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THE CONFEDERATE BAGGAGE AND
TREASURE TRAIN ENDS ITS
FLIGHT IN FLORIDA

A Diary of Tench Francis Tilghman
By A. J. HANNA, Rollins College

Editor's note : The widespread interest aroused by A. J. Hanna's latest publication FLIGHT INTO OBLIVION suggests that readers of the QUARTERLY will wish to read the diary of Tench Francis Tilghman on which a chapter of that book is based. In editing the diary Professor Hanna* has used the mass of materials he assembled through years of research for his book to give us a picture of conditions in Florida in 1865. For this he has a noteworthy heritage, as each branch of his family came to Florida before the War, and two of his great-grandfathers were here before Florida became a state.

It was clear and hot when on May 15, 1865, a curious cavalcade crossed the Georgia border into Florida at a point near one of the tributaries of the Suwannee River. This cavalcade consisted of a sturdily built ambulance and a heavy wagon, both drawn by mules and carefully guarded by nine well-mounted young military and civil officers of the Confederate States of America, members of some of the most distinguished families of Maryland and Louisiana. Two scouts rode considerably in advance and five negro servants brought up the rear. It was the baggage and treasure train of the Confederacy on its way to "Kirby-Smithdom" ¹ that

*Those who have recently become members of the Society may not know that for many years Professor Hanna was a director and a vice president and that much of our progress during the recent past is a result of his assistance to each of our officers. His interest in Florida and her history has led him to establish the Union Catalog of Floridiana at Rollins College, with which readers of the *Quarterly* are familiar. Mr. Watt Marchman, librarian and corresponding secretary of the Society and one of our most active officers is a former student of his. *Ed.*

1. "Kirby-Smithdom," or the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederacy, consisted of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Arizona, New Mexico and the Indian Territory. After the fall of Vicksburg (1863) General Edmund Kirby Smith, 39 year old Floridian became the virtual dictator of this prosperous territory.
- Col. Samuel H. Fisher has in preparation for publication in the *Quarterly* an account of two interesting episodes which occurred in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1799 and 1806 which were the indirect cause of the settling in Florida of General Edmund Kirby Smith's father, Judge Joseph L. Smith.

vast, uninvaded and prosperous territory west of the Mississippi River where President Jefferson Davis hoped to reorganize and revive the Confederacy.²

Captain Micajah H. Clark, Acting Treasurer of the Confederacy, headed the cavalcade. Just before Richmond was evacuated on April 2, he had, as chief clerk of the President's office, helped Davis, his aides, and the six members of the Confederate Cabinet assort the official papers and pack those it was deemed wise to preserve. Clark had been of invaluable aid to Burton N. Harrison at Danville, Virginia, when that city was the temporary capital of the southern government ; particularly when, after news of Lee's surrender was received, Davis and the Cabinet were in the throes of moving on to Greensboro, North Carolina.

When, on the night of April 14 Davis, his Cabinet and escort were forced to leave Greensboro Clark was, next to Harrison, the busiest man in town. Stoneman's raiders had destroyed the rails south of Greensboro, hence it was necessary to pack in such ambulances and wagons as could be commandeered the Government archives, the baggage of the officials, and some \$35,000 which had been set aside in Greensboro for the President's train. Discouraged by the indifference of North Carolinians, though aided by some of them, the Confederate officials retreated rapidly to Charlotte, which remained its headquarters until April 26, when the surrender of the remaining Confederate forces in the East by General Joseph E. Johnston made necessary a hurried exodus still farther south.

At Charlotte the actual break-up of the Confederate government occurred. There the fiction re-

2. A. J. Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion* (Johnson Publishing Co., Richmond, Va., 1938) pp. 70-81.

garding the revival of Southern resistance in the West, on which Davis insisted, lost its appeal. The Confederate Attorney General, George Davis of North Carolina, resigned here, and while President Davis remained unswerved from his purpose to re-establish the Confederacy in Texas, his civil and military advisers and Captain Clark directed their attention to eluding Federal pursuers. "We hope to get out safely" wrote Tench F. Tilghman,³ who with three other Marylanders joined the escaping Confederate officials in Charlotte on April 19, and who the next day was placed in charge of the private baggage wagon of the President.⁴ The entire baggage train, as it left Charlotte on April 26 consisted of five wagons and an escort of cavalry. Captain Fred Emory, who had been placed in general command of the five wagons had been "drunk continual-

3. Tench Francis Tilghman (1833-1867), author of the diary which follows, was the great-grandson of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman, (1744-1786) aide-de-camp to George Washington, by whom he was selected to carry to Philadelphia the official dispatches announcing the surrender of Cornwallis. The Tilghman family, one of the distinguished colonial families, emigrated from England to Maryland in 1661.

Tilghman was born at "Plimbimmon", Talbot County, Md., and in 1851 entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. His father, Tench Tilghman, friend of Jefferson Davis at West Point, was stripped of his commission as Major General of Maryland Militia by Gov. T. H. Hicks because he issued a bellicose order to his division following the invasion of that state by Massachusetts troops.

