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Mark F. Boyd

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THE FORTIFICATIONS AT SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE

(ST. MARKS, WAKULLA CO., FLORIDA)

BY MARK F. BOYD

The region of Apalache and of its bay on the Gulf coast seem to have been ignored by the Spaniards following the departure of De Soto from this vicinity after overwintering here in 1539-40. Certainly we are not aware of its further mention in available records until the arrival of the Christianizing Franciscan fathers in 1633, who probably, as did De Soto, came overland, but in the latter instance from St. Augustine. The garrison of St. Augustine had been leading a precarious existence from the inadequacy and insufficiency of their attempts to grow provender about the city, and the uncertainty of the arrival of emergency supplies from Havana. It must have been with great relief that accounts of the productivity and fertility of the Apalache fields were received. In a time of scarcity, a frigate was despatched from St. Augustine to Apalache in 1639. Fray Juan de Vega Castro y Pardo¹ who leaves us the account, says that the voyage had never been made previously, but was, however, made in thirteen days, and great advantage to St. Augustine was anticipated as a consequence. The practicability of the route having been demonstrated, it appeared to become well used. Although few descriptions of these supply voyages have survived, there are several references thereto.

NOTE—This historical

paper was read in part before the Tallahassee Historical Society at a session held on October 10, 1935

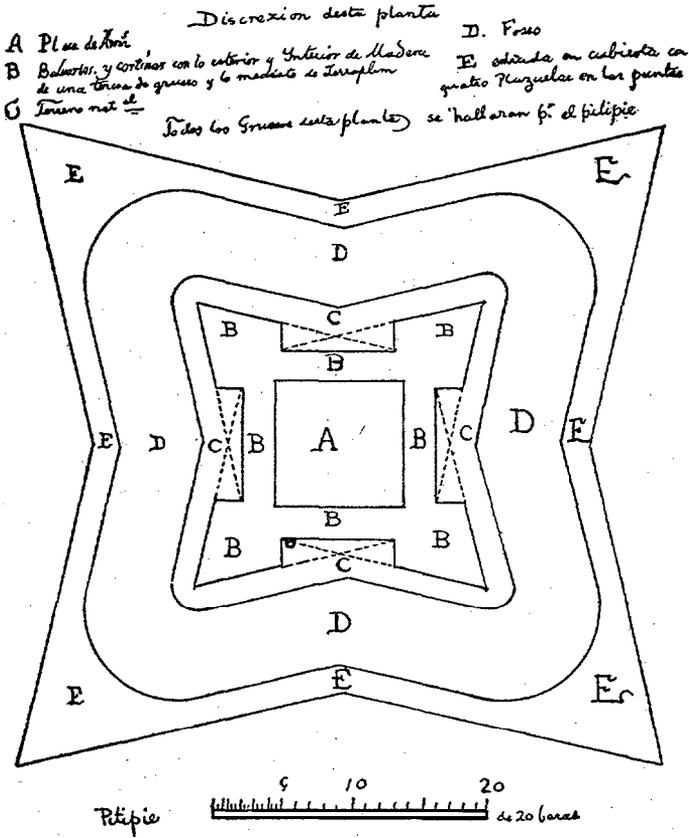
Thus Captain Juan de Florencia² relates that in 1646 he brought the frigate "San Martin" from the province of Apalache to St. Augustine with the supplies for that presidio. These vessels did not always escape the perils of the voyage. Thus we learn that in 1668, when a drouth shortened the maize harvest about St. Augustine, it was necessary to secure supplies from Apalache³. A frigate belonging to Ignacio de Losa was sent from Apalache to St. Augustine with a cargo of maize. When eight days out of port a tempest was encountered and she was shipwrecked off Carlos harbor with no loss of life.

While accounts of the commercial activities at the port of Apalache are fragmentary, accounts of a settlement there are altogether lacking. It would appear that a settlement of some consequence had developed at San Marcos by 1683, since on the map of Florida⁴ drafted in that year, which represents the missions in Apalache, that of San Marcos is designated as a Villa, all other localities being described as pueblos.

The need for a fortification at San Marcos was early appreciated and apparently recommended to the court, for reference is found to a Royal Cedula of 1662 inquiring why the port had not been fortified. In reply, Governor Francisco de Avila Orejon states⁵ that there was no one available in Florida with sufficient skill to design such a work, and that the viceroy could not supply a competent person. The question continued to receive attention in official correspondence for several years. However, some time shortly before 1680, a fort was finally built at the port.

In the first half of 1682, French and English buccaneers made several raids along the gulf coast of Florida from a base on Anclote Keys. They were reported to number four hundred men. They captured seven vessels trading between Apalache, Havana and Vera Cruz. Finally they slipped into the port of Apalache, surprised the fort and captured it without resistance from its garrison of forty-five Spaniards and four hundred odd Indians, who fled the river banks. The victorious pirates burned the fort, which was of wood, but did not immediately withdraw from the coast ⁶. In June of the same year, a party said to have been composed of about thirty-five Frenchmen, stole up the San Martin river (Suwanne) and surprised the hacienda of Don Tomas Mendez Marquez in Alachua, capturing the proprietor and his household, who were carried off with the idea of ransom. The pirates were surprised at dawn by a band of Timucuan Indians, and in the confusion Don Tomas escaped. He reported to St. Augustine that the pirates had been repulsed by the Indians in a later raid on Apalache, made with the intention of securing provisions from a balandra destined for Havana. Don Tomas further reported that the pirates offered to release him and the other prisoners on the delivery of a ransom payment of one hundred fifty cattle and an unspecified amount of money ⁷ and that they were also planning a raid on St. Augustine.

