

# Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 13  
Number 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 13,  
Issue 4

Article 5

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1934

## Fort Marion During the Seminole War

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### Recommended Citation

Young, Rogers W. (1934) "Fort Marion During the Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 13: No. 4, Article 5.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol13/iss4/5>

# FORT MARION DURING THE SEMINOLE

1835-1842

By ROGERS W. YOUNG

The news that the Seminoles had begun hostilities in Florida spread slowly early in January, 1836.<sup>1</sup> The intelligence stirred the country, however. The War Department had heard of the Dade' massacre and of other Indian atrocities as early as January 4, but it was not until January 17 that it received official verification of the battle of the Withlacoochee.<sup>2</sup> Near the end of December, 1835, the citizens of Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, had begun to realize the gravity of the situation in Florida.<sup>3</sup> The new year had hardly begun before the patriotic and sympathetic citizenry of these two cities were actively contemplating measures of succor. There, and in Augusta, Georgia, as well, public meetings were held, funds subscribed, supplies for relief secured, and by the middle of the month, volunteers were being organized, many of whom were despatched for Picolata and St. Augustine near the end of the month.<sup>4</sup> The machinery of the War Department was soon set in motion, and on January 18, General Eustis, in command at Charleston, South Carolina, was ordered to St. Augustine with

<sup>1</sup> The first frankly hostile steps of the Seminoles had been the massacre of Major Dade and practically his entire command, en route from Fort Brooke to Fort King, on the morning of December 28, 1835; and their engagement three days later, on December 31, with General Clinch on the Withlacoochee river. See *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.* V, 737; VI, 57.

<sup>3</sup> "Jacksonville and the Seminole War, 1835-36," Part II. *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1925, pp. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, M. M., *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, (Charleston, S. C., 1836) pp. 107, 109-110; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Vol. II, No. 2, Jan. 14, 1836, p. 24; No. 3, Jan. 21, 1836, pp. 42-43; No. 5, Feb. 4, 1836, pp. 75-76. This publication henceforth to be cited as A. N. C.

such militia and volunteer forces as he might secure, together with the garrisons at Savannah and Charleston.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, St. Augustine and the Fort Marion post were agog over war preparations and defense measures. As early as the middle of December, 1835, General Joseph Hernandez, of St. Augustine, in command of the East Florida militia had mustered his men in readiness for danger, and a detachment soon engaged in the battle of the Withlacoochee.<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of East Florida, especially those within a thirty to forty mile radius to the south and west of St. Augustine, were abandoning their farms and plantations, and fleeing to St. Augustine for protection against the small but effective raiding parties of the Seminoles.<sup>7</sup> On January 9-10, 1836, mass meetings of St. Augustine citizens were held "to consider the dangers which threaten this city and the adjacent country, the devastation and destruction of property, and the sufferings of the people, caused by the hostile . . . Indian enemy . . . and to report the means that may be adopted to avert or mitigate these evils. . ." <sup>8</sup> The resolutions adopted requested the government to feed from the public stores the great mass of poor families who had filled the town and now had no means of subsistence, to compensate the volunteers immediately in the interest of their families' needs, urged the passing of a compensation bill for property destroyed by the Indians, called the attention of Congress to the dangers in East Florida, and presented the thanks of the meeting to the citizens of Savan-

<sup>5</sup> A. N. C., II, 3, Jan. 21, 1836, p. 47; *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 57.

<sup>6</sup> "Jacksonville and the Seminole War, 1835-36," Part I, *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1925, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.* VI, 19, 20-22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

nah and Charleston for their aid and sympathy. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the territorial delegate in Congress, to the intendant of Charleston, and to the St. Augustine, Jacksonville, Savannah, and Charleston newspapers.

The tension in St. Augustine was somewhat relieved by the arrival on January 19 of the Steamboat *John Stoney* from Charleston.<sup>9</sup> On it were Captain G. Porter with Co. A of the First Artillery, the first of the regular troops to arrive in St. Augustine. The boat also brought a large consignment of miscellaneous food, provisions, military and hospital supplies. On January 27, four companies of volunteers, raised and financed in Charleston, sailed from that place for St. Augustine, reaching their destination on the 30th, where the population en masse gave them "the most cheering welcome".<sup>10</sup> By the end of the month and the beginning of February, several other volunteer companies from Augusta, and Savannah, Georgia, were en route or had arrived in Florida.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, Major General Winfield Scott, in command of the Eastern Military Department, had been ordered on January 21, to proceed to Florida and assume command of the operations there. "It was at length realized that actual war had begun in Florida, with St. Augustine the first center from which operations were to be directed.

Fort Marion itself was of only negative importance, however, in the beginning and throughout the war. While hundreds of East Florida inhabitants flocked to St. Augustine for the potential protection

<sup>9</sup> A. N. C., II, No. 3, Jan. 21, 1836, p. 43; No. 5, Feb. 4, 1836, p. 47; [Potter, W.] *The War in Florida*. (Baltimore, 1836) 125-126.

<sup>10</sup> Cohen. op. cit., 113, 112-123; A. N. C., II, 5, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> A. N. C., II, 5, p. 76; *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IV, 1, July, 1925, pp. 27-30; Potter, op. cit., 127, 130.

afforded by the fort, it was the military force at the post barracks which became the real protecting agency. Appropriations to repair the precarious structural condition of the fort had been denied early in 1835; even though the fort was then practically "useless" as a fortification "unless completed." Just prior to 1835, the fort's condition was such that it had "not been occupied by troops for many years" and had been used only as "a jail and a magazine," and even then had been in danger of toppling into the sea.<sup>13</sup> In the contingency of an Indian attack on St. Augustine, the fort probably could have prevented temporarily the wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants, but it could have done little effectively in staving off repeated assaults, and certainly did not possess the equipment, nor was it in a proper condition to withstand a long siege. The War Department's lack of foresight had by this time rendered the fort nearly as inefficacious on land as the department claimed Marion to be in harbor protection. That the possibilities of the fort's utilization were correctly apprehended can be seen from the usage to which it was soon put.

St. Francis Barracks became the military headquarters at St. Augustine with the arrival of Captain Porter, and were to remain so during much of the war. When the four companies of South Carolina volunteers arrived from Charleston on January 30, they were marched to the barracks and placed under Captain Porter, now in command of the troops at this military station.<sup>14</sup> These volunteers were subsequently distributed for lodging between

<sup>13</sup>*Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, V, 132-133, 461-462, 656; letter, Captain A. M. W. Martin, U. S. Engineer Corps, to L. F. Stock, Carnegie Institution, Washington, Jan. 27, 1916. (Copy at Fort Marion; contains excerpts from reports of U. S. Engineer Tuttle, stationed at Fort Marion in 1833.)