T. F. Tilghman, author of this diary, served the Confederacy as an engineer in Richmond. After the War he was in charge of construction for the Maryland & Delaware Railroad which ran from Oxford, Md., into Delaware. He was married (1) to Anna Coxe in 1857 and (2) to Elizabeth Barron Camp in 1865. He died at the age of 34. See records of the War Dept., Washington, D. C.: the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 542-546; and family records of Dr. Tench F. Tilghman, St. Johns College, Annapolis, Md.

The editor of the diary, the editor of the *Quarterly*, and its readers gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Dr. Tilghman in allowing the publication of this diary of his grandfather.

4. Diary of Tench F. Tilghman.

ly for several days" in Charlotte, reported Tilghman⁵ and was "superseded by Captain [Watson] Van Benthuyzen⁶ with whom (not knowing of the change) I liked to have had a quarrel. Emory is humiliated beyond degree and we are all disgusted with him."

As the Confederate cavalcade moved southwestward through South Carolina and across the Savannah River into Georgia with Clark, Van Benthuyzen, Tilghman and other loyal Confederates faithfully watching over the baggage, archives, and the steadily dwindling treasure, the government structure of the South suffered further disintegration. George A. Trenholm, of South Carolina, Sec-

5. Tilghman piously added: "Strange that any man should allow himself to act as he does."

It is hoped that some reader will be able to help the author assemble the essential biographical facts about Captain Fred Emory. The Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C., is unable to locate a record of his service.

6. Watson Van Benthuyzen (1833-1901), whose first American ancestor moved from Benthuisen near Leyden, Holland, to Albany, N. Y., in 1642, was born in Brooklyn in 1833 and about 20 years later moved to New Orleans where he was associated with his father in newspaper work. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in February 1861 and became captain and assistant quartermaster in June 1863. Although he was paroled in Florida at the close of the War he was arrested upon his return to New Orleans and imprisoned in Fort St. Philip, near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Upon his release from prison he became a wholesale tobacco merchant on Magazine Street. He served as president of the New Orleans & Carrollton Railway and also president of the Crescent City Railway. He built what later became known as the Coliseum Line and was connected with the National Improvement Telephone Company.

About 1885 Van Benthuyzen moved to New York, organized and became president of the Poughkeepsie Bridge Co., and with a capital of \$5,000,000 constructed the huge bridge that spans the Hudson River at Poughkeepsie. He died in New Orleans. See records of the War Department, Washington, D. C., the Holland Society of New York and genealogical records of Mr. A. S. Van Benthuyzen, 446 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

retary of the Treasury, became too ill to proceed farther than Fort Mill, South Carolina. Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Secretary of the Navy, resigned at Abbeville, South Carolina and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, Secretary of State, and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, Secretary of War, separated from Davis near Washington, Georgia and by different routes started toward Florida in the hope that they might find a means of escaping to the Bahamas, Cuba or Mexico.

By the time Davis left Washington, Georgia, his escort was drastically reduced. Clark had assisted two of the President's aides, Colonels Johnston and Wood, assort the government papers in Abbeville. Some of them were destroyed and others left there with Mrs. Henry J. Leovy, while still others were hidden in Washington, Georgia. By repacking carefully Clark, Van Benthuisen and Tilghman were able to reduce the train to one wagon and two ambulances one of which they soon, however, discarded.

Davis, with the one remaining member of his Cabinet, Judge John H. Reagan of Texas, Postmaster General and now Acting Secretary of the Treasury, followed by his aides, Colonels Johnston, Lubbock and Wood and several scouts, left the baggage and treasure train near Sandersville, Georgia, May 6. It was understood that Clark, Van Benthuisen, Tilghman and the other guards of the train would proceed to Florida and rejoin Davis and Reagan near Madison or Tallahassee. They believed they could find in the northwestern part of Florida ways and means of escaping to Texas.

With Clark, Van Benthuisen and Tilghman were W. E. Dickinson,⁷ Fred Emory, J. W. Scott,⁸ W. S. Winder⁹ and Watson Van Benthuisen's two broth-

