sherman to Adj. Gen., Nov. 15, 1861.

13. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 398, Benjamin to Lee, Feb. 24, 1862.

14. *Id.* p. 93, Brig. Gen. James H. Trapier to Maj. R. H. Anderson, March 28, 1862.

15. *Id.*, p. 406, Lee to Trapier, March 13, 1862.

16. *Id.*, p. 248, Sherman to McClellan, March 15, 1862.

17. *Id.* p.406, Lee to Trapier, March 13, 1862.

St. Augustine harbor in the Flagship *Wabash* to assist his three blockading gunboats, the two Confederate companies garrisoning St. Augustine sailed together with 20 percent of the local population to New Smyrna.¹⁸ There they assisted in protecting and removing to the interior arms and ammunition which Lee considered "so valuable and so vitally important that no precaution should be omitted [for their protection]."¹⁹

Local folks did not regret the departure of the troops we learn from the following letter of Harriet B. Jenckes to Mary Martha Reid:

St Augustine 10th March 1862.

Tomorrow God willing I will add to this, if W. H. does not come for it as promised.

Dear friend.²⁰

The City is in motion today, I have not seen so much bustle for a long time. The Blues²¹ are ordered to Smyrna this aft. & I hope as much as a pair of pants will not be left behind, if our safety depends on their going. Yesterday the alarm was given that the War Steamer²² which has been off for some days, was landing Troops. The Catholic congregation left en'mass not heeding the remonstrance of Father Lance. Today they are sounding and placing buoys in the Channel. I have heard the City Fathers (among them George Burt) have decided upon raising a White Flag on the fort, and barracks, to invite the gun boats in when they come (They say to prevent the place being burnt by bombs.) Walton told me he hoped I would join them, I told him I would see them

18. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. C. R. P. Rodgers to Du Pont, Mar. 12, 1862.

19. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 370, Lee to Trapier, Jan. 17, 1862.

20. The first paragraph recording personal affairs has been omitted from this otherwise complete letter. Spelling and grammar has not been changed.

21. The St. Augustine Blues.

22. This gunboat was the *U.S.S. Keystone State*. On March 11, Du Pont in his Flagship *Wabash*, together with the *Isaac Smith* and *Huron* joined this gun boat off St. Augustine's bar.

all in a bad place first, a set of Granies. Already they smell the parched Coffee selling in Fernandina at 10 cts. pr lb. Flour they say at \$5. and here many families have but one meal a day. Coming events cast their shadows before. I can do nothing but walk and talk. To day I sent Old Sam to cut up the flag staff, a parcel of girls had cut down in the square (Anna H. giving the first blow) to boil salt with, Mrs. W. & I were to share it. The Marshal stopped him, I did not think I was doing wrong, as Mr. S. Mrs. Smith and a number had said what a pity it could not be taken off the ground. I paid 50 cts. to help put it up. Anna D. does not know what to do. To day nothing can be had to transport the servants to Palatka, and as we hear the Federals have Jacksonville, she cannot take the girls there now, it is too late. I have the napkin you [wrote ?] of. I am sorry you sent the \$2 I meant you should keep it for the hats. The blessing of God rest on you & yrs. Pray for us, yr. friends.

11th Brought in safety to see the light of another day.

12th What a day of trial and anxiety increased by the invitation to the Federals to come in, by the hoisting of a white flag on the fort. Dennis the Federal officer ²³ was escorted about the town, by the Mayor Bravo. (Arneau threw up the office in disgust.) ²⁴ The keys have been surrendered and the inhabitants told they would not be molested. The officers also say they had no intention of coming in at present. ²⁵ It has leaked out that some one three or four days since had been out to the vessels, But it is kept secret who it is. S--y and her son in law B. are suspected, at all events a guard of 17 escorted them to the Boats that took the blues to Smyrna. I hope they may be *shot*. L.S. went into hysterics when she

23. Mr. Dennis of the Federal Coast Survey accompanied Commander C. R. P. Rodgers ashore to accept the surrender of the city.

24. Mayor Paul Arneau resigned March 1st. Christobal Bravo served as Mayor *pro tem* until March 24 when G. A. Pacetti was elected Mayor.

