Miami During the Civil War, 1861-65

by Col. James C. Staubach, U.S. Army (Retired)

During the War Between the States the only inhabitants of the future Greater Miami area were a few hardy pioneers around the Miami River. Nevertheless, the isolated community got involved in the conflict. Some Miamians ran the blockade, one fought for the Confederacy, and at least one resident worked for the Union Navy which raided and burned in the area.[1]

The Environment

In the mid-19th century the lower third of the Florida peninsula was a unique and unknown subtropical wilderness dominated by the Everglades. The Glades were, and remain, unlike anything else in the world. Entering the Everglades is like walking outdoors onto an endless, flat, grassy terrace ablaze with sunlight.[2] Before the massive drainage projects of the early 20th century, this "River of Grass" covered most of South Florida. It was exceptionally dangerous to venture into the Glades in the 1860s. Except for the Seminoles, only a few naturalists, determined surveyors, and military men pursuing hostile Indians had penetrated its vast expanse.

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Dry land along the lower southeast coast consisted of a narrow coastal ridge, six and one-half miles wide, wedged between the Everglades and the Atlantic Ocean. Stretching west to east across this ridge from the Glades to the Atlantic was a river known as the Miami River. The source of this clear freshwater river was in the Glades and it emptied into the Atlantic at Biscayne Bay. The nucleus of the pioneer community of Miami was here where the river met the bay, its isolation making it a virtual island.

Despite the presence of freshwater, the land was unsuited for conventional agriculture. Shallow soil covered a dense shelf of oolitic limestone and the highest spots were covered by pine woodlands and palmetto shrubs with mangrove hammocks close to the shore. Huge swarms of mosquitoes, from which smoke pots and nets offered only partial relief, infested the area. Overall it was a harsh and challenging environment.

Lack of transportation compounded the geographic isolation of early Miami. No railroads, roads or trails connected South Florida with the remainder of the state. Most travelers arrived by boat from Key West, Miami's outlet to the world. About 140 nautical miles from Miami, Key West was a fair sized port city in 1860 and the second largest town in Florida. It was culturally a southern city with a population of 2,862 people, including 451 slaves and 160 free blacks.[3] Before the war a schooner, the *Joshua Skinner*, made one round-trip a month from Key West. The vessel left Key West on the eighth of the month and sailed from Miami on the 25th. It carried mail, freight, and an infrequent passenger.[4]

The only way to get to Miami by land was to walk the beach along the wild and unsettled east coast. The only inhabitants between Miami and Jupiter Lighthouse, about 80 miles north, lived at Fort Lauderdale.[5] Travelers from Miami had to walk the beach for another 25 miles north of the Jupiter Lighthouse to reach a small cluster of homes at St. Lucie Inlet on Indian River. The closest community was another 35 miles north.[6] It took "barefoot mailmen" three days to cover the route between Miami and Jupiter. Among the most unique mail carriers in American history, these intrepid pioneers went barefoot to keep their shoes dry while walking on the hardest part of the beach where the water washed and the footing was best. They carried mail from St. Augustine 315 miles to Miami and back. A blazing sun as well as panthers, alligators, bears, and sharks in the inlets made this a dangerous and sometimes fatal trek.[7] Because of its inaccessibility, few people visited Miami, and the loneliness was oppressive.[8]

The Indians

Indian troubles during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s helped keep the visitors away. A symbol of Miami's vulnerability to hostile Seminoles was also the dominant structure in the area: the Cape Florida Lighthouse at the tip of Key Biscayne. In a well-publicized incident in 1836, the Indians attacked this white, 95 foot brick tower killing the assistant and leaving the keeper for dead. Twenty years later, in 1856, the Seminoles ambushed and killed two settlers in what is now Coconut Grove. The whites were not entirely innocent, having sold adulterated gunpowder to the Indians. These shocking events discouraged many settlers and dashed the hopes of those who had plans to establish a major settlement on the site.[9]

When the danger was greatest, the settlers found refuge with the U.S. Army at Fort Dallas located at the mouth of the Miami River. The Army used the fort during the last two Indian wars as a base of operations against the Seminoles. During the final period of occupation, 1855-58, known as the Third Seminole War, the soldiers made many improvements to the area. Lieutenant Abner Doubleday, later falsely known as the inventor of baseball, led construction of a 16-foot wide road from Miami to Fort Lauderdale. The Army reconstructed two stone buildings originally built by William English. English had a plantation on the Miami River and planned to build the "Village of Miami." The Army incorporated these stone buildings into Fort Dallas. They were both two story and measured 95 by 17 feet
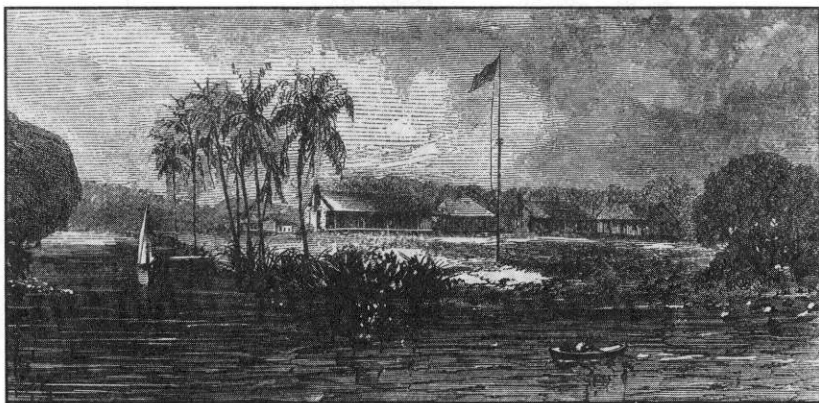
A view of Fort Dallas, published March 1871 in Harper's New Monthly Magazine in J.B. Holder's article, "Along the Florida Reef." (Historical Association of Southern Florida, 75-50-1)
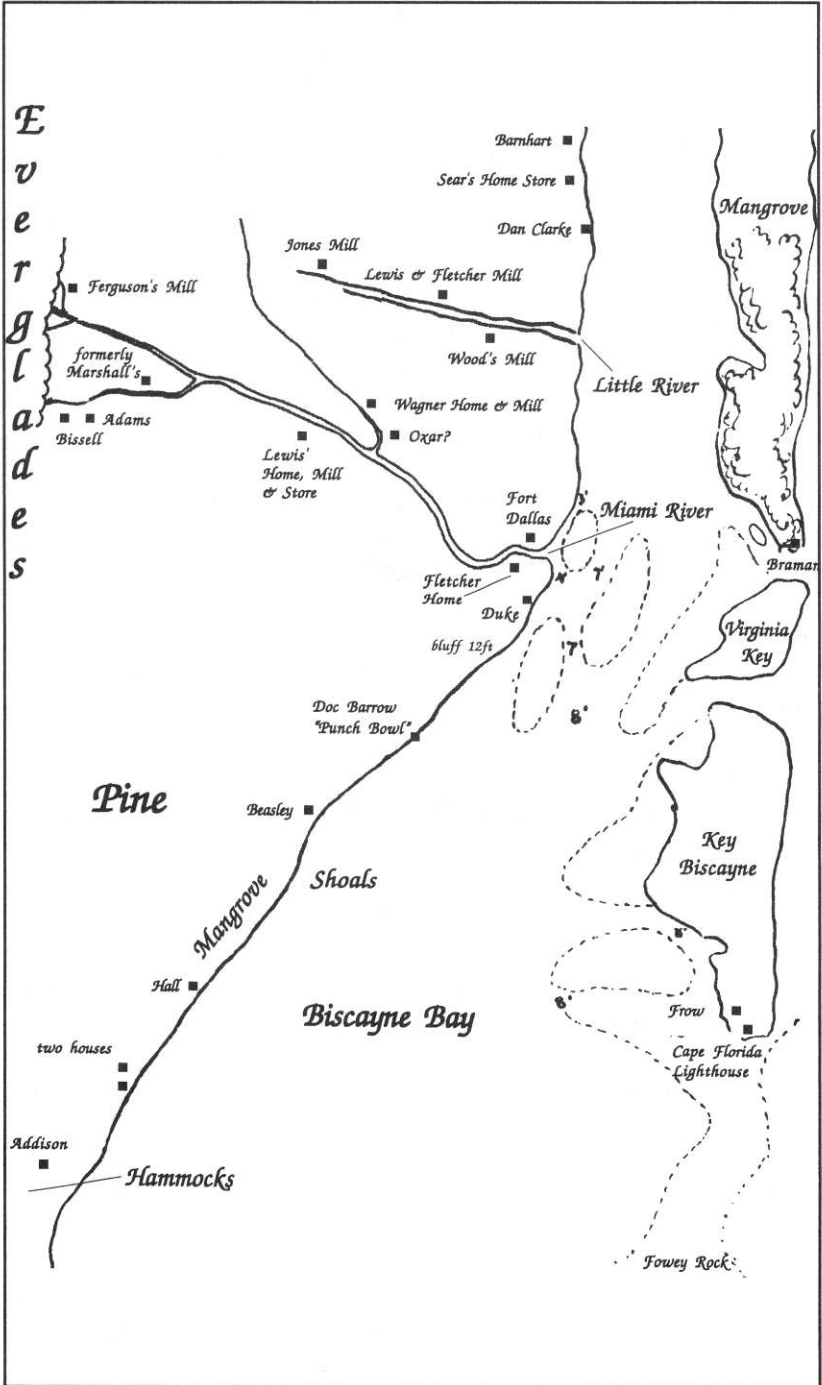
and 42 by 20 feet. Using local wood and imported lumber, the soldiers added five new officers' quarters, a hospital, guardhouse, magazine, stables, and other smaller buildings. During this period the complex consisted of approximately 13 buildings with no walls.[10] It greatly impressed a visitor in March of 1858 who wrote, it was "a beautiful sight; the stars and stripes floating from a tall flagstaff erected on the parade ground, all clean and covered with Bermuda grass . . . planted with flowers, shrubbery and vegetables of all kinds." [11]