Governor Juan Marques de Cabrera had hardly obeyed a royal command of 1680 ⁸ for an account of the first fort, when he was confronted by the crisis resulting from the pirate raids and its destruction.



Tracing of a map in the Buckingham Smith MMS, evidently the Robertson No. 1683, in which it is ascribed to April 28, 1685, although itself bearing no date. It more likely is the plan referred to in the letter of Marques Cabrera to Charles II dated St. Augustine, Oct. 7, 1682 (Robertson No. 1859). Courtesy of New York Historical Society.

Legend - A. Parade ground. B. Bastions and curtains with interior and exterior of wood, of a third of the thickness, and between them the terreplein. C. Original ground level. D. Ditch or moat. E. Covered way with four small parade grounds at the points.

These emergencies lead to the early construction of a second fort under the direction of an engineer, Don Juan de Siscara, who was sent from Havana for the purpose. A plan and description of the second edifice are preserved to us in a letter from the Governor to the King⁹. This was a quadrangular structure of wood with bastions at the corners. It was small in size, having a parade ground about sixty feet square, and was considered defendable by a garrison of twelve to sixteen men. Command was given to Capt. Francisco Fuentes, an experienced soldier of the Guale frontier. It is specifically mentioned to have been located at the point of land between the rivers.

We lack information regarding the fate of this fort during Colonel Moore's victorious raid into Apalache in the winter of 1704. Moore successfully depopulated the country and destroyed the utility of Apalache as a granary for St. Augustine, so that the Spaniards appear to have completely withdrawn from the region.

The raid of Colonel Moore into Apalache was a phase of the struggle waged between the English and Spaniards for commercial supremacy in the trade with the Creek villages along the Chattahoochee river. The English had been prosecuting this trade from Charleston as a base, the Spanish from Apalache. With the Spanish base destroyed the English enjoyed supremacy in this trade for several years.

Previous to Moore's attack, the French, coming down the Mississippi river, had become additional competitors for the Creek trade. Anticipating rivalry from this source, the Spanish barely beat the

French to the occupation of Pensacola bay in 1698, who were forced to content themselves with the occupation of Mobile bay where they established themselves in 1702. After the destruction of the Apalache colonies, the Spanish largely maintained contact with the Creeks through Pensacola. Trouble in South Carolina induced many of the remnants of the Apalachees and other tribes to remove and to locate themselves in the vicinity of the Creeks along the Chattahooche and resume relations with the Spanish.

During the period of abandonment this wooden fort of San Marcos must have fallen into complete decay.

Meanwhile the Spanish influence among the Creeks was growing stronger, and owing to partisanship the tribe became divided into English and Spanish factions. The faction supporting the Spanish interests urged the erection of a new fort for their protection in the vicinity of the Creek nation. In 1716¹⁰ we find that such a project was actually under consideration. Finally it was decided to occupy the old site at San Marcos, and on the 20th of February, 1718, Captain Don Joseph Primo de Ribera left St. Augustine with a force of about seventy men to re-establish the fort, and arrived on the site on the 18th of March¹¹. De Ribera's provisions had been despatched from St. Augustine in a balandra at the time of his departure, but non-arrival of the vessel threatening to interfere with his operations, he asked for help from Pensacola. . . On the return to Pensacola, the officer who had delivered the provisions observed a French vessel in St. Joseph's bay,

and ascertained that the French intended to erect an establishment there. On receiving this news, the governor sent de Ribera some small re-inforcements, and the French were given orders to evacuate St. Joseph's. They departed quietly. With the re-establishment of the fort at San Marcos, two villagers of Apalache Indians returned to the vicinity.

This structure was apparently the fort visited by the French priest Charlevoix, on the occasion of his return to Biloxi along the coast after his shipwreck on the Florida keys¹². He says "the fort is built on a small eminence surrounded with marshes and a little above the confluence of the two rivers. It is a small stone fort of a square form with regular bastions." At this time the garrison was particularly alert, because of the recent encroachment of the French in Bay St. Joseph, and Charlevoix speaks of the fort as built of stone, an evidently erroneous statement.

In the course of time the desirability of colonizing the Apalache region began to be discussed. In a letter to the King, written from San Marcos, Feb. 8, 1732, Don Antonio de Benavides¹³ who was visiting the province in compliance with royal orders, refers to the colonization project of the engineer Don Carlos Blondeau, who planned the establishment in Apalache of a villa or town to be called La Tama. The location of the chosen site is not disclosed, but we suspect that the ruins observed by Williams on the present site of Tallahassee afford a clue. Benavides refers to the existing fort at San Marcos as a wooden structure, and recommends two companies of infantry of fifty men each, and two

companies of dragoons of one hundred men each for the garrisoning of San Marcos and La Tama. We have not as yet encountered documents which indicate that this project was realized. We do find that Don Antonio de Arrendondo ¹⁴ in 1738 advocates the colonization of Apalache because of its fertility, and shows that, owing to its remoteness from St. Augustine, motives of defense necessitate a strong settlement. A nucleus of eighty families was recommended, which for motives of economy should be transported directly from Havana to San Marcos rather than via St. Augustine. The letter was written a few days before his departure for Apalache under royal orders "to repair the present fort of San Marcos and place it in a condition of defense and respect."