<sup>14</sup>Cohen, *op. cit.*, 123; *A. N. C.*, II, 17, p. 262.

the barracks, the government house, various boarding houses and alternately at the several stations or camps of defense encircling the city.

The fort was apparently considered too near the edge of the town even to be made a "station of defense." The two main stations or picket outposts were established "beyond the city gates to the north and west of the city at the bridge (over the St. Sebastian River)." <sup>15</sup> These were not all of the outposts, however. A northern visitor impressed into guard duty has left us these further details :

Shortly after our arrival, the north part of the town was picketed off at about a mile from the outskirts, with a guard, here and there ; and a cordon of m i l i t a r y posts stretched along the western side, around to the sea. A large gun was then placed in the middle of . . . (the) . . . bridge (over the St. Sebastian River), pointing into the pine barrens; the usual night patrol of southern cities was doubled and the place declared under 'martial law'."

These camps were about a half mile apart, while sentries were posted about two hundred yards from each picket camp. <sup>17</sup> The main use of the fort was apparently that of a military office, a recruiting headquarters, and drill ground, with its previous utilization as a jail, and designation as an arsenal being continued. <sup>18</sup> Apparently there was perfunctory guard duty at the fort under the circumstance of war.

<sup>15</sup>Cohen, 123; *A. N. C.*, II, 17, p. 262.

<sup>16</sup>"Sketches of East Florida." No. I, *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXII, October, 1843, pp. 324-327.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>*Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 53; "Sketches of East Florida," No. I, *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXII, October, 1843, pp. 324-327.

It must be admitted, however, that Fort Marion never participated directly in the defense of St. Augustine. It perhaps exercised a potential influence on the savages, who were apparently reluctant to attack with mere muskets a fort which appeared so powerful. As a matter of fact, we can find no record of a Seminole attack within the limits of the town." In the opening days of the war there were a number of alarms, and later a number of attacks a few miles from the city, "but unceasing vigilance" on the part of the guards surrounding the city "kept them (the Indians) away. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

It would hardly have been inferred that there was real danger of an Indian attack on St. Augustine in the opening days of the war, from a cursory examination of the activities of the volunteer guards in February, 1836. Much of the time was consumed drilling the raw recruits, and the soldiers found time to construct their own bunks. A group of officers even had leisure enough to publish a comic garrison newspaper, *The Sunday Morning's Herald and Volunteers' Gazette*.<sup>21</sup> Near the end of the encampment of the volunteers at St. Augustine, we find this report from them: "We are going on quietly with our camp duty, without i n t e r r u p t i o n from the Indians."<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the Florida delegate had presented the urgent and despairing memorial of the East Florida citizens for aid and protection to Congress and the movement of regular troops and militia into Florida was accelerated.<sup>23</sup> With the arrival

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<sup>20</sup>Cohen, 127.

<sup>21</sup>See for example, Cohen, 127, 131-132; *A. N. G.*, II, 19, pp. 294-295; 24, pp. 378-379; 25, p. 410; VII 13, p. 203; *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII, April, 1930, pp. 200-103.

<sup>22</sup>Cohen, 126-128; a photostat of one issue of this paper, Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 6, 1836, is in the writer's possession.

<sup>23</sup>*A. N. C.*, II, 7, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup>*Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.*, VI, 23.

of General Eustis in St. Augustine by the middle of February, the large troop movements into Florida began. The four companies of South Carolina volunteers were mustered out on February 15, with the arrival of the regular South Carolina militia and Major Kirby's command of United States regulars.<sup>24</sup> On February 18 the brief tour of duty of the volunteers ended with their embarkation for Charleston. The value of their aid was recognized before their departure by the St. Augustine city council which adopted resolutions stating that it had been the "peculiar province" of the South Carolina volunteers "to guard and protect the city," an undertaking "that they fully discharged".<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the war the post at St. Augustine was to serve as the base of many military operations in East Florida. These were to consist, however, of only short expeditions either to protect life or property or to search out and punish marauding savages. For example, as early as January 18, 1836, the East Florida militia under General Hernandez and Major Putnam had fought a nearly disastrous skirmish with the Seminoles at Dunlawton plantation, some thirty or forty miles south of St. Augustine, while engaged in protecting the plantation property along the Halifax river.<sup>26</sup> Others of a similar nature had occurred or were prosecuted during the spring of 1836,<sup>27</sup> and intermittently until nearly the end of the war.

With the arrival of Major General Winfield Scott at Picolata on February 22, 1836, the main movements of the war were shifted far southward from

<sup>24</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 10, p. 151; Cohen, 132-134.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen, 134.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 91-96.

<sup>27</sup> See for example, Cohen, 132; *A. N. C.*, II, 3, p. 124; III, 9, pp. 139-140; VIII, 13, p. 203; 20, p. 315; 22, pp. 351, 381; *Sen. Doc. 507*, 25 Cong. 2d Sess., 3-4, 5-6.



the vicinity of St. Augustine. General Scott immediately devised a plan of campaign to converge on the enemy with three "wings" of the army, left, right and center, and thus crush the savage on the Withlacoochee river. The left wing was to move from the district east of the St. Johns river, under the command of General Eustis.<sup>28</sup> Following the arrival of the United States regulars and the South Carolina militia in St. Augustine in the middle of February, a colorful tented city had sprung up south of St. Francis Barracks, called Camp Eustis. The movement of these troops toward Volusia, on the St. Johns, soon began, however, and on the 19th this expedition had left St. Augustine.<sup>29</sup> By March 21, the left wing was concentrated at Volusia, which was crossed the next day and the march to the Withlacoochee rendezvous launched.<sup>30</sup>

Confronted with a war raging in East and Middle Florida, the War Department meanwhile had initiated a movement to make reparation for its neglect of Fort Marion. In making up the estimate of "funds required for the service of the year 1836 on account of fortification for the defense of the sea-coast of the United States", communicated to the Senate on January 25, an appropriation of \$20,000 to repair Fort St. Mark's (sic) at St. Augustine was asked.<sup>31</sup> The United States Engineer Department, which had so successfully blocked further appropriations for the repairs of Fort Marion on the ground of its military ineffectiveness the previous year, now held an opposite viewpoint concerning the fort. Whereas then the fort exerted only a "very slight

<sup>28</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 11, p. 186; II, 15, p. 133.