The Army left Fort Dallas in the hands of caretakers and the locals put the buildings to good use as a residence, trading post, and temporary quarters for newly arrived settlers. It remained the center of the pioneer community throughout most of the second half the 19th century.[12] After the third and final Seminole Indian War ended in 1858, a small number of undefeated Seminoles slipped deeper into the vastness of the Everglades, but the continual warfare had damaged Miami's reputation.

The Pioneers

The pioneers who stayed to make a home in this wilderness depended on the ocean as a link to the world and as a source of income. A busy sea lane was directly offshore and parallel to the coast. During the first half the 19th century, one of the leading activities was "wrecking," or the legal and illegal salvaging of ships stranded or destroyed on the treacherous Florida Reef. In the 1850 and 1860 Censuses some reported their occupation as "mariner," a euphemism for wrecker. By 1861 improved maps, steam powered ships, and the Cape Florida Lighthouse reduced the number of wrecks along the coast.

Right: The sketchmap of Miami, circa April 1861, was created with information from a number of sources: Richards, "Reminiscences;" Sketch, Headquarters Map File L-89-24, 1855-1857, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, Cartographics Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Lieutenant Robinson's map, in Parks, *Miami The Magic City*, p. 35; maps drawn by Surveyor F. H. Gerdes, 1849, "Miami: The Way We Were, *The Miami News*, February 16, 1985, p. 4C; and in addition, many sources cited in footnotes contain information about locations of natural features and structures.

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Barnhart ■

Sear's Home Store ■

Dan Clarke ■

Mangrove

Jones Mill ■

Lewis & Fletcher Mill ■

Ferguson's Mill ■

*formerly
Marshall's*

Wood's Mill ■

Little River

■ Adams
Bissell ■

Wagner Home & Mill ■

■ Oxar?

*Lewis'
Home, Mill
& Store*

Fort
Dallas ■

Miami River

Braman

*Fletcher
Home*

Duke ■

bluff 12ft

*Virginia
Key*

Doc Barrow
"Punch Bowl" ■

Pine

Beasley ■

*Key
Biscayne*

Mangrove

Shoals

Hall ■

Biscayne Bay

Frow ■

two houses ■
■

*Cape Florida
Lighthouse*

Addison ■

Hammocks

Fowey Rock

The production of starch from the native comptie plant became more important to the economy, and on the eve of the Civil War it was the leading occupation. The comptie plant, which grows wild in the pinelands, is a small cycad with foot-long green fronds like a miniature palm. Comptie starch, produced by the grinding of the root into a white powder, could be used for laundry or as a flour substitute. To grind the roots the settlers used large mills with water wheels powered by the Miami River, as well as horses and small, hand-operated machines. They consumed the starch and sold it at Key West for $12 a barrel. Arrowroot Starch was the product's commercial name.

Along with wrecking and making starch, the settlers tended their gardens, grew fruit trees, and lived off the local fish and game. Most settlers engaged in all these activities.[13]

This harsh and isolated environment discouraged settlement, and at the start of the Civil War there were probably fewer than 150 settlers in the entire southeast portion of the state, an area of 6,000 square miles. In the future Greater Miami area, the 1860 Census reported only 28 settlers, but 40 is a more realistic estimate. These pioneers, like most modern Miami area residents, were immigrants from another area, state, or country. Of the 28 settlers listed in the 1860 Census, 14 were foreign born and some were former soldiers or civilian employees of the Army.[14]

We know a great deal about William Wagner and his family because in 1903 his daughter Rose provided an invaluable chronicle of the war years in a series of articles for *The Miami News*. She was nine years old when the Civil War began and recorded her reminiscences 38 years after the war. Although much of her account must be attributed to what she learned from others during her long life in Miami, her story is vivid and informative. Her father, William Wagner, had been wounded in the Mexican War and brought his family to Miami between 1855 and 1857. He was a sutler with the U.S. Army during the last military occupation of Fort Dallas and later probably worked for a Capt. Sinclair operating a comptie mill on a tributary of the Miami River. Steam powered this large mill. Sinclair also owned two schooners that made trips between Miami and Key West. Wagner's homestead was on the same tributary as the mill. It became known as Wagner's Creek.[15]

Wagner's family consisted of his daughter Rose, a wife of Creole extraction from Charleston, South Carolina, and two sons. He met his wife in Charleston while recuperating from a leg wound received in

THE 1860 CENSUS OF DADE COUNTY FLORIDA
THE SETTLEMENT OF FORT DALLAS

George Lewis	40	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Florida
Theodore Bissell	56	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Connecticut
William A. Johnson	21	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Florida
Nicholas Adams	39	M	carpenter	Prussia
John Adams	37	M	mariner	Prussia
Frank Smith	36	M	mariner	Hanover
John Jackson	58	M	mariner	Norway
William H. Bennett	40	M	mariner	Isle of Jersey
Henry Cold	53	M	mariner	Norway
John Braman	45	M	mariner	Denmark
Treville Howell	29	M	day laborer	Virginia
Stephen Ramsden	6	M	farmer	New York
Thomas Payne	46	M	printer	Massachusetts
William Wagner	35	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Baden
Michael Axer	35	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Darmstadt
Francis L. Hammond	30	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	Ireland
Michael Chairs	50	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	France
George Chairs	18	M	mfr. of Arrowroot	France
Thomas Addison	35	M	brickmason	Florida
George Marshall	60	M	farmer	England
Robert R. Fletcher	59	M	physician	Virginia
Mary	50	F	housekeeper	Florida
Amanda	20	F	seamstress	Florida
Rosalia	17	F	seamstress	Florida
Antonio Gomez	34	M	mariner	Portugal
Merced	17	F	housekeeper	Canary Islands
Manuel	5/12	M		Florida
Antonio Montesmoca	12	M		Florida

the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico. Mrs. Wagner, the former Eveline Aimar, was of mixed racial ancestry and the Wagners may have chosen to make a home in the wilderness to escape the prejudice of the time.[16] The 1860 Census reported Wagner's occupation as "manufacturer of Arrowroot," and his age as 35.

Across the river and toward the beach was the home of Dr. Robert R. Fletcher who was 59 years old in 1860. He lived with his wife and two daughters, Maude and Roselyn, on two acres of land

next to the river. Fletcher, who moved to Miami from Indian Key in the 1840s, reported his profession as physician, but he also ran a trading post on the river's south side, and like many of his neighbors, also made starch. Originally from Virginia, Fletcher was a southern sympathizer.[17]

Also on the south side of the river was the home of George Lewis. He was a member of a prominent pioneer family that had received an early land grant in the vicinity. Lewis returned to Miami in 1858 from Houston, Texas, where his family had moved in 1837 to escape the Second Seminole War. Accompanying him to Miami were two nephews, two nieces, and a slave named Ben Tiner. Lewis brought money to invest. One of his first enterprises in 1858 was a starch mill on the Arch Creek Natural Bridge, built with the help of a business partner, Dr. Fletcher. Lewis also did business with George Ferguson, who was the postmaster and acknowledged leader of the community. Ferguson's home was on the river at "Ferguson's Landing," (today's 800 N.W. 13th Street). He owned a store and the largest starch mill in the region on a 40-acre tract. It was Ferguson's second mill, located at the spot where today's N.W. 12th Avenue reaches the river.[18] His first mill had been located on the north fork of the river about five and one-half miles east of the bay and at the very edge of the Everglades where the water ran very fast and was known by the inhabitants as "the rapids," a highly exaggerated description.[19] This mill had earlier employed as many as 25 workers and exported starch to Key West by the ton.