25. The first Federal troops, consisting of a small Marine guard and a company of the 4th N.H. Reg., landed March 15.

found her Aunts making the white flag, and swore in the St. that she would never set her foot in the house again if they finished it, but it was carried from their house. I am told, and by way of consistency, she took off her hat and waived it to Capt. D.²⁶ hailing him as an old friend. And today at the Boat house she is having a long talk with him. As Mr. Dowling says she is sparking him already when she has been one of the loudest to talk. Col. B. too they say, threw his arms round his neck mind you, and asked what in the devil had brought him here. D.S. is boiling with passion. She spit at Capt. D. as he raised his Cap at her in the St. The provisions which were intended for the Citizens have fallen into the hands of a few. Mrs. G. got scarcely any thing, and the Bridiers and others Cart loads. Mr. S. has made his last Confederate Prayer. For myself I shall Pray at home, I cannot contribute to Mr. S. any longer, neither can I change my politics as I would a filthy garment. W.W. went with the Blues. The F. Officers were told at once where the Troops had gone, and for what purpose,²⁷ God only knows how it will end. Rev. A.G. has gone South to day to put the Blues on their guard. Mrs. G. has loaned Dora for the purpose.

Friday morning.

Just returned from Church where prayers were offered as usual for Our President & Army. Mrs. Judge S. went stamping through to inform Mr. S. that she could stay in no Church where prayers were offered for Old Abe. Do send after yr things at Tocoli or they will be missing. The Carriage is expected every moment, so I must leave off here, God bless you.

H. B. JENCKES

26. Capt. D. is obviously Dennis who accompanied Rodgers ashore.

27. Rodgers reported to Du Pont: "The garrison of this place went from St. Augustine at midnight on the 10th for Smyrna, where are said to be about 800 troops, a battery, the steamer *Carolina*, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. I am led to believe that Mosquito Inlet, upon which Smyrna is situated, has been much used for the introduction of arms from the Bahamas." See *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 596, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

Du Pont, realizing the city was not defended, sent Commander C. R. P. Rodgers ashore on March 11, 1862, to accept the surrender of the city. With him went Dennis of the Coast Survey who found that at least one lady avoided Yankee contamination by spitting at him. Rodgers saw the much-disputed white flag flying on the fort as they landed at the wharf. There he sent orders for the Mayor to meet him, and escort him to the City Hall.²⁸ This was a difficult order to obey because Mayor Arneau had recently resigned. However the City Council was equal to the occasion; they quickly sent Christobal Bravo who served as Mayor *pro tem*.²⁹

Rodgers, too, met opposition from the ladies. "Rodgers met a virago here," Du Pont recorded. "Mrs. Mitchell . . . told him the men had behaved like cowards, but there were stout hearts in other bosoms, striking her own with theatrical effect."³⁰

Once in the safety of the City Hall Rodgers had only men to deal with. With these he laid down the law. They were to accumulate all Federal property, and furnish a guard over it until Union troops could arrive to take over the garrison duties of St. Augustine. Immediately they were to hoist the Stars and Stripes at the fort, and be held responsible for order until the garrison could land. After the City Council complied with these instructions, the city was considered surrendered.³¹

Not everyone frowned on the Federal officer. Union sympathizers came forward to greet him, and a few Southerners found it good politics to change sides at this time. "These times will work wonders," Harriet Jenckes observed, "make

28. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. Rodgers to Du Pont, Mar. 12, 1862.

29. *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Mar. 1, 24, 1862, pp. 310, 314.

30. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 601, Du Pont to Com. Drayton, Mar. 14, 1862.

31. *Id.*, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

some of us discreet, and stayers at home. We are beginning the game of rise Ladies and change places, and between two stools your humble servant is coming to the ground.“³²

Soon prayers were being offered for the Union in St. Augustine churches despite the fact that Mrs. Judge S. went stomping through the church, as told by Mrs. Jenckes. Here is the situation two months later: “Mr. S. [the minister] has forfeited my respect,” Harriet Jenckes commented, “I do not go to Church. Heads of families have left generally. A free passage to Pulaski has been offered him, I hear he says neither man, woman, or child can make him go without he pleases. I have not joined in the Cabal against him, but I do wish him 40 miles off. I can’t bear to come home with a ruffled temper, I like to leave Church loving both God and man better than when I entered it.“³³

The disembarkation of troops went slowly. “The bars off this coast are our worst enemies,” explained Du Pont.³⁴ But eventually seven companies of the 4th New Hampshire Volunteer Regiment (about 600 men) took over the occupation of the city which was to continue for three years. (Half a dozen regiments were to serve in St. Augustine before the occupation ended.) Three companies lived in Fort Marion where huts and tents were erected while the others stayed at St. Francis Barracks. A few slaves were quartered in the fort, and prisoners were kept there. The glacis on the north and west sides of the fort was raised for greater protection than the Spanish level afforded. Within a month after its “capture” the fort boasted an armament of twelve cannon

32. Letter, Jenckes to Reid, May 26, 1862.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 603, Du Pont to Sherman, Mar. 15, 1862.