<sup>29</sup> Cohen, 137-138; 160. The expedition consisted of Col. Brisbane's regiment, Capt. Elmore's company, Col. Goodwyn's regiment, and Major Kirby's battalion.

<sup>30</sup> Cohen, 158, 161.

<sup>31</sup> *Am St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 17-18

influence . . . in our system of coast defense", by February 1, 1836, the Chief United States Engineer was pointing out to the Secretary of War that Fort Marion was "essential to the sea-coast defense. . ." <sup>32</sup> The fort had been brought into prominence again only through the opening of the Seminole War, a distinctly land campaign. On February 5, he again addressed the Secretary of War, explaining that the \$20,000 asked for would not complete the work necessary at Fort Marion, and recommended that "should the Ways and Means Committee of the House deem it necessary", the estimate should be raised \$25,000, or a total of \$50,000. He gave as reasons necessitating this marked increase that

This sum will finish repairs at the fort, place the port in good repair, and rebuild the sea wall. The St. Augustine position is considered favorable for our internal defense and communication, and as a point of refuge for steam batteries upon which the security of that part of the coast must depend. <sup>33</sup>

Substantiating this explanation of his revision were the further recommendations to Congress, raising the requested appropriation still another \$5,000. In a statement by the Engineer Department, communicated to the Senate on February 25, under the item of "works proposed. . ." requiring additional amounts for the year 1836, the St. Augustine post is listed as needing first, for repairs, \$50,000, and second, \$450,000, to be expended on "15, 2 gun steamers of the least possible draft of water,

<sup>32</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, V, 387, 461-462 ; VI, 428, General Charles Gratiot, Chief Engineer to Secretary of War Cass, Feb. 1, 1836.

<sup>33</sup> Gen. Charles Gratiot to Sec. of War Cass, Feb. 5, 1836, in *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 428.

(which) are important as auxiliaries of defense".<sup>34</sup> Evidently, if Fort Marion was to have \$50,000 dollars expended on it, the Chief Engineer, who apparently still held a conviction that the fort would be ineffective on account of the shallow bar in the harbor, was determined to make certain of its potential military usefulness. Several weeks later, another report of the Chief Engineer, communicated to the Senate on April 8, reiterated the request of \$50,000 for the fort at St. Augustine.<sup>35</sup>

Congress was already engaged in multifarious debates and considerations on the course of the war in Florida, and apparently paid little attention to this request of the Engineer Department<sup>36</sup> until on May 24, General Gratiot, the Chief Engineer, again advised Secretary Cass that the "whole repairs to Fort Marion" could be accomplished for \$50,000; and on the same day all of Gratiot's correspondence and estimates on Fort Marion subsequent to February 1 were communicated to Congress<sup>37</sup> which soon thereafter appropriated \$50,000 for the repairs.<sup>38</sup> The nautically conscious engineer was disappointed in regard to his steamboat auxiliaries for Fort Marion, however.

Far to the southwest of St. Augustine, meantime, General Scott's three wing plan had failed.. While the tactics of the savage in not offering to attack in force played a great part in the futility of the army's movements on the Withlacoochee, the lack of time, the bad climate, the difficult topography of the country, together with the lack of transportation and supplies, were all accepted as causes oper-

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 117.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 387, 394.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 23, 56, 166.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 428-429.

<sup>38</sup> Report of the Engr. Dept., Nov. 30, 1836, *ibid.* 848, 857, 963. The appropriation was made on July 1.

ating legitimately to prevent success.<sup>39</sup> On April 30, 1836, the main body of the left wing was welcomed back to St. Augustine, which in the meantime had been apprehensive of the results of a possible attack with only one company of regulars in garrison.<sup>40</sup> By May 11 General Scott, weary and discouraged, arrived in St. Augustine to establish temporary headquarters.<sup>41</sup> Many East Florida citizens who nightly feared Indian reprisals, now urged him to remedy the situation in East Florida which they characterized as "defenseless". Scott was in a plight. He attempted to comply with the citizens' pleas, but the ending of the enlistment term of the militia had left him with only a skeleton force.<sup>42</sup> The citizens became more insistently critical of a general whose campaign had just failed. On the other hand, Scott was disgusted with the reluctance of the East Florida inhabitants to enlist in a militia company for their own defense. Sick, discouraged, smarting under the failure of his campaign, angry over the reduction of his forces, and disgruntled over his own impending removal, Scott indiscreetly touched the East Florida inhabitants with a rapier thrust.<sup>43</sup> On May 17 he issued his famous "Order No. 48" which reflected severely on the courage and character of the East Florida citizens. In the turmoil that ensued, Scott was to find relief only by relinquishing his command to General Eustis, *ad interim*, and leaving St. Augustine on May 30.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Sen. Doc. 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 72-73.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80 ; Cohen, 220, 131; *A. N. C.*, II, 19, p. 294. On March 14 there had temporarily been no garrison in St. Augustine. See *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 166-167.

<sup>41</sup> *Sen. Doc. 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 361; A. N. C.*, II, 22, p. 346.

<sup>42</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 22, pp. 346-349 ; 23, p. 365. *Sen. Doc. 224, 24 Cong. 2d, p. 361; Cohen, 231.* The term of enlistment was over May 1 and most of the volunteers had left St. Augustine by May 12.

<sup>43</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 24, pp. 378-379; *Sen. Doc. 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 361, 363, 366-369, 371-375.*

<sup>44</sup> *Sen. Doc. 224, 24 Cong. 2d., 375.*

During the summer of 1836, Richard K. Call, who had assumed command on May 26, prosecuted a futile campaign in central Florida.<sup>45</sup> The forces at St. Augustine also accomplished little of real usefulness during this period, although they spent much time on extensive scouting and scouring parties.<sup>46</sup> The campaign for the remainder of the year also little affected St. Augustine. General Call began his fall campaign late in September. Most of his operations were near the swamps of the Withlacoochee river, but were of little efficacy. He retired to Volusia on the St. Johns in October. Here he was joined by General Thomas Jesup late in November to whom the command was relinquished early in December.<sup>47</sup>

During the summer of 1836, following the appropriation of \$50,000<sup>48</sup> for repairs at Fort Marion, and the military post, a civil agent was sent to St. Augustine to make new arrangements concerning the projected repairs. As there was no officer "disposable" at that time for the work, Lieutenant F. L. Dancy, who had made the Fort Marion surveys subsequent to Lt. Tuttle's removal in 1834, was allowed to resign his commission and assume charge of the work.<sup>49</sup> Most of the summer was consumed in making "preparatory arrangements", and by the end of the fiscal year on September 30, 1836, he had ex-

<sup>45</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 434; *A. N. C.*, II, 26, June 30, 1836, p. 412.