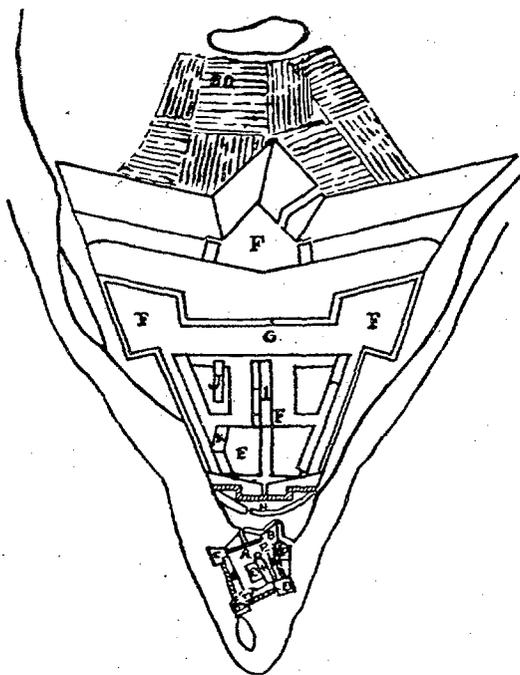
The fort of San Marcos is also described in a letter to the King from Governor Montiano written a few days previously to that of Arredondo, as a wooden, not a stone structure. ¹⁵ He says "the fort of San Marcos de Apalache is a square of ten toises a side, with four small bastions, built of stakes and wood, very indefensible without ditch or exterior fortification. It is situated at the concourse of two rivers which discharge in the sea at a distance of two leagues. Its port is for balandras and [other] small vessels, and the ground where the fort is situated is swampy and innundated by the greater floods of the two rivers." It is unlikely that this is a different structure from that seen by Charlevoix, and evidently is the one figured in the Colonial office map ¹⁶ probably drafted by Pittman.

This shows the fort of this period to have been a small rectangle of about sixty feet square located

just at the point of confluence of the rivers, to the south of where the stone fort was later built. At each corner were bastions, named respectively the milk bastion, the bastion of St. Francis Xavier, the bastion of All Souls and the bastion of St. Joseph. Within the walls were a church, a lookout, a storehouse and barracks.

The generally recognized weakness of the fort must have lead before this to a discussion of the desirability of a stone structure, as a representative of Quilate, chief of the Apalachicola Indians¹⁷ in July of 1738, came to St. Marks to verify a rumor that a contingent of laborers had arrived to begin the construction of a *castillo*.

The date when construction of the stone fort was initiated is at present uncertain but was undoubtedly subsequent to 1738. The stone tablet figured by Taylor and Choate¹⁸ as having been taken from the ruins of the fort, states that it was built in 1739 by Don Juan de Catilla, probably to be taken as the year when work was begun. On the other hand, the memorial to Congress presented by the stockholders of the Tallahassee Railroad Company¹⁹ states that the fort was erected by the government of Spain in 1759. Apparently designed to be a triangular structure with bastions on each corner, the apex pointing south to the point at the junction of the rivers, it was not completed by the time of the cession of Florida to England. In fact it would appear that as late as 1758 it was so incomplete that the garrison was housed in the old wooden fort. A hurricane that year flooded the old fort, drowning forty men.¹⁶



Plan of the Fort at Appalache called Fort St. Mark, with projects for its reparation and defense. Portion of an undated map in H.M.S. State Paper Office, London. Draftsman of original unknown, endorsed "Copy W. Brasier". The Waukulla river is called the "Guacara" and the St. Mark river the "Detacabona".

Legend--A. Fort of wood indefensible which was overflowed in 1758, when forty men were drowned. B. Milk Bastin (n.e.) C. Bastion of St. Francis Xavier (n.w) D. Bastion of All Souls (s.w) E. Bastion of St. Joseph (s.e) F. New fort to be constructed. G. The curtain already begun, which in one part is 8 feet high and 15 toises in length, and the other twenty-three toises in length and five feet high. H. A horn work that was built to defend the old fort. I. Place built for the master mason and workmen. J. The Forge, a store and guardhouse. K. An oven and carpenter shop. P. Battery of two guns (east of A). Q. The Church (east of the look-out in A). R. The Look-out (center of- A). S. The storehouse (west side of A). T. The Barracks (south and east sides of A).

The legend on a Spanish map²⁰ of Florida drawn in 1768, states that the fort was not half completed when it was delivered to the English. Meanwhile dynastic considerations had lead the Spanish crown into an alliance with France, then engaged in the Seven Years War, as a result of which Spain declared war on England in 1761. An aggressive English campaign resulted in the capture of Havana on the 10th of October, 1762. The war was closed by the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Havana was restored to Spain, and Florida was ceded to England. It does not appear that the actual transfer of San Marcos to English troops took place before 1764.

The only reports we have discovered relating to the English administration are to be found in the Haldimand papers. The earliest we have discovered is a garrison report dated May 14, 1766,²¹ at which time the garrison at Apalache, as the fort was designated consisted of a force of fifty-six men, from the ninth regiment of foot under the command of Lieut. George Swettenham, who reported to General Haldimand at Pensacola.

It was during this year that M. Pierre Viaud²² a Frenchman sailing from Santo Domingo to Louisiana in the brigantine Tiger was wrecked on the coast of St. Georges island, and who, with two other survivors, were rescued by a detachment from the fort after breathless adventures. A certificate from Lieut. Swettenham attests to the accuracy of Viaud's published narrative.

This, year is also memorable for a hurricane which occurred on the 23rd²³ of October. It was accompanied by twelve feet of water. The storm did considerable damage to the fort, and subsequent

reports from the commanders of the post stress its condition of ill repair.

It would appear that the British estimate of the importance of the post declined during the year, as Lieut. Swettenham was succeeded in command by Ensign Wright.

It apparently was in 1767 that Apalache was visited by Lieut. Pittman²⁴ who has left us the best description extant of the fort. The map previously referred to¹⁶ may date from this visit. A sketch of the appearance of the fort as viewed from the south is to be found on one of the sheets²⁵ of Romans's map of Florida. According to the ordinance report²⁶ for October 1, 1766, the fort had mounted two long six pounders on carriages, two long four pounders on carriages and two half pound swivel guns.