which covered the city and the approaches to the fort.³⁵ Concerned at first over the possibility of a Confederate attack, Lt. Col. Louis Bell, the commandant, attempted to rally sympathetic citizenry into joining his regiment. When few takers answered the roll of the drums the commandant charged local Unionists with "a want of loyalty."³⁶ But if the Army felt bitter toward such folk, the Navy offered them sanctuary. "As many Union families expressed a wish to come aboard this vessel in case of an attack," a gunboat captain reported, "I freely offered all who desired it a refuge."³⁷ (Later garrisons involving full regiments did not fear an attack on Fort Marion. Indeed, St. Augustine was considered a rest camp during the last year of the war.)

As optimism gave way to practicality it was learned that the number of Unionists in St. Augustine had been grossly overestimated.³⁸ When he accepted the surrender of the city, Commander Rodgers had reported, "the men seemed anxious to conciliate us in every way"; though a month later Commandant Bell did not agree with him.³⁹ He found the men were effectively, though quietly, offering resistance. As an example: William Keys and three neighbors were caught har-

35. *Id.*, Vol. 14, p. 333, Bell to Benham, April 15, 1862. Federal volunteer regiments garrisoning St. Augustine were as follows: 4th N.H. until Oct. 1862; 7th N.H. until Dec. 1862; 7th Conn. until Aug. 1863; 48th N.Y. until Oct. 1863; 17th Conn. until May 1865 when the 7th Regular U.S. Infantry took over garrison duties. Others were the 24th Massachusetts and the 10th Connecticut, or portions of them. A manuscript diary of Lt. James H. Linsley of the latter regiment describing his stay in St. Augustine is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida history, University of Florida. Published histories of three of these regiments are: Palmer, A. J., *The History of the Forty-eighth Regiment, New York State Volunteers in the War for the Union*. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1885; Little, H. F. W., *The Seventh Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion*. Concord, N. H. 1896; Walkley, Stephen, *History of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry* (n.p.n.d.). Copies of all are in the same library.

36. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 255, Wright to Bell, Mar. 27, 1862.

37. O.R.N., Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 753, Lt. Com. J. W. A. Nicholson to Du Pont.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Id.*, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

boring a Confederate sergeant in the city. The sergeant was accused of being a spy; all four were heavily ironed and sent to Northern prisons.⁴⁰

In 1862 guerrilla warfare in East Florida reached its peak. Several Unionists were hung in St. Johns county where guerrillas even grew bold enough to slip into St. Augustine to snipe at Federal sentinels.⁴¹ The *New York Herald* elaborated: "The inhabitants [of St. Augustine] are not privileged to go out because of bands of guerrillas who are everywhere organizing. This has produced a reign of terror in the neighborhood. Guerrillas do not hesitate to kill those who differ from them."⁴²

This activity was the prelude to a stricter policy against Confederate sympathizers in St. Augustine. Du Pont advised Brig. Gen. H. W. Benham that "these Floridians ought to be well punished while you are waiting for your reinforcements for more important work."⁴³ The General replied that he did not fear for Union sympathizers in St. Augustine, because the garrison there could protect them; but he was worried for others in the interior or in evacuated Jacksonville. He ordered that any guerrilla outrages upon Unionists or property "contrary to the laws and usages of war shall be visited fourfold upon the inhabitants of disloyal or doubtful character nearest the scene of any such wrongs when the actual and known perpetrators cannot be discovered."⁴⁴ This seemingly ruthless proclamation could not be carried out: it was up to the Fernandina or St. Augustine garrisons to execute

40. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 356, Maj. Charles G. Halpine to Bell, June 30, 1862.

41. *Ibid.*, R. A. Speissegger, *Early History of New Augustine* (The Author, 1948), p. 24.

42. William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, (Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1913), citing *New York Herald*, Sept. 12, 1862.

43. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 765, Du Pont to Benham, Apr. 21, 1862.

44. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 128, H. W. Benham to Wright, Apr. 2, 1862.

the threat, and these isolated garrisons could not operate far afield, due to the superior strength of the interior Confederate forces.