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7. William Elveno Dickinson (1840-1869) was the son of Col. Samuel Dickinson of "Crosiadore", Talbot County, Maryland. He attended Mount Saint Mary's College.
 8. John White Scott (1836-1916), a native of Baltimore, was educated at Mount Saint Mary's College and was reading law in the office of his father, Judge T. Parkin Scott, when the War began.
 9. "The most thrilling episode of my career down South", wrote Scott in his diary (see the *Baltimore News* May 24, 1913) "was when I was sentenced to be hung. . . . [three of us were] arrested March 5 [1863], taken . . . before Gen'l Hooker, and tried (without counsel) before Gen'l Daniel E. Sickles, pres. of court Martial. . . . When asked if we had anything to say, I replied - 'When I left home I was a student of law, but had only read a few pages . . . of Blackstone and am therefore unable to try my own case, and counsel has been denied us, but I think that the evidence for the prosecution is good enough defense for anyone.' The Gen'l was furious and ordered us away. We were confined for awhile in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, then transferred to the Carroll House Prison where we were told by a Yankee soldier that we had been sentenced to be hanged. Mr. Lincoln commuted it to prison during the war; Mr. Davis held three Yankee officers as hostages and we were exchanged."
- After Scott surrendered to the Federals in Jacksonville, Florida he proceeded to New York where he remained about one year. He then secured a position with the Maryland & Delaware Railroad later a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He married Annie Massey in 1868. Devout Catholic and ardent Democrat, his last days were spent in his native Baltimore.
9. William Sidney Winder of Baltimore was appointed 1st lieutenant and aide-de-camp October 29, 1861 and ordered to report to his relative, Brigadier General John H. Winder. In June, 1862, he was appointed Captain and Assistant Adjutant General. See records of War Dept., Washington, D. C.

ers, Alfred C. Van Benthuisen¹⁰ and Jefferson Davis Benthuisen.¹¹ They were charged with the preservation of the material remains of the Confederate government. For more than one week the members of the cavalcade, suspecting that Federals

10. "Alf" wrote to his brother, Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, from Naples, Sept. 1, 1860, an account of his travels in Italy. Garibaldi honored him, he said, by appointing him an aide de-camp on his staff. In this campaign, Van Benthuisen wrote, "We passed . . . Salerno and other towns and cities, each and every one of them surrendering upon our approach. We have had no regular battle and but two skirmishes. And here we are at Naples" wrote the conquering hero from America ". . . and in consequence [of being one of the first to enter that city] was made quite a lion of. I am billeted at a palace where I have my sleeping quarters and get all my meals with General Garibaldi which is an honor that princes would give anything for. The General treats me very kindly, there being only one other American besides myself in his army. Garibaldi is a plain, mild, modest, good, honest, man." Original of this letter is in the possession of a daughter of Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, Mrs. Murray Mason McGuire, Woodside, 5202 Riverside Drive, Richmond, Va.

When Alfred C. Van Benthuisen returned to the United States he entered the Confederate service and, because of his military experience under Garibaldi, although he was only 24 years old, was made a Captain in the Marine Corps on March 30, 1861. He was stationed at New Orleans and Pensacola in 1861-62, Drewry's Bluff, Va., 1862-64, Mobile, Ala., and Wilmington, N. C., 1864, participated in the defense of Fort Fisher, N. C. Dec. 24-25, 1864 and Jan. 13-15, 1865, where he was severely wounded and captured. He remained in a New York hospital until February 25, 1865 when he was exchanged. See Records of the War and Navy Depts., Washington, D. C.

11. Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, (1841-1872) named in honor of the Confederate President, the brother-in-law of his aunt, Mrs. Joseph Davis, enlisted April 15, 1861, at the age of 20, in the Louisiana infantry. He became a corporal the following June, a 2d lieutenant in August and a first lieutenant the next year and later a captain.

He lost an eye in the battle of Gettysburg, and having been captured was imprisoned at Sandusky, Ohio, until late January 1865, when he was exchanged.

After the War he entered the wholesale tobacco business with his brother, Watson. Endeavoring to regain his health he later went to Cuba and then to Virginia. While at "Woodside" the Virginia home of his father-in-law, Dabney Cosby, he died prematurely at the age of 31. See records of the War Dept., Washington, D. C., and of his daughter, Mrs. Murray Mason McGuire, "Woodside", 5202 Riverside Drive, Richmond, Va. The Confederate Museum, Richmond.

would overtake them at every turn, laboriously dragged the wagon and ambulance through the drab, lonely pine barrens of Georgia. Then, wrote Tilghman, as they entered Florida "the country suddenly changed and became fine."

THE DIARY

Monday May 15th

Clear & hot. Left camp at 20 ms to 9 & rode 26 miles leaving the State of Georgia & entering Florida. About 4 P M we left the pines having traveling [!] one week in an unbroken pine barren. The country suddenly changed & became fine We passed just before camping two fine plantations from one of which a gentleman brot us just at supper time some elegant fish bread & clabber. We feasted sumptously. The party are getting tired of riding & hope soon to camp for a day or two. The Yanks have occupied the State & are paroling all the State troops. After 10 days all not paroled are to be outlawed & we shall be among the number beyond a doubt as it is not our intention to apply for one

Tuesday May 16th

Clear & hot Broke camp this morning at 10 to 8 & traveled 23 ms camping on Mr. Beasons farm. At 9 1/2 AM we crossed the Withlacouchee ¹² River a narrow deep, dirty stream a tributary to the Swanee made famous in song. The waters smell badly. Fish abound Yesterday we passed Ocean Pond ¹³ a sort of Lake or Pond covering 6 sq miles