In March, 1767, General Thomas Gage, commanding the British forces in North America, wrote to General Haldimand asking that he acquaint him of any use which the fort was to the service, an inquiry expressive of the attitude toward the post.²⁷ However a garrison continued to be maintained during 1767 and 1768, although reduced to 20 men.

Gage's inquiry probably determined Haldimand to dismantle the fort, as a letter from Governor Grant to General Gage is extant,²⁸ dated St. Augustine 1768, indicating that such was Haldimand's intention. Governor Grant was unwilling to entirely relinquish the post, and was arranging with a Mr. Gordon to establish a trading house there in order to keep the fort in some sort of repair. Grant, in fact, plead with Haldimand not to dismantle it, and to keep a few men there until the trader arrived. This evidently transpired and the fort was aban-

done as a British military post, and apparently was never again occupied, even after Spain declared war on England in 1779. On May 9, 1781, with the capitulation of Pensacola to Galvez, all West Florida was surrendered to Spain; and by the treaty of Versailles, signed in 1783 England ceded East and West Florida to Spain.

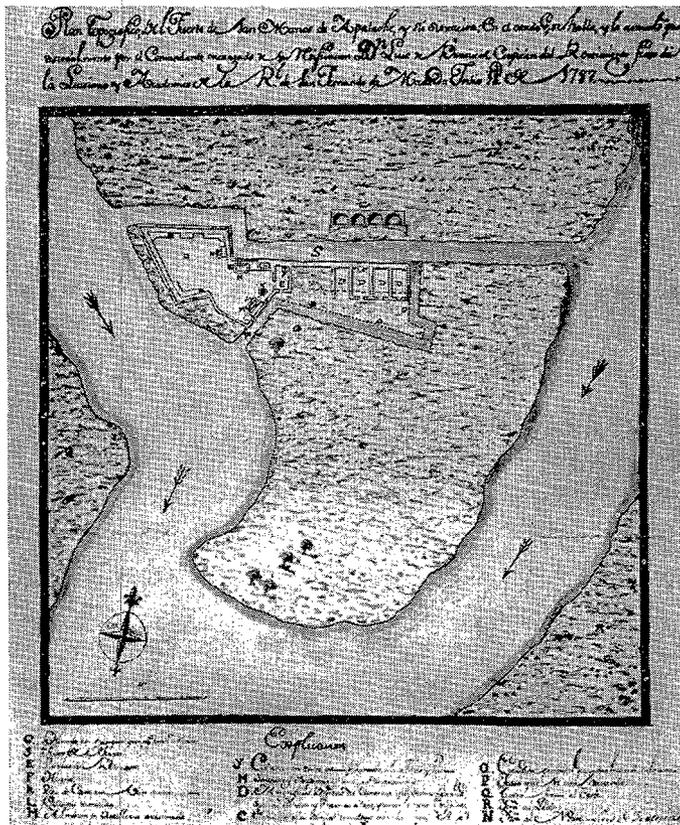
Before these events occurred, a group of young men, William Panton, John Leslie, and Thomas Forbes had been associated in the Indian trade at Charleston, Frederica and Savannah, under the name of Panton, Leslie and Company. Remaining loyal during the American Revolution, and much harrassed as a consequence, they transferred their business to St. Augustine and Pensacola in the then still loyal British province of Florida. The Creek Indians had become firmly attached to the British, and supported the British side in the Revolution. During this disturbed period, the house of Panton, Leslie and Company continued their trade with the Creeks, and by the end of the Revolution, a young Creek half breed chief, Alexander McGillivray, had formed a close attachment with William Panton. The Creeks remained ardently pro-British after the war, and the Spanish government wisely decided that the easiest manner in which they could secure and maintain Creek support to prevent American pressure on the Florida and Louisiana frontiers, was to permit the house of Panton, Leslie and Company to continue trading operations among the Creeks from Florida trading houses, even though this violated their otherwise inflexible regulation which expelled all other English Protestants from Florida,, and only required oaths of obedience rather than allegiance from the members of the firm and their employes. On recommendation of the provin-

cial governors the firm acquired extensive privileges and soon enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade through Florida bases.^{29,30}

In 1783, Charles McLatchey a member of the firm, established a trading post in Apalache near St. Marks.³⁰ This was located on the west side of Wakulla river, about two miles above its junction with St. Marks, and in the next year, through the intercession of Creek influence, official sanction was given for the continuance of the post. In the meantime, Spanish officials had negotiated a treaty with the Creeks, whereby the Indians granted permission to the Spaniards to re-occupy the fort of St. Marks. In 1785, the Spanish added Apalache to the jurisdiction of West Florida. It does not appear that the Spaniards re-occupied the old fort until 1787.³¹

Meantime, some merchants of Providence island in the Bahamas, with the support of Governor Dunmore of those islands, determined to compete, regardless of the approval of the Spanish authorities, with Panton, Leslie and Co., for the Creek trade. They selected William Bowles, a loyalist and adopted Creek, to act as their agent. In 1787 Bowles returned to the Creek country, and later proceeded to St. Marks to await the arrival of a cargo of trade goods. He threatened to attack the Spanish garrison if the authorities attempted to interfere with the landing of the goods. The threat succeeded and the goods were conveyed into the interior.³¹

Bowles shortly returned to the Bahamas and convinced his backers that a successful filibustering expedition directed against the Florida posts of Panton, Leslie and Company might ruin them and break the monopoly. An armed force under his leadership



Topographical plan of the Fort of San Marcos de Apalache and of its situation: showing the condition in which returned and the provisional plans by the Commandant for its modification. Don Luis de Bertecat, Captain of the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana and Member of the Royal Academy of San Fernando of Madrid. July 18. 1787. (Papeles de Cuba, A.G.I. Sevilla, leg. 1393).