Thus the commandant was already worried when the good ladies of St. Augustine again chose to flaunt their patriotism. It will be remembered that the ladies were responsible for erecting the flagpole in the Plaza early in 1861, and hoisting thereon the "national flag" of Florida, which was subsequently replaced by the Confederate banner when Florida joined the Confederacy. To them the flag and its flagpole were a symbol of Confederate hopes. Two days before the city surrendered, they cut down their flagpole lest it be "desecrated" by the Stars and Stripes.⁴⁵ Remembering that the pole could be re-erected by the Federals, plans were made to have it cut up for firewood. Though the Federal officer who accepted the surrender of the city felt "much violent and pestilent feeling among the women," and remarked that they seemed "to mistake treason for courage, and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines," this affair was over before the garrison troops arrived.⁴⁶

In May, however, a group of the damsels assembled at the Plaza in full view of the Federal soldiers. They proceeded to chip off small pieces from the remaining stump of the flag-staff, which they kissed "with all the fervor of a youthful maiden in her first love."⁴⁷ Some of the soldiers who had noticed the proceedings became so indignant that they dug up the stump and burned it to ashes. Returning the next day, the bevy of damsels, with great ostentation, brushed up the ashes into small papers to be cherished as souvenirs.

The Examiner, a paper printed by the Federal troops, com-

45. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862; Letter, Jenckes to Reid, March 10, 1862.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *The Examiner*, May 8, 1862, Published by the 4th N. H. Reg. (Castillo de San Marcos library).

mented on the incident in high humor: "We are sincerely sorry that the destruction of this stump renders it impossible that it can be kissed any more, but as the only consolation we can afford, we hereby publicly offer to conduct the afflicted ones to a gallant set of young men who will receive all the kisses they have to bestow, and return them, too, the only condition being that the ladies shall first sign the oath of allegiance. Apply at this office."⁴⁸

The commanding officer did not share in the humor. He issued an ultimatum: "Certain women having conducted themselves, last evening and this morning, in a manner grossly insulting to the United States Forces stationed here, by collecting together in the Plaza and there openly manifesting their disloyalty to the United States, I have ordered that hereafter any woman who shall be guilty of any open and offensive exhibition of disloyalty, shall be considered as having forfeited immunity from punishment by reason of her sex, and shall be held in strict arrest. And furthermore, if any such disgraceful scene is reenacted, I shall enforce the full vigor of Martial Law in the city."⁴⁹

The commandant reported his difficulties in St. Augustine, and requested advice in handling his problems from Maj. Gen. David Hunter who directed him: "You will also threaten to arm, and if necessary arm, all negroes and Indians who may be willing to enter the service. You should also at once drive out of your lines all persons, without reference to sex, who have not taken and shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance."⁵⁰

Most people in St. Augustine had kinsmen in the Confederate service, and there were many who, like Harriet Jenckes, "could not change their politics as they would a filthy gar-

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *O.R.A.* Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 356, Maj. Halpine to Bell, June 20, 1862.

ment." These people were ordered to sell their property, sent aboard ship, and evacuated to Jacksonville. There the order was rescinded, and the evacuees returned. But by this time the damage had been done. Only Federal notes were circulated in St. Augustine, and the Confederate money they had received as payment for their properties was worthless. With homes gone, and no means to earn a living, many of this group left the city shortly thereafter.⁵¹

Carpetbaggers arrived early on the scene in St. Augustine, but there was very little Federal money in the town for them. Property there was, and about \$20,000 worth was bought in, under the supplement to the direct tax law of 1861, which was a move to confiscate the real property of southern landholders. John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary obtained one of the lots, though he was unable to find 10 percent of St. Augustine's voters who would take the oath under the Lincolnian ten percent plan of reconstruction, and send him to Washington as their Representative to Congress.⁵²

Cut off from sources of interior supplies there was little food in the city. "This city is in a most lamentable condition with respect to food," the commandant reported. "I have been compelled to issue Government provisions to families to prevent them from perishing from hunger."⁵³ Charging that Unionists were issued most of the food, one hungry Confederate lady remarked: "I can't tell you how many times a day I say to myself, Trust in the Lord, and verily thou shalt be fed. I wish I could congratulate Flora, but I do think it is an awful time to come into this world."⁵⁴

Holding the Confederate interior defense line at Palatka through Green Cove Springs, and up the St. Johns river as

51. *Id.*, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry to Maj. W. P. Prentice, Sept. 23, 1862.

52. George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 288. See the citation for a comprehensive treatment of the subject.

53. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 333, Bell to Benham, Apr. 15, 1862.