Lewis purchased Ferguson's property in 1858 and began operating the businesses in 1860, but made starch on a smaller scale. He was 40 years old in 1860. Lewis's nephew and Ben Tiner helped him manage the businesses he purchased from George Ferguson, who moved to Key West and became a prosperous merchant there.[20] Finding life too lonely, Lewis' nieces left.

On the south fork of the river about a mile from its source was the home built by the Adams brothers, John and Nicholas. It had two stories and a large rock chimney. Aged 37 and 39 respectively in 1860, both men were recent immigrants from Prussia and ardent southern sympathizers. Nicholas was a skilled carpenter who worked as caretaker of the Fort Dallas buildings after the troops left. For a time he also worked as a wrecker and beachcomber while maintaining his garden and fruit grove. Like most settlers, he made starch occasionally. During the last Seminole war he served as the barefoot

mailman for Miami, and had many narrow escapes from the Indians.[21]

The home of Theodore Bissell was farther west on the south fork of the Miami River. He served in Tallahassee as a state representative from Dade County in 1858, '59, and '60. His fellow pioneers looked forward to his return to Miami because he brought news of the outside world and stories of the impending war.[22]

Michael Axer, or Oxar, lived across the river, east of the Bissell home. Aged 35 in 1860 and nicknamed "Dutch Mike," he was from Darmstadt, Germany. His homesite was on a spring at Wagner Creek.[23] On the bay about three miles north of the river lived Michael Sears, or "French Mike," who was 50 years old in 1860. From Alsace-Lorraine, his name is "Chairs" in the 1860 Census and sometimes appears in the records as "Zairs." Arriving in 1858 with his son George, 15, and his daughter Caroline, 5, Sears cleared bayfront land, built a house with a loft, and constructed a dock. Later he also built a starch mill, raised a few hogs that ran wild, and planted fruit trees. These included coconut trees that made his home a distinctive landmark for mariners. A trader when he could get anything to sell, Sears cruised the coast in his sloop searching for wrecks or cargo washed up on the beach. At times the entire family went on scavenger hunts along the beach, but usually Sears left his daughter alone when he and his son went wrecking or sailed on frequent trading trips to Key West. When the Civil War threatened, Sears arranged for a family in Key West to take care of his lonely little girl, and his son went north to a small community on Indian River.

French Mike had a close neighbor, Dan Clarke, who was single and without a family. A former sailor, Clarke raised pigs and horses. In 1877 his housekeeper was a black woman, Lizzie Holland. She may have been his slave before the war. No one else lived on upper Biscayne Bay.[24]

The other settlers living in the vicinity when the Civil War began included Isaiah Hall and Simeon Frow. Hall, who had several residences, arrived in 1858 with a wife and six children. His homestead was on the coast just south of what is now Matheson Hammock Park. Frow, head lighthouse keeper at the Cape Florida Light since the year of his arrival, lived on Key Biscayne next to the lighthouse. He was born on the Spanish Island of Minorca of an English father and a Minorcan mother.

Among other people mentioned by Rose Wagner are Mr. Barn-hart, who may have lived at what became Buena Vista or Lemon City; Mr. Farrell, who lived north of the river; Captain W. H. Benest, who lived somewhere in the area, and John Braman who lived on what is now Miami Beach at a point directly across from the mouth of the Miami River. There was also George Marshall, a 60-year-old farmer and longtime resident from England.

In addition, Rose Wagner wrote about the former lighthouse keeper, Dr. C. S. "Doc" Barron, whose home was at the "Punch Bowl"—the site of a natural spring located on the coastal ridge about two miles south of Fort Dallas. Passing mariners frequently used the spring.

A Tom Paine also appears in her newspaper story. Relating Paine's earlier location to 1903 Miami, Rose Wagner reported that he resided "between the River and a rock quarry on 7th Street." John Addison, a scout during one of the Seminole Indian Wars, lived in Cutler. "Long John" Holman, another former Army scout and bare-foot mailman, may have been a resident during the Civil War.[25] Reason Duke and family lived directly across from Fort Dallas where the river meets the bay and may have been a resident in 1861.

A 1942 view of the "Punch Bowl," also known as the "Devil's Punch Bowl" and "Harney's Punch Bowl"—the site of a natural spring located near today's Rickenbacher Causeway. (Historical Association of Southern Florida)

Ned Beasley owned and made improvements on land which is now the bayfront south of today's Peacock Park at Coconut Grove. His name was listed on the 1830 Census and appears in several surveys and maps of the coastline. He continued to own and perhaps live on the site during the Civil War. In 1868 he formally applied for the first homestead south of the Miami River.[26]

To date the author has been unable to identify other persons living in the Miami area at the outbreak of the Civil War, except for the names of a few individuals listed in the 1860 Census. Yet, it is clear from the sources that other unnamed individuals lived in the vicinity on the eve of the Civil War. For example, William Wagner's grandson mentioned squatters who lived on Snapper Creek and raised vegetables before the war.[27]

In 1860, Miami's pioneers were experiencing a mini-depression caused by the U.S. Army's abandonment of Fort Dallas.[28] Despite their distance from other cities and towns, the Miami settlers heard about the impending war. Some residents predicted that the coming conflict would bring more scarcity and were afraid to live in such an unprotected site. Captain Sinclair sold his share in the mill on Wagner's Creek and moved to South Carolina to look out for his interests there. Wagner's oldest son was murdered by George Marshall in front of Lewis' store while Marshall was in a drunken rage. It was a harbinger of the tragedies to come. At the time, Dade County lacked a peace officer and Marshall escaped before the sheriff from Key West arrived. Before his hasty departure, Marshall sold 160 acres of land to Dr. Fletcher. The sale took place on February 23, 1861, a little more than a month before the war began.[29]

The War Years

Florida, a state culturally and economically tied to the lower south, seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861. On April 12, 1861, the forces of South Carolina fired on Fort Sumpter and the war was on. With the smallest population in the Confederacy, Florida was never an important theater of war. Within Florida, Miami was too small and too far away from population centers to interest either side. According to a Union Navy Board in 1861, the southern Atlantic coast of Florida was "hardly inhabited and of no great consequence except as a convenient resort for pirates."[30] On the east coast of

Florida the rebel state government concerned itself only with forti-
fying Jacksonville and St. Augustine, 315 miles north of Miami.[31]

The federal authorities had not totally abandoned the area; they
continued to operate the lighthouses along the coast. The rebels be-
lieved them to be detrimental to their cause and of great benefit to the
"enemy fleet." By April 1861, this string of lights from Jupiter Inlet
to the Dry Tortugas were the only ones left along the entire Confed-
erate coast. The lighthouse keepers had divided political loyalties but
honored their important responsibility to mariners and wanted to keep
their jobs.