Legend-G. Bastion without parapet. S. Moat of the fort. E. Gate of the Bastion. F. Oven. K. Well in good condition. L. Demolished kitchen. H. Magazine for artillery, in ruins. Y. Guard house in good repair except for lack of ceiling and door. M. Washing places. D. Magnificent vaults of hewn stone. C. Elevation of the vaults along the line A-B. O. Provisional stockade in course of construction. P. Ditch under construction. Q. Mainland to the West. R. Mainland to the East. N. Mainland to the North.

failed to capture Panton's store on the St. Johns, whereupon Bowles lead his men across the peninsula to Apalache with the idea of attacking the store at St. Marks (1788), but both the fort and store were too strongly fortified to warrant the attempt.³⁰

In 1790 the Spanish authorities made extensive repairs to the fort and made it habitable for the garrison. As repaired, its condition is shown in the plan prepared by Don Luis de Bertucat, which is reproduced by Whitaker.³² The work performed did not look to the completion of the original design.

The zeal of Bowles's animosity towards Panton, Leslie and Company did not abate with this failure. In January, 1792, he lead a party of Indians against the Apalache store which he succeeded in capturing.³¹ The losses experienced by the firm formed the basis of their earliest claims against the Indians, which lead to the land cession, well known as the Forbes Purchase.

Bowles was now becoming a source of concern to the Spanish authorities. On orders of Governor Carondelet he was decoyed to New Orleans in March, 1792, seized, and as a prisoner conveyed to Spain. For nearly eight years he was absent from the Apalache stage. During this time he was transported to the Philippines for banishment, but there he became so obnoxious he was sent back to Spain. Escaping en route, he made his way to England from whence he went to Jamaica. With a number of recruits he set sail in August, 1799, in H.B.M. Schooner *Fox*. Attempting to reach the mouth of the Ocklocknee river, they were wrecked on St. Georges island.³⁵

Previous to his capture, Bowles had an establishment of sorts on the Ocklochnee river, probably the place referred to by Williams³³ under the name of Oldenburg.

During 1799 Andrew Ellicott, as U. S. Commissioner, was engaged in marking the international boundary line between the United States and Spanish Florida.³⁴ Having run the line as far as the Chattahoochee river, their party was prevented from running the line eastward from the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee to the head of the St. Mary's by the hostility of the Indians. Leaving the Apalachicola the party was proceeding by sea to the St. Mary's, when they encountered the wreck of the *Fox* on St. Georges island. Here he met and conversed with Bowles and gave him some assistance, although refusing to take him off.

Ellicott proceeded to St. Marks where he advised Don Tomas Portell, the commandant, of the presence of Bowles, and of his intention to attack the fort. Ellicott states that the fort was garrisoned with 100 infantry and twelve cannon.

Later, while beating along the Florida keys, Ellicott encountered the schooner *Shark*, belonging to Panton, Leslie and Co., which was being sent to Nassau as a prize, having been captured by the shipwrecked crew of the *Fox*.

Bowles and his party soon made their way to the Ocklocknee and made camp. Here they were attacked and routed in February, 1800, by a Spanish party, from which Bowles escaped. Taking refuge in an Indian town near the site of Tallahassee, Bowles organized a force of from 300 to 400 men, nearly all Indians. In May he descended upon St. Marks, and captured the store without difficulty. Learning the Spaniards had declared him an outlaw, and knowing that England and Spain were again at war, he decided to invest the fort, an undertaking of very problematical outcome. Notwithstanding the absurdity of Bowles' undertaking, Don

Tomas Portell, the commandant, ignominiously surrendered the fort on May 19, 1800, for which he was later dismissed from the Spanish service.³⁵

A few weeks later a force under the command of Don Vidente Folch, consisting of five well armed vessels manned by one hundred and fifty men, together with four schooners transporting a company of grenadiers set sail from Pensacola to dislodge Bowles. After a short bombardment from the armed vessels, which was for a while returned, Bowles and his forces fled from the fort on June 23rd. During the next two years Bowles was very active in Florida but never again do his activities appear to have centered about St. Marks. In 1803 he was kidnapped in the Creek nation on United States soil, delivered to the Spanish authorities, taken to Havana and confined in the Morro Castle until his death.³⁵