54. Letter, Jenckes to Reid, May 26, 1862.

far as Volusia county was Company H, 2nd Florida Cavalry, C.S.A., led by Captain J. J. Dickison. The St. Augustine occupation garrison generally purchased cattle for their needs from local cattlemen, and kept a supply on hand in a small cowpen near the city. (A cattlepen full of stolen cattle reaching from Picolata to St. Augustine was not the case, as one writer to the Lake City Columbine believed during the war.) They seldom plundered; not for lack of inclination, but for lack of force large enough to penetrate Confederate defenses. Alfred and Kathryn Hanna gave to Dickison and his men, more than to any other factor, the credit for keeping central Florida's plantations from being broken up.⁵⁶

Later to become a general, Captain Dickison was nicknamed "War Eagle" by Confederates while Federals called him "Dixie" and the territory west of the St. Johns, "Dixie's Land."⁵⁷ Legends have arisen that he walked St. Augustine streets in disguise and heartily hailed every Federal he passed, or that he spiked Fort Marion's cannon. In truth, action in St. Johns county involved merely minor skirmishes, which served the useful purpose of keeping the Federal garrison pinned down, and discouraged looting expeditions into the interior of the state.

When sixty Federal soldiers ventured two miles north of the city to cut wood, Dickison's men pounced upon them; capturing 24 and wounding a half dozen, the Confederates chased the others back to the safety of Fort Marion.⁵⁸ This skirmish and others near Picolata served to discourage small detachments of Federals from operating afield, and since gar-

55. Mary E. Dickison, *Dickison and His Men* (Louisville, Ky., 1890), p. 46.

56. Alfred J. and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., N. Y., 1951), p. 149, Dickison, p. 73.

57. Dickison, p. 46.

58. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 28, Part 1, p. 752, Col. F. A. Osborn, U.S.A., to Brig. Gen. J. W. Turner, Jan. 1, 1864; *Id.*, p. 753, Report of Capt. J. J. Dickison, C.S.A.; Dickison, 110; Alfred S. Roe, *The Twenty-Fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers 1861-1866* (Twenty-Fourth Veteran Ass., Worcester, Mass., 1907, p. 249.

rierson duties interfered with operating in force, the Federals in St. Augustine were tied down.⁵⁹

During the last year of the war Dickison's men carried out an extensive campaign in St. Johns county where they collected eighty-four prisoners, killed four, and wounded several other Federals. Recapturing ten wagon-loads of stolen cotton, and two hundred horses, they visited a farm house where a dance for Federal officers in the Picolata garrison was in progress. There they captured the Federal soldier band, an ambulance, and most of the officers forming the Picolata garrison. Riding back to "Dixie's Land" they decided their tattered uniforms were not warm enough for the December weather. Soon, all who could, snuggled comfortably in warm Federal overcoats of blue; their prisoners shivered dejectedly. Dickison sent his blue-overcoated men forward as his advance guard. When meeting Confederate deserters the guard would accuse them of being rebels. Thinking the guard were Federal troops the deserters would hotly deny the charge, declaring they had deserted and were good Union men. Arresting them, the guard would pass them on back to their comrades in grey. They stopped at a farm where the lady of the house, an ardent Unionist, mistook Dickison for a Federal officer. Playing the game, the Captain pointed to his men in grey and remarked, "they are some of Dickison's men we have captured." With an earnest "God Bless you, Colonel," the lady threw her arms around him and begged Dickison to capture "that man Dickison." The Captain replied confidentially, "I will get him before he crosses the river."⁶⁰

Though it was true that the Federals could not safely venture beyond the town limits, it is also true that they had

59. For details of skirmishes at Picolata see *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 224, Col. H. S. Putnam to Lt. Col. O. G. Halpine, U.S.A., March 12, 1863; *Id.*, Lt. Col. J. C. Abbott to Putnam, March 10, 1863; Dickson, 109.

60. Dickison, 112-122; *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, p. 166, summary of this action by compilers.

accomplished their major objective, which was to close St. Augustine harbor to blockade-runners. During stormy weather, blockade-runners were forced at times to seek refuge at Matanzas Inlet fourteen miles south of St. Augustine, and here at least six were captured with cargoes valued at over \$50,000.⁶¹

After Appomattox, Confederate troops in Florida were ready to surrender. During May 17-20, 1865, they surrendered to Brig. Gen. Vogdes, in compliance with terms agreed upon between Generals Johnston and Sherman, at Baldwin, Lake City and Waldo. Eleven companies of the 7th U. S. Infantry, Regular Army, reached St. Augustine May 31 to relieve the Volunteers. However, the command of the District, as part of the Department of the South, was not relinquished by Vogdes until July 10, when the official order transferring the State to the Department of the Gulf arrived.⁶²

61. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 709, Com. J. W. A. Nicholson to Du Pont, April 7, 1862; *Id.*, Vol. 17, p. 685, Com. E. C. Healy to Sec. of Navy, April 19, 1864; David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War*. (Sherman Publishing Co., N. Y. 1886.) pp. 838-842.

62. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, pp. 166-167. This appears as a summary of events by the compilers, and complete citations are not given.