A small group of rebel sympathizers, organized by a customs-
house officer at St. Augustine named Paul Arnau, set out to put the
lighthouses out of commission. The partisan group dismantled the
light at St. Augustine before moving south. At Cape Canaveral, they
ran off the lighthouse keepers before removing the equipment. The
lighthouse at Jupiter Inlet was next put out of commission by August
Oswald Lang, who had been the assistant keeper at Jupiter and may
have also lived with the Adams brothers on the Miami River for a
time; by Francis A. Ivy, who had also been an assistant at Jupiter;
and by James Paine who lived near Indian River Inlet. They were
encouraged, and maybe accompanied, by Paul Arnau. The group
turned away the Jupiter lighthouse keeper, Joseph F. Papy, and hid
important parts of the mechanism. The keeper and one assistant, who
were unharmed by the rebels, passed through Miami on their way to
Key West.[32]

The partisans Lang, Ivy, and two other men (one may have been
Arnau) then began the long journey south to Key Biscayne to put out
the Cape Florida Lighthouse. Paine stayed behind. They arrived at
Biscayne Bay, obtained a small sailboat, and set sail for the light-
house on Key Biscayne. At midnight on August 21, 1861, the keeper
Simeon Frow and Raynor, his assistant, were in the tower with the
sturdy iron door bolted on the inside. Both Frow and Raynor had
weapons and instructions to guard the light with their lives. They had
boasted that they would defend themselves if attacked. The keepers
had also said that their station was so close to the Key West shipping
lanes that their plight would be detected long before they would be
compelled to surrender. One of the partisans, (probably Lang) who
knew Frow and was aware that Frow expected supplies from Key
West, called up to him that he had news from Key West. As soon as
the unsuspecting keepers unbolted the door, the four armed partisans

took them prisoner. According to Paine, both men then professed to strongly favor the south. Lang, Ivy, and the others seriously damaged the glass lens and carried away other important parts of the mechanism and several weapons. The partisans then released both keepers stranding them on Key Biscayne since they lacked room for them in their small boat. The assistant keeper promptly deserted and went over to the rebels. Frow set out for Key West as soon as possible. On his arrival Frow claimed that four raiders had identified themselves as "The Coast Guard led by Captain Arnon [Arnau] from St. Augustine."[33]

In a letter to the governor of Florida, Paine, Lang, and Ivy explained that they were motivated by a "desire to serve their country." They "performed a journey of about 140 miles, 90 of it on foot, being exposed to a burning sun and drenching rains, and with a very scant allowance of food."[34] The assistant secretary of the Navy in Washington, G. V. Fox, described the men responsible as a "gang of pirates from 'San Augustine'."[35] Surprisingly, the darkening of the Cape Florida Lighthouse caused the Miami settlers no problems.

What caused a major dilemma was the federal seizure of control at Key West and the naval blockade of the entire southern coastline ordered by President Lincoln. A few residents, including Doc Barron, left when the war broke out. For most, whose only homes and livelihood were in Miami, there was no way out.[36] Since Miami was on the southern mainland, it was Confederate territory in the eyes of the Yankee military forces and the pioneers found themselves confronted by a hostile army and navy.[37] Union officers could control Biscayne Bay at will and dominate any shore site whenever they chose to send sailors ashore because there was no Confederate military unit or civilian authority within hundreds of miles to oppose them. Other than scattered local guerrillas in the interior and on the west coast, the only Confederate force in southern Florida was a small garrison in Tampa, a force of fewer than 100 men. On the east coast the only official southern force was at St. Augustine, and the Confederates evacuated the city on March 10, 1862, early in the war.[38]

Yet Yankee control of southern Florida was sporadic and the Union Navy made only random visits to the Miami area. South Florida was the responsibility of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, which made its headquarters at Key West. This small Squadron had a mission to blockade the entire Gulf Coast of Florida, the Atlantic Coast south of Cape Canaveral, and the upper Caribbean.[39] The squadron's

leaders were more concerned with patrolling Indian River which was deeper and closer to population centers than Biscayne Bay.

But the settlers who took an "unauthorized" trip risked prison or confiscation of their boats. Because of the blockade, the tiny community was more isolated than it had been for years, and about this time several settlers also left. Isaiah Hall became a pilot for the Union blockading squadron. The Southerners in the area made life difficult for him and his family so he moved to the Fort Lauderdale vicinity. His reported antislavery views could not have helped his popularity.[40] On the rebel side, Dr. Fletcher's son, Robert, served in Company K, 4th Florida Infantry Regiment, a unit of the Confederate Army.[41] According to one account, "Dutch Mike" was conscripted into the Confederate Army.[42]

"Now came the critical time. . .," Rose Wagner recalled. The mail boat stopped its monthly visits and Captain Sinclair's boats were seized for debt. Before the blockade, the pioneers had grown accustomed to supplies from Key West, including salt to preserve food. Now they had to live on what they could provide for themselves. They took up raising poultry and livestock, hunting, and planting their gardens. Wagner had success planting in a hammock, having learned from the Seminoles that this was the richest type of soil. Self-sufficiency was the best choice for the pioneers. Even when the settlers could get supplies from Key West, they were very expensive. For example, flour cost $17 a barrel, an outrageous price in those days. Also, what extra food could be produced could be sold to the military or to other civilians.[43]

Despite the pioneers' resourcefulness, provisions got scarce. According to Rose Wagner, often her family was " . . .compelled to sit down to a dish of comptie starch scalded in clear water with nothing else to fill up." It seems unlikely, however, that starvation was ever a reality, considering the abundance of fish and other resources. The usual wartime diet was fish, potatoes, and pumpkins, but shortages were a real problem for the community and something had to be done.

The pioneers believed "blockade running" was worth the risk. French Mike took a chance first and sailed his small sloop to Key West for provisions. He succeeded in avoiding the blockaders and his return with a load of provisions restored the optimism of the pioneers. It was a daring venture, but the small amount he brought back was soon gone and the community resolved that another trip was needed.[44]
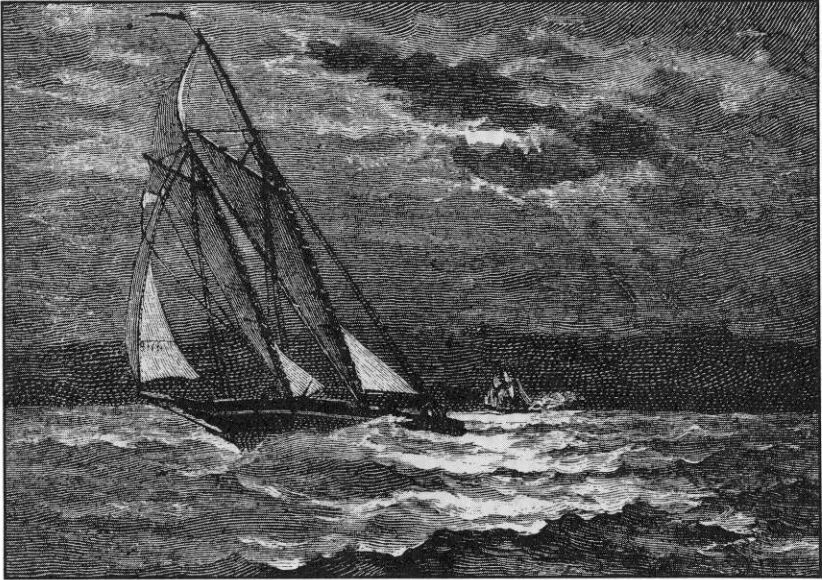
Blockade runners. (Historical Association of Southern Florida, 81-93-6)

Wagner and Nicholas Adams next set out for Key West in the boat Adams built in Miami. They were cautious and first secured permission for the trip from Lieutenant Commander Earl English of the U.S. Gunboat *Sagamore*. This blockade ship patrolled the coast from Key West to Indian River. At Key West, Wagner and Adams also obtained authorization to take back provisions to Miami from the commanding officer and from a "Captain Malloy." This considerate naval officer was W.D. Malloy, acting masters mate, commanding the U.S. Schooner *Ariel*, another blockade vessel. His ship would capture a blockade runner in Biscayne Bay later in the war.[45] The Union forces only granted approval to load what they thought necessary to sustain a single family for a short time. This policy gave the settlers incentive to make unauthorized trips.

Some chose to make regular runs between Nassau and Florida. Their ports in Florida ranged from Indian River on the east coast to Tampa Bay on the west coast, and the Yankees captured more than one runner sailing from Jupiter to Nassau. The absence of large ports and sizable population centers in southern Florida, as well as the size of their vessels, suggests that they were small-scale smugglers at best. Besides, there was no practical land route to or from Miami and blockade runners could only sell their cargos locally. Nevertheless,

any trip without permission of the Union Navy was "running the blockade."