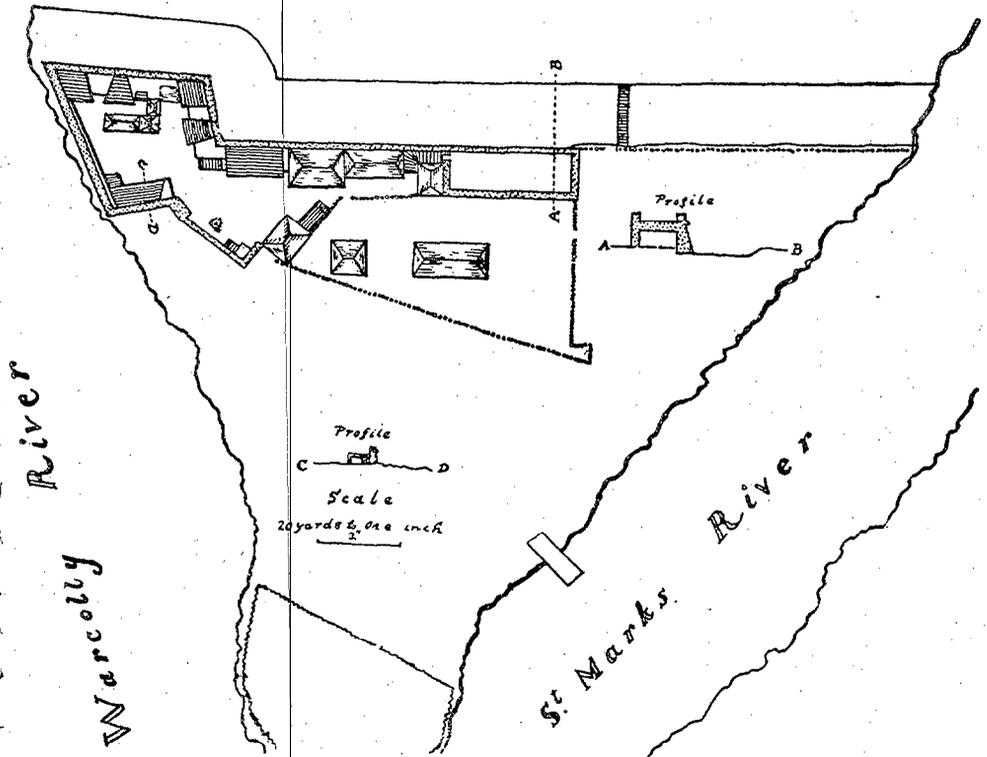
With the disappearance of Bowles from the scene, life for the garrison at Fort St. Marks appears to have become largely a matter of routine. To the Spanish authorities there seemed to be little necessity for the maintenance of the post and in 1808 its evacuation was for a time considered. Nevertheless a garrison continued to be maintained, which in 1814 was commanded by Don Francisco Caso y Luengo.

Meanwhile Spanish power had become impotent, Jackson had broken the power of the Creek nation, and had defeated English forces attacking the United States from bases in Spanish Florida. The most hostile of the Indians had fled to Florida from which as a base, and with the reported aid of the Spanish commandant at St. Marks, they were raiding the American frontier. Arbuthnot and Ambrister, British agents in the guise of traders, had taken

up the unfinished work of Bowles. The government of the United States had carried on a lively diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish court on these and other grievances, but the Spanish authorities appeared unwilling or unable to restrain the Indian raiders. Jackson was finally despatched to the frontier with an army of two thousand men and discretionary power to deal with the situation, which he employed in an extraordinary, though as it proved, highly effective manner. His army assembled on the frontier, and was immediately lead over the boundary into Florida.

After destroying the Miccosukee villages, the army marched to St. Marks, the vicinity of which was reached on the 6th of April, 1818. Encampment was made about one mile from the fort. A demand for surrender was presented by Lieut. Gadsden to the commandant of the Fort, Don Francisco Caso y Luengo, which was refused, and the fort was seized without resistance by Capt. Twiggs on the morning of the 7th. On this occasion Arbuthnot was arrested on the moment of attempted escape. The naval force co-operating with Jackson had arrived off St. Marks a few hours before Jackson, and displayed English colors. Deceived by this circumstance, the chiefs, Francis (Hillis Hadjo) and Homathlemico, the latter having been in command of the band that massacred the Scott party, boarded the vessel hoping to receive from British sources munitions with which to attack Jackson. They were promptly seized and hanged the next day. On the morning of the 9th the army departed from St. Marks for Suwannee, leaving a strong garrison in the fort. Ambrister was unexpectedly captured at Suwannee Old Town as he blundered into camp, and was brought back a prisoner to St. Marks. On the return from Suwannee, the army reached the vicinity of St.

Marks on the 25th, and encamped four miles north. Having captured the two Englishmen who were believed the chief instigators of the dissatisfaction of the Indians, Jackson convened a courtmartial on the 26th for the trial of the prisoners. The trials continued on the 27th and 28th. The court found both guilty of the charges and sentenced Arbuthnot to hanging, and at first sentenced Ambrister to be shot, later changing the sentenced to whipping and imprisonment. Jackson on reviewing the cases on



Florida: St. Marks and Wacolly Rivers and defenses, 1818. Drawing by Captain J. Gadsden. Plan No. 5 accompanying Captain Gadsden's report on the defenses of the Floridas. Files of Intelligence Division, Engineer's Corps, War Department, Washington, D. C.

the following day approved of the sentence in Arbutnot's case and disapproved the reversal in the case of Ambrister. Major Fanning was ordered to carry out the sentences on the morning of the 29th between 8 and 9 am.^{36, 37}

On the same morning the army set out on march for Fort Gadsden, leaving behind a detachment of two hundred men under Major Fanning as a garrison for the fort. The garrison included Major Fanning's own command of Company D, 4th Battalion, Artillery, as well as Captain Allison's company of 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry, and Captain Dinkin's Company of the 2nd Battalion, 4th Infantry. In July it was re-enforced by the arrival of Company M, 4th Battalion, Artillery under Captain Peters, and appears to have retained this strength until the end of 1818.⁴⁴

The reverberations from Jackson's acts in his Florida campaign were tremendous. He was assailed in Congress, the Spanish and English courts were thrown into an uproar and it appeared for a while that war might ensue. However, the evidence regarding the executed British agents was so flagrant that England receded from her position, and the masterly diplomacy of Adams mollified Spain.

It was the expressed determination of the United States authorities to retain possession of the fortifications at St. Marks and Pensacola until the Spanish government furnished garrisons which appeared adequate to the United States. Just when St. Marks was delivered to Spain we do not know. What was considered an adequate Spanish force appeared at Pensacola in September, 1819⁴³ and the American troops withdrew. It would appear that American withdrawal from St. Marks occurred several months earlier, as in the army return it does not figure sub-

sequent to February, 1819. The garrison at this time represented the units previously listed, although apparently not consisting of more than thirty-one men. It seems, however, that the withdrawal was formal. In a deposition⁴⁶ submitted in the suit instituted against the United States by Colin Mitchell to secure a patent to the Forbes grant, Joseph Y. Cruzat, a one time provincial secretary, states that he was sent as commissioner of the Provincial Government of West Florida on the occasion of the restitution of the fort St. Marks to Spain by the United States. While he does not give the date of restitution, he later says that he was at St. Marks as late as June, 1819. Spanish troops again occupied St. Marks until the final cession of Florida to the United States in 1821 under the treaty negotiated in 1819.