<sup>46</sup> *A. N. C.*, III, 9, Sept. 1, 1836, pp. 139-140.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 13, p. 203; 15, p. 231; 24, p. 382; 25, p. 385; *Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.* VI, 807, 997.

<sup>48</sup> The appropriation had been made on July 1; *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 963.

<sup>49</sup> Report of Acting Sec. of War Butler, Dec. 3, 1836, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 848; Statement of F. L. Dancy in files of Office of U. S. Engrs., Jacksonville. The fort was in November, 1836, in the same condition as in November, 1834.

pended of the \$50,000 only \$11.45.<sup>50</sup> Apparently he intended to be more certain of his plans than had been his predecessor. The work was now under the general superintendence of Lieutenant J.K.F. Mansfield, whose permanent station was at Savannah, Georgia.<sup>51</sup> During the remainder of the year, however, no further money was expended on repairing Fort Marion, but the reconstruction of the seawall was begun instead.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout most of the war the strength of the garrison at the Fort Marion post was subject to great variations.<sup>53</sup> By October 31, 1836, Lieut. Col. Crane was in command.<sup>54</sup> His garrison aggregated 106, and consisted of two companies of artillery. At this post was a military hospital under the direction of four assistant surgeons. Their hands had been full after the spring and summer campaign of 1836. On October 13, there were 117 sick in the post hospital, and 29 in the barracks to be cared for. By October 31, this number had been reduced to 100, and as the year drew to an end, on December 22, only 60 patients remained in the post hospital.<sup>55</sup> During the fourth quarter of 1836 it was officially designated as an arsenal depot, under the direction of Lt. J. F. Kennedy ; and \$878 was allotted for this

<sup>50</sup> Report of Engineer Dept., Nov. 30, 1836, *Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.*, VI, 843, 657, 861. Apparently the \$3,355.26 balance existing on Oct. 1, 1834, of the original appropriation had reverted to the treasury in the interim.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 864.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 963, 967-968; VII, 633.

<sup>53</sup> The garrison was considered as "formally withdrawn" from January, 1836. This did not mean, however, that there was to be no garrison at the Fort Marion post, only that it was not permanently located there during the war. See *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong. Ist.*, 70-71.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Acting Sec. of War Butler, Dec. 3, 1836, *Ibid.*, VI, 824. We have no record of the unit number of this artillery detachment.

purpose.<sup>56</sup> Thus the first important year of the war for the Fort Marion post ended.

The structural condition of Fort Marion came to the front as the year 1837 opened. The funds appropriated at the instance of the War Department and its engineering division in 1836, ostensibly to make certain repairs at the fort and to the seawall, apparently had not been utilized extensively as yet. An eyewitness to the condition of the fort at that time stated that

The covered way, glacis, raveline, and place of arms are entire, but the water batteries are giving away to the tides, which are rapidly undermining its base, and require immediate repairs<sup>57</sup>. . . . A small part of the fort is still occupied as an arsenal; the balance is used as a jail for criminals.<sup>58</sup>

Such was then the state of the once mighty Spanish fortress, even at the height of the war in which it played its most important part under the American regime.

Throughout the latter part of December, 1836, and during the months of January and February and early days of March, 1837, General Jesup had been conducting a campaign against the Seminoles in the fastnesses along the Ocklawaha and the Withlacoochee rivers.<sup>59</sup> This campaign had been marked by some, though no brilliant, successes. There was no connection between it and the routine of the Fort Marion post. On March 6, 1837, at Fort Dade, a

<sup>55</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 824 ; *A. N. C.*, III, 15, p. 237; 25, p. 399.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 731-733.

<sup>57</sup> Williams, J. L., *The Territory of Florida*. (New York, 1837').

p. 119.

<sup>58</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>59</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 587-588.

short distance northeast of the present city of Tampa, General Jesup entered into a convention with the Seminoles "for the suspension of hostilities and the immediate removal of the whole nation west of the Mississippi."<sup>60</sup> The Indians had demanded as a condition that they should be secure in their lives and property. This condition designed to protect their negro slaves, ultimately caused the abrogation of the convention and the renewal of hostilities. The avarice of the white man could not be outweighed by the dangers and suffering of warfare. Throughout the late spring the white inhabitants of Florida protested strenuously against such an agreement, and took every opportunity to thwart its fulfillment. Finally, all of the Indians who had assembled at Tampa Bay under the convention, became so restless under the machinations of certain white and Indian elements, that they fled into the Everglades early in June. General Jesup interpreted this correctly as the failure of his convention, but hostilities were not again commenced until fall.<sup>61</sup>

The resumption of hostilities in the fall of 1837 resulted in the participation of Fort Marion in several major happenings. General Hernandez, commanding the East Florida militia, began the fall campaign in September.<sup>62</sup> Moving a few miles south of St. Augustine, he captured King Philip, the most important of the East Florida chiefs.<sup>63</sup> The negotiations for this old chief's release, and the subsequent results have given us two of the most picturesque events in connection with the fort. Coacoochee, Phil-

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<sup>60</sup> General Jesup to Adj.-Gen. Jones, Mar. 6, 1837; Articles of Capitulation, Mar. 6, 1837; in *Ibid.*, 834; 588.

<sup>61</sup> General Jesup to Adj.-Gen. Jones, June 5, 1837. *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 838-839; 588-852.

<sup>62</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d, p. 6; Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 852.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 848.



ip's son, soon came into St. Augustine to treat for the release of his father, bearing emblems of peace from Osceola. General Hernandez then allowed Coacoochee to depart on a mission to Osceola and the other friends of Philip for the purpose of making arrangements in regard to a further parley.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, General Jesup, who had already made his headquarters in St. Augustine once before in 1837, had by October 7 re-established himself there.<sup>65</sup> Worn out by the prolonged war, he apparently had determined on a ruthless expedient to end it. He allowed Osceola and his warriors to assemble some six or seven miles below St. Augustine near Fort Peyton and on October 21, disregarding and violating the Indians' faith in immunity under the flag of truce, directed the seizure of the whole band.<sup>66</sup> Osceola, Coacoochee, and several other chiefs, including 71 warriors, some women and negroes were all incarcerated in Fort Marion on the same day.