12. This Withlacochee River, which rises in southern Georgia empties into the Suwannee just north of the railroad bridge at Ellaville and forms the boundary between Madison and Hamilton counties, should not be confused with the river by the same name in Marion County, the largest tributary of the St. Johns.
13. This Ocean Pond in Georgia should not be confused with Ocean Pond northeast of Lake City, Florida where the Battle of Olustee was fought in 1864.

of land deep & abounding in fish. To night we camp in a bad place but are well satisfied as we are tomorrow to lie still as we are to wait for news from the Yankees. We crossed to day the Pensacola & Georgia R R & are in camp only a few miles from it. Things are getting squally & the time is close at hand when we shall either be free or prisoners Our scout reports Gen Breckinridge's son ¹⁴ in Madison & we fear the Gen ¹⁵ has been captured

Wednesday May 17th

Clear & hot in the morning. Cloudy with some rain at 6 P M All day we laid still fixing up I cleaned my pistol, took a bath, repacked the waggon & arranged my affairs generally What would I not give to be able to write a letter to the loved ones ¹⁶ at home & get it to them Jeff [J. D. Van Benthuy-sen] & Howard ¹⁷ have gone out today to scout & see what can be done in finding out news. Our negroes are getting uneasy & I fear will leave us if they can. Jeff & Howard at camp at 10 P M & no news of any kind. Tomorrow we move again

-
14. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge (1844-1906) enlisted in the Confederate Army at the age of 18 and served as Private, Corporal, 1st Lieutenant and Aide-de-Camp on the staff of his father, Major General John Cabell Breckinridge. He was captured at Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, but was exchanged several months later. After he separated from his father at Madison, Fla., May 16, he proceeded to Tallahassee, where on May 21, 1865 he was paroled. He, his brother, and the sons of other prominent Confederate leaders had guarded the Confederate treasure from Richmond to Washington, Ga.
 15. General Breckinridge, accompanied by his aide, Col. James Wilson of Kentucky, Col. John Taylor Wood, aide to President Davis who had escaped from the captors of his chief, and Thomas Ferguson, a negro servant, had arrived safely at Madison May 15 and were, on May 16, being secretly guarded at the home of Lewis M. Moseley on the Suwannee River.
 16. Tilghman's wife had died in 1862. His motherless children were Francis, Henrietta and William, all under six years of age.
 17. A scout.

Have been made very uneasy to day by the appearance of a deserter who had joined the Yanks & is now home He left suddenly to night & we fear an attack from him & his band

Thursday May 18th

Cloudy & warm. Rain at 12 M for some hour & then cleared off. Drove some 20 ms to day & camped at a Mr Irvins house Here we got plenty of forage both long & short & food for ourselves among other things Some nice blackberry wine which we used plentifully. a fine pig & plenty of chickens. He *bled* us freely it is true but we stood it for the stomach's sake Got a little wet to day having loaned Stafford ¹⁸ my overcoat & depending entirely on my oil cloth. At 5 P M we crossed the old Swanee River so often heard of in song & never seen We crossed it at Mosleys Ferry

Friday May 19th

Clear & hot untill 3 P M when we had a heavy thunder shower. I did not get very wet We travelled some 20 miles & camped at a Capt Martins one of the State troops officers Had a disagreeable time in camp forage very scarce. Our scout led us off the road & we travelled some 1 1/2 m out of our way.

Saturday May 20th

Clear & very warm. Travelled all day & encamped in the woods near good water stopping in our route near night at a grist mill where we bought some corn long forage & meal MY watch to night was broken by the sudden sound of a bugle I roused the camp expecting an attack from bushwhackers ¹⁹ but nothing came

18. Stafford (or Staffin), had been one of President Davis's personal guards at Richmond.

19. Bushwackers or bushfighters were irregular troops engaged in guerilla warfare.

Sunday May 21st

Beautiful clear day. We travelled to day 18 ms camping at 5. P M on the road side near only tolerable water To day Cap V [Van Benthuyzen] & El [W. E. Dickinson] have been ahead to Gainesville but bring no satisfactory news It is reported that no Mds [Marylanders] or Kens [Kentuckians] are to be allowed to go home again

Monday May 22nd

Clear & Hot. Broke camp early & passed to the right of Gainesville towards the Gulph camped on the line of the Fernandina & Cedar Keys R. R. on the premises ["Cotton Wood" Plantation] of Mr D. L. Yulee former U. S. Senator & Prest of the R. R. Here we find information from Yankee papers which satisfies us of Gen Johnston Capitulation of Prest Davis Capture & of Dick Taylors surrender. A general gloom pervades our camp. Of course the last hope is gone of the Confederacy & our only course as we are in the Dept surrendered by Gen Johnston is to go some where deliver ourselves up & be paroled. This I had hoped to have been spared but there is no alternative Our little crowd [of] officer will still remain together. We stopped today at noon at a Mr Hailes²⁰ house by whom we were hospitably treated & refreshed by a very nice drink of brandy.