Avoiding Union gunboats was easier with the Cape Florida and Jupiter lighthouses dark. These towers were no longer centers of Union control and observation. Also without their beacons, some federal ships were destroyed by the reef. Soon the commander of the U.S. Army's District of Key West and the Tortugas, Brigadier General John M. Brannon, took action. In April 1862, he sent a detachment of the 47th Pennsylvania Infantry from Key West with civilian carpenters to repair the Cape Florida Light. The detachment found the damage too extensive and the mission was aborted.[46]

John Adams was an active blockade runner, who took advantage of the darkness. Yankee spies closely watched him, but he had friends in the community who kept him informed about Union activities. Once the Union Navy thought they had him trapped in the Miami River, but Adams sailed right past them in the river without being seen.[47] He had another narrow escape at Hillsborough Inlet near Tampa. The federals found his provisions, tools, and papers compelling him to return to Miami. Adams was captured soon afterward by Union forces and taken to Key West. Brigadier General Daniel B. Woodbury, new Army commander at Key West, sent him north to be exchanged.[48]

"After the capture of Adams," Rose Wagner said, "it was now up to Dr. Fletcher and Mr. Lewis."[49] Both men were ardent Southerners. Milling at the Arch Creek mill they owned together came to a stop at about the same time that the war began.[50] Rose Wagner thought it was abandoned because it was unproductive, but it could have been the war and the lack of transport for the starch. Fletcher stayed on his property but Lewis was an entrepreneur and shifted his attention to other pursuits such as running the blockade. He sailed between Miami and Nassau and between Miami and Peace Creek on the west coast of Florida carrying cargo to exchange for provisions and other necessities. Lewis' success in evading the Navy soon made him notorious and he had many enemies, according to Rose Wagner.

The Union forces resolved to stop George Lewis and the other blockade runners. They began to tighten their grip on the coast and seize more vessels. One capture, reported by Capt. Malloy of the U.S. schooner *Ariel*, occurred on January 6, 1863. He spotted "a suspicious craft in Miami (Key Biscayne) Bay, close under the land." After a three-hour chase, the *Ariel* captured the vessel, which turned out to be the sloop *Good Luck* from New Smyrna, bound for Nassau.

A typical small South Florida blockade-running vessel, it had a crew of two men, a cargo of nine barrels of turpentine, and one bale of cotton. The U.S. District Court in Key West sold the sloop for $1,401.83.[51]

The Union Army and Navy also began to come ashore all along both sides of the lower peninsula of Florida. By 1863, coastal raids to attack the homes of rebels, salt works, and other facilities had become a weekly occurrence.[52] The Navy visited Miami primarily to conduct reconnaissance, foraging, or trading missions. In one recorded trip to the area, the *Sagamore* left a captured prize vessel at Cape Florida while the sailors went ashore and obtained about 100 coconuts.

Another visit took place on February 18, 1863. Lieutenant Commander English led an expedition in three boats six miles up the Miami River and saw "three men and two women living in the wilderness." The sailors brought back sugar cane, coconuts, limes, potatoes, and fish. On March 8, 1863, a doctor on duty aboard the *Sagamore* wrote from Biscayne Bay, "Dutchman came out after old newspapers having seen none in a long time. Mr. Wood, Mr. Babson went inside to see the young damsels--brought off coconuts and pigs."[53] This "Dutchman" could have been Dutch Mike or someone with a German accent.

On July 18, 1863, two small boatloads of sailors from the *Sagamore* returned to Miami. They first stopped at the home of Dr. Fletcher on the river and asked him to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. He refused to do so. The sailors told him they had business to attend to up river and would return. They passed silently up river. The Yankee sailors had never done this before. Soon afterward a big cloud of black smoke was seen to rise from the vicinity of George Lewis' mill. "Fear was pictured on our faces," Rose Wagner wrote, "we thinking the time had come when we would be left homeless." The party from the *Sagamore* burned no more buildings, but when they returned to Fletcher's home the raiding party led by Captain English found him willing to take the oath. The sailors carried a cartload of coconuts, squashes, a barrel of starch, a saddle, crockery, books, and a lead pipe back to their gunboats. These items were most likely confiscated from Lewis' property. He personally escaped capture during the raid. The Union Navy doctor who recorded the event also observed a ship ashore on the reef with wreckers at work on her. He closed his diary entry with a comment about the pleasant weather.[54]

The *Sagamore* continued to visit the area. Her log book shows that she sailed for Cape Florida with five captured vessels in tow on August 9, 1863, and arrived at the entrance to the Miami River the next morning. Despite their action against the "rebel Lewis," the officers and crew continued to trade with other local settlers. Captain English and another member of the crew bought one barrel and 12 dozen boxes of comptie at six cents a pound. It brought a price of 15 cents a pound at Key West.[55]

The sailors may have purchased the starch from the Wagners. Rose Wagner recalled a group of Union blockaders who came to her house to buy chickens and vegetables. A Yankee officer gave the Wagners the first greenbacks they had ever seen. The same officer came to the Wagner house again, but they refused his money because they had been unable to use the greenbacks at a store on the bay. The officer told the Wagners to try again. Before they had a chance, the merchant who had refused to take the currency the first time told them he would take all the greenbacks they had to spare.[56] Either the Union forces intimidated the merchant on the bay or he learned quickly the value of this new currency. The Wagners remained on friendly terms with rebels also.

George Lewis returned to Miami late in 1863. He visited Wagner and picked up personal effects and valuable articles, such as deeds, that he had left with Wagner for safekeeping. Rose Wagner believed that Lewis left the country to find a home in Cozumel, Mexico, right after collecting these items. Ben Tiner stayed with the Wagners.[57] Lewis and others could still come and go undisturbed because there was no permanent occupation force and the blockading squadron did not permanently station a vessel in the bay. On one occasion, four young Key West citizens, who wanted to fight for the South, escaped from Key West by stowing away on a schooner bound for Nassau. From Nassau they took a ship to Cape Florida. Once across the bay they walked to the Jupiter Lighthouse on their way north to join the Confederate Army.[58]

Not only was Miami open territory, it was also safe enough for the Cape Florida Lighthouse to be put back into operation, according to Theodore Bissell. The former Miami resident and Dade County representative to the Florida Legislature wrote to General Woodbury from Key West on December 30, 1863, to persuade the General to reestablish the lighthouse. Bissell wrote that he had frequently visited the lighthouse as deputy inspector of Customs for the District of Key

West. He considered the lighthouse generally in a good state of pres-
ervation and stated that all materials necessary to repair and relight
the apparatuses were on hand at Key West. Bissell also wrote that he
was well acquainted with all the settlers in Miami. There were only
15 people living there, and they would pose no danger to the new
lighthouse keepers, he said. In addition, Bissell argued, "The nearest
settlement. . .is at least 150 miles away and the country between
almost impenetrable."[59] Bissell's position was clear; his ties with Miami
were still strong and the relighting would help promote the area.

Bissell was correct; by this time replacement lamps, lenses, and
reflectors necessary to put the light back in operation had been pur-
chased by the Federal Lighthouse Board and were in storage at Key
West. The reefs bordering Biscayne Bay remained deadly and had
claimed two large Union troopships, the *Lucinda* and the *Sparkling
Sea* during one week in early January 1863. But General Woodbury
had already decided against it. In a letter to the Lighthouse Board in
Washington dated May 4, 1863, the Army commander reported that
he opposed reestablishment of the lighthouse because "the existence
of the light might tempt evil-disposed persons to come from a distance
to break it up." He thought a small garrison would be needed to
protect it. Another problem was that mechanics or day laborers would
be difficult to find. "A light vessel anchored inside the reef about one
mile north west of Fowey Rocks would be more useful," wrote the
General, anticipating the establishment of Fowey Rock Lighthouse
that replaced the Cape Florida Light in 1878. He also wrote that he
was familiar with the area and was unconcerned about "the four or
five families living on the mainland who were well disposed."

The U.S. Army took no further action to restore the lighthouse
despite the interest of the Lighthouse Board in Washington and the
recommendation of Lieutenant Commander English of the *Sagamore*.
After receiving General Woodbury's letter of May 4th, the Light-
house Board deferred the issue.[60]

In contrast to Theodore Bissell who worked for the Yankee
government, George Lewis engaged in activities that made the federal
authorities strongly suspect him of aiding the rebellion. The Army
finally captured him on the night of January 7, 1864, at Fort Myers,
an abandoned Seminole War fort on the west coast of the state. Lewis
and two other men were accused by the Union forces of making
preparations to destroy the fort to prevent it from falling into Union
hands. One of his companions, a Mr. Griffin, was also a known
blockade runner.[61]

The U.S. Army believed that Lewis and Griffin were Confederate Indian agents who traded cloth, rifle caps, and other items for livestock. Hogs and cattle from west Florida were an important food source for the Confederates at this period in the war. The Army held Lewis and Griffin at Fort Myers until January 16th. From there the Navy transported them to Key West and put them into confinement at Fort Taylor, the Union fortress that dominated the harbor.[62]

Federal authorities charged Lewis with running the blockade, being an agent of the Confederate government, and serving as Indian agent or interpreter for the South. They charged Griffin with spying on the blockading fleet.[63] George Lewis was in serious trouble and faced possible confinement at Fort Taylor for the duration of the war. Deportation to a northern prison, where the death rate was high due to disease and overcrowding, was also a possibility.