The citizens of St. Augustine were uneasy over the presence of so many of the Seminole leaders within the city, even though safely behind the massive walls of the fort. Their apprehensions were amusingly shown soon after the imprisonment of the Indians. An army officer, eyewitness to the scene, related to a friend that

A few nights ago, the Indians had a dance in the fort; the whoops and yells alarmed the city—the Mayor ran to General Jesup and hoped that he would send for more troops, for Osceola would (escape and) take

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<sup>64</sup> There are any number of accounts of the capture of Osceola: Coe, C. H., *Red Patriots* (Cincinnati. 1898) pp. 80-91.; Sprague, J. T. *The . . . Florida War* (New York. 1847) pp. 187-188 ; and Jesup's own account in *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d*, are typical.

<sup>65</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 840-841, 857.

<sup>66</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d*, pp. 3-5, 6; Coe, op. cit., 82-83.

the city before daylight. The Indians are secure and do not dream of escape.<sup>67</sup>

The officer's observation soon proved to be both right and wrong. Coacoochee, who had been used as the innocent agent in the treacherous seizure, was determined to escape and explain the circumstances of his apparent betrayal. He was joined in the prospective venture by the medicine man, Talmus Hadjo, who was confined in the same casemate. Coacoochee related afterwards,<sup>68</sup>

“ . . . we had been growing sickly from day to day and we were resolved to make our escape, or die in the attempt. We were in a small room, eighteen or twenty feet square. All the light admitted, was through a hole (embrasure) about eighteen feet from the floor. Through this we must effect our escape, or remain and die with sickness. A sentinel was constantly posted at the door. As we looked at it from our bed, we thought it small, but believed that, could we get our heads through, we should have no further or serious difficulty. To reach the hole was the first object. In order to effect this, we from time to time cut up the forage-bags allowed us to sleep on, and made them into ropes. The hole I could not reach when upon the shoulder of my companion, but while standing upon his shoulder, I

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<sup>67</sup> Dr. Forry to Lt. Phelps, Oct. 31, 1837, in *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, July, 1928, p. 95.

<sup>68</sup> Though Sprague relates this account as Coacoochee's verbatim story, it should be accepted with caution; certainly as regards the vocabulary and Phraseology employed. The facts are apparently authentic, but certainly the words used are rather unusual for even such an unusual personage as Coacoochee. Apparently Sprague has adapted the account in his own language. See Sprague, op. cit., pp. 325-327.

worked a knife into a crevice of the stonework, as far up as I could reach, and upon this I raised myself to the aperture, when I found, that with some reduction of person, I could get through. In order to reduce ourselves as much as possible, we took medicine five days. Under the pretext of being very sick, we were permitted to obtain the roots we required. For some weeks we watched the moon, in order that the night of our attempt it should be as dark as possible. At the proper time we commenced the medicine, calculating upon the entire disappearance of the moon. The keeper of this prison, on the night determined upon to make the effort, annoyed us by frequently coming into the room and talking and singing. At first we thought of tying him and putting his head in a bag ; so that, should he call for assistance, he could not be heard. We, first, however, tried the experiment of pretending to be asleep, and when he returned to pay no regard to him. This accomplished our object. He came in, and went immediately out; and we could hear him snore in the immediate vicinity of the door. I then took the rope, which we had secreted under our bed, and mounting upon the shoulder of my comrade, raised myself upon the knife worked into the crevices of the stone, and succeeded in reaching the embrasure. Here I made fast the rope, that my friend might follow me. I then passed through the hole a sufficient length of it to reach the ground upon the outside (about fifty feet) in the ditch. I had calculated the distance when going for roots. With much difficulty

I succeeded in getting my head through ; for the sharp stones took the skin off my breast and back. Putting my head through first, I was obliged to go down headforemost, until my feet were through, fearing every moment the rope would break. At last, safely on the ground, I awaited with anxiety the arrival of my comrade. I had passed another rope through the hole, which, in the event of discovery, Talmus Hadjo was to pull, as a signal to me upon the outside, that he was discovered, and could not come. As soon as I struck the ground, I took hold of the signal, for intelligence from my friend. The night was very dark. Two men passed near me, talking earnestly, and I could see them distinctly. Soon I heard the struggle of my companion far above me. He had succeeded in getting his head through, but his body would come no farther. In the lowest tone of voice, I urged him to throw out his breath, and then try; soon after, he came tumbling down the whole distance. For a few moments I thought him dead. I dragged him to some water close by, which restored him; but his leg was so lame, he was unable to walk. I took him upon my shoulder to a scrub near the town. Daylight was just breaking; it was evident we must move rapidly. I caught a mule in the adjoining field, and making a bridle out of my sash, mounted my companion and started for the St. John's river. The mule we used one day, but fearing the whites would track us, we felt more secure on foot, in the hammock, though moving very slow. Thus we continued our journey

five days, subsisting upon roots and berries, when I joined my band, then assembled on the head waters of the Tomaka river, near the Atlantic coast. I gave my warriors the history of my capture and escape, and assured them that they should be satisfied that my capture was no trick of my own, and that I would not deceive them."

The escape was successfully carried out in the latter part of November, 1837.<sup>69</sup> Osceola had refused to join Coacoochee and Talmus Hadjo, and when questioned about this by one of the men who guarded his casemate, the chief proudly replied. "I have done nothing to be ashamed of; it is for those to feel shame who entrapped me".<sup>70</sup>

In the meantime, the arrival of a Cherokee Indian peace delegation brought other picturesque figures within the old fort's walls. John Ross, chief of that nation, had been approached by the Indian commissioner in Washington, as to the possibility of sending a mission to the Seminoles in an attempt to persuade the latter to cease hostilities and to emigrate.<sup>71</sup> Ross agreed to the plan and five principal Cherokee chiefs, together with a United States Army officer, arrived in St. Augustine on November 6, 1837.<sup>72</sup> On the 10th, the delegation accompanied by the commander of the fort visited the Seminole prisoners confined there. A splendid barbaric parley scene then took place in the courtyard

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191; cf. Motte, J. R., *Life in Camp and Field* ..... Charleston, S. C., (mss), pp. 221-222; Giddings, J. R., *The Exiles of Florida* . . . (Columbus, Ohio, 1858) p. 176, says the escape occurred early in December, which may have been possible.