* * *

Thus was ended the long, dangerous journey of the Confederate cavalcade that had been begun so hopefully three weeks before at Greensboro, North Carolina. Captain Clark and the other steadfastly faithful followers of the Confederacy who camped the night of May 22, 1865 on the Yulee Plantation,

20. This was Edward Haile's plantation "The White House," about 12 miles northwest of Gainesville.

“Cotton Wood”, were finally forced to admit, now that their President had been captured and their Cabinet disbanded, that further flight on their part with the remaining baggage and gold was futile.

Payments for the maintenance and other expenses of their train from North Carolina to Florida had reduced the gold, originally about \$35,000, to about \$25,000. Captain Clark, who was Acting Treasurer of the Confederate government, announced that he would now pay to his associates a fair salvage from this gold and would place the balance on deposit in England to be used as President Davis and Acting Secretary of the Treasury might direct. Since both these officials were in prison this plan did not appear practicable to Captain Watson Van Benthuyesen. He had evidently previously discussed the ultimate disposition of the Confederate funds with his brothers and other members of the parts, because when he informed Captain Clark that he as quartermaster had exclusive control of the funds, he was supported. Tilghman made no record in his diary of the heated controversy over the last Confederate funds which took place in camp that night between Captains Clark and Van Benthuyesen, but it has been learned from Clark's subsequent report as Acting Treasurer and from supplementary letters and papers, that Van Benthuyesen said he would lay aside one-quarter of the entire fund (probably \$6,790) for the benefit of Mrs. Davis and her children which he, her distant kinsman, would take charge of and that he would divide the balance equally among those who had guarded the funds, papers and baggage.²¹

In addition to the sum it was understood Watson Van Benthuyesen had saved for Mrs. Davis, he dis-

21. Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 264.

tributed \$1,940 in gold sovereigns to each of his two brothers and to Clark, Dickinson, Emory, Tilghman, Scott and Winder. He gave \$55 to each of them also for travelling and miscellaneous expenses and paid \$975 for wages to Howard, the scout, to Staffin, a member of President Davis's guard in Richmond, and to the five negro servants.²²

In the absence of her husband, Mrs. Yulee and her young son, Wickliffe, consented to secrete the papers and baggage at Cotton Wood Plantation where the cavalcade was being disbanded. "Mrs. Yulee . . . asked me if I could conceal a very valuable trunk where it could not be found" later reported Lieutenant John D. Purviance. "I informed her that I thought I could bury it in Charlie's stable ; Charlie was a Cuban Poney that was kept apart from the other horses, in a log cabin stable, to himself. That night, after all the people were gone to bed but Mrs. Yulee, I turned the poney out of his stable, and dug a pit in the middle of his stable, and went with the wheelbarrow to the House, and took the trunk and buried it. . ." ²³ This was the personal trunk of Jefferson Davis. Two chests and another trunk containing papers and baggage were also hidden.

Captain Clark quietly remained near Cotton Wood Plantation for one week to find out if the Federals had discovered the secret trail of the Confederate cavalcade and followed it to Florida. He then hid the \$1,940 in gold sovereigns that had been given him by Captain Watson Van Benthuyzen as his share of the last of the Confederate treasure, and,

22. Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

23. Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, Mississippi Dept., of Archives and History, Jackson, 1923, IX, 450-451, and C. Wickliffe Yulee, *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, II, 10-12 (July, 1909).

after stops in Washington, Georgia and Abbeville, South Carolina to check the archives that had been hidden in those towns, he proceeded to Baltimore.²⁴

The Van Benthuisen brothers consulted Ex-Senator Yulee, upon his return to Cotton Wood Plantation, about what they personally ought now to do. He advised them to seek paroles, "return home to their families, and resume the duties of civil life."²⁵ This they proceeded to do. Watson and Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen were paroled in Jacksonville and then returned to New Orleans. Alfred C. Van Benthuisen and Fred Emory were paroled at Baldwin, twenty miles west of Jacksonville.²⁶

24. Capt. L. R. Clark went to Florida at this time and got the \$1,946 in gold sovereigns and some unimportant papers of the Treasury Department for his brother, Captain M. H. Clark. According to Clark's reports he expended all of the \$1,940 in the interests of the Confederacy.

Captain Micajah Henry Clark (1830-1912), son of Dr. Micajah Clark, was born in Richmond, Va. After the War he entered the cotton brokerage business. He made his permanent home in Clarksville, Tenn., about 1872. As Acting Treasurer of the Confederate States of America, the last official appointed by President Davis, he played an important part in the final dissolution of that government. See Micajah H. Clark Papers and the Harrison Family Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. ; also records of his daughter, Mrs. Edward S. Munford, 3411 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C., and of his grandson, M. K. Clark, Greenwich, Conn.