We do not know when the formal transfer of Fort St. Marks, under the treaty, to an American garrison took place although the date may be inferred. A communication⁴⁷ from General Jackson to the secretary of state dated from Pensacola on July 30, 1821, indicates that it was not accomplished without delays. As early as May 11th Jackson inquired of Governor Callava whether he would desire either of the American schooners Shields or Amelia, then waiting in Mobile bay with supplies for the future Ameridan garrisons, to transport the Spanish soldiers from St. Marks to Pensacola. Callava accepted the proposal and on May 22 Jackson gave Major Fanning, then at Fort Gadsden, the necessary orders for taking possession of and occupying St. Marks, and authorized Capt. Call to make arrangements for the evacuation of the Spanish troops. Callava would not agree to abandon the cannon and munitions at St. Marks, and Call was finally instructed to arrange for the transportation of two

field pieces and the ordnance stores. The Spanish troops from St. Marks finally arrived at Pensacola on the 19th of July, after a tedious voyage of thirteen days due to adverse winds, two days after the transfer of Pensacola.

In June, 1821, companies D, L, and M of the 2nd artillery constituted the garrison. In August these were relieved by Captain Bell's and Captain Hobart's companies of the 4th Artillery. The successive appearance of several other companies of the 4th Regiment of Artillery before the end of 1823 would indicate that the details were of short duration. Among these figured the commands of Captains Maris, Bell, Hobart, Sands, Burch and McClintock.

A clue to the reason for its abandonment is afforded by the correspondence of Capt. Burch. Under the provisions of the treaty executed with the Indians at Fort Moultrie in Sept., 1823, they were to be removed from middle Florida, and confined to limits on the peninsula. In a letter dated Dec. 1, 1823, Burch³⁸ expresses the opinion that it is indispensably necessary to the present security of the frontier that Fort St. Marks be occupied until the Indians are removed. The removal was effected during 1824, the last year the fort was garrisoned. In that year the garrison consisted of a company of the 4th Infantry under Captain Lear. In July most of this company was transferred and in October or November of the same year the remaining detachment was withdrawn. Thereafter Fort St. Marks does not figure in the reports of the Western Department of the Army and the War Department has no record of any other garrisons maintained there.⁴⁴ The last troops on duty here appear to

have left to join those engaged, under the direction of Captain Burch,³⁸ in the construction of the Military Road.

In 1826 rumors were afloat that the Board of Engineers of the Army had declared the fort useless for military purposes, which was denied by General Macomb in a letter to the Secretary of War. However by 1828 enterprising individuals probably with the status of squatters were making establishments on the St. Marks in and above the fort, for the reception of the trade of that part of Florida and Georgia. The same year Congress appropriated \$6000.00 for the erection of a lighthouse at St. Marks. The rugged tower and keeper's house, standing to this day, are reported to have been built with stone taken from the fort. At this time the commercial outlook for the port appeared promising, as in 1830 George Graham, Commissioner of the General Land Office, suggested to the U. S. Senate that a town be laid off at Chicago, Illinois, and another at St. Marks, Florida.

In the spring of 1833 St. Marks was visited by the English traveller Latrobe⁴² who leaves us a brief sketch of the fort at that time. He says, "The present Castellon of this deserted bulwark, which we found garrisoned by nothing but cocks, hens, pigs and rats, -acts as inn keeper, and with his long scarified nose and gaunt Quixotic figure, was in perfect keeping with every thing around him. The position of the Fort was at the extreme angle of the peninsula formed by the converging streams and within its narrow walls held a crowd of diminutive buildings in an old fashioned style, with little piazzas and galleries. A kind of Donjon rose at one angle, and from its platform there was a fair look out on the unlovely landscape, and a breezy walk for

the cramped-up inhabitants. Everything was fast tumbling to ruins." These statements about its condition are confirmed by a petition ¹⁹ to Congress by stockholders of the Tallahassee Railroad Company for permission to construct a railroad on public lands, dated Dec. 16, 1834, which states that the old fort has long since been abandoned by the government as a military post and is now in a state of delapidation and ruin. Need for a hospital for seamen in St. Marks had been stressed by the collector of the port in his report for 1853, owing to the presence of yellow fever. Further inroads in the fort are reported to have been made in 1859 to secure building material for the erection of this hospital, which cost nearly \$26,000.00. At the close of the Civil War the marine hospital was returned to the Treasury Department. When, a few years later, yellow fever again became epidemic in St. Marks, it was on request temporarily transferred to the War Department. During its occupancy by the War Department, it was partly dismantled by a hurricane. In the early '80's, it was again transferred to the Treasury, although no current need for a marine hospital existed. In 1882 the building was reported as worthless, the roof being gone and only a portion of the walls standing, and the department desired to lease the grounds. The building no longer exists.