<sup>70</sup> *Coe, op. cit.*, 91.

<sup>71</sup> McKenney, T. L. *Memoirs, Official and Personal* . . . (New York, 1846) 269; Coe, 93.

<sup>72</sup> Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal*. (Norman, Okla. 1932) 352-353.

of the fort. The Seminole chiefs and warriors, in full costume, were formally introduced to the visiting delegation, which was likewise clothed in full regalia. The Indians seated themselves facing each other on benches arranged in the courtyard. In the background the uniformed army officers were seated. This parley was merely a preliminary, however, to the real negotiations with the hostile chiefs still in the fastnesses of the Florida swamps. Soon the exchange of greetings at the fort was over, but the Cherokee delegation remained in St. Augustine until November 28, when it departed for the south to hold negotiations with Micanopy and other chiefs.<sup>73</sup>

Since the early part of the year, repairs had been continued on the seawall, but no work had been done on the fort structure itself. On November 30, the Engineer Department reported that throughout the year "Operations have been confined to the repair of the sea-wall."<sup>74</sup>

In the last quarter of 1836 and the first three quarters of 1837, \$37,636.47, had been expended upon the seawall. But no money had been spent to remedy the continuing deterioration within the main fort structure. This condition had been allowed to prevail for several years past and was to continue for several years to come.<sup>75</sup> The annual report of the Secretary of War even showed that Fort Marion was one of "the prominent points along the sea frontier which will require protection, and which no plans or projects have yet been made by the board of engineers."<sup>76</sup> It is evident, from the usages

<sup>73</sup> Foreman, *op cit.*, 353.

<sup>74</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 630, 640, 656.

<sup>75</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 848; *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong.* 1st, 167. St. Augustine News, June 4, 1842.

<sup>76</sup> Report of Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett, December 2, 1837, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 581-582.

to which the fort was put that the Department had determined that its day of military effectiveness was past and evidently acted upon the premise that the seawall, protecting life and property, was the more urgent need.

The official arsenal designation of Fort Marion was made in January, 1837, with Lt. Col. Crane listed as the permanent post commander in charge.<sup>77</sup>

When the Cherokee delegation made no progress toward a cessation of hostilities and emigration, General Jesup invoked his usual expedient of seizing the chiefs and their peoples, seventy-two in all and ordered them immediately to Fort Marion.<sup>78</sup> He excused this further violation of truce immunity by stating that

I authorized no assurances to be given to the Indians that they were to come to my camp (near Ft. Mellon) and be permitted to return. . . If the Cherokees promised more, it was on their own responsibility and without my authority.

It was determined to move the Indian prisoners out of the war area and away from the temptation and possibility of escape. Near the end of December, 1837, the prisoners, who now numbered approximately 116 chiefs and warriors, and 82 women and children, were embarked for Fort Moultrie at Charleston, South Carolina. The entire party, including such prominent chiefs and leaders as Micanopy, head Seminole chief, King Philip, Cloud, Osceola, etc., were transported docilely enough on the United States Steamer *Poinsett*.<sup>79</sup> Some were later persuaded to emigrate to the west; but the great

<sup>77</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2nd, 7-8.*

<sup>79</sup> *Coe, op. cit.*, 102-103.

and courageous Osceola died there on January 30,<sup>80</sup> a martyr to the cause of his adopted people.

The year 1837 ended with the theater of war distinctly removed from St. Augustine. Having heard from General Jesup on December 18 that hopes for bringing the war to a close through the Cherokee delegation were futile, Col. Zachary Taylor began his campaign on the Kissimmee river.<sup>81</sup> On Christmas Day, after hours of fighting in the thickest of swamps he decisively defeated the Indians, and was rewarded with a brigadier generalship and eventually the Florida command.<sup>82</sup>

During the year 1838 the war was largely desultory, little affecting St. Augustine or the Fort Marion post. Colonel Taylor's victory at the Battle of Okeechobee apparently paralyzed any further concerted hostile movement for most of the ensuing year. On January 15, General Jesup accepted the resignation of General Joseph Hernandez as commander of the East Florida militia, at the latter's request, commending him on his "valuable" services.<sup>83</sup> On May 15, General Jesup was finally relieved of the Florida command by General Taylor<sup>84</sup> and throughout the remainder of the year the latter attempted with no great success to end the intermittent raids of small groups of Indians by dividing the whole country into small patrol districts.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Coe, 109-110 ; Edwards, B. B. (Ed.) *The Year Book*. (Philadelphia. 1838) p. 479; Catlin, G. *Letters and Notes on the . . . North American Indians*. (London. 1842) I. 219-222.

<sup>81</sup> Sprague, 203.

<sup>82</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 986-992, the official account by Col. Taylor of the Battle of Okeechobee. The opening of the year 1838 ends the use of the Military Affairs series, and the remainder of this paper will be greatly handicapped in having to rely on scattered documents.

<sup>83</sup> Fry, J. R. and Conrad, R. T. *A Life of General Zachary Taylor . . .* (Philadelphia. 1847) p. 58.

<sup>84</sup> Sprague, 220-221.

<sup>85</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 507, 25 Cong. 2d 10-11; Sprague, 224.



Near the end of September a raiding party approached within a short distance of St. Augustine, capturing a number of horses.<sup>86</sup> Throughout the fall the forces at the Fort Marion post were occupied mainly on scouting expeditions, which, however, had little results. Near the end of November, 1838, Major Kirby, of the Second United States Dragoons, was assigned to the command of the East Florida district for the purpose of prosecuting the search and for punitive expeditions, a post he faithfully administered.<sup>87</sup> All of the small posts in the East Florida district were reoccupied, such as Picolata, Forts Hanson and Peyton, and New Smyrna, for all of which the Fort Marion post acted as a depot of supplies. In May, 1838, the general military hospital at the Fort Marion post was removed to Picolata, some 46 patients being shifted in the transfer.<sup>88</sup>

By November 24, 1838, with Captain J. W. Washington, Co. B Fourth Artillery arrived in St. Augustine to act as the garrison<sup>89</sup> relieving Co. E. Fourth Artillery, under Lieutenant Bradford.<sup>90</sup> For some time past the garrison had been quartered at the St. Francis Barracks, and here the new one was located. Fort Marion in the meantime had continued to serve as an arsenal. Throughout the rest of the winter of 1838-39, the St. Augustine area had little contact with the main war movement, but the patrolling expeditions were continued in East Florida for

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<sup>86</sup> Sprague, 227-228.