25. When Yulee was arrested he arranged for his wife to return to the home of her father in Kentucky. He sent the chests and trunks containing baggage and papers to Waldo for safekeeping. After searching for them at the Yulee plantation Capt. O. E. Bryant U. S. A. and a group of negro soldiers found them at Waldo and took possession of them, transported them to Jacksonville where they were examined and sent on to Washington, D. C. The Federals found the ambulance and three horses at the Yulee plantation and the wagon, mules and horses at Thomas Haile's. **See Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies**, Ser. I. Vol. XLVII, Pt. III, 651-656, cited hereafter as *O.R. (Official Records)*.

26. There does not appear to be a record of what became of Howard the scout, Staffin, a member of the Davis guard, or the five negro servants with the exception of Watson, the Davis cook who was taken by Capt. Clark to Atlanta.

Dickinson, Scott, Tilghman and Winder, the four eastern shoremen from Maryland, started out from the Yulee plantation to seek their paroles three days after the flag of the United States had replaced the Stars and Bars at Tallahassee. Describing that event a Tallahasseean wrote:

"I was startled on yesterday by a cry from our little 'black boy' of 'Yankees!' 'Yankees!' and I found myself running with the 'rest of the children' to the front, to see Gen. McCook and staff enter to take command of our little city. This 'raw head and bloody bones' that had been threatening us so long made a very modest entrance, respecting the humiliation of the people by leaving his cavalry some miles distant to approach more leisurely."²⁷

As McCook²⁸ was in the midst of paroling the approximately 8,000 Confederate soldiers in Florida, he received a letter from Brigadier General Israel

27. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes*, (Ashmead Bros., Jacksonville, Fla., 1883) 380-381.

28. Edward Moody McCook (1833-1909) Brigadier General of the U. S. Army, Minister to Hawaii (1866-69) and Governor of Colorado Territory (1869-73, 1874-74) was a member of a family which gave so many famous soldiers to the War of 1861-65 that they were known as the "Fighting McCooks". In the Atlanta campaign he prevented the reinforcement of Hood when the Confederates were shut up in Atlanta, His widow, the former Mary McKenna, is now a winter resident of St. Augustine. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI 602.

Vogdes,²⁹ who, with headquarters in Jacksonville, was in command of that part of Florida east of the Apalachicola River, virtually the entire state, requesting him "to desist from further proceedings in the matter of surrender of troops within the limits of this command [Florida], as that duty has been delegated to me. . . ."³⁰ McCook replied that he was acting under orders of his corps commander, proceeded to exercise the functions of a military governor and informed Vogdes that the arrival of his command in Tallahassee was "most opportune, as mobs of citizens and soldiers throughout the whole country were engaged in breaking open the public store-houses and appropriating their contents."³¹ Because the four Marylanders hoped to find at Jacksonville transportation by water up the coast, they determined to make their immediate objective not Tallahassee but the headquarters of Vogdes at Jacksonville. * * *

Tuesday May 23rd

Clear & very hot. To day all has been confusion. The party has broken up & we are all going to seek

29. Israel Vogdes (1816-1889) was born in Willistown, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1837 and was Assistant Professor of Mathematics at his alma mater 1837-49. He was then engaged in quelling Indian disturbances that broke out in Florida after the long and costly Seminole Indian War, being stationed at Key West in 1850-51, 1851-54, and 1855-56.

Vogdes was with the Federal forces at Ft. Pickens (Pensacola) from Feb. 7, 1861 until he was captured by the Confederates on Santa Rosa Island Oct. 9, 1861. He remained a prisoner until August, 1862. He then served in Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia and again in Florida in the spring of 1864. On April 9, 1865 he was made a Brigadier General "for gallant and meritorious service in the field." He continued in the army until 1881. See G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the U. S. Military Academy* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1891) I, 670-671 and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 304.

30. *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLIX, Pt. III, 494.

31. *Ibid.*, 499.

some point at which we can be paroled & go home Our crowd of 4 [Dickinson, Scott, Tilghman, and Winder] will go to Jacksonville Some go to Cedar Keys At 12 M we mounted our horses & each with all his worldly goods in a very small bundle behind him rode off our 4 retracing our steps We stopped, Sid [Winder] & I [Tilghman] at a Mr. Thos Haile's³² a Bro. of the gentleman mentioned yesterday, John [Scott] and El [Dickinson] went to Mr. [Thomas Whitaker] Chesnuts a 1/4 mile off a Bro in Law of Mr. Haile. We were recd & treated very kindly by Mr. Haile indeed & a clean bed & entire undress after so many nights on the ground was elegant indeed.