Fortunately for Lewis, his confinement was brief. On February 3, 1864, Captain Richard A. Graeffe of the Florida Rangers, an irregular unit composed of pro-Union volunteers and deserters from Confederate units, sent General Woodbury documents "establishing Griffin's and Lewis' veracity."[64] George Lewis also had an important friend in Key West: George W. Ferguson. Ferguson, who had sold his mill and other property to Lewis in 1858, was a successful Key West merchant by 1864. He was also a member of the Union Volunteer Corps of Key West.[65] In a letter, he told General Woodbury that the prisoner Lewis had assured him that he had never taken arms against the U.S. Government and had never served the Confederate states. According to Ferguson, Lewis personally assured him that he had evaded the rebel conscription agents and wanted to remove himself entirely beyond their influence. These statements are believable considering that there was no Confederate or state authority in the Miami area. Lewis was a rebel sympathizer but was also a businessman. Ferguson assured the general that he had known Lewis for many years and that he was an honorable man who had unfortunately joined the southern movement. This was probably a reference to his blockade-running activities. Ferguson ended his written appeal by asking for Lewis' release. He dated his letter February 15, 1864.[66]

The very next day General Woodbury ordered his Provost Marshall to discharge Lewis from confinement at Fort Taylor when Lewis took the oath of allegiance.[67] According to Rose Wagner, Lewis sent his boat from Key West to transport Miamians anywhere they wished to go. She did not say if anyone accepted the offer. While
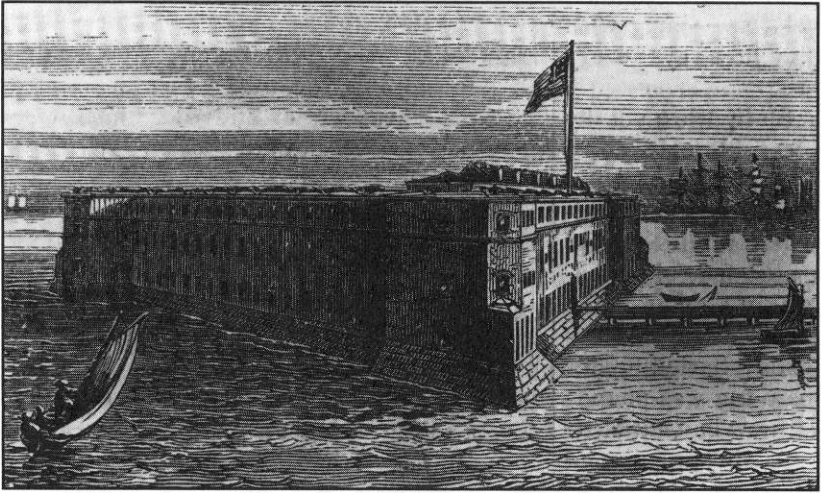
Fort Taylor, as published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, **April 1871, in the article, "Along the Florida Reef, by J.B. Holder. (Historical Association of Southern Florida, 76-58-1)**

Lewis was still a prisoner at Key West, Theodore Bissell was making arrangements to cut pine trees in the Miami area for the Army. Wood was a scarce commodity in Key West, and the Florida mainland was the closest source. During December 1863 and January 1864, the general assigned 20 men with weapons and equipment to the expedition. The plan called for Bissell to take, if required, "horses now ranging in that neighborhood belonging to persons in the service of the C.S.A."[68]

Rose Wagner recalled a ship from New York anchored off Key Biscayne to load a cargo of railroad cross-ties. It was a civilian vessel with a detachment of soldiers as an escort and may have been Bissell's expedition. Mr. Barnhart, from Miami, had the contract. Two of the young men hired were wearing Confederate uniforms. Someone reported them to the commander of the blockading fleet who had them arrested. The same commander later released the men when he learned about their employment.[69]

As the war progressed, Union activity raised the number of military and civilians in and around Miami and provided jobs. Miami also attracted other pro-Union individuals, such as refugees from Confederate Florida. When the war began, no one was using Fort Dallas. During the war, the U.S. Government sent three families of

refugees to live in the old officer's quarters: the Dotreys, Yomens, and Halls.[70] It was not an easy journey to Miami with or without official permission. Deserters and evaders from the Confederate forces had reason enough to make the trip, since it would put the Everglades between them and the Confederate authorities. Their presence reflected severe economic hardship, dissatisfaction with forced conscription, war weariness, and cruel retribution taken by the Confederates. Some refugees probably came from the triangular area bordered by Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and Lake Okeechobee, where there were many deserters from the Confederate Army.[71]

An unlikely mix of people inhabited Miami during the later period of the war. Some were hiding out from the Yankees. These refugees lived mainly in shacks and lean-tos back in the pine woods. Some manufactured pine tar that they sold to the blockade runners for their vessels. There were people of both political persuasions and those who only wanted to survive. By 1864, it was not uncommon for the settlers to see Yankees, rebels, neutralist, or Seminoles. The residents lived in fear of these strangers. There was great mistrust, and the pioneers believed some new arrivals to be spies of one side or another.[72]

Yet Miami escaped the violence between rebels and evaders from Confederate forces that plagued the rest of mainland Florida. Stories of brutalities in other parts of Florida reached Miami. Rose Wagner remembered Dr. Fletcher telling her and her father about an atrocity reported in a newspaper article. According to the article, the Confederates murdered an old man and his two sons because they refused to turn over a supply of salt. There were rumors of other cruelties such as conscription agents forcing parents to reveal the hiding places of their military-aged sons. Miami had no such atrocities. Even the most ardent rebels such as Dr. Fletcher were opposed to extreme acts. The settlers had a "live and let live" attitude.

William Wagner personified this spirit of tolerance. He did business with Union men and played host to blockaders while offering refuge to those on the run from the Yankee Army. One day a Union soldier, who was Wagner's friend from his Mexican War days, visited the Wagner home. To show his old friend how fast the new rifles worked, the Union soldier fired several quick shots behind the house. When the shots rang out, a man who had been hiding behind a palmetto bush took off running. The man thought the soldier was shooting at him. He had been staying with the Wagners and was hiding to

avoid being seen by the Yankee soldier. After this incident, the individual continued to stay with the Wagners but kept in the house when Union men dropped by, thinking it was safer indoors. This was not an uncommon event. Every few days the word would come that Yankees were around and people would suddenly remember that they had business somewhere else. Rose Wagner said, "You could see them going past apparently in a great hurry, and as if time were passing." Wagner did his best to help everyone. With his benevolent neutrality he avoided confrontation and protected his family.[73]

Yet it was a somewhat dangerous existence. One day when Wagner was away in Key West, a drunk sergeant stopped by his home and almost caused a tragedy. The sergeant's commanding officer took his stripes for the incident. On two separate days, two men who were either deserters or soldiers in trouble, came to the Wagner home. Other soldiers later took both of them away, but no one was harmed.

A refugee named Green brought in a drove of cattle. To the Union forces, such enterprises were illegal because cattle from mainland Florida were products of a rebel state. On this occasion, the commanding officer of the cross-tie ship was on shore when Green's cattle were driven in. He gave orders to the soldiers with him to shoot all the cattle and give the meat to anyone who wanted it. The inhabitants ensured that none was wasted.[74]

The war was ending up north. Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. One day there were Yankee soldiers everywhere. The rumor was that the war was over and the troops were looking for Jefferson Davis.[75] The Navy guarded every entrance to the bay. Three Union steamers and several smaller craft patrolled in all directions day and night. The Confederate president never arrived, but John C. Breckinridge, Confederate secretary of war, did stop at Miami on his way to Cuba. The date was June 6, 1865. Confederate naval officer and blockade runner, John Taylor Wood, a member of the refugee party, recorded his impression of the area:

> As we neared the small wharf we found waiting some twenty or thirty men, of all colors, from the pale yankee to the ebony Congo, all armed; a more motley and villainous-looking crew never trod the deck of Captain Kidd's ships. We saw at once with whom we had to deal—deserters from the army and navy of both sides, with a mixture of Spaniards and Cubans, out-

laws and renegades. A burly villain, towering head and shoulders above his companions, and whose shaggy head scorned any covering, hailed us in broken English, and asked who we were.[76]