<sup>87</sup> *A. N. C.*, VII, 20, p. 315; 22, p. 351; 24, p. 381; VIII, 1, p. 11.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* IX, 19, p. 299.

<sup>89</sup> Letter, Captain H. O. Swindler, Hist. Sect., Army War College to Chief, Militia Bureau, Feb. 26, 1925, "11th Indorsement," sent pursuant to requests of Adj.-Gen. J. C. R. Foster of Florida, On Oct. 24, 1924 and Feb. 2, 1925, in regard to the history of St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida. (Copy in files of office of the Adj.-General of Florida, St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida).

<sup>90</sup> *A. N. C.*, VII, 24, p. 381.

several months, operating in the main out of St. Augustine.<sup>91</sup>

The work of F. L. Dancy, who had been appointed civilian agent in charge of the repairs to Fort Marion and the St. Augustine seawall in 1836, became the subject of a War Department investigation in 1839<sup>92</sup> and on January 12, Lieutenant H. W. Benham, of the United States Engineer Corps, arrived in St. Augustine to displace him.<sup>93</sup>

On March 7, 1839, Co. A, Fourth Artillery, which had been acting as the regular garrison at the Fort Marion post, since the previous November, was moved to Picolata.<sup>94</sup> On May 20, General Macomb, who had been sent to Florida to negotiate peace, succeeded in securing the accession of some of the Seminoles to a cessation of hostilities, the temporary retirement of the Seminoles to a restricted district in south Florida below the Pease creek or river, and a willingness to accede to emigration later.<sup>95</sup> The inhabitants were incensed that the treaty did not call for the immediate emigration of the Indians.<sup>96</sup>

Hardly two months were to elapse before the horrible massacre of Col. Harvey's detachment on the Caloosahatchie river in July, and soon hostilities were renewed in sporadic raids throughout the territory.<sup>97</sup> The people became apprehensive over the defenseless condition of East Florida and protested to Col. Gates, who was then commanding east of

<sup>91</sup> *A. N. C.*, 2, p. 27 ; 4, p. 58 ; 10, p. 155.

<sup>92</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, p. 848; *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong 1st*,

167.<sup>93</sup> *A. N. C.*, VIII, 5, p. 76; *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong., 1st*, 167.

<sup>94</sup> *A. N. C.*, VIII, 12, p. 189. There is no evidence to show what unit immediately relieved this company.

<sup>95</sup> Report of Gen. Alexander Macomb, commanding, Nov. 27, 1839, in *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong. 1st*, 44.

<sup>96</sup> *A. N. C.*, IX, 1, p. 9; 2, pp. 25-26.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, p. 121.

the St. Johns river and he immediately mustered the necessary militia guard.<sup>98</sup>

An unusual event took place at Fort Marion about the middle of September, 1839. Lt. W. K. Hanson, of the Seventh Infantry stationed at Fort Mellon some ninety miles southwest from St. Augustine, had made a swift reprisal for the recent brutal attack on Col. Harney's detachment by seizing a number of Indians peacefully encamped near the fort. When these prisoners were brought through St. Augustine Lt. Hanson was hailed as a hero and presented with a sword for his feat.<sup>99</sup> Much to the chagrin of the St. Augustine citizens, General Taylor, commanding in Florida, decided to exchange these captives for some of the murderous attackers of the Harney detachment, and fifty-one Indian men, women and children were landed at Fort Marion, having been brought back from Charleston.<sup>100</sup>

In the early fall of 1839 an epidemic of yellow fever broke out in St. Augustine attacking both town and military post, and lasted until the middle of November.<sup>101</sup> This danger was hardly past when another one threatened. Sporadic Indian raids in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine began again and in the last week in November fresh Indian signs had hardly been discovered a short distance to the south of the city, before a boldly successful attack on the public stage running between St. Augustine and Picolata took place.<sup>102</sup> The stage, containing Captain Searle, then quartermaster at the Fort Marion post, had traveled only a short distance from Picolata when the Indians attacked it. Captain Searle was mortally wounded and another white

<sup>98</sup> *A. N. C.*, IX, 9, pp. 139-141; 11, p. 173.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, p., 141.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>102</sup> *A. N. C.*, IX, 21, p. 332.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, p. 365.

man, escorting the stage, was instantly killed. Early in December, the negro mail carrier between Picolata and St. Augustine was captured by the Indians but succeeded in escaping. After both episodes, punitive scouting parties were sent out from St. Augustine to no avail.<sup>103</sup>

The annual report of the Secretary of War in November, 1839, listed no regular garrison for the Fort Marion military post. The statement was made, however, that while this omission had been made under the circumstance of the varying war conditions, Fort Marion remained a permanent military post nevertheless.<sup>104</sup> Another source has shown us, however, that in December a garrison of thirteen men, was then at the Fort Marion post<sup>105</sup> under Lt. H. W. Wharton.

In the annual report of the Engineer Department, 1839, the following statement was made in regard to the repairs at St. Augustine:

*Repairs of Fort Marion, and the sea-wall at St. Augustine, Florida.* An officer of engineers took charge of the works at St. Augustine in January last, and has personally directed operations there since. The funds have been applied exclusively as heretofore, to the continuation of the sea-wall for the protection of the city. . .

A minute and accurate survey of Fort Marion and its environs is now in progress : When completed the department will be enabled to offer a plan of such repairs as may be found to be necessary, together with an

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 pp. 395-397, 409.

<sup>104</sup> Report of Sec. of War Poinsett, Nov. 30, 1839.

<sup>105</sup> Captain Swindler, op. cit. It should be noticed that the military post in St. Augustine apparently was commonly listed in the Post commandant's returns as "Fort St. Augustine" post. The War Department returns always listed the post as "Fort Marion."

estimate of the total cost of the public works at this place.