Wednesday May 24th

Clear & hot. This morning we started off at 8 AM. Sid & I rode to Mr. Chesnuts where we found El & John & started for Jacksonville where we are to get Paroled. Mr. Chesnut rode some 4 ms with us to put us on the right road We stopped in Gainesville a few minutes & then rode on to Gen Elias Earle's.³³ The Gen rather declined taking us. as we found out from him afterwards [he thought] that we were Yankees. He treated us very kindly though We took a bath in Santa Fe Lake³⁴ near bye This lake is 9 ms [?] x 4 1/2 a fine sheet of water We enjoyed our bath very much after a long hot ride Gen E has a large plantation in

32. This was Thomas Evans Haile's plantation, "Kanapaha", near Arredondo, 8 miles southwest of Gainesville.

33. Elias Earle, for whom Earleton was named, moved from Columbia, S. C., after having served in the Mexican War. He established a plantation of several thousand acres on the west side of Sante Fe Lake, which he worked with a large number of slaves. He was an officer in the Confederate Army. After his second marriage he moved to Melrose. Earle's granddaughter, Mrs. J. S. C. Collins, whose father was Baron H. von Lutichau of Germany, now lives on the Earle plantation.

34. Sante Fe Lake is approximately nine miles in length and extends into four counties: Alachua, Bradford, Clay and Putnam.

the pines We find water very scarce indeed & our horses have suffered very much. Sid is still ailing. The country through which we have passed today & for some days is horribly poor & sandy

Thursday May 25th

Clear, hot & dusty. Left Gen Es at 8 AM & rode 37 ms stopping all night at an old man's named Branning.³⁵ near Black Crk which we had to Ferry ourselves across passing over first in a canoe for the Flat. Just before getting to this stream we passed through the village of Middleburgh³⁶ which has been nearly entirely deserted since the war Before the war it had a very large business in cotton etc the S [team] Boats coming up to the Ferry where we crossed. We stopped to day on the Fernandina & Cedar Keys Road at a place called Starke³⁷ where we fed our horses getting corn for them at an exorbitant price. We are now nearing our destination. What is to be our fate God only knows.

Friday May 26th

Clear & hot till 1 P M when we had quite a nice thunder shower which cooled the air nicely. It showered late in the night We left old man B's [Branning's] at 7 AM & got into Jacksonville at

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35. George Ozias Branning, member of a pioneer family of this section of Florida, had a farm on Black Creek near which the public road crossed over the ferry.
 36. Middleburg, former county seat of Clay County, is located at the union of two branches which form the navigable Black Creek, a tributary of the St. Johns. According to tradition it was settled while Florida was an English colony, 1763-1783. Its Methodist Church, erected in 1848, is still standing. Before 1861 Middleburg was an important point for the shipping of cotton. It is 28 miles southwest of Jacksonville. Ft. Heileman, at the junction of the north and south forks of Black Creek, near Middleburg, was established in 1836 during the Seminole Indian War.
 37. Starke received its name from Madison Starke Perry, Governor of Florida, 1857-61. It was in New River County until 1862, at which time that part of the county in which it was located was changed to Bradford. It was in 1865 a town of several hundred people.

12 M. reported. registered & got rooms at the Taylor House³⁸ We are at once making arrangements to sell our horses John & El sold their mares at \$50 each. Today we have been subjected to a trial such as I had hoped never to have been called on to endure. We were halted by negro Pickets. taken to a tent where our names were registered by a negro Sergeant. We were then stripped of our Revolvers (Bolbers)³⁹ & escorted into town to Hd Qts where our names were registered As we passed along into town the remarks of the negro soldiers were unendurable I feel disgraced & degraded but it is of no use The whole country lies prostrate & it is but little use to kick unaided against the breaks. We meet here quite a character named McCall, a Bean Hickman who in less than an hour got \$5 fr John [Scott] to buy whisky which up to bed time John has not seen

Saturday May 27th

Clear & pleasant. This morning we went to the Provost Marshalls office & were referred to the Dist Hd Qts Here we were refused Paroles & asked to call in the afternoon. We called at 4 P M & still refused but offered the oath of allegiance which we declined taking & the Gen [Israel Vogdes] told us to file an application in writing. We concluded afterwards to take the oath & will see the Gen tomorrow. We are tolerably comfortable, at the Hotel.

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38. The Taylor House was probably more of a boarding house than a hotel. It seems to have survived the fire of 1863 by which the Federals destroyed that part of Jacksonville. The Carleton Hotel was built in 1876 on the site of the Taylor House. See T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity* (The Florida Historical Society, Jacksonville, Florida, 1925), 89, 151, 487, 490.
39. Probably the negro mispronunciation of revolvers. It does not appear likely that the Confederates would have been able to conceal over \$2,000 in gold sovereigns on their persons, or that they would have attempted to do so realizing they would more than likely be searched. Did they bury their gold in Florida as Capt. Clark did?