John Taylor Wood pretended to be a wrecker seeking water and provisions. The large man on the wharf wanted him to come ashore so he could check his papers but Wood refused. When the refugees set sail and moved slowly down the river, some 15 or 20 men crowded into four or five canoes and started rowing out to the sailboat. The escaping Confederates exchanged shots with the men in the canoes, hitting two of their pursuers and almost overturning two canoes. Soon a single canoe approached flying a white flag. Both parties then agreed that the Breckinridge party could come ashore to buy their provisions and return in two hours. Time was important to the escaping rebels because they noticed a black column of smoke ascending from near Fort Dallas. They took the smoke to be a signal to a vessel in the vicinity to return. A sergeant volunteered to go ashore. On shore he was taken to the quarters of a Major Valdez, who claimed to be a federal officer. The major thoroughly interrogated him, being suspicious of his story, and accused him of being connected with the defeated Confederates. Valdez was unable to get any information from the sergeant. During the interrogation the Major told the sergeant that he was deliberately delaying the "wreckers" hoping that a schooner would return. The major had heard about the breakup of the South but not the capture of Jefferson Davis on May 10th. Valdez released the sergeant after two hours when the refugees set sail and it looked as if they were leaving their companion. The Breckinridge party saw the sergeant rowing out in a canoe and pulled him aboard. He brought bread, two hams, salt pork, fruit, two beakers of water, rum, and sweet potatoes. Sailing down Biscayne Bay a "launch" chased them for three or four hours but they managed to escape.[77]

The launch may have been part of an expedition that Admiral Stribling had sent from Key West more than a month before to guard Key Biscayne and the entrance to the Gulf Stream. Rose Wagner reported the incident but thought that the visitor was Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate secretary of state. According to her account, the leader of the party was elegantly dressed and had on a pair of shinny high top boots, the envy of all who saw them. She reported that the party stopped at Mr. Barnhart's for water and provisions.[78]

At Miami, the Union raised the blockade and the motley group of renegades and deserters moved on. The area was quiet again. Miami, now almost deserted, was open to both fast talking carpetbaggers and new settlers.

Conclusion

Miami's fortunes, like the lighthouse on Key Biscayne, stayed dark for the duration of the conflict.[79] The Civil War had an effect similar to the Indian wars: it thwarted and delayed development. During the war Miami changed as dramatically as any community in the south. It went from a small, friendly, ante-bellum collection of frontier homesteads to an island of refuge for deserters, evaders, and people of all ideologies seeking to escape the war. It was also a no-man's-land occasionally dominated by the Yankees and an important source of timber for the Union. The tight Union blockade was unduly harsh considering Miami's isolation and lack of contact with the Confederacy. The situation in Miami during the Civil War was unique. There were undercurrents of mistrust and outspoken political differences. At the end of the war the many shady characters gave the impression that it was indeed a "resort for pirates." Yet there was no internal warfare among the residents or armed opposition to the Union forces, except the lighthouse raid at the beginning of the war. The worst violence was the burning of Lewis' home. The absence of any official Confederate authority was a major cause for the relatively peaceful situation. Despite Miami's isolation, the experiences of the residents were not unlike those of their fellow Southerners in northern Florida, Georgia, and the other Confederate states.

At the war's end, the Wagners were the only family left "up river." They remained in Miami, and like everyone, were permanently affected by their wartime experiences. Rose Wagner married, raised children, and lived in Miami until her death on October 27, 1933, at age 81. The Wagner home has been preserved by the community and was moved to downtown Miami's Lummus Park next to the remains of the old Fort Dallas barracks which had been moved to the site in 1925.

The lives of other pioneers were affected even more drastically. August Oswald Lang, one of the partisans who darkened the Jupiter and Cape Florida Lighthouses, reportedly joined the rebel Army and then deserted. He was the first white man to live in what is now Palm

The Wagner home, circa 1950s, before it was restored and moved to its present site in Lummus Park. (Historical Association of Southern Florida, x-157-x)

Beach County. After the war, he settled on a farm near Fort Pierce.[80] James Paine, a partisan who darkened the Jupiter light, was probably the James Paine who represented Brevard County in the House of Representatives in 1871 and 1872 and was postmaster at St. Lucie in 1887.[81] Soon after the Union Navy captured John Adams, the Yankees sent him to Governor's Island Prison in New York. After the war, he immediately returned to Miami to claim his belongings. Among these was a tin full of gold coins that he had hidden in a corner of the long stone building that was part of Fort Dallas. After a visit to his old home in Germany, he returned to Miami in 1873. Adams served for a time as county judge and died in Miami. According to one account, the rebel army conscripted Michael Oxar.[82] If he did fight in the war, he survived and lived on the river for several years. He later homesteaded land north of Miami, married and died in Miami. Tragically, Robert F. Fletcher, the son of Doctor Fletcher, died in a Union prisoner of war camp at age 28. Captured at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, on January 5, 1863, the Yankees first confined him in a military prison at Louisville, Kentucky, before sending him to Camp

Butler where he died. He had served as a hospital stewart.[83]   George Lewis, who Rose Wagner revered, never returned to Miami. Those who knew him believed he had been shipwrecked. Benjamin Tiner, Lewis' former slave, lived with the Wagners until his death in 1869. Lewis' nephew left home during the war and moved to the west coast of Florida. The Frow family returned to Key Biscayne after the war. Simeon's son Joe, his brother, John, and their families operated the lighthouse during its final dozen years as an active beacon. They settled permanently in Coconut Grove.[84]

At least those who chose to stay in the Miami area escaped the deadly outbreaks of yellow fever that frequently devastated the Key West population. A major epidemic struck Key West in July 1864. General Woodbury was one of many who contracted the disease. He died on Aug. 16, 1864.[85]

A common struggle for survival brought both the old timers and the new refugees together. William Wagner epitomized the neutrality that characterized Miami. The dangers and tragedies brought out the best in some pioneers. Michael Sears, John Adams, William Wagner, George Lewis, and others showed courage and risked everything for their families, friends, and their country.

Endnotes

1. The name "Miami" was in use during 1861-65. The U.S. Navy used the name "Little Miami." See the naval records cited below. Mrs. Adam C. Richards, maiden name Rose Wagner, whose personal account is the primary source for the period, uses the name for the area near the mouth of the Miami River. She also reported that the Post Office was called Miami. See Mrs. Adam C. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami," *The Miami News*, Oct 1903, newspaper clipping collection, vol. 3, Agnew Welsh Notebook 36, Florida Room, Miami Public Library, Miami, Florida (hereafter Richards, "Reminiscences"). Page numbers, which are difficult to identify due to their illegibility and the disorganization of the clipping file, are not included in the footnotes.

2. Jeanne Bellamy, "The Everglades National Park Unlike Anything Else in the World," *The Florida Handbook* 5th ed. (Tallahassee: The Peninsular Publishing Co., 1955), 43.

3. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (Washington: Government Print-

ing Office, 1931).

4. Richards, "Reminiscences."

5. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *The Everglades: River of Grass*, rev. ed. (St. Simons Island: Mockingbird Books, 1979), 211-12.

6. Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., "South Florida in 1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LX (April 1982), 447 (hereafter *FHQ*); Bissell to Woodbury, December 30, 1863, Letters Received, 1861-65, Department and District of Key West, 1861-68, Pt 1, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands 1821-1920, Pt 1, Record Group 393, (hereafter RG 393), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

7. *Ibid*; Theodore Pratt, *The Barefoot Mailman* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1943), v-vi.

8. Douglas, *The Everglades*, 211.

9. Arva Moore Parks, *Miami, The Magic City*, (Tulsa, OK: Continental Heritage Press, 1981), 36.

10. Idem., "Where the River Met the Bay: Historical Study of the Granada Site, Miami, Florida" (Tallahassee: Florida Division of Archives, 1980), 103-107.

11. Richards, "Reminiscences."

12. Sarah Eaton, *"Report of the City of Miami Planning Department to the Heritage Conservation Board on the Potential Designation of Fort Dallas (William English Plantation) Lummus Park,"* (1983), 6.

13. Thelma Peters, "Settlers Uncover Their Roots," *The Miami Herald*, June 3, 1985, 1B, 3B.

14. U.S. Census; Parks, *Miami, The Magic City*, 36.

15. Margot Ammidown, "The Wagner Family: Homesteading in Miami's Pioneer Era," Manuscript in Research Center, Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami Florida (hereafter HMSF), 35-36 (hereafter cited as Ammidown, Manuscript); Margot Ammidown, "The Wagner Family: Pioneer Life on the Miami River," *Tequesta* XLII (1982) 9-10 (hereafter cited as Ammidown, "Wagner Family").