The estimate submitted for the next year contemplates the entire completion of the sea-wall.<sup>106</sup>

The slowly moving machinery of government bureaucracy had turned again to the problem of further repairs to the Fort Marion structure, and even the tourists were regretting the relegation of the proud old fortress to the status of a prison.<sup>107</sup>

The inhabitants of Florida had not become reconciled to the apparent inability of the army to end the war. In December, 1839, and in February, 1840, Governor Reid of Florida sent special messages to the Florida Legislative Council asking that body to urge on Congress the adoption of the severest measures to that end.<sup>108</sup> St. Augustine again had become apprehensive of raids on the city, and by the middle of January, 1840, a body of mounted "minute men" was organized for its protection.<sup>109</sup>

Throughout the spring of 1840 a number of raids occurred within the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine, several resulting in tragic deaths. On February 13, the mail stage to Jacksonville was held up seven miles north of St. Augustine and the two carriers killed. About the same time and distance to the west of St. Augustine, a Mr. Weadman was also brutally murdered.<sup>110</sup> Guards were provided for the mail by early March.<sup>111</sup> Near the end of April, a sentry stationed a few miles south of St. Au-

<sup>106</sup> Report of the Engineers Dept., Nov. 29, 1839, in *Sen. Doc.* 1, 26 Cong., 1st. 167.

<sup>107</sup> (Anonymous) *A Winter in the West Indies and Florida*. (New York, 1839) 143.

<sup>108</sup> Sprague, 239-240, *A. N. C.*, X, 12, pp. 185-186.

<sup>109</sup> *A. N. C.*, X 5, p. 75.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, pp. 142-143.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, p. 187.

gustine near Fort Hanson was fired on by Indians who escaped.<sup>112</sup> Such were the conditions when General Taylor relinquished his command to General Armistead on May 1, 1840, who established his headquarters at St. Augustine temporarily.<sup>113</sup> General Armistead's plan of operations called for the concentration of all available troops around Fort King, from whence he planned to crush the marauding bands whose headquarters were nearby.<sup>114</sup> He had hardly assumed command before one of the most spectacular raids occurring near St. Augustine during the war took place. On the morning of May 23 a company of actors under military escort was enroute to St. Augustine on the Picolata road. When they had nearly reached Fort Weadman, an outpost some seven or eight miles west of the town, Indians said to have been led by Coacoochee suddenly fired on them. Four of the party were killed outright or soon died. The Indians plundered the theatrical baggage, subsequently appearing garbed in the most fantastic regalias. The people in St. Augustine bitterly censured General Armistead for having left only a skeleton force for their protection.<sup>115</sup>

The repairs on the seawall, still in charge of Lt. Benham, had continued despite the raids, and there were numerous troop movements through St. Augustine during 1840.<sup>116</sup> Late in October Indians attacked a plantation within several miles of the town, and early in November, several soldiers were murdered near the city. About the same time Fort Hanson, not far south, though abandoned, was burned

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, p. 279.

<sup>113</sup> Sprague, 243.

<sup>114</sup> *A. N. C.*, X, 21, p. 348.

<sup>115</sup> "Indian Murders," *Florida Herald*, (St. Augustine, Florida) May 29, 1840, cited in *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII; 4, April, 1930, pp. 200-203; Sprague, 258-259.

<sup>116</sup> *A. N. C.*, XI, 18, pp. 284-285.

by the Indians, and- two soldiers were killed near Fort Searle, some fifteen miles west of St. Augustine. Scouting punitive expeditions following the raids met with little success.<sup>117</sup> The year was to close with troops still moving in and out of the city, but with the war no nearer its end.<sup>118</sup>

Throughout the spring of 1841, General Armistead's policies became so ineffective that he was finally relieved on May 31 by Col. W. J. Worth,<sup>119</sup> who began a vigorous campaign to seize all of the recalcitrants remaining in the war area; which by this time had long since moved far to the southwest.<sup>120</sup> His policy proved so successful that by November the prospect of the war being brought to an early close was considered to be "very flattering," in St. Augustine.<sup>121</sup> Soon the last raid in the vicinity occurred, when a group of Seminoles attacked the settlement of Mandarin, some twenty miles northwest of the town on December 21, 1841.<sup>122</sup>

As the year 1841 ended Lieutenant Benham was still at work on the seawall.<sup>123</sup>

With the opening of 1842 the end of the war was near. For a year or more there had been no concerted hostile movements among the Seminoles, many of whom had now been deported to the west or killed. Now there were only a few widely separated bands still reluctant to surrender. However, in January and February the last Indians remaining in East Florida were routed.<sup>124</sup> On August 14, 1842, Col. Worth proclaimed the final cessation of

<sup>117</sup> *A. N. C.*, XI, 20, pp. 313-314.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, p. 410.

<sup>119</sup> Sprague, 265, 267.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>121</sup> *A. N. C.*, XII, 47, p. 372.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, p. 411; Sprague, 400-401.

<sup>123</sup> *A. N. C.*, XII, 44, p. 348.

<sup>124</sup> Sprague, 428-430; *A. N. C.*, XIII, 9, p. 140.

general hostilities of the Second Seminole War.<sup>125</sup> During the fall, one tribal chieftain kept up an intermittent defiance, but by January 10, 1843, he had surrendered and the greatest of the American Indian wars was finally terminated.<sup>126</sup>

On February 5, 1842, the *St. Augustine News*, in an article titled "Our Ancient City and Sea Wall," admitted that while the government had been magnanimous enough finally to repair the mis-deeds of its subordinates, the task had not been completed as the background in the rear of the wall had not been filled in.<sup>127</sup> Apparently the tide flowed through the wall, but did not run out so easily, leaving a pool inside at every flood tide.

Fort Marion had not fared so well as the seawall. A perfunctory recognition of its existence was made on February 9, 1842, when a part of the military reservation at Fort Marion was made by Presidential order.<sup>128</sup> In taking our last glance at the fort in the early summer of 1842 we find it in a typical condition. The *St. Augustine News* gives us our last desolate impression.<sup>129</sup> The exterior works of the fort were represented as being in a very ruined state. One of the ascents to the top had sunk and the other was ready to fall to the ground, both being in need of speedy repairs; and the terreplein had given way in many points owing to the rottenness of the supporting beams.

So we leave the old fort in this wretched state in which it is to remain for many years.

<sup>125</sup> Order No. 28, Cedar Key, Florida, August 14, 1842, Col. W. J. Worth, in Sprague, 486.

<sup>126</sup> Croffut, W. A. (Ed.) *Fifty Years in Camp and Field* (New York, 1909), 168, 172-173.

<sup>127</sup> *News*, February 5, 1842.

<sup>128</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 50, 41 Cong., 2d, p. 3. The rest of the present reservation was formally set aside by the President through the Sec. of War, on Mar. 23, 1849. See War Dept. Doc. No. 357 (1910), p. 50. Also further confirmed on Jan. 28, 1852.

<sup>129</sup> June 4, 1842.