No chance of getting off on a boat though for some days

Sunday May 28th

Clear & cool. Everyone here says very cold for the season. Went round to the Gen's this morning & to our surprise were refused to be allowed to take the oath. He stated no reasons for so strange a course but gave us a pass & transportation to Hilton Head & orders to the P. [Provost] M. [Marshall] Gen to whom we are to report [There is an unexplained break of three days in the diary here]

Thursday June 1st

Clear hot day but some breeze blowing Summer is on us hot & piping & we are longing to get off on our Northern trip Since Sunday the daily routine has been so monotonous that my diary must be the same We had all sold our Horses at \$50 apiece We have sat in the balcony of the Hotel just outside of our room door longing for a boat disgusted with the sight of negro soldiers which are never out of sight. We find of course no congeniality among any of the Yankee officers & so confine ourselves to our own crowd We find here an elegant, accomplished & educated gentleman, Mr. Holmes who has been a prisoner here until recently He has interested us all by his conversation. Major May [?] of the C.S.A. is also among our party (paroled)

Saturday June 3rd

Yesterday & today have been alike clear & hot & sultry Nothing new We were to go off yesterday about 9 am but the boat was stopped to wait for Gen Scannon to come from Tallahassie & now it is said is to go to St Augustine before going to the head so there is no telling when we will get off The party here was increased yesterday by the arrival of Capt Alf Van B, Capt Emory & Mr Greene of Va. They came on foot from Baldwin where

they were paroled They go with us to the Head
& thence in different ways home.

Wednesday June 7th

Clear & warm Today the monotony of our life has been changed. On Monday evening the steamer *Coit* came in from Hilton Head Yesterday she went to St Augustine for troops & came back at 11 am with the 17th Regt of Reg. At 4 pm she left for Hilton Head All of us taking passage at \$5 1/2 The boat was much crowded & bad accomodations We went down by sunset to the mouth of the River & the tide not being high enough to get over the Bar we were compelled to remain all night at anchor inside We leave Jacksonville without any regrets as our sojourn here has been very tiresome indeed Mr. Homes is all we leave with sorrow The negro Garrison and all its concomitants is awful

Thursday June 8th

Clear & hot Left anchorage at daylight & at 8 am called in at Fernandina for passengers & mails. This is an old antediluvian town built on the sand Just before reaching it we pass Fort Chinch at the mouth of St Marys River Remained an hour.

* * *

The steamer *Coit* which carried Tilghman and his three fellow Marylanders from Jacksonville past what Tilghman described as the "old antediluvian town" of Fernandina, where they had stopped an hour, docked at Hilton Head at the mouth of the Broad River on the South Carolina coast about forty miles northeast of Savannah on the evening of June 8, 1865. The next morning, still apprehensive of trouble, they reported to the office of Major General Q. A. Gillmore, who commanded the Federal forces of the Department of the South. They took the oath of allegiance to the United States June

10, and that afternoon secured transportation on the S. S. *Haze* (which Tilghman said rocked "terribly") to New York. Scott remained there but the others went on to Baltimore and then to their homes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Tilghman, writer of this diary, reached his ancestral "Plimbimmon" plantation in Talbot County, June 24, 1865.⁴⁰

40. William L. Stone in an address before the Theta Delta Chi Fraternity in New York on October 21, 1880 made the following reference to Tilghman:

"The last convention [of Theta Delta Chi] Tilghman attended was the one held at the Astor House in this city in the spring of 1867. He had come to attend it from the southern portion of Maryland at no little inconvenience to himself; and his suggestions and enthusiasm on that occasion did much toward kindling anew the embers of zeal for the fraternity - - - - A few days after being greatly interested in the publication of the catalogue (for which, by the way, he contributed, out of funds by no means ample) he called at my office for the purpose of giving me the names of several of the fraternity who had died during the war - - - - That very afternoon he left the city and returned south, apparently in the flush of health. The same night, however, of his arrival home, he was awakened suddenly by a violent hemorrhage of the lungs; and with the single remark to his wife 'Darling, I am dying', he fell back on his pillow and expired."

Stone incorrectly described Tilghman as "Chief-of-Staff during the late war to Jefferson Davis" and spoke of Tilghman's part in the collapse of the Confederacy as follows:

"On the morning of Mr. Davis's capture, Tilghman waited upon him at his bedside and said: 'Mr. Davis, by this map, you may see that the enemy are here; such and such is the situation of the roads. If you come with me, you will be able to leave the country in safety. If you do not, you will be captured in five hours.' To [which] Mr. Davis replying curtly [said] that he knew his own business best', Tilghman continued, 'Very well, sir; I have been entrusted with the treasure and archives, and propose to secure them, even at the peril of the loss of your favor and of my life. I shall start at once, by the route I have marked out.'

"The result is well known. In less than five hours. Mr. Davis was a prisoner; but the *archives* were safe. When, a few days after, in the recesses of the forest, Tilghman learned that all was lost, he alone, with his own hands, buried the treasure and archives; and unless, during the four days that have elapsed between parting with me and his untoward death, he revealed the spot, the secret as to the whereabouts of the Confederate archives is forever buried. . . ." See *The Shield*, Theta Delta Chi Press, Champaign, Ill., December, 1923, Vol. XL, No. 2, 134-135.