16. Ammidown, "Wagner Family," 9-10; Howard Kleinberg, *Miami: The Way We Were* (Miami: The Miami News, 1985), 16.

17. A Coast Survey Map from 1849 shows the notation, "Fletcher's Mill," next to a building on the river's south side. Parks, *Miami, The Magic City*, 34.

18. *Ibid.*, 36; Wright Langley and Arva Moore Parks eds., "Diary of an Unidentified Land Official, 1855, Key West to Miami," *Tequesta* XLIII (1983).

19. Letter by Lt. Anson Cooke in 1849 written at Ferguson's Mill on the Miami River, University of Miami Library, Special Collections. See Howard Kleinberg, "Soldier guards 'Fort Desolation,'" Series, "Miami: The Way We Were," no. 196, *The Miami News*, February 16, 1985, 4C; Peters, "Settlers Uncover Their Roots," 1B.

20. Langley and Parks eds., "Diary of an Unidentified Land Official, 1855, Key West to Miami;" Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West The Old And The New* (St. Augustine: The Record Co., 1912; facsimile reproduction, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973), 175, 221.

21. Henry J. Wagner, Manuscript in the Research Center, HMSF, [1942], Wagner File, 4. He was William F. Wagner's grandson. See also Henry J. Wagner, "Early Pioneers of South Florida," *Tequesta*, IX (1949).

22. Richards, "Reminiscences."

23. Oby J. Bonawit, *Miami, Florida, Families and Records*, (Oby J. Bonawit, 1980), 45.

24. Wagner, Manuscript, 5; Thelma Peters, *Lemon City, Pioneering On Biscayne Bay 1850-1925*, (Miami: Banyan Books, 1976), 8-11.

25. Ralph M. Munroe, *The Commodore's Story*, reprint ed., (Miami: Historical Association of South Florida, 1966), 95; Douglas, *The Everglades*, 211; Richards, "Reminiscences."

26. Arva Moore Parks, "Ned Beasley and Coconut Grove," *Update*, vol 4 no. 5 (June 1977), 7-8.

27. Wagner, Manuscript, 2.

28. Ammidown, "Wagner Family," 16.

29. Richards, "Reminiscences."

30. *Official Records Of The Union And Confederate Navies In The War Of The Rebellion* (hereafter ORN), 30 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1927), series I, XII, 201-206.

31. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War And Reconstruction In Florida* (New York: Columbia University, 1913), 145; *Soldiers of Florida In The Seminole Indian-Civil And Spanish-American Wars* (Board of State Institutions, 1903; reprint ed., Macclenny, Florida: Richard J. Ferry, 1983), 37.

32. George E. Buker, "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," *El Escribano, The St. Augustine Journal of History* XXIII (1986), 2-3; Dorothy Dodd ed., "'Volunteers' Report Destruction of Light-

houses," *Tequesta* XIV (1954), 67-69.

33. Rodney E. Dillon Jr., "'A Gang of Pirates': Confederate Lighthouse Raids in Southeast Florida, 1861," *FHQ* LXVII (April 1989), 446-450; Buker, "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," 3; Dodd, "'Volunteers' Report Destruction of Lighthouses," 67-69.

34. *Ibid.*

35. G. V. Fox to the Lighthouse Board, September 9, 1861, and Slip Indexes, Cape Florida Lighthouse, Lighthouse Board Correspondence, vol 126, 140, Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Record Group 26, (hereafter RG 26), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

36. Richards, "Reminiscences."

37. Conference Report, September 3, 1861, ORN, series I, XVI, 651-652.

38. Buker, "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade,"3; Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., "'The Little Affair': The Southwest Florida Campaign, 1863-1864," *FHQ* LXII (January 1984), 315; John E. Johns, *Florida During The Civil War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 56-57.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Jean Taylor, *Villages of South Dade* (St. Petersburg: Byron Kennedy & Co., 1987); Munroe, *The Commodore's Story*, 94.

41. "Confederate Service Records of Soldiers Serving in Organizations From Florida," roll 3, National Archives Microfilm Publication M225, National Archives, Washington D.C.

42. Bonawit, *Miami, Florida, Families and Records*, 45.

43. Richards, "Reminiscences."

44. Richards, "Reminiscences."

45. *Ibid.*; W.C. Malloy to Gideon Wells, January 8, 1863, ORN, East Gulf Blockading Squadron, 346-347.

46. Lewis G. Schmidt, *A Civil War History of the 47th Regiment of Veteran Volunteers* (Allentown: L.G. Schmidt, 1986), 127, cited by Dillon, "A Gang of Pirates," 455-456.

47. Richards, "Reminiscences."

48. Woodbury to Shubrick, June 3, 1863, Letters Sent, vol. 1, 15, entry 2266, RG 393.

49. Richards, "Reminiscences."

50. Peters, "Settlers Uncover Their Roots," 1B.

51. Malloy to Wells, ORN; Case of the *Good Luck*, "Admiralty Final Record Books, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, Key West, 1829-1911," National Archives Microfilm Publication,

M1360, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

52. Barnard E. Church Jr., "The Federal Blockade of Florida During the Civil War" (Masters Thesis, University of Miami, 1966).

53. Walter Keeler Scofield, "On Blockade Duty in Florida Water, Excerpts From a Union Naval Officer's Diary," ed. William J. Schellings, *Tequesta* XV (1955), 55-72; Log Book of the U.S. Gunboat *Sagamore*, February 18, March 8, and July 8, 1863, Records of Bureau of Naval Personnel, Record Group 24, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

54. *Ibid.*; Richards, "Reminiscences."

55. *Ibid.*

56. Richards, "Reminiscences."

57. Richards, "Reminiscences."

58. Browne, *Key West*, 97.

59. Bissell to Woodbury, December 30, 1863, Letters Received, 1861-65, Department and District of Key West, 1861-68, RG 393.

60. Woodbury to Shubrick, May 4, 1863, 15, Letters Sent, Entry 2266, RG 393; Lighthouse Board Journal, 1862-67 and Slip Indexes, Cape Florida Lighthouse, 1861-65, RG 26; Dillon, "A Gang of Pirates," 456.

61. Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, Pt. 1, *War Of The Rebellion: A Compilation Of The Official Records Of The Union And Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), series I, vol. XXXV, 461.

62. *Ibid.*; Woodbury to Gausler, January 16, 1864, Department and District of Key West, 1861-68, RG 393, cited in Dillon, "The Little Affair," 324.

63. Letters Sent, 211, Entry 2266, RG 393; Denning to Woodbury, January 7, 1864, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-68, RG 393.

64. Graeffe to Woodbury, February 3, 1864, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-68, RG 393.

65. Browne, *Key West*, 174, 221.

66. Ferguson to Woodbury, February 15, 1864, Union Provost Marshall One Name File- George Lewis, Records of the Adjutant General, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

67. Woodbury to Provost Marshall, February 16, 1864, Letters Sent, 231, Entry 2266, RG 393.

68. Woodbury to Quartermaster, December 29, 1863, Letters Sent, 192; Woodbury to Col. Good, January 22, 1864, Letters Sent,

Entry 2266, RG 393.

69. Richards, "Reminiscences."

70. Henry J. Wagner, Manuscript, 5.

71. John F. Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," *FHQ* XLVIII (January 1970), 293-294.

72. Richards, "Reminiscences."

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

76. Alfred J. Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, (Richmond: Johnson, 1938), 175.

77. *Ibid*, 175-181; See Richards, "Reminiscences."

78. Richards, "Reminiscences."

79. The Cape Florida Lighthouse was put back into service on April 15, 1866. Lighthouse Board Correspondence, Lighthouse Service, vol. 126, RG 26.

80. Review of James R. Knott, "Palm Beach Revisited: Historical Vignettes of Palm Beach County," *FHQ* LXVII (April 1989), 520.

81. Dodd., "Volunteers Report Destruction of Lighthouses," 68.

82. Bonawit, *Miami, Florida, Families and Records*, 45.

83. "Confederate Service Records of Soldiers Serving in Organizations From Florida," Roll 3, National Archives Microfilm Publication, M225, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Fletcher's grave is not at the Camp Butler National Cemetery, on the site of the original Civil War internment camp, near Springfield, Illinois.

84. Jim Woodman, *Key Biscayne the Romance of Cape Florida* (Miami: Miami Post Pub. Co., 1961), 46; information supplied by Arva Moore Parks.

85. Letters Sent, Entry 2266, vol.1, RG 393.