The fort was comprised in the general limits of the territory ceded by the Indians to John Forbes and Company in 1811, a grant that was not recognized by the land commissioners after American accession. The assignees of Forbes and Company carried their claim to the United States Supreme Court, in which it was upheld in 1835, reserving however to the United States the Fortress of St. Marks and the territory adjacent, that which the Indians ceded to the Crown of Spain for the pur-

pose of erecting said Fort. Colin Mitchell and associates, the victorious litigants finally laid claim to the fort itself. This claim was finally rejected by the superior Court of the Middle District of Florida and later by the U. S. Supreme Court, which reserved some 305 acres about the fort to the United States and in this form the Forbes grant was confirmed to Mitchell by patent in 1842.³⁹ A town site was laid out on the reservation and a few lots were sold, when under presidential order in 1852, all unsold lands lying south of 3rd street were reserved for military purposes.⁴⁰

During the Civil War the fort was occupied by Confederate forces, who evidently altered the structure by extending the walls southward to the point, and renamed it Fort Ward.⁴⁵ The drawing by Major Gamble which hangs in the Walker Library in Tallahassee probably represents the fort at or a few years after this period. A sketch of a view up the river from Port Leon made during the war⁴¹ shows five embrasures in the southern wall of the fort, with the marine hospital in the background. The defenses were supplemented by an earthen battery constructed on the east bank near the river's mouth, slightly to the north-west of the lighthouse, and by the sinking of a barge laden with stone in the river below Port Leon.

The Union naval forces established a blockade off St. Marks very early in the war, which apparently was continuously maintained until its close. Some of the operations of these vessels are of more than passing interest.

One of these vessels, the U. S. Bark Kingfisher, had been sending landing parties up the Aucilla river to secure, drinking water. On June 2, 1862, such a party of thirteen men in two boats were sur-

prised by Confederate forces, and the whole captured with two men killed. In reprisal the U. S. S. Takoma and the U. S. S. Somerset fired thirty-one shells at the battery near the lighthouse driving out a company of artillery. A party was then landed which destroyed this battery, and burned the barracks and the woodwork of the lighthouse. The routine of the blockade was only rarely interrupted by the capture of some small vessel either attempting to enter or leave. On Feb. 10, 1863, the U. S. S. Stars and Stripes, then on blockade duty, steamed inside Long bar near the light house and shelled a nearby Confederate encampment. A small river steamer, probably the Spray later mentioned, came down the river as far as Four Mile point, and upon being shelled, returned above the fort. A few weeks later, Lieut. Com. Crosman of the U. S. S. Somerset learned that the fort only mounted eight guns, the largest a 12 pounder, and proposed an expedition up the river to capture it and the steamer Spray and also raid Newport. On the night of July 12th apparently on his own responsibility, Crosman with one hundred thirty men in six small boats, attempted a surprise attack on the fort. They were discovered by pickets on the river bank at Port Leon, and the enterprise was abandoned. The same forces two days later destroyed salt works on Marsh island. In September and October small parties under Quarter Gunner Walton unsuccessfully endeavored to get up the river to destroy the steamer Spray, but the Admiral commanding refused to authorize further attempts to surprise the fort. The activities of the blockading forces during 1864 were confined to raids on salt works. In February parties from the U. S. Gunboat Tahoma made two raids. The first, in co-operation with refugees on shore, destroyed extensive salt works on the shore

of Taylor county below the mouth of the Warrior river. The second successfully eluded Confederate pickets on Shell point and destroyed works on Goose creek.

The most important attempt on the fort occurred during the joint land and naval operations which lead to the battle of Natural Bridge in 1865.

According to information available to the Federal authorities at that time, the fort was armed as follows: The magazine was located at the east end of the fort and made of logs. Its walls were seven feet in thickness, and higher than the parapet of the fort. At the other extremity stood a smaller magazine for the largest rifle gun. In anticipation of the Federal attack guns were removed from the Spray, land mounted in the fort. Thus increased, the fort mounted two 32 pounders rifled, one rifle gun (Parrott) one 12 pounder captured from the Union forces, and two smooth bore 32 pounders. In addition two more guns of the latter type were mounted) on a lighter.

The attack was initiated by the attempt of several vessels to ascend the river for an attack on the fort on March 4th. Later in the same day troops were disembarked near the lighthouse. After great efforts the steamers Honduras, Fort Henry, Hibiscus and Britannia succeeded in ascending about half-way to Port Leon, but the Mahaska, Spirea, and Stars and Stripes went aground. The inability of the naval forces to execute the maneuvers assigned them, retarded the schedule of the expedition, thus permitting Confederate re-enforcements to be brought up which checked the advance of the Federal forces in the battle of Natural Bridge. On learning that the Federal troops were returning, the naval vessels withdrew from the river. It is said

that at the time of the expedition, all Confederate forces, except three men had been withdrawn, that trains of explosive had been laid and orders given to blow up the fort and steamer on near approach of the gun boats.

On May 13, 1865, Brig. Gen. Ed. M. McCook, USA., reported from Tallahassee that on the previous day, "one of my officers received the surrender of the Fort (Fort Ward) at St. Marks, and at 12 m. the U. S. flag was raised over it, and a national salute fired. It is a strong fortification with an armament of eight heavy guns and well supplied with ammunition. A small gun boat, the Spray, was lying in the harbor. I parolled the officers and crew, and left the boat in charge of a marine guard from the squadron lying outside".⁴⁵

In 1892 all of the area embraced in the military reservation was transferred to the general land office, and replatted in conformity with the original survey, including the fort itself. All lots in this area were sold, so that the ruin of Fort St. Marks is now in private hands.

The strategy of Fort St. Marks is revealed by the outlook of the structure itself, which faces the land, rather than the sea. It was erected by an over-seas power to secure a foothold on the land from a sea approach. It was little esteemed by the British, who held possession of the mainland, and has been lightly valued by the United States for the same reason. Nevertheless it is one of the few relics of the Spanish colonial period remaining in Florida, and it is not to the credit of the state that it remains in private hands. It should be acquired as a state monument or park, and restored to something like its original appearance.